

Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets

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The use of magic for protection and deliverance from diseases must have been widespread from the earliest times.¹ The sufferer had recourse to healing through prayers and offerings, rites of incubation, and any number of rituals performed by itinerant holy men who adhered to that heterodox and often arcane aspect of religion known as “magic.”² Apart from the more empirically minded doctors, a wide variety of practitioners from herb-gatherers to midwives could be sought for remedies in the classical period.³ As an infection festered or a fever lingered, even the sternest critics of traditional or “superstitious” remedies turned to the application of amulets. In his lost *Ethics*, Theophrastus questions whether a man’s character changes when the circumstances of his life change, and he reports how the “freethinking” Pericles, sick with the plague, had been prodded by his womenfolk into wearing an amulet (Frag. L21 Fortenbaugh); Diogenes Laertius tells a similar deathbed tale about the philosopher and notorious atheist Bion, who at the end of his life dons amulets and renounces his former attacks “against religion” (*εἰς τὸ θεῖον*, 4.54; cf. 4.56–57). Both anecdotes, whether historically accurate or not, present a plausible picture of competing cures and “second opinions” as a disease worsens and seem to set the use of amulets squarely within the sphere of traditional beliefs.

Amulets were in demand for every imaginable situation in life.⁴ Although they could often serve to introduce desirable qualities such as love, wealth, power, or victory,⁵ amulets were usually used to cure medical complaints (both injuries or illnesses) and to thwart the daemonic influences often held responsible for disease. Etymologically speaking, the Greek terms for amulet (*περίαμμον* and *περί-απτον*) are derived from the verb *περιάπτειν* (“to tie on”) and refer to an object or material that is “attached to” or “tied on” to a person.⁶ A phylactery (the English word comes directly from the Greek *φυλακτήριον*, formed from the verb *φυλάσσειν*, “to protect”) is a type of amulet used more specifically to protect an individual or community from some impending calamity or plague.⁷ Amulets could be organic substances or simple compounds; as we shall see, their application was often accompanied by spoken prayers or incantations. In later times the large number of amulets containing written prayers and incantations allows us to document the gradual transition from the “unlettered” practice of oral magic to the

full-fledged literary compositions found in the Greek magical papyri. Simple, uninscribed amulets are difficult-if-not-impossible to identify; even when they carry some telltale symbol or design, they remain silent about their specific purpose or the source of their efficacy. Those, however, that are inscribed with texts (no matter how brief) provide information about the ancient medical and religious contexts of their use and will be the focus of our inquiry here.

THE COMBINED USE OF INCANTATION AND AMULET

As far as the use of written charms is concerned, presumptive antecedents can be traced to ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern rituals with which early Greek traders may have had contact.⁸ This does not, however, mean that such amulets were taken over directly from oriental prototypes; magic is indigenous to every culture, and the employment of magic incantations and the like for apotropaic purposes already occurs in the earliest Greek writings. We cannot be certain just how and when written charms came into regular use among the Greeks (and later the Romans), although it is clear that in the very early periods healing words or other incantations often accompanied the protective or therapeutic act. The locus classicus is a passage in Homer describing how the sons of Autolycus stop the bleeding of Odysseus' boar wound by binding it with an incantation (*Od.* 19.457–59):⁹

ὠτειλῇν δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο
 δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν
 ἔσχεθον

And the wound of noble, god-like Odysseus they bound up skilfully, and checked the black blood with a charm. (trans. A. T. Murray)

Here, the "skillful binding" of the leg, although applied with a magic utterance, appears to modern readers to serve the practical medical function of staying the hemorrhage by use of a tourniquet; the widespread testimony, however, to the popular ancient belief that knots could bind the flux sympathetically cannot be overlooked.¹⁰

One of the earliest mentions of Greek amulets and the pronouncement of spells appears in Pindar, where we read of the adult Asclepius, who was taught medical lore by Chiron the Centaur. The passage seems to give a detailed description of early fifth-century B.C. medical practice (*Pyth.* 3. 47–54):¹¹

τοὺς μὲν ὦν, ὅσσοι μόλον αὐτοφύτῳ
 ἐλκῶν ξυνάονες, ἢ πολιῷ χαλκῷ μέλη τετρωμένοι
 ἢ χερμάδι τηλεβόλῳ,
 ἢ θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας ἢ
 χειμῶνι, λύσαις ἄλλον ἀλλοίῳ ἀχέων
 ἔξαγεν, τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς ἀμφρέπων,
 τοὺς δὲ προσανέα πί-
 νοντας, ἢ γυίοις περάπτων πάντοθεν
 φάρμακα, τοὺς δὲ τομαῖς ἔστασεν ὀρθοῦς·

And whosoever came to him [sc. Asclepius] afflicted with natural illnesses or with their limbs injured by grey bronze or stones far-slung or with their bodies ravaged by summer's fever or winter's chill, these he frees from the bonds of every sort of pain, tending some with gentle incantations, giving others soothing *φάρμακα* to drink or attaching *φάρμακα* to their limbs from every side, and still others he cures by incisions.

Here Pindar presents us with a compact description of Asclepius' threefold medical methodology (incantations, *φάρμακα*, and surgery), wherein he subdivides the second category into *φάρμακα* drunk as potions and those tied on as amulets (*περιάπτειν*). The *φάρμακα* (drugs or charms) that are attached as *περιάπτα* were perhaps applied with an incantation (*ἐπιφθῆ*) in a way similar to that described in Homer;¹² but the important fact here is that at this early stage incantations remained separate from the amulet.

One is reminded of the well-known incantation in Cato's *De agri cultura* 160, which is probably considerably older than the second- or third-century B.C. text in which it is preserved. It is part of a recipe for healing dislocated or fractured bones that also involves the "sympathetic" gesture of cleaving a reed in two and then rejoining the pieces while brandishing an iron knife and uttering the apparently nonsensical incantation, MOTAS VAETA DARES DARDARES ASTATARIES DISSUNAPITER.¹³ The pieces of reed are then attached (*adligare*) to the limb in question, perhaps as a practical splint of sorts but more likely in order to place the symbolically rejoined reed in direct contact with the damaged joint or bone(s), that is, as a sort of primitive amulet. For the following days there is an additional charm for recitation: HUAT HAUT HAUT ISTASIS TARSIS ARDANNABOU DANNAUSTRA.

The first explicit reference to an amulet applied with an incantation occurs in Plato's *Charmides* (155e–156e). Socrates reveals the recipe for a headache amulet that he once learned from the Thracians while serving on a military campaign in the area, probably at Potidaea or Amphipolis (cf. *Ap.* 28e). As is often the case with Plato,¹⁴ the account serves to introduce a dialogue on the meaning and definition of something more important than a mere detail of medical lore; nevertheless, it does preserve a fascinating folkloristic belief probably contemporary with the dialogue's composition if not indeed known personally to the historical Socrates. The charm is described as follows (155e): "So I told him that the thing itself was a certain leaf (*φύλλον*), but there was a charm (*ἐπιφθῆ*) to go with the remedy; and if one uttered the charm at the moment of its application, the remedy made one perfectly well; but without the charm there was no efficacy in the leaf" (trans. W. R. M. Lamb). The cure, therefore, is only effective when the leaf is applied with the requisite incantation; unfortunately Socrates does not give the text of the incantation in the course of the dialogue.

Later writers also report that the recitation of incantations or magic formulas could, with the application of a special material, rectify fractures or heal other medical problems. Lucian, for example, in a way reminiscent of the *Charmides*, also describes the process of enchanting an amulet with powerful words. During a revealing discussion about the efficacy of amulets and incantations (*Philops.* 7–8), the question is raised about the value of applying external remedies to ailments that have internal causes. Those who are defending the use of amulets explain that

oftentimes objects employed for the cure of rheumatism in the feet, such as a weasel's tooth or lion's whiskers, are only effective if one knows how to use them with a suitable incantation (εἴ τις ἐπίσταιτο αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπωδῆς ἐκάστω [*Philops.* 7]).¹⁵ A little later in that same dialogue we learn that the disease is believed to be driven away by uttering magic words (*Philops.* 9), and a story is told about a Babylonian magus who healed a certain gouty Midas by chanting an ἐπωδή and binding a fragment of a tombstone of a deceased virgin to the sufferer's foot (*Philops.* 11)!¹⁶

These examples suggest that incantations and amulets were often used in tandem for healing.¹⁷ As in the case of the *defixiones* (discussed by Faraone in chapter 1), the verbal incantation and the material used in the attendant gesture (e.g., the leaf applied to the head) seem, with the introduction of a written language, to merge according to some natural law of economy. As a result, a new and more sophisticated type of amulet begins to appear, as the words of incantations, formerly only spoken, are now engraved directly onto the amulet itself.¹⁸

EARLY INSCRIBED AMULETS: THE *EPHESIA GRAMMATA*

There is no sure way of knowing when the first written charms were employed by the Greeks; and much of our understanding of such texts must remain hypothetical, since the discoveries of actual inscribed amulets from the classical period are few. The rather scanty evidence, of course, does not provide an accurate picture of what probably was a widespread practice. Amulets written on perishable material (e.g., leather, wood, wax, and the like) would not have survived intact. A similar problem attends the texts engraved on more durable materials: tablets of gold or silver were reused because of their innate value, while those of cheaper metals such as lead were regularly recycled on account of their pliability and noncorrosive nature.¹⁹

Let us look at some of the early evidence for texts written on amulets. The use of rings as amulets, possibly engraved, is mentioned by the comic poet Antiphanes (*Frag.* 177 Kock), a contemporary of Demosthenes. The passage simply states that someone purchased from Phertatos for a drachma a ring for digestive pains. We read nothing about what the ring was made of, whether it was a simple band or held a carved stone, nor is anything said of an inscription. Such rings used as amulets must have been common. When Aristophanes has the "Just Man" ignore the threats of Karion, a treacherous sycophant, he seems to allude to rings that actually carried engraved texts for use as amulets (*Plut.* 883–85):

- ΔΙ. οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σου. φορῶ γὰρ πριάμενος
τὸν δακτύλιον τονδί παρ' Εὐδάμου δραχμῆς.
ΚΑ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνεστι "συκοφάντου δήγματος."

Just Man: I fear you not, for I wear a ring that
Eudamos sold me for a drachma.

Karion: But it is not inscribed, *For an informer's bite.*

Here, too, the ring's price and supplier is named. Karion's witty reply suggests that there was a market for inscribed rings that protected the wearer from the bites of

dangerous insects or animals; Bonner believes that a designation such as *σκορπίου δήγματος* (for scorpion bite) or the like must have been in common enough use as part of the actual inscription to warrant such an allusion.²⁰

But to find detailed evidence for the early use of engraved amulets we must turn elsewhere. The *Ephesia grammata*, mystic letters allegedly incised on the famous cult statue of Artemis of Ephesus,²¹ were often used in apotropaic rituals, both verbally and as parts of inscribed texts. The text of the incantation, traditionally given in ancient sources as *ασκιον, κατασκιον, λιξ, τετραξ, δαμναμενευς, αισιον* (or *αισια*) shows that (like the charms recorded by Cato) they were not comprehensible to later ancient writers.²² Menander describes them as "evil-averting spells" (*ἄλεξιφάρμακα*) spoken as one walked in a circle around newly wed couples.²³ Plutarch (*Mor.* 706e) reports that the "Ephesian letters" could be uttered to expel daemons and that Croesus supposedly recited them to save himself from being burned alive on the funeral pyre. But were the Ephesian letters also used as written charms, that is, engraved on objects to be used or worn as talismans? A story (albeit recorded in late sources) does tell of an Ephesian who by wearing the letters tied onto his ankle repeatedly defeated his Milesian rival in boxing; as soon as the amulet was detected and removed the man was soundly defeated.²⁴ One is immediately reminded of the many *νικητικά* (victory charms) recorded in the Greek magical papyri and useful in a variety of agonistic settings.²⁵ In *PGM* IV.2145–50, in particular, we find a multipurpose talisman that employs Homeric verses (*Il.* 10.521, 564, and 572) engraved on an iron tablet; one of the virtues of this magic tablet is that a contestant who carries it will remain undefeated (lines 2159–60).

Mention of the use of inscribed *Ephesia grammata* comes from an early source as well. A fragment of Anaxilas, a fourth-century B.C. comic poet, reads (*Frag.* 18 Kock),

ἐν σκνταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν
Ἐφεσῆϊα γράμματα καλὰ.

Carrying about the excellent Ephesian
letters in little stitched hides.

