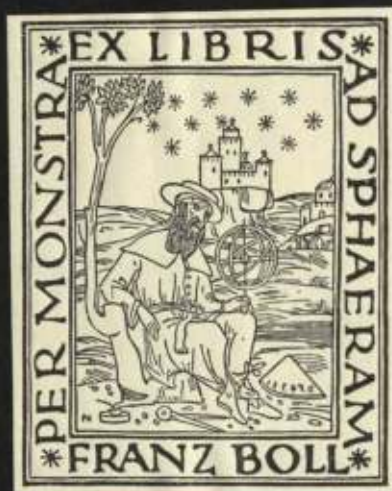


DEUBNER: CHARMS AND AMULETS

(GREEK.)

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**CHARMS AND AMULETS** (Greek).—The use of charms and amulets among the Greeks, as among all other peoples, is to be derived from the desire of influencing the course of nature or events, of creating or counteracting certain effects. This sort of influence is regarded at a later stage as supernatural; but, no doubt, a primitive people saw nothing supernatural in it. There are three categories of such influence, all of which may be found simultaneously in use: certain words, certain actions, and certain objects or their image, for to primitive belief an object and its image are identical. For us the third category only is important.

The reasons why certain objects are used as charms or amulets are various. There are a great many objects which are regarded as endowed by nature with special forces. (They are not, however, on that account to be considered as habitations of gods or souls [cf. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum usu*, p. 18; Abt, 'Amulette,' in Schiele, *Religion*, i. 1908, 448].) The great number of ways in which it was possible to make use of certain charms proves that their powers were not confined to one kind of effect only. Apion, e.g., taught (Pliny, *HN* xxx. 18) that the herb *cynocephalia* was potent against every kind of magic spell (cf. *ib.* xxiv. 103, 'contra perniciem omnem'). Furthermore, we must lay stress upon the fact that the same means that are used to attract blessings are, at the same time, able to dispel ill luck. Where there is good luck, ill luck cannot enter; and health enters where illness has been driven out.

The common snapdragon (*δελφίνιον*) is a remedy against sorcery, if worn round the neck; it beautifies, if applied as an ointment, together with oil from the lily (*Dioscorides, De mat. med. iv. 131* [130 Wellm.]). One remedy against sorcery is to drink a tea of peonies; on the other hand, this tea promotes the secretion of milk for nursing women (*Pradel, 'Griech. Gebete,' op. cit. infra, iii. 367*). The agate renders fields fertile (*Orpheus, Lith. 238 ff.*), and athletes invincible (*Plin. xxxvii. 142*); and it possesses manifold other apotropaic and magic forces (*ib. 139 ff.*). Cf. also the promise of Priapus, in an inscription on a rock of Thera (*IG xii. 3, 421c*), to bring the inhabitants of the island unbounded wealth and to be their companion-in-arms.

Thus there is no fundamental difference between the apotropaic amulet and the charm with its power to attract the positive blessing (*φάρμακος, cf. Abt, 'Apol. des Apulejus,' op. cit. infra, iv. 186 ff.; W. Havers, 'Hellas undogerm. Forsch. xxv. [1909] 375 ff., cf. Weidlich, Sympathie in der antiken Literatur, p. 68*). It is, however, conceivable that a certain differentiation soon took place, and that the amulet came to play a much more important part than the object used as a charm. For, in order to attain a positive effect, one makes use of a momentary magic device; but, if one desires to be safe at every moment against every kind of evil, one must make the magic remedy a constant one; and this explains the fact that the number of amulets far outweighs that of charms. As the amulet was mostly worn on a cord, the Greeks called it *περίσπασμα, περίσπαστρον, περιδέραιον* (*Kropatscheck, op. cit. 10*). But this is not the only thing the ancients designate by the word 'amulet'; the term comprises everything that is used for protection against any kind of harm. In this sense the amulet is called *φουλακτήριον, ἀποτρόπαιον, ἀλεξίφάρμακος, etc.* Thus we find this word applied to everything we are accustomed to term 'apotropaic.' And, last of all, the same remedies that have a prophylactic use, *e.g.*, to protect against an illness, are used to cure the disease when it has set in; and we often find that in such a case the remedy against the illness that has already developed is worn as an amulet in its more restricted sense, on a ribbon round the neck (*Jahn, SSGW, 1855, pp. 40, 43; Heim, op. cit. infra, p. 506, cf. ib. no. 132 with 507, 133; Kropatscheck, op. cit. 42*). We thus see that the vast domain of popular medicine bears the closest affinity to our subject, and therefore a minute classification of their different functions cannot be attempted here when discussing the several charms. The detailed analysis of each case, which would be necessary, has never yet been undertaken, and would not be possible within the scope of this article. A full treatise on popular medicine is contained in the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

