

θαλάσσης, καὶ ἠπήγησέν το ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, καὶ ἐπερώτησεν αὐτό·

· ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου;·

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν,

· Κύριε, τί μὲ ἐπερώτησας; ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν του νὰ τὸν ὀμνῶν του νὰ χύσω (F.320 a). τὰ ὀμμάτιά του νὰ κινήσω·

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, [καὶ] εἶπεν αὐτῷ·

· ὕπαγε εἰς τοῦ Ἀραράτ τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου σηματοῦνται φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται, ὅπου ἀλέκτορος φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται· ἐκεῖ νὰ φᾶς, ἐκεῖ νὰ πῆς, ἐκεῖ τὸν θυμὸν σου νὰ διαβάσης·

Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη ἐν τόπῳ κρανίου· φεῦγε, τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου, ἀπὸ τοῦ δοῦλου τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα. Στῶμεν καλὰ, στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου.

Concerning the 'Half-Head' [Migraine]

In the great name of the all-powerful God. When the 'Half-Head' (the half of the skull), the devil's colleague, was coming out of the depths of the sea, our Lord Jesus Christ met it and asked it, "Where are you going, 'Half-Head,' the half of the skull?"

And he answered and said, "O Lord, why do you ask me? I am going off to the servant of the Lord, So-and-So, so I might sit in his head, so I might clog up his brain, so I might agitate his eyes." But our Lord Jesus Christ answered and said to him, "Go off to Mt. Ararat, where church-bell is not heard, where cock does not crow, so that there you may eat, there may drink, there you may pass your anger." Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judaea. Christ was crucified in the Place of the Skull. Flee, 'Half-Head,' the half of the skull, from the servant of the Lord, So-and-So." Let us stand with good things, let us stand with fear.

Reitzenstein 1926:177 (above, 'Lit. ') also gives the beginning of this second text, but with several misreadings. Portions of *Paris. graec.* 2316 can also be found in his *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1904), "Beigabe III: Amulette," pp. 291-303.

Following the initial encounter between Christ and the Headache demon in the medieval counterparts to our spell, a sort of combative, magical dialogue between the two figures ensues, with the result that the demon is ordered to go into the head of a bull in the mountains. So too, the context of the Carnuntum tablet suggests that the text must have finished with a similar injunction against the Headache demon; though the ending is lost, the fact that it is also set in a similar dialogue-form suggests an appropriate prophylactic conclusion to the amulet. Through a sort

of benign literary association of 'like-with-like,' characteristic of *historiolae* in general, the unnamed bearer of the charm is relieved of headache by the retelling of the mytho-historic encounter of Artemis with Antaura.

A twelfth-century *Euchologion* of the monastery at Mt. Sinai (Ms. No. 973, dated 1153 A.D.) is remarkable in preserving yet another version of this spell, this time with no specific mention of a headache, but rather of the demoness Ἄβρα — a later survivor of our Carnuntum's ('Αντ)ἄνυρα. (Both would have been pronounced /avra/ in later Greek). The text also replaces Christ with the archangel Michael. The relevant portion of the text is preserved in the midst of a long exorcism written against this demoness, Abra — an exorcism attributed to St. Gregory: Ἀπορκισμὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου κατὰ τῆς ἄβρας. The text is published in A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej, II: Eūchologion* (Kiev, 1901; repr. Hildesheim, 1965), p. 118f., with discussion in L. Arnaud, "L'exorcisme κατὰ τῆς ἄβρας attribué à saint Gregoire," *Échos d'Orient* 16 (1913), pp. 299-301.

Ἐξήρχετο αὕτη ἡ ἄβρα ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης,
ἀπήνησεν αὕτῃ ὁ πρωτοαρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ·
πόθεν ἔρχεις καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγεις, ἄβρα μελάνη μεμελανωμένη,
τριχειλετρικέφαλε;

< Abra's answer: >

Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ἀνθρώπου ὅστέα φαγεῖν καὶ τὸ κρέας ἀφανίσαι.
Λέγει αὕτῃ ὁ πρωτοαρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ·

Οὐκ ἔχεις, ἄβρα, ἐξουσίαν ἀνθρώπου ὅστέα φαγεῖν καὶ τὸ κρέας ἀφανίσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιβρέξει ἐπὶ σὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ διασκορπήσει σε ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἐξεῖλε καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλους καὶ τὰ ὅσα τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα, κτλ.

This same Abra came out of the sea
and the first archangel Michael met her and said to her:
"Where are you coming from, and where are you going, Abra, black, becoming black, three-lipped, three-headed?"
"I am going to eat people's bones and destroy their flesh."
The first archangel Michael said to her:
"You don't have the right, Abra, to eat people's bones and to destroy their flesh, rather the Lord God will rain upon you fire from heaven and will scatter you upon the rivers and the sea. Leave and depart from the members and the bones of God's servant, so-and-so," etc.

In this third version of the *historiola*, we find many of the same elements as the parallel examples (the coming out of the sea, the encounter, the dialogue about where the demoness is going, etc.), as well as identical phrasing and vocabulary. The notable differences are the naming of Abra in lieu of a specific mention of migraine; the heroic figure, Michael; the mention of the demoness as "black, blackening," rather than "bellowing;" and the sending of the creature back into the sea rather than into a mountain region (see Commentary, below 3f.). Another shorter version of this 'Exorcism of Gregory' is described at line 2, below.

It is clear that all these later, detailed adaptations of the Antaura legend preserve remnants of older *historiolae* that have been reworked and Christianized; the last example cited probably even goes back to a pre-Christian — that is, Jewish — original. The early text of the Carnuntum amulet — written on a rather small piece of silver — seems to have contained a truncated version of what must have been a longer, pagan equivalent of the Judaeo-Christian charms cited above. Separated by more than a thousand years from its fuller counterparts, the Carnuntum charm authenticates quite remarkably the antiquity of many of these peculiar medieval folklore-remedies. The text of the silver tablet demonstrates that much of the medico-magical lore of later manuscripts, like those preserved in Delatte's and Vassiliev's collections of *Anecdota* transmit and incorporate older pagan materials that otherwise might surely have been lost.

1-2 *Πρὸς ἡμίκρανον*: *ἡμικράνιν* *ed. pr.* An examination of the tablet shows a tiny *omicron*, rather than a *iota*. The neuter form here = *ἡ ἡμίκραιρα*, "half the head or face" (so LSJ, s.v.), as well as the specific disease 'Migraine,' which the half-head represents; as a demonic figure, 'Migraine' or 'Half-head' would have been depicted or imagined as a half a skull or head (cf. the version cited in Legrand, above, which also has *τὸ ἡμίκρανον*).

Magical texts seemingly differentiate between headache (*κεφαλαργία*; *πόνος τῆς κεφαλῆς*) and migraine. The distinction is, however, unimportant, for common and transitory headaches would hardly have required the writing of a costly amulet. We must assume that most headache spells in antiquity treated chronic and debilitating types of

headache such as migraine. The modern word itself comes from Greek (*he*)*mikran(on)* (=migraine), the headache of half the skull.

The incipit, "For Migraine," is the sort found frequently in the handbooks of the Greek magical papyri (see below). Although usually intended to provide the magician and his client with the purpose of a given spell, which may not otherwise be obvious to the reader, rubrics or 'subtitles' with *πρὸς* (+ disease) were frequently preserved on the actual amulets themselves. Migraine is specifically mentioned (with the *πρὸς*-incipit) in *PGM* VII.199-201 (also an *historiola*): *Πρὸς ἡμικράνιον* λαβὼν ἔλαιον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου εἰπὲ λόγον· ὁ Ζεὺς ἔσπειρεν λίθον ῥαγός· σχίζει τὴν γῆν. οὐ σπείρει οὐκ ἀναβαίνει, "For migraine: take oil in your hands and say the formula: 'Zeus planted a grape-seed. It broke the soil, (but) it did not sprout; it did not shout up'." Similarly, *PGM* LXV.4f.: *πρὸς ἡμίκρανον* (+ frag.), with the neuter noun, as here; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 94 i,39: ἄλλο *πρ(ὸς) ἡμικράνι[ον]* (their Commentary, p. 218); further, *Suppl. Mag. II*, nos. 32,7: ἀποθεραπεύσατε ὀφθαλμοῦ[ς] ἀπὸ ἡμικράνου καὶ παντῆος ρεύματος αὐτῶν [=αὐτῶν] (Commentary, p. 94); no. 53,26f.; cf. also *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 53,27: [ἡμι]κράρειον; further, *Testament of Solomon* (ed. McCown) XVIII.6: ἐγὼ Βαρσαφαὴλ καλοῦμαι, ἡμικράνους ποιῶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ μου κειμένους, "I am called Barsaphael; I give people who reside in my hour migraine-headaches." Another Greek headache spell, *πρὸς κεφαλαργίαν*, with an *historiola* from Egyptian mythology, is given in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 72,ii 26-30 (with Commentary, p. 126, citing additional parallels).

2 *Ἀνταύρα*: From *ἀντί* + *αὔρα* (so Barb 1966: 3; 16, n. 20). Antaura is a sea-borne, 'opposing wind' that brings migraine. The name probably presupposes a popular folk aetiology explaining migraine-headache as caused by aberrant cross-winds. Zingerle 1929:134-137 associates Antaura with modern Greek *ἀντάρα*, "squall; disturbance." Further, Weinreich 1927:224 points to a parallel in the evil demon *Aura/Abra*, in a previously unpublished exorcism attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (text from Janiewitsch 1910:627-630): Απορκισμος του αγιου πατρος ημων Γριγοριου του θαυματουργου κατα της αυρα χαλεπον δαιμονος· ορκιζο σε πασαν αβυσσον και δαιμονιον αυρα

αρσενικον αυρα θηλυκον αβρα απο του υδατος αβρα απο του αιματος, κτλ., "Exorcism of our holy father Gregory Thaumaturgus against the wicked wind-demon: I adjure you, every abyss and male wind-demon, female wind, wind from the water, wind from the blood," etc. Like our amulet, this text also names a wind-demon (αὔρα) from the Abyss/water. This αὔρα/ἄβρα is the same as that of the Mt. Sinai exorcism cited above.

Another possible interpretation for the words αὔρα and ἀνταύρα is to be sought in modern medical diagnosis of the disease. Medical researchers have discovered that right before the onset of the actual headache at least 20% of migraine sufferers experience what is — coincidentally — called an 'aura' — an experience of flashing lights, pulsing stars, and other quasi-hallucinogenic phenomena caused by a sudden drop in magnesium levels that disturb the visual cortex neurons. These experiences of 'auras' or lights may represent the same phenomenon alluded to in our ancient spell — a phenomenon, though, that is on the Carnuntum amulet markedly personified and rationalized in folkloristic terms as a glimmering demoness. The demoness's arising out of the water to confront the potential sufferer alludes to the various 'aural' experiences immediately preceding the onslaught of the fearfully debilitating pain of the headache itself. In antiquity such inexplicable 'visions' would have been greeted with irrational fear, especially when they augured for so baneful an experience. This sense of αὔρα is still retained in the Latin *aura*, which also means "bright light;" "gleam;" "glittering," etc. In Greek the sense is found in variant readings of a *crux interpretum* at Ezekiel 8:2 (LXX), where ὡς ὄρασις ἡλέκτρου is given as αὔρας or φέγγους in some versions and MSS (so Stephanus, s.v., = *splendor siderum*).