Like the reference to the Ephesian boxer given above, we do not know on what material the *grammata* were engraved or in what manner they were carried, though the passage suggests a sort of leather pouch (similar to the metal tubes worn by both Greeks and Romans, which often enclosed an inscribed metal tablet or papyrus).²⁶ A lead tablet actually inscribed with the *Ephesia grammata* allegedly from Phalasarna in Crete dates securely to the fourth century B.C. (it is roughly contemporary with Anaxilas); it had been folded over about six times into a small mass only three or four centimeters wide²⁷ and had evidently been used as a protective charm, perhaps for an individual, though one cannot rule out protection for a household or sanctuary. The rather long text scratched into the tablet is mostly composed of hexameters that clearly served as an *ἐπωδή* to ward off some general malady or plague on Crete in the fourth century B.C.²⁸

Although the text is fragmentary (most present editions of the opening line, for instance, must be rejected), the apotropaic language of the piece is evident throughout. Some sections are hymnic in nature (like the hexametric hymns of the *Papyri*

Graecae Magicae) and invoke deities appropriate for healing or success: Zeus Alexikakos (line 3), Herakles Ptoliporthos (line 3), Iatros, Nike, and Apollo (line 4). The formula used at the beginning of the tablet seems to address some type of evil directly: "I bid . . . flee from our homes"²⁹ followed by the repeated command *φεῦγε* (Flee!) addressed to "wolf" and "dog" and other unidentifiable entities, all probably designations for daemons. In addition to the appearance of the Ephesian letters (lines 5, 9–11, and 15ff.) towards the end of the spell there seems to be a request for protection against the magic operations of others.³⁰ If worn about a person, as its compact size would suggest, the folded tablet could have been enclosed in a *σκυτάριον ῥάπτων* like that described by Anaxilas and suspended from the neck by a thong.³¹

AMULETS WITH *ἐπωδαί* IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The texts of the extant amulets from the classical era are few, but for the period of the Roman Empire the situation is considerably different. Sometime between the hellenistic period and the height of the Roman Empire the manufacture of inscribed amulets began to flourish. Among the extant magical papyri, one document in particular, known as the Philinna papyrus (*PGM XX*) and of relatively early date (first century B.C.), gives instructions for using *ἐπωδαί* in apotropaic contexts.³² These tattered fragments of a medicomagical handbook³³ preserve two incantations (*ἐπωδαί*) composed in hexameters³⁴ that are clearly antecedents of some of the inscriptions found on amulets of the later Roman period. The first is to be used against inflammation and is entitled *An incantation of the Syrian woman from Gadara*. Employing some sort of "sympathetic magic," it briefly describes an initiate to a mystery religion (*μυστοδόκος*) who is set aflame on a mountaintop and subsequently doused with water:³⁵

[The most majestic goddess' child] was set
Aflame as an initiate—and on
The highest mountain peak was set aflame—
[And fire did greedily gulp] seven springs
Of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions,
But seven dark-eyed maidens with dark urns
Drew water and becalmed the restless fire. (trans. E. N. O'Neil)

Despite the obscure references to initiation and predatory animals, the nature of the incantation is fairly straightforward: just as the immolated *μυστοδόκος* is subsequently doused with water, so too will the bodily inflammation of the patient be extinguished.

These types of spells are known as *historiolae*—short stories recounting mythological themes that sympathetically persuade the sufferer's illness to cease.³⁶ Another *historiola* occurs on a silver phylactery found at Carnuntum. The spell, dated to the third century A.D. on archaeological grounds, contains a description of an encounter between Artemis of Ephesus and Antaura the mermaid; the text on the tablet reads as follows:³⁷

πρὸς ἡμικράνι(ο)ν· Ἀνταύρα
 ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς
 θαλάσσης, ἀναβόησεν ὡς
 ἔλαφος, ἀνέκραξεν ὡς βοῦς.
 ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία]
 “Ἀνταύρα, πο[ῦ]
 ὑπάγ[εις] ἡμικρ[άνιο]ν;
 [μ]ὴ οὐ[κ ε]ἰς τὰν . . .”

For migraine headache. Antaura came out of the ocean; she cried out like a deer; she moaned like a cow. Artemis Ephesia met her: “Antaura, where are you bringing the headache? Not to the . . .?” (here the text breaks off).³⁸

In this case, Artemis’ presumed interdiction of the disease will hopefully be reenacted in the body of the person who wears the amulet. Another tablet (discussed below) contains a similarly short mythological story for the cure of epilepsy, and possibly also for headache.³⁹

The second spell of the Philinna papyrus is the headache remedy of its namesake, the mysterious Philinna of Thessaly. This short hexametric spell cures by using a “flee” formula:

φεῦγ· ὀδύνῃ κεφαλῆς· φεύγει δὲ [λέων] ὑπὸ πέτρῶν,
 φεύγουσιν δὲ λύκοι, φεύγουσι δὲ μώνυχες ἵπποι
 [ιέμενοι] πληγαῖς ὑπ’ [ἐμῆς τελέας ἐπαοιδῆς].

Flee, headache, [lion] flees beneath a rock,
 Wolves flee; horses flee on uncloven hoof
 [And speed] beneath blows [of my perfect charm]. (trans. E. N. O’Neil)

The same “flee” formula appears on the much earlier Phalasarna tablet (see pp. 111–12), where a presumably daemonic dog and wolf are similarly put to flight. But this is not the only indication of the antiquity of this particular kind of ἐπιφροδῆ; a similar formula, quoted by Pliny (as a hexameter) as part of a ritual cure for *impetigo*, seems to be a product of the classical period or earlier:⁴⁰ φεύγετε κανθαρίδες· λύκος ἄγριος ὑμμε διώκει (“Flee beetles, a fierce wolf pursues you”). The incantation is repeated while the infected area is touched with a special stone.

As the last example shows, the use of unengraved materials as amulets continues unabated in the Roman period side by side with the talismans and phylacteries that carried texts. Chapters 24–32 of Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* attest well to the situation in the first century of the common era. Numerous folklore remedies are described, but among the literally thousands of “magical” remedies (both herbal and mineral) we find only a few recipes that employ an incantation by itself; for instance, Attalus is reported to have uttered duo to avert scorpion sting (28.5.24), and elsewhere a formula is given for protection while one picks a powerful herb (24.116.176).⁴¹ Pliny also gives an example of an incantation to be uttered simultaneously with the application of an amulet; the healer, while fasting and applying nine herbal knots as an amulet, recites the *carmen*, “Fasting I give a cure to a fasting patient” (24.118.181). Inflammations are to be treated with a plant called *reseda*

while the following chant is repeated three times: "Reseda, allay diseases; dost know, dost know, what chick here uprooted thee? May he have neither head nor feet" (27.106.131). Elsewhere to cure superficial abscesses, a fasting, naked woman is to touch a patient's back and say, "Apollo tells us that a plague cannot grow more fiery in a patient if a naked maiden quench the fire" (26.60.93), a charm that recalls the incantation against inflammation in the Philinna papyrus quoted above. Thus throughout antiquity we find the continued use of the therapy of the spoken charm in tandem with the application of the uninscribed amulet.

Elsewhere Pliny records a somewhat early example of an incantation to be written on papyrus as an amulet; Marcus Servius Nonianus, consul in 35 A.D., cured his ophthalmia by engraving the Greek letters PA on a slip of papyrus and tying it around his neck (28.5.27).⁴² In addition to papyrus and lead, amulets were fashioned from a wide variety of other writing media as well. Magical texts (often containing just symbols or very short spells) are often inscribed on small, semiprecious stones that are then set into rings and necklaces or otherwise simply carried in an individual's clothing.⁴³ Slips of gold or silver foil (*lamellae*) inscribed, like the Artemis and Antaura amulet quoted above, with apotropaic prayers and incantations, are often described in the recipes of the magical papyri and the late medical writers.⁴⁴ Although these tablets have often been neglected in the past, or at least not fully appreciated, they will provide the focal point of our discussion of inscribed amulets of the later period.⁴⁵

THE MAGIC LAMELLAE

Gold and silver magic *lamellae*⁴⁶ have been unearthed in every corner of the Roman Empire and are usually inscribed with protective charms similar to those found in the magical papyri. Their existence testifies to a popularity at least as widespread as that of the gemstones, though due to their often fragile condition (and for the other reasons discussed above), not nearly as many *lamellae* as gemstones have survived. References, however, in both the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* and a variety of other ancient literary sources show that these inscribed amulets were recommended more frequently than the gemstones for healing and other magic operations. Also, the so-called Fayum portraits, which sometimes picture women and children wearing the telltale tubular capsules, provide evidence for their regular use among Egyptians in the Greco-Roman period.⁴⁷

The so-called Orphic *lamellae* come foremost to mind when discussing possible prototypes for these tablets.⁴⁸ They date to the late classical period (c. 400–330 B.C.; the "Cretan" group [B3–B8 Zuntz] is somewhat later) and do not, at first, seem to have been amulets in the conventional sense described above; rather, they were usually placed unrolled on a corpse as a form of phylactery that protected the dead person from either the terrors of the afterlife or the equally feared cycle of rebirths (metempsychosis).⁴⁹ There is, however, some physical evidence that "Orphic" tablets could indeed be used as traditional amulets as early as the classical period. The tablet labeled C by Zuntz was found with one of the more "standard" texts (A4) in 1897 (in the "Timponne Grande" tumulus). Carelessly written and uncertainly

interpreted, the text seems to contain a hymnic address of some sort. More importantly, though, this tablet (A4) was folded "like an envelope" inside of tablet C, which itself had been folded over nine times from right to left in the manner of amulets.⁵⁰ There is also the curious case of the fourth-century-B.C. gold tablet from Petelia (B1)⁵¹ that was apparently found enclosed in a tubular necklace dating to the second or third century A.D., either carefully handed down from one generation to the next or disinterred at a later date and reused, this text was clearly employed as a conventional amulet.⁵²

Finally there is the gold tablet written for a certain Caecilia Secundina (A5), which "has every appearance of having been rolled up in a cylinder similar to that which contained the Petelia tablet."⁵³ The Greek text of six lines contains portions of the standard "Orphic" formulas found in various forms on the other extant *lamellae* and in this regard would belong wholly to this exclusive class of inscriptions were it not for the surprising fact that it is inscribed in a cursive hand six hundred years removed from the dates of the other known pieces and carries the name of its bearer, Caecilia Secundina. Thus in these three examples (out of the dozen or so extant "Orphic" *lamellae*) the fact that the tablet had once been rolled up or folded suggests that at some point an "Orphic" tablet could have been used, like the Phalasarna tablet, as a personal amulet. One might speculate, then, that the widespread use of the gold and silver phylacteries was indeed patterned after the "Orphic" *lamellae*, that is, that the protection of the recently dead from the dangers of the underworld may have been, or gradually became, a desideratum for living folk as well.

If it cannot be irrefutably demonstrated that the "Orphic" gold leaves served as precursors to the use of inscribed gold (and silver) *lamellae* as amulets, their antecedents may lurk in special types of inscribed gold amulets excavated from other areas in the circum-Mediterranean basin. One group, in particular, seems to be an excellent candidate: the prophylactic inscriptions of Punic-Phoenician origin, disinterred primarily from tombs of the seventh to fifth century B.C. in Carthage and Sardinia; like our amulets of a later date, they too, were enclosed in tubular capsules.⁵⁴ Most of the debate about these amulets has centered on the configuration of the suspension capsules enclosing the *lamellae*; worn perpendicularly, rather than horizontally like the later Greco-Roman capsules, the tubes usually terminate at the top in a sculpted representation of an Egyptian deity or animal (e.g., Osiris, Bastet, Sokhit, a swan's head, etc.). More important for our study, however, are the long rolled-up strips of gold (and occasionally silver and papyrus) found within. Although they are mostly inscribed with hieroglyphic and animal figures, and in some cases odd monstrosities, their prophylactic function can be readily perceived. For example, one strip of gold foil measuring twenty-eight by twenty-four centimeters and covered with approximately 250 different Egyptian figures, carries two Punic inscriptions: "Protect and guard Hilletsbaal, son of Arisatbaal" and "Guard and protect Hilletsbaal, son of Asi." The function, style, and general character of the piece is readily comparable to those of the magic *lamellae* of the Roman period.⁵⁵

Another little-known category of gold *lamellae* that has some bearing on the discussion of both the "Orphic" and magic tablets is represented by a number of thin

sheets of inscribed gold foil dating from the second century B.C. (and later) found primarily in tombs from Palestine.⁵⁶ Each tiny tablet, usually in the shape of a *tabula ansata*, carries a terse, formulaic expression found often on local steles, that is to say, *θάρασει, ΝΝ, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος* ("Take courage, NN, no one is immortal!").⁵⁷ Judging from the content alone and from the fact that generally such tablets were not enclosed in capsules, it would seem that these were also laid with the deceased as "passports for the dead," just like the "Orphic" gold leaves. But again, as with the "Orphic" pieces, a clearly magical—and hence amuletic—exception can be discerned in this group; a gold band found in a tomb "à Fîq, dans le Gaulan"⁵⁸ evidently served a peculiar talismanic function. In the shape of typical funerary headbands, with terminal holes for affixing it to the forehead, the piece is hardly remarkable except that it is engraved with four magic inscriptions made up of "characters" or perhaps a cipher of magic letters.⁵⁹ Evidently, protective magic was sought in the realm of the dead as well. At the end of this essay I will return to this blurring of the distinction between protection in the present life and in the hereafter again.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE INSCRIBED AMULETS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

Although early Greek literary texts (quoted at the beginning of this essay) often describe the use of *ἐπωδαί*, we know few details about their actual content or purpose. With the Greek *lamellae* of the Roman period, however, a wide variety of texts came into use, allowing us to observe the context in which they operated. These charms seem to be primarily concerned with health, and they aim at either curing existing diseases or preventing them in the future. The *voces magicae*, the long strings of magical *logoi*, and especially the series of vowels⁶⁰ that occur so often on amulets can all be regarded as *ἐπωδαί* in the broadest sense of the word. The habit of engraving Homeric verses on gemstones, papyri, and metal phylacteries is also widely attested.⁶¹ We also have other examples of verses inscribed on amulets, usually dactylic hexameters (such as the *φεῦγε* charm from Pliny) or iambic trimeters of uncertain authorship, which occasionally seem to preserve scraps of early liturgical material like that found on the Phalasarna lead amulet.⁶²

In the examples of early Greek amulets and magic practices discussed above we noticed an interest in recording the specific malady for which the charm was written. Socrates' leaf was used strictly as a headache remedy; and the inscription on Eudemos' ring, *συκοφάντου δῆγγματος* (*For an informer's bite*), suggests that specific charms against bites from other, more literal predators were in circulation.⁶³ On the later *lamellae* spells are often headed by such descriptions, usually with *πρός* plus the accusative, as witnessed by the Artemis and Antaura phylactery from Carnuntum (whose inscription begins with the rubric *For migraine*) and by the two charms in the Philinna papyrus. Thus during the Roman Empire the treatment of diseases with amulets seems to have required the proper diagnostic identification of the ailment, and we find that the texts found on amulets often indicate the specific diseases for which they are written. Some of the complaints addressed in the

magical *lamellae* are discussed below; a study of the charms given by medical writers, the papyri, and the texts of gemstones would necessarily expand this list.⁶⁴

The spells given in the magical papyri and those preserved on the extant amulets often do not differentiate between the specific ailment afflicting the patient and the daemonic influence held responsible for the disease.⁶⁵ Descriptions of bodily ailments do occur, but they are usually made with special references as well to the malignant, preternatural influence behind the disease's manifestation. The most common expression for such an influence is "evil spirit" or simply "spirits."⁶⁶ In addition to the general protections against daemons and spirits, a number of the magical phylacteries like those used to combat headache describe specific maladies.

