CHAPTER VIII

AGGRESSIVE MAGIC

An authority on ancient magic has used the term Angriffzauber, which in the approximate English equivalent, "aggressive magic," will serve as an inclusive heading for this chapter. The common characteristic which justifies the grouping of several kinds of charms under this title is this, that in all of them a person who is supposed to say a charm or in some way set a magical process in motion, directs that process against another person whose attitude to the operator, whether friendly or unfriendly, is virtually ignored. The operator aims to control the will and the acts of this other person; the control may be exercised in a harmful way, but it is not necessarily "black magic." It is, however, of an entirely different kind from the protective magic which is the essential characteristic of the amulets hitherto discussed.

The mildest type of amulet which could be classified here was known to writers on magic as a καρτήσιον, something which gives χάρις, "favor," almost "success." The ordinary amulets of this class besought a god, a demon, or some vague power to grant favor to the wearer of the amulet, who might add his name to the petition. Only rarely does the prayer seek favor in the sight of a particular person. The νικητικόν or νικητήριον might seem to be a more aggressive charm; but such phrases as δος μόι χάριν πληρην indicate little more than δος χάριν alone; the writer or speaker wishes to "prevail" in his requests. The case is different, of course, when we have to do with charms and amulets used by athletes, who naturally aimed at out-doing or overcoming their competitors.

TURNING AWAY WRATH

The type of charm known as a "restrainer of anger" (θυμοκατόχος) would seem to be comparatively harmless. Among an oppressed people there would be nothing strange in a slave seeking magical aid against the outbursts of a master's anger, or a petty malefactor trying to assuage the stern temper of a judge, not to mention domestic storms that might be quieted with the help of demonic powers. But our magical papyri, which contain several formulas for such charms, usually broaden their scope. There is one in the Oslo magical book which not only restrains anger but gives favor and victory as well, and a spell in a London papyrus claims the power to silence, subject, and en-

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1 Th. Hopfner, Archiv Orientalis, 10 (1938), 135.
3 Schol. Juv. 3, 68.
4 PGM XXXVI, 35 ff.
slave an enemy. The papyrus charms of this kind have been collected and discussed by Hopfner, and they concern us here only when they furnish some useful illustration. A \( \theta \mu \omega \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \nu \) in a stricter sense, which was published by Collart in 1930, deserves special mention, though it is not an amulet in the ordinary meaning of the term, but rather a \( \delta \varepsilon \beta \iota \kappa \iota \tau \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \) (\( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \kappa \iota \sigma \mu \) used for a special and unusual purpose.

It is a lead tablet, one of the few that are known to have come from Egypt. Its close kinship with the well-known \( \delta \varepsilon \beta \iota \kappa \iota \tau \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \) tabellae is shown by the use of lead, the regular material for curse tablets, by the use of the verbs \( \acute{\eta} \varepsilon \omega \), \( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \kappa \iota \sigma \mu \) (l. 34), and by the fact that it adjures the ghost of a dead man (\( \nu \kappa \nu \delta \sigma \alpha \lambda \mu \nu \)) to check the anger of the person feared by the writer. This indicates that the tablet was buried in a grave, where the powerful charms inscribed on it would compel the ghost to carry out the command of the operator. Many such tablets have been found; this specimen differs from most of the others in that the writer does not demand the injury or destruction of the person named, only that his anger be restrained. This person is Paomios (or Paomis), son of Tisate, and the writer of the tablet is Origenes, son of Ioulle, also called Theodora. The actual petition of the document appears in slightly different forms. In line 4 we read \( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \chi \zeta \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota \) \( \iota \uilde{\eta} \gamma \eta \iota \nu \) \( \dot{\eta} \iota \mu \omega \) \( \Pi \alpha \omega \mu \iota \mu \iota \) \( \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \), \( \eta \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \) \( \iota \sigma \mu \) \( \gamma \tau \chi \iota \chi \varepsilon \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \). “Restrain the wrath, the anger of Paomios whose mother is Tisate, now, now, quickly, quickly.” In lines 34 f., instead of \( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \chi \zeta \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota \), the tablet gives \( \delta \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \), \( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \delta \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \), “bind.” At the last repetition, lines 40-43, the language is as follows: \( \kappa \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \chi \zeta \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota \) \( \iota \uilde{\eta} \gamma \eta \iota \nu \) \( \dot{\eta} \iota \mu \omega \) \( \Pi \alpha \omega \mu \iota \mu \iota \) \( \delta \varepsilon \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \), \( \eta \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \kappa \iota \iota \varepsilon \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \) \( \iota \sigma \mu \) \( \gamma \tau \chi \iota \chi \varepsilon \iota \sigma \iota \mu \nu \), “Restrain the wrath, the anger of Paomios, whose mother is Tisate, his mind, his judgment, that he may not gainsay me, Origenes, whose mother is Ioulle, also called Theodora, but may readily hear us — now, now, quickly, quickly.” From this it appears that Origenes is in some way under the authority or in the power of Paomios, who might be his master, a harsh creditor, a superior in office, or possibly only a man of equal condition who had a hold on Origenes by his knowledge of some misdoing on the latter’s part, and meant to denounce him. The tablet invokes Brimo (Persephone) and many demonic powers, most but not all of whose names are elsewhere attested, and employs several magical figures of a kind previously known. These details must be examined in Collart’s publication. The tablet is on the whole the most important “wrath turner” that has been discovered.

Only two gem amulets belonging to this class are known to me. One of these is an inconspicuous specimen owned by the British Museum, an oval bit of greenish stone streaked with black, perhaps serpentine. On the obverse is a lion-headed man facing left. He wears a long tunic, reaching to the feet and girt at the waist. Seven rays project above his head. In his

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9 PGM VII, 910, 966 ff.
12 D. 149.
extended right hand he holds by the tail a cobra, with its neck erect and hood expanded. Under the man's feet is an uncertain depression, possibly a natural pit in the stone. It slightly resembles the head and gaping mouth of some animal. If so intended, it might symbolize the anger that the amulet would avert; such is probably the purpose of the snake. The execution of the design is mediocre; the cutter has indicated no hand for the hanging left arm of the figure.

The reverse is covered by an inscription composed chiefly of magical words or names, mostly well known: χυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ χυχ (I have not noted the last word elsewhere) ελαιω βαινχουω. Then follow the words καταχες τοις θυμοις Τασοί. The article τοις is at the end of its line, and θυμοις has a line to itself, but even so the last two letters of both words are run over and cut on the bevel. The last word, which is entirely on the bevel at the bottom of the stone, is evidently the person whose anger the owner of the amulet sought to avert. It was certainly a woman, whose name, to judge by the dative Τασοί, was Τασώ. This name has not been recorded, but Τασός, Τασώς, and Τασώσ are known. Τασί might also be taken as genitive of Τασός, even though such names usually show ταυ in the genitive. Whether the unnamed owner who dreaded Τασώ's anger was the slave of an ill-tempered mistress, the timorous lover of a flighty courtisan, or the henpecked husband of a domineering wife, is a matter for guesswork.

