Jewish Love Magic

Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity

Jewish Love Magic

From Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages

By

Ortal-Paz Saar

*This book is lovingly dedicated
to the memory of Ziv Peled, 1967–2003*

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"I could not begin better than by informing you regretfully that I am not in the possession of love charms, potions, or philtres. Nor am I in the least capable of influencing the favors of any young lady as may appeal to you."

"I have no need of artificial aids in that respect, sir." The complacency undeniably present in the general's voice was stirred with amusement. "Do you receive many requests for such commodities?"

"Enough. Unfortunately, an uninformed public tends to confuse scholarship with magicianry, and love life seems to be that factor which requires the largest quantity of magical tinkering."

"And so would seem most natural. But I differ. I connect scholarship with nothing but the means of answering difficult questions."

The Siwennian considered somberly, "You may be as wrong as they!"

ISAAC ASIMOV, *Foundation and Empire*

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Abbreviations

AIT   J.A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1913).

AMB   J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd edn (Jerusalem, 1998).

ANRW   *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

ANT   J.K. Elliott (ed.), *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford, 1993).

CAD   M.T. Roth et al. (eds), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (21 vols; Chicago, 1964–2010).

EI   P.J. Bearman et al. (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition (12 vols; Leiden, 1960–2006).

ERE   J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (13 vols; New York, 1951).

HAITCG   L. Schiffman and M. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (Sheffield, 1992).

LE   W. Helck, E. Otto and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (7 vols; Wiesbaden, 1972–1992).

MSF   J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1993).

MTKG   P. Schäfer and Sh. Shaked (eds) (in collaboration with M. Jacobs, R. Leicht, B. Rebiger, C. Rohrbacher-Sticker, G. Veltri, I. Wandrey), *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (3 vols; Tübingen, 1994–1999).

PGM   K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Stuttgart, 1973).

PL   J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina* (221 vols; Paris, 1844–1899).

Rebiger and Schäfer   B. Rebiger and P. Schäfer, *Sefer ha-Razim I und II: Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und* II (2 vols; Tübingen, 2009). Vol. 1 (in collaboration with E. Burkhardt, G. Reeg and H. Wels): *Edition*; Vol. 2 (in collaboration with E. Burkhardt and D. Salzer): *Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*.

Synopse   P. Schäfer (ed.) (in collaboration with M. Schlüter and H.G. von Mutius), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1981).

Personal names have usually been rendered into an English form (e.g., Yehudah b. Yehoshiahu is rendered as Judah b. Josiah). Where this was not possible, they were transcribed, trying to avoid special characters (עשיר was transliterated as Ashir, not Ašyr). Where the pronounciation of a name was not certain, it was merely transliterated. The abbreviation פב״פ has been rendered as N b. N. (male and female), whereas פ׳ בן פ׳ as N son of N.

Hebrew Bible quotations follow the Jewish Publication Society Version, 1985.

New Testament quotations follow the New International Version.

Mishna quotations follow the edition of H. Danby, *The Mishna* (London, 1938, reprinted 1954).

Tosefta quotations follow the online edition of Bar-Ilan University, Primary Textual Witnesses to Tannaitic Literature, www.biu.ac.il/js/tannaim/. Translations are mine.

Babylonian Talmud quotations follow the edition of I. Epstein (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud* (London, 1935).

Responsa quotations follow the online edition of the Bar-Ilan Responsa Project, www.responsa.co.il. Translations are mine

Published Genizah fragments have been quoted according to the transcriptions provided by the various editors, e.g., '(page) 3' in the editions of AMB and MSF corresponds to fol. 2a (the recto of the second leaf). My translations occasionally differ from those appearing in previous publications.

Unpublished texts have been transcribed by Gideon Bohak's research team or by the author. The originals of almost all the quoted texts found in Cambridge, Oxford and the British Library have been consulted.

All dating of unpublished fragments has been kindly performed by Dr Edna Engel, to whom I am most grateful for her assistance and graceful support.

Introduction

Written more than two millennia ago, the words of the Song of Songs, 'Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave', still hold true. Love, that basic emotion which eludes any attempt at definition, is responsible for spiritual loftiness but also for denigration and debasement, for superb works of art as well as bloody crimes, for heavenly joy and abysmal sadness. Its force has led humans to resort to countless means in order to attain their hearts' desires. This book focuses on one of them: the magical means.

By appealing to supernatural entities or by manipulating plants, minerals and animal substances, people of old attempted to instil feelings of love in the hearts of men and women or to remove them therefrom. In the following pages I will relate the story of love magic in the world of late-antique and medieval Judaism. It is a story of power and coercion, of professional magicians and yearning clients, but above all, it is the story of a fascinating aspect of cultural and social Jewish history.

Research Motives and Objectives

From the Hebrew Bible to the present day, Jewish literature abounds with references to, and expressions of, magic. The prohibition of Exodus 22:17, 'thou shall not allow a witch to live', has enjoyed a variety of interpretations that led to the acceptance of magical practices among many Jews.[1] Magic (whose definition it is better to postpone, if only for a short while) was intended to modify reality according to the needs and desires of those who resorted to it. It addressed a variety of aims, and almost all the domains of life were represented among Jewish magical practices: conceiving children, assistance with their delivery, healing diseases, obtaining money, procuring love, improving scholarly capacities, harming enemies, evading robbers and talking to the dead. Studying these

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[1] The terms 'witchcraft' and 'magic' will be used intermittently in this book. The material discussed here does not require a differentiation as that suggested in the statement 'Magic is the chief foe of witchcraft', for which see E.E. Evans-Prichard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937, reprinted Oxford, 1963), p. 387. Some scholars have raised objections to the division between magic and witchcraft, but at any event, it is irrelevant to the present study; see, e.g., J.Z. Smith, 'Trading Places', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 13–27 (15).

topics as a graduate student I found the area dealing with inter-human relations the most interesting, since it provided a wide perspective into the lives and desires of people of past ages, turning them from forgotten shadows into actual individuals. The topic of love stood out as particularly fascinating. When I realized that Jewish love magic had not been thoroughly studied, I decided to devote my doctoral dissertation to it, and this book is the fruit of that decision.

A few years ago the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* published a story titled 'The Hidden Secrets of Rav Kaduri Unveiled'.[2] The story presented for the first time a book of 'Practical Kabbalah' penned by the Rabbi's hand. The journalist who authored the story, Avishai ben Hayyim, mentioned that 'The topic that opens the book and enjoys the largest number of sections, perhaps because it is the most sought-after human commodity, is love.'[3] Remarkably, this journalistic statement closely reproduces the conclusions of scholars of magic. A statistical survey of binding spells from Late Antiquity shows that approximately a quarter were devoted to matters of the heart.[4] Hundreds of attestations of love magic found in European sources indicate that it was employed pervasively also during later periods,[5] and in a study of North African magic Edmond Doutté referred to love as 'the most important chapter of magical literature among all peoples'.[6] An examination of late-antique and medieval Jewish manuscripts indicates that love magic left a similarly strong impression in Judaism, as the present volume will demonstrate.

This book seeks to describe and analyse the magical methods employed by Jews in order to implant love and sow hate. Chronologically, I have chosen to focus on the period encompassed by the end of antiquity (second-fourth centuries CE) and ending with the late Middle Ages (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries). Geographically, the book will cover many of the areas populated by Jews during the above periods: Palestine, Egypt, Babylon and parts of Europe. A full chronological and geographical definition will be found below, in the Method-

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2   *Ma'ariv* Shabbat Supplement, 25 April 2008, pp. 14–17.

3   This quotation is from the electronic publication of the article and does not appear in the printed version. See http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/726/122.html (retrieved 15 May 2015).

4   J.G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York and Oxford, 1992), p. 78. 'Binding spells' are texts that were intended to bind through magical means the will and the body of an individual. See more below, chapter 1, section 1.3.

5   R. Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', in J.E. Salisbury (ed.), *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York and London, 1991), pp. 30–55; G. Ruggiero, 'The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini: Male, Signs, and the Everyday World of Pre-Modern Medicine', *American Historical Review* 106 (2001), pp. 1141–1158 (1144, note 8).

6   E. Doutté, *Magie & Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (1909, reprinted Paris, 1994), p. 253.

ology section, but for now it is essential to answer three preliminary questions, central to understanding the objectives of this book: How are the terms 'love', 'love magic' and 'Jewish love magic' to be defined?

Some Definitions, or: 'When I Use a Word', Said Humpty Dumpty …

Before explaining what will be included in the following three sections, I should indicate what they will *not* contain. I will not attempt to put forward a universal definition of the terms that appear in this book's title. While there is no need to explain why I will not be so presumptuous as to define the term 'love', one may ask why I refrain from defining the terms 'magic' in general and 'Jewish magic' in particular. An exhaustive definition of these terms deserves a broad separate study. More likely, several such studies. Some have already been published, and they will be listed below, in the section titled 'What is Magic'. My research does not analyse these terms, but the phenomena they represent in the present context. Therefore, I shall explain how 'love', 'love magic' and 'Jewish magic' are defined in this book, and not universally. Each of these terms may be employed by other scholars in ways different from my own, which is not surprising, since the manner in which they will be used henceforth stems from a unification of all three: 'Jewish love magic'.

What is Love?

> To define is to limit.
>
> OSCAR WILDE, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*[7]

Many have attempted to reply to the above question, seriously or humorously, from an emotional or a scientific point of view, and it seems that few, if any, have been successful. In what follows I will not propose a definition of the word and of its antonym, hate. Rather, I will describe the spheres they encompassed for the people practising magic throughout the periods and areas studied in this book. The three elements usually designated as 'love' in the context of 'love magic' were:

a.   arousing physical and emotional passion between the members of a couple (actual or potential)

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7   Oscar Wilde, *The Major Works* (I. Murray ed.) (Oxford, 2000), p. 193.

b.   sowing enmity and separation between lovers (usually in favour of a third party)
c.   obtaining favour with another person (usually a superior or a judge) or with certain factions of the community.

While these may appear as three separate spheres, a second inspection shows them to be closely related. The first among them is relatively easy to comprehend: love magic seeks to arouse love between partners, in the erotic and 'sentimental' (not to say 'romantic') sense of the word. The 'erotic' entails physical passion (the Greek ἔρως) as well as emotional attraction and friendship between the members of a couple (what the Greeks would call ἀγάπη). While the Jewish textual corpus from the periods under discussion does include some instructions for preparing aphrodisiacs, these will not be included in the present study because they form a distinct category. The stated ends of this category are not the instalment of love, but improving sexual performance and physical pleasure by resorting to medico-magical means.[8]

The second element to be discussed in this volume is essentially the opposite of the former. Some of the magical practices intended to instil love were directed against men or women whose hearts and bodies were already devoted to someone. In such cases, the first action would have been to separate the intended 'target' from his or her present partner (or love object), so that they would be free to love another. Occasionally, there may have been other motivations to cause separation: domestic, social or economic. This type of magical practice, intended to sow enmity between lovers, is included in the present book not only because often its end was inducing love, but also because a thin line separates the creation of love through magical means and its annulment through equal measures.[9]

The third element included in this study are spells for obtaining grace, either in the eyes of a specific person (usually a superior) or in the eyes of a group of people (customers of a shop, citizens of a town). In the Jewish magical tradition, the notion of grace matched 'love' in the social sense of the term. Practices that were intended to achieve love often served, with minor or no modifications, to obtain 'grace and favour' (חן וחסד), as this category was named

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8   A survey of the Jewish textual corpus indicates a paucity of findings in this area. A different situation may be observed in other traditions, for instance in medieval Christian magic; see Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 35.
9   Some scholars regard separation spells as a distinct magical category and hence refrain from including them in a study on love magic; see C.A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1999), p. 18. I do not find this distinction justified.

already in antiquity. An early example of this terminological affinity appears in Esther 2:17, where it is related that 'The king loved Esther more than all the other women, and she won his grace and favour more than all the virgins'.[10] Grace and favour were considered a category of love (also nowadays we may say that we love our friends), hence rituals intended to instil love also served to gain social acceptance. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Jewish magic. For instance, the word φιλία, whose basic denotation is 'love', bore a variety of meanings in ancient Greek magic, ranging from sexual attraction to social appreciation, that is, 'grace and favour'.[11] The meaning of the noun derived from this root, φίλος, is 'friend', while the related adjective means 'beloved, dear-one'.

I have attempted to ostensively define the term 'love' by pointing at the forms it took in the corpus of Jewish magic. Items related to the three elements mentioned above, that is, love, hate and grace, form the database on which this book relies.

What is Magic?

Magic stubbornly resists our efforts to distinguish it from religion.
DAVID HALL[12]

Attempting to provide a definition of magic is not much easier than attempting to define love. This word, originating in Old Persian (*maguš*), where it denoted a priest of the Zoroastrian religion, had become an offensive term already in the fifth century BCE, when the Greeks used it to describe an array of unaccepted ritual practices. The term was similarly altered in the Roman world.[13] Numer-

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10   ‎'וַיֶּאֱהַב הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת אֶסְתֵּר מִכָּל הַנָּשִׁים, וַתִּשָּׂא חֵן וָחֶסֶד לְפָנָיו מִכָּל הַבְּתוּלוֹת'.

11   Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, pp. 27–29; A. Wypustek, 'Un aspect ignoré des persé-
       cutions des chrétiens dans l'Antiquité: les accusations de magie érotique imputées aux
       chrétiens aux IIᵉ et IIIᵉ siècles', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 42 (1999), pp. 50–
       71 (51). For an example of a Greek amulet for favour, see R. Kotansky, *The Inscribed Gold,
       Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae, Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance* (Opladen,
       1994), no. 60, pp. 353–360 (on grace vs. love, see 355). On the connection between love
       and social favour, see also C.A. Williams, *Reading Roman Friendship* (Cambridge and New
       York, 2012), esp. ch. 2.

12   D. Hall, 'Introduction' in S.L. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the
       Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin and New York, 1984), pp. 5–18 (8).

13   See, e.g., F. Graf, *La magie dans l'antiquité Gréco-romaine: Idéologie et pratique* (Paris, 1994),
       pp. 40–41, 46–51; F. Graf, 'Excluding the Charming: The Development of the Greek Concept
       of Magic', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995),
       pp. 29–42.

ous studies devoted to ancient magic include attempts to define it. Since the term first appears more than two millennia ago and remains in use until this very day, its definition proves a difficult task. Has its meaning changed during the centuries, and if so, in what way? Moreover, the term 'magic' is used in modern scholarship to define phenomena external to the Western world, in societies where this word has never been used, though it had local parallels.[14] Can these parallel terms be translated through the word 'magic'? Is their content identical to that covered by the term in the Western world?

A theoretical analysis of the subject began already in the nineteenth century, with the work of the British anthropologists Edward Taylor and James Frazer. Since then much ink flowed in the river of scholarship, and the propositions of the two were altered, making room for new theories. These, however, often leave the reader with the frustrating feeling that the question of definitions remains open.[15] It is now clear that 'magic' in the context of a pre-industrial African tribe (a term that replaced Taylor's 'savages') does not have the same meaning as it does in a Graeco-Roman context. It seems that the attempt to establish universal definitions proved unsuccessful, and the present approach is to examine the term independently for each culture and period.[16]

In the geographical areas discussed in this book the *terms* 'magic' and 'religion' usually differed from each other (though not always their *contents*). The difference, however, was relative to the place, time and even to the speaker. The

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14   Smith, 'Trading Places', p. 17.

15   For historical surveys of the attempts to define magic and to solve the question of its relation with religion, see M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (16 vols; New York, 1987), vol. 9, s.v. 'magic'; P. Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism', in P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (eds), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 19–43; G. Cunningham, *Religion and Magic: Approaches and Theories* (Edinburgh, 1999); Y. Harari, 'What is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic', in Sh. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden and Boston, 2005) pp. 91–124 (91–106). For studies devoted to defining magic in ancient Western cultures, see, e.g., D.E. Aune, 'Magic in Early Christianity', ANRW II.23.2 (1980), pp. 1507–1557; A. Segal, 'Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition', in R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 349–379; C.R. Phillips III, 'The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to A.D. 284', ANRW II.16.3 (1986), pp. 2677–2773; H.S. Versnel, 'Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic/ Religion', *Numen* 38 (1991), pp. 177–197; B.-C. Otto, 'Towards Historicizing "Magic" in Antiquity', *Numen* 60 (2013), pp. 308–347.

16   Smith, 'Trading Places', pp. 13–20. For an anthropological perspective, see D. Hammond, 'Magic: A Problem in Semantics', *American Anthropologist* NS 72 (1970), pp. 1349–1356, esp. 1355.

word 'religion' also bore a variety of meanings, and scholarly attempts to provide a comprehensive and all-inclusive definition for it have run into similar difficulties as those concerning the word 'magic'.[17] The situation is more complex when one tries to distinguish between the contents of the two terms.[18] To borrow Peter Schäfer's words, magic may be viewed as 'an integral part of religion in antiquity',[19] and an examination of later periods continues to confirm the veracity of this statement.[20] It remains to be seen which parts of the religious map were occupied by magic. I believe their location and size fluctuated incessantly, according to the relative elements mentioned above. The only element that seems to have remained undisputed is that magic was a type of ritual behaviour or activity.[21] What was included in this activity, which purposes it served, what were its motivating forces—all these were subject to constant dispute, although there was usually a consensus as to the lack of legitimacy of this activity in the eyes of the speaker, even when it was perfectly legitimate in the eyes of the performer. Consequently, the word 'magic' became an empty shell that was filled with different content each time anew. It remains to be decided which content it will bear in the present volume.

Intuitively, a modern Western person has little difficulty distinguishing 'magical' practices from those that are not so. But scholars (especially those who have come out from the folds of Malinowsky's and Evans-Prichard's overcoat), cannot allow themselves to be satisfied with an intuitive definition. How can

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17   For a description of attempts to define religion see, e.g., J.Z. Smith, 'Religion, Religions, Religious', in M.C. Taylor (ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 269–284.

18   For an exhaustive historical survey, including a focus on Jewish religion and magic, see Y. Harari, *Early Jewish Magic: Research, Method, Sources* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2010), pp. 17–155. A discussion of the interconnection of magic, religion and myth in ancient Judaism may be found in I. Gruenwald, 'The Letters, the Writing, and the Shem Mephorash: Magic, Spirituality and Mysticism', in M. Oron and A. Goldreich (eds), *Masu'ot: Studies in Kabbalistic Literature and Jewish Philosophy in Memory of Prof. E. Gottlieb* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 75–98.

19   Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism', p. 26.

20   On the distinction between magic and religion in the Middle Ages, see the critical article by N.Z. Davis, 'Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion', in C. Trinkaus and H.A. Oberman (eds), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 307–336. Davies states it is futile to focus on the distinction between the two 'as if (the) most important task was to separate the grain from the chaff' (p. 307). The present volume intends to look at the wheat stalk as a whole.

21   The Latin term *ritus, ritualis*, denoting a religious activity or a habit, is of unknown etymology.

we, therefore, phrase a definition of the term 'magic' that would suit the requisites of the present study? Institutionalized Jewish religion possessed a parallel idiom that appears already in the Hebrew Bible. This is the term *kishuf* (כישוף) and its derivatives.[22] *Kishuf* is prohibited in the Bible and is further proscribed in the Mishna and talmudic literature. Nevertheless, the rabbis formulated a series of concessions, eventually tolerating the existence of practices that might be defined as *kishuf*. For instance, 'deceiving the eyes' (אחיזת עינים) was not prohibited, even when the results appeared identical to magic, since 'he that performs some act is culpable, and not he that [only] deceives the eyes' (Mishna Sanhedrin 7:11).[23] Another example concerns the use of amulets. These were sometimes outlawed by rabbis, as can be seen in the discussion concerning 'going out' with an amulet on Shabbat (Mishna Shabbat 6:10):[24] 'Rabbi Meir says: Even on ordinary days this is forbidden as following in the Ways of the Amorite'[25] (a term designating a variety of magical and 'superstitious' practices). However, other rabbis permitted wearing amulets both on Shabbat and on weekdays, 'as a means of healing' (ibid.), and a survey of rabbinic literature indicates that amulets were usually acceptable. Elements from the world of magic thus penetrated into the legislative (*halakhic*) literature, allowing modern scholars a glimpse into the ways they were perceived in ancient times. Nevertheless, one cannot derive from such cases an emic definition of magic to suit the present research, because the definitions constructed in rabbinic sources were not based on general discussions of the subject, but usually

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22   The Hebrew words *kishuf* (כישוף) and *mekhashef* (מכשף) are cognate with the Akkadian *kišpū, kašāpu* (see CAD vol. 8, pp. 292, 454–456). In Akkadian the root k.š.p. indicates acting through supernatural means in order to achieve negative ends, as opposed to *āšipūtu*, craft of the *āšipu*, that refers to an exorcist/ magician/ doctor with positive intentions (see CAD vol. 1, part II, pp. 431–436).

23   See P.S. Alexander, 'The Talmudic Concept of Conjuring (ʾAḥizat ʿEinayim) and the Problem of the Definition of Magic (Kishuf)', in R. Elior and P. Schäfer (eds), *Creation and Recreation in Jewish Thought: Festschrift in Honor of Joseph Dan on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 5–26. For a general background and definitions of magic in rabbinic sources, see G. Veltri, *Magie und Halakha: Ansätze zu einem empirischen Wissenschaftsbegriff im spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Judentum* (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 1–25.

24   The discussion focuses on specific types of amulets: 'Men may go out with a locust's egg or a fox's tooth [Danby: a jackal's tooth] or with a nail of one that was crucified, as a means of healing' (Mishna Shabbat 6:10).

25   Other variants of the Mishna have R. Meir allowing the wearing of amulets and the other Sages forbidding it. The above variant is noted in Danby, *The Mishna*, p. 106, note 6.

stemmed from specific issues and were tailored upon them.[26] Love magic is not, unfortunately, one of these issues. It is not impossible that references to love spells originally appeared in the rabbinic literature but were deleted in its redaction process. The texts that have come down to us, however, relate almost no such practices.[27]

Lacking 'insider' information that may elucidate the term 'magic' for the present study, a different starting point is needed. This would be a definition combining ancient sources with modern research hypotheses. As mentioned above, already in antiquity it was usually agreed that magic was a form of ritual activity. This description, however, fits religion equally well. Moshe Idel once defined Jewish magic as 'a system of practices and beliefs that presupposes the possibility to achieve material gains by means of techniques that cannot be explained experimentally'.[28] It is nevertheless clear that this definition also fits some religious actions. What is the difference, then, between a religious item and a magical one? How may one distinguish the recitation of a prayer from whispering a magical formula?[29] The most efficient method in our context would be to examine the presence of that item (be it a practice, an object or a text) in the religious canon valid for a specific period and a specific location. From the ways this item is mentioned (or ignored) in the canon, one may learn

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26   On the difficulty in finding an emic definition of magic in ancient Judaism, see G. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 3–4. On the self-definition of magicians in the Greek tradition, see H.D. Betz, 'The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri', in B.F. Meyer and P. Sanders (eds), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3: *Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World* (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 161–170 (especially 161–165).

27   Y. Harari, '"For a Woman to Follow You": Love Charms in Ancient Jewish Magic' (Hebrew), *Kabbalah* 5 (2000), pp. 247–264 (248–249).

28   M. Idel, 'On Judaism, Jewish Mysticism and Magic', in P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (eds), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 195–214 (195).

29   The verb 'to whisper' and its derivatives are often used in Hebrew to refer to the uttering of magical formulae. This is not to say that the magicians and their clients necessarily articulated magical words in a low voice. They may have said them loudly or even shouted them; no information is available on this topic. However, the alternative verbs, 'to declaim' or 'to recite' bear the connotation of a public act, whereas in Jewish magic magical formulae were usually uttered in a private setting. The verb 'to whisper' is found already in rabbinic sources in the context of uttering magical words. The rabbis refer to a person who 'whispers (Danby: utters) charms over a wound' (הלוחש על המכה; Mishna Sanhedrin 10:1) and to those who 'whisper for the eye and the intestines and snakes and scorpions' (לוחשין לעין ולמעים ולנחשים ולעקרבים; PT Shabbat 14:3).

about its magical character.[30] Obviously, in order to conduct such an exami-
nation, it must first be established that the examined item *might be* a magical
one. That is to say, the proposed test has an unavoidable circular nature: one
decides that a certain practice or text is potentially magical, and then verifies or
disproves this assumption using predetermined tools.[31] For example, in order
to evaluate the magical character of *Sefer ha-Razim* (*The Book of Mysteries*),
usually dated approximately to the fourth century CE, we should examine the
corpus of the Mishna and Tosefta.[32] To establish the magical character and even
the *halakhic* legitimacy of Mesopotamian incantation bowls dated to the fifth–
eighth centuries CE, we should refer to the Babylonian Talmud. However, the
fact that institutionalized religion also contains occasional magical elements
hinders the attempts to reach an overarching and clear-cut definition of the
term.

Luckily, the textual material on which the present study is based displays
clear differences from Jewish and non-Jewish 'religious' sources. These differ-
ences may be only partial (for example, the *Havdalah de-Rabbi Aqiva* is based
on the canonical *havdalah* formula but adds to it a plethora of magical ele-
ments),[33] or they may be substantial (for instance, a text instructing the practi-
tioner to write in semen on an egg and bury it in a grave is considerably remote
from the Jewish religious canon).

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30   It ought to be noted, as Peter Schäfer stated with regard to Judaism, that 'Magical practices
      and incantations are indeed a component of this canon, but only in the form and above
      all emphasis which the authors and redactors of the canon of classical rabbinic literature
      authorized.'; see P. Schäfer, 'Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle
      Ages,' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41 (1990), pp. 75–91 (75). And in the words of Ithamar
      Gruenwald: 'There is in fact no religion—also no Judaism, including rabbinic Judaism—
      that has been completely liberated from mythology, magic and mysticism. These are found
      at the heart of Judaism, and any ignoring of them is more than distraction and deception'.
      See I. Gruenwald, 'Magic and Myth—Scholarship and Historical Reality', in H. Pedayah
      (ed.), *Myth in Judaism* [*Eshel Beer-Sheba* 4] (Hebrew; Beer-Sheba, 1996), pp. 15–28 (20).
31   This problem was discussed by Harari, 'What is a Magical Text?'. For a different view, see
      Y. Liebes, 'Magic and Kabbalah', in E. Liebes (ed.), *Demons, Ghosts and Souls: Studies in
      Demonology by Gershom Scholem* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 3–7 (4).
32   On this composition, see below, p. 22. Cf. Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism',
      p. 38.
33   On this composition, see G. Scholem, 'Havdala de-Rabbi Aqiva: A Source for the Tradition
      of Jewish Magic during the Geonic Period' (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 50 (1980–1981), pp. 243–281,
      reprinted in E. Liebes (ed.), *Demons, Ghosts and Souls: Studies in Demonology by Gershom
      Scholem* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 145–182.

A combination of the two elements detailed above, i.e. ritual activity and absence from the religious canon, generates the definition of the term 'magic' that I will use hereafter:

> For the present study, magic is defined as a ritual behaviour or activity, be it practical or theoretical, intended to achieve a specific end, detached (partly or in full) from the institutionalized religious ritual at a certain period and location.[34]

This definition says nothing about the ways in which people practising magic regarded themselves. There is no way of knowing if the rabbinic scholar who wrote an amulet against sixty demons (BT Pesaḥim 111b) viewed himself as engaging in magic, or whether he believed he was performing a genuine religious act. We may assume that the latter option is correct, but the information does not allow us to rule on this point. Based on the proposed definition, I would suggest his deed should be viewed as a magical act, since writing amulets is: (a) a practical ritual action; (b) was meant to achieve a specific end; and (c) it did not constitute a full part of the institutionalized Jewish religious ritual.[35] Similarly, it is usually difficult to determine how rabbis regarded the composition of manuals that are classified in the present book as 'magical', or the manufacture of amulets and other objects that will be associated in the following chapters with the world of magic. Only in a few cases do we encounter a discussion of the *halakhic* legitimacy of such acts.[36] Again, it is likely that some,

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34 My definition resembles slightly the one proposed by Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert: 'Nous appelons ainsi tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d'un culte organisé.'; see M. Mauss (in collaboration with H. Hubert), 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie', *l'Année Sociologique* 7 (1902–1903), p. 14. All references to Mauss' writings are to the electronic editions.

35 The above example is part of a talmudic discussion on gaining useful knowledge for writing amulets. Rabbinic literature indicates that amulets were sometimes viewed as objects bearing a religious meaning (in Mishna Shabbat 8:3 they are mentioned together with the phylacteries and *mezuzah*). Nevertheless, religious sources lack *halakhic* instructions for producing amulets or employing them. Amulets are mentioned in several debates (e.g., wearing them on Shabbat, saving them from a fire on Shabbat, wearing them in the privy), yet the sources indicate that they were not part and parcel of institutionalized religious ritual, as opposed to phylacteries, *mezuzot* or Torah scrolls, for the manufacturing of which several sets of instruction are found. For an examination of rabbinic views concerning amulets, see L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (1898, reprinted Westmead, 1970), pp. 86–96; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 370–385.

36 See, for example, an eleventh-century fragment, in which the author discusses four (mag-

and perhaps many, of those practising 'magic' did not view it at all as an activity detached from the institutionalized religious ritual. Some of them probably believed their actions adhered to *halakhic* rules and were entirely legitimate. Regrettably, our sources do not disclose the attitude and beliefs of those practising (what was defined above as) magic, as far as Jewish love magic from the periods under discussion is concerned. What is left, therefore, is to use an **external** definition, based nonetheless on ancient sources, as proposed above.

It is important to note at this point that the present book will not treat the topic of Jewish mysticism. The Hekhalot and Merkavah literature and the various forms of Jewish Kabbalah are not included in our textual corpus, even though they contain erotic motifs. The reason for this is simple: Jewish mystical literature (unless one expands this term to magico-mystical compositions such as *Sefer ha-Razim*) lacks references to love magic in the sense of the term detailed above. The Jewish mystical corpus contains erotic elements and metaphors, as several scholars have shown so far,[37] but their aim is not to instil love, grace or hate. And even though there are instances in which quotations from the Hekhalot and Merkavah literature appear in textual items of love magic,[38] the reverse is not true, and magical recipes related to love are missing from this corpus. Similarly, the rich Kabbalistic literature that developed in Europe from the twelfth century onward includes references to love and eroticism, yet these differ from the material which will be discussed in this book.[39] Kabbalah is not magic, even though it includes magical elements and at times utilizes practices taken from the realm of magic. As Ithamar Gruenwald

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ical) elements (לפרש ארבעה יסודות), two of which are positive and two negative, according to the type of practice: 'The good ones are (by using) a pure name and conjuring bears no sin. And the evil ones are (by using) an evil name and witchcraft.' (השנים [ה]טובים שם בטהרה. ואחיזת עינים אין בה משום עון: והשנים הרעים שם בטומאה ומכשפות; T-S K 1.37, 1a–b = MTKG I, pp. 55–66). For a modern example, see the words of R. Abraham Hamawy (also spelled Hamuy) in the introduction to his book *HeAkh Nafshenu* (a collection of magico-medical remedies (*segullot*) printed in Izmir in 1870, reprinted Jerusalem, 1981): '(...) my Creator knows (...) that I do not intend to glorify myself or to boast (...) God sees into the heart that I have made a remedy, to benefit the multitude so that all are healed. It is according to the *halakha* that they are permitted (to do so).' (...) יודע בוראי (...) כי לא להתייהר ולהתפאר כוונתי (...) ה׳ יראה ללבב אשר עשיתי לי סגולה. לזכות את הרבים שהכל מתרפאין. אליבא דהלכתא שהן רשאין). I thank Nissim Hamawy for this reference.

37 See, e.g., E.R. Wolfson, *Language, Eros, Being: Kabbalistic Hermeneutics and Poetic Imagination* (New York, 2005).

38 See, e.g., O.-P. Saar, 'Success, Protection and Grace: Three Fragments of a Personalized Magical Handbook', *Ginzei Qedem* 3 (2007), pp. 101*–135* (122*–123*).

39 See, e.g., M. Idel, *Kabbalah and Eros* (New Haven and London, 2005).

stated, 'Phenomenologically and also literarily speaking, close connections do exist between myth, magic and mysticism.'[40] The present book, however, will focus solely on one of these three disciplines: magic. The ends found at the basis of Kabbalah were fundamentally different than the ones sought by Jewish magicians and their clients. Some kabbalists expressed a profound contempt of magical practitioners, though it is not impossible that others occasionally engaged in this occupation.[41] The relations between Jewish love magic and the erotic elements from mystical literature deserve a separate academic investigation and must remain outside the scope of this book.[42]

What is Jewish Love Magic?

We are far away from any theory of magic in the religion of Judaism (…) I do not find it appropriate, given the present state of research, to try to develop one.

PETER SCHÄFER[43]

Two decades have passed since Peter Schäfer wrote the above words, and they still hold true. There seems to be a gap between the research of Jewish magic and a theory which explains and defines this term. The former has been flourishing since the twentieth century, largely thanks to the pioneering project of Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked (*Amulets and Magic Bowls*, *Magic Spells and Formulae*) and to the subsequent project, conducted by Shaked and Peter Schäfer (*Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*). The academic bloom is manifested in the increasing number of publications related to the sphere of Jewish magic, and more generally, in the fact that it has become a legitimate branch of Judaic Studies.[44] However, in view of this flourishing the paucity of

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40   I. Gruenwald, 'Reflections on the Nature and Origins of Jewish Mysticism', in P. Schäfer and J. Dan (eds), *Gershom Scholem's Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism 50 Years After* (Tübingen, 1993), pp. 25–48 (34).

41   See the scorn in Abraham Abulafia's words quoted on p. 242, or the admonitions of Joseph Gikatilla on using God's names in vain (לבטלה) in the introduction to his book *Gates of Light* (*Sha'arei Orah*).

42   As noted by Idel, *Kabbalah and Eros*, p. 43, 'Because of the initial stage of the study of Jewish magic in general, and of erotic magic in particular, it is hard to estimate the possible contribution of Jewish erotic magic to the views of the Kabbalists.'

43   Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism', p. 19.

44   For a history of research, see Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*. For a discussion of the present state of research and its contributions to Judaic Studies, see G. Bohak, 'Prolegomena to

theoretical analyses is even more evident.[45] While most publications dealing with Jewish magic commence with a theoretical examination, usually, as is also the case with the present book, this is done merely in order to provide a definition of the research topic. An overarching theoretical discussion, as those generated for other magical traditions, like the Hellenistic and Roman ones, is still in its infancy.[46] Since my book does not intend to elaborate on the theoretical aspect of the subject, it is useful to present some of the studies that have dealt with it so far.

Most information about Jewish magic stems from textual sources, be they manuals of magic or finished products such as amulets. Hence, theoretical studies focus on the *word*, written or uttered.[47] Identifying an ancient Jewish text as a 'magical text' is much easier than defining it or theoretically analysing it as such.[48] The excellent paper by Michael D. Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', started from a database composed of Jewish amulets uncovered in the Cairo Genizah that were pre-identified as magical texts, and used them to reach wider theoretical conclusions regarding their magical character. According to Swartz, Jewish amulets contain three rhetorical elements that express the magical mode of action: (a) mentioning the name(s) of God; (b) adjuring intermediary figures, be these angels or demons; (c) creating a link between the

the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition', *Currents in Biblical Research* 8 (2009), pp. 107–150, with an exhaustive bibliography.

45   The few major studies of the topic are: M.D. Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah', *Harvard Theological Review* 83 (1990), pp. 163–180; I. Gruenwald, 'Major Issues in the Study and Understanding of Jewish Mysticism', in J. Neusner (ed.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity, Part Two: Historical Syntheses* (Leiden and New York, 1995), pp. 1–49; Gruenwald, 'Magic and Myth'; Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism'; Harari, 'What is a Magical Text?'; Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*.

46   For theoretical discussions regarding these periods, see, for example, the studies of Aune, 'Magic in Early Christianity'; Segal, 'Hellenistic Magic'; and Phillips III, 'The Sociology of Religious Knowledge'.

47   For a discussion of alternative sources of meaning in ancient Judaism, see M.D. Swartz, *The Signifying Creator: Nontextual Sources of Meaning in Ancient Judaism* (New York and London, 2012).

48   As noted correctly by Shaul Shaked, 'Anyone working within the field of magic in Judaism in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages knows the difficulty besetting any attempt to define it. Despite these difficulties, which exist in Judaism just as they do in any religious culture, there are not many cases of hesitation when one tries to identify magic texts in practice.' in Sh. Shaked, '"Peace be Upon You, Exalted Angels": on Hekhalot, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995), pp. 197–219 (197).

first two elements and the advantage of specific individuals.[49] My study indicates that Swartz' conclusions are largely applicable also to Jewish love spells, including those that did not employ amulets of the familiar type.

In a similar methodological article Yuval Harari put forward a series of features characterizing a Jewish magical text.[50] Harari's intention was to reach a 'quasi-ostensive' definition of Jewish magic (p. 107). He noted, however, that in order to examine a series of magical items (in this case, Jewish texts), one has to rely on a prior definition of the term 'magic', or at least know how to employ this term. Hence, Harari was forced to circularly examine Jewish magical texts and derive from them a definition for Jewish magical texts. His first conclusion was that they are adjuration texts. Next, he listed eight features that may determine whether a given text is an adjuration, e.g., an appeal to supernatural powers, the use of verbs from roots like גז״ר and שב״ע, etc. These features expand the contents of the term 'Jewish magical text' so that it comprises also '(…) Rabbinic traditions about the powers of sages and their struggles with heretical sorcerers, or demonic beliefs and related acts, and even parts of the liturgy (…)' (pp. 120–121). In the present book the rabbinic traditions mentioned by Harari will not serve as Jewish magical texts but as literary/ religious texts concerned with magic, from which information about it may be extracted.

I have looked into some theoretical discussions of the term 'Jewish magic' but I have not yet proposed my own definition for it. The reason for this is that my book does not examine Jewish magic in its entirety, but only one of its domains: that of love magic. Some of the conclusions that will be reached in the following chapters may ultimately be relevant also for other branches of the Jewish magical tree, but the essential question is how may 'Jewish love magic' be defined? I suggest the following definition:

> Jewish love magic is a ritual behaviour or activity that is detached (partly or in full) from the institutionalized religious ritual; intended to engender love, grace or hate; and performed by Jews, whether in a practical form (e.g., wearing amulets) or in a theoretical form (e.g., composing manuals of magical recipes).

I do not intend to suggest at this point any characteristic features of Jewish love magic, as was done by the scholars mentioned above. I also prefer to withhold the question whether Jewish love magic differs from other magical

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49   Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', pp. 178–179.
50   Harari, 'What is a Magical Text?'.

traditions, or in other words, what is 'Jewish' in Jewish love magic. These considerations will emerge in chapter 5, where I will use the information collected and analysed in the course of this study in order to examine the 'Jewishness' (if any) of our research topic. For now, the term 'Jewish' should be taken to represent merely a religious identity. The designation of a textual item as Jewish will be based on two criteria: *context* and *language*. It is plausible that an item which was uncovered in a Jewish context, such as the repository of a synagogue (*genizah*), was employed by Jews, or even manufactured by them. An item written in one of the languages identified with Judaism, such as Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic or Jewish-Aramaic, was probably inscribed by Jews and most often utilized by them.

The definitions for the terms 'love', 'love magic' and 'Jewish love magic' were composed for the purpose of the present study and should be regarded as valid solely for it. It may well be that a book on love magic in Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt or Pre-Colombian civilizations will require different descriptions for the terms in its title. That being said, the definitions proposed above fulfil their intended aims, namely: (a) to explain what will be included under the term 'love'; (b) to propose a method for distinguishing between a 'magical' act and a different type of act; and (c) to determine which source materials will be included in a study of 'Jewish' love magic. A combination of these three elements will form the basis of this book.

Research History

As mentioned above, the study of magic has sustained several changes since the beginning of the nineteenth century, when an academic interest in the subject began to develop. One major change is the specialization process it underwent. Treatises bearing titles such as *Une théorie générale de la magie* or *A Study in Magic and Religion* are now rare. The broad studies of Mauss and Frazer, published in the first quarter of the last century, have made room for a focused and detailed analysis, one that attempts to trace magical practices and theories at a particular time, geographical area and cultural context. Examples of such treatises are the monographs by Tzvi Abusch and Matthew Dickie, exploring Babylonian and Graeco-Roman magic.[51] Alternatively, scholars may point a spotlight to a particular aspect of magic, such as gender or racial

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51   Tz. Abusch, *Babylonian Witchcraft Literature: Case Studies* (Atlanta, 1987); M. Dickie, *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World* (London and New York, 2001).

stereotypes, and examine it across different periods and for various traditions, as exemplified by the work of Kimberly Stratton.[52] Concomitantly there is a rise in publications focusing on a specific branch of magic, such as military rituals as discussed by Richard Beal, impotence magic as researched by Catherine Rider, and, in the case of the present volume, love magic.[53]

The Study of Love Magic in Non-Jewish Traditions

Liebe und Zauberei sind Schwestern, die einander nicht verlassen.
LUDWIG BLAU[54]

A study of ancient love magic appears highly attractive, and yet until the mid-twentieth century scholarly attention to this field was rather limited. This may have stemmed from feelings of modesty that conflicted with the tumultuous emotions (and often, with the blatant sexual terminology) characteristic of this research topic. One may recall the uneasiness expressed by scholars like Paul Smither when publishing homosexual love spells ('The embarrassing identity of the sex of the charmer and charmed …').[55] The first studies of love magic tended to focus on Graeco-Roman literary sources, such as the Second Idyll of Theocritus or Virgil's Eight Eclogue, occasionally comparing these literary depictions with genuine magical material, such as the Greek magical papyri.[56] The first step into a comprehensive research of love magic relying entirely on primary sources was Robert Biggs' monograph from 1967 on potency incan-

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52 K.B. Stratton, *Naming the Witch: Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World* (New York, 2007).

53 R.H. Beal, 'Hittite Military Rituals', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 63–76; C. Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006).

54 'Love and witchcraft are sisters that do not desert one another.' Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 52.

55 P.C. Smither, 'A Coptic Love-Charm', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (1939), pp. 173–174 (173, note 5). See also the comment of the nineteenth-century assyriologist Alfred Boissier as quoted in R.D. Biggs, *šà.zi.ga. Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations* (Locust Valley, NY, 1967), p. 1, note 6: 'quelques-uns [passages] se distinguent par un réalisme si repoussant que nous nous dispenserons de les traduire.'

56 For a discussion of love magic as reflected in the Greek and Roman literature, see, e.g., E. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (1916, reprinted New York, 1966), pp. 34–36, 41; J.E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1929); A.S.F. Gow, *Theocritus: Edited with a Translation and Commentary*, 2nd edn (2 vols; Cambridge, 1952), vol. 2.

tations from ancient Mesopotamia.[57] More than three decades passed before the next major treatise in this field saw light. Christopher Faraone's book from 1999, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, is a significant milestone on the road leading to understanding the role of magic in personal relations during antiquity.

The last decades have witnessed an increase in scholarly discussions of love magic from different periods and traditions. For the Hellenistic world one ought to mention the work of John Winkler,[58] and for Coptic Egypt the volume edited by Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith and an article by David Frankfurter.[59] Articles by Andrzej Wypustek present the magical-erotic overtones attached to early Christian rhetoric by members of Graeco-Roman society, and the use of love spells to improve marital life.[60] One of the chapters in John Gager's volume on binding spells was devoted to sex and magic.[61] A doctoral dissertation on the same subject was composed in France by Gaëlle Ficheux, and further comments on this type of 'curses' were added by Esther Eidinow.[62]

Love magic in medieval Europe has been researched by Richard Kieckhefer in an excellent concise article.[63] A doctoral dissertation submitted in Italy by Monica Di Bernardo focuses on a fifteenth century trial against a 'witch' accused of engaging in love magic, and an extensive study by Catherine Rider explores spells meant to cause impotence and the magical solutions for this problem.[64] Other articles discuss medieval attitudes to love magic as expressed,

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57   Biggs, *šà.zi.ga*. For other studies of Mesopotamian love magic published at the beginning of the twentieth century see E. Ebeling, *Liebeszauber im alten Orient* (1925, reprinted Osnabrück, 1972).

58   J.J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990); J.J. Winkler, 'The Constraints of Eros', in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York, 1991), pp. 214–243.

59   M.W. Meyer and R. Smith (eds), *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (Princeton, 1999), chapter 6; D. Frankfurter, 'The Perils of Love: Magic and Countermagic in Coptic Egypt', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2001), pp. 480–500.

60   Wypustek, 'Un aspect ignoré'; A. Wypustek, 'Spells, Potions, Husbands and Wives: a Contribution towards the Study of Greek Love Magic in Antiquity', *Eos* 96 (2009), pp. 207–223.

61   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, chapter 2.

62   G. Ficheux, *Éros et Psyché: L'être et le désir dans la magie amoureuse antique* (unpubl. diss., Université de Rennes 2, 2007); E. Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses and Risk among the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford, 2007), chapter 11.

63   Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe'.

64   M. Di Bernardo, *Processo a Matteuccia: incantatrix, maliaria et strega* (unpubl. diss., Università di Roma II 'Tor Vergata', 2001); Rider, *Magic and Impotence*.

for example, in Irish penitentials, in Nordic myths and trials, or in the work of theologians like Burchard of Worms.[65]

Research on love magic during the Renaissance is headed by Guido Ruggiero, who relies on court depositions in order to describe the practices and accusations prevalent in Italy during the sixteenth century. Other studies dealing with this period were published by Mary O'Neil, Maria Helena Sanchez Ortega, Anna Brzezińska, and Lynn Mollenauer.[66]

In addition to the above listed works, general studies on the magical tradition of a particular culture devote discussions to the topic of love spells.[67] Modern anthropologists also explore practices of love magic among various cultures, and their studies enable a glimpse of present-day manifestations of the subject.[68]

The Study of Love Magic in Judaism

The first scholar to discuss Jewish love magic was Ludwig Blau, in his seminal volume *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* published in the late nineteenth century.

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65   J. Borsje, 'Love Magic in Medieval Irish Penitentials, Law and Literature: A Dynamic Perspective', *Studia Neophilologica* 84 (2012), pp. 6–23; S.A. Mitchell, 'Anaphrodisiac Charms in the Nordic Middle Ages: Impotence, Infertility, and Magic', *Norveg* 38 (1998), pp. 19–42; S.A. Mitchell, '*Skírnismál* and Nordic Charm Magic', in P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt and R.T. Kristensen (eds), *Reflections on Old Norse Myths* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 75–94; A.V. Neyra, 'La magia erótica en el *Corrector sive medicus* de Burchard von Worms', *Brathair* 10 (2010), pp. 83–99.

66   G. Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage and Power at the End of the Renaissance* (New York, 1993); M. O'Neil, 'Magical Healing, Love Magic and the Inquisition in Late Sixteenth-century Modena', in S. Haliczer (ed.), *Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe* (London and Sydney, 1987), pp. 88–114; M.H.S. Ortega, 'Sorcery and Eroticism in Love Magic', in M.E. Perry and A.J. Cruz (eds), *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 58–92; A. Brzezińska, 'Accusations of Love Magic in the Renaissance Courtly Culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', *East Central Europe* 20–23 (1993–1996), pp. 117–140; L.W. Mollenauer, *Strange Revelations: Magic, Poison, and Sacrilege in Louis XIV's France* (University Park, PA, 2006).

67   See, e.g., on Egypt, R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, 1993); A. Jördens (ed.), *Ägyptische Magie und ihre Umwelt* (Wiesbaden, 2015), in particular the article by S. Nagel, with a contribution by F. Wespi, '*Ägypter, Griechen und Römer im Liebesbann—Antiker 'Liebeszauber' im Wandel der Zeiten*' (pp. 218–280); and on Russia, W.F. Ryan, *The Bathhouse at Midnight: An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia* (University Park, PA, 1999).

68   See, e.g., P.C. Rosenblatt, 'Communication in the Practice of Love Magic', *Social Forces* 49 (1971), pp. 482–487; L. Kuczynski 'Return of Love: Everyday Life and African Divination in Paris', *Anthropology Today* 4 (1988), pp. 6–9.

Among other things, Blau edited a Greek spell, which he assumed had a Jewish origin, intended to ignite perpetual love in a man's heart towards the woman who commissioned it.[69] Yet although he affirmed that love magic was pervasive in ancient Judaism, Blau did not devote a thorough investigation to the subject, perhaps because it is rarely mentioned in the rabbinic sources that formed the core of his study. This is probably also the reason for the absence of the topic from the pioneering works of Gideon Brecher and David Joël.[70] The pivotal volume of Joshua Trachtenberg on Jewish magic includes some references to the subject, but does not deliberate on it beyond quoting several medieval love spells.[71]

The first detailed discussion of Jewish love magic in its various forms, including spells for favour and grace, appeared only in 1998 as part of a doctoral dissertation by Yuval Harari.[72] Harari elaborated on the subject in a later article, whose title, 'For a Woman to Follow You', is a citation from the magic manual *The Sword of Moses*. His captivating paper probably represents the most complete discussion of Jewish love magic until the publication of the present volume.

Methodology

This monograph will be constructed in a circular manner. The first chapter explores the concept of love magic in various traditions, advancing chronologically. The order of the next three chapters (2–4) is loosely based on the division generated by Maimonides in *The Guide of the Perplexed*, Part III, 37, where he described the magical acts as being of 'three kinds'.[73] Each chapter will focus on a key aspect of Jewish love magic: the operational aspect (the types of practices it comprised), the verbal aspect (a discussion of the magical rhetoric, be it theoretical or practical), and the temporal aspect (an analysis of the specific intervals in which magical practices were performed). The fifth and last chapter

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69   Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, pp. 96–112. See further below, p. 45.

70   G. Brecher, *Das Transcendentale, Magie und Magische Heilarten im Talmud* (Vienna, 1850); D. Joël, *Der Aberglaube und die Stellung des Judenthums zu demselben* (2 parts, 2nd part published posthumously by M. Joël; Breslau, 1881–1883).

71   J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition: A Study in Folk Religion* (1939, reprinted Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 125–130.

72   The revised dissertation was later published as Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*.

73   See below, chapter 2, section 1.

will revert to the starting point, and employ the data gathered throughout the book to explore the distinctive character of Jewish love magic in comparison to that of other traditions.

The Sources

As mentioned above, research into Jewish magic relies largely on textual sources, which holds true also for the present volume. These primary sources include 'insider' information on the one hand, i.e. texts (complete or fragmentary) that fit the definition of 'magical items', such as amulets or recipes, and 'outsider' information on the other hand, for instance references to love magic in the rabbinic literature or in the Jewish responsa.[74] One could also have wished to incorporate archaeological artefacts in this study. I exclude from this rubric textual items that have been unearthed in archaeological excavations, such as incantation bowls, since these actually constitute a type of textual source. By archaeological artefacts I refer to non-textual items that could still be linked, for various reasons, to the present corpus. Such artefacts have been uncovered, yet they pertain to other branches of Jewish magic, mainly apotropaic, for instance magical mirror plaques or amuletic glass medallions bearing Jewish symbols. The Graeco-Roman world has yielded numerous non-textual items (mostly binding figurines) that shed light on practices of love magic, but none of these derive from a Jewish context. The reasons for this will be considered later.

The primary sources on which this book relies may be divided into Jewish and non-Jewish. The former's designation derives, as explained above, from criteria of language and context. However, since no tradition operates in a cultural void, I decided to include in my research also comparative material: published primary sources from non-Jewish traditions that coexisted with Judaism. Three main traditions will be considered: the Graeco-Roman, the Christian and the Islamic, without disregarding pertinent comparisons to other civilizations, such as ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia.

It should be noted that research on primary sources relating to love magic from the Christian and the Islamic traditions is still in its infancy, like that of Jewish magic. Most of the relevant texts still lie dormant in manuscripts, awaiting publication. Furthermore, we ought to keep in mind that these monotheis-

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74   For a similar division of 'documentary magic' and 'literary magic', see S.M. Wasserstrom, 'The Unwritten Chapter: Notes Towards a Social and Religious History of Geniza Magic', in Sh. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 269–293 (271–274). For the terms 'insider' and 'outsider', see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 70–73.

tic traditions comprise different currents (one need only recall the differences between Latin and Coptic Christianity). Given the scope of this volume, no attempt will be made to distinguish the internal traditions of each religion. Additionally, given my own research interests, I will not attempt an in-depth analysis of these non-Jewish materials. For instance, Islamic magical literature, parts of which survived in Arabic in the Genizah, must have impacted to some extent that of Cairene Jews. Hopefully, a study of Islamic love magic will be published in the future, perhaps including a discussion of its reflections in the Cairo Genizah and its interactions with Jewish magic. This task, however, deserves a scholar who is a specialist in Arabic and Islam. The comparisons I suggest between Jewish love magic and that originating in non-Jewish traditions constitute only a first impressionistic attempt, and more extensive scholarly work in this field is a desideratum.

Insider Sources

The first type of sources to be included in this book may be divided into two main categories: recipes and products. A magical recipe is a text comprising a series of instructions that, when put into practice, are meant to achieve a specific, predetermined end, such as regaining the heart of a deserting lover or separating a married couple. Recipes are generic and usually contain no manifest information about the individuals who employed them. The places in the text where personal names should appear contain instead the words *ploni/t ben/bat plonit* (פלוני/ת בן/בת פלונית), that is, N son/daughter of N. Thus, the recipes may be described as theoretical sources placed at the disposal of individuals who had access to magical literature, in order to be put into practice.

Occasionally, magical recipes were assembled into a single theoretical composition that was further redacted and acquired a coherent textual framework.[75] The earliest example relevant for the present study is *Sefer ha-Razim*, a collection of magical recipes arranged according to a system of seven firmaments. Each firmament contains hosts of angels identified by name.[76] Every angel is attributed a specific function and can be manipulated so that he per-

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[75]   See J. Naveh, 'On Ancient Jewish Magical Recipe Books', in A. Oppenheimer, I. Gafni and D. Schwartz (eds), *The Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman World: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1996) pp. 453–465.

[76]   Despite the fact that *Sefer ha-Razim* is a magical composition, it contains numerous mystical elements that blend into the magical ones, and partly resemble the Hekhalot literature.

forms the magician's will. The first modern editor of *Sefer ha-Razim* placed its date of composition around the fourth century CE,[77] yet it probably preserves much earlier material. While the book displays non-Jewish influences, such as parallels to the Greek magical papyri, it is clearly a Jewish composition and not a translation of a Hellenistic or Roman magic manual.[78] *Sefer ha-Razim* contains four recipes pertaining to the field of love magic. Another literary composition belonging to the genre of theoretical magic is *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (*The Sword of Moses*), dated to the second half of the first millennium CE.[79] The book is centred on a list of magical names that purportedly bestowed upon Moses an amazing power, akin to that of a sword. These names, along with the manipulation of additional materials, were supposed to solve a wide range of problems and needs. Seven of the magical recipes included in *Ḥarba de-Moshe* were meant to deal with matters of love. Other examples of Jewish literary manuals of magic are later and date from the medieval period. One of them is *Sefer ha-Nisyonot* (*The Book of Experiences*), a medico-magical compilation originating around the tenth century, but preserved only in a twelfth century version.[80] Another example is *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* (*The Book of Women's Love*), dated approximately to the thirteenth century and similarly preserved only in a later manuscript.[81] *Sefer Raziel ha-Malakh* (*The Book of the Angel Raziel*), a magical composition from around the thirteenth century partly based on

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77   M. Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim: A Newly Recovered Book of Magic from the Talmudic Period* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 1966), p. 26. There is a controversy around the dating of *Sefer ha-Razim*, though many scholars place it in the first half of the first millennium CE. For different opinions, dating it to the sixth-eighth century CE, see I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden and Köln, 1980), p. 226; Rebiger and Schäfer, vol. 2, pp. 3–9. For a summary of the issue, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 170–175.

78   Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim*, p. 13; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, p. 231; P.S. Alexander, 'Sefer Ha-Razim and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism', in T.E. Klutz (ed.), *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* [Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 245] (London, 2003), pp. 170–190 (176).

79   The dating of *Ḥarba de-Moshe* is particularly problematic. See Y. Harari, *Ḥarba de-Moshe* (*The Sword of Moses*)*: A New Edition and Study* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 11–16, 52–53; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 175–179; Y. Harari, 'The Sword of Moses (*Ḥarba de-Moshe*): A New Translation and Introduction', *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 7 (2012), pp. 58–98 (66–67).

80   J.O. Leibowitz and S. Marcus (eds), *Sefer Hanisyonot: The Book of Medical Experiences attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Jerusalem, 1984).

81   C. Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love and Jewish Medieval Medical Literature on Women* (London, 2004).

Sefer ha-Razim, also contains several recipes for love magic.[82] Another work that should be mentioned is *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim* (*The Book of the Use of Psalms*), a medieval compilation of magical recipes based on Psalm verses, that also mentions which verses should be used when one wishes to instil love and bestow grace on another person.[83]

Such examples of literary manuals of magic are rare. Magical recipes were usually collected in some sort of notebook, like the one of R. Kaduri mentioned earlier, and often remained scattered, inscribed on single leaves. The best analogy for describing these materials is to modern food recipes: some of them are collected in well-edited cookery books, some are gathered together in an organized notebook, while others are jotted on a piece of paper, perhaps a leaf torn from a booklet, bearing a non-culinary text on its other side.

The use of magical recipes results in the second type of sources, namely magical products. These include textual amulets and other items that employ writing, such as Babylonian incantation bowls[84] or the shard uncovered in excavations at Ḥorvat Rimmon.[85] Jewish love magic included also non-textual items, yet in most cases these were not preserved, since they consisted of organic substances, like eggs or plant leaves (and even if they had survived there would be almost no way to recognize them as 'magical'). Similarly, some of the textual products did not survive to the present day, due to the use of perishable materials, such as parchment or papyrus, and a climate that did not support their preservation. Despite this, a significant number of products has reached us, illustrating the practical aspect of theoretical magical recipes. In these products 'ℵ daughter of ℵ' turns into Baġiḍa daughter of Ḥaiza, and 'ℵ

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82   For a description of *Sefer Raziel* with an updated bibliography, see R. Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen, 2006), pp. 187–294. *Sefer Raziel* was first printed in 1701; all references hereafter are to its printed version.

83   B. Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim—Buch vom magischen Gebrauch der Psalmen: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2010). This composition remains popular and is still printed today; see for instance S.A. Ashlag (ed.), *The Prayer Book of David ben Ishay* (Hebrew; Bnei Braq, 1996), book IV.

84   The incantation bowls were apparently not a medium favoured by the producers and users of Jewish love magic. Only five bowls that clearly pertain to this matter have been published so far, the latest of which is J.N. Ford, '"My Foes Loved Me": A New Incantation Bowl for Popularity and Success' (Hebrew), *Meḥqarim BeLashon*, forthcoming. I thank James Nathan Ford for sharing the draft of his forthcoming article with me.

85   AMB Amulet 10, and see below, p. 118. Even though Naveh and Shaked refer to this inscribed shard as an 'amulet', their terminology does not fit the way in which this term is used in my book. Therefore, I will refer to AMB Amulet 10 as a 'magical item'.

son of אֹ' into her beloved, Mufaḍḍal son of Iraq, who is due to be tormented in the bonds of the spell until 'his heart will burn after her'.[86]

The sources used in this book rely primarily on the Cairo Genizah and not on information from Europe. Most of the European Jewish manuscripts of magic have not been transcribed or surveyed extensively, and they have not been arranged yet into an accessible corpus. Consequently, I was not able to examine them in the way I have examined the Genizah magical corpus and scan them for items related to love magic. The discussion of 'insider' sources originating in Europe is thus limited to the following:

a. Published sources. These include whole magical manuscripts, such as the literary compilations *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* or *Sefer Raziel* mentioned above, and also disparate magical items that have been published in secondary literature.
b. Unpublished sources discovered using the database of the Jewish National Library in Jerusalem.[87] These are Jewish European manuscripts, both Sephardic and Ashkenazi, comprising occasional recipes of love magic.

Thus, except for the information drawn from late-antique compositions along with medieval European manuscripts and a relatively small number of other items, most of the recipes and products discussed below derive from the famous *genizah* of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo). Out of the hundreds of thousands of textual fragments uncovered in the Cairo Genizah about 2,500 deal with magic. And yet, until recently these fragments were not a favoured research topic, as may be surmised from the way scholars like Solomon Schechter and Shlomo Dov Goitein, the forefathers of Genizah studies, regarded this subject.[88] The last two decades have witnessed the publication of several collections of magical texts from the Cairo Genizah,[89] yet the unpublished material remains much greater.[90] Luckily, microfilm and digital copies of

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86 MTKG I, pp. 160–170.

87 web.nli.org.il.

88 S.M. Wasserstrom, 'The Magical Texts in the Cairo Genizah', in J. Blau and S. Reif (eds), *Genizah Research After Ninety Years: The Case of Judaeo-Arabic* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 160–166; M.R. Cohen, 'Goitein, Magic, and the Geniza', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006), pp. 294–304.

89 HAITCG, AMB, MSF, MTKG I–III.

90 There is as yet no comprehensive survey of the texts uncovered in the Genizah, although several projects seeking to catalogue them are under way. The most important among

the texts are available to scholars and they served as the chief means of research for this book. A significant part of the corpus discussed in the following pages derives from a research project titled 'Magical Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah', headed by Gideon Bohak.[91] The project relies on the work of Shaul Shaked, who painstakingly surveyed the Genizah materials and compiled an initial list of hundreds of magical texts included in it. This list was subsequently expanded by Bohak and a major part of its contents was meticulously studied.

The first stage of my research was to select from the constantly increasing corpus of the above project the fragments related to love, grace and hate. These were added to the fragments previously published in the collections listed in note 89. Since the fragments included in Bohak's project were pre-identified as magical ones (either based on textual characteristics, e.g., the presence of adjurations, or on formal characteristics, e.g., reverse writing or magical signs), I mainly had to search for keywords pertinent to the topics of my research. At times this was not a difficult task, for instance when a recipe bore the title 'For love'. Yet even when the texts were poorly preserved, it soon became clear that a fragment containing only the words 'between NN and NN like between Amnon and Tamar and between a dog and a cat' was part of a recipe for sowing hate between two lovers. Learning the textual style characterizing Jewish love magic from those recipes and products fully preserved allowed me to recognize also fragmentary texts as belonging to this corpus. And indeed, the state of preservation of the fragments is far from uniform, ranging from complete pages filled with a clear text to small scraps of paper containing but a few words.

A significant part of my research took place in front of the microfilm viewer, through which I gazed at copies of the ancient fragments that for the most part have not been published. I also had at my disposal transcriptions and high-resolution photographs of some of the fragments, thanks to Bohak's project as well as to several websites like the Friedberg Genizah Project or the Princeton University Geniza Project.[92]

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them is the Friedberg Genizah Project, for which see www.genizah.org. For the published Genizah fragments, see *Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (2 vols; vol. 1, S.C. Reif [ed.], *A Bibliography, 1896–1980* [Cambridge, 1988]; vol. 2, R.J.W. Jefferson and E.C.D. Hunter [eds.], *A Bibliography, 1980–1997* [Cambridge, 2004]), and for the history of the largest Genizah collection, see S.C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000).

91   G. Bohak, 'Reconstructing Jewish Magical Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah', *Ginzei Qedem* 1 (2005), pp. 9–29.

92   https://geniza.princeton.edu/pgp/.

The corpus on which this monograph is based is not final. Textual and non-textual sources pertaining to the field of late-antique and medieval Jewish love magic will continue to surface after its publication. One should also remember that the corpus is incomplete to begin with, since a large part of it has been lost over the centuries: magical texts that did not end up in the Genizah or in other collections, metal amulets that crumbled and vanished long before the hands of archaeologists reached them, inscribed fragments of clay that were buried deep in the bowels of the earth, etc. Consequently, my conclusions cannot rely on a full and comprehensive corpus. This fact has loomed before me throughout my research, hence my caution when performing statistical analyses or putting forth general statements. My database consists of over 300 items: more than 270 magical recipes and at least 46 products. While these are impressive numbers, the corpus of primary sources whose foundations are laid in the present book will continue to grow in the future.

Outsider Sources

The title of the present section denotes writings related to love magic that are not magical in themselves. These texts are taken from different periods and traditions, and are not limited to a discussion of Jewish love magic. They will serve to examine various opinions regarding love magic, to depict its features as reflected in the eyes of theologians, philosophers, historians and poets, and to compare such descriptions with practices found in the 'insider' sources. The 'outsider' sources derive from numerous literary genres: the prose and poetry of the periods discussed in the book, rabbinic literature and responsa collections, canonical religious writings like the Quran, ecclesiastical guidebooks like the *Malleus Maleficarum*, writings of thinkers like Maimonides and Abraham Abulafia and so forth.

'Outsider' sources dealing with magic must be treated with an extra dose of caution. For example, accusations of magic found in court depositions should not be taken as evidence for practices that actually occurred. However, also the descriptions of magical practices contained in such records should not be ignored, since sometimes a similar or identical depiction appears in the 'insider' sources.[93] We should keep in mind that 'outsider' sources may be

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93   Even in cases when a person tried for practising magic never committed the acts he or she were accused of, the description of the magical practices was known to one or more of those involved in the trial (for instance, to the priest or magistrate who posed the questions or to the witnesses who testified against the accused). See the methodological article by M.G. Pegg, 'Historians and Inquisitors: Testimonies from the Early Inquisitions into Heretical Depravity', in J.T. Rosenthal (ed.), *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources:*

biased or untruthful in part, especially when they stem from one segment of the population and are directed against other segments (e.g., a church tribunal on the one hand and women accused of witchcraft on the other, or Karaite Jews on the one hand and rabbis accused of magical actions on the other). Nevertheless, they contain enough useful information to be included in the present study.

Chronological Frame

The chronological scope of this book is a wide ranging one. It starts with the late-antique period (second-fourth centuries CE) and ends with the late medieval period (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries). In order to establish the chronological frame, I appealed to the earliest 'insider' source on love magic, *Sefer ha-Razim*. As explained above, this composition is usually dated approximately to the fourth century, though it probably incorporates earlier material. No earlier sources pertaining to Jewish love magic have survived, and thus I have decided to use Late Antiquity as my chronological starting point. The end of the chronological frame had to be determined differently. Love magic continued to exist in the Jewish tradition also after the fifteenth century, and in fact it obtains to this very day. However, following my academic interests, I have decided to focus on ancient magic and its medieval ramifications rather than modern magic. Therefore, the end of the medieval period serves as an arbitrary finish line for the present study.

The chosen chronological scope encompasses 1,400 years that may be divided into several different periods, overlapping at times, some of which are relevant only for certain geographical regions: the Roman-Byzantine period, the period of Islamic rule, the Middle Ages, the beginning of the Renaissance. However, my study will not follow a chronological division, but will be a horizontal one. The reason for this approach stems from a central feature of Jewish love magic: continuity. As was previously shown by other scholars, the Cairo Genizah, on which the major part of the corpus relies, preserves information about magical practices that were conceived many centuries before they were put down in writing during the Middle Ages. Norman Golb stated that 'the magical and esoteric literature of the medieval Egyptian Jews bears evidence of considerable antiquity, and at least some of it undoubtedly may be traced back to the Byzantine period'.[94] Golb's words were proved true following the

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Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe (London and New York, 2012), pp. 98–113.

94   N. Golb, 'The Esoteric Practices of Jews in Fatimid Egypt', *American Philosophical Society Yearbook* 1965 (1966), pp. 533–535.

discovery of the magical potsherd from Ḥorvat Rimmon and its later parallels. The shard, dated to the fifth or sixth century, bears an adjuration for obtaining love whose phrasing continues to appear in medieval recipes from the Cairo Genizah.[95] This item exemplifies the continuity of practices and formulae from the Byzantine period into the Middle Ages, and also the high fidelity of this continuity—even some of the magical signs accompanying the adjuration formula were preserved through the centuries. If the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard had not been uncovered during an archaeological excavation, and scholars only had the Genizah fragments at their disposal, it could be assumed that this particular formula was the fruit of medieval Jewish love magic. Yet the uncovering of a parallel formula dating to several centuries earlier proves things to be different. This is in fact an instance of magic from the Byzantine period, and perhaps even earlier, which continued to be transmitted over the centuries, and was also preserved in the recipe handbooks deposited in the Cairene synagogue. Interestingly, the Ḥorvat Rimmon spell continued to prevail up to the twentieth century, as attested in a study by Reginald Campbell Thompson on the folklore of Iraqi Jews.[96]

Given the fact that Jewish love magic featured such a significant level of continuity, it will not be appropriate to divide the chronological frame into different periods and to study the magical items pertaining to each of them separately. Undoubtedly, during the 1,400 years examined in this book changes occurred in practices and formulae, yet for the most part they are not of a substantial nature. There are changes in language (for instance, in certain regions, following the Islamic conquest Aramaic made way for Judeo-Arabic); some modifications of the magical technique (for example, the astral aspect is more or less emphasized), or changes in the nomenclature of supernatural entities. However, one cannot observe significant gaps between the prominent practices of Late Antiquity and those of the late Middle Ages. The same cannot be said for other branches of Jewish magic. It seems that love magic is a 'discipline' of a comparatively conservative character. The conservatism and continuity that characterize it allow a horizontal study that advances chronologically from the second to the fifteenth centuries without deviating significantly.

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95   E.g., T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:8–16 (MSF Geniza 22). It should be noted that a slightly different version of two of the angel names also appears in a magical handbook from eleventh-century Damascus; see G. Bohak and M. Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet from the Damascus Genizah', *Ginzei Qedem* 10 (2014), pp. 9*–44* (25*), fol. 2b:8.

96   R.C. Thompson, 'The Folklore of Mossoul', *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 28 (1906), pp. 76–86, 97–109; ibid. 29 (1907), pp. 165–174, 282–288, 323–331 (166, spell 9).

Geographical Frame

The title 'Jewish love magic' does not distinguish between Jewish groups according to their geographical origins, although it is clear that such a distinction did exist. Ashkenazi Jewry was different from Sephardic Jewry, and the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt differed from their fellows in Babylonia. The question is, however, whether this cultural distinction can be securely traced in the primary material on which this book is based.

Among the magical items that will be discussed in the following chapters only one category allows for a certain geographical identification: the Mesopotamian incantation bowls. As their name indicates, these bowls are characteristic of a specific area and do not appear in other regions of the ancient world. This situation differs where the other items, making up the major part of our corpus, are concerned. While the literary compositions such as *Sefer ha-Razim* or *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* permit some degree of certainty concerning their place of compilation, the geographical origin of the hundreds of magical items that ended up in the Cairo Genizah is much more difficult to trace. Palaeographical means may point to an Oriental or Sephardic script, but these methods only indicate where a certain manuscript was inscribed, not where its text was composed.[97] To illustrate this fact we may resort once more to the magical shard from Ḥorvat Rimmon. A palaeographical analysis of its medieval theoretical parallels from the Cairo Genizah may show where these were committed to paper or parchment, but it cannot point to the fact that a nearly identical formula was employed by Jews in Palestine hundreds of years earlier. And even assuming that the source of a specific magical recipe could be traced back and its place of composition established, would this teach us much about its users throughout the ages? A survey of Jewish and non-Jewish love magic from the periods under discussion indicates that it involved a significant cultural exchange, expressed also in a geographical exchange. As will be shown below, practices from magical recipes inscribed in Hebrew and uncovered in the Cairo Genizah appear in Christian court depositions from medieval Italy. Consequently, how justified would it be to separate the love magic used by Egyptian Jews from that employed by their Italian coreligionaries? I believe that such a distinction would not serve the purpose of this book, since it relies on artificial boundaries.

