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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

Separate
Main

In Zusammenarbeit mit der Arbeitsstelle für Papyrusforschung
im Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln
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For my wife, Jeanne

PREFACE

This book has its origin in a 1988 University of Chicago doctoral dissertation supervised under Professor H. D. Betz of the Department of New Testament and Early Christian Literature. But aside from the general arrangement of the texts and bibliography, any resemblance between the thesis and the present corpus now proves almost impossible to descry. Entirely new readings have been incorporated, dates assigned, and the Commentary thoroughly revamped. Also, this volume contains only those previously published texts whose specific provenances are known; published materials of unknown provenance, as well as unpublished pieces — whose number continues to grow — are reserved for a subsequent volume. Hebrew and Aramaic texts are also omitted.[1] It was further felt expedient to postpone any introductory study of the origin and background of the magical *lamellae* until the full publication of the texts themselves. For such introductory matters as those treated in the first volume of my Chicago dissertation, the reader is kindly directed to the survey found in the fourth chapter of *Magika Hiera* (edd. C. A. Faraone & D. Obbink).[2]

In repaying thanks for much help received in the course of the study of the magical *lamellae*, I run the risk of omitting the names of colleagues and friends who have provided assistance in one way or another over the course of the years. So I limit myself here to acknowledging those who have been of particular support during my stay here in Germany: Thomas Corsten, Klaus Maresch, Cornelia Römer, R. W. Daniel, D. Hagedorn, H. J. Thissen, W. Brashear, and David Jordan (Athens). More specifically, David Jordan provided much help by way of bringing new texts to

[1]For these see, J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985); and now, *idem*, *Magic Spells and Formulae* (Jerusalem, 1993) — the latter title having just appeared as this book was going to press (and hence it could not be used in the Commentary).

[2]Roy Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in: C. A. Faraone & D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (New York & Oxford, 1991), pp. 107-137.

my attention and supplying some photographs; Bill Brashear in Berlin read through the manuscript in its entirety and caught many oversights that would surely have escaped my notice; H. J. Thissen cheerfully provided possible readings on a number of Egyptian names; D. Hagedorn and R. Daniel were consulted for palaeographical matters; and Cornelia Römer, Klaus Maresch, and Thomas Corsten gave much advice on sundry matters — besides making my stay here in Cologne a more pleasant one. None of the above-named persons can be held accountable for anything expressed or not expressed in this volume; I am fully culpable for any shortcomings it may still contain but equally claim responsibility for whatever in it might be found deserving.

I should like to extend my gratitude, in particular, to my host and supervisor at the Universität zu Köln, Professor R. Merkelbach. He is the one who first kindly undertook the project of seeing the book to publication and has patiently guided me through to its completion. The many recommendations and insights of his that I have taken over have surely upgraded the final outcome of the book. So, too, has he perhaps rightly criticized some of my interpretations as being a bit too venturesome. If in some cases I have stubbornly held to my own point of view, it should in no way detract from the full stature of the improvement that his ideas have come to bear upon the end product.

This study would not have been made possible without the generous backing of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung which funded my research here in Cologne from 1990-1991 and again from 1992-1993. The Foundation also contributed generously towards the cost of the book's production.

Finally, I should like to convey my most sincere expression of tender love and kinship with my wife, Jeanne, who though miles away during the course of this difficult year, constantly offered the most uplifting inspiration towards the completion of this project. To her I lovingly dedicate this volume in special gratitude for her immeasurable support, gladdening encouragement, and constant love during my stay in Germany.

Cologne, October, 1993 R. Kotansky

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Explanation of Sigla and Other Conventions

[ ] Lacuna in tablet

($\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$) Resolution of an abbreviation

(α) Normalization of spelling (occasional)

< > Correction of an omission

{ } Modern deletion

[[ ]] Text in rasura

`$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$´ Text placed between lines

$\alpha\beta\gamma\dot{\delta}$ Uncertain readings (damaged letters)

.... Traces of unreadable lettes

[---] Uncertain loss of text

[...] Uncertain number of letters lost

[ca. 3-4] Estimate of lost letters

II-III A.D. = Second *or* third century A.D.

II/III A.D. = Late second to early third century A.D.

1,10 = Amulet and line number in this Corpus

Lit. = Literature in bibliographical section, arranged chronologically (though the *editio princeps*, or a preferred edition, may be named first).

Burger 1966: 104 = Bibliographical reference in accompanying *'Lit.'* (by year and date)

PGM = *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri* I-II, ed. K. Preisendanz. 2nd ed., A. Henrichs (Stuttgart, 1973-1974), cited by papyrus number and line (Arabic numbers indicate Christian texts at end of volume II).

Suppl. Mag. I,II = R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum (Suppl. Mag. I, II)* (Papyrologica Coloniensia XVI.1-2; Opladen, 1990, 1992), cited by papyrus number (= 'no.') and line.

INTRODUCTION

The present work seeks to fill a gap in the *corpora* of ancient Greek magical texts — texts traditionally categorized by the variety of writing materials (media) on which they are written: papyrus, gem stones, lead (the *tabellae defixionum*),[1] and thin plates of precious and non-precious metals (*lamellae*).[2] Of these, only the last category has not, until now, been previously collected into a corpus nor fully researched as a distinctive body of magical literature in its own right.

The objects studied in this corpus may be defined as protective magical texts (*φυλακτήρια*)[3] engraved on small and very thin sheets or plaques of metal foil with a sharp writing instrument, viz. a bronze stylus.[4] The objects were most often, but not always, rolled up and worn

---

[1]D. R. Jordan has done the most in recent years to illuminate the lead tablets. He plans an eventual corpus; see his "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985), pp. 151-197. A very useful and engaging study is to be recommended in John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York & Oxford, 1992) — a work that came to my attention too late for it to be given the full attention it deserves in this Corpus.

[2]Other possible media that preserved magical texts in the ancient world — parchment, linen, wood, bone, wax tablets, gypsum, carved stone, various engraved *instrumenta*, and so on — do not directly concern us in this corpus, though they too merit special study.

[3]These inscribed magical amulets, or *lamellae*, are regularly referred to as "phylacteries" in the scholarly literature. The main drawback in using this term is that 'phylactery' is easily confused in modern parlance with the traditional Jewish *tefillin* — the phylacteries carrying Bible verses worn as frontlets by pious Jews since ancient times. Our modern usage derives wholly from the vituperative use found in Matt. 23:5. The word simply means "protective amulet" and does not translate any known Semitic counterpart. Furthermore, '*φυλακτήριον*' says nothing of the material on which it is actually written (a papyrus amulet can also be called a "phylactery"). Unfortunately, the word that the magical handbooks themselves use to describe magical *lamellae* — a "leaf" (i.e., of gold, etc.)," (*πέταλον*, *λεπίς*, *κτλ.*) — does not indicate the magical purpose or aim of the object; its function is learned from the context.

[4]The hailstone incantation in this corpus (**11**) is the exception; it is a slightly larger, heavy bronze plaque that was set up in a field rather than a thin foil strip rolled up and worn on the person. The older publications of this piece, in labelling it a *lamina* (or *lamella*), brought to mind the usual metal phylacteries. Only with the recent acquisition of a photograph (Pl. III) was it possible to see that the piece is not a *lamella* in the traditional sense of the word. The piece, nonetheless, belongs in this corpus, as its text is hardly to be differentiated from the others and certainly is not a part of the longer hailstone spells engraved onto larger marble slabs (see, e.g., Commentary Appendix to **11**).

as personal amulets. Precious metal (gold and silver) was favored over the baser forms (copper and bronze), but there is not usually a discernible reason for the choice of one metal over another. Tin is also named in the sources, but no specimens that I know of have been identified as such (metallurgical testing is rarely conducted on these objects). Lead was also used for the occasional inscribing of magical amulets, both late Christian prayers or exorcisms and earlier Greek incantations (of Hellenistic date), but these are rare.[5] But the ancient handbooks and other testimonia do not seem to specify lead for writing amulets.[6] Hence, the few protective amulets inscribed on lead are not included in the present corpus, but will be discussed in a subsequent *Zusammenfassung*.

The texts and commentary broadly follow the format laid out in the recent editions of magical papyri made available by R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* I-II (1990-1992), published in this same series (see above, p. xii). Although I also rely heavily on the work of my predecessors, almost every text of length contains new readings that have been controlled from either a photograph or from autopsy. Nearly all pieces are accompanied by figured drawings, usually made from the photographs, though occasional illustrations modified from previous publications are also used.

As many photographs as possible have been included, regardless of their condition, and I gladly credit the many individuals and institutions who have generously supplied prints; a few important texts, however,

[5]See D. R. Jordan, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 95 (1980), p. 227f., who gives a useful survey of what kinds of texts were inscribed on lead. We reserve for a subsequent study a similar survey of the sorts of ancient texts written on gold and silver. There also a comprehensive 'Testimonia' of ancient references will be given, as well as a closer study of the important precursors to the magic *lamella*: the Egyptian and Punic-Phoenician amulets, the 'Orphic-Dionysiac' tablets, the 'Θάρσει-type' *lamellae*, the Pyrgi gold tablets, and so on.

[6] Lead was intentionally preserved for the more aggressive of the magical operations (the writing of ἀγωγαί, κατάδεσμοι, love spells, curses, and other 'malevolent' spells of the *defixionum tabellae*). Although the distinctions between 'kindly' and 'unkindly' magic — between the writing of a gold versus a leaden tablet — do sometimes blur, the ancient sources, and presumably the practices that were dependent upon them, seem keenly mindful of the differences.

carry neither a good photo nor a reliable drawing, a possible shortcoming that could hardly be avoided. Some earlier editions never properly documented their texts, and many institutions and museums cannot respond to requests for photos. In particular, the new reading of **32** (with a fragment of Aquila) has had to rely entirely on Brea's edition made nearly 40 years ago, but I have little reason to doubt the soundness of his text and am confident that not much can be done to improve the reading as printed here. Photographs of inscribed metal surfaces are at best difficult to read, but I have nonetheless chosen not to follow the habit of excluding plates simply because they can be only poorly read. A plate of lesser quality may be better than none at all, especially if it has never been published before, and the reader can at least gain an idea of the tablet's shape and condition.

One should note that drawings (and photographs) are usually enlarged and do not indicate the tablets' true sizes; for these one should consult the dimensions given with the initial description of each piece. The figured drawings are not intended to be used as a substitute for the examination of the actual objects or good photographs. Facsimiles serve only to complement the genuine object and as a guide for letter-forms. I do not claim the practiced hand of an ancient scribe, and mistakes or unintentional misrepresentations are inevitable.

Many of the texts are assigned dates for the first time; other dates are also suggested from archaeological contexts, onomastics, and other historical and geographical considerations. A short table of dates, like that found in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, p. 363, is given below. As both the more recently published papyri and the amulets in this corpus show, many magical texts can now be assigned to relatively early periods (ca. second century B.C. to early first A.D.).[7]

[7]This should come as no surprise, seeing that the corpus of lead *defixiones* covers the whole of the period from the late 6th century B.C. to the end of antiquity! Matters would hardly be different for protective amulets. Hence, there is no intrinsic reason why magical amulets cannot be early- or pre-Roman in date; certainly the earliest Egyptian magical texts would have been widely translated from Demotic into Greek under the Ptolemies. It should be noted that the earliest dated text in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 70 (assigned II-I B.C.), is no magical text as traditionally understood, but some kind of description for moulding divine or 'magical' figures. The other two early examples, *Suppl. Mag. II*, nos. 71 (I B.C.) and 72 (Augustan) are both magical formularies, as is the early collection of incantations given in *PGM* XX (I B.C.).

Chronological Table of the Amulets

Early-Mid I B.C.: **48**
I B.C.: **39**
Augustan: **28**
I A.D.: **36**
I B.C./I A.D.: **36**, **51**
I/II A.D.: **2**, **10**, **13**
II A.D.: **7**, **11**, **20**, **24**, **29** (Early), **31**, **40**, **42**
II-III A.D.: **27**, **32**, **37**, **38**, **60**, **62**, **65**, **66**; **46** (II/III A.D.)
III A.D.: **4**, **12**, **14**, **15**, **16**, **17**, **34**
III-IV A.D.: **1**, **23**, **33**, **35**, **54**, **55**, **56**, **61**
IV A.D.: **8**, **18**, **52**, **58**, **68**
IV-V A.D.: **3**, **41**, **47**, **49**, **50**, **57**; **26** (IV/V A.D.)
V-VI A.D.: **45**

The 'curve' that this table suggests is remarkably close to the list given in Daniel & Maltomini. The dates of magic texts, as a whole, seem to point to an initial 'renaissance' of Egyptian magic in Ptolemaic times, probably manifesting itself in the form of the inaugural publication of Demotic and Greek 'hieratic' texts. This is followed by a period of nascent but sustained growth from the 1st century B.C. through the 1st century A.D., during which time the formularies — with their own developing 'vocabulary' of magic — came into existence and began to prescribe the use and manufacture of magical amulets. The production of inscribed amulets, whether on papyrus or gold leaf, must have been seen as competing somewhat with the more traditional remedies of the root-cutters and herbalists, remedies which of course continued to play a rôle throughout later antiquity. Then, beginning in the 2nd century A.D., we see a really formidable explosion in the output of magical literature, an explosion that also brings the first great infusion of magic gems into the commercial market. This period also witnesses the high productivity of inscribed papyrus and metal amulets throughout the Roman world. It is

interesting to note that some of the earliest amulets of this corpus were found in rather 'outlying' areas of the Roman world; relatively few of them come from Egypt.[8] From the 2nd century on, a sustained wave of magical beliefs and practices carries the manufacture of amulets into their *Blütezeit* with the compilation of the great magical formularies of the 3rd and 4th centuries. It is during this period that the magical literature becomes 'canonized' — its terminology becoming quite technically fixed and standardized. Thereafter, in the 5th and 6th centuries we see a slow but steady drop off and decline in the quality of writing and overall productivity of amulets in general. The *lamellae*, it seems, are becoming replaced by a new series of bronze suspension-amulets: mostly a special category of Solomonic amulets probably widely used by the now nominally Christian population.

[8]In this corpus, only **59** and **60** come from Egypt (Oxyrhynchus). Two unpublished pieces in Cologne, a silver 'Solomonic' exorcism and another silver amulet for gout, also come from Egypt and will be published jointly by R. Kotansky and D. R. Jordan. A silver *lamella*, preserving a long Aramaic incantation with only several lines of Greek, is also said to come from Tell el-Amarna. It is published in R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, & S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992), pp. 5-26, but, being largely Aramaic, is not included in this Corpus.

TABLE OF TEXTS

1 Gold. Eburacum (York, England). Yorkshire Museum III-IV A.D.

2 Gold. Segontium (Caernarvon, Wales). Cardiff, National Museum of Wales I/II A.D.

3 Gold. Woodeaton, Islip (Oxfordshire, England). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum IV-V A.D.

4 Gold. Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep, Germany). [Lost] III A.D.

5 Silver. Colonia Agrippina (Cologne, Germany). Römisch-Germanisches Museum, inv. nr. 29.1804 Roman

6 Gold. Colonia Agrippina (Cologne, Germany). Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 1167 Roman

7 Silver. Renania (Badenweiler, Germany). Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum II A.D.

8 Silver. Limonum (Poitiers, France). Musée de Saint Germain-en-Laye, inv. no. 46049 IV A.D.

9 Gold. Iculisma (Angoûleme, France). [Lost] Roman

10 Gold. Augustoritum Lemovicum (Limoges, France). [Location not known] I/II A.D.

11 Bronze (A). Avennio (Avignon, France). Musée Calvet, Inv. E. 66 II A.D.

Bronze (B). Mondragon (France). [Lost] II A.D.

12 Gold, Silver, (Copper). Castra Regina (Regensburg, Germany). Museum der Stadt Regensburg, Inv. Nr. Sttz. 1513 III A.D.

13 Silver. Carnuntum (Altenburg-Petronell, Austria). Eisenstadt, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, Inv. Nr. SW 4739b I/II A.D.

14 Silver. Carnuntum (Altenburg-Petronell, Austria). Eisenstadt, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, Inv. Nr. SW 4739a III A.D.

15 Gold. Carnuntum (Altenburg-Petronell, Austria). Museum Carnuntinum (lost) III A.D.

16 Silver. Carnuntum (Altenburg-Petronell, Austria). Museum Carnuntinum III A.D.

17 Gold. Vindobona (Vienna, Austria). [Lost] III A.D.

18 Silver. Tricciana (Ságvár, Hungary). Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. no. 9.1939.4 IV A.D.

19 Gold. Brigetio (Szöny, Hungary). [Location unknown] Roman

20 Silver. Aquincum, (Budapest-Óbuda, Hungary). Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, Inv. Nr. 30236/3 II A.D.

21 Gold. Aquincum, (Budapest-Óbuda, Hungary). [Location unknown] Roman

22 Gold. Kallatis (Mangalia, Rumania). Bucarest, Muzeul de Arheologie Roman

23 Gold. Dierna (Orşova, Rumania). Muzeul Orşova III-IV A.D.
24 Gold. Dierna (Orşova, Rumania). Bucarest, Institutul de Arheologie II A.D.
25 Gold. Rome (Italy). [Lost] Roman
26 Gold. Rome (Italy). [Lost] IV/V A.D.
27 Gold. Rome (Italy). London, British Museum, cat. no. 3154 II-III A.D.
28 Gold. Vigna Codini (near Rome, Italy). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (Bibliothèque Nationale), cat. no. 1211 Augustan
29 Gold. Ciciliano (Italy). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano Early II A.D.
30 Gold. Brundisium (Brindisi, Italy). Museo Archeologico Provinciale, 'F. Ribezzo' Roman
31 Gold. Near Picenum (Ripe San Ginesio, Italy). [Lost] II A.D.
32 Copper. Akrae (Palazzuolo Acreide, Sicily). Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale II-III A.D.
33 Bronze. Mazzarino, Sicily. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 82071 III-IV A.D.
34 Silver. Colonia Archelais (Aksaray, Niğde. Turkey). Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Inv. 71.125 III A.D.
35 Silver. Antiocheia Caesarea (Yalcaç, Turkey). Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi III/IV A.D.
36 Silver. Amisos (Samsun, Turkey). Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. A 1322 I B.C./I A.D.
37 Gold. Ephesus (Selçuk, Turkey). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Misc. 8957 II-III A.D.
38 Gold. Amphipolis, Thrace. London, British Museum, cat. no. 3153 II-III A.D.
39 Silver. Beroea (Vérria, Macedonia). [Lost] I B.C.
40 Gold. Thessalonika (Saloniki, Macedonia). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. Nr. VII B 260 II A.D.
41 Gold. Phthiotis, Thessaly. Athens, National Museum, inv. no.3413 IV-V A.D.
42 Gold. Athenae (Athens, Greece). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Froehner, no. 285 II A.D.?
43 Gold. Crete. London, British Museum, cat. no. 3157 Roman?
44 Gold Idaeum Antrum (Mt. Ida, Crete). Location unknown Roman?
45 Gold. Laodicea ad mare (Latakia, Syria). Jerusalem, Private collection V-VI A.D.
46 Silver. Beroea (Aleppo, Syria). [Lost] II/III A.D.
47 Gold. Epiphania (Hamah, Syria). Copenhagen, National Museum 8A 256 N7 Bat. V. room k (10) 13.5 1938 IV-V A.D.

48 Silver. Emesa (Ḥoms, Syria). Leiden, Museum of Antiquities, inv. no. B 1952/7.1 Early-Middle I B.C.
49 Silver. Emesa (Ḥoms, Syria). [Lost] IV-V A.D.
50 Gold. Heliopolis (Ba'albek, Lebanon). Beirut, Musée du Beyrouth IV-V A.D.
51 Gold. Berytus (Beirut, Lebanon). Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Froehner no. 286 I B.C./I A.D.
52 Gold. Berytus (Beirut, Lebanon). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Bj 88 (inv. M.N.D. 274) IV A.D.
53 Gold. Tyrus (Tyre, Lebanon). Berlin, Bodemuseum Late Roman?
54 Silver. Haifa (Israel). London, British Museum, cat. no. 3151 III-IV A.D.
55 Gold. Near Haifa(Mt. Carmel, Israel). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Bj 85 (Inv. M.N.C. 2145) III-IV A.D.
56 Copper. Kh. Muṣliḥ (near Kibbutz 'Evron, Israel). Jerusalem, Israel Antiqities Authority, IAA No. 88-193 III-IV A.D.
57 Gold. Acquired in Damascus (Syria). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles IV-V A.D.
58 Gold. Bostra, Arabia (Buṣrā, Jordan). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.1960 IV A.D.
59 Silver alloy. Oxyrhynchus, Egypt. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, T. Köln inv. 7 III A.D.
60 Silver. Oxyrhynchus, Egypt. Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, T. Köln inv. 8 II-III A.D.
61 Gold. Ballana, Nubia. Cairo, Archaeological Museum, Inv. J. 71204 III-IV A.D.
62 Gold. Zian, Tunisia. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Froehner, no. 285a II-III A.D.
63 Gold. Carthago, Tunisia. Tunis, Musée d'Aloui, sec. H, cat. no. 60 Roman?
64 Silver. Thyrsdrus (El Jem, Tunisia). [Lost?] Roman?
65 Gold. Kop-Takil, Bosporus. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Bj 86 (M.N.D. 1341) II-III A.D.
66 Silver. Kop-Takil, Bosporus. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Bj 86 (M.N.D. 1342) II-III A.D.
67 Silver. Mt. Sûr-Taš, Crimea. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum Roman?
68 Silver. Cyprus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Froehner no. 1212 IV A.D.

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TEXT AND COMMENTARY

1 'Lord of the Gods'

Fig. 1. Plate I

EBURACUM (York), England — III-IV A.D.
The Yorkshire Museum — H. 1.8 cm.; W. 2.8 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. C. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum, or York under the Romans* (York, 1842), pl. 17, no. 15 (fasc., p. 131); *idem, Yorkshire Philosophical Society Proceedings* 1 (1855), p. 95; J. Kenrick, *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Proceedings* 1 (1855), p. 106 (fig.); E. L. Barnwell, "The Carnarvon Talisman," *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, ser. 4, vol. 10 (1879), pp. 99-108 (fig.), esp. p. 103; G. C. Home, *Roman York. The Legionary Headquarters and Colonia of Eboracum* (London, 1924); *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, I: Eboracum, Roman York* (London, 1962), p. 133, no. 139 (add. lit.); pl. 65, no. 139 (photo); R. Collingwood & R. P. Wright, *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 236-237, no. 706 (fasc.); G. C. Boon, "Excavations and Discoveries. 2. Roman," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 21 (1964), pp. 96-99 (pl. 1b, 2), esp. p. 99; Eve & John R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults of Roman Britain* (EPRO 6; Leiden, 1965), p. 94; M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (London, 1984), pp. 184-188; R. Kotansky, "A Silver Phylactery for Pain," *J.Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983), p. 173; P. Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), p. 689.

The tablet was found in 1839 outside the walls of Roman York (*Eboracum, Eburacum*), on the southwest side of the river (at the site of the fourth- century A.D. bath house), when workers cut away an archway of the wall in the building of the Old Railway Station. York was a legionary fortress and *colonia* that became largely abandoned at the end of the fourth century. On the site, in general, Wellbeloved 1842; G. F. Wilmot, art. "Eboracum," in R. Stillwell, ed., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 290f.

The amulet preserves a line of magic χαρακτῆρες followed by a single *vox magica*. The short text indicates nothing as to its specific purpose; however, since it was found at the site of a bathing facility, it may have been deposited in a hotroom (ὑποκαύστρα) as a love-spell (cf. **7**). The tablet had been folded once, horizontally, in the middle.

1 Magic Signs
2 Φνεβεννουθ

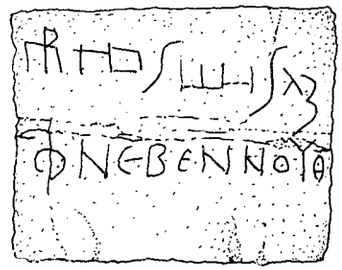


Fig. 1

1 *Magic Signs*: These *charactêres* 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(ὸς) used, for example, in such phrases as πρ(ὸς) πυρετόν, 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 φνεβεννουνι ('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.: (ναα)βις 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 — I/II A.D.
Cardiff, National Museum of Wales — H. 10.4 cm.; W. 3.05
(no inv. number) — 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," *Cymmrodorian 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 Romain Britain* (Leiden, 1965), p. 93f., no. 1; M. J. Vermaseren, in J. R. Hinnells, 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 Llanbeblic 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 Ἀδωναῖε· Ἐ-
λωαῖε Σαβα-
ωθ ειε εσαρ ει-
4 ε σουρα αρβαρ-
τιαω· ὢν ὢν
ὢν ζῶν κα-
ὶ λῶς· ελλιων ἀν-
8 νωρα ἀγγιβ-
βωρ βαιλλα
λααμωθ βα-
ρουχ αθθα ου-
12 βαρουζ οὐδη-
χα ἀεὶ ωλαμ λε
ωλαμ Ἀκκραμα-
ραχαμαρι αμο-
16 ριμ φ´αβζανα
Θουθ XIII (magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
20 (magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs) δια-
φύλαττέ
24 με, Ἀλφια-
νόν.

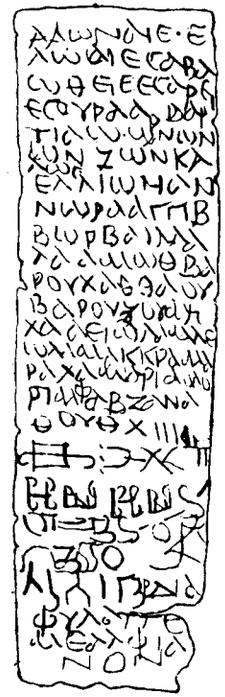


Fig. 2

Adônai Elôaie Sabaôth, Eie Esar Eie, Soura Arbartiaô, being, being, being, living excellently, *Elliôn Hannôra Hagibbôr Baillalaamôth Barouch Aththa Oubarouz Houdêcha* ever *Ôlam-leôlam Akkramarachamari Amorim Phabzana Thouth* (magic signs). *Protect me, Alfianus.*

1-3 Ἀδωναῖε· Ἐλωαῖε Σαβαώθ:Ἐλωαῖ occurs in **35**,1; **38**,22 (Ἐλοε), 41-44 (Ἐλωειν); the other two divine names are usually found with Ἰάω. Here, though, the three names, rather than representing the triad Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναῖ, correspond to the Hebrew phrase "Lord God of Hosts." Cf., e.g., Hosea 12:6: וַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת, *wa-yhwh 'ĕlōhē haṣṣəbā'ôṯ*, where the divine Tetragrammaton would have been conventionally pronounced אדני, *ădōnai*. Our text probably derives from Jewish liturgy (see below on lines 14f.).

3-4 *ειε εσαρ ειε*: *ειθ εσαρει ed. pr.* These letters were not previously identified correctly; *ειε εσαρ ειε* represents a transliteration of the common magical phrase אהיה אשר אהיה, *'ehye 'ăšer '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): *Sextum* 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, (*sûrāh*); 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 Ἀρβαθιαω, "fourfold Yahweh" (= יהוה אַרְבַּע, i.e., *'arbaʿ Iaô* [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 Αρβαθιαω; the name, however, is also spelled ἀβραθιαω (ἀβρατιαω) which, with the heretofore unexplained *theta/tau*, gives us perhaps a different Hebrew reading, a reading that fits the context here. Biblical Hebrew עֶבְרָה, *ʿebrāh*, "wrath," when occurring in construct (= "wrath of *x*") provides the necessary terminative -ת suggested by the transliterated Greek: עֶבְרַת יְהוָה (*ʿebraṯ YHWH* [=*Iaô*]), i.e., "the wrath of the Lord." The precise phrase occurs in the Bible: בְּיוֹם עֶבְרַת יְהוָה, *bəyôm ʿebraṯ yhwh* (= *Iaô*), "in the day of the wrath of the Lord" (Zeph. 1:18; Ezek. 7:19); similarly, Isaiah 9:18; 13:13 gives, בְּעֶבְרַת יהוה צְבָאוֹת, *bʿebraṯ Iaô Ṣəḇ'ôṯ*, "with the wrath of the Lord of Hosts" (= *Iaô Sabaôth*). Hence, the combined words σουρα ἀρβαρτιαω now give us, "Turn aside, O wrath of the Lord."

5-7 ὢν ὢν ὢν (ζῶν καλῶς): Collingwood and Wright 1965:144 point to Ex. 3:14 (LXX), Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν, 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 ὢν 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 ὢν ὢν ὤν would then seem to represent a somewhat imprecise Greek gloss on the transliterated Hebrew of ειε εσαρ ειε, a gloss similar to the apparent ἀεὶ ωλαμ 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 formulary that included this particular amulet. A later scribe copied these interlinear, glossed ἑρμηνεύματα directly back into the text of the amulet proper.

5-7 (ὢν ὢν ὢν) ζῶν καλῶς: καλώς (read καλός) Collingwood & Wright. We noted above the possible connection of ὢν ὢν ὤν 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 ὤν's? Conceivably, "living excellently" may again refer to the Hebrew God, a god who is often described on amulets as θεὸς 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 ἐλλιων ἀννωρα ἀγγιββωρ: These seemingly magic or divine names are again Hebrew written in Greek letters. The whole corresponds to עֶלְיוֹן הַנּוֹרָה הַגִּבּוֹר, *ʿelyôn hannôrāh haggibbōr*, "Elyon the terrible, the mighty." Cf. Deut. 10:17: הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבֹּר וְהַנּוֹרָה, *hā'ēl haggādol haggibbor wəhannôrāh*, "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" (ישמעאל רבא גיברא ודחילא, p. 40f.).

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

10-11 βαιλλαλαααμωθ (read perhaps Βελλαλααμωθ): We have here more probable transliteration of Hebrew. Βαιλλα may represent the deity Ba'al or Bel (see below), but a more typical Hebrew expression is perhaps forthcoming in בַּלַּיְלָה, *ballaylāh*, "in the night," or בְּלַיְלָה, *bəlaylāh*, "at night." And although the Semitic-sounding λααμωθ reminds one of such magic names as λαλαμ (**57**,7), here the ending might represent מות, *môṯ* (in construct and suffixal forms): "death; pestilence" — or, perhaps better המות, "*the* Death/Pestilence," to achieve the *alpha* in -αμωθ; cf. also לָמוּת, *lāmûṯ*, "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 (בליליא, *blyly'*) or during the day" (p. 35). *Baillalaamôth*, then, is a destructive night demon.

Another possibility for the Βαιλλαλααμωθ is Aramaic בעל לעלא המות, *Baʿal ləʿêlā' hamôṯ*, "Lord over the Pestilence/Death" — a seemingly better interpretation in this liturgical context.

11-15 βαρουχ αθθα ουβαρουζ οὐδηχα ἀεὶ ωλαμ λεωλαμ: The Hebrew equivalent is ברוך אתה וברוך הודכה עולם לעולם, "Blessed art thou and blessed be thy glory forever and ever," as noted in the *editio princeps*. The Greek interpretation, ἀεί, "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 ʾṯh*, 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 Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ εὐχόμενος καὶ λέγων οὕτως· αικρα ακριμη μιλασφη αδοναβηρ αλωι αμεδωθ φελφαουτιου βορακ αθα αδονα αλωι εκμαραθαυξιω 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 chattai adônai elôei*); 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 ʾṯh ʾdwnnw*, "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:

Αδωναιε ελωαι ἐσαβαωθ ειε εσαρ ειε σουρα αρβαρτιαω ελλιων ἀννωρα ἀγγιββωρ βαιλλαλααμωθ βαρουχ αθθα ουβαρουζ οὐδηχα ωλαμ λεωλαμ

אדני אלוהי צבאות אהיה אשר אהיה סורה עברת יהוה
עליון הנורה הגיבור בעל לעלא למות בדוך אתה וברוך הודכה עולם לעולם

ʾAdônay ʾĕlōhē haṣṣəbāʾôṯ ʾehye ʾăšer ʾehye sûrāh ʿebraṯ-YHWH ʿelyôn hannôrāh haggibbōr baʿalləʿêlāʾ hamôṯ barûk ʾatta ûbarûk hôdekah ʿôlam lə-ʿôlam.

"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 *αχραμμαχαμαρι*; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed., 1965), App. B., pp. 94-100 has posited an original Aramaic עקר + מכמרי, "uproot (or eradicate) magic spells" (*lit.* "nets, traps") for this word. Here the spelling of the word has an additional *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 Zauberwesen*, Jahresbericht der Landes-Rabbinerschule in Budapest, 1897-98 [Budapest, 1898], p. 112, n.1, as אֱמֹרִי, "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*, meaning, "belonging to (the *gens*) Alfius." See I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), pp. 32-35; p. 140 (six men, one woman attested in *CIL*). The absence of the matrineal 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 ὢν ὢν ὤν, 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" (ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ <u>καλῶς ζῶν</u>, Plutarch, *Alex.* 8.4,3f.). Similarly, Polybius, too, tells how Antigonus 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 <u>καλῶς</u> μὲν <u>ζῶν</u> 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 δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν <u>καλῶς ζῶντας</u> οὔπω 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 Antigonus 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 ὤν 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 <u>ζῶν</u> ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ Κλευπάτραι 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 ὤν and ζῶν in a way reminiscent of the very use found on our phylactery: Διονυσίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Σεκούνδῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ Σεκούνδᾳ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησα Πρεῖμος ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου πυρᾶς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ζῶν καὶ ὢν 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 — IV-V A.D.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum — H. 1.9 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
(no inv. number) — 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.

[---magic] signs *vac.*
[-----]ḌONẠ
[----] ADONAE M
4 [---] (magic sign) Y (sign) ~~SSSS~~ ~~TTT~~
[-------] (magic sign) EEEE
[----------].[---]

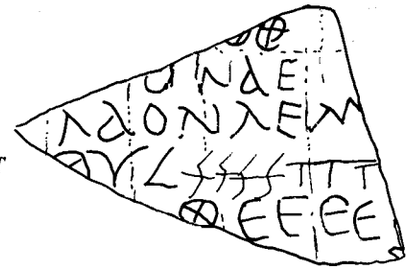


Fig.3

1 *Magic signs*: The 'characters' that resemble archaic Greek *theta*'s are magic signs (not Greek letters) and are discussed by Kubinyi (see **18**), where he refers to A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. lxxiii (= 'the circle of Ananke'), and to Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* (Amsterdam; repr. 1974), vol. 1, p. 539 [p. 222], §819 (= a symbol of the Earth). Kubinyi further compares R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig, 1898), Taf. 12 (S.13; Z.14); 16 (S.14 & 16; Z.5); 17 (S.19; Z.4); 22 (S.31 A); 24 (S.35; Z.6); 29 (S.40; Z.3); cf. also *PGM* VII.202,209;416;420; A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 512 (rev.); C. Bonner, "A Miscellany of Engraved Stones," *Hesperia* 23 (1954), no. 28.

2-3 [---AD]ṆẠẸ ADONAE: It is also possible to read here [---A]ḌONẠ, with Wright (the reading is quite uncertain); however, the letter-forms are Latin, not Greek (so *ed. pr.*) — a fact consistent with the tablet's western provenance: the 'A's' are drawn without medial bars, and the 'D' of *ADONAE*, is not the usual Greek *delta*; cf. the third-century A.D. lead tablet from Hadrumetum (A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* [Paris, 1904], no. 286; and note J. S. Fox, *The John Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum* [Baltimore, 1912], pl. 8; col. 10) for similar letter-forms. *ADONAE* also seems to represent the expected Latin spelling; Greek spelling of this divine name is usually Αδωναι or Αδωνε (= αι), not Αδοναε (if Greek, as printed in Wright).

4 ~~*SSSS*~~ ~~*TTT*~~: As suggested above, some of these letters, particularly the 'four-barred S,' were scratched across the surface of the tablet with a

finer writing instrument. Such 'barred S's' — usually three, not four — are characteristically found on the so-called Chnoubis amulets; see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), pp. 52, 58, 59, 162; H. M. Jackson, *The Lion Becomes Man* (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 74ff. For the three barred version on papyri, see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 27 (fig.). Wright 1970: 305 (fig.) does not note in his drawing the cross-bars that intersect the 'S'-forms. The significance of the 'T's and 'E's' that follow is undetermined.

5 EEEE: cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 68,3: εεεεεε; further, in this corpus, **41**,21; **58**,3; **62**,5.

6 A trace of an *A* or similar letter.

4 Amulet with Magic Λόγος

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 (ΑΕΗΙΟΥΩ)
2 ωλαμβωρωσε̣π[α]ν [?]
3 ιη φθω σουθ[οου]
4 Α σεμεσειλαμ vacat
5 Ε σεσενγεμβαρφαρ[ανγης]
6 Η σασειβηλ σαρσμι [?]
7 Ι ιαω εηου ιαευ[?]
8 Ο πανχουχιθασσ[ου]
9 Υ σωθφρη ιπανχυρω
10 Ω θ[ω]βαρρωβαυ

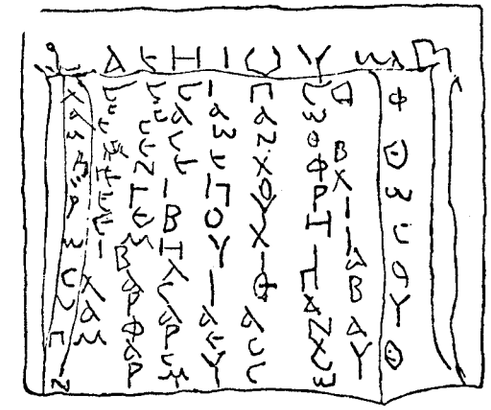


Fig. 4 (Siebourg)

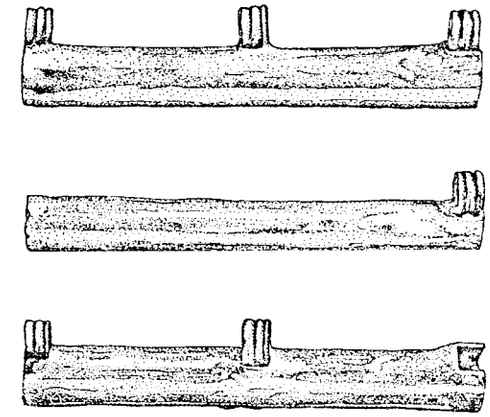


Fig. 5. Capsule (outer tube + insertable inner section) (Grimm)

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 ... θωβαραβαυ σεμεσειλαμψ σασιβηλ σαραηφθω Ιαω ιεου
42 ια θυηοηω αεηιουω πανχουχι θασσουθο Σωθ Φρη ιπεχενβωρ Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης ωλαμ βωρω.
43 σεπανσασε θωβαυσθω ιαφθω σου θοου.

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): A E H I O 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 vowels 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: λαμηρωσϒPN). The Aschmunên parallel reads ωλαμ βωρωσεπαν. A flattened *omega* can be seen in both Siebourg's facsimilie and photograph (above the left column in front of the vowel-series). Further, the letters read by Siebourg as σϒPN 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 בּוֹר, "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 βαβαρβορ βαβαρφορ βαβορβαιη, κραταιὲ Βεττυτ; G. W. Elderkin, "Two Curse Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 6 (1937), pp. 382-395; esp. p. 384,1: ... βορα: βορβορ: βαρβαφορβαβαιη: κραταιὲ 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: בּוֹא, *bô'*, "to open" ("to enter into; split"); באר, *b'r*, "to open;" בְּאֵר, *bə'ēr*, "well, spring;" בָּאב, *bā'b*, "entering, door; gate;" בּוֹר, *bôr*, "well, cistern" (also as entrance to Hades); פּער, *pʿr*, "to open wide;" פרר, *prr*, "to shake" (specifically used of earthquake activity in Isaiah 24:19: פּוֹר 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): ⸗ιη φθω σουθ. (Siebourg, Kol. 9: φθωσουθ). The Aschmunên text has ια φθω σουθοου, hence the traces indicated in Siebourg's facsimile on the right of the upper *omega* may actually correspond to ⸗ιη. Further, if the tablet's bottom edge were lost — it looks irregularly cut — then we could perhaps supply θ[οου]. Φθω may represent Egyptian Ptah (or Phre, as below?). Σουθ 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: סוּט, *sûṭ*, means "to shake;" cf. also *PGM* IV.3011-3013: σωθη ... φερσωθι ... φθα.

'Vowel'-columns:

4 (Beneath the α): Σεμεσειλαμ (Siebourg, Kol.2: Σεμ<γ>εσειλαμ). Siebourg's drawing indicates an extra *gamma* before the second *epsilon*. Are there traces of previous writing? The Aschmunên parallel reads σεμεσειλαμψ.

5 (Beneath the ε): Σεσενγεμβαρφαρ[ανγης] (Siebourg, Kol. 3: Σεσενγεμβαρφαρ). The parallel text from Aschmunên has Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης. Again, it appears that the last letters of the name had been clipped off the bottom of the tablet.

6 (Beneath the η): Σασειβηλ σαρσμι (Siebourg, Kol. 4: σασει Βῆλ σαρσμι) appears to match the σασιβηλ σαραη(φθω) of the Ashmunên tablet. Siebourg's σαρσμι 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 Βηλ (Bel, or Baal) can be read (cf. *PGM* IV.1010: βάλ Βήλ Βολ; IV.1031: Βήλ; cf. XIXa.42). Brockelmann 1899:192 identifies in this name Old-Babylonian *sassi bêl sar sami*, "Sun, lord, king of heaven."

7 (Beneath the ι): Ἰάω εηου ιαευ[...] (Siebourg, Kol. 5: Ἰάω εηου ιαευ). The reading of the Ashmunên text differs somewhat: Ἰάω ισουια θυηθηω. These differences can be accounted for by seeing them as ancient copyists' errors, modern mistakes in readings, or both: on Siebourg's drawing, the εηου could also be read ⸗ιϙηου (matching the ισου of the Ashmunên text), if one interpets the initial *epsilon* as a *iota* resting right on top of a *sigma*; however, this seems unlikely since Siebourg's first seven letters, Ιαωεηου, form a neat permutation of the seven-vowels with the

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

8 (Beneath the ο): Παυχουχι θασσ[ου] (Siebourg, Kol. 6: Παυχουχιθασσ). The parallel reads παυχουχι θασσου (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. παυχοχιτας in XIII.922).

9 (Beneath the υ): Σωθ Φρη Ιπανχυρω (?) (Siebourg, Kol. 7: Σῶθ Φρῆ ιπανχ[?]σω). Ashmunên has σωθφρη-ιπεχενβωρ. Grimm 1969:131 understands Σωθ = 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): Θ[ω]βαρρωβαυ (Siebourg, Kol.8: Θβλιααβαυ). 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.).

5 Magic Names (Fragment)

Figs. 6 & 7

COLONIA AGRIPPINA (Köln), Germany — Roman Period
Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln — H. 0.45 cm; W. 4.95 cm.
Inv. Nr. 29, 1809 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. F. Fremersdorf, "Inschriften auf römischen Kleingerät aus Köln," *27. Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 1937* (Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1939), p. 39, no. 13, Taf. 5,2-3; G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion und Kunstelemente im Römischen Deutschland* (Leiden, 1969), p. 172, no. 66; pp. 44f.

The tablet was found in 1929 (Grimm 1969: 172) in a cemetery on Jakob-Straße in Köln among the contents of Grave 148. It has been rolled up six or seven times; but due to the condition of the tablet, only the first five lines of the text could be photographed and read. These lines contain only a few Greek and Latin letters or χαρακτῆρες. Despite the text's relative unimportance, the piece is included because it was found in an attested gravesite. Another piece found in Köln is further described by Fremersdorf 1939:39f.:

> *Ein zweites, auf gleiche Art zusammengewickeltes, in zwei Teile zerbrochenes Silberblech ist mit der Slg. Niessen (Inv. 8674a) in den Besitz des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum gekommen. Ein Versuch zur Aufrollung und Lesung ist noch nicht erfolgt.*

See further **6**.

1 (Magic signs and drawing)
2 W O Θ N O I
3 α
4 * P̣OLU . (magic signs)

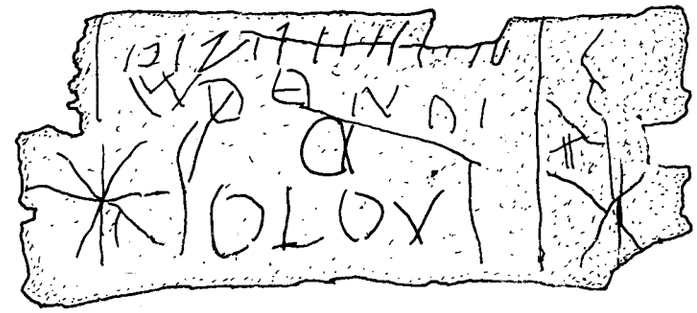


Fig. 6

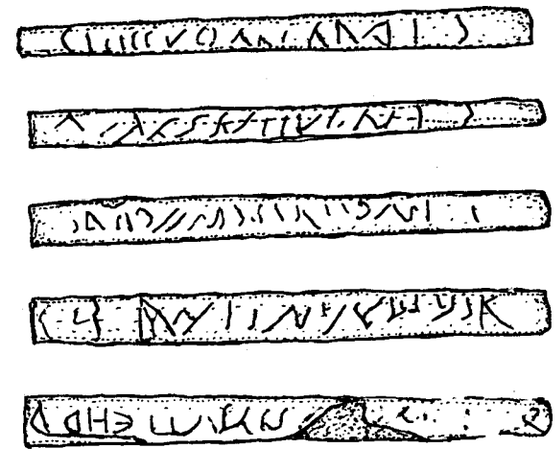


Fig. 7 (*lamella* still rolled up showing letters from the back side)

6 Magic Signs

Fig. 8

COLONIA AGRIPPINA (Cologne), Germany — Roman Period
Römisch-Germanisches Museum — H. 2.8 cm.; W. 5.3 cm.
Köln Inv. Nr. 1167 — 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.

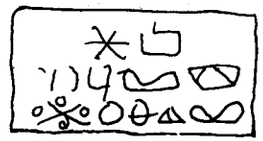
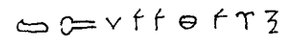
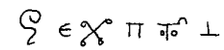


Fig. 8

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 χαρακτῆρες, of unknown purpose. One may compare, for example, *PGM* IV. 2705f.: φυλακτήριον εἰς πέταλον ἀργυροῦν·





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 (φιλύρινον).

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 Religionswissenchaft* 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].ΟΘΔΑΕΑΓΑΝΡΟΖΑ
[c. 8-9]UNI ια ια ιαι Σαβαώθ
['Αδωναὶ 'Α]βλαναθαναλβα 'Ακρα-
[μαχαμαρι] Ṣεμεσιλαμ Σησηνγεμ-
[βαρφαρα]νγης ιο ιο ιο σερουα Τε-
[ρτουλλ]ουμ κουεμ πεπεριτ Λειβ-
[εια ματε]ρ αβ ομνι περεκουλω,
[σερου]α Χειλονο, σερουα
[magic signs] / Λουκιολουμ, σερ-
[magic signs] /ουα Μερκουσσαμ

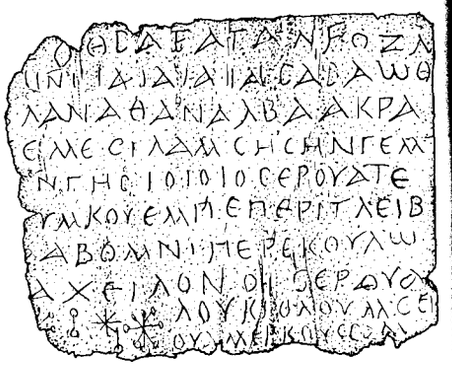


Fig. 9

[- - -].*OTH DAE AGAN FOZA*
[- - -]*UNI* ia ia iai Sabaoth
[Adonai A]blanathanalba Akra-
[maxamari] Semesilam Sesengem-
[barphara]nges io io io serva Te-
[rtull]um quem peperit Liv-
[ia mate]r ab omni periculo,
[serv]a Chilono, serva
[*magic signs*]/ Luciolum, ser-
[*magic signs*]/va Mercussam.

(Magic letters) *Ia Ia Iai Sabaôth [Adônai 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 ('Αδωναι 'Ιά); 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 ['Αδωναὶ]: Since 'Ιάω Σαβαὼθ 'Αδωναί 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 ['A]βλαναθαναλβα 'Ακρα[μαχαμαρι] Ṣεμεσιλαμ Σησηνγεμ/ [βαρφαρα]νγης: For a similar series (without Σεμεσιλαμ), 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 Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης.

5 ιο ιο ιο: The acclamation 'Ιώ 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 'Ιο (not 'Ιω), 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[ρτουλλ]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 *Te[lesphor]um*, *Te[rtentian]um*, or *Te[rtiol]um*).

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[ειια 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 κι[ν]δύνου; *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 [σερου]α Χειλονο (= *serva Chilona*): The *o* 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 — IV A.D.
Musée de Saint Germain-en-Laye — H. 3.8 cm.; W. 13.5 cm.
Inv. no. 46049 — 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 gauloise: textes-linguistique* (Paris, 1861), pp. 89-90; C. F. Lottner, "On the Gaulish Inscription of Poitiers, containing a Charm against the Demon Dontaurios. 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 gauloise," *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).

Various readings of the text have been published (as noted in the *app. crit.* in *CIL*), many of which have attempted to decipher the apparent Gallic in portions of the spell. Lottner 1861-1864: 310, for example, produced a fanciful reading which he translated, "A father thou shalt be, the art of the Druid has followed thee, whom Justina Sarra has born." Whatmough 1970: 397, who examined the piece back in 1929, writes: "The script is Latin cursive (fifth century), neatly engraved, legible enough except where the plate is broken ... the language is a mixture of Latin and Greek, with perhaps a word or two of Gaulish thrown in." A comparison of the photographs of R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri, in drei Bänden* (Stuttgart, 1972/1978/1981), Bd. II,1: no. 38 (Taf. XXI = *P. Cairo* 85644, 4th cent.); *Bd.* II,2: no. 53 (Taf. XXVI = *P. Ryl.* 472, ca. 300 A.D.); *Bd.* II/2, no. 38 (Pl. XVIII, *P. Vindob. L* 110 R, ca. 400 A.D.) suggests a somewhat earlier date. Furthermore, the script of the 4th-century A.D. Latin lead tablets in R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 6-10, nos. 1-5, (cf. p. 53) supports a similar date; cf. W. Sherwood Fox, *The John Hopkins Tabellae Defixionum* (Baltimore, 1912), Pl. VIII; similarly, Sir E. M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), p. 337. This accords better with the history of the city, which fell to the Visigoths about 418 A.D. (R. Thouvenout, art. "Limonum Pictonum," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* [Princeton, 1976], p. 517).

The *CIL* edition provides a good critical apparatus of previous readings, most of which have been largely rendered obsolete by Whatmough's edition; however, for the convenience of the readers, we provide both the earlier text of *CIL*, along with the new reading, which differs only slightly from that of Whatmough's (see Commentary below).

Text of *CIL*:

bis dontaurion analabis, bis dontarios.
ce analabis, bis dontaurios catalages;
vim s(erva) anima, vim s(erva) paterna; mosta
4 magi(c)or(um) s(erva), s(erva) e(t) tuta f(ac) Iustina, quem
peperit Sorra.

New Reading:

Bis gontaurion analabis bis gontaurio ṣu-
ce analabis bis gontaurios catalases
vim c anima<m> vim s paternam. asta
4 *Magiarsse*. tutate Iustina<m> quem
peperit Sarra.

4 quem: quam

(Twice). You should pick the centaury plant. (Twice). O juice of the centaury plant! You should pick the centaury plant. (Twice). You will lay hold of strength, life, paternal strength. Assist, O *Magiarssus*! Protect (*pl.*) Justina whom Sarra bore.

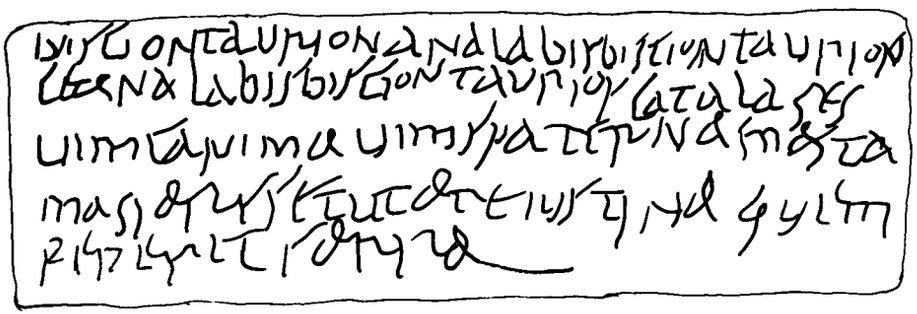


Fig. 10

1 bis gontaurion analabis bis gontaurio ṣu-: Whatmough: *gontariuṣ*: "Perhaps n instead of ṣu." *Analabis*: Read ἀναλάβῃς? (So Ricochon 1901:3, *et al.*, see below). *Gontaurio su/ce*: Ricochon (see below, Commentary on line 1f.). On the second *gontaurion* there seems to be an *n* written over *c* (note the *ce* and *gontaurios* of line 2).

D'Arbois de Jubainville first identified *gontaurion* as equivalent to Greek κενταύρειον, the "centaury" plant. Taking *analabis* as Greek ἀναλάβῃς, he translated, "twice you must take the centaury plant," understanding the first *bis* as instructions to write or say the formula a second time. Probably such an understanding of *bis* presupposes the use of a magic handbook. The scribe has probably misunderstood the instructions: instead of taking the centaury plant twice (or, e.g., taking two parts

of the root or leaves, as may have been required), he has copied the actual formula (twice and apparently even a third time, see below) — including, as well, the glossed word, *bis*:

bis gontaurion analabis
bis gontaurisuce analabis
bis gontaurion katalases

Other such repeated phrases also occur in *vim s ... vim s* (line 3). Except for the actual imperative in lines 4f., it seems that most of 1-3 represent instructions from a magical handbook describing in part the virtues of the centaury plant. The meaning of these lines is not always clear; hence the translation given above is offered with some hesitation and depends on the suggested interpretations given below.

More specifically, we are probably to imagine that a portion of this medicinally potent plant was to be taken, enclosed within the silver *lamella*, and worn around the neck for strength (*vis*) and protection (*tutare*). Instructions for such recipes are given, for example, in *PGM* IV.1815-1825:

> *εἰς δὲ πέταλον χρυσοῦν τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο γράφε· ' εἷς Θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ· ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα γένοιτο τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ ἐμοί, τῷ εἰδότι αὐτὸ καὶ περικειμένῳ, τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἄπτωτον ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλῶ. δὸς δέ μοι πάσης ψυχῆς ὑποταγήν, ἧς ἂν ἐπικαλέσωμαι.' καὶ δὸς τὸ πέταλον καταπεῖν πέρδικι καὶ σφάξον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνελόμενος φόρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐνθεὶς εἰς τὴν λεπίδα παιδέρωτα βοτάνην.*
>
> On a gold *lamella* write this 'sword': "One Thouriel Michael Gabriel Ouriel Misael Irrael Istrael. Let a good day come to pass for the name and for me who has learned it and carries it around. I summon the immortal and invincible strength of the god." And give the *lamella* to a partridge to swallow, and slaughter it. After taking out (the *lamella*), carry it around your neck, having wrapped inside it the plant 'Boy-love.'

A similar example of wearing a magic plant as an amulet is found, for example, in *PGM* IV.1081-85: *καὶ βαλὼν ἔσωθεν τοῦ ῥάκους αἴζωον βοτάνην, ἐλίξας δῆσον ζ λιναρίοις ἀνουβιακοῖς καὶ φόρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον, ἐὰν πράσσῃς*, "Throw inside of a strip of fabric an ever-living plant; roll it up and tie it with seven Anubian threads; wear it around your neck whenever you perform it" (sc. the magic rite).

gontaurion (=*κενταύριον*): The plant centaury (*centaurea salonitana*) — and varieties such as *κενταυρίς* (fever-wort, *Erythraea Centaurium*) — were valued among the ancients for their magico-medicinal properties. On the confusion between the two varieties: Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV,69. On the centaury plant, in general, see R. Strömberg, *Griechische Pflanzennamen* [Göteborg, 1940], p. 100).

An extant treatise by Pseudo-Galen, *De virtute centaureae* is mentioned by C. Singer, "The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission in Later Ages," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), pp. 1-52, p. 5, but I have not been able to confirm its existence. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV,66-67, gives us a particularly useful summary of our plant and its properties:

> *Centaurio curatus dicitur Chiron, cum Herculis excepti hospitio pertractanti arma sagitta excidisset ei in pedem, quare aliqui chironion vocant ... vis in vulneribus tanta est ut cohaerescere etiam carnes tradant, si coquantur simul. in usu radix, tantum duabus drachmis bibenda quibus dicetur. si febris sit, in aqua trita, ceteris in vino medetur. et ovium* [*obvium*, vulg.] *morbis decoctae sucus.*
>
> Centaury is said to have been the treatment given to Chiron when an arrow fell on his foot as he was handling the arms of Hercules, who was his guest; for which reason some call it chironion ... Its power to cure wounds is so strong that even pieces of meat, they say, coalesce if they are boiled with it. The part used is the root, the dose being for the patients for whom it will be prescribed two drachmae only. It should be pounded and taken in water if fever be present; those without fever should take it pounded but in wine. The juice of the decoction cures also the diseases of sheep [or: 'The juice of the decoction is a prevention of disease']" (trans. W. H. S. Jones, LCL, 1956, p. 185).

This text, coincidentally, provides a description that parallels several of the components and presuppositions of our phylactery's text. In addition to mentioning general healing properties of the centaury plant, Pliny tells us that the active ingredient to be used is the root, and of that a measure of *two* drachmae only. The mention of a weight of two drachmae may have something to do with the *bis* of our text. If it is a fragment of the ritual instructions, then *bis gontaurio analabis* could refer to taking a proper amount (i.e. "two drachmae") of the plant, presumably the root.

Furthermore, Pliny highlights the "power" or "strength" (*vis*) of the plant. A form of the same noun (*vim*) occurs in the incantation of line 3

(below). Thirdly, depending on the textual reading noted above, the juice (*sucus*) of the plant prevents disease — the ostensible, though, unspecified, purpose of our amulet (cf. *tutate Iustina(m)*, line 4). Depending on the reading, it seems that the plant's juice is referred to at line 1/2.

analabis: The word, as noted above, is probably a form of the Greek verb ἀναλάμβανω (i.e., ἀναλάβῃς). In the ritual formularies of the papyri, we usual encounter the simple aorist participle λαβών, though a good parallel for the compound form occurs in *PGM* II.55-57: ... ἔλαιον καλὸν καθαρὸν ῥαφάνινον ἐπίχεε παιδὶ ἀφθόρῳ γυμναζομένῳ καὶ ἀναλαβὼν σκεύαζε λύχνον ἀμίλτωτον. "... pour oil of radishes [over an uncorrupted boy who has been tested], and having gathered it up again, prepare a lamp not painted red" (tr. J. Dillon in Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 14, following Preisendanz's interpretation). Here, it would seem, that the special radish-oil is "taken up" (off the lad) and used in the lamp.

Elsewhere in *PGM*, however, the compound form ἀναλαμβάνω seems to mean more specifically "to mix ingredients" (of making medical ingredients, so *LSJ* def. I,9); cf. *PGM* IV.1316: οἴνῳ λευκῷ μενδησίῳ καὶ μέλιτι ἀναλάμβανε; IV.1836: ἰσχάδα λιπαρὰν μίξας ἀναλάμβανε οἴνῳ εὐώδει πάντα ἴσα; IV.2681: κόψας ὁμοῦ πάντα ἀναλάμβανε οἴνῳ Μενδησίῳ καὶ μέλιτι; IV.2690: ἀνάλαβε ὄξει. This use of ἀναλαμβάνω of ingredients is, in the papyri, restricted to the great Paris magical formulary. Elsewhere, e.g., in *PGM* IV.2250 the compound verb is used of raised, sword-clenching fists (πρὶν τοὺς ξιφήρεις ἀναλάβῃς σου κονδύλους), and in *PGM* XVIIa.4, of assuming divine authority (ἀνάλαβε σεαυτοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν).

The use of ἀναλάβῃς on our tablet does not closely match that of the magical papyri, though "mixing" two *parts* of the juice of the centaury plant remains a possibility; cf., e.g., Thessalus of Tralles, *de Virtutibus herbarum* I,4 (5) (ed. Friedrich), [F], p. 104,13: τῷ χυλῷ ἀναλάμβανε (and often). But a probable Greek prototype, β΄ κενταύρειον ἀναλάβῃς, probably had in mind the actual *picking* of the plant. *PGM* IV.286-295 preserves a good parallel recipe for such a plant-picking ritual: Βοτανήαρσις· χρῶ πρὸ ἡλίου. λόγος λεγόμενος· ' αἴρω σε, ᾗ τις βοτάνη, χειρὶ πενταδακτύλῳ, ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα, καὶ φέρω παρ' ἐμαυτόν, ἵνα

μοι ἐνεργήσῃς εἰς τήν τινα χρείαν,' κτλ. "Plant-picking. Do before sunrise. Formula spoken: 'I lift you, O (certain) plant, with my five fingers — I, so-and-so, and I carry you with me that you might work for my benefit in the (certain) matter,'" etc. Here the verbs used for the actual picking and taking are αἴρω and φέρω; nevertheless, the fact that we find a special formula for picking herbs is particularly insightful for the interpretation of our tablet.

PGM IV.2967-3006 gives an even more elaborate example of such a 'βοτανήαρσις,' one which provides closer parallels to our apparent verb of plant-picking. The relevant portion of the spell reads: Παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀεὶ βοτάναι λαμβάνονται οὕτως· ὁ ῥιζοτόμος καθαίρει πρότερον τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, πρότερον νίτρῳ περιρ(ρ)άνας καὶ τὴν βοτάνην θυμιάσας ῥητίνῃ ἐκ πίτυος, εἰς γ΄ περιενέγκας τὸν τόπον, εἶτα κῦφι θυμιάσας καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος σπονδὴν χεάμενος μετ' εὐχῶν ἀναστᾷ τὸ φυτὸν, "Among the Egyptians plants are obtained in the following way. The root-cutter first purifies his own body. First he lustrates the plant with natron and makes an offering with resin from a pine, carrying it around the place thrice. Then making an offering of *kyphi* and a libation of milk with prayers, he picks the plant ...". A rather long hymn of praise to the plant then follows — attesting to the sacredness and solemnity that attended such rites — with the expressed aim of granting health and power to the officiant and his clientele (most plants were picked for their healing properties).

The long hymn addressed to the Pantokrator god — given as an epilogue in the prooemium to the *liber alter* of Thessalus' *de Virtutibus herbarum* (ed. Friedrich, p. 196) — possibly provides the closest parallel to plant-picking with the noun-equivalent to our ἀναλαμβάνω: ... καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀναλήψει τῆς παρούσης βοτάνης τῆς δεῖνα (8f.). The practitioner is to supply the particular name of the plant to be used as he utters the hymn for healing the sick (Τὴν αὐτὴν λέγε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ νοσήματος χρείας, 17f.).

Texts such as these follow in a long tradition. Theophrastus preserves in his *Historia Plantarum* not only general advice on cutting plants in general — advice gleaned, like the text of *PGM* IV.2967-3006, from the οἱ φαρμακοπῶλαι καὶ οἱ ῥιζοτόμοι (*Hist. Plant.* IX, 8.5) — he

tells specifically how to gather the centaury: one should watch out for the hawk called τριόρχης, which may attack the herbalist; *triorchis*, incidentally, is simply a *Beiname* for the κενταυρίς plant (*Hist. Plant.* IX, 8.6; also, Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV, 69). This passage and many others are further discussed in John Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots," in Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 129-174, esp. p. 150, and pp. 143f. (on plant-picking, in general); cf. J. Stannard, "Medicinal Plants and Folk Remedies in Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*," *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences* 4 (1982), pp. 3-23 (cited in Scarborough, p. 170, note 127, but not available to me); see further, in general, J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbals and Herbal Remedies," *Journal of the History of Biology* 11 (1978), pp. 353-385; A. Delatte, *Herbarius* (Paris, 1936); F. Pfister, art. "Pflanzenglaube," *RE* XIX/2 (1938), cols. 1446-1456. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXV. 68 also describes the specific picking of the centaury plant (the variety called λεπτός): *ipsa herba autumno legitur, sucus e fronde. quidam caules concisos madefaciunt diebus XVIII atque ita exprimunt*, "The plant is gathered in autumn, and the juice is extracted from the leaves. Some cut up and soak the stems, extracting the juice at the end of eighteen days" (trans. W. H. S. Jones, LCL, 1956, p. 187).

1-2 gontaurio ṣu/ce: Several editions read *gontaurion* at the end. The last letter or two of line 1 is either a correction or a slip of the stylus. We interpret these lines as *gontaurio su/ce*, "O juice of centaury," with *gontaurio* taken as a genitive and *su/ce* the vocative, in a sort of divine invocation (as in *PGM* IV.289, cited above, where the plant is addressed and adjured as if a supernatural being; see, further, *PGM* IV.2967-3006, below). The reading of the vocative *suce* is attractive for the fact that the *sucus* of the centaury plant is highlighted in the passages from Pliny, cited above. An early 1st cent. A.D. papyrus with medical recipes, *P. Oxy.* VIII.1088,59f. also recommends for liver-complaints a potion containing centaury juice: πότημα πρὸς ἡ̣π̣[α]τικ[ο]ύς (48) ... κενταυρεί[ου] χυλῶι ἀναπλάσας. D'Arbois de Jubainville (and others) took the *ce* at the beginning of line 2 for Greek κέ (= καί, "and").

2 catalases: read catala<p>ses: (or catalages ? Whatmough, *et al*). The disputed letter seems closer to a *s* than to a *g*, of which there are two putative forms on the tablet. Read καταλλάγης? (so Ricochon). It would seem more in keeping with the occurrence of *analabis* (= ἀναλάβῃς), to propose that *catala<p>ses* = καταλήψης, / -λάψης (2nd sing. future of καταλαμβάνω, "lay hold of, seize"; less likely would be *catalabes* = καταλάβῃς). The subsequent accusative nouns (*vim*, etc.), would then fit in as direct objects: "You will lay hold of strength," etc. — a promise extolling the plant's virtues.

3 vim c anima vim s paternam asta: vim canima vim spa terna masta (Ricochon). It is difficult to read any sense into these lines, even though we find seemingly recognizable Latin words: *vis, anima, paterna*. The letters *c* and *s* after each *vim* are, however, confusing and difficult to account for. If καταλήψης were the original and intended verb in line 2, then a meaningful string of accusative nouns can be seen to immediately follow: *vim, anima<m>, vim paternam*, "strength, life, paternal strength" — the centaury plant is a vivifying plant endowed with life-giving properties. It is the plant's own *vis* and *anima* that contain the mystical properties required for healing and strength; cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *vis*, 20(d): "of a living tree or plant; *ibid*, s.v. *anima*, 5: "the vital principal in plants." Applying principles of 'like-to-like,' the spell is evoking the plant's 'strength' and 'vital principle' to grant the same to the bearer. The references to *vis* here also recall Pliny's own description of the power (*vis*) of the centaury plant, cited above on line 1. The Egyptian plant-picking ritual of *PGM* IV.2967-3006 gives an especially detailed description of such powers of plants and how they can be obtained by the practitioner. The ἐπίκλησις (2977-3001) addressed to the plant assigns to it every conceivable life-invigorating power, including naming it the "soul of Osiris' daimon," the "spirit of Ammon," and the "seed of Pan." The long aretalogy to the plant's divine δυνάμεις concludes with the prayer, δὸς ἡμῖν δύναμιν ὡς ὁ Ἄρης καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ — "give us power as Ares and Athena!" The "power" is for the health of the practitioner (ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ ἐμαυτοῦ, 2997) and his general good luck (λαμβάνω σε σὺν Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ καὶ Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι, 2999-3000).

3-4 asta magiarsse (madarsse: Whatmough; mastarsse, madarsse or magiarsse: Ricochon). Read *magi(a) ars*? (so Pictet; d'Arbois de Jubainville). Is *Magiarsse* rather a vocative of some magical deity *Magiarssus*,

the addressee of a putative vocative *asta*? (*asta, Magiarsse*! "Assist, O Magiarssus!"

4-5 tutate Iustina quem peperit Sarra (tuta te: Ricochon). For *Iustina quem*, read *Iustina<m> quam*: "Protect (*pl.*) Justina whom Sarra bore." The plural refers to the addressed centaury and the magic name, *Magiarsse*. On the general formula, cf. **7**, 6 (and Commentary): *serva Te[rtullum] quem peperit Leib[ia mate]r*. The name Sarra may be Germanic, if it is the feminine counterpart to Sarus; see M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 198 (5th cent. A.D.).

9 A Magic Square of Vowels

Fig. 11

Vars, near ICULISMA (Angoulême), France — Roman Period
Present loc. unknown — 3.5 cm. x 3.5 cm. (?)
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Janus Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani . . .* (Heidelberg, n.d [1603]), p. xxi; Johannis Kirchmann, *De funeribus Romanorum libri quatuor cum appendice* (Lubecae, 1625) III, §24, pp. 504f.; U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia critica* (Mannheim, 1829), II/iii, §254, p. 303; F. Lenormant, "Note sur un amulette chrétien conservé au Cabinet des Médailles," in: Charles Cahier & Arthur Martin, edd. *Mélanges d'Archéologie d'histoire et de littérature*, III (Paris, 1853), pp. 150f., p. 152 (note also, "Corrections et Additions," *idem*, IV, p. 292); M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), p. 135f., Nr. 7 (for ref., cf. **4**); H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* I/2 (1907), p. 1794.

In January of 1541 at Vars, a community situated about eight miles north of Angoulême, diggers discovered an ancient stone sepulchre containing a coffin covered with a lid of tortoise-shell (Gruterus [1603]: xxi; Kirchmann 1625: 504f.). Inside, the excavators found a lead and stone coffin along with scattered pyxides-lids. The lead coffin itself had been sealed shut by four iron bindings. The coffin contained remains of a human body, still covered with a gossamer-like skin which, after exposure to the light and air, immediately evaporated, leaving only the bones. Resting upon the chest of the skeletal remains lay a rolled-up *lamella* of pure gold. A small bronze coin was also found hanging from the skeleton. The coin provides us with little help in dating, as the earlier reports simply describe it in contemporary nomenclature (Kirchmann 1625: 504 "*semiducatum Gallicum*;" Gruterus [1603]: xxi "*semiducatum nostrum*").

As inconsequential as the text itself may seem, this record of the first excavation of a magic *lamella* in post-classical times is noteworthy in that it describes the tablet's discovery at a gravesite preserving an ancient sepulcher of some importance. Although Kopp gives a somewhat 'schematized' facsimile of the piece, the amulet was never photographed and is apparently long lost.

1 α ε η ι ο υ ω
ε η ι ο υ ω α
η ι ο υ ω α ε
4 ι ο υ ω α ε η
ο υ ω α ε η ι
υ ω α ε η ι ο
ω α ε η ι ο υ

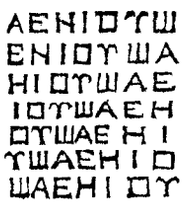


Fig. 11

The text of this gold *lamella* is made up wholly of a magic square of the seven Greek vowels, written in an equal number of lines, with each initial vowel of each line removed and placed at the end. The result is that, whether read vertically or horizontally, every line contains all seven vowels. But the permutation of vowels can also be interpreted as an arrangement in two 'winged-formations' — one with a series of diminishing vowels, the other increasing:

αεηιου ω
εηιου ω α
ηιου ω αε
ιου ω αηε
ου ω αεηι
υ ω αεηιο
ω αεηιου

A related arrangement of the seven vowels occurs, for example, in *PGM* I.11-20: *'α εε ηηη ιιιι οοοοο υυυυυυ ωωωω[ωωω.' γράφε δὲ ποι]ήσας δύο κλίματα·*

α	ωωωω[ωωω]
εε	υυυ[υυυ]
ηηη	οοο[οο]
ιιιι	ιιι [ι]
οοοοο	ηη[η]
υυυυυυ	εε
ωωωωωωω	α

Another configuration, similar to the first example given above, also occurs among initiation instructions requiring the use of gold and silver *lamellae*. *PGM* XIII. 888-913 — the so-called 'Eighth Book of Moses'— describes *lamellae* with vowels to be intoned, written and licked off:

> *τελεῖται ἡλίοις τῆς ιγ΄ αὕτη ἡ τελετὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ πετάλου ἐκλειχομένου τε καὶ ἐπιλεγομένου (vowels). εἶτα τελειότερον (vowels). ἐν τελετῇ ταῦτα ἐξάκις λέγεται σὺν τοῖς πᾶσι. γράφεται δὲ ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ πετάλῳ πρὸς τὸ ἐκλε<ῖ>ξαι τὰ ζ΄, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀργυρῷ τὰ ζ΄ πρὸς τὸ φυλακτήριον (vowels and magic names). τὰ ἑξῆς πτερυγώματα. ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ πετάλου ἐπίγραφε τοῦτο· 'αω ευηοι', ἀργυροῦ· 'ιοηυεωα'.*
>
> αεηιουω
> εηιουωα
> ηιουωαε
> ιουωαηε
> ουωαεηι
> υωαεηιο
> ωαεηιου, *κτλ.* (*PGM* XIII. 888-913)

> *This initiation is performed to the suns of the thirteenth day of the month, when the gold lamella is licked off and one says over it:* (vowels). *Then more completely* (vowels). *In [the] initiation these things are said six times with all [the rest?], and the seven vowels are written on the gold lamella to be licked off, and on the silver lamella the seven vowels for the phylactery* (vowels and names). *The following series of vowels [are written as] 'wings;' and on the gold lamella write this: AÔEYÊOI; on the silver: IOÊEYEÔA, ...* (diagram), etc.

Nothing in the text describes the exact rôle these magic *lamellae* play; however, previous instructions tell how to intone the seven-vowels (called *ὁ ἑπταγράμματος* in *PGM* XIII.775), and throughout the spell's invocations and rituals these seven planetary vowels are readily made use of. See, on the whole document Morton Smith, "The Eighth Book of Moses and How it Grew (PLeid. J 395)," in *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples, 1984), pp. 683-693, further, R. Merkelbach & M. Totti, *Abrasax I* (Cologne, 1990), pp. 190-194; cf. **4** (top row); *PGM* XLII; XLIV; LXII.76-106; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 3,7-13; no 7,1-7; pp. 4-6 (on 'wing-formations' in general).

10 *Semeseilam*

Fig. 12

AUGUSTORITUM LEMOVICUM (Limoges), France — I/II A.D.
La Vedrenne. Neddé — H. 3.0 cm.; W. 10.3 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Adrien Blanchet, "Séance de la Section d'Archéologie, 8 Mai 1951," *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, années 1951-1952* (1954), pp. 67-68 (Pl. 4); R. Joffroy, "Une tombe gallo-romaine à incinération renfermant des tablettes en or qui portent des inscriptions énigmatiques," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1983, pp. 694-697 (fig. 2), with M. Lejeune, "Pour un fichier des EBNI (*écritures bizarres non identifiées*)," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1983, pp. 697-701; D. R. Jordan, "The Inscribed Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985), p. 165, note 20; p. 166, note 31.

The gold tablet was discovered in a sepulcher in 1941 or 1943 by Franck Delage at La Vedrenne, near Plénartige (canton d'Etymoutiers, Haute-Vienne). Photographs of the piece came to M. Blanchet, who published it with only a facsimile, but provided little additional information. Then in 1983 it was re-published by Joffroy independently (again with only a facsimile), but including a valuable archaeological report: the *lamella* was found by a farmer in a cremation burial consisting of a large cubical block of stone, measuring 0,80 m. on a side. The slab had been hollowed-out and contained inside a large (H. 30.0 cm.), bluish-green glass cinerary urn (Joffroy 1983: 695, fig. 1) datable to the end of the first century A. D. The sepulchral slab was surmounted by another pyramidal stone block. Inside the glass urn thoroughly carbonized vestiges of the skeleton of a young person were found, and among the ashes and bones the following three tiny gold objects were discovered: 1) a small gold cabochon concave at the bottom and perhaps originally used to contain an amulet (weight: 0,86g); 2) a simple, rolled-up cylinder of gold-foil (approx. 2.0 cm. long), evidently used as a capsule but too oxydized to be unrolled (weight: 3,2 g); and 3) another gold capsule, like the preceding, but containing a retrievable gold *lamella*.

Jordan 1985:166, n. 31 provides an additional bit of information about the date of the find: from private correspondence with Gladys D. Weinberg, he learns that the shape of the glass jar is comparable to one published in K. Goethert-Polaschek, *Katalog der römischen Gläser in Trier* (*Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 9*; Mainz, 1977), p. 243, no. 1446, in which a coin of Domitian (reigned 81-96 A. D.) was found.

1 (Magic signs)
2 (magic signs)
3 (magic signs) Σεμεσελαμ

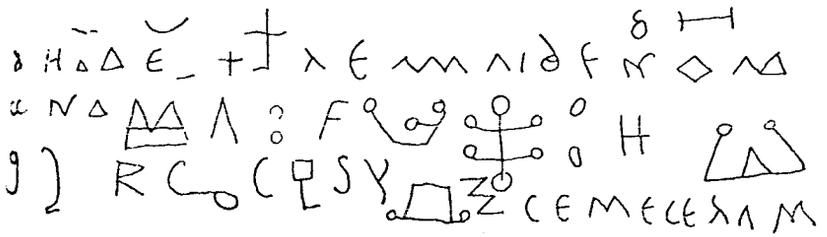


Fig. 12

1-2 *Magic signs*: In the first line, and beginning of the second, there appear several letters-forms among the combinations of more complex *charaktêres*. None of these seems particularly noteworthy. For the 'ringlet'-type that appear in the middle of the line, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I, II*, nos. 19, 20, 21, 32, 96; and esp. no. 97, 1 (magic sign #5); see also **2**, 19.

3 Σεμεσελαμ: Usually Σεμεσειλαμ (cf. **4**,4; etc.). Here we find a relatively early occurrence of this divine name, usually explained as שמש עולם, *šmš ʿwlm*, "eternal sun," though G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (2nd ed. New York, 1965), p. 134, insists rather on שְׁמִי שָׁלֵם, *šēmî šəlam*, "My name is Peace" ('Peace' representing a Name of God). Σεμεσειλαμ may also be שמש אל(י)ם, *šemeš 'ălêm* (*'ălam*), "The Sun-god is strong."

11 Two Amulets Against Hailstorm

Plate III

Text A

near AVENNIO (Avignon), France — II A.D.
Bouchet (Drôme)
Musée Calvet, Avignon — H. 8.0 cm.; W. 13.4 cm.
Inv. E.66 — Bronze *lamella*

Text B

Mondragon (prov. Vaucluse), France — II A.D.
Present loc. unknown — H. 5.0 cm.; W. 6.4 cm.
Former Collection Rousset (Uzès) — Bronze *lamella*

Lit. CIG XIV, 2481; W. Fröhner, *Kritische Analekten* (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'Academie 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	**Text B**
	⊗ Θωσουδερκυω ⊗	. . . . .
	αλωη vac. νουμιξων	. . . . .
	θει vac. ἀπόστρεψον ἐκ	. . . . .
4	τούτου τοῦ χωρίου	. . . . .
	πᾶσαν χάλαζαν καὶ	. . . . .
	πᾶσαν νιφάδα{ν} κ-	[καὶ πᾶ]σαν ṗ[ιφάδα]
	αὶ ὅσα βλάπτει χώρα<ν>·	[καὶ ὅσα β]λάπτει χώρα<ν>·
8	κελεύει θεὸς Ὠαμου-	[κελεύει] θεὸς Ὠαμου-
	θα, καὶ σὺ συνέργει, Ἀβ-	[θα, καὶ σ]ὺ συνέργει
	ρασάξ vac. Ἰαη vac. Ἰάω	[Ἀβρασ]ἀξ Ἰαη Ἰάω
		[... Ἰ]ούλιος Περοιν-
		[vac.]ḳος.

Thôsouderkyô 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! *Iaê Iaô*. (Julius Pervincus).

1-2 *Θωσουδερκυω* 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, ἀλωή: "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 δερκυω may, it seems, be a corruption for δ' ἐρκείῳ (or δ' ἔρκεϊ), viz. δ' ἐρκείω ἀλωῇ, "in your (σου) enclosed vineyard." For the similar combining of ἕρκος and ἀλωή in a hexametric verse, cf. Moschus, IV.100

(*Megara*): καρτερὸν οἰνοφόροιο πονεύμενος ἕρκος ἀλωῆς. Oppian, *Halieutica* IV.600 similarly describes how farmers plant stakes for the "enclosure of a vineyard" (περίδρομον ἕρκος 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" (... νέμοντα παρὲξ ἕρκος 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 / οὔτ' ἄρα ἕρκεα 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	ΟΥΤ' ...ΕΡΚΕΑ ...	ΑΛΩΑΩΝ ΕΡΙΘΗΛ	ΕΩΝ
Tablet:	ΘΩΣ	ΟΥΔ' ΕΡΚΥΩ	ΑΛΩΗ Ν	ΟΥΛΛΙΞΩΝ

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 N 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 τοῦδ[ε] χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννωμένω[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 **χαλάζης** (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 χάλαζαν, 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: Κύριε Σαβαώθ, ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ **[κ]όπον** τῆς κεφαλ[ῆς]; 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 ὃ(υ) ἔτεκεν Νόννα.

5 χάλαζαν: An angel of hail is named Pharmachael in A. Delatte, ***Anecdota Atheniensia*** I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 112, 21: τὸν ἄγγελον **τῆς** βροντῆς καὶ χαλάζης, Φαρμαχαήλ; see, further, the commentary on **51,** with reference to the Gospel of Bartholomew, IV.45 (ed. Bonwetsch): **ὁ** ἄγγελος τῆς χαλάζης λέγεται Μερμεώθ, κτλ.; R. Reitzenstein, ***Poimandres*** (Leipzig, 1904), p. 297: Σαμουὴλ ἐπὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ χαλάζης (*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[λαζαν **Μιχα**]λαζόκου; cf. the inscription from Sidi Kaddou (Appendix, below), **p.** 111, lines 4-7: ἀποστρέψατε ... καρπῶν χάλαζαν, 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 χάλαζάν γε ἤδη θυσίαις εἶδον καὶ ἐπωιδαῖς ἀνθρώπους ἀποτρέποντας.*

P. Hamblenne, "Un rite chrétien dans les 'Géoponiques'?," *L'Antiqué 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.) *ἀναστάσῃς 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 Fourna 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 inplicanda 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*}: *νιφαλαν* 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, Ôamouoa, commands (it)" (some previous editions falsely read *κελευε*). The expression "*NN* (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: *Ἀρτημισίη κελεύει*; of the practitioner, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl Mag. I*, no. 49, 57: *κελεύω ϙ*[*ε, κτλ.*].

8-9 *ωαμου θα*: The name may also be *Ὡαμουοα*, 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 (*αμουνηι*; 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: תָּא, *ṯâ'* ("Come!") — an imperative most commonly known from its occurrence in the early Christian acclamation *μαράνα θά*, מָרָנָא תָא, *māranā' ṯā'*, "(*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 φθενγόμενοι, κτλ.*; further, *PGM* XII.95: *ἐλθὲ καὶ παράστα εἰς* [*τ*]*ήνδε τὴν χρείαν καὶ συνέργησον*; and elsewhere in *PGM* XIII.103; 659f.; LVII.31.

10 *Ἀβρασάξ, Ἰάη 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 Περοίνκος: 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 Σεμεσειλαμ στεναχτ[α],
λορσαχθη κοριαυχη Ἀδωναῖε, κύρ[ιοι]
θεοί, κωλύσατε, ἀποστρέψατε ἀπὸ τοῦ[δε]
χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γεννωμένω[ν]
-ἐν ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαιῶσιν, σπορητοῖς τόπ[οις]-
καρπῶν χάλαζαν, ἐρυσείβην, ὀργὴ[ν]
τυφώνων ἀνέμων, κακοποιῶν
ἀκρίδων ἐσμόν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν λ[υ]-
μαιωτικῶν τῶνδε ἅψηται τοῦ-
δε τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ [κ]α[ρ]-
πῶν πάντων· ἀσινεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺ[ς] καὶ ἀ-
φθόρους πάντοτε συντηρήσατε,
ἕως ἂν οἵδε λίθοι γεγραμ-
μένοι τοῖς ἱροῖς ὑμῶν ὀνόμα-
σιν ὑπὸ γῆ πέριξ κείμενοι
ὦσιν.

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

(Magic signs) *Oreobazagra Oreob[azagra] Abrasax Machar Semeseilam Stenachta Lorsachthê 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.

12 Magic Names (Fragment)

Figs. 13 & 14

CASTRA REGINA (Regensburg), Germany — III A.D.
Museum der Stadt Regensburg — H. 4.45 cm.; W. 2.3 cm.
Inv. Nr. Sttz. 1513 — Gold *lamella*
H. 3.35; W. 2.1 cm.
Silver *lamella*

Lit. Ad. Bauer, "Amulet aus Regensburg," *Archäologische-Epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich* 1 (1877), pp. 68-70; F. Janner, *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Regensburg* I (Regensburg, 1883), p.18f.; A. Ebner, "Die Ältesten Denkmale des Christenthums in Regensburg," *Römische Quartalschrift* 6 (1892), pp. 162-165 (Taf. 10); M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), pp. 126f.; p. 135, Nr. 5; pp. 131f.; H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* I/2 (1907), p. 1837f.; J. Oehler, "Epigraphische Beiträge," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 53 (1909), p. 449, no. 214; G. Steinmetz, *Führer durch die Sammlungen des historischen Vereins im Oberpfälzischen Kreismuseum zu St. Ulrich in Regensburg* 60 (1931), p. 63, Nr. 39a; J.-P.Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* I (Roma, 1936), p. 485, no. 673; Fr. Wagner, "Das Ende der römischen Herrschaft in Rätien," *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 18/19 (1951/1952), p.44; *Katalog zur Ausstellung Bayerische Frömmigkeit* (München, 14. Juni-30. September 1960), p. 126, Nr. 29; *Koptische Kunst. Christentum am Nil. 3. Mai bis 15. August 1963 in Villa Hügel-Essen* (Essen-Bredeney, 1963), pp. 367f., Kat. Nr. 431 (gold), Kat. Nr. 432 (silver); Kat. Nr. 433 (capsule); G. Grimm, *Die Zeugnisse ägyptischer Religion...* (Leiden, 1969), p. 44f.; p. 216, Nr. 131 (Abb. 37, Taf. 73,1); G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 281; M. J. Vermaseren, in J. Hinnells, ed. *Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1971), p. 447, n. 8.

Excavations of the so-called *Urnenfeld* at Regensburg in 1869 yielded the following finds: beneath a 1½ foot high heap a 9-foot thick stratum containing cremation-urns, lamps, coins of Antoninus Pius, Macrinus, Alexander Severus, and bronze and iron fragments (Bauer 1877: 68f.). Somewhat beneath this cultural stratum (following a layer of empty soil), diggers found remains of a female skeleton, wearing bronze bracelets and glass pearls about the neck. On the skeleton's chest, in the original position worn, lay a cylindrical capsule of silver (L. 2.5 cm.; 0.8 cm. diam.; Bauer 1877: 69; Ebner 1892: 162). The capsule had two silver eyelets for suspension, one of which broke off (cf. Grimm 1969: 216, Abb. 37). Rolled up inside this tubular case was a copper, a silver, and a

gold *lamella*. The copper piece (Inv. Nr. Sttz. 1513) proved too oxidized to be extracted and read. Unfortunately, much of the texts of the other two tablets was lost when a digger carelessly flattened out their surfaces with a hard instrument; hence, the silver piece (Inv. Nr. Sttz. 1513 H. 3.35; W. 2.1 cm.) yields only a few stray letters (*Fig. 14b*), and the gold, little more.

Only the text of the gold piece, fragmentary as it is, contains any readable Greek text. From the coin-finds and implements of the strata that lay above the grave, one can tentatively propose a 3rd-century A.D. date for the *lamella*.

1 Magic signs

. . . . . .
. . α . . . . υσαι
4 . . . θ ν . ομ. . . .
. . . . . .ιιν .
. . ν ν . . . . . .

. ι ρ . . . . . .- θα
8 . ι θ . . . . . λλο

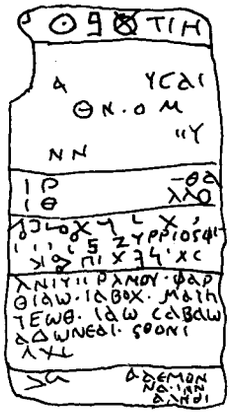
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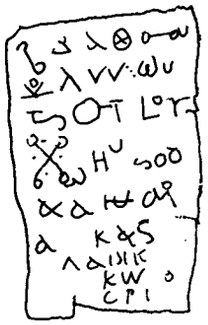
magic signs
magic signs ζυρριος φγ
magic signs

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12 λνινιιρ· χμου· φαρ-
θιαω· Ιαβοχ· Μαρμ[α]-
ρεωθ· Ἰάω Σαβαω
Ἀδωνεαί· ṣθονι
16 λ . .

Δ ~ . . . . . α δέμονα
. . . . . να· ινν
. . . . . αληθια.





Figs. 13 & 14 (From Ebner)

The text of the gold *lamella* had been ruled with divider-lines between lines 1 and 2; 6 and 7; 11 and 12; it contains some legible text. The silver *lamella*, though intact, seems to contain only magic signs and a handful of letters, possibly *oo* | *αα ...* | *α . . κα.* | *λαι.κ* | *κω ... ο.* The commentary on what can be read of the gold *lamella* is given below, with only a few tentative suggestions given.

1 *Magic signs*: This first 'register' is made up of six or seven *χαρακτῆρες* of a simple sort, ending in T I H. The first sign resembles an upside-down and backwards 'F'; the second is a dotted circle; the third looks like a squarish '9'; the fourth, a box shape. The fifth is the common 'archaic-*theta*' shape (see **3**,1).

2-6 Nearly all of this section was effaced when a worker flattened out the *lamella*'s surface with his pocket-knife. What the text original said can only be surmised: For the letters --- *νσαι* (line 3), for example, one is tempted to restore [--- *ἀπο*]*λῦσαι*, [---*δια*]*λῦσαι*, or the like.

7-8 These lines contain another, short line-ruled section. At the end of line 7, one can read *θα*; cf. *θα*, 'Come!' (Commentary, above, on **11**,8f.). For ... *λλο*, read [*ἄ*]*λλο*?

9-11 This fourth line-ruled section contains mostly magic signs, some shaped like letters, some of the 'eye-glass' type (magic 'alphabets' with tiny ringlets). In line 10, a magic name *Ζυρριος* is possibly legible.

12-16 A fifth line-ruled section. These lines contain considerably more readable text, a series of magic names only. Each of the *voces magicae* is separated by *punctus*.

12 The first part of the line suggests something like *λνιυιιρ χμου*/*λμου*/*αμου*. For *αμου*, 'come!,' cf. Commentary above on 8f.

Φαρθιαω: A magic name *φαρθ* + *ιαω* is not readily attested; cf. A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964) no. 212: *φαρωβωχ*.

13 *ιαβοχ* (*ιαβωχ*), in itself, is more common; cf. *PGM* XII. 263: *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε κατὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίους· ' Φνω εαι Ιαβωκ'*; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl Mag. II*, no. 87,11 (Ιαβωκ, for Ιακωβ ?).

13-14 *Μαρμαρεώθ*: So Frey (Bauer: MAM .. ΤΕΩΘ). *Μαρμαρεώθ* is not discernible on Ebner's drawing but represents the likeliest reading; cf. *PGM* IV. 365-367: *Μαρμα<ρ>εωθ Μαρμαραωθ μαρεχθανα αμαρχα μαριβεωθ*; *PGM* I. 260: *Μαρμαριαωθ*; *PGM* VII. 608: *Μαρμορουθ*; 'Index V,' svv. *Μαρεώθ*, *Μαρημαραώθ*, *Μαρμαραιω*, *Μαρμαριρώθ*.

14-15 *Ἰάω Σαβαω(θ) Ἀδωναι*: A common magic triad (see, e.g., *PGM* IV. 1535-1539; 1621; 3053; VIII. 60; XXXVI. 349f.). An inscription on a jasper, R. Kotansky, "Kronos and a New Magical Inscription Formula on a Gem in the J. P. Getty Museum," *The Ancient World* 3 (1980), pp. 29-32 gives the following: *Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναί, οἱ τρεῖς οἱ μεγάλοι*; note also **29**,1; **32**,14,19; **38**,1; **48**,1.

17-19 Sixth section. At the beginning two symbols or characters are read, a *delta* and a prostrate 'S.'

17 *α δεμονᾳ* (edd.: *δαεμονα*): Probably read *δαίμονα*, hence possibly [*πάντ*]*α δέμονα*.

19 *αληθι*: Perhaps *αληθια*, for *ἀλήθεια* (so prev. edd.); however, maybe the word is only a magic name, e.g., [*Νεβουτοσου*]*αληθ* *Ἰ*[*άω*].

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, "AYPA," *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, "Ἀντάρα," *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 *êta* 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
θαλάσσης, ἀνε-
βόησεν ὡς
ἔλαφος, ἀνέ-
κραξεν ὡς βοῦς·
ὑπαντᾷ αὐτῇ
Ἄρτεμις Ἐφεσ[ία]·
Ἀνταύρα, πο[ῦ]
ὑπάγις; — ἰς τὸ ἡ-
μίκρ[ανον] —
[μ]ὴ οὐ[κ] ἰς τὰ ν[...]

12 ὑπάγις: ὑπάγεις 11,13 ἰς: εἰς

Left edge: ... θη ἀπαλλαγῶν

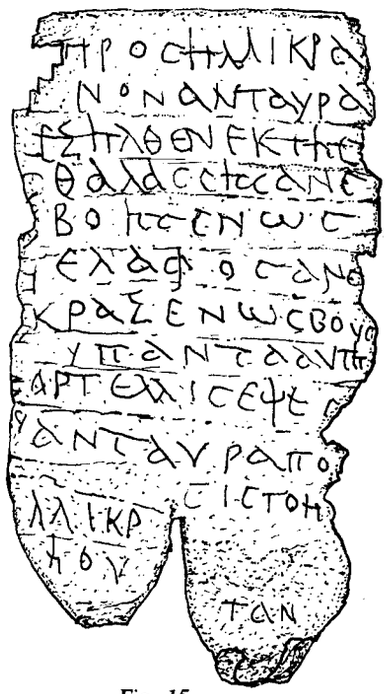


Fig. 15

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

Εὐχὴ ἡμικράνῃ εἰς πονοκεφάλι·
Ἡμίκρανον ἐξήρχετο ἀπὸ θάλασσαν κρουόμενον καὶ βρυχούμενον
καὶ ὑπήντησε αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ·
ποῦ ὑπάγεις, κράνιον καὶ ἡμικρὰν 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 ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν δοῦλόν μου, ἀλλὰ φεύγετε καὶ ὑπάγετε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη καὶ ἀνέβητε εἰς ταύρου κεφαλήν, 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 πήξας ὅριον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, στῆσον τὸ κράνιον καὶ ἡμίκρανον 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.319*b*], 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 ἡμίκρανον.
Εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοδυνάμου. ὡς ἐξήρχετο τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου, τὸ συνεργὸν τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπὸ τὰ βάθη τῆς

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

' ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τὸ ἡμίκρανον, τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ ἡμικράνου;'

καὶ ἀπεκρίθην καὶ εἶπεν,

' Κύριε, τί μὲ ἐπερώτησας; ἐγὼ ὑπάγω εἰς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ δεῖνα, εἰς τὴν κεφαλήν του νὰ τὸν ὀμυαλόν του νὰ χύσω (F.320 *a*). τὰ ὀμμάτιά του νὰ κινήσω.'

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

' ὕπαγε εἰς τοῦ 'Αραρὰτ τὸ ὄρος, ὅπου σημαντηρίου φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται, ὅπου ἀλέκτορος φωνὴ οὐκ ἀκούεται· ἐκεῖ νὰ φᾷς, ἐκεῖ νὰ πῇς, ἐκεῖ τὸν θυμόν σου νὰ διαβάσῃς. '

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

Concerning the 'Half-Head' [Migraine]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ἐξήρχετο αὕτη ἡ ἄβρα ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης,

ἀπήντησεν αὐτῇ ὁ πρωτοαρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ·

πόθεν ἔρχεις καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγεις, ἄβρα μελάνη μεμελανωμένη, τριχειλετρικέφαλε;

< Abra's answer: >

Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω ἀνθρώπου ὀστέα φαγεῖν καὶ τὸ κρέας ἀφανῖσαι.

Λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ πρωτοαρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ·

Οὐκ ἔχεις, ἄβρα, ἐξουσίαν ἀνθρώπου ὀστέα φαγεῖν καὶ τὸ κρέας ἀφανῖσαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιβρέξει ἐπὶ σὲ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ διασκορπήσει σε ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τὸ μέλος καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα, κτλ.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 Sabaoth

Fig. 16. Plate IV

CARNUNTUM (Altenburg-Petronell), Austria — III A.D.
Eisenstadt, Burgenländisches Landesmuseum — H. 3.5 cm.; W. 5.0 cm.
Inv. Nr. SW 4739a — Silver *lamella*

Lit. (For full references, see above **13**): A. A. Barb, *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926), p. 64f.; no. 47; (Taf. 1,2); A. Betz, *Wiener Studien* 79 (1966), p. 604f.; no. 12; cf. O. Weinreich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), p.178; E. Swoboda, *Carnuntum* (Graz-Cologne, 1964), p. 205f.

1 (Magic signs)
2 Θ
3 Σαβα`ώ΄θ

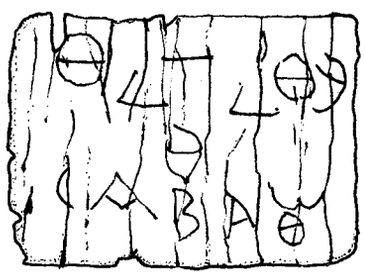


Fig. 16

The circumstances of the discovery of this piece are given above, **13**. Since this silver *lamella* was found with **13**, the headache spell against Antaura, it was probably written for the same same medical complaint.

1 *Magic signs*: Similar to alphabetic characters, these magic χαρακτῆρες form a sort of triangle or 'winged'-formation.

2 Σαβαώθ: The scribe left out the final ω and then wrote it in above the θ. This common magic name is usually and correctly identified with the Hebrew name of god צבאות, *ṣəbā'ôt*, (God of) "hosts," though it is not clear whether 'hosts' refers to warriors, stars, or angels; P. Perdrizet, *Revue des études grecques* 41 (1928), p. 79 [see **57**, *'Lit.'*], suggests a secondary etymology with the Hebrew word for "seven," שבע, *šeba'*, i.e. ἑπτὰ γράμματα; see, further, on **2**, 2f.

15 Ablatanabla

Fig. 17

CARNUNTUM (Altenburg-Petronell), Austria — III A.D.
Museum Carnuntinum (now lost) — H. 2.8 cm.; W. 4.7 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. (For general bibliography, see **13**): A. A. Barb, *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926), p. 55, no. 45 (Taf. 1,4); A. Betz, *Wiener Studien* 79 (1966), p. 605, no. 14 (add. lit.); cf. O. Weinreich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), p. 178, no. 12; A. A. Barb, in A. Momigliano, ed. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), p. 121; and *idem*, *Jedermann Heft* 3 (1933), pp. 26-33.

1 'Αβλατανα̣βλα
2 βλέπω
3 (Magic signs) ΚΡΙΩ

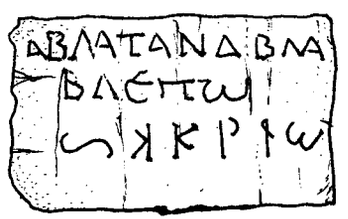


Fig. 17

1 'Αβλατανα̣βλα: That is, ἀβλα<να>ταναλβα, if spelled normally. Apparently a syllable has dropped out, the usual *theta* written with *T* (Latin), and the palindromic ending λβα-ending is written -βλα.

2 βλέπω: The words ἀβλατανα̣βλα βλέπω can be interpreted several ways: "O Ablatanabla, I see;" "I see Ablatanabla;" or, simply, "Ablatanabla. I see." In addition, it is also possible to read the text as βλέπω(ν), "Ablanathanalba (is) watching!" The βλέπω-formula is

probably borrowed from funerary epigrams, a slogan that occurs in various forms on monuments chiefly from Asia Minor. Discussion and texts can be found in L. Robert, *Hellenica XIII* (Paris, 1965), "Appendice 6: *Voyez*," pp. 271-273; *idem*, "Sur une epitaphe chrétienne de Phrygie, ΒΛΕΠΕ," *Revue de Philologie*, 1944, pp. 53-56; repr. in L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, III (Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 1419-1422 (cf. p. 1651). One may consider the following examples discussed by Robert as representative:

1) Βλέπε δὲ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ὅτι ὁ θάνατος πᾶσιν ἡτύμαστε. εὔχεσθε [τὸ]ν θεὸν ὅπως ἰαθῆτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, "... But let the reader see that death has been prepared for everyone! Pray to god that you might be healed from your sins!" — the conclusion of a Christian funerary inscription from Asia Minor. Text: W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, & W. K. C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiquae, IV: Monuments and Documents from Eastern Asia and Western Galatia*, p. 11, no. 33, line 7f.; L. Robert, *Hellenica XIII* (Paris, 1965), p. 272.

2) Τίς εἶ, βλέπε καὶ τὸ μένον σε, "Whoever you are, see too what is awaiting you!" From an epigram from Smyrna warning, as well, of the inevitability of death. Text: G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smryna*, I (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 23; Bonn, 1982), p. 263, no 558, 2f.