A gold charm in Latin found near Picenum at Ripe San Ginesio, though not fully published, reads, *ad oculo(rum) dolorem (For eyeache)*.⁶⁷ Far more significant is a gold *lamella* from Tyre employing a Christian trinitarian formula to cure ophthalmia: "In the name of God, and of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, RABA SKAN OMKA LOULA AMRI KTORATH ÈNATHA BATHAROURAK . . . (for the one) praying the great name IAO divert the inflicting ophthalmia and do not allow any more attacks of ophthalmia."⁶⁸ Except for the few lines of *voces magicae* (which may, indeed, be Aramaic), this phylactery can in every sense be understood as an inscribed Christian prayer; the believer prays both for deliverance from a current medical condition and for the prevention of a relapse of the disease. Among the scattered remedies preserved in Marcellus Empiricus' *De Medicamentis* we also read of the manufacture of a gold phylactery for eye problems.⁶⁹ Elsewhere Marcellus gives recipes that recommend the use of magical *lamellae*, not to speak of other types of amulets and incantations.⁷⁰

A silver *lamella* from Ságvár (Tricciána), Hungary, whose text has only been partially published,⁷¹ reads "SESENGENBARPHARANGES, the great and pitying(?) and unconquerable name," in Greek, followed by the name *Romulus* written with Latin characters; it is apparently a cure for swelling.⁷² Although none of the extant magical recipes for curing this particular disease recommends the making of a *lamella*, PGM XXIIa. 15–17 requires writing a certain Homeric verse (*Il.* 4.141) as a general amulet for the sufferer of elephantiasis. In 1901 Homolle⁷³ published a putatively lead inscription from Amorgos that was designed to "banish" a tumor—medically, a type of swelling; D. R. Jordan, on the basis of the medical nature of the text, suggests that the piece (now lost) may have been silver, and was presumably identified as lead in error because of the metal's tarnished color.⁷⁴

Although epilepsy, the so-called sacred disease, appears rarely in the recipes of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*,⁷⁵ at least three metal phylacteries (one unpublished) mention the disease. The first is a gold phylactery acquired in Damascus, which, after a lengthy invocation of standard angelic and divine names, reads (lines 12–19):

[- -] κύριοι ἀρχάν-
 γελοι θεοὶ καὶ θε(ε)ῖοι χαρα-
 κτήρες ἀπελάσατε
 πᾶν κακὸν καὶ πᾶσαν
 ἐπίλ]ηψιν καὶ πᾶσαν
 κεφά]λγιαν ἀμπ-
 c. 4]ου ἦν ἔτεκε[ν] Ορη-
 c. 4] κτλ.

O Lord archangels, gods, and divine "characters," drive away all evil and all epilepsy and every headache(?) from [. . .]os, whom ORE[. . .] bore⁷⁶

Epilepsy, a chronic condition with intermittent attacks, would require that the sufferer wear the amulet at all times. A second example, in the J. Paul Getty Museum,⁷⁷ begins with a variation of a traditional prayer: "O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God of our (Fathers)." Then follows the request, "I implore you (sing.), Lord, Iao, Sabaoth, Eloaion, etc. protect Aurelia from every evil spirit and from every epileptic fit and seizure." A third example, an unpublished silver phylactery in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (inv. no. 57.1961), conjures the "spirit of the sacred disease epilepsy (*πνεῦμα ἱερᾶς νόσου ἐπιληψίας*)" to depart.

Phylacteries for the treatment of fever appear regularly in the papyri.⁷⁸ Among the *lamellae* we find in a bronze phylactery from Acrae and a silver phylactery (formerly in the Louvre) references to a number of different ailments.⁷⁹ There is no expression describing gout on any of the preserved magic *lamellae*, but the use of a magic *logos*⁸⁰ on a gold tablet from Brindisi⁸¹ suggests the possibility that the phylactery served to protect its bearer from this disease. The evidence comes from a fortunate citation in the collection of veterinary medical and magical recipes known as the *Hippiatrica* (*Hippiatr. Paris.* 440, p. 63 Oder and Hoppe):⁸² "For gout. Write these 4 names on a tin *lamella* with a stylus that has not been filed down, and on a Sunday bind (the amulet) on the foot of the patient, then again in 36 days on the 36th day, which falls on a Sunday (untie it). And these are the things to be written: *χεντιμα τεφῆκεν τέφρα γλύκαινε*." The inscription of the gold *lamella* from Brindisi bears the same formula, though in a slightly garbled form:

XENTEMMA
TEΦPEIXEN
TEΦPAIZ [.
BAY [.

It is an intriguing possibility that this tablet and the recipe from the *Hippiatrica* came from a common source.

The comparisons between literary and epigraphical sources concerning the treatment of gout do not end here. Alexander Trallianus (vol. II p. 581 Puschmann) reports that if a particular line of Homer's (*Il.* 2.95) is engraved on a gold *lamella* while the moon is in Libra or Leo, a person afflicted with gout will recover. It seems no small coincidence that the only Homeric verse found engraved on a magic *lamella* is this very same verse written neatly in two lines on a gold tablet of the third century A.D.:

τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα

And the place of gathering was in turmoil,
and the earth groaned beneath them.⁸³

Still another remedy for gout employing a magic *lamella* occurs in the demotic magic papyri.⁸⁴ In addition, a silver tablet is used to treat gout in a late Coptic collection of magicomedical recipes whose original text must have been Greek, judged from the untranslated titles preserved in the manuscript.⁸⁵ A gemstone in the

Hermitage collection also treats gout. This text is of particular interest because it treats the disease by the *φεῦγε* formula that we have found as early as the fourth-century-B.C. Phalasarna tablet. The sardonyx pictures Perseus holding a *harpē* and the Gorgon's head as he flies through the air; on the reverse the inscription reads: *φύ[γε] ποδάγρα, [Π]ερσεύς σε διώχι* ("Flee, Gout, Perseus is chasing you.")⁸⁶

Like the phylacteries designed for general protection from many kinds of danger, some amulets list a number of medical complaints from which the bearer seeks protection. By listing the various afflictions, the practitioner seems to be safeguarding his health by precluding the possibility of any harm coming his way. One silver amulet in particular seems to address a host of disorders for a certain Syntyche. The spell, after summoning the "great and holy name of the living Lord God Damnamanaios and Adonaios, and Iao and Sabaoth," conjures "all spirits" (*πάντα τὰ πνεύματα*), "every falling sickness" (*πάν πτωματισμόν*), "every hydrophobia" (*πάν ὕδροφόβαν*), the "evil eye" (*τὸν βάσκανον ὀφθαλμόν*), and what is apparently a reference to a violent daemonic attack (*πάσαν ἐπαποστολήν βιαιάν πνευμα[τική]ν*).⁸⁷ A few of the *lamellae magicae* also adopt general prayers for protection but with no particular description of the affliction. For example, a gold phylactery found in Segontium (Caernarvon, Wales) contains more than twenty lines, some of which is actually Hebrew text written with Greek letters, a surprising feature in a text found so far from the Eastern portions of the empire; besides the simple *ἄει* (ever), the only Greek portion reads simply *διαφύλαττέ με, Ἀλφίανον* ("Protect me, Alphanus").⁸⁸

PRAYERS FOR PROTECTION ON INSCRIBED AMULETS

We have discussed above the use of metrical incantations, apparent "nonsense" words, and other *voces magicae* as inscriptions on amulets. Finally, we shall turn to the texts that contain "prayer formulas" that aim at a more general kind of protection. As in the prayer formulas found on the *defixiones* discussed by Faraone (chap. 1), the texts on the *lamellae* are usually very laconic, sometimes preserving only an invocation of the god(s) and the request in the imperative. We have seen that imperatives are employed in two different ways in the texts of the inscribed amulets: some contain "performative" incantations in which the disease/daemon is directly addressed (e.g., the *φεῦγε* formula) and some are simple prayers that use an imperative to bid the deity to take action (e.g., *ἀναχώρησον*, bidding a god "banish" a disease, is used in the fragmentary silver phylactery from Antiochia Caesarea, mentioned above p. 117 with n. 66).⁸⁹ The latter type will concern us now.

As befits their apotropaic purpose, many of the texts on amulets employ verbs compounded with the Greek preposition *ἀπο*-. The gold phylactery from Rome⁹⁰ employs the imperative *ἀπάλλαξον* ("Take away!"), but it is too fragmentary to tell us what sort of disease is concerned. The occurrence of this verb in texts on other amulets suggests that the disease is of the acute, intermittent type, such as fever or headache.⁹¹ Epilepsy is treated in a gold phylactery purchased in 1924 at Damascus and discussed above (pp. 117–18);⁹² the use of the imperative form of the verb

ἀπολαύνειν ("to drive away, to expel") suggests the driving out of an already sedentary and chronic ailment.⁹³ The use of the form ἀπόστρεψον ("Turn aside!") on the Christian gold *lamella* from Tyre underscores the difficulty of differentiating between prayers for prevention and those for deliverance, as the line between the two is often thinly drawn: ἀπόστρεψον τὴν ἐπιφε[ρ]ομένην ὀφθαλμίαν καὶ μὴ[κέ]τι ἐάσης ὀφθαλμ[ίας τι]ν' ἐνβο[λὴν γένεσθαι] ("Divert the inflicting ophthalmia and do not allow any more attacks of ophthalmia.")⁹⁴

The imperative σώζετε ("Save, protect!") addressed to a deity is a very common plea on amulets. In the text of a bronze phylactery found in excavations in the area of Mazzarino (near Syracuse), after a long invocation of angel names and other deities (including Artemis), we find it in combination with the incantatory φεῦγε formula: "Flee from Judah and every evil . . . in the glory of the Holy God. . . . [Pro]tect THYBES(?) him who bears your holy law, Judah."⁹⁵ Since the actual purpose of this spell is not made explicit in the text, we cannot know for sure what therapeutic category this text belongs to. But even in the better preserved examples, the meaning of σώζειν is often ambiguous. A silver tablet found in Beroea, in Macedonia, addresses a string of magic names (AKRAMMACHAMARI, BARBATHIAOTH, ABLANATHANALBA, IAO, etc.) and ends "Lord angels, save Euphêlêtos to whom Atalanta gave birth!"⁹⁶ We do not know what sort of danger Euphêlêtos faced, but we cannot wholly rule out the possibility that salvation in the broadest sense is intended and that this spell, like the "Orphic" gold leaves of centuries before, asks for salvation from eternal punishments or from a disease thought fatal enough to make the wearer concerned about his own personal salvation following his imminent demise.

The use of the verb σώζειν is not as common on pagan amulets as it is on Christian ones. Two gold tablets published by M. Siebourg⁹⁷ contain very short prayer requests using similar language but are conspicuous for their lack of magical names or symbols. One of these reads, in part, "Zeus-Serapis, have mercy!"⁹⁸ The second tablet, broken off at the beginning reads, ". . . TE, Abba, Father, save (me), have mercy (on me)!" The latter shows a Christianizing tendency, if it is not wholly Christian. Chronic sufferers, like those afflicted by epilepsy or those living in regions infested with malaria, would probably wear their talismans throughout the course of their lifetime and finally carry them to their graves. But if the bearer were healed from a temporary injury or an intermittent disease (we must accept that this was possible, whether by virtue of the charm or not), that person may have continued to wear the charm as a sort of protective extension. On the other hand, he or she may have discarded it or even have presented it as a sort of votive offering, in thanks for having been healed by the gods.⁹⁹

This ambiguity about general "salvation" is even more pronounced in the Dumbarton Oaks¹⁰⁰ gold phylactery (third century A.D.), a charm whose text shows strong Jewish or Christian influences:

ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ φυλάσ(σ)ων καὶ διασώζων τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διαφύλαξον τὴν ψυχὴν Μασταριῶνος Σαλαμισίου καὶ διάσωσον αὐτὸν ἐκ παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ φείσε αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν. κ(ύρι)ε ἐλέ(η)σον αὐτὸν, κτλ.

