

AMULETS CHIEFLY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

A SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLE

(PLATES 96-100)

L'archéologie, si elle est privée du secours de la philologie, devient une science conjecturale, dont les conclusions n'atteignent que le degré de vraisemblance que peut leur prêter l'ingéniosité et l'éloquence de leurs auteurs.—FRANZ CUMONT.

WHEN one ventures to ask the attention of scholars to a long article on magical amulets shortly after publishing a book on the subject, a word of explanation seems to be in order. Much of that book (*Studies in Magical Amulets*)¹ was based upon observations made when I had the opportunity to examine the unrivaled collection of magical gems in the British Museum, but only a few illustrations of them could be offered in the finished work. This was because, unfortunately as it turned out, I deferred asking for the necessary casts until I was ready to proceed with the actual writing of the *Studies*. By that time the war was in progress, and the treasures of the Museum were not available for the use of students until sometime after it ended. In the meantime I had been obliged to proceed with the printing of the material at hand.

Now, through the courtesy of the Museum, I have obtained a number of excellent casts. They were made from some of the most interesting amulets in the collection, and would be worth publishing even without regard to their affiliations. Several of them, however, afford the means of supplementing or correcting the account of them, and of certain kindred types, which I gave from hurried notes made in 1935 and 1937; others of considerable importance could not be mentioned in my book because of the incompleteness of my notes. Meanwhile several interesting photographs and casts have been generously placed at my disposal by the curators of other foreign collections, and by private owners.²

¹ *Studies in Magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press: London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. 1950. In this article the abbreviation *SMA* is generally used in referring to the book. I take advantage of the supplementary purpose of this paper to excuse my use of various other abbreviations and short titles. They are mostly familiar, and all can be found in the Partial Bibliography of *SMA*, pp. xix-xxiv.

² In the course of preparing this study I have incurred many obligations, which it is a pleasure to acknowledge here. In the first place, for permission to publish the majority of these

In the latter part of this article all these objects are catalogued and arranged in much the same manner as that adopted for the list on pp. 253-323 of *Studies in Magical Amulets*, and illustrations will be found on the accompanying plates. Where it is possible to contribute anything towards the interpretation of the amulets, or to indicate their relations to previously published specimens, comments, usually brief, are added to the descriptions in the Catalogue. I trust that no apology is needed for the numerous references to passages in *Studies in Magical Amulets* where these or similar pieces have been discussed. They will make it unnecessary to repeat arguments used and authorities cited in the larger work.

After some hesitation I have decided to include in the Catalogue descriptions of several gems that were brought to my attention by dealers who sent me impressions of them at various times during the last twenty years. Their present location is unknown to me, and I have no means of tracing the owners and requesting permission to publish, as would ordinarily be not only proper but obligatory. I hope that the interest of the objects to the expert will excuse the breach of the usual custom.

Here I should mention the fact that several pieces that are published for convenience along with the magical stones do not show any signs of magical purpose; they could be regarded simply as tokens of the wearer's devotion to the divinities represented upon them. The distinction between stones worn in the hope of securing divine protection for oneself, and others which invoke or seek to control demonic powers, is not always clear. The technique of the religious amulets, as they may be called, is much the same as that of the undoubtedly magical pieces, and they belong to the same period. A magical word or even a magical character would be enough to transfer a stone from the one category to the other (see *SMA*, pp. 5-7, 43, 45).

A few words of explanation about the descriptions and the plates will not be out of place. Amulets were not meant to be used as seals, and, with rare exceptions, their designs were intended to be viewed directly, not by means of impressions. For this reason the illustrations have been made from casts (positive) when they could be obtained, not from impressions; and when only impressions were available, the photo-

objects, I am deeply indebted to the Director and Trustees of the British Museum, to Mr. Alec B. Tonnochy, Keeper of the British and Mediaeval Antiquities, and to Mr. Bernard Ashmole, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, who has been most helpful. A word of appreciation is also due to the technical assistants who made the casts. Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann of New York graciously allowed me to examine and publish seven pieces in their possession (Nos. 74-80). For similar favors I am grateful to M. Henri Seyrig (72-73), M. O. Guéraud (16), Prof. G. H. Chase (58), M. J. Babelon (56, 60), Prof. Fritz Eichler (63), Mr. C. D. Bicknell, Lewis Curator (65), M. G. Fabre (66), M. J. Charbonneaux (67), Father R. Mouterde (81). Prof. Charles Seltman, on this as other occasions, has given valuable help. Prof. H. C. Youtie contributed a reading in No. 51.

The casts of the stones owned by Mr. and Mrs. Zimmermann are the work of Dr. Louise Shier. The photographs were made by the studio connected with the Institute of Engineering Research, University of Michigan, and by the recently established Photographic Services of the University.

graphic films were reversed in printing in order to show designs and inscriptions in their proper relation to the spectator. In some instances, when a modern imitator has overlooked this characteristic of ancient amulets, and has cut a stone as for a seal, I have reproduced the appearance of the impression. The words right and left are used from the spectator's point of view except in mentioning the physical parts of a figure in the design, as the hand or the shoulder of a divinity. "Upright oval" means that the axis of the *obverse* design is in the longer dimension, "transverse oval" that it is in the shorter dimension. No account is taken of the reverse, where opposite conditions are common. Measurements are given in millimeters.

An unexpected result of the study bestowed upon the material from the British Museum is set forth in the pages that immediately follow this paragraph. They deal with Nos. 58-71 in the Catalogue, and would have been introduced just before that group were it not inconvenient to divide the Catalogue into two parts. Attentive observation of these pieces showed that their designs were not simply independent variations upon common subjects—like, for example, the numerous Harpocrates and Chnoubis amulets—but that there were among them either ancient replicas or else, certainly in some instances, modern copies of ancient originals. Others, again, are fabrications merely suggested by an ancient pattern, not copied from it, or are founded upon nothing better than a forger's notion of what a "Gnostic" amulet should look like. I trust that my conclusions about these objects are stated with due caution, because, to say nothing of the possibility that others may hold different opinions, it is not easy to determine the exact relations of two or more similar pieces to one another without bringing them all together for minute inspection, and that is rarely practicable. I should particularly deprecate any reflections upon the scholarship of outstanding authorities who have accepted some of these stones as genuine. Errors of judgment are quite excusable in a division of archaeology to which comparatively little expert talent has been devoted.

ANCIENT REPLICAS AND MODERN IMITATIONS

Many years ago Furtwängler called attention to the fact that certain glyptic designs have been carried out in two or more replicas, the work of the same artist (*Antike Gemmen*, III, pp. 92-93, 443-444). In some instances one piece cannot be distinguished from the other by any detail of the gem-cutter's work, in others there are insignificant variations. A good example of such doublets falls within the period in which most of our magical gems were made, and may serve to introduce this division of the present study.

A. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston possesses a sard with a representation of the story of Jonah (No. 03. 1008). This gem was described and illustrated in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 41 (1948), pp. 32-33, with fig. 1; a brief

description and illustration appear also in *SMA*, p. 312, and Pl. 19, 347. There is therefore no need to discuss its details here. The article just mentioned came to the attention of Mr. Bernard Ashmole, Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, and led him to take note of a strange coincidence. In a letter of June 14, 1949, he informed me that a visitor had recently brought into his department an exact replica of the Boston stone. Mr. Ashmole did not record the material of this replica, but took a good sealingwax impression of it, which he very kindly turned over to me. Comparison of this impression with the Boston sard shows that the designs are indeed indetical. Mr. Ashmole had no doubt of the genuineness of the stone shown to him, and the antiquity of the Boston gem has never been called in question. The two pieces are shown together (Nos. 58-59), and a brief description of the design follows in the Catalogue which forms a part of this article.

B. The situation is very different in the next group of objects (Nos. 60-62), of which the first is a large red jasper in the Cabinet des Médailles (No. 2221 in Chabouillet's Catalogue). There is nothing suspicious about the design, a man dressed in kilted tunic of the military type, and shod with boots, standing with a serpent in each hand. Egyptian gods are frequently shown holding serpents, and in the imperial period are sometimes clothed as Roman warriors. The trophy fixed upon the head is unusual; yet Egyptian deities are often marked by symbols so attached—e. g., the scorpion of Serqet and the fish of Hatmehit—and there is no reason why the trophy, taken over from the Greeks and Romans as a symbol of victory, should not be so used (cf. *SMA*, pp. 244-245, Pl. 21, 374-376). I have not seen the reverse of the stone, which contains in four lines arrangements of the seven vowels.

There is little doubt that it is this stone, then in the possession of Thomas Le Cointe, which is illustrated in Chiflet's *Abraxas Proteus*, pl. 23, No. 94.³ In a few minute details Chiflet's engraving is untrue to the original. The snakes held by the man are straighter, and the trophy on his head, which, in the original, is very slightly inclined from the vertical, is here tilted farther and looks as if it might topple from his head. There are also inaccuracies in the inscription, some of which, such as the confusion of alpha, delta, and lambda, prove nothing, but others are important. On the side toward which the man is looking, the word nearest the margin begins with a letter (damaged by a slight grinding down of the margin) which is almost certainly ρ ; the engraver has omitted it entirely. Similarly, on the other side of the stone, he has omitted the ν which begins the middle line and the δ which begins the outside one. Another minute detail is of some importance in connection with other gem inscriptions as well as in this instance. The original engraver used clearly marked but not exaggerated serifs at the tops and bottoms of several letters. Chiflet's

³ This work follows the essay of J. Macarius (L'Heureux), *Abraxas seu Apistopistus*, in a volume published at Antwerp in 1657.

engraver has so overdone these serifs that the letters α , δ , λ , are topped by a conspicuously long horizontal stroke for which there seems to be no precedent in ancient epigraphy.

Observation of these details enables one to state with some confidence that two other stones bearing the same design as the Paris stone are modern copies based upon the engraving in Chiflet or the reproduction of it in Montfaucon (*L'Antiquité expliquée*, II, 2, pl. 160, 4). The first of these is B. M. 56026 (No. 61). Here the stone shows the same inaccuracies as those noted in Chiflet's engraving; but the maker of 56026 has added errors of his own. He has omitted the first four letters of the word $\eta\chi\omega\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\nu\nu\omicron$ (middle line at the left), perhaps because they resemble the last four of the preceding line; and he has written a reversed N in this line and one in the following. He has also followed Chiflet's engraver in placing the long horizontal stroke over the triangular letters, and in one or two places it is as long as the base of the letter. Other minutiae, not worth discussing here, but significant to a close observer, strengthen the conviction that the work is not ancient.

This same design is used for the reverse of another stone in the British Museum, 56360 (No. 62), and the marks of Chiflet's engraver are again present, some of them exaggerated. The snakes are even straighter, the angle of the trophy to the vertical is still greater, the horizontal stroke across the tops of the triangular letters is still longer in some instances. Several glaring errors occur in the inscription on the right hand side of the stone. The design is again a modern fabrication based on the old engraving.

The obverse design also is somehow related to an engraving in Chiflet (pl. 19, No. 78) or to its original; but the British Museum stone cannot be identified with that original because Chiflet's gem has a different reverse. There is also a difference in the obverse design, to which attention will be called later, but with that one exception, the slight differences that are perceptible may be due to the engraver. The central figure of this obverse design is bearded, has his arms folded on his breast, and wears a crown with triangular points, which is of a mediaeval rather than an ancient type. The lower part of the body is so closely swathed as to give the appearance of a herm. From his elbows two curved lines descend to the heads of the two outermost of four nude figures which form a group directly under the feet of the royal person. They face a central axis, have their arms crossed upon their breasts, and seem to be dancing on a segment of a celestial sphere, indicated by two concentric arcs connected by slanting lines, and with three stars in the spaces between. The other details, including a meaningless inscription, contribute nothing of importance.

In Chiflet's illustration, wings are attached to the backs of the two outermost dancers; in the B. M. stone they are absent and in the illustration they were probably added by the draftsman who supplied the copy for the engraver. So far as I know, the design as a whole is quite without parallel in ancient glyptic art, and it seems to me

to be a modern fabrication. It probably represents some Renaissance scholar's conception of a Gnostic "universal father" with a group of cosmic spirits dancing on the celestial sphere.

C. Another cut of Chiflet's (pl. 17, No. 19) plays a part in the treatment of the next two objects. The first of these is a chalcedony in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (No. 63). In Chiflet's time it was in the cabinet of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm. The stone is an oval lentoid, with sharp edge, 22 x 19 x 6.4. On the obverse, at the top, is an ouroboros enclosing seven characters, of which five, including two forms of epsilon (Ε and Ε), are Greek letters. At each side are two characters of the "ring sign" class; but the eight points of the crossing diameters end in short strokes at right angles to the lines, not, as usual, in small circles. Below is a long inscription, of which the first nine lines contain a number of well-known *voces magicae*, several of them in corrupt forms, then the words *φυλάξετε Μαίανω*. The Latin name Maianus is not common, but is adequately attested. As for the use of the dative, it is uncertain whether we should regard it as *dativus commodi*, as in Thuc. 7, 53, or as a mere blunder for the accusative. Among the magical words we recognize more or less corrupt versions of *Iao Sabaoth Adonai*, *semeseilam*, *abrasax*, *akramachamari*, *sesengenbarpharanges*, *arouanta*, *Michael*, *amorachthi*, and in lines 6-7 what is probably a careless copy of *ōrthmenchiniambōn*, a word that I have seen elsewhere only in connection with scorpion amulets (*SMA*, pp. 77, 200, 273).

The reverse is covered with an entirely meaningless inscription, the elements of which do not even make a recognizable magical word, with the single exception of *Iao*; and the greater part of it consists of mere combinations of the vowels in threes. Thus the potency of the inscription consisted solely in the fact that it was made up of letters in groups of three and was unintelligible (see *SMA*, pp. 193-194). After the first line the writing is divided into three columns, which, from line 3 on, consist of three letters each, with vowels greatly preponderating.

Chiflet's draftsman made his drawing almost three times the size of the original, and it is inaccurate in several details. The ring signs at the top of the obverse are reduced to mere asterisks, and the head of the ouroboros, indistinct in the original, is brought out clearly and given a kind of forward-cocking crest, which I cannot detect on the photograph of the original. There are also several errors of reading, especially on the reverse, where the engraver has further erred in barely indicating the division of the inscription into three columns, which is so conspicuous on the original.

There is reason to think that at least three stones were cut with Chiflet's engraving as pattern; King, at any rate (*Gnostics*, pp. 289-290), had seen three with the same inscription except for the apparently inevitable errors. One of them is probably our No. 64, a sard in the British Museum (56276) of about the same size as the Vienna chalcedony. If it is the same as a stone mentioned by King (p. 290), it came from the Towneley collection, but the Museum now has no record of its provenance.

On the obverse the maker has followed Chiflet's draftsman in reducing the four ring signs to asterisks and in making the head of the ouroboros clear. He has also followed Chiflet's errors in the inscription (e. g. CCCĒ at the end of line 4, XĒ line 9), and introduced several more of his own. He has departed from the proper division of the lines, and at the end he has omitted the prayer *φυλάξετε Μαιανῶ* for lack of room.

On the reverse matters are even worse. Chiflet's errors are copied, (e. g. MAΩ for HAΩ in line 4, ΕΜΗ for ΕΩΗ line 12), others of his own are numerous, and the whole epigraphic style breaks down in the latter half of the inscription, where we find impossible forms like a Latin L, a thin broken-backed epsilon, and other such monstrosities. If anything further were needed to establish the spurious character of the stone it would be at hand in the circumstance that this forger took the trouble to cut the long inscriptions retrograde, ignorant of the fact that both designs and inscriptions on genuine magical gems are almost always cut to be read by direct view, not from an impression. Retrograde inscriptions of a single word sometimes occur on ancient amulets; but I know of no long inscriptions so treated.

The tests that prove the British Museum stone to be derived from Chiflet's engraving may be applied with a like result to an amulet published in the *Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection* (p. 58, No. 264). The maker used a stone of a different shape, and perhaps for that reason omitted the ouroboros and asterisks at the top. The inscription is better executed than that of No. 64, and in that respect follows the Chiflet cut more faithfully, though not without errors. Since the above-mentioned publication is adequate, there is no need to describe the piece or to comment upon its details.

It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of the part that Chiflet's engravings played when they came into the hands of forgers of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The making of spurious "Gnostic" gems had begun before, as Chiflet's own plates show, for it is impossible to believe that some of the objects that he illustrates are ancient. But the convenience of his cuts for the imitator's purpose is obvious. We have seen it in this group and the preceding one (B), and shall find it at work again in Group E. To these descendants of Chiflet's engravings we should add two more which I have discussed elsewhere (*SMA*, p. 147, p. 290, No. 221; p. 281, No. 173).

D. The next group (Nos. 65-68) is rather puzzling. If all four pieces could be set side by side on a table, it might be possible to determine their relations to one another definitely; but when one uses only casts, impressions and photographs, some points must remain in doubt. Yet it is certain that all the members of the group are directly or indirectly the product of one maker. The design common to all of them is best represented by a stone in the Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 65. It is No. C 17 in J. H. Middleton's *Catalogue*). Middleton says that

Mr. Lewis bought the stone from M. Feuardent, who obtained it in Bombay. It is a red jasper scaraboid, very convex on one side, which we treat as the obverse, flat on the other. The obverse design is the cock-headed anguipede, noteworthy in this instance for the slender, elongated proportions of the human trunk. In the field and round the margin are many letters, mostly vowels, making no sense. Other details will be noted in the Catalogue.