3) βλέπων ὅτι καὶ σὲ θανεῖν δεῖ, βλέπις τὸ τέλος, "Seeing that even you, too, must die, contemplate your end!" Text from L. Robert, *Hellenica II* (Paris, 1946), p. 104, n. 1.

In each of these examples, the βλέπειν-slogan invites the passerby to contemplate the inevitability of death. Similar concerns in funerary contexts, but from a different perspective, are discussed in the Commentary on **2**: 'Excursus.' Somewhat different is the use of βλέπειν on funerary epithets aimed at seeking vengeance and usually invoking the Sun: Ἥλιε βλέπε. The classic example is an epitaph from Phrygia that reads in part: εἰ μὲν ἰδίᾳ μοίρῃ, ὤφειλεν· εἰ δὲ χερσὶ δολοποιοῖς, Ἥλιε βλέπε (L. Robert, *Hellenica III* [Paris, 1946], p. 271). That is, if the deceased died by 'natural causes,' that was decried by fate; but if by murder, then a warning accompanied the unknown perpetrator, wherever he may be: "Helios take notice!" — i.e., 'the Sun is always watching you!' But as

Robert has rightly noted, in several examples of such formulas — for example, a rather banal epithet that simply ends μνήμης χάριν· ὁρᾷς θ(ε)έ — there is no indication of vengeance at all. Such inscriptions often preserve little more than a token citation of the formula. A Christian epithet from Phrygia concludes simply βλέπε, a text that provoked Robert to observe: *"Ainsi la formule βλέπε, dans sa brièveté, suffit à indiquer le sens de ces formules traditionnelles"* (L. Robert, *Hellenica III* [Paris, 1946], p. 272; text, p. 271, with additional references).

These 'traditional formulas' — whether appeals to the sun, warnings to passers-by, or cries to God to 'oversee' the deceased — derive from the formulaic language of Greek epigrams. As stock expressions they were no doubt frequently used as ancient 'R.I.P.s' that had become devoid of real meaning or content. Like the carving of crosses, mystic numbers, or menorahs on tombstones, such laconic phrasing could have easily taken on a quasi-magical function, with little appreciation for original meaning.

In the interpretation of the letters ΒΛΕΠΩ on our silver *lamella*, there can be little doubt that the formula comes from a funerary context. Whether the phrase represents a conscious appeal to Ablanathanalba to 'oversee' the welfare of the bearer of the amulet — now deceased — or served some other related purpose, cannot be definitely known. It is sufficient to observe that the use of the βλέπω-formula functioned as a sort of generic 'emblem' for the deceased — a formula that in its association with burial and the afterlife would offer comfort and protection for the original bearer. Such an interpretation reassesses the regular function of depositing magic gold and silver *lamellae* in the graves of the deceased. Although usually viewed as mere gravegoods of the dead, there is also enough evidence to suggest that amulets such as these functioned as more than common talismans worn in life and then carried to the grave at death. In distinction from the preceding headache charm (**13**), whose medical complaint is clearly addressed, this additional charm may have been written specifically as a funerary amulet, a *Totenpaß* for the soul of the bearer on his or her journey to the world to come.

3 *Magic signs*: The six χαρακτῆρες resemble Greek letters: following a wavy line and reversed *kappa*, the symbols look like K P I Ω, perhaps to be read as κριῷ, i.e., "in (the constellation of) Aries."

16 Iao and Magic Names (Fragment)

Fig. 18

CARNUNTUM (Altenburg-Petronell), Austria — III A.D.
Museum Carnuntinum — H. 3.3 cm.; W. 4.3 cm.
(no inv. number) — Silver *lamella*

Lit. (For full references, see above **13**): A. A. Barb, *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926), p. 55f., no. 46 (Taf. 1,3); A. Betz, *Wiener Studien* 79 (1966), p. 605, Nr. 13; cf. O. Weinreich, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24 (1926), p. 178, no. 12.; E. Swoboda, *Carnuntum* (Graz-Cologne, 1964), p. 205f.

1 [. . . .]ϙαχ̣ε̣ Ἰάω
2 [. . . .]ωτει ατω
3 [. . . .]ωλει σεηθ
4 (magic signs)

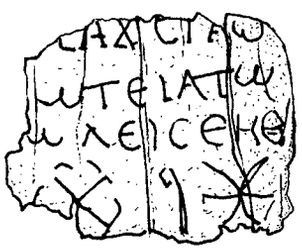


Fig. 18

On the circumstances of the tablet's discovery, see above, **13**. A comparison with the dimensions of the accompanying amulets, **14** and **15**, suggests that the tablet originally was no more than ca. 5.0 cm. wide by ca. 4.0 cm. high; hence, as few as 2-3 letters on the left and only the tops of the letters of the first line were lost. The amulet may have been also written to alleviate migraine.

1 ... ϙαχ̣ε̣ Ἰάω: The fourth letter may be the Coptic letter *djandja*.

2 ... ωτειατω: Probably magic syllables.

3 ... ωλεισεηθ: Perhaps the god Seth is to be read in the last letters, Σεήθ. Barb 1926:56 suggests reading here ... ἀπ]ωλεῖ (sic!) σε ἡ θ<εά>, "the goddess destroys you," presumably referring to the Ephesian Artemis of **13** and addressed to the headache, Antaura.

4 *Magic signs*: For similar χαρακτῆρες, see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 20, 6f.; 21,8; 23,10; 27,4, etc.

17 Magic Names (Latin)

Fig. 19a,b

VINDOBONA (Vienna), Austria — III A.D.
Location unknown (lost) — H. 3.6 cm.; W. 5.0 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Peter Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* ... [n.p., 1665]; new edition: A. F. Kollar (Vindobonae, 1766) vol. I, pp. 173ff.; Peter Katanesich, *Specimen philologiae et geographiae Pannoniorum* (Zagrabiae, 1794), pp. 4; pp. 82-103; T. G. von Karajan, "Über eine bisher unerklärte Inschrift," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse* 13 (1854), pp. 211-231; M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), p. 126; p. 134, Nr. 2; U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia Critica* III (Mannheim, 1829), p. 165; IV § 894, p. 384; K. Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* (Wien, 1886), Nr. 215; *idem*, "Bericht über griechische Papyri in Paris und London," *Wiener Studien* 8 (1886), p. 180. The reading given below represents my own interpretation based on Lambeck's and von Karajan's facsimiles.

The amulet came from a rudimentary stone sarcophagus dug up from a mound in the southwestern tract of the town plaza, during the erection of a building complex on January 28, 1662. The sarcophagus contained the haphazardly scattered remains of a male skeleton and a tubular capsule of pure gold, sealed at both ends. The gold capsule had rolled up within it a second capsule of bronze, and inside that yet another of silver. The inscribed gold *lamella* was found very tightly rolled up inside the innermost capsule. Furthermore, the same sarcophagus yielded a small bronze coin of Caracalla; a small, blue glass vessel set in a bronze casing; and an iron knife, thoroughly rusted. In the soil outside the sarcophagus, diggers also found the following bronze objects: a modest helmet broken in two, a plate, two fragmentary necklaces, a head of a satyr, a small jar, and a gold coin. The gravegoods date the find to the 3rd cent. A.D.

The first editors of the tablet read various odd languages into the lines, but Wessely's (1886:180) short paragraph on the text, recognizing the Latin *voces magicae* of lines 2-5, rendered all previous readings obsolete. A few problematic readings remain, for which some proposals are offered in the Commentary.

Ia Sabohot · Lanad-
is · Imiturle · Damna-
meneu · Ablatana-
4 lba · Acrami · Hama-
ri · Suambiaial · Thoba-
rabaubom *vacat*

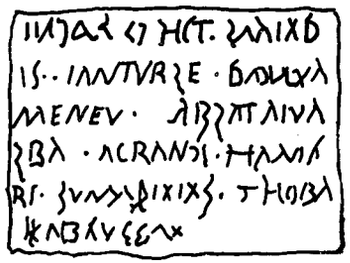


Fig. 19a (Lambeck)

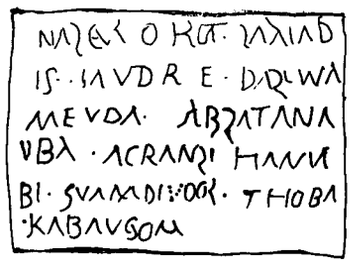


Fig. 19b (v. Karajan)

1 *Ia Sabohot* = Ἰὰ Σαβαώθ, though it is difficult to confirm such a reading based solely on the facsimiles.

1-2 *Lanadis · Imiturle*: *Ianturle* ? Wessely suggests reading *Dis demiurge*, a reading not entirely compatible with the traces. Given the nature of the text — magic names separated by interpuncts — we read here *voces magicae*.

2-3 *Damnameneu*: Properly read by Wessely, this represents an old Greek deity, Δαμναμενευ(ς), who was popularly etymologized as 'tamer' in the 4th cent. B.C. lead tablet with hexameters, re-edited by D. R. Jordan, "The Inscribed Lead Tablet from Phalasarna," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 94 (1992), pp. 191-194, lines 15f.: Δαμναμε̣[ν]ευ --- δάμασον δὲ κακῶς [ἀ]έκοντας ἀνάγκα[ι]. The name occurs as early as Phoronis (VII-VI cent. B.C.), frag. 2 (ed. M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* [Göttingen, 1988], p. 154 = ed. A. Bernabé, *Poetarum Epicorum Graecorum, I* [Leipzig; Teubner, 1987], p. 118f.):

ἔνθα γόητες
Ἰδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἵκι' ἔναιον,
Κέλμις Δαμναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων,
εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης,
οἳ πρῶτοι τέχνης πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστοιο
εὗρον ἐν οὐρείῃσι νάπαις ἰόεντα σίδηρον
ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔτευξαν.
(Σ Apoll. Rhod. 1.1129 [ed. Wendel, p. 101f.]).

See also C. A. Faraone & R. Kotansky, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 264; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag I*, no. 19,2-4 (p. 51); *PGM* II.163f., 167; III. 80,102,442,511, for occurrences of Damnameneus. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 49,40-44 also preserves the following sequence: δαμνω δαμνολυκακη δαμνιππη δαμνομενια δαμνοβαθιρα δαμνοβαθιρι δαμνομενια δαμηαμωνη δαμηαμωνηι.

3-4 *Ablatanalba* (= Ἀβλαθαναλβα): Also read by Wessely. The usual spelling is palindromic: Ἀβλαναθαναλβα; cf. **7**,3; **15**,1; **29**,4, etc. For possible explanations of the name, see W. Brashear, "A Glossary of Magical Words," in *Austieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (forthcoming), s.v.; *idem*, "Zwei Zauberformulare," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 38 (1992), p. 21, citing Ginsburger in P. Perdrizet, *Revue des Études grecques* 41 (1928), p. 78: atta barouch leolam adonai + *Nathan* + *alba*. U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia Critica* III (Mannheim, 1829), 684 attempted to translate this as "Thou art our Father," or "Father come to us" an interpretation perhaps rightly received with skepticism by C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 202, and others, though Bonner's assumption that because it is a palindrome it could not have had a meaning is patently false.

4-5 *Acrami · Hamari* (= Ἀκραμαχαμαρι): Also read by Wessely; here, however, the name has been separated into two *voces magicae*; cf. 2,14. The name is explained by G. Scholem, עקר מכמרי, *'aqar makamarê*, "uproot the magic spells" in his *Jewish Gnosticism* (2nd ed. New York, 1965), p. 97; see, further, W. Brashear, "Zwei Zauberformulare," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 38 (1992), p. 21.

5 *Ṣuambiaial*: *Lumillon* Wessely. On *-biaial*, cf. *PGM* XII.466: ιω βιαι. Evidently we have here an angel name ending like -ιαιαηλ, or perhaps the terminative represents ἰὰ ἰὰ ἭΗλ. What one expects from the traces, however, is *Semeseilam*. The difficulties that beset the first editors reading this tablet, and the subsequent troublesome readings they reproduce, does not rule out the possibility that this name actually stood on the tablet:Αβλαναθαναλβα, Ακραμμαχαμαρι, and Σεμεσειλαμ regularly occur together.

5-6 *Thobarabauḥọm*: This is clearly the Latin equivalent of Θωβαραυβαν (and variants); see on **4**,10; 'Index V,' s.v. Cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42,4 (θωβαραβαν); no.43,1 (same; p. 155 Commentary). R. W. Daniel, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 19 (1975), p. 251f. gives an exhaustive list of occurrences and observes that the use "points to a fairly broad diffusion of the name around the southern and eastern Mediterranean" (p. 251). The meaning of the name has not been heretofore explained: it has a conceivably good Hebrew etymology: טוֹב עַרְבָא, *tôb ʿarəbā'*, "(the) surety (is) good!" The phrase probably represents a commercial, verbal adage that must have been frequently expressed between two contracting parties; עַרְבָא, of course, is the common word עֵרָבוֹן, *ʿērābôn*, "surety; down-payment" (Greek ἀρραβών, Latin *arrabo*, *arra*), which passed into Greek commercial vocabulary presumably via Phoenician mercantile activity (see LSJ, s.v. ἀρραβών). Such a phrase as "(the) surety (is) good!" would have been frequently overheard in the day-to-day concourse of market-place activity. Among the Greek-speaking populace, such an oft-heard Semitic expression might have doubtlessly assumed exotic, and hence magical, overtones. An equivalent version preserving Aramaic vocalization may linger behind the spelling of the name in θαβαρβα(ωρι) at *PGM* VII.204 (= טָב עַרְבָא, *tāb ʿarəbā'*, "[the] surety is good!"); cf. also C. Bruston, "Une pierre talismanique expliquée par l'hébreu," *Revue Archéologique*, sér. 5, vol. 11 (1920), pp. 47-49, for another טוֹב-formula found on a gem.

18 The 'Romulus' Amulet (for Elephantiasis)

Fig. 20. Plate V

TRICCIANA (Ságvár), Hungary — IV A.D.
Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum — H. 6.5 cm.; W. 4.7 cm.
Inv. Nr. 9.1939.4 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. M. Kr. Kubinyi, "A Ságvári Római sírmező egyik sírjában talált varázstábla (Zaubertext auf Silberplättchen)," *Archeológiai Értesitő*, ser. 3, vol. 8-9 (1946-1948), pp. 276-279; Pl. 38; A Sz. Burger, *Acta Archaeologica* 18 (1966), p. 110 (Grave 114 A; Fig. 32; tablet: Fig. 101, 114/2; Fig. 86); pp. 146,162; I. Bilkei, *Alba Regia* 17 (1979), p. 33, Nr. 31 (Taf. 2,4); D. R. Jordan, *American Journal of Archaeology* 89 (1985), p. 165f.

In the vicinity of Ságvár, a village in the Siófok District of Somogy County (Hungary), large-scale excavations outside the ancient fortified city of Tricciana carried out by the Hungarian National Museum (1937-1942) brought to light a large cemetery of approximately 342 Roman graves of the 4th cent. A.D. The excavation of the group of graves, nos. 107-258 (Burger 1966:109), brought to light one burial in particular in which our silver phylactery was found: grave no. 114 (trench 'A': Depth: 130 cm.; Width: 45 cm.; Length 200 cm.) containing a female skeleton. The tomb also preserved a gilt-bronze T-shaped fibula with niello decoration (7.9 cm. long; 5.3 cm. wide) and a silver sheet rolled-up inside a cylindrical case (of which only fragments are preserved). Other graves at Ságvár (mostly of children) have yielded beads, bullae, and other objects used as charms (Burger 1966: 145f.). Further, in the child's grave no. 46 (Burger 1966:104) excavators also found a bronze case made of sheets folded over onto one other (Burger 1966: fig. 97, 46/2; Pl. 94, 10).

This curious text, read only in part by Kubinyi, is significant for the occurrence of the name of Romulus, written with Latin characters at least seven times; it is sometimes followed by the phrase *mater bona*. The spell may have been written for elephantiasis, either swelling (Jordan 1985: 165f.), or a skin disease (leprosy). The following reading is based on a fresh examination of the photograph, kindly supplied by David Jordan.

(Magic signs) γεβυι (magic signs) [. . .]
(magic signs and letters) [. . .]
(magic signs and letters) (cartouche) [. . .]
4 Σεσεγενβαρφαανγης, τὸ μέγα κα̣[ὶ τ]-
ε̣λειον καὶ ἀνείκητον ὄνομα [τοῦ]
Romulus mader Bona .ΞΗ χο ε ηοι
(magic signs) βορκο (magic signs) μανος Ζαβο̣ε̣β
8 (magic signs) *Romulus* (magic signs) χαστειος(signs)
(magic letters and signs) *Romu`lus´*
θηντὸς Κεβραώθ ε̣ω̣φαω Σ̣εσεγν-
βαρβαργνς βνδαχ (magic signs) εε θνν
12 SS EEE *Romulus mater Bona* vacat
(magic letters and signs)
(three magic signs) *Romulus* vacat [in rasura?]
αννεηκτον ορφαπθι ουρ βοουνβ̣.λ̣α̣λ
16 ντα φωθ ραφφακωναωχ ρα ο̣υ̣ατ
. μαι αι .. δύσ̣ις, χείρ, ἀνατολή, θου ...
(magic signs) [...] *Romulu* ... .
(magic signs) ΗΝΘ ..[...] (magic signs ?)
20 [...]μ α φ ω ρ . . . . . .
[...] . τπι . [...]ο̣λο .. s π̣άσης [...]
[...]στει . .. [ca. 7-8]ο̣ φυλακτήριον [...]
[. .]ΝΑ̣GΑ ρα̣μ̣ο̣λο̣υ φορεῖν χρὴ τὸ̣ [ὄνομα]
23a vacat `rom ..... φυ̣τ̣ηριον´ [τὸ ὅ- ?]
24 νομα *Romu-/* φο̣τ̣ρειν ἐλεφαντίασ̣[ιν]
lus. traces (in rasura)

5 ἀνείκητον: ἀνίκητον θηντός: θνητός 23a φυτηριον : φυ<λακ>τήριον ?

(Magic signs) ... *Sesegenbarphaanges;* O great [and] perfect and invincible name, **Romulus,** *the mother Bona* (magic signs and letters) *Borko* (magic signs) *manos Zaboeb* (magic signs) **Romulus** (magic signs) *Chasteios* (magic signs) **Romulus** *thentos Kebraoth Eophao Sesengbarbrngs Bndach* (magic signs and letters) **Romulus**, the mother Bona (magic signs) **Romulus** invincible (?) *Orphapthi our Bounb.lalnta Photh Ra Phphakonaoch Ra ouat.mai ai* ... west, hand, east, *Thou* (magic signs) ... **Romulus** ... (magic signs, letters, and traces) ... from all ... phylactery ... **Romulus** (?), it is necessary to carry the **Romulus** (?) ... amulet (?) ... name (?) **Romulus** to carry (for ?) elephantiasis ... .

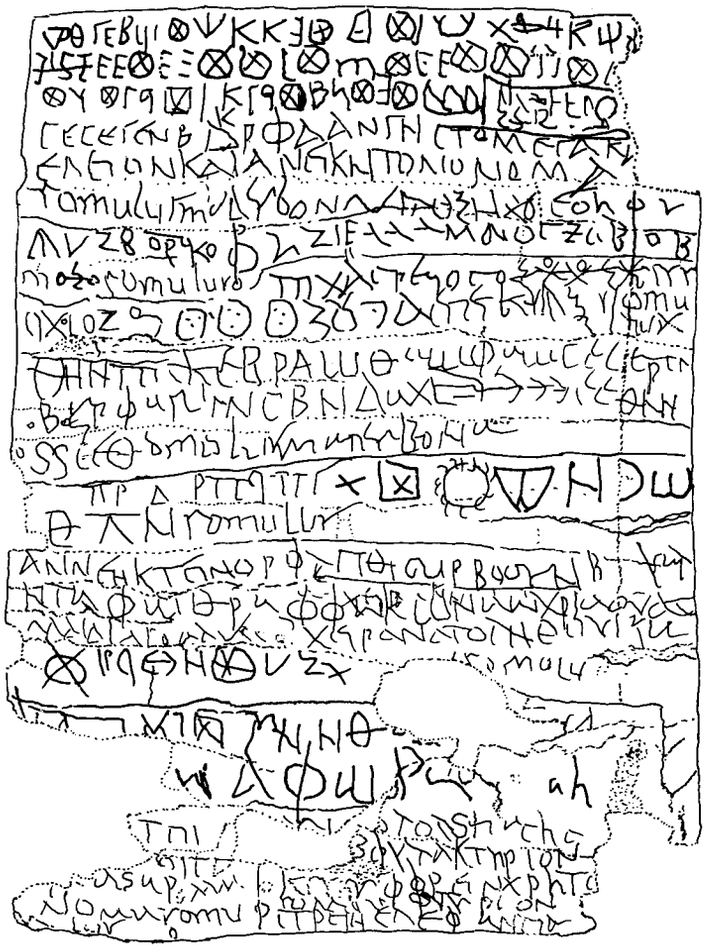


Fig. 20

It should be further noted that the tablet had been folded horizontally a number of times, and then once over on the far right, evidently to be inserted into the capsule. The fact that the lines of text fall neatly between the folded creases indicates that the tablet must have been folded first, *then* inscribed. (Had it been folded *after* first being inscribed, the creases

would surely have run through and intersected much of the written text). This method of first tightly rolling the sheet of metal, and then unfolding it and engraving it — hence creating convenient ruling lines — can be observed with a number of these magical tablets. There are also traces of a delicately inscribed first 'draft' preserved beneath, and slightly above, the text of line 16 (and possibly elsewhere).

1-3 *Magic signs*: Most of the χαρακτῆρες here are circles with X's, large E's, K's and the like. Line 2 shows two clear Latin letters, *L* and *M* written in the middle of the line, with one of the symbols in between. See further on the various symbols, Kubinyi 1946-48:278, with reference to A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. lxxiii, who identifies similar figures as representing the circle of Ananke. A thorough discussion of this symbol and its various interpretations is now found in W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Brussels, 1991), pp. 58-60. On γεβυι (1), cf. γιβι (= Semitic גבה, "high, exalted," etc.) at **33**,9.

The *tabula ansata* or cartouche at the end of line 3 has not been previously noticed. It seems to contain a group of pseudo-hieroglyphic signs as often found on gemstones. Cf. H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), no. 179 (Pl. 46); A. Delatte & P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 308, etc.

4 Σεσεγενβαρφαανγης (cf. line 10f.): Variation or miscopying of the usual Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης. On 'Romulus' — not Sesengenbapharanges — being the "great and invincible name," see Commentary, lines 4-6. On Sesengenbarpharanges, see **4**,50; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism* (New York, 1965), pp. 97-100; W. Brashear, s.v., "A Glossary of Magical Words," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (in press).

4-5 τὸ μέγα κα[ὶ τ]έλειον καὶ ἀνείκητον ὄνομα: ἀλέον καὶ ἀνέκλιτον Kubinyi: ἔλειον, "pitying [?], for ἐλεεινός?" Jordan 1985:165f. (who now, *per litteras*, suggests τέλειον). The whole phrase should be interpreted "the great [and] perfect and invincible name," reading ἀνίκητον with an 'N'-shaped *êta*, which often interchanges with *nu* in this text. After μέγα, a clear *kappa* can be read, though a crease in the tablet makes it wrongly appear as *nu*. A trace of the α is also visible (see drawing above).

To what does "the great and perfect and invincible name" refer? To the preceding Sesengenbarphaanges, or to the name 'Romulus'? On the basis of line 24f., [ὅ]/νομα *Romulus*, and the frequency of the name throughout this text, it is clear that it is Romulus that represents the mystic name on this amulet; see further on line 6.

Strings of adjectives modifying a magical ὄνομα are common in magic; see **58**,37. The epithet ἀνίκητος is less common, and τέλειον is seemingly unattested in the magic papyri. On ἀνίκητος, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 45,3f.: ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἀνικήτου θεοῦ Ιαω, κτλ.; *PGM* V.5: Ζεῦ, Ἥλιε, Μίθρα, Σάραπι, ἀνίκητε, Μελιοῦχε, κτλ.; similarly, *PGM* XIII.1024 (used of Iao); C. Bonner & A. D. Nock, "Neotera," *Harvard Theological Review* 41 (1948), pp. 213-215; **51**,9; **58**,16. The phrase τὸ μέγα ὄνομα is widely found: Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl.Mag. I*, nos. 31,3; 63,1; *PGM* III.264; IV.1610, 1788, 2344, 3236; VII.892; XIII.184, 737f.; XXXVI.192: τὸν μεγάλον ὄνομα (*sic*); **53**, 8.

6 *Romulus, mader Bona* (Kubinyi: *Romulum* ...). Read *mater bona* (cf. line 12). The presence of Latin "the mother Bona" after the masculine name, Romulus, is difficult to explain. The whole phrase, *Romulus, mater bona*, certainly looks, at first blush, like a reference to the bearer's name, followed by portions of a Latin matrilineal formula, viz., ... *Romulum, <quem peperit> mater Bona*, "(protect) Romulus (whom) the mother, Bona (bore)." For a comparable use of *mater*, followed by the actual mother's name in such formularies, see R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, & S. Shaked, "A Greek-Aramaic Silver Amulet from Egypt in the Ashmolean Museum," *Le Muséon* 105 (1992), line 31f.: μήτηρ Βενενάτα (Commentary, p. 21); further, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 45,30; 48,3, etc. If this were the text's original reading, however, it certainly is now badly corrupt: not only is there no verb (e.g., "*protect* Romulus ..."), even the formulaic *quem peperit* is wanting; the name 'Romulus' is here indeclinable. Furthermore, one must ask why the formula with the personal name is written in Latin at all, whereas the rest of the text is in Greek. To compound matters, this amulet was found in the grave of a *woman* (see above); the masculine 'Romulus' could not possibly refer to the bearer of the charm. The name 'Romulus' here, then, must serve some

sort of magic function: it occurs seven times in this text, is placed among magic signs and names, is juxtaposed to ὄνομα, and is set off from the rest of the spell by being written in Latin letters.

The invocation of Romulus — a powerful warrior, leader, king, and eventual god — would be fittingly appropriate for a healing amulet. Legendary founder of Rome, Romulus was worshipped after his apotheosis as the god Quirinus. For Romulus' rôle in cult and religion, see the valuable discussion in F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso. Metamorphosen Buch XIV-XV* (Heidelberg, 1986), p. 23ff. (ref. Irene Frings). Furthermore, Aëtius Amidenus, *Iatricorum liber xvi*, ed. S. Zervos, *Gynaekologie des Aëtios* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 160, describes a magico-magical θυμίαμα τῆς κυρίας Ῥωμύλου, "an incense-offering of the sovereignty of Romulus."

A popular Greek etymological explanation for Latin 'Romulus' may have also facilitated the adoption of his name on an amulet for healing. In Greek ῥωμαλέος, "strong of body," provides both the spelling and meaning required to suggest a favorable comparison with the Latin name *Romulus*. Since this amulet is written for the healing of a specific disease, 'strength of body' is precisely the sort of thing needed for convalescence. The actual Greek word ῥωμαλέος may lurk behind the difficult reading ῥαμολον in line 23 — letters that can just as easily be read ῥωμαλέον (or, Ῥωμάλου, Greek for "of Romulus"? See Commentary, below, *ad loc.*).

7 The line is made up of magical χαρακτῆρες, though perhaps the letters μανος, at the end, should be read as a Greek or Latin word (= μανός, "rare; infrequent;" or, Latin *manus*, 'hand'?; cf. χείρ, line 17).

8 A symbol, followed by the Latin, *Romulus*, again. Following another symbol (perhaps *TO*, written with square letters), Greek letter-forms resume: χαστειος (read here, ἀστεῖος ?).

10-11 θηντὸς Κεβραώθ (or θνητός, as the writter confuses or writes H and N similarly): On the second name, see *PGM* LXVII.46: Καβραώθ; also Marcellus Empiricus, 26.43.: Καραβραωθ. The name Κεβραώθ is Hebrew for "graves" or "tombs" (קֶבֶר, pl. קְבָרוֹת = *kəbārôth*), and is so identified with Osiris "Lion-of-the-graves" (*Kabarôth*) on an unpublished lead tablet in the J. Paul Getty Museum: following the naming of a deceased "Osiris" on the "sacred lion-headed bier" (ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου λεοντοπροσώπου θαπτηρίου, line 5), we find the description: ὄνομα γάρ σοί ἐστιν λέων Καβαρὼθ (line 8). On our text θνητὸς Κεβραώθ, could conceivably represent "mortal one of the graves" (a nekydaimon?).

12 *Romulus, mater bona*: cf. above, line 6.

13 *Magic signs*: Kubinyi discusses most of the 'characters' in this line. In particular he draws attention to the disk with solar rays and notes parallels to designs on contorniate medals; cf. also S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *Symbolae Osloenses* 19 (1939), pp. 57-85, p. 75, Abb. 1, line 4; to this add M. Gramatopol, *Les pierres gravées du Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine* (Collection Latomus 138; Brussels, 1974), no. 399 (Pl. 19). Note also the 'X' within a square, for which compare *PGM* VII.400; XI a.3.

15 αννεηκτον: probably read ἀνίκητος (cf. line 5).

16 ρα ρυατ: This can be read and interpreted as Egyptian, *wḏ3t R'*, "Sound Eye of Ra," an ancient apotropaic device; see C. Müller-Winkler, art. "Udjatauge," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* Bd. 6 (1986), cols. 824-826. Written slightly above the letters of this line are traces of a previous draft — they preserve the letters of the next line, 17 (with traces of χείρ, ἀνατολή, etc. clearly visible).

17 δύσις, χείρ, ἀνατολή: " ... west, hand, east ...". The fragmentary sentence reads like stranded instructions from a magic formulary, though why the isolated words are in the nominative is not clear. Μεσημβρία, "south," though not an impossible reading at the beginning of the lines, cannot be confirmed from the photo. For the connection, cf. *PGM* IV.2196f.: ... δύσιν καὶ ἀνατολὴν ἐφορῶν καὶ μεσημβρίαν καὶ ἄρτον ἀποβλέπων. Note also the curious migraine spell in I. Oikonomu-Agorastu, *Kritische Erstausgabe des Rezeptebuchs des Cod. Par. gr. 2316, f. 348v-374v* (Diss. Cologne; Thessaloniki, 1982) § 183 (p. 80): ... Ὕδωρ <ὄρ>κιον· ἀνατολή, ἄρκτος, δύση, καὶ μεσημβρία, κτλ.

23 ραμολον φορεῖν χρὴ τὸ [ὄνομα]: A garbled version of Ῥωμύλου (i.e. "of Romulus")? Ῥωμαλέος and Ῥωμαλέου are also possible. The letters φορεῖν χρὴ το[...] leave the restoration τὸ [ὄνομα] inescapable.

23a *Romulus*: These letters, squeezed above the last line, give another reading of the name Romulus, as one can discern the beginning of the Latin letters, *rom*.

φυτηριον, i.e., φυλακτήριον, is a possible reading (though the letters are crowded, there does not seem to be room for the full spelling of the word).

24-25 νομα *Romu/lus*: It is tempting to propose an *omicron* either at the beginning of line 23, or at the end of the inserted words between lines 23 and 24: ὅ/νομα *Romulus* (see above, line 23).

24 φρτρειν, ἐλεφαντία[σιν]: The letters look like φστρειν, or φοτρειν, but this may be due to the fact that the writer may have written a long horizontal line to separate this word from the letters inserted above. Jordan 1985:165f. suggested ἀπ]οστρέ<φε>ιν ἐλεφαντία[σιν], "to avert swelling." The disease ἐλεφαντίασις is not found in magical recipes. The *Codex Paris. suppl. graec.* 636 (ed. R. Fuchs, "Anecdota medica Graeca," *Rheinisches Museum* 49 [1894], pp. 532-558) mentions a treatise on the subject, attributed to (Ps.)-Democritus: Τῆς δὲ ἐλεφαντιάσεως τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν οὐδεὶς ἐμνήσθη ἰατρῶν, φιλοσόφων δὲ Δημόκριτος ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐλεφαντιάσεως αὐτοῦ, κτλ., followed by a brief description of the usual etiology due to bad phlegm or humours (similarly, Dioscorides, *De materia medica* 2.87, and others). Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales* 731A, lists it among "new diseases" (νοσήματα καινά), stating that it was not known to the earlier physicians, and refers to it as an extreme type of skin-disorder, or mange (τὴν ἐλεφαντίασιν ... σφοδρότητα τῶν ψωρικῶν τινος τούτων οὖσαν, 732B). Pseudo-Galen, *Introductio seu medicus* (ed. Kühn XIV, p. 756f.), no doubt, gives the popular explanation of the name: ἡ δὲ ἐλεφαντίασις τὸ πάθος ἔσχε τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ ὁμοιότητος τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐλέφαντα. τὸ γὰρ δέρμα τῶν ἐν τῷ πάθει τούτῳ κατεσχημένων παχύτερόν τε καὶ σκληρότερόν ἐστιν, ἐμφέρειαν ἔχον τὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων δέρμα, "But elephantiasis is a disease that gets its name from the similarity it has to the elephant, for the skin of those who afflicted with this disease is thick and hard, having a likeness to the skin of an elephant." And of some historical note is the fact that the disease is mentioned in the pre-2nd century B.C. Hellenistic Jewish author Artapanus (Jacoby, *FGrH* 726, F3, 20) as the cause of death of Chenephres, the Pharaoh in the time of Moses: ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν Χενεφρῆν πρῶτον ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλεφαντιάσαντα μεταλλάξαι (Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* IX 27,20).

19 Amuletic Text (Unread)

Fig. 21

BRIGETIO (Szöny) Komárom, Hungary — Late Roman
Former Collection Tussla — H. 5.8 cm.; W. 4.75 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. I. Paulovics, "Brigetiói kisbronzok magángyüjteményekből (Piccoli bronzi di Brigetio in raccolte private)," *Archaeológiai Értesitő*, ser. 3, vol. 3 (1942) 216-244, p. 218; pl. 27, 1; I. Bilkei, "Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns," *Alba Regia* 17 (1979), p. 30 (brief mention only); A. Sz. Burger, "The Late Roman Cemetery at Ságvár (Plates 77-116)," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18 (1966), p. 110, note 133 (brief mention only).

A photograph and brief notice of this gold *lamella*, once in the Tussla collection, was published over fifty years ago with no transcription having ever been published. It was reportedly found at Brigetio (Szöny), a legionary camp and *municipium* in Pannonia. In fact, along the northern frontiers of the Danube each of four major legionary settlements, Vindobona, Carnuntum, Brigetio, and Aquincum, has yielded magic phylacteries. The town, like Carnuntum, had an amphitheater, a Mithraeum and a Dolichenum, and, as one might expect, cemeteries. Some sarcophagi have been unearthed, but whether this phylactery came from a grave or not is not specifically stated. On the site see, László Barkóczi, *Brigetio* (Dissertationes Pannonicae II,22; Budapest, 1951); further, I. Töth, art. "Brigetio," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 168f., which highlights, among other things, the religious life of the community.

Though the text of this piece has never been published and its present whereabouts not fixed, it is important for its find-spot, and future excavations of Brigetio may bring forth additional examples of such *lamellae* that may shed some light on our piece.

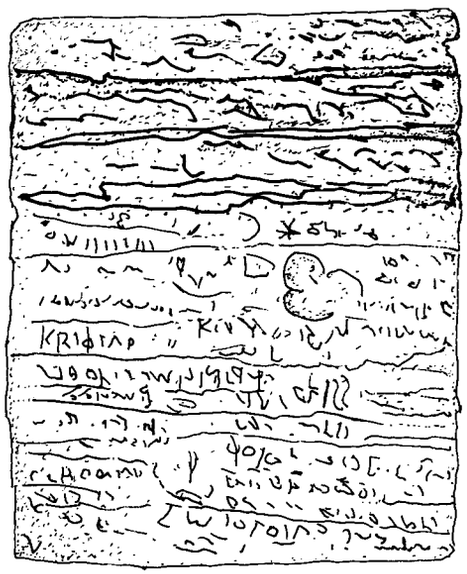


Fig. 21

Judging from the photograph in Paulovics 1942: pl. 27,1, there appear to be about fourteen lines of text covering about two-thirds of the lower part of the tablet. (The upper portion looks to be corroded or with an obliterated text, and thus a true line-count cannot be given). Towards the middle, one can recognize, perhaps, the letters *κριφι*, reminiscent of the Ἀρπονχνουφι-formula of the papyri: cf., e.g., *PGM* I.27f.: Ἀρπον Κνοῦφι *βριντατη νωφρι βρισκυλμα* Ἀρουζαρβα *μεσενκριφι μιπτουμι*, *κτλ*.

20 Fragment of an Amulet

Fig. 22

AQUINCUM, Budapest (Óbuda), Hungary — II A.D.
Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum — H. 8.5 cm.; W. 7.8 cm.
Inv. Nr. 30236/3 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. J. Szilágyi, "Jelentés a fővárosi ókortörténeti (aquincumi) múzeum kutatásairól és szerzeményeiről az 1945-48 évek folyamán. (Rapport sur les recherches et les nouvelles acquisitions du musée municipal d'histoire antique [Aquincum] de 1945 à 1948," *Budapest Régiségei* 15 (1950), pp. 303-331; p. 321, Abb. 28, Anm. 66-67; I. Bilkei, "Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns," *Alba Regia* 17 (1979), p. 29f.; Nr. 16 (Taf. 1,6).

The *lamella* was found in a bronze *bulla* folded up tightly (three times vertically; once, horizontally), at the gravefield in Aranyhegy-árok. A coin of Trajan (98-117 A.D.) was found with it, suggesting a date of deposit in the second century A.D., presumably at the time when the city was still a *municipium* (124 A.D.), but not yet a *colonia* (194 A.D.). On the site, in general, see C. F. Giuliani, art. "Aquincum," *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 80f. I provide my own readings based on the published photograph.

(magic sign?) ΛΙCΛΤΟΙ·
- - - - υ - - - - - - - - -
- - ν [.] ο (magic signs ?)
- - - - - - - - - - - λ
4 - [- - - - - -]υττυ . τ
- [-] - - λ- - - - - -



Fig. 22

Very little of this corroded piece can be read, although it appears there are about six lines of Latin or Greek letters. Line 1, after what appears to be two initial 'characters,' one can make out λισατοι (i.e., λύσαται, read λύσατε ??). Then following sporadic characters and symbols, line 5 gives the following series of letters: ... υττυ.τ (?), which probably represent magic names, unless we are to understand this as Latin *tuta*, "safe," "secure from," "unharmed from." Despite the piece's poor condition, the fact that it was found at a cemetery, deposited with a coin, is of some importance for understanding the religious mentality involved in the burying of these amulets with the deceased (see further on **27**).

21 Amulet with Capsule

Fig. 23

AQUINCUM, Budapest (Óbuda), Hungary — Late Roman
Collection Dr. Szasa Hugone — H. 3.85 cm.; W. 3.6 cm.
(Present location unavailable) — Gold (or silver?) *lamella*

Lit. I. Paulovics, *Archaeológiai Értesitő*, ser. 3, vol. 3 (1942), p. 218 (pl. 27, 2 and 3); I. Bilkei, *Alba Regia* 17 (1979), p. 30, Nr. 16 (see **19** for ref.).

The piece was found in a tubular capsule (*Fig. 23*), but nothing more is known about the circumstances of its discovery. Though the casual markings on the tablet yield no sense whatsoever, their seemingly mystic value were enough to impress the owner, for the *lamella* had been worn as a treasured amulet. A photograph of the intact piece with the capsule is found in Paulovics 1942: pl. 27.

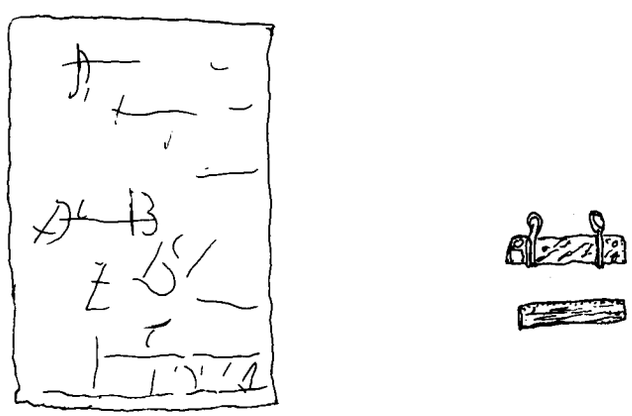


Fig. 23 (capsule & rolled up amulet)

Another tubular capsule similar to that depicted here was also found at Aquincum and published in J. Szilágyi's *Aquincum* (Budapest, 1956), Pl.48. Curiously, the corresponding plate in the German *Auflage* of the same book (Taf. 27) pictures a different capsule.

22 Magic Signs and Letters

Fig. 24

KALLATIS (Mangalia), Rumania — Late Roman
Bucarest, Muzeul de Arheologie — (no dimensions available)
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Gr. G. Tocilescu, "Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien," *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 17 (1894), p. 102, Nr. 45.

Nothing is reported about this piece other than that it was found at Mangalia, the ancient Kallatis, a resort town on the Black Sea coast near the border of Bulgaria. It was formerly in the collection of Cogalniceanu. No photograph of the piece is available and its present location at Bucarest could not be confirmed. Though the text preserves only a few meaningless syllables, the fact that it has a recorded provenance is of importance. Kallatis was founded in the 6th century B.C. by Doric colonists from Heraklea Pontica and in Roman times experienced a revival beginning in Diocletian's reign. After the 6th cent. A. D. it suffered from repeated invasions and declined; see D. Adamesteanu, art. "Kallatis," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encylopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 431f. (with additional literature). The piece had been worn as an amulet: *"Zweifellos diente das Blättchen als Amulet, worauf auch die noch jetzt erkennbare Faltung deutet"* (Tocilescu 1894:102).

1 N ϒ (magic letters) T T
2 (magic letters) Z Φ N Θ K Θ
3 N N C ϒ Θ

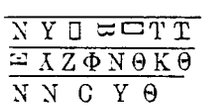


Fig. 24 (Tocilescu)

23 A Magical Underworld *'Totenpaß'*

Fig. 25

DIERNA (Orşova, Banatul), Rumania — III-IV A.D.
Orşova, Muzeul Orşova — H. 4.1 cm.; W. 3.3 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. D. Benea & A. Şchiopu, "Un mormînt gnostic de la Dierna (Ein gnostisches Grab in Dierna)," with N. Vlassa, "Interpretarea plăcuţei de aur din Dierna (Die Interpretation des Goldplättchens von Dierna)," *Acta Musei Napocensis* 11 (1974), pp. 115-125; pp. 125-141; I. I. Russu, ed. *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, vol. 3: Dacia Superior, pt. 1: Pars Occidentalis* (Bucarest: Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1977), pp. 69-70, no. 42, fig. 36; I. Barnea, *Pontica* 10 (1977), p. 283/4, no. 29 (= *SEG* 27 [1977], p. 109, no. 416).

A brick sarcophagus, discovered sometime around 1960-1965 and containing a leaden coffin with the skeletal remains of a child, yielded the following grave goods: fragments of ceramic ware; two gold earrings; a gold setting enclosing an engraved red jasper depicting Sol in a *quadriga*; another gold setting enclosing a Roman Republican coin (Obv.: *Roma*; Rev.: *Sol in quadriga*); and a gold *lamella*. The *lamella* had been folded once horizontally and placed on the deceased in the manner of the 'Orphic' tablets. The grave is datable to the 3rd/4th cent. A.D.

1 (Magic signs)
2 (magic signs)
3 'Ιάω 'Αθωναΐ
4 'Ιώ, ἰώ.

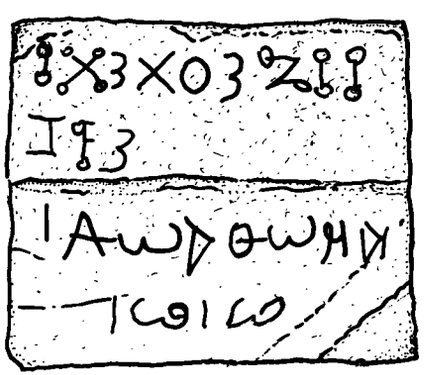


Fig. 25

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

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

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

(ΦΙ) *ἰὼ θεοί*

(ΝΕ) *τί τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτως ἀναστένων καλεῖς;*

(ΦΙ) *σωτῆρας αὐτοὺς ἠπίους θ' ἡμῖν μολεῖν.*

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

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

24 A Demon Sent to Julia Cyrilla

Fig. 26

DIERNA (Orşova, Banatul), Rumania — II A.D.
Bucarest, Institutul de Arheologie — H. 2.4 cm.; W. 7.1 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

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

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

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

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

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

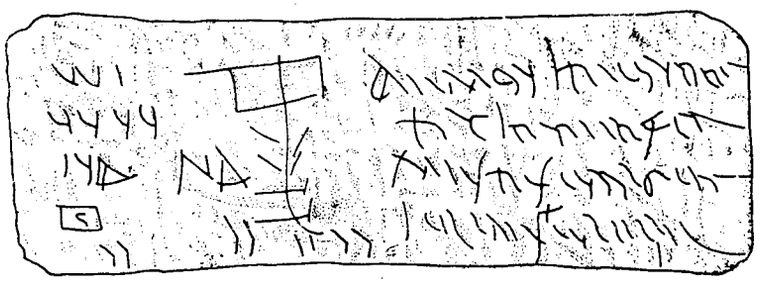


Fig. 26

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

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

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

Commentary:

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

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

Right side:

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 Amulet to Expel an Evil Spirit

ROMA, Italy — Roman Period
(Now lost) — (No dimensions available)
Former collection Principe de Anglona, Madrid — Gold *lamella*

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

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

πο̣νηρὸν πνεῦμα καὶ κα-
κοποιὸν καὶ φθοροποιόν
ἀπέ̣λασον ἀπὸ τῆς ΡΣΝΜΑ
4 ΛΙΑΣ, Πτᾶ νεβρ α-ν θαβιασα.

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

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

πονηρός is otherwise used with δαίμων in the 'pagan' magical papyri: *PGM* IV.2517: διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ πονηροῦ παντὸς δαίμονος.

The phrase πονηρὸν πνεῦμα reflects an original Semitic רעה רוח, probably as a calque passing into Greek via the Septuagint's account of David's 'exorcism' of king Saul in I Reg. 16:14f.: Καὶ πνεῦμα κυρίου ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Σαουλ, καὶ ἔπνιγεν αὐτὸν πνεῦμα πονηρὸν παρὰ κυρίου. καὶ εἶπαν οἱ παῖδες Σαουλ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰδοὺ δὴ πνεῦμα κυρίου πονηρὸν πνίγει σε. Note, similarly, LXX Tobit 6:8 (Rec. B): ... ᾧ ἀπάντημα δαιμονίου ἢ πνεύματος πονηροῦ, καὶ φεύξεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, κτλ. From thence it came into the New Testament, where surprisingly it occurs only in Q (Matt. 12:45 = Luke 11:26, ἕτερα πνεύματα πονηρότερα) and in Luke-Acts (Luke 7:21; 8:2; Acts 19:12,13 [pl.]; 15,16 [sg.]).

1-2 καὶ κακοποιὸν καὶ φθοροποιόν: The adjective κακοποιός is used in the magical papyri specifically of malevolent planetary influences, but not of demons (so LSJ s.v., citing only Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 19; Artem. 4.59, texts which are not of relevance here). *PGM* IV. 2873-75 uses the word for magic offerings that work τὰ ἀγαθαποιά versus τὰ κακοποιά. See also *PGM* XIII.1030 (used of malevolent planets); *PGM* L.7 (verso, *bis*; of unclear meaning).

The adjective φθοροποιός used of demons seems to be restricted to Patristic writers; cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* X.4,58, contrasting a τις φθοροποιὸς δαίμων καὶ θῆρες ἄγριοι νοητοί; *idem, Commentaria in Psalmos* (Migne, *PG* 23), p. 924, 27: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν φθοροποιὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν τῆς ὀργῆς ὑπηρέτην ἄγγελον τιμωρόν, κτλ.; so also Gregory Nyssenus, *De vita Mosis* (ed. Daniélou) 2.59, 1 mentions a βλαπτικὸν καὶ φθοροποιὸν δαίμων. Of related interest is the reference in Gregory Nyssenus, *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, (Migne, *PG* 46), p. 95,23f. to a demon who haunts the baths: δαίμων τις ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἐπιχωριάζων τῷ λουτρῷ, οὗ ἡ φθοροποιὸς δύναμις ἐνεργὸς μετὰ σκότος κατὰ τῶν προσεγγιζόντων ἐγίνετο, κτλ. The single occurrence of φθοροποιός in the magical papyri refers to a terrible deity: *PGM* XII.455 Ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε [τὸ]ν ἐ[ν] τ[ῷ] κ[ε]νῷ [πνε]ύματι, δεινόν, ἀόρα[το]ν θεὸν φθοροποιὸν καὶ ἐρημοποιόν. Bonner's (1950:96) attempt to read in this adjective a specific reference to 'causing miscarriage' does not carry conviction.

3-4 ἀπέλασον ἀπὸ τῆς: Hübner's reproduction reads ΑΠΑΛΑΣΟΝ, a reading that subsequent editors have been wrongly lead to interpret as ἀπάλ<λ>α<ξ>ον. Bonner 1950:96, for example, writes, "The form ἀπάλασον ... seems to represent a softened pronunciation of ξ; or else an aorist imperative ending has been wrongly attached to a present stem." But to have to read σ for ξ, and then suggest a double λ, betrays a false diagnosis from the start. Hübner's ΑΠΑΛΑΣΟΝ is rather ἀπέλασον, "drive away!": an original looped, cursive ε was simply mistaken for α (the two letters can look identical in cursive handwriting). This reading also fits better with the following ἀπό, for ἀπέλασον + ἀπό is then followed by the personal name; cf. **33**,6,11-12 (*bis*); **57**,14. The verb ἀπελαύνειν is not (as yet) attested in the magical papyri. Of interest for the use of ἀπελαύνειν in an 'exorcistic' context, of sorts, is *Sapientia Solomonis* (LXX) 17:8, where the Egyptian magicians are described as οἱ γὰρ ὑπισχνούμενοι δείματα καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπελαύνειν ψυχῆς νοσούσης, οὗτοι καταγέλαστον εὐλάβειαν ἐνόσουν ("they who promised to drive out terrors and anxieties from a sick soul were themselves sick with a ridiculous form of religion"). The previous verse 17:7 also described the ἐμπαίγματα of the Egyptians' μαγικὴ τέχνη.

3-4 ΡΣΝΜΑΛΙΑΣ: With the 'wicked spirit' of line 1f. representing the direct object of ἀπέλασον, one expects a female name to follow on ἀπὸ τῆς. An unattested name such as Ῥευμάλια would be rather peculiar and difficult to account for (= "flowing?"). The lost text was perhaps corrupt, wrongly transcribed, or both; attempted reconstructions (e.g., τῆς Αὐρήλιας ? or τῆς φορούσης ?) yield insecure results.

4 Πτᾶ νεβρ αν θαβιασα: The text ends with an Egyptian invocation: Πτᾶ νεβρ αν is *Ptḥ-nfr-'n*, "Ptah entirely beautiful" (interpretation supplied by H. J. Thissen). On θαβιασα, one can compare similar magic names in θαβ θαβ (*PGM* VII.210); μου θαβαρ (IV.293); θαβραου (XII.371); θαβρατ (V.60). Here, the prefix θαβ certainly reminds one of Aramaic טָב, *tāb*, "good, excellent; well," followed by some form of אַסָא, *'as'ā*, "healing; remedy," or its verbal counterpart ("to heal"); note J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), 'Glossary,' svv., p. 265, and esp. A 3:20, on the form אסו, *'sw*, "health, cure."

26 The Four Archangels

ROMA, Italy — IV/V A.D.
Present location unknown — (No dimensions available)
Lost (Former Vatican Collection?) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Lucio Fauno, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae* ... (Venetijs, 1549) V, p. 125; F. G. Cancellieri, *De secretariis Basilicae vaticanae veteris ac novae libri II* (Romae, 1786), p. 995, cap. 3, §11; U. F. Kopp, *Palaeographia Critica*, II/i (Mannheim, 1829), p. 165, §158; J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (Heidelberg, n.d. [1602 ?]), p. 287, §4; J. G. Graevius, ed. *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1704-1723), vol. 10, p. 193; P. Mazzuchelli, *La Bolla di Maria, moglie d'Onorio Imperatore che si conserva nel Museo Trivulzio* (Milano, 1819), p. 13; cf. 23-48; F. Lenormant, in C. Cahier & A. Martin, edd. *Mélanges d'archéologie d'histoire et de littérature* IV (Paris, 1853), p. 151, note 2; Jean Baptiste de Rossi, "Dessins de quelques vases de la toilette ensevelie dans le tombeau de l'empereur Honorius," *Bulletin d'archéologie chrétienne* 1 (1863), pp. 53-55; *idem*, "Sepolcro di S. Petronilla nella basilica in via Ardeatina e sua traslazione al Vaticano (I)," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, ser. 3, vol. 3 (1878), pp. 125-146; *idem*, "Sepolcro di S. Petronilla nella basilica in via Ardeatina e sua traslazione al Vaticano (II)," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, ser. 3, vol. 4 (1879), pp. 5-20; M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Rome, 1942), vol. 2, p. 935; cf. K. Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* (Vienna, 1886), no. 115. Further, on the mausoleum: C. Cavedoni, *Osservazione sopra alcuni particolari del sepolcro e del mondo muliebre de Maria figliuola di Stilcone e moglie di Onorio Augusto* (Modena, 1865); H. Koethe, "Zum Mausoleum der weströmischen Dynastie bei Alt-Sankt-Peter," *Römische Abteilungen* 46 (1931), pp. 9-26; Karl Frey, *Zur Baugeschichte des St. Peter. Mittheilungen aus der Reverendissimma Fabbrica di S. Pietro* (= *Beihefte zum Jahrbuch der Königlich preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*; Berlin, 1911-1916 = vol. 31 [1911], pp. 1-95; vol. 33 [1913], pp. 1-153; vol. 37 [1916], pp. 22-136); Jocelyn Toynbee & John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London & New York, 1956), esp. app., p. 5 (for diagram).

This gold tablet was found in 1544 among the gravegoods of the imperial tomb of Maria, the wife of Honorius (emperor in the West, 393-423 A.D.). City planners discovered the mausoleum at the site of the old Capella Santa Petronilla, now part of the SE transept of the Vatican. This former Renaissance basilica had been built upon two circular mausoleums which served as Roman burial structures as early as the 2nd century. The easternmost pair of the two mausoleums was the burial site first of Maria, then of Honorius himself, and possibly of Theodosius II, and others: separately (in 1458, 1519, and 1544) five different sarcophagi have been

uncovered at the site (Koethe 1931:9-26, esp. p. 21f.; Frey 1911-1916; de Rossi 1878: 125-146; de Rossi 1879:5-20, etc.).

The sepulchre of Maria contained a marble sarcophagus, measuring approximately 8′ long, 5′ wide, and 6′ high, in which were preserved the remains of the bones of a woman, along with an inventory of jewellry (gemstones, gold rings, an emerald in a gold setting, a necklace, and other ornaments, some inscribed with the names of Maria and/or Honorius), as well as some spears. In addition, the following items were also recovered: various silver wares, a gold *bulla* with a Latin inscription written in the form of a cross (MARIA DOMINA NOSTRA FLORENTISSIMA - STILICHO VIVAT), and a silver tube in which was found our thin gold *lamella* (Mazzucchelli 1819: 15f.). No facsimile or photograph of the tablet was ever published.

Μιχαήλ
Γαβριήλ
Ῥαφαήλ
4 Οὐριήλ

These four angel-names represent the standard archangelic tetrarchy and are widely found in Jewish and Christian literature and in magical texts; cf., e.g., Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 32, 11 (Μιχαηλ, Γαρβιηλ, Ουριηλ, Ραφαηλ), with further references in the *editio princeps*, F. Maltomini, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 (1982), p. 167 (also mentioning our gold tablet); *Oracula Sibyllina* II, 215 (ed. Geffcken), p. 38: ἤξωσι Μιχαήλ τε Γαρβιὴλ, Ῥαφαήλ τ' Οὐριηλ (Ψ); *Testament of Solomon* XVIII. 5-8: Μιχαήλ ... Γαβριήλ ... Οὐριήλ ...Ῥαφαήλ; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 294 (*Cod. Paris* 2316, with τὸν Γαρβιήλ, τὸν Μιχαήλ, τὸν Οὐριήλ, τὸν Ῥαφαήλ, followed by additional angels); *idem*, p. 296 (Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Οὐριὴλ καὶ Ῥαφαήλ, and others who stand before the throne of God); Al. Sorlin Dorigny, "Phylactère alexandrin contre les épistaxis," *Revue des Études grecques* 4 (1891), pp. 287-296 (late amulet with Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ, Οὐριήλ, Ῥαφαήλ). For further references, see J. Michl, art. "Engel" in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962), col. 183f.; *Apocalypse*

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

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

27 A Late 'Orphic' Underworld Amulet

Fig. 27. Plate VI

ROMA, Italy — II-III A.D.
London, The British Museum — H. 2.4 cm.; W. 6.5 cm.
Cat. no. 3154 — Gold *lamella*

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

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

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

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

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

Ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά,
χθονίων βασίλεια, Εὔκλεες Εὐβου-
λεῦ τε, Διὸς τέκος ἀγλαά· ἔχω δὲ Μνημο-
4 σύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώ-
ποισιν· Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι
ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα.

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

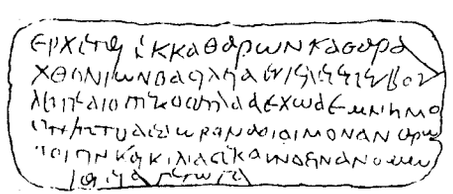


Fig. 27 (Comparetti)

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

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

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

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

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

2 Εὔκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε: Not Ευκλεις (Conway 1933: 87). Eukles (cf. εὐκλεής, "famous") is an epithet of Hades; cf. Heschyius, s.v. Ἐυκλῆς· ὁ Ἅιδης. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής; further, Zuntz 1971: 309f. on the name's possible connection with a Euklós in Oscan.

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

3 Διὸς τέκος ἀγλαά: Who does "Zeus' splendid child" refer to? The neuter τέκος would seem here to admit a feminine adjective ἀγλαά (to be elided ἀγλα') in reference to Caecilia Secundina, the bearer (Marshall 1911: 380; Zuntz 1971: 334). But Zuntz points out here the "unsuitability" of introducing Caecilia Secundina as "the glamorous child of Zeus," especially in view of her speech that follows in ἔχω δέ. Faced with this and other difficulties, West (1975: 231) emends the text as follows:

Εὔκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε Διὸς τέκος· ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε.

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

Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε, Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης
ἀρρήτοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθείς, ἄμβροτε δαῖμον.

The Ὕμνος Περσεφόνης (*Orphei hymni* 29,6-8) gives the following:

Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα, ὑποχθονίων βασίλεια,
ἣν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοισι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην,
μῆτερ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος.

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

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

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

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

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

νόμῳ ἴθι δία γεγῶσα: The writing at the end of the tablet is lightly incised. Diels reads θ<εα>ια, Murray, νόμῳ αιει ἀπαγῶγα, but the letters and interpretation are clear.

28 A Victory Charm

Fig. 28. Plate VI

ROMA (Vigna Codini), Italy — Augustan Period
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (BN) — H. 2.0 cm.; W. 6.1 cm.
Collection Froehner, cat. no. 1211 — Gold *lamella*

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

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

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

cursive scripts of the early-second cent. A.D. More specifically, the overall letter-forms are early Roman, with some of even (late) Ptolemaic date: the *epsilon* with its tiny, detached upper-stroke is demonstrably Ptolemaic; the -γεγ- combination of line 3, similarly so; the simple two-stroked *pi* in line 2 is early, as is also the *sigma* in δός with its flat, upper stroke (contrast the rounded form in Σάραπι). One can also see the completely upright *alpha* giving way (in line 2) to the later, angular form of the letter. Furthermore, the generous use of space — both in the roundness of the letters and in the space *between* the lines — betrays an undeniable Ptolemaic influence. Such a hand on an inscribed tablet would not be expected after the 1st century A.D. The surface of the Vigna Codini gold-foil was sufficiently thin enough to permit a fluid, cursive hand, were that desired. Instead, the writer chose to form each letter carefully, frequently lifting the stylus off the writing-surface so as to shape each majuscule separately. Such a hand and combination of letter-forms characterizes the transition between late Ptolemaic and early Roman in the Augustan period (27 B.C.-14 A.D.).

The placing of the gold leaf in the mouth of the skull reminds Jordan of the ancient practice of placing a coin or metal disk in the mouth of the deceased. He rightly argues that the gold *lamella*, made as a common phylactery for the bearer during his or her lifetime was "reused, after the owner's death, as a *'Totenpaß'*" (Jordan 1985:167, note 2); see A. Herrmann, art. "Charon," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II (Stuttgart 1954), esp. cols. 1043-46. On the gold 'Orphic' tablets as types of 'Charon's obol,' see M. Guarducci, "Le laminette auree con iscrizioni orfiche e l' 'Obolo di Caronte,'" *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Romana di Archeologica*, ser. 3, vol. 15 (1939), pp. 87-95. The possibility for the Afterworld use of the Vigna Codini gold leaf follows a pattern suggested for other *lamellae* in this corpus (see on **2**, **15**, **20**, **23**, **27**, **29**, **39**, etc.).

1 Αἰωνεργέτα, κύριε
2 Σάραπι, δὸς νείκην
3 κατὰ ὀ(νομάτων) τῶν ὑπογεγραμ(μένων).

2 *νείκην:νίκην*

Tr. Eternal worker, Lord Sarapis, give victory over the names written below.

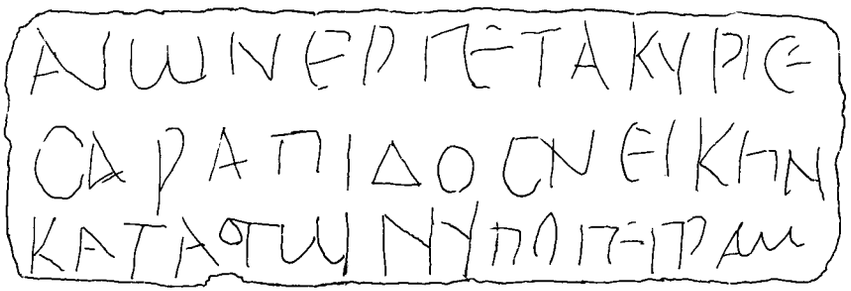


Fig. 27

1-2 Αἰωνεργέτα (?) κύριε Σάραπι: All previous editions before Jordan 1985 read Αἰὼν ἐρπέτα, for which one would have to posit πε in ligature (ligatures do not otherwise occur on this tablet). The tablet reads rather unambiguously - εργετα. Jordan (1985:163) proposes a new formation, αἰωνεργέτης, comparing βουεργέτης, κακεργέτης, πανεργέτης, etc. The name means "eternal worker," or perhaps "worker of the Aiôn." For compounds in αἰων -, he cites *PGM* I.200 (αἰωνακ<τ>ινοκράτωρ), *PGM* I.201 (αἰωνοπολοκράτωρ), *PGM* V.465 (αἰωνόφθαλμος), and *PGM* V.482 (αἰωνόβιος) — compounds frequently found in Egypt. To this list one may add the official, αἰωνογυμνασίαρχος (gymnasiarch for life), given in D. Hagedorn & P. Schubert, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 81 (1990), p. 280 (ref. K. Maresch). It is also possible to suggest here Αἰὼν <εὐ>εργέτα, i.e., 'Aiôn, benefactor, lord Sarapis.' The title 'Benefactor' is common to Serapis and other Egyptian deities; cf., e.g., *PGM* XXXIb 1f.: Κύριέ μου, Σεράπιδι Ἥλιε, εὐεργέτα. For associations of Sarapis with Aion and Helios, and other deities, cf. Jordan 1985:163, n.6; 164, n.13. On Sarapis-Aion, in general, see Stambaugh 1972:84f. (cited above); on Aion: G. Zuntz, *Aion. Gott des Römerreichs* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften,

Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1989. 2. Abhandlung); *idem*, ΑΙΩΝ *in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit.* Wiener Studien, Beiheft 117; Wien, 1992).

2 *δὸς νείκην*: This formula is frequent in *νικητικά* (victory charms); note C. A. Faraone, "Aphrodite ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atlanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990), pp. 225-228; cf. **58**,13,25,38,43; *PGM* VII.919-924: *Νικητικὸν θαυμαστὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ*; *PGM* XXXVI.35-48: *δότε μοι ... νίκην, κτλ.*, line 44f.; *PGM* XXVII.3f.: *δός νείκην, ὁλοκληρίαν σ<τ>αδίου καὶ ὄχλου*; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 62,14: *δὸς μοι νίκη[ν], κτλ.*; and further, *PGM* VII.186-190; 390-393; 423-428; 528-539; 1017-1026; VIII.36; XII.270-350; XXXV.1-42; XXXVI.211-230; XXXVI.275-283; LXX.1-4. The victory envisioned may also be against 'unseen' opponents (Jordan 1985:166). The earlier attempts (before Jordan 1985) to envision some sort of 'victory' over scorpions (e.g. *δὸς νείκην κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραν* = "give victory against the things under a rock") required a sentence that made little sense in Greek (*κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραν* represents an unlikely formulation). In magic, *δὸς νίκην* is never used to describe victory over predatory animals, as if the bearer were waging war against 'things under a rock.' The phrase is always either agonistic or juridical.

3 *κατὰ ὀ(νομάτων) τῶν ὑπογεγραμ(μένων)*: Between the *κατα* and *των* there is a clear *o* inscribed, not remarked upon in previous editions. The *omicron* also shows through on the back side of the *lamella* and hence was intentionally drawn. The *o* is a standard abbreviation for *ὄ(νομα)* — here *ὀ(νομάτων)*; cf. e.g., Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 94, ii, 24. Editors prior to Jordan's new edition falsely read *κατὰ τῶν ὑπογεγραμ(-)* as *κατὰ τῶν ὑπὸ πέτραν*, or the like. Not only does the our reading *κατὰ ὀ(νομάτων)* dispense with this possibility, were there any lingering doubt, the photograph clearly confirms Jordan's reading *ὑπογεγραμ(-)*, for it has a final *μ*, not a final *ν* (i.e. *πέτραν*).

Jordan proposes a fourth (lost) line: *κατὰ τῶν ὑπογεγραμ/[μένων, κτλ.]*. The tablet, though, seems to be intact and probably preserves its original dimensions. The text may have been first copied onto a larger sheet of gold and then cut off before the names were written, or the copyist did not copy the full formula from his model. In any event, in

view of *ὀ(νομάτων)*, the last word should be resolved as an abbreviation: *ὑπογεγραμ(μένων)*. For the formula, cf. *PGM* V. 237f.: *λέγε τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα*; and especially *PGM* XII.280: *καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπογεγραμμένον*, where the 'name written below' is nowhere found in the immediate context of the spell.

29 A Magical 'Time God'

Fig. 29

Ciciliano (Latium), Italy — Early II A.D.
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (lost) — H. 11.0 cm; W. 6.0 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. D. Facenna, *Notizie degli Scavi*, ser. 8, vol. 2 (1948) [1949], pp. 305-306, fig. 9; M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I (The Hague, 1956), p. 102, no. 168 (note, *idem*, vol. II, no. 168, pp. 22f.); M. J. Vermaseren, "A Magical Time God," *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1971), pp. 446-456 (Pl. 16).

Domenico Facenna reported the discovery of this repoussé plaque of thin gold foil among the remains of a Roman villa located at the Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Ciciliano. Vermaseren reports that the National Museum at Rome has since misplaced the piece. The distinctive 'Trajanic' hairstyle of the figure embossed on the plaque dates the *lamella* to the period ca. 98-117 A.D.:

> The plaque shows inside an oval surrounding line a standing nude figure in a stiff, hieratic attitude; though its sex in not indicated, it is clearly male. The person is awkwardly represented, with short hair around his forehead — the only indication of the date, which might be the Trajanic period. He is entwined by a large snake putting its head on the middle of his breast between a bundle of four poppies and a hook-like key which he holds respectively in his left and right hands. Underneath his feet, which have the appearance of an animal's claw, are two triangles, each pierced by either a nail pointing outwards, or a little arrow (Vermaseren 1971: 446).

According to Vermaseren the figure is a magic time god, associated with the famous leontocephalic Mithraic deity, who often stands in an attitude similar to the figure represented on this plaque: 'hieratic' stance, entwined by a snake, and holding a key in each hand. The Ciciliano figure, however, holds in one of his hands a group of poppies, a symbol of Persephone, and hence of the Afterlife (Vermaseren 1971: 452). The poppies point to an Underworld application for this gold plaque (see on **2**,

15,**20**,**28**, etc.). The angular lines (nails?) drawn at the figure's feet are a bit more puzzling: "It is not clear whether the nails belong to the triangles or whether they pierce the god's feet" (Vermaseren 1971:452). What Vermaseren identifies as triangles are actually creases in the crumbled surface of the gold foil.

Other figures on gold repoussé *lamellae* that cannot be identified as specifically 'magical' include: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "Plaque d'or représentant Esculape, Hygie et Télesphore," *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* 5 (1903), p.54f., pl.3c; and L. Habachi, *Tell Basta* (Cairo: Supplements aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, 1957), pl.25b: standing figures in Egyptian garb holding *ankhs* and solar discs (inscribed ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ). A further example from Mosul, depicting a reclining Serapis, with Isis suckling Horus is described in Vermaseren (1971:447 note 5).

[Standing figure of Magical 'Time God']

1 (Above the head): Ἰάω
2 (Beneath the feet): Ἀδωναεῖ
3 (On the right): Ἀκραμαχαμαρι
4 (On the left): Ἀβλαναθαναλβα
5 (In the field): Σι /μελ/ σα/μ
6 (Above): Πι

1 Ἰάω: There is no indication in which sequence these names are to be read, but the usual order found in magic texts is that suggested above. On this divine name, see **12**, 14f. etc., and with Ἀδωναί, **58**,1; **62**,2,10f.

2 Ἀδωναεῖ: The name is usually spelled Ἀδωναῖ (ει = ι); cf. **2**,1; **7**,3; **38**,1; **41**,42 (Index V, s.v.).

3-4 Ἀκραμαχαμαρι, Ἀβλαναθαναλβα: cf. **2**,14; **15**,1 etc. (see 'Index V,' s.v.).

5 Σιμελσαμ: The name is written in the field on either side of the figure. This is an apparent variation of Σεμεσειλαμ (**4**,4, etc.).

6 πι (Vermaseren: *PIP*) is written outside the circle, upper left: This is perhaps III(III), the Hebrew Tetragrammaton יהוה which was often

transcribed as if Greek letters (IIIIII). The name was sometimes written, as here, with just two or three letters. On 'IIIIII' (= "cock" in Coptic), see M. Philonenko, "L'Anguipède Alectorocéphale et le Dieu Iaô," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1979, pp. 297-304. The two letters πι may also simply represent the Greek plenary spelling for the letter of the alphabet, πῖ. Its significance, if not mathematical, is not known, though it also occurs in **33**,31; cf. also **41**,26; **48**,22; **33**,16; **66**,6.



Fig. 29

30 A Magic Λόγος (for Gout?)

Fig. 30

BRUNDISIUM (Brindisi), Calabria, Italy — Roman Period
Museo Archeologico Provinciale, 'F. Ribezzo' — 2.7 cm.; W. 4.2 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. D. Comparetti, "Laminetta d'oro iscritto," *Notizie degli Scavi*, ser. 5, vol. 20 (1923), p. 207f.; A. Olivieri, "Laminetta d'oro iscritta di Brindisi," *Rivista Indo-Graeca Italica* 7 (1923), pp. 53f.; P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14 (1925), p. 203; E. Vetter, *Glotta* 15 (1926), p. 9; R. S. Conway, J. Whatmough, & S. E. Johnson, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy, vol. 3* (Cambridge, MA., 1933), p. 362; J. Whatmough, *The Foundations of Roman Italy* (London, 1937), p. 353, n. 2; V. Schmoll, *Die vorgriechischen Sprachen Siziliens* (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 44, p. 127; fig. 54; E. Wikén, *Die Kunde der Hellenen von dem Lande und Völkern der Apenninenhalbinsel bis 300 v. Chr. Nebst einer Skizze des primitiven Weltbildes der vorhellenen und der Hellenen* (Lund, 1937), p.64, n.3; no.9; F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1951), p. 163, 4; n. 54; cf. R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 536, no. 213; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 283; R. Kotansky, in Faraone & Obbink, edd. *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 118.

In 1923 Comparetti (1923: 207) reported the discovery of a small golden tablet in the area of Pietà in the neighborhood of the Bastione S. Giacomo at Brindisi: during building operations, the scattered remains of a grave apparently dating to the 5th or 4th century B.C. were removed from context for further study. Later at the same site workers found a gold leaf crumpled up in the ground. It was taken for granted that the *lamella* had come from the grave of the excavation previously conducted, though this is clearly impossible since the script is of late Roman date. Comparetti recognized the inscription as Greek, but identified it as part of the gilded ornament from the hilt of the sword of the deceased (of the 'classical' gravesite). Others subsequently attempted in vain to unravel the tablet's inscription and even ventured to identify the language as Messapian, Ausonian, Sicel, or any number of pre-Italian dialects (Zuntz 1971: 283).

1 Χεντεμμᾳ
2 τε Φρεῖ Χεν-
3 τεφραις
4 βλυ[---]

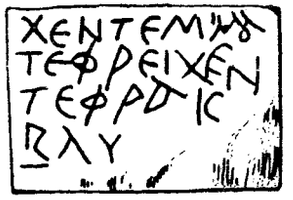


Fig. 30 (Comparetti)

Although Olivieri had already recognized in 1923 that the piece was an amulet (so also Kretschmer 1925:203 and Vetter 1926:9), it was Scherer (in Schmoll 1958:44) who first found a parallel citation from the late veterinarian treatise the *Hippiatrika*, p. 69, ch. 440 (ed. Oder & Hoppe; also cited in R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina*, no. 213):

> Πρὸς ποδάγραν. Ταῦτα δ' ὀνόματα εἰς πέταλον κασσιτέρινον γράψεις [-ψας] ἐν γραφίῳ μὴ ἔχοντι τὸ λειοῦν, καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἡλίου τὸν πόδα δῆσον ὃν πονεῖ, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ἡμέρας λς', ἥτις γίνεται λς' ἡμέρα ἡμέρᾳ ἡλίου, <λύε>. τὰ δὲ γραφόμενα ταῦτα· χεντιματε φη κεντεφρα γλυκαινε.
>
> For Gout: You write these 4 names on a tin *lamella* with a stylus that doesn't have a worn-out tip, and on a Sunday bind (it onto) the foot that hurts. Then after 36 days on the day that falls on a Sunday <untie it>. These, then, are the things to be written: CHENTIMATE PHE KENTEPHRA GLYKAINE.

Although the text here requires a tin (and not a gold) lamella, the correspondence between such a literary text and the discovery of its archaeological counterpart is extraordinary. The common magic tradition shared by wording of the veterinarian recipe and that attested on an actual, extant amulet suggests a common ancestry in some lost magical handbook. The text of the *Hippiatrika* implies that the Brindisi tablet, too, was written for gout. The two texts (apart from expected textual differences) are practically the same:

Hippiatr.:	ΧΕΝΤΙΜΑ	ΤΕΦΕ	ΚΕΝ ΤΕΦΡΑ	ΓΛΥΚΑΙΝΕ
Brindisi:	ΧΕΝΤΕΜΜΑ	ΤΕΦΡΕΙ	ΧΕΝ ΤΕΦΡΑΙΣ	ΒΛΥ[---]

1 χεντεμμᾳ: The reading of the last letter is unsure. Comparetti incorrectly interpreted the whole as follows: χὲν τέμμα τέφρειχεν τέφραις [ἀμ]βλὺ [ποιον]. However, Scherer (in Schmoll 1958:44, n.2) was correct in first recognizing some Egyptian (and magic) words: *"Ich vermute, daß* χεντ = *äg. ḫntj 'Erster'."* Note further the author's commentary in the same note: *"Ich (Verf.) möchte die weitere Vermutung hinzufügen, daß das -εμματε- unserer Inschrift und das -ιματε- der zitierten Formel [Hippiatrica] zusammen mit* χεντ *auf äg. ḫntj imntjw 'Totengott' zurückgehen (zu imn.t 'Westen, Totenreich', imntj 'Bewohner des Totenreichs'), vgl. Erman Äg. Gramm., Ergänz.-Bd. (1929), Wörterverz. s.vv."* The letters χεντεμματε are clearly reminiscent of the epithet of Osiris Khentamenthes (χεντεμενθει), i.e. "Osiris, ruler of the Western Half," or "Osiris, foremost of the west" (that is, ruler of the Underworld); see R. Ritner, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p.129, n.58; *PGM* VII.445; etc. J. Quaegebeur, "Appendice **F**: Mummy Labels: An Orientation," in E. Boswinkel & P. W. Pestman, *Textes grecs, démotiques et bilinques (P.L. Bat. 19)* (Leiden, 1978), p. 253, gives the best and most recent discussion of this name, summarizing that both Greek Οὐσορχοντεμόντ and Οὐσερσετεμένθ are equivalent to Egyptian *Wsir ḫntj imntj*, "Osiris, foremost in the West" (not "the first of the Westerners" — see p. 253, n. 209 — as Volten there renders, and here also, Scherer). In our text χεντεμματε, must also be equivalent to "Foremost of the West."

2-3 φρει χεντεφραις: Scherer (*ad loc.*) reads φρειχ as a magic word. Clearly, however, Φρει is Egyptian for "the God Re." χεντε Φρα, then, must also be Egyptian, with χεντε = *ḫntj*, and Φρα, "the god Ra," again. It seems that earlier interpretations of the letters both on the Brindisi tablet and in the Hippiatrica as τέφραις and ἐν τέφραις γλύ(καινε), with line 4, are false.

31 An Amulet for Affliction of the Eyes

Fig. 31

Near PICENUM (Ripe San Ginesio), Italy — II A.D.
Present location unknown — H. 4.7 cm.; W. 3.4 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. A. Silveri-Gentiloni, apud Fiorelli in *Notize degli Scavi*, ser. 4, vol. 3 (1887), p. 157; M. Ihm, in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 8 (1889), p. 58; no. 238; R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica graeca latina* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 541; no. 238; M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), p. 135; *idem*, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 118 (1909), p.166; G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 281.

Silveri-Gentiloni reported the discovery of some gold pieces found at a grave site of Ripe San Ginesio, which borders the towns of Tolentino and Colmurano. A tomb, enclosed within a tile-covered structure, was said to contain the remains of a skeleton along with vessels of glass and fragments of a gold necklace onto which was attached a gold tubular capsule, with three suspension rings. The necklace comprised a set of soldered rectangular pieces of gold, terminating in triple pyramids, as well as two larger gold pieces, one set with an opaque emerald stone, the other with a green glass-paste. The diggers also recovered a gold ring made from a pair of twisted wire and bezelled with a carnelian engraved with a figure of "*un pigmeo.*" Silveri-Gentiloni provides a facsimile, but no transcription of the *lamella*. The text contains a readable incipit, part of an invocation, and then apparently only 'nonsense' syllables.

Ad oculo(rum) dolo-
rem aut ang(orem) eli
ligavi patri et
4 matri mos togi
nama marem
nam fallum
tolof amon
8 exaton ma-
le margan

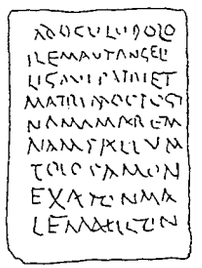


Fig. 31 (Fiorelli)

For pain or distress of the eyes: ELI, I have bound to father and mother *toginama marem nam fallum tolof famon exaton male margan.*

1-2 *Ad oculo<rum> dolorem*: Siebourg 1909:166 reads this as *oculu*, gen. pl., "*mit Abfall des m.*" Marcellus Empiricus 8,27 provides an incipit similar to that given above: *dolorem oculorum ut anno integro non patiaris* ...; further, *idem* 8,45; 8,58, etc. Note, esp. A. Önnerfors, "Zaubersprüche in Texten der römischen und frühmittelalterlichen Medizin," in G. Sabbah, ed. *Centre Jean-Palerne. Mémoires VIII. Études de médecine romaine* (Saint-Étienne, 1988), no. 29 (p. 132): *ad oculorum vitia vel dolorem* (= *Cod. Vindob.* 93); *idem*, "Magische Formeln im Dienste römischer Medizin," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II.37.1 (1993), p. 212, no. 29; p. 193 (for additional examples of 'eye'-spells); cf. J. Piechotta, "Ein Anecdotum latinum," *Jahres-Bericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Leobschütz*, 1886/87, p. xiii, no. 203: *ad oculorum dolorem.* tomatoma *scribes in cartha pura* etc. For the incipit in Greek magic, note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 94,22: πρ(ὸς) ὀφθαλμούς; *idem*, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 26, 3f.: *στῆσον τὸ ῥεῦμα, τοὺς πόνους τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.* For general eye-problems in magic, see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), pp. 69-71; and *idem*, "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), pp. 34-44; Eugene Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (New York, 1916; reprint 1966 ed.), pp. 84-86.

2-3 *aut angeli*: Ihm suggests *ang(orem)* or *ang(inam)*, the former reading of which is adopted here. Siebourg 1909:166 reads *Autangeli*. If so, then *eli* can only be a magic name, perhaps, Hebrew, אלי, "my God."

4-9 The remainder of the text seems to contain a garbled incantation of magic names, none of which are recognizable. Differences in Siebourg's interpretation of the cursive Latin are noted below:

4 *mos togi*: *moctogi* Siebourg
6 *nam fallum*: *nam gallum* Siebourg
7 *tolof amon*: *tolog (f?) amon* Siebourg
9 *margan*: *mallgon* Siebourg

32 The Phylactery of Moses

Fig. 32

AKRAE (Palazzuolo Acreide), Sicilia — II-III A.D.
Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Nazionale — H. 9.1 cm.; W. 5.6
(no inv. number) — Copper *lamella*

Lit. L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai* (Società di storia patria per la Sicilia orientale, Monografie archeologiche I; Catania, 1956), p. 170f., no. *52, Tav. 39 (52); *IG* XIV 2413, 17 (cf. *SEG* 14.593); B. Thorlacius, *Monumentorum Siculorum speciminis secundi particula prima* (Hauniae, 1829); A. Vogliano & K. Preisendanz, "Laminetta Magica Siciliana," *Acme* 1 (1948), pp. 73-85; S. Eitrem, "Varia," *Symbolae Osloenses* 27 (1949), p. 145f.; E. Peterson, "Das Amulett von Acre," *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), pp. 172-178; *idem*, *Frühkirche, Judentum, und Gnosis* (Freiburg, 1959), pp. 346-354; J.& L. Robert, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 63 (1950), p. 219, no. 242; *idem*, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 64 (1951), no. 257; *idem*, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 66 (1953), p. 212, no. 286; *idem*, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 67 (1954), p. 4, no. 18; *idem*, *Bulletin Epigraphique* 72 (1959), p. 282, no. 546.; L. Robert, "Amulettes grecques," *Journal des Savants*, 1981, p. 14, no. 23; cf. S. Calderone, "Per la storia dell'elemento giudaico nella Sicilia Imperiale," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia del Lincei*, ser. 8, vol. 10 (1955), p. 489f. n. 9; cf. G. Manganaro, "Nuovi documenti magici della Sicilia Orientale," *Rendiconti dell' Accademia del Lincei*, ser. 8, vol. 18 (1963-1964), p. 60; J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, 1972), pp. 134-161.

This copper tablet, said to have come from excavations conducted in the area of Acre (near Syracuse), is now in the Syracuse Museum. It was first published in 1829 by Thorlacius, whose reading and interpretation are completely unreliable. Preisendanz in 1931 prepared the first proper edition which did not appear until after the war (Preisendanz-Vogliano 1948). Brea 1956:171f. gives the preferred edition, to date.

This rather unusual amulet identifies itself as the 'Phylactery of Moses' — a venerated magic text said to be acquired by Moses on Sinai and used by him for protection in God's presence and perhaps as a means of initiation as God's divine theurgist. The texts appears to draw heavily upon a 'lost' Moses-narrative based largely on the Hebrew Bible. Though no direct quotes from the Septuagint are forthcoming, the jumbled letters of lines 19-22 — previously unread — can now be securely identified as an 'Aquilan' version of Deuteronomy 32:1-3. Allusions to other biblical

passages can also be detected, as well as less formal references to the language or style of Aquila. The fragmentary state of the narrative and the haphazard manner in which the Deuteronomic verses are cited points to a text, or complex of texts, considerably older than the second or third century date of this amulet. Peterson 1959:354 (cited above), in allusion to the amulet's references to the temple (Holy of Holies), queries, *"Bemerkenswert ist im Amulett von Acre die Verbindung eines Zaubertextes mit dem Tempelkult; liegt dem vielleicht eine ältere Tradition, wonach im Tempel magische Praktiken geübt wurden, zugrunde?"* It is not difficult to imagine that the text at least originates in some esoteric Jewish group interested in the power of Moses as a *magus*, and that such a sectarian, Greek-speaking community (or individual) made use of a composition that employed an Aquilan (or proto-Aquilan) version of the Jewish Bible — much of it in a liturgical fashion. It is not necessary that the amulet derive directly from the Temple, for the diasporic synagogue could have provided the same liturgical and magical setting as that which Peterson imagines was needed for the Temple. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Pagan and Christian Evidence on the Ancient Synagogue," *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 1987), ed. Lee I. Levine, pp. 159-181 gives a valuable assessment of the synagogue as 'Temples' and as places of ritual and magic.

The text of the phylactery is also marked by numerous indications of having been transcribed from a formulary. Preisendanz (1948:78) correctly observes *"einige Schreibfehler legen die Vermutung nah, der Schreiber habe nicht verstanden, was er schrieb,"* though it is possible that the transcription of the peripheral material into the text of the amulet occurred at a stage long before our writer made his own copy.

The *lamella*, after first having been tightly folded many times horizontally so as to create guide-lines, was then inscribed. Once engraved, it was re-folded and then folded yet again vertically, presumably to be inserted into a capsule. Evidence for this procedure of first folding a blank sheet of foil to create natural ruling-lines can be demonstrated by the fact that the lines of the inscribed text fall neatly between each horizontal crease in the tablet. Had the scribe *first* engraved the text and *then* folded it, most of the folded lines would not have fallen conveniently between each line of written text; see also **18**, etc.

Preisendanz (1948:79) further observes that the tiny sheet of copper, broken lengthwise down the middle, with its lower right-hand corner missing, shows unusual signs of wear — perhaps the result of much handling by modern researchers since its discovery in the early 19th century, or equally because the amulet was venerated in antiquity as a holy object or reliquary of sorts.

Palaeographically, the writing is a somewhat cursive book-hand of the late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D. It is not far removed from the general appearance of *P. Oxy.* LIV. 3723 (II A.D. elegy), *P. Lond. Lit.* 135 (Herodas, II-III A.D.), *P. Mich.* IV.1. 224 (172-173 A.D., tax-rolls). The citation from Aquila in lines 19-23 also provides a fixed *terminus post quem*: Aquila, whose *floruit* was around 130 A.D., must have written his version of the Old Testament well before 180 A.D., by which time it must have been already in common circulation, as it is cited in Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*: "Ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν', ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, κτλ. (apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* V, 8, ed. Harvey, II, p. 110; ed. Sagnard, p. 348). We should also observe, however, that "Aquila should be seen as the culmination of at least a century's worth of translational activity within the Jewish community" (L. J. Greenspoon, art. "Aquila's Version," in D. N. Freedman, ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. 1 [New York, 1992], p. 320, with some add. bibliography). It is not clear whether our 'Aquilan' fragment represents work coming directly from Aquila's own hand, or is rather already an earlier form of the Greek Bible that Aquila later used. Nonetheless, the importance of this new fragment of 'Aquila'— however he is to be defined — should influence the discussion of the use and development of Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible within the Jewish community, especially seeing that the fragment occurs as a jumbled verse embedded in so esoteric a context as an amulet.

[Φυλα]κτήριον ᾧ [Μωσ]ῆς ἐχρᾶ[το] ἐν τῷ
[φυλά]ξε αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων·
ἐ[ν] τῷ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν δόξαν
4 φυσικοῦ. ἀνεχώρει [τ]ὸ ἁγιωσύν[ης πν]-
[ε]ῦμα·καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μετέστρεφεν.
[λ]όγον πετάλῳ χρυσῷ ποίει ἔξ·Σαβαώθ.
[δεῖ ἀ]ρτύην μετὰ ληβ[ά]νων, ζμύρναν.
8 Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως ὅτε ἀνέβαινεν
τῷ ὄρει Σειλαμωναι λα[β]εῖν κάστυ.
[αὐ]τὸ φορῶν οὐ φοβήσῃ μάγον οὐδὲ κατά-
δεσμον οὐδὲ πνεῦμ[α πον]ηρὸν οὐδέ τι δή-
12 ποτε. καθαρείως δὲ [αὐ]τὸ φόρει, ὃ οὐ με-
ταδώσεις πλὴν γο[ν]ίμοις.
Ἰάω Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναῖε Σειλαμ Ἀβλα-
[ν]αθαναλβα, Κόσμε Κόσμου, διαφύ-
16 λαξον τόνδε.Ἀβρασάξ, [Τ]ρώ,
ΥΨΖΛSSSOOO ΧΚΛΗΘ (magic signs?) ΞΗΡΟΟΖΟΟ
[.]ΕOOOO ΧΟΑΒΡΙΑΑ[.]Σ Ἰάω ου ειε Ἰηου
ΘΑΘΘΑ ΕΛΑΑ Φθῶ ΩΩ, ' γν[ο]<φω>θήσεται οὐ-
20 ρανός, [κ]αὶ λαλήσω, καὶ [ἀ]κουέτω ἡ γῆ λόγ<ον
στόμ>α-
τος μοῦ. ὡς τρι<χι>ὼντ[α] ἐπὶ πόαν καὶ
ὡς ψεκάδες ἐπὶ χλόην. ὅτι ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ<ἐκάλεσα>'
[Deut.32:1-3, Aquila]
Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως ὅτε ἀνέ-
24 βαινεν τῷ ὄρει Σει [λ]αβεῖν Σεισε-
ι, λαβεῖν κάστυ· [α]ὐτὸ φορῶν οὐ φο-
βήσῃ μάγον οὐδ[ὲ] κατάδεσμον οὐδ[ὲ]
πνεῦμα πονηρὸν οὐδέ τι δήποτε.
28 [κα]θαρείως δὲ αὐ[τ]ὸ φόρει, ὃ οὐ με-
[τα]δώσεις πλὴν γονίμοις.Ἰάω Σαβ-
[αώθ]. Πρὸς πυρετὸν ἢ [πρὸ]ς ἡμερηνοὺς [πυρε]-
[τοὺς] ἢ πρὸς {ο} ὀφθαλ[μοῦ β]ασχανείαν
32 [ἢ πρ(ὸς) α]ἰτέσιμον ἀγαθά· [αὐτὸ φορῶν οὐ φο]-
[βή]σῃ μάγον οὐδὲ πνεῦ[μα πονηρὸν οὐδὲ]

[φαν]τασίαν· ἢ ζήσῃ μα[κροημερεύων ταῦ]-
[τα μ]αθών, ζήσῃ μα[κρόβιος, ἔχων κακοῦ]
36 [δαίμ]ονος ἄδειαν.

2 [φυλά]ξε: [φυλά]ξαι 5 *μετέστρεφεν*: *μετέστρεψεν* 7 *ἀρτύην*: *ἀρτύειν* *λῃβ[α]νων*: *λίβ[α]νον* (*-ου?*) 30 *ἡμερηνούς*: *ἡμερινούς* 31 *βασχανείαν*: *βασκανίαν* 32 [α]*ἰτέσιμον*: [α]*ἰτήσιμον*

A phylactery which Moses used to [protect] him in the Holy of Holies (and) to lead him in the glory of (the) divine. The Spirit of Holiness withdrew, and after these things he turned away.
(6) Make a formula on a gold leaf (six [letters]): "Sabaôth." [It is necessary] to make an offering of myrrh with frankincense.
(8) A phylactery of Moses when he went up on mountain Sinai ... to receive the amulet (*keset*). By carrying it, you shall fear neither a sorcerer, nor binding-spell, nor evil spirit, nor anything whatsoever. But carry it in purity — it is something that you should not hand over to anyone except your offspring:
(14) "*Iaô Sabaôth Adônaie Seilam Ablanathanalba,* O world of the world, protect (him), so-and-so. *Abrasax, [T]ro, ypszasssoooch,* 'called dry land' *zoo.e* (magic signs) *oooochoabria.s Iaô ou ei eie Iêou Thaththa Elaa Phtha ôô.*

> 'The heaven will be darkened, and I will speak,
> And let the earth hear the words of my mouth,
> As *fine dew* upon the grass,
> And as gentle showers upon the herb,
> Because <I have called> the name of the Lord'" [Deut. 32:1-3, Aquila].

(23) A phylactery of Moses when he went up on mountain Sinai to get the golden tablet (*sisi*), to get the amulet (*keset*). By carrying it, you shall fear neither a sorcerer, nor binding-spell, nor evil spirit, nor anything whatsoever. But carry it in purity — it is something that you should not hand over to anyone except your offspring: "*Iaô Sabaôth* <...>."
(30) For fever, or [for] daily [fever], or for the evil eye, [for requesting] good things. [By carrying it], you shall fear neither sorcerer, nor [evil] spirit, nor apparition. You shall live [long days] having [learned these things]. You shall live [a long life, having] freedom from [an evil demon].

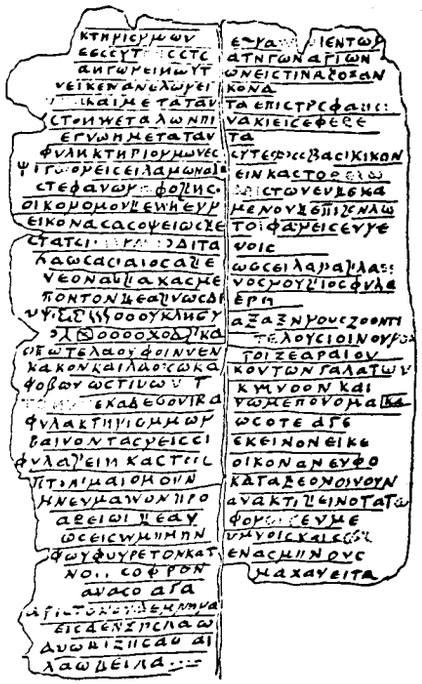


Fig. 32

(*IG*.XIV 2413,17: Thorlacius)

Prefatory Remarks on Lines 1-6, 8-9, 23-24

The Akrai amulet preserves fragmentary portions of a narrative episode concerned with 1) Moses' protection in the Holy of Holies (1-2); 2) his encounter with the Presence of God (3-5), and 3) his ascent upon a mountain (8f., 23f.). A fourth sentence (6-7) mentions a gold plate that the practitioner is to make as an amulet — a possible allusion to Aaron's gold frontlet which he wore before entering the holy tabernacle (see Commentary, line 6).

The first two narrative episodes, with the phrases *εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων* (2) and *εἰς τὴν δόξαν φυσικοῦ, κτλ.* (2-4), are based upon the Old Testament accounts of Moses' (or Aaron's) entering the wilderness tabernacle wherein God's presence resides (see Commentary below). The parallel references, *ὅτε ἀνέβαινεν τῷ ὄρει* (lines 8-9; 23-24) situate Moses

specifically on a mountain. Since both the 'Holy of Holies' in the wilderness and the ascent upon a mountain, concern Moses' direct encounters with God, these narratives can be seen to form a closely linked group of texts that must have derived from a common tradition about Moses' meeting with God. The OT narratives of Exodus preserve a complex of stories about Moses' encounter with God, especially in his commissioning Moses, establishing him as leader over the Israelites, entrusting him with supernatural powers, in the giving of the Law, and providing specific instructions about the building of the tabernacle. These epiphanic narratives are inextricably linked with both Mt. Horeb and Mt. Sinai in the pentateuchal tradition, hence they must have represented a common Mosaic tradition. Considered together, the Exodus narratives provide the background for our amulet's own narrative in the general ideas they convey and in their specific language. It is worthwhile to cite the most relevant of these texts in fuller form.

Mt. Horeb-Traditions:

Ex. 3:1-4:17: Moses comes to Mt. Horeb while pasturing the flock of Jethro, sees the vision of God in the burning bush, is 'initiated' as a magician by being given a supernatural staff and is granted the knowledge of God's true name:

3:1: *καὶ ἤγαγεν τὰ πρόβατα* Ιοθορ ... *καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος* Χωρηβ
3:2: *ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάτου*
3:5: *καὶ εἶπεν* (sc. *θεὸς*) *Μὴ ἐγγίσῃς ὧδε ... γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν*
3:6: ... *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ... ἀπέστρεψεν δὲ Μωυσῆς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*
3:12: *ἐν τῷ ἐξαγαγεῖν σε τὸν λαόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ λατρεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ.*
(3:14:*Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν*)
(4:1-17 Moses granted powers with a *ῥάβδος*, etc.)

Mt. Sinai-Traditions:

Ex. 19:3: *καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ*
Ex. 19:11:... *καταβήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινα ἐναντίον παντὸς λαοῦ*
Ex. 19:12: *καὶ ἀφοριεῖς τὸν λαὸν κύκλῳ λέγων Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ θιγεῖν. πᾶς ὁ ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὄρους θανάτῳ τελευτήσει.*
Ex. 19:20: *κατέβη δὲ κύριος ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινα ... καὶ ἀνέβη Μωυσῆς.*
Ex. 24:12-18: [12]*Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ἀνάβηθι πρός με εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἴσθι ἐκεῖ· καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς ἔγραψα νομοθετῆσαι αὐτοῖς.* [13]*καὶ ἀναστὰς Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ παρεστηκὼς αὐτῷ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ·* [14]*καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἶπαν Ἡσυχάζετε αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἀναστρέψωμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς·...* [15]*καὶ ἀνέβη Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐκάλυψεν ἡ νεφέλη τὸ ὄρος.* [16]*καὶ κατέβη ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά, καὶ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὸ ἡ νεφέλη ἓξ ἡμέρας· καὶ ἐκάλεσεν κύριος τὸν Μωυσῆν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἐκ μέσου τῆς νεφέλης.* [17]*τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου ὡσεὶ πῦρ φλέγον ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους ἐναντίον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.* [18]*καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς νεφέλης, καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας.*

The 'Holy of Holies:'

Ex. 26:33: *καὶ εἰσοίσεις* (sc. Moses) *ἐκεῖ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου· καὶ διοριεῖ τὸ καταπέτασμα ὑμῖν ... ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων.*
Ex. 28:23 (29): *Καὶ λήμψεται Ἀαρὼν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τοῦ λογίου τῆς κρίσεως ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους, εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ ἅγιον μνημόσυνον ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ.*
Ex. 28:26 (30): *... καὶ ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους Ἀαρών, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἔναντι κυρίου.*
Lev. 16:2-3: *καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Λάλησον πρὸς Ἀαρὼν τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, καὶ μὴ εἰσπορευέσθω πᾶσαν ὥραν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος ... οὕτως εἰσελεύσεται Ἀαρὼν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον.*
Lev. 16:23:... *εἰσπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον.*

Moses' mountain experiences in the presence of God — whether on Horeb or Sinai — initiate him into, and invest him with, certain divine powers and privileges. At Horeb he is given the 'magic' name of God and is taught to work miracles (*σημεῖα*) — miraculous powers demonstrated before Pharaoh and later among the Israelites (cf. Commentary, line 8f.). At Sinai he is given divine knowledge of the Law, told how to construct the Holy of Holies, and how to engrave the divine name on the golden plate. Although only Aaron, according to the Biblical text, is allowed to actually enter the Holy of Holies, our amulet seems also to allow Moses — as an initiated priest of God — to speak with God both in the Tabernacle as well as on the mountain (cf. Ex. 26:33, above).

Like the Akrai phylactery, two places in the Greek magical papyri also describe Moses and his reception of divine knowledge from God; in both instances this knowledge is described in the language of initiation and of the mysteries: *PGM* V.108-117: *ἐγώ εἰμι Μοϋσῆς ὁ προφήτης σου, ᾧ παρέδωκας τὰ μυστήριά σου τὰ συντελούμενα Ἰστραήλ*, "I am Moses

your prophet to whom you have handed over your mysteries that Israel commemorates;" *PGM* XII.92-94: *ἐγώ εἰμι, ᾧ συνήντησας ὑπὸ [ἐπὶ ?] τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος καὶ ἐδωρήσω τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου ὀν(όματός) σου γνῶσιν, ἣν καὶ τηρήσω ἁγνῶς μηδενὶ μεταδιδούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς συνμύσταις εἰς τὰς σὰς ἱερὰς τελετάς*, "I am he whom you met [upon?] the sacred mountain and gave the knowledge of your great name which I shall keep holy, imparting it to no one except the fellow holy initiates of your sacred mysteries;" cf. R. Merkelbach & M. Totti, *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts*, Bd. 1: *Gebete* (Pap. Colon. XVII.1; Opladen, 1990), pp. 20,74; *ibid*, *Abrasax, Bd. 2: Gebete (Fortsetzung)* (Pap. Colon. XVII.2; Opladen, 1991), p. 156. The fairly close relations between the Old Testament accounts of Moses' audience with God, on the one hand, and the preservation of that tradition in some form in the magical literature, on the other hand, point to a systematic transmission and adaptation of Moses qua mystic among esoteric Jewish exegetes. These 'exegetes' no doubt interpreted God's revelations to Moses as his mystical initiation into sacerdotal magic and derived authentication for their own magical practices in these Mosaic '*historiolae*.' No doubt the production and preservation of the 'Moses Phylactery' belonged in the hands of special Jewish groups interested in working mystical theurgy and initiation (see above). The 'Phylactery of Moses' is no ordinary protective amulet, but an initiate's privileged 'membership card' which he (or she) was to carry throughout life and hand down only to fellow-initiates. It derives its authority from the fact that it is the very phylactery that Moses was given and used in his encounters with the divine.

