

Against All Evil: Byzantine Portable Objects of Private Protection from Turkey

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the concept of protection and its development in Byzantium over the centuries. In this context, protection is understood as magical, apotropaic, spiritual, and/or pseudo-medical protection against a tangible or intangible danger. This dissertation primarily examines the ways that this concept was reflected in the material world of Byzantium. The source material for this examination is a core group of objects including pendants, flasks, tokens, coins, appliques, badges, and small-size icons dated from the sixth to the fourteenth century from museums and private collections in Turkey.

The concept of protection in Byzantium has been studied in different contexts and with various approaches. Different types of protective objects are often seen as distinct entities; similar objects are often grouped together and studied in the context of their primary function, such as amulets being studied in the context of magic, pilgrim objects in the context of pilgrimage, and small-size icons in the context of veneration. However, primary sources and material evidence reveal that protection is linked to certain aspects and practices of magic, pilgrimage, healing, and private devotion. Thus, this dissertation examines small objects studied in these particular contexts in terms of their relation to the function of protection.

The primary conclusion of this dissertation is that there was a widespread and continuous usage of protective objects, whether related to magic or religion, over the centuries in Byzantine society. The subject matter of the images and inscriptions on the objects was essential to the function of protection since users viewed these images and inscriptions as intermediaries through which they could communicate with the supernatural. The need for communication with the supernatural emanated

from people's desire to attain salvation and their compelling fear of demons, as manifested in the subject matter of the objects and the contexts from which protective objects originated. In addition, lead, as the most common material for the production of protective objects, is examined in terms of its potential role in protection. Lead appears to have been selected for multiple reasons: its binding and apotropaic powers led to its use in magical amulets, while the natural properties and availability of lead account for its use in pilgrim and devotional objects. Overall, the study of these objects provides an insight into the fears and expectations of Byzantine society and how the Byzantines dealt with their worries in their daily lives.

Key words: Byzantine Art, apotropaic protection, portable objects, private objects, healing, magic, daily life.

ÖZET

Bu tez, Bizans'ta koruma kavramını ve bu kavramın yüzyıllar boyunca gelişimini Bizans kültürünün maddi kalıntıları çerçevesinde inceler. Bu çalışmada, “koruma” terimi, somut ya da soyut bir kötülüğe karşı büyüsel ve sözde tıbbi koruma anlamında kullanılmaktadır. Bu inceleme için kullanılan ana malzeme, Türk müze ve koleksiyonlarında bulunan, çoğunluğu yayınlanmamış, altıncı ve on dördüncü yüzyıllar arasına tarihlenmiş kolye, şişe, jeton, sikke, aplik, rozet ve küçük ikonaların oluşturduğu bir grup objedir.

Bizans'ta koruma kavramı çeşitli bağlamlarda ve farklı yaklaşımlarla çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmaların çoğunda obje tipleri arasında bir bölünme görülmüştür; benzer objeler çoğunlukla bir grupta toplanıp birincil işlevlerinin ilgili olduğu bağlamda çalışılmışlardır; yani muskalar büyü, hacı objeleri hac ve taşınabilir ikonalar ibadet bağlamlarında gözlemlenmiştir. Oysa birincil kaynaklar ve maddi kalıntılar koruma kavramının büyü, hac ve kişisel ibadete ait birçok uygulamayla ilişkili olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez, daha önce saydığımız bağlamlarda çalışılmış olan küçük objeleri koruma işlevleri açısından bir arada inceler.

Bu tezin ortaya koyduğu genel sonuçlardan biri, koruma objelerinin yüzyıllar boyunca Bizans toplumunda yaygın olarak ve kesintiye uğramadan kullanıldığıdır. Bu çalışmada objelerin üzerinde bulunan imgeler ve yazıların, ister büyüyle ister dinle alakalı olsun, insanların zihninde doğaüstü güçle iletişimi sağladıkları için, objenin koruma işlevi açısından temel olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Objelerdeki imge ve yazıların ve bu objelerin bulundukları arkeolojik tabakaların da gösterdiği gibi doğaüstü güçle iletişim kurma ihtiyacı, insanların kurtuluşa erişme isteği ve iblislere

karşı olan yoğun korkusundan doğmuştur. Buna ek olarak, bu tezde koruma objelerinin yapımında en çok kullanılan metal olan kurşunun koruma bağlamındaki rolü incelenmiştir. Kurşunun kullanılmasının çeşitli sebeplere bağlı olduğu sanılmaktadır; muskaların yapımında kurşunun sözde bağlayıcı ve büyülü güçlerinin etkili olduğu düşünülürken, hacı ve ibadet objelerinde kurşunun doğal özellikleri ve kolay elde edilebilirliği sebebiyle tercih edildiğine kanaat getirilmiştir. Genel olarak baktığımızda, bu çalışma Bizans toplumundaki farklı sınıflardan gelen bireylerin korku ve beklentilerine ve günlük yaşamdaki sıkıntılarla baş etme yöntemlerine ışık tutar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bizans Sanatı, kötülüğe karşı koruma, küçük objeler, kişisel objeler, şifa, büyü, günlük yaşam.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Özet.....	vi
Acknowledgments.....	viii
Table of Contents.....	x
List of Figures	xii
Abbreviations	xviii
Note to the Reader	xx

INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. Objective.....	1
2. Literature Review.....	3
2.1. Magic.....	5
2.2. Pilgrimage.....	12
2.3. Private Devotion.....	16
3. Methodology.....	17
4. Structure of the Dissertation.....	19

CHAPTER I: THE CONCEPT OF PROTECTION IN BYZANTINE SOCIETY.....	21
1. Introduction.....	21
2. Primary Sources Referring to Objects of Protection.....	21
2.1. The Concept of Protection in Ancient Greek Sources.....	21
2.2. The Concept of Protection in Primary Sources Related to Magic.....	22
2.3. The Concept of Protection in Christian Primary Sources.....	25
3. Visual Sources Referring to Objects of Protection	38
4. Agents of Protection: Images and Inscriptions on the Objects.....	40
5. Conclusion.....	48

CHAPTER II: FUNCTION OF THE OBJECTS IN THE CATALOG.....	51
1. Introduction.....	51
2. Epic Narratives and Commands/Prayers.....	52
2.1. The Epic Narrative of the Holy Rider.....	52
2.2. The Epic Narrative of the Wandering Womb and the <i>Hystera</i> Formula.....	62
2.3. Commands and Prayers.....	70
3. The Existence of Unaccompanied Epic Narratives	80
3.1. Narratives of Individual Saints and the Virgin Mary.....	80
3.2. Narratives Related to the Pilgrimage	89
3.3. Unidentified Narratives and Theories on their Meanings and Function.....	107

4. Conclusion.....	112
CHAPTER III: USAGE OF THE PROTECTIVE OBJECTS IN DIFFERENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS.....	114
1. Introduction.....	114
2. Funerary Context.....	115
2.1. Late Antique Burials from Necropolis of Tyre and Bet Shemesh.....	115
2.2. Early and Middle Byzantine Burials in Corinth.....	119
2.3. Middle Byzantine Burial from the Church in Acropolis.....	120
2.4. Middle Byzantine Burials from Sardis and Barçın Höyük.....	123
2.5. Late Byzantine Burials from Kadıkalesi.....	124
2.6. Late Byzantine Burials from Western Thrace and Çanlı Kilise	125
2.7. Discussion.....	128
3. Domestic and Workplace Contexts.....	135
3.1. Late Antique Houses in Anemurium and Butrint	135
3.2. Early Byzantine House in Beth She'an.....	139
3.3. Early Byzantine Houses in Aphrodisias and Sardis.....	140
3.4. Early Byzantine Shops in Sardis.....	142
3.5. Early Byzantine Shops at the West of Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem.....	142
3.6 Middle Byzantine Shops from Corinth.....	143
3.7. Middle Byzantine Workshop in Beybağ.....	144
3.8. Discussion.....	148
4. Conclusion.....	153
CHAPTER IV: THE USE OF LEAD IN PROTECTIVE OBJECTS.....	155
1. Introduction.....	155
2. The Properties and Production of Lead.....	156
3. Greek and Roman Primary Sources Related to Lead Usage.....	159
4. The Use of Lead in Magic.....	163
4.1. Spells and Curse Tablets.....	164
4.2. Lead Figurines/Voodoo Dolls.....	170
4.3. The Lead Coffins from Palestine and Tyre in Lebanon.....	175
4.4. <i>Hystera</i> Amulets and Binding the Wandering Womb.....	181
5. The Use of Lead in Pilgrim Objects.....	184
5.1. Lead Tokens.....	185
5.2. Lead Medallions and Flasks.....	186
6. Conclusion.....	190
CONCLUSION.....	193
APPENDIX A: Protective Objects from Turkish Museums and Collections.....	203
APPENDIX B: Figures.....	318
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	364

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1: Lamella, 3rd century, Gold, 4.2 × 2 cm. The Paul J. Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Image Source: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/9214/unknown-maker-lamella-roman-3rd-century/?artview=dor74742>

Fig. 2: Amulet, 3rd-4th century, Jasper and gold, diam. 2.1 cm. Numismatic Museum, Athens, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 722.

Fig. 3: Amulet, 6th-7th century, Silver plated copper. Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, Image Source: Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantines anciennes", no. 1).

Fig. 4: Amulet, 6th-7th century, Copper alloy, 3.45 x 3.7 cm. Benaki Museum, Athens, Image Source: Deniz Sever.

Fig. 5: Hystera Amulet, 12th century, Silver, diam. 6.6 cm. Benaki Museum, Athens, Image Source: Deniz Sever.

Fig. 6: Justinian I's Coin, 6th century, Bronze, diam. 3,9 cm. Muğla Museum, Muğla, Image Source: Deniz Sever.

Fig. 7: Justinian I's coin, 6th century, Bronze. Private Collection, Image Source: Fulghum, "Coins Used as Amulets", figs. 8.1 and 8.2.

Fig. 8: Pilgrim Flask, 12th-13th century, Lead, diam. 4. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 203.

Fig. 9: Encolpion-Reliquary of St. Demetrius, 13th century, Gold and enamel, diam. 3,75. British Museum, London, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 201.

Fig. 10: Figurine of a Woman, 5th century, Painted plaster, 38.4 x 14.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Image Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/12.185.4/>

Fig. 11: St. Orestes, 11th century, Wall painting. Karanlık Kilise, Cappadocia, Image Source: Pitarakis, "Objects of Devotion and Protection", fig. 8.8.

Fig. 12: St. Aaron the Anchorite, 10th century, Wall Painting. Faras Cathedral, Sudan, Image Source: Michałowski and Gerster, *Faras*, no. 46.

Fig. 13: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th century, Pewter alloy, diam. 4, 6. Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, Italy, Image Source: Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza.

Fig. 14: Armband, 6th-7th century, Silver. Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Image Source: Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands", fig. 10.

Fig. 15: Marriage Ring, 6th-7th century, Gold and niello. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Image Source: Vikan, “Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands”, fig. 19.

Fig. 16: Intaglio, 6th-7th century, Hematite and silver, 5 x 3.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Image Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.491/>

Fig. 17: Amulet, 11th-12th centuries, Lead, diam. 4.2 cm. İstanbul Archaeology Museums, İstanbul, Image Source: Deniz Sever.

Fig. 18: Medallion, 12th century, Silver, diam. 7.4 cm. National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, Image Source: Evans, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 204.

Fig. 19: Plaquette of St. John Prodromos, 11th-12th century, Bronze, diam. 3.2 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, Image Source: Ross, *Catalogue Vol. I*, no. 62.

Fig. 20: A scene depicting suppliant Maria with St. Demetrius (on the right), Watercolor by W. S. George, 1908-1909. British School at Athens, Image Source: The British Council, Ο Ναός του Αγίου Δημητρίου, 75.

Fig. 21: Coin of Antoninus Pius, 2nd century, Bronze. Image Source: Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, pl. 3.10.

Fig. 22: Sts. Theodore and George, 11th century, Wall painting. Yusuf Koç Kilise, Cappadocia, Image Source: Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 28.

Fig. 23: Amulet, 6th-7th centuries, Bronze, H. 3,8 cm, W. 2,8 cm. El-Jish, Israel, Image Source: Israel Antiquities Authority's official website: <http://www.antiquities.org.il>

Fig. 24: St. Sisinnios, 6th-7th centuries, Wall painting. The Monastery of Apa Apollo, Bawit, Egypt, Image Source: Pitarakis, “Bizans'ta Büyü”, fig. 7.

Fig. 25: The Evil Eye, 2nd century, Floor Mosaic. Antioch, Image Source: Levi, “The *Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback*”, fig. 121.

Fig. 26: Rings, 10th-11th centuries, Silver and Copper alloy, diam. 2.1 cm and 2.7 cm. Archaeological Museum, Corinth, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, nos. 660 and 661.

Fig. 27: Amulet, 11th -12th centuries, Lead, diam. 4, 6 cm. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Image Source: Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, no. 621.

Fig. 28: Portrait, 2nd century, Encaustic on wood. British Museum, London, Image Source: Walker, *Ancient Faces*, no. 91.

Fig. 29: Necklace with a Medallion, 2nd century, Gold. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Image Source: Stefanelli, *L'oro Dei Romani*, no. 198.

Fig. 30: Intaglio, 3rd-4th centuries, Green Quartz and Silver. *Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Image Source: Pitarakis, Art of Healing, no. 24.*

Fig. 31 and 32: Rings, 6th-7th centuries, Silver and Bronze, diam. 2 and 2,4 cm. Sammlung C.S., Munich, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 645 and 658.

Fig. 33: Seal, 7th century, Lead. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C., Image Source: Pentcheva, "The 'activated icon'", fig. 17.2.

Fig. 34: Seal, 11th century, Lead. Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts, Image Source: Pentcheva, "The 'activated icon'", fig. 17.3.

Fig. 35: Coin with the images of the empresses Zoe and Theodora, 11th century, Gold, diam. 2,5 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., Image Source: Pentcheva, "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin", fig. 1.

Fig. 36: Pendant with the Image of St. Thekla, 5th-6th centuries, Gold, 2,6 X 1,7 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, Image Source: Lazaridou, *Transition to Christianity*, no. 93.

Fig. 37: Pilgrim Token, 6th-7th centuries, Clay, diam. 2 cm. Sammlung C.S., Munich, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 310.

Fig. 38: Pilgrim Token of St. Symeon the Younger, 10th-11th centuries, Lead, diam. 5,7 cm. Private Collection, Image Source: Verdier, "A Medallion of St. Symeon", fig. 6.

Fig. 39: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th centuries, Pewter alloy, diam. 6 cm. Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, Italy, Image Source: Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, no. 2.

Fig. 40: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th centuries, Pewter alloy. The Abbey of St. Columbanus, Bobbio, Image Source: Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, no. 18.

Fig. 41: Sts. George and Christopher, 18th century, Wall painting. The Church of St. George of Arpera, Cyprus, Image Source: Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 42.

Fig. 42: Lid of a Medicine Box, 5th century, Ivory. The Cathedral of Chur, Zurich, Image Source: Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine", fig. 42.

Fig. 43: Cameo, 6th-7th centuries, Agate, 2,66 X 2,12 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C., Image Source: Kirin, *Sacred Art, Secular Context*, no. 11.

Fig. 44: Lamp, 6th-7th centuries, Silver. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Image Source: Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, no. 13.

Fig. 45: Procession of Female Martyrs, 6th century, Mosaic. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Image Source: David, *Eternal Ravenna*, fig. 157.

Fig. 46: Procession of Male Martyrs, 6th century, Mosaic. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Image Source: David, *Eternal Ravenna*, fig. 157.

Fig. 47: Rings, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XXII, no. 2 and 3.

Fig. 48: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVI, no. 3 and 4.

Fig. 49: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVI, no. 1 and 2.

Fig. 50: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVIII, 1 and 2.

Fig. 51: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVII, no. 3 and 4.

Fig. 52: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVII, no. 1 and 2.

Fig. 53: Pierced Coin, 4th century, Bronze, diam. 1,8 cm. Bet Shemesh, Jerusalem, Image Source: Seligman, "Late Hellenistic and Byzantine Burial Caves", fig. 20.1.

Fig. 54: Pierced Coin, 4th century, Bronze. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Rife, *Isthmia IX*, 108, fig. 2.96.

Fig. 55: Small Icon, 12th-13th centuries, Steatite, L. 4,7 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth", fig. 11.

Fig. 56: Medallion, Copper, Middle Byzantine Period. Acropolis, Athens, Image Source: Παπαευθυμίου, "Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών", 101.

Fig. 57: Medallion, 11th century, Copper Alloy. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Hanfmann, "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis", fig. 31.

Fig. 58: Reliquary Cross, 11th century, Bronze. Barçın Höyük, Turkey, Image Source: Rosenberg, "The Byzantine graveyards", fig. 14.

Fig. 59: Pilgrim Flask, 12th century, Lead, diam. 3,8 cm. Kadıkalesi, Turkey, Image Source: Mercangöz, "Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi", fig. 6.

Fig 60: Pilgrim Flask, 12th and 13th centuries, Lead, diam. 5-6 cm. Peritheorion and Gratini, Greece, Image Source: Bakirtzis, "Κουτρούβια μύρου από τη Θεσσαλονίκη", 529.

Fig. 61: Pilgrim Flask, 12th and 14th centuries, Lead, diam. 4,8 cm. Çanlı Kilise, Turkey, Image Source: Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 268.

Fig. 62: Small Icon, Late Byzantine Period, Painted Wood. Çanlı Kilise, Turkey, Image Source: Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 270.

Fig. 63: Medallion or Token, 6th and 7th centuries, Glass Paste. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", fig. 4.

Fig. 64: Discs, 6th and 7th centuries, Copper. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", figs. 5-6.

Fig. 65: Tubular Container, Late Antique, Bronze. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", fig. 9.

Fig. 66: Medallion, 6th and 7th centuries, Copper. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, "Keeping the Demons", fig. 10.a.

Fig. 67: Medallion, 4th and 6th centuries, Copper. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, "Keeping the Demons", fig. 10.b.

Fig. 68: Medallion, 5th century, Bronze. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, "Keeping the Demons", fig. 10.d.

Fig. 69: Plaque, 5th century, Bone. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, "Keeping the Demons", fig. 11.d.

Fig. 70: Pilgrim Tokens, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, diam. 3-4 cm. Beth She'an, Israel, Image Source: Rahmani, "Eulogia Tokens", figs. 1, 3, 5, 6.

Fig. 71: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, W. 4 cm. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Hanfmann, "The Eighth Campaign at Sardis", figs. 12-13.

Fig. 72: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, fig. 155-156.

Fig. 73: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, 7,6 X 4,7 cm. West of Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, Image Source: Maeir and Strauss, "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin", fig. 1.

Fig. 74: Ring Bezel, 10th and 11th centuries, Bronze, diam. 2,3 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Deniz Sever

Fig. 75: Ring, 10th and 11th centuries, Silver, diam. 2,1 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Deniz Sever

Fig. 76: Ring, 10th and 11th centuries, Bronze, diam. 2,1 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 1953, Fig. 51.

Fig. 77: Inscription, Late Antique. Miletus, Turkey, Image Source: Cline, "Archangels, Magical Amulets", fig. 3.

Fig. 78: Nativity, 13th century, Wall Painting. Omorphi Ekklesia in Aigina, Greece, Image Source: Foskolou, "The Virgin, the Christ-Child", fig. 21.1.

Fig. 79: Figurines in Miniature Coffins, 5th century BC, Lead. Kerameikos, Athens, Image Sources: Gager, *Curse Tablets*, Fig. 3.

Fig. 80: Figurines, Lead. Tell Sandahannah, Jerusalem, Image Sources: Wright, "Exploration and Discovery", Fig. 2.

Fig. 81: Two Coffins, 3rd century AD, Lead. Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, nos. 47-48, Pl. 24.

Fig. 82: Short Side of a Coffin, 3rd century AD, Lead. Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 73, Pl. 36.

Fig. 83: Detail from a Coffin, 3rd century AD, Lead. Southern Judea, Palestine, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, fig. 14.

Fig. 84: Detail from a Coffin, 3rd – 4th century AD, Lead. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Image Source: White, "The Eschatological Connection", fig. 15.

Fig. 85: Details from a Coffin, 4th century AD, Lead. Near Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 77, Pl. 38.

Fig. 86: Medallion, 10th-12th centuries, Lead, diam 4,3 cm. St Petersburg, State Hermitage, Image Source: Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", no. 9.

Fig. 87: Medallion, 11th-12th centuries, Gold. St Petersburg, State Russian Museum, Image Sources: Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", Pl. 6a.

Fig. 88: Medallions, 6th-7th centuries, Lead, 4,7 X 2,8 and 3 X 2,7 cm. Palestine, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 273-275.

Fig. 89: Flask, 12th century, Lead, 4,6 cm. Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, Stiftung der PreuBischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Image Source: Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", fig. 2.

Fig. 90: Flask, 13th century, Lead. Acre, Israel, Image Source: Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land", fig. 1.

ABBREVIATIONS

AE Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AM Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts

BCH Bulletin de correspondance hellénique

BMGS Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BSA Annual of the British School at Athens

ByzF Byzantinische Forschungen

BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift

CahArch Cahiers archéologiques

CIG Corpus inscriptionum graecarum. Ed. August Boeckh. Berlin: Academy, 1828–77.

ΔΧΑΕ Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας

DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers

DT Audollent, A. *Defixionum Tabellae*. Paris, 1904.

DTA Wunsch, R. *Defixionum Tabellae Atticae*. IG 3.3. Berlin, 1897.

JbAC Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JÖB Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

LPGL Patristic Greek Lexicon. Ed. G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961.

IGLSyr II Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, II. Chalcidique et Antiochène. Ed. Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde. Paris, 1939.

IGLSyr IV Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, IV. Laodicée. Apamène. Ed. Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde. Paris, 1955.

ODB The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Ed. Alexander Kazhdan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

PDM The Greek magical papyri in translation. Ed. Betz, H. D. University of Chicago Press: 1997.

PG Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857–66.

PGM The Greek magical papyri in translation. Ed. Betz, H. D. University of Chicago Press: 1997.

RAC Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum

RBK Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst

RE Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Ed G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1894–1978).

REB Revue des études byzantines

SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Leiden, 1923–.

VigChr Vigiliae christianae

NOTE TO THE READER

The objects in the catalog are in numerical order. However, they do not appear in the dissertation in numerical order, as the text of the dissertation has been revised and re-ordered. Since there are cross references between the texts of the dissertation and the catalog, my suggestion to the reader is to read the chapters, especially Chapter II, with the accompaniment of the catalog.

The inscriptions on the objects in the catalog are recorded without correction in the text of the dissertation. However, amended inscriptions can be observed in the appendix.

INTRODUCTION

1. Objective

This dissertation explores the concept of protection as related to Byzantine objects from the Late Antiquity, Middle and Late Byzantine periods and the development of this concept over time. In this context, protection is understood as magical, apotropaic, spiritual, and/or pseudo-medical protection against a tangible or an intangible danger. Countless objects in various forms were used for this kind of protection in Byzantine society. This dissertation examines the way that this concept was reflected in the material world of Byzantium. The source material for this dissertation comes from museums and private collections in Turkey. My aim when examining these collections and museums was to accumulate a wide variety of objects that may have been used for protection on account of their specific iconography and/or epigraphy. I also looked for objects that were portable, private, and metal. Since small and portable objects were often used in the private sphere and a common part of daily life, they give a considerable amount of information about an ordinary person's beliefs, superstitions, and worries. I focused my inquiry on metal objects because most of the protective objects that I observed in museums were made of metal; this was true across the different categories of protective objects. As a result, the majority of the objects in the catalog are made of such metals as copper, lead, and bronze. Outside of metal objects, examples of clay protective objects have been excavated, particularly at pilgrimage sites, and are frequently stored in museums. However, the study of clay protective objects is a large subject that requires individual research and analysis and, thus, is beyond the scope

of this dissertation. Clay examples will be discussed at times in this dissertation, but only in connection to metal objects of protection.

My hands-on research in museums produced a core group of 53 objects in the form of pendants, flasks, tokens, coins, appliques (objects that can be attached to other materials such as clothes and icon frames), badges, and small-size icons dated from the sixth to the fourteenth century. In terms of aesthetics, they appear to be simple and low-end products that were used daily. Certainly, there are other types of protective objects than those mentioned above. Crosses and reliquary crosses, for instance, are a common protective object and are abundant in the museums I visited. They are excluded, however, because they form a category of their own with their multi-faceted meanings and functions as they are used as objects of protection, veneration, and for storing holy relics. Crosses also have a special historical significance due to the role of cross in the institutionalization of Christianity in the fourth century. Moreover, the abundance of scholarship on crosses negates the need for an additional study of crosses in this dissertation.¹

¹ Brigitte Pitarakis, "Un groupe de croix-reliquaires pectorales en bronze a decor en relief attribuable a Constantinople avec le Crucific et la Vierge Kyriotissa," *CahArch* 46 (1998): 81-102. Brigitte Pitarakis, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze* (Paris: Picard, 2006). E. S. King, "The date and provenance of a bronze reliquary cross in the Museo Cristiano", in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia III* (Rome, 1928), 193-205. Katerina Hornickova, "Byzantine Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in Central Europe," *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999), 213-50. W. L. Hildburgh, 'A Mediaeval Bronze Pectoral Cross', *Art Bulletin* 14.2 (1932), 78-102. L. Dontcheva, "Une croix pectorale-reliquaire en or recemment trouvee a Pliska," *CahArch* 25 (1976): 59-66. A. Effenberger, "Ein byzantinisches Emailkreuz mit Besitzerinschrift", *CahArch* 31(1983), 115-24. G. Galavaris, "A Niello Cross at Sinai," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999): 171-187. S. Lovag, "Byzantine-type Reliquary Pectoral Crosses in the Hungarian National Museum", *Folia Archaeologica* 22 (1971): 143-163. Ioli Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women and Their World*, (Cambridge, MA, 2003), p. 134, no. 66, figs. 66a-b. Marvin C. Ross et al., *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection Vol 2* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Pub Service, 1962), nos. 15-19, 20-21, 97-103, 157. M. Dalton, "A Gold Pectoral Cross and an amuletic bracelet of the sixth century" in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1924).

The majority of the objects in the catalog is unpublished examples and often are not exhibited in the museums' showcases, but housed in their storage spaces. Some of the objects present well-known iconographies and inscriptions that are manifested on other objects. The comparative examples from Greece, which I had the chance to examine in person thanks to a grant from the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), allowed me to date several categories of objects in the catalog and identify the iconographies and inscriptions depicted on them.² However, certain objects in the catalog display iconographies and inscriptions that are unprecedented. Moreover, at times well-known iconographies appear on materials or category of objects that they have not appeared on before. These objects and their connection to well-known examples must be studied to bring these unknown iconographies and materials to light. However, they are also important for the new information they provide about the concept of protection in Byzantine society. Thus, a study of these objects will further our understanding of the material culture and belief system in Byzantium.

2. Literature Review

Before the 1980s, there were very few works regarding Byzantine material culture. An interest in this topic emerged from studies undertaken in the 1970s on daily life in Medieval Europe. Publications such as Koukoules's monumental work, *βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός*, Walter's *La Vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes : 1081-1180*, and Talbot Rice's *Everyday Life of Byzantium* were the forerunners of this new field, although contemporary studies have revealed faults in their

² I received this grant between September 2014 and September 2015. My thanks to American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) for allowing me to make a hands-on comparative study in Greece.

methodologies.³ From the 1980s onward, scholars began developing new methodological approaches to Byzantine material culture.⁴ At the 16th International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Vienna in 1981, several sessions were devoted to material culture. The papers in the Congress dealt with the subjects related to coins, keys, crowns, lighting devices, and ceramics.⁵

This interest in material culture paved the way for more systematic studies on the Byzantine small objects. Specialized exhibitions such as *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* in 1985 in Ann Arbor, *Silver Treasure from Early Byzantium* in 1986 in Baltimore, *Rom und Byzanz : archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern* in 1998 in Munich, *Das Licht dem Osten: Kunst und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* in 2001-2002 in Paderborn, *Byzantine Hours: Works and Days in Byzantium* in 2001-2002 in Thessaloniki, *Die Welt von Byzanz* in 2004-2005 in Berlin, and *Byzanz: Pracht and Alltag* in 2010 in Bonn presented minor objects in the context of material culture. Also, several exhibitions that were not specifically focused on small objects had sections devoted to material culture, including *The Glory of Byzantium* in 1997 in New York, *Byzantine Women and Their World* in 2003 in Boston, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* in 2004 in New York, *Stories from the Hidden Harbor* in 2013 in Istanbul, and *Heaven and Earth* in Washington and Los Angeles in 2014. The catalogs

³ Ph. Koukoules, *βυζαντινὸν βίος και πολιτισμός*, Athens 1948-1952. Especially Koukoules' work is heavily criticized due to the author's idea of "undifferentiated continuum". According to Mango, Koukoules overlooks the breaks in tradition and culture of Byzantium. See Cyril Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *JÖB* 31/1 (1981). Gérard Walter, *La Vie Quotidienne À Byzance Au Siècle Des Comnènes:(1081-1180)* (Hachette, 1966). Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (Hippocrene Books, 1967).

⁴ M. Grünbart, *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400-1453): Proceedings of the International Conference (Cambridge, 8-10 September 2001)* (Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2007), 21-25.

⁵ Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," L. Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 479-91. Gary Vikan, "Security in Byzantium", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 503-8. Jean-Michel Spieser, "Ceramique byzantine de Perdame", *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 561-76.

published in conjunction with these exhibitions are invaluable sources for researchers working on the material culture and small objects of the Byzantine period.

The portable objects of private protection, a genre of small objects in Byzantium, have mainly been studied under the arch of certain subjects: Magic, Pilgrimage, and Private Devotion.

2.1. Magic:

The study of magic in early Christianity and the middle Byzantine period has centered on certain questions about the definition of magic, the origins of various magical practices, and the relationship between magic and Orthodox Christianity. Before the 1940s, the trend in the theoretical study of magic was to define magic by distinguishing it from religion, classifying it as a derivative form of religion. This approach was built on the argument that magic is manipulative toward supernatural powers whereas religion venerates these forces.⁶ After the Second World War, scholars began studying magic in different cultures from an anthropological and ethnographical point of view. They established that trying to distinguish between religion and magic was a fruitless effort since magic existed in the substructure of all religious systems. This development is also featured in the study of early Christian and Byzantine magic.

Bonner and Barb, two important scholars who studied magic and the material culture of magic, favor the approach that was popular before the Second World War. Utilizing negative language, Bonner calls certain magical practices “primitive concepts of mind”

⁶ David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity", in *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Romischen Welt*, ed H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 1507-57.

in his comprehensive work on magical amulets.⁷ In his work focusing on magic in Early Christianity, Barb states that although magic is derived from religion, it is a decayed version of religion.⁸ Just as the approach to the study of magic changed in other disciplines after the 1940s, so too did it change in Byzantine studies. This new approach provided Byzantinists a basis to discuss the nature of Byzantine magic in Byzantium. In the book, *Greek Magic*, edited by Petropoulos, several articles study the relationship between magic and the Orthodox Church.⁹ In her article, “Magic in Medieval Byzantium”, Walker discusses how the dynamics between the practice of magic and the Church’s stance towards magic changed in the Middle Byzantine period.¹⁰ According to Walker, although in the eyes of the Church the distinction between magic and religion was clearer in this period, the vagueness of the nature of the supernatural powers continued. The works in this book are all the products of the more recent approach to the study of magic, which allows scholars to observe the dynamics between magic and religion.

The subject of magic in Byzantium has been studied using both textual and material sources. Out of the studied texts, the *Greek Magical Papyri* and the *Testament of Solomon* are the two of the most well-known and widely discussed primary sources regarding magic in Late Antiquity.¹¹ These texts were often utilized for their material

⁷ C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets: Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950), 2.

⁸ A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts", in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed Arnaldo Momiglian (Oxford, Clarendon P, 1963).

⁹ J.C.B. Petropoulos, *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2008).

¹⁰ Alicia Walker, “Magic in Medieval Byzantium,” in *The Cambridge History of Magic and Demonology in the West*, ed. David Collins (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015),209-34.

¹¹ Hans Dieter Betz, *The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells* (University of Chicago Press: 1997). D. C. Duling, trans., "Testament of Solomon", in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol 1: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, ed James H. Charlesworth (Doubleday;

examples of magic.¹² Whereas scholars often used hagiographical texts and the works of Church Fathers and Byzantine intellectuals to explain how magic was perceived in Byzantine culture. Magoulas's article, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic", studies several saints' lives for the information they provide about sorcery, magic, usage of relics, and icons in Byzantium. The author states that for an average Byzantine the distinction between magic and religion was vague with magic "at the very heart of Christianity".¹³ Abrahamse undertook a similar study of hagiographical sources and their relation to the concept of magic.¹⁴ Like Magoulas, Abrahamse concludes that the hagiographical sources reflect an uninterrupted belief in magic and sorcery as constant facts of Byzantine life.

In *Byzantine Magic* edited by Henry Maguire which is one of the most comprehensive studies on magic in the Byzantine period, certain articles focus on the court's and the Church Fathers' views on the issue of magic. Dickie and Fögen look at how the evil eye is perceived by the Church Fathers and the development of laws against

New York, 1983), 541. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1898): 23-26. Chester C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922).

¹² Spier, "An Antique Magical Book", 43-66. Roy Kotansky, ed., *Greek Magic Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae* (Opladen: Westdeutsche Verlag, 1993). Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). Roy Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae* (Opladen: Westdt. Verl, 1994). Christopher Walter, "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum and the Origins of the Iconography of Warrior Saints", in *Pictures as Language*, ed Christopher Walter (London, 2000), 397-416. B. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü, Sağlığı Koruma Ve Kötülüğü Kovma Sanatı", in *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı 1* (İstanbul, 2012). James Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period" in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 35-50.

¹³ H. J. Magoulas, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Sorcery Relics, and Icons" *BZ57.1* (1964): 127-50.

¹⁴ D. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period." *ByzF* 8 (1982): 3-17.

magic throughout centuries.¹⁵ Greenfield and Duffy examine the usage of magic in the court and intellectual circles in Byzantine society through the writings of Niketas Choniates, Michael Psellos, and Michael Italikos.¹⁶ The analysis in these secondary sources suggests that there was a concern about the usage of magic and amulets in both the Byzantine Church and state from the early to middle Byzantine period. From the fourth century onward, the state and the church tried to prevent these practices with canons.¹⁷ After Iconoclasm, images were more tightly regulated. Both the upper and lower class of society were aware of these prohibitions. However, a large percentage of Christians continued to use magical practices despite all the pains taken by the state and the Church.

The concept of demonology as understood through written sources plays an important role in study of magic in Byzantium since these two areas of study are related. Greenfield's monograph, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, explores the origin and nature of demons in such written sources as the *Kyranides*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and *Solomon's Magic Treatise*.¹⁸ Mango, in his article "Diabolus Byzantinus", agrees with Greenfield that demons were the embodiment of problems and fear in Byzantium.¹⁹ Alexander's article, which uses ancient magical texts such as *the Testament of Solomon* as examples, emphasizes the difference between demons in folk

¹⁵ Matthew S. Dickie, "The Fathers of the Church and the Evil Eye" in *Byzantine Magic* ed Henry Maguire (Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 1995), 9-34. Marie Theres Fögen, "Balsamon on Magic: From Roman Secular Law to Byzantine Canon Law" in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire (Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 1995), 99-115.

¹⁶ Greenfield states similar incidents in written sources belonged to the Palaeologan period in a later article of his. R. Greenfield, "A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic." in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire (Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 1995), 117-153. John Duffy, "Reactions of Two Byzantine Intellectuals to the Theory and Practice of Magic: Michael Psellos and Michael Italikos". in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire (Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 1995), 83-95.

¹⁷ Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts".

¹⁸ R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam, 1988).

¹⁹ C. Mango, "Diabolus Byzantinus" *DOP* (1992): 215-23.

religion and theological demonology.²⁰ The demons in folk religion were related to the daily problems of people, a simplistic explanation for the existence of demons. However, theological demonology was an attempt to construct a rational theology around the subject. The most recent work on demonology, Patera's book, uses a wide variety of written sources from the ancient to medieval periods to examine how Greek figures of the imagination brought fear to people from Late Antiquity to present times.²¹ The book presents the development of demons' characteristics throughout the centuries and demonstrates the continuity of the belief in demonology.

The secondary literature concerning the material aspect of magic mainly focuses on amulets of various types and from different periods. The most extensive and cited work on amulets is the Bonner's catalog, *Studies in Magical Amulets: Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*.²² Bonner's work is not focused solely on Byzantine amulets; it also covers amulets that belonged to the Greek, Egyptian, and Roman traditions. However, it is very useful in terms of following the development and continuity of iconographies and inscription formulas found on amulets.²³ The vast majority of these elements on Byzantine amulets were adopted from earlier examples. Early studies of Byzantine amulets tend to describe and identify the iconographies and inscriptions found on amulets in a formalistic way. In an article written in 1895, one of the earliest studies on the Byzantine amulets, Schlumberger describes several amulets with the iconography of

²⁰ Philip S. Alexander, "Contextualizing the demonology of the Testament of Solomon," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der alttestamentlich-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. A. Lange, (Tübingen, 2003), 613–35.

²¹ Maria Patera, *Figures Grecques De L'époque De L'antiquité Au Présent: Peurs Enfantines Et Adultes* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015).

²² Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*.

²³ See also: L. M. Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine, and the Survival of the Gods", in *Survival of the Gods : classical mythology in medieval art*, (Providence, R.I., 1987). J-J. Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 30, no. 3 (1989): 421-49.

the rider spearing a figure beneath the horse and the head surrounded by serpents.²⁴ The other studies by Laurent, Zaleskaya and Grabar were also dedicated to the dating and the origin of Byzantine amulets with the imagery of the head.²⁵

The following generation of art historians studied Byzantine amulets in a much more analytical way. Spier's work on amulets with the imagery of the head surrounded by serpents recorded several variations of this iconography.²⁶ His article presenting various examples from different regions is the most comprehensive study on the subject to date. Spier also successfully established the name, *hystera*, for this group of amulets due to the repetition of the word in the inscriptions on the amulets. Vikan, Maguire, and Pitarakis have studied and identified wider range of elements in the iconography of various amulets such as the rider, the lion, the head surrounded by serpents, and the zodiac signs. By studying the repetition of these images, they have established a connection between different types of amulets such as armbands, rings, textiles, and coins.²⁷

24 G.L. Schlumberger, "Amulettes Byzantins Anciens Destinés À Combattre Les Maléfices Et Les Maladies, Par Gustave Schlumberger", in *Mélanges D'archéologie Byzantine: Monnaies, Médailles, Méreaux, Jetons, Amulettes, Bulles D'or Et De Plomb, Poids De Verre Et De Bronze, Ivoires, Objets D'orfèvrerie, Bagues, Reliquaires, Etc.*, ed G.L. Schlumberger (E. Leroux, 1895). V. Laurent, "Amulettes byzantines et formulaires magiques", *BZ*36.2 (1936): 300-315.

25 Laurent, "Amulettes byzantines et formulaires magiques", 300-315. A. Grabar, "Amulettes Byzantines du Moyen Age", in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech*, ed Michel Tardieu, (Paris, 1974), 531-541. N. Zaleskaia, "Amulettes Byzantines magiques et leurs liens avec la littérature apocryphe", in *Actes du XIV. Congrès international des études byzantines Vol.1*, ed Mihail Berza and E. Stinescu (Bucarest, 1971): 243-247.

26 J. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993): 25-62.

27 B. Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", in *Les Savoirs Magiques Et Leur Transmission De L'antiquité à La Renaissance*, ed Jean-Michel Spieser and Véronique Dasen (Florence, Sismel: 2014), 371-96. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü". Gary Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991): 33-51. Henry Maguire, "Magic and the Christian Image", in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire (Dumbarton Oaks research library and collection, 1995), 51-72. Henry Maguire, "Magic and money in the early Middle Ages", *Speculum* 72.4 (1997): 1037-1054.

Several scholars have worked specifically on the inscriptions on amulets. Matantseva has studied how inscriptions relate to images on amulets and coming to the conclusion that, in terms of importance, inscriptions are secondary to images. According to Matantseva, the inscriptions on amulets are not connected to the images, but rather chosen arbitrarily.²⁸ Foskolou disagreed with Matantseva and emphasized the importance of names and characters which repeat in amulets and texts as sacred symbols.²⁹ According to Foskolou, the inscriptions are not improvised but intentional. Spier's article about a magical book that was used to produce sixth century amulets supports Foskolou's idea. The study of the repeating images and texts in amulets with different provenances suggests the existence of a shared manual, a magical handbook.³⁰ Thus, coming from same source, the inscriptions and images must have been connected.

The archaeological sources on magic and amulets are few. Most of the objects featured in the relevant secondary sources are not from archaeological excavations, but rather from the acquisitions of museums and collections. Russell's article on the early Christian amulets from the Anemurium excavation in Turkey is one of the few secondary sources.³¹ Russell states that the domestic context of the amulets' findspots indicates that the amulets were commonly used in daily life at Anemurium. Another archaeological source is Dafi's article about a lead amulet with the head surrounded by

²⁸ T. Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines Contre Le Mauvais Œil Du Cabinet Des Médailles." *JbAC37* (1994): 110-21.

²⁹ V. Foskolou, "The Magic of the Written Word: The Evidence of Inscriptions on Byzantine Magical Amulets", *Delta of the Christian Archaeological Society* 35, (2014): 329-48.

³⁰ J. Spier, "An Antique Magical Book Used for Making Sixth-Century Byzantine Amulets?", in *Les saviors magiques et leur transmission de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed Véronique Dasen and Jean-Michel Spieser, (Florence, Sismel, 2014), 43-66.

³¹ Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", 35-50.

serpents from Pythagoreion at Samos, Greece.³² In this article, Dafi focuses on the dating of the object by comparing it with similar ones from other archaeological excavations rather than elaborating on the archaeological context of the amulet. The publications of certain excavations such as Corinth in Greece, Saraçhane, and Yenikapı in Istanbul and El-Jish in Israel provide researchers with archaeological information about the dating and usage of various amulets.³³

2.2. Pilgrimage:

The Christian pilgrimage to the Eastern Mediterranean is a well-studied subject.³⁴ Jerusalem as the most popular of all Christian pilgrimage destinations has been examined in numerous publications exploring the accounts of pilgrims and the city's art and architecture.³⁵ Wilkinson's compilation and translation of different pilgrim accounts from early Christianity to the late medieval period is a valuable corpus of sources for researchers.³⁶ Other Christian pilgrimage centers in Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and Syria are studied through the use of primary sources, and archaeological

³² E. Dafi, "A Byzantine Lead Amulet from Samos", in *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts, Byzas 15.*, ed Alessandra Ricci, and Beate Böhlerdorf-Arslan (Istanbul, 2012), 241-247.

³³ G.R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects, Corinth Vol. 12* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952). R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul Vol. 1* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press; Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986). Zeynep Kızıltan, et. al. *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: The Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, (Istanbul Archeological Museums Press, 2013). N. Makhoul, "Rock-Cut Tombs at El-Jish", *The Quarterly of the Department of antiquities in Palestine* 8 (1939): 45-50.

³⁴ For general information on the pilgrimage: J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage* (Faber & Faber, 2011). V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (Columbia University Press, 1978).

³⁵ J. Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Tumhout, 1981); Cl. Zrenner, *Die Berichte der europäischen Jerusalempilger* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981); J. D. Purvis, *Jerusalem, the Holy City. A Bibliography* (London, 1988), A. Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land* (Bonn, 1970), C. Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine*, BAR International Series 726, I-III (Oxford, 1998). R.G. Ousterhout, *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Univ of Illinois Pr, 1990). Troels Myrup Kristensen, "The Material Culture of Roman and Early Christian Pilgrimage: An Introduction", *HEROM* 1(2012): 67-78.

³⁶ John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W.F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*. (London : The Hakluyt Society, 1988). John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, Eng. : Aris & Phillips, 1977). John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, S.P.C.K., 1971).

remains and finds.³⁷ Talbot has studied the well-known healing shrines of the Mediterranean: St. Menas in Egypt, St. Thekla in Seleukeia, St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, St. John in Ephesos, and St. Symeon the Elder in Antioch.³⁸ Foss writes about the lesser-known pilgrimage centers in Asia Minor such as Chonai, Euchaita, Nicaea, Myra, Mount Olympos, Euchania, and Caesarea.³⁹ Pilgrim objects such as tokens, flasks, medallions, and reliquary crosses are studied in terms of their form, provenance, and material. These objects are grouped together and identified as signature objects from certain pilgrimage centers, like terracotta and lead tokens from the shrines of Symeon the Younger and the Elder, terracotta flasks from Egypt and Asia Minor, and lead flasks from Palestine and Thessaloniki.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, *Texts Relating to Saint Mênâ of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian Dialect, with Facsimile* (British Museum, 1909). P. Grossmann, "The Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina" in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed D. Frankfurter (Leiden: 1998), 257-302. S. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thekla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: 2001). André Grabar, "Quelques Reliquaires De Saint Démétrios Et Le Martyrium Du Saint À Salonique" *DOP* 5 (1950): 1-28. David TM. Frankfurter, "Stylites and Phallobates: Pillar Religions in Late Antique Syria." *VigChr* 44.2 (1990): 168-98.

³⁸ A.M. Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts", *DOP* 56 (2002): 153-73.

³⁹ C. Foss, "Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor", *DOP* 56 (2002): 129-51.

⁴⁰ Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Remarques Sur L'iconographie De Syméon L'Alépin", *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 70 (1989): 29-53. Gary Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Pub Service, 2010), figs. 18 and 19. Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Saint Syméon lieu de pèlerinage" *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007): 107-120. Victor Heinrich Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 80 (1965): 280-304, abb. 7. Shannon Steiner, "Agent of Touch and Transformation: A Pilgrimage Token of Saint Symeon the Younger in the Menil Collection" (MA thesis, The University of Texas, 2011). O. Callot, "Encore des eulogies de saint Syméon l'Alépin . . . Déhès 2004", in *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini* (Travaux et Mémoires 15) (Paris, 2005), 705-12. A.M. Maeir, and Y. Strauss. "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin from Late Byzantine/Early Umayyad Jerusalem", *Anatolian studies* 45 (1995): 237-41. M. Duncan-Flowers, "A Pilgrim's Ampulla from the Shrine of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed R. Ousterhout, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 125-39. William Anderson, "Menas Flasks in the West: Pilgrimage and Trade at the End of Antiquity", *Ancient West & East* 6 (2007): 221. R.P. Griffing, "An Early Christian Ivory Plaque in Cyprus and Notes on the Asiatic Ampullae", *The Art Bulletin* (1938): 266-79. L.Y. Rahmani, "Two Early Christian Ampullae", *Israel Exploration Journal* (1966): 71-74. Gülgün Köroğlu, "Yumuktepe Höyüğü Kazılarında Gün Işığına Çıkarılan Aziz Menas Tasvirli Hacı Şişesi", *Selevcia ad Calycadnum* 1 (2011): 77-89. William Anderson, "An Archaeology of Late Antique Pilgrim Flasks", *Anatolian studies* 54 (2004): 79-93. William Anderson, "Votive Customs in Early Byzantine Asia Minor", *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3 (2007): 17-27. Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Κουτρούβια μύρου ἀπὸ

The function of the pilgrim objects has been a much-discussed subject among scholars. Certain scholars, Hahn and Frank, have emphasized the function of these objects as portable sanctities and mementoes to remind the pilgrims of their sacred experience.⁴¹ Studying the various iconographies depicted on these objects, Vikan posits that the reason behind the frequent depiction of some of these scenes is pilgrims' desire for protection during their travels.⁴² Similar to Vikan, Leyerle emphasizes the protective function of the pilgrim objects and, focusing on the domestic use of the objects, states that they were used in three areas – the bed, the threshold, and the fields – in order to protect the users.⁴³ More interestingly, the writer suggests that this usage of pilgrim

τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ”, *JÖB* 2.3 (1982): 523-528. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Byzantine *Ampullae* from Thessaloniki”, in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed R. Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 125-139. Ch. Bakirtzis, “Western Thrace in the Early Christian and Byzantine Periods: Results of Archaeological Research and the Prospects, 1973–1987”, *ByzF* 14 (1989): 41-58. K. Totev, *Thessalonican Eulogia Found in Bulgaria: Lead Ampules, Enkolpia and Icons from the 12th-15th Centuries* (Faber, 2000). J. Engemann, “Palastinische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger Institut in Bonn,” *JbAC* XVI (1973): 5-27. J. Engemann, “Das Jerusalem der Pilger Kreuzauffindung und wallfahrt”, *Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie Teil 1*, (Bonn: 1995), 24-35. J. Engemann, “Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen. Erstveröffentlichungen und Berichtigungen”, *JbAC* 45 (2002): 153-169. D. Syon, “Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre”, in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999). Gervasio Celi, *Cimeli Bobbiesi* (La Civiltà Cattolica, 1923). Roberto Cassanelli, “Le trésor des rois lombards à la cathédrale de Monza: architecture, objets liturgiques et idéologie du pouvoir, VIIe–XIVe siècles”, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 41 (2010): 143–152. Angelo Lipinski, “Der Theodelinden-Schatz im Dom zur Monza”, *Das Münster* 13 (1960): 146–173. John Elsner, “Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation: Pilgrimage and Collecting at Bobbio, Monza and Walsingham” *Journal of the History of Collections* 9.1 (1997): 117-30. Heather Hunter-Crawley, “Pilgrimage made portable: A Sensory Archaeology of the Monza-Bobbio Ampullae” *Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture (HEROM)* 1 (2012): 135-156. Andre Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958).

⁴¹ Cynthia Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs: Sealing the Pilgrim’s Experience”, in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed R. Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 85-96. G. Frank, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs and the Art of Memory”, in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge*, ed P. Maraval, B. Caseau and J. Cheynet (Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006).

⁴² Gary Vikan, “Pilgrims in Magi’s Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art.” in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed R. Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 97-107. Gary Vikan, “Guided by Land and Sea: Pilgrim Art and Pilgrim Travel in Early Byzantium”, in *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann*, ed Josef Engemann and Ernst Dassman, (Münster Westfalen : Aschendorff, 1991), 74-92.

⁴³ Blake Leyerle, “Pilgrim Eulogiae and Domestic Rituals” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 10 (2008): 223-37.

objects allowed believers to feel connected to one another, and fostered a feeling of togetherness among Christians.⁴⁴ This focus on the concept of community in pilgrimage predates Leyerle's work; it is also featured in the research of Eade and Sallhow. According to these two writers, the shrines at pilgrimage sites provided the pilgrim community with a place where people with a diversity of beliefs and religious perceptions could convene.⁴⁵ Leyerle observes the same universality in pilgrimage by looking at the material culture while Eade and Sallhow study the phenomenon in a more theoretical way.

The iconography of the pilgrim objects is well-studied, but the production, distribution, and provenance of these objects have received less attention. It is a subject that has recently become popular with researchers due to the lack of objects found during archaeological excavations. Caner, who has written on the subject, suggests that pilgrim objects led the religious economy to flourish in late antiquity.⁴⁶ Pitarakis has studied the production of objects in a later period following the Crusades and calls attention to the production places other than the Holy Land in Anatolia and Greece.⁴⁷ Similar to Pitarakis, Foskolou focuses on the economic aspect of pilgrim artifacts during the middle and late Byzantine eras.⁴⁸ Foskolou writes about the images on objects which are not associated with shrines in the middle Byzantine period and considers the

⁴⁴ Leyerle, "Pilgrim Eulogiae and Domestic Rituals", 223-37.

⁴⁵ J. Eade and M. J. Sallhow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, (Routledge, 1991), 9-16.

⁴⁶ Daniel Caner, "Toward's a miraculous Economy: Christian Gifts and Material "Blessings" in Late Antiquity", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14 (2006): 329-377.

⁴⁷ B. Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", In *Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent Anısına*, ed A. Özaydın (İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2008), 395-409.

⁴⁸ V. Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale? On the Production and Distribution of Pilgrim Mementoes in Byzantium", *BZ105.1* (2012): 53-84.

existence of these examples as an indication that the Church approved of shops selling pilgrim objects in close proximity to the shrines.⁴⁹

2.3. Private Devotion:

The subject of private devotion is frequently brought up in studies of objects such as small-size icons, pilgrim objects, crosses, reliquaries, and medallions, which are produced in different materials such as metal, ivory, steatite, wood, and gemstones. The portable nature of these objects and their role in private worship is emphasized by the scholars.⁵⁰ These objects are exhibited in different contexts and catalogued in various publications, which are mentioned previously in this chapter.⁵¹ The study of all of these objects is a difficult undertaking due to the fact that it is impossible to place them all into one context. For instance, publications about pilgrim objects, usually consider them within the framework of multiple subjects, like pilgrimage, private devotion, healing, and protection.⁵² That is why; one cannot find an all-encompassing publication including all types of private devotional objects.

⁴⁹ Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 53-84.

⁵⁰ Eunice Maguire, Henry Maguire, and M.J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1989), 1-33. Kurt Weitzmann, "'Loca Sancta' And the Representational Arts of Palestine" *DOP* 28 (1974): 31-55.

⁵¹ H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A. D. 843-1261* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006). Ioli Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women and Their World*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2003). H.C. Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004). Ludwig Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz - Europas Östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendährigen Kultur* (München : Archäologische Staatssammlung, 2004). I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985). Marvin C. Ross et al., *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection Vol 1* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Pub Service, 1962),

⁵² Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 59-70. Vikan, "Guided by Land and Sea", 74-92. Gary Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", *DOP* 38 (1984): 65-86. Brigitte Pitarakis, "Objects of Devotion and Protection", in *Byzantine Christianity. A People's History of Christianity*, ed. Derek Krueger, (Minneapolis : Fortress Press, 2006), 164-181. K. Sandin, "Liturgy, Pilgrimage, and Devotion in Byzantine Objects." *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 67, (1993): 46-56.