In this instance the deity invoked is probably Horus in his lion-headed form; the magical names, especially the χυχ βαχυχ formula and βαχυχοκοκο, are often found associated with him.

The other stone belonging to this class, formerly in private possession in Syria, was published by R. Mouterde; his plate was prepared from an impression, and he does not make it clear whether he had examined the original or not. If he had not, it is easier to account for what looks like a misunderstanding of the design. The obverse shows a fully clothed figure, apparently female, facing left. The right hand is raised to the mouth, the lowered left may be holding a corner or a fold of the garment, or possibly a sketchily rendered situla; but this appearance may be due to a fault in the wax impression. It is in connection with the head of this figure that we are left in some doubt, which examination of Mouterde's drawing and plate (his Fig. 11 and Pl. II) does not dispel. The editor describes the figure as a young goddess, the head surmounted by seven long rays. But the head, of whatever sort, is very indistinctly rendered, and even before a comparison with the British Museum amulet had suggested itself to me, I had noted the possibility that the head of a lion was actually intended. Repeated inspection of the plate has only strengthened this impression. If the head is hu-
man, Mouterde is right in refusing to interpret it as Nemesis, because the characteristic attributes of this goddess are wanting. The possibility, suggested by Mouterde, that the figure is the Gnostic Σιβηρ, Silence, the companion of the first Aion in the cosmogony described by Irenæus, may be allowed, assuming that such religious-philosophical abstractions were debased for the purposes of vulgar magic. The presence of an invocation to Sige in the so-called Mithras liturgy lends color to this view, but the gem amulets, in my opinion, show little direct influence of genuine Gnostic ideas. On the other hand, we may have here only a kind of female counterpart of Harpocrates-Horus, the relationship being marked by the gesture of hand to lips. If the head is actually that of a lion (or lioness), that interpretation gains some strength, for the relation of the masculine lion-headed figures to Horus seems to be beyond doubt.

The inscription on the reverse reads κατεξείθω πᾶς θυμὸς πρὸς ἐμὲ Κασίανον. The owner, then, was a man named Casianus, unless this is a mistake for Cassianus, and the protection against anger for which he prays is general in character and has no reference, as in the British Museum stone, to a particular person.

DIVIDING LOVER AND LOVER

When Theocritus’ forsaken Simaitha prays to the moon-goddess that her faithless lover may forget his new favorite as utterly as Theseus forgot Ariadne, and performs a magical ceremony to enforce her prayer, she is using a type of spell—transformed, of course, by the poet—that must have been known to many jealous men and women. The magicians who came to the aid of unhappy lovers called such a spell a διάκος, or “divider,” and their books have handed down to us a few examples, of which the following is the most interesting. In one of the Leiden magical books the operator is instructed to take a bronze stylus and scratch a certain invocation on a potsherd, then lay it in some spot frequented by the person at whom he aims his spell, reciting the formula as he does so. It calls upon Set-Typhon, the great god “who smites the earth and shakes the world, who loves confusion and hates tranquillity,” invoking him by secret magical names, and beseeching him to rouse hatred and hostility between the two persons to be affected by the spell, even as there was hatred between Typhon and Osiris. The last clause is to be used if the two persons whom the operator wishes to divide are men; if they are man and woman, he must say “as between Isis and Typhon.” In a similar dividing charm later in the same papyrus, the operator clinches his prayer, or rather command, to the god by saying “Divide N from N because I am (such and such a demon named with magical words).” It was a common practice to enforce obedience upon demonic beings by claiming to be a more powerful god or demon. Another point is worth noting;

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12 Iren. adv. haer. 1, 1, 1. 13 Thoc. 2, 44-46.
14 PGM XII, 365-375. 15 PGM XII, 463.
the mention of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon shows that the use of mythological parallels is not merely a literary ornament, as we might suspect from reading Theocritus, but was derived from actual magical practice.

A single example of such a charm on a stone amulet has been preserved, an oval haematite in the British Museum. There is no design; an inscription covers both faces and part of the bevel, but not all of it is legible, and some groups of letters may be purposely unintelligible. It is as follows:

**Obverse**

χωρίσατε
Τ´ερακίων
α ἐρακαξ .Observer υν έτεκε Σερ
ηπιλλά άτο Σ
εριπιλλας τ
ης έτεκε
Διδύμη 17

**Reverse**

ἐπιτά
σι γάρ ̀τ μ
[έγα]ς θέος κ
ηπιγχοχ
ηφαγκ
λαφυ

On the bevel, beginning opposite the last line of the inscription on the reverse, ἀσβερβερτας. Τασβερβερτας is a magical name sometimes found with representations of Bes, especially when he is associated with Isis and the infant Horus. The obverse text is mainly clear enough—"divide Hierakion . . . son of Serenilla, from Serenilla daughter of Didyme"; and the first part of the reverse gives a good sense, "for the great god commands" (ἐπιτάτα for ἐπιτά τα), meaning, of course, that the operator identifies himself with "the great god" or at least controls him, a way of strengthening a spell which has been noted already. But other points remain obscure. The word following Τ´ερακίων looks like another carelessly written name formed on the same stem; but the initial iota that would be expected is not present. The name Τ´εραξ is as well known in Egypt as Τ´ερακίων, and it is just possible that Τ´εραξ is an alternative appellation for Hierakion with a wrongly inserted syllable, κα. It is no easier to assume that Τ´εραξ was the father's name and take ἐρακαξ as a corruption of Τ´ερακος. 18

The reverse has suffered from abrasion, but θέος could hardly be read otherwise, and [έγα]ς is an easy restoration, though no traces of the middle letters remain. The letters in lines 4 and 5 are fairly certain, though they

16 D. 150.
17 For τῆς as relative see Mayer, II, 1, p. 58.
18 Examples in which the operator represents himself as a great god, using the phrase ὁ προτάτος, may be found in PGM IV, 239, 253, 209, and elsewhere.
19 The word ἐρακαξ occurs in PGM VII, 447 as a nomen magicum for Osiris; the text is described as having, among other uses, the power to separate two lovers. We can scarcely take ἐρακαξ in the inscription as a vocative addressed to Osiris, because of the plural verb above. It could be an Egyptian name treated as indeclinable; cf. the use of Sarapis and Osiris as names of men. But no solution of the problem is satisfactory.
make no sense and probably belong to a magical name, as do also the letters on the bevel.