In all probability there was originally hardly anything, animate or inanimate, to which men did not attribute some specific force. *Kropatscheck (op. cit. 20)* is right in saying that there is hardly anything existent that has not at some time been used as an amulet; cf. also a like remark by Otto Jahn about the animals endowed with powers of magic (*op. cit. 100*). Magic functions were probably often specialized by means of differentiation. In other cases a charm had a special function to begin with, based on the popular idea of sympathy and antipathy of most, perhaps even all, animate and inanimate things in the world (*cf. Weidlich, op. cit. passim*). Lemon and cucumber, fig and rue, are good friends; therefore the lemon thrives better if cucumber is planted in its vicinity (*Pallad. iv. 10, 15*), and the rue grows more abundantly under the shade of the fig-tree (*ib. 9, 14*). Cabbage and vine

do not agree, therefore one must eat cabbage to be safe from inebriety (*Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglaube,' pp. 58, 62 ff.*). The scorpion fears the lizard; its bite is therefore cured with a remedy in which the lizard plays a part (*Weidlich, op. cit. 21*). The charms whose effect can be described by the words 'similia similibus' bear a close affinity to these (*Kropatscheck, op. cit. 44, 1*). The yellow bird *Charadrius* or *Ikteros* (*Riess, op. cit. 60, 2; 73, 68; Weidlich, op. cit. 56*) is a help against jaundice, but the bird itself perishes (a case of transferred illness). A specific against headache is an olive-leaf tied round the head and bearing the name of Athens, who sprang from the head of Zeus (*Geopon. ix. 1, 5*), or a herb grown on the head of a statue (*Riess, op. cit. 59, 26*); against colic, the hair from the belly of a hare (*Marcell. Empir. xxix. 35*); against disease of the eye, the eye of a fish (*Ael. Nat. An. xxiv. 15*); against toothache, the corresponding tooth of a dead horse (*Plin. HN xxviii. 181*). A positive influence is reached on the same principle: the tongue of a frog makes the woman suspected of adultery speak the truth (*Plin. xxxii. 79*); urine from a eunuch stops fertility (*Plin. xxviii. 65*); the sinews of a crane are a help against fatigue (*Plin. xxx. 149*). The mere name of an object is also sufficient to make it suitable for certain sympathetic purposes (*Apul. de Mag. 34 f.; Abt, op. cit. 213 f.*). Thus the plant called *lysimachia* is used to calm a quarrelsome team of horses (*Plin. xxv. 72*); the *satyrium* excited sexual desire (*Riess, op. cit. 65, 18*); the amethyst was a remedy against drunkenness (*Abt, op. cit. 214, 4*). Occasionally also its magic use may have been the reason for giving the object its name.

A number of charms owed their efficacy to the place at which they were to be found. Thus it was related that the famous athlete *Milon* of *Kroton* had rendered himself invincible by means of stones, the size of a pea, which had all been found in the stomachs of cocks (*Plin. xxxvii. 144*); a stone found in the stomach of a hen helps soldiers to courage and victory (*Weidlich, op. cit. 61*); concerning stones from the stomachs of swallows, cf. *Kropatscheck, op. cit. 24 f.* A grain found in the horns of snails makes teething easy (*Plin. xxx. 136*). A bone out of a horse's heart helps against toothache (*Plin. xxviii. 181*); a stone that 'grows' in the Nile, of a pea-like aspect (*cf. above, the stone of Milon*), is a charm against barking of dogs and frenzy. Perhaps the latter example is already influenced by the idea of the sacredness of the place, which is expressed when a plant growing on a boundary or a crossway is considered to possess magic power (*Riess, op. cit. 47, 5, 24*). A similar notion underlies the belief that a plant from the margin of a stream or river is a remedy against tertian fever (*Plin. xxiv. 170*); the power of flowing water which cleanses and washes away all evil (*Abt, op. cit. 114, 7*) allows the beneficent powers of the plants to develop undisturbed. In like manner, whatever has come into contact with lightning is endowed with special powers. Wood struck by lightning helps against toothache (*Plin. xxviii. 45*); the stone *ceraunia* is sought after by magicians, because it is found only in places that have been struck by lightning (*Plin. xxxvii. 135*).