The center of the reverse is occupied by the lion-headed Chnoubis serpent, radiate as usual. His body makes a double coil at the middle of the field and then descends in an almost straight line. Round him are the triads of animals which are commonly placed round Harpocrates, as if adoring the young sun god, scarabaei above, goats and crocodiles at right, birds and snakes at left. At either side of Chnoubis are two meaningless letters.

There are unusual features about the designs of both sides. Taken singly they carry little weight, but taken together and in connection with the existence of approximate replicas, they arouse some suspicion. In the first place, the obverse is cut as for a seal, and so the anguipede carries his shield on his right arm. This is rare on magical amulets. Yet the reverse design is cut for direct view. This is proved by the fact that the goats are on the right side, as in all genuine amulets that show the animal triads (See *SMA*, Pl. 10, 203-208; 210 is exceptional because there for artistic reasons the maker has broken up the triads. See also *Southesk Catalogue*, N 24, remembering that all Lord Southesk's cuts are made from impressions).

The substitution of Chnoubis for Harpocrates is not inappropriate, since both are solar figures (*SMA*, p. 142), and yet I believe it to be without parallel except in this group. There are also a few details of the design that are faulty. The legs of the crocodiles, instead of bending naturally, are set like short straight pegs under the middle of the body. The birds, which should be hawks, seem to be pigeons, though they might even be taken for ducks;⁴ and the snakes have quite unnatural mouths and odd-looking crests. This last point applies also to the snakes that serve as the legs of the cock-headed god on the obverse.

There is a close replica of the Lewis stone, another red jasper, in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale (2198 *bis*, our No. 66; Babelon, *Guide*, pp. 70-71; not in Chabouillet's catalogue of 1858). It gives the anguipede the same disproportionately long body that was noted on the Lewis stone. The casts of this latter seem to be slightly smaller than the impressions (I have no positive casts) of the Paris specimen; but this may be an unavoidable consequence of the process used in making the reproductions. The only difference that can be readily perceived is in the M behind the anguipede's whip arm; on the Paris stone it is set a little higher with

⁴ They have also been taken for peacocks (De Ridder, *Cat. sommaire des bijoux antiques*, No. 1616).

reference to the elbow, and the letter itself is a little larger. The Paris jasper has an A clearly cut on the shield, where the Lewis stone has what looks like V; but it is really part of an A, the left hand stroke of which was too lightly incised or else has been worn away. On the Paris stone the lines of letters just below the arms of the god have been erased, or else so abraded by wear that only faint traces are visible. Before leaving these two objects attention may be called to the fact that red jasper is rarely used for Chnoubis amulets, and is not commonly used for the cock-headed demon, though examples occur. For the Chnoubis design chalcedony, plasma, and black jasper are often employed; for the anguipede dark green jasper and haematite predominate.

The two remaining members of this group are made of bronze, one in the Louvre (Bijoux 1616, our No. 67), the other in the British Museum (56550, our No. 68). I have suggested elsewhere (*AJA*, 53 [1949], p. 271) that a highly convex form, which has no advantages for engraving on bronze, may indicate that such objects as these are casts made from semi-precious stones, the beauty of which is enhanced by cutting *en cabochon*. It is probable that these two bronzes are casts from the same original, since in all essentials they are alike. It is true that the London bronze does not show the letters round the margin clearly, but that seems to be because its edge was ground off slightly, with resulting damage to the inscription. But whether they were cast from it or simply cut in imitation of it, that original differed in several respects from the original of the jaspers of the Lewis Collection and the Cabinet des Médailles. The chief differences are as follows. The proportions of the anguipede on the bronzes are less elongated than on the other two amulets; there is a difference of 3 mm. in the length from shoulder to the bottom of the kilt. Further, in the bronzes the cock's beak is tilted upward, making a broader angle with his neck. Consequently the comb is inclined from the vertical, while in the two jaspers it is upright; and on the bronzes its notches are more clearly indicated. These are minute points, yet decisive.

To sum up: the two jaspers of this group are closely similar and evidently derived from a common source, and the two bronzes are probably casts from an original which was not the same as that of the jaspers. Yet in all four the differences are so slight and the agreement in peculiar characteristics so striking that all must be ultimately derived from one designer; and he has departed so far from the usual type, especially in the reverse, as to cast some doubt upon the genuineness of the whole group. If the two originals were ancient, which I should not venture to deny absolutely, their designer has in any event misunderstood and wrongly rendered several details of a well-known traditional type.

E. This last group (Nos. 69-71) comprises three unrelated pieces all presenting some characteristics that betray the hand of an imitator, or at least lead one to suspect it. First, a sard in the British Museum (56069, our 69), with an attractive design of Harpocrates standing in the cup of a flower. He holds a flail over his right shoulder,

and raises his left hand towards his face; his head is encircled by twelve rays. Some other details will be mentioned in connection with the appraisal of the work. On the reverse is an ouroboros enclosing three magical words, *σουμαρτα αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμαχαμαρε*, the last two of which are very common. Outside the ouroboros runs another inscription with no recognizable elements except *σακαωθ* (error for *σαβαωθ*) and *αδω*, which is probably part of *αδωναι*. The parts of this outer inscription are separated by vacant spaces in a manner which will require comment later.

The maker of the obverse design chose a familiar type, but varied it in a manner which lays the work open to suspicion for several reasons.

1. When a lotus is part of the design, Harpocrates usually sits on the flower (or capsule) with his knees drawn up, or with his legs hanging down as if the flower were a chair, or else he kneels, often with one leg extended over the edge of the flower (see *SMA*, Pls. 9-10, Nos. 189-210). I remember no example in which he stands on a lotus, although standing types are common, especially when the god is shown as a youth rather than as a child. The validity of this observation is not affected by a peculiar case like that of a little terracotta flask in the Fouquet collection (Perdrizet, *Terres cuites de la Collection Fouquet*, Text, p. 94, No. 238; pl. 36, middle row, right and left). It is made in the shape of an Eros standing in a lotus flower with his hands tied to a column behind him. The lotus shows that here, as often, Eros and Harpocrates are assimilated (see below); but the figure stands merely because it is one of the numerous objects derived from the type of Eros standing bound to a column or a tree (references in *SMA*, p. 121, note 68). There may be dynastic sculptures or paintings unknown to me which represent Harpocrates standing on a lotus; but I have seen no such design on a genuine amulet of the Roman period.

2. In this example the flower is certainly not a lotus, as the history of the type requires, but a bell-shaped flower something like a tulip. The maker has opened a sector of the margin to show the young god's leg in the flower-cup, here manifesting some aesthetic judgment, since the effect would have been awkward if the rim of the flower had hidden the youth's leg from the knee down.

In connection with this criticism and the preceding one, it may be remarked that the present design was probably made under the influence of some fine gem of earlier style representing Eros rising from the cup of a flower. The most striking example is the Demidoff banded agate, Eros rising from a pomegranate flower and holding branches of fruit in his hands (Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. 24, No. 50; cf. No. 49 on the same plate, and a different conception of the subject, pl. 27, No. 1). The rapprochement is not inappropriate, since some of the genuine representations of Harpocrates, especially in the minor arts, have been assimilated to the Greek god of love (*SMA*, p. 144); but so marked a departure from the Egyptian type is still disturbing.

3. The god's finger is pointed towards his eye instead of towards his mouth as in the traditional type.

4. The lizard at the lower right is unmotivated and without parallel on genuine amulets.

5. Though star and crescent are regular, the extra star over Harpocrates' head is unusual. A disk, however, is often placed in that position.

To these questionable features must be added the more than doubtful inscription on the reverse, which employs two forms of epsilon (one a broken-backed form like that used in old Teubner texts) and two forms of sigma in immediate juxtaposition.

This stone, I think, is a slavish copy of a heliotrope illustrated by Chiflet (pl. 9, 35). It was not made from the engraving, however, but apparently from the original stone, which was itself a modern fabrication. The relation of the London stone to Chiflet's is placed beyond doubt by a peculiarity of their reverse sides. In Chiflet's book, Werde, the draftsman, has carefully indicated two injuries to the margin of the reverse, which have caused the loss of a few letters. That part of the text probably read $M[IXAH]\Lambda A\Delta\Omega[NAI]$. On the London stone there is no sign of injury, but two vacant spaces are left, preceded and followed by exactly the same letters that stand just before and after the chipped places on Chiflet's amulet; they are slightly differently placed because the imitator has set his letters closer together than those on his model, or because Chiflet's illustration is not quite true to the original.

There is little doubt, then, that the London stone is a copy of another modern piece. Attention may be called, in passing, to the circumstance, already noted as suspicious, that both original and copy were cut seal-fashion, i. e., to be read from their impressions. On the obverse this is shown by the position of the flail on Harpocrates' right shoulder (it is usually on the left), and on the reverse by the fact that the inscription is retrograde.

No. 56013 (our 70) in the British Museum is a modern imitation of the common "pantheos" type (*SMA*, pp. 158 f.; Pl. 12, 253-261). The face is broad, the expression mild; it looks more like a Flemish artist's notion of Silenus than the grim, scarcely human faces of the genuine specimens. The flail in the right hand is of an unknown shape, the scorpion is badly done, and the creature at the lower left seems to be an awkwardly rendered scarabaeus. The inscription on the reverse is retrograde and has across the apexes of the triangular letters the exaggerated horizontal strokes which were discussed under Groups B and C; and the phi of $\text{Pa}\phi\alpha\eta\lambda$, here written like a heavy cross, does not, according to Larfeld, occur in this form after the third century before Christ. Like other forgeries previously described, this stone is related to an engraving in Chiflet's *Abraxas Proteus* (pl. 6, 24), though there are differences. The most conspicuous is the presence of the word $\text{Ia}\omega$ in the cartouche of the engraving, while on the London stone the cartouche is empty; the scorpion and the scarabaeus

are also better done in the engraving. The maker of the London stone probably had before him the original of Chiflet's cut, and failed to note or to carry out certain details. It may be observed before leaving this object that carnelian, of which it is made, is without parallel as a material for the "pantheos" design; green jasper and other dark stones are generally used. Yet there is an exception in a yellow jasper belonging to the Michigan collection (*SMA*, Pl. 12, 260), and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness.

It is less easy to fix upon definite reasons for dissatisfaction with the last of these three pieces (B. M. 56456, our 71), and yet I think it open to some suspicion, especially the reverse, where the principal figure is a female griffin resting a forepaw on a wheel. That is a well-known symbol of Nemesis; but there is no characteristic attribute which would enable us to identify the obverse figure as that goddess. She stands to front, head to left, on the back of a crocodile, and is dressed in tunic and himation, the latter crossing her body and dropping behind her left shoulder almost to the ground. On her head is an ornament like a cup-shaped flower between two leaves. In her right hand she holds a snake, its head, over which is a disk, on a level with her face; in her left a tall scepter with a floral ornament on the top. Her left hand also holds a situla, not of the Egyptian form, but more like a Greek bell krater without handles, which of course would not be needed in addition to the bail of the vessel. There are four magical characters along the right margin, one in the lower left field.

On this side the only doubtful detail is the Greek shape of the situla. But one misses some definite characterization of the goddess. It might be tentatively suggested that the maker meant to represent Nemesis as identified with Isis (on this see *PW*, *s.v. Nemesis*, col. 2354)—hence the crocodile, the scepter and the situla—yet included in the design no attribute which would definitely distinguish either goddess from other female divinities.

As to the reverse, no exception can be taken to the symbolism of the griffin and wheel, and the balance, which the griffin holds in her beak, is a well-attested attribute of Nemesis. On the other hand, there is no motivation for the heron-like bird that touches the balance with its beak, nor for the bearded mask (Sarapis?) that ends the griffin's tail. Attention should also be directed to the curious object that serves as ground line. It looks like a snake holding between its jaws a small bearded male head. Yet the band round the neck of this supposed snake, just below the open jaws, is not natural; and it is possible that what the engraver intended was a small human figure with raised arms (otherwise viewed as the snake's jaws), and with its body below the arms tapering off into a long tail.

One possible explanation of this curious detail would, if accepted, argue for the genuineness of the reverse design despite its irrelevant and suspicious features. Perdrizet remarks with much reason that the griffin, which so often accompanies Nemesis on monuments of the Roman period, is not merely a characteristic attribute,

but a form of the goddess herself; and it is significant that this griffin is regularly female.⁵ On the London gem the wheel and the balance, which are attributes of the goddess, mark the griffin as the representative of Nemesis, and the strange creature that lies under the griffin may therefore be legitimately explained by reference to the monuments representing the goddess herself.

Now several of those monuments show Nemesis standing on a human figure or crushing it with one foot. The most recent discussion of the type is that of Bernhard Schweitzer, whose article gives references to previously published monuments of the kind, and to the earlier articles and monographs.⁶ This and other papers, particularly those of Perdrizet, make full treatment of the topic unnecessary here.⁷ On one of those monuments, a relief from Piraeus in the Louvre, a male figure trampled by Nemesis is of normal size, though, according to the usual convention, smaller than the goddess;⁸ the female figure under the Nemesis of a Cairo relief is also as large in relation to the divinity as would be expected.⁹ A relief from Gortyn in the British Museum represents Nemesis standing on a smaller figure which is crushed and flattened almost out of resemblance to a human body.¹⁰ In a marble statuette from Lower Egypt she rests her right foot on the head and the backward-bent feet of a small bearded figure lying prone;¹¹ and on a similar statuette from the same region and probably derived from the same model, the right foot rests on a figure which is completely indistinct except for the small head projecting beyond the toes of the goddess.¹² Finally, on an Alexandrian bronze coin of Trajan, a running Nemesis treads upon a prostrate human figure so crude and indistinct that it was at first taken for a thunderbolt.¹³

These downtrodden victims of divine vengeance may in the beginning have represented some enemy whose ruin the artist desired; but they probably came to be interpreted as Hybris, the sin specially chastised by Nemesis. It was natural enough sometimes to represent this detested vice in a sub-human form; one remembers the mediaeval conception of the Devil. On the common metal pendants of Syria and Palestine the Evil One was usually depicted in human form, and regularly female;¹⁴ sometimes, however, as a non-human creature, a sphinx or a serpent.¹⁵ If the indistinct creature that serves as ground line below the griffin is a snake swallowing a diminutive

⁵ *BCH*, 36 (1912), pp. 261-262.

⁶ "Dea Nemesis Regina," *Jahrb. deutsch. arch. Inst.*, 46 (1931), pp. 175-246.

⁷ *BCH*, 22 (1898), pp. 599-602; 36 (1912), pp. 248-274.

⁸ *BCH*, 22 (1898), pl. 15.

⁹ *BCH*, 36 (1912), p. 263, fig. 1.

¹⁰ *BCH*, 22 (1898), pl. 16, 2.

¹¹ *BCH*, 36 (1912), pl. 1 (after p. 274).

¹² *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

¹³ Dattari, *Monete imperiali greche (Numi augg. Alexandrini)*, pl. 24, 1059.

¹⁴ *SMA*, Pls. 14-16 *passim*.

¹⁵ *SMA*, Pl. 17, Nos. 324, 326.

human being, it would seem that the artist found a new use for the serpent which is placed at the feet of Nemesis on such monuments as the previously mentioned reliefs from Gortyn and Piraeus. But it really looks more like a monster made up of the head, arms, and trunk of a man combined with the long body and tail of a snake. It does not seem likely that a forger would have invented this feature of the design, since it may be regarded as a natural development from the small, crushed, barely human figures mentioned above. To that extent, then, it may indicate the genuineness of the reverse design, despite an unfavorable impression created by its general style, and particularly by such irrelevant things as the star and crescent, the heron, and the curious treatment of the griffin's tail.

We have brought together here a group of forgeries, some patterned upon Chiflet's engravings or Montfaucon's reproductions of them, some apparently direct copies of the actual stones that Chiflet illustrated, and one or two that may be modern fabrications with no precedent in ancient art. This gathering of doubtful and more than doubtful specimens may prompt a reader to accept the assertion of certain writers that spurious magical amulets were manufactured in great numbers. Yet I still hold to the opinion that I expressed briefly in the preface to *Studies in Magical Amulets* (p. viii), that the number of forgeries is small in comparison to the great mass of genuine ancient amulets. There are indeed many crude and ignorantly executed examples of common magical designs, some of them so degenerate as to be meaningless; but their gross faults do not prove them to be modern forgeries. Many such pieces were produced in ancient times in response to a demand for cheap amulets, and their makers naturally followed the designs of abler artists, often disgracing their models. There is no reason to think that in modern times there has been wholesale forgery of such objects, and it is certain that several of the known forgeries, perhaps most of them, date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the interest aroused by the publications of Gorlaeus, Chiflet, Capello and Montfaucon was in full vigor.

SUPPLEMENTS AND CORRECTIONS OF *STUDIES IN MAGICAL AMULETS*

In an article that is professedly supplementary to *SMA*, it is appropriate to introduce some amendments of that work. For three of the most important I am indebted to Mr. Seyrig, to whom I also owe the privilege of publishing his recently acquired coin amulet, No. 72 in the following catalogue, and also No. 73.

The last four items are very late additions, and not in their proper places. The last of all (17) would have been inserted in the Catalogue

had that not entailed re-arranging and re-numbering.

1. Pp. 64-66. Professor S. Eitrem returns to the discussion of the Copenhagen and Michigan colic amulets in *HTR*, 43 (1950), pp. 173-177, suggesting that the object shown in the field above the eagle is a *sella curulis*, here a symbol of imperial power. The object on the Copenhagen stone can certainly be so interpreted, but it is hard to imagine the "heraldic considera-

tions" that led the engraver to represent it upside down, a position that might easily be taken to suggest the subversion of authority; and the garland is certainly placed with exclusive reference to the eagle, not to the chair. Further, the corresponding object on the Michigan stone cannot be naturally interpreted as part of a chair (the stone is a fragment, about half its original size). On the whole, the interpretation of the objects in question remains uncertain.