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97   Occasionally, there are dialectal differences that may point to the origins of a manuscript, see, e.g., the dialect used in the magical handbook published by Bohak and Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet'. These instances, however, are far from common.

The consequence of the above assertion is that this study will be a horizontal one also in the geographical sense. Instead of isolating a Jewish group based on geographical frontiers and analysing the love magic of a certain area (a false term in my view), I have chosen to survey the phenomenon of love magic practiced by Jews in general, be they inhabitants of Palestine, Egypt, Sepharad or Ashkenaz.

Character of Research

As explained above, this will be a horizontal study exploring a specific phenomenon across the axes of time and space. This method is usually described as diachronic, but it also includes inter-cultural comparisons, that is, a synchronic history.[98] The comparisons with the Graeco-Roman, the Christian and the Islamic traditions serve a three-fold purpose: first, to identify parallels, be they close or partial, present in the magical material (for example, recipes transmitted from non-Jewish traditions to Judaism and vice-versa); second, to pinpoint central motifs prevalent in different traditions, irrespective of chronological and geographical gaps (for instance, the motif of fire as a metaphor for love, as expressed in practices of sympathetic magic in which an object is thrown into the flames); and last, but certainly not least, to determine whether Jewish love magic possessed singular features that distinguished it from the magic of its neighbours.

I have listed the types of sources on which this volume relies and explained that in most cases these are primary sources, the majority of which have never been published. Dozens of fragments of recipes and products related to love, grace and hate will see light for the first time in the following pages. The challenges and beauty in a research of this kind are many, and I confess they outnumber the difficulties it presents. It is important to note that my research is a deductive one, whose conclusions stem from an analysis of initial data, and not from external theories applied to this data. In fact, this book may be said to make a restricted use of theories. I believe that it is proper to lay at first the detailed and sound descriptive foundations for the study of Jewish love magic, and only in the next stages to begin building upon these foundations with theoretical bricks of various types.[99]

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98   See however Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, p. 30, where the author uses only the term 'synchronic' to describe a study similar to the present one.

99   A similar stand concerning ancient magic is put forward by Peter Schäfer and Shaul Shaked: 'Eine weitere Klärung des Phänomens „Magie" im Schnittpunkt von Judentum, Christentum und Islam kann nur in Relation zur konkreten Erschließung der Textevidenz herbeigeführt werden und nicht durch ein vorgefasstes theoretisches Modell (…)' (MTKG I, p. 4).

What Do We Talk About When We Talk About Love (Magic)?

A Survey of Ancient Love Magic

1 Historical Background

> It is easy to perceive the motives which lead men to practice magic: they
> are human wishes. All we need to suppose is that primitive man had an
> immense belief in the power of his wishes.
>
> SIGMUND FREUD[1]

One typical feature of magic is the attempt to modify existing reality and
adapt it, as Freud suggested, to the wishes of the spell beneficiary.[2] Often, peo-
ple resort to magic when they feel they cannot sufficiently influence reality
through other means. Thus, one sphere of human life inviting magical assis-
tance is the emotional sphere, since one's emotions cannot be controlled by
others.[3] Unsurprisingly, magical attempts to modify another person's senti-
ments appear already in very early periods. In this chapter I will survey the
historical background of the use of magic for objectives related to love, and
describe this phenomenon in several traditions. I do not postulate the exis-
tence of direct contacts that led to similarities in the practices and the mag-
ical formulae that will be described below. In most cases these parallels stem
from a psychological affinity between human beings in different cultures and
periods.[4] In what follows I will delineate several characteristic features of love

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[1] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics*, translated by J. Strachey (1950, reprinted London, 1961), p. 83.

[2] Throughout this book the term 'spell beneficiary' will denote the person for whom the magical practice, amulet or incantation, was intended, whether he/she performed the spell or whether it was performed by a professional magician.

[3] This statement refers to a time when emotion-altering chemicals were not available.

[4] My position resembles the one put forward by M. Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic: Dis-course or Intercourse?', in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (2 vols; Helsinki, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 129–139 (135). See also Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, pp. 32–38.

magic, which will then serve as the basis for the discussion of Jewish love magic in the next chapters.

Nowadays, the word 'love' encompasses a variety of meanings; it did so equally in ancient periods. Therefore, an examination of the term 'love magic' must include a discussion of the various goals that its users sought to achieve. For example, the goal of some magical acts was to imbue a man or a woman with desire to engage in sexual relations with the spell beneficiary, while other practices were intended to reinforce existing loving relationships of the type that may be called nowadays 'romantic'. Conversely, some spells sought to separate two partners, in order to turn the love of one of them towards a third party.[5] Magic related to impotence may also occasionally appear under the heading of love magic, as difficulties in sexual performance were often attributed to a spell having been cast upon the man. Some separation spells seek to inhibit the man or the woman from performing sexually with their partners, and thus may be regarded as impotence spells. Another type was intended to increase the social appeal of the spell beneficiary, making him or her loved or appreciated by one or more persons in a non-romantic way. 'Insider' evidence derived from magicians and users of magic may be found for each of the three categories described above, originating in different periods and cultural traditions. Additionally, one may find 'outsider' evidence for these categories, such as literary depictions of love magic. Since this book will cover various aspects of Jewish love magic, so will the survey in the present chapter include different aspects of the term, as expressed in different traditions and periods.

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5   Very seldom was a separation spell performed by a member of a couple rather than by a third party. For such an example, see D.R. Jordan, 'Remedium amoris: A Curse from Cumae in the British Museum', in C. Callaway (ed.), *Ancient Journeys: Festschrift in Honor of Eugene Numa Lane*, Stoa Consortium (Internet publication 2002, no printed version): http://www.stoa.org/lane/remedium.pdf. According to Jordan, this binding tablet was inscribed by (or on behalf of) a betrayed husband, who wished to separate from his wife, to hate and forget her. It is possible that the man was still in love with the unfaithful woman, and saw no other way to dissolve his feelings for her but through magical means. However, this text does not preserve any clear evidence for having been written by or for the husband, and thus it may be another standard separation spell, benefiting a third party.

1.1   *Mesopotamia*

As Samuel Kramer's book from 1956 suggests, 'History begins at Sumer', and indeed, the first documented magical rituals related to love originate in Mesopotamia.[6] At Tell Inghara in Iraq, near the ancient city of Kish, a clay tablet was uncovered containing an Akkadian cuneiform text dated to the end of the Old Akkadian period, ca. 2200 BCE.[7] Despite its fragmentary state and often ambiguous nature, the text preserves the following lines (33–38), which clearly denote an erotic spell:

> By Ishtar and Ishhara, I conjure you:
> So long as his neck and your neck are not entwined
> May you not find peace!

As I will show in the following sections, the threat present in the above lines is typical of love magic regardless of its geographical and chronological origins. The spell targets may find themselves unable to sleep, and often also to eat or drink, if they do not comply with the requests of the spell beneficiary by developing amorous feelings or engaging in sexual acts. The above quotation attests to the antiquity of this threat, which continues to appear in love magic several millennia later.

Another cuneiform tablet, inscribed in Sumerian and dated to the Old Babylonian period (the beginning of the second millennium BCE), resorts to the celestial figures of the goddess Inanna and her lover Dumuzi to paragon an erotic relation between a man and a woman on earth. The text, while mostly poetic, includes a magical recipe which is conveyed as a dialogue between two

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6   For a general summary of love magic and aphrodisiacs from Mesopotamia, see R. Pientka, 'Aphrodisiaka und Liebeszauber im Alten Orient', in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (2 vols; Helsinki, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 507–522. Most of the cuneiform texts related to impotence and its magical cures have seen light in Biggs, *ŠÀ.ZI.GA*. For a discussion of fragments uncovered since then and a summary of Babylonian sexual spells, see R.D. Biggs, 'The Babylonian Sexual Potency Texts', in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (2 vols; Helsinki, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 71–78; see also the catalogues in G. Cunningham, *Deliver me from Evil: Mesopotamian Incantations, 2500–1500 BC* (Rome, 2007), also listing unedited texts.

7   J. Westenholz and A. Westenholz, 'Help for Rejected Suitors: The Old Akkadian Love Incantation MAD V 8', *Orientalia* N.S. 46 (1977), pp. 198–219, from which the translation is taken; G. Leick, *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature* (London and New York, 1994), pp. 194–196. The first editors suggest that the tablet may have been a writing exercise from a local scribal school (p. 198).

other mythological characters: Enki, the god of wisdom and magic, and his son Asaluhi. The latter asks his father's advice on how to heal a man affected by love sickness.[8] Enki provides an elaborate reply:[9]

> Butter of a pure cow, milk of a domestic cow,[10]
> butter of a cow, butter of a white cow, when you pour it into a yellow
>   stone vessel,[11] when you apply it to the girl's breasts,
> the girl must not lock him out of the open door,
> nor must she comfort her crying child.
> Let (the lad) speak out: 'May she run after me!'

The Sumerian text dates back almost four millennia, yet some of the motifs it contains continue to appear much later in magical recipes. The recipe described above requires a simple manipulation of organic materials, and on first sight, it seems to be lacking a verbal aspect. However, a closer examination indicates that the last lines, which seem to describe the result of the magical action, may in fact represent an adjuration that should be uttered during the performance of the ritual.

Another cuneiform tablet pertinent to the study of love magic was discovered in Isin (present day Ishan al-Bahriyat in Iraq). The tablet, inscribed in Akkadian during the Old Babylonian period, was placed inside a pottery jug and buried near the city wall.[12] The text inscribed on it, approximately 120 lines

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8   Some scholars suggested the object of the man's love was a woman working as a prostitute or a sacred prostitute; see A. Falkenstein, 'Sumerische religiöse Texte', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 56 (1964), pp. 44–129 (128) and Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, pp. 196–198. However, there is no clear evidence for this in the text. The word 'prostitute' appears in the text and refers to the woman whose love is sought, yet the term may be part of the inflamed vocabulary of the writer/ spell beneficiary. Gwendolyn Leick suggested that the man wished to achieve through magic a thing he could not buy with money: the love of the prostitute, as opposed to her sexual favours. This suggestion, however, is not substantiated by the text. See also Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic', p. 129, note 7.

9   Falkenstein, 'Sumerische religiöse Texte', pp. 113–117, lines 29–35, with German translation; Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic', p. 137, with English translation (as above), which differs from Falkenstein's under several aspects.

10   'a *šilam* cow'.

11   Falkenstein: 'einem grünen *šakan*-Gefäss', suggesting that this might refer to an alabaster vessel.

12   C. Wilcke, 'Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 75 (1985), pp. 188–209.

long, is divided into different registers, some related to love magic. It is unclear whether these were generic magical recipes, or whether they also included finished products, that is, adjurations intended to affect specific targets. Claus Wilcke, the first editor of the tablet, believed this to be a collection of recipes belonging to a priestess named Eṭirtum, who wished to implant loving feelings in the heart of a married man named Erra-Bani. A later study suggested a different interpretation, regarding it as a collection of recipes designed to obtain social control through some form of 'favour and grace' magic.[13] The following lines are the most relevant for the present discussion:[14]

> I have bound you with my breathing (*lit.* breath-laden) mouth,
> I have bound you with my urinating (*lit.* urine-yielding) genitals,
> With my salivating (*lit.* spittle-laden) mouth, (…)
> The (female) rival shall not go near you,
> The dog is lying down,
> The pig[15] is lying down.
> You, lie down again and again on my thighs!
> ----------------------------
> Whatever is on the green fish, is to be added to the oil, it will be rubbed
>   on.

This passage, titled 'A love adjuration' (line 8), includes both a verbal formula and a procedure employing organic materials that have to be spread on the body of the spell beneficiary or that of the target. The first sentences feature the verb 'to bind', symbolizing the compulsion inflicted on the latter. The ritual aims to annul the target's free will and make him or her act according to the will of the spell beneficiary. The binding metaphor is very common in the field of love magic, and as will be shown later, it even lent its name to a type of spell in the Graeco-Roman world. Additionally, the Akkadian adjuration contains analogies taken from the animal world: the behaviour of the dog and pig is supposed to be mimicked by the spell target. Such animal analogies in love magic change according to the qualities attributed to specific animals in each and every culture. For example, in medieval Jewish magic dogs and

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13   J.A. Scurlock, 'Was There a «Love-hungry» Ēntu-priestess Named Eṭirtum?', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37 (1989/90), pp. 107–112 (111–112).

14   Wilcke, 'Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin', p. 199, lines 16–24; translation from Leick, *Sex and Eroticism*, p. 199.

15   Leick (following Wilcke): boar.

pigs appeared mainly in spells for sowing hate, as opposed to the Babylonian adjuration quoted above.[16]

A much later tablet from Mesopotamia, inscribed in Sumerian, contains two rituals of love magic:[17]

> Incantation. If a woman looks upon the penis of a man (i.e. *for* a
>   woman to look).
> Its ritual: either ⟨to⟩ an apple or to a pomegranate
> you recite the incantation three times. You give (the fruit) to the woman
>   (and) have her suck their juices.
> That woman will come to you; you can make love to her.
> If ditto. If that woman (still) does not come, take *tappinnu*
> flour
> (and) throw (it) into the river to king Ea;
> You take clay from(?) both river (banks),
> From the far side (of the Tigris) and the far side (of the
> Euphrates);
> You make a figurine of that woman, you write her name on its
> left hip;
> Facing Shamash you recite the incantation 'The beautiful woman'
> [Over] it. At the outer gate
> Of the West Gate you bury it.
> During the hot part of the day(?) or during the evening(?) she
> will walk over it.
> The incantation 'The beautiful woman' you recite three times;
> That woman will come to you (and) you can make love to her.

The preserved text exemplifies nicely some of the building blocks of ancient love recipes. The two rituals it comprises include the recitation of an adjuration coupled with a manipulation of various materials. The first ritual transfers the verbal force of the adjuration to the spell target by means of a fruit, over which an adjuration should be recited. The fruit may be either an apple or a pomegranate, both of which were perceived as aphrodisiacs in ancient Mesopotamia and were believed to be the favourite fruits of Inanna/ Ishtar,

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16   I. Peled and O.-P. Saar, 'Spells for Separation from Mesopotamia to the Cairo Genizah', forthcoming.

17   KAR 61:7–21. See Biggs, *šÀ.ZI.GA.*, pp. 70–74; Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic', pp. 131–132. The tablet is dated to the seventh century BCE, but the text it contains appears to have been composed earlier.

the goddess of love.[18] Following the ingestion of the fruit, the woman absorbs also the words that have been uttered over it, and she must act as required by the adjuration, that is, engage in sexual relations with the spell beneficiary.

The second ritual is slightly more complex. Interestingly, its title states clearly that the first ritual might not succeed, thus requiring an additional action. This time, the magical practice includes a sacrifice to the god of sweet water, Ea, followed by a manipulation of materials found near the river. The spell beneficiary or the magician acting on his behalf creates a clay figurine, which is then identified with the desired woman by inscribing her name on the figurine's hip. Later, the uttering of an adjuration endows the figurine with the magical force required for its efficiency. For the influence of this force to be exerted, the figurine must be buried at one of the city gates, at a place where the intended target is supposed to pass. The woman will absorb the influence of the spell while walking above the buried figurine (presumably unaware of it), and will be compelled to act accordingly.

Both rituals inscribed on tablet KAR 61 are varieties of what Frazer termed 'contagious magic'. That is, they require establishing contact between the spell materials and the intended target in order to achieve the desired result. In the second ritual the spell materials actually represent the target, and they are identified with her by inscribing her name on the clay figurine. Thus, at least in part, this may be said to be a ritual of 'analogical magic', what Frazer would call 'homoeopathic magic'. Both notions were covered by the more general term 'sympathetic magic'.[19] These principles, as will be demonstrated throughout this volume, are among the central ones active in love magic.

Such practices from Mesopotamia constitute probably the earliest attestations of love magic. The short review sketched above was meant to present several motifs and basic elements of the Mesopotamian rituals that continue

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18   For the connection of apples and pomegranates to love, see C.A. Faraone, 'Aphrodite's "Kestos" and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual', *Phoenix* 44 (1990), pp. 219–243. Evidence for the magical use of these fruits appears in a Greek recipe from the first century CE, titled 'Spell using an apple'; see R. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* (2 vols; Opladen, 1990–1992), vol. 2, p. 109. Similar spells are attested in the Jewish magical tradition; see, for example, a medieval Hebrew recipe from *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* (Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love*, p. 109): 'Write on an apple (...) and give it to the woman to eat and immediately she will do everything you wish, there is no doubt about this' (תכתוב על תפוח [...] ותן לאשה לאכול ומיד תעשה כל רצונך ממנה אין ספק בה).

19   J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, 3rd edn (12 vols; New York, 1951, orig. pub. 1906–1915), vol. 1, The Magic Art, chapter III, esp. pp. 77–78.

to appear in the love magic of other cultures and periods. It seems that, despite the chronological and geographical gaps, practices of love magic contain parallel and even identical building blocks.

1.2 *Egypt*

Ancient Egypt also provides evidence, even if relatively little, for rituals of love magic. Among the dozens of magical recipes published by Joris Borghouts, only one is intended to instil love in the hearts of a man and a woman.[20] This recipe, dated to the twentieth dynasty (twelfth-eleventh centuries BCE), is inscribed with ink on an ostracon uncovered in Deir el-Medina.[21] It is a short spell, only ten lines long, which opens with words of praise to the 'Father of the gods', Ra, to the Seven Hathors, the deities responsible for human fates, and lastly to the gods of the sky and the earth in general.[22] The aim of the recipe is revealed in the following lines (5–8):

> Come ⟨make⟩ so-and-so born of so-and-so come after me
> like an ox after grass,
> like a servant after her children,
> like a drover after his herd!

The recipe includes three analogies, the first taken from the animal world and the other two from the world of humans. At first, it might seem that the analogies were simply intended to enhance the aesthetic appeal of the adjuration, yet on a second look they all appear to share a common element: inevitability. The subjects of the analogies are compelled to follow the denoted objects as an inseparable part of their essence. The spell beneficiary wished to exercise the same influence on the target.[23]

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20   J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), p. 1 (text no. 1). For a similar spell, perhaps also for inducing love, see Nagel, 'Ägypter, Griechen und Römer im Liebesbann', pp. 222–223.

21   P.C. Smither, 'A Ramesside Love Charm', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941), pp. 131–132.

22   Smither, 'A Ramesside Love-Charm', p. 131, lines 1–4.

23   Cf. the Akkadian incantation MAD V 8, lines 21–24 (= Westenholz and Westenholz, 'Help for Rejected Suitors', p. 203): 'You shall go around me among the boxwoods/ as the shepherd goes around his flock,/ the goat around her kid,/ the ewe around her lamb,/ the jenny around her foal'. Cf. also *Sefer ha-Razim*, First Firmament, lines 148–149: 'Just as a woman will return to the infant of her womb, so this N will return to me to love me'; Rebiger and Schäfer § 75.

The last two lines of the spell warn what might happen if the gods do not comply with the practitioner's demand:

> If you do not make her come after me
> Then I will set ⟨fire to⟩ Busiris and burn up ⟨Osiris⟩.[24]

An interesting point here is the use of threats against a deity involved in the magical process, as this indicates the attitude of the magician towards the forces addressed. It is an ambivalent attitude, beginning with praise and adoration but ending with an intimidating threat. The threat implies that the magician owns the means through which the gods may be forced to comply with his or her will. In the case quoted above, these are earthly means: setting fire to the abode of the god. This aspect of the magical act is surprising, although it is not exceptional in this tradition, nor is it unique to ancient Egyptian magic.[25] Usually, the magician's sphere of influence is limited to modifying reality, with or without the assistance of supernatural entities. In the Egyptian passage quoted above, the sphere is extended to include also the supernatural entities themselves. I will return to this phenomenon when discussing the magicians' image and the ways they conceived their own actions.

Many interesting sources on love magic derive from Egypt, yet they are much later and date after Alexander's conquest of the Land of the Nile, and from the first centuries CE. I will address these items under a separate heading, since they no longer seem to belong to the ancient Egyptian tradition, but to the Hellenistic and Roman ones.[26]

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24   Although the myth of Osiris' murder ends with the resurrection of the god, ancient Egyptians believed his bodily remains were still on earth. Busiris was considered to be his burial place, although there were other cities that claimed to have parts of Osiris' dismembered body buried on their grounds. See Smither, 'A Ramesside Love-Charm', p. 132, note 2.

25   The explicit threat that the magician directs towards Osiris is known from other sources. Threats directed towards gods are attested in Egypt as early as the Pyramid Texts period (ca. 2300–2100 BCE), and continue up to the Hellenistic period. One of these threats mentions the destruction of the entire world. See S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (London, 1973, orig. pub. 1960, German), pp. 26–27; LE vol. 2, s.v. 'Götterbedrohung', cols. 664–669; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca, 1996, orig. pub. 1971, German), pp. 206, 210.

26   Some scholars trace the roots of these later practices to ancient Egyptian magic from the Pharaonic periods. See Ritner, *The Mechanics*, p. 244, note 1124; R.K. Ritner, 'Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context', *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995), pp. 3333–3379 (3348–3349). Robert Ritner suggests this with regard

1.3   *Greece*

The rich work of Christopher Faraone, which demonstrates the contribution of scholarly studies of love magic to the understanding of social and cultural phenomena, focuses on ancient Greece, where a plethora of sources on this topic is to be found. One of the earliest survives in the Odes of Pindar, a poet writing in the fifth century BCE. Recounting the love affair between Jason and Medea, Pindar describes how Aphrodite introduced Jason to the secret lore of love magic. With her help, he was able to separate the object of his affection from her parents and cause her to follow him:

> But the Cyprus-born queen of sharpest arrows
> (...) she taught
> the son of Aison to be skilful in prayers and charms
> so that he may take away Medea's respect
> for her parents, and so that the desire for Hellas might set
> her mind afire and drive her with the whip of Persuation.[27]

According to Pindar, Aphrodite employed an *iynx* (possibly a kind of bird, a wryneck), that was bound to a wheel in a ritual causing madness to humans.[28] Greek love magic is replete with the motifs mentioned in Pindar's Ode: the objective of separating the target of the spell from his or her family, and metaphors of burning and whipping. The first motif recalls one of the Mesopotamian recipes cited above, where the target 'shall not comfort her weeping child', but will run after the spell beneficiary. In both cases, the spell aims at severing family ties, in order to form an external bond based on love and/or sex. This notion is attested in other traditions as well.[29]

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to the Graeco-Roman binding tablets: 'the origin of this Hellenistic commonplace seems not Greek but Egyptian, deriving directly from the ancient native custom of private "letters to the dead".' (*The Mechanics*, pp. 179–180). For responses to this suggestion, see Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, p. 35, and J. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), p. 20, note 59.

27   Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 4:213–219.

28   C.A. Faraone, 'The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar Pythian 4.213–19', *Classical Journal* 89 (1993), pp. 1–19; Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, pp. 1–7, 56–69. For a different interpretation, cf. S. Iles Johnston, 'The Song of the Iynx: Magic and Rhetoric in Pythian 4', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 125 (1995), pp. 177–206.

29   In the Hebrew Bible the link between separation from one's family and forming a marital relationship is unambiguous: 'Hence a man leaves his father and mother and clings to his

The literary sources on love magic in ancient Greece are remarkably rich
and thought-provoking, especially when coupled with the 'insider' documen-
tation of magical recipes and products.[30] Ancient Greece provides scholars
with numerous finished products related to love originating in archaeological
excavations. These are the so-called 'binding tablets' or 'curse tablets' (ancient
Greek κατάδεσμοι), inscriptions designed to bind (καταδέιν) the will or the
body of the spell targets, and to cause them to behave according to the will
of the spell beneficiary. In the Graeco-Roman world these spells were used in
a number of circumstances: for amorous purposes; in judicial contexts ('bind-
ing' the tongue of one's opponent in court), in sportive or theatrical contexts
(the spells were directed against groups of sportsmen competing in the arena
or the hippodrome, or against theatre actors), in economic contexts (binding
one's business competitors), and for protection against robbers.[31] They usu-
ally consisted of metal tablets, most often lead ones,[32] on which a magical
spell directed against specific individuals was inscribed, including a descrip-
tion (often extremely detailed) of the desired results. Occasionally the spell
was accompanied by a small figurine whose limbs were bound or studded
with nails, representing the intended target of the spell. The κατάδεσμοι were
deposited in various locations related to the Netherworld: cemeteries,[33] wells,
springs, sanctuaries of the goddess Demeter, etc. They included the name of
the target, and at times also the name of the person who commissioned the

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wife, so that they become one flesh' (Genesis 2:24). Some exegetes interpreted this verse as
an attempt to prevent incestuous relations (e.g., Rashi), yet others emphasized the change
in a man's loyalty and bonds, from the ancestral family to the wife (e.g., Maimonides). In a
similar vein, the behaviour of early Christian adepts appeared to external onlookers as typ-
ical of targets of love magic, since they deserted their families in order to follow the 'spell
beneficiary', in this case, the Christian religious leader. See M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*
(San Francisco, 1978), pp. 106–107, 110–112, 195; Wypustek, 'Un aspect ignoré', esp. pp. 69–70.

30   For the reflection of love magic in Greek poetry and prose see Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love
        Magic*, pp. 5–12, with further references.

31   See, e.g., the overview in Graf, *La magie dans l'antiquité Gréco-romaine*, ch. 5.

32   A relatively small number of κατάδεσμοι was inscribed on other materials, such as precious
        stones, papyri, or potsherds.

33   The deceased were regarded as messengers who transmitted the message of the spell
        beneficiary to the 'powers of darkness'. The tombs of those who died a violent death
        were particularly recommended for depositing binding tablets, since they were believed
        to envy their fellows who remained alive, and thus to act against them more fiercely. See
        Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904, reprinted Frankfurt/Main, 1967), p. lxvii, note 1; Graf,
        La magie dans l'antiquité Gréco-romaine, pp. 151–154; G. Németh, 'The Corpse Daemon
        Antinoos', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14 (2013), pp. 145–153.

tablet, that is, the spell beneficiary. Many of the spells were designed to cause hate and to separate the members of a loving couple in favour of a third party. Others sought to ensure the exclusiveness of the spell beneficiary over the body and heart of the intended target. Preventing the latter from conducting sexual relations with other partners is often stressed. Below is a typical example of a Greek binding spell from the fourth century BCE, originating in Attica. The two main components of the text are a desire to bind the target, Theodora, mainly in her relations with her lover Charias, and concomitantly to cause the latter to forget his passion for her. The spell beneficiary, who sought to separate the two, remains anonymous. The text begins by addressing the deceased woman in whose grave it was presumably deposited, with the words 'the one (female) at Persephone's side', referring thus to the wife of Hades, Lord of the Nether-world.[34]

> I bind Theodora to remain unmarried to Charias. (…) (I bind) everything: both (her) words and deeds toward Charias and toward other people, and (her) sex with Charias. And may Charias forget sex. May Charias forget the girl, Theodora, the very one whom he loves.

One of the most interesting finds among the Greek-inscribed binding tablets was uncovered in Egypt and dates to the third or fourth centuries CE. It is a finished product comprising an inscribed lead tablet and a clay figurine of a woman, pierced by thirteen metal needles.[35] The tablet is a fairly close copy of a magical recipe that was preserved in the PGM corpus. Several other products were based on the same recipe, all dated to the second-fourth centuries CE.[36] The words 'N son of N' found in the recipe are replaced on the tablet by the names of the spell beneficiary and his intended target. The former was a man named Sarapammon, who desired to bind the heart of a woman named

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34   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 90.

35   The precise provenance of the figurine is unknown, since it was not discovered in controlled archaeological excavations. However, it appears to originate in the area of Antinoupolis. See S. Kambitsis, 'Une nouvelle tablette magique d'Égypte', *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76 (1976), pp. 213–223 (213). The figurine was encased in a clay juglet, together with the rolled lead tablet on which the magical text was inscribed. A coloured photograph of the entire complex is available on the Louvre Museum website: http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=28021 (retrieved 27 October 2015).

36   Daniel and Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. 1, pp. 181–192; D.G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI: A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)* (Atlanta, 1991), pp. 6, 17.

Ptolemais. The tablet was deposited in the tomb of Antinous, who is addressed by the spell beneficiary as follows:[37]

> (…) arouse yourself for me and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house, and draw to me Ptolemais, to whom Aias gave birth, the daughter of Origenes, and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking, until she comes to me, Sarapammon, to whom Area gave birth, and do not allow her to accept for pleasure the attempt of any man (…) Drag her by the hair and her heart, until she no longer stands aloof from me (…) and I hold Ptolemais (…) obedient for all the time of my life, filled with love for me, desiring me, speaking to me the things she has on her mind. If you accomplish this for me, I will set you free.

The language of the text appears violent and it includes a detailed list of sexual acts that should be denied to Ptolemais, unless she performs them with Sarapammon. The spell target is to be denied food, drink, and sleep, a pervasive feature of ancient love spells, including in the Jewish tradition. This might represent a case of transference. In reality, it is the sleep of the spell beneficiary that wanders when his or her thoughts concentrate on the object of their passion. It is the appetite of the spell beneficiary that is missing as a result of unrequited love. This physical and emotional state is apparently transferred to the target through the demand to prevent him or her from sleeping, eating and drinking.[38]

The last words of the text imply that the spell beneficiary had a hold on the soul of the deceased in whose tomb the tablet was deposited. He would agree to release the latter if his wish was carried out. This phrasing brings to mind the threats against the gods in the Egyptian recipe from the late second millennium BCE. On the one hand, the spell beneficiary required the powers of a supernatural entity, yet, on the other, he did not hesitate to threaten this entity, directly or obliquely.

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37   Kambitsis, 'Une nouvelle tablette magique d'Égypte', p. 219; English translation from Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 97–100. See also Németh, 'The Corpse Daemon Antinoos'.

38   For the demand to replace the state of the infatuated spell beneficiary with that of the indifferent target, see Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*; D.G. Martinez, '"May She Neither Eat Nor Drink": Love Magic and Vows of Abstinence', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 335–359; C.A. Faraone, 'Clay Hardens and Wax Melts: Magical Role-Reversal in Vergil's Eight Eclogue', *Classical Philology* 84 (1989), pp. 294–300 (300); and cf. E. Pachoumi, 'Eros as Disease, Torture and Punishment in Magical Literature', *Symbolae Osloenses* 86 (2012), pp. 74–93.

An example of a slightly different type of spell, apparently designed to generate 'romantic' love between two partners, is found on a binding tablet dated to the third century CE that was uncovered in the necropolis of Hadrumetum, in present day Tunisia.[39] Certain components of this text led to the hypothesis that it was a Jewish incantation, yet later studies refuted this possibility.[40] The spell beneficiary of the Hadrumetum tablet was Domitiana, who aspired to an eternal union with her lover, a man named Urbanus:

> (…) bring Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and unite him as husband with Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth, loving her, sleepless with desire and love for her, begging for her, and asking that she return to his house and become his wife. (…) unite them in marriage and as spouses in love for all the time of their lives. Make him as her obedient slave, so that he will desire no other woman or maiden apart from Domitiana alone (…)

Like in the previous example, sleep should be denied the target of the spell. He would then be at the mercy of the woman who wrote/commissioned the incantation and would love her exclusively. However, the Hadrumetum tablet lacks an explicit sexual terminology, which is replaced by an expectation for a marital union.

The three lead tablets described above are typical examples of love magic products originating in the Hellenistic world. Greek magical recipes have also survived: either obliquely, when they were mentioned in literary works such as the poetry of Pindar, or outside the borders of Greece, in the arid Egyptian climate.

The Greek and Demotic magical papyri are a rich textual corpus originating in Egypt. Parts of it were retrieved in unclear circumstances (the Anastasi collection, for example), while other parts were uncovered in archaeological excavations.[41] As their name indicates, the papyri are written in Greek or

39   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 112–115 with English translation; R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax: Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts. Exorzismen und jüdisch/christlich beeinflußte* (5 vols, 1–3 in collaboration with M. Totti) (Opladen, 1996), vol. 4, pp. 111–122.

40   For the supposed Jewish origin of the text, see Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 96. For the refutation of this hypothesis, see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, pp. 117–122; P.S. Alexander, 'Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic c. CE 70–c. CE 270', *The Cambridge History of Judaism* III, 1999, pp. 1052–1078 (1074–1075); Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 211–212.

41   For the historical background of the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, including the circumstances of their discovery, see the two introductory chapters in H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, 2nd edn (Chicago and London,

cursive Egyptian (Demotic).[42] They include magical recipes and formulae for a wide range of purposes, as well as hymns of a religious nature. Most of the surviving papyri date from the third century BCE to the fifth century CE. Some were probably collected by private individuals or librarians, and constituted a 'private resource'. The PGM and PDM corpus abounds in information on various aspects of love magic. Thus, in addition to recipes intended to kindle the fire of passion in a person's heart, one also finds recipes to bestow grace, as in the following example:[43]

> To gain favour and friendship forever. Take a pasithea[44] or wormwood root and write this name on it in a holy manner: ⟨magical signs⟩. Then carry it, and you will be an object of favour, friendship and admiration to people who see you. (…)

The recipe provides instructions for the preparation of an amulet consisting of vegetal matter, accompanied by a magical formula. Such finished products were not preserved, as opposed to the lead tablets described above. Yet, with the aid of written sources, such as the magical papyri, one may learn about the various practices whose traces were lost to the archaeological record.

Other recipes from the magical papyri detail how one should act if wishing to conquer the body and affection of another person (the intended target usually being a woman). Many recipes make use of mineral, animal, or plant ingredients, but most of them include also an adjuration or a magical formula that ought to be uttered or written down as part of the manipulation of the ingredients. The following example, titled '[A spell for making] a woman love a man', offers a good illustration:[45]

> Juice of balsam tree, one stater; malabathrum, one stater (…) You should grind these [ingredients]. You should put them into a clean [vessel]; you should put the oil on top of them one day before the beginning of the

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1992), pp. xli–lviii, and W.M. Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)', *ANRW* II.18.5 (1995), pp. 3380–3684. For a list of papyri referring to love magic, see ibid., pp. 3502–3503.

42   *PGM= Papyri Graecae Magicae*; *PDM= Papyri Demoticae Magicae*.

43   *PGM* XII.397–400 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 167).

44   Pasithea (Πασιθέα) is the name of a Greek Grace, the lover of the sleep god, Hypnos. She may have been appointed over hallucinations. Nowadays it is the name of a plant from the liliaceae family, but it is not certain to which plant the recipe refers.

45   *PDM* xiv.335–355 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 215).

lunar month. When the lunar month occurs, you should bring a black Nile fish (…)[46] you should put it into this above-mentioned oil for two days; you should recite this formula to it at dawn (…) you should anoint your phallus and your face and you should lie with the woman to whom you will do it.

The spells which you should recite to the oil: (…) Give me praise, love, and respect before every womb, every woman. Love is my true name.

The above recipe introduces an important element of magical actions: the time factor. Apart from detailing the materials that should be manipulated and the words of the formula that should be uttered or inscribed, the recipe provides the timing required for the practice. In the above example, this includes both the monthly date ('one day before the beginning of the lunar month') and the time of day ('at dawn'). Despite a chronological gap of millennia, the practice recommended by the Demotic papyrus, that is, anointing the male sexual organ with a mixture of oil and fish, is evocative of the one preserved in the Akkadian text from Isin, which was described above.[47] The Demotic recipe, dating from the second or third centuries CE, seems to employ principles that appear also in earlier and geographically distant cultures. Such principles will form a focal part of this book, which will investigate their expression in Jewish love magic.

1.4 *Rome*

Just like the study of ancient Greek magic, the study of magic in the Roman world is often based on literary sources. Latin prose and poetry include interesting descriptions of magical acts, often employing a negative and even terrifying tone. As may be expected, love spells are often present in these literary descriptions. They are usually activated on behalf of women and by women, and directed against male targets. Even though these portrayals display a lot of artistic freedom, it seems that occasionally the authors relied on actual evidence when describing practices of love magic and magic in general.[48] The impor-

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46 The recipe contradicts the rhetorical question of Apuleius (see below, section 1.4), referring to the absence of fish from the ingredients of Graeco-Roman love magic: 'how would it be possible to kindle a fire of love with an inert and cold fish, or with anything at all that is found in the sea?' (*Apologia* 30).

47 Wilcke, 'Liebesbeschwörungen aus Isin', p. 199, line 24.

48 The reflection of magic in Latin prose and poetry has been widely researched. See, e.g., Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature*; Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature*; A.-M. Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie Latine. I: Des origines à la fin du règne d'Auguste* (Paris, 1976); G. Luck, 'Witches and Sorcerers in Classical Literature', in V. Flint et al. (eds),

tance of these 'outsider' sources is amplified when they are woven together with the 'insider' sources pertaining to ancient love magic.

In the Roman world love magic was a common phenomenon, very similar to that described in the previous section. Additional evidence for love spells derives, as for ancient Greece, from the archaeological finds of binding tablets. In Latin they bore the name *defixiones* (from the verb *defigere*, meaning 'to nail' or 'to fix'), yet their content wholly paralleled that of the Greek κατάδεσμοι. Furthermore, some Latin binding spells are in fact adaptations of Greek magical recipes.[49] Hence, I do not wish to adduce here further examples of Latin *defixiones*, since the motifs they contain are identical to the ones described in the previous section. It seems that both the Roman and the Greek or Hellenistic finished products were based on recipe manuals of the kind that were preserved in Egypt as part of the corpus of the Greek magical papyri.

While I will not reiterate the types of practices of love magic in the Roman world, I will offer an actual example of the way they might have been put to use. The following is one of the most interesting references to love magic in Late Antiquity. While deriving from a literary source, it is probably based on true events: a trial with allegations of using erotic magic. The accused, who is also responsible for writing down the story, is Apuleius, a man of a considerable education and wide ranging fields of interest, born in a Roman colony in North Africa. Towards the mid-second century CE, Apuleius married a rich widow named Pudentilla, his senior by more than a decade. Her relatives claimed that he employed magic in order to win her hand in marriage, and they sued him in a court of law.

Under the laws of the Roman Empire generating love through magical means was punishable by the death penalty.[50] In both Latin and Greek the terms denoting magic were close, and often identical to, the ones denoting poison (φάρμακα, *veneficia*). It is thus not surprising to discover in the writings of Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE–50 CE) a reference to love magic in a legal discussion concerning homicide.[51]

The Athlone History of Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, vol. 2: *Ancient Greece and Rome* (London, 1999), pp. 91–158.

49   Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, p. 14.

50   This penalty was based on an interpretation of the *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*. See C. Pharr, 'The Interdiction of Magic in Roman Law', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), pp. 269–295.

51   Philo, *The Special Laws* III, 100. Note, however, that Philo distinguished the art of 'true magic' from 'a perversion of art (κακοτεχνία)', whose practitioners use 'some sort of charms

In accordance with the laws of his time, in the year 158/9 Apuleius was brought to stand trial in front of the governor of Africa. However, his convincing (and amusing) defence probably resulted in his acquittal from the accusation of love magic.[52]

One of the interesting arguments raised in the trial concerns the use of maritime ingredients in the magical practice.[53] Apuleius' prosecutors claimed that he chose, among other animals, some that bore double-meaning names, symbolizing the male and female sexual organs (like *spuria* and *fascina*), and intended to use them for erotic ends (*ad res venerias*).[54] It is not clear whether the term refers to aphrodisiacs or to a more complex magical use, yet the allegations of using these animals most probably stem, as Apuleius himself testified, from the similarity of their names to the terms for sexual organs (*propter nominum similitudinem*). This is another principle of magical practices (for love and other aims): employing ingredients which bear a linguistic similarity to the purpose of the spell. Apuleius admitted his preoccupation with these creatures, yet attributed it to his scientific interest in natural life.

Apuleius weaved into his defence speech several quotations from Latin and Greek literary sources dealing with love spells, providing further information about the magical practices prevalent in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. A passage worth citing is one that Apuleius attributes to the Roman author Laevius, detailing a variety of means for achieving success in matters of the heart:[55]

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and incantations to turn men's love into deadly enmity and their hatred into profound affection.'

52　The historical veracity of Apuleius' trial has been discussed by numerous scholars. His defence speech, the *Apologia* or *Pro se de magia*, is the only evidence for the occurrence of the trial. Some view the speech purely as a literary creation, without dismissing the possibility that the trial actually took place, but Apuleius offered a different defence speech; see F. Gaide, 'Apulée de Madaure a-t-il prononcé le De Magia devant le proconsul d'Afrique?', *Les Études Classiques* 61 (1993), pp. 227–231. However, most scholars regard the account of the trial as historically reliable. For a summary of this scholarly debate, see V. Hunink (ed.) *Apuleius of Madauros: Pro se de magia* (*Apologia*) (2 vols; Amsterdam, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 25–27. For Apuleius' aquittal, see ibid., pp. 19–20.

53　Apuleius, *Apologia* 29–41; Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros*, vol. 2, p. 100; Gaide, 'Apulée de Madaure a-t-il prononcé le De Magia', pp. 228–229.

54　Apuleius, *Apologia* 35. For these terms and the possibility that they denote marine animals, see A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1908, reprinted 1967), p. 223, note 8; Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros*, vol. 2, p. 113.

55　'*philtra omnia undique eruunt: /antipathes illud quaeritur, / trochiscili, ung[u]es, taeniae, / radiculae, herbae, surculi, / saurae inlices (?) bicodulae (…)*'. Apuleius, *Apologia* 30.

> Philtres are brought out from everywhere:
> they look for love-charms, magic wheels and nails,
> ribbons, rootlets, herbs and twigs, and then
> the neighing animal's *hippomanes*

Apuleius follows the quotation by reproaching his accusers: if at least they had tried to claim that he engaged in acts as those described in Laevius' poem, perhaps then they could have led the audience to believe them, since everybody was aware of these practices (*per famam pervulgatam fides fuisset*); yet instead they chose to attribute to him actions deprived of a magical rationale.

The accusations directed against Apuleius in the second century CE shed light on another aspect of love magic: its use as a means for achieving economic and social benefits. This use appeared real enough in the eyes of the authorities to justify the death penalty.[56] It seems that the penalty did not target practising magic, but resorting to it in order to deprive another person of free will, and forcing him or her to act in accordance with the will of the spell beneficiary.[57] In any event, the defence so eloquently presented by Apuleius illuminates the ways in which magic (for love and in general) was regarded by Roman society.

1.5   *Christianity*

One of the accusations directed against the first adepts to Christianity, and even against Jesus of Nazareth himself, was that they employed love magic in order to achieve social affection and to win the hearts of new followers (see below, p. 68). Some scholars found magical nuances even in the verses of the New Testament. For instance, the phrase 'what God has joined together, let no one separate' (Matthew 19:6), which is part of present day marriage ceremonies, may sound like a formula of binding magic similar to those that have been quoted above.[58] Unfortunately, 'insider' information (recipe manuals and magical products) about love magic from early Christianity is very scarce, making

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Laevius probably lived in the first century BCE. Only a few fragments of his writings survive in the works of later authors, and very little is known about his life.

56   K. Bradley, 'Law, Magic, and Culture in the *Apologia* of Apuleius', *Phoenix* 51 (1997), pp. 203–223, esp. 207.

57   For a different opinion, see J.B. Rives, 'Magic in Roman Law: The Reconstruction of a Crime', *Classical Antiquity* 22 (2003), pp. 313–339 (322–328), who views the trial of Apuleius as '(…) representative of a gradual shift in the interpretation of the Lex Cornelia, away from an exclusive focus on harmful actions accomplished through occult and uncanny means, towards a more general concern with issues of religious deviance' (p. 327).

58   V.I.J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, 1991), p. 290.

it difficult to describe. It may be assumed that early Christians also resorted to various forms of magic, including for love, and since they were part of Graeco-Roman society, this magic was not very different from that used by non-Christians. Only after the consolidation of Christianity, from the mid-first millennium onwards, did Christian love magic acquire more distinct features. From then on numerous elements of the established ecclesiastical ritual invade the world of magic, interacting with its pre-existing elements. Not only do the magical formulae include the names of Jesus, Mary, the apostles and Christian saints, but also the Eucharistic bread and holy oil become part of the *materia magica*, while the baptismal ceremony becomes part of the magical rituals.[59]

An interesting example for the penetration of Christian religious elements into love spells appears in a Welsh recipe, dated to the ninth or tenth centuries, of a particularly poetic nature. Some scholars have regarded it as a liturgical text of the type called *lorica* (literally 'shield'), a form of Christian prayer that was often engraved on the soldiers' shields.[60] Yet, it is more plausible that the text was a spell for obtaining love with stylistic features similar to the *loricae*.

Leiden MS Vossius Lat. Q. 2, fol. 60[61]

> I adjure you, all you archangels, for my love's sake,
> to take her heart from her,[62] for my love's sake:
> may Gabriel take her (lit. N's) heart from her for my love's sake
> may Michael take her (lit. N's) heart from her for my love's sake, (...)
> I adjure you, all you virgins and widows,

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59   Towards the beginning of the second millennium CE a rich literature dealing with the supernatural begins to evolve. Theological issues such as angelology and demonology are woven together with mystical and magical discussions. Beside theoretical treatises one also finds magic manuals abounding with recipes for every imaginable purpose; see, e.g., O. Davies, *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books* (Oxford and New York, 2009). These Christian grimoires survived rather well, despite the fact that courts of law often ruled that magical writings used by the accused must be destroyed; see G.A. Brucker, 'Sorcery in Early Renaissance Florence', *Studies in the Renaissance* 10 (1963), pp. 7–24 (18–19).

60   P. Dronke, 'Towards the Interpretation of the Leiden Love-Spell', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 16 (1988), pp. 61–75 (61).

61   Ibid., pp. 67–68.

62   The Latin original is '*ut evacuates cor illius*'. The meaning of the verb *evacuare* has been debated by scholars, some of whom interpret it as 'to purge', that is, to purify the heart of the beloved woman. Peter Dronke, on the other hand, assumes the meaning here to be 'to take' (p. 66).

> I adjure you, all you saints,
> I adjure you, all you heavenly powers,
> to take N's heart from her for my love's sake!

Alongside texts with Christian overtones, as the one above, one also finds recipes bearing a more syncretistic nature and reminiscent of pre-Christian love magic. For example, a collection of recipes titled *The Book of Angels, Rings, Characters and Images of the Planets*, which survives in a fifteenth century manuscript, includes the following instructions designated *ad amorem mulieris*:

CUL MS Dd.xi.45, Liber de Angelis 15[63]

> This ought to be made in the hour of Jupiter. Its angels are Sariel, Staus, Iucuciel. And the name of the demon who commands this is Marastac, who looks like Jupiter, and his three servants are Aycolaytoum and the Lord of Torments (lit. Dominus Penarum). (…) And make two images— one in the shape of a man, the other in the shape of a woman—and write the name of the man on the forehead of the woman and the name of the woman on the forehead of the man, and say this conjuration:
>   I conjure you angels by the name of (…) go and fulfil what I wish with this image!

Practitioners of love magic in the Middle Ages and Renaissance relied, among other sources, on recipes as the one cited above. Court records from Carcassonne in France recount that in 1329 a monk named Petrus Ricordi was accused of seducing three women by magical means.[64] He was said to have fashioned wax figurines, on which he poured several ingredients while whispering magical formulae, and eventually buried them under the thresholds of the targeted women. These deeds led to Ricordi being sentenced to incarceration for life. As can be easily noticed, his alleged actions are strongly reminiscent of practices that were used already in ancient Mesopotamia, and which continued in the Graeco-Roman traditions.

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63   Translation taken from J.G. Lidaka, 'The Book of Angels, Rings, Characters and Images of the Planets: Attributed to Osbern Bokenham', in C. Fanger (ed.), *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual* (University Park, PA, 1998), pp. 32–75 (52–53).

64   W. Brückner, *Bilddenken: Mensch und Magie oder Missverständnisse der Moderne* (Münster, 2013), p. 245. Also mentioned in Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 41.

The aggressive nature of Christian spells, when present, is also evocative of much earlier practices. A Venetian woman named Elisabetta, who stood trial in the sixteenth century for performing love magic, described part of the text she uttered during one of her rituals: 'I have said thirty-three Our Fathers for the meanest soul executed, so that it will leave where it is and go to the heart of such and such, so that he cannot sleep nor eat nor find repose until he does my will'.[65] A similar formula appears in the testimony of a Venetian man, describing a magical practice he learned from a 'professional' woman. He had to say, while tying knots in an article of clothing belonging to the woman he loved: 'I bind the soul and the feelings of Giacoma, so that she will have no happiness, nor eating and drinking'.[66]

Court depositions constitute an invaluable source of information for the study of love magic. A significant number of trials included accusations of attempting to ignite love or cause hate through magical means. This type of source is usually missing from Judaism and Islam. Even though averse to magic, these two monotheistic religions did not always regard it as an issue worthy of legal intervention.[67] If trials which involved the accusation of magic did take place, there is usually no surviving record for them. The gap between Christian legal literature in this field and its parallels in the Jewish and Islamic worlds is a large and surprising one.

1.6   *Islam*

The first mention of the term سحر (magic) in the Quran is in the context of love magic. Sura 2 (Al-Baqarah), verse 102, describes the manner in which the knowledge of witchcraft came down to men, to the Jews to be precise, through

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65   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 122.

66   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 167. Uttering a magical formula while tying knots also appears in Jewish love magic (and in other branches of magic). Cf., e.g., a recipe for annulling a person's anger (Bodley MS. Heb. f. 56.114–118, 117a:9–14): להשקיט כעס אדם קח: חוט של שיש וכפול אותו/ כפלים וקשור אותו ז׳ קשרים ותא?מאר על קשר וקשר/ (...) שתשקיטו את כעס פב״פ/ וישוב מכעס ויעשו דבור של אוהביו וריעיו שהם פ׳ב׳פ, 'For quieting the anger of a man, take a six-ply thread and double it/ twice and tie it into seven knots, and you should say on each and every knot/ (...) that you may quiet the anger of N b. N/ and he should revert from his anger and he will do the words of his lovers and friends who are N b. N'.

67   For the stand of Jewish *halakha* regarding magic and the legal treatment of magical acts, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 256–386. Possibly, the lack of witchcraft accusations in medieval Jewish society stems from the fact that Jews were a minority that was itself accused of illicit magical practices; see C.J. Baroja, *The World of the Witches* (Chicago, 1964, orig. pub. 1961, Spanish), p. 70.

two angels, Harut and Marut:[68] 'From them they learned how they might divide
a man and his wife, yet they did not hurt any man thereby, save by the leave of
God'.[69] Another possible reference to this subject is found in Sura 113, which
constitutes a kind of prayer for protection. Verse 4 instructs the faithful: '(Say: I
take refuge with the Lord of the Daybreak …) from the evil of the women who
blow on knots'.[70] This is clearly some form of magical practice, and it is possible
that the knots mentioned were of the type commonly found in impotence
magic in various traditions.[71] The fact that this topic was included in the Quran
indicates a belief in the effectiveness of magical practices, be they for love or
for other purposes, and the need to protect oneself from their perils.

  During the Middle Ages a rich magic literature evolved in the Islamic world,
writings that would inspire Christian and Jewish magical recipes. One of the
most interesting examples is a compilation dated approximately to the elev-
enth century and attributed to the Spanish scholar Maslama al-Majriti, titled
The Goal of the Wise (غاية الحكيم). This treatise was translated into Spanish
and Latin in the thirteenth century under the name *Picatrix*.[72] The style of
the treatise is at times theoretical and quasi-philosophical, for instance when
the author discusses the four qualities of matter and the virtues of materials
used in magical practices.[73] Many of the recipes found in the *Picatrix* include
astrological elements, not only pertaining to the exact timing of the magical

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68   According to the Quran, magical knowledge derived from the Jews, though King Solomon,
      who in many traditions is regarded as the 'father of magic', never indulged in these
      practices (Sura 2:13).

69   فَيَتَعَلَّمُونَ مِنْهُمَا مَا يُفَرِّقُونَ بِهِ بَيْنَ الْمَرْءِ وَزَوْجِهِ وَمَا هُم بِضَارِّينَ بِهِ مِنْ أَحَدٍ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهَ
      Uri Rubin, in his translation of the Quran, suggests that this passage refers to impo-
      tence magic; see *The Qur'an: Hebrew Translation from the Arabic, Annotations, Appendices
      and Index* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 2005), p. 14.

70   .وَمِن شَرِّ ٱلنَّفَّٰثَٰتِ فِى ٱلْعُقَدِ

71   EI, s.v. siḥr, p. 570. Magical practices for causing impotence (though not necessarily in
      order to separate a couple) are still attested in modern Islamic countries. For a discussion
      of impotence magic in ancient and modern Islam, see Doutté, *Magie & religion*, pp. 288–
      296; E. Westermark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (2 vols; New York 1926, reprinted 1968),
      vol. 1, pp. 571–575.

72   On the Spanish and Latin translations, see D. Pingree, 'Between the Ghāya and Picatrix. I:
      The Spanish Version', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981), pp. 27–56.
      On the different options for the origin of the name Picatrix, see J. Thomann, 'The Name
      Picatrix: Transcription or Translation?', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53
      (1990), pp. 289–296.

73   D. Pingree, 'Some of the Sources of the Ghāyat al-hakīm', *Journal of the Warburg and
      Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980), pp. 1–15 (3–4).

practice but also to the preparation of the *materia magica* (e.g., incense, ink), so that the latter would absorb the influence of a specific planet or of one of the thirty-six decans. The following are two representative examples of recipes for love magic found in this composition:

Picatrix (Arabic version) Book 2:9:[74]

> A wonderous amulet. When one wishes the person they love to come speedily, one has to draw the following figure on a piece of new cloth, on the day and hour of Venus, when the second decan of Taurus is ascending and Venus is in it. One has to burn its (the cloth's) edge in fire and say the name of the person while doing so.

Picatrix (Spanish and Latin versions):[75]

> The sixth mansion is Achaya, and it is meant to place love between two (people). When the Moon is in this mansion, make of white wax two images embracing each other, which you should wrap in white cloth. And these you should fumigate with lignum aloes and amber and say: You, Nedeyrahe, unite so-and-so to so-and-so, and place between them friendship and love. And so what you desire will take place. And know that Nedeyrahe is the name of the lord of this mansion.

Islamic love magic displays many similarities to that of the other traditions described in the previous sections. It contains the motifs of denying the target of the spell sleep and rest, along with burning and fire imagery. The spell beneficiary occasionally addresses demonic powers, which are ruled by a superior force. For example, a treatise attributed to Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Tabasi (died 1089) includes the following recipe for love:[76]

> In the name of Iblis (the Devil), again in the name of Iblis, once more in the name of Iblis. I adjure you, Iblis (…) to burn and to stir up the heart of

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74   H. Ritter and M. Plessner (eds), *'Picatrix': Das Ziel des Weisen von Pseudo-Maǧrīṭī* (London, 1962), p. 112 (German translation; the English translation is mine).

75   Pingree, 'Between the Ghāya and Picatrix', p. 40 (Spanish and Latin; the English translation is mine).

76   M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden, 1972), p. 386 (German translation; the English translation is mine).

NN. May he not have self control, nor peace, nor sleep during the day and the night, unless the desires of his love and passion will turn to NN.

Another famous treatise containing recipes of love magic, *The Great Sun of Knowledge* (شمس المعارف الكبرى), was composed by Ibn Ali al-Buni (died 1225). One of the conspicuous features of this work is the use of magic squares.[77] For example, in a recipe for obtaining favour and grace, al-Buni claimed that:[78]

> A person who carries upon him the following table, whose main component is the word 'holy', is assured to be loved and respected by every living creature. (This is followed by what appears to be a table containing letters and numbers, which should be copied and carried as an amulet).

Despite its breadth, Islamic magical literature has been studied less than that pertaining to other traditions, such as the Graeco-Roman or the Christian ones.[79] Scholarly works on love magic are rare, and one may learn about this topic mainly from references to it in other, more general works. However, it ought to be kept in mind that the Islamic tradition had a significant influence on Christian and Jewish magic, and critical editions of Islamic grimoires are bound to contribute greatly to the academic study of this field.[80]

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77   Originally, magic squares are rectangular grid tables where each cell contains numbers, arranged so that each row and column provide an identical sum, and so do also the two diagonals of the table.

78   Doutté, *Magie & religion*, pp. 252–253 (French translation; the English translation is mine).

79   For a survey of Islamic magical writings, see Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*. See also Sh. Shaked, 'Medieval Jewish Magic in Relation to Islam: Theoretical Attitudes and Genres,' in B.H. Hary, J.L. Hayes and F. Astern (eds), *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interaction (Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner)* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 97–109.

80   Even the writings of al-Buni, one of the most important medieval authors of magical texts, have not yet received a critical edition and translation. Modern scholars quote them from manuscripts or from Egyptian editions that lack the name of the editor and the publication year. See Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, p. 390, note 4; A. Fodor, 'The Rod of Moses in Arabic Magic', orig. pub. 1978, reprinted in E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 103–123 (103, note 4).

2   Main Features of Love Magic

The variety of sources surveyed in the previous sections demonstrates that the notion of love magic remained essentially unchanged across different periods and traditions. Magic of this type was intended to achieve love (of a sexual and/or an emotional type) between partners, to bestow favour upon a person, or to spread hate. Those who hoped to achieve these ends resorted to various ritual actions that usually included two main elements:

a.   a manipulation of materials (usually derived from plants or animals).
b.   adjurations and/or prayers directed to supernatural forces, that were uttered or written down.

Scholars focusing on other branches of magic will probably describe the same elements as characteristic of their research topic. How, therefore, may we identify a practice of love magic? Does it differ, for example, from acts of aggressive magic? I suggest that, usually, these spells may be identified (if their aim is not stated explicitly) by a careful examination of the contents of the practice, aided by the following questions:

a.   Which materials are employed in the practice?
b.   What sort of manipulation is performed with these materials?
c.   What are the contents of the adjuration, and to whom is it addressed?

Naturally, the answers to these questions will vary according to the period and the culture discussed, yet the changes may turn out to be less significant than one might expect. This means that some of the discussions and conclusions presented in this volume may also be applied to analyses of love magic outside the geographical and chronological frame studied here. The purpose of the present section is to examine some criteria of love spells, as reflected in the above historical survey.

Spells designed to ignite the feeling of love, usually contain a series of preliminary goals:

– Preventing sleep/food/drink from the target of the spell, until he/she submits to the will of the spell beneficiary.
– The target should ignore his/her own wishes, abandon any family ties, and focus only on the spell beneficiary. The free will and/or the body of the target are bound through magical means, so that they are no longer autonomous.

- A demand for total exclusivity, so that the spell target cannot engage in sexual relations nor love any other person beside the spell beneficiary.
- The target should promptly yearn for contact with the spell beneficiary, promptly and immediately ('may she run after me').

At times, these goals are expressed explicitly, as part of the ritual accompanying the magical practice. In other cases, the goals are reflected obliquely, for example, in the analogies or the metaphors included in the text.

Favour and grace spells usually contain one preliminary goal:

- The target(s) should regard the spell beneficiary in a positive way, finding him/her likable physically and/or emotionally.

As opposed to the limited number of goals, the magical practices vary widely. Some of them employ plant, animal or mineral ingredients, which are detailed in the recipes. Often the recipe includes specific requirements regarding, for example, the colour of the animal involved, or the precise timing of the magical action. Following these requirements was meant to assure the success of the practice, and perhaps, not less importantly, to supply an explanation at those times when it failed.

A common type of practice was analogy magic, such as fashioning a statuette in the likeness of the intended target, with the aim that the actions performed upon the statuette would similarly affect the person it represents. In other cases, contact had to be established between the spell materials and the intended target, so that the former would enact their influence upon the latter. As shown in the previous sections, despite the wide array of magical practices for love, one may discover parallels for specific practices in different periods and traditions. These parallels do not necessarily imply an inter-cultural influence, and may stem from similar ideas that evolved independently.

Another facet of love spells is the verbal aspect. As shown above, many recipes required the practitioner to utter or write a magical formula, and the majority of the finished products that survived include a text. As can be expected, the formulae, like the practices, also display a great variance, in accordance with the tradition and period under discussion. The entities adjured—gods, angels, demons or spirits—comply with the tradition from which the spell originates. The attitude towards these powerful entities also varies: at times the practitioner resorts to threats, while on other occasions he/she glorifies and praises the supernatural entities, hoping that they will act according to his/her will (a technique reminiscent of prayer). Yet, despite the difference and

variation they display, a thorough examination of the magical formulae for love will reveal inter-cultural resemblances, as is the case with the various practices. Here too, it is likely that the parallels stem from similar notions, common to different cultures, across several periods. In the following section I will attempt to identify some of these notions that form the theoretical basis for practices of love magic.

3   The Magical Rationale

> Omnia vincit Amor.
>> VIRGIL, *Eclogae* X.69

One of the main questions arising from the historical survey of ancient love magic concerns the ideological basis on which it relied. What did the performers of such practices wish to obtain from their targets? Did they aspire to convince the target that he/she were indeed enamoured/affectionate, or did they simply hope to create a physical dependence regardless of feelings? It would seem that answers to these questions may be found in some of the magical texts, be they recipes or finished products. For example, a recipe stating that its aim was to cause a woman to perform sexual acts with the spell beneficiary, clearly sought to obtain sexual satisfaction for the latter. However, a product prepared on the basis of such a recipe might have been used by an enamoured man, who hoped to win the hand of the woman he loved. Similarly, it may have been used by a man who hoped to improve his financial status by marrying a woman from a higher social stratum. Thus, the explicit statements found in the texts do not provide a definite answer to these questions. Such explicit information may usually be retrieved from literary, fictional sources, such as Sappho's Hymn for Aphrodite, in which the goddess promises to make the heart of a certain woman 'burn, even despite her will (κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα)';[81] or a dialogue by Lucian, where the courtesan Melita seeks to bring her lover back to her and appear attractive in his eyes.[82] Most of the 'insider' information that came down to us does not allow for wide ranging conclusions as to the true hopes and desires of the users of love magic. These remain hidden forever, perhaps as their owners hoped they would be.

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81   Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, pp. 136–137.
82   Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii* 4.1.

It remains to examine the insights provided in the texts. In the examples adduced in section 2 I have noted several goals that recur in love spells from different periods and traditions. These specific goals (e.g., preventing sleep, food, and drink from the target) were intended to achieve more complex ends (e.g., inducing love or encouraging marriage). It is important to distinguish the goals from the ends: the former are means for achieving the latter. We may never know what the *true* ends of a spell were, but interesting information may be derived also from the stated ends found in the texts.

The first step should be to examine what is usually contained in these explicit ends. The following list covers most of the ends of magical spells for love, favour and hate, from a wide chronological and geographical perspective:

a.   Bringing a specific individual to the spell beneficiary, so that they engage in sexual relations.
b.   Causing a specific individual to marry the spell beneficiary.
c.   Implanting love, sometimes exclusive, in the heart of a specific individual towards the spell beneficiary.[83]

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83   Sometimes the aim of the spell is to reignite the love of a married couple, usually when one partner no longer loves the other. The Jewish tradition preserves spells for this purpose that open with the title לעשות שלום בין גבר לאנתיה, 'To make peace between a man and his wife' (T-S K 1.143 [= MSF Geniza 18, 14:3–4]); or demanding פ׳ב׳פ׳ תשא חן וחסד ויקר בעיני בעלה, 'May N daughter of N have grace and favour and prestige in the eyes of her husband' (T-S K 12.89, 1a:4). See also two interesting but poorly preserved spells in Judaeo-Iranian, beginning with the words 'A woman who does not love her husband' and 'A man who does not love (his) wife' (T-S K 1.95, page 3:9–19, 4:1–3 [= Sh. Shaked, 'An Early Geniza Fragment in an Unknown Iranian Dialect', in J. Duchesne-Guillemin, W. Sundermann, and F. Vahman (eds) *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (*Acta Iranica* 28; Leiden, 1988), pp. 219–235]). I believe that the renewal of marital love belongs to paragraph c, since there is no essential difference between the magical rationale of such a spell, and the rationale or the procedure of creating love between unmarried persons. However, some might regard the creation of 'legitimate' love between spouses a different kind of action. For example, in the Hindu tradition one finds that love spells are differentiated in accordance to the identity of the intended target. 'The Laws of Manu', a legal compilation dated approximately to the first century CE, includes a law dealing with magic (chapter 9, law 290). The Hindu interpreters of this law suggested that it refers to attraction spells, which should be permitted if their intended target is the husband of the bewitching woman, or else a relative of the person performing the spell, yet they should be prohibited if the spell is directed against strangers. See *The Laws of Manu*, with an Introduction and Notes, translated by W. Doniger with B.K. Smith (London, 1991), p. 228, note to law 290.

d.   Bestowing the spell beneficiary with grace in the eyes of a specific person, often one in a position of authority (e.g., a judge).
e.   Bestowing the spell beneficiary with grace and even physical attraction in the eyes of a wide population (e.g., 'all sons of Adam and Eve', 'all the town's people').
f.   Implanting hate for an individual/group of people in the heart of a specific individual and/or towards them. Occasionally this section includes preventing the target from engaging in sexual relations.[84]
g.   Causing a wide population to hate a specific individual.

Several ends are sometimes gathered in one recipe, and even in one finished product. This is not surprising considering, for example, that a person wishing to have sex with another may aspire also to be united with them in marriage, and also to gain his or her love and affection. Additionally, such a person will want to prevent the other from engaging in sexual acts with anyone else. Thus, the four ends will appear together, supplementing each other. The desire to obtain grace and favour is no different, and will often focus not only on a target in a position of power, but also on a wider social group.

The second step in the investigation of these ends is to see what features distinguish them from the ends of other branches of magic. It would appear that all the ends listed above share two features:

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84   The prevention of sexual relations is found in additional contexts in the magical literature. Various cultures prohibited engaging in sexual acts of different kinds, be it for medical or religious motives. For instance, Judaism prohibits ejaculation when it is not for the sake of procreation. This proscription resulted in magical recipes intended to conquer evil inclinations (יצר הרע) and to prevent masturbation or nocturnal emissions. In the Christian hagiographic literature one encounters the motif of monks or nuns fighting the sexual temptations with which the Devil presents them; see J. Tibbetts Schulenburg, 'Saints and Sex, ca. 500–1100: Striding Down the Nettled Path of Life', in J.E. Salisbury (ed.), *Sex in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York and London, 1991), pp. 203–231. These battles sometimes required magico-religious weapons. Similarly, in medieval Christianity one encounters the need to refrain from sexual activity for reasons of religious purity or for medical motives. Precious stones and various minerals were considered useful for this aim and were worn as a magico-medical remedy; see Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', pp. 43–45. However, all these instances cannot be classified as magic for hate, since their aim is to achieve control over one's body. In all these cases only one person is found at the heart of the magical process (even when the inclination of this person goes out to another), while love magic always involves at least two people.

a.   The desire to cause a person to act against his or her free will (e.g.,
      'bringing' a person to the spell beneficiary; preventing sexual relations).
b.   The desire to influence psychologically and to modify a person's feelings
      (causing love or hate).[85]

The first feature is not unique to love spells and it appears also in other types
of magic: spells designed to silence the targets (e.g., in a court of law), or to
prevent them from performing in a certain way (e.g., binding competitors in a
race). However, binding a person's free will is characteristic only of aggressive
magic and is absent from healing charms, scholastic magic or divinatory spells.
Modern research sometimes views love magic as a tributary of aggressive
magic, given the similarity in rationale, practices and formulae.[86] Aggressive
magic in its various forms seeks to compel the target to act according to the
will of the spell beneficiary. This constraint is achieved through means similar
to the ones listed in section 1 of this chapter: preventing daily activities, binding
various body organs, and sometimes even causing the illness of the target until
they submit to the will of the spell beneficiary.

    Things are different when it comes to the second feature mentioned above.
The desire to influence *psychologically* another human being is unique to love
spells and does not appear in any other type of magic. Even spells designed
to cause forgetfulness were supposed to influence a physical aspect (memory)
and not the feelings of their target. Magic designed to psychologically affect
the *spell beneficiary* is known from several traditions, for instance from spells
designed to conquer evil inclinations (see above, note 84). One may regard even
magical requests to receive dreams or visions as pertaining to this category.[87]
However, causing a psychological change in a *different* person may be found
exclusively in the various forms of love and hate magic.

    Some scholars regard love magic as intended primarily to enact a physical
influence on its targets. This interpretation is supported by the fact that unrea-
sonable infatuation was considered a physical disease in different periods and
cultures.[88] While this scholarly view is surely justified in some cases, it is not so

85   A similar division is suggested by Kieckhefer in 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 31,
      who lists three types of erotic magic: sex-inducing, love-magic and sex-enhancing (i.e.
      aphrodisiacs).
86   See, e.g., Winkler, 'The Constraints of Eros'; Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 81; Faraone, *Ancient
      Greek Love Magic*, pp. 41–95.
87   I thank Gideon Bohak for bringing this possibility to my attention.
88   H.H. Biesterfeldt and D. Gutas, 'The Malady of Love', *Studies in Islam and the Ancient Near
      East Dedicated to Franz Rosenthal*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984),

in all cases. For instance, at least some of the spells designed to cause two people to marry must have sought to instil sincere affection between them. This would be a psychological and not a physical influence. Therefore, I prefer to distinguish the end of 'bringing a person to the spell beneficiary' from that of 'inducing marriage'. The desires underlying these ends are different. Hermias' request to bring his target to him so that she offers him 'both herself and also all her possessions'[89] differs from the request of Domitiana to be united with the target of her spell 'in marriage and as partners for all their lives'.[90] As argued above, it is impossible to know what the true intentions of the spell beneficiaries were, yet the explicit statements of the texts may assist in distinguishing between various ends and analysing them separately. These statements clearly indicate that some of the ends of love magic focused on a physical influence, while others sought to achieve a psychological influence and a modification of the target's feelings.

To summarize, the conceptual basis on which love magic is founded consists of two different strata. The first, modifying physical reality, is expressed in those ends that seek to influence the behaviour or the body of the spell targets. This stratum is common to love magic and to all other types of aggressive magic. The second stratum, modifying the mental or the psychological reality, is expressed in ends that seek to influence the feelings of the spell targets. This stratum is exclusive to love magic. The people who practiced love magic believed it could also modify the mental reality, or as the Jewish magicians put it, 'to turn the heart' of a person (להפוך את ליבו).[91]

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pp. 21–55; J.G. Griffiths, 'Love as a Disease', in J.G. Griffiths, *Atlantis and Egypt, with Other Selected Essays* (Cardiff, 1991), pp. 60–67; Winkler 'The Constraints of Eros', pp. 222–223; Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI*, pp. 353–357; L. LiDonnici, 'Burning for It: Erotic Spells for Fever and Compulsion in the Ancient Mediterranean World', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998), pp. 63–98; Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, pp. 43–55; Pachoumi, 'Eros as Disease', pp. 75–80; and, for a more recent context, see M. Altbauer-Rudnik, 'The Changing Faces of Love Torments: Continuity and Rupture in the Medical Diagnosis of Lovesickness in the Modern West', in E. Cohen et al. (eds), *Knowledge and Pain* (Amsterdam and New York, 2012), pp. 85–106. An example of love as a pathological problem is found in an ancient Egyptian poem about longing: 'Disease has sneaked into me/ I feel my limbs heavy (…)/ Should the master physicians come to me/ My heart is not revived by their medicines (…)/ My beloved is worth more than all the remedies/ She is to me more than the sum of medicine'; see P. Ghalioungui, *The House of Life—Per Ankh: Magic and Medical Science in Ancient Egypt* (Amsterdam, 1973), p. 62.

