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GREEK MAGICAL AMULETS

The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper,
and Bronze *Lamellae*

Part I

Published Texts of
Known Provenance

Text and Commentary
by
Roy Kotansky



WESTDEUTSCHER VERLAG

- 1 Magic Signs
2 Φνεβεννουθ

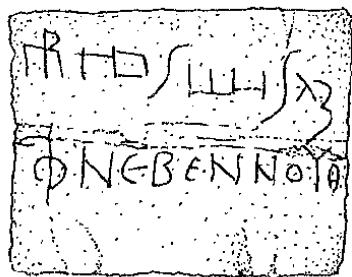


Fig. 1

1 *Magic Signs*: These *caractères* parallel a similar group in Kotansky (1983: 169-178, above 'Lit.'). also with the magic name Φνεβεννουθ (see below). Evidently these symbols in both places act as a sort of cryptogram, probably for the magic name, *Phnebennouth*, itself. Several of the symbols seem to approximate Greek letters; cf. A. S. Hunt, "A Greek Cryptogram," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 15 (1929), pp. 1-10. The initial symbol Π is reminiscent of the abbreviation for πρ(ός) used, for example, in such phrases as πρ(ός) τυρετόν, and so on; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 88, 1,6 (*app. crit.*).

2 Φνεβεννουθ: The name corresponds to Egyptian, p3 nb (n) n3 ntr.w, "The lord of the gods." See Crum and Murray's note in R. Collingwood & R. P. Wright 1965:237; cf. *PGM XXXVI.43f.*: πεφθα φωζα φνεβεννουθ ('He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss,' so R. Ritner, in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 270, n. 2); on Chnoubis gemstones, cf. A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), nos. 77, 78, 81, etc.: (νααβις) βιενυθ, βιεννουθ (*vel sim.*); C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 57, who refers to U. Kopp, *Palaeographia Critica* (Mannheim, 1829), vol. IV, p. 158, נחבש בענות, "bound by charms." The name also occurs on a silver *lamella* in the Getty Museum (also to appear in vol. II): R. Kotansky, "A Silver Phylactery for Pain," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983), pp. 169-178, p. 172, lines 1-4: Ψνεβεννου, Φνεβεννουθ, ὁμοίως Φνηβεννουθ.

2 Jewish Liturgical Fragments in Greek

Fig. 2. Plate II

SEGONTIUM (Caernarvon), Wales
Cardiff, National Museum of Wales
(no inv. number)

I/II A.D.
H. 10.4 cm.; W. 3.05
Gold *lamella*

Lit. Mr. Palgrave, *Quarterly Review* 37 (March, 1828), p. 488; J. O. Westwood, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 3 (1848), pp. 361-363; A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1869), p. 40, no. 7; E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (Berlin & London, 1876), p. 80, no. 215; Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 187ff.; E. L. Barnwell, "The Carnarvon Talisman," *Archeologia Cambrensis*, ser. 4, vol. 10 (1879) 99-108 (fig.); F. Haverfield, "Military Aspects of Roman Wales," *Cymrnodorian Society Transactions* (1908-1909) [1910], pp. 85-86 (fig. 8); C. R. Peers, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, ser. 2, vol. 31 (1919), pp. 127-131 (with W. J. Hemp); Sir Mortimer Wheeler, "Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales," *Y Cymmrodor* 33 (1923), pp. 129-230; R. Collingwood & R. P. Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, p. 144, no. 436; G. C. Boon, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1964), pp. 96-99; E. Harris & J. R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults of Roman Britain* (Leiden, 1965), p. 93f., no. 1; M. J. Vermaseren, in J. R. Hin-nells, ed., *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1971), p. 447, note 4; M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (London, 1984), pp. 184-188.

The gold charm was found in 1827 during the excavations of the house called Cefn Hendre (see map in Haverfield 1910:83; Wheeler 1923:14, fig. 1), located outside of the southernmost corner of the Roman fort at Segontium. The house, of a late date, was situated atop a Roman cremation cemetery that lay southeast of the fort along the southside of Llanbeblig Road. The cemetery yielded three burial urns in 1922 (1st cent. A.D.), as well as evidence of other gravesites, though no systematic excavations were carried out. On the phylactery's discovery, Wheeler states, "It may have come from a grave, but, though there was certainly a cemetery on this side of the fort, no details of the discovery of the gold plate are known" (p. 129). According to Boon, the site had been occupied from the periods ca. 75-140 A.D.; ca. 210-300 A.D.; and ca. 350-390 A.D., after which time the military garrison was withdrawn. Letter-forms suggest that this tablet belongs to the earliest period; it probably came

from the cemetery. The original amulet is kept in storage in the local town Council of Cardiff, with a replica on display in the Segontium Museum, Cardiff.

The text preserves a Jewish liturgical formula written in Greek letters and including a curious mixture of normal Greek phrases, some of which appear to have been marginal glosses inserted into the body of the text. Occasionally words are squeezed in between lines or on the right-hand margin. There is also some punctuation between magic names.

- 1 'Αδωναίε·'Ε-
λωαίε Σαβα-
ωθ ειε εσαρ ει-
4 ε σουρα αρβαρ-
τιαω· ων ων
ων ζων κα-
'λώς· ελλίων άν-
8 νωρα άγγιβ-
βωρ βαιλλα
λααμωθ βα-
ρουχ αθθα ου-
12 βαρουζ ούδη-
χα αεί ωλαμ λε
ωλαμ 'Ακκραμα-
ραχαμαρι αμο-
16 ριμ·φ'αβζανα
Θουθ XIII (magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs) δια-
φύλαττέ
24 με, 'Αλφια-
ρόν.

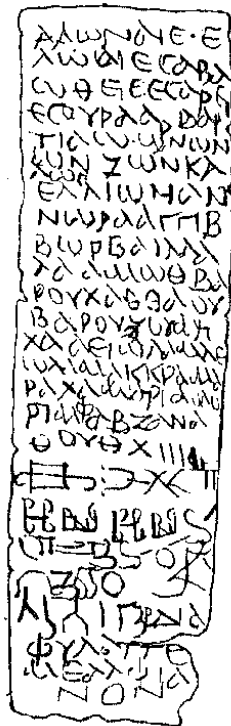


Fig. 2

Adōnai Elōaie Sabaōth, Eie Esar Eie, Soura Arbartaō, being, being, being, living excellently, Elliōn Hannōra Hagibbōr Baillalaamōth Barouch Aththa Oubarouz Houdēcha ever Ōlam-leōlam Akkramarachamari Amorim Phabzana Thouth (magic signs). Protect me, Alfianus.

1-3 'Αδωναίε· 'Ελωαίε Σαβαώθ: 'Ελωαί occurs in 35,1; 38,22 ('Ελωε), 41-44 ('Ελωειν); the other two divine names are usually found with 'Ιάω. Here, though, the three names, rather than representing the triad 'Ιάω Σαβαώθ 'Αδωναί, correspond to the Hebrew phrase "Lord God of Hosts." Cf., e.g., Hosea 12:6: *יהוה אלֵהֶם הַצִּבְאוֹת*, *wa-yhwh 'ēlōhē haṣṣābā'ōt*, where the divine Tetragrammaton would have been conventionally pronounced *אדני*, *ādōnai*. Our text probably derives from Jewish liturgy (see below on lines 14f.).

3-4 ειε εσαρ ειε: ειε εσαρ ειε *ed. pr.* These letters were not previously identified correctly; ειε εσαρ ειε represents a transliteration of the common magical phrase *אהיה אשר אהיה*, *'ehye 'āšer 'ehye*, "I-am-who-I-am" (Exod. 3:14) found in Hebrew and Aramaic magical texts; see J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), esp. p. 49: A2:10; A3:2f; A11:1; 12:6,40, etc.; cf. Jerome, *Epistula XXV*, 7f. (ed. Hilberg), p. 219 (on the ten names of God): *Sex-tum eser ieie, quod in Exodo legitur: qui est, misit me*; Jerome, *De Psalmo CXLVI*, 5 (ed. Morin), p. 329: *dicitur Eser Iaia*.

4 σουρα: The reading corresponds to the Hebrew imperative of *סור* (*swr*) i.e., *סוּרָה*, (*sūrah*); generally, "to turn aside (in one's direction)" — perhaps here in the sense, "come over here" (as in Ruth 4:1), rather than "turn aside" (e.g., harm, or evil); however, in connection with the next word, we suggest "turn aside the wrath of God" (below, lines 4f.).

D. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI* (Atlanta, 1991), p.28,45 provides a possible parallel for the names in lines 3f., above: *αδωναιαι ισαρ συρια*, which suggests the reading *αδωναι αι ισαρ <αι> συρια* (with *αι ισαρ αι*, again = *אהיה אשר אהיה*).

4-5 αρβαρτιαω: A probable variant of the magic deity 'Αρβαθιαω, "fourfold Yahweh" (= *אַרְבַּע יְהוָה*, i.e., *'arba' Iaō* [YHWH], referring to the four letters of the holy Tetragrammaton); cf. Collingwood and Wright 1965:144. Fauth, *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983), pp. 65-103, gives a

thorough analysis of Ἀρβαθιαω; the name, however, is also spelled ἄβραθιαω (ἄβρατιαω) which, with the heretofore unexplained *theta/tau*, gives us perhaps a different Hebrew reading, a reading that fits the context here. Biblical Hebrew עֶבְרָה, *‘ebrāh*, "wrath," when occurring in construct (= "wrath of *x*") provides the necessary terminative -ת suggested by the transliterated Greek: יְהוָה עֶבְרָתָה (*‘ebrať YHWH [=Iaδ]*), i.e., "the wrath of the Lord." The precise phrase occurs in the Bible: בְּיוֹם עֶבְרַת יְהוָה, *bəyōm ‘ebrať yhwāh* (= *Iaδ*), "in the day of the wrath of the Lord" (Zeph. 1:18; Ezek. 7:19); similarly, Isaiah 9:18; 13:13 gives, בְּעֶבְרַת יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, *b’‘ebrať Iaδ šəb’ōt*, "with the wrath of the Lord of Hosts" (= *Iaδ Sabaōth*). Hence, the combined words σουρα ἄβραρτιαω now give us, "Turn aside, O wrath of the Lord."

5-7 ὦν ὦν ὦν (*ζῶν καλῶς*): Collingwood and Wright 1965:144 point to Ex. 3:14 (LXX), Ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὦν, and suggest that the words allude to the living God, "Who was, Who is, and Who shall be" (cf. further NT Rev. 11:17; 16:5, etc., ὁ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ἐρχόμενος; Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* [Chicago, 1979], s.v. ζάω, def. Ie). The words ὦν ὦν ὦν would then seem to represent a somewhat imprecise Greek gloss on the transliterated Hebrew of *יעשע*, a gloss similar to the apparent *ἀεὶ ὠλαμ λεωλαμ* in line 13f. below.

