CHAPTER XIII

INSCRIPTIONS I

SINCE most of the magical amulets are inscribed, it is natural to look to the inscriptions not only for help in interpreting the designs, but also for light upon the religious and social conditions that produced these curious objects. In such an investigation we must set apart those that are meaningless to us because they are in a secret artificial language or in a non-Greek tongue so corrupted that it cannot be interpreted, or else because the words never had a meaning and were used merely for the effect of their mysterious sound. Such cryptic texts will be treated in the next chapter.

Several of the most interesting among the intelligible inscriptions have been discussed in connection with amulets of the practical kind, especially the medical amulets and love charms. They will not, as a rule, be repeated here. The others will be examined with reference to names or epithets of gods and demons, the form and content of the prayers or petitions inscribed, in so far as they have not received adequate comment before, and the religious ideas or feelings expressed—the last a scanty and disappointing harvest.

NAMES AND EPITHETS

Names and epithets found on magical amulets are usually in the vocative case (less commonly the nominative) and may be regarded as invocations of a deity. Here we may begin with Σεραπομνέως, vocative of Σεραπομνέως, a name that occurs only on the reverse of a jasper in the Borgia collection.¹ On the obverse a male figure with the head of a crowned hawk is enthroned in an attitude like that of Zeus, the right hand resting on a tall staff, the left holding a small image bandaged like a mummy and wearing the conical cap crown of Upper Egypt, which is often called the white crown. An ouroboros surrounds the design.

Mnevis is the sacred bull worshiped at Heliopolis as Apis was worshiped at Memphis. At death the bull became an Osiris and was thus deified. In Wilcken's opinion, based upon an archive of documents from the Serapeum at Memphis (99–98 B.C.), Osornnevis represented the abstraction of the dead Mnevis bulls conceived as a deity of the lower world, just as Osorapis represented the dead and deified Apis bulls.² Since the name Sarapis seems to be derived from Osorapis, Serapomnevis, strictly speaking, combines Osiris, Apis, and Mnevis; but in the period when most of the Graeco-Egyptian amulets were made, Sarapis had so far superseded Osiris that Serapomnevis

¹ Museo Borgiano, p. 453, 14. ² Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolomäerzeit, 1, 42, 454–167
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was probably a mere equivalent of Osormnevis. A papyrus fragment in the Rainer collection, cited by Wessely, mentions a temple of Sarapis Osormnevis, thus giving evidence of the identification.\(^8\)

The relation of the inscription to the design is puzzling. The hawk-headed god seems to have little to do with either Sarapis or Mnevis, and we can only conjecture that the mummy may be Mnevis, here given the form in which Osiris regularly appears on magical amulets.

Brimo is normally a name of Hecate or of Persephone; it is found on a haematite in the Walters Art Gallery with the common type of Hecate triformis.\(^4\) Along with Βριμώ are the words προκήρυξ θησαύρων, which will be considered later. Βριμώ is also found in the inscription φοβορώματε Βριμώ Αρωρίφρασι round a figure of Aphrodite drying her hair, on a gem published by Maffei.\(^5\) Since Aroriphrasis is well known as a secret name of Aphrodite, we have here further evidence of the syncretism which merged various Greek goddesses with Isis and with one another. The word φοβορώματος, formed like γλαύκωματος, is not entered in Liddell-Scott-Jones, though it is found in PGM V, 477f.

Ἀτηθός, “son of Leto,” a poetical epithet of Apollo, seems to be used in a strange place, namely, the reverse of a uterine amulet on which, unfortunately, the divine figures, which are placed over the symbols of the womb, have become indistinct through wear.\(^6\) The lettering on the reverse is ΑΗΤΟΙΩΡΩΠΙΩΓΑΙΔΕΣ. Oorithou is a demon or divinity that controls the functions of the uterus. Since known word elements are often separated from one another or even “pied” on these stones, we need not hesitate to read Ἀτηθός, these stones, we need not hesitate to read Ἀτηθός, that is, Ἀτηθός. But it is still strange unless the name is really meant for the young Egyptian sun-god, who is sometimes shown seated on the symbolic vessel. The identification of Horus with Apollo scarcely needs illustration; one of the best examples is Μέγας Ὄρος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρστεράτης εὕλατος τῷ φορόντι, carved under a little figure of Harpocrates in the Austrian imperial cabinet.\(^7\)

A group of epithets that are chiefly applied to Chnoubis, the lion-headed serpent, may be considered together. The commonest are γυναυτοφόρητα and βαροφότα, which are more often found in the same inscription than separately. The former, the vocative of γυναυτοφόρητα, has been noted on at least seven amulets of the ordinary Chnoubis form.\(^8\) It also occurs on the reverse of a stone illustrated by Matter, which has on the obverse a lion-headed god with serpentine coils for legs.\(^9\) An axe-shaped amulet of basalt, belonging to the British Museum, has the Chnoubis design on one side, on the other, βαροφότα γυναυτοφότα (cf. Cornutus’ γυναυτοφότα, N. D. 20), and another epithet ending in –ρήτα, with the beginning illegible.\(^10\)

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\(^4\) D. 63. \(^5\) Gimme Antiche, III, 5.
\(^6\) B. M. 56133.
\(^7\) Eckhel, Choix des pierres gravées du Cabinet Impérial, pp. 60-61, Pl. 30.
\(^8\) B. M. 55068, 56222, 56223; Southeik N 13, 15; D. 89, 99.
\(^9\) Matter, Pl. 6, 1.
\(^10\) B. M. 56206.
Two variations on the theme of destroying giants are represented by the strange compounds γιαντοστατορής and γιαντοψητορής on two stones in the Southesk collection. The obverse design of one is Chnoubis, of the other the cock-headed anguipede. The former word seems to mean “breaker (or render) of all giants”; the other, “throttler and render of giants.”

Even greater violence is done to the language by the word βαροφίτης (βαροφίτη, βαροφίτα); it will be remembered that in unlearned texts of this period omicron and omega are used almost indifferently, and ου is sometimes written for omicron. The meaning seems to be “crusher of serpents,” as if from βαρεϊν and θάφις. The verb is recorded in the lexicons only at a late period, and is more common in the transferred sense of “depress or trouble” than in the physical sense. I have not seen it meaning “crush,” though that is a natural development. The word βαροφίτης is found on several Chnoubis amulets, always with γιαντορής or another of the previously mentioned compounds of γίγας.

Because of the strange formation of βαροφίτης one might wonder if the word could be a corruption of βαρβαροφίτης, itself unrecorded though legitimately formed. The idea gains slightly in probability from the occurrence, in similar circumstances, of βαροφίτη and βαρβαροφίτα; in the latter word, however, there may be an erroneous doubling of the first syllable. Yet βαροφίτη is so much more common that the corruption would necessarily be of long standing and the original meaning forgotten. The first guess at this bizarre word, rendering it “serpent-crusher,” may be right after all.

