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A GREEK SILVER PHYLACTERY IN THE MACDANIEL COLLECTION

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In 1992, a magical phylactery was purchased for the Classics Department's MacDaniel collection at Harvard.² This long and narrow silver tablet, accompanied by a small fragment of its bronze case, is perfectly preserved except for the usual creases and ridges due to folding. Close scrutiny of the tablet reveals how it was manufactured. It was originally incised on a larger sheet of metal which was then flipped over and vertically cut with a sharp instrument. The slightly curved edges of the newly cut *lamella* would then cause it to cave in on the inscribed side and thus facilitate the roll-up process. It is quite likely that our tablet was mass-produced as part of a whole set of *lamellae* which were first inscribed side by side on the same silver sheet, then cut and individually packaged.

The rather lengthy Greek inscription engraved on the *lamella* contains no magical characters. It runs on 60 lines and is divided into two main sections: a series of *Zauberworte*, divine names and vowel combinations which takes up almost two thirds of the text (line 1-36), followed by a prayer for protection against spells, ghosts and other misfortunes on behalf of Thomas, son of Maxima (line 37-60). In the first part, the engraver was careful not to split the sacred names, hence an average of 8 characters per line. In the second part, where words could be split at random, the average increases to about 11 characters per line. From the middle of the text onward, the quality of incising decreases consistently, becoming more cramped and shallow.

Although the exact provenance of the *lamella* is unknown, one can use two pieces of external evidence to locate its origin in the Levant. On the one hand, before being sold to Harvard, the phylactery was bought from a dealer who usually operates in and around modern Syria. On the other hand, it closely resembles in terms of width, script and general purpose another silver plaque from Beirut (dated to the IVth c. CE or later).³

Although highly formulaic on the whole, the inscription on the MacDaniel phylactery contains several features that set it apart from other *lamellae*. First of all, not only is the prayer specifically meant as a protective device against enchantments by means of curse tablets (the *καταθέτιμοι* of lines 45-46), but in several instances it seems to be replicating deliberately their language (esp. 9,30-33, 46-48, 52-53, 56-60). Secondly, the introductory sequence of *ὀνόματα* (1-36) is definitely not one that would normally be expected from a talisman. It contains several elements typical of aggressive, chthonic, magic and stands as

¹ Special abbreviations:

DT *Defixionum Tabellae*, ed. A. Audollent (Paris 1904).

GMA *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae*, Part 1: *Published Texts of Known Provenance*, ed. R. Kotansky, *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 23/1 (Opladen 1994).

PGM *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz, 2nd. ed. A. Henrichs (Stuttgart 1973-1974).

SGD D. Jordan, "A survey of the Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora", *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151-197.

Suppl. Mag. *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols., eds. R.W. Daniel-F. Maltomini, *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 16.1 and 2 (Opladen 1990 and 1991).

I am grateful to D.G. Mitten for entrusting me with the publication of the piece. My appreciative thanks are also due to C.A. Faraone, A. Henrichs, C.P. Jones, L. Koenen and R.D. Kotansky for their support and guidance. Lastly, I should like to express my recognition of the fine conservation work done by H. Lee and his staff at the Fogg Museum of Art.

² It is presently stored in the Ancient Art Collection, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Cambridge, Mass., under the temporary access number TL 33416.

³ Cf. *GMA* 52 and D.R. Jordan, "A New Reading of a Phylactery from Beirut", *ZPE* 88 (1991) 61-69, plate II. It is as wide as our piece (3 cm on average) but longer (37.5 cm). Its script is strikingly similar to the MacDaniel's one although the letters are smaller with a higher average of characters per line. Worth noting among other resemblances between the Alexandria and MacDaniel phylacteries are: the way ε and λ merge when written consecutively (cf. *GMA* 52, 4-5: Ελαωθ; McD., line 57: μέλος); the same three epithets applied in the same order to the divine names (cf. *GMA* 52,109-110; McD., line 37-39); similar concerns towards warding off ghosts and curses alike (cf. *GMA* 52, 12-13, 75-76, 90-91; McD., lines 43-48).

the longest parallel known so far, in a metal amulet, to the magical papyri. It appears within a Greco-Egyptian love-charm dated to the IVth-Vth c. CE. I have reproduced this section below side by side with the phylactery's transcription.⁴