Anything connected with death or the dead has a special importance in magic (*Riess, op. cit. 92, 13; Fahz, op. cit. infra, ii. 148 ff.; Abt, op. cit. 268, 5*). Human bones and skulls (*Abt, op. cit. 215*) are used for various magic manipulations; with a torch from the funeral pyre of a dead man dogs are silenced (*Ael. Nat. An. i. 38*); a garment worn at a funeral is safe from moths (*Plin. xxviii. 33*); the words of an imprecation become especially potent when engraved on the fragment of a tombstone (*Wünsch*

in Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898-1900, pp. 173, 187). The influence of uncanny objects connected with a dead body was greatly enhanced when the death had been a violent one (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 50). The underlying idea seems to be twofold: on the one hand, it was supposed that the remains of a *βασοθάνατος* retain something of the full vital energies that were his up to the moment of his sudden death (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 51); and again, that one who has died before his time, and still longs for life, lets his demonic powers pass with greater energy into this world. When the eye-tooth of an unburied corpse is prescribed as an amulet against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45), the latter thought is uppermost; the unburied man, too, has no peace, but hankers after life in this world; and so do the *δαίμοι* (cf., for these notions, Norden, *Encls.* vi. [1903] 10 ff.). Everything that has any connexion with the *βασοθάνατος* has special powers—the rope of the hanged person, or a nail from the cross. Even the place where the man died is charged with a power that can be transferred; hence diseased pigs were fed with oats that had lain at such a place for a night (Plin. xxviii. 8); in a love-charm of the Parisian magic papyrus (Fahz, *op. cit.* 167, l. 4), one is told to throw some of the dirt from such a place into the room of the beloved. When, according to the London magic papyrus (121, l. 657 f., Wessely), some relic from a stranded ship is required, we again meet with the notion that, where uncanny powers have been at work, special magic forces attach themselves to the objects concerned.

Many charms have an apotropaic character only. Foremost among these are the images of ghastly forms intended to paralyze the menacing evil charm; above all, the Gorgoneion (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1906, p. 902, 3; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 5; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 262, 3), and its counterpart, the head of Phobos (Weizsäcker in Roscher, s.v. 'Phobos'; Wolters, *op. cit.* 269 ff.); cf. also the apotropaic face on the back of a leaden amulet (*Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 79). The curious (*ἀρώα*) and ridiculous (*γελοία*) preventives (Jahn, *op. cit.* 68 f.) of which Plutarch (*Qu. Conv.* p. 681 f.) and Pollux (vii. 108) speak belong to this group—caricatures and the like, with regard to which the present writer would suggest that the apotropaic character of the ridiculous may have originated at the very moment when the formidable phantom came to be considered a mere grimace (cf. also Perdrizet, 'L'Hippalektryon,' *Rev. des ét. anc.* vi. 7 ff.; Wace, 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye,' *British School Annual*, x. [1905] 103 ff.).

Another method of protecting oneself against incantation is to turn the tables against the enemy by bringing him into subjection. His evil intents are thus, in a way, forestalled. A species of grasshopper was said to be infested with the evil eye (Jahn, *op. cit.* 36, 30), and its image was erected on the Acropolis by Pisistratus (*ib.* 37, 31; cf. Weinreich, 'Ant. Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* VIII. i. 162 ff.). The hail, which was pernicious to the peasant's harvest, was a preventive of thunder if hailstones were put into the hatching-straw (Colum. viii. 5, 12; perhaps specifically Roman). The owl, on the one hand, was considered a bird of evil omen (Riess, *op. cit.* 70, 23; cf. Perdrizet, 'Le folklore de la chouette,' *Bull. de la société nat. des antiquaires de France*, 1903); but, on the other hand, it was a protective against hail (Pallad. i. 35, 1). The clearest example of this kind of protection by forestalling the enemy is that of the apotropaic eye. This does not oppose the evil eye with the power of the 'good eye' (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Fascinum,' p. 987), but it defeats it with its own weapons, and keeps off all kinds of evil powers (cf. also Wolters, *op. cit.*

269 f.). The idea that he who carries upon him parts of a dog is safeguarded against dogs must be interpreted differently (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 73, 12); for it originates in the belief that whosoever has power over a part can conquer the whole. In both cases like is dispelled by like. But the like can also repair the misfortune that has occurred (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 669). The most famous example of this belief is the tale of Telephos (*ὁ τρώας καὶ ἰδέρας*). The bite of a shrew-mouse is healed by a shrew-mouse, and best healed by the same shrew-mouse (Plin. xxix. 89; Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 30). And the close connexion of this belief with that mentioned before is best illustrated by the fact that a live shrew-mouse in a clay casket was worn round the neck as an amulet against the bite of these animals (Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 32).