Λεωντορής is engraved on a stone in the Newell collection which has on the obverse a lion-headed anguipede holding a whip and an orb. The combination of this legend with a leonine type suggests that the lion-headed god defends against lions, and one may possibly infer that the snake Chnoubis, in addition to his power to cure stomach ailments, was also a defender against snakes, just as, mythologically, he is perhaps conceived to be the conqueror of serpent-legged giants—similia similibus.

Εκαστοτόμαχος, “hundred-fighter,” “match for a hundred,” is carved on the reverse of a stone in the British Museum. The obverse represents a radiate lion-headed god standing, the right hand raised, the left holding a tall staff. The word (written ἐκαστοτόμαχος) is reported by Josephus as a name given by Alexander Jannaeus to a picked advanced guard of the army with which he fought Ptolemy X (Lathyros). On the stone another word precedes, which King read as κέφαλαρχεῖς θεός; but it may be a garbling of a copy which read κεφαλορόμαχε or κεφαλορακτόνε.

Προκόπη. A previously mentioned haematite representing the triple Hecate has round the goddess the words Βρειμῶ προκόπη Ῥήξιχθον, the second of which presents some difficulty. The lexicons do not include it, and

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11 Southesk N 11 and 4.
12 D. 181.
it is so strangely formed that its meaning is a matter for conjecture; yet it occurs in magical invocations to Arktos (the Great Bear) and Selene.17 It is also evidently to be read in the lead tablet published by Collart, which opens with the conjuration ὄρκησσε, νεκυνόδαιμος, δότις ποτὲ εἴ, κατὰ τῆς κυρίας Βραμώ πρὸ κύπνου νυκτὸρημα, etc.18 The editor’s suggestion προκάρυα, adopted by Liddell-Scott-Jones, can scarcely stand in view of the other evidence for προκύπνη, though it is true that τε is a difficulty.

On the whole, it is most likely that προκύπνη, however irregular its formation, is an epithet referring to the goddess as attended by a pack of baying hounds. Pollux lists προκύνειν as meaning “bark before the time,” “give tongue too soon”; there is a phrase of Antiphanes, πικρόν Καλλιμάχου πρόκυνες, “snapping hounds of Callimachus.”19 As Προκύπνων is the star that goes before Sirius, Προκυπνή is Hecate as leader of her pack of hellhounds (cf. σκαλάεια in an address to Hecate in the Paris magical papyrus);20 or else it is a noun strangely formed on the analogy of Προκύπνων and calls Hecate herself “hound,” as in another passage of the same papyrus where she is κῶνον μελανά.

Πρύγκθων, the third epithet on the Walters amulet, has been exhaustively treated by Cook, who gathers a large number of passages in which the word occurs.21 In magical texts it is used chiefly of Hecate, to whom it is appropriate as an underworld goddess, able to open a chasm in the earth at will, as she does in Lucian’s Philebos (24). On the amulets I have seen it only on the Walters Art Gallery specimen and (in the form ρπρύγκθων) on a yellow jasper in my possession.22 The design of the latter is the common Pantheos.

It is convenient to treat together several names and epithets that are clearly of Semitic origin or are affected by Semitic religious ideas. The commonest of all, Iao, has been discussed in Chapter II, and also the words commonly associated with it, Sabaoth and Adonai. Sabaoth, or Sabao, a form which often occurs, is sometimes found alone and was evidently thought to be a divine name in itself, the phrase JHVH Sabaoth, “Jahveh of Hosts,” being forgotten.

The Jewish angel names preserved in Greek magical texts have been examined by M. Schwab and Erik Peterson.23 Those engraved on gem amulets add little of importance to what is known from other sources. The names of the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael are very commonly inscribed, and Suriel seems to be next in order of frequency. Koutsiel, which occurs with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael on a carnelian in the

17 FGM VII, 697, 885.
19 Poll. 5, 55; Antiphanes in Anti. Pal. 11, 321.
20 FGM IV, 2722.
21 Zeus, III, 475.
22 D. 250.
British Museum, is plainly engraved, yet may be a blunder for Uriel. In a list of seven names on an agate in the same collection the four archangels are accompanied by Phnuel (compare Peniel, "face of God"), Raguel, and Suriel. A small rectangular prism of gilded glass in the Michigan collection has on three of its sides Iao, Sabao, Michael, and on the fourth, rather oddly, Thoth.

Allusions to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are to be found in several passages in the magical books, but their names rarely occur on amulets. A legend that appears without accompanying design on an amulet in the Newell collection reads Iao άριστα Iao άριστα Iao ψευδα. A tentative interpretation proposed by H. C. Youtie rests upon the not very satisfactory assumption that Hebrew and Aramaic elements are mingled in the text, which on that theory might mean "Jacob, the likeness of Jahveh: his son." But the possibility that the second and fourth words are voces magicæ without traceable origin cannot be put aside entirely.

The name of Moses seems to occur twice. Montfaucon reproduces from Spon a stone showing a snake between the words Sabao and Iao, with Moun on the reverse; and a haematite in the Newell collection shows a mummy with a curious peaked headdress and indistinct face, with αβρααζ on one side, Moun on the other. A few words and phrases that are good Greek have been found to be Semitic, or at least oriental, in certain religious applications. On an agate in the Walters Art Gallery an ouroboros encloses the words Iao ταύτων διάσποτα, below which are three large characters and under them the vowels in random arrangement. An onyx described by Mouterde is similar in several respects. An ouroboros encloses the same inscription, the word Iao repeated at a lower level, three large characters and a small circle, also a female head of uncertain

26 B. M. :5003. It closely resembles Chiflet, Pl. 5, 24, a stone then in the possession of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. Chiflet describes it as "magneto," a term under which he probably included haematite as well as magnetite.
27 Baudisini, however, follows Bollermann's suggestion that it may mean "how of God" or "truth of God" (Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte, I, 196, n. 4).
29 Phnuel might be considered akin to Phanuel, who appears in the book of Enoch (9, 1; cf. 40, 9) as another name of Uriel, or perhaps as taking his place in the group of four archangels because of the special role assigned to Uriel as the guide of Enoch (21, 5). But both names appear, as if belonging to different angels, on the British Museum agate.
30 Genesis 32, 30.
31 Cf. Raguel, Numbers 10, 29; Tobit 3, 7; Enoch 20, 4. In the last passage he is the angel ὁ ἱδεισιν τῶν θεῶν τῶν φωτίσσων.
32 D. :561.
33 D. 275; see H. C. Youtie, J.AOS 50 (1950), 214-220. The names of the three patriarchs occur on D. 284, which bears no design. There seem to be other Hebrew words in the inscription, as well as unintelligible elements.
34 L'Antiquité expliquée, II, 2, Pl. 156, 9.
35 D. 15.
36 D. 279.
37 Mouterde, "Le Glaise de Dardanos," p. 72. The editor's attempt to read two of the characters and the circle as Zon is not convincing.
significance. There is a long meaningless inscription round the stone outside the ouroboros.