3-4 ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: The parallel in Pradel 1907:15,22f. reads Ἡμίκρανον ἐξήρχετο ἀπὸ θάλασσαν; *Paris. graec.* 2316 has ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τῆς θαλάσσης; the exorcism of Gregory, Αβρα (ἄυρα) ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος. The sea is synonymous with the primal Abyss, the home of demons (Barb 1966:1-23, with Near Eastern parallels). In the NT see, for example, Rev. 11:7 (τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου); similarly, Rev. 9:11; 17:8; 20:3. In the Gospel account of the Gerasene demoniac, the 'legion' of demons come from the mountains and entreat Christ not to

throw them into the Abyss (cf. Luke 8:31: καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα μὴ ἐπιτάξῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἀπελθεῖν). Though they are, in effect, hoping to avoid the primordial waters, the demons are, nevertheless, cast into a herd of swine and rush off a cliff, drowning in the Abyss (= the sea; cf. Mark 5:13: καὶ ὄρμησεν ἡ ἀγέλη κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς δισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐπνίγοντο ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ). The other headache accounts discussed above tell, rather, of the demon arising out of the sea and being cast into the mountains. The Mt. Sinai version, however, shares something in common with the gospel account, in that the spirit is 'exorcized' by being scattered over the waters.

One the whole, however, the Gospel narratives, of which Mark's is the longest version, share several points of contain with the 'Antaura'-cycle of exorcisms: the mountain/sea setting, the 'encounter'-motif (ἀπαντᾶν), an approaching demon who shouts, and the overall question-answer format concerning where the demon(s) is going and where it should be sent. The noticeable difference is that these motifs are transposed in the Marcan pericope: in Mark 5:2 it is Christ — not the demon — who 'comes out of' (καὶ ἐξεληθὼς αὐτοῦ) the sea (from his boat); and it is Christ who 'meets' (ὑπήντησεν, ἀπήντησεν var.) the demoniac. Further, it is the demoniac who is said to rush down from the mountain and is cast into the sea — not, as in the Antaura amulet, who is claimed to come out of the water and go into the mountains!

4-7 ἀνεβόησεν ὡς ἔλαφος, ἀνέκραξεν ὡς βοῦς: The parallel in Pradel 1907: 267f. has only the participial, κρουόμενον καὶ βρυχούμενον, with no special mention of animals; the Mt. Sinai version describes the demoness as μελάνη μεμελανωμένη, τριχειλετρικέφαλε, wording that occurs on a group of Byzantine bronze amulets; see W. Drexler, "Alte Beschwörungsformeln," *Philologus* 58 (1899), pp. 594-616; J. Spier, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* (forthcoming); and Commentary in the following paragraph. The Gospel narrative of the Gerasene demoniac also carries an animal-motif in its exorcism, though there it is a herd of swine.

On Antaura's shouting with animal sounds, Barb 1966:15f., n.14, cites useful parallels, notably *PGM XXXVI.141*: ἡ γὰρ Ἰοῖς ἀνεβόησεν μεγάλην κρου<γ>ήν; and a modern Arabic charm that describes a she-

demon who crows like a cock, bellows like a bull or cow, neighs like a horse, etc. (R. Kriss & H. Kriss, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 112); cf., further, *Testament of Solomon* XI. 1: Καὶ ἐκέλευσα πάλιν παρελθεῖν ἐμοὶ ἕτερα δαιμόνια καὶ ἦλθε βρυχώμενος ὡς λέων ὀρθός. Similar demonic-animal attributes, also with the descriptive ὡς, occurs on a special class of bronze pendants, for which see, e.g., C. Bonner, *Hesperia* 20 (1951), p. 354, no. 51: λιμός σε ἔσπιρεν· ἀήρ ἐθέρισεν· φλέψ <σ>ε κατέφαγεν· τί ὡς λύκος μασᾶσε; τί ὡς κορκόδυλλος καταπίνεις; τί ὡς λέων ὀρωχίς (= βρύχεις); τί ὡς ταῦρος κερατίζεις; τί ὡς δράκων εἰλίσσει; τί ὡς πᾶρᾶς κυμᾶσε; "Hunger sowed you, air harvested you, vein devoured you. Why do you munch like a wolf? Why do you devour like a crocodile? Why do you roar like a lion? Why do you gore like a bull? Why do you coil like a serpent? Why do you lie down like a tame creature?" Perhaps the last τί should be deleted and κύμασε (= κοίμασαι) explained as an imperative: "Lie down like a tame creature!" A parallel text in C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 217 has ὡς ἀρνίον κοιμοῦ, "go to sleep like a lamb." Note further, Barb, *Syria* 49 (1972), p. 346, note 2 (who gives only a partial reading of a related amulet). The parallels to this formula found in W. Drexler, *Philologus* 58 (1899), pp. 594-615, cited above, sometimes include the opening formula, ὑστέρα μελάνη μελανωμένη, a formula that is paralleled by, and hence somehow connected to, the Mt. Sinai exorcism cited above.

Though the description of demonic out-cries and shouts is common in the demonology of the ancient world (see, further, on lines 8f.), it is perhaps important here to understand why Antaura is likened to the particular animal noises of ἔλαφος and βοῦς. Sympathetic, like-with-like analogies imply that the roaring bull and deer simply refer to the pain associated with headache; in this spell's particular context, however, we look for profounder cultic associations for the two animals.

The deer or hind (ἔλαφος) was sacred in particular to the Ephesian Artemis. The coins of the city regularly picture the hind with the goddess, and the great inscription from the Greek theater at Ephesus describes making a gold statue of Artemis attended by two silver hinds: Ἀρτεμις δὲ χρυσέα ... καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀργύρεοι ἔλαφοι δύο (H. Wankel, ed. *Die*

Inschriften von Ephesos, Ia (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bd. II,1; Bonn, 1979, no. 27, 158f.; p. 179f.); see, in general, Th. Schreiber, art. "Artemis," in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* Bd. I (Leipzig, 1884-1886), col. 565. Similarly, the bull or cow was also associated with Artemis; cf. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, col. 566f. (on Ἀρτεμις Ταυροπόλος; βουπόλος, etc.). Thus, Antaura's shouting like an ἔλαφος and βοῦς intentionally alludes to cult animals of the Ephesian goddess.

8-9 ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία]: For similar confrontations in *historiolae* between a rescuing saint and a personified affliction, see A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), p. 333, 1f.: ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, κατὰ Γαβριὴλ τὸν ἀρχάγγελον ὃς ὑπήντησεν τῇ βασκανίᾳ καὶ ὥρκισεν αὐτήν, κτλ.; similarly, *idem*, p. 337 (cited below). The terms ὑπαντάω, ἀπαντάω, as shown in the parallels discussed above, are formal descriptions of encounters with demons (cf. also the technical nouns ὑπάντημα, ἀπάντημα). As mentioned, the story of the Gerasene demon similarly describes the demon's first encounter with Jesus: εὐθέως ἀπήντησεν [var. ὑπήντησεν] αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μνημείων ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ (Mark 5:2); cf. Luke 8:27: ὑπήντησεν ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἔχων δαιμόνια; Matt. 8:28: ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο δαιμονιζόμενοι. Like the Antaura with Artemis, the demoniac approaches Jesus, shouting (ἀνακράξας).

9 Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία]: Though the cult of Ephesian Artemis was widely diffused throughout the Mediterranean, in magical texts she only appears with the chthonic-lunar attributes of Hekate and Selene (cf., e.g., *PGM* IV.2523, 2816, 2720f., 2818f.; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 49, 40, 72, etc.); she is never referred to as 'Ephesian' in the magic papyri or *defixiones*. See, in general, Th. Hopfner, "Hekate-Selene-Artemis und Verwandte in den griechischen Zauberpapyri und auf den Fluchtafeln," *Pisciculi. Franz Joseph Dölger dargeboten* (Münster, 1939), pp. 125-145; *idem*, *Archiv Orientalní* 13 [1941], pp. 167-200. On Artemis of Ephesus: R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden, 1973); G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, IV (Macquarie Univ., 1987), pp. 77-82; Th. Schreiber, art. "Artemis," in Roscher, *Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1884-1886), Bd. I, cols. 588-93.

Despite the paucity of magical texts naming Artemis of Ephesus, the goddess must have been particularly esteemed as a patroness of magic, if the rich narrative of Acts 19 is any indication. In that chapter, reports of peculiar magic episodes seem to coalesce around the city of Ephesus: the account tells of healings performed with magic cloths and aprons of the Apostles, of aborted attempts at exorcism by itinerant Jewish, of the burning of a library of magic books, and of the city-wide riot over the sale of silver votive temples.

10-12 Ἀνταύρα, ποῦ ὑπάγεις; εἰς τὸ ἡμικράνιον], — (Artemis speaking) — "Antaura, where are you going?" — (Antaura speaking) — "To the half-part of the skull." Previous editions read and interpreted this as Ἀνταύρα, ποῦ ὑπάγεις (leg. ὑπάγεις) τὸ ἡμικράνιον], "Antaura, where are you bringing the migraine?", basing the interpretation on the parallels of the later versions. The Carnuntum *lamella*, for example, closely follows the sequence in Reitzenstein 1926:177 (cited above, 'Lit.') — ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμικράνιον, κτλ.; "Where are you going, Headache," (or possibly, "Where are you taking your Headache," etc.). However, it should be pointed out that the earlier, and probably original, text of the tablet does not actually call Antaura herself τὸ ἡμικράνιον, as we find in the later texts. Antaura seems, rather, to bring or carry with the wind this affliction of migraine. In the later versions, we simply find a personified 'Migraine' — the Headache itself. The somewhat different interpretation of the Carnuntum tablet makes clearer sense if the sequence is interpreted as a terse, quick exchange of words between Artemis and Antaura. The initial ποῦ ὑπάγεις? is Artemis' question to Antaura. But what immediately follows is no longer Artemis, but rather Antaura speaking: εἰς (leg. εἰς) τὸ ἡμικράνιον, "(I am going) into the left part of the skull." The later versions, in no longer referring to an Ἀνταύρα in their textual tradition, must have been forced to alter or reinterpret the text that reads ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμικράνιον, where it seems to be a vocative, or an accusative (which would make little sense). Furthermore, the long list of complaints that stand directly after ποῦ ὑπάγεις in Pradel 1907:267f., cited above, make better sense if understood originally as descriptions of what sort of afflictions the Migraine-demon causes. In other words, there has been a

change of speakers: the demon is now supposed to be speaking, though the indication of a change of speakers has been lost. This makes the third sentence of the silver amulet, [μ]ῆ οὐ[κ] εἰς τὰ ν[...], refer again to Artemis; it forms a part of the injunction against the Headache (see below).

Though the change of speakers is not indicated in the dialogue on the Carnuntum tablet, it is clearly so intended and understood; cf., e.g., A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), p. 331, 25-27: Τρεῖς ἄγγελοι διηπόρουν τοῦ Σινᾶ τὸ ὄρος εὐρόντος τὸ ρεῦμα ἠρώτησαν αὐτό· ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ρεῦμα; ἐγὼ ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κτλ., "Three angels were going through Mt. Sinai when they found Rheum and asked it: 'Where are you going, Rheum?'" 'I am going into the sons of men,' "etc. The overall question/answer staging is supported, as well, by the examples of the longer versions.

