

A Lead Phylactery from Colle san Basilio (Sicily)

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GIACOMO MANGANARO, in publishing inscriptions from southeast Sicily, deserves the warmest praise and thanks from those interested in the late use of Greek in the area.¹ Well before the close of Antiquity, Latin had become the dominant speech of the cities of the coast; Greek, as he explains, survived there, to be sure, among the poor and the peregrine, but apparently only in the villages and farmlands of the interior did it enjoy any general preference.² Much of our evidence, in any case, for such inland Greek comes from Christian apotropaic inscriptions. We find, for example, a series of texts on stone for protection of crops, from Comiso and vicinity and from Noto and Modica,³ and a late exorcism on a lead

¹ Special abbreviations: *AAth* = A. Delatte, *Anecdota atheniensia* I (Liège/Paris 1927); *GMA* = R. D. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae I, Published Texts of Known Provenance (Pap. Colon. 22.1 [Opladen 1994])*; *GSG* = F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters (RGVV 3.3 [1907])*. For references in author-date form see the list 85–86 infra. All ancient dates are A.D.

² “Greco nei *pagi* e latino nelle città della Sicilia ‘romana’ tra I e VI sec. d.C.,” in A. Calbi et al. (eds.), *L’Epigrafia del villaggio. Atti del Colloquio Forlò, 23–30 settembre 1991 (Epigrafia e antichità 12 [Faenza 1993])* 543–594.

³ Comiso and vicinity: M. Burzachechi, “Nuove iscrizioni greche cristiane di Comiso,” *RendLinc* VIII 14 (1959) 403–410; see also Manganaro 1963, D. R. Jordan, “Two Christian Prayers from Southeastern Sicily,” *GRBS* 25 (1984) 297–303 [*SEG* 34.944, 945], and Manganaro 1994b: 497–500 [*SEG* 44.961], for later readings. Noto and Modica: Manganaro 1994b: 491–500; see G. Bevilacqua and S. Giannobile, “‘Magia’ rurale siciliana: iscrizioni di Noto e Modica,” *ZPE* 133 (2000) 135–146, and D. R. Jordan, “Cloud-drivers and Damage from Hail,” *ibid.* 147–148 [*SEG* 50.1014]. With these Greek protective inscriptions on stone we may compare a Coptic example,

tablet, the subject of another of Prof. Manganaro's publications, from Colle san Basilio, between Leontini and Scordia, for general protection from demons.⁴ In his edition of this tablet he provided a photograph, which suggested to us, when we first saw it, that fuller readings might be possible; in response to our request for a copy, he generously sent us the photograph itself, from which we have been able to get a more coherent text. This last we offer to him here, as a small ἀντίδωρον.

Lead tablets, a frequent medium for the harmful inscriptions of "black" magic,⁵ were only seldom used for "white," protective texts, for which the precious metals were preferred. The texts of most of these latter are Jewish if their theology can be determined.⁶ In an appendix we list the few of these lead texts

P. Mirecki, "A Seventh-Century Coptic Limetone in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Bodl. Copt. Inscr. 426)," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World* (Leiden 2002) 47–69. Mirecki's summary (53): "Side A: Incipits of the four gospels in canonical order. Titles of the four gospels in canonical order. Short credal statement concerning Mary and Jesus. Short credal statement concerning Jesus. Three tau-rho crosses. Side B: List of the twelve apostles substituting Matthaias for Judas Iscariot (Luke 6:14–16 and Acts 1:24). An expanded liturgical invocation (LXX Exo 3:6). Concluding 'Amen'. Two (three?) tau-rho crosses."

⁴ Manganaro 1994a. The site and its history: S. Lagona, "Monte san Basilio," *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca* 10 (Pisa/Rome 1992) 478–483. Survey of the Sicilian material: G. Bevilacqua, "Le epigrafi magiche," in M. I. Gulletta (ed.), *Sicilia epigraphica. Atti del convegno internazionale, Erice, 15–18 ottobre 1998* (*AnnPisa* IV 7 [1999]) 65–88. General introductions to exorcistic phylacteries: R. D. Kotansky, "Greek Exorcistic Amulets," in P. Mirecki and M. Meyer (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 243–277, and R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax* 4 (*Pap.Colon.* 17.4 [Opladen 1996]) 1–28.

