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SCRIBAL MISTAKES, HANDBOOK ABBREVIATIONS AND OTHER PECULIARITIES ON SOME ANCIENT GREEK AMULETS

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ABSTRACT

Greek magical gems and other amulets sometimes give us insight into a wider world of sorcerers, gem-cutters and their handbooks. This article offers five brief studies on some puzzling examples, including a scribal correction on a gemstone, a misidentified maternal formula and a late-antique crystal ball in Copenhagen with a scribal abbreviation.

KEY WORDS: SCRIBES, MAGIC, CRYSTAL BALL, SUCCESS, ABBREVIATION, GOLD LAMELLA, MAGICAL GEM, CORRECTION, GEM-CUTTER, HANDBOOK, AMULET, EYE DISEASE, *DELETIO MORBI*, WEATHER MAGIC, BRONZE.

ERRORES DE ESCRIBAS, ABREVIATURAS DE LOS MANUALES Y OTRAS PARTICULARIDADES EN ALGUNOS AMULETOS GRIEGOS ANTIGUOS.

RESUMEN

Las gemas mágicas y otros amuletos a veces nos dan una idea, dentro del amplio mundo de los hechiceros y talladores de gemas, de sus manuales. Este artículo ofrece cinco breves estudios sobre algunos ejemplos desconcertantes, entre los que se incluye una corrección de escriba sobre una piedra preciosa, una fórmula materna mal identificada y una bola de cristal tardo-antigua que se encuentra en Copenhagen con una abreviatura de escriba.

PALABRAS CLAVE: ESCRIBAS, MAGIA, BOLA DE CRISTAL, ÉXITO, ABREVIATURA, LÁMINA DE ORO, GEMA MÁGICA, CORRECCIÓN, TALLADOR DE GEMAS, MANUAL, AMULETO, MAL DE OJO, *DELETIO MORBI*, MAGIA DEL TIEMPO, BRONCE.

Greek magical gems and other amulets are worthy of study for their own sake, of course, but sometimes they give us insight into a wider world of sorcerers, gem-cutters and their handbooks. I offer here five brief studies¹:

¹ Many thanks to Roy Kotansky and Kent Rigsby for their advice and corrections. The following abbreviations are used throughout:

GMA = R. KOTANSKY, *Greek Magical Amulets*, Vol. 1, Papyrologica Coloniensia 22.1, Opladen, 1994.

BM = S. MICHEL, *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum*, 2 vols., London, 2001.

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

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

1) *A Scribal Correction to a Success Charm in the British Museum (BM 68)*

A dark green jasper gem in the British Museum (BM 68) bears on its obverse side a tri-form Hekate, beneath whom stand three vaguely sketched animal-headed gods. On the reverse we find a youth – perhaps Apollo – holding a staff or arrow in his right hand and leaning with his left elbow on a tripod (Figs. 1-2)²:



Fig. 1. Drawing BM 68



Fig. 2. Photo BM 68

SM = R. DANIEL AND F. MALTOMINI, *Supplementum Magicum*, 2 vols., Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1 and 2, Opladen, 1990 and 1991.

SMA = C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 4, Ann Arbor, 1950.

² MICHEL *BM ad loc.* and LAMBRINUDAKIS, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, s.v. “Apollon/Apollo” 183ff. and 363ff.

Of interest here is the inscription that runs along the outer edge of the reverse in a clockwise direction beginning just above the left foot of Apollo and then reversing direction along the bevel. Here is the text printed by Michel in the museum catalog:

Clockwise: ΕΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΣΟ ΑΙΜΟΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΡΙΩ ΕΙΣΟ

(on reverse)

Counter-clockwise: ΑΝΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΟΜΑΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΚΕΑΙΣΟ

(on bevel)

ΜΟΙΕΠΙΤΕΥΚΤΙΔΑΟΝ

The first part takes the form of a familiar prayer on amulets and has rightly been rendered as: Ὡλεως ἔσσο ἐμοί, προσερέω {ει}σ[ε] (“Be well disposed to me, I call upon you!”)³.