89   *PGM* VIIa 1–25 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 253–254).

90   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 112–115.

91   It is interesting to note that in the Hebrew Bible humans could modify the physical reality

Apart from the ends listed above, it appears that love magic was exploited in additional modes. As will be shown in the following section, simply by its presence in the public awareness, magic could be put to a variety of uses.

4   The Uses and Abuses of Love Magic

Love magic was occasionally used as an excuse for non-normative behaviour, such as fornication, or as an explanation for an unaccepted type of love (between members of different religions or social classes). This was an accusation brought by the alleged target of the spell or their representatives, intending to save his (and often, her) honour.[92] Even though there was usually no evidence for the spells about which the 'target' complained, the sheer belief in the veracity and the efficiency of magic permitted it to serve as a factor in social and inter-personal debates.[93]

4.1   *Justifying an Impossible Love*
One instance of love magic being used as an excuse for an unaccepted state of affairs is attested in the trial of Apuleius (see above, section 1.4). In order to explain the behaviour of the widow Pudentilla, who chose to marry a man many years her junior, her family turned to a 'magical' argument, claiming she had been bewitched by that man. Among other things, Apuleius' opponents resorted to a letter that Pudentilla addressed to her son, in which she claimed she was about to lose her sanity because of her love—'Apuleius (...) bewitched me into loving him'.[94] Apuleius' response to this accusation comprised several layers (including the claim that Pudentilla's words were quoted out of context).

(like Aaron and the magicians of Pharaoh, who changed their staffs into snakes/crocodiles), yet the only one capable of modifying the mental reality was God, e.g., 'And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh' (Exodus 9:12), 'He turned their heart to hate His people' (Psalm 105:25). Humans may also convince their fellows to change their minds (through human, not magical means), like the two women who pestered Samson until he revealed the information they sought (Judges 14:17; Judges 16:16), or Solomon's foreign wives who 'turned away his heart after other gods' (1 Kings 11:4), but a person cannot cause another to feel something against their will.

92   Winkler, 'The Constraints of Eros', p. 97.

93   Numerous anthropological studies discuss this aspect of magic. For examples from different cultures, see Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic*, esp. Part I, chapter IV; C. Lévi-Strauss, 'Le sorcier et sa magie', *Les temps modernes* 41 (1949), pp. 3–24; M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970).

94   Apuleius, *Apologia* 78–79.

Yet at no point did he deny the potential reality of love magic. However, Apuleius argued that he had no reason to resort to it, since he did not wish to marry Pudentilla for her beauty nor for economic reasons (that being, in fact, the main charge against him).[95] On the contrary, he claimed, 'I took this (marriage) upon myself more from (a sense of) duty and not for profit.'[96] Apuleius managed to convince his listeners that he had not employed love magic to instil love in Pudentilla's heart, yet the accusations he faced and their various aspects were probably based on a common perception in the second century CE.

Ancient Jewish sources contain examples of love spells that reinforce accusations of the kind Apuleius faced. *Sefer ha-Razim*, dated approximately to the fourth century CE, contains two magical recipes designed to incline or to bind 'the heart of an important or rich woman';[97] and another recipe designed 'to make a poor man take a rich woman'.[98] It would therefore appear, as Yuval Harari argued, that 'behind "love" not once hides a desire for money and power'.[99]

When love was a sincere but problematic emotion it could be explained away by resorting to magic. In other words, relationships that broke established social rules could be viewed as resulting from magical manipulations by one of the parties involved. An example of this may be found in the works of Plutarch. Writing in the first century CE, he recounts the story of a Thessalian woman, the lover of King Philip, who was accused of employing binding spells in order to conquer his heart (καταφαρμακεύειν αὐτόν).[100] This in itself would not have been so problematic, but the king also had a queen by his side. The latter, Olympias, demanded that the other woman be brought to her, probably with the intention of punishing her. However, upon seeing her beauty and listening to her elegant conversation, Olympias exclaimed: 'You have your magic charms (φάρμακα) in yourself!'[101] Plutarch himself seems to

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95   Ibid., 102.

96   Ibid., 28.

97   First Firmament, lines 118, 143 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 65).

98   Second Firmament, line 30 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 127).

99   Harari, 'For a Woman to Follow You', p. 264.

100   Plutarch, *Coniugalia praecepta* 141, 23. Thessalian women were renowned for delving into magic and they appear as practitioners in several literary sources from the Graeco-Roman world. See, e.g., Lucan, *Pharsalia* VI.435–830, and Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.1; 2.21.

101   A similar story is found in the novel *Ivanhoe* by Sir Walter Scott (chapter 37). During Rebecca's trial, the Jewish woman accused of witchcraft removed her veil, and then 'Her exceeding beauty excited a murmur of surprise, and the younger knights told each other

have believed in the reality of love magic, since elsewhere he expressed a negative opinion of it:[102]

> Fishing with poison is a quick way to catch fish and an easy method of taking them, but it makes the fish inedible and bad. In the same way women who artfully employ love-potions (φίλτρα) and magic spells (γοητείας) upon their husbands, and gain the mastery over them through pleasure, find themselves consorts of dull-witted, degenerate fools.[103]

Plutarch's writings contain additional stories concerning the use of love magic, for example, the spells through which Cleopatra was said to have won Marc Antony's heart. Cleopatra's opponents attempted to denigrate her in various ways, including through accusations of magic. Echoes of these insinuations may be found in Plutarch's biography of Antony:[104]

> He was not the master of his own faculties, but, as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites (φαρμάκων τινῶν ἢ γοητείας), was ever looking eagerly towards her (Cleopatra), and thinking more of his speedy return than of conquering the enemy.

Elsewhere Plutarch recounts that when Cleopatra first encountered Antony in Cilicia, she brought with her plenty of money, gifts and adornments,

> but she went putting her greatest confidence in herself, and in the charms and sorceries (μαγγανεύμασι καὶ φίλτροις) of her own person.[105]

Was Plutarch referring to personal charms, like in the case of the Thessalian woman mentioned above? Or was he alluding to magical methods and instruments brought by the queen from her homeland? It would appear that the

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  (…) that Brian's best apology was in the power of her real charms, rather than of her imaginary witchcraft.'

102 Plutarch, *Coniugalia praecepta* 139, 5.

103 The Roman poet Ovid, like Plutarch, opposed such uses of erotic magic. He placed in the mouth of Hypsiple, Jason's deserted lover, the following angered words directed towards the witch Medea, her rival: 'Ill sought by herbs is love that should be won by virtue and by beauty' (*male quaeritur herbis/ moribus et forma conciliandus amor*; Ovid, *Heroides* VI, 93).

104 Plutarch, *Antony* XXXVII.

105 Ibid., XXV.

words περὶ αυτὴν, 'in herself' point to the former option, yet Plutarch's story from section xxxvii (cited above) supports the latter.

A similar accusation against Cleopatra was raised by Josephus, who recounted:[106]

> Now Antony was so much dominated by this woman, as it happened, that it seemed he obeyed her every wish not only because of his intimacy with her but also because of being under the influence of drugs (φαρμάκοις).

As noted, the Greek word φαρμάκοις may refer to medical drugs as well as magical potions. It seems that Josephus, too, like Plutarch, tried to offer extrinsic explanations for the great love for, and the submission of Antony to, the Egyptian queen.[107]

A belief in magic as a means to achieve favour in the eyes of a superior is found in Plutarch's biography of Lucullus, the famous general of the first century BCE. Plutarch recounts that a servant named Callisthenes was suspected of having caused his master's illness and death through drugs, whose original purpose was to increase the servant's charm in Lucullus' eyes:[108]

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106 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XV, 93.

107 This is not the only time that Josephus mentions the influence of love magic. In *The Jewish War* I, 571, he recounts an accusation raised in King Herod's court against the wife of Herod's brother. The king accused his sister-in-law, Pheroras' wife, of 'alienating his brother, after bewitching him with drugs (φαρμάκοις)', that is, of employing magical spells in order to sow hate between the two brothers.

108 Plutarch, *Lucullus* XLIII. A somewhat similar story, about a woman who gives magical potions to her husband in order to increase his love for her, but ends up causing him a grave illness, is found in a Jewish responsum from the seventeenth century: 'Reuven [a pseudonym] fell ill and took to his bed for a long time, and the doctors tired from preparing him all kinds of medicines (...) and the doctors wondered about that illness because they did not know what it was. And in the meanwhile the thing was revealed by a gentile washerwoman who was found most days in the house of the said Reuven, that his wife was bewitching him and giving him in drink various drugs made like a stone, which she grinds in water (...) And the thing was sought and it was found and they took from her hand a stone. And she admitted that she would grind it in water and give it to him in drink in order to find grace and favour (חן וחסד) in his eyes. And they showed the stone to some known people and experts in such things and they said that the stone was made and composed from some drugs and that it is the reason for the illness.' Abraham ben Mordechai Ha-Levi, *Garden of Roses* (*Ginat Vradim*), Even ha-'Ezer, rule 4, 11.

> the drugs (φάρμακα) were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more
> of his love (ἀγάπῶτο), in the belief that they had such a power, but they
> drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason (…)

The relationship of the general and Callisthenes may have been tighter than
expected, arousing the envy and resentment of their acquaintances, and con-
sequently it could only be explained through magical means.

   With the advent of Christianity love magic began to justify the behaviour
of the new believers, who were regarded as acting against the accepted norms
of their society. An interesting example is found in the apocryphal composi-
tion *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, dating from around the second century CE,
which narrates the meeting of Paul the Apostle with an aristocratic maiden
from Iconium in Asia Minor.[109] Paul arrived in town and started delivering a
series of sermons exulting abstinence (sexual and otherwise). Thecla, listening
to him from her window, was captured by the charm of his speech (or was it
by his own charms?), and her behaviour changed completely. She ceased to
eat, drink and sleep, and did not move away from her window. Her mother
and fiancé tried to break the bonds of the strange infatuation, but in vain:
Thecla remained 'bewitched'. Consequently, the fiancé dragged Paul in front
of the local governor, probably accusing him of preventing people from mar-
rying through magical means.[110] From this point, Thecla remained devoted to
Paul and did everything to stay by his side, concomitantly denying her family
and the man to whom she was betrothed. Given the nearly erotic tone of the
composition, one might have thought this was the story of love at first sight
between the pagan maiden and the Christian man.[111] However, the author of
The Acts of Paul and Thecla depicts at the beginning of the work Paul's external
appearance: short of stature, with thinning hair, crooked legs, connected eye-

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109   *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (= ANT, pp. 364–374). For a summary of this composition, its date and
        different interpretations, see J.N. Bremmer, 'Magic, Martyrdom and Women's Liberation in
        the Acts of Paul and Thecla', in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla*
        (Kampen, 1996), pp. 36–59.

110   As noted correctly by Wypustek, 'Un aspect ignoré', p. 57, 'le comportement de Thècle
        «amoureuse» semble directement tiré des *defixiones*'.

111   See, however, J. Eyl, 'Why Thekla Does not See Paul: Visual Perception and the Displace-
        ment of Erōs in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*', in M.P. Futre Pinheiro, J. Perkins and R. Pervo
        (eds), *The Ancient Novel and Early Christian and Jewish Narrative: Fictional Intersections*
        (Groningen, 2012), pp. 3–19. Eyl argues that Thecla did not lay eyes on Paul, and that this
        was an intentional literary strategy of the *Acts*' author, meant to emphasize the absence
        of eros between the apostle and the maiden.

brows and a hooked nose.[112] Despite the fact that Paul is next described as 'full of grace. At times he appeared as a man and at times as an angel', it is easy to see why the relatives of the infatuated girl would be amazed, and their attempt to explain away her behaviour by love magic is understandable.

Procopius of Caesarea, who lived in the sixth century CE, provides another example of a person who captures completely the heart and mind of another through magic.[113] In his *Anecdota* ('Unpublished Memoires') Procopius relates the story of Belisarius, the commander of Emperor Justinian's army, to whom Procopius served as secretary and legal advisor (*assessor*). Belisarius was married to Antonina, a woman of many talents, including in the field of magic. She was supposed to have learned this art from magical practitioners (φαρμακεῦσι) who were active in the theatre, where her parents used to work (her father as a charioteer and her mother as a prostitute).[114] Allegedly, Antonina was not far from her mother's line of work, and started leading a promiscuous life right after her wedding. She did not fear Belisarius, since 'she had gained complete control of her husband by means of many tricks of magic' (μαγγανείαις πολλαῖς).[115] Procopius claims that Antonina persuaded Belisarius to act according to her will 'using either magic or beguilement'.[116] She made sure never to leave him alone, so that the effect of her spells on him would not be weakened, and thus accompanied him on his journeys throughout the empire.[117] Interestingly, Procopius abstained from taking a clear stand in regard to the reality of magic and its influence on worldly matters. He employed the expression 'they say that …' to describe the influence Antonina achieved over her husband through magical means, while he regarded this influence as a form of burning love.[118] In any event, love magic was used in this case to explain a marital relationship that was tighter than the norm, in which a wife had absolute control over her spouse.

Magic was also used to explain a love that crossed cultural and religious boundaries, like in the case of King Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155–1214), who conducted an amorous relationship with a Jewish woman. The love of the Christian ruler for his mistress hindered not only his marriage but also his judgment in

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112   *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 3 (= ANT, p. 364).

113   I thank Gideon Bohak for this reference.

114   Procopius, *Anecdota* i.11–12.

115   Ibid., i.13.

116   Ibid., i.26.

117   Ibid., ii.2.

118   Ibid., iii.1–2.

matters of state. In a Spanish chronicle from 1344 the affair is described in the following words:[119]

> And they say that this great love that he had for the Jewess was caused by spells and love magic (*fechiços y esperamientos*) that she knew how to make.

In this case, the image of the manipulative woman is merged with the image of the spell-concocting Jew, leading Alfonso's courtiers to murder his Jewish mistress out of concern for their king and country. Yet even her death did not manage to release the monarch from her bonds, and he sank into melancholy. Only a heavenly intervention in the form of an admonishing angel succeeded in bringing Alfonso back to his old self. The abnormal relationship, supposedly established through magical means, was thus terminated through means belonging to institutionalized religion.

A later story, from the sixteenth century, illustrates how an accusation of magic for grace and favour was used to explain the high social position of an individual. Lippold Ben Chluchim, a German Jew of Brandenburg, served for a long time as the right hand of Prince (Kurfürst) Joachim II. When the ruler died in 1571, at the age of 66, Lippold was accused of having poisoned him, yet he was eventually released for lack of evidence. After about two years the authorities discovered in his home a grimoire with magical recipes. Lippold admitted that he had used it for various aims, including bewitching his Christian master into loving and appreciating him.[120] The high position he had achieved proved of no use to Lippold when facing trial: he was tortured and executed.

The supposition that love magic can cause a person to act contrary to their free will was more than a gossip-like phenomenon and it is also found in canonical religious writings. The Palestinian Talmud attributes to Resh Laqish the following argument, referring to a person breaking a vow of sexual abstinence:

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119   D. Nirenberg, 'Warum der König die Juden beschützen musste, und warum er sie verfolgen musste', in B. Jussen (ed.), *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit* (Munich, 2005), pp. 225–240 (225–226); D. Nirenberg, 'Deviant Politics and Jewish Love: Alfonso VIII and the Jewess of Toledo', *Jewish History* 21 (2007), pp. 15–41 (17). I thank Jörg Müller for this reference.

120   J. Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Antisemitism* (New Haven, 1943), p. 84; H. Schwenk, 'Der Wahnsinn hatte Methode: Das grausame Strafgericht gegen Münzmeister Lippold anno 1573', *Berlinische Monatsschrift* 1999/3, pp. 4–10. Electronic source: http://www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt99/9903prob.htm (retrieved 20 September 2016).

'I have been forced by spells which she did to me'.[121] This statement seems to imply that the power of magic is mightier than a person's will power. In the Babylonian Talmud, however, we find a different view: 'There can be no compulsion in sexual intercourse'.[122] Early Christian writings also contain instances of breaking one's vows of abstinence that are explained through magic. The hagiographical *Life of Saint Hilarion* by Jerome narrates a case from the fourth century featuring a young man from Gaza, enamoured with a Christian maiden who had been dedicated to God (*virgo Dei*). When she refused his advances, the man turned to magical help. He employed practices of the type described in section 1 and buried under the girl's threshold 'certain magical formulæ; and revolting figures engraven on a plate of Cyprian brass'. The results were soon apparent: 'the maid began to show signs of insanity, to throw away the covering of her head, tear her hair, gnash her teeth, and loudly call the youth by name'.[123] The girl's family was convinced that there was magic behind it, since they could not otherwise explain the behaviour of their daughter, the modest virgin devoted to God. When eventually Hilarion confronted the demon who possessed the girl and asked him why he did not enter the body of the young man who cast the spell, the demon humorously replied: 'For what purpose (…) should I enter into one who was in alliance with a comrade of my own, the demon of love?'.

This story resembles that of another young Christian woman, living in ninth century Greece, who decided to separate from her betrothed and enter a monastery, becoming a Bride of Christ.[124] The deserted fiancé turned to magical assistance and succeeded in bewitching the young nun: she began to writhe, moan and ceaselessly call his name. The prayers of the abbess Irene and her fellow nuns did not suffice, and only heavenly assistance released the spell.[125]

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121 PT Nazir 1:1: נאנסתי מפני כשפים אשר עשת לי.

122 BT Yebamoth 53b: 'אין אונס לערוה'.

123 Jerome, *Life of St. Hilarion*, 21. Another interesting episode, in which love magic is performed against a Christian woman, yet without success, is narrated by the Church Father Epiphanius (~310–403). He recounts a tale of a young Jewish man who tried to bewitch a beautiful Christian woman (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.8). See further Z. Rubin, 'Joseph the Comes and the Attempts to Covert the Galilee to Christianity in the Fourth Century CE' (Hebrew), *Cathedra* 26 (1983), pp. 105–116; Harari, 'For a Woman to Follow You', pp. 250–252; E. Reiner, 'Joseph the Comes of Tiberias and the Jewish-Christian Dialogue in Fourth-Century Galilee', in L.I. Levine (ed.), *Continuity and Renewal: Jews and Judaism in Byzantine-Christian Palestine* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 355–386.

124 A. Kazhdan, 'Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Magic* (Washington DC, 1995), pp. 73–82 (78–79).

125 The heavenly assistance consisted of an apparition of the Virgin Mary and two saints, Basil

Here too, a behaviour that modern readers might interpret as stemming from longing or remorse for the separation is granted a magical explanation that fits better the aims of the story.

Some centuries later the archbishop Poppo of Trier (ca. 986–1047) was the target of love spells by a canoness. According to the *Gesta Treverorum* the archbishop had commissioned a pair of stockings (*caligas*) from the woman, but upon wearing them he felt overcome by a desire to have sex with her (*haberet rem cum muliere*). Poppo tested the strangely-affecting item on other men, all of whom reacted in the same way. The bewitching canoness was expelled (*ab ordine sanctimoniae proici*) and eventually the entire community was shut down.[126]

A priest named John, who lived in fourteenth-century Sweden, also was about to succumb to the temptation of a bewitching woman. At the last moment, he appealed to (the future Saint) Bridget (1303?–1373). She prayed on his behalf, and the bewitching woman committed suicide, allowing the priest to repent and return to a pious clerical life.[127]

One of the functions of such discourses of love magic was to explain social and inter-personal phenomena that contradicted the accepted norms of a specific time and place. In all the above instances, it was used to justify behaviour that did not conform to the expectations society had from an individual. There is no need to assume that the magical practices alleged to have taken place in the above stories had indeed been performed in each and every case, if at all. Belief in both their reality and their effectiveness was sufficient.

4.2   *Explaining Impotence*

Love magic also offered an excuse for problems in a couple's relationship, such as impotence.[128] One famous example is found in a poem by Ovid. The narrator,

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and Anastasia, who threw from the sky a bundle containing several instruments, including the lead figurines of a man and a woman. The nuns set fire to the figurines, and the afflicted nun was released from the spell that was allegedly cast on her. Interestingly, the solution to the magical problem was found in an act which may seem equally magical, but which enjoyed religious approval. Cf. the story of the three Sages and the infertile son below, section 5.

126   *Gesta Treverorum*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (SS) 8, p. 176. http://www.dmgh.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb00000873_00186.html?sortIndex=010%3A050%3A0008%3A010%3A00%3A00.

127   M. Goodich, 'Sexuality, Family, and the Supernatural in the Fourteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1994), pp. 493–516 (502–503).

128   For a medico-historical survey of impotence (with the exception of Mesopotamian lit-

when unable to perform with one of his many lovers, exclaims: 'Was I the wretched target of charms and herbs, or did a witch curse my name upon a red wax image and stick fine pins into the middle of the liver?'[129] Thus, a binding spell of the type described in section 1 might be able to explain his temporary impotence. The mistress, on the other hand, does not dismiss a more prosaic explanation: 'Either some practitioner of Circe's spells has been piercing a woollen figure of you and has you bewitched or you have come here exhausted from lovemaking elsewhere.'[130] However, in some of his other writings Ovid denied a belief in love magic, and stated: 'Therefore, whoever you are that seek aid in my skill, have no faith in spells and witchcraft.'[131] Moreover, the poet held that handsome clothing and a beautiful hairstyle would assist a woman more in her search for love than resorting to the assistance of a witch.[132]

Magical excuses of impotence enjoyed the 'support' of recipes contained in magic manuals during various periods. I have adduced some examples above, when discussing spells from the Graeco-Roman world that sought to achieve the exclusive love of a person by preventing him or her from engaging in sexual relations with anyone else but the spell beneficiary. This type of impotence may be termed 'selective', and its very selectivity was thought to reveal its magical background. That is, if a man was capable of performing sexually, but could not function with a particular woman, it seemed logical to assume that he did not suffer from a medical problem, but had fallen target to a magical spell. This distinction became important in the Middle Ages, when it was used to determine whether a couple facing such problems should be granted a divorce, and whether they should be allowed to marry another person in the future.

Love magic as an excuse for impotence is mentioned already in ancient Mesopotamia. Cuneiform texts refer to wizards and witches who might 'seize'

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erature), see J. Shah, 'Erectile Dysfunction through the Ages', *British Journal of Urology International* 90 (2002), pp. 433–441.

129   *Num mea Thessalico languent devota veneno/ corpora? num misero carmen et herba nocent,/ sagave poenicea defixit nomina cera/ et medium tenuis in iecur egit acus?* Ovid, *Amores* III, vii, 27–30.

130   *aut te traiectis Aeaea venefica lanis/ devovet, aut alio lassus amore venis.* Ibid., 80.

131   *Ergo quisquis opem nostra tibi poscis ab arte,/ Deme veneficiis carminibusque fidem.* Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 289–290.

132   Ovid, *Medicamina faciei* 35–42. For a detailed discussion of Ovid's view of magic, see Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie Latine*, pp. 379–417. It seems that no absolute conclusions can be reached concerning the poet's true stand towards magic, nor is it possible to know whether he ever resorted to it in real life (ibid., p. 417).

or 'take away' the potency of a man,[133] and to gods like Ishtar and Marduk, who could shower their fury on a person and rob him of his potency and semen.[134] In the case of the former, it was implied that the magical method for rendering someone impotent was to bury his semen in a grave. Mesopotamian texts also noted the possibility of selective impotence, as may be seen in the following passage:[135]

> [If a man]'s potency is taken away and his 'heart' (i.e. penis) does not rise for his own woman[136] or for another woman

A similar reference to selective impotence is found in another fragment:[137]

> [If a man's] 'heart' rises for his own [woman] (but) his 'heart' does not [rise] for another woman

A situation similar to the one described above is mentioned in a work by the thirteenth century ecclesiastical author Hostiensis (Henry of Susa/Segusio). He narrates the story of a nobleman who could not (despite having tried persistently for thirty years) have sex with any woman besides his lawful wife.[138] Hostiensis regarded this selective impotence as having magical roots, yet he viewed such magic as beneficial, since it had prevented adultery. Thus, magic may be interpreted in a positive light when it ensures the exclusivity of one's lawful spouse. A somewhat similar story concerning selective impotence is found in the *Malleus Malleficarum*, but the supportive tone expressed by Hostiensis is absent here, perhaps because the woman involved was not married to the man.[139] Incidentally, the *Malleus* elaborates on the different methods

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133   Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 3.

134   M. Stol, 'Psychosomatic Suffering in Ancient Mesopotamia', in Tz. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Mesopotamian Magic* (Groningen, 1999), pp. 57–68. Similar etiologies of disease, in addition to physiological factors, also appear in ancient Egypt, where it was believed that an illness could be caused by the dead taking revenge, divine punishment or a magical act by another person; see Ghalioungui, *The House of Life*, pp. 61–62.

135   KAR 236:18 (= Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 27).

136   The term does not refer to a 'wife' (DAM) but to a 'woman' (SAL); see Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 7, note 45.

137   Smith Collection—British Museum 818:6' (= Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 50).

138   Hostiensis, *Summa Aurea* 4.15.8, quoted in Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, p. 132.

139   *Malleus Maleficarum* 11.1.6 [= C.S. Mackay (ed.), *Malleus Maleficarum* (2 vols; Cambridge, MA and New York, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 274–275].

used by witches to rob a man of his potency and a woman of her reproductive power, and even lists five different ways in which the Devil can render someone impotent, also noting the cure for each and every case.[140]

A story of magically induced impotence is also told of Pedro I, king of Spain during the second half of the thirteenth century. In his youth Pedro engaged in an amorous relationship with a woman named Maria de Padeia. When he was about to be married to another woman, Maria turned to a Jewish magician for help. The magician cast a spell on a belt that the monarch had received as a present from his fiancée. On the wedding night the belt transformed into a snake, and the terrified Pedro escaped from the bedroom, without consummating the marriage.[141]

The medieval Church regarded impotence-inducing spells severely, and declared them sufficient reason for annulling a marriage.[142] The penitential of Bartholomew Ischanus from the twelfth century states that 'a woman who, by a magical trick [prevents the consummation of legal marriage] should do penance for five years'.[143] There were some opposing opinions, as that of the fifteenth century French theologian Pierre Mamoris, who regarded magical excuses with suspicion. Mamoris held that some people declare they cannot perform sexually with their lawful spouses, when in fact they wish to commit adultery with others.[144] Generally speaking, however, the Church considered magic to be a genuine danger to marital vows. The most important illustration of this point dates back to the ninth century. It is titled *Si per sortiaris* ('If, by magic'), and it is a section from a work by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (806–882). Hincmar declared that divorce was to be allowed if the couple who had been affected by magic had tried to solve the problem through all possible means (confession, prayer, fasting and the use of clerical treatments, such as exorcisms).[145] Hincmar's concise words formed the subject of numerous inter-

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140 Ibid. II.2.2 (= Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 2, pp. 374–379). See also section 5 below.

141 Nirenberg, 'Deviant Politics and Jewish Love', p. 27.

142 Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 44; Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, chapters 7, 8. Even men of science and philosophers such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas held that impotence could derive from magic.

143 J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal* Libri Poenitentiales *and Selections from Related Documents* (1938, reprinted New York, 1990), p. 349.

144 M. Duni, 'Impotence, Witchcraft and Politics: A Renaissance Case', in S.F. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15th–17th century)* (Farnham and Burlington, VT, 2014), pp. 85–101 (91).

145 '*Si per sortiarias atque maleficas, occulto, sed nunquam vel nusquam iniusto Dei iudicio*

pretations, since the issue of impotence affected both canon law, theological considerations and, of course, medicine.[146]

Belief in the reality of impotence-inducing magic was so pervasive in medieval society that it is no wonder the surviving grimoires abound in related recipes. Some recipes were expressly designed to dissolve the effects of magically induced impotence, that is, they were counter spells (see below, section 5). Others were supposed to bind women and prevent them from engaging in sexual relations, yet this practice was, unsurprisingly, less common than its male counterpart. The common denominator of all these spells is the use of impotence as a means to sow hate and lead to the separation of two partners. Catherine Rider suggests that the distinction between magic for hate and for impotence was not a significant one during the medieval period: 'As long as the relationship was broken up, either would do.'[147]

Magically induced impotence also appears in Jewish sources, under the term 'binding' or 'tying-up bridegrooms' (איסור/קשירת חתנים). A responsum dating approximately to the tenth century preserves the story of a Jewish man who stated that he wanted to take a second wife. The reason, he claimed, was that he could not perform sexually with his present wife, since he had been bewitched. The wife might ask for a divorce and demand to receive her *ketubah* (marriage contract) money. However, the man justified his claim to take a second wife: 'I have been bound, I test myself with another (woman)' (אסרו אותי, הריני בודק את עצמי באחרת). In other words, the husband held that he was suffering from selective impotence, and if he were to try his luck with another woman, he might regain his potency. An anonymous Gaon from Babylonia who responded to the man's query rejected this line of argument and concluded: the present wife has the right to divorce and to demand her *ketubah* money.[148]

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permittente et diabolo preparante, concubitus non sequitur, hortandi sunt quibus ista eveniunt ut corde contrito et spiritu humiliato Deo et sacerdoti de omnibus peccatis suis puram confessionem faciant, et profusis lacrymis ac largioribus elemosinis et orationibus atque ieiuniis Domino satisfaciant, et per exorcismos ac cetera medicine ecclesiastice munia (…)'. See English translation in Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, p. 40. For more on the intricate relationship between institutionalized Christian religion and magic, including the 'benediction over the bedchamber', see Goodich, 'Sexuality, Family, and the Supernatural'.

146   Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, pp. 39–42. Hincmar also addressed the subject of impotence in another work, *De divortio Lotharii Regis et Theutbergae Reginae*. His main argument there is that King Lothar (835–869) fell target to the love spells of his mistress, and therefore hated his lawful wife, Queen Theutberga, and attempted everything to divorce her.

147   Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, p. 80.

148   L. Ginzberg, *Geonica* (2 vols; New York, 1968), vol. 2, p. 152; M.A. Friedman, *Jewish Polygyny*

A discussion of magically induced impotence and its effects on marriage also appears in *Sefer Hasidim* (*The Book of the Pious*), compiled around the twelfth or the thirteenth centuries:[149]

> A man who took a wife, and they have been bewitched, so that they cannot have sexual relations together, and they have attempted cures for a year, and for two, and for three, and it was of no avail, it is a sin for them to be together.

This position parallels Hincmar's view cited above, and it even seems to limit the term of the 'bound' marriage to three years, after which the couple must separate and marry other people.

The fear of bridegrooms being 'bound' through magic is implied already in the rabbinic literature, in a discussion of the days in which it is permitted to hold marriage ceremonies. The Tosefta postulates that it is allowed to change the set wedding date if one is forced to do so: אם מחמת אונס הרי זה מותר, 'if due to forcible reasons then it is permitted'.[150] The Palestinian Talmud elucidates this clause: מהו מפני האונס? מפני הכשפים, 'What does "forcible reasons" mean? Witchcraft'.[151] And while the Talmud does not specify which type of witchcraft is intended, one may assume from the context that it concerned conjugal relations between the newlyweds.[152]

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in the Middle Ages: New Documents from the Cairo Geniza (Hebrew; Jerusalem 1986), pp. 166–167. In the past this responsum has been attributed to Hai Gaon, yet Mordechai Aqiva Friedman considers this attribution untenable.

149 Bologna ed., § 391: איש שלקח אשה וכשפו אותן שאין יכול ליזקק יחדו ועסקו בשביל רפואות שנה או שנתי' או שלש ולא הועיל להן עון להם שיהיו יחדו. The version preserved in Parma MS §1162, adds: יגרש את אשתו ויקח אחרת והיא תנשא לאיש אחר ויהיו לזה בנים ולזאת, 'he should divorce his wife, and take another, and she should marry another man, and both he and she will have sons (…)'.

150 Tosefta Ketubbot 1:1.

151 PT Ketubbot 1:1.

152 Magical binding also appears in the rabbinic literature in the context of binding a woman's womb. See the story of Yoḥani daughter of Retibi, a widow who pretended to assist women in labour, but in fact prevented their babies from being born: וכשמגיע עת לידת אשה היתה עוצרת רחמה במכשפות, 'And when the time came for the woman to deliver, she would stop her womb through magic' (Rashi, commentary on BT Sotah 22a). Rashi's interpretation follows an earlier Geonic tradition that explains the actions of Yoḥani in a magical way; see M. Bar-Ilan, 'Witches in the Bible and in the Talmud', in H.W. Basser and S. Fishbane (eds), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism—New Series*, vol. 5: *Historical, Literary and Religious Studies* (Atlanta, 1993), pp. 7–32. Binding the womb also appears in non-Jewish sources, for

In the last two sections I have explored some of the 'side roles' held by love magic, that could serve as an excuse for seemingly abnormal behaviour: amatory or marital relations that ignore differences in age or social status, boundless affection, sexual impotence and infidelity. Accusations of love magic as an excuse for problematic relations persist even in modern times.[153] The rationale found at the core of such excuses remains unchanged: it is easier to explain through supernatural constraints that which is difficult or shameful to explain in natural terms.

5 The Silence of the Targets: Reactions to Love Magic and Counter Spells

One often-raised question regarding love magic concerns the actual effect it had on the intended targets. Did magic really work? And how did the targets react to it?[154] It appears that those who believed in the efficacy of love spells sometimes turned to magic in order to annul them. Two main issues can be examined here: reactions to love induced by spells, and reactions to impotence induced by spells. I am not familiar with targets' reactions to magically-induced hate. In both cases, the amount of 'insider' sources (magical recipes and finished products) is small when compared to the overall data about love magic. Perhaps the possibility of having been targeted by love spells did not bother people as much as one might expect, or perhaps most of the targets were not aware of having had a spell cast upon them.[155] Recipes and finished products designed to release a person from harmful magical forces actually abound in the cultures and periods mentioned throughout this chapter, but

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instance, in the comic novel by Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, 1, 9, where a woman is punished by the witch Meroe by having her womb bound and carrying a pregnancy for over eight years. Meroe was infatuated with the husband of the pregnant woman. However, she harmed the woman because the latter spoke evil of her, and not in order to ruin her marriage. This type of spell relates less to love magic and more to aggressive magic (e.g., binding the tongue or the memory of one's adversaries), hence it will not be part of the present study.

153   R. Dionisopoulos-Mass, 'The Evil Eye and Bewitchment in a Peasant Village', in C. Maloney (ed.), *The Evil Eye* (New York, 1976), pp. 42–62 (58–61); Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, pp. 75–76.

154   For the reactions of targets of other types of magic in the Graeco-Roman world, see Graf, *La magie dans l'antiquité Gréco-romaine*, pp. 185–194.

155   Cf. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, pp. 82–83, for a different view.

these counter spells were usually meant to release a person from magically induced diseases, from the evil eye or from evil spirits that had entered one's body. For reasons that remain unclear, love magic is almost never the focus of counter spells. As will be shown below, the solutions for its hazards were found outside the realm of magic, with the exception of spells for healing sexual impotence.

The earliest instances of this kind are found, again, in cuneiform texts. In the following example, meant to release magically-induced impotence, the patient had to recite a formula in the first person:[156]

> (I) against whom magic has been performed, figurines of whom have been laid in the ground

A magical solution might have minimized the embarrassment accompanying cases of impotence, and perhaps even assisted the affected man if the root of his problem was psychological. However, in all the Mesopotamian examples I am familiar with, it is not clear whether the initial spell that caused the impotence was cast out of a desire to separate the man from a woman, or from other motives (such as harming and shaming the man, or preventing him from producing offspring). Rituals explicitly designed to annul love spells are absent from the pertinent Mesopotamian sources, which include solely rituals for healing impotence. Similarly, magical texts from ancient Egypt include several treatments for impotence, but it is unclear whether the origin of the problem was considered magical or natural. For example, the fragmentary papyrus BM EA 10902 contains the recommendation to drink beer while reciting a magical formula (not preserved), in order to heal a man whose 'sexual organ has weakened'.[157] The text mentions Ra and probably listed some other gods, whose names are now lost. However, as opposed to the Mesopotamian texts, the Egyptian one does not provide a magical explanation for the weakening of the man's organ, nor is it clear whether the impotence was related to magic for separation.

The broad magical literature of the Graeco-Roman world, such as the *PGM*, as well as the archaeological finds that accompany it, provide almost no information regarding the use of spells designed to counter love magic. One may regard separation spells as a form of 'counter love magic', yet these spells do not stipulate that they were intended to separate partners who have been unwill-

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156   KAR 236 r. 1 (= Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 28).

157   C. Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London, 1999), p. 93.

ingly united by magic. Graeco-Roman literature, while containing numerous descriptions of love magic, rarely mentions counter spells being used against them. One such episode is found in *The Lives of the Sophists*, written in the fourth century CE by Eunapius. The author recounts the love of the philosopher Philometor for his colleague Sosipatra, and his attempts to win her heart through magic.[158] These attempts prove fairly successful, and Sosipatra seeks the advice of a friend named Maximus. The latter performs some divination rituals in order to find out which supernatural force Philometor had used against Sosipatra. When the nature of this force is disclosed, Maximus adjures a higher force, managing eventually to outdo Philometor and release Sosipatra from the unwanted bonds of love.[159]

One of the rare finds that may be defined as a counter love spell was uncovered at Hirbet Abu-Ruqaiq (Ḥorvat Raqiq), north-west of Be'er Sheba.[160] It is a text inscribed in ink on a pebble, containing nine lines in a Nabatean script, and dated to approximately 100 BCE. The incantation mentions five female entities, which are identified by their patronym or matronym. These entities are referred to as פשרתא, that is, 'releasers (of spells)'.[161] The writer addresses them and another supernatural entity, demanding the release of a man from

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158   Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, vi.

159   This story is rather complex. Sosipatra is described as an exceptionally intelligent and beautiful woman, who amazed all who met her. She was considered a divine being, not a mortal. And in fact, Sosipatra supported such notions by being able to predict the future and see hidden things. It is thus difficult to understand why she turned to Maximus for help against Philometor's love spell, and did not handle it herself. When Maximus returned to her after having performed his counter magical ritual, Sosipatra was able to reconstruct everything that took place in her absence, including the exact hour when the ritual took place. The awed Maximus bowed to her and declared she was indeed a goddess in human form. Why, then, did she resort to the help of a mere mortal? This question remains unanswered. See N.D. Lewis, 'Living Images of the Divine: Female Theurgists in Late Antiquity', in K.B. Stratton and D.S. Kalleres (eds), *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford and New York, 2014), pp. 274–297 (esp. 283–284); the story is discussed also by Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, pp. 84–85.

160   J. Naveh, 'A Nabatean Incantation Text', *Israel Exploration Journal* 29 (1979), pp. 111–119.

161   Rituals against impotence uncovered in Mesopotamia often include a verb from the root p.š.r. See, e.g., KAR 70 r. 25–27 (= Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, pp. 40–41), and British Museum 46911:10–12 (= Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, p. 25).

Incantation. I am a daughter of Ningirsu, the releaser (paširi).
My mother is a releaser, my father is a releaser.
I who have come, I can indeed release!

the spell of a woman (שרא שרא גבר אפשר מן אנתה).[162] The spell apparently sought to annul the bonds of love tying the man to a certain woman. Joseph Naveh suggested that the magical ritual involved a professional practitioner and a client, yet their identity remains unknown.[163] Was the client a woman who loved the same man, and wanted to annul the influence of her rival? Or was the client the man himself, who wished to be free of unwanted bonds of love?

Several counter spells of this type are mentioned in Jewish sources, yet they all concern magically induced impotence and not actual love magic. One interesting example is found in a story about three sages, Rabbi Eliezer, Rabbi Joshua, and Rabban Gamaliel, who travel from Eretz Israel to Rome. They dine at the house of a man who beseeches them to pray for his son, since the latter does not produce offspring (צלון על ברי דלא מוליד).[164] Rabbi Joshua performs a ritual that includes casting flax seeds on the table, as if they were sown, watering them, growing them in the blink of an eye and finally uprooting the plants. At the end of this procedure a woman materializes in the room. Rabbi Joshua holds her by her tresses and demands of her:

> אמר לה שרוי מה דעבדתין אמרה ליה לי נא שרייה אמר לה דלא כן אנא מפרסם ליך
> אמרה לי לי נא יכלה דאינון מסלקין בימא וגזר רבי יהושע על שריא דימא ופלטון.

> He said to her: 'Release what you have done!' She said to him: 'I will not release!' He said to her: 'If not, I will publicize you (i.e. your actions).' She said to him: 'I cannot (release), because they (the magical utensils) have been thrown into the sea.' And Rabbi Joshua commanded the Prince of the Sea, and he expelled them.

In addition to the action performed by Rabbi Joshua, the three sages also pray, and following these efforts the son of their host manages to produce

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The root p.š.r. (פש"ר) further appears in the incantation bowls, where it also bears the sense of releasing a spell. It is also found in the Jewish Babylonian magical compilation *Pishra de-Rabbi Ḥanina ben Dosa*; see F.M. Tocci, 'Note e documenti di letteratura religiosa e parareligiosa giudaica', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 46 (1986), pp. 101–108.

162 Cf. also the story from PT Sanhedrin 7:13 discussed below.

163 Naveh, 'A Nabatean Incantation Text', p. 116.

164 PT Sanhedrin 7:13. See also J. Levinson, 'Enchanting Rabbis: Contest Narratives between Rabbis and Magicians in Late Antiquity', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100 (2010), pp. 54–94 (64–67).

an heir. The Talmud does not specify whether the spell cast by the woman had caused impotence or infertility, but it is likely that the former is correct. During the period under discussion, infertility was usually attributed to women and not to their partners. The verb š.r.y. which is used in the story further indicates the release of a magical binding, such as 'tying-up bridegrooms'.

Medieval Jewish sources also refer to magically induced impotence and suggest methods for annulling it. In the *Sefer ha-Nisyonot* attributed to Abraham ibn Ezra (ca. twelfth century but based on a tenth century compilation) one finds recipes לאסור, 'for binding', along with recipes להתיר כל אסור, 'to release any bound (person)':[165]

קח קמח של ריחים בעל חי (= טרי) ולוש עם מים ממטר ותכתוב עליו זה המזמו׳ ננתקה את מוסרותימו וכו׳ ותאפהו באש חדש ותאכיל הנקשר. וכן אם יעושן הנקשר בשן של מת ג׳ פעמים וגם ישאהו עליו תלוי בצוארו וזה אמת ונכון

Take fresh (lit. living) ground flour, and knead it with rain water, and write on it this Psalm: 'We shall break our bonds, etc.',[166] and bake it with a new fire, and feed it to the bound person. And similarly, if the bound person is fumigated with the tooth of a dead man three times, and also if he carries it upon him, hung from his neck. And this is true and correct.

The magico-medical compilation *Sefer Ahavat Nashim* (ca. thirteenth century) contains a similar recipe:[167]

למי שאינו יכול לשכב עם אשתו מאיזה טעם שיהיה בחון קח שן אדם מת ויתלנה בצוארו ומיד יעשה רצונו או יעשה קטור ממנה.

For he who cannot lie with his wife for whatever reason. Tested. Take the tooth of a dead man and hang it from his neck: he will do as he wishes straight away. Or make a fumigation of it (i.e. the tooth).

Jewish magic manuals focus on healing impotence, be it magically induced or otherwise, without mentioning whether this impotence was supposed to sepa-

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165 Leibowitz and Marcus, *Sefer Hanisyonot*, p. 250.

166 Psalm 2:3. This verse was obviously chosen for analogical reasons: the releasing of physical bonds was supposed to symbolize the releasing of magical bonds, which prevented the patient from performing sexually.

167 Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love*, p. 115.

rate the couple. Solutions for releasing love spells are usually absent from their recipes. However, the Babylonian Talmud (Qiddushin 39a–40a) contains three episodes, all featuring a rabbi facing the temptation of a non-Jewish woman, in which the way to avoid an unwanted act of love is magical.[168] The temptation is expressed through the words 'that matron urged him' (תבעתיה ההיא מטרוניתא).[169] All the episodes contain a tone of coercion (perhaps due to the high social standing of the women), and none of the three rabbis wishes to submit to temptation. They choose to resort to drastic means, such as jumping through a window, in order to escape the situation in which they have been tangled. The stories do not depict a battle with one's evil inclinations (יצר הרע), but an opposition to a situation in which a man is coerced to engage in sexual relations against his will and against the rules of his religion. Each of the three rabbis solves the problem differently. The first, Rabbi Ḥanina b. Pappi, employs magic and pronounces 'a word' (אמר מלתא), that is, a magical name or formula,[170] thereby causing himself wounds and physical blemishes, in order to lose his attractiveness in the eyes of the woman. This is a reversal of the aims found in spells for obtaining love or grace and favour, which seek to make the beneficiary appear graceful in the eyes of his beholders. The woman, however, also appeals to magic. She utters a word (supposedly a different one), and cures the blemishes that covered Rabbi Ḥanina's body. At this stage the rabbi is forced to run and find refuge in a demon-haunted bathhouse. Yet, probably because he refused to sin with the matron, he enjoys the protection of divine beings and the demons do not harm him. The second episode features Rabbi Zadok, who also fights the demands of a non-Jewish woman for unlawful sex. The rabbi avoids the sin in a more diplomatic method. He tries to explain to the matron that sexual relations between them are prohibited by his religion. At first, he claims to feel faint and asks if there is anything to eat. The woman replies that indeed she has some food, yet it is unclean (not kosher). Rabbi Zadok retorts that a man who does that (i.e. engages in unlawful sexual relations) deserves to eat that (the non-sanctioned food) (אמר לה מאי נפקא מינה דעביד הא אכול הא). When the woman continues, unmoved by the rabbi's hint, Zadok promptly sits in the lit oven, explaining: 'He who commits the one [immorality], falls into the other [the fire—of Gehenna]'

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168   I thank Gideon Bohak for this reference.

169   Epstein's edition of the Talmud (pp. 196–197) uses a different verb for each of the three stories, although the original has a single verb, תבעתיה.

170   For the magical meaning of the term 'pronounces a word', see D. Sperber, *Magic and Folklore in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan, 1994), pp. 60–66.

(אמר לה דעביד הא נפיל בהא). Finally, the woman understands and she apologizes for having troubled him. The magical (or miraculous) element of the story lies in the fact that Rabbi Zadok is not harmed by sitting in the burning oven. The protagonist of the third story is Rav Kahana, who prefers to hurl himself from the roof rather than sin with a gentile woman. He is miraculously saved by the Prophet Elijah, who catches him and stops his fall. In all three stories the heroes escape sexual sin by supernatural means. However, this is not properly speaking counter magic for love spells, since the initial situations in which the heroes are found are not supernatural. The magical actions here are meant to provide a way out from a realistic muddle.

In the Christian and Islamic traditions things are not very different, and the targets of love magic remain silent. In some of the stories from the Christian world cited above the targets have been provided with solutions, such as exorcisms (St. Hilarion and the maiden from Gaza) or prayers and divine revelations (The Greek nun, King Alfonso), yet all these solutions belong to institutionalized religion, not to counter magic. Seldom can one detect a magical solution to the perils of love magic. For instance, Saint Hildegard of Bingen, living in the twelfth century, suggested treating women who had been harmed by love spells by placing leaves of betony under their tongues and inside their nostrils.[171] However, magic manuals from the Christian world seem to ignore this matter completely, focusing instead on issues of magically induced impotence. A similar picture emerges from the ecclesiastical literature and the canon legislation. An exception can be found in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, where five different solutions are suggested to a man suffering from magically induced impotence, four of which are entirely based on religious methods, while the fifth consists of the destruction of the magical instruments.[172] The same five solutions are depicted as efficient against unwanted love that was induced by spells. The *Malleus* emphasizes a verbal method of releasing these spells: '*exorcisatio per sacra verba*'.[173] The holy words may be hanged around one's neck, when the target of the spell is incapable of reading or reciting them: '*benedictiones et carmina secum deferre in collo potuerunt*'.[174] That is, they constitute a kind of amulet designed to prevent and avert the results of unwanted love spells. Yet finished products of this kind, if they had indeed existed, have left almost no trace.

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171   Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 45.

172   *Malleus Maleficarum* II.2.2; II.2.3 (= Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 2, pp. 374–384).

173   Mackay, *Malleus Maleficarum*, vol. 1, p. 517.

174   Ibid., p. 519.

The survey presented above suggests that very few solutions were available to those suffering from the flames of love, and that usually, the treatments (magical and otherwise) focused on instances of male impotence that were believed to derive from magic. There are hardly any finished products pertaining to the release of love spells, and even the magical recipes pertaining to this field are few. It is possible that supposed targets of love magic were treated by non-magical means (for example, distancing them from the person suspected of casting the love spell); and/or by spiritual means (such as fasting, confession, or submission to various spiritual exercises). Such treatments would not leave any noticeable traces to be examined centuries later. And yet, in view of the significant number of recipes and products of love magic in the magical corpora, it is difficult to interpret the absence of the counter spells that should have solved the problems created by the former. Almost all the data, from a variety of traditions and periods, reflects the position of the consumers of binding love spells, the position of the 'aggressors'. Why have the targets of the spells, their relatives and companions kept silent? How come such a wealth of finds pertaining to 'aggressive' love magic produced no counter finds, of a 'defensive' nature? For now, these questions remain unanswered.

6   Summary

The present chapter was meant to provide the historical and theoretical grounds on which a study of love magic may be based, by describing the characteristics of this branch of magic along a lengthy historical axis and across a wide geographical expanse, adding representative examples for each of the features discussed. As shown in section 1, motifs and goals that appear in the earliest known love spells, dating back to the third millennium BCE, continue to resurface throughout the centuries, in different geographical locations and among a variety of cultures. The analysis of these motifs allowed formulating a list of general characteristics that define, as stated in the title of the chapter, what we talk about when we talk about love magic. Equipped with this list we can examine the rationale of love magic and perhaps even shed light on the ends that its performers wished to achieve. At times, love spells were held responsible for phenomena to which they were not necessarily related. As concluded in section 4, it was easy to interpret through supernatural means almost any natural situation that was embarrassing or contrary to the norm. The last section focused on the targets (actual or imagined) against whom love spells were performed. Surprisingly, the information about this issue is very scarce, and most of the evidence derives from the 'aggressors', not from the people they targeted.

Despite the great amount of data that has been surveyed and analysed above, we should keep in mind that the nature of the sources rarely permits us to glimpse the entire story behind the performance of magical practices—their reasons, circumstances and results. Who composed the recipes? Who carried out their instructions? What was the connection between the magicians and their clients? What did each of them seek to achieve? How were their intended targets influenced by love magic, if at all? The sources, be they 'insider' (recipes and finished products) or 'outsider' (belletristic and historical descriptions), usually show only a general picture, even when one is curious about minutiae. In the following chapters I will nevertheless attempt to examine the intricacies of the Jewish magical tradition, from Late Antiquity and until the Middle Ages.

Making Love, Making Hate
Practices of Jewish Love Magic

1 Introductory Remarks

A distinction between different categories of magical actions and their per-
formers is already provided in the Hebrew Bible, although it is not entirely
clear how the categories were constituted: 'an augur, a soothsayer, a diviner,
a sorcerer, one who casts spells, or one who consults ghosts or familiar spirits,
or one who inquires with the dead'.[1] Rabbinic literature takes matters a step
further and differentiates between grades of magical practices: 'The laws of the
sorcerers are like those of the Shabbat: certain actions are punished by stoning,
some are exempt from punishment, yet forbidden, whilst others are entirely
permitted'.[2] Yet interestingly, a methodical and scientifically oriented classifi-
cation of magic is found, of all places, in the writings of its great opponent,
Maimonides (1135–1204), who, when referring to 'actions that used to be per-
formed by the Sabians, the Chasdeans, and the Chaldeans', writes in the *Guide
of the Perplexed*:[3]

> This (i.e. magic) is a very vast field; I, however, shall reduce—for your
> benefit—the practices involved to three kinds. The first one consists of
> those concerning one of the beings, which may be either a plant or an ani-
> mal or a mineral; the second consists of those concerning the determina-
> tion of the time at which these practices are performed; the third consists
> of human actions such as dancing, clapping hands, shouting, laughing,
> jumping with one leg, lying down upon the earth, burning something,
> fumigating with a definite fume, or uttering a speech understandable or
> not. These are the various species of the practices of the magicians.

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1 Deuteronomy 18:10–11.
2 BT Sanhedrin 67b: הלכות כשפים כהלכות שבת: יש מהן בסקילה, ויש מהן פטור אבל אסור, ויש
   'מהן מותר לכתחלה.
3 *The Guide of the Perplexed*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Sh. Pines (2 vols;
   Chicago and London, 1963), vol. 1, Part III, 37 (p. 541). For Maimonides' attitude towards magic,
   see A. Ravitzky, 'Maimonides and His Disciples on Linguistic Magic and "the Madness of the
   Writers of Amulets"', in A. Sagi and N. Ilan (eds), *Jewish Culture in the Eye of the Storm: A
   Jubilee Book in Honor of Yosef Aḥituv* (Hebrew; Tel-Aviv, 2002), pp. 431–458 (431–433).

Obviously, some practices incorporate all three elements listed above, as Maimonides proceeds to explain, displaying intimate familiarity with the world of magic:

> Furthermore there are magical operations that can be accomplished only with the help of all these practices. For instance they say: This or that quantity of the leaves of a certain plant shall be taken while the moon is under a certain sign of the Zodiac in the East or in one of the other cardinal points; also a definite quantity shall be taken from the horns or the excrements or the hair or the blood of a certain animal while the sun is, for example, in the middle of the sky or at some other determined place; furthermore, a certain mineral or several minerals shall be taken and cast while a certain sign is in the ascendant and the stars in a certain position; then you shall speak and say these and these things and shall fumigate the cast-metal form with these leaves and similar things—whereupon a certain thing will come about.

Some scholars hold that the classification established by Maimonides in the *Guide* implies a different attitude towards different types of magic ('high' versus 'low'), despite his opposition to such practices as a whole.[4] For the present discussion it is more relevant to consider the classification of magical practices according to the three factors suggested by Maimonides: the materials used in the practice, the timing of its performance, and the actual ritual performed. In the following pages I will examine the practices of Jewish love magic, following the Maimonidian scheme, though not necessarily in the same order.

The first step should be to define the term 'practice' in the present context. By this term I designate the various actions performed in a magical context, aiming at a predetermined goal. These actions may be manipulative (handling various materials) or verbal/locutory (inscribing or uttering various formulae). In most cases, Jewish love magic displays a combination of the two. The present chapter will discuss the manipulative aspect of the practices, even when they include also a verbal aspect, while the next chapter, 'Of Loviel and Other Demons', will focus on the verbal aspects.

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4 D. Schwartz, 'Magic, Experimental Science, and Scientific Method in the Maimonidean Philosophy: An Attitude and Its Medieval Interpretation', in A. Ravitzky (ed.), *From Rome to Jerusalem: The Memorial Volume for Joseph-Baruch Sermonita* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 25–45 (32–33). See also H.S. Lewis, 'Maimonides on Superstition', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 17 (1905), pp. 475–488; B. Safran, 'Maimonides' Attitude to Magic and to Related Types of Thinking', in B. Safran and E. Safran (eds), *Porat Yosef: Studies Presented to Rabbi Dr. Yosef Safran* (Hoboken, 1992); Ravitzky, 'Maimonides and His Disciples on Linguistic Magic'.

After identifying the practice types designed to induce love, favour and hate, as reflected in the magical recipes and the finished products encompassed by this study, I will attempt to detect the rationale underlying each practice, asking, for example, why certain ingredients were employed and not others, whether the manipulations conducted with these ingredients bore a particular symbolism, and so forth. Understanding the magical rationale, while overcoming the obscurity that is often a typical feature of magic, may lead to a better understanding of the world of magic users, and eventually, contribute to a general understanding of Jewish ritual.[5] This chapter will also address further questions arising from descriptions of the practices. One of these concerns the products generated by the practices: which could have survived the ravages of time, and which would have disappeared without a trace? How may we explain the frequency of certain products, as opposed to the rarity or even absence of others? I will also try to combine the information derived from the two types of 'insider' sources, recipes and products, in order to comprehend whether the practices indicated in the recipes were indeed performed in reality. 'Outsider' sources, that is, information about magic which is not magical in itself, like the words of Maimonides cited above, will also be considered. Other questions to be discussed in this chapter concern the practical aspects of the magical procedure: who was responsible for performing the practice—the magicians or their clients, the spell beneficiaries? And who was the magician? The identity of the clients, male and female, will be discussed in the next chapter, since its examination relies on the textual aspect of the sources, not on the practices they describe.

2   Magical Practices: An Overview

> One may marvel that such fantastic and often revolting
> concoctions and measures were expected to awaken
> the sweet sentiment of love (…)
>   JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG[6]

It ought to be noted at the onset that our sources are of a limited nature. Consisting only of written material (be they 'insider' or 'outsider' texts), they do

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5 For a similar stand see M.D. Swartz, 'Ritual Procedures in Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah', *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 13 (2006), pp. 305–318 (306–307).

6 Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 130.

not include magical recipes that would have been transmitted orally or magical practices whose performance has left no trace which may allow us to identify them as such.

A survey of the research corpus indicates that Jewish love magic from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages featured a limited number of practices. While the magical formulae were varied, exhibiting great literary freedom, the types of actions to be performed were few, and may be classified into three main categories. First and foremost is the practice of *inscribing a magical formula*. Most of the recipes for love magic that have come down to us require writing, displaying variations in their details: the type of writing implements and surface to be used, the actions to be performed before or after inscribing the text, and the timing of the action. A second type of practice is the *uttering of a magical incantation*. Some recipes instruct the practitioner merely to whisper or utter a formula, without inscribing it. A third type of practice, which excludes writing, is the *manipulation of materials* of various kinds. Occasionally, this type of practice is accompanied also by the uttering of an incantation. In the following pages I will describe in detail each of these three categories, and illustrate them through representative examples (recipes and/or finished products). When relevant, I will adduce parallels from Graeco-Roman, Christian and Islamic love magic, and try to highlight the similarity or difference between them and the Jewish magical practices.

2.1   *Writing Magical Formulae*

Writing is the most common practice of Jewish love magic, and probably of Jewish magic as a whole.[7] The majority of recipes require the inscribing of a text upon various surfaces, sometimes in ink, at other times in a substance of magical significance, such as blood or semen. In most cases the instructions call for readily available writing surfaces, like parchment, potsherds or eggs, all which are known from other branches of magic. One of the questions to be addressed in this section concerns the symbolism of these materials. It may be that often, practical reasons prompted magicians to opt for a specific material, since it allowed for a comfortable writing of the required text. Seldom will a recipe instruct the practitioner to engrave the formula on a stone (precious or common), or to write upon rare surfaces, such as the hide of animals that were not found abundantly in the vicinity of the practitioner.[8] Unfortunately, from

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7   Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', pp. 165–167.
8   An exception to this rule, which reinforces its veracity, is found in *Sefer ha-Razim*; see below, section 2.1.7.

the point of view of modern scholars, the recommended materials were mostly perishable and have survived only in special conditions, such as those found in the Cairo Genizah. Materials like stone or metal, which are more likely to withstand the passing of the centuries, were not a preferred writing surface in Jewish love magic of the periods discussed here.

2.1.1 Writing on Metal Tablets

Inscribing a magical text upon metal tablets or *lamellae*, to use the Latin term, was extremely common in the Graeco-Roman world, as evidenced by the binding tablets described in the previous chapter. And yet, this practice is almost entirely absent from the recipes and products of Jewish love magic, both from Late Antiquity and from later centuries. The reasons for this situation are difficult to ascertain, since metals, mainly lead and copper, were readily available in Palestine (indeed, the water systems throughout the Roman Empire were made of lead). Furthermore, dozens of metal amulets have been uncovered in Palestine and its environs. They were designed for a variety of purposes, yet, with one exception, they are not related to love magic.[9]

Sefer ha-Razim contains instructions for using metal as a writing surface in sixteen of its recipes.[10] These recipes specify the type of metal required, and one even instructs the practitioner to take the metal (in this case, lead) from the civic water pipes.[11] Only two of the recipes are designed for amorous ends. The first requires the practitioner to write several angel names on a tin tablet and to place the tablet on a plate containing some of his or her sweat.[12] The manipulation prescribed is not entirely clear, perhaps due to a corruption of

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9   Numerous metal amulets have been published by Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked in the AMB and MSF volumes, as well as by Roy Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*. See also Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 149–153.

10   For a complete list, see Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 174, note 77.

11   וקח ציץ פסובוטרון, 'and take a tablet of lead'; *Sefer ha-Razim*, Second Firmament, line 63 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §137). See also the discussion by Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim*, pp. 3–4. The Hebrew text contains a garbled transliteration of the Greek word ψυχροφόρον, a (leaden) water-pipe, which is rendered differently in almost every manuscript.

12   The word used for tin is Greek κασσιτέρινος, transliterated into Hebrew as קסיטרון. See Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim*, p. 3. The same term appears in another collection of magical recipes, rotulus Bodley MS. Heb. a. 3.31, 1a:29: כת׳ בטס דקסיטרון, 'write on a tablet of tin'. This recipe was probably designed to bind a person or to cause impotence. It may be the same text to which Margalioth referred when talking of 'an ancient Palestinian amulet in an Oxford MS' (ibid.). For a description of the rotulus and its contents, see G. Bohak, 'The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah', in G. Bohak, Y. Harari and Sh. Shaked (eds), *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp. 321–340.

the text, but for the present discussion it is the use of metal as a writing surface that is important:

Sefer ha-Razim, First Firmament, lines 143–145 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §74)

קח מזיעת (...)
פניך בכלי זכוכית חדש וכתוב עליו על טס קסיטרון שם השוטר
ושמות המלאכים והשלך לתוכו ואמור כך על זיעת פניך (...)

> (...) take some perspiration from
> your face in a new glass vessel and write on it, on a tin tablet, the name
>   of the overseer
> and the names of the angels, and throw (the tablet) into it (i.e. the
>   vessel) and say thus over the perspiration of your face (...)

It is not clear why tin was chosen as a writing surface in this recipe. As noted by Margalioth, this metal is rarely found in the Jewish magical tradition. This is in contrast to the corpus of Greek and Demotic magical papyri, for instance, where tin is mentioned about thirteen times, three of which relate to love magic.[13] The other recipes that require the use of tin in the PGM relate to amulets for exorcising demons and protection from them, for healing various illnesses, for obtaining information in a dream, or for binding a person.[14] There is, therefore, no obvious correlation between this metal and love magic.

However, in the second instance in which metal is mentioned as a writing surface in *Sefer ha-Razim*, one may glimpse a possible magical rationale. The following recipe requires the use of copper:

Sefer ha-Razim, Second Firmament, lines 31–36 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §127)

קח שני טסי נחושת וכתוב עליהם שמות
המלאכים האלה משני עבריהם שם האיש ושם האשה ואמור כך (...)
ותן אחד בכבשן שלאש ואחד במקווה המים שלה

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13   D.R. Jordan, 'P.Duk.inv. 729, Magical Formulae', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 46 (2006), pp. 159–173 (163, line 21, 169); PGM VII.216, 460, 462 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 122, 130).

14   Against demons: PGM VI.1225; 3012; VII.581 (= Betz, ibid., pp. 62; 96; 134). Healing: PGM VI.272; PDM xiv.1005 (= Betz, ibid., pp. 124; 244). Dream request: PGM VII.488 (= Betz, ibid., p. 131). Binding: PGM VII.417 (= Betz, ibid., p. 129).

> Take two copper tablets and write upon them the names of
> these angels on both sides, the name of the man and the name of the
>   woman, and say thus (…)
> And place one (tablet) in a fiery furnace and one in her (ritual?) bath[15]

It is possible that the use of copper tablets stems from this metal being associated with the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Greek mythology identified the birthplace of this goddess with Cyprus, an island famous for its copper mines.[16] Consequently, the Latin term for this metal was Cypriot bronze/copper (*aes Cyprium*, abbreviated *cuprum*). It may be that the association of the reddish metal with Cyprus and with the goddess Aphrodite stemmed from its colour, which was regarded as sensuous and linked to love in various cultures. However, copper was not used exclusively in love spells. In the PGM corpus it is mentioned fourteen times, less than half of which are love spells.[17] Similarly, *Sefer ha-Razim* instructs the reader to write upon copper tablets in three other instances beside the one cited above, none of which are related to love.[18] This does not rule out the possibility, however, that the author of *Sefer ha-Razim*

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15 Traditionally, Jewish women immerse in the *miqveh* as a purification ritual after menstruation so that they may be permitted to have intercourse with their spouses. The *miqveh* could also be a place of sexual promiscuity; see for instance the *midrash The Alphabet of Ben Sira*, which recounts that Ben Sira's mother conceived when she was immersing in the *miqveh*, from the semen of her own father, the prophet Jeremiah; see E. Yassif, *The Tales of Ben Sira in the Middle Ages: A Critical Text and Literary Studies* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 198–199. It is possible that the recipe does not refer to a ritual *miqveh*, but simply to the bathhouse of the targeted woman. Graeco-Roman culture regarded bathhouses as haunted by demons (similar to Jewish tradition) and imbued with magical properties; see C. Bonner, 'Demons in the Bath', in *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pp. 203–208; K.M.D. Dunbabin, 'Baiarum Grata Voluptas: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57 (1989), pp. 6–46; Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, p. 58. For an erotic spell using a text to be thrown into the furnace of the bathhouse see PGM VII.467–477 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 130–131).

16 Pliny even claimed that copper was first discovered in Cyprus: '*in Cypro, ubi prima aeris inventio*' (*Natural History* XXXIV.2).

17 The most noticeable of these is the recipe for fashioning the figurine of a woman and stabbing it with thirteen copper needles; PGM IV.322 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 44).

18 One of the recipes may be said to have some relation to grace and favour magic, since it is titled לפדות אוהבך ממשפט רע, 'To rescue your loved-one from a severe trial' (*Sefer ha-Razim*, Second Firmament, lines 144–153 [= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 167]). The other two are intended to prevent floods, and to return a runaway man or slave.

recommended the use of copper in an erotic recipe due to its association with the love goddess.

Writing on copper is also mentioned in the story of the maiden from Gaza (see above, chapter 1, section 4.1), where an infatuated young man bewitches a Christian maiden using, among other things, 'a tablet of (Cypriot) copper' (*aeris Cyprii lamina*).[19] The use of copper is likewise found in Islamic love magic, where some medieval recipes prescribe writing with a pen of 'red copper' (نحاس احمر).[20] Furthermore, some Islamic compositions that discuss the days of the week (the planet and the angels ruling each day, the metal pertaining to it, etc.), note that copper is the metal associated with Friday, the day of Aphrodite/Venus.[21] Consequently, the recipe from *Sefer ha-Razim* cited above could have associated the copper tablet with this goddess, and hence with its erotic aim.

In addition to there being few recipes of Jewish love magic that require metal as a writing surface, there are hardly any finished products of this kind. One of these rare finds was uncovered in the Galilean synagogue of Meroth (Ḥorvat Marish). It is a thin bronze tablet comprising twenty-six lines of writing and dated to the end of the Byzantine period.[22] The text, in Hebrew and Aramaic, was designed to achieve social success for a man named Yose b. Zenobia:

IAA 84–317, lines 17–20 (= MSF Amulet 16)

יהוון עמה
דהדה קרתא כבישין
ות[ב]ירין ונפילין
קודם יוסי בר דזינביה

May the inhabitants
of this town be suppressed
and b[r]oken and fallen
before Yose son of Zenobia

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19   Jerome, *Life of St. Hilarion*, 21

20   For an example in Arabic found in the Cairo Genizah, see T-S Ar. 42.57, 3a:7 (the leaf order is uncertain).

21   Canaan, 'The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans', p. 171.

22   J. Naveh '"A Good Subduing, There is None Like It": An Amulet from Ḥorvat Marish in the Galilee' (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 54 (1985), pp. 367–382; Z. Ilan, 'The Synagogue and Beth-Midrash of Meroth', in R. Hachlili (ed.), *Ancient Synagogues in Israel, Third-Seventh Century C.E.* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 21–42.

Although the tablet does not explicitly mention the term 'grace and favour', the verb 'to suppress' which appears in the text is well-known from magical recipes pertaining to this field.[23] I believe that the amulet beneficiary, Yose b. Zenobia, wished to achieve control over his fellow townsmen by gaining their sympathy, or in other words, by having 'grace and favour' in their eyes, hence the inclusion of this item in the present corpus. It is interesting to note that the amulet was deposited in a synagogue, as advised, incidentally, in one of the recipes from *Ḥarba de-Moshe*, thereby demonstrating once again the flexible boundaries of magic and religion.[24]

All the examples discussed so far date from Late Antiquity. Yet also in later centuries very few recipes are found that contain instructions for writing on metal, and the paucity of such finished products also persists. Among the few instances one may count a fragment of a magic manual from the Cairo Genizah:

T-S K 1.143, 14:3–5 (= MSF Geniza 18)

לעשו[ת]
[שלום] בין גבר לאנתיה יכ בדהב
(או בכ[(ס)]ף ית[ל]י יתה בכרעה דכרס(ה)

> To ma[ke]
> [peace] between a man and his wife. Let him write (?) on (a tablet of)[25] gold
> [or si]lver, let him suspend it from the leg of the chair

Another Genizah recipe, reminiscent of Graeco-Roman *defixiones*, bears the title באב לשנאה, 'A chapter for hate', and instructs the practitioner to inscribe a magical formula upon a lead tablet.[26] With rare exceptions, however, finished products prepared according to such instructions have not survived. It may be concluded that metal was rarely used as a writing surface in Jewish love magic,

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23   See, e.g., fragments T-S K 1.15, 2:17 (= MSF Geniza 9); T-S K 1.80, 1:7 (= MSF Geniza 15).

24   Harari, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 93, #105 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, p. 44). Another metal object possibly designed for grace and favour is a bronze amulet discovered in the synagogue of Bar'am in the Galilee; see J. Naveh, 'An Aramaic Amulet from Bar'am', in A.J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner (eds), *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part III: Where We Stand* (4 vols; Leiden and Boston, 2001), vol. 4, pp. 179–185. However, due to its fragmentary nature, the aim of this amulet cannot be established with certainty.

25   Naveh and Shaked translate here 'with gold [or si]lver'.

26   T-S Ar. 44.127, 2:8–12 (= MSF Geniza 24).

which is surprising in light of its availability, ease of use, as well as the parallels attested in non-Jewish traditions.