The presence of Greek-Hebrew glosses inserted within the readings of an amulet found in Roman Britain points to a manuscript of an older and more distant textual ancestry. Originally, interlinear (or marginal) glosses must have been preserved in the magic formula that included this particular amulet. A later scribe copied these interlinear, glossed ἐρμηνεύματα directly back into the text of the amulet proper.

5-7 (ὦν ὦν ὦν) ζῶν καλῶς: καλῶς (read καλός) Collingwood & Wright. We noted above the possible connection of ὦν ὦν ὦν with Exod. 3:14. But what are we to make of the odd phrase ζῶν καλῶς, and how is this to be read with the triple ὦν's? Conceivably, "living excellently" may again refer to the Hebrew God, a god who is often described on amulets as θεός ζῶν; cf. 51,8f.; 52,80; 65,1; 67,2f. (but never with καλός!). On the other hand, the expression, seems rather to echo a philosophical or funeral adage and may have been used as an amuletic formula referring to the bearer of the charm itself (see 'Excursus,' below).

8-10 ἐλλίων ἀνωρα ἀγγιββωρ: These seemingly magic or divine names are again Hebrew written in Greek letters. The whole corresponds to עֲלִיּוֹן הַנּוֹרָה הַגִּבּוֹר, *‘elyōn hannōrah haggibbōr*, "Elyon the terrible, the mighty." Cf. Deut. 10:17: הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַנּוֹרָה, *hā’el haggādol haggibbor wəhannōrah*, "the great, the mighty, the awesome God" (similarly, Neh. 9:32; Ps. 47:2). In J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 1:8, the archangel Ishmael is called "the great, mighty, and terrifying" (יִשְׁמַעֵאל רַבָּא גִּבּוֹר וְנִרְאָה, p. 40f.).

Jerome, *Epist. XXV*,6 (Commentary above, line 3), interprets 'Elyon' as the fifth name of God: *Quintum elion, quem nos 'excelsus' dicimus*.

10-11 βαλλαλααμωθ (read perhaps Βελλαλααμωθ): We have here more probable transliteration of Hebrew. Βαῖλλα may represent the deity Ba'al or Bel (see below), but a more typical Hebrew expression is perhaps forthcoming in בַּלְיָלָה, *ballaylāh*, "in the night," or בַּלְיָלָה, *balaylāh*, "at night." And although the Semitic-sounding λααμωθ reminds one of such magic names as λααλαμ (57,7), here the ending might represent מוֹת, *mōt* (in construct and suffixal forms): "death; pestilence" — or, perhaps better מוֹתָה, *the Death/Pestilence*, "to achieve the *alpha* in -αμωθ; cf. also לָמוּת, *lāmūt*, "to die," and similar forms. Hence, the whole phrase might be, "in the night of (the) Death/Pestilence." For the connection, note the magical bowl in C. D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Missoula, 1975), 8:5 that describes a 'mighty destroyer': " ... and you do not kill ... either during the night (בַּלְיָלָה, *blyly*) or during the day" (p. 35). *Baillalaamōth*, then, is a destructive night demon.

Another possibility for the βαλλαλααμωθ is Aramaic בעל לעל המוֹת, *Ba'al la'ēlā' hamōt*, "Lord over the Pestilence/Death" — a seemingly better interpretation in this liturgical context.

11-15 βαρουχ αθθα ουβαρουζ ουδηχα ἀεὶ ὠλαμ λεωλαμ: The Hebrew equivalent is בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה וּבְרוּךְ הוֹדָכָה עוֹלָם לְעוֹלָם, "Blessed art thou and blessed be thy glory forever and ever," as noted in the *editio princeps*. The Greek interpretation, ἀεὶ, "always," "ever," next to its Hebrew equivalent suggests that a copyist worked from a version supplied with glosses indicating the meaning of the Hebrew words (see above, Commentary, lines 5-7).

The transliterated Hebrew words probably derive from Jewish liturgy. At least a similar blessing formula, ברוך אתה, *brwk 'th*, occurs in a "Hebrew prayer" preserved in the so-called *Kreuzauffindungslegende* cited in A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* (Brussels, 1931), Bd. II, no. XXVII, pp. 81-85 (= Leiden, Anastasi, no. 9), p. 81, who gives Greek parallels mainly from K. Wotke, "Die griechische Vorlage der lateinischen Kreuzauffindungslegende," *Wiener Studien* 13 (1891), pp. 300-311, p. 307. The relevant portion of the Greek (according to Kropp) reads: ἦρε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ εὐχόμενος καὶ λέγων οὕτως· αἰκρα ακριμη μιλασφη αδοναβηρ αλωι αμεδωθ φελφλουτιου βοροκ αθα αδονα αλωι εκμαρθανξιω αυθηβαλ, κτλ. (Wotke's text is slightly different, and an attempted analysis of the underlying Hebrew given by Jaffé in the notes is largely unreliable).

Another magical text on wood gives nearly the same Hebrew liturgy though written in Coptic (*barûch chatai adônai eldei*); see S. Pernigotti, in: R. Pintaudi & P. J. Sijpesteijn, edd., *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni* (Papyrologica Florentina 18; Florence, 1989), no. 13: *Testo magico*, pp. 59-69, lines 5f., who notes the parallel in Kropp, cited above. Further, J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985) A 3:18 has ברוך אתה אדוננו, *brwk 'th 'dwnnw*, "Blessed are you our Lord" (p. 51); further, A 15:23f.; B 12b: sec. X. On other possible instances of Hebrew written with Greek letters, cf. C. Bruston, "Une tablette magique expliquée par l'Hébreu," *Revue Archéologique*, ser. 5, vol. 10 (1919) 28-30.

14-15 ωλαμ λεωλαμ: On ωλαμ, cf. the word in the expression ωλαμβωρω (4,2); A. Jacoby, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 28 (1930), p. 278 (and "Nachträge," p. 285), including other parallels also equivalent to Hebrew; J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985) A 1:12; B 8:II,IV, etc.

The Greek and Hebrew equivalents of the whole of lines 1-15 can thus be given as follows:

Αδωναι ελωι εσαβιωθ εις εσαρ εις σουρα αρβαρτιω ελλιωι αννωρα
αγγιβωρ βαλλαλαμωθ βαρουχ αθθα ουβαρουζ ουδηχα ωλαμ λεωλαμ

אדני אלוהי צבאות אהיה אשר אהיה סורה עברת יהוד
עלין הנורה הגיבור בעל לעלא למות ברוך אתה וברוך הורכה עולם לעולם

'Adōnay 'ēlōhē haššēbā'ōt 'ehye 'āšer 'ehye sūrah 'ebraṭ-YHWH 'elyōn
hannōrāh haggibbōr ba'al la'ēlā' hamōt barūk 'atta ūbarūk hōdekah 'ōlam
la-'ōlam.

"Lord God of Hosts, I-am-who-I-am, turn aside the wrath of YHWH, O
God Most High, the Terrible, the Mighty, Lord over Death (?), blessed be
Thou and Blessed Thy Glory forever and ever."

15-16 ακκραμμαραχαμαρι: The usual form of this magic word is
αχραμμαραχαμαρι; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism,
and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed., 1965), App. B., pp. 94-100 has posited
an original Aramaic מַכְמַר + עָקַר, "uproot (or eradicate) magic spells" (*lit.*
"nets, traps") for this word. Here the spelling of the word has an addi-
tional ρα (dittography?). It is important to point out, moreover, that the
'Hebrew' prayer of the *Kreuzauffindungslegende*, cited above preserves a
similar word αικρα ακριμη.

16-17 αμοριμ: Possibly Hebrew for Amorites (or Emorites), a
people synonymous with magical practices; see *PGM* IV.3011: εμωρι
(identified by L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zaubermwesen*, Jahresbericht der
Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest, 1897-98 [Budapest, 1898], p. 112,
n.1, as אַמְרִי, "Amorites"). More generally the name can be Hebrew for
"speakers; interpreters" ("enchanters"?) — a reference to magicians, not
to the Talmudic Amoraim.

17 θουθ: The god Thoth. For its context here, see G. Mussies,
"*Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes," *Studies in Egyptian Religion,
Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 89-120.

23-24 διαφύλαττε: φύλαττε, *ed. pr.* (At the end of the previous
line, one can clearly see the initial δια-, previously read as magical signs).
The use of the plural imperative shows that the divine names addressed
are understood as a host of deities, and not just the one (Hebrew) God.
The present imperative, as well as Attic -ττ-, is rare in the magic papyri.

25-26 Ἀλφιανόν: The name is a Latin cognomen *Alfianus*, mean-
ing, "belonging to (the gens) Alfius." See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cog-
nomina* (Helsinki, 1965), pp. 32-35; p. 140 (six men, one woman attested
in *CIL*). The absence of the matrilineal formula is typical of amulets before
the second century A.D.

Excursus: 'Being' and 'Excellent Living' in the Context of Death

We have suggested above that the curious participial ζῶν καλῶς, with its distinctively alliterative ὦν ὦν ὦν, may refer to the 'living God.' On the other hand, the adverb καλῶς is hardly appropriate as a theological categorization of God (even the adjective καλός would be an unusual description for God). 'Living excellently,' we argue, describes the moral character of the bearer of the charm itself and appears to preserve a philosophical cliché borrowed from popular and learned discussions over the theme of death and mortality. Such a theme would have been appropriate for a protective amulet that must have also served to provide for the needs of the bearer's afterlife.

The precise phrase ζῶν καλῶς (and close equivalents) in philosophical circles aims to communicate proper or noble living, with special reference to living the "blessed life" (εὐδαιμονία) — however that concept might be defined. Plutarch, to cite an important example, informs us that Alexander the Great learned from his natural father how to conduct his life at the mundane, workaday level; but it was only from his philosophical mentor, Aristotle, that he learned how *truly* to live — how to live most "excellently" (ὥς δι' ἐκείνων μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν, Plutarch, *Alex.* 8.4,3f.). Similarly, Polybius, too, tells how Antigonos not only "lived excellently," but also how even in death his good living provided for the future needs of his kingdom and offspring: Ἀντίγονος γὰρ καλῶς μὲν ζῶν προέστη τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, καλῶς δὲ τὸν βίον μεταλλάττων προενοήθη πρὸς τὸ μέλλον περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμάτων (*Hist.* IV. 87.6). It is the slow but inevitable resolution of life into death that shapes the natural environment for the contemplation of what excellent living truly constitutes. Sometimes, however, good living was not enough: though Agesilaus, the Spartan king, was deemed pious, he believed that living one's life (even if lived 'excellently') could never inspire true happiness; only those who die gloriously are really counted blessed: αἰεὶ δὲ δευσιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὕτω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους (Xenophon, *Ages.* 11.8, 4f.).

Hence in antiquity the possibility of achieving happiness or of 'living excellently' could perhaps only be welcomed with a growing sense of

pessimism; an appreciation for life's meaning is directly proportionate to the diminution of its longevity. Only in the waning years of life — when one could hopefully still provide 'good-living' for state or family (as Antigonos did), or pause to cast a lingering glance back at a life nobly lived (as Plutarch of Alexander), or die in some noble fashion (as Agesilaus would have it) — can true happiness be achieved.