O Angel who guards and rescues mens' "souls," protect the "soul" of Mastarion Salamisios; rescue him from all danger and spare his "soul." O Lord, have mercy on him. . . .¹⁰¹

The word ψυχή (lit., “soul”) should probably be understood here as “life,” that is, one’s earthly life; and although at first glance one might be persuaded that the reference “spare his soul” addresses the afterlife, the charm probably has less to do with bringing the bearer to eternal salvation than with deliverance from imminent peril.¹⁰² The two need not be mutually exclusive, especially in view of the Christian overtones of the spell. But the phylactery is obviously of the “preventive” type and not “curative.” One can imagine that this Mastarion found himself in a risky employment or in some type of enterprise in which the element of danger was a constant threat; an amulet with such urgent pleas as “Spare his life, O Lord!” would, for example, prove suitable for a soldier in combat or a gladiator. This sort of “global” protection from danger is the concern of several magic phylacteries dealing with a nonspecific danger; a silver tablet from Badenweiler written in Latin with Greek letters¹⁰³ reads in part, . . . *serva Te*[. . .]*um quem peperit Leib*[. . . *mate*]r *ab omni periculo*, [serv]a Chilon(?), *serva Luciolum*, *serva Mercussam*.¹⁰⁴ These are evidently “good luck” charms to be worn on all occasions and not intended for special problems. An unpublished gold charm from Bet She’an in the New York Public Library simply says, *Felicitas* Κέμω (“Good luck, Kemo[?]”).¹⁰⁵

A spell in the Greek magical papyri (PGM LXX. 4–25) highlights the problem that one faces when presented with prayers for salvation that seem embedded in an indisputably magical context. The spell, headed *Charm of Hekate Ereschigal against fear of punishment*, was clearly designed to be used in the underworld, like the “Orphic” *lamellae* discussed above, to protect against the punishments and daemons in the underworld:

If he comes forth, say to him: “I am Ereschigal, the one holding her thumbs, and not even one evil can befall her.”

If, however, he comes close to you, take hold of your right heel and recite the following: “Ereschigal, virgin, bitch, serpent, wreath, key, herald’s wand, golden sandal of the Lady of Tartaros.” And you will avert him.

ΑΣΚΕΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΙ ΕΡΩΝ ΟΡΕΩΝ ΙΩΡ ΜΕΓΑ ΣΑΜΝΥΕΡ ΒΑΥΙ (3 times) ΦΟΒΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΕΜΝΕ, I have been initiated, and I went down into the [underground] chamber of the Dactyls, and I saw the other things down below, virgin, bitch, and all the rest.” Say it at the crossroad, and turn around and flee, because it is at those places that she appears. Saying it late at night, about what you wish, it will reveal it in your sleep; and if you are led away to death, say it while scattering sesame seeds, and it will save you. (trans. H. D. Betz)

It is of great interest that part of the protective spell consists of hexameters that contain the ΑΣΚΙ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΙ formula (i.e., the *Ephesia grammata*) and some other liturgical bits (from some lost mystery religion) that are also found on the fourth-century-B.C. lead phylactery from Phalasarna discussed above (pp. 111–12).¹⁰⁶ The *Charm of Hekate Ereschigal* ends by suggesting two ways in which it can be used in this world; a rite of prognostication by dreams is described briefly and followed by the claim that the same charm can save a person from death. The *historiola* in the Philinna papyrus concerns an immolated “initiate of the mysteries,” and it, too, has been connected to *hieroi logoi* of some hybrid Greco-Egyptian mystery religion, which also seem to have offered some kind of eternal salvation.¹⁰⁷ This repeated overlap of eternal and earthly salvation, of practical “handbook magic” and mystery

religion points to a more general category of protective incantation and prayer that cannot be easily separated into the two distinct categories of “magic” and “religion.”

The use of the “Orphic” tablets to protect people in this life and the use of a mystery liturgy on the fourth-century B.C. lead phylacteries are not to be dismissed as local aberrations to our categories; rather they should force us to rethink them. Many scholars insist that in both cases we can see an earthly (re)application of protective incantations designed (originally) for the afterlife, either as a result of a conscious and outright “theft” of the religious material or as the result of a long period of degeneration of the “pure” religion whence it came.¹⁰⁸ Unfortunately our earliest examples of these allegedly secondary creations are often contemporaneous with the earliest evidence for their alleged religious “prototypes”; the use of the *Ephesia grammata* and mystery liturgies on the Phalasarna and Getty lead tablets (and in the fragment of Anaxilas) all date to the classical period, as does Zuntz’s “Orphic” tablet C (the tablet that had been folded up like an amulet).¹⁰⁹ A similar phenomenon occurs later on in the Jewish and early Christian amulets, which employ the *σώσατε* prayer formula, where one simply cannot decide whether the aim of the prayer is earthly protection or eternal salvation.¹¹⁰

In addition to the blurring of eternal and worldly “salvation” in the texts that promise global protection, the coexistence of prayer formulae and automatic incantations on the more narrowly focused medical amulets also presents problems for those who wish to maintain a strict dichotomy between magic and religion. It is simply wrongheaded to suspect the piety of the person using an abbreviated prayer formula simply because it is found in the context of an otherwise entirely “magical” ritual. Graf’s essay (chap. 7) underscores the fact that the language of prayer in magic texts indicates normative religious sentiments and values and vitiates the supposed antithetical dichotomy between “magic” and “religion” still expressed or tacitly assumed by scholars still unduly influenced by the antiquated anthropological views of Sir James Frazer. The major concern of the preserved magic tablets, a concern that goes back to the headache spell of Socrates (or even to the binding of Odysseus’ wound), was the prevention or healing of specific diseases and ailments. Two strategies emerge from the extant medical amulets that cannot really be distinguished in terms of their goals or social context: inscribing “automatic” incantations on an amulet and writing down a short prayer to a powerful deity. The petitioners, like Pericles and Bion (who were mentioned at the outset of this essay), find themselves in dangerous, life-threatening situations. From a purely psychological point of view, to a person who is thus racked with pain or wasting away with fever, any and all techniques for empowering an amulet were acceptable. The prayer formula aims at persuading the god to bring about the desired result. The similarly inscribed *ἐπιφθαί* simply represent another approach to solving the same problem. These incantations, most probably accompanied by some ritual gesture, were believed to act automatically on the disease through some sympathetic process (e.g., the *historiolae* and *φειγγε* formulae respectively), much like the two automatic strategies employed in the *defixiones* discussed by Faraone in Chapter 1. And, as in the case of the *defixiones*, it is difficult-if-not-impossible to distinguish among amulet inscriptions between the function of prayer on the one hand and that of incantation on the other.

Notes

The following oft-cited works will be referred to by the author's last name and date of publication or by the abbreviation given in square brackets:

- H. D. Betz, ed. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation. Including the Demotic Spells*, vol. 1, *Texts* (Chicago, 1986) [GMPT].
 C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950).
 R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca Latina*, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Suppl.* 19 (Leipzig, 1892), 463-576.
 Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1921-24; repr. Amsterdam, 1974) [OZ].
 P. Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, ed. and tr. L. J. Rather and J. M. Sharp (Yale, 1970).
 C. C. McCown, "The Ephesia Grammata in Popular Belief," *TAPA* 54 (1923): 128-40.
 K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, eds., *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973-74) [PGM].
 D. M. Robinson, "A Magical Text from Beroea in Macedonia," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. L. W. Jones (New York, 1938).
 G. Zuntz, *Persephone: Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1971).

1. What "magic" is by definition remains a complex question that cannot be investigated here. A working definition is suggested in David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* 2.23.2 (1980): 1507-57: "Magic is defined as that form of religious deviance whereby individual or social goals are sought by means alternate to those normally sanctioned by the dominant religious institutions," and "goals sought within the context of religious deviance are magical when attained through the management of supernatural powers in such a way that results are virtually guaranteed" (p. 1515); however, Aune's two-pronged definition is valid only for the social-political and historical context in which such dichotomies between "dominant religious institutions" and "religious deviance" can flourish. The definition does not address the phenomenon of "magic" as a religious expression from the believer's perspective (nor of "religion" being an expression of magic, from the point of view of an unorthodox adherent). As J. E. Lowe in her concise *Magic in Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1929) states, "Many definitions of the word 'magic' have been attempted: none, perhaps, is wholly satisfactory. The word connotes so much, the boundary line between it and religion is so hazy and indefinable, that it is almost impossible to tie it down and restrict it to the narrow limits of some neat turn of phrase that will hit it off and have done with it" (p. 1). On the whole matter, see also the sobering remarks of A. F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, ed. R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, *EPRO* 91 (Leiden, 1981), 349-75.

2. In this essay we cannot discuss such topics as prayer, sacrifices, and Asclepian temple therapy as modes of healing. On these alternative religious forms of therapy, or "belief" medicine, see in general the observations of G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason, and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979), 38-41 and Laín Entralgo 1970, which characterizes the situation in the classical period as follows: "In the treatment of diseases, magical cures of mantic or purificatory character become much more frequent: various enchantments, cathartic ceremonies, medical oracles, orgiastic cults, Asclepian temple sleep" (p. 41). For prayer, the essay of H. S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer," in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel and F. T. van Straten (Leiden, 1981), 1-64 is most valuable. (On votive offerings and the cult of Asclepius, one should also

consult van Straten's essay in the same volume: "Gifts for the Gods," pp. 65–151). On the cult of Asclepius and the inscriptions of Epidauros, the pioneering work is R. Herzog, *Wunderheilungen: Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*, Philologus Suppl. vol. 22, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1931); see also E. J. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1945). The whole matter of the use of music for healing similarly cannot be dealt with here (apart from the fact that ἐπωδαί are indeed sung or chanted); see Lloyd (above), 42f. and n. 18 below.

3. Lloyd (see n. 2) pp. 38–39 draws attention to those social figures, who, apart from the standard "doctors" (ἰατροί), claimed to be able to heal disease. These include "rootcutters" (ρίζοτόμοι) and "drugsellers" (φαρμακοπῶλαι), midwives, gymnastic trainers, and barbersurgeons, as well as the priests and attendants at temples of healing gods. On the rootcutters, see also J. Scarborough below (chap. 5).

4. The spells and charms contained in the late ancient magic handbooks could often be adapted to virtually any wish; see, for example, the use of the scribal formula κοινόν or κοινά ("and so forth, et cetera.") and by such expressions as ὡς θέλετε ("whatever you wish"). Otherwise rubrics, like those found in contemporary medical treatises, divide the recipes of the magical papyri into categories according to the charm's function, even though sometimes (due mostly to erroneous textual transmission or misunderstandings) the title and spell's content do not match. The practice of marking such titles in red (whence the word *rubric*) goes back to Egyptian practice and occurs in the demotic sections of the bilingual magic texts; see Janet H. Johnson, "Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri," in *GMPT*, lv–lviii. For the classification of different types of spells, see Hopfner, *OZ*, vol. 2, sec. 41ff. and idem, "Mageia," *RE* 14.1 (1928): 378.

5. Such charms encouraging good luck and prosperity are usually differentiated as talismans. The English word *talisman* (supposedly from late Greek τέλεσμα and classical Greek τετελεσμένον, perfect past participle of the verb τελεῖν, "to consecrate," via the Arabic/Turkish term *telesma*) will not here be differentiated from *amulet* (from the Latin *amuletum*, *amoletum*, etc. but of unsure derivation; cf. Arabic, *hamalet*). The recipes in *PGM* generally use the term φυλακτήριον (*phylaktērion*) for amulet. For a discussion of the terminology see S. Seligmann, *Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel aus der unbelebten Natur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mittel gegen den bösen Blick: Ein Geschichte des Amulettwesens* (Stuttgart, 1927); R. Wünsch, "Amuletum," *Glotta* 2 (1911): 219–30; F. Eckstein and J. H. Waszink, "Amulett," *RAC* I (1950), cols. 397–411; see also C. H. Ratschow, "Amulett und Talisman," *RGG* I (Tübingen, 1957), 345–47; F. X. Krause, "1: 48–51; P. Wolters, "Faden und Knoten als Amulett," *ARW* 8 (1905): 1–22; and U. Wilcken, "Amulette," *APF* 1 (1900–1901): 419–436; G. Kropatscheck, *De Amuletorum apud Antiquos Usu Capita Duo . . .* (Gryphiae, 1907), esp. 9–12. Few of these have much discussion of amulets that are inscribed; however, a substantial treatment is found in H. Leclercq, "Amulettes," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie* 1, 2 (Paris, 1907), cols. 1784–1860 (see also the *RAC* article mentioned above); and especially L. Robert, "Amulettes grecques," *Journal des Savants* (1981): 3–44.

6. In the Greek magical papyri and elsewhere the verb περιάπτειν should be regularly translated cognately, viz., "to wear/attach/suspend a περιάπτων," or the equivalent.