2.1.2   Writing on Parchment

The most common writing surface prescribed in Jewish recipes of love magic is parchment, with a preference for that made of gazelle hide. In the first centuries CE gazelle parchment was considered more valuable than cow parchment, due to its rarity. This material was used for writing amulets as well as sacred texts, such as Torah scrolls or *mezuzot*.[27] It may be that it was recommended for magical purposes precisely because of its use for writing sacred texts.[28] A few magical recipes require the use of uterine vellum, that is, hides from calf foetuses (עוֹר שָׁלִיל). Like gazelle parchment, this type of material was also used for writing sacred Jewish texts, and it was even regarded as more exquisite and preferable to regular parchment. Nevertheless, uterine vellum seldom appears as a writing surface in Jewish love magic.[29] It is mentioned, however, in non-Jewish magical traditions, and the *Decameron* by Boccaccio even provides a literary example for its use, describing an erotic amulet inscribed upon uterine vellum in the blood of a bat, with which the spell beneficiary was supposed to touch his target.[30]

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27   The halakhic sources distinguish between two types of material: leather (עור) and parchment (קלף); see Mishna Shabbat 8:3; PT Meggilah 1:9. However, Jewish magical literature makes no such differentiation, and the terms עור צבי, 'gazelle leather' and קלף צבי, 'gazelle parchment' are used interchangeably.

28   See M. Bar-Ilan, 'The Writing of Torah Scrolls, Tefilin, Mezuzot, and Amulets on Gazelle Skin' (Hebrew), *Beit Miqra* 30/102 (1984), pp. 375–381 (380); for a different view, cf. D.C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA, 2006), p. 128.

29   It is, however, known from other branches of Jewish magic. Examples include a recipe from a fourteenth-century Italian manuscript, for preparing קמיע טוב מאוד לשמירה לנערים קטנים מפני פחד לילה [...] ויכתוב אותו בקלף שליל ביום שני או חמישי בטהרה רבה, 'a very good amulet for protection of small children from nightly fear (…) and it should be written on uterine vellum on Monday or Thursday in great purity' (JTSL 8114, fol. 27a:1–5); a recipe for קפיצת הדרך, 'shortening of the path' in an Oriental manuscript from the fifteenth century: כתוב עשרה שמות אלו בקלף של נפל של צבי, 'Write these ten names on a parchment from a gazelle foetus' (NYPL MS Heb. 190, fol. 62:20–21 [= Bohak ed., p. 102, for which see note 37 below]); a Genizah recipe for aiding a woman in childbirth: כתוב זה השם על עור שָׁלִיל או על גויל, 'write this name on uterine vellum or on parchment' (T-S AS 143.171, 2a:5–6 = MTKG III, no. 68).

30   'Adunque,' disse Bruno 'fa che tu mi rechi un poco di carta non nata e un vispistrello vivo e tre granella d'incenso e una candela benedetta, e lascia far me'. *Decameron*, Ninth day, Story 5.

Besides the possibility that writing on gazelle parchment stemmed from an association between magical products and the products of institutionalized religion, another option should be considered, although it is difficult to verify. Sometimes, the magicians responsible for composing and copying the recipe manuals and manufacturing the products based on them may have also been engaged in inscribing sacred texts. In such cases, they would have had access to gazelle parchment, and would have used it in two capacities: as writers of Torah scrolls and *mezuzot* and as amulet writers.[31] A similar situation is documented for the medieval Christian world.[32] The use of gazelle parchment for writing both sacred and magical texts is also found in the Islamic tradition.[33] However, the Islamic world adopted paper—a Chinese invention that arrived by trade routes between Asia and Europe—as early as the ninth century, and the use of this new writing surface soon replaced papyrus and parchment. In Christian Europe, on the other hand, the process was slower, and medieval Christianity retained a preference for writing sacred literature on parchment. It would seem, however, that parchment, especially gazelle parchment, did maintain its status as a preferred writing surface in both Islamic and Jewish love magic.

About half of the recipes of Jewish love magic that require writing on parchment specifically mention gazelle parchment. These include recipes for obtaining love, grace and favour, as well as recipes for separation and hate. In most cases, the finished product was to be carried upon one's body, or to come into contact with the body of the intended target, like in the following recipe from an unpublished Italian manuscript:

JTSL 8114, fol. 93(94)a: 20–23

<div dir="rtl">

כתוב בקלף צבי וגע לאשה ותבא אחריך ואם רצונך להבחין

אותו שימהו על ראש כלב ויבא

אחריך ואלו הם ″ ⟨magical signs⟩

</div>

> Write on gazelle parchment and touch the woman and she will follow
>   you. And if you wish to try

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31   Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', p. 180. The William Gross collection includes a Scroll of Esther from the nineteenth century written on gazelle parchment (catalogue no. 082.010.001), whose initial end is missing a rectangular portion, which may have been cut out to prepare an amulet.

32   Skemer, *Binding Words*, pp. 128–130.

33   M. Maraqten, 'Writing Materials in Pre-Islamic Arabia', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43 (1998), pp. 287–310 (288–290).

it put it on the head of a dog and it will follow
you.[34] And they are these. ⟨magical signs⟩

A small number of recipes instruct the practitioner to toss the parchment into
a fire, as in the first fragment cited below, or else to bury it in the ground, as in
the second example:

T-S K 1.37, 2a:12–16 (= MTKG I, pp. 55–66)

קבלה כת׳ בצבי. ותלי עליה ג׳ יומין
ואחר ג׳ ימים. יטמנו ⟨אצל⟩ }ב{תנור[35] או אצל מוקד
ויקאל עליה. כמא יחמא הדא אל מלאיכה
והדא אל אסמא כדיי יחמא קלב פ׳ב׳פ׳ עלי
פ׳ב׳פ׳ א׳ס׳.

Recipe. Write on (parchment of) gazelle and hang (it) upon him 3 days
and after 3 days he should place it in an oven or in a bonfire
and he should say upon it: as are heated these angels
and these names so shall be heated the heart of N b. N. over
N b. N. A(men) S(ela)

T-S NS 164.157, 1b:10–15

ללאהבה יוכ[תב] פי ג׳ איאם מן אלשהר
פי רק גזל ז׳ אסמא (...)
ויטמר תחת אסכפה
אלבאב

For love. It should be writ[ten] on the 3rd day of the month
on gazelle hide 7 names (...)
and it should be buried under the threshold of
the door.

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34   Testing the efficacy of a love spell on an animal appears in other texts of Jewish love magic,
      including in later sources, such as a manuscript dated to the eighteenth or nineteenth
      centuries: ואם תרצה לנסות זה כתבם על שם בהמה א׳ [= אחת] וגע בה את הבהמה, 'And if you
      wish to try this write them (the signs) in the name of a beast and touch it to the beast' (MS
      Benayahu Kof 153, fol. 176a, lines 29–30). Another example is found in the recipe manual
      of R. Kaduri: ואם תרצה לנסותו הראהו לאתון והיא תרוץ אחריך, 'And if you wish to try it
      show it to a female ass and she will run after you' (*Ma'ariv* Shabbat Supplement, 25 April
      2008, manuscript photo on p. 14).

35   The scribe crossed out the ב of בתנור, and replaced it with אצל in the margin.

While the first recipe requires an act of sympathetic magic (as the names of the angels burn, so should the heart of the target), the second recipe seeks to establish contact between the parchment and the intended target. A simple way to achieve this, while maintaining relative secrecy, was to bury the finished product at a site where the target passed every day: his or her threshold.[36] Such practices, however, are not typical for the use of parchment. As will be shown below, other materials, mainly shards and eggs, were typically employed in these ways. Conversely, writing upon parchment was usually used for amulets that were to be carried by the spell beneficiary in order to find grace or to induce love, like in the following recipes:

T-S K 1.73, 2:7–8 (= AMB Geniza 6)

<div dir="rtl">

חורן כתוב עלא ריק גזל
בסוך וזעפרן ועלקוה עליך

</div>

Another (charm). Write on gazelle parchment
with *sukk* and saffron and hang it on yourself

The next recipe displays an interesting combination of two practices involving gazelle parchment. First, a magical formula should be inscribed on gazelle parchment, which is then buried under the threshold of the woman whose love is sought. Then, after the woman has stepped over it, probably unknowingly, and was thus 'touched' by the magical formula, the parchment should be removed from the ground and worn as an amulet on the arm of the spell beneficiary.

NYPL MS Heb. 190, fol. 201:1–6 (= Bohak ed., p. 242)[37]

<div dir="rtl">

לאהבה קח עור צבי וכתוב עליו)...(וסב מן שערים ותנם בתוך השמות
וכרוך אותם ותנם תחת האסקופה שהיא עוברת ושבה ואחר כך
לך וקחם ותן על זרועך

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36   As mentioned earlier (chapter 1, section 1.1), such practices are already attested in Mesopotamian love magic, but with clay, not parchment, serving as a writing surface.

37   G. Bohak, *A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of Jewish Magic: Ms New York Public Library, Heb. 190 (formerly Sassoon 56), Introduction, Annotated Edition and Facsimile* (Hebrew; 2 vols; Los Angeles, 2014). All references are to vol. 1.

> For love. Take gazelle parchment and write upon it (…) and take from
> the gates (?)[38] and place them inside the names
> and bundle them and place them under the threshold where she comes
> and goes, and then
> go and fetch them and place (them) on your arm.

The recipes cited above indicate that following the inscription of a text on parchment, the practices differed from one another. It would seem that the magical factor in these practices did not reside in the writing surface but in the action that was performed with it. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that writing on gazelle parchment is required in numerous recipes for aims other than love, such as finding treasure, resurrecting a dead person, or exorcising a fierce demon.[39]

Naturally, magical products made of parchment have rarely survived. The items that have come down to us originate in the trove of the Cairo Genizah, where dry climatic conditions permitted their preservation. The corpus upon which the present study is based, comprising at least 46 products, contains no less than six parchment amulets (it has not been established whether they are gazelle hide or the hide of other animals), while the use of parchment is attested in at least twenty magical recipes. Incidentally, many of the recipes discussed here contain an instruction to write upon parchment 'with *sukk* and saffron' or saffron only. This writing material is also known from other branches of magic,[40] so, just like parchment, it does not contain a unique symbolism for love spells. Nevertheless, the authors of the recipes tended to specify exactly the type of surface and writing materials required, even when these appear to lack any special magical features.

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38 Possibly the text should have read מן שיערה, that is, 'from her hair', referring to the hair of the intended target. In this case the sentence would be: 'take from her hair and place them (the hairs) inside the names (written on the parchment) and bundle them'.

39 See the recipes in London BL Or. 12362 13b:4–11 (למצא מציאה, To find something), JTSL ENA 3051.2, 1a:13–14 (אם תחפוץ להחיות מת, If you wish to revive a dead person) and T-S K 1.78, 1a:2–6 (= MTKG III, no. 65: לבעל שד תקיף וחזק, To one who has a fierce and strong demon).

40 AMB, p. 229.

2.1.3   Writing on Eggs

In contrast to the use of parchment as a writing surface, writing on eggs obviously bore some magical significance, since the latter are not normally employed as writing material.

The egg appears in numerous myths from a variety of traditions,[41] and rabbinic sources mention eggs several times in sexual contexts.[42] In antiquity the egg was regarded as a lifeless matter, which nevertheless held the potential to create life, as seen in a passage from *Table-Talk* by Plutarch, which concerns the question of whether the egg preceded the chicken: 'in the rites of Dionysus the egg is consecrated as a symbol of that which produces everything and contains everything within itself.'[43] It may hence be deduced that eggs were regarded as having a liminal nature, and such objects, as is well known, constitute one of the fundamentals of magical practices. It should be noted that eggs serve as writing surfaces in other branches of Jewish magic, such as aggressive spells for 'sending a fire', spells against forgetfulness, or spells for inducing sleep.[44] They are also found in non-Jewish magical sources, like the *PGM*[45]

Love magic recipes that require an egg as a writing surface differ from one another in the type of 'ink' to be used, the manipulation to be performed with the egg after writing, and, of course, the magical formula to be inscribed. Some

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41   V. Newall, *An Egg at Easter: A Folklore Study* (London, 1971).

42   See, e.g., the story in BT Yoma 69b and in BT Sanhedrin 64a: when the transgression spirit (that is, the sexual drive) was jailed for three days, there was not one fresh egg to be found throughout the land—even the birds had ceased to copulate. The conclusion of the story is that without the transgression spirit the world would come to an end. This is an intriguing conclusion, since the rabbis probably knew that hens laid eggs regardless of the presence of a rooster. If so, why have they chosen to use the example of an egg? I thank Susan Weingarten for this reference.

43   Plutarch, *Table-Talk* II.3 (636, 2, E).

44   For sending a fire: שלוח אש לא יכ׳[?] כת[וב עלא בצא בת יומא (...) אדפנהא פי תנור, 'For sending a fire that does not go out (?). [Wri]te on an egg laid on the same day/ (...) put it (lit. bury it) inside a furnace' (T-S AS 142.16, 1b:11–16).

      Against forgetfulness: אם יכתוב הפסוקים בביצה/ צלויה ויאכל אותה בבת אחת בבקר קודם שיוכל דבר, 'If he writes the verses on a roasted egg/ and eats it at once in the morning, before eating anything' (NYPL MS Heb. 190, fol. 241:1–3 [= Bohak ed., p. 273]). On these types of practices, see also I. Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe* (New Haven, 1996), esp. pp. 54–59.

      For inducing sleep: לשינה/ קח ביצה בת יומה וכ[ת׳] עלה/ (...) והב תחות ראשון, 'For sleep./ Take an egg laid on the same day and w[rite] on it/ (...) and place it under his head' (T-S K 1.91, 1:9–11 [= MSF Geniza 16]).

45   *PGM* VII.521; XII.100 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 132; 156).

FIGURE 1   *Eggshell inscribed in pseudo-script resembling Hebrew letters. VA.Bab.2840,*
             Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.
             PHOTO BY DAN LEVENE, REPRODUCED FROM BHAYRO ET AL., *A*
             CATALOGUE OF ARAMAIC MAGIC BOWLS AND SIMILAR OBJECTS IN THE
             VORDERASIATISCHES MUSEUM (BERLIN), *BEIHEFTE ZUM ARCHIV FÜR*
             ORIENTFORSCHUNG, FORTHCOMING

recipes add further details, such as the colour of the hen which laid the egg, the day on which it was laid, or how fresh it is. In Jewish love magic the egg usually undergoes a process of burning or burial; the former resulting in the immediate destruction of the writing surface.[46]

Below are some examples of recipes in which eggs were employed as writing surfaces. The first required a skilful hand, since the egg first had to be emptied of its contents and filled with a different type of liquid:

T-S K 1.28, 1a:2–11 (= MTKG I, pp. 133–150)

לאהבה בחון ומנוסה קח ביצה
ושפוך מה שיש בתוכה בנקב קטן
וכשתהיה הביצה {ריקה}[47] ריקה קח
מדמו של איש ומדם של אשה ומלא
ה הביצה (!) כולה וסתום הנקב של
הביצה מן דונג וכתוב מן הדמים שם
האיש ושם האשה וקבור אותו בקרקע
ומיד יהיה אהבה גדולה ביניהם
שלא יוכל ליפרד אחד מחבירו. וזה
בחון

For love, tested and tried. Take an egg
and pour what is in it through a small orifice,
and when the egg will be {empty} empty take
from the blood of a man and from the blood of a woman and fill
the entire egg, and stop the orifice of
the egg with wax, and write with the bloods (pl.) the name
of the man and the name of the woman and bury it in the ground.
And immediately there will be a great love between them,
that they will not be able to separate one from the other. And this is
tested.

It seems that the practice described in the above recipe is based on sympathetic principles. Mixing the blood of the potential couple and placing the mixture inside the eggshell is supposed to form a new entity, one which is impossible

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46 As opposed to recipes demanding the burning of a clay shard (see below, section 2.1.5), in which the writing surface is hardened by the flames, an egg tossed into fire will explode.

47 The word ריקה seems to have been stricken out and then rewritten.

to separate.[48] This raises the question why the recipe requires the egg to be buried after the names of the man and the woman have been inscribed on it. As opposed to some of the previously cited recipes, in this case no contact needs to be established between the finished product and the individuals involved in the spell. Another interesting question concerns the secrecy of the practice, and hence, the relationship between its participants: how could the practitioner extract blood from one or both members of the couple without their knowledge? Moreover, the recipe probably required a significant amount of blood, since it demands the practitioner to 'fill the entire egg'. One may perhaps use blood from bloodletting of the target, if the right circumstances occur.[49] Yet what are the chances that the intended target would undergo a procedure of bloodletting just at the time when the spell beneficiary wished to act, and how great were the latter's chances of stealing the target's blood? Could this recipe have been intended for actual partners, who were seeking to ensure the strength of their marriage or relationship? Most of the studies dealing with love magic, including the present one, regard it as a process in which the spell beneficiary attempted to force the targets to act against their own will. And, indeed, this appears to have been the case in the majority of sources, Jewish and non-Jewish. Yet recipes like the one cited above suggest an alternative option: love magic that was employed with the knowledge and for the benefit of both parties involved.

The manipulation to be performed with the egg in the above recipe, that is, burying it in the ground, is unusual. Most recipes of Jewish love magic that required the egg to be buried are designed to induce hate rather than affection, as may be seen from the following examples:

JTSL ENA 2873.7–8, 1a:12–13

<div dir="rtl">

עוד קח ביצה שנולדה יום ה וכתוב עליה אלו השמות ביום שני
וטמון אותם אצל ראש הקבר

</div>

Another (recipe for hate). Take an egg that was born on Thursday and
write upon it these names on Monday,
and bury them at the head of the tomb.

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48   For a discussion of this recipe, see also Swartz, 'Ritual Procedures in Magical Texts', p. 312, who suggests that 'The egg thus serves as the meeting place for the prospective couple.'

49   Some Jewish recipes require the use of menstrual blood, yet I do not think it could be used in this case, given the specifications of the recipe.

JTSL ENA 2888.8–9, 3:6–8

לשנאה
אכת[ב] עלי ביﹾצה דגאגה סודא ואדפנהא
פי קבר והדא אלדי תכתוב

> For hate.
> Writ[e] on an egg of a black hen and bury it
> in a tomb. And this is what you should write.

Hate spells do not necessarily require the egg to be buried after inscribing the text. For example, in the following fragment the writing on the egg suffices to produce a *materia magica* that could be used to cause separation.

T-S K 1.132, 2:10–13 (= MSF Geniza 17)[50]

לשנאה
כתוב על ביצה בת יומה ותשרה אותו
במים ותשפוך אותו על אם הדרך
שהם עתידין לעבור.

> For hate. Write on an egg laid the same day and immerse it (the writing)
> in water and pour it over the road
> where they are about to pass.

The practice of writing on a surface and erasing the text with a liquid (usually water or wine), and subsequently performing a manipulation with the liquid, is known from other branches of magic, both Jewish and non-Jewish. In the above recipe, contact must be established between the text and the targets of the spell, by pouring the liquid (which now contains the magical words) on the road where the couple was supposed to pass. In this recipe the egg functions as a writing surface of inherent magical value, although it does not seem to hold a central place in the magical rationale. This differs from its function in the previous and following instances.

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50   The transcription provided in MSF omits one line, and these line numbers are given there
      as 9–12.

Recipes designed to create the contrary emotion to that sought above, that is love, often require the egg to be heated or burned rather than buried after the writing, as exemplified below.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36a:29–32

<div dir="rtl">

קח

ביצה שנולדה ביום ה׳ מתרנגולת שחורה וכתו׳ עליה <u>אריה טהס? שילאטיה כרכוס</u>

<u>חסא</u>

<u>בר פפא</u> וישים אותה ביצה כנגד האור ויאמ׳ כשם שזו הביצה מתחממת מזה האור

כך יהיה לי

פלוני׳ בר פלוני׳ מתחמ׳ עלי

</div>

take

an egg that was born on Thursday from a black hen and write upon it
’ryh ths? syl’tyh krkws hs’

br pp’. And he should place that egg against the light and should say: 'As this egg is heated by this light, so should it be for me,

N son of N heated over me'

JTSL 8114, fol. 92 (93)b:16–19

<div dir="rtl">

ע״א (= עוד אחד) קח ביצה שנולדה ביום ה׳ מתרנגולת שחורה ואפה הביצה

ותסיר קליפתה העליונה ותכתוב על הביצה זה <u>דונג דג דונג</u>

ושרוף אותה ותאמר כשם שנשרפת זאת הביצה כן ישרף

לב פלו׳ ב{נ}ת פלו׳ עלי ארץ ״

</div>

Another one (recipe for love). Take an egg that was born on Thursday from a black hen and bake the egg,

and remove its upper shell, and write on the egg this: *dwng dg dwng*

and burn it, and say: 'As this egg is burning so should burn

the heart of N {son}[51] daughter of N over the land (?)'.

JTSL ENA 3774.16, 1a:1–3

<div dir="rtl">

באב לאהבה יכתב עלי ביצה {ואלקי}

בנת יומהא (...) ואלקי פי תנור יום אלגמעה

</div>

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51   The letter *nun* was deleted and replaced by *taw*, thus turning the noun from 'son' to 'daughter'.

> Chapter for love. It should be written on an egg {and toss}[52]
> laid on the same day (…) and toss it in a furnace on Friday

Several conspicuous features emerge from a survey of Jewish love spells that employ eggs as a writing surface. First, the eggs involved are always chicken eggs (also when the type of egg was not specified, it may be assumed that chicken eggs were used). One might have expected to encounter dove eggs, since this bird is associated with the emotion of love, yet the sources contradict this expectation. The reason may simply be the relative availability of chicken eggs in comparison with those of other birds.

Second, in terms of practice, a text was usually inscribed upon the egg, which was then either tossed into a fire or buried in the ground. The second part of the practice seems to be directly related to the aims of the spell. While recipes designed to implant love in the heart of a man or a woman required the egg to be burned, those that sought to cause enmity required burying the egg. The magical rationale underlying this seems straightforward. Placing the inscribed egg inside a tomb was intended to establish a connection between the aims of the ritual (hate, separation) and the cold and emotionless world of the dead. This does not necessarily imply addressing the dead in a fashion known from Graeco-Roman magic. In ancient Judaism, too, the resting place of the dead was symbolic, usually with negative connotations, and hence, it is not surprising that it was included in practices of an aggressive nature such as hate spells. Additionally, burying the egg permits the magical process to be reversed. In other words, the couple who had been separated by such a spell may be reunited if the person who performed the spell retrieved the egg from the ground. This is opposed to practices for inducing love, in which the egg was tossed into the flames, thus rendering the process irreversible. However, had the magical rationale been related only to the reversibility of the process, there would have been no point in burying the egg in a grave. Consequently, it is probable that the burial place and not only the burial act bore a ritual significance.

An exception to this rule is recipe T-S K 1.28 that was cited above, which aims to induce love yet requires the egg to be buried. This recipe, however, did not instruct the practitioner to place the egg in a cemetery, but specified: קבור אותו בקרקע, 'bury it in the ground'. This reinforces the above hypothesis regarding the magical rationale of these practices. The positive aim of the spell, inducing love between two persons, did not accord with the performance of the ritual in a cemetery. Given this, why did the recipe require the egg to be buried in

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52   The word was erased.

the ground? It may be that the earth was supposed to function as a 'hatching site' for the substance found in the egg (which was filled with the blood of the couple). Jewish magic contains recipes in which an egg was to be filled with certain ingredients and then buried in a refuse heap. After a specified time, the egg would be unearthed and cracked open; it would contain a living creature.[53] It is possible that the recipe in T-S K 1.28 expressed a similar rationale, yet the intended product, formed from the mixing of the couple's blood, was a powerful feeling of love rather than a living creature.

The third feature recurring in magical practices involving eggs concerns the colour of the hen. Recipes that addressed this issue, be they for inducing love or hate, usually required a black hen. It may be assumed that the magical rationale lay in the liminality of this colour. One might have expected to find a white hen featured in spells for inducing love, as white is equally liminal but with more positive connotations in Judaism, yet the sources show otherwise. The reason for this choice may be the relative rarity of black hens, as opposed to the ubiquity of white ones. Allusions supporting this hypothesis may perhaps be found in the rabbinic literature.[54] In any event, black chickens are included in the magical traditions (for love and other aims) of various cultures, and are not unique to Jewish love magic.

A survey of the corpus indicates that practices involving writing on eggs were fairly common for inducing love or hate (being absent, however, from favour spells). The possibility that eggs had symbolic qualities, and were perhaps regarded as living objects, is reinforced by the terminology employed in the spells (ביצה בת יומה, ביצה שנולדה) and from the emphasis placed on the freshness of the egg. It is further possible that, in Jewish tradition, eggs were imbued with sexual symbolism (see p. 101, note 42). Thus, eggs used as a writing surface contained an inherent magical value, supplemental to the text inscribed upon them and to the manipulation performed with them (burning, burial, etc.).

2.1.4 Writing on Leaves

Writing on leaves is another practice which has left no traces from the periods with which this study is concerned. Products of the recipes described below probably had a similar appearance to the modern amulet, now in the William Gross collection, which is written on a dry leaf.

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53   See below, pp. 243 ff.

54   For a black hen (זגתא אוכמתא) regarded as the best, see BT Bava Metziʾa 86b; for a black hen (תרנגולתא אוכמתי) as a magico-medical solution for sunstroke, see BT Gittin 67b.

FIGURE 2   *Modern amulet inscribed in Hebrew on a leaf. Gross collection*
027.040.001.
REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF WILLIAM GROSS,
ISRAEL

This practice does not seem to have been very common in Jewish love magic, as relatively few recipes require it. However, it was evidently a well-known and perhaps even widespread practice in other branches of Jewish magic. Writing on leaves is mentioned in the responsum of Hai Gaon (939–1038) concerning the use of magical names.[55] The Jews who address the rabbi mention in their query מי שלוקח [עלים] של קנה ושל זית וכותב עליהם ומשליכם נגד הליסטים ולא יוכלו לעבור, 'one who takes (leaves) of reed and of olive and writes upon them and casts them against the robbers, and they will not be able to pass'.[56] Hai Gaon is probably aware of the practice, yet he refutes its purported results: ויש דברים שאי אפשר היותם כל עיקר כאשר אמרתם, כי יש שאומ׳ שם ומחביאין עצמם מן הלסטים, 'and there are things which are entirely impossible as you have said, that there are those who say a name and hide themselves from the robbers'.[57]

Leaves were a convenient and readily available writing surface in many regions. Pliny claims that palm leaves formed the first writing surface in history.[58] And, indeed, texts inscribed upon leaves, particularly palm leaves, are known from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods.[59] In some locations leaves continued to be used for writing until modern times.[60] Their ubiquitous use is reflected in the fact that many languages, English included, employ the same word for 'page' as for 'leaf' (Latin *folium*, Arabic ورقة). Leaves were also used for magical texts, with Jewish love magic recipes tending to specify various types of leaves.

London BL Or. 12362, 30b:2–6

<div dir="rtl">

להרבות אהבה בין חתן וכלה ׳ כשתבא הכלה
מהחופה לאחר גמר עשיית הברכה כתוב שם
שניהם עם דבש על בֶ עלי סלוויאה ותן לאכול
העלה שכתוב עליו האיש לאיש ושם
האשה לאשה ׳

</div>

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55   I thank Gideon Bohak for bringing this reference to my attention.

56   S. Emanuel, *Newly Discovered Geonic Responsa* (Hebrew; Jerusalem and Cleveland, 1995), p. 128.

57   Ibid., p. 124.

58   *in palmularum foliis primo scriptitatum* (*Natural History* XIII, 69).

59   Maraqten, 'Writing Materials', pp. 292–294.

60   D. Diringer, *The Hand-Produced Book* (reprinted 1982 under the title *The Book Before Printing: Ancient, Medieval, and Oriental*) (New York, 1953), pp. 37–44.

To increase love between groom and bride. When the bride comes
from the *huppah* after the conclusion of the blessing, write the name
of both of them with honey upon 2 leaves of sage and give to eat
the leaf upon which is written the man('s name) to the man and the
    name
of the woman to the woman.[61]

The text is followed by a handsome drawing of two leaves bound together, the
right one bearing the caption 'the man's name' and the left one 'the woman's
name'.

T-S K 1.132, 1:9–16 (= MSF Geniza 17)

לאה]בה[
קח עלה תאנה וכתוב עליה ותשרה
אותו במים ותשקם לשניהם

[For lo]ve.
Take a fig leaf and write on it and immerse
it in water and give them both to drink

T-S NS 140.14, 1b:8–11

לאהבה · קח ז׳ טרפי הדס
לח וכ׳ת על כל א׳ מהן שם מן אלה
השמות · ושים הכל בכוס יין עסיס
ואשקי למי שתרצה והוא טהור

For love. Take 7 leaves of moist myrtle
and write on each of them a name from these
names. And put everything in a cup of sweet wine
and give to drink to whomever you wish, and he (it?) is pure[62]

---

61   It seems likely that the manuscript errs, and should require the man's name to be given to
      his bride and vice versa.

62   It is not entirely clear whether הוא refers to the practitioner performing the spell, who
      ought to be 'pure' when undertaking his task, or to the magical name inscribed on the
      leaves.

T-S K 1.16, 1b:6–11

<div dir="rtl">

באב לעשות שלום בין

איש לאשתו אכתב עלי

ורק זיתון ז׳ אוראק אכתב

עלי וחדה מנהם ה׳ה׳י׳ק׳?[63]

דתנון חינא וחיסדא לפ׳ב׳פ׳

קדם פ׳ב׳פ׳ אמן א׳ סלה הללויה

</div>

Chapter. To make peace between
a man and his wife. Write on
an olive leaf, 7 leaves. Write
on (every) one of them *ḥ ḥ y q* ?
that you should give grace and favour[64] to N b. N
in front of N b. N Amen A(men) Selah Halelujah

Writing on leaves is also known from other branches of Jewish magic, such as
recipes for adjuring an angel or for discovering the whereabouts of a runaway
slave.[65] It would seem, however, that this practice was more common in rituals
for 'opening of the heart' and improving memory, such as those found in a late
medieval Ashkenazi compilation of Hekhalot texts.[66]

JTSL 8128, § 574 (= Synopse, p. 218)

<div dir="rtl">

טביל פנייא ולמחר תענית׳ וכתוב עלי

טרף {תנאתא}[67] תאנאתא ואכול ושתי חמרא בתרה

</div>

Immerse (ritually) in the evening and fast the following day, and write
    on
a {fig} fig leaf and eat and drink wine afterwards.

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63   Probably short for an appeal to angels, but the abbreviation is not clear.

64   Note the use of the term 'grace and favour' in the context of matrimony.

65   Adjuration: Harari, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 86, #45 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, p. 40). Runaway slave:
      T-S NS 322.80, 1a:1–4.

66   In *Ḥarba de-Moshe*, however, one finds a spell for causing forgetfulness that employs a leaf
      as a writing surface; see Harari, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 96, #129 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, pp. 45–46).

67   The word has been deleted.

JTSL 8128, § 575 (= Synopse, p. 219)

כתוב על תלתא טרפי ⟨צׄיׄ⟩ זיתא. ומחוק ביין ושתי

Write on three olive leaves ṣy'. And erase with wine and drink.

It would appear that Jewish magic recommends similar practices for both amorous ends and improving memory (scholastic magic): inscribing a text upon leaves, erasing the writing with wine, and drinking it or giving it to the target of the spell in drink.[68] Through this action, the written words become integrated into the body of the spell targets: they act upon them 'from the inside', affecting their bodies and their minds.

As mentioned above, practices that involve writing on leaves are also known from non-Jewish magical traditions. The Greek and Demotic magical papyri include several recipes of this kind, yet only a few of them are for amorous aims. One requires writing a magical text that mentions Aphrodite upon a vine leaf, subsequently dissolving it in wine.[69] The resulting potion is then given to the desired woman, much like in the practices of Jewish magic cited above.

The practice of writing on leaves persists in the love spells of later periods. In sixteenth-century Venice a priest named Don Felice di Bibona described a practice for inducing love, in which a text was written on sage leaves that were then fed to the spell target.[70] According to Don Felice, the words to be inscribed were taken from the mass ceremony: *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, 'This is my body'. As suggested by Guido Ruggiero in his publication of this episode, the words that originally refer to the body of Christ may also refer, in the magical procedure, to the body of the spell beneficiary. Don Felice's account was part of his testimony in his trial, in which he was accused of performing love spells at the demand of a courtesan who sought to ensure the love of a local nobleman,

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68   Jewish scholastic magic often involves writing upon a surface such as leaves, hard-boiled eggs, and cakes, and then eating or drinking the written words. See M.D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, 1996); Marcus, *Rituals of Childhood*, esp. pp. 27–31, 59–67; Y. Harari, '"To Open the Heart": Magical Practices for Gaining Knowledge, Understanding and Memory in Judaism in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in Z. Gries, H. Kreisel, and B. Huss (eds), *Shefa Tal: Festschrift for Bracha Zak* (Hebrew; Beer-Sheba, 2004), pp. 303–347.

69   Jordan, 'P.Duk.inv. 729, Magical Formulae', pp. 160–161, lines 1–13; 164.

70   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, pp. 90–94. Sage, *salvia* in Italian, is also mentioned in one of the recipes quoted above, London BL Or. 12362, 30b:2–6, which was inscribed in Safed by an Italian Jew in the year 1536.

one of her past clients. The priest claimed that he had tried to persuade the courtesan to refrain from the use of magic, yet eventually suggested to her a better ingredient than sage leaves: a piece of the holy Eucharist. Like the leaves, the inscribed wafer was to be mixed in the target's food without the latter's knowledge.[71]

Recipes of Jewish love magic mention leaves of apple, bay, fig, myrtle and olive. The possible magical symbolism inherent in each of these plants should be considered separately.

Apples are well-known aphrodisiacs, and, as was stated earlier (chapter 1, section 1.1), were symbolically associated with emotions of love. This association, however, refers to the fruit, and not necessarily to the leaves, which appear only once in the corpus of texts analysed in this study.

Bay, mentioned in a Genizah recipe in which a formula is to be inscribed on seven bay leaves,[72] was associated in Graeco-Roman tradition with Apollo, through a mythological narrative featuring fiery infatuation.[73] Apollo is said to have fallen in love with the nymph Daphne (Greek for 'bay'), who tried to escape from him and was turned by the gods into a bay tree. It is thus unsurprising that Theocritus and subsequently Virgil both refer to the magical use of bay leaves (albeit uninscribed) to bring back a deserting lover. In Virgil's poem the lover is a man appropriately named Daphnis, and the depicted magician instructs her assistant: 'kindle the crackling bays with pitch./ Me cruel Daphnis burns; for Daphnis burn I this laurel.'[74] Turning to the 'insider'

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71   On the use of the Eucharist as *materia magica* in love spells see below, pp. 258–259. The testimony of Don Felice exemplifies the magical use of a canonical Christian text in two different versions. The first belongs to the realm of popular tradition (using readily available sage leaves, probably imbued with magical symbolism), while the second version, put forward by a clergyman, employs a material to which access is difficult: a piece of the Eucharistic wafer.

72   See the poorly preserved fragment T-S K 12.89, 1a:11–12: אהבה/ [ ] ז׳ טרפין דער ושחוק בחומר עתיק, 'Love./ [Write on?] 7 leaves of bay and pound in old wine'.

73   On the general symbolism of bay, see L. Deubner, 'Die Bedeutung des Kranzes im klassichen Altertum', reprinted in L. Deubner, *Kleine Schriften zur klassichen Altertumskunde* (Königstein, 1982, orig. pub. 1933), pp. 389–423 (401–402). On the magical function of this plant, particularly in divination rituals, see Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura*, pp. 77–79, and M.B. Ogle, 'Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folk-Lore', *The American Journal of Philology* 31.3 (1910), pp. 287–331. Bay is mentioned in the Talmud in medical contexts, for instance as a cure for intestinal worms; see BT Gittin 69b.

74   '(…) *fragilis incende bitumine lauros:/ Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum*', *Eclogae* VIII.82–83. This passage is mentioned also by Apuleius in his defence

magical sources, one finds bay leaves mentioned in several recipes from the Greek and Demotic magical papyri, none of which, however, concerns love.[75] The Christian compilation *The Testament of Solomon*, dated approximately to the third century, recommends writing upon seven bay leaves in order to create domestic harmony (perhaps between spouses?).[76] The inscribed leaves were to be immersed in water, which would then be sprinkled throughout the house.

The fig, one of the 'seven species' (שבעת המינים) in Judaism, is commonly associated with sexual matters. The Hebrew Bible recounts that Adam and Eve 'sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves girdles' (Genesis 3:7). In Greek mythology the fig is sacred to Dionysus, but at times it is associated with Priapus, for instance in the poem of Horace that mentions a statue of the fertility god made from a fig tree.[77] It is possible that a symbolic rationale underlies the practice of writing on fig leaves, but the scarcity of such instances in the corpus of Jewish love magic precludes a definite conclusion.

Myrtle, which occupies a special place in Jewish tradition, also ought to be mentioned. It is one of the 'four species' (ארבעת המינים) that are blessed during the Sukkot holiday, and is mentioned frequently in Jewish literature, although not in magical contexts.[78] In Greek and Roman mythology myrtle was regarded as sacred to Aphrodite/ Venus, and Pliny mentions a Venus Myrtea.[79] Queen Esther, also referred to as Hadassah (that is, Myrtle), is sometimes associated by modern scholars with Ishtar, the Mesopotamian love goddess, myrtle being linked with the Graeco-Roman counterparts of this deity.[80] A further connection between myrtle leaves and love may perhaps be inferred from a mourning custom mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud: 'when Rab died, R. Isaac b. Bisna decreed that no one should bring myrtles and palm-branches to a wedding

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speech, where he claims not to have used the ingredients mentioned by Virgil in the poem; see Apuleius, *Apologia* 30.

75   Some of these were designed to achieve a revelation from the god Apollo, e.g., *PGM* I.262–266 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 10); others recommend writing on bay leaves for obtaining responses in dreams, e.g., *PGM* VII.800–808 (= ibid., p. 140); or for preventing fear and anger, e.g., *PDM* xiv.1044–1054 (= ibid., p. 195).

76   *Testamentum Solomonis* 82 (= J.H. Charlesworth [ed.], *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Vol. 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments [London, 1983], p. 979).

77   Horace, *Sermones* I, VIII, 1.

78   Note, however, that one of the recipes for love from *Sefer ha-Razim* requires the use of a myrtle wood table (שלחן עץ הדס; First Firmament, line 164 = Rebiger and Schäfer, § 92).

79   *Natural History* XV.119–121.

80   S.T. Lachs, 'Hadassah That Is Esther', *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10 (1979), pp. 219–220; yet cf. S. Dalley, *Esther's Revenge at Susa: From Sennacherib to Ahasuerus* (Oxford and New York, 2007), pp. 168–170.

feast'.[81] Rashi, in his commentary on this passage, explains: 'They used to bring myrtle leaves and palm branches to rejoice in front of the groom and bride'.[82] Writing on myrtle leaves in magical spells for love, therefore, may have had a rationale rooted in mythology, which possibly stemmed from the association of this plant with the goddess of love.

The last plant to consider is the olive tree, whose leaves are mentioned as writing surfaces in several recipes of love magic. Olive is one of the most common fruit trees in the Mediterranean, and, as part of the 'seven species', is mentioned frequently in Jewish sources. The symbolism of this tree ranges from peace and calm to wealth and prosperity. Magical sources also refer to it in a variety of contexts. For instance, in the Greek magical papyri, writing on olive leaves is prescribed for medical purposes.[83] The Palestinian Talmud recounts that crowns of olive leaves were worn by grooms on their wedding day.[84] It is possible, therefore, that this plant was associated with love in the Jewish tradition. The ubiquity of the olive throughout Mediterranean cultures, however, precludes indicating a definite rationale in this case.

The fact that Jewish recipes of love magic required writing on specific, and different, types of leaves suggests that there was a meaning associated with the plant from which the leaves were taken (the same may be said of the number of leaves). In this section I have tried to detect the symbolism that each type of leaf held for the magical practice. However, while at least some of them may have been associated with love, the small number of recipes which required writing on leaves precludes definitive conclusions.

2.1.5   Writing on Pottery

Incising a text on unbaked clay and tossing it into a fire seems to have been one of the most popular practices of Jewish love magic.[85] Of all the practices

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81   BT Shabbat 110a: דכי נח נפשיה דרב גזר רב יצחק בר ביסנא דליכא דלימטייה אסא וגידמי לבי היללא.

82   היו רגילים להביא עלי הדס וענפי דקלים לשמוח לפני החתן והכלה.

83   *PGM* VII.213–214 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 121).

84   PT Sotah 9:15: אילו הן עטרות חתנים. (...) של מלח ושל זית.

85   Jewish love magic included other uses of potsherds that did not involve fire. A relatively early example is a recipe from *Ḥarba de-Moshe* that did not require the shard to be burnt, and perhaps also not to be inscribed: לגברא דייתי בתרך סב חספא חדתא וצבע במורא אוכם ואמ׳ עליה על שמיה מן אתומי ועד פנכיר ואיזיל ולא תצפי לאחורך, 'To make a man follow you, take a new sherd and dip (it) in black myrrh and say over it pertaining to his name from ʾTWMY until PNKYR and go and depart and do not look backward'; see Harari, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 87, #56 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, p. 41).

listed in the recipes, this type of product stood the best chance of surviving the passing of time. Nevertheless, only one product has been uncovered so far that illustrates this practice.[86] I am unaware of any such magical product originating in a non-Jewish context, although the practice is also well attested outside Judaism.

Interestingly, recipes that require writing on pottery often reiterate the same magical formula. This formula appears repeatedly in texts ranging from the fifth or sixth centuries CE to the early twentieth century. It adjures a group of supernatural entities, designated as 'holy names' or 'angels', whose names undergo relatively minor changes across the texts, thus allowing their continual identification. One of the many versions of this recipe states:

JTSL ENA 3740.8–9, 2b:1–18[87]

[ה]ראות אתבאות קולהון ספתון
[ס]וסגר מכמר אתון שמ[ה]תא קדישיה
השבעתי עליכון היך מה דהדין
חספה יקוד [ב]נורא כין תוקדון ליביה
דאית (?) ססס[88] [באה?]בה בתר גדי ובתר
חלקתי (...)

[h]rʾwt ʾtbʾwt qwlhwn sptwn
[s]wsgr mkmr, You holy names,
I have adjured you, as this
shard burns in the fire, so shall you burn the heart
of the woman (?) N b. N [with lo]ve (?), after my fate and after
my destiny (...)

While the practice of inscribing a piece of clay and tossing it into a fire was often associated with this particular formula, some recipes containing similar instructions display different formulae. For instance, in fragment T-S K 1.73, 1:3– 14 (= AMB Geniza 6), one finds parallel instructions and a similar analogy: ויהוי ליבה יקד הך/ מא דהדן חספא יקד, 'and may her heart burn like/ this shard burns'.

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86   AMB, Amulet 10.

87   The reconstructions are based on the parallels of this formula, for example: הבהאל כת׳
על חסף/ דלא אזי וטלק לנורא בשם הראות אתבאות [קף?]ולס?ון ספתון/ סוסגר מכמר (Mosseri
VI.10, 1a:16–22).

88   The scribe uses ססס to represent N b. N.

However, the *hrʾwt ʾtbʾwt* names are missing from this recipe, which instead contains an adjuration of the angels Nuriel and Abrasax.[89]

One of the most fascinating magical products included in this corpus, and the earliest product of Jewish love magic to be uncovered thus far, is an Aramaic text inscribed on a potsherd measuring ca. 8.5×8.5 cm, and broken into five pieces. The shard was uncovered in archaeological excavations near the synagogue of Ḥorvat Rimmon (north of Beʾer Sheba). It was found in a debris layer, and is dated to the fifth or sixth centuries CE. This piece of clay was inscribed with a short text and then tossed into a fire, as indicated both by the text and by the black burning marks preserved on its surface. The fragments were uncovered close to the remains of two kilns.[90] This artefact is undoubtedly a love spell, whose beneficiary, probably a man, remains anonymous, while the name of the target, whose love he sought to obtain, was Rachel daughter of Marian (?).

AMB Amulet 10 (see also MSF p. 219)[91]

הראות אתבאות קולהון
ספתון סוסגר [מכמר]
אתון מלאכיה קד[ישיה ...]
[אשבעית] יתכון כמ[ה דהדין חספא]
[יקוד (בנורא) כן] יקוד לבה דר[חל ברתה]
[דמר]ין בתרי אנה [...]

> *hrʾwt ʾtbʾwt qwlhwn*
> *sptwn swsgr* [*mkmr*]
> You ho[ly] angels [...],
> [I adjure] you just as [this shard]
> [burns (in the fire) so shall] burn the heart of R[achel daughter]
> [of Mar?]ian after me, I [...]

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89   For more on this recipe, see pp. 185–186.

90   A. Kloner, 'The Synagogue of Ḥorvat Rimmon' (Hebrew), *Qadmoniot* 16 (1983), pp. 65–71 (70).

91   On this magical product, see also Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 156–158; Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, pp. 162–163. For a discussion of the magical rationale of burning, see O.-P. Saar, 'May His Heart Burn after Her: The Motif of Fire in Love Spells from the Cairo Genizah' (Hebrew), *Peʾamim* 133–134 (2013), pp. 209–239.

The reconstruction of this text relies on several recipes uncovered in the Cairo Genizah, especially T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:8–16 (= MSF Geniza 22), which preserves with a great degree of accuracy the formula on which the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard was based. It begins with an instruction in Aramaic, כת׳ על חסף דלא אזי, 'Write on an unbaked shard', which is followed by the names of מלאכיא קדיש׳, 'the holy angels', *ḥrʾwt ʾytbʾwt qwlhwn* ((*qlhwn*))/ *sftwn* ((*sfwnyn*)) *swsyg* ((*swsgr*)) *mkmr* (((סוסגר)) סוסיג ((ספונין)) ספתון /((קלהון)) הראות איתבאות קולהון ((מכמר).[92]

The magical rationale underlying this practice is probably composed of two symbolic strata. The first and more obvious is the analogy between the burning of the shard and a metaphorical burning of the target's heart. As shown above, this analogy is explicitly indicated in the formula accompanying the practice: 'as this shard burns, so shall burn the heart of N b. N' (see further below, chapter 3, section 4.4). But this is not sufficient an explanation for the use of clay as a writing surface. The formula could have been written on cloth, parchment, paper or other readily available surfaces, and then tossed into the flames. The answer may lie in the reaction of this material to fire. Burning wet clay meant that at the end of the process the incised text was fixed upon the surface and could no longer be deleted. Thus, the second magical principle underlying this practice is a one-directional transformation of the material, and, correspondingly, of the emotion to be implanted in the heart of the spell target. Just as the wet clay is burned and hardened by the flames, so is the love in the heart of the intended target to become stable and unchangeable. In some cases, the analogy may have been not merely psychological, but also physical: as the clay hardened, so should the sexual organ of the man involved in the spell (either as a target or as a beneficiary) be hardened.[93]

Writing on potsherds is also attested in non-Jewish love magic. For instance, the Greek magical papyri contain a recipe for inducing love, addressing the goddess Hecate by means of a text incised on wet clay with a copper pen.[94]

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92   The words in double brackets were written on the margins, probably because the copyist had two versions of the magical names and preferred not to choose between them, but to preserve both versions.

93   In this context note Virgil's verses describing love spells that employ wet clay (perhaps a clay figurine) that is tossed into a fire: 'As this clay hardens and this wax melts/ in the same flame, so shall happen to Daphnis, in our love' (*Eclogae* VIII.80–81). For a discussion of these lines, see Faraone, 'Clay Hardens and Wax Melts'; J.T. Katz and K. Volk, 'Erotic Hardening and Softening in Vergil's Eight Eclogue', *Classical Quarterly* 56 (2006), pp. 169–174.

94   *PGM* XXXVI.187–210 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 274).

The text, which has suffered in transmission, does not specify that the clay should be burned, yet it mentions burning and fire several times. It is thus not impossible that the original recipe required the shard to be burnt.

The use of wet clay for love or hate spells can also be found in medieval Islamic magic. A recipe attributed to Ahmad al-Buni (died 1225) requires the inscription of magical names upon wet clay, which was then to be placed on a high wall, with miraculous results to be expected.[95] Furthermore, Arabic recipes retrieved from the Cairo Genizah contain instructions for incising a text upon a shard, sometimes with a copper pen, and tossing it into flames.[96]

A slightly different version of the practice discussed here appears in court records from the early modern period. In 1626 an Italian woman named Angela de Bruni was brought before the Inquisition tribunal in Venice. She was accused of performing love spells by inscribing a text on glass, which she then cast into flames.[97] It is possible that in Venice, a city famous for its glass industry, clay was replaced with the more readily available material, that was used in a similar manner. If so, the notion of irreversibly transforming wet clay by hardening it was replaced by the notion of irreversibly transforming glass by melting it in the fire.

It can be concluded that writing on wet clay and casting it into flames was a widespread practice in Jewish love magic. This is probably more to do with the symbolism inherent in the practice than the availability of the material. As far as the practice is concerned, there are recipes requiring easier manipulations, and also ingredients which are just as readily available, such as leaves. The analogical act of burning the clay, leading to its irreversible hardening, seems to have been particularly appealing to the magicians and their clients. The reasons for this appeal cannot be further analysed without wandering into the realm of psychology, which is beyond the boundaries of the present study. One may only note, however, that the words written on behalf of an enamoured man around the fifth century CE resound in recipe manuals up until the twentieth century, accompanying the same ancient practice that left behind the burnt shard of Ḥorvat Rimmon.

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95   Fodor, 'The Rod of Moses', p. 109.
96   See, e.g., T-S Ar. 42.57, 3a:6–12, beginning باب تهييج تكتب على شقفة نية/ بقلم نحاس احمر, 'A chapter for storming. Write on unbaked clay/ with a pen of red copper'. The leaf order in this booklet, parts of which are listed under the shelfmark T-S Ar. 42.58, is uncertain.
97   R. Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550–1650* (Oxford, 1989), p. 127.

2.1.6   Other Writing Surfaces

A few recipes of Jewish love magic require other materials, such as pieces of cloth or animal bones, which are to be inscribed with magical formulae, and then subjected to an additional process, for example, burying or burning. In exceptional cases, these recipes may yield enduring products, such as the cloth strip preserved in the Cairo Genizah, which was meant to ignite love in the heart of Trškyn son of Ama-Allah towards a woman by the name of Gadab daughter of Tufaḥa:

T-S AS 142.174 (= AMB Geniza 1)

אז או ה׳ ה׳ ה׳ ⟨magical signs⟩
ה׳ ה׳ יוות[98] אתון כל קטיריה קדישיא וכל אתיה משבחיה אלהבו
ואבערו לביה דטרשכין בן אמה אללה בתר גדב בת תפאחה
אמן

⟨magical signs⟩ *ʾw ʾw hʿ hʿ hʿ*
hʿ hʿ yywt. You, all holy *charakteres*[99] and all praiseworthy letters, kindle and burn the heart of Trškyn son of Ama-Allah after Gadab daughter of Tufaḥa.

Amen.

Instructions for manufacturing such a cloth product have been preserved in a fifteenth-century magic manual from Byzantium, and are reproduced below. However, had Gadab daughter of Tufaḥa followed these instructions to the letter, the above text would have been irretrievably lost, as the recipe instructs the user to burn the cloth after inscribing the magical formula:

NYPL MS Heb. 190, fol. 181:21–26 (= Bohak ed., p. 223)

לאהבה כתוב בחתיכת בגד פשתן חדש ועשהו פתילה
ושימה בנר שהוא חדש ומלא אותו שמן ורד וזה כתוב
⟨magical signs⟩
או איו הה ההה ווו זזז
אתון אתיא קדישיא וכל קטיריא משבחיא אוקידו ובערו
ואלהיבו לבה דפל׳ בת פל׳ בתר פל׳ ברחמא רבא א׳א׳ס

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98   The last sequence of letters is enclosed in a cartouche.

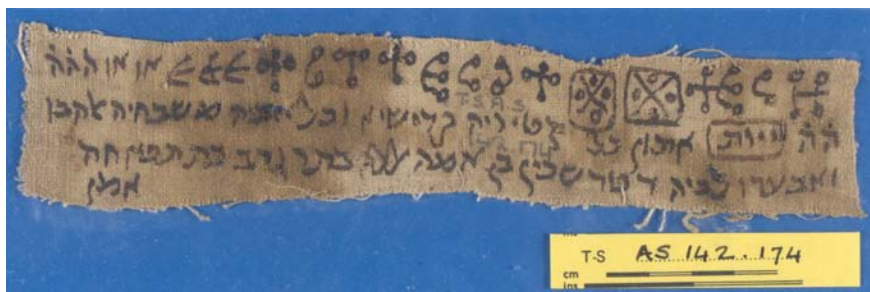99   Literally, 'knots'. For the mutations of this term, see below, chapter 3, section 5.2.

FIGURE 3   *Cloth amulet, probably intended to serve as wick for an oil lamp, and ignite love.* T-S
            AS 142.174 (= AMB Geniza 1), CUL.
            REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE
            UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

> For love. Write on a piece of a new garment of linen and make it into a
>   wick,
> and put it in a lamp which is new, and fill it with rose oil and write thus:
> ⟨magical signs⟩
> *ʾw ʾyw hh hhh www zzz*
> You holy letters and all the praiseworthy *charakteres*, ignite and burn
> and kindle the heart of N daughter of N after N with great love. A(men)
>   A(men) S(elah).

The recipe provided instructions for manufacturing a wick out of a piece of
cloth bearing a magical formula. The lamp to be used had to be new,[100] and the
practitioner had to fill it with rose oil, immerse the wick therein and ignite it.
The choice of rose oil may be due to its pleasant scent, but it should also be
noted that roses were believed to possess medicinal properties, and are often
mentioned in medical recipes found in the Genizah.[101] The magical rationale
on which the recipe relies is straightforward: as the words of the formula
are consumed by the lamp's flame, so should the heart of the spell target be
consumed by the fire of love. Interestingly, Gadab's cloth strip appears to have
been prepared according to a recipe parallel to the one cited above, with its

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100   For the requirement to use a new lamp in a love spell, see also Harari, *The Sword of Moses*,
       p. 87, #55 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, p. 41).

101   Z. Amar and E. Lev, 'Reconstruction of the Inventory of *materia medica* Used by Mem-
       bers of the Jewish Community of Medieval Cairo According to Prescriptions Found in
       the Taylor–Schechter Genizah Collection, Cambridge', *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 108
       (2006), pp. 428–444.

elongated and narrow shape suitable for serving as a wick. Yet the cloth was not used as a wick and was never ignited. One can only speculate about the reasons for this. Perhaps the magician prepared the cloth, but there was a change of mind on the part of the client, Gadab or her 'emissary'. Or perhaps she decided to use it in a different way than instructed by the magician, and thus did not burn her own name and the name of the man she loved. Whatever the reasons, the piece of cloth made its way to the Cairo Genizah, where it lay for many centuries.

Cloth as a writing surface also appears in recipes where no burning is involved, as in the following two examples:

T-S K 1.73, 1:15–17, 2:1 (= AMB Geniza 6)

כוד כירקה גדידה וכתוב עליהא
הדא אלכלם ואגעלהא פי אנבובה
קצב ואדפינאה פי שפת
נהר גרי (...)

> Take a new (piece of) cloth and write upon it
> these words, and put it in a pipe of
> reed, and bury it in the bank of
> a running river (...)

This recipe, designed to induce love, has a partial parallel in an unpublished Genizah fragment, T-S K 1.41, in which a magical formula is to be written on gazelle parchment and buried in the bank of a running river (שאטי נהר גארי). The supernatural forces in AMB Geniza 6 (page 2:5) are adjured to אלהבו ולקטפא ודלקו לבה דפ׳ב׳פ׳, 'kindle and ? and burn the heart of N b. N', and similarly, the angels in T-S K 1.41, 1b:3–4, are requested של אהבה בלב פ׳ל בר פ׳ל/ שתתנו אש לאהבתי, to 'give a fire/ of love in the heart of N son of N to love me'. Given these fiery metaphors, it is unclear why the writing surface, the piece of cloth or parchment, had to be buried in a wet and chilly river bank. This would seem to contradict the result which the magical formula sought to achieve. A possible answer to this problem may be found in two products of love magic, also uncovered in the Cairo Genizah, T-S K 1.168 (= HAITCG, pp. 143–159) and T-S 8.275 (= MTKG I, pp. 171–175). These amulets, designed to obtain love and grace, employ the following metaphor: כנהר שהוא רץ כל יומם ולילה, 'as a river that runs all day and night', so should those who glimpse the amulet beneficiaries run after them. It may be that practices for love, which included burying the product in a river bank, while emphasizing its being a 'running'

river, were meant to embody the metaphor preserved in these two amulets. In such cases, therefore, the writing surface does not appear to have held a symbolic meaning.

Writing on cloth took on a special significance when the cloth was part of a garment belonging to the spell target, as in the following two examples, which are part of a single collection of recipes:

T-S Misc. 10.122, 1:2 (= MSF Geniza 26)

לאהבה כתוב יתיה לסמרטוט מבגדו

For love. Write it on a piece of cloth from his garment

T-S Misc. 10.35, 2:1–2 (= MSF Geniza 26)

וגם לשנאה
וגם להפריד כתוב על סמרטוט מן בגד מי שתחפוץ וטמון בתרעיה[102]

and also for hate
and also for separating. Write on a piece of cloth from the garment of
    whoever you wish and hide (it) under his gate.[103]

In such cases the writing surface was meant to identify the target, like in typical acts of analogical magic, where an 'essence' of the target, be it hair, fingernails or blood, was attached to a symbolic figurine. There are other recipes of Jewish love magic that employ cloth in a similar manner, yet they do not include writing.[104]

Although far from common, animal bones are also used as a writing surface. This practice is interesting on account of its inherent symbolism. Some hate spells contain instructions to write on bones of donkeys or dogs. The negative symbolism of the dog in recipes for separation is self-evident.[105] The donkey

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102   The last three letters were written above the line.

103   Naveh and Shaked translate literally, 'in his gate', but I believe the context indicates that
       the cloth was to be placed under the target's threshold.

104   See, e.g., Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love*, p. 112, for a love-inducing recipe
       (relying on selective impotence) that employs a frontal piece of the man's trousers (וקח
       מהמכנסים שלו נגד ערותו חתיכה קטנה).

105   On dog metaphors, see chapter 3, section 4.3.

also possessed a negative symbolism, probably going back to Egyptian mythology, where it was identified with the god Seth:[106]

Budapest MS Kaufmann Geniza 32.b-d, 2a:18–19

<div dir="rtl">

לשנאה כת׳ עלי חאפר

חמר וקבר בקבר

</div>

For hate. Write on the rib of
a donkey and bury in a tomb

Sheep ribs, on the other hand, served as a writing surface in magical recipes aiming to induce piety (literally, to turn a person's mind towards God), which bear, however, strong similarities to recipes of love magic:

T-S K 1.28, 2b:13–21 (= MTKG I, pp. 133–150)[107]

<div dir="rtl">

להפוך דעת האדם כת׳ על ג׳

צלעות של כבש או {ב} שום בהמה ולא תהיה

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106   Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 288–289; 347–348. For other occurrences of the donkey in Jewish love magic, see pp. 241, 244.

107   Parallel recipes, equally designed to create devotional love for God, not to install erotic love between partners, appear in two fifteenth-century European manuscripts, one from the Vatican (quoted below), and one from the Bibliothèque de Genève, Comites Latentes 145, p. 184:24–25, 185:1–6. I thank Katelyn Mesler and Gideon Bohak for referring me to these passages:

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 188, 84b

<div dir="rtl">

(…) קח ג׳ צלעות של שור או של כבש וכתוב עליהם

(…) שתתהפכו לבו וכליותיו של פלו׳ בן פלו׳ ליראת אלהים ואהבה גדולה לשם אלהים

ותבעיר התנור יפה ותשליך הצלעות בתוך התנור

</div>

Take 3 ribs of ox or sheep and write on them (…)
may you turn the heart and kidneys of N son of N to fear of God and (to) a great love to
    the name of God (…)
And kindle the oven well, and toss the ribs into the oven.

I have located another parallel in an unpublished Genizah recipe, T-S K 1.43, 1b:12–15. In my doctoral dissertation, I mistakenly understood it to be for erotic magic, given its terminology (קמיע טב לדיבוק וחיבוק, 'a good amulet for joining and embracing')

בשר על הצלעות משביע אני עליך סמאל
הסטן קפציאל המלאך ולמפריאל המלאך
(...) והשלך הצלעות
באש או בתנור וזה אמת וברור

> To turn the mind of a person. Write on 3
> ribs of sheep or {in} (any) other beast and there shall be no
> flesh on the ribs; I adjure you, Samael
> the devil and Qaftziel the angel and Lampriel the angel
> (…) And toss the ribs
> into a fire or in the oven. And this is true and clear.

While the symbolism of the dog and the donkey in practices for sowing hate may be easily explained, there is no clear association between sheep and emotions of adoration or affection. Perhaps this is why the recipe added that other animal ribs are likewise acceptable, and thus the choice of sheep ribs may have been on account of their availability or their size. The burning of the bones was perhaps intended to represent the effect of the spell on the target's soul: love for God may have been regarded as 'burning', just as love for a fellow human.

It is possible that a love-inducing spell written on human bone has also been preserved. A human skull inscribed in Aramaic, purchased in Iraq, and currently preserved in the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin, contains the following lines:

VA.2458, lines 12–14 (= Levene ed., Skull 2)[108]

דהוא אכיל ולא שביע דה[ו]א שתי ולא רווי ד[הוא]
מחביל ולא משרי אתון ש[בע]ה מלא[כ]ין איזילו [ותובו]
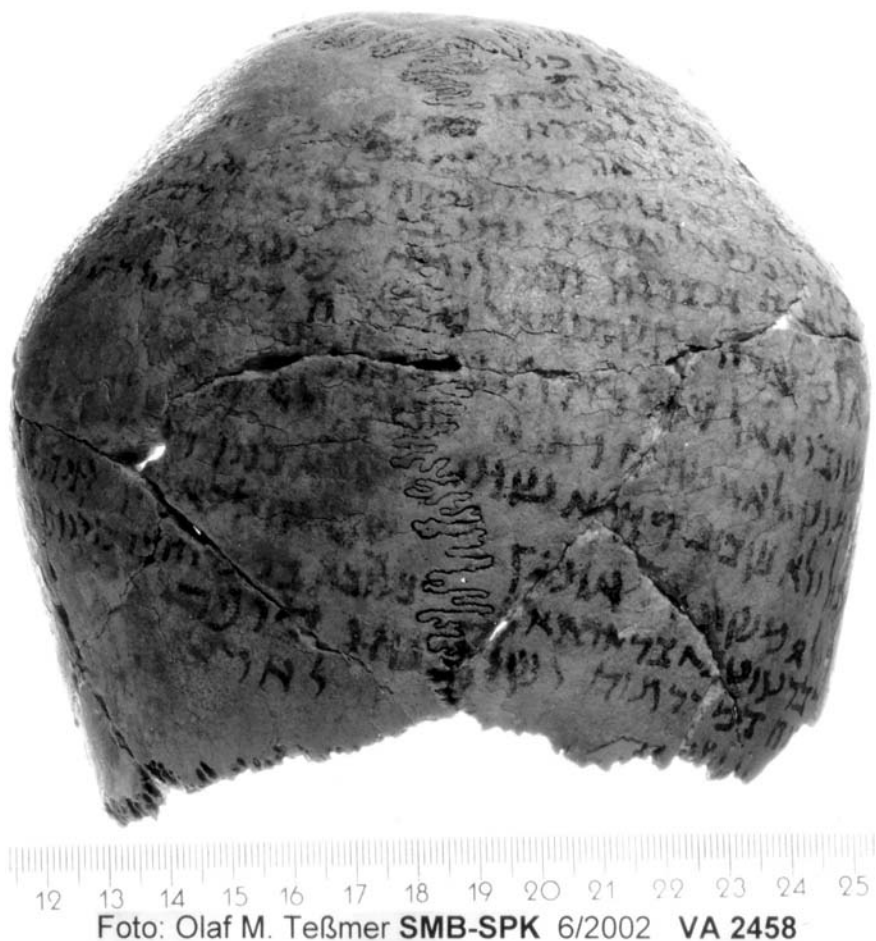[בשמ]יה דברטיט[ב]א בר אחתא דליבת בר בריה דבר לליתא

FIGURE 4   *Human skull inscribed in Aramaic, possibly with a love spell. VA.2458,*
Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Reproduced from Levene, 'Calvariae magicae',
Skull 2).

that he eats and is not full, that [h]e drinks and is not satiated, that [he]
is obstructed/bound and is not loosened/released.[109] You se[ve]n
  an[g]els, go and [return].
[In the n]ame of *brṭyṭ*[*b*]' son of the sister (?) of Libat, the great-
  grandson of Lilith

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109 My translation differs from Levene's, who reads: 'for he eats and is not filled, for he drinks
    and is not intoxicated, for he/ is injured and not released'. In the present context, the terms
    מחביל and משרי seem to indicate some form of binding and loosening.

The request to deny food and drink from the spell target is very common in love magic (see, e.g., JTSL ENA 3774.16, 1a:7–8: ‏יה]וי פ׳ב׳פ׳ כפין ולא אכיל צהי ולא‏ ‏נאים ולא דמיך /שתי‏, 'may NN be hungry and not eat, thirsty and not drink/ sleepy and not lie down'; and see above, chapter 1, section 1. This, coupled with the fact that the text mentions the fiery angel Nuriel (lines 6, 9) and Libat, the goddess of love, point to a love spell.[110] If this is indeed so, the inscribed human skull from the Vorderasiatisches Museum attests to a type of practice rarely encountered in the field of Jewish love magic.

In addition to cloth and animal bones, Jewish sources occasionally mention writing on other surfaces, such as fresh animal hide or various foodstuffs that will be discussed below. However, these surfaces are relatively rare in the analysed corpus.

2.1.7 Writing in Blood

Several recipes of love magic require the use of animal or human blood in practices that include writing. The earliest examples are found in *Sefer ha-Razim* and in *Ḥarba de-Moshe*. Recipes from the former employ the blood of a lion cub and a white cock, while in the latter one finds inscriptions that use the blood of the spell beneficiary:

Sefer ha-Razim, First Firmament, lines 119–121 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 65)

‏קח גור ארי ושחטיהו בסכין שלנחשת וקבל דמו‏
‏וקרע לבו ותן דמו בתוכו וכתוב שמות המלאכים האלה בדם על‏
‏העור שבין עיניו ומחוק אתו ביין ישן בן שלש שנים וערב בדם‏

Take a lion cub and slaughter it with a copper knife and catch its blood,
and tear out its heart and put its blood in it (?) and write the names of
   these angels in blood on
the skin between its eyes, and wash it out with wine that is three years
   old, and mix with the blood.

---

110 Libat/Dlibat is also mentioned in one of the few love-inducing incantation bowls, CBS 2973, line 5 (= AIT no. 28): ‏ובשמה דדליבת עזיזתא‏, 'and in the name of Dlibat the passion-ate'.

Sefer ha-Razim, First Firmament, lines 161–163 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 91–92)[111]

<div dir="rtl">

קח שכוי לבן וקמח סולת ושחוט את

הסכוי לתוך מים חיים. ובדם ובמים גבל את הסלת ועשה ג׳ עוגות

ותנם בשמש וכתוב עליהם בדם שם המחנה החמישית ושם השוטר

</div>

Take a white cock and fine flour, and slaughter
the cock into living water. And with the blood and the water knead the
    flour and make 3 cakes
and place them in the sun, and write upon them in blood the name of
    the fifth encampment and the name of the overseer

Harari, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 87, #55 (= Harari, *Ḥarba*, p. 41)

<div dir="rtl">

לאשה שתבוא אחריך סב אידס[112] מן דילך וכתוב שמיה על בוצין חדת

</div>

To make a woman follow you, take some blood of yours and write her
    name on a new lamp (?)[113]

None of the late-antique recipes cited above requires the ingestion of blood,
not even the one instructing the practitioner to prepare 'cakes'. However, the

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111 The recipe's title, 'If you wish to speak to the moon and to the stars', is not quite consistent
     with its contents: 'I adjure you to bring closer the planet of א (i.e. zodiac sign, but also
     destiny) and his star to the star of א and his planet, so that his love is bound to the heart of
     א' (משביע אני אתכם שתקריבו מזל פלוני וכוכבו לכוכב פלוני ומזלו, להיות אהבתו קשורה בלב
     פלוני).

112 Error for אידם.

113 The Aramaic word בוצין has two meanings: a lamp or a plant from the Cucurbitaceae
     family, possibly a cucumber; see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
     of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan, 2002), p. 192. Neither meaning suits the
     context of the recipe. This led Moses Gaster, the first editor of the *Ḥarba de-Moshe*,
     to assume that this was a scribal error, and thus translate בוצין חדת as 'a newly-laid
     egg'; see M. Gaster, 'The Sword of Moses', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28 (1896),
     reprinted in M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew
     Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* (3 vols; New York, 1886, reprinted 1971), vol. 3,
     pp. 288–337 (323). Although Gaster's translation indeed conforms better to our knowledge
     of ancient magical practices, it is not impossible that the author of *Ḥarba de-Moshe* did
     refer to an oil lamp, given the association of this object with burning and hence fiery
     love.

following medieval recipe, titled להביא אשה מאי שם, 'To bring a woman from wherever', includes the consumption of a dove's blood. The dove, which symbolises love in many cultures, is a permissible fowl according to Jewish *halakha*, yet the consumption of its blood is forbidden:

T-S AS 144.208, 1b:1–4[114]

שער להביא אשה מאי]שם   [
בלילה בחסרון הלבנה או במלואה קח יונה]   [
הרוג אותה וקח הקלף הנעשה ממנה וקולמו]ס   [
סתום ועם שיניך תכה כנגד לבה באופן ש]   [

Chapter. To bring a woman from wher[ever
at night when the moon is darkened or full take a dove [
kill it and take the parchment made from it and a quill pe[n
secret and with your teeth strike against its heart so that [

The recipe requires the practitioner to bite into the heart of a slaughtered dove until blood emerges. It then directs him to write magical formulae using the dove's blood. Like in the passage from *Sefer ha-Razim* cited above, the blood should be taken from the animal's heart, which matches well the amatory end of the practice.

Other instances of writing in blood and consuming it are found in the Oriental grimoire NYPL 190, in a series of recipes for love and hate that require to write a formula with dove blood or chicken blood, and then erase it with wine, water or dirty water (if the aim is to produce animosity), and give it in drink to the target(s):

NYPL MS 190, fol. 245:27, 246:1–3 (= Bohak ed., p. 277)

לאהבה יקח עור כבש ויקח דם
[?י][ו]?]נה[?]
יונה ויכתוב המזמור עם השם שלו וימחוק ביין ויתן לשתות למי שירצה

<div dir="rtl">

יאהבנו <u>אהביאל ידידיאל חביבאל</u>[115] אתם המלאכים הקדושים עשו

רצוני ומשאלות לבי ושימו א⟨ה⟩בה עזה ביני ובין פל׳ א׳ס׳

</div>

For love. He should take a sheep's skin and he should take blood
of a do[ve][116]
of a dove and he should write this psalm, with his name, and he should
    erase with wine and give in drink to whomever he wishes
to love him. <u>Ahaviel Yedidiel Ḥabibiel</u>, you holy angels, do
my will and the wishes of my heart, and place a fierce love between me
    and between N. A(men) S(elah)

These recipes, however, are unusual, and practices of writing with blood fol-
lowed by its consumption rarely appear in the corpus of Jewish love magic
(see also chapter 5). This does not necessarily mean that such practices never
occurred, but it seems that they were not popular among Jews in the periods
under discussion.[117]

2.1.8   Writing Creates Reality

Verba volant, scripta manent.