We mentioned above that words and actions, formulae and rites, came within the scope of magic charms, as well as objects. They do not in themselves belong to the matter here treated, but cannot be ignored in so far as they have become fixed objects, i.e. the actions are depicted, the words written down.

To these apotropaic figures belong the numerous scenes in which an eye is represented as surrounded by hostile animals and men (Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Erans Vindobonensis* [1893], 285 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* [1903] 20; *Oesterreich. Jahresh.* vi. [1903], Beiblatt, p. 23, fig. 3; Wolters, *op. cit.* 283, 1). The evil eye is to be robbed of its powers by the fixed representation of the attack against it. This is still more effective than the using of these animals as amulets, for by means of the image of the eye itself the evil eye is imprisoned and spellbound.

When on the marble block from Xanthus a phallus is threatened instead of the eye (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 289), this is probably due to an inadvertent adherence to the former scheme. Occasionally the eye is pierced by a lance. This brings us to the picture of Herakles throttling the lion, found on an amulet against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 481, 60). The same image is used for the protection of vegetables against weeds, *ἀστροπέλειον* (*Geopon.* ii. 42, 2), where the sympathy of name also has some weight. A protective against gout shows the image of Perseus with the head of Medusa (Heim, *op. cit.* 480 f., 59). On Byzantine amulets, Solomon on horseback, piercing with a lance the female demon of disease, who lies on the ground, is a favourite theme (Sehlunberger, *Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 73 ff.; Perdrizet, *ib.* xvi. [1903] 42 ff.). Cf. the encounter of Michael with *Βασάρια* (the personification of witchcraft) in a new amulet-text (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [1904], 297 ff.); and the legend told, in Abyssinian magic-scrolls, of the saint Súsneyós, who kills the witch Werzelyá from his horse, because she caused his child's death; see also, in the same scrolls, the scene depicted in closest analogy to the Solomon pictures (Worrell, *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 165, and pl. ii. 4). On the marble relief of Bedford, which formed the starting-point of Jahn's famous treatise on the superstition of the evil eye (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.), a man sits above the eye with bare hind part, in an unmistakable attitude (Jahn, *op. cit.* iii. 1, p. 86 ff.). This is generally explained as a sign of disdain, and classed along with the baring or depicting of the genitalia in order to ward off a spell (Jahn, *op. cit.* 68 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 896, 1; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 4; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 14; *Thera*, iii. [1904] 186). The obscene female figures of Naukratis (*JHS* xxv. [1905] 128) belong to the same category (against J. E. Harrison's opinion, who explains the gesture of Baubo as a *τροφακάνωρ* [*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 570, note 1]; cf. Diels, *Miscellanea Salinas*, 1907,

p. 9, 1). In the same way as the uncovering of the genitalia may be replaced by special imitative gestures with the hand (*digitus infamis* and *fica*), so, too, the *fica* is formed into an apotropaic object. Shells are also considered images of the *cinus* (Jahn, *op. cit.* 80; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 15). The present writer doubts whether the original purpose of this kind of apotropaia was to express disgust or disdain. He would prefer to bring them into relation with the 'Zauber der Körperöffnungen' (cf. Preuss, *Globus*, 86, 321 ff.). Those who wish to retain the notion of disdain as the prominent one must ascribe these apotropaia to a later stage of development; primitive humanity certainly had no comprehension of this feeling. The ithyphallic apotropaion (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. 262, 263, 266 ff., pl. x. f.) must be explained differently, as is already indicated by its much more frequent occurrence, compared with that of the anthyphallic (hardly correct; Jahn, *op. cit.* 73) and female (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79) apotropaion. The ithyphallic apotropaion is a symbol of strength, blessing, luck. On the Pompeian house a phallus was depicted with the inscription: 'Hic habitat felicitas' (Heim, *op. cit.* 510, 143). Where there is good fortune, misfortune cannot enter, as we have already remarked (cf. also Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [1905] 2, 405; Schwenck, *Myth. d. Röm.* 1855, p. 141; *ARW* x. [1907] 296 f.). Strength, or the image of any kind of strength, has apotropaic power (cf. also Prott, *ARW* ix. [1906] 93); therefore Herakles is the dispeller of evil καὶ εὐχῆν. Thus Priapus also has changed from a god of fertility into a protector of gardens, and—yet another change—into a scarecrow!

