

**“PAY HEED, O HEAVEN, AND I WILL SPEAK” (DEUT. 32:1):
A GREEK AMULET WITH BIBLICAL AND ANGELIC NAMES**

GEDEON BOHAK
TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
gbohak@tauex.tau.ac.il

CHRISTOPHER A. FARAEON
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
cf12@uchicago.edu

ABSTRACT

A new edition of a foil amulet that contains a pair of circular designs, one above the other, each calling on God to “thoroughly protect Nymphikos, whom Sosike bore, from every demon and every evil!” The text begins with the opening verse of Deuteronomy 32, a text sometimes used on magical amulets: “Pay heed, o heaven and I will speak, because I have proclaimed the name of the god of Jacob!” followed by two parallel lists of male and female names, beginning on the left: “(and) of the god of Abraham, (and) of the god of Isaac, etc., but ends with “the god of the Sabbath”, while the other column names four Jewish women, some of them famous, interspersed with the names of four angels. The amulet or the magical recipe on which it was based was produced by someone, perhaps a Jew or Christian, with a basic knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and perhaps also of the New Testament. The names of the owner and his mother are attested in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and tell us little about their religious or social background, but the phrase “the God of the Sabbath” might suggest the Christian reuse of Jewish material.

KEY WORDS: AMULET, METAL FOIL, DEUTERONOMY 32, PATRIARCHS, ANGELS, “GOD OF THE SABBATH”, HEBREW BIBLE.

“ESCUCHAD, OH CIELOS, Y YO HABLARÉ” (DEUT. 32:1):

UN AMULETO GRIEGO CON NOMBRES BÍBLICOS Y DE ÁNGELES

RESUMEN

Una nueva edición de un amuleto de lámina metálica contiene un par de dibujos circulares, uno encima del otro, que cada uno invoca a Dios para “proteger cuidadosamente a Ninfico, a quien parió Sosice, de cualquier demon y mal!” El texto comienza con el verso inicial de Deuteronomio 32, un texto usado a veces en amuletos mágicos: “Escuchad, oh cielos y yo hablaré, ya que he proclamado el nombre del dios de Jacob!” seguido de dos listas paralelas de nombres masculinos y femeninos, comenzando por la izquierda: “(y) del dios de Abraham, (y) del dios de Isaac, etc., pero termina con “el dios del Sabbath”, mientras la otra columna nombra cuatro mujeres judías, algunas de las más famosas, mezcladas con los nombres de cuatro ángeles. El amuleto o la receta mágica en que se basaba fue producida por alguien, tal vez judío o cristiano, con un conocimiento básico de la Biblia hebrea y quizá también del Nuevo Testamento. Los nombres del propietario y su madre están atestiguados en los períodos helenístico y romano y nos dicen poco de su ambiente religioso o social, pero la frase “el dios del Sabbath” podría sugerir la reutilización cristiana de material judío.

PALABRAS CLAVE: AMULETO, LÁMINA METÁLICA, DEUTERONOMIO 32, PATRIARCAS, ÁNGELES, “DIOS DEL SABBATH”, BIBLIA HEBREA.

A foil amulet appeared about a decade ago on the antiquities market in Munich and seems to contain a pair of designs (Figure 1), one above the other, each linked to protective prayers for the same person: “Thoroughly protect Nymphikos, whom Sosike bore, from every demon and every evil!” (διαφύλαξον Νυμφικόν, ὄν ἔτεκεν Σωσίκη, ἀπὸ παντ[ός] κακοῦ) and: “Thoroughly protect Nymphikos!” (διαφύλαξον Νυμφικόν)¹. The poorly drawn oval design on the upper half of the *lamella* contains eight symbols and a series of Greek letters running vertically down the right side that the editor resolves as Κυ(ριε) Θρεισιυμα “Lord Threisiuma”². He also saw that the first two lines quote the opening verse of 32, a biblical text that was sometimes used on magical amulets³: πρόσεχε οὐρανέ κὲ λαλήσω⁴ (“Pay heed, o heaven and I will speak!”). In the twenty letters that follow λαλήσω, the editor read ΟΠΟΝΑ ΜΑΘΕΑΚΟΒ / εκαλευα, which, we suggest, contains a