The practices described and analysed in the previous sections demonstrate that
writing was a focal activity in Jewish love magic. The popularity of these prac-
tices may be partially explained by the Jewish cultural tradition that empha-
sized the power of words, e.g., 'God said, "Let there be light"' (Genesis 1:3)
and 'the stone tablets with the teachings and commandments which I have
inscribed' (Exodus 24:12). As far as magic is concerned, this logocentric ten-
dency appears to focus on the *written* word. Some Jews in antiquity believed
that specific books were endowed with extraordinary powers,[118] and even
nowadays some Jews (both orthodox and secular) carry with them miniature

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115   The angel names are overlined.

116   Catchword.

117   Joshua Trachtenberg even claimed that Jewish magic as a whole avoided practices that
      included the consumption of blood or other halakhically impermissible ingredients.
      The few exceptional cases were usually 'love-charms and prescriptions for love-philters'
      (Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 129).

118   M.D. Swartz, 'Book and Tradition in Hekhalot and Magical Literatures,' *Journal of Jewish
      Thought and Philosophy* 3 (1994), pp. 189–229 (221–224).

Psalm booklets as amulets. The power of words to magically alter reality may have appeared stronger when accompanied by a physical presence in the form of letters inscribed on a surface, be that a metal tablet, an egg, a piece of parchment or a donkey's bone.

Besides products of practices that involved writing, there is almost no way to discern products of Jewish love magic. That is not to say that they did not exist—as can be deduced from recipes requiring the practitioner to perform a manipulation of materials without writing—yet they did not leave behind enduring products. The same is true, obviously, of oral practices that involved the uttering of magical formulae. Luckily, historians may glimpse such practices by resorting to the surviving recipes and sometimes to 'outsider' sources, as will be seen in the following sections.

2.2   *Uttering Magical Formulae*

Exclusive uttering of magical formulae, unaccompanied by writing or by a manipulation of materials (illocutionary elements, to use J.L. Austin's term), is a comparatively rare occurrence in Jewish love magic.[119] In rabbinic literature the verb 'to whisper' (ללחוש) denotes an oral performance designed for medical and possibly apotropaic ends. As for the contents of the 'whispered' words and the timing of such utterances, the rabbis held different opinions. Rabbi Aqiva, for instance, maintained that any person who whispers over a wound the seemingly benign verse Exodus 15:26, *'I will put none of the diseases upon thee …'* and spits, has no share in the world to come.[120] The Palestinian Talmud preserves two opposing views on the use of whispered incantations: 'One does not read a verse upon a wound on Shabbat' versus 'One whispers for the eye and for intestines and for snakes and for scorpions (…) on Shabbat'.[121] One talmudic passage might even hint at incantations whispered for aggressive

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119   Exclusive uttering may have been more frequent in other branches of Jewish magic. Cf. the *Shimmush Tehilim* literature, in which the uttering of Psalm verses is a focal part of the ritual; see Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*.

120   Mishna Sanhedrin 10:1.

121   PT Shabbat 6:2 (אין קורין פסוק על גבי מכה בשבת); PT Shabbat 14:3 (לוחשין לעין ולמעים ולנחשים ולעקרבים [...] בשבת). Maimonides' view on the subject, as expressed in *Mishneh Torah: The Book of Knowledge*, Hilkhot Avoda Zara 11:11 (translated by M. Hyamson [Jerusalem and New York, 1981], p. 79b), is: 'If one was stung by a scorpion or a snake, it is permitted, even on the Sabbath, to whisper a spell over the part affected, so as to sooth the patient and give him reassurance. Although the procedure is absolutely useless, it has been permitted because of the patient's dangerous condition, so that he should not become distraught'.

ends.[122] However, I am not aware of any mention in the rabbinic sources of whispering or uttering a formula specifically for amatory ends.

There are only a few instances of exclusive orality in magical recipes for love, and usually their instructions are: 'do X and say Y'. Below are two of the rare examples of exclusively oral practices, the former for obtaining grace and favour and the latter for inducing love:

London BL Or. 12362, 31b:1–2

<div dir="rtl">
למצא חן וחסד בעיני כל בני אדם יאמר זה
הפסוק עם השם היוצא ממנו שלוש פעמים
</div>

To find grace and favour in the eyes of all people, one should say this verse with the name that results from it three times

JTSL 8114, 94a:23–24

<div dir="rtl">
ע״א (= עוד אחד) אמור משביע אני עליכם אשפיאל שופריאל קופידו
שתתנו אהבה עזה ביני פב״פ ובין פב׳׳פ אמן:
</div>

Another one (recipe). Say 'I adjure you, Ashafiel, Shufriel, Cupido,[123] to place a fierce love between me, N b. N and between N b. N. Amen'.

It is possible that the paucity of exclusive oral practices in Jewish love magic reflects one of the features differentiating magic from institutionalized religion. In a religious ceremony, the articulation of a formula (that is, a prayer) is often sufficient, although further elements may be added to the procedure. While rituals of institutionalized Jewish religion often require particular measures, such as gathering a specific number of people in a specific place, in most cases these actions differ from those found in rituals of magic—inscribing

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122 BT Sotah 47b: 'When they who engaged in whispering in judgment multiplied, fierceness of [the divine] anger increased against Israel and the *Shechinah* departed' (משרבו לוחשי לחישות בדין רבה חרון אף בישראל ונסתלקה השכינה). The 'whispering' may refer to curses uttered against the opponents in court, although Rashi interpreted the expression in a non-magical way: עורכי הדיינין ומתלחשים עם הדיינין, לפתוח להם פתח בזכותו של זה ובחובתו של זה, 'the councillors confer with the judges and whisper to the judges, so as to be favourable to one and against the other'.

123 Note that the roots of the first two angel names are Aramaic, relating to magic (אש״פ) and beauty (שפ״ר), while the third entity, Cupido, comes from an entirely different tradition.

a text or manipulating several ingredients. A second point to consider concerns the nature of love magic (and magic in general) as a commercial process. Magical actions often included a vendor (the magician) and a client. The latter, it may be assumed, preferred to leave the magician's 'workshop' carrying either a concrete product or a set of instructions for manufacturing one. This would represent better value for money than an instruction to utter a few words, be they holy verses or angel names. A third reason for the paucity of exclusive oral practices may stem from the nature of magical formulae. These often comprised elaborate lists of words that had no meaning in ordinary language (as the Latin term *nomina barbara* indicates). Also the names of angels included in the recipes were frequently complex. Besides the well-known Michael and Gabriel, one finds Qippuriah, Gandodin, and Rififis. Naturally, it was easier to inscribe such formulae and names than to accurately pronounce them (and accuracy is supposed to be of major importance in the world of magic). Whatever the motive, the authors and practitioners of Jewish love magic obviously preferred to put their words in writing rather than merely to utter them.[124]

2.3 *Manipulation of Materials without Writing*

Occasionally, practices employed common materials, such as hair, fingernails, sweat, human or animal blood, which were to be handled in various ways, either with or without uttering an incantation, excluding, however, any writing. In late-antique and medieval Judaism, love spells of this kind were far less common than those that comprised the inscription of a text. On the other hand, non-Jewish fonts on magic, such as the *PGM* or Greek and Roman literary sources, often depict a manipulation of materials accompanied by the uttering of an incantation.[125] Court records from late medieval Europe also abound in

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124 For an interesting discussion of the intersection between oral and written spells, though not in the context of love magic, see C. Faraone, 'Hexametrical Incantations as Oral and Written Phenomena', in A.P.M.H. Lardinois, J.H. Blok, and M.G.M. van der Poel (eds), *Sacred Words: Orality, Literacy, and Religion* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), pp. 191–204.

125 Richard Gordon suggests that, 'Whereas a few simple recipes consist solely of *materia magica*, there is a marked tendency in the more elaborate Graeco-Egyptian spells for reference to *materia magica* to become perfunctory or even to be omitted entirely in favour of elaborate incantations and/or "hymns". The implication of this unequal distribution is that language was tacitly taken to be the major determinative element in elevated or ritual magical practice'; see 'Shaping the Text: Theory and Practice in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic', in H.F.J. Horstmanshoff et al. (eds), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H.S. Versnel* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 69–111 (84).

descriptions of manipulation practices, while writing practices seem to be less documented in Christian sources.[126]

Some of the manipulation practices included in the corpus of Jewish love magic were extremely simple, as the following two recipes demonstrate:

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Or. Sim. 6, fol. 2b:3–7 (= Bohak and Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet', p. 25*)

<div dir="rtl">

ק׳ ע עפרא מתחות מיתא

ורמי בקמיעא ותלי בצפרא ואפרחה

ואמר עליה כי היכי דפרחא הדא

ציפרתא הכי ניפרח ליבה דפ ב׳ פ בתר

פ ב פ א א׳ ס׳

</div>

Say over dust from under a corpse
and put it in an amulet and hang it on a bird and let it fly
and say over it: Just as this bird flutters,
so shall the heart of NN flutter after
NN A(men) A(men) S(elah)

T-S K 1.110, 1a:5–8

<div dir="rtl">

{לה}[127] לאהבה

רוחץ האישה דדיה והמים

אשר יפול מדדיה תשקה את

בעלה בל ידיעתו

</div>

For love.
The woman washes her breasts and the water
that shall fall from her breasts she should give in drink to
her husband, without his knowledge.

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126 R. Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundation in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (London, 1976), pp. 56–60.

127 The letters לה constitute an error, and the scribe crossed them out with an oblique line. The same occurred again in line 9: לאהבה {לֹּב}. A similar scribal error may be found in fragment T-S K 1.15, 2:11 (= MSF Geniza 9, see Figure 7 in this volume). The editors have not transcribed these letters.

In his discussion of this recipe, Michael Swartz assumed, based on the title 'For love', that it is a ritual against impotence.[128] Although this is not impossible, no element of the above practice connects it to virility problems. On the contrary, to the best of my knowledge, most recipes for curing impotence were to be performed by the man rather than the woman. The instructions given in T-S K 1.110 bring to mind other amatory recipes in which the spell beneficiary surreptitiously offers the target a concoction containing ingredients from his or her own body: hair, blood, etc. In the above example, the ingredient was an external one (water), yet it was identified with the spell beneficiary through contact with an intimate part of her body. The use of bathing water may also be found in Christian love magic, according to the records of a trial held in Italy in 1428. In that case, however, the water was used to bathe the feet of the woman rather than her breasts.[129]

In section 2.1.3 I described practices that employed eggs as a writing surface. Eggs also feature in love spells that do not include writing. While such practices have left no traces in the archaeological record, they sometimes surface in the historical one. An interesting example is the following recipe, found in a magic manual dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, written partly in Judeo-Arabic and partly in Hebrew, in a semi-cursive Sephardic script. This fragmentary manual was uncovered in the Cairo Genizah:

JTSL ENA 2873.7–8, 1a:5–8

קח ביצה א׳ (= אחת) ותבשלנה עם מי רגלים של בתולה ואחר כן
תקח הביצה ותחתכינה לחצאין ותן החצי ללכלב[130] והחצי לחתול
כולם ביחד ותאמר כשם שאתם מתפרדים לאויבים עם
הביצה הזאת כך יהיו זה ··

Take one egg and cook it with a virgin's urine, and then
take the egg and cut it in halves, and give half to a dog and half to a cat,
all at once, and say: 'As you are separating into enemies with
this egg, so shall be these'.

In the Italian city of Perugia, around the mid-fourteenth century, a woman from Pisa named Riccola di Puccio was accused of witchcraft and brought to trial. Among other allegations, she was said to have attempted to separate a man

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128   Swartz, 'Ritual Procedures in Magical Texts', pp. 314–315.
129   Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, p. 57.
130   Possibly a calque from Arabic: ללכלב—الكلب.

named Intendolo from his wife Ceccola by adjuring various demons. The court record narrates that the accused took an egg of a black hen, cooked it, gave half to a female cat and half to a male dog, while calling: '(…) may the love of the said Intendolo and the said Ceccola, his wife, be divided, as this egg is divided between these, dog and cat, and may there be love between them as there is between this dog and this cat'.[131] It is clear that the actions of which the Italian woman was accused are nearly identical to those required in the magical recipe from the Cairo Genizah. Whether these charges were founded, or whether the accusers resorted to information found in grimoires that they had at their disposal in order to frame her, Riccola di Puccio was found guilty and burnt at the stake in 1347.

Interestingly, a similar recipe from a fourteenth century Ashkenazi manuscript was supposed to aid a couple in having sexual relations, although it seems to point at the opposite goal. Note, however, that the practice here includes no locutionary element:

Bodley MS. Opp. 180, 56a, upper margins

<div dir="rtl">

ליזקק קח ביצה שנולדה ביום ה וצלהו קשה וקח חרב

או סכין שנהרג בו אדם וחתכו לשנים ויאכל הוא חצי

והיא חצי ויזקק בעזה׳ ית׳ ויתעל׳ (= בעזרת השם יתברך ויתעלה) ··
</div>

> To have sexual intercourse. Take an egg that was born on Thursday and roast it (until) hard, and take a sword
> or a knife with which a man was killed, and cut it in two. And he should eat half
> and she half, and he shall have sexual intercourse, with the help of God, blessed and exalted be He.

Another recipe from the same manuscript requires a more complex manipulation with an egg:[132]

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131 *In nomine dictorum demonum ita dividatur amor inter dictum Intendolum et dictam dominam Cecholam eius uxorem sicud divisum est hoc ovum inter dictos canem et gaptham et talis amor sit inter ipsos qualis est inter ipsum canem et istam gatcham seu musibulam*; see U. Nicolini, 'La stregoneria a Perugia e in Umbria nel Medioevo, con i testi di sette processi a Perugia e uno a Bologna', *Bolletino della deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria* 84 (1987), pp. 5–87 (32).

132 This recipe has some interesting parallels that I discuss briefly below, but will be explored in depth in a separate article.

Bodley MS. Opp. 180, 50b, 25–28

<div dir="rtl">

קח ביצה שנולדה

בו ביום ותעמוד האישה והאיש עליה ברגליהם הימנית ואחר כן

תשימנה בדבש וא׳כ׳ תשימה בקמח ⟨וא׳כ׳⟩ תסיר הקמח מעל הביצה

ותשקה לאיש ולא יוכל לשכב עם האשה אחרת ״

</div>

Take an egg that was born

on the same day, and the woman and the man should stand on it with
   their right feet,[133] and then

place it in honey, and then place it in flour, ⟨and then⟩ remove the flour
   from the egg,

and give it in drink to the man, and he will not be able to lie with the
   other (= another?) woman.

Similar instructions to those detailed in the Ashkenazi manuscript are found in
a magic manual that was inscribed in Turkey in the fifteenth century, uncovered
in the Cairo Genizah:[134]

Bodley MS. Heb. f. 56.114–118, 115b:4–12

<div dir="rtl">

לאסור אש (!) שלו (!) יבוא רק לאשתו

לבד קח ביצה בת יומָהֿ ותעברנה

האשה בשוקה הימין גפֿ (= ג׳ פעמים) ואכֿ

תטביע אותה בדבש ותוליכנה

על הקמח והקמח שידבק

בה באותו הדבש תורדנו

ב?טוב ותאכילה לאיש ולא

יזקק לאשה אחרת זולתי

אשתו135

</div>

To bind a man so that he would come only to his wife
alone. Take an egg laid on the same day and let the woman pass it
over her right shank 3 times and then

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133   The egg should presumably be cooked beforehand.

134   On fol. 113a the manuscript preserves a precise date, שנת הקעו ליצירה, that is 1416, and also
        specifies the place where it was copied: פי קרתא עיר תל יעקוב. The location is additionally
        named ולאית מרדין, probably referring to the city of Mardin in south-east Turkey.

135   The end of the recipe is indicated by a special sign.

she should drown it in honey and pass it

over the flour. And the flour that should stick to that honey she should collect

well (?), and she should feed it to the man and he shall not

have sexual intercourse with another woman besides

his wife.

The magical practice detailed by the two Hebrew recipes cited above is echoed in a surprising place: the writings of Bishop Burchard of Worms (950–1025). In his penitential, titled *Corrector sive medicus*, Burchard referred several times to matters of magic, which he utterly opposed. Among other things, the bishop suggested that penitents be asked the following question:[136]

> Hast thou done what some women are wont to do? They take off their clothes and anoint their whole naked body with honey, and laying down their honey-smeared body upon wheat on some linen on the earth, roll to and fro often, then carefully gather all the grains of wheat which stick to the moist body, place it in a mill, and make the mill go round backwards against the sun and so grind it to flour; and they make bread of that flour and then give it to their husbands to eat, that on eating the bread they may become feeble and pine away. If thou hast (done this), thou shalt do penance for forty days on bread and water.

According to Burchard, the practice was not intended to ignite love, but to physically harm the husband of the woman who performs it. However, as has been suggested by Catherine Rider, it is not impossible that the bishop's words refer to a state of sexual impotence.[137] If this is indeed so, it would seem that the magical practice proscribed by Bishop Burchard in eleventh-century Germany was preserved in a Hebrew recipe from fourteenth-century Germany, and in another Hebrew recipe from fifteenth-century Turkey, eventually uncovered in Egypt. This spell may have been used by Christian and Jewish women alike, who sought to ensure the loyalty of their partners through magical means. In

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136 PL vol. 140, col. 976. The English translation is from McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp. 340–341. See also C. Vogel, 'Pratiques superstitieuses au début du XIᵉ siècle d'après le *Corrector sive medicus* de Burchard, évêque de Worms (965–1025)', reprinted in A. Faivre (ed.), *En rémissions des péchés: Recherches sur les systèmes pénitentiels dans l'Église latine* (Aldershot, 1994, orig. pub. 1974), pp. 751–761 (755); A.V. Neyra, 'La magia erótica en el Corrector sive medicus'.

137 Rider, *Magic and Impotence*, p. 44.

the introduction to this volume, I emphasized the continuity shown by the practices and formulae of Jewish love magic. A section from R. Kaduri's recipe manual, which, as mentioned before, was published in the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* in April 2008, provides a fascinating example for this continuity. The following recipe is supposed to guarantee the loyalty of a husband to his wife:[138]

תיקח ביצה שנולדה ביום חמישי ותעבירנה על שוקיה ועל רגליה שלוש פעמים ותביא
קמח ותלוש אותו בביצה ההיא ותעשה עוגה אחת ותאכלנה לבעלה. עוד אינו יכול לישא
עליה (= אישה אחרת) ותהיה ביניהם אהבה גמורה.

(The woman) should take an egg that was born on Thursday and pass it over her shanks and over her legs three times, and she should bring flour and knead it with that egg and make a cake, and she should feed it to her husband. No more shall he be able to marry (another woman) besides her, and there shall be an absolute love between them.

The similarity between the passage from R. Kaduri's twentieth-century recipe manual, the two Hebrew medieval recipes and the penitential of Bishop Burchard is clearly evident. In this case, as in many others, love magic traverses chronological and geographical boundaries with astonishing ease.

   Manipulation practices often employ ingredients from the human body, sometimes belonging to the spell beneficiary and sometimes to the target. For instance, a fifteenth-century Ashkenazi recipe employed hair from the spell beneficiary, without uttering or writing any formula:[139]

Paris BN Heb. 1122, 4a col. 1:32–34

אם תשרוף שיער האדם
ותשים בפי האשה ואחר תזקק עם}ה{
אשתך לא תאהב זולתך

If you burn the hair of the man,
and place it in the mouth of the woman, and then you will have sexual
   intercourse with {the}
your wife, she shall not love (another) but you.

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138   *Ma'ariv*, Shabbat Supplement, 25 April 2008, p. 17.
139   For a story about a demon entering a person's body through an ingested hair, see Tracht-
       enberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 31.

A similar recipe, found in an Italian manuscript from 1507, instructs the practitioner to take hairs from various parts of his or her body, crush them into a powder and feed it 'to whomever you desire and they will love you, God willing' (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl.III.91, 23a:18–21).[140] Joshua Trachtenberg cites a recipe from a German manuscript, in which the hair (pubic, in this case) is supplemented by the finger- and toenail clippings of the spell beneficiary, which should be burned and, after nine days, offered in drink to the unfortunate target.[141] Fingernail clippings are also listed in a magic manual copied in Safed in 1536, yet without the burning element (London BL Or. 12362, 30b:1–4). All these practices are self-standing and unaccompanied by any verbal element, oral or written. The manipulation of the materials is supposedly sufficient for their success. The use of human hair and nails for love magic is also known from non-Jewish traditions. It appears already in the Greek magical papyri,[142] and continues in Christian magic of the medieval period, and to this very day.[143]

A prominent feature of the practices depicted in these recipes is the ingestion of ingredients derived from the human body; a repulsive action, perhaps, yet one that is not halakhically prohibited in Judaism. The question of food permissiveness (*kashrut*) arises in the following recipe, which employs human and non-human blood. The aim of the spell is twofold: inciting love and achieving success with the authorities, that is, grace and favour:[144]

JTSL ENA 2699.1, 1a:1–4

לאהבה קח דם הקזה ותן אותה בכלי זכוכית נקי והביאו בתוך אשפה
מ׳ יום ולאחר מכן תמצא בו צורה ושחוט הצורה וקח מדמה
וערב ביין או במים ותן לשתות למי שתרצה בין איש בין אשה ואם תמשח ממנו
ידך ורגלך וברכיך ותכנס אצל שלטון יעשה רצונך בדוק תם

> For love. Take blood from bloodletting and place it in a clean glass vessel and put it in a refuse (heap)

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140   ותן לשתות או לאכול למי שתירצה ויאהב אותך בעֹה.

141   Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 129.

142   See, e.g., *PDM* xiv.1070–1077 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 246).

143   See, e.g., Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials*, pp. 57–59; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 87.

144   For a detailed analysis of this recipe and its Jewish and non-Jewish parallels, see chapter 5, section 3.1.

for 40 days. And afterwards you shall find in it a figure, and slaughter the
   figure and take from its blood,
and mix with wine or with water and give it to drink to whomever you
   wish, whether a man or a woman. And if you anoint with it
your hands and your feet and your knees, and you appear (literally: you
   enter) in front of rulers, your will shall be done. Tested. Ended.

The above practice appears to be at least partially opposed to Jewish *kashrut* laws that prohibit the ingestion of blood. Yet its underlying rationale is similar to that encountered in other recipes: a bond is formed between an ingredient from the body of the spell beneficiary and the intended target/s. In this case, the bond was not achieved directly, that is, by taking blood from the former and feeding it to the target. Instead, the blood underwent a magical transformation, during which it 'begot' a new creature called a 'figure' (צורה). This figure was apparently alive, since it was supposed to be slaughtered, so that its blood could be employed in the next part of the magical procedure, which entailed contact with the target. Again, no verbal element, oral or written, is required here.

   As mentioned earlier, magical manipulations of materials, which do not involve writing, are frequently mentioned in late medieval court records from Europe.[145] Other 'outsider' sources for these types of practices include medieval prose and poetry, although such literary fonts are not very reliable. Besides the often-quoted story of Tristan and Isolde, whose love was ignited by a magical potion, one finds echoes of similar practices in Shakespearean plays and in various romances.[146] And yet, in contrast to such 'outsider' evidence, actual magical recipes from the medieval Christian world tend, like those preserved in Jewish sources, to involve complex actions that usually incorporate writing, and

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145   See, e.g., p. 136, note 129. Incidentally, Islamic practices that have been documented during the modern period indicate that blood, semen and spittle continue to serve as ingredients in love spells up to our own times; see Westermark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. 1, pp. 577–578.

146   For example, in *Othello* (1.3), Brabantio weeps for his daughter, Desdemona, whom Othello supposedly kidnapped by magical means: 'She is abused, stol'n from me, and corrupted/ By spells of medicines bought of mountebanks'. See also *A Midsummer's Night Dream* (2.1), where Oberon asks the demon Puck for a flower whose essence would cause a person to fall in love with the first creature they see upon opening their eyes. For more extensive discussions, see M. Sweeney, *Magic in Medieval Romance: From Chrétien de Troyes to Geoffrey Chaucer* (Dublin, 2000); and L.E. Doggett, *Love Cures: Healing and Love Magic in Old French Romance* (University Park, PA, 2009), the latter stressing the 'empirical' verisimilitude of literary depictions.

not simply a manipulation of materials. Manipulation practices left relatively few traces in the 'insider' sources. My assumption is that, given their relatively straightforward nature, instructions for such practices could easily be transmitted orally, and did not require a written medium for their survival.

3   Products of Magical Practices

As explained in the Introduction, the products included in the corpus of Jewish love magic are exclusively written ones, mostly amulets that could be carried on one's body. Nearly all these products were designed for achieving love or grace, with two exceptions: a curse text aimed at making a man hateful in the eyes of all who see him, and a Babylonian incantation bowl intended to separate a loving couple. Given the nature of recipes for sowing hate, which were described above, the dearth of such products is not surprising: most of them were never meant to survive—they were either to be buried or tossed into flames.

The remaining products, those seeking to obtain love and grace, shed some light on Jewish love magic as a whole. For example, despite the fact that numerous recipes recommend the use of parchment as a writing surface, many surviving products have been inscribed on paper. This was undoubtedly cheaper and more readily available than the material from which Torah scrolls and *mezuzot* were made. On the other hand, metal, which is rarely indicated as a writing surface in the recipes, is indeed represented only once among the products. The same is true regarding figurines (see also below, section 4): their rarity in the recipes conforms with their complete absence from the products. Then again, inscribed pottery shards, which are popular in the magic manuals, have not yet come to light in archaeological excavations, with the exception of the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard.

To conclude, the practices depicted in the recipes generally coincide with the surviving products, yet the correspondence is not perfect. Given the small amount of products, the discrepancies could be incidental: for instance, future excavations might reveal great numbers of inscribed shards like the one from Ḥorvat Rimmon. At this point, it is sufficient to note that Jewish love magic was certainly practised, and did not rest only among the leaves of magic manuals. Finds such as the shard from Ḥorvat Rimmon or the curse text T-S K 1.42, both of which have exact parallels in the manuals, demonstrate that the descriptions in the recipes very much reflect actual practice.

4   From Theory to Practice

In this chapter I have surveyed the types of practices used in Jewish love magic of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, offering selected examples for each type. The information had to be derived exclusively from written sources, although oral pathways are often important in the transmission of magical lore. At least, this is what the written sources say. Bearing this limitation in mind, I will attempt to summarize the data that may be extracted from our sources.

Practices of Jewish love magic may be divided into three categories: writing, uttering a formula (with no additional manipulation of materials), and manipulating materials. A review of the different practices reveals that words, mainly written words, are the principal feature of this branch of Jewish magic. Most recipes, be they from late-antique compilations like *Sefer ha-Razim* or from medieval magic manuals, require the inscription of a formula. Sometimes, the act of writing formed the focus of the magical procedure, while, at other times, it was only one of several different actions to be performed. Yet one may still conclude that Jewish love magic was not merely logocentric but was also textocentric.

The second question that arises from my survey concerns the actual enactment of the various practices. Most recipes were practicable and did not require impossible procedures or rare ingredients (the unfortunate lion cub mentioned in *Sefer ha-Razim* is an exception). When trying to imagine these magical practices, one initially observes that most recipes were written in the second person masculine singular: 'For love. Do so-and-so, and write the following ...', so it would seem that the spell beneficiary was supposed to perform all the actions on his own. However, since the formulae to be inscribed were often long and complex, and included unintelligible words and awkward characters, one may assume that the undertaking was too difficult for many spell beneficiaries. It is probable that they would often have left the writing to a professional magician. The latter would also have provided the client with additional information, such as which actions were to accompany the writing or when they had to be performed. Some of the practices may have entailed the cooperation of magician and clients, as in the following scenario: The professional magician inscribed a text upon the writing surface specified by the recipe (e.g., the egg of a black hen), using the required writing material (e.g., blood), perhaps observing a specific timing (e.g., Thursday). After the writing had been completed, the 'product' may have been handed to the client, so that the latter could complete the magical practice (e.g., tossing the egg into a fire or burying it under the threshold of the intended target). There is no way of knowing whether

such scenarios took place in the Jewish world, since there are no sources that can testify to them. However, sources from the Christian world, mainly court records involving accusations of magic, do indeed describe magicians working in cooperation with their clients.[147] And yet, it is not impossible that manuals of magic were also owned by amateurs, who did not aspire to the title 'magician' but nevertheless sought to control reality and to protect themselves from its eventual vicissitudes.[148] The difference between a professional magician and an amateur practising magic may be likened to the difference between a chef, who practices cooking professionally (part-time or full-time), and a person who cooks for family and friends. Both own and employ recipes, but their scope and perhaps also their expertise differ. The great number of magical fragments uncovered in the Cairo Genizah indicates that these texts were widespread, at least in some parts of medieval Jewish society, and it is thus unlikely that all of them belonged to professional magicians. Consequently, when magical recipes were owned and used by amateurs, the practices they comprised were performed by the spell beneficiaries themselves, without the intercession of another person.

Nevertheless, most of the surviving products of Jewish love magic appear to have been written by professionals, as can be clearly seen in two parallel amulets, one for Baġiḍa daughter of Ḥaiza and its 'twin' for Nathaniel son of Dura.[149] Studies conducted in modern Islamic countries show that the persons responsible for writing amulets (for love and other purposes) are often professional scribes or religious officials, who, by virtue of their occupation, are well versed in writing and familiar with Quranic verses.[150] The situation was probably not much different in the periods with which the present volume is concerned, although this assertion cannot be proved through the surviving records.[151]

The third question relates to secrecy. Some scholars argue that erotic and aggressive magic 'worked' precisely because rumours about the enactment of

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147   See, e.g., Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', esp. pp. 37–39, 44; M. Duni, *Under the Devil's Spell: Witches, Sorcery and the Inquisition in Renaissance Italy* (Florence, 2007).

148   An example may be found in a privately-owned magic booklet from the twelfth century; see Saar, 'Success, Protection and Grace'.

149   CUL Or. 1080.15.81 (= MTKG I, pp. 160–170); T-S K 1.168 (= HAITCG, pp. 143–159).

150   Westermark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. 1, p. 570; E.S. Drower, 'A Mandaean Book of Black Magic', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1943), pp. 149–181 (150–151).

151   Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', p. 165.

a spell reached the ears of the intended target.[152] When the practice involved more than one person, that is a magician and a client, its chances of becoming known increased (for instance, the client could be seen entering the house of a person reputed to be a magical expert). Did the spell beneficiaries, the clients, want their act exposed? This question is hard to answer. On the one hand, magical actions were largely prohibited, either by law or by the religious authorities, in most of the periods and areas discussed in this volume. On the other hand, the amount of Jewish magic manuals that have come down to us is fairly large, and thus presumably the prohibition of magic was not regarded as a terrible threat by Jews. The surviving products of love magic do not offer many clues as to the secrecy involved. Most of them are textual amulets that were meant to be carried on a person's body and were probably hidden beneath clothing, rendering them invisible to the unsuspecting eye. Luckily, these objects often made their way to a *genizah* (when their beneficiaries passed away or no longer had any use for them), so the Cairo Genizah preserved dozens of them. But what about items like the Ḥorvath Rimmon shard? Recipes for the production of inscribed potsherds never specify what was to be done with them after they had been tossed into a fire. Were these products retrieved by the magician or by the spell beneficiary and hidden away? Were they left where any person might have spotted them and read the magical message they contained? The sources maintain their silence, and so the question of secrecy remains unresolved.

The fourth question that emerges concerns practices which are absent from the corpus of Jewish love magic. A comparative examination of Jewish and non-Jewish practices shows a rather large degree of similarity. However, one popular practice in non-Jewish traditions is almost entirely absent from Jewish sources: the use of figurines representing the spell beneficiaries and their targets. This is one of the earliest attested magical practices for love: instructions for manufacturing figurines appear already in cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia.[153] The Greek magical papyri also contain recipes that employ figurines for love magic. A practitioner in fourth-century Egypt relied on one of these recipes to fashion the clay figurine of a woman, and pierced it with thirteen metal needles to help a client attain his erotic desires.[154] This type of practice did not vanish with the advent of Christianity. The hagiographic story of Irene, abbess of Chrysobalanton, recounts how one of her nuns evaded a love spell by using two lead figurines.[155] Such figurines continue to surface in Christian sources from

152   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 21.

153   Biggs, *šÀ.ZI.GA.*, pp. 70–71. See chapter 1, section 1.1.

154   *PGM* IV, 296–466 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 44–47). See chapter 1, section 1.3.

155   Kazhdan, 'Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers', pp. 78–79. See chapter 1, section 4.1.

medieval and Renaissance Europe, including in court records.[156] However, the corpus of Jewish love magic preserves only a few recipes that employ figurines, and such items are entirely absent from the archaeological record. In chapter 5, I will elaborate on this popular practice, whose very *absence* is one of the characteristics of Jewish love magic.

The survey performed in this chapter was not intended to encompass all the different practices portrayed in recipes of Jewish love magic, but only the most common and typical among them. I have tried to elucidate the magical rationale that underlies each practice, a pursuit that is not always conclusive. In some cases, the rationale is clear and evident, the most representative example being practices that employ fire. Fire functions as a universal symbol of love,[157] so unsurprisingly it is one of the most popular elements of Jewish and non-Jewish love magic. And if the nearly-intuitive understanding of this symbolism is not enough, the formulae accompanying burning practices stipulate explicitly: 'As this object burns, so shall the heart of N burn with love'. However, some of the practices depicted in this chapter contain a more obscure magical rationale. For example, the use of copper tablets as a writing surface for love-inducing formulae, as instructed in *Sefer ha-Razim*, may have stemmed from the association of this metal with the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Similarly, writing on myrtle leaves may have sprung from the association of this plant in Graeco-Roman (and perhaps Mesopotamian) mythology with deities of love. In such cases, the magical rationale can only be deciphered by appealing to *non*-magical sources—mythology, folklore and the like—since the practices alone lack any information that may assist in detecting their underlying principle. Lastly, there were practices for which no clear magical rationale could be detected, for example, writing on a tin tablet. It is likely that these, too, possessed underlying principles, yet their traces are lost to the eyes of modern scholars, and it is not impossible that they had already vanished many centuries ago.

Even though the detection of a magical rationale is not always possible, the search for it is of the utmost importance. Sometimes, the only results stem from sources that bear no relation to magic, and the question of whether a different selection of sources might have yielded a different magical rationale remains open. Clearly, such searches are not always successful, and one can only hope that future finds will shed new light on obscure practices, facilitating their comprehension. Such cases should not cause scholars to forsake the search for

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156 Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, pp. 57–58.

157 G. Bachelard, *La psychanalyse du feu* (Paris, 1938, reprinted 1949); Saar, 'The Motif of Fire'.

underlying principles of magic, since one of the main objectives in the study of magic is to understand its logic. Without it, one is left with mere descriptions of popular customs and uncomprehended rituals.

Of Loviel and Other Demons

The Verbal Aspects of Jewish Love Magic

> The direct appeal to God, so prevalent in the Geniza, is emphasized by the total absence of intermediaries. No angel is invoked (…) protection by angels is not asked for.
>
> S.D. GOITEIN[1]

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1 Introductory Remarks

The previous chapter examined the magical practices reflected in recipes and products dealing with love, grace and hate, concluding that Jewish love magic and Jewish magic in general displayed strong textocentric and logocentric features. Practices that did not include inscribing or uttering formulae were very rare. The present chapter will explore some of the verbal aspects of Jewish love magic, analysing certain formal and grammatical features of the corpus as well as its literary devices.

Many words have been written about the power of words. In addition to God's 'creating speech' depicted in Genesis, one may think of Isaiah 55:11, 'So shall my word be that goeth forth out of My mouth, it shall not return unto Me void, except it accomplish that which I please, and make the thing whereto I sent it prosper', or of John 1:1, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God'. These statements express a conviction that the Divinity can fashion and modify our world through words. The belief that the spoken word may alter reality underlies both prayer and any magical procedure that includes a verbal element.[2] As noted before, most

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1 S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 5: *The Individual* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 336–337.

2 See, e.g., M. Mauss, *La prière*, in idem, *Oeuvres*, vol. 1: *Les fonctions sociales du Sacré* (Paris, 1909), pp. 357–477; S.J. Tambiah, 'The Magical Power of Words', *Man* N.S. 3 (1968), pp. 175–208 (182–184); C. Burnett, 'The Theory and Practice of Powerful Words in Medieval Magical Texts', in T. Shimizu and C. Burnett (eds), *The Word in Medieval Logic, Theology and Psychol-*

of the practices described in Chapter 2 did in fact rely on such textual or oral elements. But who composed these verbal formulae, and what was the rationale underlying their choice of words? While the authorship of magical formulae is bound to elude modern scholars, one can still attempt to trace their conception. Was it a kind of revelation, through which the text was disclosed to the magicians? Did they edit pieces of textual data (be it magical, religious or literary), which were known to them, and fashion from these pieces new formulae? Or did they act according to some guiding rationale that is no longer understood by present-day scholars but was obvious at the time? There are some examples that support this latter possibility. A recipe instructing the practitioner to utter the verse 'Noah found grace in the eyes of God', in order to bestow grace on the spell beneficiary, follows a simple analogical rationale. A magical triangle, in which the letters of a word are removed one by one, follows a slightly more complex rationale, whereby the decrease in the number of letters equates to a desired decrease in pain, illness, or such like. But what rationale could underlie formulae like הראות אתבאות קולהון ספתן סוסגר, '*hrʾwt ʾtbʾwt qwlhwn sptwn swsgr*', attested on the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard and many Genizah recipes? If there ever was one, it was lost already in antiquity, since at least one recipe contains a different version of this formula: נהרא/ אותיתא תבאותית, '*nhrʾ ʾwtytʾ tbʾwtyt*'.[3] Finally, was there always some kind of rationale, or were some formulae mere inventions of magicians who were seeking to impress their clients by using an incomprehensible language? For the corpus analysed in this book, most of these questions remain open.

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ogy: Acts of the XIIIth International Colloquium of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale, Kyoto, 27 September–1 October 2005 (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 215–231. Words can also fashion reality in a non-ritualistic context, as shown by J.L. Austin in his often cited *How to Do Things with Words*. The term Austin coined, 'performative utterance', denotes phrases that modify an existing state of affairs by their very articulation, such as those pronounced during a marriage ceremony. In English, a performative utterance is often accompanied by the word 'hereby'; see S. Bhayro, 'Performative Elements in the Aramaic Magic Bowls', in J. Cale Johnson (ed.), *Patients, Patronage and Performative Identity: At the Intersection of the Mesopotamian Technical Disciplines and their Clients* (Berlin: forthcoming). For a list of anthropological papers based on the foundations laid by Austin, see Y. Harari, 'How to Do Things with Words: Philosophical Theory and Magical Deeds' (Hebrew), *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 19–20 (1997–1998), pp. 365–392 (370–375). Whether or not the adjurations employed in Jewish love spells may be considered performative utterances is beyond the scope of the present discussion, but see ibid., pp. 387–389. For performative utterances related to love in Jewish medieval songs, see Y. Ratzhabi, 'The Sorcery Motif in Bridegroom Songs' (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 61 (1992), pp. 117–125.

3   T-S AS 143.107, 1b:6–7.

Regardless of the manner in which the formulae were conceived, it is clear that, for the most part, practitioners tried to transmit them accurately. Recipes that preserve more than one version of a magical formula are a case in point. In such cases, it would appear that the copyists believed that only one version was effective, and, if several were available, they noted them all, letting the user decide by experimentation which one was correct.[4]

Furthermore, the fact that numerous formulae were transmitted through the centuries, rather than new ones being constantly created, reinforces the assumption that only specific formulae were considered efficacious.[5]

This chapter will attempt to trace the verbal rationale underlying Jewish love magic formulae, but will begin with the simpler task of examining some linguistic features of the corpus.

2 Linguistic Aspects

2.1 *Language, Person and Gender in the Magical Recipes*
Many recipes of Jewish love magic employ more than one language. Besides Hebrew and Aramaic, the two languages most associated with Judaism, one encounters Judaeo-Arabic, Latin, Italian, and Spanish, all inscribed with the Hebrew alphabet.[6] Jewish recipes that are written wholly in a language other

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4 E.g., T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:8–16 (= MSF Geniza 22). The Talmud also preserves an example of this phenomenon in a recipe for curing the bite of a mad dog; see BT Yoma, 84a אמשכא דאפא דיכרא כתיבנא עלך כנתי כנתי קלירוס ואמרי לה קנדי קנדי קלורוס: 'write upon the skin of a male hyena: "Kanti, kanti, kliros" and some say "Kandi, kandi, kloros"' (Epstein's edition does not include the entire passage).

5 A remarkable study of stability and change in magical practices was conducted by Evans-Prichard, who compared the magical formulae employed by the Azande tribe with those employed by residents of Trobriand Island; see E.E. Evans-Pritchard, 'The Morphology and Function of Magic: A Comparative Study of Trobriand and Zande Rituals and Spells', *American Anthropologist* 31 (1929), pp. 619–641. The magic of both groups contained a verbal aspect, yet, while the Azande improvised and freely modified the recited words, the Trobriand tended to preserve a fixed version of the spells. According to Evans-Pritchard, this variation stemmed from the social structure of the two groups. While the former was characterized by small family units, with each one maintaining its own customs and rituals, the latter was a rural society, with an established centralized ritual. The more centralized the ritual, the more fixed are the magical spells.

6 For overviews on these and other Judaeo-languages, see L. Kahn, and A.D. Rubin (eds), *Handbook of Jewish Languages* (Leiden and Boston, 2015). It must be stressed again that the

FIGURE 5   *T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:8–16 (= MSF Geniza 22), CUL. See the notation of different versions*
           of a formula (on the margins).
           REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE
           UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

than Hebrew or Aramaic (for instance in Arabic with the Arabic alphabet)
are extremely rare. In recipes derived from the Genizah, Arabic and Judeo-
Arabic are usually found in the instructions or title, while Hebrew and Aramaic

majority of the corpus derives from the Cairo Genizah and not from European manuscripts,
and hence Judaeo-Arabic is predominant.

appear in the actual magical formulae. Such recipes were originally written entirely in Hebrew or Aramaic. However, with the passing of time, Egyptian Jews employed Judaeo-Arabic more frequently, so some copyists decided to translate the titles and instructions accordingly.[7] The magical formulae remained unaltered, however, probably in order to maintain their efficacy. One notices a different situation in recipes derived from European manuscripts. When a recipe contains more than one language, its title and instructions are in Hebrew or, less often, Aramaic, whereas the magical formula (or part of it) may be in Latin or in a European vernacular inscribed in Hebrew characters. When recipes employ only Hebrew and Aramaic, there is no clear-cut division of roles. Sometimes the title and instructions are in Hebrew, and the magical formula is in Aramaic, but the reverse also happens. Alderik Blom discusses similar mixtures in other cultural contexts, and refers to them as 'ritual code switching'. Blom notes that 'ritual language, including its associated types of code-switching, provides little evidence for bilingualism in ordinary spoken language',[8] a situation which is also true for medieval Judaism.

The following fragment provides an interesting example of this mixture of languages. Its instructions were written twice, once in Aramaic and once in Arabic:

T-S K 1.15, 3:12 (= MSF Geniza 9)

וֹאלין
כלקטיריה כתב בְּקֶלֶף اكتب هذه القلقطيرات في رق[9]

And these
charakteres[10] write on parchment (repeated in Arabic)

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7   On this phenomenon, see R. Leicht, 'Some Observations on the Diffusion of Jewish Magical Texts from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah and Ashkenaz', in Sh. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 213–231; G. Bohak, 'The Jewish Magical Tradition from Late Antiquity to the Cairo Genizah', in H.M. Cotton et al. (eds), *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 321–339.

8   A. Blom, '*Linguae sacrae* in Ancient and Medieval Sources: An Anthropological Approach to Ritual Language', in A. Mullen and P. James (eds), *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge and New York, 2012), pp. 124–140 (126).

9   The words were written above the line.

10   The term כלקטיריה is a garbled version of כָרַקְטְרָיָה, meaning (magical) characters; for this term see below, section 6.

Both the Aramaic and Arabic instructions are written in the same hand. It is thus not clear, why the scribe chose to write in two different languages. It is possible that he or she intended the recipe manual to be accessible to readers who did not know Aramaic. The same person probably recorded another bilingual recipe, in which the instructions are written entirely in Arabic but three lines of angel names are inscribed in Hebrew characters.[11]

In some instances, certain words in a recipe are written in a different language than the rest of the text, perhaps intended as a cipher. The following fragment is a case in point. While it is not entirely certain that this is a love spell, it is worth including in the present discussion:

T-S AS 143.229, 1:1–3 (= AMB Geniza 2)

איתי ביעתא בת יומא בוכרתא
מן זגתא בר בטינתא ועיבד
שכבת زرع וחקק עלה ג׳ חלקין

Take a first-born egg laid on the same day
from a *bar baṭinta* hen, and make
a seminal (in Arabic) emission and inscribe on it 3 parts

These instructions are in Aramaic, and the term *baṭinta* even appears in the Babylonian Talmud.[12] However, the word 'semen' is written in Arabic, as is the first line of the recipe, which contains the familiar blessing 'In the name of Allah, the merciful and the compassionate, thanks be to Allah'. The scribe could evidently write well in Arabic, yet, in this recipe, used it only as a sort of cipher. It is not impossible that the scribe did this in order to avoid using an indelicate term in Aramaic, just like some modern scholars would employ a Latin word.[13] Another option would be a desire to obscure parts of the text should the manuscript end up in the wrong hands. However—as is often the case in Jewish magic manuals—such a code does not really pose a great difficulty for the potential decipherer.[14] In other instances the reasons for employing two different languages or scripts are even more puzzling. For example, in a

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11   T-S Ar. 43.89, 1a:8–10.

12   AMB, p. 220.

13   On the lack of explicit sexual terminology in Jewish love magic, see below, chapter 5.

14   For similar instances of obscuring parts of a magical text, see Bohak, 'The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah'.

recipe for hate, T-S AS 147.198, 1a, the scribe began to write in Judeo-Arabic: באב פרקה תכתב פי רק, 'A chapter for separation. Write on leather', but switched mid-sentence to Arabic: غزال وتجعله في انبوبة وتدفنه, 'of gazelle and place it in a tube and bury it'. The recipe then continues until the end in Arabic. There was obviously no intention to use a cipher in this case, and the reason for switching scripts remains unclear.

The second linguistic aspect to consider is the grammatical gender and person used in the recipes. Without exception, the hundreds of recipes included in the corpus employ forms that are grammatically masculine, suggesting that, at least in theory, they were intended to be used by men. While a woman could inspect a magic manual and perform some of its instructions, it seems that the authors and copyists of these texts ignored such a possibility. Furthermore, recipes for love and grace were almost always composed from a male perspective ('If you want to bring a woman from wherever'), although the products were sometimes modified to suit female beneficiaries. Nevertheless, it is possible that the use of masculine forms was only a formality, as suggested by Matthew Dickie with regard to the erotic spells in the *PGM*: 'the authors of such spells do not necessarily assume that only women are to be the object of their spells. (…) the use of the masculine grammatical gender is merely a convention for writing out as economically as possible spells that may be used equally well by either sex'.[15]

Grammatical person varies among the recipes. In most cases, recipes use the second person masculine singular imperative, e.g., כתוב על קלף, 'Write on parchment', קח לבונה זכה, 'Take pure frankincense'.[16] In some instances, the third person imperative is used, e.g., ירחץ ידיו, 'Let him wash his hands'.[17] The magical formula, on the other hand, usually uses the first person singular: משביע אני, משבענא, 'I adjure', which could refer either to the beneficiary of the spell, who is then mentioned as 'N son of N', or to the practitioner. Many formulae address supernatural entities in the second person (singular or plural) and then refer to the intended target(s) in the third person: משביע אני עליכם (...) שתתנו אהבה עזה ביני בין פב''פ ובין פב''פ, 'I adjure you, X, to place a fierce love between me, N b. N and between N b. N'.[18]

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15   M. Dickie, 'Who Practiced Love-Magic in Antiquity and in the Late Roman World?', *The Classical Quarterly* 50 (2000), pp. 563–583 (567).

16   E.g., T-S K 1.96, 1b:5, 7 (= MTKG III, no. 84).

17   E.g., T-S K 1.96, 1a:6 (= MTKG III, no. 84).

18   E.g., JTSL 8114, 94a:23–24.

2.2   *Language, Person and Gender in the Finished Products*

Given the absence of products pertaining to love magic that originate from Europe, the following discussion relies on about forty items that come from the Cairo Genizah,[19] and five Babylonian incantation bowls. Most of these products, like the recipes, employ more than one language, usually a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. This is not surprising, given that they rely on recipes that employ the vernacular for the instructions, but almost always Hebrew or Aramaic for the formulae.

Grammatical gender and person also accord with the recipes, with an adjuration or other form of address in the first person, directed to one or more entities in the second person, and often referring to the beneficiaries or targets of the spell in the third person. The following amulet serves well as an illustration:

T-S K 1.152, 1a:18–21 (= HAITCG, pp. 137–142)

אשבעית עליכון רחמיאל וחסדיאל
וחניאל וכנשאל שתתנו חן וחסד
לשלום בן זוהרה לישא וליתן
בסחורה קודם כל אדם בעולם

    I adjure you, Raḥmiel and Ḥasdiel
    and Ḥeniel and Knšʾl to grant grace and favour
    to Shalom son of Zuhra, to transact
    business with any person in the world

In this amulet, intended to achieve financial success for Shalom son of Zuhra, the adjuration is in the first person singular, as if coming from the mouth of the practitioner, while the object of the spell—in this case the beneficiary—is in the third person. Obviously, in some magical products the object of the spell is not identical with the beneficiary. This is the case, for example, with products of aggressive magic, in which the beneficiary seeks to affect another person, the target of the spell.

Sometimes, a finished product employs the first person to refer to the beneficiary, even when it was obviously written by a professional magician. These items relied on recipes in which the formula had been written in the first per-

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19   The corpus includes some items that cannot be defined as products or recipes with absolute certainty, given their state of conservation or ambiguous stylistic features.

son, and the practitioner only had to insert the client's name where the recipe read 'I, N son of N'. It is easy to identify such instances when several products, which name different beneficiaries, have been written in the first person by the same hand.

Some products use more than one grammatical person in a sentence to refer to the same individual. For example, an amulet for Eleazar son of Meliḥa (originally written for another person, whose name was erased) reads:[20]

ואלבשו לי אנא אלעזר בר מליחה חנה וחסדה ... ובלבלו כל פום דסני יתיה ויהוי רחים

and clothe **me**, **I**, Eleazar son of Meliḥa, in grace and favour … and confuse every mouth that hates **him** and **he** shall be loved

Such changes in grammatical person may be deliberate and not the result of a scribal error. For instance, an amulet for Sitthum daughter of Sitt al-Ahl begins in the first person singular, demanding that all people דלא ינזקון יתי אנא סתהם, 'should not harm me, I, Sitthum', but then refers to the amulet beneficiary in the third person: הוא יחוס על סתהם [...] וישים אתה לחן לחסד[21] ולרחמים בעני בעלה, '[Lahaqiel] shall have mercy on Sitthum (…) and bestow upon her grace, favour and mercy in the eyes of her husband'.[22] The different grammatical persons appear in different 'paragraphs', in different languages, and probably reflect two magical formulae that have been combined into one amulet.

It remains to examine the question of grammatical gender in the magical products, an issue of particular interest, since it may offer some insights on gender roles in Jewish love magic.[23] Did men or women turn more often to the aid of magicians? Which aims feature in the spells requested by each group?

Of the surviving products, one can be sure that ten were written on behalf of women, thirty-three on behalf of men, and one for a couple (Peraḥiya and his

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20   T-S K 1.163, 1a:29–33 (= MTKG II, no. 42).

21   Naveh and Shaked read 'ולחסד'.

22   T-S K 1.167 (= MSF Geniza 19), lines 6–7, 11–17.

23   I intend to elaborate on this topic in an article titled 'Passion and Prejudice: Gender Issues in Ancient Jewish Love Magic'. For a discussion of gender in Graeco-Roman love magic see, e.g., Dickie, 'Who Practiced Love-Magic'; C.A. Faraone, 'Agents and Targets: Construction of Gender and Desire in Ancient Greek Love Magic', in M.C. Nussbaum and J. Sihvola (eds), *The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Chicago and London, 2002), pp. 400–426; and the very useful analysis of E. Pachoumi, 'The Erotic and Separation Spells of the Magical Papyri and *Defixiones*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 53 (2013), pp. 294–325.

spouse, whose name is not preserved). Perhaps surprisingly, only five amulets designed for men were meant to achieve the love of a woman. One sought to obtain the love of another man (which may refer simply to amity rather than erotic affection), while the others were seeking grace and favour, usually 'in the eyes of all those who see him' (i.e. the spell beneficiary), though, in some instances, from a specific target (e.g., T-S AS 142.12 [= MTKG I, pp. 183–191]).

In six magical products the grammatical gender is unclear. Two are generic, and could thus be used by both men and women,[24] while the other four products lack the names of the beneficiaries. First among these is the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard (AMB Amulet 10), designed to obtain the love of a certain Rachel, but preserving no clues as to the gender of the beneficiary. Amulet T-S AS 142.39 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198) originally included the names of its beneficiary and the object(s) of his or her affection, but all names were erased with ink. The biblical analogies present in the text, expressed with the phrase 'as the love of X for Y' (e.g., כאהבת אברהם בשרה), mention Abraham's love for Sarah, Isaac's for Rebecca, Jacob's for Rachel, Aaron's for Elisheba and Elkanah's for Hannah. This would seem to suggest a female beneficiary who wished to conquer the heart of a man. However, this interpretation is rendered uncertain by the fact that the sequence ends with the analogy כאהבת דוד ויהונתן, 'as the love of David and Jonathan' (note the different conjunction, ו rather than ב). It is possible, therefore, that the text may have simply referred to famous biblical love stories, and not necessarily to those depicting the love of men towards women. Additionally, lines 18 and 22 might refer to a number of persons as the spell targets, using the plural nouns נפשם? and לבם.[25] Could the amulet have targeted a group of men? Magical products uncovered in the Cairo Genizah, whether for love or for other purposes, almost never have the names of their users erased.[26] It is thus possible that the deletion of the names on this amulet reflects a problem in the relationship.
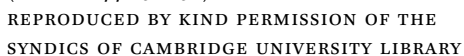
Finally, the grammatical gender is also unknown for two aggressive products: a Babylonian bowl that sought to separate a man from a woman (IM 9736),[27] and a Genizah text that intended to make a man hateful in the eyes of all who saw him (T-S K 1.42 [= MSF Geniza 12]), both of which lack the names of their beneficiaries. In the former the name may have been originally included, but it is not preserved (it may have been written on behalf of a woman, since the text

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JTSL ENA 1177.16 (= MTKG II, no. 41) and T-S K 1.128 (= HAITCG, pp. 128–130).

25 Line 18 might have ותקשר נפשם בנפשי, transcribed as ותקשר נפשו in MTKG.

26 For another example, see Saar, 'Success, Protection and Grace', p. 118*, note 64.

27 O.-P. Saar, 'An Incantation Bowl for Sowing Discord', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58 (2013), pp. 241–256.

FIGURE 6   *Love amulet with deleted names. T-S AS 142.39, CUL
(= MTKG I, pp. 192–198).*
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requests that the man return to X), while the latter makes no direct reference to the person who commissioned it.

The small number of extant magical products and the fact that they originate predominantly from the Genizah precludes a statistical analysis of gender roles. Nevertheless, some general observations can be made. Most surviving products were intended to obtain grace and favour, rather than erotic love. The beneficiaries of these products were mostly men. Even when a request for grace and favour was intended for a woman, a man is usually involved, either as the commissioner of the amulet (requesting grace for himself and his partner) or as the love-target of a woman who also wanted grace and favour in the eyes of all people. I am aware of only two magical items that exclusively sought grace and favour for a woman. One is a Babylonian incantation bowl that was written on behalf of Mahdukh daughter of Ispendarmed, in which angels are entreated to grant her grace and favour in the eyes of all, possibly in legal circumstances (line 3: 'may she come to trial and win').[28] The second is a medieval amulet from the Genizah, whose beneficiary, Sa'ada daughter of Samer, sought the favour of rulers, probably in the context of a legal struggle—she repeatedly requests to be delivered from prison.[29] All other products that were designed explicitly for female beneficiaries sought to implant love in men's hearts. The demands contained in the magical products thus seem to accord with societal expectations for men and women during the periods discussed. Men were supposed to make their way in society (professionally and financially), whereas women's roles in the public sphere were less predominant.[30]

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28   MS 1927/2 (= Sh. Shaked, 'Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells: Some Jewish Themes [The Poetics of Magic Texts]', in Sh. Shaked (ed.), *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), pp. 1–30, no. III.).

29   AIU VI.C.21 (= Abate, 'Theory and Practice of Magic').

30   For a discussion of some gender issues in the field of Jewish mysticism, see J.H. Chajes, 'Women Leading Women (and Attentive Men): Early Modern Jewish Models of Pietistic Female Authority', in J. Wertheimer (ed.), *Jewish Religious Leadership: Image and Reality* (New York, 2004), pp. 237–262. On Jewish women's roles in society, see, e.g., A. Grossman, *Pious and Rebellious: Jewish Women in Medieval Europe* (Lebanon, NH, 2004, orig. pub. 2001, Hebrew); M. Keil, 'Public Roles of Jewish Women in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Ashkenaz: Business, Community and Ritual', in Cluse C. (ed.), *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries): Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Speyer, 20–25 October 2002* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 317–330. For a discussion of similar issues in non-Jewish contexts, see, e.g., D. Frankfurter, 'The Social Context of Women's Erotic Magic in Antiquity', in K.B. Stratton and D.S. Kalleres (eds), *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford and New York, 2014), pp. 319–339, and the other articles in this volume.

The following table, arranged according to aim, summarises the existing evidence, and may serve as a basis for further gender analysis:[31]

TABLE 1   *Magical products (G&F = grace and favour)*

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
Mosseri VI.8 Unpublished	Peraḥyia and his wife	M + F	G&F and protection for Peraḥiya and his wife in the eyes of all.
Davidowitz 41 (bowl) Ford, 'My Foes Loved Me'	Aḥy b. Mḥwznytʾ	M	G&F and success for Aḥy.
T-S K 1.125 HAITCG, pp. 110–112	Solomon b. Fadila	M	G&F and success for Solomon.
T-S K 1.152 HAITCG, pp. 137–142	Shalom b. Zuhra	M	G&F and success in business for Shalom.
T-S AS 142.12 MTKG I, pp. 183–191	Abu al-Ḥassan called Ali b. Raysa	M	G&F for Abu al-Ḥassan in the eyes of all, and especially in the eyes of Jaʿafar called Sayf al-Dawla.
Manchester B 6755 + B 6757 Bohak and Smithuis, 'Four Amulets and an Exorcism'	Abu Saʿad b. Baladeyn	M	G&F for Abu Saʿad in the eyes of all, and especially in the eyes of Abu al-Futuḥ Nasr Allah Ibn Mwarid.
CUL Or. 1080.5.4 MTKG I, pp. 151–159	Abu Saʿad b. Baladeyn	M	G&F for Abu Saʿad in the eyes of all.

31   Only the pertinent aims of the products (i.e. love, hate, grace and favour) are listed here. Many of the items include additional aims, such as protection from demons or disease. For a survey and analysis of personal names in magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, see G. Bohak and O.-P. Saar, 'Genizah Magical Texts Prepared for or against Named Individuals', *Revue des études Juives* 174 (2015), pp. 325–358.

TABLE 1   *Magical products (G&F = grace and favour) (cont.)*

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
T-S K 1.150 Unpublished	Aaron Makarim b. Nujum	M	**G&F** for Aaron in the eyes of all.
CBS 8694 (bowl) AIT 13	Bahamandukh b. Sama	F	**G&F** for Bahamandukh in the eyes of all people. **Love** towards her in the heart of her husband, Ephra b. Shabardukh.
T-S NS 91.53 MTKG III, no. 75[32]	Berakhot b. Japheth	M	**G&F** for Berakhot in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.151 Unpublished (perhaps part of a personalized magic manual)	Berakhot b. Kalul b. Joseph Japheth	M	**G&F** for Berakhot, followed by a long amulet (recipe?) for protection from demons.
T-S K 1.163 MTKG II, no. 42	Eleazar b. Meliḥa and Joseph (originally written for a different person, whose name was erased)	M	**G&F** for Eleazar in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.165 Unpublished	Eleazar ha-Cohen b. Nathan and b. Gania	M	**G&F** for Eleazar in the eyes of the Qadi Abu al-Futuḥ Ibn Ḥurriah Ibn Abu al-Fadal Ismail.

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32   Defined by the editors as an adjuration ('beschwörung'), not as an amulet. This may be, however, a personalised magic manual; see Saar, 'Success, Protection and Grace', p. 132*, note 104.

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
T-S AS 142.256+ T-S K 1.166+ HUC 1035 Unpublished. Described in Saar, 'Genizah Offers Long-lasting Protection', *Genizah Fragments* 58 (2009), p. 2.	Elijah b. Esther	M	G&F for Elijah in the eyes of all, health and economic success.
T-S NS 307.2 Unpublished	Faraj b. Kazar (originally written for another person)	M	G&F for Faraj in the eyes of all.
Mosseri V.223 Unpublished	Futuḥ b. Saʿadia	M	G&F for Futuḥ in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.138 Unpublished	Ghaleb b. Galia	M	G&F for Ghaleb in the eyes of all, and in the eyes of Al-Fadal b. Badr al-Juiushi.
T-S Ar. 43.49 Unpublished	Isaac b. X	M	G&F for Isaac in the eyes of all.
T-S AS 143.372 MTKG I, pp. 206–212	Joshua b. Sitt al-Bayt	M	G&F for Joshua in the eyes of God and of all people.
JTSL 2124.28 + JTSL 3677.8 + JTSL 3296.16 & 3319.3 (Personalized magic manual) Saar, 'Success, Protection and Grace'	Judah b. Josiah	M	G&F for Judah in the eyes of all. **Love** in the heart of Hodaiah b. Solomon for Judah.

TABLE 1　　*Magical products (G&F = grace and favour)* (cont.)

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
MS 1927/2 (bowl) Shaked, 'Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells', no. III	Mahdukh b. Ispendarmed	F	**G&F** for Mahdukh in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.6 HAITCG, pp. 64–68	Manasseh b. Shamsia	M	**G&F** for Manasseh in the eyes of all.
T-S NS 307.3 Unpublished	Mordechai b. Juhara	M	**G&F** for Mordechai in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.26 MTKG II, no. 45	Numer b. Qubeyha	M	**G&F** for Numer in the eyes of all.
AIU VI.C.21 Abate, 'Theory and Practice of Magic'	Sa'ada b. Samer	F	**G&F** for Sa'ada in the eyes of every ruler, and shutting the mouths of all who speak against her.
T-S 12.102+T-S AS 142.6[33] Unpublished	Sahalan b. Aziza	M	**G&F** for Sahalan in the eyes of all. **Love** in the heart of an unknown person for Sahalan.
T-S NS 322.149 Unpublished	Sahalan b. X	M	**G&F** for Sahalan in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.69 Unpublished	Tzedeq b. Huda / Hadra (?)	M	**G&F** for Tzedeq in the eyes of all.

33　　Poorly preserved and written on the back of a *kettuba*, this may not be a finished product, but just a draft. Parts of the text have been deliberately erased.

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
T-S 8.275 MTKG I, pp. 171–175	(Abu) Zayn b. Sitt al-Bayt	M	G&F for Zayn in the eyes of Bunayn b. Sitt al-Ahl and in the eyes of all.
JTSL ENA 1177.16 MTKG II, no. 41	Generic. 'for any bearer of this amulet'	M/F	G&F in the eyes of all, for the bearer of the amulet.
T-S AS 145.24 Unpublished	Ḥalfon b. Galia	M	G&F to Ḥalfon in the eyes of Sitt al-Ahl (Hilalah) b. Maliḥa and an unnamed judge.
T-S Ar. 43.39 Unpublished	Isaac b. Saida	M	G&F to Isaac in the eyes of all.
T-S NS 322.69 Unpublished	Joseph b. Faqima	M	G&F to Joseph in the eyes of all.
IAA 84–317 MSF Amulet 16	Yose b. Zenobia	M	G&F. Subduing the town's people in front of Yose.
T-S K 1.128 HAITCG, pp. 128–130	Generic.	M/F	G&F. To cause the entire world to love the bearer of the amulet.
IM 9736 (bowl) Saar, 'An Incantation Bowl for Sowing Discord'	**Against** Gushnin and Namoy, for separation. Anonymous beneficiary.	?	**Hate** between two people.
T-S K 1.42 MSF Geniza 12	**Against** Ali b. Nuḥ the Ishmaelite. Anonymous beneficiary.	?	**Hate** towards Ali by all people.

TABLE 1   *Magical products (G&F = grace and favour)* (cont.)

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
AIU VI.C.22 Abate, *Sigillare il mondo*, pp. 169–179	Simḥa b. Esther	F	**Love** in the heart of a man (Isaac?) towards his wife, Simḥa.
Unknown shelfmark. Its photograph appeared in Gaster, 'Magen David', with the mention 'Amulet. xth century. From the Genizah.' (p. 27)	Yaman b. Asira	F	**Love** in the heart of Abushaq b. Gadab towards his wife, Yaman.
CBS 2972 (bowl) AIT 28	Aḥat b. Nebezakh	F	**Love** in the heart of Anur ... b. Parkoi towards Aḥat.
T-S AS 143.403 AMB Geniza 3	Ashir b. Wasayef	M	**Love** in the heart of Dallal b. Ḍyia towards Ashir.
JTSL ENA 2713.43 Unpublished	Hayim b. Badra	M	**Love** in the heart of Esther b. Nazli towards Hayim
CUL Or. 1080.15.81 MTKG I, pp. 160–170	Baġiḍa b. Ḥaiza	F	**Love** in the heart of Mufaḍḍal b. Iraq towards Baġiḍa. **G&F** in the eyes of all and protection.
Ḥorvat Rimmon AMB Amulet 10	Anonymous beneficiary	M ?	**Love** in the heart of Ra[chel] b. Mar[ian](?) towards the beneficiary.
T-S Misc. 10.31 MTKG I, pp. 176–182	Zayn b. Sitt al-Bayt	M	**Love** in the heart of Shadda b. (...) (the scribe did not know her mother's name) towards Zayn.

Item	Commissioned on behalf of / against	Gender	Aim
T-S K 1.168 HAITCG, pp. 143–159	Nathaniel called Hibba Allah b. Dura	M	**Love** in the heart of Sitt al-Furs b. Aziza towards her husband, Nathaniel. Protection for Sitt al-Furs and bestowing **G&F** upon her and Nathaniel in the eyes of all.
T-S K 1.167 MSF Geniza 19	Sitthum b. Sitt al-Ahl	F	**Love** in the heart of Musi b. Jala towards his wife, Sitthum. **G&F** for Sitthum in the eyes of all.
T-S AS 142.174 AMB Geniza 1	Gadab b. Tufaḥa	F	**Love** in the heart of Tr\u0161kyn b. Ama Allah towards Gadab.
T-S AS 142.252 Unpublished	Ma'atuqa (?) b. Rosa	F	**Love** in the heart of x b. Minta towards Ma'atuqa.
T-S AS 142.39 MTKG I, pp. 192–198	? The names have been deliberately erased.	M? F?	**Love** in the heart of a person or several persons towards a certain woman or man.

3   Appeals and Demands: The Magical Formulae

In his analysis of medieval Jewish amulets, Michael Swartz suggests that most texts contain the following elements:[34]

1.   Appeals in the name of God to various sacred entities
2.   Formulae for adjuration and requests to fulfil specific missions
3.   The name of the client (i.e. the beneficiary)

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34   Swartz, 'Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric', pp. 178–179.

4.   Detailed descriptions of the given mission
5.   A repetition of the demands, biblical quotations or various formulae
6.   A conclusion of the spell through liturgical formulae such as 'Amen' and 'Sela'.

Unsurprisingly, these elements are equally present in the finished products of love magic, and also correspond to the instructions found in the recipes. This section will focus on the first two elements on Swartz' list, that is, the appeals and adjurations that constitute the main building blocks of the formulae. These may be divided into several categories:

a.   Appeals to, and adjurations of, angels, magical words or magical signs, which will be discussed further below.
b.   Appeals to God, which consist mainly of phrases like 'In the name of the Lord may we do and succeed' or 'for Thy mercy and for Thy truth'.[35]
c.   Magical formulae that do not specify a supernatural force, for instance writing or pronouncing the name of the target and the aim of the magical act: 'May NN be separated from NN as this dog is separated from the cat' (JTSL ENA 2873.7–8, 1a:7–8).

The formulae often begin with the expression 'In the name of' followed by one or more of God's names, names of angels or vowel permutations. While Goitein emphasised the 'absence of angels' in Genizah documents, as opposed to the 'direct appeal to God', the magical texts he chose to ignore include hundreds of angel names. The angelic nomenclature in the corpus of love magic follows the same patterns as that found in other branches of Jewish magic.[36] Most names end with the theophoric suffix '-el', except for a few that employ the suffix '-yah'. Less often, the corpus includes names that are not typically angelic, e.g., *Ktwt* or *Qmst'* (כתות, קמסתא).[37] In some instances one may note a direct correlation between name and function, such as when the angel Hafkiel, from the root הפ״כ, meaning to turn or reverse, appears in a formula for reversing a person's feelings. These cases, however, are comparatively rare. The angel we would most expect to encounter in formulae of Jewish love magic, namely Ahaviel, whose name translates as 'Loviel', appears only six times. Its fellows Ḥeniel

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35   E.g., T-S K 1.73, 2:7–10 (= AMB Geniza 6); Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36b:35–36.
36   I have compiled a database of angel names in magical texts from the Cairo Genizah, and intend to elaborate on this topic in a separate article. See also chapter 5, section 3.4.
37   T-S K 1.143, 5:11 (= MSF Geniza 18); T-S K 1.132, 1:13 (= MSF Geniza 17).

and Ḥasdiel, referring to grace and favour, are only slightly more common, appearing about ten and fifteen times respectively. In most cases there is no apparent correlation between the angelic names and notions of love or hate; indeed, the corpus includes references to familiar angels like Raphael and Gabriel as well as peculiar ones like Lahaqiel. It should be noted, however, that no obviously demonic entities are addressed in the formulae.