MacDaniel Phylactery
Pl. IV.1

2.8 cm. x 25.3 cm.; thickness: .0162 cm.;
weight: 6.64 gms

IV-V CE

	Text		<i>PGM XIXa</i> , 6-9 (for comparison)
1	Θωθω ιθι ιθι Μουμωθυρι Ζωουκ ζαουκ		6 Θωθωθω ιθι ιθι [ιθι] Μουθυουρι Χαουκ
4	χθω χθων Ολαδαριμαψ Τιτοπωξ· Καμουηιβιθω	ω	7 Χθεθωνι Μαψιθυριμαψ Τιτινυξ Βιαμ[ου]ν Βλαμουνηθ Βιωθ Θω
8	Διαραξ Φορβαρβαρωρ Χοσοης Βολχοσηλ		Διαραξ Φορβαρβαρωρ Χωσοηθ Βολχοσηθ
12	Εριχιγαλ Αρσαμωσι Αρκενοφρη Βιρρικαφρω		[Ερ]εχιγαλ Αρσαμω Αρκενοφρη 8 Βιρβηκαφω,
16	Ιαω ηαηωη Ηηηι Αρεμμουθ Αραιαωθ		Ιαω ηιαση Ηηηι αια Χιμνουθ Αρβιωθ
20	Κραζαραξ Φραζιααξ Νουρνωρ Τουτα		Καραχαραξ Φραζαξ Νουμωρ Τοταχ
24	Εντοφρη Ταθι Χουχε χουχε Χωξ χωξ		Αντοφρη Ταυ[αν] Χουχε χουχε Χωξ χωξ
28	Λουκωθι Πικανδραπτης Ορεοβαρζαγρα Μασκελλι		9 Χουχωθι Μασκελλι Μασκελλι Φνουκενταβαωθ
32	Φνουκενταβα- ωθ Ιαω ουια Ι- ωου Ιαωουθ Αι αι αι		Ορεοβαζαγρα Υποχθων Ιωουθ Ιαωουθ Αι αι αι
36	Ιου ιου ιου, ἄγια κα(ι) ἰχυρά καὶ δυνατὰ ὀνό- ματα τὰ τῆς με-		Ου ου ου

⁴ For love charms on laed tablets as applications of *PMS IV* see D.G. Martinez, *A Greek Love Charm from Egypt (P. Mich. 757)*, P. Mich XVI, Am. Stud. in Pap. 30 (Atlanta 1991), esp. 6-8.

40 γάλης Ἐνάγκης,
 διατηρήσατε καὶ
 διαφυλάξατε
 ἀπὸ πάσης γοε-
 44 τίας καὶ φαρμα-
 κίας καὶ κατα-
 θεσίμων καὶ ἀ-
 ώρων καὶ βειέ-
 48 ων καὶ παντὸ-
 ς κακοῦ πράγμ-
 ατος το σομα κ-
 αὶ τή(ν) ψυχὴν
 52 καὶ πᾶν μέλος
 τοῦ σώματος
 Θωμᾶ, ὃν ἔτε-
 κεν Μάξιμα,
 56 ἀπὸ τῆς σήμε-
 ρον ἡμέρας
 καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐ-
 ξῆς ἅπαντα
 60 χρόνον αὐτοῦ.

41 read διατηρήσατε 43/44 read γοητείας 44/45 read φαρμακείας 45/46 read καταδέμων 47/48
 read βιαίων 50 read σώμα

"(magical words) holy, mighty and powerful names of the great Necessity, preserve and protect from all witchcraft and sorcery, from curse tablets, from those who died an untimely death, from those who died violently and from every evil thing, the body, the soul and every limb of the body of Thomas, whom Maxima bore, from this day forth through his entire time to come."

1-36: This entire sequence is a self-contained *logos* meant as an invocation to the deity called Ἐνάγκη in line 40. It occurs elsewhere with the usual variations inserted among other formulas in line 6b-9 of *PGM XIXa* (cf. *supra*), a love-charm written on a single sheet of papyrus (30 x 22.8 cm) found in Hermopolis, modern Eschmunên, in Egypt (the inscription itself reveals that it was placed in the mouth of a mummy in order to use the dead person's soul [νεκυδαίμων, line 15] as a spell-carrier). Both the phylactery's and the papyrus' versions of the *logos* are based on an earlier *Vorlage* which it is sometimes possible to reconstruct (cf. *comms.* to line 19). Among its most notable features, the *logos* contains several names of Egyptian deities (lines 1: Thoth; 13: Horus; 14: Arsnuphis; 24: Ra [?]) together with their Egyptian epithets. The chthonic, infernal nature of the invocation is undeniable (cf. lines 1, 4, 9, 12, 30-33) and quite unusual in an apotropaic context.