The words πάντων δεσπότης are applied to God in several passages of the Septuagint, as Job 5, 8, κύριον δὲ τῶν πάντων δεσπότην ἐτικαλέσμαι, where κύριον translates ἐλοθιμ. The invocation in the Leiden papyrus V, 250, κύριε παντοκράτορ ἡγία καὶ διάσωτα πάντων, is clearly of Jewish origin. Attention may also be called to a painted inscription found at Samaria along with a statue of Kore: εἷς θεὸς ὁ πάντων δεσπότης, μεγάλη Κόρη ἡ ἀνεπικήτως.

Baudissin has shown that the use of κύριος to describe the relation of a god to his worshipers is Oriental, and that it is particularly common in Syria and Egypt. Thus on the reverse of a bloodstone representing the Sun and the Moon in their chariots we find the inscription Ἰαω σαβαωθ αβρααμικ ὁ ὁ ν κύριε παραστάθητι. κύριε is abbreviated by the initial with a stroke above it, which seems to have been an older method. The words ὁ ὀν, derived from the Septuagint version of Exodus 3, 14, have been discussed in Chapter II, “National Influences.” They strongly emphasize the Hebrew elements in an amulet which seems to identify the God of the Jews with the sun-god, in that type of solar monotheism which many monuments of the same period as the magical amulets display. A rock crystal in the Newell collection, one of a group of five similar stones that show the lion-headed god with whip and orb, adds to an invocation of “Fearless Zeth,” followed by magical words, the following petition: Ἰνως κε (κύριε) τῇ ἱμη ψυχῃ καὶ τῷ ἔμῳ βλή. Isis, to whom the word κυρία is often applied, is represented on a cornelian in the Metropolitan Museum standing before Sarapis-Hades; in the field are the words η κυρία Ελεια ηθη, “Pure is our lady Isis,” a religious acclamation like “Great is Artemis of the Ephesians.” Still nearer to that famous phrase is μεγάλη Νεμέσις η κυρία inscribed round a figure of Nemesis on a bloodstone in the Ashmolean Museum (F 98).

An investigation of recent years has shown that ἄγιος as a cult epithet belongs chiefly to divinities of Oriental origin, a result which throws light upon an amulet in the Seyrig collection, a rectangular prism, two faces of which are occupied by figures of Hecate and Isis-Tyche, the latter very carelessly executed. The other two long sides are inscribed Ζεῶ ἡγια and ἀποστρε-

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36 Cf. also Wisdom 6, 7; 8, 3; Sirach 36, 1.
37 Since the definitive publication has not yet appeared, this text is subject to correction; it was reported to me by Professor and Mrs. Kirsoop Lake. See Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement, 1935, p. 77.
38 W. W. Graf von Baudissin, Kyrios, II, 261, 270; Drexler, in Roscher, II, 1756 ff.
40 The sun-god is addressed as κύριε in PGM I, 229, IV, 639, and elsewhere; see Drexler in Roscher, II, 1760.
41 D. 235.
42 Richter, Cat. Engraved Gems, 346, Pl. 77: previously published (though inadequately) by King, Comment, Pl. F 1, and p. 438.
43 E. Williger, Hagia, p. 81 (RGYP XIX, 4).
44 D. 366.
ψικακε, the last word being doubtless a second epithet of Zeus. It is not to be found in the lexicons, but is formed on the analogy of ἐλεξικακος, its synonym. There was a Zeus Hagios at Tripolis in Phoenicia, as coins of Julia Domna show, also at Gerasa (A.D. 98) and at Baitokaike (A.D. 253–259), and a Theos Hagios at Beirut (A.D. 218–222). The Seyrig stone, which is of Syrian origin, invokes a local Ba’al of this kind. An inscription which Zoega read from a curious amulet is unintelligible in its first eight lines; then follow the invocation καὶ τὸ ἔχων τὸ κρυττὸν φυσικά ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἔτη λαῦθ, and two lines made up of common magical words. ἀγια ἀνθρώπη καθ’ αὐτὸ σήματα βασαλια is a phrase in the inscription of a badly corroded bronze pendant excavated at Beisan by an expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. In Christian terminology hagios became the regular adjective for saints.

Ἐβαμμωνὴ, together with five characters, is engraved on a stone in the Michigan collection. Despite the Hebrew origin of the name (Isaiah 7, 14), this might be considered a Christian amulet because the Church interpreted the words of Isaiah as a prophecy of Christ. Yet there is evidence that Emmanuel was sometimes included among the angel names, and it sometimes came to be treated as a mere magical word, like Ἰησοῦς, which appears after Ἰω in the Petrie bronze heart, as an amulet covered on both sides with magical designs, mainly of Egyptian origin. Another example of Jesus as a magical word occurs in Leiden papyrus V. Whether Εὐευγε is a corruption of the same name is uncertain; it is cut on the reverse of an amulet representing a lizard.

A small yellow jasper in my possession deserves mention because of its inscription. The obverse design is a poor version of a fairly common subject (D. 241). It shows a child riding a lion, faced by a man standing stiffly with arms at his sides. Another male figure lies prostrate under the lion’s feet. Although the child’s head is not radiate and neither moon nor star is to be seen in the sky, this is doubtless the young sun-god, and the standing man is a worshipper; on some better specimens the worshipper is a woman making the gesture of proskynesis. The prostrate man is a token of the god’s victory over his enemies. The inscription on the reverse is Ιω Σαβαω Δήμως.

The first two words occur on countless amulets representing solar deities; the third seems to be without parallel on magical stones. It is apparently the Latin dominus, with the i omitted in colloquial pronunciation, but except
for occasional proper names, Latin words have not been observed in these amuletic inscriptions. It would seem that early in the period of their contact with the Romans the Syrians adopted *domnus*, *domna* as equivalents for their own *marâ*, *martîhê*, words which were addressed to divinities and also serve as titles of respect for human beings. These Latin words were also used as personal names for human beings in Syria (cf. Julia Domna), and even more frequently in Pisidia and Lycaonia — at least, epigraphic evidence from those regions is more plentiful, though that may be a matter of chance.

**ACCLAMATIONS**

The subject of acclamations, especially those of a religious character, has been ably treated by Erik Peterson in a work so thorough that it leaves little to reward those who glean after him. Here we are concerned chiefly with words and phrases that originally expressed a religious conviction in brief exclamatory form — thus serving as a sort of symbol among believers — or, more simply, as an utterance of religious feeling, ascribing greatness and power to a deity. Such expressions often became apotropaic; praise of a god invokes his aid against sinister powers. Sometimes acclamations are little more than wishes for good luck, especially those that consist merely of the name of some desirable quality or power, like *ƛwäh, ṣḫm, ṣyāsha* (for *ṣyāshad*). Acclamations occurring on amulets are usually of the kinds collected by Peterson, and a brief comment and reference to his work will dispense with the need of full discussion.