The expression (ε)ἰς τὸ ἡμικράνιον on the tablet describes the actual place to which the wind-demon wants to go: "into the half-skull." The noun here switches from the notion of an *affliction* (i.e., migraine), to the bodily part where the affliction resides. For similar semantic correlations between part of the body and ailment of the same body-part, note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 89 (on κρόταφος) with reference to R. Strömberg, *Theophrastea. Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung* (Göteborg, 1937), pp. 188-190; V. Langholf, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu Hippokrates-Texten* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 104f.; etc.

13 [μ]ῆ οὐ[κ] εἰς τὰ ν[...]: The parallel in Pradel 1907:267f. (above) reads, βλέπε, μὴ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἀλλὰ φεύγετε καὶ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ ἀνέβητε εἰς ταύρου κεφαλὴν, κτλ., an account that recalls the Gerasene demoniac in Mk. 5:1-20; Mt. 8:28-34; Lk. 8:26-39. Though the text is here broken off, Artemis must have similarly directed the Headache to go elsewhere, as in the medieval versions.

Left edge: ... θη ἀπαλλαγῶν (Betz 1966:604): ἀπαλλαγαί, "deliverances", "reliefs," would be an appropriate reference to attacks of migraine; however, the reading cannot be confirmed from present photographs of the piece, which seem to show [...] ηε .. απι...α...

1 *Magic signs*: This line contains nine letters of a 'magical alphabet,' some of which are of the 'Brillenbuchstaben' type; cf. *PGM* II. 294; VII.420, 465, 588f., 923; XII.398; A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 512, for similar types. Vlassa 1974:131 rightly interprets the magic signs as a sort of cipher for the divine names 'Ιάω 'Αθωναί. For a similar cryptogram, see 1 and Commentary.

3 'Ιάω 'Αθωναί: 'Αθωναί is an orthographic variant for 'Αδωναί. A fold divides the upper and lower sections of the tablet. The fact that the *lamella* was found with a coin and gem depicting Sol suggests that these divine names, too, were understood as solar deities (see further, below).

4 'Ιὼ ἰώ: On this invocation, see 7,5; 23,4; 34,2; 54,9; 58,6; R. Kotansky & C. A. Faraone, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p.264. The acclamation, especially in the context of this amulet, intends to summon the gods — here Iao and Adonai — to deliver the bearer (note LSJ, s.v.); cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 736-738, where Philoctetes' invocation is interpreted as a summoning of gods for 'salvation.'

(ΦΙ) ἰὼ θεοί

(NE) τί τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτως ἀναστένων καλεῖς;

(ΦΙ) σωτήρρας αὐτοὺς ἡπίους θ' ἡμῖν μολεῖν.

For the doubled form of this acclamation, cf. Sophocles, *Trach.* 221: ἰὼ ἰὼ Παῖαν.

The discovery of a coin and gemstone depicting Helios in a solar chariot is of special importance for the interpretation of the Afterlife application of this gold *lamella*. As F. Cumont, *Études syriennes* (Paris, 1917), pp. 96-102, fully documents, the representation of Sol-Helios in a solar chariot has distinctive funereal overtones, for the solar chariot was believed to carry the soul of the deceased to his or her celestial home. The fact that the gold *lamella* was found on the skeleton folded over once and not rolled up in a capsule indicates that it was probably never intended to be worn as a protective amulet for the living; it was specifically manufactured as a 'Totenpaß' to be carried by the deceased in his or her journey to the next world. The blurred distinction between amulets for the living and those for the dead is further addressed in the Commentary to amulets 2, 15, 20, 27, 28, 29, and 39.

24 A Demon Sent to Julia Cyrilla

Fig. 26

DIERNA (Orșova, Banatul), Rumania
Bucarest, Institutul de Arheologie
(no inv. number)

II A.D.
H. 2.4 cm.; W. 7.1 cm.
Gold *lamella*

Lit. N. Vlassa, "O nouă plăcuță de aur gnostică de la Dierna (Ein weiteres gnostisches Goldtäfelchen aus Dierna)," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 14 (1977), pp. 205-219; I. I. Russu, ed. *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Vol. 3: Dacia Superior, pt. 1: Pars Occidentalis* (Bucarest: Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1977), p. 70f., no. 43, fig. 37; *SEG* 27 (1977), p. 109, no. 415; A. Bodor & I. Winkler, "Un Atelier de Artizanta La Dierna (Orșova) (An Artisan Workshop at Dierna [Orșova])," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 16 (1979), pp. 141-155, esp. p. 147f. (fig. 6).

This piece was found in a stone structure, identified as an ancient workshop, about 60-80 cm. beneath the surface of the courtyard of the Lyceum of Șt. Plavăț in Orșova Veche, in the summer of 1968. The leaf of gold, found in section J IIF rolled up like a scroll, was subsequently published by Vlassa 1977: 205-219, with slight changes by Russu 1977:71. The fuller archaeological report (Bodor-Winkler 1979:155) provides important additional information. At the site in general, the following objects were found: fragments of crucibles, iron dross, nails, and minor fragments, pieces of coal, lead ingots, various bronze objects, including bronze sheets and blobs, tools, ceramic wares, fibulae, and coins from the I-IV centuries. Concerning the gold tablet, Bodor-Winkler 1979:155 write: "It cannot be established whether the fine gold sheet with a magical inscription (fig. 6) was produced here or brought from elsewhere. Stratigraphy shows that the stone construction was preceded by a timber one. The time of the functioning of the workshop includes the II-IV centuries." It should also be added that in section JII.F a bronze coin of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) was also found (Bodor-Winkler 1979:152), the general dating of which accords well with the tablet's letter-forms (2nd century A.D.); cf. the facsimiles of the regionally comparable Dacian waxed tablets, especially no. 103 (167 A.D.) in E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (New York, 1912), p.316f.

Based on the clear photograph in Vlassa 1977:268f. (I have not been able to obtain an original), a new reading is presented below.

4	ωι υυυυ ιυδ να (square)	(drawing)	demon imminens hac imminē pr(o) me i<a>m iam aput Iuliae Cyrillae
---	----------------------------------	-----------	--

"Demon menacing here,
menace on my behalf now, now,
at the house of Julia Cyrilla."

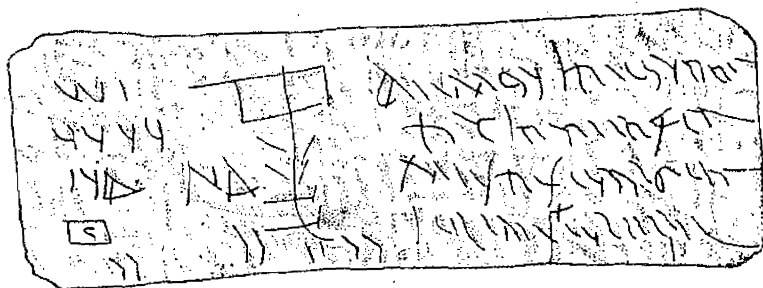


Fig. 26

Vlassa's previous edition, though correct in points, produced a number of doubtful readings. He also believed that the piece was a *defixio* — placing unnecessary weight on the fact that the thin tablet's surface (.002 cm. thick) had a tiny hole in it, as if pierced with a nail. His text and translation of the main portion go as follows:

Demon im(m)unditi(a)e
te agite(t) Aeli Fir(-)
me(.) Ste(f) supra caput
Iuliae Surillae.

"May the demon of filth
agitate you, O Aelius Firmus.
May he stand over the head of Julia Surilla."

Commentary:

Left side. The entire left portion of the *lamella* is made up of four short lines of letters and a peculiar drawing in the middle of the tablet. The rectangular 'head' and attached limbs probably represents the demon to be sent to Julia Cyrilla. (Vlassa interprets this as a candelabrum or the Jewish *menorah*).

The letters on the left can be probably interpreted as Greek vowels: ωι/υυυ/ιυδ να, which Vlassa interprets as θεοὶ ὑψ(ιστοι) ἐν Ἀδ(ω)να(ι). The box toward the bottom, enclosing a curved line, was also interpreted by Vlassa as an abbreviation for θεός (or ὄνομα). There are also traces of several markings that can be said to resemble the demon's limbs.

Right side:

1 *Demon imminens: Demon im(m)unditia(e)* Vlassa: *demon im(m)uni dei* Russu. On Vlassa's drawing the horizontal attaching to the *I* should be deleted: it is the remnant of the faint crease that runs across the top of the letters - *mmim* -. Further, what was interpreted as *u* by Vlassa and Russu is the third stroke of the *m* joining to the *i*. The final three letters, somewhat crowded, are in ligature.

The common verb *immineō*, "overhang, threaten," can carry a broader range of meanings ("be at hand;" "threaten;" "be impending;" "strive for;" "be eager for," etc.) and here, used of a demon, refers to a spirit sent to menace — or sexually long for — Julia Cyrilla, in the form of an apparition or dream. For the general notion of a threatening demon sent to appear in dreams, compare *PGM* XII.121-144 (an *ὄνειροπομπός*): λέγω καὶ σοί, μέγα δυναμένω δαίμονι· πορεύθητι εἰς τὸν τοῦδε οἶκον καὶ λέγω αὐτῷ τάδε, κτλ (lines 130f.) ... ἐπάκουσόν μου πορευθεῖς πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅπου τὸν κοιτῶνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραστάθητι αὐτῷ φοβερός, τρομερός, κτλ. lines 135f.). For demons who hover about or hang impendingly, note *PGM* XIII.278: ὀρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα ἐν ἀέρι φοιτῶμενον; further, *PGM* IV.3025f. mentions a peculiar ὁ περιπτάμενος δαίμων τοῦ πλάσματος τούτου, "a demon fluttering around this body."

2 *hac imminē pr(o)*: The cursive writing of *imminē* is nearly identical with the letters of the same word of the previous line, hence facilitating its decipherment. Vlassa's reading introduces an extra name into the text that makes little sense: *Aeli Fir(-)/me(.)*.

3 *me i <a> m iam*: The traces at the beginning of the line showing *meim*, followed by a prosaic *iam*, suggests *me i <a> m, iam*. The duplication of *iam*, *iam* in Latin magical texts is common; cf., e.g., A. Audollent, *Tabellae Defixionum* (Paris, 1904), no. 294, 27, etc., and the Latin terracotta amulet in H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* 1/2 (Paris, 1907), col. 1799f., *Separa te demonem a Florentia quem peperit Iusta quia hoc iubet magnus deus iam iam cito cito in nomine dei*.

aput: *supra caput* Vlassa. Neither the word *supra*, nor a supposed *c* in *caput*, represents a likely decipherment of the script here. We suggest *aput* (= *apud*). The preposition means "in the presence of; at the house of" but usually governs the accusative; however, an accusative ending *Iuliam Cyrillam* cannot be confirmed, unless one were to interpret the two visible strokes rather as *m*'s. For a similar putative use of genitive for accusative on Latin magical tablets, note A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), indices, p. 545; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I, II* ('Index XII,' p. 345, *passim*, on Greek texts).

4 *Iuliae Cyrillae*: *Iuliae Surillae* Vlassa. The cognomen *Cyrilla* is common; for examples from Dacia, see D. M. Pippidi & I. I. Russu, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris V* (Bucarest, 1980), no. 192, 2f.; no. 250, 10. The gold *lamella* may have been placed under the owner's pillow so that the demon, summoned by the tablet's magic invocation, would read the text and go to the house of Julia Cyrilla. A demotic spell, *PDM* xiv. 1070-77 (=H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 246), provides the plausible connections: "A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams again [magic signs]. You should write this on a reed leaf and put [it] under your head while you sleep. It makes dreams and sends dreams It brings a woman also," etc. (trans. J. Johnson).