The secondary sources that explore objects of private devotion often express the intercessory character of the images depicted on the objects.⁵³ According to Kirin, the act of carrying a “miniature icon involves the notion of entreaty; an act of supplication to the saintly figure is manifested by the worn image”.⁵⁴ Through these objects, believers asked for their ailments to be healed or to be protected from troubles. This subject is naturally connected to the topic of iconography of the Biblical figures and saints. In this framework, numerous scholars have studied how the depiction of images on objects changed after Iconoclasm.⁵⁵

3. Methodology

As previously discussed, there has been an increasing scholarly interest in the concept of protection. Various publications and exhibitions have explored how societies approached this notion through various objects and related practices. There is often a division between different types of protective objects; similar objects are often grouped together and studied in the context of their primary function, such as amulets being studied in the context of magic, pilgrim objects in the context of pilgrimage, and small-

⁵³ Asen Kirin, *Sacred Art, Secular Context: Objects of Art from the Byzantine Collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.* (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 2005), 15-16. Pitarakis, “Objects of Devotion and Protection”, 164-181.

⁵⁴ Kirin, *Sacred Art, Secular Context*, 15.

⁵⁵ C. Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002). Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Robin Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Averil Cameron, “Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium.” *Past & Present* 84 (August 1979): 3–35. E. Kitzinger, “Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm”, *DOP* 8 (1954): 83-150. A. Bryer and J. Herrin, *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975* (Centre for Byzantine Studies: University of Birmingham, 1977). B. Cassidy, *Iconography at the crossroads: papers from the colloquium sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23-24 March 1990* (Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1993). Henry Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

size icons in the context of veneration.⁵⁶ Only a few publications, such as Pitarakis's and Vikan's comprehensive works, explore the connection between these different objects. In the exhibition catalog, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, which Pitarakis edited, various artistic media such as medallions, reliquary crosses, rings, intaglios, lamella, and pilgrim objects are discussed in the context of healing and medicine.⁵⁷ In his book, Vikan studies the role played by pilgrim objects of different forms and materials, and other objects, including amulets, decorated with religious images in the pilgrimage culture of the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.⁵⁸ The aim of these studies is to draw connections between different types of objects so as to better understand a certain context. By exploring the subject of protection as observed in different types of objects, this dissertation takes a similar approach to that found in Pitarakis's and Vikan's works. Primary sources and material evidence reveal that protection is linked to certain aspects and practices of magic, pilgrimage, healing, and private devotion. Thus, this dissertation examines small objects studied in these particular contexts together in terms of their relation to the function of protection.

The main methodology of this dissertation is two-fold: observing the objects in the catalog and reaching general conclusions about the concept of protection in Byzantium; and studying well-known objects of protection and primary sources from different periods in order to better understand the objects in the catalog. This two-

⁵⁶ Maguire, *Byzantine Magic*. Ousterhout, *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*. Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 53-84. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium*. Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).

⁵⁷ Brigitte Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long - The Art of Healing in Byzantium* (Istanbul: Pera Müzesi, 2015).

⁵⁸ Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*.

pronged approach provides a comprehensive framework for the study of the concept of protection in Byzantium. Throughout the dissertation, and specifically in Chapter II, I discuss the images and inscriptions on the objects because they greatly contribute to their protective properties. For instance, they provide insights into various issues such as the types of protection that the objects provided and the contexts in which they were used. In order to analyze the images and inscriptions on the objects, I use two significant linguistic and anthropological theories: J. L. Austin's Speech Act Theory and Stanley J. Tambiah's application of the Speech Act Theory to rituals. The merit of these theories is that they explain the performative function of words in human communication and magical and religious rituals. Since protective objects communicate with their users through visual and literary images, and many aspects of these objects are connected to ritualistic acts, I believe that these theories provide the best framework for understanding protective objects and, consequently, the concept of protection.

4. Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter I, which lays the foundation for this dissertation, discusses the perception of protection by various groups of people in Byzantine society such as clergy, believers, practitioners of magic, customers of the practitioners, and intellectuals. This provides us with insights into the possible users of different protective objects and how Byzantines of all stripes viewed these objects. Chapter II specifically studies the objects in the catalog attached as an appendix to the dissertation. This chapter examines the images and inscriptions on the objects by applying the theories of J. L. Austin and Stanley J. Tambiah. Together with the catalog, this chapter shows us how particular aspects of the objects provide protection. The objects in the catalog do not, however,

provide information about the context from which they came. Thus, in Chapter III, protective objects from archaeological excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean, which are parallel examples to the objects in the catalog, are studied to understand how these objects were physically used in funerary, domestic, and workplace contexts. Even a rudimentary look at protective objects shows that they were commonly made out of lead. Therefore, Chapter IV attempts to identify the reasons for the popularity of lead and investigates this phenomenon through a study of primary sources and material evidence from different periods. The Appendix catalogs 53 objects of protection and includes descriptions, definitions, and measurements of each object. As a whole, this study reveals the connections between certain objects that appear to be unrelated to one other and/or dated to different time periods, and aims to provide a more complete understanding of the concept of protection in Byzantium. It will give a new perspective on the fears, problems, and daily life of the Byzantines, especially the common people.

CHAPTER I: THE CONCEPT OF PROTECTION IN BYZANTINE SOCIETY

1. Introduction

This chapter will present a survey of the concept of protection in Byzantine society in order to understand objects of protection. How was the concept of protection perceived by the Byzantine people? Was there a difference in understanding of the concept from Late Antiquity to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods? How are objects of protection defined in primary and visual sources? How and in which circumstances were they used by their owners? Small fragments of information revealed by different kinds of primary sources will be pieced together in this chapter to answer these questions. Although very few visual examples demonstrating the usage of protective objects exist, I will also use them to pursue the answers to these same questions. After identifying the objects of protection, I will discuss the linguistic and anthropological theories of J. L. Austin and Stanley J. Tambiah, both of which essentially explain the role of words in communication and rituals. With regard to the concept of protection, these theories demonstrate what the images and inscriptions on protective objects meant to users and how they operate. Thus, I will present a brief review about the merits of these theories and their applications to the study of the protective objects, which will be expanded in Chapter II.

2. Primary Sources

2.1. The Concept of Protection in Ancient Greek Sources:

The most commonly used word in Greek texts from different periods to refer to objects of protection and their use is φυλακτήριον or phylactery. The literal

meaning of the word is safeguard or protection.⁵⁹ In ancient texts, such as *The History* of Herodotus, the *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, and Aristotle's *Politics*, this word is used to describe fortified positions in geographical settings and guard-posts on the city walls.⁶⁰ Starting from the Hellenistic period, the word φυλακτήριον began to be used with a meaning referring to a means of protection or an amulet.⁶¹ This is the definition of the objects which will be studied in this dissertation.

2.2.The Concept of Protection in Primary Sources Related to Magic:

In the *Greek Magical Papyri*, a body of spells and rituals from Greco-Roman Egypt dated from the second century BC to the fifth century AD, the word φυλακτήριον is widely used with the meaning of a material protection.⁶² The remedies offered in this source appeal to a wide-range of problems, from fever to possession of demons. The *Greek Magical Papyri* is very demonstrative when it comes to the preparation of amulets with certain spells and the rituals accompanying these creations. The instructions about which material to use, which spells and images to engrave on the amulets, where to place the amulets, and which incantations or invocations to chant while creating or using the amulets, are very specific. The materials quoted in the source are sometimes as valuable as gold and silver lamellae

⁵⁹ LPGL, s.v. “φυλακτήριον”.

⁶⁰ Herodotus, *History*, 5.32. George Rawlinson and Manuel Komroff, trans, *The History of Herodotus* (New York: Tudor publishing Co, 1934). Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, 4.31.33.110. Richard Crawley, *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Garden Grove, (CA: World Library, Inc, 1991). Aristotle, *Politics*, 7.10.11. H. Rackham, *Aristotle: Politics*, (London: Heinemann, 1959).

⁶¹ G. J. M. Bartelink, “Phylakterion-phylacterium”, in *Mélanges Christine Mohrmann. Recueil nouveau offert par ses anciens élèves* (Utrecht/Anvers: Spectrum, 1973), 25-60. Bartelink thinks that this meaning of the word was adopted from the Egyptian tradition due to the abundance of amulets found in Egypt.

⁶² Betz, *The Greek magical papyri in translation*. Karl Preisendanz, Adam Abt, and Albert Henrichs. *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Stuttgart: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1973-1974).

or gemstones, examples of which still survive today.⁶³ (Figures 1 and 2) At times they are everyday items or simple natural materials such as clay and leaves.⁶⁴ This source also presents us with the less used synonyms of φυλακτήριον: περίαμμα, περίαπτον, ἀποτρόπαιον, and βασκάνιον.⁶⁵ They all refer to a kind of object that has the power to protect its owner from various troubles.⁶⁶ These objects can be apotropaic to ward off the Evil Eye or demons, prophylactic to prevent a disease, or therapeutic to heal a sickness. It's also possible that one object may contain all of these different mechanisms of protection.

It is important to remember that *The Greek Magical Papyri* was influenced by Judaism and Greco-Roman culture.⁶⁷ The origins of the subjects elaborated in this source date back to the ancient period. However, these texts were also adopted by the early Christians. There is a visible syncretism of Greco-Roman and Christian elements in *The Greek Magical Papyri*. The spells containing Christ's name prove this point.⁶⁸ For instance, a spell with a prayer addressing Christ and accompanied by the name of Helios needs to be recited twelve times in a day in order to be released from physical bonds.⁶⁹ Another spell advises the reader to say, "Come out of your

⁶³ Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, xlii. Jeffrey Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007). Roy Kotansky, "An Early Christian Gold lamella for Headache," in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed Mirecki and Meyer, (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2002), 37–46. D. R. Jordan, "A Silver Phylactery at Istanbul", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 28 (1978): 84-86.

⁶⁴ Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, xlii. See also Ulrich Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka Aus Aegypten Und Nubien: Ein Beitrag Zur Antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1899).

⁶⁵ These words are not literal synonyms of the word φυλακτήριον, but they refer to the similar protective objects. The literal meaning of περίαμμα and περίαπτον is an amulet, ἀποτρόπαιον means averter (of evils), and βασκάνιον refers to the Evil Eye. LPGL, s.v. "περίαμμα", "περίαπτον", "ἀποτρόπαιον", "βασκάνιον".

⁶⁶ Bartelink, 'Phylakterion-phylacterium', 27.

⁶⁷ Betz, *The Greek magical Papyri*, xlii-liii.

⁶⁸ PGM IV. 1227-64, PGM XIII. 1-343, PGM CXXIII a-f.

⁶⁹ PGM XIII. 1-343.

tomb, Christ is calling you” and put a potsherd on the right thigh of a woman for an easy childbirth.⁷⁰

A written example of this kind of compilation of spells from the Byzantine period does not exist. However, material evidence such as amulets, spells, and curses from later periods indicates that this Greco-Roman tradition must have survived in written form.⁷¹ Spier writes about the possibility of the existence of a magical handbook that was used by the workshops in the sixth century to produce amulets with magical imagery.⁷² The amulets from workshops in different places, such as Syria-Palestine, Nablus, Asia Minor, North Africa, Sicily, and Rome, present similar invocations and verses such as ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ and Psalm 90.⁷³ Thus, these examples indicate that some of the elements of protection from ancient times must have been saved and used in later periods.

Much like *The Greek Magical Papyri*, the *Testament of Solomon* tells the reader about how to protect themselves with objects. The *Testament* is dated between the first and third centuries AD by the majority of scholars.⁷⁴ Similar to *The Greek Magical Papyri*, the *Testament of Solomon* is of a hybrid origin.⁷⁵ It presents a syncretism of Judaism and Christianity.⁷⁶ Solomon was an Old Testament king of Israel who was praised for his wisdom and faithfulness, and his cult was later

⁷⁰ PGM CXXIII a-f.

⁷¹ For Christian spells and curses see Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, nos. 35 and 52. Kotansky, “An Early Christian Gold lamella for Headache”, 37–46.

⁷² Spier, “An Antique Magical Book”, 43-66. For amulets of sixth-seventh centuries, see Pitarakis, “Bizans’ta Büyü, Sağlığı Koruma ve Kötülüğü Kovma Sanatı”, 15-30. Vikan, “Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium”, 65-86. Vikan, “Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands”, 33-51.

⁷³ Spier, “Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets”, 25-62. Makhoully, “Rock-Cut Tombs at El-Jish.”, 45-50.

⁷⁴ Duling, “Testament of Solomon”, 541.

⁷⁵ Conybeare, “The Testament of Solomon”, 23-26.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

adopted by early Christians.⁷⁷ The *Testament* tells readers how King Solomon came to command the demons with a seal/ring sent by God.⁷⁸ In the story, Solomon, using the force of the seal/ring brought to him by the archangel Michael, compels the demons to confess the names and incantations that must be recited or written on leaves or paper for protection against demons.⁷⁹ In terms of dominating and commanding demons, this literary role of Solomon conforms to his image as a holy rider spearing a demon that is found on amulets from the sixth and seventh centuries.⁸⁰ (Figure 3) Although the *Testament* does not use the word φυλακτήριον for these objects, the descriptions of remedies for different sicknesses and troubles are similar to those of the *Greek Magical Papyri*.

2.3.The Concept of Protection in Christian Primary Sources:

There is a wide variety of Christian sources revealing information about protective objects from Early Christian period to Late Byzantine period. Starting with the Bible, the protective objects appeared in hagiographical, canonical, ecclesiastical, and historical works. The ecclesiastical writings of the Church Fathers, and the canons of the Church which are forbidding the usage of protective objects and the Patriarchal Registers are studied to observe how the usage of protective objects and their users were perceived by the Church. None of the written sources is specifically on the subject of protective objects since it was a usual part of the daily

⁷⁷ ODB, s.v. "Solomon" (Alexander Kazhdan, Johannes Irmscher, John H. Lowden, and Anthony Cutler).

⁷⁸ Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 23-26.

⁷⁹ McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*.

⁸⁰ Schlumberger, *Amulettes Byzantins Anciens*, no. 1. Denis Feissel, Cécile Morrisson, Jean-Claude Cheynet, and Brigitte Pitarakis, *Trois Donations Byzantines Au Cabinet Des Médailles: Froehner (1925), Schlumberger (1929), Zacos (1998)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département Des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, 2001), no. 9. Walter, "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum", 397-416.

life in Byzantium. However, they give fragments of information related to these objects.

Hagiographical sources from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries are very rich in terms of supplying researchers with the information about the thread of everyday life in Byzantium. These sources reveal great amount of data about the habits of Byzantines. Historical works of the Byzantine authors also shed light on the subject although we usually see the traditions and the habits of the high society and the royalty in these works. The combination of the study of the hagiographical and historical sources allows us to observe differences or similarities in the usage and the users of these objects. Lastly, all sources confirm that there was a wide-spread usage of various protective devices in different strata of the Byzantine society. Even the ecclesiastical sources, which advise the believer not to make use of these objects, note the common usage.

The Bible has only one passage mentioning the word φυλακτήριον: Matthew 23.5.⁸¹ In this passage, Christ criticizes the Pharisees and the teachers of the Law of Moses for showing off by wearing amulets and big tassels for everyone to see - πλατύνουσιν γὰρ τὰ φυλακτήρια αὐτῶν καὶ μεγαλύνουσιν τὰ κράσπεδα. The word φυλακτήρια here refers to the small containers carrying texts from the Torah that the Jews wore on their bodies. They were used as a means of protection against sin.⁸² However, the word φυλακτήριον was not used in the works of Jewish writers such as Philon and Josephus when describing the same object.⁸³ The Jewish writers might have avoided using this word to distance themselves from the pagan associations it

⁸¹ Matthew 23.5: "They do all their deeds to be seen by others. For they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long."

⁸² Menachoth 43b. Adolf Deissmann and A. J. Grieve. *Bible Studies: Contributions, Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901), 352.

⁸³ Bartelink, 'Phylakterion-phylacterium', 29-30.

evoked. Also, the word φυλακτήριον might have been used in the Matthew 23.5 as a derogatory term to insult the teachers of the law and Pharisees.⁸⁴ This practice of wearing sacred texts for protection exists in the Christian community as well. John Chrysostom criticizes Christian women who hung Gospels from their necks like Jewish believers did.⁸⁵

In the fourth century, there was a strong effort to curb the practice of wearing amulets in Christian society. Canonical sources and ecclesiastical writings forbid the usage of those protective objects that are described as amulets or affiliated with magical practices. Canon 36 of the Synod of Laodicea in the fourth century states that priests shall not be magicians and astrologers and shall not make φυλακτήρια.⁸⁶ The people who wear these amulets shall be cast out of the Church. Following Canon 36 of the Synod of Laodicea, Canon 61 of the Synod of Trullo in the seventh century decrees that whoever utilizes “the expellers of clouds, enchanters, *amulet-givers*, and soothsayers” shall be put under penance for six years.⁸⁷ According to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the collection of ecclesiastical law written in the fourth century, makers of amulets along with diviners, astrologers, and enchanters should not be received by the faithful.⁸⁸ These sources show us that the amulets were considered to be affiliated with magic by the Church authorities.

Various Church Fathers wrote against the usage of amulets in the fourth century. Gregory of Nazianzus, Cyril of Jerusalem, and John Chrysostom warned

⁸⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁵ Chrysostom, *Homilies on Matthew*, 72. Philip Schaff, trans, *Saint Chrysostom, Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1956), 419-420.

⁸⁶ Synod of Laodicea, Canons 36. Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Second Series* (New York, The Christian literature Company 1890-1900), 151.

⁸⁷ Synod of Trullo, Canon 61. Schaff and Wallace, “*A Select Library*”, 393. My italics.

⁸⁸ *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8.32. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, A. C. Coxe, and Allan Menzies, *Ante-nicene Fathers Vol VII: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.d. 325*. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), 495-496.

their flocks of witchcraft, incantations, amulets, omens, and sorcery.⁸⁹ They emphasized that these are Satan's practices. Chrysostom's solution to and remedy for severe sicknesses, dying children, and loss of money is one and the same. He advises his flock to refrain from the material means of protection which are phylacteries and to pray to God and be grateful.⁹⁰ According to Chrysostom, it is better to die of sickness than to employ illegitimate ways of protection. Chrysostom is also prepared for the excuses of people who are using these illegitimate ways of protection. He writes, "They defend themselves, they say, that the woman is a Christian who makes these incantations, and utters nothing else than the name of God."⁹¹ He considers the use of the name of God by these people as abuse and quotes that "even the demons uttered the name of God, but still they were demons, and thus they used to say to Christ."⁹² In these sources, I observed that the Church Fathers avoid using the word φυλακτήριον while talking about the amulets, even though this is the word that was used in the canons. Instead of φυλακτήριον, the words περίαπτον or περιάμματα are used by the Church Fathers.⁹³ Both φυλακτήριον and περίαπτον were used in a

⁸⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, Oration XL. Philip Schaff and Henry Wallace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series, Volume VII Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen* (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2007), 365-366. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lectures IV and XIX*. Schaff and Wallace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 146. John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Galatians, Homily XVI, Chapter III, Homilies on 2 Thessalonians, Homily III, Homilies on Colossians, Homily VIII, IX*. Philip Schaff, *Saint Chrysostom, Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 24-30, 385-385, 294-300.

⁹⁰ John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Galatians, Homily XVI, Chapter III, Homilies on 2 Thessalonians, Homily III, Homilies on Colossians, Homily VIII, IX*. Schaff, *Saint Chrysostom*, 24-30, 385, 294-300.

⁹¹ John Chrysostom, *Instructions to Catechumens, Second Instruction*. Philip Schaff, *Chrysostom: on the Priesthood ; Ascetic Treatises ; Select Homilies and Letters ; Homilies on the Statues* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 165-171.

⁹² Schaff, *Chrysostom: on the Priesthood*, 171.

⁹³ Gregory of Nazianzus, Oration XL. Schaff and Wallace, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 365-366. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Thessalonians, Homily III, Homilies on Colossians, Homily VIII, IX*. Schaff, *Saint Chrysostom*, 385-385, 294-300. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lectures IV and XIX*. Schaff and Wallace, "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers", 146.

negative sense to describe amulets. The Church Fathers might have avoided the word φυλακτήριον because of its pagan connotations as Jewish writers previously did.⁹⁴

Despite the Church Fathers' reservation about using the word φυλακτήριον, the term was Christianized before the fourth century. Christian theologians such as Clement of Alexandria in the second century used the word phylactery for defining baptism as the complete protection bestowed by God.⁹⁵ Other religious deeds such as fasting, almsgiving, and prayer were also defined as protection since they deliver "a person from death" in the fourth century.⁹⁶ Gregory of Nyssa also wrote that the sacred symbols were the phylacteries for the soul against the plotting of the Devil.⁹⁷ Eusebius uses the word phylactery for the symbol of the cross multiple times in the *Life of Constantine*.⁹⁸ Christian rites and symbols were considered as protective in the eyes of the Christian writers.

The term phylactery continued to be used in later centuries to refer to protective objects. In the seventh century *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool*, it is recorded that Symeon befriends a woman who is a maker of phylacteries.⁹⁹ One day Symeon asks the woman if she wants him to make an amulet for her to be protected from the Evil Eye. When the woman agrees, Symeon takes a tablet and writes on it in Syriac:

94 Bartelink gives Epiphanius of Salamis's explanation of the word φυλακτήριον as an example to this idea. Commenting on the passage of Matthew 23.5 Epiphanius explains that phylacteries of Pharisees were not amulets but the broad borders of purple cloth on their garments. Epiphanius too wanted to distance the word from its magical use. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, 15.1:3-5. Bartelink, 'Phylakterion-phylacterium', 34.

95 Clement of Alexandria, *Who among the Rich might be saved*, 42.4. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. C. Coxe. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers Vol II: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.d. 325* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1979), 603-604.

96 Pseudo-Athanasius, *De virginitate* 6. E. F. von der Goltz, ed., *De virginitate. Eine echte Schrift des Athanasius* (Leipzig : J.C. Hinrichs, 1905), 39.

97 Gregory of Nyssa, *Against Eunomius*, 3.9, 58. Johan Leemans, *Gregory of Nyssa: Contra Eunomium III: an English Translation with Commentary and Supporting Studies : Proceedings of the 12th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa* (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2014), 217-218.

98 *Life of Constantine*, I.40, II.9. Averil Cameron and Stuart Hall, *Life of Constantine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 85, 98.

99 Derek Krueger, trans., *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 165.

“May God render you impotent and stop you from turning his people away from him and toward yourself.”¹⁰⁰ After the woman starts to wear the amulet, she becomes unable to create amulets or act as an oracle. Regarding the ways of production, the amulet in this story was produced in the same way as the phylacteries mentioned in the *Greek Magical Papyri* or *Testament of Solomon*. However, in the eyes of the Church the creator of the amulet determined the legitimacy of the object. The source of the amulet should be accepted as a holy person by the Church.¹⁰¹

The lives of various saints reflect that there was a concern about differentiating between magicians and saints since their practices closely resembled each other.¹⁰² For instance, in the *Life of Irene of Chrysobalanton* of the tenth century, a nun in Irene’s company is possessed as a result of sorcery committed by her former suitor.¹⁰³ As an answer to Irene’s prayers on behalf of the nun, two martyrs flying through the air deliver a package containing magic devices and voodoo dolls to Irene. The dolls look like the possessed nun and her suitor, and they are bound by hair and thread. The possessed nun is taken to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia and anointed with the oil from the lamps in the church. When the priest of the Church burns the instruments of sorcery, the nun is freed from the possession. The objects disappear to nothingness and a sound like the squeals of butchered swine is heard. The difference between this practice and the rituals of magicians is that this practice was carried out by a priest in the Church.

It was important that not just the procurer of the phylactery but also the subject matter of the object be approved by the Church. After iconoclasm, the role of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 165.

¹⁰¹ Alexander Kazhdan, “Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers,” in *Byzantine Magic*, ed Henry Maguire, (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 73-82.

¹⁰² Abrahamse “Magic and Sorcery in the Hagiography”, 3-17.

¹⁰³ Jan O. Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), 63.

the images in Orthodoxy was clarified by the ecclesiastical authorities and religious iconography was standardized.¹⁰⁴ Images represented saints as prototypes which were venerable in the eyes of the beholder. In the sixth century *Life of St. Symeon the Younger*, a priest who has three sons visits the saint multiple times due to his sons' illnesses.¹⁰⁵ In his first visit, the priest insists that in this instance the saint provide his blessing through touch rather than a token. However, Symeon assures the priest that when he looks at "the imprint of his image," he will see the saint. Believers were supposed to address their prayers to the right intermediary in order for them to reach God. The standardization of images ensured that believers prayed to the right intermediary.

These regulations also made a clearer distinction between Christian phylactery and magical phylactery. An icon or a relic is an object of veneration separate from its function as a source of protection. The practices such as *proskynesis* (prostrating) and *aspasmos* (kissing) were exercised in the church in front of other believers.¹⁰⁶ These were cultural as well as religious since these practices also strengthen the sense of belonging of the believers. On the other hand, a phylactery of magical tradition is not an object of veneration in its own right. Its sole function is to manipulate supernatural forces for the benefit of the user through images and inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ As a primary source, the Register of the Patriarchal Court reflects how this distinction was perceived by Church authorities. The Register recounts a few cases where people were charged with creating amulets having "characters and

¹⁰⁴ Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies*, 100-145. See also Barber, *Figure and Likeness*. Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*. Bryer and Herrin, *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*.

¹⁰⁵ Paul Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune (521-592)* (Bruxelles: Société Des Bollandistes, 1962), 230-33.

¹⁰⁶ Robin Cormack, *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds* (London, UK : Reaktion Books, 1997), 20-27. About the public behavior towards icons, see also N. Patterson-Sevcenko, 'Servants of the Holy Icon', in *Byzantine East-Latin West, Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed C. Moss and K. Kiefer (Princeton, N.J, 1995), 547-53.

¹⁰⁷ Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts", 100-125.

invocations of demons” and using sorcery in the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁸ They were punished and given treatment to change their wrong ways. In 1316, the Patriarchal Court registers a case about a priest who was accused of having an image related to the Bogomil heresy sown under his headgear.¹⁰⁹ After the investigation, it appears that the image under the priest’s headgear was of the Virgin Mary, not of Bogomil heresy. It was just worn out since the priest had sown it many years ago.¹¹⁰ Thus the priest was absolved of the charge on account of the legitimacy of the sign that he carried.

The primary sources illustrate the Church’s attempts to control the usage of protective objects. However, their intention was not to wipe out the practice of protection. Their aim was to bring this practice under the authority of the Church with the elements sanctified by the Church. The social norm that the practices related to paganism were shameful became well-developed in the Middle Byzantine period. Two philosophers, Michael Psellus in the eleventh century and Michael Italikos in the twelfth century, write about their interests in occult sciences which are frowned upon by the Church.¹¹¹ They defend their interest in these subjects as a part of their zest for learning, not for the sake of practicing. Their ready defense of themselves and their condemnation of magical practices reveal that there was a danger of being seen as a “magician,” which was shameful at best and incriminating at worst. Still,

¹⁰⁸ Herbert Hunger, and Carolina Cupane, *Das Register Des Patriarchats Von Konstantinopel: 2.* (Wien: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss, 1995), no. 113 and no. 199.

¹⁰⁹ The Bogomils is a dualist sect, founded in tenth century in Bulgaria, by Pop Bogomil. It spread over the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. The Bogomils denied the basic doctrines of the Orthodoxy and it was considered as an heretical sect and an enemy by the Byzantine Church. *ODB*, s.v. "Bogomils".

¹¹⁰ Hunger and Cupane, *Das Register Des Patriarchats*, no.42.

¹¹¹ E.R.A Sewter, trans, *Michael Psellus Chronographia, Book VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 201-204. Paul Gautier, trans, *Lettres Et Discours de Michel Italikos*, (Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1972), 198.

there are indications in the writings of Psellus and Italikos that both of the writers engaged in occult practices at one time or another.¹¹²

It is logical to think that some of the ancient practices ceased to exist in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. I observed that certain magical iconographies disappear after the seventh century. For instance, the production of bronze amulets decorated with the personifications of Sun and Moon ceased in the Middle Byzantine period, even though they were also decorated with the Christian image of Golgotha. (Figure 4) However, the Church was not completely successful in its attempt to establish widespread authority over the production of protective objects. The material evidence from the Middle Byzantine period, for instance the numerous examples of *hystera* amulets with the image of a head surrounded by snakes, which is a pre-Christian iconography, supports this conclusion.¹¹³ (Figure 5) This type of amulet, which is also recorded in our catalog, was produced to heal sicknesses and protect users' health. Pierced coins to be worn around the neck, which were found in Byzantine living spaces, offer more material proof of the continuation of these condemned practices in the medieval period. John Chrysostom condemns women who adorn their head and feet with the bronze coins of Alexander the Great for apotropaic protection.¹¹⁴ A similar usage of Justinian I's coin from the sixth century can be observed in Anemurium and Beybağ in Turkey. A pierced coin with the image of Justinian in military armor from Anemurium was found in a housing complex from the sixth and seventh centuries.¹¹⁵ Another pierced coin with the same iconography was found in Beybağ in a pottery workshop from the eleventh and

¹¹² Sewter, *Michael Psellus Chronographia Book II*, 77. Gautier, *Lettres Et Discours*, 200.

¹¹³ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", 25-62.

¹¹⁴ John Chrysostom, *St John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, trans Paul W. Harkins (Westminster Maryland: The Newman Press, 1963), 190.

¹¹⁵ Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", no. 36. James Russell, "Excavations at Anemurium, 1982," *Classical Views* 27 (1983):168-183.

twelfth centuries.¹¹⁶ (Figures 6 and 7) Maguire, who worked on the coins and their connection to amulets, states that the imperial portraits on the coins were associated with victory since the emperors were always depicted in a triumphant style.¹¹⁷ The dating of these coins to different time periods indicates that the usage of amulets continued into the medieval period.

In primary sources from various centuries, the relics of martyrs and the personal effects of saints were defined as phylacteries. In some cases, εὐλογία or eulogia, the word referring to blessings of the saints and the materials carrying their blessings, were used along with the term phylactery.¹¹⁸ In the fourth century *Life of St. Macrina*, when St. Macrina dies, her ornaments, an iron cross and a ring, are shared between her younger brother, the author of her *Life*, Gregory of Nyssa, and one of Macrina's followers.¹¹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa lets the follower of the saint take the iron cross as a phylactery.¹²⁰ In *Funeral Oration on Meletius*, Gregory of Nyssa writes how the napkins that bound Meletius' face were taken to make amulets by the believers.¹²¹ In the *Life of St. Symeon the Younger*, the hair from the beard of the saint is also described as a phylactery and a eulogia.¹²²

Byzantines believed that sanctity was transferrable.¹²³ The pilgrim's desire for the materialization of the sacred gave rise to the creation of various objects such

¹¹⁶ Ahmet A. Tırpan and Bilal Söğüt, "Lagina ve Börükçü 2007 Yılı Çalışmaları", in *30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Vol. 4*, ed Haydar Dömmöz and Adil Özme (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Dösim Basımevi, 2009), 243-266.

¹¹⁷ Maguire, "Magic and money in the early Middle Ages", 1037-1054.

¹¹⁸ ODB, s.v. "eulogia" (Gary Vikan). RAC, s.v. "eulogia" (A. Stuiber). B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa* (Münster: Regensberg, 1950), 398-443. Bartelink, 'Phylakterion-phylacterium', 42-43.

¹¹⁹ W. K. L. Clarke, trans., *The Life of St. Macrina* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1916), 64-65.

¹²⁰ Clarke, *The Life of St. Macrina*, 64-65.

¹²¹ Gregory of Nyssa, *Funeral Oration on Meletius*.

¹²² Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune*, 122.

¹²³ Pilgrim of Piacenza, "Travel 18," in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, trans. J. Wilkinson (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 138. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 13. Derek Krueger, "The Religion of Relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium", in *Treasures of Heaven*, ed Martina

as tokens, pilgrim flasks, badges, and medallions. These objects, as material blessings that were put in contact with a holy source, were designed for the pilgrims' use. Those flasks, tokens, and badges with specific imagery served as mementoes to remind the pilgrims of their experience.¹²⁴ Pilgrim objects also often carried or contained substances such as dust, water, paste, and oil, which were believed to be sacred and consequently protective.¹²⁵ The material evidence strongly supports this view. For instance, a metal pilgrim flask from the Bobbio Collection in Italy is decorated with the inscription: "Oil of the Tree of Life that Guides Us by Land and Sea".¹²⁶ Another type of lead pilgrim flask from the Shrine of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, dated to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, is known to carry holy oil from the shrine.¹²⁷ (Figure 8) The function of these substances as protective objects is clearly reflected in the hagiographical sources. For instance, the *Life of Simeon Stylites the Younger* records that the dust from the shrine of the eponymous saint, which was used to make tokens, healed sick people when it was applied to their bodies.¹²⁸ In another instance, Dorotheos, a cleric from the shrine of St. Symeon the Younger, saves the ship on which he was travelling from a dangerous storm by sprinkling some dust blessed by the saint overboard.¹²⁹ In the fifth century, Theodoret of Cyrrhus writes that one night, a demon attacks him in his sleep. The demon states, "I would long ago have pierced you through, if I had not seen the choir

Bagnoli, Holger A. Klein, Griffith Mann, and James Robinson (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2011), 5-17.

¹²⁴ Georgia Frank, "Pilgrims and the Eye of Faith" in *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity*, ed G. Frank, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 102-133. Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines", *Speculum* 72.4 (1997): 1079-1106.

¹²⁵ Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 34-40.

¹²⁶ Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, 33.

¹²⁷ Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki", 140-149. Totev, *Thessalonican Eulogia Found in Bulgaria*.

¹²⁸ Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite*, 163.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 235.

of the martyrs with James protecting you”.¹³⁰ Later on, Theodoret realizes that when the demon said “the choir of martyrs”, the demon was referring to the flasks of oil from pilgrimage sites that hung by his bed. Theodoret also had the old cloak of a holy man, James of Cyrrhestica, under his head while sleeping. In the seventh-century miracles of St. Artemios, a wax seal carrying the saint’s image healed the hernia of a sixty-year old man named Sergios after Sergios softened the wax and anointed his genitals with it.¹³¹

The reliquaries containing the holy relics were also referred to as phylacteries. The reliquaries came in different shapes according to the objects they held and were made of precious materials such as gold, silver, and gems.¹³² (Figure 9) They were decorated with religious images and at times served a diplomatic purpose – they were given as gifts to important personages.¹³³ In the ninth century, Patriarch Nicephorus calls gold and silver reliquaries holding the pieces of True Cross phylacteries:¹³⁴ “We Christians wear [them] suspended from the neck and hanging down over the breast for the protection and safeguarding of our lives and for

¹³⁰ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, trans. Richard M Price (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 138-140. James mentioned here is James of Cyrrhestica, one of the holy men whom Theodoret wrote about in the book.

¹³¹ Virgil S. Crisafulli, John W. Nesbitt, and John F. Haldon. *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh Century Byzantium* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), Miracle 16.

¹³² Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1940). André Grabar, *Martyrium: recherches sur le culte des reliques et l’art chrétien antique* (Paris: Collège de France, 1946). Jannic Durand, and Bernard Flusin, eds. *Byzance et les Reliques du Christ*. Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 17 (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004). Galit Noga-Banai, *The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries*, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Cynthia J. Hahn, and Holger A. Klein, *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015). Edina Bozóky, and Anne-Marie Helvétius, eds. *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l’Université du Littoral-Côte d’Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4–6 septembre 1997*. Hagiologia 1. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). Mabi Angar, “Byzantine Head Reliquaries and their Reception in the West after 1204” (PhD diss., University of Cologne, 2012). Bradley A. Hostetler, “The Function of Text: Byzantine Reliquaries with Epigrams, 843-1204” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2016).

¹³³ Martha Vinson, “The Terms ἐγκόλπιον and τεράστιον and the Conversion of Theophilus in the Life of Theodora (BHG 1731),” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*. 36.1 (1995): 89-99.

¹³⁴ PG 100.433C-D.

the salvation of our souls and our bodies; for which reason they have received their name [phylactery], for curing our misfortunes and for averting attack by unclean daemons [we therefore wear phylacteries] believing [them] to possess these [properties].”¹³⁵ These objects were considered sacred due to their physical contact with a sacred source. Thus, they were potent objects of protection.

The portable reliquaries that were worn around the neck and decorated with images are often called ἐγκόλπιον (enkolpion) in primary sources.¹³⁶ (Figure 9) Similar to other reliquaries, they were objects of veneration and protection due to their sacred nature. In the *Life of St. Theodora the Empress* from the ninth century, the Iconoclast emperor Theophilus was tortured on his death bed by visions of the angels beating him. Theoktistos, one of the emperor’s high-ranking officials, who also happened to be in the imperial chamber, had an enkolpion bearing an image of Christ. Although Theoktistos tried to hide the object from the emperor, he saw it and asked Theoktistos to approach him. When Theoktistos, scared and unwilling, was brought to the emperor’s bed, the emperor touched and kissed the enkolpion. Feeling blessed the emperor calmed down and his torments came to an end.¹³⁷ In this story, the emperor’s fear of death caused him to touch the object of veneration as a last resort. He only calmed down after touching the object, having believed that he had received forgiveness.

¹³⁵ Cyril A. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 176.

¹³⁶ ODB, s.v. "enkolpion" (Sheila D. Campbell and Anthony Cutler). Anna Kartsonis, "Protection against All Evil: Function, Use, and Operation of Byzantine Historiated Phylacteries" *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20, (1994): 73- 102. See also Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou, B. Pitarakis, K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, *Enkolpia. The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi*, (Mount Athos 2001). M.C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks", *DOP* 11 (1957) 247–61.

¹³⁷ Martha P. Vinson, "The Life of St. Theodora the Empress", in *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 353-382.

3. Visual Sources Referring to Objects of Protection:

Visual examples of people with protective objects are rare in the art of Late Antiquity and Byzantium. One of these rare examples is a painted plaster figure from the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Figure 10) The female figurine wears an elegant long garment and a cross pendant around her neck. The figurine was originally painted in red, black, yellow, and white. The cross is painted with a metallic paint to indicate that it is made of gold. The right arm of the figurine is missing and her left hand holds a circular object, maybe a globe. Belonging to the fifth century the object is said to have come from an Egyptian tomb. The pectoral crosses were significant and popular objects in Byzantium in terms of protection. Numerous examples in bronze, lead, and precious metals prove that they were widely used.¹³⁸ However, they are not frequently depicted in Byzantine art. The image of St. Orestes on the right side of the Transfiguration scene on the west wall of the Karanlık Kilise in Cappadocia is one of the few exceptions. (Figure 11) In this fresco from the eleventh century, the saint is depicted in military armor holding a sword and a shield in his left hand and a spear in his right hand. Most importantly, he wears a cross with a chain around his neck.¹³⁹ The cross was an iconographical attribute for St. Orestes since St. Orestes, a young Christian soldier from Sebasteia, was executed when the cross around his neck betrayed him to his executioners.¹⁴⁰

Apart from these two examples of crosses, there is one visual example of a pilgrim flask being carried by a person in the Cathedral in Faras, Sudan. One of the murals in the Church is a representation of St. Aaron the Anchorite from the tenth

¹³⁸ Pitarakis, *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze*. Please see the Introduction, no.1.

¹³⁹ Pitarakis, "Objects of Devotion and Protection", 164-181.

¹⁴⁰ Kurt Weitzmann, "Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste", *DOP* (1979): 95-112.

Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens, 1982), 74-81.

century.¹⁴¹ (Figure 12) St. Aaron was a fourth-century saint and a famous ascetic from Philae, close to the town Faras.¹⁴² In Faras Cathedral, he is represented as a white-bearded old man raising his arms in prayer. He wears a cape above his long tunic and carries a large object around his neck which identifies him as a pilgrim. Michalowski defines this object as a pilgrim flask made of gourd and filled with water for the pilgrim during his travels.¹⁴³ Vikan, however, identifies this as a pilgrim flask used for carrying holy oil.¹⁴⁴ The shape of the object is circular with a neck from which the object is tied to a rope. This shape resembles the pilgrim flasks for holy oil that are made of terracotta or metal rather than the gourd water flasks, which are often eight-shaped. Thus, this might have been an object of blessing taken from a sacred site as a memento and a source of protection. This mural is the only visual example indicating that pilgrim flasks were carried by pilgrims around their necks.

The lack of visual references to protective objects is intriguing when one considers that there are numerous primary sources mentioning the concept of protection and the usage of these objects. Can the absence of this kind of depiction of protective objects provide insight into their usage? It is no surprise that one does not see any visual references to the objects with non-Christian imagery, although it is clear from the material evidence that they were being used even in the Middle Byzantine period. As observed in sources written by Michael Psellus and Italikos, using ancient methods was neither something that people would have been proud of

¹⁴¹Kazimierz Michałowski, and Georg Gerster, *Faras: Die Kathedrale Aus Dem Wüstensand* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1967), no. 46.

¹⁴²Jitse Dijkstra, "Monasticism on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity: Towards a New Critical Edition of the Coptic Life of Aaron," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 5.1 (2013): 31-47.

¹⁴³Michalowski and Gerster, *Faras*, 126-127.

¹⁴⁴Gary Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1982), fig. 17.

nor something that they would have displayed in front of others. It is interesting that even the objects approved by the Church such as enkolpia and pilgrim objects were absent in the art of Byzantium. Primary sources indicate that these objects were hidden under garments. In the *Life of St. Lazaros of Mt. Galesion* from the eleventh century, a sailor was given a token bearing an image of the Virgin Mary by St. Lazaros.¹⁴⁵ The sailor claims that he wore this token from the saint under his tunic at all times and had been saved from many dangers. In the eleventh-or twelfth-century *Life of St. Niketas*, Emperor Leo V declares that he venerates an enkolpion which he carries inside his “bosom” while refuting the accusations that he is an Iconoclast.¹⁴⁶ The Patriarchal Court case shows that the priest was carrying an image of the Virgin Mary sown under his headgear.¹⁴⁷ The primary sources show that the objects were often close to the owners’ heart where the owners can feel the contact and consequently the protection of these objects. This practice was likely the reason behind the limited visual representation of these objects, even though they were accepted by the Church doctrine, and the disparity between the primary sources and visual representations.¹⁴⁸

4. Agents of Protection: Images and Inscriptions on the Objects

Even a cursory look at objects of protection whether they belong to the sphere of magic or to the domain of Christianity proves that these objects are almost always decorated with images and/or inscriptions. The decorations functioned as artistic components, used for the aesthetic pleasure of the objects’ owners, but they also had a practical purpose. The compositions on the objects were messages to the

¹⁴⁵ Richard P. H. Greenfield, "Drawn to the Blazing Beacon: Visitors and Pilgrims to the Living Holy Man and the Case of Lazaros of Mount Galesion." *DOP* 56 (2002): 162-164.

¹⁴⁶ *Life of St. Niketas Abbot of the Monastery of Medikion, in Megas Synaxaristes*, ed K. C. Doukakis (Athens, 1892), 46.

¹⁴⁷ Hunger and Cupane, *Das Register Des Patriarchats*, no.42.

¹⁴⁸ Pitarakis, “Objects of Devotion and Protection”, 173.

supernatural world asking for protection from evils, dangers, and diseases. Thus, both in phylacteries produced in Late Antiquity and in Middle and Late Byzantine periods, there was a repetition of certain narratives decorated on the objects as images and/or inscriptions.

The role of words and their utterance in language and communication was emphasized by J. L. Austin, the philosopher who formed the Speech Act Theory. Austin states that every utterance is performative and every time one uses words one accomplishes an action.¹⁴⁹ Austin differentiates these acts according to the words uttered during the actions: A locutionary act – refers to the surface meaning of an utterance; an illocutionary act – refers to the contextual function of the act, and a perlocutionary act – refers to the results of the act upon the listener.¹⁵⁰ For instance, the statement, “you cannot do that”, is a locutionary act which states a negative fact in a conventional way. This statement might also be an illocutionary act since with this statement the speaker might be protesting against the second person doing a particular act. Finally the statement may also be a perlocutionary act because with the statement, the speaker might stop the second person and bring them to their senses.¹⁵¹

Tambiah adapts Austin’s theory to ritualistic acts and states that they are illocutionary since these acts “achieve a change of state or do something effective”.¹⁵² For instance, in Christianity the rite of baptism initiates newcomers into Christian society.¹⁵³ Early Church Fathers emphasize that the baptism washes the

¹⁴⁹ J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 94ff.

¹⁵¹ Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 102.

¹⁵² Stanley J. Tambiah, “Form and Meaning in Magical Acts.” In *Culture, Thought and Social Action*, ed Stanley J. Tambiah. (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985), 60-86.

¹⁵³ Alexander Schmemmann, *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism* (N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974). Michael Arranz, “Evolution des rites d'incorporation et de

stains of sin away from the initiates who are reborn due to the rite.¹⁵⁴ Tambiah stresses the importance of analogies in these rituals.¹⁵⁵ According to Tambiah, “the rite consists in persuasively transferring the properties of the desired and desirable vertical relation to the other which is in an undesirable condition, or in attempting to convert a potential, not-yet-achieved state into an actualized one.”¹⁵⁶ These analogical elements are constructed by words and the manipulation of objects in order to reach the desired state.

Frankfurter applies the theories of Austin and Tambiah to the *historiolae* which is a term for the abbreviated narratives that are incorporated into spells in Egyptian and Greek magical traditions.¹⁵⁷ The *historiolae* include narratives of mythic episodes that stand as a divine precedent for the desired outcome and/or a command part that directly states this desired outcome. Frankfurter makes a distinction between two kinds of *historiolae* by calling those that draws power from myths as declarative and those that work through commands as directive. The *historiolae*, whether they are declarative or directive, become performative as a speech-act since by uttering, writing, and carrying them, the users accomplish an act that is drawing power from spells.¹⁵⁸ One of the spells in the *Greek Magical Papyri* sets a clear example for Frankfurter’s explanation of *historiolae*. The spell reads:

réadmission dans l'Église selon l'euchologe byzantin", in *Gestes et paroles dans les diverses familles liturgiques*, ed A. Pistoia and A. Triacca (Roma : Centro liturgico vincenziano, 1978).

¹⁵⁴ Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 5:9. Thomas P. Scheck, trans, "The Fifth Book of the Commentary on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans" In *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 1-5*, (Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 303-78. *Tertullian*, On Baptism. Alexander Souter, trans, *Tertullian's Treatises: Concerning Prayer, Concerning Baptism* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), 46-64.

¹⁵⁵ This practice is called “sympathetic magic” by Frazer who studied different practices and elements of magic. James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (Book League, 1922).

¹⁵⁶ Tambiah, “Form and Meaning in Magical Acts”, 72. Also see Stanley J. Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words," *Man* 3.2 (1968): 175-208.

¹⁵⁷ David Frankfurter, “Narrating Power: The Theory and Practice of the Magical Historiola in Ritual Spells”, in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, (Leiden ; New York : E.J. Brill, 1995), 457-476. See also J F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1978). Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973).

¹⁵⁸ Frankfurter, “Narrating Power”, 468-469.

“The love which Isis felt for Osiris, when she was seeking after him everywhere, let NN the daughter of NN feel it, while seeking after NN, the son of NN, everywhere”.¹⁵⁹ In this example, the declarative and directive components are joined together. While Isis’ love for Osiris becomes an analogy for the desired love, the last part of the spell commands the desired female to seek after the user of the spell. Thus, the narrative of this Egyptian myth lets the client tap into the power of the original myth. Here it is important to note that *historiolae* may not include “over-arching macro-myths” such as the myth of Isis and Osiris in every instance but amalgamation of diverse folklore.¹⁶⁰

Scenes and citations from the scripture found on protective objects function in the same way as the declarative *historiolae* since they also draw power from the epic narratives.¹⁶¹ The objects dated to sixth-seventh centuries with the imagery of Christological cycle, such as the metal pilgrim flasks from the Monza and Bobbio Collections and armbands and rings from Syria and Palestine, reflect the importance of Biblical stories for the protection of people.¹⁶² (Figures 13, 14, and 15) In the Second Council of Nicaea in the eighth century, refuting the iconoclast Council of Hieria, Epiphanius the Deacon reads: “The representation of scenes in colors follows the narrative of the gospel, and the narrative of the gospel follows the narrative of the paintings When we see on an icon the angel bringing the good news to the Virgin we must certainly bring to mind that the angel Gabriel was sent from God to the Virgin ... Thus from the gospel we have heard of the mystery communicated to the Virgin through the angel, and this way we are reminded of it. Now when we see the

¹⁵⁹ PDM XIV 459-75. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 221.

¹⁶⁰ Frankfurter, “Narrating Power”, 472.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 464.

¹⁶² Vikan, “Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands”, 33-51. G. Vikan, “Byzantine Pilgrim's Art”, in *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed L. Safran (PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 230-263. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, 33.

same thing on an icon we perceive the event with greater emphasis.”¹⁶³ Although the main aim of Epiphanius here is to defend icons and icon worshipping, the importance of presentation of a story by a single image or a narrative is also emphasized in this passage.

There is a relationship between the elements designed on an object and the protective function for which the object was intended. Certain objects such as amulets and pilgrim mementoes were affiliated with specific problems and ailments.¹⁶⁴ The person who is in need of help re-enacts the story of a character who received help or of a supernatural being who provided help by wearing an object on which the story is depicted. Tuerk demonstrates how narratives on Christian objects function with the example of a Byzantine amulet.¹⁶⁵ (Figure 16) The hematite amulet from the sixth-seventh centuries housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art is decorated on the obverse with the image of a woman prostrating before Christ making a gesture of blessing.¹⁶⁶ The subject of this image, the healing of the woman with the issue of blood, is taken from a passage in gospels. According to the gospels, a woman who suffered from hemorrhage for years was healed by touching Christ’s cloak.¹⁶⁷ The reverse of the object is decorated with the woman standing in orans pose between two palm trees. Both sides have inscriptions telling the story from gospels. Tuerk states that the image and the inscriptions create a persuasive analogy

¹⁶³ Daniel J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 98.

¹⁶⁴ Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", 65-86. Vikan, "Guided by Land and Sea", 74-92. Christopher A. Faraone, "Magical and Medical Approaches to the Wandering Womb in the Ancient Greek World" *Classical Antiquity* 30.1 (2011): 1-32.

¹⁶⁵ Jacquelyn Tuerk, "An Early Byzantine Inscribed Amulet and Its Narratives." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23, no. 1 (1999): 25-42.

¹⁶⁶ Kurt Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, Through February 12, 1978* (New York: The Museum, 1979), no. 398. Beat Brenk, and Hugo Brandenburg, *Spätantike Und Frühes Christentum* (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen-Verlag, 1983), no. 165.

¹⁶⁷ Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48.

for the wearer, a woman with a health problem.¹⁶⁸ Although the inscriptions on the amulet do not include a command or a prayer, they attempt to persuade Christ to grant a cure for the woman as he did for the woman depicted on the amulet.¹⁶⁹ Soranus of Ephesus, a Greek physician of the first and second centuries, emphasizes the therapeutic value of amulets: “Even if the amulet has no direct effect, still through hope it will possibly make the patient more cheerful”.¹⁷⁰ Amulets of this sort might have been effective at times since they could create a placebo effect on the sick person.¹⁷¹ Tuerk also emphasizes that the type of stone plays an important role in the user’s healing process.¹⁷² This kind of hematite with its red color resembles blood, which constitutes a physical analogy for the bleeding problem.¹⁷³

Various protective objects function through images and inscriptions presenting epic narratives and commands and/or prayers – since Christian objects also include prayers – which stand as analogies. For instance, *hystera* amulets illustrated with the image of a head surrounded by serpents and/or a standard formula mentioning the womb often contain the element of direct command. The standard formula – ὕστερα μελάνη μελανομένη, ὡς ὄφις εἰλύεσαι καὶ ὡς δράκον συρίζησε ὡς λέων βρυχᾶσαι καὶ ὡς ἀρνίον κοιμοῦ (Womb, black, blackening, as a snake you coil and as a serpent you hiss and as a lion you roar, and as a lamb, lie down!) – likens the womb to a snake, a serpent, and a lion and orders it to be calm. Here, a narrative

¹⁶⁸ Tuerk, "An Early Byzantine Inscribed Amulet", 29ff. See also David Knipp, "Narrative and Symbol. The Early Christian Image of the Haemorrhissa and the Mosaics in the Narthex of the Kariye Camii", in *The Woman with the Blood Flow (Mark 5:24-34) Narrative, Iconic, and Anthropological Spaces*, ed Barbara Baert (Leuven-Walpole, MA, 2014), 110-143.

¹⁶⁹ Rather than commands, prayers often appear on Christian objects in order to call on and persuade the supernatural power.

¹⁷⁰ Soranus of Ephesus, Book III, Chapter X. Owsei Temkin, trans, *Soranus' Gynecology*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 165.

¹⁷¹ *A Dictionary of Psychology*, s.v. "placebo effect" (Andrew M. Colman).

¹⁷² Tuerk, "An Early Byzantine Inscribed Amulet", 25-42.