How *eudaimonia* could best be fulfilled varied from social stratum to social stratum, and from one philosophical school to another. But for our concerns, it is worthwhile to observe that an owner of a common φυλακτήριον described 'ζῶν καλῶς' could have been just as concerned about happiness as a philosopher-king; for among all collective groups of society, whether rich or poor, the inevitability of death lurked constantly in the minds of those who felt powerless over the caprices of Fate. Either through the onset of old age, the debilitating effects of a lingering infirmity, or the fear of some life-endangering mishap, the dread of dying became one dominant motivation behind the writing of amulets in the ancient world. Did Alfianus's amulet have his own εὐδαιμονία in mind in citing the phrase ζῶν καλῶς? Would such an axiom as 'living excellently' have been used of the bearer of a protective amulet as a sort of apotropaic device? Faced either with a life-threatening disease or confronted with the passing of youth, a wearer of an amulet might have found some comfort in such an axiomatic saying, especially if its use had become previously fixed in a funeral context from which it could have been easily extracted. Indeed, uses similar to the participial ζῶν and ὦν of our amulet can be found in prescribed funerary settings, suggesting that the phrases on the Caernarvon phylactery were directly borrowed from commonplace sepulcher slogans and formulas.

A surviving family member, in engraving an epitaph for his deceased kin, seems to envision his own mortality in claiming the monument for his own future burial: Μίκκαλος Μηνο[φ]ίλου ζῶν ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Κλεοπάτραι ζησάσῃ ἔτη κε' τὸ μνημῖον ἀνέστησεν. Χαῖρε, "Mikkalos son of Menophilos, *while still alive*, has erected the tomb *for himself* and his wife Cleopatra, who lived 25 years. Farewell!" (T. Corsten, ed., *Die Inschriften von Apameia [Bithynien und Pylai]*; [IK 32; Bonn, 1987], no. 107 (italics mine; cf., similarly, *ibid.* no. 142). The

participial ζῶν, like its occurrence on our amulet, emphasizes the fact that the owner is still alive as he provides for the after-life needs of his loved ones. In a similar way, an inscription from Tikveš, Macedonia (dated 102-103 A.D.) gives much the same but also connects the participles ὦν and ζῶν in a way reminiscent of the very use found on our phylactery: Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Σεκούνδῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Σεκούνδῃ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησα Πρῆμος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πυρᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ζῶν καὶ ὦν ἔτους νς', "For Dionysus, his brother, and Secundus, his father, and Secunda his mother, and for *himself*, Primus has made [this epitaph] from his [brother's] tomb [?] and from his own expenses, *while he was alive and living*. Year 56" (Text from *SEG* 32 [1982], no. 655, with H. W. Pleket's commentary, p. 194).

These examples from philosophical and funerary contexts provide enough comparative material to suggest that the notions of 'living,' 'being alive,' and 'living excellently' alluded to on our amulet probably derive from fixed funeral slogans that have been adapted for an amuletic — and then post-mortem — application. One is immediately reminded not only of the 'Orphic-Dionysiac' gold *lamellae*, but especially of the late Hellenistic gold leaves carrying the engraved funerary adage, Θάρσει (ὁ δεῖνα) οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος ("Take courage, NN, nobody's immortal"); see R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in Faraone & Obbink, edd. *Magika Hiera* (1991), p. 115f., nn. 56-59, p. 131 (for references). Although "alive and living excellently," the imminence of death must have seemed real for Alfianus, even though the amulet's specific purpose in merely reading διαφύλλατέ με is hardly transparent. Any disease that required the writing of an expensive amulet was potentially life-endangering, and it is just as difficult not to imagine that ζῶν καλῶς was meant for the bearer, as it is unlikely to believe that god could be labelled as one "living excellently." Although the perils and dangers of everyday life represent one possible concern in the writing of the Caernarvon amulet, protection from death itself and from the woes to be encountered in the Afterlife must have also been inborn in the manufacturing of this charm. A number of texts in this corpus also seem to address the perils and dangers of the afterlife. Clearly an ancillary function of these talismans served to provide their bearers with extended protection in the grave.

3 Latin Fragment from a Romano-Celtic Temple

Fig. 3. Plate I

Woodeaton, Islip (Oxfordshire), England
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
(no inv. number)

IV-V A.D.
H. 1.9 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
Gold lamella

Lit. R. P. Wright, "Roman Britain in 1969," *Britannia* 1 (1970), p. 305, no. 1 (fig. 11); cf. *L'Année Philologique* 1971 (1974), p. 78, no. 212.

This fragment of a gold amulet was found around 1968 at the site of a Romano-Celtic temple, located north of Woodeaton, 4-5 miles from Oxford (see R. Goodchild & J. Kirk, "The Romano-Celtic Temple at Woodeaton," *Oxoniensia* 19 [1954], pp. 15-37). Excavations first confirmed in 1952 the existence of a small rectangular temple within a temenos enclosure. Researchers distinguish two temple periods: the first dating to the Roman's initial occupation of the site in the 1st century A.D., and the second after the middle of the second century; however, surface excavations have yielded coins, pottery, and some minor votive offerings, with the coin finds being most abundantly represented in the Constantinian issues, but tapering off considerably by the Theodosian period. Our amulet is perhaps to be placed in this later period.

The amulet may have been a votive offering, or a piece of an amulet accidentally lost (Goodchild & Kirk 1954:27). Only a corner piece of what must have been a larger rectangle is preserved (only the right margin is apparently original). Also, it has not been previously noted that the tablet seems to have been inscribed a second time in antiquity: some extra letter-forms were scratched onto the gold surface with a sharper stylus across some of the previously written text and into some vacant areas. These proposed additions we have transcribed above in italics. Also, the few preserved letter-forms seem to be written in Latin characters, not Greek, as given in the first edition.

4 Amulet with Magic Δόγος

Figs. 4 & 5

GELDUBA (Krefeld-Gellep), Germany

III A.D.

Former collection E. Molenaar, Krefeld (lost) H. 5.7 cm.; W. 8.4 cm.
(no inv. number) Gold lamella

Lit. M. Siebourg, "Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), pp. 123-153 (with add. note in C. Brockelmann, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 104 [1899], pp. 192f.); M. Siebourg, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 10 (1907), pp. 398f.; R. Wünsch, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 (1909), p. 26; A. Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1914), p. 364, no. 3617; H. Lehner, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 129 (1924), p. 62f.; W. Neusse, *Die Anfänge des Christentums im Rheinlande* (2nd Aufl. 1933), pp. 52, 89; A. Oxé, *Die Heimat* 13 (1934), p. 137; F. Fremersdorf, 27. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 1937* (Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1939), p. 39; D. M. Robinson, *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand* (New York, 1938), p. 246, no. 6; cf. G. Holmqvist, *Kunstprobleme der Merowingerzeit* (Stockholm, 1939), p. 127, n. 57; p. 157, n. 140; G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im Römischen Deutschland* (EPRO 12; Leiden, 1969), pp. 129-131, no. 13; M. J. Vermaseren, in J. R. Hinnells, ed., *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1971), p. 447, n.8; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 280. Ilse Paar & Christoph B. Rüger, "Kastell Gelduba. Forschungs- und Grabungsberichte bis 1969," *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Römischen Rheinlands*, 2 (Rheinische Ausgrabungen 10; Bonn, 3 vols. 1968-1972 [1971]), pp. 242-339; esp. p. 335, no. 4.

The gold tablet, found in a gold tubular capsule (6.0 cm. x 8.0 cm.), was unearthed on January 4, 1897 at the Roman camp of Gelduba, near modern Krefeld (between Düsseldorf and Duisburg). On the site, see I. Paar & C. B. Rüger 1971:242-239. The amulet came from a skeletal grave datable to the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D. based on coin finds (a small copper coin of Hadrian and one of Antoninus Pius), style of jewelry (an iron ring and gold necklace), plus datable glass ware (Grimm 1969: 129, note 1, with additional references). I give below Siebourg's text (with his column-numbering in parentheses), with indicated changes in the Commentary.

Text (given left-to-right):

- 1 (AEHIOTΩ)
- 2 ωλαμβωρωσεπ[α]ν[?]
- 3 ηη φθω σουθ[ου]
- 4 Α σεμεσειλαμ vacat
- 5 Ε σεσενγεμβαρφαρ[ανγης]
- 6 Η σασειβηλ σαρσμι[?]
- 7 Ι ιαω εηου ιαευ[?]
- 8 Ο πανχουιθαασ[ου]
- 9 Τ σωθφρη ιπανχυρω
- 10 Ω θ[ω]βαρρωβαυ

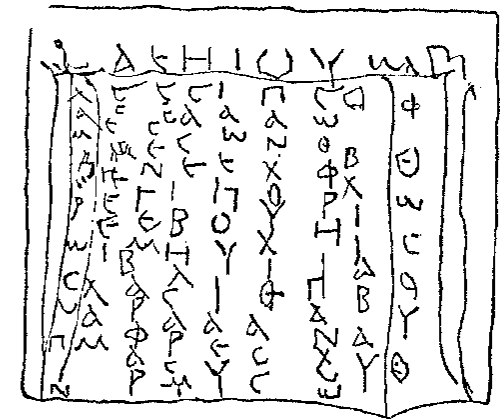


Fig. 4 (Siebourg)

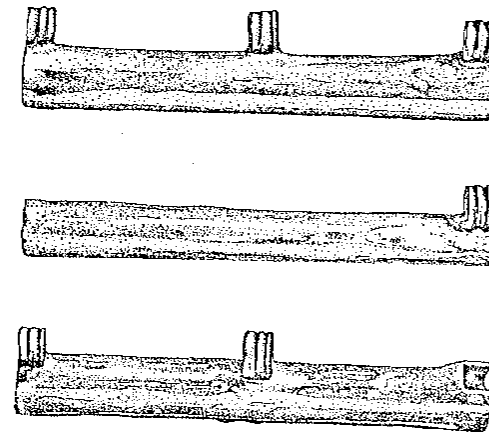


Fig. 5. Capsule (outer tube + insertable inner section)
(Grimm)

The tablet — nearly square in shape — contains a series of lines written vertically from top to bottom, rather than horizontally as in conventional writing; furthermore, a single line of vowels is written along the top margin in larger letters. The two outer vertical columns are separated from the other seven by ruling-lines. Another line falls outside each of these, apparently with unidentified and untranscribed letters or characters atop each. Siebourg 1898:131 identifies the whole configuration as a *naiskos*, with the columns of letters representing pillars.