All in all, the *Θωθω-logos* seems to be made of 36 ὀνόματα. The scribe emphasized the cuts by starting on the next line after each magical word and, in the process, managed to break only two of the names (lines 32/33 and 33/34 respectively). The number of ὀνόματα might refer to the 36 decans of the Zodiac like the 36 *charaktêres* which were engraved at the top of a late Antique Syrian curse tablet and then invoked at the beginning of the prayer as κύριοι ἀγιώτατοι χαρακτήρες (cf. W. Van Rengen, "Deux défixions contre les Bleus à Apamée," *Apamée de Syrie* [Brussels 1984] 215-219; lists of decans in W. Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansterbilder* [Glückstadt/Hamburg 1936] 76-81). There is indirect evidence for the use of decans in phylacteries. A VIth c. BCE Phoenician gold phylactery from Tyre has 36 egyptianizing figures which are likely to stand for the decans (cf. H. Lozachmeur - M. Pezin, "De Tyr: Un nouvel étui et son amulette magique à inscription," *Etudes isiaques: Hommages à J. Leclant* IFAO 106/3 [Cairo 1993] 362 and n.8). From the late Imperial period, a Syrian curse tablet (*DT 15*) aimed at a pantomime tries to cancel the assistance which the δέκανοι (line 8) could provide to the target.

Ancient medical astrology assigned each part of the human body to the tutelage of a particular decan (cf. Origen *Contra Celsus* 8.58; W. Gundel, *Dekane* 262ff.). It is, therefore, certainly significant that, in our phylactery, 36 secret names are being invoked to protect "every limb (πᾶν μέλος) of the body of Thomas" (line 52-53 and comments). Whenever a curse tablet claims to name all the parts to be damaged in the target's body, it usually enumerates 36 of them (cf. J.G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* [New York/Oxford 1992] 240-242, #134). In addition, one of the names in the *logos* (Πικανδραπτηρ, line 29) features prominently in a Coptic gnostic-magical tractate as one of the personified beings responsible for activating parts of the human body (cf. *infra*). The astrological character of the *Θωθω-logos* is further

Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World [New York/Oxford 1992] 240-242, #134). In addition, one of the names in the *logos* (Πισανδραπτῆς, line 29) features prominently in a Coptic gnostic-magical tractate as one of the personified beings responsible for activating parts of the human body (cf. *infra*). The astrological character of the *θωθω-logos* is further confirmed by the deity it is meant to invoke, i.e. Ananke, master of destiny, ruling over planets, stars and gods alike (cf. W. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* [Munich 1968] 70-72; see our comments to lines 39-40).

1 Θωθω ιθι ιθι: Θωθω (cf. *PGM* XIII.810 and, within the *αχατω-* palindrom, I.326, IV.463, 1986, etc.) is Egyptian for "Thoth the Great," the deity of the underworld a.k.a. Hermes Trismegistos. In a Greek inscription from Tunah-el-Gebel, Thot Trismegistos appears as Θῶυθ ΩΩΩ (corresponding to dhwtj ʾw [𓄠]); hence single ω may indicate μέγας (so Koenen with reference to V. Guirgis, *Mitt. d. Deutschen Arch. Institues*, Kairo, 20 [1965] 121). As for ιθι ιθι, it has the same meaning whether it is read as an Egyptian invocation formula ("let him come" [twice]) or as the repetition of the Greek 2nd pers. sing. imp. of εἶμι: ἴθι ἴθι ("come, come," cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 832).

4 Χθω χθων: The name Χθων, without the reduplication, can be found in another *logos* which, not surprisingly, is meant to invoke chthonic deities (χθόνιοι θεοί) in several curse tablets from Cyprus (*DT* 22.14; 24.6; 26.10, etc.). Preisendanz's index to his edition of the magical papyri mentions a Χθων only in *PGM* XXIII.5. The corresponding Χθεθωνι in *PGM* XIXa.7 seems to be more frequent (cf. *PGM* V.485; VII.368; XIII.906; *DT* 252.4; 253.5).

9 Φορβαρβαρωρ: A *vox magica* from the Borphor-series (e.g. *PGM* IV.2347-2352) which is frequently used to invoke the patron deities of all magicians, Hekate and Typhon, and appears almost exclusively in curse tablets, not in protective *lamellae* (cf. D.R. Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 [1985] 240-241).