¹⁷³ Pliny the Elder reports that the hematite helps to control excessive bleeding in *Natural History*, XXXVI, 37.145. H. Rackham and W H. S. Jones, trans, *Natural History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

telling of an epic event does not exist as it appears in the inscriptions on the hematite amulet. However, a single image as a part of a complete narrative can be a signifier of an epic narrative.

In the case of *hystera* amulets, the image of the head and the standard formula is often accompanied by the image of the rider spearing a female demon which is a part of an epic narrative. An example of this type of amulet was found in Yenikapı, İstanbul.¹⁷⁴ (Figure 17) On the obverse of the amulet, there is an oval face surrounded by seven radiating animal heads. On the reverse, the image of the rider is surrounded by an invocation: ΑΓΗWC CHCHNHC BWEIOH THN ΦWPO. It translates as “St. Sisinnios help the wearer”. According to this apocryphal saint’s *Life* from the medieval period, Sisinnios and his brothers chased after the female demon Gyllou who stole their sister’s children.¹⁷⁵ After the brothers caught Gyllou, they made her reveal her twelve and a half names to expel her. Gyllou also advised the brothers to write her complete list of names on an amulet and use it to prevent her from going into houses.¹⁷⁶ The image of the rider spearing a female demon and the invocation to the saint re-enact this specific narrative and stand as a precedent for the protection of the users of these amulets.

Not all protective objects include the elements of epic narrative and command. There are protective objects that do not bear images or inscriptions or in other cases, that do not contain any clear references to specific narratives. Still, the implication of these elements is presented on the objects. For instance, small-size icons or medallions with Christian iconography such as portraits of saints do not

¹⁷⁴ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi. *From Byzantium to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital*. (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2010), no. 148.

¹⁷⁵ Richard P.H. Greenfield, "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou: The Typology of the Greek Literary Stories." *Byzantina* 15 (1989): 83-142.

¹⁷⁶ Moses Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of a Charm against the Child-Stealing Witch," *Folklore* 11, no. 2 (1900): 129-62. Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, and Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers*, 26-27.

present an apparent story. (Figures 18 and 19) However, they represent a narrative with a single image, be it either the life or miracles of a holy person. Similar to their monumental counterparts, small-size icons regulate communication between God and believers for their salvation. The small size of these objects reflects their private nature. Thus, the subject matter of these objects must have had a personal meaning to the users. The personages depicted on the objects were recognizable to believers, especially after iconoclasm, when the iconography of the saints was standardized by the Church.¹⁷⁷ The established types of iconographies of saints were strictly followed by Byzantine artists.¹⁷⁸ Various saints' lives and miracles stress that icons have a role in the identification of saints by believers when they appear to them in dreams and visions.¹⁷⁹ For instance, in the tenth century, the monk Kosmas wrote that when he made a visionary visit to heaven, he had two guides who looked like the apostles Andrew and John. Kosmas recognized them because of their resemblance to the images on their sacred icons.¹⁸⁰

The relationship between a saint and his followers can be observed in monumental art. A series of votive mosaics of the sixth century situated in the north aisle of the Church of St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki present St. Demetrius and the Virgin Mary receiving supplicants.¹⁸¹ (Figure 20) The child supplicants, whose foreheads are marked with gold crosses in four votive mosaics, are thought to be the

¹⁷⁷ Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies*, 5-15. (as in n. 46). Robin Cormack, "Painting After Iconoclasm", in *Iconoclasm: Papers Given at the Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed A. Bryer and J. Herrin, (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1975), 148-63.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 23.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 19-20.

¹⁸⁰ H. Delehay, "Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae", in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris* (Brussels: Apud Socios Bollandianos, 1902), cols. 109-12.

¹⁸¹ Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Ἡ βασιλική του Αγ. Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Thessaloniki, 1946). G.A. Sotiriou and Maria Sotiriou, *Ἡ βασιλική τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (Athens, 1952). P. Lemerle, *Saint Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrion et du transept*, BCH 77 (1953): 660–94. P. Lemerle, *Saint Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrion et du transept*, BCH 77 (1953): 660–94. Charalambos Bakirtzis, *The Basilica of St. Demetrius* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan studies, 1988).

same child called Maria due to the inscription identifying her.¹⁸² These votive mosaics are designed to show the personal gratitude of Maria's family towards St. Demetrius for his help or protection. They reveal the patronage of the saint over these donors. Thus, these mosaics indicate that there was a relationship between the saint and these individuals. The donor paintings and votive offerings are the evidence that the believers knew about the powers of certain saints and they wished to be in their favor. Thus, they were likely selective about the subject matter of these objects when they were buying or commissioning them. Also they must have been aware of the tradition behind these images. In addition to the images, the names of the Christ, the Virgin, and the saints inscribed on these objects were venerated.

In the Second Council of Nicaea, Epiphanius the Deacon reads: "Many of the sacred things which we have at our disposal do not need a prayer of sanctification, since their name itself says that they are all sacred and full of grace. Consequently, we honour and embrace them as venerable....In the same way when we signify an icon with a name we transfer the honour to the prototype; and by embracing it and offering to it the veneration of honour, we share in the sanctification"¹⁸³ Seeing and reading the names of the sacred persons might have had the same effect as the narrative images in terms of reminding the believer of a complete story.

5. Conclusion

Various primary sources studied in this chapter show the development of the concept of protection in Byzantine culture. The primary sources of a hybrid nature

¹⁸² James C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki : civic patron and divine protector, 4th-7th centuries CE*. (Harrisburg, Pa. : Trinity Press International, 1999), 78-81, pls. 2, 3, 4. Robin Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki: A Re-examination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George", *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens* 64 (1969): 17-52. Disagreeing with Cormack and Skedros, Brubaker states that the gold crosses on the children's foreheads are there to signify the children as the "recipients of miracles" by St. Demetrios "rather than identifying a single girl". Leslie Brubaker, "Elites and Patronage in Early Byzantium: The Evidence from Hagios Demetrios at Thessalonike", in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East Vol. VI.*, ed J. Haldon and L. I. Conrad, (Princeton, N.J. : Darwin Press, 2004), 63-90.

¹⁸³ Sahas, *Icon and Logos*, 99.

and those connected with magic use the word φυλακτήριον or its synonyms to refer to amulets. In Christian sources, the usage of the word can slightly be more diverse. Every so often the word φυλακτήριον was used as a reference to ethereal protection within the practice of Christian rituals in the Early Byzantine period. However, the usage of the word as a way to refer to a material protection such as amulets expanded in later centuries. Canons and the writings of the Church Fathers condemn the people who appeal to the use of amulets. The Church Fathers advise the usage of objects and practices that have been sanctified by the Church. In the eyes of the Church the creator of the amulet and its subject determined the legitimacy of the object. Most of these sources, with the exception of the Patriarchal Registers, are dated between the fourth and seventh centuries. This demonstrates the boundaries that the Church was drawing with regard to the usage of protective objects in the Early Byzantine period. However, hagiographical sources from the fourth century to the tenth century and the writings of Byzantine intellectuals from the eleventh and twelfth centuries show that protective objects continued to be used despite the fact that the Orthodox Church prohibited them in later periods. At the same time, Christian relics, pilgrim objects, and icons were added to the domain of protective objects and their usage expanded as well.

The visual examples presenting people with protective objects are rare in the art of Late Antiquity and Byzantium. This corroborates the revelation in various primary sources that these objects were hidden under users' garments. The last part of this chapter explored the effects of the images and inscriptions depicted on the protective objects. As part of this inquiry, I presented a short study of the theories of Austin and Tambiah, which explain the role of words and images in human communication and rituals. This study revealed two elements – epic narrative and

command and/or prayers – that occur in the images and inscriptions on protective objects. In the minds of believers these images and inscriptions communicate their fears and invocations for protection to the supernatural being.



CHAPTER II: IMAGE AND TEXT: THE FUNCTION OF THE OBJECTS IN THE CATALOG

1. Introduction:

In this chapter, I will place the concept of protection in Byzantium in a material context through the study of the objects in the catalog. The metal and small-size objects in the catalog, dated from the sixth to the thirteenth century, display iconography and/or epigraphy, which suggest that they may have been used for protection against various dangers in life. Being portable, small objects have a private nature, which gives them the added benefit of revealing more realistic information about the personal lives of people. While it is a difficult task to cover various categories and periods in a single study, such a broad scope does have its advantages: it reveals the development over time of the concept of protection in Byzantine culture and, through observing the repetition of the same iconographies and inscriptions, allows for connections to be made between objects in different mediums.

In Chapter I, I studied the theories of Austin and Tambiah and Frankfurter's study which shed light on the function of images and inscriptions on protective objects. Frankfurter's application of these theories on *historiolae* reveals two important declarative and/or directive elements - epic narratives and commands/prayers – manifesting themselves on objects through images and inscriptions. Observation of the two elements in the objects of the catalog will allow us to search a common link between these different objects: the function of protection. The objects fall into one of two major groups: those that contain both epic narratives and commands/prayers, and those that reference only epic narratives. Thus, I will structure this chapter according to these two groupings. I will also

discuss dating of the objects through the study of the images and inscriptions depicted on the objects and how these images and inscriptions relate to the two elements mentioned above. This allows us to understand how the objects communicated the fears and wishes of their users and how they functioned in the minds of users.

2. Epic Narratives and Commands/Prayers:

2.1. The Epic Narrative of the Holy Rider:

The image of a rider spearing a demon, a human figure, or a snake lying beneath a horse has been illustrated on numerous objects, such as medallions, rings, armbands, and textiles, throughout the centuries.¹⁸⁴ The figure of a rider spearing an enemy is common to various cultures in the Mediterranean. The Thracian Horseman spearing a boar was an especially popular heroic figure in the Balkans during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, the Roman sovereigns were often represented on coins as victorious warriors on horseback striking their enemies.¹⁸⁶ (Figure 21) The motif of the heroic horseman continued to be one of the most popular amuletic images in Late Antiquity.¹⁸⁷ This figure was frequently depicted in Byzantine churches as one of the warrior saints such as St. George or St. Theodore, and was adopted by the Seljuks as well.¹⁸⁸ (Figure 22)

¹⁸⁴ Maguire et al., *Art and Holy Powers*, 1989. Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands", 33-51. Yael Israeli and David Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2000), 159-165.

¹⁸⁵ Christopher Walter, "The Thracian Horseman: Ancestor of the Warrior saints?" *ByzF* 14 (1999): 659-673.

¹⁸⁶ Joseph Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen: Grundlegung Einer Alexandrinischen Kaisergeschichte* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1924), pl. 3.10.

¹⁸⁷ Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", 65-86. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü," 15-25.

¹⁸⁸ Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003). Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia" *Gesta* 43 (2004): 151-164. Walter, "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum", 397-416.

The identity of the rider on the Late Antique amulets is at times anonymous. One type of amulet which presents an anonymous rider is oblong-shaped and carries the inscription: EIC ΘEOC O NIKWN TA KAKA. This verse translates as “One God who overcomes evil”. Originating in the Old Testament, “EIC ΘEOC” is a manifestation of monotheism.¹⁸⁹ It is a common element in Jewish inscriptions and is often found on small objects from Palestine in Late Antiquity.¹⁹⁰ Later on, Christianity adopted this formula from Judaism.¹⁹¹ The bronze medallions in the catalog, C.13, C.14, C.15, and C.16, belong to this group. Due to the lack of archaeological information, one must look for parallel materials in order to date and better understand these objects. Early Christian tombs dated to the sixth and seventh centuries from El-Jish in Israel’s Northern District present us with comparative material for this specific group.¹⁹² Three bronze amulets have the same image of a haloed rider spearing a figure lying beneath the rider’s horse and a common inscription - EIC ΘEOC O NIKWN TA KAKA – on their obverses.¹⁹³ (Figure 23) The reverses of the objects picture various subjects such as an Evil Eye, and a saint on a cross.¹⁹⁴ Also other bronze jewelry with the image of the holy rider and inscription EIC ΘEOC from Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Tyre are dated to Late Antiquity.¹⁹⁵ The bronze medallions in the catalog, C.13, C.14, C.15, and C.16, are

¹⁸⁹ Deuteronomy, 6:4. “Listen, O Israel! The Lord is our God, the Lord alone.” Anit Hamburger, “A Greco-Samaritan Amulet from Caesarea.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 9, no. 1 (1959): 43-45.

¹⁹⁰ Leah Di Segni, “Eis theos in Palestinian Inscriptions”, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 13 (1994), 94-115. Hagith Sivan, *Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 94-115.

¹⁹² Makhoully, “Rock-Cut Tombs at El-Jish.”, 45-50. Makhoully dated the tombs to the fourth and fifth centuries. However, further studies on the glass finds from the tombs and comparison between the tombs and similar sites reveal that the tombs belonged to the sixth and seventh centuries. Levi Yizhaq Rahmani, “On Some Byzantine Brass Rings in the State Collections.” *Atiqot. English Series Jérusalem* 17 (1985): 168-81.

¹⁹³ Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 161.

¹⁹⁴ Makhoully, “Rock-Cut Tombs at El-Jish”, Pl. XXX 5, Pl. XXXI 7, Pl. XXXII h1-h2.

¹⁹⁵ Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae, a Multi-Lingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad: Volume II, Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121-1160* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), no. 1685. Hannah Cotton et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae: A Multi-Lingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad, Volume I*,

similar to the amulets found in El-Jish in that they also bear the image of the holy rider on their obverses. Due to the similarity between the two, the examples in the catalog are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.

As a parallel to one of the examples from El-Jish, C.13 has an eye attacked by two lions, an ibis, a serpent, and a scorpion from below on its reverse. This ancient transcultural symbol was used as an architectural element for the protection of buildings and their inhabitants in Syria during the Late Roman period and Late Antiquity.¹⁹⁶ This image of an eye attacked by animals and/or weapons such as daggers and swords was an amuletic image to repel the Evil Eye.¹⁹⁷ The Evil Eye was an age-old superstition based on the belief that the eyes of certain individuals have a powerful glance that can harm the well-being of people and animals, and obliterate possessions.¹⁹⁸ An Evil Eye directs envy, greed, or malice of a person through their eye towards living beings or objects.¹⁹⁹ Although this belief was initially thought to be universal, systematic anthropological studies found that it does not exist in every culture.²⁰⁰ The earliest written record of the belief is cuneiform texts of Sumerian incantations against the Evil Eye from the third millennium BC.²⁰¹

Jerusalem, Part II (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), no. 765. Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1986), PL. XLVII, no. 3 and 4.

¹⁹⁶ Mihail I Rostovcev, Alfred R. Bellinger, Clark Hopkins, and Charles B. Welles. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters : Preliminary Report of Sixth Season of Work, October 1932-March 1933* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), Pl. XLII, 3. Jean B. Chabot, *Choix D'inscriptions De Palmyre* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1922), Pl. XVI, 3.

¹⁹⁷ Frederick T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye: The Origins and Practices of Superstition* (London: John Murray, 1895). Alan Dundes, *The Evil Eye: A Casebook* (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992). Margaret M. H. Hasluck, *The Evil Eye in Some Greek Villages of the Upper Haliakmon Valley in West Macedonia* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1923).

¹⁹⁸ Otto Jahn, *Über Den Aberglauben Des Bösen Blicks Bei Den Alten* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1855), 31-32.

¹⁹⁹ Siegfried Seligmann, *Der Böse Blick Und Verwandtes. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Des Aberglaubens Aller Zeiten Und Völker, Vol 1* (Berlin, Barsdorf: 1910), 2-9.

²⁰⁰ , George P. Murdock and Douglas R. White. "Standard Cross-Cultural Sample", *Ethnology* 8 (1969): 329-369.

²⁰¹ John H. Elliot, *Beware the Evil Eye Volume 1: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World-Introduction, Mesopotamia, and Egypt* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2015), 38.

From Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean basin, it appears to have spread westward to Europe and eastward to Asia, surviving to this day in some modern cultures.²⁰² People engineered different images, hand gestures, and words in order to protect themselves from it.²⁰³ One of these inventions is the image of an eye attacked by animals and weapons, the origins of which are explained in the *Testament of Solomon*. One of the demons confesses to Solomon: "I cast evil eye on every man. Therefore, the eye much-suffering, if it be drawn, frustrates me."²⁰⁴

The belief in the Evil Eye was prominent in Judeo-Christian culture. It was repeatedly mentioned in Jewish and Christian Scriptures.²⁰⁵ In Jewish folklore, various religious characters such as Cain, King Saul, and Queen Esther were considered to have the power of the Evil Eye.²⁰⁶ Certain passages in the Christian gospels refer to the Evil Eye, which corresponds to envy, immorality, greed, and wickedness in human heart.²⁰⁷ In his letter to Galatians, Paul accuses Galatian converts of having been harmed by the evil eye of rival authorities who were envious of his mission.²⁰⁸ These sources reveal how people made the connection between the act of looking and negative feelings. The eye was considered as the conveyor of malice.²⁰⁹ In the Byzantine period, the Church Fathers were also interested in the workings of the Evil Eye. John Chrysostom and St. Basil of Caesarea state that the

²⁰² John M. Roberts, "Belief in the Evil Eye in World Perspective," in *The Evil Eye*, ed. Clarence Maloney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 223–78.

²⁰³ Elliot, *Beware the Evil Eye*, 35–37. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 97–100.

²⁰⁴ Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 38.

²⁰⁵ Deuteronomy 7:15a, 15:7–11, 28:54–57. Proverbs 23:6.

²⁰⁶ Elliot, *Beware the Evil Eye*, 26–27.

²⁰⁷ Matthew 6: 22–23, 20:15. Mark 7:22. Luke 11:33–36.

²⁰⁸ Galatians 3:1. John H. Elliott, "Paul, Galatians, and the Evil Eye," *Cross Current in Theology and Mission* 17 (August 1990): 262–271. Susan Eastman, "The Evil Eye and the Curse of the Law: Galatians 3.1 Revisited," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 83 (2001): 69–87.

²⁰⁹ Joseph H. Berke, *The Tyranny of Malice: Exploring the Dark Side of Character and Culture* (New York: Summit Books, 1988), 35–56.

human eye as an organ does not possess evil power.²¹⁰ Rather, the envy that humans might feel for one another renders people weak to the manipulation of demons; thus the evil power belongs to demons, not the eye. Fear of the Evil Eye as caused by envy continued to exist throughout the centuries in Byzantium. In the fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites, who restored the Monastery of Chora in Constantinople, writes in his poems about his fear that envy might bring bad luck on the monastery.²¹¹

Coming back to C.13, above the Evil Eye, the inscription reads: IAW CABAW MIXAHA OYPIHA and translates: “Lord of the Hosts, Michael Uriel”. Iao Sabaoth is the Greek name of God derived from Hebrew. The original name, “Jahveh Tzaviot”, is translated as “Lord of the Hosts” in the Old Testament.²¹² Iao Sabaoth is commonly used in amulets of this period along with the names of archangels such as Michael and Uriel.²¹³ C.14 has three lines of inscription on its reverse; the text – “Holy, Holy, Holy” – is a short version of the Thrice-Holy prayer from Isaiah 6.3: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of the Hosts (Sabaoth). Heaven and earth are full of your glory”.²¹⁴ This inscription on C.14 is a reference to the same name of God, Sabaoth, as the inscription on C.13. The citing or writing these names was to ward off evil as

²¹⁰ Basil of Caesarea, *Homily XI, On Envy*. M F. Toal, *The Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers: A Manual of Preaching, Spiritual Reading and Meditation* (Chicago: H. Regnery, 196), 142-148. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Galatians, Homily XVI, Chapter III*. Philip Schaff, *Saint Chrysostom, Homilies on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 24-30.

²¹¹ J. M. Featherstone, “Metochites’s Poems and the Chora”, in *The Kariye Camii Reconsidered*, ed. Holger A. Klein, Robert G. Ousterhout, Brigitte Pitarakis, (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2011), 169-187.

²¹² 1 Samuel 17:45, Isaiah 3:1, 9:7, 22:14, Jeremiah 50:25. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 136. Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 167.

²¹³ Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 165.

²¹⁴ ODB, s.v. “Trisagion” (Robert F. Taft).

the practice is recorded in a magical papyrus which tells the user to write the names of Thuriel, Michael, and Gabriel on a sheet of gold to make a phylactery.²¹⁵

Both C.15 and C.16 present the same image on their reverses although the compositions of the scenes are different. C.15 has a long legged bird and beneath the bird, there is an eight-armed star in a circle and a cross in a square. Above the bird, there are three signs that may be letters.²¹⁶ These unintelligible letters are called characters, or *voces magicae*, and they appear in different magical texts and are believed to be apotropaic.²¹⁷ On the left upper side, an inscription reads ΠΙΝΩ which translates as “I drink”.²¹⁸ On its reverse C.16 has the same long-legged bird and a rectangular form to the left of the bird; a line connects the two. Above this composition, the word – ΠΙΝΩ – appears as on the reverse of C.15. Bonner identifies the bird and the rectangular shape behind the bird as an ibis and an altar, respectively.²¹⁹ This scene is derived from the amulets produced in Egypt for relieving stomach pains.²²⁰ The ibis was depicted on amulets of this sort due to the bird’s extraordinary powers of digestion. This type of amulet is clearly intended to protect the wearer’s health, and maybe specifically their stomach.

Another group of amulets connected to the narrative of the holy rider are C.17, 18, and 19. These amulets contain an image of the holy rider spearing a human

²¹⁵ Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets*, 106. See also A. A. Barb, “Three Elusive Amulets,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 1-22.

²¹⁶ Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, 248-249, no. 33.

²¹⁷ W. M. Brashear, “The ‘Greek Magical Papyri:’ An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography,” *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 18.5 (1995), 3380-3684. Aune, “Magic in Early Christianity,” 1507-57. Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, no. 33. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, PGMIV.1872-1927 and PGM VII. 846-61. Panagiotis Kambanis, “ΤΑ ΦΥΛΑΚΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΥΣΤΕΡΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΑΣ: Η διατήρηση και ο μετασχηματισμός τους από τη χριστιανική κοινωνία”, (PhD diss., University of Thessaly, 2012).

²¹⁸ Not convinced of this translation, Bonner suggests that the word might have been abbreviated from ΚΑΤΑΠΙΝΩ which translates as “I devour”. Bonner’s suggestion is hardly convincing since we have examples of the verb ΠΙΝΩ on different amulets. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 212-213.

²¹⁹ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 212-213. Schlumberger, *Amulettes Byzantins Anciens*, no. 8.

²²⁰ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 212-213.

figure on their obverse. Due to their close association with the bronze amulets of the sixth-seventh centuries in terms of iconography, this group is also dated to the same period.²²¹ On its reverse, C.18 has a coiling snake topped by a feline on the bottom half and a bulbiform figure and a cross inside of a circle on the top half. The bulbiform figure and the cross are flanked by two human figures in bust, which are identified as the personifications of the Sun and the Moon due to their crowns with rays and a crescent.²²² The bulbiform figure has been a matter of contention for the scholars. Vikan identifies the figure as a coiled serpent which is a medico-magical symbol.²²³ Considering the existence of the Sun and the Moon, Matantseva reasons that this is an adoration scene and the bulbiform figure should be a symbol of God.²²⁴ According to Matantseva, the most reasonable identification for the bulbiform is the Burning Bush since it resembles the figure in shape and this image was used in magical context.²²⁵ However, Zalesskaja makes the most convincing identification for this figure, which is Golgotha.²²⁶ In some examples of this kind of amulets, the bulbiform figure is replaced by the image of Christ in bust form.²²⁷ Thus, this scene with bulbiform and the personifications of the Sun and Moon was likely connected to the scene of Crucifixion of Christ which is one of the most powerful Christian images. The symbolic representation of the Crucifixion, in which the image of Christ in bust form on a cross flanked by two crucified individuals and two kneeling

²²¹ Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium: Thessaloniki, White Tower October 2001-January 2002*. (Athens: Kapon, 2002), no. 732. Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", 379-385.

²²² In these two examples the human figures flanking the bulbiform figure do not resemble a certain image. However, in parallel examples of this type of amulets, the figure on the left wears a crown with rays emanating from it and the figure on the right is crowned with a crescent. Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines", 110-21, Pl. 14, a and e.

²²³ Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", 82, no. 114.

²²⁴ Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines", 120.

²²⁵ Ibid., 120.

²²⁶ Zalesskaia, "Amulettes Byzantines magiques", 243-247. This identification is also accepted by other scholars. Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée," 379-385. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 732.

²²⁷ Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines", Pl. 14, no. a, g, i.

supplicants, is a common scene depicted on the sixth-seventh-century pilgrim flasks from Palestine.²²⁸ In one of these flasks, the personifications of the Sun and Moon flanking the Christ in bust form on a cross appear in the scene of Crucifixion.²²⁹ In other examples, these characters are symbolized with images of a star and a crescent, which are depicted on the same location in the scene.²³⁰ The scene with the Sun and Moon flanking Golgotha emphasizes the cosmic and eternal power of Christ.²³¹ C.17 and C.19 bear the same scene without the existence of the snake. The representations of animals such as lion and snake on these amulets were likely allusions to the apotropaic Psalm 90 (91) in which the verses read “you shall tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet”.²³²

Although the holy rider depicted on the aforementioned bronze amulets is anonymous, that is not always the case.²³³ The lead amulets C.18 and C.19 depict invocations; unfortunately, they are worn examples, thereby rendering the invocations unintelligible.²³⁴ However, the name of Sisinnios is inscribed on the obverse of C.17 surrounding the image of the holy rider. Also an invocation with the name of Solomon appears on the reverse of the object. An amulet from Schlumberger’s collection also features the names of Solomon and Sisinnios inscribed around the images of the holy rider and an Evil Eye.²³⁵ (Figure 3) The ancient image of a rider spearing an enemy was adopted by the cult of Solomon, even though the *Testament of Solomon* does not make any allusions to Solomon’s

²²⁸ Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, nos. 14 and 15.

²²⁹ Ibid., no.11.

²³⁰ Ibid., nos. 11 and 12. Similar representations of the Crucifixion of Christ and the Sun and the Moon frequently appear on the bronze reliquary crosses as well. See Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*, nos. 1, 2, 6, and 7.

²³¹ Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, 247, No. 32.

²³² Psalm 90 (91): 13.

²³³ Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines", Pl. 14, no. a, c, d, e, h.

²³⁴ C.18 has an inscription including the word “help” on its reverse.

²³⁵ Schlumberger, *Amulettes Byzantins Anciens*, no. 1.

horsemanship. However, Solomon was a fitting character for the adoption of the image of the holy rider spearing a demon. The victory over evil was obviously an important part of Solomon's cult, and demons were vividly pictured in the *Testament* as enemies of the good.²³⁶ Similarly, it is not difficult to see why Sisinnios was also incorporated into this heroic narrative due to his fight against the female demon Gyllou who stole his sister's children.²³⁷ The aim of these representations was to demonstrate the war between good and evil, with the latter symbolized by a female demon. One of the earliest representations of the holy rider as Sisinnios is located in the Monastery of Apa Apollo, which was founded by the monk Apollonius in Bawit, Egypt. (Figure 24) Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, the fresco elaborately depicts the holy rider spearing a bare chested female figure lying on the ground. The inscription next to the female figure names her as Alabasdria. Above Alabasdria is the Evil Eye, whose upper half is pierced by two daggers and two arrows, and whose lower half is attacked by a scorpion, two snakes, and a black stork.²³⁸

Gyllou is a common figure in different versions of Sisinnios' life, where she is portrayed as the child-stealing demon.²³⁹ Although the text of the *Life of St. Sisinnios* belongs to the medieval period, the origin of the female demon figure dates back to much earlier times. According to Barb, all Mediterranean and Mesopotamian

²³⁶ Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 23-26. Philip S. Alexander, "Contextualizing the Demonology of the Testament of Solomon", in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed Lange, H. Lichtenberger, K.D. Römheld (Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2003): 615-635.

²³⁷ Greenfield, "Saint Sisinnios", 83-142. In various versions of the Life, the Archangel Michael features fighting against the female demon. Amulets such as C.22 reflect this literary image. On the obverse of this lead amulet, the holy rider spears a human figure beneath his horse and on the reverse an archangel spears a half-human half-serpent figure with his staff topped with a cross. Maria Patera, "Exorcismes et phylactères byzantins: Écrire, énoncer les noms du démon", *Cahiers Mondes anciens* 1 (2010):1-11. W. Fauth, "Der christliche Reiterheilige des Sisinnios-Typs im Kampf gegen eine vietnamige Dämonin." *VigChr* 53 (1999): 401-425.

²³⁸ Jean Clédat, *Le Monastère Et La Nécropole De Baouît* (Le Caire, 1904), 80-81. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü," 24-25.

²³⁹ M. Gaster, "Two thousand years of a charm against the child-stealing witch," *Folk-Lore* 11 (1900): 129-62. I. Sorlin, "Striges et Geloudes: Histoire d'une croyance et d'une tradition", *Travaux et Mémoires*, 11 (1991): 424-425.

cultures have this female demon character in their traditions.²⁴⁰ For instance, Lilith, the wife of Adam before God gave him a soul, has similarities to the female demons found in Assyrian, Babylonian, Sumerian, and Greek cultures.²⁴¹ Moreover, their names – Gyllou, Gello, Gyllou Abyzou, Abizouth, and Alabasdria – are all etymologically connected. Over the centuries, there were various saviors who kept humanity safe from female demons, including Marduk, Gilgamesh, Zeus, Herakles, Solomon, and Sisinnios.²⁴²

The iconic image of the holy rider is accompanied by various images and inscriptions. These accompanying elements are interwoven into the narrative of the holy rider, in which the war between good and evil ultimately ends with the triumph of good. In certain objects the holy rider is identified as Solomon while others name the figures as Sisinnios. By seeing and carrying the image of the holy rider, the user of the object taps into the power of the narrative of Solomon or Sisinnios since these images represent the epic narrative. When the verse – “One God who overcomes evil” – accompanies the image of the holy rider, it also works as a declarative element to entreat the protection of One God for the user of the object. Similarly, the representation of an eye attacked by animals and weapons accompanies the holy rider figure as an analogical symbol to ward off an envious Evil Eye. A similar effort to use analogies for the sake of protection is found on a floor mosaic of a house in Antioch picturing an Evil Eye attacked by animals and weapons.²⁴³ (Figure 25)

²⁴⁰ Alphons Augustinus Barb, "Antaura. The Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother: A Lecture." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966): 1-23. A. A. Barb, "Diva Matrix," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 193-238.

²⁴¹ R C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia: Being Babylonian and Assyrian Incantations against the Demons, Ghouls, Vampires, Hobgoblins, Ghosts, and Kindred Evil Spirits, Which Attack Mankind Volume 1* (London, 1903/1904), 77f. T. Gaster, "The child-stealing witch among the Hittites?," *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 23 (1950/51):134-137.

²⁴² Barb, "Antaura. The Mermaid and the Devil's Grandmother," 1-23.

²⁴³ Doro Levi, "The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback," in *Antioch-on the-Orontes III. The Excavations 1937-39*, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), 220-232.

Above the scene, an inscription reads “KAI CY” and translates as “you too”. This inscription warns the gazer with evil intentions by saying “may you also suffer ill”.²⁴⁴

2.2. The Epic Narrative of the Wandering Womb and the *Hystera* Formula:

Twelve circular lead amulets in the catalog, C.01, C.02, C.03, C.04, C.05, C.06, C.07, C.08, C.09, C.10, C.11, and C.12, bear the image of a head surrounded by serpents with animal heads and/or an inscription mentioning the womb. The standard formula of inscription – “Womb, black, blackening, as a snake you coil and as a serpent you hiss and as a lion you roar, and as a lamb, lie down” – which was briefly discussed in Chapter I, is directed to the womb, which is *hystera* in Greek. Thus, Spier names this category of objects as “hystera” amulets.²⁴⁵ The inscription might be slightly different in various amulets, but the meaning and the practice of addressing of the womb stay constant. Spier dates this type of amulets to the Middle Byzantine period, specifically from the tenth to twelfth centuries. There is strong iconographical and archaeological evidence to support Spier’s dating. For instance, there is the combination of the head motif with post-Iconoclastic Christian iconography, such as the Virgin Mary, St. Anne, and the Archangel Michael with a *loros*.²⁴⁶ One example is a bloodstone cameo from Ephesus that has the head motif on its obverse, and the archangel Michael wearing a *loros* and holding a labarum in his right hand and a globe in his left hand on its reverse.²⁴⁷ Previous and recent archaeological data from the Corinth, Saraçhane, and Yenikapı excavations support

²⁴⁴ K. M. D. Dunbabin and M. W. Dickie, “Invidia rumpantur pectora: The Iconography of Phthonos/Invidia in Greco-Roman Art”, *JbAC* 26 (1983): 7-37. K. W. Slane, and M. W. Dickie, “A Knidian Phallic Vase from Corinth,” *Hesperia* 62 (1993): 483-505. Josef Engemann, Zur Verbreitung magischer Ubelwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike”, *JbAC* 18 (1975) 22-48.

²⁴⁵ Spier, “Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition”, 25-62.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁴⁷ Gerhard Langmann, “Ein Zauberamulett aus Ephesos“, *JÖB* 22 (1973): 281-284.

this dating for the *hystera* amulets. Three rings found in Corinth bear the image of a head surrounded by rays or serpents.²⁴⁸ (Figure 26) These rings came from the levels of the tenth and eleventh centuries. One of the small finds found in the Church of St. Polyeuktos in Saraçhane, Istanbul, is a circular lead medallion that depicts the head on its obverse and the rider on its reverse. (Figure 27) An inscription around the motif of head translates as “Holy, Holy Lord of the Hosts, Help”. The object comes from a level dated to the twelfth century which is *terminus ante quem* for the object.²⁴⁹ A very similar example to the Saraçhane amulet is the amulet from Yenikapı that was briefly discussed in Chapter I.²⁵⁰ (Figure 17) This amulet came from a level that belonged to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

C.01 and C.02 are very similar to the examples from Saraçhane and Yenikapı. They have the image of the head surrounded by serpents on their obverse and the image of the rider on their reverse. The detailed designs of the horse and saddle on the reverse are consistent across all four examples. Both C.01 and C.02 have an invocation addressing St. Sisinnios around the image of the rider. C.01 has the inscription – [ΑΓ]ΗΟ[Σ] ΧΗΧΝΗΚ [ΗΚ-ΗΚ] ΒΩΕΙΘΗ ΘΗΝ ΔΟΥ[-] – on its reverse. It translates as “St. Sisinnios help your servant”. The inscription on the reverse of C. 2 reads ΑΓΗΩ [ΧΗΚ]ΗΝΗΚ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΘΗΝ ΦΟΡΟΥ, which translates as “St. Sisinnios help the wearer”. The invocation of St. Sisinnios also appears on the amulet from Yenikapı. Taken together, these similarities indicate that the examples

²⁴⁸ Davidson, *The Minor Objects, Corinth*, 244-245, No. 1947, 1949, 1950.

²⁴⁹ Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, no. 621.

²⁵⁰ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, *From Byzantium to Istanbul*, no. 148. İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, *Stories from the Hidden Harbor: The Shipwrecks of Yenikapı*, (İstanbul Archeological Museums Press, 2013). no. 80.

from the catalog and the examples from the excavations all share the same dating which is roughly the Middle Byzantine period.²⁵¹

There is only one example that questions the accuracy of this dating. C.03 has the head surrounded by serpents on its obverse and the standard formula of inscription on its reverse. The image on the obverse is surrounded by an inscription reading ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΚΕ ΒΟΙΘΗ ΤΙ ΦΟΡΟΥCΙ ΑΜ which translates as “Holy, Holy, Holy, help the wearer, Amen”. On the other side, the standard formula appears in five registers: ΥCΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΛΑΝΗ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΜΕΝΙ ΟC ΟΦΙC ΗΛΕCΕ [ΟC] ΑΡΝΟC ΚΥΜΗΘΗΤΗ. Above the formula, there is a register that has a six-armed star with circles at the ends of the arms and a *pentalpha*, five-pointed star, which frequently appears on amulets and rings.²⁵² Certain primary sources identify the *pentalpha* as the ring or seal of Solomon while others consider it as a symbol of health.²⁵³ Below the register, there is a *Chi-Rho* sign between the apocalyptic letters, Α and Ω. The existence of the *Chi-Rho* sign and the apocalyptic letters on an object often indicates that it dates to the Early Byzantine period since the *Chi-Rho* sign fell into disuse after the seventh century.²⁵⁴ However, in the case of *hystera* amulets, all

²⁵¹Spier also points out that the provenance of the objects gives some clues for the dating of the amulets. All of the amulets in Spier’s extensive catalog come from Asia Minor, Greece, Russia, and Europe. Interestingly none of them came from Syria, Palestine, or Egypt where the most bronze amulets of the sixth and seventh century came from. According to Spier, this distribution supports a middle Byzantine date reflecting the loss of Syria and Palestine to the Arabs in the seventh century. Chronology shows a separate date between the medieval amulets and the earlier group of amulets with the imagery of the holy rider produced in Syria and Palestine in the sixth and seventh centuries. Spier, “Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition”, 31.

²⁵² ODB, s.v. “Sphragis Theou” (Gary Vikan).

²⁵³ P. Perdrizet, “Sphragis Solomonos”, *REG* 16 (1903): 42–61. Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, fig. 8. Vikan, “Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium”, fig. 4, n. 67. P. Perdrizet, *Negotium perambulans in tenebris, études de démonologie gréco-orientale* (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l’Université de Strasbourg: Strasbourg, 1922), 35ff.

²⁵⁴ ODB, s.v. “Christogram” (Wolfram Hörandner, and Annemarie Weyl Carr). RBK, s.v. “Christusmonogramm” (Klaus Wessel). See also V. Gardthausen, *Das alte Monogramm* (Leipzig, 1924), 73–107. M. Sulzberger, “Le Symbole de la Croix et les Monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chrétiens,” *Byzantion* 2 (1925): 337–448. H.I. Marrou, “Autour du monogramme constantien”, in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris, 1959), 403–14. *DACL*, s.v. “Α Ω” (F. Cabrol). See also W.B. Stanford, “The Significance of the Alpha and Omega in Revelation I.8”, *Hermathena* 98 (1964): 43–44. W.J.P. Boyd, “‘I am Alpha and Omega’ (Rev. 1,8; 21,6; 22,13)”,

the archaeological evidence points to the Middle Byzantine period for the dating of these amulets. Thus, the creator of C.03 may have used these elements on purpose to archaize the object.

The motif of a head surrounded by serpents has been studied a great deal by scholars. The older generation of scholars identifies this motif with Medusa due to the serpents radiating from the head.²⁵⁵ Medusa's head was a strong image and widely used as an apotropaic symbol in the Ancient Greek and Roman periods.²⁵⁶ The existence of women's jewelry decorated with Medusa head on the mummy portraits from Fayum indicates a relationship between this motif and women's well-being. Two women's portraits said to be found in Er-Rubayat are from the second and third centuries.²⁵⁷ (Figure 28) Both women wear thick golden chains with central a medallion depicting the head of Medusa. A material example for the depiction of these necklaces is a gold chain with the Medusa medallion that originated in Fayum and is now in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.²⁵⁸ (Figure 29) The portraits reflect the reality of their time by presenting a popular style of jewelry that also provided apotropaic protection. However, after exploring the origin of this motif, Spier states that this identification with Medusa is misleading. According to Spier,

Studia Evangelica 2 (1964): 526-531. David Lincicum, "The Origin of 'Alpha and Omega' (Revelation 1.8; 21.6; 22.13): A Suggestion", *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 6 (2009):128-133.

²⁵⁵ C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, (London, 1887), 432. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings* 2, (London, 1872), 47, pl. 9.3. Medusa was one of three Gorgon sisters and had snakes for hair and the power to turn anyone who looked at her to stone.

²⁵⁶ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, s.v. "Medusa" (Georgia S. Maas). See also M. Garber and N. J. Vickers, eds., *The Medusa Reader* (New York/ London: Routledge. 2003). J.-P. Vernant, "Death in the Eyes: Gorgo, Figure of the Other," in *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. F. I. Zeitlin, (Princeton/ Oxford: Princeton UP, 1991), 111-138. Stephen R. Wilk, *Medusa: Solving the Mystery of the Gorgon* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). David A. Leeming, *Medusa: In the Mirror of Time* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013). .

²⁵⁷ Susan Walker, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art : Routledge, 2000), no. 90-91.

²⁵⁸ Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *L'oro Dei Romani: Gioielli Di Età Imperiale* (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992), fig. 198, no. 145.

the motif does not resemble the classical representation of Medusa and there is no real textual support for this explanation.²⁵⁹

Vikan suggests that this iconography is derived from the image of Chnoubis, which is a decan in Egyptian tradition.²⁶⁰ Chnoubis has a serpent body and the radiate head, and is related to the health of the stomach and the womb. (Figure 30) Pitarakis is in agreement with Vikan and believes that in time, the iconography of Chnoubis was transformed into our motif.²⁶¹ Spier, however, states that Chnoubis was not the master of the womb and that the problems of the womb were only peripheral to its function.²⁶² Zaleskaia thinks that the motif was inspired by the female demons that were described as inflicting pain on people in the *Testament of Solomon*, an idea that connects the image of the head surrounded by serpents with the textual evidence describing female demons.²⁶³ In the *Testament of Solomon*, one female demon is described as a head with disheveled hair and without limbs.²⁶⁴ Another female demon is described as having bright green eyes and hair that is wild like a dragon.²⁶⁵ Finding the interpretation unsatisfactory, Spier emphasizes that such representations of female demons often appear with the image of the rider who spears the demon. Although the objects in question feature the image of a head with serpents on one side and the image of the rider on the other side, the head is never identified with a name of a female demon.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 38-39.

²⁶⁰ Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", 65-86.

²⁶¹ Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü", 15-30.

²⁶² Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 41.

²⁶³ Zaleskaia, "Amulettes Byzantines magiques", 243-247. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 23-26.

²⁶⁴ Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 29.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 30.

²⁶⁶ The names, Abyzou or Gylou, is frequently used for the female demon in Byzantine sources.

Richard P.H. Greenfield, "Saint Sisinnios, the Archangel Michael and the Female Demon Gylou: The Typology of the Greek Literary Stories." *Byzantina* 15 (1989): 83-142. Maria Patera, "Gylou, Démon Et Sorcière Du Monde Byzantin Au Monde Néogrec." *REB* 64, no. 1 (2006): 311-27.

Spier offers a different suggestion for the problem of explaining the origin and meaning of our motif. Spier focuses on the standard formula that accompanies the motif of a head surrounded by serpents on most of the *hystera* amulets. The inscription starts with the words Ὑστέρα μελάνη μελανομένη which translates as “*Womb, black, blackening*”. In many examples of the formula, the womb is called animal names such as snake and lion. According to Spier, since animalistic behaviors were often used to describe demons, the womb was believed to have demon-like behavior and needed to be exorcised.²⁶⁷ Thus, Spier believes that the motif is not the representation of a demon but the womb’s own illustration.²⁶⁸ In exorcism, the knowledge of the demon’s name is supposed to give power to the exorcist and help him drive out the demon. The image and the name of the womb on the amulets must have had a similar function.²⁶⁹ The motif of the head and the spell addressing the womb was intended to soothe the womb. The way that the standard formula of *hystera* addresses the womb supports this suggestion. Even the inscriptions that diverge from the standard formula provide evidence for this interpretation. For instance, the amulet C.04 has a circular head surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads on its obverse and four lines of inscription on its reverse. The inscription reads: IACE OYTEPA MEΛANI TI ΠΙΔAC which translates as “Be cured, black womb, why are you leaping?”. This inscription addresses the womb, ordering it to be healed and asks why it is restless. Much like this inscription, other spells and charms command the womb to stop roaming inside a person’s body.²⁷⁰ It appears that the womb’s restless behavior was pinpointed as the cause of health problems.

²⁶⁷ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 44-51.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-51.

²⁶⁹ Alphonse A. Barb, "Diva matrix", 210-211. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 38-44.

²⁷⁰ Betz, *The Greek magical papyri in translation*, 123-124.

In the fourth century BC, Plato considered the womb as an animated being that can wander around the body due to its desire for childbearing.²⁷¹ This wandering would ultimately cause sicknesses. The father of medicine, Hippocrates, agreed with Plato on the grounds that the womb can move inside a woman's body.²⁷² The displacement of the womb sometimes occurs when a woman does not have intercourse and give birth to children. Sometimes it is caused by the entrapment of menses in the womb. The writings of Hippocrates show that there was an attempt to explain the wandering of the womb in a logical way. He posits that an empty womb becomes dry and moves towards other organs that have moisture, such as the liver. Thus, women should have regular intercourse with their husbands and give birth to children to avoid this sickness.²⁷³ The Hippocratic writings also offer remedies for women already suffering from this ailment: baths, fumigation, and binding of the body.²⁷⁴ Fumigation was a well-known treatment by ancient and Late Antique doctors. They believed that the womb is drawn to pleasant smells and repelled by foul smells.²⁷⁵

From the third century BC onward, the first dissections of human bodies showed that the womb was fixed firmly inside a woman's body.²⁷⁶ In the first and second centuries AD, Soranus of Ephesus and Galen expressed that the womb did not have the ability to wander. Criticizing ancient doctors for their belief in the

²⁷¹ Plato, *Timaeus*, 91b-e. Robert G. Bury, *Plato with an English Translation VII: Timaeus, Critias, Cleitophon, Menexenus, Epistles* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), 249-250.

²⁷² Ann E. Hanson, "Hippocrates: 'Diseases of Women 1'", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1.2 (1975): 567-584.

²⁷³ Hanson, "Hippocrates", 567-584. This also supports the patriarchal perception of a woman's duties. Christopher A. Faraone, "Magical and Medical Approaches to the Wandering Womb in the Ancient Greek World" *Classical Antiquity* 30.1 (2011): 1-32. See also Katherine R. Marino, "Setting the Womb in Its Place: Toward A Contextual Archaeology of Graeco-Egyptian Uterine Amulets", (PhD diss., Brown University, 2010).

²⁷⁴ Faraone, "Magical and Medical Approaches", 5.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷⁶ Aubert, "Threatened Wombs", 421-449.

wandering womb, Soranus of Ephesus states that the inflammation of the ligaments that hold the womb in place causes them to contract and this in turn lifts the womb.²⁷⁷ However, in the second century AD, Aretaeus of Cappadocia still writes that “the womb is like an animal within an animal” and that it can be treated by fumigation.²⁷⁸ As men of medicine gradually began to discredit treatments such as fumigation, these treatments seem to have entered the sphere of healers who also used incantations and amulets for their clients.²⁷⁹ The head motif depicted on the amulets might have been appropriated from the artistic portfolio of Medusa with her disheveled hair ending in snake heads. However, I believe that the ancient belief of the wandering womb must have been the inspiration for the creation of *hystera* amulets, which were used to treat womb-related sicknesses.

This pseudo-medical and magical narrative signified by the image of a head surrounded by serpents was combined with the images of other narratives in order to strengthen the power of this particular motif. The amulets C.01, C.02, C.10, and C.12 present the well-known image of the holy rider spearing a figure, sometimes a half-female half-serpent as in C.01 and sometimes a snake as in C.10, beneath his horse. In both C.01 and C.02, the inscription around the image of the holy rider names him as Sisinnios. In these examples, two narratives are intermingled in order to offer protection against demons. The standard formula inscribed in full or in abbreviated form, as can be seen in C.01, C.03, C.05, and C.06, uses an analogy to describe the behavior of the womb; it is first aggressive like a wild animal and then tame like a domestic one. The image of the holy rider triumphing over the evil on the reverses of

²⁷⁷ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, Book III.XV. Owsei Temkin, trans., *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 173ff.

²⁷⁸ Aretaeus of Cappadocia, *On the Causes and Symptoms of Acute Diseases*, Book 2.XI, Francis Adams, trans., *The Extant Works of Aretaeus, the Cappadocian* (Boston: Milford House, 1972), 285-87.

²⁷⁹ Faraone, “Magical and Medical Approaches”, 9-12.

these objects communicates with the problem of the wandering womb and how it needs to be exorcised. Thus, the combination of these elements narrates a full story that re-enacts a problem and its solution.

2.3. Commands and Prayers:

Certain inscriptions as commands and/or prayers are repeated on different objects. As discussed in Chapter I, commands and prayers work as words operate in daily life – they are inscribed and/or uttered to accomplish an action: asking for protection from a higher being. For instance, a bronze button, C.44, is inscribed with a direct prayer – KE BOHΘI TO ΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΗ (Lord, help the wearer) – for protection of the object's owner.²⁸⁰ Unlike epic narratives as declarative elements, the inscriptions can be declarative as well as directive. Declarative inscriptions are intended to set a precedent for the desired outcome, similar to the analogical elements in *historiolae*, which is discussed in Chapter I. For instance, the inscription “One God who overcomes evil” which is featured on the bronze amulets from the sixth and seventh centuries declares God's triumph over evil. At the same time this is an appeal to God from the user of the object for protection against evil. This type of declarative inscriptions appears in other objects in the catalog. C.20 presents the image of the holy rider spearing a slithering serpent beneath his horse.²⁸¹ To the left of the rider, the inscription reads: ΥΓΙΑ ΧΑΡΙC, which translates as “Health Blessing”. These words were common in different visual media from Late Antique

²⁸⁰ Buttons in modern sense were not started to be used until the Late Byzantine period. However, these objects with hoops, which belong to the Early Byzantine period, might have sown on the garments as ornaments and weights. Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th-15th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 59, 62, 120, 333. For more information on this discussion please see the catalog C.43.

²⁸¹ Gülgün Köroğlu, "Silifke Müzesi'nden Erken Bizans Dönemine Ait Gümüş Tılsım." *Seleucia ad Calycadnum* 3 (2013): 81-99.

period such as the pavement decorations in baths and Byzantine marriage rings.²⁸²

By declaring these simple two words, the user asks for health and a blessing from God.

Psalm 90 (91) from the Old Testament is one of the most common declarative inscriptions on protective objects from Early Christianity.²⁸³

Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
αὐλισθήσεται.

“Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High will rest in the shadow of the Almighty.”²⁸⁴

The psalm declares that God will be the protector of the believers. It was depicted on various media such as apotropaic medallions and armbands.²⁸⁵ However, it does not solely belong to the domain of portable objects. The popularity of the psalm can also be observed in architectural elements from the Eastern Mediterranean. For instance, it appears on an inscription written on the fragments of a door that may have belonged to a church in Porphyreon, which is located in

²⁸² A lintel found in the ruins of a bath in El-Anderin in Syria includes the words, “Health” and “Grace”. The lintel shows that this bath was named “Health”. An inscription on a pavement mosaic from a building which is thought to be a bath in Caesarea in Israel wishes people who are in the building health and grace. Health was one of the qualities which were promoted by baths since bathing on a regularly basis was considered healthy. William Kelly Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Part III of the Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900* (New York: Century, 1908), no. 918. Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae*, No. 1419. The two words, health and grace, along with OMONOIA are also common in Byzantine marriage rings. Gary Vikan, “Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium,” *DOP* (1990): 145-63. Alicia Walker, “A Reconsideration of Early Byzantine Marriage Rings,” in *Between Magic and Religion. Interdisciplinary studies in ancient mediterranean Religion and Society*, ed. Sulochana R. Asirvatham et al., (Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 149-64.

²⁸³ G. von Rad, “Der 90. Psalm,” in *Gottes Wirken in Israel: Vorträge zum Alten Testament*, ed. Gerhard Rad and Odil H. Steck (Neukirchen-Vluyn : Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 268-283. Thomas J. Kraus, “Septuaginta-Psalm 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial”, *Biblische Notizen* 125 (2005) 39-73. Thomas J. Kraus, “Ein byzantinisches Amulett-Armband im British Museum (London) mit Septuaginta-Psalm 90 und der Huldigung der Magier”, *JbAC* 48/49 (2005/2006): 114-127.

²⁸⁴ Psalm 90 (91):4

²⁸⁵ Vikan, “Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands”, no. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10. Israeli and Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 162-163.

modern-day Lebanon.²⁸⁶ The psalm, which is accompanied by other inscriptions praising God, is dated to the seventh century.²⁸⁷ Another example is from the Necropolis of Gabbari in Alexandria: the graffiti on the wall of the funerary chapel from the fifth and sixth centuries presents the psalm with a cross.²⁸⁸ In Syria, the psalm was widely engraved on sarcophagi and the lintels of houses.²⁸⁹ It appears that people wanted God's protection not only on their persons, as illustrated by amulets, but also in their houses and even in their final resting place.

The apotropaic medallions from Syria/Palestine combine the psalm with the image of the holy rider.²⁹⁰ Usually only the first word of the psalm, Ὁ κατοικῶν, is inscribed on the surface of these objects. C.38 and C.39 are examples of this type of amulets, albeit in different materials. C.38, a bronze oblong shaped amulet, has the image of the holy rider on its obverse and the first word of Psalm 90 (91) in four registers on its reverse.²⁹¹ C.39, a lead amulet with a lost bottom part, has the same subject on its obverse and the first word of Psalm 90 (91) in three registers on its reverse. The letters are placed arbitrarily, and the last register of the inscription is missing. However, the context and the letters themselves demonstrate that this is the first word of Psalm 90 (91).

²⁸⁶ SEG 32, no. 1475-1479.

²⁸⁷ D. Feissel, "La Bible dans les inscriptions grecques", in *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed C. Mondésert (Paris, 1984), 223-231. Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, "Inscriptions Grecques Inédites, Découvertes Par Roger Saidah." *Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen. Série archéologique* 12, no. 1 (1982): 395-408.

²⁸⁸ SEG 32, no. 1573. Heinz Heinen, "Dipinti aus der West-Nekropole Alexandrias. Gabbari" in *Nécropolis 2, Études alexandrines* 7, ed. J.-Y. Empereur and M.-D. Nenna, (Le Caire : Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2003), 639-652.