The photograph printed in Siebourg is difficult to read, hence his drawing probably provides the best surviving record of the piece, which, however, has long been lost; however, a lead tablet from Aschmunên (Hermoupolis Magna) published after Siebourg, in M. Norsa, *Omaggio al IV convegno dei classicisti tenuto a Firenze dal 18 al 20 aprile del 1911* (Florence, 1911), pp. 2-26, no. 5 (3rd-4th cent. A.D.), and most recently re-edited with commentary in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42, pp. 132-153, provides the basis for a new reading of the Gelduba gold lamella: the new magical formula (λόγος) that makes up the whole of our gold tablet occurs in lines 41-43 of the Aschmunên lead tablet (Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 136, lines 41-43; comm., p. 149f.). To my knowledge, this *logos* is heretofore attested only in these two texts. The version of the formula on the Aschmunên tablet reads as follows (lines 41-43):

- 41 ... θαβαραβαν σεμεσειλαμψ σασιβηλ σαραηφθω Ιωω ιεου
 42 ια θυηρηω αειηουω πανχονχι θασσουθω Σωθ Φρη ιτεχενβωρ
 Σεσειγενβαρφαραγγης ωλαμ βωρω.
 43 σεπανσασε θαβαινσθω ιαφθω σου θουου.

Despite the fact that the photograph of the Gelduba piece gives us little to go on, the magical *logos* of the lead tablet suggests new readings for the tiny gold amulet. These new readings are discussed below.

1 (Top, horizontal row): Α Ε Η Ι Ο Υ Ω: In Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, 42, line 42 (= PSI 1.28), the seven vowels occur in the middle of the *logos*. On the gold tablet, each vowel sits atop one or more *voces magicae* written in a column from top to bottom. Each vowel and its corresponding vertical name probably refers to one of the seven planets. In addition, two separate vertical series, marked off by lines, are written on the left and right and are not placed beneath the vowels. For a similar

enclosing or bordering of magic *voces* by the seven vowels, note the Coptic text *London Ms. Or. 5525* lines 116ff. in A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte* (1931), Bd. 1, p. 20, 116-120.

2 (Far left column): ωλαμ βωρωσεπ[α]ν (?) (Siebourg, Kol. 1: λαμηρωσTPN). The Aschmunên parallel reads ωλαμ βωρωσεπαν. A flattened *omega* can be seen in both Siebourg's facsimile and photograph (above the left column in front of the vowel-series). Further, the letters read by Siebourg as σTPN probably correspond to the σεπαν in the Aschmunên text. There is space for an α between πν on the facsimile.

The first part of the formula, ωλαμ, represents עולם ("ever"); see 2,13 (Commentary). That also leaves βωρωσεπαν open to a possible Hebrew or Semitic interpretation, but little is forthcoming. Biblical Hebrew בור, "cistern," i.e., entrance to Sheol, "abode of the dead," would seem to be appropriate for the netherworld context from which this formula seems to derive (the Aschmunên tablet is an ἀγωγή summoning underworld deities); cf., e.g., D. R. Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well Near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985), pp. 205-255; esp. p. 236, §1, lines 1-6: Βωρ φορ βαβαρβωρ βαβαρφορ βαβαρβαη, κραταιε Βετπυτ; G. W. Elderkin, "Two Curse Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 6 (1937), pp. 382-395; esp. p. 384,1: ... βορα: βορβορ: βαρβαφορβαβαιη: κραταιε Τυφώς; see further, PGM IV.204 (βορο) in the context of Typhon as an 'earthquake deity.'

The often-occurring combinations of such syllables as βωρ, βορ, βαρ, βαβαρ, φωρ, φορ, φορβα, though interpreted as nothing other than 'barbarian' vocables (ὀνόματα βαρβαρικά), may indeed play on a host of Semitic cognates relating either to various entrances and openings (caves, pits, wells, springs, and the like) — that is, mythic locations providing access to the netherworld — or, to splitting, breaking, or smashing open such openings: בוא, *bô*, "to open" ("to enter into; split"); באר, *b'r*, "to open;" באר, *bār*, "well, spring;" באב, *bā'b*, "entering, door; gate;" בור, *bôr*, "well, cistern" (also as entrance to Hades); פער, *p'r*, "to open wide;" פרר, *pr*, "to shake" (specifically used of earthquake activity in Isaiah 24:19: פור התפוררה ארץ, "... the earth is split through"). Thus, for example, βωρφορ can mean putatively "to shake the pit" (=the abode of the dead; a grave). In any event the language is appropriate for summoning underworld powers in aggressive magic.

3 (Far right column): $\mu\eta\ \phi\theta\omega\ \sigma\upsilon\theta$. (Siebourg, Kol. 9: $\phi\theta\omega\sigma\upsilon\theta$). The Aschmunên text has $\iota\alpha\ \phi\theta\omega\ \sigma\upsilon\theta\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$, hence the traces indicated in Siebourg's facsimile on the right of the upper *omega* may actually correspond to $\mu\eta$. Further, if the tablet's bottom edge were lost — it looks irregularly cut — then we could perhaps supply $\theta[\sigma\upsilon\upsilon]$. $\Phi\theta\omega$ may represent Egyptian Ptah (or Phre, as below?). $\Sigma\upsilon\theta$ is probably here not Sothis, the Dog-Star (Sirius) usually associated with Isis (see H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 131, n. 71), but rather another name reflecting Semitic earthquake activity: $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{t}}$, $\mathfrak{S}^{\text{t}}$, means "to shake;" cf. also PGM IV.3011-3013: $\sigma\omega\theta\eta\ \dots\ \phi\epsilon\rho\sigma\omega\theta\iota\ \dots\ \phi\theta\alpha$.

'Vowel'-columns:

4 (Beneath the α): $\Sigma\epsilon\mu\sigma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\mu$ (Siebourg, Kol.2: $\Sigma\epsilon\mu < \gamma > \sigma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\mu$). Siebourg's drawing indicates an extra *gamma* before the second *epsilon*. Are there traces of previous writing? The Aschmunên parallel reads $\sigma\epsilon\mu\sigma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\mu\psi$.

5 (Beneath the ϵ): $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\rho[\alpha\nu\gamma\eta\varsigma]$ (Siebourg, Kol. 3: $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\rho$). The parallel text from Aschmunên has $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\beta\alpha\rho\phi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\gamma\eta\varsigma$. Again, it appears that the last letters of the name had been clipped off the bottom of the tablet.

6 (Beneath the η): $\Sigma\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\beta\eta\lambda\ \sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\mu$ (Siebourg, Kol. 4: $\sigma\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \text{B}\eta\lambda\ \sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\mu$) appears to match the $\sigma\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\beta\eta\lambda\ \sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\eta(\phi\theta\omega)$ of the Ashmunên tablet. Siebourg's $\sigma\alpha\rho\sigma\mu$ may be a misreading, and the name may have extended in the bottom portion of the tablet (now lost). In the group of letters, the name $\text{B}\eta\lambda$ (Bel, or Baal) can be read (cf. PGM IV.1010: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\ \text{B}\eta\lambda\ \text{B}\acute{\alpha}\lambda$; IV.1031: $\text{B}\eta\lambda$; cf. XIXa.42). Brockelmann 1899:192 identifies in this name Old-Babylonian *sassi bēl sar sami*, "Sun, lord, king of heaven."

7 (Beneath the ι): $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega\ \epsilon\eta\upsilon\upsilon\ \iota\alpha\epsilon\upsilon[\dots]$ (Siebourg, Kol. 5: $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega\ \epsilon\eta\upsilon\upsilon\ \iota\alpha\epsilon\upsilon$). The reading of the Ashmunên text differs somewhat: $\text{I}\acute{\alpha}\omega\ \iota\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\iota\alpha\ \theta\upsilon\eta\theta\eta\omega$. These differences can be accounted for by seeing them as ancient copyists' errors, modern mistakes in readings, or both: on Siebourg's drawing, the $\epsilon\eta\upsilon\upsilon$ could also be read $\iota\eta\eta\upsilon$ (matching the $\iota\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$ of the Ashmunên text), if one interprets the initial *epsilon* as a *iota* resting right on top of a *sigma*; however, this seems unlikely since Siebourg's first seven letters, $\text{I}\alpha\omega\epsilon\eta\upsilon\upsilon$, form a neat permutation of the seven-vowels with the

divine name 'IAO.' Further, the differences between Gelduba's $\iota\alpha\epsilon\upsilon$ and Ashmunên's $\iota\alpha\theta\upsilon$ can be easily diagnosed (*theta* mistaken for *epsilon*). The Gelduba tablet probably also contained some (lost) letters after these vowels.

8 (Beneath the $\omicron$): $\Pi\alpha\nu\chi\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\ \theta\alpha\sigma\sigma[\omicron\upsilon]$ (Siebourg, Kol. 6: $\Pi\alpha\nu\chi\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\theta\alpha\sigma\sigma$). The parallel reads $\pi\alpha\nu\chi\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\ \theta\alpha\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ (see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p.150). This relatively uncommon magic name also occurs in 42,1, where it is identified with Egyptian $p3-n-kkw$, "he of the darkness." Cf. also 38,4; PGM VII.480 (cf. $\pi\alpha\nu\chi\omicron\chi\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ in XIII.922).

9 (Beneath the υ): $\Sigma\omega\theta\ \Phi\rho\eta\ \text{I}\pi\alpha\nu\chi\upsilon\rho\omega\ (?)$ (Siebourg, Kol. 7: $\Sigma\omega\theta\ \Phi\rho\eta\ \iota\pi\alpha\nu\chi[\?] \sigma\omega$). Ashmunên has $\sigma\omega\theta\phi\rho\eta\text{-}\iota\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\nu\beta\omega\rho$. Grimm 1969:131 understands $\Sigma\omega\theta$ = Sôthis (similarly, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 147) and Phrê as a bohairic variant of the name of Ra (cf. A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques* [Paris, 1964], p. 323, no. 475 and Index, s.v., p. 359).

10 (Beneath the ω): $\Theta[\omega]\beta\alpha\rho\rho\omega\beta\alpha\nu$ (Siebourg, Kol.8: $\Theta\beta\lambda\iota\alpha\alpha\beta\alpha\nu$). This is the best way to interpret these traces: where one expects the ω , there is a space on the Gelduba tablet; obviously the letter was effaced or unreadable. Siebourg's *lambda* is a common mistake for *alpha*; and the two vertical strokes, written on the facsimile as if they were *iota*'s, could be remnants of *rho*'s. This magic deity is discussed further at 17,5f. (cf. also 'Index V,' s.v.).

6 Magic Signs

Fig. 8

COLONIA AGRIPPINA (Cologne), Germany
Römisch-Germanisches Museum
Köln Inv. Nr. 1167

Roman Period
H. 2.8 cm.; W. 5.3 cm.
Gold lamella

Lit. F. Fremersdorf, "Inschriften auf römischen Kleingerät aus Köln," 27. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 1937* (Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1939), p. 40 (Abb. 6,4) (with a description by K. Preisendanz); H. Lehner, "Orientalische Mysterienkulte im römischen Rheinland," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 129 (1924), p. 63, n. 2; G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im Römischen Deutschland* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 172f.; no. 67; *CIL*, vol. 13, no. 10026, 13.