Like the magic act, the magic word also becomes fixed. It is written on different substances, and, as durability was desired, small metal tablets were preferred, especially as this substance heightened the magic power. Thus we find the use of gold, silver, and tin (Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 125 f., 134 ff., cf. *ib.* cxviii. [1909] 158; Audollent, *Defix. Tab.*, Paris, 1904, p. xxxiv ff.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 24), lead (in harmful incantations; Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* [1897] p. iii, *Seth. Verfluchungstafeln* [1898], 72, 76; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. xvii ff.), stones and linen (Wünsch, 'Antikes Zaubergerät,' *Archaeol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft vi. 39), sherds (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379, 1), shells (Abt, *op. cit.* 218 f.), and also the less durable papyrus (Willeken, *APF* i. 420 ff.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 26 f.; cf. *Geopon.* xiii. 5, 4). The words written down were various kinds of magic formulae (cf. art. MAGIC), 'Ephesia Grammata' (Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata*, 1886; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 64 f.; Wünsch, *Seth. Verfl.* 80; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxvii; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 884, 2; Tambornino, 'De antiquorum daemone,' *Religionsgesch. Verz. und Vorarb.* vii. iii. 80; W. Schultz, *Philol.* lxxviii. [1909] 210 ff.), alphabets (Dieterich, *Rhein. Mus.* lvi. [1901] 77 ff., *Mithrasliturgie*, 1910, p. 221), anagrams (Heim, *op. cit.* 530, 1; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauber,' p. 36), cryptograms and *isopsepha* (Prentice, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* x. [1906] 146 ff.), Homeric verses (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 18, 29; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 2 ff.). Their place was taken, in Christian times, by Psalms (Pradel, *op. cit.* 381) and texts from the Gospels (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29); also whole prayers, sometimes of considerable length, were written down for magic purposes (*ib.* 30 ff., cf. *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 158 ff.). Sometimes the texts were written from right to left (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv; Münsterberg, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii. [1904] 143), or some other game was played with the letters (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauber,' 28 f.); a triangle of magic import is formed by writing down a magic word as many times as the word has letters,

and always dropping a letter in each word till only one is left (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29). In the Egyptian room of the National Museum of Athens (no. 864) the present writer saw an amulet on which the anagram ΑΚΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΑΚΑ<sup>1</sup> had been formed into a triangle by the successive subtraction of the first and last six letters. Besides formulae, the names of powerful gods are found (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 19, note); above all, that of the great Jewish God Iao (Abt, *op. cit.* 254, 1). Mere knowledge of the name has the power to protect (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). The Jewish angels, too, have this power (Prentice, *op. cit.* 143), as well as the spirits of the planets, which are designated by the seven vowels α ε η ι ο ω (Heim, *op. cit.* 540, note; Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 140 ff.; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxiii; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauber,' 29 f.). Instead of words we also find special magic symbols on magic objects, the so-called 'characters' (Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxii), whose affinity to Egyptian hieroglyphics has been traced by Wünsch ('Ant. Zauber,' 31 ff.). In many cases the substance itself, on which the magic words are engraved, is endowed with magic power, so that the effect is heightened, and still more so if there are magic emblems in addition to words. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 35 f.) holds that magic objects obtained power only through the medium of the words engraved on them, and that afterwards the formulae (or symbols) were omitted, and the objects alone worn as amulets. But this is certainly not the case, for surely some objects had magic power attributed to them at the outset, without their bearing a single magic inscription.

Another group comes within our scope, which we would term 'derived charms.' The idea connected with them is that of spell-binding. The nail which is used on manifold occasions to fasten some evil, or to lame an enemy, finally becomes imbued with magic forces. Thus, for example, iron nails protect the hatching-nests of hens against thunder (Riess, *op. cit.* 50, 60).

Numerous magic nails of this kind have been preserved down to our time (Jahn, *op. cit.* 108 ff.; Hubert in Darenberg-Saglio, *u. t.* 'Magia,' p. 1508, 25; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 895, 7; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25, 5; Prentice, *op. cit.* 144). The specimen from the Asklepieion of Paros, with the inscription ΙΥΡ (Athen. *Mitt.* xxvii. [1902] 229), seems to have the special mission of protecting against fire.