Eis *θeōs* in a strictly religious sense must be regarded as an expression of monotheistic faith, and is rightly held to be of Jewish origin. It was taken over by the Christians and appears on a great number of bronze pendants, mainly of Syrian and Palestinian origin, which have on one side the Rider Saint with the motto *eis τεός ἴν αἰκόν τὰ κακά*, and on the other, usually, some apotropaic device directed against the evil eye. These appear in the late third or early fourth century and continue into Byzantine times. The lower limit of their occurrence is hard to determine because the manufacture was early standardized and the technique changed little. These pendants, with some examples of the Byzantine medals that seem to have superseded them, will be treated in Chapter XV.

The same words were also adapted to pagan use, perhaps especially in connection with the solar cult, which approached and sometimes became a monotheism. Thus *eis θeōs* is engraved on the reverse of an amulet in the De Clercq collection, where the obverse design is a god with radiate head; he is winged, wears a cuirass with flaps and holds a globe in his right hand. Peterson is strictly right in saying that the inscription need not refer to the god, but may be merely an apotropaic or exorcistic formula; yet such caution seems a little excessive.

When used of a pagan god, *eis* expresses the great power or the preëminence

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56 De Ritter 3457; Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
of the deity, rather than a definitely monotheistic belief. In the highly syncretistic period to which our amulets belong it may also remind the hearer that the god so acclaimed is one, though known by many names, like Isis in Lucius’ famous prayer, or in the “Praises” known from inscriptions and papyri. Ἐστὶν θεὸς Σάραπις is attested, but apparently only once; but Ἐστὶν Ζεὺς Σάραπις is very common. Sometimes it accompanies a head of Sarapis, as on a sard in the British Museum and a lead petalon in the Borgia collection; on another London specimen the legend encircles a lion-headed snake; still another, a paste cameo of different-colored layers, has no design. On this last the acclamation Ἐστὶν Ζεὺς Σάραπις is followed by the prayer Ἀπέστειλε τὸ ὀροφοῦτε. Passages in Aelius Aristides show that similar acclamations might be addressed to Asklepios — Ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιός, or Ἐστὶν Ζεὺς Ἀσκληπιός. A few Ἐστὶ formulas addressed to other divinities — Helios, Mithra, Men, Aion — have been collected by Peterson.

The most interesting among these last is an often discussed amulet in the British Museum. It is a heliotrope of triangular outline; the shape is significant. The obverse shows a falcon-headed god, Horus, seated facing a seated goddess with the head of a frog. She would be taken for Heket, who has a frog’s head, but for the inscription on the reverse, which identifies her as Hathor. Above is a winged uraeus holding an ankh in the loop of its tail. The inscription on the reverse reads

ἴστι Βαίτ, Ἐστὶν Δαθώρ, μιὰ τῶν βία, Ἐστὶν Ἀκωρί
χαῖρε τάτερ κόσμου, χαῖρε τοιμορφε θέας.

Bait is the hawk, hence Horus; Athor is Hathor, Akori (Coptic achori, serpent) is a serpent goddess, Buto, according to Spiegelberg (perhaps rather Utchat, goddess of Buto). A strangely assorted triad, evidently united in a dogma of some school of Hellenistic-Egyptian theology. Here, then, we have an approach toward a trinitarian monotheism; for as Spiegelberg rightly holds, μιὰ τῶν βία, “one is their power,” includes Achori also, though for metrical reasons the clause is introduced before its logical position. But the monotheism, if it be such, is indicated by τάτερ κόσμου, which refers to a creator (conceived in that capacity as masculine), rather than by the triune character of the group, for other triads were doubtless constructed. Yet even belief in a cosmic parent and creator does not necessarily imply monotheism. In general, one must say of all the pagan Ἐστὶ formulas that a strict

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47 A typical example occurs in P. Oxy. 1382, after the narrative of a miracle worked by Sarapis.
48 On a bronze lamella reported by Visconti, IG XIV, 5413, 2; see Dreesler, Weltkli., Phil., 1886, 1455.
49 B. M. 55445; Museo Borgiano, p. 430, 3.
50 B. M. 55440.
51 B. M. 56523.
52 Aristides, Or. 50, 50 (ed. Koel), ad fin.; cf. 47, 45, ad fin.; 47, 78.
53 Peterson, op. cit., pp. 238, 266-269.
54 B. M. 56001. Discussed by Spiegelberg, ARW 21 (1923), 225-237, and Groenmann, Die orientalischen Religionen in hellenistisch-romischen Zeiten (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 60-55, with reference to earlier writings. In both places an illustration is shown, but not a satisfactory one.
monotheism is scarcely to be found in them; and the term “henotheistic,” sometimes applied to them, is misleading unless accepted in a broad sense, namely, that one divinity, whether single or of plural personality, is chosen and elevated to a position of preeminence in the religious feeling of some group of worshipers—a group which may be ethnic, religious, or bound together by some tie of social affinity or common economic interest.

The victory acclamation, usually in the form μικά ὁ δίκαιος, “So-and-So conquers,” has both secular and religious applications. Examples of the latter, which alone concern us, have been gathered and adequately discussed by Drexler, Weinreich, and Peterson. Three unpublished examples may be added to their lists. One, μικά Ἡ Εἰσίς, is engraved, strangely enough, on the reverse of a stone representing, not Isis, but Harpocrates standing and holding a cornucopia. These words also occur on the reverse of a Michigan stone, the obverse of which bears the common design of a head of Sarapis over an eagle with raised wings. A formula which has not been previously recorded, μικά ἐπάρκειας, “Victorious is the god who listens to prayers,” is engraved on the reverse of a blue glass paste, the obverse side of which shows Sarapis enthroned, between Isis and Nephthys, who stand facing towards him, one on each side. The design closely resembles a black glass paste in the Petrie collection which has the reverse inscription μικά Ἡ Εἰσίς.

The epithet ἐπάρκειας was applied to various divinities in Oriental cults; the eastern influence is abundantly demonstrated by Weinreich in his article Θεότηται Ἐπάρκειας, which uses and greatly enlarges the collections of Drexler and others. Examples of ἐπάρκειας as an epithet of Sarapis are not numerous, but among them there is a very important one, the dedicatory inscription τῶν Ἐπάρκειας Ἶσις Ἡ Ἱσίας on the architrave of the temple of Sarapis at Miletus (third century after Christ). Another example of ἐπάρκειας in a glyptic text occurs in the reverse inscription of an important gem now loaned to the Brooklyn Museum by the New York Historical Society; its face represents the lion god of Leontopolis (D. 281). The legend as a whole is to be examined later (p. 184); here it is enough to cite the clause σὺ ἐλ... ὁ ἐπάρκειας θεὸς.