7. Understandably, a personal charm would be small enough to be portable, while a phylactery for a city could presumably be much larger. For the early use of phylacteries in the form of statues or other monumental *apotropaia*, see C. A. Faraone, "Hephaestus the Magician and Near Eastern Parallels for Alcinous' Watchdogs," *GRBS* 28 (1987): 257–80.

8. To what extent the early Greeks adopted the magic practices of their neighbors has not and cannot be investigated here. Suffice to say that written charms among the Egyptians and Phoenicians (see nn. 54 and 55) were in widespread use and that the colonial Greeks, in the process of adapting the Phoenician system of writing, also borrowed their practice of writing

amulets. P. W. Schienerl (see n. 26) suggests that borrowings also came directly from contacts with the Egyptians of Naucratis at the end of the 7th century B.C.

9. G. Lanata (*Medicina magica e religione popolare in Grecia* [Roma, 1967], 46–51) discusses healing incantations in general. Elsewhere in Homer we read of Poseidon casting a spell on Alcathous (*Il.* 13.434); of Circe's potions, herbs, and charms (*Il.* 10.214, 234–36, 301–6); of the famous *moly* discussed by J. Scarborough below (chap. 5); and of Hephaestus' magic chains (*Od.* 8.272–75), as well as other magic implements of the gods and goddesses. For these and more, consult S. Eitrem, "La magie comme motif littéraire," *SO* 21 (1941): 39–83, esp. 39–42.

10. See Laín Entralgo (1970, 21), who cites H. Pfister, "Epode," *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924), cols. 323–44, 325; and I. Scheftelowitz, *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker*, in *RGVV* vol. 12, pt. 2 (Giessen, 1912). Cf. also Wolters (see n. 5).

11. The didactic tradition of Chiron is well established; for Chiron as a teacher of the healing arts, cf. *Hom. Il.* 4.219; 11.831–32. See also Emmet Robbins, "Jason and Cheiron: The Myth of Pindar's Fourth Pythian," *Phoenix* 29 (1975): 205–13, esp. 210 for a discussion of *Pyth.* 3.52–53. Laín Entralgo (1970, 45–47) counters Edelstein's view (*Ancient Medicine: Selected Papers of Ludwig Edelstein*, ed. O. and C. L. Temkin [Baltimore, 1967], 226) that Asclepius' "soft incantations" in *Pind. Pyth.* 3.52–53 refer to music and not to verbal charms. As far as the use of incantations is concerned, Edelstein repeatedly turns a blind eye to the evidence and tries to "filter out" the magical element in many passages like this one. Pindar's use of *ἐπωδή* in *Pyth.* 4.218 and *Nem.* 8.49 shows they are the sung incantations of words.

12. This passage stands in contrast to a similar type of catalogue of medical methodology used by the "rationalistic" school of Hippocrates: "Those diseases that medicines (*φάρμακα*) do not cure are cured by the knife. Those that the knife does not cure are cured by fire. Those that fire does not cure must be considered incurable" (*Aph.* 7.87; trans. W. H. S. Jones). On the "three categories of the art of healing" see Laín Entralgo 1970, 16–17 with n. 26. See also his discussion (pp. 47–48) of the use of incantations in *Soph. Aj.* 581–82 ("It is not fitting for wise physicians to recite *ἐπωδαί* in cases of ailments that demand the knife") and *Plato Resp.* 4.426B (healing by medicaments, cauteries, incisions, and *ἐπωδαί*).

13. See Th. Bergk, "Zwei Zaubersprüche bei Cato," in *Kleine Philologische Schriften*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1884), 556–70, esp. 560, with the reservations expressed by F. Skutsch in *Heim* 1893, 565–66 and E. Loughton, "Cato's Charm for Dislocations," *CR* 52 (1938): 52–54. W. B. McDaniel ("A Sempiternal Superstition for Dislocated Joint: A Split Green Reed and a Latin Charm," *CJ* 45 [1950]: 171–76) provides the best discussion of the difficulties involved in interpreting this rather obtuse passage.

14. On Plato's metaphorical use of *ἐπωδή* see the chapter "The Platonic Rationalization of the Charm," in Laín Entralgo 1970, 108–38; see also Lanata (see n. 9), 49–50, on the *φύλλον* of Socrates.

15. Cf. *μετὰ ῥηματίων, ὡς φατε, καὶ γοητείας τινὸς ἐνεργεῖν καὶ τὴν ἱασιν ἐπιτέμπειν προσαρτώμενα* (*Philops.* 8). Edelstein (see n. 11) p. 245, n. 140 cites Diodorus (frag. 30, line 43 Dindorf), who mentions people who go to *θῦται* and *μάντιες* to be healed by "incantations" (*ἐπωδαί*) and all sorts of "amulets" (*περίπτα*).

16. On gout, see the discussion at nn. 84 and 85 below. We are not told what kind of magic power the stele fragment carried or whether or not it was inscribed. In *Eur. Hec.* 1272 we read of a tombstone that is believed to be endowed with a very strong magical name. The tombstone is not used as an amulet in this case, but the power of a name carries apotropaic force. The epitaph apparently preserves an actual *ἐπωδή*, for when the name is uttered it is believed that one can call up the "shade" (*μορφή*) of Hecuba. See Laín Entralgo 1970, 50 for discussion.

17. For some additional references to texts describing incantations with amulets, cf. the helpful study of H. Pfister, (see n. 10), 330 and 337, lines 50ff. See also A. D. Nock, "Paul

and the Magus," in *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1972), 308–30 for additional references here and there to early Greek incantations.

18. See n. 20. Laín Entralgo (1970, 45) recalls the view that Orpheus' songs were magical enchantments in themselves, citing J. Combarieu, *La musique et la magie*, *Etudes de philologie musicale* 3 (Paris, 1909), and suggests a transition of the ἐπὶ φῶδῃ from song to amulet: "Magic formulas have passed through the following phases: at first they were sung; then they were recited; finally they were written upon a material object worn in some cases as an amulet."

19. The large number of inscribed lead curse tablets (*defixiones*) dating to the classical period reflects a much different ritual; they were commonly thrown into wells (and other underground bodies of waters) or buried in graves and chthonic sanctuaries (i.e., areas protected by strong taboo), and in this way they were rarely able to be reused and wait patiently for the archaeologist. On the whole matter see Faraone's discussion in this volume.

20. Bonner 1950, 4–5. An early record of the use of a written amulet is found in the account of Bion, the third-century B.C. philosopher mentioned at the outset of this article (Diog. Laert. 4.56). That the amulet tied to Bion's neck is called an ἐπὶ φῶδῃ suggests that the charm must have been written, if not also spoken. In addition, organic herbals supplemented the written charm.

21. This according to Pausanias, as cited by Eustathius on Homer *Od.* 19.247; see McCown 1923 for this and other passages; W. Schultz, "Ἐφέσια und Δελφικά γράμματα," *Philologus* 68 (1909): 210–28; M. Siebourg, "Zu den Ephesia Grammata," *ARW* 18 (1915): 594; A. Deissmann, "Ephesia Grammata," in *Abhandlungen zur semitische Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft: Wolf Wilhelm Grafen von Baudissin zum 26. Sept. 1917 überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Giessen, 1918), 121–24; cf. M. Huvelin, "Les tablettes magiques et le droit romain," in *Annales Internationales d'Histoire: Congrès de Paris 1900 1^{re} section* (Paris, 1901), 47ff. For a collection of magic texts containing the "Ephesian letters" and other magic incantations, see Karl Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen, etc.* (Vienna, 1886). We also might mention here the second- or third-century-B.C. terracotta *Hausphylakterion* portraying Artemis surrounded by a series of *Ephesiae litterae*: K. Preisendanz, "Ephesia Grammata," *RAC* 5 (1962): 518; E. Labatut, "Amuletum," *DAGR* 1.1 (1873), fig. 303. The piece is in the Syracuse Museum and was first published by L. Stephani, "Ueber ein Ephesisches Amulett," *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés des Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersburg* 1 (1855): 1–5 (with pl.). For further readings and discussion, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1924; repr. New York, 1965), 409–10.

22. Their appearance in verses inscribed on lead, however, suggests strongly that they must have once been meaningful hexameters in their original context (discussed below).

23. Ἐφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν οὗτος περιπατεῖ λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα according to the *Suda* (= frag. 313 Koerte; Meineke *FCG* IV.181; Kock *CAF* III.108) as cited in McCown 1923, 131, n. 17.

24. The story is preserved in Photius, the *Suda*, Eustathius, s.v.; see McCown 1923, 131.

25. *PGM* VII.186–90, 390–93, 528–39, 919–24; XII. 270–350; XXXVI.1–42; etc.; cf. Jordan (see n. 64), 162–67.

26. In addition to the tubular capsules of metal used during the Roman period as amulet cases, one should adduce as a parallel the late example of a leather case containing an Ethiopian amulet; see F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), 391–92. For earlier Greek examples of amulet capsules, see the excellent treatment by Peter W. Schienerl, "Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung von Amulett behältnissen in der antiken Welt," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984): 45–54, esp. 50–54. The earliest Greek examples he cites date to the fourth and third centuries B.C.

27. *I Cret.* 2.(19).7 (ed. Guarducci). It is presently in the National Museum, Athens (inv. 9355), but apparently has never been photographed or produced in facsimile. See McCown 1923 and, for additional bibliography, D. R. Jordan, *AM* 95 (1980): 228. A similar unpublished lead text from Selinus (in the J. Paul Getty Museum) contains hexameters and portions of the same mystic letters and also seems to have been used as an *apotropaion*. (See now the remarks with some preliminary readings in D. R. Jordan, "A Love Charm with Verses," *ZPE* 72 [1988] 256–58, esp. on lines 64–73). Besides containing hexameters apparently related to the mysteries, the text cites words from the hitherto "meaningless" *Ephesia grammata*, which can now be understood as perfectly good Greek hexameters.

28. The beginning of the text suggests that it provided some kind of general protection to a household (see n. 29). A fragmentary portion of the unedited Getty text also seems to describe something like a natural calamity or plague that may have affected a large estate or community (col. 2, lines 4–8):

[c. 6]. οὐ κατὰκουε φάσιν γλυκύν[

[c. 5 ἀ]νθρώποισιν ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι ἀν[

[c. 6]ωι καὶν εὐπολέμω[ι] νανσὶν ἡοτα[

[c. 5 ἀ]νθρώποις θανατήφορος ἐγγυ[

[c. 8] προβάτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τέχναισι βροτ[οῖσι]

. . . (not?) giving ear to my sweet voice . . . to touch men . . . one skilled in war and ships . . . bringing death near to men, to cattle, and upon the handiworks of mortals.

29. Lines 1–2: κελεύω φενγέμ(εν ἡμ)ετέρων οἴκω(ν) ἄ[πο . . . (Guarducci in *I Cret.* 2.(19).7).

30. The reading of the text is at points very dubious, but the translation of McCown, (1923, 134) must suffice until a new edition is prepared. From line 14, he translates, "Happily he who knows binding magic may pass down the highway. . . . / Damnameneu, do thou tame by force the wickedly stubborn, / Whoso may harm me and those who some charm would cast o'er me to bind me; . . . / Whoso with ointments of magic would hurt me, to him be no refuge / By ways whether trodden or trackless: to Earth, the All-spoiler, I doom him." The text has many points of contact with the unpublished Getty hexameters, whose content also shows that the hexameters had some kind of apotropaic function.

31. It is also worthwhile to note that a comparable text, a hymn from Eretria also dating to the fourth century B.C. (*IG* 12.9, no. 259), addresses the Idaean Dactyls, one of whom is named Damnameneus (line 19), famous as one of the personalities of the Ephesian *grammata* (see n. 30). See B. Hemberg, "Die Idaiischen Daktylen," *Eranos* 50 (1952): 41–59. The hymn also describes φάρμακα ἀλεξητήρια (line 6) presumably discovered by Eurytheos (line 5). See I. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford, 1925), 171–72.

32. The text was reconstructed by P. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," *JHS* 62 (1942): 33–38, from *P. Berol.* 7504 plus *P. Amherst* 2, col. II(A) plus *P. Oxy. ined.* (= R. A. Pack *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*, 2d ed. [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967] no. 1872). For a current bibliography see the translation and notes in *GMPT*, 258. In the papyri, descriptions for the making of amulets are common (e.g., texts like *PGM* I–XIV or XXXVI are portions of handbooks). Examples of actual amulets fashioned out of inscribed papyrus are *PGM* XVIIc., XVIIIa–b., XXVIIIa–c., XXXIII, XLI–XLV, XLVII–XLIX, LIX, LX and, in *GMPT*, nos. LXXXIII, LXXXVII–LXXXIX, XCI, XCVI, XCVIII, XCIX, C, CIV, CVI, CXII, CXIII–CXVI, CXX, CXXI, CXXVIII, CXXX; but none of these is particularly early.

33. We have other early evidence for magic books in the papyri: see *GMPT*, nos. CXXII (first century B.C.–first century A.D., a collection containing ἐπωδαί, one with a *historiola* for headache of Egyptian origin) and CXVII (first century B.C., with fragments of a love spell). A

feature common to all three of the early papyrus spells (PGM XX, CXVII, CXXII) is the duplicated verse, "carry out for me this perfect spell" (or equivalent). It is also worthwhile to note that in the hexametrical *Prayer to Selene for any spell* (PGM IV 2785–2890) we find a verse that describes a scepter inscribed with magic words and apparently used as an amulet (trans. E. N. O'Neil):

As everlasting / band around your temples
 You wear great Kronos' chains, unbreakable
 and unremovable, and you hold in
 Your hands a golden scepter. Letters 'round
 Your scepter / Kronos wrote himself and gave
 To you to wear that all things stay steadfast.