²⁸⁹ IGLSyr.IV, 1488, 1748. IGLSyr.II, 675.

²⁹⁰ Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 168. Another similar lead amulet is from Israel Museum. Israeli and Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 165. For a mold creating this type of amulet, please see, Foskolou, "The Magic of the Written Word", fig. 5.

²⁹¹ The closest example to C.38 is a sixth-century medallion from a private collection in Israel. Israeli and Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 165.

The psalm is also combined with other images on portable objects. C.37 bears an image of a standing archangel carrying a cross with his right hand and an orb in his left hand on its obverse. On oblong amulets, the names of the archangels are frequently inscribed in order to ward off evil as on the reverse of C.13. The archangel Michael in particular was venerated as the protector of the empire and a healer in Asia Minor.²⁹² Thus, both the images of the archangels and their names were used for protective purposes. C.45 bears the psalm on its reverse and a representation of the Crucifixion of Christ on its obverse. Haloed in bust form, Christ tops a cross on a staff and is flanked by two haloed and crucified individuals. Scenes from the Christological cycle are illustrated along with Psalm 90 (91) on the armbands from Syria/Palestine.²⁹³ (Figure 14) C.45 is proof of the Christian community's acceptance of older traditions while also demonstrating how they associated the old themes with new imagery from Christianity – the contemporary images strengthened the object's power. There is also a symbolic meaning intended by this combination of new and old. This example shows Christ in bust form mounting the cross on a staff instead of depicting Christ crucified in full length. It is a very common depiction of the Crucifixion on lead pilgrim flasks from the Monza and Bobbio Collections.²⁹⁴ (Figure 13) This composition draws attention to the True Cross on which Christ was crucified. The image of the cross as well as the gesture of its sign was believed to have apotropaic power since it symbolizes Christ's victory over death.²⁹⁵ By

²⁹² C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis", *ΔΧΑΕ* 12 (1984–86): 39–62. See also E. A. W. Budge, *Saint Michael the Archangel: Three Encomiums by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, and Eustathius, Bishop of Trake; the Coptic Texts with Extracts from Arabic and Ethiopic Versions, Edited with a Translation* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1894). G.F. Hill, "Apollo and St Michael: Some Analogies", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 36 (1916): 134–62. J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherer* (Leiden, 1977). O. Meinardus, "Der Erzengel Michael als Psychopompos", *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978): 166–68.

²⁹³ Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong," no. 7, 9, 10.

²⁹⁴ Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, no. 6 and 8.

²⁹⁵ Christopher Walter, "IC XC NI KA. The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross." *REB* 55, no. 1 (1997): 193–220. Panagiotis Kambanis, "Christians against the Forces of Evil," in *Εξορκίζοντας*

coupling this scene with Psalm 90 (91), C.45 object facilitates the protection of God in the eyes of the user.

Byzantine hymns frequently appear on different amulets and this indicates the apotropaic significance of these hymns.²⁹⁶ The Thrice-Holy hymn, which was also called the *Trisagion* – “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of the Hosts, Heaven and earth are full of your glory” – is from Revelation 4:8 and Isaiah 6:3.²⁹⁷ It was cried out loud by seraphim, a creature with six-wings, in the presence of God. The Thrice-Holy hymn was chanted from the fourth century onward in the Anaphora, the Eucharistic Prayer.²⁹⁸ On the amulets, it is usually displayed in abbreviated form – “Holy, Holy, Holy” – as it is inscribed on the obverse of C.03 and the reverses of C.05 and C.14. The hymn is declarative in nature since it praises God and reminds the user that God is the master of heaven and earth – it is a way to take refuge in the power of God. Another hymn, which is also called the *Trisagion*, – “Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us” – is depicted on amulets as well as liturgical

το κακό : πίστη και δεισιδαιμονίες στο Βυζάντιο = *Esorcizzare il male : credenze e superstizioni a Bisanzio*, ed. Maria Kazakou et al. (Αθήνα : Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 2006), 24-25.

²⁹⁶ Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", fig. 2. İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, *Stories from the Hidden Harbor*, no. 80. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", nos. 7, 8, and 12. Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands", 35. Ludwig Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz Europas Östliches Erbe. Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendährigen Kultur* (München : Archäologische Staatssammlung, 2004), no. 586.

²⁹⁷ ODB, s.v. "Trisagion" (Robert F. Taft). E. Werner, 'The Genesis of the Liturgical Sanctus', in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed J. Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 19-32. E. Klumb-Böhmer, *Das Trisagion als Versöhnungsformel der Christenheit* (München/Wien, 1979). H G. M. Williamson, *Holy, Holy, Holy: The Story of a Liturgical Formula* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008). R.J.A. Wilson, "An Unusual Early Byzantine ``thrice-Holy" Inscription and Accompanying Design from Punta Secca, Sicily," *Phoenix* 67 (2013): 163-181.

²⁹⁸ S. P. Brock, "The Thrice-holy Hymn in the Liturgy," *Sobornost* 7.2 (1985), 28-31.

objects.²⁹⁹ It was chanted in the beginning of the Eucharist from the sixth century onward.³⁰⁰

On C.06, one of the *hystera* amulets, both of the *Trisagion* hymns are inscribed.³⁰¹ This well-preserved and well-executed lead amulet presents a small face surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads and a cross between the two serpents at the bottom on its obverse. This image is surrounded by an inscription of the Thrice-Holy/*Trisagion* hymn: ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΗΟC ΚΑΒΑΘΘ ΠΑΗΡΗC WΡΑΝΟ ΚΕ ΓΗ. On its reverse, the standard *hystera* formula is surrounded by the other *Trisagion* hymn: ΑΓΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΗΧΥΡΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC ΕΛΕ[ΗCON ΗΜΑC]. Similar to the Thrice-Holy hymn, the *Trisagion* hymn praises God by reciting God's properties and then asks for the mercy of God. Thus, unlike the Thrice-Holy hymn, the *Trisagion* hymn is both declarative and directive. The combination of the two prayers on a *hystera* amulet was to strengthen the power of the amulet against the problem of a wandering womb.

An interesting combination of various declarative and directive commands and prayers appear on an object in the catalog. C.52, the silver medallion is illustrated with different images and inscriptions. On the upper part of its obverse, a haloed rider spears a figure beneath his horse which faces an angel. The inscription above the angel's right wing identifies him as the archangel Michael. Beneath the left wing of the archangel, there are two unidentified haloed figures in bust form. There

²⁹⁹ Marlia M. Mango, Carol E. Snow, and Weisser T. Drayman, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, Md: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1986), no. 42a-c.

³⁰⁰ William K. Prentice, "Fragments of an Early Christian Liturgy in Syrian Inscriptions" *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 33 (1902), 81-100. V.-S. Janeras, *Les byzantins et le trisagion christologique*, in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1967) 469-99.

³⁰¹ Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü", fig. 12. Gülgün Köroğlu, "Byzantine Amulets Illustrated by Examples from the Haluk Perk Collection." *Art and Culture Magazine* 12 (2004): 12-17.

is an inscription dividing the surface of the obverse into two registers. The inscription reads: CΦP[ΑΓΓ]C COΛOMON which translates as “Solomon's Seal”. The image of the holy rider was often associated with the story of Solomon as was previously discussed. It is no surprise to find an archangel in the upper register of the object since the archangel Michael was the one who brought the seal from God to Solomon. This medallion is a close parallel to the sixth- and seventh-century medallions that depict the holy rider with an archangel.³⁰² The connection of these words and images remind the user of the story of Solomon and the triumph of God. Under the dividing inscription, there is a monogram on the left side that is unfortunately unintelligible due to the damage on the amulet. On the left side of this monogram, there is an inscription, a long-legged bird, and a scorpion. The inscription – ΠΙΟ – is either a corrupted or a subjunctive form of πίνω which translates as “I drink”. The long-legged bird is an ibis which also appears in C.15 and C.16.

To the left rim of the object and above the scorpion, there is a cruciform monogram. This cruciform monogram, ΣΡΛ, is an abbreviation for a prayer that can be found on different jewelry from the early Christian period.³⁰³ The repeated appearance of this monogram led to a discussion about its meaning. It is discussed that the meaning of the monogram is associated with the numeric value of its letters, known as isopsephy. Having studied the monogram, Hadzidakis does not favor this idea since the value of the letters is equal to 6130, a number that is too high to be an

³⁰² The composition of the holy rider spearing a female saint and facing an archangel finds parallels in different medallions of various materials. See Matantseva, “Les Amulettes Byzantines”, Pl. 14.

³⁰³ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 653. Stiegemann, *Byzanz*, no. IV.55. Hadzidakis, “Un anneau byzantin”, figs. 1-4. Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, 248-249, no. 33. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of early Christian antiquities and objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and mediaeval antiquities and ethnography of the British museum* (British Museum, London : Printed by order of the Trustees, 1901), no. 284.

isopsephy.³⁰⁴ Instead, he argues that the letters indicate a date, specifically 638/9 according to the Alexandrian chronological system.³⁰⁵ However, these letters appear in various types of artistic media making it improbable that they all indicate the same date. Moreover, Grumel correctly points out that there are other examples of isopsephy with higher numbers. Grumel suggests that the letters are the isopsephy of the Monophysite Trisagion because the numeric value of the Monophysite Trisagion is also 6130 and the prayer appears on different objects from Syria that also make use of the motifs on C.52.³⁰⁶ The Monophysite Trisagion differs from the Chalcedonian Trisagion, which was previously discussed, due to the addition of the clause, “who was crucified for us” at the end of the prayer.³⁰⁷ It reads as: ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΣΧΥΡΟΣ, ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, Ο ΣΤΑΥΡΩΘΕΙΣ, ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ, which translates as “Holy God, Holy strong, Holy immortal, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us”. It addresses Christ while the Chalcedonian version addresses the Trinity. Thus, the monogram of ΣΡΑ on C.52 is a prayer for the mercy and protection of Christ.

The most interesting aspect of this object is the appearance of the Lord’s Prayer, which is rarely inscribed on metal amulets, on the reverse.³⁰⁸ To my knowledge, there is only one example other than C.52 which was discussed by Jeffrey Spier.³⁰⁹ The prayer frequently appears in wooden and clay tablets and papyri

³⁰⁴ Manolis Hadzidakis, “Un anneau byzantin du Musée Benaki” *Byzantinisch Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 27 (1944): 174-206.

³⁰⁵ It was a system created by an Alexandrian monk, Panodorus, in the fifth century. *ODB*, s.v. “Alexandrian Era” (Brian Croke). *RE*, s.v. “Panodorus” (O. Steel).

³⁰⁶ Venance Grumel, “Isopsephies de ΣΡΑ”. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947): 515-521.

³⁰⁷ *ODB*, s.v. “Trisagion” (Robert F. Taft). V. W. Yorke, “Inscriptions from Eastern Asia Minor”, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 18 (1898): 306-327.

³⁰⁸ Matthew 6:9-13. “Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name, your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us today our daily bread. And forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors. And lead us not into temptation but deliver us from the evil ones.”

³⁰⁹ Jeffrey Spier, “An Antique Magical Book Used for Making Sixth-Century Byzantine Amulets?” In *Les saviors magiques et leur transmission de l’Antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. Véronique Dasen and

along with other biblical verses.³¹⁰ These examples are identified as amulets rather than literary works or memory aids due to the presence of orthographic mistakes and the depiction of peculiar symbols on them.³¹¹ On the reverse of C.52, the Lord's Prayer is written on the surface in eleven registers and in the area surrounding the registers. It starts in the surrounding area and then continues in the eleven registers. The carefully inscribed prayer from the Bible asks God for forgiveness of the believers' sins and protection against temptation and evils.³¹² The various protective elements on the obverse and the Lord's Prayer are combined together to galvanize the power of the object.

Finally, directive commands and prayers are depicted on objects for the protection of the user. A deliberate effort to connect the commands or prayers to a narrative presents itself in these objects. C.43, a bronze button bears the inscription, CΦΡΑΓΙC COΛOMON BOHΘI TO ΦOPONTI, which translates as "Seal of Solomon, help the wearer". The style of the letters in the inscription indicates an early Byzantine dating. Moreover, this object belongs to the domain of objects which bear inscriptions referring the narrative of Solomon. Like this group objects and parallel examples, this button is also dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.³¹³ The inscription refer to the seal of Solomon, Solomon's weapon against demons, in order to remind the user of the narrative of Solomon and the triumph of good, similar to the inscription on C.52. The user asks for God's help both directly – βοήθει τῷ φορόντι

Jean-Michel Spieser (Florence, 2014), 49. My thanks to Jeffrey Spier for providing me with the images of this object.

³¹⁰ Thomas Kraus, "Manuscripts with the Lord's Prayer—They Are More Than Simply Witnesses to That Text Itself," in *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and Their World*, ed T. Kraus and Tobias Niklas, (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2006), 227-66.

³¹¹ Theodore de Bruyn, "Papyri, Parchments, ostraca, and Tablets Written with biblical Texts in Greek and used as Amulets: A Preliminary List", in *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach*, ed Thomas J Kraus; Tobias Nicklas, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 145-89.

³¹² Skemer, *Binding Words*, 75-124.

³¹³ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 461 and 583. Grünbart, *Gold und Blei*, 139. Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", fig. 4.

– and with the analogy of Solomon’s triumph over evil using an object bestowed by God.

Moreover, commands/prayers are often in communication with the images on objects. A lead *hystera* amulet, C.07, bears on its obverse the image of a human head surrounded by six serpents with triangular heads, all of which is surrounded by the inscription, ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΑΠΟ CΙΟΝ ΒΟΙΘ[ΕΙ], which translates as “Holy Mother of God from Sion help”. On the reverse, a male figure wears an elaborate dress with a cross on it and raises his hands in prayer.³¹⁴ This scene is surrounded by the inscription, ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟC ΑΠΟ Δ[Ρ]ΥΜΕΡΑCΙ CΟCΟ[N], which translates as “Mother of God from (?) save”. It is interesting that in both inscriptions the Mother of God is connected to places. Although the name of the place inscribed on the reverse is unknown, the inscription on the obverse connects the Mother of God to Sion. Here Sion might refer to the holy site, Mount Sion in Jerusalem on which several sacred sites such as the Church of the Apostles were found.³¹⁵ However, it may also refer to the Lycian Monastery of Holy Sion in Antalya, which was established by the local saint, St. Nicholas in the sixth century.³¹⁶ The eleventh-century *Life* of the saint records various healings occurring in the site.³¹⁷ Thus, the anonymous male figure on the reverse might represent St. Nicholas. Considering the significance of the *hystera* motif in pseudo-medical context, this demonstrates the

³¹⁴ There are examples of *hystera* amulets combining the image of the womb with those of Christian saints. Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, nos. 172 and 173.

³¹⁵ ODB, s.v. “Sion, Mount” (Gary Vikan, Alexander Kazhdan, Zvi ‘Uri Ma’oz). Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 171. *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, s.v. “Sion”.

³¹⁶ ODB, s.v. “Sion, Holy” (Clive F. W. Foss). R.M. Harrison, “Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia”, *Anatolian Studies* 13 (1963): 131–35, 150.

³¹⁷ Ihor Ševčenko and Nancy Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984), 96–108. Susan A. Boyd, Marlia M. Mango, and Gary Vikan. *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium: Papers of the Symposium Held May 16-18, 1986, at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., Organized by Susan A. Boyd, Marlia Mundell Mango, and Gary Vikan* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992).

connection between images and inscriptions and how commands and prayers are interwoven into the fabric of a narrative.

3. The Existence of Unaccompanied Epic Narratives

3.1. Narratives of Individual Saints and the Virgin Mary:

In Chapter I, I emphasized that icons are objects of veneration but also protective objects. Objects with imagery or inscriptions related to the holy persons regulated communication between God and believers for their salvation. Similar to their larger size counterparts in churches, small-size icons – various small objects with the portraits of Christian figures – were also intermediaries between God and human.³¹⁸ This intermediary power was also linked to their protective power. The icons also functioned as protective objects due to the subjects that they present. For instance, in the *Life* of St. Lazaros of Mt. Galesion from the eleventh century, the sailor who was given a token bearing an image of the Virgin Mary by the holy man shows the token to the author.³¹⁹ First the sailor kisses the token and then makes the author kiss it. Then he explains how the token protected him from many troubles at sea. Here, the sailor shows respect both to the image on the token and to the saint due to his contact with the token. At the same time, the sailor uses the token as a protective object. Objects of this type allowed for private veneration and protection, and these two functions were closely intertwined.

Several objects (C.40, C.41, C.47, C.49, C.51, and C.53) can be identified as private icons due to their small-size and representation of the saints and the Virgin Mary. Although these objects are produced in various shapes for different purposes,

³¹⁸ Gary Vikan, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power," in *The Icon: Four Essays*, ed Gary Vikan, (Washington, D.C., 1988), 6–19. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies*, 100-145. Kitzinger, "Cult of Images", 83-150.

³¹⁹ Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*, 162-163.

it is possible that the objects may have served as private icons for people who had a personal attachment to the subject matter displayed on them.³²⁰ C.40 and C.41 with their undecorated and flat reverses resemble the medallions used in icon frames, processional crosses, and intaglios. These medallions often have nail holes either at the center or on the sides, where the objects can be fitted securely into their settings.³²¹ C.41, however, has no holes, and the one hole in C.40 is located to the right of the saint's head, an awkward place for a nail. Thus, it seems unlikely for C.41 and C.40 to be fitting for other objects. Moreover, the hole on C.40 indicates that the object must have been used as a pendant with a chain passing through the hole. There are similar bronze medallions dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³²² These medallions are thought to be inexpensive copies of expensive objects such as cameos and stone carvings. It is also considered that they may have been dies that were used to make impressions on sheets of metal.³²³ Nevertheless, the hole on C.40 indicates that as well as their original purpose these objects may have been used as private objects and small-size icons due to their religious iconography.

C.40 on its obverse presents an image of a haloed and young male with abundant hair, carrying a spear with his right hand and a shield with his left hand. There are letters identifying the saint on either side of his head: O A(Γ)IOC ΓEWP(Γ)IOC). On the basis of iconography and the paleography of the inscription, C.40 can be dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to the tradition,

³²⁰ See also Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 65-67.

³²¹ Ikonomaki-Papadopoulou, et. al., *Enkolpia*, no. 17. Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 223, 225, and 226. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 234.

³²² Slobodan Ćurčić and A. St Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine art and archaeology at Princeton University* (Princeton: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, 1986), no. 62, p. 79. Ross et al., *Catalogue Vol. 1*, no. 62, 54-55.

³²³ Kirin, *Sacred Art*, no.38. Vasil P. Vasilev, "Matrizenmodelle in Der Byzantinischen Toreutik," in *Metallkunst Von Der Spätantike Bis Zum Ausgehenden Mittelalter*, ed. Von Arne Effenberger (Berlin, 1982), 90-96.

St. George, who is frequently represented in Byzantine art, originally came from Cappadocia and was martyred in Lydda, Palestine, during the reign of Diocletian.³²⁴ The saint's sanctuary in Lydda, which was built at the end of the fourth century, became a main pilgrimage center by the sixth century.³²⁵ Various churches were dedicated to the saint in Syria, and his relics garnered much attention.³²⁶ As the characterization of an emperor as a courageous and victorious leader gained more attraction, the iconography of the warrior saints became more popular in aristocratic circles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³²⁷ The saint was venerated by the pious from lower strata of the Byzantine society as well. The inscriptions from Syria documenting the donor's offerings to the shrines reveal the intercessory character of the saint, as well as the relationship between individuals and the saint.³²⁸

The representations of St. George spearing a serpent became highly popular after iconoclasm in Cappadocia.³²⁹ In these examples, as well as those of St. Theodore, St. George's representations are similar to those of the holy rider, a hero on horseback spearing a dragon.³³⁰ His role as a savior was emphasized in other

³²⁴ ODB, s.v. "George" (Alexander Kazhdan, Nancy Patterson Sevcenko). E. A. W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia* (London: D. Nutt, 1888). Karl Krumbacher, Albert Ehrhard, *Der Heilige Georg in Der Griechischen Überlieferung* (München: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911). J. B. Aufhauser, *Das Drachenwunder des heiligen Georg in der griechischen und lateinischen Überlieferung* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1911). G. Marsot, "Georges de Lydda", *Catholicisme* 4 (1956): 1855-6. Christopher Walter, "The Origins of the Cult of Saint George", *REB* 53 (1995), 295-326. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 109-144.

³²⁵ F. Cumont, "La Plus Ancienne Légende de saint Georges", *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* 114 (1936): 6-51. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 112.

³²⁶ D. Howell, "St. George as Intercessor", *Byzantion* 39 (1969): 121-36. A. M. Setton, "St. George's Head", *Speculum* 48 (1973): 1-12.

³²⁷ Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 131-132. S. Petrides, "Deux canons inédits de Georges Skylitzes", *Vizantijskij Vremmenik* 10 (1903). An example of aristocratic adoption of the warrior saints is presented in the parreklion of the Monastery of Chora. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (London Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pl. 250-258.

³²⁸ Howard C. Butler, William K. Prentice, and Enno Littmann. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900 Vol. III* (New York: The Century Co, 1903), 296, 412.

³²⁹ There are few examples showing St. George spearing a serpent in Cappadocia before iconoclasm. One of them is in Mavruca no.3. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 128.

³³⁰ Yılanlı Kilise from the ninth century, Pürenli Seki Kilisesi from the tenth century, and Saklı Kilise and Yusuf Koç Kilisesi from the eleventh century show St. George spearing a serpent. Nicole

iconographical models as well. The well-known image of St. George saving the youth from Mytilene became popular in the thirteenth century.³³¹ In these late representations, St. George, while spearing a serpent or a dragon, is accompanied by a young boy on horseback.³³² Also the iconographical type of St. George saving a princess from a dragon accentuates his role as a heroic rescuer. This type became popular in Europe and Georgia from the eleventh century onward.³³³ A Greek example of this iconography in which St. George atop a white horse rescues a princess, is housed in the Church of Anargyroi at Kastoria from the twelfth century.³³⁴ Similar to the holy rider, these scenes must have connected the image of St. George to the narrative of a hero who triumphs over evil in the minds of users.

C.41 presents the bust of a haloed saint with a long and pointy beard on its obverse. The saint is holding a book with his left hand and making a gesture of blessing with his right hand. The saint's classical garments indicate that he is an apostle. His large forehead, long beard, and the codex in his left hand indicate that he

Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce, région du Hasan Dagi* (Paris : C.Klincksiek, 1963), 91. Nicole Thierry, *Yusuf Koç Kilisesi: église Rupestre De Cappadoce* (Ankara: Türk Tarih kurumu basımevi, 1974), 193-206. A. W. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme, Cappadocia; the Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches". *CahArch*, 24 (1975): 115-135. Nicole Thierry, "Découvertes à la nécropole de Göreme (Cappadoce)", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 128 (1984): 656-691.

³³¹ D. Talbot Rice, "The Accompanied Saint George", in *Actes du VI^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, II, (Paris, 1951), 383-387. I. Dujčev, "Due note di storia medievale", *Byzantion*, XXIX-XXX (1959-1960): 259-266. O. Meinardus, "The Equestrian Deliverer in Eastern Iconography", *Oriens Christianus*, LVII (1973): 142-155. L. Kretzenbacher, "Sankt Georg mit dem Jüngling auf dem Streitross. Zur antitürkischen Volksdeutung eines mittelalterlichen Bildmotivs", *Münchner Zeitschrift für Balkankunde*, I, (1978): 181-196.

³³² This iconography was likely the result of Arab attacks on Mediterranean in the ninth century.

R. Cormack and S. Mihalarias, "A crusader painting of St. George: 'maniera greca' or 'lingua franca'?", *The Burlington Magazine* (1984): 132-141. V. Christides, "The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea. Piracy and Conquest", *Byzantion* LI (1981): 76-111. Piotr Grotowski, "The Legend of St. George saving a youth from captivity and its depiction in art" *Byzantina* 1 (2003): 27-77.

³³³ Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 140-142. E. Privalova, *Pavnisi*, (Tbilisi : Metsniereba, 1977), 11-17, figs. 5, 18, 20.

³³⁴ E. Pelekanides, *Kastoria* (Thessalonica: Etaireia Makedonikōn Spoudōn, 1953), fig. 32.

is St. John the Theologian.³³⁵ There are few Byzantine small objects that bear a sole image of St. John.³³⁶ However, St. John was frequently represented in the pendentives beneath the domes of churches, together with the other evangelists.³³⁷ The evangelists were also depicted with the Virgin on reliquary crosses; the scene of the Crucifixion of Christ was portrayed on the other side of these crosses.³³⁸ In Western Christianity during the medieval period the evangelists had apotropaic associations due to their role as the guardians of the sacred text.³³⁹ There is no evidence that this was the case in Byzantium. Nevertheless, the fact that St. John was regularly portrayed in churches and on reliquary crosses shows that he was a major figure in Christianity. His role as a writer of evangelical history and a witness of the Incarnation also makes him the reminder and symbol of Christ's victory.³⁴⁰

C.47, an embossed roundel painted with silver, appears to be a small-size icon or an applique on another object due to its larger size and weight. The attention paid to details on C.47 and the fact that it is gilded with silver indicate that this object may

³³⁵ ODB, s.v. "John" (Johannes Irmscher, Alexander Kazhdan, Annemarie Weyl Carr). C.P. Charalampidis, "Tipologia della rappresentazione iconografica di Giovanni il Teologo", in *Atti del IV Simposio di Efeso su S. Giovanni apostolo*, ed L. Padovese, (Roma, 1994), 217–228.

³³⁶ ODB, s.v. "Evangelist Portraits" (Robert S. Nelson). See also I. Spatharakis, *The Left-Handed Evangelist: A Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography* (London 1988). For the objects, Wolfgang F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke Aus Italien Und Byzanz*. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1930), no. 6592, p. 148. Yannis D. Varalis, "Steatite icon with Saint John the Theologian" *BZ* 104.2 (2011): 719–736, no. 21. Reinhold Baumstark and Birgitt Borkopp, *Rom Und Byzanz: Schatzkammerstücke Aus Bayerischen Sammlungen* (München: Hirmer, 1998), no. 41, 158–159. Ćurčić and St Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, no. 39.

³³⁷ Robert S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book*. (New York: Published by New York University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1981), 109–114. Robert S. Nelson, and Kristen M. Collins. *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006). 208–209, no. 34.

³³⁸ Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*,

³³⁹ L. Nees, "A Fifth-Century Book Cover and the Origin of the Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow," *Gesta* 17:1 (1978): 5–6; L. Nees, "The Colophon Drawing in the Book of Mulling: A Supposed Irish Monastery Plan and the Tradition of Terminal Illustration in Early Medieval Manuscripts," *CMCS* 5 (1983), 85–88; Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990), 291–302. Jennifer O'Reilly, "Patristic and Insular Traditions of the Evangelists: Exegesis and Iconography," in *Le Isole Britanniche e Roma in Età Romanobarbarica*, ed. A.M. Luiselli Fadda and E. Ó Carragáin (Rome: Herder, 1998), 54.

³⁴⁰ Tolga B. Uyar, "Art et société en pays de Rum: les peintures 'byzantines' du XIIIe siècle en Cappadoce", (PhD diss., University of Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne 2011), vol 1, p. 287.

have been commissioned by an individual who had selected the subject ahead of time. The roundel is illustrated with the Virgin Mary in bust form, raising her hands in prayer. Her name as the Mother of God is written on the two sides of her head: MP ΘΥ. This iconography of the Virgin Mary raising her hands in prayer appear frequently in both bust and standing forms on various artistic media from Middle Byzantine period such as coins, weights, pendant icons, and book covers.³⁴¹ A round copper roundel bearing the image of St. John the Evangelist from Bode Museum in Berlin has a striking resemblance to C.47 regarding the style of the object.³⁴² This example dated to the eleventh century appears similar to C.47 with its circular shape and pearl border although it is larger in size.

The image of the Virgin Mary had always been popular in terms of depictions on various types of objects in Byzantium.³⁴³ Since the Virgin Mary was the protector of Constantinople, her cult was very much renowned in the capital.³⁴⁴ Moreover, many of Constantinople's churches and chapels were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. A small lead rectangular object, C.49, possibly a medallion with a missing hoop, bears the image of the Virgin Mary standing under an arch and holding the Child Christ on her left side. The representation of this image which emphasizes the figures' silhouette resembles the Virgin's representation on the jewelry belonged to

³⁴¹ Maria Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Milan: Skira, 2000), nos. 18, 43, and 44a. Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 701. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 133. Mario Carrieri, David Buckton, Christopher Entwistle, and Rowena Prior, *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (Milan: Olivetti, 1984), no.9.

³⁴² Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke Aus Italien Und Byzanz*, no. 6592, p. 148.

³⁴³ Her image was the most popular representation on crosses. Pitarakis, "Objects of Devotion and Protection", 172. Also see Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006).

³⁴⁴ H. Baynes, "The finding of the Virgin's robe", in *Byzantine Studies and other Essays*, ed Norman H. Baynes (London, 1955), 240–247. P. Brown, 'Society and the Supernatural: a Medieval Change', *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 133–51. Averil Cameron. "The Cult of the Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol," *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 79-108. Cameron, "Images of Authority", 3-35.

sixth and seventh centuries.³⁴⁵ (Figures 31 and 32) From the twelfth century onwards, this particular iconography of the Virgin Mary started to be called with the term *Hodegetria* in which the Virgin Mary holds the Child Christ on her left side.³⁴⁶ The term which means “she who leads the way” takes its name from the Monastery of Hodegon which is home to a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary and Christ painted by St. Luke.³⁴⁷ According to the legend which emphasizes the Virgin’s role as intercessor, this icon was brought to Constantinople from Jerusalem with the initiative of the Empress Pulcheria in the fifth century.³⁴⁸ In Middle Byzantine period, this icon was a part of the Tuesday processions passing through the main street of the city.³⁴⁹

The pre-iconoclastic examples of this type show the Virgin Mary embracing the Child Christ and seeking physical contact as it is represented in C.49.³⁵⁰ (Figure 33) The post-iconoclastic examples, however, show the Virgin Mary holding the Child Christ with one hand and raising her other hand towards him. In these examples, the Virgin Mary appears to be offering Christ to the viewer.³⁵¹ (Figure 34) A rectangular small-size icon, C.53, presents a similar post-iconoclastic iconography.

³⁴⁵ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 645 and 658. Ludwig Wamser and Gisela Zahlhaas, *Rom Und Byzanz: Archäologische Kostbarkeiten Aus Bayern* (München: Hirmer, 1998), no. 337. Christoph Stiegemann, *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten*, (Mainz : Von Zabern, 2001), no. IV.9.

³⁴⁶ V. Lazarev, ‘Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin’, *The Art Bulletin* 20 (1938): 26-65. R.L. Wolff, *Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria*, *Traditio* 6 (1948): 319–28. A. Grabar, “L'Hodigitria et l'Eléousa”, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 10 (1975) 3–14. Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery”, in *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Milano: Skira, 2000), 373-387.

³⁴⁷ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 120-121.

³⁴⁸ Angelidi and Papamastorakis, “The Veneration of the Virgin”, 373-387.

³⁴⁹ Bissera V. Pentcheva, “The ‘activated icon: the Hodegetria procession and Mary’s *Eisodos*” in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 195-207.

³⁵⁰ Pentcheva, “The ‘activated icon’”, 17.2.

³⁵¹ This iconography symbolizes the motherly sacrifice and intercession of the Virgin for the humankind. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 109-143. Pentcheva, “The ‘activated icon’”, 17.3. Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, figs. 126 and 144, no. 20. Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 85 and 86.

Although the object is highly damaged, it is possible to observe that the Virgin Mary is represented on the object in half-length, carrying the Child Christ on her right arm and extending her left hand towards Christ. In other examples of this iconographical type, which is known as *dexiokratousa* (right-handed), a variant of Virgin Hodegetria, in which the Virgin holds the Child on her right arm, the Child Christ holds a scroll in his left hand and blesses with his right or at times vice versa.³⁵² Even though the Child Christ is almost unobservable on C.53, the traces of his hands indicate that this scene follows the well-known iconography, which became popular in monumental painting during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.³⁵³ This example shows an iconographic connection to the monumental painting like other small objects such as seals and coins.

A bronze pendant, C.51, presents the Virgin Mary in bust form raising her arms in prayer and the Child Christ, also in bust form, hovering over her chest. This representation symbolizes the incarnation of Christ and his humanity through the Virgin and puts emphasis on the doctrine of incarnation.³⁵⁴ In the eleventh century, this iconography started to be referred with the epithet *Blachernitissa* after the Monastery of Blachernai, one of the earliest sanctuaries for the Virgin Mary in

³⁵² N. Kondakov, *Ikonografiia Bogomateri* (St Petersburg, 1915), 152–62. Lazarev, 'Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin', 26–65. A. Grabar, 'Remarques sur l'iconographie byzantine de la Vierge', *CahArch* 26 (1977): 169–78. D. Mouriki, 'A Thirteenth-Century Icon with a Variant of the Hodegetria in the Byzantine Museum of Athens', *DOP* 41 (1987): 403–14.

³⁵³ Nano Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas, Byzantine Art in Greece* (Athens, 1997), 43, fig. 32. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, fig. 45. Kurt Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York, 1978), Pl. 32. Kurt Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom", *DOP* 20 (1966): 49–83. S. Sophocleous, *Icons of Cyprus 7th – 20th Century* (Nicosia, 1994), fig. 11. P. Vocotopoulos, 'Three Thirteenth-Century Icons at Moutoullas', in N. P. Ševcenko and C. Moss (eds), *Medieval Cyprus. Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki* (Princeton, NJ, 1999), 161–7, Pl. 10, figs 1, 3. Nano Chatzidakis, "A Byzantine icon of the *dexiokratousa* Hodegetria from Crete in the Benaki Museum," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Aldershot, Hants, England Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 337–412. There are few examples of this iconography which are dated earlier than the eleventh century. A. Grabar, "Note sur l'iconographie ancienne de la Vierge. 1: Découverte à Rome d'une icône de la Vierge à l'encaustique", *Les Cahiers techniques de l'art* 3.1 (1954): 531–3.

³⁵⁴ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 145–163.

Constantinople.³⁵⁵ This connection was likely due to the miracle during the weekly processions which involves a holy icon of the Virgin Mary. It is recorded in the eleventh century that a veil covering the icon would rise miraculously and reveal the icon at the appointed moment.³⁵⁶ Pentcheva argues that this icon had the image of the Virgin Mary holding a medallion with the Child Christ in front of her chest.³⁵⁷ C.51 reflects the features of this image from the Palaeologan period where the frontal flap of the Virgin's mantle, or *maphorion*, is used as a semicircular outline to support the figure of the Child Christ in bust form.³⁵⁸ (Figure 35)

The Avar siege on Constantinople in the seventh century enhanced the Virgin Mary's image as protectress of the city.³⁵⁹ The textual sources record that representations of the Virgin Mary were placed on the walls of the city for protection.³⁶⁰ Similar accounts about protection provided by the Virgin Mary during the Arab's attacks on Constantinople are recorded in the eighth century.³⁶¹ The cult of the Virgin Mary received great sponsorship from the imperial family and

³⁵⁵ D. Lathoud, "La Vierge orante "Episkepsis" des Blachernes," *Union des Églises* 2 (1923):166-168. A.M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen", *Oriens* 4 (1951): 97-105. Pentcheva, "Rhetorical Images", 34-55.

³⁵⁶ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 145-163. V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre Dame des Blachernes," *Échos d'Orient* 30 (1931): 129-146. E. Trapp, "Eine wiedergefundene Ikone der Blachernenkirche," *JÖB* 35 (1985):193-195.

³⁵⁷ Pentcheva, "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin", 46, fig. 1.

³⁵⁸ Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 134. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris: Centre de la recherche scientifique, (1963), no. 110. W. Seibt and M. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), fig. 3.1.12. Moreover, the image on the reverse, cross formed of four petals and superimposed upon a square, also confirms the Palaeologan dating. This type of crosses are presented on the Palaeologan coinage. Todor Gerasimov, "Monnaies Des Paléologues Avec Des Représentations D'étoiles," *Byzantinobulgarica* 3 (1969): 103-116, figs. 4 and 5. Simon Bendall, and P J. Donald, *The Later Palaeologan Coinage 1282-1453* (London: A.H. Baldwin, 1979), nos. 29 and 30.

³⁵⁹ F. Barisic, "Le siege de Constantinople par les Avars et les Slaves en 626", *Byzantion* 24 (1954): 371-95. A. Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944): 61-127.

³⁶⁰ Christine Angelidi and Titos Papamastorakis, "Picturing the spiritual protector: from Blachernitissa to Hodegetria", in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 209-217. Anthony Kaldellis, "The Military Use of the Icon of the Theotokos and its Moral Logic in the Historians of the Ninth-Twelfth Centuries", *Estudios bizantinos* 1 (2013): 56-75. Pentcheva argues that this practice started not during the siege but after iconoclasm: Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The supernatural protector of Constantinople: The Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege", *BMGS* 26 (2013): 2-41.

³⁶¹ Angelidi and Papamastorakis, "Picturing the spiritual protector", 212.

aristocratic circles due to its connection to military triumph and the protection of the empire.³⁶² In public level, apart from its association with the protection of the capital and its inhabitants, the image of the Virgin Mary possessed different connotations. The Virgin Mary was a mother and a symbol of fertility due to her miraculous pregnancy.³⁶³ For instance, Zoe Karbonopsina, the fourth wife of Leo VI (866 – 912), is reported to use a miraculous belt that was previously tied around an icon of the Mother of God in order to have a child.³⁶⁴ Her image must have been an intermediary for women praying for conception and successful pregnancy.³⁶⁵ She was also a symbol of the incarnation since she was the vessel through the incarnation of Christ was made possible with Christ's sacrifice and victory over death.³⁶⁶ Thus, the images of the Virgin Mary, connected to the narrative of the Virgin Mary's life, embodied this sacred doctrine for believers.

3.2. Narratives Related to the Pilgrimage

In Chapter I, I discussed how sanctity was transferrable in the eyes of the Byzantines and that their desire of obtaining blessings led to the creation of numerous pilgrim objects. Due to their sacred nature, these objects were also seen as protective, a phenomenon that was reflected in textual and visual sources. Pilgrim objects with specific imagery served as mementoes to remind the pilgrim of the epic

³⁶² Liz James, "The Empress and the Virgin in early Byzantium: piety, authority, and devotion", in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Aldershot, Hants, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 145-152.

³⁶³ Brigitte Pitarakis, "Female Piety in Context: understanding developments in private devotional practices", in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed Maria Vassilaki, (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 153-162.

³⁶⁴ Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, Ad 527-1204* (London: Routledge, 1999), 114.

³⁶⁵ See a silver armband illustrated with the image of the Virgin Mary with Child Christ and an invocation to the Virgin Mary including the name Anna, Vikan, "Two Amuletic Armbands", no.22, fig. 5.

³⁶⁶ Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes* (New York: Harper, 1877), 28. Ioli Kalavrezou, "Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Meter Theou" *DOP* 44 (1990): 165-72.

narrative of the saint whom they visited and also their own experience at the site. The epic narratives of the saints and the pilgrimage sites connected to the saints which are depicted on objects relate to the function of protection.

There are three lead medallions in the catalog whose provenance is unknown. However, there is a high possibility that these medallions might have belonged to the sphere of pilgrimage culture based on the certain images depicted on them. C.30, a lead pendant, is decorated with the imagery of a female saint raising her arms in prayer on its obverse and a male saint holding a staff topped with a cross in his right hand and standing between two animals on its reverse. The animals on the reverse resemble the camels that are illustrated on the pilgrim flasks from the shrine of St. Menas in Egypt with their long and bowed necks.³⁶⁷ The clay pilgrim flasks from Abu Mina, where the shrine was located, were widely distributed in the sixth and seventh centuries.³⁶⁸ The popularity of the shrine continued until the Islamic conquest in mid-seventh century.³⁶⁹ On the flasks, the third century martyr St. Menas stands between two camels in a way similar to that of the saint on the obverse of C. 30.

St. Menas was occasionally paired on the flasks with other figures, such as the monk Isidore of Pelusium, Peter of Alexandria, and St. Athenogenes. However, St. Thekla, an early Christian martyr, is the only female saint depicted with St.

³⁶⁷Oskar Konstantin Wulff, *Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke* (Berlin: Reimer, 1909), Pl. LXVIII. C.M. Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen* (Cairo, 1910). Catherine Metzger, *Les Ampoules À Eulogie Du Musée Du Louvre* (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1981), no. 97. Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 193f. Janette Witt, *Menasampullen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), 33f.

³⁶⁸Grossman, "The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Mînâ", 281–302. Anderson, "Menas Flasks in the West", 221.

³⁶⁹Susanne Bangert, "Menas Ampullae and Saxon Britain: Coptic Objects in a Pagan Landscape," in *Incipient Globalization?: Long-Distance Contacts in the Sixth Century*, ed. Anthea Harris (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2007) 27-33.

Menas on the flasks from Abu Mina.³⁷⁰ A closer look at C.30 shows that there were two figures flanking the female saint on the obverse, although they are almost invisible due to the corrosion on the object. St. Thekla was often depicted between two lions at her feet.³⁷¹ (Figure 36) Thus, I believe that the female saint on this object must be St. Thekla. The iconographical similarities between the well-known clay pilgrim flasks from Abu Mina and C.30 indicates that C.30 might also have been produced in Abu Mina and should be dated to the sixth-seventh centuries. Discussing the reason for this pairing on the pilgrim flasks, Davis and Foskolou agree that this combination emanated from the rivalry between the saints' cults.³⁷² The well-known shrine of St. Thekla was in Seleucia in Asia Minor. However, one of the stories in the *Miracles of Saint Menas* states that there was another shrine of St. Thekla in close proximity to the shrine of St. Menas.³⁷³ In this story, St. Menas saves a woman who was assaulted by a soldier in the vicinity of the nearby shrine of St. Thekla.³⁷⁴ The creation of pilgrim objects illustrated with the images of both saints might have been a way to draw more of St. Thekla's devotees to the shrine of St. Menas.³⁷⁵

Then how did this object function as a protective item? In order to answer this question, one should understand the symbolism of the images on the object. St. Menas, depicted on the reverse, was an Egyptian soldier stationed in Phrygia

³⁷⁰ ODB, s.v.. "Thekla" (Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko). Stephen J. Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thecla in Late Antique Egypt," *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*, ed. D. Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 311-312. Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in the Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). For an example of the combination of these images: Anastasia Lazaridou, *Transition to Christianity: Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd-7th Century AD* (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2012), no. 92.

³⁷¹ For this iconography see: Lazaridou, *Transition to Christianity*, no. 93. Hadzidakis, "Un anneau byzantin du Musée Benaki", fig. 3.

³⁷² Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 53-84. Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thecla," 303-339.

³⁷³ Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 53-84. Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thecla," 303-339.

³⁷⁴ James Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* (Le Caire: Inst. français d'archéologie orientale, 1946), 7-34. Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in the Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 127-128.

³⁷⁵ Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 53-84.

according to his legend.³⁷⁶ After St. Menas was martyred, his remains were to be returned to Egypt. When the camels carrying his coffin reached what would become place of his shrine, they refused to proceed by divine intervention. It was there that his shrine was built and later prospered. The story explains why the camels are a part of St. Menas' iconography – they are signifiers of the narrative of his martyrdom. However, this is not the sole signification of the camels in this scene. Along with donkeys, camels were commonly used to transport pilgrims and their belongings until the arrival of the railway in late nineteenth century.³⁷⁷ Thus, camels were depicted to remind the pilgrim of not only the martyrdom of St. Menas but also their own voyage with the animals. Vikan believes that images such as Christ on a donkey entering into Jerusalem and Christ saving his disciples from a storm at sea were depicted on clay pilgrim flasks not only to remind pilgrims Biblical stories but also to address the concern and fears of the pilgrims during their travels.³⁷⁸ This may be the explanation for why there are numerous examples of pilgrim objects bearing these images.

Paired with St. Menas on the reverse, the image of St. Thekla depicted on the obverse of a pilgrim object has a similar function. Influenced by the Apostle Paul's preaching, St. Thekla left her hometown of Iconium and her fiancé to practice asceticism. She followed Paul on a journey to Antioch where she was attacked by a man and fought to protect her virtue. Angered by Thekla's resistance, the man urged the governor of Antioch to charge Thekla and as a result the governor threw her to

³⁷⁶ Martin Krause, "Menas the Miracle Maker, Saint," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 5: 1589-90. St. Menas' Life, see: James Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* (Le Caire: Impr. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1946).

³⁷⁷ Piacenza Pilgrim, 35. Hugeburc, 15. Bernard the Monk, 23. John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, Eng. : Aris & Phillips, 1977), 30-37, 144-145, 240, 268.

³⁷⁸ Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 61-62, 34-37. Aren M. Maeir and Yael Strauss. "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin from Late Byzantine/early Ummayyad Jerusalem." *Anatolian Studies*. 45 (1995): 237-241.

the wild animals in the arena. One of these animals, a lioness, licked Thekla's feet and protected her from a bear instead of attacking her and this story found its way into the iconography of the saint with images of lions flanking Thekla.³⁷⁹ Catching sight of a pool full of seals in the arena, St. Thekla entered the pool and baptized herself. The saint was saved when a bolt of lightning from heaven killed the seals. Afterward, St. Thekla dressed as a man and traveled to Myra where she found Paul again. After receiving his blessing, St. Thekla returned to Iconium where she spread Paul's teachings.³⁸⁰

As well as the cultic competition with St. Menas, Davis emphasizes St. Thekla's gender and her role in the segregated religious life of the community as a reason for the combination of the images of these two saints.³⁸¹ St. Thekla was a pious and chaste woman who refused to get married to follow the path of Christianity. She fought against the man who tried to rape her. Her piety and chastity made her a role model for female believers. According to Davis, the texts related to the saint's cult, the *Act of Paul and Thekla* and the *Miracles of Saint Thekla*, indicate a tradition of female devotees wandering around and visiting the pilgrimage sites.³⁸² In the *Miracles*, the women were saved from rape and assault by St. Thekla while travelling, just as the saint herself was assaulted while she was following Paul. These miracles complement the story of a woman saved from an assault by St. Menas in the vicinity of the shrine of St. Thekla. Davis stresses that the repetition of this theme

³⁷⁹ Lisa Fagin Davis, "The Epitome of Pauline Iconography: BnF Français 50, The Miroir Historial of Jean de Vignay", in *A companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, ed. Steven Cartwright (Brill, 2013), 393–423.

³⁸⁰ Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thekla", 303–339.

³⁸¹ Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thekla", 303–339.

³⁸² Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thekla", 317–320. For the life and miracles of St. Thekla: Gilbert Dagron, trans., *Vie Et Miracles De Sainte Thècle: Texte Grec, Traduction Et Commentaire* (Bruxelles: Société des bollandistes, 1978).

indicates an oral tradition that associates St. Thekla with female pilgrims.³⁸³ Thus, St. Thekla stands as analogical image, particularly for the female pilgrims, and a counterpart to St. Menas. As St. Thekla was protected from violence with the help of her faith and by the grace of God in her epic narrative, the pilgrims would be protected as well.³⁸⁴

C.34, another lead pendant, is illustrated with the image of the holy rider spearing a human figure beneath his horse on its obverse and a long structure topped by a triangular shape flanked by two haloed human figures standing and raising their arms. This long structure between the two figures most closely resembles the abstract representation of St. Symeon on his pillar. For instance, a basalt relief of St. Symeon the Elder from Qasr Abu Samra in Syria illustrates a bust of an ascetic with a triangular hood on top of a high column.³⁸⁵ This type of representation of Symeon the Stylite was common in sixth- and seventh-century clay medallions from Syria.³⁸⁶ The combination of the image of the holy rider and the abstract representation of Symeon the Stylite is also illustrated in a different lead medallion from the sixth and seventh centuries.³⁸⁷ (Figure 37)

It is difficult to say whether the stylite saint on C. 34 is St. Symeon the Elder or the Younger. There are no inscriptions to identify the saint properly and both saints were depicted in this abstract form. St. Symeon the Elder was a zealous ascetic

³⁸³ Davis, "Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thekla", 327.

³⁸⁴ Here I do not intend to refute Davis' and Foskolou's idea of cultic competition which is stated in preceding pages. I believe that for the production of the pilgrim objects which present a combination of Saints Thekla's and Menas's images, the cultic competition should have been one of the reasons. However, this does not mean that the iconography of the saints did not play a role in this artistic decision. The reason for the combination of these images can be both at the same time.

³⁸⁵ Victor Heinrich Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 80 (1965): 280-304, no. 1. Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Remarques Sur L'iconographie De Syméon L'Alépin, Le Premier Stylite" *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 70 (1989): 29-53.

³⁸⁶ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, 209, no. 298-303. Jean-Pierre Sodini, "La terre de semelles: Images pieuses ramenées par les pèlerins des Lieux saints (Terre sainte, Martyria d'Orient)", *Journal des Savants* (January-June 2011): 77-140, figs. 10-15.

³⁸⁷ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, 211, no. 310

of the fifth century who lived on a pillar in Qal'at Sem'an in Syria.³⁸⁸ Following St. Symeon the Elder's example, in the sixth century his namesake St. Symeon the Younger ascended to a pillar on the Wondrous Mountain, today's Saman Dağı in Turkey, where a monastery was later built.³⁸⁹ The two human figures are also problematic in terms of identification. The iconography of St. Symeon the Younger often includes two haloed figures, his mother Martha and his disciple Conon, flanking the saint and his column.³⁹⁰ (Figure 38) However, the two figures on C.34 are wearing short garments, which indicate that they are male. The other alternative is that they might be monks or supplicants who appear on other examples of St. Symeon tokens without haloes.³⁹¹ I believe that the two figures were intended to follow the artistic theme of St. Symeon the Younger with Martha and Conon. However, such details as the length of the dress were overlooked, maybe due to the nature of mass production or a lack of expertise.

Fortunately, the uncertainty about the identification of the two figures does not keep us from reflecting on the function of this object. Both saints were renowned for their healing power.³⁹² The lead medallions from the shrine of St. Symeon the Younger present inscriptions addressing the saint as *Thaumaturgos* which means

³⁸⁸ ODB, s.v. "Symeon the Stylite the Elder" (Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko). D. Krencker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Symeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'an* (Berlin 1939). P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Théodore de Cyr, Histoire des moines de Syrie* (Paris 1979), 158–215.

³⁸⁹ ODB, s.v. "Symeon the Stylite the Younger" (Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko). W. Volbach, "Zur Ikonographie des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 30 (1966): 293–99. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'influence du culte de Saint Syméon stylite le Jeune sur les monuments et les représentations figurées de Géorgie", *Byzantion* 41 (1971): 183–96. A.-J. Festugière, "Types épidauriennes de miracles dans la vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93 (1973): 70–73.

³⁹⁰ Philippe Verdier, "A Medallion of Saint Symeon the younger," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 67(1980): 17-26.

³⁹¹ Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites", Abb. 7. Sodini, "Remarques Sur L'iconographie De Syméon L'Alépin", Fig. 4 and 16.

³⁹² Verdier, "A Medallion of Saint Symeon the younger," 17-26. Alice Mary Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts," *DOP* 56 (2002): 154.

“healer” or “performer of miracles”.³⁹³ The lives of both saints record many healings from the touch of the saints or the blessed dust from their shrines.³⁹⁴ A terracotta token from Saman Dağı and belonging to the sixth and seventh centuries shows Symeon the Younger on his column with supplicants carrying censers and an inscription that reads “Receive, [O Saint], the Incense by Constantine”.³⁹⁵ This must have been a votive offering to the saint for a granted or to-be-granted healing or protection. In the miracle of St. Symeon the Younger, which is also discussed in Chapter I, the importance of the saint’s image in the process of healing made clear. The priest who has a sick son and insists on having the blessing of the saint through his touch rather than the token which is given to him is assured by the saint that when he looks at the token, he will see the saint. In this miracle, the second son of the priest also becomes ill, but this time the priest does not go to the saint. He directs his prayers toward the token and his son is cured.³⁹⁶ It appears that the priest kept the token after his first son was healed because he wanted to keep the protection of the saint for future use.³⁹⁷ Here the priest benefits from the image of the saint, which represents the past miracles that the priest has read or heard about, and the recent miracle that his son experienced.

C.35 is a lead medallion which is considered in the pilgrimage context. After its creation, the medallion was pierced with three holes on its rim. Thus, this might indicate that the object was a token by creation, but turned into a pendant by its

³⁹³ Verdier, “A Medallion of Saint Symeon the younger,” 21. Elbern, “Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites,” 290.

³⁹⁴ Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune*, 230-33, 169-70, 85. Frederick Lent, trans., *The life of Saint Simeon Stylites: a translation of the Syriac text in Bedjan's Acta martyrum et Sanctorum* (Merchantville, NJ: Evolution Pub: 2008), 126-129.

³⁹⁵ Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Fig. 19.

³⁹⁶ Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune*, 230-33.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 230-33.

owner.³⁹⁸ The line in the middle of the object shows that it was folded by force.³⁹⁹ The obverse represents Christ between John the Baptist on the right and an angel on the left in the scene of the Baptism of Christ. Above Christ's head, the Holy Spirit appears as a dove. The worn reverse of the object shows two heads facing each other and in the middle a straight line separates these two heads. Since the obverse pictures a scene from the cycle of Christ, the scene on the reverse might be following the Christological cycle. Moreover, a closer look at the scene shows that the figure on the left has a wing. Thus, this scene must be the Annunciation with Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel, in which case, the figure on the left should be the archangel Gabriel. The straight line between the Virgin Mary and the Archangel is the Archangel's staff, which was often depicted in the scene of the Annunciation. Looking at this object, one cannot help being reminded of the pilgrim flasks from the Monza and Bobbio Collections in Italy although the scenes on C.35 are executed more crudely. The Christological cycle was a subject frequently depicted on these pilgrim flasks from the sixth-seventh centuries.⁴⁰⁰ (Figures 39 and 40) Armbands and rings with the cycle of Christ were also created during the same period in Syria/Palestine.⁴⁰¹ As a result, C.35 may be dated to the sixth and seventh centuries as well.