Commentary

1 [Φυλα]*κτήριον ᾧ* [Μωσ]*ῆς ἐχρᾶ*[το]: The fact that Moses "used" (*ἐχρᾶτο*) this phylactery is enough to guarantee its efficacy; *χρᾶ* occurs in a similar sense in, e.g., *PGM* IV.790f.: *πολλάκις δὲ τῇ πραγματείᾳ χρησάμενος ὑπερεθαύμασα*; for identical phrasing, note also *PGM* XII.317f.: *ὁ δὲ 'Ουφωρ' οὗτός ἐστιν, ᾧ Οὐρβικὸς ἐχρᾶτο*; and XII.121: *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο. τούτῳ καὶ Ἀπολλώβηξ ἐχρᾶτο*; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.I*, no. 38, 8f.: *τελείωσον τὸ τοῦ φιλτροκαταδέσμου - τοῦτο ἐχρήσατο ἡ Ἶσις*; see, in general, H. D. Betz, "The Formulation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri," in B. F. Meyer & E. P. Sanders, *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 161-170; esp. 166, and note 33 (on Moses); further, Commentary lines 8, 16, below.

1-2 *ἐν τῷ* [*φυλά*]*ξε αὐτὸν*: Vogliano rightly suggests [*φυλά*]*ξε* = *φυλάξαι* here instead of the reading [*στηρί*]*ξε* (= *στηρίξαι*); the cognates *φυλάσσειν* and *φυλακτήριον* belong, and occur frequently, together (cf. line 15f.). The articular infinitive with *ἐν* + dative construction is usually temporal; cf. the parallels in lines 8, 23, which revert to a less obscure *ὅτε* with a finite verb. On *αὐτὸν* versus *αὐτόν*, see below, and line 3.

The reading *φυλάξαι* finds further support in the reference to ascent on Sinai alluded to in Ex. 19:12 (lines 1f. here are paralleled by Moses' ascent in lines 8,23f.). In that passage explicit protection is needed by the people of Israel before the presence of God in the mountain: ... *τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καταβήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινα ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ. καὶ ἀφοριεῖς τὸν λαὸν κύκλῳ λέγων Προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ θιγεῖν τι αὐτοῦ· πᾶς ὁ ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὄρους θανάτῳ τελευτήσει*. Noteworthy is Aquila's *φυλάσσετε ἑαυτούς* in lieu of the LXX's *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς* at this verse — the reading may have influenced the choice of words, *φυλάξαι αὐτόν* (= *αὐτόν*, Preisendanz). A similar phrase that occurs in Deut. 32:10 may have also been in the writer's mind, for Deuteronomy 32 contains the great 'Song of Moses' whose beginning verses are cited in lines 19-21. Moses' 'Song' at Deut. 32:10 refers to God's protecting Jacob (= Israel), as the 'apple of his eye:' *καὶ διεφύλαξεν αὐτὸν ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ*.

2 *εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων*: In the LXX, the Holy of Holies generally refers to the inner sanctuary of the Temple of Jerusalem, but here in reference to Moses is the inner sanctuary of the Tabernacle which God commanded Moses to build during specific revelations given on Sinai; cf., e.g., Ex. 25:7 (LXX): *καὶ ποιήσεις μοι ἁγίασμα, καὶ ὀφθήσομαι ἐν ὑμῖν· καὶ ποιήσεις μοι κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐγώ σοι δεικνύω ἐν τῷ ὄρει, κτλ*. That sanctuary was to contain the presence of the invisible God himself, seated on an elaborate Cherubim-throne and housing the holy Ark (*κιβωτόν*), generally interpreted by scholars as the footstool (see, e.g., L. Seow, art.

"Ark of the Covenant," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York, 1992, vol. I, p. 388f.). Although the text of Exodus refers to this sanctuary as the ἁγίασμα (as in Ex. 25:7 = ἁγιαστήριον, Lev. 12:4), or simply the σκηνή (22x in Ex. 26), it is also specifically named the 'Holy of Holies' (e.g., Ex. 26:33-34: ... καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ κατακαλύψεις τῷ καταπετάσματι τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν ἁγίων, and often).

The phylactery of Moses is needed for securing access to the Holy of Holies for protection before the awesome Shekinah Glory (cf. δόξα in line 3) of the Lord. As mentioned above, usually it is Aaron as high priest who is required to wear special clothing and protective accouterment when entering the sanctuary. One of the items prescribed for Aaron to wear is the problematic 'oracular' (?) breast-plate (λογεῖον or λόγιον = Hebrew חֹשֶׁן): καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν (= the *Urim*) καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (=the *Thummim*) καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους Ααρών, ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἔναντι κυρίου (Ex. 28:26 [30]; cf. Ex. 28:15, 35; Lev. 16:2). Since this λόγιον is also named in Leviticus 8:8-9 in conjunction with the gold leaf worn on the headband of Aaron, it is easy to see how Moses' φυλακτήριον could have become identified with this famous gold-plate: καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λόγιον, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τὴν μίτραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν μίτραν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τὸ πέταλον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ καθηγιασμένον ἅγιον (Lev. 8:8f.; cf., further, Commentary, below, line 6). A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia, I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 27, 30 gives a notable example of an adjuration of spirits "by the Holy of Holies" in a magical operation that promises numerous mystical benefits by summoning and bringing under one's control a host of occult powers: ... ὁρκίζω σας εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἔλθετε πρός με μετὰ προθυμίας χωρὶς φόβου καὶ βλάβης τῆς ψυχῆς μου καὶ τοῦ σώματος μου ἐν εἴδει ἀνθρωπίνῳ, κτλ.

3-4 ἐ[ν] τῷ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν δόξαν φυσικοῦ: This parallels line 2, forming a *parallelismus membrorum*, whereby εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων = εἰς τὴν δόξαν φυσικοῦ. Preisendanz 1948:80 interpretes ἀγαγεῖν as a form of initiation into the office of a magician (*"Ruf eines Zauberers"*— see next §); but the verb may also denote simple motion,

"when he brought oneself," or, "when he led himself," etc. cf. Ex.3:12: ἐν τῷ ἐξαγαγεῖν σε τὸν λαόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ λατρεύσατε τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ. Ex.28:26 (30), ὅταν εἰσπορεύηται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἔναντι κυρίου (LXX), is matched by the Aquilan version's use of the infinitive, a construction closer to that found in our text. Aquila renders the Hebrew (אֶל-הַקֹּדֶשׁ) לְבוֹ בְּבֹאוֹ, like our text here, with ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτόν. Such syntactical literalism again points to Aquilan influence, as mentioned above (see Appendix 1 and 2, below).

Εἰς τὴν δόξαν φυσικοῦ seems to be a variant on the LXX's δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ (Ex. 24:16) or the δόξα κυρίου (Ex. 24:17); so Peterson. The tablet's φυσικοῦ, "of the numinous," "of the divine," may represent a mere circumlocution for God (e.g. κυρίου), with magical or occult overtones, as would be fitting on an amulet such as this. Peterson 1959:350 says, on the other hand, φυσικός is *"Zauberer"* and refers to A. J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* I. *L'astrologie et les sciences occultes* (Paris, 1950²), p.197. In that case, Preisendanz's idea of a 'magician initiation' still represents an optional interpretation: the whole of lines 3f. might mean, "to initiate him into the magician's splendor."

4-5 ἀνεχώρει [τ]ὸ ἁγιωσύν[ης πνε]ῦμα: Some portion of the original narrative is missing, for the sudden mention of the departure of the Lord's presence reads like the conclusion of a longer description in which Moses' encounter with God must have been described. Τὸ ἁγιωσύνης πνεῦμα is the Shekinah glory. Peterson 1959:351 compares *Testam. Levi* 18,11: καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου ζωῆς / καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; note also Rom. 1:4: ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης.

ἀνεχώρει ... μετέστρεψεν: Preisendanz takes this as the loss of Moses' own magic power by the subsequent departure of "the spirit of holiness;" as a result, Moses alters (καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μετέστρεφεν) the text of the amulet by introducing six "Sabaoth's" onto a gold *lamella*: *"Darauf änderte Moses (den Amulettext). Als Logos bring auf dem Goldblättchen sechs 'Sabaoth' an"* (Preisendanz 1948:80, n.1). But it is probably not Moses' own magic power that is drained, but rather the Lord's Shekinah presence that departs; the presence of God, described in lines 3f. as ἡ δόξα φυσικοῦ (= κυρίου / θεοῦ) is here specified as "Spirit of

Holiness." Peterson (1953:175) rightly points to Ezekiel 9:2 (see below, on *κάστυ*), where the Glory of the God "leaves" from its place on the Cherubim-throne in the temple: *καὶ δόξα θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τῶν χερουβιν ἡ οὖσα ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ αἴθριον τοῦ οἴκου.*

5 *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μετέστρεφεν* (Read *μετέστρεψεν*): These words also seem to read rather like a concluding segment from a longer narrative, especially with the words, "and after these things;" cf. Num. 32:22 (LXX): *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποστραφήσεσθε*; Tobit (A) 14:5: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλωσιῶν*; Hos. 3:5 (LXX): *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ*. The subject here must be Moses, who after the events of the *historiola* (here fragmentary), turns and leaves the presence of the Lord. It makes little sense to construe the words with the "spirit of holiness" of the previous clause. The verb *μεταστρέφειν* is not used in the LXX of turning from God (and departing), but is comparable to *ὑποστρέφειν* or *ἐπιστρέφειν* used of Moses turning to address the Lord; cf., e.g., Ex. 32:31: *ὑπέστρεψεν* [A *ἐπέστρεψεν*] *δὲ Μωυσῆς πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἶπεν*; and for *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα*, cf. Exod. 5:1: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθε Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν πρὸς Φαραώ*. If these fragmentary phrases are remnants of a lost narrative, one can cite by way of comparison, L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcism* (Brussels, 1957), p. 33,18-20, where *μεταστρέφειν* and *Σαβαώθ* are found in another Moses-*historiola*: ... *καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος Σαβαὼθ ὃ Μωϋσῆς ἐκάλεσε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς αἷμα μετέστρεψε*. Here *μεταστρέφειν* is used of Moses' miraculous powers — powers acquired in the calling of the name 'Sabaôth' (line 6, below; cf. line 22) and used against the Egyptians. If the verb *μεταστρέφειν* in our text also referred to Moses' powers as a magician, through the knowledge of the divine 'Sabaôth,' one would also expect in our text a similar narrative-reference to Moses' powers before Pharaoh, especially since protection from the 'fear of a magician' (archetypically, Pharaoh) is one of this amulet's many functions (lines 10,26,33). Clearly a major section of narrative has vanished, as the syntax and context suggest.

6 [λ]*όγον πετάλῳ χρυσῷ ποίει ἓξ Σαβαώθ*: "Make (this) 'spell' on a gold leaf: 'Sabaôth' (6 letters)." This phrase, referring to writing the divine name on a gold leaf, is difficult to interpret in the context, if

understood as part of the narrative (so Preisendanz). The subsequent reference in line 7 to an offering of myrrh and frankincense tells us that we are dealing with ritual instructions from a magic handbook. Hence, *ποίει* is imperative (like *φόρει* in line 12, below) and is used in the magic papyri (as opposed to, e.g., the usual *γράφειν*) specifically for preparing a magic leaf: *ποιήσας πέταλον ἔχον τετάρτας β΄* (*PGM* XII.197); *λαβὼν χρυσοῦ τετάρτας <β΄> ποίησον πέταλον* (*PGM* XII.199); VII.382. This last reference is particularly important, for it shows how this line could have been copied from a handbook with little syntactical connection with its surrounding context: *καὶ οὐσιάσ*[*ας δίω*]*κε τὸν ἐπάνω λόγον. ποίει δὲ καὶ σιδήρου π*[*έταλ*]*ον. ὁ λόγος·' ψύγητι, σίδηρε, κτλ.*, "and having supplied the substance, recite the *formula* above, and also *make a 'leaf' of iron. The formula*: ... " (here the underlined words parallel those of our text: [λ]*όγον πετάλῳ χρυσῷ ποίει ἓξ Σαβαώθ*).

Despite the 'formulaic' description of the leaf of gold, its mention here clearly alludes to the gold leaf that Aaron wore in the Holy of Holies (above): Ex. 28:32 (36): *Καὶ ποιήσεις πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρόν, καὶ ἐκτυπώσεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτύπωμα σφραγῖδος Ἁγίασμα κυρίου* (cf. Ex. 29:6, etc.). Although it is given to Moses to make the gold plate (and the other sacred items), it is Aaron, as priest, who is to wear it. With the close verbal similarities between the description of the gold leaf of Aaron and that of our text, it is easy to imagine the practitioner of our spell associating himself with Moses and Aaron as a priestly functionary carrying out the divine injunctions. The divine Aaronic and Mosaic accouterments, including Aaron's gold plate, are also mentioned, e.g., on an Aramaic silver *lamella* in J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), p. 22, n. 23.

The *ἓξ Σαβαώθ* to be written on the plate may also have been influenced by Ex.28:9f., where Aaron's *ephod* (*ὕφασμα*) is to be set with two stones, each having six of the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraved on them: ... *καὶ γλύψεις ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, ἓξ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν ἕνα, καὶ τὰ ἓξ ὀνόματα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον τὸν δεύτερον, κτλ.*

7 [*δεῖ ἀ*]*ρτύην μετὰ ληβ*[*ά*]*νων ζμύρναν*: As restored by Preisendanz (1948:80). Again, we have additional instructions copied

from a magic handbook; for the nexus, cf. *PGM* IV.2873f.: *ἐπίθυε στύρακα, ζμύρναν, σφάγνον, λίβανον, κτλ.*; *PGM* V.202: *ἐπίθυε ζμύρναν καὶ λίβανον, κτλ.* Note, further, *PGM* XIII.20f.: *ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα ἐπιθύματα. ὃ δὲ λέγει ἐν τῇ* 'Κλειδὶ' Μουσῆς (among the secret Mosaic *epithymata* are frankincense of Helios and myrrh of Selene). Since frankincense and myrrh often occur together as separate ingredients, we read here acc. singular *λίβανον* (not *-ων*), though apparently the genitive singular was intended. As Preisendanz notes, this ritual may have been intended to 'fumigate' or otherwise consecrate the *lamella*; cf. *PGM* VII. 741ff.: *εἰς π[τ]ύχιον κασσιτέρινον καὶ ἐπιστεφάνωσεν μύρτοις τὸ πτύχιον θὲς τὸ θυμιατήριον. ἐπίθυε δὲ λίβανον καὶ περιένεγκον λέγων περὶ τὴν ἀτμί[δ]α τὸ πέταλον*; on consecration, see also S. Eitrem, "Die magischen Gemmen und ihre Weihe," *Symbolae Osloenses* 19 (1939), pp. 57-85.

8-9 *Φυλακτήριον Μωσέως ὅτε ἀνέβαινεν τῷ ὄρει σειλαμωναι*: Read *Σεινὰ* (?). As mentioned above ('Prefatory Remarks'), the text seems to refer to Mt. Sinai. The parallel in line 24, below, has *τῷ ὄρει σει[.]αβειν*, which most editors print as *τῷ ὄρει σει* [λ]*αβεῖν*. Perhaps the text there should be interpreted *τῷ ὄρει Σει[ν]ᾶ βειν* (see next line).

An Aramaic-Greek bilingual amulet specifically describes the impartation of the amulet to Moses on Mt. Horeb: "I adjure you by ... and by the signet ring (ובטבעת) that the kings of angels gave to Moses on (Mount) Horeb (למשה בחורב) ... in ancient times ..." (R. Kotansky, J. Naveh, & S. Shaked, *Le Muséon* 105 [1992], pp. 5-24, line 27, pp. 9,12, 19 [Comment.]). References to Moses receiving magic traditions from God, as well as the Law, are also found in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (1927), especially, p. 29,24ff. There one finds an adjuration to bring occult powers under one's control with references to God's granting mysteries to Israel (*τὸν Ἰσραήλ, ὃς παρέδωκεν τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια*) and the 'Law' to Moses on Sinai (*τὸν Μωϋσῆν καὶ δόντος αὐτῷ τὸν νόμον ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Σινᾶ*).

9 *σειλαμωναι λα[β]εῖν καστυ*: As shown already by Peterson, *καστυ*, "magic bands" (see Appendix I and Commentary, line 24), is a word from Aquila's and Theodotion's translation of the Hebrew. As to *σειλαμωναι*, Preisendanz conjectures: (1) a corruption for Sinai; (2) a combination of *σεμεσιλαμ* and *Ἀδωναι*. If *σει* is a copyist error of *Σ(ε)ινά*, then *μωναι* is left unexplained. The whole may have been confused with a similar sounding mountain, Mt. Salmon (צַלְמוֹן, *Ṣalmôn*) which occurs in Judges 9:48 (*καὶ ἀνέβη Αβιμελεχ εἰς ὄρος Σελμων*; cf. Ps. 68:15).

10-12 *[α]ὐτὸ φορῶν οὐ φοβήσῃ μάγον οὐδ[ὲ] κατάδεσμον, οὐδὲ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν* (= lines 25-29, 32-43). This 'catalogue' of magic operations may be based on a similar, but more detailed, list of forbidden magic practices given in the 'Mosaic' decrees of Deut. 18:10f.: *περικαθαίρων ... ἐν πυρί, μαντευόμενος μαντείαν, κληδονιζόμενος καὶ οἰωνιζόμενος, φαρμακός, ἐπαείδων ἐπαοιδήν, ἐγγαστρίμυθος καὶ τερατοσκόπος, ἐπερωτῶν τοὺς νεκρούς*. The Greek terms here are often difficult to explain precisely, because they translate even more obscure expressions in the Hebrew. The list on our tablet has been simplified, using terms easily comprehensible to the contemporary magician. That there may be an indication, again, of a dependence upon Aquila's translation of the Old Testament is suggested by the word *μάγος*, which is Aquila's rendering here of the LXX's *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. For this Aquila translates the equivalent Hebrew words וְשֹׁאֵל אוֹב, "inquiring an *'ôḇ*," (= a necromancer?) with the literal phrasing, *καὶ ἐπερωτῶν μάγος*. A marginal note in the Syro-hexapla explains the *'ôḇ* as *μάγον, καὶ γνώστης, καὶ ζητῶν πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς*. Aquila also gives *μάγους* for LXX's *ἐγγαστριμύθους* at 1 Reg. 28:3,7; 4 Reg. 21:6; 23:24 (cf. at Isa. 29:4) and in the Hexaplaric Sinai-Ms. of Isaiah 8:19 (ed. Lütkemann-Rahlfs, *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1915, p. 72f., with note).

For the connection of esoteric Mosaic teaching given on Sinai with the acquisition of powerful protection from magic and demons, note R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres. Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1904) — the great *φυλακτήριον* of the *Cod. Paris.* 2316, F. 316^{r}: *ὕμνος ἀρχαγγελικός, ὃν ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ Μωυσῇ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾷ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· λαβὲ φόρεσον τὸν ὕμνον τοῦτον καὶ ἔσει ἄφοβος ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν δαιμονίων φαντασμῶν.*

12 *καθαρείως δὲ [αὐ]τὸ φόρει*: For similar wording in reference to magic *lamellae*, cf. *PGM* IV.2230: *καθαρίως φόρει*; X.28: *τελέσας*

φόρει καθαρίως; XII.277: *τελέσας φόρει καθαρείως*; cf. also II.149; IV.899 (with *ἁγνός*).

12-13 *ὃ οὐ μεταδώσεις πλὴν γο[ν]ίμοις*: The 'secrecy motif' occurs often in magic spells; in addition to the references cited above ('Prefatory Remarks'), cf. *PGM* IV.1872: *Μηδένα δίδασκε*; *PGM* IV.851f.: *μηδενὶ μεταδοῦναι τὴν Σολομῶνος πραγματείαν*; *PGM* I.193: *ταῦτα οὖν μηδενὶ παραδίδου, εἰ μὴ μόνῳ [σο]υ ἰσχινῷ υἱῷ*; *PGM* IV.2517f.: *κρύβε, υἱέ*; further, *PGM* XIII.214,313,343,719,755, etc., addressing one's *τέκνον*; *PGM* XII.94: *ἣν καὶ τηρήσω ἁγνῶς μηδενὶ μεταδιδούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς σοῖς συνμύσταις εἰς τὰς σὰς ἱερὰς τελετάς*.

14 Ἰάω Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναῖε: Cf. line 29f., below.

15 *Κόσμε Κόσμου*: This Greek gives a literal, Aquila-like rendition of some Hebrew phrase such as עולם לעולם, "for ever and ever," as Semitic עוֹלָם can mean "nature, existence; world." The phrase goes with the divine names immediately preceding it; cf. **2**,13f.: *ωλαμ λεωλαμ*.

15-16 *διαφύλαξον τόνδε*: *Τόνδε* (= *τὸν δεῖνα*) comes from a formulary; cf. *PGM* IV.1193: *διαφύλαξόν με, τόνδε*, etc.

16 [T]*ρώ*: So Preisendanz; cf. *PGM* IV.1536: *Ἀνοχω, Ἀβρασάξ, Τρω*. One can also read here [*χ*]*ρῶ* (cf. line 1).

17 ΚΛΗΘ ... *ΞΗΡΟΟΖΟΟ: Is it possible that *κληθ ... ξηροο* also preserves remnants of Greek? Note Gen. 1:10 (LXX): *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ξηρὸν γῆν* (LXX). If so, the letters here may have originally contained a reading such as ... *κληθὲν ξηρόν*, i.e., " ...(the earth) called 'dry land'" (or, similarly, ... *ἐκλήθη ... ξηρόν*); cf. also *PGM* V.112f.: *σὺ ἔδειξας ὑγρὸν καὶ ξηρὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τροφήν* (in a spell also naming Moses; cf. 'Prefatory Remarks').

18 *αβρια*[.]*ς Ἰάω ου ειε Ἰηου*: cf. *PGM* IV.928: *αβριαθ*. The name Ἀβρια(-) may be Hebrew אביר, "strong, powerful," a common designation of God in the Hebrew Bible. The following phrase, with the tell-tale *ειε*, reads like a speculation on the famous 'I-am-who-am passage' in Ex. 3:14: אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, lit. "I shall be who I turn out to be" (see **2**,3f., Commentary).

19 *θαθθα*: Perhaps *βαθθα*; cf. *PGM* IV.1078 (*αθθα βαθθα*); *αθθα*, however, is Hebrew "thou art" (cf. **2**,11) and may go with the preceding divine names.

Ελαα Φθα: Perhaps read Φθᾶ, i.e. 'Ptah' the Egyptian creator god; cf. *PGM* II.118; IV.3015; XII.81; XIII.1056; LXI. 26; etc.; Th. Hopfner, "Orientalisch-Religionsgeschichtliches aus den griechischen Zauberpapyri Aegyptens," *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1931), p. 327. The Greek Ἐλα(α) may represent Semitic (cf. Aramaic אֱלָהּ, "god"); hence "(the) god Ptah"; cf. Ελα Θαθ, "the God Thoth" (?) in *PGM* XII. 292f.

19-22 *New Aquila Fragment* [Deut. 32:1-3]. These lines preserve a previously unidentified fragment of Aquila's Greek translation of Deut. 32:1-3, discussed more fully below ('Appendix 2'). As transcribed on our tablet, however, the verses could hardly have been understood as anything but magic words — part of the incantation of the whole of lines 14-22. For convenience we provide here an epigraphic commentary on the new readings printed in the text above, since they differ considerably from those given in Brea. Without the benefit of a legible photograph we stress the tentative nature of the new reading.

19-20 *γν*[*ο*]<*φω*>*θήσεται οὐ/ρανός*: ΕΝ[.]ΤΕΙΖΕΣΕΩ *οὐ/ρανὸν* Brea. "Heaven will be darkened" [cf. App. 2]. Brea's initial *εν-* is to be taken as *γν-*. The tablet may have already had the reading wrong. Presumably, *-τειζε-* disguises an original *-τησε-* (read *-θησε-*). On *-ΣΕΩ-* versus *-(σε)ται-*, Brea's (or the tablet's) final *-Ω* = our *-αι* (almost indistinguishable in cursive). The tablet seems to have *οὐρανόν*, which is not supported by the syntax or any of the versions discussed below.

20 *καὶ λαλήσω*: [.]ΑΙΛΑΝΣΩ Brea. "And I will speak" (Moses). Brea's ΛΑΝΣΩ is easily read *λαλίσω*, if the joining N is understood as ΛΙ. Whether the tablet originally read *λαλίσω* or *λαλήσω* in no way interfers with the interpretation of the text.

20-21 *καὶ* [*ἀ*]*κουέτω ἡ γῆ λόγ*<*ον στόμ*>*α/τος μοῦ*: ΚΩ [.] ΚΟΥΤΩΗΓΑΛΟΓΕ/ΤΟ *ὁμοῦ* Brea: "And let the earth hear the word of my mouth." As occurs several times in these lines, Brea's ΚΩ = *καί*: a cursive *omega* is practically indistinguishable from a cursive *αι*. In *ἀκουέτω*, *ἀκου*<*έ*>*τω* is perhaps preferable, though here we assume *νε* was written in cursive (or ligature), and hence misread.

21 *ὡς τρι*<*χι*>*ὼντ*[*α*] *ἐπὶ πόαν καὶ*:ΩΣΙΡΙ ΩΝΤ[.]ΕΠΙΠΑΑΝΚΑΙ Brea. "As fine dew upon the grass." Brea's reference to Osiris is a 'ghost' reading. The ΩΣΙΡΙ in fact represents *ὡς τρι-*. In ΤΡΙΩΝΤ[Α], Aquila's

τρι<χι>ῶντ[α] is clearly recognizable, even if the -χι- syllable is missing. The upper horizontal of the *tau* is lost, damaged, or misread. For the intepretation and translation of τριχιῶντα, see 'Appendix 2,' below.

22 ὡς ψεκάδες ἐπὶ χλόην: E[.]ΨΕΚΑΔΕΣΕΠΙΚΛΟΟΗΝ Brea. "As dew upon the grass." The tablet's apparent κλοοην must be a mistake for χλώην, with *oo* written as an exaggerated, looping ω. Also, on a wrinkled and creased tablet such as this, the χ was probably misread as κ.

ὅτι ὄνομα Κ(υρίο)υ <ἐκάλεσα>: ὅτι ὄνομα Κυ(ρίου) Brea (the abbreviation is improperly resolved). The ἐκάλεσα, absent on the tablet, is supplied from the LXX (see below), though this may not have been the original Aquilan reading.

The presence of this particular citation from Aquila on our amulet is not without its purpose. Deuteronomy, chapters 32 and 33, preserve respectively the last words of Moses to the people of Israel before his death. The one — called the 'Song' or 'Ode' of Moses (Greek, ᾠδή) — and the other — the 'Blessing' (εὐλογία) — both contain poetic compositions that effectively close the whole of the Mosaic Pentateuch, the five books of the Law of Moses. In Deut. 32:1-3, Moses sings his song to the whole assembly of Israel, with his own words likened to a divine utterance that even heaven and earth must hear. The words not only represent a distillation of all Moses' divine teaching as given on Sinai, they serve as a sort of incantation in themselves, for the words appropriately end, "I will proclaim the name of the Lord." That name, and its proclamation, represents the very essence of the magic 'Phylactery of Moses'— it is the 'Sabaoth' of the inscribed golden leaf (line 6), the Divine Names and Tetragrammaton (lines 14-18, 29f.) that Moses acquires on his ascent to Sinai. According to the LXX of Deut. 32:44, at the close of his 'Ode,' Moses *writes down* (ἔγραψεν) the words of the ode. The people of Israel are thereby further enjoined to preserve the words of the Law, "so that they may live long in the land" (μακροημερεύσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) which they are to inherit (Commentary, lines 34-36, below). This promise of living 'long in the land' is the very promise, we argue, that was written on the fragmentary conclusion of the text of the Akrai phylactery itself. The 'Phylactery of Moses,' then, carries on a long and hoary tradition of interpreting Moses as a magical

figure, *par excellence*, who through his divine amulet from Sinai brings us a protective text that not only preserves Mosaic teachings, but one that gives protection against diseases, baneful magicians, and demons, as well as an enduring promise for longevity in 'the promised land' of life.

23-29 Φυλακτήριον ... γονίμοις: This entire section repeats the narrative section of the lines given above.

24-25 σει [λ]αβεῖν σεισει, λαβεῖν κάστυ: The parallels in line 9 gives a slightly different reading: σειλαμωναι λα[β]εῖν κάστυ. Here we take σει as a shortened form of Mt. Sinai: τῷ ὄρει Σεῖ(να). The doubled λαβεῖν refers to Moses' getting the gold amulet with the divine name on it (line 6): "When he ascended Mt. Sinai to get the *seisei*; to get the *kasty*." The first word transliterates Hebrew/Aramaic, צִיץ/ צִיצָה, *ṣîṣ/ṣîṣah*, "gold plate; gold foil," specifically the gold πέταλον of the High Priest (Commentary, above, line 6)

27 [α]ὐτὸ φοβῶν οὐ φοβήσῃ μάγον, κτλ.: These lines, repeated from 10ff. above, address the problem of counter-magic; cf. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia, I* (1927), p. 11, 19ff.: ὅτι νὰ μὴν φοβᾶσαι μαγείαις νά σε βλάπτουν.

29-30 Ἰάω Σαβ[αώθ]: Cf. lines 14ff., above. The lines that follow πρὸς πυρετόν, etc. should not be printed as if part of the invocation, as in Brea and Vogliano.

30 Πρὸς πυρετὸν ἢ [πρὸ]ς ἡμερηνοὺς (Vogliano); read ἡμερινούς (Preisendanz): The words represent the title of another spell in the copyist's *Vorlage*. For fever amulets, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Amulet against Fever," *Chronique d'Egypte* 57 (1982), pp. 377-381 (add. lit.); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 2-4, 9-14,18-19,21-23,25,28-29,31,34-35; **56**,11; **59**,10f.,14.

30-31 [πυρε/τούς]:[φό/βους] Preisendanz. One rather expects here another type of 'fever,' like the 'daily' (fever) mentioned in the previous line, e.g. ἀμφημερινοῦ, τριταίου, or τεταρταίου.

31 ἢ πρὸς [ο] ὀφθαλ[μοῦ β]ασχανείαν: Restored by Preisendanz (βασχανείαν = βασκανίαν). The 'evil eye' is not found often in the *PGM*, but is a frequent subject of amulets; see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), pp. 96-98; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 6,8: διαφυλάσσων ... ἀπὸ βασκάνων πάντων. In

general, B. Kötting, "Böser Blick," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christenum* 2 (1954), pp. 473-482.

32 [ἢ πρ(ὸς) α]ἰτέσημον ἀγαθὰ: [ἀνα]ιδέσιμον Brea and Vogliano. Our reading here is a supposed reference to an αἰτήσιμον ἀγαθὰ, i.e. "(Spell) of Request for excellent things." One can also read καὶ α]ἰτήσιμον. The whole is interpreted as another πρός-'subtitle' in the list that begins in line 30. For similar request-spells, cf. *PGM* XII.144: αἴτησις ὀνείρου; note XIII.287: καὶ ᾐτήσω με τὴν αἰτησίαν.

32-34 [αὐτὸ φορῶν οὐ φο/βή]σῃ μάγον οὐδὲ πνεῦ[μα πονηρὸν οὐδὲ / φαν]τασίαν: Preisendanz restores differently: [δὸς τῷδε οὐ φοβή]σῃ μάγον οὐδὲ πνεῦ[μα πονηρὸν οὐδὲ φαν]τασίαν; cf. lines 10ff.; 24ff.). Because of the repetition, one wonders why the lacuna does not continue with the expected [... οὐδέ τι δήποτε] as above, but rather ends [...]τασιαν, which Preisendanz restores as [... οὐδὲ φαν]τασίαν; cf. *PGM* IV.2699-2701: φύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παντὸς δαίμονος ἀερίου ... καὶ φαντάσματος; VII.579: φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα. Here on this *lamella* φαντασία = φάντασμα, i.e. daimonic visitations or apparitions.

34-36 ἢ ζήσῃ μα[κροημερεύων ταῦ/τα μ]αθών, ζήσῃ μα[κρόβιος, ἔχων κακοῦ /δαίμ]ονος ἄδειαν: Preisendanz restored these lines differently (unaware of the Deuteronomic parallels, discussed below): ἢ ζήσῃ μα[καριστὸν βίον ταῦτα μ]αθών, ζήσῃ μά[γου ἔχων καὶ κακοῦ δαίμ]ονος ἄδειαν, i.e., "You shall live [a most blessed life], having learned [these things]. You shall live, [having] freedom from fear of a sorcerer and [evil dai]mon."

The noun ἄδεια can be shown to represent another Aquilan word. In Isaiah 61:1, the LXX's ἄφεσιν in the phrase κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν translates the Hebrew דרור, "emancipation, setting free" (of captives); Aquila, however, uses instead the term ἄδεια (as also at Jerem. 34:9 Hexapla = LXX 41:9) to translate this Hebrew noun. With this in mind, one may understand the tablet's [δαίμ]ονος ἄδεια as an emancipation from the 'bondage' of demons.

Whereas Preisendanz's restoration of lines 32-34 is based on the parallels of 10-12, here the text probably gives new material. The 'doublet' in ζήσῃ μα[---] (liens 34f.) hardly lends itself to two *different*

restorations, as Preisendanz suggests. Given that the formulaic language of this tablet is occasionally based on the text of Deuteronomy, the 'doublet' probably gives a reference to living a *long*, rather than a *blessed* life. As shown above for lines 19-23, and elsewhere throughout this text, the writer of this amulet was familiar with the Greek Old Testament, even citing Aquila's version of the beginning of Deuteronomy 32. J. W. Wevers in his *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 86-99, has remarked in particular on the use of repetitive formulas in the LXX of Deuteronomy and gives a list of some fifty-six stereotypical formulas. Two of these (nos. 27-29) are of particular interest in tendering the alternative restoration for lines 34-36 given above:

27. *"in order that you may live"*

4:1	ἵνα ζῆτε καὶ εἰσελθόντες κληρονομήσητε
16:20	ἵνα ζῆτε καὶ εἰσελθόντες κληρονομήσητε
6:24	ἵνα ζῶμεν ὥσπερ και σήμερον
8:1	ἵνα ζῆτε ... καὶ εἰσέλθητε καὶ κληρονομήσητε
11:8	ἵνα ζῆτε ... καὶ εἰσέλθητε καὶ κληρονομήσητε
30:6	ἵνα ζῇς σύ
30:19	ἵνα ζῇς σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου

29. *"that your days may be long"*

4:40	ὅπως μακροήμεροι γένεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
5:16	καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
5:33	ὅπως ... καὶ μακροημερεύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
6:2	ἵνα μακροημερεύσητε
11:9	ἵνα μακροημερεύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
17:20	ὅπως ἂν μακροχρόνιος ᾖ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ
32:27	ἵνα μὴ μακροχρονίσωσιν
32:47	μακροημερεύσετε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

Based on these repetitive 'refrains,' and given the writer of this tablet's borrowing from the Book of Deuteronomy, it seems quite probable that what was originally written in the phrase ζήσῃ μα[---] contained a 'blessing' formula much like those cited above. Two of these formulas actually occur in the very chapter (32) of Deuteronomy that is cited more fully in the Aquila fragment. The lacunose text of lines 34-36 may in fact represent a conflation of the two biblical formulas cited above. For example, one might suggest for the lacunae in lines 34-36 something that, though following the general import of what Preisendanz restores, better reflects the formulaic readings of the Greek Old Testament. For a

'double'-formulation similar to that proposed above, cf. Deut. 30:20 (LXX): *ὅτι τοῦτο ζωή σου καὶ ἡ μακρότης τῶν ἡμερῶν σου κατοικεῖν σε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.*

Appendix 1: Κάστυ

Peterson (1953:173) explained that *καστυ* represents the Greek transliteration of Hebrew קֶסֶת, *qeset*, "writing-case," a word that occurs in Hebrew only in the Ezekiel 9:2,11; and in Greek, only in Aquila and Theodotion's translations of the Old Testament. The most important readings of Ezek. 9:2, for example, give the following (*Origenis Hexapla*, ed. Field, vol. 2, p. 790):

Hebrew:	וְקֶסֶת הַסֹּפֵר בְּמָתְנָיו
LXX:	*καὶ ζώνη σαπφείρου ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ*
Latin:	*Et atramentarium scribae ad lumbos eius*
Symmachus:	*πινακίδιον γραφέως ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ*
Aquila:	*(καὶ) μελανδοχεῖον γραμματέως*
Aquila (Ed.1):	*(καὶ) κάστυ γραμματέως*
Theodotion:	*(καὶ) κάστυ γραμματέως*

The context describes an Angel of Destruction who uses his writing box to mark Jerusalemites to be spared from apocalyptic destruction; the readings of the versions at Ezek. 9:11 give similar 'interpretations' for Hebrew *qeset*, as well. For Petersen, the presence in the Akrai tablet of the transliterated *κάστυ* shows an ancient respect for the Semitic original. Now, however, as seen in lines 19-23, it can be shown that the writer of our amulet used the exacting translations of Aquila in lieu of the LXX, throughout his text.

But for Moses to go up onto Sinai to receive a scribe's writing case does not seem to fit the context closely. Petersen (1953:174f.) points to later Jewish exegetes who identify Ezekiel's unnamed angel with Gabriel who is represented as wearing the clothes of a high-priest. Moses, then, as a cultic priest also becomes the recipient of Gabriel's scribal girdle and writing instruments. On the other hand, there is another place in the Book of Ezekiel that provides a better explanation for our tablet's *κάστυ*. A

word almost identical to Ezekiel's קֶסֶת, *qeset*, in 9:2,11 occurs in Ezekiel 13:18,20: כְּסָתֹת, *keset*, "magic bands." The word is equally rare and, again, is found only in Ezekiel (in these two verses) in all of the Hebrew Bible. Here the parallel fits the context of our amulet better. The account in Ezekiel speaks against false Hebrew prophets, particularly those named in vv. 18,20 — women who perform necromancy and also tie about the wrists magic bandlets and place veils (?) on the head (מְתַפְּרוֹת כְּסָתוֹת עַל כָּל-אַצִּילֵי יָדַי וְעֹשׂוֹת הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת עַל-רֹאשׁ, etc. Ezek. 13:18). The LXX's translation, as scholars note, is inexact, for the Hebrew words for magic bands and veils (?) occur only here and are of unclear meaning: *ταῖς συρραπτούσαις προσκεφάλαια ἐπὶ πάντα ἀγκῶνα χειρὸς καὶ ποιούσαις ἐπιβόλαια ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κεφαλήν, κτλ.* Aquila and other translators do not give anything much different than what the LXX has; on the other hand, the so-called *τὸ Ἑβραϊκόν* version (see *Origenis Hexapla* ed. Field, pp. lxxi) interprets Ezekiel's magic bandlets as phylacteries: *οὐαὶ ταῖς ποιούσαις φυλακτήρια, καὶ κρεμαζούσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν αὐτῶν, κτλ.*

Though used to describe a negative practice, the *keset* (pl., *kesatôt*) in Ezekiel is simply a *φυλακτήριον*. The same word with the same meaning is used positively of the *φυλακτήριον* that Moses receives on Mt. Sinai. Like Aquila's *κάστυ* (= קסת, "writing-case"), Moses' *κάστυ* (= כסת, "phylactery") represents a letter-for-letter transcription for a rare Hebrew technical term.

Appendix 2: The New Fragment of Aquila

Lines 19-22 on the Akrai amulet preserves a somewhat corrupted version of Aquila's translation of Deuteronomy 32:1-3. Elsewhere in this tablet there seems to be additional allusions to Aquilan readings of the Hebrew Bible. Our knowledge of Aquila, though largely dependent upon citations of him in the remnants of Origen's *Hexapla* and in a few Church Fathers, also comes to us more recently in other papyri and later manuscripts; see S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 76-83, esp. p.79f., for the most recent finds (with Bibliography, p. 381f.). Note, further C. Wessely, "Un nouveau fragment de la version

grecque du Vieux Testament par Aquila," *Mélanges offers à M. Émile Châtelain* (Paris, 1910), pp. 224-229: Two parchment frag. III-IV A.D. of Ps. 68 (69):13f.,30-33; Ps.80 (81):11-15. For an index to Aquila we now have N. Turner's revision of J. Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila* (Philadelphia, 1916 = VTSuppl 12; Leiden, 1966).

As noted in the Commentary above, lines 19-22 have been previously read as follows:

[19]... EN[.]TEIZEΣΕΩ *οὐ*/[20]*ρανὸν* [.]AI ΛΑΝΣΩ
ΚΩ [.]ΚΟΥΤΩ Η ΓΑ ΛΟΓΕ/[21]ΤΟ *ὁμοῦ*
'Ωσίρι ΩΝΤ[.]ΕΠΙΠΑΑΝΚΑΙ/[22]
Ε[.]ΨΕΚΑΔΕΣ ΕΠΙΚΛΟΟΗΝ
ὅτι ὄνομα Κυ(*ρίου*).

The presence of ΨΕΚΑΔΕΣ (i.e. *ψεκάδες*), *οὐρανόν*, and *ὅτι ὄνομα κ(υρίο)υ* alert the reader that the jumbled words of this passage preserve (or formerly preserved) good Greek, rather than mere magic syllables. The identification of these lines as a verbatim quote from Aquila, much less as a meaningful Greek fragment at all, is arrived at from several divergent sources: (1) The Greek of the LXX itself; (2) the Aquilan glossed words in Origen's *Hexapla* of the matching passage from the LXX; and (3), to a lesser degree, a citation of Aquila found in Eusebius, *Demonstr. evang.* II, 3, 151f. (ed. Heikel, 1913), p. 87.

The text of Deuteronomy 32:1-3 (LXX Ed. Wever, p. 344) gives the tell-tale *ὅτι ὄνομα κυρίου ἐκάλεσα* and *οὐρανέ* (*οὐρανός*?) of our text:

32:1a Πρόσεχε, <u>οὐρανέ</u>, καὶ λαλήσω,
32:1b καὶ <u>ἀκουέτω</u> <u>ἡ γῆ</u> ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός <u>μου</u>.
32:2a προσδοκάσθω ὡς ὑετὸς τὸ ἀπόφθεγμά μου,
32:2b καὶ καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος τὰ ῥήματα μου,
32:2c <u>ὡσεὶ</u> ὄμβρος <u>ἐπ</u>' ἄγρωστιν
32:2d καὶ <u>ὡσεὶ</u> νιφετὸς <u>ἐπὶ</u> χόρτον.
32:3a <u>ὅτι</u> <u>ὄνομα</u> <u>Κυρίου</u> <ἐκάλεσα>.'

---

2 ὄμβρος] α′ τριχιῶντα M ἐπ' ἄγρωστιν] ἐπὶ πόαν F[b]: cf. Procop 953 (καὶ ὡσεὶ) νιφετός] α′ (+ θ′ *et sicut* Syh) ψεκάδες (-δης) M) M Syh[b]

As indicated by the passages underlined above, some correspondence can be established between the reading of our amulet and the text of Deuteronomy, but it is not enough to establish a direct relationship. On the other hand, the Aquilan readings in Origen's *Hexapla* at Deut. 32:1-3 (of which only v. 2 is preserved) correspond very closely to lines 19-22 of the phylactery. We give below the text of Field's *Hexapla*.

Text: *Origenis Hexaplorum*, ed. F. Field, (Hildesheim, 1964; repr. of Oxford, 1875 edition), vol. I, p. 320 [the following abbreviations are used, O′ = Septuagint; 'A = Aquila; Θ = Theodotion]:

[Deut.] XXXII.

2. יַעֲרֹף. *Stillet.* O′. προσδοκάσθω. 'A. **γνοφωθήσεται.**[1]
כִּשְׂעִירִם. *Sicut imbres.* O′ ὡσεὶ ὄμβρος ('A. **τριχιῶντα**[2]).
וְכִרְבִיבִים. *Et sicut pluviae.* O′ καὶ ὡσεὶ νιφετός ('A. **ψεκάδες**[3]).

: [1] [Syro-hexa. reading given +] Cf. Hex. ad Psal. lxiv.13 [2] Cod. X. Praetulerim *τριχιῶντες*, coll. Hex. ad Lev. xvii.7. Jesai xiii.21. Mox ad *ἐπ' ἄγρωστιν* Cod. VII in marg. manu 2[da]: *ἐπὶ πόαν*. [3] Idem (cum *ψεκάδες*). Cf. Hex. ad Mich. v.7

Each of the three main Aquilan glosses corresponds to a word preserved in one form or another in the Akrai phylactery fragment. Working backwards we have: *ψεκάδες* in line 22; *τριχιῶντα*, in Brea's <u>'Ωσίρι ΩΝΤ[.]</u> (i.e. *ὡς τρι*<*χι*>*ῶντ*[*α*], line 21); and *γνοφωθήσεται* lurking in the letters EN[.]TEIZEΣΕΩ (line 19), i.e., *γνο*<*φω*>*τήσεται* (for -*θήσεται*) — see Commentary, above. Possible alternative interpretations and explanations for the readings are provided in the Commentary above, at lines 19-22). Given these key identifications, the remainder of the Aquila citation can be supplied, mostly from the marginal variants indicated in Field's (and Wevers's) critical notes and from parallel Biblical passages, including the corresponding passage of Deut. 32:1-3 in the LXX, itself.

The rest of the reading of the Akrai phylactery on Deut. 32:1-3 can be easily supplied from the context of the Septuagint and from what traces

are given on the tablet itself. When these words are compared with the underlying Hebrew, all the appropriate words fall into place, though these may be previously unattested in Aquila or in this context of the LXX.

To show the underlying Hebrew text that Aquila presumably used, we give first the Hebrew Masoretic Text (MT), then the new reading of the Akrai Aquila fragment. It is not always clear, however, as indicated below, what Hebrew word Aquila actually had before him for his translation. One may also have to compare the text of the LXX, cited above. In the new reading, since the benefit of a good photograph was not made available, allowance must be made for conjectural readings. Because it is not always clear whether the seemingly 'corrupt' reading of Brea's definitive text is due to his own misjudgment or represents an actual reading of the *lamellae*, a slightly different convention of textual editing is here employed. In the Greek text underlined letters represent readings that appear to be original mistakes on the *lamella* itself or readings that differ widely from those of Brea's edition. Dotted letters represent new readings that can be explained as a simple misreading of similar letter-forms in the cursive script (e.g., α for ο; ω for αι; N for Λ, or ΛΗ); or simple phonetic variants (θ for τ): see *apparatus criticus*, above.

Akrai Phylactery: Aquila Fragment (Deut. 32:1-3)

32:1a	γν[ο]<φω>θήσεται οὐρανὸς [κ]αὶ λαλήσω
32:1b	καὶ [ἀ]κουέτω ἡ γῆ λόγ<ον στόμ>ατος μοῦ.
32:2a	[---]
32:2b	[---]
32:2c	ὡς τρι<χι>ῶντ[α] ἐπὶ πόαν καὶ
32:2d	ὡς ψεκάδες ἐπὶ χλόην.
32:3a	ὅτι ὄνομα K(υρίο)υ <ἐκάλεσα>.'

MT (ed. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*):

הַאֲזִינוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וַאֲדַבֵּרָה	32:1
וְתִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי־פִי	32:1a
יַעֲרֹף כַּמָּטָר לִקְחִי	32:2a

תִּזַּל כַּטַּל אִמְרָתִי	32:2b
כִּשְׂעִירִם עֲלֵי־דֶשֶׁא	32:2c
וְכִרְבִיבִים עֲלֵי־עֵשֶׂב	32:2d
כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה אֶקְרָא	33:3e

[1]'Give ear, O heavens, and I will speak;
and let the earth hear the words of my mouth.
[2] May my teaching drop as the rain,
my speech distil as the dew,
as the gentle rain upon the tender grass,
and as the showers upon the herb.
[3] For I will proclaim the name of the Lord' (RSV).

Textual Notes:

(19f.) Deut. 32:1a. The translation of the Hebrew verb אזן, "hear," "give ear to" with γν[ο]<φω>θήσεται is difficult to explain. The verb γνοφόω, "darken," is also used by Aquila at Psalm 64 (65):13 for Hebrew (MT) רעף, "drip" — a notoriously difficult passage — and is otherwise only attested in the LXX of Lamentations 2:1, where it translates עוב ("to cover with a cloud" ?), itself a Hebrew *hapax legomenon*. Perhaps here at Deut. 32:1a Aquila likewise had עוב in lieu of אזן. The verb form requires that we read in Brea's οὐρανόν (LXX has vocative, οὐρανέ), the nominative οὐρανὸς: "the heaven will be darkened." Aquila's 'darkening skies' actually anticipates the simile of verse 2, where Moses' words are likened to the raindrops that then fall upon the earth.

(20f.) Deut. 32:1b. The text καὶ [ἀ]κουέτω ἡ γῆ λόγ<ον στόμ>ατος μοῦ follows the LXX very closely, though the tablet's λογ(-), in lieu of the LXX's ῥήματα, gives an alternate translation for Hebrew אמרי־פי. The Hebrew phrase requires the expansion <στόμ>ατος; the reading is easily diagnosed from the extant letters λογεTOOMOY (= τος μου).

The Aquilan text of Deut. 32:2a-b is wholly absent on the tablet. These stanzas were either omitted by haplography — they are 'doublets' of both vv. 1b and 2c-d, respectively — or were never in the Hebrew model that Aquila used.

(21) Deut. 32:2c. Field preferred τριχιῶντες to τριχιῶντα. The Masoretic text's כשעירם עלי־דשא, "as rain-showers upon the grass," is translated in the LXX by ὡσεὶ ὄμβρος ἐπ' ἄγρωστιν. Aquila's τριχιῶντα

[τριχιῶντες] (= LXX ὄμβρος) for Hebrew שְׂעִיר can be easily diagnosed as follows: the Hebrew word שֵׂעָר, "hair," and its cognate שָׂעִיר, "hairy; shaggy," also means "(hairy) he-goat" or "(hairy) demon." But the plural form of the Hebrew verb found at Deut. 32:2 (= "rain-showers"), however, comes from a rarer homograph, שַׂעַר, "gale; storm" (cf. סער). Aquila's τριχιάω — usually "to suffer from *trichiasis*" (a disease of the eyelashes, or of the breasts) — seems to translate the first of the two Hebrew words given above: "he-goat(s)." Aquila's use of τριχιάω elsewhere at Lev. 17:7 (τοῖς τριχιῶσιν) and Isa. 13:21 (τριχιῶντες) in translating the Hebrew texts' שְׂעִירִם (= demons; he goats, satyrs?), shows that here in Deut. 32:2c he perhaps understood the same Hebrew word. (LSJSuppl, s.v. x τριχιάω now adds '**III.** τριχιῶν, ὁ, *he-goat*, Aq., Sm., thd. *Is.* 34.14, cf. Aq. *Is.* 13.21'). But Aquila's τριχιάω — at least here — may still mean something like "fine dew," as forms in -τριχ- can refer to things with fine hair-like qualities, as fissures, etc. (see LSJ, s.v. τριχίασις). Can τριχιῶντες be used of fine, delicate dew drops?

LXX's ἐπ' ἄγρωστιν in Deut. 32:2c is given in the 'duplicate' version of Aquila (cf. Field, pp. xxiv-xxvii) as ἐπὶ πόαν. Wevers's *apparatus criticus II*, cited above, supports this by showing the same reading in the 'minuscule' corrector to Ms. F [Mailand, Bibl. Ambr. W.P. 51, 5th cent. = F^b]. Cf. also Procopius Gazaeus, *Commentarii in Deuteronomium* (Migne, *PG* 87), p.953: ἢ ἄγρωστιν πόα τις ἐστιν, κτλ. A parallel reading at Micah 5:7 (6) (LXX: καὶ ὡς ἄρνες ἐπὶ ἄγρωστιν) is rendered by Aquila as καὶ ὡς ψεκάδες ἐπὶ πόαν, in the *Hexapla*; cf. Eusebius, *Demonstr. evang.* II, 3, 151f. (ed. Heikel, 1913), p. 87, on the same verse: ἀνθ' οὗ 'καὶ ὡς ψεκάδες ἐπὶ πόαν' ὁ Ἀκύλας, ὁ δὲ Θεοδοτίων 'καὶ ὡσεὶ νιφετὸς ἐπὶ χόρτον' ἐκδεδώκασιν.

(22) Deut. 32:2d. Where the LXX has νιφετὸς ἐπὶ χόρτον, Aquila has ψεκάδες according to Origen's *Hexapla*. Our tablet gives slightly more: ψεκάδες ἐπὶ χλόην, a not unexpected Aquilan rendering of the Hebrew עֵשֶׂב: Aquila also uses χλόη to translate this same Hebrew word at Gen. 1:29,30; Deut. 11:15; and Isa. 37:27.

In conclusion, the new reading of our amulet offers a welcome addition to the text of Aquila.

33 Jewish Amulet with Angel-Names

Fig. 33

Mazzarino, Sicilia — III-IV A.D.
Siracusa, Museo di Siracusa — H. 9.5 cm.; W. 4.0 cm.
inv. no. 82071 — Bronze *lamella*

Lit. S. Sciacca, *Kokalos* 26-27 (1980-1981) [1982], pp. 459-463 (photo); note *SEG* 31 (1981), p. 210, no. 844.

In the *editio princeps*, nothing particular is reported on this amulet's discovery other than that it was found in the rural area of Mazzarino. The site is rich with Roman and Christian cemeteries and necropoleis; see D. Adamesteanu, art. "Mazzarino," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), pp. 560f. Hence, this piece may well have been recovered from a gravesite, where such phylacteries are customarily found.

The long list of angel-names that this text gives is remarkable. Taking as our lead some interpretations first suggested in the *editio princeps*, we propose that a number of these names were formed from Hebrew words denoting cult sites or objects (the Temple, the Ark, the Cloud [of God's presence], the Pitch [of Noah's Ark], etc.). It seems as if such holy places or reliquairies become hypostasized deities in themselves. These names also seem to be based on paraphrastic readings of specific Biblical passages. The text presupposes a bilingual Jewish Community in ancient Sicily that used a peculiar form of allegorized exegesis of the Hebrew Bible and wrote healing amulets based on an angelology extracted from that exegesis.

The left edge of the delicate slip of foil is largely intact, though the right is badly frayed resulting in the loss of some letters. The amulet had been folded first to create guide-lines and then engraved (see introductory comments to **32**). The script is a bookish upright hand, with little signs of cursive writing. Sciacca judges it, accordingly, to be of the 3rd-4th cent. A. D.

Δελκω, ια Δικων, ια Εσκα, [ια?]
Σεαρα, ια Μιχαήλ, ια Γαβριήλ,
ια Ἰήλ, ια Ῥαφαήλ, ια Οὐριήλ,
σὺ εἶ Λιήλ, ια Τεδχιήλ, ια
Οὐνιήλ, ια Εἰστραήλ, ια Φονι-
φναήλ, ια Ἰαώθ, ια Τιβαώθ,
ια Οὐριήλ, ια Τεδχιήλ, ια Σερ[α]-
φιήλ, ια Τεδχιήλ, ια Κρου-
θιήλ, ια Γιβιτιβα, ια Χρουθ [vac.?],
ια Σεραφίμ, Μσωρθωμ, ια
Ἀρφελλίμ, ια Μαών, ια Ῥα[β Ἀξ]-
ζβουλ, ια Ἀρφελιήμ, ια Σετν[ιήλ].
Ἄρτεμις φεῦγε ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἰούδα καὶ πᾶς πονερε[---]
ἐν τὸν δόξα τοῦ ἁγίου θ[εοῦ]
πψυιθς Π Π Π (magic signs)
Ἰθρος ψη ζωοθ υαψ
υ Κουπερα Σαβαὼθ Μιχα[ήλ]
Γαβριὴλ Ἀεβαχα πε.[---]
.αβαδι αυαν Ἀβρασάξ, [φύ]-
λαξον θυβες τὸν φοροῦ[ντα]
Ἰούδα τὸ<ν> ἅγιον νόμο[ν]
σου βς Ἰδαα (magic signs)
Ἀβρσαξ (magic sign)
Σαβαὼθ σφραγεὶς ἐπὶ
Ἀδωνεα [.]σααβαμ
Αἰλωαι *vacat* ιμαχ
ι[...] (magic signs)
Μιχαή<λ> (magic signs)
Τιβιωθ
Σερβιθ πι (magic signs) σετι
...τ [---] ρ̣α̣λ

14 πονερε(-): πονηρε(-) 25 σφραγεὶς: σφραγίς

Delkô, ia Dikôn, ia Eska, [ia] Seara, ia Michaêl, ia Gabriêl, ia Iêl, ia Raphaêl, ia Ouriêl, you are *Liêl, ia Tedchiêl, ia Ouniêl, ia Eistraêl, ia Phoniphnaêl, ia Iaôth, ia Tibaôth, ia Ouriêl, ia Tedchiêl, ia Seraphiêl, ia Tedchiêl, ia Krouthiêl, ia Gibitiba, ia Chrouth, ia Seraphim, Msôrthôm, ia Arphellim, ia Maôn, ia Ra[b Haz]zboul, ia Arpheliêm, ia Set[niêl].* Artemis, flee from Judah, and all evil [---], in the glory of the Holy God, H(ighest) G(od), P P P (magic signs) *Ithros psê*, The L(iving) G(od), *uaps y Koupera Sabaôth Michaêl Gabriêl Aebacha Pe[niêl ?] ... abadi auan Abrasax,* protect *thybes* Judah, the one who bears your Holy Law (?), *BS idaa* (magic signs) *Abr(a)sax* (magic signs) *Sabaôth* seal upon *Adônea ... saabam Ailôai imachi* ... (magic signs) *Michaêl Tibôth Serbith pi* (magic signs) *seti* ....

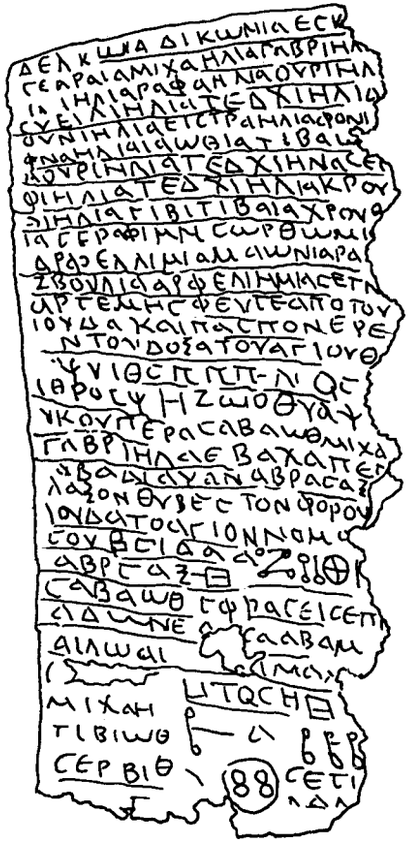


Fig. 33

1 Δελκω: As a 'divine' name, this has not been previously attested. Sciacca suggests Hebrew דלק, *dlq*, "pursue," equivalent to LXX καταδώκειν. The verb also means "to burn, kindle," and given the propensity for angel-names named after their fiery or burning aspects (note, e.g., R. Kotansky, "Two Inscribed Jewish Aramaic Amulets from Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 [1991], pp. 267-281, esp. p. 278), perhaps here, too, we have an 'angel of fire.' The -ω ending may also point rather to a suffixal noun, rather than a verbal form; hence, Hebrew *deleq* > *dilkô*, 'his light,' a theophoric angel-name.

ια: See **7**,2; **41**,9; **55**,1,2; **58**,11; **60**,1. This 'divine name' (= יה, "God") occurs at the beginning of each of the angel-names that follow, with the exception of Εἰλιήλ in line 4, which has σύ instead. Its meaning may be "God of ...," with most of the 'angel-names' that follow actually representing divinized aspects of God.

Δικων: Sciacca suggests reading the name as דִּקְיוֹן, *diqyôn*, "oppression, wrong"; (cf. also דיכונא, *dykwn'*, "oppression").

Εσκα [---]: It is difficult to know how many letters are lost in the lacuna, though it is presumably no more than a few; we restore another ια in there. For the name, cf. *PGM* XIII.171: εσχακλεω.

2-4 Μιχαήλ ... Γαβριήλ ... Ῥαφαήλ ... Οὐριήλ: This tetrarchy of four angels (see **26**) is interrupted by the presence of Ἰαήλ in line 3, which has its closest equivalent in Ἰαήλ (*PGM* II.15; IV.961, 3033; V.56). Οὐριήλ means 'God is (my) light', or 'Light of God' (cf. Δελκω, above).

4 σὺ εἶ Λιήλ (so Sciacca): This angel-name is perhaps formed from Hebrew, אליאל (*Ēlîēl*), "My God is El (=God)." Since here, instead of the usual ια preceding the other angel-names, we have an apparent Greek pronoun σύ, the whole can also be read as σὺ Εἰλιήλ, "you (are) Eiliêl," or better as σὺ εἶ Λιήλ, "you are Liêl," with Λίηλ corresponding to Hebrew לי + אל, "a God to me," i.e., "You are my God."

Τεδχιήλ: Probably the phonetic equivalent of צדקיאל (*ṣ* = *t*), an angel of righteousness or justice; note R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p. 277f.

5 Οὐνιήλ: Perhaps based on עון (*'ûn*), in the sense of "protect," "watch."

Εἰστραήλ (Ἰστραήλ): A noted variant for Ἰστραήλ; cf. *PGM* IV.1816; V.111,117; XXXVI.310; 10.7; see **38**,3; **41**,33f.(b); **62**,7; cf. Commentary to follow.

5-6 Φονιφναήλ = "The face of God is facing (me)." Sciacca 1982:462 gives a slightly different interpretation. The name etymologically combines the Hebrew participle פֹּנֶה, *pōneh*, "turning (one's face)" (from פָּנָה, *pānāh*), with the phonetically equivalent *פָּנֶה, *pāneh*, "face." More precisely, φναηλ is Hebrew פְּנֵי־אֵל, *Pənê-'ēl*, "face of God," a common expression in the Hebrew Bible; cf. especially Gen. 32:30 (31), where after Jacob wrestles with the angel of the Lord, the text explains: "So Jacob called the place Peniel (פְּנִיאֵל = "face of God"), saying, 'For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved.'" In the verses that follow, the angel gives Jacob a new name, 'Israel', because he has striven with God ('Israel' is popularly explained in the narrative from שׂרה, *śrh*, "to contend with"). Josephus, *Antiq.* I.334 explains the story similarly: ἡσθεὶς δὲ τούτοις Ἰάκωβος Φανούηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν τόπον, ὃ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον (cf. LXX Gen. 32:31: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ιακωβ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Εἶδος θεοῦ· εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, κτλ.). Conceivably, the angel with whom Jacob wrestled may have also been given a name based on this popular etymology of the place-name Peniel. That our Phoniphnael is probably connected with this Jacob narrative is supported by the fact that the 'angel'-name that immediately precedes Phoniphnaêl is 'Israel,' the new name given to Jacob after wrestling with the angel! See further line 19, below.

6 ια Ἰαώθ (rather than ια ια ωθ, as printed by Sciacca); cf. *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 49,50; **7**,2.

Τιβαώθ or Ταβαώθ: Sciacca rightly suggests that the word is Hebrew תֵּבָה, *tēbāh*, "ark," that is, Noah's ark, the pitch of which was believed to possess magic powers (see, line 9, below). The plural, תֵּבוֹת, *tēbôṯ* — here hypostasized as a magic or angelic name — in post-Biblical Judaism also referred specifically to the *chests* in the synagogue that contained the sacred Pentateuchal scrolls (see Commentary, 11f., below).

7-8 Σερ[α]φιήλ: ια Σει[λαμ]φιήλ, Sciacca. Only the bottom part of the vertical is visible, hence ρ or ι. There is probably not enough room for the reading Σει[λαμ]ιήλ, a formation which as such is unattested. On

Seraphiel, note line 10, and R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991) B:5 (סרפיאל), p. 278 (ref.).

8 Κρουθιήλ: Probably Κρουθίηλ, with no letters lost in the lacuna (the lengths of the lines are irregular). This, and the variant in line 8f., can be best explained as deriving from כרות, *k(ə)ruṯ*, "cut off, destroyed" (from כרת), evidently an angel of destruction; cf. 8f., below.

Τεδχιήλ: cf. line 4, above.

8-9 Χρουθ [--]: Possibly not Χρουθ[ιήλ], as the spacing is too short. See line 8, above (Κρουθιήλ). Here Χρουθ may represent, for example, a form of חרת (*ḥrt*), the Biblical Hebrew *hapax legomenon* occurring only in the passive participle חָרוּת, *ḥarûṯ*, at Ex. 32:16. There the passage describes Moses' descent from the mountain carrying the Law of the tablets:

> 15 And Moses turned and went down from the mountain with the two tablets (*luḥōṯ*, "tables" in RSV) of the testimony in his hands, tablets that were written on both sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. 16 And the tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God *graven* (חָרוּת) upon the tablets (RSV).

In our text, the word חָרוּת is hypostasized as an angel *H(a)rûth*, 'The Engraved Law of God' — referring to the exact equivalent of the words immediately preceding it in Ex. 32:16, מִכְתָּב אֱלֹהִים, "writing/inscription of God" (a phrase that uses a more common word for 'writing'). Here the unique verb *ḥrt* lends all the more mystique and mystery to the angel's name; but more important is the observation that the writer — by making a connection to the engraved tablets of Moses at Ex. 32:16 — is likening his own magic tablet to the Law. The writer seems to make this explicit when he turns an ordinary phrase *τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα σου* ("Your holy Name"), in line 22f., into *τὸ ἅγιον νόμο*[*ν*] (read *τὸν*), "(the one who bears) your Holy Law" (see Commentary below, 22).

9 γιβιτιβα: This is probably Hebrew גבה תבה, "elevated ark" (so Sciacca), though the word-order and vocalization requires rather, "the ark (is) raised" (*gəbiᵃh tēbāh*): the verb (or adjective) has in mind the elevated resting place of Noah's ark on the mountains of Ararat. Josephus, *Antiq.* I. 93, preserves a fragment from Berosos (3rd cent. B.C.) to the effect that pieces of the Ark found in Armenia were carried away for use as personal amulets: ... *ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι καὶ κομίζειν τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιροῦντας· χρῶνται δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς*, "... (it is said that) a part of the ark still remains and some who remove the pitch preserve it, and people use what is preserved for apotropaic amulets." Throughout later antiquity, as well, different proposed sites for the final landing spot of Noah's ark were alleged to contain wooden remains (see L. R. Bailey, art. "Noah and the Ark," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* IV, 1992, p. 1131). It is not surprising, then, that the Ark would have been venerated for its apotropaic power and that some reference to it in the form of a magic name would appear on an amulet.

10 *ια* Σεραφίμ: See line 7, above. On the Seraphim, see *PGM* XXXV.12; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.* I, no. 19,23; etc. For the Seraphim in a magic formula, see also the *Testament of Solomon* XVIII.34 (ed. McCown): *χερουβίμ, σεραφίμ, βοηθεῖτε*.

Μσωρθωμ: Sciacca connects this with Hebrew שרת, *šrt*, "to serve, minister." Cf. the medieval Hebrew 'ministering angels' (מלאכי השרת). On the other hand, the name seems to derive from a special context in 1 Kings 8:11 and refers to the priests who perform cultic service in the temple. Is Μσωρθωμ מְשָׁרְתֹהֵם, *məšârēṯhōm*, "their (fem.?) servants"?

One may choose to supply here <*ια*> Μσωρθωμ, since the vowels are found in front of almost every other angelic name in the first twelve lines of this text.

11 Ἀρφελλίμ: cf. line 12, *ἀρφελιήμ*. Hebrew ערפלים (*ʿarphelîm*) means "mists," "dark clouds." This class of celestial angels is actually a divinized form of the Hebrew word for the divine cloud representing the presence of God in the Temple (see Commentary, end of line 12).

Μαων: This is Hebrew מָעוֹן, *māʿôn*, "residence," used specifically of the heavenly dwelling place of God in Deut. 26:15 and of the Temple that Solomon built (in 1 Kings 8:13 — see Commentary, next §). Hence, we again have an hypostasized noun from Biblical Hebrew. *Māʿôn* is also used of the Temple and as the name of one of the heavens.

11-12 *ια* Ῥα[*β ἀζ*]ζβουλ: The name refers to another dwelling place of God, hypostasized: ζβουλ = זְבֻל, *zəbul*, "exalted dwelling" (of God), a reference to the Temple of God in 1 Kings 8:13 (=2 Chr. 6:2); Isaiah 63:15. Ῥα[---] is then restored Ῥα[*βα*], with the second *α*, probably to be taken as the Hebrew article with *zəbul*, i.e. רַב הַזְּבֻל, *rab hazzəbul*, "The Temple-is-vast." *ια* Σετα[νιήλ?]: *ια* Σετν (Sciacca). Sataniel?

That the angel-names, particularly those of lines 9-12, can be shown to go back to original Hebrew roots now hypostasized as divine names is suggested from a close reading of Biblical narrative: in 1 Kings 8 (= 2 Chr. 5-6:2ff.), after Solomon completes the great temple of God according to all its divine specifications, we read of the installation of the Ark of the Covenant into its holy place. All the elders and leaders of the people are assembled for a great procession and sacrifice as the Levitical priests bring up the Tabernacle to be installed in the inner sanctuary. After the Glory of the Lord fills the temple, Solomon then turns in verses 12-13 to give a short, declarative statement, which is followed in verses 15-61 by a considerably long hymnic blessing (briefly discussed at the end of the Commentary). A closer look at this narrative shows that the underlying Hebrew text includes the very same words found grouped together on our amulet (but now re-interpreted as angel-names):

> [6]Then the priests brought the ark of the convenant of the Lord to its place, in the inner sanctuary of the house, in the most holy place, underneath the wings of the cherubim ... .[9] There was nothing in the ark except the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, where the Lord made a convenant with the people of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt. [10] And when the priests came out of the Holy Place, a cloud filled the house of the Lord, [11] so that the priests could not stand *to minister* because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord.
> [12] Then Solomon said,
> "The Lord has set the sun in the heavens,
> but has said that he would dwell in *thick darkness*.
> [13] I have built thee an *exalted house*, a place for thee to dwell in forever" (RSV).

Each of the three italicized words above, in the original Hebrew, has been used in our amulet as a divinized angelic figure: 1) the priests who 'minister' (לְשָׁרֵת = *šārēṯ*) is the same root suggested for Aramaic Μσωρθωμ of line 10; 2) the divine cloud or mist ("thick darkness") that is said to fill the House of the Lord — in Hebrew עֲרָפֶל (*ʿārphel*) — becomes the *Arphellim* of 11-12; and 3) the "exalted house" (the בֵּית זְבֻל, *bêt zəbul*) is the Αζζβουλ called "great" in lines 11-12. In lieu of our Μαων ('Residence') one can also read a near equivalent in the Hebrew מָכוֹן (*mākôn*) of v. 13 — also a divine "Abode." One can similarly posit that the Masoretic text's Cherubim in these verses corresponds to our

amulet's Seraphim (10), just as the "ark" (9) corresponds to the Ark of the Covenant (אָרוֹן, *ʾarôn*) — the former word is also used of the "ark" that houses the scrolls in the synagogue. Furthermore, the allusion to the Mosaic "tablets" in 1 Kings 8:9 answers to the hypostasized 'inscribed tablets of God' (*Chrouth*) discussed at line 9f. Thus, we have a likely context from which the sequence of divine names Σεραφίμ, Μσωρθωμ, Αρφελλίμ, Μαών, and Ραβαζζβουλ derive.

13 Ἄρτεμις, φεῦγε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούδα: This formula usually comes in the shape, φεῦγε ὁ δεῖνα [name of demon], ὁ δεῖνα [name of hero] σε διώκει, in which case Artemis would be the 'demon' to be chased away. On the formula, see F. Maltomini, in: O. Pintaudi, et al. *Papyri Graecae Wessely Pragenses (PPrag. I)*; (Papyrologica Florentina 16; Florence, 1988), no. 6, p. 46 with extensive literature; further, R. Kotansky in: Faraone & Obbink, edd. *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 113f. and notes; cf. **52**, 91. On Artemis see Commentary on **13**, 9.

Judah is the apparent bearer of the charm (see line 22), although the name competes with the odd Θυβες in line 21. Judah is invariably always hellenized, Ἰούδας, and hence declinable. Here, however, Ἰούδα retains its undeclined Semitic form, which, like the other Semitic words in this text, attest to the underlying Hebrew or Aramaic *Hintergrund* of this spell; for the name, cf. H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 56.

14 καὶ πᾶς πονερε[---]: This is evidently the beginning of a new sentence. With the masculine πᾶς, one cannot expect, e.g., πονηρό[ς] used with δαίμων or πνεῦμα, the former of which is usually neuter. Sciacca suggests the unusual spelling πονερε[ύς], for πονηρός; cf. **25**,1; **32**,11.

15 ἐν τὸν δόξα τοῦ ἁγίου θ[εοῦ]: The syntax is not clear (ἐν τὸν). Sciacca's translation (1982:459), *"fugga ogni malvagio (?) grazie all' potenza del santo d(io)?"* is fine, but the text may be too corrupt to expect a smooth connection between this and the preceding. The reference to the "glory of the Lord" (כבוד יהוה) in the context of 1 Kings 8:11 (discussed above) supplies a suitable nexus here.

16 *ψνιθς*: At least *θς* may be an abbreviation for the divine name *θ(εὸ)ς*. Further, since it follows on the heals of *τοῦ ἁγίου θεοῦ* in line 15, the whole may be a cipher for *ὕψιστος θεός*; cf. *PGM* V.45.

17 *ιθρος ψσε ζωοθ ναψ*: The meaning of these letters have not been determined; *ζωοθ* looks like an abbreviation for *ζῶ(ν) ὁ θ(εός)*, "the Living God."

18 *Κουπερα*: This can be identified with Aramaic כּוּפְרָא, *kûpərâ'*, "pitch," and connected with the pitch of the Noahic Ark that Josephus tells us was used as an apotropaion (above, Commentary line 9). The verb from which this noun stems,כפר, *kpr*, also means to "appease; atone;" however, the single place in the Hebrew Bible where כפר, means "to cover with pitch" occurs in Gen. 6:14, where God commands Moses to spread pitch (=כֹּפֶר, *kōpher*, a *hapax legomenon*) over the entire Ark: "Make yourself an ark (= *tēbāh*) of gopher wood; make rooms in the ark and cover it with pitch inside and out."

19 *Αεβαχα Πεν[ιήλ ?]*: The Greek vocables *αεβαχα* answer to the Hebrew verb אבק, "to wrestle," a verb used only in this sense in Gen. 32:25,26 of Jacob's wrestling with the angel (see above, on line 5f.). Accordingly, the letters in the lacuna are probably the name Peniel ('face of God'), another reference to the account of Gen. 32, discussed above. *Aebacha Peniêl* is thus another angel-name formed from a Bible verse.

20 *.αβαδι αναν*: cf. *PGM* IV. 234: *αναντα*ν. Sciacca (1982: 462) connects this with Hebrew עבדי עוון, translating, *"servi de peccato."*

20-23 *[φύ]λαξον Θυβες τὸν φορο[ῦ]ντα* 'Ιούδα *τὸ<ν> ἅγιον νόμο[ν] σου*: The phrase *τὸν φοροῦντα*, or the like, is sometimes replaced by the name of the bearer or simply appended, as here; cf. C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950), p. 50: *φύλαξον τὸν δεῖνα τὸν φοροῦντ<α> τὸ φυλακτήριον*; on *lamellae*: **48**, 14f,15; **58**, 36,44; **59**, 9; **60**, 5f. But the presence of *θυβες* is difficult to explain; perhaps it is a corruption for Hebrew טוב, "good; well.'"

The reading *τὸ<ν> ἅγιον νόμο[ν] σου* looks like an intentional re-adaptation of the rather prosaic *τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά* ("... who bears your Holy Name" — i.e., reading *<ὄ>νομά σου*). The reading *ἅγιον νόμον* is defended above (Commentary, line 8f.). Also of note is the fact that the isopsephic value of *ἅγιον νόμον* in Greek is 365, the same value generally recognized for Abrasax (name in line 20).

23 *βς ιδαα*: A likely abbreviation for *β(α) (σ)εμ*, Hebrew for "in the name of" (בשם). 'Ιδαα may then be cipher for the Tetragrammaton.

25-26 *Σαβαώθ, σφραγεὶς* (= *σφραγίς*) *ἐπὶ* 'Αδωνέα: For the seal of God, see *PGM* I.306: *ὁρκίζω σφραγῖδα θεοῦ*; III.226: *ὁρκίζω σε, σφραγῖδ[α θ]ε[οῦ]*. Does this refer to the famous 'Seal of Solomon,' whose temple and prayer are discussed above?

27 *σααβαμ*: 'Αβραάμ? Cf. *PGM* VI.45: *σαβαανν*.

28 *Αἰλωαί*: If we read *ε* = *αι*, as often in papyri, then this is the common 'Ελωαί, a name for the Hebrew God; cf. **2**,1f.; **38**,1; **41**,23,42; **44**,4f.; **57**,9; *PGM* IV.1577; V.481; VII.400, 564; XXXVI.12; XLIII.13; 11.1; cf. IV.320f. etc.

27 *Χαρακτῆρες*: The forms resemble letters; one can suggest at the end *Σηθ*, written with a square *theta*.

28 *Μιχαη<λ>*: See line 18f.

29 *Τιβιώθ*: See above, on *Τιβαώθ* (line 6; cf. line 9).

30 *Σερβιθ*: שַׁרְבִּיט, *šārbîṭ*, "staff; scepter," specifically the royal golden staff of Xerxes (Ahasuerus), king of Persia, who chose Esther as his queen. The noun occurs only in Esther 4:11; 5:2; 8:4, where the golden staff is referred to as a powerful instrument of judgment: to whomever the king holds out the staff, such a one finds favor in the king's eyes and is spared death (4:11, in general; 5:2; 8:4, of Esther). Like the pitch of Noah's Ark and the Temple of Solomon, the Staff is no doubt thought to carry certain magical properties.

28-30 *Χαρακτῆρες*: The forms belong to the typical 'ringlet'-type alphabets and thus probably not to be identified as Hebrew (so Sciacca).

In conclusion, we reiterate the importance of the allusion to Solomon's blessing at the installation of the Holy of Holies in the temple. The whole context of the Solomonic prayer in 1 Kings 8:15-61 provides an appropriate setting for our amulet own *raison d'être*. The long hymnic blessing extols the new Dwelling Place of God as a place of refuse and appeal for an assortment of national and personal catastrophes: when legal vindication is sought (31-32); when safety from the enemy is required (33-34); when there is famine in the land (35-35); and when pestilence, locust, afflictions, sickness, or blight arise (37-40), one can seek

deliverance through prayer and supplication at the Temple of God. In this way, the Solomonic temple becomes for the Jewish people a catch-all means of general prophylaxis and deliverance. The text of our amulet has hypostasized, and then made divine appeal to, certain venerated Biblical settings, places, and materials as places of refuse. The amulet is itself a protective *prayer* whose appeal to the attributes of the temple, in particular, sets in motion a sort of like-with-like corollary that gives the the believer direct access to the Temple wherein the presence of God dwells and whereby salvation can be found.

34 Magic Signs and Names

Fig. 34

COLONIA ARCHELAIS (Aksaray, Niğde), Turkey — III A.D.?
Istanbul, Archaeological Museum — H. 9.0 cm.; W. 4.3 cm.
Inv. 71.125 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. G. Neumann, "Epigraphische Mitteilungen," *Kadmos* 8 (1969), p. 170f. (Tafel a,b); G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Epigrafe Magica Anatolica," *La Parola del Passato* 24 (1969), p. 307; D. R. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 28 (1978), pp. 84-86; Pl. XIII (b).

ηφεεεεεριρβη
(magic signs) ελ ιω ιω κενε̣
παχοραση (magic signs)
4 σα (magic sign) ζηης
τιοσβ (magic signs) λθ̣θ̣
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
8 (magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs) Z H
ζωρω
12 (magic sign) ρορχορορ
χωωω
ωοοουυυυ̣υ̣υ̣
εωσ .
16 ωιαωαπωα̣ω
τ̣ητωμ̣ιν̣ [ca. 1-2].
[---]

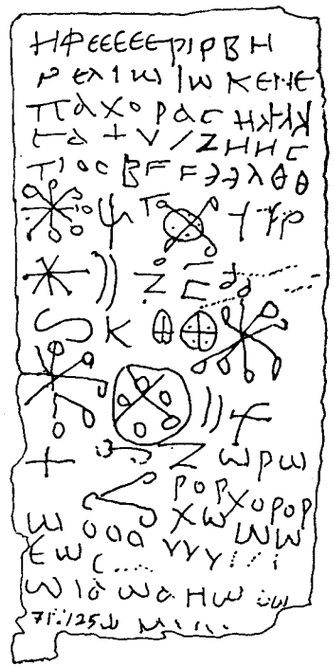


Fig. 34

Originally reported to have been acquired on the antiquities market (and therefore of unknown provenance), the amulet is now reported to have come from Aksaray in central Turkey, according to Museum records. Aksaray represents ancient Colonia Archelais, formerly the Greek city Garsaura, or perhaps Philomelion, according to the report of J.& R. Robert in *Bulletin Epigraphique* 91 (1978), p. 393, no. 33; see, further, R. P. Harper, art. "Colonia Archelais," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 232. The first editions published the photograph of the amulet from the back side, hence Carratelli's facsimile, for example, is reversed. Jordan rectified the text and improved the reading considerably.

The tablet contains for the most part vowels, consonants, magic letters and signs of unknown purpose. The magic papyri sometimes require certain characters to be engraved on tablets of gold or silver (cf. *PGM* III.297-299; IV.2705; see, further **6**) — tablets invariably to be used as protective amulets.

1 *ηφεεεεεριρβη*: Nothing of significance can be assigned to this series of letters; as a magic name it is not attested. For a series of 'E's, cf. **3**,5.

2 'Ελ: This is equivalent to Hebrew for "God" (אל) cf. **12**,1; **1**,3; **2**,7; etc. The symbols that look like a backwards 'E' and an upside-down 'T' are attested elsewhere; cf. e.g. *PGM* IV. 2707; VII.420f. The sequence *ιω ιω* is widely found; see, e.g., **23**,4.

3 *κενεπαχοραση* (or *παχοραση*): not familiar to the *PGM*.

11 *ζωρω*: The name recalls *Ζουρω* in *PGM* IV.2932: *σύ δέ, μάκαρ, Ζουρω*, where it is spelled differently in line 2923: *ἡνίκα κινήσεις τὸν ἐν ἄστροις χείρεσι Ῥουζω ὀμφαλόν ὃν κατέχεις, κόσμου*. On the name see K. Preisendanz, art. "Mazuroth," *RE* 15,1 (1931), p.7; *idem*, art. "Zuro," in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1937), Vol. 6, col. 763f. Zuro (or Rhuzo) is a stellar deity connected with the Pleiades, the Hyades, or the morning star (Aphrodite, Venus). The name may be Semitic or Persian.

12-17 These lines contain vowels, for the most part. Is *ρορχορορ* an imperfect palindrome, *ρορ<ο>χορορ*? For a similar formation, note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag I*, no. 42,48: *χωραχαραχωρ*.

35 A Liturgical Exorcistic Amulet

Fig. 35

ANTIOCHIA CAESAREA (Yalvaç), Pisidia — III-IV A.D.
Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi — H. 9.3 cm.; W. 3.3 cm.
Inv. no. ? — Silver *lamella*

Lit. David M. Robinson, "A Magical Inscription from Pisidian Antioch," *Hesperia* 22 (1953), pp. 172-174; pl. 52; note also, D. M. Robinson, *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (New York, 1938), p. 246, n. 6 (see **39** for ref.)

In 1924, Robinson dug up "three feet above the original pavement in the south portion of the colonnade behind the Augustus temple" a bronze tubular capsule (Robinson 1953:172). The silver tablet herewith described was found tightly rolled up inside the bronze tube. On the site, see David M. Robinson, "Roman Sculptures from Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch)," *The Art Bulletin* 9 (1926), pp. 5-69; figs. 2,3; further, on the excavations there, including a fourth century Christian basilica, B. Levick, art. "Antioch," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encylopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 60f. (with bibliography). Palaeographically, Robinson dates the piece to the 3rd century A.D., though the 4th cent. can by no means be ruled out. The script shows few signs of cursive writing and ligature, with the writing becoming sometimes crowded as it nears the right margin (damaged). *Nomina sacra* are abbreviated $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ and $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$; *πνεύμαθα* (=*πνεύματα*) is not so abbreviated. The text seems to be marked, at least in the upper portion, by ruling lines, and the bottom quarter of the tablet is uninscribed.

The text of this amulet records a simple exorcistic formula deriving from a Christian liturgical (that is, baptismal) context. The presence of the imperative *ἀναχώρησον* (line 4f.) links our text to a special category of liturgical exorcisms (*ἐξορκισμοί* or *εὐχαί*) handed down to us from originally fourth century (or earlier) Christian texts preserved under the names of prominent Church Fathers — Basil, Athanasius, Gregory, Chrysostomus, and others, and found principally in late *Euchologia*,

medieval exorcistic manuals, and other magical and liturgical manuscripts (see 'Excursus,' at end).

The text of the *editio princeps* differs considerably from what can be read from the published photograph. In order to facilitate the comparison of the old reading with the new, Robinson's interpretation is given alongside that of this edition:

New Reading:	Robinson's Reading:
Πρὸς πν-	Πρὸς πν-
εύμαθα·	εῦμα Θα-
Φωαθφρο,	θωαθφρο.
4 ἀναχώρη-	ἀναχώρη-
σον ἀπὸ Βα-	σον ἀποβὰ
σελείου, τῇ	ς εἰς τοὐπὶ
δεξιᾷ χειρ[ὶ]	δεξιᾷ Ἅγιοι
8 τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ	τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ
τὸ ἑμα το[ῦ]	τὸ αἷμα τὸ
Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ τοῖ[ς]	Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ τοῖ[ς
ἀνγέλοι-	ἀνγέλοι-
12 ς α(ὐ)τῆς καὶ	ς ἄτης (?) καὶ
ἰκλησίᾳ.	ἰκλησία

1-2 πνεύμαθα: πνεύματα 6-7 Βασελείου: Βασιλείου
8 ἑμα: αἷμα 12 ἀτῆς: αὐτῆς 13 ἰκλησίᾳ: ἐκκλησίᾳ

For (evil) spirits: 'Phôathphro, depart from Basilius, by the right hand of God, and the blood of Christ, and by her (*sic*) angels and (the) Church.'

1-2 πρὸς πνεύμαθα: The *pi* and *nu* of πνεῦμα are in ligature. For τ > θ, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I (Milan, 1976), p. 87 (2b). Robinson read πνεῦμα Θα-, and stated that "πνευμαθα = πνεύματα ... seems unlikely" (Robinson 1953:173). He then interprets πρὸς πνεῦμα as "a letter [written] to a single spirit or demon whose magical secret-name is θαθωαθφρο (*sic*)" (1953: 173). He further introduces the impossible notion that these letters can be interpreted as πρὸς ἴνευμα,

"against evacuation" — even though such a noun is nowhere attested: "ἴνευμα has been suggested ... and in that case the charm would be to produce evacuation, i.e. to relieve chronic constipation by forcing to one side the demon who obstructs the passage," p. 173). The incipit given here is nothing other than a common 'rubric,' found often as the introductory phrase on amulets (a fact evidently noted by Robinson); cf. *PGM* 17.9f. (Christian): πρὸς πᾶν ἀκαθαρτὸν πνεῦμα, etc.

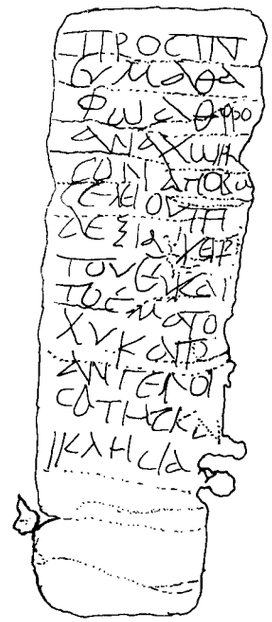


Fig. 35

2-3 Φωαθφρο: **Θα**/θωαθφρο Robinson. The photograph seems too show Φωαθ, not θωαθ Robinson. This seven-lettered magic name is not attested, but the first part, *if* Θωαθ, is probably a variant of *Thôth*, the

name of the Egyptian god (variously spelled Θαθ, Θατ, Θανθ, Θοουτ, Θουθ, Θοωθ, Θυθ, Θωιθ, Θωνθ, Θωθω, etc., in the magical papyri); cf., in general, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 45, line 21 (Ιωθαθ) and line 25 (θωουωθ); no. 46,3 (θωουθ), no. 49,9 (θωουωθ), no. 66,7 (θωουθιθωθ); etc. The element *Ph* corresponds to the Egyptian definite article, as in, e.g. Φρῆ, (Ph)re, 'the Sun-God.' Robinson (1953:173) cites A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 15, l. 36: Θαθασερρβαυ, though this seems to be a variant on the wider-known Θωβαρραβαυ. Our demon is being addressed in the vocative, as the subject of the imperative ἀναχώρησον.

4-6 ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ Βασελείου: ἀναχώρησον ἀποβὰς εἰς τοὐπὶ δεξιᾷ Robinson, in *ed. pr.* (!?), "depart, going off to the right" (lines 4-7). Robinson also suggests, ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ ἐμοῦ οἴκου ἱεροῦ *ed. pr.*, "depart from my sacred house." The reading here of a personal name is new; the name of the bearer is expected after the imperative ἀναχώρησον + ἀπό: hence, Βασελείου (for Βασιλείου).

The imperative of the verb ἀναχωρεῖν, as a term of demonic expulsion, is formally found only in Christian liturgical exorcisms, deriving, as it seems, from the form ἀναχωρῶ in the *Testament of Solomon* (see 'Excursus,' below).

6-8 τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρ[ὶ] τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ: ... τοὐπὶ δεξιᾷ Ἅγιοι τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ *ed. pr.* The mention of God's right hand suggests the power and strength by which the demon is banished, though the whole formula sounds like an oath which perhaps the liturgist himself speaks over the afflicted catechumen (see 'Excursus,' below); the dative without a preposition is rather vague. On the mention of the hand of God in exorcisms, cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 231, 35-37: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς εἰς <τὸν> τῇ χειρὶ τῇ κραταιᾷ καὶ πανεντίμῳ καταμετρήσαντα πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ὃς τῇ χειρὶ περιέχει τὰ πάντα, κτλ.; Ps. Justin Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* (ed. Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi* V [3rd ed., 1881. Repr. 1969]), p. 471A 5f.: Καθάπερ τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ κατασφραγίζομεν τοὺς τῆς σφραγῖδος ταύτης δεομένους (in a baptismal context); Origin, *In Ieremiam* (ed. Klostermann, *GCS* 6, pp. 195-198), 12.2: ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. The symbolism of the right hand in magical and religious contexts is discussed further in W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991), p. 43f., with extensive bibliography.

8-9 καὶ τὸ αἷμα το[ῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ (the tablet has εμα): With τὸ αἷμα it is simpler to interpret this as an accusative for the dative, rather than to restore, e.g., τῷ αἵματ<ι> το[ῦ] Χ(ριστο)ῦ. The liturgical exorcism of Ephrem in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 262, 13-15 (cited above) similarly invokes the blood of Christ to cleanse God's servant from demons: καὶ δὸς τὴν ὑγείαν τοῦ δούλου σου ὀδεῖνα καὶ τὴν ἀποτροπὴν τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου σώματι καὶ αἵματι καθάρισον αὐτόν, κτλ; note, further, Ps.-Chrysostomus, *In Genesim sermo* III,4 (Migne *PG* 56), p. 536: Προσέρχομαι γὰρ ἀναιδῶς ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, προφάσει προσευχῆς καὶ ὕμνυμι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, κτλ.; further, M. Piccirillo, "Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem," *Liber Annuus* 29 (1979), pp. 244-252: ... τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ παῦσε ἀπὸ ... (δεῖνα ?); F. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum, V* (Münster, 1936), pp. 248-261, esp. pp. 248, 259f., with two examples from Christian amulets: 1) τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ παῦσον τὸ κακόν+ (p. 248, lines 7f.); and 2) τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ φεῖσαι τὸν δοῦλον σου τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον τοῦτο (p. 259f., lines 21-23).

10-12 καὶ τοῖ[ς] ἀνγε̣λοις α(ὐ)τῆς: καὶ τοῖ[ς] ἀνγέλοις ἄτης (?); or, ἀπίοις κ(αὶ) *ed. pr.* On ἀτῆς instead of αὐτῆς (common with forms of αὐτός), note F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I (Milan, 1976), p. 227 (a). One expects, rather, αὐτοῦ, '*his* angels' (i.e., "Christ and his angels"). Evidently the text has become influenced by the following reference to ἐκκλησίᾳ. Though the feminine αὐτῆς can refer to the angels of the Church, it seems somewhat out of place, as one would expect rather καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγελοῖς αὐτῆς. The sequence may have been rewritten to align "angels" with "Christ." Certainly the incongruities of case (τὸ αἷμα) suggest trouble in the text's transmission.

The tripartite invocation of God, Christ, and Church recalls the formula in 1 Tim. 5:21: Διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἀγγέλων.

12-13 καὶ ικλησίᾳ: Read ἐκκλησίᾳ (ε > ι, at beginning of word, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri*, p. 249). For the invocation

of the Church in a liturgical exorcism, cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (1927), p. 262,27f. (from the Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα· τοῦ ὁσίου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐφρὲμ τοῦ Σύρου, cited above): *διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας.*

Excursus: Liturgical Exorcism, Solomon, and Magic *Lamellae*

The verb *ἀναχωρεῖν*, as a term of expulsion of demons, does not occur in the exorcistic accounts of the New Testament, Josephus, Lucian, or Philostratus (on Apollonius of Tyana) — or even in the Greek magical papyri (excepting *PGM* 10, discussed below). It seems, rather, to be restricted almost exclusively to liturgical, exorcistic texts attributed to certain Patristic writers, texts which in turn, appear to draw upon the *Testament of Solomon*, where the term occurs in limited contexts and with a slightly different formulation: *ὡς μόνον ἀκούσω· Μιχαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ῥύαξ,' εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ* (*TestSol.* XVIII.5, and throughout in §§5-37; cf. also XIII 3P). The Patristic exorcisms provide the following comparable uses of this verb of expulsion: [Ps.]-Basil of Caesaria, *Orationes sive Exorcismi* (Migne, *PG* 31), p.1680A: *καὶ ἐπίταξον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι παντελῶς, ἵνα μή τι βλαβερὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐσφραγισμένην εἰκόνα ἐργάσηται*; *idem*, p.1680B, *Ὁρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαβαώθ, καὶ πάσης στρατιᾶς ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, Ἀδωναΐ, Ἐλωΐ, Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος· ἔξελθε καὶ ἐπαναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου του Θεοῦ τοῦδε*; *idem*, p.1681B, *φοβήθητι, φύγε, δραπέτευσον, ἀναχώρησον, δαιμόνιον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ ἀναγές*; [Ps]-Chrysostom, *Supplementum ad Liturgiam: Orationes pro obsessis 5* (Migne, *PG* 64), p.1065 D: *Αὐτὸς ἐπιτιμᾷ σοι Κύριος, διάβολε ... φρίξον, τρόμαξον, φοβήθητι, ἀναχώρησον ... καὶ σὺν σοὶ πάντα τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα*; *idem*, p. 1068A: *Συντόμως ἀναχωρήσατε ἀπὸ τοῦ πλάσματος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*; [Ps.]-Gregory Nazianzen, *Precation et Exorcismus...* (*Fragmenta*) (Migne, *PG* 36), p. 733/734: *Ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, πάντα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, κατὰ τοῦ Ἐλοΐ Ἀδοναΐ Σαβαώθ, ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ἀναχωρῆσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ δεῖνος*; cf., further, the similar *Orationes falsae*, in A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Moskau, 1893), p. 325,21f.: *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὰς οβ΄ ἀσθενείας, ἃς ἔχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπὸ τὴν δούλην τοῦ Θεοῦ Μαρίαν, κτλ.* (similarly *idem*, p. 326, 9f.; p. 327, 1).

The same '*ἀναχώρησον*'-exorcisms occur in F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (RVV III.3; Giessen, 1907), pp. 263-266 (*Εὐχὴ τοῦ μεγάλου μάρτυρος Τρύφωνος*, e.g., p. 264,25; cf. further, p. 274,14); and in L. Delatte, *Un Office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels, 1957), p. 34,25; p. 35,14; p. 41, 20; p. 44,1,14; etc. So also the formulas are found in the folia of the Ms. 825 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (= A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* [Paris & Liège, 1927], pp. 228-263: *"Exorcisme"*): [Ps.]-Athanasius, *Ἑτέρα (εὐχή)*, in: Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 231,18,32 (*ἐξέλθατε καὶ ἀναχωρήσατε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον* [sic] *τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὀδεῖνα*); p. 231,26 (*φύγετε καὶ ἀναχωρήσατε, κτλ.*); p. 233,18,29; p. 234,2,6,12, 23,27,31; p. 235,5,14,21,26,28f.,31f.; p. 236,4,13,22,26,29; p. 237,2, 4,7,10,13,16,19f.,23,27,32; p. 238,1,5,9,11f.,15,18,21 (*ἀναχωρήσατε ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὀδεῖνα*); [Ps.]-Gregory 'Theologus,' *Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα*, in: *idem*, p. 240,15f.; p. 243,9; etc.; [Ps.]-Ephraem of Syria, *Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα*, in: *idem*, p. 250,28; p. 251,11,23,29, 33f.; p. 252,7,14, 22f.; p. 253,6,16,27,31; etc.

It is noteworthy that in the *Testament of Solomon* the demon is first identified by name (and attribute) and then expelled, just as in the late Christian exorcisms that address the offending agents as 'unclean spirits,' or the like. Once the demon's name (and the affliction he brings) is known, the demon can be 'sealed' and exorcised by a particular angel under Solomon's charge: *Κἀγὼ δὲ Σολομῶν προσκαλεσάμενος τὸ ἓν πνεῦμα εἶπον αὐτῷ· 'σὺ τίς εἶ;' ὁ δὲ ἔφη μοι, 'ἐγὼ δεκανὸς α΄ τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου, ὃς καλοῦμαι Ῥύαξ. κεφαλὰς ἀνθρώπων ποιῶ ἀλγεῖν καὶ κροτάφους σαλεύω. ὡς μόνον ἀκούσω· Μιχαήλ, ἔγκλεισον Ῥύαξ,' εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ'* (so *TestSol* XVIII,4-5 mentioned above). By the invocation of a particular angel's name, the demon is expelled, or rather, *departs* by Solomon's mandatory injunction. In the 'Patristic' liturgical exorcisms and on our amulet, the verb *ἀναχωρεῖν* has become the imperative, *ἀναχώρησον*, spoken by the 'exorcist.' Of course, the use of long lists of

angel-names remain a prominent feature, too, of the liturgical exorcisms, but on our silver tablet this has been reduced to the simple *τοῖς ἀνγελοῖς αὐτῆς*, 'The angels of the Church'; however, the traditional Solomonic technique of first identifying the demon is still preserved on our amulet in the demon-name, Thôathphro, despite the Christian liturgical pattern of invoking Father, Son, Angels, and the like, with no mention of Solomon.

That the special use of *ἀναχωρεῖν* for expelling demons in the 'Patristic' *εὐχαί* derives directly from the tradition of the *Testament of Solomon* is demonstrated not only in the presence of the verb itself, but also by the fact that the Patristic liturgical exorcisms themselves refer directly to the Solomonic tradition, allude to demons or stories found in the *Testament of Solomon*, or even preserve whole portions of the treatise itself (cf., e.g., A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* [Paris & Liège, 1927], p. 123,18-21; p. 126,30-32; p. 232f.,15-25 *bis*; p. 235,25f.; p. 245,36f.; p. 248,7-12, etc; cf. also pp. 211-227 for an uncollated Ms. of the *Testament*, unknown to McCown). These texts, too, also follow the same pattern of naming the demon (and then sealing it) and 'banishing' (*ἀναχωρεῖν*) it, as found in the *Testament of Solomon*.

The only occurrence of *ἀναχωρεῖν* in the magical papyri, used of expelling demons, is restricted to a Christian text, viz. *PGM* 10, where the formula, *ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τοῦ* [*δεῖνα, φοροῦντος τὸ θεοφυ*]*λακτὸν τοῦτο*, occurs at least three times (lines 5, 23f., 45). This papyrus, as one can see from the notes in Preisendanz's critical apparatus, not only draws on the *Testament of Solomon*, it also uses the same formulas, vocabulary, and phrasing as that found in the liturgical exorcisms, cited above. Clearly, this text, too, belongs to the same category of Christian liturgical exorcisms.

Thus, it can be shown that the '*ἀναχώρησον*' exorcistic formula of the Antioch silver *lamella* seems to reflect the same liturgical tradition as that represented by the Christian-'Solomonic' *ἐξορκισμοί*. Although quite abbreviated, it too names a demon, commands it to 'depart from' the bearer, and employs a trinitarian-like liturgical formula. Most significant, however, is the fact that the special imperative *ἀναχώρησον* undeniably links the text of our amulet with the tradition of the 'Solomonic,' liturgical exorcism.

