

A MISCELLANY OF ENGRAVED STONES

(PLATES 34–36)

THIS paper was originally intended to be a second supplement to my *Studies in Magical Amulets* (1950); the first was published in *Hesperia*, 20 (1951), pp. 301-345.¹ As such it was to be confined to the description and explanation of several magical stones which were brought to my attention too late to be included in the first supplementary article. I knew, however, that the collection of the University of Michigan comprised several non-magical stones of considerable interest, and that there were a few in my own collection; and thinking it unlikely that I should again return to the treatment of glyptic material, I have decided to include the non-magical² with the magical pieces here.

In the judgment of stones other than late Graeco-Egyptian and Levantine amulets I can pretend to no expertness, and must ask the reader's indulgence for any errors that may be detected in my comments upon them. Further, my method of illustrating them is not consistent. Magical amulets are not seals, and should be photographed from casts (positive). When only impressions (negative) are available, the photographic films should be reversed in printing in order that inscriptions and other details may be shown in their proper relation to the spectator. It is customary, on the other hand, to photograph impressions, not casts, of non-magical stones, most of which were used, or might be used, as seals; but in several instances, where the camera has produced clearer photographs from casts than from impressions, I have not hesitated to use them. For these irregularities, which could not be corrected without considerable inconvenience and loss of time, I again bespeak the expert's indulgence.

¹ In the course of this article several works are cited by much abbreviated titles or merely by the names of their authors. Among them are Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (*PM*); Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Fossing); Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*); Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (*AC*); Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos . . . in the British Museum* (Walters). Von der Osten's *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* and in the *Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* are cited as *Brett Collection*, *Newell Collection*. *SMA* stands for my *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950). (As in the supplementary article in *Hesperia*, 20[1951], pp. 301-345, the style of reference in *SMA* is retained instead of the regular *Hesperia* style for the sake of uniformity in these three works. Ed.)

In the descriptive catalogue which is the body of this article, an accession or inventory number beginning with 26 indicates that the object belongs to the Archaeological Museum of the University of Michigan. All measurements are in millimeters.

² It is worth remembering that certain stones may have been designed with a magical purpose in view even though they offer to the eye no definite evidence of such intention; see Evan's remarks on Cretan stones of the Wounded Quarry Type (*PM*, IV, 2, pp. 541 f.), and *SMA*, pp. 5-6.

It remains to express my gratitude to the correspondents who have sent me information about interesting stones, and to the owners who have graciously permitted me to publish objects from their collections. I am under special obligations to the Reverend Professor René Mouterde, of the Université Saint-Joseph at Beyrouth, and above all to M. Henri Seyrig, Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie, Beyrouth. He has sent me careful descriptions, photographs, and casts of amulets seen by him in collections inaccessible to me; and after placing his collection at my disposal for my *Studies*, he has now allowed me to publish his latest acquisitions. All this notwithstanding that his great learning in archaeology would have enabled him to offer an unexceptionable publication of his own treasures. As it is, in several instances I have merely rearranged his minute and accurate descriptions to conform to the plan of the following catalogue, and have added some examples and references to reinforce his acute interpretations. Thanks are due also to Professor C. T. Seltman for valuable help.

CATALOGUE

NEAR EASTERN AND MINOAN

1 Bonner

Wild goat to r. (perhaps the so-called ibex of Asia Minor, *Capra hircus aegagrus*). The horns are long and curved; forelegs bent under body. Tree at r., snake in field at upper l. corner. Syro-Hittite?

Steatite. Rectangular oblong with triangular, gable-like cross-section, ridge and perforation in shorter dimension. Base 51 x 37, thickness 9. Bought from a Lebanese dealer.

Stamp seals of this form are characteristic of Asia Minor, especially Cappadocia, and were probably introduced into Syria as a consequence of "the southward extension of Hattic power at the close of the fifteenth century" (Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, pp. 103-4; cf. also p. 118). Chappouhier says that seals of this form are attested from the beginning of the Hittite empire (*BSA*, 46 [1951], p. 43). The combination of a horned quadruped with a snake and a tree seems to have been fairly common; see Hogarth, pl. 3, No. 70, also Contenau, *Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, pl. 33, No. 221, pl. 44, No. 327. The strange position of the forelegs in the present specimen may be a crude attempt to

represent the animal as running; something similar may be observed in Nos. 59 and 61 on Hogarth's pl. 3. On No. 7 below, a wounded quadruped is apparently about to fall forward in the same position. On my specimen, however, there is nothing to suggest that the animal is wounded; compare No. 6, where a stag has fallen forward with his forelegs bent under him, though the arrow or dart above seems to have missed its mark.

2 Bonner

Duck, with wings shown by deep channels round them, plumage of back indicated by a checker work of fine incisions. The small rectangular projection which serves to suggest the feet is slightly channeled at the sides and is perforated from side to side. This projection is roughened underneath by very fine incisions at right angles to one another. Four incisions from side to side under the tail. Syro-Hittite?

Steatite, gray-green, 36 x 22, thickness 8. Weight 6.57 grams. Bought from a Lebanese dealer.

The duck form suggests the possibility that this object may have been meant for a weight; but weights in the form of birds or animals are

usually worked fully in the round except for a broad, flat base (cf. the agate weight, No. 3), while this duck is thin from side to side and could not have been meant to sit upright. It may have served only as an ornament.

Small figures of animals and birds were probably made in the Mesopotamian area from very remote times. Ernst Heinrich, in his *Kleinfunde in den archaischen Tempelschichten in Uruk* (Berlin, 1936), shows a duck-like bird seen in profile (pl. 13c). It is somewhat larger than my specimen and more than twice as thick. The stratification indicates a date of about 3000 B. C. For very thin examples of birds in profile one may refer to the beautiful jade pendants made in the Early Western Chou period of Chinese art, *i. e.* early in the first millennium before Christ. Although the birds cannot in every instance be identified, some are certainly ducks or geese. Examples may be seen in *Archaic Chinese Jades, collected in China* by A. W. Bahr (1927), pl. 26, No. 2; *An Exhibition of Chinese Jades* (C. T. Loo, Inc., 1950), pl. 11, Nos. 6-7, pl. 24, No. 5; *Archaic Chinese Jades from the Sonnenschein Collection* (1952), pl. 48, No. 8. Here both sides of the jade are identical as also in pl. 49, No. 1 and in the duck of my collection.

I owe the references in this paragraph to the kindness of Professor Max Loehr.

3

26184

Weight in the form of a water-bird with its head and neck bent back as if preening tail-feathers. Such objects are commonly called duck weights, but some good authorities identify the birds as swans (C. F. Lehmann, on the testimony of Olshausen and Hartmann, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, etc., incorporated in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 23 [1891], pp. 516-17, 521). On base, a goat standing on its hind legs, its head with long strongly curved horns, turned over back. I do not think this creature can be a man-goat; the legs might be taken for human, but the feet are hooves. The presence of this intaglio design shows that the object, like some

others of similar character, served both as stamp seal and weight; so Lehmann's fig. 2 (*op. cit.*, p. 521). Both drill and graver were used in cutting the figure of the animal.

Agate, brown, white, and brownish gray. 20 x 13 x 10. Weight 3.71 grams, about one fourth of the Phoenician-Egyptian shekel (13.5 to 15 grams); see Evans, "Minoan Weights and Currency," *Corolla Numismatica* (honorary volume for B. V. Head), pp. 340-341. Perforated from side to side through wings. The head and neck of the bird are not so clearly indicated as on the London specimen illustrated by Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 521, fig. 1).

This object was acquired along with a group of Minoan Cretan stones, and was probably found in Crete; but it bears a fairly close resemblance to a Berlin specimen published by Lehmann (*op. cit.*, fig. 2), which also has on its base a horned quadruped. If I understand Lehmann rightly, both the London and the Berlin specimens discussed by him may be of Hittite origin. Von der Osten tentatively classes a similar object in the *Brett Collection* as Neo-Babylonian (pl. 12, No. 160; cf. *Introduct.* p. 1). Mrs. Brett's specimen is of haematite, 23 x 14, and weighs 8.6 grams. Other examples are listed by Von der Osten in *Newell Collection*, p. 102. Illustrations: p. 4, fig. 2, No. 507; pl. 31, No. 478; pl. 32, Nos. 500-01, 503-5, 507-10, 512. Note also the specimens found in Eastern Crete, illustrated and discussed by Evans (*op. cit.*, pp. 350-352). Does the fact that these objects were found in Eastern Crete point to an Oriental origin?

4

Bonner


Two recumbent bulls, back to back, heads turned back over shoulders, legs bent under bodies, tails laid across hind quarters. A curved line over the rump of each bull seems to serve only to divide the field between the two animals. Late Minoan.

Rose quartz. Lentoid, diameter 23, thickness 10. Perforated. An earlier perforation was attempted and abandoned a little to one side of the thickest part of the stone. A slight fracture,

which probably occurred in the process of drilling, has destroyed the lower part of the hind legs of one of the bulls.

For the back to back position, cf. Walters, pl. 2, No. 73, "two oxen (?) recumbent, back to back. Between them a tree. Late Minoan, from Crete. Rock crystal, lenticular." Cf. also horned sheep so arranged, Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 570, fig. 544 b; and horned sheep and wild goat, *ibid.*, fig. 544 c. See also Von der Osten, *Brett Collection*, pl. 1, No. 8 "two animals back to back in opposite directions. Archaic or Sumerian." The position of the individual bulls is almost identical with that shown on a clay seal impression from Knossos (MM III) in Evans, *PM*, I, p. 694, fig. 515. See also the fine ringstone from Kouklia (Palaipaphos) in Cyprus (*JHS*, 73[1953], p. 133, with pl. IV b).