2. Pp. 69-71. An unpleasant remedy mentioned in Argenti and Rose, *Folk Lore of Chios*, I, p. 411, shows that the belief in the lizard's value for ailments of the eyes survived until recent times.

3. P. 88. Here I would refer the reader to a note by Professor H. J. Rose, published in *HTR*, 44(1951), pp. 59-60. In the charm on the obverse of my number D. 144, he prefers to read the first two words as *διψᾶς, Τάνταλε*; a question followed by the command *αἷμα πίε*. That makes a better construction, and many readers will prefer Rose's explanation. For two reasons I am not entirely satisfied with it: 1) because questions are unusual in charms (but see No. 51 in this paper), and 2) because in view of the reverse design of D. 144, one would expect the command to be addressed to the snake, which approaches the lip of the vessel. The fact that there are actually two snakes, one at each side, is of no importance; considerations of symmetry were decisive. In any event, Mr. Rose's opinion should be carefully considered in his own statement of it.

4. Pp. 90-91. Two of the strange popular fancies mentioned in this passage, namely that the womb has an independent life, and that it has an octopus-like form, seem to survive, somewhat modified, in a curious belief reported from a village in northern Chios (Argenti and Rose, *Folk Lore of Chios*, I, p. 270):

"In Kampia, where as already mentioned a special precaution is taken to ensure the coming away of the afterbirth, a curious reason is alleged for this: it is a live thing and can move about like an octopus (*σὰν χραπόδι*), so, if not properly attended to, it would climb up to the mother's throat and choke her."

The apprehended danger may have been suggested by an internal sensation sometimes associated with hysteria in women.

5. Pp. 93-94. What is said here about the ancient birth chair may be supplemented from the material presented by Argenti and Rose (*Folk Lore of Chios*, I, p. 259). It appears that a chair somewhat like that described by Soranus was used in Chios until recent times. I am not sure, however, that the ancient terracottas to which the authors allude actually represent this *δίφρος μαιωτικός*, as Soranus calls it. The eighth edition of Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, to which Argenti and Rose refer (p. 259, note 3) is not at hand; but the ninth shows a terracotta group from Cyprus, now in the Louvre (Ploss-Bartels, *op. cit.*, II, p. 186, fig. 472), in which, not the pregnant woman, but a female helper leans back in a low chair supporting the sufferer in a firm grasp before her, while a midwife sits on the ground facing the parturient woman. The arrangement is similar in a terracotta from Nicosia, Cyprus (sixth century B.C.), which is shown in Plate 1 of an article by Argenti.¹⁶ On the other hand, the real birth chair may have once formed a part of the group represented on plate 2 of the same article; it is of the same period and origin. Here the position of the patient seems to show that her hips and back were once supported by a low chair. Since there are no traces of a helper's hands on her sides and back, a chair was almost certainly there when the group was intact.

6. P. 125. The power of the cock against all demonic influences is more fully illustrated in

¹⁶ *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology of the British Empire*, 51 (1944), pp. 344 ff.

Note Complimentaire XVI (by Louis Canet) in Cumont's *Lux Perpetua*, pp. 409-411.

7. P. 171. I learn with regret that a sentence on this page has been taken for a criticism, put forward as my own, of another writer's work, whereas I intended only to report the reason why he himself had proposed a theory with appropriate caution. From the beginning (*JAOS*, 50 [1930], p. 214), I was apprised of the grounds which led Mr. H. C. Youtie to attach certain reservations to his interpretation of a gem inscription in the Newell collection (*ibid.*, pp. 214-220). Those reservations were present to my mind when I mentioned his article. I used the word "tentative" thinking it would imply that he proposed his interpretation cautiously precisely because he was aware that it rested upon an assumption which was "not very satisfactory" for reasons which he had candidly stated. Certainly I had no thought of offering an independent criticism, for which, in fact, I am not equipped by an adequate knowledge of the Semitic languages. However, since the purport of my words has been misunderstood, I am glad to offer this explanation.

8. P. 173. Εμανουηλ seems to be only an angel name in *PGM*, XLIII (Vol. II, p. 179).

9. Pp. 216-217. P. 7 in Preisendanz's list of Christian amuletic papyri (*PGM*, II, pp. 195 f.) contains medical recipes accompanied by two bits of religious narratives, which are best understood as examples of Heim's *historiolae* (see his *Incantamenta Magica*, pp. 495 ff., in *Jahrb.*, *Suppl.* 11), fragmentary stories used as charms. Nock is surely right in suggesting that the legends used were "invented *ad hoc*," not cited from apocryphal gospels or apocalypses. Several modern examples, all turning upon acts or sayings of saints or of divine persons may be found in the chapter on folk medicine in Argenti and Rose, *Folk Lore of Chios*, I, between pp. 387 and 416.

10. P. 257, Pl. 1, 22; described as head of Sarapis over a griffin. Behind the head is a

projection which I carelessly assumed to be a pit in the material, or else a cut made by accident. In fact, as Mr. Seyrig acutely observes, it is the end of a club; consequently, since there is no polos or modius on the head, the god must be, not Sarapis, but Herakles, here the god of Herakleopolis. Coins of the Herakleopolite nome show him standing, holding a griffin on his extended hand; cf. *B. M. Cat. Alexandria*, p. 357, No. 81 (Antoninus; no illustration), Dattari, *Monete imp. Alexandr.* pl. 33, No. 6250 (Domitian). To these references of Mr. Seyrig's I would add Milne, *Cat. Alex. Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, pl. 2, 1677 (Antoninus), bust of Herakles with the end of the club showing behind his head; there is no griffin.

I should have been warned by the circumstance, which a belated search reveals, that the griffin is not associated with Sarapis on the rather numerous glyptic representations of the god. The griffin seated in front of him on a gem in the British Museum really belongs to Nemesis, who stands facing Sarapis (Walters, *Cat. Engraved Gems*, pl. 18, No. 1266).

11. P. 257, Pl. 2, 26. Isis as Demeter, running to l. holding a flaming torch across her body; polos on head. The unusual attitude, for which I remembered no parallel, is illustrated by Mr. Seyrig with a reference to Perdrizet, *Terres cuites grecques de la Collection Fouquet*, p. 108 (pl. 18, left below). This is a statuette of Isis moving to r., holding a large torch diagonally across her body. Perdrizet remarks, "Ce type est inspiré, je crois, par les rites qui rappelaient les courses d'Isis à la recherche d'Osiris, quand celui-ci avait été tué par Typhon. D'autres terres cuites gréco-égyptiennes montrent Athéna-Néith courant de la même façon, avec la grande torche tenue horizontalement. Cela s'explique par l'identification de Néith avec Isis" (pl. 58, r. above, and Text, p. 68, Nos. 168-169).

Mr. Seyrig adds: "I should be inclined to recognize here a possible Eleusinian influence. In that case, however, the Greek influence prob-

ably only covers an old Egyptian ritual found also in the cult of Athena-Neith at Sais (with torches), and in the Egyptian cult of Artemis Phosphoros (P. Roussel, *Cultes égypt. à Délos*, p. 105). These rituals certainly have in view the fertility of the fields, and therefore, it seems to me, the figure with ears of wheat that emerges from the ground could be Ge Karpophoros."

12. P. 298, No. 270. Here Mr. Seyrig proposes the simpler reading Παρηγορίων ὕγια, "Paregorios' health!" The name is adequately attested, and the phrase is a wish for the health of the wearer. Four rings bearing the inscription ὕγια with a name in the genitive were published by Dalton, *Cat. Early Christian Antiquities in B. M.*, p. 25, Nos. 149-152. I deplore but cannot explain or excuse my blindness to this obviously preferable treatment of the inscription.

13. P. 322. With the name Melchias we may compare Melchiel, an angel name in *PGM*, XLIII (Vol. II, p. 179).

14. Pp. 123-139; also Nos. 29-31 and 38 in the following Catalogue.—In the January, 1951, number of the *Harvard Theological Review* (Vol. XLIV), Professor M. P. Nilsson has published a short paper, "The Anguipede of the Magical Amulets," which contributes an important point to the explanation of this strange form. I recognized (*SMA*, p. 128), as others had done, the solar character of the cock, and the relation of the serpentine legs to the types of the earth-born giants; and the military dress of the human torso was known to be derived from the armed statues of Roman emperors. The reason for the junction of the cock's head with the snake legs was not, however, clear to me. Professor Nilsson argues, with great probability, that the figure, represents a cosmic god, in whose image a symbol of the upper world of light is combined with an element suggesting the underworld, the whole representing the god's dominion over the entire

universe. For support of his view, he refers to the so-called Jupiter-Giant columns of the Rhine region, and the Igel column at Trier, which he has discussed and interpreted elsewhere (*ARW*, XXIII [1925], p. 175).

As Professor Nilsson justly observes, the origin of a cosmic god must be sought in the realm of philosophy and science. To continue this thought, one may say that the idea of such a god may spring from the mind of one or more individuals; but the propagation of the idea must be the work of a group or "school," whether it be one that was led by learned teachers and exerted a far-reaching influence, or a mere obscure conventicle (see *SMA*, p. 135). Further, full agreement is scarcely to be expected even among different branches of the same school of cosmic religion. The cock's head predominates in the anguipedes of the amulets (exceptions in *SMA*, pp. 128-132, Pl. IX, 180-187); yet it does not appear on the Jupiter-Giant columns and kindred monuments.

It would seem, then, that the cockheaded type must have had its origin in a school of cosmic religion, perhaps a small one, the center of which was somewhere in the Levant or in Egypt, where most of the amulets were made. The presence of the cock's head, apparently an Iranian element, and of the Hebrew name Iao, often inscribed on the god's shield, make it all but certain that the combination came into Egypt from the northeast. The cockheaded anguipede was probably first sketched by some artist who belonged to, or was instructed by, a group of cosmic worshippers in Syria, Palestine, or Phoenicia. The group may have disintegrated soon, and certainly it has left no documents explaining the visual representation of its god. Why, then, have hundreds of stones bearing his image survived?

To that question I am content to offer a simple and obvious answer. It may well be for no better reason than this, that the novel monstrosity of the cockheaded anguipede, once seen, appealed strongly not only to the actual members of the cult, but also to others who were

ignorant of the symbolism implicit in the design, particularly to makers and wearers of amulets. In the eyes of such people the god would seem to be endowed with a magical power all the greater because his image was a complex of various elements, just as other well-known designs of a pantheistic character were credited with special potency; see the remarks on pantheistic monsters in *SMA*, p. 156.

15. P. 319, No. 387; and No. 14 in the catalogue of this article. In *JHS*, 55 (1935), pp. 232-235, Anne Roes has shown convincingly that the designs known to us as grylli are Roman adaptations of Iranian composite figures originally representing divinities who appeared in various forms. I noted this important article when it appeared, but unfortunately forgot to make use of its conclusions in *SMA*. They have now been taken up and carried further by Professor A. Alföldi, in an article which the writer's kindness has enabled me to examine ("Der iranische Weltriese auf archäologischen Denkmälern," *Jahrb. 40 der schweiz. Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte*, 1949-50, pp. 17-34; 4 text figures, 10 plates); see his pages 22, 27, with references.

16. Pp. 156-159, and Nos. 40-43 in this paper. The article by Professor Alföldi cited in the preceding note reproduces (pl. VIII, No. 2) an intaglio of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), which apparently came into that collection comparatively recently, since it is not in Chabouillet's *Catalogue* nor in the *Guide illustré* of E. Babelon. Here I think that Professor Alföldi's zeal in seeking out forms related to his Iranian cosmic giant has carried him too far. The Paris stone was first published by H. C. Puech (*Documents: archéologie, beaux-arts*, etc., II, [1930], pp. 422-425, figs. 6-7). The obverse design represents a four-winged, four-armed demon standing on a cartouche. The body is that of a scarabaeus, the head, according to Puech, is that of a cynocephalus baboon, or perhaps of an ass.

Alföldi correctly, I think, takes it to be the head of a horse. The workmanship on such amuletic stones is so crude that details of this sort are often doubtful; but the small ears, the blunt muzzle, and the long neck, broadening in side view to the shoulders, favor Alföldi's view. However, with the exception of this equine head, every detail of the Paris design has its parallel in the pantheistic monsters which are common on magical stones; and these "pantheoi," as I call them for convenience, are undoubtedly Egyptian in origin. Puech and others think that such figures are pantheistic developments of the dwarf-god Bes.

Pantheistic demons represented with horse-heads are certainly rare, and it is true that a horse's head enters into many of the composite forms which Alföldi cites from Iranian material. But it is quite unnecessary to assume, as Alföldi does, a kinship between the Paris intaglio and the Iranian mixed forms merely because the demon of the Paris stone has a horse's head. There is reason to think that a horse-headed figure which appears on some amulets of the Roman period, and also on leaden curse-tablets, represents a sort of demon invoked *ad hoc* by racing charioteers and their backers (*SMA*, pp. 113-114, and Pl. 7, 155; compare also Pl. 2, 42; Pl. 3, 43, pp. 259-260; and No. 11 in this paper). The figure on the Paris amulet may represent a fusion of a horse-headed god of charioteers with a beetle-bodied pantheos (see *SMA*, pp. 159-160, with Pl. 3, 66, where the head may be that of a horse rather than a jackal; also Nos. 40-41 in this paper).

17. Pp. 156-157, and 294-295 (Nos. 251-252). Mr. Henri Seyrig has recently sent me photographs of an ancient gold ring, the form of which, in his opinion, would assign it to the third Christian century. It is now in commerce in Beirut. The setting is a circular haematite amulet, well preserved and a good specimen of its kind, but of no great importance otherwise. Its good condition and the presence of an

unusual magical name may justify its inclusion here with a drawing of the ring (Fig. 1), and



Fig. 1

a direct photograph of the stone (Pl. 100, Suppl. 17).

Mr. Seyrig's dating of the ring was given provisionally, but it seems to be confirmed by some examples shown in Marshall's *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum*, pls. 6-7, Nos. 262-265. All four are set with coins of known dates. In No. 262, the coin is a later insertion, but the editor believes the ring to be third century work. The other three have gold coins of Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Diocletian (300), and it is not likely that the rings were made long after the times when the coins were new. The style of No. 264 is nearest to that of the Beyrouth ring. A third century date for the ring is consistent with that of the setting, though the engraving of the stone may be considerably older, since the "Pantheos" shown upon it is simpler and more distinct in details than many other specimens of that type.

The hoop of the ring expands upward and projects beyond the shoulders, which it joins with a curved notch (for this detail, see Marshall, p. xlviii, E xxix, and pl. 15, No. 526). The hoop ends in volutes somewhat like those on Marshall's No. 264, which, however, reach to the edge of the bezel, whereas in the Bey-

routh ring they are separated from it by the notch. The ring is 31 mm. wide, 22 mm. high; inside measurements, 17 mm. wide, 14 mm. high.

The haematite setting is almost circular, 20 x 19 mm. The design represents a four-armed, four-winged god with youthful face, apparently a type of Horus, standing to front on an empty cartouche formed by an ouroboros. The arms hold upright four tall staves, the slanting tops of which show that they are meant for was-scepters. An uraeus rises at each side of the neck. The god wears an apron, and an amulet rests on his breast. The elaborate headdress is made up of three parts, first, the vulture cap of the goddess Mut, on which rests a member in the form of a trapezoid lying on its shorter horizontal side. This, in turn, is surmounted by a trident-like ornament, perhaps a schematic indication of the hemhem crown (three reed-bundles resting on a pair of horns). The cap of Mut, who is herself sometimes depicted in the form of a vulture, is to be seen in a good illustration from the Harris Papyrus, used as frontispiece to Erman's *Religion der Ägypter* (1934); for another example, see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pl. 135, 1. The vulture headdress seems to symbolize the protection extended by the mother-goddess Mut to the child Horus. This motif is used with more striking effect in two amulets described in *SMA*, pp. 156-157; see also pp. 294-295, Nos. 251-252 and the corresponding figures on Pl. 12.

At the left side of the stone, reading upward, is the name Αζαυβapos, which I have not noted elsewhere; the last letter is at the right of the god's crown. On the right side is a column of meaningless signs, among them a star; two or three can be read as Greek letters.

CATALOGUE ¹⁷

1 56024

Obv. Osiris as mummy standing to front on low pedestal; atef crown on head, crook over right shoulder, flail (ladanisterion) over l. Narrow collar with pendants round neck, a larger one round clavicles.

Rev. Ouroboros enclosing the inscription
ΑΦΘΧΕΧCΩΜFXΞ ΤΑΛΑΑΡΑΙΩ ΩΑΡΛΟΡΟ
ΝΤΟΚΟ ΝΒΑΙ. Star above the first line.

Unidentified green stone; its outline is like that of a lead plummet. Obv. convex, rev. flat. 33 x 20.

The obverse design is well executed, and may be of the Ptolemaic period. The ouroboros and inscription on the reverse are certainly of later date, and although the lettering resembles that used on many amulets of the Roman imperial period, there are some suspicious circumstances, such as the use of the letter F (though a similar sign sometimes occurs as a magical character) and a round epsilon along with a straight-backed one (reversed). Furthermore the latter part of the inscription was borrowed for a certain forgery (see *SMA*, p. 281, Pl. 8, 173), though that is not conclusive evidence against its genuineness here.