³⁹⁸ Three holes on the object first made me think that this object might have been used as an applique, sown on another material, maybe a garment. However, the small size of the object indicates that it was likely a pendant since it would not have been a very visible decoration for a garment.

³⁹⁹ Due to the existence of the line, the possibility of this object being a seal is considered since this line could have been a channel for the seal. However, a closer look at the object shows that there is no channel space on the object. Indeed the line is more of a folding mark. Moreover, the line also damaged the images on the object. We do not see this in lead seals from Byzantine period. Please see the examples in: Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985). Thus, the line was not a part of production of this object. Therefore, it cannot be a seal channel. Consequently, this object cannot be a seal. My thanks to Thassos Antonaras from the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki for giving me his insight about the identification of the object.

⁴⁰⁰ For similar examples, please see the plates in Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, 1958.

⁴⁰¹ Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong," no. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 19. Vikan, "Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium," fig. 26.

The objects presenting the cycle of Christ often include the following scenes: Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Women at the Tomb, and Ascension.⁴⁰² These scenes hold significant spiritual power since they present the narrative of the life of Christ. The scenes of the Christological cycle were also combined with the image of the holy rider and the *Trisagion*, both of which are well-known for their amuletic value.⁴⁰³ Thus, the scenes from the Christological cycle were believed to have protective powers due to the apotropaic images depicted on them. Surely, this is the case for the function of C.35. However, there is still a question to be asked. Why were the specific scenes of Annunciation and Baptism chosen for this object? These scenes do not follow in chronological order as the Nativity comes between the Annunciation and the Baptism. The common point in both of the scenes on C.35 is the presence of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit appears as a dove and declares Jesus as God's son in the Bible passage about the Baptism of Christ; this is depicted on the obverse of C.35.⁴⁰⁴ On the reverse, the presence of the Holy Spirit is emphasized in an indirect way without an actual representation unlike the dove on the obverse. The Bible states that an angel comes to Mary and declares that she is impregnated by the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰⁵ This is also the scene introducing Jesus as the Son of God and indicating the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the images on C.35 represent two episodes from the life of Christ that emphasize his divinity, which in turn makes this a protective object.

The largest group of pilgrim objects in the catalog consists of six lead pilgrim flasks. The pilgrim flasks, clay, lead, or pewter, often carried substances such as dust, water, and oil, which were believed to be sacred and healing. The flasks have distinct

⁴⁰² Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," pl. 8 and 11.

⁴⁰³ Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to Which They Belong", figs. 5 and 7.

⁴⁰⁴ Matthew 3:13-16. Luke 3:21.

⁴⁰⁵ Luke 1:26-38.

iconographies, inscriptions, and shapes depending on whether they come from Asia Minor, Jerusalem, and Abu Mina on them. Thus, thanks to these distinctions, it is possible to determine the provenance and date of the flasks. The three lead pilgrim flasks, C. 26, C.27, and C.28, present the same subject matter. C.26 has a medallion illustrating a bust image of a young haloed saint in military attire holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand on its obverse. There are three visible letters – Δ, H, and M – on the right side of the saint that identify him as St. Demetrios. On the reverse, there is a bust of a female saint with her arms raised in prayer. C.27 bears the same images: St. Demetrios as a military saint with a better preserved inscription than that of C.26 on its obverse and a female saint raising her arms in prayer on the reverse. C.28 is physically intact but the images on it are worn. The image on the reverse is almost erased except a circular form on the left bottom part of the flask which must be a shield. On the obverse, there is a female saint raising her arms in prayer. The images on C.28 follow the same pattern as the images of C.26 and C.27.

These flasks are very typical examples of the flasks from the shrine of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki.⁴⁰⁶ Excavations in Peritheorion and Gratini in Thrace revealed similar lead pilgrim flasks presenting the iconographies of St. Demetrios in military attire, St. Theodora of Thessaloniki, and the Virgin.⁴⁰⁷ (Figure 8) Thus, the female counterpart on the flasks in the catalog is either St. Theodora or the Virgin. The flasks from Gratini were found with coins and pottery belonging to the thirteenth century. The pilgrim flask from Peritheorion is dated to the same period.⁴⁰⁸ The

⁴⁰⁶ Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Byzantine Hours: Everyday Life in Byzantium: Thessaloniki, White Tower October 2001-January 2002*. (Athens: Kapon, 2002), no. 203, 204, 205.

⁴⁰⁷ Bakirtzis, “Κουτρούβια μύρου από τη Θεσσαλονίκη”, 523-528.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 523-528.

forms and the iconography of the pilgrim flasks in the catalog are very similar the ones from Western Thrace and can be dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Pilgrim flasks, which carried sacred oil from the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, were widely distributed in Europe, Asia Minor, and the Balkans due to the popularity of the saint's cult. The reason for the combination of the iconography of St. Demetrios with that of the Virgin and St. Theodora was their religious presence in Thessaloniki.⁴⁰⁹ In the Miracles of St. Demetrios belonging to the seventh century, the saint is represented as the protector of Thessaloniki fighting against the city's enemies.⁴¹⁰ In the church of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, votive mosaics belonging to the sixth and seventh century show the saint with civilian supplicants and religious officials of the city.⁴¹¹ From the tenth century onward, the saint's cult started to be widely venerated in other areas of the Empire.⁴¹² The myrrh from the ciborium in the saint's shrine, which was believed to be healing, became the focus of veneration and expanded his cult's area of influence.⁴¹³ St. Demetrios was often depicted along with other renowned military saints.⁴¹⁴ For instance, in the well-known gold and enamel icon of the Archangel Michael from the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Treasury of San Marco, St. Demetrios appears with various pairs: two Theodores, Demetrios and Nestor, Procopius and George, and Eustace and

⁴⁰⁹ Bakirtzis, "Κουτρούβια μύρου ἀπὸ τῆ Θεσσαλονίκης", 523-528. Like St. Demetrios, St. Theodora was revered as myrrh-giving saint. Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 140-149.

⁴¹⁰ C. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki : civic patron and divine protector, 4th-7th centuries CE*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999), 7. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius, et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans. 1, Le texte*. (Paris : Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1979), 131-145.

⁴¹¹ Skedros, *Saint Demetrios*, 78-81, pls. 2, 3, 4. R. Hodinott, *Early Byzantine churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia : a study of the origins and the initial development of East Christian art* (London : New York : Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1963), 142-151, pl. 32. pl. IV.

⁴¹² Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 78-9.

⁴¹³ Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," 147. Skedros, *Saint Demetrios*, 100-1.

⁴¹⁴ Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 215. C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce: le programme iconographique de l'abside et de ses abords* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), 214.

Mercurius.⁴¹⁵ Thus, different epic narratives portray the saint as the patron saint of Thessaloniki, a myrrh-giving and healing saint, and a warrior saint. These are all connected to the role of the saint as a protector, a role that the image of St. Demetrios emphasizes in particular.

There are three unique flasks in the catalog that, to my knowledge, do not have any known parallel examples.⁴¹⁶ C.24 presents the same image on both sides: a haloed young saint with classical garments, possibly an apostle, holding an olive branch with his left hand and pointing to a place below with his right hand. On the right side of the saint, there is a building with two arches and a triangular roof topped by a cross. The object consists of two cylindrical-shape halves joined together and surrounded by a border. The border is decorated with a vine scroll with grapes and heart shaped leaves. According to Pitarakis, the flask should be dated to the twelfth century due to the stylistic features of the vine scroll and the apostle.⁴¹⁷

Pitarakis gives three alternative theories for the provenance of this object considering the olive branch that is held by the apostle, the place he is pointing at, and the building to his right.⁴¹⁸ The young apostle must have been pointing a *locus sanctus* with his finger. The olive branch on the image might be connected to the Mount of Olives where Christ ascended to heaven. If so, the building next the apostle represents the Church of the Ascension and the apostle must be pointing to the exact place where Christ is ascended in front of the apostles. The second explanation is that the olive branch represents the celebration of Palm Sunday in Jerusalem. Egeria

⁴¹⁵ Mario Carrieri, *The Treasury of San Marco*, 171.

⁴¹⁶ These three flasks were published by Brigitte Pitarakis. Brigitte Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns: From Crusader Jerusalem to Byzantium," in *Byzantine Religious Culture*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot et al., (Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2012), 248. Brigitte Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades," in *Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent Anısına*, ed. A. Özaydın, (İstanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2008), 395-409.

⁴¹⁷ Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 248.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 248-251.

records this celebration as an occasion in which the congregation marches from the Mount of Olives to the Church of Anastasis with palm or olive branches in their hands.⁴¹⁹ In this case, the shrine to the right of the apostle is the Church of Anastasis. The third alternative explanation is that the olive branch is not connected to the Mount of Olives. Instead, it is a reference to the oil contained inside the flask and the ritual of filling the flask in a shrine. Since this last explanation does not explain the presence of the apostle and the place to where he points, I think that it is unlikely. When all the iconographical elements are considered, I believe that the scene as a whole refers to the Mount of Olives and the holy aspect of the site. Thus, depending on this interpretation, one can only speculate that this object might have come from Jerusalem.

The second unique lead flask, C.25, bears the image of three vases with flaring necks standing on canonical foots under three arches on its obverse. Its reverse pictures a patriarchal cross. The arch motifs signify sanctity and the two-armed patriarchal cross is a reference to True Cross in Byzantine iconography.⁴²⁰ The image of the vase, the *kantharos*, was used on sixth-century clay tokens of St. Symeon the Younger.⁴²¹ This image may have been depicted as a reference to the *hnana*, a paste made with earth from the site and water or oil, produced and distributed in the shrine of St. Symeon as a blessing.⁴²² According to Pitarakis, the

⁴¹⁹ Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy Up to the Time of Charlemagne* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), chap. 31, 272-275.

⁴²⁰ The top bar on the patriarchal cross is a reference to the plate on which "the King of Jews" was written and fastened to the True Cross on which Christ was crucified. A. Frolov, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1965), 124-134, 132. Holger Klein, *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag 2004), figs. 19-21, 24-25. Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 252-255.

⁴²¹ Gary Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium." *Studies in the History of Art / Publ. by the National Gallery of Art, Washington* 20 (1989): 47-59, fig. 9. Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", fig. 11.

⁴²² Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 253. Frank, "Loca

vases are to be interpreted as containers of divine manna, the miraculous food supplied by God to the Israelites.⁴²³ In the Christian context, manna was a symbol of Christ's divine nature and a prototype for the bread of the Eucharist.⁴²⁴ Thus, the vase should be considered as a vessel to contain his divine nature. The scene as a whole indicates the sacrificial offerings to the Trinity.⁴²⁵ The existence of the patriarchal cross referencing the True Cross and the vases as aniconic patterns, which became popular after the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in the twelfth century, suggests that the flask originated in Jerusalem.⁴²⁶

C.29, the third unparalleled flask, is illustrated with the image of the Virgin raising her arms in prayer and the Child Christ hovering on her chest in a medallion its obverse. On its reverse, a rider with long hair carries a staff with branches. A similar iconography of the Virgin Mary without the medallion is also illustrated on C.51, a bronze pendant, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. As discussed in previous pages, the oval medallion containing the Child Christ and hovering over the Virgin Mary's chest is a reference to the womb of the Virgin Mary and symbolizes the incarnation of Christ.⁴²⁷ This flask is said to have been found in Istanbul. Parallel examples of this iconography can be found in a group of thirteenth-century lead seals accompanied by the epithet *Episkepsis*, which translates as "Visitation".⁴²⁸ This

Sancta Souvenirs", 194.

⁴²³ Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 254.

⁴²⁴ John 6:35.

⁴²⁵ Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 254.

⁴²⁶ Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", 255. A lead flask of similar shape with a patriarchal cross on its obverse is found in the north narthex of Çanlı Kilise in Cappadocia where there were multiple burials. The construction of the north narthex is dated towards the middle of the eleventh century. Robert G. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011), fig. 268, 238. Another example with the patriarchal cross is found in medieval layers in Sirmium, Bulgaria. Dušica Minić, *Le Site D'habitation Médiéval De Mačvanska Mitrovica* (Belgrad: Institut archéologique, 1980), Fig. 9.

⁴²⁷ Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 145-163.

⁴²⁸ Herbert Hunger, "Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft über Welt und Menschheit: MHTHP ΘΕΟΥ Η ΕΠΙΣΚΕΨΙΣ," in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides, (Washington DC, 1995), 35-42, figs. 6-9.

epithet might refer to a place related to the cult of the Virgin Mary such as the Zoodochos Pege, a shrine with healing waters dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Constantinople.⁴²⁹ Moreover, a tenth century collection of anonymous miracles tell us that a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary, called *Episkepsis*, was held in this shrine.⁴³⁰ An iconographic type, the Zoodochos Pege, which presented the Virgin and the Child Christ emerging from a fountain, appeared in the fourteenth century when the shrine became very popular due to the sponsorship of the Palaeologan dynasty.⁴³¹ This iconography displays similarities with the *Blachernitissa* iconography of the Virgin Mary: in both images, the Virgin Mary is in orans pose and the Child Christ is in front of her chest.⁴³² Thus this image reveals a connection between the image of the Virgin Mary and the Child Christ in a medallion and the shrine itself. If the information about the provenance of C.29 is accurate, this flask may have contained holy water from the shrine of the Zoodochos Pege.

The rider image on the obverse is identified as St. Christopher due to his long hair and the branches on his staff, which references one of the saint's miracles.⁴³³ Pitarakis emphasizes that the image of the saint was believed to ward off evil.⁴³⁴ The saint was often depicted at the entrance and apses of Cappadocian churches.⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ Tania Velmans, 'L'iconographie de la "Fontaine de Vie" dans la tradition Byzantine à la fin du moyen âge', in *Synthronon: art et archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, ed A. Grabar et al. (Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), 119-34. S. Bénay, "Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople", *EO* 3 (1899): 223-28, 295-300.

⁴³⁰ Alice Mary Talbot, "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art," *DOP* 48 (1994): 135-165. Alice Mary Talbot, "The Anonymous Miracula of the Pege Shrine in Constantinople," *Palaeoslavica* 10.2 (2002): 222-228.

⁴³¹ Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", 406. Talbot, "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art," 135-165.

⁴³² Teteriatnikov, "The Image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege", 229-233.

⁴³³ In this miracle, a dray staff blossoms thanks to the saint's prayer. Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 214-216, fig. 40.

⁴³⁴ Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", 408.

⁴³⁵ Catherine Jolivet-Lévy and Claude Sauvageot, *La Cappadoce Médiévale: Images Et Spiritualité*. (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2000), 85, 341, 386. Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, *Les Églises Byzantines De Cappadoce: Le Programme Iconographique De L'abside Et De Ses Abords* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991), 13, 72, 96, 107, 118, 143, 157, 235, 345.

(Figure 41) His name was also included in dedicatory inscriptions of the donors.⁴³⁶ Moreover, the saint was no stranger to the inhabitants of Constantinople. He was celebrated in Constantinople in his *martyrion* near the church of St. Polyeuktos and in the church of St. George of Kuparissiou.⁴³⁷ Most importantly, from a symbolic perspective it was a rational choice to pair St. Christopher whose name meant “Christ-carrier” with the Virgin Mary who was also perceived as a vessel to carry the son of God. His depiction on this object also reveals a Western influence since his cult was more renowned in the West than in the East.⁴³⁸

Pilgrim flasks, including the examples in the catalog, are containers of sacred matter such as dust, water, or oil unlike objects such as medallions and badges from the pilgrimage context. The practical utility of the flasks was to allow the pilgrims to carry the sacred power of the site to distant locations. However, since they contained sacred substances, the flasks themselves became sacred – the Byzantines believed that sanctity could be transferred by physical touch.⁴³⁹ The substances are usually recorded in connection to their healing properties in primary sources.⁴⁴⁰ However, they were also used for the protection of pilgrims. For instance, the Life of Symeon the Younger record the story of a monk named Dorotheos calming a storm at sea by throwing some dust of St. Symeon the Younger overboard.⁴⁴¹ The pilgrim flask from the Bobbio Collection with the inscription, “Oil of the Tree of Life that Guides Us by

⁴³⁶ Doula Mouriki, “The Wall Paintings of the Church of the Panagia at Moutoullas, Cyprus,” in *Byzanz Und Der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, ed. Irmgard Hutter et al., (Wien : Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 192-195, fig. 18.

⁴³⁷ Raymond Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique De L'empire Byzantin: Première Partie, Tome III*. (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969), n. 59, 539-540. Raymond Janin, “Les églises byzantines des saints militaires (Constantinople et banlieue)” *Échos D'Orient* 33 (1934): 163-180.

⁴³⁸ Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, 216.

⁴³⁹ Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 13. Pilgrim of Piacenza, Travel 18. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 138.

⁴⁴⁰ Raymond Van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 29. Virgil S Crisafulli, John W. Nesbitt, and John F. Haldon, *The Miracles of St. Artemios* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), Miracle 16.

⁴⁴¹ Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune*, 235.

Land and Sea”, also emphasizes the same function.⁴⁴² The holy substance contained in the flasks not only healed but also protected people from danger.

If holy substances had the power to heal, protect, and guide people, then why was there a need to decorate the pilgrimage flasks with different images? In addition to being containers of sacred matter, pilgrim flasks were also mementoes of the pilgrims’ travels to *loca sancta*, the sacred shrines. The site-specific images on the objects reminded the pilgrims of these sacred places and their experiences there.⁴⁴³ One such experience was the re-enactment of the biblical events, which was something that many pilgrims did during their pilgrimages. For instance, the anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza records that he reclined at the wedding table where Christ had reclined at Cana and that he threw stones at the grave of Goliath as David had done in the sixth century.⁴⁴⁴ Through re-enacting these holy events, he became a part of them. In many cases, the pilgrims also collected holy substances from the shrines. For instance, in the seventh century, Adomnan, a pilgrim, records that the pilgrims were taking “grains of holy dust” from the spot where Christ ascended.⁴⁴⁵ If according to one of Pitarakis’ guesses, the spot pointed by the apostle on C.24 was the exact place where Christ ascended, the pilgrim flask might have been carrying the dust from the Church of the Ascension. The images of *loca sancta* were believed to convey the sacred power of the place depicted or referred to – these images were as sacred as the substances inside flasks.⁴⁴⁶ By displaying Biblical and hagiographical narratives images, the images on the flasks remind the pilgrims of

⁴⁴² Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, 33.

⁴⁴³ Frank, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs”, 193-201. Dan Barag, and John Wilkinson. “The Monza—Bobbio Flasks and the Holy Sepulchre.” *Levant* 6, no. 1 (1974): 179-87.

⁴⁴⁴ Pilgrim of Piacenza, “Travels 4 and 31,” in *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, trans. J. Wilkinson (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 131, 143.

⁴⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 180.

⁴⁴⁶ Gary Vikan, “Byzantine Pilgrim’s Art,” in *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium.*, ed. L. Safran, (PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 229-266. Weitzmann, ““Loca Sancta””, 31-55. Hahn, “Loca Sancta Souvenirs”, 85-96.

their own visits to the shrines which may have included mimicking biblical events, and collecting sacred substances.

3.3. Unidentified Narratives and Theories on their Meanings and Function

This section will examine three objects that bear a combination of images that have no parallel examples. C.23, a circular lead pendant, bears the well-known motif of the holy rider spearing a human figure beneath his horse on its obverse. On its reverse, a haloed standing human figure holds a rod with a snake coiled around it with his right hand and a tall staff topped by a cross with his left hand. The rod with a coiled snake is one of the attributes of Asklepios, the Greek god of healing.⁴⁴⁷ The shrines dedicated to Asklepios were centers of pilgrimage for the sick where they could offer sacrifices; sleep in shrines' dormitories intended for incubation, and take healing baths and drugs.⁴⁴⁸ The image of Asklepios continued to be used in a magico-medical context during Late Antiquity until Christianity established its own healing cults such as the cult of St. Symeon the Stylites and doctor saints such as Saints Damian and Kosmas.⁴⁴⁹ For instance, a gold ring from the third century bears the image of Asklepios with the word "Health".⁴⁵⁰ A fifth-century medical box now in Zurich is decorated with the image of Asklepios holding the rod with serpent.⁴⁵¹ (Figure 42) However, to my knowledge Asklepios was never illustrated with a cross

⁴⁴⁷ P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981), 166–68. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece", *American Journal of Philology* 107 (1986): 229–242. Jürgen W. Riethmüller, *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte. 2 vols.* (Heidelberg, Germany: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2005).

⁴⁴⁸ Jan Schouten, *The Rod and Serpent of Asklepios, Symbol of Medicine* (Amsterdam: Elsevier Pub. Co, 1967), 23–49. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951), 110–116. Bronwen L. Wickkiser, *Asklepios, Medicine, and the Politics of Healing in Fifth-Century Greece* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁴⁴⁹ Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine, and the Survival of the Gods", in *Survival of the gods: classical mythology in Medieval art: an exhibition February 28-March 29, 1987*, ed Brown University. Dept. of Art, and David Winton Bell Gallery (Providence, R.I.: Department of Art, Brown University, 1987), 141–143. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium", 67–73. Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines", 153–73.

⁴⁵⁰ Brown University. Dept. of Art, and David Winton Bell Gallery, *Survival of the gods: classical mythology in Medieval art* (Providence, R.I. : Department of Art, Brown University, 1987), no. 49.

⁴⁵¹ Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine", fig. 42.

as in C.23 during Late Antiquity.⁴⁵² This must have been an attempt to Christianize the image of Asklepios for the continuation of its usage at a time when the veneration of gods was gradually becoming unfavorable and punishable.⁴⁵³ It seems logical to pair the motif of the holy rider with the image of Asklepios for magico-medical purposes since the holy rider was frequently depicted on amulets for health such as C.16 and C.20. These two images might have been joined to cure sicknesses caused by the Evil Eye.

C.42, a lead roundel with two hoops, bears on its obverse the image of a vase with two handles and a vine growing out of it; the vase is flanked by two birds. The reverse is illustrated with two standing angels facing each other and holding a tall cross between them. The vine growing out of a vase is a symbol of fertility that was employed not just by Christians, but also Greeks, Romans, and Jews.⁴⁵⁴ The motif was used in Early Christian floor mosaics along with the representations of various animals.⁴⁵⁵ The vine was also used as a literary image for Christ in the Gospel of John.⁴⁵⁶ The Christian interpretation of this symbol might be a vivid hope for eternal life and salvation.⁴⁵⁷ In the third century, Clement of Alexandria writes about the salvation of the soul by using this literary image: “For the product of

⁴⁵² To my knowledge, there is no Christian saint who has the attribute of a rod with a coiled serpent.

⁴⁵³ Christopher P. Jones, *Between Pagan and Christian* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), 24-33.

⁴⁵⁴ P.A. Underwood, “The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels”, *DOP* 5 (1950): 41–138. Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period: Vol. 2* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), 95.

⁴⁵⁵ Henry Maguire, “Profane Icons: The Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art”, *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38 (2000): 19-34. Henry Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park: Published for the College Art Association of America by Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 9-10, figs. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁶ John 15:1-7. “I am the true vine, and my Father is the gardener. He cuts off every branch in me that bears no fruit, while every branch that does bear fruit he prunes so that it will be even more fruitful. You are already clean because of the word I have spoken to you. Remain in me, as I also remain in you. No branch can bear fruit by itself; it must remain in the vine. Neither can you bear fruit unless you remain in me.”

⁴⁵⁷ Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 141.

the vine is wine; of the Word, blood. Both are saving potions: wine, for the health of the body; the other, blood, for the salvation of the soul.”⁴⁵⁸

The object’s reverse features an image of the adoration of the cross, a scene frequently depicted on Early Byzantine objects.⁴⁵⁹ One interesting example that is similar to C.42 is an agate cameo belonging to the sixth-seventh centuries from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.⁴⁶⁰ (Figure 43) The word “Powers” is inscribed below the angels on this cameo, an inscription that appears to define them. In the *Celestial Hierarchy*, Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite separated the heavenly realm into three parts, each with three ranks of angels in the sixth century.⁴⁶¹ The angels called Powers were one of the ranks in the middle part. According to Pseudo-Dionysios, their duty was to keep, “order in the divine receptions, and the regulation of intellectual and supermundane power which never debases its authority by tyrannical force, but is irresistibly urged onward in due order to the Divine”.⁴⁶² Pseudo-Dionysios emphasizes the importance of the emulating the angelic hierarchy in the earthly empire. That is why; human figures take the place of two angels in the scene of adoration of the cross on similar objects.⁴⁶³ It is difficult to make a precise interpretation of this object since the symbols have different meanings depending on their context.⁴⁶⁴ However, taking into account the imagery on both sides of C.42, it seems that this object might refer to the eternal salvation and heavenly protection.

⁴⁵⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon P. Wood (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc, 1954), 16.

⁴⁵⁹ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 639 and 655. O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art: A Survey of the Monuments* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1975), fig. LIX. O. Marucchi, "Eine Medaille und eine Lampe aus der Sammlung Zurla," *Römische Quartalschrift* I, (1887): 316-325.

⁴⁶⁰ Ross et al., *Catalogue*, no. 119.

⁴⁶¹ *ODB*, s.v. “Dionysios the Areopagite, Pseudo-” (Alexander Kazhdan, Nancy Patterson Sevcenko).

⁴⁶² John Parker, *The Celestial And Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite* (London: Skeffington, 1894), 31-33.

⁴⁶³ Marucchi, "Eine Medaille," 316-325.

⁴⁶⁴ Maguire emphasizes this subject in the iconography of vine: Maguire, *Earth and Ocean*, 9-10.

C.48, a lead leaf-shaped pendant, bears the image of the Virgin Mary standing and holding the Child Christ on her left side, a representation that resembles the simple rendition of the Virgin Mary in C.49. The pair is flanked by two hanging objects, probably oil lamps. This type of lamps was suspended in front of the icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, over the altar, and under the dome.⁴⁶⁵ (Figure 44) Oil from the lamps, hung over the tombs or icons of saints, was believed to be healing and collected by the pilgrims.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, the lamps in C.48 might refer to a holy shrine related to the cult of the Virgin Mary. On the reverse of C.48, a haloed standing female is raising a crown with her right hand and a palm branch with her left hand. The crown and the palm branch were used in classical art as symbols of victory, which was personified by the goddess Nike.⁴⁶⁷ The famous sixth-century Barberini Ivory in the Louvre Museum shows the emperor on horseback and two Nikes flanking him, one of them on the left offering a crown to the emperor and the other on the right holding a palm branch.⁴⁶⁸ In Christianity, however, the symbols of the crown and the palm branch were adopted as attributes of martyrs. They were used to represent the victory of martyrs who maintained their loyalty to the true faith while being tortured and were granted entrance to the Heavenly Kingdom.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ Laskarina Boura and Maria G. Parani. *Lighting in Early Byzantium*. (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008), 27-28, fig.27. Mango et. al, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, nos. 13 and 33.

⁴⁶⁶ Alice-Mary Talbot, "Life of St. Theodora of Thessaloniki", in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* ed Alice-Mary Talbot, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 163-237. Valerie Karras, "Life of St. Elisabeth the Wonderworker", in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* ed Alice-Mary Talbot, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), 131, note 77. Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines", 161-167.

⁴⁶⁷ ODB s.v. "Nike" (Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler). Cornelia Thöne, *Ikonographische Studien zu Nike im 5 Jh. v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu Wirkungsweise and Wesenart* (Heidelberg, Germany: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 1999).

⁴⁶⁸ ODB, s.v. "Barberini Ivory" (Anthony Cutler). Musée du Louvre. *Byzance: L'art Byzantin Dans Les Collections Publiques Françaises : Musée Du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), no. 20.

⁴⁶⁹ The concept of victory is emphasized by the Apostle Paul, who uses the crown as a metaphor: "Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to

In the sixth-century Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, two processions of twenty-two female and twenty-six male martyrs decorate the two walls of the nave.⁴⁷⁰ (Figures 45 and 46) Both female and male martyrs carry crowns in their hands, and palm trees are placed between every two martyrs.⁴⁷¹ Thus, the image on the reverse of C.48 of a female holding a crown and a palm branch, the attributes of victory, might depict a female martyr although it is difficult to speculate about the precise identity of the saint. Contemporary believers may have been able to identify the image of this female saint.⁴⁷² If so, this might indicate a connection between the narrative of the Virgin Mary and that of this particular saint which would only strengthen the power of the object in the eyes of its owner.

It is also possible that in certain cases the images on protective objects may not be identifiable to some users, especially in the early centuries when the image of a saint was rarely accompanied by an inscription.⁴⁷³ Furthermore, certain iconographies might have disappeared over centuries or might have been known only to local people, like the young anonymous saint on the lead flask, C.24, or the abstract image of St. Symeon the Stylite on the lead pendant, C.34. If these objects traveled to different geographies or cultures, the intended meaning of the images might have been lost on new users. However, I think that users were still able to recognize the sacredness of figures due to the haloes and crosses accompanying the

get the prize. Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown that will not last, but we do it to get a crown that will last forever." I Corinthians 9:24-25.

⁴⁷⁰ Massimiliano David, Christina Cawthra, and Jo-Ann Titmarsh. *Eternal Ravenna: From the Etruscans to the Venetians* (Belgium: Brepols Publisher, 2013), 198, figs. 157 and 158.

⁴⁷¹ Giuseppe Bovini, *Ravenna Mosaics* (Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1956), 26-38. Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Die Frühchristlichen Mosaiken Von Ravenna: Bild Und Bedeutung* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2016), 196-209.

⁴⁷² Alice-Mary Talbot, "General Introduction", in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed Alice-Mary Talbot, (Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), vii-xvi.

⁴⁷³ My thanks to Professor Platon Petridis from the University of Athens for introducing me this argument.

images, even if they were not able to identify the persons on these objects. In such instances, they could still have benefited from the intercession of these sacred figures. It's also possible that the users assigned these images new meanings that would allow them to make an analogy and communicate their prayers to God.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I studied the concept of protection in Byzantium by examining the function of a variety of portable objects in the catalog. These objects operated within different contexts including magic, private veneration, and pilgrimage. In order to identify a common link between these objects, I focused on epic narratives and commands/prayers which manifest on the objects through images and inscriptions. I categorized the objects in two major groups: those that contain both epic narratives and commands/prayers as declarative and directive elements, and those that only bear epic narratives as declarative elements.

This categorization revealed significant repetition of the same narratives and commands/prayers in the objects from different geographies, such as the images of the Evil Eye, the holy rider, the female demon, and the inscriptions of Psalm 90 (91) and the names of certain saints and angels. The repetition of these images and inscriptions shows the transcultural and syncretic aspect of protective objects. These objects were part of a common language between such different cultures as pagan, Jewish, and Christian. This syncretism may also explain why different images and inscriptions were combined on certain objects. For example, Psalm 90 often goes with the transcendent image of the holy rider, but at times it also appears with scenes from the Christological cycle. The creators of objects may have produced various combinations as a way to appeal to a larger clientele. Another observation revealed

by this categorization is that images and inscriptions on the objects are connected to each other. For instance, the names of Solomon or Sisinnios accompany the image of the holy rider, and the *hystera* formula surrounds the figure of the head with snakes on amulets. Together the inscriptions and images create a certain epic narrative for the purpose of protection.

The narratives and commands/prayers are inscribed and may be uttered to execute an action: warding off evil and asking a supernatural power for protection. These elements often signify one common theme: war against evil and the triumph of good over evil. This theme becomes a convincing analogy for the user of protective objects who asks for the same victory. By seeing and carrying these images, the user taps into the power of epic narratives, since the user knows the complete story or the essence of the story that these images represent. Thus, protective objects with certain images and inscriptions become the agents that carry the users' messages and requests for protection to the world of the supernatural.

CHAPTER III: USAGE OF THE PROTECTIVE OBJECTS IN VARIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

1. Introduction

The primary sources tell us about how people created the protective objects and for what reasons. Most of this information draws a one-dimensional picture: a person wearing or carrying an object, whether approved by the church or not, for protection. Archaeological information provides a wider context, allowing us to visualize people's experience with the objects and the different spheres of life in which they were used. The majority of the objects in the catalog, with the exception of those from Beybağ, lack such archaeological information. Consequently, this chapter will examine certain archaeological excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean to better understand in which contexts objects of protection were used and for what means. These excavations were chosen because they produced parallel or similar examples to those objects in the catalog. The examples from the excavations, unlike those in the catalog, are accompanied by well-recorded information about the contexts in which they were found. It is possible that similar objects have been or could be found in different geographies, and certainly this analysis can be expanded in different directions. However, within the scope of this dissertation, I will focus my attention on excavations from the Eastern Mediterranean because the objects in the catalog come mainly from this region. The study of protective objects excavated in funerary, domestic, and workplace contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean will shed light on the specific usage of the objects in the catalog and protective objects in general. This chapter will also examine whether the archaeological record corroborates the information provided by primary sources and the objects in the catalog.

2. Funerary Context

2.1. Late Antique Burials from Necropolis of Tyre and Bet Shemesh:

Since its foundation around the second century BC, Tyre (Sur in present-day Lebanon) was an important Phoenician seaport due to its commercial and maritime power.⁴⁷⁴ The city had a large Christian community by the second century. The culture in Tyre was influenced by Greco-Roman, Crusader, Arab, and Byzantine civilizations. Established in the first century AD, the city's cemetery continued into the Byzantine period.⁴⁷⁵ The sarcophagi and funerary enclosures containing Roman graves were re-used for Byzantine burials until the seventh century.⁴⁷⁶ This phenomenon makes the precise dating of the graves and the goods found in them difficult; it is impossible to match the human remains and objects found in the same graves. However, the burial findings in the Roman-Byzantine necropolis of Tyre reveal a variety of protective objects that are comparable to amulets from the sixth and seventh centuries. These objects from Tyre also present similar iconographies depicted on the objects in the catalog. Thus, the existence of coins dated to the sixth century and the iconography of these objects from the Necropolis suggest that at least some of them can be dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.

In a Roman sarcophagus that was re-used in the Byzantine period, excavators found two bronze rings and a bronze amulet along with coinage that dates up to the sixth

⁴⁷⁴ ODB, "Tyre", (Marlia M. Mango). W.B. Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (New York, 1915), 74–122. H. Jacob Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre: From the Beginning of the Second Millennium B.C.E. until the Fall of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 538 B.C.E.* (Jerusalem, 1973). Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions Grecques Et Latines Découvertes Dans Les Fouilles De Tyr (1963-1974): I* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1977). Martha Sharp Joukowsky, ed., *The Heritage of Tyre: Essays on the History, Archaeology, and Preservation of Tyre* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992).

⁴⁷⁵ M. E. Aubet, R. Abillamaa, and Assaad Seif, *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass: Excavations, 1997-1999* (Beyrouth: Ministère de la Culture, Direction Générale des Antiquités, 2004). L. De Jong, "Performing Death in Tyre", *AJA* 114 (2010):597–630.

⁴⁷⁶ De Jong, "Performing Death in Tyre", 614-617. Several small bronze crosses were found in the burials. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, PL. XLII.

century.⁴⁷⁷ The rings are decorated with inscriptions: YΓIA COΦIAC and YΓIA KOCTATINOY.⁴⁷⁸ (Figure 47) The word “Health” and the names of the two sexes inscribed on the objects indicate that a couple might have been buried in this sarcophagus. The word “health” together with “harmony” and “grace” is frequently inscribed on marriage rings to protect the couple.⁴⁷⁹ It also appears on C.20 next to the image of the holy rider. The same sarcophagus contains an oblong bronze amulet with the imagery of a lion and two serpents accompanied by words for apotropaic protection on its obverse.⁴⁸⁰ (Figure 48) On its reverse, there are magical characters such as an X inside of a square, which also appears on C.15, and inscriptions that call for the protection of the object’s owner.⁴⁸¹

Another oblong bronze amulet, together with coins that date up to the third century, was found in a tomb inside of a funerary enclosure also re-used in the Byzantine period.⁴⁸² The amulet is a close parallel to those bronze amulets in the catalog that bear the image of the holy rider (C.13, C.14, C.15, and C.16). The obverse of the amulet features the image of the holy rider spearing a female demon, and two lions flanking an eye, a bird, a serpent, and a scorpion.⁴⁸³ (Figure 49) The well-known “One God” inscription – EIC ΘEOC O NIKWN TA KAKA – sits above the holy rider. This example is parallel to C.13 which also has the image of the holy rider and the eye attacked by various animals depicted on it. On the amulet’s reverse, a long-legged bird is attacking a serpent. There is an image of an altar behind the bird, as in C.16. The

⁴⁷⁷ Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 2* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1984), 262-267.

⁴⁷⁸ Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLII, no. 2 and 3.

⁴⁷⁹ See Chapter II, note 77.

⁴⁸⁰ Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVI, no. 3 and 4.

⁴⁸¹ SEG, 36:1315.

⁴⁸² Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 2*, 134.

⁴⁸³ Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVI, no. 1 and 2.

inscription in seven registers above the bird reads: ΠΠΠΙΟC Μ[ΟΥ]ΛΟC ΕΙΒΙC Ε[Υ]Θ[ΥΧ]ΙΑ ΚΟΛΕΑΝΔΡΟ CΙΤΡΟΥΘΟΚΑΜΗΛΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΟΥΝΙ ΘΕΟΤΟ ΑΝΕΟΥC ΠΙΝΩ, and translates as “Horse, mule, ibis, happiness(?), coriander, ostrich, Apollo the God --- --- I drink”.⁴⁸⁴ These words must have had certain magical meanings such as magical characters although it is unknown to us except the word translating as “I drink” which was discussed in Chapter II.

The image of the long-legged bird and the word, ΠΙΝΩ, appears on another bronze amulet from the Necropolis. This amulet displays on its obverse the image of a long-legged bird holding a snake in its claws, magical characters, a seven-armed star, and an inscription: ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ CΟΥΠΙΗΛ ΙΑΩ.⁴⁸⁵ (Figure 50) On its reverse, there are several magical characters and seven registers of inscription, ΙΑΩ CΑΒΑΩ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ Λ[Ε]ΙΜΩ ΠΙΝΩ, translating as “Iao Sabaoth, Michael, Gabriel, I am starving, I drink”. In terms of the names inscribed on the object, this amulet is a close parallel of C.13. These amulets with the imagery of long-legged bird, probably ibis, may have been used to protect the wearer’s health, and maybe specifically their stomach, due to the bird’s extraordinary powers of digestion.

The image of the holy rider and ΝΙΚΩ, a word of the “One God” inscription, can also be found on another bronze oblong amulet from a tomb in one of Tyre’s funerary complexes that bears Byzantine inscriptions.⁴⁸⁶ (Figure 51) On another oblong amulet from a tomb in a funerary complex in Tyre, an inscription contains the names of

⁴⁸⁴ SEG, 36:1313.

⁴⁸⁵ Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, 184, PL. XLVIII, 1 and 2.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., PL. XLVII, no. 3 and 4. SEG, 36:1317. De Jong, “Performing Death in Tyre”, 619. Same imagery and inscription can also be found in a ring from a funerary complex which was re-used in Byzantine period. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, PL. XXII, no. 1.

Sissinios and Abizouth.⁴⁸⁷ (Figure 52) The inscription refers to the narrative of St. Sisinnios defeating the female demon, Abizouth. As discussed in Chapter II, this narrative is frequently depicted on circular amulets from the sixth and seventh centuries such as C.17, and the *hystera* amulets such as C.01 and C.02.⁴⁸⁸

In Bet Shemesh, an ancient town which is 23 kilometers west of Jerusalem, there are two rock-cut tombs with skeletal remains, dating to the fourth and fifth centuries.⁴⁸⁹

Two coins in a glass jar and another single coin, all of which date to the fourth century, were found in different chambers with human remains.⁴⁹⁰ The custom of burying the dead with coins placed on or inside their mouth was an ancient Greek funerary practice. The coin was a fee for Charon, the ancient ferryman who transported the dead across the river Styx.⁴⁹¹ The coins in a glass jar reveal that this practice was in effect in Late Antiquity.

The single coin with the imagery of a rosette-diademed bust on its obverse and Roma seated and holding a globe and a spear on its reverse is perforated.⁴⁹² (Figure 53) The inscription shows that the coin was struck in Gratian's reign in the fourth century.⁴⁹³ The chamber where the coin was found contained the skeletons of one male, one female,

⁴⁸⁷ Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, PL. XLVII, no. 1 and 2. SEG, 36:1316.

⁴⁸⁸ Another example of circular amulets with the name of Sisinnios is in: Schlumberger, *Amulettes Byzantins Anciens*, no. 1. This amulet is interesting because Sisinnios' name does not appear in bronze oblong amulets.

⁴⁸⁹ Jon Seligman, et. al, "Late Hellenistic and Byzantine Burial Caves at Giv'at Sharet, Bet Shemesh" *Atiqot* 29 (1996): 43-62.

⁴⁹⁰ Seligman, "Late Hellenistic and Byzantine Burial Caves", fig. 20.1, 2, 3.

⁴⁹¹ ODB, s.v. "Charon" (Margaret B. Alexiou). H. Borza, "Le Mythe de l'obole à Charon et le symbolisme actuel de la monnaie dans le cercueil," *Orbis* 4 (1955): 134-148. L. Grinsell, "The Ferryman and His Fee," *Folklore* 68 (1957): 257-269. B. Lincoln, "The Ferryman of the Dead," *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 8 (1980): 41-59. Ronnie H. Terpening, *Charon and the Crossing: Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Transformations of a Myth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1985). Susan T. Stevens, "Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice," *Phoenix* 45.3 (1991): 215-229.

⁴⁹² Ibid., fig. 20.1.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 57.

and two children. The excavators linked the pierced coin, as well as other jewelry, to the female.⁴⁹⁴ The fact that this coin is perforated differentiates this object from the other coins placed in the burial. The hole on the coin shows that it was used as jewelry, most probably due to its imagery and buried with the deceased as a personal effect.⁴⁹⁵

2.2. Early and Middle Byzantine Burials in Corinth

The burials from the fortress in Corinth in Greece that are dated to the Early Byzantine period present similar finds. Excavation of a fifth-century burial site in the Northeast Gate of the Fortress produced ten bronze coins which were placed next to the body.⁴⁹⁶ Two coins, which are in good condition, are dated to the fifth century.⁴⁹⁷ One of these is coin of Leo I bearing a pearl-diademed head on its obverse and a monogram of Leo I in wreath on its reverse. The other coin is illustrated with a bust of a diademed man on its obverse and a monogram of Marcian in wreath on its reverse. Another worn coin was found in a burial in the area of Tower 14.⁴⁹⁸ The sixth-century coin was placed on the chest of a young man.⁴⁹⁹

As in Bet Shemesh, perforated coins were also found in Early Byzantine burials in Corinth. A perforated coin of Constans I from the fourth century was found in a grave from the Gynasium Area in Corinth. Another perforated coin was excavated in a seventh-century burial which is located close to the west wall of the Fortress. This worn coin is from the fourth century and has a bust on its obverse and a camp gate with two

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 48.

⁴⁹⁵ James Wiseman, "Excavations in Corinth, the Gymnasium Area, 1967-1968", *Hesperia* 38.1 (1969): 64-106, especially 76 and no. 28. This also shows that they are not suitable material to date the burials. Rife, *Isthmia IX*, 70-71.

⁴⁹⁶ Joseph L. Rife, *Isthmia IX: The Roman and Byzantine Graves and Human Remains* (Princeton: New Jersey: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011), 36, fig. 2.12 and 2.13.

⁴⁹⁷ Rife, *Isthmia IX*, 103, fig. 2.84 and 2.85.

⁴⁹⁸ Rife, *Isthmia IX*, 68-69, fig. 2.56.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 103, fig. 2.87.

turrets on its reverse.⁵⁰⁰ (Figure 54) It was found on the neck of the woman buried in the grave. This indicates that the perforated coin as a personal item was not removed when the woman was being buried.

The material evidence from Corinth shows that the custom of burying the dead with coins continued into the Middle Byzantine period. For instance, skulls containing coins were found in the Middle Byzantine graves at the church in the Forum of Corinth.⁵⁰¹ The coins of John II (1118-1143) were found in two of the skulls in a grave in the nave. In the north aisle, a third skull was found containing a coin issued by Arcadius in the fourth century.⁵⁰² Objects of private devotion were also buried with the deceased as evidenced by the burial sites at Corinth. Another tomb in the church yielded a small steatite icon bearing the image of Christ in bust form. Similar examples to this object are dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁰³ On the other side of the icon, an inscription reads as “God help your servant Matthew”.⁵⁰⁴ (Figure 55) In these graves located in same area, a combination of old and new burial practices is observed.

2.3.Middle Byzantine Burial from the Church in Acropolis:

The Temple of Asklepios in the Acropolis of Athens was re-used by the Early Christians.⁵⁰⁵ The small temple of Asklepios was demolished, and its material was used

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 108, fig. 2.96.

⁵⁰¹ Charles H. Morgan, “Excavations at Corinth, 1935-1936”, *AJA* 40.4 (1936): 466-487.

⁵⁰² Morgan, “Excavations at Corinth”, 473.

⁵⁰³ Eric Addis Ivison, “Mortuary Practices in Byzantium”, (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 1993) 84. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 2108.

⁵⁰⁴ Morgan, “Excavations at Corinth”, fig. 11.

⁵⁰⁵ Alison Frantz, Homer A. Thompson, and Iōannēs N. Traulos. *Late Antiquity, A.d. 267-700* (Princeton, N.J: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1988), 92. E. Edelstein and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Baltimore and London, 1998). Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 219-221.

as *spolia* for the three Christian churches built one after the other on the site.⁵⁰⁶ The graves around the Church date to the Early Byzantine period, but they were also re-used in the Middle Byzantine era. In 1877, the excavator of the tombs, Koumanoudis, recorded that a copper pendant was found in one of the tombs from the Middle Byzantine period.⁵⁰⁷ (Figure 56) This circular pendant with a hoop bears an image of a head surrounded by four heart-shaped designs resembling wings on its obverse.⁵⁰⁸ The reverse has seven registers of inscription reading as “Τοῦ Δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ σήμερον, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, κοινωνόν με παρ[άλαβε]” which translates as “Of the mystical supper, O Son of God, accept me this day as a partaker”.⁵⁰⁹ The words “mystical supper” are a reference to the Last Supper during which Jesus and his apostles had a ritual meal in which bread and wine are offered and blessed as Jesus' body and blood in memory of his saving work.⁵¹⁰ These verses depicted on the pendant are from the *Koinonikon*, a Byzantine hymn that appeared in the sixth century as an accompaniment to the Eucharist.⁵¹¹ The tenth-century *Typikon* of the Great Church, which gives directions for carrying out the cathedral services of Constantinople, lists the *Koinonikon* as a part of the Eucharistic liturgy following the Gospel reading.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁶ B. Papaefthimiou, “Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών κατά τους χριστιανικούς χρόνους. Ευρήματα από την ανασκαφή της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας”, *AE* 151 (2012), 75-116.

⁵⁰⁷ Papaefthimiou, “Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών”, 101.

⁵⁰⁸ Andreas Xyngopoulos, “Χριστιανικόν 'Ασκληπιείον”, *AE* 41 (1915): 52-71.

⁵⁰⁹ Xyngopoulos, “Χριστιανικόν 'Ασκληπιείον”, 68. C E Hammond, and F E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western: Being the Texts, Original or Translated, of the Principal Liturgies of the Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 396.

⁵¹⁰ Luke 22:19, 1 Cor 10–11.

⁵¹¹ ODB, s.v. “Koinonikon” (Dimitri E. Conomos, Robert F. Taft). Kenneth Levy, “A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963):127-75.

⁵¹² Thomas H. Schattauer “The Koinonicon of the Byzantine Liturgy: An Historical Study” *OCP* 49 (1983): 91-129. Dimitri Conomos, “Communion Chants in Magna Graecia and Byzantium” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33.2 (1980): 241-263.

The representation of the face on the obverse resembles the *hystera* image on the amulets. However, the figures surrounding the head are not similar to the well-known image of the serpents that commonly appear with the *hystera* image. The head and the wing-like figures on the object's obverse may be the image of a Cherub, the biblical celestial beings with four wings.⁵¹³ Cherubim are also the angels who guard the gates of heaven according to Genesis 3.24. It is important to note that the *Cheroubikon*, a hymn in the Eucharist, appeared at the same time that the *Koinonikon* began to be chanted.⁵¹⁴ The name of the *Cheroubikon* was derived from the first words of the hymn – “We, who mystically represent the Cherubim” – likening the chanters to the Cherubim around the throne of God.⁵¹⁵ This hymn accompanied the Great Entrance, a ritual procession during which the deacon carries the Eucharistic bread and the wine into the altar of the church.⁵¹⁶ The image of the Cherub and the verses from the *Koinonikon*, are depicted on the pendant as liturgical references to ensure the safe travel of the soul to the afterlife

⁵¹³ Papaefthimiou, “Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών”, 103. Ezekiel 1:5-11. Oskar K. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne Und Seraphim: Ikonographie Der Ersten Engelshierarchie in Der Christlichen Kunst* (Altenburg: Bonde, 1894). M. Haran, “The Ark and the Cherubim: Their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 9 (1959): 30–94. R. de Vaux, “Les Chérubins et l'Arche d'Alliance. Les Spinx gardiens et les Trônes divins dans l'Ancien Orient”, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 37 (Beirut, 1960–1): 91–124. D. Pallas, “Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen”, *BZ* 64 (1971): 55–60.

⁵¹⁴ Levy, “A Hymn for Thursday”, 127.

“We, who mystically represent the Cherubim,
And chant the thrice-holy hymn to the Life-giving Trinity,
Let us set aside the cares of life
That we may receive the King of all,
Who comes invisibly escorted by the Divine Hosts.”

⁵¹⁵ Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975), 53-118.

⁵¹⁶ Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 53-118.

and its entrance to heaven through the protection of the Cherub and the invocation to God in this context.⁵¹⁷

2.4.Middle Byzantine Burials from Sardis and Barçın Höyük:

A copper alloy pendant was found in a grave from the small cemetery at the Acropolis of Sardis in modern Manisa.⁵¹⁸ (Figure 57) The pendant which is dated to the eleventh century bears the scene of Anastasis on its obverse: Christ carries a double-armed cross with his right hand and with his left, holds the right hand of Adam who is kneeling in front of Eve.⁵¹⁹ A fourth figure with a headgear or a crown who is probably David or Solomon stands to the right side of Christ.⁵²⁰ On the reverse, a large double-armed cross stands on a stepped base with vines and branches springing from the cross. The scene of Anastasis carries an explicit message for the dead since in this scene Christ rescues Adam and Eve from Hades.⁵²¹ It is an analogical scene for the salvation of the dead.

⁵¹⁷ Παπαευθυμίου, “Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών”, 104. A second copper medallion with a hoop was found on the site. It is a very simplistic example of *hystera* amulets. It is not discussed in the text due to the fact that the specific findspot of the object is not recorded by Koummanidis. However, there is a possibility that it may have come from a tomb around the church. If so, this is the only recorded *hystera* amulet excavated in a funerary context.

⁵¹⁸ George M. A. Hanfmann, “The Fourth Campaign at Sardis (1961)”, *BASOR* 166 (1962): 1-57, fig. 31.

⁵¹⁹ Jane C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis: The Finds Through 1974*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983), no. 898, Pl. 51.

⁵²⁰ John Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople: An Introduction to Byzantine Art, 330-1453* (New York: Phaidon Publishers, 1961), 87, fig. 116.

⁵²¹ G. M. Rushforth, “The Church of S. Maria Antiqua” *PBSR* 1 (1902): 1-123. Charles R. Morey, *East Christian paintings in the Freer collection* (New York, 1914), 45-53. André Grabar, *L’empereur dans l’art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 245-249. Kurt Weitzmann. “Aristocratic Psalter and Lectionary,” *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 19 (1960): 98-107. Ellen C. Schwartz, “A New Source for the Byzantine Anastasis,” *Marysas* 16 (1972-73): 29-34. P. Leveto, “A Byzantine Gold and Rock Crystal Pendant,” *Indiana University Art Museum Bulletin* 1(1978): 47-57. André Grabar, “Essai sur les plus anciennes représentations de la “Résurrection du Christ””, *Mon Piot* 63 (1980): 105-141. Per Jonas Nordhagen, “The harrowing of hell” as imperial iconography. A note on its earliest use”, *BZ* 75 (1982): 345-48. Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986), 1-39.

Excavations of a Byzantine grave in Barçın Höyük located in modern Bursa, yielded an eleventh-century lead reliquary cross. The halves of the cross bear the images of the Virgin Mary raising her arms in prayer and the Crucifixion of Christ.⁵²² (Figure 58) The reliquary, which was found close to the remains of a young man, contained two wooden pieces which might have been relics from the True Cross. The intercessory character of the images on the reliquary cross indicates an attempt to secure the salvation of the deceased buried in this grave.