25 Amulet to Expel an Evil Spirit

ROMA, Italy

(Now lost)

Former collection Principe de Anglona, Madrid

Roman Period

(No dimensions available)

Gold *lamella*

Lit. E. Hübner, "Gesamtsitzung vom 30./Mai 1861," *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1861 (1862), p. 533; *IG XIV*. 2413, 13; C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 96; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 281.

According to Emil Hübner the piece was found in Rome in the 1830's and formed part of the private collection of the Principe de Anglona. The exact circumstances regarding the *lamella*'s discovery are not known. No facsimile or photograph of the piece has ever been produced, and its present location is not known. The tablet was apparently intact.

πρηνήρὸν πνεῦμα καὶ κα-

κοποιὸν καὶ φθοροποιὸν

ἀπέλασσον ἀπὸ τῆς PENMA

4 ΛΙΑΣ, Πτᾶ νεβρ α-ν θαβιασα.

Drive away every evil spirit that works harm and destruction from (her so-and-so), *O Ptah, entirely beautiful, THABLASA*.

1 *πρηνήρὸν πνεῦμα*: Previous editions read *παν ιερὸν πνεῦμα* (*πᾶν ιερὸν*, *IG* = <μ>*ιερὸν*, i.e., *μιαρόν*, so Kirchhoff, followed by Bonner and Zuntz); the text, however, probably had *πρηνήρὸν*, with a cursive, looped *ο* mistaken for an *α* and the horizontal of the *η* (intersecting its right vertical), mistaken for *ι*. The exact expression *πρηνήρὸν πνεῦμα* is surprisingly rare in the magical papyri. In all of the papyri, we find only two examples, both Christian: *PGM* 13a.3: *παρ[α] φύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παντὸς πρηνήρὸν πν(εύμ)ατος*; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 31, 4: *θεράπευσον ... ἀπὸ παντὸς πν(εύμ)α(τος) πρηνήρὸν*. The adjective

of Moses 40: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μιχαήλ, τῷ Γαβριήλ, τῷ Οὐριήλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ; *Apocalypse of Ezra* 6:2; I Enoch 9:10; 10:1, 4, 9, 11; 20:2, etc.

Generally the names of three of the angels are fixed (Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael); the fourth, though traditionally given as Ouriel, is sometimes replaced by others, e.g. Souriel, as in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 42 (1981), p. 112, no. 2 (wooden amulet with Μιχαήλ Γαβριήλ / Σουριήλ Ῥαφαήλ). See also R. Kotansky, "Two Inscribed Jewish Aramaic Amulets from Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), pp. 267-281, esp. p. 276, (Amulet B, 2-4: Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and 'Anael on an silver lamella) with note 14, where the popular 'divine' etymologies of such angels is given: "Prince of the hosts of YHWH, Michael [=Josh. 5:14f.], and the man Gabriel [=Dan. 9:21], Raphael, master of healing," etc. Also of interest is PGM IV.1812-16, which describes the making of an actual gold tablet with the names of seven archangels: εἰς δὲ πέταλον χρυσοῦν τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο γράφε· εἰς Θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ, κτλ.

27 A Late 'Orphic' Underworld Amulet

Fig. 27. Plate VI

ROMA, Italy

London, The British Museum

Cat. no. 3154

II-III A.D.

H. 2.4 cm.; W. 6.5 cm.

Gold lamella

Lit. G. G. A. Murray in E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903; [repr. New York, 1975]), p. 673; D. Comparetti, *Laminette Orfiche* (Firenze, 1910), pp. 42ff. (pl. 4,2); F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery ... British Museum* (London, 1911), p. 378f., no. 3158; A. Olivieri, *Lamellae Aureae Orphicae* (Bonn, 1915), p. 18f.; R. S. Conway, "From Orpheus to Cicero," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 17 (1933), pp. 77, 87; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (2nd ed. London, 1952), p. 174, pl. 10; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 333-335 (Text A5; Pl. 28a); pp. 287, 293; M. L. West, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 18 (1975), p. 231; M. Guarducci, *Scritti scelti sulla religione greca e romana e sul cristianesimo* (EPRO 98; Leiden, 1983), pp. 77, 89f.; R. Kotansky, in: Faraone & Obbink, edd., *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 114 (and notes).

The tablet contains portions of the so-called 'Orphic' (or 'Orphic-Dionysiac') verses, often corrupt hexameters otherwise preserved exclusively on a group of gold leaves of late classical and Hellenistic date (see Zuntz 1971:277-393); see further, S. G. Cole, "New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysius," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980), pp. 223-238, on the new Hipponion leaf and its implications for the study of Dionysus; and R. Janko, "Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory," *Classical Quarterly* 34 (1984), pp. 89-100, for a reconstructed archetype. For the newest published 'leaves,' see K. Tsantsanoglou & C. M. Parássoglou, "Two Gold Lamellae from Thessaly," *Ἑλληνικά* 38 (1987), pp. 3-16; R. Merkelbach, "Zwei neue orphisch-dionysische Totenpässe," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 76 (1989), p. 15f. Here the older hexametric formulas of the gold leaves have been adopted for use as an amulet (Zuntz 1971:334; Kotansky 1991:114). Apart from this late example, the other gold 'Orphic-Dionysiac' lamellae fall outside the chronological and typological delimitations of this corpus.

Unlike typical amulets, this text is not concerned with protection from demonic afflictions or disease, but with safety in the Underworld.

The phenomenon has already been observed with a number of the late 'amulets' of this corpus: 2, 15, 20, 23; cf. 29, 39. Although all other extant examples of these 'Orphic-Dionysiac' *lamellae* date from the beginning of the 4th century B.C. (and somewhat later), this tablet dates to the 2nd or 3rd cent. The text follows the formulas of others in the group labelled 'A' by Zuntz (A1-3, A4), texts which characteristically open with the phrase *ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ, χθονίων Βασίλεια, Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε, κτλ.* ("I come pure from the pure, O Queen of them below, Eukles and Eubouleus ..., etc.). This piece, though, has been personally adapted to suit a specifically named bearer, Caecilia Secundina.

The tablet was reportedly found in the late 19th century at the site of a necropolis at S. Paolo fuori le Mura near Rome, but few details are known other than the fact that it apparently came from a sepulcher (Comparetti 1910:42; Guarducci 1983:77; Marshall 1911:380).

4 ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ,
χθονίων βασίλεια, Εὐκλεες Εὐβου-
λεύς τε, Διὸς τέκος ἀγλαά· ἔχω δὲ Μνημο-
σύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώ-
ποισιν· Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι
ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα.

She comes pure from the pure ones, O Queen of them below, Eukles and Eubouleus: Zeus's splendid child! But I have this gift of Memory, famous for men. Caecilia Secundina, go, since you have become divine according to the law.

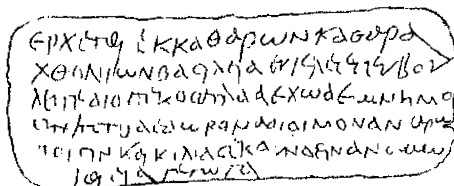


Fig. 27 (Comparetti)

1 ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ, χθονίων βασίλεια: The classical exemplars read *ἔρχομαι* in lieu of *ἔρχεται*; cf. Zuntz 1971:303 (A 2): *ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ*. Zuntz (1971:306f.) rectifies the often false interpretation given this opening line found in the older models, where, by a misplaced comma, *καθαρὰ* is made to modify *βασίλεια*: *ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν, καθαρὰ χθονίων βασίλεια*, i.e. "Out of the pure I come, *pure* Queen of them below:" *καθαρὰ* is appropriate in describing a person who has undergone ritual purification, not of a goddess, who would be described as *ἀγνή* or *ἄγνια* — that is, one whose 'holiness' would have remained constant. The fact that *καθαρὰ* is feminine poses no problem for our text, for its bearer is a woman. On the other hand, the subjects of the *ἔρχομαι*'s of the older texts — the deceased with whom the tablets were buried, who also claim to be *καθαρὰ* (fem.) — are all presumed to be male, though the identity of the graves is uncertain (Zuntz 1971:288-293). How so, then, are they described *καθαρὰ* and not *καθαρός*? Because, as Zuntz implies by his translation, it is the deceased soul, *ψυχή* (fem.), that is speaking: "'Here I stand before you,' so the soul says, '*καθαρὰ ἐκ καθαρῶν*'" (Zuntz 1971:306, italics mine). Oddly, however, in the whole group of 'A' tablets no specific mention of a deceased *ψυχή* is ever made, except in the heterodox text A4, whose first line has the unique 'Ἀλλ' ὁπόταμ ψυχή προλίπηι φάος Ἀελίοιο; there, however, all subsequent references in the text are *masculine* (*παθῶν*, line 3; *θεός ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου*, line 4, which need not be exclusively male). We only encounter a soul again in the new Hipponion tablet in describing a different group of souls at the spring on the right (the one to be eschewed): *ἐνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται* (Janko, *Classical Quarterly* 34 [1984], p. 99, line 6).

What we should conclude from this is that *καθαρὰ* in the older models of the 'A' group, just like *καθαρὰ* of the Caecilia Secundina text, perhaps signals texts designed or specifically written for *women* devotees. It should not matter if occasional male-gender vocabulary and verbal forms have crept incongruously into the texts (e.g., in A4 described above), after all classical Greece was largely a male-oriented society. Such 'ambiguity' between male and female-oriented vocabulary in the 'Orphic-Dionysiac' formulas finds its greatest tension in the use of the

indistinct gender of *παῖς*, in the formula *Γῆς παῖς εἰμι, κτλ.* (Texts B3-B8) — a formula in which the word *παῖς* (masc./fem.) is sometimes replaced with the more gender-specific *υἱός*. But a most telling change comes in the apparent writing of *Γῆς θυγάτηρ* (in lieu of *παῖς* or *υἱός*) on one of the B-group of texts (Zuntz 1971:362). Clearly a need to specify a female devotee required the unusual change.

The presence of a small maenad figurine in the most recently discovered 'Orphic-Dionysiac' *lamellae* (see above) — a pair of matching gold tablets found in the tomb of a woman at Pelinna — should give us pause to reassess the rôle played by female adherents of the beliefs presupposed by these 'Orphic-Dionysiac' tablets. Were female believers especially attracted as initiates to the 'Orphic-Dionysiac' rituals of these *lamellae*? Does the presence of a tiny maenad point to a possible element of ritual maenadism in these texts now largely defined as Dionysiac? Finally, does the late survival of Caecilia Secundina's 'Orphic-Dionysiac' *lamella*, with its surprisingly good preservation of a centuries-old hexametric poem, point to a continued presence of female disciples of Dionysus?

χθονίων βασιλεια: This is, of course, Persephone, wife of Hades (or of Pluton). A similar tag is found in *Orphic Hymni* 29, 6 (*Ῥμνος Περσεφόνης* [ed. Quandt]): *Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα, ὑποχθονίων βασιλεια* (see below, line 3).

2 *Εὐκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε*: Not *Ευκλεις* (Conway 1933: 87). *Eukles* (cf. *εὐκλής*, "famous") is an epithet of Hades; cf. Hesychius, s.v. *Ευκλῆς*: ὁ *Ἄιδης*. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής; further, Zuntz 1971: 309f. on the name's possible connection with a *Euklós* in Oscan.