2 56525

Obv. Osiris as mummy wrapped in a network of bandages, standing to front. Disk over head, vulture's head at each side of face. Two pairs of wings attached to shoulders. At l. below, a small figure, probably Harpocrates, sitting with knees drawn up, back to the mummy. A tall indistinct ornament rises from his head.

Rev. Ouroboros enclosing a scarabaeus, round which, beginning above, runs a long inscription consisting of permutations of the vowels,

ending at l. with the seven in their proper order.

Obsidian. Upright oval, 23 x 17.

This stone is to be compared with one in the Seyrig collection (*SMA*, p. 255, Pl. 1, 12); there, however, the position of the small figure is different.

3 56412

Obv. Mummy of Osiris, with indistinct crown, lying with head to r. over a serpent, the head and neck of which curve back over the mummy. Two crowned hawks perch on the snake's neck. In field at upper l., a star, a scarabaeus, and a crescent moon.

Rev. Δαμναμενευ.

Green jasper. Transverse oval, 21 x 16.

This type is discussed and other examples are cited in *SMA*, pp. 231 f., 312, Pl. 19, 350.

4 56477

Obv. At center, Hathor-Aphrodite standing to front, head to r., clothed in short-sleeved tunic and mantle draped round body from hips to ankles. A four-pointed ornament on head may be meant for the crown of two feathers between horns. Her r. hand holds tall scepter with figure of a cow on the top, with l. hand she touches the shoulder of Osiris, who stands at r. facing her. The upper part of his body is covered with a network of cords or bandages (a survival of the representation of the god as a mummy); an upper garment hangs over his l. arm and is wound round his waist and thighs. Disk between horns on head. L. hand holds a tall scepter, the top of which has been chipped off, r. touches the mantle of Hathor below the waist. At l., behind the goddess, Harpocrates stands to l. on a small pedestal or

¹⁷ In the following Catalogue registration numbers accompanied by no other sign of location are to be understood as belonging to gems in the British Museum.

altar. He is nude except for a kilt, and has on his head an indistinct ornament perhaps meant to suggest the hemhem crown (three papyrus bundles resting on a pair of horns). Star over his head, one over the heads of Hathor and Osiris, and eighteen others in vertical columns between the figures and between the group and the margins.

Rev. plain.

Limonite. Broad upright oval, 48 x 37, pierced for suspension. Chipped at upper r., lower l., and bottom. The irregular broken line which encloses the group seems to have been scratched later, and forms no part of the design.

5 56526

Obv. Sarapis enthroned to l., flying scarabaeus over head; r. hand touches scorpion at feet, l. rests on tall scepter. Throne rests on crocodile, head to l. Under this, Osiris mummy with atef crown, lying with head to l. over lion walking to l. The whole design is surrounded by a serpent with human head, which is turned inwards and faces Sarapis. This head is adorned with a disk between two horns. Round margin outside the serpent runs the *Ιαωω* palindrome complete except for the last four letters (see *SMA*, p. 204). Behind Sarapis' l. arm is an uncertain object probably meant for a star within the tips of a crescent, and below that, arranged in three lines as an inverted pyramid, the seven vowels and an extra omega.

Rev. Harpocrates seated to l. on lotus with two buds, ovoid ornament on head, r. hand raised towards mouth; flail (ladanisterion) over l. shoulder. Star in front, star and crescent behind. Round margin a series of meaningless signs, a few of which can be read as Greek letters.

Bloodstone. Upright oval, 37 x 28 x 4.5. Rev. chipped at upper edge.

Very crude work, especially the reverse. The stone is to be added to a series of four discussed in *SMA*, pp. 235-238, 313-314. Pl. 19, 354-357.

6 56408

Obv. Fully draped person with heavy hair, apparently beardless, modius on head, standing to front on a low cross-hatched base which has a sort of standard curving outward at each side. R. hand raised, palm outwards, l. holds a heavy scepter round which a snake twines. Upper garment over back and rolled around l. arm.

The lack of a beard and the length of the garment suggests that the person may be Isis, who is occasionally represented wearing the modius, not Sarapis. Crude work.

Rev. plain.

Green jasper. Upright oval, 17 x 14.

7 56427

Obv. Bearded head (Sarapis ?) to front resting in the mouth of a large vessel (stamnos ?). On the head, a modius and six rays. The hair is parted in front and heavy locks are drawn back and allowed to fall over the ears. From the foot of the vessel an ear of grain rises at each side. In the right-hand handle of the vessel there is a larger ear of grain, or possibly a palm frond. In the other handle is thrust a caduceus of elaborate form; two snakes with heads confronted make a large loop, and on the top of the staff there seems to be a small crocodile. Between the caduceus and the edge of the stone, reading downwards, ΑΙΩΝ, the N reversed.

Rev. plain.

Amethyst. Upright oval, 18 x 13.

Despite its careful workmanship, the gem does not make an entirely satisfactory impression. The shape of the vessel and the form of its handles are unusual, and the cast of Sarapis' features and his expression are quite different from most of the representations of this god on gems; cf. Walters, *Cat. of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, pl. 23, 1775-91. (Possible influence of Dionysus type?)

8 56548

Obv. Anubis standing to l., though the torso is

SMA, pp. 113-114; see the illustrations, Pls. 2-3, Nos. 42-43; Pl. 7, No. 155.

Rev. not seen.

Material not reported. Very broad upright oval, 29 x 27. From a wax impression, reversed in printing.

12

Unknown location.

Obv. Hawk-headed god standing to l., clad only in kilt. Disk on head; in r. hand a scepter with a crowned hawk on its top, in l., ankh. The muscles of the chest and calves are strongly marked. In r. field, beginning at top, $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\xi$.

Rev. $\theta\omega\xi\alpha\xi\omega\theta$ (a palindrome) $\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha\xi$, in two lines running with the longer axis of the stone.

Material unknown. Upright oval, 26 x 16.

This object is described from a sealing-wax impression. The photographic film was reversed in printing to show the design as the maker meant it to be viewed. Described without an illustration in *SMA*, p. 130. For a similar type cf. *SMA*, pp. 129-130, Pl. 9, 187.

The obverse type may be derived from the hawk-headed Horus; but the use of the word *abrasax* on both obverse and reverse seems to indicate that the maker connected it with the cock-headed god to be described under later numbers.

13

56033

Obv. At l., lion-headed god standing to r., nude but for kilt. A snake encircles his waist, its head against the l. side of his chest. Disk on head, which is encircled by a nimbus with seven double rays. From r. hand a twisted cord (?) hangs to ground. L. hand grasps the middle of a curious standard (?) just above the r. hand of an ass-headed god (Set) who faces him. This figure also is nude except for the kilt; the maker may have meant to indicate a snake round the waist, but this is not certain. From Set's l. hand a twisted cord hangs to the ground. The two

figures stand on a narrow base with cross-hatching.

At the middle of this base, between the feet of the two standing figures is a hemisphere with a star on each side; from it rises the main stem of the previously mentioned standard, which widens slightly from bottom to top and is cross-hatched like the base. At the top is a circle enclosing a star. Below the hands of the two gods the upright standard forms the axis of a rhomboid figure, the broad angles of which are formed with double lines cross-hatched between.

Rev. The seven vowels in "pyramid" sequence, one alpha, two epsilons, and so on to seven omegas.

Haematite in silver mounting. Upright oval, 27 x 23. Better work than most stones of this class.

The lion-headed god is evidently a solar deity, probably Horus (see Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 360; Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, Pl. 244, 1); but in the period when these amulets were made, Horus and Set were usually represented as enemies, since they so appear in the cycle of Osiris legends. In much earlier times certain legends treat them as allies (Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, p. 37; Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 241-244); thus they join in pouring life over Seti I (Budge, II, p. 248, plate), and in holding the ladder of heaven (Budge, I, p. 490; II, p. 242). It seems scarcely likely that the gem under discussion could have been suggested by some ancient representation of the latter scene, but the possibility should perhaps be mentioned. As far as I know, all dynastic representations of Horus with Set show the former as human-headed or hawk-headed, not with the head of a lion.

14

56190

Obv. So-called gryllus, a fanciful combination of a bearded human mask (to l.) and a ram's head (to r.) holding an ear of grain in its mouth, supported by the legs of a cock. The

- upper part of the design, which in other examples often shows the head and neck of a horse, is chipped off. In the field, directly in front of the human face, is a lion running towards the top of the stone. Separate elements are not infrequently introduced in the field of such designs, for example the dolphin and palm branch on a stone from a Roman bath west of the Areopagus, recently published by H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia*, 18 [1949], p. 226 and pl. 46, 5; cf. the closely similar Berlin specimen, in Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, No. 8532); but I have not seen a lion so placed on any other examples.
- Rev. Ibis (symbol of Hermes-Thoth) to l. holding a caduceus under its wing. The bird's head is encircled with a nimbus and rays (partly broken away), perhaps an indication that the ibis here does duty for the phoenix also (*SMA*, p. 60, and Pl. 5, Nos. 103-104). Under the bird's feet is a rectangle enclosing the word IAW. In field at r., arranged vertically, a star and AZ; at l. two characters and B lying horizontally.
- Obsidian. Upright oval, 24 x 17. Chipped at top.

15 56447

Obv. Ram-headed god, ithyphallic, with heavy body and short goat legs. R. hand holds an uncertain three-lobed object. Ram on ground at the god's feet. The figure may be a late conception of the god Chnum, perhaps identified with the ram-headed god of Mendes; cf. Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 354. A ram-headed god whose other parts are human is represented on a stone in my collection (*SMA*, pp. 261-262, Pl. 3, 52).

Rev. plain.

Material not noted. Upright oval, 11 x 8; enlarged 2 x 1 on the plate.

16 Cairo Museum, 60598

Obv. Cynocephalus standing to r., paws raised in adoration. Headcloth with disk on head. Star in front, crescent moon behind. On

ground at r. a hawk, at l. a scarabaeus. For similar designs, see *SMA*, Pl. 12, 245-247.

Rev. *ψουρηκιληλαν φύλαξε*. The first word has not been noted elsewhere; the second seems to be a hybrid of *φύλασσε* and *φύλαξον*, in which a confusion of the sounds of *σσ* and *ξ* may be involved. See *SMA*, pp. 81-82, 96.

Material not reported. Upright oval, 23 x 17. The illustration is made from a direct photograph of the stone, which I owe to the courtesy of M. Guéraud.

17 56264

Obv. Above, a group of two gods. One, apparently meant for Zeus, is bearded, and stands to front before a throne, head to l., thunderbolt in r. hand, l. resting on arm of throne. Garment wrapped round body from waist to ankles. Behind him, and slightly leaning over his shoulder, a beardless god of slighter build, nude but for a kilt, holding a hammer over his shoulder. At each side of the group a roaring lion faces outward. In the exergue, which occupies almost half the surface, two birds, apparently eagles, stand to r. and l., their heads turned back towards each other. At bottom an indistinct human head set between spread wings; upper part of a siren?

Rev. Four non-Greek characters.

Chalcedony. Upright oval, 15 x 12.

The group might be taken to represent Zeus and Hephaistos, the latter here conceived as a youth; but it is more likely that the engraver had in mind the Kabeiroi, the elder identified with Zeus. For this identification see Kern in *PW*, s. v. *Kabeiros*, 1426, and *Schol. Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 916-918 b; also B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren* (Uppsala, 1950), p. 262. For the younger figure, compare the Kabeiros shown in *SMA*, Pl. 4, No. 70.

18 56524

Obv. At l. fully draped goddess standing to r., extended r. hand resting on a tall staff, l. holding out a pomegranate (or possibly an

aryballos or a low-lipped sacrificial vessel of Egyptian type; for the uncertainty, cf. my remarks in *Hesperia*, 15 [1946], p. 55, and the illustrations on pl. 12). At r., Nemesis, winged, standing on tiptoe to l.; lowered r. hand holds a leafy branch, l. raised towards lips (a suggestion of the traditional gesture of Nemesis, spitting in bosom of tunic?); four-spoked wheel at feet. In field above, star within horns of crescent moon. In exergue *φυλασσαι* (l. *φύλασσε*), retrograde, the sigmas made with four strokes.

Rev. *Ιαω σαβαω αδωνα ζαβουρη ιομβω*, a line to each word.

Brown carnelian. Transverse oval, 17 x 13.

Because of the balanced position of the two figures, one is tempted to explain the obverse design as the two Nemeses of Smyrna (Paus. 7.5.2); but on the coins of Smyrna the two goddesses are not so clearly differentiated as here (compare the coins illustrated in the British Museum Catalogue, *Ionian*, pls. 26, 17; 28, 4; 29, 9, 14, 16). It is perhaps safer to call the lefthand goddess Aphrodite. The combination of the goddess of love with Nemesis on an amulet would have a certain propriety, since Nemesis is often mentioned as the avenger of scorned or injured lovers (Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 1, pp. 133-134).

The word *ζαβουρη* on the reverse is an error for *ζαγουρη*, a magical word that seems to be especially associated with Harpocrates (*SMA*, pp. 159, 198).

19

Unknown location

Obv. Two nude youths standing to front, each with an arm round the other's shoulders, the free arms holding the ends of a long staff which passes behind their backs; their faces are turned each towards the other. Round the edge *Δαμναμενευς νεβουτοσσοναληθ*, the final theta made small and placed high because there was no room for it on the line. The two magical words are often found on amulets and in magical papyri; they are discussed in *SMA*, pp. 197, 201.

Rev. Not seen.

Material not reported. Upright oval, ca. 20 x 17.

Described and illustrated from a sealing wax impression, reversed in printing.

The design represents the constellation Gemini. The attitude of the youths resembles that shown on the planisphere of Cod. Vatic. gr. 1087 (Pl. 1 in Boll's *Sphaera*) and on the globe held by the Farnese Atlas (published by Passeri in Gori's *Thesaurus gemmarum antiq. astriferarum*, III, Pl. 4). But the staff is a detail for which I know no parallel.

20

56260

Obv. Chnoubis serpent with large leonine head to r., body descending in wavy line, not coiled. Round head six double rays; over them the seven vowels in proper order, a letter over each pair except the fifth, which has two (omicron and upsilon).

Rev. At top, the common Chnoubis symbol, a line crossed by three reversed curves like a long S, or, as in this instance, by an S-like sign made of three short straight lines. Below, *Χνουβις ναβις βιεννους ὕδωρ δίψῃ ἄρτος πείνῃ πῦρ ρείγει* (for *ρίγει*); each of the first three words has a line to itself, and a line is given to each of the following pairs. The meaning is "Chnoubis, bound by enchantment" (if the second and third words are correctly derived from the Hebrew), "water for thirst, bread for hunger, fire for cold."

Plasma. Upright oval, 17 x 12. Obv. flat, rev. very convex.

This stone is here republished to correct in one detail, and to supplement by an illustration, the account of it which was first given in *HTR*, 25 (1932), pp. 365-367 and repeated in *SMA*, p. 182. Those two references give the necessary comment on the religious character of the inscription.

21

56206

Obv. Chnoubis serpent to r., with unusually

large leonine head, which is encircled by a nimbus and fourteen rays. There are also five short projections from the nimbus opposite the lion's muzzle. The snake tail is coiled in two loops.

Rev. In center, the Chnoubis symbol, round which is the name *Χνουβις*; then, round the edge, beginning over the X, *γίγαντοφοντα πανταρρηκτωρ βαροφίγα* (the gamma an error for tau), "giant-slayer, all-render, crusher of snakes(?)."

Basalt. Axe-shaped (or pelta-shaped), 32 x 25. Pierced through the middle projection in the plan of the design.

Described, without an illustration, *SMA*, p. 168; the account of the inscription is to be corrected by the reading above. The strange word *βαροφίγα* is discussed *op. cit.*, p. 169.

22

56021

Obv. At l., Imhotep-Asklepios standing to front, his shaven head to r. He wears a long ankle-length tunic (though the torso looks as if it were nude), and an upper garment wound round his l. arm and hips. The l. hand is slightly extended, the r. rests upon a staff round which a snake twines. At r. facing him, Hygieia to front, head to l., in tunic and mantle wound round waist and thighs. Her l. hand holds the tail of a snake which passes upward behind her back and holds its head over a cup in her r. hand.

Rev. Lion-headed Chnoubis serpent to l., head encircled with nimbus from which seven double rays project. In field at l., the usual symbol, at r., *ΧΝΟΒΜΕΩ*, below, two stars and *ΑΒΡΑΧΞ*.

Agate. Upright oval, 24 x 18. Flat on both sides; no bevel.

The god's shaven head shows that Asklepios is identified with Imhotep, the wise vizier of King Zoser, who was regarded as the patron of physicians and in late dynastic times was deified as a god of healing. See Erman, *Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 326, 395, 415; W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of*

Ancient Civilizations, pp. 62-64, and the plate opposite p. 32; E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius*, II, p. 79, note 9; p. 252.

For other representations of Asklepios and Hygieia, see Walters, pl. 22, 1689; Furtwängler, *Beschreibung*, pl. 24, 2679; Le Blant, *750 Inscriptions de pierres gravées* (Mém. Acad. Inscr. 36), pl. 1, 209; King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, copperplates, first group, 4, 42.

23

In private possession at Beirut some years ago.

Obv. Chnoubis snake with youthful human head (to l.) encircled by a nimbus, to the rim of which seven stars are attached. The snake's tail is in two small coils.

Rev. *γίγαντορηκτα ορφυτοβαυλαρους Χνουβι Χνουβαωφι*.

Material unknown. Upright oval, *ca.* 18 x 13. From a wax impression reversed in printing.

For the human-headed Chnoubis serpent, see *SMA*, Pl. 5, 95-96; also Pl. 19, 354-355, and No. 5 in this article.