5 Unknown location

Two bulls, back to back, each recumbent to r., heads to front. Double axe between horns. Between the two animals, the linear sign , which resembles one shown in Evans's table, *PM*, I, p. 642, fig. 476, No. 29, extreme right of col. 3. See also the Middle Minoan written inscription shown at *PM*, I, p. 615, fig. 452a, middle of second line. Late Minoan.

Lentoid, diameter 30. Material unknown.

Because of the general resemblance of this stone to the preceding one I have taken the liberty of publishing it here, though I have no means of obtaining the authorization for which I should have asked had I known where to apply. The illustration is from an impression sent some twenty years ago by a dealer whose identity I do not remember, and I find no correspondence referring to the matter. It may have been a Paris dealer, or one of two Lebanese dealers now dead. In any event, the stone has doubtless passed into private possession. I have seen no publication of it.

6 26189

Stag to l., forelegs bent under body as if the animal were falling forward, head looking back.

Above, an arrow flying over, but missing its mark. Late Minoan I.

Carnelian sphendonoid, capped at both ends with modern base metal. Ring attached to upper cap. 28 x 15 x 9.

Amygdaloid and sphendonoid gems seem to have been most common in Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I a. (Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 493, Pendlebury, *AC*, p. 170). This stone and the next belong to the "Wounded Quarry" type (Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, pp. 542-3, figs. 495 b, 496, 499; also fig. 375 b on p. 450). Cf. also a Late Minoan stone in the Metropolitan Museum (Richter, *Cat. of Engraved Gems*, pl. 1, No. 6).

7 26186

Quadruped (stag?) to l., struck by a dart at the base of the neck. Shrub or small tree in front. There is a confused indication of branching antlers behind the animal's head, but this may also, perhaps, be interpreted as foliage of the tree bending far over to r. The line of the trunk cannot, however, be traced all the way, and the engraver's intention is not clear. Middle Minoan III.

Steatite, grayish green. Lentoid, perforated, 18 x 17 x 8.

8 26187

Flying bird, the head destroyed by gradual wearing away of the edge where the perforation enters. Middle Minoan III. Steatite, grayish green. Lentoid, perforated in the axis of the bird's body. Diameter 16, thickness 6.

Flying birds are well represented among the clay sealings from Hagia Triada; see D. Levi, *Annuario*, 8-9 (1925-1926), pp. 89-90, figs. 39-43; also Evans, *PM* IV, 2, p. 542, fig. 497 (a heart-shaped amethyst from Knossos).

9 26188

Bird woman, a type represented by several clay sealings from Hagia Triada, but indistinct here. The present specimen seems to be much like one published by Levi, *Annuario*, 8-9 (1925-1926), p. 118, No. 104 (fig. 120, also on pl. 12). Others are shown as Nos. 102, 103 on pl. 14.

See also the Zakro sealing shown in *PM*, I, p. 707, fig. 531, f. Middle Minoan III.

Steatite, dark green. Lentoid, diameter 17, thickness 6. Perforated in a line at right angles to axis of design.

10 26180

Stamp seal, conoid, with top broken off. On base, a bird pecking at a fruit; crude work. Early Minoan III?

Steatite or possibly dark brown jasper. Present height 10, diameter of base 11.

11 26185

Two dolphins, swimming in opposite directions, with a flying-fish between them. Middle Minoan III.

Green stone. Sphendonoid, 19 x 13 x 7. Perforated in long dimension.

For glyptic representations of flying-fishes, see Evans, *PM*, I, p. 677, fig. 499; IV, 2, p. 494, fig. 429; and Supplementary pl. 54, 1.

12 26177

Flat three-sided seal, corners rounded, perforated through one corner. Engraved on both sides. A, goat to l., so thin and wasted as to seem a mere carcass. Above, to be seen best if the piece is turned through an angle of 90°, a bird, apparently alighting on a stick; but if that was the engraver's intention, the bird is crowded against the goat's back and has no relation to the rest of the design. B, a large heavy bird standing to l. over a smaller slender bird. The larger bird has the head and neck thrown back over the body in an unnatural manner, so that the junction between the breast and the rest of the body is awkward and impossibly thin. Early Minoan?

Steatite, 15 x 14 x 4.

13 26183

Small signet with handle, base quadrilateral with rounded corners. Spiral design. Probably Middle Minoan I.

Steatite. Perforated through handle. Height 11, base 12 x 9.

14 26181

Three-sided prism seal. A, crudely executed man with bird's(?) head to r. B, uncertain design, perhaps two jars with a snake (or snakes) coiled round them. C, uncertain object, perhaps stylized head of horned sheep; the outline of such a sheep's head in Evans, *PM*, IV, 2, p. 496, fig. 434 is very similar. But the design might also be taken for a vessel containing a plant with drooping shoots. Early Minoan III.

Steatite, dull greenish yellow. Sides 12 x 10. Perforated.

15 26178

Three-sided prism seal; A, a tree(?); B, a whorl of curves radiating from a center; C, swastika. Early Minoan I.

Steatite, dark green. Length 11, which is also the horizontal diameter of the almost square sides. Corners slightly rounded. Perforated.

16 26182

Three-sided prism seal. A, man seated to r., l. leg raised slightly; figure bent forward and hand extended as if to touch some indistinct object on or in front of the raised knee. But the work is very crude and the engraver's intention uncertain. Small circular depressions drilled round the edge making a ring round the figure. B, ground down so that the original design is obliterated. In modern times someone has scratched in two small circles, each enclosing a Greek cross and some small cuts inside the circumference. Another similar circle and a cross are almost abraded away. C, uncertain quadruped running to l. Early Minoan III.

Steatite, sides 14 x 12. Perforated.

17 26179

Conoid signet, top broken. On base a kind of rosette made by a central circle or hub to which nine smaller circles are connected by short spokes. A similar design, but with two circles at center, is to be seen on a Middle Minoan triangular prism in the British Museum

(Walters, pl. 1, 4). The present piece is probably Early Minoan III.

Yellowish stone. Perforated laterally. Sides marked with bands made by pairs of parallel slanting lines. Present height 15, diameter of base 13.

18

26173

Long-bearded man in long garment standing to l. raising l. hand to face in a gesture of homage as he stands before an altar. It stands upon a small elevated platform and is surmounted by a crescent resting on a vertical support. Within the hollow of the crescent is a seven-pointed star. On the same platform with the altar is a cross resting on a cylindrical base. At the bottom are three signs which may belong to a Semitic alphabet; one is a good *shin*, the others uncertain.

White glass paste, a clear layer over an opaque one. Octagonal with corners slightly rounded, slightly convex on engraved face, flat on back. 19 x 14 x 7. From a cast.

Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian seals with octagonal outline and showing similar subjects are illustrated in Von der Osten's *Newell Collection*, pls. 31-32, Nos. 470-497; also in the same writer's *Brett Collection*, pl. 12, Nos. 145-146. In the former work, p. 9, Von der Osten remarks that "This type of seal remained in use in Mesopotamia through the Neo-Babylonian period and down to the Seleucid and perhaps to some extent into the Parthian period." A relatively late origin may explain several features of the present piece which might otherwise throw some doubt upon its genuineness.

Among these points are the following. Though used from Assyrian times on, glass paste does not seem to occur often for just this type. Further, most of the seals with octagonal, slightly convex faces are described as rounded on the back. The cross, though it occurs often as a symbol on seals of much earlier date than this, is usually equal-armed and does not stand on a base; it is often simply free in the field of the design. There are, however, two interesting examples in the collection

of the Morgan Library (*Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, edited by Edith Porada, Vol. I, pl. 121, Nos. 810, 811). These are classified as Neo-Babylonian drilled style stamp seals. In both examples the symbol has a small circle at the top of the upright, which, as in the Michigan specimen, is longer than the horizontal. It stands behind the human figure. The meaning of the symbol has not been explained. Finally, I have seen no alphabetic signs on other Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian seals. Whether these irregularities mark the piece as an imitation is a question that I must leave to those who are expert in the archaeology of the Near East. If not a genuine original, we must allow for the possibility that it is a modern cast in paste of a genuine stone.

19

26030

Approximately hemispherical stamp seal, Sassanian. The engraved base shows a well-known Sassanian symbol, here consisting of three crescents on a short support; 12 round dots around the edge. The symbol shown in Von der Osten, *Newell Collection*, pl. 34, No. 599, is very like the present example. More elaborate designs made of crescents are illustrated in the same work, pl. 34, Nos. 600-606.

Carnelian. Diameter of base 11, height 9. Perforated. The illustration is from a cast.

CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC

20

Bonner

Lion recumbent to r.

Sardonyx, dark brown, almost black, over white. Horizontal oval, *ca.* 18 x 12. Set in a modern gold ring. From a cast.

The work has been assigned on good authority to the fourth century before Christ. Certain features suggest the possibility that it might be placed even earlier, especially the relative proportions of the lion's head, shoulders, and flanks, which are not unlike those of the lions on black-figured Attic vases; and perhaps also the flat treatment of the mane, as con-

trasted with the bushy heads of later lions. I have seen no glyptic representation of a recumbent lion that closely resembles this; compare, however, the later examples, Fossing, *Thorvaldsen Museum*, pl. 15, No. 1292, and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, pl. 60, No. 8307.