11 Βολχοσηλ: The corresponding line in the Hermopolis papyrus has preserved the standard Βολχοσήθ (cf. *PGM* IV.2025, XII.372, etc.). With the phylactery's ending in *lambda*, however, the word seems to fall into the category of angelic names in -ηλ; cf. A.M. Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte I-III* (Brussels 1931) xiii.3 *Balbaēl* (demotic *Bōbōēl*, see II p. 35 and index; also xlvi. 18.17 *Bōbōēl*). One can also read it as a composite Semitic divine name made of three elements: BWL (*bōl* = Ba'al, "the Lord"; for names starting in BWL-, cf. J.K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* [Oxford 1971] 8, 74), QWS (i.e. *Qōs*, the name of the principal Edomite god) and the ending -EL (for "god"). Originally, the entire name could have meant: "the Lord P <is> god". At least the two first elements of the name occur on a fragmentary Edomite ostrakon ("...BLKWSHP...", in I. Beit Arieh, "The Edomite Shrine at Horvat Qitmit in the Judean Negev. Preliminary Excavation Report," *Tel-Aviv* 18 [1991] 93-116, fig. 17).

12 Εριςχιγάλ: The Hermopolis papyrus has once more the standard spelling [Ερ]εχιγάλ (cf. *PGM* IV.2484; VII. 317). Ereshkigal is the Babylonian goddess of the underworld oftentimes identified with Persephone (cf. *PGM* IV.337) or Hekate (cf. *PGM* LXX.4-5).

13 Αρσαμωσι: Cf. *PGM* II.155; XI.91-92; XIII.626, etc. Possibly Egyptian for "Horus the first-born" when read with a rough breathing (cf. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz [Chicago 1992] 335).

14 Αρκενοφρη: Cf. *PGM* II.217, IV.1629, XII.183; *Suppl. Mag.* 42.56; 49.44. The Egyptian god Arsnuphis, associated with Nubia and consort of the goddess Tefnut (cf. W. Spiegelberg, s.v. "Arsnuphis," *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, H. Bonnet, ed. [Berlin/New York 1971] 55-56). See Kotansky's comments to *GMA* 36.4 (p. 186) for further analysis of the name.

16 Ιαω ησηρη: See also line 33. Ιαω is probably derived from the name of the Jewish god, the tetragrammaton YHWH (latest discussion in D.G. Martinez, [above n. 3] 79f.). For formations of Iaw + vowel strings, cf. *GMA* 4.7 (Ιαω ησηουαεω; *PGM* XII.189 (Ιαω ουσηρηω etc.); XIII.887 (Ιαω ηιυυεσηρηωα, etc.). For Ιαω as protection from the evil eye see J. Engemann, "Magische Übelabwehr in der Antike", *Jb. Ant. u. Christ.* 18 (1975) 37.

17 Ηιηι: Similar vowel sequence in *PGM* II.154; VII.307; XIII.943, 993; cf. *Suppl. Mag.* I 48 (P. Mich. XVI. 757 [above, n. 3]) G 16, 18, 21.

19 Αρσασωθ: The closest parallel to this name in the papyri is Αρβασιωθ (i.e. the third element of the *Ωρος-logos*; e.g. *PGM* IV.1077) which itself derives by letter permutation from the more common Αρβαθιαω (cf. *PGM* IV.1564, V.479.981, XXXVI.308, etc.; W. Fauth, "Arbath Jao," *Oriens Christianus* 67 [1963] 64-75). It is likely that Αρβασιωθ was present in the original version of the *Θωθω-logos* since the corresponding Αρβιωθ in the Hermopolis papyrus (*PGM* XIXa.8) has retained the *beta* in yet another variant of the name.

29 Πισανδραπτῆς: *Pisandraptēs* is one of the 360 daemons (10 per decan) responsible for activating all parts of the human body in the *Apocryphon of John* (65.16-17; cf. *Apocryphon Johannis*, ed. S. Giversen [Acta Theologica Danica 5; Copenhagen 1963]). R. Kotansky pointed out to me that he knows of an unpublished silver phylactery where the name occurs three times.