Eubouleus ('he of good counsel'), though later identified with *Dionysos* (Commentary, line 3), is here also to be associated with Hades (Zuntz 1971:310f.); see also Nicander, *Alexiph.* 14, describing Hades as "Eubouleus' abyss that is difficult to escape from" (*χάσμα δυσέκδρομον Εὐβουλῆος*); cf. Hesychius, s.v. *Ευβουλεύς*: ὁ *Πλούτων* παρὰ [δὲ] τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁ <δὲ> *Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ*. Is the tablet, then, referring only to the divine Underworld pair, Persephone and Hades? Or is a third party to be envisioned, namely *Dionysos*?

3 *Διὸς τέκος ἀγλαά*: Who does "Zeus' splendid child" refer to? The neuter *τέκος* would seem here to admit a feminine adjective *ἀγλαά*

(to be elided *ἀγλαά*) in reference to *Caecilia Secundina*, the bearer (Marshall 1911: 380; Zuntz 1971: 334). But Zuntz points out here the "unsuitability" of introducing *Caecilia Secundina* as "the glamorous child of Zeus," especially in view of her speech that follows in *ἔχω δέ*. Faced with this and other difficulties, West (1975: 231) emends the text as follows:

Εὐκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε Διὸς τέκος· ἀλλὰ δέχεσθαι.

The change, although not justified by what is clearly read on the tablet itself, has the added attraction of identifying the "child of Zeus" as *Eubouleus*. If so, then, *Eubouleus* cannot be Hades and may indeed refer to *Dionysos*. Zuntz (1971:310f.), as noted above, has objected to the association of *Eubouleus* with *Dionysos* on the Orphic tablets A 1-3, presumably because those who have suggested this (e.g., Olivieri, Harrison) want to make *Dionysos* (*Eubouleus*) the offspring of *Persephone* and *Hades*. Of some importance, however, are the identifications of *Eubouleus* as *Dionysos* in the Orphic Hymns (*Hymni* 29,8; 30,6; 52,4), references which Zuntz names but attaches little importance to. But the fact that the Orphic hymns not only identify *Eubouleus* as *Dionysos*, but also as the child of *Zeus* and *Persephone*, might be of some importance, for the child then automatically has nether-world connections through his mother. An examination of these verses shows a similar juxtaposing of *Eubouleus* (= *Dionysos*) with *Zeus* as his father. *Orphic hymni* 30,6f., addressed to *Dionysos*, reads:

*Εὐβουλεῦ, πολὺβουλε, Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης
ἀρρήτοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεῖς, ἄμβροτε δαῖμον.*

The *Ῥμνος Περσεφόνης* (*Orphic hymni* 29,6-8) gives the following:

*Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα, ὑποχθονίων βασιλεια,
ἦν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοιςι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρη,
μήτηρ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος.*

Further, in *Orphic hymni*, 52,4f., one finds the combination *Εὐβουλεῦ ... κρύβιον Διὸς ἔρνος*. In discussing *Eubouleus* on tablets A 1-3, Zuntz does not appeal to the unique reading of the *Caecilia Secundina* tablet, which seems to name *Eubouleus* rather as "Zeus' son."

The hemistich corresponding to this phrase in the classical formulas reads *καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι* (Zuntz, A1); *καὶ θεοὶ δαίμονες ἄλλοι* (Zuntz, A2); and *καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δαίμονες ἄλλοι* (Zuntz, A3).

2-3 ἔχω δὲ Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον: The subject of the verb here unexpectedly switches from the third person of line 1 to the first person. The δῶρον, it would seem, is the famous verses of the amulet itself (Zuntz 1971:335), not, for example, the gift of 'cold water' assumed from the earlier Orphic tablets (so Marshall 1910:379). The poem's verses are viewed as sacred text. The text poses a problem, however, for the earlier exemplars, notably the new gold *lamella* from Hipponion (G. Pugliese Carratelli, *La Parola del Passato* 29 [1974], pp. 108-144), gives the same formula as Μνημοσύνης τόδε ἡρίον — a reading that has inspired a number of different interpretations.

αἰοίδιμον ἀνθρώποιςιν: Literally, this refers to the "'Gift of Memory' that is *sung* (i.e., highly praised) among men" (cf. Murray 1903). The phrase, not found on the other tablets, seems to echo the rather more pejorative tag in Homer, *Il.* 6.358 (ὡς ... ἀνθρώποιςιν πελώμεθ' αἰοίδιμοι). The expression standing in the same metrical position is also used in the *Orphic Hymni* 72,5 (ed. Quandt) of Artemis "who is praised among men in song" (αἰοίδιμον ἀνθρώποιςιν).

4 Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα: The writing of the actual name of the bearer of the charm follows the usage of contemporary magical amulets and is not found on the other Orphic *lamellae*. Caecilia Secundina is rightly identified by Conway (1933:77) as a probable relative of Pliny the younger (G. or L. Caecilius Secundus), who after his adoption by his maternal uncle, C. Plinius Secundus, became C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus; see A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford, 1966), p. 70; cf. Stein, art. "Caecilius," *RE* 5. Halbbd. (1897), cols. 1232f.; nos. 114-116.

νόμφ ἴθι διὰ γεγῶσα: The writing at the end of the tablet is lightly incised. Diels reads $\theta < \epsilon \alpha > \iota \alpha$, Murray, νόμφ αἰεὶ ἀπαγῶγα, but the letters and interpretation are clear.

28 A Victory Charm

Fig. 28. Plate VI

ROMA (Vigna Codini), Italy

Augustan Period

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (BN)

H. 2.0 cm.; W. 6.1 cm.

Collection Froehner, cat. no. 1211

Gold *lamella*

Lit. D. R. Jordan, *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985), pp. 162-167 (new reading, with add. ref. p. 163, n. 2); R. P. Giovanni Pietro Secchi, *BullCorrArch*, 1852, p. 151f.; T. Panofka, "Wissenschaftliche Vereine," *Archäologische Zeitung* 12 (1854), p. 441; R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 101f.; K. Preisendanz, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1928), p. 136; C. Bonner, "An Obscure Inscription on a Gold Tablet," *Hesperia* 13 (1944), pp. 30-35; H. Seyrig, "Deux notes d'épigraphie relatives aux cults alexandrins," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 13 (1953), pp. 603-612 (= *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Bruxelles, 1955); L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1956, p. 362; L. Vidman, *Isis und Serapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (RGVV 29; Berlin, 1970), pp. 152-154; M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (EPRO 21; Leiden, 1972), p. 144f.; no. 109 (bis); J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (EPRO 25; Leiden, 1972), p. 84f.; C. Gallavotti, *Bollettino dei Classici*, ser. 3, vol. 11 (1990), pp. 127-159; R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, Bd. 3 (Cologne, 1992), p. 58.

This thin gold *lamella* was discovered around 1852 in a crypt located at Vigna Codini (southern Rome). It was found in the mouth of a skull inside of a terracotta urn (Jordan 1985:162). According to Father Secchi, who reported the find from the excavator Gaetano Canestrelli, one of a number of columbaria (no. 3) excavated near the tomb of the Scipios in 1840, 1847, and 1852 brought to light this thin sheet of gold. Preliminary studies indicate that columbarium 3 was used for the deposit of the cremation remains of freedmen or women from the 1st century B.C. to the middle of the 1st cent. A. D.; the crypt, however, was apparently re-entered in Trajanic and Hadrianic times (Jordan 1985:166). Accordingly, the *terminus ante quem* for the deposit of the gold piece would be ca. 138 A.D. and its *terminus post quem*, the late 1st cent. B.C.

A few palaeographical clues allow us to date the piece somewhat more precisely within this time frame. In general, the hand (though containing some letters that join), is not really characteristic of the semi-

37 Triangular Formation of 153 Vowels

Fig. 37

EPHESUS (Selçuk), Turkey
 Berlin, Staatliche Museen
 Misc. 8957

II-III A.D.
 H. 5.0 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
 Gold lamella

Lit. Adolf Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, Bd. II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Berlin; Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung, 1975), p. 98, Nr. 11 (Taf. 68).

This *lamella* was found rolled up in a cylindrical, prismatic capsule sometime in 1900 or 1901 at Ephesus. The tablet had been folded over a number of times from top to bottom, and then once more vertically.

	αεηιωηιαηωωαηωηωα
	αεηιωηιαηωωαηωηω
	αεηιωηιαηωωαηωη
4	αεηιωηιαηωωαηω
	αεηιωηιαηωωαη
	αεηιωηιαηωωα
	αεηιωηιαηωω
8	αεηιωηιαηω
	αεηιωηιαη
	αεηιωηια
	αεηιωηι
12	αεηιωη
	αεηιω
	αεηι
	αεη
16	αε
	α

The tablet preserves a triangular formation (of vowels), called, in the magic papyri, a 'gradation-figure' (κλίμα, PGM I.12; cf. U. Wilken,

Archiv für Papyrusforschung 1 [1901], p. 422: 'Abstufungsfigur'), a 'wing-shaped' formation (πτερυγοειδώς, PGM II.2,5; πτερύγιον, PGM VII.716; πτερυγώματα, PGM XIII. 902), or a 'grapelike'- or 'heart-shaped' formation (καρδιακώς ὡς βότρυς, PGM III.69f.; καρδία, PGM IV.407; τὸ καρδιακὸν ὄνομα, PGM II.68; καρδιοειδώς, PGM LXII.82; βοτρυδόν/ βοτρυσοειδές in P. Rainer Cent. 39, discussed in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, pp. 4-6). These various shapes are discussed in W. Deonna, "ABRA, ABRACA: La croix-talisman de Lausanne," *Genava* 22 (1944), pp. 131-133; F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Berlin & Leipzig, 1925), pp. 63-67; G. Wojaczek, *Daphnis. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Bukolik* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1969), pp. 60-64 (with possible connections to 'figure-writing,' *technopaignion*); C. Lenz, "Carmina figurata," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 2 (1954), pp. 910-912; U. Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Cologne, 1991), pp. 33-45.

The series (as represented fully in the first line) begins with five Greek vowels — not the usual seven — arranged in their normal alphabetic sequence, but with *omicron* and *upsilon* omitted: AEHI<OT>Ω. The remaining vowels in the line follow no recognizable pattern. Such groupings of vowels — ηια, ηωω, αηω ηωα — are very common in the papyri and other magic texts. For instance, ηια occurs in PGM IV.599.