In this connection, a further observation can be made regarding the context in which such a 'liturgical exorcism' may have been used and required. A widely studied phenomenon of the early church is that of the requirement of Christian catechumens to undergo a series of pre-baptismal ritual exorcisms before being admitted to the catechumenate. The most recent study of the evidence is that of H. A. Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism* (Ithaca & London, 1985), though F. J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn, 1909) is still indispensable; further bibliography and discussion can also be found in Elizabeth A. Leeper, "From Alexandria to Rome: The Valentinian Connection to the Incorporation of Exorcism as a Prebaptismal rite," *Vigiliae Christianae* 44 (1990), pp. 6-24. The practice of pre-baptismal exorcism, at least in the West (Rome), may be as old as the mid-second century, whence it apparently spread eastward, meeting resistance only in Syria (so Kelly 1985:75; 136-157).

One can argue that the liturgical exorcisms discussed in the manuscripts above were similarly employed in baptism rituals. This, in fact, seems precisely the case, since baptism itself is referred or alluded to often in these texts; cf., e.g., the Εὐχὴ ἑτέρα, of Ephrem of Syria (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* [1927], p. 244, 19-23: *ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναχώρησον ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, διότι τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαι ἁρμονίαι εἰσὶν βαπτιζόμεναι καὶ μυρώμεναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ οὐκ ἔχεις ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου*; *idem*, p. 256, 9-11: *ὁ τῷ σῷ βαπτίσματι περιτετειχισμένος καὶ τῷ λούσματι τοῦ σοῦ ἁγίου λουτροῦ περιερραντισμένος, συγχωρήσας ἐξάλειψον καὶ καθάρισον αὐτὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ῥᾳδιουργίας καὶ ἐπιβουλίας τοῦ ἀντικειμένου διαβόλου καὶ τὰ ἐνοχλοῦντα αὐτῷ πονηρὰ πνεύματα καὶ ἀκάθαρτα καὶ παμμίαρα ἐξολόθρευσον καὶ ἀποδίωξον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ...*; *idem*, p. 243, 23-24 *καὶ ἀναχωρήσον ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα καὶ μὴ ἐγγίσητε ἀνθρώπου ὃς ἐδέξατο τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα*; *idem*, p. 251, 36-37: *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μετὰ τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα θελήσαντος περιασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑμῶν προστάτου Βεελζεβοὺλ καὶ νικήσαντος αὐτόν*. So also the Εὐχὴ ἑτερα· Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου (Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*; cited above), p. 239, 32-33: *ἵνα*

πιστεύωσι βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπελάσει ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα.

As these examples show, the expulsion of demons using the exorcistic formula (e.g., ἀναχώρησον) along with the trinitarian 'in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit' was intimately connected with Christian baptism and unction, though the texts here seem to indicate a *post*-baptismal rite, or at least a rite simultaneous with the act. The presence of the technical ἀναχώρησον with the ecclesiastic formula, "... by the right hand of God, the blood of Christ, his angels, and the Church" — though not the set Trinitarian formula of later Christendom — certainly gives an example of an early liturgical exorcism comparable to those of the 'Patristic' exorcistic εὐχαί. If our text alludes to such a practice, then we have a plausible example of 'baptismal' exorcism in the 3rd-4th century Church of Pisidian Antioch — a church that, though founded by Paul (Acts 13:13-52; further, 16:1-6; 18:23), seems to have left little trace of Christianity until an apparent revival in the 4th century A.D. (cf. S. Mitchell, art. "Antioch of Pisidia," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, I [New York, 1992], p. 264f., with additional bibliography). Our text at least testifies to the practice of liturgical exorcism at the Antiochene Church during this period.

The relative early date of the amulet suggests we have a 'prototype' of a baptismal exorcism, that is, one whose liturgy was perhaps not yet fixed in ecclesiastical canon. The liturgy preserved on the amulet may also represent a mere abridgment of a longer text, and it may preserve a tradition local to the Church at Antioch.

None of the 'Patristic' liturgical exorcisms specify the use of amulets or *lamellae* in their rituals; they give only the exorcistic adjurations to be spoken during their liturgical ceremonies. In fact, Cyril of Jerusalem in his treatise on baptism exhorts Christians to eschew such practices as magic and the writing of amulets, referring specifically to the engraving of magic *lamellae*: οἰωνοσκοπία, μαντεία, κληδονισμοὶ ἢ περιάμματα ἢ ἐν πετάλοις ἐπιγραφαί, μαγεῖαι ἢ ἄλλαι κακοτεχνίαι, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, λατρεία ἐστὶ διαβόλου; φεῦγε οὖν ταῦτα, "augury, divination, omen-observing, whether amulets or inscriptions on *lamellae*,

magic practices or other evil operations — and all such similar things — are a service of the devil; so flee these things!" (ed. W.C. Reischl-J. Rupp, 1848-1860, repr. 1967; text from A. Adam, *Liturgische Texte*, I; Kleine Texte 5; Berlin, 1960), *de Bapt.* I,8, p.12, 17-20). Cyril's explicit mention of the use of engraved *lamellae* suggests in its specificity that this was indeed the practice in certain Christian circles, or else it would not have required mention. One is reminded of the obscure but insightful Pseudo-Augustine, *Homilia de sacrilegiis* (ed. C. P. Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de sacrilegiis* [Christiania, 1886]), translated as text no. 168 in J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York & Oxford, 1992):

> (Ch. 6 §19) *Whoever produces writings of Solomon; whoever ties around the neck of humans or dumb animals any characters, whether on papyrus, on parchment, or on metal tablets made from bronze, iron, lead, or any other material, such a person is not a Christian but a pagan* (p. 264).

The habit of engraving exorcistic texts on *lamellae* probably stems from Jews who made good the practice in their own exorcistic rites, having adopted it from general 'pagan' magic. Both the *Testament of Solomon* and the few exorcisms of the Greek magical papyri describe especially the writing of engraved *lamellae* during the exorcistic rite: *PGM* IV. 1227-1264, a so-called Πρᾶξις γενναία ἐκβάλλουσα δαίμονας, contains a Christian interpolation in Coptic of "Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the Son of the Father" (i.e., a liturgical 'trinitarian' formula), and also prescribes a tin *lamella* to be worn after the demon is expelled: ἐκβαλὼν περίαπτε τῷ δεῖνα φυλακτήριον, ὃ περ<ι>τίθησιν ὁ κάμνων μετὰ τὸ ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν δαίμονα, ἐπὶ κασσιτερίνου πετάλου ταῦτα (*magic names*). *PGM* IV. 3007-3086, though entitled Πρὸς δαιμονιαζομένους Πιβήχεως δόκιμον (an Egyptian name), is in fact a Jewish liturgical exorcism. It, too, prescribes a tin *lamella* for the exorcized patient (τὸ δὲ φυλακτήριον ἐπὶ λαμνίῳ κασσιτερίνῳ γράφε [*magic names*] καὶ περίαπτε τὸν πάσχοντα, line 3014f.). This exorcism in particular betrays specific points of contact with the Christian liturgical exorcisms, adjuring by the "God of the Hebrews, Jesus" (ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων Ἰησοῦ, line 3019f.), as well as by the Seal of Solomon (ὅτι ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τῆς σφραγῖδος, ἧς ἔθετο Σολομὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ Ἱηρεμίου,

καὶ ἐλάλησεν, line 3039f.). Even more noteworthy is the fact that Ms P of the *Testament of Solomon* itself (ch. XVIII 27P) gives a variant reading in one of the 'ἀναχωρῶ'-sections that prescribes the use of a *lamella* to expel the demon Ryx Manthado. The text in McCown reads ἐγὼ Ῥύξ Μανθαδῶ καλοῦμαι. νεφροὺς ἀλγεῖν ποιῶ. ἐάν τις γράψει εἰς λαμνὸν [in marg. dextr. πέταλ(ον)] κασσιτέρινον Ἰαώθ, Οὐριήλ, εὐθὺς ἀναχωρῶ.

The numerous points of contact that the *Testament of Solomon*, the 'Patristic' liturgical exorcisms, the magical papyri, and the text of our *lamella* all share, point to a common origin in Jewish exorcistic practices. On our amulet, the technical exorcistic command (ἀναχώρησον) and the practice of naming the demonic adversary stem from the exorcistic tradition of Solomon and are paralleled by the 'Patristic' exorcisms; the engraving of the exorcism on a leaf of metal is based on Solomonic and comparable magico-exorcistic practices (Jewish); and the use of liturgical invocation ('Right hand of God, Blood of Christ,' etc.) reflects liturgical procedure contemporary with the fourth-century Church.

36 'King of Kings' on an Amulet from Pontus

Fig. 36. Plates VII & VIII

AMISOS (Samsun), Pontus — I B.C./I A.D.
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire — 4.5 cm.; 6.7 cm.
Inv. A 1322 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. S. Pétridès, "Amulette judéo-grecque," *Echos d'Orient* 8 (1905), pp. 88-90 (fasc.); S. Reinach, "Bulletin Épigraphique," *Revue des Études Grecque* 20 (1907), p. 87; R. Wünsch, "Deisidaimoniaka," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12 (1909), pp. 24-32, Nr. 4 (fasc.); F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* 3 (Bruxelles, 1910), p. 20, no. 10g; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain. Leur condition juridique, économique et sociale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914), vol. 1, p. 194, n. 7; K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1928), p. 132; J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, II (Vatican, 1936; repr. New York, 1952), pp. 53ff. no. 802; J. Gager, *Moses in Graeco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville, 1972), pp. 157-159; L. Robert, "Amulettes grecques," *Journal des Savants*, 1981, p. 10; W. Fauth, "Arbath Jao," *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983), p. 68, note 28; R. Kotansky in: C. Faraone & D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 135, note 93; J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York & Oxford, 1992), p. 225f., no.120.

The tablet was first published with facsimile and text (but no commentary) by Pétridès 1905:88-90. Wünsch's (1909:24-32) edition betrays no apparent knowledge of Pétridès. The text is intact, though the photograph, herewith published, shows that a bit of the upper right has broken off since the publication of Pértridès' and Wünsch's editions. The piece was found in a grave, rolled up in a bronze tube (L. 5.2 cm)., at the Pontic city of Amisos, on the southern coast of the Black Sea. Cumont 1910:20 (no. 10h) repeats Pétridès report of another gold *lamella* found at Amisos in a tomb and sold to an Athenian collector through a dealer at Constantinople. Its present whereabouts is presumably not known.

Originally a 6th-century B.C. colony of Miletus or Phocaea, Amisos was ruled from the mid-third to the 1st century B.C. by the kings of Pontus, the most famous of whom was Mithridates the Great (VI Eupator), who expanded the Pontic kingdom to an unprecedented size, being eventually defeated only by Pompey in 63 B.C. after a series of three 'Mithridatic' wars. The repeated allusions to royalty and to a 'King of Kings' found in this amulet have certainly been influenced by the local,

oriental notions of Hellenistic monarchy that must have remained current in the region in the generation following the end of the Pontic monarchies. The language of much of the charm, especially the expression 'King of Kings,' presupposes this general climate of Hellenistic rulership, and there even seems to be an indirect reference to a *φάρμακον*-anecdote of Mithridates himself in lines 15-17 (see 'Excursus' and 'Appendix'). Amisos itself was a one-time residence of King Mithridates, during his long reign (cf. Hirschfeld, art. "Amisos," *RE* I/1 [1894], col. 1839).

The occasion for the writing of the amulet was a potential law-suit against the woman Rufina, who also felt threatened with poison.

The date of the piece is of considerable importance. The hand — a round, somewhat cursive script — is early, being attributable to Egyptian papyri of the 1st cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D. The script is not dissimilar to W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinensis* (Bonn, 1911), no. 18, p. XVII, *P. Berol.* 6929 (I A.D., the 'Ninos'-*Roman*); E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), no. 38 = *P. Oxy.* XXXI, 2535 (I A.D., *Hypomnema* on elegies); R. Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, Bd. II (Stuttgart, 1970), no. 27 (I A.D.). But certain older 'Ptolemaic' features point to a date in the 1st century B.C. (a date confirmed, in principle, by D. Hagedorn): The occasional adjoining-hooks (or dashes) on the vertical and diagonal strokes of *γ*, *κ*, *ν*, and *μ*; the '*h*-shaped' *eta* always written with a horizontal or curved stroke joining it with the next letter (= *h*-, also with *π*-); the *τ*-shaped *upsilon* (making *γ*,*τ*, and *υ* often identical, especially in the sequence *-υτ-*); and the *α* often written with an exaggerated pointed (or slightly looped) apex. The hand is reminiscent of *P. Hercul.* 1050 (I B.C.) in: M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV. A.C. all' VIII D.C.* (Firenze, 1939), Tav. 6; cf. *P. Avroman* (88 B.C., Kurdistan), in E. H. Minns, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 35 (1915), pl. I, for similar 'hooks' that join letters (esp. *π*-), in a text outside of Egypt; *P. Münch.* II, 24 (I A.D. medical text), for similar *η*- and *σι*. A good example with similar large *α*'s and comparable *τ*'s, though more cursive, is *P. Merton* I, 8 (A.D. 3-4); similarly, *P. Merton* I, 6 (77 B.C.), with kindred *α* (line 19: Πα*ῦνι*, e.g.), *υτ* and '*η*-' (e.g., *την τιμην*, line 26), though, again, more flowing and cursive; *P. Oxy.* VIII. 1087 (1st cent. B.C.), col. 1, line 17 (on

αὐτέπαινος); col. ii, line 51 (*ἀπάτωρωι*) gives similar *α*'s. The magic text is thus important for its early date. The earliest comparable magical papyri we have are the first-century B.C. formulary *P. Münch.* II, 28 (ed. Maltomini) = Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, 71; *P. Berol.* inv. 21243 = Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, 72 (Augustan era); and *P.S.A Athen.* 70 = Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, 73 (I B.C. or I A.D.).

1 Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν οὐ-
ρανῷ καθήμενος,
τὸ μολὸν κύτος ὅλου
4 τοῦ κοσμοῦ, Ἀρσενοφρε-
φρης, σάον ὄνομα Μιαρ-
σαυ ὡς δέμων ἀγα-
θός, Βαριχαα Κμῆφι, ὁ
8 βασιλε<ύ>ων τῶν βασιλέ-
ων, Ἀβριαώθ, Ἀλαρφώθ,
οι Σηθθ, ὁ ὤν· μηκέτι
κακὸν φενέσθω· ἀπέλα-
12 σον, ἀπέλασον ἀπὸ Ῥου-
φίνης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν·
καὶ εἴ τίς με ἀδικήσι ἐπέκινα,
ἀπόστρεψον· μήτε με φάρ-
16 μακον ἀδικήσι βασιλέα
βασιλέων, Ναρβιαων τω
ορθιαρη· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ βασιλί-
ζων τὸν τόπον εἰς ὀνόμα-
20 τι Μούσι<ς>.

6 *δέμων*: *δαίμων* 11 *φενέσθαι*: *φαινέσθω* 14/16 *ἀδικήσι*: *ἀδικήσῃ* 14 *ἐπέκινα*: *ἐπέκεινα* 20 *Μούσι*: *Μούση<ς>*

I am the Great One who sits in heaven <upon> the moving vault of the whole cosmos, *Arsenophris* — the sure name (is), *Miarsau*, like the Agathos Daimon, *Barichaa Kmeph* — the one who rules over kings, *Abriaoth, Alarphoth, oi Seth*, who is. Let no more harm appear! Drive away, drive away the lawsuit from Rufina! And if anyone shall injure me henceforth, turn

(him) away! And may no poison harm me, King of Kings, *Narbiaôn tô orthiarê*. I am he who acts as king in the region, in the name of Mousa (?).

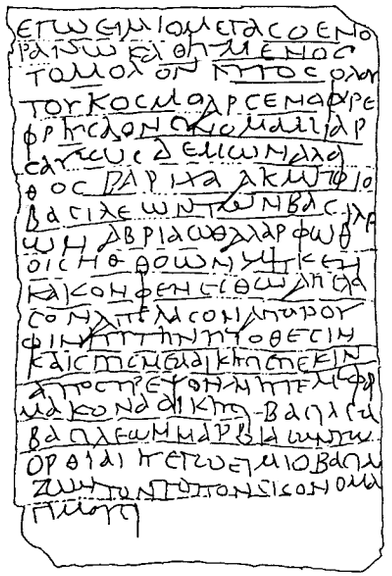


Fig. 36

1-2 Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ καθήμενος: The person for whom the charm was written is likened to the sun-god and, further on, to a king (see line 15f., below: *μήτε με φάρμακον ἀδικήσι, βασιλέα βασιλέων*). On the 'I am' formula, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 6,1: *ἐγώ ἰμι ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχων*; *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 13,2,16-18: *ἐγώ ἰμει* Ἀβρασάξ; further, A. A. Barb, "Abraxas-Studien," *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Bruxelles, 1957), §2.-"Ich Bin", pp. 73-76; E. Schweizer, *Ego Eimi* (Göttingen, 1939); J. Bergmann, *Ich bin Isis* (Uppsala, 1968), pp. 30-33; and especially R. Merkelbach & M. Totti, *Abrasax II* (Opladen, 1991), p.171-173 who rightly stress the need to compare this 1st-person formula with the comparable 2nd- and 3rd-person counterparts (*σὺ εἶ, οὗτος ἐστιν*). For similar phrasing in an invocation, note *PGM* IV.1622: *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῷ*, where "the Great One in heaven" refers to Helios, properly identified with Egyptian

Re. Here (line 4) it is Arsenophre (= 'the good watcher Re,' see Commentary, below), also a reference to the Sun; *PGM* II.101: *σὲ καλῶ τὸν μέγαν ἐν οὐρανῷ* (a hymn to the rising sun); *PGM* IV.1218-1220: *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐν τῷ χρυσῷ πετάλῳ ... ὁ μέγας θεός, ὁ φανεὶς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, κατὰ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μαρμαίρων, κύριε Ἰάω, κτλ.* (= Helios-Iaô); *PGM* IV.482: *ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας*; cf. A. A. Barb, "Magica Varia," *Syria* 49 (1972), p. 369: *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μέγας Φομμους Χαουαθ Χαραβιατ*. On the concept of the 'Great God,' cf. H. Donner, "Beschwörung des Grossen Gottes," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 100 (1974) 82ff.; Br. Müller, *Μέγας Θεός* (Halle: Inaug. Diss., 1913), esp. pp. 383-388, on instances from the magical papyri and *defixiones*; here, we note, however, that *θεός* is not specifically mentioned, only *ὁ μέγας* — he is the great *king*, the oriental despot worshipped as the Sun-god, in the subsequent lines.

The description of a divine figure 'sitting' over (*ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ*) some sphere of influence is discussed in L. Robert, *Journal des Savants*, 1981, 9-12 (= *Opera Minora* VII, pp. 421-424); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 8; cf. **52** (passim); and esp. W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991), p. 45.

3-4 *τὸ μολὸν κύτος ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*: *τὸ μολὸν αὖγος ὅλου τοῦ κόσμο<υ>* Pétridès; Frey. (Though the upper diagonal of the *κ* is not sharp, it can only be *κ*; hence, the rare *αὖγος* must be ruled out as a possible reading). The phrase *τὸ μολὸν κύτος* must mean "the moving sphere," i.e., "the rotating sphere;" however, the text as read is slightly problematic and invites an emendation: *ὁ ... καθήμενος <ἐπὶ> τὸ πόλον κύτος ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου*; the change, however, may not be necessary, if the "great one in heaven" is himself the *τὸ μολὸν κύτος*.

For *κύτος* as the 'vault of heaven' see, e.g., Joannes Chrysostomus, *In natale sancti Joannis prophetae* (Migne, *PG* 61), p. 759, 46f.: *Εἰπέ μοι, Ζαχαρία, τῆς γῆς οἱ στῦλοι ποῦ πεπήγασι; τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δὲ τὸ κύτος ποῦ κατήρτισται*; Epiphanius *Haer.* 37,49: *τὸν τὸ πᾶν κύτος οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πάντα δημιουργήσαντα*. In *PGM* IV. 1117-1121 the word is also used to describe the innermost sphere of the universe: *χαῖρε, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν ερδηνευ καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς ἐν μέσῳ κύτει τοῦ κόσμου*

ἄχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς ἀβύσσου μερεμωγγα. Vettius Valens, *Anthol.* IV. 11,32 (ed. Pingree, p. 163,26), describes heaven as the ἀστέριον κύτος.

4-6 Ἀρσενοφρεφρης σάον ὄνομα Μιαρσαυ: Ἀρσενο[νεο]φρις σαον ὄνομα Μιαρσαυ Wünsch: Ἄρσενος BPE Φρὴ σάον ὄνομά μ(ο)ι Ἀρσά(φ). Arsenophre is usually identified with the Egyptian god Arsenouphis, *Irj-ḥms-nfr*, discussed most recently in H. J. Thissen, "Etymogeleien," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 73 (1988), p. 305; Ἀρσενοφρη = 1. *Irj-ḥms-nfr, 'der gute Gefährt'*; or, 2. *Wrš-nfr, 'der gute Wächter;'* cf. earlier, K. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 196 (1934), p. 173 = Egyptian, *wršj-ntr-R', 'Guter Wächter Re,'* an interpretation that seems to fit here with the ending -φρης (line 5); cf. *PGM* VII. 362 (Ἀρσενοφρῆ Φρῆν Φθᾶ); further, *PGM* II. 117 (Ἀρσενοφρη· ην Φθᾶ); IV.1629 (Ορσενοφρη); XIXa. 7 (Ἀρσενοφρη). *PGM* XII.183 also situates Arsenophre in the heavenly procession: Κύριε, χαῖρε, τὸ χαριτήσιον τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς οἰκ[ουμένη]ς· οὐρανὸς ἐγένετο κωμαστήριον Ἀρσενοφρη, κτλ. The prefix Ἀρσεν- is also akin to Old Persian, *aršan-*, "male, hero; bull" (Greek ἄρσηνε); cf. Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (American Oriental Series 33; New Haven, 1950), p. 171.

The adjective σάον (= σῶν) occurs only in its uncontracted form as a variant reading in Homer and in other early poets (see LSJ, svv. σάον, σῶς).

Μιαρσαυ is not an attested magical name. A similar-sounding name, however, is attested in Philo of Byblos, in connection with the Egyptian Kmêph (see line 7, below). A Phoenician deity M(ε)ίσωρ (some mss. Μείσωρα) is mentioned as the father of Taautos, associated with Egyptian Kmêph (Philo of Byblos, *apud* Euseb., *Praep. Evang.* I.13,8,10 [ed. Mras] I, p. 46). The name also recalls the Egyptian name for the Horus-Child *Msw Ḥr*, for which one would expect, however, Greek Μισαυαρ, not Μιαρσαυ; on the Horus-child: M. H. van Voss, art. "Horuskinder," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3 (Wiesbaden, 1980). The spelling Μιαρσαυ, then, is perhaps too remote to refer to either the Phoenician or Egyptian deity.

6-7 ὡς δέμων ἀγαθός, Βαριχαα Κμῆφι: Some edd. read ἀλαθός, but the γ was simply written with a slanting horizontal. The name Βαριχαα is reminiscent of Βαριχαμ in A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 511, p. 334. Kmêph or Knêph is the Egyptian creator serpent-god (*Km 3t.f*). Here our text identifies Kmêph with the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, an association made with the 'Phoenician' *Agathos Daimon*, according to Philo of Byblos: Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Κνὴφ ἐπονομάζουσιν (*apud* Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, I.10,48). Similarly, according to Porphyry of Tyre, Kmêph is also identified with the *Demiurgos*, a description that also fits with our text's reference in lines 1-4 to the one who sits over the heavenly vault: Τὸν δημιουργόν, ὃν Κνὴφ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι προσαγορεύσιν, ἀνθρωποειδῆ, τὴν δὲ χροιὰν ἐκ κυανοῦ μέλανος ἔχοντα, κρατοῦντα ζώνην καὶ σκῆπτρον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς βασίλειον περικείμενον, κτλ. (*apud* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* III.11,45 [ed. Mras]). Kmêph is also associated with the Agathos Daimon in *PGM* IV.1705-1712, in an invocation to the Sun-god: ναί, κύριε Κμήφ (magic names), ὁρκίζω γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος καὶ τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα θεὸν μέγαν σαρουσιν, σέ, τὸ παρεστὸς Ἀγαθὸν Δαιμόνιον, κτλ. Further associations of Kmêph with the Sun-god, occur in *PGM* III.142: ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ ἁγίου φέγ[γ]ους, ὁ κ[ύ]κλος ὁ π[υ]ροειδὴς (magic names) Κμηφ, ὁ ἔκλαμπρος Ἥλι[ος], κτλ. And a relationship of the god with Amun-('Ra) or with Chnoubis/Chnum on the gemstones (pictured as a radiant, lion-headed serpent) further establish Kmêph's identity in later syncretistic magic as a solar deity; see H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1962), s.v. "Kneph," p. 378f.; A. Delatte & P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), pp. 54-57; cf. W. Barta, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3 (1980), s.v. "Kematef," p. 382f.; *PGM* VII.582-584: ὄνομα τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σφραγὶς ... Κμῆφις χφυρις (= 'Kmêph, the Sun-scarab' [Khepri]). Kneph appears to be named on an unusual II-I B.C. magical formulary in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 70,1: ... Αἰγυπτιστὶ Κνη[φ].

The phrase ὡς δέμων ἀγαθός reads like a gloss or variant reading introduced into the text to explain either Μιαρσαυ before it, or the Βαριχαα Κμῆφι that follows. The latter of the two is the more likely, given the discussion above. For ὡς used to introduce a variant, see R. Daniel, *Two Greek Magical Papyri in the National Museum of Antiquites in Leiden* (Papyrologica Coloniensia XIX; Opladen, 1991), pp. xviii, xxi (note 5).

7-9 ὁ βασιλε<ύ>ων τῶν βασιλέων: "The one who rules over kings" (cf. line 16f.). Here we have the participial form of the oriental royal title βασιλεὺς βασιλέων (line 16f.); see F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927), pp. 201-214. This concept of the 'King of Kings' — the superlative expression of earthly sovereignty — originally belonged to the province of the great Persian and Babylonian despots and was later revitalized by Hellenistic monarchs (Parthian, Pontic, etc.) — monarchs who wished to propagandize their programs of conquest as divine rulers over vast territories; see, on the term, J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων: Remarks on the History of a Title," *Classical Philology* 48 (1953), pp. 145-154; and in general, C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origins of Hellenistic Kingship* (Chicago, 1932).

The description ὁ βασιλεύων τῶν βασιλέων here in lines 7-9, apparently in connection with Kmeph, whose name precedes, certainly refers back to the identification of the bearer of the charm as the great one in heaven: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ μέγας ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ, κτλ., who is enthroned (καθήμενος) over the whole world (ὅλου τοῦ κοσμοῦ). In lines 16f., 18f. the 'earthly'— albeit divine — aspects of kingship are emphasized, with a clear historical antecedent in the long Mithridatic dynasty of Pontus (see Commentary, lines 16-19).

9-10 Ἀβριαὼθ Ἀλαρφὼθ: For the first name (which occurs again in line 17), one may compare Ἀβραώθ in *PGM* IV.1214,1315; 3020; V.133;Ἀβριασώθ in XII.157; and Ἀβρωώθ in IV.3031f. Ἀλαρφώθ is not found in the magic papyri, but both names contain seven letters each (a sacred number), perhaps intentionally.

οι Σὴθθ ὁ ὤν: οἰσήθ· θοῶν Pétridès: The vowels οι that appear before the name Σήθ may be a variant on the usual ειω, Coptic for "ass," the usual designation of Seth (cf. J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* [Cambridge, 1976], p. 45). The apparent doubled θ in Σήθθ may be an error, or due to the Egyptian spelling of the god's name (*stš*, *ztš*, *stḫ*, *stḫ*, etc.); note H. te Velde, art. "Seth," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols. 908-911.

10-11 μηκέτι κακὸν φενέσθω (= φαινέσθω). For ε > αι (already common by the early Roman period), cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri* I (Milan, 1976), p. 192f. The phrase "let *no further* (μηκέτι) harm come to light" implies that the threat of danger has already occurred but is not yet passed. The additional mention of an *hypothesis* line 13 and of a *pharmakon* in line 14f. supplies the likely context: Rufina is entangled in some legal action against her and feels threatened with poisoning or bewitchment. The threat seems to center around a perceived act of revenge; note also the adverb ἐπέκεινα in line 13 (= "hereafter").

11-12 ἀπέλασον, ἀπέλασον ἀπὸ Ῥουφίνης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν: An ὑπόθεσις, in the papyri and inscriptions, regularly means law-suit (cf. LSJ, s.v., def. II.2). On at least one papyrus, Dionysia's petition to a praefect (*P. Oxy.* III,486), reference is made to a certain Hermione who has charged the plaintiff's mother with poisoning and filed a claim for certain property from which she felt defrauded (Σαραπίων τις ... τῇ μητρί μου Ἑρμιόνῃ φαρμακείας ἐνκαλῶν καὶ περὶ ὑπαρχόντων τινῶν ἐλογοποιήσατο ὡς ὑποστελλόντων αὐτῷ, lines 20-23); Dionysia mentions that the ἡ ὅλη ὑπόθεσις had been laid before the praefect, during which time Dionysia's mother died. (She requests a relocation of the trial nearer home). The account suggests how common, as with our amulet, threats of poisoning were involved in the intrigue surrounding trials and court-cases.

The absence of the matrilineal formula ὃν/ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ(εῖνα) tends to support the relative early date of this tablet, as the formula seems only to be regularly attested later. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 73,11 gives its earliest certain attestation on a papyrus dated I A.D. (or even I B.C.). See, further, D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976), pp. 127-132.

14-15 καὶ εἴ τίς με ἀδικήσι ἐπέκινα, ἀπόστρεψον: ἀπέκ[ε]ινα ἀπόστρεψον Pétridès: ἐπ' ἐκῖνον Wünsch. The verb ἀδικεῖν generally means "to damage, injure," but when it occurs in the formula εἴ τις ἀδικεῖν is used specifically of committing *legal* injury or wrong; cf. for example, αἰ δέ τις ἀδικοίη τὰ συνκείμενα κοινᾶι διαλύων ἢ κόσμος ἢ ἰδιώτας, ἐξέστω τῶι βωλομένωι δικάξασθαι ἐπὶ τῶ κοινῶ δικαστηρίω τίμαμα ἐπιγραψάμενον τᾶς δίκας κατὰ ἀδίκημα ὃ κά τις ἀδικήσηι, "And if anyone might wrong, whether magistrate or commoner, by breaking the jointly decreed laws, it is allowed for the suer to get a trial in the public court, the penalties of the judgment having been written up according to

the wrong which (that) one might commit. And if he might win, let the pleader receive a third part of the judgment" (*ICret.* 3. iii. 4, 47-52, ed. Guarducci); cf., further, a decree from Delphi that reads: *ἐὰν δέ τίς ἀ[δι]κ[ήσ]ηι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὑπόδικον εἶναι ἐν [τοῖς Ἀ]μφι[κτύουσ]ιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, "And if any one should wrong any of these (decrees), he shall be brought to trial before the Amphictyones according to the law" (III B.C. Delphi, *Fouilles des Delphes*, III:iii, no. 190, 17, ed. Daux & Salač, Paris, 1932). The formula refers more generally to damages sought in court. A 2nd cent. A.D. letter from Karanis (*P. Mich.* VIII.492, 21f.) parallels our text particularly well. The letter includes, in part, a brother's request for the name of his sister's suer: *καὶ εἴ τίς σε ἠδίκησεν δήλωσόν μοι διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*, "And if any one has injured you, reveal his name to me in a letter." Commenting on *ἠδίκησεν*, the editors write: "the word implies a legal situation. The writer means that ... he is in a favorable position to secure redress for his sister" (p. 99, citing further, *P. Cair. Zen* III, 59492, 4: *ἐάν τίς σε ἀδικῆι*).

The previously incorrect reading *ἐπ' ἐκῖνον* (= *ἐκεῖνον*) has perpetuated the false interpretation of this sentence and hence for the whole tablet. The lines do not mean, "If someone does me an injustice, turn it (i.e. the curse) *back on him*," but rather, "If someone might do me an injustice *henceforth*, turn it away!" The adverbial *ἐπέκεινα* (not *ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον*) is temporal and means "from here-on-out," or "from henceforth." *Ἀπόστρεψον*, then, refers to turning back or diverting the potential injurying party or case.

15-18 *μήτε με φάρμακον ἀδικήσι* (read *ἀδικήσῃ*) *βασιλέα βασιλέων*: *με* stands in apposition to *βασιλέα βασιλέων*, the bearer of the charm, who is likening himself to a powerful despot. Previous editions (and translations) have simply ignored this critical observation and treated *βασιλέα* as if vocative. But the reading *βασιλέα* is unquestionable; here the speaker is making the incontrovertible claim that no *pharmakon* can injure him (= her, Rufina), *precisely because he is King of Kings*. The allusion is grounded in a probable historical anecdote: Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus, whose titles and political influence seem to have influenced much of the composition of this regional amulet, was popularly known to be invulnerable to poison (see 'Excursus,' below).

The phrase 'King of Kings' occurs only two times elsewhere in magical texts, where it is used in a supplicatory address to a god and both times in the *vocative* case: *PGM* II.53: *αρβι καὶ αβρω εξαντιαβιλ· θεὲ θεῶν, βασιλεῦ βασιλέων*; *PGM* XIII.605: *ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, βασιλεῦ βασιλέων, τύραννε τυρράνων, ἔνδοξε ἐνδοξοτάτων, δαίμων δαιμόνων, ἄλκιμε ἀλκιμωτάτων* (604-607). Our accusative *βασιλέα*, by sharp contrast, does *not* occur in the context of hymnic praise to a superior deity, but rather is a *self-designation* that likens the bearer himself to a 'divine' ruler exercising authority over earthly territory (*τὸν τόπον*! line 19). He rules in *the name of* one who bestows authority (see next line, Commentary, lines 11f.).

For spells to counter *φάρμακα* cf., e.g., *PGM* IV. 2176-2178 (Homer-verses): *φάρμακα νικήσεις, καταδέσμους ἀναλύσεις καὶ ἐχθροὺς νικήσεις*; *PGM* VIII.32-35: *διάσωσόν με πάντοτε εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἀπὸ φαρμάκων καὶ δολίων καὶ βασκοσύνης πάσης καὶ γλωττῶν πονηρῶν, ἀπὸ πάσης συνοχῆς, ἀπὸ παντὸς μίσους θ[ε]ῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων*; *PGM* XXXVI.221-223: *δέομε, κύριε, [μ]ὴ σφαλῆναι, μὴ ἐπιβουλευθῆναι, μὴ δηλητήριον φάρμ[ακ]ον λαβῖν, μὴ εἰς ἔκπτωσιν, βίου ἀπορίαν ἐνπεσῖν*; cf. also *PGM* XIII.253 (a spell, *πρὸς λύσιν φαρμάκων*).

18-19 *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ βασιλίζων τὸν τόπον*: *ὁ βαστάζων*: Pétridès. The form *βασιλίζειν* (as opposed to *βασιλεύειν*) is rare; it occurs only several times — principally in late Hellenistic/early Roman works on political-historical events. For example, the word is used in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (I B.C.), *Hist.* XX, 13.15 of 'assuming power as a king:' *Ἐληίζοντο τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλίζειν αἰτίαν*, "They (sc. the Romans ?) plundered the possessions of the citizens on the ground that they were affecting the ways of a king" (tr. Cary, LCL, p. 425; the excerpt is from an uncertain context). Appian (from a probable first-century source) uses the word three times. Of these, two refer to Julius Caesar, who was assassinated because he 'carried on like a king' (*Bellum civile* II.1,1: *τινές ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκτανον*; *idem* III. 2,18: *... αὐτὸν βασιλιζόμενον οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι*). Given the deeply entrenched negative associations of monarchical rule in late Republican times, one can only assume that *βασιλίζειν* in Appian betokens the wrongful usurpation of power.

A third occurrence of the verb in Appian is of particular relevance to our text. It summarizes the royal demeanor of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, who in embarking on his conquest of Asia, had actively seized monarchical power in conscious defiance of Rome, over-and-against an alternative of choosing a simple life lived-out in idle anticipation of death (*βούλεσθαί τι δρῶντα καὶ βασιλιζόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀργίας ἀποθανεῖν ὅμως ἐνεκαρτέρουν καὶ ἡσύχαζον*, *Mithr.* c. 109 [§ 521], ed. Viereck-Roos, p. 519,16-18). Βασιλίζειν used of Mithridates signals a decisive act in his career, the act to take on the indomitable power of Rome. Such a verb as *βασιλίζειν* seems to be used specifically of single, demonstrative acts of assuming the power, and behaving in the fashion, of a *βασιλεύς*. Used of Romans such as Caesar who assumed unpatriotic airs in aspiring after the crown, or of late Hellenistic rulers like Mithridates who displayed himself as a great provincial monarch, the verb bears distinct imperatorial and militaristic markings: it means "to act as king," "to assume royal power," or even "to pronounce oneself king." The fact that this uncommon verb also occurs on a magical text from a geographical region whose soil gave rise to a dynasty of Mithridatic rulers makes an historical allusion to such rulers difficult to gainsay. Without the need to name him individually, the presence of *βασιλίζειν* — along with other terms of rulership found on this amulet — adds weight to the possibility that the very career of Mithridates VI of Pontus served as the specific historical model upon which the royal allusions of this text were formulated. Given the early date and provenance of this amulet, the historical events surrounding this outstanding Hellenistic ruler would have made a lasting, if not indelible, impression on the minds of the residents of a city such as Amisos — a city that Mithridates himself had one time claimed as his residence. Together with the more specific allusions to a Mithridatic *φάρμακον*, to the Mithridatic dynasty in the use of the title *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*, and even to the possible naming of the ruling daughter of Mithridates (all of which are discussed below), the amulet's use of *βασιλίζειν* makes a purposive reference to the Mithridatic kingdom seem inescapable.

The use of *βασιλίζειν*, especially with the accusative *τὸν τόπον*, emphasizes rulership over earthly territory and has identifiable Persian

antecedents: "to become king of the land/country" translates a regular Old Persian phraseology in royal inscriptions. Taken with the title 'King of Kings' territorial domination is formemost emphasized; cf. Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (American Oriental Series 33; New Haven, 1950), p. 116: **AmH** §2, 8f.: "By the favor of Ahuramazda *I am king in this country*;" *idem*, **DB I** §1.1.1-3, p. 118f. (the famous Behistūn inscription of Darius I): "I am Darius, the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, *King of Countries*;" cf. *ibid*, 'Lexicon,' p.181, svv. *xšay-*, "rule;" *xšāyaθiya-*, "king;" *upari* + *xšay-*, "rule over;" *pati-* + *xšay-*, "have lordship over." See, further, J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1955), p. 267 (royal inscription of Sargon): "Sargon, king of Agade ... *king of the country*" (note 'Excursus', below).

The *ἐγώ εἰμι*-formula here is also akin to that found on the Persepolis foundation tablet of Xerxes which also brings together a constellation of expressions describing sovereign rulership. On the tablet Xerxes describes himself as 'King of Kings,' uses the 'I am'- formula, and asserts that his rulership of the whole cosmos is by divine appointment: "Ahuramazda is the great god who gave (us) this earth, who gave (us) that sky ... who made Xerxes, the king, (rule) the multitudes (as) only king, give orders alone to the other (kings). *I am* Xerxes, the *great* king, the *King of Kings*, the king of (all) countries (which speak) all kinds of languages, the king of this (entire) big and far(-reaching) earth" (tr. in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Princeton, 1955), p. 316). The text demonstrates how divine and earthly rulership go hand-in-hand in the ancient oriental and Egyptian concepts of kingship after which the ancient Hellenistic monarchs modeled themselves. A 'King of Kings,' though ruling the earth, himself rules by divine appointment; cf., further, Pritchard, *ibid*, p. 297 (7-10): "Ashurbanipal, *the great* king, the legitimate king, the *king of the world*, king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of the earth), *king of kings*," etc.; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Classical Philology* 48 (1953), pp. 145-154.

19-20 *εἰς ὀνόματι Μουσῖ*: For *εἰς* + dative on a 1st century A.D. papyrus, cf. *P. Oxy.* II 243, 26 (79 A.D.), cited in S. G. Kapsomenakis, *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit* (München, 1938), p. 112, note.

The reading Μουσι (read gen. Μούσης ?) is fairly certain, and it is clear that a personal name in the genitive belongs here. But the long-standing view that this name refers to the Hebrew Moses should be put to rest for a number of reasons. First, βασιλίζειν τὸν τόπον simply means "to rule the region (or place)." Hence, "I am the one who rules the region (τὸν τόπον) in the name of *Moses*" makes little sense, for Moses was not a king, nor was he a figure known, in some manner, to have granted authority to exercise rulership. Secondly, the resultant view that τόπος refers to the "Jewish rendering of the Divine Name" (see Gager 1992:226, n.11) seems to derive first from the notion that Μουσι *must* refer to "Moses," and only secondarily that τόπος should then be a divine circumlocution. But this forces the natural interpretation of the Greek in an unnatural direction. The end result gives us an even more difficult sentence — one that is now hopelessly tautological: "I am the one ruling the '*Divine Name*' in the *name* of Moses." No one — Jew or Greek alike — would be described as *ruling* (βασιλίζειν) the 'Divine Name,' especially if that name was the name of the Hebrew God! To rule that 'name' in the *name of* another figure who is even *less* divine than God (i.e., 'Moses') introduces yet more insurmountable difficulties. Thirdly, the genitive of Moses is usually Μωϋσέως or Μοϋσέως; hence, our text's Μουσι does not easily lend itself to the Patriarch's name. Finally, there is little, if anything, that is particularly Jewish on the text of this amulet at all. Despite the '*-ôth*' names in line 9, the text is conspicuous for its absence of such high-profile Jewish names as Iaô, Sabaôth, strings of angel-names, and so on. To find a sudden reference to Moses as the last word on a largely non-Jewish amulet would hardly be expected here.

The name Μουσι, then, must indicate an authoritative ruler who himself bestows sovereignty on behalf of another (here the amulet's bearer): "to rule the region in the name" (of someone) implies that the name refers to either a divine figure or an earthly overlord who would partition sections of his kingdom to lesser vassals. But who, mythologically or historically could Mousi refer to? Personal names very close to the spelling Μουσι are actually common in Asia Minor; cf. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague, 1964), pp. 335-338, svv. Μουζος, Μουζεας, Μουσητα, Μουσατης, Μουσας, Μουσεας, Μουσευς, Μουσης, Μουσις, Μουσσις; (*ibid*, p. 338, n. 326 on the ethnic stem Μουσ- being combined or confused with Greek Μοῦσα). However, few, if any, of these can be connected with any known rulers of Pontus. On the other hand, Μουσι — if it indeed preserves an indigenous Pontic name, as seems likely — may actually refer to a little-known Hellenistic Queen, viz., the very daughter of Mithridates VI himself. That daughter, known more fully as Mousa Orsobaris, ruled as a queen in the Bithynian Pontic city of Kios — a city from which all the original Mithridatic rulers claimed their origin before establishing dynastic power in Pontus. Mousa was apparently a powerful enough ruler in her own right to issue coinage carrying her own portrait and legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΟΡΣΟΒΑΡΙΟΣ (see T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Kios* [Inschriften griechischer Städte aud Kleinasien 29]; Bonn, 1985, p. 42, for references). The fact that she claims to be a queen (βασιλίσσης) indicates no petty rulership, though the extent or duration of her Asian rule is not known. Clearly she received the sovereignty from her father, and the fact that Appian (*Mithr.* 117) names her with Mithridates' kin among eastern rulers lead in the great triumph of 61 B.C. shows that her rulership had also posed a potential threat to Roman sovereignty. For literature and discussion on Μουσα, daughter of Mithridates, see Hatto H. Schmitt, art. "Orsabaris," *RE Suppl.* IX (1968) p. 468f. For the personal name, Μοῦσα, cf. *SEG* XI 282 (Ip); XII 520 (Ip, Cilicia); XVIII 433,6; 646,2; XXVI 1326 (Kyme); XXVIII 943,4 (Mysia); F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle, 1917. Repr. 1964), p. 565; *Epigr. Anatol.* 12 (1988), p. 114, no. 59; *Bull. Epigr.* 1958, 404 (refs. T. Corsten).

Considering this amulet's repeated references to sovereignty with special allusion to Mithridates of Pontus, it is difficult not to posit here the naming of an actual historical Pontic monarch, Mousa — especially since the name of a ruler is anticipated after the phrase ὁ βασιλίζων τὸν τόπον εἰς ὀνόματι. The expression seems to hint specifically at the sort of regional power that Mousa was known to have wielded. Μουσα was a common feminine name in Asia Minor, and the reading Μουσι (= Μουση<ς>, with the usual ι=η of this tablet) gives us the expected genitive of Μουσα. This certainly seems a more attractive solution than read-

ing a supposed genitive of Μωϋσῆς. It is also entirely possible, though, that our amulet's Μουσι had recently been reduced to little more than an unknown magical name: were it not for the single reference in Appian and the attestations of the coin legends, Mousa Orsabaris would have been entirely lost to history.

Excursus: 'King of Kings,' Mithridates, and Pontus

The term 'King of Kings' and the whole concept of the oriental despoticism that it embraces is fundamental to the interpretation of our text. This oriental notion of earthly sovereignty with overtones of divinity — is found no less than three times on this short text, even concluding with the territorial claim of lines 18f.

The use of the Greek term 'King of Kings' on our amulet has a long historical pedigree: it corresponded in most recent historical terms to the Persian *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiy*, "King of Kings" (see Commentary above, line 18f.); from thence it passed readily to the Oriental Greek monarchs who wished to align their sovereignties to the old Iranian rulers. The expression reaches as far back as the Old Babylonian and Assyrian *šar šarrâni*, "King of Kings." The Greek equivalent, *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*, is not surprisingly found in the LXX to describe both Babylonian and Persian rulers: of King Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3:2 (Καὶ Νεβουχοδονοσορ *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κυριεύων τῆς οἰκουμένης*), Dan. 4:37b (*ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*), and Dan. Th. 2:37 (*σύ, βασιλεῦ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*); and of Artaxerxes, in 2 Esdras 7:12 (Αρθασασθα *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*). The title is only used of God, we may add, in the context of describing Nebuchadnezzar's court itself: in Dan. 4:37 the author 'plagiarizes' the title, so to speak, in proclaiming for his own god divine sovereignty vis-à-vis that of the Babylonian king himself: *ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ, ὅτι αὐτός* (sc. *θεός*) *ἐστι θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων*. Our term is nowhere else in the LXX used of God; nor is 'royal' nomenclature usually applied at all to that most 'magical' of the Old Testament divinities, Yahweh ('Ιάω). The use of "King of Kings" on our text, we have argued, is based on the model of the 'divine' earthly ruler. No ancient writer — even one of magical texts

— would presume to tender the claim, 'I am King of Kings,' if the title were strictly theophoric — for that would be equivalent to saying, 'I am the (Hebrew) God.' Nor would anyone but an earthly ruler claim, 'I am he who *rules the region* in the name of (so-and-so),' since such rulership is territorially based, as discussed above.

Why then, is the language of our amulet influenced so much by this oriental notion of sovereignty? It seems that the historical climate of the first century B.C. to first century A. D. — the approximate time of the composition of the Amisos amulet — has provided the immediate political background for the composition of our text. In the first two centuries before the common era, the Rome's political history is dominated by the expansionist policies of powerful Eastern monarchs who modeled themselves after the Old Persian and Assyrian sovereigns. More specifically, in the general time of the writing of our tablet, in the very land in which our amulet was discovered, there arose one of the greatest of these 'Eastern' monarchs ever to challenge Rome, namely Mithridates the Great (VI Eupator), king of Pontus — the most famous of a long line of Mithridatidae dating back to the third century B.C.

Herein must rest the culturo-historical reason for our writer's frequent use of the 'King of Kings' titulature found throughout this amulet: Not only does the text itself come from the very land of Pontus, its date must have been contemporary or nearly contemporary with the very sovereignty of the great Mithridatic monarch himself, who died in 63 B.C. It is not difficult to imagine that the historical influence and magnetism of so popular an anecdotal ruler as Mithridates VI Eupator could not help but indoctrinate the very thinking of this amulet's writer and its owner. Significantly, *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* is a title used by Mithridates the Great (d. 63 B.C.) himself, and one also widely used by his son, Pharnakes II (63-47 B.C.), after him. Mithridates, who favored the title *μέγας βασιλεύς* on his coinage, is described 'King of Kings' on an inscription from Phanagoreia (of Augustan date):

[Β]ασίλισσαν Δύναμιν φιλορωμ[αίαν]
[τὴ]ν ἐκ βασιλέω[ς μ]εγάλου Φα[ρνάκου]
[το]ῦ ἐκ βασιλέως βασιλέων Μιθ[ραδά]-
[το]υ Εὐπάτορος [Διο]νύσ[ο]υ
[τὴ]ν ἑαυτῶν σ[ώτειραν κ]αὶ εὐε[ργέ]-

[τι]ν [ὁ] δῆ[μος Ἀγριπ]πέω[ν]. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani [CIRB]*, no. 979; cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 473, no. 21).

That Mithridates after his death would have been venerated in the popular thinking of his contemporaries as the once great 'King of Kings' and that this veneration could have carried over directly in the writing of that title on a regional amulet hardly seems unimaginable. Even if Mithridates did himself not use the title 'King of Kings' on his coins, that he was popularly held as such is unmistakenly indicated by the Phanagoreia inscription. Moreover, Mithridates' son, Pharnakes, in regular using 'King of Kings' on his coins would surely have done much to propagate the notion that the Pontic dynastic, as a whole, viewed itself as a supreme Asian monarchy. The standard coin-types read as follows: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ (see T. Reinach, *Mithradates Eupator König von Pontos* [Leipzig, 1895], p. 248, n.2, with references). The particularly Pontic use of *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* would have remained in common circulation long after the writing of our amulet.

Though the text of the amulet represents the product of a syncretizing milieu, as indicated by the occasional Egyptian magic names, the reference to a 'King of Kings' seems thus to have a definite historical model in mind. For the divine — and even solar — aspects of rulership intimated on our amulet, we also have not far to look for an historic model: Mithridates the Great was worshipped as the god Dionysos (whose very name Mithridates himself assumed), as well as Herakles and Alexander the Great (see B.C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* [Mnemosyne Suppl. 89; Leiden,, 1986], pp. 90-102, esp. p. 90, note 5). The evidence is not clear whether Mithridates was also worshipped as the oriental Sun God, although this has also been argued by R. Günther, *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im alten Orient und im klassischen Altertum* (Berlin, 1961), p. 102, and qualified by McGing: "There seems to be no supporting evidence that Mithridates was associated with Helios (although it is by no means impossible)" (*op. cit.*, p. 100, note 69).

Our amulet also makes another possible reference to Mithridates of Pontus in alluding to his widely celebrated invulnerability to deadly

poisons. It was well-known in antiquity that this king boasted an expert knowledge of herbs and potions and that, for protective measures, had acquired a life-long immunity to poison through a daily regimen of self-administered *φάρμακα*. Hence, after his defeat at the hands of Pompey in 63 B.C., Mithridates found it impossible to commit suicide by the usually convenient method of ingesting toxic doses of poison— try though he did. Incapable of dying by self-administered poisons, Mithridates eventually had his attendants give the final death-blow with a sword (Dio Cassius XXXVII, 13, 1-3; Appian, *Hist. Rom.* §§ 537-540, etc.).

Now Mithridates' immunity to poison seems to be the very theme that our spell hints at when it makes the dual claim that its bearer is both a 'King of Kings' and that he remain unharmed by a *pharmakon*. In lines 15f., the phrase *μήτε με φάρμακον ἀδικήσῃ βασιλέα βασιλέων* repays closer scrutiny: the accusative *βασιλέα βασιλέων* stands in direct apposition to the bearer of the charm, *με*, and is not some disjoined vocative addressing a separate deity: "And may not any poison hurt *me — the King of Kings*!" The bearer, *με*, is one and the same as the *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων*, and it is from this title of power that the owner means to derive his claim "May no poison do me harm!" The bearer is proclaiming his own invulnerability to poison by recalling his country's most famous King of Kings and his anecdotal invincibility to poison. In the historic *similia similibus* fashion typical of magic, the spell provides for the amulet-owner a supernatural identification with *Mithridates invictus* as a divine ruler who could not be injured by *pharmaka*.

The direct association of invulnerability to *φάρμακα* with the title 'King of Kings' suggests that Mithridates' prophylactic diat of poisons would have been well-known, if not proverbial, by the time of the writing of this amulet. Certainly the fact that the tablet comes from a Pontic city and dates to the time of Mithridates does not militate against such an anecdote enjoying at least local circulation. Given the widespread fame of Mithridates and of particular stories attached to his name, this should come as no surprise. The words of McGing summarize well the sort of fame attached to Mithridates' name:

> In the first century B.C. Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysus, king of Pontus, proved himself one of the most aggressive and determined opponents that the Senate and the People of Rome ever faced. As enemies of Rome go, he lasted

a great deal longer, and achieved considerably more success than most. This alone would have ensured his fame, but he was also an extravagant, attractive figure: ruthless, cruel, exotic. *Stories about him abounded*: how he could ride a sixteen-horse chariot, speak dozens of languages, ... and *how he took antidotes throughout his life* making it impossible at the end of it all to do away with himself by poisoning (B. C. McGing, *op. cit.*, p. vii, italics mine).

This fame surrounding Mithridates' invulnerability to poison in fact seems to have become so pronounced that it gave rise to a proverbial *φάρμακον* attached specifically to the king's name and history. A 'Mithridatic *pharmakon*' refers to a drug or recipe that, if properly administered, could protect one from the normally deadly effects of poisonous ingestions. The following representive list provides ample testimony to how widely known and proverbial this *φάρμακον* of Mithridates was, being attested as early as the 1st century A.D. This testimony, taken with the weight of the evidence discussed above, argues tellingly for a sustained allusion to the Mithridatic king in the writing of our Pontic amulet.

Appendix: The *φάρμακον* of Mithridates

Appian, *Historia Romana* (ed. Viereck-Roos) § 537: *καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ φάρμακον ἥπτετο, τοῦ δὲ Μιθριδάτου, καίτοι συντόνως ἐξεπίτηδες βαδίζοντος, οὐκ ἐφικνεῖτο διὰ ἔθος καὶ συντροφίαν ἑτέρων φαρμάκων, οἷς ἐς ἄμυναν δηλητηρίων ἐχρῆτο συνεχῶς· καὶ νῦν ἔτι φάρμακα Μιθριδάτεια λέγεται.*

Dio Cassius XXXVII,13,1-3: *ἐπεχείρησε μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν διαχρήσασθαι, καὶ τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς λοιποὺς φαρμάκῳ προαπαλλάξας τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξέπιεν, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε δι' ἐκείνου οὔτε διὰ ξίφους αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποφθαρῆναι ἠδυνήθη. τό τε γὰρ φάρμακον, καίτοι θανάσιμον ὄν, οὐ συνεῖλεν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ πολλῇ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν προφυλακῇ ἀλεξιφαρμάκων ἐκεκράτυντο.*

Galen, *De locis affectis libri vi* (ed. Kühn, vol. VIII), p. 292,6: *ἐδίδουν δὲ καὶ πίνειν αὐτῷ φάρμακα, τήν τε μιθριδάτειον ὀνομαζομένην ἀντίδοτον, ἀμβροσίαν τε καὶ ἀθανασίαν καὶ θηριακήν.*

Galen, *De antidotis libri ii* (ed. Kühn, vol. VIII), p. 2, 12f. (cf. lines 1-11): *πάντα δ' οὖν αὐτὰ* (sc. varia remedia) *μίξας ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔν ἐποίσε φάρμακον, ἐλπίσας ἕξειν ἀρωγὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὀλεθρίοις.*

Galen, *ibid*, p. 3,11-17: *ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Μιθριδάτης, λαμβάνοι τοῦ φαρμακοῦ, παντάπασιν ἀβλαβὴς ὑπὸ τῶν θανασίμων τε καὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων ὀνομαζομένων ἔσται, ὥσπερ φασὶ καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην αὐτὸν, ἡνίκα προείλετο δὶ ὀλεθρίου φαρμάκου μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν, ἢ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι, μηδὲν εὑρεῖν ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Μιθριδάτην ἀκούομεν.*

Galen, *ibid*, p.107,4f.: [Ἀνδρομάχου ἀντιδοτοι.] Ἀντίδοτος Μιθριδάτειος, *πρὸς τὰ θανάσιμα ἰδίως ποιοῦσα, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐντὸς πάθη πάντα* (κτλ.); cf. p. 115, 5-12; p. 126,7.

Galen, *ibid*, p.148,5-7: Ἀντίδοτον Μιθαριδάτου, *ἀθανασία λεγομένη, πρὸς τὰ θανασίμα τῶν φαρμάκων, καὶ παντὸς ἰοβόλου πληγήν* (cf. p. 150,6).

Galen, *ibid*, p.154,9-13: [Μιθριδάτου θηριακή.] *Ταύτῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς* Μιθριδάτης *ἀεὶ ἐχρῆτο προφυλακῆς χάριν θανάσιμον. ἡνίκα γοῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἑάλω, δὶς πιὼν θανάσιμον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν, ξίφει ἑαυτὸν διχρήσατο. πρὸς τὰ θανάσιμα δὲ τῶν φαρμάκων ποιεῖ, κτλ.*

Philumenus, *De venenatis* 4,4 (ed.Wellmann), p.7: *ἡ θεριακὴ* (sc. *ἀντίδοτος*) *τῆς Μιθριδατείου.*

Philumenus, *ibid*, 22,6 (p. 29): *ἡ Μιθριδάτειος ... ἀντίδοτος.*

Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* XXV 3,5-6: *Mithridates ... uni ei excogitatum cotidie venenum bibere praesumptis remediis ut consuetudine ipsa innoxium fieret.*

Plinius, *ibid*, XXIII 77,149: *ei quo hoc* (sc. *Mithridatis antidotum*) *ieiunus sumat nullum venenum nociturum ill die.*

Plinius, *ibid*, XXIX 8,24: *Mithridatium antidotum.*

Plinius Secund. Iun., *De medicina* III. 33: *Antidotum contra venena. Antidotum Mithridaticum laudant medici eiusdemque compositiones diversa afferunt, etc.*

37 Triangular Formation of 153 Vowels

Fig. 37

EPHESUS (Selçuk), Turkey — II-III A.D.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen — H. 5.0 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
Misc. 8957 — Gold *lamella*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

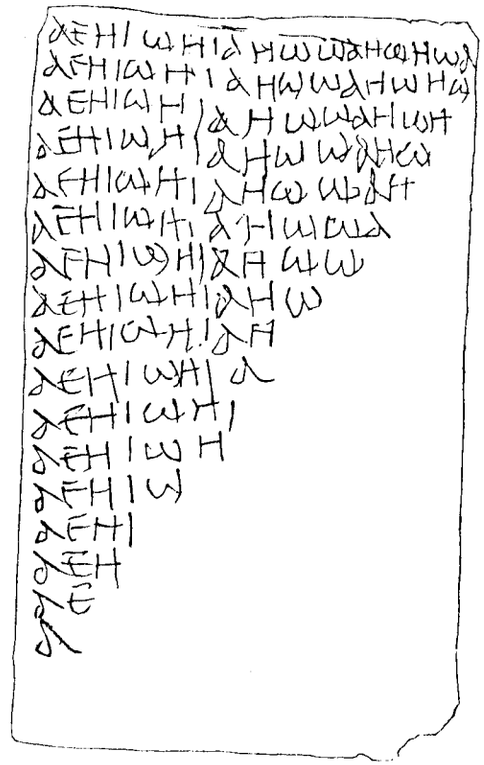


Fig. 37 (Greifenhagen)

38 Protection for Phaeinos from Demons

Fig. 38. Plate IX

AMPHIPOLIS, Thrace — II-III A.D.
London, The British Museum — H. 5.2 cm.; W. 2.1 cm.
cat. no. 3153 — Gold *lamella*

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

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

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

1 Βαρουχ Ἀδωναῖ Εἰὰω Σαβαὼθ Ἐλωαῖε, Οὐριήλ,
Γαβριήλ, Μιχαήλ, Ῥαφαήλ, Ἀναήλ, Φαναήλ, Σαραφίλ,
Ἰστραήλ αιλαμ Σεμεσειλαμ θωβαρραβαν Ἀβρασαξ
4 Ἀβλαναθαναλβα πανχουχι θασσουθ Ἰαρβαθα
γραμμη φιβαω χνημεωχ Ἀκραμμαχαμα-
ρει Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης, διαφύλαξον ἀπὸ
παντὸς δαιμονείου ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλ[υ]κο[ῦ τὸν]
8 Φαεινὸν ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ Παραμονά. Μελχιας Μελ-
χιας, ἅγιε θεὲ ἁγίων, μόνος αἰώνων φύλαξ ε.
ιβγαχρσαταν.

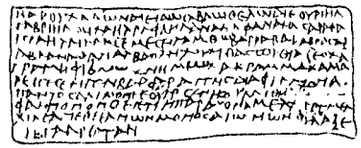


Fig. 38 (Marshall)

Barouch Adônai Iaô Sabaôth Elôaie Ouriêl Michaêl Raphaêl Anaêl Phanaêl Saraphil Istraêl Ailam, Semeseilam, Thobarrabau Abrasax (4) Ablanathanalba Panchouchi Thassouth, Iarbatha Gramme Phibaô Chnêmeôch Akrammachamari Sesengenbarpharangês, protect from every male and female demon, (8) Phaeinos whom Paramona bore. *Melchias, Melchias,* O holy god of the Holy (Ones), only guard of the Aions, E.IBGACHRSATAN.

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

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

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

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

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

Θωβαρραβαυ: Cf. **4**,10; **17**,5f. Perhaps = 'the surety is good' (see Commentary, on **17**,5f.). In *PGM* VII.977 the name occurs alongside Michael and other Hebrew-sounding names, thus also suggesting a Semitic derivation: θωβαρραβαυ Μιχαὴλ Μιχαήλ Οὔσιρι φορ·φορβα,'Αβριήλ· σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναῖε, Λαϊλαμ; cf. Ch. Bruston, *Revue archéologique*, ser. 5, vol. 11 (1920), 47-49, with minor changes in *idem*, *Revue archéologique*, ser. 5, vol. 16 (1922), p. 79, n.1: Θωβλρεα ιαω ιωσεβη = טוֹב לְרֵעַ יָהוֹ יוֹשְׁבִי, "Fortune to the friend of Iaô who dwells by me" (on a carnelian gemstone). Slightly better would be perhaps טוֹב לְרִיחַ יהו יוֹשְׁבִי = *ṭoḇ lərîaḥ Yāô yôšeḇî*, "it is good for the spirit of Yahweh (= Iaô) that indwells me."

3-4 Ἀβρασάξ Ἀβλαναθαναλβα: Note, e.g., **11**,10; **32**,14, for these common magic names.

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

4-5 Ἰαρβαθα-*logos*: For this well-attested magic formula, correctly read here by Daniel 1981:275f., note *PGM* I.142,195 (abbrev.); III.337, 472,535; XII.94f. For additional citations, cf. R. W. Daniel, "P. Mich. Inv. 6666: Magic," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50 (1983), p. 148; further, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 12; C. Bonner *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 205. The letters φιβαωχνημεωχ in this *logos* are equivalent to Egyptian *p3 ḥib '3 Ḥnm '3*, "the great lamb, Khnum the great" (see R. K. Ritner in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 335). For the name on gemstones, note, e.g. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, p. 205f.; P. Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, IV: Hannover, Hamburg* (Wiesbaden, 1975): Hannover, no. 175 (add. lit.); no. 202.

Ἀκραμμαχαμαρει Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγης: See **2**,14f.; **4**,5; **18**,4, 10f.

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

6-7 ἀπὸ παντὸς δαιμονείου ἀρσενικοῦ καὶ θηλ[υ]κο[ῦ]: Distinctions between male and female demons are also regularly attested in Aramaic (and Semitic) spells (though no less so, perhaps, than in Greek); cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 4:15 (ורוח זכר ונקבה, "... and the male and female spirit"); A 7:6f. (שידה אן דכר ואן נקבה), "and the demon, whether male or female"); *PGM* IV. 2516-18: διαφύλαξόν με ἀπὸ πονηροῦ παντὸς δαίμονος, ἤτοι ἀρσενικοῦ πονηροῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ; *PGM* 21.37: φυλάξατέ με ἀπὸ παντὸς δαίμονος ἀρσενικοῦ ἢ θηλυκοῦ; cf. **52**,88,113.

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

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

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

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

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

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

39 "Save Euphiletos!"

Fig. 39

BEROEA (Véria), Macedonia — I B.C.
Former Robinson Collection — H. 7.3 cm.; W. 5.8 cm.
Present location unknown — Silver *lamella*

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

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

'Ανοχ ᾱι
'Ακραμμαχαμαρι
Βαρβαθιαωθ
Λαμψουηρ
Λαμμηηρ
Λαμφορη 'Ιάω
'Αβλαναθαναλ-
βα, κύριοι ἄνγελοι
σώσετε τὸν ἐγεν-
νη<σ>εν 'Αταλάντη
Εὐφήλητον.

9 σώσετε: σῴζετε 12 Εὐφήλητον: Εὐφίλητον

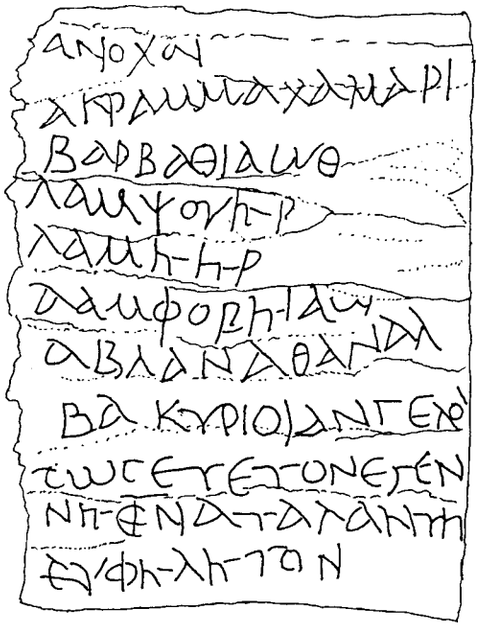


Fig. 39

Anochai Akrammachamari Barbathiaôth Lampsouêr Lammêêr Lamphorê Iaô Ablanathanalba, sovereign angels save the one Atalantê begat, Euphiletos.

1 'Ανοχ ᾱι: Robinson 1938:247f. sees in the name a reference to a sun-god Anoch. Otherwise, *anoch* represents Coptic, or Hebrew, for "I (am)." For additional references, note R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42,30 (Commentary, p.148).

2 'Ακραμμαχαμαρι: Cf. **2**,14f., etc. Robinson 1938:248 lists numerous variants, to which numerous more could now be added (see 'Index V,' s.v.).

3 Βαρβαθιαώθ: On this variation of the common 'Αρβαθιαω, see W. Fauth, "Arbath Jao," *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1963), p. 66, with reference to this *lamella*. For the '-ôth' ending, with similar formulations, we find Βαθιωθ, Βαθιωθ, Βαρβαραωθ (*PGM* IV.1003f); Βαρβαριωθ (IV.94); Βαρβ[α]ωθ (XII.72); Βαρβαθιαωθ (V.355). But Βαρβαθιαω is the most common. The initial (B + ἀρβαθιαω) is best explained by the fact that Greek words beginning ἀρβ are practically non-existent, and Βαρβα- would be a natural formulation for a foreign name. Βαρβαθιαώθ is composed of ten letters, as opposed to the nine letters of 'Αρβαθιαω, and has an isospephic value of 935, i.e. a number made up of a factor of three prime numbers (935 = 5 x 11 x 17). (Prime number were admired because they were indivisible). 5-11-17 represents the order of prime numbers in sequence, from five to seventeen, with omission of every other number, i.e. [3]-**5**-[7]-**11**-[13]-**17**.

4-6 Λαμψουηρ Λαμμηηρ Λαμφορη: Each of these three magic names begins with Λαμ- and, except for Λαμφορη (in line 6), ends with -ηρ. The ουηρ in the first name may be Egyptian *wr.*, "great;" see R. Ritner, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magic Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p. 67, note 202, p. 131, note 72; K. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 196 (1934), p. 175. Magic words beginning λαμψ- are common: λαμψουωρ occurs in *PGM* VII.476; XIII.927; λαμψρη in XII.64; λαμψτηρ in XIII.819; λαμψωρει in XII.113; V.62; LXII.27; *PGM* VIII.82 has λαμψουηρ, as here; cf., further, Preisendanz, *PGM* vol. 3 (Index), s.v. Λαμψουρη; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 57, 21,22 (λαμψαμερω/λαμψαμαζων), with extensive commentary, *ad loc.*, p. 39; A. Audollent, *Tabellae Defixionum* (Paris, 1904), no. 267,13; see

also V. Martin, "Une tablette magique de la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Genava* 6 (1928), p. 63, lines 7-8. See Robinson 1928:249f. for additional citations, with comparison of these names to Greek λάμπτειν ("to shine") and to Hebrew and Coptic words for the eternal sun (sc. Σεμεσειλαμ). The word λαμψουρη also occurs on a carnelian in P. Zazoff, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen, IV: Hannover, Hamburg* (Wiesbaden, 1975): Hannover, no. 1673.

7-8 Αβλαναθαναλβα: For this magic name, cf., e.g., **7**,3; **15**; **29**,4, etc.

8 κύριοι ἄνγελοι: See **57**,12f.; cf. Faraone & Kotansky, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), pp. 264f., 266 (on lines 14,26,32 (κύριοι θεοί); Robinson 1938:251; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 11,9.

9 σώσετε: Read σῴζετε (or σώσατε): On the former: F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri, I* (Milan, 1976), p. 123 (ζ > σ, I A.D. and later). On σῴζειν, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 27,3; 35,8 (in Christian contexts); in 'pagan' contexts, cf. *PGM* IV.1211f. (σῶσόν με); V.140 (σῶσον ψυχήν); LVII.7 (καὶ σώσω τὸν Ἄμμωνα); LXX.19 (λέγε ταῦτα ... καὶ σώσει σέ). For the verb used of deliverance from sickness, cf. *PGM* XXXc: ἦ μὲν σωθήσω ταύτης ἧς ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀσθενία[ς;] (in an oracle-question). The implied 'salvation' here can refer to present danger or to that in the world to come; cf. R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in: C. Faraone & D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 107-137, esp. pp. 120-122.

9-11 τὸν ἐγέννη<σ>εν Αταλάντη Εὐφήλητον: The loss of the *sigma* is a scribal error, owing to the similarity of the following *epsilon*; however, it seems that the ε itself was corrected over a previously written τ. Had the scribe originally intended to write ἐγέννησεν τὸν Εὐφίλητον? In any event, we do not agree with Robinson (1938:252) that the writer added the name Euphiletos at the end when he realized he had omitted it. Although this word order is not what is usually encountered in the later magical texts, the placing of the verb and mother's name between the article and object is perfectly good Greek (= "Save the Euphiletos whom Atlanta bore"). The formula with ἔτεκεν is commonly found, particularly

at a later date. For an early example see Commentary on **36**,12f. Here the use of ἐγέννησεν in lieu of ἔτεκεν is rare and may reflect a use prevalent before the stereotypical ἔτεκεν version became canonically fixed. A peculiar combination occurs in *PGM* LXXI. 8: καὶ φύλαξόν μοι ... ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δῖνα ἐγέννησεν. There the expansion [ὁ δῖνα] in Preisendanz, following the commentary in the *editio princeps* is incorrect. There is no intention to name a father as another parent; rather, ἐγέννησεν seems to be a gloss on ἔτεκεν.

The son here named and his mother both bear good Greek names of Classical and Hellenistic date. Neither Εὐφίλητος nor Αταλάντη are well attested in papyri (or inscriptions) after the early imperial period. The name Εὐφίλητος in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milan, 1967), s.v. is listed only once in a restored reading (of Ptolemaic date). In inscriptions Euphiletos occurs commonly in the 5th-3rd centuries B.C., with a single 1st-cent. B.C./1st-cent. A.D. citation in P. M. Fraser & E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 1987), s.v.

Αταλάντη is similarly attested in Fraser & Matthews, *op. cit.*, s.v., but again is usually of Hellenistic date, with a single, later example tendered (called "*imp.*" but otherwise undated = *ICret.* I, p. 209, no. 75). Given the tablet's provenance in Macedonia, the mother (and perhaps a grandmother, as well) was probably named after Atalante, sister of Perdikkas, king of Macedon. There is also a village, not too far north of Beroea, named Atalante (Oberhummer, s.v. "Atalante" [2], *RE* I.2,2, 1896, col. 1889f.).

40 Aphrodite's Name for Favor and Success

Fig. 40. Plate IX

THESSALONIKA (Saloniki), Greece — II A.D.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum — H. 3.2 cm.; W. 2.3 cm.
inv. no. VII B 260 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. K. Wessely, *Wiener Studien* 8 (1886), p. 180f.; K. Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata* (Wien, 1886), no. 188; M. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 103 (1898), p. 134, Nr. 1; cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 281.

Wessely reports only that this gold amulet was found in Saloniki and had originally been rolled up. Palaeographically the script dates to the 2nd cent. A. D. The text preserves a spell for favor and love. The top six lines are separated from the bottom six by a straight-ruled line running across the width of the tablet.

1 *ον παοχοι Αφ-*
ροδίτης ὄνο{ν}-
μα Παιθ Φθᾶ φω-
4 *ζα παιφωνθ*
λαειλαψ χερσ-
υβαω Μιθρῃ

ποιήσαται ἐπί-
8 *χαρειν, εὐοδίᾳ-*
ν πᾶσιν ἀνθ-
ρώποις κὲ γυν-
εξὶ μάλιστα δὲ π-
12 *ρὸς ὃν θέλι αὐτή*

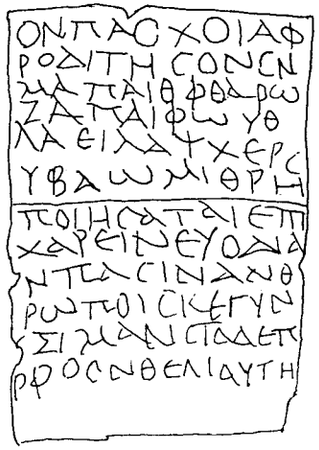


Fig. 40

7 *ποιήσαται*: *ποιήσατε* 8 *ἐπίχαρειν*: *ἐπίχαριν* 10 *κὲ*: *καὶ* *γυνεξὶ*: *γυναιξὶ* 12 *θέλι*: *θέλει*

ONPAOCHOI Aphrodite's name: *Paith Phtah Pôza Paiphôyth Laelaps Xersybaô Mithrê*. Make favor, success with all men and women, but particularly with him whom (she) herself wishes.

1 *ον παοχοι*: *πασχοι* Wessely. An *ο* (not *σ*) is clearly written; nevertheless, one should probably understand here a form of *πάσχω*, a verb appropriate for the name of Aphrodite that follows. For the formula, cf. *PGM* IV. 3017: *καὶ περίαπτε τὸν πάσχοντα*, "and attach (the amulet) to the sufferer." Perhaps here we have a portion from a magical formulary; e.g., the exemplar might have read something like, [... *καὶ περίαπτε τ]ὸν πάσχο<ντα>*, followed by a title: *Ἀφροδίτης ὀνόμα*. Otherwise, the initial *ον* may have represented an abbreviation for *ὄν(ομα)*.

1-3 *Ἀφροδίτης ὄνο{ν}μα* (= *ὄνομα*): In particular, note *PGM* IV. 1265: *Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα, τὸ μηδενὶ ταχέως γινωσκόμενον* Νεφεριηρι. The name of the goddess occurs regularly in texts dealing with love, good relations, harmony, and favor (often as a title); cf. *PGM* IV. 3209: *Ἀφροδίτης φι<α>λομαντεῖον*; IV. 3249: *στήλην ἐπικαλουμένην Ἀφροδίτην*; and esp. *PGM* VII. 215: *Ἀφροδίτης στήλη, πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ χάριν καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ φίλους· λαβὼν πέταλον κασσιτερόν, κτλ.* — a spell to be writen on a tin *lamella*. Elsewhere in the magical papyri Aphrodite is summoned (IV. 3232f.), named (IV. 2557; XII. 232; XXXVI. 306), or her name engraved (IV.1723) in spells dealing with matters of grace, love, favor, and the like. On a Christian 'house phylactery,' *PGM* 2.1-3, the goddess is also invoked (in wing-formation).

3-4 *Παιθ Φθᾶ φωζα*: *Παιθ* (= *Παϋθ*) *Φθᾶ* has been identified as Egyptian *p3w.tj Pth, "Urgott Phtha"*: K. Schmidt, "Zu den Leydener Zauberpapyri," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 41/42 (1935), p. 1184; *φωζα* = *p3 wḏ3*, "healthy," Note R. Ritner, in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed., Chicago, 1992), p. 195, note 143: *Φθα φοωζα* = 'Ptah, healthy'; see further, R. Merkelbach & M. Totti, *Abraxas I* (Opladen, 1990), p. 222, on *PGM* XIII.1056 (= 'This is Ptah, the Healthy one'), who now identify the name in *PGM* XXXVI.227-229 (*Πεφνα* [read *Φθᾶ*] *φωζα*); cf. *PGM* IV.961 (*πειπτα φωσζα παι φθενθα φωσζα*); R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (Berlin 1905), p. 16, no. 8 (stone), lines 2,5, 10: *Παι Φθα φωζα*; J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Leiden & Jerusalem, 1985), A 14 (p. 102,4): *Ζαιρ Φθαω φωζα*.

4 *Παιφωνθ*: Read *Πεφωνθ*: *Πεφωνθ* is perhaps Coptic/Egyptian for "the Great Snake:" K. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 193

(1931), p. 449; cf. *PGM* IV.1682f. (*φηους φωουθ*); III.130; X.12 (Πεφωυθ). The concept of the 'great Snake' also occurs in *PGM* IV.1637 (*σὺ εἶ ὁ μέγας Ὄφις*, "You are the Great Snake"), and IV.2770 (... *ὃν καλέουσι δράκοντα μέγαν*, "whom they call 'the great Serpent'").

5 Λαειλαψ: Cf. Greek λαῖλαψ, "hurricane." Such a popular etymology of this 'storm'-deity is attested in A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 242, line 5f.: *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ πνευμάτων* Λαιλαμ; cf. *PGM* VI.32: *χρυσοφαῆ*, Λαῖλ[α]ψ *καὶ* Πυθολέτα, "Gold-shining, hurricane and dragon-slayer" (tr. E. N. O'Neil, in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. 2nd ed. [Chicago], 1992, p. 111). Λαϊλαμ and Λαιλαμψ also occurs regularly in the Ἀρμιουθ-logos, wherein our Φθᾶ is also found; cf. *PGM* II.117f: *ιαρμιωθ· λαιλαμψ· χωουχ· Ἀρσενοφρη· ηυ* Φθᾶ *ηωλι* (note *DMP* 16^{v}.1); *PGM* XIXa.3-5; VII.361f.: *ἀρμιουθ·* Λαϊλαμ *χωουχ* Ἀρσενοφρῆ, *φρῆυ* Φθᾶ Ἀρχεντεχθα. The name Λαειλαψ (and variations) is identified as a deity in magical texts: *PGM* I.226; III.430, etc.

5-6 *χερσυβαω*: The name does not correspond to any known magic word. The first part of the name matches Semitic words having to do with sorcery or magic: BH *הֶרֶשׁ, *ḥereš* (pl. only in Isa. 3:3); cf. Aramaic חָרָשׁ, *ḥārāš*, "charmer; sorcery"; חַרְשֵׁי, *ḥaršê*, and חַרְשִׁין, *ḥaršîn*, "witchcraft, sorcery"; further, J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem/Leiden, 1985), index, s.v. The same triconsontal root can also mean "to engrave; draw." The ending -*βαω* may be Aramaic בעו (i.e. בעותא), *bā'û*, "prayer," or otherwise a form of the verb to pray.

6 Μιθρη: This Hellenistic Persian deity is common in magical texts; cf. *PGM* IV.482: *ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας*; V.4 (Zeus-Helios-Mithra-Sarapis); *PGM* III.80, 100f.,462; *PGM* O(stracon) 2.8f. The naming of 'Mithra' is clearly intentional in this spell: the Old Persian word *Miθra* means "friend." See R. G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (American Oriental Series 33; New Haven, 1950), s.v. p. 203; hence the name is particularly significant on a love-charm or 'friendship'-spell.

7 *ποιήσαται* (= *ποιήσατε*): The text from here to the end gives a request for love and favor. The scribe has separated this section from the preceding by a long ruling-line. The plural imperative addresses the magic

'gods' named in the upper section. The 'name of Aphrodite' is not otherwise apparent among the divine names given and must represent a title added on.

7-8 *ἐπίχαρειν* (= *ἐπίχαριν*): The closest parallels for such 'favor spells' in the magic papyri are *PGM* XII.279 (a 'ring for success'): *ἐπίχαρίς τε πᾶσιν ἔσει*, and *PGM* XII.397-400 (399), a spell *πρὸς ἐπιχάρειαν καὶ φιλίαν διὰ παντὸς*: *καὶ ἔσῃ ἐπίχαρις καὶ προσφιλὴς καὶ θαυμαστὸς τοῖς ὀπῶσί σε*; note, for such spells in general, C. A. Faraone, *Phoenix* 44 (1990), pp. 226f.; and W. Brashear, *Varia Magica* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Brussels, 1991), p. 72f.

8 *εὐοδίαν*: *εὐοδία* means both a "good journey," as well as "success" or "prosperity," though the word does not occur in the magic papyri; cf., however, *PGM* XIII.1073: *ἵν' εὔοδον ἄρτι μοι εἴῃ*, in a spell for opening doors.

9-11 *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κὲ γυνεξὶ* (= *καὶ γυναιξὶ*), *κτλ.*: The spell seeks general popularity and favor with all encountered; cf. Commentary on **58**,16f. The formulaic language then continues with the following stereotypical '*μάλιστα*'- formulation: *μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς ὃν θέλι αὐτή*. One should not articulate *αὐτή*, which would require the article. The feminine nominative pronoun points to the use of a formulary, indicating where to insert the bearer's name. The whole is reminiscent of the common *δεῖνα, κοινά, ὡς θέλεις*, and the like; cf., e.g., *PGM* IX.4-6: *καταδούλωσον πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλυκῶν, παντοίων θυμῶν, τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κτίσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ δεῖνα, μάλιστα τόνδε* (*κοινά, ὡς θέλεις*); further, *PGM* XXIIa.20-23: [*δός*] *μοι χάριν στ*[*άσιμ*]*ον πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην γε*[*ν*]*ε*[*ὰ*]*ν καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα*; *PGM* XXXVI.44-48: *κύριοι ἄγγελοι, δότε μοι, τῷ δεῖνα, ᾧ ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα, νίκην, χάριν, δόξαν, ἐπιτυχίαν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς πάσας γυναῖκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δεῖνα*; cf. also *PGM* XIa.25; XII.181; IV.2640 (for *μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν*); **58**,23.

41 House Amulet of John and Georgia

Fig. 41. Plates X-XIV

Phthiotis (Thessaly), Greece — IV-V A.D.
Athens, National Museum — H. 12.8 cm.; W. 3.4 cm.
inv. no. 3413 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. IG IX.2,232; Charles Peabody, "A Gnostic Inscription from Athens," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 28 (1897), pp. xxi-xxiii; J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I (New York, repr. 1952), p. 517, no. 717; cf. J. Oehler, "Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Judentums," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 53 (1909), p. 443, n. 105; note A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. xxxiv, no. β; K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1928), p. 127.

This amulet, acquired by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1878, was said to have been found in a grave at an undisclosed site in Phthiotis, Thessaly. The text requests protection for a house and its inhabitants, John and Georgia. The long, narrow strip, rounded at the top, was first folded over from top to bottom a number of times to produce make-shift ruling lines between which the scribe engraved his text. Some lines thus produced are uneven and do not appear to run across the width of the tablet. Furthermore, four or five tiny pin-holes, somewhat evenly spaced, perforate the middle of the tablet and evidently served to mount the amulet on a wall somewhere in the house.

The bottom half of the tablet is also inscribed with a thin ruling line on the top and along the right and left margins, thus delineating the catalogue of angel-names that predominates this section. A vertical line through the middle of lines 27-34 further separates the principal list of angels into two columns — a feature not recognized in the *editio princeps*. As a result, the previous readings of these names are largely false, since the angel-names were read across the width of the tablet, and not in their separate columns, as intended. A series of names and magic signs near the bottom of the tablet is also marked off by an etched box.

Ἐρηνεμεη
Ἀρχιαοι Σαετ-
ραπεκμη
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
η ααα υυωω αααα
αωωωχ ρ̣ρ̣ρ̣ρ̣ο σσιι
μμηηννηηθθ ε̣λλλλ
ooo ωωω θιηια βββ ooo
αααααα βββ (sign) σο (sign)
(sign) α (sign) Ι̣αώθ ον Ἀβ-
ρακεαμαξ̣σο(sign) σαλ-
(magic signs) αμ-
αξα αααα ραλαρ χαζαμ-
αξα (magic signs)
(magic signs). π̣ως ἀνὴρ βελ̣ε̣-
ο ὡς σῆμ᾽ ἀστραπ̣ον ἄκ-
η δεμόνον ἐλάτης, δια-
φυλάξατε τὸν οἰ̣ῦκον
κὲ τὰς ψυχὰς Ἰωάνην κ-
ὲ Γεωργίαν (sign) εεεεε
ωωωωω (vacat) χουση
ηλαι̣αια Σαβαὼθ Ἔλοε
εἶ̣, ἀπ̣όστρεψον πᾶν
κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰῦκου το-
ύτου εοζ (sign) Π ρ̣ονο̣μ
vacat Ἀβιήλ Ἐ-
Ἀραβριήλ, ιήλ Εἰανα,
Ἀριήλ, Ῥα- Μιχαήλ, Βο-
φαήλ Ἠι- υριήλ, Μου-
αήλ, Ἰηδ- σ̣ιήλ, Μελχιη-
ιήλ, Πιβαι̣- λ̣ω̣θ̣, Σαριή-
βισιήλ, Σα- λ, Ἰστραήλ,
ριήλ, Κ̣ου- Δανιήλ, Θ-
διήλ, Ἐπιήλ ουριήλ, ὁ ὄ̣ν̣,

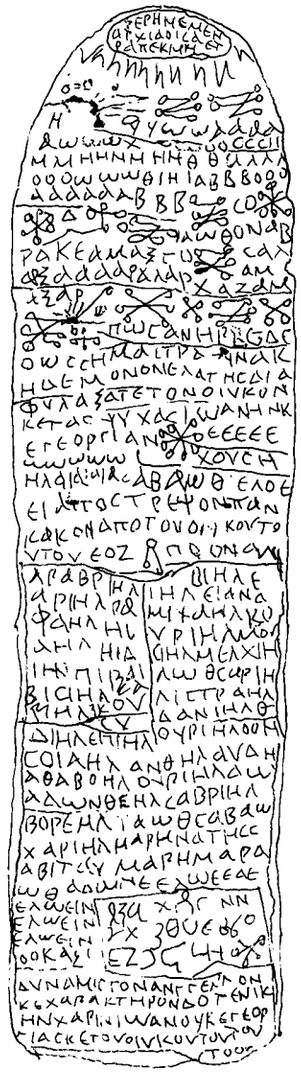


Fig. 41

36 Σοιαήλ, Ἀνθήλ, Ἀυδε-
αθαβοήλ, Οὐριήλ, ΑΩ,
Ἀδωνθεήλ Σαβριήλ,
Βορεήλ, Ἰαώθ, Σαβαώ,
40 Χαριήλ, Μαρηνατης Σ-
αβιταυ Μαρημαρα-
ώθ, Ἀδωνέ, Ἐλωέ, εαε
Ἐλωειν OZOI
44 Ἐλωειν
Ἐλωειν
οοκαζι
Δύναμις τον ἀνγγέλλον
48 κὲ χαρακτήρον δότε νίκ-
ην, χάριν Ἰωάνου κὲ Γεορ-
γίας κὲ τοῦ οἰνκου τούτου
...το ον

18 δεμόνον: δαιμόνων 19,25/50 οιὗκον: οἶκον, οιὗκου: οἴκου 20/20f./48/49/50 κέ: καί 20/48 Ἰωάνην: Ἰωάννην, Ἰωάνου: Ἰωάνου 21 Γεοργία: Γεωργία 23/42 Ἐλοε: Ἐλωαι 35 ὁ ὄῤ: ὁ ὤῤ 42 Ἀδωνέ: Ἀδωναί 47 τον ανγγέλλον: τῶν ἀγγέλλων 48 χαρακτήρον: χαρακτήρων

Erênemeê Archiaoi Saetrapekmê (magic signs) *ê aaa yyôôô aaaaaôôôch oooooo ssiimmêênnêêthth ellllooo ôôô thiêia bbb ooo aaaaaa bbb* (sign) *so* (sign) *a* (sign) *Iaôth Abrakeamaxso* (sign) *Salamaxa* (magic signs) *aaaa Ralar Chazamaxa* (magic signs) ... as (?) a man of (?) ... as a sign, remedies for lightning (?), a driver of demons. Protect the house and souls — John and Georgia — *eeeee ôôôôô chousê êlaaiaaia* you are *Sabaôth Elôai*, turn away all harm from ths house, *eoz* (sign) *P*, the name, *Arabriêl, Ariêl, Raphaêl, Êiaêl, Iêdiêl, Pibaibisiêl, Sariêl, Koudiêl, Epiêl, Abiêl, Eiêl, Eiana, Michaêl, Bouriêl, Mousiêl, Melchiêlôth, Sariêl, Istraêl, Daniêl, Thouriêl, the 'I-am', Soilaêl, Anthêl, Audeathaboêl, Ouriêl, AÔ, Adôntheêl, Sabriêl, Boreêl, Iaôth, Sabaô, Chariêl, Marênatês, Sabitau, Marêmaraôth, Adônai, Elôai, eae, Elôein, ozoi, Elôein, Elôein, ookazi*. O Power of the angels and characters, give victory, favor, for John and Georgia and for this house ... (the name).

1-3 *Ouroboros* (?). The first three lines are enclosed in a ring or circle, a probable depiction of an *ouroboros* or cartouche.

Ερηνεμεη: Ερημεεη *ed. pr.* (= Ἑρμῆ: vocative, "Hermes").

αρχιαοις: Αρχιαρυα *ed. pr.* Read Ἀρχαῖοι? Ἀρχ-ιάω?

Σαετραπεκμη: ετραπεκμη *ed. pr.* Peabody (1897: xxi) suggests that τραπ hints at Greek τρέπω, "avert." However, the name is probably Egyptian, a variant of Σατραπερκμηφ, 'great satrap Kmêph;' cf. **48**,2; *PGM* XII.185; XIII.917. A scarab published by R. Wünsch, *Bulletino della Commissione archeol. com. di Roma* 27 (1899), p. 294,6 reads μαναρακμηφ, which offers a similar construction, if articulated μανα ῥα Κμῆφ: K. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 193 (1931), p. 444 has identified μανιας as Egyptian **m3wj-isw*, *"neualt"*; hence μανα Ῥα Κμῆφ could be identified as '(the) new (god) Re-Kmêph,' and Ῥα πε-Κμῆ(φ), here, as 'Ra, the (god) Kmeph.' Kmeph is the Egyptian serpent-god, and hence his name would be appropriate with an *Ouroboros* figure, which encircles the first three lines of this tablet.

4-5 *Magic Signs*. The *Ouroboros* with magic words is divided from the body of the text, first, by a collar of 'chevron'-patterns; second, by a group of four *'Brillenbuchstaben'*-characters. Similar *Zeta*-magic signs with ringlets and a line drawn through them are discussed in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 19,1; no. 10,4; W. Brashear, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 56 (1984), p. 65, note 11.

6-7 η αρα υνωω αααααωωωχ ρρρρρο σσιι: π.....υυ ωω αααα/αωωωχ ..... εεε *ed. pr.* The pointed omicron's seem to be hidden within a crease in the tablet.

8 μμηηννηηθθελλλλ: μμηηννηηθθιελλλ *ed. pr.* Peabody's reading yields the isopsephic value of 365, the number of days in the solar year (= the value of Ἀβρασαξ, etc.); however, I have not been able to confirm the extra *iota* from the photograph. The name, without the duplication of letters, spells Μηνηθελ (an angel-name that means perhaps 'God apportions;' or, 'portion of God'); cf. *PGM* IV.869 (μηνημβ μνημβ); A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 490,165 (μην μην μην).

9-10 ooo ωωω θιηια βββ ooooaaaaaa βββ σο: ooo ωωω ειηια βββ ooooaaaaa βββ ω *ed. pr.* Here groupings of three predominate. A similar group of three *beta*'s occurs in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, 20,6.

11-12 Ἰαώθ, ον Αβρακεαμαξσο: α ῳη ον Ἀβρακελιηαξγο *ed. pr.*

12-14 *σαλαμαξα ααααα ραλαρχαζαμαξα ...: ...αξαλλλρ λλαρχαζαμαξα ed. pr.* The magic name *σαλαμαξα* is commonplace on gemstones, usually in the formula *Αἰαναγβα Ἀμοραχθει Σαλαμαξα Βαμεαζα* (*vel sim.*). Examples are given in A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), p. 322; on papyrus, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, 10,3 (with further citations from gems). Examples of magic names ending *-ξα* are discussed in C. A. Faraone & R. Kotansky, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 262.

15-16 *Magic signs*: These signs with ringlets found several times on this tablet are common, especially the six- or eight-pointed 'asterisk' or star: Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 21, 23, 27.

16-18 These lines appear to contain a citation of Greek, with some poetic words, although no secure reading is forthcoming. Peabody (1897: xxii) proposed the following sentence, *Ὅπως ἀνήρ με γνῷ ὥς εἰμι ἀστραπῶν ἀκὴ δαιμόνων ἐλάτης*, "Let a man know me that I am a protection against lightning, a driver of demons" — a reading not supported by what is written on the tablet.

The only certain words seem to be *δαιμόνων ἐλάτης* and perhaps *ἀνήρ*. The letters before *ἀνήρ*, i.e., *?πως ἀνήρ* can be read as *ῤῦτως*, ... *ὡς*, ("Just as ..."), or better, as *ὅπως*. Following *ἀνήρ*, a word beginning *beta* seems almost certain, as an enlarged photo shows a rather sure *beta* (as opposed to *kappa*): *ἀνὴρ βέλεος* (or, *βέλεο<ς>*) "(Just as) a man of weapon ...," (i.e., a 'man of war'). The sequence of letters, *ῳς σημαστρα..ν* certainly contains nothing resembling Peabody's *ὥς εἰμι*.

The text is seemingly corrupt. The possible interpretations for these lines might include, among others, the following:

1) Following Peabody, in part, we may choose to read twin phrases that parallel somewhat: *ἀστραπῶν ἄκη, δαιμόνων ἐλάτης*, "remedies for lightnings, a driver away of demons" The reading would be appropriate for a 'house'-amulet, though the genitive of *ἀστραπή* is not certain (presuming *o* written for *ω*: *αστραπ̣ον*), and the whole still unclear.

2) Since *ὡς σῆμα* can be read on the tablet, there may be a continuation of the previous phrase: *ὅπως ἀνὴρ βέλεος ὡς σῆμα στρατῶν*, "In what way is a man of weapon like a signal for the battles?" The whole, then, is some sort of riddle or proverb. This phrasing seems to account for the overall sequence of the sentence but makes little sense on a magic amulet.

3) A third possibility (suggested by K. Maresch) is to read and restore the letters as follows:

Text: ΟΠΩΣΑΝΗΕΙΡΚΕΔΟΩ ΣΣΗΜ

Restoration: ΟΠΩΣΑΝΑΣ ΚΕΔΑ ΣΣΗΣ

That is, our line preserves a corrupt version of verse, *ὅπως ἀνασκεδάσῃς ἀστραπήν*, "... in order that you might dissipate the lightning." That then leaves *ἄκη δαιμόνων, ἐλάτης* disconnected.

18-21 *διαφυλάξατε τὸν οἶυκον κὲ τὰς ψυχὰς Ἰωάνην κὲ Γεοργίαν*: Here the plural imperative contrasts, e.g., with the singular *ἀπόστρεψον*, in line 24, below — a clear indication of originally different sources for these two 'prayers.' The verb *διαφυλάσσειν* is common on amulets (see **38**,6, Commentary, etc.). But which plural subjects are here addressed? The plural does not seem to go well with the previous *ἐλάτης*, which is singular.

For another house phylactery (also with *διαφυλάσσειν*), cf. S. Eitrem, "A New Christian Amulet," *Aegyptus* 3 (1922), p. 66f., 2f.: ... *διαφύλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, κτλ.*; cf. also *PGM* 2.6: *ἀπάλλαξον τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον, κτλ.*

The peculiar phonetics of *οἰῦκος* (i.e. *οἰ{υ}κος*, read *οἶκος*), here and in lines 25 and 49, cannot be explained by normal rules of vowel interchange: *οι* and *υ* were phonetically equivalent when this tablet was written (cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papryi* I, [Milan, 1976], p. 197f.); however, *οι* and *υ* would never have been written this way *together*. The duplication of the two equivalent vowel-sounds side-by-side can only be explained here as a scribal gloss: a previous exemplar, carrying the readings *ἶκον, ὖκου*, was at some time corrected, interlinearly, with the *diorthôtês* writing *`οι´* directly above the *υ* of *υκον*: *`οι´υκον*. Subsequently, an unwary copyist re-inserted the *`οι´*, but without removing the *υ*. The result is our tablet's *οιυκον* (cf. also lines 25, 50). The same seems to have occurred in line 47, where the spelling *ανγγελον*, is otherwise difficult to explain. Apparently here too a corrector wrote a *gamma* above *nu*, to rectify the spelling *-νγ-*. Then this *gamma* got copied into the word as an extra letter: *αν`γ´γελλον*.

The phrase, "the souls" (*τὰς ψυχάς*), refers to the householders, John and Georgia, respectively. The noun is best translated "the lives," or even "people": "Protect the house and its people, John and Georgia." Note that the personal names that follow are in the accusative (not in the genitive), yielding the double accusative.

The names Georgia and John are both probably Christian. See, e.g., D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milan, 1967), pp. 87, 153, s.vv., *Γεωργία*, *Γεώργιος*, *Ἰωάννης*. The names are attested late (not usually earlier than the third century and very common later).

21-22 *εεεεεωωωωω ... χουση* (*.ουση ed. pr.*). Again we have at the beginning sequences of five vowels; cf. **58**,3.

22-23 *ηλαιᾳαια Σαβαὼθ Ἐλοεει*: *ηλαιλᾳιλ Σαβαὼθ Ἐλο<ε>ει-[ν...] ed. pr.* On *ια* and these other divine names of God, see **7**,2; **2**,3; **7**,2. The sequence *ηλαι*, comes close to Semitic אֵלִי, *Êlî*, "my God," also part of the famous utterance of Jesus from the Cross: Matt. 27:46 (+ var.): *ηλι ηλι λεμα σαβαχθανι / ελωι ελωι λεμα σαβαχθανι / ηλι ηλι λαμα ζαφθανι*, etc.

24-25 *ἀπόστρεψον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴυκου τούτου εοζ*, Π *οονομ*: *[ν ... ἀπο]τρέψον πᾶν κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [οἴυκ]ου τούτου ZOZ ed. pr.* For *ἀποστρέφω* used of protecting an owner's land from hail, cf. **11**,3 (with Commentary); **18**,24 (?); **53**,9. For the general *πᾶν κακόν* on amulets, see **57**,15 (and Commentary).

26 *εοζ* (sign) *προνομ*: In the middle of line 26, composed of unrecognizable magic words, is a *lambda*-shaped 'character' (cf. *PGM* VII. 588). The sequence *προνομ* seems to be repeated in the last line of this text and may also here represent *ὄνομα*.

26-45 *Catalogus Angelorum.* As noted, this section comprises of two columns of angel-names demarcated by an inscribed box. The fact that this was not recognized in the *editio princeps* lead to the misreading of all the angel-names in the list. In the Commentary below, the names on the left side (**a**) are commented on first, then those on the right (**b**).

28a *Ἀραβρίηλ*: *Ἀρλβριλ ed. pr.* This is one of the angels of the sixth encampment in *Sepher ha-Razim*, p. 39 (according to the pagination of M. A. Morgan, *Sefer Ha-Razim. The Book of Mysteries* [Chico, 1983]).

29a *Ἀριήλ*: Cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 7:3: אריאל; cf. J. Michl, "Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962), p. 204, s.v.. The name is usually interpreted 'Lion of God,' but see the alphabetical *Onomasticum sacrum* in *PGM* 14.2 (Preisendanz, II, p. 222f.), giving the etymology *Ἀριήλ, φῶς μου θεοῦ*, i.e., as if from Hebrew אור, "light."

29a-30a *Ῥαφαήλ*: (*Ῥα*)/*φαήλ ed. pr.* The *rho* seems to have been inserted between the letters. The previous editors read the first part of this name from the end of the preceding line of col. b. On *lamellae* this angel occurs in **26**,3; **33**,3; **38**,2; **48**,9. Raphael is popular on amulets because his name means "God heals," or the like. On a silver Aramaic *lamella* the name is so etymologically explained: "Raphael, master of healing" (רפאל רב אסותא), in R. Kotansky, "Two Inscribed Jewish Aramaic Amulets from Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p. 275, B:3 (with Commentary, p. 277).