⁵ Lead curse tablets: R. Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae* (*IG* III.3 [1897]); A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt* (Paris 1904); D. R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–196, "New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)," *GRBS* 41 (2000) 5–46 (also <http://www.duke.edu/web/classics/grbs/indices.html>).

⁶ The basic treatment is *GMA* (68 examples). The few recognizably non-Jewish exceptions: 28, Rome, 1st cent. (Sarapis); 13, Carnuntum, 1st–2nd cent. (conversation between Ephesian Artemis and headache demoness); 40, Thessalonica, 2nd cent. ("name of Aphrodite"); 61, Bellana, Nubia, 3rd–4th cent. (fertility charm, Osiris addressing Isis); 35, Pisidian Antioch, 3rd–4th

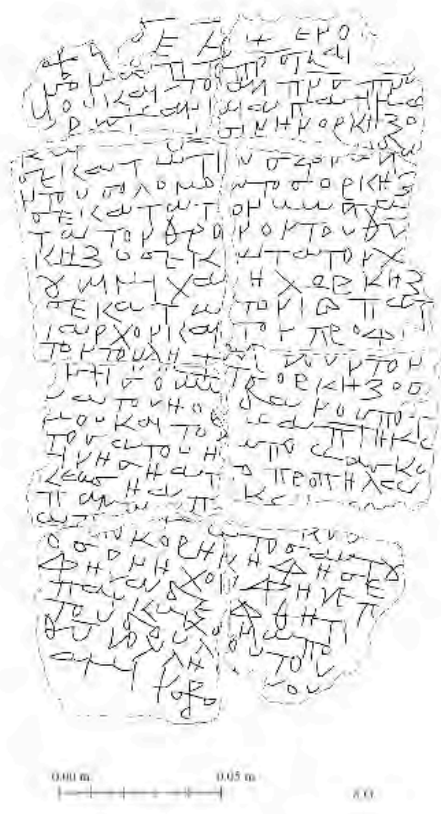


Figure 1

9	τα τον θρονον του θ̄υ [ορ]	τα τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Θε(εο)ῦ ⟨Μιχαηλ⟩· [ὄρ-]
10	κηζο σε κατα τον χ[ερ]	κίζω σε κατὰ τῶν Χ[ερ-]
11	ουβι μιχαηλ ορκηζ[ο]	ουβιν {Μιχαηλ}· ὀρκίζ[ω]
12	σε κατα τον ιβ̄ πατ[ρ]	σε κατὰ τῶν ιβ̄ πατ[ρ-]
13	ιαρχον και τον προφ[η]	ιαρχῶν καὶ τῶν ⟨ιη?⟩ προφ[η-]
14	τον τον λητουργουντον	τῶν τῶν λειτουργούντων
15	[ε]ν τις ο̄ῑε ορκηζο c[ε]	[έ]ν τοῖς ο(ύραν)οῖς· ὀρκίζω σ[ε]
16	κα του ηορδανου ποτ[α]	κατὰ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποτ[α-]
17	μου και το[υ] βαπτημα	μοῦ καὶ το[ῦ] βαπτίσμα-
18	τος ατου η απο βασκο	τος αὐτοῦ· ⟨e.g. ἀπάλλαξον τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θε(εο)ῦ⟩ ἢ ἀπὸ βασκο-
19	εινης η απο προπηλα	σύνης ἢ ἀπὸ προπηλα-
20	κας η απο κακου [α]	κείας ἢ ἀπὸ κακοῦ [ἀ-]
21	παντηματος αυτου	παντήματος αὐτοῦ.
22	απο κορηγηφης ε	Ἐπὸ κορυφῆς ἔ-
23	ος ονηγον φηγε π	ως ὀνύχων φύγε, {π}
24	φηγαδεφθητι	φυγαδεύθητι,
25	πανκακον απο	Πάγκακον, ἀπὸ
26	του δουλου του	τοῦ δούλου τοῦ
27	θ̄υ γουλιανου	Θ(εο)ῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ.
28	αμίν † vac.	Αμην. †