21

Bonner

Eros seated to l. on ground, r. foot caught in trap, r. hand on chin, as if in attitude of weeping, l. hand resting in crook of r. elbow. The right wing, which is usually neglected in designs of this type, is here shown behind the head. A small tree behind Eros bends far over him to l. A Z-shaped mark in the field at extreme l. is probably due to accidental scratching.

Sardonyx, brown layer over white. Broad horizontal oval, ca. 18 x 15. Set in modern gold ring. From a cast.

A good specimen of a common type, which appears with variations, such as a butterfly on or over the trap; a rock, or a temple built on a rock, at l.; or a second Eros appearing at l. with palm-branches. For examples, see Walters, Nos. 3457-60, 3750; Fossing, Nos. 752, 1896-7; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 42, No. 44; pl. 64, No. 60; *Beschreibung*, Nos. 3895, 11250. The stone described above is on the whole most like the brown paste in Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 3895.

22

26076

Two Erotes standing face to face, with hands joined, about to wrestle.

Yellowish red carnelian with a whitish layer through which the figures are cut. Horizontal oval, 13 x 11 x 2; enlarged by two thirds. Crude, sketchy work.

A poor specimen of a common type. Nearest to it, but better, are the two sards in the British Museum, Walters, Nos. 1525, 1527, and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, Nos. 3049, 7500 (where a herm is placed at one side). Other attitudes representing later stages of a wrestling bout are described in Walters, Nos. 2913-2916 and Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 6796. From a cast.

23

26080

Bearded head to l., with garland of olive(?) leaves. Low forehead, very short snub nose. Possibly a portrait, but not Socrates, for the head is not bald; and for the same reason, probably not a satyr.

Carbuncle (garnet cut *en cabochon*). Circular, diameter 9, thickness 4. Obv. convex, rev. flat. Enlarged 2 x 1. From a cast.

24

26190

Head of Seilenos to l., ears pointed, head bald. The exaggerated line of the cheek-bone suggests that the engraver may have intended a mask rather than a regular head.

Pale green stone, not identified; streaks and patches of pale yellow, and on edges and back, speckles of black. Upright oval, 14 x 11 x 6. Obv. flat, rev. convex. The illustration is from a cast.

25

26032

Youthful head to l., crowned with modius (kalathos) and seven rays. Below, a crescent (compare the crescent under a bust of Selene, Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche*, 2963, pl. 26).

Nicolo. Upright oval, 10 x 9 x 2.5. Enlarged, 2 x 1. From a cast.

The god is probably Helios Sarapis, though radiate heads of Sarapis are usually bearded, as on the coin shown in B. M. *Cat. Alex.*, 284, pl. 15. This little stone seems to be unique in presenting a beardless type of Helios Sarapis.

26

26097

Athena seated to r. wearing helmet. She holds a spear in her r. hand, and in her l., a globe on which stands a figure of a winged Nike facing l., and holding a garland in her extended r. hand. Shield on ground at feet of Athena.

Amber glass paste, darkened with age. Upright oval, 13 x 11 x 3. Both sides flat, edge beveled. From a cast.

The seated type of Athena seems to be late; compare Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 7225, pl. 54; Fossing, No. 597, pl. 8.

27

Museum of Archaeology,
University of Michigan

Sphinx recumbent to l., tail erect. The headdress is a cap crossed by diagonal lines. Two feathers project backward from the forehead, possibly a relic of the feather headdress sometimes worn by sphinxes of the Egyptian type.

Amethyst, scaraboid seal. Horizontal oval, 19 x 17 x 8. Perforated in the long dimension. Obv. slightly convex, rev. convex. The object is a surface find from the excavation conducted by the University of Michigan at Seleucia on the Tigris from 1927-28 to 1931-32. This accounts for the weathered condition of the surface, which is especially noticeable on the head and face; but the stone is clear and of good quality.

The illustration is from an impression.

MAGICAL AMULETS

28

Unknown location

Obv. Falcon-headed god (Horus) standing to r., clothed in Egyptian kilt and also a close-fitting upper garment which shows only around the waist and lower part of chest. R. hand holds the ankh, the l. a tall scepter with the head of a gazelle at the top. The headdress is elaborate and of an unusual form, a tall central cylinder with a disc at the top—thus far resembling the white crown of Upper Egypt—and three volute-like pairs of projections at the sides. Round the figure, the inscription *αβλανα-θαναλβα αβρασαξ*. Neat work.

Rev. Inscription in six lines: seven characters, not of the "ring-sign" type, but more like letters in a cryptographic alphabet; the first and fourth are identical. Then follows the formula *χαβραχ φνεσχηρ φιχρο φνυρω φωχω βωχ*; this is "the greatest name, whose number is 9999," as fully explained in *SMA*, pp. 141-2.

Material unknown. Upright oval, 30 x 24. The reverse side is smaller, so the edge was beveled.

The illustration is a photograph, reversed in printing, of a good wax impression which was given to Mr. Henri Seyrig, and by him lent

to me. He knew neither the location nor the material of the original.

29

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Ibis-headed Thoth standing to l., elaborate crown (a modified form of the *atef*?) on head, head-cloth over neck and shoulders. Egyptian apron round loins. In r. hand a pen or stylus, in l. a tablet so held as to resemble a roll of papyrus or some such cylindrical object.

Rev. *ουσει ρβιθω*. *Ουσειρ* is obviously Osiris, but the presence of the name on a Thoth amulet is rather strange; there is a similar situation in the Michigan chalcedony described in *SMA*, p. 293, No. 244, shown on Pl. 12. There the obverse shows a seated cynocephalus, an animal sacred to Thoth and the sun, with a disk on his head, while the reverse bears the single word *Ουσειρ*. But divine names on amulet stones are not always exactly appropriate to the designs; see the examples cited in *SMA*, p. 176. *Βιθω* has no known meaning.

Rock crystal. Upright oval, 29 x 15. Convex surface. The illustration is from an impression, but the description above is given as from the original stone.

30

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Above, a hawk sitting to l., on head a tall headdress or ornament in the form of a slender cylinder pointed at the top, perhaps a stylized form of the white crown of Upper Egypt; lying against its slope an indistinct somewhat V-shaped object. Under ground line, five magical characters.

Below, ibis standing to l., atef crown on head, caduceus under wing; the bird's feet rest upon a cushion-like object.

Over the hawk's head *ωφρη*, behind its neck and back *ιαρβαθα*. *Ιω* may be a form of *ιαω*, *ρη* is "the sun." *Ιαρβαθα* is the first member of the solar formula *ιαρβαθαγαμνηφιβαωχνημω*, for which see *SMA*, p. 205, and Pl. 10, No. 210, where the formula encircles a design composed of a scarab with a hawk on each side.

Behind the ibis in vertical column are the letters *δαρυ*, and the remainder of this word *ργω*,

was probably engraved vertically in front of the ibis, where the stone has lost a splinter wide enough to accommodate it. *Daryngo* is a magical or planetary name of Hermes-Thoth, here represented by the ibis with caduceus; see *SMA*, pp. 196 f. and Pl. 3, Nos. 47-49. In No. 48 the ibis stands on a thick base like the one represented in the present specimen.

Rev. Above, *χαθαωρ*, below *ἱεσυβοβα*. I do not remember seeing the lower inscription elsewhere. In the upper *χαθ* may be an attempt to transliterate the Egyptian word *hrd*, child, which is also an element in the name Harpocrates, "Horus the child" (see *SMA*, pp. 198 f.), but the latter part of the word remains obscure.

Haematite, upright oblong, upper corners slightly beveled on obverse side; 30 x 14.

For the use of sacred birds in amuletic designs, compare *SMA*, Pls. 3, 45-49; 5, 111; 10, 200-210.

The illustrations are from impressions, the films reversed in printing.

31

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Group of three deities. In the middle, Sarapis standing to l., wearing tunic and mantle, r. hand apparently holding tip of mantle, l. resting on a tall scepter. Facing him a goddess who cannot be positively identified; her head-cloth fits closely round her face, with the effect of a veil or cowl, and her r. hand holds a tall staff crossed at the top by three horizontals; possibly a torch. Behind Sarapis, Isis-Tyche with tall scepter in r. hand, cornucopia in l., and headdress of two upright feathers (?).

Rev. Lion walking to l., carrying on his back the mummy of Osiris, its head to l., with atef crown. Behind, Anubis to l., his r. hand touching the forehead of Osiris, the l. holding a whip.

Bronze leaf, with suspension ring. Almost circular; height 28 without the suspension ring, width 30.

The interest of this object consists in the circumstance that its form and material are chiefly used for amulets of Palestinian or Syrian

origin (*SMA*, chapter 15, and Plates 14-16), while the subjects represented are Egyptian. It would seem that the leaf form was adopted by Egyptian makers from Palestinian models, probably at a late date. For the obverse subject, cf. *SMA*, Pl. 1, Nos. 19 and 20, where Sarapis is placed between Demeter and Persephone. Here also, since Isis is often identified with Demeter, it is probable that the other goddess, who holds a torch, is Persephone. The reverse subject, the Funeral of Osiris, is well known from dynastic monuments and from magical amulets; see *SMA*, p. 26, and Pl. 1, Nos. 8-10, Pl. 19, Nos. 354-357.