The owner of the charm, who speaks the prayer, is not named, but is probably a woman. The twofold occurrence of the name Serenilla is rather puzzling. If in both places it refers to the same woman, the person using the charm is evidently trying to draw Hierakion away from his mother’s influence and control; but Serenilla is a common name, and might, by a coincidence, have belonged to both the mother and the wife or the mistress of Hierakion.

BLACK MAGIC

We take a step farther into the domain of black magic when we consider a remarkable gem in the British Museum, a fairly well cut banded jasper, black and red. Obverse and reverse show the same design, a figure wrapped as a mummy in a close network of bandages which cover it from head to ankles. On the head are three projections like pins with small rings at the top; their lower ends meet on the crown of the head, suggesting either ornamental hairpins or a crest made of three much-stylized plumes or plants. The only difference between the two figures is that the one on the obverse has the feet turned to the left, while in that on the reverse they are turned to the right. Round the obverse face of the oval stone runs the inscription ᾽Ημήρας γόνος Μέμονος κοιμᾶται, “Memnon, child of Day,” sleeps (i.e. lies dead). Inside this inscription another is cut round the central figure, κράβαζε ζηραβράβηραμαβεως, in which the only recognizable element is Iaw near the end. Under the feet of the mummy is an object which, though quite distinct, is still puzzling. It consists of a staff or a bar with a small circle at each end — whether a ring or a mere decorative detail is uncertain — and a hook attached to the bar at or near the middle point and curving downward. One might think of a boat hook, but neither end of the bar ends in a spike; or it might be a one-flaked anchor — but then the bar extends too far beyond the hook.

It may be no more than a coincidence that this object resembles a detail of a drawing in the London papyrus 122 which belongs to a formula called ἀπειρατητον τοῦ Βεσσᾶ, “revelation obtained in a dream from Besas.” The operator is told to draw a figure of Besas, following explicit directions, and in addition, the scribe has supplied the figure for the reader’s guidance.²¹ The god holds a sword in his right hand and in his left a ῥάβδος (rod or twig) which in the drawing appears as an upright with a sort of knob or bud at the top and a curving, hooklike projection from the upright, which may be meant for a leaf. But since ῥάβδος can also serve as an equivalent of σπηλακόροι, this object may be interpreted as a peculiar scepter with a hook attached to it.

²⁰ D. 151.
²¹ For the post-Hesiodic identification of Hemera and Eos see Drexler, article “Hemera” in Roscher, I, 2, 2032, and Paus. 1, 3, 1.
²³ PGM VIII, 64–110, with Pl. 1, 6.
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This drawing has another feature which may throw light on the amulet. Besas has upon his head a crown, called βασιλείον in the text, which looks like a narrow band; it is probably the edge of a flat-topped cap, with three ornaments rising from it. These ornaments are short uprights topped by a circle; they are like the “pins” on the head of the mummy, except that they are all vertical in relation to the base, not so set as to meet on the head in a downward pointing angle. The decoration on the head of the mummy on the London gem may be regarded as a crown, or it may be an inexact representation of the three water-plants which are regularly seen on the head of the Nile god. In either case the use of such a decoration for a mummy would be explained by the identification of the dead person with Osiris, who is king of the dead, and is also often connected with the Nile and with moisture in general.\footnote{Osiris probably derives this particular ornament from his identification with the Nile god Ḥapi. It is true that the characteristic headress of Ḥapi, which is also the sign for water, usually represents five stalks, of which the outer two are represented as bent or broken. But sometimes only three are shown (Davies, States, 38102). The material used would affect the style of rendering such objects. One coin the head ornament of the Nile god seems usually to be two lotus buds. Were it not for the probable Osiran character of the “pins” on the mummies of the London amulet, they might be considered as nails, which were so commonly used in a δεξιος. Some critics will doubtless prefer that explanation.}

The outer inscription of the reverse side is Φιλιππας γόνος Ἀντιπατρος κομάραϊ,\footnote{For the form Φιλιππας cf. Φιλιππα on an inscription with a series of Latin names, CIG 5925.} “Philippa’s child Antipater sleeps.” The inner inscription is the same, to the last letter, as that on the obverse. Such fidelity to a copy is unusual on gem amulets. There is a short additional inscription which does not appear on the obverse, εγω at the left of the mummy, δης at the right; the writing is downward in both cases. These are the words of God to Moses (Exodus 3, 14), which the Authorized Version gives as “I am that I am.” Their presence here seems virtually equivalent to an invocation of Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, a form of whose name, Iaw, occurs on the inner of the two longer inscriptions.

When we compare the outer inscriptions of the two faces, we note first that the one on the obverse is a mere statement of a mythological tradition. Memnon, the hero of the Ἀθηνιαξ, is the son of the dawn goddess Eos, here identified with Hemera, Day, and his death in battle with Achilles and the mourning of his mother were themes to which later writers often returned. But Antipater and Philippa, who take the places of Memnon and Hemera on the reverse, have names that were borne by many people, particularly since the time of the Macedonian supremacy. One can scarcely escape the conviction that this gem is actually an unusual sort of δεξιος. The person who made it, or had it made, proceeded upon a well-known principle of homoeopathic magic; as Memnon is dead, so is Antipater to die. The vivid wish becomes a statement of actual fact, κομάραϊ being present, all the more naturally because the mummy represents the victim as dead. This interpretation is borne out by the frequent occurrence of mumified figures on the lead curse tablets. Several of them are represented with head decorations
similar to those seen on the British Museum gem, though the arrangement is never exactly the same.

This amulet gives us still another instance of the mythological parallel. In homeopathic magic a material substance or a physical process will serve for comparison when a physical effect is aimed at — “As this wax melts in the fire, so may Delphis waste with love” — but the magic may be stronger if the sorcerer can compare the result he seeks to accomplish to something widely known among men, the faithlessness of Theseus, the hate of Typhon and Osiris, the death of Memnon.

If the foregoing interpretation is right, it is possible that we should recognize other instances of harmful magic in some rather obscure amulets that represent a human being mutilated or fettered. The most noteworthy of these is a crimson jasper in the Metropolitan Museum. The obverse exhibits one of the commonest of all magical types, the cock-headed demon with snake legs, with a whip in his right hand, as usual, and a shield on his left arm. The inscription is also very common, _ablananathalanba abrasax_, with a few letters indistinct. But the reverse is unique. A male figure stands facing front, clad in a short-sleeved tunic, kilt, and boots; but its severed head and hands are to be seen in the field, the head, injured by a chip in the stone, over the left shoulder, a hand on each side of the trunk opposite the wrist from which it was cut. Jets of blood spurt from the neck and wrists.