The question of whether the angels were regarded as intermediaries between humans and the Divine or as independent forces is beyond the scope of the present study.[38] It suffices to note that some texts direct actual requests to the angels, for example, מבקש אני מכם, 'I ask of you',[39] or בשם חניאל חסדיאל אוקיאל בבקשה מכם בכח שם המפורש, 'In the name of Ḥeniel, Ḥasdiel, Oqiel, if you please, by the power of the explicit name'.[40] Most formulae, however, contain adjurations that are characterized by verbs derived from the root שב״ע, or appeals that include the expression 'in the name of' followed by one or more names, for example:

T-S K 1.37, 2a:16–18 (= MTKG I, pp. 55–66)

לאהבה בשם מיכאל
וגבריאל ורהטיאל וצדקיאל. אתון שמהתא [קד]ישיא
גמולו אהבה וחסדא לפב׳פ׳ באפי פ׳ב׳פ׳

For love. In the name of Michael
and Gabriel and Rahaṭiel and Tzadqiel. You [ho]ly names,
offer love and favour to NN in the eyes of NN.

This recipe addresses four angels that are referred to as 'holy names'. It begins with the expression 'In the name of', which one would expect to be followed by an adjuration (In the name of x, I adjure Y to do the following). Here, however, the expression lacks an object, and simply ends with the names through which the magical formula is supposed to work.[41] Incidentally, the phrase that occurs

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38 See, e.g., M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1992) (for early periods); E. Kanarfogel, *Peering Through the Lattices: Mystical, Magical, and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosafist Period* (Detroit, 2000) (for the medieval period).

39 *Sefer ha-Razim*, Second Firmament, line 33 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §128).

40 JTSL ENA 1177.16, 1a:27–28 (= MTKG II, no. 41).

41 For the expression 'In the name of' as a type of adjuration or address, see G. Alon, 'In the Name of' (Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 21 (1950), pp. 30–39; Gruenwald, 'The Letters, the Writing, and the Shem Mephorash', pp. 90–93.

at the top of various Jewish documents, בשם ה׳ נעשה ונצליח, 'In the name of the Lord may we do and succeed', exemplifies the same principle.

Besides angels, the corpus contains adjurations of, and appeals to, magical words or letter sequences, and magical signs, for example:

T-S K 1.15, 2:11–13 (= MSF Geniza 9)

{לה} לאהבה[42]
[א]בג {יו} יתץ בייץ אתון שמהאתא
דחיליא ותקיפיא הבו אהבה רבה

For love.
[']bg {yw} yṭṣ byyṣ, you names
fearful and strong, place great love

T-S K 1.143, 17:13–15, 18:1–2 (= MSF Geniza 18)

לאנש דיהווי חביבי[43] ורח]ים (...)
⟨ two lines of magical signs⟩
[את]ון אתייה קדישייה וכלקטיר]יה[
[משבחיי]ה הבו חן וחסד ורחמה לפ׳ב׳פ׳

For a person, to be liked and lo[ved (...)
⟨two lines of magical signs⟩
[Yo]u holy letters and
[prais]ed *charakteres*, give grace and favour and love to NN

Most adjurations are given in the name of angels or other supernatural forces, but, on rare occasions, are made in God's name, for example:

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36b:35–36

אשבעית עליך מטטרון מטטרון מטטרון בשם בוראך

I adjure you Metatron Metatron Metatron, in the name of your Creator

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42   The first two letters have been erased and are not transcribed in MSF.
43   The word was written above the line.

Occasionally, the formula lacks the expression 'In the name of' or its equivalent, for instance:

Sefer ha-Razim, First Firmament, lines 145–147 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 7)

משביע
אני עליכם מלאכי חן ומלאכי מדע שתהפכו את לב פלונית בת
פלונית ולא תעשה דבר בלעדי

> I adjure
> you, angels of grace and angels of knowledge, to turn the heart of N
>   daughter of
> N, and she may do nothing without me.

God Himself is never adjured in recipes or products of love magic, not, to the best of my knowledge, is He adjured in other branches of Jewish magic from the periods under discussion. On the contrary, appeals to God usually involve an imploring tone, rather than one of request, and even less so, of demand. This appears to be a characteristic of the magic of monotheistic religions (see further chapter 5, section 3.3). A possible exception to this rule is a recipe from a fifteenth-century European manuscript, that contains an apparent adjuration of God, which, however, might refer merely to His 'holy names', in which case it would conform to the rule:

Budapest MS Kaufmann BUD 178, 439:1–10

להולך במקום גדודי חיות ולסטים
ירחץ ידיו ופניו ויאמר בכוונה זאת ההשבעה
משביע אני עליך השם הקדוש
שם בן ארבעים ושתים
אותיות ׳ (...)
(...) שתנני (!) היום
ובכל יום ויום לחן וחסד ולרחמים
בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי

> For he who walks in a place of animal packs and robbers.
> He should wash his hands and face and say with intent (*kavanah*) this
>   adjuration:
> I adjure you, the holy name,
> the name of forty-two

letters, (…)
(…) to bestow on me today
and on each and every day, grace and favour and mercy
in Your eyes and in the eyes of all who see me

Similarly, the use of threats against supernatural forces is rarely found in Jewish magic; only one of the items in the corpus threatens the objects of the adjuration:

T-S AS 142.39, 1a:29–30 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198)

השמרו
לכם פן {תמהרו}[44] תמרו את השם הנכבד והנורא

Beware
yourselves lest you oppose the glorious and terrible name

Why did practitioners refrain from threatening the forces they were addressing? One might argue that this results from the very nature of the texts, which deal with love and grace: perhaps it was deemed improper to include a negative, threatening tone. On the contrary, the forces were to be addressed in a pleading tone, perhaps even with a shade of flattery: מלאכים יקרים 'dear angels',[45] or ב,[שם] אלו/ השמות היקורות והמפוארות 'in the [name] of these/ precious and praiseworthy names'.[46] However, threats are also absent from magical texts for sowing hate. It would appear, therefore, that a threatening tone towards supernatural entities went against the Jewish magical tradition because the latter emerged from the Jewish religious tradition, which equally lacked threats towards such forces.

To conclude, magical formulae were usually supposed to achieve their ends through adjurations and appeals to various supernatural forces. Only a small number of items in the corpus comprise formulae that do not mention any supernatural entity. Sometimes, the very adjuration or appeal constitutes the formula, yet, in most magical items, one finds it combined with additional content, as will be shown below.

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44   תמהרו has been deleted.
45   T-S K 1.26, 1b:1 (= MTKG II, no. 45).
46   Mosseri V.223, 1a:25–26.

4   Literary Devices in the Magical Formulae

The literary aspects of Jewish magic are an interesting, though little-researched topic. Some magical formulae seem to be nearly lyrical, due to the repetition of a single idea in a variety of verbal forms ('burn and ignite and inflame'), or thanks to other devices, such as rhyme ('*hrʾwt ʾtbʾwt qwlhwn sptwn*'), metaphor, and analogy. The texts could have simply consisted of an adjuration followed by the desired goal; there are, in fact, recipes that resort to such simple a formula: יקח תפוח אדום וכתו׳ עליה ריקו רראי אַצִיפִיר אַפרִיאֵל קַפצִיאֵל[47] הבו א״ע (= אהבת עולם) פל׳ פ׳ או פ׳ ותן לאכול למי שתרצה, 'One should take a red apple and write on it *Ryqw, Rrʾy, ʾṣyfyr, ʾpryel*, Qaftziel, place eternal love (between) NN or N, and feed it to whom you wish'.[48] However, many recipe authors chose to embellish their formulae with an assortment of literary devices and specific detail: ותשימון אהבתה/ בלבו כאש בוערת אשר לא יכבנה המים אשר/ בימים, 'and place her love/ in his heart as a burning fire which the water of the seas shall not quench'.[49] It should be noted, however, that the aims of magical poetics are not aesthetical (as opposed to poetry) but practical: augmenting the effect of the formula on the supernatural entities or the magician's clientele.[50] A significant proportion of the formulae of Jewish love magic includes some form of literary device, primarily analogies, metaphors and scriptural citations, the common types among of which will be surveyed and analysed below.

4.1   *Biblical Analogies*[51]

Recipes and products of Jewish love magic mention a limited number of biblical figures. Noah and Joseph were regarded as models of people who found grace and favour with God and rulers respectively.[52] Unsurprisingly, Queen

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47   The last three magical names are overlined.

48   Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36a:26–27.

49   T-S K 1.106, 1a:15–17 (= MTKG II, no. 46).

50   For an extensive discussion, see Versnel, 'The Poetics of the Magical Charm'.

51   On the use of biblical analogies in Jewish magic, see Sh. Levy, *The Uses of Biblical Verses and Biblical Figures in Magical Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Hebrew; unpubl. MA thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2006); J. Angel, 'The Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic', *Religion Compass* 3 (2009), pp. 785–798; D.M. Salzer, *Die Magie der Anspielung: Form und Funktion der biblischen Anspielungen in den magischen Texten der Kairoer Geniza* (Tübingen, 2010). On *historiolae*, see D. Frankfurter, 'Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical *Historiola* in Ritual Spells', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 457–476.

52   See also Salzer, *Die Magie der Anspielung*, pp. 258–266.

Esther was also a source of inspiration for those wishing to find grace and obtain love.[53] On the other hand, Amnon and Tamar were viewed as a biblical couple epitomising hateful emotions,[54] just like Eve and the serpent. Other, less common, formulae of Jewish love magic contain references to the Patriarchs and Matriarchs or to Daniel and his friends.[55] All the analogies bear a clear and manifest relation to the stated aims of the magical text.

Noah

This righteous and wholehearted man who found favour with the Lord features in a recipe for grace and favour from a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript that requires the recitation of Genesis 6:8, while modifying the order of its words:

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36a:12–14

לחן יאמר בכל בקר ונח מצא חן בעיני י״י ונח
חן מצא י״י בעיני ׳ ונח חן בעיני י״י מצא ונח חן בעיני מצא י״י וחן מצא נח בעיני
י״י כן אמצא חן גדול בעיני השר הזה או שופט או פלו׳ או פלני׳ וימלא כל חפצי

> For grace. One should say every morning: 'And Noah found grace in the eyes of God, and Noah grace found God in the eyes, and Noah grace in the eyes of God found, and Noah grace in the eyes found of God, and grace found Noah in the eyes
> of God, so should I find a great grace in the eyes of this minister or judge or N (male?) or N (female?), and he should fulfil all my desire.'

The analogy of Noah also features in several finished products preserved in the Cairo Genizah. One of them consists of a direct biblical analogy, including a quotation of Genesis 6:8.

T-S K 1.6, 1a:14–16 (= HAITCG, pp. 64–68)

ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה
צבאות כן אמצא חן בעיני אלהים
ואדם

---

53   Ibid., pp. 132–133, 279–280.

54   Ibid., pp. 102, 180.

55   Ibid., pp. 133–134.

> And Noah found grace in the eyes of the YHWH
> Sabaot, so shall I find grace in the eyes of God
> and man

This amulet, intended to confer grace and favour on Manasseh son of Shamsia, was based on the following type of recipe:

T-S NS 246.32, 4:20–21 (= MSF Geniza 28)

ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה (כן י׳)מצא פ [בן פ]
[ח]ן וחסד בעיני אלוהים ואדם

> And Noah found grace in the eyes of YHWH, so shall N [son of N] find [gr]ace and favour in the eyes of God and man.

In the above finished product, the generic expression 'N son of N' has been replaced with a first person phrase: 'so shall I find', with the beneficiary's name following soon after. Genesis 6:8, describing Noah's grace, is similarly cited in other Genizah amulets: for success in business,[56] for love between a man and a woman,[57] and for grace.[58]

Joseph

Jacob's beloved son, who eventually became chief minister in Egypt and even wore Pharaoh's ring, is often mentioned in recipes of Jewish love magic, and many of the amulets that have come down to us include Joseph's name. There are several modes of referring to him, each of which stresses different aspects of his life or different *historiolae*. Below are some representative examples for this popular analogy.

a   *Joseph Finds Grace with God*

Such amulets quote Genesis 39:21, and seek to bestow the same kind of grace on the spell beneficiary:

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56   T-S K 1.152, 1a:34 (= HAITCG, pp. 137–142).

57   AIU VI.C.22, 1a:57–62 (= Abate, *Sigillare il mondo*, pp. 169–179).

58   T-S K 1.163, 1a:17 (= MTKG II, no. 42).

T-S K 1.125, 1a:10–12 (= HAITCG, pp. 110–112)

<div dir="rtl">

ויהי י״י את יוסף ויט

אליו חסד כך יטה חן וחסד

על שלמה בר פאצלה ~
</div>

And God was with Joseph and bestowed
upon him favour, so shall He bestow grace and favour
upon Solomon son of Faḍila.

This is an example of a direct analogy, whereby the practitioner sought to channel divine grace towards the amulet beneficiary, so that ויצליח כל מה שהוא עושה, 'he shall succeed in everything he does' (1a:13–14). This analogy is found in other Genizah amulets,[59] occasionally in an indirect form that modifies the biblical verse by replacing Joseph's name with the name of the amulet beneficiary (see further section 4.2 below):

T-S AS 143.403, 1a:12–13 (= AMB Geniza 3)

<div dir="rtl">

ויהי י^״י את עשיר בן

[וצ]איף ויט [אליו חסד]
</div>

And God was with Ashir son of [Wa]sayef, and He bestowed [upon him grace]

b   *Joseph Finds Grace with Pharaoh and Potiphar*
The favour obtained by the young Hebrew slave with the two Egyptian rulers is echoed in a recipe for grace from an Italian manuscript:

JTSL 8114, 62b:18–20[60]

<div dir="rtl">

ותנני לחן ולחסד ולרחמי׳ ולחמל׳

בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי כשם שהיה יוסף בעיני פרעה מלך

מצרים
</div>

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59   E.g., T-S K 1.152, 1a:31–32 (= HAITCG, pp. 137–142) and T-S AS 142.256, 1a:22–26, probably
       based on the same recipe but written by different hands.

60   The leaf is wrongly numbered as 61 (סא).

And lend me to grace and favour and mercy and pity
in Your (= God's) eyes and in the eyes of all those who see me, as was
    Joseph in the eyes of Pharaoh the King
of Egypt

An amulet from the Genizah, which aims to achieve grace, cites Genesis 39:4,
a verse that recounts the great trust that Potiphar placed in Joseph:

T-S K 1.152, 1a:31–32 (= HAITCG, pp. 137–142)

וימצא יוסף
חן בעיניו וישרת אותו ויפקידהו על
ביתו וכל יש לו נתן בידו ויהי יהוה
את יוסף כן ימצא שלום בן זוהרה

And Joseph found
grace in his eyes and he served him and he entrusted him over
his house and all that he had he gave to him and God was with
Joseph, so shall find Shalom son of Zuhra (favour)

A possible cause of Joseph's success is intimated in spells that mention the
angels רחמיאל חסדיאל שהיו עם יוסף במצרים, 'Raḥmiel (and) Ḥasdiel that were
with Joseph in Egypt', who should similarly support the beneficiaries of the
amulets.[61]
    Sometimes Joseph's success is associated with financial matters, as in the
following Genizah recipe, requesting:

T-S K 1.26, 1a:4–5 (= MTKG II, no. 45)

הך דיסף [בא]רעה דמצרים
כן יהוון[62] כל עמה פרי ועללין לחנ (= חנותא) דפ׳ ב׳ פ׳

Like Joseph in the [la]nd of Egypt,
so shall all the people run and enter the shop of N b. N

---

61   T-S K 1.151, 1a:10–11; T-S K 1.165, 1a:62–63.

62   The editors read יהוה instead of יהוון.

Interestingly, the accomplishments of Joseph in the Egyptian court are sometimes related to love between a man and his wife:

T-S K 12.89, 1a:3–4

<div dir="rtl">

(...) [כיו]סף בפני [פ]רעה מלך מצרים וכאסתר לפני המלך אחשורוש

[פ׳ב׳פ׳ תשא חן וחסד ויקר בעיני בעלה (...)

</div>

(...) [as Jo]seph in front of [Pha]raoh the King of Egypt and as Esther in
front of the King Ahasuerus,

] N b. N shall have grace and favourand honour in the eyes of her
husband (...)

c   *Joseph Adjures the Angel Gabriel with a Special Adjuration*

The Hebrew Bible does not contain an account of Joseph compelling the angel Gabriel, by means of an adjuration, to reveal to him God's true name. Indeed, even in post-biblical Jewish sources, which seek to explain Joseph's success, Gabriel is shown to be free from compulsion and acting of his own accord.[63] The *historiola* contained in the following recipe, therefore, may represent the echo of an otherwise lost *midrash*:

CUL Or. 1080.15.81, 1a:47–51 (= MTKG I, pp. 160–170)

<div dir="rtl">

משביע אני עליכם
בשבועה גדולה שהשביע יוסף
לגבריאל ולמדו שבעים לשון. ~
ומסר לו גבריאל שם זה יה יה שהוא
משבעים שמות שיש לו ל׳ה׳ק׳ב׳ה׳
והיה לו חן וחסד בעיני כל רואיו כן
יהיה חן וחסד ויקר וגדולה וכבוד
לבגיצ׳ה בת חאיזה בעיני מפצ׳ל בן
עראק

</div>

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63   BT Sotah 36b (and cf. Numbers Rabbah 19:3): 'Pharaoh's astrologers exclaimed: "Wilt thou
set in power over us a slave whom his master bought for twenty pieces of silver!" He replied
to them, "I discern in him royal characteristics." They said to him, "In that case he must be
acquainted with the seventy languages". Gabriel came and taught [Joseph] the seventy
languages, but he could not learn them. Thereupon [Gabriel] added to his name a letter
from the Name of the Holy One, blessed be He, and he learnt [the languages]'. On Joseph
and his great adjuration, see also HAITCG, p. 156; MTKG I, p. 159.

> I adjure you
> by the great adjuration that Joseph adjured
> Gabriel, and he taught him seventy languages.
> And Gabriel transmitted to him this name, *yh*, which is (one)
> of the seventy names that He, the Holy, Blessed be He, has.
> And he had grace and favour in the eyes of all who saw him, so
> there shall be grace and favour and honour and greatness and respect
> to Baġiḍa daughter of Ḥaiza in the eyes of Mufaḍḍal son of
> Iraq.

d   *Joseph is Immune to the Evil Eye*

Judaism, like many other cultures, regarded the 'evil eye' as extremely perilous ('Ninety-nine die by the eye, and one by the hands of Heaven' according to the talmudic statistics found in PT Shabbat 14:3). Joseph's repeated escapes from hazardous situations probably account for the belief that he was immune to the evil eye and its lethal effects. The apotropaic use of Genesis 49:22 is already found in rabbinic sources,[64] and the same verse continues to appear in modern amulets. It has found its way also into texts of love magic, although this is in the context of protection rather than for obtaining love or grace. For instance, amulet T-S NS 307.3, 1a:4–5, sought to shield its owner, Mordechai, from evil entities '(…) and from an evil eye: Joseph is a fruitful vine, a fruitful vine by a fountain' (ומעין רעה בן פרת יוסף בן פרת עלי עין), as well as to bestow on him love, grace and favour in the eyes of all who saw him.

        Esther and Ahasuerus

This biblical figure, who was loved by the king 'more than all the women' (Esther 2:17), is not only associated with 'romantic' love, as expected, but also with social success and obtaining grace and favour. This demonstrates once again the affinity between love and social affection, being loved by one's peers, as seen in the following recipe:

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64   BT Berakhot 20a: 'Said the Rabbis to him: "Is not the Master afraid of the evil eye?" He replied: "I come from the seed of Joseph, over whom the evil eye has no power, as it is written, Joseph is a fruitful vine, a fruitful vine above the eye"; and R. Abbahu said with regard to this, "Do not read '*ale 'ayin*, but '*ole 'ayin*'". For the use of this formula against the evil eye, accompanied by a special hand gesture, see also BT Berakhot 55b.

JTSL ENA 3207.22, 1a:16–17

<div dir="rtl">

וכאשר היה חן וחסד לאסתר המלכה בעיני אחשורו[ש]

כן יהיה חן וחסד לי אני פלוני ב פל בעיני כל אדם

</div>

And as Queen Esther had grace and favour in the eyes of Ahasueru[s],
so shall I, N b. N, have grace and favour in the eyes of every person

Another amulet for grace, T-S NS 307.2, 1a:34, refers to the angels who stood
'with Esther in front of Ahasuerus' (עם אסתר לפני אחשורש), and requests that
they also 'confer grace and favour' (יגמלו חן וחסד) to the owner of the amulet,
Faraj son of Kazar. Interestingly, the male spell beneficiary is equated, by means
of this analogy, with a female biblical character.[65]

Ezra the Scribe

A couple of Genizah amulets, probably based on a single recipe, mention the
name of the biblical reformer Ezra. His association with grace most likely
derives from Ezra 7:28: וְעָלַי הִטָּה חֶסֶד לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְיוֹעֲצָיו וּלְכָל שָׂרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגִּבֹּרִים,
'[God] hath extended favour unto me before the king, and his counsellors, and
before all the king's mighty princes.' This analogy, however, is rarely found in
Jewish love magic:

T-S K 1.163, 1a:37 (= MTKG II, no. 42)

<div dir="rtl">

כיוסף בן ישראל וכאסתר ומרדכי ועזרא הסופר כן תנה לי

אני אלעזר בן מליחה ויוסף חן וחסד

</div>

As Joseph son of Israel, and as Esther and Mordechai, and Ezra the
Scribe, so shall you give me,
I, Eleazar son of Meliḥa and Joseph, grace and favour

Mosseri V.223, 1a:20–22

<div dir="rtl">

וכיוסף בן

ישרָאל כאסתר המלכה וכעזרא

</div>

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65   For a similar phenomenon, see the incantation bowl for grace and favour published by
Ford, 'My Foes Loved Me', lines 6–7, where the spell beneficiary seeks שופרא דישבע נשין
והדרא דתמני בתולתא, 'the beauty of seven women and the splendor of eight virgins'.

הַסֵּפֶר ואכבוש אותם תחת כפת
רגלי מ[ע]תה ועד עולם

And as Joseph son of
Israel and as Queen Esther and as Ezra
the Scribe, and I shall subdue them under the soles of
my feet from [n]ow and forever

The Matriarchs, the Patriarchs and Other Love Stories

Just like some famous Hollywood couples have became etched into in the col-
lective Western memory, the Bible recounts love stories so intense or unusual
that they became exemplary. As might be expected, these stories also perme-
ate the recipes and products of Jewish love magic, providing analogies for their
protagonists. One of the amulets mentioned above employed the great love sto-
ries of the Hebrew Bible to express the aims of its anonymous beneficiary: 'as
the love of Abraham for Sarah, and as the love of Isaac for Rebecca', conclud-
ing with a reference to the love of David for Jonathan.[66] A similar analogy also
occurs in the following recipe, designed לא[ש]שה תאהב, that is, to implant love
in a woman's heart. Remarkably, the woman's emotions are likened to those felt
by men:[67]

Mosseri v.227, 1b:4–7

ותאהב אותו כאהבת
יהונתן לדוד כדכתי׳ נפ[ל]אתה
אוהב׳ לי מ׳נ׳ וכא[הב]ת יעקב
ברחל [דכ]תי׳ ויאה[ב] יעקב

(...) and she shall love him as the love of
Jonathan for David, as it is written: 'won[de]rful was
thy love to me, passing the love of women',[68] and as the l[ov]e of Jacob
for Rachel, [as it is w]ritten: 'And Jacob love[d] (Rachel)'[69]

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66   T-S AS 142.39, 1a:19–21 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198).
67   See also AIU VI.C.22, 1a:20 (= Abate, *Sigillare il mondo*, pp. 169–179), a love-inducing amulet
      written for a woman, which refers to [David's] grace in the eyes of Jonathan.
68   2 Samuel 1:26: נִפְלְאַתָה אַהֲבָתְךָ לִי מֵאַהֲבַת נָשִׁים.
69   Genesis 29:18: וַיֶּאֱהַב יַעֲקֹב אֶת רָחֵל.

Daniel and His Friends

The story of the Jewish children whom the angels protected from the Babylonian king was mentioned in a previously cited Italian manuscript (p. 176), together with Joseph and Esther. Daniel and his friends found grace and favour with a ruler, just as some spell beneficiaries wished to find in the eyes of all.

JTSL 8114, 62b:18–21[70]

ותני לחן ולחסד (...)
כשם שהיה (...)
(...) ודניאל וחניה מישאל ועזריה בעי״ (= בעיני)
נבוכד נאצר מעת׳ ועד עולם ׳

And bestow upon me grace and favour (...)
as there was (to ...)
(...) and Daniel and Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah in the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar from now and until eternity.

Daniel also appears in a finished product for love, which seemingly refers to the account of the angel in the den of lions (Daniel 6:23). The beneficiary, Sitthum daughter of Sitt al-Ahl, sought the love of her husband, Musi son of Jala. It is disconcerting to note that she also asked not to be harmed by him, just like Daniel was unharmed in the biblical story. One is left to speculate about the personal story this amulet conceals.

T-S K 1.167, 2:7–13 (= MSF Geniza 19)

הא שלח[71] מלאכא
קדם דניאל כן
יכבוש כל בני אדם
ויסתכר פמהון
דכל בני אנשא
ופום מוסי בן ג[א]לה
שלא ינזק אותי
אני סתהם

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70   The leaf is mistakenly numbered as 61 (סא).

71   The editors read (חו)של.

He who sent the angel
in front of Daniel so
shall He conquer all people,
and may the mouths
of all people be shut,
and the mouth of Musi son of J[a]la,
that he may not harm me,
I, Sitthum.

Daniel's three friends appear in the previously mentioned amulet for Faraj son of Kazar, T-S NS 307.2, 1a:31–34, which addresses the angels 'who were with Abraham in Ur of the Chaldeans and with Hananiah and Mishael and Azariah in the fiery furnace' (היו עם/ אברהם באור כשדים ועם/ חנניה ומישאל ועזריה בכבש(ן)/⟨ן⟩ האש).[72] The reference to Abraham together with Daniel's peers recalls the *midrash* about the former being saved from the fiery furnace into which he was cast by Nimrod.[73] The amulet then refers to the angels who stood by Esther's side when she faced Ahasuerus, as already cited above. The biblical analogies in this amulet relate not only to grace and favour but also to divine protection, both of which were sought by the amulet beneficiary.

Amnon and Tamar

Biblical analogies also appear in negative contexts, in aggressive love magic designed to separate lovers or to make a person hateful to their peers. One popular analogy is the relationship between Amnon and Tamar, which started off with erotic attraction but ended tragically (2 Samuel 13). Since almost no products for aggressive ends have been preserved, the following examples are taken only from recipes.

JTSL 8114, 64a:1–4

ולשנאה יעשה
לוח אדמה ויכתו׳ בו ז׳ שמות הללו ויקרא הז׳ שמות ויאמ׳ מא״ע) = משביע אני
עליכם(
שמו׳ הקדושי׳ בשם י׳ שתשימו שנאה בין פ׳ לפ׳ כשנאת אמנון
ותמר וכשנאת הכלבי׳ את החתולי׳

---

72 The protective element of this episode accounts for its appearance in Christian amulets that aim to combat fevers or enemies. See Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, pp. 98–100, 189, 193.

73 BT Eruvin 53a; BT Pesaḥim 118a.

And for hate one should make

a tablet of earth and should write on it these 7 names and should read
    the 7 names and say: I adjure you,

the holy names, in the name of Y (the Lord), that you should place hate
    between N and N, as the hate of Amnon

and Tamar and as the hate of the dogs for the cats

It should be noted that this manuscript also contains a recipe that employs Amnon and Tamar as a loving couple, but this positive analogy is exceptional.[74]

The analogy of Amnon and Tamar is also employed in the following recipe, although their names are not explicitly mentioned.

T-S K 1.73, 4:11–15 (= AMB Geniza 6)

מזמן הדן כתבה לפ׳ ב׳ פ׳ דיסני
לפ׳ ב׳ פ׳ בשם יי׳ וישנאה פ׳ ב׳ פ׳ לפ׳ ב׳ פ׳
שינאה גדולה עד מאד כי גדולה
השינאה אשר שנא פ׳ ב׳ פ׳ לפ׳ ב׳ פ׳
מאהבה אשר אהבו (...)

This amulet (lit. writing) is designed for N b. N, that he should hate
N b. N in the name of YY (the Lord), and N b. N hated N b. N
with exceeding great hatred; for the hatred
wherewith N b. N hated N b. N was greater
than the love wherewith he had loved him.

This recipe quotes 2 Samuel 13:15, which depicts the transformation of Amnon's love into hate. The names of the spell targets that one wished to separate were to be inserted into the verse, thus replacing the names of the biblical characters, in order that the same emotions would arise between them.

Eve

Adam's wife is also mentioned in recipes for sowing enmity. The following one, titled שער לשנאה, 'A chapter for hate', uses Genesis 3:15, which describes the eternal animosity between Eve and the serpent, in order to create a similar feeling between two humans:

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74   JTSL 8114, 94b:5–6. The leaf is mistakenly numbered 93 (צג).

Bodley MS. Heb. g. 3, 4a:5–7, 4b:1–3

<div dir="rtl">

ויהוי איבה ושינאה

ביניהון כמא נחש והוה (!) כמא

ש נ ואיבה אשית בינך {ב}⁷⁵ ובין

האשה ובין זרעך ובין

זרעה הוא ישופך ראש

ואתה תשופנו עקב

</div>

> And may there be enmity and hate
> between them as the serpent and Eve, as
> it was said: And I will put enmity between thee and
> the woman, and between thy seed and
> her seed; they shall bruise thy head,
> and thou shalt bruise their heel

Sodom and Gomorrah

A particularly interesting biblical analogy, and one that found its way also into non-Jewish love magic, is that of the two sinful cities and their destruction. As opposed to the other analogies discussed so far (aside from the exceptional use of Amnon and Tamar), that of Sodom and Gomorrah was used for both inducing love and sowing hate, as demonstrated in the following recipes:

T-S K 1.73, 1:11–14 (= AMB Geniza 6)

<div dir="rtl">

בשם א׳ב׳ר׳ס׳כ׳ס׳

מלאכה רבה דהפוך את סדום את

עמרה כן תהפכון לבה והונה וכוליתה

דפ׳ ב׳ פ׳ בתר פ׳ ב׳ פ׳

</div>

> In the name of Abrasax
> the great angel who overturned Sodom,
> (and) Gomorrah, so shall you overturn the heart, the mind and the
>   kidney
> of N b. N after N b. N

---

75   The ב has been deleted.

This love-inducing recipe employs Genesis 19:25 in a peculiar manner, assert-
ing that Abrasax, a Gnostic deity popular in the first centuries CE, was the
one who turned Sodom and Gomorrah into heaps of rubble. The formula also
employs the verse in a manner different to that witnessed thus far. The focus
of the analogy is the verb להפוך, 'to overturn' rather than the biblical story. Its
aim is not to destroy 'the heart, the mind and the kidney' of the spell target,
as Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed, but to overturn his or her heart in
order to love a particular person.[76] Another element in this analogy may relate
to the motif of fire: as the two cities burned in the blaze shed from the sky, so
should the heart of the intended target burn with passion. The analogical ratio-
nale thus differs from the previous examples, all of which contain a direct link
between the biblical story and the recipe's aim. Here, however, the analogical
link is verbal rather than conceptual.

Conversely, numerous recipes of aggressive magic employ this episode in a
direct analogy: as the two cities were destroyed, so should NN, the target, be
destroyed:[77]

T-S NS 322.20, 1a:3–5

כמו המטיר על סדום ועל עמורה גפרית ואש מאת ייי
מן השמים (...) פ׳׳ל יפול ולא יקום מעל המטה

As it rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulphur and fire by YYY (the Lord)
from heaven, (...) N shall fall and not rise from bed

The following item also features the analogy of Sodom and Gomorrah and the
verb 'to overturn', but is designed for the opposite end, to sow hate between two
individuals. This is a Babylonian incantation bowl in Jewish Aramaic script,
which aims to turn away a man named Gushnin from a woman named Na-
moy:

IM 9736, lines 8–9 (= Saar, 'An Incantation Bowl for Sowing Discord')

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76   For a similar focus in the context of the incantation bowls, see S. Bhayro, 'On Early Jewish
      Literature and the Aramaic Magic Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 54–68 (64).

77   See also Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 312–313.

בשום גבריאל ומיכאל אזלין אתון תרין (?) מלאכיַן דשלח ייייׄ צבאות
לאהפוכה ית סדוֹם (ו)ית עמורה אתון אהפיכו ית אפיה דאדין גושנין מן נאמוׄי

> In the name of Gabriel and Michael who are going! Ye two (?) angels
> whom YYYY (the Lord) Ṣebaʾot sent
> to overturn Sodom and Gomorrah, turn ye the face of this Gushnin from
> Namoy

In this text, the role of God is taken up by the two angels Gabriel and Michael, said to be the ones who destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah. Here, too, the focus of the analogy is verbal rather than conceptual: as the two cities were overturned, so should the man's face be turned away from the woman, and, consequently, he should cease loving her.

Scriptural Analogies in Non-Jewish Traditions

Non-Jewish love spells also employ scriptural analogies. From the Graeco-Roman magical tradition, for instance, one may note a recipe that utilizes the analogy of Sodom and Gomorrah (as well as the other Cities of the Plain) to ignite a fire of love in the heart of the spell target.[78] The Christian magical tradition also uses scriptural analogies, though with a preference for those based on the New Testament. For instance, a spell that aims to cause selective impotence, thus forcing a man to limit himself to a single woman, would employ the formula 'I bind and pierce the hands and feet of you N with my love just as were bound the holy hands and feet of Our Lord Jesus Christ so that you cannot love another person in the world excepting N'.[79] A 1516 Inquisition record preserves the testimony of an Italian priest concerning the writing of an amulet that demanded: 'As there was peace between Christ and His disciples, so may there be peace between such-and-such man and such-and-such woman.'[80] Understandably, formulae that originate in the Christian world tend to seek the aid of holy figures pertaining to this tradition, but this is not exclusive. For example, in Coptic magic, one finds allusions to Joseph and his brothers as an analogy for domestic strife.[81] Similarly, a fifteenth-century handbook from Germany includes analogies for love as there was 'between

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78   *PGM* XXXVI.295–311 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 276). See more below, chapter 5, section 3.5.

79   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 105.

80   Duni, *Under the Devil's Spell*, p. 87.

81   J. van der Vliet, 'Satan's Fall in Coptic Magic', in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 401–418 (412).

Adam and Eve, between Jacob and Rachel', and for hate as there was 'between Cain and Abel'.[82]

To conclude, recipes and products of Jewish love magic employ a limited number of biblical analogies, among which Joseph is clearly the most popular. One must recall, however, that most of the magical items included in the corpus come from the Cairo Genizah. The residence of the recipe and amulet producers, that is, the Egyptian city of Fustat, may account for the preponderance of the Joseph motif. Since Joseph is said to have spent most of his life in Egypt, he may have been regarded as a local hero, and medieval Egyptian Jews may have sought to resemble him, earning the same high regard among the wider non-Jewish society.[83] It is also possible that the Joseph cycle itself, with its detailed and moving accounts of adversity and success, and the 'happy ending' of his story, may have made Joseph a particularly attractive figure for authors of magical texts.

Jewish love magic formulae often include biblical quotations in addition to biblical analogies. While the latter are usually linked directly to the aim of the text, biblical quotations display a more complex rationale, as will be shown below.

4.2   *Biblical Quotations*

All branches of Jewish magic commonly employ biblical quotations. The ideas expressed in the verse, or, in some instances, the words it contains (taken out of their original context), were adapted to a wide variety of aims, including inducing love and hate.[84] The use of scriptural quotations, either in their original form or modified to match the aims of the spells, is similarly attested in non-Jewish traditions. In fact, passages from sacred texts were used in magical contexts already in the ancient Near East, though not in contexts related to love.[85] In Late Antiquity, verses from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament were sometimes included in love spells belonging to neither religious tradition.[86] Some Christian magicians used scriptural quotations and modified

82   Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 179, 72–73.

83   Joseph's story is also depicted often on Coptic textiles from the first millennium, probably for similar reasons.

84   For some Genizah examples, see Levy, *The Uses of Biblical Verses*, pp. 15–30, 70–79.

85   S. Daiches, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature* (London, 1913), pp. 41–42.

86   E.A. Judge, 'The Magical Use of Scripture in the Papyri', in E.W. Conrad and E.G. Newing (eds), *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday, July 28, 1985* (Winona Lake, 1987), pp. 339–349.

prayers, like the Ave Maria and the Pater Noster, to enhance the power of their formulae.[87]

An analysis of the ways in which biblical quotations were used raises interesting questions. First, there is clearly a 'free' attitude towards the sacred text, which can be modified according to need. Sometimes these modifications are minor, like changing the grammatical person, gender or number used in the verse. For example, in a recipe designed to confer protection and grace, the phrase from Ezra 8:31, וַיַּצִּילֵנוּ מִכַּף אוֹיֵב וְאוֹרֵב עַל הַדָּרֶךְ, '(God) delivered us from the hand of the enemy and lier-in-wait by the way', is changed to ותצילוני מכף כל אויב ואורב בדרך, 'and you (angels) shall save me from the hand of every enemy and lier-in-wait on the way'.[88] Similarly, some finished products have the name of the beneficiary or target inserted into a biblical quotation; e.g., a love-inducing amulet, which contains a reworking of Song of Songs 8:6–7: כי/ עזה כמות אהבת דלאל בן צ׳יא[89]/ לעשיר בן וצאיף, 'for/ the love of Dallal daughter of Ḍiya/ to Ashir son of Wasayef is fierce as death'.[90] Similarly, in an amulet for grace, Judges 5:31, כֵּן יֹאבְדוּ כָל אוֹיְבֶיךָ יְהוָה וְאֹהֲבָיו כְּצֵאת הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בִּגְבֻרָתוֹ, 'So perish all Thine enemies, O Lord; but they that love Him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might', has been modified to read אהי\(ה\)[91] אני עליהם בעיני כל ר[ו]איי/ כצת (!) השמש בגבורתו, 'I shall be upon them, in the eyes of all who s[e]e me, as the sun when he goeth forth in his might'.[92] In other instances, the biblical text has been more significantly modified. The words of Jeremiah 13:11, כִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יִדְבַּק הָאֵזוֹר אֶל מָתְנֵי אִישׁ כֵּן הִדְבַּקְתִּי אֵלַי אֶת כָּל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת כָּל בֵּית יְהוּדָה נְאֻם יְהוָה, 'For as the girdle cleaveth to the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave unto Me the whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah, saith the Lord', are transformed into כי כאשר ידבק/ האזור אל מתני איש כן תדבק אהבת/ פ בן פ בלב פ בן פ, 'For as the girdle cleaveth/ to the loins of a man, so shall cleave the love of/ N son of N to the heart of N son of N'.[93] Some texts maintain the original wording of the verses, but add to it magical elements. For example, a recipe for bestowing grace directs the practitioner to write the words of Genesis 39:4 twice: once in accordance with the biblical text, 'And Joseph found grace in his eyes and he served him (…)';

87   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 105.

88   JTSL ENA 2699.1, 1b:20–21.

89   This is a scribal mistake; the text should read דלאל בת צ׳יא.

90   T-S AS 143.403, 1a:3–12 (= AMB Geniza 3).

91   The ה was added above the line.

92   Mosseri V.223, 1a:19–20.

93   T-S K 1.15, 2:14–16 (= MSF Geniza 9).

and once backwards, from the last word to the first.[94] Finally, some texts cite full verses or even whole psalms in their original form.[95]

These examples illustrate some of the ways in which biblical verses are employed in the recipes and products of Jewish love magic. It remains to consider why the authors chose any particular verse for their aims. As with biblical analogies, the guiding rationale was often straightforward. An instruction to quote from Song of Songs 8:6–7, 'For love is fierce as death', in a love-inducing formula demonstrates a direct association between the quotation and the recipe's aim. In other instances, biblical quotations are simply used to glorify God and to emphasize the beginning or the end of the magical formula.[96] For example, one recipe ends with the words 'Succeed, succeed and succeed, for Thy grace, and for Thy truth' (צלח צלח וצלח על חסדך ועל אמיתיך אמת), which refers to Psalm 115:1 (עַל חַסְדְּךָ, עַל אֲמִתֶּךָ).[97] Here, too, the rationale is easy to follow, as the author hopes, through the quotation, to secure divine assistance. Similarly, an amulet for grace, which abounds in biblical quotations, appears to glorify God by listing His attributes from numerous sources, e.g., מלא כל הארץ כבודו, 'the whole earth is full of His glory',[98] טהור יהוה כביר כח, 'pure is God, He is mighty in strength'.[99] The author also emphasizes the infinite power of God, perhaps in order to impress the forces to be harnessed: מקצפו תרעש הארץ, 'at His wrath, the earth trembleth',[100] הנוגע בארץ ותמוג, 'He that toucheth the land and it melteth'.[101] There is no clear link between the amulet's aim and these verses, which appear to be cited simply on account of their depiction of divine attributes. Such accurate biblical quotations confer an air of prayer on the magical texts, incidentally enforcing the association between them and institutionalized religion.[102]

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94   T-S NS 246.32, 4:16–18 (= MSF Geniza 28). On the magical force attributed to reverse writing, see chapter 5, section 5.1.1, and also J. Naveh, 'Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing', *Israel Exploration Journal* 38 (1988), pp. 36–43.

95   E.g., amulet T-S K 1.138, 1a:22–26 cites Psalm 121 in full.

96   On a similar feature in the Aramaic incantation bows, see N.C. Polzer, *The Bible in the Aramaic Magic Bowls* (unpubl. MA thesis, McGill University, 1986), p. 107, who suggests the biblical quotations may have been regarded as 'holy seals', sealing the beginning and the end of an incantation. I thank Siam Bhayro for this reference.

97   T-S K 1.143, 16:12–13 (= MSF Geniza 18).

98   T-S AS 142.39, 1a:9 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198). See Isaiah 6:3.

99   Fol. 1a:11. Cf. Job 36:5.

100   Fol. 1a:5. See Jeremiah 10:10.

101   Fol. 1a:6. See Amos 9:5.

102   On this, see also Sh. Shaked, 'Rabbis in Incantation Bowls', in M.J. Geller (ed.), *The Archaeology and Material Culture of the Babylonian Talmud* (Leiden, 2015), pp. 97–119 (116): 'The

However, the straightforward rationale of the above examples is not always readily apparent. For example, one love-inducing recipe quotes Zephaniah 3:8, a verse that describes divine wrath, and bears a negative and aggressive tone.[103] The underlying rationale of this quotation becomes apparent when one reads the last part of the verse: כִּי בְּאֵשׁ קִנְאָתִי תֵּאָכֵל כָּל הָאָרֶץ, 'for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of My jealousy'. It appears that the author of the recipe associated this phrase with Song of Songs 8:7, which is well suited to the recipe's erotic aims: קָשָׁה כִשְׁאוֹל קִנְאָה, רְשָׁפֶיהָ רִשְׁפֵּי אֵשׁ, 'jealousy is cruel as the grave; the flashes thereof are flashes of fire'. This represents an oblique rationale, where the quotation partly matches the aims of the magical text, although it bears only a verbal rather than a conceptual link to the latter.[104]

To summarise, the authors of magical recipes and amulets used biblical quotations in a variety of ways, yet the rationale guiding their choices may nearly always be discerned. At times they chose to rework (some would say distort) the biblical text, so that it better suited their aims. However, when needed, they could quote the Bible accurately, in some instances even conferring a liturgical air to the magical texts.

4.3   *Non-Biblical Analogies*

The corpus of Jewish love magic includes a limited number of non-biblical analogies, mostly in spells for sowing enmity and causing separation. The most popular of these equates the relationship of the spell targets to that of a dog and a cat or a pig and a dog, as illustrated in the following examples:[105]

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bowl spells may indeed have been regarded as a form of piety, invoking as they do God and His angels'. It should also be noted again that, in the magic of polytheistic religions, one finds similar analogies taken from institutionalized religion, for example: 'may she love me all her life like Isis loved Osiris'; see *PGM* XXXVI.283–294 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 276).

103   T-S K 1.37, 2b:17–19 (= MTKG I, pp. 55–66).

104   An excellent illustration of this type of oblique rationale is found in Jewish spells for childbirth. Numerous recipes seeking to cause the baby to exit the womb require writing the words of Exodus 11:8, צֵא אַתָּה וְכָל הָעָם אֲשֶׁר בְּרַגְלֶיךָ וְאַחֲרֵי כֵן אֵצֵא, 'Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee; and after that I will go out' (e.g., JTSL ENA 2699.1, 1b:16–17; T-S Misc. 11.125, 2b:3); or the words of Psalm 19:6, וְהוּא כְּחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ, 'Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber' (e.g., T-S K 1.28, 3a:7–8 [= MTKG I, pp. 133–150]). Obviously, the only connection between these biblical quotations and the aims of the magical texts is verbal, embedded in the verb 'to go out', with no conceptual connection.

105   The dog-pig analogy is analysed in I. Peled and O.-P. Saar, 'Spells for Separation from Mesopotamia to the Cairo Genizah', forthcoming.

JTSL 8114, 64a:3–4

<div dir="rtl">

כשנאת אמנון
ותמר וכשנאת הכלבי׳ את החתולי׳

</div>

as the hate of Amnon
and Tamar and as the hate of dogs towards cats

T-S K 1.73, 4:17–18 (= AMB Geniza 6)

<div dir="rtl">

ויסני ית פ׳ ב׳ פ׳ הך מא
דאכלבה (= דכלבה) סני לחיירה (= לחזירה) וחזירה לכלבה

</div>

and he shall hate N b. N as
the dog hates the pig and the pig (hates) the dog

This analogy is surprising, given the attitude towards pigs among Jews (and Muslims in medieval Egypt), which raises the question of its origins. Since dogs and pigs would compete for scraps from their owners' table or scavenge refuse heaps, the animosity between them could have been noticed and used as an analogy for strife. But did medieval Jews have sufficient opportunity to observe the hostility between pigs and dogs, and thus derive an analogy from it? It is possible that the origin of this analogy lies in a different cultural setting, perhaps Christian, or even ancient Mesopotamian, as the animosity between dogs and pigs was already employed as a paradigm for discord in the ancient Near East.[106]

Incidentally, some animal analogies attested in the Cairo Genizah have parallels in modern Islamic magic; for example: 'May Allah separate me from my husband as he separated the jackal from the dog, the cat from the mouse'.[107]

Other analogies from the animal world relate to different emotions. For instance, an amulet for grace expresses the following wish:

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[106] A Hurro-Hittite hymn to Ishtar includes the following description of domestic discord: 'The young brides were at odds (...) The brothers have become enemies (...) Just as the dog do[es] not [get] along with the [pi]g ...'; CTH 717 (= Bo 2024 / KUB 24.7), obv. i 22–37. See H.G. Güterbock, 'A Hurro-Hittite Hymn to Ishtar', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983), pp. 155–164 (156–157).

[107] Westermark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. 1, p. 578. Cf. Mosseri VI.11, 1a:8: עדות אלפאר ואלקיט.

T-S NS 322.69, 1a:40–42

<div dir="rtl">

ותהא אימתו מוטלת
על הבריות כאימת
אריה [ע]ל שועל

</div>

> And may he be awesome to
> the people as the awe of
> a lion [up]on a fox

Other texts refer to physical arousal among animals:

T-S K 1.37, 2b:9–11 (= MTKG I, pp. 55–66)

<div dir="rtl">

ויתא בתרייה היך גברא בתר גברתא
והיך תרנגול בתר תרנגולתה. והיך שונרא
בתר שונרתה.

</div>

> And may he come after her like a man after a woman,
> and like a cock after a hen, and like a tomcat
> after a female cat

The analogy of animals in heat also occurs in non-Jewish magical traditions. A recipe found among the Demotic magical papyri likens the passion of its targets to that of male and female pairs of cats, wolves, and dogs.[108] Animal passion is also mentioned in one of the earliest love spells preserved, the Akkadian incantation from Isin (see above, chapter 1, section 1.1).

It is not clear why animal imagery is found rarely in the Jewish tradition of love magic. One reason may be a reluctance to liken humans to animals, which could also explain why this imagery appears more frequently in spells for hate. However, given the small number of surviving examples, this remains speculative.

4.4   *Metaphors*

Perhaps surprisingly, metaphors are not a popular literary device in recipes and products of Jewish love magic. It seems that they were employed mainly as part of the magical practice, for example, burning an object to denote the

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108   *PDM* xiv.1029–1030 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 245).

metaphoric burning of a person's heart. The formulae, on the other hand, comprise only two main types of verbal metaphors.

Fire Metaphors[109]

Burning imagery appears in dozens of recipes and products of love magic, as well as in a variety of aggressive magical texts. The formulae employ several categories of fire metaphors. First and foremost, there are analogical metaphors: 'as this object burns, so shall burn the heart of א'. In such instances, the writing or uttering of the formula is often accompanied by tossing the said object into a fire. The Ḥorvat Rimmon shard (AMB Amulet 10) employs this analogical metaphor, combining both text and object manipulation (see above, p. 118). Other formulae employ fire metaphors without explicitly stating the analogy. In the following recipe, a formula is to be inscribed on wet clay and then tossed into a fire, while adjuring the appropriately named angel Nuriel (*nur* meaning fire)[110] to use his light and fire in order to burn the heart of the spell target:

T-S K 1.73, 1:9–11 (= AMB Geniza 6)

אחת
נור מן נורך ואשה מן אשתך ואקוד
לבה ד׳פ׳ ב׳ פ׳

take
light from your light and fire from your fire and burn
the heart of N b. N

In addition to analogical fire metaphors, the corpus also contains poetic metaphors, such as the following formula, designed to achieve a man's love, which employs a free adaptation of imagery from the Song of Songs:[111]

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109   For an analysis of fire metaphors in Genizah magical texts, see Saar, 'May His Heart Burn after Her'.

110   The fire motif is occasionally expressed in the choice of angel names, for example, Dalqiel (דלקיאל, from the root דל״ק, to burn) or Shalhaviel (שלהביאל, from the root שלה״ב, to inflame).

111   Song of Songs 8:7: מַיִם רַבִּים לֹא יוּכְלוּ לְכַבּוֹת אֶת הָאַהֲבָה וּנְהָרוֹת לֹא יִשְׁטְפוּהָ.

T-S K 1.106, 1a:15–17 (= MTKG II, no. 46)

<div dir="rtl">

ותשימון אהבתה

בלבו כאש בוערת אשר לא יכבנה המים אשר

בימים וכל אשר תאמר אליו יעשה

</div>

> And place her love
> in his heart like a burning fire, which cannot be quenched by the water that is
> in the oceans, and all that she will say to him, he shall do

Flames are also mentioned in one of the few surviving products for inducing hate. This text, T-S K 1.42, 1:21–22 (= MSF Geniza 12), was designed to make Ali son of Nuḥ hateful to all, and includes the fire motif in an aggressive form: יקד יקוד וקד נור/ בליביה, 'a blaze shall burn a fire in his heart'. As mentioned before, the use of destructive fire imagery is commonly found in recipes whose aim is to make a person ill or to bring about their death. It is interesting, however, that the above cited formula employs an identical metaphor to that found in love spells. Evidently, 'burning the heart' of a person could be either positive or negative, depending on the intentions of the one igniting the fire—the spell beneficiary.

'A Thread of Grace': Clothing Metaphors

A particularly interesting albeit uncommon metaphor likens grace to an item of clothing or a fabric. One product thus states: מזמן הדן קמיעה לנומיר בר קוביחה דיהוי לביש/ חנה וחסדה, 'Appointed is this amulet for Numer son of Qubeyha, that he should be clothed/ with grace and favour'.[112] The same text continues with a reference to the angel who עטף חסדה ליוסף בארעה דמצרים הוא יעטוף על נומיר בר קוביחה/ חנה וחסדה, 'wrapped in grace Joseph in the Land of Egypt, he shall wrap Numer son of Qubeyha/ with grace and favour' (1b:19–20). Similarly, the owner of an amulet wished to be יהוי לבש חנא וחסדא וכרים באנ(פ)/[י](י) כל שולטנא, 'clothed with grace, favour and honour in the presen[ce] of all dignitaries'.[113]

A clothing metaphor also occurs in a Babylonian incantation bowl written for Mahdukh daughter of Ispendarmed: הדריאל אלביש יתה הדרא כרמיאל אלביש יתה רחמתא, 'Hadriel, clothe her with splendour, Karmiel, clothe her with love'.[114]

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112   T-S K 1.26, 1b:14–15 (= MTKG II, no. 45).

113   T-S K 1.163, 1a:19–20; 23–24 (= MTKG II, no. 42).

114   MS 1927/2, line 1 (= Shaked, 'Form and Purpose in Aramaic Spells, no. III [8–10]). This bowl

The first angel name is connected to the task at hand, with *hadar* meaning splendour, while the second name might be derived from *karam*, which means honour in Arabic. A partial parallel to this text may be found in an incantation bowl written in Mandaic: וחדריאל חדרא לביש וחסדיאל חסדא לביש, 'and Hadriel who is clothed in splendour and Ḥasdiel who is clothed in grace'.[115]

The origin of such clothing metaphors is unclear.[116] It is possible that the garments of grace and favour are related to the 'thread of grace', mentioned in both magical texts[117] and rabbinic sources, the most pertinent of which is BT Megillah 15b: ויהי כראות המלך את אסתר המלכה אמר רבי יוחנן ג׳ מלאכי השרת נזדמנו לה באותה שעה אחד שהגביה את צוארה ואחד שמשך חוט של חסד עליה, 'And it was so when the king saw Esther the queen. R. Johanan said: Three ministering angels were appointed to help her at that moment; one to make her neck erect, another to draw a thread of grace over her (…)'.[118]

Jewish love magic is very limited in its use of metaphors, most of which relate to fire, as may be expected from the topic addressed by the spells. The second category of metaphors, 'clothes of grace', is indeed restricted to texts related to this aim. With the exception of these two categories, the formulae include hardly any other metaphors. Despite this, the formulae do not lack a poetic character; rather, their authors had recourse to other means for achieving aesthetic ends, the most common of which was the use of biblical analogies and quotations.

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was probably written in the context of a legal confrontation between its beneficiary and several other individuals mentioned in the text. See O.-P. Saar, 'A Study in Conceptual Parallels: Graeco-Roman Binding Spells and Babylonian Incantation Bowls', *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015), pp. 24–53 (38).

115   Royal Ontario Museum 931.4.2, line 12. See W.S. McCullough, *Jewish and Mandaean Incantation Bowls in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto, 1967), Bowl D.

116   Cf. the Greek verb ἀμπιχεῖν, 'to drape over' (but also 'to pour'), in the context of conferring grace upon a person; see Faraone, 'Aphrodite's "Kestos"', p. 222.

117   See, e.g., amulet JTSL ENA 1177.16, 1a:17 (= MTKG II, no. 41): וחוט של חסד יהיה משוך עליו, 'and may a thread of grace be extended upon him'.

118   For the expression 'a thread of grace', see also BT Avodah Zarah 3b, BT Hagigah 12b, BT Tamid 28a.

5   Magical Signs

One of the main characteristics of ritual practices, be they magical or religious, is the use of signs. Yet, while religious symbolism is usually rather easy to fathom, at least for the trained eye, magical symbolism often remains undecipherable. It sometimes seems that practitioners of magic devoted much time and effort into making its symbols impenetrable. It is not a surprise, therefore, to find the Hebrew word רז, 'mystery', used as a synonym for an amulet or a spell, nor to encounter the Greek word *mysterion* (μυστήριον) in many of the Greek magical papyri. Of great interest are the enigmatic signs, which are often referred to as *charakteres* (χαρακτήρες), a Greek word which does not necessarily point to their origin.[119] Some of these resemble known graphemes, while others look more like geometric shapes or stylised drawings. Many of them include small circles at their tips, which is why they are sometimes called 'ring letters', while their resemblance to eye-glasses led to them being called 'Brillenbuchstaben' or 'lunette *sigla*'. The nature of these magical signs has puzzled many scholars, who have speculated on their peculiar forms and meaning.[120] Do the circles found at the extremities of the signs represent nails (a concept related to Graeco-Roman binding tablets)? Or do they represent eyes, thus suggesting that the *charakteres* were originally supposed to act against the evil eye? Are they derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs? Or are they based on the ancient Hebrew script? So far, no agreement has been reached among historians of magic.

Consequently, the sources of the *charakteres* remain shaded in mist. Their first archaeological attestations appear around the third century CE, although there are earlier literary attestations from the *PGM* corpus.[121] The signs are

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119   The term *charakteres*, in reference to magical signs, appears already in the ancient Greek literary sources; see T. Hopfner, s.v. 'Charakteres', *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924), cols 1183–1188 (1183). The term is then attested both in binding tablets and in the Greek magical papyri. Other sources, such as the Church Fathers, use the term *charakteres* to designate 'diabolical signs' that should be abolished from the Christian world. Augustine, for example, mentions them when discussing superstitious beliefs: *quibusdam notis quas characteres vocant*, 'through certain signs which are called *charakteres*'; see *De doctrina christiana*, II.xx, PL vol. 34, p. 50. For a recent exploration of magical signs, see Kirsten Dzwiza, *Schriftverwendung in antiker Ritualpraxis: Katalog* (Erfurt and Heidelberg, 2013), published online at http://charakteres.com/.

120   H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 163–165; Brashear, 'The Greek Magical Papyri', pp. 3440–3442; I. Weinstock, 'The Alphabet of Metatron and Its Interpretation' (Hebrew), *Temirin* 2 (1981), pp. 51–76 (52–58).

121   An inscription, which was discovered on the wall of the theatre in Miletus in Asia Minor,

attested throughout the Greek magical papyri and on many binding tablets from the Graeco-Roman world.[122] One erotic recipe, for instance, instructs the practitioner to engrave fourteen signs on a lead tablet, and implore them to cause N to love the spell beneficiary.[123] Interestingly, the *charakteres* are addressed as independent forces, rather than as signs that represent a force. A similar phenomenon will be noted below in the context of Jewish love magic.

The Church Fathers discussed these signs, expressing an aversion to them. Augustine (354–430) spoke of *phylacteria vel characteres diabolicos*, 'amulets or diabolic characters'.[124] Caesarius of Arles (~470–543) reprimanded people who wore on their bodies *filacteria aut diabolicos caracteres*, amulets or diabolic characters,[125] and, even centuries later, the *Corrector* of Burchard of Worms (950–1025) mentioned *phylacteria diabolica vel caracteres diabolicos*.[126] Needless to say, the opposition of the Christian religious authorities did not stop the use of these 'diabolic' signs; they appear in numerous magical texts, some of which pertain to the fields of love, grace or hate. Coptic magic manuals and amulets from the first millennium abound with *charakteres* as well as figurative drawings, some of which resemble *charakteres* through the addition of ringlets at their tips or angles.[127] This type of design is absent from Jewish love magic, which rarely includes figurative drawings. Magical signs are also present in the Islamic tradition; some of them resemble typical 'ring-letters', while others resemble Arabic graphemes, or, more frequently, series of signs attached at their bases with a horizontal line.[128]

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contains a series of signs with small circles at their tips, accompanied by a petition, probably addressed to a group of angelic beings: 'Protect the city and its inhabitants'. The Miletus inscription does not seem to be the work of an individual magical practitioner. It has the appearance of a municipal action, performed by local religious authorities. See A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdecken Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 338–344; Hopfner 'Charakteres', col. 1188.

122   See, e.g., D. Frankfurter, 'The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic: The Power of the Word in Egyptian and Greek Traditions', *Helios* 21 (1994), pp. 189–221 (205–211).

123   *PGM* VII.462–466 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 130). See also Gager, *Curse Tablets*, *passim*, esp. pp. 56; 170.

124   Sermo 168 (PL vol. 38–39, p. 2071). See also note 122 above.

125   Caesarius Arlatensis, Sermo I,12 (Delage M.J. [ed.], *Sources chrétiennes: Série des textes monastiques d'Occident* 175 [Paris, 1978], p. 248).

126   *Decretum* XIX (PL vol. 140, col. 964).

127   Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, pp. 146, 158, 168, 173.

128   Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere*, pp. 150–159.

5.1   *Magical Signs in Jewish Magic*

The Jewish magical tradition also uses *charakteres*, although they are not explicitly mentioned in the rabbinic literature,[129] and the term *charakteres* in the *midrashim* does not refer to magical signs but simply to an image or portrait.[130] Their earliest literary attestations in Jewish sources are from Late Antiquity, when they appear in *Sefer ha-Razim*. Although most manuscripts of this composition do not actually contain *charakteres*, some manuscripts do preserve them, and their presence in the original version is strongly suggested by phrases such as וכתוב המלאכים והכר קטירים האלה בטס שלכסף, 'and write (the names of) these angels and *charakteres* (lit. *char akteres*) on a tablet of silver',[131] and כתוב מלאכי הכבוד האלה הכלק טירים האלה, 'write (the names of) these angels of glory (with) these *charakteres* (lit. *chalak teres*)'.[132] Magical signs are further attested on metal amulets from Palestine and on Babylonian incantations bowls, and continue to appear in Jewish magical texts until the present day.[133]

5.2   *The Erroneous Term* 'kol qatiraya'

In its transmission from Greek to Aramaic, the term *charakteres* underwent an interesting change.[134] First, the word was Aramised, thus becoming 'charaktiraya' (כרקטיריא). Next, or perhaps simultaneously, the letter *resh* was replaced by *lamed*, perhaps due to a similarity in pronunciation but also scribal errors may have had a role. The resulting word, כלקטיריא, 'chalaktiraya', underwent a further change, and was divided into two separate words: כל קטיריא, 'kol ktiraya', a modification lending a new meaning to the term in Aramaic: 'all the knots'. Consequently, the *charakteres* began to be referred to as 'knots', from the Aramaic root קט״ר. The small circles present at the tips probably aided this understanding. The rationale underlying this new term, 'kol ktiraya', reflects another feature of ancient magic: knots were regarded as a distinct magical component, both in Judaism and in other cultures, probably on account of their

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129   Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 410, note 183, with further references.

130   S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (2 vols; Hildesheim, 1898–1899, reprinted 1964), vol. 2, p. 291, s.v. בלקטורין; A. Kohut (ed.), *Aruch Completum* (Hebrew; 9 vols; 1878–1892, reprinted New York, 1955), vol. 4, p. 243, s.v. בלקטירים.

131   Second Firmament, lines 54–55 (= Rebiger and Schäfer § 134).

132   Second Firmament, line 100 (= Rebiger and Schäfer § 152).

133   For an extensive survey, see G. Bohak, 'The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic', *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen.* 47 (2011), pp. 25–44.

134   This change also occurred when the term was used in a non-magical context.

association with binding and constraint.[135] Thus, the transformation does not represent merely a verbal change, but also a conceptual acculturation, conferring a new meaning to the magical term. Interestingly, the expression שמהתא קדישיא וכל קטיריא משבחיא, 'holy names and all praiseworthy knots', became so popular in Jewish magic that it could be abbreviated, like in a love spell from the Genizah: ״אתון שמ׳ קד׳ וכ׳ קט׳ מש׳״.[136]

5.3　　*Magical Signs in Jewish Love Magic*

Magical signs are found in approximately a quarter of the recipes and half of the products included in the corpus. As explained in the previous section, the terms designating these signs vary, as does their place in the formulae; they may appear anywhere in the text. In some cases, they are interwoven with letters from the Hebrew alphabet, which may suggest their use as a cipher. In what follows I will discuss some of the more typical or noteworthy cases from the dozens of recipes and products of Jewish love magic that contain magical signs.

　　One Genizah recipe for obtaining grace and favour contains four lines of signs, termed כְּלְקְטִירְיָה (the word is vocalized), that are to be inscribed on vellum.[137] The Aramaic instructions are followed by an Arabic translation: ﴿ في رق ﴾ واكتب هذه القلقطيرات.[138] Next comes the following sequence of magical signs: first, there are seven signs resembling the Arabic letter *ḥa* (ح), four signs resembling small circles (perhaps the Arabic letter *he* in its detached form, ه), and then six signs which have been deleted with several strokes. The reason for this deletion is found immediately below, where six signs, similar to, but more angular than, the deleted ones are inscribed again. It seems that, when the scribe copied the recipe, he/she noticed that some of the magical signs did not resemble the original as much as they should have. Thus the scribe deleted the figures, and drew them anew, more accurately, in the next line. If this scenario is correct, it demonstrates the seriousness with which magical texts and signs were copied, and the care devoted (at least by some scribes)

135　For references to magical knots in rabbinic sources, see, e.g., Mishna Shabbat 6:9 and BT Shabbat 66b.

136　Mosseri VI.10, 1a:7. The scribe who copied this recipe used abbreviated forms profusely, as may be seen in the next lines, 1a:8–9, where the phrase אדלקו ואבערו ואלהבו לבה דפ׳ב׳פ׳ בתר פ׳ב׳פ׳ ברחמה רבה מיומא הדן ועד לעולם, 'inflame and burn and kindle the heart of NN after NN with great love from this day and forever', was written as אד׳ ואב׳ ואל׳ לבה דפ׳ב׳פ׳ בתר פ׳ב׳פ׳ ברח׳ רבה מי׳ הד׳ וע׳ לע׳.

137　T-S K 1.15, 3 (= MSF Geniza 9).

138　The word is written without diacritical points and thus may also be 'falaktirat' (فلقطيرات). The Greek word *charakter* changed into *qalaqṭir* or *falaqṭir* in Arabic.
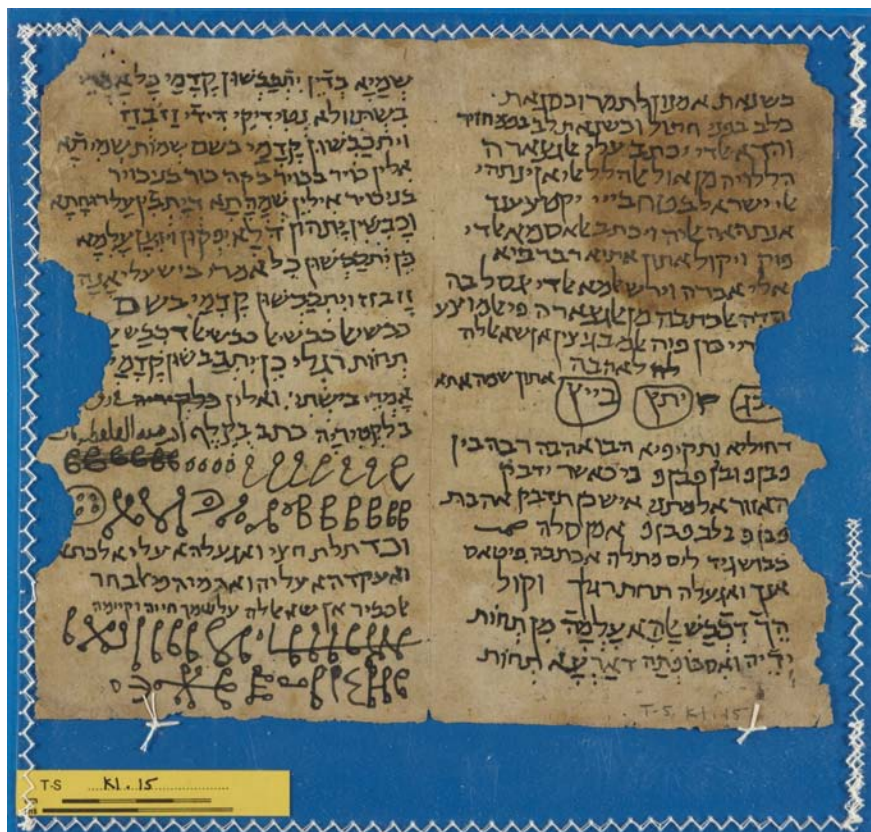
FIGURE 7   *Paper bifolio from a recipe handbook. Note the erased magical signs. T-S K 1.15 (=*
             MSF Geniza 9), CUL.
             REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE SYNDICS OF CAMBRIDGE
             UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

to an accurate reproduction of the original. This care evidently stemmed from
a belief that changing or misrepresenting the text and its *chalaktiraya* might
negatively affect the success of the magical act.[139]

A further proof of the importance attributed to magical signs is provided by
the Ḥorvat Rimmon shard (AMB Amulet 10), dated to the fifth or sixth centuries
CE. At the bottom of the preserved text (line 9), one finds a sequence of three or
four signs, some with ringlets at their tips. A very similar sequence is preserved
in a medieval recipe from the Genizah that closely parallels the formula on

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139   For another example of a scribe deleting a magical sign, probably for being incorrect or
      superfluous, see Bodley MS. Heb. c. 13.2–3, 3d:8.

the shard.[140] Since the Rimmon shard and the Genizah recipe are separated by over five hundred years, this resemblance is striking, and emphasises again the importance attached by practitioners of magic to *charakteres*.[141]

One of the finished products mentioned repeatedly in this volume, the love-inducing amulet for Baġīḍa daughter of Ḥaiza, contains numerous magical signs.[142] Parts of this text parallel another Genizah amulet, designed to protect Nathaniel son of Dura and increase the love of his wife, Sitt al-Furs, towards him.[143] The handwriting indicates that both items were produced by the same scribe. When comparing the magical signs that are found in their parallel passages, they appear to be identical.[144] The scribe either copied the signs from a recipe or accurately inscribed them from memory. Either way, it is clear that they are not random scribbles, jotted down in order to impress the magician's clients. They are sequences of carefully reproduced marks, illustrating once more the seriousness of the magician's craft and perhaps also the honesty and integrity of these professionals towards their clients.

Several recipes and products contain magical signs mixed with regular letters from the Hebrew or the Arabic alphabet,[145] for example, the following love-inducing recipe, which contains three sequences of signs with ringlets at their tips:

T-S K 1.143, 6:8–12 (= MSF Geniza 18)

לאיתה דתהוי

[ ] (גמי)לה חסד באפי בעלה כת׳ מן [ ]

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140   T-S Misc. 27.4.11, 1:8–16 (= MSF Geniza 22).

141   Note, however, that some versions of the 'Rimmon shard' recipe contain entirely different sequences of magical signs; e.g., Mosseri VI.10, 1a:22. For another example of precise copying, see Bohak, 'The *Charaktêres* in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Magic', pp. 36–37.

142   CUL Or. 1080.15.81 (= MTKG I, pp. 160–170).

143   T-S K 1.168 (= HAITCG, pp. 143–159).

144   See CUL Or. 1080.15.81, 1a:39–40 and T-S K 1.168, 1a:18. Also the signs on 1a:88–91 in Baġīḍa's amulet appear to parallel those in Nathaniel's amulet 1a:57–59, but the partial preservation of these lines does not allow for a full comparison. The scribe appears to have added to Nathaniel's amulet a detail missing from the other text, a star of David with 'Yah' written within it (1a:58). Both amulets refer to the magical signs as 'praiseworthy knots' (קטיריא/קשיריא משבחיא/משבחיה). Note that Schiffman and Swartz's translation, '[who are] woven of his praise', is incorrect (HAITCG, pp. 147, 152).

145   See, e.g., T-S Ar. 43.303, 1b:9–11; T-S K 12.89, 1a:13, and T-S K 1.125, 1a:4–7 (= HAITCG, pp. 110–112, but note that the transcription of line 112 is imprecise).