24

Unknown location

Obv. Sacred snake (not lion-headed) to l., tail in three coils. On the head and along the neck are seven pairs of slightly diverging rays. The snake rests on a ground line and the coils are shut in at the sides by two uprights with a short horizontal at the top. Round this part of the design runs the inscription *Ιαω σαβωθ αδωσαι* (l. *αδωναι*) *ωι*. In the exergue is a representation of the uterine symbol with the mouth upward; cf. *SMA*, Pl. 6, 135. At r. of it a large sign like a chi and a short vertical stroke, at l. a character somewhat resembling an F lying on its back.

Rev. Not seen.

Material not reported. Circular, diameter 24.

25

56230

Obv. Climbing lizard. In field *ΠΗΡΑ*, the first two letters at l. and r. of the lizard's thorax, the last two at l. and r. of the tail. The sign

over the lizard's head resembles a broad lambda, but other examples of the type show that it was meant for a crescent with the horns downward.


Rev. *Μιχαηλ Ουρηρ*, in three lines.

Plasma. Upright oval, 15 x 12.

Described without illustration, in *SMA*, pp. 69-70. The object belongs to a well-marked series of amulets for diseases of the eye. Better specimens from the Seyrig and Michigan collections are shown in *SMA*, Pl. 5, 112-113, and the ancient authorities that explain the type are given on pp. 70-71.

26

56479

Obv. Ouroboros enclosing uterine symbol, over which are the lion-headed Chnoubis to l., facing him, Anubis as mummy, and behind him Osiris as mummy to l., disk over head. The figures of Anubis and Osiris are thin and severely stylized, the torsos triangular in profile view. The uterine symbol is a flattened ovoid with two curving appendages at the top, on which Anubis and Osiris stand, and two short diverging lines slanting downwards from each side. Below are the grating-like wards of the key (see *SMA*, p. 85, Delatte's observation), but no handle is shown. In field, *IAW*. Round the circumference outside the ouroboros the seven vowels are thrice repeated and followed by *IA* .

Rev. Altar with shallow vessel from which three plant stalks grow. To the one at l. is tied an ibis standing to l. Star in field at upper l., and a reversed curve at l. of ibis and at r. of altar—perhaps to suggest worms or small snakes, the supposed prey of the ibis. Below, *Ορωριουθ Ιαω*.

Black jasper. Broad upright oval, 42 x 34. Slightly convex on both sides. Remains of suspension loop above.

Like a closely similar stone in the Southesk Collection (*Catalogue*, pl. 14, N 42), this amulet was meant to serve a double purpose. The obv. design is directed to the cure of ills

peculiar to woman (*SMA*, pp. 79-94), the rev. to the relief of digestive troubles (*ibid.*, pp. 51-53); compare *SMA*, Pl. 6, 126, which represents an amulet for sciatica as well as for women's maladies.

This stone, the previously mentioned Southesk and B.M. 56322 (shown in *SMA*, Pl. 6, 136) have in common some striking peculiarities of execution, especially the triangular stylizing of the bodies of Anubis and Osiris, and the carefully cut angular letters with prominent serifs which are used in the field, though not round the margin. I have no doubt that all three came from the same studio and represent the work of a capable artist with a slightly modernistic manner.

27

56543

Obv. Ouroboros enclosing the symbol of the uterus, here of circular outline, with large and distinct key, and streamer-like ligaments extending outward from the top; a shorter pair projects from each side of lower rim. Above, standing on top of the vessel, Isis to front, holding in her l. hand either a small representation of the uterine symbol, or a bowl or vessel of very similar shape. With raised r. hand she touches the head of Harpocrates, who sits to l. on the head of the dwarf god Bes. At r. of Isis an uncertain quadruped (ram or lion?) to l. with an ovoid ornament on head. There are many minute letters round the design just within the ouroboros. Those that can be read make no sense. Outside the ouroboros runs an inscription consisting mainly of combinations of the seven vowels; *Ιαω* occurs in it at r., *χηρα-ωννοφ* at l.

Rev. Above, scarabaeus with head of crowned hawk; below, octopus-like symbol, and ovoid with seven tentacles below. It is another form of the uterine symbol (see *SMA*, p. 90). Round margin and in field many minute letters making no sense.

Haematite. Upright oval, 25 x 22. Mounted as pendant.

The obv. design resembles that of *SMA*, Pl. 6, 139, and of the Southesk gem, pl. 14, N 41. For the reverse, cf. *SMA*, Pl. 6, 139 and especially 140; also the Fouquet haematite published by Barry, though the scarab on its reverse seems to have the head of a dog or a baboon (*Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte*, 7, pp. 241-245 and A on pls. 1 and 2).

28

48954

Obv. Large-headed (not lion-headed) snake to l., seven rays on head. In field, above, six stars; at l. *Ιαω*, at r., indistinct letters, perhaps *ζαι* (or *ζαφ*) and *λυ*. Lower, a "character" at each side. At bottom, crudely rendered uterine symbol; the coarsely executed ligaments attached to the bottom might be taken for wings. The key is represented by a faintly cut handle at r. and a row of short teeth below.

Rev. Ass-headed god in kilt standing to l., sword or short staff held upright in r. hand; l. hanging, apparently holding a clumsy indication of the ankh. This may, however, be only a character balancing a common ring-sign at l., under which there is still another indistinct character. Star at upper r.

Haematite. Upright oval, 33 x 21.

The ass-headed Set is occasionally represented on uterine amulets; cf. Southesk pl. 14, N 43, Barry (as cited under our No. 21), pl. 1, 3; see also *SMA*, p. 84.

29

56210

Obv. Cock-headed god standing to front, head to r., nude; whip in raised r. hand, round shield inscribed *ΙΑΩ* on l. arm. The arms, trunk, and thighs are human, but the legs end in the feet of a bird. The maker doubtless intended to give the god the feet of a cock, to correspond to the head; but it is perhaps worth remarking that there seems to be an old tradition for endowing uncanny beings with bird's feet. I hope to return to this subject elsewhere.

Rev. *αβλαβαθαααλβα* in five lines. The word is a common palindrome, here with a superfluous alpha, the sixth.

Red jasper. Upright oval, 24 x 17 x 4.

Representations of the cock-headed god with human legs are rare (but compare the next number), and red jasper is little used for this design, green jasper and haematite being the commonest materials; but I see no reason to doubt the antiquity of this stone.

30

56470

Obv. Cock-headed god with human legs and feet standing to front, head to l., hands holding over head a tablet with the word *Ιαω*; knee-length tunic girt at waist. Three narrow wings project from each side of the unnaturally elongated trunk. At lower l. an uncertain object perhaps meant for a lizard, though it looks like a grotesque dancing figure with shapeless head. At r. an uncertain object almost entirely lost by the flaking of the stone.

Rev. *αβρασαξ*, with a character at bottom.

Material not noted, probably haematite. Tall narrow oblong with rounded ends, 41 x 14.

Compare B.M. 56497 (our No. 44), where the indistinct head resembles a thick caterpillar, and De Ridder, *Coll. De Clercq, Les pierres gravées*, No. 3456, pl. 29, a lion-headed figure. These are both stomach amulets.

31

56137

Obv. Cock-headed anguipede, head to r., short sword or dagger (not whip) in r. hand, on l. arm narrow oval shield with pointed ends, boss in center. Seven stars in field. The shield and the snake legs are outlined with punctures.

Rev. Three indistinct female figures, the middle one to front, the others in three-quarter position to r. and l. Probably meant for Hecate triformis.

Bronze. Circular, diameter 25. Pierced for suspension.

32

56257

Obv. Harpocrates seated to front on lotus capsule with two buds; r. hand raised, palm out, l. holds flail, which is here so treated as to resemble a crook. Round head seven double rays intersected by a nimbus. In field at r. the first four vowels, the others at l.

Rev. *αρχενχονφι βριντατηνωφρι βρισκυλμα βρισκυλμω ιαηω λαιλαμφ σεμεσιλαμφ δεε χάριν τη Ζυροναι.*

Green jasper. Upright oval, 19 x 14.

Several elements of the reverse inscription have been discussed in *SMA*, pp. 204-205, and only brief explanations will be offered here. The first unit, which is incorrectly written for *αρχονχονφι*, combines the names of Horus-Harpocrates and Chnum, who was identified with the Greek Agathos Daimon. The second seems to be especially associated with Chnum. The third and fourth have no known meaning and are probably jargon of the kind often introduced into magical spells. The fifth is probably a variant of *Ιαω*; cf. No. 37, rev. The sixth and seventh occur chiefly with solar divinities. The last four words are a brief prayer, unfortunately corrupt. The word *δεε* should perhaps be read *δεε*, and in any event it must be a misreading of *δός* in the copy used by the engraver. The name of the woman who prays for "favor" is not known elsewhere and may be corrupt.

33

56283

Obv. Harpocrates seated to r. on lotus capsule in a papyrus raft, on each upturned end of which a crowned hawk perches. The young god has a disk on his head, and with both hands is holding a clarinet-like instrument; but the mouthpiece is not between his lips, which are clearly seen below it. Perhaps, as an expert on ancient music has suggested to me, the god has removed the instrument from his lips in preparation for a phrase of song.

Rev. Round the margin, fourteen signs including a Greek delta and two possible omegas;

the rest meaningless characters or else cryptographic signs. Within these, a spiral inscription reading inwards, *δός χάριν Θεανούτι προς Σεραπάμωνα*, "grant Theanous favor in the eyes of Serapammon." Both names are several times attested in Egyptian papyri. Theanous is an Egyptian variant of Theano. Bloodstone. Transverse oval, 25 x 21.

The stone was briefly described, without an illustration, in *SMA*, p. 48. See the next number.

34

B.M. Catalogue of Gems, No. 358.

This gem, published by Walters without an illustration, is a fragment of a scarab from Tharros in Sardinia, and consequently much older than the amulets treated here; but like other Tharros gems it is a valuable link between dynastic amulets and those of the Roman period. In the following description I venture to differ from Walters' account in some details; and it is to be observed that he describes the stone from an impression, saying that Harpocrates faces l.

Obv. Harpocrates seated to r. on lotus, between two winged uraeus snakes; beneath each of them is a bud of papyrus or lotus. The upper part of the design was broken off, probably as the result of an unsuccessful attempt to pierce the scarab longitudinally; but the end of a flail shows behind the child's shoulder, and he probably held his finger towards his mouth, for the angle of his elbow shows just above his knees; compare *SMA*, Pl. 10, 203, 204, 208. I can see nothing on this fragment to warrant Walters' statement that Harpocrates was playing the flute.

Rev. plain.

Green jasper. Fragment of scarab, 17 x 13.

35

56248

Obv. Composite design of Harpocrates and cynocephalus baboon; Harpocrates sits to l., r. hand raised towards mouth, l. not shown. Disk on head, star in front, crescent behind. The child's trunk is prolonged downwards

to make the head and trunk of the baboon which is upside down in relation to Harpocrates. The baboon has a disk over his head; his lifted forepaws serve as Harpocrates' legs, and his tail springs from the god's shoulders.

Rev. plain.

Green jasper. Upright oval, 14 x 11.

36

56292

Obv. Design as in preceding number except that Harpocrates faces r. and the star and crescent are wanting.

Rev. plain.

Green jasper. Upright oval, 16 x 11.

37

56527

Obv. Ouroboros enclosing in descending rows three scarabaei, three crowned hawks, three goats, three crocodiles, three cobras. The beetles have their heads upwards, the other groups are turned to the l. side. Outside the ouroboros, the seven vowels in diminishing sequence, *αεηιονω*, *εηιονω*, etc. to *ω* alone; but the fourth and fifth groups have been worn away, leaving only the bottoms of a few letters.

Rev. *Ιαω ιαηω αβρασαξ* in four lines.

Material not noted. Upright oval, 27 x 19.

The animal triads, which usually appear with Harpocrates, seem here to serve as symbols for him, though his figure is not shown; so also on B. M. 54276. See *SMA*, pp. 142-143.

38

56252

Obv. L. to r. (1), snake rising from its coil; (2) cock-headed anguipede to r., whip in l. hand, shield on r. arm; (3) Harpocrates seated to l. on lotus capsule, r. hand raised towards face, l. holding flail; (4) Anubis, nude but for kilt, standing to l. with tall scepter in r. hand, object resembling the outline of an hourglass in l.; (5) Chnoubis serpent to l., seven rays round head. Along upper margin, three stars and crescent moon.

Rev. In five lines, meaningless inscription, probably badly copied from a badly written original. At the end of the first and at the beginning of the second line there should probably have been *λαιλαμ* following which stands *σεμεσσιλαμ*; (for *σεμεσειλαμ*); for these words, see *SMA*, p. 187. The rest of the first three lines, though legible, gives no known elements, and the last two lines are so abraded as to leave no significant remains. Round the beveled edge are nineteen characters, mostly modifications of Greek letters.

Haematite. Transverse rectangle, 33 x 16.

39

56396

Obv. Figure with human head, apparently female, to l., and body of a scorpion with legs at sides and also a pair of thin insect-like legs supporting the body from below. These are made of a succession of short joints like those in a scorpion's tail. The head is apparently covered by a headcloth, unless the engraver wished to indicate long hair falling to the shoulders and covering the ear. Over the head is a disk with two horn-like projections. Each hand grasps a cobra; the tails of the snakes meet and cross below. The design is enclosed by a deep groove, not an ouroboros.

Rev. Above, an alpha, below, two uncertain signs. The first resembles an omega, but one of the earlier horseshoe form, not that used on amulets of this period. The second consists of a loop and a wavy tail, and slightly resembles a *g* of ordinary English handwriting. The inscription is almost certainly later than the work on the obverse and may be modern.

Green jasper shaded with brown. Upright oval, 21 x 15.

Various Egyptian divinities are sometimes represented standing on a double serpent, the two heads of which are grasped by the extended hands of the god or goddess; e.g. Sekhet (Sekhmet), Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 514; Lanzzone, pl. 363, 4. Isis is seated with the

infant Horus over a double serpent, Lanzzone, pl. 310, 3. Numerous minor deities of the underworld are so shown.

The figure may be a late conception of the scorpion-goddess Serket (Selket), who is shown in Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 377. *SMA*, p. 159 *ad fin.* is to be corrected by the description above. A somewhat similar figure is to be seen on the reverse of the Metternich stele, second row, fourth from left.

40

56016

Obv. Compound figure standing to front. The head, which is that of a jackal, is turned to l.; the body is that of a scarabaeus. Two wings project from the shoulders and two from the waist, and a bird tail slants downward at r. Four arms, the upper pair holding tall scepters, the lower, attached at the hips, hold a dagger and a flail. The legs seem to be human. Under the feet, ouroboros making a cartouche which encloses the word *IAW*.

Rev. plain.

Haematite. Upright oval, 17 x 12.

Compare the beetle-bodied figure in *SMA*, Pl. 3, 66 (rev.), and pp. 159-160, 264.

41

56015

Obv. Composite figure with head and neck of a cobra, the body of a scarabaeus, to the lower part of which two wings are attached on each side, and the legs and feet of a man. There is a disk over the cobra's head. The figure has four arms. The upper pair hold tall scepters with trident-like tops. The lower r. hand holds a dagger, the lower l. an uncertain object, perhaps a sistrum, perhaps a knife with broad, triangular blade; cf. the knives held by the god on the reverse of the Metternich stele, and also our No. 42.

Rev. *σουμαρθα φηλιξ αβραξας*.

Lapis lazuli. Upright oval, 18 x 15.

The inscription on the reverse is noteworthy as introducing a Latin word (*felix*) in transliteration, and as supplying an instance of the spelling *αβραξας*, the only one,

so far as I know, that has been found on an amulet; it was apparently the form better known to the Latin Christian writers (*Iren. adv. haer.* 1.19.4; *Hier. Epist.* 75.3.1; *Comm. in Amos*, PL 25, 1018 D; *contra Lucif.* 23, PL 23.178 A; *Ps.-Tertull. adv. omn. haer.* 1). The word *σουμαρθα* or *σουμαρτα* occurs on other amulets and in magical papyri. Since forms of *φυλάσσω*, "guard," are common on amulets, one is tempted to suggest a connection between *σουμαρθα* and the Hebrew radical *šmr*, "guard," "watch over." Compare the reverse inscription of No. 45.

42

56012

Obv. Pantheos of elaborate type to front, feet to r. The face is a staring mask, with four indistinct heads of animals projecting from each side. Above, an elaborate headdress, with similar animal heads at each side, supported by horizontal horns (or snakes). There are four wings and four arms, the upper pair of which hold knives, while cobras, short scepters, and other indistinct symbols project upwards from the wrists and upper parts of the arms. Somewhat similar objects are to be seen in the field at each side of the headdress. The lower r. hand holds a scorpion by the tail, and also, apparently, a flail, the staff of which passes behind the back; the l. hand holds a lion by the tail. The figure is ithyphallic and has the tail of a bird. There are tufts on the knees, and the feet are in the form of jackals' heads. Under the feet an ouroboros forms a long cartouche enclosing scarab, hawk, goat, jackal, lion, crocodile, and cobra.

Rev. The long *ιαω*—palindrome (*SMA*, p. 204) followed by the words *δοται* (l. *δότε*) *χάριν Ἡρωνίλλῃ πρὸς πάντας*, "Give Heronilla favor in the eyes of all."

Lapis lazuli set in gold. Upright rectangle, 27 x 22; broad bevel, rev. only 21 x 17.

More than any amuletic "pantheos" known to me, this figure resembles that which dominates the reverse of the Metternich stele

(Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 273); Budge takes it to be the aged sun-god. The face, however, is less human than the Metternich figure's, and there are other differences of minor importance.