The counter-clockwise text on the bevel is more difficult. First of all the transcription should be corrected as follows:

ΑΝΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΟΜΑΙΠΟΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΚΕΑΙΣΟΜΟΙΕΠΙΤΕΥΚΤΙΔΑΚΟΝ

The initial AN, moreover, seems to belong at the end of the line with the sequence. ΕΠΙΤΕΥΚΤΙΔΑΝ, beneath which we find three smaller letters ΚΟΝ (this is clearer in the drawing (Fig. 1). The stem of the word seems, as Michel rightly points out, to be concerned with success (ἐπίτευξις), but the form ΕΠΙΤΕΥΚΤΙΔΑΝΚΟΝ would be bizarre. I suggest, in fact, that the gem-cutter corrected a mistake: first he inscribed one word (ἐπιτεύκτιδαν), which seems to be the accusative singular of ἐπίτευξις, with the common confusion in later Greek between first and third declension nouns (see e.g. νιφάδα{ν} in line 6 of the vineyard amulet quoted in section 5 below). This word nicely brings the inscription full circle around the bezel, but apparently there was a problem, because the scribe then added under the *iota* of this final word the three smaller letters (ΚΟΝ), which are (I suggest) to be inserted after the *iota* and thereby provide an alternate version of the word: ἐπιτευκτικόν.

This is, in fact, a technical term, that shows up once in a magical recipe (*PGM* XIII 339) in a list of spells one can accomplish with an invocation to Helios: “charm spells (χαριτήσια), erotic spells (ἀγωγάς), dream-sending spells (ὄνειροπομπά), dream-request spells (ὄνειραιτητά), ... success-spells (ἐπιτευκτικά), victory spells (νικητικά) and, in short, everything.” That such a word could also refer to a gem worn in a ring is suggested by the rubric of another magical recipe (*PGM* XII 271): “A little ring for success, charm and victory (δακτυλίδιον πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν καὶ χάριν καὶ νίκην)”, which reflects three of the six types of spells listed above in the *PGM*

³ MICHEL, *BM ad loc.* cites Hdt., V72.3 as a parallel for the use of προσερέω in divine invocations.

XIII recipe. The technical word ἐπιτευκτικόν itself, then, and the fact that the scribe attempted a correction both suggest that either he was working from a handbook that had variants or perhaps he was confused by the inconsistency between the rubric for the spell and the word used in the prayer. The difference, is of course, significant: ἐπιτεύκτιδαν (as discussed above) is an abstract feminine noun “success” (as we find in the *PGM* XII rubric), which makes perfect sense at the end of a prayer to “endeavor to make for me ... success (ἐπιβάλλει ἐ)μοὶ {ποι}ποιῆσαι ΚΕΑΙΣΟ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτεύκτιδα).” The variant would mean something different and less satisfactory, e.g.: “endeavor to make for me ... a success-charm (ἐπιτευκτικόν)”. The term ἐπιτευκτικόν, on the other hand, could stand alone as the rubric for a handbook spell.

The rest of the inscription is difficult. I am deeply suspicious of the verb here, ἐπιβάλλομαι, as it appears nowhere else in the indices of Greek words for *GMA* and *SM* and only a handful of times in the *PGM*, but never with this meaning in the middle (“to endeavor”). Given the frequent confusion, however, in gemstone inscriptions between *beta* and *kappa*⁴, perhaps the initial verb is ἐπικαλ{λ}ο(ῶ)μαι, a very common verb in magical texts: ἐπικαλ{λ}ο(ῶ)μαι {ποι}ποιῆσαι ΚΕΑΙΣΟ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτεύκτιδα (or ἐπιτευκτικόν), “I call upon [you] to make success (or “a success charm”) for me, ΚΕΑΙΣΟ.” This suggested reading gets rid of the repeated pronoun ἐμοὶ, but it creates two new problems: (i) in invocations the verb ἐπικαλοῦμαι is almost always followed by a second-person pronoun, e.g. *SM* 56.1 (ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε) or *SM* 75.12 ([ἐ]πικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς); and (ii) it introduces a strange and unparalleled name for the owner “Keaisos” or rather -- since the *alpha* in the drawing lacks its crossbar -- Kelisos (= Kelios, Caelius or Celsus?). With regard to the first, the extra letters {ποι} that follow the verb may be a mistake for σοι. With regard to the second problem Michel suggests that the letters be restored as καὶ αἰσά μοι (“es ist mir bescheiden”), but such an idea of allotment is unparalleled in magical texts.