2.5.Late Byzantine Burials from Kadıkalesi:

A lead pilgrim flask was found during the excavations in the Kadıkalesi fortress, which is dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the southern shore of present-day Kuşadası in Turkey.⁵²³ The fortress protected the harbor of the Byzantine town of Anaia and housed a monastic complex that may have included an episcopal palace. The flask has a circular body with a flaring neck and two handles. (Figure 59) On its obverse, it presents Christ crucified on the cross with two haloed figures, Virgin Mary and St. John, beneath the arms of the cross and on its reverse, a patriarchal cross with two arms.⁵²⁴ Pilgrim flasks of the same shape and similarly decorated with the scenes from the Christological cycle are of Palestinian provenance and dated to the twelfth

⁵²² Jacob Rosenberg, “The Byzantine graveyards from Ilıpınar and Barçın in Northwest Anatolia”, in *Archaeology of the Countryside in Medieval Anatolia*, ed T. Vorderstrasse & J.Roodenberg (Leiden, PIHANS 2009), 154-167, fig. 14.

⁵²³ Zeynep Mercangöz, “Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi/Anaia Kazısı: Bizans Döneminden Birkaç Küçük Buluntu” in *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, ed by Böhlendorf-Arslan, Beate, and Alessandra Ricci (Taksim, İstanbul : Ege Yayınları, 2012), 223-232.

⁵²⁴ Mercangöz, “Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi”, fig. 6. For the iconography of the Crucifixion see Gabriel Millet, *Le Monastère De Daphni, Histoire, Architecture, Mosaïques*. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1899), Pl. XVI. Lieselotte Kötzche, “Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit”, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988): 3-32. Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1991), fig. 97. D. Buckton, *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture* (London, 1994), no. 204. Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*, fig. 54.

century.⁵²⁵ The exact find-spot of the flask is the southern nave of the church discovered on the site. The Early Byzantine basilica on the site was renovated in the eleventh century, and the southern and northern naves were re-used as *arcosolia* in later periods.⁵²⁶ In one of the *arcosolia*, nineteen gold coins dated to the thirteen century were found on a skeleton. In another *arcosolium*, gold threads that may have belonged to brocades of an episcopate scarf were found around the neck of a skeleton. Due to the rich finds, the excavators think that bishops were buried in these graves.⁵²⁷ Thus, the pilgrim flask came from one of these high-status and privileged burials.

2.6.Late Byzantine Burials from Western Thrace and Çanlı Kilise

The three lead pilgrim flasks from Western Thrace dated to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries were briefly discussed in Chapter II. They are parallel examples to the pilgrim flasks in the catalog – C.26, C.27, and C.28 – since all six depict the iconography of St. Demetrios. One of these flasks was found in a Byzantine tomb in Peritheorion, a Byzantine town between Komotini and Xanthi and 230 km east of Thessaloniki. Two other pilgrim flasks were found in a Byzantine *parekklesion* in Gratini located 260 km east of Thessaloniki.⁵²⁸ (Figure 60) These two flasks have the image of St. Demetrios in military attire on one side and the Virgin Mary on the other. The *parekklesion* in Gratini, which is a one-room structure dated to the thirteenth

⁵²⁵ Josef Engemann, Palästinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen. Erstveröffentlichungen und Berichtigungen, *JbAC* 45 (2002):153-169, Tafel 9.c,d. Pitarakis, “New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns”, fig. 1. Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 276.

⁵²⁶ My thanks to Zeynep Mercangöz, the Director of Kadıkalesi Excavations, for giving me valuable information about the site and buildings.

⁵²⁷ Zeynep Mercangöz, *Bizanslı Ustalar, Latin Patronlar: Kuşadası Yakınındaki Kadıkalesi Kazıları Işığında Anaia Ticari Üretiminden Yansımalar* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2013), 13-23.

⁵²⁸ The village of Gratini has been linked rightly with the Byzantine city of Gratianou due to its location. After the destruction of Mosynopolis, at the start of the fourteenth century, it became the biggest settlement in the region of Rhodope. Bakirtzis, “Κουτρούβια μύρου ἀπὸ τῆ Θεσσαλονίκης”, 523-528.

century, was decorated with wall paintings.⁵²⁹ Only one part of the walls which shows the images of the Church Fathers holding scrolls has survived. Along with the pilgrim flasks, two iron pendant crosses were also found.⁵³⁰ The private space and the wall paintings suggest that a wealthy person was buried here.

In 1994, sixteen rock-cut tombs were found in the north narthex of the Çanlı Kilise in Cappadocia.⁵³¹ These tombs were disturbed by later burials. A wooden icon, a pilgrim flask, two pieces of bronze reliquary crosses, and two coins, were found in the disturbed dirt fill in the narthex which makes it impossible to link them to a specific tomb. However, it is certain that these objects came from the burial site. The two coins are highly worn, making their reverses illegible. The obverses of the coins, however, bear a plant motif and a star. They are dated to the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries by the excavators.⁵³² The presence of these coins in the burial area of Çanlı Kilise demonstrates the continuity of the custom of burying the dead with coins, which was seen in the Early Byzantine burials of Bet Shemesh and Corinth.

The pilgrim flask, found in the burial area, is decorated with a patriarchal cross on its obverse, similar to the one on C.25, and a pinwheel pattern surrounded by a foliate border on its reverse.⁵³³ (Figure 61) The patriarchal cross as a reference to True Cross indicates that the provenance of the flask may be Jerusalem. The shape of the flask is

⁵²⁹ Charalambos Bakirtzis, “NOMOS ΠΟΔΟΠΗΣ”, *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 30 (1979): 348-351.

⁵³⁰ Ibid., pl. 157.

⁵³¹ Robert G. Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005), 202.

⁵³² Muhsin Endoğlu and Demet Kaya, “Aksaray Akhisar Köyü Çanlı Kilise Kurtarma Kazısı”, in *VIII. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri*, (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 1998), 590, fig. 11.

⁵³³ Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, 205, fig. 268.

similar to the metal flasks from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.⁵³⁴ One of the reliquary crosses bears the image of crucified Christ and the other presents a haloed saint, identified as St. George by the inscription, raising his arms in prayer.⁵³⁵ Similar reliquary crosses found at burial sites are dated no later than the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵³⁶

Along with these examples, a small wooden icon painted on both sides and topped by a small finial was also found at Çanlı Kilise. (Figure 62) The obverse has a saint in liturgical vestment raising his arms in prayer. The inscription in red letters identifying the saint is unintelligible. Ousterhout suggests that this saint might be St. Gregory the Theologian due to his short gray beard and rosy complexion and the fact that the saint was from Cappadocia.⁵³⁷ On the reverse, there is an image of Constantine and Helena holding the True Cross that was painted at a later date.⁵³⁸ The size of the icon indicates its nature as an object of private devotion; it must have been buried with the deceased because of his or her personal connection to the object. It may also have been selected as a burial object for the intercession of the depicted saints on behalf of the dead at the Last Judgment Day. Ousterhout notes the sophisticated style of the images on the icon, especially the image of the saint on the obverse.⁵³⁹ In addition to its significance as a private object, this icon may have also been a luxury item. Çanlı Kilise was a part of a Cappadocian settlement that was a small town in the Middle Byzantine

⁵³⁴ Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," figs. 48-49. Danny Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre", in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999), 110-115.

⁵³⁵ Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 267.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁵³⁷ Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, 207, fig. 270. *ODB*, s.v. "Gregory of Nazianzos" (Barry Baldwin, Alexander Kazhdan, Robert S. Nelson, Nancy Patterson Ševčenko).

⁵³⁸ Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 271.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

period.⁵⁴⁰ According to Ousterhout, the well-planned courtyard residences of the settlement obviously did not belong to peasants since they had spaces for formal ceremonies.⁵⁴¹ In addition, only people of higher status were granted the privilege of being buried inside churches in Byzantium.⁵⁴² Thus, the deceased buried in Çanlı Kilise must have been people of social standing.

2.7.Discussion

Majority of the objects that were placed in burials must have been private possessions of the deceased. Amulets, small-size icons, and perforated coins as pendants must have been worn around their neck during the life time of these people. Pilgrim objects such as flasks and badges were sacred and valuable objects due to their provenance. Badges were usually sown on clothes and flasks were easily carried on person due to their size. It is logical to think that these objects were buried with the deceased since the deceased had personal and spiritual attachment to them. However, I think that also protection of the soul and body of the deceased must have been intended with the placement of these objects in burials.

In order to explore this idea, the certain aspects of the concepts of afterlife in Orthodox Christianity must be examined in connection to the material culture.⁵⁴³ The Byzantines believed the idea that the soul was immortal and it separated from the body

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 6-7.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 182-183.

⁵⁴² *ODB*, s.v. "Burial" (Natalia Teteriatnikov and Apostolos Karpozilos).

⁵⁴³ The aim of this discussion is not to give a complete study of the concepts of death and afterlife in Byzantium which is an important field of study, but to understand the connection between these concepts and the protective objects in Byzantium.

upon death.⁵⁴⁴ Upon the commandment of God, the death of a human is brought by an angel. The soul of the dead departs the human body in the company of the angel. During its ascent, the soul sees Paradise and Hell, and then is brought to a place of rest until the Last Judgment Day, when it will be resurrected with its individual body.⁵⁴⁵ The Byzantine concept of the ascent of the soul is similar to the ancient belief in the journey of the soul to Hades after death.⁵⁴⁶

A material example of the belief in resurrection is a lead tablet found in a tomb at the site of the basilica of Agios Achillios, located on an island in Lake Prespa between Albania, Greece, and Macedonia.⁵⁴⁷ The tightly-rolled lead tablet was found among the human bones in a sealed wooden box located in the tomb.⁵⁴⁸ The coins found under the box date this tomb to the thirteenth century. Different inscriptions are carved on the damaged amulet. The intelligible inscriptions translate as “In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever and to the ages of ages” (the Trinitarian

⁵⁴⁴ ODB, s.v. "Death" (Gerhard Podskalsky, Rainer Stichel, and Apostolos Karpozilos), "Soul" (Alexander Kazhdan and Anthony Cutler). J. Rivière, "Mort et démon chez les péres", *Revue des sciences religieuses* 10 (1930): 577–621. E. Stéphanou, "La coexistence initiale du corps et de l'âme d'après saint Grégoire de Nysse et saint Maxime l'Homologète", *Echos d'Orient* 31 (1932): 304–15. A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome, 1958). J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). H.G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* (Munich, 1979). Joseph A. Munitiz, "The Predetermination of Death: The Contribution of Anastasios of Sinai and Nikephoros Blemmydes to a Perennial Byzantine Problem", *DOP* 55 (2001): 9-20. Nicholas Constan, "'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream': The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature" *DOP* 55 (2001): 91-124.

⁵⁴⁵ H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome, 1937). G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseshatologie* (Munich, 1972). K. Hoheisel, "Das frühe Christentum und die Seelenwanderung", *JbAC* 27–28 (1984–85): 24–46. Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (England: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Alexander Alexakis, "Was There Life Beyond the Life Beyond? Byzantine Ideas on Reincarnation and Final Restoration", *DOP* 55 (2001): 155-177. John Worthley, "Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in Byzantine 'Beneficial Tales'" *DOP* 55 (2001): 53-69.

⁵⁴⁶ George T. Dennis, "Death in Byzantium", *DOP* 55 (2001): 1-8. Ádam Bollok, "Apotropaion and Burial in Early Byzantium. Some preliminary considerations", in *Byzanz Und Das Abendland: Begegnungen Zwischen Ost Und West*, ed. Erika Juhász et. al, (Budapest : Eötvös-József-Collegium, 2013), 227-241.

⁵⁴⁷ N. Moutsopoulos, "Ανασκαφή της Βασιλικής του Αγίου Αχιλλείου, Δευτέρα (1966) και Τρίτη (1967) Περίοδος Εργασιών", *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Πολυτεχνικής Σχολής Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης Δ'* (1969-1970): 63-228.

⁵⁴⁸ Ivison, "Mortuary Practices in Byzantium", 208-210.

Formula), “Jesus Christ Victory”, “in the Place of the Skull (Golgotha) buried, Christ”, and “Resurrected”. The last and unintelligible inscription appears to be an invocation including the words “servant” and “holy martyr”.⁵⁴⁹ The inscriptions referencing Christ’s victory over death and his resurrection are intended for the resurrection of the deceased’s soul.

Cyril of Alexandria, the fifth-century patriarch of Alexandria, writes that in its ascent to heaven, the soul passes through tollhouses and gives account for its sins to demons and angels.⁵⁵⁰ In the tenth-century *Life of St. Basil the Younger*, this concept is explained to Gregory, the writer of the *Life*, by Theodora, a follower of St. Basil and an abbess who died previously.⁵⁵¹ Theodora tells Gregory about the pain she suffered during the time of her death and a multitude of ‘Ethiopians’ surrounding her bed. These ‘Ethiopians’ were howling like dogs and wolves, bearing documents of examination in their hands, and accusing her of sins.⁵⁵² At the same time, two beautiful young men defending Theodora were arguing with the ‘Ethiopians’. During this conflict, St. Basil appeared and gave to the young men a bag full of gold with which they could redeem Theodora’s sins as she passed through tollhouses. Here, St. Basil refers to the gold as “spiritual wealth” that he accumulated by his toils and says that it may be used “to free

⁵⁴⁹ Ivison, “Mortuary Practices in Byzantium”, 209. This example reminds one of gold and silver lamellae from Roman and Late Antique periods. Although the form of protection here is ancient, the inscriptions on the example from Hagios Achillios belong to Christian scriptures and traditions.

⁵⁵⁰ Cyril of Alexandria, “Homily 14, On the Departure of the Soul, and on the Second Coming”, PG 77, cols. 1072–89. Nikolaos Vassiliadis, and Peter A. Chamberas, *The Mystery of Death* (Athens: The Orthodox Brotherhood of Theologians “The Savior”, 1997), 390. Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1974), 25–26.

⁵⁵¹ Denis Sullivan, Alice-Mary M. Talbot, and Stamatina McGrath. *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger: Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version*. (Washington, DC : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2014), 39–42.

⁵⁵² Sullivan et. al., *The Life of Saint Basil*, 199–205.

her [Theodora] from the debts which she will incur from the spirits of evil”.⁵⁵³ Then Theodora and the angels began their ascent to the various tollhouses where her deeds in different categories such as envy, vainglory, and adultery were judged by demons in the tollhouses. In some of the tollhouses, Theodora was deemed a sinner, and in these cases the angels gave the demons some of the spiritual gold for the salvation of Theodora’s soul.⁵⁵⁴ Theodora was saved thanks to the “spiritual wealth” of St. Basil.

The ultimate objective of the burial rituals was to ensure the salvation of the dead. The funerary rites such as the reception of the Eucharist on the day of death were believed to be necessary for the salvation of the deceased.⁵⁵⁵ The salvation of the dead was also the concern of their living relatives, who would take actions such as praying and making donations to churches and monasteries for the commemoration of the dead.⁵⁵⁶ For instance, Gregory of Nyssa states that he buried his parents next to the tombs of the Forty Martyrs for the intervention of the saints on behalf of his parents on the day of resurrection.⁵⁵⁷ These were the ways that were approved by the Church. However, people also enlisted the help of protective objects in burials for the sake of the dead as is demonstrated in the above examples.

Certain burial customs were designed for the protection of the body from evil spirits. The Byzantines adopted the custom of closing the mouth of the dead before the

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 207-209.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., 211-217.

⁵⁵⁵ ODB, s.v. "Death" (Gerhard Podskalsky, Rainer Stichel, and Apostolos Karpozilos). P.J. Fedwick, "Death and Dying in Byzantine Liturgical Tradition", *EChR* 8 (1976) 152-161. Elena Velkovska, "Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources" *DOP* 55 (2001): 21-51.

⁵⁵⁶ E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (Münster 1928). Dorothy Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29.2 (1984): 125-134. G. Dagron, "Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine : temps chrétien et anthropologie", in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1984), 419-430.

⁵⁵⁷ Gregory of Nyssa, Homily 2 in Praise of the Forty Martyrs, PG 46:784B.

burial from the Ancient Greek tradition.⁵⁵⁸ They were concerned that an evil spirit would penetrate the body, which became soulless with death, through the open mouth. Gregory of Nyssa records that St. Macrina, waiting for death, applied the sign of the cross upon her eyes, mouth, and heart.⁵⁵⁹ A material example that may have been related to this concept is the deposit of coins in Byzantine burials. The custom of placing coins on the eyes or inside the mouth of the dead was inherited from the ancient Greek funerary practices. However, contemporary Christians may not have been aware of the pagan connotations or the meaning of this practice for Christians may have changed throughout centuries. Charon is mentioned in Byzantine texts from the tenth century onward, yet in these sources he is described not as a ferryman but as an agent of death.⁵⁶⁰ According to Ivison, the unawareness of people is implied by the fact that the coins, which had no value at the time of burial, such as ancient coins and coin blanks were also deposited in the Byzantine burials since the coin was supposed to be fee for Charon.⁵⁶¹ The coins found in the hand and around hips and knees indicate another purpose for the deposit of coins in burials. The placement of the coins at the joints and endpoints of the body might have been used to create a barrier to avoid demonic penetration.⁵⁶² It is interesting to note that the literary image of “money” is also used in

⁵⁵⁸ J. Kyriakakis, “Byzantine Burial Customs: Care for the deceased from death to Prothesis”, *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 19 (1974): 37–72. Georgios K. Spyridakes, “Τα κατά την τελευταίην ἐθίμα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Ἀγιολογικῶν Πηγῶν”, *Ἐπετηρὶς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* 20 (1950), 74-171. See also Phaidon Koukoules, “Βυζαντινῶν Νεκρικὰ Ἔθιμα”, *Ἐπετηρὶς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* 26 (1940): 3-80.

⁵⁵⁹ Clarke, *The Life of St. Macrina*, 57.

⁵⁶⁰ D. Hesseling, “Charos rediens”, *BZ* 30 (1929/30): 186-191. Margaret B. Alexiou, “Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition”, in *The “past” in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed Spiros Vryonis (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1978), 221-36. A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington DC, 1941), 93-94.

⁵⁶¹ Ivison, “Mortuary Practices in Byzantium”, 220.

⁵⁶² See other objects used for same purpose: Ivison, “Mortuary Practices in Byzantium”, 249-250.

the Life of St. Basil the Younger as spiritual wealth which saves Theodora from the clutches of demons in tollhouses.

The Byzantines also inherited the custom of cleaning and anointing the corpse in order to avoid contamination of evil spirits and combat the decomposition of the body from the ancient tradition.⁵⁶³ Christians took pains to preserve the remains of the dead such as using plaster within the coffin to absorb the body's moisture and forestall decomposition.⁵⁶⁴ They wanted to ensure the protection of the body as well as that of soul since they would be resurrected together. The dressing of the body with garments and the placement of sandals in the graves were a response to the notion that the body would have to make a journey to the after-life.⁵⁶⁵ Thus, it is possible that certain burial objects might have been used to protect the earthly remains of the dead.

Gilchrist suggests that the amulets placed in Christian burials were used as therapeutic objects to heal the body for the corporeal resurrection on the Last Judgment Day.⁵⁶⁶ Gilchrist gives examples of burials where objects were placed close to the sick body parts of the deceased.⁵⁶⁷ Although Gilchrist's examples are only from Anglo-Saxon burials, which belonged to the late medieval period, there might be a connection between these and the Early Christian burials in the East. The bronze amulets found in

⁵⁶³ Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs", 44-46.

⁵⁶⁴ Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London: Batsford, 1987), 78-79.

⁵⁶⁵ Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs", 52.

⁵⁶⁶ Roberta Gilchrist, "Magic for the Dead? the Archaeology of Magic in Later Medieval Burials," *Medieval Archaeology*. 52.1 (2013): 119-159.

⁵⁶⁷ The examples of skeletons from the burials with this kind of objects reveal different sicknesses experienced by the people buried in these burials. For instance, an adult woman buried at Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh had a condition which affected the mobility of her legs and she was buried with a silver penny near her hip. An adult male suffered from tuberculosis was buried with a pebble in his mouth in Raunds, Northamptonshire in England. Gilchrist, "Magic for the Dead?", 119-159. This practice resembles the directions suggesting the placement of the amulets next to the sick body parts in the *Testament of Solomon*. Conybeare, "The Testament of Solomon", 37.

the Necropolis of Tyre might have been placed there for this specific reason. For instance, the amulets with the iconography of the long-legged bird and the inscription translating “I drink” were intended for the healing of stomach, as discussed in Chapter II.⁵⁶⁸ As these bronze amulets, the perforated coins which carry the triumphant images of gods and emperors might have been buried with the deceased for the protection of the body.

Gilchrist’s examples also include numerous pilgrim badges buried with the dead for the protection of their remains.⁵⁶⁹ The pilgrim badges were a tradition of Western Christianity.⁵⁷⁰ However, three lead alloy pilgrim badges in the catalog, C.31, C.32, and C.33, were found with two other badly preserved badges in a Roman family tomb in Hierapolis, Turkey.⁵⁷¹ Coins and metal finds show that there are burials in this tomb from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The badges were found in close proximity to each other, located 25 centimeters under the surface of the central aisle and classified as belongings of the latest burials. The inscriptions and the images on the badges indicate that C.31 came from Rome, C.32 from Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat in south-central France, and C.33 from Rocamadour in south west France.⁵⁷² These are the only recorded pilgrim badges in the Eastern Mediterranean outside Jerusalem.⁵⁷³ They

⁵⁶⁸ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, no. 104. Simone Michel and Peter Zazoff, *Die Magischen Gemmen Im Britischen Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 253, no. 401, 254, no. 402. Simone Michel, *Bunte Steine, Dunkle Bilder: Magische Gemmen* (München: Biering & Brinkmann, 2001), 90.

⁵⁶⁹ Gilchrist, “Magic for the Dead?”, 129.

⁵⁷⁰ Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London: Stationery Office, 1998). Sarah Blick et al., *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007). Please see a database of badges: <http://www.kunera.nl>.

⁵⁷¹ The other two badges are badly preserved and in no condition to be physically studied. Therefore, they are not added to the catalog.

⁵⁷² For detailed information on the badges, please see the catalog.

⁵⁷³ Ahrens, “A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges,” 67-76.

stylistically date to the period from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century.⁵⁷⁴ According to the excavators, it is more likely that the owner of the badges came from Europe to Asia Minor to go to Jerusalem than the other way around.⁵⁷⁵ When his pilgrimage was cut short due to his death, he was buried in Hierapolis with the badges. Like other pilgrim objects, the badges were mementoes of pilgrims' spiritual travels. According to the tradition, pilgrims would bring their badges to a shrine and touch them to the relics.⁵⁷⁶ They were sacred and protective due to their provenance. Thus, just as the pilgrim flasks buried in a Byzantine *parekklesion* in Gratini or the reliquary crosses from the burials in Barçın Höyük and Çanlı Kilise, these badges may have been placed in the tomb for the salvation of the pilgrim's soul and protection of his/her earthly remains. The protection of the earthly remains is linked to the idea set forth in eschatological theology that the resurrection of the soul will occur with that of the body.

3. Domestic and Workplace Contexts

3.1.Late Antique Houses in Anemurium and Butrint

The objects from Anemurium are significant in terms of understanding the operation of objects of protection in daily life. Anemurium is an ancient city located in what is today Mersin, Turkey. Dating back to the second century BC, Anemurium became a major city in Asia Minor in the Late Roman period and continued to thrive

⁵⁷⁴ The political situation in Hierapolis narrows this period down. The pilgrimage should have taken place either in the second half of the thirteenth century when Turkish outpost in Hierapolis was given up for a short time or during the Catalan Conquest of Hermos Valley in 1304 which brought large flow of Christians to Asia Minor. Sven Ahrens, "A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges from Hierapolis of Phrygia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 84, (2012): 67-76.

⁵⁷⁵ Ahrens, "A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges," 67-76.

⁵⁷⁶ Esther Cohen, "In haec signa: Pilgrim-Badge Trade in Southern France," *Journal of Medieval History* 2/3 (1976): 193-214.

until its abandonment by its inhabitants around 660 AD.⁵⁷⁷ Several objects of protection have been excavated at this site over the years. A glass paste amulet bears the inscription ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC CABA on its obverse, which is very common in sixth- and seventh-century amulets such as C.13.⁵⁷⁸ (Figure 63) The inscription on the reverse reads as CΦΠΑ[ΓΙ CO]ΛΟΜΟΝ [Ε]ΧΙ ΘΗΝ BACKANIAN and translates as “The Seal of Solomon restrains the Evil Eye”. In this object, the seal of Solomon is a reference to Solomon’s seal given by God for protection against evil spirits as in C.17 and C.55.

Two oval disks of copper were also found together in Anemurium.⁵⁷⁹ (Figure 64) Since their shapes are identical, it is possible that they were previously joined together. One of the disks bears an image of the Evil Eye being pierced by two spears on the left and attacked by two lions, two serpents, a scorpion, and an ibis from below – a scene also appears on C.13. Above this scene, the inscription translates as “Lord, Help”. The other disk shows the image of the holy rider in military attire spearing a human figure lying beneath the horse, and a lion below.⁵⁸⁰ In addition to these amulets, a bronze tube phylactery without its scroll and an unrolled silver scroll without its tube were found.⁵⁸¹ (Figure 65) The tube phylactery calls to mind the amulets depicted on women’s necks in the portraits from Fayum.

⁵⁷⁷ Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, *The Necropolis of Anamur* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965). Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum, Gerhard Huber, and Somay Onurkan. *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia: Preliminary Report* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1967). James Russell, “Anemurium: the Changing Face of a Roman City” *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980): 31-40. James Russell, “Excavations at Anemurium, 1982,” *Classical Views* 27 (1983):168-183.

⁵⁷⁸ Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, fig. 4.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 5.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, figs. 6.

⁵⁸¹ *Ibid.*, figs. 9-10.

Having worked on these objects, Russell emphasizes the importance of where the objects were found in Anemurium.⁵⁸² Except for the tube phylactery, these objects were discovered in the housing complex built in the old *palaestra* dated to the third century.⁵⁸³ The *palaestra* which once belonged to the baths of the city, fell into disuse, and was split up into residences by the late sixth century, when the city started to lose its former glory.⁵⁸⁴ The objects were found lying on the floor of these domestic buildings, which also contained coins dating from the late sixth century to the first half of the seventh century.⁵⁸⁵ Another interesting find from a room in the *palaestra* is the bronze weight molded in the shape of a bust of Athena, who is carrying an image of a Medusa head and two snakes on her chest.⁵⁸⁶ The coins and pottery found in this room again points to a dating between the late sixth century and the first half of the seventh century.

In the *palaestra* of Anemurium, pierced coins such as the ones found in the graves in Bet Shemesh and Corinth were also excavated. Excavations in one of the rooms in the old *palaestra* produced a second-century bronze coin that was struck in Anemurium. The other coins from this room concentrate around the sixth and seventh centuries, and this dating is a *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of this particular dwelling. Thus, this pierced coin must have been kept and used as a charm for its sentimental value by its owner since it carried the name of the city.⁵⁸⁷ Other pierced coins from different centuries were also found on the site. The coin of the latest date

⁵⁸² James Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period." In *Byzantine Magic*, edited by Henry Maguire: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.

⁵⁸³ Palaestra was a place for athletic practice in form of a enclosed courtyard surrounded by rooms in classical architecture. *Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, s.v. "palaestra" (John Roberts).

⁵⁸⁴ Russell, "The Archaeological Context of Magic", 45-46.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 17.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

among these pierced coins is a *follis* of Justinian I dated to 541-542.⁵⁸⁸ All of these objects found in the rooms indicate that apotropaic protection in Anemurium was a mundane part of life, “as familiar as cooking, working, playing games, or bringing up children”.⁵⁸⁹ People felt a need to surround themselves with these objects in times of distress, such as during an earthquake or outsiders’ attacks on Anemurium, either by carrying them around their necks or by placing them inside their living areas.

Excavations in another Late Antique settlement, Butrint in southern Albania (ancient Epirus Vetus) revealed similar protective objects. All of these objects came from the Tri-conch House, a large complex with a central peristyle court in the Late Roman city of Butrint.⁵⁹⁰ The house seemed to undergo a reconstruction in the early fifth century, around 420 AD. Yet it appears that this project was not completed and soon after, the previous owners abandoned the house to a more casual occupation for unknown reasons. Before its abandonment, the house had been decorated with a mosaic pavement displaying apotropaic images such as Solomon’s knot and the Evil Eye. Both of the motifs were frequently used in Late Antique mosaics.⁵⁹¹ The protective objects found in the Tri-conch House are dated to the early fifth century after the initial owners had abandoned it. An oblong copper pendant was found in the western range of the

⁵⁸⁸ Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, no. 36.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁹⁰ W. Bowden, R. Hodges and K. Lako, “Roman and late-antique Butrint: excavations and survey 2000–2001”, *JRA* 15 (2002): 199–229. J. Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons out of the House: the Archaeology of Apotropaic Strategy and Practice in Late Antique Butrint and Antigoneia”, in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use*, ed by Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, Toon Putzeys (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2007), 273-310. W. Bowden and J. Mitchell, “Butrint: the Tri-conch Place and related structures”, in *Housing in Late Antiquity: from palaces to shops*, ed. L. Lavan, L. Özgenel and A. Sarantis (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

⁵⁹¹ Engemann, “Zur Verbreitung magischer”, 22-48. Umberto Sansoni, *Il Nodo Di Salomone: Simbolo E Archetipo D'alleanza* (Milano: Electa, 1998). Maximin Deloche, *Etude Historique Et Archéologique Sur Les Anneaux Sigillaires Et Autres Des Premiers Siècles Du Moyen-Age* (Paris: Leroux, 1900), 167-168.

house.⁵⁹² (Figure 66) This amulet, which is similar to C.13 and one of the oblong bronze amulets from Tyre, bears an image of the holy rider spearing a figure beneath his horse and a lion below on its obverse. The well-known inscription reads as “One God who overcomes evil”. The reverse presents an Evil Eye attacked from above by spears and a trident, and by a lion and a leopard on either side, and from below by two serpents, a scorpion, and an ibis. On top of this, the inscription reads as “Iao, Lord of Hosts, Michael, help”. Another copper amulet was found in a reception hall of the house with other material from the fifth and sixth centuries.⁵⁹³ (Figure 67) The object’s obverse has the image of a serpent-legged creature and on the reverse there are unintelligible inscriptions surrounding the Latin letters NR. The figure with serpent legs resembles the image of Abrasax which was also associated with Iao, a name for the Jewish God Jahweh.⁵⁹⁴ In a room on the western side of the house dated to the fifth century, excavators found a circular lead pendant with an open-work cross inside of a circling band.⁵⁹⁵ (Figure 68) Similar pendants were found at Phoenicia just to the north of Butrint, Sagallastos in southern Turkey, and Corinth.⁵⁹⁶ The last object is a bone plaque found in the eastern walk of the peristyle court from the early fifth century.⁵⁹⁷ (Figure 69) The plaque bears a carving of a dog leaping over a large eye, which is similar to the other representations of the Evil Eye.

3.2.Early Byzantine House in Beth She’an

⁵⁹² Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 10.a.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., fig. 10.b.

⁵⁹⁴ Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, 123-139, pls. VII-IX. R. Armand Delatte and Philippe Derchain, *Les Intailles Magiques Gréco-Égyptiennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964).

⁵⁹⁵ Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 10.d.

⁵⁹⁶ D. Budina. “Harta arkeologjike e bredetit jon dhe ë pellgut të Dëlvinës—La carte archéologique de la côte Jonienne et du Bassin de Delvine”, *Iliria* 1 (1971): 275-342. Sagalassos: inv. no. SA-2000-B3-063. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, nos. 2087-2092, pl. 111.

⁵⁹⁷ Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 11.d.

Five clay tokens were found in a house in the ancient city of Beth She'an, called Scythopolis in Byzantine period and located in present-day Israel.⁵⁹⁸ Some of the tokens are damaged and the images cannot be identified. However, the images that can be discerned are mainly related to well-known Biblical scenes such as the Women at the Tomb, Crucifixion of Christ, Christ Calming the Tempest, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Death of the Virgin Mary.⁵⁹⁹ (Figure 70) The traditional dating of this type of tokens is between the sixth and seventh centuries.⁶⁰⁰ The coins of Justinian II found with the tokens support this dating. Judging by the images on the tokens, their provenance should be the shrines, which are connected to the scenes or the personages depicted on the tokens, in close proximity to Beth She'an.⁶⁰¹ The tokens were found in the rooms of a large mansion which likely belonged to a wealthy Christian family in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁶⁰² According to the excavators, the tokens had fallen from the upper floor of the house during a fire which was likely related to the Persian invasion in 614.⁶⁰³

3.3.Early Byzantine Houses in Aphrodisias and Sardis

A terra-cotta pilgrim flask was found in the North Temenos House in Aphrodisias, an ancient site located 230 km south east of İzmir. The flask shows a male figure standing and flanked by palm branches on its obverse and a figure seated on a

⁵⁹⁸ G. M. Fitzgerald, *Beth-shan Excavations, 1921-1923: The Arab and Byzantine Levels* (Philadelphia Pub. by the University Press for the University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1931).

⁵⁹⁹ L. Y. Rahmani, "Eulogia Tokens from Byzantine Bet She'an," *'Atiqot* 22 (1993):109–119.

⁶⁰⁰ J. Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F.-J. Dolger-Institut in Bonn", *JbAC* 16 (1973): 5-27. L. Y. Rahmani and Levi Yitzhak, "The Adoration of the Magi on Two Sixth-Century C.E. Eulogia Tokens", *Israel Exploration Journal* 29:1 (1979):34-36. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, 31-33.

⁶⁰¹ Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta", 55.

⁶⁰² Rahmani, "Eulogia Tokens ", 109.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*, 109.

chair in front of a book on a table on its reverse.⁶⁰⁴ The North Temenos House is located north of the Temple of Aphrodite, which was converted into a cathedral in the fifth century.⁶⁰⁵ A mosaic-paved room in the house has a fresco which presents a hunting scene with a lion.⁶⁰⁶ The house also has a large hall that may have been able to accommodate many diners. The walls and floors of this room are decorated with marble.⁶⁰⁷ It is suggested that the house may have been the residence of the governor of Caria or the bishop.⁶⁰⁸

Several terra-cotta pilgrim flasks were also excavated in the House of Bronzes in Sardis.⁶⁰⁹ The house is believed to belong to a Christian cleric since excavators found an incense shovel surmounted by a cross and two incense burners in a small storage room. In the same room they also excavated three terra-cotta pilgrim flasks.⁶¹⁰ One of these flasks has an Evangelist seated on a chair and writing in a book on its obverse, and a bearded man holding a book marked with a cross between two palm trees on its reverse.⁶¹¹ (Figure 71) These flasks belong to the group called “Asiatic” pilgrim flasks, dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, although this does not necessarily mean that they were exclusively produced in Asia Minor. This term is used to emphasize the

⁶⁰⁴ Sheila Campbell, "Armchair Pilgrims: Ampullae from Aphrodisias in Caria," *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988): 541, fig. 3a-c.

⁶⁰⁵ Robin Cormack, 'The Temple as Cathedral', *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 1* (1990): 75-88. R. R. R. Smith and Christopher Ratté, "Archaeological Research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1996", *AJA* 102. 2 (Apr., 1998): 225-250. Michelle Berenfeld, "The Triconch House and the Predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias", *AJA* 113 (2009): 203-229.

⁶⁰⁶ Sheila Campbell, 'Signs of prosperity in the decoration of some 4th-5th century buildings in Aphrodisias', *Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 20* (1996): 187-199, fig. 4.

⁶⁰⁷ Campbell, 'Signs of prosperity', 188.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁶⁰⁹ George M. A. Hanfmann, 'The donkey and the king', *Harvard Theological Review* 78 (1985): 422.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ George M. A. Hanfmann, "The Eighth Campaign at Sardis (1965)," *BASOR* 182 (1966): 16-17, figs. 12-13. M. A. George Hanfmann and Henry Detweiler, "New Explorations at Sardis." *Archaeology* 12.1 (1959): 53-61.

connection between this kind of clay flasks coming from Ephesus and similar ones from other places.⁶¹²

3.4.Early Byzantine Shops in Sardis

The excavations in the Byzantine shops of Sardis produced two clay pilgrim flasks of the “Asiatic” group. The Byzantine shops are dated from the first century until their destruction during a Sassanian raid in the seventh century.⁶¹³ The market area included dyers, caterers, hardware merchants, and other traders. The pilgrim flasks are important finds since they help to determine which buildings belonged to Christian owners. One of the pilgrim flasks has relief crosses surrounded by a wreath on both sides.⁶¹⁴ (Figure 72) The other one has Christ Pantokrator on the obverse side and the Virgin Mary on the reverse.⁶¹⁵ Comparable similar pilgrim flasks were also found in Aphrodisias in modern Aydın. These were excavated in the Sebasteion, which was initially a temple complex but became an area of shops for commerce by the Late Antique period.⁶¹⁶

3.5.Early Byzantine Shops at the West of Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem

In Jerusalem to the west of the Jaffa Gate, a row of shops containing washbasins and a bread-oven was discovered. A variety of finds such as imported pottery, coins, and

⁶¹² Robert P. Griffing, "An Early Christian Ivory Plaque in Cyprus and Notes on the Asiatic Ampullae," *The Art Bulletin* 20.3 (2015): 266-279.

⁶¹³ J. Stephens Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 1-11.

⁶¹⁴ Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, figs. 155-156. Hanfmann and Detweiler, "New Explorations at Sardis", 53-61.

⁶¹⁵ Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, fig. 488-492.

⁶¹⁶ William Anderson, "An Archaeology of Late Antique Pilgrim Flasks", *Anatolian studies* 54 (2004): 79-93. William Anderson, "Votive Customs in Early Byzantine Asia Minor." *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 3, (2007): 17-27.

glass dated to the mid-seventh century was excavated in the shops. This period of time corresponds to the last years of Byzantine rule and the beginning stages of the Ummayyad rule in Jerusalem.⁶¹⁷ One of the finds from this site is a clay pilgrim flask that resembles the flasks from Asia Minor. The flask on its obverse bears an image of a man in a classical dress on horseback raising his right hand.⁶¹⁸ (Figure 73) On the reverse side, a woman rides a donkey side-saddle. The material of this flask is different than the local pottery with its micaceous inclusions. Additionally its iconography appears to be foreign when compared to the local pilgrim flasks from the Holy Land, which frequently depict the scenes of the Christological cycle. Maeir suggests that this flask was likely from Asia Minor.⁶¹⁹ Since other wares imported from Asia Minor were found at the site, Maeir's suggestion seems plausible.

3.6. Middle Byzantine Shops from Corinth

In the Middle Byzantine layers of Corinth, one bezel and two rings, dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, were excavated.⁶²⁰ The bronze ring bezel is carved with the damaged image of a head surrounded by rays.⁶²¹ (Figure 74) The silver ring has a carving of a circular head surrounded by fourteen serpents and circled by a zigzag pattern between two borders of dots.⁶²² (Figure 75) Above the head, there is a star with six arms ending with dots. This ring's hoop bears an inscription reading as CTEPHKWN ΦΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ and translating as "Uterine Phylactery". These rings are parallel and

⁶¹⁷ Aren M. Maeir, and Yael Strauss. "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin from Late Byzantine/early Ummayyad Jerusalem," *Anatolian Studies* 45 (1995): 237-241.

⁶¹⁸ Maeir and Strauss, "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin", fig. 1.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 241.

⁶²⁰ Robert Scranton, *Corinth XVI: Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*. Princeton, (N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957), 54-59.

⁶²¹ Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 1949.

⁶²² Ibid., no. 1947, Fig. 51.

somewhat cruder examples of the *hystera* amulets in the catalog. The bronze ring, the second of the rings found, presents an image of a palm tree and different characters, *voces magicae*, which are often inscribed on magical objects.⁶²³ (Figure 76) The inscription on the bottom – O NIKON TA KA[KA] – is the well-known “One God” prayer that is very commonly depicted on oblong amulets from the sixth and seventh centuries. It should be noted that this prayer rarely appears without the image of the holy rider on these amulets that are dated to the Early Byzantine period. Thus, this is a rare example indicating that the “One God” prayer survived until the Middle Byzantine era.

These rings were found around the environs of a line of Central Shops that divides the Forum of Ancient Corinth into an upper and a lower area. With the numismatic and archaeological evidence, it is proven that the shop area was repaired and used in the Middle Byzantine period.⁶²⁴ Although there is evidence for the existence of glass and pottery factories in this area, specific functions of the shops in the Middle Byzantine period are unknown. Thus, the rings might have come from a shop which sold this kind of merchandise or belonged to individuals living and working around the area.

3.7.Middle Byzantine Workshop in Beybağ

Beybağ is located on the east side of the sacred road between Lagina and Stratonikeia, two important archaeological sites in Muğla.⁶²⁵ One of the soundings in

⁶²³ Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 1953, Fig. 51.

⁶²⁴ Scranton, *Corinth XVI*, 54-61. See also C. de Grazia and Charles Kaufman Williams II, “Corinth 1976: Forum Southwest”, *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 46.1 (1977): 40-81. Charles K. Williams II and Joan E. Fisher, “Corinth, 1974: Forum Southwest”, *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 44.1 (1975): 1-50.

⁶²⁵ My thanks to Aytekin Büyükozer from Selçuk University and Bilal Söğüt from Pamukkale University for providing me with the information about the excavations in Beybağ.

Beybağ in 2007 revealed space for a kiln and several settling pools for pottery.⁶²⁶ The coins and the pottery sherds found on the site date this space between the eleventh and twelfth century. The pierced coin, C.36, has a beardless emperor in military dress wearing a crown with pearls on its obverse. The emperor carries an orb topped by a cross with his right hand and a triangular shield with his left hand. The shield is decorated with an image of a rider spearing an enemy. A cross is depicted on the left side of the emperor's head. An inscription in Latin crowning the figure identifies the emperor as Justinian. The coin is pierced at the top of the emperor's crown. On the reverse, the letter M is topped by a cross. The Latin word ANNO and the Latin numbers, XII flank the letter M. Below this, there are two Greek letters, Θ and O. The letter M on the reverse is for the coin's denomination which is 40 *nummi*.⁶²⁷ This shows that this coin is a *folles* of Justinian I. The letters Θ and O show where the coin was struck. In the sixth century, Antioch was called Theoupolis, a name assumed after the earthquake in 528.⁶²⁸ ANNO and XII show the year of Justinian's reign when this coin was struck which was the twelfth year of his reign, 538-539 AD, and three years before the production of the *folles* from Anemurium. The hole on the coin and the later dating of the level from which it came indicate that the coin was a keepsake that had spiritual instead of a monetary value.

⁶²⁶ Ahmet A. Tırpan and Bilal Söğüt, "Lagina ve Börükçü 2007 Yılı Çalışmaları", in *30. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı Vol. 4*, ed Haydar Dömmöz and Adil Özme (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Dösim Basımevi, 2009), 243-266.

⁶²⁷ Philip Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London: Methuen, 1982), 14-20, PL 5.

⁶²⁸ ODB, s.v. "Antioch" (Clive F. W. Foss, and Marlia M. Mango). P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1955). G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961). J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972). Scott Redford, *Antioch on the Orontes: Early Explorations in the City of Mosaics = Asi'deki Antakya : Mozaikler Şehrinde İlk Araştırmalar*, (Istanbul : Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014). Gunnar Brands, *Antiochia in Der Spätantike: Prolegomena Zu Einer Archäologischen Stadtgeschichte*, (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016).

Another *follis* of Justinian demonstrates what kind of spiritual value these pierced coins might have had for their owners. This *follis* from a private collection is an identical example of the *follis* from Beybağ in terms of iconography and inscriptions, except for the fact that it was struck in Nicomedia.⁶²⁹ (Figure 7) It is pierced a hole at the same place as the *follis* from Beybağ. On the side with Justinian's image, an inscription is carved on a later date. The invocation reads BOHΘI TON ΦOPINTA and translates "Lord, protect the wearer". Along with this invocation, the written sources also confirm that the coins were used for apotropaic protection. In the fifth century, John Chrysostom condemns people who adorn their head and feet with the bronze coins of Alexander the Great for apotropaic protection.⁶³⁰ In the twelfth century, Michael Italikos, a teacher of rhetoric, philosophy, and medicine in Constantinople, writes a letter to accompany a coin that he was gifting to a state official. In his letter, he writes that the coin was mounted to be worn as a pendant and it had the image of Constantine and Helena on one side and an image of Christ with the cross on the other.⁶³¹ Michael Italikos also claims that the coin was effective against all evils but specifically against diseases.⁶³² Maguire, who worked on the coins and their connection to amulets, states that the imperial portraits on coins were associated with victory since the emperors were always depicted

⁶²⁹ Mary Margaret Fulghum, "Coins Used as Amulets in Late Antiquity", in *Between Magic and Religion: Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society*, ed Sulochana R. Asirvatham, et al (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), fig. 8.1 and 8.2.

⁶³⁰ John Chrysostom, *St John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, trans Paul W. Harkins (Westminster Maryland: The Newman Press, 1963), 190.

⁶³¹ Michael Italikos, *Lettres Et Discours [de] Michel Italikos*, trans Paul Gautier (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1972), 208-210. Henry Maguire, "Magic and money in the early Middle Ages." *Speculum* 72.4 (1997): 1037-1054. See also Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall, "Byzantine 'medals' : coins, amulets and piety", in *Byzantine religious culture : studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, ed. Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher and Stratis Papaioannou (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2012), 217-238.

⁶³² Gautier, *Lettres Et Discours*, 208-210.

in a triumphant style.⁶³³ It is interesting that Michael Italikos describes Constantine, whose image on the coin, as "the most imperial, the most pious, and the best of emperors".⁶³⁴ This image must have been a powerful apotropaic symbol for the people.

It is important to emphasize that the shield of Justinian bears the image of a mounted warrior spearing an enemy. The image of the holy rider symbolizes the victory of good over evil whether the rider is a generic character or someone specific like, Solomon, or St. Sisinnios. Thus, although they are very small in size, the images of the rider on these coins might have been used as protective symbols. The invocation on the *follis* from the private collection was intended to strengthen the apotropaic power of the object. The pierced coins from three different contexts – burials, living and working spaces – show that coins were one of the protective objects that Byzantines surrounded themselves with during their life time and also in their afterlife.

In another sounding close to the site where the pierced coin was excavated, a lead *hystera* amulet, C.09, was found. On its obverse, the circular amulet bears the image of an oval circle surrounded by six serpents with animal heads. Several unintelligible letters are carved on the surface. On the reverse, there is a standing archangel holding a tall staff with his right hand and another object, possibly an orb, with his left hand. The archangel on the reverse is possibly the Archangel Michael as his image is frequently depicted on amulets. This excavation revealed two pottery workshops and unidentified spaces dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Unfortunately, the exact find-spot of

⁶³³ Maguire, "Magic and money in the early Middle Ages", 1037-1054.

⁶³⁴ Maguire, "Magic and money in the early Middle Ages", 1037-1054.

the amulet is unknown. However, it is highly probable that it came from working spaces on the site.

3.8. Discussion:

The finding of such objects as amulets, pierced coins, and pilgrim objects indicates the desire to be protected in different spheres of life. One potential source of this desire could have been the collective fear of natural disasters, outside attacks, or similar events. Such a theory seems like a plausible explanation for the Late Antique amulets found in the residences at Anemurium and Butrint. Around 580 AD, Anemurium suffered from an earthquake that damaged various buildings and was raided by the Arabs during 650s, before its abandonment around 660.⁶³⁵ The Tri-conch residence in Butrint may be a similar case as there are traces of abrupt abandonment in the site before it was left to more casual occupation. Although it is not definitive, the excavators think that the abandonment might have been the result of rising water levels.⁶³⁶ The reason for the abundance of protective decorations and devices in these houses could have been these serious troubles which the people were trying to cope with.

There is an interesting architectural parallel example to the amulets from Late Antiquity. On the northwest corner of the theater of ancient Miletus, an invocation appeals to archangels to protect the city of Miletus and its inhabitants.⁶³⁷ (Figure 77) The

⁶³⁵ Russell, "Anemurium: the Changing Face of a Roman City," 39-40.

⁶³⁶ Mitchell, "Butrint", 278.

⁶³⁷ Peter Herrmann, *Inschriften Von Milet: Teil 2* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), no.943.

inscription is located at eye level of people walking toward the theater entrance.⁶³⁸ The inscription has four registers: the first register has a row of five characters, *voces magicae*; the second register bears a line of thirty-one Greek vowels with two Ns; the third register consists of five and one half oval shapes; and the fourth register has the invocation: “Archangels, protect the city of the Miletus and all the inhabitants.” Inside of each oval shape in the third register, there are seven vowels and identical invocations translating as “Holy One, guard the city of the Miletus and all its inhabitants.” The same vowels in the ovals are used to invoke angels in a spell from London Papyrus 104 dated to the fourth and fifth centuries.⁶³⁹ This spell calls out the names of Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Souriel, Zaziel, Badakiel, and Suliel. Thus, the vowels inside the ovals must be the names of these angels. This architectural element bears similarities to the amulets dated to Late Antiquity such as the existence of characters, invocations, and most interestingly the oblong shape. Like its portable counterparts, this inscription was also used for the protection of the inhabitants’ of the city.

Another reason for the use of protective objects might be smaller-scale problems such as the domestic troubles that were believed to be caused by demons and evil spirits on earth. According to biblical sources, the demons were fallen angels who waged war against humankind.⁶⁴⁰ They wanted men to turn away from God, with the hope that this would lead to their downfall. It is believed that they harm people in different ways:

⁶³⁸ Rangar Cline, “Archangels, Magical Amulets, and the Defense of Late Antique Miletus”, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4.1 (2011): 55-78.

⁶³⁹ Adolf Deissman, *Light from the Ancient East* (New York: Doran, 1927), 450-459.

⁶⁴⁰ Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988), 32-148. Philip S. Alexander, “Contextualizing the demonology of the Testament of Solomon.” in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der alttestamentlich-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed A. Lange (Tübingen : Mohr-Siebeck, 2003), 613–35. Dayna S. Kalleres, *City of Demons: Violence, Ritual, and Christian Power in Late Antiquity* (Oakland, California : University of California Press 2015).

physical assault, false visions, possession, and passions. Animals were often used for describing the demons in written sources. That is why demons were depicted as dogs, wolves, lions, and serpents on amulets. Since demons were known to enter houses, the Byzantines needed to protect their homes first and foremost. For instance, in the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, there are various cases where Theodore saves a house haunted by demons.⁶⁴¹ In various sources the demons appear as females, which is discussed in Chapter II. For instance, in the *Life of Patriarch Tarasios*, written in 843 by Ignatius the Deacon, George, a judge and the father of Tarasios, comes across a case of women living in poverty accused of entering houses through holes or closed doors and causing harm and death to suckling babies.⁶⁴² In the text, the accusers' belief is associated with the story of Gello which is identified as a Greek myth in a condescending way. The accusers claim that the women's bodies are dissolved into a spirit to enter houses through closed doors.⁶⁴³ In the eleventh century, Michael Psellos also writes about old women with wings entering houses for newborn babies to nurse them and absorb their bodily fluids.⁶⁴⁴ According to Psellos, the babies, who died due to declining health, were called "Gillobrota", food for Gillo.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴¹ Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, trans, *Three Byzantine Saints: Contemporary Biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver*, (Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1948), nos. 38, 44, and 92.

⁶⁴² Stephanos Efthymiadis, trans, *The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon* (Aldershot, Hampshire, U.K: Ashgate, 1998), 172-173.

⁶⁴³ George decides to release the accused women since the claims cannot be true. Christ had said that a spirit has neither flesh nor bones. Accepting the accusers' claims would mean that the judge accepts that Christ was a spirit. This would be a contradiction to the Incarnation since Christ appeared to the Apostle in flesh after his resurrection. Patera, "Gylou, Démon Et Sorcière", 311-327.

⁶⁴⁴ Sorlin, "Striges et Geloudes", 411-436.

⁶⁴⁵ Psellos also records that he could find the name of Gillo only in a secret Hebrew book about Solomon. This source Psellos referred to might have been a version of the *Testament of Solomon* as there is a character called Obizouth which is very similar to Gillo. Sorlin, "Striges et Geloudes", 415-416.

A thirteenth-century Nativity scene from the Omorphi Ekklesia in Aigina in Greece presents this domestic fear: the demise of child and mother.⁶⁴⁶ (Figure 78) The well-known scene shows the Virgin Mary nursing the Baby Christ among two animals, an ass and an ox, in the cave in Bethlehem. On the right side, the Three Kings are extending their gifts to the Virgin Mary. The two unusual elements in this painting are the six eyes depicted on the band fringing the cave and a feral looking dog on the left side of the shepherds. The eyes are watching over the Mother and the Child since they, like other mothers and their children, are vulnerable to the threats from evil spirits. In hagiographical and theological literature, a dog was often associated with an evil being.⁶⁴⁷ From a theological point of view, the birth of Christ was a part of God's plan for the salvation of humankind, so it is logical that the Devil would want to seize this opportunity to harm the new-born Christ.⁶⁴⁸ This wall painting shows a theological tradition: the Devil's attempts to prevent the salvation of humankind. It also reveals the popular practice of protecting mother and new-born against the evil eye when at their most vulnerable time.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁶ V. Foskolou, "The Virgin, the Christ-Child and the Evil Eye." In *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, edited by Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT : Ashgate Pub Limited, 2005), 251-262, fig.21.1. G. Soteriou, 'Η Ομορφή Εκκλησία Αίγινης', *EEBS* 2 (1925), 243–76.

⁶⁴⁷ Richard P. H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1988), 133-134. C. D. G. Müller, "Von Teufel, Mittagsdämon und Amuletten", *JbAC* 17 (1974), 95. For modern times please see Ch. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil. Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 156 n. 28.

⁶⁴⁸ Foskolou, "The Virgin, the Christ-Child and the Evil Eye", 251-262. Greenfield, *Demonology*, 57.