43

56398

Obv. Ouroboros enclosing pantheos similar in many respects to the foregoing example, but differing in the following points. The head-dress is a simple three pronged ornament like a psi without curves. The upper pair of hands hold short scepters with oblique projections near the point, suggesting that the engraver had in mind stylized thunderbolts. Of the lower pair the r. hand holds a balance, the l. a dagger. In the field, the common magical word *ακραμμαχαμαρει*, arranged with the first letter at the l. side of the head, the second at r., and so on in descending columns to ε and ι which are placed close to the feet at l. and r. At bottom, fifteen characters (including two reversed epsilons) in two lines.

Rev. Four and a half lines of characters, some Greek letters, others adapted from Greek letters. Following the last character, the inscription *ανεβωθιαβαθα · βαιθωβενα · αχεναχελιαζα · μερρειξα · βαρβαριωθ · τερχνα · φονει · αειαδδενζαχρεια*. It is to be noted that the units are pronounceable (see *SMA*, pp. 186-190), and are carefully separated with high points. The first two, taken together, make a palindrome with the second theta as central letter. On the bevel, *αφθυχωβριαννηχηθιλαμψιχυχθυθηχηρι* (*vac*) *ωαχωβιαφθθυονχθυθηθριανψιχαειθηγη*.

Green jasper, set in ring. Upright oval, 27 x 21.

44

56497

Obv. Extremely crude figure with non-human head perhaps meant for that of a lion (cf. *SMA*, Pl. 5, 102, Pl. 11, 229 and 232), but more like a thick spiny caterpillar (cf. *SMA*, Pl. 9, 185, which, like this, is a digestive

amulet). The body is clothed in a tunic belted at the waist and reaching to the knees. The raised hands hold a *tabula ansata* on which an A is faintly visible. The inscription may have been IAW, but the other letters, if there were any, have been worn away. Three wings like large feathers project outward from each side of the waist and hips. The legs are mere pegs crossed by short horizontal lines, possibly intended to indicate greaves or leggings (cf. *SMA*, Pl. 6, 124). At each side below is a palm frond.

Rev. *στόμαχε πέπτε*, "stomach, digest!," arranged in five lines.

Haematite. Tall, narrow oval, 43 x 19.

45

56191

Obv. Demon standing to front dressed in a clinging tunic reaching from neck to knees; hands held together on chest. Two short wings project outward from the shoulders, two from the hips. The figure has the head and neck of a vulture with three short projections above it. From the r. shoulder rise the neck and head of a jackal crowned with a disk, from the l. shoulder the neck and head of an ibis with three short diverging points above it.

Rev. *βιχω βιχω βεν βεν χωβι χωβι βεν σουμαρτα*. For the last word, see No. 41. The rest is a fairly typical "babbling" legend (*SMA*, pp. 69, 191).

Haematite. Upright oval, 23 x 19.

Published by King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, II, 47, with pl. 9, 2 (woodcut from drawing).

46

56552

Obv. Winged frog sitting to l. on back of monster with body and feet of a crocodile, head and neck of a snake, and tail in form of a hawk's head and neck. The creature rests on a low pedestal with crossing lines, some vertical, some diagonal.

Rev. *ιαρβαθαγυραμηφιβαωχημω*.

Green jasper mottled with brownish yellow.
Transverse oval, 26 x 22.

The Southesk Collection had three specimens, varying in details, of this rare design, *Catalogue*, Nos. N 78-80, the first two illustrated in pl. 15. The frog seems to have been a symbol of fertility and of renewed life (*SMA*, pp. 205, 243). The inscription on the reverse, which is found on the Southesk stones also, is said to be proper for invocations to the sun (references in *SMA*, p. 205).

47

56455

Obv. Ouroboros enclosing well-cut scarabaeus almost natural size (25 mm. long).

Rev. επεκαλομ|εσεμεγαλοδ | οξεσουματαε | θηκατε-
σαρω | δλοκαιπτυεομ | εθπιτυχενοπυ | ονοννθσι-
σω | τμολονοματ | οεθουκεμ.

After the invocation, *ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, μεγα-
λοδοξε*, the inscription at first sight seems to be mere jargon. But it is actually an almost incredible garbling of a text which probably gave good sense throughout. So far as the original copy can be reconstructed, it may have been something like the following: after the invocation, *οὐδ' ὀνόματα ἔθηκα τῇ σορῶ... καὶ ποίει με ἐπιτυχεῖν ὁποῖων ἂν οὖν θελήσω... μέγα ὄνομα...* The word *σορῶ* is doubtful because it is not certain whether the engraver intended to write *ρ* or *κ*. If *σορῶ* is right, the text refers to the well-known practice of depositing magical spells in a tomb. The object, though curious, is unimportant except as it illustrates by an extreme instance, how an intelligible text could be mangled by an ignorant engraver.

Green jasper. Upright oval, 47 x 36.

In *IG*, XIV, 2413, 14, Kaibel republished an inscription closely resembling this from a much older transcript by Amati (1820). It is possible that the stone is the same as the B.M. specimen, for that republished by Kaibel has a scarabaeus on the obverse, and the differences in the text can be explained as due to faulty reading. Further, the stone origin-

ally published by Amati passed into the collection of Count Blacas, and it is known that many of his gems were acquired by the British Museum (Walters, *Catalogue*, Introd. p. xi). However, the Blacas stone is described as *diaspro sanguigno*, which a good dictionary explains as *bloodstone*; and I think there are no red spots on the B.M. green jasper.

48

56277

Amulet in the form of a scarabaeus with extended wings.

Obv. not inscribed. No illustration available.

Rev. Under r. wing *αβλαναθαναλβα* in three lines. Under l. wing *ακραμμαχαμαρε* in four lines. Both are very common magical words, the former a palindrome. Under the body, in eight lines, *εθεντεβερενεχυρτου οπρστνφχψ ουε-
σβερινιο μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀμήν ἀμήν*. Note the alphabetic sequence *ο-ψ* in the middle of the inscription. *μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ* has a biblical sound; cf. Ps. 108, 4, *μέγα ἐπάνω τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ ἐλεός σου*.

Lapis lazuli. *Ca.* 35 x 20.

49

56500

Obv. Crab. Star at lower l., and below, *IAW*, upside down with reference to the crab.

Rev. *Μαρία*.

Mottled jasper, red and yellow. Transverse oval, 18 x 14.

A similar stone was published and discussed by A. Delatte, *Musée Belge*, 18, 68. That piece, which belongs to the National Museum in Athens, is smaller, but the inscriptions are the same. The occurrence of the name *Μαρία* on two similar pieces lends greater probability to Delatte's suggestion that Mary, as the Celestial Virgin, or the Virgin of Light, was associated in Gnostic circles with the moon, whose "house" is the zodiacal sign of the Crab.

50

56473

Obv. *Ιωθ σαβαθ αδωναει*, a line to each word; one cross potent above, three below.

Rev. δ ὦν, with cross potent above and below.
Bronze. Oblong pendant, 42 x 28, without the suspension loop.

For the Hebrew divine names on the obverse, "JHVH of hosts, Lord," see *SMA*, p. 30; for δ ὦν, *ibid.*, pp. 109, 225; and for the addition of theta to Ιαω, which is common in magical texts, see von Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, pp. 194-195.

51

56324

Obv.

λιμός σε ἔσπιρε
ν ἀήρ ἐθέρισεν φλ
ἐψ <σ>ε κατέφαγεν τί
ὡς λύκος μασάσσε τί
ὡς κορκόδυλλος κα
ταπίννις τί ὡς λέω
ν ὀρωχίς τί ὡς ταῦρ
ος κερατίζις τί ὡς δ
ράκων εἰλίσσι τί ὦ
ς παρᾶος κυμάσσε

Below, in center, upper part of a human figure, apparently female, both hands raised, nimbus round head; on each side a lion, the one on the r. side indistinct.

"Hunger sowed you, air harvested you, vein devoured you. Why do you munch like a wolf, why do you devour like a crocodile, why do you bite (or, "roar"?) like a lion, why do you gore like a bull, why do you coil like a serpent, why do you lie down like a tame creature?"

Critical notes and comment at the end of this entry.

Rev.

ἵππος, μῆλος,
εἰβίς, ἐθνία κο
λὲ ἀνδρός, στρουθ
οκάμηλος Ἀπόλλω
. ισοστοιδηεις
δουλιασουσατερ
παυλινας πανιο
ωσωεη. . . ηο. ηι

Below, indistinct design of a four-footed animal treading on a snake. "Horse, mule, ibis, phallus, ostrich, Apollo"; the rest unintelligible, though the last line but one seems to contain the name Paulina, and in the preceding line it is just possible that δούλη σου, "thy slave" was in the engraver's copy.

Bronze pendant with suspension loop. Height over all 54; without loop, 40 x 29.

The reading of the inscriptions is very difficult not only because of the minute and crowded writing but also because several letters are not carefully distinguished. The tongue of epsilon is often omitted, and both sigma and epsilon are then represented by a shallow curve. Pi and mu are much alike, also eta and nu. Omicron is narrow, often pointed at top and bottom, and sometimes hard to distinguish from a thick iota. The usual vulgar faults in orthography are present in exaggerated form, and the substance of the texts is so trivial, not to say silly, that a reader scarcely knows what to expect.

The obverse text begins with a charm which might be referred to the form called by Heim, *Incantamenta magica*, p. 495 (*Jahrb. f. Philol.*, XIX), *historiola*, a short narrative, often of a childish sort, which was believed to be an effective remedy against certain ills. It differs from most of Heim's *historiolae* in that it seems to be addressed to the disease itself, just as is the remainder of the text from τί (line 3) to the end. This latter part is another version of an incantation known from several sources of Byzantine date. Drexler's masterly treatment of it in *Philol.*, 58 (1899), pp. 594-607 makes discussion of it here unnecessary. It may be observed that the version on the B.M. pendant is fuller than any hitherto published, and differs from them in another respect, namely, that the clauses are questions introduced by τί, not statements. The following critical notes are required by the corrupt character of the language.

1. Read ἔσπειρεν. 2. The pendant has ΑΙΠ; Η was wrongly read as Ν, which, carelessly incised, gave ΑΙ. 3. Haplography due to the s sound in Ψ. 4. μασᾶσε, for μασᾶσαι (read by H. C. Youtie), like κυμᾶσε (κοιμᾶσαι) in line 10, has the late full ending instead of the contract forms μασᾶ, κοιμᾶ. (Kühner-Blass, II, 69 Anm. 5). 5. Another of the numerous vulgar spellings of κροκόδιλος; see LSJ. 6. Read καταπίνεις. 7. ορωχis accurately represents the appearance of this word, though the ο is exceptionally narrow. The Byzantine amulets that preserve similar texts usually read βρυχᾶσαι, "roar," after λέων, and it is probable that the first letter was meant for β, since in both papyri and inscriptions of Roman times that letter was sometimes represented by an ellipse or a narrow oblong; see the table in Thompson, *Palaeography*, p. 192; Schubart, *Palaeographie*, p. 72, fig. 44; and Larfeld, *Handbuch der griech. Epigraphik*, II, pp. 488, 506. But there are still difficulties. If we suppose ω to be merely a blunder for ν, βρύχεις must be referred to βρύκω (βρύχω), "bite, gnash the teeth, devour." βρώχεις seems to be impossible; one could perhaps imagine βρώχω to be a byform of βρόχω, "gulp down," "swallow," but the verb is not attested in the present system. Besides, it is used of swallowing liquids, and hence is less to be expected in describing a characteristic action of lions. 9. Read ειλίσσει. 10. Read πῤαος. This is an interesting instance of vocalic anaptyxis, an alpha being developed as a sort of glide sound between the mute and the liquid. Epsilon and iota so developed are attested in papyri (Mayser, *Gram.*, I, p. 155), and it is probably only by chance that anaptyxis of alpha has not been observed elsewhere.

The first four lines of the reverse inscription are a charm consisting of the names of things hostile to the Evil Eye. See *SMA*, p. 215 and the authorities there cited; further discussion here is unnecessary. Read μοῦλος,

ἱβις, εὐθεία κωλῇ, Ἀπόλλων. I can add nothing to the statement above concerning the last lines.

This account of B.M. 56324 supersedes that in *SMA*, p. 217, which was based upon a reading of the original, but under unsatisfactory conditions of lighting. The notes made then have now been supplemented and corrected with the help of excellent casts, which I owe to the courtesy of the Museum and the skill of its technician.

52

56269

Obv. Person standing to front on back of crocodile swimming to r. The figure is clothed in a long tunic reaching from neck to ankles. The r. hand holds a large fish over the head, the l. hand is raised, palm outward. Nimbus round the head. The face is indistinct, apparently beardless, though this is not certain. The strongly muscled arms and the absence of definite indication of breasts seem to show that the figure is male, but the length of the tunic may be more appropriate for a woman.

Rev. plain.

Dark green plasma with reddish spots. Upright oval, 14 x 12.

The stone presents an interesting combination of pagan and Christian elements. Several Egyptian gods, among them Isis, Ptah-Seker, Khonsu, and Harpocrates, are sometimes represented as standing or sitting on the back of a crocodile. There are at least six such figures on the Metternich stele alone. On the other hand the nimbus, though sometimes given to pagan deities, is in general an attribute of Christian saints, the position of the l. hand suggests benediction, and the fish is a well-known Christian symbol; for it is hardly likely that the goddess Ḥatmehit, on or over whose head a fish is fixed, would be represented at the period of this amulet. She is the female counterpart of the Ram-god of Mendes (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 64; Lane, pl. 212, 1-3).

If a female Christian saint is meant, it is doubtless Theodora of Alexandria. According to the fabulous legend, she sought to make amends for a sin by entering a monastery disguised as a man. There her austerities attracted the attention of the monks, and once the abbot, desiring to test her sanctity, gave her a dangerous commission. He ordered her to bring a vessel of water from a lake near by, in which there was a crocodile so large and fierce that the prefect of the district had stationed soldiers to warn all travelers away from the water. Theodora disregarded the warning and went to the waterside, whereupon the monster took her upon his back and carried her to the middle of the lake. There she filled her vessel and then returned in the same way. On reaching the shore she said to the crocodile, "Never devour man again," and the creature died immediately.

I have given the story from a Greek hagiographic manuscript of the fourteenth century in the Library of the University of Michigan (No. 50, fol. 138-139). The text is a crude popular narrative, certainly closer to the original form of the legend than the padded version of Symeon Metaphrastes (*PG*, 115, 676).

A saint called Euphemia, cast by her persecutors into a tank infested by savage creatures (crocodiles ?) was carried by them above the water and set on the bank (Budge, *Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, III, p. 878).

Among the male riders of crocodiles, the famous Pachomius, the organizer of Egyptian monasticism, is the most likely to have been represented on a crocodile, for it was said that whenever he had to cross a river, a crocodile would carry him and set him ashore wherever he wished (*PL*, 73, 241, a version of a Greek life of unknown authorship). But the longer version of the *Historia Lausiaca*, which Dom Cuthbert Butler holds to be interpolated with material from the

Historia Monachorum, relates that a certain Hellen, wishing to bring a priest to perform his office, was carried over by an obliging crocodile (*PG*, 34, 1161).

Lucian (*Philops.* 60-61) mentions crocodile riding as a feat of an Egyptian magician, another instance of the manner in which the iconography of Egyptian gods has influenced both pagan and Christian tales of wonder.

53

56469

Obv. At r., woman seated to l. with infant lying on her knees; the ank, or sign of life is seen just beyond and slightly over her head, and she is probably supposed to be holding it up. Facing her, man in long tunic to knees or slightly below. At l., tree under which an animal, probably meant for a lamb, looks back towards the group. The scene seems to be a crude representation of the Nativity.

Rev. Large ank, or crux ansata, with εἰς θεός written downwards at r., ἐν οὐρανῷ at l. For this inscription, see E. Peterson, *Heis Theos*, pp. 261 f.

Brown stone, not identified. Broad upright oval, 33 x 29. Chipped at top of obverse. The work is not a true intaglio, the design being merely outlined with incisions. For the technique, compare *SMA*, Pl. 18, 332. Described, without illustration, by Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions*, pp. 129-130.

54

56231

Obv. Extremely crude representation of the crucifixion, without, however, any effort to show the cross to which the figure of Christ is supposed to be fixed. The head is encircled with a nimbus from which three rays project slightly; a fourth would be concealed by the neck. Below, two mourning figures, r. and l. Above, three or four indistinct characters.

Rev. Three lines of non-Greek characters. On bevel a few Greek vowels and indistinct characters.

Red jasper with vertical band of yellow. Upright oval, 23 x 18.

55

56192

Obv. A kind of man-headed cross. The head, facing front, and the feet are human, and the lower part of the body may be so also, though it is so closely swathed as to resemble a mere pillar. Instead of arms there is only a heavy horizontal bar with slight vertical projections at the ends. The face is beardless; two locks of hair project like short horns. Underneath the figure is the common magical word *νιχαροπληξ*. Round the edge runs an inscription beginning *υβραουεχμ*, continuing with various permutations of the vowels, including *Ιαω*, and ending with *ρωθ*. Several other vowels within this inscription, above and at upper l.

Rev. *αιουηεωι*.

Chalcedony, set as pendant. Upright oval, *ca.* 25 x 21. Both sides very convex.

Previously published, with fairly good drawings, by King, *Gnostics*, pl. C 1. A bronze pendant published in *SMA*, Pl. 16, 318 shows the bust of Christ replacing the upper projection of the cross. The B.M. chalcedony may have been designed under Christian or Gnostic influence.

56

Cabinet des Médailles, 2262.