32

M. Henri Seyrig

Cylinder with four figures engraved around it, as follows: 1, a man carrying a palm-frond; in front of him, the Egyptian sign for water (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign List, p. 479, No. N 35); 2, a man carrying a water jug, covered with a fold of his garment; in front of him an incense altar with horns (see the references given in *SMA*, p. 113, note 44); 3, a man carrying a Canopic figure of Osiris with atef crown; in front of him, a tall candelabrum; 4, a man carrying on his head a flat utensil, perhaps a basket; in front, a poorly drawn palm-tree with bunches of dates. All four men have shaven heads; No. 1 wears only a tunic, the others are clothed in garments with a fringe in front similar to the linen garments of Egyptian priests.

It will be observed that in three of the four instances the symbol placed in front of each figure has a certain appropriateness for the figure next in order, that is to say, the figure behind which it stands. Thus the sign for water is appropriate for No. 2, the incense altar is appropriate for Osiris in No. 3, and the date-palm in front of No. 4 is appropriate for No. 1. Even in the case of No. 4, if the utensil that the man carries is the winnowing basket, which may belong to the cult of Isis as Demeter, the candelabrum (or torch?) in front of No. 3 might have a certain fitness.

Mr. Seyrig has given the correct interpretation of this object in the letter (June 11, 1953) in which he drew my attention to it. It is a procession of four priests, or at least devotees, of Isis, and as such, as he remarks, it may be compared with the procession on the Vatican relief (Amelung, II, pl. 7; also in Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, II, p. 599, with pl. 10, 1). Here the figures are: 1, priestess with uraeus and situla; 2, scribe with roll; 3, priest with vessel of Nile water; 4, woman with sistrum and ladle. But another Isiac relief is nearer to the plan of the Seyrig cylinder, as it is also nearer to the description of the procession in Apuleius *Met.* 11, 10-11. This is a relief in Germany, first published by Schede in *Angelos*, 2 (1926), pp. 60-61, with pl. 4; also in Nilsson, pl. 11, 1. Here the principal figures are 1, Anubis with palm and garland; 2, priest wearing garland, arms covered with his mantle, carrying a sacred object, probably a sistrum; 3, a person, probably female, carrying Canopic figure of Osiris; 4, a man with bare torso and an apron round the hips and thighs; he carries a scepter in his r. hand, a round vessel in his l.

Haematite cylinder, height 23, diameter 12. Perforated, the hole pierced from both ends, the regular procedure in ancient stones. The use of the cylinder form to present processional figures suggests that the spindle-shaped and cylindrical pieces shown in *SMA*, Pl. 20, Nos. 365, 368, and 369 may owe something to the stock characters of the Isiac procession.

Illustrations are unfortunately not available. I owe the description to Mr. Seyrig.

33

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Aphrodite nude, standing to front, head to r., drying her hair, tresses of which she holds out in each hand. She stands on the back of a lion walking to r.

Rev. plain.

The illustration is from an impression, but the design is described as if from the original stone.

Brown jasper with greenish spots. Upright oval, 18 x 11.

The figure of Aphrodite in the Anadyomene type is common on ordinary gems and is occasionally engraved on magical stones; for the former, see *Cat. of the Southesk Collection*, I, pl. III, C 20, and Walters, *B. M. Cat.*, Nos. 1213, 1438, 2803 (none illustrated); for magical stones, *Southesk Cat.*, pl. XIII, N 24, and *SMA*, Pl. 3, No. 55.

I have seen no specimen showing an Aphrodite of the Greek type standing on a lion's back, and Mr. Seyrig has suggested (by letter) that she is here equated with the Syrian Goddess. The latter, however, is usually shown sitting on a lion or on a throne supported by lions (Strong-Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, p. 21, and Frontispiece, Nos. 4, 5, 8; yet it is perhaps worth noting that the Hittite goddess sculptured on the rock at Boghaz Keui stands on a lion; Strong-Garstang, p. 6).

It is possible, I think, to arrive at a more precise explanation of the amulet type by examining Egyptian representations of the Syrian goddesses (or, the Goddess in her various manifestations); such a proceeding is amply warranted by the predominant influence of Egypt on amuletic gems of Graeco-Roman times. Astarte was represented in Egypt as a warlike, lion-headed goddess standing in a chariot, or else standing on the ground, wearing a tall, conical crown with feathers, and holding *ankh* and *was* scepter. Anat is seated on a throne, holding in one hand spear and shield, in the other a battle-mace. But Qadesh, the city goddess of Qadesh on the Orontes, presents noteworthy analogies to the Aphrodite of the Seyrig amulet. In Egypt she is shown in frontal position, nude (except, in some instances for a short, thin tunic), standing on the back of a lion walking to the right. Her arms are held well out from the body, the right hand usually grasping three snakes, the left three flower buds (lotus or papyrus). When, as happens in some of the representations, her hands are held higher, at the level of her face, the posture is strikingly like that of Aphrodite drying her hair. It is also to be observed that just as Qadesh is assimilated to Hathor by her characteristic hairdress, and

sometimes by the crescent and disk on her head, so also Aphrodite was regarded as a Greek equivalent of Hathor; for a single example, see the name ΑΘΩΡ on the reverse of a lapis lazuli amulet showing on its face a figure of the nude Aphrodite wringing her hair (published by Drioton, *Ann. du service des antiq. de l'Égypte*, XLV [1947], p. 83).

One difficulty must be mentioned. The Egyptian representations of Astarte, Anat, and Qadesh are not numerous and belong mostly to the New Kingdom (nineteenth dynasty); a doubt therefore arises whether any of them could have influenced a Graeco-Roman gem of the second or third Christian century. Yet there is proof, and precisely in connection with Qadesh, that monuments of the type, whether they dated from the New Kingdom or were later copies, were imitated in the Roman imperial period. The Museum of Roanne has a coffin on which in Roman times was painted a poor copy of a pharaonic stele representing Qadesh standing on the back of a lion between attendant gods. The model was a work resembling a stele of the Louvre (C. 86; see J. Leibovitch, *Ann. du serv.* XLI [1942], pp. 79-86, plates VIII, IX). The maker of the Seyrig gem or his predecessor in developing the type has produced an *interpretatio Graeca* of some Qadesh monument which had come down to his time.

Illustrations of the Egyptianized Syrian goddesses may be seen in Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 279-80; Müller, *Egyptian Mythology (Mythology of All Races, Vol. XII)*, pp. 156-7; Erman, *Religion der Aegypter*, p. 150.

Examples of Qadesh stelae are shown in the previously cited article of Leibovitch; in another by the same author in *Bull. de l'Institut de l'Égypte*, XIX, pp. 81-91 (figs. 6, 7); and in an article by Charles Boreux, "La stèle C. 86 du Musée du Louvre et les stèles similaires," *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 673-687 (*Bibliothèque archéol. et hist.*, Haut-Commissariat de la républ. franç. en Syrie, XXX).

In this section I am under special obligations to Professor John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

34

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Helios standing to front, apparently nude but for a mantle hanging down his back as far as mid-thigh. Nine rays round head. Raised l. hand holds a whip, r. holds a torch reversed. Under the l. foot, there is something that resembles a grasshopper or locust (it is not, as I had thought possible, a flaw in the stone). Poor work.

Rev. A neatly cut inscription, ΤΙΤΑΝ, αβαραροχωρ. The letter after ΤΙΤΑΝ looks more like delta than alpha, the three certain instances of which letter differ from this one. Yet there is also a peculiarity about the letter if taken as delta; and since delta could not be pronounced, I have preferred to read alpha, which thus begins a typical *vox magica*.

Bluish white chalcidony. Upright oval, 13 x 12; edge beveled, obv. slightly convex. Enlarged in the illustration, 2 x 1.

I was at first disposed to doubt whether the object in Helios' right hand could be a reversed torch, because the reversal seemed to suggest extinction, and such a symbol seemed inappropriate in association with the sun-god. But after re-examining the stone Mr. Seyrig assures me that the object can be nothing else; and he further points out that the reversed torch sometimes signifies purification and fructification of the earth, a point set forth by R. Vallois in connection with his study of a bronze bas-relief found at Delos (*BCH*, 45 [1921], pp. 256, near end; 258, note 4; 260, 265). To this I would add that if the lowered torch has a cathartic value, one can better understand why a locust, that plague of growing crops, is shown under the foot of the god.

In connection with the reverse inscription one may note that common as it is among the Roman poets to call the sun Titan, that use is on the whole late and rare among the Greeks, though it is to be found in Empedocles 38 (cited by *LSJ*).

35 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 52-534

Obv. Lion-headed Chnoubis snake to l., the tail making a double loop. Round the head, nimbus with seven double rays. Below, *χμουμς*, one of several spellings of the god's name.

Rev. Above, the letters ZMX, below a form of the Chnoubis symbol, here a horizontal line crossed by three lines broken into three segments, each segment at a broad angle to the next.

Nephrite, upright oval, 17 x 13. Both sides convex.

A good specimen of a common type, well executed, but presenting no unusual feature except the letters on the back. Their meaning is unknown.

36 In private possession in Stamboul

Obv. Lion-headed snake, coiled, to l., nine rays round head. Below, beginning at r., *χνουμς*, to be read from outside. Above, *πι ν* to be read from inside. In the r. field, the Chnoubis symbol (a straight stroke crossed by three reversed curves or, as here, by broken lines, making a sign like a long S).