30a-31a *Ἠιαήλ*: *η.δήλ ed. pr.* To be read as either *Ἠιαήλ*, or as *ἢ Ἰαήλ*. *Ἰαήλ* is fairly common in the papyri: *PGM* II.15 (*ηϊ Ἰαήλ*); IV.961, 3033; V.56. The name is formed from two common names for God, יה + אל.

31b-33b *Ἰηδιήλ*, *Πιβαιβισιήλ*: *ηιιηι, πιβα ... Σισιήλ ed. pr.* The angel-name *Ἰηδιήλ* is not easy to read (the *—ήλ* seems to be in ligature); *Ἰηδιήλ* is ידיאל, 'hand(s) of God.'

In the name, *Πιβαιβισιήλ*, if the second *β* is read as a *kappa*, then we can identify this as an Egyptianized angel-name: *Pibekis* + *'êl*, from Egyptian *P3-bk*, "the falcon;" cf. *PGM* IV. 3007 (so-called spell "of Pibechis," *Πιβήχεως*); note H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p. 96, note 386; K. Preisendanz, "Pibechis," *RE* 20 (1941), cols. 1310-1312.

33a-34a *Σαριήλ* (not read in *ed. pr.*): Formed from Hebrew שר, "prince; chief;" "guardian angel," a title reserved for Michael (called "Prince of the hosts of Yahweh") on the silver Aramaic amulet, R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), B:2 (Commentary, p.276).

33a-34a *Κουδιήλ*: Beneath the first part of this name, the letters *θυ* = *θ(εο)ῦ* (?) seem to be written between the lines.

34a Ἐπιήλ: Ἐφνιηλ *ed. pr.* This is perhaps פִּי-אֵל, "mouth of God," a phrase commonly found in Hebrew Bible (usually of Yahweh). Angels named after attributes of God, including his anthropomorphized features, are widely attested.

27b Ἀβιήλ: Ἀριήλ *ed. pr.* Cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 3:9: אביאל, Hebrew for "My Father (is) God."

28b Εἰήλ Εἰανα: Ἐιηλ ει.. *ed. pr.* Both names combine the Greek pronoun *εἶ*, "you are," with an attribute of God: Εἶ + אל, "You-are-God" and Εἶ + אֲנָה (Aram.), "You-are-the-*'I-am,'*" a play on Exodus 3:14 (see below, on line 35); cf. Ἀνθήλ in line 36, below.

29b-30b Βουριήλ: Ῥα..φ.ηλ *ed. pr.* (here and below incorrectly combing the letters). The name is from בער, *bʿr*, "to burn," — here perhaps participially, i.e. בוֹעֵר, *bwʿr*, "burning" — used of the burning bush, or of the fiery aspect of God in general; cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p. 278, for similar examples.

30b-31b Μουσιήλ: Μου... *ed. pr.* An angel-name possibly formed from the name of Moses (Hebrew משה), a magician *par excellence*.

31b-32b Μελχιηλωθ: Θελχιη *ed pr.* Is this Semitic מַלְכֵי-אֱלָהוּת, *malkê ĕlāhût*, "The Kings of Divinity," or '*My king* is Elôth'? Cf. the etymological explanation of Μελεχειήλ as Hebrew for *βασιλεύς* [*μου θεός*] in *PGM* 14.25; cf. *PGM* XLIII. 4 (Μελχιήλ = 'God is my King').

32b-33b Σαριήλ: .... ῳῤιι *ed. pr.* See line 33af.

33b Ἰστραήλ: ...ῤαηλ *ed. pr.* A common rendering of Ἰσραήλ; see J. Michl, "Engel V," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962), p.218f., no.127; cf., further, **33**,5; **38**,3; **62**,7 (Οἰστραήλ).

34b Δανιήλ: Presumably the name of the Biblical prophet. This angel-name also occurs in Coptic magic: W. Beltz, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 32 (1986), p. 59 (Register): *P. Berol.* 8317, *P. Berol.* 8332, as the name of one of the martyrs of Sebaste; and in *P. Berol.* 8330, as an angel-name. For an exhaustive study of this name, see now, W. Fauth, "Dardaniel (PGM LXII 12-16)," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 98 (1993), pp. 57-75.

34b-35b Θουριήλ, *o ορ*: Θ...ηλοοκ *ed. pr.* The name of this angel is found, for example, in *PGM* IV.1814. This is an angel who super-

intends or oversees people's affairs: תור, *tûr*, means to "go about;" "investigate," "espy."

ὁ ὄν = *ὁ ὤν*, "He-who-is" (cf. line 27b, above); **2**,4f.; **36**,10, etc.

36 Σοιαήλ, Ἀνθήλ, Ἀυδε-: ῳιδηνανεηλλυλη *ed. pr.* Σοιήλ alligns most suitably with Hebrew/Aramaic צוה, *ṣwh*; צוי, *ṣwy*, "order; command; appoint," a suitable divine activity for angels.

Ἀνθήλ is equivalent to Hebrew אַנְתְּ-אֵל, *'anṯ-ēl*, "You-are-God," the counterpart to the Greek version, Εἰήλ, in line 27b. The third name, Αὐδε-, may not perhaps go with the syllables of the next line.

37 Ἀθαβοήλ: ᾳεᾳβοηλ *ed. pr.* Note *PGM* XLIII.8 (Ἀθαναήλ); XLIII.9 (Ἀθανήλ). The name is to be read as either Athaboel (here), or as Audeathaboel (with line 35). *Athaboêl* is אַתָּה בַּעַל, *'attā-baʿal*, "You are Ba'al" (= 'lord; owner').

Οὐριήλ, *α ῳ*: Οὐριήλ ᾳμ, *ed. pr.* On this commonplace angel-name, cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991) B:4 (p. 278): אוריאל, from אור, *'wr*, "light; flame"; **26**,4; **33**,3,7; **38**,1; **48**,9; **50**,20; **57**,2f.

38 Ἀδωνθεήλ: ᾳλφνθεηλ *ed. pr.* This is either Ἀδων(αι) + *êl* ("The-Lord-is-God"), or אֲדוֹנֶת-אֵל, *'ădônāṯ-ēl*, "Mistress of El."

Σαβριήλ: ῳῳιβριμα *ed. pr.* This angel-name is etymologically derived from סבריאל (*sabriel*), 'Hope of God' (or 'my hope is God').

39 Βορεήλ, Ἰαώθ, Σαβαώ: *βορε.λ* Ἰαω. Σαβαω *ed. pr.* On Βορεήλ, cf. Βουριήλ, line 29b f., and the explanation there given.

40 Χαριήλ: Probably another angel based on a root having to do with light or fire; cf. Hebrew/Aramaic חרי, *ḥry*, "to be hot, glowing."

40-41 Μαρηνατης σαβιταυ: .....ῳῳ αριτ *ed. pr.* The name Μαρηνατης looks like a formulation from Aramaic with a typical Greek suffixal ending (*-της*): מרי נתן, *Mry ntn*, "My Lord gives/provides ...". The following *σαβιταυ* is certainly approximate to שַׁבִּיתָה, *šabîtāh*, "Sabbath observance; resting place;" hence, "My Lord gives rest ... " (or, "My Lord grants his Sabbath place") — presumably an angel who grants rest from toil and disease.

41-42 Μαρημαραωθ: Μαῤη..κα ωε *ed. pr.* This name has long been associated with Aramaic "Lord of Lights," a particularly suitable name for an angel. See W. Brashear, "A Glossary of Magical Words," *Aufstieg und*

Niedergang der römischen Welt (forthcoming), s.v., for a wealth of literature; cf. also our 'Index V,' svv. Μαρεώθ, Μαρμαραιω, Μαρμαραώθ, Μαρμαρεώθ, Μαρμαριώθ.

42 Ἀδωνε, Ἑλωε, εαε: .. ωνε.αωẹλẹ *ed. pr.*

42-44 These lines are divided by a vertical ruling line. The left side contains a succession of three Ἑλωειν's, names of the Jewish God = אֱלֹהִים; cf. J. Michl, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962), p. 212, for the usual Greek rendering Ἑλωειμ; above, on line 22f.

The right side contains a series of *charactêres*, in three lines. At the beginning are the letters οζοι; cf. *PGM* II. 179 (οζοα); XLIV.11 (οζ). As far as the series of *charactêres* goes, a similar 'style' of symbols and letter-forms occur at *PGM* IV.2707. Individually we have a pair of 'X's (with ringlets), like those found above (cf. *PGM* II.155 [Preisendanz, pl. 1]); letters-forms (*zeta*, *lambda*, *theta*, *omicron*, etc.; including reversed lunate *epsilon*'s and *kappa*'s; cf. *PGM* VII.923, etc.); and more irregular linear forms. The last character in line 1 has a parallel in *PGM* XII.398). In line 3, the 2nd character resembles that found at *PGM* VII.400,860.

47-48 δύναμις τῶν ἀγγελῶν καὶ χαρακτήρων (the text has τον ανγγελον κε χαρακτηρον). For δύναμις ἀγγέλων, see *PGM* IV.3051. Here also the *charactêres* are set on a par with the angels. A similar pairing is found on **57**,12-14: κύριοι ἀρχάνγελοι θεοὶ καὶ θ(ε)ῖοι χαρακτῆρες; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 21, 10-12: ἅγιοι χαρακτῆρες (with additional reference from *defixiones* and gemstones); *idem*, no. 23,12f.: ἰσχυροὶ χαρακτῆρες.

48-49 δότε νίκην, χάριν Ἰωάνου κὲ Γεοργίας κὲ τοῦ οἴηκου τούτου...το ον: Ἰωάννου καὶ Γεωργίας καὶ τοῦ οἴκου. The formula 'give victory, grace' belongs to the category of so-called *charitêsia* and *nikêtika*, 'favor and victory charms' (cf. *PGM* VII.186-190; 919-924, to be written on a gold leaf). However, in a few cases, as seems evident here, such spells served several purposes. For example, *PGM* XII.270-350 describes a Δακτυλίδιον πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν καὶ χάριν καὶ νίκην, but the context shows that it is also useful for popularity and friendship, for calming the enmity of dignitaries, banishing demons, opening doors, and so on (cf. also *PGM* XXXV. 25: δότε χάριν, νίκην, δύναμιν, πνεῦμα; and XXXVI.211-230). On this gold tablet the use of νίκη and χάρις probably takes on a deeper religious (or magical?) sense: it is victory over the power of demons, and grace from God for the household that the bearers seek.

The bottom portion of the text, with apparent traces of magic words or signs, seems to end with the letters, το οῤ ([ζών]των *ed. pr.*), τὸ ὄῤ/[ομα], a word that may also occur above in line 25 (cf. 34b).

42 Egyptian Magic Names

Fig. 42. Plate XV

ATHENAE (Athens), Greece — II A.D.?
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles — H. 1.8 cm.; W. 2.0 cm.
Collection Froehner, no. 285 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. F. Lenormant, in C. Cahier & A. Martin, edd. *Mélanges d'Archéologie d'histoire et de littérature*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1853), p. 150f.; p. 292; H. Leclercq, art. "Athènes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* 1/2 (1907), p. 3101; M. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1858), p. 398f., no. 2692; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. xxxv, no. δ; K. Preisendanz, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1928), p. 127.

The amulet, said to have been found in Athens, was a donation of Rochette & Letronne in 1839. It had been folded over in antiquity (twice from top to bottom) and probably inserted into a suspension capsule. The text contains only magic syllables, most of which seem to be Egyptian (kindly identified by H.-J. Thissen). The hand is an upright, round uncial with no signs of cursive. Each letter is formed separately and disjoined. The *alpha* is three-stroked with medial-bar always horizontal (cf. **28**). The hand is probably second century A.D. Later scripts written on gold foil are always written in a more flowing, cursive hand.

1 Πανχουχι θασσου
Πετοτεσια
Ενεφερως
4 Παν πεμαμ
Ψα
Ποσεδαεν

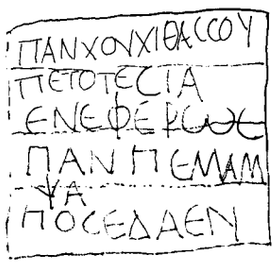


Fig. 42

Lenormant (1853:292) read and interpreted the text as follows: Παγχούχει θασσου Πετοτεσίᾳ ἐν νεφροῖς Πᾶν πῆμα νίψα, Ποσειδάων, *"c'est-à-dire, Fixe-toi, ô Neptune, sous les reins de Petotesias, fils de Panchuchis, et enlèves-en tout mal. Le patient devait être originaire d'Égypte, à en juger par ces noms coptes."* The names he thought were perhaps Coptic indeed correspond to Egyptian words.

1 *πανχουχι θασσου*: This magic word occurs in no. **4**,8; **38**,4; etc.; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42, 42: *πανχουχι θασσουθο*; *PGM* VII. 480f.: *τοῦ<το> γὰρ ἐποίησα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Πανχουχι θασσου*; XIII.922f.: *πανχοχι τασουε*; cf. further, D. Wortmann, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 175 (1975), p. 180 (*πανκουθεν*). The letters, *χουχι*, compare with Egyptian *kky*, "darkness;" H.-J. Thissen suggests *p3-n-kkw*, "he of the darkness."

2 *πετοτεσια*: Note *πετιανουπ πετιοπαριν* in *PGM* XIXb.8 (of which at least the first words are Coptic for "He whom Anubis has given," according to R. Ritner in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p. 258, note 5; cf. *πετοτουβιηθ* in *PGM* II.117; and *πετο[υ]μετου* in *PGM* XIV.12. Here, the initial syllables also suggest Egyptian *p3-di-* (?), "the one given by (-)?"

3 *ενεφερως*: *νεφερως* is the Egyptian epithet *nfr-ḥr*, "of perfect face/visage."

4 *παν πεμαμ*: These syllables are not to be read as *πᾶν πῆμα* (Lenormant), but are Egyptian *p3-n-p3 mm*, "he who belongs to the *doum*-palm," an epithet common in names; cf., e.g., *p3-rmt-mm*, Περμαμις (= 'the man of the *doum*-palm').

5 *ψα*: This is written on a line by itself; the syllable may represent Egyptian *p3 ḥ'*, "festival."

6 Ποσεδαεν: Lenormant thought that this name referred to the god Poseidon. In this context it does not seem likely that the name refers directly to the deity of Greek mythology. We do note, however, the widely different spellings of the name: Ποσοιδᾶν/-άν, Ποσειδάν, Ποσειδῶν, Ποσειδέων, Ποσιδάν, Ποσιδῶν, Ποσίδης, Ποσείδης, Ποτειδάν, Ποτειδάων, Ποτειδοῦν, Ποτιδᾶς, Ποτιδάων, Ποτειδαίϝων, Ποττείδαν; see E. Wüst, art. "Poseidon," *RE* XXII,1 (1953), cols. 447f.

43 Fragment (Magic Names)

Fig. 43

Crete — Late Roman or earlier?
London, The British Museum — H. 1.0 cm.; W. 2.0 cm.
Cat. no. 3157 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellry Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the British Museum* (London, 1911), p. 382, no. 3157.

This tiny fragment of gold was found in Crete and acquired by the British Museum in 1875. Marshall 1911:382 describes the piece as follows: "Part of a gold band, broken away on either side ... the letters in the upper line are much heavier than those in the lower." Only a facsimile of the piece was published, which we reproduce below. Its exact find-spot in Crete is not given; see on **44**, to follow.

1 [---]magic signs[---]
2 [---]θω (magic sign) φριθ[---]

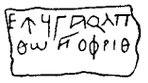


Fig. 43

1 Magic signs: Approximately eight 'magic characters' and letter-forms are visible.

2 An apparent fragment of an unidentified magic name. If the sign in the middle is a miscopied *nu*, then read --θωνοφριθ--; cf. *νωφρις* in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 51,7. For *φριθ*, cf. *PGM* XIXa 4: Φρῆ Φρῖ; IV. 863 *φρηφ αμηϊ*, etc.

44 Votive Fragment

Fig. 44

Idaeum Antrum (Mount Ida), Crete — Roman Period
Present location unknown — H. 2.1 cm.; W. 2.1 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome,1935), vol. 8, no. 8 (p. 97); A. B. Cook, *Zeus:A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1925), vol. 2, part 2, p. 938 ('Appendix B'); F. Halbherr, "Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta," *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 2 (1888), pp. 689-768, esp. p. 751 (with P. Orsi, *idem*, pp. 769-904).

This fragment of gold foil represents one of many votive offerings discovered at the cave-sanctuary of Mount Ida, near Gortyn (Cook 1925:938), including a number of thin gold discs decorated with dots or rays; a gold decorative plaque of the 'sub-Minoan' era; and "an oblong plate of gold to which three draped female figures, with *bucrania* between them, are soldered; from the plate hangs a snake biting its tail" (Cook 1925:935; Halbherr 1888:752). The cave for centuries had served as a depository of votive gifts, and our amulet may have been deposited as a thank-offering by someone healed from a medical complaint.

[---]ηω νοι
[---]ηι Ἰάϙ
[---]
4 ασσου



Fig. 44 (Guarducci)

1 [---]ηωνοι: Probably a series of the seven vowels, i.e., [---αε]ηωνοι.

2 Probably read Ἰάω at the end.

3-4 [---φυλ]/άσσου is suggested by Halbherr. But this is not the form of the verb usually encountered in magic. A more likely restoration would be [παντχουχι θ]ασσου; cf. **42**,1 (Commentary).

45 Christian Amulet for Health and Favor

Fig. 45. Plate XV

Laodicea ad mare (Latakia), Syria — V-VI A.D.
Jerusalem — H. 5.0 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
(Private Collection) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. L. Jalabert & R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. 4: *Laodicée. Apamène* (Paris, 1955), p. 38f., no. 1284.

Mouterde's *editio princeps* of this piece, first published in 1955, gave a largely unreliable reading (see below). In 1990 the piece resurfaced in the antiquities market at which time I re-examined it from autopsy. The gold tablet is particularly thick, and hence the scribe found difficulty in engraving the letters, which are often quite irregularly shaped. The hand is probably to be assigned to the 5th or 6th century A.D.

+ Πρὸς ᾰμ̣π̣ιαν
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
4 Δ 'Ελ-
ωέ, κᾰ(τὰ) τὸ
6 <ŏ>νομα vacat τὸ

A ὑγίαν ῳ
B δὸς τὶν εὔ-
C χαριν.

7 εὔτονο(ν), στέφα-
8 νον Κ(υρίο)υ, δὸς
9 τὶν ὑγίαν +

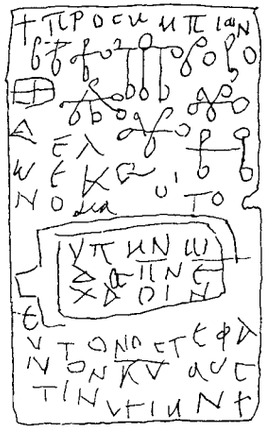


Fig. 45

1 ᾰμ̣π̣ιαν (?), μ̣η̣γ̣ιαν (?): ὑγίαν A/9 ὑγίαν: ὑγείαν B/10 τίν: τήν

+ For health (?) (magic signs) *Elôai*. By the vigorous name <and> crown of the Lord, give health! (In *tabula ansata*): Make healthy, give favor. +

1 +Πρὸς ᾰμ̣π̣ιαν: The letters are badly transcribed. Mouterde suggested the reading Πρὸς ἀητίαν (= αἰτίαν), *"Pour une accusation."* Given the occurrence twice, below, of ὑγίαν, and the clumsily written letter-forms it is probable that Πρὸς μ̣η̣γ̣ιαν preserves a miscopying of an original πρὸς ὑγίαν (= ὑγείαν), "for health" — a reading that at least follows established precedence. The incipit-formula πρός + (the name of an affliction or desired wish) is common on amulets. No other reading (e.g., Πρὸς κ̣υ̣π̣ιαν, Πρὸς Ἀ̣μ̣π̣ιαν) seems to yield any sense appropriate to an amulet. A person's name would not be expected here: a reading such as Πρὸς 'Αμπ<ἐλ>ιαν, "For Ampelia," for example, though not impossible would have to assume a novel use of the πρός-incipit.

2-3 *Magic signs*: For such common 'ringlet'-type letters, cf. *PGM* XXXVI.263; XLIX; LX; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, pl. X, 92, etc. On the fourth 'character,' note esp. *PGM* VII.390-395; VII.420f.

4-5 'Ελωέ: The name of the Hebrew God (which here can also be articulated 'Ελωαΐ, ε < αι); see **2**,1f.; **38**,1; **41**,23, etc. In the *editio princeps*, the letters in line 4 were wrongly resolved as an abbreviation, Δελ(τίον) — see below on lines 5-7. Line 5 was altogether omitted both in the drawing and in the transcription.

5-7 κα(τὰ) τὸ <ŏ>νομα τὸ εὔτονο(ν): Δελ(τίον) νό(μιμον) εὔτονο(ν), *("talisman régulier, efficace"), ed. pr.* In the reading <ŏ>νομα it is possible to interpret one of the 'eyelets' of the neighboring magic sign as an *omicron*, hence ὄνομα. For κὰ = κατὰ, note F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri I* (Milan, 1976), p. 313. Since the writing within the *tabula ansata* gives a separate sentence, the τὸ at the end of line 6 goes with the following adjective εὔτονο(ν), the first part of which is written vertically, outside the left edge of the *tabula ansata*. The "strong" or "vigorous" name must refer to the preceding name of God, *Elôai*.

In the *editio princeps* this τό was read with the remainder of the text as follows: ὅτα[ν] ὑπηνά<χθη>ν <ε>ὴς Χλόιν, Στέφανον κυ(ρίου) Αὐγ(ούστου) τινύμην, *"Lorsque je serai revenu secrètement vers Chloé, puisse-je châtier Stéphanos, (esclave) du seigneur Empereur!"* Here

Mouterde explains the orthography as follows Χλόιν = Χλόην; <ε>ὴς = εἰς; τινύμην = τινοίμην.

7-8 στέφανον Κ(υρίο)υ: εὔτονο(ν) στέφανον κυ(ρίου) Αὐγ(ούστου) *ed. pr.* (Mouterde takes the adjective εὔτονο(ν) with στέφανον, the "Mighty crown of the lord Augustus," rather than with ὄνομα). For the whole sentence, one should probably restore a καὶ between εὔτονο(ν) and στέφανον, viz. κα<τὰ> τὸ ὄνομα τὸ εὔτονο(ν) <καὶ> στέφανον Κ(υριο)ῦ. In any event, the "Crown of the Lord" perhaps has in mind Christ's crown of thorns (καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον, Mk. 15:16), or, better, the "golden crown" that the Son of Man in Rev. 14:14 wears (ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν). The crown of thorns carried a number of symbolic meanings (see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. στέφανος, 2), though its specific use in magic here seems unusual. The "crown of the Lord" may also imply 'Yahweh's crown,' and hence be connected with the previous name of God, *Elôe*; cf. *PGM* XXXV. 19-22: διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ἰάω καὶ τὴ<ν> ἰσχὺν τοῦ Σαβαὼθ καὶ τὶ ἔνδυμα τ<ο>ῦ Ἔλωὲ καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ Ἀδωναὶ καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοῦ Ἀδωναί.

8-9 δὸς τὶν ὑγίαν+: Αὐγ(ούστου) τινύμην (= τινοίμην) *ed. pr.* For τὶν ὑγίαν read τὴν ὑγ(ε)ίαν; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 261,13: καὶ δὸς τὴν ὑγείαν τοῦ δούλου ὁ δεῖνα; *PGM* III.576f.: διδοὺς ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα, ζωήν, ὑγείαν; *PGM* XIII.802: ἐμοὶ διδοὺς ὑγείαν, σωτηρίαν, κτλ.

Tabula ansata (A-C): There are several possible readings of these lines. Clearly the reading of the initial letters ΥΓΙΑΝ, though clumsily written (the -γι- is written close together like a π), gives either the accusative ὑγίαν, or better, the future, ὑγιανῶ, "I shall be healthy." Perhaps the best possible reading is an αι, rather than ω, at the end: ὑγίαιναι (read, αι = ε, ὑγίαινε). The verb ὑγιαίνειν occurs in *PGM* VII.255 (κύριε, ὑγίαινε, λύχνε); XXIIb 28 (ὑγίαινε λύχνε); *PGM* 9.13,30 (ὅπως ὑγιάνω; ἵνα τελείως ὑγιάνω).

The rest of the text can be transcribed as follows: δὸς τὶν ε(ὔ)χαριν, "give favor" (rather than, e.g., δὸς τὶν {ε} χάριν, or δὸς πνε). On the feminine noun, εὔχαρις ("grace, charm"), see Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri, I* (Milan, 1976), pp. 228f. gives numerous examples of ευ > ε in the papyri.

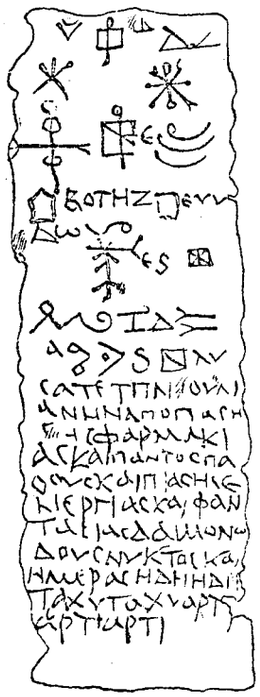
46 Protection against Sorcery and Demons

Fig.46

BEROEA (Aleppo), Syria — II/III A.D.
Present loc. unknown — H. 13.0 cm.; W. 4.5 cm.
(Former Collection Noël Giron) — Silver *lamella*

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

(Magic signs)
(magic signs)
(magic signs)
4 sign βοτηζ sign ευυ
δω sign
sign ες
(magic signs)
8 (magic signs) λύ-
σατε τὴν Ἰουλι-
ανὴν ἀπὸ πάση-
σ{ης} φαρμακί-
12 ας καὶ παντὸς πά-
θους καὶ πάσης ἐ-
νεργείας καὶ φαν-
τασίας δαιμονώ-
16 δους νυκτὰς καὶ
ἡμέρας, ἤδη ἤδη
ταχὺ ταχύ, ἄρτι
ἄρτι ἄρτι.



16 νυκτὰς: νυκτὸς

Fig. 46 (Mouterde)

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

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

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

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

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

12-14 καὶ παντὸς πάθους καὶ πάσης ἐνεργίας: In our text πάθος and ἐνέργεια must represent opposite pairs of magic operations (cf. the grammatical distinction between the two words, πάθος = 'passive;' ἐνέργεια = 'active'). Hence the notions probably connote a passive, or inward, type of magic suffering (e.g., that from disease, or even the 'passion' of love) versus a more 'active,' outwardly aggressive working of magic (affliction by a μάγος, etc.). Such subtle nuancing of specific types of magic occur, for example, in *PGM* XII.304-306, where a magic ring is described that produces dreams, divinations, 'psychical' afflictions, bodily illness, and erotic spells: ὀνείρους ἐπιφέρειν, χρησμοδοτεῖν, πάθη τε ψυχικὰ καὶ σωματικὰ καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐμποδισμόν τε ποιεῖν, φίλτρα ἐρωτικὰ πάντα ἀποτελεῖν. The two words πάθος and ἐνέργεια occur together in a rather fragmentary and heavily restored divinatory spell, *PGM* III.284-286:...[προ]γνωστικὴ πρᾶξις πᾶσα[ν ἐν]έργιαν <ἔχουσα> καὶ [πάντα τὰ πά]θη ποιήσα<σα> κλιτά ... [τὸ] πάθος παύεται, "Rite that brings foreknowledge, [which has] complete power and makes [all the passions] subservient [*fragment of a ritual follows*] ... [the] passion stops, and you will learn whatever you wish" (tr. W. Grese, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed. Chicago, 1992], p. 26).

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

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

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

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

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

Φαντασία does not occur in the magic papyri, though φάντασμα (*PGM* IV.[1014],2701; VII.579) and φαντασμός (*PGM* X.25) do. In A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 98,27f. there is also mention of a 'demonic appearance': δῆσον, χαλίνωσον πᾶσαν ἀσθένειαν καὶ φαντασίαν δαιμονικήν. Such demonic visitations are commonly nocturnal — cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 602,13-15: (Ὀνομασίαι ὡρῶν τῆς νυκτός) ... ὥρα δ΄ καλεῖται Ἀϊαήλ ἢ Χίλμ· ἐν ᾗ διέρχονται οἱ δαίμονες ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις καὶ ὁ διερχόμενος ἐκεῖσε βλαβήσεται καὶ φόβον καὶ φρίκην ἐκ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων λήμψεται φαντασίας; note, generally, *idem*, p. 122,14-15: Φυλακτήριον εἰς φάντασμα καὶ ξύπασμα τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας. Particularly fearful are the 'midday' demons; see W. Brashear, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 36 (1990), p. 68f.; *idem*, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 38 (1992), p. 30f.; see, further, the reference to Athanasius, cited below.

On δαιμονώδους, Jalabert & Mouterde print δαιμον<ι>ώδους, observe that the word is a *"mot rare"*, and compare it to δαιμονιώδης in NT James 3:15: οὐκ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ σοφία ἄνωθεν κατερχομένη, ἀλλὰ ἐπίγειος, ψυχική, δαιμονιώδης. However, the spelling δαιμονώδης (i.e., without ι) is actually attested in an exclamation in Ioannes Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 11 (Migne, *PG* 55, 146.29): Ὢ διαβολικοῦ ῥήματος! ὦ ψυχῆς δαιμονώδους! (cited in Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*; though LSJ Suppl., s.v. 'δαιμονώδης = δαιμονιώδης,' refers to only this, our Beroea amulet).

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

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

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

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

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

47 An Adjuration of Pantokrator

Fig. 47. Plate XVI

EPIPHANIA (Hamâh), Syria — IV-V A.D.
Copenhagen, National Museum — H. 2.4 cm.; W. 3.0 cm
8A 256 N7 Bat. V. room K (10) 13.5 1938 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, in G. Ploug, ed. *Hama. Fouilles et recherches, 1931-1938: III.1. The Graeco-Roman Town* (Copenhagen, 1985), p. 250, App. 2 (fig. 64).

This gold tablet was found in the room of a building (Bat. V, room K) in 1938 among the extensive urban excavations of the Roman town of Hama. Bülow-Jacobsen (1985:250) describes the piece as follows:

> When found it was folded once vertically and rolled up tightly. The right half, which has suffered most, seems to have been innermost in the roll. The left, right and bottom margins are marked with a thin line scratched about 1 mm from the edge. An inscription of seven lines of cursive Greek letters of the fourth or fifth century of our era is scratched and pressed into the surface with a dry point made of material a little harder than the gold, presumably of bronze.
>
> The inscription is extremely difficult to read because of its small size, its cursive character and the damage it has suffered when rolled and unrolled.

It seems unlikely that much of the *editio princeps* can be improved upon, though several suggestions are made below.

1 ὁρκῶ σε τ̣ὼ π̣αντοκ
ράτορα θεῴ̣ρ̣. ἐξ
... τησ ....
4 ... τὴν ρ̣ὺρ̣άν̣ιαν
τ̣κυκ.λου̣.ρ̣ρτιου
.ε̣τ̣εγηρ̣ ση ρ̣αι̣ᾳ̣ς
τ̣α̣χ̣ῤ

1 ὁρκῶ: ὁρκῶ vel ὁρκ<ίζ>ω τὼ: τὸν 2 θεῴρ: θεόν 6 ε̣τ̣εγηρ: ἔτεκεν

I bind you by oath, (by) the All-powerful God ... the heavenly (?), from Kolloutharion (?) whom Seraia bore (?).

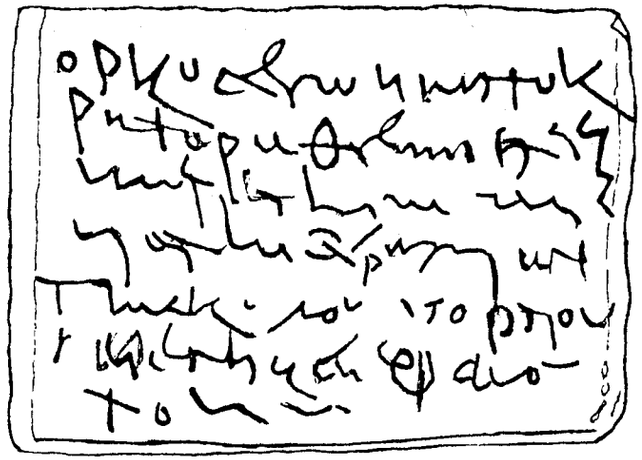


Fig. 47
(Bülow-Jacobsen)

1-2 ὁρκῶ σε, τὼ παντοκράτορα θεώ̣ν: *ed. pr.*; i.e., ὁρκ<ίζ>ο σε τὼ<ν> παντοκράτορα θεώ̣ν (read ὁρκίζω ... τὸν ... θεόν), following the *editio princeps*. On the other hand, ὁρκῶ σε, "I bind you by oath," though not idiomatic to magical texts (which use ὁρκίζω), requires no emendation to the text. See **52**,1,79; **56**,13f.; **67**,1; cf. **68** [1]. For an adjuration of the 'Pantokrator' God, compare Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, 29,5f. (with Commentary, p. 5): ὁρκίζω σε ... τὸν παντοκράτορα Σαβαωθ (lines 3-6); *PGM* III.218; XII.238; IV.968; *PGM* 1.1; 12.13, etc. *PGM* XIV.17 gives ἐπικαλοῦμαι ... παντοκράτορα θεὸν θεῶν; see further, O. Montevecchi, "PANTOKRATOR," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni, II: Studi di papirologia e antichità orientali* (Milano: Cechina, 1957), pp. 413-418.

3-4 ... της ..../...: *ed. pr.* A reading κ̣α̣τ̣ὰ τὴ̣ν μ̣εγάλ/η̣ν is by no means certain and represents but one possibility suggested from the photograph and facsimile. Perhaps the whole is an exorcistic formula, e.g., ὁρκίζω σε τὸν παντοκράτορα θεὸν ἐξελθεῖν (ἀπὸ τῆς δεῖνα), though such a reading cannot be confirmed from the photograph.

4 τὴ̣ν ῥ̣υ̣ράν̣ιαν: τη...ρα.ιαν *ed. pr.* This proposed reading represents but one possible conjecture. One may also suggest, e.g., τὴ̣ν Σ̣ερά̣π̣ιαν (W. Brashear, *per litteras*).

5 τ̣κυκ.λο..ρ̣τιου: *ed. pr.* Both W. Brashear and K. Maresch suggested independently the reading of a personal name here: τῆς Κο(λ)λουθ̣α̣ριου or Κολουθ̣α̣ορ̣α̣ίου. For similar personal names (i.e., Κολλούθη), cf. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milan, 1967), p. 168.

6 .ἔ̣τ̣εγη̣ν σ̣η ρ̣αι̣α̣ς: γ.εγη.ε̣σ̣.ρ.μ̣υ *ed. pr.* Read ἔ̣τ̣εκε̣ν ? If this represents the verb of the common matrilineal formula, as the suggested personal name in line 5 would indicate, then the name that follows would be the name of the mother, possibly Σηραιάς (for Σεραιάς); cf. Foraboschi, *op.cit.*, s.v., p. 290.

48 An Amulet from Emesa

Fig. 48. Plate XVII

EMESA (Homs), Syria — Early I B.C.
Leiden, Museum of Antiquities — H. 7.0 cm.; W. 6.0 cm.
Inv. no. B 1952/7.1 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. B. H. Stricker, "De grote zeeslang," *Mededelingen en Verhanddelingen No. 10 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* (Leiden, 1953), Figs. 6 & 7; P. J. Sijpesteijn, "A Syrian Phylactery on a Silver Plate," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 59-60 (1978-1979), pp.189-192; pl. 37.

This piece, acquired in 1952, is said to have come from Homs, Syria. Sijpesteijn 1978-1979 provided a welcome re-edition of Stricker's *editio princeps* which appeared in Dutch with no commentary.

The hand, which has not previously been assigned a date, looks quite early, to judge from comparable Egyptian papyri. D. Hagedorn privately confirms the impression that the script's appearance retains many features distinctive of a late Ptolemaic script. The broad, tapering letters — often joined by an elongated connector or 'dash' — are markedly pre-Roman in look. *Alpha*'s, *lambda*'s, *xi*'s, *nu*'s and *mu*'s are all quite wide, being broadly written with a splayed, flattened-out appearance, with their right diagonals sloping to a near-horizontal position. The whole lends the script the 'clothesline' appearance characteristic of Ptolemaic hands (note, in particular, the Οὐδιῆλ τὸ of line 11). The *rho*'s and *phi*'s also carry rather long 'tails' that angle leftwards at the tip. The *epsilon*'s with its detached curved upper-stroke is also due to Ptolemaic influence, as are the *nu*'s with high-sweeping right verticals. Note also the peculiar *zeta* begun with a long, initial downstroke (observed by R. Daniel). Furthermore, the manner of writing the combination of ε + ν, with the *epsilon*'s middle stroke and the left vertical of the *nu* formed by a single motion of the stylus, is also a tell-tale indicator of a late Ptolemaic hand. Note also the α + ρ, and such similar letter combinations; cf. *P. Mert. I*, 6 (77 B.C.). *P. Wash. II.*74 (II-I B.C. = "Description of Magical Figures") also offers parallels in some respects.

Particularly noteworthy is the extended connecting-stroke following the *eta* (e.g., in the angel-names ending —ηλ). In Egypt, such a feature does not normally survive the Augustan age, being practically extinct by the second half of the 1st century A.D. In areas outside of Egypt (e.g., in Syria), such a stroke may have survived somewhat longer (see palaeographical discussion on **36**, **39**, etc.; cf. W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* [Munich, 1925], p.124, *Abb. 120*). But even though the city of our amulet's provenance, Emesa, enjoyed considerable autonomy from both Seleucid and Roman rule, there is nothing to suggest that the script of this amulet is a late survivor of some conservative scribal habit. Emesa had its own dynastic monarchs at least as early as the mid-second century B.C. — rulers whose names became known only in the first century B.C. (viz., Iamblichos, Samsigeramos, Sohaemus, etc. See, Richard D. Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Emesa," *Aufstief und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.8 [1977], pp. 198-217; further, J. D. Grainger, *The Cities of Seleukid Syria* [Oxford, 1990], pp. 178-181).

1 Ἰάω, Ἰάω, Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ,Ἀδωναί,
θωβαραβωθ Σατραπεκνηφ
Ὀρεαβαρζαγρα Ἀβαλλωειᾳ
4 Ἀβλαναθαναλβα Ἀκραμα-
χαμαρει Σεσενγενβαρφαραν-
γης Μαρμαραωθ Σεμεσιλ-
αβ Ἀρσο᾽υ᾽ Σουμαρθα Ἀβακαρ-
8 βα Βεενχωχωχ Βαιᾳχωνιωχ
Οὐρειήλ, Ῥαφαήλ, Ῥαγουήλ,
Μιχαήλ, Σουριήλ, Γαβριή[λ],
Οὐδιήλ, τὸ ζωγράφημα τ[οῦ]
12 θεοῦ, χεχ ενθαιβαι εθερθ
ε̣ι̣ρυα εμμαιρει αεηιρ[υ]
ω, εἴλεως ἔσται τῷ φορο[ῦν]-
[τ]ι [καὶ] τῇ φορούσῃ.

Iaô Iaô Iaô Sabaôth Adônai Thôbarabôth Satrapeknêph Oreabarzagra Aballôeia (4) *Ablanathanalba Akramachamarei Sesengenbarpharangês Marmaraôth Semesilab Arsou Soumartha Abakarba* (8) *Beenchôchôch Bain-*

chôniôch Ouriêl Raphaêl Ragouêl Michaêl Suriêl, Gabriêl, Oudaiêl — the picture of the (12) god — *chech enthaibai etherth . eioya ammai rei aeêioy.* It shall be propitious for him, the bearer, [and] for her, the bearer.

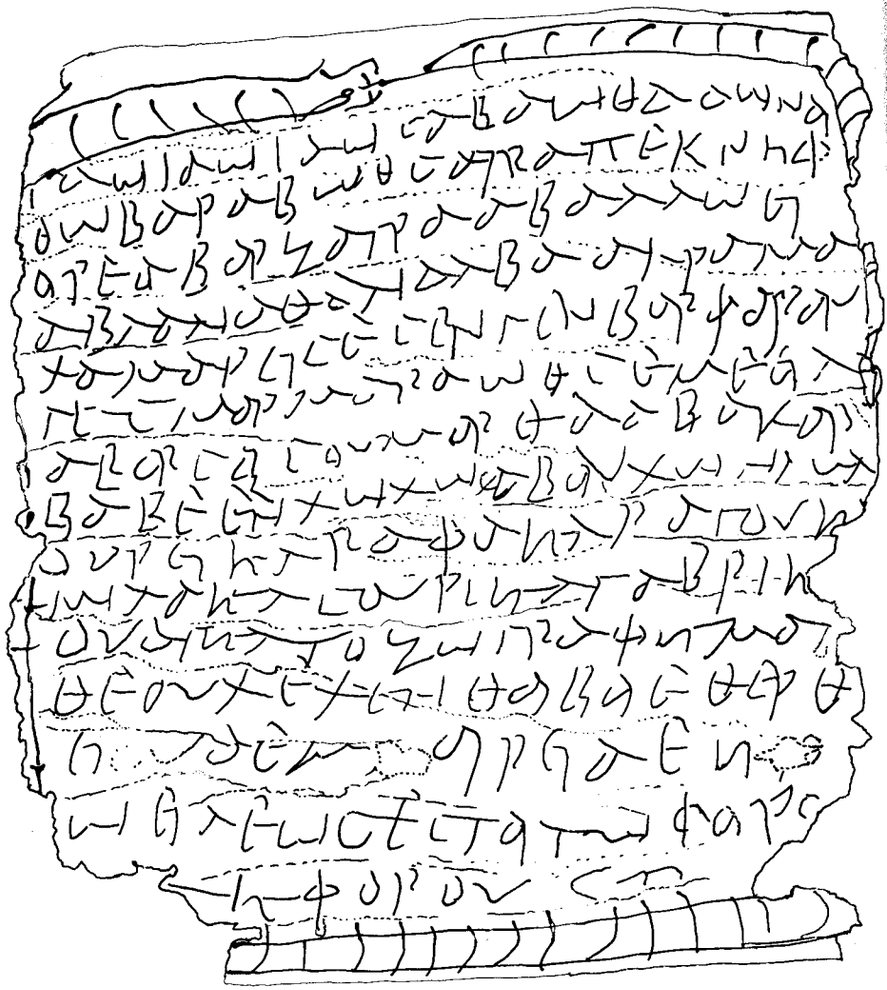


Fig. 48

Ouroboros: The inscription is surrounded by an *Ouroboros* serpent, found often on gemstones and papyri; for examples enclosing groups of letters, cf. e.g., Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 10; *PGM*, vol. 2

(Taf. I,4). On the *Ouroboros* in general, see W. Deonna, "OUROBOROS," *Artibus Asiae* 15 (1952), pp. 163-170; K. Preisendanz, "Aus der Geschichte des Uroboros," *Brauch und Sinnbild ... (Festschrift) Eugen Fehrle*, edd. F. Herrmann & W. Treutlein (Karlsruhe, 1940), pp. 195-209; A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1914), vol. 1, p. 192, esp. note 1; H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed., 1992), p. 337, s.v. (with additional ref. from Egyptian texts).

1 Ἰάω Ἰάω Ἰάω: Triple repetition for emphasis. The convention is Egyptian (as in Hermes Trismegistos); cf., e.g., R. K. Ritner, "Hermes Pentamegistos," *Göttinger Miszellen* 49 (1981), pp. 73-75 (for an example of quintuple repetition).

2 Θωβαραβωθ: The *rho* is usually doubled; on the name, see **17**,5f.; **4**,10; **38**,3; **57**,8,9.

Σατραπεκνηφ: As Sijpesteijn (1978-79:190) points out, the usual spelling of the name is Σατραπερκνηφ (the writer of this charm seems to omit *rho*'s); he compares A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), nos. 48; 408 (?), 510. The name also occurs, e.g., in *PGM* XII.185 (σακμηφ, abbreviated?); XIII.917 (cf. *O* 2, 24). In Griffith & Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus* verso, col. xxi, 14 (= Janet H. Johnson in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* [2nd ed., Chicago, 1992], p. 248 = *PDM* xiv. 1120-25) one reads the name as an apparent gloss on Agathodaimon, NTOS SATRAPERQEMAI. A similar association of Kmêph with the Agathos Daimon is discussed at **36**, 6f. (with Commentary); cf. also A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 242, 6f. ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν τειμωριῶν παντὸς ἐνψύχ[ου, Σατ]ραπερκμηφ; see, further, the variant at **41**,2f.

3 Ὀρεαβαρζαγρα: This name is usually part of the so-called *Maskelli-maskello* logos; however, in *PGM* III.436 it has been 'misplaced' in the *Harpon-chnouphi* formula: Ἁρπον[χνουφι] βριντατηνωφρι βρισκυλμα ορεοβαζαγρα. Occurrences of the name (or of the *Maskelli*-formula) are not usually found on amulets; note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag I*, no. 12,4 (on an amulet); cf. *idem*, nos. 45,34; 54,28; 57,3, etc. (on curses and erotic charms). R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos*

(= *Musée Univ. St.Joseph* 15 [1930-31]), p. 111, line 13; p. 115, cites A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 242, 3f. [ἐ]ξορκί[ζω σε] τὸν θεὸν τῆς Ἀνάγκης τὸν μέγαν Αρουροβααρζαγραν.

Ἀαβ αλλωειᾳ: Sijpesteijn (1978-1979:190) suggests this is αβ + αλλωεια. Indeed, the letters αλλωεια match well the Hebrew הַלְלוּ־יָהּ, "Praise Yahweh" (= "Halleluyah"). The transliteration, ἀλλωεια is here equivalent to *ḥallûyā* (i.e., *ḥaləlûyā* with *schewa* suppressed). Cf. *PGM* III.534 (αλλωεα); XVI. 1 (αλωεια). In the LXX and Christian texts this Hebrew word is conventional spelled ἀλληλουϊα.

4-7 Ἀβλαναθαναλβα Ἀκραμαχαμαρει Σεσενγενβαρφαρανγης Μαρμαραωθ Σεμεσιλαβ: Each of these magic names is discussed in the commentaries above: see on **2**,14f.; **4**,4-5; **7**,4; **12**, 13; **15**; **18**,4,10f.; **29**,4 and 'Index V,' svv. These 'solar' deities often occur, as here, cited as a group. Σεμεσιλαβ is spelled Σεμεσειλαμ in later magic texts.

7 Ἀρσο᾽ν᾽: αρσᾳ Sijpesteijn. It appears that the writer engraved a rightward slanting *υ beneath* the o, but this is by no means certain. Preisendanz's unpublished index ('Register VI') suggests that the magic name Ἀρ σω (in *PGM* XII.101; III.471; IV.2024; XIXa.45) is Egyptian 'Horus-Su' (noting A. Jacoby, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 28, p. 273). Cf. Ph. Derchain, *Chronique d'Egypte* 39 (1964), p. 184 (reference from W. Brashear, "A Glossary of Magical Words," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, forthcoming). Another possibility is that Greek αρσ- is Semitic אָרַס, "to join; bind."

Σουμαρθα (also spelled *σουμαρτα*): The name is frequent on gemstones used as phylacteries. For papyri, note also *PGM* II.116; IV. 947,1805,3158; VIII.82, etc.; cf. also L. W. Daly, "A Greek Palindrome in Eighth-Century England," *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982), p. 97: *ad sanguinem restringen dum scribis hoc*.COMAPTA OCOΓMA CTY ΓONTOEMA EKTTTOPO (British Libr. Ms. Royal 2A.20) — a reference I owe to W. Brashear.

It has been rightly recognized in H. Phillip, *Mira et Magica* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), p. 52 (no. 50), that Σουμαρτα is related to Hebrew/Aramaic שׁמר = φυλάσσειν, with reference (*inter alia*) to W. Brashear (= 2nd pers., sing., feminine passive, or second person, singular active). It is also possible to interpret the name as שׁוֹמֵר, *šômēr*,

"guard," "watcher," etc., with the imperative, *t'a*, affixed (='Come,' as in the famous Christian acclamation Μαραναθα). In either case, it derives from the same Semitic word and is appropriate to amulets of this kind, being the equivalent of the usual Greek imperative, φύλαξον, as noted in Phillip, *loc. cit.*, p. 53 (no. 51).

7-8 Ἀβακαρβα: The name may be an imperfect palindrome: αβ<ρ>ακαρβα, according to Sijpesteijn, who cites αβακεαζα in A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 476. Very close to our sequence here is σουμαρτα + ακαρβα in *PGM* O(stracon) 2.21. It may be no coincidence that ακαρβα anwers to Aramaic עַקְרָבָא, *ʿaq(ə)rabā'*, "scorpion." That would make our *Abakarba* a deity whose name means "Father (= 'Progenitor,' 'Chief') of Scorpions." Putatively, as the 'Ancestor of Scorpions,' *Abarkaba* would be the god who controlled scorpions. On 'scorpion'-spells in general, see *P. Wash. Univ. II* (edd. K. Maresch & Zola M. Packman). The name may also be a version or corruption of αβρακαδαρβα, the ABRACADABRA of medieval and modern magic first attested in the 2nd cent. A.D. in Q. Serenus Sammonicus *Liber Medicinalis*, LI.935 (ed. F. Vollmer, *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, II.3 [1916]), p. 45: *inscribes chartae quod dicitur abracadabra saepius et subter repetes, etc.* and found also in Greek letters on a gemstone in Mouterde, *Glaive de Dardanos*, p. 15 (cited above).

8 Βεενχωχωχ Βαιηχωνιωχ: Variants of Βαινχωωωωχ, the widely discussed 'Spirit of Darkness' (Egyptian *B3-n-kkw*), for which see W. Brashear, "Glossary," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (forthcoming). The name, as usually spelled, has an isopsephic value of 3663 (a palindromic number). The spellings found here yield 3462 and 2923, respectively -numbers of no apparent significance. See on the name and its isopsephic value, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 15,3f., with Commentary.

9-11 Οὐρειὴλ Ῥαφαὴλ Ῥαγουὴλ Μιχαὴλ Σουριὴλ Γαβριὴ[λ] Οὐδιὴλ: A catalogue of seven angel-names. Virtually the same group — with slight variations but preserving the same original sequence — is attested in *I Enoch* XX, 1-7 (M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*. PVTG 3; Leiden, [1970], p. 32):

[1] Ἄγγελοι τῶν δυνάμεων.
[2] Οὐριήλ ... ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ ταρτάρου.
[3] Ῥαφαήλ ... ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
[4] Ῥαγουήλ ... ὁ ἐκδικῶν τὸν κόσμον τῶν φωστήρων.
[5] Μιχαήλ ... ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγαθῶν τεταγμένος καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χάῳ.
[6] Σαριήλ ... ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων οἵτινες ἐπὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἁμαρτάνουσιν.
[7] Γαβριήλ ... ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ χερουβείν.
ἀρχαγγέλων ὀνόματα ἑπτά.
[Ῥεμειήλ ... ὃν ἔταξεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνισταμένων. ὀνόματα ζ ´ ἀρχαγγέλων. Ms. G^2].

In the list above, only Σαριήλ differs slightly from the tablet's Σουριήλ (the Ethiopic reads *Saraqael*), and a seventh angel, Ῥεμειήλ, (attested only in G^2) is different from our Οὐδιήλ (all other Mss., including the Ethiopic, have only the six angels). The interchange between the two similar-sounding angel-names, Σουριήλ and Σαριήλ (and *Saraqael*), is not unexpected. Nor does the slight variation in manuscript-traditions giving six versus seven angels diminish the significance of our parallel lists: because all Greek manuscripts state that there should be seven angels listed — though six are usually preserved — our Οὐδιήλ must then represent an important independent witness and variant to G^2's Ῥεμειήλ.

The fact that the very names in the two lists — *and their exact sequence* — match so closely makes the likelihood of a reliance on a common source highly probable. The presence of the rare Ῥαγουήλ shows all the more that the similarity between the angel-list of *I Enoch* and that of the Emesa tablet cannot be accidental. Was the composer of the Emesa amulet familiar with *Enoch* or its underlying traditions? Given *I Enoch*'s complex angelology and its interest in magic (e.g., ch. VIII, 3f.: Σεμιαζᾶς ἐδίδαξεν ἐπαοιδὰς καὶ ῥιζοτομίας, etc.), its seems likely that early 'Enochian' literature of some kind would have been consulted by serious compilers of magic charms. The text of our amulet, though not Enochian, *per se*, does provide an early witness to some angelological fragment that the two documents must have shared in common.

The chapter in which the catalogue of angels appears belongs to the so-called *Book of the Watchers* (*I Enoch* 1-36), a document commonly judged to be one of the oldest sections of *I Enoch* (dated to the 3rd century B.C.); see George W. E. Nickelsburg, art. "Enoch, First Book of," in D. N. Freedman, ed. *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992), pp. 509, 516, with all the standard secondary literature — dated later by E. Isaac, in J. H. Charlesworth, ed. *The OT Pseudepigrapha, I* (New York, 1983), p. 6f. The original composition of our Emesan amulet in Greek must be somewhat later than the recent Aramaic fragments of *I Enoch* found at Qumran, but roughly contemporary with the Greek versions thought to have been written in the period ca. 1st cent. B.C.- 1st cent. A.D.

Ragouel would be Aramaic *raʿû'ēl*, "will of God" (from רָעָוָא, *raʿwā'*). Οὐδιήλ is perhaps from אוֹת *'ôṯ*, "omen, sign;" or, from עוֹד, *ʿôd*, "existence, strength," (= 'El exists/endures'); cf. also עֲדָה, *ʿēdāh* ("assembly; gathering; band," — an appropriate name for angelic hosts). Souriel is probably צוריאל ("God is my Rock"). The other names and their meanings are widely known and discussed at **26**, etc.; cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p. 278.

11-12 τὸ ζωγράφημα τ[οῦ] θεοῦ: On ζωγράφημα, Sijpesteijn (1978-79:191) observes: 1) ζωγράφημα hitherto occurs in Plato, *Philebus* 39d and *Cratylus* 430bff. and Plutarch, *Moralia* 410a; 2) it has the same meaning as the more usual word ζῴδιον; and 3) the words τὸ ζωγράφημα τοῦ θεοῦ, "probably meant that on this plate the picture of a certain god had to be engraved but that these words were simply taken over without any real understanding," and "that the magical handbooks served as examples from which formulae for actual use were copied." On this phenomenon in general, note (in addition to the examples in Sijpestein, *ad loc.*), F. Maltomini, "Appunti magici," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 66 (1986), p. 159. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 38,13 contains a similar reference from a formulary: ἔστιν δε τὰ ζῷδια ταῦτα, "these are the figures" (with the commentary: "... mistakenly copied from a formulary," p. 122).

For references to 'pictures of God,' as here, note Philo, *Decal.* 70, where idolators are said to believe that the images and pictures they make represent the gods they depict: τὰ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων δημιουργηθέντα πλάσματα καὶ ζωγραφήματα θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν.

12-14 χεχ ενθαιβαι εθερθ[-]/ ε̣ι̣ρυα εμμαιρει αεηιρ[υ]ω: We assume that there are no letters in the gap after εθερθ(-), though the series of vowels suggests the possibility of εθερθ [ωη]/ειουα. Sijpesteijn points out, however, that the total number of letters in this series of names is 36, with

reference to R. Daniel, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 19 (1975), p. 260f.: "This corresponds to the number of decans and their deities, the horai or moirai, and to the number of letters of different names of the great god" (citing relevant literature). Sometimes such 36-lettered names of *charactêres* disguise the hidden name of a god.

χεχ: as Sijpesteijn notes, this appears elsewhere as χαχαχ, χουχ, χυχ, χωουχ (cf., e.g., *PGM* XIXa,5; b,14). All are forms of Egyptian *kk*, "darkness."

εθερθ[.?]: Sijpesteijn compares θερθεν in *PGM* VII.423,426.

ε̣ι̣ρυα αεηιρ̣[υ]ω: Here apparently a 5-vowel sequence, followed by the seven vowels in their normal, alphabetical sequence.

εμμαιρει: Sijpesteijn refers to *PGM* VII. 446 (εμμαι), which is identified as Egyptian "in truth," according to R. Ritner, in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed., Chicago, 1992), p. 129, note 59. Note already R. W. Daniel, "Some Φυλακτήρια," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25 (1977), p. 152 (note on line 4: μαι ≐ Coptic, "Truth"). The syllable ρει is perhaps the sun-god R'a.

14-15 εἵλεως ἔσται τῷ φορο[ῦντ]ι [καὶ] τῇ φορούσῃ): "He will be propitious for the bearer whether man or woman" (Sijpesteijn 1978-79:190). Could εἵλεως also refer to the amulet (or spell) itself (= "*It* will be propitious ... ")? Note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 87: εἵλεως μοι γέν[ου], citing K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart, 1932), pp. 91-98. Again, we have here apparent copying of instructions from a handbook: "The future used on this plate seems again to point to a thoughtless copying of the example" (Sijpesteijn 1978-79:192). The formula, on the other hand, may have simply been adopted 'ready-made' for customers. On the use of φορέω (e.g., φοροῦντα) on such amulets, note F. Maltomini, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 66 (1986), p. 160, note 24; **59**,5f. (further, 'Index I,' s.v. φορεῖν).

49 Magic Names or Cipher

Fig. 49

EMESA (Homs), Syria — IV-V A.D.
Present location unknown — H.14.1 cm.; W. 3.3 cm.
(*IGLS* V.2494) — Silver *lamella*

Lit. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, C. Mondésert, edd. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Tome V: Emésène* (Institut Française d'archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique LXVI; Paris, 1959), p. 208; no. 2494.

This silver tablet was first communicated by H. Seyrig in 1935 and apparently formed part of the Collection Mouterde. Its present location is not known, though a number of magic gemstones and amulets formerly belonging to and published by Mouterde have recently resurfaced in some European antiquities markets. Among these I have also examined and re-read the silver *lamella* formerly described in the same *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (= *IGLS*) catalogue as that described here (=**49**). That text (*IGLSyr V*, no. 2495) is described as follows: *"Lamelle d'argent, h. de 0 m. 07. Au début, 7 li. de signes et de lettres frustes. Au-dessous 12 li. d'un texte sémitique où l'on reconnaît deux l. grecques."* It should be herewith reported that this piece is indeed written in Semitic (with only scattered Greek letters or magic signs EEE, ZHΩ, ΘΘEϒ).

The text of **49** is puzzling as it contains no meaningful Greek, and the *voces magicae* are not the usual sort of angel-names. They are largely unattested. The tablet is divided into a number of separate sections by ruling lines or boxes. The uppermost of these contains a list of names, most of which are made up of seven letters each (lines 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 13). Each also seems to begin with a seemingly good Greek syllable: ἀγ-, κωφα-, βολ-, να- (?), θ(ε)ιγ-, ταμ-, ἀστρ-, λαμ-, σκιο-, ηὐκτ- (?), ὀκτα-, ἀμφ-. If so, we are perhaps dealing with a cipher, cryptogram, or a system of scrambled words. A not dissimilar list of pseudo-Greek, given in columnar form, is also preserved in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag II*, no. 96 A, 24-43: ἡμωφυῆ, ἡμωχυῆ, ριζωπυέ, ἀνδρωγενῆ, ἀνδρωρ, ἡμωγενῆ, κορκωβανϊῃ, χρυσωβελλῆ, χρυσώκωμε, κρομύλευκον,

μενουλαθ, χαρβαθα, σθωμβαυλη, ζανξμνα, χωνουθα, μενουβα, βελερθϊ, ζαχθαηρ, χαλιουβη. It is more likely, however, that the names are Egyptain or Semitic (cf. Σαβαώθ, in line 20; and the Commentary on αστουρτομ, line 17, βαλμινθω, line 21, etc.).

The first editors assign the tablet to the 4th or 5th century A.D., a dating we cannot quarrel with, given there is no published photograph.

A 1 αγεοηλε
2 κωφαζει
3 βολκοσε
4 ναθμουθ
5 θειγος ευι
6 ταμηλσεφ
7 αστραχε
8 λαμσαρε
9 σκιοφωρφ
10 ηυκταζη
11 οκταζειν
12 αμφαυνε

B 13 χουουφη
14 αριγμενου
15 μειγε ουρτορ
16 XMH

C 17 αστουρτομ
18 ιορνυοη
19 τομιαβη
20 Σαβαώθ

D 21 βαλμινθω
22 sign π sign ε αα
23 ρ sign βη
24 αλ
25 magic sign

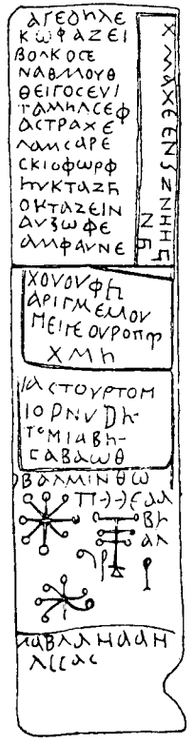


Fig. 49

E 26 λαβλανα αν
27 λσσας

F 28 χμαχεενς ZNHHC
29 N

1 αγεοηλε: Cf. *PGM* VII.545: αγεανουμα.

2 κωφαζει: Cf. Gk. κωφάω, κωφαίνω, "deafen," (cf. LSJSuppl.).

3 βολχοσε: Possibly a version of the magic word Βολχοσηθ; cf. *PGM* IV. 2125, etc.; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42, 46: βολχοζε.

4 ναθμουθ: Cf. *PGM* II. 119: ναθμαμεωθ; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 48K,45: νατθω.

6 ταμηλσεφ: On the possibly Semitic reading of ταμη-, note Commentary on -τομ (line 17), and τομι- (line 19), below.

7 αστραχε: Cf. Greek ἄστρα, etc. *PGM* XII.186 αστραφαι; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42,9: ασταζαβαθος. If this name were Semitic, it would correspond to a theophoric name, e.g., *ʿištār-ʾāḥî* "Ishtar is my kinsman (=brother)." Note below (line 17) on αστουρ, for additional, possible, references to Ishtar and Esther.

8 λαμσαρε: Cf. Greek λαψ-; *PGM* XII. 110: λαψουρει; **39**,4-6. The syllables -σαρε match שׂרי, *śry*, "my prince" (i.e. guardian being); a *śar* is a usual designation for an angelic being in Daniel; cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p. 276 (used of Michael).

9 σκιοφωρφ: Cf. *PGM* IV.765: σκιοφορφορ.

10 ηυκταζη (or ἡ υκταζη): Cf. Greek εὐκταῖος, "of prayer;" "votive," for which Hesychius and Photius attest εὐκτάζομαι, a 'frequentative' form of εὔχομαι. But the similarity to Greek here is probably accidental. The syllables bring to mind, rather, עָקְתָא, *ʿoqṯā*, "distress," "trouble." Here -ζη (and its counterpart, -ζειν, in the next line) may refer to Sin (the Wilderness), or Sin = Sinai. Both ηυκταζε and οκταζειν in lines 10,11 would supposedly mean, 'My distress is in Sin(ai),' in the sense of, 'My care/worry is in the Lord.'

11 οκταζειν: οκτα- has probably nothing to do with Greek "eight;" this name is but a variant rendering of ηυκταζε (ἡ υκταζε), above, cor-

responding perhaps to Semitic עָקְתָא, *ʿoqtā*, "distress," "anguish," etc. Both are seemingly angelic or divine names, as their etymologies would suggest.

12 *αριγμενου*: The word looks like a garbled participle. Other possibilities include (for *ἀρι-*), e.g., אֲרִי, *'ărî*, "lion" (or the Constellation "Leo"). The possibilities for interpreting the rest of the name are numerous.

15 *μειγε*, *ουρπορ*: The first name *μειγε*, if Semitic, might be מעא, *mʿa*, "belly; womb" (a fertility goddess?). The second name, *ουρπορ*, would seem to represent Hebrew אוֹר, *'ôr*, "light," + פּוּר, *pûr*, "lot," "fate," (= Babylonian *pûru*, "lot") — the latter especially in reference to the Festival of Purim, in the Book of Esther. The origins of the festival are unknown, though most scholars say it is pagan and is originally associated with Babylonian Isthar, whose name has been also identified in 'Esther' and, coincidentally, in line 7 and in the next word on this tablet. On Purim, Esther, and Ishtar, see the discussion in C. A. Moore, art. "Esther, Book of," in D. N. Freedman, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* II (1992) p. 637, citing P. Jensen, "Elamitische Eigennamen: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der elamitischen Inscriften," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 6 (1892), pp. 47-70; 209-226.

17 *αστουρτομ*: The first part of this word recalls Ishtar, the major Mesopotamian deity corresponding to Venus (cf. *'ôr*, "light," above). The Aramaic word for Venus, אסתהר, *'isthar*, is the equivalent of Ishtar (עשתרת). The West-Semitic counterpart, 'Astarte' (= 'Asthoreth') occurs in Biblical Hebrew. The syllable *τομ*, then, must be related to תמם, "to be complete, blameless" — here, probably the participle (= 'Ishtar is blameless'); cf. also תָּם (*tam*) "pure," blameless" (an epithet), and תֹּם (*tom*) "perfection; completeness."

19 *τομιαβη*: A magic name whose meaning could also be explained as containing Semitic תמם (*tmm*): תמי אבי, *tomî 'ābi*, "My Father is perfect," or "My perfection (is in) my Father" (that is, 'My *integrity* is in my God,' as the construction can thus connote); cf. *ταμη-*, line 6, above.

20 *Σαβαώθ*: 'Lord of Hosts.' One of the few known magical names on this tablet; cf. **2**,2f.; **7**,2; **12**,14f. ('Index V,' s.v.).

21 *βαλμινθω*: The original editors locate the name in Egyptian magic (*balmenthre*, unexplained), in F. Ll. Griffith & F. Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 139 (vol. 3). = *PDM* xiv. 465ff., J. Johnson in H. D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p. 221); cf., further, *PGM* IV.1632: Βαλμινθρη. The first element recalls the Babylonian Ba'al. A theophotic *Ba'al*-name would not be unexpected, especially in Emesa. The rest of the name — *μινθω* — might recall Semitic מנה/מנת, (*mnh*/*mnt*), "to appoint, ordain"/"portion, lot" + 3rd pers. suffix: hence, "Ba'al ordains it."

26 λ *αβλανα αν*: Apparently the initial letters of *αβλαναθαναλβα* (see 'Index V,' s.v.).

50 Magic Text

Fig. 50

HELIOPOLIS (Ba'albek), Lebanon — IV-V A.D.
Musée du Beyrouth — H. 4.5 cm.; W. 8.0 cm.
(no inv. number) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. René Mouterde, "Amulette en Or," in: Maurice Chéhab, *Mosaïque du Liban. Text*: *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 14 (1958), p. 51f.; fig. 2; pl. 26.

Mouterde read and published this piece in 1958, shortly after it was unearthed in a sepulcher near the ancient city of Baalbek. The piece comes from the Villa de Soueidiyé, situated between Baalbeck and Ras el-'Aïn, which the Service des Antiquités du Liban excavated. Soueidiyé, a villa and residential district, is known primarily for its mosaics uncovered there at the Villa and Triclinium.

Mouterde provided a text with facsimile; however, the two photographs, labelled '*Avers*' and '*Revers*,' were in fact both printed in 'mirror-image.' Furthermore, his drawing and text often do not seem to correspond to the letters visible on the photograph. Without a good photograph for study, little can be done to improve the text (a request for a photograph in 1979, and again in 1993, was denied). Nonetheless, the text should be included in this corpus as an example of a published piece with known *Fundort*. Hopefully a new edition of this piece can be properly provided someday; a few suggested readings have been made from examining the published photographs held up to a light.

Mouterde's Reading:

ἀγήρ(αια) ἄλυρα λ[ά]β[ρα] ἴε (?) ἶφι (?) ἔχις Σ(υριγμό)ς
ὄργια, φτάρθε <μά>[τ]ρυλλε Ζέ[θ]. Εἶς ἦς
ΑΝΙΦΝΑΦΤΑΦ ἀώρων· Σ(υριγμό)ς· ὑγι<έ>ν(εις) (?) Κυ-
4 νοκυμι (?) κύλιξι ΑΣΒΡΑΥΡΑΥ
ΡΒΕΣΡΡΡΑΨΙΙΣ ΞΤΣ ΦΤΙΑΩΘ
ΙΣΤΙΣΜΙΑ ΦΦΑΔΚΩΝ ΩΜΣ ἔνψ(υχε)

Φᾶθ' ἄρ' ἴε [π]αθάξη(ς) ψάε κυ[ν]ωψις
8 ΜΩΩ ΜΩ ΜΜΙΩ ΡΑ . . . . . ΑΩ
ΝΩΜΙ ἁρμαστῶς <σ>υν[ε]κῶς
['A]μω[ν]ίου (?) τὸ μά(λα) νῖκος

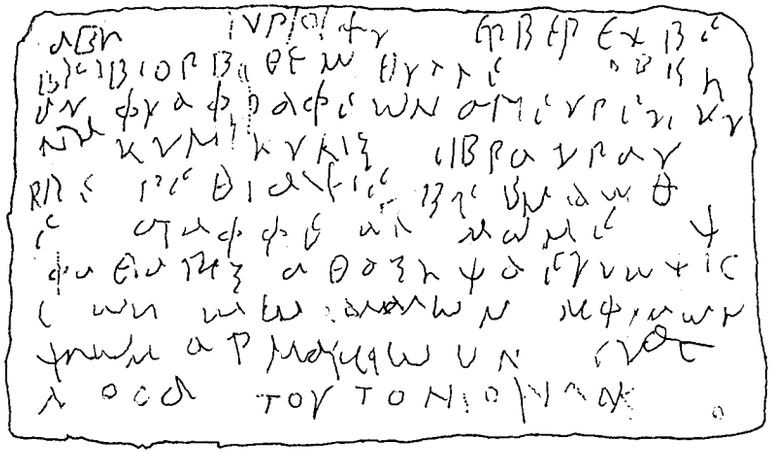


Fig. 50

Suggested Tentative Reading:

1 αβη ... ιυριοι ... βερβερ εχ .βε
2 βε .βιορβ.θε μ θυλλε ... ..η
3 αυ. φυα φρα φεων αμ ευρε . κυ
4 μα κυμι κυλι βραυβαυ
5 ..ε . ρ ε θιαψιε . βε βμαωθ
6 ε ...αι αφφε . α. . μωμε ... ψ
7 φαθαραξ ραθαξ ηψαεκυωψις
8 .. ωη . μαμαμαων . μ φιμων
9 ψαω Μαρμαραιω .. ενας
10 λοσα ιουτον ...

Notes

1 ιυριοι: κύριοι ?

3 φρα φρεων: cf. *PGM* IV.284 (φρα); XXXVI.352 (φεφαων).

4 βραυβαυ: *PGM* XIXa.34: βραυπωπα.

7 φαθαραξ ραθαξ: for such names, cf. C. Faraone & R. Kotansky, "An Inscribed Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 258,9f.: Αρβαρβαφραραφραξ ραθραθαξ, with Commentary, p. 262.

8 μαμαμαων: *PGM* IV.206,2413: μαμω; A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheninesia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 69,30: Μαμῶν.

φιμων: φιμῶν? A spell to silence?

9 Μαρμαραιω(θ): See **12**,13, etc.

10 ιουτον: τοῦτον?

51 A Jewish 'Exorcism' of the Womb

Fig. 51

BERYTUS (Beirut), Lebanon — I B.C.-I A.D.
Paris, Cabinet des Médailles — H. 2.8 cm.; W. 2.3 cm.
Collection Froehner, no. 287 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. F. Lenormant, in: C. Cahier & A. Martin, edd. *Mélanges d'Archéologie d'histoire et de littérature*, IV (Paris, 1853), pp. 152-156; *CIG* IV. 9062 (Curtius and Kirchoff); H. Leclercq, art. "Amulettes," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* I/1 (1907), col. 1796 [hereafter, *DACL*, below] (w/ the readings of Lenormant & Kirchoff); *idem*, art. "Exorcisme, Exorciste," *DACL* V/1 (1922), col. 968; *idem*,, art. "Extrême-Onction," *DACL* V/1 (1922), col. 1031; F. Cabrol, "Acclamations," *DACL*, I/1 (1907), cols. 258f. (facs.); F. X. Kraus, "Amulets," *Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer* 1 (1880), p. 51; M. Chabouillet, *Catalogue géneral et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1858), p. 399f., no. 2693; K. Wessely, *Wiener Studien* 8 (1889), p. 178f.; note K. Preisendanz, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1928), p. 132; Louis Perret, *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1851), pl. 16, no. 76 & 77 (capsule).

The tiny gold *lamella* was acquired in 1852 by the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. It was apparently found in a gold capsule near Beirut, Syria and was bequeathed by Froehner (cat. no. 287). Lenormant first published it with a reading somewhat different from that of *CIG* and attributed great importance to the text as a witness of the Christian practice of extreme unction. Hence the amulet is still referred to as Christian in all subsequent publications. A re-examination from autopsy, however, shows that the piece has been misread and is not Christian at all — in fact it may even be pre-Christian in date. The text is rather a phylactery to stop a woman's uterus from roaming throughout the body — a popular magico-medical belief thought to be responsible for a host of medical complaints and psychic disorders. Note the description of the phenomenon in A. A. Barb & J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institut* 22 (1959), p. 370: "This, of course, is not the womb in its blessed, child-bearing aspect, but the roaming, evil *Hystera*, which according to ancient belief was thought responsible for all kinds of pain affecting bowels, stomach, heart, chest, and even suffocation." The whole

matter has been recently discussed in Jean-Jacques Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 30 (1989), pp. 421-449, a detailed study that now supplements A. A. Barb's classic essay, "Diva Matrix," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 16 (1953), pp. 193-238; see also R. K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43 (1984), pp. 209-221.

The hand is to be assigned an early date, especially in view of the prevalence of the connecting 'dash' following *eta* — a feature common in the 1st century B.C., but becoming increasingly scarce by the 1st century A.D. Our scribe still uses this stroke between *nu-alpha* in line 4 and around either end of the *omega* of line 11. *Tau* is formed with a single down-stroke followed by a separated horizontal dash. *Kappa* is of the looped variety.

Front

1 Ἐξορκίζω
σε, μήτρα Ἴψας
ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἴψα,
4 ἵνα μήποτε κα-
ταλείψῃς τὸν τό-
πον σου, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀ-
νόματι τοῦ κυ-
8 ρίου θεοῦ ζῶν-
τος ἀνεικήτου
μένειν ἐπὶ τῷ
Back
τόπῳ Ἴψης
12 ἣν ἔ<τ>εκεν
Ἴψα.

9 ἀνεικήτου: ἀνικήτου



Fig. 51

I adjure you, O womb of *Ipsa* whom *Ipsa* bore — in order that you never abandon your spot — in the name of the unconquerable, living Lord God (to) remain at your spot, (that of) *Ipsa* whom *Ipsa* bore.

A similar spell, to be written on a tin *lamella*, is preserved in *PGM* VII.260-271. Its title and particularly its opening adjuration compares favorably with the general language of our text: Πρὸς μήτρας ἀναδρομήν· ἐξορκίζω σε, μήτραν, κτλ., "For the 'running up' of the womb: 'I adjure you, Womb," etc. For other magico-medical recipes for this 'ascent' of the uterus, see also Aelius Promotus, Ἰατρικὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ἀντιπαθητικά, p. 774 (ed. Wellmann): various short recipes Πρὸς μήτρας ὄλισθον; and the *Kyranides* (ed. D. Kaimakis), 1.20.14,17 (ποιεῖ γὰρ [sc. ὑέτιος λίθος] πρός τε ἀναδρομὰς τῆς μήτρας); cf. also *Kyranides* 2.11.17; 4.44.9; 53.3.

1 Ἐξορκίζω σε: Lit. "I am placing you under oath" (to do something). The formula is widely found, though it is relatively uncommon on amulets. When the formula does occur on amulets, it is usually of Jewish origin, as here. The Aramaic equivalent is אשבע, "to adjure," "impose an oath" (the *Af.* form of שבע, "to swear"). For its use on Aramaic amulets, cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A 12:(9); A 8:3; 9:4; A 1:21, etc.; cf. **52**,1 (Commentary). See, further, H. Leclercq, art. "Adjuration," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* I/i (1907), pp. 527-535. Here the adjuration formula, properly speaking, belongs to the phrase ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ... μένειν, "in name of the ... remain at your place."

2-3 μήτρα Ἴψας / ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἴψα: ὦ Σατανν̂ας καὶ στ(αυρέ) με νίψον Lenormant: μ[ου?] ἀπαλλάσ/ην, [εὐ]μενί[ζ]ο Curtius-Kirchoff. These lines, as read by previous editors, gave rise to the long-standing view that this text was an early Christian amulet dealing with extreme unction. This interpretation can now be abandoned; what we have in these line is nothing other than the usual matrilinear formula, on which see D. R. Jordan, "CIL VIII 19525 (B).2 QPVVLVA = q(uem) p(eperit) vulva," *Philologus* 120 (1976), pp. 127-132.

What is odd is that a form of *Ipsa* is used for both daughter *and* mother. *Ipsa* as a personal name is unexpected and not previously attested; hence, the reading probably disguises some kind of cipher used for the names of both. It is likely that Greek Ἴψα represents nothing other than a transcription of Latin *ipsa*, "herself," the equivalent of the usual *illa* used in such formulations as *illius, quem peperit illa*; cf., e.g., Marcellus

Empiricus *De medic.* 36.70: *Carmen idioticum, quod lenire podagram dicitur, sic ...: 'fuge fuge podagra et omnis nervorum dolor de pedibus meis et omnibus membris meis,' aut si alii praecantas, dices 'illius, quem peperit illa.'* See also **7**,6; **8**,5. In **40**,12 a version of the same seems to occur in its Greek equivalent: ... *μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς ὃν θέλι αὐτή*, "... but particularly with him whom (she) *herself* wishes." Although the presence of Latin in Greek letters in the Beirut spell might seem unusual at first glance, such a combination of several languages within a few lines of a short spell is relatively common with such amulets (cf. **2**,**7**,**8**,**18**, etc.). Ancient Berytus was already made a Roman colony by 14 B.C., so the presence of Latin forms in a Greek text at this time would not be surprising. It simply attests to what we already know of the language milieu of the whole region at the dawn of the Christian era.

The use of *ipsa* also shows that the text of this amulet was originally copied from a formulary. The amulet was never 'personalized' by the insertion of the bearer's real name and that of the mother.

4-6 *ἵνα μήποτε καταλείψῃς τὸν τόπον σου*: *καταλείπῃς edd.* An unusual statement of purpose telling the 'womb' why it is adjured. The formulation normally attested is *ἐξορκίζω σε, κατὰ* + *μένειν* (as in line 10), without a *ἵνα*-clause. This clause may give a simple statement of purpose emphasizing the adjurer's wish; however, were it so, how does one then explain the isolated infinitive (*μένειν*) of line 10? There may originally have been two distinct formulas of which the second "I adjure you" got suppressed:

A. *ἐξορκίζω σε, μήτρα ... ἵνα μήποτε καταλείψῃς τὸν τόπον σου*
B. [*ἐξορκίζω σε, μήτρα*] ... *μένειν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ*

The Christian spell, *PGM* 12.5-14, also commands the noxious poisons in the body to stay in place — using language much like that found in the Beirut amulet: *ἐξορκίζω πᾶν δῆγμα τοῦ* [δ]*ιαβόλου θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *διὰ τοῦ ἐλαίου τοῦ ἱ*[*εροῦ β*]*απτ*[*ισμοῦ εἰς*] *τὸν τόπον τοῦτον,* [*ἰὸν ὀπ*]*ου ἔθηκας· ἵνα στάθητι* [*ἐπὶ τ*]*όπου καὶ μὴ ἀναδρά*[*μῃς*] *ἢ ἐπὶ τὴ*<*ν*> *καρδίαν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴ*<*ν*> *ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν βόλβ*[*α*]*να, ἀλλὰ στάθητι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἰόν σου* <*ἔθηκας*>, *κὰι ἄπονος μείνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ πανάγιον*

καὶ [*ἔντιμον*] *ὄνομα τοῦ παντο*[*κράτορος θεοῦ καὶ*] Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *τ*[*οῦ υἱοῦ ...*] (see further, below, lines 11-14, on this text).

6-10 *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀνεικήτου*: Lenormant reads *Ἀνεγνωσμένον* (in lieu of *ἀνεικήτου· μένειν*); Curtius-Kirchoff (in *CIG*) give for 9f. *τος --- ὃς / μ*[*έ*]*νον ἐπὶ τῷ*. The use of *ἐπί* + *τῷ ὀνόματι* (as opposed to *εἰς* + accusative, *ἐν* + dative, or *κατά* + genitive) is not idiomatic to magical texts. The formula derives from the LXX, where it usually translates Hebrew שם-על, and sometimes בשם. Cf., e.g., Ex. 33:19, *καὶ καλέσω ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου* 'Κύριος *ἐνατίον σου*'; Deut. 3:14; 10:8; Jerem. 33:16, etc. It is also commonly found in the New Testament where, however, it is used only of the name of Jesus and only in the Synoptic Gospels and in Acts. See W. Heitmüller, *"Im Namen Jesu"* (Göttingen, 1903), pp. 43-46; pp. 47-52. Since our spell preserves an early Hellenistic-Jewish exorcism from the Holy Land, it would not be surprising to find its idiomatic usage couched in contemporary theological language.

On the 'unconquerable name' see **18**, 5,15; **58**, 37; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 45, 3f.: *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἀνικήτου θεοῦ,* Ιαω, *κτλ.* On *θεοῦ ζῶντος*, see **52**, 80; **65**, 1; **67**, 2f.; cf. Matt. 26:63: *ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*; *PGM* IV. 1038: *ἐπιτάσσει σοι ὁ μέγας ζῶν θεός*. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985) A 1:21-23, provides a good example of a Jewish adjuration by the 'living God,' on a silver *lamella*: "*I adjure you* (משבענה), the spirit of the bones ... (I adjure) you *by the God who lives* (עליך בחי האל)," etc. (p. 41); similarly, *idem*, A 9:4f.: "I adjure you (משבע), be exorcised (אגער) from her, in the name of Him who lives (דמן דחיה) and exists," etc. (p. 83).

11-14 *μένειν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ Ἴψης ἣν ἔ*<*τ*>*εκεν Ἴψα: ἀνεγνωσ/μένον ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ τῆς τὴν ἐπικέχρικα* Lenormant: *μ*[*έ*]*νον ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ ἰψήστ*[*φ*] *ἥστηκε. Χρ.* [*ν*]*ικᾷ*. Lenormant's reading provoked some discussion on the putative early attestation for 'extreme-unction,' but the text merely commands the womb to stay fixed; cf., again, *PGM* 12.10f. on similar commands to noxious poison: *ἀλλὰ στάθητι, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἰόν σου* <*ἔθηκας*>, *καὶ ἄπονος μείνῃ*.

52 The Great Angelic Hierarchy

Fig. 52a-c. Plate XVIII

BERYTUS (Beirut), Lebanon — IV A.D.
Paris, Musée du Louvre — H. 37.5 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
Bj 88 (Inv. M.N.D. 274) — Silver *lamella*

Lit. A. Héron de Villefosse, "Tablette magique de Beyrouth conservée au Musée du Louvre," *Florilegium ou Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à Monsieur Le Marquis Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909), pp. 287-295; D. R. Jordan, "A New Reading of a Phylactery from Beirut," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), pp. 61-69; H. Leclercq, art. "Enchantement," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* V/i (1922), pp. 33-36; Villefosse-Michon, *Musée du Louvre, IV. Départment des antiquités grecques et romains*, acquisitions 1900, n. 76; note also *PGM* XXXV, *app. crit. ad loc.*; L. Robert, "Amulettes grécques," *Journal des Savants*, 1981, p. 10f.; J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York & Oxford, 1992), no. 125, pp. 232-233.

This unusually long piece, written across the width of a narrow strip of silver, was found in bronze tubular capsule in a tomb at Beirut. The *editio princeps* of de Villefosse is now superseded by Jordan (1991:61-69), who publishes photographs for the first time along with a greatly improved reading. The text given below follows his transcription, with minor changes noted.

The perfunctory purpose of the spell is to protect a certain Alexandra from demonic afflictions and a host of magical procedures thought to be of potential threat during the course of her mundane, day-to-day activities. Some of these procedures threaten to malign her sexually — or at least she is felt to be so threatened (lines 78f.; 98; 101f.). But it is not clear how 'personalized' the charm really is in these sections, as the text there seems to follow patterned formulas.

More importantly, before the spell actually addresses the specific complaints plaguing Alexandra, a long litany of angelic names is given, identifying the heaven in which each rules and the realm of influence over which each executes authority. This type of catalogue shows all the earmarks of a well-circulated and widely documented tractate that seemingly had an independent existence long before it found particular

expression as a part of the Beirut spell. Traces and vestiges of similar angelic catalogues — sometimes containing verbatim citations and other comparative materials — are found scattered in various literatures, some magical, others of a more pseudepigraphic and apocryphal nature. The distinction is largely immaterial, as all indications point back to some original document — or body of documents — probably deriving from the Hellenistic Jewish community of Alexandria, a document sectarian in nature, concerned with a specific angelic teaching, probably exorcistic in application, and perpetrated in the scribal transmission of some esoteric synagogal liturgies. Possible connections with Merkabah speculation, Enochian literature, the *Hekaloth*, Qumran, Solomonic lore, or Jewish Gnosticism, though reasonably conceivable, cannot be addressed here.

Examples of magic texts that seem to be based either more or less directly on a *Vorlage* shared in common with that of the Beirut silver *lamella*, or that otherwise show a very close affinity to it, include the following:

1) An unpublished gold *lamella* in Bern (see Jordan 1991:61).

2) An unpublished silver phylactery in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

3) *PGM* XXXV (= *PSI* I. 29).

4) A carnelian gemstone: A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), p. 316, no. 460; L. Robert, *Journal des Savants*, 1981, pp. 7f. (a text that apparently parallels only a small portion of the Bern gold *lamella*).

5) *PGM* XXIIb.1-26, the so-called Προσευχὴ Ἰακώβ, a text that may contain a related archangelic hierarchy, but the condition of which is so fragmentary as to discourage any substantive comparison.

6) Furthermore, a lead *defixio* from Hadrumetum (= A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, no. 271; with excellent commentary by R. Wünsch in *Antike Fluchtafeln* [Bonn, 1912 = *Kleine Texte*], pp. 21-26; Nr. 5) contains certain 'liturgical' parallels to some portions of the above-mentioned texts. Although preserving no portion of the strictly angelological hierarchy itself, relevant lines invite comparison with the text of the Beirut amulet and are taken up below, where applicable. Further, a related text can also be found in a group of Carthaginian lead tablets in A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, nos. 241-242 (see Commentary, below, on

lines 2ff.; cf. R. Wünsch in *Antike Fluchtafeln* [Bonn, 1912 = *Kleine Texte*], Nr. 3-4). In no. 242, in particular, we find a list of 'angelic' deities that, like many such lists of angels, presupposes a systematic etymology to their names (e.g., line 5f.: *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ πνευμάτων Λαιλαμ*); here, however, the deities adjured (*ἐξορκίζω*) are often 'heavenly,' and not just the usual chthonic, underworld gods associated with curse-tablets.

The type of invocation that identifies spheres of influence over which angels sit (*ὁ καθήμενος*) — a hallmark of our text — represents a broad, and no doubt long-standing, tradition in Jewish angelic lore. It is also common to numerous Christian magic and mystical texts which no doubt derive from earlier precursors. The popular traditions, as exemplified by our text, generally attest to two closely related hierarchical systems: First, we encounter catalogues of angels whose spheres of rulership are identified with each of the seven (or more) heavens. These represent little more than lists, such as "the angel of the first heaven is *x*, the angel of the second heaven, is *y*," and so forth (cf., e.g., lines 15-33, of this tablet). Secondly, we have lists of angels who are specifically identified as exercising authority over special natural or geographical phenomena (cf. lines 34-70). Somewhat related to these (but not occurring in our text as such) are angels who are given authority over specific diseases or afflictions. Here the angel is often etymologically identified with the particular disease over which he exercises control.

Representative examples of such angelic hierarchies attested primarily in apocryphal or pseudepigraphic literary sources include, but are not restricted to, the following:

1) *3 Enoch* 14:3ff. (in Hebrew), ed. H. Odeberg, p. 37f. A description of angels ruling over various natural elements, planets, and spheres.

2) *Gospel of Bartholomew* (3rd cent. A.D.; ed. N. Bonwetsch). This text gives a numerical hierarchy in a summary form. Beliar (alias Satanael), the first-created 'fallen angel,' is describing in IV. 29 how the 'hierarchy' of angels was first created:

> *ἔπλασεν ἐμὲ πρῶτον,*
> *δεύτερον* Μιχαὴλ *τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων,*
> *τρίτον* Γαβριήλ,
> *τέταρτον* Οὐριήλ,
> *πέμπτον* Ῥαφαήλ,
> *ἕκτον* Ναθαναήλ,
> *καὶ ἑτέρους ἀγγέλους, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν λαλῆσαι οὐ δύναμαι.*

Further, in IV.30 we find a similar enumeration: *καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπλάσθησαν πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι. τῷ πρώτῳ οὐρανῷ μυριάδες ἑκάτον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ μυριάδες ἑκάτον, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, κτλ.* (up to the seventh heaven).

But thereafter in *Gospel of Bartholomew*, we encounter in several places actual reminiscents of 'older' hierarchical catalogues:

Angels of Winds (IV.31-34):

> *... ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις·*
> *ὁ μὲν εἷς ἄγγελος λέγεται ἐπὶ τοῦ βορρᾶ* Χαιροὺμ *...*
> *καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπηλιώτου λέγεται ὁ* Ἐρθά *...*
> *καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου ἄγγελος λέγεται* Κερκουθά *...*
> *καὶ <ὁ> ἐπὶ τοῦ λίβα ἄγγελος λέγεται* Ναουθὰ *...*

Angel of the Sea (IV.35f. = fragment only, from a catalogue):

> *καὶ ἕτερος ἄγγελός ἐστιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὁ θρασύνων αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν κυμάτων. τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἐρῶ σοι, κτλ.*

Angels over Weather elements (IV.45 = also in summary form):

> *λέγω δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀγγέλων* (! — see preceding reference).
> *ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς χαλάζης λέγεται* Μερμεώθ *...*
> *καὶ ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῆς χαλάζης [sic],*
> *καὶ ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῆς βροντῆς,*
> *καὶ ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς.*

See, further, the list in IV.47: *οἱ συνδιατρέχοντες τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια οὗτοι εἰσιν·* Μερμεώθ, Ὀνοματάθ, Δούθ, Μελιώθ, Χαρούθ, Γραφαθάς, Ὀεθρά, Νεφόνος, Χαλκατούρα.

The author of the *Gospel of Bartholomew* is citing fragments from a larger catalogue of angels, a catalogue that explains their spheres of influence, and is choosing rather selectively merely to illustrate his knowledge of the subject before continuing in his narrative. That the source from which the author of *Gospel of Bartholomew* ultimately derives his material is the same as that which is used by the compilers of the magical literature is clearly demonstrable from the example in IV.45, given above. It reads in full:

ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς χαλάζης λέγεται Μερμεώθ, καὶ συνέχει τὴν χάλαζαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρκίζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ λειτουργοί μου καὶ πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὅπου θέλουσιν (IV.45).

Μερμεώθ is the Marmarmaoth of magical literature, not only paralleled on our text, but found widely in the papyri, *defixiones*, and gemstones (see Commentary below, line 94f.).

3) *Cod. Parisinus* 2316 (*"Amulett"*). Ed. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 297: a) Προσευχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου ... :

Νασαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων,
Σαμαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ,
Ἀφεμεήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου,
Συχαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥιγοπυρετοῦ,
Ἰωήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕπνου,
Ῥαγουήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν βοῶν καὶ τῶν προβάτων καὶ τῶν αἰγιδίων,
Μελχισεδέκ, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν φρεάτων,
Ἀγαθοήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς χαρᾶς,
Φλογοθοήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βροντῆς καὶ χαλάζης,
Φαρμαχαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης,
Σαρισαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός,
Σαήλ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων καὶ ὀδυνωμένων ...

b) Προσευχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου καὶ Γρηγορίου...:

Μιχαὴλ <ἐπὶ> τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,
Γαβριὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς χαρᾶς,
Οὐριὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγίας,
Ῥαφαὴλ ἐπὶ πόνων καὶ νόσων,
Σαμουὴλ ἐπὶ ὑετοῦ καὶ χαλάζης,
Σαμιζαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης ξύλων (ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕλοις ξύλοις cod.)
Ἰωὴλ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕπνου,
Οὐριὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας,
[Συχαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας]
Συχαὴλ ἐπὶ ῥίγους καὶ πυρετοῦ,
Ἀφαμαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγάπης,
Οὐριὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης,
Σαμουήλ ἐπὶ τῆς βροντῆς,
Ἀμοιχιήλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς,
Κρίτιμος ἐπὶ κριτηρίου.

4) *Varia* in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (Paris & Liège, 1927):
a) P.10, 1-27: (οἱ ὀκτὼ ἄγγελοι!)...

ὁ πρῶτος ἄγγελος ἔχει ἐξουσίαν <τῶν ὀρῶν> ... Σαραήλ

ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος εἶναι τοῦ ὀσπιτίου ... Εφλκα
ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος τοῦ ῥίγους ... Σαλαήλ
ὁ τέταρτος ἄγγελος εἶναι τοῦ ὕπνου ... Γισιλ
ὁ πέμπτος ἄγγελος... ...Ῥαουήλ
ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος ... τῶν πηγῶν/τοῦ ποταμοῦ ... Μελχισεδεκ
ὁ ἕβδομος ἄγγελος ... τῆς χαρᾶς κ. εἰρήνης ...Ἀγαθοήλ
ὁ ὄγδοος ἄγγελος ... τῆς αστραπῆς ...Ἐμπηεηλ.

b) P.112, 9-23: (περὶ καρδίας πόνων!) ...

ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ σπιτίου ...Ἐφεμαήλ
ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ ῥίγου ... Συρχαήλ
ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ ὑπνου ... Ζωήλ
ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ νεροῦ καὶ βρύσις ... Μελχισεδεκ
ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς βροντῆς καὶ χαλάζης, Φαρμαχαήλ
ὁ ἄγγελος ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, Σαραήλ.

c) P. 127, 10-14: (A fragmentary transmission):
<ἐπικαλῶ> καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους <ἀγγέλους> καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους καὶ... (The following suggested *lacunae*, viz. [...], are not given in the *editio princeps*):

τὸν παρόντα ... Σαβαώθ,
... Ἀδωναήλ,
τὸν ... Μελχηήμ,
τὸν ... Χαραφιήλ,
τὸν ... Φαβεήλ,
τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων, Γαβριήλ,
τὸν ...Ἀμαλήκ,
Μαήλ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς.

d) P. 246, 12-15 (Solomonic tradition):

ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος
ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς
ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τοὺς τριακουσίους ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς βροντῆς

The arrangement of the text of our silver *lamella*, on the whole, also indicates the use of divergent, often competing, sources and formulas. The following outline divides the text of the spell into its larger, discernible units. The diversity of, and vacillations between, the various expressions and indeed the different deities and afflictions addressed in the invoca-

tions, speak for the spell's long, convoluted textual history and for a complexity of source-materials used. Noteworthy is the peculiar switching between singular and plural imperatives as various invocative and protective formulas are applied to whatever issue at hand or diety involved. Particulars of some of these matters are addressed in the Commentary.

Lines	*Formulas and Subject Matters*
I. **1-6**	Ὁρκίζω σε - Formula (*sing.*)
II. **6-13**	Διαφύλαξον-Formula (*sing.*)
III. **13-66**	Ἐπικαλοῦμαι -Formulas
A.13-15	Of the Creator
B.15-33	Ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθήμενον ἐπί-Formulas (Of the Angels of the Seven Heavens)
C.34-66	Ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπί-Formulas (of the Angels of the 'Elements')
IV. **67-79**	Invocation of Jewish God
A. 66-71	Two ὁ καθήμενος-Formulas (*nominative*)
B. 71-73	"God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"
C. 73-79	Διαφύλαξον-Formula (*sing.*)
V. **79-88**	Ὁρκίζω σε-Formula (*sing.*)
VI. **89-109**	Direct Command to Afflictions:
A. 89-91	Identified: καταδέσματα, etc.(Fragmentary)
B. 91-95	Φύγετε-Formula (*pl.*) + ἵνα μὴ βλάπτητε ...
C. 95-109	μήτε ... μήτε-Catalogue of 'Magic Environments'
VII. **109-119**	Direct Command to Ὀνόματα
A. 110-116	Διαφυλάξατε-Formula (*pl.*)
B. 116-119	Ἀπαλλάξατε-Formula (*pl.*)
VI. **119-121**	Christian Acclamation: Εἷς θεός + Βοήθει-Formulas

TEXT:

Ὁρκίζω σε τὸν
ἐπάνω τ<οῦ> οὐρανοῦ
Σαβαὼθ τὸν ἐλθό<ν>-
4 τα ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλα-
ωθ τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ
Χθοθαι, διαφύλαξον
Ἀλεχάνδραν ἣν ἔτεκ-
8 εν Ζοὴ vac. ἀπὸ παν-
τὸς δέμονος καὶ πά-
σης ἀνάγκη<ς> δενόμων
καὶ ἀπὸ δεμόνων κ-

12 αὶ φαρμάκων καὶ κα-
ταδέσμων. Ἐπικαλοῦμαι
ἐν <ὀν> ὁματι τοῦ κτίσαντος
τὰ πάντα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
16 τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ
πρότου οὐρανοῦ Μαρμαριώθ,
ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέ-
μενον ἐπ<ὶ> τοῦ δευτέ-
20 ρου οὐρανοῦ Οὐριήλ, ἐπι-
καλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμε-
νον ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου οὐρα-
νοῦ Ἀήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
24 τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ
τετάρτου οὐρανοῦ Γαβριήλ,
ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμ-
ενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμ<π>του οὐρ-
28 ανοῦ Χαήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τὸ-
ν ἔκτον οὐρανὸν vacat
Μοριαθ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
32 τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τ-
ῷ ἑβδόμῳ οὐρανῷ Χαχθ,
ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς
ἀστραπαῖς Ῥιοφα, ἐπικα-
36 λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς βρον-
ταῖς Βονχαρ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖ<ς> βροχαῖς Τευ-
ριήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
40 τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς χιόνεσι
Τοβριήλ, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖ<ς> υδαισινλου,
Θαδαμα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
44 τὸν ἐπ<ὶ> τοῖς σισμοῖς
Σιοροχα, ἐπικαλοῦμαι
{ἐπικαλοῦμαι} τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ

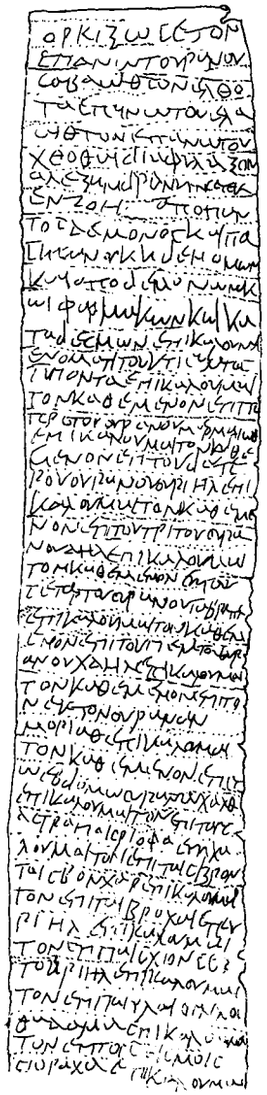


Fig. 52a

θαλάσ<σ>η Σουριήλ, ἐπικα-
λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπ<ὶ> τῶν δρα-
κόντων Εθαβιρα, ἐπι-
καλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πο-
ταμοῖς καθέμενον Βηδ-
λια, ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ
τοῖς ὁδοῖς καθέμενον
Φασουσουήλ, ἐπικαλοῦ-
μαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν
καθέμενον Ειστοχομα,
ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὄρεσιν Νουχαήλ, ἐπικα-
λοῦμαι τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πλατίαις
καθέμενον Απραφης, ἐπ<ι>-
καλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον
ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΙΣΙΜΑΕΙΘΟΝ
Εἰναθ Ἀδωνης Δεχοχθα,
τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τῶν
δρακόντων Ἰαθεννου-
ιαν· ὁ καθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ
στερεόματι Χραβα, ὁ κα-
θέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θαλουμ-
θουσιν μέσον τῶν δύ<ο>
Χηρουβιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν
αἰόνων· ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ
καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θ-
εὸς Ἰακώβ, διαφύλαξο<ν>
Ἀλεξάνδραν ἣ<ν> ἔτεκεν
Ζοὴ ἀπὸ δεμονίων
καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ σκο-
τοδινίας καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸ<ς>
πάθους καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης μ-
ανίας· ἐπ<ι>ορκίζω σε τὸν
ζῶντα θεὸν ἐν Ζαρρ-
βὲμ νομάδων Ζαμάδων,

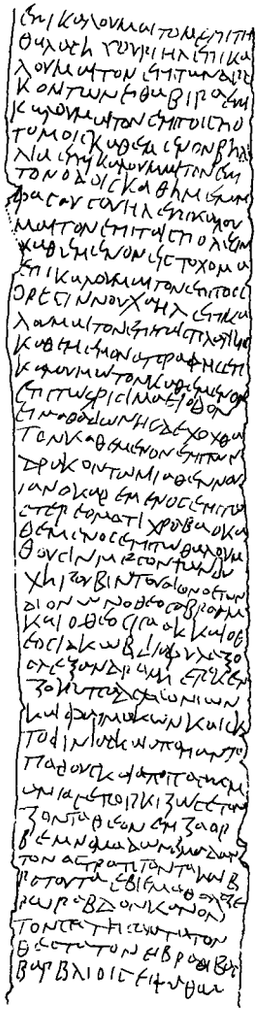


Fig. 52b

τὸν ἀστράπτοντα καὶ β-
ρο<ν>τοῦ<ν>τα Εβιεμαθαλαζε-
ρω ῥάβδον κα<ι>νὸν
τὸν πατήσαντα τὸν
Θεστα, τὸν Ειβραθιβας
βαρβλιοις ειψαθαω-
αθαριαθ Φελχαφιαων
ὃν πάντα τὰ ἀ(ρ)ρενικὰ
καὶ πάντα τὰ φοβερὰ κα-
ταδέσματα, φύγετε ἀπ<ὸ>
Ἀλεξάνδρας ἣν ἔτεκεν
Ζοὴ ὑποκάτω τῶν πη-
γῶν καὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου Μ-
[αρ]εώθ, ἵνα μὴ βλάπτητε
μήτε μολύνητε ἢ φαρ-
μακώσητε αὐτὴ<ν> μήτε ἀ-
πὸ φιλήματος μήτε ἀπὸ
ἀσπασμοῦ μήτε <ἀπὸ> ἀπάντη<ς>,
μήτε ἐν βρώσ(ε)ι μήτε ἐν
πόσει μήτε ἐπὶ κύτης
μήτε ἐν συνουσιασμῷ,
μήτε ἀπὸ ὀφθλαμοῦ,
μήτε τῷ ἱματίῳ, μή-
[τ]ε προσευχομένη<ν>, μή-
τε ἐν ὁδῷ, μήτε ἐπὶ ξέ-
νης μήτε ἐν ποταμίῳ
ἐμβάσι, μήτε ἐν βαλαν-
[ί]ῳ. Ἅγια καὶ εἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυ-
νατὰ ὀνόματα, διαφυλά-
ξατε Ἀλεξάνδραν ἀπὸ
[π]αντὸς δεμονίου
ἀρενικοῦ καὶ θηλικ[οῦ],
καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ὀχλή-
[σε]ως δεμόν<ων> νυκτηρι-
[νω]ν καὶ ἡμερινῶν, ἀπαλά-

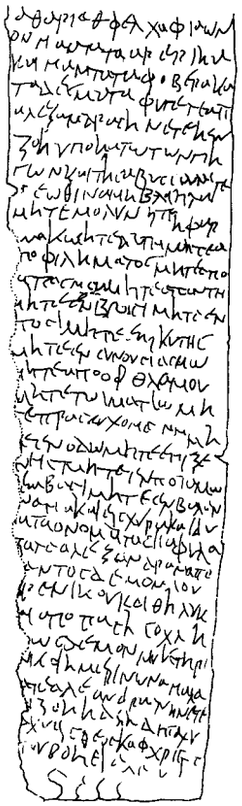


Fig. 52c

[ξ]ατε Ἀλεξάνδραν ἣν ἔτε-
[κε]ν Ζοή, ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχὺ,
ταχύ. Εἷς Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστὲ
120 αὐτοῦ, βοήθι Ἀλεχάνδρα-
ν. S S S S.