On this passage, note Hopfner, *OZ* 1, sec. 764.

34. The text is reconstructed as Hymn 28 at the end of the second volume of *PGM*. The fact that they are now recorded and perhaps even written down on papyrus used as amulets also suggests the transmission of spoken charm to written amulet. Again, in a similar way, the fact that the atheist Bion (see n. 20) bids an old woman tie an ἐπὶ φάρυγγος to his neck implies an amulet engraved with verses.

35. Cf. P. Maas (see n. 32) and L. Koenen, "Der brennende Horusknaube: Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus," *Chron. d'Egypte* 37 (1962): 167–174; Koenen identifies this child as Horus. But see the commentary ad loc. in *GMPT* 258.

36. Cf. Heim 1893, 495–507.

37. *LSJ* and the *Supplement* list only two other occurrences of this term, both from papyrus (though one should now add *PGM* LXV.4). *PGM* VII.199–201 reads, "For migraine headache: Take oil in your hands and utter the spell: / 'Zeus sowed a grape seed: it parts the soil; he does not sow it; it does not sprout' (trans. John Scarborough). Curiously, like the *Carnuntum* spell, a mythic *historiola* is used for a migraine spell in a magically sympathetic way, i.e., just as the seed does not sprout, the headache will also not "sprout." For another headache spell with Egyptian background, see W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979): 261–78 (= *GMPT*, p. 317, *PGM* CXXII.51–55); J. W. B. Barnes and H. Zilliagus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri* II (London, 1960), no. 66, pp. 47–49 (= *GMPT*, p. 305, *PGM* XCIV.39–60); R. Kotansky, "Two Amulets in the Getty Museum," *JPGetty Museum Journal* 8 (1980): 181–87; see also A. Barb, "Klassische Hexenkunst: Aus der Verwesung antiker Religionen—Ein antikes Zaubergebet gegen die Migräne und sein Fortlegen," *Jedermann Heft* 3 (1933): 335.

38. A. Barb, "Griechische Zaubertexte vom Gräberfelde westlich des Lagers," *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926): 54–68 (pl. 1) and idem, "Antaura the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother," *JWCI* 29 (1966): 1–23 (plates 1–6). The numerous parallels, mostly late and replacing Artemis with Christ, indicate how the text of the spell probably ended.

39. For headache spells, see Kotansky (see n. 37).

40. Pliny *HN* 27.75.100 = J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* vol. 3 (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 542–44, no. 38a. Edmonds rightly prints the early anonymous emendation ὕμμε (it already appears in the first printed editions of Pliny) for the nonsensical αἶμα (blood) (*pace* Heim 1893, ad loc.). Aside from the insurmountable problems created by retaining αἶμα ("Flee, beetles, a savage wolf pursues blood"?), all of the other nineteen examples of the φεύγε formula cited by Heim contain some form of the second-person pronoun. As for the importance of the form of ὕμμε, I quote Edmonds' note in full: "The period to which this and the next two songs or sayings belong is doubtful, but the Aeolic [*sic*] form of the word 'you' indicates, for this, at any rate, a pre-Alexandrine date." Edmonds also gives a cure for styes

and eyesores in which the infected area is pricked with barley corns while reciting the incantation, "Flee, flee, the barleycorn pursues you" (his no. 38b from Marc. Emp. 8.192); and a charm for excessive bile inscribed on an iron ring: "Flee, flee, bile, the skylark seeks you out" (no. 38c from Alexander Trallianus, vol. 2, p. 337 [ed. Puschmann]), where the verb *ζητεῖν* replaces the more usual *διώκειν*. The citation of these formulas in verse may also indicate their greater antiquity. See n. 86 for additional discussion of this kind of formula.

41. When the question is raised whether or not incantations have any proven effect in healing, Pliny states unequivocally that prayers, and indeed the power of words in general, carry efficacious results (*HN* 28.3.10). At 28.4.20ff. we even find a fascinating history of the use of incantations: "On walls too are written prayers to avert fires. It is not easy to say whether our faith is more violently shaken by the foreign, unpronounceable words, or by the unexpected Latin ones, which our mind forces us to consider absurd, being always on the look-out for something big, something adequate to move a god, or rather to impose its will on his divinity. Homer said that by a magic formula Ulysses stayed the haemorrhage from his wounded thigh; Theophrastus that there is a formula to cure sciatica; Cato handed down one to set dislocated limbs [see n. 13], Marcus Varro one for gout. The dictator Caesar, after one serious accident to his carriage, is said always, as soon as he was seated, to have been in the habit of repeating three times a formula of prayer for a safe journey, a thing we know that most people do today" (trans. W. H. S. Jones in the Loeb series, here and throughout).

42. Another historical case is that of Licinius Mucianus (consul three times and governor of Syria, 68–69 A.D.), who enclosed a living fly in a white linen bag for the same purpose.

43. Bonner (1950) provides the best work in this area. See also his subsequent publications: "Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum: A Supplementary Article," *Hesperia* 20 (1951): 301–345 (plates 96–100); "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23 (1954): 138–57 (plates 34–36). His earlier works include "Liturgical Fragments on Gnostic Amulets," *HTR* 25 (1932): 362–67; "Magical Amulets," *HTR* 39 (1946): 25–34; and numerous other articles. See also A. Delatte and Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964); D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Gemmen," *BJ* 175 (1975): 63–82; F. M. and J. H. Schwartz, "Engraved Gems in the Collection of the American Numismatic Society," pt. 1, "Ancient Magical Amulets," *ANSMusNotes* 24 (1979): 149–95 (plates 34–40); A. A. Barb, "Gnostische Gemme," *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* (Rome, 1960) 3: 971–74; idem, "Three Elusive Amulets," *JWCI* 27 (1964): 1–22; P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Four Magical Gems in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam," *BABesch* 95 (1970): 175–77; idem, "Einige Bemerkungen zu einigen magischen Gemmen," *Aegyptus* 60 (1980): 153–160; idem, "Zu einigen Kölner Gemmen," *ZPE* 51 (1983): 115–16 (for some comments and corrections on some of the published European gemstone collections). The list of articles on the subject could be continued quite extensively; but the single most important recent treatise to appear in years is that of H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz, 1986).

44. Occasionally inscribed bronze and copper phylacteries are also unearched. Nearly two-hundred magic *lamellae* are published or in private hands. Space does not allow a complete citation of the secondary literature on these. The classic treatment of the magic *lamellae* is that of M. Siebourg, "Ein gnostisches Goldamulett aus Gellep," *BJ* 103 (1898): 123–53, though it is now badly outdated. In the article he cites at least seven examples of such phylacteries known to him in addition to the one he publishes; he also includes about fourteen literary references. Jordan (see n. 64) also gives a useful survey of the material.

45. The study of these gold and silver phylacteries, including a corpus of all known examples, is the subject of my Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1988). For a previously unpublished example not discussed in this paper, see C. A. Faraone and R. Kotansky, "A Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut," *ZPE* 75 (1988): 257–66.

46. The terms *lamella* and *lamina* are used to describe these amulets in ancient literary

sources. In addition to the generic "phylactery," Greek writers employ a number of other terms, often interchangeably: *λάμνα* (PGM II.15, 297, 299; IV.2153–54, 2166, 2177, 2208, 2226, 2238; VII.398, 459, 462; IX.8; X.26, 36; XXXVI.1, 37–38, 231, 234; LVIII.6); *πέταλον* (PGM III.[58], 66; IV.330, 1218, 1255, 1813, 1824, 1847, 2705; V.306, 359; VII.216, 382, 417, 487, 581, 743; IX.14; X.[36], 39; XII.197–98, 199; XIII.889, 898, 903, 1008, 1052); *λεπίς* (PGM III.410–11, 417; IV.258, 1828, 2160–61, 2216, 2228; VII.271, 919, 925; XIII.1001; XXXVI.278; LXXVIII.3); *πλάξ* (PGM IV.2187, 2194, 2212; VII.432); *πλάτυμμα* (PGM IV.329, 407; VII.438); *πτύχιον* (PGM VII.740–41; cf. also *P. Vars.* 4, 2f.; *P. Ant.* vol. III, no. 66, line 37).

47. See primarily K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), Taf. 50, Nr. 1–2; Taf. 17, Nr. 1; pl. 33, Nr. 1(?); idem, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano* series B, vols. 1–3 (Palermo, 1969–80) with the following examples: vol. 1, nos. 35, 36, 62, 96; vol. 2, nos. 250, 257, 321(?); vol. 3, nos. 527, 533, 575(?), 621, 654, 656–57, 659–60, 663, 665, 669–70, 672, 674.

48. K. Wessely (WS 8 [1886]: 178–79) and F. H. Marshall (*Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Roman, Etruscan in the British Museum* [London, 1911], xlvii) stressed the connection between the "Orphic" *lamellae* and the latter magical ones, but the protests of Günther Zuntz (1971, 277–86; discussed in n. 49), seem generally to have prevailed. Apart from the work of West and Janko (see n. 51) the literature on the "Orphic" *lamellae* has ignored the question entirely; see Domenico Comparetti, *Laminette Orfiche* (Firenze, 1910); Alexander Olivieri, *Lamellae Aureae Orphicae* (Bonn, 1915); M. Markovich, "The Gold Leaf from Hipponion," *ZPE* 23 (1976): 221–24; R. Merkelbach, "Ein neues 'orphisches' Goldblättchen," *ZPE* 25 (1977): 276; M. Guarducci, "Laminette auree orfiche: alcuni problemi," *Epigraphica* 36 (1974): 7–31 (= *Scritti scelti sulla religione greca e romana e sul cristianesimo* [Leiden, 1983], 71–86); B. Feyereabend, "Zur Wegmetaphorik beim Goldblättchen aus Hipponion und dem Proömium des Parmenides," *RhM* 127 (1984): 1–22.

49. The motif in the tablets may be Egyptian, as the so-called Coffin Texts deal with such protection in the afterlife; see Zuntz 1971, 370–76. Zuntz also emphasizes the differences between the Orphic tablets and late magic tablets (pp. 282–84): he argues that even though both types accompanied the dead to their graves, "the one is designed for the living, the other for the dead" (p. 282). Furthermore, the two types of tablets are chronologically separated, on the whole: "The long gap of time separating the 'Orphic' from the 'magic' gold leaves thus remains unbridged; and while the former have at least one successor in the tablet of Caecilia Secundina (which is contemporary with the first crop of 'magic' gold amulets and adapted to them) there are no pre-Roman 'magic' gold leaves, let alone any that are contemporary with, or earlier than, the 'Orphic' ones" (pp. 283–84). But with such a tiny statistical sampling, even the presence of a single exception should caution against overstressing the chronological hiatus. The fact that both types were found in tombs does not argue in the least for their different functions; both were buried with the owner after death, a typical practice. But that does not exclude the possibility that the Orphic tablets (despite the content of their texts) could have been worn as amulets, like the Petelia (B1; see n. 51) and Rome pieces. Gold leaves with verses of Homer (see n. 61), for example, give no explicit indication of their apotropaic value in the inscribed text itself but were nonetheless worn as talismans. And to argue that because we have found no gold amulets contemporary with the Orphic ones they did not exist is faulty reasoning. See, for example, Zuntz (1971, 284, n. 1), who supports Perdrizet's remark that Theophrastus would have presented his "character" with a gold amulet if one had been in use at the time! Indeed, we have such early texts on lead in hexameters (see n. 27); someday the archaeologist's spade may turn up a gold example.

50. On the whole matter of the amuletic function of the leaves, Zuntz (1971, 353) says of this one, "One cannot but conclude that these lamellae were articles of a local mass-

production, objects of a beadles' trade like the pictures of the Madonna and of saints sold at Roman Catholic churches. *This fact is significant enough, for it implies that they came to be appreciated as material objects rather than as carriers of the words inscribed on them.* We have previously protested against the designation of the lamellae as 'amulets,' and shall continue to urge their essentially different character; *but have here to admit that the facts just noted are evidence of the Gold Leaves gradually being accepted for just this*" (italics mine). Elsewhere, when discussing the Hipponion tablet, Zuntz ("Die Goldlamelle von Hipponion," WS 10 [1976]: 129–51, esp. 135) implies that the text was indeed a "talisman."

51. For the Petelia tablet, see also C. Smith and D. Comparetti, "The Petelia Gold Tablet," *JHS* 3 (1882): 111–18. M. L. West, "Zum neuen Goldplättchen aus Hipponion," *ZPE* 18 (1975): 229–36, implicitly supports the view that the Petelia tablet could have been worn as an amulet when he successfully uses parallels from the later magical lamellae to restore line 13: [ἐν πίνακι χρυσεῷ] τόδε γρα[ψάτω ἢ δὲ φορεῖτω] ("[Let him] write this [on a gold tablet] and carry it"). He is followed by R. Janko ("Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory," *CQ* 34 [1984]: 89–100, esp. 92 and 99) who in his restoration of the archetype Ω places the verse at the beginning as an instruction given to those who are about to perish.

