

## CHAPTER XVI

### UNUSUAL, OBSCURE, AND PROBLEMATICAL TYPES

THE title of this chapter should suggest that its matter cannot be set forth with even the moderate regard to system that has marked the earlier parts of the book. In fact, only a few illustrations can be chosen from many possible ones. There are not many collections of magical amulets, even small ones, that do not comprise one or more specimens that are either unique in their design or else have so few relatives that comparison helps but little to explain their purpose and meaning.<sup>1</sup> Besides their inherent difficulties, some amulets that seem to stand alone, or almost alone, have been published with so many technical faults that the student is left uncertain about various details and hesitates to propose an explanation of them.

Yet it is not strange that many designs carry no meaning for us. Some of them were devised by magicians with special reference to the needs of their customers, and we have no way to judge the appropriateness of the figures and symbols employed to the personalities or situations for which magical aid was desired. Further, not a few unusual specimens owe their obscurity to a decadence, not to say a degradation, of the ideas that informed earlier work of the kind. Divine figures are less accurately characterized, and their actions and attributes lack significance. The inscriptions — which, it is true, are often unintelligible, even in better amulets, because they use magical words — not merely become meaningless but also give the impression that they meant nothing even in secret codes. They often seem to be made up of letters written at random; and the letters are sometimes so debased that they cannot be assigned to any alphabet.

In view of these irregularities, the specimens to be discussed here are introduced in no significant order, but merely as individuals or groups that are in some way puzzling or out of the ordinary.

#### PIG AND SNAKE

Some years ago a private owner sent me for examination a rather large green jasper set in a modern ring (D. 348). The stone is a horizontal oval, 16 × 23 mm. At the right the obverse shows a large pig walking to left on the tail of a lion-headed snake, which has turned its head back to right as if to attack the pig. There are six rays round the lion-snake's head. It is of course the ordinary form of Chnoubis, a deity that seems to have solar

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that very few pieces of the remarkable Borgia collection have been reproduced in illustrations. Zoega's full and minutely careful descriptions do all that words can to make up for this lack; but it is likely that modern illustrations would bring out relationships that cannot be asserted on the basis of the descriptions alone.



relations. On the reverse is the inscription *σισιρω σισιφερμ(υ?) χνουωρ αβρασιξ (sic) ιβηχ*, some parts of which are found on various other magical gems and in magical papyri.<sup>2</sup> *ρω* is the Coptic word for ram, *σιρω* is perhaps "son of the ram," that is, of the ram-headed Amon or Chnum; but the inscription contributes nothing to the explanation of the design.

Very like this is a somewhat smaller glossy black ring stone, probably obsidian, in the collection of President A. G. Ruthven.<sup>3</sup> The obverse has the same design of a large pig treading on the tail of a lion-headed snake, which bends back to meet the attack. On the reverse Sarapis enthroned faces to the left. There is a disk over his head, his left hand rests upon a tall scepter, the extended right holds an uncertain object, probably meant for a patera. The throne rests on a crocodile, of which only the upper part remains. The legend *βαινωωωωχ* is cut round the margin. An inscription on the edge begins at the bottom, where some letters have been chipped away, and reads counterclockwise [*σισ*]ιρω σισιφερμου χνουωρ αβρασ[αξ].

Zoega described two other examples of this strange design, each on the reverse side of a stone showing on the obverse face a bearded figure which, on the evidence of the Ruthven amulet, can probably be interpreted as Sarapis.<sup>4</sup> But one of the two, despite the bearded Jovian head, is making the gesture of Harpocrates (hand to lips), is nude, and has a disk on the head — a curious fusion of characteristics belonging to two deities, one youthful, the other mature. The god of the other stone has a garment over the left shoulder and holds on the left arm a sickle; the legs and feet are broken away.<sup>5</sup> Both Borgia gems bear inscriptions which contain some parts, perhaps originally all, of the previously noted words, *σισιρω κτλ*.

There is reason to suspect that the pig and Chnoubis serpent were represented on a stone which is quite differently interpreted in Montfaucon's illustration of it.<sup>6</sup> There the pig has become an elephant, and the snake is represented by a small bent tree; but parts of the characteristic inscription are certainly present. Montfaucon himself is probably not to be charged with the error, if such it is; his cut is derived from Fauvel, who may have supplied a faulty sketch.<sup>7</sup>

A design so unusual as this, yet occurring on four, perhaps even five, specimens, must have been fairly well known, but it is not easy to divine its

<sup>2</sup> The words *σισιρω* and *χνουωρη* occur also on D. 366, a fusiform bead (but unperforated) to be discussed later. There also it is not possible to find a connection between the words and the designs, a lion and an unidentified female personage, perhaps Nemesis.

<sup>3</sup> D. 349.

<sup>4</sup> *Museo Borgiano*, p. 436, 16; p. 479, 47.

<sup>5</sup> A flail whip or even a crook scepter might have been expected rather than a sickle. It is just possible that Zoega mistook the object.

<sup>6</sup> Montfaucon, *Suppl.* II, Pl. 55, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Although there is no question that coin types exercised an influence upon the designs of certain gems, I doubt whether any conclusions bearing upon the pig-and-snake type can be drawn from the denarii of Julius Caesar which show an elephant trampling on a serpent or dragon (Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, II, 390 f.; III, Pl. 103, 5). Such a coin, however, may have contributed to the error of Montfaucon's, or Fauvel's, draftsman.



meaning. In later dynastic times the pig was regarded as belonging to Set, and should be associated with darkness and evil.<sup>8</sup> The serpent with the radiate head of a lion is a solar being, and the use of it as a medical amulet arrays it on the side of good. The scene engraved on the pig and snake amulets undoubtedly shows the two animals as enemies, and there is probably a suggestion that the pig is the victor in any conflict between them. Pigs are more or less immune to the venom of snakes, and it is commonly believed that they will attack the reptiles, tread them to pieces with their hoofs, and sometimes even devour them. If the pig is the representative of Set, one is naturally led to infer that this design originated in some conventicle of Set worshipers; but it may be enough to recall that even from early dynastic times Set was credited with great powers, especially in magic, and that magicians are wont to pay special homage to sinister divinities.<sup>9</sup>

What is hardest to explain is the association of the pig and snake design with Sarapis. That god, as the successor of Osiris, should be the enemy of Set, Osiris' murderer. It is just possible that in his character as god of the gloomy lower world Sarapis was thought to be a proper ally of Set; at any rate no other reason for the partnership occurs to me.<sup>10</sup>

There is nothing on these four amulets to suggest a connection with the Gnostic Sethians. However, a recent publication reports the discovery of a terra-cotta pig actually marked on both sides with the crux monogrammatica.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that the identification of Christ with Seth,<sup>12</sup> who was in turn identified with Set-Typhon,<sup>13</sup> may have made the pig a sacred animal in that sect.