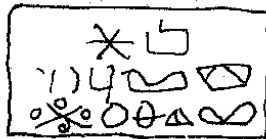


Fig. 8

The piece was reportedly found at a grave-site in Cologne in 1902 (Grimm 1969:172). The lamella had apparently been tightly rolled up, but no capsule has survived. On the ancient site of Cologne in general, see O. Doppelfeld, art. "Colonia Agrippinensis," in R. Stillwell, ed. *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 231f. (with add. lit.). The text comprises only three lines of symbols and magical $\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, of unknown purpose. One may compare, for example, PGM IV. 2705f.: $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu$

$\infty \quad \infty \quad \vee \quad \uparrow \quad \uparrow \quad \ominus \quad \uparrow \quad \uparrow \quad \uparrow$

$\infty \quad \in \quad \chi \quad \pi \quad \pi \quad \perp$

This silver lamella occurs at the end of another prescription for writing a protective charm against demons (PGM IV.2695-2704), to be written on a tablet of lime wood ($\phi\iota\lambda\upsilon\rho\iota\nu\omicron\nu$).

7 An Amulet for a Group of Litigants

Fig. 9

RENANIA (Badenweiler), Kr. Müllheim/Baden, Germany II A.D.
Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum H. 4.7 cm.; W. 6.0 cm.
Inv. Nr. C 625 Silver lamella

Lit. A. Wiedemann, "Die gnostische Silbertafel von Badenweiler," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 79 (1885), pp. 215-234; U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia Critica* (Mannheim, 1829) III/iv §898, pp. 388ff.; W. Froehner, *Sur une amulette basilidienne inédite du Musée Napoléon III* (Caen, 1867), p. 16; F. X. Kraus, *Nassauische Annalen* 9 (1868), p. 128; *Führer durch die Großherzoglichen Vereinigten Sammlungen zu Karlsruhe* (1881), p. 53, Nr. 625; *idem*, *Die christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande I*, (Freiburg i. B., 1890), pp. 7-9, Nr. 13; M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), p. 135, no. 6; p. 139 (cf. 4); H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, I/ii (1907), p. 1837 (fig. 37); E. Wagner, *Fundstätten und Funde im Großherzogtum Baden I. Teil Das Badische Oberland* (Tübingen, 1908), p. 168, Abb. 12; J. Oehler, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 53 (1909), p. 449, no. 215; R. Wünsch, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 (1909), p. 26; *CIL* XIII 2/1, no. 5338, p. 65 (with prev. lit.); cf. A. Delatte, *Le Musée Belge* 17 (1913), p. 329; A. Riese, *Das Rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1914), p. 364, Nr. 3618; H. Leclercq, art. "Enchantement," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* V/i (1922), p. 38; H. Lehner, "Orientalische Mysterienkulte im römischen Rheinland," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 129 (1924), p. 63; P. Perdrizet, "Amulette grecque trouvée en Syrie," *Revue des Études Grecques* 41 (1928), p. 82; Maria Bersu, *Germania Romana. Ein Bilder-Atlas, 5: Kunstgewerbe und Handwerk* (Bamberg, 1930), p. 29; pl. 46,3; K. Preisendanz, "Mercussa," *RE* 29. Halbbd. (1931), col. 1017; J.-P. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, I* (Roma, 1936), no. 674; W. Schleiermacher in: H. Mylius, *Die römischen Heilthermen von Badenweiler. Mit Beiträgen von E. Fabricius & W. Schleiermacher* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen 12; Berlin, 1936), p. 130; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 282, no. 1; G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 212f., no. 128 (Taf. 73,2); R. Kotansky, in: Faraone & Obbink, edd. *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 121; p. 136, n. 104.

The silver phylactery was found in 1784 in the ruins of the Roman Baths at Badenweiler, though the archaeological documentation helps little in determining the date of the piece or the circumstances of its finding. Wiedemann (1885: 215) describes the discovery of the amulet as follows:

Die hier gefundenen Münzen erstrecken sich ohne grössere Unterbrechung von Claudius bis auf Commodus; dann fanden sich mehrere Stücke von Constantin dem Grossen, und hierdurch ward die

Zeit, in welcher das Bad benutzt wurde, mit ziemlicher Sicherheit umgrenzt.

An initial, though wholly unreliable, reading ("vollkommen phantastisch und ebenso werthlos") was first published in 1787 by von Preuschen (Wiedemann 1885: 215), but it was Froehner (1867:16) who noted that the text was Latin written with Greek letters. Wiedemann's reading, though to be rejected at several points, represents the most reliable edition to date.

The text is unusual among the corpus of gold and silver *φυλακτήρια* in that it names more than one person (3 men; 1 woman) to be delivered from danger (*periculum*); hence, the amulet could not have been worn by a single individual as a protective device. We are probably to envision litigants in some unspecified legal procedure (see below on line 7), though why the piece was found at the site of the public *Thermae* remains a mystery.

[c. 9-10].ΟΘΔΑΕΑΓΑΝΦΟΖΑ

[c. 8-9]UNI ια ια ιαι Σαβαώθ

[Ἀδωναί Ἀ]βλανάθαναλβα Ἀκρα-

4 [μαχαμαρί] Σεμεσίλαμ Σησηνγεμ-
[βαρφαρα]νγης ιο ιο ιο σερουα Τε-
[ροτουλλ]ουμ κουεμ πεπεριτ Λειβ-
[εια ματε]ρ αβ ομνι περεκουλω,

8 [σερου]α Χειλονο, σερουα

[magic signs] / Λουκιολουμ, σερ-

[magic signs] / ουα Μερκουσσαμ

[---].OTH DAE AGAN FOZA

[---]UNI ia ia iai Sabaoth

[Adonai A]blanathanalba Akra-

4 [maxamari] Semesilam Sesengem-
[barphara]nges io io io serva Te-
[rtull]um quem peperit Liv-
[ia mate]r ab omni periculo,

8 [serv]a Chilono, serva

[magic signs]/ Luciolum, ser-

[magic signs]/va Mercussam.

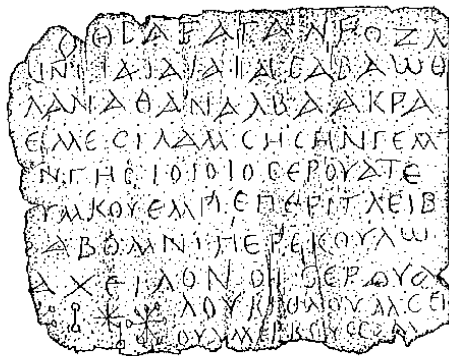


Fig. 9

(Magic letters) Ia ia iai Sabaóth [Adónai A]blanathanalba Akra[machamari] Semeseilam Sêsêngem[barphara]ngês, io io io, preserve Te[rtull]um, whom Leib[ia the mothe]r bore, from any risk of loss; [preserve] Chilon; preserve Luciolus; preserve Mercussa (on left: magic signs).

1 Magic signs: The *charaktêres* resemble letter-forms.

2 ια ια ιαι: Cf. 17,1; 33,1, etc. Note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 45,19f.; *PGM* IV.389 (Ἀδωναί Ἰά); IV.764, 2201; VII.1015; IX.3; XIII.890-92; XXIII.6; etc.; Hieronymus, *Epist.* 25,3: *Octauum* (sc. nomen dei) ia, *quod in deo tantum ponitur et in alleluiae quoque extrema syllaba sonat*; similarly, Hieronymus, *De Psalmo CXLVI*,15 (CCS 78, p. 329).

3 Σαβαώθ [Ἀδωναί]: Since Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί occur so often together, one wonders whether the final ιαι, above, is an error for Ιαω. For the triad, cf. 12,14f.; 32, 14,29; 48,1.

4-5 [Ἀ]βλανάθαναλβα Ἀκρα[μαχαμαρί] Σεμεσίλαμ Σησηνγεμ[βαρφαρα]νγης: For a similar series (without Σεμεσίλαμ), note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 10,1f.; no. 42,57; 29,3-5; 38,4-6; 48,4-7. The usual spelling of this last magic word is Σεσηνγεμβαρφαρανγης.

5 ιο ιο ιο: The acclamation Ἰώ is used regularly on the Sethian curse tablets invoking Erbeth and Pakerbeth — deities often associated with malicious magic. See also 23, 4 (Commentary). Here we have Ἰο (not Ἰω), perhaps due to Latin influence (cf., however, ιο ιο ιο αι αι αι in *PGM* IV.1791f.); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 48, B5, H20.

5-6 σερουα Τε[ροτουλλ]ουμ (= *serva Tertullum*): Latin *serva* + personal name (i.e., not plural, *σερουατε*, as previously interpreted; cf. lines 9 and 10). Tertullus is so common a name (on its frequency: I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* [Helsinki, 1965], pp. 124, 128) that it seems here a likely restoration (previous editions had also suggested *Teflesphorjūm*, *Tefrentianjūm*, or *Tefrtioljūm*).

6 κουεμ πεπεριτ (= *quem peperit*): The Latin formula *illius quem peperit illa* is discussed by R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 474, note 1 (with brief notice of this tablet); see, further, his nos. 42; 73; 235; our no. 8,4f. On the use of the Greek matrilineal equivalent, τὸν δεῖνα ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, see D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976), pp. 127-132.

7 Λειβ[ε]ια ματε]ρ (= *Livia mater*): For μήτηρ + the mother's name, see on 18,6,12; further, D. G. Martinez, *Michigan Papyri XVI* (Atlanta, 1991), p. 56 (line 7); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 48, 7, 11, etc.; R. Kotansky, J. Naveh & S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992), pp. 5-24; p. 21 (on line 31f.).

αβ ομνι περεκουλω (= *ab omni periculo*): Protection from danger occurs but three times in the magic papyri; cf. e.g. PGM XII.160: ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς δεικτ[ι]κόν τι ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπολυθῆναι κ[ι]νδύνου; PGM XII.260: ἄπληκτον, ἀκαταπόνητον ἄσπιλον ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου τηρηθῆναι; PGM XIII.1049-51: διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παντὸς φόβου, ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου τοῦ ἐνεστῶτός μοι, κτλ. We cannot rule out that *serva ab omni periculo* preserves a simple prayer for protection from general danger, but why would a single amulet be written for a group of people? Such gold and silver φυλακτήρια were usually made for and carried by individuals — not by groups or families; the amulets were routinely enclosed in tubes and suspension capsules to be worn for extended, day-to-day protection. After the owner's death, the amulet (still worn on the body) would be buried with the deceased. This silver *lamella*, however, was written for protection of no less than four people, and was recovered not from a grave but from the site of the public baths; hence, something other than the usual protection from individual risk or personal medical affliction must have been intended in its manufacture. If the amulet was not written to benefit a single person, what sort of 'danger' would have required the engraving of an amulet for a group? The named individuals, if a family or kinship group of some kind, might have envisioned themselves being collectively bewitched, having been placed under a noxious spell or victimized by avenging ghosts sent against them. In the same vein, the group may have also sought protection from a household 'danger' thought to afflict a whole family, as on 41 in this corpus — the 'house-amulet' of John and Georgia. Both of these possibilities, however, seem unlikely: no specific mention is made of demons or noxious influences at all in this spell — something one would have expected if evil spirits were at issue; such a protective measure as a small silver *lamella* for a group would be unheard of. Nor is protection of a household likely:

no οἶκος is mentioned (as in 41), no family relations specified (other than the standard matrilineal formula), nor a domestic context implied in the amulet's find-spot. 'Hearth and home' need hardly be in danger here.