52. Cf. Marshall (see n. 48), 381. Guarducci (see n. 48) p. 75 rejects the possibility that the amulet capsule ever housed the tablet. Details regarding the tablet's discovery are not known, but the tablet had apparently been folded tightly at least two or three times from top to bottom and thrice from left to right.

53. Marshall (see n. 48), xlvii. The Caecilia Secundina piece, found at San Paolo fuori le Mura near Rome and acquired by the British Museum in 1899, was apparently worn in a capsule, judging from the way it had been folded. Personal names are never found on the Orphic lamellae of an earlier date, and they are not (with the exception of the Petelia tablet) enclosed in capsules but simply laid by or on the body of the deceased.

54. The best recent survey of the capsules is that of Jean Leclant, "A propos des étuis porte-amulettes égyptiens et puniques," in *Oriental Studies Presented to Benedikt S. J. Isserlin, by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday 25 February 1976*, ed. R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young (Leiden, 1980), 100–107.

55. For the inscribed foil amulets found within the capsules, see P. Gauckler, "Note sur des étuis à lamelles gravées, en métal précieux," *CRAI* 1 (1900): 176–204 (and addendum with Ph. Berger, 205–207); Jean Vercoutter, *Les Objets Égyptiens et Égyptisants du mobilier funéraire Carthaginois* (Paris, 1945), 311–37 and 343–44; and P. Cintas, *Amulettes Puniques*, Publ. de l'Institut des hautes études de Tunis 1 (Tunis, 1946), 66–72. Note also A. A. Barb, ("Mystery, Myth, and Magic," in *The Legacy of Egypt*, 2d ed., ed. J. R. Harris [Oxford, 1971], 149–151), who rightly connects the Punic-Egyptian gold tablets with the Orphic. For the best and most recent discussion of the inscribed texts found within the capsules, see G. Hölbl, *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im phönikischen und punischen Sardinien*, *EPRO* 102 (Leiden, 1986), 338–53, which provides good facsimiles of all the tablets.

56. For example, see M. Siebourg, "Zwei griechische Goldtänien aus der Sammlung C. A. Niessen," *ARW* 8 (1905): 390–410; idem, "Neue Goldblättchen mit griechischen Aufschriften," *ARW* 10 (1907): 393–96; P. Thompson, *Die lateinischen und griechischen Inschriften der Stadt Jerusalem* (Leipzig, 1922), 113, no. 208; P. Benoit, "Nouvelles 'brattées' trouvées en Palestine," *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952): 253–58 (plate IX.2); E. Michon, "A propos d'un bandeau d'or palestinien," *Syria* 3 (1922): 214–18; W. Deonna, "Monuments orientaux du Musée de Genève," *Syria* 4 (1923): 224–33.

57. On the phrase, see M. Simon, "Θάψει οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος," *RHR* 113 (1938): 188–206; T. B. Mitford (*The Inscriptions of Kourion* [Philadelphia, 1971], 300, no. 156) says on this, "The formula . . . is particularly common on Christian and Jewish tombstones," and

adds that F. Cumont argues (*Les religions orientales*, p. 350) that it is of Egyptian origin. Note also I. Bilkei, *Alba Regia* 17 (1979): 28, no. 11.

58. See R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos: Objects et Inscriptions Magiques de Syrie*, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, vol. 15, pt. 3 (Beirut, 1930), 105–6, no. 33 (plate 11.5 and fig. 33). This city is probably modern Afq in the Golan.

59. Mouterde (see n. 58) only provides drawings of two of the inscriptions. The photograph is too inadequate to make reliable readings, but it is not entirely impossible that some of the letters are Greek. The piece may be compared to similar gold bands in the Niessen collection, which also have holes for tying the bands on as crowns; these, however, are inscribed with the formula, "Take courage, NN, no one's immortal." See S. Loeschcke, C. A. Niessen, and H. Willers, *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von C. A. Niessen* (Köln, 1911), 238, nos. 4471–2 (pl. CXXXIII) (and see n. 56). For other funerary bands, see Mouterde, *ibid.*, 105, n. 5, and for a general discussion, see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, RGVV 38 (Berlin, 1982), 89–92.

60. The long strings of magical words that occur repeatedly in different magical texts are often termed *logoi* or "formulas" and may be transmissions of foreign languages like Egyptian. Similarly, the vowels, long held to correspond to the planets and thus to "the music of the spheres," may have been especially intoned (or to have represented such intonation) on written amulets, cf. *PGM* XIII.556–57, 206, 627–28, etc. See Hopfner, *OZ* 1, sec. 150–51, 731–87, etc.

61. See discussion below. In the magical papyri the use of Homer is frequent: *PGM* IV.467–74, 821–24, 830–34, 2145–2240; VII.1–148 (*Homeromanteia*); XXIII.1–70 (consult *GMPT*, pp. 262–64); *IG* 14.2580.2. Several short recipes in *PGM* XXIIa also mention making amulets from verses of Homer. One of these (XXIIa.2–9 = *GMPT*, p. 260), written for hemorrhage, is of interest for comparative study because it mentions *speaking* a verse (*Il.* 1. 75) to the blood to stop the flow; but if the patient is ungrateful, another verse (*Il.* 1.96) is to be *written*. So also in lines 11–14 a contraceptive spell is to be inscribed on a papyrus amulet or (it says) even spoken. Examples and discussion are also given in Heim 1893, 514–20.

62. See Heim 1893, 544–50.

63. The use of the genitive where one might expect rather *dativus commodi* is rare, but the sense and meaning are inescapable. Cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, 1956), sec. 1408 for the genitive of purpose.

64. Bonner (1950, 51–95) discusses the diseases mentioned in the texts of the gemstones. A thorough study of the naming and description of diseases from medical writers compared with that of the magical texts would yield a valuable monograph. For a useful (albeit outdated) attempt at such a study, E. Tavenner (*Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* [New York, 1916], 76–112) treats the texts discussed below as well as many others. Cf. also D. R. Jordan, "The Inscribed Gold Tablet from Vigna Codini," *AJA* 89 (1985): 164, n. 9.

65. The belief that daemons were responsible for a disease is found already in Hes. *Op.* 100; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 757; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1037. For a full bibliography, see J. Z. Smith, "Towards Interpreting Demonic Powers in Hellenistic and Roman Antiquity," in *ANRW* 2.16.1 (Berlin, 1978), 425–39.

66. For example, a silver tablet from Antiochia Caesarea in Pisidia is written "for spirits." Unfortunately, the reading of the text is very uncertain; see David M. Robinson, "A Magical Inscription from Pisidian Antioch," *Hesperia* 22 (1953): 172–74. Another piece, a gold one in the British Museum, is written to protect Phaeinos son of Paramona from every male and female daemon, a description found often in the Aramaic incantation bowls. For a reedition of the piece, see R. W. Daniel, "A Phylactery from Amphipolis," *ZPE* 41 (1981): 275–76.

67. F. Fiorelli, *NotSc* ser. 4, vol. 3 (1887): 157; Zuntz 1971, 281; cf. Siebourg, *BJ* 103 (1898): 135, no. 3; Zuretti, *Rivista di Filologia* 20 (1891), fasc. 1–3; Heim 1893, no. 234.

68. M. Siebourg, "Ein griechisch-christliches Goldamulett gegen Augenkrankheiten," *BJ* 118 (1909): 158–75. See below, n. 94. On the basis of the Christian formula Siebourg dates the tablet to the first century A.D. This, however, cannot be accepted as reliable since no facsimile or photograph of the piece is provided.

69. For the text see M. Niedermann, *Marcelli "De Medicamentis" Liber*, Corpus Medicorum Latinorum 5 (Leipzig, 1916). At *De Med.* 8.59, we read, *In lamella aurea acu cuprea scribes ορυω ουρωδη et dabis vel suspendes ex licio collo gestandum praeligamen ei, qui lippiet. Quod potenter et diu valebit, si observata castitate die Lunae illud facias et ponas.* "On a small plaque of gold you should inscribe with a copper stylus *ORYO OURODE*; then you must hang by a thread an amulet from the neck of the wearer who suffers from the inflammation of the eyes. This proves effective and long-lasting, if you perform and carry out the rituals while (sexually) pure on a Monday."

70. Although the magical papyri do describe amulets for eye inflammation, none recommends the making of gold or silver phylacteries; see *PGM* XCVII.1–6 (= *GMPT*, p. 306; Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BJ* 168 [1968]: 109–11); *PGM* XCIV.4–6; cf. Heim 1893, nos. 31, 32, 35; etc. Cf. also Tavenner (see n. 64), 84–87; and L. C. Youtie, "A Medical Prescription for Eye-salve," *ZPE* 23 (1976): 121–29. The orator Libanius, as well as his brother, resorted to magicians for their eye ailments; see C. Bonner, "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius," *TAPA* 63 (1932): 34–44. Bonner (1950, 69–71) also discusses ailments of the eyes, but the inscribed gemstones do not mention such diseases explicitly.

71. See M. K. Kubinya, *ArchÉrtes* 3rd ser., vol. 8–9 (1946–48): 276–79; I. Bilkei, *Alba Regia* 17 (1979): 33, no. 31, pl. II.4; and A. Sz. Burger, "A Late Roman Cemetery at Sagvar," *Acta Archaeologica* 18 (1966): 110, fig. 86.

72. Jordan (see n. 64) pp. 165–66 has identified from the printed plate that the spell is written "to avert swelling."

73. Th. Homolle, "Inscriptions d'Amorgos," *BCH* 25 (1901): 412–56: "II. Exorcisme contre la tumeur maligne."

74. See D. R. Jordan, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kera-meikos," *AM* 95 (1980): 228, n. 12 (cf. also app. I): "Th. Homolle . . . has published, unseen, from two transcriptions made by D. Prasinos of Arkesine, the text of a Jewish or Christian invocation of the Archangels to banish an evil tumor; the tablet is apparently lost, and it is accordingly impossible for me to verify Prasinos' description of the metal as lead." (Jordan then goes on to describe three tablets published as lead that he has subsequently proved to be silver).

75. Cf. the Greek text of *PGM* XCV.14 (= *GMPT*, p. 306), which is unfortunately too fragmentary to yield a completely secure reading. *PGM* CXIV (= *GMPT*, p. 313) is a *φυλακτήριον* for epileptic seizures caused by daemonic attacks. For epilepsy in general, see O. Temkin, *The Falling Sickness*, 2d ed. (Baltimore, 1971); E. Lesky and J. H. Waszink, "Epilepsie," *RAC* 5 (1965), cols. 819–31; note also A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (Paris, 1927), p. 487, line 6.

76. The piece (5.6 by 3.0 centimeters) is located in the Cabinet des Médailles. See P. Perdrizet, "Amulette grecque trouvée en Syrie," *REG* 41 (1928): 73–82 for the editio princeps and Robinson 1938, 252 for the restored reading *κεφαλαλ[γ]ίαν*, which was also suggested in L. Robert, *BE* (1971): 406, no. 68. Where Robinson reads *[παίδι]ου*, one should supply instead a personal name. See also, B. Lifschitz, "Notes d'épigraphie grecque," *Revue Biblique* 77 (1970): 81–82;.

77. Kotansky (see n. 37).

78. Including the new listings in *GMPT*, the following represent actual amulets for fever (as opposed to descriptions from formularies): *PGM* XVIIIb, XXXIII, XLIII, XLVII, LXXXIII, LXXXVIII–XCI, CIV, CVI, CXV, CXXVIII, CXXX. For fever amulets, see also Kotansky (see n. 37), 187–88; D. Wortmann, "Der weisse Wolf," *Philologus* 107 (1963):

157–161; P. J. Sijpesteijn, “Amulet against Fever,” *Chron. d'Égypte* 57 (1982): 377–81; and Bonner, 1950, 67–68.

79. See above p. 119 with n. 87 for the phylactery formerly in the Louvre; for the Acrae piece see A. Vogliano and K. Preisendanz, “Laminetta Magica Siciliana,” *Acme* 1 (1953): 172–78; L. Bernabò Brea, *Akraï* (Catania, 1956) 170–71, no. *52 (pl. 39 [52]); and Robert (see n. 5), 14, n. 23.

80. See n. 60.

81. The editio princeps is that of D. Comparetti, *Notizie degli Scavi* (1923): 207–8 (who incorrectly dates the piece to the fourth century B.C.). Subsequent scholars note that it is a late amulet; see A. Olivieri, “Laminetta d'oro iscritta di Brindisi,” *RIGI* 7 (1923): 53–54; for discussion of the earlier bibliography see Zuntz 1971, 283.

82. It is the title of a Byzantine collection of late Roman veterinary writers; the remedies, for the most part, were written for horses; see E. Oder and C. Hoppe, *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, vol. I, *Hippiatrica Berolinensia* (Leipzig, 1924), vol. II, *Hippiatrica Parisina Cantabrigiensia Londinensia Lugdunensia* (Leipzig, 1927). G. Björck, *Zum Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* (Uppsala, 1932); idem, *Apsyrtus, Julius Africanus, et l'hippiatrique grecque* (Uppsala, 1944); A. M. Doyan, “Les textes d'hippiatrie grecque,” *L'AntClass* 50 (1981): 258–73; note also Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, “Two Notes on the *Hippiatrica*,” *GRBS* 20 (1979): 371–79, esp. 372, no. 6, with suggestions for a new edition of the text of Oder and Hoppe; consult also Fischer's recent edition of Pelagonius in the Teubner Library, *Pelagonii Ars Veterinaria* (Leipzig, 1980) and his article, “The First Latin Treatise on Horse Medicine and Its Author Pelagonius Saloninus,” *Medezin historisches Journal* 16 (1981): 215–26 for a general discussion of veterinary medicine in antiquity.