An Arabic seal, introduced here merely because it suggests the explanation of the following number. According to Chabouillet's description (*Cat. des camées et pierres gravées*), it represents Solomon, crowned, seated on his throne in the Oriental fashion. Above his head, two winged jinns; at r. the hoopoe, which served as his messenger; at foot of throne on each side two men; in front, two animals (lions?). At l. the name "Soliman," at r., "son of David." Round the design, serving as its frame, the Throne Verse of the Koran (Sur. 2, 256).

Rev. plain.

Carnelian. Rectangle, 40 x 38.

57

56262

Obv. Person seated on a throne in the eastern fashion, head with semicircular nimbus to l., r. hand touching the topmost knob of a tall support of the throne. From l. approaches a procession of five figures, each of the last four resting a hand on the shoulder of the person before him. The man nearest the throne is taller than the others, has a semicircular nimbus, and rests both hands on a tall staff. From r. come three winged figures (jinns?); the first, who is tallest, holds a tall staff in both hands. The first and second figures have crescent-like horns, and probably the third also, though a break in the surface leaves this doubtful.

Above this scene two parallel lines cross the surface from side to side, and over them three birds fly towards the center from r., two from l.

Under the main design two horizontal lines enclose several characters, some of which resemble Greek letters, and there were more in the exergue, which is badly damaged by a deep chip. There are also four over the men at l. of the throne. Three of them could be read as *ΙΞΛ*, the fourth is an equal-armed cross potent. Among the birds at the top, over the throne, and behind the two processions, are small disks.

Rev. plain.

Carnelian. Transverse oval, 28 x 21.

The obviously oriental subject seems to be explained, by comparison with the preceding number, as Solomon enthroned receiving the homage of men and of the winged and horned jinns. Solomon's hoopoe may have suggested the flight of birds above.

It may be noted in passing that not only the Semitic demons of the waste (*se'irim* and *shedim*) were horned (Scheftelowitz in *ARW*, 15 [1912], p. 460), but there is also some evidence that certain angels had horns. In his ascension to the seventh heaven Moses saw the angel Zagzagel, the Prince of the Torah and of Wisdom, wearing horns of

glory (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, II, p. 309). S. A. Cook, *Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (1930), refers to "the horns of Gabriel and other angels," citing the authority of Gaster; but the reference (p. 29, note 4) is wrong and I have not found the passage.

58 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.1008

Obv. Ship moving to l., from prow of which Jonah throws himself head first into the sea; the steersman raises his hands in wonder or perhaps in prayer, while a sea-monster swims towards Jonah. At r. and lower, Jonah is represented sitting under a tree resting his hands on his staff. At l., on the same level as the ship, he is shown again facing r., his hands raised as if praying or preaching.

Rev. plain.

Sard, set in a ring. Transverse oval, ca. 17 x 15.

This stone or a replica of it (see the next number) was first published by Garrucci. For references see *HTR* 41 (1948), p. 32 (note 7), and *SMA*, p. 312 (No. 347).

59 In private possession in England

Obv. As in No. 58, of which it is a replica.

Rev. plain.

Material not noted.

Reproduced from a wax impression with the film reversed in printing.

60 Cabinet des Médailles, 2221.

Obv. Warrior in military tunic, kilt, and boots, standing to front, head to l., a trophy on his head. In each hand he grasps a snake, which rears its head towards the trophy. Inscription at each side. Beginning from lower l. outside, *ρωξομαληδυχη ηηοδομαρνο νενονδη*; from lower r. inside, *μερμονοχωαηο νηπερεμωργομα δηρνυσσωρ*.

Rev. *αιετων ωιεηαι οεων αοεω*.

Red jasper. Broad upright oblong with rounded corners, 35 x 27.

From an impression, the film reversed in printing.

Illustration in Chiflet, pl. 23, 94; Matter, *Hist. critique du Gnosticisme* (1828), pl. 8, 7, perhaps after Chiflet's engraving rather than the original. Described in Chabouillet's *Catalogue*, and, more briefly, in Babelon, *Guide*.

61

56026

Obv. Same design as No. 60, but copied from Chiflet's engraving, with all the errors and additional ones. They are sufficiently described in the discussion of these copies which precedes the catalogue (above p. 305).

Rev. Same as No. 60.

Sard. Upright oval, 27 x 21.

62

56360

Obv. Described above, p. 305. Probably copied from Chiflet's pl. 19, 78 or the original which it represents. The engraving in Chiflet represents the two outermost of the four dancing figures as winged. The wings may have been added by Chiflet's draftsman, possibly because he misunderstood two lines that curve upward behind the figures, but do not actually touch them. In any event the present object is not the original of Chiflet's amulet, which had a reverse design different from that of the London stone.

Rev. Same as obverse of Nos. 60 and 61; discussed above p. 305.

Crimson jasper, set in ring with pivoted bezel. Upright oval, 30 x 21.

63 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, IX 1230.

Obv. Above, ouroboros enclosing seven characters of which five are Greek letters, ζ, ε, (in two forms, square and roundbacked), π, υ; also a sign that can be taken as lambda lying on its side, and another that is a common magical character. At each side of the ouroboros are two eight-spoked characters of the ring-sign class, but with short cross strokes instead of circlets at the ends of the spokes. Below, an inscription in eleven lines. In reproducing it I have indicated the lines

only by rules, in order to show by spaces the magical words of which, with the exception of the last two, it is entirely composed.

αγω σασω αδωνε | σεμεσειλαμ αβρασ | σξ ζυρ-
ρατη ακραμμα | κραμμακαμαρι σεσε | γγενβαλφαρανγη
σ | εμεσειλαμ ωβλημ | λενιαμβων αροναντα Μιχαηλ
α | μοραραχθι | φυλαξετε Μαι | ανω

In line 1 ΑΓΩ may be a mistake in copying for ΑΙΩ, and that, in turn, a disguised writing of ΙΑΩ, since the next two words were obviously meant to be *σαβaw* (often written in magical inscriptions for *σαβawθ*) *αδωναι*. Lines 2-3: the word should be *αβρα-σαξ*. *ζυρρατη* has not been noted elsewhere. Lines 3-4: the second *κραμμα* was repeated by an oversight; the letter immediately after it is usually chi, not kappa. Line 5: the word is usually *σεσεγγενβαρφαραγγης*. Lines 6-7: perhaps a garbled copy of *ωρθμενχινιαμβων*, a word found on several amulets that represent a scorpion; cf. *SMA*, p. 77. Line 9: the second *ρα* is a dittography. Line 10: error for *φυλάξατε*.

Rev. Inscription in three columns of thirteen, fourteen and fifteen lines, of which the first is *οπισσωτοναρ*, the second *Ιaw ρεωη αφον*. The parts of the second line are spaced about as indicated, and from the third line on there are three distinct columns, chiefly permutations of the vowels by threes, but a few consonants are introduced; it is not worth reproducing in type, since there is no recognizable word except *Ιaw*, and the plate gives an adequate idea of its appearance. The engraver has given the letters distinct serifs, or finishing strokes, and these are especially noticeable at the tops of the triangular letters, though never so exaggerated as they appear on Chiflet's engraving and the forgeries based on it.

Chalcedony. Lentoid with sharp edges, convex on both sides, 22 x 19 x 6.4. The illustrations are from photographs of the original enlarged 3 x 1, which I owe to the courtesy of

Prof. Fritz Eichler. I have kept them at this size instead of reducing them to the size of the original in order to show the peculiarities of the inscription more distinctly.

64

56276

Obv. A copy of Chiflet's engraving of the Vienna chalcedony, with many additional blunders. The forger has reduced the inscription to ten lines, has omitted the last two words, *φυλάξετε Μαιανῶ*, and has not kept the lines as in the original, except the first, where he omitted a syllable.

Rev. Copied from Chiflet with even worse mistakes than those of the obverse. See the comment above (p. 307). It is particularly noteworthy that on both obverse and reverse the inscriptions were cut retrograde, to be read from an impression, contrary to the usual style of magical gems.

Sard. Broad oval, *ca.* 23 x 18. Obverse slightly convex.

The illustrations are from impressions.

65 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Middleton, *Lewis Collection*, C. 17)

Obv. Cock-headed anguipede to l., shield on r. arm, whip in l. hand. Imperfectly incised A on shield, I just below the cock's bill, P and KA behind his head, M just below angle of l. elbow. At each side of trunk, reading from the trunk towards the edges, *IHHNAO*. At each side of kilt, again reading outward, *EVO*. Over the cock's comb and at a corresponding point on the lower edge is a small circle with diameters. Reading down to l. of the upper circle the letters *IAHAIV* can be read; reading to r. from it *ANA*, then a star and crescent. Under the snake's coils, l. to r., *AIIVIIIMHV*. Round the bottom there are at least nine signs, not all real letters, and some indistinct.

The trunk of the god is noticeably long and thin. It is also to be noted that the design of this side is cut seal-fashion, which is contrary to the usual practice.

Rev. Lion-headed serpent to l., body descending vertically except for a "figure 8" twist at the middle and slight curves near the tail. Round head thirteen rays shaped like nails. Between them are small signs; a few of these, in front of the head and behind it, are letters, but meaningless. At l. side of the snake's neck, HA, at r., €IX. Above, three scarabaei, then, descending to r., three goats and three crocodiles; to l., three birds (not hawks) with disks on their heads, and three snakes with crests.

Red jasper scaraboid, 43 x 28 x 14.

Published by King, *Cambridge Antiquarian Society Communications*, V, p. 88; Middleton, *Cat. of Lewis Collection*, pp. 79-80, with accurate cuts.

66 Cabinet des Médailles, 2198 bis.

Obv. Same figure as No. 65, with the same disproportionate length and thinness of the trunk. The stone is in fact a close replica of 65, though there are minute differences. On this stone the M behind the whip arm is set a little higher, and seems to be a little larger, than on the Lewis stone. Each stone supplies the deficiencies of the other with respect to the outermost inscriptions, which are abraded on both pieces, and it is plain that the inscriptions were meant to be identical. On this stone the rows of letters below the arms of the god have been erased purposely or have become abraded with wear; only a few traces remain.

Rev. Same design as on No. 65, from which it differs only in a trivial detail—here the feet of the two upper goats rest on the backs of the two lower; on the Lewis stone there is a little space between.

Red jasper scaraboid.

This stone seems to be very slightly shorter and broader than the Lewis stone; but it is hard to be sure of exact measurements when relying on casts and impressions. Published with cut by Babelon, *Guide*, p. 71; also in Daremberg-Saglio, II, p. 1481 (fig. 3532).

67

Musée du Louvre, Bⁱ 1616.

Obv. Design as in 65 and 66, but with certain differences. The body of the anguipede is not so long, and the attenuation is consequently not so marked. The bill, which is nearly horizontal in 65 and 66, is here tilted up, and the prominent and clearly notched comb inclines away from the vertical, while it is upright in 65 and 66. Some of the letters in the field and round the margins are indistinct, but it is evident that the maker used exactly the same copy for his inscription that was used for 65 and 66.

Rev. Design as in 65 and 66, but the uppermost of the snakes is placed a little higher in relation to the coils of the Chnoubis serpent. There is a little free space under the first and the second goat, as in 65.

Gilded bronze scaraboid, 41 x 30.

Described, and the inscribed letters reproduced, by A. Dain, *Inscriptions grecques du Louvre (les textes inédits)*, p. 184, No. 214; previously described briefly by De Ridder, *Cat. sommaire des bijoux*, No. 1616.

68

56550

Obv. and rev. apparently identical with 67 except that 68 has been slightly ground round the edges, and has perhaps suffered more from abrasion.

Bronze scaraboid, 40 x 30.

69

56069

Obv. Harpocrates standing to r. in a bell-shaped flower with a bud at each side of the stem; his l. foot rests in the cup of the flower, r. leg is bent, the foot resting on the edge of the flower. His l. hand is raised towards his face, the index finger level with his eyes. Flail with broad triangular flap over r. shoulder. Twelve rays round head, a star over head, another in front, crescent moon behind r. shoulder. At lower r, a lizard.

Rev. Ouroboros enclosing the inscription *συνμαρτα αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμαχαμαρε*, the last letter unfinished and like a Latin L. Outside

ouroboros, *οενεωβεεσσακαωθμ* [3-4] *αδω* [4-5] *συ*[1]*ωσιες*. Over the last letters, *λσαεημ*. The first two epsilons are of the broken-backed form, and the omega is small and set higher than the other letters; the theta is an ellipse lying on its longer curve. After *αδω* and the lacuna that follows it, the letters are all smaller and more closely set. The whole inscription is retrograde (*i. e.* on the original, not on the impression photographed for the illustration), and has many marks of its spurious character. See the comments on p. 310 above.

Carnelian. Upright oval, 32 x 25.

70

56013

Obv. "Pantheos" of an unusual and suspicious type. The face is very broad, the forehead bald, with a lock of hair falling to the neck at each side. Body nude. R. hand holds a flail which differs from the normal form; l. hand grasps a scorpion. A pair of wings is attached to the shoulders, another to the waist; tail of a bird. An ouroboros forms an empty cartouche under the feet. Two tall scepters pass through the wings; the one at the l. has a double cross at the top. At lower l. a badly formed scarabaeus.

Rev. *Μιχαηλ Γακριηλ* (for *Γαβριηλ*) *Κονστιηλ Ραφαηλ*. In addition to the error, *κ* for *β*, the engraver sometimes uses *Λ* for both alpha and lambda, and also sometimes places over both letters the long horizontal stroke which has proved elsewhere a sign of modern imitation. The use of a cross-shaped *φ* is not recorded by Larfeld at any date later than the third century of our era.

Carnelian. Upright oval, 24 x 15.

71

56456

Obv. Goddess standing to front, head to l., on back of crocodile. Tunic to ankles, upper garment crossing body and falling behind l. shoulder almost to hem of tunic. Floral (?) ornament on head, another on top of tall

scepter held in l. hand, which also holds a situla of Greek form. R. hand holds a snake, its head level with the neck of the goddess. Along r. edge, four characters of which the first two can be read as *MA*, a fifth in field at lower l.

Rev. Female griffin standing to r., l. forepaw on seven-spoked wheel, beak holding a small balance. The tail ends in what seems to be a bearded mask with modius on the head; the face is indistinct, and the whole effect is that of a grotesque fancy suggested by the bushy tuft that ends the tail. In field at upper l., star over crescent. In front of the griffin a heron-like bird touches the balance with its beak. What the maker meant to represent in the creature whose long tail makes the ground line is uncertain; perhaps a snake closing its jaws on a bearded human head, perhaps a man with arms raised, his body diminishing into a snake's tail.

Green jasper. Upright oval, 37 x 25.

72

Seyrig Collection

Bronze coin, 40 nummia, of Anastasius I (491-518), the reverse design smoothed off and replaced by a magical figure and inscriptions.

Obv. Bust of Anastasius to r., diadem round head, face beardless. Costume indistinct, doubtless the usual cuirass and paludamentum. Inscr., *DNANASTA SIVSPPAVG* (Dominus noster Anastasius perpetuus Augustus). Not shown on plate.

Rev. Goat standing to r. Above, eight-limbed ring-sign followed by *ΙΩΩΗ*. At l. in vertical column, *A, I, Ω*, at r. *A, ΙΕ, ΟΡ*; at bottom, *ΟΙΑΩ* or *ΩΑΩ*, but all the letters are doubtful.

Diameter, 375 mm. This size, taken in connection with the obv. design, corresponds to Nos. 25, 26, and 28 in W. Wroth's *Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins in B. M.*, p. 4 (similar types are shown on pl. 1, 8-9). The present weight, gr. 11.740, is of no importance because the piece has lost about one-third of its metal

by the planing of the reverse and the fracture of the lower edge. Pierced for suspension.

For other examples of coins converted into amulets, see Mattingly, *Num. Chron.*, 1932, pp. 54-57, and a note by the present writer, *HTR*, 43 (1950), pp. 165-168, (*A Reminiscence of Paul on a Coin Amulet*).

Goats often appear on gems, but usually their occurrence has neither magical nor religious significance; the animal serves, like many others, merely as a subject for the artist's skill. No. 73 is probably an exception.

There is still no obvious reason for the choice of the goat design, though there may be an explanation if Egyptian influence can be assumed. The goat was a sacred animal in the Mendesian nome, and the British Museum *Catalogue (Alexandria)* lists a coin of that nome, minted under Hadrian, which has for its rev. type a goat walking to r. (p. 347, No. 29; no illustration). Another, of Antoninus, shows the god Mendes holding a small goat on his extended l. hand (*op. cit.*, p. 347, No. 30; Dattari, pl. 36, No. 6307). The explanation suggested may be applied without difficulty to No. 73, which need not be dated later than the third century; it is not so certain that it can be extended to the Byzantine coin. Yet, once established as a symbol charged with magical power, the goat design could have been used long after its connection with Egypt had been forgotten.

The fact that this coin was converted to use as an amulet during or after the reign of Anastasius I (491-518) gives a useful *terminus post quem* for the work. Mr. Seyrig justly remarks (letter of March 28, 1950) that the style of the engraving on the reverse is much like that of the numerous bronze pendant amulets found in Syria and Palestine. Some of them may be as early as the end of the third century (*SMA*, p. 221), but there is no doubt that they continued to be made with little technical change until well into the Byzantine period.

The inscriptions of the reverse are all but

worthless. The word *Iaw* and the ring-sign show their magical character, but except for that one word there are only meaningless combinations of vowels, with one consonantal syllable if *op* is correctly read.

73

Seyrig Collection

Obv. Goat standing to l.

Rev. *παῖσον*.