#### THE GUARDIAN SERPENT

The position of the serpent in the amulets just described is not unlike that in another type, which, however, has a different origin and meaning. A well-cut haematite in the collection of Professor A. B. Cook represents a mummy lying with its feet to left upon a large snake, the head and neck of which are curved over the face of the mummy while its tail turns back

<sup>8</sup> See Kees in Pauly-Wissowa, *Ser.* 2, II, 1901; Roeder in Roscher, IV, 780.

<sup>9</sup> Roeder, *op. cit.*, 772; Kees, *op. cit.*, 1908 f., 1920-1921.

<sup>10</sup> There was a beneficent aspect of Set in which he was sometimes associated with the sun. It antedated the full development of the Osirian cycle of myths, and occasionally persisted into a time when the stories that made Set the slayer of Osiris were generally current (see Müller, p. 108; G. Nagel, "Set dans la barque solaire," *Bull. Inst. franç. arch. or.*, 28, 33-39). Yet it is scarcely credible that this idea of Set could still exist in so late a period as that of our amulets. Even if that were possible, a favorable view of Set does not explain why his animal should attack the solar Chnoubis serpent. It is easier to believe that the pig treading on the Chnoubis serpent indicates a kind of Satanism, supposedly effective for magical purposes. Sarapis may have been brought into it because of his lordship over the lower world.

<sup>11</sup> For a cautious discussion of this curious object see L. Keimer, "Le Chrisme sur une statuette de porc," *Bull. Soc. d'arch. copte*, 9, 93-101.

<sup>12</sup> Epiphanius *Panar.* 39, 1, 3.

<sup>13</sup> The likeness of their names might easily lead to a confusion of Seth, son of Adam, with Set, the brother of Osiris, and Wunsch (*Sethianische Verführungstafeln*, pp. 104-112) argues plausibly that the two were identified in the system of the Sethian Gnostics. The proof is not entirely satisfactory, and Reitzenstein sounds a note of caution (*Poimandres*, p. 184, n. 1). Roeder (p. 774) and Kees (p. 1921) seem to follow Wunsch in this point without adding anything to strengthen his arguments.



over the mummy's feet (D. 350). The mummy is wound with bandages making a lozenge pattern, and a disk rests upon its head. It is apparently Osiris. A crowned hawk is perched over the snake's head, and there is a scarab in the field above its tail. The reverse is inscribed with the common magical words, not all accurately written,  $\chi\upsilon\chi\ \beta\alpha\chi\upsilon\chi\ \beta\alpha\chi\alpha\kappa\alpha\zeta\iota\chi\upsilon\chi\ \beta\alpha\delta\eta\tau\omicron\phi\omega\nu\ \alpha\beta\alpha\rho\sigma\alpha\zeta\ \iota\alpha\omega\ \omega\alpha\iota$ .

Two similar gems are known, but no illustrations of them are available. One in the Southesk collection (N 62) differs in some insignificant details — the hawk is over the legs of the mummy and there is no scarab. The other, in the British Museum (56412) has two hawks on the snake's neck and in the field a scarab, a star, and a crescent moon. The reverse is inscribed  $\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\nu$ .

The design of these stones, the dead Osiris guarded by a serpent, seems to be a survival from dynastic times. I am not acquainted with any exact parallel in the earlier art, but there is an analogous vignette in *The Book of What Is in Hades*. In his study of that work Jéquier says:<sup>14</sup>

“Dans la même chambre nous trouvons encore une singulière image du dieu Khepra, montrant nettement l'idée que se faisaient les Égyptiens de la renaissance de l'âme et de sa réunion au corps: le signe des chairs  $\Omega\Omega\Omega$  sous ses pieds. Le dieu, saisissant un scarabée placé au-dessus de sa tête, est étendu sur le dos d'un grand serpent à cinq têtes, vers l'une desquelles vient aboutir sa queue, enveloppant ainsi le dieu de ses replis. À elle seule, cette image est un résumé de la doctrine contenue dans notre livre entier; c'est la transformation du dieu mort en un soleil nouveau, à l'abri de Mehen le serpent protecteur, qui va à l'heure suivante sur la barque.”

#### OPHIUCHUS

A curious problem is presented by three stones that show a man holding the neck and tail of a great serpent, which encircles his body with one coil. It is evidently the constellation Ophiuchus, the Serpent-Holder. The most elaborately executed of the three is a haematite in the British Museum, set in a modern ring (D. 351). The work is rather crude, but the lapidary has taken the trouble to set, as nearly as possible, the right number of stars in the proper places on the man's body. He seems, in fact, to have followed a traditional arrangement closely resembling the description of the constellation by Eratosthenes, who places the stars thus:<sup>15</sup> a bright star on Ophiuchus' head, a bright star on each shoulder; three stars on the left arm, four on the right, one on each hip, one on each knee, (one on the right shin, one on each foot)<sup>16</sup> — seventeen in all. There are seventeen stars in the Ophiuchus of the

<sup>14</sup> *Bibl. des hautes études*, 97 (1894), 84. Müller (p. 105, fig. 103) shows a similar picture of the four-headed serpent of the abyss encircling the infant sun-god.

<sup>15</sup> *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, rec. C. Robert, p. 70.

<sup>16</sup> These words are not in the Greek text, but are supplied from other source which drew upon the lost original.



gem, and even their locations correspond fairly to those of Eratosthenes' description. The slight discrepancies relate to the arms. There are no stars actually placed on the man's left arm; but since the whole forearm is concealed by the body of the snake, the lapidary has resorted to the naïve device of placing four stars in a close-set row just under the point where the left hand grasps the snake. These stars evidently belong to the left forearm, and three are to be seen on the right forearm. The Greek text gives three to the right, four to the left; but the interchange of the words right and left is required by the subsidiary sources.

Even in the snake the engraver has come fairly near agreement with the description by Eratosthenes, who seems to have assigned twenty-three stars to it. Nineteen are visible on the stone, but abrasions near the left margin may account for the loss of one or more on the creature's tail. The location of the stars, however, does not conform strictly to Eratosthenes' description.

When this stone is viewed directly, the human figure is seen in three-quarter front view, turned slightly to the observer's left, facing the serpent's head, which is bent back towards him, and it is the man's right hand that grips the serpent's neck. This position, however, cannot be reconciled with other representations of Ophiuchus, or with the most complete ancient description, that of Ptolemy, whose words make it clear that the snake's neck was held by the man's left hand, and who proceeds in his description from right to left.<sup>17</sup> Other evidence also indicates that Ophiuchus was imagined as standing facing to the spectator's right, with his left hand holding the snake's neck.<sup>18</sup> This orientation is also accepted by modern astronomers. For these reasons we are obliged to assume that the London haematite was meant to be viewed in an impression, which would agree with Ptolemy's orientation of the figure. This is surprising, for the stones of this type apparently did not serve merely to attest the owner's interest in astronomy, but were designed as amulets; and as we have seen, with few exceptions amulets were meant to be looked at directly.