Rev. Inscription in nine lines, here given with the words divided and accents supplied: *ἀποστρεψαγαι* (read *ἀποστρέψατε*) *πάσαν τάσιν* *πάσαν ἀπεψίαν* *πάν πόνον στομάχου* *ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ* *ὃν ἔτεκεν Νόννα*, "Avert from Julian, son of Nonna all (abdominal) tension, all indigestion, all stomach pain."

Light green, translucent stone, perhaps jadeite. Upright oval, 22 x 17.

The stone is a good example of a type extensively used as a medical amulet, specifically for ailments of the digestive tract (see *SMA*, pp. 54-60). The obverse design is extremely common, and needs no explanation that is not available in the reference just given; but the inscription suggests a few comments.

The errors in the first word are due to misreading of Γ for T in the copy, or to careless cutting of the latter sign; and *αι*, being pronounced like *ε*, often takes its place. For *τάσις* as a symptom of inflammation, cf. Galen, *Meth.*

medendi, in Kühn, *Corpus Medic. Graecorum*, X, p. 66; Soranus, *Gynaec.*, II. 19 (p. 106, 15 Ilberg), and II. 50 (p. 127, 27). For *πάν πόνον*, where the accusative neuter takes the place of the masculine, cf. the same phrase in II Chron. 6. 28 and the remarks of Helbing, *Gram. der Septuaginta*, p. 51, and Mayser, *Gram. der griech. Pap.* I², p. 32.

Nonna, the mother of the person who owns the stone and is supposed to utter the charm, is mentioned, as is customary in magical spells, merely in order to make the identity of Julian certain. The name, which is probably of Anatolian origin, but was fairly common in Egypt in later Roman times, has been discussed more fully elsewhere.

Photograph and description were given by M. Henri Seyrig.

37

26193

Obv. Snake moving to l., eight-pointed star above. Below, *ρεαλκμη*, the last letter under the others; this magical word has not been noted elsewhere.

Rev. A form of the Chnoubis symbol in which the three reversed curves are not crossed by a line, but a dot is placed opposite the middle of each curve. Under the symbol, *Ιαω*.

Quartz, bluish white above, reddish brown on bottom; the latter color may have been imparted to the stone by a cement used in setting it. Horizontal oval, 13 x 11 x 5. Obv. very convex, rev. slightly so.

38

M. Henri Seyrig

Obv. Uterine symbol with key, as described in *SMA*, p. 79, and illustrated on Plates 6 and 7 of that book, Nos. 129-143.

Rev. Inscription in eight lines with ouroboros round the edge. The first line has three characters like minuscule *etas*, but with sharp angles, which often occur on medical amulets (*SMA*, p. 63) and one like a Z with a horizontal crossing the slanting stroke; this is probably a suggestion of the Chnoubis symbol (*SMA*, p. 58). Next comes *ορωριωνοθ*, a magical name constantly associated with the uterine symbol

(*SMA*, p. 85), and evidently belonging to a demon believed to be concerned with the womb and its functions. Next, *ιαηωιαω και ου σαβαωθ ιαηωιαω*, in which the name Iao Sabaoth appears, and the remaining letters are meaningless. Finally, *αιροβορον*, evidently referring to the ouroboros serpent round the edge, but in a peculiar form, which, in fact, is the only thing that gives this insignificant stone any interest. The spelling represents an extreme vagary of vulgar pronunciation, taking the form of a weakening of a vowel sound in an unaccented syllable. In such a position an *ου* may become *ο* (Mayser, *Gram. der griech. Pap.* I, p. 116, 18b), and *ο* may become *ε* (Mayser, I, p. 94, 12, 1). Here the two stages are telescoped, and *αι* is written for *ε*, the pronunciation having become the same. The engraver has treated the word as a neuter.

Haematite (the usual material for stones of this type). Oval, 19 x 14.

Not illustrated.

39 Baron L. Beck-Friis, Stockholm

Obv. Anguipede to r., round shield on l. arm, r. arm lifted, hand holding whip, the lash of which waves over the cock's head. Chest nude, kilt round waist. Snake legs twice curved. Star in field under cock's beak, *ευ* in l. field, small λ between snake legs.

Inscription beginning at bottom and running round the edge counter-clockwise, some letters indistinct, others in inconsistent forms: *Ιαω αββρασαξ* (the sigma, if such it is, is here, and here only, of the four-stroke type, and turned to l.) *σενσων* (or *ουν*) *αλυναι*. Similar inscriptions elsewhere suggest that the last word may be a misreading of *αδωναι*; lambda and delta were easily confused and *v* may be a haplograph for *ω* (V, W).

Rev. Harpokrates as a youth to r., nude, l. hand raised to face, r. holds a cornucopia, from which a streamer hangs down almost to the ground. It was probably intended, as on similar better executed specimens, for a garment rolled together and hanging from the arm. From the

horn projects something slightly resembling the head and neck of a snake. On the god's head a crown, which apparently consists of a central ovoid body (the white crown?) with an uraeus at each side, their heads outward; but it may be a careless representation of the crown more commonly worn by Harpokrates, the *hemhem* (three upright reed-bundles resting on a pair of horns).

Round the edge is a meaningless inscription of fifteen signs, a few of which can be read as Greek letters, but only if their position in relation to the others is disregarded. It is curious that just as the anguipede of the obverse has *ευ* in the field opposite his waist, so also Harpokrates has *ευ* in a similar position, but at the r. and upside down. (The pieces belonging to a puzzling group of four amulets have in similar position the letters *εω* on each side of the anguipede; see *Hesperia*, 20[1951] under D, pp. 307-309, Plates 99-100, Nos. 65-68). On the bevel are eleven signs, formerly twelve, for one has been lost in a slight break in the margin. They are meaningless, and only two or three can be read as Greek letters. It is not to be forgotten that writing on an amulet was believed to be powerful even though nobody could read it; see *SMA*, pp. 193 f., and A. Bertholet, "Die Macht der Schrift in Glauben und Aberglauben," p. 16 (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1948, No. 1, published 1949).

The designs of both obverse and reverse are common (obv. *SMA*, pp. 123-128, Pl. 8-9; rev. *SMA*, p. 146), though the standing Harpokrates type occurs oftener on coins than on amulets known to me. Both the anguipede and Harpokrates are solar divinities (*SMA*, pp. 127, 140), and the combination of the two in this stone is rare and of some interest.

Dark green plasma. Upright oval, 30 x 23.

This stone was brought to my attention by Dr. W. Schwabacher, of the Statens Historiska Museum in Stockholm, to whom, as well as to Baron Beck-Friis, I am indebted for the opportunity to become acquainted with the piece and to publish it.

40 Art Museum, Princeton University:
40-392.³

Obv. Beardless man standing to r., head and legs in profile, chest in front view. He is dressed in Persian costume; the so-called Phrygian cap or hood, with heavy turn-up, worn low on forehead and covering ear; a low-necked, long-sleeved tunic, at waist tucked into long, close-fitting trousers, which descend so low that they look as if they were prolonged to make boots for the feet. R. hand hangs at side holding ankh, l. forearm extended. At r. of figure a goat-headed pillar covered with letters.

All parts of the human figure except the chest (where the engraver seems to have started with an iota and then desisted) are covered with letters, and so is the whole field. Though minutely inscribed, these letters can all be read (with one or two doubtful places), but most of them form no recognizable words, only meaningless combinations of letters, chiefly the vowels. I transcribe only the words that are known, and have some definite association in magic even though their meaning has not been explained.

1. At right and left of the head and neck the common magical word *ακραμμαχαμαρι* with an unusual nu added at the end. Its meaning is unknown (*SMA*, pp. 154, 191).

2. On the upper part of the Phrygian cap, *Ιαω*, an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew name of God; and on the turn-up, *Ιεον*, probably a variant of *Ιαω*; on the cheek, neck, and the upper chest, further variations, *ιαηιαεω*, the whole suggesting a quasi-liturgical cantillation on the original name *Ιαω*.

3. On the rectangular base under the feet, *αβλαναθαναλβα*, a palindrome, probably meaningless, which owes its magical power to the fact that it reads the same from either end; see *SMA*, pp. 191, 202.

4. In the l. field beginning at the level of the man's shoulder there is a narrow column of

letters among which is the extremely common magical name *Abrasax* (*SMA*, pp. 133 f.); the rest is meaningless.

On both arms and both legs of the figure the engraver has cut various arrangements of the seven vowels, and on the pillar and in the r. field there are letters which may form magical words; but since these are not known elsewhere, they are not worth recording.

Rev. Inscription in thirteen lines, with over 150 minute letters, which are clear enough to be read with a good glass, but are not worth reproducing in type. Vowels greatly predominate, and the syllables formed by such consonants as are present do not make any recognizable words, magical or otherwise. The inscription, like most of those on the obverse, was cut merely to create the impression of mysterious power by virtue of the writing itself; compare the example discussed in *SMA*, pp. 193 f., and see the important monograph of A. Bertholet cited under No. 39.

Rock crystal, unusually clear. Upright oval, 21 x 15 x 8. Obverse face slightly convex, reverse very convex; edges sharp. Small chip at bottom. Enlarged, 2 x 1.

A brief description of this stone was published without illustration in 1947, in *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (catalogue of an exhibition at the Walters Gallery), No. 587. Since the design and inscription were not discussed, and no attempt was made to place the stone in relation to other similar objects, treatment of it here begins from the beginning. In a broad way, the design places this specimen in a group with five others, none of which has been adequately published. For four of the five we depend upon engravings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and experience shows that engravers of that period often misunderstood and wrongly represented details of the designs before them, especially when dealing with magical stones.