Can one extrapolate any numerical or isopsephic value for this series of vowels? The isopsephic value of the whole formation (= 27,916) yields no recognizable sense; however, the total number of letters themselves may be of some importance, for it comes to 153. The number 153, as known from the Gospel of John 21:11, represents the total number caught in the miraculous shoal of fish at the Sea of Tiberias: ἀνέβη οὖν Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ εἰλκυσεν τὸ δίκτυον εἰς τὴν γῆν μεστὸν ἰχθύων μεγάλων ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα τριῶν. The number must have carried mystical significance, though the precise reason for its mention in John's Gospel has perplexed commentators, both modern and ancient alike. Early Church Fathers seem first to have recognized that 153 is a sort of 'triangular' number whose base would be composed of 17 figures (as we have on our amulet). Augustine, *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus*, CXXII.8,35-43

(Corpus Christianorum, vol. 36, p. 673), *ad* John 21:11 observed that 153 can be arrived at by adding the figures 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 + 13 + 14 + 15 + 16 + 17: *Cum itaque legis denario Spiritus sanctus per septenarium numerum accedit, fiunt decem et septem; qui numerus ab uno usque ad seipsum computatis omnibus crescens, ad centum quinquaginta tres peruenit. Ad unum enim si adicias duo, fiunt utique tres; his si adicias tres et quatuor, fiunt omnes decem; deinde si adicias omnes numeros qui sequuntur usque ad decem et septem, ad supradictum numerum summa perducitur*, etc. In essence, this produces a triangular formation whose base would be composed of 17 figures, with each subsequent line reduced by one, until a single letter was left at the apex. (As this text shows, the number 17 in itself was not theologically important for Augustine; hence he interpreted it as the sum of 7 + 10, two 'divine' numbers). On the whole phenomenon of such triangular numbers, see F. H. Colson, "Triangular Numbers in the New Testament," *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1914), pp. 67-76; and N. J. McEleney, "153 Great Fishes (John 21,11)—Gematriacal Atbash," *Biblica* 58 (1977), pp. 411-417 (with previous literature). McEleney, by using a Hebrew method of numerical calculation called 'Atbash,' has shown that IXΘ (for ΙΧΘΥΣ) can also be reckoned as 153, hence suggesting that 153 represented a Christian cipher.

Theophanes Kerameus, *Homilia* 36 (Migne, *PG* vol. 132, p. 696), also recognized that the name Ρεβέκκα — for him a metaphor for the Christian Church — carried the isopsephic value of 153: 'Η γοῦν Ρεβέκκα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰκόνιζε, συναφθεῖσαν Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Τῶν γοῦν στοιχείων τῆς Ρεβέκκας ὀνόματος εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων, τρεῖς καὶ πενήκοντα, καὶ ἑκατὸν μονάδες συναχθήσονται, ὅσους καὶ τοὺς ἀγρευθέντας ἰχθὺς εὕρισκομεν. Since this is yet another ancient reference to the symbolic value of 153, it seems likely that the writer of our amulet, as well, recognized some mystical value in the 'triangular' number 153 and perhaps employed it as a sort of Christian amulet. Further support for this is found in the fact that, of the number of vowels on this amulet, the *alpha*'s and *omega*'s match up, with the same number of each (34), producing a predominant total; whereas the totals of each of the other vowels do not in any way appear to correspond:

16 *epsilon*'s; 44 *eta*'s; 25 *iota*'s; no *omicron*'s or *upsilon*'s. This apparent emphasis on the equality of Α and Ω may also suggest that the amulet was perhaps Christian.

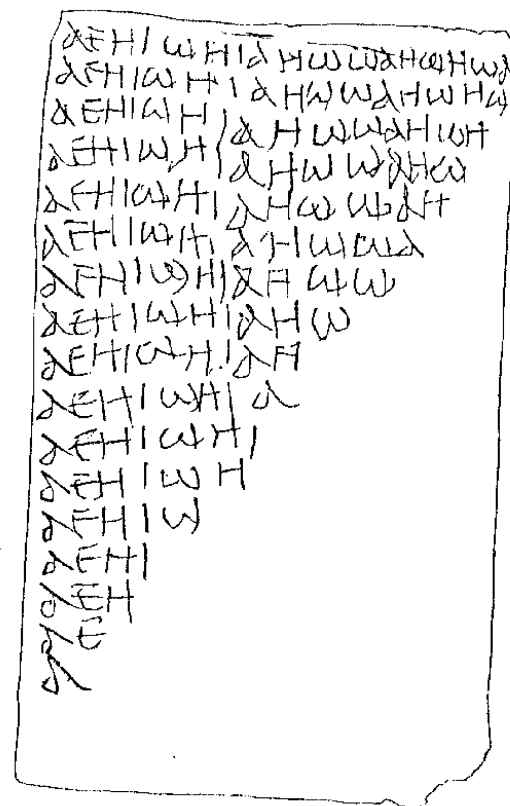


Fig. 37 (Greifenhagen)

38 Protection for Phaeinos from Demons

Fig. 38. Plate IX

AMPHIPOLIS, Thrace

London, The British Museum

cat. no. 3153

II-III A.D.

H. 5.2 cm.; W. 2.1 cm.

Gold lamella

Lit. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery ... British Museum* (London, 1911), pp. 378f.; no. 3153; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 279f.; R. W. Daniel, "A Phylactery from Amphipolis," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 41 (1981), pp. 275f.

The British Museum acquired this piece in 1867, though nothing of the exact circumstances of discovery are recorded. Amphipolis, known among other things for its gold and silver mines, has also yielded many gravegoods from all periods; note D. Lazarides, art. "Amphipolis," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 51f. It is likely that this piece was recovered from a gravesite.

Daniel (1981:275), who improved the reading of the *editio princeps*, dates the text palaeographically to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

- 1 Βαρουχ 'Αδωναὶ Εἰδὼ Σαβαὼθ 'Ελωαῖε, Οὐριήλ,
Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, 'Ραφαήλ, 'Αναήλ, Φαναήλ, Σαραφίλ,
'Ισραήλ αἰλαμ Σεμεσειλαμ θωβαρραβαν 'Αβρασαξ
4 'Αβλαναθαναλβα πανχουχι θασσουθ 'Ιαρβαθα
γραμμη φιβαω χνημεωχ 'Ακραμμαχαμα-
ρει Σεσενγενβαρφααραγγης, διαφύλαξον ἀπὸ
παντὸς δαιμονεῖου ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλ[υ]κο[ύ] τὸν
8 Φαεινὸν ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Παραμονά. Μελχίας Μελ-
χίας, ἄγιε θεὸς ἀγίων, μόνος αἰώνων φύλαξ ε.
ιβγαχρσαταν.

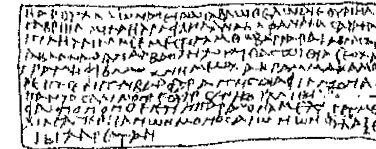


Fig. 38 (Marshall)

Barouch Adōnai laō Sabaōth Elōaie Ouriēl Michaēl Raphaēl Anaēl Phanaēl
Saraphil Istraēl Ailam, Semeseilam, Thobarrabau Abrasax (4)
Ablanathanaiba Panchouchi Thassouth, Iarbatha Gramme Phibaō
Chnēmeōch Akrammachamari Sesengenbarpharangēs, protect from every
male and female demon, (8) Phaeinos whom Paramona bore. Melchias, Mel-
chias, O holy god of the Holy (Ones), only guard of the Aions,
E.IBGACHRSATAN.

1 Βαρουχ 'Αδωναὶ Εἰδὼ Σαβαὼθ 'Ελωαῖε: Βαρουχ transliterates Hebrew "Blessed," ברוך (see 2,12; 59,6). The names in this line, rather than mere *voces magicae*, correspond to conventional Hebrew: "Blessed (be) my Lord, YHWH of Hosts...". Cf. esp. 1 Kings 1:48 (LXX): 'Αδωναὶ κύριε 'Ελωαι Σαβαὼθ (where the Masoretic Text reads here only תבואת יהוה). 'Ελωαῖε is equivalent to Hebrew אלוה; note Marshall (1922: 378f.) who interprets the whole phrase, "Blessed be my Lord God of Hosts, God (of Israel ?)" — adding line 3, after the string of angel-names); hence: ברוך אדוני יהוה צבאות אלוה ישראל. Similar 'liturgical' language is found on an Aramaic amulet: אלוה אל בני אדם (J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* [1985], A 12:19; 3:18ff.; 15:23); note also S. Eitrem, "A New Christian Amulet," *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p. 66f. line 1: 'Ορωρ φωρφωρ 'Ιάω Σαβαὼθ 'Αδωναὶ 'Ελωε Σαλαμαν.

1-2 Οὐριήλ, Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, 'Ραφαήλ: On these four angels, see 26, with Commentary. The following lines give a second group of four, less widely attested.

2-3 'Αναήλ, Φαναήλ, Σαραφίλ, 'Ισραήλ: Anael means 'God grants or answers' in Hebrew; see R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration*

Journal 41 (1991) B:3f. (pp. 275,277, with references). Φαναήλ probably derives from *פנה, "face," (i.e., *Panê-'el*, "face of God"), discussed at 33,5. Σαραφίλ (read Σαραφήλ) is a name parallel to the Seraphim (from שרף, "to burn;" "consume"); cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991) B:5 (סרפיל); 33,7f.,10. On Istraël (= Israel), see *PGM* IV.1816; XXXVI.310; R. Ganschinietz, art. "Israel," in *RE* 9 [1939], col. 2234; further, 33,5; 41,33 (with Commentary).

3 αἰλαμ Σεμσεῖλαμ: αἰλαμ is equivalent to Hebrew עולם "eternal;" whereas σεμσεῖλαμ itself is generally interpreted as 'eternal sun' (see 10; further, 4,4; 7,4; 10,36; 25,4, etc.). Hence Marshall may be correct in interpreting the whole phrase as Hebrew for "Israel, the eternal, eternal sun" (עולם שמש עולם). For the isolated occurrence of αἰλαμ, cf. *PGM* I.226: Θυθ ηλ αἰλαμ (= 'Thoth, god eternal').

Θωβαρραβαν: Cf. 4,10; 17,5f. Perhaps = 'the surety is good' (see Commentary, on 17,5f.). In *PGM* VII.977 the name occurs alongside Michael and other Hebrew-sounding names, thus also suggesting a Semitic derivation: θωβαρραβαν Μιχαήλ Μιχαήλ Οὔσιρι φορ·φορβα, 'Αβριήλ· σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης 'Ιάω, Σαβαώθ, 'Αδωναῖς, Λαῖλαμ; cf. Ch. Bruston, *Revue archéologique*, ser. 5, vol. 11 (1920), 47-49, with minor changes in *idem*, *Revue archéologique*, ser. 5, vol. 16 (1922), p. 79, n.1: Θωβλρεα ιαω ιωσεβη = יהו יושבי, "Fortune to the friend of Iaō who dwells by me" (on a carnelian gemstone). Slightly better would be perhaps יהו יושבי = *toḥ lərīah Yāō yōšēbī*, "it is good for the spirit of Yahweh (= Iaō) that indwells me."

3-4 'Αβρασάξ 'Αβλαναθαναλβα: Note, e.g., 11,10; 32,14, for these common magic names.

Πανχουχι θασσουθ: See 4,8; cf. 42,1; etc.

4-5 'Ιαρβαθα-logos: For this well-attested magic formula, correctly read here by Daniel 1981:275f., note *PGM* I.142,195 (abbrev.); III.337, 472,535; XII.94f. For additional citations, cf. R. W. Daniel, "P. Mich. Inv. 6666: Magic," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50 (1983), p. 148; further, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 12; C. Bonner *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 205. The letters φιβαωχνημεωχ in this *logos* are equivalent to Egyptian *p3 hib* '3 *Hnm* '3, "the great lamb, Khnum the great" (see R. K. Ritner in H. D. Betz, *Greek*

Magical Papyri in Translation [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 335). For the name on gemstones, note, e.g. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 205f.; P. Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, IV: Hannover, Hamburg* (Wiesbaden, 1975): Hannover, no. 175 (add. lit.); no. 202.

'Ακραμμαχαμαρει Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης: See 2,14f.; 4,5; 18,4, 10f.