30-33 Ορεοβαρζαγρα, Μασκελλι, Φνουκενταβαωθ: A sub-sequence within the larger incantation. It derives from the well-known Maskelli formula (in its full, standard, form: Μασκελλι, Μασκελλο, Φνουκενταβαωθ, Ορεοβαζαγρα, Ρηξιχθων, Ιπποχθων, Πυριπηγανυξ) which was specifically meant to invoke Ananke (cf. K. Preisendanz, s.v. "Maskelli," *RE* 14 [1928] 2120; also *Suppl. Mag.* I.12.3f. note and below 37-39). This chthonic formula, typical of *defixiones* and aggressive magic in general, is quite unusual in an apotropaic context and shows how the author of the phylactery tends to choose his weapons from the same arsenal as his (potential) opponents.

33 Ιαω ουια: Cf. line 16.

35 Αι αι αι: Same sequence of vowels in *PGM* IV.1791 (see also R. Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergefäß aus Pergamon* [Berlin 1905] 13, lines 56-7).

καὶ δυνάτᾳ ὀνόματα. See also, among many other instances, *GMA* 58.12; *PGM* IV.1192 (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ ἰχυρόν), and a Latin curse tablet (*DT* 250.27-29: *et te ad[iu]ro quisque inferne [es] per hec sancta nomina Necessitatis*). For direct invocations of the ὀνόματα see *Suppl. Mag.* I. 45.52f. (after κατὰ τῆς κρατεῖς Ἀνάγκης and Maskelli-logos in 34): τὰ ἅγια ὀνόματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐδυνάμις αὐταὶ ἐπι{c}χυρήσατε καὶ τελίτε τὴν ἐπαυδὴν. For other examples see Daniel's and Maltomini's note *ad loc.*

39-40 τῆς μεγάλης Ἀνάγκης: Necessity, who plays an important role in the Orphic theogonies, is invoked here as the supreme deity ruling over all other divine or demonic powers (cf. Plato *Laws* VII 818e; K. Wernicke, s.v. "Ananke" *RE* 1 [1894] 2057-8; H. Schreckenberg, *ANANKE: Geschichte des Wortgebrauchs* [Munich 1964] 135-164). In the Hermopolis love-spell (lines 13-14), the prayer starts with an invocation to a mysterious "guardian of the strong destiny (μελητῆς τῆς κρατεῖς Ἀνάγκης), who manages my affairs, the thoughts of my soul, which no one can speak out against, not a god, not an angel, not a daimon" (transl. E.N. O'Neil and R. Kotansky, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz [Chicago 1992] 256). For more references to Ananke in the papyri, cf. *Suppl. Mag.* 12.2 and 45.1.31 (quoted to lines 37-39).

41 διατηρήσατε: Rare in prayers on amulets. Eugenia's phylactery (cf. C. Faraone - R. Kotansky, "An Inscribed Gold Phylactery in Stamford, Connecticut," *ZPE* 75 [1988] 257-266) has τεράσσατε (line 15) and a North African amulet against hail-storm uses συντηρήσατε (cf. *GMA* 11b.13). The verb διατηρέω does not even appear in recipes for phylacteries preserved in the papyri (elsewhere in *PGM*, cf. III.607, IV.2980, V.44, VII.453).

42 διαφυλάξατε: The idea is the same as in διατηρήσατε but conveyed through a much more common verb in the vocabulary of protective magic. The 2nd pers. imp. aor. act. of διαφυλάσσω, either singular or plural, occurs in countless metal amulets. See for instance the following phylacteries: Alexandra, lines 6, 73, 110-111 (*GMA* 52); Aurelia, lines 17-18, 22 and vertical margin (cf. R. Kotansky, "Two Amulets in the Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 8 [1980] 181); John and Georgia, lines 18-19 (*GMA* 41); Eugenia, line 27 (ref. *supra*); Mastarion, lines 4-5 (cf. M.C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vol. 2, Jewelry, Enamels and Arts of the Migration Period [Washington, D.C. 1965] no. 28); Syntyche, lines 8, 11, 14, 16-17 (cf. W. Froehner, in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 4 [1866-67] 222). On gemstones, cf. A. Delatte - Ph. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1964) # 23, 28, 80, etc. In the papyri, cf. *PGM* IV.924.1079. 2516; VII.497, etc.