8,75,93,118 Ζοή:Ζωή 10 δενόμων:δαιμόνων 11,75 δεμονίων, 112 δεμονίου, 115 δεμόν<ων>, 115 δεμόν<ων>:δαίμ- 16,18/19,21/22,24,26/27,29,32, 51,53,56,60,61,64 καθέμενον, 66,67/68 καθέμενος: καθήμ- 17 πρότου: πρώτου 27 πέμτου:πέμπτου 40 χιόνεϱσι:χιόσι 44 σισμοῖς:σεισμοῖς 47 θαλάσῃ:θαλάσσῃ 53 τοῖς:ταῖς 59 πλατίαις: πλατείαις 64 τον:τῶν 67 στερεόματι:-ώματι 70 Χηρουβιν: Χερ- αἰονος:αἰῶνος 71 αἰόνων:αἰώνων 80 ζοντα:ζῶντα 81 Ζαμάδων: Ζαβάδων? 83 βρο<ν>τοῦ<ν>τα: βροντῶντα 100 βρόσι:βρώσει 101 πόσι: πόσει κύτης:κοίτης 103 ὀφθλαμοῦ: ὀφθαλμοῦ 108 ἐμβάσι:ἐμβάσει 108/9 βαλαν[ί]ῳ: -νείῳ 109 εἰσχυρὰ:ἰσχ- 113 ἀρενικοῦ:ἀρρενικοῦ θηλικ[οῦ]:θηλυ- 115 νυκτηρι-:νυκτερι- 116 ἀπαλά[ξ]ατε:ἀπαλλά[ξ]ατε: 120 βοήθι: βοήθει

(1) I adjure you (by?) the one above heaven, *Sabaôth*, (by?) the one who comes above the *Elaôth*; (by?) the one above the *Chthothai*. Protect Alexandra whom Zoê bore from every demon and from every compulsion of demons, and from demons and sorceries and binding-spells.
(13) I call upon (you) in the name of the one who created the universe.
(15) I call upon the one who sits upon the first heaven, *Marmaraôth*.
(17) I call upon the one who sits upon the second heaven, *Ouriêl*.
(20) I call upon the one who sits upon the third heaven, *Aêl*.
(23) I call upon the one who sits upon the fourth heaven, *Gabriêl*.
(26) I call upon the one who sits upon the fifth heaven, *Chaêl*.
(28) I call upon the one who sits upon the sixth heaven, *Moriath*.
(31) I call upon the one who sits upon the seventh heaven, *Chachth*.
(34) I call upon the one in charge of the lightnings, *Riopha*.
(35) I call upon the one in charge of the thunders, *Bonchar*.
(37) I call upon the one in charge of the rains, *Tebriêl*.
(39) I call upon the one in charge of snows, *Tobriêl*.
(41) I call upon the one in charge of the Nile waters(?), *Thadama*.
(43) I call upon the one in charge of earthquakes, *Sioracha*.
(45) I call upon the one in charge of the sea, *Souriêl*.
(47) I call upon the one in charge of serpents, *Eithabira*.
(49) I call upon the one who sits in charge of rivers, *Bêdlia*.
(52) I call upon the one who sits in charge of roads, *Phasousouêl*.
(54) I call upon the one who sits in charge of cities, *Eistochama*.
(57) I call upon the one in charge of the mountains, *Nochaêl*.
(58) I call upon the one who sits upon the streets, *Apraphês*.
(60) I call upon the one who sits in charge the ... *Einath Adônês Dechochtha*
(64) <I call upon ?> the one who sits upon the serpents, *Iathennouian*.

(66) (O) the one sitting upon the firmament, *Chrara*,
(67) the one sitting upon the ... in the midst of the two Cherubim, forever and forever,
(71) the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, protect Alexandra whom Zoê bore from demons and sorceries and dizziness and from all passion and from all frenzy.
(79) I adjure you by the Living God in Zoar of the nomadic Zabadeans, the one who thunders and lightnings, *EBIEMATHALZERÔ*, a new staff (?), by the one who treads, by *THESTA*, by *EIBRADIBAS BARBLIOIS EIPSATHAÔTHARIATH PHELCHAPHIAÔN* that (?) all male <demons ?> and frightening demons and all bindings-spells (flee) from Alexandra whom Zoê bore, to beneath the founts and the Abyss of *Mareôth*,
(95) lest you harm or defile her, or use magic drugs on her,
(97) either by a kiss, or from an embrace, or a greeting;
(100) either with food or drink;
(101) either in bed or intercourse;
(103) either by the evil eye or a piece of clothing;
(105) as she prays (?), either on the street or abroad;
(107) or while river-bathing or a bath.
(109) Holy and mighty and powerful names, protect Alexandra from every demon, male and female,
(114) and from every disturbance of demons of the night and of the day.
(116) Deliver Alexandra whom Zoê bore, now, now; quickly, quickly.
(119) One God and his Christ, help Alexandra. SSSS.

1 ὁρκίζω σε: This common adjuration-formula is followed by a verb of protection in line 6 (διαφύλαξον) — a phenomenon comparatively uncommon on protective amulets, since (ἐξ)ορκίζειν is regularly used of compelling netherworld demons to perform aggressive or malicious tasks; or, in protective contexts, of actual 'exorcisms' of possessing demons. It is also worthwhile to observe in this text the juxtaposing of adjuration formulas (ὁρκίζω σε) with invocation formulas (ἐπικαλοῦμαι), as noted in the outline above.

The construction ὁρκίζω σε τὸν (sc. θεόν) is ambiguous: It can mean either, "I adjure you, *by* the god ...;" or, "I adjure you, the god ...," as W. Brashear, *inter alia*, has observed: see W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 25; Bruxelles, 1991), p. 51, with references. For the former of the two interpretations, one may compare, notably, Mark 5:7, where the demoniac adjures Jesus, *by* God, ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεόν, μή με βασανίσῃς. Either interpretation here poses problems: if σε does not equal τόν (= God), then to whom does the pronoun σε refer? On the

other hand, if *σε* is the (Jewish) God being adjured (= Sabaoth), it proves difficult to reconcile this with the notion that God himself can be the object of an adjuration; it is usually a *νεκυδαίμων*, or a possessing demon, that is adjured, *by* God — either to perform a task (if a *nekydaimon*), or to flee (if a demon); see R. Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," in P. Mirecki & M. Meyer, edd., *Magic in the Ancient World* (Fortress Press, forthcoming). This is an adjuration-formula taken from a Jewish exorcism in which an unnamed 'demon' (*σε*) is adjured by God to depart. Such 'imprecise' uses of *ἐξορκίζω*-formulas are rather frequent in the magic literature, and this seems to be what is partly reflected in lines 79f. and line 91, below, where *ἐπ<ι>ορκίζω σε τὸν ζῶντα θεὸν ... φύγετε*, "I adjure you (*sing.*), *by* the living God ... flee (*pl.*!)," seems to preserve a garbled exorcistic formula using a singular pronoun and a plural imperative. In the list of *τόν*'s that follow in lines 1-6, it is equally confusing whether it is one god who is being adjured as superior to the other two, or whether three deities are being invoked individually.

1-6 *τὸν ἐπάνω τ<οὖ> οὐρανοῦ Σαβαώθ, τὸν ἐλθό<ν>τα ἐπάνω τοῦ Ἐλαώθ, τὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Χθοθαι*: These lines can also be understood "I adjure you *by the one* who is above heaven, Sabaoth, who comes above Elaoth, above Chthothai," or, "I adjure you, *by the one* who is above heaven, Sabaoth, *by the one* who comes above Elaoth," etc. (or any such combination). Similar strings of *ἐπάνω*'s occur in A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 271,8-10: *Ὁρκίζω σε τὸν μέγαν θεὸν ... τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν ὑπεράνω θεῶν*; *idem*, no. 241,23-29: [Ἔ]*τι ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβι, ὁ διορίσας τὴν γῆν καὶ χωρίσας τὴν θάλασσαν, Ιαω αβριαω αρβαθιαω, σαβαω αδωναι*. Though these two citations from Audollent do not contain sections with angelic hierarchies, *PGM* XXIIa and *PGM* XXXV do provide examples of such 'hierarchies,' as well as phrasing paralleling that of the lead tablets: *PGM* XXIIa.14f.: Χε[*ρο*]υ[*β*]ὶ[*ν* ... ca. 20] ... *ε*[*ἰ*]*ς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώ*[*νω*]*ν θεὸς* Ἀβαώθ, Ἀβραθιαώθ, [Σα]αβ[*αώθ*, Ἀ]*δωνάι* ... (see further, below, on lines 69ff.). All of these texts may have had a common literary *Vorlage* in some liturgical, archangelic tractate. Note further, for example, the apparent parallel in the fragmentary text in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris &

Liège, 1927), p. 127, 11f., cited above: *<ἐπικαλῶ> καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους <ἀγγέλους> καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους καὶ τὸν παρόντα* Σαβαώθ, which compares somewhat with Σαβαὼθ, *τὸν ἐλθό<ν>τα*, *κτλ.* in line 3f. of our text. On *ἐπάνω* note also *PGM* XII. 111: *ὁ ὢν ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; *PGM* IV.2768: *ὁ ἐπάνω καθήμενος* Μιχαήλ; R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Bonn, 1912), p. 12 (and note *ad loc.*=Aud. no. 241): *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἐπάν(ω) τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θεοῦ ...* (citing Dan. 3:37: *ὑπεράνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*); K. Preisendanz, "Zwei griechische Schatzzauber aus Kodex Parisinus 2419," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 3 (1922), p. 276: *ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ, τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ καθημέν*[*ου*] *ἐπάνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, *κτλ.* The pronoun (sing.) is not here identified, but in line 79f. may refer to "the living God in Zoar of the nomadic Zabadaeans."

Ἐλαώθ transcribes Hebrew אֱלָהוּת, "deity, divinity;" Χθοθαι is not otherwise known, but corresponds to חַטָּוָתָא, *ḥaṭwoṯā'*, "sin-offering," or to חַטּוּתָא, *ḥaṭṭûṯā'*, "sin," (>*ḥṭ'*, "sin". The Greek spelling may also allow "my sin-offerings," or the like).

6 *διαφύλαξον* Ἀλεξάνδραν, *ἣν ἔτεκεν Ζοή*: Such 'prophylactic' sections of this spell, introduced by the imperative *διαφύλαξον*, and followed by the *ἔτεκεν* formula (with Alexandra's names) + *ἀπό*, occur three (or possibly four) time on this tablet. Here is a list of the things from which Alexandra seeks protection in each of these sections:

I (**6-13**): "Protect (sing.) Alexandra whom Zoe bore, from ...:"
daimons
anagkê of *daimons*
daimons
pharmaka and *katadesmoi*

II (**73-79**): "Protect (sing.) Alexandra whom Zoe bore, from ...:"
daimonia
skotodinia
pathos and *mania*

III (**110-116**): "Protect (pl.) Alexandra [no mother's name] from ...:"
daimonion male and female
ochlêsis of *daimons*, of the night and day.

IV (**89-91**): ... ?
... male
fearful *katadesmata*,
"Flee (pl.) from Alexandra whom Zoe bore, etc."

In this last list, the matrilineal formula is used with a 'flee'-formula and comes after the 'afflictions' are actually addressed. Then a long 'catalogue' of places where such afflictions are not to harm or bother Alexandra follows (see Commentary, below).

8-11 *ἀπὸ παντὸς δέμονος καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκη<ς> δενόμων καὶ ἀπὸ δεμόνων*: *δεμονίων* Jordan (a stray mark in the middle of the *nu* has caused the reading *-νι-* instead of *-νω-*). The expression *πᾶσα ἀνάγκη δαιμόνων* does not occur in the *PGM* but is clearly understood from the context of the spell as a whole: Alexandra seeks protection from a *nekydaimon(es)*, summoned by compulsion through the working of "binding-spells" (*katadesmata*; lines 12f.; 90f.). The demons, in turn, would compel her to act against her wishes. The concept of Ananke, in general, is treated in H. Schreckenberg, *ANANKE. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Wortgebrauchs* (Munich, 1964), esp. pp. 135-164 (*Anankê* in magic).

11-13 *καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ καταδέσμων*: Specific medical concerns are not named on this text; the text is a 'counter-charm.' *Φάρμακα* widely means "drugs," or "sorcery." *PGM* IV.2176f. promises that certain Homeric verses inscribed on a plaque will similarly unbind 'sorceries and binding-spells,' *φάρμακα νικήσεις, καταδέσμους ἀναλύσεις*; cf. also *PGM* VIII.32f.: *διάσωσόν με ... ἀπὸ φαρμάκων, κτλ.*; XIII.253: *ἐὰν πρὸς λύσιν φαρμάκων, κτλ.*; XXXVI.259f.: *λύσατε πᾶν φάρμακον γενόμενον κατ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα*; cf. **36**,15f.; **46**,11 (*φαρμακία*). For *φάρμακα* applied specifically to a love-potion that is drunk, note the apparent fragment of a romance or novel in *PGM* XXXIV.11f.:

> *ἐρωτικὸν μόνον οὐχ εὑρίσκω φάρμακον, οὐ ποιῆσαι δυνάμενον, οὐ παῦσαι δυνάμενον ἡ γῆ γάρ, φοβουμένη τὸν θεόν, οὐ φέρει εἰ δέ τις ἔχει καὶ δίδωσιν, αἰτῶ, δέομαι· 'δότε· πιεῖν θέλω, χρίσασθαι θέλω.*
> "It is only an erotic drug that I do not find, not one that can cause, not one that can stop love. For earth, in fear of the god, does not produce one. But if anyone has it and gives it, I beg, I beseech him: 'Give! I wish to drink, I wish to anoint myself'" (Tr. E. N. O'Neil, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. 2nd ed., Chicago, 1992, p. 267f., with refs.).

13-15 *ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἐν <ὀν> ὁματι τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα*: For *ἐν <ὀν> ὁματι*, I do not rule out the reading *ὀνόματι*. These lines again read as if from a different source: the 'seven'-angels invocation (with *καθήμενος*) that follows forms an integral unit. Here there is no direct object of the invocation (e.g., *σε, τὸν καθήμενος*), simply a reference to the summoning 'in the name of' the Jewish God (as creator); nor is there any actually *naming* of God, for which one must see line 3 above or lines 63-73 below.

On *ἐπικαλοῦμαι* see Robert 1981 ('Lit.,' above); *PGM* IV.1209,1981, XII.454, etc.; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 271,10f. reads *ὁρκίζω [σ]ε τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν θάλλασαν*. For God a creator see the spell cited above, *PGM* XXXV.37-40: *ἐξο<ρ>κίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ... τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν καὶ πά<ν>τα κατ' α[ὐ]τῆς*; *PGM* IV.1709: *ὁρκίζω ... τὸν πάντα κτίσαντον θεὸν μέγαν*; V.459: *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν, κτλ.*; XIII.62,570,689: *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε ... τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα*; see further, **56**,7.

15-17 *ἐπικαλοῦμαι τὸν καθέμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πρότου οὐρανοῦ Μαρμαριωθ*: Here begins the formulaic invocations of the angels of the seven heavens. The lines preserve an archangelic text that can claim an independent textual history.

For this first angel, the text of *PGM* XXXV has *Μαρμαρ* for *Μαρμαριωθ*; cf. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 242,16f., where this angel is over the second heaven: *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου στερεώματος ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντα Μαρμαραωθ*.

On the formulaic *καθήμενος*, see Robert 1981:8-16 (see 'Lit.,' above); W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Brussels, 1991), p. 45 (ref.).

20 *Οὐριήλ*: *PGM* XXXV reads here instead *Ῥαφαήλ*. See **26**,4; **33**,3,7; **38**,1; **41**,37; **48**,9; **57**,2f. for Ouriel.

23 *Αήλ*: *PGM* XXXV has here *Σουριηλ* (a name given below, in line 47). This is a name the front part of which must have dropped off.

25 *Γαβριήλ*: *PGM* XXXV: *Ἰφιαφ*. On Gabriel, see **26**,2; **33**,2,19; **38**,2; **48**,10; **57**,2.

28 *Χαήλ*: *PGM* XXXV: *Πιτιηλ*.

31 Μοριαθ: *PGM* XXXV: Μουριαθα. Note Μορωθ in *PGM* XIII. 350 (= 'my lord,' according to H. Grünwald, "Zu den Zauberbüchern," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 2 [1893], pp. 291-3), and Μοραιμ in *PGM* XIXa. 33. The name(s), however, compare well with Aramaic מָרוּתָא, *morûṯā'*, "authority; dominion;" מוֹרָה, *môrāh*, "authority," מָרוּת, *mārûṯ*, "dominion" (=post-Biblical Hebrew); from מרא, "to be strong," מר, "lord".

33 Χαχθ: In *PGM* XXXV only six heavens are named, with an angel of the Abyss standing, instead, at the beginning. For the name, note *PGM* IV.3030: χαχθα. Some variation is found in these last two heavens (the 6th and 7th) with the *ἐπί*-clauses: whereas the first five used the preposition with the genitive, here we find first the accusative, then the dative. Χαχθ is similar in meaning to Μοριαθ; it probably comes from Hebrew כֹּחַ, *kō^{a}ḥ* (BH), "strength, power."

In the following angelic 'hierarchy' over the elements, the parallel text in *PGM* XXXV carries only four of the elements of the list (snow, sea, serpents, rivers); further, the names of the angels (Telze, Edanoth, Saesechel, Tabium) all differ from those of this list.

34-35 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς*, Ῥιοφα: The *Gospel of Bartholomew*, IV.45 gives the reading *καὶ ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς*; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I (1927), p. 127,14: Μαήλ *ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς*; *idem*, p. 246, 13f.: *ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστραπῆς*. The angel Ῥιοφα is probably akin to רוֹבָה, *rôbāh* (/v/=/f/), "great (one)," "increase, large number" (Aramaic); cf. *rwb*, "abundance, much" (note J. A. Fitzmyer & D. J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* [Rome, 1978], A13:4).

36-37 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς βρονταῖς*, Βονχαρ: Ẓονχαρ (Ẓ or Ḇ Jordan). Note *Gospel of Bartholomew*, IV.45: *καὶ ἕτεροι ἄγγελοι ἐπὶ τῆς βροντῆς*, *κτλ.*; A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (1927), p. 112,21: *ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς βροντῆς καὶ χαλάζης*, Φαρμαχαήλ. Our angel Βονχαρ is not attested, but cf. Mark 3:17 (on the disciples James and John): *καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμα[τα]* Βοανηργές, *ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς*, an 'etymology' not completely explained from Aramaic (see Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v.). The element -χαρ (-ήρ? in Mark) is perhaps חור, *ḥwr*, "to shine; be white;" חרר, *ḥrr*, "glow; burn."

38-39 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖ<ς>* βροχαῖς, Τεβρήλ (D.R.Jordan): The angel over the rains, or — if the text has an original Egyptian provenance — the angel over the Nile inundations: LSJ, s.v., citing, e.g., *P. Oxy.* II.280,5 (i A.D.), where *βροχή* is used in a land-lease as a sort of temporal reckoning: *εἰς ἔτη τέσσαρα βροχὰς τέσσαρες*, "(has leased) for four years and four inundations." The Aramaic תבר, *tbr*, means "to break; fracture."

40-41 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς χιόνεσι*, Τοβριήλ: *PGM* XXXV.8: *ἐπὶ τοῦ χιόνος*, Τελζῆ (= Aramaic, תַּלְגָּא, *talgā'*, "snow," cf. Preisendanz (*app. crit.*, *ad loc.*, citing BH שֶׁלֶג, *šeleg*). Here the name and 'station' make a perfect match, but the tablet's Τοβριήλ must be a variant (of 39, above?).

42-43 *τὸν ἐπὶ* ΤΑΙṬΛΑΙΟ .. ΙΛΟΙ: *ταῖ<ς>* ϒΛΑḭΣΙΝΛΟϒ Jordan. Only the sequence -ΙΝΛΟϒ- is questionable. The *iota* is not very plausible since there seems to be part of a top-to-bottom vertical visible, followed by what seems to be a 'u'-shaped letter written over a tiny *alpha/delta*, or vice-versa. Furthermore, there seems to be a *iota*, not *upsilon*, at the end. Jordan's critical apparatus correctly adjusts for possible variants in giving ᾳι or ᾳ; ϱ or ῥ: ὕλαις ΙΝΛΟϒ for Ἴνδου *H(éron de Villefosse)*. In his Commentary Jordan further writes that these letters "must conceal some phenomenon appropriate in this sequence. I have considered *τοῖς ὕδασι* or ὕδασιν and Ν<*ί*>λου for Νείλου ..." (p. 67). This may, indeed, have been the original reading; however, de Villefosse's ὕλαις is supported in part by a previously unnoticed parallel in the 'angelic hierarchy' of *Cod. Parisinus* 2316 (*"Amulett"*), ed. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), p. 297, cited above. There the very phrase in question appears in a similarly corrupt form: Σαμιζαὴλ *ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕλοις ξύλοις* (cod.). Reitzenstein suggests the restoration *ἐπὶ τῆς ὕλης ξύλων*. Jordan's *ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕδασι* Νείλου still seems the most attractive solution. At least the Paris codex 2316 supports the contention that all these archangelic texts must have been somehow related. The sequence ὕλοις ξύλοις certainly reads like one word glossing another.

Θαδαμα: Cf. *PGM* VII.850: *θαδαρι*. This section is not found in the parallel of *PGM* XXXV, but line 10 (angel of rivers, see below) gives the name Βιμαδαμ, perhaps a jumbled version of Θαδαμα. The name Θαδαμα is inexplicable, unless it were read as דָ (i.e., דָ /ḏ/) + אדמה, *ḏə-adāmāh*, "(He) of the Earth." Preisendanz (p.161) explains *PGM* XXXV's

Βιμαδα as בֶּן אָדָם, "Son of Man," but this is rather (ה)אֲדָמָ, "(son of) Earth," or בַּמַה אָדָם, *bamah-'ādām*, "burial ground of the earth" (the Hebrew root *'ādām* = "Man/Earth").

44-45 *τὸν ἐπ<ὶ> τοῖς ϱισμοῖς* Σιοραχα: The etymology of this angel's name seems here to coincide with its assigned station. Σιοραχα can be explained either as Aramaic שער ["break open"], or שער, "gate" + ארעא, "land," i.e. *šᶜr'rᶜa*, "He one who bursts open the earth" (an earthquake deity); or "Gate-keeper of Earth." The words שער, "burst open" (Jerem. 29:17), "gate," שוער, "gate-keeper," are all homonyms. If "gatekeeper" is in construct, we have שַׁעֲרֵי-אַרְעָה, *šoᶜărê-arᶜāh*, "gatekeeper of earth," for Σιοραχα.

46-47 *τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλασῃ* Σουριήλ: Cf. *Gospel of Bartholomew* IV.35f. (cited above): *καὶ ἕτερος ἄγγελός ἐστιν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὁ θρασύνων αὐτὴν διὰ τῶν κυμάτων*; *PGM* XXXV.9f.: *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε,* Ἐδανώθ, *τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσ<σ>ης.* (Ἐδανώθ is explained in Preisendanz, *ad loc.*, p. 161, as post-Biblical Hebrew אַדְנוּת, *'adənût*, "Lordship"). On Souriel, see **48**,10. Here, however, a different etymology can be proposed: סער, *sᶜr*, (ptc. *soᶜer*), "rage, be violent" (of the sea) in Jonah 1:11,13 — a name based on a Biblical verse (see **33**).

47-48 *τὸν ἐπ<ὶ> τῶν δρακόντων*, Ειθαβιρα: See line 65, below. The magic name Ei*θαβιρα* corresponds to Aramaic אִיתָא בִּירָה, *îtā' bîrāh*, "There-is-a-citadel/temple" (a reference to the Temple of God; cf. line 68f., below; **33**,11-12, Commentary). For angel-names formed from "There is/there are," cf. R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), A:2, p.270, p.272 (Commentary). The reading in the parallel, *PGM* XXXV.10: Σαεσεχέλ, *τὸ<ν> ἐπὶ τῶν δρακόντων*, is explained in Preisendanz as perhaps from זחל, *zḥl*, referring to "things that creep" (reptiles, etc.; in Aramaic, "worms"). But that explains only the final element *-σεχελ*. If an original Σα*ϱσεχέλ*, this would make the one who sits over serpents the 'Prince of reptiles.'

50-52 *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς* ... Βηδλια: Βηλλια (λ or δ) Jordan. For a similar listing, cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (1927), p. 10, 19f.: *ὁ ἕκτος ἄγγελος καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα* Μελχισεδέκ· *εἶναι τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ νεροῦ καὶ τοῦ φρέατος ἤγουν τοῦ ποταμοῦ.* In *PGM* XXXV.10f., the angel over the rivers is either Βιμαδαμ (cf. lines 42f., above) or Ταβιυμ:

ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, Ταβιυμ, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε,* Βιμαδαμ. On Ταβιυμ, Preisendanz writes: "Ταβιωμ? *Jac.* טבים *Meer,= Flußwesen, s.* Παφιωμις, Ταφιωμις" (p.161).

52-54 *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁδοῖς* ... Φασουσουηλ: Apparent metaplasm for *ταῖς ὁδοῖς* (see below on line 84). 'Roads, cities, and streets' (in the following lines) are not attested in *PGM* XXXV. As an 'angel of roads,' *per se*, the name may match up with Semitic פָּסַע (BH פשע), *pāsaᶜ*, "to walk, step out" (cf. פִּיסְעָא, *pîsᶜā'*, a "step").

55-56 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν* ... Εμϱτοχαμα: A naming of "cities," "roads," and "broad streets," in this spell certainly points to a large, urban setting for its original composition. Internal evidence suggests Alexandria in Egypt (Commentary, lines 99, 102, etc., below). The second part of this name *-οχαμα* is akin to Aramaic עוּקָמָא, *ʿûqāmā'*, "insidious; tricky;" cf. עוֹקְמָן, *ʿôqmān*, "trickster" (a sort of Semitic Hermes?).

57-58 *τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν*, Νουχαηλ: This angel, if Hebrew or Aramaic, is more appropriate as an angel of rivers (lines 50-52), as נחל, *nḥl*, is "river, stream." Otherwise, the name is formed from נוח, *Nôᵃḥ*, the Biblical hero (whose name may mean "to rest; be settled," not an inappropriate description for one who sits upon the mountains).

59-60 *τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πλατίαις* ... Ἀπραφης: The use of *πλατεῖα*, "highway," "street, wide road" = Subst. *πλατεῖα* (sc. *ὁδός*) again suggests a special urban context for this spell (cf. line 55, above). For the angel-name, עפר, *ʿpr*, is "dust, mud, sand, mortar" (BH = any "rubble; coating; plaster") possible? Such an angel, whose name refers to the road's building material, would be no more unusual than an actual angel who is appointed over urban highways!

63-64 *τὸν ... ἐπὶ τῷ* ΦΙΣΙΜΑΕΙΘΟΝ: Jordan (1991:67) writes: "H's suggestion, ΤΩ ΟΡΙΣΙΝ ΑΕΙ ΘΕΟΝ for *το<ῖς> ὄρεσιν ἀεὶ θεὸν*, is almost a counsel of despair. Could [these letters] be some mangling of *e.g. τοῖς φωστῆρσιν*? *τῶν φωστήρων*? The luminaries would be at home with what follows: (celestial) dragons, the firmament, and the station of the Cherubim." Something closer to the preserved letter-forms, but not necessarily securer in meaning would be *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπισιτισμῶν*, i.e. 'the one who sits over the *stocks of provisions*.'

Ειναθ Αδωνης Δεχοχθα: A mixture of divine names and Aramaic? Perhaps, אַנְתָּה יהוה דְּכוֹכַבְתָּא, *'ant(āh) Adônai dəḵôḵavtā'*, "Thou art the

Lord [=YHWH] of the Morning Star;" or, Δεχοχθα can be taken as Δεχοβθα, i.e. דְּ כוֹבִיתָא, *dəḵûbîtā'*, " ... of the globe," i.e., "Thou art YHWH of the (celestial or terrestial) globe" (cf. Greek σφαῖρα, "sphere" = terrestial globe, already in Strabo).

64-66 *τὸν ... ἐπὶ τῶν δρακόντων, Ἰαθεννουιαν*: Jordan 1991:67 suggests 'celestial dragons' (cf. line 48f., above, with parallels). Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42, 4, 65f. mentions certain *δράκοντες ἱεροί*, but a more specific allusion for our text is not forthcoming. Presumably the same dragons can be inferred from *I Enoch* XX,7 (ed. Black), p. 32: *Γαβριήλ, ὁ εἷς τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῶν δρακόντων καὶ χερουβείν.*

Iathennouia is a theophoric angel-name, יתניהוה, "YHWH will give" (impf.); cf. the *onomasticum sacrum* of *PGM* P 14 (Preisendanz, p.222f.), line 13: [Ἴ]*ωναθάν*: *Ἰάω δόμα.*

66-67 *ὁ καθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ στερεόματι, Χραρα*: The diction suddenly switches to a direct address in the nominative (or vocative): the sequence, *Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῷ στερεώματι ... ὁ καθήμενος ... μέσον τῶν δύο Χερουβιμ, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, κτλ.* probably refers to one and the same deity who sits upon the firmament of heaven between the Cherubim, namely, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The term *στερέωμα*, in reference to the firmament of the heavens, derives from the LXX — a misunderstanding of Hebrew רָקִיעַ, "expanse, sky." See A. Jacoby, "Ein Beitrag zur Enstehungsgeschichte der Kosmopoiie des Leidener Zauberpapyrus," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 10 (1932-1933), pp. 65-92, esp. pp. 69-74, p. 69, n.2. The term has found its way into a few magical texts; cf. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 242, 21f. (cf. 4f.; 16f.): *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν τῶν οὐρανίων στερεωμάτων δεσπόζοντα* Ιαω *ιβοηα* (cf. further, on line 19f., above); *PGM* I.216-18: *ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαί σου τὸ κρυ[π]τὸν ὄνομα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* (cf. IV.1210); *PGM* IV.265: *σὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στερεώματι δεινὸν ἄνακτα.*

The angel of the 'firmament' is difficult to identify because of the unclear reading. If *Chrara*, this may be חרר, *ḥrr*, "to burn; glow," a reference to the sun-god, an appropriate divine figure for the *στερέωμα*.

68-71 *ὁ καθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ θαλουμθουσιν μέσον τῶν δύ<ω> Χηρουβιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰόνων*: The One who sits upon, or between, the two Cherubs is normally the Hebrew God enthroned in the Temple or Tabernacle. In magic texts, note, e.g., *PGM* XXXV.10-12; *PGM* 21.6 (Christian); VII.264; VII.634; XIII.255 (= 334). See also R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (Bonn, 1912), p. 12, line 24f. (and note, *ad loc.* = A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, no. 241, cited above). The words that follow are corrupt; Jordan's comparison with *PGM* XXXV.11f. (below) suggests a toponym. De Villefosse 1909:289 (note 1) reads *θανοῦσιν*. One expects, rather, something like *ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνου δόξης*, but the parallel in *PGM* XXXV.11f. is of little immediate help: *ὁ καθήμενος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Χαδραλλου, μέσον τῶν δύο* Χερουβὶ(ν). The element *-θουσιν* in our name here suggests a plural noun or participle, as in the next word, *Χηρουβιν*; otherwise it is unexplained. In *PGM* XXXV's Χαδραλλου, we have at least a partial explanation from Semitic: Χαδραλλου is either חַדְרֵי־אֱלוֹהַּ, *ḥadrê-ĕlôªh*, "the Chambers of God," or חַצְרֵי־אֱלוֹהַּ, *ḥaṣtrê-elôªh*, "the (Temple)-courts of God" — in either case a reference to the Temple or Tabernacle wherein the Ark of the Covenant was located.

71-73 *ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ*: On this, see J. M. Rist, "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. A Liturgical and Magical Formula, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 (1938), pp. 289-303; R. Kotansky, *J.P.Getty Museum Journal* 8 (1980), pp. 181-188; cf. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 271,1-3; 38f. (cited above). Again, *PGM* XXXV.13f., provides a good parallel, though the text as a whole is a sort of complex *nikêtikon-charistêsion* and not a phylactery: *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἀβρὰμ καὶ Ἰσακὰ καὶ Ἰαχώβ, κτλ.* Here the formula occurs in an adjuration; however, the presence together of the angelic hierarchy with the formulaic, "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," both in *PGM* XXXV and here suggests that at an early stage the two formulas belonged together as part of a longer archangelic composition.

75-79 *ἀπὸ δαιμονίων καὶ φαρμάκων καὶ σκοτοδινίας καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸ<ς> πάθους καὶ πάσης μανίας*: See the list and discussion above. The medical symptom, *σκοτοδινία*, "vertigo," is perhaps difficult to account for in this context. De Villefosse had read *σκοτοφινίας* (for *σκοτοφαινείας*), an apparent reference to a 'shadow-demon,' known from Aramaic magic texts.

The *πάθος* and *μανία* are the consequences of magical influences, most probably having to do with love-magic, although *πάθος* can, of course, refer to suffering caused by sickness (note *PGM* VII.580, a description of a gold or silver amulet); see further, **46**,12f. Texts engraved on lead *defixiones* sometimes express a wish to drive their victims mad with frenzy and love: P. Roesch, "Une tablette de malédiction de Tébessa," *Bulletin Archéologique Algérienne* 2 (1966-67), pp. 231-237, 1.6: *Ἀπολλύῳ [τὴν Σατο]ρνίνα(ν) διὰ μανίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας, κτλ.*

79 *ἐπ<ι>ορκίζω*: Jordan 1991:68 cites for this compound form of the verb A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904), no. 41 (B),1, and observes here the switch in number lines (91ff.).

80 *τὸν ζ[ῶ]ντα θεὸν ἐν Ζαρρρβεμ νομάδων Ζαμάδων : ἐν Ζαρρα βεμ Ναμαδων Ζαμαδων* Jordan. "The living God in Zoar of the nomadic Zabadeans (? *Ζαβαδαίων*)." For the "living God," on amulets, see, e.g., E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ (Göttingen, 1926), p. 42f.; Preisendanz, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1922), p. 279, line 18 (cited above, on line 1). Does the whole refer rather to *Numidians* (of Zama?).

The locative, *ἐν*, identifies the following as a place-name: *Ζαρρα*, or *Ζαρρρ* (here with plural terminative *-bîm*) is Zoara (זוערא), i.e. Zoar, the famous Biblical city, later occupied by the Nabataeans, that was located at the southern tip of the Dead Sea, as described in Josephus (*Ant.J.* 1.204: *Ζωώρ*; 13.397: *Ζόαρα* [some MSS. *Ζαρα*] 14.18: *Ζώαρα*); see, further, A. Dietrich, art. *Ζόαρα*, *RE* 2.Reihe, 9. Halbbd. [1972]; M. C. Astour, art. "Zoar," *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, *VI* (1992), p. 1107. The city is now attested in the Babatha archive (*P. Yadin*) uncovered from the so-called 'Cave of Letters.' G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge/London, 1983), p. 77, n.5, discusses the location and uncertain orthography of the city Zoara. For the Babatha archive, see N. Lewis, ed., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem, 1989), esp. p. 21 (Greek spelling = *περὶ Ζοαρα*, *περὶ Ζοορων*, etc.).

The reading *νομάδων*, "nomads," is here new, as is the interpretation that *Ζαμαδων* refers to the *Ζαβάδων*, the Zabadeans. The Zabadeans were an Arabic tribe whom Jonathan the Hasmonean (143 B.C.) invaded, according to 1 Macc. 12:31f.: *καὶ ἐξέκλινεν Ιωναθαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄραβας τοὺς καλουμένους Ζαβαδαίους καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἦλθεν εἰς Δαμασκὸν καὶ διώδευσεν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρα.* Josephus, *Antiq.* 13.179, refers to the same event, but it is believed that he is in error here, for he refers to *Nabataeans* of Arabia, not Zabadeans of Arabia in describing Jonathan's campaign: *ποιησάμενος οὖν ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ὑποστροφὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πολεμήσας τοὺς Ναβατηνούς, κτλ.* But scholars are wholly unsure of the exact location of the Zabadeans; A. Kasher in the article, "Zabadeans," in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary, VI* (1992), p. 1030f. (cf. his *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs* [Tübingen, 1988], pp. 137-141) believes that 1 Macc. 12:31f. suggests the region of Damascus. But the reference says nothing of the Zabadeans' base of operation, nor of the breadth of their territorial domain; in fact, it only mentions that Jonathan *brought* the Zabadeans *captive* to Damascus. This notice, on the contrary, might support the opposite view: Jonathan would hardly have led the Zabadeans in captivity to, or near, a city of their domain. Other references to place names in '*zbd*' in the Damascus area may also be purely circumstantial.

In any event, either our text is also confusing Zabadeans with Nabataeans, as Josephus did, or there is more to be said for the view that the Zabadeans were not territorially distant from the Nabateans. The city of Zoar, in the southern-most tip of the Valley of Jericho, was taken over by the Nabateans in Hellenistic times, from whom Alexander Jannaeus conquered it; see M. C. Astour, art. "Zoar," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary, VI* (1992), p. 1107 (with refs.).

84-86 *ῥάβδον κα<ι>νὸν τὸν πατήσαντα τὸν Θεστα τὸν Ειβραθιβας*: *Ειβραθιβατ* de Villefosse: *Ειβραδιβας* Jordan. The text is corrupt, and Jordan 1991:68 rightly observes that the gender of de Villefosse's *κα<ι>νὸν*, as the following phrase, does not properly agree with *ῥάβδον* (fem.). Jordan also keenly compares *τοῖς* (!) *ὁδοῖς* at line 53. Although occasionally such lexical forms are attested with divergent genders in the papyri, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri, II* (Milan, 1981), p. 39, gives both *ῥάβδος* and *ὁδός* as always feminine.

The text of A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (1904), no. 271,11f. provides the potential backdrop for these garbled lines: *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν διαστήσαντα τὴν ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (=τὸν διαστήσαντα τὴν*

θάλασσαν ἐν τῇ ῥάβδῳ (*vid.* Audollent, *appar. crit., ad loc.*, p. 376). The reference is to Moses who parts the Red Sea with his magic staff: καὶ σὺ ἔπαρον τῇ ῥάβδῳ σου καὶ ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ῥῆξον αὐτήν, κτλ. (Exod. 14:16 LXX). In our text one expects in lieu of τὸν πατήσαντα τὸν Θεστα, something like τὸν πατάξαντα τὴν θαλάσσαν, with Ειβραθιβατ or Ειβραδιβας answering to Ἐρυθραϊκὴν, ἐρυθράν, or some reference to the Red Sea — or better yet, τὸν πατήσαντα τὸν Θεστα τὸν Ειβραθιβατ preserves a corrupt reference to the people of Israel who subsequently tread across the parted sea: Hebrew עִבְרַת, *ʿabraṯ* =ειβραθ (cs., from *עברה), means "ford/ crossing of" (used, e.g., of crossing the Jordan river in 2 Kings 19:19). The outstanding element, -ιβατ (or ιβας), must disguise some reference to the Jews themselves, e.g., עִבְרִית, *ʿibrîṯ* (adj.), "Hebrew(s)" (with some letters missing); *ʿabraṯ ʿibrîṯ*, whether following Jordan's or de Villefosse's reading, is not too distant from ειβραθιβ(ρ)ατ/ς = "the crossing of the Hebrews." (Jordan's possible δ for θ does not affect this interpretation, since here /ð/ = /θ/).

In any event, such Mosaic traditions occur in magic texts, for example, in L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels, 1957), p.37,14f.: ... τοῦ ῥάβδῳ πέλαγος ῥήξαντος καὶ λαὸν ἀβρόχοις ποσὶ περάσαντος, κτλ.; cf. further, A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (1927), p. 30,1-3: ὁρκίζω σας κατὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου τοῦ διαρρήξαντος ῥάβδῳ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ διαγαγόντα τὸν Μωϋσῆν προστάξαντος ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ διαγαγόντος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης; cf. further, *idem*, p. 261, 4-6; similarly, *idem*, p. 253,35-40, for other comparable *historiolae*: ἐπιτιμᾷ ὑμῖν Κύριος, πονηρὰ δαιμόνια καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, ὁ πατάξας ἔνδεκα πληγαῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον· αὐτὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὴν ῥαβδον [f. 26] τοῦ Ἀαρὼν βλαστῆσαι, κτλ. Jordan 1991:68 finds here an allusion to *Numbers* 20:11, where Moses strikes the *rock* to produce water: καὶ ἐπάρας Μωυσῆς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξε τὴν πέτραν τῇ ῥάβδῳ δίς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὕδωρ πολύ: "one might entertain the possibility that πατήσαντα τὸν ΘΕΣΤΑ is a corruption of πατάξαντα τὴν πέτρα."

89-91 ὃν πάντα τὰ ἀρ(ρ)ενικὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ φοβερὰ καταδέσματα: See Commentary above, lines 6-13. Jordan reads and interprets ὃν <φρίσσι> πάντα τὰ ἀρ(ρ)ενικὰ, "at whom all the male and all the fearful binding-spells shudder." Also possible is <φεύγει> (Merkelbach). The relative pronoun anticipates a verb, and though Jordan gives references to the idea of demons 'shuddering' at a fearful name, it is clear that πάντα τὰ ἀρ(ρ)ενικά standing alone signals a further corruption in the text. Further, I know of no parallels to καταδέσματα said to shudder in fear or that are named as 'frightening' (φοβερά). Clearly, in view of the following plural imperative, φύγετε in line 91, it is the "male things" (i.e., "contrivances") and the "binding spells" that are oddly being addressed in the vocative. But τὰ ἀρενικὰ standing alone raises doubts, especially in view of lines 111-113: ἀπὸ [π]αντὸς δεμονίου ἀρενικοῦ καὶ θηλι[κοῦ]. Perhaps it is simplest to envision (with Jordan's alternative suggestion) an omitted line:

89 ον, πάντα τὰ ἀρενικὰ
<καὶ τὰ θηλυκὰ δεμόνια>
90 καὶ πάντα τὰ φοβερὰ κα-
91 ταδέσματα, φύγετε ἀπό, κτλ.

(The ον at the beginning of line 89 may be part of the magic name ending line 88). Otherwise, the "fearful binding-spells" (and "male things") are being invoked to flee, as if they were demonic entities to be 'exorcized' from Alexandra's body. Curiously, since much of the language of this spell envisions sexual magic maligning Alexandra, the seemingly fragmentary τὰ ἀρ(ρ)ενικά may be intentionally describing general forms of male-oriented binding-spells of a sexual nature. Here, τὸ κατάδεσμα (= τὰ κατάδεσμα, see LSJ, s.v.) contrasts with another form, κατάδεσμος, in line 12f.

93-94 φύγετε ... ὑποκάτω τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τῆς ἀβύσσου Μ[αρ]εωθ: The command to flee is addressed to the demons ("male things"?) and "fearful binding-spells." The pairing of πηγαί and ἀβύσσος is uncommon enough in literature to suggest a literary allusion: Observe the following citations from the LXX:

Deut. 33:13: Καὶ τῷ Ιωσηφ εἶπεν
Ἀπ' εὐλογίας κυρίου ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ
ἀπὸ ὡρῶν οὐρανοῦ καὶ δρόσου
καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβύσσων πηγῶν κάτωθεν;

Prov. 8:22-24:
κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ,
πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με ἐν ἀρχῇ,
πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὰς ἀβύσσους ποιῆσαι,
πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, κτλ.

All other references to these primeval *πηγαί* in connection with the Abyss seem to be Patristic citations of these two verses, with one notable exception: Herodotus 2.28, who, in discussing the putative sources of the *Nile* river, learns from an Egyptian scribe that its source originates in bottomless springs that rise from between two mountain peaks: *ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ... τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥεῖν*, κτλ.; similarly, Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.52, paraphrasing Herodotus: ... *τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου εἶναι, καὶ βάθος ἄβυσσον ἔχειν τὸν πόρον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον.*

Since these allusions to underground 'founts of the Abyss' are all Egyptian in origin, it seems probable that they reflect local traditions about the source of the Nile in subterranean, watery depths. If so, this would support all the more that the origin of this text as a whole is to be sought in Egypt (cf. further, Commentary, lines 99, 102, below).

95-97 *ἵνα μὴ βλάπτητε μήτε μολύνητε ἢ φαρμακώσητε αὐτὴ<ν>*: LSJ s.v. *φαρμακόω*, gives for the passive, *"to be poisoned;" "to be bewitched"*; for the active, *"medicate"; "imbue with healing power"* (Pi. *P.* 4.221). In our text, the verb must mean "to bewitch" (act.). Fear of magic and poisoning must have been common, day-to-day concerns in the ancient world, judging from the following questions and answers preserved in the *Sortes Astrampsychi* (ed. G. M. Browne):

(*Question*-format):
εἰ φαρμακοῦμαι (p. 3, no. 91)

(*Answer*-format):
οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι (p. 14, no. 91)
οὐ πεφαρμάκευσαι, μὴ φοβοῦ (pp. 13, 23, 31, nos. 91)
πεφαρμάκευσαι, ἑαυτῷ βοήθει (pp. 9, 15, 24, nos. 91)
πεφαρμάκευσαι, ἑαυτῷ βοήθησον (p. 27, no. 91)
πεφαρμάκευσαι ἀκριβῶς (p. 36, no. 91)

97-99 *μήτε ἀπὸ φιλήματος μήτε ἀπὸ ἀσπασμοῦ μήτε <ἀπὸ> ἀπάντη<ς>*: Alexandra fears a contagion of magic from normal social

contact. For demons who 'make greetings' in the baths (line 108f., below), cf. *Testament of Solomon* XVIII.21 (ed. McCown): *ἐγὼ Ἱεροπὰ καλοῦμαι. ἐπὶ τοῦ στομάχου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθέζομαι, καὶ ποιῶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν βαλανείῳ*; cf. Commentary on lines 107-109, below.

The noun *ἀπαντή* (= *ἀπάντησις*), "chance meeting," is practically unknown apart from the LXX, where it occurs some 26 times in the phrase *εἰς ἀπαντήν* (= לִקְרַת). This noun-form in our text seems to point again to a dialectal usage perhaps local to Alexandria, a usage conceivably reflected independently in both the LXX and in our text. (It is not likely that the reading of our silver tablet derives directly from the LXX, since LXX always uses the 'transliterated' phrase *εἰς ἀπαντήν*). Does the single occurrence of the word *ἀπαντή* in Recension C of the *Testament of Solomon* (C IX, 4; McCown, p. 78*) point to an Alexandrian origin of the Testament, as well? (On the *Testament*'s origin, see D. C. Duling, *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 2 [1988], p. 96f.).

100 *μήτε ἐν βρώσ(ε)ι μήτε ἐν πόσ(ε)ι*: The references refer to poisoning, erotic love-potions, or both. Similar sentiments are expressed in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (1927), p. 241,12-15: *τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν κοινωνίαν μετὰ τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα, μὴ ἐν βρώσει ἢ ἐν πόσει ἢ ἐν ὕπνῳ ἢ ἐν ἐγρηγόρσει ἢ ἐν ἀργίᾳ· μὴ ἐν εἰσόδῳ ἢ ἐν ἐξόδῳ, μὴ ἐν νυκτὶ ἢ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*; *idem*, p. 243,26 (cited below, line 107ff.).

101-102 *μήτε ἐπὶ κύτης* (= *κοίτης*) *μήτε ἐν συνουσιασμῷ*: The descriptions now turn specifically sexual. The occurrence here of the rare form *συνουσιασμός*, "sexual intercourse," warrants special comment: of the ten or so attestations (provided by the *TLG* data-base), *two* occur in the LXX (4 Macc. 2:3; Sir. 23:6, hence no Hebrew equivalent), and *four* in Church Fathers (Athanasius [2x], Clement [=Sir. 23:6], Origen), each of whom are Alexandrian. The *four* remaining occurrences are found in Plutarch, *De liberis educandis* (1 D12), Soranus Ephesius, *Gynaec.* 1.61, the *Anonym. in Ethica Nicomachea Comm.*, p.457,19 (ed. Heylbut), and in the *Anonymi Medici*, II, p.306,16f. (ed. Ideler). Because of our spell's specific Jewish setting, could the occurrence of *συνουσιασμός* be explained as being a product of the same peculiar 'Alexandrian' *patois* that gave us *ἀπαντή* (discussed above)? Συνουσιασμός (=*συνουσία*), like *ἀπαντή* (= *ἀπάντησις*), could quite possibly represent idiosyncratic

'Alexandrian' versions of otherwise common counterparts — they are calques, as it were, that probably have their origin in the peculiar Jewish bilingual community of Egypt. The occurrence of such terms in Alexandrian contexts (e.g. in the LXX and the Alexandrian Church Fathers) can be explained as deriving from a common local usage, rather than from borrowing directly from the LXX. The magical papyri always use the very common *συνουσία* (*PGM* I.31f.,42,291; IV.898; XIc.8; XIXa.54; *Suppl. Mag. I*, no.38,12; 45,7,31) but never *συνουσιασμός*.

103-104 *μήτε ἀπὸ ὀφθλαμοῦ* (sic) *μήτε τῷ ἱματίῳ*: That is, neither from the (Evil) Eye — or, a glance — nor by use of her clothing: a piece of Alexandra's garment could have been acquired as personal *οὐσία* to be used against her. For the nexus, cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I*, (1927), p. 468,88f.: *τὸ δὲ τῆς ῥίζης* (sc. *μανδραγόρα*) *ἀνώτερον <μετὰ> ὠῶν τριβόμενον ἐν ἱματίῳ γυναικὸς εἰ πάσαις φοραῖς ἐπιβάληται, δαιμονιζόμενον ἀναφανήσεται, ἐὰν οὐ διὰ τάχιον συνουσιασθῇ τῷ ποιήσαντι ....*

104-107 *μή[τ]ε προσευχομένη<ν>, μήτε ἐν ὁδῷ, μήτε ἐπὶ ξένης*: Jordan suspects a corruption from an exemplar that read *προσερχομένη*. See also the citation at line 100; however, *προσευχομένη<ν>* carries a specific attraction in itself. Given the Jewish backdrop that has been argued for this spell, *προσεύχομαι* probably refers to specific prayers offered in the synagogue (cf. *προσευχή*, which in addition to "prayer," means "prayer-house," roughly equivalent to the Jewish synagogue, *συναγωγή*; see Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* [Chicago, 1979], s.v., for lit.; and LSJ, s.v. II, for references in the papyri).

ἐπὶ ξένης (*sc.* *γῆς*), means "in a foreign country" (see LSJ, s.v. 2, for references).

107-109 *μήτε ἐν ποταμίῳ ἐμβάσι* [-σει], *μήτε ἐν βαλαν[ί]ῳ*: *ποταμίῳ* is here an adjective, hence, "river-bathing"; cf. also LSJ, s.v. *ἐμβάσις*, 3, e.g. for *ἐμβάσεις θαλάσσης* = "sea-*bathing*." Whenever Alexandra bathes in a river or at the public baths, she becomes a vulnerable target for love-magic; cf. *PGM* II.49,52; VII.469; XXXVI.75, 334-340; XXXVIII.3, and discussion in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 132f. (a homosexual love charm to force Gorgonia to come to the baths to love Sophia). Baths were also the haunts of demons: C. Bonner, "Demons of the Bath," *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith on his 70th Birthday* (London, 1932), pp. 203-208, with ample citations.

For similar lists of locations where magic may be worked, note A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I (1927), p. 243, 24-27: *μήτε ζῆλος μήτε φθόνος, μὴ ἐπιβουλία, μὴ φαντασία, μὴ ἐν κρυπτῷ, μὴ ἐν φανερῷ, μὴ ἐν βρώσει, μὴ ἐν πόσει, μὴ ἐν ὕπνῳ, μὴ ἐν ποταμῷ, μὴ ἐν κήπῳ ἢ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ.*

109-110 *Ἅγια καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυνατὰ ὀνόματα*: Cf. **58**,11f.

114-115 *ὀχλή[σ]εως δεμόν<ων>*: The expression *ὄχλησις δαιμόνων*, a demonic "annoyance," or "disturbance," does not occur in the magic papyri. (The former reading of *ὄχλησις* in *P. Princ. II*, 9 has now been replaced with a proper name in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 29,9). But the noun and cognates is found of demonic perturbations in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* 19.15,5-6 (ed. Rehm, vol. 1, p. 260): *ποῖα ἄρα ἐρεῖς τὰ κακά; ἑρπετὰ ἰοβόλα καὶ βοτάνας θανασίμους ἢ δαίμονας ἢ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώποις ὀχλεῖν δυναμένων; ... <ἀναμαρτήτου> γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐχ ἑρπετῶν ὁ ἰὸς εἰργάζετο, οὐ τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν αἱ ἐνέρ<γειαι>, οὐ δαιμόνων ὀχλήσεις ἐγίνοντο οὐδὲ ἄλλο τι πάθος αὐτῷ προσεῖναι φύσιν εἶχε*; further, Photius, *Biblio.* 161a (ed. Henry, vol. 3, p. 94), in a more theological context: *ὡς τὸ μὲν μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι τὴν διάνοιαν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ἀδύνατον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ συνωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάζεσθαι καταπίπτειν πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἡμέτερον καὶ τὸ διωθεῖσθαι τὴν ὄχλησιν καὶ τὸ παραδέχεσθαι αὐτήν*. The participial noun *ὁ ὀχλούμενος* is used of a possessed demoniac in Ms. L, of the *Testament of Solomon*, I.2; II.5; IV.12; V.6,9,12; VII.8; see further, Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* (Chicago, 1979), s.v. *ὀχλέω*.

116-117 *ἀπαλ<λ>ά[ξ]ατε* (here + *p.n.* in accusative): See Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 7,13: *ἀπάλλαξον τὴν Ἀρτεμιδώραν*; *idem*, no. 9,8: *ἀπάλλαξον Τ̣εχῶσιν, κτλ*; further, *idem*, nos. 12,5; 18,5; 29,8; *idem, II*, no.74,17: *ἀπάλλαξον τὸν δ(εῖνα)*; 84,[1?]; *PGM* IV.87: *ἀπάλλαξον (κοινά)*; V.125,130: *ἀπάλλαξον τὸν δεῖνα ἀπὸ τοῦ συνέχοντος αὐτὸν δαίμονος*; V.133: *ἀπάλλαξον τὸν δεῖνα*; VII.205: *[ἀπά]λλαξον <τὸν> δεῖνα ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχούσης αὐτὸν βηκός*; cf.

Faraone-Kotansky *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 258,14: ἀπαλλάξα̣ι̣[ε] κὲ τηρήσατε Εὐγενίαν; p.263 (Commentary).

119-120 Εἷς Θεὸς καὶ Χριστὲ αὐτοῦ βοήθι Ἀλεξάνδραν: Possibly read Χριστο̣(ς)? A Christian interpolation in a largely Jewish liturgical text. This 'help'-acclamation is a favorite of Christian texts; see Jordan 1991:69, who cites from E. Peterson, Εἷς Θεός (Göttingen, 1926), p.9, no.15: +Εἷς θεὸς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτοῦ βωήθισον τοῦ κόσμου; see also Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 2, no. 2; p. 6, no. 8; p. 8, nos. 9, 11,12, etc., for similar combinations.

53 Christian Amulet for Ophthalmia

Fig. 53

TYRUS ? (Tyre), Lebanon — Late Roman/Early Byzantine?
Berlin, Bodesmuseum (?) — H.3.4 cm.; W. 3.4 cm.
no inv. number — Gold *lamella*

Lit. M. Siebourg, "Ein griechisch-christliches Goldamulett gegen Augenkrankenheiten," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 118 (1909), pp. 158-175; R. Kotansky, in C. A. Faraone & D. Obbink, *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), p. 120.

This amulet was acquired in 1904 from a coin-dealer in Frankfurt who had obtained the piece in Tyre. Although its exact provenance is not stated, the piece no doubt came from a nearby tomb in the Syrian area. Ancient Tyre is as good a candidate as any for the amulet's *Fundort*, since the town "embraced Christianity enthusiastically" — holding a bishopric as early as the 2nd century — and was site of an enormous necropolis: W. L. Macdonald, art. "Tyrus," in R. Stillwell, ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1976), p. 944.

The gold *lamella* preserves an unusual Christian amulet. The text opens with a Christian trinitarian formula — a formula which, according to its original editor, is to be dated to the 1st century A.D. Unfortunately, no facsimile or photograph of the piece was ever produced, by means of which a date could be more securely assigned, palaeographically (we reproduce here only Siebourg's diplomatic transcript). Siebourg was also mislead in thinking there was a *iota*-adscript in line 8, an apparent misreading that would have influenced his theory of an early dating. The text is probably late (III-V A.D.), though there may be some indications that, as far as Christian amulets go, it ought to be assigned to the earlier end of this chronological scale: late Christian amulets regularly cite the Psalms, the Gospel of Matthew or John, or allude to specific miracles of Christ; none of these features is found in our text, which rather contains a string of unusual magic names (Aramaic?), including the common *Iaô*. There is also no mention of the bearer's name.

Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ
καὶ πν(εύματο)ς ἁγίου,
ραβα σκανομκα
λουλα αμρικτο
ραθην αθαβαθα
ρουρακ, ἐπεύχομέ
σοι, τὸ μέγα ὄνομα
Ἰάω, ἀπόστρεψον τὴ-
ν ἐπιφερομένην ὀ-
φθαλμίαν καὶ μη[κέ]-
τι ἐάσῃς ὀφθαλμ[ίας]
τιν' ἐνβο[λὴν γένεσθαι].

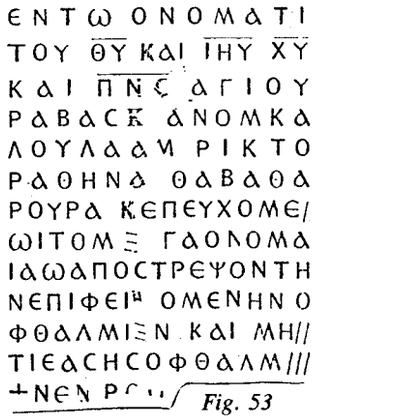


Fig. 53

7 ἐπεύχομέ σωι: ἐπεύχομαί σοι 13 ἐνβο[λήν : ἐμβο[λήν

In the name of God and Jesus Christ and Holy Spirit, *Raba Skanomka loula amriktorathena thabytharorak*, I pray to you, O great name of *Iaô*: turn aside the afflicting ophthalmia and no longer permit any onset of ophthalmia to occur.

1-3 Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ καὶ Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ καὶ πν(εύματο)ς ἁγίου: On "in the Name of ...," cf. **36**,19f.; **51**,6f. On the 'name of Jesus' and other trinitarian formulas, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 20,5f.: ὀνόματι Ἰη(σο)ῦ Χρ(ιστο)ῦ (IV/V A.D.). See also on line 7f., below; and in general, W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (Göttingen, 1903). The abbreviations of the *nomina sacra* are indicated with long-marks, none unusual (see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* [Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 8]; Leiden, 1959).

The trinitarian formula given here, though, is noteworthy. Although none of the expressions by themselves seems odd, the precise grouping, θεός—Ἰησοῦς Χριστός—πνεῦμα ἅγιον is unparalleled. The closest parallel occurs in Matt. 28:19: βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος — a formula common in later liturgies, and a parallel that Siebourg adduced for the charm's early date. But here we undercore their differences rather than similarities: our gold

phylactery has τοῦ θεοῦ in lieu of τοῦ πατρός, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ instead of τοῦ υἱοῦ, and πνεύματος ἁγίου rather than τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. This particular trinitarian formula, none the less, does not occur in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1896), nor is it found in the 6th-7th century Egyptian Christian invocations in R. S. Bagnall & K. S. Worp, "Christian Invocations in the Papyri," *Chronique d' Égypte* 56 (1981), pp. 112-133.

For other trinitarian formulas in magic texts, see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 21,1f.: εἷς πατήρ, εἷς υἱός, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον (with Commentary); *idem*, no. 31,4: ἐν ὀνόματι π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς κ(αὶ) υ(ἱο)ῦ κ(αὶ) ἁγίου πν(εύμ)α(τος); further, no. 36,1: *In nomine patris et filii et spir[itus s]ancti*.

4 Ῥαβασκανομκα: It is not clear how these names are to be divided. Brockelmann *apud* Siebourg 1909:161 has suggested underlying Aramaic and Semitic: ραβα is Aramaic רבא, "the great;" σκαν is Babylonian *sakan* (BH, סגנים), "governor, head;" and ομκα is Aramaic, "the Deep;" cf. עוּמְקָא, *ʿûmqā'*, "depth," BH עֹמֶק, *ʿomeq* (and cognates). The whole might then be 'the great governor of the Deep.' Perhaps closer, though, is שָׁכֵן, *šāḵēn*, "inhabitant" (Is. 33:24; from *šḵn*, "to dwell"). And the position of רבא, too, suggests a predicate: 'Great is the dweller of the deep.' But αβασκανομ — despite its Aramaic potential — may simply represent a misreading of ἀβάσκανον (*vel sim.*), "free from envy;" "free of the Evil Eye." A reference to the evil-eye would be particularly fitting in a spell dealing with eye-complaints (ophthalmia).

5-7 λουλα αμρικτοραθην αθαβαθα ρουρακ: Again, Brockelmann introduces Babylonian, Syriac, and Aramaic to interpret this phrase as follows: *"Loula-amri, gebunden die Augen deine Tochter des Fiebers."* The linguistic particulars of this interpretation are difficult to evaluate, since the division between the words here presents an unusually large number of possibilities. There is also a particularly wide range of possible Semitic roots with which to compare each potential syllable. Λουλα, for example, can be interpretated as containing an imperative, "come!" (*ʿûl*) or as some form of the verb such as infinitive (ל+עול, *lʿwl*). The same letters can be read as "evil-doer," or "nursling," and so on. The whole could also be a part of the preceding κα of line 4. However, λουλα is

attested as a magic name of some kind; cf. *PGM* VII.494: λου λουλου; V.487: λαυ λουλου; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 96 A,2-3: λου λου, and p. 240f., (with extensive commentary); B. Brashear, *Chronique d'Égypte* 58 (1983), p. 291, n.1; further, K. Treu, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 32 (1986), pp. 27-32 (*'Bitt-litanei mit λευλευ-Formel'*).

The word Siebourg separates as ηναθα should be read with the following sequence (i.e., αθαβαθα): it is a version of the palindrome αθθαβαθθα found in *PGM* IV.1078; cf. also *PGM* XIII.954: θαβαβαθ; XII.389: θαθαβαθαθ; XII.115: αθαθα, also palindromes; further, A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 102: αθθα βαθαθ (cf. no. 103); E. Babelon, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Cabinet des Médailles: Les Pierres Gravées. Guide du Visiteur* (Paris, 1930), p. 39; C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 145 (with remarks on Jacoby's interpretation that this is equivalent to 'Thou art Father').

With the reading αθαβαθα, we can then more easily delineate the boundaries for the next word, ρουρακ. Similar words are found in the *PGM*; cf. IV.389: ρουρα; VII.198: ρουραρ; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 28,4: ρουγαχ.

7-8 ἐπεύχομέ ϱ̣οι (Read ἐπεύχομαί σ̣οι): ἐπευχομέ[ν]ωι *ed. pr.* Our conjectured ϱ̣οι for ῳ̣ι in line 8 cannot be confirmed, since no photograph was published; but a mistaken ωι for σοι is easily accounted for in cursive writing. For similar phrasing, cf. *PGM* VII.788: ὅτι σοι ἐπεύχομαι, τῇ δεσποίνῃ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου; IV. 3028: ὅτι ἐπεύχομαι ἅγιον θεόν; III. 459: ὅτι ἐγώ ... ἐπεύχου αὐτῷ; VIII. 57: γράφε ζμύρνῃ ἐπευξάμενος. Ἐπεύχομαι connects with ἐν ὀνόματι, κτλ. in line 1ff., above, as well as with "the great Name" that follows; cf. Deut. 10:8 (LXX): ἐπεύχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης; 1 Chron. 23:13 (LXX): ἐπεύχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος; cf. F. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu* (Göttingen, 1903), pp. 44-46.

8-9 τὸ μ̣έγα ὄνομα, Ἰάω: either, "by the great name, Iaô," or, "O great name, Iaô." On "the Great Name," see **18**,4f.

9 ἀπόστρεψον: See **11**,3 (Commentary); **36**,15; **41**,24: *PGM* XVIIIa: Κύριε, Σαβαώθ, ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [κ]όπον, νόσον τῆς κεφαλ[ῆς], ἀ[ξ]ιῶ, μ[ου ἄπ]αρον κτλ.

9-11 τὴν ἐπιφερομένην ὀφθαλμίαν: Almost identical terminology is used to describe the symptoms of bilious ophthalmia in Theophilus Protospatharius, *De corporis humani fabrica libri v.* (ed. Greenhill), p. 164, 9f., Σημεῖα χολώδους ὀφθαλμίας. Δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ δακνώδες εἶναι καὶ δριμὺ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τοῖς ὄμμασι, κτλ., "The symptoms of bilious ophthalmia: the onset is a pain and piercing in the eyes," etc.

The sense of ἐπιφερόμενον as the onsetting or onslaught of a disease (that is, one that is "incipient," "impending," or "threatening") is captured in the Latin transliteration of ἐπιφορά in Marcellus Empiricus, cited by Siebourg 1909:167: *Gramen, quod in summo trisulcum habebit, descrescente luna radicitus sublatum quam plurimum repone, deinde ex multis unum auspicante lippitudine ad collum subliga, celeriter incumbentem epiphoram discuties* (Marcellus Empiricus 8.24). On this Siebourg rightly observes, *"Hier steht also die* auspicans lippitudo *'die beginnende Triefäugigkeit' synonym mit der* incumbens epiphora, *wobei das* incubens *genau unserm* ἐπιφερομένη *entspricht und die Grundbedeutung von* ἐπιφορά *so verwischt ist, dass die Tautologie nicht empfunden wird."* It is further worthwhile to note that ἐπιφορά (from which our verb ἐπιφερόμενος derives), is used as a technical term, *epiphora* — a 'persistent flow' of tears (cf. LSJ, s.v.).

Other Christian spells for eye-diseases occur in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 26 and 32; cf. also the Ripe San Ginesio gold amulet (our **31**).

11-13 μη[κέ]τι ἐάσῃς ὀφθαλμ[ίας] τ̣ιν' ἐνβο[λὴν γένεσθαι]: An example of a similar μηκέτι-formula is given in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 25, 6: μηκέτι ἅψῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ φοροῦντος (with commentary); here, however, God himself is petitioned to thwart the enchroachment of the disease. Medically, ἐμβάλλω (and presumably the noun ἐμβολή) means "putting in." Here, it is used of affliction.

54 Astrological Magical Fragment

Fig. 54. Plate XIX

Haifa, Israel — III-IV A.D.
London, The British Museum — gr. H. 7.0 cm; W. 6.4 cm.
Cat. no. 3151 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellry, Greek, Roman, Etruscan, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911), p. 378, no. 3151.

Marshall's *editio princeps* provides the following description of this piece: "Seven fragments of a thin silver plate with Gnostic inscription intersected by lines ... from Haifa, Syria. Presented by Miss Constance M. Swan, 1900. Ca 3rd cent. A.D." Though providing a drawing of the piece, Marshall printed no actual readings, since the text's condition affords little to work with. Here, however, we have been able to read some sequences of Greek and provide a first edition of sorts.

The text, though clearly magical as the few *voces magicae* show, is not a conventional amulet. The few glimpses of good Greek show, rather, a text that is an astrological fragment, part of which seems to be horoscopic or prognostic. It also seems that certain planetary alignments are being judged favorable for uttering magic incantations. For the nexus, cf. *PGM* VII.284-299 (Κύκλος Σελήνης), a text that indicates among other things, the favorable constellations in which incantations are to be performed. The relevant lines read: *τοξότῃ· πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἐπίκλησιν ἤτοι ἐπιλαλήματα*, κτλ. "In Sagittarius: (make) an invocation or incantations to Helios and Selene (sun and moon)," etc. Note also, in general, *PGM* IV.835-849 (Commentary, below, line 6).

Portions of our amulet seem to have been separated into compartments or sections by long ruling lines, which may serve to delineate to the reader separate astrological texts or prognostications. There is also a diaeresis on *iota* (line 7), dicola (lines 2,7), regular *iota adscriptum* (lines 2,7,8,9), and sigla (end of lines 2, 6). It is not certain how much of the text on the left margin is lost, nor in fact how much space is to be allowed between the separate fragments.

[- - - - - - - - - -]εν̣ϛ̣ο̣[.]
[- - - - - - - - χρυ]σέωι:

[- - - - - - - -]εθ[.]ε vac.
4 [- - - - - - - -]χθ[.]η vac.

[- - -]β̣α̣[traces] vac.
[- - - e.g. δ]η[λοῖ] θνητ̣[όν], ν̣[ο]σερὸν̣[...]ϛ̣ε̣μ̣[...].ωθα
[- - - οὐ]ρα[ν]ὸν ο̣̇[φ]θῆϊ: μαριφ[...]μαρω

---

8 [- - -]α̣ τ̣[ὴ]ν δωδε̣[κάδα] οὐχ ἀκριτί θ' ἑ[κ]ά̣στηι ὁ ἐν οὐ-
[vac.?] ρανῷ̣[ι ...] βορέαι ω̣θε[.] ιαω αηω ιαω
[- - -]ω̣ι[.] ωαι[...]ρηπαξηρ̣[- - - -].

(Traces and Diagram)

8 *οὐχ*: *οὐκ*

... [bid?] ... with [gold] ... [... signifies] (6) one liable to death, inclined to illness ..., ... [when ...] has appeared [in] the heaven, *Mariph ... marô*, (8) ... the twelve, and [fem.] not uncritically for each (of the twelve) ... the one ... in the heaven, in the north, *iôthe ... Iaô aêô Iaô*, etc.

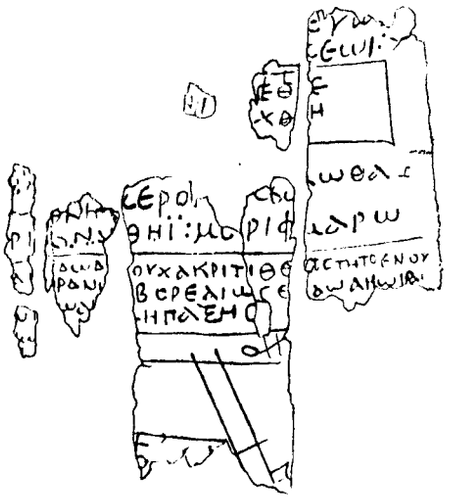


Fig. 54

1 [---]ευ̣ρ̣ο: One can restore, for example, [---θεράπ]ευσον. The verb is a favorite of the amulets, especially Christian ones; see **66** (App.); cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 3, 3; 19,16-17, 23-24; 20,3,7; 21, 8f.;22, 2; 28,4, etc.; Matt. 4:23: καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ; Mark 1:34: καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν πολλοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλιας νόσοις; etc. But since our text is probably not a conventional amulet, something like [κέλ]ευσον, or some other imperative cannot be ruled out.

3-4 These lines are enclosed within a marked-off square. For a similar phenomenon, cf. Daniel and Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 94 (pl. XII). The divisions may indicate separate recipes.

6 [e.g. δ]η[λοῖ] θνητ̣[όν], ῥ̣[ο]σερὸν̣: We surmise here paired adjectives describing an expected condition caused by a certain alignment of planets. For the connection, to cite but one of many examples, cf. Vettius Valens, *Anthol.* IV.17,5 (ed. Pingree, p. 179,22): Ἥλιος Ἄρει νοσερὸν καὶ ἐπισφαλὲς τὸ ἔτος δηλοῖ, κτλ. The verb in such contexts, can also be σημαίνει, which would not fit the proposed *lacuna* here. Cf. also the astrological text, *PGM* IV. 835-849, where certain planetary confluences are described as οὗτοι σωματικῶς φαῦλοι (848f.).

7 [- - - οὐ]ρα[ν]ὸν ὀ̣[φ]θῆϊ̈: μαριφ[...]μαρω: The *omicron* (=U) is quite uncertain, and the reading must remain rather tentative. The sense of the phrase might be a reference to the appearance of some astrological sign in heaven for prognosis: e.g., [ἐὰν ... κατὰ οὐ]ρα[ν]ὸν ὀ̣[φ]θῆϊ̈, "if (such-and-such) appears in heaven." In such a condition, the text seems to instruct the practitioner to utter certain *voces magicae*; cf. *PGM* V.163: ... πρὸς βορέαν τοῖς ς΄ ὀνόμασι λέγων, κτλ., "read the six names while you face north saying," etc. (see below, line 9).

μαριφ[-]μαρω: It is not certain how much space, if any, separates the two halves of this word. For the name, cf. *PGM* V. 434: μαρ ουηρ; XII.178: μαρμαριω; cf. also Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 94, 38: μαρωθ.

8 [- - -]α̣ τ̣[ὴ]ν δωδε̣[κάδα] οὐχ ἀκριτί θ' ἑ̣[κ]ά̣στηι ὁ ἐν οὐ/[vac.?]ρανῷ̣: The suggested feminine noun, δωδεκάς, "group of twelve," (as in the zodiac?), is preferable, for example to δώδεκα, because it provides a good antecedent to ἑκάστῃ and brings more confidence to the the reading τ̣[ή]ν. The noun δωδεκάς is very common in astrology (cf. Pingree, ed. *Vettius Valens, Index Verborum*), p. 491, s.v. (11x), where however it refers to the mathematical sum, "twelve." In our context it might rather refer to the zodiac. The litotes with the adverbial ἀκριτί here stresses, perhaps, that something is in a critical planetary alignment. Otherwise the context is too meagre to extract any meaning.

8-9 ἐν οὐ-: Assuming a *vacat* at the beginning of line 9, then these syllables can be read ὁ ἐν οὐρανῷ̣, "the (one) ... in heaven."

9 βορέαι: Again, with *iota*-adscript. For "in the North," in magical contexts, cf. *PGM* XIII.862f.: ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε, ὡς ὁ βορέας; VIII.10f.: ἐν τῷ βορέᾳ μορφὴν ἔχεις ὄφεως; V.163: ... πρὸς βορέαν τοῖς ς΄ ὀνόμασι λέγων.

9-10 Vowel-permutations on Ἰάω follow the reference to "in the North." The vowels are intonations of the heavenly planets (α ε η ι ο υ ω) and are presumably to be spoken as such in the open sky, facing north.

55 Magic Logos

Fig. 55, Plate XX

Near Haifa (Mt. Carmel), Israel — III-IV A.D.?
Paris, Musée du Louvre — H. 4.6 cm.; W. 3.3.
Bj 85 (Inv. M.N.C. 2145) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre. Les texts inédits* (Paris, 1933), p. 177f. no. 203 (with drawing).

Dain 1933 produced a fairly accurate drawing of this piece but attempted to give no transcription, except for ζωναχου (sic, for ζωναχβηνου, etc.). The whole of the text is made up of series of magic names, including a group drawn in the middle of an *Ouroboros*. Dain's catalogue states that the piece was acquired in 1896 at Mt. Carmel (near Haifa). I have acquired a photograph from the Louvre, which unfortunately was printed from the back-side. An examination with a hand-mirror has yielded the following sequences of magic syllables.

1 .δ.εṛιαραβουμα
2 ραυβαν ιαθαω̣
3 .ασλα Ζ̣αναβεαṛ
4 αλαχβε̣ δει
5 μβουμα .. μδαμα̣.
6 μαυ σαβ μ̣ε̣ηε̣λε̣μ
7 α̣λ̣α̣μα̣βαμαβεα
8 δα̣β̣ traces

9 Ζωναχβα Ζων-
10 Ζαναψιβα αχβ-
11 Ζαβαμεα ηṛα̣-
12 Ζεζων χα
13 σσ .. ια
14 traces (+ left margin)

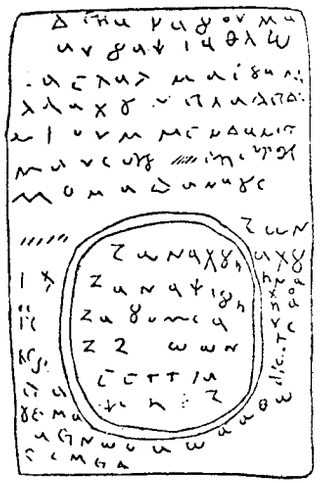


Fig. 55 (Dain)

15 . α
16 βεμα
17 μεινως α ω αα εα .?
18 σεμεια

2 ραυβαν: This is reminiscent of the common θωβαρραυβαυ.

7 α̣λ̣α̣μα̣βαμαβεα: The sequence is reminiscent of an oft-occurring formula on gemstones: ... σαλαμαξ-αβαμεα, κτλ.; cf. for example, A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (*Paris*, 1964), nos. 472-479, with discussion, p. 322; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 10,3-5: Σαλαμαξα ... Βαμεα ιαχα.

9-14 The names, Ζωναχβα, Ζαναψιβα, Ζαβαμεα, Ζεζων, and Ζωναχβηναχα (including the reading on the right), are nowhere attested exactly as such. Ζωνταζωταζω in *PGM* I. 135, however, is explained by K. Fr. W. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 193 (1931), p. 444 as *"Haubt (Oberster) der Richter"* (with ζων going back to Egyptian *d3d3*, "head, chief, principal," etc.). See also Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 54,8,18,35: Ζαβαρβαθουχ, a name that occurs with Κόρη Ερεσχιγαλ. On these 'ζων' names Dain 1933:178 writes: *"transcription du nom perse de la planète Vénus."*

The name Ζαβαμεα may also recall Hebrew צָבָא, *ṣābā*, "host, army," the singular of the common divine epithet appearing in Greek as Σαβαώθ.

15-18 The sequence is reminiscent of the αβεραμενθωου-palindrome in *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 48 J 1, etc.

56 A Jewish Liturgical Fever-Amulet

Fig. 56. Plate XXI

Kh. Muṣliḥ (near Kibbutz 'Evron), Israel — III-IV A.D.
Israel Antiquities Authority — H 4.3 cm; L 7.8 cm
IAA No. 88-193 — Copper *lamella*

Lit. R. Kotansky, "An Inscribed Copper Amulet from 'Evron," *'Atiqot* 20 (1991), pp. 81-87.

This small copper amulet was found in 1988 by a kibbutz member while he was conducting casual surface explorations at the ancient site of Kh. Muṣliḥ (geographical map reference 1621/2656). Though the 15-acre site, located 1 km. east of 'Evron in Western Galilee, has never been excavated, the area preserves scattered remains of viticultural structures, tiles, potsherds, and tombs dating from the Persian through Byzantine periods; see Kotansky 1991:81; C. R. Conder & H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine I* (London, 1881; repr. 1970), p. 180. In the *editio princeps*, the amulet was dated to the 4th-5th century A.D. Now a 3rd (or 4th) A.D. seems preferable, based on closer scrutiny of the letter-forms.

The text preserves a Greek fever-amulet (or prayer) largely composed of Jewish liturgical language, based on the LXX. The opening lines contain an invocation of Divine Names, however, in Hebrew. Although at times grammatically peculiar, the Greek is largely that of one who wrote down Biblical verses as if from memory, or as if Greek were his second language. Much of the amulet's phrasing, on the other hand, is also found in Greek medical writers. Whether this can be explained as evidence of a direct knowledge of such sources is not certain. Coincidence provides the least likely explanation for the common vocabulary. The writer of our therapeutic prayer may indeed be directly borrowing from recommendations found in contemporary medical diagnosis. Given the liturgical nature of much of this spell, this language may simply have originated in formal prayers to be spoken over the sick — prayers whose nearest counterparts are found in the later Christian *Euchologia*. The expressions that our

tablet shares in common with medical writers further suggest that its text derives only indirectly from the tradition of the Greek magical handbooks. Perhaps specialized healing rituals, developed for cultic community needs and imbedded within a set liturgy, can best explain the rationale behind the writing of a charm such as this. The rituals would betray, as the language of the tablet itself indicates, a more focused concern for convalesence and healing through 'orthodox' religious prayer, rather than through the more forbidden, medico-magical practices with which these *lamellae* are so generally associated. Like the later attested Christian *εὐχαί* for the sick (discussed in connection with several of the *lamellae* in this corpus), our text can in no wise be read as a 'magic incantation,' in the traditional sense of the word. The words it preserves betray no trace of the usual magic names or formulas. There is little, if anything, on it that could be misrepresented as 'pagan' or 'unorthodox.' Not only is there not a single *vox magica*, 'Abrasax,' or 'Ablanathanalba,' the whole is devoid of the Jewish angel-names so often found on the emphatically Jewish examples of these amulets. The only divine name permitted this text is that of the one Hebrew God, *Iaô Sabaôth*.

The text of our amulet, then, must have arisen out of a formal setting of some kind. The use of healing rituals and the engraving of 'magic' amulets seems to have been a by-product of the more sectarian of the Jewish synagogues, and it is perhaps here that we should look for the development of such liturgical incantations among Hellenistic Jews. Healing rituals and other more arcane rites associated with the dead have also been attached to a number of ancient synagogal practices (see, in general, Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Pagan and Christian Evidence on the Ancient Synagogue," in Lee I. Levine, ed. *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* [Philadelphia, 1987], pp. 159-181; esp. pp. 165-169; cf. also Commentaries on **2**, **52**, etc.). And, indeed, a number of Aramaic amulets preserving prayers and incantations on gold and silver *lamellae* have actually been recovered from ancient synagogues in Nirim (the north western Negev). Some of these have actually been excavated from near or in the Holy Ark of the Covenant (see J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*, Leiden & Jerusalem, 1985, p. 37f.; p. 90f., and *passim*).

[...]ההההההי יהוה וצבאות יהוה אלוהים
[אה]יה אשר אהיה האל יהוה האל האלוהים אתה
אלוהים יהוה אל ואל האל אתה אל שמך אל בבל
אל יייייי ההההההה ווווווו ההההההה 4
[...]ההההההי יהוה וצבאות יהוה אלוהים

Ἅγιος κύριος· αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ ᾳ[ὐ]-
τοῦ λόγῳ κτίσας τὰ πάντα, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λό-
γῳ δωρήσε ὑγίαν, σωτηρίαν παντὸς τοῦ
σώματος Κασίου οὗ ἔτεκεν Μητραδώτιον.
καὶ ἔστω ἀνάπαυσις παντὸς πόνου καὶ ἡσυχί[α],
καὶ ἔστω ἀποσβῆναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ πυρετός, κ[αὶ]
ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ λεπτός. Καὶ κ<ατὰ> ὀνομ<ά>τῶν, κ[αὶ]
τῶν ἀποκρύφων αὐτοῦ καὶ καλῶν αὐτοῦ, ὁρ-
κίζω εἰς τὸν ποιήσοντα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ θεμ[ελιώ]-
σαντα γῆν καὶ ἐδράσαντα θάλ{λ}ασσαν, τὸν ποή[σαν]-
[τα] πάντα, Ἰάω Σαβαώθ.

8 δωρήσε: δωρήσαι or δωρήσει ὑγίαν: ὑγίειαν 14 ποιήσοντα: ποιήσαντα
15 θάλ{λ}ασσαν: θάλασσαν 15 ποή- : ποιή-

[...] *HNHHHY, YHWH* and *SABAOTH, YHWH ELOHIM,* I-am-who-I-am, the God *YHWH*, the God *ELOHIM,* art thou *ELOHIM YHWH EL* [God], and EL [God], the EL [God], art thou, EL (is) your name, *EL BBL,* (4) *EL, YYYYYYY HHHHHHH WWWWWW HHHHHHH. YHWH* [in circle]
'Holy is the Lord!' May the God himself who by his Word created all things, by the same Word, grant health [and] salvation for the whole body of Casius whom Metradotion ['given-by-the-womb'] bore:
'And let there be' cessation from every pain, and rest.'
'And let there be' (that) the fever extinguishes itself from him, [both] the great and the slight (fever).'
And by (the) names, both (12) his hidden and his excellent, I adjure by the One who made the heavens and founded earth and established sea <and> who made everything, *Iaô Sabaôth.*

Hebrew section (lines 1-4):

The names of God found in these lines are widely attested on Aramaic amulets and bowls (cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* [Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985], pp. 280-82) and require little

comment. The use of Hebrew at the beginning serves as an opening invocation, occupying a position usually reserved for the prestigious angel-names, *voces magicae*, or magical χαρακτῆρες. Although it plainly does not represent the more expressive portion of the spell, the citation of the *nomina sacra*, for the scribe and his client, sits well within the boundaries of acceptable orthodoxy. As mentioned above, no intrusive deities such as, Abrasax, Marmaraoth — or even angel-names — appear on this tablet. Despite the syncretistic character of these amulets, here the writer sustains a strict monotheism throughout his text.

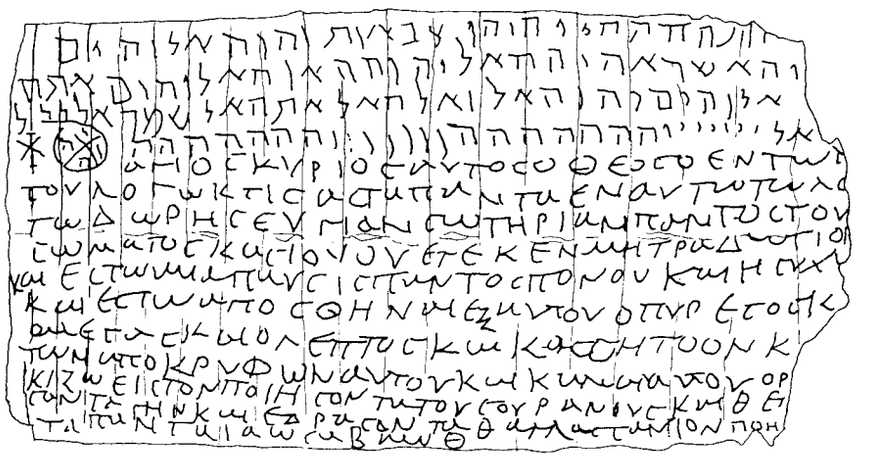


Fig. 56

1 ההההה[...]: The ג could also be a portion of a ת. Approximately three letters have been lost at the beginning.

2 יה אשר אהיה[אה]: For 'I-am-who-I-am,' see J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Leiden & Jerusalem, 1985), p. 49 (on A 2,10), etc., and esp. 2,3f. (with Commentary).

3 שמך: This word seems to end the sentence, since the letters that follow are written in smaller letters, above the monograms. The letters

אל בבל, might be interpreted as "God of Babylon," though the last three letters are uncertain: a line (perhaps part of the circle) has been drawn through the bottom of the letters (the letters may be *lamed*'s).

4 Here we find the four letters of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton (the equivalent of Ἰάω = יהו, in line 15) written with seven letters each, a sacred number. Furthermore, the four letters are again written in each of the sections of the circle-diagram on the left. There is a wealth of literature on the Tetragrammaton, Trigrammaton, etc.; cf., e.g., G. Alon, "By the (Expressed) Name," in his *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 235-251.

Greek section (lines 5-15):

5 Ἅγιος κύριος: This opening acclamation is evidently an abbreviated version of Isaiah 6:3 (LXX): ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαώθ, common on magical papyri and late amulets; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, nos. 25,5f.; 29,15f.; 32,1 (= *ed. pr.* F. Maltomini, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 48 [1982], p. 161, for parallels); cf. V. Laurent, "Amulettes byzantines et formules magiques," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 36 (1936), pp. 300-315; L. Kádár, "Bemerkungen über byzantinische Amulette und magische Formeln," *Acta Antiqua* 10 (1962), pp. 403-411. For ἅγιος κύριος, note also Lev. 20:26 (LXX): καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι ἅγιοι, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

The *ed. pr.* presented the possibility of punctuating the text ἅγιος κύριος αὐτός ("a holy God is he"). This punctuation held a certain attractiveness in itself, since it enabled the following phrase, ὁ θεός, to be taken as vocative — an interpretation that then suggested δωρησε (line 7) be read as imperative δώρησαι (see Commentary, below). This interpretation, however, can now be ruled out: a search of the TLG date banks produces not even a single occurrence of the phrase ἅγιος κύριος αὐτός, but more than 130 examples (among Biblical and Patristic writers alone) of the precise sequence αὐτὸς ὁ θεός.

5-6 αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ ᾳ[ὐ]τοῦ λόγῳ κτίσας τὰ πάντα: The intensive use of αὐτὸς in the phrase αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς, is very common in Jewish and Christain writers; cf. Rev. 21:3: καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται, to cite but one of many examples (see previous §, above, and Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* [Chicago, 1979], s.v. αὐτός, def. 1β). Formally, the second occurrence of the pronoun at the end of 5 could also be printed αὐτοῦ (in lieu of αὐτοῦ).

The doctrine of God's creative word, of central importance to our amulet, is based upon several Old Testament references. Besides the standard account of creation in Genesis 1:3-6, etc., the following provide additional comparanda: Psalm 32:6 (LXX): τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν; Wis. 9:1: ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου; cf. also Sir. 39:17: ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοῦ ἔστη ὡς θιμωνιὰ ὕδωρ; Sir. 42:15b: ἐν λόγοις κυρίου τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. (For the Christian interpretation of this doctrine, note John 1:1,3: Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος ... πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; Col. 1:16,: ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). In magical texts the god who creates (κτίζειν) the universe is also widely attested: *PGM* III.554 (ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας); IV.1709 (ὁρκίζω ... καὶ τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα; cf. below, line 12f.); XIII.63 (τὰ πάντα κτίσαντα; cf. XIII. 983); etc.

The λόγος by which God created the Universe refers in part to the Hebrew incantation at the beginning of the spell; it reflects the belief that God made the world by a mystic utterance, a mystic utterance identical with his own Ineffable Name; see, e.g., J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition. A Study in Folk Religion* New York, 1939; repr. 1979), pp. 82, 90, 288 (n. 8), 289 (n. 26); E. E. Urbach, *The Sages. Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Repr. Jerusalem, 1975), p. 197f. But a direct allusion in our text to the *locus classicus* of Gen. 1:3-6 (καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς ... Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἔστω, κτλ.) is suggested by the double occurrence of καὶ ἔστω, "and let there be" in lines 9 and 10 (see Commentary, below).

6-8 ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ δωρήσε ὑγίαν, σωτηρίαν: For δωρήσε, the future active, δωρήσει was proposed in the *ed. pr.* (for ει > ε, especially before a back vowel, note F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri, I* (Milan, 1976), p. 257f., 2a; however, the optative (active) δωρήσαι — an appropriate form of a prayerful wish addressed to God — is also likely, and this is what is given in the translation above. Even though δωρέω is more commonly attested in the middle (δωρέομαι), to read the imperative here, δώρησε (= δώρησαι), can hardly be possible: this would require ὁ

θεός in line 5 to be vocative, which is unlikely, given the presence of the *third* person pronoun (αὐτὸς ὁ θεός). On the other hand, at least one example of the verb given in the late Byzantine fragmentary exemplars, discussed below, gives the imperative δώρησαι. Does this late example go back to an original optative?

In the Greek magical papyri, the noun σωτηρία, also occurring with ὑγεία, refers primarily to preservation of health: *PGM* III.577: διδοὺς ἐμοί, τῷ δεῖνα, ζωήν, ὑγείαν, σωτηρίαν, κτλ.; VII.333f.: χώρι[ζε, ῎A]νουβι, ἐπὶ ὑγείᾳ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ μου εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους σου θρόνους: XIII.802f.: ἐμοὶ δίδους ὑγείαν, σωτηρίαν, κτλ.; cf. LSJ, s.v., def. II.5.

The pairing of ὑγεία and σωτηρία in describing medical health also occurs in Galen: *De sanitate tuenda libri vi* (ed. Koch, *CMG* 5.4,2) I,8 §9 (p. 19,7f.): ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ζῴοις ὁρμὰς οἰκείας ἐνθεῖναι πρὸς ὑγείαν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν; *In Hippocratis prognosticum commentaria vi* (ed. Heeg, *CMG* 5.9,2), III. 11 § 245 (p. 337,6f.): τουτέστι πότερον εἰς ὑγείαν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ κάμνοντος, κτλ.; cf. also *Ars medica* (ed. Kühn), p. 359,4.

The use of δωρέω with ὑγίαν + σωτηρίαν is also attested in late Christian exorcistic prayers to be read over the sick — in particular, the so-called *Oratio in infirmos* (=*in servam Dei Mariam*) and related *Orationes falsae* published in A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina* (Moscow, 1893), pp. 323-327. This first, called the "Prayer of the Lord's servant Maria" — though a late Christian compilation — preserves a *fever amulet* with wording sometimes quite identical with that of our copper amulet: ... ὅπως δωρήσητε τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ Μαρίαν ὑγείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ ἄφεσιν τῶν συνεχομένων κακῶν καὶ ἀπελάσατε ταύτην τὴν χαλεπὴν ἀσθένειαν ἀπὸ τὴν δούλην τοῦ θεοῦ Μαρίαν· πυρετόν, ἐσωπύρετον, ῥίγους κραταιοῦ, κτλ. (p. 325). Note, *idem*, p. 328b (*Oratio in infirmos*, β΄): καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ ὕπνον ἀνεσέως, ὕπνον σωματικὸν ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ζωῆς καὶ ῥῶσιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος; *idem*, p. 329a: κοίμησον καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου ὀδεῖνα ὕπνον αἰνέσεως, ὕπνον ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας; *idem*, p. 329b (*Oratio in infirmos*, δ΄): καὶ δώρησαι αὐτῷ ὑγείαν, ῥῶσιν καὶ εὐρωστίαν διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος.

At the beginning of line 6, one would rather expect the attributive τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, but this anaphoric position of αὐτός (= "aforementioned;" "this") is amply attested in the papyri and, e.g., in the Gospel of Luke (cf. Blass-Debrunner-Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the NT* [Chicago, 1979], p. 150 § 288).

The import of the preceding lines, as suggested above, is that just as God's word creates, it also heals. Here we are not dealing so much with the Word *qua* healing-incantation — for this, the arcane Hebrew of lines 1-4 would have been more appropriate — but rather with the notion that God's utterance (λόγος) carries power in itself to heal. Cf. Ps. 106:20 (LXX): ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν. The twin phrases 'καὶ ἔστω' (= Gen. 1:6b), in lines 9 and 10 below, make all the more explicit the notion that God's Creative Word brings specific healing.

8 παντὸς τοῦ σώματος Κασίου οὗ ἔτεκεν Μητραδώτιον (read Μητραδότιον): See Vassiliev, cited above, for specifying the "body" (τοῦ σώματος) of the sick; further, F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* (Giessen, 1907), p. 262,18f.+ p. 263,1: πρὸς τὸ ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι ἀπὸ παντὸς μέλους σώματος αὐτοῦ ... ἀπὸ ὅλου σώματος αὐτοῦ; cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag I*, no. 29,6-8: μηκέτι ἅψῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ φοροῦντος μηδὲ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ; no. 34,8f.: θεραπεύει ... πᾶσαν νόσον τοῦ σώματος Ἰωσῆφ; *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 89,3f.: τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δ(εῖνα) [...] ἐστιν ἁγίου θεοῦ. Most of these references appear in Christian contexts, but note also *PGM* VII.589; XXXVI.358; IV.1073. An exorcism of fever from the body in an Aramaic spell is attested in J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985), A2:9: "exorcise the fever and the shiver, the female demons (and) the spirits from the body of Ya'itha the daughter of Marion" (p. 45).

Κασίου: The name of the client, Cas(s)ius, is common to the region. M. Sartre, *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1985), p. 209, s.v., cites occurrences of Κάσ(σ)ιος (particularly in Syria) and suggests its popularity can be explained by 1) children being named after the Syrian legate under Marcus Aurelius, Avidius Cassius; and by 2) a Greek rendering of a regional Semitic name, קצי, ("remove; set aside," etc.; Sartre, *loc. cit.*, translates *"éloigné"*). Though F. T. Gignac, *Greek Grammar of the Papyri I* (Milan, 1976), p. 158f. gives numerous examples of σ > σσ,

one wonders whether the spelling Κάσσιος (= Latin Cassius) here is to be assumed at all. A more likely explanation for the name is to be located in a toponym: the famous mountain, Κάσιος, south of Seleuceia Pieria, had been long venerated for the local Semitic divinity (identified with Ζεὺς Κάσιος) believed to reside there and honoured with annual festivals. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion, II* (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 981-983; *idem*, III/ii (addenda), p. 1177, with copious notes on mythology, history, and etymology; further, B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (London, 1887; repr. 1977), p. 783 (for coins). Kasios can thus be best explained as a Semitic name. A possible etymology is כסי, כסה, "to cover;" "hide, conceal;" and "forgive" (Psalm 32:1).

Μητραδώτιον (*-δότιον*): The α is unmistakable, so a name in Μητρο- is unlikely. A form of Metradotion (nor even of Metrodotion) is not otherwise attested. The 'name' here beginning *μήτρα-*, "womb," follows the pattern of other pseudonyms found in this position: *PGM* XXXII.11: Σαραπιάδα ἣν ἔτεκεν εἰδίᾳ μήτρᾳ (= XXIIa.5); *PGM* XVI.6,15,22, etc.: Σαραπίων ὃν ἔτεκε Πασάμητρα (Preisendanz,'s articulation is mistaken. Read πᾶσα μήτρα !). See D. R. Jordan, "CIL VIII 19525(B).2 QPVVLVA = q(uem) p(eperit) vulva," *Philologus* 120 (1976), pp. 120-132. Thus, the mother's name, Metradotion, does not represent a genuine personal name, but a filler-name (= "given-by-the-womb") supplied for the missing mother's real name. The parallel texts prove that magical formularies used *μήτρα*-phrases to indicate where the name of a client's mother ought to be inserted when it was not otherwise known: Μητραδοτιον belongs in the same category as the other pseudo-names Ιδιαμητρα, Παμητρα, and Vulvasua (see Jordan, *op. cit.*).