Certain spells in the magical papyri call upon the “headless demon,” and this being has been made the subject of studies by Delatte and Preisendanz, to whose researches we shall return later. But the headless man on the Metropolitan gem does not correspond to a descriptive clause in two invocations that are addressed to him — τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσίν ἔχωντα τὴν δρασίν — nor to a drawing which shows his hands intact. There is no reason to think that the figure on the amulet is anything but an ordinary man whom an enemy has chosen to mutilate in effigy in order to do him actual harm. This was doubtless the real purpose of the maker, and the nguiped of the obverse either serves to screen the intention or to most on invoke demonic sanction for it. This may account for the fact that the amulet is made of red jasper, a material rarely used for representations of the cock-headed god; green jasper and bloodstone are most commonly employed, but other dark stones are sometimes used.

An objection to the interpretation just offered must be mentioned. If the object of the New York amulet was to destroy a particular enemy by homeopathic magic, one would expect to find his name on the stone, for the importance of using the exact name of the hated person was well understood.

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25 D. 153.
26 A. Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque V (Akephales theon),” _BCH_ 38 (1914), 185–249; K. Preisendanz, _Akephales_ (Beiträge zum Allten Orient, 8, 1926).
27 _PGM_ VII, 234, VIII, 91.
28 _PGM_ I, Pl. 1, 2.
Note: The cock-headed demon with snake legs is cut on a red jasper in the De Clercq collection (De Ridder 3443).
The answer to that objection is that the protection expected from the stone may be against all enemies of the wearer, not a single one. This would accord with the use of a permanent material for the amulet in place of a piece of papyrus. It is true that the Memnon-Antipater amulet in the British Museum is carefully executed on a hard stone, and other stone amulets whose operation is limited to an individual object will be encountered in the course of these studies; but these are rare exceptions.

If the mutilated man on the Metropolitan amulet represents the fate that the wearer desires for all his enemies, a similar meaning may be attributed to a much-discussed gem in Athens, which was published by Delatte. It represents a strongly built man, naked, headless, his arms bound behind his back. The signs of virility are lacking, which may indicate another mutilation, though this is not certain. At the right, below, an unsheathed sword is fixed in the ground; at the left, in the field, there is a head of a horse or an ass. Preisendanz takes the scene to be the punishment of the wicked god Set, who is represented with the head of an ass. The inscriptions contribute little to the interpretation. On the obverse is the one word βαχυχ, usually seen in a longer formula, χυχ βαχυχ βαχυχ, etc. There is no reason to connect it with Set; in fact, it is often found in connection with the lion-headed Horus. The reverse has the words αξαξ απαθ, which I have seen elsewhere only on the reverse of a Chnoubis stone in the Michigan collection (D. 101). The design can be explained without recourse to animal-headed demons such as Set. The mutilated man might be a chariot racer whose ruin is plotted by a rival. The equine head might represent the charioteer’s favorite horse. The magical mutilation is indicated by the headless trunk of the man and the severed head of the horse. There would be scant room to show the animal’s body on the gem. Natural as it is to think that the head in the field belongs to the trunk, nothing forces us to that interpretation of the stone, and the perverse psychology of those who made and used such amulets fits the one explanation as well as the other. Even if the figure is really Set, the design representing him as conquered and beheaded may have been used as a magical analogue to bring about similar destruction for all the wearer’s enemies and rivals.

A carnelian in the Newell collection may belong to this group. The stone is a long oval with the axis of the design in the shorter dimension. An ouroboros surrounds the field, his head at the middle of the upper side. Two rays project upward from his head, three downward from his lower jaw. Just below the snake’s head is a poorly executed mummy, the head rather short and knoblike, the feet indicated by a slight forking at the bottom. Mummies of Osiris are frequently cut on amulet stones, and this may be an

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2 Mauie Bede, 13 (1914), 59; BCH 58 (1914), 189 ff.

3 That just such a mutilation might be represented for certain magical purposes appears from Syrac. I, K 13, p. 26 (ed. Mely-Reille): γλυφον ανθρωπον ανθρωπων έξοντα περι των των τα αθανα κείμενα κτλ. The recipe concerns the making of a charm with anthropodac properties.

4 Akropolis, pp. 76-77.

5 D. 153.
example; but there is no sign of divinity, neither crown, whip, nor crook scepter. Can this be another case of the enemy — one individual or a type of all — shown bound and helpless? The inscription, "Michael, Raphael, Adonai, Tao," throws no light upon the question. The reverse has only characters, six in number.

Even more obscure, yet possibly belonging to this class, is a haematite amulet in the Metropolitan Museum. A naked man, apparently young, stands facing right, with his wrists fastened together and held before him. Behind him is a vertical series of signs which are not letters, though they are less elaborate than the usual magical characters. Two of them resemble pins or nails with loops at their tops. Under the feet of the standing figure is a kind of stele lying on its side. It is an oblong rectangle with a triangular gable at the right end. The rectangular space is occupied by six rows (the last incomplete) of incised signs, several of which can be read as iotas, upsilon, and omicrons, but no other Greek letter is recognizable. There are perhaps a few astrological symbols also; certainly two half-moons can be made out, and there are two signs which are probably symbols of the sun. Pillars, placards, and cartouches filled with letters or symbols are not uncommon on magical stones, and this, taken together with the binding of the human figure, suggests that this design may be another *katadesmos*.

Another interpretation, however, cannot be entirely ruled out. The reverse of the stone has the letters ΧΙ; the second letter appears as a form of rho in some Egyptian papyri, and the lapidary probably meant it for the more common Ρ. Is it an abbreviation of *Xristos*? The nail-like appearance of some of the signs behind the man on the obverse, and the binding of his wrists, may perhaps be taken as hints of the Passion of Christ, and something may therefore be said for the view that the gem is crypto-Christian, or possibly Gnostic, although the Docetic theories of the Gnostics make it less likely that they would engrave such a type of the suffering Christ on an amulet.