22 κορυγηφης: γ ο ς γ 23 π ο ς τ ι

Ed.pr.: 1 †[.....]υ[. ἐν ὀ-] 2 τοῦ 2-3 [τοῦ υ]ῖοῦ 3 ἀγίου Π(νεύματος)
3-5 π[.]γ[.] μανιαι ἀπάτης [.] κ[.....]τ[.]νην 6-7 τὴν ἔδρ[α] ἀγίη τοῦ
Σαλομῶντος 8-9 βαστάζ[ον]τα 10-11 κατὰ τὸν ἰχθ[υ] (?) 12-13 τὸν Ἰῶ
πατ[ρ]ηάρχων 13-15 τὸν Λεοφ[—]τον τὸν λειτουργούντα ἰ ἐ]ν τῖς
οὐ(ραν)οῖς 16-19 κατὰ οἶον (?) δαιν[.]π[.]τι[.]υ καὶ το (?) βαπτηκο[—]
[—]τυσα του [.] (?) απυ[.]εὼς κα[—]ληνησματο (?) γ (?) π[.]πηλα ἰ καὶ
μ[.]υ[—]παντ[.....] 21-23 [.....] τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἰ [—] κορη (?) ηφησει (?)
οσυνηχο[.] φηγέτο ἰ φήγαδε[—] φθητι 26 πᾶν κακ[όν] 27 γο[.]λη[.]·
28 ἀμήν

† O E C H O A. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. For incontinence and demonic visitation(?) and witchcraft. I adjure you by the seal of Solomon. I adjure you by him who lifts up the throne of God, <Michael>; I adjure you by the Cherubim {Michael}; I adjure you by the twelve patriarchs and the <eighteen?> prophets who serve in the heavens; I adjure you by the River Jordan and by his baptism: <deliver God's

slave> from witchcraft or from contumely or from evil visitation.
From the crown (of the head) to the (toe)nails, flee, be banished,
All-Evil One, from God's slave Julian. Amen.†

1: High horizontals over letters in texts such as this regularly mark either abbreviations of words frequent in the liturgy (e.g. 2 $\overline{\pi\rho\varsigma}$ for $\overline{\pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma}$) or of numbers (e.g. 12 $\overline{\iota\beta}$). The opening letters here have such a horizontal, but if the letters are an abbreviation, we have not been able to resolve it.

3: There being no horizontal over $\alpha\gamma\iota$, would a spelling $\alpha\gamma\iota\pi\nu(\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron)\varsigma$ reflect actual pronunciation? The formation would be of the type $\text{Μεγαλέξανδρος/Μεγαλεξάνδρου}$.

3–5: Inclusion of the title of the prayer, $\text{Πρὸς} \dots \beta[\alpha\sigma]\kappa\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\nu$ (for $-\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\nu$), suggests that the text was copied from a model. Such inclusions in “effective” texts are frequent, e.g. *GMA* 13.1 Πρὸς ἡμίκρανον (Carnuntum, 1st–2nd cent.; cf. $\text{Εὐχὴ ἡμικράνη εἰς πονοκεφάλι}$ in a late south Italian recipe at *GSG* 15–16); *GMA* 32.1–2 $[\Phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha]\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \hat{\omega} [Μ\omega\sigma]\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}[\tau\omicron] \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\omega} [\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}]\xi\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha \tau\hat{\omega}\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, 30–32 $\text{πρὸς πυρετὸν ἢ [πρὸς] ἡμερηνοῦς [πυρετοῦς] ἢ πρὸς \{o\} \acute{o}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda[\mu\omicron\upsilon] \beta[\alpha\sigma]\kappa\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ [η $\text{πρ(ὸς) ἀ}[\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\mu\omicron\nu] \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}$ (Palazzolo Acreide, Sicily, 2nd–3rd cent.); 35.1–2 πρὸς πνεύμαθα (Pisidian Antioch, 3rd–4th cent.); 66.1 $\text{†}\Phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \text{πρὸς πᾶν πνεῦμα καὶ νόσους}$ (Crimea, 2nd–3rd cent.), etc.