A different representation of Ophiuchus occurs on a broken haematite in the Cabinet des Médailles (D. 352).<sup>19</sup> The fragment is the lower half of an ellipse, which contains the figure of Ophiuchus intact; it is idle to speculate about the design that occupied the lost upper half.<sup>20</sup> The human figure is here seen in three-quarter back view, facing the observer's left and holding the snake's neck with his left hand, while his right grasps its tail. There are no stars either on the man or on the serpent, but there is a single large star in the field at the left. This may be the device commonly employed to show

<sup>17</sup> Claud. Ptolem. *Syntaxis Mathem.* (ed. Heiberg), 7, pp. 70-72.

<sup>18</sup> *Comm. in Aratum* (ed. Maass), §§ 83, 86, pp. 354-355.

<sup>19</sup> Chabouillet 2184; P. J. Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées*, II, 70 (Paris, 1750). Mariette's engraving shows the scorpion intact; the damage mentioned above seems to have occurred at a later date than that of his book, or else he was a keener observer than Chabouillet, at least in this instance, and instructed his draftsman about the proper restoration.

<sup>20</sup> For an astronomical figure combined with another design see No. 1727 in Fossing, *Antique Gems in the Thorvaldsen Museum*; Eros above, bandaging a lion's paw, Capricorn below.



that the principal figure represents a constellation; but since the star has a spherical center and six rays, Chabouillet's suggestion that it represents the sun should not be ignored. He was wrong, however, in saying that the moon is also present. What he took for a crescent is really a claw of the Scorpion, damaged but unmistakable, upon which Ophiuchus stands, as on the Vatican planisphere and in the lines of Aratus (*Phaen.* 83-86):

ὁ δ' ἐμμενὲς εὖ ἐπαρηρῶς  
ποσσίν, ἐπιθλίβει μέγα θηρίον ἀμφοτέροισι  
Σκορπίον, ὀφθαλμοῖς τε καὶ ἐν θώρηκι βεβηκῶς  
ὀρθός.

Ptolemy's description of Ophiuchus, which takes the point of view of the observer on earth, places the snake's head at the right and proceeds from it to the left, following what an astronomer friend tells me is his invariable practice. The London haematite, when viewed in an impression, has the same orientation, and the man stands in a three-quarter front position. Since the Paris fragment is oriented in the opposite direction, with the snake's head at the observer's left and the man in three-quarter back view, there is reason to think that it represents the constellation as seen from above on a celestial globe; and in fact the Ophiuchus on the celestial globe held by the Farnese Atlas has the same position.<sup>21</sup> The same is true of the Ophiuchus in the Vatican planisphere.<sup>22</sup>

In the Michigan collection there is another stone, obtained in Egypt, bearing the design of Ophiuchus, in this instance oriented to the right with the man in front view, thus agreeing with the impression of the London haematite.<sup>23</sup> The material is smoky-gray chalcedony, and the work is extremely crude. The man is a miserable caricature of the human form. A strange-looking bird sits on his head, and there is an eight-rayed ring sign in the left field and another, less completely executed, at the right. Next below, a character resembling psi and an imperfect star. Under this design are the seven vowels arranged as a palindrome (with a careless repetition of upsilon) followed by a few indistinct letters and more vowels in no significant order. The value of this wretched specimen consists in the fact that it proves the Serpent-Holder to have been used as an amuletic device.

The reason for the use of Ophiuchus in magic is to be found in some words of Manilius (5, 389-393):

Anguitenens magno circumdatus orbe draconis  
cum venit in regione tuae, Capricorne, figurae  
non inimica facit serpentum membra creatis.  
accipient sinibusque suis peploque fluenti  
osculaque horrendis iungent impune venenis.

<sup>21</sup> Gori, *Thesaurus gemmarum astriferarum*, III, Pl. 6; Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*, Pl. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Boll, *Sphaera*, Pl. 1.

<sup>23</sup> D. 353.



The same idea is developed in a slightly different way by Firmicus Maternus (8, 15, 1):

In primis partibus Capricorni oritur Ophiuchus. Hoc sidere oriente qui nati fuerunt, erunt Marsi qui pestiferos angues sopitis ac mitigatis aculeis mitigent. Si vero hoc sidus in occasu fuerit inventum, et hunc locum . . . respexerit, venenati serpentis ictu morientur.

Thus it is likely that the amulets bearing this design were believed to give protection against poisonous snakes. It is true that Ophiuchus was sometimes taken as a type of Christ, according to a Gnostic notion which may have been based upon and ultimately interpolated into the ancient commentary on Aratus:<sup>24</sup> δευτέρα δὲ κτίσις ἐστὶν ἡ κατὰ Χριστόν, δι' ἧς ἀναγεννώμεθα, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ Ὀφιοῦχος ἀνταγωνιζόμενος τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ κωλύων ἐπὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἠτοιμασμένον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ: "There is a second creation, through which we are regenerated, the creation according to Christ; who is the Serpent-Holder, who strives with the creature and keeps him from reaching the crown prepared for Man." But in the absence of any distinctive Christian symbol, the practical explanation of the design as a charm against snakes is to be preferred.

## SARAPIS ENTHRONED

Representations of Sarapis seated upon his throne are common, and the majority of those seen on magical stones differ little from the types used on coins or on nonmagical gems. There is one striking and elaborate type which, to the best of my knowledge, has been published only once, and that with a faulty and misleading illustration and description. Dismissing that for the moment, we consider first the largest and best-preserved of a series of six stones; it is in the Brummer collection. (D. 354)

It is an oval dark green jasper with red spots (bloodstone), larger than most gem amulets (42 × 32 × 5 mm.). Sarapis sits enthroned facing left, his right hand extended, his left resting on a tall scepter which has a bird, apparently an ibis, on its top.<sup>25</sup> Under the throne is a crocodile, under the crocodile a mummy resting on the back of a lion, which seems to be walking to left. A scarab with extended wings is over the head of Sarapis, a scorpion just under his outstretched right hand. This design is enclosed by a serpent; not, however, the common ouroboros, but a serpent with radiate human head, which is turned inward to face Sarapis. Round the edge of the stone, outside the serpent, is the long palindrome beginning Iaeobaphrenemoun. The reverse design is Harpocrates seated on the lotus; in the field are a star, a crescent, and several characters. On the bevel are the word *Iao* and the vowels arranged in pyramid order, that is, one alpha, two epsilons, and so

<sup>24</sup> Hippol. *Refut.* 4, 48, 7 (p. 71, 23-26, ed. Wendland).

<sup>25</sup> In P. Lond. 46, 446 ff. (PGM V), directions are given for engraving an *iaspachates* with a figure of Sarapis enthroned, holding a royal scepter with an ibis on top. Nothing is said of the other features of the type discussed in the text — scorpion, crocodile, mummy, etc.



on to seven omegas. It may be observed that in this specimen and some others of the group the modius of Sarapis has been omitted to make room for the scarab over his head.