2) *A Maternity Formula on a New Gold Lamella*

A recently published gold lamella from the necropolis of Riva del Garda had been rolled up like an amulet, but seems nonetheless to have been an erotic *agôge*-spell aimed at a man⁵. The first five lines seem to be an invocation, presumably to the god(s) who will make the charm work (see Fig 3). We see the name ΙΑΩ (Jahweh), three lines of magical symbols and then the name Sabaoth, all of whom seem to be invoked as the agents of the purpose clause that follows (the editor’s corrected text): ἵνα ἐμὲ

⁴ See e.g. the two examples discussed by FARAONE, “Vanishing”, p. 12.

⁵ A. MASTROCINQUE, “L’amuletto in lamina d’oro” in *La via delle anime: Sepulture di epoca romana a Riva del Garda*, Trentino, 2010, pp. 245-254.

φιλήσῃ ΟΛΟΔΙΣ ὃν ἔτεκεν, εἰμὶ ἱερὰ τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ. The first part of this line is common in such love spells: “in order that OLODIS, whom X bore, might love me.” The editor translates the second half of this inscription as: “io sono consecrata all’amore e al desiderio.” This first-person female boast about consecration to love is, in fact, unparalleled in Greek magical texts and it is rare for the mother’s name to drop out of such a text without being replaced by some stand-in like “his mother or “the womb”⁶.



Fig. 3:
Gold Lamella from Riva del Garda.

I suggest, in fact, that we can cure both problems by looking more closely at the letters preserved on the tablet: ημμηρατου. The editor divides and interprets them as ἡμὶ ἱερὰ τῷ (“I am consecrated to the”), but they can just as easily yield the missing part of the maternity formula, “his mother” (ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ). I can, however, find no exact parallel in extant magic texts, where the maternity clause usually does not include the article (ὃν ἔτεκεν μήτηρ) and is immediately followed by the name of the mother⁷. Our text, however, has the article before “mother” (ἡ μήτηρ) and no trailing name, unless we with great difficulty understand ATOU to be a female name. We do find the article, however, when the maternity clause contains the word for “womb” (μήτρα) rather than “mother” (μήτηρ), e.g.: ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ μήτρα (“whom the womb bore”) or ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ μήτρα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ (“whom the womb of his mother bore”)⁸. So perhaps “womb” rather than “mother” is meant in this text. But the difference is slight, and either way the purpose clause now fits easily into the tradition of erotic *agôge*-spells: ἵνα ἐμὲ φιλήσῃ ΟΛΟΔΙΣ ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ (“in order that OLODIS = [Claudius?], whom his mother bore, love me with passion and longing”).

3) A Scribal Abbreviation on a Crystal Sphere from Denmark

A small rock crystal ball (it is approximately 1 inch in diameter) found in a “probably fourth-century woman’s grave near Aarslav on the island of Fyn, Denmark” is inscribed in Greek on one side with a syncopated form of the famous magical palindrome αβλα[να]θαναβα⁹:

⁶ D. R. JORDAN, “CIL VIII 19525 (B).2: QPVLVA = Q(VEM) P(EPERIT) VVLVA” *Philologus*, 120 (1976) 127-32.

⁷ JORDAN, *ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

⁸ JORDAN, *ibid.*, p. 132.

⁹ A. L. MEANEY, “Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones”, *BAR British Series*, 96 (1981) 91-



Fig. 4: Rock Crystal Ball from Fyn

Extending downwards from the center of the word, however, is a puzzling arrow that has been interpreted as an anchor, a Christian symbol in this period. Such anchors, however, invariably have a much shorter stem and a short crossbar near the top. I suggest, in fact, that the arrow may have been a form of scribal shorthand (mistakenly copied from a magical handbook) that tells us to repeat the magical word in a reducing pattern known from magical handbooks as a “grape-cluster” or “heart-shaped” design:

αβλαναθαναλβα
 βλαναθαναλβ
 λαναθαναλ
 αναθανα
 ναθαν
 αθα
 θ

There are at least eight amulets that treat αβλαναθαναλβα in this way¹⁰. The idea here (called *deletio morbis* by scholars) seems to be that this word is the name of a demon or disease and as it disappears the disease itself will also vanish¹¹. I suspect, then, that the arrow inscribed under the middle of αβλαναθαναλβα on the crystal sphere is scribal shorthand telling us to reduce the magical name in the usual manner.