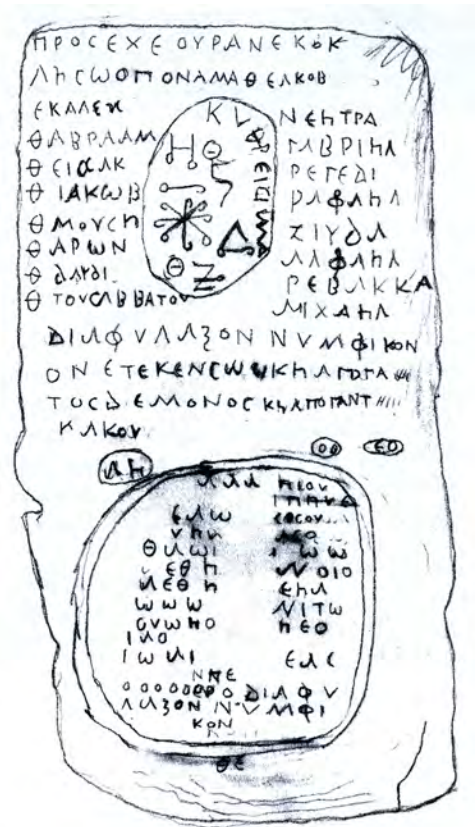


Fig. 1

- 1 See G. MANGANARO PERRONE, “Magia ‘benefica’ nella Sicilia tardoantica,” *Epigraphica*, 69 (2007), 282-286. As is often the case in the antiquities market, there is no mention of where the piece came from and the editor does not give a date for it. Its current whereabouts are unknown and we rely exclusively on the line drawing by Manganaro Perrone.
- 2 The name has no obvious meaning. Perhaps it should be read as Κυ(ριε) ἐλέησον?
- 3 Manganaro Perrone refers to its appearance in Greek on the Akrai amulet (ROY KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance*, [Papyrologica Coloniensia 22/1], Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994, no. 32, ll. 19-22), to which may be added numerous examples of its appearance in Hebrew in Jewish magical texts; see Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993, Genizah no. 17, ll. 16-17, where Dt 32:1-3 is recited at the beginning of an incantation to be said when appearing in front of a crowd, or before a judge or a minister. And cf. DOROTHEA M. SALZER, *Die Magie der Anspielung. Form und Funktion der biblischen Anspielungen in den magischen Texten der Kairoer Geniza*, [TSAJ 134], Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010, pp. 99, 405-406.
- 4 Here Manganaro Perrone rightly corrected the text to λαλήσω, in line with the LXX.

corrupt version of the third verse of the same biblical passage, ὅτι ὄνομα κυρίου ἐκάλεσα (“because I have proclaimed the name of the Lord”), with one important change: ὅτι ὄνομα ΘΕΑΚΟΒ ἐκάλεσα. The substitution of ΘΕΑΚΟΒ for κυρίου begins to make sense, moreover, when we realize that in the drawing there is a space between the *theta* and the letters that follow (θ Εακοβ) and that the *theta* itself is an abbreviation for *theos*. This section of the text should therefore be translated “because I have proclaimed the name of the God of Eakob.” And in fact this reading is confirmed by what follows, where, as the editor saw, this same formula appears seven more times in the list that runs down the left-hand side of the *lamella*:

πρόσεχε οὐρανέ κ(αι) κ	
λήσω ὅτι ὄνομα θ Εακοβ	
ἐκάλεσα	Νηητρα
θ Ἀβραὰμ	Γαβριήλ
θ Ἐισάκ	Ἐγεδι
θ Ἰακώβ	Ῥαφαήλ
θ Μουσή	Ζιύδα
θ Ἀρὼν	Ἄλφαήλ
θ Δαῦδι	Ῥεβάρκα
θ τοῦ Σαββάτου	Μιχαήλ
Pay heed, o heaven, and I will	
speak; because I have proclaimed	
the name of the god of Eakob	
(and) of the god of Abraham	Neêtra
(and) of the god of Isaac	Gabriel
(and) of the god of Jacob	Regedi
(and) of the god of Moses	Raphael
(and) of the god of Aaron	Ziuda
(and) of the god of David	Alphael
(and) of the god of the Sabbath	Rebekkah