The first term in the title, here translated “incontinence,” may mean nothing more than debility. The second, if it is to be consistent with the third, $\beta[\alpha\sigma]\kappa\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\nu$, should probably be read not $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ “military stratagem, deceit” but $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ in the sense of “demonic visitation,” as in 20–21 below and in an exorcism (*AAth* 242–250) ascribed to Gregory the Theologian, $\acute{o}\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega \acute{\upsilon}\mu\hat{\alpha}\varsigma \dots \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \beta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu, \phi\omicron\beta\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\nu \dots \eta \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ (247.34–248.1). This exorcism and the text of the lead tablet in fact have several motifs in common: the Seal of Solomon (6–7 ~ *AAth* 244.4–5), the throne of God (9 ~ 242.7, 248.24), the Cherubim (10–11 ~ 246.35), the twelve patriarchs and eighteen (?) prophets (12–14 ~ 246.29) who serve the throne (14 ~ 248.24), the River Jordan (16–17 ~ 244.30), and evil visitation (20–21 $\text{κακοῦ [ἀ]παντήματος}$ ~ 245.24–25 $\text{δαμόνιον τοῦ κακοῦ συναπαντήματος}$).

5–7: Recent treatments, with bibliography, of the “Seal of

Solomon,” a popular theme in Jewish and Christian magic: editorial notes on *P.Köln* VIII 338.7–8, S. Giannobile, “Medaglie magico-devozionali della Sicilia tardoantica,” *JAC* 45 (2002) 170–201, at 172–180, A. Cosentino, “La tradizione del re Salomone come mago ed esorcista,” in A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Gemme gnostiche e cultura ellenistica* (Bologna 2002) 41–59, and S. Michel, “Der NYXAXA BOABAX-Logos,” *ibid.* 119–134, at 121 n.5.

6: In exorcisms *κατά* after *ὀρκίζω* and its compounds regularly governs the genitive, as in lines 10 (?), 12, and 16. It is usual too, after such verbs, to find, in addition to the direct object, also a reference, in the accusative, to the divine power in whose name the exorcism is spoken, *e.g.* *PGM* IV 3052–53 *ὀρκίζω σε μέγαν θεὸν Σαβαωθ* “I adjure you by the great god Sabaoth”: one does not put the Almighty on oath. Here and in line 8, with *κατά* + accusative, we seem to have a conflation of the two usages.

8: There is room for only two letters in the lacuna at the end. We have assumed an abbreviation, but it may be that the nasal was simply lost, as in 4 *ἀπάτιμα*.

9–11: Michael not being one of the Cherubim, something has gone wrong in the text. Comparison with *AAth* 246.22 *ὅταν Μιχαηλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος παρενέγκη τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ* suggests that the word *Μιχαηλ* is misplaced and should have stood after the phrase *τὸν βαστάζοντα τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ* of 8–9.

12–14: For the collocation of the prophets and the dozen patriarchs see *AAth* 246.28 *ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τοὺς δέκα ὀκτὼ προφήτας καὶ εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας* in an exorcism by Gregory, where the numbers 18 and 12 suggest astrology, hence celestial locations, each prophet controlling two decans, each patriarch getting a zodiacal sign to himself. Read *τῶν* (ἡ?) *προφ[η]τῶν* on the lead tablet?

17–18: The form *βαπτημαίτος* as preserved is unlikely to be a phonetic variant of the expected *βαπτίσματος*: F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I Phonology* (Milan 1976) 124–132, gives no example of the omission of an internal sigma. We assume a mere miscopying. *αὐτοῦ* must refer to Jesus, even if he has not been mentioned yet. For his baptism in the Jordan as a theme in exorcisms see *AAth* 230.15–17 *φοβήθητι τὸν βαπτισθέντα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἐν Ἰορ-*

δάνη ποταμῶ, ὄν ἰδοῦσα [ἰδὼν cod.] ἡ θάλασσα ἔφυγεν καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. There is a similar expression at 231.24, a somewhat shorter one at 244.30; cf. also *GSG* 49–50 (with biblical passages cited), J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum* (Venice 1730) 579. F. Ohrt, “Jordansegen,” in H. Bächtold-Stäubli and E. Hoffmann-Krayer (eds.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* IV (Berlin/Leipzig 1932) 765–770, at 766, refers to A. Jacoby, *Ein bisher unbeachteter apokrypher Bericht über die Taufe Jesu* (Strassburg 1902, *non vidimus*).

18–21: Something must be missing here, it being unlikely that 21 αὐτοῦ refers to Jesus. Our insertion is no more than *exempli gratia*, but if the words ἀπάλλαξον and Θ(εο)ῦ are correct guesses, the *saut du même au même* may be at play here. The nouns βασκοσύνης and ἀπαντήματος repeat two in the title above (4–5); προπηλακείας does not seem to correspond to [ἀ]κράτειαν, however. The word is evidently new in this form and should be added to the dictionaries: hitherto the only quotable ending was in -κισμός.