⁶⁴⁹ From this point of view, the painting presents a rare example of a meeting point of popular belief and the Church theology. Foskolou, "The Virgin", 257. See also, Gülgün Köroğlu, "Bizans Döneminde Nazar ve Kadın Hastalıklarına Karşı Kullanılmış Muskalar ," in *38. Uluslararası Tıp Tarihi Kongresi Bildiri Kitabı I, 1-6 Eylül 2002*, edited by Nil Sarı (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 159-166. Brigitte Pitarakis, "The Material Culture of Childhood in Byzantium." In *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, edited by Arietta Papaconstantinou and Alice-Mary Talbot, 167–252. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 2009.

The numerous pilgrim objects found in the residences and shops excavated in different archaeological sites may reflect the concerns about diverse problems caused by the Evil Eye or evil spirits.⁶⁵⁰ Take for instance, the clay tokens found in the house complex at Beth She'an. The knife marks and breaks on the tokens indicate a pseudo-medical usage of these objects.⁶⁵¹ Due to the fact that these tokens consisted of holy dust, they could have been ground into powder and mixed with water to drink for healing purposes.⁶⁵² An entirely different problem, solved by another type of holy substance, is recorded by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, in the fifth century. According to Theodoret, a woman whose husband developed an attachment to his concubine due to bewitchment ensured her husband's fidelity by anointing herself with a flask of holy oil.⁶⁵³ The written sources about pilgrim objects reveal that they were placed indoors – such as upon the bed and on the threshold – for apotropaic protection.⁶⁵⁴ For instance, Theodoret was protected from a demon by the flasks full of holy oil which were hung by his bed.⁶⁵⁵ Theodoret also records that shop owners in Rome were placing images of St.

⁶⁵⁰ The terracotta pilgrim flasks are frequently excavated in other sites such as Hierapolis, Knidos, Tralleis, Myra, and Anemurium in Asia Minor. The concentration of the pilgrim flasks in this region indicates possible production centers in Western Asia Minor. Paul Arthur and Nalan Fırat, *Bizans Ve Türk Döneminde Hierapolis (Pamukkale): Arkeoloji Rehberi*. (İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2006), 162. R. Dinç and E. Dede, "Tralleis 1999 Kazısı - Sonuç Raporu", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 25 (2003): 11-24. I. C. Love, "A Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Knidos, 1970", *AJA* 76.1 (1972): 61-76, pl. 20. fig. 32. Y. Ötüken, "Likya Bölgesindeki Kazı ve Yüzey Araştırmaları Çerçevesinde Ortaçağ Seramikleri", *Adayla* VI (2003): 233-249, fig. 6. Caroline Williams, *Anemurium: The Roman and Early Byzantine Pottery* (Toronto, Ont.: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), 1989, 89-90, Fig. 53.542. A large group of twenty terracotta pilgrim flasks were found in Laodikeia in Denizli. The find spots of the flasks vary around these sites. They were found in the public fountain, the main street called Suriye Avenue, a public bath, and around a chapel. Celal Şimşek and Bahadır Duman, "Laodikeia da Bulunan Ampullalar", *OLBA* XV (2007):1-29. Celal Şimşek, *Laodikeia: Laodikeia Ad Lycum* (Cihangir, İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2007), 115.

⁶⁵¹ Rahmani, "Eulogia Tokens", 116.

⁶⁵² Donato Baldi, *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum* (Jerusalem: Typis PP. Franciscanorum, 1935), 811-812. B. Bagatti, 'Eulogie Palestinesi', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 15 (1949):126–66.

⁶⁵³ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, 8.3.

⁶⁵⁴ Blake Leyerle, "Pilgrim Eulogiae and Domestic Rituals", *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 10 (2008): 223-37.

⁶⁵⁵ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *A History of the Monks of Syria*, 138-140.

Symeon the Stylite at the entrances to their shops for apotropaic protection.⁶⁵⁶ The protective objects in general must have been kept in the shops for the same reason.

4. Conclusion

This chapter studied the various protective objects found in the archaeological excavations in the Eastern Mediterranean. These objects mainly come from funerary, domestic, and workplace contexts dated from Late Antiquity to the Late Byzantine period. The amulets, lead pilgrim flasks, small-size icons, and coins from the burials reflect the belief in an afterlife and the desire to ensure the salvation of the soul. In addition, the burial objects reveal a concern for the protection of the body from evil spirits until its resurrection with the soul during the Last Judgment. The bronze pendant amulets that are frequently found in Late Antique burials are not present in Middle and Late Byzantine graves. Instead, pendants with Christian imagery and inscriptions, crosses, and pilgrim objects appear in the graves from later periods. The Church's position against the usage of amulets may have influenced burial customs. However, it should be noted that coins, which played a role in Ancient Greek burial practices, continue to be found in graves from Late Antiquity to the Late Byzantine period. This might indicate that this custom took on another purpose, such as the protection of earthly remains, in Byzantine burials.

Similar objects such as bronze amulets, clay tokens and pilgrim flasks, *hystera* amulets, and pierced coins were found in domestic and workplace areas. They demonstrate people's diverse concerns such as natural disasters, wars, and domestic

⁶⁵⁶ Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images", 94.

problems related to health and safety. Consideration of this archaeological data with the accounts from the primary sources reveals the Byzantine preoccupation with evil spirits entering houses and shops, the places where people spent most of their time. Moreover, the existence of clay pilgrim objects in living areas mostly dates to the Early Byzantine period, which corroborates the increased usage of metal in the production of pilgrim objects during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The existence of similar protective objects in contexts presenting diverse wealth indicates that people from every strata of society desired protection against dangers in life and the afterlife.

CHAPTER IV: THE USE OF LEAD IN PROTECTIVE OBJECTS

1. Introduction:

Objects of protection served their purpose not only through the images and inscriptions portrayed on them, as discussed in previous chapters, but also through the material from which they are made. Clay, which was used for the production of pilgrim objects, was considered a potent material. Clay tokens were manufactured from the soil around the shrines of St. Symeon Stylites the Elder and the Younger. The lives of both saints record that the soil from their shrines was therapeutic and protective.⁶⁵⁷ As discussed in Chapter III, the clay tokens from the house complex at Beth She'an had knife marks and breaks on them.⁶⁵⁸ These marks show that the tokens may have been ground into powder and mixed with water to drink for healing purposes.

Precious stones, renowned for their protective properties, were also used for the manufacture of protective objects. Beautiful intaglios and cameos bearing the imagery of religious scenes and inscriptions were made from different gemstones such as amethyst, sapphire, and bloodstone in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.⁶⁵⁹ Certain stones were believed to have magical and healing powers, as evidenced by the works of Roman and Byzantine writers. For instance, Pliny reports in the first century that amethyst could

⁶⁵⁷ Van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite Le Jeune*, 230-33, 169-70, 85. Lent, *The life of Saint Simeon Stylites*, 126-129.

⁶⁵⁸ Rahmani, "Eulogia Tokens", 116.

⁶⁵⁹ Please see, Jeffrey Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2007). Genevra Kornbluth, "'Early Byzantine' Crystals: An Assessment", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 52/53 (1994/95): 23-32. Durand, Jannic and Bernard Flusin, eds. *Byzance et les Reliques du Christ*. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 17. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2004.

protect the wearer from intoxication.⁶⁶⁰ Later, in the fourth century, Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis claims that the same stone may protect a person from storms.⁶⁶¹ Michael Psellus, who was also interested in the properties of stones in the eleventh century, wrote that sapphire cures flatulence and fractures, and stops melancholy.⁶⁶²

In addition to clay and stones, various metals such as gold, silver, copper, bronze, and lead were used in the production of protective objects from Antiquity to the Late Byzantine period. It appears that Byzantine people who could not afford more precious materials often preferred protective objects made out of lead. Why was lead so commonly used? Was it simply due to the physical properties of the metal or was it also connected to the belief that lead had healing and protective powers? This chapter will seek answers to these questions through a survey of primary sources and material evidence from various time periods. After examining the medical, pseudo-medical, and apotropaic usages of lead, I will explore whether lead functioned in the same way for different protective objects such as amulets and pilgrim objects, both of which were used in the context of healing and apotropaic protection.

2. The Properties and Production of Lead:

Lead is a soft metal with a melting point of 327.5 °C, lower than that of most other metals. Although rarely found in its metallic state in nature, lead can easily be

⁶⁶⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXVII.124. H. Rackham and W H. S. Jones, trans, *Natural History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949).

⁶⁶¹ Otto Guenther, ed., *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum Aliorum, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 35 (Vienna, 1898), 754-755.

⁶⁶² Barry Baldwin, "Michael Psellus on the Properties of Stones" *Byzantioslavica* 56 (1995): 397-405.

extracted from galena ore, which is widespread in Europe and the Mediterranean.⁶⁶³ Simply put, the galena ore is roasted until all the sulfur contained in the ore is burned away, leaving the lead behind.⁶⁶⁴ Silver can also be produced from galena using the same technique.⁶⁶⁵ This connection between the production of silver and lead suggests that they emerged around the same time in history. Ancient historians guessed that an accidental conflagration of a forest caused lead or silver-ore deposits to surface, leading to the discovery of lead and silver.⁶⁶⁶ Unfortunately, this theory remains speculation as modern scholars have no evidence to prove it. Another hypothesis is that ancient metallurgists developed methods to produce silver and lead by conducting a long series of trials and melting experiments.⁶⁶⁷

Archaeological finds from different regions indicate that silver and lead production started in the early third millennium BC in Asia Minor and gradually spread to the west and to the east. Greeks produced lead and silver from the ores of Laurion in Greece between the fifth century BC and the fifth century AD.⁶⁶⁸ The silver-bearing galena ores in Pontus region and Western and Central Anatolia were also worked by

⁶⁶³ William Gowland, *The Early Metallurgy of Silver and Lead: Part I* (Westminster: Nichols & Sons, 1901), 360-361.

⁶⁶⁴ Jean David C. Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World" *AJA* 76.2 (1972): 139-144. Louis de Launay, *Histoire de l'industrie minière en Sardaigne* (Ann. des Mines, 1892), 515-528.

⁶⁶⁵ R. J. Forbes, "Silver and Lead in Antiquity", in *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, ed by R. J. Forbes, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1950), 169-230.

⁶⁶⁶ Strabo Book III, Chapter 2. 9. Horace L. Jones, and J R. S. Sterrett, trans., *The Geography of Strabo* (London: W. Heinemann, 1917). Diodor Book V. 35. Charles H. Oldfather, Charles L. Sherman, Russel M. Geer, Francis R. Walton, and C B. Welles, trans., *Diodorus of Sicily* (London: W. Heinemann, 1933). Aristotle *Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, 87. Walter S. Hett, trans., *Aristotle in Twenty-Three Volumes* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1955).

⁶⁶⁷ Forbes, "Silver and Lead", 174.

⁶⁶⁸ Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World", 139. Gowland, *The Early Metallurgy*, 374. See also Édouard Ardaillon, *Les mines du Laurion dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1897).

Greeks.⁶⁶⁹ In Europe, the most important lead mines were in Spain, Great Britain, and Sardinia, all of which were operated by the Romans.⁶⁷⁰ Syria and Palestine did not have rich mines of silver and lead, and probably received these metals from other regions such as Asia Minor.⁶⁷¹ That is why; these metals only become common during the Hellenistic period in Syria and Palestine. The Byzantines continued to work the lead mines in Asia Minor, Greece, the Balkans, Cyprus, and Armenia.⁶⁷² Even after the Arab conquest of the eastern border of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century and Slavic incursions into the Balkans from the sixth century onward, the Byzantines were still able to find this metal in their own soil.⁶⁷³

The smelting of lead usually took place near the mines where the ore was first washed, separated from impurities, crushed, and melted in furnace with chimneys. The resulting lead was then oxidized in a cupelling hearth to separate the lead from the silver, after which the molted metals were molded into bullions.⁶⁷⁴ Since lead is a soft metal, it was not suitable for the production of tools and weaponry. However, lead was utilized in many ways during the Roman period: it was often used to debase gold or

⁶⁶⁹ Forbes, "Silver and Lead", 201.

⁶⁷⁰ Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World", 139. J. B. Wilson, "Lead and Tin in ancient times" *Princeton Theological Review* 15 (1917): 443-450. William Gowland, "Silver in Roman and earlier times" *Archaeologia* LXIX (1918): 121-160. M. Besnier, "Le commerce du plomb à l'époque romaine d'après les lingots estampillés" *Revue Archéologique* 5 XII (1920): 211-244. R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the moslem East down to the mongol Epoch." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 2 (1937): 291-328. John F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1978).

⁶⁷¹ Forbes, "Silver and Lead", 187-188.

⁶⁷² Speros Vryonis, "The Question of the Byzantine Mines", *Speculum*. 37.1 (1962):1-17. See also Oliver Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935).

⁶⁷³ Vryonis, "The Question of the Byzantine Mines", 16-17.

⁶⁷⁴ Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World", 141. J. U. Nef, "Mining and Metallurgy in Medieval Civilization", in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2, eds M. M. Postan and E. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 691-761. See also Robert M. Lamborn, *The metallurgy of silver and lead, a description of the ores: their assay and treatment, and valuable constituents* (London, Lockwood & co., 1874), 1-24.

silver coins, and as a component of bronze.⁶⁷⁵ Moreover, pipes that carried water from aqueducts to cities were generally manufactured from lead.⁶⁷⁶ Roofs were covered with lead material and the iron clamps binding the stone shingles were secured by the use of lead.⁶⁷⁷ Lead vessels were also used in winemaking. In the Early Byzantine period, lead was used to strengthen the piers of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.⁶⁷⁸ Due to lead's malleability and low cost, it made a suitable material for the production of seals in Byzantium.⁶⁷⁹ Most importantly for this study, it was also used in the production of various amulets and pilgrim objects.⁶⁸⁰

3. Greek and Roman Primary Sources Related to Lead Usage

Greek and Roman sources that refer to the use of lead also reflect an awareness of lead poisoning. The earliest account about this subject is in the *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander in the second century BC. Nicander of Colophon, a Greek poet and physician, writes about “deadly white lead whose fresh color is like milk which foams allover”.⁶⁸¹ This material, also called *cerussa* (lead carbonate), was like a white powder which was widely utilized in medicine as well.⁶⁸² In the first century BC, Vitruvius, a Roman

⁶⁷⁵ Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World", 75-76.

⁶⁷⁶ William H. Pulsifer, *Notes for a History of Lead: And an Inquiry into the Development of the Manufacture of White Lead and Lead Oxides* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1888), 158-159.

⁶⁷⁷ Boukalia, "Lead in the Roman World", 75-76. L. Petit, "Typikon du monastere de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *Izvestiia Russkogo arkeologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* 13 (1908): 17-75.

⁶⁷⁸ Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.53. H. B. Dewing, and Glanville Downey, trans., *On Buildings* (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1940).

⁶⁷⁹ Nicolas Oikonomidēs, "The Usual Lead Seal" *DOP* (1983): 147-157. Nicolas Oikonomidēs, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), 5-6.

⁶⁸⁰ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", 25-62. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü" 15-30.

Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks", 248. Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage, 403-404. Charalambos Bakirtzis, "Κουτρούβια μύρου από τη Θεσσαλονίκη", 523-528. Harrison, *Excavations at Sarachane*, nos. 621-623.

⁶⁸¹ II.74ff

⁶⁸² Pulsifer, *Notes for a History*, 196ff.

author and engineer, records that lead was used for water pipes carrying water.⁶⁸³ He states: "Water conducted through earthen pipes is more wholesome than that through lead; indeed that conveyed in lead must be injurious, because from it white lead is obtained, and this is said to be injurious to the human system."⁶⁸⁴ Pliny the Elder, in the first century AD, addresses the danger of melting lead: "The breathing passages should be protected during the operation, otherwise the noxious and deadly vapour of the lead furnace is inhaled".⁶⁸⁵ He also calls white lead "deadly poison".⁶⁸⁶ Like Pliny, Dioscorides, a Greek physician, states that white lead is "one of the poisonous substances" in the first century AD.⁶⁸⁷ Lead poisoning is also described by Paul of Aegina, a Byzantine physician, in the seventh century AD although Paul does not specifically call this ailment "lead poisoning".⁶⁸⁸ While discussing persistent colic, Paul's explanation of the condition indicates an epidemic of lead poisoning: "The disease having taken its rise in the country of Italy, but raging also in many other regions of the Roman empire, like a pestilential contagion, which in many cases terminates in epilepsy, but in others in paralysis of the extremities, while the sensibility of them is preserved, and sometimes both these afflictions attacking together".⁶⁸⁹ Thus, these primary sources reflect that from very early times, it was known that lead had poisonous effects on the human body.

⁶⁸³ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, VIII.6.1. Thomas G. Smith, trans., *Vitruvius on Architecture* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2003).

⁶⁸⁴ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, VIII.6.10.

⁶⁸⁵ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXIV.167.

⁶⁸⁶ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXIV.176.

⁶⁸⁷ Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, V. 88. Lily Y. Beck, trans., *De Materia Medica* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 2011).

⁶⁸⁸ John Scarborough, "The Myth of Lead Poisoning Among the Romans: an Essay Review" *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 39.4 (1984): 469-75.

⁶⁸⁹ Paul of Aegina, *Seven Books*, Book III. 64. Francis Adams, *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, (London: Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1844).

Although the ancient writers wrote about the dangers of lead, its usage in medicine was frequently recorded in primary sources. Soranus of Ephesus, a Greek physician of the first and second centuries AD, recommends smearing the orifice of the uterus with white lead to prevent conception.⁶⁹⁰ Aulus Cornelius Celsus, a Roman medical writer in the first century AD, adds white lead to many of his remedies. He suggests the usage of white lead in plasters and salves to cure snake-bites, wounds, and small tumors around the abdomen.⁶⁹¹ A seventh-century Byzantine physician, Paul of Aegina recommends white lead to be mixed with wine and oil to cure ulcers in the nose.⁶⁹²

In addition to white lead, the same writers also record the use of lead in medicine, emphasizing its cooling nature. Dioscorides writes that washed lead “can contract, cool, stop up, soften, fill up hollows, and stop running eyes and sores that grow fungous”.⁶⁹³ Pliny states that lead plates are applied to the loins and kidneys “for their comparative chilly nature to check the attacks of venereal passions, and the libidinous dreams that cause spontaneous emissions to the extent of constituting a kind of disease”.⁶⁹⁴ Galen, in the second and third centuries, states that lead can be placed under the loins of athletes when they are sleeping, probably to relieve their pain caused by heavy physical training.⁶⁹⁵ Galen also emphasizes that lead is useful in treating ulcers

⁶⁹⁰ Soranus, *Gynecology*, Book I. 19.61. Owsei Temkin, trans., *Soranus' Gynecology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

⁶⁹¹ Celsus, *De Medicina*, Book V.19.20, V.19.23-24, and Book VI.18.8c. Walter G. Spencer, trans., *De Medicina* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1938).

⁶⁹² Paul of Aegina, *Seven Books*, Book III.XXIV.

⁶⁹³ Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, V.81.

⁶⁹⁴ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXIV.64.164.

⁶⁹⁵ Galen, *On the Mixtures and Properties of Simple Medicines*, Book XI.232.

and inflammation.⁶⁹⁶ Like Dioscorides and Pliny, Paul of Aegina talks about the cooling property of lead and repeats Pliny's advice about applying a lead plate to the patient's loins in order to prevent libidinous dreams.⁶⁹⁷

The use of lead in the production of water pipes, winemaking, and medicine is puzzling when considering the ancient writers' awareness of lead poisoning. However, this contradiction might indicate that lead poisoning was not perceived as epidemic as the secondary literature suggests.⁶⁹⁸ For instance, the risk of poisoning by lead water pipes depends on the nature of the water flowing through the pipes: not all types of water are able to dissolve the lead in lead pipes.⁶⁹⁹ Therefore, in some cases, the lead pipes may appear poisonous but some are in fact harmless. Regarding the production of wine, Pliny recommends that must, unfermented grape juice, be prepared in lead vessels instead of copper ones.⁷⁰⁰ Yet due to the short boiling time of must, the liquid would not be contaminated, unless the inner glaze of the storage vessel contained lead.⁷⁰¹ It is well known that these vessels were universally sealed and lined with pitch.⁷⁰² In terms of medicine, none of the remedies call for lead to be taken orally. Rather, it is

⁶⁹⁶ Galen, *On the Mixtures and Properties of Simple Medicines*, Book XI.231-234.

⁶⁹⁷ Paul of Aegina, *Seven Books*, Book I.XXXVIII.

⁶⁹⁸ There is a substantial amount of literature about the effects of lead on human health in the Roman period. It was even discussed whether the epidemic of lead poisoning was the reason for the fall of the Roman Empire although this theory was disproved by scholars. Jerome O. Nriagu, *Lead and Lead Poisoning in Antiquity* (New York : Wiley, 1983). Jerome O. Nriagu, "Saturnine Gout Among Roman Aristocrats: Did Lead Poisoning Contribute to the Fall of the Empire?" *New England Journal of Medicine*, 308 (1983): 660-663. H. A. Waldron "Lead Poisoning in the Ancient World" *Medical History*, 17 (1973): 391-399. Tony Waldron and Calvin Wells, "Exposure to Lead in Ancient Populations", *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 1.2 (1979): 102-115. Lionel and Diane Needleman, "Lead Poisoning and the Decline of the Roman Aristocracy", *Classical Views* 4.1 (1985): 63-94.

⁶⁹⁹ A. Treavor Hodge, "Vitruvius, Lead Pipes and Lead Poisoning" *AJA* 85, (1981): 486-491.

⁷⁰⁰ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XIV.136.

⁷⁰¹ Scarborough, "The Myth of Lead Poisoning", 469-75.

⁷⁰² Pliny, *Natural History*, XIV, 127-135.

recommended that lead be mixed with other ingredients and that this concoction be smeared on the body or that lead plates should be applied to the body for cooling. Perhaps they thought that lead was not poisonous when used externally on the skin. Thus, it appears that there was confusion about the conditions causing lead poisoning and if these conditions were known to some, they were not common knowledge.

4. The Use of Lead in Magic:

The association of lead with magic can be traced back to Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian cultures. It was thought to be the metal of Osiris in Egyptian magic and it was connected to Ea, a Babylonian god.⁷⁰³ Lead, like the other metals, was also associated with astrology. Celsus, a second-century Greek philosopher and an opponent of Christianity, describes the concept of heaven in the cult of Mithras in connection to the seven planets. According to the mysteries of Mithras, the soul has to pass through seven heavens, each of which has an entry gate that corresponds to a planet: lead for Saturn, tin for Venus, copper for Jupiter, iron for Mercury, a mixed metal for Mars, silver for the moon, and gold for the sun.⁷⁰⁴ In the seventh century, a Byzantine astronomer, Stephanos of Alexandria, emphasizes the link between celestial forces as planets and terrestrial objects as metals.⁷⁰⁵ This connection between metals and planets

⁷⁰³ Forbes, "Silver and Lead", 177-178. See also K. B. Hofman, *Das Blei bei den Völkern des Altertums* (Berlin, 1885). A. Deissmann, *Licht Vom Osten: Das Neue Testament Und Die Neuentdeckten Texte Der Hellenistisch-Römischen Welt* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1923), 119. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln* (A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1907).

⁷⁰⁴ Reply to Celsus, Book VI.22. Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol. I (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 368.

⁷⁰⁵ Maria K. Papathanassiou, "Stephanos of Alexandria: A Famous Byzantine Scholar, Alchemist and Astrologer" in *Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed by Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva : La Pomme d'or, 2006), 163-203. For astrology in Byzantium see also H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome, 1937),

became a common element of alchemy, the art of transforming base metals into precious ones, as practiced in medieval Byzantium.⁷⁰⁶ Medieval alchemists endeavored to transmute lead into silver by coloring and making alloys with different materials. The written sources on alchemy present these methods in a mystical way, with philosophical, religious, and astrological imagery.

4.1. Spells and Curse Tablets:

The *Greek Magical Papyri* from the second century BC to the fifth century AD, which was discussed in Chapter I, includes various spells and recipes involving lead. One of the recipes is more akin to a physician's prescription than a spell. To treat excessive moisture in a woman's womb, the text calls for a strip of linen to be soaked in a mixture of white lead, salt, oil, and egg, and placed inside the womb.⁷⁰⁷ Lead also features in spells used for binding or restraining a person. Two interesting examples display men's desire to have the heart or fidelity of a woman. One of the spells recommends the creation of voodoo dolls, a male and a female, from clay.⁷⁰⁸ The customer or the magician must "make the male in the form of Ares fully armed, holding a sword in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of" the female figure's neck with her arms behind her back.⁷⁰⁹ Then the female figure is pierced with

65-84. U. Riedinger, *Die Heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie* (Innsbruck, 1956). Anne Tihon, "Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Palaiologan Period" in *Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed by Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva : La Pomme d'or, 2006), 265-290.

⁷⁰⁶ ODB, s.v. "Alchemy" (David Pingree, Anthony Cutler). See also E. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin, 1919/1932). Robert Halleux, *Les Textes Alchimiques* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1979). M. Mertens, "Graeco-Egyptian alchemy in Byzantium" in *Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, ed by Paul Magdalino and Maria Mavroudi (Geneva : La Pomme d'or, 2006), 205-230.

⁷⁰⁷ PDM xiv.970-77. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 243.

⁷⁰⁸ PGM IV. 296-466. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 44.

⁷⁰⁹ Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 44.

copper needles while saying this incantation: “I am piercing a member of her, so that she may remember no one but me alone”. At the end, the spell records that a lead tablet should be inscribed with the same incantation and tied to the figures with a thread. Then the lead tablet should be placed in the grave of a person who died an untimely or violent death. Another spell calls for the customer to use a papyrus or a lead tablet to prevent a woman from marrying another man.⁷¹⁰ According to this love spell, the customer should take a lead lamella (sheet), put an iron ring on the tablet, and draw the outlines of the ring, inside and outside, on the tablet. Specific magical names should be inscribed within these lines and while the wish of the customer should be written in the center of the circle. Then the iron ring should be covered with the inscribed lamella, and the package buried in the grave of someone who died prematurely.

Various spells involving lead materials are used for restraining someone in a way that would silence them or prevent them from acting against their rivals. One of these spells tells the person to acquire lead from a cold-water pipe and create a lamella on which the person will inscribe various characters, *voces magicae*, and syllables.⁷¹¹ Then, as always, the lead lamella should be placed in a grave of a person who died an untimely death. Another restraining spell, that incorporates lead, causes sickness and troubles for the rivals of the person who acquires the spell through the act of summoning demons and making them possess people and objects.⁷¹² Here, it is recommended that the person engrave their wish on a lead lamella taken from a cold-water channel, tie a cord to the lamella and throw it into a stream or the sea. A third spell for restraining suggests that

⁷¹⁰ PGM V. 304-69. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 106.

⁷¹¹ PGM VII. 396-404. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 128.

⁷¹² PGM VII. 429-58. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 129.

the person take a lead lamella that was hammered out while cold, and on this lamella draw the creature and inscribe the verses specified on the papyrus with a bronze stylus.⁷¹³ The lead lamella should be deposited somewhere nearby the person's rival. One of the most sinister and gruesome spells involving lead in the *Greek Magical Papyri* recommends that a lead lamella be decorated with a creature depicted on the papyrus and inscribed with these verses: "Supreme angels, just as this frog drips with blood and dries up, so also will the body of him, NN, whom NN bore, because I conjure you, who are in command of fire MASKELLI MASKELLO".⁷¹⁴ After smearing the lead lamella with blood from a bat, it should be rolled up and placed in the stomach of a frog, which will then be stitched with Anubian thread and a bronze needle. This peculiar creation is to be hung on a reed by means of hairs from the tip of the tail of a black ox.

These spells reveal the belief that there was a relationship between lead and magic. Such a belief could have emanated from the properties of lead; people may have considered its dark color indicative of its chthonic connections. It is important also to remember that Dioscorides, Pliny, and Paul of Aegina recommended lead plates as a remedy against fever due to lead's "cold" nature. Due to these features, lead may have been viewed as having a dark nature in Antiquity. An interesting example of this theory is in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the first-century Roman poet. The verses about the myth of Daphne and Apollo tell us that Cupid shot Apollo with a golden arrow that excites love and the Nymph with a lead arrow that repels it.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ PGMXXXVI.1-34. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 269.

⁷¹⁴ PGM XXXVI. 231-55. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, 275.

⁷¹⁵ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book I.

As indicated in the *Greek Magical Papyri*, curse tablets were widely used in the Ancient Greek, Roman, and Late Antique periods; numerous examples of these have survived to present day. These inscribed thin sheets of material, *defixiones* in Latin and *katadesmoi* in Greek, are used to plead to supernatural powers for the wishes of the users.⁷¹⁶ (Figure 1) The tablets are often deposited in graves since it was believed that the dead might carry the message on the curse tablet to the underworld or that their dead souls could execute the spells.⁷¹⁷ They were also buried in underground bodies of water such as wells, baths, fountains, springs, and cisterns, which could have been considered as magically appropriate places due to the coldness of their waters.⁷¹⁸ Although there were curse tablets made of other materials like gold, silver, and ostraca, lead and lead-alloys were the most popular metals for these tablets.⁷¹⁹ Lead was an available metal that was easy to work with, and it was also one of the earliest and most common medium for writing.⁷²⁰ Along with these practical reasons, the nature of lead might have been the reason why it was chosen as a material for curse tablets. For instance, lead was used not only as the material of the curse tablets but also as an analogical element in the

⁷¹⁶ John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3ff. Daniel Ogden, "Binding Spells: curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman World" in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed by Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clarke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1-90. E. G. Kagarow, *Griechische Fluchtafeln* (Leopoli: apvd Societatem philologam polonorum, 1929), 28-49.

⁷¹⁷ D. R. Jordan, 'New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens' in *Praktika tou XII Diethnous Synedriou Klasikes Archaialogias IV* (Athens 1988), 273-277.

⁷¹⁸ D. R. Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985): 205-255.

⁷¹⁹ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 3-4. R. Kotansky and J. Curbera, "Unpublished Lead Tablets in the Getty Museum" *Mediterraneo Antico* 7 (2004): 684-691. Roy Kotansky, "An Early Christian Gold Lamella for Headache", in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (Leiden, 2002), 37-46. W.M. Brashear and R. Kotansky, 'A New Magical Formulary', in *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, ed Paul Mirecki and Marvin Meyer (Leiden, 2002), 3-24.

⁷²⁰ D. R. Jordan, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos," *AM* 95 (1980): 225-239. Christopher A. Faraone, "The Agnostic Context of Early Greek Binding-Spells", in *Magika Hiera*, ed C. A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York : Oxford University Press, 1991), 3-32.

inscriptions on the curse tablets. One Attic tablet from the fourth century BC wishes the victim's tongue to resemble lead, and another one from the third century BC wishes that the victim's words and deeds become useless just as lead is useless.⁷²¹ A Latin tablet from the first and second centuries AD wishes the victim to be as heavy as lead.⁷²² Here, these instances are references to the negative properties of lead such as its “cold” nature and chthonic connections.

Lead curse tablets survived the rise of Christianity and continued to be used in the Christian context.⁷²³ An example of this is one of the lead alloy tablets recovered from the sacred spring of Sulis Minerva, a female Celtic female deity, in Bath, England.⁷²⁴ The inscription in Latin reads as “Whether ‘pagan’ [gentiles] or Christian [Christianus], whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, has stolen from me Annianus (son of) Matutina [?] six silver coins from my purse, you, lady goddess, are to exact [them] from him.”⁷²⁵ This fourth-century example also includes names identifying the possible suspects, who may or may not be Christians. Another lead tablet from Cologne is dated to the sixth and seventh centuries. This curse, after recording many names of supernatural powers, wishes for the destruction of a certain man's health: “I invoke you by your names and your strong power. At the moment that I shall place you beneath this corpse, you must cast Kyriakos, son of Sanne, the man from

⁷²¹ Richard Wünsch, *DTA* (Berolini: Reimer, 1897), nos. 67, 96, 106b.

⁷²² Auguste Audollent, *DT* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904), no. 98. Another fourth-century BC Attic curse that is made of wax this time displays a wish to bind wills of several people through lead and wax. Wünsch, *DTA*, no. 55a.

⁷²³ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 27.

⁷²⁴ R S. O. Tomlin, *Tabellae Sulis: Roman Inscribed Tablets of Tin and Lead from the Sacred Spring at Bath* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), no.9.

⁷²⁵ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, no.96, 195.

Penjeho, into a painful sickness and disease and a wasting illness and a suffering in all his limbs.”⁷²⁶

The milieu of the Church was against the use of curse tablets and spells as the Church Fathers were against the use of protective objects. In the fourth century, Basil of Caesarea denounced women who tried to gain men’s love by means of deadly spells and tablets as murderers.⁷²⁷ Nor was this old practice readily accepted by every member of the Byzantine aristocracy. Eusebius of Caesarea, defining paganism in the fourth century, states that pagans “sought to attract themselves as spiritual assistants those invisible powers who flutter about in the air, using both forbidden curse tablets of magic and illegal coercion based on chants and spells”.⁷²⁸ *Homily on Sacrilegious Practices*, a sermon in Latin from the eighth century, reveals the continuous condemnation of the usage of tablets: “Whoever, during the time of the moon’s increase, thinks that it is possible to avert through the use of inscribed lead tablets ... they are not Christians but pagans.”⁷²⁹ These sources show the continuous use of lead curse tablets by Christians. A post-Byzantine source indicates that the preoccupation of Byzantines with lead continued over the course of the Empire. A law-canon manuscript of the sixteenth century from the Prousos Monastery in Eurytania, Greece includes certain canons against magic. Lead is mentioned in two instances: in the context of magicians who work with lead and seers who pour lead to learn about the future.⁷³⁰ The latter must have

⁷²⁶ Marvin W Meyer and Richard Smith, *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1994), no. 96.

⁷²⁷ Basil of Caesarea, *Letters*, 188.8. Philip Schaff, Henry Wace, and Blomfield Jackson, *Basil: Letters and Select Works* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994).

⁷²⁸ Eusebius of Caesarea, *Oration on the 30th Anniversary of the Reign of Constantine*, chap. 13.

⁷²⁹ Pseudo-Augustine, *Homily on Sacrilegious Practices*, 5-6. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, no. 167.

⁷³⁰ J C. B. Petropoulos, *Greek Magic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (London: Routledge, 2008), 80-81.

been those professionals who divined the future from figures formed by molten lead poured into water.⁷³¹ In Anatolia, pouring lead into water was a form of divination has been practiced by different communities throughout the centuries and continues up to today.⁷³² This practice has also been used to protect against the evil eye.⁷³³

4.2. Lead Figurines/Voodoo Dolls:

The *Greek Magical Papyri* reveals that figurines or voodoo dolls made of such different materials as wax, clay, and metals were also commonly used for curses.⁷³⁴ These figurines were utilized even before the time of the *Greek Magical Papyri*. An Egyptian text from the third and second millennium BC explains how a wax image of a personal enemy must be created and buried in a grave in order to bring punishment from Osiris upon this enemy.⁷³⁵ In Greece, similar figurines began to be used as early as the fifth century BC. The figurines were a part of binding spells that ensure either love of a person or destruction of an enemy.⁷³⁶ Often times they were mutilated and pierced with needles, their hands tied behind their backs, and the names of loved ones or enemies were written on them.⁷³⁷ For instance, a lead male figurine pierced by two iron nails, and

⁷³¹ Forbes, "Silver and Lead", 178. This practice is also called molybdomancy.

⁷³² Jamal Harfouche, "The Evil Eye and Infant Health in Lebanon", in *The Evil Eye: A Casebook*, ed Alan Dundes (Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 86-106.

⁷³³ Lena Andary, Yvonne Stolk, and Steven Klimidis, *Assessing Mental Health Across Cultures* (Bowen Hills: Australian Academic Press, 2003), 117.

⁷³⁴ PGM IV. 296-466, PGM IV. 2125-39, PGMIV.2359-72, PGM V. 370-446.

⁷³⁵ Angelicus Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte Bd. III: Einleitung in koptische Zaubertexte* (Brussels: Edition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1930), 114-115.

⁷³⁶ Faraone, "The Agnostic Context", 4-10. Ogden, "Binding Spells", 71-78. Christopher A. Faraone, "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of "Voodoo Dolls" in Ancient Greece" *Classical Antiquity* 10.2 (1991): 165-205.

⁷³⁷ Charles Dugas, "Figurines d'envoûtement trouvées à Délos" *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 39 (1915): 413-423.

with his hands and feet tied up by lead bands was found in a grave in Attica (Greece).⁷³⁸ Four other lead figurines in miniature lead coffins dated to the fifth century BC were found in graves in Kerameikos, Athens.⁷³⁹ (Figure 79) Two of the figurines have their hands tied behind their backs and all the figurines present exaggerated genitals.⁷⁴⁰ Names, presumably of the person's enemies, are carved on the miniature lead coffins. Another interesting example is the sixteen lead figurines that were found in a mound at Tell Sandahanna, southwest of Jerusalem.⁷⁴¹ (Figure 80) They are created in a simplistic way without apparent faces, and their arms and feet are bound in different ways with bindings made from as lead, iron, and bronze.⁷⁴² Considering their various forms and the fact that they were found together, the figurines were likely an unused supply belonging to a professional magician living in the area.⁷⁴³ They were ready to be utilized according to the wishes of magician's patrons.

Primary sources, which are dated to later centuries, document the continuity of this practice in Christian communities. Sophronios, the patriarch of Jerusalem in the sixth century, relates a story of black magic in the *Account of the Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John*.⁷⁴⁴ In this story, a certain Theophilos's hands and feet are bound as a result of black magic cast by his enemies.⁷⁴⁵ The doctor fails to heal him, therefore Theophilos appeals to the saints. When the saints appear to him in his dream, they tell

⁷³⁸ Wunsch, *DTA*, no. 86.

⁷³⁹ Jordan, 'New Archaeological Evidence', 274-275.

⁷⁴⁰ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 16-17. Barbara Schlörb-Vierneisel, "Eridanos—Nekropole," *Athenische Mitteilungen* 81 (1966): 4-111.

⁷⁴¹ C. S. Clermont-Ganneau, "Royal Ptolemaic Greek Inscriptions and Magic Lead Figures from Tell Sandahannah," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 33 (1901): 54-58.

⁷⁴² Theodore F. Wright, "Exploration and Discovery", *The Biblical World*, 20.3 (1902): 215-219.

⁷⁴³ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 205.

⁷⁴⁴ PG 87.3, cols. 3541-48.

⁷⁴⁵ H. J. Magoulas, "The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries." *BZ* 57, no. 1 (1964): 127-50.

Theophilos to go to the sea in the morning and make an agreement with one of the fishermen to take whatever he catches with his net. The fisherman pulls out a box secured with locks and lead seals.⁷⁴⁶ The box contains a bronze figure resembling Theophilos with four nails pinned to the figure's hands and feet. After removing the nails from the figure, Theophilos recovers from his affliction. In this instance, the lead was likely used for its magical binding properties since locks were already used for securing the box physically.

The *Life of Irene of Chrysobalanton*, which is discussed in Chapter I, provides certain information about the use of these figurines in the tenth century. As a result of sorcery committed by her former suitor, a nun in Irene's company "was unexpectedly attacked by a seething passion which maddened her with a frantic lust for her former suitor and did not allow her to control herself".⁷⁴⁷ The delirious nun was calling out his name and swearing that she would hang herself unless she saw him. Thanks to Irene's prayers, the nun was saved when two martyrs delivered a package to Irene. The package contained "two idols made of lead, one resembling the suitor, the other the sick nun, embracing each other and bound together with hairs and threads, then some other contrivances of malignancy, and inscribed on them the name of the author of the evil and appellations of his servant demons".⁷⁴⁸ Irene sent the possessed nun with other nuns to the Church of the Great Martyr Anastasia and asked them to put oil in the lamps at the martyr's tomb. When they told the priest of the Church about the incident, the priest

⁷⁴⁶ Gager, *Curse Tablets*, no. 165.

⁷⁴⁷ Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene*, 63.

⁷⁴⁸ Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene*, 63. Hair and clothing of the target were often used in the spells in order to "stand for the whole" as a piece of the target. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 17-18.

burned the figurines. As the fire melted them, the nun was liberated from the seething passion that had gripped her. The objects disappeared to nothingness and a sound like the squeals of butchered swine was heard.⁷⁴⁹

Another piece of information about lead comes from *De Daemonibus* (On Demons), which is dated before the last years of the thirteenth century.⁷⁵⁰ The work includes a dialogue between two speakers; Timotheos, a priest, and Thrax, who spent a period of time among demon-worshippers. While discussing the nature of demons, Thrax tells Timotheos that demons are not an intelligent species since they cannot judge whether or not a threat made against them is real. That is why; magicians can easily manipulate them with the help of excretions, saliva, nails, and hair, and tie them with lead, wax, and threads.⁷⁵¹ This part of the text defines the same practice that is used on lead figurines as recorded in the primary sources discussed previously.

There are a few direct references to the magical powers of lead in Christian primary sources. One of these sources is *De Medicamentis* of Marcellus Empiricus, a Latin medical writer in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁷⁵² In this work, Marcellus, talking about pseudo-medical remedies for different ailments, states that an amulet made of the eyes of a green lizard enclosed in a lead bull or gold coin can effectively prevent eye diseases.⁷⁵³ Even though it is a very minor reference, lead may have been selected as a metal to safeguard the green lizard's eye, which was thought to be curing, because of the

⁷⁴⁹ Rosenqvist, *The Life of St. Irene*, 63.

⁷⁵⁰ This work was initially ascribed to Michael Psellos. However, Paul Gautier demonstrated that it did not belong to Psellos. Paul Gautier, "Le De Daemonibus Du Pseudo-Psellos." *REB* 38.1 (1980): 105-194.

⁷⁵¹ Gautier, "Le De Daemonibus", 171-172.

⁷⁵² Maximilian Niedermann, *Marcelli De medicamentis liber* (Lipsiae ;Berolini : Teubner 1916).

⁷⁵³ Thorndike, *A History of Magic*, 590. The text does not specifically explain how to enclose an eye of the green lizard in a lead bull or a gold coin.

metal's so-called binding properties. Another reference is from a Latin manuscript in the British Museum dated to the eleventh century. In section on the use of incantations and *voces magicae* in medicine, the writer emphasizes that characters are engraved on lead plates "not only for medical purposes, but to prevent women from conceiving, to make fruit trees bear well, and against enemies."⁷⁵⁴ This part was likely a reference to the curse and wish tablets used throughout the centuries.

A later example citing the binding powers of lead is a text narrating the well-known story of Sisinnios and the female demon that is discussed in Chapters I and II. This text, which is from the seventeenth-century *De Templis Graecorum*, was published by Leo Allatius, a Greek scholar and the keeper of the Vatican Library.⁷⁵⁵ The story in the text is similar to the earlier versions of the *Life of St. Sisinnios*. In Allatius's version the female demon, Gylo or Gyllou, reveals her twelve and a half names, and advises Sisinnios and his brother to create an amulet containing these names to expel her. The text also includes the verses to be used on this amulet: "Holy Sisynios and Synidores, help N. the servant of the Lord, his wife and their children, who hold this amulet, bind and tighten with leaden chains all earthly and airy spirits, and the accursed Gylo, so that she shall not have the power of coming near the house of N. the servant of the Lord, or his wife, or his children."⁷⁵⁶ Along with the other primary sources discussed above, this text also emphasizes lead's magical binding power.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., 724.

⁷⁵⁵ Gaster, "Two Thousand Years of a Charm", 142-145.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 145.

4.3. The Lead Coffins from Palestine and Tyre in Lebanon

The use of lead for coffins originated in the region of Phoenicia, mainly in today's Lebanon and Palestine, starting from the fourth century BC, and from there it spread to Asia Minor and Europe.⁷⁵⁷ The lead coffins were used along with stone and wooden coffins during the Roman period. The coffins were made of lead sheets that were cast in sand or clay and then soldered together.⁷⁵⁸ They were decorated with a variety of small-scale images, carved on stamps that were pressed to the sand or clay before the molten lead was poured into the mold.⁷⁵⁹ These images differed according to the workshops that made the coffins and the time periods during which the coffins were made. The lead coffins that were found in excavations and are now housed in museums are mostly pagan, but there are also a small number of lead coffins with Christian symbols.⁷⁶⁰ The wide spectrum of images include simple ornamental decorations such as beads, cords, and circles, and figural ornamentations such as mythological deities and scenes, animals such as lions, bears, dogs, and dolphins, and architectural elements such

⁷⁵⁷ M. Avi-Yonah, "Three Lead Coffins from Palestine" *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 50.2 (1930): 300–312. Anna M. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Museum, 1978), 142. L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Roman and Byzantine Lead Coffins from Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1999), 4-7. Maurice Chéhab, "Sarcophages en plomb du Musée National Libanais", *Syria* 15 (1934): 337-350.

⁷⁵⁸ There are few undecorated lead coffins in Palestine and Lebanon. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, 142. M. Avi-Yonah, "Lead Coffins from Palestine" *QDAP* (1935): 87-99.

⁷⁵⁹ Donald White, "Coffins, Curses and Other Plumbeous Matters: The Museum's Lead Burial Casket from Tyre" *Expedition* 39/3 (1997): 3-14.

⁷⁶⁰ McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, 142.

as arches, columns, and temples.⁷⁶¹ Different types of crosses and Christograms conclusively mark the coffins of Christians.⁷⁶²

The majority of the images on the lead coffins carry meaning in the Greco-Roman world.⁷⁶³ For instance, images of vines, leaves, vases, and dolphin are associated with the cult of Dionysus and pleasures in the afterlife.⁷⁶⁴ As discussed in Chapter II, the Christian community adopted the vine and vase motifs, which were ancient symbols of fertility, to connote eternal life and salvation. Some of the symbols depicted on the coffins were for apotropaic protection.⁷⁶⁵ Laurel leaves, berries, and branches decorations commonly found on funerary altars, were thought to be prophylactic and apotropaic.⁷⁶⁶ Laurel leaves and berries adorn many of the lead coffins from Tyre.⁷⁶⁷ Mythical images such as the Medusa head, sphinx, and griffin were well-known protection against evil spirits. A lead coffin from the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul features a Medusa head and a sphinx together on one side.⁷⁶⁸ The Medusa head was a strong apotropaic symbol in the Ancient Greek and Roman periods.⁷⁶⁹ Moreover,

⁷⁶¹ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 15-64. Avi-Yonah, "Three Lead Coffins", pl. XII. Johanna P.J. Brants, "A Lead Coffin from Palestine in Leiden", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 52.2 (1932): 262-263. Mordechai Aviam and Dina Shalem, "A Decorated Fragment of a Tyrian Lead Coffin from a Cemetery at Akhziv", *Israel Exploration Journal* 64 (2014): 208-211.

⁷⁶² Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, figs. 18-23. L. Y. Rahmani, "A Christian Lead Coffin from Caesarea" *Israel Exploration Journal* 38 (1988): 246-248.

⁷⁶³ McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, 144.

⁷⁶⁴ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 68-69.

⁷⁶⁵ René Mouterde, "Divinités et symboles sur les sarcophages de plomb", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 21 (1937): 201-212.

⁷⁶⁶ M.B. Ogle, "Laurel in Ancient Religion and Folklore", *American Journal of Philology* 31 (1910): 287-293. Walter Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), 262.

⁷⁶⁷ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 36.

⁷⁶⁸ Arif Müfid, *Katalog Der Bleisarkophage* (Germany, 1932), Abb. 6.

⁷⁶⁹ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, s.v. "Medusa" (Georgia S. Maas). For more bibliography please see Chapter II, n. 60.

the image of a sphinx, like that of a griffin, was frequently depicted on sepulchral monuments as an apotropaic guardian.⁷⁷⁰

One of the interesting decorations on these lead coffins is the braided rope, which also can be described as cable designs, running across their surfaces. In many coffins from coastal Palestine and Lebanon, these ropes appear to be merely ornamental. However, the way that the ropes decorate both the sides and the lids of the coffins from Jerusalem indicate protection as the purpose of this decoration.⁷⁷¹ For instance, two lead coffins dated to the third century AD from a masonry tomb in Jerusalem display diagonal ropes on all sides and lid forming large lozenges.⁷⁷² (Figure 81) Another lead coffin from the third century AD from Jerusalem is decorated with twisted ropes creating lozenges that contain Medusa heads and four grape clusters.⁷⁷³ On one of the short sides of this coffin, there is a third rope that is lashed to the lower right corner of two crossed ropes as if to create a better binding.⁷⁷⁴ (Figure 82) One of the rare examples from outside of Jerusalem that presents this peculiar rope decoration stands as further evidence that it was intended as a form of a security for the coffin.⁷⁷⁵ This coffin from the third-century AD displays a rope design that forms a knot at the edge of the

⁷⁷⁰ Avi-Yonah, "Lead Coffins", n.3. McCann, *Roman Sarcophagi*, 144. A. Dessenne, *Le Sphinx: Etude iconographique* (Paris, 1957). Joseph E. Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 309-310. L. Bouras, *The Griffin through the Ages* (Athens, 1983), 45-51. Clemente Marconi, *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 90ff. Isabelle K. Raubitschek, *Isthmia: The Metal Objects (1952-1989)* (Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1998), 85. David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1998), 118-119.

⁷⁷¹ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 65.

⁷⁷² Ibid., nos. 47-48.

⁷⁷³ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 73.

⁷⁷⁴ L. Y. Rahmani, "Five Lead Coffins from Israel" *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1992): 81-102, fig. 2.

⁷⁷⁵ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 97.

coffin's base.⁷⁷⁶ (Figure 83) Another interesting example that also furthers this hypothesis is a lead coffin housed at the University of Pennsylvania Museum. On a long side of the coffin, two twisted ropes create clusters that are filled with leaves and grapes, and this image presents a stylized representation of a chain.⁷⁷⁷ (Figure 84)

The rope decoration continued to adorn the lead coffins of Christians, which also featured such symbols of apotropaic power as different types of crosses and Christograms.⁷⁷⁸ One of the lead coffins from Jerusalem, dated to the fifth century, displays two ropes crossing each other and creating lozenges that contain large Latin crosses on both long sides and the lid.⁷⁷⁹ Another Christian coffin from Jerusalem, dated to the fourth century AD, presents diagonal bands on long side that form lozenges containing upright Latin crosses and triangles containing horizontal Latin crosses.⁷⁸⁰ (Figure 85) Three broad bands cover the entire surface of the lid, crisscrossing in the middle of this coffin and a semicircle added to the end of a band on the lid forms a Christogram.⁷⁸¹

The rope decoration appears to be an apotropaic protection to secure coffins' contents. The need to protect the remains of the dead emanates from the Roman concept of death and afterlife. Unlike the Greeks, who believed that the soul of the departed journeys to Hades, the underworld, the Romans believed that the deceased's soul did not arrive at eternal life but rather joined the collective spirits of the dead, *Di Manes*,

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid., 65, fig. 14.

⁷⁷⁷ Donald White, "The Eschatological Connection between Lead and Ropes as Reflected in a Roman Imperial Period Coffin in Philadelphia" *Israel Exploration Journal* 49 (1999): 66-91, fig. 15.

⁷⁷⁸ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 65.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid., no. 82, pl. 40.

⁷⁸⁰ Avi-Yonah, "Lead Coffins", 99, pl. LIX.

⁷⁸¹ Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 77, pl. 38.

residing underground or near their burial place.⁷⁸² Their well-being and immortality depended on their descendants who made offerings and consumed funeral meals at the burial place for the benefit of the departed.⁷⁸³ Even holes were made and pipes installed in the graves in order to nourish the dead with food and drink.⁷⁸⁴ The graves were accepted as the residing place of the dead.⁷⁸⁵ In addition to the souls of the beloved ones, Mediterranean cultures believed that various malevolent spirits roamed the earth's surface and around the tombs. The ghosts of persons who died untimely deaths or by acts of violence stayed near their tombs to seek retribution from the living.⁷⁸⁶ Therefore, this belief must be one of the reasons why so many curse tablets were deposited in graves. The unburied and kinless spirits, called *Lemures*, were thought to find no rest in the other life and, as a result, roam around houses and disturb the living.⁷⁸⁷ There was also the danger of malignant spirits possessing an intact body in the grave.⁷⁸⁸ As discussed in Chapter III, the Byzantines were also concerned about evil spirits possessing a dead body. More specifically, they took precautions to protect the deceased's body because they believed that the soul and the body would be resurrected

⁷⁸² *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, s.v. "manes", Franz Cumont, *Recherches Sur Le Symbolisme Funéraire Des Romains* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1942). C. W. King, "The Roman manes: the dead as gods," in *Rethinking ghosts in world religions*, ed Mu-chou Poo (Leiden, 2009), 95–114.

⁷⁸³ *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, s.v. "death, attitudes to" (Robert S. J. Garland and John Scheid). Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism: Lectures Delivered at Yale University on the Silliman Foundation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 44-60. Robert Schilling, *Rites, Cultes, Dieux De Rome* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), 30ff.

⁷⁸⁴ Jocelyn M. C. Tonybee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (New York: Cornell university press, 1971), 33-39.

⁷⁸⁵ Tonybee, *Death and Burial*, fig. 91, 92.

⁷⁸⁶ Cumont, *After Life*, 62-63, 129-130. Tonybee, *Death and Burial*, 34-35.

⁷⁸⁷ A material evidence for this kind of believes in Mediterranean is a Greco-Roman marble relief in the Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The relief shows a winged woman with large bird feet forcing a sleeping man and pouring potion or drug from a small vessel in her hand. See M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), 72-73, Fig. 115.