The name “Eakob” is unparalleled in such lists of the patriarchs, although it might be explained as a mistake for the name of “Jacob”, who appears again in line 6, in a different spelling. The phrase “the God of Jacob” is, of course, well attested in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 46:8, 12, etc.), and in Psalm 20:2 we even find an invocation of “the name of the God of Jacob,” which in the LXX is rendered as τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακωβ. Thus, our text might be a clever pastiche, or an ignorant confusion, of 32:3 (“for I have proclaimed the name of the Lord”)

and Psalm 20:2 (“the name of the God of Jacob”). And as the text of Psalm 20:2 is itself an apotropaic formula (“May the Lord answer you in a day of trouble, may the name of the God of Jacob protect you”), we are not surprised to find it in several Jewish magical texts⁵.

In Roman times the triple invocation of the “god of Abraham, the god of Isaac and the god of Jacob” was in common use among Jews, “pagans” and Christians alike, and is found in numerous religious, liturgical and magical texts⁶. In the Jewish tradition it first appears with Moses and the miraculous escape from Egypt (Ex 3:6, 15) and in later times we find it added to many Jewish prayers, including the *Amidah* (“Eighteen Benedictions”)⁷. In the Christian tradition, it is well attested in the New Testament, and appears frequently in later Christian literature⁸. Moreover, given the fact that the Munich lamella aims to protect the owner “from every demon and evil,” it is important to note that this formula was used in exorcisms in the Imperial period. Justin Martyr, for example, admits that a demon will probably be overcome, if it is exorcised in the name of the god of Abraham, the god of Isaac and the god of Jacob (*Dial.* 85) and Origen agrees, but claims that the phrases are only efficacious if pronounced in Hebrew (*Ag. Celsus* 5.45). Not surprisingly the formula also shows up on amulets that protect against demons, for example, a fourth-century CE silver amulet from Beirut with a prayer similar to the one that appears twice on the Munich lamella: “The God of Abraham, Jacob and Isaac, protect Alexandra from demons!”⁹. A third-century CE gold foil in the Getty Museum begins in similar fashion, albeit reiterating the word *theos* and using a different verb of protection: “The God of Abraham, the God of Jacob and the

⁵ See, for example, PETER SCHÄFER and SHAUL SHAKED, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72], 3 vols., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994-1999, vol. 2, No. 37, and Salzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 436-7.

⁶ For a detailed, but dated, survey, see M. RIST, “The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: A Liturgical and Magical Formula” *JBL*, 57 (1938) 289-303; for the entry of Jewish formulae into non-Jewish magical texts, see also N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, “Motivos Judíos en los papiros mágicos griegos,” in *Religión, Superstición y Magia en el Mundo Romano*, Cadiz, 1985, pp. 101-127, MORTON SMITH, “The Jewish Elements in the Magical Papyri,” in *id.*, *Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 130], Leiden: Brill, 2 vols., 1996, vol. 2, pp. 242-256; PHILIP S. ALEXANDER, “Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic, c. CE 70--c. CE 270,” in W. HORBURY, W. D. DAVIES, and JOHN STURDY (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3 (The Early Roman Period), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 1052-1078.

⁷ For the antiquity of this formula in the daily prayer, see URI EHRlich, *The Weekday Amidah in Cairo Genizah Prayerbooks: Roots and Transmission*, Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2013, pp. 31-32 (Heb.).

⁸ See MATTHEW 22:32; Mark 12:26; Acts 3:13, 7:32.

⁹ KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 52 and other examples listed by RIST 1938: 299.

God of Isaac deliver Aurelia from every evil spirit and from every epileptic fit!”¹⁰. And a large circular chalcedony in the Metropolitan Museum is inscribed with the following at the very start of a long list of magical names: $\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\omega\eta\iota\alpha\eta\iota\eta\omega\sigma\theta$ Αβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰάκωβ, in which a long magical name, entirely composed of vowels, is followed by the abbreviation θ ($\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) and the names of the three patriarchs¹¹.