There is a special application of the victory formula in a British Museum specimen which is inscribed on the back μικά ὁ Σαράπις τῶν φθόνων, “Sarapis overcomes the evil eye.” This is another example of discrepancy between an inscription and the accompanying design; for the obverse shows not Sarapis, but a fully draped goddess standing, a modius on her head and a tall scepter in the right hand; perhaps Isis.

To the μέγας acclamations previously published the present work can add nothing of importance. The numerous examples of μέγα τοῦ ὄνομα τοῦ Σαράπις may be conveniently examined in Peterson’s work. μέγα τοῦ ὄνομα

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61 D. 216.
62 Amulets, Pl. 21, 135 a.
63 Ibid., p. 18, No. 84.
64 Peterson, op. cit., p. 208.
65 D. 21.
66 D. 19.
67 In Athen. Mit., 37 (1912), 1-68.
68 B. M. 5661; King, Gnostics, Pl. E. 4.
with no genitive, on the reverse of a carnelian described by Huebner, probably refers to Zeus Hypsistos, since the other side is inscribed τῶν θεῶν σου τῶν Ἐρυθρῶν, μὴ με ἐδικήσῃς, “By the Highest I adjure you, wrong me not.” 74 At the time when I examined B. M. 56136, a green jasper inscribed μέγα τῷ δόμου του μένουσι διὸ, I did not know that Peterson had expressed a doubt of its genuineness. 75 I saw no reason to suspect it. The use of μένους suggests a Judeo-Christian origin.

Χαίρε, “hail,” is used, as we have seen, on the “trinitarian” stone of the British Museum, but is not a common acclamation for amulets. A black glass paste of the Seyrig collection represents the dead Osiris lying on a bier at the foot of which an uncertain figure with an animal head and hoofs is seated. 76 It may be the ass-headed Set or, less probably, the cow-headed Hathor; but the head is injured by the collapse of a bubble in the paste, and the interpretation is not certain. Above are the words χαίρε Ὁσιρίς, but χαίρε here is scarcely an acclamation in the ordinary sense, but rather the “farewell” to the dead which is a part of many sepulchral inscriptions. 78 Such words as ὕψωτα, τάρα, καρίσ, χαρά, δομαμ, when inscribed on amulets, are naturally understood as good wishes for the wearer; such is surely the intent of the words χαρίμς ἔνα ἵλια cut in relief on a carnelian in the Cabinet des Médailles. 79 ῥύα follows ἔνα θεός on the reverse of a haematite in London; the obverse represents the Rider Saint with the inscription Σολόμων ὑπὲρ. 80 The object is probably of Syrian origin, and Perdrizet thinks that all inscriptions of the ἔνα, ἐνατεα type come from the Orient. 81 τάρα is a pagan analogue; it appears with a figure of Anubis on a nicola at the University of Michigan. 82 δομαμ also, though it came to be used in Christian acclamations, occurs with pagan deities. A haematite in the British Museum bears the word on the reverse of a design showing a mummy (Osiris) upheld by an animal-headed god, probably Anubis, the funerary attendant of Osiris. 83 Peterson calls attention to several places in P. Oxy. 1381 where δομαμες is attributed to Imouthes-Asklepios. 84

Χαρά, joy, has been found inscribed on houses and tombs in Syria, all of the late imperial period, and on a bronze stamp, also from Syria, 85 it is rarely found on amulets of the ordinary sort. On two closely similar gems

74 Bull. dell'Inst., 1881, 24; see also Kopp, Pal. Crit., IV, 313.
75 Peterson, op. cit., p. 209.
76 D. 11.
77 The use of the four-stroke sigma, which occurs in the word Osiris and in a magaical word on the reverse, is so rare on magaical stones as to deserve mention.
78 For several examples from Egypt see Sammelbuch, 5839-5837; Rosovizeff, Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hellenistic World, I, Pl. 37, 1.
79 Chabas, Pl. 274. Such words might, of course, be understood as referring to the life and health of the soul; but there is no proof that it is a Christian inscription.
80 B. M. 56092.
81 REG 27 (1914), 278.
82 D. 37.
83 B. M. 56138.
84 Peterson, Heil Theo., p. 198, 2.
85 Perdrizet, REG 27, 272-273.
belonging to the British Museum it accompanies a design consisting of a radiate head of Helios with Nike on one side, Tyche on the other. 85

Χάρις without the article also seems to be rare. In addition to the previously mentioned cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles, it occurs on one of the Christian period in the De Clercq collection. But ἡ χάρις is not uncommon. Since the article is not used with the common words of good omen, ἐγίς, ἐοι, ἱστρ, its presence with χάρις suggests that ἡ χάρις may require a different explanation. It may be a religious ejaculation applicable to various divinities, describing them as "the beauty" (or "the glory" or "the power") of the world. 86 Here the most important evidence is to be found in the so-called stele of leu in P. Lond. 46, 157. 87 After an invocation of the Headless God and a petition addressed to him, his praises and powers are recited, first in the third person (οδυό εστίν δν οί δουλειοι φοβούνται κρλ.), and then in the first. Here we find the striking sentence εὔε με ἡ χάρις τοῦ αἰώνον. The Headless One in this text is Osiris fused with the God of the Hebrews.

A close association of χάρις with αἰών is indicated in Irenaeus' account of the Valentinian Gnosis, where Charis is one of the names — the others are Ennoa and Sige — given to the companion of the primal Aeon, sometimes called Bythos. 88 In the Coptic Gnostic Treatise published by Mrs. Baynes from the Codex Bruciatus we find related passages. "And they (i.e. the entities outside the Pleroma) saw the Grace (χαρίς) of the Aeos (αἰών) of the light which was freely bestowed (χαρίζει) upon them"; and, somewhat differently, "And all your age (αἰών) shall be filled with the Grace (χαρίς) of the Only-begotten (μονογενῆς) Son." 89

The phrase ἡ χάρις might, then, be regarded as derived from Gnostic theology, but, as we shall see, its connections are pagan, so far as amulets are concerned. The possibility that Gnostic phraseology entered into pagan religion must, of course, be allowed.

Origen quotes an Ophitic prayer as follows: βασιλεὰ μονότροπον, δεσμῶν ἀβλεψίας, λήθην ἀπερίκεπτον ἀστάξομαι, πρόσωπην δύναμιν, πενεύματι προκυπτεῖ καὶ σοφία νηυαίμην ἐνθον ἐλειμνήσει πέμπομαι, φωτὸς ἄδην μέρος νῦν καὶ πατρίς: ἡ χάρις συνέστω μοι, καὶ πάτερ, συνέστῳ; 90 "I salute the solitary King, the bond of invisibility, oblivion inscrutable, the first power, preserved by the spirit of providence and by wisdom. Thence am I sent in purity, now a part of the light of Son and Father. Grace be with me; yea, Father, be it with me."