Similar in design is a haematite in my collection (D. 355). A part of the right side of the stone has been broken away, and unfortunately some previous owner restored an approximately elliptical contour by grinding off the corners at top and bottom. One new feature appears on the obverse, an uncertain object in the field above the outstretched right hand of Sarapis. It is triangular, with a straight projection below and a much shorter projection with two crossbars at the apex of the triangle. It may be an incense burner.<sup>26</sup> The mummy wears an elaborate crown, apparently intended for the atef, and the serpent's human head has an ellipsoid ornament over it. Other differences are in the inscriptions, ablanathan[alba] above, Iao between the hand of Sarapis and the scorpion, and a few letters and characters in the left lower field. The greater part of an inscription outside the serpent has worn away or has been ground off. The few letters that remain could be a part of the Iaeo palindrome.

On the reverse the figure of Harpocrates on the lotus has lost the face, right arm, and legs. A crescent moon behind was doubtless balanced by a star in front. The outer inscription, βαλακαμσθομβλη, is the latter part of a formula often associated with Harpocrates. The inner, εν τω φορυν, is to be filled out as [δὸς χάρι]εν τῷ φορ(ο)ῦν[τι], a common petition.

The same combination of an elaborately enthroned Sarapis on the obverse and Harpocrates on the reverse occurs on two amulets belonging to the British Museum. No. 56526, only a little smaller than the fine Brummer gem, is, like it, a bloodstone. The differences are slight. The outer inscription is the Iaeo palindrome as on the Brummer gem; within the ouroboros the only inscription consists of the seven vowels. The Harpocrates on the other side is encircled with a series of nineteen signs, a few of which are ordinary Greek letters, the rest characters or else letters of a cryptographic alphabet. No. 56217, a damaged haematite, also shows no variations of importance in the Sarapis design, which seems to be the reverse type in this instance. Only a few letters remain of the outer inscription; the inner is an arrangement of the vowels βοτρυδόν, that is, like a bunch of grapes or an inverted triangle. The other side presents a new feature. In front of Harpocrates, at a lower level, a helmeted warrior leads a draped figure (Ares and Aphrodite?). Behind Harpocrates there was another person, but the figure is almost all broken away. The inscriptions included the palindrome ablanathanalba, Arroriphrasis, the name of Aphrodite in magic, and bainchooch (the last four letters).

The obverse of a green jasper in the Metropolitan Museum (D. 356) again differs in no essential point from the design of the Brummer stone.

<sup>26</sup> But if so, it resembles a Neo-Babylonian form of incense burner more than any Egyptian type known to me; see No. 515, fig. 11 (p. 117) and Pl. 32 in H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Edward T. Newell*.



It may be worth noting that there is a considerable space between the crocodile on which the throne of Sarapis rests and the lion-borne mummy below; in the other specimens the crocodile seems to rest on the mummy. The outer inscription consists only of the vowels, each seven times repeated. Behind the throne is a meaningless arrangement of letters, not all vowels, in an inverted triangle. On the reverse the place of Harpocrates is taken by the groups of animals in threes that often appear with the young god; in descending order, scarabs, birds, goats, crocodiles, snakes. It is curious that the "goats" of this stone seem actually to be sheep of the old Egyptian type with horizontally spreading horns, which the artists of earlier periods showed, by a natural convention, one projecting forward, the other backward.<sup>27</sup> Yet this variety of sheep was extinct in Egypt long before Roman times.

There is another stone in the Brummer collection with this same obverse design, but the reverse is completely occupied by a long inscription which runs over and ends on the beveled edge (D. 357). It consists of unintelligible magical words. Two of its elements are well known — the word or name *sesengenpharanges*, perhaps oftenest seen with representations of Chnoubis, and the Chabrach formula with the numerical value 9999, which is commonest with Harpocrates and the animal triads.

Considered as a deposit of Egyptian religious ideas in the province of magic, the designs of these amulets seem to indicate a close connection between the cults of Sarapis and Harpocrates. The point is noteworthy, because in some places, as at Delos, Harpocrates seems to have been less closely attached to Sarapis and Isis than Anubis was.<sup>28</sup> They also emphasize the derivation of the Sarapis religion from that of Osiris; for as we have seen earlier in these studies, the mummy on the lion's back is simply a version of the Funeral of Osiris, in which the dead god rests upon a lion-footed couch.

To researchers who consult the older illustrations of magical amulets it is instructive to contrast the photographic reproductions of these Sarapis gems with an engraving in Montfaucon, which seems to be the only illustration of the design hitherto published.<sup>29</sup> The engraver has made of the scarab a zoned globe with wings attached and enclosed in a frame. The ibis resting on the scepter has become an object like the figure 4, with a little curved projection at the apex — the bird's bill and neck. The head and neck of the

<sup>27</sup> On the confusion of the old Egyptian sheep with the goat see Müller, note 14 on Chap. 9 (p. 413); and Th. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter*, pp. 89, 174 (n. 33 a), in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.*, 57, 2 (1914). The subject has been reexamined recently by L. Keimer, "Remarques sur quelques représentations de divinités-béliers" (*Ann. du serv.*, 38 [1938], 297-331, 690-697). This writer states that the old Egyptian sheep (*Ovis longipes palaeoegyptiacus*) disappeared from Egypt towards the end of the Middle Kingdom. In the temple of Chnum at Mendes the old sheep was replaced by a goat (p. 313), because the curved horns of the later race of sheep were less like the ancient type than were those of a goat. Even at a late period certain sculptures show a divine ram with the straight horns of the ancient sheep in addition to the curved horns of the later breed (figs. 32, 39, Pl. 43, 1; see, further, p. 695). The Metropolitan amulet is unusual in showing not the divine ram, but ordinary sheep, with the horizontal horns of the extinct type, and that at a time which we can scarcely place earlier than A.D. 200.

<sup>28</sup> P. Roussel, *Les Cultes égyptiens à Délos*, p. 278.

<sup>29</sup> Montfaucon, *Suppl.* II, Pl. 55, 1.



mummy are so shapeless that it is scarcely recognizable as a bandaged human body. After full allowance has been made for possible weathering and other superficial damage to the original stone, it would seem that the draftsman's vision was poor and, even more, that he did not understand what he saw, partly, of course, because other specimens were not available for comparison. For such reasons as these one is obliged to distrust many of the designs shown by Chiflet, Capello, and even Montfaucon. It will be remembered that the pig of the design first treated in this chapter is rendered as an elephant in the one engraving that seems to represent it. Not a few of these early engravings must be considered untrustworthy until their relation to some known pattern can be discovered.

#### UNUSUAL SHAPES

In earlier chapters of this work attention has been occasionally called to amulets in unusual forms, such as the Toronto inscribed celt (Pl. XXV, Fig. 8)<sup>30</sup> and various interesting examples in the British Museum and elsewhere: the axe-shaped basalt with a Chnoubis serpent and an inscription that often accompanies that design; the lapis lazuli scarab with extended wings; and three triangular stones, one bearing a "trinitarian" inscription.<sup>31</sup> There is another group of stones which also departs, though less strikingly, from the conventional flat oval form of most Graeco-Roman gems, and the less common circular and rectangular specimens. These are chiefly prisms of quadrangular or hexagonal section, and what may perhaps be called beads, though unperforated, of a fusiform outline, slender cylinders tapering slightly toward the ends.