A recently published gem from Carnuntum (Figure 2a and b)¹² also seems to equate vowels with the name of Jahweh or perhaps Christ. On its obverse two columns of vowels are framed by two horizontal bars and one vertical one, presumably a kind of Christian double cross¹³:

ηη ιι
υυ υυ
υι ιο



Fig. 2a

OME
ΓΑΘΕΘ
ΕΑΡΠΑ
ΜΙΕΝΚ
ΙΑΚΩ

Fig. 2b

¹⁰ R. KOTANSKY, “Two Amulets in the Getty Museum” *Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 8 (1980) 181-188, on pp. 181-84; Kotansky notes (p. 182) that the verb used here ($\rho\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, “to deliver”) is deployed often in distinctly Christian amulets that seem to echo the use of this same verb in the Lord’s prayer (Matt. 6.13).

¹¹ C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 4 (Ann Arbor, 1950), no. 284. In Bonner’s transcription, the *theta* is taken to be a part of the divine name that precedes it.

¹² GÜNTHER DEMBSKI, *Die antiken Gemmen und Kameen aus Carnuntum*, [Archäologischer Park Carnuntum – Neue Forschungen 1], Vienna: Phoibos, 2005, no. 1111.

¹³ For early Christian gems with crosses, see JEFFREY SPIER, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007, pp. 73-75.

Additional letters appear at the ends of the horizontal bars that seem to spell out the word κ-υ-ρ-ι-ο-ς in counter-clockwise fashion, that is backwards, even though the individual letters face the correct direction to the right¹⁴. Moreover, reading the other letters in this fashion, we note that the sequence of *etas* and *iotas* in the first line might stand for Iê(sous). On the reverse we find OME / ΓΑΣΟΘΕΟ / ΣΑΒΓΑΛ / ΜΙΣΛΚ / ΙΑΚΩ, which —despite the usual graphic errors— spells out: ὁ μέγας ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσάκ, Ἰάκω, “Great is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob”¹⁵.

While “the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob” is the basic form of this recurrent formula, it could also be expanded to include other biblical figures, as we see on the Munich lamella. For example, in a Hebrew magical prayer known as “the Seven (Blessings) of Elijah,” we find an adjuration “by the God of Abraham, by the God of Isaac, by the God of Jacob, by the God of Israel”¹⁶. This expansion may easily be explained as a conflation of the basic formula and the formula “the God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel” that is found in Elijah’s prayer in 1 Kings 18:36¹⁷. But in other texts, and especially in “pagan” and Christian contexts, we find clearer examples of the expansion of this formula. For example, on the back of a gem in Paris, that depicts the *anguipede* on the obverse, we find: Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσάκ, Ἰάκω, Δανιήλ ὑπὲρ σωτη<ρ>ίας Κόφρι¹⁸. The inscription probably means “(The God of) Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Daniel, for the salvation of Kophri,” with the final word presumably being the name of the owner. In a Coptic magical text we find an invocation of “the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets, and all the righteous ones”¹⁹ and a similar expression is found in the Hebrew version of the *Prayer of Manasseh*, where the author addresses “the God of my fathers Abraham, Isaac and

¹⁴ This point was not noted by the editor.

¹⁵ Dembski transcribes the text as Greek, with a Latin “R” in the third line: OME/ΓΑΣΟΕΟ/ΣΑΡΡΑΑ/ΜΙΣΑΚ/ΙΑΚΩ. In the drawing, however, one can see that the intrusive “R” is an unfinished *beta*. We also correct some confusion, common on such texts, between *lambda* and *alpha* and between *theta* and *omicron*.

¹⁶ For this text, see PETER SCHÄFER and SHAUL SHAKED, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72], 3 vols., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994-1999, vol. 2, No. 22, 3b/5-6.

¹⁷ For “the God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel,” see also 1 Chr. 29.18 and 2 Chr. 30.6.

¹⁸ D&D 26 = LIM 310.

¹⁹ See PAUL MIRECKI, “A Seventh-Century Coptic Limestone in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Bodl. copt. inscr. 426),” in PAUL MIRECKI and MARVIN MEYER (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 141], Leiden: Brill, 2002, pp. 47-69, on pp. 58-59, 67-68.