The key plays much the same part as the nail. As the action of locking in bears an affinity to that of spell-binding, the key becomes endowed with magic powers. In order to protect a field against hail, many keys from different buildings are tied all round it (*Geopon.* i. 14, 6; cf. also Heim, *op. cit.* 541, 236 f.). The use of the thread and knot goes still further (Frazer, *GB*<sup>2</sup> i. 392 ff.; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1508, 23; Wolters, *ARW* viii. [1905] Usenerheft, 1 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 885, 6-8; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Abt, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). More especially, coloured, three-coloured, and red threads were preferred as enhancing the effect (cf., besides the above, Deubner, *De incub.*, 1900, p. 25; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 70). Whatever is enclosed by a ribbon, thread, rope, or the like, is, according to very ancient belief, thereby safeguarded against every kind of evil. The evil cannot step over the magic boundary. For this reason the thread or ribbon itself acquires magic importance, possessing not only apotropaic, but also positive, power. Only thus can we understand the rite whereby, in the case of an illness already present, the patient is fettered, and thus believed to be saved (cf. *e.g.* Diog. Laert. iv. 56). The influence of the knot must be explained differently. The knot is not really a derived charm, but a part of the action of binding which has been stereotyped, and by which the evil is fixed. The

<sup>1</sup> In this reading, instead of the usual αβανθησαββα, the present writer has been confirmed by the kind verification of Dr. Karo.

covered with different symbols: hand, snake, spider, scorpion, spiral, rosette (or shell) (*ib.* 273 f., viii. [1905] 523). A good example of the complication of rituals is given by Pliny (xxvi. 93). He records that a remedy is specially potent when applied by a naked (Jahn, *op. cit.* 93; Deubner, *op. cit.* 24; Abt, *op. cit.* 246, 1), sober (Abt, *op. cit.* 113 f.) virgin (Pradel, *op. cit.* 377) to a sober patient. The virgin thrice recites a magic formula, holding her hand in a prescribed position (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 62, 39 f.), and both expectorate (Abt, *op. cit.* 260 f.) thrice. The virgin is especially powerful on account of her purity, which quality, together with that of chastity, is indispensable to the efficacy of magic remedies (Abt, *op. cit.* iii. 115, 237, 241, 246, 258 f., 263, 330; cf. art. PURITY). Another remedy (Plin. xxiv. 172) is especially effective when rubbed in to the right (Abt, *op. cit.* 273 ff.; cf. Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv) by three men of three different nationalities.

A passage of Pliny (xxviii. 46) shows how the idea of a remedy becomes mingled with that of magic by transmission. Against fever a piece of nail or rope from a cross was worn round the neck as an amulet. When healed, the person hid this amulet in a place which the sun's rays could not reach. The notion was that the nail or rope had absorbed the disease; and yet these objects possessed healing power only in so far as they were connected with the dead, and therefore had apotropaic force. We also find cases in which the amulet changes its function. The scarab from Tusculum edited by Wünsch (*Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 289 ff.) is inscribed with a Greek magic formula, containing the invocation of an unnamed demon, for the purpose of a nocturnal oracle—thus a positive, spell-binding invocation. Wünsch is right in remarking that the proprietor of Tusculum is not likely to have used the scarab for purposes of incantation. It is more probable that he wore it as an amulet, after it had come into his hands in some way, for that is the usual form in which scarabs were used in Rome (Wünsch, *op. cit.* 294).

The forms in which the powers of a charm were concentrated on the possessor were manifold. On a tablet from Knidos (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. xii, no. 91, 14 f.; cf. *ib.* xxiii<sup>b</sup>) the chief possibilities are combined: *φάρμακον ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχυστον ἢ ἐνακρίον*, where the noun *φάρμακον* is limited consecutively by three verbal adjectives. The charm might be drunk (Fahz, *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 4; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372); even magic words written on some eatable substance, or dissolved in a potion, were eaten or drunk (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19); even the act of licking sufficed—a practice to which the kissing of an amulet bears affinity (Kropatscheck, *l.c.*). Furthermore, the remedy might be applied as an ointment (Kehr, *Quaest. Mag. Specimen*, 1884, p. 19; Dedo, *op. cit.* 3 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 143) or in the form of a powder (Pradel, *op. cit.* 363, 369). And lastly, one could bring it into contact (*ἐράγειν*, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 318; *Phoen.* 343) in any other way with the person to be bewitched, if evil was purposed. The remedy could also be effective by being merely worn (Pradel, *op. cit.* 375). Here the favourite form was the real amulet (cf. above), which is also prescribed most frequently by Dioscorides when he gives sympathetic remedies (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 67). Kropatscheck has discussed the different forms in which the amulet was worn (*op. cit.* 33 ff.; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 41). It was wound round the head (which is important for the signification of the wreath), the neck, the right or left arm; or it was held in the hand (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 52, 60; 65, 18). There is also a curious prescription to wear a golden or silver leaflet *σφραγιστικῶς*, which Kropatscheck interprets as a mode of wearing it like a