43-45 γοετίας καὶ φαρμακίας: Such a combination of general terms, in addition to the καταθέσιμοι of lines 45-46, is quite unique among phylacteries aimed at warding off attacks of witchcraft. Thus, φαρμακία alone is used in only two metal phylacteries, those of Syntyche (lines 8-9; ref. *supra*) and Juliana (*GMA* 46.11-12). Most countercharms name only specific magical operations: Alexandra (*GMA* 52.12-13) wants to be preserved "from spells/poisons and curses (φαρμάκων καὶ κατάδεμων; see also lines 75-76, 90-91); a phylactery whose invention was attributed to Moses (*GMA* 32) insures that the bearer will fear "neither the magician (μάγον) nor the curse (καταδέμων)" (lines 10-11; see also lines 25-27, 32-24). For the oldest Greek counterspell on a lamella, see *Inscriptiones Creticae* 2.19, lines 13, 17 and 20). Recipes for λυσιφάρμακα (counterspells) to be inscribed on lamellae, potsherds or papyrus strips can be found in several formularies (cf. refs. in *GMA* p. 191).

45-46 καταθέσιμων: Most likely a misspelling of καταδέμων (in phylacteries, cf. above *GMA* 32.11; 52.13). As an alternative, one could also try to salvage the word, which is unattested in Greek, by reading it as a combination of κατα- and -θεσιμος (elsewhere only after ἀπο-, ἐκ-, παρα- and περι-; cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, vol. IV/1 [Paris 1977] 1117). As an adjectival form close to the substantive κατάθεσις, its meaning could ultimately derive from κατατίθημι, "to lay down," "to deposit," which is used in the context of cursing together with καταγράφω or καταδέω in order to "hand over" someone to the gods for punishment or constraint (cf. *DT* 74; 75; *SGD* 21; H.S. Versnel, "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers," *Magika Hiera* [Oxford 1991] 66, 77, 80). Furthermore, κατατίθημι also means "to bury" (cf. Mk 15:46; cf. τὸ καταδέσιον, "sepulchre, container of relics; Lampe s.v.) and is used in the papyri (cf. *PGM* V.345; VII.455; XXXVI.3) when describing the way curse tablets are to be "laid down underneath" the earth (in burials, circus arenas, etc.) or bodies of water (in rivers, wells, etc.). A recipe for a spell written on papyrus requires: "deposit it with one who has died a violent death" (*PGM* XIXb, 5: κατατίθου εἰς βιοθάνατον). Hence, the καταθέσιμοι may have concrete overtones in addition to their primarily abstract meaning. They would still refer to curse tablets, although indirectly through an euphemism: "things deposited" or "laid down" both in a literal and figurative, judicial, sense.

46-48 ἄωρων καὶ βειέων: The spirits of the dead, and especially of those who had met with an untimely or/and violent demise, were believed to haunt their place of burial (cf. J.H. Waszink, s.v. "Biothanati," *RAC*, vol.2 [1954] 391-4). The magician thought he could manipulate those restless spirits at will by "binding" them with the help of more potent supernatural entities (gods, angels, etc.; cf. *PGM* IV.1400-1). The most common medium to secure the ghosts' cooperation was to engrave "powerful names" and the details of the spell on a lead tablet. The MacDaniel lamella is unique among metal amulets in using words as specific as ἄωρος and βίαιος, otherwise extremely frequent in the papyri (e.g. *PGM* IV.333-334) and in curse tablets (cf. index to *DT*, p. 465-470; Van Rengen, "Deux défixions...", p. 215, line 7-8: δέμονα ἀώρου, δέμονα βιέου; cf. Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* [Leipzig 1921; in typescript edition, Amsterdam 1974] vol. 1, parag. 351-352 and D.G. Martinez [above, n. 3], note to line J4). In phylacteries, the spellbound spirit of the dead is usually implied in such terms or phrases as πνεῦμα πονηρόν (*GMA* 32.11) or δαμόνιον even when spells and curse tablets are mentioned along with it (*GMA* 52.8-13).

48-50 (ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος: This stock formula, usually introduced by an imperative form of (δια)φυλάσσω (cf. line 42) appears on many kinds of amulets. Our lamella resorts to the longer version of it (cf. *PGM* LXXI). There were medium-size (ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ: cf. S. Eitrem, "A New Christian Amulet," *Aegyptus* 3 [1922] 66, line 2f.) and shorter versions as well, the latter being particularly suited for small gemstones (ἀπὸ κακοῦ: cf. C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* [Ann Arbor, Mich. 1950] 46, #6).