The urgency addressed in this group-amulet must be something considerably more mundane than polluting *daimones* or an endangered household. A likely solution is to be sought in the noun *periculum*, itself. *Periculum*, though generally meaning "danger" of any kind, also carries the specific nuance of "legal loss," "liability" (see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v., 3: "spec. applied to the situation of a defendant or plaintiff;" further, s.v., 4: "Responsibility for the damage or loss resulting from an action, liability"). G. MacCormack, "Periculum," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 96 [1979], pp. 129-172, has further shown in great detail that *periculum* refers to any kind of tangible loss of property, risk incurred by legal damage, or even intangible liability. (He chooses "chance of loss" as the best general translation for *periculum* in such cases — a translation we adopt here). Our text suggests a specific legal situation that Tertullus, Chilon, Luciolus, and Mercussa faced as a group of litigants (cf. Kotansky 1991:136, note 104); and the 'risk' from which they sought protection is the specific damages resulting from that legal situation. The danger of loss is preserved in our tablet's *ab omni periculo*; the phrase is specifically used in legal contexts to describe losses of a non-specific sort: MacCormack (*op. cit.*, p. 156, n.130): "*omne periculum* expresses loss caused in any manner" (citing Ulpian *D.* 13,6,5,3; 27,8,4; Gaius *D.* 18.1.35.7, etc.). The situation is not unlike that described on the gold amulet from Arabia (58) in this corpus, where, however, the owner Proclus assumes a decidedly more aggressive stance against family members named as the opposing party in the quarrel. Our text, in listing a mother for only one of the 'defendants' — Tertullus — is probably naming a group of siblings on the tablet who are all Livia's children. The needs of the siblings, however, are purely legal, as three brothers and a sister would hardly constitute an ideal *oikos* living under one roof. In a sense, then, the list of names to be protected on this amulet forms the exact counterpart to groups who are cursed on *defixiones*, the majority of which concern pending court trials; see in general, J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New

York & Oxford, 1992), pp. 116-150 ("Tongue-Tied in Court: Legal and Political Issues"). The amulet, folded up and carried, would have only been deemed effective for the group when redressing a specific complaint. As a magically endowed object, it would have been carried to trial as a good luck piece.

Why the amulet was found in the public *thermae* remains unexplained. But a find-spot in the general arena of public life fits a proposed legal scenario far better than would a discovery from a private gravesite; large public bath-complexes like that at Badenweiler were the scenes for a wide variety of social affairs and included lecture-halls, libraries, museums, and club-rooms.

8 [σερον]α Χειλονο (= *serva Chilona*): The ο should probably be taken as α. The name Chilo is common in Latin: cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), pp. 118, 119, 236.

10 Μερκουσσαμ (= *Mercussam*): K. Preisendanz's article in *RE* 29. Halbbd. (1931), col. 1017, devoted to Mercussa is based entirely on the reading of the name here. At the left of lines 9-10 a series of 'eyeglasses'-type *magic signs* interrupts the regular flow of the text. These remaining two lines of the text, then, seem to have been squeezed into the space left in the lower, right corner — indicating that the writer knew he was running out of room. Hence, the text probably originally ended here, despite the *lamella*'s ragged edge.

8 Gallo-Latin Amulet for Justina

Fig. 10

LIMONUM (Poitiers), France
Musée de Saint Germain-en-Laye
Inv. no. 46049

IV A.D.
H. 3.8 cm.; W. 13.5 cm.
Silver *lamella*

Lit. *CIL* XIII, pt. 3/2, no. 10026,86 (with additional ref.); J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* (Harvard Univ., 1970), p. 397, note xxvii. Previous publications: M. de Longuemar, "Rapport sur une inscription tracée sur une lame d'argent et découverte à Poitiers en 1858," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 9 (1859), pp. 7-21 (pl., p. 24); *idem*, *Mémoires des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* (1863), p. 156; L. H. Monin, *Monuments des anciens idiomes gaulois: textes-linguistique* (Paris, 1861), pp. 89-90; C. F. Lottner, "On the Gaulish Inscription of Poitiers, containing a Charm against the Demon Dontauros. From the papers of the late Dr. Rudolph Thomas Siegfried," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 8 (1861-1864), pp. 308-319; Adolphe Pictet, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* 9 (1861), p. 539; *idem*, "Lettre sur une inscription gauloise trouvée à Poitiers," *Mémoires des antiquaires de l'Ouest* (1863), pp. 29-41; *idem*, "Nouvel essai sur les inscriptions gauloises," *Revue Archéologie*, 2nd ser. 7 (1867), pp. 17-20; [M.] d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Chronique," *Revue Celtique* 1 (1870-72), p. 499 (Pl. xxxv; also *idem*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1872, p. 131f.); Emile Espérandieu, *Epigraphie romaine du Poitou et de la Saintonge* (Melle, 1888), pp. 335-340; no. 154 (pl. 35); cf. p. 400f.; R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina* (1893), p. 541; no. 235; [M.] Jullian, *Revue des Études Anciennes* 2 (1901), p. 182 (review of Richocon); M. Richocon, *La Tablette de Poitiers et une formule byzantine tirée des "Anecdota graeco-byzantina" de Vassiliev, Mosquæ 1893*. Vienna & Paris, 1901.

In 1858, during construction digging at the site of a house on the corner of the streets called rues Saint-Denis and Trois-Cheminées, a workman uncovered near Poitiers a shallow grave approximately a meter and a half deep. Scattered bone fragments and a small square, or tubular, capsule containing a rolled-up silver *lamella* were recovered from the refuse heap (Lottner 1861-64: 308; Espérandieu 1888: 335f.; cf. Whatmough 1970: 397: "[found] in a meadow at the intersection of the rues Riffault and St. Denis, in which were remains of human burials"). The workman discarded the damaged capsule after retrieving the tablet with a pocket-knife. The text was then presented to the *Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* and published by Longuemar 1859: 7-21 (see Lottner 1861-64: 308).

11 Two Amulets Against Hailstorm

Plate III

Text A

near AVENNIO (Avignon), France

Bouchet (Drôme)

Musée Calvet, Avignon

Inv. E.66

II A.D.

H. 8.0 cm.; W. 13.4 cm.

Bronze lamella

Text B

Mondragon (prov. Vaucluse), France

Present loc. unknown

Former Collection Rousset (Uzès)

II A.D.

H. 5.0 cm.; W. 6.4 cm.

Bronze lamella

Lit. CIG XIV, 2481; W. Fröhner, *Kritische Analecten* (Philologus Supplement 5; Göttingen, 1889), pp. 44-46, no. 47 (Text A); Héron de Villefosse, "Séance de 17 Janvier 1887," *Bulletin Archéologique* (1887), pp. 2-3 (Text A & B); M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1893), p. 149 (Text A); R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina* (Leipzig, 1893), no. 240 (Text A); H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* 1/2 (1907), pp. 1840f. (Text A & B); *idem*, art. "Avignon," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* 1/2 (1907), pp. 3237f.; A. Audollent, "Double inscription prophylactique contre la grêle, sur une croix de plomb trouvée en Tunisie," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 43/2 (1951), p. 73f. (Text A & B); H. Grégoire, *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, I (Paris, 1922; repr. Amsterdam, 1968), p. 124f., no. 341 *ter* (Text A).

These two bronze phylacteries preserve duplicates of nearly identical texts. Found in the same general geographic region, both spells protect an owner's crops from hail and snow. Text A is complete, but Text B preserves only the lower right-hand corner of the original, with the addition of the name Iulius Pervincus (in the nominative). Similar to engraved Christian crosses of a later date (see below, on line 4), these, too, must have been set in farmers' fields, having perhaps been produced and peddled *en masse* for a problem apparently local to the provinces of Gaul and North Africa. The two texts probably come from a single workshop, or at least from the same formulary, as they preserve identical wording and orthography. Text A was found at Bouchet, near Avignon, before 1873, and may have been affixed to a stone in a field, since the center of

the plate was pierced. Text B was found by a passer-by in the canal de Pierrelatte at Mondragon and sold to a dealer at Uzès (Gard).

Text A

Θ Θωσουδερκνω Θ

αλωη vac. ρουμιζων

θει vac. ἀπόστρεψον ἐκ

4 τούτου τοῦ χωρίου

πᾶσαν χάλαν καὶ

πᾶσαν νιφάδα{ν} κ-

αὶ ὅσα βλάπτει χώρα <ν>·

8 κελεύει θεὸς Ὁαμου-

θα, καὶ σὺ συνέργει, Ἀβ-

ρασάξ vac. Ἰαη vac. Ἰάω

Text B

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

[καὶ πᾶ]σαν ρ[ιφάδα]

[καὶ ὅσα β]λάπτει χώρα <ν>·

[κελεύει] θεὸς Ὁαμου-

[θα, καὶ σ]ὺ συνέργει

[Ἀβρασ]ᾶξ Ἰαη Ἰάω

[... Ἰ]ούλιος Περσιν-

[vac.]κος.

Thôsouderknô vinyard *oumixonthei*, divert from this property all hail and all snow, and whatever might injure the land. The god, Oamoutha, orders it, and you Abrasax, assist! *laè lað*. (Julius Pervincus).

1-2 *Θωσουδερκνω* αλωη: The first line is marked off on either end by a circle with an X in the middle. The first word of line 2 certainly appears to be Greek, αλωή: "levelled plot of ground;" "garden," "orchard," "vineyard," — a word appropriate in a spell against hailstorm, for it refers to the owner's vineyard. The presence of this poetic word here suggests that some, if not all, of the first line as well once contained a badly mangled Greek sentence, perhaps even an hexameter. The letters δερκνω may, it seems, be a corruption for δ' ἐρκείω (or δ' ἐρκεί), viz. δ' ἐρκείω αλωῇ, "in your (σου) enclosed vineyard." For the similar combining of ἔρκος and αλωή in a hexametric verse, cf. Moschus, IV.100

(*Megara*): καρτερὸν οἰνοφόροιο πονεύμενος ἔρκος ἀλωῆς. Oppian, *Halieutica* IV.600 similarly describes how farmers plant stakes for the "enclosure of a vineyard" (περίδρομον ἔρκος ἀλωῆς), and the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (IV.188) mentions an old man "grazing his beast along the pathway of the enclosure of his vineyard" (... νέμονται παρὲς ἔρκος ἀλωῆς).