I am aware of only one similar kind of abbreviation, this one found in a papyrus recipe for an amulet designed to cure menstrual problems (*PGM* LXII 76-104):

92. He gives no measurement, but his drawing (reproduced here) is 2/1 scale and in it the globe measures 2 inches in diameter.

¹⁰ C. A. FARAONE, *Vanishing Acts: Deletio Morbi as Speech Act and Visual Design on Ancient Greek Amulets*, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 115, London, 2012, Appendix nos. 4-7, 10-12 and 15.

¹¹ FARAONE, *ibid.*, pp. 1-15.

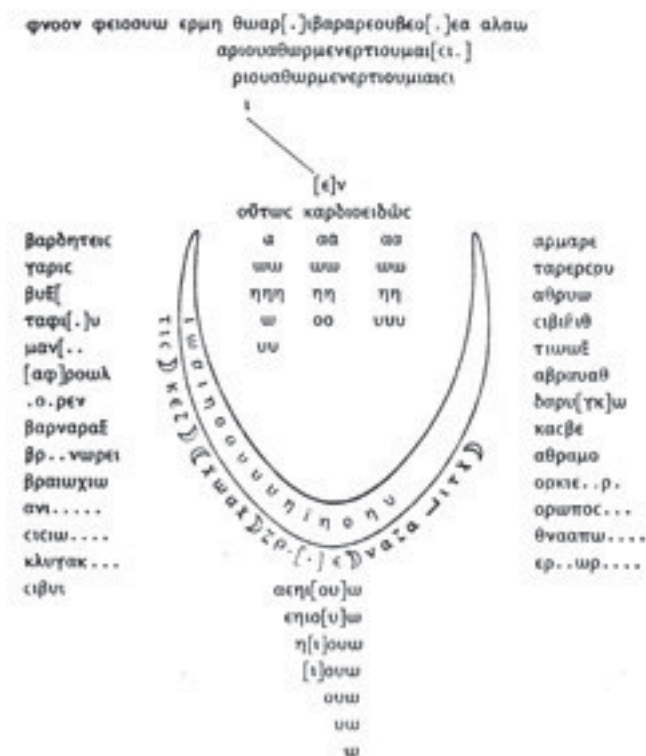


Fig. 5: *PGM* LXII

This recipe shows us what the amulet should look like, but it is not an exact model: at the very top we see that the magical word $\alpha\rho\iota\upsilon\alpha\theta\omega\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ has been written twice -- the second time without its first letter -- and then in the third line just the first letter (*iota*) of the third iteration. But then, instead of writing out in full all twenty-three lines of the diminishing word, the scribe drew a slanting line from this single *iota* to the letters *epsilon* and *nu* centered on the page at the spot where the full set of shortened lines would have ended. And directly below he added briefly οὕτως καρδιοειδῶς (“In this manner, heart-shaped”). The οὕτως here refers, of course, to the schematic line linking the beginning and end of the formation¹².

I suggest, then, that this small rock-crystal sphere was prepared according to the directions of a handbook, but that the sorcerer or his source misinterpreted the arrow as some kind of magical symbol itself, rather than an abbreviated instruction to write out

¹² See also *PGM* VII 218-21 (a fever amulet), where the vanishing word is abbreviated in a different manner.

the entire heart-shaped formation. Since the heart-shaped version of *ablanathanalba* appears most often on fever amulets, some of which are of rock crystal or a similarly cool colored stone¹³, we might guess that this sphere was designed (at least originally) as a fever amulet. The spherical shape, although rare, is not unprecedented for an amulet: an agate sphere from Anapa was apparently used to cure ailments of the head¹⁴.