21: In the *ed.pr.* two lines are assumed here.

22: *Sc.* ἀπὸ κορυφῆς (κεφαλῆς) ἕως ὀνυχῶν (ποδῶν): cf. *GSG* 10.27–28 ἀπὸ τριχῶν κεφαλῆς ἕως τριχῶν ποδῶν. For examples of this recurrent expression “tip to toe” see F. Maltomini, “Cristo al Eufrate. P.Heid.Gr. 1101: amuleto cristiano,” *ΖΡΕ* 48 (1982) 149–170, at 166, and Giannobile, *JAC* 45 (2002) 191 n.96.

23–24: φύγε, φυγαδεύθητι: For examples of the imperative φυγαδεύθητι in exorcisms cf. *AAth* 250.24, 257.24, 26, 28, and, for the same paronomasia, L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels 1957) 34.31–32 εἰ μὴ ... φύγητε ... φυγαδεύθητε, *GSG* 9.13–14 φύγε (φυγῆ cod.), φυγαδεύθητι. *Cod.Marc.gr.app.* Π 163 preserves a story (*GSG* 23–24) of an encounter of the archangel Michael and the demon Abyzou (cf. *infra* 12–13) with an interesting example of this phrase, crystallized though to the point of meaninglessness: at his command she tells him the forty names that can control her, the 25th and 26th of which appear as Φυγανον and Φυγαδωθῆ, misunderstandings no doubt of φύγε νῦν and φυγαδεύθητι. At the end of line 23 the extraneous {π} (if the transcription is correct) suggests that the scribe began to write Πάνκακον before he realized that he had omitted the second part of the phrase.

27: For the spelling with γ cf. *CIJ* I 634 *Anna filia r(ebbitis) Guliu*, II 800 Γερωντήου, *MAMA* III 617 γατρός, I. Velázquez, *Las pizarras visigodas* (Murcia 1989) 486 *agutor = aiutor = adiutor*. We owe these examples to Jaime Curbera.

APPENDIX: PROTECTIVE INSCRIPTIONS ON LEAD TABLETS⁷

ATTICA

1. LOC.: Collection Froehner, inv. 983 (Froehner VI 505), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. PROV.: Athens. DATE: VIII^P or later? BIBL.: Feissel et al. 2001: 17–18 (phot.).

TAB.: H. 0.096, W. 0.073, Th. 0.0095. Opisthographic.

TEXT: In same hand as **2**. Prayers to Jesus (Side *A*) and Theotokos (*B*) for protection. Similar arrangement: P.Carlsberg inv. 52(31) (VII^P), ed. Brashear 1991: 16–62 (cf. Jordan 2001: 157). *A*: “Christ, God, son of God and creator of the ages, who accepted a tax-collector groaning and the tears of a prostitute and the prayer of Manasses thy slave, now too accept a mouth unclean.” Tax-collector: cf. call of Matthew/Levi at Mt 9:9–13 ~ Mk 2:13–17 ~ Lk 5:27–32, without detail of groans. Prostitute’s tears: γυνὴ ἁμαρτωλός at Lk 7:36–50. Prayer of Manasses: LXX Odae 12. *B*: “All-holy mother of God, mother of the light, make firm thy holy flock and its nurslings and implant health for thy holy house.”

2. LOC.: With **1**, inv. 984 (VI 506). PROV.: “Trouvé ... avec le précédent” (Froehner). DATE: Same as **1**. BIBL.: Feissel et al. 2001: 19–20, no. 13 (phot.).

TAB.: H. 0.092, W. 0.070, Th. 0.005. Opisthographic.

TEXT: In same hand as **1**. *A*: Prayer to archangel Michael and saints Peter and Andrew, to “receive the request and supplication, [—]ing on behalf of my house God’s love for man ...” *B*: Too worn to read.

RHODES

Between Psythos and Maritsas

3. LOC.: Berlin? DATE: III^P according to Hiller, but surely later. BIBL.: Hiller von Gaertringen 1898. *RIGCAM* 128.

TAB.: H. 0.18, max. pr. W. 0.13, Th. 0.003, reported to be a fragment of a larger tablet, H. 0.50, W. 0.40, by Rhodian farmers who found it, but preserved height seems original.