Since Homeric verses occur frequently in popular, agrarian magico-medical recipes, it is possible that these lines also preserve remnants of a hexameter so badly corrupt that they are no longer recognizable. The closest verse in Homer is *Iliad* 5.89-91, which is worth citing for the general meaning and for the fact that it preserves some of the same syllabic sequences as those of our vocables (the lines describe Diomedes' rush into battle):

"For he stormed across the plain like
unto a winter torrent at the full, that with its swift flood sweeps away the
embankments;
this the closed-fenced embankments hold not back,
neither do the walls of the fruitful vineyard
stay its sudden coming when the rains of Zeus driveth it on."
(... ἰσχανόωσιν / οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐρκεα ἴσχει ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων; tr. Murray, LCL).

The corrupt and damaged reading of the Avignon tablet is just close enough to the reading and sequence of *Il.* 5.89f. underlined above to suggest a direct citation that had become corrupted by repeated transmission and misunderstanding of the original verse:

Homer: ΟΩΣ ΟΤΤ' ...ΕΡΚΕΑ ... ΑΛΩΑΩΝ ΕΡΙΘΗΑ ΕΩΝ
Tablet: ΘΩΣ ΟΤΔ' ΕΡΚΤΩ ΑΛΩΗ Ν ΟΤΑΛΙΕΩΝ

The verse on the amulet, now merely a conflated magical incantation, would have originally stood in a magic formulary as an apotropaic prayer to be written or uttered with the whole text. The rationale of citing this verse — the invocation of a condition *dissimilar* to that actually desired — represents a magical practice well-documented in the ancient world; see C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* (Oxford, 1992), Ch 3: "Fighting Fire with Fire."

3-4 ἀπόστρεψον τούτου τοῦ χωρίου: de Villefosse; XHO στρεψον, *edd. pr.* The engraver wrote the Π like an H and the final Ν also like an H. A good parallel for the phrasing occurs on the inscription from Sidi Kaddou, lines 3-5 (see Appendix): κύρ[ιοι] θεοί, κωλύσατε, ἀποστρέψατε ἀπὸ τοῦδε] χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννωμένων[ν]. Note also the heavily restored inscription against hail (Philadelphia) in Grégoire 1922: 124 (above, *Lit.* [ref. G. Petzl]), line 1: [Ἐξορκισμὸς εἰς ἀποστρο]φὴν χαλάξης (with additional mention of late hail incantations). The Cyranides also uses ἀποστρέφω of hail: Cyranides IV.67,5 (ed. Kaimakis, p. 252): ἀποστρέφει γὰρ (sc. τὸ δέρμα φώκης) κεραυνούς, καὶ πρηστῆρες καὶ χάλαξαν, κτλ., "For seal-skin turns away lightning-storms, hurricanes, and hail," etc. (see ref. to Faraone, below). This 'apotropaic' use of ἀποστρέφω is not common in the papyri: besides the irrelevant examples in *PGM* XIII.620, *PGM* 20.4f., where the verbs are not used of warding-off, only *PGM* XVIIIa 1-3, in all of the papyri, uses ἀποστρέφειν of warding off: Κύρις Σαβαώθ, ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [κ]όπον τῆς κεφαλῆς; see also, however, 53,9; 36,15; 41,24; further, C. Bonner, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23 (1954), pp. 138-157, no. 36: ἀποστρέψατε πᾶσαν τάσιν, πᾶσαν ἀπεψίαν, πᾶν πόνον στομάχου ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ ὁ(ν) ἔτεκεν Νόννα.

5 χάλαξαν: An angel of hail is named Pharmachael in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 112, 21: τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς βροντῆς καὶ χαλάξης, Φαρμαχάηλ; see, further, the commentary on 51, with reference to the Gospel of Bartholomew, IV.45 (ed. Bonwetsch): ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς χαλάξης λέγεται Μερμεώθ, κτλ.; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 297: Σαμουήλ ἐπὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ χαλάξης (*Cod. Paris.* 2316, F. 436^r). Apotropaic spells against hail seem to have been routinely engraved on stone monuments; cf. G. Manganaro, "Nouvi documenti magici della Sicilia orientale," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 8, vol. 18 (1963), pp. 57-74, p. 58,1; p. 60: Πρὸς χά[λα]ξαν Μιχα[λ]αζόκου; cf. the inscription from Sidi Kaddou (Appendix, below), p. 111, lines 4-7: ἀποστρέψατε ... καρπῶν χάλαξαν, κτλ. In general, see E. Fehrle, "Antiker Hagelzauber. Ein Kapitel der Geoponiker," *Alemannia* 3 (1912), pp. 13ff.; cf. also *idem*, *Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (STOICHEIA 3; Leipzig & Berlin, 1920), pp. 7-26; and

esp. C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* (Oxford, 1992), p. 86, n.2, with reference to animal-skins warding off "agricultural blight" and Paus. II,34.3: ἐπεὶ χάλαζαν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ ἐπωιδᾶς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.

P. Hamblenne, "Un rite chrétien dans les 'Géoponiques'?", *L'Antiquité Classique* 47 (1978), pp. 184-187, discusses another hailstorm ritual in *Geoponica* I.14,7 and proposes the following emendation: κἂν <σ>ταυροὺς (ταύρους mss., edd.) ἀναστήσῃς ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων ξυλίνους, ὠφελήσεις σφόδρα, "if you set up wooded crosses on housetops, you will have success (in preventing hail)." D. R. Jordan, "On an emendation of the text of the *Geoponica*," *L'Antiquité Classique* 52 (1983), pp. 277-278, comments further on this passage by bringing into discussion the lead cross found at Aïn Fournia in Tunisia (Audollent 1951: 73f.), a cross upon which was engraved a Christian prayer against hail ([a]d grandine <m>).

Apparently in southern France (as well as in North Africa) destructive hailstorms were common enough to warrant the frequent erection of apotropaic crosses in fields. On its legal background, cf. *Cod. Theodos.* IX. 16,3: *Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt remedia humanis quaesita corporibus aut in agrestibus locis, ne maturis vindemiis metuerentur imbres aut ruentis grandinis lapidatione quaterentur, innocenter adhibita suffragia ...*, "But remedies sought for human bodies shall not be involved in criminal accusation, nor the assistance that is innocently employed in rural districts in order that rains may not be feared for the ripe grape harvests or that the harvests may not be shattered by the stones of ruinous hail" (tr. Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* [Princeton: Princeton Univ., 1952], p. 237. On weather magic in general, see further W. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber* (Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft 1; Stuttgart, 1931); M. H. Morgan, "Greek and Roman Rain Gods and Rain Charms," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 32 (1901), p. 83; E. S. McCartney, "Magic and the Weather in Classical Antiquity," *Classical Weekly* 18 (1924-1925), pp. 154-157; pp. 163-166; and esp. W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991), p. 65f., nn. 1,2 (with copious references).

6 νιφάδα{ν}: νιφάλαν Fröhner: The fact that snowstorms are described along with hail suggests that it is cold weather that is in danger of

destroying crops and livestock. The Sidi Kaddou inscription (below) mentions protection from "hail, grain-'rust,' wrath of 'Typhonian winds,' and swarm of locusts." Our text 52, 40 mentions an angel over the snows.

7 ὅσα βλάπτει χώρα<ν>: χωρ<ί>α ed. pr.; cf. line 4, τοῦ χωρίου. Both the absence of the final ν at χώρα and its insertion at the end of νιφάδα (νιφάδαν) reflect common phonetic phenomena.

8 κελεύει θεός: "The god, Ὁαμουα, commands (it)" (some previous editions falsely read *κελευε*). The expression "NV (God) commands (it)" is formulaic in magic literature, in fact a form of threat; cf. *PGM* IV.710: ὅτι κελεύει σοι ενθο φενεν θροπιωθ; further, *PGM* XL.14: 'Αρτημισίη κελεύει; of the practitioner, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 49, 57: κελεύω σ[ε, κτλ.].

8-9 ωαμου θα: The name may also be Ὡαμουα, as the putative *theta* is written with a dot, not the usual horizontal bar; the center dot may be purely accidental. Nonetheless, Fröhner 1889: 45 identifies in this name the Syrian deity, Zeus Aumou; however, the Egyptian Ammon (Amoun) may also be intended here, though the 'magic word' αμου has another putative Egyptian meaning: Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 6,3 (αμουνη; see p. 19) interpret this either as αμουν ηει, Egyptian for "Amoun comes" (following Ritner); or, as Coptic, αμου νηι, "come to me" (Thissen); cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 43,2: αμου (= Coptic, "come!"); further, nos. 42,31; 48 K 46. Curiously, if here αμου is Coptic "come!," then θα may represent the same imperative in Aramaic: ܐܬܐ, *tā* ("Come!") — an imperative most commonly known from its occurrence in the early Christian acclamation μαράνα θά, ܡܪܢܐ ܬܐ, *māranā tā*, "(our) Lord, come!" (see Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* [Chicago, 1979], s.v., p. 491).

9 καὶ σὺ συνέργει: A similar use of *συνέργει* in the imperative occurs in *PGM* II.9: ἄγετε, κραταιοὶ δαίμονες, συνεργήσατέ μοι σήμερον ἐπ' ἀλ[η]θείας φθηνγόμενοι, κτλ.; further, *PGM* XII.95: ἐλθε καὶ παράστα εἰς [τ]ήνδε τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ συνέργησον; and elsewhere in *PGM* XIII.103; 659f.; LVII.31.

10 Ἀβρασάξ, Ἰάω Ἰάω: Abrasax is here perhaps summoned because of his connection with the seasons: his name numerologically represents 365, the number of days in the solar year. The sense here

seems to be that Abrasax is also to execute what the god Oamoutha has commanded.

11 Ἰούλιος Περούινκος: The only difference between Text A and Text B is that the latter carries the personal name, *Iulius Pervincus*, appended at the end. The name, in the nominative, is probably the owner of the vineyard.

Appendix: Inscription from Sidi Kaddou

Ed. pr. N. Ferchiou & A. Gabillon, "Une inscription grecque magique de la région de Bou Arada (Tunisie), ou les quatre plaies de l'agriculture antique en proconsulaire," in: D. Lancel, ed. *Actes du IIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du nord* (= *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 19 [1983]; Paris, 1985), pp. 109-125:

- (Magic signs) Ορεοβαζαγρα, Ορεοβ[αζαγρα],
 Αβρασαξ μαχαρ Σεμσεϊλαμ στεναχτ[α],
 λορσαχθη κοριανχη Ἀδωναῖε, κύρ[ιοι]
 4 θεοί, κωλύσατε, ἀποστρέψατε ἀπὸ τοῦ[δε]
 χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννωμένω[ν]
 -ἐν ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαιῶσιν, σπορητοῖς τόπ[οις]-
 καρπῶν χάλασαν, ἐρυσείβην, ὀργή[ν]
 8 τυφῶνων ἀνέμων, κακοποιῶν
 ἀκρίδων ἐσμών, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν λ[υ]-
 μαιωτικῶν τῶνδε ᾗσῃται τοῦ-
 δε τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ [κ]α[ρ]-
 12 πῶν πάντων· ἀσινεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ[ς] καὶ ἀ-
 φθόρους πάντοτε συντηρήσατε,
 ἕως ἂν οἶδε λίθοι γεγραμ-
 μένοι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὑμῶν ὀνόμα-
 16 σιν ὑπὸ γῆ περὶ κείμενοι
 ὦσιν.