4) Thlyobris: *An Eye-Demoness called "Bruiser"?*

An exhibition catalog of the Bible Lands Museum (inv. 3277) displays a bronze pendant of Byzantine date, on the reverse of which the Greek word *θλυοβρις* has been inscribed in a shrinking formation similar to the one discussed in the previous section, except that in this case a single letter is subtracted from the front of the word, rather than both sides¹⁵. On either side of this disappearing word we see the following items engraved from top to bottom: large inverted gamma-shaped symbols on both sides, then a crowned male head (Helios) on the left and a female head (probably Selene) on the right and lastly almond-shaped objects with a row of dots running down the center longitudinally, which perhaps represent leaves of some sort. The obverse carries a typical scene of protective power: a horseman spears a bound female demon in the head (instead of the more usual chest or belly), while an inscription over his head reads: "The one god who conquers evil."

The arrangement on the reverse, with the diminishing name *θλυοβρις* flanked by persons or objects of power (e.g. the crowned head), fits the pattern of other amulets that have such names disappearing between magical symbols, facing gods or powerful names, for example: the word *αβλαναθαναλβα* placed between two facing and enthroned deities, one male and one female, in Egyptian garb (D&D no. 20) or the seven vowels rendered palindromically (*αεηιουωουσιηα*), which disappear between magical symbols (SM 3). Such parallels, then, suggest generally that the word *θλυοβρις* represents some kind of evil or illness. If, as seems plausible, the bound and pierced female on the obverse represents the same illness, then we can begin by suggesting that the ending of the word *θλυοβρις* indicates its feminine gender in Greek and that it is the name of the demoness herself, who on the other side of the pendant is being stabbed in the face.

The name is, in fact, probably connected with eye-disease, because it appears on four mottled green-and-brown gems engraved with a lizard, a type known from

¹³ FARAONE, "Vanishing", pp. 31-32 and 68.

¹⁴ C.A. FARAONE, "A Greek Magical Gemstone from the Black Sea: Amulet or Miniature Handbook?" *Kernos*, 23 (2010) 91-114.

¹⁵ F. VUKOSAVOVIC, *Angels and Demons: Jewish Magic through the Ages*, Jerusalem, 2010, p. 131.

literary sources to cure ophthalmia and other eye-diseases¹⁶. Bonner knew of a fifth example with the same lizard design that read $\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\beta\iota\varsigma$ and resided (at least in the 1950s) in a private collection in Antioch¹⁷. He also published a sixth example (*SMA* no. 193) that was inscribed on the back of a different kind of image, which shows Harpocrates on a papyrus boat: $\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma \theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\beta\iota\varsigma$. The purpose of this last amulet is unknown. The name itself is, then, preserved in a wide variety of spellings:

$\theta\lambda\upsilon\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma$	(Jerusalem pendant)
$\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\iota\varsigma$	(lizard gem in private German collection)
$\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\beta\iota\varsigma$	(lizard gem in Paris; D&D no. 368)
$\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\iota\mu \theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma$	(lizard gem in Bologna)
$\omicron\lambda\omega\rho\beta\iota\varsigma \omicron\lambda\omega\rho\beta\iota$	(lizard gem from Syria: <i>SMA</i> no. 113)
$\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\upsilon\beta\iota\varsigma$	(lizard gem in private Antioch collection)
$\theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma \theta\upsilon\lambda\omicron\rho\beta\iota\varsigma$	(Harpocrates gem: <i>SMA</i> no. 193)

One should note what may be a regional focus for this magical word: in addition to the Jerusalem pendant, one of the two gems of known provenance was purchased in Syria and the other was located in a collection in Antioch.

There are, then, five examples of this name appearing on eye-amulets depicting the lizard and on two of them it appears in geminated form. On the Syrian gem, moreover, it seems that the second iteration has been reduced by a single letter: $\omicron\lambda\omega\rho\beta\iota\varsigma \omicron\lambda\omega\rho\beta\iota$ ¹⁸. But given the wide variation in spelling, it seems more likely that the doubling of the name in this way is a kind of rhyming pattern that we see elsewhere in ancient magical texts. Neither the word $\theta\lambda\upsilon\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma$ on the Jerusalem amulet nor any of the variations detailed above are attested in the Greek language, but there is a Greek adjective $\theta\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (“chafing, rubbing”) derived from the verb $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\omega$ (“to chaf, to oppress”) and related to the verb $\theta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (“to bruise”). The name $\theta\lambda\upsilon\omicron\beta\iota\varsigma$ on the pendant in Jerusalem, then, might be an unattested feminine form of $\theta\lambda\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, i.e. “the Chafer” or the “the Bruiser”, that is, a demon who caused irritation or bruising of the eye or the area around it.