Jacob, and of their offspring, the righteous ones”²⁰.

Like these texts, the Munich *lamella* includes additional male figures to the formula, Moses, Aaron and David, but it ends with the words “God of the Sabbath”, which is not, of course, a name at all, but does correctly describe the Jewish god. This formulation, however, is unattested in Jewish sources, and it seems to be more of a Christian formulation, for example, Mark 2:28 (with parallels in Matthew 12:8 and Luke 6:5), where Jesus says “the Son of Man is also Lord of the Sabbath (κύριος ... τοῦ σαββάτου)”.

The list in the left-hand column can, in short, be adequately explained with the help of these numerous parallels from other amulets and prayers. But what are we to make of the list in the right-hand column, which seems to alternate between the names of four Jewish women, some of them famous, and the names of four angels: Neêtra, Gabriel, Regedi, Raphael, Ziuda, Alphael, Rebecca, Michael. We might have expected to find here eight names of the wives of those patriarchs who appear on the left side, or at least, the four most famous of the matriarchs (Sara, Rebecca, Leah and Rachel), but instead we find only the name of Rebecca²¹. It is not clear, at first, how this second list fits in with the overall syntax of the amulet, in which the god of the patriarchs is invoked to protect the amulet’s owner. There is, however, some evidence that women could pray to the god of the matriarchs during an exorcism. The medieval Hebrew and Latin versions of the *Book of Tobit* contain expanded versions of the speech, in which the angel Raphael instructs Tobit on how to exorcize the demon, who killed the previous husbands of Sarah, his wife-to-be: Tobit must fumigate the room, while he prays to the god of the three patriarchs and Sarah herself prays to the god of three matriarchs (Sara, Rebecca and Rachel)²². It may well be, then, that on this late-Roman amulet the names of the right-hand column were supposed to be substituted for the names in the left-hand column, if the owner of the amulet was a female.

²⁰ For the Hebrew text, see PETER SCHÄFER and SHAUL SHAKED, *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, [Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 42, 64, 72], 3 vols., Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994-1999, vol. 2, No. 22, 2a/19-20. For the *Prayer of Manasseh*, and the possibility that the Hebrew version is a translation from the Greek or the Syriac versions, see R. LEICHT, “A Newly Discovered Hebrew Version of the Apocryphal ‘Prayer of Manasseh’,” *JSQ*, 3 (1996), 359-373, and cf. P. W. VAN DER HORST and J. H. NEWMAN, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008, pp. 145-180.

²¹ Neêtra might be Norea / Noria / Niriyah, the name given to Noah’s wife in several apocryphal and Gnostic traditions; see R. LEICHT, “Gnostic Myth in Jewish Garb: Niriyah (Norea), Noah’s Bride,” *JJS*, 51 (2000) 133-140. None of the other female names correspond with the many names given to nameless biblical women in later Jewish and Christian traditions, for which see TAL ILAN, “Biblical Women’s Names in the Apocryphal Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 11 (1993) 3-67.

²² RIST 295-97.

The lower half of the Munich *lamella*, as was mentioned earlier, is almost entirely encompassed by a circular design (Fig. 1), at the top of which one can barely make out the rather squashed head the *ouroboros* serpent²³, which encircles a series of magical words, mainly vowels, laid out in two columns. The short version of the protective prayer for Nymphikos takes the same position at the very bottom of the design, as it did in the upper part of the *lamella*. The rest of the central space within the *ouroboros* is taken up with two columns, each twelve lines long, of short sequences of three to five letters, that are primarily vowels:

ααα	ηιου
	ιηηωε
εαω	ιουιου
υηυ	αιο
θυωι	ι[]ωω
εθη	ωοιο
αεθη	εηα
ωωω	νιτω
ουωηο	ηεο
ωο	
ιωω	εαι
	ννε
οοοοοοοο	διαφύ-
	λαξον Νυμφι-
	κον

Here, too, if we are to make any sense of this text, we must understand that the vowels in both columns are supposed to represent a single divine name, which is implored in the singular (διαφύλαξον) to protect Nymphikos²⁴. We saw above a similar

²³ The *ouroboros* (literally “the snake that devours its own tail”) was a popular frame for the text on a number of protective amulets that are made up entirely of Greek letters, especially vowels, and/or symbols that are alleged to be the secret name of the Jewish god. For many examples of the *ouroboros*, see R. KOTANSKY and J. SPIER, “The ‘Horned Hunter’ on a Lost Gnostic Gem,” *HTR*, 88 (1995) 315-337. The great popularity of the *ouroboros* is attested by its appearance on several Aramaic and Syriac incantation bowls from Sasanian Babylonia, and its later appearances in medieval magical texts; see BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, p. 276.