A quadrangular prism of steatite (D. 358) perforated longitudinally has on the two broader faces crude sketchy cuttings of Anubis and of Harpocrates crowned with a modius and sitting on the lotus. The latter design would be scarcely recognizable without the help of a closely similar prism in the British Museum (56162).<sup>32</sup> The two stones agree throughout in their subjects. Their narrower sides present a snake and the word Iao. Still another closely similar steatite bead was wrongly included by Von der Osten in his *Catalogue of the Ancient Oriental Seals in the Newell Collection* (No. 543).<sup>33</sup> He failed to recognize the letters IAW on one of the four engraved sides. The other subjects are the same as those on the two beads just described; but the animal-headed god looks more like the ass-headed Set than Anubis, and the Harpocrates is almost unrecognizable. These objects are among the roughest and cheapest kinds of amulets. Much like them in form, style, and

<sup>30</sup> Published by J. H. Iliffe, *AJA* 35 (1931), 1-6.

<sup>31</sup> The B. M. stones mentioned here are numbered 56206, 56277, 56001, 56024; the third triangular stone is the Schmidt amulet published by Preisendanz, *Phil. Woch.*, 1932, p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> B. M. 56162; cuts in King, *Gnostics*, Pl. F 7.

<sup>33</sup> Mrs. Newell's kindness enabled me to confirm my suspicion of Von der Osten's error by personal inspection of this stone, and also of two others, to be mentioned later, which were wrongly listed with the oriental seals.



material is a bead in the Walters Gallery (D. 359); it has on the broader sides a roughly indicated Anubis and an *orans*, apparently female, on the narrower sides a snake and Iao. Here belongs also an almost cubical bead in the British Museum (56483), which has a different set of designs, if these clumsy scratchings can be so called. One of the broad faces shows a heavy, stumpy, snake-footed monster whose head looks like that of an ass; but here, as in other cases, allowance must be made for the bad workmanship and for the possibility that the carver intended to represent the head and ears of a jackal. On the other broad face an ouroboros encloses the sign  $\text{Z}$ . On the narrower faces are the word Iao and an uncertain standing figure.

A small rectangular prism of limonite in the Seyrig collection (D. 360) has two opposed faces with figure carvings, the other two with inscriptions. One of the figures is Hecate, six-armed, head crowned with modius but indistinct; the engraver could not indicate the three faces clearly. The lowest pair of hands held snakes, the others uncertain linear objects which are known from other specimens to be torches in one pair, daggers in the other. On the opposite face Isis stands to front, an uncertain object in her extended right hand, a torch (or cornucopia) in the left. Beside her at the left stands a short column, perhaps a stylized altar with flame(?) on top. The inscriptions on the other sides,  $\text{Ζεϋ ἄγιε}$  and  $\text{ἀποστρεψίκακε}$ , have been discussed elsewhere (p. 172 f.).

In the University of Michigan collection (D. 361) there is a rectangular prism, perforated and gilded; the gilding is probably recent. The underlying material seems to be either a glass paste or some hard, glossy stone; but since it is exposed only in minute spots it is hard to determine. All four sides of the prism are inscribed, a name to each —  $\text{Ιαω Σαβαω Μιχαηλ Θωθ}$ . The last word is followed by a carefully cut device  $\text{ⲀⲎⲨ}$ . The presence of Thoth along with Judaeo-Christian angel names is noteworthy.

Another curious object is a quadrangular prism of copper which tapers away to a suspension loop at the top, thus resembling a small weight.<sup>34</sup> An aberrant type of the cock-headed god is cut on the front. The figure seems to wear a cuirass and kilt, but instead of the usual whip and shield a tall staff or spear seems to be held at each side. In place of the snake legs there is a tall postlike support which gives the whole design the aspect of a trophy. Two uncertain cuttings at the bottom suggest a schematic hint at the two captives that are often bound to the foot of the trophy in coin types; at any rate they are not to be interpreted as serpents. The back is plain, the sides have a few letters, too worn to be read, and the base is adorned with an emblem resembling a candelabrum with five branches.

There is a five-sided steatite bead in the Newell collection, this also wrongly placed among the oriental seals (No. 547). The designs are as follows: A, an object resembling the spear-symbol of Marduk; B, human figure with animal head, probably meant for Set; C, IAW, not recognized by Von der

<sup>34</sup> D. 362.



Osten; the omega is oddly made with three disconnected strokes; D, snake; E, human figure with clumsily cut head, perhaps that of some animal.<sup>35</sup>

Along with the gems bequeathed by Mr. W. Gedney Beatty the Metropolitan Museum acquired a few amuletic stones. One of them is a highly polished hexagonal prism of black jasper, bored at each end, though the perforation does not seem to go all the way through the stone.<sup>36</sup> Two of the faces are broader than the others. On one is Pan, standing with his hands on his hips; a few letters are cut in the field, and below is *Iaw*. On the other in a narrow column is the inscription *βαδητοφωθ βακαξιχυχ*, two very common magical words which seem to occur most frequently with figures of the lion-headed solar demon.

More elaborate is a flat, irregularly hexagonal prism in the possession of President A. G. Ruthven (D. 363). The material, unusual in such amulets, is amazonite, a kind of green feldspar. The stone is perforated near one end of the narrow base. Designs are cut only on the two broad faces of the prism, but an inscription, which begins on the principal face, is continued on the bottom, one of the narrow lateral faces, and the top. The principal design, cut on the more highly polished of the broad faces, is Anubis standing on a globe and grasping a scorpion with his extended right hand, which also holds a torch or possibly a short scepter with an ornament at the top. The long inscription which begins here is the Chabrach formula with the numerical value 9999. It is usually associated, not with Anubis, but with Harpocrates. A few other letters in the field are meaningless.

The principal figure of the opposite face is a goddess, probably Isis, standing on a crocodile; her right hand is extended, her left holds a serpent. Slightly above, at the left, is an extremely crude attempt at a much smaller figure, standing, which carries a flail whip over the left shoulder and brandishes a weapon in the right hand. The whole is indistinct. Below are, left, a dancing Pan with faintly distinguishable syrinx and throwing stick, and a pantheos with "standard" head, that is, an upright from each side of which project heads of animals (unrecognizable), two on each side. On the right margin is a legible but meaningless inscription, not of the familiar kind, and there are unrelated letters elsewhere in the field.

To this group belongs a poor specimen in the Walters Gallery, a much-worn hexagonal prism of carnelian.<sup>37</sup> On one of the broader faces a rude figure, clad in a tunic girt in at the waist and flaring out at the knees (like the Egyptian apron), stands to left with hands raised as in prayer. Overhead is a Greek cross crosslet, surely a mark of Christian origin. The opposite face bears six signs that look as if they might belong to a cryptographic alphabet.

Several amulets have the unusual form of a slender cylinder tapering

<sup>35</sup> No. 542, a four-sided bead, seems also to belong with the Graeco-Syrian magical amulets rather than with the oriental seals. The crude designs, which are of no interest, may be seen in Von der Osten's catalogue. The material looks like steatite rather than serpentine, as Von der Osten describes it.