military neck-ring (perhaps more correctly 'like the phalera'). There are still other fashions: phylacteries are worn under the feet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberberg,' p. 39), under the tongue, or in the mouth (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16, 2; Fahz, *op. cit.* 138; Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 2, 1898, 237), or under the pillow (Riess, *op. cit.* 57, 23). Even the mere looking at a charm may be effective (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 22; 69, 60; 74, 2; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 169 f.), and the knowledge of the god's name alone has the power of protecting against evil (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). Without any loss of efficacy (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), charms are often enclosed in linen, or leather (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 34 f.), or in metal caskets: from this custom, as from the wearing of amulets in general, the use of ordinary jewellery originated (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' 254, 257; Riess, 'Amulett,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1986; cf. Trendelenburg, *Blätter f. d. Mitglieder d. Wiss. Centralvereins*, no. 1, Berlin, 1909 [*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1909, p. 1025]). Not infrequently the proprietor may have had the intention of thus protecting his charm against contrary charms (Riess, *op. cit.* p. 1985; cf. Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f.), but the practical purpose must have been at least as frequently prevalent: the tongue of a fox or the heart of a lark cannot well be worn *in natura*, therefore we find for both the prescription to wear them in a bracelet (Plin. xxviii. 172, xxx. 63). If this is golden, as in the latter case, there is a conscious heightening of the magic powers. The same remedies are often found prescribed for eating, or for wearing (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 43), so that the mode of their use is not that which is significant. The variety of uses of one remedy recorded by Dioscorides has been quoted above (p. 434\*).

The Greeks endeavoured to protect not only themselves and their children (Jahn, *op. cit.* 40, 42) but also their entire household from evil powers: their cattle (Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 45 f., 'Amulett,' 1988; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Pradel, *op. cit.* 377), the horses (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986, 1988; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61 f.), the stables (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138), the dove-cot, the hatching-places of the hens, the wine-casks, the grain, and the trees (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 73 f.), above all, the house itself and its entrance (Riess, 'Abergl.' 48, 3, 'Amulett,' 1988; Heim, *op. cit.* 509 f.; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.* 30, 1; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 36), the workshops (Jahn, 66 f.; Prentice, *l.c.*), the implements of daily life (Jahn, *op. cit.* 159, 100; Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986 f.; Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), the clothes (Jahn, *op. cit.* 60), shield and weapons (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986; Karo in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Oreca,' p. 147; *Journ. intern. d'arch. numism.* ix. [1906] 5 ff.), towns, walls (apotropaic eyes on the town wall of Limena (Thasos), *JHS* xxix. [1909] pl. xviii. e), gates and public buildings (Jahn, *op. cit.* 59; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 20) sanctuaries, altars, graves (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1988) and the dead themselves (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16). There is a tendency tectonically to unite the amulet with the object thereby protected—implements, weapons, clothes, buildings, and the like (the amulet thus becomes an apotropaion in its more restricted meaning). Lastly, the magic practice itself is protected by phylacteria against harmful anti-magic (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1516; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberberg,' 38 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* ii f.). Even animals were believed by the Greeks to make use of certain prophylactic means (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Plin. xxiv. 174, whose testimony is, however, doubtful [cf. Riess, 'Abergl.' 57, 63]).

In many passages of magic literature the wonderful results attendant on the possession of certain charms are enumerated. Kropatscheck has made a selection of some (*op. cit.* 13 ff.; cf.