<div dir="rtl">

ויה(ון רחמוי) עליה[146] ⟨סימנים מאגיים⟩

(בא) ⟨סימנים מאגיים⟩ הגמ ⟨סימנים מאגיים⟩

אמן ⟨סימנים מאגיים⟩

</div>

> For a woman to be
> [ ] graceful in the eyes of her husband write from [ ]
> and his love should be on her ⟨magical signs⟩
> *b'* ⟨magical signs⟩ *hgm* ⟨magical signs⟩
> Amen ⟨magical signs⟩

One can only speculate about the meaning of the Hebrew sequences בא and הגמ. The fragment's state of preservation does not permit any certainty, but the latter sequence does appear to be overlined, perhaps indicating an abbreviation (cf. line 9, where the letters כת are overlined, representing כתוב, 'write'). An examination of recipes and amulets, in which magical signs are mixed with regular letters, gives the impression that the writer regarded the signs as a ciphered alphabet; in other words, the insertion of real letters among the cipher letters was intended to create meaningful words or phrases. It is not clear why a writer would encrypt only part of the text, but such partial encryptions are known from other Jewish magical texts. For example, in Bodley MS. Heb. a. 3.31, some words are encrypted (in a rather simplistic fashion, by writing them in reverse), but others are written normally.[147] It is thus not impossible that magical signs were also used as a partial encryption. At this stage, however, the above example is not decipherable.

   Medieval Jewish manuscripts, both Oriental and European, preserve quite a few attempts to decode magical alphabets, which are usually referred to as כתב מלאכים, 'angelic script', or אלפא ביתא של מטטרון, 'alphabets of Metatron'.[148] These attempts purport to offer a real letter for each of the magical signs. For example, a Genizah recipe for love, Mosseri V.227, 1b:8–9, contains a sequence of seven *charakteres*, above which the scribe wrote their supposed corresponding Hebrew letters, running from *'ayn* to *taw*. Unfortunately, no attempt to use this or any other cipher key to decipher sequences of *charakteres*, has resulted in a meaningful solution, and as far as I know, there have been no successful attempts to relate these encrypted alphabets to the surviving magical texts.

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146   Naveh and Shaked translate line 10 as 'And God had mercy on her', relying on the Aramaic translation of 2 Chronicles 35:15 (MSF, p. 205). However, I believe that the author was more likely to refer to the husband's love towards his wife, hence my translation.

147   See Bohak, 'The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah', e.g., p. 335.

148   Weinstock, 'The Alphabet of Metatron and Its Interpretation'.

Thus, the sequences of magical signs remain shrouded in mystery (which may be what the magicians intended).

Another detail to be noted with regard to *charakteres* concerns their use as practical scribal devices. In collections of magical recipes, scribes often employed marks to denote the end of a topic, some of which closely resemble *charakteres* with circlets at their tips.[149] These scribal marks do not appear exclusively in magical texts, but, when they do, it is possible that the decision to use them combined their magic function with something more prosaic, such as creating order in the text.

Even though their real meaning remains obscure, one can still discern how such magical signs were regarded by Jewish practitioners. As mentioned earlier, some texts address the signs directly, as if they are supernatural forces to be beseeched and adjured, as in the following recipe:

T-S AS 143.107, 1b:9–10

אהבה [?א]אות ⟨ magical signs⟩
ק[ד]יש]יא[אוקדון לביה דססס

⟨magical signs⟩ [H]ol[y] letters (?) of love,
ignite the heart of NN

Such direct appeals are also found in finished products, for instance in amulet T-S AS 142.174 (= AMB Geniza 1), in which a series of *charakteres* is followed by the phrase אתון כל קטיריה קדישיא וכל אתיה משבחיה, 'You, all holy *charakteres* (knots) and all praiseworthy letters'. In other instances, the *charakteres* serve as the activating factor of the spell:

T-S AS 142.252, 1a:1–6

⟨3 lines of magical signs⟩
יהי רצון מלפניך ה' אלהי
ואלהי אבותי בזכות השמות
הקדושים אלו

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149   There are numerous example; see, e.g., T-S K 1.80, 2:11 (= MSF Geniza 15); T-S K 1.72, 1b:7; Mosseri VI.10, 1a:9, 22. In other cases, the recipes are separated by a horizontal stroke with ringlets at its extremities; see, e.g., T-S Ar. 44.127, 1:4–5 (= MSF Geniza 24, not a recipe of love magic).

FIGURE 8   *Parchment amulet for Ma'atuqa b. Roza.* T-S AS 142.252, CUL.
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⟨3 lines of magical signs⟩
May it be Your will, Lord, My God
and the God of my Fathers, in virtue of these
holy names

A direct appeal to magical signs is not a feature that is unique to love magic, but is common throughout the Jewish magical literature. Furthermore, the notion that letters, be they real or magical, possess a supernatural power is found in Jewish and non-Jewish exegetical compositions that deal with the relation between letters and the acts of God, such as *The Alphabet of R. Aqiva* or *The Secret of Letters*.[150] This is a manifestation of the universal notion that words possess an inherent force, extending beyond the ideas they express. Just as words were considered able to modify reality, so were letters, especially if they were magical letters whose peculiar form intensified their power.

To conclude, the magical signs found in recipes and products of Jewish love magic, as well as in their non-Jewish counterparts, were imbued with great significance. These elements were believed to possess an inherent power, and represented a significant textual-visual component of the spells. As such, the magical signs were beseeched, adjured, and addressed as though they were actual beings, and, occasionally, attempts were made to reveal their secrets.

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150   See, e.g., F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, 2nd edn (Leipzig and Berlin, 1925); Frankfurter, 'The Magic of Writing and the Writing of Magic'; Tz. Weiss, *Letters by which Heaven and Earth were Created: The Origins and the Meanings of the Perceptions of Alphabetic Letters as Independent Units in Jewish Sources of Late Antiquity* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2014); C. Bandt, *Der Traktat 'Vom Mysterium der Buchstaben': Kritischer Text mit Einführung, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Berlin and New York, 2007).

A Time to Love and a Time to Hate

The Temporal Aspects of Jewish Love Magic

> God said: 'Let there be lights in the expanse of the sky
> to separate day from night;
> they shall serve as signs for the set times—
> the days and the years'.
>> Genesis 1:14

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1 Written in the Stars

The division of time into years, months, weeks and days is more complex an issue than may be imagined at first. The concept of 'calendar' existed already in Sumer, in the third millennium BCE, yet its contents differed from that prevalent in other cultures, for example, in ancient Egypt, or later, in the Graeco-Roman world. Evidently, humans had noticed the passage of time and the change of seasons, yet there was no universal agreement as to the measuring and the division of time. Since the topic of calendars does not relate directly to the present study I will not treat it here, but will only examine those temporal matters relevant to the timing of magical actions, namely the day of the month, the day of the week and the hour of the day in which a magical action is to be performed. There are hardly any instructions in Jewish texts of love magic that mention a specific month in which one should act, and none, as far as I know, mention a specific year.[1]

'A season is set for everything, a time for every experience' affirmed Qohelet in a phrase echoing a basic human principle. The notion that there are spe-

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1 A reference to a specific year is also extremely rare in other branches of Jewish magic. For an exception, see *Sefer ha-Razim*, First Firmament, lines 27–28 (= Rebiger and Schäfer § 37), comprising a list of angels הנשמעים בכל דבר בשנה הראשונה והשנייה למספר חמש עשרה שנה לחשבון מלכי יוון, 'who are obedient in every matter during the first and second year of the fifteen year cycle of the reckoning of the Greek kings'; see also the discussion in Margalioth, *Sefer ha-Razim*, pp. 23–26.

cific times in which an action's chances of success are higher or lower is attested several millennia ago, and prevails up to the present day in expressions like *enhorabuena*, *à la bonne heure* or בשעה טובה (lit. 'in a good hour'). In Mesopotamia, the first attestations for observing the stars, probably out of a desire to predict the future, date as early as the third millennium BCE, appearing on cuneiform tablets from Ebla (present day Tel Mardich in Syria).[2] These texts, which deal mostly with economic matters, attest to the existence of a twelve-month calendar.[3] It may be deduced that the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia conducted rather careful astronomical observations in order to allow for the creation of a fixed calendar. The heavenly bodies they observed were regarded as divine manifestations, and apparently they believed that the planets conveyed special signs that enabled the prediction of earthly events. At first, in the Old Babylonian period (eighteenth-seventeenth centuries BCE), this did not imply a causal influence of the planets in day-to-day life, but simply a prediction of future events.[4] Later, the planets were thought to generate events on earth, and each heavenly body was allocated a specific sphere of influence, e.g., the planet Venus/Ishtar was responsible for things pertaining to love. The planet and its corresponding deity were viewed as capable of influencing events in their domain, thus bringing astronomy and magic together. In the sphere of love magic this is reflected, for instance, in Babylonian potency incantations that required figurines to be set ablaze in front of "Ishtar of the Stars", denoting a clear planetary connection.[5] Even more relevant to the present discussion are Mesopotamian texts that indicate propitious times for conducting apotropaic rituals or producing amulets. One of these, dated to

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2   For overviews of this subject, see S. Parpola, 'Mesopotamian Astrology and Astronomy as Domains of Mesopotamian "Wisdom"', in H.D. Galter (ed.), *Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens* (Graz, 1993), pp. 47–59; U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology: An Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination* (Copenhagen, 1995); G. Pettinato, *La scrittura celeste: La nascita dell'astrologia in Mesopotamia* (Milano, 1998); E. Reiner, 'Babylonian Celestial Divination', in N.M. Swerdlow (ed.), *Ancient Astronomy and Celestial Divination* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), pp. 21–37; F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge and New York, 2004). For a popular but good summary, see *Astrologie en Mésopotamie*, *Les Dossiers d'archéologie* 191, Mars 1994.

3   G. Pettinato, 'Il calendario semitico del 3. millennio ricostruito sulla base dei testi di Ebla', *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977), pp. 257–285.

4   E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Philadelphia, 1995). Usually the prediction was a binary one: would a certain event occur or not.

5   Biggs, *šà.zi.ga.*, pp. 27–30.

the seventh century BCE, was uncovered in Sultantepe, Turkey.[6] This cuneiform tablet indicates, for instance, that the dates 27, 28 and 29 of each month are recommended for (the exorcism of?) the demon 'who holds the head of evil'. The text lacks any apparent justification for the connection between these dates and the demon; explanations of this type do however appear in other traditions.

In ancient Egypt, despite the great importance granted to the celestial bodies (the principal Egyptian deity being the Sun god, Ra), no astrological content appears until the Ptolemaic period.[7] Following Alexander's conquest of Egypt and the assimilation of Greek and Babylonian influences, representations of the zodiac as well as individual horoscopes emerge. Yet it is in earlier periods that Egypt provides a unique type of calendar that contains information about propitious days along with days in which no earthly task can be successfully completed.[8] These calendars were composed by Egyptian priests based on mythological accounts; for instance, if the gods were known to have quarrelled with each other on a certain day, it was better to refrain from starting new ventures in it. The underlying rationale was that the deeds of the gods mirrored those of humans on earth. The priests relied on a star chart to determine the events in the life of divine beings for any given day or month.

A similar concept regarding propitious and unpropitious days can be detected in ancient Greece. At the end of Hesiod's *Works and Days* one finds a catalogue of the monthly favourable days, as well as those when it was better to refrain from specific actions.[9] In this essay, from the eighth or seventh centuries BCE, the author connects mythological events with earthly reality. For instance, lucky days are referred to as 'days which come from Zeus' (line 765), whereas the fifth of the month is described as a 'difficult and dire' day, because 'it was on the 5th, they say, that the Erinyes attended Oath at his birth, whom Strife bore as a bane for perjurers' (lines 803–804). Elsewhere, the poet leaves the quality of certain dates unexplained: 'On the fourth day begin to build narrow ships' (line 809). Some of the information in *Works and Days* regards people's

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6   Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia*, pp. 111–112.

7   T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (London, 1994), pp. 23–29.

8   R.A. Wells, s.v. 'Horoscopes', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (3 vols; Oxford, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 117–119.

9   Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*, translated by M.L. West (Oxford and New York, 1988), lines 765–828. The attribution of the Catalogue of Days to Hesiod has been questioned by several scholars, who claimed it was not originally part of *Works and Days*. For a summary of the dispute and a different opinion on the subject, see A. Lardinois, 'How the Days Fit the Works in Hesiod's "Works and Days"', *The American Journal of Philology* 119 (1998), pp. 319–336.

character, according to the date in which they were born—a basic horoscopic notion. It should be noted that the essay does not refer to the position of the stars at the moment of birth, just to the day of the month. Horoscopes that take into account the position of the stars only begin to occur centuries later, perhaps following the assimilation of Babylonian notions.[10]

In the Roman calendar each day had a specific status, based on the legal, political and religious actions that were permitted and executed in its course. For example, the Romans referred to proper or lawful days (*dies fasti*) or improper ones (*dies nefasti*). Originally, the division bore legal implications, referring to days in which tribunals operated,[11] yet with time the meaning of these terms expanded, denoting good and lucky days, as opposed to days in which every action was doomed to fail. Eventually, each day was ascribed various features independent of its 'position' in the Roman calendar.[12] For instance, Pliny mentions the common belief that clipping fingernails on a market day (the *nundinae*), leads to financial damage.[13]

Watching the position of the stars in order to determine the character of a specific day, or the state of affairs on earth, became common in Rome from the second century BCE. Later, in the imperial period, an ambivalent attitude towards astrology may be observed. While the discipline itself was largely considered credible, its practice was seen as a threat to the authorities. Thus, one finds on the one hand Augustan coins featuring an image of Capricorn, the emperor's zodiac sign, and on the other hand, imperial edicts that banish all astrologers from Rome, issued during the rule of the very same Augustus.[14] Surprising as it may seem, this ambivalent attitude also prevailed in other cultures, as will be seen below.

Jewish rabbinic authorities also grappled with the question of horoscopic and astrological influences on a person's fate and character.[15] A famous passage

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10   Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, pp. 21–23.

11   See, e.g., Ovid, *Fasti* I, 47–48: '*ille nefastus erit, per quem tria verba silentur:/ fastus erit, per quem lege licebit agi*' (Improper are those days in which the three words [of the praetor] shall not be heard/ proper, if the law can operate in them). The three words of the praetor summarized his judicial authority: *do, dico, addico* (I grant, I declare, I adjudge).

12   M.S. Broughall, 'The Pattern of the Days in Ancient Rome', *Greece and Rome* 5.15 (1936), pp. 160–176; V.L. Johnson, 'The Superstitions about the Nundinae', *American Journal of Philology* 80 (1959), pp. 133–149.

13   *Natural History* XXVIII, ii.28.

14   Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, pp. 40–41; S.J. Green, *Disclosure and Discretion in Roman Astrology: Manilius and His Augustan Contemporaries* (Oxford 2014), ch. 3, 5.

15   For overviews of early Jewish astrology, see K. von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie:*

in BT Shabbat 156a–b preserves some rabbinic views on these matters. Rabbi Joshua b. Levi, for instance, maintained that there was a correlation between one's nature and their birthday, based on the narrative of Creation in Genesis: 'He who is born in the third day of the week shall be a rich man, and an adulterer. What is the reason [for this]? Because in it [the third day] were created the plants.'[16] A contrary view, expressed by Rabbi Ḥanina, maintained that it was not the day of birth that determined a person's character and fate, but the birth hour, according to the planets that ruled over the hours of the day. For instance: 'He who is born in [the sign of] planet Venus, will be a rich man, and an adulterer. What is the reason [for this]? Because on it [i.e. Venus] depends the fire [of passion].' The passage further questions whether the planets and the zodiac exert any influence on Jews, who supposedly should rely solely on God. Two contradictory views are presented, one by Rabbi Ḥanina, who held that such an influence indeed existed, and another by the rabbis Johanan and Rab, stating that Israel was immune to planetary influence.[17] Various aspects of astrology are mentioned elsewhere in the talmudic corpus, indicating rabbinic interest in this topic. Some rabbis tried to adapt prevalent astrological notions to Jewish mythology, e.g., by resorting to the biblical narrative of Creation. Others, however, renounced such an adaptation and resorted directly to foreign astrological arguments, like Rabbi Samuel, who maintained that 'The correct time for bloodletting is on a Sunday, Wednesday and Friday (…). Why not on Tuesday? Because the planet Mars rules at even-numbered hours of the day' (BT Shabbat 129b).[18]

The early Christian stand on astrology and related prognostic practices was equally ambiguous. Although the Magi foretold Jesus' eminence by observing a

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Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis (Berlin and New York, 2000); idem, 'Jewish and Christian Astrology in Late Antiquity—A New Approach', *Numen* 47 (2000), pp. 1–40; R. Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der astrologischen Literatur der Juden* (Tübingen, 2006), esp. pp. 39–45.

16   BT Shabbat 156a. Rashi's commentary on the passage explained the talmudic dictum by pointing out that the grass 'is fruitful and multiplies abundantly, and is quick to grow and flourish, which is a licentious activity.' On this passage, see von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie*, pp. 460–480; Leicht, *Astrologumena Judaica*, pp. 90–94.

17   For a summary of the argument see, e.g., J.H. Charlesworth, 'Jewish Interest in Astrology during the Hellenistic and Roman Period', *ANRW* II. 20.2 (1987), pp. 926–950 (930–932).

18   A similar concept, advising against bloodletting on certain days, still prevailed centuries later, e.g., in the Anglo-Saxon medical compendium *Lacnunga*, dated to the ninth-eleventh centuries; see E. Pettit (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms and Prayers from British Library Ms Harley 585: the Lacnunga* (2 vols; Lewiston, 2001), vol. 1, clxxxii, pp. 123–124.

star shining over Bethlehem, this form of prediction was undeniably linked to the pagan world where astrology originated and flourished. Consequently, the Church Fathers proscribed astrology or at least were critical of it. Nonetheless, belief in the positive or malignant character of certain days and hours persisted. Often these prognostications were not of an astrological nature, but rather highlighted the correlation between celestial and earthly phenomena.[19] For example, calendars from the early medieval period indicated the problematic dates of each month, sometimes termed *dies aegyptiaci*, in which one should avoid risky ventures such as bloodletting, new journeys, sowing, harvesting, and marriage.[20]

Belief in lucky (سعد) and unlucky (نحس) days is also found in Islam, deriving from pre-Islamic traditions that Mohammed and his followers tried to suppress, unsuccessfully.[21] At times, a positive or negative quality was conferred on entire months, e.g., early Muslims refrained from marrying in Shawwal, the tenth month. Special guides instructed rulers which actions were best performed in each day of the week: some days were better for hunting, others for sitting in judgement. As in other traditions mentioned above, in Islam too the quality of a date was astrologically based, according to the deity/planet who ruled it. This notion, however, was lost with the passing of time.

This concise historical review indicates that often, observing the timing of various actions was linked with local mythology and, moreover, with institutionalized religion: in Mesopotamia the planets were identified with major deities; in ancient Egypt and Greece the deeds of the gods were supposedly mirrored by life on earth, and so forth. But what about the world of magic? The corpus of Greek magical papyri preserves interesting information on the timing of magical actions.[22] For instance, one passage delineates actions to be accomplished in every lunar phase in order to achieve an optimal outcome.[23] Among these, writing amulets for love is best performed when the Moon is in the sign

19   See, e.g., R.M. Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: a Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England* 30 (2001), pp. 181–230.

20   R. Steele, 'Dies Aegyptiaci', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 12 (Supplement) (1919), pp. 108–121; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 vols; 1923, reprinted New York and London, 1964), vol. 1, pp. 685–696; J.B. Friedman, ' "Dies boni et mali, obitus, et contra hec remedium": Remedies for Fortune in Some Late Medieval English Manuscripts', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 90 (1991), pp. 311–326.

21   T. Fahd, *La divination Arabe: Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 483–485.

22   H.G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Munich, 1968).

23   *PGM* VII.284–299 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 124).

of Aquarius. Another text instructs the practitioner to utter the names of the gods responsible for the hours of the day, followed by those responsible for the weeks, as part of an initiation rite.[24] These basic notions expressed in the *PGM*, that magical actions are influenced by the heavenly bodies, are similar to those found in contemporary Jewish magical texts (such as *The Book of Mysteries*), as well as later, in medieval handbooks, although the timings recommended in the different corpora may vary.

The previous paragraphs offered a brief historical overview of the principle that every action involves a more or less propitious timing. The next step will be an examination of notions directly related to the timing of ancient Jewish love magic: mainly the days of the week, but also the hours of the day and the days of the month (most probably according to the lunar calendar used by Jews in antiquity).

The week we are familiar with consists of seven days, yet this division was not universally accepted in the past.[25] The Egyptian week contained ten days, while the Romans used a cycle of eight days to count time. The seven-day division is a completely arbitrary time unit, unlike the day (which is based on the solar cycle) or the month (which is based on the lunar cycle). Its origin is far from clear, though it is traditionally assigned to the civilizations of ancient Mesopotamia.[26] This arbitrary unit is found quite early in Judaism, as exemplified by the account in Genesis, where the creation of the world stretches over a seven-day period. In biblical times the focus of the seven-day unit was the day of Shabbat, from which derives the Hebrew term for 'week' that designated both the day and the week as a whole. A period of seven days, counted from one Shabbat to another, is termed a 'Sabbatical week'.[27] By the end of the Second Temple period the Sabbatical week became accepted as a time

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24   *PGM* XIII.114–122 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 175).

25   E. Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (New York and London, 1985); R. Hannah, *Greek and Roman Calendars: Constructions of Time in the Classical World* (London, 2005).

26   On the seven-day division in Judaism, see J.H. Tigay, s.v. 'week', *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Hebrew; 9 vols; Jerusalem, 1950–1989), vol. 7, cols. 468–479 (474); idem, 'Notes on the Development of the Jewish Week', *Eretz-Israel* 14 (1978), pp. *111-*121 (non-Hebrew section).

27   Other seven-day units in Judaism do not relate necessarily to the Shabbat, e.g., the period between the birth of a male child and his circumcision, or the seven days 'impurity period' of his mother. Some ancient Near Eastern civilizations also featured a seven-day unit related to religious ceremonies and various rites of passage, yet it was not intended for counting time, contrary to the Sabbatical week in Judaism.

unit among Jews, concomitantly with its acceptance among the Romans.[28] At approximately the same time the notion of a planetary influence on each day of the week appears. It is this idea that eventually led to the days of the week being named after different deities, and the creation of the 'planetary week'.[29]

The origin of the notion that one of the seven known celestial bodies presides over a particular day of the week is unclear, and it was already pondered about in antiquity. In the third century CE, Cassius Dio maintained that 'The custom, however, of referring the days to the seven stars called planets was instituted by the Egyptians, but is now found among all mankind (…)'.[30] Regardless of its origins, the planetary week was eventually adopted throughout the Roman Empire. Furthermore, celestial bodies presided not only over the days of the week, but also over the hours of the day. For the present discussion, the relevance of this notion lies in timing magical practices to accord with the influence of each planet and its corresponding deity.

2   The Timing of Magical Practices

Observing the precise timing of an action is one of the defining characteristics of a magical act. As mentioned before, Maimonides classified the types of magical instructions and acts into three categories, the second of which 'regards defining the time in which these deeds should be performed'. In the present chapter I will focus on the temporal aspects of Jewish love magic and their underlying rationale.

Timing of practices is mentioned in about thirty items of Jewish love magic. The earliest such occurrence is in *Sefer ha-Razim*, which states in its introduction that Noah learned from it לחקור עיתות ורגעים, 'to search out (the right) seasons and moments'.[31] The 'seasons' mentioned in our corpus may be divided

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28   According to some scholars, the notion of a seven-day planetary week originates in Judaism; see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque* (1899, reprinted Aalen, 1979), p. 483: 'C'est la notoriété universelle du Sabbat qui a été le véhicule de la notoriété, bientôt universelle aussi, de la semaine planétaire.' This idea is also embraced by others, e.g., S. Gandz, 'The Origin of the Planetary Week, or: The Planetary Week in Hebrew Literature', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 18 (1948–1949), pp. 213–254 (224); Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle*, p. 11.

29   In Hebrew a reverse process occurred—the planet identified with the day of Shabbat, i.e. Saturn, was named after this day: *Shabbtai*.

30   *Roman History* XXXVII, 18.

31   *Sefer ha-Razim*, Preface, line 11 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 10).

into three classes: those specifying an hour of the day, a day of the week, and a day of the month (occasionally by referring to the lunar phases). References to the month in which one should act are rarely found in the corpus of Jewish love magic. An example is a recipe from *Sefer ha-Nisyonot*, intended to achieve the exclusive affection of a woman. The practitioner is instructed to use ביצי תרנגול בתול בחודש מאיו, 'the testicles of a virgin cock during the month of May'.[32] The use of the foreign name of the month, 'Mayo', instead of either of the Jewish names Nissan or Iyar, seems to indicate a non-Jewish source for this recipe. Another example may be found in a Genizah fragment that lists the best times for writing grace and favour amulets. This text mentions the Hebrew month names and the specific day in each month:

JTSL ENA 3409.11, 1a:3–4

יום א בניסן טו(ב) לכתוב בו לחן
ולחסד

The first day of Nissan is propitious to write on it for grace
and favour

ibid., 1b:7–8

יום ו באללו [33]: טוב לכתוב בו
לחסד

The sixth day of Elul is propitious to write on it
for favour

ibid., 1b:14–15

יום ח במרחשון טוב
לכתוב בו לכבוש

The eight day or Marheshvan is propitious
to write on it for subduing

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32 Leibowitz and Marcus, *Sefer Hanisyonot*, p. 255.

33 Read: באלול.

The reason for rarely defining the month in which magical practices for love, grace or hate should be performed is probably due to the nature of the magicians' work: they were expected to provide amulets and to activate love spells *ad hoc*, whenever such services were required by their clients. Limiting such magical practices to one or more specific months of the year was simply not practical.[34] Conversely, as will be seen below, defining the other temporal instances in no way contradicted the magicians' working process.

2.1   *Defining the Hour of the Day*

In Jewish tradition, as in many others, each hour of the day (from sunset to sunset) was considered to be influenced by a specific planet and, furthermore, an angel was said to be appointed over each hour. The magical-mystical composition *Sefer ha-Yashar* (*The Book of the Righteous*), dated to the second half of the first millennium CE, provides the following list:

Sefer ha-Yashar V, 83–85[35]

שמות המלאכים הממונים על השעות ועל כל היום המה אילו
קפציאל לשבתאי. צדקיאל לצדק. סמאל למאדים. גבריאל לחמה.
עניאל לנוגה. חסדיאל לכוכב. מיכאל ללבנה.

> The names of the angels appointed over the hours and over the entire day are these:
> Qaftziel for Saturn. Tzadqiel for Jupiter (Heb. Tzedeq). Samael for Mars. Gabriel for the Sun.
> 'Aniel for Venus. Ḥasdiel for Mercury. Michael for the Moon.

The compiler of *Sefer Raziel* advised that כל קבלה מעשיות צריך לכוון התקופות והחדשים והימים והשעות שכל שעה מתחלף המלאך, 'Each (act of) practical Kabbalah should be tuned (according to) the seasons and the months and the days and the hours, since every hour the angel changes'.[36] And yet, few Jewish recipes of love magic specify an hour of the day for performing the practice.

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34   My impression is that a similar situation may be found in other branches of magic, meaning that monthly clauses are usually absent. A more thorough survey is needed to confirm this.

35   I. Wandrey, *'Das Buch des Gewandes' und 'Das Buch des Aufrechten': Dokumente eines magischen spätantiken Rituals, ediert, kommentiert und übersetzt* (Tübingen, 2004), p. 202. For the date of this composition, see ibid., pp. 8–19.

36   *Sefer Raziel*, Introduction, p. 1.

One example may be found in a recipe from a fifteenth-century European manuscript, intended to find favour with a dignitary, so that יעשה שאלתך מכל מה שתרצה 'he shall do your request of anything you wish'. The recipe advises to take a מצנפת של נער שיולד 'a cap of a (new) born child', i.e. a caul, an ingredient also found in non-Jewish recipes, and to inscribe on it a series of names:

Budapest MS Kaufmann BUD 20, 286:21–22

וכל זה
תעשה בשעת א׳ חמה

And all this
you should do in the first hour (of) the Sun

It thus appears that the practice should be performed on a Sunday, when the Sun rules the first hour of the day. The Sun is associated in various astrological traditions with the ruling class, and thus the performative rationale of this recipe becomes clear.

Another recipe, from a 1536 manuscript copied in Safed, mentions the specific timing for obtaining a woman's love:

London BL Or. 12362, 29b:14

כתוב ביום ג בשעה ג על תפוח אלו השמות ותאכליה

Write on Tuesday, in the third hour, on an apple these names and feed (it) to her

Here again, the recipe exhibits a straightforward rationale, as the third hour of Tuesday is ruled by Venus. However, a love-inducing Genizah recipe specifies two alternative hours for acting, neither of which makes much sense:

T-S Ar. 43.89, 1a:2–3

يكتب فى رق غزال [يوم] الجمعة [فى الساعة]
السابعة او الخامسه

He should write on gazelle parchment on Fri[day]
in the seventh or fifth [hour]

One might have expected here a reference to the hour of Venus, which is the first hour on Friday, yet, according to the order of planetary hours, Jupiter and the Sun are appointed over the fifth and seventh hours of this day respectively. Though astrological references to these two planets reveal no close association with the topic of erotic love, they are somewhat connected with social favour and grace, which may explain the rationale behind this choice.[37]

This recipe further instructs the practitioner to bury the ashes of the gazelle parchment at midday:

T-S Ar. 43.89, 1a:7

<div dir="rtl">

ويطمر [ي]وم الخمسه (ن)صف النهار

</div>

> And he should bury (it) on Thursday, at midday

Similarly, the following recipe mentions the time of day required for the magical practice, though without specifying the day of the week:

Bodley MS. Heb. a. 2.2, 2b:17–19

<div dir="rtl">

אם להשתרר ליהיות גדול בעיר או להביא שליט שו׳ (= שופט) ומושל
ובני המדינה קח ממעין העיר ההיא ותן בתוכם מזיעת פניך ועמוד בחצי הלילה
והזכר שם הלבנה ושם ד׳ רוחות העלם ושם שמים וארץ ותקופות

</div>

> If (you wish) to rule, to be great in town, or to bring (to your favour?) a
>   ruler, a judge and a governor
> and the citizens of the state, take from the (water of) the spring of that
>   town, and place in it some of the sweat of your face, and stand at
>   midnight,
> and mention the name of the Moon and the names of the 4 winds of the
>   earth, and the name of the sky and the earth and the seasons

The rationale for performing a magical practice during a liminal hour, such as midday or midnight, may be easily understood. Magic often employs liminal elements: ingredients that are black or white, fresh or old, actions conducted

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37 For example, in BT Shabbat 156a the 'hour of the Sun' is associated with a bright complexion, while Jupiter's hour is related to righteousness. Other sources associate the Sun with daily activities and rulers, and Jupiter with peace, joy, wealth, and honour; see, e.g., Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 252.

at a crossroad, etc. Liminal hours are also considered exceptional outside the realm of magic; for example, the twilight of the eve of Shabbat (lit. 'between the suns', בין השמשות) holds a special place in Jewish tradition.[38]

In addition to liminality in respect of the time of day, T-S Ar. 43.89 also specifies the day of the week in which the magical practice should be performed: Thursday, a day that was considered to be under the auspices of Jupiter. The hour specified, twelve noon, was also thought to be under the influence of the same planet. Jupiter's hour on Thursday is mentioned in a Genizah hemerological text stating similar aims:

T-S NS 322.79, 1b:2–3

<div dir="rtl">

יום ה׳ כתו׳ בשעת צדק בשם
צדקיאל לאהבה ולשלום ולעשות קמיעות

</div>

> Thursday write during the hour of Jupiter (Tzedeq) in the name of Tzadqiel, for love and for peace and for making amulets

Thursday at noon was thus considered favourable for practices of love magic, and it was already noted that some practitioners regarded Jupiter as auspicious for these ends. Furthermore, Jupiter also appears in similar contexts in non-Jewish spells.[39] The reason for this may be its association with wealth and prosperity (perhaps due to being larger than all the other planets), as explained in a grimoire from Italy:[40]

JTSL 8114, 66a:20–21

<div dir="rtl">

צדק ממונה על הטובה והברכה והשלוה והגילה והשמחה והעושר
והכבוד

</div>

> Jupiter is appointed over the goodness and the blessing and the
> peacefulness and the joy and the happiness and the richness
> and the honour

---

38 See, e.g., Swartz, *The Signifying Creator*, pp. 13, 76.

39 Cf., e.g., Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 226, 'For obtaining a woman's love': '*in die Jovis vel in die dominico, hora Veneris vel hora Jovis*'.

40 The positive characteristics attributed to the planet Jupiter (Latin Jovis) may be found in the adjective 'jovial', denoting a cheerful nature.

Other recipes define the part of the day in which a practice should be per-
formed, yet do not specify the exact hour. Such a temporal definition appears
in a Genizah recipe that requires inscribing a formula on unbaked clay:

T-S AS 143.229, 2:1–2 (= AMB Geniza 2)

<div dir="rtl">

צום יום אלכמיס ולילת אלגומעה ואכתוב
יום אלגומעה באכר

</div>

> Fast on Thursday and on Friday night, and write
> on Friday early (in the morning)

Another Genizah recipe, that instructs the practitioner to utter a formula seven
times over מוקלה זרקא, a type of resin, and then to burn it as incense, also refers
to a particular part of the day:

T-S K 1.37, 2a:21 (= MTKG I, pp. 55–66)

<div dir="rtl">

ואקטר בליל ד׳

</div>

> And burn (it) on Wednesday night

Inscribing an amulet on a Friday morning, during the day of the goddess of
love, after a day of purification, follows a straightforward rationale. The logic
behind the second recipe, which relates Wednesday night to love practices, is
less evident.[41] However, its formula mentions all the signs of the zodiac (בשם/
טלה שור תאום׳ סרטן אריה בתול׳ מאזן עק קשת/ גדי דלי דגים חמה ולבנה נוגה כוכב/ כוכב
חמה. צדק מאדים שבתי; 2b:21–24), evidently implying an astrological component.
This may have also been reflected in the timing of the magical action, though
it is unclear in what way.

A recipe from a fifteenth-century German manuscript also refers to a partic-
ular part of the day, though not a specific hour:

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41   Cf., however, an erotic recipe cited by Abraham Abulafia (1240–ca. 1291) in *Sefer Ha-
     Melamed*, where the timing of the action is said to be 'on Wednesday night, in the 1st hour
     of the night, which is the hour of Saturn' (Ms. Paris BN 680, fols. 292b–293a, Amnon Gross
     edition pp. 13–14). For more on this recipe, see below, p. 241.

Bavarian State Library, Munich Cod. Hebr. 235, 93a[42]

וקח הביצה בליל ה׳ לאחר שקיעת החמה וחפור בפרשת דרכים
וביום ג׳ קח הביצה משם לאחר שקיעת החמה

> And take the egg on Thursday night after sunset and dig at a crossroad,
> and on Tuesday take the egg from there after sunset

Here, evidently, the timing has no planetary association but stems from a need
for secrecy, hence acting after dark (see also the spell below, requiring action
before the sun has risen).

2.2   *Defining the Day of the Week*

Defining the day in which a magical practice should be performed, or in which
the *materia magica* should be created, is the most common type of temporal reference in our recipes. As mentioned above, an angel was thought to be
appointed over each day of the week.[43] Obviously, performing a magical practice from a certain sphere on the day associated with the angel appointed over
this sphere would assist in achieving its aims. Several recipes for inducing love
or hate note that the practice should be performed on a Friday, as exemplified
in the following two fragments, the first from a European manuscript and the
second from the Cairo Genizah:

Florence, Laurentiana Plut. 89, sup. 118, 21:15–16

לאהבה קח עטלף ושחוט אותו בזכוכית וקבור אותו בשפופרת שלביצה שנולדה ביום
ה׳
ותיבש הדם וגע למי שתרצה וזה תעשה ביום ו׳ קודם הנץ החמה

> For love. Take a bat and slaughter it with a (piece of) glass, and bury it in
>   the eggshell of an egg born on Thursday,
> and dry the blood, and touch whomever you wish. And this you should
>   do on Friday, before the sun has risen.

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42   The recipe is written in the left margin. On this recipe, see also J. Perles, 'Die Berner
      Handschrift des kleinen Aruch', in *Jubelschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstage des Prof. Dr.
      H. Graetz* (Breslau, 1887), pp. 1–38 (25).

43   For the angels appointed over the days of the week in various Jewish traditions, see Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, pp. 69, 250–253; A. Toepel, 'Planetary Demons in
      Early Jewish Literature', *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14 (2005), pp. 231–238.

T-S K 1.73, 4:9–11 (= AMB Geniza 6)

חורן לסינה יוכתב
עלא בידה טריה ותודפן יום אלגומעה
פי קבר

Another (spell) for hate. It should be written
on a fresh egg, and it should be buried on Friday
in a grave

The Greek name for Friday was ἡμέρα Ἀφροδίτης, the day of Aphrodite. Other
traditions also held a belief that the sixth day of the week was under the aus-
pices of the goddess of love. Friday was regarded by the Romans as the day
of Venus (*dies Veneris*), and by the Germanic peoples as that of her counter-
part Freya (hence the names Friday and Freitag, vs. venerdì and viernes).[44]
The requirement to perform magical practices related to love in the day asso-
ciated with this goddess is understandable when the recipes originated in a
non-Jewish tradition. Yet what about Judaism? As mentioned above, this asso-
ciation is also found in non-magical sources, e.g., BT Shabbat 156a. Further-
more, already in *Sefer ha-Razim*, the planet Venus is credited with influencing
matters of the heart, as demonstrated by this love-inducing recipe:

First Firmament, lines 127–129 (= Rebiger and Schäfer § 66)

ותאמר כנגד כוכב הנוגה ה?שם שהוא {אפרוגר}[45] אפרודיטי ש׳ ומלאך חסדיאל

and say facing the planet Venus the name which is {’prwgr} Aphrodite *š*
and the angel Ḥasdiel

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44   The Church Fathers generally attempted to avoid using the 'pagan' names for the days of
      the week, and that of Venus was particularly problematic, given the nature of this goddess.
      Moreover, Friday was believed to be the day of Jesus' crucifixion, and thus an alternative
      term for it was preferred. Justin Martyr, for example, called Friday 'the day before the
      day of Saturn' (*Apologia* I, 67); see H. Leclercq, s.v. 'Jours de la semaine', in *Dictionnaire
      d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie* (15 vols; Paris, 1924–1953), vol. 7, cols 2736–2745
      (2737). Greek-speaking Jews and early Christians termed Friday 'the day of preparation
      (for Sabbath)', Παρασκευή.

45   The word has been deleted.

The power attributed to Friday in matters of the heart is also evidenced in the Genizah hemerological composition cited earlier, which lists the auspicious times for writing amulets for love and favour:

T-S NS 322.79, 1b:3–4

<div dir="rtl">

יום ששי כתו׳ בשעת נוגה בש[ם]

ענאל עשה בו לנישואין ולאהבה ומעשה? ה[נשי?]ם? ולבוא על המלכים

</div>

> Friday write in the hour of *Noga* (Venus) in the na[me] of
> ʿAnael. Perform in it for marriage, and love, and the matters of [wom]en
> (?), and to go to the kings.

Other weekdays beside Friday are mentioned in recipes of Jewish love magic, though none as frequently as Aphrodite's day. Thursday seems to be more popular than the others, possibly—as explained above—due to Jupiter's astrological association with prosperity, but given the paucity of sources this is mere speculation. For instance, love-inducing recipes from two Italian manuscripts employ an egg laid on a Thursday:

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica ebr. 241, 36a:29–30 and JTSL 8114, 93b:16

<div dir="rtl">

קח ביצה שנולדה ביום ה׳ מתרנגולת שחורה

</div>

> Take an egg that was born on Thursday from a black hen

The same temporal-specific ingredient appears in a recipe from a German manuscript:

Bavarian State Library, Munich Cod. Hebr. 235, 93a (written in the left margin, third line from the top)[46]

<div dir="rtl">

קח ביצה מתרנגולת כולו שחורה שלא נולדה מעולם שום ביצה וקח הביצה שנולדה

ביום ה׳

</div>

> Take an egg from an entirely black hen that never laid any egg, and take
> the egg that was born on Thursday

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46 For this recipe, see also Perles, 'Die Berner Handschrift des kleinen Aruch', p. 25, and Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 43.

Conversely, an egg laid on a Thursday is mentioned in a Genizah recipe for the opposite aim: sowing hate between lovers:

JTSL ENA 2873.7–8, 1a:12–13

קח ביצה שנולדה יום ה וכתוב עליה אלו השמות ביום שני
וטמון אותם אצל ראש בקבר חלל חרב

> Take an egg that was born on Thursday, and write on it these names on
>   Monday,
> and bury them close to the head (?) in the tomb of one slain with a
>   sword[47]

I am not aware of any love magic recipes that require acting on Shabbat (i.e. from Friday evening until Saturday evening). The reason for this is probably religious. A perusal of Jewish recipes from other branches of magic indicates that requirements to act on this day are equally absent.[48] Presumably, even magicians rested from their toil during Shabbat; or more precisely, they refrained from prohibited chores such as writing (see below, chapter 5).

2.3   *Defining the Day of the Month*

Two of the love-inducing recipes in *Sefer ha-Razim* mention the day of the month when the actions should be performed. The first, which aims 'to bind the heart of a powerful or rich woman to you', instructs the practitioner to inscribe a formula on a lead tablet במלאת הירח, 'when the moon is full'.[49] The second recipe, intended to place 'the love of a man in a woman's heart, or to make a poor man take a rich woman', includes inscribing a formula on a copper tablet and tossing it into the (ritual?) bath of the woman בעשרים ותשעה לחודש בכלות הירח, 'on the twenty-ninth of the month, at the waning of the moon'.[50] The first recipe refers only to the phase of the moon, while the second also mentions a specific date in the month. It should be noted, however, that those who employed the lunar calendar—such as Jews in the period when *Sefer ha-Razim* was composed—connected the words 'when the moon is full' with the

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47   For חלל חרב cf. Numbers 19:16.

48   This relies primarily on the textual corpus collected by Gideon Bohak in the course of the project 'Magic Recipe Books from the Cairo Genizah'.

49   First Firmament, line 150 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §76).

50   Second Firmament, lines 36–37 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, §129).

fifteenth day of the month, and the words 'at the waning of the moon' with the twenty-ninth day of the month. Thus, the phrasing of the second recipe may be regarded as repetitive. The requirement to act when the moon was at one of its extreme phases, either at the beginning or at the end of the month, probably stemmed from the special status attributed to liminal situations.[51] However, the reference to the lunar phase instead of the day of the month (fifteenth or twenty-ninth) might have been poetically motivated. Most recipes containing such references simply specify a given date. Two parallel recipes from the Genizah, one written in Hebrew and the other in Judaeo-Arabic, direct the practitioner to inscribe several divine names, and to do so on a specific date:

JTSL ENA 2873.35, 1b:4–5

אלו ז׳ שמות לאהבה ולא תפעול
בהם כי אם בג׳ לחודש

These are 7 names for love, and you should not use
them other than in the 3rd of the month

T-S NS 164.157, 1b:10

ללאהבה יוכ[תב] פי ג׳ איאם מן אלשהר

For love. It should be wri[tten] on the 3rd day of the month

The day of the month is also specified in the following spell למכנשה כל עמה גבך 'for gathering the entire populace behind you':

T-S K 1.143 12:9 (= MSF Geniza 18)

כתוב בז׳ בירחה בקלף

Write on the 7th of the month on parchment

It remains to be seen why the third or the seventh day of the month would be preferred for these magical practices. Evidently, the position of the planets is irrelevant, since the planet appointed over each date in the month changes according to the month in question. One reason could be the fact that both three and seven are typological numbers. A second possibility relates to the Benediction of the Moon (קידוש לבנה). The benediction may be recited starting on the third day (or, according to another tradition, on the seventh day) of each month.[52] It is thus possible that these two days of the month reflect a link with institutionalized religion, yet the evidence preserved is too scarce to confirm such a hypothesis.

3   Temporal References in Magical Products

Few products of Jewish love magic provide temporal references. In such cases, the temporal data is usually to be deduced from the supernatural entities mentioned in the texts. There is no way to ascertain whether care was taken to produce these items on a specific day or hour, as required in the recipes presented above. The following amulet, written for an anonymous beneficiary, includes an adjuration of Mercury, among other entities:

T-S K 1.128, 1a:7–11 (= HAITCG, pp. 128–130)

<div dir="rtl">

ובשם הזה ובך השבעתי

את כוכב חמה ששמו עטארד

והמלאך {הַשֵׂר}[53] אשר עליו

{ששמו}[54]

בהדא שמא

השבעתי אתכם

</div>

> And by this name, and by you, I have adjured
> Mercury, whose name is Uṭarid (i.e. Mercury in Arabic)
> and the angel {that} that is (appointed) over him
> {whose name is} (*vacat*)

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52   See, e.g., *Shulchan Aruch*, Orach Hayim, 426:13.

53   השר is an error for אשר, and not, as Schiffman and Swartz assumed, 'the Prince'. These letters were deleted by the scribe by overlining them.

54   The scribe deleted these letters by marking a series of dots above them.

> by this name
> I have adjured you (pl.)

One noteworthy element in this amulet is the adjuration of the planet Mercury (כוכב חמה), which is further identified by its Arabic name, Uṭarid (עטארד). The scribe also intended to mention the angel appointed over this planet, but seemingly forgot his name and left a blank space after 'whose name is', perhaps expecting to fill it in later.[55] Mercury was adjured to fulfil all the desires of the amulet beneficiary, to disclose to him the secrets of the universe, and also ותהפכו כל/ מן בעלמא לאהאבאני, 'to turn every (person)/ in the world to love me' (1a:14–15). Why would these requests be addressed to Mercury? In the Babylonian Talmud (Shabbat 156a) this planet is associated with knowledge and is named ספרא דחמה, 'the scribe of the Sun', which corresponds to non-Jewish traditions. However, it is equally possible that the planet was adjured for other reasons, such as its connection to the beneficiary's day or hour of birth, but the amulet remains silent on this matter.

A similar adjuration of planets is found in a generic amulet designed to bestow חנא וחסדא/ אהבה ואחוה שלום וריעות, 'grace and favour/ love and affection, peace and friendship'. This text adjures the Sun and the Moon, their respective angels and the 'servants' of these angels, as well as the signs of the zodiac and their angels:

JTSL ENA 1177.16, 1a:6–7 (= MTKG II, no. 41)

ובשם כוכב חמה[56] ומלאכו רפאל ומשרתיו רחביאל פניאל אריאל להביאל

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55   Schiffman and Swartz correctly state that it is unlikely that the blank space was left for the client to fill in the angel's name (HAITCG, p. 130). The scribe's confusion about the name of the angel might have stemmed from the similarity in Hebrew between Mercury (*kokhav ḥama* כוכב חמה) and the Sun (*ḥama* חמה). The former was sometimes named *kokhav* כוכב, while the Sun was simply called *ḥama* חמה. Schiffman and Swartz incorrectly assume that Raphael was the angel appointed over Mercury (ibid.). In *Sefer Raziel*, p. 34v, the phrase *Ḥama* and its sign is Leo and its angel is Raphael and it acts on the first day of the week' (חמה ומזלא אריה ומלאכיה רפא״ל והוא משמש בחד בשבתא) refers to the Sun, not to Mercury. Cf. also JTSL ENA 1177.16, 1a:34 (MTKG II, no. 41) and the commentary of the editors there. Conversely, *Sefer Raziel* states that 'Wednesday (is the day of) *kokhav*, and its sign is Gemini, and its angel is Akael' (יום רביעי כוכב ומזלו תאומים בתולה ומלאכיה עכא״ל), referring to Mercury.

56   The text should have read חמה. See note 55 above.

And in the name of the Sun, and its angel Raphael, and its servants
Raḥaviel, Peniel, Ariel, Lahaviel[57]

The amulet may have contained an adjuration of all the planets, which has not
been preserved.

Another amulet uncovered in the Genizah, designed to achieve financial and
social success for Shalom son of Zuhra, also contains an astrological element
in its adjuration:

T-S K 1.152, 1a:13–15 (= HAITCG, pp. 137–142)

<div dir="rtl">

אשבעית עליך צדק]יאל   [
על יומא חמישאה דתעביד כל מא
דאנא בעי בקמיעא דנא על עסק
שלום בן זוהרה

</div>

I have adjured you, Tzadq[iel, who is appointed (?)]
over Thursday, to do everything that
I request with this amulet, for the business of[58]
Shalom son of Zuhra

Both Thursday and Tzedeq (Jupiter) are mentioned elsewhere in the amulet
(1a:5–8), but the full text has not survived. The editors suggested that perhaps
'the incantation was to be employed on a Thursday, during the period when
Jupiter is dominant.'[59] However, the product in question is a paper amulet that
was folded several times and then rolled, probably in order to be carried about
by its beneficiary. It seems rather unlikely that Shalom son of Zuhra changed
amulets daily, according to the day of the week. More probably, Thursday and
its angel, Tzadqiel, were particularly significant for the aims of the amulet. As
already noted, Jupiter is regarded in both Jewish and non-Jewish traditions
as a planet favourable for business, that bestows wealth and brings people
close together.[60] Conversely, a Genizah fragment, which lists a series of curses
according to the days of the week and their planets, includes the following lines:

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57   Parallels to the list of zodiac signs and the angels appointed over them appear in other
      Genizah fragments unrelated to love magic, e.g., Bodley MS. Heb. e. 74.70–74, 70a:15–19, as
      well as compositions like *Sefer ha-Yashar* or *Sefer Raziel*.

58   Another possible translation of על עסק is: 'concerning'; see HAITCG, p. 141.

59   HAITCG, p. 140.

60   Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 252, and see above, p. 219.

Bodley MS. Heb. e. 74.70–74, 70a:17–18[61]

צדקיאל יקללהו יום חמישי
עם מזל צדק וימנע מנו עשרו ושלותו

> Tzadqiel shall curse him on Thursday
> with the sign of Jupiter (Tzedeq), and will deprive him of his riches and
>   his peace

The association of Jupiter with financial matters or business success is also found in non-Jewish magical texts. For example, *The Book of Angels, Rings, Characters and Images of the Stars*, surviving in a fifteenth-century manuscript, states that 'the ring of Jupiter is of amber (and is good) for money' (*Annulus Iovis ex electro ad denarium*).[62] It further states that the aid of a magic square pertaining to Jupiter will ensure affection in the eyes of all people, the improvement of trade, farming affluence, and general prosperity.[63] Another recipe recommends performing a magical practice for obtaining respect, affection and good-will 'in the hour and day of Jupiter' (*hora Iouis & eius die*).[64] It is therefore probable that Thursday was mentioned in our amulet due to its association with Jupiter, and it is further possible that the amulet was inscribed on that day. This would then represent another example of an accordance between an amulet's temporal aspect and its aim: לישא וליתן בסחורה, 'to transact business' (1a:20–21).

4   Summary

The observance of specific timings is equally found in non-Jewish traditions of love magic, often in very similar modes to those described above. Supernatural entities were believed to be appointed over the days of the week and the hours of the day, and consequently influence the magical actions performed in each instance. Since, as explained in section 1, the timings usually stemmed from astrological considerations, Jewish and non-Jewish texts often list identical temporal qualities. The Graeco-Roman, Christian and Islamic traditions also regarded the day and hour of the goddess of love as propitious for practices

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61   The leaf is mistakenly numbered 68.
62   Lidaka, '*The Book of Angels*', pp. 48–49.
63   Ibid., pp. 64–65.
64   Ibid., pp. 58–59.

related to love; whereas the days and hours of Mars and Saturn, who were associated with animosity and melancholy, were viewed as suitable for spreading hate. Furthermore, the texts sometimes seek the aid of the same supernatural forces. To give but one example, in Islam the angel appointed over Friday is ʿAnael,[65] just like in the Jewish tradition. This angel is sometimes identified with the planet Venus or mentioned in spells of love magic.[66]

It is hard to ascertain how significant the timing of magical practices was in these non-Jewish traditions, when compared to their Jewish counterpart. Astral magic played a significant role in some branches of medieval Jewish and non-Jewish magic,[67] yet the branch of love did not favour techniques of this sort.

A survey of recipes and products of Jewish love magic indicates that the number of texts that request the observance of a specific timing is small, about thirty out of a corpus of over three hundred. It should be stressed again that the corpus is not final, and the addition of several dozen texts may alter this picture. May we conclude for the moment, therefore, that Jewish love magic did not attribute much importance to the timing of practices? Did it only emphasize the precision of magical formulae, as demonstrated in the previous chapter? The timing of verbal rituals, both written and oral, was observed in other fields. For instance, a tradition attributed to R. Sharira Gaon lists the propitious times for writing *mezuzot*: the fifth hour of Monday and the fourth hour of Thursday, based on the planetary influence of the Sun and Venus, and their respective angels, Raphael and ʿAnael.[68] Similarly, some Jewish traditions enumerate the preferred times for engaging in prayer (in addition to the intervals that match the times of sacrifice in the Temple), that best conform to the planetary arrangement.[69] What is the reason, then, for the apparent absence of such temporal considerations in Jewish love magic? Could it be that the propitious intervals, such as Friday, were well-known to the practitioners, and it was not deemed necessary to repeat them again and again in the recipes? For the time being, the sources do not provide us with a definite reply.

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65   T. Canaan, 'The Decipherment of Arabic Talismans', orig. pub. 1937–1938, reprinted in
       E. Savage-Smith (ed.), *Magic and Divination in Early Islam* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 125–177
       (140).

66   E.g., *Sefer ha-Yashar* v, 85 (= Wandrey, *'Das Buch des Gewandes' und 'Das Buch des Aufrech-
       ten'*, p. 202); amulet T-S NS 307.2, 1a:28–29.

67   D. Schwartz, *Studies on Astral Magic in Medieval Jewish Thought* (Leiden and Boston, 2005).

68   Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition*, p. 147.

69   Y.Tz. Langermann, 'Setting the Hour: Choosing the Propitious Times for Prayers according
       to the Stars' (Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 85 (2000), pp. 76–88; see also Schwartz, *Studies on Astral
       Magic*, pp. 53, 95.

You Shall Not Walk in Their Statutes?
The 'Jewishness' of Jewish Love Magic

1   Introductory Remarks

The first chapter of this volume, 'What Do We Talk About When We Talk About Love (Magic)?', examined the historic background of the use of magic for amorous ends. Employing a horizontal, synchronic method, the following chapters explored the features of Jewish love magic across different periods. As explained in the Introduction, the objects and texts labelled 'Jewish' throughout this book have been identified on the basis of two criteria: context and language. An item uncovered in a Jewish context like a *genizah* may be said to have been employed and/or produced by Jews. And indeed, most of the textual items included in this study originate in the hidden treasure trove that the Cairo Genizah represents for modern scholars. Additionally, an item inscribed in one of the languages identified with Judaism, such as Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic, may be presumed to have been written by Jews. When the item in question is a recipe or a magic manual, it may also be presumed to have been used by Jews to perform magical actions. In the absence of a context indicative of Judaism, the language remains the main identifying feature.[1] These two criteria, context and language, are external to the contents of the text or the magical practice. With regard to late-antique magic Philip Alexander maintained that 'A magical text in Hebrew (...) can be identified as Jewish on *linguistic* grounds, but not necessarily on the grounds of its actual magical content, for in a very important sense there was no distinctively Jewish magic in late antiquity (...)'.[2] According to Alexander, the magical syncretism of that period was so pervasive that even the Jewishness of *Sefer ha-Razim* would have been questioned, had it been written in Greek.[3] It remains to be seen whether this state of affairs holds true

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1   It should be stressed again that the language may indicate the producers of the text, but not necessarily point to its users, as exemplified in R. Kotansky, J. Naveh and Sh. Shaked, 'A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum', *Le muséon* 105 (1992), pp. 5–26, or AMB Amulet 14.

2   P.S. Alexander, 'Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic', p. 1070.

3   Gideon Bohak doubts the 'Judaism' of many names and terms found in ancient magic, while tracing the Jewish origins of several items of non-Jewish magic. See G. Bohak, 'Greek, Coptic and Jewish Magic in the Cairo Genizah', *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*

also as far as love magic is concerned. Does the data collected and analysed in this volume contain *internal* features, unlike context and language, distinctive to Jewish love magic? Can one differentiate Jewish magic from that fashioned and performed by members of other religions? In the following pages I will examine the connections between the magical items presented in the previous chapters and Jewish *halakha*, analysing their components in search of traits pointing to a Jewish cultural identity. Concurrently, I will re-examine some features of non-Jewish love magic, tracking down those that are foreign to Jewish magic.

Despite the lack of uniformity in Jewish *halakhic* rules and their numerous chronological and geographical variations, the *halakha* contained several key components that were undisputed until the modern period. These were elements derived from the Torah, such as the sanctity of the Shabbat or elementary rules of *kashrut*. Such components served as markers of Jewish identity not only from a domestic viewpoint but also, during most periods discussed in this volume, in the eyes of the surrounding world.[4] We may therefore use these *halakhic* key components as parameters for examining the 'Jewishness' of Jewish love magic. However, since this field was defined at the beginning of the volume as 'a ritual activity detached (partly or in full) from the institutionalized religious ritual', one must apply extra care when employing these parameters. They rely, after all, on information derived from institutionalized religion. Could the dissociation of magic from institutionalized religion have been so strong that Jews consumed non-sanctioned foods, ignored the sanctity of Shabbat or performed other deeds that they would abhor, had they been performed in an accepted religious context?

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36 (1999), pp. 27–44; idem, 'Remains of Greek Words and Magical Formulae in Hekhalot Literature', *Kabbalah* 6 (2001), pp. 121–134; idem, 'Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere: Notes on the Interpretation of *Voces Magicae*', in S.B. Noegel, J.T. Walker and B.M. Wheeler (eds), *Prayer, Magic and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World* (University Park, PA, 2003), pp. 69–82; idem, 'Jewish Myth in Pagan Magic in Antiquity', in I. Gruenwald and M. Idel (eds), *Myths in Judaism: History, Thought, Literature* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2004), pp. 97–122; idem, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 196–214. See also L. LiDonnici, '"According to the Jews:" Identified (and Identifying) "Jewish" Elements in the Greek Magical Papyri', in L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber (eds), *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), pp. 87–108.

4   Such features may be termed 'taxonomic indicators'; see J.Z. Smith, 'Fences and Neighbors: Some Contours of Early Judaism', in W.S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. 2 (Chico, 1980), pp. 1–25 (11).

2   Prohibited or Permitted Love? The Legitimacy of Love Magic in Judaism

The opening point for discussing the Jewishness of Jewish love magic is the question of its legitimacy. Before examining the *halakhic* view, however, one could try to establish the legitimacy of magical practices for love in the eyes of the men and women who engaged in them. Unfortunately, most of the Jewish magical texts that come down to us from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages hardly allow an insight into the motives and reservations of practitioners and users. Such a glimpse is occasionally possible, for example, in a recipe designed to turn simple pebbles into precious stones: ואם לא מצרה גדולה אל תעשה את הדבר, 'And if it is not due to a great misfortune (or 'a great need'), you should not do this thing'.[5] The author opposed the performance of the ritual out of avarice, and thus added this condition. Yet such reservations are absent from the recipes of love magic surveyed above, which do not include comments like 'and you shall do this only for domestic harmony (*shlom bayit*, שלום בית)'. Nevertheless, some authors or copyists seem to have insinuated that love-inducing spells ought to be conducted in a marital context, and not simply for conquering a man or a woman. This is evidenced in recipes titled לאשה ששונאת בעלה, 'For a woman who hates her husband',[6] or לעשות שלום בין איש לאשתו, 'To make peace between a man and his wife'.[7] These recipes appear to relate love magic to a proper marital life or *shlom bayit*.[8] It should be noted that instituting peace between two individuals was regarded as a commandment that would be rewarded both in this world and the next (BT Qiddushin 39b). It is thus possible that at least some recipe authors and copyists saw no contradiction between the practices they advocated and Jewish ethics.[9] It remains to be seen what the *halakhic* attitude towards those practicing love magic was.

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5   T-S K 1.74, 2b:2–3 (= MTKG II, no. 27).

6   E.g., T-S K 1.28, 2b:8 (= MTKG I, pp. 133–150).

7   One of the many examples is T-S K 1.91, 1:14 (= MSF Geniza 16).

8   Magical recipes bearing similar titles may be found in the traditions of other cultures, e.g., 'For a woman whose husband is angry with her' (Geller, 'Mesopotamian Love Magic', p. 132 with further references); or 'To make a woman love her husband' (PDM xiv.1046–1047 [= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 245]). Interestingly, this latter recipe has an exact parallel whose title is 'To make a woman love a man' (PDM xiv.930–932 [= ibid., p. 241]). Conversely, the Islamic magical tradition displays reservations concerning separation spells: some recipes specifically state they should only be performed against a husband who abuses his wife (Doutté, *Magie & religion*, p. 287).

9   For the story of a cleric who agreed to practice magic, but only in order to reunite married couples, see Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 253, note 40.

2.1   *Love Magic in the Talmudic Literature*

Discussions of love magic are almost entirely missing from the institutionalized religious literature of Late Antiquity. While the rabbinic sources recount magical practices performed by rabbis,[10] they almost never mention this particular branch of magic. Most references to love magic found in the rabbinic literature have been presented at the beginning of this book.[11] Among these one finds the counter spells performed by Rabbi Ḥanina and Rabbi Zadok in BT Qiddushin 39a–b (see Chapter 1, section 5). Here the use of magic (or what we may understand as such) is presented as legitimate, since its aim is to prevent the rabbis from sinning. Another reference to love magic appears in PT Nazir 8:1, where it serves as an excuse for breaking a person's *nazirite* vows (נאנסתי מפני כשפים שעשת לי, 'I was forced [to sin] because of the spells she performed against me'). This phrase indicates once again that some rabbis acknowledged the power of such practices to modify reality. PT Sanhedrin 7:13 also reflects the belief in impotence-causing spells. In this story, threats and semi-magical practices (including pulling a witch by her hair) are employed to release a man who was magically bound by a woman (see Chapter 1, section 5). Lastly, the Babylonian Talmud notes that 'Rab Judah said: Three persons require guarding, namely, a sick person, a bridegroom, and a bride' (BT Berakhot 54b). This 'guarding' was probably needed to counteract the destructive influence of nefarious supernatural powers. It is possible that besides the actions of demons (מזיקין), as Rashi assumed in his explanation of this passage, the Sages also feared magical practices that might have harmed the newly-weds, an option that is suggested also by PT Kettuboth 1:1 (see Chapter 1, section 4.2). If this interpretation is correct, one finds here further support for the rabbinic belief in impotence magic. None of these passages, however, provides explicit information as to the rabbinic stand regarding the legitimacy of the spells. Nevertheless, based on other references to magic in talmudic sources we may attempt some inferences. Magic constituted a controversial topic: well-aware of the biblical prohibition of magic, the rabbis nonetheless recorded circumstances in which a person was permitted to resort to it, and also conveyed the impression that the magical practices they themselves performed were actually miraculous deeds.[12] Ulti-

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10   See, e.g., Y. Harari, 'The Sages and the Occult', in Sh. Safrai et al. (eds), *The Literature of the Sages* (Assen, 2006), 2nd Part, pp. 521–564; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, ch. 6.

11   See, however, Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 52, and also Harari, 'For a Woman to Follow You', p. 250, who suggest that PT Eruvin 10:11 mentions a love spell performed by uttering a formula over a mandrake.

12   The literature is vast; in addition to Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, Veltri, *Magie und Halakha*, Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic* and Harari, *Early Jewish Magic*, see also J.N. Light-

mately, the controversy focused on the contents and the aim of the practices, and not on the legitimacy of magic *per se*.[13] If we could ask the opinion of Mishnaic or talmudic Sages on love magic we might have obtained contradictory replies, like on the 'Ways of the Amorites'; but, unfortunately, the editors of these corpora did not preserve their stand on this matter.

2.2 *Love Magic in the* Halakhic *Literature of the Geonic and the Medieval Periods*

The discussion of the legitimacy of love magic during these periods may be opened with a quotation from *Sefer Refuot* (or *Sefer Asaph*), compiled around the mid-first millennium CE, which warns physicians against engaging in magical practices of sowing hate: ואל תלכו בחוקות המכשפים לחבר, ולנחש, ולכשף, ולהפריד איש מאשת חיקו או אשה מאלוף נעוריה, 'Do not adopt the ways of the magicians using charms, augury and sorcery, and separating a man from the wife of his bosom or a woman from the companion of her youth'.[14] It may be thus surmised that some doctors did carry out such practices, possibly by attempting to induce impotence or infertility (note that love-inducing magic is not mentioned). Somewhat later, the Karaite Daniel al-Qumisi (ninth century) accused his opponents, the Rabbanites, of performing practices to be employed אם ביקשת להקריב איש לאשה לאהבה ואם ביקשת להשנאתם, 'if you wish to bring close in love a man and a woman, or if you wish to cast hatred between them'.[15] Both al-Qumisi and the Karaite author Salomon ben Yeruḥim (tenth century) refer specifically to love magic, and possibly there was truth in their allegations that some Rabbanite authorities engaged in them. However, a perusal of Jewish *halakhic* sources indicates that, once again, they remain silent where this topic is concerned.

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stone, 'Magicians, Holy Men and Rabbis: Patterns of the Sacred in Late Antique Judaism', in W.S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, vol. 5: *Studies in Judaism and Its Greco-Roman Context* (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 133–148.

13   See Alexander, 'The Talmudic Concept of Conjuring', p. 25: 'The Gemara strongly suggests that contextual factors would have come into play: it would depend on the setting in which the activity occurred, who did it, how, and with what intent, whether the act would be deemed culpable *kishuf*.'

14   Online text: http://98.131.138.124/articles/ASSIA/ASSIA1/R001257.asp.

15   J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature* (2 vols; New York, 1931–1935, reprinted 1972), vol. 2, pp. 81–83; Y. Harari, 'Leadership, Authority, and the "Other" in the Debate over Magic from the Karaites to Maimonides', *Journal for the Study of Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry* 1 (2007), pp. 79–101 (84–87).

The attitude of some Babylonian rabbis to the issue of magic in general may be deduced from the famous responsum of Hai Gaon (939–1038) to the people of Kairouan. While the Gaon attempted to deny the rumours concerning the 'great (magical) feats' (מעשים גדולים) about which he was asked,[16] he nevertheless admitted that occasionally there was some truth to these matters. For example, expert-produced amulets לרפואות ולחכמה ולשמירה ולדברים אחרים, 'for healing and for wisdom and for protection and for other things' did in fact exist, according to Hai Gaon, ורובן תלויין בכותב, 'and most of them depend on the writer'.[17] Love magic is not mentioned specifically in this responsum (he may have included it under the heading 'other things'), but the other practices listed indicate that some rabbis contemporary with Hai Gaon claimed to possess special powers, and to be able to affect reality through para-religious (not to say magical) means. Robert Brody, in his discussion of the above responsum and another one by Hai Gaon, finds them permeated with a belief in the supernatural, 'with grave reservations as to the reliability of those who claim to be its adepts'.[18] It may be assumed that this position was held by other contemporary religious authorities.[19] However, the assumption that some of the Gaon's fellow rabbis did not refrain from practically engaging in supernatural practices is also quite likely. These may well have included love magic.

In roughly the same period the Tosafist literature from Europe offers some glimpses into religiously sanctioned rituals for obtaining grace and favour. The prayers attributed to Rabbenu Tam (1100–1171) and other Tosafists include angel adjurations designed for a wide range of goals, including משביע אני עליך אהבאל הממונה על האהבה ובכך חיבה לבקש לפני הקב״ה לחן ולחסד ולרחמים, 'I adjure you, Ahavael, who is appointed over love and hence affection, to solicit with the Blessed be He for grace and favour and mercy', and also ליתן אותי לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי, 'to impart unto me grace and favour and mercy in your eyes and the eyes of all those who see me'.[20] In these instances magic and religion are closely entwined, with no apparent contradiction between them. Notwithstanding, similarly to the state of affairs in the codices of the Babylonian Geonim and their Mishnaic and Talmudic predecessors, also in the

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16   Emanuel, *Newly Discovered Geonic Responsa*, p. 127.

17   Ibid., p. 132.

18   R. Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture* (New Haven and London, 1998), p. 145.

19   See also the responsum (wrongly) attributed to Hai Gaon to the query 'I have been bound (by spells)' (אסרו אותי), in Chapter 1, section 4.2.

20   Kanarfogel, *Peering Through the Lattices*, pp. 172–174.

Middle Ages love magic is mostly absent from the *halakhic* and prescriptive literature, with the exception of several oblique references, such as one found in *Sefer Hasidim* (twelfth-thirteenth centuries), in reference to the legitimacy of amulets for grace and favour:[21]

> אם יאמר לך חכם אחד או נכרי או ישראל אכתוב לך קמיע כנגד החן או כנגד שיתקבל
> דבריך בפני השרים, או אם אמר אתן לך דבר שתשאנו עליך תתעשר, לא מבעיא בשבת
> שאסור לשאת לפי שמחלל שבת, אלא אפילו בחול לא ישאנו עליו מפני שבוטח באותן
> הבלים.

> If a wise man, either a gentile or a Jew, should say to you, 'I will write you an amulet for grace, or to make your words be accepted by dignitaries', or if he were to say 'I will give you something to carry upon your person, and you will become rich', there is no need (to say) that it is forbidden to carry it on Shabbat, as it desecrates the Shabbat, but one should not carry it upon him even during the weekdays, since (this means) trusting in such foolishness.

The compiler of *Sefer Hasidim* goes on to explain that one should pray exclusively to God, whether their prayer is answered or not, as trusting in such magical means is like requesting a thing from two different masters.

Other references concern impotence-causing spells, which may be regarded as a sub-category of love magic, ultimately designed to separate the members of a couple. One instance is found in *Sefer Hasidim*, referring to a married couple who was bewitched שאין יכול ליזקק יחדו, 'so that they cannot have sexual relations together'.[22] A later but indicative example appears in the words of Rabbi Hayyim Vital (ca. 1543–1620), who claimed he was himself a target of impotence spells: שקשרו אותי ביום חתונתי בכניסתי לחופה ועמדתי קשור ט׳ חדשים רצופים, 'They bound me on my wedding day when I entered under the canopy, and I remained bound for 9 consecutive months'.[23] We also know that some rabbis approved of magical practices for releasing a man that had been 'bound' by magic and was unable to perform sexually with his wife, and accordingly they believed in the reality and effectiveness of such spells.

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21   Bologna ed., § 1120.

22   Bologna ed., § 391. See Chapter 1, section 4.2.

23   *'Sefer Ha-Hezionot': The Diary of R. Hayyim Vital*, Edition, Introduction and Notes by M.M. Faierstein (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2005), part 4, § 6 (p. 137).