12f. ἀμαιωτικῶν: *ed. pr.* But the stone shows a clear initial λ. Read λ[υ]μαιωτικῶν (= λυμειωτικῶν — a new formation — Merkelbach), "pernicious things." 15 ἱροῖς: *ισροῖς*

(Magic signs) *Oreobazagra Oreob[azagra] Abrasax Machar Semeseilam Stenachta Lorschihê Koriauchê Adônaie*, sovereign (4) gods, hinder, turn aside from this property and from what is growing on it — in the vineyards, the olive-groves, in the seeding places — hail over the produce, grain-rust, fury (8) of Typhonian winds, a swarm of harmful locust, so that none of these pernicious things touch this field nor any of the produce in it; (12) but guard them altogether unharmed and uncorrupt, as long as these stones engraved with your sacred names (16) are here lying about the land.

13 Antaura, the Migraine Demoness

Fig. 15. Plate IV

CARNUNTUM (Altenburg-Petronell), Austria I/II A.D.?
Eisenstadt, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum H. 9.2 cm.; W. 5.2 cm.
Inv. Nr. SW 4739b Silver lamella

Lit. A. A. Barb, "Griechische Zaubertexte vom Gräberfelde westlich des Lagers," *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926), pp. 52-67, Nr. 48; Taf. 1,1.; R. Reitzenstein, "Ein christliches Zauberbuch und seine Vorlage," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), pp. 176-178; O. Weinreich, "Zaubertexte und Defixionstafel aus Carnuntum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), p. 178; *idem*, "Ἀνταύρα," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 25 (1927), p. 224 (with ref. to O. Janiewitsch, "ΑΥΡΑ," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 13 [1910], pp. 627-630); F. Gundel, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 47 (1927), p. 1258; A. Schulten, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 48 (1929), p. 703; J. Zingerle, "Ἀνταύρα," *Glotta* 17 (1929), pp. 134-137; A. A. Barb, "Klassische Hexenkunst. Aus der Verwesung antiker Religionen — Ein antikes Zaubergebet gegen die Migräne und sein Fortleben," *Jedermann Heft* 3 (1933), pp. 26-33; F. Ohrt, *Blätter für Volkskunde* 35 (1936), p. 53; G. Björck, *Apsyrtus, Julius Africanus et l'Hippiatrique grecque* (Uppsala, 1944), p. 65; A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic arts," in A. Momigliano, ed. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), p. 121; E. Swoboda, *Carnuntum. Seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Graz-Köln, 1964), p. 205f.; Artur Betz, "Die griechischen Inschriften aus Österreich," *Wiener Studien* 79 (1966), pp. 597-613; p. 604f., Nr. 11; A. A. Barb, "Antaura the Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 29 (1966) 1-23; E. Weber, "Zur lateinischen Epigraphik in Österreich 1902-1975," *Römische Österreich* 3 (1975), p. 286.

The four tablets (13-16) were found together in 1922 at ancient Carnuntum, situated between the communities of Bad Deutsch-Altenburg and Petronell along the Donau. Originally a well-established military camp, Carnuntum developed westward into a substantial *municipium*, including a civilian community at Petronell. On the site: Swoboda: 1964 (*supra*); R. Noll, s.v. "Carnuntum," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 198f.; W. Jobst, *Provinzhauptstadt Carnuntum* (Wien, 1983); H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, & W. Jobst, "Carnuntum" in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II/6 (1977), pp. 585-730. The pieces were found in a stone sarcophagus among the gravesites located west of the Roman camp.

The most important finds in the sarcophagus include the following: a terracotta urn, an oil flask, a coin of Maximinus Thrax, a gold and silver plaque rolled up (15 and 16), and two additional silver pieces, also rolled up (13 and 14). Of the group, only text 13, here, is noteworthy. It preserves a much discussed *historiola* in which Artemis of Ephesus encounters the migraine or wind-demoness, Antaura, and 'exorcizes' her by compelling her to settle in the head of a bull (according to the ending in later versions of the spell).

On the basis of the grave goods, the tablets should be dated to the third century A. D.; however, the hand of at least 13 is perhaps earlier; it is to be assigned to the early 2nd century A.D. at the latest but probably dates to the late 1st century: the presence of a tell-tale connecting-stroke following the *ēta* points, palaeographically, to a first century date. Is this piece a family 'hand-me-down' from previous generations? Quite possibly so: 1) the other pieces found in the tomb rolled up separately all carry dissimilar handwritings and texts; clearly they stem from diverse provenances and conceivably different periods; 2) there is no evidence of any 'personalized' features on 13 (or the other three piece) by which it could have been assigned to an individual bearer; the piece seems to have served a more universal purpose in being adaptable for re-use; and, most importantly, 3) the migraine named in 13 is an affliction now recognized to be specifically *hereditary*; as a strongly familial disease, episodes of migraine would have become routinely manifest in the children and grandchildren of the original sufferer (see, in general, O. Sacks, *Migraine* [2nd ed. Berkeley, 1992], *passim*). The 'Antaura'-amulet, with its nursery rhythm-like *historiola*, would have been particularly suited for use and re-use in an extended family context. The set of Carnuntum amulets, on the whole, must have represented an unusual cache of inscribed migraine-spells collected over generations and eventually buried as a sort of family treasure or heirloom.

The text presented below depends largely on Barb's original reading. Some changes are noted below, and some of his readings at the end cannot be confirmed since the tablet has suffered some damage since its initial discovery.

- Πρὸς ἡμίκρα-
νον· Ἀνταύρα
ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς
4 θαλάσσης, ἀνε-
βόησεν ὡς
ἔλαφος, ἀνέ-
κραξεν ὡς βοῦς·
8 ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ
Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία].
Ἀνταύρα, πο[ῦ]
ὑπάγεις; — ἰς τὸ ἡ-
12 μίκρ[ανον] —
[μ]ῆ οὐ[κ] ἰς τὰ ν[...]

12 ὑπάγεις: ὑπάγεις 11,13 ἰς: εἰς

Left edge: ... θη ἀπαλλαγῶν

For The 'Half-Head' [Migraine]: Antaura came out of the sea. She shouted like a hind. She cried out like a cow.
Artemis of Ephesos met her (saying): "Antaura, where are you going?"
(Antaura): "Into the half-part of the head."
(Artemis): "No, do not [go] into the [half-part of the head ...]."

Left edge: ... for the reliefs (?) ...

Although the text as preserved is rather fragmentary, the historical-religious parallels first adduced by Barb supply the probable ending. In these versions, paralleled even in late Bosnian and Hercegovnian stories, Christ replaces Artemis in the dialogue as the exorcizing deity, and the headache demon is not named but is represented as a personified entity. The best Greek representation of the *historiola* is that preserved in F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen, und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (RGVV 3/3; Giessen, 1907), pp. 267f. [p. 15f.], which, for the convenience of the reader, is provided in full below (fol-

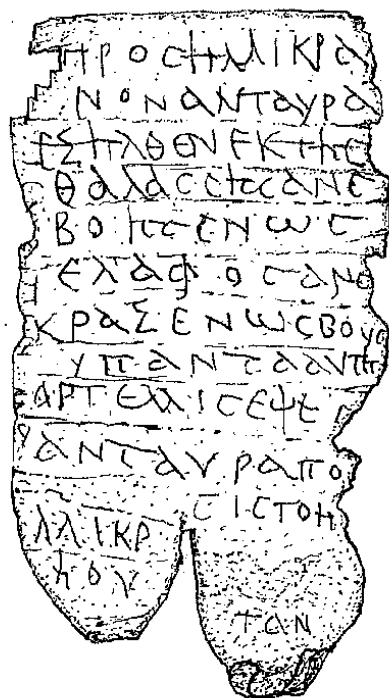


Fig. 15

lowing the translation in Barb 1966:2f.). Underlined portions parallel what is preserved on the Antaura spell:

Εὐχή ἡμικράνη εἰς πονοκεφάλι·
Ἥμικρανον ἐξήρχετο ἀπὸ θάλασσαν κρουόμενον καὶ βρυχούμενον
καὶ ὑπήντησε αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
ποῦ ὑπάγεις, κράνιον καὶ ἡμικράν καὶ πονοκεφάλι καὶ ὀφθαλμόπονον καὶ
νεμοπύρωμα καὶ δάκρυα καὶ λεύκωμα καὶ κεφαλοσκότωσις;
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ πονοκέφαλος πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν·
ὑπάγομεν, ἵνα καθίσωμεν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δούλου <τοῦ θεοῦ> ὁ
δεῖνα·
καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν·
βλέπε, μὴ ὑπάγεις εἰς τὸν δούλόν μου, ἀλλὰ φεύγετε καὶ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὰ
ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ ἀνέβητε εἰς ταύρου κεφαλὴν, ἐκεῖ κρέας φάγετε, ἐκεῖ
αἷμα πίετε, ἐκεῖ ὀφθαλμοὺς διαφθείρετε, ἐκεῖ κεφαλὴν σκοτώσατε,
κυμαίνετε, διαστρέψατε· εἰ δὲ καὶ παρακούσατέ μου, ἐκεῖ σε ἀπολέσω
εἰς τὸ καύσιον ὄρος, ὅπου κύων οὐκ ὑλακτεῖ ὅ τε ἀλέκτωρ οὐ φωνεῖ·
ὁ πῆξας ὄριον ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, στήσων τὸ κράνιον καὶ ἡμικρανὸν καὶ τὸν
πόνον ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ μετώπου καὶ τῶν βρεφάρων <καὶ τῶν>
μυελῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα.

Migraine-prayer against the headache:

Migraine came out from the sea rioting and roaring,
and our Lord Jesus Christ came to meet it and said to it:

"Where are you going, O headache and migraine and pain in the skull and
in the eyes and inflammation and tears and leukoma and dizziness?"

And the Headache answered our Lord Jesus Christ:

"We are going to sit down in the head of the servant of God, So-and-So."

And our Lord Jesus Christ said to it:

"Look here, do not go into my servant, but be off altogether and go into
the wild mountains and settle in a bull's head. There you may eat flesh,
there drink blood, there ruin the eyes, there darken the head, seethe and
wriggle. But if you do not obey me, I shall destroy you there on the
burning mountain where no dog barks and cock does not crow."

You who have set a limit to the sea stop headache and migraine and the pain
in the skull and between the eyes and on the lids and from the marrow from
the servant of the Lord, So-and-So.

Another version of this story is preserved in *Paris. graec.* 2316
[F.319b], ed. E. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 2 (Paris,
1881), p. 17f. (Barb 1966: 3; 16, n. 19) — a version that offers some
closer linguistic parallels to the text of the Carnuntum phylactery:

Περὶ τὸ ἡμικρανόν.

Εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου. ὡς ἐξήρχετο τὸ ἡμικρανόν,
τὸ ἡμῖν τοῦ ἡμικράνου, τὸ συνεργόν τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τῆς