TEXT: Staurogram plus LXX Ps 79:1–16, which includes “Thou didst bring a vine out of Egypt; thou didst drive out the nations and

⁷ Here we follow the conventions of Jordan, *GRBS* 41 (2000) 6.

plant it. Thou didst clear the ground for it; it took deep root and filled the land” (8–9, RSV). Tablet therefore meant to protect vineyard? Expression θεός τῶν δυνάμεων (15) used in Christian prayers: Κύριε ὁ θε(δ)ς τῶν δυνάμεων - - -] | [έν] τῷ ὀνόματί σου (*IGLSyrie* IV 1757, Ulel-Khalakhil, 459–468^p) and Evelyn White 1926: no. 699 [*SEG* 8.756, *SB* III 7511] [κ(ύρι)ε] θ(εδ)ς [τ]ῶν δυνάμεω[ν καὶ αἰ εὐχαί] | [τ]ῶν πατέρων, β[ο]ή[θη]σον τὸν δοῦλόν σου] | [- -]σιον (Egyptian Thebes, V–VII^p).

AMORGOS

Arkesine

4. BIBL.: Homolle 1901: 430–456, unseen, after two transcriptions by D. Prasinou, on whose property they were found. Leclercq 1907: 1797. **RIGCAM* 210 *ter.* **RIGCCycl* 32–40, no. 1.

TAB.: Dimensions not reported. Opisthographic.

TEXT: Adjuration of φύμα ἄγριον not to harm ὀρκίζων or ὀρκιζόμενος, by god who lights Jerusalem with his lamp and who kills 12-headed dragon, by archangels Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, by ἱπ[ε]ρα[ληθ]ῆς ἰ[σ]ο[μ]α, and by τὸν κατελθόντα {τα} κάτω [καὶ] τρίτη ἡμέρα [ἀναστάντα].

ENGLAND

West Deeping, Lancs.

5. PROV.: Roman villa (Rectory Farm, inv. TF 512310). DATE: IV^p (script). BIBL.: Hassell and Tomlin 1997: 443–445, B.10 (dr.). Tomlin 1997 (same dr.). Faraone 2003.

TAB.: H. 0.103, W. 0.054, rolled from bottom to top.

TEXT: Latin, against wandering womb, text like Greek and Aramaic examples collected by Faraone.

SICILY

S. Giovanni Galermo, near Catania

6. LOC.: Private hands when last seen. DATE: VII^p or later? BIBL.: Libertini 1927. Pugliese Carratelli 1953. Manganaro 1963: 71–73.

TEXT: *A*: LXX Ps 1:1–2 plus ἀποδιοκτικὸν πρὸς πᾶσαν φαρμακίαν. *B*: invocations, *charaktères*.

Near Catania

7. LOC.: Private hands. Date: Early Byzantine. BIBL.: Manganaro 1994b: 500–504.

TAB.: H. 0.073, W. 0.035. Opisthographic.

TEXT: Because of very substandard spelling often difficult to articulate into words. At 11–12 we tentatively read τοῦ δο(ύλου) τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ Φοσ(τ)ήνου (for Φαυστίνου), beneficiary of amulet. Mention of Cosmas and Damian in 14 δ(ο) Ἀνάργυρι (for -οι), of inflammation in

28–29 *πύρωμα*. Two more words for modern lexica: 24–25 *ἀνεμοπύρετος* (tab. -ροτό) and 27 *ἀπемоπύρωμα* (tab. *ανεμοπυρομ*); latter known from elsewhere, however: Pradel (*GSG* 93) quotes Du Cange 1688: 76 *s.v.* *ἀνεμοπύρομαν*, “*Inflammatiō in oculis ex venti flatibus orta*. Liber Botanicus MS. ex Cod. Reg. 1673. Ὅφείλει καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὅταν πονοῦσιν, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀνεμοπύρομαν.” We interpret 30 *ευγαλε* as late spelling of *ἐκβαλε*, with interchange of consonants as in Modern Greek.

Colle san Basilio

8. LOC.: Collection of Prof. Vinciguerra. DATE: VII^P (Manganaro).

BIBL.: Manganaro 1994a: 461–463 (ph.). *Present article (dr.).