³ I am enabled to publish this curious stone through the courtesy of the Art Museum, Princeton University; and I am also indebted to Miss Frances Follin Jones, Assistant to the Director, for valuable help.

The five are as follows:

1. Amethyst belonging to Fulvio Orsini, published by Baronius, *Annal. Eccl.*, II, a. Chr. 120, No. 10; illustrations also in Macarius, *Abraxas*, p. 6; Chiflet, *Abraxas Proteus*, pl. 7, 29; Matter, *Hist. Crit. du Gnosticisme*, pl. 4, 7; Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée*, II, pl. 168.
2. Amethyst said to have been brought from the Levant by De Thou, illustrated in J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, opp. p. 156, from a drawing which he found among the memoirs of Peiresc.
3. Amethyst in the collection of Passeri, published by Gori, *Thesaurus gemmarum antiq. astriferarum*, I, pl. 197.
4. A broken sard. Same work, I, pl. 196.
5. Amethyst in the Southesk collection (*Catalogue*, I, No. N 59, pl. 13). The illustration does not show all details clearly, but the main features are visible.

Common to all these and the Princeton crystal also is the one element of a human figure covered with inscriptions.⁴ In details, no two of the designs agree throughout. Except in No. 1 and the Princeton stone, the man is nude. In Nos. 2 and 3, the figure has small wings on the head, and in No. 3 they appear on the heels also. In Nos. 2-5 the man holds in his left hand a long scroll fashioned like a snake, though in some of the examples the head might be that of some other animal; and in two examples, Nos. 2 and 3, the tail of this snake-scroll forms a base on which the man stands. On the Princeton stone the man's hand is extended in front of the "goat-pillar," and does not grasp it; and this pillar, which might be

thought to correspond to the snake-scroll, makes a clear break where it meets the base. Yet the angle at which the pillar inclines forward, and the fact that the pillar and base are of the same thickness, strongly suggest that the pillar is derived from the snake-scroll.

Human or monstrous figures marked with letters and magical words are well known from the drawings in magical papyri; examples can be conveniently inspected in the plates at the ends of the two volumes of Preisendanz's *Papyri Magicae Graecae*, I, pl. 1, No. 2; II, pl. 1, Nos. 6-7; pl. 2, No. 11; pl. 3, No. 14. Lettered figures are rare on gem-amulets because the spaces available for inscriptions are so small. See, however, the cock-headed demon shown in *SMA*, Pl. 8, No. 171, and the divine figure described under No. 274, p. 299. None of these examples helps to identify the inscribed men listed for comparison with the Princeton crystal.

There is one feature of the Princeton stone that is particularly significant, and which does not appear on the other stones that seem to be related to it. This is the unmistakable Persian costume of the man. The only figure so clad that appears on amuletic gems is that of Mithra himself; but in the manner characteristic of syncretistic amulets, Mithra is here simply incorporated into the fabric of Egyptian magic. This is shown by the magical words, which are common in Egyptian magical papyri and on gems of undoubted Egyptian origin; by the ankh which the figure carries; and, if the goat-pillar is derived from the inscribed serpent, by the circumstance that Egyptian gods and goddesses are often shown grasping serpents in one or both hands, and sometimes standing upon the long tails of the snakes.

⁴ In the first edition of his *Gnostics* (1864), p. 208, n. 2, C. W. King said that the most complete example of the "lettered man" known to him was that in Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquité*, Vol. 6, pl. 22. But I find it impossible to believe that any genuine amuletic stone looked like the monstrosity shown on that plate, although the engraving evidently has some relation to genuine specimens. Either Caylus has reproduced a forgery crudely and stupidly imitated from a genuine stone, or else the engraver's drawing is so grossly inaccurate as to give no true idea of the subject. In either event the illustration has no value for the critical student of such types.

41 In Private Possession at Tripoli

Scarab bearing on its flat face a design representing a sea-horse (*Hippocampus antiquorum*) or, less probably, a thick-bodied winged snake. Round it 17 characters, among them nine that can be read as Greek letters; but they make no sense.

Rock crystal. The inscribed face measures 32 x 22. Thickness of the scarab, 10. Seen at Tripoli by the Rev. Fr. R. Mouterde of the Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth. To him I owe the photograph, as also a drawing and description.

The creature represented is in several respects like the small fishes, common in warm seas, known as sea-horses.⁵ The one wing-like projection on the back could be interpreted as the dorsal fin, the thick body corresponds to the brood-pouch of the males belonging to this genus. The sea-horse swims in an upright position like that shown on the scarab; yet it is true that on magical stones snakes are sometimes so shown, even when there is no coil to support them in the upright position (*SMA*, Pl. 18, No. 339; *Hesperia*, 20 [1951], pl. 96, No. 20). It is harder to judge of the head, which does not accurately imitate either that of the sea-horse or that of the snake. It appears here set at right angles to the neck, while in the sea-horse the angle is smaller, and the effect has been compared to the horse-head used for the knight in the game of chess.

The sea-horse is frequently found in the Mediterranean, and is mentioned by ancient writers because of medicinal (or poisonous) properties that were imputed to it.⁶ That circumstance would be enough to account for its

appearance on a stone which its meaningless inscription seems to mark as magical.

Little help towards identifying the animal on the Tripoli stone can be got from ancient representations of the sea-horse, that is, representations of the actual fish, as distinguished from the very numerous representations of the hippocamp, a monster made up of the protome of a horse and a fish's tail. Those to be mentioned were collected by Lamer in his excellent article *Hippocampus* in Pauly-Wissowa, and only one can be regarded as certain. On a red-figured vase-fragment from Athens (now in Jena), a woman's garment is adorned with an embroidered border of sea-horses.⁷ In two glyptic examples, the form of the hippocamp (marked as such by horse's forelegs) has probably been influenced by the engraver's knowledge of the little fish; so an island stone, Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 5, 21, and, less certainly pl. 6, 27 (archaic Greek).

Winged snakes seem to be as rare in ancient art as true sea-horses; I can refer to only one certain example. A remarkable sardonyx cameo in the Hermitage, which formerly belonged to Christiana of Sweden and later to the Duke of Odescalchi,⁸ shows conjugate heads now thought to represent Alexander and his mother Olympias. On the helmet worn by Alexander is a winged snake; its slender body is quite different from that of the thick-bellied creature on the Tripoli crystal. If the wings were added to give the reptile a demonic character, there may be an allusion, as was long since suggested,⁹ to the story that Zeus Ammon visited Olympias in the form of a serpent. On the closely similar, but finer, sardonyx cameo in Vienna, repre-

⁵ For a brief account of these interesting fishes, see the article "sea-horse" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. There are good illustrations in some of the dictionaries, as Merriam-Webster, *New Internat. Dict.*, s. v. "sea-horse," and *Century Dict.*, s. v. "Hippocampidae." Others may be found in the *Cambridge Natural History*, Vol. VII, p. 635, fig. 387; *American Natural History* (Scribners), Vol. IV, p. 287; *Riverside Natural History*, Vol. III, p. 286, fig. 160.

⁶ Dioscorides 2. 3; Galen, Vol. XII (ed. Kühn), p. 362; Ael., *N.A.*, 14. 20.

⁷ *Arch. Zeitung*, XV, pl. 108, No. 2, with col. 108 of text.

⁸ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 53, 2; cf. also II, pp. 251 f.

⁹ By M. A. De la Chausse, *Le Grand Cabinet Romain* (Amsterdam, 1706), p. 12.

senting the same subject, the snake on Alexander's helmet has no wings.¹⁰ An alternative explanation of the winged snake is that it is simply a reminder of Alexander's conquest of Egypt. Such reptiles were believed to exist in Arabia or Libya and were said sometimes to fly into Egypt, where they were devoured by ibises.¹¹

Mention should perhaps be made of a gem illustrated by Gronovius, representing a Janus-like combination of a bearded head backed by a youthful one.¹² On the helmet worn upon the older head is fixed a serpent with wings like a bat's and the claws of a bird. The engraving inspires no confidence in the accuracy of the details or the antiquity of the object, and it has no value as evidence.

Strange as the design on the Tripoli crystal may seem, it does not stand alone. A closely similar stone is shown in Gronovius's 1695 edition of the *Dactyliotheca* originally compiled by Abraham Gorlaeus (Vol. II, No. 558). The material, according to Gronovius, was *dracontias* which, according to Pliny (*N. H.*, 37, 10), was a stone found in the head of a serpent (*draco*). But the identification was in all probability suggested at random, for, as will presently appear, Gronovius could hardly have seen any such stone. He calls the design *draco alatus*.

This illustration does not appear in the first edition of Gorlaeus's work, and Gronovius evidently took it from another source, namely the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* of Athanasius Kircher, (1652-1655, Vol. III, pp. 523 f.). This work provides a line drawing which agrees closely enough with Gronovius's cut to warrant the conclusion that the differences are due only to the Dutch engraver; but when we compare Kircher's cut and description with the Tripoli crystal, the situation is different. The stone seen by Kircher, also a scarab, was almost twice as large as the other, and there are minor

differences in the design and inscription; *e. g.*, the animal shown on the Tripoli stone is thicker than Kircher's "*draco*," and the three letters at the top of it form an arc, while in Kircher's drawing they stand on the same level. There are also minute differences in the forms of the letters.