Equally puzzling is a green jasper in the Cabinet des Médailles. The obverse represents a lion-headed divinity facing right, though his feet are turned to the left. He wears the kilt so often seen on military figures, holds in his right hand a sword, in the left a severed human head. Under his feet is an inscribed tabula ansata, and behind him, at the left of the stone, another. The inscriptions on these placards are identical and consist of magical words, meaningless or of unknown meaning. Λακαμ μαλαλι, with a few other

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35 D. 154.
36 A stele with triangular gable is represented in the proper upright position on certain coins of Alexandria, E. M. Cat. Alex., 2525, Pl. 10; Dattari 5714, Pl. 18.
37 Mentafacon, II, 2, Pl. 168, 1.
38 Chabouillet 3169. In connection with the interpretation of this stone see the drawing that accompanies PGM XXXIX (Oino 4), a love charm. There is a demonic figure, probably Bes, and beside it a small man holding in his left hand a severed human head and waving a sword in his right; a design in *terreno*, to compel the obedience of the demon invoked, or compliance on the part of the man whose love the writer, a woman, desires.
syllables, and a few characters. The reverse bears the one word Iouâs, Judas, which of course provoked speculation. Du Molinet thought the stone was an amulet intended to give its owner, Judas, a Jewish captive in Egypt, courage and strength for victory over his enemies, an idea symbolized in the obverse design. Montfaucon thought the severed head was meant to be that of Judas the Betrayer; but no satisfactory motive is offered for the commemoration in an amulet of the treachery of Judas Iscariot. Matter held that the stone was a monument of the Cainite heresy, which honored Judas as the only apostle who had the true knowledge, and because of it "accomplished the mystery of betrayal"; but Matter's attempt to harmonize the obverse design with this idea is a failure. The stone may be another obscure type of déjuxio, with the lion-headed god as executioner and Judas as the human victim; the name was common among the Jews and is still used. If this rationalistic treatment of the Paris stone and others of a similar kind is viewed with skepticism, it may at least be pointed out that the attempts to interpret such monuments by means of Gnostic and other mysteries contradict one another and are unconvincing in themselves. It is safer to see an explanation in ordinary human motives such as love, hate, revenge, fear.

In this group one might place, though not without hesitation, a curious object in the collection of the University of Michigan. It is a thin circular petal of much-tarnished metal, probably silver; it is certainly not lead. Incised on the obverse is a mummy facing front, the whole body from the neck down covered by a close network of bandages. It simulates the mumified Osiris, for over the right shoulder rests a whip—the lash forming a loop, not hanging stiff like the flail whip of earlier art—while over the left is a crozier-like rod, apparently meant for the crook scepter. On the head is an ornament which may be described as like the top of a trident with rings or balls instead of barbs terminating the prongs. It is evidently a variant type of the divine or royal ornament that adorns the mummies on the Memnon-Antipater stone in the British Museum. At the left of the figure is an object that is probably meant for a kind of altar. Its base, as viewed from the front, is a narrow triangle slightly truncated by a horizontal plinth with an angle projecting upward at each side.

On the reverse is a figure with human body but the head of a horse, the mane indicated by a series of short slanting lines cut across a narrow strip extending from the ears to the shoulders. On the head between the ears is the same ornament that is worn by the mummy on the obverse. The body

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29 *Cabinet de la bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève*, p. 127, Pl. 29, 3-4.
30 II, 3, 36; Pl. 149, 9.
31 III, 65, Pl. 4, 3.
32 Iren. *Adr. haer.* 1, 18, 9.
33 D. 155.
34 A finely preserved altar of this sort was published by Perdrizet, *Bronzes de la Collection Fouquet*, p. 18, Pl. 40. Such altars are also shown on coins, e.g. Dattari 1719, Pl. 14; *B. M. Cat. Alex.*, 766, Pl. 17; Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandria Coins: in the Ashmolean Museum*, 1798, Pl. 2.
is clothed in a close-fitting tunic and kilt, which, however, are marked in a lozenge pattern by crossing lines like those that represent the bandages of the mummy. In the hanging right hand is an object resembling a small balance, though it might also, and perhaps more appropriately, be interpreted as a bridle bit; in the left is a tall sceptor, the top indistinct. In the field at the left of the figure is an altar like that on the obverse. Both this figure and the mummy are crudely incised; the face of the mummy is like a child's drawing, or worse, since the mouth seems to be misplaced, or else there is an unexplained cutting at one side of its proper position.

Forms such as those engraved on this petalon are best known from the lead curse tablets, especially the later ones which Wünsch called Sethian. That interpretation of them was derived from his opinion that the partly equine figures which are to be seen on some of them represented Set (Seth), who was depicted in later periods of Egyptian religion with the head of an ass. But Preisendanz is probably right in rejecting the Sethian interpretation of these monsters, and calling them simply horse-headed demons; certainly the heads resemble those of horses, particularly in the short, pointed ears. Were such beings worshiped by the drivers in the chariot races, or at least invoked by them for magical purposes? The part that magic played in the fanatical rivalries of these charioteers and their backers is fully displayed in the leaden curse tablets, and these horse-headed beings may have a religious as well as a magical aspect. As for the mummy, one might think of it as representing an enemy who is thus, as it were, wished to death. But in this particular instance, there being no inscription, not even a name scratched beside the mummy, such a purpose cannot be proved, though it may have been in the maker's mind. There is another point in which the mummy on the petalon differs from those shown in the curse tablets; the bandaged figures on the latter are often enwrapped by the coils of a snake, which does not appear here. Wünsch's discussion of these figures is somewhat vitiated by his conviction that they represent Sarapis as an Aion, which seems to me to be contradicted by the fact that on some of the curse tablets the snake is striking at the head of the man; a serpent is similarly used in the Phthonos gem in Mr. Seyrig's collection (D. 148). The action is inconsistent with the notion that the snake is a companion of the god or a symbol of him, but it is natural if the mummy represents the enemy of the amulet's owner or maker.

If we make allowance for the crude workmanship, the mummy on the Michigan petalon may be no less an object of religious reverence than the Osiris of the better gem amulets or even of the temple sculptures of dynastic times. Perhaps, however, this object can be most safely explained as a sort

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44 A similar object, but more like the form of the letter pi, is held by Nemois on the handle of a Roman lamp (Walters, Cat. of Lamps in the British Museum, 1052, fig. 205). There it can scarcely be interpreted as a balance, since there is no sign of the pans. It is true, however, that the balance, as well as the bridle, is an occasional attribute of Nemois, as on a relief from Thasos (Roscher, III, i, 137, fig. 6); see also PWW XVI, 2, 2375.

45 Aphrahas, p. 27.

46 Wünsch, Sethianische Verfuchungsstafeln, Nos. 16-17, pp. 16 and 20.
of generalized defixo, in which the horse demon, as avenger, is thought of as destroying not a particular rival, but any and all enemies, who are therefore symbolized by the mummy. The Osiran characteristics of the mummy may be explained by the ancient Egyptian theory that through the performance of proper rites the dead person became an Osiris and is therefore assimilated to the traditional type of that divinity.