TAB.: H. 0.110, W. 0.062.

TEXT: See above.

Caucana, near Ragusa

9. LOC.: Private hands. BIBL.: Manganaro 1994e: 457–459 (ph.).

TAB.: H. 0.085, W. 0.0085. Cruciform with suspension hole, opisthographic.

TEXT: Inc.: Κ(ύρι)ε, κ(ύρι)ε, βοήθησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου. Magical signs, mention of twelve apostles.

ITALY

Reggio di Calabria

10. LOC.: Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, magazzino 3, inv. 1760. DATE: VII^P or later? BIBL.: Cozza-Luzi 1887. Leclercq 1907. Wessel 1989: 605. *D’Amore 2004 (dr.).

TAB.: H. 0.07, W. 0.025. Opisthographic.

TEXT: Invocation of Trinity and seven angels for general protection.

Inc.: † Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ☆☆☆.

TUNISIA

Aïn Fournia

11. LOC.: Archives départementales, Clermont-Ferrand. DATE: VI–VII^P (Audollent). BIBL.: Audollent 1939. [Jordan 1983.] Alfaro Giner/Fernández Nieto 2000.

TAB.: H. 0.34, W. 0.35. Three holes aligned vertically—made with stake on which tablet was mounted?

TEXT: Latin. For protection from hail.

CYPRUS

Near Trikomo

12. LOC.: Nicosia Museum, inv. 1939.IV–3.1. PROV.: Near early Byzantine church. DATE: VII^P or later. BIBL.: Giannobile forthcoming.

TAB.: H. 0.215, W. 0.149. Opisthographic.

TEXT: Inc. (in normalized spelling): [Εὐχὴ?] τοῦ δούλου τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰωάννου] τοῦ ΕΛΕ[. Later passage, from *historiola* of Michael and demon Abizou:

Transcription	Normalized spelling
5 κε λεγη αυτης μιχαη[λ ο αρχαγ-]	καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ Μιχαη[λ ὁ ἀρχάγ-]
6 ελος πο πορευοε εγο απελχο[με ησελ-]	γελος· “Ποῦ πορεύη;” “Ἐγὼ ἀπέρχο[μαι εἰσελ-]
7 θ ης τον υκο ...	θ(εῖν) εἰς τὸν οἶκον,” etc.

Cf. **13** infra. Other amulets with *historiolae* of such encounters between saints/divinities and demons: *GMA* 13; cf. also *Cod.Neapol.* 19 f.46^v, amulet text beginning ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· Ἀλέξανδρος ἐγενήθη εἰς Μακεδόν(ας) καὶ ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγ(ὸς) Μιχα(ήλ) καὶ ἰδὼν (*sic*) αὐτὸν εἶπεν· “Ποῦ τρέχ(εις), Ἀλλέξανδρ(ε);” etc. (15th cent., *CCAG* IV 53), and note on **8.23–24**.

Near Trikomo?

13. LOC.: Private hands. PROV.: That of **12**? Tablet seen by Jordan in Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, its owner, who said that it came from northern Cyprus, having brought it there to be identified. DATE: VII^P or later.

TAB.: Opisthographic.

TEXT: In same hand as **12** (?), with similar content. One of its passages:

Transcription	Normalized spelling
1 κε λεγη ατη ο μιχα[]	καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Μιχα[η-]
2 λ ο αρχαγος πο πορευοε απε	λ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος· “Ποῦ πορεύη;” Ἀπε-
3 κρηθη το πνευμα κε λεγη το·	κρίθη τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λέγει τῷ·
4 αρχαγε εγο απελχομε ησε[λ-]	“Ἀρχάγγελε, ἐγὼ ἀπέρχομαι εἰσε[λ-]
5 θην ...	θεῖν,” etc.

Provenance unknown

14. LOC.: Nicosia Museum, inv. 1934.III-2.10. DATE: VII^P or later. BIBL. To be published by Giannobile.

TAB.: H. 0.105, W. 0.038. Opisthographic.

TEXT: Prayers in Greek to angels for general protection.

ASIA MINOR

Area of Smyrna

15. We are grateful to Hasan Malay for the opportunity to mention here a long Greek inscription, to appear in *EpigrAnat*, for the protection of a Christian and his olive trees.

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