<sup>36</sup> D. 60.

<sup>37</sup> D. 364.



towards the ends; Mouterde has well compared one of them to an elongated barrel. All known examples are of haematite. In both material and form they remind one of Oriental cylinder seals, although cylinder seals usually have straight sides or else are slightly concave. But a tendency to taper at the ends has been observed in Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals, and it is likely that such specimens suggested the form of the spindle-shaped amulets.<sup>38</sup> These might be called beads, yet not one of those hitherto reported is perforated longitudinally; one is bored through transversely at the middle, but the perforation is probably not original.<sup>39</sup> It is not easy to see just how these objects were worn. Possibly each end was inserted into a close-fitting metal cap with an eye to which a cord or wire was attached; thus the stone could be suspended horizontally. Most of the specimens are slightly flattened on opposite sides in order to make the engraving easier. In size they vary from 47 mm. in a Michigan stone to no more than 22 mm. in one owned by Mr. Seyrig.

The work on these fusiform haematites is usually poor. Perhaps the best is that in the Newell collection (D. 365). One side shows Anubis in apron and boots, holding a dagger in his right hand and an object like an hourglass in his left. Below are the letters OAX. On the opposite side is a running lion with a crescent above him and a star in front. The spaces between these two sides are occupied by the inscriptions βαρηγωρηχυχ and ωρομανδαρη. A somewhat similar inscription, αρηγωρωρομανδαρη, is cut under a Gorgon face (red jasper) formerly in the King collection.<sup>40</sup>

The lion with star and crescent also appears on the small Seyrig bead (D. 366), but the opposite face is different — a female figure standing to front, the head turned to left and the right hand raised to the height of the neck. This may be only a woman making the gesture of proskynesis; yet the traditional gesture of Nemesis is sometimes inexactly indicated in much the same way, and the presence of a certain ornament on the head seems to show that the wearer is a goddess. This ornament, which also appears over the head of Anubis on the Newell bead, is a sort of three-pronged fork, Ψ. It has been observed as an attribute of various gods and demons. Its origin and meaning are uncertain. One might think that it is a schematic suggestion of an elaborate crown, such as the hemhem (triple reed bundle), or that it is a symbol of power derived from the Babylonian lightning fork. The two spaces between the figures of the Seyrig stone bear the words σισισρω and χνουωρη, which appear in connection with the pig-and-snake type de-

<sup>38</sup> See H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Edward T. Newell*, pp. 8-9; cf. fig. 2, p. 4, No. 438 (Assyrian); see also H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 8 and Pl. 2c. I am indebted to Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett for these references.

<sup>39</sup> There is a group of eight fusiform stones in the Cesnola collection, which the author of the *Handbook*, Sir John Myres, takes to be weights, perhaps Babylonian. This may be the right explanation, for only one bears an inscription (cuneiform), and that is thought to have been added in modern times. But could not the smaller ones be blanks to be made into seals? See Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, Nos. 4426-4433, and the cut facing p. 444.

<sup>40</sup> King, *Gnostics*, Pl. M6; now in the Metropolitan Museum (81.6.315).



scribed at the beginning of this chapter. No matter how close the association between an inscription and a figure type may seem to be, there are usually exceptions, like this, that defeat any effort to find a positive meaning in the connection.

No. 26117 in the Michigan collection, known to have come from Syria, is slightly the largest of the group and rather crudely engraved (D. 367). On one of the flattened sides we find a triple Hecate. Next (turning the cylinder from right to left) in a narrow space, comes a woman with hand to lips. Then on the other broad side, a standing goddess; the place of her head is taken by a serpent which has three projections on the top of its head. The figure holds a tall staff in the right hand, a whip in the left; below the whip, *σεσενγερ*. Finally, in the narrow space to the left of Hecate there is an elongated, emaciated male form, probably meant for a shriveled corpse.

A specimen in the Walters Gallery differs from the others of the group in that its sides are almost straight; there is a barely perceptible tapering towards the rounded ends. It was pierced transversely, probably in modern times.<sup>41</sup> Each of the two slightly flattened sides has two figures. First, Anubis above, in apron and boots, with caduceus in the right hand, a palm leaf on the left arm; below, Aphrodite drying her hair. It may be remarked in passing that the head of Anubis here, as on many other stones, could easily be mistaken for that of an ass rather than that of a dog or a jackal. On the opposite side, above, a woman with her right hand raised to her lips; below, the cock-headed anguipede. At the left of these figures, in a narrow space, a palm leaf, the letters *ιαωιω*, and three characters.

A stone of this class in the collection of Joseph Brummer (D. 369) shows a fairly well cut ibis-headed god standing on a pedestal. On the other side is the inscription *νεθνομαω*.

The most interesting stone of this group belonged to the Ayvaz collection and was published by Mouterde with a drawing.<sup>42</sup> Here a familiar motif is introduced, the conventionalized vessel that is the representative of the uterus. In this instance, as occasionally elsewhere, it is shown with the mouth upwards. The object was recognized by Mouterde, but I venture to think that the figure over the vessel can be more accurately explained than he has done. The drawing shows a clumsy figure in a half-squatting position, the knees bent and turned outwards, the hands pressed against the abdomen. Mouterde suggests that it is Horus or Bes; but I have not seen Horus represented in this posture, and the head lacks the feathers that usually adorn the bandy-legged Bes. On the other hand, a uterine amulet in the Toronto Museum shows a female figure with swollen belly in exactly the same position as that on the Ayvaz bead.<sup>43</sup> It is a woman straining in childbirth or else

<sup>41</sup> D. 368.

<sup>42</sup> R. Mouterde, *Objets magiques, Recueil S. Ayvaz (Mélanges Univ. St-Joseph, 25, 119, No. 40; Pl. 8)*. Not among the stones of this collection that were purchased by the University of Michigan.

<sup>43</sup> D. 147.



suffering from some abdominal disorder. Besides the central figure of the Ayvaz stone, there is a male person without attributes on each side, and Harpocrates in his boat below. At the top is the word *abrasax*, below, some unfamiliar and unintelligible word or words. On the reverse side are a stag, two eagles symmetrically arranged, two jackal-headed demons, one holding a *was* scepter, the other a snake.

This series may be closed with a brief reference to B. M. 56166, of which an illustration is given by King.<sup>44</sup> On one side stands Anubis with scepter and situla, under his feet an object which I could not make out; King thought it was an open left hand, and it so appears on his drawing. On the opposite side is a mummy with indistinct head — its place is occupied by a blur of strokes with the graving tool. Preisendanz thinks that the figure is Osiris, here as the Headless God. But the head is not cleanly cut off, and it may be that the engraver was trying to indicate a head of the "standard" type — a short support with animal heads projecting horizontally from it. Under this figure is the uterine symbol.