It is not certain that the last clause is merely an echo of a well-known Christian formula. Besides numerous New Testament passages embodying the phrases ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, there

85 B. M. Cat. Celt., 1665, 5025. 86 De Ridder 2438.
87 For the various meanings of χάρις in magical texts see Nock's note in Bell, Nock, and Thompson, Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus, pp. 27-28, also Bevan, Holy Images, p. 144.
88 PGM V, 157.
89 Iren. 1, 1 (ed. Harvey).
90 Pp. 97, 122. 91 Contra Celsum 6, 31, 1, 5-9.
are several examples of the noun with no defining genitive, as in the phrases ἡ χάρις μελί ὑμῶν (or μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν), and it is possible that in non-Greek groups ἡ χάρις had taken on a religious significance before it was used by the Christians. G. Wetter, the author of an important monograph (Charis), raises this question in these words: 93

“Wie fest sich dieser Ausdruck (ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) in dem christlichen Briefstil eingewurzelt hat zeigen uns Eph. 6, 24; Kol. 4, 18; 1 Tim. 6, 21; 2 Tim. 4, 22; Tit. 3, 15; Hebr. 13, 25; Mart. Pol. 22, 2; hier liegt bereits ein terminus technicus vor. χάρις allein würde sonst nie einem Griechen verständlich sein. Oder war dies schon der Fall, ehe das Wort als ein christlicher Gruss verwendet wurde? Ist die Auslassung des Genitivs ein Zeichen dafür, dass die religiöse Bedeutung auch ohnehinzu feststeht?”

I am disposed to answer those questions in the affirmative, and despite the fact that our amulets cannot, as a rule, be dated earlier than the second or third century, there seems to be support for that affirmation in some of the gem inscriptions, to which we may now turn.

Ἡ χάρις is the reverse inscription for the following obverse designs: Osiris mummy between two winged goddesses (Isis and Nephthys fanning the dead god); Canopic jars with heads of Osiris (Sarapis?) and Isis, facing each other; Isis seated, holding the infant Horus; Harpocrates seated on lotus; Harpocrates of Pelusium, standing; Horus with hawk’s head.94 Thus far the words ἡ χάρις may be understood as a pious ejaculation addressed to one or another person of the Osrian triad.

The situation may be different in certain other examples. A design of Ares with Aphrodite in the Michigan collection has ἡ χάρις in the field of the obverse side; similarly, a stone described by Le Blant, on which Eros and Psyche stand near a tree and a pedestal surmounted by a statue of Aphrodite drying her hair.95 Two closely similar plaques of terra cotta represent the goddess in the same posture standing in a little shrine; both are inscribed below ἡ χάρις.96 In this group the inscription may mean no more than “charm or beauty.” In one instance ἡ χάρις follows a proper name; it is evidently a compliment or a good wish, however one expands the elliptical construction.97

**Inscriptions showing the purpose of the amulets**

Some of the legends listed under acclamations show that the objects on which they are inscribed were meant to bring good luck, good health, or long life to the wearers. Among those to be discussed here, the simplest case is that of a descriptive word, such as φύλαξ cut in a tabula ansata on a small

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93 P. 206.
95 D. 1591; Le Blant, *730 Inscriptions*, 270.
96 E. Breccia, *Terecette greco-egiziane del Museo di Alessandria*, p. 16, 7; Pl. 5, 13–14.
97 Le Blant, op. cit., 304.
jasper in the Newell collection; there is no design, and the reverse bears the one word ἀβρασάζειν.98 σωματοφύλαξ, “bodyguard,” accompanies a figure of Anubis;99 the word is used in the same sense in PGM VII, 579. The word φυλακτήριον, so common in magical papyri, is rarely found on gem amulets. A rock crystal in the Museo Borgiano is covered with an inscription consisting of magical words and vowels, with one intelligible sentence, φύλαξον τον δείνα τόν φοροῦσα τό φυλακτήριον ττ...το (τούτο ;) αφαρτη (σύ. ἀπάρτη).100 On the other hand, the imperatives φύλασσε, φύλαξον, διαφύλαςσε, one-word prayers, are so common as to need no illustration; the examples collected by Drexler suffice.101

Several other verbs are used in these brief prayers, such as παραστάθησθι on a noteworthy stone in the British Museum,102 which has been mentioned before, and συμπαραστάθησθι, which I would restore on another British Museum gem, σεργοι μου καὶ δόν μοι χάραν (apparently for σέργοι με κ.τ.λ.);103 round this the legend, as read by Walters, continues, ΤΟΠΧΕΨΧΕΨΧΝΠΑΨΧΑΘΕΙ... This may be meant for τῷ ϋσηφ (to be taken with μοι above); συσυμπαραστάθησθι... συμπαραστάθαι is used in this sense, “assist,” in the lead tablet from the Fayûm published by Edgar,104 and in the lines of Menander:

ἀπάντη δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστασάς ἐβόθι γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βλου.105

Βοήθειε, “help,” came to be one of the commonest inscriptions on Christian rings, bracelets, and pendants of the late Roman and Byzantine periods. It is also to be found on pagan amulets, as, for example, under a design of Anubis and Isis-Tyche facing each other on a crudely engraved jasper in my possession (D. 24). Νέμεις βοήθειε with a figure of the goddess is strange, suggesting that the owner wore the stone in the hope of getting the aid of Nemesis against an oppressor. The stone is in the Seyrig collection.106 Worthy of special note is the Palestinian bilingual plaque with the Greek inscription εἰς θεόν βοήθη Μαρκιάνην, and on the back in Samaritan letters ἐν καὶ Ἐλ Jeshurun, “There is none like unto God, O Jeshurun,” or “unto the God of Jeshurun” (Deuteronomy 33. 25).107

Ελέησου, because of its ancient liturgical use (κάμπτε ἐλέησου), would

98 D. 628.
99 De Ridder 1475.
100 Museo Borgiano, pp. 481 f., 9.
102 B. M. 561471; King, Gnostics, Pl. 11, and p. 445 (where in place of the verb he reads a woman’s name, Ἀργασσαθεία).
103 B. M. Cat. Gems, 2702. It is possible that the genitive was used by analogy with that used with εὔθυμωι and other verbs of kindred meaning; but cf. εἰς βοήθη τῷ φορουτίου (Dalton, B. M. Cat. Fingerings, 64). There are many instances of loose use of the cases with verbs in the late period.
104 Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex., No. 21, 44.
105 Fr. 510 K.
106 D. 57.
naturally be in place on Christian amulets, and it is so found on a little gold plate, unfortunately imperfect, published by Siebourg; 108 the words ἀββᾶ δὲ πατὴρ σώσον ἐλέειον leave no doubt about the Christian influence. Siebourg cites also a pagan amulet inscribed Ποσιδικαίε, εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπες ἐλέειον; 109 he explains that Publicianus is addressed by name, then the symbol "One Zeus Sarapis" is recited, and a prayer to the god is added.