LOVE AMULETS

It is a very ancient belief that one person, if he knows how, can set in motion mysterious forces that are capable of controlling the will of another and of directing his emotions as the operator desires. These forces may be activated by spoken words or by ceremonies properly performed, or they may proceed from some object charged with powers such as we call magical. The κερτός ὑπός of Aphrodite, which Hera borrows in order to beguile Zeus, is a magical object which stimulates love and desire, and after Homer allusions to love charms and philters are to be found here and there in Greek authors. It would be strange if some of the gems that are classed as magical were not made to serve this purpose. In fact, even before the time when we find stones clearly marked as magical by inscriptions or other signs, it is likely that the power of inspiring love was imputed to certain materials or to certain designs, particularly to those which depict Aphrodite or Eros.

In the late period to which the great majority of magical stones belong, love charms were most frequently written on papyrus, as a material which could carry a spell of any length desired; and the papyrus books written by masters of magic, or compiled from their teachings, provide numerous formulas to be used in this way. More important are several papyrus charms that were actually used in the hope of bringing a person, whose name and mother’s name are carefully given (often repeated many times), to accept the love of another and submit to that other’s desires. Such charms were called ἁγγοραῖα, from ἁγγεῖος, “to lead or bring,” and usually some unearthly power, a ghost or a demon, is adjured to bring the loved one into the lover’s presence.

How such charms were phrased may be learned from a good example, a leaf of papyrus in the library of the University of Strasbourg, written in a good book hand — which is unusual — not later than the fourth century of our era. The first two lines are given up to magical signs (characters) and names, one of which may be an attempt to represent the Hebrew tetragrammaton (יְהֹוָה) in Greek letters. Then follows an invocation of the dog-headed Anubis as god of earth, underworld, and heaven, and the petition: “Gather all thy authority and all thy power against Tigoris, daughter of Sophia. Put an end to her haughtiness, her reasoning, her modesty, and bring her to my feet, consumed with the desire of love, at any hour of day or night,

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48 ib. 14, 214.
49 PGM XV, XVI, XVII 2, XIX a (very elaborate), XXXIX (Oslo 4).
50 PGM XVII a.
thinking of me always as she eats, drinks, works, talks, rests, sleeps, dreams, until scourged by thee she comes to me with full hands, freely giving me herself and what is hers,” etc. The end of the charm is couched in very plain-spoken language, which is used in some other papyri, and is not worth translating. The right-hand half of the leaf is taken up by two common magical words, ablanchanalba and akrammachamari, treated in a fashion that is known from many other examples on papyrus, lead tablets, and gem stones. The two words are written at full length, with a slight break between them, at the middle of the space, then, above and below, each word is repeated, but diminished by one letter; ablanthanalba by successive dropping of one letter at a time from the beginning, akrammachamari by successive curtailment at the end. This process being continued until only a single α remains at top and bottom, the result is a lozenge-shaped figure composed of two equilateral triangles with their bases opposed to each other in the vertical dimension. Thus the original words form not only the axes, but also the sloping sides, of their respective triangles. Such tricks with letters are extremely common in all magical writings; they remind one of the carmina figurata which became popular in the Alexandrian period.

There are love charms that are much longer than the one just described, and it is evident that no ἄγωγη reaching even the length of the Strasbourg papyrus could have been inscribed in the space afforded by an ordinary amulet stone. The few gem stones that we can safely call love charms present only much abbreviated formulas. Of them the most important by far is a stone of unique interest that belonged to Edward T. Newell.31 It is a rather large stone (44 x 32 x 4 mm.) meant to be set as a pendant. The material is a dark-brown ironstone, probably limonite.

The obverse presents a front view of a standing goddess wearing a modius on her head and holding in her right hand a whip, in the left a torch.32 At the left side of the face, projecting from behind the head, there are the head and neck of a goose, at the right the head of a bird that cannot be positively identified. The build of the head and the hooked beak suggest an eagle or a vulture, but there seems to be a crest, which belongs to neither of those birds. We cannot exclude the possibility, in view of the poor workmanship, that both these “birds” may really be cobras with their hoods expanded. The indistinct face of the goddess is curiously skull-like; but that is probably because the lapidary was unable to produce delicate lines. The attribute of the goose (if such it is), which was considered a favorite of Isis, would indicate that the figure is Isis combined with Hecate, who often carries a torch. On magical stones she also often carries a whip, which, however, is a common symbol of power, and as such is held by various Egyptian deities as well as by the kings in the dynastic period.

31 D. 156.
32 Representations of Isis wearing the modius are not common; examples may be found in Reinach, Répertoire de la statuaire, II, 422, 7, and Koehler, Mém. Acad. St.-Petersbourg, Ser. 6, 3, Pl 1 (opposite p. 34), Nos. 15, 19.
AGGRESSIVE MAGIC

Round the goddess runs a long inscription beginning at the right of the headdress and encircling the design almost three times. The 125 letters are Greek, but except for two words they make no sense. The inscription was not meant to be intelligible; at any rate there is nothing to suggest that it might be in some non-Greek language written in Greek letters. The purpose of such painfully written strings of meaningless sounds will be discussed later in Chapter XIV. This one is reproduced here merely to give an opportunity — and a challenge — to those who hold to the belief that there is an occult meaning which, with adequate learning and industry, can be elicited from such jargon as this: ὁμοωοειωοενειεονεμαρηκριμωθαφροφιβλαβεων-
ουενελανυθημαχθερκαλαβρεξεςεολοιηοοευνεμερυοτροπεοεερνεπαμανυνιαν.

The first part consists of the seven vowels in various combinations, which were thought to have a magical value. Near the end occur two intelligible words, ἔρως ἔρελα (for ἔρελαια). In such a place as this ἔρελαια must mean thin leaves or plates of metal, especially the tablets of lead that were commonly used for inscribing a curse or a charm directed against an enemy. It is probable, therefore, that the amulet was originally intended as a protection against enchantment by means of curse tablets (κατάδεσμοι, defixiones).

A glance at the reverse side shows that the original purpose of the stone was somewhat modified. An inscription runs round the stone, following the oval outline except at the ends, where it cuts across the field, leaving a small segment at top and bottom unenclosed. The forms of the letters show plainly that they were cut by the same engraver who inscribed the obverse; but here the writing is perfectly intelligible, and has a personal bearing. Evidently it was added by the maker at the request of a woman who purchased the amulet. It reads: ἀναρά Ἀχελλάν ὅ ἔτεκεν Σεραπίας Διόνυσιάτη η[ν] ἔτοκεν Σεραπίας; “Bring Achilles son of Serapis to Dionysias, daughter of Serapis.”