Hubert, *op. cit.* 1495; Abt, *op. cit.* 130), from which we obtain an impression of the good things the Greeks most desired to possess, and the evils they were most desirous to escape: love ( $\phi\lambda\alpha\rho\alpha$ , Abt, *op. cit.* 175 f.), renown, victory in battle or in contests or in lawsuits (*ib.* 130 f.; cf. Hellwig, *Globus*, xc. [1909] 21 f.), honour, riches, legacies, greatness, popularity, friendship (especially of influential people), life, and health (cf. a Byzantine bronze amulet with the inscription  $\Upsilon\Gamma\text{H}\text{A}\ \Sigma\text{V}\ \Delta\text{O}\text{P}\text{I}\text{T}\text{E} = \text{ὕγιας σὺ δαπειρά}$  [*Journ. intern. d'arch. num.* x. 1907, 333 f.]), well-being, power, luck, success, peace, quietude, invulnerability, good looks, credit, memory, discernment, goodness, beauty, knowledge, many children, quick and easy birth, the gift of foreseeing the future, of exciting fear and admiration, of transforming oneself, of opening doors, of rending fetters and stones, of breaking magic spells, of becoming invisible or indiscoverable (the wish of runaway-slaves), of spell-binding the enemy, and of harming him, of getting and knowing everything one wished to have or know. The Greeks protected themselves against: the evil eye (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 878, 1; Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Fascinum'; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 1910, esp. i. 29), being bewitched by evil tongues (Abt, *op. cit.* 130), sufferings and illnesses of all sorts, such as fever, coughs, etc.; stress and danger by land and by water, storms and lightning, demons, ghosts and nightmares, somnambulism and frenzy (Tambornino, *op. cit.* 75 f.), poisonous animals, especially snakes and scorpions, vermin of every kind (*Geopon.* xiii. 14, 9; Heim, *op. cit.* 478, 47; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 89, 50), enemies and enmity, accusers, robbers, wrathful kings, lords, chiefs, and ruling powers (Abt, *op. cit.* 129), thieves (cf. Western. *Parad.* 145, 1 f.:  $\beta\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\upsilon$ ), impion deeds, and spells.

How much of the matter here enumerated is genuinely Greek cannot now be ascertained. Jahn (*op. cit.* 110) had already drawn attention to the great difficulty of obtaining 'eine Einsicht in den Gang der historischen Entwicklung.' Dilthey (*op. cit.* 65) considered a large part of ancient superstition to be of alien origin, and this supposition has only been strengthened by the researches of recent years. Especially Egypt, the old home of magic, transplanted its beliefs into Greece from the earliest times. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 219 f.) an Egyptian charm is mentioned, and the scarab was a well-known form of amulet in Hellas (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Amulett,' p. 257). It is also impossible to make an exact division between Greek and Roman belief within the classical period, seeing that these countries stood in continual and close contact (Kroll, *op. cit.* 5), though no doubt the greater part of superstitious beliefs must have been imported into the matter-of-fact Roman mind. Riess ('Amulett' p. 1989) assumes the possibility of a classification into periods and nations by exact statistical work. Whether this will ever be realized remains to be seen. It is more important to recognize the primitive forms of belief, and to marvel at the tenacity with which old heathen forms have found refuge under the mantle of Christianity. The following striking example may stand for many. An old heathen house-benediction (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1138, cf. *Eph. arch.* 1909, 22) reads as follows: 'Here lives the all-powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus; may no evil enter!' and on an early Christian house in Syria (cf. Prentice, *op. cit.* 140) we find the inscription: 'Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God; may no evil enter!'

LITERATURE.—(1) For the ancient writers, see Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Magia,' p. 1501; cf. also *Hermes*, iii. [1869] 1-20; *Catalogus cod. astrolog.* iii. [1901] 41 f.; *Oxyrh.*

*Pap.* iii. [1903] 75, no. 433 (Blass, *APF* iii. [1906] 279, 213). The most important magic papyri are enumerated by Wunsch on p. 19 of his book cited below.

(2) Modern literature: the best compilation in Hubert, *op. cit.* 1494 f.; also Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 f.); Dieterich, 'Papyrus magica' (*Fleckeisen's Jahrb.*, Supplementband xvi. [1888] 747 f.); Heim, 'Incantamenta magica' (*ib.* Supplementband xix. [1890] 465 f.); Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Literatur* (1894); Kroll, *Antiker Aberglaube* (1897); Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria* (1904); Fahr, 'De postarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. u. Vorarb.* [RFF] vi. 3 [1904]; Wunsch, 'Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon' (*Archäol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft, vi. [1905]); Pradel, 'Griech. u. südital. Gebete' (*RFF* iii. 3 [1907]); Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usus* (1907); Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apulejus' (*RFF* iv. 2 [1908]); Riess, 'Aberglaube' and 'Amulett' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 50, 1984; and Daremberg-Saglio, i. 1, 1877, s.v. 'Amulett,' with the bibliography at the end.

L. DEUBNER.







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