6 διαφύλαξον (or διαφίλαξον, so Daniel). A faint right stroke of the *upsilon* is perhaps visible. This verb of protection is common in magic; on the *lamellae*, see 2,22f.; 32,15f.; 33,20f.; 38,6; 52,6,73; 41,18f.; 52,110f.; cf. also C. A. Faraone & R. Kotansky, "An Inscribed Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 265 and n. 14.

6-7 ἀπὸ παντὸς δαιμονεῖου ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλ[υ]κο[υ]: Distinctions between male and female demons are also regularly attested in Aramaic (and Semitic) spells (though no less so, perhaps, than in Greek); cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 4:15 (וְרוּחַ זָכָר וְרוּחַ נְקֵבָה, "... and the male and female spirit"); A 7:6f. (וְשִׁדָּה אֵן דְּכַר וְאֵן נְקֵבָה, "and the demon, whether male or female"); *PGM* IV. 2516-18: διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ πονηροῦ παντὸς δαίμονος, ἥτοι ἀρσενικοῦ πονηροῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ; *PGM* 21.37: φυλάξατέ με ἀπὸ παντὸς δαίμονος ἀρσενικοῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ; cf. 52,88,113.

8-10 Φαινὸν ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Παραμόνα: The name of Phaeinos' mother, Paramona (= 'staying on'), deserves further comment. The name might indicate that Paramona was a 'conditionally released' slave (*παραμονή*), as the noun technically refers to slaves who paid large sums of money to obtain limited manumission — a largely legal stipulation, for they were usually required to remain in service to their masters for the duration of their life-time; see J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian* (Bonn, 1972); further, K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves, I* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 133-161. In any event, the name was apparently a suitable slave's name: *P. Oxy* IX. 1205,4;19 records the manumission of a slave, Παραμονή; *IG* IV.1608 d(4) (Boeck, p. 781) mentions a slave (θρεπτός) of Chaeroneia named Παράμονος; and an inscription from Beroea names a *ιερόδουλος*

and her son, Παράμονος (Ph. M. Petsas, "ΜΗΤΗΡ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΧΘΩΝ. Unpublished Manumission Inscriptions from Macedonia," *Ancient Macedonia* III, 1983, p. 232). Furthermore, the name Παράμενων is a slave's name in Menander, (*Samia* 32, etc.), and the adjective παράμονικος (= παράμονον) is also used of 'trusty' slaves (Xenophon, *Mem.* 2.4.5).

On the other hand, other occurrences of the name Paramonos refer to persons sometimes in positions of authority and perhaps of some means: an agent of Apollonios' estate in the Zenon archive is so named, as is the ὀπλόμαχος (see, P. W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, Leiden, 1981, p. 388, s.v.); further a Paramonos entitled ἐλαιοπώλης is attested in *P. Tebt.* 890, 209, to cite a few examples. With a name whose meaning generally refers to *enduring, staying on, remaining, keeping*, etc., Παράμωνα or Παράμονος could well represent a *Beiname* of persons whose positions required endurance or steadiness; note, further, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Altertum Papyrologicum* (Milan, 1967), p. 235, s.v., for the name.

Μελχίας Μελχίας: The name (so Marshall 1911:379) is probably Hebrew/Aramaic מלך, "king," with a hellenized ending.

ἅγιε θεὸς ἁγίων, μόνος αἰώνων φύλαξ: We punctuate and translate this, according to the suggestion in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 87,4 (p. 189, commenting on φύλαξ on a lacunose papyrus amulet); hence: "O Holy God of the Holy (Ones), the only guard of the aeons." It is not impossible, however, that we have a peculiar Semitic A-B-C-B-A chiasmic construction: "O Holy God, the only guard of the holy aeons;" cf., e.g., *PGM* IV.3066: "... I conjure you by the one who, from the Holy Aeons (ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἰώνων), stirs together the four winds."

9-10 ε. ιβγαχρ σαταν: Marshall reads here εἰ διὰ ἀρετῆν, a reading, however, that is not defensible. The only unsure letter is perhaps χ, and the beginning of line 10 clearly reads IBΓ. The syllables are meaningless, unless in -σαταν it is perhaps possible to suggest Σατάν, "Satan;" "Accuser" (שטן), a name not inappropriate in a Jewish spell against demons.

39 "Save Euphiletos!"

Fig. 39

BEROEA (Véria), Macedonia
Former Robinson Collection
Present location unknown

I B.C.
H. 7.3 cm.; W. 5.8 cm.
Silver lamella

Lit. D. M. Robinson, "A Magical Text from Beroea in Macedonia," in L. W. Jones, ed., *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (New York, 1938), pp. 245-253; pl. 1; J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York & Oxford, 1992), no. 121, p. 226 (fig. 27 photo).

Robinson acquired the piece from the Ritsos Collection (Paris sale). Its stated provenance is ancient Beroea, a city in whose Jewish synagogue Paul and Silas preached and received a welcome reception (Acts 17:10-14). The amulet was found in a bronze capsule, the fragments of which measure 8.2 cm. and 4.5 cm. long. Robinson was inclined to assign the "crude script" to the third or fourth century. The hand is not "crude," *per se*; rather, before engraving the foil, the scribe had first rolled the tablet a number of times horizontally so as to produce guide-lines between which to copy his text. The thickness of the metal, however, seems to have resulted in some rather wayward and unparallel lines. Nonetheless, the engraver followed his meandering guide-lines, and it is this that has given the hand the false impression of being "crude." The script is actually quite graceful and practiced. When compared to the papyri from Egypt, it can be dated relatively early, especially in the use of a connecting slash between letters (see introduction to 36), and in the *upsilon*, *gamma*, and *tau*. The hand does not compare unfavorably to *P. Oxy.* IX. 1178 (Euripides, assigned, Early I B.C.), particularly in the writing of the *mu*, *tau*, *upsilon*, and other letters. D. Hagedorn has also privately suggested to me a late Ptolemaic date. An early 1st cent. A.D. date cannot be entirely ruled out, seeing that the text originates from outside of Egypt in a rural city where scribal practices may have been more conservative. The name of the amulet's owner and that of his mother also support the early date (see Commentary, lines 10-11).

Mouterde explains the orthography as follows $\chi\lambda\acute{o}\nu = \chi\lambda\acute{o}\eta\eta$; $\langle \epsilon \rangle \acute{\eta}\varsigma = \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$; $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta\eta = \tau\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\mu\eta\eta$.

7-8 $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ $K(\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron)\nu$: $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron(\nu)$ $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon(\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon)$ $\text{A}\acute{\upsilon}\gamma(\acute{o}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon)$ *ed. pr.* (Mouterde takes the adjective $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron(\nu)$ with $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$, the "Mighty crown of the lord Augustus," rather than with $\acute{o}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$). For the whole sentence, one should probably restore a $\kappa\alpha\iota$ between $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron(\nu)$ and $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$, viz. $\kappa\alpha\langle\tau\acute{\alpha}\rangle\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{o}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \tau\acute{o}\ \epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron(\nu)\ \langle\kappa\alpha\iota\rangle\ \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ $K(\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron)\ddot{\upsilon}$. In any event, the "Crown of the Lord" perhaps has in mind Christ's crown of thorns ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\pi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\nu\omicron\nu\ \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$, Mk. 15:16), or, better, the "golden crown" that the Son of Man in Rev. 14:14 wears ($\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\ \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\acute{o}\upsilon\nu$). The crown of thorns carried a number of symbolic meanings (see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$, 2), though its specific use in magic here seems unusual. The "crown of the Lord" may also imply 'Yahweh's crown,' and hence be connected with the previous name of God, *Elde*; cf. *PGM XXXV*. 19-22: $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\langle\nu\rangle\ \iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\omega}\theta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \tau\langle\omicron\rangle\ddot{\upsilon}\ \text{E}\lambda\omega\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{A}\acute{\delta}\omega\nu\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{A}\acute{\delta}\omega\nu\alpha\iota$.

8-9 $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ +: $\text{A}\acute{\upsilon}\gamma(\acute{o}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon)\ \tau\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta\eta$ (= $\tau\iota\nu\acute{o}\iota\mu\eta\eta$) *ed. pr.* For $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ read $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma(\epsilon)\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 261,13: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{o}\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$; *PGM* III.576f.: $\delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\iota$, $\tau\acute{\omega}\ \delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$, $\zeta\omega\acute{\eta}\nu$, $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$; *PGM* XIII.802: $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\iota\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, $\omega\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, $\kappa\tau\lambda$.

Tabula ansata (A-C): There are several possible readings of these lines. Clearly the reading of the initial letters $\Upsilon\Gamma\text{IAN}$, though clumsily written (the $-\gamma\iota-$ is written close together like a π), gives either the accusative $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, or better, the future, $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\acute{\omega}$, "I shall be healthy." Perhaps the best possible reading is an $\alpha\iota$, rather than ω , at the end: $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\alpha\iota$ (read, $\alpha\iota = \epsilon$, $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon$). The verb $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$ occurs in *PGM* VII.255 ($\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\epsilon$, $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon$, $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\epsilon$); XXIIb 28 ($\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon\ \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\epsilon$); *PGM* 9.13,30 ($\acute{o}\pi\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omega$; $\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\omega$).

The rest of the text can be transcribed as follows: $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \epsilon(\ddot{\upsilon})\chi\alpha\rho\iota\nu$, "give favor" (rather than, e.g., $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\ \{\epsilon\}\ \chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$, or $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma\ \pi\nu\epsilon$). On the feminine noun, $\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$ ("grace, charm"), see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, I (Milan, 1976), pp. 228f. gives numerous examples of $\epsilon\nu > \epsilon$ in the papyri.

46 Protection against Sorcery and Demons

Fig. 46

BEROEA (Aleppo), Syria

Present loc. unknown

(Former Collection Noël Giron)

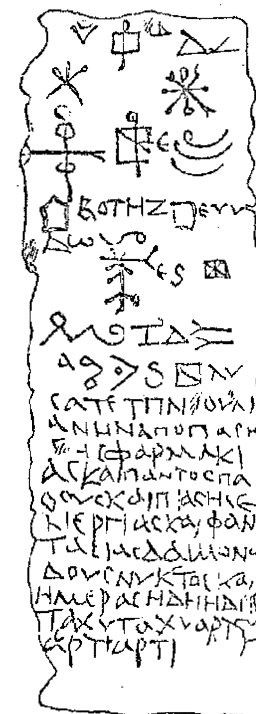
II/III A.D.

H. 13.0 cm.; W. 4.5 cm.

Silver lamella

Lit. N. Giron, "Notes Épigraphiques," *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 11, vol. 19 (1922), pp. 66-68, no. 7 (fig. 3; photo); L. Jalabert & R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1929), p. 119f.; no. 220; R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos*, *Mélanges Univ.-St.-Joseph* 15 (1930-1931), p. 103f., no. 30 (facs.).

- (Magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
4 sign $\beta\omicron\tau\eta\zeta$ sign $\epsilon\nu\nu$
δω sign
sign $\epsilon\varsigma$
(magic signs)
8 (magic signs) $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}$ -
σατε τὴν Ἰουλι-
ανὴν ἀπὸ πάση-
σ{ης} φαρμακί-
12 ας καὶ παντὸς πά-
θους καὶ πάσης ἐ-
νεργείας καὶ φαν-
τασίας δαιμονώ-
16 δους νυκτὰς καὶ
ἡμέρας, ἤδη ἤδη
ταχὺ ταχὺ, ἄρτι
ἄρτι.