²⁴ For the frequent use of the vowels in Greek magical texts, see FRANZ DORNSEIFF, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie*, [Stoicheia, 7], Leipzig: Teubner, 1922 (2nd ed., 1925); PATRICIA COX MILLER,

equation between vowels and the name of the (single) god of the patriarchs on chalcedony in the Metropolitan Museum (SMA 284) and on obverse of the Carnuntum gem. In the latter case, they were also arranged in two columns.



Fig. 3a

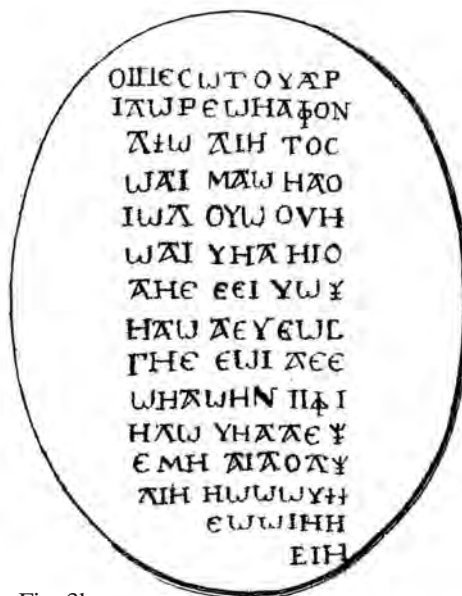


Fig. 3b

Columns of vowels, like these, are uncommon on amulets, but there is one quite famous example on a rather large grey chalcedony in Vienna (Figure 3)²⁵, that has on its obverse a small *ouroboros* enclosing 8 symbols followed by eight lines of magical names which in the last two lines are invoked collectively to “Protect Maianos!”²⁶ On the reverse of this gem we find columns of vowel-clusters, like those on the lower part of the Munich tablet, but rendered in more regimented fashion: nearly all of the clusters are limited to three vowels and there are three columns of them, instead of two. The words on the very top of this design seem, however,

“In Praise of Nonsense,” in A.H. ARMSTRONG (ed.), *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman*, [World Spirituality, vol. 15], New York: Crossroad, 1986, pp. 481-505; for the analogous use of the Hebrew letters *aleph*, *he*, *waw* and *yod* in Jewish magical texts, see G. BOHAK, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 264-265.

²⁵ CAMPBELL BONNER, “Amulets Chiefly in the British Museum: A Supplementary Article,” *Hesperia*, 20 (1951) 301-345, no. 63 and SGG 1.141; it measures 22x19x6.4 cm.

²⁶ The syntax is slightly corrupt, substituting the expected accusative case with the dative: φολάξετε Μαίανφ.

to have been mistakenly copied from a handbook: ὀπίσω τοῦ ἀρ- (“on the back of the ar-” or “after the ar-”). In the handbook instructions, the word following ὀπίσω is usually rendered in the genitive case, for example, the command to engrave something “on the back of the stone” (ὀπισθε τοῦ λίθου). This gem-cutter’s error is a significant one, because it alerts us to the fact that despite the unique design of this chalcedony among the extant inscribed amulets, at least one handbook-recipe for it circulated in the Mediterranean world.

To sum up. The foil amulet in Munich, or the magical recipe on which it was based, was produced by someone, perhaps a Jew or Christian, with a basic knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and perhaps also of the New Testament. The Greek names of the owner Numphikos and his mother Sôsikê are attested in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and tell us little about their religious or social background²⁷. But the phrase “the God of the Sabbath” might suggest the Christian reuse of Jewish material, and this amulet, like many others, shows how difficult it is to classify Greek magical texts with biblical motifs as either “Jewish” or “Christian.” As for the date, the parallels adduced above suggest a late Roman date, which is, of course, typical for these kinds of amulets. This is an intriguing amulet and although we believe we have improved upon the original reading of the inscriptions, we cannot claim to have solved all its puzzles.