50-51 (διαφυλάξατε) τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴ(ν) ψυχὴν: Compare with a recipe for a metal phylactery in *PGM* XIII.589-590: διαφύλασσε μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν ψυχὴν ὀλόκληρον ἐμοῦ). For σῶμα only, see *GMA* 56.9 and a papyrus amulet buried with a mummy (*PGM* LIX.11: φυλάξατε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Φθείου). For ψυχή only, cf. *GMA* 41.20; 67.7. Both terms are extremely common in *defixiones* (see Audollent's index in *DT*, p. 487ff.; *SGD* 146; 147).

52-53 καὶ πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος: The text is barely legible towards the end of line 52 but, if my reading is correct, the emphasis on "every limb" is worth noting as yet another example of how heavily our phylactery draws upon the language of curse tablets: the formula "I bind every limb (πᾶν μέλος) of NN" appears in two spells from Audollent's compilation (*DT* 241; 242).

54-55 Θωμᾶ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Μάξιμα: The Biblical name Thomas, of Aramaic origin, is typically Christian and is not attested anywhere outside Syria-Palestine before the advent of Christianity (cf. I. Kajanto, *Onomastic studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* [Helsinki 1963] 116). It occurs quite late in Egyptian papyri (from the Vth c. CE onwards; cf. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum* [Milan 1967] 141, s.v. Θωμᾶς). As to the Latin female cognomen Maxima standing by itself, it also becomes popular only in the Christian period (for Latin inscriptions, cf. index to Diehl's *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, vol. 3, s.v. Maxima [numerous occurrences from the end of the IVth c. CE onwards]; in Greek papyri, cf. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* [Heidelberg 1922] s.v. Μάξιμα, p. 205 [two examples from the VIth c. CE]).

56-60 ἀπὸ τῆςήμερον ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον αὐτοῦ: The closest parallel appears in a consecration formula to be pronounced over a stone amulet (*PGM* IV.1692: ἀπὸ τῆςήμερον ἡμέρας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον; cf. *PGM* I.165-166). Slightly longer is the version of a Syrian gold phylactery (*GMA* 57. 19-21: ἀπὸ τῆςήμερον, [ἡμέρας] καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι [εἰς τὸ]ν πάντα χρόνον, κτλ). Not surprisingly, these temporal formulas were even more widely used in curse tablets: cf. *DT* 156.33,42; 159a.74; 160.116-117; 271.43; P. Moraux, *Une défexion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul* (Brussels 1960) 12, line 16-19; *SGD* 179.

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CORRECTIONS

In F. Heintz, "A Greek Silver Phylactery in the Mac Daniel Collection" (pp. 295-300) a serious printing error occurred:

(1.) p. 298, lines 1-3 were repeated from the bottom of the preceding page.

(2.) Correspondingly, 3 lines are missing at the bottom of p. 298. We print here F. Heintz' note to line 36 and his entire explanation to lines 37-39 the first two lines of which have dropped out:

36 Ιου Ιου Ιου: Cf. *PGM* LXXVII.14-15; *Suppl. Mag.* II.96.47.

37-39: ἄγια καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυνατὰ ὀνόματα refers back to all the magical names of lines 1-36. It is a stock invocation in prayers for protection. Alexandra's phylactery (*GMA* 52, lines 109-110) has the best parallel: ἄγια καὶ εἰσχυρὰ καὶ δυνατὰ ὀνόματα. See also, among many other instances, *GMA* 58.12; *PGM* IV.1192 (τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρόν), and a Latin curse tablet (*DT* 250.27-29: *et te ad[iu]ro quisque inferne [es] per hec sancta nomina Necessitatis*). For direct invocations of the ὀνόματα see *Suppl. Mag.* I. 45.52f. (after κατὰ τῆς κρατεῖας Ἀνάγκης and Maskelli-logos in 34): τὰ ἄγια ὀνόματα ταῦτα καὶ ἐδυναμίει αὐταὶ ἐπι(σ)χυρήσατε καὶ τελίτε τὴν ἐπαυδὴν. For other examples see Daniel's and Maltomini's note *ad loc.*

On p. 296 in the middle between the text columns of the MacDaniel Phylactery (line 4) and *PGM* XIXa, line 7, appears an *omega* which was not intended to be there.

The author had no chance to detect the errors since they occurred after he had read the proofs. The editors apologize to him as well to our readers.

TAFEL IV



Silver lamella with Greek inscription from the Alice C. McDaniel Collection, Department of the Classics, Harvard University; left: ll. 1–38, right: ll. 39–60