The strange and apparently meaningless design and inscription of the Tripoli stone, and the fact that nothing like it is known except Kircher's gem, at first suggested the possibility that the Tripoli crystal might be a modern forgery based upon the old illustration; examples of counterfeits suggested by old engravings were noted and discussed in my paper in *Hesperia*, 20 (1951), pp. 304-307. But the sound judgment of Father Mousterde, expressed in his letter of March 9, 1951, shows the error of any such suspicion. While allowing the possibility that some modern forgeries may have been imported from Europe into Syria for sale to unwary tourists, he points out that such deceptions are far more likely to be attempted at places much visited by travellers, such as Damascus, Aleppo, and Beyrouth, than at a small place remote from the ordinary course of travel, like Tripoli. He also calls attention to the extreme hardness of rock crystal, which might well deter a forger from spending much labor upon a design of little interest and no beauty, which could scarcely appeal to amateurs. On the whole then, it seems that the Tripoli gem must be accepted as one of a rare group of objects bearing a design for which no satisfactory explanation is at hand, though some magical significance may be reasonably inferred.

42 Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Gorely, Jr.

ENEMIES' TONGUES

"Destroy their plans, O Lord, confuse their tongues"
(Ps. 55.9).

The Revised Standard Version is quoted here, not because of a conviction that it gives

¹⁰ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 53, 1.

¹¹ Hdt., 2. 75; Joseph, *A. J.*, 2, 245; Pomp. Mela, 3. 82; Cic., *N. D.*, 1, 36.

¹² J. Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graec. Antiq.* (Leyden, 1697), Vol. I, plate preceding I.

the most correct rendering of a verse that has been variously interpreted, but merely because it provides a suitable text to introduce the matter that follows. The wish that the words of an enemy, whether true or false, may be disregarded or silenced is natural to anyone who has become entangled in the conflict of human purposes and desires. In the passage cited, as also in Ps. 31. 18, "Let the lying lips be dumb," the wish is uttered as the prayer of a righteous man and a defense against the insults and slanders of the wicked. But it is certain that such wishes did not always proceed from the innocent; there must have been guilty persons among the many who resorted to magical spells in order to silence the testimony of those who could divulge their secrets. The step between prayer and spell is a short one, and the language of the two may differ very little.

An uneasy conscience seems to speak in a curious inscription on the back of a privately owned intaglio¹³ of which the courtesy of the owners enables me to give a detailed description.

Obv. Mask of Medusa with small wings growing over the forehead. Round their roots are twined two snakes, interlaced above with confronted heads, as in some forms of the kerykeion of Hermes. Four other snakes dangle about the face, completely surrounding it except on the right side, where locks of hair hang as low as the mouth.

Fairly good work, which has been referred to the first Christian century. It might, I think, be somewhat later, and in fact it must be later unless the inscription on the back was added long after the obverse design; that, however, is not improbable. The style of the lettering on the reverse is much the same as that of numerous crudely engraved legends on magical amulets manufactured in the years 100 to 400. Close dating within that period is not easy; a

conservative guess might assign the obverse design of this stone to the second century, the reverse inscription to the third. Because of the peculiarities presented by the lettering, I show an enlarged photograph on the accompanying plate.

Rev. Inscription in ten lines:

ΓΟΡΓΩ
ΝΑΧΙΑΛ
ΕΥΘΑΛΙ
ΟΤΟΥΤΑΥΡ
ΟΒΙΟΝΛΙΕ
ΑΝΔΑΛΩΩ
CINAAEIO
MHTICTEVE
CΘWCAN
XNOVBI

A fairly good sense can be made of this if we allow for the careless epigraphy characteristic of such amulets—the confusion of alpha and lambda arising from the omission of the cross-stroke of alpha; the exaggeration of serifs, which makes it hard to distinguish the epsilon at the end of line 5 from a theta; and perhaps the strange form of xi in line 7, an upright crossed by two shorter lines of unequal length. The engraver, like some others who cut magical inscriptions, did not clearly distinguish between the forms of zeta and xi. There are also outright mistakes of the engraver or the scribe who supplied his copy. Here belong the omission of *v* in αλιο<*v*> (line 4) and the omission of a lambda if the name was really *Αλλιος, the doubling of *ω* in λαλῶσιν (line 6), the insertion of *λ* in ἀξίῳ (line 7), and the reading of *π*ι as *τ*ι (line 8). I transcribe as follows, adding such punctuation as would be needed in a modern text:

Γοργών. Ἀχλλεὺς ὁ Ἀλίο<*v*> τοῦ Ταύρου. Ἰοῦλις.
ἐὰν λαλῶ{*ω*}σιν, ἀ{*λ*}ξίῳ, μὴ πιστενέσθωσαν. Χρνούβι.

¹³ Besides my deep obligation to the owners, I am indebted to Miss Hazel Palmer, of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, who called my attention to this stone (and also No. 35), and to the Museum for providing excellent casts.

Professor B. D. Meritt kindly gave me the benefit of his expert opinion about certain points relating to the Locrian inscription.

The first and the last words are vocatives calling upon the demonic beings to whom the charm (in form a prayer) is addressed, namely, the Gorgon represented on the obverse, and the lion-headed snake Chnoubis. The latter is chiefly associated with amulets for ailments affecting the digestion (*SMA*, pp. 54 f.); its appearance in such a context as the present is unusual and not clearly motivated. As for the former, the Gorgon mask had served as an apotropaic symbol from very ancient times, and could be used on any amulet intended to avert danger or misfortune. Two poor specimens were published in my *SMA*, pp. 263-4, Nos. 64-65 (Pl. 3); another, now in the Metropolitan Museum (where it bears the number 81. 6. 315), was published by King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, pl. M 6.

The charm itself, apart from the invocations, reads: "Achilles son of Alius, son of Taurus; Ioulis; if they talk, let them not, I pray, be believed."

Evidently some owner of the amulet feared that the persons named intended to accuse him of some misdeed, or else that they were going to reveal something to his discredit, whether as witnesses in a lawsuit or as mere talebearers who had learned his secrets. As I have divided the words, these two persons whose talking the owner fears are Achilles, "son of Alius, son of Taurus," or "son of Alius (nicknamed) the Bull"; and Ioulis, which is a late colloquial form of Ἰούλιος, Julius. He is not further identified. One might have expected that instead of naming both the father and the grandfather of Achilles, and neither in the case of Ioulis, the writer of the spell would have identified both enemies simply by their fathers' names (or even better, by their mothers', the usual practice in magic); and hence one might think of dividing the phrases after the name Alius; but the resulting chiasmus ("Achilles, son of Alius; son of Taurus, Ioulis") is too artificial for such a text as this.

Besides, though it may be a mere coincidence, there is another circumstance that makes one hesitate to separate *Alius* from *Taurus*.

This is an inscription of Opuntian Locris, found by Ross near the village of Atalante (*I.G.*, IX, No. 285), in which a Δεύκιος "Ἄλλιος Ταῦρος, gymnasiarch, is honored with a statue. It is possible that among the Greeks who took the name of the gens Allia, probably former *liberti*, Taurus appeared often as a cognomen, in which case it would be imprudent to separate the two names here. The Locrian inscription is dated to the first half of the first century.

Red jasper. Elliptical, upright, 20 x 16 x 5. Beveled edge. Modern gold setting. High polish, probably renewed in recent times.

A special interest attaches to this amulet as one of a small group which seem to have been either made or subsequently inscribed to meet a special situation, and not merely to afford general protection. For examples of such highly specialized amulets, see *SMA*, pp. 104-109, 116-118. In the present instance it is likely that the stone was originally engraved and sold, without inscription, as an amulet which would protect the wearer against various dangers. Later, an owner, possibly many years after the first, had the reverse inscription added to counteract the special danger which he apprehended from the testimony or the malicious gossip of certain enemies.

Among gem amulets I have seen no close parallel to the spell on the back of the Gorely jasper, but examples may be found on certain lead curse-tablets, which I cite from Audolent's *Defixionum Tabellae*, adopting several corrections of the irregular spelling.

No. 49. καταδῶ Θεαγένην, γλώτταν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ λόγον ὃν μελετᾶ.

No. 217. Ne contra me nec dicere nec facere valeant.

No. 222 B. . . . defixi sic inimicorum meorum linguas. Adversus me obmutescant.

Compare also a curse-tablet from Beisan published by H. C. Youtie and myself in *TAPA*, 68 (1937), p. 54, lines 4-6: φίμωσον [α]ὔτ[ο]ν καὶ τύ[φ]λωσον αὐτοὺς καὶ κώφηνον αὐτοὺς καὶ ποίησον αὐτοὺς [ἀφρ]ένους ἀλάλ[ους . . .] τυφλοὺς ἐμπροσθεν Π[αρχαρίας].

The gap after ἀλάλους would accommodate nine letters. The name at the end is supplied from other parts of the tablet.

43

Mr. Joseph V. Noble

Obv. Man with short pointed beard riding lion to l.

The rider wears a low-crowned cap or helmet, a corselet (indicated by the lower edges turned outward in front and behind), and trousers to ankles. The last-mentioned garment is treated almost as if it were a long mantle wrapped round the waist and divided to cover the legs, since the folds curve round the body and descend vertically. There is little doubt, however, that the unskillful engraver intended to represent trousers. A blanket or saddle-cloth lies across the animal's neck and sweeps backward. The rider's r. hand is concealed behind the lion's head, the l. brandishes a straight sword.