ABBREVIATIONS:

D&D = A. DELATTE and P. DERCHAIN, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de là Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1964.

DTA = R. WÜNSCH, *Defixionum tabellae atticae*, Inscriptiones Graecae 3.3, Berlin, 1897.

LIM = A. MASTROCINQUE (ed.), *Les intailles magiques du département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques*, Paris, 2014.

PGM = K. PREISENDANZ [and A. HENRICH], *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*² 2 vols, Stuttgart, 1973-1974.

SGG = A. MASTROCINQUE (ed.) *Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum*, Bollettino di Numismatica Monografia 8.2.1 and 2, Rome, 2003 and 2008, 2 vols.

²⁷ MANGANARO PERRONE, *op. cit.*, p. 286 with note 67.

**PROGETTO DI RICERCA. LA MAGIA AGGRESSIVA NEL MONDO ANTICO:
LESSICO E FORMULARIO DEI TESTI IN GRECO**

Questa sezione (pp. 15-86) raccoglie alcuni dei contributi frutto del progetto “La magia aggressiva nel mondo antico: lessico e formulario dei testi in greco”, finanziato dall’Università degli Studi di Firenze per gli anni 2017-2019 e coordinato da Francesca Murano e Francesca Maltomini.

Il progetto si è proposto di investigare le caratteristiche linguistiche dei testi magici di maledizione in lingua greca, al fine di individuarne i tratti caratterizzanti, tanto morfo-sintattici e lessicali, quanto pragmatico-testuali. All’interno di questo lavoro ci si è inoltre interrogati sulla trasmissione dei testi magici e su come essa abbia interagito con la struttura e il contenuto dei testi stessi.

L’analisi condotta sulla documentazione greca ha portato a una revisione dei meccanismi linguistici presenti in questi testi, i quali, come è noto, non presentano una struttura uniforme.

Indagando la documentazione in prospettiva pragmatica e tenendo conto degli studi sulla performatività degli enunciati linguistici, il contributo di **F. Murano** (pp. 17-36) esplora altri possibili modelli testuali e di teoria dell’enunciazione che possano spiegare la varietà strutturale e morfo-sintattica presente nei testi di magia aggressiva, varietà che non sembra sempre riconducibile a motivazioni di tipo intrinsecamente linguistico, ma piuttosto a filoni di tradizione diversi.

Proprio sui modelli di trasmissione del sapere magico si concentra il contributo di **F. Maltomini** (pp. 37-54), nel quale si analizzano i formulari magici non solo come fonti testuali, ma anche come documenti in grado di fornire informazioni sulla loro composizione (che risulta talvolta particolarmente complessa e stratificata). Si propone in primo luogo una categorizzazione delle informazioni registrate nei formulari sull’uso degli antigrifi, per poi delineare i procedimenti e l’atteggiamento con cui le ricette magiche venivano raccolte, copiate, confrontate ed eventualmente modificate.

Il contributo di **M. Zinzi** (pp. 55-76) si concentra sui verbi di affidamento presenti nelle cosiddette preghiere di giustizia, classe testuale di cui viene fornita una riconsiderazione critica rispetto all'intero corpus defissorio. Vengono indagati gli aspetti lessicali e morfo-sintattici di questi verbi, al fine di definirne i percorsi di trasmissione e diffusione anche in considerazione delle testimonianze di tradizioni diverse.

Il contributo di **E. Chronopoulou** (pp. 77-86) analizza specifici aspetti lessicali. Si indaga, in prospettiva diacronica e testuale, l'impiego di verbi semanticamente connessi al sangue (e, in particolare, di quelli indicanti il dissanguamento) nell'ambito delle maledizioni erotico-amorose di tipo attrattivo; su questa base, si ricostruiscono sia le motivazioni socio-culturali che hanno reso possibile l'uso di questi verbi in contesti di attrazione erotica, sia la loro specificazione semantico-lessicale.