A particularly interesting reference to magically binding a person in order to prevent them from having sexual relations appears in the Pseudo-Jonathan translation of the Torah. This translation, probably composed during the eight century, includes also exegetical passages and *aggadic* stories in addition to the rendition of the biblical text in Aramaic. The Targum author interprets Deuteronomy 24:6 thus: ולא יהוי גבר אסר חתנין וכלין בחרשין ארום נפשא דעתיד למיפק מנהון הוא מחבל, 'May a man not bind bridegrooms and brides through magic, because the soul which is supposed to come forth from them (i.e. their child) he is harming'. However, the original Hebrew text, לֹא יַחֲבֹל רֵחַיִם וָרָכֶב, כִּי נֶפֶשׁ הוּא חֹבֵל, 'A handmill or an upper millstone shall not be taken in pawn, for that would be taking someone's life in pawn', seems to refer merely to the two parts of a milling device. These should not be damaged (or taken in pawn), since they serve for producing flour for bread, a staple food whose shortage may damage a person's soul (life).[24] While some interpreters regarded the verse as referring to an inanimate object, the author of the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan viewed it metaphorically. The two milling stones represent the groom and bride due to their operation, which may be reminiscent of a sexual act, and perhaps also due to the similarity between the Hebrew words *rehayim* and *rehem* (millstone and womb). It is further possible that the reason for this metaphorical interpretation is found in the preceding verse, Deut. 24:5, whose words, כִּי יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה חֲדָשָׁה לֹא יֵצֵא בַּצָּבָא, 'When a man taketh a new wife, he shall not go out in the host', led the Targumist to regard also the following verse as referring to conjugal relations.[25] Whatever the reason, the Targum author evidently believed in the actuality of impotence magic, and held that it must be avoided, not due to the biblical prohibition of magic, but because it may eventually destroy a human soul.[26]

The medieval responsa literature contains several references to magically induced impotence, usually in the context of marital dilemmas. As shown in Chapter 1, the pretext 'I have been bound by spells' was sometimes used to justify male sexual dysfunction, both among Jews and non-Jews. Occasionally, such men refused to grant their wives a divorce, leading to the intervention of

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24   See, e.g., Rashi ad loc.; Maimonides, *The Book of Civil Laws*, Credit and Debtor, chapter III, 2.

25   A. Shinan, *The Embroidered Targum: the Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1992), p. 148.

26   Magical binding of grooms appears, according to Meir Bar-Ilan, also in a Yom Kippur prayer; see M. Bar-Ilan 'Observations on the Mahzor concerning the Angels' (Hebrew), *Or Hamizrach* 35 (1986), pp. 7–12 (11–12). See also the response article by N. Bronznick, 'Observations on the Observations' (Hebrew), *Or Hamizrach* 35 (1986), pp. 12–14.

the rabbinic authorities. An example is preserved in the responsa of the Italian *posek* and commentator Rabbi Isaiah di Trani the Elder (the RiD, twelfth-thirteenth centuries), who was consulted about a husband that was forced to divorce since he was incapable of performing sexually. In his responsum, the RiD demands additional details: לא הודעתני היאך היה זה העניין שלא יכול לבא אליה אם הוא בריא אם לאו, אם יבא מחמת סריסות או מחמת מכה מכה שיש בגופו, או מחמת שהוא קשור על ידי כשפים, 'You did not inform me why was it so, that he could not come unto her: whether he is healthy or not, whether it occurred due to castration or due to a lesion he has on his body, or due to his being bound by magic'.[27] The RiD implies that magical binding might, just like a physical blemish or a disease, cause impotence and consequently separate a man from his wife.

In the commentary on tractate Avot found in the *mahzor* Vitry (France, 1208) the words of Hillel the Elder, מרבה נשים מרבה כשפים, 'The more women (wives), the more witchcraft', are interpreted in a context of love magic: מרבה כשפים. שמתוך שמתקנאות זו בזו מבקשות לנצח על ידי כשפים, 'More witchcraft. Because they are jealous of each other, they seek to win through magic'.[28] The view that a polygamous marriage was dangerous due to the love spells that women may perform against the husband was expressed by other medieval Jewish thinkers. The Catalan Rabbi Jonah Gerondi (ca. 1210–1268) warned in his commentary on tractate Avot that ברבות נשים גורם להן שתעשינה כשפים להרבות באהבה. ואת השנואה תעשה פי שנים עד תטה לבבו, 'by (having) many women he (the husband) causes them to perform magic to increase love. And the hated one will perform twice as much, until she changes his heart'.[29] A similar attitude is found in the commentary on this passage by the Algerian *halakhist* Rabbi Simon b. Tzemaḥ Duran (The Rashbatz, 1361–1444). Also the Spanish commentator Rabbi Mattathias ha-Yizhari (fifteenth century) advised against marrying numerous women, for more than one reason: כל אחת תרבה לו כשפים, להטות לבבו אליה לעשות חפצה למלאת מאויה, ויכחיש טבעו וגופו כחו וממונו, 'Each one will perform much magic against him, to turn his heart towards her, to do what she wishes (and) fulfil her desires; and his spirit and his body, his power and his wealth will decrease'.[30] Somewhat later, this line was followed also by the Greek Rabbi

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27   *The Responsa of the RiD*, ed. Abraham Joseph Wertheimer (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1967), responsum 79.

28   *Mahzor Vitry by R. Simḥah b. Samuel*, ed. S. Halevi Hurwitz (Hebrew; 2 vols; Nuremberg, 1923, reprinted Jerusalem, 1988), vol. 2, p. 498.

29   *The Commentaries of R. Jonah Girondi on Tractate Aboth*, chapter 2, Mishna 7 (9), www.sefaria.org/Rabbeinu_Yonah_on_Pirkei_Avot.

30   *The Commentary on Tractate Avot by R. Mattathias ha-Yizhari*, ed. Y.S. Shpigel (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2006), p. 110.

Moses Almosnino (1518–1581), who held that המרבה נשים כדי שיתענג בהם במשגל, והוא לתכלית רע, הנה יפסד תכליתו מאליו, שהן עושות מכשפות באופן שלא יתענג עם שום אחת מהן, כי כל אחת מהן תשתדל להוציאו מן העולם, ואם היה מסתפק בהכרחי מהן, היה מתענג כראוי והיה טוב לנפשו ולגופו, 'He who (marries) numerous women to take pleasure with them in sex, and it is for an evil purpose, he will lose its purpose by itself, since they perform magic so that he should not take pleasure with any of them, because each and every one of them will attempt to take him out of this world. And if he had satisfied himself with the necessary (number) of them, he would have taken pleasure and it would have been good for his soul and his body'.[31] Incidentally, the rabbis cited above did not suggest ways for a man to defend himself against love magic, except for abstaining from marrying too many women.

It thus follows that during the Geonic era and the later Middle Ages some members of the religious establishment believed in the reality of spells for love and separation. Does it mean those rabbis also supported practices for restoring or enhancing the affection between a husband and his wife? Unfortunately, an answer to this question is absent from the sources.

The rich Jewish philosophical literature that evolved during the Middle Ages also referred occasionally to the topic of magic. Chapter 2 listed some points from Maimonides' view on the subject. It should be noted again that the great philosopher denied the reality of magical practices (though he did not refer specifically to love magic), and regarded them as דברי שקר וכזב, 'false and deceptive' and תהו והבל, 'chimerical and inane',[32] while other good and pious Jews held more ambivalent positions. In a discussion concerning the position of Jewish philosophers in fourteenth-century Spain on magic, Dov Schwartz suggested they were divided between those who denied its actuality and those who maintained the possibility magic existed and supported it.[33] Rabbi Abraham Abulafia (1240–ca. 1291) looked down upon the reality of magical practices (for

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31   *Pirkei Moshe on Avot*, ed. E. Batzri (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1994), p. 49.

32   *Mishne Torah: The Book of Knowledge*, Hilkhot Avoda Zara 11:16, translated by M. Hyamson, (Jerusalem and New York, 1981), p. 80a.

33   D. Schwartz, 'Different Forms of Magic in Jewish Thought in Fourteenth-Century Spain' (Hebrew), *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 47 (1990/1991), pp. 17–47 (44). Although Schwartz' article does not treat specifically love magic, much may be learned from it concerning the attitude of Jewish thinkers that may be applied also to this branch of magic, such as the timing of practices, belief in supernatural forces and in the power of amulets. See also M. Idel, 'On Judaism, Jewish Mysticism and Magic', in P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (eds), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997), pp. 195–214 (207–213).

love and in general), although he seems to have been familiar with them. In *Sefer Ha-Melamed* Abulafia quoted a love-inducing recipe, without providing its source.

Ms. Paris BN 680, fols. 292b–293a[34]

 והוא שמצאתי כתוב, בספר מן הספרים איני רוצה להזכיר שמו, כל הרוצה להביא אחריו
אשה ותאהבנו יזכיר שם וה״ו יל״י סי״י סי״ט על״ם פנים ואחור ז׳ פעמים בליל ד׳ בשעה א׳
של הלילה שהיא שעת שבתי. וישביע קצפיאל שהוא המלאך הממונה על הכוכב ההוא
בשם הנזכר. ויכתוב בשעה ההיא הארבעה שמות על קלף צבי בלא הפסקת דבור ויתלה
הקלף ההוא כקמיע על צוארו. ואז תאהבהו האשה ההיא אשר הזכיר שמה ושם אביה
בכח שם זה אהבה יתרה מאד.

And this is what I found written in a book, whose name I do not wish to mention. He who wants to make a woman follow him and love him, shall mention the name *whw yly syṭ ʿlm* forwards and backwards 7 times on Wednesday night, in the 1st hour of the night, which is the hour of Saturn. And he should adjure Qatzfiel, who is the angel appointed over that planet, by the mentioned name. And he should write in that hour the four names on gazelle parchment without ceasing from his speech, and he should hang the parchment as an amulet upon his neck. And then that woman whose name and patronym[35] he had mentioned shall love him by the force of this name a very fierce love.

In another composition, *Otzar Eden Ganuz*, Abulafia again opposed the use of adjurations, bringing once more an example related to love magic.[36] He cited a long recipe (though omitting the precise names to be adjured, or the time and place when the practice should be performed), involving writing on צלע של אתון שחורה שמתה מיתה טבעית, 'the rib of a black she-donkey who died a natural death' and burning it.[37] Abraham Abulafia denied the actuality of magical

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34   Abraham Abulafia, *Sefer Ha-Melamed*, ed. A. Gross (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2002), pp. 13–14.

35   Contrary to the standard practice found in Jewish and non-Jewish magic, of referring to a person by his or her matronym.

36   Ms. Oxford 1580, fols. 148b–149a (= Abraham Abulafia, *Otzar Eden Ganuz*, ed. A. Gross [Hebrew; Jerusalem, 2000], pp. 331–332).

37   As shown in Chapter 2, donkey ribs appear in recipes for sowing hate; see, e.g., JTSL ENA 2873.7–8, 1a:19–20, where a formula is inscribed on a donkey rib, which is then thrown on the roof of the house of the couple whom one wishes to separate. Cf. however a recipe from the mystico-magical compilation *Sefer Brit Menucha*, composed in Abulafia's

practices of this kind, adding however a cautionary comment: ויקרה לפעמים
מקרה שיזדוגו שניהם אחר זה המעשה ויחשוב זה המכשף שכשופו הועיל ופעל ועשה, 'And
it may happen at times a case where the two (i.e. the man and the woman
for whom the spell was performed) would conjugate after this (magical) deed,
and the magician would think that his spell was useful, and functioned and
accomplished'. Interestingly, Abulafia bothered to cite almost fully two magical
recipes for love, only to claim that they were nothing but nonsense.

3   Traits of Jewish Love Magic

Josephus claimed in *Against Apion* that 'there is not one city, Greek or barbar-
ian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the
seventh day has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps and
many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed'.[38] The real-
ity, however, was rather different, and these customs continued to differentiate
the Jews from their neighbours both in antiquity as well as later, during the
medieval period. As will be shown below, two *halakhic* principles, of avoiding
Shabbat desecration and abstaining from non-sanctioned foods, are reflected
throughout the magical items that have been surveyed in this volume. I suggest
that they may be regarded as characteristic traits of Jewish love magic. Addi-
tional traits that will be examined do not bear a *halakhic* nature, but pertain to
the Jewish cultural tradition.

3.1   *Abstaining from Non-sanctioned Foods*
The first point of interest rising from the practices recorded and analysed in
Chapter 2, 'Making Love, Making Hate', is the issue of *kashrut*, or food permissi-
bility. This was one of the focal characteristics of institutionalized Judaism, and
during most periods *kashrut* observance formed a factor distinguishing mem-
bers of this religion from the surrounding population. How, if at all, was this
observance reflected in the magical practices examined in this book? Jewish
love magic does not include a great number of eating or drinking rituals. From
the hundreds of recipes included in the corpus, only about thirty require the
ingestion of a foodstuff or a liquid. These may be divided into two main types:

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times, where a love-inducing recipe employs donkey parchment (see below, p. 244). My
impression is that Abulafia purposely misquoted both recipes, which, if true, would teach
us something about his belief in their potential effectiveness.

38   *Against Apion* 2, 39 (translated by H. St.J. Thackeray, London, 1926).

1. Integrating a magical formula into a liquid (e.g., water or wine) or food (e.g., an apple), that should then be fed to the spell target.

2. Integrating part of the body of the spell beneficiary (e.g., some burnt hairs or the sweat of the face) into a liquid or food, which should then be fed to the spell target.[39]

Very few of these recipes require the ingestion of non-sanctioned ingredients. One of them, found in a fifteenth-century manuscript, is a recipe titled להביא אשה מאי שם, 'To bring a woman from wherever'. In contradiction to the laws of *kashrut*, the recipe instructs the practitioner to take a dove ועם שיניך תכה כנגד לבה באופן ש[…], 'and with your teeth strike against her heart so that […]'.[40] Although the Genizah fragment breaks off at this point, it may be reconstructed thanks to a contemporary Latin parallel and to a later Hebrew parallel.[41] The Latin version has '*et cum dentibus morde eam penes cor ita ut cor egrediatur*', that is, the practitioner should bite the dove's chest so that the heart is extracted. Clearly, from a Jewish point of view, such an action would be forbidden. While dove meat is permitted in itself, the ingestion of blood means that the recipe contradicts the laws of *kashrut*.[42]

Another Genizah fragment, JTSL ENA 2699.1, 1a:1–4, requires mixing the blood of a slaughtered animal (the product of the magical practice, termed צורה, 'form') with either wine or water, which should then be given לשתות למי שתרצה בין איש בין אשה, 'to drink to whomever you wish, either man or woman'. Again, the recipe results in the transgression of *kashrut* regulations. Parallels of this recipe are found in two manuals of magico-medical recipes in Hebrew, as well as in a medieval mystico-magical compilation.[43] The first among these is *Sefer ha-Nisyonot*, which is dated to the twelfth century but relies on a tenth-century composition. In this parallel, the 'form' is called תולע, 'a worm', and

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39   Humans are not considered 'animals' (מיני חיות) according to Jewish *halakha*, and hence most authorities would agree that it is not explicitly forbidden to ingest their body parts (nor is it recommended, of course).

40   T-S AS 144.208, 1b:1–4 (= Saar, 'A Genizah Magical Fragment and Its European Parallels'). For a later Hebrew parallel to this recipe found in London BL Or. 14759, fols. 45b–46a, see G. Sofer, 'The Hebrew Manuscripts of Mafte'ah Shelomoh and an Inquiry into the Magic of the Sabbateans' (Hebrew), *Kabbalah* 32 (2014), pp. 135–174. I am grateful to Gal Sofer for sending me a scan of these manuscript folios.

41   Ms. Clm 849 (= Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, p. 82); London BL Or. 14759, fol. 45b:4 (תקח היונה הנ״ל ותנשוך בה שיניך מול לבה באופן שיצא הדם ממנה).

42   Ingesting blood is forbidden in Judaism, see, e.g., Leviticus 7:26–27.

43   A similar practice is found in T-S AS 143.229, 1 (= AMB Geniza 2). On this recipe, see also Swartz, 'Ritual Procedures in Magical Texts', pp. 313–314.

after being killed its blood is not mixed with water, but should be burned to ashes ([אפר =] מהדם ההוא עשה עפר).[44] The resulting powder should then be given לאכול למי שתרצה ויאהבך, 'to eat to whomever you wish and they shall love you'. The second parallel is found in *Sefer Ahavat Nashim*, which was probably composed in the thirteenth century. In this instance, the animal is said to be צורת בן אדם והוא כמו תולעת, 'in the form of a human being, and it is like a worm', and the instructions demand: ותקחנו ותיבשנו ועשה אפר ותן לאכול או לשתות למי שתרצה יאהבך אהבה עזה, 'And you should take it, and dry it, and make ashes, and give (them) to eat or to drink to whomever you wish, and they shall love you a fierce love'.[45] A third parallel to the recipe appears in the mystico-magical *Sefer Brit Menuḥa*, composed in the thirteenth century and mistakenly attributed to Rabbi Abraham b. Isaac of Granada (אברהם מרימון). However, while the onset of the recipe is similar to those cited above, its second part diverges therefrom: ואח״כ יוציאנה וימצאנה מלאה דם באותו הדם יכתוב בקלף חמור אלו שמות הטומאה [...] ואח״כ תשרף הקמיע באש, 'And afterwards one should take it (the animal) out, and will find it full of blood. With that same blood he should write on a donkey parchment these impure names (...). And afterwards you should burn the amulet in fire'. That is, there is no need to ingest the blood, nor to turn it into ashes, but simply to use it for writing an amulet. It would thus appear that in three of its four versions, this recipe, which probably originated in a non-Jewish milieu, underwent a process of adaptation so as to suit the *halakha*.[46]

As for the source of this recipe, its style seems to indicate a non-Jewish origin, though I have yet to find a parallel earlier than *Sefer ha-Nisyonot*, where the recipe first appears in Hebrew. The notion that an animal or plant substance stored in a dark place may 'beget' a humanoid creature appears as early as Late Antiquity, but I am not aware of its uses in the context of love magic.[47]

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44   Leibowitz and Marcus, *Sefer Hanisyonot*, p. 256.

45   Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love*, p. 109.

46   One may wonder whether the 'worm' that should be slaughtered and perhaps turned to ashes is in itself *kosher*. While worms are not considered sanctioned food in Judaism, the fact that this creature is a product of the magical practice and not a real animal, turns it into a permitted foodstuff. The reason is that it was supposedly created 'out of nowhere', like worms in fruits (פירות שהתליעו), which are also regarded as permissible. I thank Mordechai Aqiva Friedman for the *halakhic* explanation.

47   This notion may be based on biological and medical theories that claimed that the male semen contained a tiny human being, and when implanted in the female body the latter simply nourished it to full development. A biography from the third century CE attributes to Pythagoras the claim that a bean flower buried in an earthen pot for ninety days would create the head of an infant or, conversely, a female sexual organ; see Porphyry,

A survey of non-Jewish magical sources may reveal an earlier version of the recipe, which could then prove (or disprove) the supposition concerning the 'Judaizing' process underwent by the recipe.

Sefer Ahavat Nashim includes three additional recipes that employ blood.[48] One requires inscribing a magic word on an apple using the blood of the spell beneficiary, and feeding it to the desired target. The second employs the blood of a bat that should be mixed with virgin wax and held in the beneficiary's mouth while kissing the beloved person.[49] Possibly, the wax was supposed to obstruct the contact between the non-sanctioned substance and the mouth of the person, thus not trespassing *halakhic* regulations. The third non-*kosher* recipe, which bears the ironic title רחל ליעקב (!) ענין אחר שעשה, 'Another matter that Rachel did to Jacob', requires writing a formula with the blood of a dove, dissolving it in water and offering it to the spell target to drink. Both the style and the content of these three recipes indicate a source external to Judaism, most probably a Christian one. However, as opposed to the recipe described in the previous paragraph, they did not undergo an adaption to *halakhic* rules.

An earlier example of magical practices employing non-sanctioned substances is a recipe from one of the versions of *Ḥarba de-Moshe*, seeking to bring about the separation of a loving couple. Here, the spell beneficiary is instructed to perform the practice while holding a piece of donkey meat in his mouth: ואם רציתה להפריש איש מאשה קח בשר של חמר בפיך [בניוך] ואמור החרב על שנייהן, 'And if you wish to separate a man from a woman, take meat of a donkey in your mouth and say the sword over both of them'.[50] While the text does not explicitly

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Vita Pythagorae 44. A similar reference appears in a demotic recipe aiming to cause the revelation of a god, see *PDM* xiv.141–145 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 203). I thank Gideon Bohak for this reference. A later version of the recipe, dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, is quoted in the book of Paul Christian (the pen-name of Jean-Baptiste Pitois), *The History and Practice of Magic* (Whitefish, MT, 1994, orig. pub. 1870, French), p. 402.

48   Caballero-Navas, *The Book of Women's Love*, pp. 111–112.

49   In a book by the nineteenth-century kabbalist Abraham Hamawy (also spelled Hamuy) one finds a similar love-inducing recipe, employing the horns of a snail. Hamawy states he had copied it from a manuscript of Practical Kabbalah found in the Biblioteca di Firenze; see A. Hamawy, *Niflaim Ma'asekha* part 2, 13. I thank Nissim Hamawy for this reference.

50   Synopse, § 616. The first publication of the recipe was in the edition of Moses Gaster, who corrected the word ניוך to ידך, and translated it into English accordingly: 'take donkey meat in your hand'; see Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 331. Gaster employed MS Oxford 1531, dated to the fourteenth century. However, in a different manuscript from approximately the same period, JTSL 8128, one finds the precise word בפיך; see Synopse, pp. VIII–IX.

require ingesting the donkey meat, this may well be the result of the practice. In his analysis of this recipe Gideon Bohak suggests it is originally a Graeco-Egyptian ritual related to Seth, whose iconographical representation was of a donkey, and who was held responsible for the separation of Isis and Osiris.[51] If this recipe from *Ḥarba de-Moshe* indeed originated in the Graeco-Egyptian tradition, it was not modified to suit *halakhic* rules but maintained as it was.

To sum up, only eight recipes from the corpus at its present stage explicitly defy the Jewish dietary laws. More such instances may emerge in the future, yet their number will probably not be great. Again, it should be noted that practices that were transmitted only orally (or did not survive the passing of time), may have contained more instances of non-*kosher* ingredients, but our information derives mostly from textual records. It is thus to be concluded that Jewish magical practices for love, grace and hate refrained almost completely from employing non-sanctioned substances. Possibly, when such substances did appear in recipes borrowed from non-Jewish sources, they were modified by the translator or the copyist and adapted to *halakhic* rules. The notion that magic is supposed to cross the boundaries set by institutionalized religion is inexact in this case. Thus, equipped with the right amount of caution, I would conclude that abstaining from non-sanctioned substances may be regarded as a trait of late-antique and medieval Jewish love magic.

3.2   *Refraining from Desecration of the Shabbat*

Chapter 4, 'A Time to Love and a Time to Hate', examined the temporal instances mentioned in texts of Jewish love magic, and concluded that an observance of times usually stemmed from a belief in the influence of celestial bodies over earthly matters. Astrology and its veracity were a matter of controversy in Judaism as early as the Second Temple period, a situation which continued also during the first centuries CE. Some rabbis believed that אין מזל לישראל, 'Israel is immune to planetary influence', while others argued about the influence of מזל יום, 'the constellation of the day', versus מזל שעה 'the constellation of the hour'.[52] Consequently, relying on astrology for timing magical practices did not constitute a transgression of Jewish *halakha*. On the other hand, nor can it be regarded as a trait of Jewish magic, since an astrologically-based observance of times was common in the magical traditions of other cultures, from Mesopotamia onwards.

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51   Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 288–289; 347–348.

52   BT Shabbat 156a–b.

However, it is possible that one temporal element of Jewish love magic indicates an adherence to *halakhic* rules. This is the day of Shabbat—no recipe in our corpus calls for magical practices to be conducted from Friday evening to Saturday evening. It is important to note that the number of recipes specifying the day of the week in which a practice should be performed is small, and yet, one cannot ignore the fact that none of them requires a desecration of the Shabbat. A possible exception might have been a Genizah hemerological text, T-S NS 322.79, 1b:4–5, which mentions יום ז 'the 7th day', as auspicious for performing magical acts בשם קפציאל לשנאה, 'in the name of Qaftziel for hate'. This preference is known from non-Jewish traditions. However, the time in question does not refer to the Shabbat, but to the period after this interval has ended (מוצאי שבת), given the use of the number seven rather than the name Shabbat, which is reserved for designating the sacred day of rest. Saturday, found under Saturn's influence, does appear in the magical traditions of other cultures, where it is often devoted to aggressive practices. For example, in the *PGM* corpus it is found in a recipe for causing infertility.[53] In medieval manuscripts stemming from a Christian milieu one finds a practice designed to make a person hateful in the eyes of all, which should be performed 'in the hour of Saturn and in its day',[54] an aggressive practice designed to make a person ill,[55] and even more pertinently, a ritual for separating friends or lovers in the day of Saturn.[56] On the other hand, a medieval recipe requires writing a series of magical signs in blood, and on Saturday touching them to the woman whose heart one wishes to conquer.[57] A fifteenth-century manual of Islamic magic contains a recipe for binding the tongues of enemies, in which a magic square should be drawn on a Saturday, 'in the hour of Saturn and of the Moon'.[58] As opposed to these instances, in our corpus this day appears to be absent,

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53   *PGM* XXXVI.320–332 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 277).

54   Lidaka, '*The Book of Angels*', p. 57. Cf. a horologion uncovered in the Cairo Genizah: להשליך שנאה בין איש ואשה יהיה בשעת שבתאי, 'To place hate between a man and a woman, it should be (done) in the hour of Saturn' (T-S NS 322.79, 1b:13).

55   Lidaka, ibid., 59–60. However, a magical assistance for a woman in childbirth is also performed in the day of Saturn; see ibid., p. 65.

56   Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, pp. 181; 321–322.

57   Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 38.

58   Doutté, *Magie & religion*, p. 247. Modern Islamic love magic also includes practices performed on Saturday; see, e.g., A. Fodor, 'Traces of the Isis Cult in an Arabic Love Spell from Egypt', *Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Budapest, 1992), pp. 171–186 (174) and Westermark, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. 1, p. 217.

leading to the conclusion that abstaining from Shabbat desecration is another trait of Jewish love magic.

3.3   *The Attitude towards Supernatural Forces*

The place of supernatural forces in practices of Jewish magic deserves a detailed analysis that is beyond the scope of this volume. The discussion in chapter 3 touched upon some angelological aspects of this issue, noting the presence of well-known angels, such as Michael and Gabriel, alongside angels whose names seem to have been created *ad hoc*, like Ḥabibiel or Hafkiel, and magical words that were adjured as if they were free-standing individuals. It is far from clear how the texts' authors, and even more so, the texts' users, regarded the entities mentioned therein. One clear-cut inference does spring from the analysis of recipes and products in the corpus: God Himself was never adjured, nor was there ever a tone of coercion or menace employed towards Him.[59] Jewish love magic strongly adhered to the traditional religious worldview in which God presided over all, and there was no way one could force Him to act other than according to His will. Furthermore, the appeals to God in the corpus are often reminiscent of prayers, with a beseeching and imploring tone, never one of demand.

Can this attitude towards God be regarded as a trait of Jewish magic, when compared to the attitude found in other religious traditions? In this case, a difference may be noted between monotheistic religions and those that are not. Threats against gods and other supernatural forces appear in the ancient Egyptian magical literature, including in a love-inducing recipe.[60] Likewise, magical formulae from the Graeco-Roman world include threats towards deities, reminiscent of those above.[61] On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge, Christian and Islamic love magic lack adjurations of God or threats directed against Him. This may indicate the way in which practitioners of magic regarded themselves in each of these traditions. Their sphere of influence and their performative style *paralleled* those of practitioners of institutionalized religion. When

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59   Some may regard a direct appeal to God, as that found in the amulet of Yose b. Zenobia (IAA 84–317 [= MSF Amulet 16]) as a type of adjuration, but I believe such an interpretation is not supported by the tone of the text, which is an imploring one, glorifying God, not coercing Him.

60   Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, p. 1; G. Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (Austin, 1995), pp. 71–75. See also Chapter 1, section 1.2.

61   Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. lvii. See on this H.S. Versnel, 'Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer', in idem (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 37–42.

threats against gods were regarded as a legitimate means of action in the institutionalized religion, magicians, too, resorted to them. Conversely, when institutionalized religion did not employ such means, as is the case with monotheistic religions, the magical tradition exhibited a similar attitude. That is not to say that magic and religion employed the same performative style; often, magic distorted the performative style of institutionalized religion, as exemplified by 'reverse rituals' such as the black mass.[62] However, the fundamental assumptions concerning the human sphere of influence were the same in the world of religion and that of magic, for each of the traditions discussed.

Besides the fact that Jewish love magic contains no adjurations of God, it also lacks almost entirely threats against angels and other adjured entities. Such threats do appear in other branches of Jewish magic, but in the corpus studied here they were recorded only once, and even then the tone of the threat was fairly mild.[63] This phenomenon, too, cannot be regarded as an exclusive trait of Jewish love magic, since the situation is similar in Christian love magic from the parallel periods. A few exceptions may be found,[64] but as a rule, the supernatural entities in Christian love magic are merely adjured or called to action, and a threatening tone is mostly absent from the texts.[65] The current state of research into Islamic love magic precludes a comparison on this matter.[66]

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62   An analysis of such distortions appears, e.g., in D.L. O'Keefe, *Stolen Lightning: The Social Theory of Magic* (New York, 1982). See also the critique by Morton Smith, 'O'Keefe's *Social Theory of Magic*', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 74 (1984), pp. 301–313.

63   T-S AS 142.39, 1a:29–30 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198): השמרו/ לכם פן {תמהרו} תמרו את השם הנכבד והנורא, 'beware/ yourselves lest you oppose the glorious and terrible name'.

64   See, e.g., the threats directed against Gabriel in a Coptic erotic recipe from the eleventh century in Meyer and Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic*, p. 157. However, if one recalls that Coptic love magic relied greatly on ancient Egyptian roots, this appears less surprising.

65   See, however, P.J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1994), chapter 6, which describes instances of Christians attempting to coerce saints, and even punish them when they refused to comply. See also an instance of threatening the Twelve Apostles in a healing magical ritual; M. O'Neil, '*Sacerdote ovvero strione*: Ecclesiastical and Superstitious Remedies in 16th Century Italy', in S.L. Kaplan (ed.), *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin and New York, 1984), pp. 55–83 (58–59). It should be noted that some Christian medieval thinkers distinguished heresy from magic in the following way: if Satan was addressed beseechingly, the act was deemed heresy, if he was adjured, it was magic; see Baroja, *The World of the Witches*, p. 92.

66   For some general observations on the matter, see I. Goldziher, 'Le culte des saints chez

The reason for the rarity of threats against supernatural forces is not entirely clear. When the practices were designed to implant love or bestow grace, the absence of threats might be explained through their positive nature and aims. However, threats are also missing from practices designed to sow hate, where this explanation no longer holds true.

3.4   *Nomenclature of Supernatural Forces*

An onomastic survey of the supernatural forces mentioned in our corpus, primarily the angels, may reveal some traits indicating a Jewish cultural identity. Although the term 'angel' in the sense of a divine messenger or being appears more than one hundred times in the Hebrew Bible, angelic nomenclature is absent therefrom with the exception of the book of Daniel, where Michael and Gabriel are mentioned. Otherwise, the Bible editors seem to have followed the angel from Genesis 32:30, who, when asked by Jacob to reveal his name, replied with a question of his own: 'Why do you ask my name?', leaving the matter open.[67] Specific angel names begin to appear only in the Apocrypha, in the Hekhalot texts and the rabbinic literature.[68] Most of them are theophoric, consisting of a stem followed by the suffix 'el', though other types of names are also known, like Metatron[69] or Sandalphon. Some of the theophoric names, for instance the archangels Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, and occasionally also Uriel, 'Anael or 'Azrael, have spread to other traditions, and may be encountered in Graeco-Roman magical texts,[70] in Coptic ones,[71] and—needless to say—in Latin Christian and Islamic ones; hence their presence cannot be viewed as a trait of Jewish magic.[72] It remains to examine the second category of names,

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les musulmans', reprinted in J. Desomogyi (ed.), *Ignatz Goldziher Gesammelte Schriften* (6 vols; Hildesheim, 1973, orig. pub. 1880), vol. 6, pp. 62–156 (esp. 66–67).

67   For a similar exchange, see Judges 13:18.

68   For a bibliography on angelic nomenclature, see Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens*, pp. 394–396, § 12.4. See also S.M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen, 1993); M. Bar-Ilan, 'The Names of Angels', in A. Demsky, J.A. Reif and J. Tabori (eds), *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics* (Hebrew; Ramat-Gan, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 33–48.

69   For the various etymological theories and an extensive bibliography, see A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 92–96.

70   E.g., *PGM* IV.1815–1820 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, pp. 70–71).

71   E.g., P. Mirecki, 'The Coptic Wizard's Hoard', *Harvard Theological Review* 87 (1994), pp. 435–460 (441).

72   The difficulty to link magical artefacts that contain the names of the principal angels to a specific religion may be illustrated by several items from Roy Kotansky's *Greek Magical Amulets*. There, the author edits an amulet uncovered in a Christian grave from the fourth

those which appear to have been created in order to fulfil a specific role in the magical text. As early as the third century the Christian theologian Origen stated that the names of Michael, Gabriel and Raphael stem from their worldly function.[73] This was also the etymological explanation offered by medieval Jewish commentators. Thus, when interpreting the passage about Jacob and the nameless angel from Genesis 32, Rashi suggested that angels do not actually bear fixed names, but their names change according to the mission they are sent to perform.[74] This may have been the way commentators attempted to explain the hundreds of angel names that already existed in their time.

In magical and mystical texts, the angel names are sometimes based on verbal roots linked to the aims of the ritual. For example, some love-inducing spells will appeal to Raḥmiel, Ḥasdiel and Ḥeniel, while those aiming to sow hate will adjure Sataniel and Hafkiel (from the root הפ״כ, to turn). Needless to say, in order to invent the name Hafkiel one needed to be familiar with the Hebrew language. Conversely, the use of the suffix 'el' was not limited to Hebrew speakers, and it may be found already in Graeco-Egyptian texts, attached to a non-Hebrew root.[75] Angel names formed according to their function may be encountered also in Christian and Islamic magic, where the source of the name would be in Latin, in a vernacular or in Arabic.[76] Some examples are the names Termines or Pestiferat,[77] the appeal to San Liberale to liberate a

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or fifth centuries, containing the names of Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Uriel (pp. 104–106), as well as an amulet from the third or fourth centuries, which is classified as a 'Jewish amulet' (pp. 155–166). Both objects are inscribed in Greek. The names of Gabriel and Michael also appear on an undated amulet from Tunisia, inscribed in Latin, which was uncovered in the ruins of a temple to Saturn, a fact suggesting 'a prayer directed to the god Saturn's attention' (pp. 375–376).

73   *Contra Celsum* I.25.

74   אין לנו שם קבוע, משתנין [שמותינו הכל] לפי מצות עבודת השליחות שאנו משתלחים, 'We have no permanent name. Our names change, (all) according to the service we are commanded [to do] in the mission upon which we are sent' (translated by A.J. Rosenberg, *Complete Tanach with Rashi*, The Judaica Press; also available online, www.chabad.org/library/bible). An identical explanation appears in a medieval *midrash* of Judges 13:18 mentioned above; see Numbers Rabbah, *Nasa*, 10, 5.

75   Bohak, 'Hebrew, Hebrew Everywhere', p. 72.

76   For angel names in early Christianity see, e.g., E. Testa, 'L'angelologia dei Giudeo-Cristiani', *Liber Annuus* 33 (1983), pp. 273–302; N. Janowitz, 'Theories of Divine Names in Origen and Pseudo-Dionysius', *History of Religions* 30 (1991), pp. 359–372 (esp. 361, 367). For a survey of the power of words in a different cultural context, see Gordon, 'Shaping the Text', pp. 76–84.

77   Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, Table C, pp. 162–165.

person from illness,[78] or the Arabic قدير (Mighty) and عظيم (Great).[79] And yet, most of the angel names mentioned in late-antique and medieval Christian magic do not conform to the pattern of verbal root + the suffix 'el', which characterizes Jewish angelic nomenclature. While similar in sound to those occurring in Jewish magic, they bear a different onomastic character.

One may thus conclude that the presence of verbal names containing a Hebrew or Aramaic root, like Ahaviel or Hafkiel, in magical items (both for love and for any other aims) points to a Jewish author or an author familiar with these languages. That is not to say these names may not appear in texts used by members of other religions, but their source must have been a Jewish one or one familiar with the main Jewish languages. The occurrence of such names may therefore be regarded as one of the traits of Jewish magic for love and in general.[80]

3.5   *Employing Biblical Analogies and Verses*

The third chapter of this volume contained numerous examples of biblical analogies and quotations found in the corpus of Jewish love magic, featuring Noah, Joseph and Queen Esther on the one hand, all of whom have been beloved by God or a king, and Amnon and Tamar or Eve and the serpent on the other hand, exemplifying a state of animosity that practitioners may wish to reproduce between individuals. Another major analogy is that of Sodom and Gomorrah, which includes two different strata: a conceptual one, in which fire is supposed to burn the heart of the spell target, just like it consumed the two cities; and a linguistic analogy relying on the verb 'to overturn' found in Genesis 19:25: as the two cities were overturned, so ought the target's heart be overturned to love or hate. In all these instances the use of analogies indicates a familiarity with the biblical stories, and in some cases, even with their precise language. Can such a familiarity be viewed as a trait of Jewish magic (for love and in general), or did other magical traditions also display instances of it?

78   Ruggiero, 'The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini', p. 1149. The practice described by
        Ruggiero took place in 1590, but it is likely to have earlier roots.

79   For some examples, see Fodor, 'The Rod of Moses', pp. 111–112. In an article about present-
        day Egyptian rituals Enno Littmann suggested some angel names were meant to rhyme,
        so as to suit the poetic style of the recipe; see E. Littmann, 'Arabische Liebeszauber aus
        Ägypten', in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus, 1957), pp. 81–89 (83).

80   A similar claim is made by Mordechai Margalioth in his Introduction to *Sefer ha-Razim*
        (p. 6): 'At times, the suitability of the name to its role demonstrated the birth of the name
        in Israel, for example: the angel appointed over the flames of fire is named Dalqiel (…)'.

Considering the syncretistic nature of ancient magic, it is not surprising to see analogies from the Hebrew Bible make their way into non-Jewish magical texts. Graeco-Roman love magic contains several instances of this kind, the most famous of which is probably the Hadrumetum binding tablet, whereby Domitiana sought to achieve the unwavering love of Urbanus.[81] This text, inscribed in Greek on a lead tablet, abounds in biblical allusions like appeals to 'the god of Abaraan' or to the 'Iao of Iacos' (Abraham and Jacob, respectively), or adjurations in the name of 'the one who crossed his staff in the sea' (a garbled version of the story of Moses crossing the Red Sea by use of his staff). Despite these biblical references the person who inscribed this spell was most probably not a Jew.[82] Another example of the use of biblical analogies in Graeco-Roman magic appears in a love-inducing spell from the *PGM*, employing sulphur that had to be tossed into a fire.[83] Just as the sulphur served God in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, so should the sulphur pieces found in the hands of the practitioner serve him in attaining the amatory aims. The formula mentions the five Cities of the Plain listed in Genesis 14:8[84] and further refers to the story of Lot's wife.[85] If allusions and analogies from the Hebrew Bible are found

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81   See above, p. 45. Biblical terms may also be found in other branches of Graeco-Roman magic. For instance, a spell intended to bring about a revelation of Asclepius contains an appeal to 'Menophri who is seated on the cherubim'; see *PGM* VII.638 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 136). Another recipe, aiming to make Helios intervene in favour of the spell beneficiary, addresses 'he who is above the cherubim'; see Jordan, 'P.Duk.inv. 729, Magical Formulae', pp. 165, 172.

82   The numerous errors in the names and in the biblical allusions indicate that the spell (perhaps originally a prayer) may well have had a Jewish source, yet it was copied and used by non-Jewish magicians; see Merkelbach, *Abrasax*, pp. 117–122; Alexander, 'Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic', p. 1075; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 211–212. I suggest, however, that even the author of the *original* text was not necessarily a Jew. An educated Christian or 'pagan' of the time, who had access to the Jewish scriptures through the Septuagint translation, could have produced an adjuration of the type uncovered at Hadrumetum. For a similar position concerning this item, see Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 112.

83   *PGM* XXXVI.295–311 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 276).

84   The name of Zeboiim is slightly garbled in the papyrus, appearing as Sebouiê, whereas the last city appears as Sêgôr, not Zoar.

85   Once again, one may ask whether the person who composed this recipe was a Jew, or merely someone familiar with the Jewish Scriptures. The former opinion is represented in the words of Erwin Goodenough, 'This is a purely Jewish charm' (E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* [13 vols; New York, 1953–1968], vol. 2, p. 199) and Gideon Bohak, who regards it as a charm 'which may securely be identified as Jewish' (Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Love Magic*, p. 202). Bohak also suggests a reconstruction of the trail travelled by the recipe from its Jewish author to the non-Jewish magician (ibid.,

in Graeco-Roman love magic, they are all the more so in medieval Christian texts. In a Latin manuscript from fourteenth century Poland God is beseeched to induce love 'as there was between Adam and Eve, between Abraham and Sarah', but also as 'between Mary and John, between Christ and the Church'.[86] If it were not for the two Christian analogies this spell could have appeared Jewish, since an identical analogy is found in a Genizah amulet from the same century: כאהבת אברהם בשרה, 'as the love of Abraham for Sarah'.[87] The situation may differ in the case of extra-biblical traditions derived from *midrash* or *aggadah*, like the story of the angel who taught Joseph seventy languages.[88] Such traditions, which are not very common in our corpus, might be limited to Jewish texts, but the comparative data is not sufficient to verify this.

Turning now to the use of verses from the Hebrew Bible as a characteristic trait of Jewish love magic, a similar state of affairs emerges. As noted in Chapter 3, the recipes and products in the corpus abound in biblical quotations, sometimes cited verbatim and on other occasions adapted to the spell's aims. Naturally, given a Jewish context or language, these textual items may be said to have been produced by Jews. However, when the verses undergo translation the religious identity of the item is no longer certain. For instance, some Graeco-Roman spells (although not from the field of love magic) contain quotations from the Hebrew Bible.[89] Christian love magic employed verses from

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pp. 202–206). Despite this convincing reconstruction, I suggest that the author of the original spell was not necessarily Jewish, but a person familiar enough with some biblical stories in order to fashion a magical recipe that employed them. After all, the difference between this recipe and the Hadrumetum tablet lies in the level of accuracy of the biblical references.

86   Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', p. 42.

87   T-S AS 142.39 (= MTKG I, pp. 192–198), 1a:19.

88   See Chapter 3, p. 178.

89   For example, an apotropaic gold amulet uncovered in Wales and dated to the first or second centuries CE contains a Greek transliteration of biblical words (עליון, הנורא, הגיבור); see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, pp. 3–12. An apotropaic amulet (or recipe) from Sicily, inscribed on copper and dated to the second or third century CE contains a quotation from Deuteronomy 32:1–3 translated into Greek; see ibid., pp. 126–154. A Greek transliteration of the *Shema Israel* prayer was inscribed on a gold amulet dated to the third century CE, discovered in a child's grave in Halbturn, East Austria; see N. Doneus and A. Lange (eds), *Golden Words: An Ancient Jewish Amulet from Austria and the Jewish Presence in Roman Pannonia*, *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 1 (2010). For more examples, see G. Bohak, 'Greek-Hebrew Linguistic Contacts in Late-Antique and Medieval Magical Texts', in J.K. Aitken and J.C. Paget (eds), *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* (New York, 2014), pp. 247–260. Were the manufacturers of such amulets

the Hebrew Bible translated into Latin, and in Islamic magic one finds biblical expressions like 'I am what I am' (אהיה אשר אהיה), often in their Hebrew version.[90] To conclude, while analogies and quotations from the Hebrew Bible often embellish the texts of Jewish love magic, they are in no way unique to it, and similar or even identical features appear in the love spells of other religions. Thus, the use of this literary device—reflective though it is of the link between the magical tradition and the religious one—cannot count among the distinctive traits of Jewish love magic.

3.6 *Logocentrism*

Chapter 2 listed a variety of practices characteristic of Jewish love magic, which were divided into three categories, overlapping occasionally: practices of writing, of uttering a formula, and manipulations of ingredients. Those relying on the written word turned out to be the most common of the three, leading to the conclusion that Jewish love magic was logocentric and textocentric. This is a noteworthy trait, since it indicates that the discipline of love magic was an integral part of Jewish culture and closely related to institutionalized religion, both of which emphasized the power of words. Verbal practices, oral and written, are in no way absent from non-Jewish traditions of love magic (though they seem to be less popular than in Judaism), and thus logocentrism and textocentrism cannot be used as an excluding factor for determining the 'Jewishness' of a magical practice. They should, however, be counted among the traits of Jewish love magic since they highlight its Jewish cultural identity.

4 Jewish and Non-Jewish Love Magic: Some Differences

The following sections will survey briefly some features of non-Jewish love magic, focusing on the ways it differed from its Jewish counterpart. The dis-

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Jews, or non-Jews acquainted with the Hebrew language and scriptures? And what about the amulet owners?

90 G. Vajda, 'Sur quelques éléments Juifs et pseudo-Juifs dans l'encyclopédie de Bûnî', in S. Löwinger and J. Somogyi (eds), *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* (2 vols; Budapest, 1948), Part 1, pp. 387–392; Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere*, pp. 30–36; Fodor, 'The Rod of Moses', pp. 103–104. An important place in Christian and Islamic magic is held by 'The use of Psalms' (שימושי תהלים), including in the modern period; see, e.g., C. Kayser, 'Gebrauch von Psalmen zur Zauberei', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 42 (1888), pp. 456–462; N.H. Henein and H. Bianquis, *La magie par les Psaumes: édition et traduction d'un manuscrit arabe chrétien d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1975); Rebiger, *Sefer Shimmush Tehillim*, pp. 33–34.

cussion will cover primarily the Graeco-Roman and Christian sources, since, as mentioned earlier, the information on medieval Islamic magic (for love and in general) is still rather poor.[91]

4.1 *Magical Practices*

4.1.1 Graeco-Roman Love Magic

As noted in Chapter 1, Graeco-Roman love magic relied greatly on the use of binding/ curse tablets, κατάδεσμοι or *defixiones*. This practice, which left behind an impressive and rich archaeological record, is almost entirely absent from contemporaneous Jewish magic.[92] While approximately one quarter of the binding spells uncovered thus far sought erotic aims,[93] to date not even tablet inscribed in Hebrew or Jewish Aramaic may be found among them. And yet, the magical literature implies that Jews in Late Antiquity were acquainted with this practice, for love and other purposes, although they rarely resorted to it.[94] How may this major divergence from the Graeco-Roman tradition be explained? One possibility is that Jewish magicians inscribed their love spells on perishable materials, consequently producing binding tablets that did not survive the passing of time.[95] However, the few mentions of this practice in Jewish recipes, specifically requiring metals as a writing surface, coupled with its conspicuous absence from the finished products, suggests an intentional avoidance of employing binding tablets for love magic. The reasons for this avoidance can only be speculated on, and the sources do not yield a satisfying answer.

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91   The term 'Graeco-Roman' will refer to a geographical aspect (Greece, Italy and the regions of the Hellenistic and Roman empires, in which Hellenic and Roman government was reflected in language and culture), a chronological aspect (roughly from the Classical period in Greece to Late Antiquity), and, as far as possible, a religious aspect. Defining the latter poses a greater challenge. During the periods in question both polytheistic and monotheistic religions coexisted side by side. This section will focus on the polytheistic traditions of the Graeco-Roman world, bearing in mind that they incorporated also Egyptian and Mesopotamian features. The classification of the Christian tradition as separate poses another dilemma: on the one hand, it was a monotheistic faith, different from its neighbours with their numerous deities; on the other hand, in the first centuries of its existence Christianity absorbed massive influences from the polytheistic world.

92   One exception is the bronze tablet from Meroth, designed to subdue the townsfolk under the feet of Yose son of Zenobia (see above, pp. 94–95).

93   Gager, *Curse Tablets*, p. 78.

94   The most clear-cut evidence is found in *Sefer ha-Razim* (Second Firmament, lines 30–37), where the practitioner is instructed to fashion two copper tablets and toss one into a furnace and the other into the (ritual?) bath of the intended target.

95   Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 154–155.

Another practice characteristic of Graeco-Roman magic, often linked with the binding tablets mentioned above, is the use of figurines. As described in Chapter 1, binding figurines are mentioned already in Mesopotamian love magic. These objects were intended to represent the target of the spell and sometimes also the beneficiary, reflecting the spell's aims. Numerous binding figurines have surfaced in the Graeco-Roman geographical sphere, and some were employed in practices of love magic.[96] However, Jewish love magic reveals no use of figurines, and so far, no items that may be securely associated with a Jewish context have come to light.[97] Again, it is not impossible that Jewish love magic did employ such objects, but they were manufactured from perishable materials and are therefore missing from the archaeological record.[98] Another possibility is that Jewish magicians avoided this practice, whether for *halakhic* reasons (no graven images) or for other, as yet unclear, reasons.

4.1.2 Medieval Christian Love Magic[99]

Analysing the attitude of medieval Jews to Christian symbolism, Israel Yuval claimed that two trends may be perceived to exist side by side. The first is the downgrading of the holiness of the Christian symbols, while the second is, on the contrary, the appropriation of the Christian symbolic language, making it suitable to the needs of Judaism; in other words, taking over the symbolism of the religious opponent. Summarizing the two trends Yuval affirms: '(…) it is difficult for people to imagine that Jews had any knowledge of Christian ceremonies or that Christians knew anything about the religious language and the customs of the Jews. Yet a reading of the Ashkenazi chronicles indicates a close proximity to and a profound familiarity with the opponent's language.'[100]

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96   C.A. Faraone, 'Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece', *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991), pp. 165–220.

97   For binding figurines uncovered in late-antique Palestine, see O. Saar, *Superstitions in Eretz Israel during the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods* (Hebrew; unpubl. MA thesis, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 113–116.

98   As exemplified by a separation recipe from the Genizah: באב לשנאה/ כוד רצאץ ואעמל(ה) צפי(חה)/ וכוד שמע אביץ וס[ויה] שבה [אלא]תנין אלאנתי ואלדכר, 'A chapter for hate./ Take lead and make of it a tablet./ And take white wax and ma[ke] of it like/ [the t]wo, the man and the woman.' (T-S Ar. 44.127, 2:8–12 [= MSF Geniza 24]).

99   It should be stressed again that Christianity included a variety of traditions, with numerous differences among them. Research into Christian love magic is in its infancy, which prevents these differences from being expressed in the material discussed here.

100   I.J. Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Berkley, 2006, orig. pub. 2000, Hebrew), pp. 203–204.

An analysis of the European materials included in our corpus (including some that ended up in the Genizah), which compares them to medieval Christian magical items, proves Yuval to be correct also with regard to the world of magic. Nevertheless, the familiarity with the opponent's language did not lead to its appropriation in the field with which this volume is concerned. Although some recipes of love magic made their way from the Christian world to the Jewish one, quite a few features of Christian love magic are absent from its Jewish counterpart. These concern mainly the *materia magica* employed, which were often borrowed from the world of the Church.

Christian love magic sometimes employed elements taken directly from the institutionalized religious ritual, such as holy oil, the host, and baptismal ceremonies. As early as the ninth century clerics were required to abstain from supplying holy oil to their congregants indiscriminately, and it was further ruled that the oil should be kept, together with the host, under lock and key, lest it be stolen and employed for unholy purposes.[101] Later court records relate that holy oil was used for magical practices, including for love. In a sixteenth-century Venetian trial we hear of a salad garnished with holy oil, designed to bind a man's heart to the woman who prepared it.[102] Other sources from the same period mention the anointing of one's lips or body with holy oil, in preparation for a kiss or for sexual relations, respectively.[103] The oil was sometimes blessed by a clergyman, but also the recitation of religious formulae over it by a layman was deemed effective.[104]

Another element specifically pertaining to Christian love magic is the use of the host. These holy wafers were employed for a variety of magical ends, from curing fevers, through increasing agricultural fertility, and up to love spells.[105]

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101   ERE vol. 4, s.v. 'Charms and Amulets', p. 427; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971), pp. 32–40.

102   Ruggiero, *Binding Passions*, p. 245, note 28.

103   Ibid., pp. 95–96.

104   On the difference between the effectiveness of the two, see Ruggiero, 'The Strange Death of Margarita Marcellini', p. 1148, note 20.

105   See, e.g., P. Browe, 'Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930), pp. 134–154; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 334–342; and, more generally, I.C. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (eds), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, 2012). Similar magical uses continued into the early modern period, see, e.g., Mollenauer, *Strange Revelations*, pp. 100–102.

It is possible that the assertion 'This is my body', recited over the Eucharist in a religious context, obtained a magical overtone when it was fed to the target of an erotic spell (see also Chapter 2, section 2.1.4). Women were sometimes accused of holding the sacramental bread in their mouths and kissing men to ensure their affection.[106] Amusingly, Caesarius of Heisterbach (c. 1180–1240) related the story of a priest who desired a specific woman and attempted to obtain her love by using the Eucharist. He took a host in his mouth and tried to kiss her, but his deed was miraculously prevented: the priest instantly seemed to grow so tall as to bang his head against the church ceiling.[107] Conversely, Christian sources accusing Jews of desecrating the Eucharist usually do not mention that they employed it for magical ends.[108] A survey of Jewish recipes of love magic yields a similar result: the host is absent from the *materia magica* in this corpus.

Baptism is yet another element taken from institutionalized Christianity and incorporated in magical practices from this tradition. Usually this entailed baptising an object symbolizing the spell target, or one of the ingredients involved in the magical practice, for instance a magnet.[109] Through the baptism the object was transformed from a symbolic item into a real creature, and the actions performed on it were supposed to equally affect the spell target. It appears that the baptism was regarded as inherently potent.[110] The cooperation of a clergyman was not always necessary, and—perhaps as part of the dissociation of magic from institutionalized religious ritual—the spell beneficiary could well make do with his or her own personal enactment of the ecclesiasti-

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106   Browe, 'Die Eucharistie als Zaubermittel', pp. 135–137; R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1990), p. 60.

107   *Dialogus Miraculorum* ix.6, 'De sacerdote qui hostiam in ore ob maleficia servans, de ecclesia egredi non potuit' (N. Nösges and H. Schneider [eds.], *Dialogus miraculorum: Dialog über die Wunder* [5 vols; Turnhout, 2009], vol. 4, pp. 1758–1760).

108   The research on this topic is extensive, see, e.g., Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*; Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, esp. ch. 5; Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 126; and for later periods M. Teter, *Sinners on Trial: Jews and Sacrilege after the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA, 2011). The Jews were supposed to have obtained the wafers from their Christian servants or from their debtors, who were forced to comply with their demands.

109   O'Neil, '*Sacerdote ovvero strione*', p. 67; O'Neil, 'Magical Healing', pp. 103, 112, note 52. The magic rationale for using a magnet in practices designed to foster attraction is straightforward. While the court records from which these examples were adduced date to the sixteenth century, the practice itself is earlier.

110   R. Kieckhefer, 'The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic', *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994), pp. 813–836 (816, note 13).

cal ritual. For example, magic manuals from the fifteenth century instruct the practitioner to himself baptise a wax figurine in the name of the woman whom he desires.[111] I am not aware of Jewish sources that depict the use of baptism in the course of magical practices for love, although several medieval sources accuse Jews of preparing wax figurines, baptising them and thereafter burning or cursing them.[112]

4.2   *Explicit Sexual Terminology*

Even a cursory survey of love spells from the Graeco-Roman world brings up a conspicuous feature: the explicit sexual terminology present both in recipes and in numerous finished products. Dozens of lead tablets originating in the Graeco-Roman geographical sphere might make even some modern readers blush.[113] The terms usually referred to the sexual acts that were supposed to be denied to the target of the spell, including a variety of verbs denoting sexual contact.

Supplementum Magicum, vol. 1, no. 38

> ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῇς ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι πώποτε
> μήτε βινηθῆναι μήτε πυγισθῆναι
> μήτε ληκάζειν μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιήσῃς
> μεθ' ἑταίρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ
>
> May you never lie with another man,
> nor copulate, nor be taken anally,
> nor be taken orally, nor enjoy any other
> man beside me.

Sometimes, the texts mention the sexual organs of the target and the spell beneficiary, as the following fragments demonstrate.

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111   Kieckhefer, 'Erotic Magic in Medieval Europe', pp. 40–41.

112   Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, pp. 165–166, note 66.

113   For some discussions, see H.D. Jocelyn, 'A Greek Indecency and Its Students: ΛΑΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 206 (1980), pp. 12–66 (20–21); Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, pp. 217–220; D. Bain, 'Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress', *The Classical Quarterly* NS 41 (1991), pp. 51–77 (esp. 59, 74–75).

PGM IV.401–402 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 45)

> belly to belly, thigh to thigh, and bring black to black (τὸ μέλαν τῷ μέλανι, referring to the pubic hair of the two)

PGM CI.32–33 (= Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 308)

> make her limbs, her liver and her female organs (σῶμα γυναικεῖος) burn, until she comes to me

The detailed terms found in Graeco-Roman love spells presumably stem from a desire to cover all existing possibilities, so that there would be no chance for the spell to fail. This exhaustive detail is reminiscent of modern-day legal documents, which often include several synonymous or parallel terms in order to leave no opening in the text and to prevent the interpretation of a single term in two different ways. Thus, if the spell aims to achieve an exclusive possession of the target's body, then he or she must be prevented from engaging in sexual relations in a wide variety of positions; lest the supernatural entity fail to interpret the spell beneficiary's intentions, and prevent the targets only from performing some positions, while allowing them to enjoy others. This itemization, however, is absent from what survives of contemporaneous Jewish love magic, as the relevant recipes from *Sefer ha-Razim* indicate.

Sefer ha-Razim, First Firmament, lines 146–147 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 75)

<div dir="rtl">

שתתהפכו את לב פלונית בת

פלונית ולא תעשה דבר בלעדי ויהא לבה עם לבי לאהבה.

</div>

> May you turn the heart of N daughter of
> N, and she shall not do anything without me, and may her heart be
>   (joined) with my heart in love.

In view of the non-Jewish parallels it may be assumed that the words 'she shall not do anything without me' refer to sexual intercourse with a man other than the spell beneficiary. Had we not known these parallels, however, it would be easy to presume that the text had a 'romantic' aim (to use an utterly anachronistic term): causing the potential couple to do everything as one, spending their lives together. A slightly more explicit terminology is found in another recipe from the same handbook.

Sefer ha-Razim, Second Firmament, line 35 (= Rebiger and Schäfer, § 128)

<div dir="rtl">ואל תתנו לה רשות להיות לאדם חוץ ממנו</div>

and do not give her permission to belong to any man but him

The expression להיות לאדם, 'to belong to a man' represents the parallel of the Greek verbs 'to lie' and 'to copulate' that appeared in the first binding tablet cited above. Again, if it were not for the non-Jewish parallels, one might have interpreted the spell as aiming to prevent the target from marrying another man, להיות לו לאישה. Also other late-antique Jewish magical texts, and even later, medieval ones, do not display an explicit sexual terminology.[114] The recipes from *Ḥarba de-Moshe* bear modest titles, such as לאישה שתבוא אחריך, 'for a woman to follow you', and not φυσικλειδίον, 'pudenda key spell', as do some of the recipes from the *PGM*.

Is the 'modesty' apparent in texts of Jewish love magic characteristic of this religious–cultural tradition, when compared to its bolder neighbours? A look at non-magical literary sources from the same periods, such as Graeco-Roman theatre and poetry or the Jewish rabbinic corpus, may supply an answer.[115] Both Classical and Hellenistic Greek literature abound in explicit sexual references.[116] Latin literature too contains overt sexual terms, as shown by the works of Catullus, Ovid and Apuleius, as well as by anonymous sexual 'instruction manuals'.[117] Additionally, iconographic depictions of sexual topics deco-

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114   In the rare cases where the genitalia are mentioned in medieval recipes, euphemisms are usually employed: ניזקוף זרנוקיה ונידליה דוליה/ ותינטוף/ נטופטיה בפ׳ב׳פ, 'he should raise his water pipe and draw his bucket and drip his drop in אא'; see Bohak and Morgenstern, 'A Babylonian Jewish Aramaic Magical Booklet', p. 21*.

115   The Jewish literary sources of Late Antiquity are for the most part rabbinic.

116   See, e.g., J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, 2nd edn (New York, 1991).

117   See, e.g., J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), which offers a methodical survey of Latin sexual terms, both from literary works and from epigraphic sources such as graffiti from Pompeii. For a thorough discussion of the cultural aspects of sexual themes, see A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven and London, 1983), esp. ch. 6, which analyses the works of Catullus and Ovid, and chapter 7, quoting obscene fragments from the works of other 'respectable' authors, such as Horatio and Petronius. On sexual instruction manuals from the Graeco-Roman world, see H.N. Parker, 'Love's Body Anatomized: The Ancient Erotic Handbooks and the Rhetoric of Sexuality', in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford and New York, 1992), pp. 90–111.

rated pottery vessels, lamps, jewels and walls throughout the Graeco-Roman world,[118] and were part of Roman religion, as exemplified by the cult of Priapus and by Pliny's story about the Vestal Virgins keeping a model of a phallus in their sanctuary.[119]

An overview of Jewish literature from the same periods indicates it was willing to comment on sexuality and the erotic aspects of human life more than Jewish magical sources seem to have done. Not only do rabbinic sources discuss sexual positions, male and female passion, and bodily excrements, but they also mention the sizes of some rabbis' sexual organs or their impotence problems.[120] And yet, the terminology found in these texts is comparatively mild and abounds in euphemisms. For instance, female genitalia are termed אותו מקום, 'that place',[121] while anal sex is dubbed הפיכת השולחן, 'reversing the table'.[122] From the Babylonian Talmud we learn that בעוון נבלות פה צרות רבות וגזירות קשות מתחדשות, 'As a punishment for obscenity, troubles multiply, cruel decrees are proclaimed afresh', and what may be intended by 'obscenity' is explained further: א״ר חנן בר רבא: הכל יודעין כלה למה נכנסה לחופה, 'Said R. Hanan b. Rabbah: All know for what purpose a bride enters the bridal canopy'.[123] The use of euphemistic terminology, which starts already in the Hebrew Bible,[124] is explained by Maimonides from a moral perspective:

> I can also give the reason why this our language is called *the Holy Lan-guage*. It should not be thought that this is, on our part, an empty appel-lation or a mistake; in fact it is indicative of true reality. For in this holy language no word at all has been laid down in order to designate either the male or the female organ of copulation, nor are there words desig-nating the act itself that brings about generation, the sperm, the urine,

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118   C. Vout, *Sex on Show: Seeing the Erotic in Greece and Rome* (London and Berkeley, 2013).

119   Pliny, *Natural History* XXVIII.7.39.

120   D. Biale, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 33–59; D. Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley, 1993); M.L. Satlow, *Tasting the Dish: Rabbinic Rhetorics of Sexuality* (Atlanta, 1995); D. Boyarin, 'The Great Fat Massacre: Sex, Death and the Grotesque Body in the Talmud', in M. Eilberg-Swartz (ed.), *People of the Body: Jews and Judaism from an Embodied Perspective* (New York, 1992), pp. 69–100.

121   BT Nedarim 20a.

122   BT Nedarim 20a, b; see further Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, pp. 110; 116–120; 171.

123   BT Shabbat 33a.

124   See, e.g., A. Brenner, *The Intercourse of Knowledge: On Gendering Desire and 'Sexuality' in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden and New York, 1997), ch. 2, esp. pp. 21–28; ch. 3.

or the excrements. No word at all designating, according to its first mean-
ing, any of these things has been laid down in the Hebrew language, they
being signified by terms used in a figurative sense and by allusion. It was
intended thereby to indicate that these things ought not to be mentioned
(…)[125]

If so, does the modest nature of Jewish love magic when compared to its
Graeco-Roman counterpart stem from the general character of Jewish culture?
The answer is not simple. As in the case of binding tablets and figurines, one
may point to the paucity of sources and claim that, if more findings were
available, the state of affairs might be different. However, I suggest that we
are faced with another example of magical traditions reflecting the cultural
tendencies of a given group. While Greek and Roman cultures did not shun
using an explicit and detailed sexual terminology, late-antique Jewish culture
(as its ancient, biblical predecessor) was more modest, and usually preferred
to employ euphemisms. This cultural difference is reflected also in the love
magic of the two cultures, as is well demonstrated by comparing recipes with
an identical chronological and geographical background.

5   Conclusions

This chapter examined the elements of institutionalized Judaism that appear
in the corpus of Jewish love magic, aiming to discover to what extent the latter
was related to institutionalized religion. It also attempted to trace eventual fea-
tures that could point to, or refute, the Jewish cultural identity of Jewish love
magic. Additionally, the chapter listed some traits of love magic from other tra-
ditions that seemed to be missing from our corpus, and which might, by their
very absence, convey something about the nature of Jewish magic. As far as
the first point is concerned, it appears that Jewish love spells abstained from
transgressing the basic rules of *halakha*. There are but a few cases in which a
recipe required employing non-sanctioned ingredients, magical practices were
not performed on Shabbat, and God maintained an outstanding position in the
magical formulae, and was never adjured. In fact, as Peter Schäfer noted with
regard to *Sefer ha-Razim*, '(…) plain magic could well be integrated into the
theological framework of Rabbinic Judaism'.[126] In other words, one may state

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125   *The Guide of the Perplexed*, part 3, chapter 8.
126   Schäfer, 'Magic and Religion in Ancient Judaism', p. 38.

firmly that Jewish love magic almost never challenged institutionalized religion. On the contrary, when employing elements taken from this world, they maintained their original character. An examination of the second point, pertaining to cultural identity, indicates that Jewish love magic included several features that distinguished it from the love magic of neighbouring cultures and religions. Major religious prohibitions were rarely violated; the supernatural forces adjured in Jewish love spells usually bore names with a Hebrew verbal root; and the formulae employed a 'clean' language and did not include overt sexual terms. Furthermore, it seems that despite their familiarity with the ritual world (both religious and magical) of neighbouring cultures, Jewish magicians refrained from fully assimilating into it. Thus, for example, the practice of inscribing lead tablets or producing magical figurines is absent from the archaeological record of late-antique Jewish magic, while it formed a major part of the textual and archaeological sources of the Graeco-Roman world. Similarly, the use of elements taken from the realm of Christianity, such as the host or holy oil, is lacking from the corpus of Jewish love magic, though attested in medieval Christian sources.

What may be concluded from all the above as to the specific character of Jewish love magic from Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages? The first and simple answer is that such a character did exist. Despite the famed syncretism of the world of magic, despite the wide-ranging endurance of practices and motifs throughout millennia and different geographical regions, one may indeed speak of Jewish love magic as opposed to, for example, Greek love magic. The adjective 'Jewish' featured in the title of this book does not merely indicate that the practices discussed and analysed in its pages were *used* by Jews; but that they were *fashioned* by their users in a distinctive way, corresponding to their religion and their cultural identity.

Summary

The aim of this study was to examine one aspect of the use of magic by Jews from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: that concerned with love in its different forms. As explained in the Introduction, the aims of love magic included, besides fostering attraction between the members of a couple (actual or potential), also the sowing of hate between lovers and achieving social success, that is, 'grace and favour' in the eyes of other individuals. These aims, as well as the magical practices performed in order to achieve them, were shown to be ubiquitous, and not limited to the Jewish magical tradition. However, a detailed examination of the corpus demonstrated that Jewish love magic contained idiosyncratic traits, distinguishing it from other magical traditions.

1 In the Previous Chapters ...

As noted at the beginning of this volume, love spells are among the earliest types of magic attested. The first among them were written down around 2200 BCE, more than four millennia ago, and it may be assumed they existed long before. Chapter 1, which sought to explain 'What do We Talk About When We Talk About Love (Magic)', contained a survey of these types of spells roughly arranged chronologically and geographically, concluding that the motifs attested in the earliest spells, those originating in Mesopotamia, continue to prevail across long periods and in a variety of traditions. The similarity in motifs did not stem from cross-cultural influences, but simply from a resemblance in the rationale underlying magical spells for love. This rationale, not being limited to a specific period or geographical region, but rather being universal, has produced magical recipes and products of a similar nature. Nevertheless, I proposed that magical traditions stemming from different cultural traditions contained idiosyncratic traits that differentiate them from one another. The chapter subsequently listed the main aspects one should focus on when attempting to study the topic of love magic in cultures from the specified periods. In order to arrive at an image of Jewish love magic I examined different aspects of the spells it included. Chapter 2, 'Making Love, Making Hate', surveyed and analysed the numerous practices recorded in Jewish magical recipes. Since the preserved products comprise almost exclusively written amulets, it was imperative to describe those practices that did not yield lasting products. However, it was shown that they too often relied on writing, and that a main trait of Jewish love magic was the use of words, mainly inscribed ones. The style and content

of these words was the focus of Chapter 3, 'Of Loviel and Other Demons', which explored the magical formulae, the supernatural forces addressed, and the attitude towards them, as well as additional information imbedded in the textual stratum about issues such as gender or the use of magical signs. Another element often underlying magical activity is the temporal one. Chapter 4, 'A Time to Love and a Time to Hate', mapped the timing of magical actions as reflected in the recipes and sometimes even in the products that have come down to us, tracing its constitutive rationale. Unsurprisingly, it turned out that Friday, the day identified with the goddess of love, held an important place in the recipe instructions. Perhaps less predictable was the absence of Shabbat/Saturday from the corpus, a day that, given its Saturnal connotations, could have appeared in spells for inducing hate, and yet seems to be missing not only from Jewish love spells but from Jewish magic as a whole. The fifth and last chapter, 'You Shall Not Walk in Their Statutes?', employed the data collected thus far in order to sketch the portrait of Jewish love magic, and compare it to the images of other magical traditions.

2   What is Jewish Love Magic? A Second Look

One of the main questions deliberated at the beginning of this study was the possibility to discover idiosyncratic features of Jewish love magic. For instance, did it differ in any way from Greek magic, apart from the languages employed in writing its amulets? Were the love-inducing recipes from *Sefer ha-Razim* any different to those preserved in the Greek and Demotic magical papyri? And could research into Jewish love magic teach us anything about Jewish culture in general? The preceding pages have conclusively shown that the magical practices performed by Jews shared some particular traits resulting from the religious and cultural tradition in which they were created. That is not to say Jewish magic exhibited great conceptual or practical divergences from the magic of other traditions. Quite the contrary: its major motifs were usually shared by the other traditions discussed in this book. However, each magical tradition interpreted these motifs differently, and possessed its own idiosyncratic features, stemming from its cultural and religious roots. The collected data permits pinpointing the main characteristic traits of Jewish love magic, additionally illustrating some cultural aspects of Judaism from the examined periods.

The corpus analysed in this volume demonstrates the belief in the power of magic to psychologically affect another human being, which is a unique feature of love magic. The recipes and amulets it contains enable gazing into the hearts of strangers, who have produced and used spells for love, hate and

grace, hoping that a simple action, like burning a clay shard or carrying a sliver of gazelle parchment, would assist in the not-so-simple aim of realizing their hearts' desires.

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