83. The piece is of unknown provenance and currently resides at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Washington D.C. (Acq. no. 53.12.52; acquired in 1953; 4.0 by 1.5 centimeters). M. C. Ross (*Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2, *Jewelry, Enamels, and Arts of the Migration Period* [Washington, D.C., 1965] no. 29 [plate XXV]) reports that the piece had been rolled up, presumably for insertion into a tubular case. I give the text in Heim 1893, no. 152, which has ἐστροναχίζετο in lieu of στεναχίζετο. For the use of verses from Homer in magic, see n. 61.

84. The text is in F. L. Griffith and H. Thompson, eds. *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, 3 vols. (London, 1904), verso, col. 10 lines 1–12 with translation (and transliterated text). An abridged version has been published by Dover Press: *The Leyden Papyrus: An Egyptian Magical Book*, eds. F. L. Griffith and H. Thompson, (New York, 1974). The text has been retranslated with new readings from the original manuscript by J. H. Johnson in *GMPT*, p. 244. PDM xiv. 985–1025 contains several short recipes for gout and (arthritic) stiffness. One recipe (PDM xiv. 1003–14) reads as follows: “Another amulet for the foot of the gouty man: You should write these names on a strip of silver or tin. You should put it on a deerskin and bind it to the foot of the gouty man named, on his two feet: ‘THEMBARATHEM OUREMBRENOUPTIE AIOXTHOU SEMMARATHEMMOU NAIOOU, let NN, whom NN bore, recover from every pain which is in his knees and two feet.’ You should do it when the moon is [in the constellation] Leo.” For the treatment of gout, see now D. Gourevitch, *Le triangle hippocratique dans le monde gréco-romain: Le malade, sa maladie, et son médecin*, BEFRA 251 (Rome, 1984), 517–16 for additional bibliography.

85. For the Coptic spells, see W. H. Worrell, “Coptic Magical and Medical Texts,” *Orientalia* n.s. 4 (1935): 1–37 and 184–94. The relevant portion of the text reads (following Worrell's translation, p. 18, lines 10ff.): “For gout: a proven (remedy). (Magical signs and letters). Write upon a piece of silver when the moon is waning; then, pouring warm (water) of the sea, read the name. Labor diligently. Do this for forty-four days (saying): ‘I invoke thee,

great Isis, ruling in the absolute blackness, Mistress of the gods of heaven by birth." The text then breaks into a series of magic words followed by a prayer to rectify a dislodged uterus. Evidently we have here a new spell altogether, or the text has become conflated in transmission. Other amulets for specific maladies within the same manuscript are for "the wandering of the uterus," (p. 29, lines 25ff.); spleen disorders (lines 35ff.); disorders of the eyelids (lines 39ff.); chills (lines 41ff.); inflammation (p. 30, lines 56ff.); child bearing (pp. 30f. lines 60ff.); stomach- and headache (p. 33, lines 125ff.); fire(?) disease (lines 134ff.); uterine pains (p. 34, lines 162ff.); mental illness (lines 169ff.); pustule (p. 35, lines 184ff.); as well as other minor ailments.

86. See Bonner 1950, 76–77; note also O. Neverov, *Antique Gems in the Hermitage Collection* (Leningrad, 1976), nos. 143 and 143a and G. Schlumberger, *REG* 5 (1892): 88. Additional references are also given in Eckstein and Waszink (see n. 5), 398. I also note that like the $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ formula preserved in Pliny (see n. 40), this inscription seems to be fragments of a longer hexametric line and may be much older than the stone on which it is incised. Bonner, *ibid.*, also discusses an inscription on a bronze prism published by H. Seyrig, "Notes archéologiques," *Berytus* 2 (1935): 483, which also may be for gouty feet (though Seyrig suggests—incorrectly I believe—that it was for horses in the circus). See L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* vol. 3, pt. 2 (Paris, 1953), no. 1083. For the use of the $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon$ formula see n. 40 and Heim 1893, 479–84, where about twenty examples are given (including the Perseus gem [= no. 50], cited above); see also L. Robert, "Appendice 5. Échec au Mal," *Hellenica* 13 (1965): 265–71; Bonner, *HTR* 35 (1942): 89 and esp. Björck, *Apsyrus* (see n. 82), 61–62.

87. The tablet was formerly in the Louvre (inv. Bj 87) but has been long lost; for the text, see W. Froehner, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 4 (1866–67): 217ff; F. X. Kraus, *Annalen des Vereins für Nassauische Altertumskunde* 9 (1968): 123ff. and G. Pelliccioni, *Atti e memorie dell RR. deputazione de storia patria per la provincia dell' Emilia* n.s. 5.2 (1880): 177–201.

88. All editions read $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon$, but the reproduction of the tablet clearly shows the prefix $\delta\iota\alpha$ - at the end of the preceding line. The literature on this piece is simply too extensive to cite in its entirety: see, principally, G. C. Boon, "Excavations and Discoveries," pt. 2, "Roman," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1964): 96–99 (plates Ib, II); E. L. Barnwell, "The Carnarvon Talisman," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* ser. 4, vol. 10 (1879): 99–108. The piece was found in 1827 at the site of an ancient graveyard outside the Roman fort at Segontium during the excavations of a house (of later date) called Cefn Hendre; on the site see F. Haverfield, "Military Aspects of Roman Wales," *Cymmrodorian Society Transactions* (1908–1909) [1910]: 85–86 (fig. 8). See, further, n. 103.

89. D. M. Robinson (see n. 66).

90. Zuntz 1971, 281; Bonner 1950, 96; E. Hübner, *Monatsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1861 (1862): 533; *IG* 14, 2413, line 13.

91. See n. 37 and 76.

92. See n. 76.

93. The verb also occurs in a spell, written on a silver tablet and found in a grave at Amisos (Pontus). The spell's purpose, however, seems far from certain; lines 10–13 read, "Let no evil ($\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu$) appear. Drive away, drive away $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ from Rufina." The meaning of $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ in this context is open to numerous interpretations, which cannot be addressed here. See S. Pétridès, "Amulettes Judéo-Grecque," *Échos d'Orient* 8 (1905): 88–90 and R. Wünsch, "Deisidaimoniaka," *ARW* 12 (1909): 24–32, no. 4.

94. See n. 68. The verb seems to have this "medical" sense in later Koine Greek; cf. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, s.v.; cf. also *LSJ* s.v. $\epsilon\pi\iota\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$, 5b. The use of $\epsilon\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ speaks of preventing any further "setting in" of the disease.

95. See the editio princeps of S. Sciacca, *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81) [1982]: 459–63, lines 13f., 20ff. Such references to “the bearer of a charm” occur regularly on amulets, but here the bearer carries, it seems, the Law of God itself, perhaps understood in the traditional sense of the Jewish phylacteries, the *tefillin* (parchment on which a text of the Torah was inscribed). One cannot be certain whether a lost portion of this tablet actually cited a verse from the Torah or the Old Testament, though such verses do occur on the Jewish-Aramaic pieces.

96. Robinson 1938, 245–53 with plate I. I have not been able to locate the present whereabouts of the piece.

97. Siebourg, “Neue Goldblättchen” (see n. 56), 398–99. See note 98 for additional references.

98. See also *IG* 14.2413, line 3; Jordan (see n. 64), 164, n.13. The piece is actually quadrangular, engraved on four sides, one of which reads “O Publicianus.” Siebourg (“Neue Goldblättchen” [see n. 56], 398–99) rightly interprets this as a phylactery for the deceased Publicianus, upon whom Zeus Serapis is to show his mercy.

99. Indeed, this seems to be the case with a silver phylactery from El Jem in Tunisia that was found among the steles dedicated to Saturn; see R. Cagnat, *BCTH* (1928–29 [1930]: 54, no. 51). On dedicating materials associated with personal cases of healing, cf. esp. F. T. van Straten (see n. 2), who includes an appendix entitled “Votive offerings representing parts of the human body.”

100. Provenance unknown, acq. no. 48.3 (D.O.H. no. 162): Ross (see n. 83), no. 28.

101. The last line of the text is corrupt and cannot be read.

102. See Bauer-Armdt-Gingrich, s.v. The translation given by Ross may be misleading.

103. The use of Latin written with Greek characters may have served a magic purpose; however, for such conventions, see the examples (and notes) in P. Collart, “Inscription de Sélian-Mésoréma,” *BCH* 54 (1930): 378. The phylactery from Segontium (see n. 88) has some Hebrew text written in Greek, reading “Lord God of Hosts” (lines 1–3), “Elyon the terrible” (lines 8–10; cf. Deut. 10:17; Neh. 9:32), and “Blessed Thou and blessed Thy glory for ever, ever (in Greek here: *ἀεὶ*), for ever” (lines 11–15); see R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *RIB*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1965), 144.

104. *CIL* 13.5338; G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse Ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im Römischen Deutschland* (Leiden, 1969), 212–13, no. 128 (with additional bibliography). The third-century A.D. tablet was found not in a private burial but at the public baths of Badenweiler in 1784 (Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, inv. no. C625); accordingly, it can be argued from this and more that since more than one person is named on the tablet (I use the reading of *CIL*, with the notes of the apparatus criticus) and since the piece was *not* found rolled up in a tube (and thus probably was not carried by a single person), the piece was not a protective amulet of the usual sort. Since the word *periculum* (i.e., the situation from which the group of suppliants seek deliverance) can refer to a court trial or even the sentencing resulting from such a trial, perhaps the charm was meant to deliver the group as litigants in an impending trial.

105. New York Public Library, cat. no. 1 (5.7 by 1.7 centimeters). I am preparing a full reading of this text for publication; note R. Gottheil, *Journal Asiatique* ser. 10, vol. 9 (1907): 150–52. A similar Greek expression, *ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ* (found often on Greek inscriptions) occurs on a gold plaque apparently worn open to view and not rolled up (judging from the single suspension ring attached). The plaque of gold sheet shows two repoussé figures facing, wearing Egyptian garb, carrying ankhs and with solar disks atop their heads; their two children stand between with the inscription below; see L. Habachi, *Tell Basta, Suppl. aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* (1957), plate 25b. For this common expression found on gemstones, see E. LeBlant, *750 Inscriptions de pierres gravées inédites ou peu connues*, MAI

36 (Paris, 1898), no. 89 (with references). Note also the expression on an Egyptian stele: R. Noll, "Römerzeitliches Sphinxrelief mit griechischer Weihinschrift aus Ägypten," *JOAI* 42 (1955): 67–74. For other examples of deities represented on plaques that are not necessarily "magical," see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Plaque d'or représentant Esculape, Hygie et Télésphore," *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* 5 (1903): 54–55, plate IIIC.

106. H. D. Betz ("Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *HR* 19 [1980]: 287–95) discusses the spell and its mystery liturgy in detail, but he failed to point out that the *aski kataski* formula preserves a hexametric verse (already recognized by Bonner in his *editio princeps*; see the reference in Preisendanz, *PGM*, vol. II, p. 202; cf. also W. Roscher, *Philologus* 60 [1901]: 89). These same words (κατασκει ερων ορεον μεγα) appear in slightly altered form as dactylic hexameters in the unpublished Getty lead tablet: κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὀρέων μελανανγεί χῶρωι (see n. 27).

107. Cf. Koenen (see n. 35).

108. This is Betz's interpretation (see n. 106) of *PGM* LXX and Zuntz's interpretation (see n. 48) of the Caecilia Secundina tablet. For the broader theoretical argument that most magic is "degenerate religion," see A. A. Barb, "The Survival of the Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), 100–25.

109. See also the fragmentary third-century B.C. papyrus from Gurob (= Kern *Orph. Frag.* no. 31), which invites comparison at many points with the texts under discussion here. In addition to the apparent allusions it makes to the Orphic gold leaves (see M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* [Oxford, 1983], 170–71 and 205), it also mentions the same tokens or *symbola* (i.e. "virgin, bitch, serpent, wreath, key, etc") that appear in the Michigan papyrus (quoted above) and the lead phylactery from Phalasarna (see n. 27); M. G. Tortorelli, *PP* 164 [1975]: 365–70. Furthermore, in the incantatory sections several deities associated with the *teletai* are addressed and urged, "save me!" (σώτισόν με). The context, moreover, suggests salvation from death is to be understood here (cf. lines 18–19: κἄν ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀπάγη . . . καὶ σώσει σε).

110. For the use of σώζειν in a context that blurs the theological sense with the more practical aim of saving one from earthly danger, see *PGM* I. 195–222 (containing a hymn called a ῥυστική [rescue prayer] that summons the "eternal god" to save the believer from "fate" and concluding with the plea, "Rescue me in my hour of need"); *PGM* IV. 1167–1226 ("It even delivers one from death"); and *PGM* V. 96–172. For a limited discussion of these texts, see M. J. Vermaseren, "La sotériologie dans les papyri graecae magicae," in *La sotériologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano*, *EPRO* 93, ed. U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (Leiden, 1982), 17–30 and M. Smith, "Salvation in the Gospels, Paul, and the Magical Papyri," *Helios* 13 (1986): 63–74.