The use of an imperative seems to place in the class of amulets a carnelian without design in the Walters Art Gallery. It is inscribed παργγῷει ὡ ὑγίεια, that is, παργγῷει ὡ ὑγίεια, "Comfort me, O Health." 110

A curious lapis lazuli in the Brooklyn Museum represents Priapus wearing the modius of Sarapis. 111 The attitude is well known from many sculptures and figures—the tunic pulled up above the waist and used to hold a heap of fruits, thus exposing the phallus. 112 The borrowing of the modius is not surprising, since it was an emblem of plenty, 113 but it is not so easy to account for two serpents which lift their heads before and behind the god; their tails are visible near his ankles, and their bodies are supposed to be twined round him. They may represent the chthonic character of Priapus as giver of the fruits of the earth, or they may be merely apotropaic.

On the edge of this stone is inscribed ἐπόρευς, "Enjoy abundance," followed by ἴω. Round the obverse design run the words καθ ἡμέραν εὐ-πόρευμα (ἐπόρημα), "Every day I have had plenty." They may be taken as spoken by the god, or by the owner of the amulet in anticipation of the blessings that it is to bring. On the back is a badly copied palindrome, αὐαξαβρακχχθοχαταχαβαβαβαβαβαβαβαβα.

LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS

Several of the most interesting longer inscriptions have been discussed earlier in these studies and must be passed over here. They are the petitions for definite boons of various kinds—cure of disease, success in love, harm to an enemy, and the like. There remain a few legends that express a religious feeling, or at least repeat phrases and sentences of religious import—that is, liturgical fragments. Such bits of prayer and praise are worth little as indications of genuine religious feeling on the part of those who made or wore the amulets; at best, they serve to link the magicians and their customers, however loosely, to certain religious groups in which the liturgical material whence the amulet texts were derived was a vehicle of true religious feeling.

Perhaps the most striking example of this small group is a carnelian in

108 ARW 10 (1907), 598.
109 IG XIV, 2413, 3.
110 D. 270. For the strange spelling of the last word see Mayer, 1, 163.
111 D. 66.
112 Cf. B. M. Cat. Gems, 3022; Thoroldson Museum, 786; Furtwängler, Beschreibung, 7451; Roscher, III, 2, 2983.
113 For discussion of archaeological material pertinent to this type of Priapus see H. Hetter, De Priapo (RCPP, XXIII), pp. 26, 104, 284, 293.
the British Museum (D. 274), described fully in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, to which I must refer the reader for details. The obverse represents the bust of a youthful figure with seven rays round the head, holding a whip. It must be the sun-god, unless it is a Gnostic type of Christ, who was compared to the sun and in some circles apparently identified with him. An inscription on the chest ΧΩΘ may favor the latter alternative, since strokes above ΧΩΘ seem to mark it as an abbreviation of a sacred name. On the reverse and bevel are the words ὁ μεῖζον τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ὁ τῆς δυνάμεως ἵσχυρότερος, ὁ τῶν ἐνκαίμων κρέσσων, μεροῖα; “He who is greater than supremacy, stronger than power, nobler than praises.” Leaving aside the unexplained μεροῖα, the remainder is a part of a Gnostic hymn which is incorporated in the *Hermetica* near the end of the Poimandres, and also occurs with variations in a papyrus roll containing liturgical pieces.

On another British Museum stone, of the very common Chnoubis type, the reverse has the words ὅ ῥαβής Βιεννοῦ (perhaps of Hebrew origin, to be discussed later, p. 195) followed by ἔδωρ δίλη, ἑρως πείγη, πῷ δέχεσθαι (for δέχεσθαι), “Water for thirst, bread for hunger, fire for cold.” The phrases are probably liturgical, though the figures are taken from folk poetry. To describe an object of adoration in a series of metaphors, each calling to mind a necessity of life or a delight to the soul, is as natural to religious language as to the language of love. A selection of examples, which could easily be extended, will be found in an article that discusses this and the foregoing inscription. A still more apposite illustration, not included there, may be found in a hymn to Amon written in the time of Akhenaten: “Thou art the father of the motherless, the husband of the widow. Agreeable it is, the pronunciation of thy name. It is like the taste of life. It is like the taste of bread to the child, a loincloth to the naked.” Compare also, in an Ethiopic hymn for Palm Sunday, the words in praise of Christ: “He is bread to the hungry, spring water to the thirsty.”

In his report of the excavations at Byblos Mr. M. Dunand describes and illustrates a find of eight jewels, four of which are magical. The most important of these is a rectangular pendant of graphite. The obverse represents the pantheos, here apparently wearing the hemhem crown, and standing on a cartouche formed by an ouroboros containing five animals, lion, jackal, hawk, scarab, uraeus; on each side of him, from top to bottom, are a uraeus snake, an eye, and a goat. Round the margin from left to right, partly concealed by the setting, φρευθηλας μαμαμαραὶ ἀβραμαντάδοις. The first word

14 *HTR* 25 (1932), 562–565; also 37 (1944), 318–359.
16 The stone discussed is B. M. 55260, see *HTR* 25, 361–367, and *JEA* 19 (1933), 132.
18 Maurice Dunand, *Feuilles de Byblos*, I, Pl. 137, 1248; II (text), 44.
19 If the material is actually graphite, it is very unusual, and its use, in view of the softness of the material, is surprising. Not a single engraved stone of graphite is listed in the catalogue of the British Museum, the De Cerce collection, and the Thorvaldese Museum; nor does Pottwanger list it among gem materials. One suspects that the Byblos stone is dark statite or haematite.
INScriPtiONS I

looks like a mixture of φρε, Egyptian p-re, “the sun,” with Ba’al, Lord, and narmaroath is usually interpreted as “lord of lords.” The reverse is entirely occupied by an inscription of more than ordinary interest. The editor does not transcribe it; my reading from the plate was supplemented and corrected by Mr. Seyrig, who closely examined the original.

ο γὰρ κε βαλάς σας δεσπότης ὁ σέως τὴν οἴκουμένη ορτὶ νεφελόμορφον κελευσθείς, θύρα τέμων πάσης πάσης νόσου κε ἐπὶ βουλή τουτος.

Read καὶ, σέως, κελευσθείς, αἰθέρα. The magical name Ortyneus has not, so far as I know, been found elsewhere.

The inscription may be translated as follows: “Lord of land and sea, who shakest the world, Ortyneus of nine forms, cloud-wrapped, cleaving the ether, put an end to every disease and to plotting by any man.” Here an address to a god in the solemn style of the magical logos, incorporating a verse, probably from a hymn, ends with an ordinary petition in prose.