The lion, whose head is very clumsily rendered, seems to be biting the tail of a scorpion, which hangs from his mouth. Over the scorpion is an indistinct sign, then (moving clock-wise) a star, two small indistinct signs over the rider's head; then, behind the rider, Λ (on its side), N, Δ, A.

Rev. Meaningless inscription in three columns, NONW/NCAMM/NON.

Circular black jasper, diameter *ca.* 14; the visible part of the reverse is about 9 in diameter. Thickness *ca.* 3. Edge beveled, the bevel

covered by the setting, a modern gold ring. The illustration is from a direct photograph enlarged 2 x 1.

The presence of the lion and the scorpion suggests some allusion to astrological ideas, since both animals are signs of the zodiac, and the meaningless inscription suggests magic. The Greek lettering shows that the stone was cut in some place where the Greek alphabet was well known, whether or not the language predominated in current use. The rider's trousers are a mark of oriental influence (Sassanian), but in Byzantine times the garment was widely adopted for cavalry. On the whole, it seems safe to assign the object to an early Byzantine date. I have seen nothing quite like this design elsewhere, though amulets of an earlier period show Harpokrates and Helios riding or standing on a lion (*SMA*, Pls. 10-11, fig. 211, 212, 225).

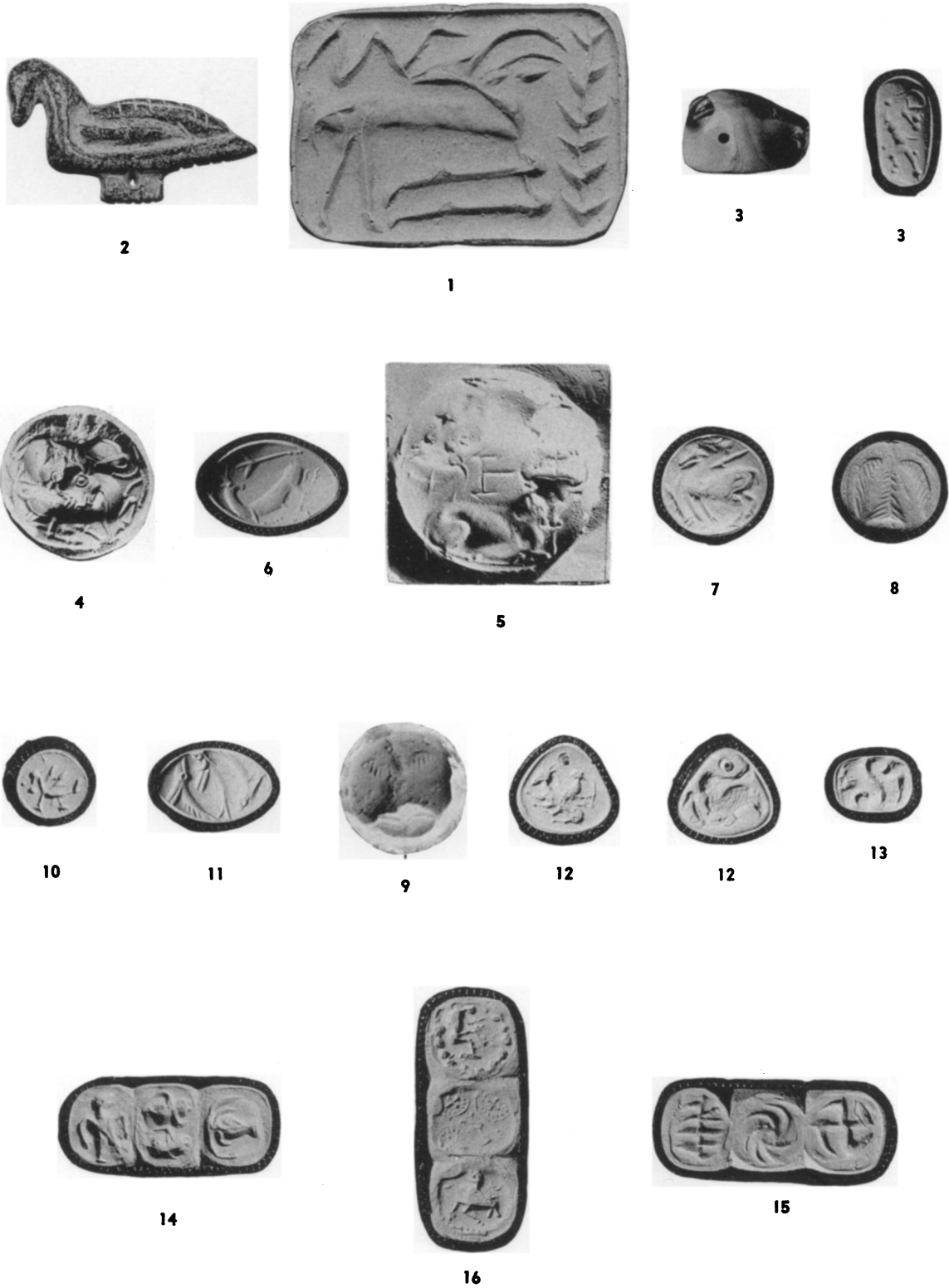
ADDITIONAL NOTE TO *Hesperia*,
20 (1951), p. 335.

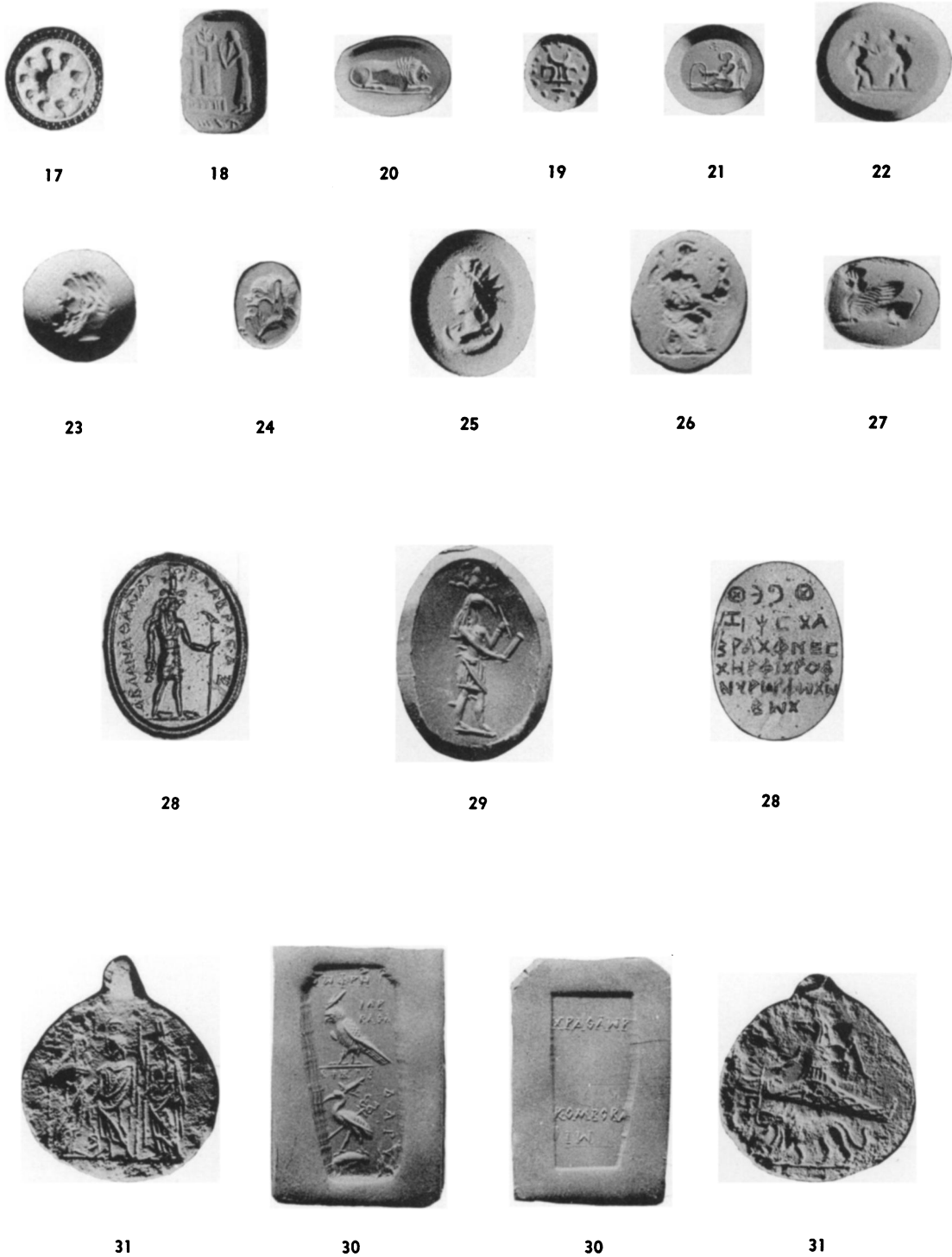
The British Museum gem described under No. 52 and illustrated on plate 98 is apparently not a unique example of the design discussed (i. e., a person standing on a crocodile and holding a fish over his head). In his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* II, p. 467, No. 24, Athanasius Kircher gives an illustration of the same design on a rectangular stone (if the cut may be trusted). He does not give the location of the object, and offers nothing helpful for its interpretation.

CAMPBELL BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PLATE 34





CAMPBELL BONNER: A MISCELLANY OF ENGRAVED STONES

PLATE 36