16 νυκτὰς: νυκτὸς

Fig. 46 (Mouterde)

(Magic signs). Release Juliana from all sorcery and from all passive suffering and all active influence and demonic apparition of the night and day; now, now; quickly, quickly; immediately, immediately, immediately.

Giron 1922:66 states that the amulet comes from the area of Aleppo. The blank tablet was probably first folded, then inscribed, and re-folded again, judging from the fact that the written text appears to fall consistently between the creases in foil (see introduction to 32).

Jalabert & Mouterde's dating of the letter-forms to the 4th or 5th century is too late; the script is a good, 2nd-century, semicursive, literary-hand. A conservative attribution would assign the text to the late 2nd or possibly early 3rd century A.D. The overall style — notably the smallish *omicron*'s (and similar letters), the *alpha*'s *sigma*'s, and *mu*'s — is comparable to the hand of *P. Oxy.* VI. 853 (late II A.D.).

1-8 Magic signs: The second 'character' in line 1 compares well with those of no. 1,1f.; *PGM* I.268; and VII.922; the first 'character,' of line 3 is similar to that found in *PGM* II.155.

8-12 λύσατε τὴν Ἰουλιανὴν ἀπὸ πάσης{ης} φαρμακίας: Juliana seeks to be freed of the influence of sorcery or poisoning, as *φαρμακ(ε)ίας* can mean both. The plural imperative addresses the names and 'characters' listed in the first part of the spell; *λύσατε*, "loosen," further suggests that Juliana believes herself already bound by the influence of some *φαρμακία*; see also 36,15f.; 52,12,76,96f. Our spell is thus a 'counter-charm,' perhaps sexual in orientation (see Commentary below). For the combination of expressions similar to those found here, see *PGM* XIII.253: *πρὸς λύσιν φαρμάκων*; *PGM* XXXVI. 259: *λύσατε πᾶν φάρμακον*; cf. also *PGM* IV. 2176: *φάρμακα νικήσεις*; A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 245,23f.: *ὀρκίζω σε, δαιμόνιον τῆς φαρμακείας*.

12-14 καὶ παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης ἐνεργίας: In our text *πάθος* and *ἐνέργεια* must represent opposite pairs of magic operations (cf. the grammatical distinction between the two words, *πάθος* = 'passive;' *ἐνέργεια* = 'active'). Hence the notions probably connote a passive, or inward, type of magic suffering (e.g., that from disease, or even the 'pas-

sion' of love) versus a more 'active,' outwardly aggressive working of magic (affliction by a *μάγος*, etc.). Such subtle nuancing of specific types of magic occur, for example, in *PGM* XII.304-306, where a magic ring is described that produces dreams, divinations, 'psychical' afflictions, bodily illness, and erotic spells: *ὀνείρους ἐπιφέρειν, χρησιμοδοτεῖν, πάθη τε ψυχικὰ καὶ σωματικὰ καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐμποδισμόν τε ποιεῖν, φίλτρα ἐρωτικὰ πάντα ἀποτελεῖν*. The two words *πάθος* and *ἐνέργεια* occur together in a rather fragmentary and heavily restored divinatory spell, *PGM* III.284-286: ...[*προ*]γνωστικὴ πρᾶξις πᾶσα[ν ἐν]έργειαν <ἔχουσα> καὶ [πάντα τὰ πά]θη ποιήσα<σα> κλιτά ... [τὸ] πάθος παύεται, "Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] subservient [*fragment of a ritual follows*] ... [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish" (tr. W. Grese, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 26).

Πάθος alone is a general term for physical suffering; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 19,18,25, where the '*πάθος*' refers to the symptoms of fever. But *ἐνέργεια* in the papyri generally describes the (activated) power of magic, whether that acquired in divination (*PGM* IV. 159-160: *ἀπέστειλά σοι τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐν πάσῃ εὐκοπίᾳ ἱερὰν ἐπιτελουμένην ἐνέργειαν*); that of gold ring for success (*PGM* XII. 209f.: *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν χρυσῷ γλυφέντα τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνέργειαν ἔχει*); that of the magical *charaktères* (*PGM* I.274); or that which 'bends and attracts' a lover's soul (*PGM* IV. 1716-1720: *πρᾶξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, ἥς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἴσον διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κλίνει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἀντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλης*). In Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 54, 32, *καὶ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐνεργῇ*, '(I adjure you) ... to make (this magic spell) effective,' refers to the actual 'activating' of a magic spell.

In this section (lines 11-16), in general, four afflicting 'conditions' are specified: *φαρμακεία*, *πάθος*, *ἐνέργεια*, and *φαντασία δαιμονιώδους*. Deliverance from similarly combined problems is addressed in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), pp. 230,33-p. 231,1: *ἀνάλυσον ... ἀπὸ μαγείας καὶ φαρμακείας ... καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας*; *idem*, pp. 122,11-13: *λύσον καὶ τὰ κακὰ καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν φαρμακείαν καὶ μαλακίαν καὶ φαντασίαν ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδεῖνα*; cf. *PGM* VII.579f. (an amulet to be

engraved on a *lamella* or papyrus): Φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος.

15-17 καὶ φαντασίας δαιμονώδους νυκτὸς [-τὸς] καὶ ἡμέρας: The scribe wrote *νυκτὸς* for *νυκτός*. In this context we would not expect two accusative plurals (i.e., "for nights and days"). The phrasing follows stock formulas of the magical handbooks (see below) and is to be translated, "demonic apparition of the night or day." For a similar false writing of *νύξ* (in the accusative); cf. *P. Wash. Univ. II*, 108,3: *νύκταν* καὶ ἡμέρα<ν>.

Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, ('Index V'), p. 303, s.v. *νύξ*, give the following occurrences of *νυκτὸς* καὶ ἡμέρας: 42,16,37; 46,23; 49,79; 50,27,68; 59 [9?] (their nos.). All but the last occurs in an aggressively erotic context; cf. further, *PGM IV*.378; XII.615. (Incidentally, in the magic papyri there are no references to an accusative plural *νύκτας* καὶ ἡμέρας). Since the genitive *νυκτός* καὶ ἡμέρας is, for all purposes, restricted to the stereotypical language of erotic spells, it seems likely that our counter-charm envisions real threats of a sexual nature designed to work against its holder, Julia. This is clearly the tone of another *pharmakon*-oriented spell, no. 52, a spell that, though mentioning general protection from 'compelling daimons, sorceries, and binding spells' (lines 8-13), also specifies less ambiguous sexual motives behind the real writing of the tablet (lines 95-101). The fact that this Aleppo spell is written for a woman seeking a counter-measure against *πάθος* and *ἐνεργεία* insinuates that the 'sorcery' and threat of 'demonic visitation' may be sexual in nature. The demonic appearances 'of the night or day' recalls, then, the actual *nekydaimon* sent on behalf of the male aggressor to assault his sexual target. The Latin amulet (no. 24) gives a good example of such a demon being sent to a woman for ostensibly sexual aims.

Φαντασία does not occur in the magic papyri, though *φάντασμα* (*PGM IV*.[1014],2701; VII.579) and *φαντασμός* (*PGM X*.25) do. In A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 98,27f. there is also mention of a 'demonic appearance': *δησον, χαλίνωσον πᾶσαν ἀσθένειαν καὶ φαντασίαν δαιμονικήν*. Such demonic visitations are commonly nocturnal — cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 602,13-15: ('Ονομασίαι ὥρων τῆς νυκτός) ... ὥρα δ' καλεῖται 'Αἰῆλ ἢ Χίλμ' ἐν ᾧ

διέρχονται οἱ δαίμονες ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις καὶ ὁ διερχόμενος ἐκεῖσε βλαβήσεται καὶ φόβον καὶ φρίκην ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων λήμψεται φαντασίας; note, generally, *idem*, p. 122,14-15: Φυλακτήριον εἰς φάντασμα καὶ ξύπασμα τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. Particularly fearful are the 'midday' demons; see W. Brashear, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 36 (1990), p. 68f.; *idem*, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 38 (1992), p. 30f.; see, further, the reference to Athanasius, cited below.

On δαιμονώδους, Jalabert & Mouterde print δαιμον<ι>ώδους, observe that the word is a "not rare", and compare it to δαιμονιώδης in NT James 3:15: οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ σοφία ἄνωθεν κατερχομένη, ἀλλὰ ἐπίγειος, ψυχική, δαιμονιώδης. However, the spelling δαιμονώδης (i.e., without *ι*) is actually attested in an exclamation in Ioannes Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 11 (Migne, PG 55, 146,29): Ὁ διαβολικοῦ ῥήματος! ὦ ψυχῆς δαιμονώδους! (cited in Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*; though LSJ Suppl., s.v. 'δαιμονώδης = δαιμονιώδης,' refers to only this, our Beroea amulet).

The adjective spelled with *ι*, δαιμονιώδης, is actually relatively common in Christian literature. For examples relevant to our text, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 21.2,1 (on Simon Magus): Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν πεπονηρευμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ μαγείᾳ δαιμονιώδους πλάνης καὶ πεφαντασιωμένην, πρόχειρος ὢν ἀεὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κακίας τὰ βαρβαρικὰ καὶ δαιμονίων πράγματα διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μαγγανείας ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, κτλ. (ed. Holl, *Epiphanius Panarion*, I. p. 239); Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos*, 90:6 (Migne, PG 27), p. 401,16f., ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ [Ps. 90:6b]. Οὐ σύγκριμα δαιμονιώδης μεσημβρίας. Τὸν γὰρ μεσημβρινὸν δαίμονα φησὶν εἶναι τῆς ἀκηδίας; cf. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v.

The adjective, δαιμονιώδης, is found also in non-Christian contexts, though less frequently: the occurrences in *P. Mich.* XL, 149 (astrological fragments), cols. VI,33; VII,11; VIII,8,13, for example, must carry some other technical sense: "the word is not commonly used by the astrologers and its significance is not clear ... δαιμονιώδεις μοῖραι are contrasted with κραταιαί, the first 48° in each quadrant, apparently, being designated κραταιαί and the remaining 42° δαιμονιώδεις" (ed. Robbins, p. 96).

Olympiodorus, *In Platonis Gorgiam* 47,7 (ed. Westernick, p. 249, 4), also uses the word to describe demonic guardians of Hades: διὰ τοῦτο

οὖν ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ χθονίων δυνάμεων ἐφισταμένων. τὰς δαιμονιώδεις γὰρ δυνάμεις διὰ τοῦ Κερβέρου κυνὸς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων σημαίνουνσιν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἔχεις ἐντεῦθεν διαφορὰν θείων καὶ νερτερίων δυνάμεων. Furthermore, wording particularly close to that of our amulet occurs in Eustathius, *Comm. Od.* I, 442, 32: Ἐμπούσα γάρ φασι, φάσμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπὸ Ἑκάτης πεμπόμενον; similar, *Etym. Mag.*, p.336,38: φάντασμα δαιμονιώδες ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης πεμπόμενον.

17-19 ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ, ἄρτι ἄρτι ἄρτι: The phrasing is stereotypical (note *PGM* IV.973,1593,1245; XVIIIb; XXXII,19; XXXVI.11,84,113f.,132,319f.,360; XXXIX.21, etc.), but the pleonastic ἄρτι ἄρτι ἄρτι is less common.