The shaker of the world seems to be the sun-god in a logos in PGM IV, 1324 (cf. 1281, 1291), ὁ σέως καὶ σέως τὴν οἰκουμένην, and in PGM V, 442–443 the phrase ὁ σέως τὴν οἰκουμένην is connected with Iao, who is often identified with the sun. The God of Nine Forms is also thought to be the sun-god, though according to another view the name belongs to the Ennead of great gods who greet the sun. On neither theory is the epithet κελευσθείς very appropriate, but αἰθέρα τέμων favors the sun. Euripides addressed the god ὃ τὸν ἄγρατον πόλιν αἰθέροις ἆπλη τέμων, and Diehl cites a similar verse from the Orphic Argonautica (585). Finally, the pantheos of the obverse is regularly associated with Horus, and may have been originally, according to an Egyptian notion, the aged sun-god, as Horus-Harpocrates is the young sun. The amulet is noteworthy as introducing an ordinary prayer for protection against illness and malefic with snatches of liturgical language. A briefer liturgical reminiscence may be noted on a uterine amulet, first published by Du Molinet, inscribed τάσσων τὴν μήτραν τῆς δείνα ἐν τῶν ὀλίου τόπων ὁ τῶν κύκλων τοῦ ἡλίου. After the last word supply ἐξαίρων (rather than ἐξαίρον) from PGM IV, 1326, ὁ ... ἐξαίρων τῶν κύκλων τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης. In another example the words καὶ σῦ ὁ ἔχων τὸ κρυπτὸν δόμον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὅπερ Ἴαωθ are embedded in a long series of magical words, mostly familiar.

The longest and most perfect inscription of this group is that of an often discussed amulet belonging to the New York Historical Society, recently deposited in the Brooklyn Museum. It is a red Jasper (not agate) veined with black. The obverse shows a lion-headed god, crowned with disk and uraei,

120 Hopfner, Archiv Orientální i (1931), 142.
121 Dietz, Arch. 33.
122 Epigr. ii, with which cf. Phoen. i–ii.
123 Du Molinet, Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Genève, Pl. 29, 2; Matter, Pl. II, C 4.
125 D. 285. It has been well discussed by Perdrizet, “Antiquités de Léontopolis,” pp. 359–361, with figure on p. 377. To this article I am indebted for several points in the paragraphs devoted to this gem. On page 359, n. 1, the author cites previous treatments of the object, among which Spiegelberg’s interpretations of the Egyptian names (in Sammelbuech, 5610) deserve special mention.
facing right. He wears the Egyptian headcloth and apron, carries the ankh in his right hand, and holds in his left a tall staff, the top of which seems to be a lion’s head. A long invocation covers the reverse side with thirteen lines of writing, is continued completely round the beveled edge, and ends on the obverse. There the last words encircle the figure with two lines of writing, which end with the brief petition εἰλεος Ἀμμονίῳ, the last word being in the exergue. The legend is given below in normal orthography and with a few necessary emendations.

Reverse

κλύθη μοι
διὸ θεοτοπό
λι τὴν κατοικίαν κ
ἐκπρομένοις, δὲ τ

ν τῷ ἄγιῳ σηκῳ ἐν
δρυμίους, δὲ ἄστραπ
τῶν καὶ βροντῶν καὶ
γνόφοι καὶ ἀνέμος
ν κὺριός, δὲ τὴν ἑνο

10 ὑπάνω τῆς οἰνό
λοι φύσεως κεκλ
προμένοις ἄ

νάγην;

Edge: σι ἐν ταχυεργάς, δ ἐπήκοας θεός, ὁ μεγαλόδοξος λεοντόμορφος: ὡνομά

οι

Obverse: Μίως, Μίωσι, Ἄρμως, Οὐσίρμως, Φρή, Σιμιέφ, Φαύνο, Φώς, Πῆρ,

Φλῶς: Εἰλεος Αμμονίῳ.

Since there are slight discrepancies in previous transcriptions of this text, I add the following notes. Some of them serve only to show that the engravers did not discriminate carefully between similar letters, such as ΛΛ, ΚΧ. These notes are based on my own examination of the stone, checked and occasionally corrected by Mrs. Riefstahl, of the Brooklyn Museum.

Reverse: 1. The stone has alpha instead of lambda. The last iota is certain. Confusion in the use of genitive and dative cases is illustrated by many examples in the papyri and inscriptions of the Roman period. 2. Δεοτοπό. 3. Delta instead of lambda. 7. The final iota was omitted for lack of space. 9. Chi instead of kappa. 10. ξων. 13. αναγκη. Edge: ε (for ει) is certain. These words appear on the stone as follows: ταχεὶς///εισ. θεο-

κος (for ἐπήκοος). Λεοντόμορφος. οἰνόμα.

Obverse: εἰλεος.

“Hear me, thou who hast for thy portion the dwelling in Leontopolis, who art established in the holy enclosure, who sendest lightning and thunder, and art lord of darkness and winds, who hast as thy province the celestial force that drives eternal nature. Thou art the god that worketh swiftly, that giveth ear to prayer, he of great glory, who is in the form of a lion. Thy name is Mios, Miosi, Harmios, Ousirmiwos, Phre, Simiephe, Phnouto, Light, Fire, Flame. Be gracious to Ammonius.”
The site of Leontopolis is a place now known as Tell Moqdam in the Delta, on the right bank of the branch of the Nile that debouches at Damietta. The prominence of the lion there is proved by many monuments. The lion-headed god of the town was identified with Re and Horus; his solar character accounts for “Light, Fire, Flame” as names for him. Mios is “the lion that casts a spell” by his glance, an idea conveyed in the two Egyptian elements that are combined in this name, and also reported by Aelian. Harmios is Horus-lion, Ousirmios Osiris-lion, probably meaning, as Spiegelberg suggests, the mummy of the dead lion. Phre is the sun; Simiephe is not explained; Phnouto, great god (?)

Though this stone was doubtless an amulet in the sense that its owner wore it for his own benefit and protection, it is nevertheless a religious monument. The reciting of the god’s names and epithets is as appropriate in a purely religious context as in a magical one.

At first glance one might think that the Boston rock crystal (D. 234), which has been mentioned several times for various reasons, carried an utterance of fervent piety along with the usual magical apparatus of secret names. The inscription on the reverse of the lion-headed god reads Zeβoφοβε πορθροφε μεώ μύθον τοικε ρη εμε ψυχη και τους εμους τεκνυς. But the last words can scarcely be the cry of a devout parent for spiritual benefits to his soul and to his children. φυγη here is probably no more than “self,” as in Luke 12, 19, Theocritus 16, 24, passages with which we may compare the words of a certain Dios, who sends a message of greeting to τοις φιλοινπας την εμην ψυχην. This interpretation is confirmed by a closely similar stone in the Newell collection (D. 235). There the first part of the inscription is the same, except for slight differences that can be explained as errors in transcribing from a common original. The petition at the end is έλεος κα (κηρε) τη εμην ψυχην και το εμω βλω, “Be gracious, lord, to me and my goods.”

126 Aelian N. A. 12, 7.
127 Cf. Herod. 1, 44; Psalms 68, 4.
128 Preisigke, Sammelbuch, III, 6222, 38. See also a passage of the gold lamella in Athens, where magical powers are invoked in the words φολιξαρε του ολους κα τις ψυχης τους ενεφυμ κα τεταρτα (IG IX, 5, 232, 19–20).