9-10 *καὶ ἔστω* (the *καὶ* at the beginning of line 9 looks as if it were squeezed in at the left margin): This phrase occurs twice, once with *ἀνάπαυσις*, a second time with *ὁ πυρετός*. The second occurrence seems to result in an impossible Greek construction: *ὁ πυρετός* is nominative, not the expected accusative, subject of the infinitive, and *ἔστω* + infinitive is a solecism. But there is a definite reason for this paired construction. Καὶ ἔστω refers directly to the creative, divine utterance of God — the healing *λόγος* of the preceding lines. The nexus comes from Gen. 1:6b (LXX): Καὶ *εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω στερέωμα ...* ***καὶ ἔστω*** *διαχωρίζον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὕδατος*, "And God said, 'Let there be a firmament ... **and let it be** separated in the midst of the water and the water.'" Divine creation *ex nihilo* is executed by the simple performative utterance, "And let there be" (*καὶ ἔστω*), a phrase that, in the original Hebrew (ויהי) occurs throughout the first chapter of Genesis in describing God's creative exclamation (though only in 1:6 rendered *καὶ ἔστω*). Our tablet's use of *καὶ ἔστω* from Gen. 1:6 seeks to connect the healing proclamations of these lines with God's divine proclamation at creation.

ἀνάπαυσις παντὸς πόνου καὶ ἡσυχί[α]: As it stands, this line contains a twin declaration, one for a cessation of the physical pain (of fever), the other for rest: "And let there be rest from pain and quiet." The presence of *ἡσυχία*, "quiet, rest," shows a more mundane concern for the practical aspects of healing: restful sleep; *ἀνάπαυσις* is used specifically of the rest of sleep in the late Christian *Orationes in infirmos*, "Prayers for the Sick," cited above — specifically those so labelled to induce sleep; cf. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Latina* (Εἰς ὕπνον ὅταν δὲν ἠμπορεῖν ὁ ἄρ(ρ)ωστος νὰ κοιμηθῇ λέγε τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην), p. 330,1: *ὕπνον ἀναπαύσεως*; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (Paris & Liège, 1927) — a prayer *περὶ ἀγρυπνίαν ἀρρώστου* — p. 549,7: *δὸς ὑπνῶσαι καὶ ἀναπαύειν τὸν παρόντα ἀσθενῆ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀδεῖνας*.

The expression *καὶ ἔστω ἀνάπαυσις παντὸς πόνου καὶ ἡσυχία*, if understood, "And let there be rest from toil and quiet," could also be seen as a 'doctor's recommendation' for quiet and rest. This is precisely what we find specified in the medical writers: the terms *ἀνάπαυσις* and *ἡσυχία* — and even *πόνος* — are often cited together in general recommendations for convalescence. Note Hippocrates, *De prisca medicina* 11.14-15 (ed. Littré, I), p. 594,6f.: *αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται κοιλίαι πολλῷ τε βραδύτερον πέσσουσι, καὶ πλέονος δέονται ἀναπαύσιός τε καὶ ἡσυχίης*; Galen, *De sanitate tuenda libri vi* (ed. Koch, *CMG* V 4,2), III 6,17 (p. 88,5f.): *ἀναπαύσει τε ὅλως ἢ ἡσυχίᾳ ἢ καὶ λουτροῖς εὐκράτοις καὶ διατριβῇ πλέονι κατὰ τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ, κτλ.*; *idem*, III 8,8 (p. 90,19f.): *ὡς ἀνάπαυσις ἰᾶται τὸν κάματον*; Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri x* (ed. Kühn, vol. 12), p. 504,7: *ἔτι δὲ ὕπνος, καὶ ἡσυχία, σώματος ἀνάπαυσις, εὐθυμία*; *idem*, p. 521,3: ... *ἡσυχία*,

σώματος ἀνάπαυσις, κτλ.; *idem*, p. 655,7: ἔτι δὲ ἀνάπαυσις, ἡσυχία, σκέπη τῆς κεφαλῆς, πόμα θερμὸν ὕδωρ, μελίκρατον, κτλ.; Alexander Trallianus, *Therapeutica* III, 2 (ed. Puschmann, II), p.99,3f.: ... παχυνούσῃ καὶ εὐκράτῳ κεχρῆσθαι διαίτῃ καὶ ἀναπαύσει καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὕπνον ποιεῖν δυναμένοις, κτλ.; Aetius Amidenus, *Libri Medicinales i-iv*, (ed. Olivieri), IV.37 (p.380,6f.): ἀνάπαυσις δὲ πᾶσα καὶ ἡσυχία καὶ λουτρὰ εὐκρατότατα, κτλ.; *idem*, IV.43 (p. 386,21f.): ... ἀναπαύσεως τε καὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ λουτροῖς εὐκράτοις τροφαῖς τε χρώμενον ἀδήκτοις ῥυπτικόν τι ἐχούσαις, κτλ.; Galen, *Ars medica* (ed. Kühn, vol. 1), p. 369,4f.: τὸ μὲν γυμνάσιον ὑγιεινὸν, ἡ δὲ ἡσυχία νοσερόν· ἡνίκα δὲ ἀναπαύσεως, ὑγιεινὸν μὲν ἡ ἡσυχία, νοσερὸν δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον, κτλ. In the *Anonymi de diaeta*, ed. I. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores* (Berlin, 1842), II, p. 198 §1, θέρους ἀνάπαυσις τῶν πόνων συμφέρει, ἐλάττωσις τῆς τροφῆς, ψυχροτέρα τροφὴ καὶ ὑδροποσία, refers to the 'rest from labor' — not the rest from 'pain'— recommended during the summer-season. Given this weight of evidence, it is difficult not to imagine the direct influence that medical literature must have played in the formulation of this copper amulet.

For παύειν used of fever's pain, note also Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 4,6: παῦσον Α[λθέαν (?)] ἀπὸ τοῦ καθημερ[ινοῦ ῥι]γοπυρέτου; *idem*, no. 11, 10f.: παύσαται Δ̣ιᾶν (from fever).

10-11 καὶ ἔστω ἀποσβῆναι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ πυρετὸς κ[αὶ] ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ λεπτὸς: The *beta* resembles *theta*, but a possible reading ἀποσθῆναι (= ἀποστῆναι) is wrought with problems. The reading ἀποσβῆναι, "extinguish" (mid.), is precise in describing fever; ἀποστῆναι is not (the verb is usually used of expelling demons). Also $\tau < \theta$ would be difficult to account for, especially in this text. The need for ἀνάπαυσις in the previous line indicates that our amulet addresses a fever that has already flared up and is raging — one to be extinguished, not one to be warded-off.

Extinguishing fever is also a specific description used of the Christian prayers for the sick, discussed above; A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, p. 323,4f. (*in servam Dei Mariam*), for example, reads σβέσον τὸν πυρετόν, πράϋνον τὸ ἄλγος, κτλ. (also, lines 26f.). See also

59,17 (with Commentary); Hippocrates, *Acut.* 54 (II 342, 8L), ἐξ ὑποχονδρίου καῦμα σβεννύει; Galen, *De methodo medendi libri xiv* (ed. Kühn, vol. 10), p.693,7f.: σβέννυται γὰρ αὐτίκα καὶ παύεται τελέως ὁ πυρετὸς, κτλ.; *idem*, p.719, 14: ἐν τῷ σβεννύναι τὸν πυρετόν; Alexander Trallianus, *De febribus* 2 (ed. Puschmann, vol. 1), p. 321,3: ὡς σβεσθῆναι μὲν τὸ ζέον τῶν πυρετῶν ἀνάγκη, κτλ.

The expression ὁ πυρετὸς καὶ ὁ μέγας καὶ ὁ λεπτὸς also looks as if it betrays medical influence. The Galenic *In Hippocratis aphorismos commentarii vii*, (ed. Kühn, vol. 17), p. 406,14f. pairs πυρετὸν μέγαν and πυρετὸν μικρὸν together. Elsewhere specific mentions of λεπτός and μέγας, in describing fever, occur separately; cf. Hippocrates, *De morbis i-iii* (ed. Littré, vol. 7), II.70,3 (p. 106); III.3,5 (p. 120), for πυρετὸς λεπτός, and Hippocrates, *De mulierum affectibus* (ed. Littré, vol. 8), 60,15 (p. 120), for πυρετὸς μέγας. On λεπτός πυρετός, see also Galen, *De symptomatum causis libri iii*, (ed. Kühn, vol. 7), p. 214,6f.: καὶ πυρέττουσιν ἐνίοτε λεπτοὺς καὶ μικροὺς ἐκτικοὺς πυρετούς; Galen, *De difficultate repirationis libri iii* (ed. Kühn, vol. 7), p. 841,8; p. 866,14: πυρετοὶ πρὸς χεῖρα λεπτοί; similarly, *De methodo medendi libri xiv* (Kühn, vo. 10), p. 674,13; Ps.-Galen, *Prognostica de decubitu ex mathematica scientia* (ed. Kühn, vol. 19), p. 541,8f.; cf. further, the Christian charm, *PGM* 5a.5: ἀπὸ τοῦ λεπτοῦ πυρε[τοῦ, κτλ.]. For fever amulets in general, see F. Maltomini's *editio princeps* of *P. Prag. I.6*, p. 45, note 2 (= Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 25).

11-12 καὶ κ<ατὰ> ὀνομ<ά>τ̣ων κ[αὶ] τῶν ἀποκρύφων αὐτοῦ καὶ καλῶν αὐτοῦ, etc. It is difficult to make out the letters κ<ατὰ> ὀνομ<ά>τ̣ων, as the tablet shows something like ΚΑΙΚΟΝ̣Ο̣ΟΗΤΟΟΝ. Clearly the scribe intended ὀνομάτων, with the final *omega* written with a wide space between the loops so that it looks like a double *omicron* (a genitive plural noun is required). The construction yields a neat *parallelismus membrorum*, with each noun followed by a pair of qualifying adjectives:

A ... *the fever*,
  B both the great and the small.
A′ And by the Names,
  B′ both His hidden and His good ... .

12-15 *ὁρκίζω εἰς τὸν ποιήσοντα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ θεμ[ελιώ]σαντα γῆν καὶ ἐδράσαντα θάλ{λ}ασσαν, τὸν πο<ι>ή[σαντα] πάντα,* Ἰάω Σαβαώθ: The writing of *ποιήσοντα* for *ποιήσαντα* must be a simple scribal slip. Furthermore, one would like a *καί* before the participle.

These lines — at least the first half — come very close to the LXX of Isaiah 51:13: *τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ θεμελιώσαντα τὴν γῆν.* The reading of our text may reflect an independent Greek translation of this verse, as both the plural *τοὺς οὐρανούς* (against LXX's singular), and the inarticulated *γῆν* (vs. LXX's *τὴν γῆν*) are supported by the Hebrew:

נוֹטֵה שָׁמַיִם
וְיֹסֵד אֶרֶץ

The whole is also reminiscent of Ps. 145:6 (LXX): *τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς*; cf. also LXX Odae 12,2 (Προσευχὴ Μανασση): *ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν*; Gen. 1:1 (LXX): *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.*

The added ending, *τὸν ποιήσαντα πάντα* (along with its initial adjuration *ὁρκίζω εἰς*), is not part of any Biblical quotation. It reads rather (as much of this text) like something from an original confessional or credal formula. A similar formula occurs in the two epitomes to Clement of Rome (ed. Dressel): Clemens Romanus, *Epitome prior* 42,11f. (= *Epitome altera*, 42,11f.): *πιστεύειν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα πάντα, τά τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα.* The only other occurrence of *τὸν ποιήσαντα πάντα* among Patristic or Biblical writers is that found in the *Martyrium Pionii*, 19.8 (ed. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford, 1972), p.160: *ἐπηρώτησε· Ποίας θεοσεβείας; ἀπεκρίθη· Τῆς εἰς τὸν θεὸν πατέρα τὸν ποιήσαντα τὰ πάντα.* Both of these citations form part of a confession or creed, and both use *εἰς*, as our text does; the 'Evron tablet, however, uses *εἰς* as an adjuration formula, not as a statement of faith: *ὁρκίζω εἰς*, "I adjure by ...," or, "I swear by ...". It seems that our 'citation' stems from a similar liturgical context as that found in Clement and the Acts of the Martyrs, but our formula carries a specifically exorcistic application. Very similar formulas also occur with *ὁρκίζω εἰς* — used of adjuring demons — in A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moskau, 1893), p. 331,4f.: *ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς ... εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*; *idem*, p. 326,28f.: *ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ θεμελιώσαντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐν ἀβάτοις εἰλίξιν*; cf. further, in exorcistic contexts, A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (1927), p. 129,25f.: *ὁρκίζω σας εἰς τὸν Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα, τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς*; *idem*, p. 128,1f.: *Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς* (*idem*, p. 261,40). On *θεμελιώσαντα γῆν*, *idem*, p. 239, 21f.: *ὁ τὰ ὄρη σταθμήσας καὶ τὴν γῆν θεμελιώσας.*

The 'pagan' magical papyri also refer to creator gods who establish the earth's foundations and the like. It is not known to what extent these are dependent upon Jewish liturgical or exorcistic formula, though the example in *PGM* IV.1708-9, *ὁρκίζω γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος καὶ τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα θεὸν μέγαν Σαρουσιν, σέ, κτλ.*, certainly seems to recall a Jewish adjuration based on a Biblical model (the text probably originated in some phrase like *τὸν θεὸν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα*, etc.). The often cited "Charm of Pibechis" in *PGM* IV. 3007-3086 is, in fact, an early Jewish liturgical exorcism. Its lines 3075-78 provide a noteworthy adjuration of a demon by the Creator: *ὁρκίζω σε, πᾶν πνεῦμα δαιμόνιον, τὸν ἐφορῶντα ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ποιοῦντα ἔκτρομα τὰ θεμείλια αὐτῆς καὶ ποιήσαντα τὰ πάντα κτλ.*; see further, *PGM* V.98f.: *σὲ καλῶ τὸν ἀκέφαλον, τὸν κτίσαντα γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν, τὸν κτίσαντα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, σὲ τὸν κτίσαντα φῶς καὶ σκότος* (Gen. 1:1-5); cf. further the Egyptian examples in *PGM* VII.553 (*τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα θεμείλια τῆς γῆς*) and XII.59 (*ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸν κ[ό]σμ[ο]ν καὶ ποιήσαντ[ο]ς τὰ τέσσαρα θεμέλια, κτλ.*).

The formulas of lines 13f. are not consistent in their uses of the article with the participles: *τόν* is used twice with *ποιήσαντα*, but is missing with *θεμελιώσαντα* and *ἐδράσαντα*. The phrase *καὶ ἐδράσαντα θάλασσαν* in our formula also does not derive from the LXX. The closest parallel seems to occur in Epiphanius, *Homilia in laudes Mariae deiparae* (MPG, vol. 43), p. 493,56; p. 496,40: *τὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδράσαντα.*

15 Ἰάω Σαβαώθ: These names of God (= יהוה צבאות) are common in magic texts as *voces magicae* but in these lines represent names of the Jewish God, as Creator. On the names, in general, see **32**,29, etc.

57 A Magic Invocation for Epilepsy and Headache

Syria (Acquired in Damascus) — IV-V A.D.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale — H. 5.6 cm.; W. 3.0 cm.
Cabinet des Médailles (no inv. no.) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. P.Perdrizet, "Amulette grecque trouvée en Syrie," *Revue des Études Grecques* 41 (1928), pp. 73-82; D. M. Robinson, *Classical and Mediaeval Studies ... E. K. Rand* (New York, 1938) (see lit. on **39**), p. 252; cf. G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), p. 281, n. 9; J.-B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, I (Rome, 1936; repr., New York), pp. 90-91, no. 849; cf. B. Lifschitz, "Notes d'épigraphie grecque, VI. Une tablette d'imprécation," *Revue Biblique* 77 (1970), p. 81f.;J & L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," in *Revue des Études Grecques* 84 (1971), p. 406, no. 68; L. Robert, *Journal des Savants*, 1981, p. 35.

The amulet was purchased by M. Eustache de Lorey in Damascus in 1924 and subsequently acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale. No photograph or facsimile has been produced, and its precise *Fundort* in Syria is not known.

['Επικ]αλοῦμαι 'Ιάω Μιχα-
ὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐ[ρ]-
ιὴλ 'Αρβαθιαω 'Αρβαθιαω
['Αδ]ω[ν]αῒ 'Αβλαναθαναλβα
[Σ]αβαὼθ Σεσενγενβαρφαραν-
γης 'Ακραμμαχαμαρι Σε-
μεσιλαμψ λααλαμ Χω-
ρβηθ θαυβαρραβαυ θω-
[β]αριμμανω 'Ελωαι αε[η]
[ι]ουω (magic signs) ϙο̣ιλ
λαργ[ι]ᾳ (magic signs)
(magic signs) κύριοι ἀρχάν-
γελοι θεοὶ καὶ θῖοι χαρα-
κτῆρες ἀπελάσατε
πᾶν κακὸν καὶ πᾶσαν
[ἐπίλ]ημψιν καὶ πᾶσαν

[κεφαλ]αργίαν 'Αμπ-
[ελί]ου ἣν ἔτεκε[ν] 'Ορη-
[... ἀ]πὸ τῆς σήμερ(ον) [ἡμ]-
[έρας] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι
[εἰς τ]ὸν πάντα χρόνον
[---] της η.[---]
[---] υμου [---]
[---] λωι [---]

13 *θῖοι*: *θεῖοι*

I call upon *Iaô Michaêl Ouriêl Arbathiaô Arbathiaô Adônai Ablanathanalba Sabaôth Sesengenbarpharangês Akrammachamari Semesilamps Laalam Chôrbêth Thaubarrabau Thôbarimmauô Elôai aeêiouô* (magic signs) headache (?) (magic signs). Sovereign archangels, gods, and divine characters, drive away all harm and all epilepsy and all [head?]ache of Amp[elion] whom Orê[---] bore, from this very day and from this present hour, for the whole time [of her life ...] ....

1 [ἐπικ]αλοῦμαι: For this hymnic invocation on magic *lamellae*, see **52**,13, etc. The long list of magic deities in lines 1-10 then were not only written on the tablet but also probably invoked aloud. The address in line 12 to the "lords, archangels, gods, and divine *charaktêres*" in the vocative represents the prayer proper to be fulfilled.

1-3 'Ιάω, Μιχαὴλ Γαβριὴλ Οὐ[ρ]ιὴλ: These first four names form a Tetrad, with Iaô standing in the place of the usual Raphaêl; see **26**, with Commentary.

3 'Αρβαθιαω 'Αρβαθιαω: This name (='Fourfold Iaô,' a reference to the Tetragrammaton) is discussed fully in W. Fauth, "Arbath Jao. Zur mystischen Vierheit in griechischen und koptischen Zaubertexten und in gnostischen und apokryphen Schriften des christlichen Orients," *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983), pp. 65-103; cf. **2**,4.

7 Λααλαμ: The name corresponds to Hebrew or Aramaic לעלם, "forever," itself a variant of the more common λαϊλαμ. The diaeresis found in some manuscripts (like the 'Great Paris' magical papyrus) supports a pronunciation approximating the supposed Hebrew; cf. *PGM* II.117 (λαιλαμψ); III.414 (λαινλιμμ λαιλαμ), III.430 ([λ]*έγε τὸ ὄνομα*

Λαιλαμ); IV.947 (Λαΐλαμ), IV.1625 (λαΐλαμ), IV.1804 (Λαΐλαμ), IV. 1983 (λαΐλαμ); V.349 (Λαιλαμ), V.352 (Λαιλαμ), V.366 (Λαιλαμ), V. 477 (Λαιλαμ, with Ἀρβὼθ Ἀρβαθιάω in 478f.); VII.361 (Λαΐλαμ), VII. 406 (Λ[αϊ]λαμ), VII.850 (Λαΐλαμ), VII.979 (Ἰάω Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναΐε, Λαΐλαμ); XII.167 (Λαΐλαμ); XIII. 82, 149, 458, 594 (*ἱερογλυφιστί·* λαΐλαμ); XIXa.3 (Λαιλάμ); XXIIa.25 (*φιληθῆναι ὡς* Λαΐλάμ); cf. **2**, 13f. (with Commentary).

7-8 Χωρβηθ: Cf. *PGM* LXVI. 6: Χορβαθ; cf. Semitic חוּרְבָּה, *ḥôrbāh*, "ruin, ruins, destruction."

8 Θωβαρραβαν: See **4**,10; **17**,5f. (Commentary); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42,4; 43,1.

9-10 αε[ηι]ουω: See **9**. The seven vowels (= the seven planets); note also that the number of the *charactêres* that follows is also seven.

10-12 ϛϙιλαργα (*magic signs*): Perdrizet prints this reading with no comment and suggests in line 17 [κοιλ]αργίαν, followed by Robinson 1938: 252. The initial letters are pointed, so κϙιλλαργίαν, or even κ̣ε̣φ̣α̣λ̣α<ί>α (see below) is also likely, as suggested from line 17, although there is no photo nor drawing to confirm this.

12-13 *κύριοι ἀρχάνγελοι θεοί*: Such groupings, especially *κύριοι θεοί*, are common in magic texts. Do such combinations indicate separate groups of deities (= "lords, archangels, gods"), or a kind of hyphenated composite (= The "sovereign-archangelic-gods")? In Aelius Aristides LIII §12, *κύριοι θεοί* are "*sovereign* gods": *εἴπερ οἱ τῶν ὅλων κύριοι θεοί τε καὶ δαίμονες οὐ μόνον οἷς τὸ πᾶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεστήσαντο, κτλ.* (ed. Dindorf, vol. 2, p. 619,23f.). C. Bonner & H. C. Youtie, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 68 (1937), pp. 43-77, publish a pair of lead tablets, one of which invokes the *κύριοι ἄνγελοι* (I,2); the other, the *κύριοι ἅγιοι θεοί*. They observe (p. 58), "In magical texts *ἄγγελοι*, *κύριοι*, and *θεοί* tend to be used interchangeably and in combination," with reference to this amulet and Epiphanius II. 55,10 (ed. Holl): *Αἰῶνες ἤτοι θεοὶ ἤτοι ἄγγελοι, καλοῦνται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφόροις* (on the Ophites). For *κύριοι θεοί*: *PGM* III. 171f.; VII.707; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag.I*, no. 39,8: *κύριον θεὸν Ιαω ιαμελου, κτλ.* (singular = the Hebrew God; cf. *idem, II*, no. 59,2: *κύριος ὁ θεός*; *PGM* XXIIb.18: *ὁ κυρίος θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων*). For *κύριοι ἄγγελοι*: *PGM* XXXVI.44,246; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 11,9: *κύριοι ἄγγελοι καὶ ἀγαθή* (= *ἀγαθοί*).

13-14 *θῖοι χαρακτῆρες*: See Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 21,10-12: *ἅγιε χαρακτῆρες* (cf. p. 59, Commentary); *idem*, no. 19:16 (frag.: ... *ους χαραχ̣[τῆρας]*); J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985) A:5,4: קדישיה ברקטיריא, "holy characters;" *idem*, p. 217 (Geniza 1:2).

14-15 *ἀπελάσατε πᾶν κακόν*: For *ἀπελαύνω*, see **25**,3; **36**,11-12 (*bis*). On the expression *πᾶν κακόν*, cf. **41**,25; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 6, 7f.: *διαφυλάσσων ... ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ*, with Commentary taken from C. A. Faraone & R. Kotansky, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 75 (1988), p. 265. The equivalent is now found on an Aramaic amulet: R. Kotansky, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), p.275: מן כל בוש, "from every illness/harm" (Amulet B2). The reference at Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 3,6: *ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ* [...], may have continued with a noun (*δαίμονος*; *πνεῦμα*?).

15-16 *πᾶσαν* [*ἐπίλ*]*ημψιν*: The reading is suggested by Robert 1971 (above). On epilepsy, see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 84,7-8: [... *καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς*] *ἐπιλήμψεως, κτλ.*; R. Kotansky, in Faraone & Obbink, *Magika Hiera* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 117-120; p. 133, note 75.

16-17 *πᾶσαν* [*κεφαλ*]*αργίαν*: Lifschitz, Robert; [*κοιλ*]*αργίαν*, "pain in the bowels:" Perdrizet (the supposed *addendum lexicis* cited in LSJ should now be deleted). Robert also proposes [*καρδι*]*αργίαν* as an alternative to [*κεφαλ*]*αργίαν*. Headache is a natural symptom associated with epileptic attacks. On headache, see Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 14,5: *idem, II*, no. 72ii, 26: *πρὸς κεφαλ̣α̣λ̣γίαν* (with Commentary, p.126), who cite for headache spells in general, *PGM* VII.199-201; XVIIIa 2f.; XX, col. II 1f., 15ff.; LXV.4f., etc.

17-18 Ἀμπ[ελί]ου: Previous editors have read *ἀμπ*[ὸ] for *ἀπ*[ὸ]. Robinson 1938:252 prints *ἀ(μ)πὸ* [*παιδί*]*ου*, though I know of no instances where the matrilineal formula uses the noun *παιδίον*; a name is rather expected here. L. Robert 1981:35 (cf. *idem*, *Revue de Philologie*, ser. 3, vol. 48 [1974], p. 232, note 324) has proposed restoring the female name Ἀμπ[ελί]ου, viz. Ampelion — a reading we accept here. He gives the following citations of the feminine name:

1) Blaundos: J. Keil & A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien* (Wien, 1911), no. 276.

2) Herakleia, Macedonia: *Bulletin Épigraphique*, 1955, no. 139.

3) Syros: *IG* XII 5, 678; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin, 1955), no. 2030,14

4) Smyrna: *Bulletin du Correspondence Héllenique* 1894, p.199; see now, G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna, I* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 23: Bonn, 1982), no. 530 (p. 231).

5) Egypt: F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (1922, repr. Amsterdam, 1967), p. 28, s.v.

19-21 [... ἀ]πὸ τῆς σήμερ(ον) [ἡμέρας] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι [εἰς τ]ὸν πάντα χρόνον κτλ.: Such temporal expressions are common in the papyri. See P. Moraux, *Une défixion judiciare au Musée d'Istanbul* (Brussels, 1960), p. 12, line 16-19: ἀπὸ τῆς σήμ[ερον ἡμ]έρας καὶ τῆς ἄ[ρτι ὥρας] εἰς ἅπαντα [τὸν] τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον (with examples, pp. 54-56); Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 14,9f.: ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ ἀπὸ ἄρτι ὥρας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τῆς ὅλης. Despite these examples, it is difficult to restore the lacuna of our text; the fragmentary letters that are printed in line 22f. conflict somewhat with the likeliest restoration, given as follows. Furthermore, the traces in lines 22f. do not seem to match up with an expected ending such as ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ.

19 [.. ἀ]πὸ τῆς σήμερ(ον) [ἡμ]-
20 [έρας] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι <ὥρας>
21 [εἰς τ]ὸν πάντα χρόνον
22 [τῆς ὅ]λ̣ης ζ̣ω̣ῆς α̣ὐ̣τ̣[ῆς].

58 Victory Charm before the Governor of Arabia

Fig. 57. Plates XXII & XXIII

Bostra, (Arabia), Jordan — IV A.D.
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore — H. 6.9; W. 4.3 cm.
Inv. no. 57.1960 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. R. Kotansky, "Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 88 (1991), pp. 41-60.

This text preserves a victory-charm (*νικητικόν*) — more precisely, a *νικητικὸν καὶ θυμοκάτοχον* — a spell that combines requests for benefits (lines 12f.; 37f.; 43f.) with curses and imprecations against the opponents (26f.). Written to secure a victory in a trial before the military governor (*dux*) and his *adsessor* at Bostra in Arabia, our amulet must have come from somewhere near that city and not from Egypt, as reported in the Walters Art Gallery records. The naming of the two officials in our text adds considerably to the prosopographic record of Roman Arabia in the period of the 4th century. More on the identity and chronological placement of these officials — both new — can be found in the *editio princeps*.

Furthermore, the use of legal nomenclature with the titles and names of governor's office suggests that the scribe who wrote our spell may have been a court-clerk who had access to magical books containing formularies. M. W. C. Hassall, in W. Rodwell, ed. *Temples, Churches, and Religion in Roman Britain*, vol. i (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 77; Oxford, 1980), observes certain legal terms on Latin curse tablets and concludes that the "legalistic jargon of many of them ... strongly suggest[s] that they were written by professional scribes, who knew how to impress credulous clients" (p. 87); cf. D. R. Jordan, "New Defixiones from Carthage," in: J.H. Humphrey, ed., *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, vol. I (Ann Arbor, 1988), p. 125); further, Campbell Bonner, "Witchcraft in the Lecture Room of Libanius," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 63 (1932), pp. 34-44, esp. pp. 42f., who similarly notes the apparently common use of scribes to write magic charms: in *Orat.* 1.62-63, Libanius tells how he and his *βιβλιογράφος* were indicted on charges of magic by a

rival sophist who wished to blame the orator for his wife's death by insanity; see, text, translation, and commentary in A.F. Norman, *Libanius' Autobiography (Oration I)* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 38-41, 164f.

(magic signs) Ιάω,
'[Αδ]ωναΐ εσαααααα IXI
(magic signs) Σαβαώθ εεεεε ηηη
ηη (magic signs) μ χ χ ψ
'Αστραήλ, ηη οοο υυω
(magic signs) 'Ιάω, Σαβαώθ, 'Αμιωφεουευισ-
αγιζου ηρα ηη ιουω τ δ
(magic signs) 'Αρτεν-
χενμω Ζεμια Θωπτιεχω Βδητο-
φωθ Βαθο (magic signs) 'Ιάω, Σαβαώθ,
ια 'Ιπιοθ ζ θ, ἅγιον καὶ ἰσχυρόν, κραταιὸν
καὶ μεγαλοδύναμον {ον} ὄνομα, δὸς χάριν
δόξαν, νίκην Πρόκλῳ ὃν ἔτεκεν Σαλα-
ουῖνα, ἐπὶ Διογενιανοῦ τοῦ δουκὸς Βόστρ-
ων τῆς 'Αραβίας, ἐπὶ Πελαγίου τοῦ συνκαθέδρου
καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μικρῶν καὶ
μεγάλων, ἐπὶ θεῶν, ἐπὶ δαιμόνων, ἵνα νι-
κήσῃ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως πᾶσαν δίκη-
ν, ἐπὶ παντὸς δικαστοῦ, ἐπὶ μαγίστρου, ἐπὶ
πάντων τῶν καθορώντων τὸν καὶ
ἀκουόντων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ.
σύνστησον αὐτὸν κραταιὸν, ποίησον νι-
κητὴν πάντων, μάλιστα δὲ Σαλαουῖνα-
ς, ἣν ἔτεκεν Εὔα, τῆς τεκούσης 'Αβδανχα,
Βαλωνα, Μικκην, ἵνα νίκην λάβῃ Προ-
κλος ὃν ἔτεκεν Σαλαουίνη, καὶ δόξαν· καὶ φί-
μωσον καὶ ὑπόταξον καὶ καταδούλωσον
Σαλουίνην, ἣ<ν> ἔτεκεν Εὔα, καὶ 'Αβαδανχα καὶ
Βαλωναν καὶ Μικκην οὓς ἔτεκεν Σαλουῖ-
να καὶ πάντας ἔχθρους καὶ ἀντιδίκους καὶ
φίλους καὶ Διογενιανὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ

Πελάγιον, τὸν σχολαστικὸν αὐτοῦ, συν-
κάθεδρον, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας
μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους, ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας
καὶ νήπια, πάντας τοὺς ὁρῶντας Πρόκλον ὃν {ε}
ἔτεκεν Σαλαουινα, τὸν φοροῦντα σου τὴν
ἅγιαν καὶ ἀνίκητον δύναμιν. καὶ δὸς δύν-
αμιν, <ν>ίκην, χάριν, θράσος, τόλμαν, φόβον
κα{ι}τὰ πάντων, ἐπὶ πάσης τύχης καὶ ψυχῆς,
ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν
καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα· καὶ μήδ' ἂν εἷς
ἀντιπράξῃ ἢ ἀντίπῃ ἢ ἀντιβουλεύσητα<ι>
ἐν μηδενὶ τὸ σύνολον, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ νίκην,
χάριν, δόξαν, δύναμιν, τῷ φοροῦντι σου
τὴν δόξαν, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, ἀμήν.

15 *συνκαθέδρου*, 32/33 *συν/κάθεδρον*: *συγκ-*
22 *σύνστησον*: *σύστ-* 42 *ἀντίπῃ* : *ἀντείπῃ*

(1) (magic signs) *Iaô [Ad]ônai esaaaaa* (magic signs) *Sabaôth eeeee êêêêê* (magic signs) *phphph mchchps Astraêl êê ooo yyô* (magic signs) *Iaô Sabaôth Amiôpheoueuisagizouêra êê iouô* (magic signs) *Chenmô Zemia Thôptiechô Badêtophôth Batho* (magic signs) *Iaô Sabaôth Ia ipioth z th*. (11) Holy and strong, mighty and great-powerful Name, give favor, glory, victory to Proclus whom Salvina bore, before Diogenianus the *dux* of Bostra in Arabia; before Pelagius the *assessor*; and before all men small and great; before gods; before daimons, in order that he might be justifiably or unjustifiably victorious in any judgment before any judge, before a magister, before all who observe him and who hear him and his words.
(22) Establish him strong. Make (him) a victor over everyone, particularly over Salvina, whom 'Eve' bore, who bore Abdancha, Balôna, Mikkê; in order that Proclus, whom Salvina bore, might receive victory and glory.
(26) Silence, subjugate, and enslave Salvina, whom 'Eve' bore; and Abdancha and Balôna and Mikkê, whom Salvina bore; and all enemies, opponents, and associates; and Diogenianus the ruler; and Pelagius his *scholasticus*, an *assessor*; and all opposing parties, small and great; men, women and children — all who are watching Proclus, whom Salvina bore, the one bearing your holy and unconquerable power.
(37) And give (him) power, victory, favor, courage, boldness, (raising) awe in everyone, in all fortune and life, in every place, according to every hour, both day and night.
(41) And may no one act in opposition, or speak in opposition, or deliberate in opposition in anything at all except for the victory, favor, glory, power for the one bearing your glory; now, now; quickly, quickly. Amen!

1-11 Magic signs (χαρακτῆρες) are a common feature of magic texts and often occur, as here, occasionally interspersed with *nomina sacra* and *voces magicae*. On Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί in lines 1,2,3,6, and 10, see, e.g. **12**,14 and 'Index V,' svv.

Ἀστραήλ: Evidently formed from the Greek ἄστρα plus -ηλ: cf. Ἀστραηλ(ος) in *PGM* XXXVI. 258, and Ἀστρα.ελ on a magic nail from Rome (*BullInst*, 1849, p. 11).

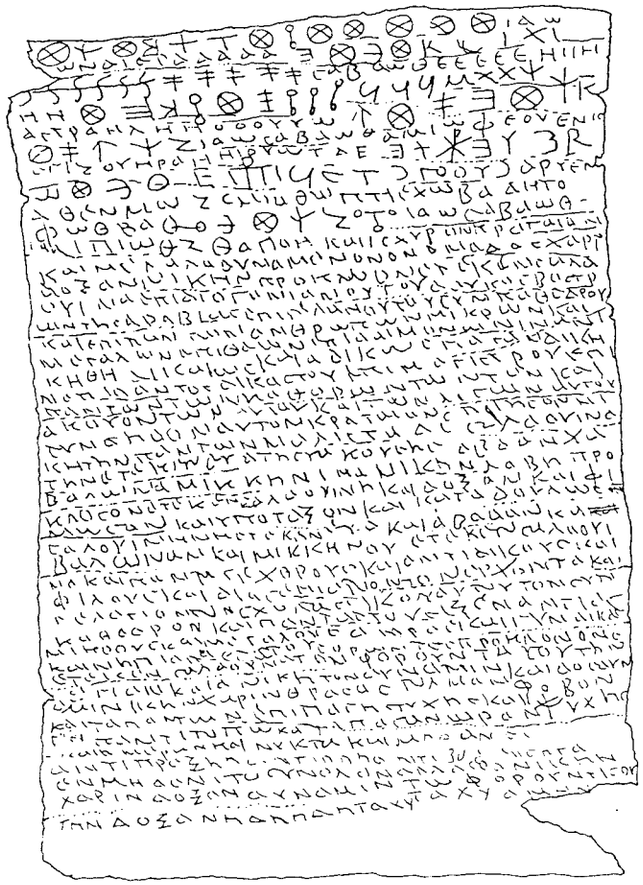


Fig. 57

7 ιουω: A plausible cipher of the Tetragrammaton. The *chi-rho* monogram, as well as the 'Amen' at the end (line 45), and possibly the use of 'Eve' (cf. 28), are the only possible 'Christian' features of this spell, which is otherwise marked by the usual syncretistic elements. By the time of the writing of this spell, Christianity had already been the official state-religion for some 40-50 years; occasional Christian elements should come as no surprise.

8 Ἀρτεν: cf. *PGM* IV.6,715. This is interpreted by K. Fr. W. Schmidt, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 41-42 (1935), p. 1183, as Egyptian *irw-tnj*, *"erhabenes Geschöpf."*

9 Χθενμω: cf. *PGM* XIXa. 3 χθενθεβενχ.

9-10 Βαδητοφωθ: cf. Βαζητοφωθ, god of the 2nd hour in *PGM* III. 505-7; the familiar 'χυχβαχυχ-logos,' e.g. *PGM* III. 53-55 (βαζητοφωθ); IX.3f. (βαδηδοφω), Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 53,10 ([βα]δητοφωθι). The name is spelled with either *delta* or *zeta*.

11 θ ζ: Probably = θ(εὸς) ζ(ῶν)? See E. Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ (Göttingen, 1926), pp. 41-43 for examples and **51**,8f.; **52**,80; **65**,1; **67**,2f.

11-12 ἅγιον καὶ ἰσχυρὸν, κραταιὸν καὶ μεγαλοδύναμον {ον} ὄνομα: The name is in the vocative and describes the deity (the Jewish God?) addressed in the singular imperatives throughout the rest of the spell; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia, I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p.14,13: ἅγιον ὄνομα καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ φοβερόν, καθάρισον, κτλ.; cf. *idem*, p. 26,3f.: ὀνόματα τοῦ μεγαλοδυνάμου Θεοῦ. For ἅγιος, ἰσχυρός, cf. *PGM* O(stracon) 3.7. Similar groupings of adjectives occur in *PGM* IV. 1345-49: ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, ἁγίους, μεγαλοδυνάμους ... τοὺς κραταιοὺς ἀρχιδαίμονας; *PGM* XII. 374f.: ἰσχυρὲ Τυφῶν, μεγαλοδύναμε; *PGM* IV. 519: βεβελτιωμένος ὑπὸ κράτους μεγαλοδυνάμου; *PGM* IV. 639: μεγαλοδύναμε, με<γα>λοκράτωρ (cf. *PGM* VII. 881); *PGM* XII. 136f.: μετὰ τῶν τοῦ θ(εοῦ) μεγάλων καὶ κραταιῶν ὀνομάτων; *PGM* XXXVI. 348: κατὰ τῶν κραταιῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὀνομάτων.

12-13 δὸς χάριν, δόξαν, νίκην: For similar requests for 'abstract gifts,' cf., e.g., *PGM* VII. 393: δός μοι ... δόξαν, χάριν, κτλ.; *PGM* XXXVI. 44-46: δότε μοι ... νίκην, χάριν, δόξαν, ἐπιτυχίαν. Longer lists (with χάρις) include *PGM* III. 576-80; VII. 215-218; XII. 201-260; XII.

271 (*ἐπίτευξιν, χάριν, νίκην*); cf. *PGM* XXXVI. 223-226 (below, line 43f.). Such prayer-like requests (with *δός*) occur in the earliest Greek literature. A good discussion of 'victory' and related charms can be found in C. A. Faraone, "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990), pp. 219-244, esp. p. 226f. In addition to references cited there, note also Homer, *Iliad* VII.203: *δὸς νίκην Αἴαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι*; Homeric Hymn (*To Aphrodite*) VI.19f.: *χαῖρ' ἐλικοβλέφαρε, γλυκυμείλιχε· δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι / νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἐντυνον ἀοιδήν*; Eurip. *Electra* 675: *νίκην δὸς ἡμῖν, εἰ δίκαι αἰτούμεθα*; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* XXXIX.141-143 — request for *χάρις* and *νίκη* at sea:

> *δὸς πάλιν ὀψιτέλεστον ἴσην χάριν, ὑέτιε Ζεῦ*
> *ὕδατι κυδαίνων με καὶ ἐνθάδε· καί τις ἐνίψῃ*
> *νίκην ἠμετέρην δεδοκημένος* ... (cf. *ll.* 176 + 178; *l.* 209).

13-14 For the role of Salvina (Σαλουῖνα, spelled *-νη* in 26,28; Σαλα- in 23, 36) in this text, see below on line 23f. Note also the spelling 'Αβδανχα vs.'Αβαδανχα, a phenomenon due to *anaptyxis* (cf. F. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri, I* [Milan, 1976], p. 311f. §2).

14-15 *ἐπὶ Διογενιανοῦ τοῦ δουκὸς Βόστρων τῆς 'Αραβίας ἐπὶ Πελαγίου τοῦ συνκαθέδρου*: The title *ὁ δούξ* (*dux*) denotes a military governor; *συγκάθεδρος*, his judicial adviser (*assessor*). Diogenianus, called *ἄρχων* in line 31, is new among the known governors of Arabia, but Pelagius may be tentatively identified with one of a family of *Pelagii* in the area. For discussion, see the *editio princeps*, where Diogenianus' tenure of office is placed sometime in the years 353-367 A.D., and where it is suggested that Pelagius may be the same man — or his father — who is later attested as governor of Arabia.

Occurrences of *ὁ δούξ* in the papyri have been collected and studied by R. Rémondon, "Le P. Vindob. inv. 25838 et les commandants militaires en Egypte au IVe siècle et au Ve," *Chronique d'Égypte* 40 (1965), pp. 180-197, who notes (pp. 180f., 183f.) that references to the word *δούξ* without honorific titles is uncommon on inscriptions. The complete honorific titles of a public monument would not be expected on a private amulet that names these officials as potential enemies. On *δούξ*, see further, *P. Oxy* LV.3793,4; LV. 3820,14 (both ca. 340 A.D.); *P. Oxy* LVI.3860,52 (later 4th cent.); *SB* 6.9597.17 (? 4th cent.); H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis* (American Studies in Papyrology 13; Toronto, 1974), s.v., p. 39. References to *δούξ* (with *κόμης*) on inscriptions specifically from Bostra, are given in M. Sartre, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie Tome XIII/1: Bostra* (Paris, 1982), nos. 9115, 9116 (first half of 5th cent. A.D.; M. Sartre, "Les gouverneurs de l'Arabie romaine," *Trois études sur l'Arabie romain et byzantine* (Collection Latomus 178; Brussels, 1978), pp. 77-120; esp. 106, §75: no. 9127 (an unsure reading); no. 9062: *dux* (4th cent.); cf. no. 9046.

The text begins by naming those highest on the socio-political ladder: the governor and his legal adviser; *ἐπὶ* with the genitive here means "in the presence of;" "before" a magistrate (see LSJ s.v., def. I.2.e). Though Proclus is to appear before the governor, his real opponents are the litigants themselves (lines 23-25, 28-30, 31-35). The legal dispute must have been of some importance, since pettier cases would have been delegated to lower judges (*Cod. Theod.* I.16,8; I.29.2; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire I*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 479f.; 481). Lawsuits were to be tried before governors of the province in which the defendant resided (*Cod. Theod.* II.1,4; I.22,2). Furthermore, as Jones remarks, "Claims for property ... seem normally to have come before the provincial governor" — an indication that Proclus' trial, too, may have been concerned with property matters (Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, p. 486; II, p. 1206, note 35). See further, on lines 19, 24f.

In naming a presiding governor and his assistant, our gold leaf compares with a lead *defixio* written to silence Theodorus, the governor of Kourion on Cyprus, as well as a certain Timon: *κὲ δὸς φιμὸν τῷ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἡγε[μόνι τῆς ἐπαρχείας ? / Κύπρου κὲ Τίμωνι* (cf. lines 8,19): T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), no. 130, pp. 253-255 (cf. no. 131, p. 257); A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 25.

Βόστρων τῆς 'Αραβίας: A comprehensive study of Buṣrā (Bostra) is M. Sartre,'s *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1985), who summarizes the various renderings of the city-name (p. 76f.): *ἡ Βοστρηνῶν πόλις, Βόστρα, Colonia Bostra*, etc. On the particular spelling found

here, see Sartre, *Bostra*, p. 76, note 95; further, the inscription from the Ḥijāz, Τύχῃ Βόστρων Ἀδριανὸς ζωγράφος σὺν λεγ(ιῶνι) III Κυ(ρηναϊκῇ): G. W. Bowersock, *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), p. 230; M. Speidel, "The Roman Army in Arabia," in his collected essays, *Roman Army Studies, I* (Amsterdam, 1984), p. 234; Sartre, *Trois études*, p. 34.

The term *συγκάθεδρος* is generally thought to render Latin *assessor* (cf. Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 88, s.v. *συγκάθεδρος*, *adsessor, coadjutor*); however, it is relatively uncommon, occurring only in late patristic writers and grammarians; rarely on inscriptions; only once on an ostrakon (*SB* 2253, 13 = Shelton, ed. *Ashm. G.O.* 160; see below); and only once on a papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 50.3570.3). An inspection of these texts suggests that a *συγκάθεδρος* was a judicial colleague of high rank being attached generally to a provincial governor's office — a fact supported by our text as well. For example, *O. Ashm. Shelton*, 80 (John C. Shelton, ed. *Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum* = Papyrologica Florentina 17; Florence, 1988) mentions in a list of food-deliveries, a *πρίνκιψ* and a *συνκάθεδρος* who receive double the meat ration that their subordinates get. Shelton (p. 67) observes:

> The titles if not the functions of these persons obviously show strong Latin influence, but the only real clue as to whether the background is military or civilian is the presence of an *assessor*. The latter must have been a legal adviser who assisted some official of such importance that he was entitled to preside at a court of law. The only other *συγκάθεδρος* known from Egypt occurs in P. Oxy. L 3570.3 (AD 285), where the man was attached to an epistrategus. That could also be the case here, or some other official, such as a *praeses*, could be involved.

These observations are confirmed by other occurrences of *συγκάθεδρος* on inscriptions and in literature: An epithet from Kolybrassos in Pamphylia (4th cent. A.D.) mentions Konon as *συγκάθεδρος* to the governor of the Thebaid: *συνκάθεδρον Θήβης Νειλώϊδος ἡγεμονῆος* (G. E. Bean & T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia, 1964-1968* [Wien, 1970], no. 49, pp. 74-77; cf. J. F. Gilliam, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13 [1974], pp. 147-150). An inscription from the reign of Septimius Severus (*CIL* VIII.1640 = *IGRom.* 1.933) similarly attaches a legal assessor to the governor: Π. Πίννιον Ἰοῦστον *βουλευτὴν* Ἀμαστριανὸν, *νομικὸν συγκάθεδρον* Π. Οὐλπίον Ἀραβιανοῦ *ἀνθυπ(άτου)* Ἀφρικῆς ... (see Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 88; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen* [2nd Aufl. Graz-Wien-Köln, 1967], p. 332, n. 701 with additional examples on Latin inscriptions); cf. also the decree of Anastasius (501 A.D.) in *SEG* IX.356,1: *συγκαθέδρῳ τοῦ περιβλέπτου δουκὸς νο(μίσματα) ρνδ΄* (ref. thanks to D. Feissel in *Bull. Epig.*, 1992, no. 643). Macarius, *Sermon 64* (ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe* [GCS; Berlin, 1973]), vol. II, p. 83,12f., states the need for a governor to appoint a *συγκάθεδρος* as an assistant: *τότε γίνεται ἡγεμῶν ἄρχων, λαμβάνει ἑαυτῷ τὸν συγκάθεδρον βοηθόν* (cf. vol. I, p. 215, 17); similarly, Athanasius, *Homilia in sanctos patres et prophetas* (Migne *PG* XVIII), p. 1065,21; *Sermo de patientia* (Migne *PG* XXVI, p. 1309, 20); Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* (ed. Bartelink), p. 62,2. Further on the assessors' status: O. Behrends, "Der *assessor* zur Zeit der klassischen Rechtswissenschaft," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 86 (1969), pp. 192-226; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I, pp. 500-503; p. 512; P. A. Brunt, "The Administrators of Roman Egypt," *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford, 1990), p. 232: "Provincial governors might have expert *adsessores* at least in the Severan period, but not all *adsessores* were jurisconsults."

16-17 *καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων*: cf. *PGM* XII.49; XXXV.17: *ἀνδρῶν μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων*, and lines 34-35, below; XV.18: *ἤτε μικροὶ ἤτε μεγάλοι* (demons); 21.19-22: *παρεχόμενοί μοι νίκας, χάριν, πρᾶξιν πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, ἐπιτυχίαν, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους*.

17 *ἐπὶ θεῶν, ἐπὶ δαιμόνων*: For victory over gods, men, and demons, cf. *PGM* VIII.23-25,35 ... *πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ δαίμονας ... καὶ ἔσχεν τὴν χάριν, τὸ νῖκος πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ... ἀπὸ παντὸς μίσους θ[ε]ῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, κτλ*. For the gods and daimons together, further, *PGM* XII.326; IV.2602f.; 2663: *Τύχη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων* (cf. below, line 39).

17-19 *ἵνα νικήσῃ δικαίως καὶ ἀδίκως πᾶσαν δίκην*: Proclus seeks to win the lawsuit whether the trial is fair or not. The legal stipulation occurs, e.g., in Libanius, *Decl.* VI, 2.39: *ἔοικεν ὁ κατήγορος ἀντιλέγειν μόνον ἐσπουδακέναι καὶ πάντα λέγειν ἑτοίμως, εἰ δὲ δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως*,

οὐ πάνυ φροντίζειν; and, similarly, in a non-historical setting in Herodot. VI.137: Πελασγιοὶ ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάιων ἐξεβλήθησαν, εἴτε ὦν δὴ δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως (on hypothetical views whether the Athenians had expelled the Pelasgians fairly or not).

19 ἐπὶ παντὸς δικαστοῦ, ἐπὶ μαγίστρου: The δικαστής probably refers here to the governor in his civil capacity as *iudex* (*consularis* or *praeses*), as the term is thus often used in Libanius, *Or.* I.63f., etc. (cf. A. F. Norman, *Libanius' Autobiography [Oration I]*, Oxford, 1965, p. 165); Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 37f. s.v., supplies special usages that may apply here.

In Egypt, the unqualified μάγιστρος has been identified with the *magister rei privatae* (μάγιστρος πριουάτης): C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983), p. 59: "*si tratta probabilmente del* magister rei privatae, *alto funzionario del tesoro imperiale* (res privata) *con giurisdizione su tutto l'Egitto*" (with copious citations, to which can now be added *P. Oxy* LV.3820,12 [a private letter], where μάγιστρος, unqualified, is identified with the *magister rei privatae*, and associated with the *dux* in a proceeding over property matters). See further, N. Lewis, "A New Document on the Magister Rei Privatae," *Journal of Juristic Papyri* 15 (1965), pp. 157-161; J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'avènement de Dioclétien à la création du diocèse (284-382)* (Brussels, 1964), p. 88f.; Jones, *The Later Roman Empire I*, pp. 411-13; Mason, *Greek Terms*, p. 67, s.v.; and in general, R. Guillard, *Titres et fonctions de l'Empire byzantin* (repr. London, 1976), pp. 44-55. In the provinces the *magister* possessed judicial powers in the overseeing of imperial lands — the granting of such to individuals or, conversely, the confiscation of private properties.

19-21 ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν καθορώντων τὸν καὶ ἀκουόντων, κτλ.: Libanius, *Orat.* XX.12, uses both 'observing and hearing' in reference to the gods who judge the unjust deeds of men: ἄνωθεν μὲν ἅπαντα καθορῶσι καὶ ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ λεγομένοις καὶ πραττομένοις ἀδικήματα πολλά τε ἄλλα, κτλ. The "observers and hearers" probably represent outside onlookers brought into the trial to influence its outcome; see now Angelos Chaniotis, "Watching a Lawsuit: A New Curse Tablet from Southern Russia," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 33 (1992), pp. 69-73, in reference to D. R. Jordan, "A Greek Defixio at Brussels," *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, vol. 40 (1987), pp. 162-166: ὅσοι ... καὶ παρατηροῦσι.

22-23 σύνστησον αὐτὸν κραταιόν, ποίησον νικητὴν πάντων: The verb συνίστημι/συσταίνω carries legal overtones; cf. e.g. *SB* 14.12139. 2,17: οὐ δέοντως τὴν παροῦσαν δίκην συνεστησάτο ὁ ἀντίδικος, "the opponent introduced the present case improperly;" similarly, *UPZ* 2.IV, 21f.: καθ' ὃ ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς ἀντιδίκους συνίστασθαι τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδομένους αὐτοῖς, κτλ.; etc; and in general, the *Codex Civilis Moldoviae* (edd. J. Zepos & P. Zepos, *Jus Graeco-Romanum* VIII [Athens, 1931], p. 344); s.v. Συνίσταται ... λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὕπαρξιν, ἢ σχῆμα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν εἰς τὸ εἶναι.

Νικητής is never found in Greek magic. The title was an imperial epithet popularized by Constantine in lieu of ἀνίκητος (*invictus*) — a title that carried associations with *Sol invictus*, and hence was inappropriate for a Christian emperor. In literature νικητής is almost exclusively confined to 4th century Patristic writers who use it either in reference to Constantine or in the sense of a spiritual victor (which does not apply here); cf. Eusebius, *De laud. Const.* III.3: νικητὴν αὐτὸν καθιστὰς ἐχθρῶν ἁπάντων καὶ πολεμίων; *idem*, X.7: ἁπάντων ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων νικητὴν αὐτὸν καθίστησιν; G. Rösch, ΟΝΟΜΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ. *Studien zum offiziellen Gebrauch der Kaisertitel in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit* (Wien, 1978), pp. 45f., 78f. Νικητής (*victor*) in our text is probably a borrowing of contemporary imperial titulature (cf. ἀνίκητος [=*invictus*] in line 37).

23-25 μάλιστα δὲ Σαλαουῖνας, ἣν ἔτεκεν Εὔα, τῆς τέκουσης Ἀβδανχα, Βαλωνα<ν>, Μικκην: Our text names Salvina as Proclus' chief opponent (here and at 28), but also as his mother (13f., 26, 36), and as the mother of three opponents of his (here and at 28f.), who are therefore his siblings. These last are listed in the accusative as Ἀβ(α)δανχα, Βαλωνα(ν), and Μικκην. The first name is theophoric: *ʿAbd*, "servant" + *Ankh*; cf. Αβδοβαλος, 'servant of Baal' (*Princeton Exp. Inscr.* 723, Sâleh = Littmann, *et al.*, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria* [Part 5; Leyden, 1915, etc.], p. 334, with discussion); Αβδαλλας, 'servant of Allah,' (*Princeton Exp. Inscr.* 46, Il-Umta'îyeh, Syria). The accusative ending in -α, if Greek, tells nothing about the sex of its bearer, but other theophoric

names with Αβδ- are masculine. The second name — also unattested — would, if declined as Greek, be masculine and have a nominative Βαλων. Its initial element is evidently the same as that of a Tyrian or Sidonian (4th cent. B.C.) recorded by Diodorus Siculus XVII.46,6 as Βαλ(λ)ώννμος: the names are both hellenized formations of Ba'al. Μίκκη is of course known. Unless the Μικκην of the tablet is the accusative of an otherwise unattested Μίκκης (cf. Semitic Micah ?), this sibling will be a sister (the gender of the relative οὕς at 29 is not necessarily masculine but may be collective).

For the μάλιστα-formula in similar spells, cf. *PGM* IX.6: μάλιστα τόνδε (κοινά, ὡς θέλεις); XXXVI.47f.: πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς πάσας γυναῖκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν δεῖνα, κτλ.

26-27 καὶ φίμωσον καὶ ὑπόταξον καὶ καταδούλωσον: These verbs occur in malicious spells, such as the θυμοκάτοχον καὶ ὑποτακτικόν recorded in *PGM* VII.940-66: φίμωσον, ὑπόταξον, καταδούλωσον, 966f., or on the *defixio* from Beisan (edd. H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 68 [1937], p. 55,20f.: φιμώσ[ατε] κὲ ὑπατάξατε ... κὲ [κατα]δουλώσατε, 4th cent.). Examples for writing such spells are preserved in *PGM* XXXVI.35-68; 161-177; similarly, *PGM* X.24-35, though this is the first attested case of an actual gold or silver *lamella* containing imprecation-language.

28 Σαλουινην ἣ<ν> ἔτεκεν Εὔα: Salvina's mother, 'Eve,' is not found in the papyrological onomastica. R. Daniel, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 74 (1988), pp. 249-251 (cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 156), observes that in magical texts 'Eve' always occupied the place of the mother's name — never the client's — leading him to believe that Eve is a pseudonym used to replace the name of the real mother.

28-30 καὶ Ἀβαδανχα ϙαὶ Βαλωναν καὶ Μίκκην οὓς ἔτεκεν Σαλουινα: The names, repeated from above, are here joined by καί's, though the second καὶ seems to be *in rasura*. Βαλωναν here carries the feminine accusative ending, whereas Ἀβαδανχα (masc.) is no doubt indeclinable. Salvina's children seem to be both masculine and feminine, hence the masculine οὓς.

30 καὶ πάντας ἔχθρους καὶ ἀντιδίκους: cf. *PGM* IV.2177f.: ἐχθροὺς νικήσεις; *PGM* III.75; X.24. For opponents, cf. *PGM* XII.304: ἀντιδίκους ὑποτάσσειν; *PGM* III.6; ἀντιδίκος comes from judiciary language and is found already on the earliest *defixiones*; see, e.g., D. R. Jordan, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26 (1985), nos. 6,19,42; D. R. Jordan, "A Greek Defixio at Brussels," *Mnemosyne* 40 (1987), pp. 162-166, esp. 165, n. 9; L. Robert, *Collection Froehner, I: Inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1936), p. 13f.; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), nos. 18,7; 22.27,42,51.

30-31 καὶ φίλους: "And friends" are the associates of the just-mentioned enemies and opponents; cf. E. Ziebarth, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad. Wissen.* 32 (1934), no. 23b.18-21, p.1041: κὴ Ζωίλωι / ϙ κατορύχοις κὴ ἐργα[σ]ία κὴ / οἰκονομία κὴ φιλία κὴ / τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα.

31 καὶ Διογενιανὸν τὸν ἄρχοντα: Here Diogenianus is named ἄρχων in addition to his title δούξ in line 14 above. Though the use of ἄρχων for a *civil* governor is quite common by Justinian's time (cf. R. E. Brünnow & A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia, Bd. 3*, [Strassburg, 1909], p. 281), it certainly occurs earlier on inscriptions and in literature, though the formal contours of the title are imprecise. Greek writers (as opposed to stone-engravers) use ἄρχων as a general name for 'governor' with little regard for its formal nomenclature. Libanius, for example, in describing governors of Arabia contemporary with our Diogenianus, regularly uses the term ἄρχων; see *Epist.* 320, 329, 337, 357, 358 (of Maximus, ca. 357-358 A.D.); *Epist.* 763 (of Belaeus, ca. 361-363 A.D.), etc.; cf. Mason, *Greek Terms*, pp. 110-113; esp. p. 112, who remarks: "... ἄρχων is not used in formal inscriptions and official titulature to designate the *praeses provinciae*." The title cannot be used with any precision for purposes of dating. Nevertheless, according to Sartre, the title ἄρχων is first attested as a designation for a governor of Arabia, Flavius Anastasius, on an inscription from Qasr al-Hallabat in 529 A.D., referred to as ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ ἐνδοξότατος κόμης, δοὺξ καὶ ἄρχων, τὸ β΄. As *dux* he exercises his capacity as military governor; as ἄρχων (= *iudex*) his capacity as civil governor (so Sartre, *Trois études*, pp. 108f., §80). However, already in ca. 343-348 A.D., as Sartre (*Trois études*, p. 102) notes, the title ἄρχων τῆς ἐπαρχίας is used of an Arabian governor, Flavius Antonius Hierocles; cf. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, p. 60: "Le terme imprécis d' ἄρχων qui, dans les papyrus, désigne

fréquemment les gouverneurs à partir du Ve siècle, s'emploie déjà au milieu du IV^e" (with references).

We must consider the use of ἄρχων here in two possible usages, which may not be mutually exclusive: 1) = *iudex*, that is Diogenianus is designated as a civil governor in his capacity as judge; and 2) = provincial governor. Our text is not a public document, but a private magical text; formal nomenclature would not be expected.

31-33 καὶ Πελάγιον, τὸν σχολαστικὸν αὐτοῦ, συνκάθεδρον: As the province's principal legal officer, Pelagius must have been of some rank, for he is both *assessor* and *scholasticus*. Here only are the two terms apparently used in reference to the same person. On our text, the term is distinguished from the more common σχολαστικός (see lines 32f.). Though the σχολαστικός designates a mere advocate, here it refers to the *advocatus praesidis*; see A. Claus, "Ὁ Σχολαστικός," (Inaug. Diss. Köln, 1965), esp. pp. 132-148: "Die σχολαστικοί an der Seite höherer Beamter," and pp. 20-42 for list (with titles) from the papyri and inscriptions, supplemented by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70 (1987), pp. 143-146; and T. Gagos, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 79 (1989), p. 272; see further, R. Pintaudi & P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tavolette lignee e cerate da varie collezioni* (Papyrologica Florentina 18; Florence, 1989) on 2.2 (p. 23); H. G. Ioannidou on *P. Oxy.* LIX. 4002 (p. 166, n. 23, with further discussion). On advocates in general, see R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (New York, 1944), pp. 386-88.

For the later use of σχολαστικός is designate the civil function of a governor himself, see the discussion in *editio princeps*. The *scholasticus*, Pelagius, is no mere lawyer: he is a powerful administrative officer in charge of the governor's civil affairs. But our text belongs to an earlier period when the function of the *scholasticus* was kept separate from that of the *dux*, even though our governor, Diogenianus, exercises both military *and* civil duties. This represents a transitional period when the civil and military duties of government were being invested into a single office.

33-34 καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐξ ἐναντίας μικροὺς καὶ μεγάλους, ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ νήπια: The 'women and children' are Salvina and her children. For such lists, note *PGM* XXXV. 17-19: ... γυναικῶν καὶ κορασίων καὶ παιδίων κα<ι> πά<ν>των, κτλ.; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 61,11f.: πάντας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας.

οἱ ἐξ ἐναντίας: "The opposing party;" cf. *P.Grenf.* II.7(a),11f.: τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς λεγόμενα; *P. Oxy.* XII.1558,9 (δι' ἐναντίας); *P. Panop. Beatty* I.6.145; *P. Turner* 34.2,28; LSJ, s.v. ἐναντίος, def. 2c.: οἱ δ' ἐναντίας, "the *opponents* in a law suit;" further, *PGM* XXXVI.31: τὰ π<ν>εύματα τὰ ἐναντίου.

35-36 πάντας τοὺς ὁρῶντας Πρόκλον: "all those who are watching Proclus;" cf. Commentary, line 20f.

36-37 τὸν φοροῦντα σου τὴν ἅγιαν καὶ ἀνίκητον δύναμιν: The simpliest version of this is τὸν φοροῦντα τοῦτο τὸ φυλακτήριον; cf. **33**,21;**48**,14f.; **59**,9; **60**,5f. Here it is the god's power that is carried (cf. also line 11f., ἅγιον ... ὄνομα; line 44f., τῷ φοροῦντί σου τὴν δόξαν); cf. *PGM* XII.258f., 260: ἐπὶ τῷ φοροῦντί μοι τήνδε τὴν δύναμιν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ... φοροῦντί μοι τάυτην δύναμιν (referring, incidentally to a magic ring to be used before kings or governors). Further, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 9 (on no. 2,9), write: "φοροῦντά σε: the god is present in the amulet because his name written on it."

37-39 καὶ δὸς δύναμιν, <ν>ίκην, χάριν, θράσος, τόλμαν, φόβον κα{ι}τὰ πάντων: The same three 'abstract favors' occur in *PGM* XXXV. 1-42: χάριν, νίκην, δύναμιν, πνεῦμα, (ἰσχύν); cf. *PGM* XXXVI.223-226 (including other 'favors'): ζοήν, ὑγίαν, δόξαν, πλοῦτον, δύναμιν, ἰσχύν, ἐπιτυχίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, χάριν ... νί[κ]ην. The three words θράσος, τόλμαν, φόβον, are not used in this sense in other magic texts; they refer to the fearful and daring impression Proclus is to make at his court appearance.

39-41 ἐπὶ πάσης τύχης καὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα: cf. *PGM* VIII.38 (in a similar context): τούτῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἢ τούτῳ τῷ μην<ι>ῇ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἢ ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ. The phrase, ἐπὶ πάσης τύχης καὶ ψυχῆς, is not usually found in magic, but means "in every chance circumstance and life (?)." The word ψυχῆς seems to have a horizontal slash across the first letter, which may indicate an expunged word.

41-43 *μηδ' ἄν εἷς ἀντιπράξῃ ἢ ἀντ(ε)ίπῃ ἢ ἀντιβουλεύσητα<ι> ἐν μηδενὶ τὸ σύνολον*: Such *ἀντι*-compounds are special to legal texts (cf. *ἀντιδίκους*, line 30; *ἐξ ἐναντίας*, line 33). *Ἀντιπράσσειν* bears the sense of "to counter sue;" "to exact payment in return" (cf. *πράξεις*, LSJ, s.v.); *ἀντιλέγειν*, "to give opposing arguments" (cf. *ἀντιλόγια*); and *ἀντιβουλεύεσθαι* perhaps "to give opposing deliberation." For *ἀντιλέγω* in juristic magical contexts, cf. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 57,41: *ὅπως μὴ ἀντίπῃ ἡμῖν, κτλ.*; J. M. R. Cormack, "A *Tabellae Defixionis* in the Museum of the University of Reading, England," *Harvard Theological Review* 44 (1951), pp. 25-34; lines (III) 7-10: *πάντες οὗτοι ἔ[στ]ῳσαν κατα/[δε]δεμένοι, μὴ ἀντιλέγον/τες, [μ]ὴ λαλοῦν/τες, κτλ.* (and p. 29, with reference to A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* I, p. 97, 5); C. A. Faraone, "Aeschylus' *ὕμνος δέσμιος* (*Eum.* 306), and Attic Judicial Curse Tablets," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105 (1985), pp. 150-154, esp. p. 152 citing *Eum.* 303: *οὐδ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀποπτύεις λόγους*, with Scholia Vetera; cf. also a similar sentiment in W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos, Teil I* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Bd. 41; Bonn, 1992), no. 149 (p. 91f.). *ἀλλ' εἴ τι προσκαταλαλοῦντι*, "But if they say anything more against me" (*defixio*, Hellenistic period).

The phrase *μηδ' ἄν εἷς ... ἐν μηδενὶ τὸ σύνολον*, and the like, occurs in legal papyri; cf. *SB* 8.9833,12-14: *... καὶ μηδὲν σοὶ ἐγκα[λεῖν μη]δὲ ἐγκαλέσειν περὶ μηδενὸς ἁπλῶς τὸ σύν[ολον...]*; *P. Mil* II.48,13: *μετὰ πίστεως ἀγαθῆς ἀκαταγνώστως τοῦ μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἀποκρύπτει<ν>*; *P. Münch.* I.1,21: *συνεῖδον σε μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον κατέχοντα τῶν πατρῴων ἡμῶν πραγμάτων.*

42-44 *ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ νίκην, χάριν, δόξαν, δύναμιν*: *ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ νίκην* is a peculiar anacolouthon; one expects *δὸς νίκην, κτλ.* For a similar group of nouns as here, cf. *PGM* VII.924: *νίκην, ἰσχύν, δύναμιν* (a victory charm to be written on a gold amulet).

44-45 *τῷ φοροῦντι σου τὴν δόξαν, ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, ἀμήν*. A similar notion occurs in line 36f., above. For 'Amen' on non-Christian magical papyri, cf. *PGM* VII.271; XXIIb 21,25 (Jewish).

59 A Fever Amulet

Fig 58. Plate XXIV

Oxyrhynchus, Egypt — III A.D.
Cologne, Institut für Altertumskunde — H. 9.0; W. 1.5 x 3.5 cm.
T. Colon. inv. 7 — Silver alloy

Lit. R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum Vol. I (Suppl. Mag. I)*, (Papyrologica Coloniensia XVI.2; Opladen, 1990), pp. 7-10, no. 2; D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968), p.104, no. 6.

Daniel & Maltomini 1990:7-10 now give the preferred reading of this fever amulet, first published by Wortmann 1968 and identified as lead. From autopsy, it appears that the piece is certainly not lead; however, it is also not pure silver, but probably a silver alloy debased with lead or tin. The faint, tiny ringlet texturing of the surface clearing indicates the process of annealing (not "decorated with small embossments," as indicated in Daniel & Maltomini 1990:7). The piece is roughly triangular or cone-shaped with the bottom broken off.

Front:

Ἐπικαλοῦμέ
[σ]ε τὼν ἐπὶ ὀκε-
ανο(ῦ) πνεύμα-
τι Ὀβαχ καὶ κα(τὰ)
τοῦ Βαβαραθαν
Βαροχ Ἀβρααμ
Σαβαραααμ,
φύλαξον τὸν
φοροῦ(ν)τά σε
ἀπὸ το(ῦ) πυρε-
τοῦ καὶ πα-
ντὸς πραγ-
μάτου·
ἂν πυρετὸς
ἐπελάβητε

16 αὐτοῦ,
κατασβέ-
νοιȩ τὸ
κ̣αθά-
20 [παξ]
Back:
και σε ... ȩ̣τα
τ̣[ȩα]ν κ̣.π̣ροι[...]

1 ἐπικαλοῦμέ: ἐπικαλοῦμαί 2 τὼν: τὸν 17-18 κατασβένοιȩ: κατασβέννυȩ 2f. ὀκεανο: ὠκεανοῦ 12f. πράγματου: πράγματος 15 ἐπιλάβητε: ἐπιλάβηται

I call upon you, the one over the ocean, in (the) spirit (or: *in name of*) *Obach*, and by the *Babarathan Baroch Abraham Sabaraam*: protect the one who carries you, from the fever and every matter. If fever seizes him, extinguish it once and for all.

1-4 Ἐπικαλοῦμέ [σ]ε τὼν ἐπὶ ὀκεανο(ῦ) π̣νεύματι Οβαχ καὶ κα(τὰ): The π̣ of π̣νεύματι is hardly discernible; only the right side of an oval form is visible, hence ο̣νεύματι, i.e. ὀνόματι, is also likely (cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papryi I* [Milan, 1976], p. 234 on ευ > ο, and discussion to follow). The text represents a conflation of two formulas, is badly corrupt, or both. Judging from the meaning and parallels (cited below), some form of ὀνόματι, not πνεύματι, probably originally stood here. Daniel & Maltomini (p.9) make the following observation: "One might consider something like καὶ <ὁρκίζω σε> κα<τὰ> κτλ. A more sizely omission, e.g. <ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου (± ὀνόματος)> Οβαχ καὶ κτλ. cannot be ruled out in light of **50**,34 and PGM VII 461. Since ἐπικαλοῦμαι followed by κατά and the genitive does not appear to be idiomatic, one should probably not resort to the simple deletion of καί." (It should be noted that κατά in ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε κατά at *PGM* XII.263ff. means "in the manner of," i.e., "in the language of").

In other words, our text's ἐπικαλοῦμαι is intrusive, having replaced an original ἐξορκίζω; the dative π̣νεύματι (or ο̣νεύματι) corresponds to a former ὀνόματι; and the whole was part of an original 'Οβακ και'- adjuration formula. Daniel & Maltomini hint at so much in their comments on

ὀκεανο (= ὠκεανοῦ), whose reading indicates another corrupt text: "There can be no doubt that ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐπ' ὠκεανοῦ πνεύματι is the text that our writer intended, but we wonder whether it stemmed from a corruption of the well-known ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐν τῷ [or τὸν ἐπὶ] κενῷ πνεύματι; cf. PGM V.121f.; XII.367f., 454f.; XIV.16" (p. 8). This is no doubt correct. An invocation, ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν ἐν τῷ κενῷ πνεύματι, has merged with, and supplanted, a prior exorcistic formula, ὁρκίζω σε ἐπ' ὀνόματι Οβακ καὶ κὰ, κτλ. The hybrid resulting from such interbreeding — τὸν ἐπὶ ὀκεανο(ῦ) Ǫ̣ΝΕΥ̣ΜΑΤΙ (= πνεύματι/ὀνόματι) — represents a grammatical and syntactic deformity: "I call upon you, the one over the ocean, in *spirit* (name?), OBACH, by the BABARATHAN." Daniel & Maltomini's brave attempt to wrest any sense of it ("... the one over the air of the ocean," p. 8) exposes the disfigured appearance of the sentence all the more.

4-7 καὶ κα(τὰ) τοῦ βαβαραθαν βαροχ Ἀβρααμ σαβαραα̣μ: Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 2, p. 9, give a valuable discussion of this magic formula of apparent "Oxyrhynchite provenance," providing the following two parallels:

1) *PGM* VII.461: ἐξορκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου οβακιου (κ written over χ) = ὀ(νόματος) Βακχίου, Pr.

2) *Suppl. Mag.I*, no.50,33f.: ἐξορκίζω σε γὰρ κατὰ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὀνόματος [οβ] Οβακ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ βαρουχ, κτλ.

The second reference proves that the Cologne text's καὶ κὰ must represent καὶ κατά, at least originally (on κά = κατά; note *Suppl. Mag.I* no. 3,4, Commentary), and not, e.g., Ο Βαχκαι κατου, κτλ. The name is explained by K. F. W. Schmidt, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 196 (1934), p. 175 as Egyptian *ʿ3-b3gj.w*, "Great One of the Dead," or "Door-guardian of the Dead;" or as Coptic, "to be white; shining" (see *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 9, acknowledging H. J. Thissen). If the former, this certainly belongs — as the context of *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 50 suggests — to the realm of aggressive, and not protective, magic. It is important to note, in support of this, that the magic names of the κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαν + σαβαραα̣μ formula are found almost entirely in binding love-spells that adjure (ἐξορκίζω!) underworld daimons for the aggressive acquisition of love. Note the 'long form' of the spell in *Suppl. Mag.I*, no. 46,15-18:

ὁρκίζω σε, νέκυς δαίμων ... κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαραθαμ χελουμβρα βαρουχαμβρα Αδωναιου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Αβραθ Αβρασαξ Σεσενγενβαρφαραγγη ... σαβαρβαριαωθ, κτλ.; similarly, *idem* nos. 47,15f.; 48,16-19; 51,2f. [ostrakon]; *PGM* III.109-111; IV.362f.; LXVII.10; A. Delatte & Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), nos. 502 (with Σποριζω = ὁρκίζω), 516, 520, 521.

Our text then, though a protective amulet, shows conclusively the borrowing of formulas from aggressive love-spells. The shortened version of the *logos* that appears on the Cologne phylactery derives from a need to accommodate the inscription in a limited writing area. The shortened form has also turned the usual βαρουχαμβρα of the aggressive spells into an apparent 'blessing-formula' of Abraham: βαροχ Ἀβρααμ.

Σαβαραααμ in line 7 is akin to other σαβαρ-formulations in the aggressive group cited above: *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 50,37f.,39f.: σαβαραααμ χαβαραααμ; *idem*, no. 46,17; no. 49,36: σαβαρβαριαωθ; no. 48J,18: σαβαρβατιανη, σαβαρβατιαωθ, σαβαρβαφαι; no. 47,16: σαβαρβαφαει; cf. further, σαβαρβαρβαβιθιουθ in *PGM* IV.1241-43 — a Jewish exorcism that here also borrows from the netherworld adjuration of a *nekydaimon* (ἐξορκίζω σε δαῖμον, ὅστις ποτ' οὖν). The meaning of the names as a group can be located in Semitic cognates referring to "breaking," "smashing;" "fracture," "calamity," and "destruction" — direct references to earthquake deities and the activities they cause. Cf. Aramaic and Hebrew שָׁבַר, *šābar*, "to break, break up" (Qal); "mash, shatter" (Piel); שֶׁבֶר, *šeber*, "destruction." Σαβαραααμ quite possibly combines the cognate *šbr* with (א)עם, "crowd, people" = "(He who) smashes/destroys (the) people." (The ending -αααμ could also go back to הָמָה, "to roar; rumble"). The parallel name, Σαβαρβαριαωθ, cited above also suitable combines שבר with בריאות (= Βαριαωθ), "creations, formations," plural of בְּרִיאָה, *bərî'āh*, "creation, formation" (i.e., of heaven and earth). Hence σαβαρβαριαωθ represents '(He who) breaks creations/foundations' — another earthquake deity.

Such etymologies fit admirably in the contexts of the adjuration formulas that also speak of splitting open the earth, the sea, founts of the abyss, etc.: ὅτι σε ἐξωρκίζω, νεκυδαίμων, κατὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ τρομεροῦ, οὗ ἡ γῆ τὸ ὄνομα ἀκούσασα ἀνυγήσετε, ... οἱ δαίμονες ... ἔμφοβοι τρέμουσιν ... οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἡ θάλασσε ... ταράσσοντε ... ἡ πέτρε ... ῥήσσωντε, κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαριθαμ, ... σαβαρβατιαωθ κτλ., "For I adjure you, corpse-daemon, by the frightful and dreadful name of the one at the sound of whose name the *earth will open* ... the daemons *tremble* fearfully ... the rivers and the seas *heave* tumultuously ... the *rocks break* ... by *barbaritham* ... *sabarbatiaôth*," etc. (tr. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. I*, no. 48, 14-18 p. 190f., italics mine). The *barbaritham*-formula is an original earthquake invocation to rattle and shake open the earth to release Hades' spirits. See also Commentary on **52**,44f., 93f.

8-9 φύλαξον τὸν φοροῦ<ν>τά σε: Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 2: "the god is present in the amulet, because his name is written on it" (p. 9). The usual phrase is τὸν φοροῦντα τὸ φυλακτήριον τοῦτο — very common on gems and papyrus phylacteries; cf. **58**,36f., with Commentary.

10-13 ἀπὸ το(ῦ) πυρετοῦ καὶ παντὸς πραγμάτου: Read πράγματος (cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri, II* [Milan, 1981], p. 44). On πρᾶγμα, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 99, *ad loc.*, cite *PGM* XXXVI.176f.: φυλάξατέ με ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος ἐπερχομένου μου; LXXI.7; *PGM* P (Christian) 2,8.

14-16 ἂν πυρετὸς ἐπελάβητε αὐτοῦ (read ἐπιλάβηται): The *epsilon* was made by adding a short stroke to the left vertical of the *pi*. On the verb, Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 2, p. 9 cite Hippocrates, *Remed.* 93: ἢν δὲ ὁ πυρετὸς πάλιν ἐπιλάβηται αὐτοῦ (ed. H. Schöne, *Rheinisches Museum* 73 [1920-1924], p. 443).

17-18 καταϙβενοίε (r. καταϙβεννύε): καταϙβεν<νύ>οις Daniel & Maltomini 1990 (with explanation for the optative, p. 9). But reading here the simple active, imperative of καταϙβεννύω makes more sense (with the usual οι = υ and the final - ϛ in fact an ε: the tablet is broken right through the middle of the Є/C. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, p. 10 provide ample cases of σβέννυμι used of fever. For καταϙβέννυμι/-ύω of fever, cf., e.g. John Chrysostom, *De mutatione nominum* (Migne, *PG* 51), p. 139, 36-38: Καὶ γὰρ ἰατρὸν τότε θαυμάζομεν μάλιστα, ὅταν δυνηθῇ τὸν πυρετὸν αἱρόμενον καὶ τὴν φλόγα τοῦ νοσήματος οὖσαν ἐν ἄκρᾳ σφοδρότητι καταϙβέσαι καὶ παντελῶς ἀφανίσαι. Cf. **56**,11.

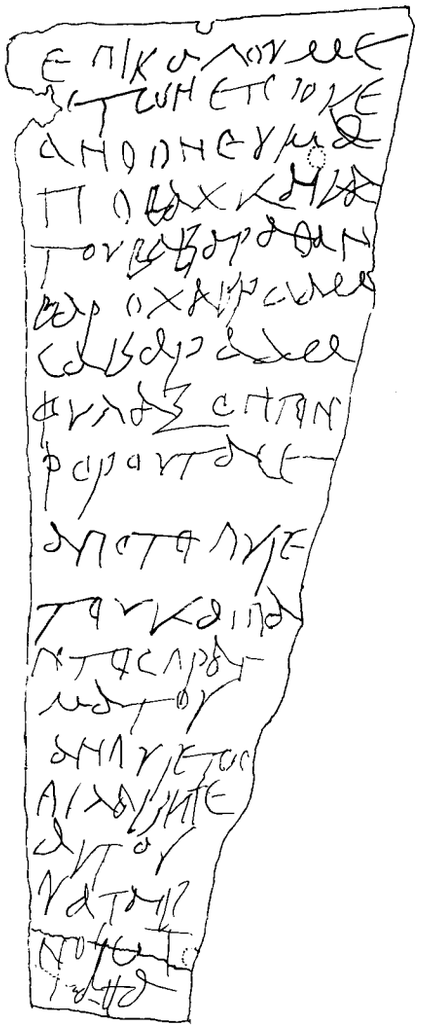


Fig. 58

60 A Χαριτήσιον

Fig. 59. Plate XXV

Oxyrhynchus, Egypt — II-III A.D.
Cologne, Institut für Altertumskunde — H. 4.7 cm.; W. 5.2 cm.
P. Colon. inv. T. 8 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum Vol. II (Suppl. Mag. II)* (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* XVI.2; Opladen, 1992), p. 66f., no. 64; D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 168 (1968), p. 106, Nr. 8.

Wortmann first published this text in 1968 without photograph or drawing. Daniel in Daniel & Maltomini:1992 gives an improved reading and correctly redated the piece from the sixth century A.D. (Wortmann) to the second or third. Wortmann also misidentified the material as lead. A still newer reading, given below, differs in some details from that given in Daniel & Maltomini 1991:66. We also publish a full commentary and facsimile — one made from a tracing of the actual tablet (scale, 1:1, here reduced to 90%).

As Daniel (1992:66) observes, the amulet is a conventional χαριτήσιον. Examples of such 'favor' charms are rare among the corpus of gold and silver *lamellae*. Another in this corpus (**40**), written on gold, contains a list of 'virtues' not unlike that found here. Silver, or gold, must have been considered particularly suitable for writing χαριτήσια. This proves all the more noteworthy when we observe that *T. Colon.* 8 comes from Oxyrhynchus, a town known for its plentiful supply of papyrus. Hence, we cannot avoid the assumption that the writer of our spell was following a formulary, such as that given in *PGM* XXXVI.35-68, where a χαριτήσιον is to be written on a silver leaf (λᾶμνα ἀργυρᾶ); see, further, discussion below on lines 3-5. In antiquity, the engraved tablet was folded several times along its vertical axis from right to left. Accordingly, the letters on the left — though this innermost margin remained intact — are corroded and sometimes illegible. The frayed right margin has deteriorated, resulting in the loss of ca. 2 letters.

ᾳεηιουω ια[ca.2-3]
Ἀδωναῖε Σαβ[αώθ],
δὼς χάριν, φι[λίαν],
4 εὐπραξίαν, ἐ[πα]-
πρᾳδισίαν το [φο]-
ροῦντι τὸ φυ[λα]-
[[ⲧⲧ]]κτήριον.

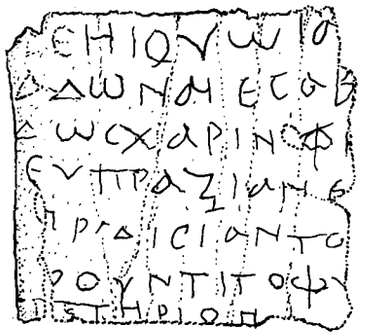


Fig. 59

3 δὼς: δὸς 5 το: τῷ 4-5 ἐ[πα]πρᾳδισίαν: ἐ[πα]φροδισίαν
6-7 φυ[λα][[ⲧⲧ]]κτήριον: φυλακτήριον.

AEÊIOUÔ IA ... Adônaie Sabaôth, give favor, friendship, success, loveliness to him who bears the amulet.

1 ᾳεηιουω: For a series of vowels such as this at the top, or beginning, of an amulet, see **4**,1; **9**, etc. The same incipit is found on the famous Miletos inscription (prob. II-III A.D.) widely published and accesible in, e.g., A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), 'Beilage 9,' pp. 393-399: αεηιουω, ἅγιε, φύλαξον τὴν πόλιν Μιλησίων καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας, κτλ.; see also H. Leclercq, "Alphabet vocalique des gnostiques," *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* (Paris, 1907), cols. 1268-1287.

1-2 ια[ca 2] Ἀδωναῖε Σαβ[αὼθ]: As Daniel notes, one can read in line 1 names other than Ἰάω (as Wortmann had), e.g. ια [ια], or Ἰα[ώθ]. If Ἰά[ω], the word-order is somewhat surprising, as one commonly encounters Ἰάω, Σαβαώθ, Ἀδωναί, but not Ἰάω, Ἀδωναί, Σαβαώθ (= יהוה אדוני צבאות).

3-5 δὼς χάριν, φι[λίαν], εὐπραξίαν, ἐ[πα]πρᾳδισίαν. The singular δώς (=δός) is formulaic; the group of names addressed would usually be taken as plural. Requests for such favors in Greek χαριτήσια are treated extensively in C. A. Faraone, "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990), pp. 219-243, who traces their origin from Homer on, and provides numerous Near Eastern parallels. For a Ptolemaic Egyptian progenitor, see "Excursus," below. In the contemporary Greek magical

papyri, the following examples come closest to the list we have here: *PGM* VII.390-393: δός μοι ἐπιτυχίαν, ἐπαφρο<δι>σία, δόξαν, χάριν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ; *PGM* VII.215-218 gives a similar list to be written on a tin *lamella*:Ἀφροδίτης στήλη, πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ χάριν καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ φίλους. λαβὼν πέταλον κασσιτερινὸν χ[ά]ραξον χαλκῷ γραφ[είῳ], κ[αὶ] φορουμένη καθαρῶς [ἔστω]. The list in *PGM* XXXVI.222-225 is very long: ... καὶ λαβῖν παρά σου ζοήν, ὑγίαν, δόξαν, πλοῦτον, δύναμιν, ἰσχύν, ἐπιτυχίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, χάριν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πρὸς πάσας γυναῖκας, κτλ. The invocations in *PGM* VII.1017-1026 and XXXV. 1-43 provide examples of a more developed genre that specifies special attributes of the gods to be awarded ("strength of Iao, fortune of Ablanathanalba," etc.). On this type spell see also *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 63, with Commentary.

χάριν, φι[λίαν]: Previous edd. read φ[ιλίαν], which would have assumed too many letters in the lacuna. As the tracing above (*fig. 59*) and photograph indicate, there is a bit of a space after the φ and just left of the broken edge; hence, once can assume an obscured letter: slight cleaning of the tablets surface reveals, in fact, a clear trace of most if not all the *iota*. Also, the φ of φ[ιλίαν] is engraved with a slash across the top (an indication of an expunged or a corrected letter?).

"Favor" or "grace" (χάρις) is the namesake of such spells and occurs quite often with the term "friendship" (φιλία); cf. *PGM* VII.215, cited above. Φιλία is otherwise very common in erotic spells, occurring with a more sexually oriented vocabulary (e.g., πόθος, στοργή, συνουσία, ἔρως, ἡδονή, etc.). But the noun φιλία in itself is not charged with sexual overtones, and none of the vocabulary of this *charitêsion* is of the aggressively sexual type (note Commentary, line 6f.).

εὐπραξίαν: The noun (cf. εὐπραγία), though common in classical writers, has not been previously found on inscriptions or papyri, whether magic or otherwise, except as a proper name or epithet (of Artemis, *IG* 14.375); cf. P. M. Fraser & E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 1987), edd. s.v. Εὐπραξία (all II-III A.D.); F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922), s.v.

ἐ[πα]/πρᾳδισίαν: κ[αὶ ἀ]φροδισίαν Wortmann: ἐ[πα]φροδισίαν: Daniel. The initial *epsilon* is hardly in doubt. Daniel is right to identifying

the word ἐπαφροδισία in these lines; however, it was not noted that the scribe did not transcribe ἐπα/φροδισίαν at all, but rather something like ἐπα/πραδισίαν. As shown on the photo and tracing above, the first letter of line 5 in not φ, but π (with the left vertical lost in the tiny lacuna). Then between *rho* and *delta* there appears only a small diagonal slash — an incompleted letter that suggests *alpha* rather than *omicron*. How the scribe managed to write the sequence -πρα- in lieu of -φρο- can only be explained as thoughtless copying of the identical sequence -πρα-, in εὐπραξίαν, of the line above.

5-6 το (=τῷ) φοροῦντι: For an example of such spells referring to the bearer, as opposed to the formulaic δός μοι, compare the kindred *nikêtikon* in *PGM* VII.910-24: δὸς νίκην, ἰσχύν, δύναμιν, τῷ φοροῦντι. The reference to the generic 'bearer' also shows that the amulet was not privately written for a client but was copied from a formulary; cf. **58**,9; etc. Daniel & Maltomini *Suppl. Mag.I*, no. 15,7f.: φύλαξον τὸν φορ(ο)ῦ(ν)τα; and further, *idem* no. 23,7-9;15f. (p. 65, Commentary); no. 29,6-8 (Commentary); no. 34,9f. — each with personal names + the φοροῦντα formula. (No. 29 gives the 'bearer'-formula in the masculine, but the name in the feminine!). *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 30,4 shows the formula in both masculine and feminine, as does **48**,14f., in this corpus.

6-7 φυ[λα][τ̣τ̣]κ̣τήριον: φυ[λ]αττήριον Wortmann: φυ[λα]κ̣τήριον Daniel. The text here is so difficult that one is forced to introduce some subjectivity into the reading. Daniel's interpretation of line 7 remains viable; however, it seems that the *kappa* is actually written before a single — not a double — *tau* (-κ̣τηρίον), as traces of the diagonals are visible. In front of these, two letter had been written, presumably -ττ-; these, however were expunged by drawing a horizontal line across, or through, the tops. In any event, the text is to be understood as φυλακτήριον here. For references to the word φυλακτήριον on the actual amulets themselves, cf. **32**,1,8,23 and **64**,1; **65**,1.

Excursus: "To Grant ἐπαφροδισία before the King"

The presence of ἐπαφροδισία (4f.), "loveliness, elegance" (LSJ), among the list of virtues of our spell — and in the parallel examples from the magical papyri adduced below — leads us directly back to a distinctive 'blessing'-formula attested in the Ptolemaic papyri of the 3rd century B.C. Our Greek ἐπαφροδισία, it can be shown, is actually a calque on an Egyptian idiom of long pedigree. The bearing that this has on the development of favor and victory charms warrants a closer look at this relatively uncommon noun.

Before turning to an examination of the noun in the papyri, a brief survey of ἐπαφροδισία in Greek literature is in order. Apart from the documentary Ptolemaic papyri discussed below, it is remarkable that this noun is not attested in Greek *literature* before the second century A.D. Indeed, its use — at least among Greek authors — is apparently limited to that century and to that century *only* (*pace* LSJ, s.v., in reference to Lynceus, *ap.* Athen. 6.242C, where no actual fragment exists: see Kassel-Austin, *PCG* V, p. 616f.). Among Greek authors, the noun is only found in Appianus of Alexandria, Athenaeus of Naucratis, Artemidorus, Favorinus, Ptolemaeus, and Vettius Valens. Three of these writers happen to come from Egypt (Appianus, Athenaeus, and Ptolemaeus) and two derive their source-material from Egyptian traditional beliefs (i.e., Vettius Valen's astrology and Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*). Statistically, Appianus of Alexandria uses ἐπαφροδισία only once (*ap.* Suida, s.v. ἐπαφρόδιτος); Athenaeus of Naucratis, twice; Artemidorus, once; Ptolemaeus, once (*Tetr.* 86); and Favorinus in [Dio Chrysostom], *Orat* XXXVII.33, only once. Vettius Valens uses the term considerably more than the rest (7x). The relative frequency with which we encounter the word in Vettius is due to a repeated use of the word in descriptions of astrologically favorable conditions (see ed. Pingree, *index verborum*, s.v.).

Clearly the noun is uncommon. But is it merely a coincidence that ἐπαφροδισία's attestation in Greek literature is restricted to the 2nd cent. A.D.? Does its use by so small a ~~small~~ group of writers say anything about the noun's limited circulation and its possible geographical origin? Although there is little reason not to think that ἐπαφροδισία could have enjoyed a wide geographical use throughout the early Roman period, it is remarkable to observe how meagerly attested it actually is in our sources.

A look at the papyri from Egypt, however, shows a quite different story: a remarkable number of occurrences of ἐπαφροδισία, including that

of our tablet, can be found in documents of Egyptian provenance. Most important of these is its presence in the famous Zenon archives, dating to the 3rd century B.C.! There the noun occurs in a formal context that can best be described as a royal blessing, a type of invocation that looks surprisingly close to what we find on our later Greek *charitêsia*-spells. In Ptolemaic Egypt we are to look for the possible coinage of the word.

P. Zenon Pestm. 50, line 5f. [= *PSI* IV. 328], preserves a letter (dated 9 January, 257 B.C.) from priests of Aphrodite to Apollonios, concerning the mummification of a sacred cow called Hesis. The relevant lines, at the end of the letter, read as follows: Γίνωσκε δὲ εἶναι τὴν Ἔσιν Εἶσιν· αὐτὴ δέ σοι δοίη ἐπαφροδισίαν πρ[ὸς τὸν βασι]λέα ..., "Know that the Hesis is Isis: may she grant you favour [before the king.]" (tr. W. J. Tait in P. W. Pestman, ed. *Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive (P.L. Bat. 20)*, Leiden 1980, p. 191). The editor's excellent commentary on these lines is worth citing in full:

> The phrase here αὐτὴ δὲ σοι δοίη ἐπαφροδισίαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα translates a common Demotic phrase which has a long pedigree in Egyptian. It so happens that a longer form of it can be compared in a Demotic letter written by the priests of Soknopaios to the dioiketes Sarapion, E. BRESCIANI, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos*, (P. Ox. Griffith) I 13, 8 (presumably the letter is a draft, for translation into Greek?):
> *... iw=w dì n=k ḥs.t mr.t šw ⌈m-b3ḥ⌉ Pr-ʿ3 Sbk ntr ʿ3 ʿnḫ dt*
> ... may they grant you favour, love, and respect before Pharaoh and Sobek the great god unto eternity.
> Compare in Greek PSI 5 531,2; UPZ I 33, 8-10; 34, 5-6 (cf. *l.* 14); 35, 12-14 (cf. *l.* 28); 36, 10-12 (cf. *l.* 24). In Egyptian this kind of phrase follows on naturally as a pendant to the name of a god.

The other examples of the Ptolemaic formula, mentioned by Tait, extend this sort of virtue list to include 'virtues' other than ἐπαφροδισία:

> *PSI* 5.531,1f.: Εὐχόμεθά σοι παρὰ τῆι Ἀστάρτηι δοῦναι σοι ἐπ[αφροδισίαν πρὸ]ς τὸν βασιλέα.
> *UPZ* I 33,8-10 (= *UPZ* I 34, 5-6; 35, 12-14; 36, 10-12): Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων δοῖ σοι ὁ Σάραπις καὶ ἡ Εἶσις ἐπαφροδισίαν, χάρειν, μορφὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλεία καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν, κτλ.

The conclusions of these papyri also document similar virtues to be received in a reciprocal manner (ἀντιλαμβάνηι): ἐπαφροδισία, χάρις, μορφή, εὐημερία, and εὐτυχία ("charm, favor, dignity, prosperity").

It seems, then, that ἐπαφροδισία was apparently restricted in Classical and Hellenistic Greek to a special blessing-formula attested among the Graeco-Demotic bilingual populace of Ptolemaic Egypt. The noun is nowhere else attested in the Greek prose or poetry of the time, nor does it even appear outside of Egypt until the 2nd century A.D. But the term *is* widely found in the Greek magical papyri — texts that are themselves to be dated throughout the Roman period, and texts that of course derive from Egypt.

In particular, the texts of the Zenon archive compare quite favorably with the late magical spells, both as to the use of ἐπαφροδισία and as to the overall context in which the prayer-like formulations occur. These Ptolemaic 'blessing'-formulas can certainly be seen as possible prototypes or models for the later magical χαριτήσια. Not only do the Ptolemaic and late-magical 'blessing' formulas share the same 'Greco-Demotic' term, ἐπαφροδισία, both categories make their requests using some form of δίδωμι. They also itemize lists of virtues that closely match: in addition to ἐπαφροδισία, each of the nouns χάρις, μορφή, εὐημερία, and εὐτυχία, of lists in the Zenon archive is also found in the equivalent magical χαριτήσια: μορφή, for example, occurs in the very long list at *PGM* III.576-581: ζωήν, ὑγείαν, σωτηρίαν, πλοῦτον, εὐτεκνίαν, γνῶσιν, εὐακοΐαν, εὐμένειαν, εὐβουλίαν, εὐδοξίαν, μνήμην, χάριν, μορφήν (579), κάλλος; cf. *PGM* VIII.27,31: δός μοι τὴν χάριν, μορφήν, κάλλος (where κάλλος, as above, must surely translate the same Demotic lying behind ἐπαφροδισία). Cf. also εὐμορφία in *Suppl. Mag II*, 63,14-16: δός μοι νίκη[ν], δόξαν, εὐμορφίαν πρὸς πάντας καὶ πρὸς πάσας. So, too, εὐημερία is attested in the list at *PGM* VIII.5, cited above. The noun χάρις, as mentioned, is commonplace in such lists.

Here is a list of the occurrences of ἐπαφροδισία in the Greek magical papyri. The noun always occurs in the context of 'Favor and Victory Charms:'

> *PGM* IV.1674: δὸς ἐπαφροδισίαν τῷ δακτυλίῳ τούτῳ
> *PGM* VII.392: δός μοι ἐπιτυχίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, δόξαν, χάριν
> *PGM* VIII.5: δός μοι χάριν, τροφήν, νίκην, εὐημερίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, προσώπου εἶδος, ἀλκὴν ἁπάντων καὶ πασῶν.
> *PGM* VIII.62: δὸς τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν, τὴν χάριν, τὴν εὐπορίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν, κτλ.
> *PGM* XII.69: δοῦναί μοι χάριν, ἡδυγλωσσίαν, ἐπαφροδισίαν πρὸ[ς] πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πάσας γυναῖκας, κτλ.

PGM XIII.803f.: *ἐμοὶ διδοὺς ὑγείαν, σωτηρίαν, εὐπορίαν, δόξαν, νίκην, κράτος, ἐπαφροδισίαν.*
PGM XXXVI.224f.: *καὶ λαβὶν παρά σου ... ἐπαφροδισίαν, χάριν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, κτλ.* (see above).
P. dem. Louvre E 3229, 4-6: *... φιλείαν [ἰ]σχήν, ἐπαφρωδισίαν π[ρὸ]ς πάντας ἀν[θρ]ώπους, κτλ.* (B. Brashear, *Magica Varia*, Bruxelles, 1991, p. 73, no. 3).
P. Laur. III 57 (*Suppl. Mag.* II, 82) A,11: *... ἐπαφροδι[σίαν* (see also Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, p. 122 for possible additional ref.).

To conclude, it would not be difficult to hypothesize that the Graeco-Egyptian *χαριτήσιον* of the magical papyri represents the direct and natural outgrowth of an earlier prayer, or blessing formula, in which favor and loveliness before the Pharaoh was invoked. The presence of *ἐπαφροδισία* — an apparent calque on Demotic *mr.t* — undeniably connects the later magical *χαριτησία* with their Ptolemaic counterparts and accounts for the unusually wide proliferation of the term in these 'favor' charms. The 'well-wishing' expressed between one party to another in the Ptolemaic formulas is, of course, replaced in the later magical invocations by direct, personal requests to the gods themselves. So also the general social context for the use of the two blessing-formulas differs widely. The magical versions have certainly become more commercialized and opportunistic. Further, the magical texts ask for *χάρις* "before all men and women," not usually before a Pharaoh or one of the Ptolemies. That this feature, however, still survived in the *χαριτήσια* of the later magical papyri can be seen in the frequent application of these spells before kings and rulers (*PGM* XII.201-260; XII.270-350; XXXVI.35-37; and XIII.250).

61 A Nubian Conception and Fertility Charm

Fig. 60. Plate XXVI

Ballana, Nubia — III-IV A.D.
Cairo, Archaeological Museum — H. 6.5 cm.; W. 3.5 cm.
Inv. J. 71204 — Gold *lamella*

Lit. S. Eitrem in: Walter B. Emery & K. P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul, I* (Cairo, 1938), p. 382 (Cat. No. 874): pp. 405-407; Pl. 107B; R. Daniel & F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum Vol. II (Suppl. Mag. II)* (Papyrologica Coloniensia XVI.2; Opladen, 1992), p. 157f.; cf. Jean-Jacques Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 30 (1989), pp. 421-449, esp. p. 427, n. 8.

This inscribed sheet of gold, first published by Eitrem in 1938, was found with three lead scrolls (that have never been unrolled) in Tomb 2, Cemetery 219, at Ballana. A small gold cross and scarab ring were also found in the grave. The Museum registry on 'Sec V-8' reads "#11474 Plaque, bearing an incised Greek inscription III-IV^{p} gold. .098 x 0.55 Ballana 1931-1933. Tomb no. 2."

In September, 1989, Mrs. Elham Montasser, first curator of the Egyptian Museum, kindly granted me permission to re-examine the piece in Cabinet 36 (Room 44), whence it was removed for the first time in nearly sixty years. A fresh examination of the tablet itself and of prints later provided from the Museum's photographic department have made an improved reading possible. Some, but not all, of these new readings were provisionally reported in *Suppl. Mag. II*, p. 158.