This is a short agoge or love charm; its close relation to kindred texts of greater length is shown by the fact that both the woman who had the charm inscribed and the man whom she wished to bring back to her are identified by the mother’s name, not the father’s, a practice which was regular in magical spells of all kinds. In this instance it may throw some light on the relations of the persons concerned. The mother of the runaway Achilles is named Serapis, and so also is the mother of the deserted Dionysias. It is true that Serapis was a common name in Egypt, and its double occurrence may be no more than a coincidence; yet it suggests that this may have been no passing love affair, but an actual marriage between a brother and a sister,

53 In the previous publication of this stone (Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., 85, 466–467) I kept the perfect τήκες, which seemed to be the safest reading of the letters. But the first τ is not complete and may be only a false start on the part of the lapidary. Further, otherists are so regular in the formula giving the mother’s name that τήκες is suspicious, despite the fact that the distinction between orist and perfect was disappearing in popular use. I therefore now supply υ the final τ, which was often carelessly omitted, and treat the τ, if it was meant for that letter, as an erroneous intrusion. For τήκες in place of τήκες cf. PGM XXXVI, 114 (Odis 1).
for it is well known that such marriages, common in dynastic Egypt, continued to be made in the Graeco-Roman period, and were not given up until Christianity was firmly established and they were forbidden by the church.\textsuperscript{54}

Whether the woman was merely a cast-off mistress or a deserted sister-wife, her love charm seems to have been of no avail; for a later inscription tells a story of despair and of love changed to hate. Across the middle of the stone a shaky and uncertain hand, doubtless that of the woman herself, has scratched with a needle or stylus the words ἡ ἄξον ἡ κατάλειψον, "Either bring him back or lay him low." The word that I render "lay him low," or perhaps "strike him down," is more exactly "put to bed" with an illness, and is almost a technical term in magic intended to harm an enemy. Thus in a charm written on an ostrakon in the Oslo collection, a lover who invokes a demon to torture his mistress in various ways, bids him "strike her down with fever" unless she meets his wishes.\textsuperscript{56}

A point of technical interest to the student of amulets is the fact that the Newell stone, originally made and inscribed for one purpose, namely, as a prophylactic against enchantment, was adapted upon a buyer’s demand to serve as a love charm. It is a useful warning against the temptation to find a consistent system in the manufacture and use of such objects.

The next example, though it has no story to tell, is important because it was from the beginning planned and made for a love charm. It is a small black stone, its material not mentioned, purchased by Conze in Lesbos, but said to have been found on the Asiatic mainland.\textsuperscript{56} The design, which appears on the small face of the stone, represents a winged Eros facing right, his quiver at his shoulder and arms raised, ready to shoot an arrow from his bow. Before him on the ground stands a burning torch, unsupported, as such objects often appear on the less artistically executed gems. Round the design is an inscription which Conze found unintelligible, as in fact it is, and which he did not even transcribe. However, it can easily be read from the cut, μια-, ροπλη, a word of no known meaning, but sometimes associated with Eros and Aphrodite, though not confined to types representing those deities. On the reverse is the inscription, δός τήν ψυχήν ἐμοὶ τῷ ψυροῦντι Σεκουδίλης, and on the bevel are seven or eight magical characters.

Conze’s translation of the reverse inscription, “Mache mir dem Träger des Steines Secundilla geneigt,” may be Englished as “Incline Secundilla’s heart to me, the wearer of the stone,” but that rendering is scarcely adequate. The word ψυχή, as used by lovers, took on a more fleshly significance, as was natural, passionate love involving, more than any other feeling, a consciousness of the fusion of soul and body. In popular speech, the word ψυχή sometimes became a mere euphemism (ψυχή = φύσεις), but the meaning need not


\textsuperscript{56} See PGM IV, 2677, 2675; 0, 2, 33 (Vol. II, p. 110 of the same work).

\textsuperscript{58} A. Conze, Reise auf der Insel Lesbos, p. 20.
be pressed so far in this case. The word ψυχή is not infrequently simply the self, as in Luke 12, 19, Theocritus 16, 24, and probably elsewhere; and while it is true that, when a girl is said to “give herself,” a complete erotic surrender is implied, the word may still remain in the category of galanterie rather than in that of coarseness. Such is clearly its coloring in some quite harmless love tokens, ring stones inscribed ψυχή καλή, μημόνευ μου τής καλής ψυχής, Ἄρδαστου καὶ Βασαλίδους ψυχή. The inscription on Conze’s stone means “Let Secundilla give herself to me”; more literal versions will err on the side of crudity or of sentimentality.

No other stones have been found that show so unmistakably the character of love amulets. There are several that reveal by their designs an interest in Aphrodite and Eros, and when such gems bear magical inscriptions, they are doubtless talismans believed to minister to lovers’ wishes. A haematite in the Museum of the University of Michigan evidently belongs to this class. At the left stands Aphrodite facing to the right, in an attitude recalling that of the Medici type, her right hand below her breasts, the left catching at the drapery round her hips. Under her feet, a pheasant or peacock pecking at a fruit. At the right, a youthful male figure more like Apollo or Hermes than Ares. His hair, to judge by a slight projection over the front part of the head, is confined by a band, a chlamys passes across the left shoulder and hangs over the left arm, which holds a leafy twig erect. The youth wears boots. His right hand holds out towards Aphrodite an uncertain object which may be a fruit. It is possible that we have here an adaptation of the Harpocrates of Pelusium, which is known from coins in two types; in one the god holds a pomegranate in his extended right hand while his left holds a tall scepter, in the other, the left hand holds the pomegranate, the right a twig. But Harpocrates of Pelusium wears the hemhem crown, which does not appear on the gem. There is an inscription surrounding the design, and six letters are arranged in two vertical columns between the two figures; but there is nothing intelligible, not even a familiar magical name. The reverse has the word χυχαχυχ, probably to be bracketed with the common formula χυχ βαχαχυχ, etc., which seems to be often associated with Horus-Harpocrates.

Such an amulet admits of only an approximate interpretation, since nothing shows us the purpose of the maker or the exact manner in which the stone was meant to be used. It should be remembered, however, that this object may represent only one necessary element in a magical procedure which would be made clear if we had the text that gave the instructions for its use. The magical papyri prescribe certain designs, to be engraved on special minerals; some of them are made to play a part in more or less elaborate

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86 See the remarks of A. Daïa, Insr. greciæ du Musée du Louvre, p. 106, and, at a much earlier date, Le Blant, Rev. arch., 1883, 1, 303 ff.
87 D. 158.
88 Dattari, 6365, Pl. 54 (Trajan); B. M. Cat. Alex., 2215, Pl. 17 (Gallicus). See also my discussion of the coins and gems representing Harpocrates of Pelusium, Hieros, 15, 51–59, and Pl. 12.
incantations, others are credited with various marvelous powers.Yet if stones engraved according to the prescription were found, and the corresponding instructions were lost, the purpose and virtues of the amulets would remain obscure. Nobody could conjecture that the lion-headed Horus, a fairly common type, was required by at least one master of magic for a procedure aimed at gaining control of a familiar spirit (δαιμον πάρεσθερα); and even the elaborate design involving Eros, Psyche, and Aphrodite, which is prescribed in the love charm called the Sword of Dardanus, would tell us little without that text.