Mention should be made of three amulets that apply representations of ordinary objects to a magical purpose. Mr. Seyrig's collection includes a small frog of green glass paste (D. 370), under which is the inscription *φυλάξαι*, "protect." The animal, according to Budge, "seems to have been worshiped in primitive times as the symbol of generation, birth, and fertility in general."<sup>45</sup> In the museum of the University of Michigan is a small right hand made of a dull greenish stone, probably serpentine.<sup>46</sup> The thumb is thrust between the index and middle fingers in the well-known apotropaic gesture of the *fica*. Three lines across the wrist at the base of the thumb represent the slight wrinkles produced as the hand bends inward. The wrist is perforated for a cord.

The third example is a hollow gold pendant, probably an eardrop, in Mr. Seyrig's collection (D. 372); there is a ring in the top for a hook or a fine chain. The outer side is a youthful face, originally well modeled, but now damaged by a pressure which has crushed the lower part of the nose and the mouth inwards. The curling hair is held by a diadem with triangular points, which do not stand up, but lie back on the hair, probably to avoid the risk of breaking off the small projections.

In place of the back of the head there is a clenched right hand, an apotropaic safeguard against the evil eye which would not be seen when the ornament was worn in its normal position. In this instance the thumb is not thrust between the fingers, but is laid against the index finger with the first joint of the thumb folded over the second joint of the index. There is other evidence that the closed hand is a recognized amulet, even though the thumb is not thrust under the index. Four hands of serpentine stone in the "Riposti-

<sup>44</sup> *Gnostics*, Pl. F 5; discussed by Delatte, *BCH* 38 (1914), 193; Preisendanz, *Akephalos*, p. 17.

<sup>45</sup> Budge, *Gods*, II, 378. The frog goddess Heqet was identified with Hathor and was originally the female counterpart of Khnemu (Chnum).

<sup>46</sup> D. 371.



glio Bianchini," a small hoard of magical objects, show the thumb merely resting upright against the closed first finger.<sup>47</sup>

A curious little figure of a seated Egyptian goddess, perhaps Maat, may be classed among amulets of unusual form because it has on its back a garbled magical spell in Greek letters (D. 373). This was probably added long after the statuette was made, though that date is uncertain; the late dynastic or the Ptolemaic period has been suggested. The little figure was probably made for an amulet; its power was merely reinforced in Roman times by adding the hackneyed Chuch Bachuch formula. The object, which is made of green feldspar, belongs to the Brooklyn Museum, and was brought to my attention by Mrs. Riefstahl.

#### THE TROPHY

More than once in the foregoing chapters it has been observed that the designs used on the reverse side of certain coins contributed something to developing the types of magical amulets. Of course, the coin types were often derived from cult statues, and the same source could have been exploited by the engravers who designed amulets. Yet in view of the popularity of amulets and the probability that many of them were made by second-rate lapidaries in small towns and villages, it is likely that coins served as immediate patterns oftener than temple images. Thus we have seen that the so-called Rider Saint owed something to coin types showing a victorious emperor on horseback; the "reaper" amulets, though not derived exclusively from coin types, were probably influenced by them; the "Aeolus" stones of the Copenhagen and Michigan collections represent a special interpretation and application of the Marsyas of the Forum, which was proudly exhibited on the coinage of privileged cities. It is hardly necessary to add that, when the amulet represents one of the widely worshiped divinities of Alexandria, the engraver could scarcely escape the influence of the current coinage. Sarapis, Isis-Tyche, and Harpocrates in particular appear on both coins and amulets with similar attributes and in similar attitudes.

It is likely that the common occurrence of the trophy on certain imperial coins accounts, at least partly, for its prominence on a few amulets. The Romans had borrowed the *τρόπαιον* from the Greeks, but without the definite implications that belonged to it in Hellenic times. In the imperial period it was merely a symbol of victory, and appropriate for coins minted soon after an important success of the imperial arms. For examples it is enough to refer to various issues, ranging from Nero to Gallienus, that are illustrated in easily accessible publications.<sup>48</sup>

Prayer for victory (in a broad sense) as well as for favor is common in magic, and would seem adequately to explain certain uses of the trophy on amulets. When a small trophy crowns the head of an unnamed god, it is

<sup>47</sup> See G. Q. Giglioli, *Bull. della Comm. arch. comun. di Roma*, 56 (1928), 23, and Pl. 2, 9-12.

<sup>48</sup> Eight examples are shown in *B. M. Cat. Alex.*, Pl. 31. See also J. Vogt, *Alex. Münzen*, I, Pl. 3, 12.



like an acclamation, *νικᾷ ὁ θεῖνα*, "the god X is victorious."<sup>49</sup> In another example a trophy and a thunderbolt, set opposite each other in the lower field, hint at the power of the strange composite demon that occupies the center of the design.<sup>50</sup> Yet there are indications that the trophy may sometimes have been treated as a thing divine in itself, or at least partaking of the sacred character that pertained to a cult image. On a green jasper in my collection the center of the field, a horizontal oval, is occupied by a figure of the pantheos with four wings and bird tail, the right by Osiris as a mummy, and the left — just as if on a complete equality with the other two — by a trophy, the post of which seems to rest on, or to be thrust through, three snakes (D. 374). Reverse, *bainchooch Iao abrasax*. A very small much-weathered lapis lazuli, also in my possession, shows nothing on the obverse but a trophy, and on the reverse the one word *Iao* (D. 376).

A more elaborate amulet in the British Museum shows at the foot of the trophy a lion, under which lies a man with his face down.<sup>51</sup> On one side is *Iaw*, on the other *εμι* (*εμι?*). There is also a long inscription round the margin, but it is unintelligible. On the reverse are the cock-headed anguipede, a Gorgon's head (?), and another unintelligible inscription.

On a haematite in the Cabinet des Médailles a trophy is set over a thunderbolt, and a star rests upon the helmet; reverse, *νειχαροπληξ*.<sup>52</sup> Another stone in the same collection shows a running lion at the foot of the trophy, and stars and apparently disconnected letters in the field (D. 375).<sup>53</sup>

It is possible that the uncouth trophy, an object foreign to Egyptian custom, may have been accepted by some ignorant people as a kind of outlandish idol or fetish, and so a thing full of magical power. Such a notion, when it had once taken root, would naturally lead to other developments of the symbol, tending to give it more human characteristics. In this way one may perhaps explain a strange chalcedony pendant in the British Museum (56192), which has on the obverse face what may be briefly described as a human-headed cross. Under this design is the word *νειχαροπληξ*, as on one of the Paris examples; above is a series of vowels, and an inscription of unknown meaning encircles the whole. Such a form may have evolved from a trophy, in which the upright post has a helmet on its top, and the crossbar holds an armless cuirass.<sup>54</sup> Some Byzantine bronze pendants mentioned in the previous chapter have as their reverse type a cross surmounted by a bust of Christ; but it is doubtful whether that type was developed early enough to account for the chalcedony in the British Museum.

<sup>49</sup> Cabinet des Médailles, Chabouillet 2221. Illustration in Matter, Pl. 8, 7. D. 377.