Haematite. Transverse oval, 13 x 9.

If, as Mr. Seyrig has suggested (by letter), the command *παῖσον* is a charm to check the flow of blood, the stone may be classed as a medico-magical amulet.

74

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann

Obv. At center, statue of the Ephesian Artemis to front. Tall projection like a stylized calathos on the head; wide headdress, suggesting the semicircular disks at each side of Artemis' head in the Capitoline statuette. The fillets hanging from the hands look like props with knots at intervals. In general, the figure resembles the type used on two coins, one of Ephesus, the other of Kadoi in Phrygia (see Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 408, figs. 309-310). At l., Tyche to r. with cornucopia on r. arm, steering paddle in l. hand; at r., Nemesis to l., with upward curving wings. L. hand holds a fold of her garment towards her face (her traditional gesture, see, for example, Perdrizet, *BCH*, 36 [1912], p. 251); r. hand seems to hang, holding some indistinct object in front of thighs—possibly a bridle, cf. a cut in Roscher, *Lex. der Mythol.*, III, 1, p. 161, fig. 8.

Rev. plain.

Red sard. Transverse oval, 17 x 15 x 3. Modern mounting in gold wire as pin.

The piece shows no mark of magical use.

75

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann

Obv. God standing in shrine. The structure rests on three steps and has at each side two columns which support entablature and pediment; edges of cornice decorated with tri-

angular projections set continuously. A round arch rises into the area of the pediment; under it the god stands to r. Diadem round head, mantle wrapped round middle of the body passes over r. shoulder and falls below waist; high boots. L. shoulder and arm and l. side of trunk nude. Bird of uncertain kind on l. wrist. The small size and inexact workmanship of the gem make it hard to be sure of the artist's intentions, especially in connection with the right side of the figure. A tall scepter seems to be held by the r. hand, but the top of the scepter is slightly out of line, and it is held a little below the middle instead of at a point near the top, as usual. One might think that the hanging r. hand was steadying a club with its thicker end resting on the ground; but that would leave the object above the shoulder unexplained. It could be taken for the top of a torch, but the torch would be without support, and its lower part is not visible in front of the shoulder.

I cannot identify the god here represented. The combination of half nude chest, tall scepter, and a bird on the arm suggests Zeus, but I know of no exact parallel for this figure. Its posture is rather like the reverse types of coins struck under Trajan for the Ombite nome (Dattari, pl. 34, 6325-28). Some of those figures are bearded, others beardless; Dattari identifies only one, calling it Kronos. All differ in slight details from our figure. The shrine or temple is much like one represented on the reverse of a coin of Nicopolis (Palestine) struck under Elagabalus; the piece belongs to the collection of the White Fathers of St. Anne of Jerusalem (see *Revue Biblique*, 57, [1950], p. 120, with pl. II, 18 *bis*; cf. also 18). Like No. 74, this stone shows no marks of magical use.

Rev. plain.

Sard. Upright oval, 14 x 11 x 4. Obv. slightly convex, rev. flat. Modern gold wire mounting as pin.

76 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann
Obv. Bull charging to left. Above, the inscription $\Theta\Theta\Theta\Theta\Delta\iota\omega\text{P}$.

Rev. $\Theta\Theta\Theta\Theta\Delta\iota\omega\text{P}$. The round forms of θ , ω may indicate that the lettering on the rev. was done by a different workman.

Black jasper. Transverse oval, 18 x 14 x 3. Similar but better representations of the subject may be seen in Walters, *Cat. Engr. Gems in B.M.*, pl. 28, No. 2346; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. 28, No. 65. These have no mark of magical use, and in general, figures of bulls are little used for magical amulets. See, however, *SMA*, p. 322, No. 397, a haematite belonging to Mr. Seyrig, with a bull's head on the obv., and a charm against hemorrhage on the other side.

77 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann
Obv. Cross potent encircled by inscription beginning at lower l., $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\theta\iota$.

Rev. plain.

Olive-green glass paste. Circular, diameter 20, thickness 6. Beveled edge, design on smaller face. Modern mounting as pendant, gold wire with suspension loop.

The inscription on the obverse is a very common prayer to which the name of the owner is often added; see Dalton, *Cat. of Early Christian Antiquities in B.M.*, pp. 23-24, Nos. 137-149; and *Cat. of Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Period*, p. 1, Nos. 3-4.


78 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann
Obv. Above, $\text{IX } \Theta\text{VC}$. Below, a character like ξ with an extra stroke or MA set vertically, followed by ΞZE . Then, in four lines, the seven vowels in "pyramid" sequence (one alpha, two epsilons, etc.), with a bee engraved between the first eta and the second.

Rev. plain.

Yellowish red carnelian. Transverse oval, 17 x 12 x 4. Obv. slightly convex, rev. flat. Modern mounting in gold wire as pin.

The choice of the letters ΙΧΘΥC, widely used as a Christian symbol, can hardly be a mere coincidence; but the amulet is not purely Christian, for the vowel sequence below is common in magical use. Further, the bee was an important religious symbol in pagan Ephesus (also a center of magical learning, *Acts* 19.19); bees were represented on the statue of Artemis at Ephesus (Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 407, with fig. 307), and on coins of the city (Imhoof-Blumer and Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder*, pl. 7, 18-22; also *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, pls. 9-11). There are still other religious connections of bees. The soul was sometimes believed to take this form; see Porph., *de antro nympharum*, 18; Soph., *fr.* 879, with Pearson's notes. In modern times, bees are among the forms assumed by *stoicheia* (originally, *elements*, hence, spirits or demons); see Argenti-Rose, *Folk Lore of Chios*, I, pp. 234-5.

79 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann

Obv. The sign .

Rev. plain.

Haematite. Rectangular, 16 x 13 x 3. Mounted as pin in gold wire.

I have not found the symbol of the obverse elsewhere. When viewed with the horizontal line as base, the upper part suggests an irregular form of the XP monogram, usually written X or P. Reversed, the outline is somewhat like a Christian design of an anchor with a fish attached; see the figure in Martigny, *Dict. des ant. chrét.*, p. 657; but I have seen no anchor with straight arms.

80 Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmermann

Obv. COXNA. The A is broken but almost certain, since there is a clear trace of a sloping stroke at the edge of the break, and a short horizontal serif at its top. The choice is between A and Λ.

Rev. plain.

Oblong haematite, corners rounded, 23 x 20 x 3.

Chipped at r. end of obv. and both ends of rev. Mounted as pin in gold wire.

The only interesting point about this piece is the reason why it was preserved. It may be only because its finder recognized in it a bit of ancient and hence potentially magical writing; or because an early owner thought that it carried a sacred name, and therefore preserved it even after part of it was broken off—for it is almost certain that the original word was longer. The elements ΣΟΧ, ΣΟΧΥ (also ΣΟΚ, ΣΟΚΥ) are derived from the name of the god Sobk (Σοῦχος). The complete name may have been Σοχναπαῖος, usually Σοκνοπαῖος.

81 Seen by the Rev. Father R. Mouterde in the vicinity of Tyre.

Obv. God of the Horus-Pantheos type (*SMA*, pp. 157-159) standing to front, nude. Face beardless and apparently youthful; but, unless there are deceptive stains or cracks on the surface, there is also an older, harsh-featured face with prominent nose; it is seen in profile at the (spectator's) left of the younger face. Rays project from the top of the head; broader projections at the r. side may be indistinct indications of the animal heads often seen at both sides of the face and neck of this pantheistic figure (e.g., *SMA*, Pl. 12, 254, 256). Wings are attached to the shoulders and the thighs. The god's r. arm is at his side, the hand perhaps holding an animal, which is seen upright in the field; the l. hand rests on the hip. Above, αβρασαξ, at l., ακραμμαχαμαρε (two lines), at r., σεσειγενβαρφαρηνγης (two lines), below, αβλαναθαναλβα (two lines).

Rev. Harpocrates seated to l. on lotus capsule, r. hand raised towards mouth, l. holds flail over shoulder. Nimbus with twelve rays round head, and over this the hemhem crown (three reed-bundles resting on two uraei). The stalk of the lotus rests upon a crocodile (head to r.); further to r., a palm frond. At bottom, Δαμναμενευς (two lines).

"Emeraude grise" (Mouterde); perhaps more accurately, gray beryl. Upright oval, 45 x 25 (62 x 35 with the elaborate gold mounting). The figures are from direct photographs of the original, slightly enlarged (about one twentieth).

I am deeply indebted to Father Mouterde for his generosity in allowing me to use his notes and to anticipate his own publication of this object, which, because of its inscriptions, will ultimately be included in a fascicle of his *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*.

The figures of both obverse and reverse are familiar types, but they present some novel features. The youthful figure of the obverse shows the relationship of the "Pantheos" to the young Horus, as he is represented on the magical stelae of the Metternich type (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 271); the older face (if such it is), which is seen at l., may represent an attempt to combine with Horus the mask of Bes, which, on the older magical stelae, is sometimes placed over Horus' head (Budge, *loc. cit.*; *SMA*, Pl. 24,

Fig. 5). The result looks like a two-headed man; I remember no specimen like it.

On the reverse there is a strange combination in the headdress of Harpocrates. On dynastic monuments the young god is often shown wearing the hemhem crown, and it appears also in Roman times in types derived from the Harpocrates of Pelusium. (*Hesperia*, 15 [1946], pp. 51-59 with pl. 12; *SMA*, Pl. 10, 217-219A); but the child seated on the lotus usually has only the disk or the nimbus. Here the nimbus and the hemhem crown are combined in a top-heavy arrangement. I have not elsewhere seen the lotus-stalk resting on a crocodile, but on a gem published by Chiflet (*Abraxas Proteus*, pl. 10, 40), a running lion is similarly placed.

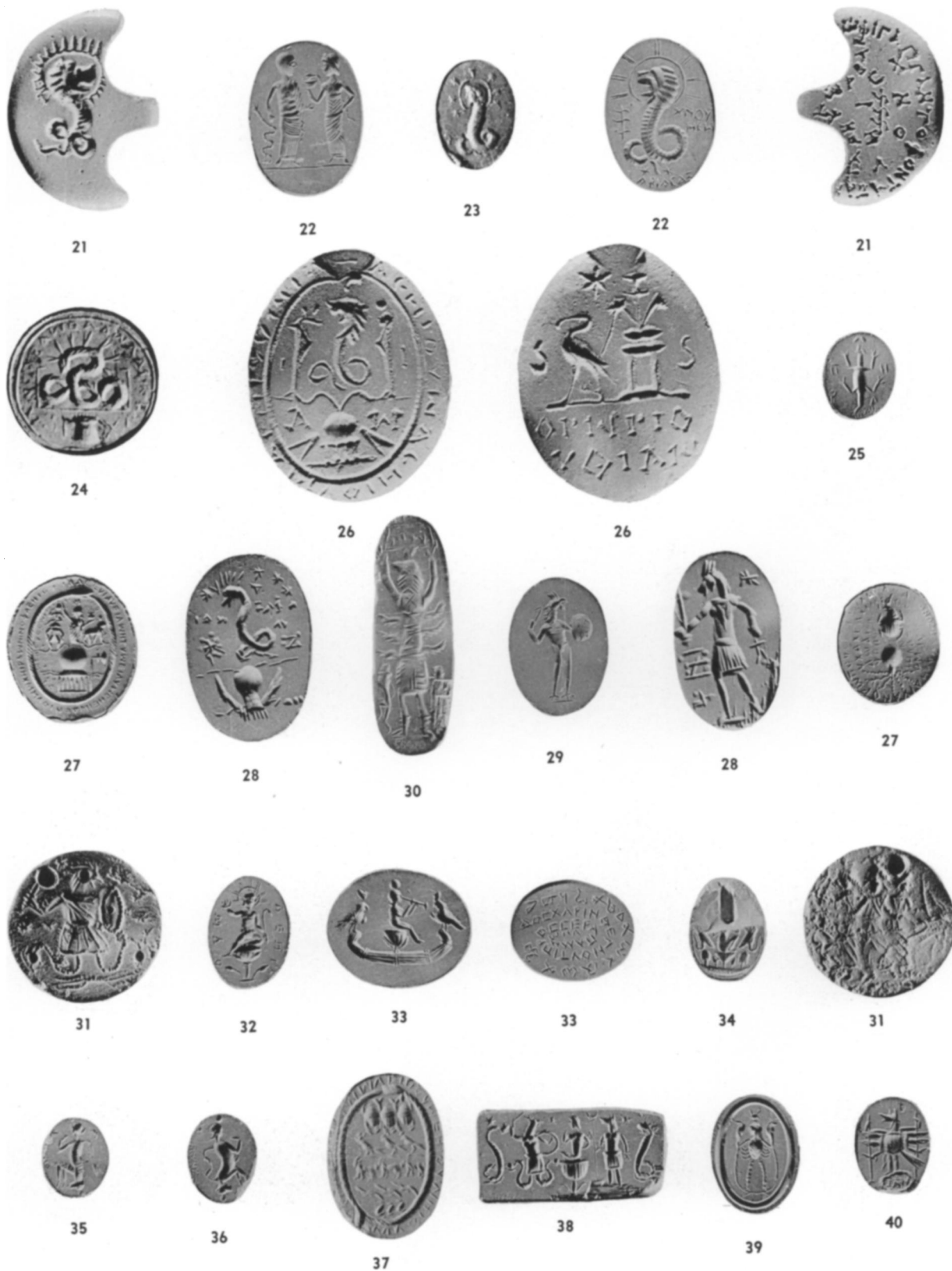
The inscriptions of both obverse and reverse consist of very common magical words, all of which are thought to belong especially to solar divinities; see *SMA*, pp. 191, 201-202.

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Numbers 1-20



Numbers 21-40



Numbers 41–59

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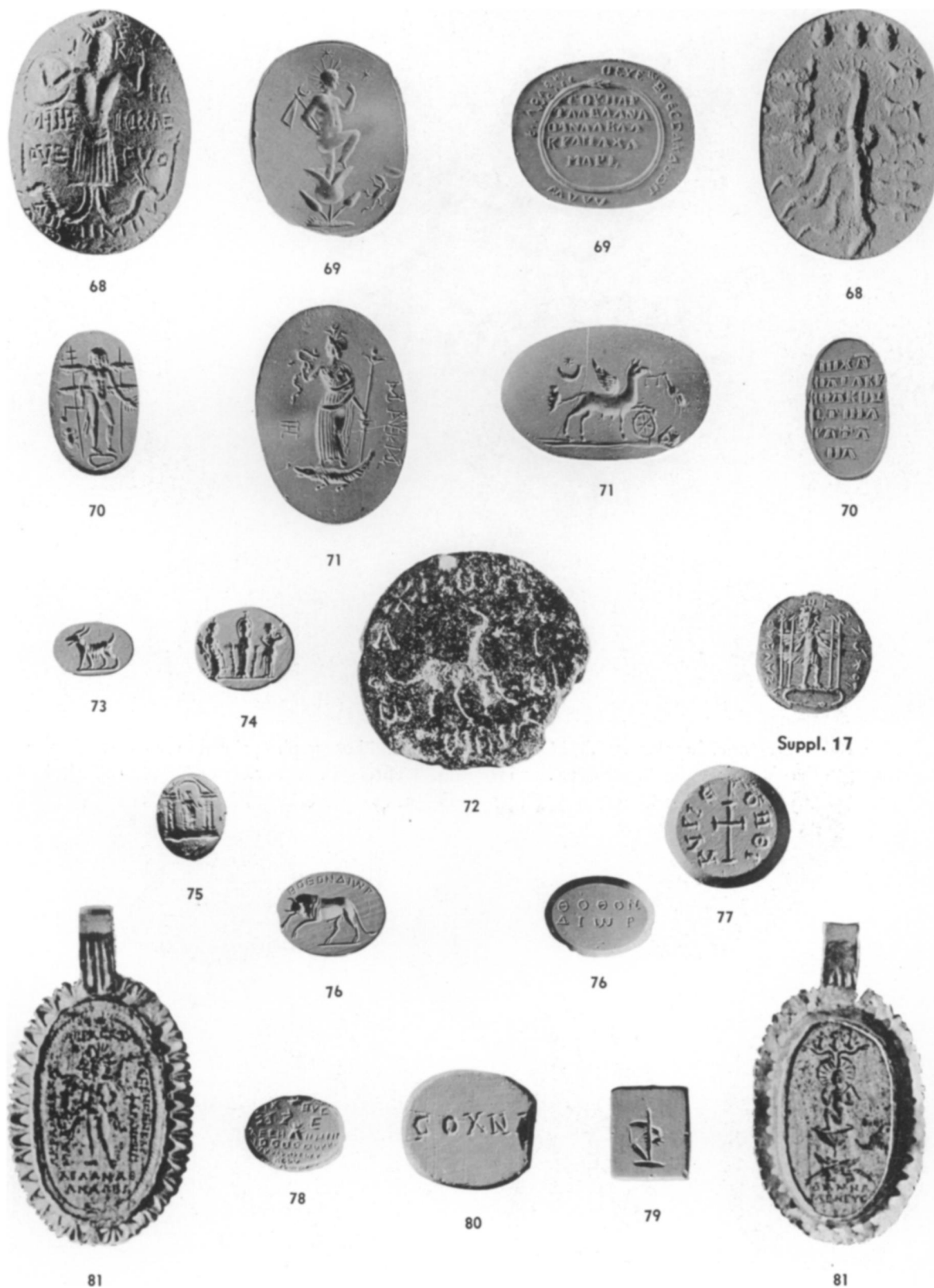
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Numbers 60–67

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Numbers 68–81 and Supplement 17