Eitrem presented the text with little commentary, stating simply: "A very interesting love charm, an Agagê [sic], with a peculiar utilization of Osiris' 'living water', i.e. semen (Egyptian origin)" (1938:405). The spell is addressed to a woman, identified mythically as Isis, to come to a man, named as Isis' brother (and hence her husband), Osiris, who offers her the 'fertile' waters of Horus, Ibis, and Anubis. References to the opening of the womb and the reception of the sown waters indicates that the charm's aim is fertility and conception, and not an *ἀγωγή*, as Eitrem suggests.

The orthography of the text is so irregular that, in lieu of the usual critical apparatus, I have chosen to print a diplomatic transcript along with one with normalized spelling. The phonetic interchange between *αι/ε*, *ει/ι*, *ω/ο*, *υ/ι*, *οι/υ* is commonplace; that of *ρ/λ* may be Egyptian. There is also a regular metathesis of *ὕδρω* for *ὕδωρ* (cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri, I* [2nd ed. Berlin, 1970], 189). Diaeresis and colons are used, and there is some evidence of a corrector's hand.

	Ελθαι προς αιμαι ισις	Ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἐμέ, Ἶσις,
	οτι αιγω ιμιν οσιρις	ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Ὄσιρις
	οαρην αδαιρφοσου	ὁ ἄρρην, ἀδελφός <σ>ου.
4	ταυτα τα ὑδατα α	ταῦτα τὰ ὕδατα ἃ
	σοι προσφαιρω: ὑ	προσφέρω, ὕ-
	δρω αιστι ἰαιρακος	δωρ ἔστι ἱέρακος,
	στηθινιον ἴβαιος	στηθυνίων Ἴβεως,
8	υδρω του Ανουβαιος	ὕδωρ τοῦ Ἀνούβεως
	αδελφον: φθνηθ:	ἀδελφόν φθνηθ
	βεν κατα νοτον	βεν. κατὰ νῶτον
	εν ναι ανυξον	εἶναι, ἄνοιξόν
12	σου την μητραν	σου τὴν μήτραν,
	εν ταυτη τη ωρα και	ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ
	εν τητη ροπη και α	ἐν <ταύ>τῃ τῇ ῥοπῇ καὶ ἃ-
	ρπαξον το σπαραι	ρπαξον τὸ σπαρὲ-
16	ν εν σου ὑδρω εν τω	ν ἐν σοὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ
	σου ονοματι ισι ανα	σου ὀνόματι, Ἶσι, ἄνασσ-
	σα βασιλισα ταιντυρων	σα, βασίλισσα Τεντύρων,
	ηδη ταχυ ταχυ δια	ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ διὰ
20	την δυναμιν ὑ-	τὴν δύναμιν ὑ-
	μῶν ταχύ.	μῶν ταχύ.

Tr. Come to me, Isis because I am Osiris your male brother. These are the waters that I offer you: it is the water of the Falcon [Horus], (that) of the little breasts of Ibis, (and) the water of Anubis. Brother *Phthnêth ben*. Be on your back (and) open your womb in this hour, in this moment, and receive quickly the water sown in you, in your name Isis, mistress, queen of Denderah; now, quickly, quickly; through your power, quickly.

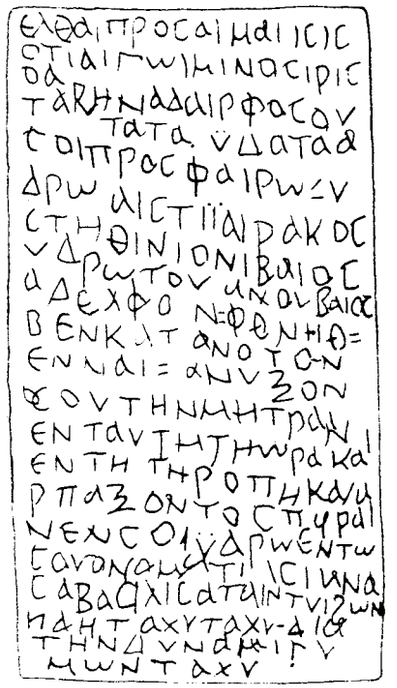


Fig. 60

PGM XXXVI.283-294 provides a good Egyptian parallel to the text of our amulet:

> Φυσικλείδιον. λαβὼν ᾠὸν κορώνης καὶ κορωνοποδίου βοτάνης χυλὸν καὶ χολὴν νάρκας ποταμίας τρῖψον μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ λέγε τὸν λόγον, ὅταν τρίβῃς καὶ ὅταν συνχρίῃ τὸ αἰδοῖόν σου.
>
> ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος· 'σοὶ λέγω, μήτρα τῆς δῖνα, χάνε καὶ δέξαι τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ δεῖνα ϙαὶ ϱ̣π̣[έ]ρ[μ]ᾳ τὸ ἀκρατὲς τοῦ ἰαρφε αργε (γράφε). φιλίτω με ἡ δεῖνα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα αὐτῆς χρόνον, ὡς ἐφίλησεν ἡ Ἶσις τὸν Ὄσιριν, καὶ μινάτω μοι ἀγνή, ὡς ἡ Πηλενόπη τῷ Ὀδυσσῖ. σὺ δέ, μήτρα, μνημόνευέ μου εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς μου χρόνον, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Ἀκαρναχθας.'
>
> ταῦτα λέγε τρίβων, καὶ ὅταν χρίσῃς τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ οὕτω συγγίνου, ᾗ θέλις, καὶ σὲ μ<ό>νον ἀγαπήσι καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενός ποτε κοινωνήσεται, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ μόνου.

> **"Pudenda key spell:** Take an egg of a crow and the juice of the plant crow's-foot and gall of a river electric eel, and grind them with honey and say / the spell whenever you grind and whenever you smear it on your genitals.
>
> *This is the spell that is to be spoken*: 'I say to you, womb of NN, open and receive the seed of NN and the uncontrollable seed of the IARPHE ARPHE (write it). Let her, NN, love me for all her time as Isis loved Osiris and let her remain chaste for me as Penelope did of Odysseus. / And do you, womb, remember me for all the time of my life, because I am AKARNACHTHAS.'
>
> Say this while grinding and whenever you rub your genitals, and in this way have intercourse with the woman you wish, and she will love you alone and by no one else will she ever be laid, just by you alone." (Tr. E. N. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 276).

The spell's invocation mentions the opening and receiving of the germinating seed much in the same way as does the text of our gold leaf. Similarly, we find allusions to the love of Isis and Osiris. Spells for conception were common in the magic of both the Egyptian and Roman periods; cf. e.g. *PDM* xiv.428-50; 1046-1055, in H.D. Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (2nd ed. Chicago, 1992), p. 220, p. 245; etc.; and the thorough treatment in Aubert 1989:421-449, cited above; further, the two short recipes in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 79,1-11, "Two formulas to be recited by a man after copulation so that a woman conceives," which name αἷμα, not ὕδωρ, as the impregnating substance.

1 Ἐλθὲ πρὸς ἐμέ, Ἶσις: For this formula in prayers and hymns, cf. *PGM* IV.1455: ἔρχεσθε σήμερον, Μοῖραι καὶ Ἀνάγκη; V.182: ἔρχου μοι; etc. Here, however, the reference is, no doubt, to conjugal union, not divine theophany; Isis, according to Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 368C, is a typology of procreativity and hence the appropriate goddess to summon for conception: ἔτι <δὲ> τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ Φαμενὼθ μηνὸς ἑορτὴν ἄγουσιν ἔμβασιν Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὴν σελήνην ὀνομάζοντες, ἔαρος ἀρχὴν οὖσαν. οὕτω τὴν Ὀσίριδος δύναμιν ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ τίθενται <καὶ> τὴν Ἶσιν αὐτῷ γένεσιν οὖσαν συνεῖναι λέγουσι, "Further, on the first day of the month of Phamenoth they [sc. the Egyptians] hold a festival, which they call 'The Entry of Osiris into the Moon,' for it is the beginning of spring. Thus they locate the power of Osiris in the moon and say that Isis, as the creative principle, has intercourse with him" (tr. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* [Univ. of Wales, 1970], p. 187). On Isis as goddess governing sexuality, pregnancy, and the like, see further, Aubert 1989:428f. and note 11.

2 ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι Ὄσιρις: Tablet has αιγω ιμιν (cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar of the Greek Papyri I*, 112f.). On 'I am' see **36**,1,18 (Commentary).

3 αδαιρφοσ ου: Read ἀδελφός <σ> ου: ὃς ἀτάκην ἀδαιρφός (σ)ου *ed. pr.* Eitrem misread the initial letters of this line, taking the τα at the beginning of line 4 with the -κην of line three, and consequently reading τατα ὕδατα ἃ, for τα<ὑ>τα <τὰ> ὕδατα ἅ, for the whole of line 4. Actually, line 4 begins ταῦτα τὰ, with the *upsilon* written beneath the *rho* and *eta* of OAPHN, as even his drawing shows. Eitrem's ὃς ἀτάκην (for ἐτέχθην, i.e., "... because I am Osiris who was born as Thy brother") then is altogether false.

Osiris is both brother and husband to Isis; cf. *PGM* XXIVa.9: ἡ Ἶσις ζητοῦσα ἑαυτῆς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄνδρα Ὄσιριν; M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 1985), no. 1 §6: Ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως.

The omission of the *sigma* in αδαιρφοσου and its false insertion at the end of προσφέρω in line 5 looks like the work of a corrector gone awry (see on αδελφον in line 9, below).

4-5 ταῦτα τὰ ὕδατα ἅ σοι προσφέρω = : τατα ὕδατα ἃ (for τα<ὑ>τα <τὰ> ὕδατα ἅ): Eitrem. On Eitrem's mixing up the lines, see Commentary, preceding line. The waters represent the semen of Osiris: note *PGM* XII.234: ἐγώ εἰμι Ὄσιρις ὁ καλούμενος ὕδωρ, ἐγώ εἰμι Ἶσις ἡ καλουμένη δρόσος. The 'waters' (pl.) refer, then, to the three types described in the next lines: the 'water' of Horus (the Falcon), that of the Ibis, and the water of Anubis.

There is, of course, also the concealed notion that the waters refer to the Nile, valued for its fertility; see, in general, Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (EPRO 87; Leiden, 1981), esp. pp. 94-97. In Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 38.365F, Osiris is identified in sexual terms with the Nile and Isis with the Earth: ὡς δὲ Νείλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἴσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐ

πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μιγνύμενος. Osiris' connection with water in general is discussed in J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Suppl. Numen 40; Leiden, 1980), pp. 151-172; see particularly the Pyramid Text (510c-d) cited on p. 153: "The King [King Wenis = Osiris] is lord of the sexual seed."

5-7 ὕδωρ ἔστι ἱέρακος, στηθινίων Ἴβεως: υδρω αιστι ϊερακος στηθινιον ιβαιος Tab. In *Suppl. Mag. II*, p. 158, στηθινιον is left uninterpreted. Eitrem correctly read αιστη (-ι) as ἐστι, but wrongly took αιρακος for ἐρρυκός (i.e., ἐρρυηκός, from ῥέω), "the water flowed from the breast of Ibis (?)." But here there are three types of waters being named: that of the Falcon (ἱέραξ = Horus), that of Ibis' breasts, and in the next line, that of Anubis. For στηθινίων (gen. pl., "little breasts"), 'water of' (ὕδωρ + gen.) is to be understood — but not supplied — from the context. The Ibis was known for its proclivity to drink only pure water, and was hence valued as a means of locating such water for priestly purposes; cf. Plutarch, *De soll. an.* 10.974C, οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς ὕδατι χρῶνται, περιαγνίζοντες ἑαυτούς, ἐξ οὗ πέπωκει ἶβις· ἂν γὰρ ᾖ φαρμακῶδες ἢ νοσηρὸν ἄλλως τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐ πρόσεισιν; similarly, Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 75. 381D; Aelian, *NA* 7.45; see F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* 5 (1936) 183-187 (§ 6. "Der Vogel Ibis als Wasserprüfer..."); Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis*, p. 239, n. 42; p. 222, n. 31 (Commentary, above, 4f.); I. Becher, "Der heilige Ibisvogel der Ägypter in der Antike," *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 15 (1967), pp. 377-385; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, p. 558; A. A. Barb, "Magica Varia," *Syria* 49 (1972), p. 360.

8-9 ὕδωρ τοῦ Ἀνούβαιος ἀδελφόν: φθνηθ: (υδρω tab: ἀδελφο: φον: ηθ: Eitrem). Anubis (the jackal-headed god) is the son of Osiris and Nephthys (or of Isis), often associated with the dead and with mummification. For his particular connection in love-magic, see J.-C. Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (EPRO 57; Leiden, 1977), p.32, n.138; *PDM* xii. 119-34; 147-164 [= Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, 1992², p. 171]; *PGM* XVIIa. (love-spell addressed, Ἄνουβι, θεὲ ἐπίγε[ιε κ]αὶ ὑπόγειε καὶ οὐρ[ά]νιε, κύον, κύον, κύον); etc.

The noun αδελφον in line 9 plays no syntactical rôle in the sentence and sharply contrasts with the peculiar αδαιρφος and other spellings found throughout this spell. The orthographically accurate ἀδελφόν may represent a corrector's attempt to replace the unsound phonetics of αδαιρφοσου in line 3. The reading got falsely inserted at line 9, in addition to, rather than replacing, the reading of line 3 (see Commentary, above, on line 3).

In Grenier's documentation of literary and epigraphic records, there is no explicit reference to the 'water of Anubis,' although Anubian water-containers (*Anubis Hydreios*), or depictions thereof-akin to the more common *Osiris Hydreios* statues-have been uncovered throughout the Mediterranean; see R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis*, pp. 113-118 (see above), who connects these Hydreia with other known symbols of Osiris' association with water (cultic water pitchers, and the so-called 'Cool Water' inscriptions), suggesting that they represent the promise of life beyond the grave (cf. Wild, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128). Although Wild does not go into detail about the few instances when *Anubis Hydreios*-types are found in lieu of the usual *Osiris Hydreios*-types (specifically, Wild, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 118, 245, n. 113), it seems clear that Anubis shared with Osiris some cultic association with water. In our text, one can imagine that Anubis as the embalmer god, also attends on Osiris' revivification by bringing him life-giving water, and that the 'Anubian water' — like that of the Ibis — symbolizes life, fecundity, and procreativity.

10-11 βεν κατα νοτον εν ναι: βενκατα τοτον (ἔγκατα ? νῶτον ? Eitrem): κατὰ νότον ενναι is printed in *Suppl. Mag. II*, p. 158. By the new reading κατὰ νῶτον, "on the back," we understand a *figura Veneris*, though ενναι (εἶναι ? εἶναι?) is more difficult to diagnose (infinitive as imperative?). One can probably also articulate κατὰ νότον, "in the South," as a putative reference to Nubia itself, the find-spot of this amulet: since Old Kingdom times *nhsjw*, "Southerners," became a general designation for the land of Nubia (see St. Wenig, art. "Nubien," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 4 [1982], col. 526). The south (Thebes and beyond) was also popularly believed to be the land of magicians.

11-12 Ἄνοιξόν σου τὴν μήτραν: Here the opening of the womb has fertility foremost in mind. In *PGM* XXXVI.286, cited above, "Open!" (χάνε) refers to sexual access to the woman; further, *PGM* LXII.76,

103f.: ἀνοιγήτω ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ μήτρα τῆς δεῖνα, καὶ αἱμασσέσθω νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας; cf. Aubert 1989: 427-430.

12-13 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἐν <ταύ>τῃ τῇ ῥοπῇ: Here ῥοπή, "moment" (so Eitrem 1938: 406), i.e. "crisis;" "decisive moment" (LSJ, s.v., def. III), refers no doubt to the moment of the sexual act (when this amulet was probably specifically applied). The term is not found in the magic papyri, but does occur on a lead tablet in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 42,6: ῥωπῇ ποίησεν. For ὥρα in this connection, note *PGM* III. 74; IV. 543, 648.

14-17 καὶ ἅρπαξον τὸ σπαρέν ἐν σοὶ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ σου ὀνόματι: The command to "seize" what is indeed sown emphasizes the amulets concern with insemination and conception, rather than sexual magic alone.

17-18 Ἶσι, ἄνασσα, βασίλισσα Τεντύρων: των ϛυιζων *ed. pr.*: "We expect βασιλισ(σ)α πάντων ζῴων, queen of all living beings" (Eitrem 1938: 406). Τεντύρων is the normal Greek spelling for the famous Egyptian city of Dendara: see F. Daumas, art. "Dendara," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1060-1063. Another city, Dendur in Nubia itself, however, cannot be entirely ruled out. At Dendur, too, were Isis and Osiris venerated; see E. Bresciani, art. "Dendur," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1063f.

The epithets ἄνασσα and βασίλισσα are common of Isis; cf., e.g., the *Invocation of Isis* in *P. Oxy.* XI. 1380 [ed. Grenfell & Hunt], line 57 (ἄνασσα πόλεων); line 121 (ἄνασσα τῆς οἰκουμένης); lines 3, 218 (βασίλισσα); cf. further, M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte*, no. 1 §3 (above, on line 3): Ἶσις ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ τύραννος πάσης χώρας.

18-20 ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ, διὰ δύναμιν ὑμῶν, ταχύ: The single ἤδη and a third ταχύ on the end are not usual. The plural ὑμῶν refers to the power of Isis and Osiris, respectively, represented in the the woman and the man in sexual union (note Eitrem 1938: 406: "ὑμῶν, probably not for ἡμῶν"). The self-identification with the deities Isis and Osiris suggested in the first lines seems here to be extended to the couple.

62 A Magic 'Sword'

Fig. 61

Zian, Tunisia — II-III A.D.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale — H. 7.0 cm.; W. 4.3 cm.
Cabinet des Médailles Collection Froehner, no. 285a — Gold *lamella*

Lit. S. Reinach & E. Babelon, "Recherches archéologiques en Tunisie (1883-1884)," *Bulletin Archéologique* (1886), pp. 56-57 (fig. 12).

A drawing of the reverse side of this tiny gold *lamella* was published in Reinach-Babelon 1886:56f. with no transcription. The text contains mostly magic names and symbols, but is of some interest: it comes from an undisputed *Fundort*; preserves a version of the same χαρακτῆρες and magic names found at the beginning of our **57** (from Bostra, Arabia); and contains a notable reference to love-magic. The text, written in and around a drawing of a Roman *gladius*, preserves in its handle the Greek command, μαίνοιτο, "Pray she go mad," a phrase often used of driving a woman to sexual frenzy. The image of the sword provides a good parallel the so-called 'Sword of Dardanos' of the magic papyri.

The gold *lamella* was found below the forum at Zian in the bottom of a shaft connected to a triangular underground vault. The shaft was used as a refuse heap, having been filled with gravel and remains of human bones. The very bottom of the excavated shaft yielded discarded fragments of inscriptions, bronze sculpture, and the gold amulet, herewith presented.

The text is divided into an upper-register, written horizontally across the tablet, and a lower section with the letters written vertically above and below the inscribed sword.

Upper Section (Horizontal):

1 (magic signs)
2 (magic signs) Ἰάω, Ἀδωναῖ
3 αααααα (magic signs)
4 (magic signs) Σαβα-
5 ὼθ εεεεεε ηηηην
6 (magic signs)
7 ωιστραηλ ιι (magic signs) υυ
8 αενῳτορω

Lower Section (Top):

9 (magic signs)
10 (magic signs) Ἰάω Ἀδω-
11 ναῖ (magic signs)

Lower Section (Bottom):

12 (magic signs)
13 Ἀβρασάξ αα μη α.
14 ργετοι αμισφυ
15 ριῳ αβλαεαα. α
16 [....]αισραμωα
17 α ι (?)

Engraved on the Sword:

18-28 (magic signs and letters)

In handle of sword:

29-31 μέ/νο/ιθω

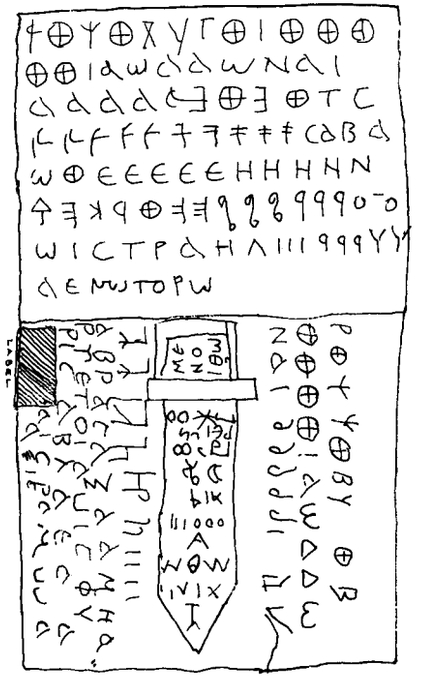


Fig. 61

7 ωιστρα: οἴστρα, οἰστρᾷ, or Οἰστραήλ 29-31 μένοιθω: μαίνοιτο

Iaô Adônai aaaaa ... Sabaôth eeeeeee êêêêên ... Sting! *Êl [for: Oistraêl] ii ... yy aenôtorô ... Iaô Adônai ... Abrasax aa mê a.rgetoi amisphyris ablaeaa. a ... aisramôa ...* Pray she go mad!

1-7 The series of characters and names here is virtually identical with that of the Bostra gold *lamella* (**57**). The variants on a common angel-name in both tablets requires further comment. The text of **57**,5 gives a single angel-name Ἀστραήλ (followied by ηη οο υυω) — a reading that parallels line 7 here, in the sequence ωιστραηλιιι. The natural

conclusion would be to interpret the name here as ω Ἰστραήλ, ιιι (or, ὦ Ἰστραήλ) — that is, a common variant of the angel-name, Ἰσραήλ. Both readings, **57** and here in **62**, seem to derive from a common textual ancestor, but which is closer to the original? The name here on **62**, even though it is apparently linked to the spell's function, may point rather to an original (ὦ) Ἰστραήλ, a reading that may lurk behind Ἀστραήλ in **57**,5 as well. Nevertheless, as shown in lines 29-31 below, the Zian *lamella* is a love-charm. We interpret accordingly the sequence of letters in line 7 as ωΐστρα (read οἴστρα), "sting her to sexual madness." The command then parallels that found in the 'sword's' handle: μαίνοιτο, "Pray she go sexually mad!"

The self-same imperative, οἴστρα, occurs as the only word on an unpublished silver phylactery that has engraved above it the facing heads of a man and a woman. The verb is common in sexual magic; the form οἰστρωμένη (ὑστρωμένην) occurs in Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 38,9f.; *PGM* IV.2910 gives φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ, οἴστρῳ ἐλαυνομένην. An overview of the texts of actual *defixiones* would considerably increase this list. The imagery is that of the stinging gadfly, but in magical contexts is always used of sexual madness and frenzy — specifically *"any vehement desire; insane passion"* (LSJ, s.v. II.2 οἶστρος).

As a sort of angelic personification, however, it is still possible to read this as the name Οἰστραήλ — not, however, as 'Istrael,' but rather as Oistrael, the angel of 'sexual frenzy' (see discussion below).

The 'Sword': The use of an inscribed sword is particularly appropriate in love-magic, as the famous 'Sword of Dardanos' of the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (*PGM* IV.1716-1870) shows. There, following instructions on engraving a special stone of Aphrodite and Psyche with a long invocation (lines 1716-1811), directions for making a 'sword' of a gold *lamella* are described (1812-1829):

> Ξίφος Δαρδάνου· πρᾶξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος, ἧς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἴσον διὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν· κλίνει γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἄντικρυς, οὗ ἂν θέλῃς (1716-20) ... εἰς δὲ πέταλον χρυσοῦν τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο γράφε· ' εἷς Θουριήλ· Μιχαήλ· Γαβριήλ· Οὐριήλ· Μισαήλ· Ἰρραήλ· Ἰστραήλ ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα γένοιτο τῷ ὀνόματι, καὶ ἐμοί, τῷ εἰδότι αὐτὸ καὶ περικειμένῳ, τὴν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἄπτωτον ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ παρακαλῶ. δὸς δέ μοι πάσης ψυχῆς ὑποταγήν, ἧς

ἂν ἐπικαλέσωμαι.' καὶ δὸς τὸ πέταλον καταπεῖν πέρδικι καὶ σφάξον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνελόμενος φόρει περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐνθεὶς εἰς τὴν λεπίδα παιδέρωτα βοτάνην (1813-34).

"**Sword of Dardanos**: Rite which is called 'sword', which has no equal because of its power, for it immediately bends and attracts the soul of whomever you wish ... And on a golden leaf inscribe this sword: 'One THOURIEL MICHAEL GABRIEL OURIEL MISAEL IRRAEL ISTRAEL: May it be a propitious day for this name and for me who know it and am wearing it. I summon the immortal and infallible strength of God. Grant me the submission of every soul for which I have called upon you.' Give the leaf to a partridge to gulp down and kill it. Then pick it up and wear it around your neck after inserting into the strip the herb called 'boy love'" (tr., E. N. O'Neil, in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 71).

The instructions to write the 'Sword' on a gold leaf compares aptly with our text, but here there is a list of actual angel-names to be written onto the gold leaf. The leaf (and the spell) is called ξίφος because it was to be shaped like a sword, enclosed in a drawing of a sword, or otherwise arranged in such a shape (the technique is called *technopaignion*); cf. K. Preisendanz, art. "Xiphos," in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* VI, col. 527; and the classic study of R. Mouterde, *Le Glaive de Dardanos*, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15/3 (1930), p. 105f., no. 33 (Pl. 11,5; fig. 33). Our *lamella* indicates how the practice was so interpreted in antiquity.

The presence of οἴστρα (in ωἰστραηλ) on our tablet also shows a close connection with the tradition of the 'Sword' of Dardanos. There we find a group of angel-names to be written on the gold leaf, of which one happens to be the same or close to ours, namely Ἰστραήλ. The name, in its resemblance to our ωιστραηλ, may indicate a remote textual relationship of some kind between the two texts, for the 'Sword of Dardanos,' also includes forms of οἰστρᾶν. For example, line 1761 reads, καὶ σκοτεινὸν ἐμπνέων οἶστρον, "... who breathes dark frenzy;" and line 1777f. gives the *hapax legomenon*, οἰστρογενέτωρ, "begetter of sexual frenzy."

In the handle of the sword one appropriately reads μένοιθω (read μαίνοιτο), "may she be driven mad." Again, the term is common in sexual contexts; cf., e.g., *PGM* IV. 2756: μαινομένη ἡ δ(εῖνα) ἥκοι επ' ἐμαῖσι θύραισι τάχιστα, "In frenzy may she (N) come fast to my doors"

(tr. O'Neil in Betz, *Greek Magical Papyri*,[2] p. 90); and esp. Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 72, i, 10 (for the exact form here): πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτο ἐπ' ἐμῆι φιλότητι, "setting everything else aside, may she fall madly in love with me" (p. 109).

In later magic, we may add, the so-called 'Sword of Moses' was also a name given to an apparently popular magic recipe; see M. Gaster, *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha and Samaritan Archaeology* I (London, 1925), pp. 288-337. The 'Sword' in this instance refers to magic names of God to be engraved or used in any number of magical operations. Similarly, the medieval *Clavicula Salomonis* gives the name 'Sword' to a magical treatise: see the introduction in H. Gollancz, מפתה שלמה, *Clavicula Salomonis. A Hebrew Manuscript.* (London and Frankfurt, 1903). A late magic treatise in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927) refers repeatedly to the μάχαιρα τῆς τέχνης, a sword engraved with magic names and used for various magic operations (pp. 12,19f.; p. 13,2; p. 14,9,20; p. 23,15; p. 24,4; p.25 [drawing]; 41,2; p. 46 [drawing]; p. 406,15-26; etc.).

The three elements our text shares with the traditional 'Sword of Dardanos' of the magical papyri, viz., an engraved "Sword," the angel *(O)istrael*, and forms of οἰστρᾶν, suggest that the Zian *lamella* belongs to a larger complex of magical spells having to do with love-magic and inscribed Dardanian 'swords.' On the name, see now W. Fauth, "Dardaniel (PGM LXII 12-16)," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 98 (1993), pp. 57-75.

63 'Marearmar'

CARTHAGO, Tunisia
Tunis, Musée d'Alaoui
Sec. H, cat. no. 60

Roman Period?
H. 3.0 cm.; W. 2.3 cm.
Gold *lamella*

Lit. L. Drappier in: P. Gauckler & M. L. Poinssot, et al., *Catalogue des Musées et Collections Archéologiques de L'Algerie et de la Tunisie. Musée Alaoui, Supplement* (Paris, 1907), cinquième section (E-H) 118, no. 60; A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), p. 359, no. 262.

This *lamella* was discovered folded up in the sand by the seashore at Carthage and was briefly described in Audollent's corpus of lead tablets. The magic word *marearmar* in the first line may coincidentally allude to the sea (*'mare'*), or simply be a variant of the Greek magic name Μαρμαραώθ, on which see, e.g **12**,13; W. Brashear, *Magica Varia* (Brussels, 1991), p. 40f. It cannot be determined whether the tablet had been intentionally cast into the sea — as if some offering to a sea-god 'Marearmar' — or whether the folded piece belongs to some scattered remains of an original Carthaginian tomb long washed to sea.

1 *marearmar* (magic sign)
2 (magic signs)
3 (magic signs)
4 (magic signs)
5 (magic signs)

64 Three Divine Angels

THYSDRUS (El Jem), Tunisia
Present location unknown
(no inv. number)

Roman?
H. 10.9 cm.; W. 7.5 cm.
Silver *lamella*

Lit. R. Cagnat, "Séance de la Commission de l'Afrique du Nord (10 janvier, 1928)," *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques* 1928-1929 (1930), p. 54, no. 5.

1 GABR[IEL],
2 SABAOT-
3 EL, MIKAEL

This tablet, written in Latin characters, was published with a promise of a fuller treatment latter, a study that apparently never appeared. No photograph or facsimile was published.

The piece was found among the ruins of stelai dedicated to the god Saturn. Cagnat 1930:54 gives the following inventory of objects found at the site, as well as a description of the circumstances of the tablet's discovery:

> *"Trois monnaies en bronze, une en argent, toutes puniques. Enfin, des indigènes ont apporté à M. Castagné les fragments d'une fine lamelle d'argent, longue de 0 m.10, large de 0 m. 075, sur laquelle est inscrit un texte cursif dont l'intention magique est assez révélée par l'invocation de démons* Gabr[iel], Sabaot, El, Mikael. *Ce document aurait été découvert parmi les stèles dédiées à Saturn; l'inventeur indigène précise même qu'elle aurait été plaquée entre les colonnettes dessinées au-dessus de l'inscription publiée sous le No. 15."*

The inscription no. 15 cited above (Cagnat 1930:50) is itself described as follows: *"15. Sommet de stèle; lettres de 0 m.005; calcaire gris: saturNO MAgno Sacrum. Au sommet de la stèle est incisée la silhouette d'un édicule à deux colonnettes aux angles."*

As far as the magic phylacteries of this corpus are concerned, this report is of some interest, for it records the only instance of such a text being affixed to a public monument. Most gold and silver phylacteries served as private amulets and were worn about the body.

We interpret the magic names here, widely known in their Greek counterparts, as three angel-names in *-el* (e.g. Γαβριήλ, Σαβαωθήλ, Μιχαήλ), rather than the four given in the *editio princeps* (i.e., Greek, Γαβριήλ, Σαβαώθ, Ἡλ, Μιχαήλ), though both readings are possible. For an interesting parallel, note Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 27, 1f. Η̲λ̲, Η̲λ̲, Η̲λ̲, *ὁ θεὸς* Σαβαωθ *ἦλθεν τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν ἀμ̣ά̣ρ̣τ̣ο̣λ̣*[λόν.] (see their Commentary, *loc. cit.*, p. 75, not observing, however, the possible play on words with Η̲λ̲ and Σαβαωθ-η̲λ̲θεν.

The magic names inscribed on the silver piece would have been invoked to protect the sanctuary to which the amulet was affixed, and/or the text was meant as a prayer directed to the god Saturn's attention.

65 A Gold Amulet for Abbagaza

Fig. 62. Plate XXVII

Kopč-Taly, Feodosija (Theodosia), Crimea — II-III A.D.
Paris, Musée du Louvre — H. 1.6 cm.; W. 6.5 cm.
Bj 86 (Inv. M.N.D. 1341) — Gold *lamella*

Lit. V. Skorpil, *Zapiski der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertümer* 21 (1898), pp. 8-11 [Russ. non vidi]; E. Pridik, "Греческія Закляті и Амулеты изб южной Россіи," *ОТДЪ КЛАССИЧЕСОЙ ФИЛЛОЛОИИ*, 1899, no. 7, p. 123f.; A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre. Les texts inédits* (Paris, 1933), pp. 175f.; no. 201 (facs.); K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 11 (1935) p. 159f.

The *editio princeps* of this amulet (and **65**) is Skorpil 1898, whose text is reproduced in Pridik 1899. Preisendanz 1935:160, though giving no transcription, provides the bibliographical information on Skorpil and Pridik (whose works are given in German titles). Preisendanz was not aware of Dain 1933. Dain, who subsequently published both **65** and **66** after they were acquired by the Louvre, was also unaware that both had been previously published with superior readings. Here we provide new readings of both **65** and **66** from photographs not previously published.

A shepherd found amulets **65** and **66** rolled together up in a capsule, in the steppe-lands of the eastern Crimea at Kopč-Taly, Feodosija (Theodosia). Preisendanz, writing in 1935, claims that the piece is in the Odessa Museum. Dain, writing in 1933, says that both **65** and **66** were acquired by the Louvre from the Collection Messaksoudis in April 1920.

1 + Φυλακτήριον θ(εο)ῦ ζῶντος vacat
2 πα̣τος κ̣ηλευω με με με ειχ ζοη magic sign
3 αηηηιζηρ magic sign ριηηηη πεεζδω
4 δαγ μεξξεμ αχε̣ με, Ἀββαγάζαν.

\+ A Phylactery of the living God. *PATOS, KÊLEUÔ ME ME ME EIX ZOÊ AÊÊÊIZER RIÊÊÊÊ PEEZDO DAG MEXXEM AXE* me, Abbagaza.

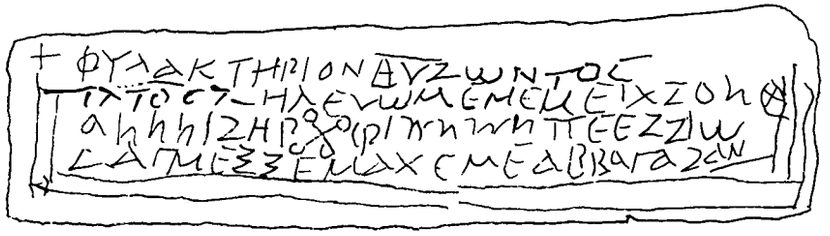


Fig. 62

1 + Φυλακτήριον Θ(εο)ῦ ζῶντος: The cross at the beginning indicates the spell is perhaps Christian. The *nomen sacrum* is also abbreviated, with a *macron* written above. On ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶν, note **51**,8f.; **52**,80; **67**,1; cf. **58**,11; *PGM* IV.559, 959, 1038, 1553; VII.823; XII.79; 5a.11; 5b.25.

2 τ̣ατος κ̣ηλευω με: πάντας κελεύω (ὑμᾶς) Pridik : λέγω Dain. Judging from the fact that some of these lines read like corrupt Greek, Pridik's interpretation may represent the original reading.

4 μεξξεμ αχ̣ε με, Ἀββαγάζαν: Among these letters, the first six form a short palindrome; however, judging from the accompanying silver piece (**65**), these letters may be a corruption of the model's original protective formula, e.g., διαφύλαξόν με, Ἀββαγάζαν. The personal name (Ἀβραγαζον Dain: Ἀβραγαζαν Pridik) is perhaps indigenous to the region.

66 A Silver Amulet for Abbagaza

Fig. 63. Plate XXVII

Kopč-Taly, Feodosija (Theodosia), Crimea — II-III A.D.
Paris, Musée du Louvre — H. 3.5 cm.; W. 13.0 cm.
Bj 89 (Inv. M.N.D. 1342) — Silver *lamella*

Lit. V. Skorpil, *Zapiski der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertümer* 21 (1898), pp. 8-11 [Russ. non vidi]; E. Pridik, "Греческия Заклятi и Амулеты изб южной Россiи," *ОТДЪ КЛАССИЧЕСОЙ ФИЛЛОЛОИИ*, 1899, no. 6, p. 122f.; A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Louvre. Les texts inédits* (Paris, 1933), pp. 176f.; no. 202 (facs.); K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 11 (1935) p. 159f.

On the circumstances of this piece's discovery, see **64**, above.

1 + Φυλακτήριον πρὸς πᾶν πνεῦμα καὶ νόσους.
2 (magic signs) ξξξξξξ ηηη βη — αα
3 (magic signs) ϣ̣α̣ι ξsign ιξυνηη — αααα
4 (magic signs) εοζ sign oooooooo — ηηηηηηη
5 (magic signs) oooo + — θθθθθθθ
6 — π π π π
7 σύ, Ὑγῖα, θεράπευσον Ἀβ- — magic sign α
8 βαγάζαν ἣν ἔτεκεν Φαισφάρτα.

7 Ὑγῖα : Ὑγίεια

A phylactery against every spirit and sicknesses (magic signs and letters) *xxxxx êêê bêô aai x* (sign) *ixynêê eoz* (sign) *ooooooooooo* +. *Aa aaaa êêêêêêê thththththththth pppp* (sign) *a*. You, Health, heal Abbagaza whom Phaispharta bore.

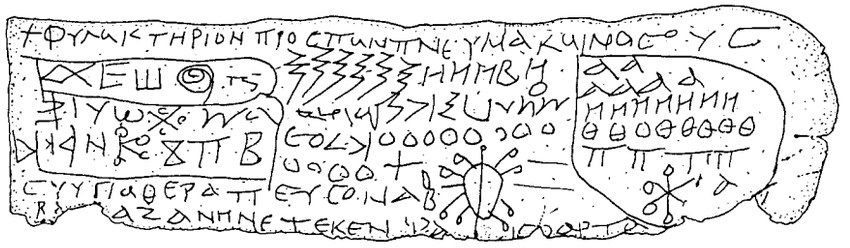


Fig. 63

1 + Φυλακτήριον πρὸς πᾶν πνεῦμα καὶ νόσους: Dain: πᾶμ. On similar formulas with νόσος, cf. *PGM* VII.580: φυλακτήριον ... πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος; *PGM* 5b.26: ὁ ἰασάμενος πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν (= Matt. 4:23; 9:23; 10:1; etc.; cf. *PGM* 9.11; Daniel & Maltomini, *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 30,2f.; no. 31,2,3; no. 33, 2-4 (cited below). General references to νόσος occur also in *PGM* XVIIb.19; XVIIIa.2; 5c.4; 18.15; *PGM* O(stracon) 2.33f. (*PGM*, vol. II, p. 233); *Suppl. Mag. I*.3,4; 18.6; 22.3; 34 A8. The formula θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον, κτλ. was a favorite of Christian texts, coming from Gospel of Matthew, as a direct or adapted quotation (Matt. 4:23f.; 9:35; 10:1, etc. and parallels).

2-5 These lines are made up of complex of consonants and vowels: ξ's , η's , o's . At the bottom of the tablet is a circle with 'eyelet' spokes radiating out, perhaps a representation of the sun.

Right enclosure: Here we find a progression: 6 *alpha*'s (2+4); 7 *eta*'s; 8 *theta*'s. Below this appear four *p*'s, perhaps cryptic representations of the Tetragrammaton, especially in view of the fact that *PIPI* is similarly identified (from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew characters);

see M. Philonenko, *Comptes-rendus de l' Académie des Inscriptions*, 1979, p. 301 (n. 26); see our 'Index V,' svv. Π, Πι, etc. The group of letters, α α η θ π, can also be read as a word-scramble: e.g., ἀπαθῆ, "unsuffering (things)."

Left enclosure: This section is composed of *charactêres*, the most curious of which is a tight concentric ring. On εοζ (line 4), cf. **41**,26, a name which corresponds to Hebrew הָעוֹז, *hăʿôz*, "the majesty; the strength" — a circumlocution for the Hebrew God; cf. *PGM* XXIV,11: ωζ, οζ, οζ, ιζ (written with *macrons*, indicating divine names); in *PGM* II.179, οζο, is perhaps 'his strength.'

7-8 σὺ,Ὑγῖα, θεράπευσον Ἀββαγάζαν ἣν ἔτεκεν Φαισ[π]άρτα: The personal names are probably Iranian. Though the text shows Christian influence (note the cross at the beginning), it oddly invokes the personified Hygeia for healing, a phenomenon uncommon, though not entirely unexpected, on magic texts such as these.

The imperative of θεραπεύω used of God who heals sickness (usually fever in the examples below) is with very few exceptions restricted to Christian amulets. Imperatives in the pagan examples below occur twice in the plural, once with infinitive. The plural imperative — something not usually to be expected of a Christian or Jewish prayer — does in fact occur in one example below.

Appendix: Θεραπεύω

I. Pagan:

SM I, no. 3,3: κύριοι θεοί, θεραπεύσατε Ἑλένην, κτλ.

SM I,19, 16-17, 23-24: χαραχ[τῆρες] ἵνα θεραπεύσητε τὴν Ἀμᾶτις + ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ Χερουβιν καὶ Σεραπειν, θεραπεύσατε τὴν Ἀμᾶτις, κτλ. (in a clearly Jewish formula).

PGM XVIIIb,1f.: (Γοργωφωνας) ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος θεραπεῦσαι Διονύσιον, κτλ. (fever).

[N.B. Elsewhere in Preisendanz (*PGM*), θεραπεύω is never used of a god healing, or being summoned to heal, except in Christian spells. The reference to θεραπεύειν in *PGM* I.190 — used of a magician who is given wild herbs with the promise "καὶ πῶς θερ[α]πεύσεις" — does not mean, "and he will give [you both] wild herbs *and the power to cure*" (so Preisendanz, *ad loc.* and O'Neil in Betz, *Translation*, p. 8), but rather, "and he will give you wild herbs *and how you will prepare (them).*" The verb here refers specifically to the preparation of uncultivated plants (ἀγρίας βοτάνας) for use as healing drugs. Also *PGM* III.711, θεραπεύεις πολλάκις καὶ τόδε, does not refer to medical healing, but to the practitioner's simple use of a magical rite. The reference in *PGM* XVIIb 19 is restored.]

II. Christian:

SM I,20,3f.: *κυρίε θ(ε)έ ... θεράπευσον* Θαησᾶ[ν, *κτλ.*]

SM I,21, 8-12: *ἅγιε (ἅγιοι) χαρακτῆρες ... θεραπεύσατε* Τείρορα, *κτλ.* (though labelled Christian because of a trinitarian formula, the invocation of 'holy characters' shows pagan influence).

SM I,22,2.: (*ἡ δύναμις* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) *θεράπε*[*υε*] Ἐρεμέγα, *κτλ.*

SM I,28,4: Ἰ(*ησο*)ῦ Χρ(*ιστο*)ῦ ... *θαράπευσων* [sic]. Ἰωάννης *υἱὸς ζωή.*

SM I,31, 2,3: Ἰ(*ησο*)ῦ *ὅτι ἐθεράπευες* ...Ἰ(*ησο*)ῦ *θεράπευσον κ*(*αὶ*) *νῦν ... .*

SM I,32, 7: *ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος ...* Σαβαωθ *ὁ θεός, ... ἀποθεραπεύσατε* (pl.) in the 'Christ at the Euphrates' episode.

SM I,33, 2-3: *εἷς θεὸς ὁ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον.*

SM I, 33A 2f.; C 4f.: Ἰ(*ησοῦ*)ς Χ(*ριστὸ*)ς *θεραπεύει ...* λύκος λευκός *θεραπευσάτω* (! pagan?).

PGM 4,11-14: = Matt. 4:23,24.

PGM 15b, 10: *σὺ πάλιν θεράπευσον τὴν φοροῦσαν. ἀμήν* (cf. *PGM* 7:17).

67 An Exorcism for a Young Girl

Fig. 64

Mt. Sûr-Taš, Sea of Azov (Crimean Peninsula) — Late Roman?
Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg — (no dimensions available)
(no inv. number) — Silver *lamella*

Lit. E. Pridik, "Греческія Закляті и Амулеты изб южной Россіи," *Отдѣ Классичесой Филлолоіи*, 1899, no. 8, p. 124; K. Preisendanz, "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 11 (1935), p. 159f.

Preisendanz 1935:160 reports that this piece was found in 1897 in a child's grave on Mt. Sûr-Taš on the Sea of Azov (Crimea Peninsula). Pridik 1899:124 is the only previous edition of this *lamella*. The piece was found in a tiny cylindrical capsule with ringlets, a capsule that Pridik did not publish. For help with translating Pridik's Russian article, I would like to thank Frau Hanne Hagedorn (Tübingen).

The text contains a short exorcistic spell that compares with the phrasing found in some late, liturgical exorcisms (see on **35**).

Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς, κα-
τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ {ζω}
ζῶ(ν)τος, πᾶν πνεῦ-
μα καὶ φάνταsμα
καὶ πᾶν θηρίον ἀπο-
στῆνε ἀπὸ [ψυχῆς]
ψυχῆς τῆς γυνα[ι]-
κὸς ταύτης, BX
MO.[---]
AN [---].

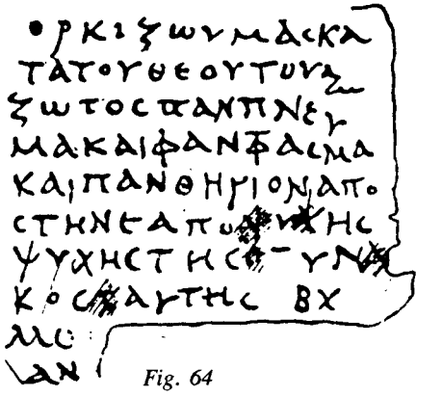


Fig. 64

5f.: *ἀποστῆνε*: *ἀποστῆναι*

Tr. I adjure you (pl.), by the living God, that every spirit and apparition and every beast, be gone from the soul of this woman ...

1 Ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς: The plural pronoun refers to the group of afflictions in lines 4-6. The ὁρκίζω (or ἐξορκίζω) formula appears relatively rarely on amulets and protective charms unless specifically 'exorcistic'; see **51**,1; **52**,79; **56**,31f.; **68**, [1]. The adjuration-formula — common in aggressive magic for adjuring *nekydaimones* to work curses and erotic-magic on the practitioner's behalf — carries a somewhat different sense when used in protective magic: it refers, as here, to the *exorcism* of an indwelling demons. Note, for example, the great exorcism of the Paris Magical Papyrus (*PGM* IV.3007-3086); further, other 'Solomonic' exorcisms, or adjurations of original Jewish derivation: *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 24, 3f., ... ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ ... καὶ Σολομων[---] ...

In the papyri, we find such 'exorcistic' adjurations written against 1) *scorpions*, e.g., *Suppl. Mag. II*, no. 89, 6,7f.: ὁρκίσο, πᾶν σκορπίε, ... ἐξοργισω [sic] σ[---]; 2) *fever*: *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 19,14-17: ἐξορκίζω ἡμᾶς ... ἵνα θεραπεύσητε (fever); and, 3) *rheum* and *migraine*: *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 32,3,4: ὁρκίζο σε (sing!), ῥεῦμα ... ὁρκίζο σε κατὰ (Cherubim, etc.) ἀποθεραπεύσατε (pl.!) ὀφθαλμοὺ[ς] ἀπὸ ἡμικράνου, κτλ. But in such cases, internal grammatical incongruities usually betray a careless combining of ἐξορκίζω-formulas with commoner but diverse — and often incompatible — prayer-formulas. In at least one instance, we have an actual 'compulsive' adjuration (of *nekydaimones*?) fastened to a command to heal — again, mixing the plural pronoun with the singular imperative: *Suppl. Mag. I*, no. 12, 2,5: ἐξορκίδω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῆς πικρᾶς Ἀνά<γ>κης ... ἀπάλλαξον Ἄμμων, κτλ.

1-3 ὁρκίζω ... κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ {ζω} ζῶ(ν)τος: See **64**,1; **2**,5-7. The formula occurs on Jewish amulets; cf. J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (1985), G 5, 2f. (p. 225): משבענא בשם חי האל, "I adjure in the name of the God who lives," with reference to 1 Sam. 25:34; 1 Kings 17:1 (חי יהוה אלהי ישראל); and Dan. 12:7 (בחי וישבע העולם), where the LXX reads καὶ ὤμοσε τὸν ζῶντα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα θεὸν; cf. *idem*, A 1:23: עליך בחי האל, "(I adjure) you by the God who lives," etc. Closer Greek parallels to the "living God" (θεός ζῶν) can be found in LXX Deut. 4:32; 5:26; Dan. 4:22; 5:23; Esther 6:13; Hos. 2:1, etc.

4-6 πᾶν πνεῦμα καὶ φάντασμα καὶ πᾶν θηρίον: The concept of a πνεῦμα (as opposed to δαίμων, -μονιον) that possesses a body is distinctively Jewish, or Semitic (>רוח); see the references from liturgical exorcisms, cited below.

A φάντασμα is a 'ghost' or apparition: cf. *PGM* IV.2701: φύλαξόν με ἀπὸ παντὸς δαίμονος ἀερίου καὶ ἐπιγείου καὶ ὑπογείου καὶ παντὸς ἀγγέλλου καὶ φαντάσματος καὶ σκιασμοῦ καὶ ἐπιπομπῆς, where the σκιασμός is the Semitic טלניתה, *ṭlnyth*, a shadow spirit (see J. Naveh & S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* [Jerusalem & Leiden, 1985], p. 58f.), and the ἐπιπομπή, is an avenging daimon 'sent against' someone. Note also *PGM* VII.579: φυλακτήριον σωματοφύλαξ πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα.

These two passages represent the only occurrences of φάντασμα in the magic papyri (the very rare φαντασμός ὀνείρων, *PGM* X.25, refers to unwanted dream-visions). The noun does, however, make a frequent appearance in the 'late' exorcistic manuscripts, where it comes closer to the sense of 'nightmare': A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I*, p. 99,12: καὶ πᾶν ἀέριον φάντασμα σκεπόμενον ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανου ἀφάνισον ἀπὸ τὸν ὕπνον τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ, κτλ.; a spell, *idem*, p. 122,14f. is entitled Φυλακτήριον εἰς φάντασμα καὶ ξύπασμα [=Φόβος, "nightmare"] τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας and names, not unlike our spell, a πᾶν ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα (22), φάντασμα τόπου (29), and a ξύπασμα ἐν ὀνείρῳ φαντάσματος ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς (30f.); further, *idem*, p.182,11; p.204,17; p.243,6; p.460,15; p.606,5,19; cf. also p.119,12: ἢ δαιμονικὸν ἢ φαντασματικόν; p. 119,30: φανταστικὸν δαιμόνιον; Delatte, *Un office d'exorcisme*, p. 97,6: ... ῥυόμενον αὐτὸν ... ἀπὸ φαντασμάτων πονηρῶν.

For spells againsts noxious animals, cf. *PGM* VII.370: Πρὸς πᾶν θηρίον καὶ ἔνυδρον καὶ λῃστάς; *PGM* 12.5f. ἐξορκίζω πᾶν δῆγμα τοῦ [δ]ιαβόλου θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, κτλ.; *P. Berol.* 11734, 128 (ed. W. Brashear, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 36 ([1990], p. 52,128): ἀπὸ ... ̣ [---]των θηρίων. The generic θηρία can refer to predatory animals or demons in animal form, like the θηριοπρόσωπα δαιμόνια in A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I*, p. 236,16.

5-7 ἀποστῆνε ἀπὸ [ψυχῆς] ψυχῆς: Of the first [ψυχῆς], lines drawn through the *psi* and the *chi* indicate an expunged text. Perhaps there was an effort to write an initial τῆς: ἀποστῆνε (read ἀποστῆναι) ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς is a term special to Jewish — and then later Christian — liturgical

exorcisms. Similar phrasing occurs in the following liturgical exorcisms attested in several MSS. (important textual variants are marked):

1) An exorcism attributed to John Chrysostom: *Supplementum ad Liturgiam S. Chrysostomi* (Migne, *PG* 64), p. 1061C:

> *ὁ Θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ λυτρωσάμενος τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου, ῥῦσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε ἀπὸ πάσης ἐνεργείας πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ἐπίταξον τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασί τε καὶ δαίμοσιν, ἀποστῆναι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦδε, κτλ.*

2) The *Cod. Marc. gr. app.* II 163 (beginning lost): Ed. F. Pradel, *Griechische Gebete* (Giessen, 1907), p. 260,18-22:

> *θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ὁ λυτρωσάμενος ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ῥῦσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον πάσης ἐνεργείας πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ἐπίταξον τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις δαίμοσιν, ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δούλου σου, κτλ.*

3) Ms. de la Lavra du Mont Athos, Θ 20: Ed. L. Delatte, *Un Office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Bruxelles, 1957), p. 39, 1f.:

> *Ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ λυτρωσάμενος τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ διαβόλου, ῥῦσαι καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον ἐκ πάσης ἐνεργείας πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, ἐπίταξον τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασί τε δαίμοσι ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ δούλου σου, κτλ.*

4) An exorcism (Ms. 825 Bibliothèque Nationale) attributed to Ephrem the Syrian: A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia* (1927), p. 254,14f. (giving an entirely different beginning and omissions, e.g., of *ψυχῆς*):

> *... αὐτὸς ὁ ἀκατάληπτος Θεὸς ὁ ἀναλαβὼν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἠλίαν ἐν πυρίνῳ ἅρματι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, αὐτὸς ἐπιτιμᾷ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις πνεύμασιν ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα.*

Our text's *ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ (τῆς) ψυχῆς*, with the reminiscence of *πνεύμασί* perhaps to be identified in the tablet's *πᾶν πνεῦμα*, suggests that our amulet preserves an ancient *Vorlage* of the exorcisms cited above. The early amulet at least demonstrates how the later Greek liturgical exorcisms attested in the *Euchologia* and hindred documents can trace their ancestry to older texts of probable Hellenistic Jewish origin.

68 Fragment of a Christian Liturgical Exorcism

Fig. 65. Plate XXVIII

Cyprus (exact location unknown) — IV A.D.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale — H. 1.6 cm.; W. 2.7 cm.
Froehner No. 1212 — Silver *lamella*

Lit. Marie-Christine Hellmann, "W. Froehner et Chypre," *Cahiers du Centre d' Études Chypriotes* 16 (1991-92), pp. 17-28, p. 23f.

The silver lamella was purchased in Cyprus by Froehner in 1874 but is of inexact provenance. The *editio princeps* of Hellmann 1991-92:23 is based on the earlier reading of Froehner, obtained from his diaries. But the fragile text has suffered some additional damage since Froehner's deciphering made 120 years ago. Underlined letters indicate a portion of the text now lost. Hellmann 1991-1992:23 gives the following description:

> *"Froehner, No VIII, 30, tr. à Chypre, achat 1874: petite feuille d'argent très fine et cassée de tous côtes, l. cons. 2,7, h. cons. 1,6 cm. L'inscription gravée invoque 'Jésus-Christ de Nazareth' (lecture Froehner vérifiée par M.-C.H., restitutions D. Feissel; inédite)."*

This very fragmentary piece of silver foil probably contained a Christian liturgical exorcism, not unlike **35** in this corpus. We have restored the text accordingly and provided supporting parallels, with the proviso that other interpretations may be possible.

[ὁρκίζω σε ὀνόμα-]
[τι τοῦ] Ναζωραίου,
[τ]οῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
4 [κ(αὶ) τῶ]ν ἁγίων ἀπ-
[οστόλ]ων αὐτοῦ,
[κ(αὶ) τῶν ἀνγ]ἐλλων
[αὐτοῦ, ἐξελθεῖν, κτλ.].

[I adjure you in the name of the] Nazoraean, Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles and [his] angels [to come out of (so-and-so) ...].

1 [ὁρκίζω σε ὀνόμα/τι τοῦ]: Our proposed restoration fits the lacuna and the sense of the spell. In nearly all such liturgical creeds the invocation of ecclesiastical figures, saints, and names is preceded by an adjuration (ἐξ)ορκίζω. See Commentary, to follow.

2 [τι τοῦ] Ναζωραίου [τ]οῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: Ναζωραίου / []ου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *ed. pr.* The formulaic language here seems to derive from kerygmatic healing episodes found in the Book of Acts, and elsewhere: Acts 3:6: εἶπεν δὲ Πέτρος· ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι, ὃ δὲ ἔχω τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι· ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου περιπάτει; Acts 4:10: γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγιής; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 25. 345,20: ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἔξελθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον καὶ ὑγιὴς γένηται. But the order of the liturgical formula here is different, as the others have Ναζωραίου following, not precede, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. On the problem surrounding Ναζαρηνός versus Ναζωραῖος, see Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich-Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Chicago, 1979), s.v.

3-4 [-- τῶ]ν ἁγίων ἀπ[οστόλ]ων αὐτοῦ: The photograph suggests rather ... τῶν ἀποστόλων, but this is due to the horizontal of the *gamma* extending over the *iota*. This phrase is very common among Patristic writers, but I have not found it connected with "the Nazoraean, Jesus Christ" — nor with angels — except in the context of liturgical exorcisms; cf. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia I* (Paris & Liège, 1927), p. 62,12f: ὁρκίζω σε εἰς τὰ ἐννέα τάγματα τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ιβ΄ ἀποστόλους, κτλ.; *idem*, p. 119,25: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν ιβ΄ ἀποστόλων· ἐξέλθατε καὶ ἀναχωρήσατε, κτλ.; see, further, *idem*, p. 83, 16. The apostles are invoked both confessionally and for the exorcistic-healing powers that they make claim to through the name of Jesus Christ.

5 [κ(αὶ) τῶν ἀγγ]έλλων: Only the barest trace of this former reading is extant. A gold phylactery (to be re-edited in a subsequent volume of *Greek Magical Amulets*) similarly names the Lord and his angels: see the *editio princeps*, A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, II: Einzelstücke* (Berlin, 1975), p. 99, Nr. 12: ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμ(ι) κατεσφραγεισμένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου κ(αὶ) τ<ῶ>ν ἀνγέλων αὐτοῦ.

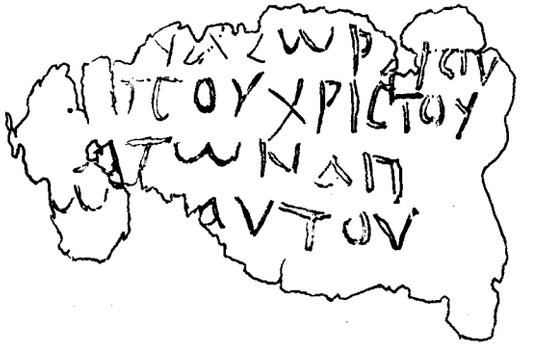


Fig. 65

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φαθαραξ **50**,7
φακωναωχ **16**,16
φαρθιαω **12**,12f.
φεουευισαγιζου **58**,6f.
φεων **50**,3
φθω **4**,3
φιβαω **38**,5 see ιαρβαθα
φιμων **50**,8
ψη **33**,17
φρα **50**,3
φρικτορ **53**,5f.
φυα **50**,3
φωθ **18**,16

χαζαμαξα **41**,14 see αμαξα
χαστειος **18**,8
χενθαιβαι εθερθ **48**,12
χερσυβαω μιθρη **40**,5f.
χεχ **48**,12
χεχ ενθαιβαι εθερθ(-) **48**,12
χμαχεενσζνηης **49**,28
χμη **49**,16
χμου **12**,12
χνημεωχ **38**,5 see ιαρβαθα
χοεηοϒ **18**,6
χοραση **34**,2f.
χουουφη **49**,13
χουση **41**,22
χωωωω **34**,13f.

ψαω **50**,9
ψαεκυωψις **50**,7

ωθονοι **5**,2
ωλαμ **2**,13,14; **4**,2: see αιλαμ
ωψις **50**,7
ωωωχ **41**,7

Vowel-series
α **5**,3; **41**,11; **65**,3
αα **66**,2
αααα **41**,14; **66**,3
ααααααα **41**,10; **58**,2; **62**,3
ααα υυωω see η ααα
ααι **66**,3
αεηιουω **4**,1; **9**,1-7 (square); **48**,13f.; **57**,9f.; **60**,1
αεηιωηιαεωωαηωηωα **37** ('winged-formation')
α ηηη ι **65**,3
εεεεε **41**,21; **58**,3
εεεεεε **62**,5
εαα **49**,22
ειε **2**,3f.
ειουα **48**,13
ευι **49**,5
ευυ **46**,4
η ααα υυωωω αααα αωωω(χ) **41**,6f.
ηηη **66**,2
ηηηι **65**,3
ηηηη **65**,3
ηηηη(ν) **62**,5

ηηηηη **58**,3
ηηηηηηη **66**,4
ηη ιουω **58**,7
ηη οο υυω **57**,5
ηλ ιι υυ **62**,7
ια see *supra*, s.v.
ιαω αηω ιαω **54**,9
ιαω εηου ιαευ **4**,7
ιηηηη **65**,3
ιι υυ **62**,1
ιο see *supra*, s.v.
ιω see *supra*, s.v.
οοο **41**,9 (*bis*)
οοοο **66**,5
οοοοοο **41**,7
οοοοοοοο **66**,4
οι **36**,10
οοο ωωω **41**,9
ουειε **32**,18
υυ **62**,7
ω ααι **66**,3
ωιαωαπωαω **34**,16
ωι υυυυ **24**,1f.
ωοοουυυυυυ **34**,14

ωωω **41**,9
ωωωωω **41**,22
-ηω υοι- **44**,1
-ηι **44**,2

-α- **12**,3
-α **12**,18
-θα **12**,7
-θηΐ **54**,7
-θν.ομ- **12**,4
-θωειφριφ- **43**,2
-ιρ- **12**,7
-μαιαι- **16**,17
-μαφωρ- **18**,20
—να· **12**,18
-νν- **12**,6
-σαχε **16**,1
-σεωι **54**,2
-σηχοεηοϒ **18**,6
-υσαι- **12**,3
-υττυ **20**,4
-ωλει **16**,3
-ωτει **16**,2

PLATES



No. 1



No. 3

Plate I

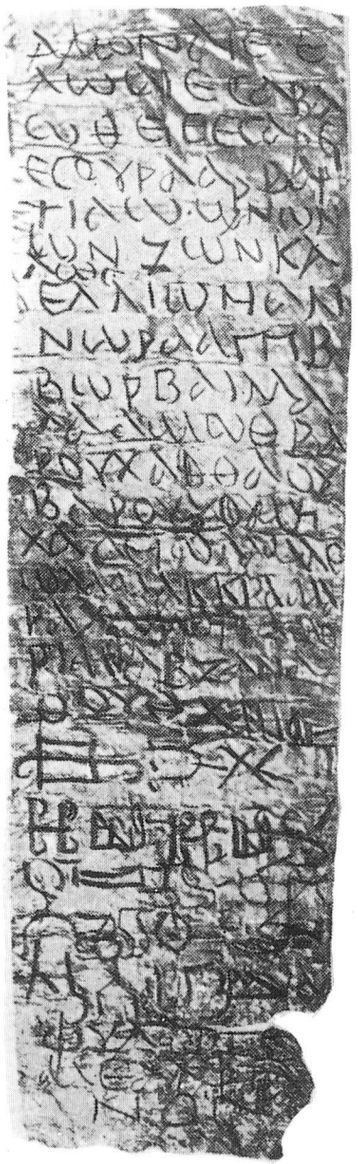
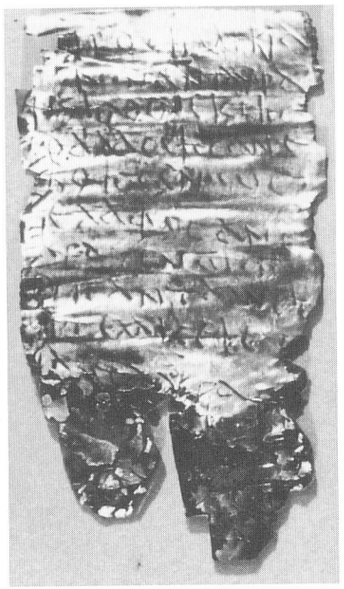


Plate II: No. 2



Plate III: No. 11 (A)



No. 13



No. 14

Plate IV

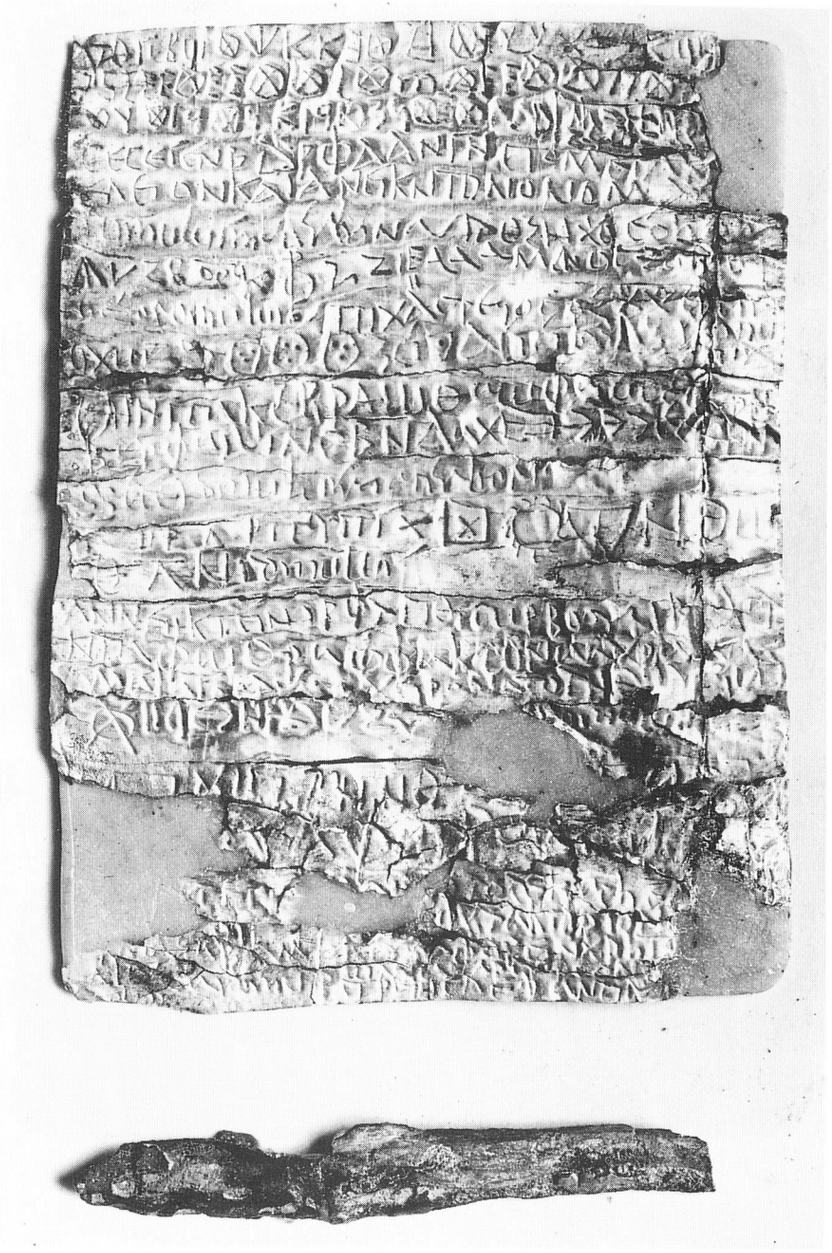
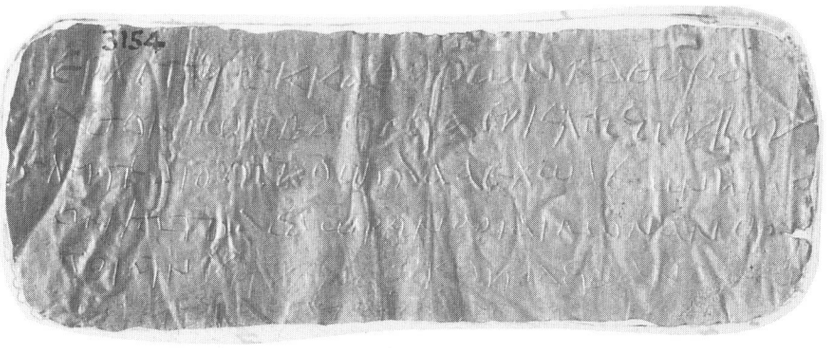
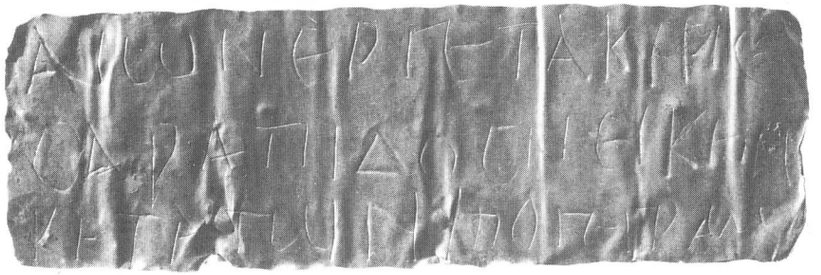


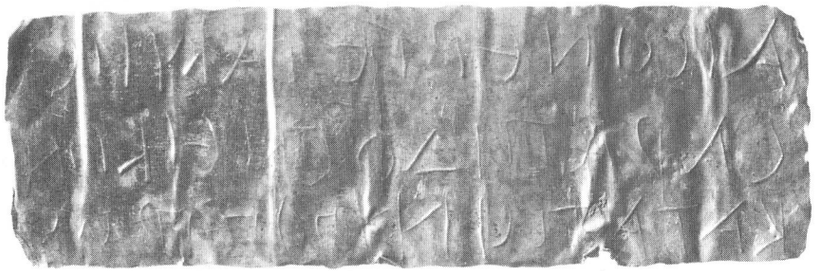
Plate V: No. 18



No. 27



No. 28 (Front)



No. 28 (Back)

Plate VI

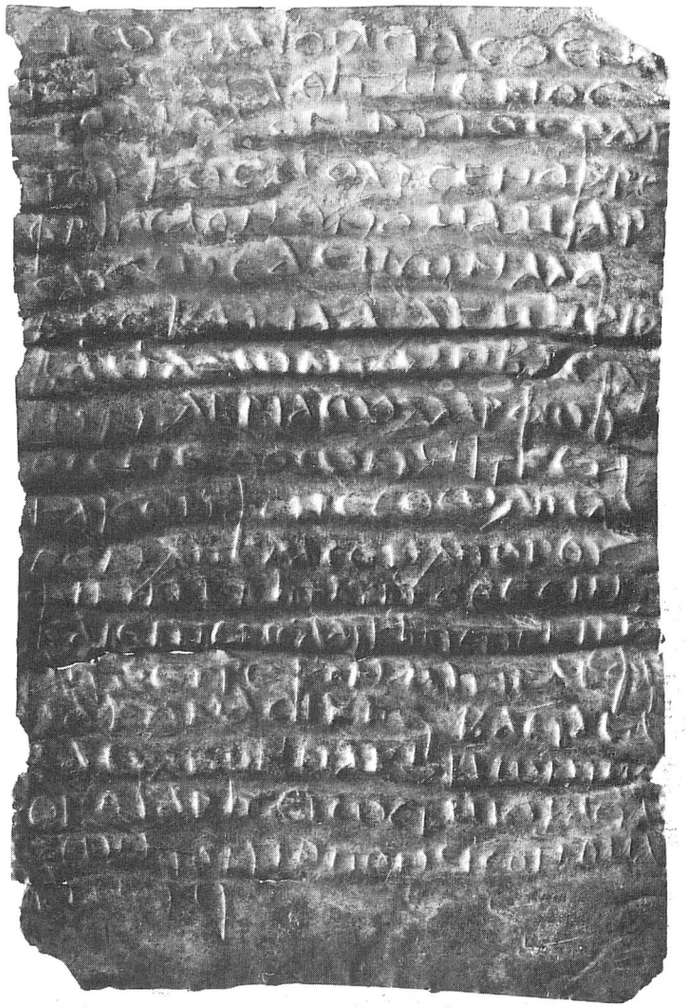


Plate VII: No. 36 (Front)

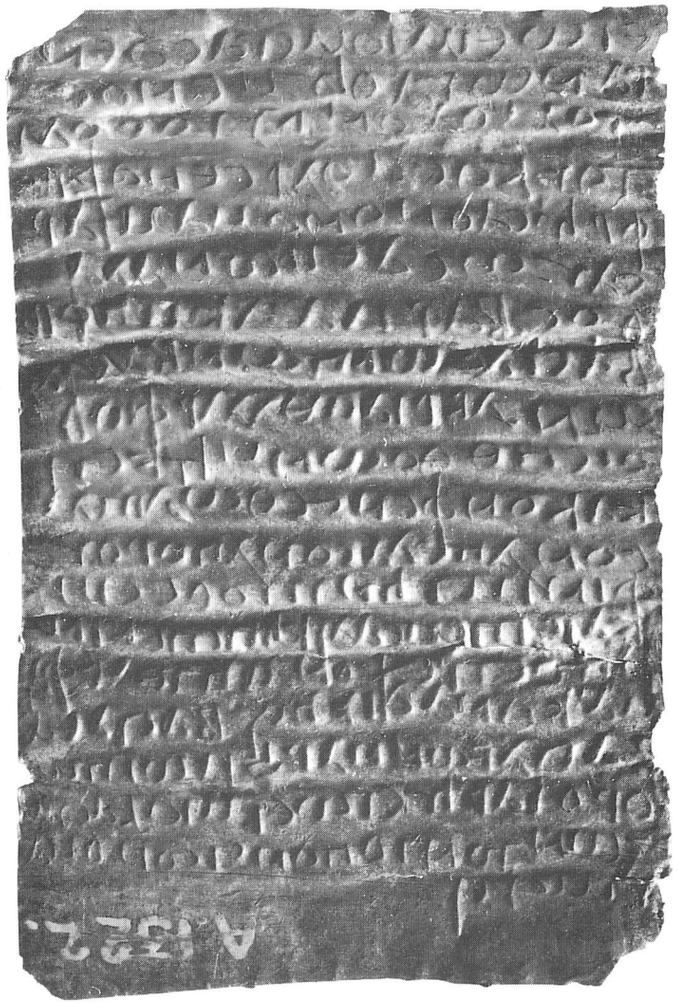


Plate VIII: No. 36 (Back)



No. 38



No. 40

Plate IX

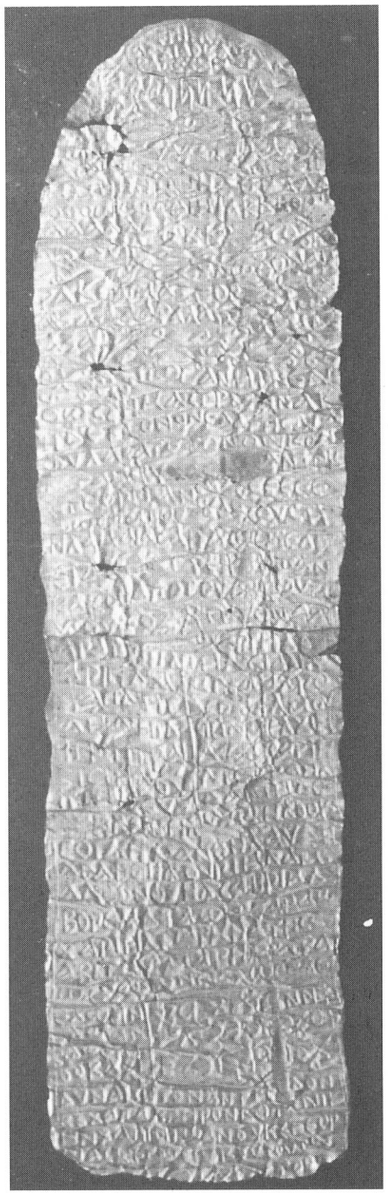


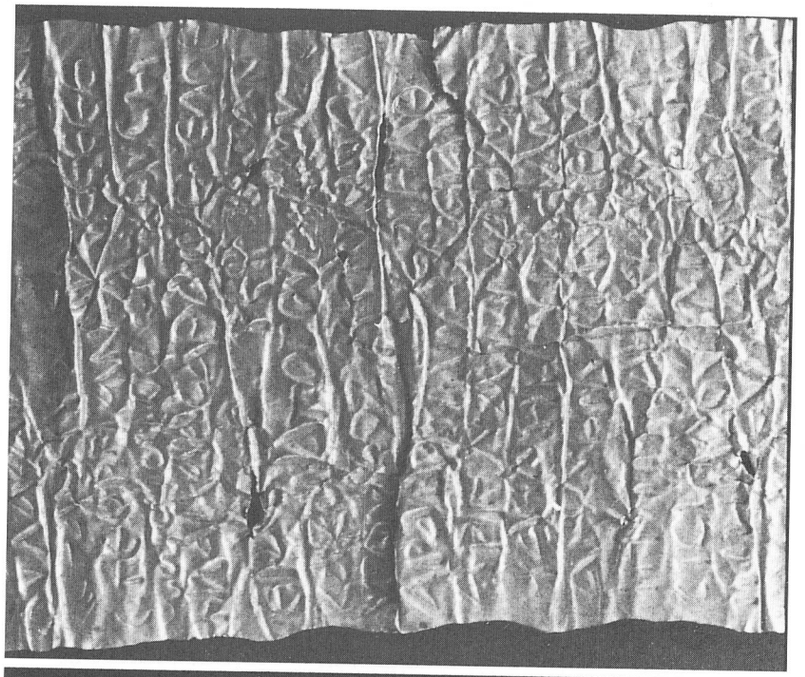
Plate X: No. 41



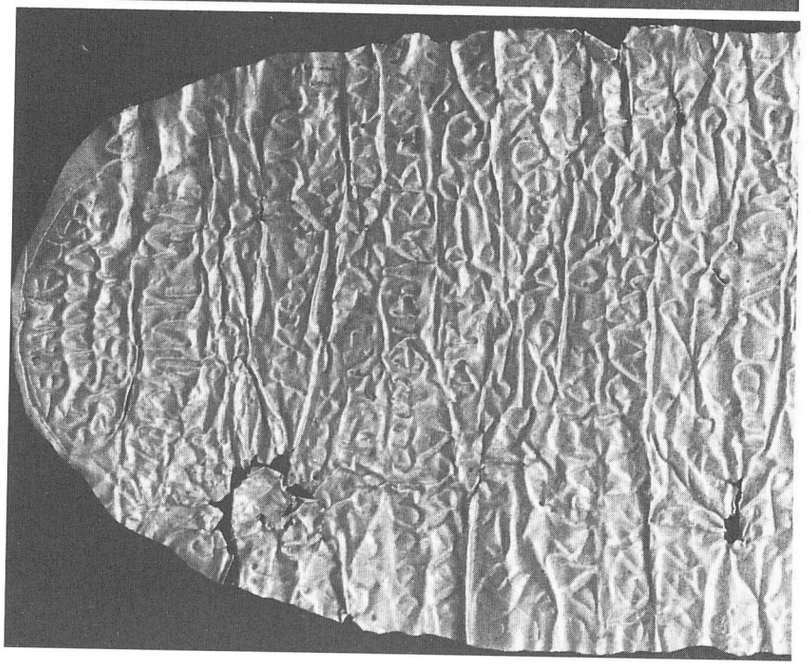
Plate XI: No. 41 (Top Detail)



Plate XII: No. 41 (Bottom Detail)

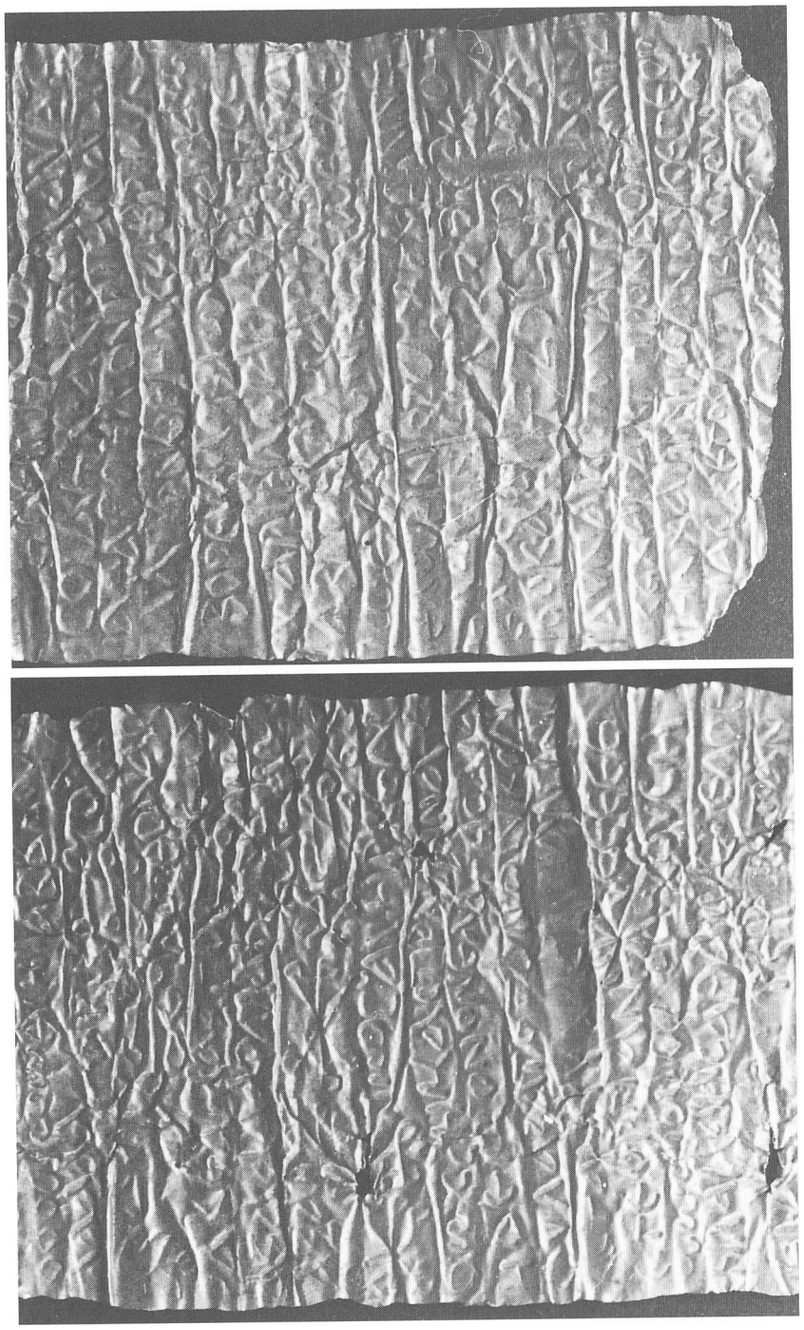


(Middle)



(Top)

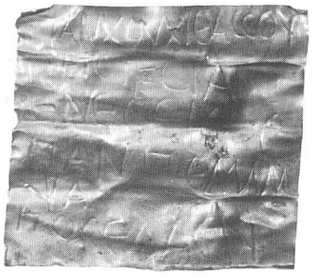
Plate XIII: No. 41 (Details)



(Bottom)

(Middle)

Plate XIV: No. 41 (Details)



No. 42



No. 45

Plate XV

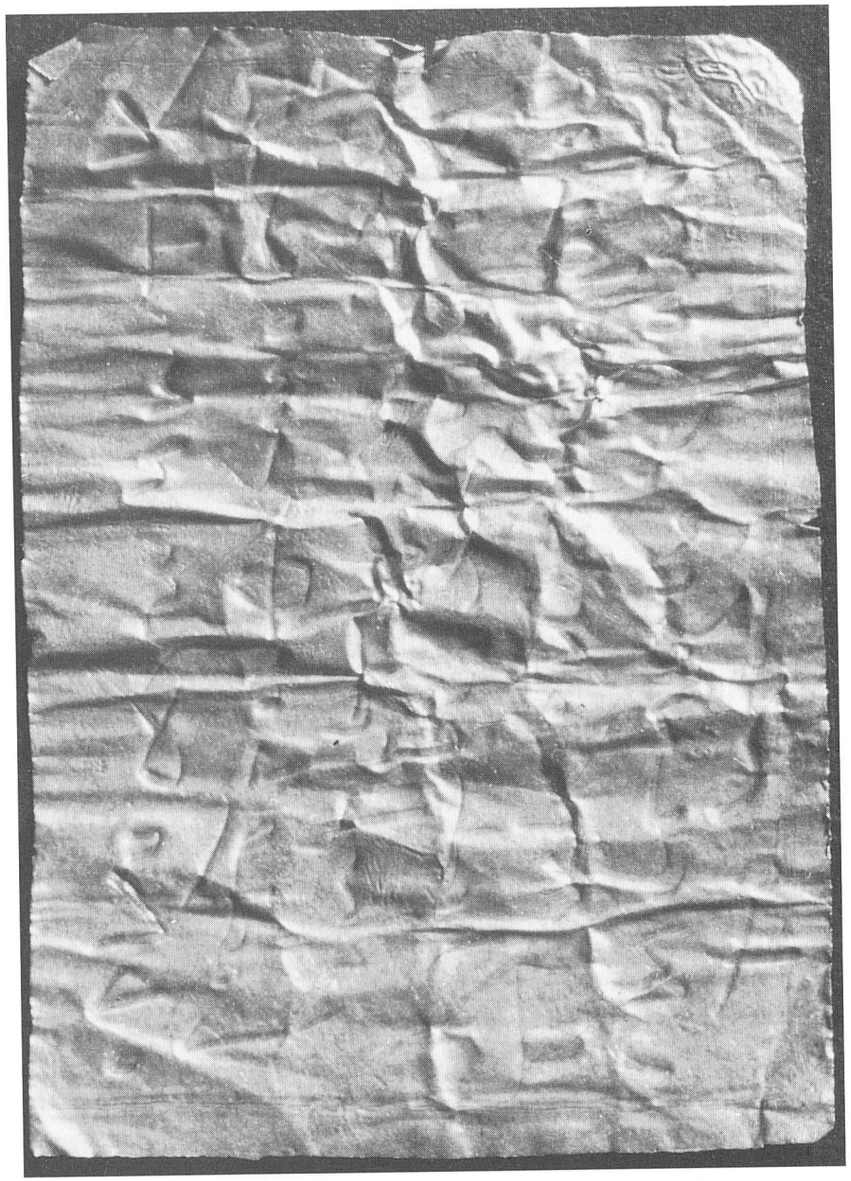


Plate XVI: No. 47

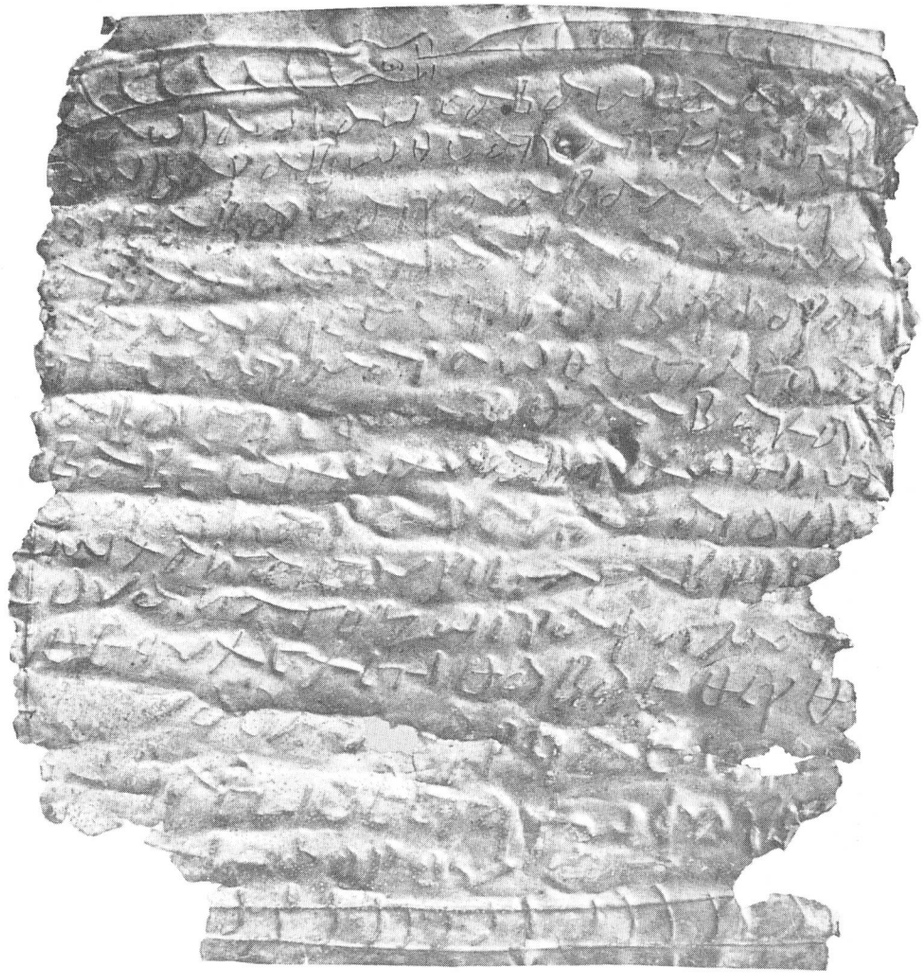
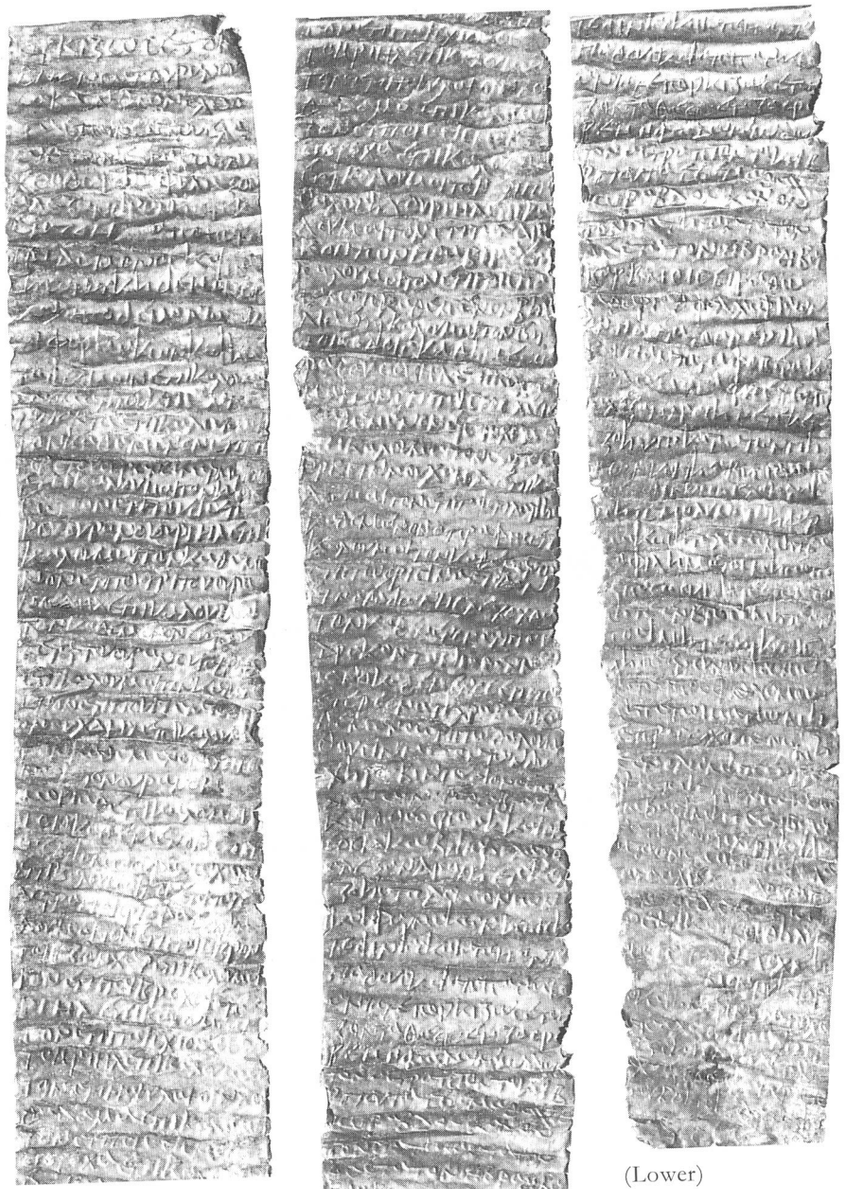


Plate XVII: No. 48



(Upper) (Middle) (Lower)

Plate XVIII: No. 52



Plate XIX: No. 54

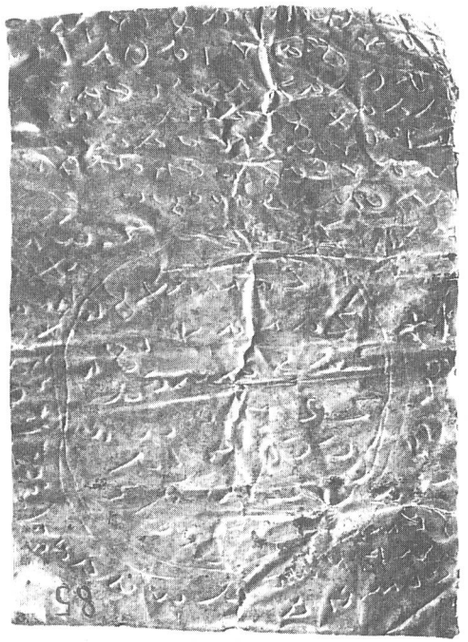


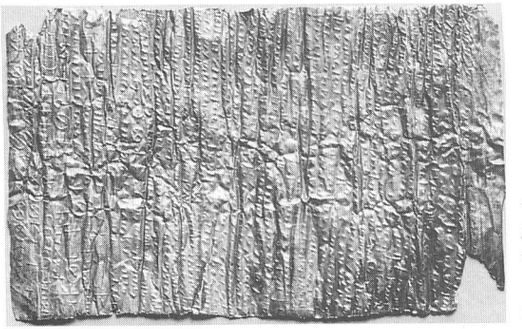
Plate XX: No. 55 (Back only)



Plate XXI: No. 56



Plate XXII: No. 58 (Front)



(Actual Size)

(Enlarged)

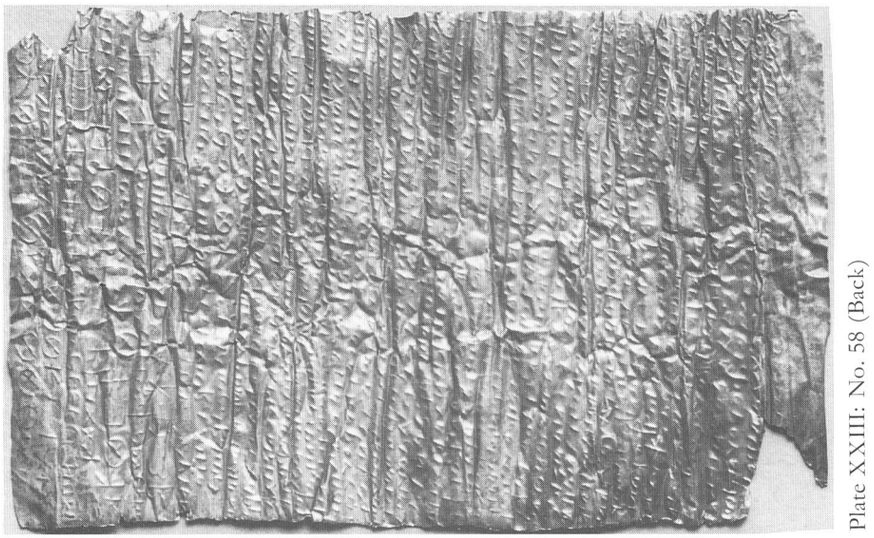


Plate XXIII: No. 58 (Back)



Plate XXIV: No. 59

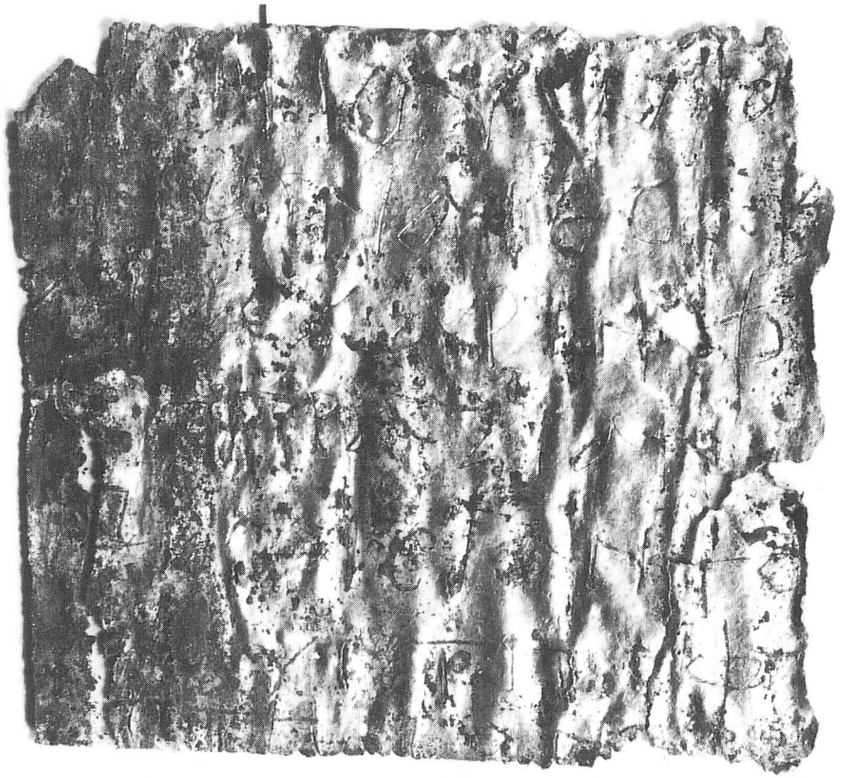


Plate XXV: No. 60

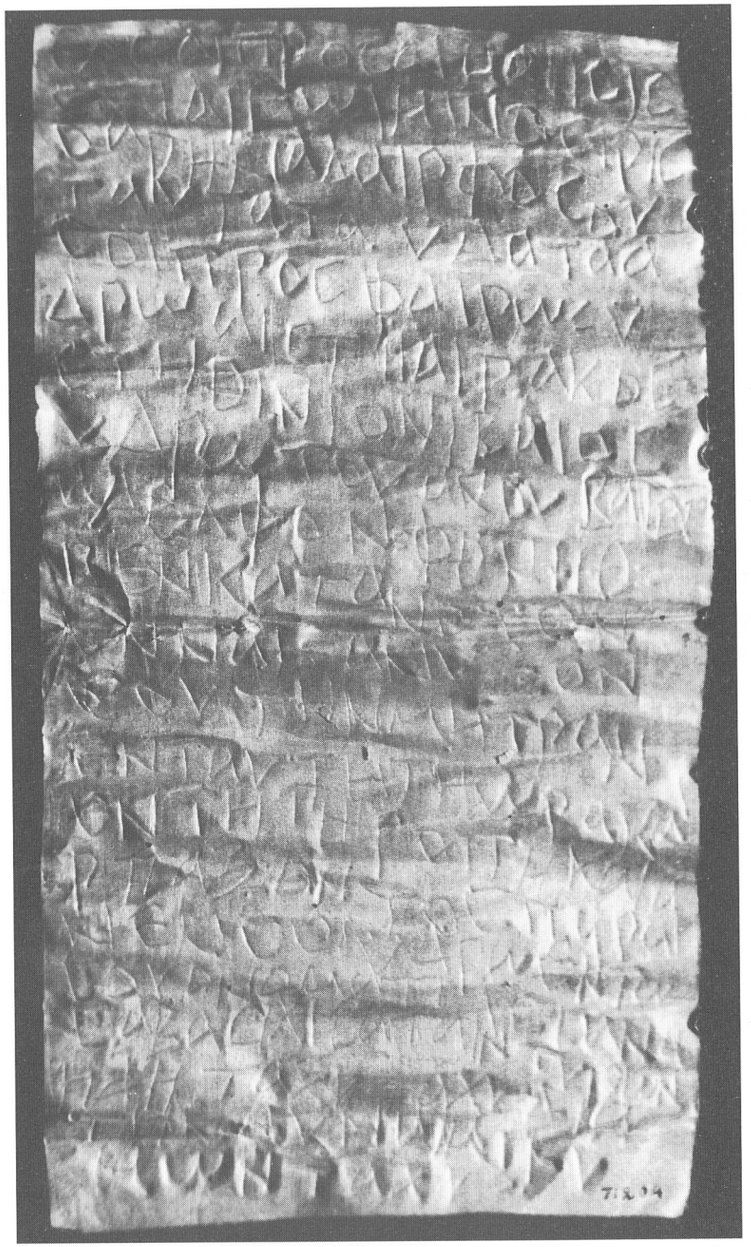


Plate XXVI: No. 61



No. 65

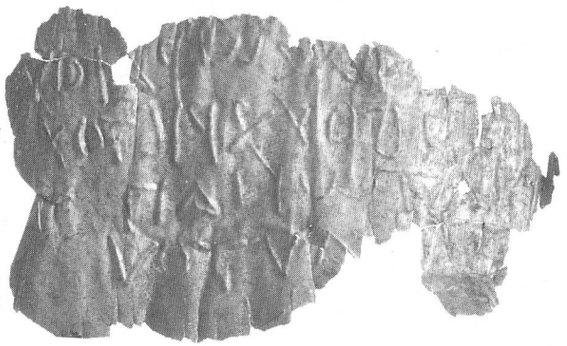


No. 66

Plate XXVII



(Front)



(Back)

Plate XXVIII: No. 68