Bearing this in mind, we may tentatively assign to the magical class some of the common designs showing Ares and Aphrodite together. A blue paste in the Michigan collection represents at the left, Ares facing right, wearing a crested helmet and short-sleeved tunic girt about the waist; his right hand holds his spear with the point down, and his left rests upon the rim of his shield, which leans against his knee. Aphrodite at the right, nude to the waist, is turned towards Ares and extends her right hand towards his neck. In her left she holds a mirror. The inscription ἦς χαράς, which occurs on a good many gems, in this instance seems to mark the gem as an amulet intended to give its wearer favor with the opposite sex.

The example of the Sword of Dardanus can be better applied to the next two gems; and in order that the possibility of their possessing a magical character may be clearly understood, we must examine the account of that remarkable spell. The first thing required, according to the magician's recipe, is a piece of magnetite engraved with this design: Aphrodite riding astride the back of Psyche, holding her hair with her left hand, binding it up. Below this group Eros stands on a globe, holding a lighted torch with which he burns Psyche. Inscriptions containing only magical words and names are to be cut above Aphrodite and under Eros. On the reverse are Eros and Psyche embracing each other. The stone is to be duly consecrated, whereupon the operator places it under his tongue, pronounces a long invocation to Eros and prays the god to give him the love of So-and-So — the name to be supplied. There are still other ceremonies that belong to this praxis, but they are of no importance for our purpose.

R. Mouterde recognized this design on a rather poorly executed stone which was the occasion of his monograph “Le Glaive de Dardanos”; but if the text of the Σῆδος Δαρδάνου in the Paris papyrus had not been preserved, he would have been obliged to relegate the stone to the well-known series which we may call “the sports and quarrels of Eros and Psyche,” merely adding that, to judge by the magical inscriptions, the stone played some part in a love charm. Where recognizable magical inscriptions are absent, as on the stones to be described next, the magical character of the objects can only be suggested as a possibility, without actual proof.

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63 D 159.
64 “Le Glaive de Dardanos,” pp. 53-54.
On a dark-green jasper in the possession of Dr. A. G. Ruthven, Eros, at right, stands facing left, with his hands bound to a post behind him. On the post, indistinct but recognizable with the aid of similar designs, is a griffin with a forepaw resting on a wheel, a now well-known symbol of Nemesis. At left, Psyche, winged, advances towards Eros with a flaming torch in her hand. Over the design is the word λικαδες (I. δικαδες, “justly”). This word, taken with the symbolic allusion to Nemesis, makes the meaning of the design clear; as Eros has tormented the soul, so is he also to be tortured. Some iambics of Kirnagaras, on a figure of Eros bound, are the poetical counterpart of this design:

Weep, Love, and moan and wring thy naughty hands,
Such fate as this befits a knave like thee.
No pleading looks! There's none to loose thy bands;
Hast thou not turned our woes to mockery?
By thee sad lovers' eyes with tears are filled,
To wound their hearts thy fretting arrows bent,
Thy curseless poison in their veins distilled;
Thy doom is as thy deeds—just punishment!

Obviously such a stone would be as suitable for use in a magical incantation as that prescribed in the Sword of Dardanus; but without a magical word or character to indicate such use it can only be grouped with other symbolic designs. Such subjects as this may have been in favor with lovers who thought they had freed themselves from the assaults of passion and were now revenging themselves upon its inspirer. Such as it is, the design is known elsewhere, though not common in this form, showing Psyche as the punisher and Eros as the victim. A black jasper in the Musée Guimet seems to duplicate the subject closely, and one or two others, for which no illustration is available, evidently resemble it. There are several gems that show Eros bound, without Psyche.

Much more commonly the artists have depicted Psyche suffering from the cruelty of Eros—bound to a pillar, threatened with flogging or burning, or made to labor like a slave. Gems with such subjects may have been worn by self-conscious lovers who took a certain pleasure in reminding themselves—and others—of their torments, and occasionally they may have served by a kind of homoeopathic magic to work upon some beloved person. I know of none, however, that is clearly marked as magical. In the Newell collection there is an interesting haematite that may be mentioned here. It represents a woman in front view, draped below the waist, her head turned to the left, her hands bound behind her back. A cord attached to her left wrist is passed

65 D. 161.
67 Anth. Plan., 4, 150.
69 D. 157.
in many turns round her hips and legs. At the left below kneels a small Eros, who is drawing the cord tight. Since the female figure has no wings, one might take it to represent Aphrodite, for it is a poetic commonplace that the little Eros did not spare his mother; but I know of no certain instance in which he is represented as binding her. It is more likely to be Psyche, who is sometimes wingless on gems of this kind. There is a possible objection to that interpretation, on the ground that Psyche is shown as full-grown, while Eros is a child. But when he plays the part of the mischievous tormentor, not the lover of Psyche, the difference in size and apparent age is natural enough; the same disparity is to be observed on the now lost Pompeian painting which represented Psyche bound and threatened with a torch by a little Eros, in the presence of Nemesis and other figures. An inscription ποθας round the edge of the Newell gem is probably an error for πόθας, love-longing.

No exactly similar design seems to have been published, but an “Italic paste,” in the British Museum, which Walters places in the republican period, must be somewhat similar; unfortunately no illustration was supplied. The description is as follows: “Eros kneeling to r. with wings erect, binding the feet of Psyche, who stands before him placing r. hand on his head; she is wingless and is draped in a himation, with hair in a knot at the back.”

A yellow jasper in the collection of Mr. H. Seyrig represents an Eros standing to right, holding an inverted torch in his lowered right hand, while the left holds a trident resting against his upper arm. This unusual attribute may be explained, as Mr. Seyrig suggests, by the use of the trident as a weapon in the combats of certain gladiators; but while the idea of Love armed for combat is not strange, it is surprising that such a weapon should be given him. The design tells us nothing of the exact purpose for which it was intended, but a magical word at the bottom of the stone, οιχωροφις, shows that it was a talisman of some sort, presumably for luck in love affairs. The reverse has the name Lao with a palm leaf above it and a garland below, both symbols of victory.

70 Roscher, III, 161-162, fig. 7; so also in B. M. Cat. Gems, 1463, Pl. 20.
71 B. M. Cat. Gems, 1107.
72 D. 160.