<sup>50</sup> De Ridder 3470.

<sup>51</sup> 56065.

<sup>52</sup> Chabouillet 2222, where the object above the helmet is described as the letter X. Matter, Pl. 8, 12, shows it as a star.

<sup>53</sup> I have not the number of this object, which seems to have been added to the collection after Chabouillet's catalogue was published.

<sup>54</sup> The armless herms may also have contributed to the development of the type. The stone just described is illustrated in King, *Gnostics*, Pl. C1.



## AN ASTROLOGICAL PROBLEM

The stone that gives rise to this problem is one of the most remarkable of the fine group in the Brummer collection (D. 378). It might have been included in the chapter dealing with pantheistic and monstrous forms, since its obverse face shows one of the most elaborate and, fortunately, one of the most distinct pantheos types hitherto recorded. A previously described haematite in the Walters Art Gallery is noteworthy for its close relation to the usual obverse design of the late dynastic stelae of Horus; the Brummer amulet is equally remarkable for its approach to the type of the pantheistic demon, sometimes called the Old Sun, or the pantheistic Bes, which is represented on the reverse of the Metternich stele, and also on small magical stelae of the same class as the Horus stelae proper. The obverse of the Brummer amulet includes several details, especially small subsidiary figures, which it is not easy to account for. Enough has been said about the pantheos design in general in Chapter XII; and the unusual features of this specimen may be most conveniently presented in the description preceding the plates. It is perhaps worth while to mention the inscription encircling the design. Though slightly damaged and not everywhere distinct, it seems to contain several of the secret or magical names of the planets (Semea, Kenteu, etc.), some of them differing from their usual forms.

The reverse side requires fuller discussion. The principal design is common enough, the cock-headed god with serpent legs, carrying whip and shield (not inscribed) in the usual attitude. Below him is a lion walking to left, a feature not usually associated with the anguipede. Round the margin is the inscription *λέων ιμι* (for *ειμι*), *λέοντα φορῶ*, *Διός ιμι οικητήριον*, "I am a lion, I carry a lion, I am the house of Zeus." But who is the "I"? If the lion speaks, the words *λέοντα φορῶ* are puzzling. One may scarcely suggest that the lion is carrying the anguipede above him, for they are not in actual contact; and how could an anguipede demon be called a lion? The fact that both are solar symbols is not enough to explain it. Apparently the stone is supposed to say *λέοντα φορῶ*, and then the subject changes back to the lion in the last clause.

Those who are readier than I to believe that magical amulets have been strongly influenced by Mithraism would probably explain this inscription as the words of a Mithraic Lion, that is, an initiate who had reached the grade of Leo. That would provide for the first two clauses, "I am a Lion, I wear (the image of) a lion," but it does not avoid the difficulty of the third clause, where the speaker must be the Lion as a zodiacal sign. Perhaps the most plausible explanation of all is that, just as a magician may declare himself to be such and such a god, because he desires to use divine power, so he may call himself a lion, identifying himself completely with all aspects of the animal, including the astrological, and interpolating the boast *λέοντα φορῶ*. "I am the house of Zeus" is certainly to be taken in the astrological sense, and, following modern practice, we should say "house of Jupiter."



The difficulty is, that in the system that we know from Ptolemy, Firmicus Maternus, Hephaestion of Thebes, and others, the Lion is the house, not of Jupiter, but of the Sun;<sup>55</sup> and we can scarcely venture to date the gem earlier than the astrological writings that conform to that system. The statement that Leo is the house of Jupiter cannot be reconciled with the usual system; the most that can be suggested is that the planet has a special interest in the sign of the Lion. Thus in a fragment of Hephaestion of Thebes, Jupiter is joint lord of the house (*συννοικοδεσπότης*) of *Leo κατὰ τὸ τρίγωνον*, that is, because when in his own house, Sagittarius, Jupiter is in trine aspect to Leo.<sup>56</sup> Again in the Egyptian and Chaldean systems of terms (*ἄρια*) as described by Ptolemy,<sup>57</sup> the first terms of Leo are assigned to Jupiter. Further, Firmicus Maternus (2, 4, 1-2), explaining the division of the twelve zodiacal signs into thirty-six parts (ten degrees each), over each of which a decan presides, adds that the decans themselves are allotted to individual stars; further, "Si in ipso decano stella fuerit, licet sit in alieno domicilio, sic est habenda, quasi in suo sit domicilio constituta; (in) suo enim decano constituta haec eadem perficit, quae in signo constituta decernit." The second decan of Leo is allotted to Jupiter (2, 4, 3); therefore, if Jupiter is in the second decan of Leo, his powers are the same as if he were in his own house, Sagittarius and Pisces. Yet all this is not the same as saying that Leo is the house of Jupiter, and attempts to explain the inscription in these ways would not be entirely convincing.

It is more likely that we have to do with a mixture of the classical doctrine of the planetary houses with an earlier system to which that doctrine was unknown, but which nevertheless assigned to each of the twelve great gods the guardianship of a zodiacal sign.<sup>58</sup> That earlier system finds expression in a passage of Manilius (2, 433-452), from which it suffices to cite a few verses (433-435, 439-441):

His animadversis rebus quae proxima cura?  
noscere tutelas adiectaque numina signis  
et quae cuique deo rerum natura dicavit

. . . . .  
Lanigerum Pallas, Taurum Cytherea tuetur,  
formosos Phoebus Geminos; Cyllenie, Cancrum,  
Iuppiter, et cum matre deum regis ipse Leonem.

Here the signs are spoken of as "protected" or "ruled" by their guardian deities, not as being their "houses"; but the transition from one system to another might naturally entail some confusion in terminology.

Another possible explanation depends upon an identification of Helios and Zeus, which is well known to students of Greek religion in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>59</sup> If Zeus is the Sun, the Lion may be called the house

<sup>55</sup> Ptol. *Tetrab.* 1, 17; Heph. Theb., p. 53, 30 (ed. Engelbrecht); Firm. Mat. 2, 2, 3.

<sup>56</sup> *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, I, 91, 11-12. <sup>57</sup> *Tetrab.* 1, 20-21.

<sup>58</sup> See Housman's account of this system in the preface (p. xvi) to his edition of Manilius, Book II.

<sup>59</sup> See Cook, *Zeus*, I, 186 ff.



of Zeus; but to identify Zeus, or Jupiter, with the Sun works confusion in astrology. Yet anomalous as that identification would be, it is slightly favored by the solar character of the whole amulet; for the obverse type, if not itself an aspect of the Sun (in his descent or old age), is certainly closely associated with Horus, the sun-god, and it is accompanied by an inscription which contains planetary names, including that of the sun. Further, the cock-headed anguipede and the lion are both solar figures.

The discussion of rare and perplexing types could be continued much further, but it seems best to deal here chiefly with such uncommon designs as are represented by at least a small group of examples. A few other unusual types will be described and illustrated at the end of that part of the catalogue (Descriptions of the Plates) which is devoted to this chapter. Other observers may be able to explain them or at least to give notice of similar specimens.