¹⁶ S. MICHEL, *Die magischen Gemmen: Eine Studie zu Zauberformeln und magischen Bildern auf geschnitten Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit*, Geissen, 2004, p. 264.

¹⁷ C. BONNER, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 4, Ann Arbor, 1950, p. 69.

¹⁸ The gem is chipped in this area, so all that remains of the iota is the very bottom of the gouge, but the straight line is quite visible.

5) Hidden Greek on a Bronze Amulet for a Vineyard?

A pair of nearly identical bronze amulets from southern France pray that bad weather be turned away from a vineyard (*GMA* 11). The text from Avignon is fully preserved and takes the form of a *tabula ansata* with a hole in the middle by which it was probably attached to a wall or a tree:



Fig. 6: *GMA* 11

Kotansky's text and translation in *GMA* run as follows:

* Θωσουδερκυω *
 αλωη νουμιζων-
 θει ἀπόστρεψον ἐκ
 τούτου τοῦ χωρίου
 πᾶσαν χάλαζαν καὶ
 πᾶσαν νιφάδα{ν} κ-
 αὶ ὅσα βλάπτει χώρα{ν}.
 κελεύει θεὸς Ὁαμου-
 θα, καὶ σὺ συνέργει, Ἀβ-
 ρασάξ Ἰαη Ἰαω

Thôsouderkýō vineyard *noumixônthei* divert from this property all hail and all snow and whatever might injure the land. The god Oamoutha orders it and you, Abrasax, assist! Iaê Iaô.

This is a complicated speech act: there is a request to a single entity named *Thôsouderkýō*, made at the command of a god named Oamoutha with Abrasax and perhaps Jahweh assisting. It aims to protect some plot of land (*chôrion* and *chôra*).

Kotansky argues plausibly, moreover, that this amulet was set up in a vineyard, because the isolated word at the start of line 2 is *alôê*, a poetic Greek word for vineyard. He also suggests that all of the text in the first three lines (until the imperative ἀπόστρεψον) preserves the remains of a pair of corrupted Homeric hexameters, part of a simile which mentions winter storms sweeping across the plain (*Iliad* 5.89-90): “Nor did the walls of the fruitful vineyard stay its sudden coming (ἰσχανόωσιν / οὐτ’ ἄρα ἔρκεα ἴσχει ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων), when the rains of Zeus drives it on.” According to Kotansky, the underlined letters above (οωσ ουτ ερκεα αλωαων) eventually gave rise to the first sixteen letters on the amulet: θωσ ουδ ερκυω αλωη ν.

This is certainly possible, but I wonder if some of the extant letters could be deciphered differently. First of all the designer of this text clearly isolates the first line as a heading that is centered and framed by the two circles with crosses in their centers. This name, presumably a vocative, is, moreover, clearly the subject of the imperative ἀπόστρεψον and nearly all of the letters that follow are comprehensible Greek except αλωννουμιζων/θει, which also seem, however, to preserve a comprehensible phrase: the word for vineyard in the accusative (ἀλωήν) followed by some kind of corrupted masculine participle, perhaps νομίζων, e.g. “O *Thôsouderkýô*, because you esteem the vineyard, god, turn aside” This would require an additional *nu*, of course. If we assume even greater corruption we might even suppose that the letters ουμιζων hide some form of φυλάξας or φυλάσσων, which would yield a more sensible phrase for a weather amulet (e.g. ἀλωήν φυλάσσων), which likewise modifies the name in the first line (e.g. “because you guard the vineyard”). The remaining three letters (θει) isolated at the start of the next line might be a form of the vocative of *theos* (θεέ) known from other magical texts, for example, a green jasper gem in the Ashmolean¹⁹. The first three lines of our text then, would read: Θωσουδερκυω, ἀλωήν φυλάσσων, θεέ, ἀπόστρεψον ... (“O *Thôsouderkýô*, protector of the vineyard, o god, turn aside ...”).

¹⁹ E.g. M. HENIG & A. MACGREGOR, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger-Rings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 2004, p. 124 no. 13.10, for a green jasper gem which invokes a κύριε θεέ.