⁷⁸⁸ White, "The Eschatological Connection", 88.

together. The fear of demons encouraged people to find ways to ensure the safety of the remains of the dead and the peace of the living. Revealing this fear, the decorations on the lead coffins were intended to work as apotropaic protection. The rope design in particular was depicted on the coffins in order to keep evil spirits from the coffin.⁷⁸⁹

What was the role of lead in the case of coffins? Why was lead chosen for the creation of the new “homes” of the dead? There is no doubt that one of the reasons for lead’s selection was its availability, malleability, and low cost of production. However, there were other cheap and available materials, such as clay and wood and the Romans used clay, wood, and stone coffins as well as lead ones.⁷⁹⁰ Clay and wood coffins were available for people without means while various stone coffins with rich decorations were used by the privileged. The decorations on the stone examples were to describe the identity and past achievements of the occupant.⁷⁹¹ Unlike stone coffins, lead coffins were rarely inscribed with the names of the occupants. They were sometimes put into wooden containers and then into narrow tombs.⁷⁹² The lead coffins were not intended for the observation of the living but for presenting a symbolic message to the spirit world. This aim was achieved not only with the decorations on the coffins but also with the choice of material. Lead was thought to have a dark nature and a chthonic connection due to its color and weight. Moreover, it was associated with the planet Saturn, which “can in certain positions call forth sudden death by accident, killing, execution”.⁷⁹³ For the same reason why lead was used to make curse tablets and voodoo

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., 90-91.

⁷⁹⁰ Tonybee, *Death and Burial*, 101-102.

⁷⁹¹ White, “The Eschatological Connection”, 89.

⁷⁹² Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, 7-11.

⁷⁹³ Cumont, *After Life*, 131.

dolls for binding lovers or rivals, it was also used in coffins in order to bind the vessel and keep the deceased safe.

4.4. **Hystera Amulets and Binding the Wandering Womb:**

In Chapter II, the *hystera* amulets dated between the tenth and twelfth centuries are discussed in detail. The motif of the head decorating the amulets was closely associated with Medusa, Chonubis, and a generic female demon.⁷⁹⁴ However, the standard formula often accompanying the head motif indicates that the image was actually a representation of a womb.⁷⁹⁵ The standard formula addresses the womb, associates it with different animals such as lions and serpents, and orders it to calm down. The *hystera* amulets that combine an image of an aggressive creature and an inscription to sooth it correspond to the phenomenon of the wandering womb. Plato and Hippocrates wrote about the womb as an animated being that would wander around the body due to its desire for childbearing and ultimately cause sickness.⁷⁹⁶ For instance, when the womb is empty, it becomes dry and moves towards those organs with moisture such as the liver. Hippocrates suggests regular intercourse, childbirth, baths, fumigation, and binding of the body as remedies for this ailment.⁷⁹⁷

It appears that both healers and magicians were familiar with this condition. One of the spells in the *Greek Magical Papyri* for the ascent of the uterus reads: “I conjure you, O Womb, [by the] one established over the Abyss, before heaven, earth, sea, light,

⁷⁹⁴ Pitarakis, “Bizans'ta Büyü”, 15-30. Zaleskaia, “Amulettes Byzantines”, 243-247. Vikan, “Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium”, 65-86.

⁷⁹⁵ Spier, “Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition”, 38-39.

⁷⁹⁶ Bury, *Plato with an English Translation*, 249-250. Hanson, “Hippocrates”, 567-584.

⁷⁹⁷ Faraone, “Magical and Medical Approaches”, 5.

or darkness came to be; ... that you return again to your seat, and that you do not turn [to one side] into the right part of the ribs, or into the left part of the ribs, and that you do not gnaw into the heart like a dog, but remain indeed in your own intended and proper place, not chewing [as long as] I conjure by the one who, in the beginning, made the heaven and earth and all that is therein. Hallelujah! Amen!"⁷⁹⁸ Then the spell emphasizes that this should be written on a tin tablet to be made into an amulet. Although the first dissections of human bodies from the third century BC showed that the womb was fixed firmly inside a woman's body, the belief in the wandering womb persisted.⁷⁹⁹ The fact that Aretaeus of Cappadocia describes the womb as "an animal within an animal" in the second century AD indicates this continuity.⁸⁰⁰

Hippocrates, describing the symptoms of this condition, writes: "When the womb is near the liver and the abdomen and when it is suffocating, the woman turns up the whites of her eyes and becomes chilled; some women become livid. She grinds her teeth and saliva flows out of her mouth."⁸⁰¹ One of the Hippocratic treatises, *On the Illnesses of Young Girls*, relates certain symptoms of the wandering womb, such as seizures and terrors to the sacred disease, epilepsy.⁸⁰² Also in the *Diseases of Women*, it is stated that women with a wandering womb resemble people who suffer from epilepsy.⁸⁰³ The

⁷⁹⁸ PGM VII. 272-83.

⁷⁹⁹ Aubert, "Threatened Wombs ", 421-449.

⁸⁰⁰ Aretaeus of Cappadocia, *On the Causes and Symptoms of Acute Diseases*, Book 2.XI. Francis Adams, trans., *The Extant Works of Aretaeus* (London: Printed for the Sydenham Society, 1856).

⁸⁰¹ Hanson, "Hippocrates", 576.

⁸⁰² Rebecca Flemming, and Ann E. Hanson, "Hippocrates' Peri Partheniōn (Diseases of Young Girls): Text and Translation" *Early Science and Medicine*, 3.3 (1998): 250.

⁸⁰³ Hanson, "Hippocrates", 576.

source, *On the Illnesses of Young Girls* also reports that young women with this affliction are delusional and attribute these terrors to the attack of demons.⁸⁰⁴

According to Faraone, a wandering womb was not treated as a gynecological problem *per se*, but as a spasmodic disease such as epilepsy.⁸⁰⁵ The evidence for Faraone's theory may be the existence of words referring to male owners in the standard formula found on the *hystera* amulets even though the womb was known as a female organ. When surveying the published *hystera* amulets, four amulets with inscriptions referring to male owners stand out among the majority of amulets referring to female owners. Only one of the four amulets came from Asia Minor and it is made of lead.⁸⁰⁶ (Figure 86) The remaining three amulets are made of gemstone and gold – aesthetically higher end objects – and came from Eastern Europe, two from Russia and one from Poland.⁸⁰⁷ (Figure 87) Certain symptoms of the wandering womb, such as tremors and suffocation, may have been associated with the symptoms of epilepsy, a condition that affects men.⁸⁰⁸ This may have been the reason for the production of *hystera* amulets with inscriptions referring to male users.

People afflicted with the conditions of wandering womb or epilepsy must have appeared as if they were possessed by demons to bystanders when suffering seizures or suffocation. Thus, it is no wonder that people perceived the womb as a creature to be controlled and confined to its proper place in the body. In addition to men of medicine,

⁸⁰⁴ Flemming and Hanson, "Hippocrates", 241-252.

⁸⁰⁵ Faraone, "Magical and Medical Approaches", 9.

⁸⁰⁶ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", no. 9.

⁸⁰⁷ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", no. 57 and Pl. 6a. Grabar, "Amulettes Byzantines du moyen age," Pl. IV.

⁸⁰⁸ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 44. Laurent, "Amulettes Byzantines", 300-315.

who provided remedies, people also consulted healers who used incantations and amulets to treat their clients. The *hystera* amulets must have been one type of amulet used for this purpose. The majority of the published examples of *hystera* amulets are made of lead.⁸⁰⁹ In addition to those that are published, ten unpublished *hystera* amulets in the catalog of this dissertation are all made of lead. Thus, it appears that lead was the most used material for the production of *hystera* amulets, especially ones that were produced in the Mediterranean. Lead may have been preferred because of the need to contain the womb in its place – the binding power of lead may have been perceived as an effective remedy in this instance, as it was in curse tablets, voodoo dolls, and lead coffins.

5. The Use of Lead in Pilgrim Objects:

Lead was frequently used for the production of pilgrim objects in Byzantium along with terracotta. The majority of primary sources, such as the *Life of St. Symeon the Younger* and *Life of James of Cyrrhestica*, which were discussed in Chapter I, identify the form of pilgrim objects but not their material. There are a few references in the *Life of Symeon Stylite the Elder* to the tokens made of earth and dust from his sacred shrine.⁸¹⁰ Also Gregory of Tours records that the earth around Christ's tomb was sprinkled with water and the moist earth was then taken and shaped into small tokens by

⁸⁰⁹ Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", 25-62. Laurent, "Amulettes Byzantines", 300-315. Evangelia Dafi, "A Byzantine Lead Amulet from Samos", in *Byzantine Small Finds in Archaeological Contexts*, ed Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan and Alessandra Ricci (Istanbul Ege Yayınları, 2012): 241-247. G. Köroğlu, "Byzantine Amulets Illustrated by Examples from the Haluk Perk Collection", *Art and Culture Magazine* 12 (2004): 12-17. B. Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü, Sağlığı Koruma Ve Kötülüğü Kovma Sanatı" in *İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 1, İstanbul, 2012.

⁸¹⁰ R. Doran, *The Lives of Symeon Stylites* (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1992), 120 -123.

people.⁸¹¹ While there are no direct references in the primary sources to the use of lead in the production of pilgrim objects, material evidence shows that it was in fact used. There are lead examples of three types of pilgrim objects: tokens, medallions, and flasks.

5.1. Lead Tokens

The well-known group of lead tokens from the shrine of St. Symeon the Younger on Miraculous Mountain (Saman Dağı, Turkey) is dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁸¹² The tokens from this shrine were first produced in terracotta. The *Life of Simeon Stylites the Younger* records the healing properties of dust from the shrine of the saint, which was used to make tokens.⁸¹³ Following the same iconography of Symeon the Elder on the tokens from his shrine Qal'at Sem'an, Symeon the Younger is depicted on terracotta tokens in bust form on his column while at times angels crown his head and supplicants flank his column.⁸¹⁴ (Figure 38) Due to the Persian incursions into the Mediterranean and the Arab conquest of the region in the seventh century, the high number of pilgrims flocking to centers such as Saman Dağı, Qal'at Sem'an, Ephesus, and Abu Mina decreased.⁸¹⁵ This led to a more modest production of pilgrim objects in these centers. During the Byzantine re-occupation of Syria at the end of tenth century, the shrines at Qal'at Sem'an and Saman Dağı were revived. With the revival of the

⁸¹¹ Raymond van Dam, trans., *Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988), 27.

⁸¹² Verdier, "A Medallion of Saint Symeon the younger," 17-26.

⁸¹³ Den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne De S. Syméon Stylite*, 115, 163, 194, 214, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235.

⁸¹⁴ Sodini, "Remarques Sur L'iconographie De Syméon L'Alépin", 29-53. Vikan, *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Figs. 18 and 19. Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Saint Syméon lieu de pèlerinage" *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007): 107-120. Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites", Abb. 7. Shannon Steiner, "Agent of Touch and Transformation: A Pilgrimage Token of Saint Symeon the Younger in the Menil Collection" (MA thesis, The University of Texas, 2011). Callot, "Encore des eulogies de saint Syméon l'Alépin", 705-12.

⁸¹⁵ G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord I* (Paris, 1953), 205- 242. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979). P. Grossman, *Abu Mina: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center* (Cairo, 1986). Talbot, "Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines", 153-73.

shrine at Saman Dağı, the tokens of Symeon the Younger began to be made with lead instead of earth.⁸¹⁶ The lead tokens follow the iconography of the terracotta tokens with regard to the angels and the supplicants. On various examples, the iconographical theme was expanded to include, two haloed figures, Symeon's mother Martha and his disciple Conon, flanking the saint and his column.⁸¹⁷ In the case of the tokens from the shrine of St. Symeon the Younger, the change in material from terracotta to lead indicates that the authenticity of the tokens now depended on specific iconography referring to the site instead of a site-specific material.⁸¹⁸

5.2. Lead Medallions and Flasks:

The change in the material used for tokens of Symeon the Younger appears to be a local occurrence rather than a collective phenomenon in pilgrimage centers of the Mediterranean. For instance, numerous pilgrim flasks from the sixth and seventh centuries from Palestine are made of lead or lead alloy.⁸¹⁹ These lead flasks display Christological scenes such as the Annunciation, the Baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion of Christ, and the Women at Tomb. Likewise, during the same period, lead medallions decorated with scenes of the Women at the Tomb and the Crucifixion of Christ were

⁸¹⁶ Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne and Bernard Orgels, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune* (Brussels: Éditions de Byzantion, 1967), 67–135.

⁸¹⁷ Philippe Verdier, "A Medallion of Saint Symeon the younger," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art* 67(1980): 17-26.

⁸¹⁸ Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 67-68. Vikan emphasizes that their miraculous value now depended on the iconography rather than the substances that they carried and this meant that they could be produced anywhere, not only in related pilgrimage centers. G. Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium", *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989): 47–59.

⁸¹⁹ Andre Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza-Bobbio)* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1958). Joseph Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F. J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn" *JbAC* 16 (1973): 5-27. Joseph Engemann, "Palastinische frühchristliche Pilgerampullen", *JbAC* 45 (2002): 153-169. Marvin C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Vol. 2* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962), 71-72, no. 87.

produced.⁸²⁰ (Figure 88) In terms of iconography, these lead medallions are very similar to the lead pilgrim flasks from the Holy Land, indicating that their provenance was likely Palestine.⁸²¹ Moreover, in the catalog, there are three lead medallions – C.30, C.34, and C.35 – which are illustrated with the images related to pilgrimage as discussed in Chapter II. Their iconography – C.30 is illustrated with images of St. Menas and St. Thekla, C.34 with those of St. Symeon and the holy rider, and C.35 with scenes of the Baptism of Christ and the Annunciation – date the objects to the Early Byzantine period and indicate Egypt, Syria, and Palestine as their provenance. All of these examples demonstrate that lead had been used from the Early Christian period in the production of pilgrim objects.

Lead continued to be used in the production of flasks during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Similar to Qal’at Sem’an and Saman Dağı, Jerusalem also experienced a pilgrimage revival in the Middle Byzantine period.⁸²² With the occupation of Jerusalem by the crusaders in the eleventh century, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was rebuilt and the number of Western European pilgrims increased.⁸²³ At the same time, the production of lead flasks continued with iconography similar to the earlier

⁸²⁰ Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 273-275. Engemann, “Palastinische fruhchristliche Pilgerampullen”, Taf. 6e, f.

⁸²¹ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, *From Byzantium to Istanbul*, no. 150. Deniz Sever, “A Pilgrim’s Self-Identification: Sixth- and Seventh-Century Lead Pilgrim Flasks from the Holy Land” *Diogenes* 4 (2016): 35-48, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

⁸²² John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), 24ff.

⁸²³ George Jeffery, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem: And Other Christian Churches in the Holy City, with Some Account of the Mediaeval Copies of the Holy Sepulchre Surviving in Europe* (Cambridge: the University Press, 1919). Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 145ff. Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades: Society, Landscape, and Art in the Holy City Under Frankish Rule* (London: Routledge, 2001), 84ff. Denys Pringle and Peter E. Leach, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, Vol. III, The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

examples of flasks. These lead flasks from the twelfth century are decorated with the images displaying the sacred events of the Holy Land such as the Crucifixion of Christ, the Holy Sepulcher, and the Women at the Tomb.⁸²⁴ (Figure 89) In addition to the flasks from Jerusalem, the well-known pilgrim flasks from the shrine of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are all made of lead.⁸²⁵

There are other examples of lead pilgrim flasks that are of unknown provenance including three lead pilgrim flasks in the catalog. As was discussed in Chapter II, C.24 and C.25 are considered to be products of the Holy Land on the basis of their iconography while C.26 is thought to be from Constantinople. There is also the lead flask that was found in the burial area of Çanlı Kilise and considered of Palestinian origin. (Figure 61) However, these pilgrim flasks cannot be securely associated with one specific pilgrimage center due to the lack of parallel examples. It is important to note that there is archeological evidence proving the existence of workshops producing lead pilgrim flasks in Mediterranean. A workshop was discovered in Acre in Israel during excavations of the city's Crusader quarter.⁸²⁶ This area was not populated during the Ottoman era and, consequently, the streets and the ground floors of buildings were genuinely preserved. In the workshop six molds and one lead pilgrim flask were found.

⁸²⁴ Engemann, "Palastinische fruhchristliche Pilgerampullen", Taf. 9c, d. Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", figs. 1, 2. Pitarakis, "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns", figs. 1, 2, 3. Kötzsche, "Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen", 13-32.

⁸²⁵ C. Bakirtzis, "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The Tomb of St. Demetrios," *DOP* 56, (2002):175-192. C. Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae From Thessaloniki," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout, (Urbana-Champaign, 1990), 140-149.

⁸²⁶ Danny Dyon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader Workshop of Lead Ampullae from Acre", in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999), 110-115. See also David Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi Medievali / a Cura Del Centro Italiano Di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo* (1979): 1-45. David Jacoby, "Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre," in *France and the Holy Land*, ed Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 97-137.

The lead flask is decorated with an eight-petaled rosette surrounded by two circles on one side and small scales on the other side.⁸²⁷ (Figure 90) The molds present similar non-figurative decorations, which do not refer to any specific sites, for lead flasks.⁸²⁸ Evidence of major damage in the buildings and the discovery of arrowheads indicate the troops of al-Ashraf al-Khalil sacked the city in 1291.⁸²⁹ The workshop must have been abandoned at this time like the other buildings due to the attack. These findings indicate that shrines were not the only producers of pilgrim objects in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods: parallel markets were also in on the trade.⁸³⁰

An important question is whether lead was used in the mass-production of pilgrim objects throughout the centuries due to its attested binding, containing, and protective properties as a way to secure the holy substance contained within. With regard to pilgrim tokens, the use of lead eliminates the object's holy matter, i.e. the soil from the sacred location out of which it was formerly made. Yet the question still stands for the holy substance contained within pilgrim flasks – perhaps lead was used to secure and bind the sacred substance, which must have been a concern for pilgrims. Unfortunately, no primary source attests to this function of lead. Moreover, if lead was used for its binding and protective properties in the creation of flasks, it is only logical that it would be used in the production of other objects that contained sacred matter. Objects such as reliquary crosses and containers, however, are rarely made of lead. Although there are rare lead examples, reliquary crosses are dominantly produced from

⁸²⁷ Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land", fig. 1. A similar flask was also found in Corinth. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 573.

⁸²⁸ Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land", fig. 2.

⁸²⁹ Ibid., 110-115.

⁸³⁰ Foskolou, "Blessing for Sale?", 64ff.

bronze and bronze-alloys with lead, copper, and tin.⁸³¹ Reliquary containers are often made of precious materials such as gold, silver, pearls, and gems.⁸³² This may indicate that lead was used in these pilgrim objects simply for its malleability, availability in various parts of the Empire, and durability as a material. Lead was also a particularly suitable material for mass-production of pilgrim objects because it was shock-resistant, a benefit for objects that would often travel long distances.

6. Conclusion:

This chapter made a survey of the usage of lead in the context of medicine, healing, and apotropaic protection from the Ancient Greek period to the Late Byzantine period. Ancient Greek and Roman sources record lead's usage in medicine and healing. Although it was known that lead was poisonous, it was not perceived as an epidemic. Hence it was utilized in medicine, cosmetics, and water systems. Lead was cheaper than other metals and easy to work with due to its low-melting point. The primary reason why it was frequently used in the production of protective objects was likely due to its natural properties and availability throughout the centuries. However, primary sources also reveal its connection to magic, astrology, and alchemy. Its usage in the production of curse tablets, voodoo dolls, and coffins in particular indicates a belief in lead's dark nature and binding power. The same belief may have been behind the production of

⁸³¹ Pitarakis, *Les Croix-Reliquaires Pectorales*, 41-42. One of the rare lead reliquary crosses was found in excavation of a Byzantine grave in Barçın Höyük located in modern Bursa and dated to the eleventh century, which is discussed in Chapter III. Another lead example from the fourteenth century was found in the medieval city of Missionis in Bulgaria. <http://www.pravoslavie.ru/english/81319.htm>.

⁸³² ODB, s.v. "Reliquary" (Margaret E. Frazer, Anthony Cutler). Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1940). Cynthia Hahn, and Holger Klein, "Introduction," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cynthia Hahn and Holger Klein, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2015), 1-11.

hystera amulets, which were produced as a remedy for wandering womb, a condition caused by a demon-like womb. It is true that certain objects related to the magical tradition, like voodoo dolls and *hystera* amulets, were also produced from bronze, although to a lesser degree than lead.⁸³³ Nevertheless, bronze was not attested as having magical or medicinal powers in primary sources to the best of my knowledge. Only in one instance did Origen link it to the planet Jupiter in the second century.⁸³⁴ Pliny, who wrote on the medicinal powers of various metals in great length, does not cite bronze except for its usage in art; however, he did record the medical usage of copper, the main compound metal of bronze.⁸³⁵ Thus, I believe that the underlying reason why bronze was used for certain types of protective objects was its durability and availability.

In addition to *hystera* amulets, pilgrim objects such as tokens, medallions, and flasks, which were used in healing and apotropaic protection, were also manufactured from lead. However, unlike primary sources attesting to lead being used as a material for amulets because of its binding and magical properties, there are no direct references to the use of lead in the production of pilgrim objects. In this chapter, I asked whether lead might have been used in the production of pilgrim flasks in order to secure and bind the holy substance contained in these objects. Yet the fact that there are no examples of lead being used in other types of pilgrim objects that contained holy substances such as reliquary crosses and containers indicates that the metal's binding

⁸³³ Wright, "Exploration and Discovery", 215-219. Gager, *Curse Tablets*, no. 165. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", nos. 44, 45, 48, and 50.

⁸³⁴ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 6, 22. Maurice P. Crosland, *Historical Studies in the Language of Chemistry* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 80. J. R. Partington, "The Origins of the Planetary Symbols for the Metals," *Ambix* 1(1937): 61-64.

⁸³⁵ Pliny, *Natural History*, Book XXXIV.

property was not the reason for the production of lead flasks. The most plausible reason for lead's usage in the production of pilgrim objects is its availability as a metal and its resilience.



CONCLUSION

This dissertation explores the concept of protection in Byzantium, its development over time, and its reflection in the material world of Byzantium. Byzantine society has often been considered as a culture centered on Christianity, one in which God had the ultimate power to protect his believers. However, the thorough study of primary sources and material culture undertaken in this dissertation reveals that practices and objects shunned by the Church were often used in the private sphere of Byzantine society as a form of protection. By examining the personal and small objects that were used in daily life for protection, this dissertation paints a more intimate and realistic portrait of “popular” belief and culture in Byzantium.

One of the conclusions drawn in every chapter is that protective objects, whether related to magic or religion, were continually used over the centuries in Byzantine society, despite the Church’s opposition in many cases. The written sources from the sphere of the Church demonstrate the Church’s condemnation of amulets and its worries about differentiating Christian phylactery from magical phylactery. The source of the protective object and the subjects depicted on it are what determine whether the Church views the object as legitimate or illegitimate. These same written sources also indicate that the Church endeavored to bring apotropaic protection and healing under its own authority. To some extent the Church was successful: the usage of objects sanctified by the Church for the purpose of protection, such as crosses and pilgrim objects, is clearly observed in the primary sources. Moreover, objects like the bronze amulets with animal imagery and

depictions of Golgotha with the Sun and the Moon that were popular in Late Antiquity disappear in later centuries.

Yet the hagiographical sources and writings of intellectuals demonstrate that the usage of certain objects and practices that were outside of the Church's sphere continued during the Byzantine period. For instance, *hystera* amulets were widespread in the Middle Byzantine period. The apotropaic and magical images and inscriptions on *hystera* amulets were ways to sooth a demon-like womb wandering inside the body.⁸³⁶ The popularity of these amulets can be linked to a medical need: various gynecological ailments, like many other sicknesses and physical problems, were attributed to the work of demons, and as a result people treated these problems with amulets as well as medicine. The intermingling of medicine and magic in Byzantine society was documented in the writings of Alexander of Tralles, a Byzantine doctor who wrote about the use of charms and amulets for various illnesses in the sixth century.⁸³⁷ Alexander states that many wealthy patients use magical amulets in an attempt to cure their pain and that he himself also experienced the effectiveness of certain amulets.⁸³⁸ It is no surprise then that *hystera* amulets were manufactured and used in the Middle Byzantine period to treat gynecological problems, which were common and at times too complicated to be cured. The usage of this kind of amulet might have been more excusable from the perspective of the Church since it addressed a medical need.

⁸³⁶ In few cases, *hystera* amulets are thought to have been used by men. In these cases, the ailment might have been epilepsy, which like the wandering womb causes tremors and suffocation. However, the majority of *hystera* amulets present female ownership, and the inscriptions addressing the womb show that the main demand for these amulets came from women. For a more detailed discussion please see Chapter IV.

⁸³⁷ John Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Aspects of Teaching and Practice", *DOP* 38 (1984): 21-27. John Scarborough, "The Life and Times of Alexander of Tralles", *EXPEDITION* 39 (1997): 51-60.

⁸³⁸ Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine", 26.

Pierced coins are also material evidence for the continuation of older traditions of protection. They were believed to be protective due to the imperial portraits that were associated with victory and the Christian images such as Christ, Virgin, and saints depicted on them. In the fifth century, John Chrysostom condemns people who adorn their head and feet with the coins of Alexander the Great for apotropaic protection. However, material evidence from later centuries proves that this practice did not disappear even though the Church opposed it. Coins dated to earlier centuries are often found in levels with later dating, an indication that these pierced coins were tokens that had spiritual value. This interpretation of the archaeological evidence is also supported by a written source. In the twelfth century, Michael Italikos writes about a certain coin bearing the images of Constantine and Helena and Christ that was worn as a pendant and effective against all evils but specifically against diseases.⁸³⁹ Pierced coins were also placed in Byzantine graves, most likely for the protection of earthly remains and because of their owners' attachment to them.

As well as pierced coins, coins from different centuries are excavated in high numbers in Byzantine tombs. The Ancient Greek tradition of placing coins on the eyes or inside the mouth of the dead for the ferryman Charon's fee must have taken on a new meaning in the Byzantine period. Firstly, Charon is not represented as the ferryman who transported the dead across the river Styx but as an active agent of death in Byzantine texts. Secondly, ancient or blank coins that were deposited in the burials had no value at the time of burial and therefore could not be used to pay the fee for passing the river. Thus, it is probable that these coins were placed at the joints and endpoints of the body to create a barrier to protect the body from evil spirits.

⁸³⁹ Gautier, *Lettres Et Discours*, 208-210.

Another main focus of this dissertation is the power and agency of protective objects. What is the source these objects' power? There is no doubt that the images and inscriptions depicted on these objects – they are almost always decorated with scenes and texts – played a role in the function of protection. The significance of these decorations is emphasized by the evidence that certain objects created for other purposes, such as coins, were made into protective jewelry or appliques due to their specific ornamentation. In order to better observe the role of images and inscriptions in the function of protection, I applied the theories of Austin and Tambiah regarding the role of words, written or uttered, in human life and rituals to the protective objects. This line of inquiry revealed the existence of two elements – epic narratives and commands/prayers – on various protective objects in the catalog. I argue that the recognition of these epic narratives and commands/prayers as manifested in the images and inscriptions on objects operating within different contexts, including magic, private veneration, and pilgrimage, is what made users perceive them as protective.

Seeing and carrying these objects, the users were reminded of the epic narratives of heroes, saints, and Biblical figures. The scenes and texts, presenting war against evil and ultimately the triumph of good over evil, became analogical stories for the users' own problems. By mentally re-enacting of the stories, the users could call on the supernatural power for the same success that the figures achieved in their epic stories. Not only widely known religious narratives but also local narratives connecting a religious figure to a local site or a group of people, like the miracles of the St. Menas in Egypt and that of St. George in Mytilene, were used as analogical stories.

The study of the elements found on the objects revealed repetition of the same narratives and commands/prayers such as the images of the holy rider, the name of St. Sisinnios, and the inscriptions of Psalm 90 (91) in objects from various regions. It also demonstrated how images with different origins were combined. For instance, certain objects in the catalog dated to the Early Christian period display images that allude to Ancient Greek figures like Asklepios and Nike. These objects are Christianized, however, by the incorporation of Christian images into the scenes. The combination of ancient narratives with new Christian ones increased the protective power of these objects. These repetitions and combinations reflect the transcultural aspect of visual and literary images and their adoption by different cultures, including the pagans, Jews, and Christians.

It was also found that protective objects have different aims such as healing, apotropaic protection, and eternal salvation, or some combination of the above, and the subjects depicted on the objects were selected for these purposes. As a result, protective objects with certain images and inscriptions appear in particular contexts. For example, the image of the Cherub and the verses from the *Koinonikon* that appear on the pendant from the Middle Byzantine burial in the Temple of Asklepios in Athens are allusions and references to the Eucharist. This choice of imagery is no coincidence: the Eucharist was the essential liturgy for spiritual salvation. Another pendant from Sardis also bears an image of the Anastasis scene in which Christ saves Adam and Eve from Hades. These examples display a consideration for the salvation of the soul in the afterlife. The inscriptions and images on the objects that are linked to religious scripts or oral traditions together create a certain epic narrative for the purpose of analogy and protection.

The material from which protective objects are made was also studied in this dissertation with regard to the power and agency of such objects. Various materials were used to manufacture protective objects. Certain materials, such as clay and stone, are attested as having healing and apotropaic power in primary sources. Clay pilgrim tokens were considered protective since their raw material – the soil from the sacred shrines – was thought to be sacred. Certain stones, such bloodstone, amethyst, and sapphire, were also believed to be healing and apotropaic due to their natural properties. Gold and silver were used to produce higher-end protective objects, mostly in jewelry form, while other metals such as copper, bronze, and lead were utilized to manufacture more modest objects of protection from Antiquity to the Late Byzantine period.

Among the metals, lead appears to be the most commonly used for the production of certain protective objects. Lead was readily available in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine period, and was easy to work with due to its low melting point. Creating an amulet or a token in lead did not require a well-equipped or large workshop; one only had to have knowledge of the necessary materials and tools. Although various Ancient Greek and Roman sources record the poisonous nature of lead, lead and white lead (lead carbonate) came highly recommended by medical physicians. This indicates that the conditions causing lead poisoning may not have been well known.

Unlike other metals used for the production of protective objects, such as bronze and copper, lead was identified as having healing and apotropaic properties in various primary sources from the Ancient Greek period to the Late Byzantine period. The primary sources indicate that curse tablets and voodoo dolls were manufactured from lead due to the metal's dark nature and binding power, as indicated in

astrological and medical sources and magical papyri. The extant lead curse and love tablets and voodoo dolls from Late Antiquity further support the claims of these primary sources. The belief in lead's magical and binding power may have even influenced the production of lead coffins in Late Antiquity. Despite the lack of primary sources on this subject, the use of protective designs like the Medusa head and rope motif on these coffins indicates that there was an effort to protect their contents. Considering the Roman and Byzantine belief in evil spirits, lead may have been selected for its binding powers – the metal would secure the contents of the coffins. The so-called binding power of lead may have also been the reason for the production of *hystera* amulets in lead. The *hystera* amulets from the Middle Byzantine period were produced to cure the wandering womb roaming inside the body. The majority of *hystera* amulets may have been produced in lead in order to fix the womb into its place.

Pilgrim objects are another type of protective object that was frequently manufactured from lead. I examined whether lead might have been used in the production of pilgrim objects as a way to secure and bind the holy substance contained within. The material evidence shows that pilgrim flasks produced throughout the Byzantine period were the only pilgrim objects that both contained holy substance and were made of lead. The other pilgrim objects containing holy substances such as reliquary crosses and containers are not produced in lead. Unlike the references to lead's binding properties in the context of magic, there are no direct references in primary sources to the use of lead in the production of pilgrim objects. As a result, I came to the conclusion that lead's magical properties were not the reason for its use in the production of pilgrim objects. It seems more likely that

pilgrim objects were produced in lead because of the metal's availability and resilience.

In conclusion, images and texts always played an important role in regards to the power and agency of protective objects. Since different images and inscriptions came together to create an epic narrative, the various combinations of these elements also give protective power to the objects. In certain cases, like in clay tokens, *hystera* amulets, and stone intaglios and cameos, the material of the object acts as an agent for the purpose of protection. However, an object's material does not always have protective properties, which is the case for lead pilgrim tokens and flasks. As a result, it is imperative to avoid generalizations and focus on the individual types of protective objects when drawing conclusions about the protective qualities of certain materials.

In addition to an object's decorations and material, its size also had significance with regard to protection. Due to the small size of certain protective objects, users were able to easily carry them, whether they were jewelry to be worn or tokens to be stitched to garments. Users not only looked at them but also touched and felt them close to their bodies. The primary sources from Late Antiquity emphasize the importance of this tactile aspect. In *The Greek Magical Papyri*, there are dozens of instructions about the placement of protective devices: around the neck, on the thigh, and under the sole of the foot.⁸⁴⁰ In the *Testament of Solomon*, the place where the amulet should be carried is often associated with the location of the problem in the body. Primary sources of Christian origin reflect that protective objects were private possessions and hidden under users' clothes where the owners

⁸⁴⁰ Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri*, PGM CXXIII a-f, a, PGM VIII. 64-110, PGM VII. 925-39.

can feel them. The lack of visual sources presenting people with protective objects, save for a few examples presenting the use of the cross, supports this view. Protective objects worked through their specific properties, namely their decorations, material, and size. When these properties were combined together, they increased the protective power of the objects in the eyes of users.

This dissertation also highlighted the deep-rooted fear of demons and envy in Byzantine society. Primary sources from the Early and Middle Byzantine periods manifest the Byzantine preoccupation with evil spirits who can create a wide range of problems. The material finds such as amulets, tokens, pilgrim flasks, and pierced coins from domestic and workplace contexts corroborate this fear of demons documented in the primary sources. The material evidence reflects their anxiety over simple domestic problems, which ranged from sickness and difficulty in pregnancy and childbirth to theft, as well as problems affecting the whole community such as earthquakes, floods, droughts, and wars. A deeper scrutiny of the primary sources shows that people in Byzantine society were also scared of the envy of their peers, neighbors, and relatives, which had the capability to harm their well-being and property. Many examples of apotropaic decorations in Late Antique houses prove that there was an effort to protect their property from the envious eyes of people who visited their abode. Although the Church Fathers attributed this kind of harm to demons, fear of the Evil Eye continued to exist throughout the centuries in Byzantium.

The fear of fellow humans' envy and malice and the fear of supernatural beings are manifested together in the belief and artistic representation of the Evil Eye. Thus, in response to this fear, the Byzantines utilized different tools that were

either created for the purpose of protection, such as amulets and pilgrim objects, or transformed into a protective object, such as perforated coins that were valued for their triumphal iconography. Such a superstition still exists in certain cultures, especially in the Mediterranean; it remains relevant because envy is still an existing human emotion. The irrational fear of losing treasured things due to envy still guides the actions of some people in these cultures. It is why both Turks and Greeks pin blue Evil Eye tokens to babies' clothes, and in Anatolia molten lead is poured to water to ward off the Evil Eye. These ancient practices are imbedded in the psyche of some modern cultures.

To sum up, this dissertation examines how different objects, despite appearing unrelated and having other functions, were used for protection. My study of the pertinent objects and primary sources demonstrates that people from various strata in Byzantine society used these private objects of protection over the course of centuries. This study also presents how Byzantines employed words and images as coping mechanisms to deal with the simple and complex problems they faced in their daily lives. In this respect, my dissertation provides insights into the Byzantine population's basic beliefs, fears, superstitions, and perceptions of evil, and the continuity of certain protective practices throughout the centuries.

APPENDIX A:
PROTECTIVE OBJECTS FROM TURKISH MUSEUMS AND
COLLECTIONS

Catalog ID 01

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M9347

Dimensions D. 4,6 cm

Weight 22 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject At the center, an oval face is surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads. The face is crowned by a trifurcated sign which has arms ending with three circles. This scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject At the center, a rider on horseback spears a human figure with a snake's body beneath the horse. The rider's spear is topped by a cross. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Ob. Transcription WC ΟΦΙC ΕΙΛΗ[ΕC]Ε ΚΕ WC ΛΕΩΝ [---]. (Retrograde)

Ob. Emended ὡς ὄφις εἰλύεσαι καὶ ὡς λέων (βρυχᾶσαι)

Ob. Translation As a snake you coil, as a lion you roar.

Rv. Transcription [ΑΓ]ΗΟ[С] CHCHNHС HK--HC BWEIOH THN ΔΟΥ. (Retrograde)

Rv. Emended Ἅγιος Σισίνιος [-----] βοήθει την δούλην σου.

Rv. Translation Saint Sisinnios [-----] help your servant!

Bibliography	Köroğlu, G. "Byzantine Amulets Illustrated by Examples from the Haluk Perk Collection." <i>Art and Culture Magazine</i> 12 (2004): 12-17. Pitarakis, B. "The Material Culture of Childhood in Byzantium." In <i>Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium</i>, edited by Arietta Papaconstantinou and Alice-Mary Talbot, 167–252. Washington, D.C. : Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2009.
Parallels	Harrison, <i>Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul</i>, no. 621. (Dated to the twelfth century) Wamser, <i>Die Welt von Byzanz</i>, fig. 588. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries) Pitarakis, <i>Life Is Short, Art Long</i>, no. 98. (Dated to the eleventh and the twelfth centuries)
Notes/Comments	Spier names this group of objects as hystera amulets due to the standard formula including the word, hystera, meaning womb in Greek. A part of this formula also appears in the obverse of this example. The image of the head surrounded by serpents with animal heads and the standard formula addressing the womb reveals that the function of this image is to soothe and protect the womb. In addition to the image of the head, the image of the rider spearing a demon as the representation of triumph of good over evil has a strong apotropaic significance. St. Sisinnios addressed by the inscription on the reverse is one of the saints which adopted the image of holy rider such as Solomon and St. George later in medieval period. Spier dates this group of amulets to Middle Byzantine period, specifically from tenth to twelfth centuries on the grounds of archaeological and iconographical evidence. Parallel examples from Corinth, Saraçhane, and Yenikapı examples come from levels belonged between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The inscriptions on both sides are written in retrograde. This practice was supposed to enhance the magical power of the words and it was common in <i>hystera</i> amulets as well as other types of amulets.

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 4,4 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 18 gr

Provenance Mediterranean

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a missing hoop.

Obverse Subject A circular face is surrounded by six serpents with animal heads. The head is crowned by a trifurcated sign which has arms ending with three circles. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject At the center, a rider on horseback spears a figure. The rider's spear is topped by a cross. The figure beneath the horse has a spiked hair and a triangular body. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Ob. Transcription The inscription is unintelligible due to corrosion.

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription ΑΓΗΩ ---ΗΝΗC ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΗΝ ΦΟΡΟΥ.

Rv. Emended Άγιος Σισίνιος βοήθει την φοροῦσαν.

Rv. Translation Saint Sisinius help the wearer!

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, no. 621. (Dated to the twelfth century)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, fig. 588. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)
Pitarakis, *Life Is Short, Art Long*, no. 98. (Dated to the eleventh and the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

Catalog ID 03

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul
Inv. 1850

Dimensions D. 4,6 cm

Weight 38,1 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject At the center, a face is surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads and crowned by a sign with five arms ending with circles. The animal heads have horns. There are vine-scroll designs between the serpents. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject The space is divided into seven registers. The top register includes a five armed and a six armed star. At the bottom register, there are letter A and Chi-Rho sign. There should be a W at the other side of Chi-Rho which cannot be seen due to damage. Between the top and bottom registers, there is an inscription occupying the five remaining registers.

Ob. Transcription ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΚΕ ΒΟΙΘΗ ΤΙ ΦΟΡΟΥCΙ ΑΜ

Ob. Emended Ἄγιος Ἄγιος Ἄγιος κύριε βοήθει τῇ φορούσῃ ἀμήν.

Ob. Translation Holy, holy, holy Lord help the wearer, Amen.

Rv. Transcription ΥCΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΛΑΝΗ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΜΕΝΙ ΟC ΟΦΙC ΗΛΕCΕ [ΟC] ΑΡΝΟC
ΚΥΜΗΘΗΤΗ

Rv. Emended ὑστέρα μελάνη μελανομένη, ὡς ὄφις εἰλύεσαι ὡς ἀρνίον κοιμοῦ

Rv. Translation Womb black blackening as a snake you coil, as a lamb lie down!

Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 6/7. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)
Notes/Comments	This example includes the same imagery and standard formula of hystera amulets which are dated between tenth and twelfth centuries. The existence of Chi-Rho sign and the apocalyptic letters, A and W, might be thought as an indication for an earlier date since the Chi-Rho sign fell into disuse after the seventh century in monumental art. However, in the case of hystera amulets, all the archaeological evidence points to the Middle Byzantine period for the dating of these amulets. Thus, these elements might have been used to archaize C.03 on purpose by its creator.





Location Fethiye Museum, Muğla
Inv. 3621

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 3,4 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 14 gr

Provenance Asia Minor

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject At the center, a circular face is surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads. The animals resemble peacocks with their long beaks and the feathers on the back of their heads.

Reverse Subject There is four lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription [Ι]ΑCΕ ΟΥΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΛΑΝΙ ΤΙ ΠΙΔΑC

Rv. Emended ἴασε ὑστερα μελανή τι πηδᾶς

Rv. Translation Be cured black womb, why do you jump?

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 25. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

This hystera amulet is an interesting example of this category since it does not include the standard hystera formula. This shows that there were different variations of the standard formula. The specific inscription on this amulet addresses the womb, ordering it to be healed and asks why it is restless. This indicates that there was a connection and a communication between the image of the head symbolizing the womb and the inscriptions on hystera amulets.



Catalog ID 05

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 4,1 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 23 gr

Provenance Mediterranean

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject At the center, a circular face is surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads. The necks of the animals are decorated with hatched pattern.

Reverse Subject At the center, there are five registers of inscriptions. The letters on the top and bottom registers cannot be read due to corrosion. This is surrounded by another inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ
Surrounding inscription:
+ WC ΟΦΙΣ ΕΙΛΥΕΣΑΙ ΩΣ ΛΕΩΝΟΝ [ΒΡΥΧ]ΑΣΑΙ.

Rv. Emended Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος
ὥς ὄφις εἰλύεσαι ὥς λέων (βρυχᾶσαι)

Rv. Translation Holy, holy, holy
As a snake you coil, as a lion you roar.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 8. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M12245

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 4,8 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 13 gr

Provenance Mediterranean

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A small face is surrounded by seven serpents with stylized animal heads. At the bottom, there is a cross between the two serpents. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject Six lines of inscription is surrounded by another inscription.

Ob. Transcription ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΗΘΣ ΣΑΒΑΘΘ ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΩΡΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΗ

Ob. Emended Άγιος, άγιος, άγιος, Κύριος Σαββαώθ, πλήρης ο ουρανός και η γη

Ob. Translation Holy, holy, holy lord Almighty, the whole earth is full of your glory.

Rv. Transcription ΥΣΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΛΑΝΗ ΜΕΛΑΝΟΜΕΝΗ ΟΣ ΟΦΗΣ ΗΛΗΕΣΕ ΚΕ ΟΣ
ΔΡΑΚΟCΙΡΙΖΙC
Surrounding inscription:
ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΗCΧΥΡΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΕΛΕ[ΗCΟΝ ΗΜΑC]

Rv. Emended ύστέρα μελάνη μελανομένη, ώς όφης είλύεσαι και ώς δράκον συρίζησε
Άγιος ο Θεός, Άγιος Ισχυρός, Άγιος Αθάνατος, ελέησον ημάς

Rv. Translation Womb black blackening as a snake you coil and as a serpent you hiss
Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us.

Bibliography	Pitarakis, B. "Bizans'ta Büyü, Sağlığı Koruma Ve Kötülüğü Kovma Sanatı." In <i>İstanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı</i> 1, İstanbul, 2012. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) Köroğlu, G. "Byzantine Amulets Illustrated by Examples from the Haluk Perk Collection." <i>Art and Culture Magazine</i> no. 12 (2004): 12-17.
Parallels	C.03 Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no.1. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries). Durand, <i>Byzance</i>, no. 244. (Dated to the twelfth century).
Notes/Comments	For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01. For the discussion about the inscriptions please see Chapter II.



Catalog ID 07

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M3368

Dimensions D. 3,8 cm

Weight 15 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A human head with hair and ears is surrounded by six serpents with triangular heads. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject A human figure raises his hands in prayer and wears an elaborate dress with a cross on it. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Ob. Transcription ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΑΠΟ ΣΙΩΝ ΒΟΙΘ[ΕΙ] (Retrograde)

Ob. Emended Παναγία Θεοτόκε απο Σιών βοήθει

Ob. Translation Holy Mother of God from Sion Help

Rv. Transcription ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΑΠΟ Δ[Ρ]ΥΜΕΡΑΣΙ ΣΩΣΟ[Ν]

Rv. Emended Θεοτόκος από δ[ρ]υμερασι σώσον

Rv. Translation Holy Mother of God from (-----) save.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 28. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries).

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

The inscription bearing the name of Sion on the obverse might have been an indication to the provenance of the object. The inscription either refers to Mount Sion in Jerusalem or another alternative location with the same name such as Lycian Monastery of Holy Sion in Antalya, Turkey. This monastery was renowned as a place of miracles and healing. Please see Chapter II.

Catalog ID 08

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M11821

Dimensions D. 3,3 cm

Weight 10 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a missing hoop.

Obverse Subject A human head sits on six serpents attached to each other at the center. The scene is bordered twice.

Reverse Subject A human figure raises his hands in prayer and this scene is bordered twice. Between the borders, there is an unintelligible inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

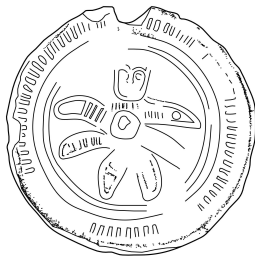
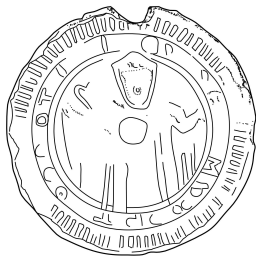
Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

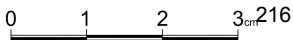
Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 28. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries).

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.



C08



Catalog ID 09

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Muğla Museum
Inv. 2666

Acquisition Beybağ Sounding, 2007

Dimensions D. 4,4 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 21 gr

Provenance Mediterranean

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A medallion with a broken hoop.

Obverse Subject An oval circle is surrounded by six serpents with animal heads. The scene is bordered with dots. Several unintelligible letters are carved on the object.

Reverse Subject A standing archangel holds a tall staff with his right hand and an other object, possibly an orb, with his left hand. The scene is bordered with dots.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

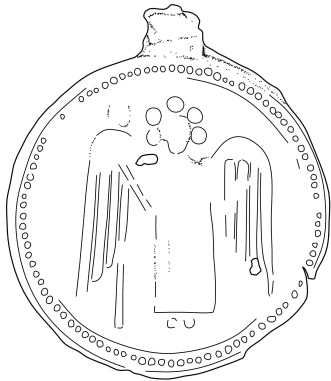
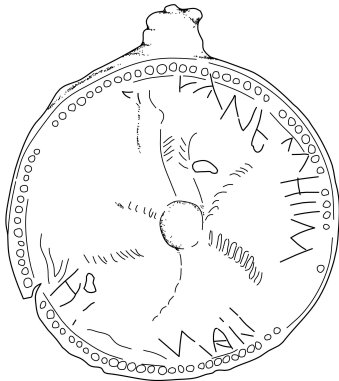
Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", Pl. 5b and 6a. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)
Laurent, "Amulettes byzantines et formulaires magiques", no. 3. (Dated to the fourth to the seventh centuries).

Notes/Comments The archangel on the reverse is possibly the Archangel Michael as his image is frequently depicted on the amulets.



C09



218

Catalog ID 10

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 3,9 cm

Weight 17 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion.

Obverse Subject A circle is surrounded by seven serpents with animal heads.

Reverse Subject A haloed rider on horseback spears a serpent.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 25. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

Catalog ID 11

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1851

Dimensions D. 4,3 cm

Weight 22,8 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A circle head is placed at the junction of a cross and surrounded by eight serpents with animal heads facing each other in groups of two. The scene is circled with a striped bordered.

Reverse Subject A rider on a horse spears a human figure lying beneath the horse. In front of the horse, there is a cross. The scene is circled in striped bordered.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no.21. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 590. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.

Catalog ID 12

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 4,7 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 34 gr

Provenance Mediterranean

Material Lead

Dating 10th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion.

Obverse Subject A circle is surrounded by eight serpents. The serpents face each other in groups of two. The scene is circled with a striped border.

Reverse Subject A haloed rider is on a horse.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

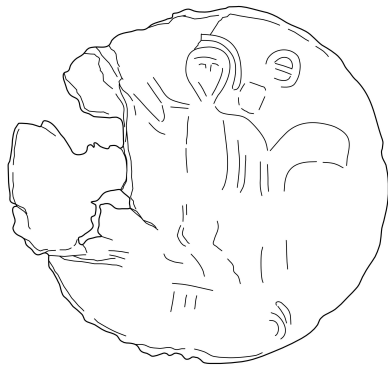
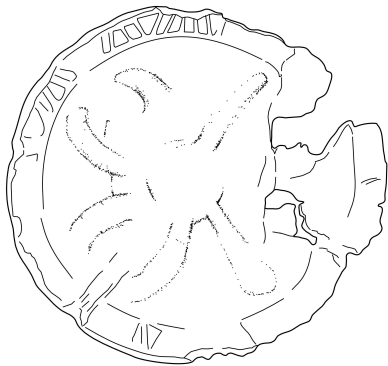
Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets", no. 21. (Dated to the tenth to the twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the dating and the significance of hystera amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.01.



C12



222

Catalog ID 13

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions H. 3,8 cm, W. 2,3 cm

Weight 9 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and Engraved

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description An oblong medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider on a reared up horse spears a human figure beneath the horse. There is an inscription above the rider.

Reverse Subject An eye is attacked by a lion, an ibis, a snake, a scorpion, and a dog from below. Above the scene, there are four lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription [ΕΙ]Σ ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚ[Α]

Ob. Emended εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά

Ob. Translation One God who overcomes evil.

Rv. Transcription ΙΑΩ ΣΑΒΑΩ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΟΥΡΙΗΛ +

Rv. Emended Ιαώ, Σαβαώ, Μιχαήλ, Ούριήλ.

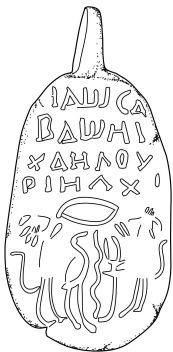
Rv. Translation Iaoth Sabaoth, Lord of Hosts, Michael, Uriel.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 167. (Dated to the sixth and the seventh centuries.)
Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, nos. 298, 299, 300, and 302. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.)
Makhoul, "Rock-Cut Tombs at El-Jish", Pl. XXXII, h1 and h2. (Dated to the fourth and fifth centuries.)

Notes/Comments This type of bronze medallions were initially dated to the fourth and fifth centuries since the tombs, from which the bronze amulets came in El-Jish, were dated to this period. However, Rahmani proved that these tombs were from the sixth and seventh centuries by comparing the glass finds from these tombs with finds from the similar sites. Thus, the bronze amulets are dated the sixth and seventh centuries. For the detailed discussion, please see Chapter II.





C13



Catalog ID 14

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions H. 4,4 cm, W. 3,9 cm

Weight 8 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and Engraved

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description An oval medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider on a reared up horse spears a figure beneath the horse. An inscription is above the rider.

Reverse Subject Three lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ [ΚΑΚΑ]

Ob. Emended εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά

Ob. Translation One God who overcomes evil.

Rv. Transcription ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ

Rv. Emended Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος

Rv. Translation Holy, holy, holy

Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets</i> , no. 309. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries)
Notes/Comments	For the discussion about the dating of this type of amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.13.



Catalog ID 15

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions H. 4,4 cm, W. 3,3 cm

Manufacture Cast and Engraved

Weight 6 gr

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Material Bronze

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description An oblong medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider on a reared up horse spears a figure beneath the horse. An inscription is above the rider.

Reverse Subject A long legged bird is above a eight armed star in a circle and a cross in a square. An inscription and three other symbols top the bird.

Ob. Transcription ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ

Ob. Emended εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά

Ob. Translation One God who overcomes evil.

Rv. Transcription ΠΙΝΩ

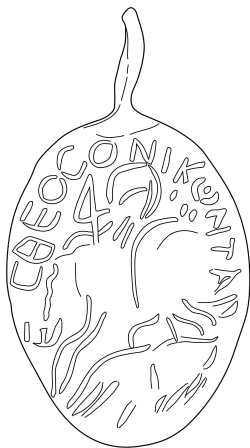
Rv. Emended πίνω

Rv. Translation I drink.

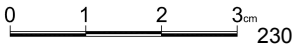
Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Makhoul, "Rock-Cut Tomb at El-Jish", PL. XXXI, 7. (Dated to the fourth and the fifth centuries.) Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets</i>, no. 304, 305, and 306. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.) Cotton et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae, Volume I, Part II</i>, no. 765. (Dated to the Late Roman period.)
Notes/Comments	For the discussion about the dating of this type of amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.13.

Bonner identifies the bird as an ibis and the rectangular shape behind the bird as an altar. This scene is derived from the amulets produced in Egypt for relieving stomach pains. The ibis was depicted on this type of amulets due to the bird's extraordinary powers of digestion. This type of amulet is intended to protect the wearer's health.

The motifs below the bird, and the symbols next to the inscription above the bird must be magical characters, *voces magicae*.



C15



Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions H. 4,6 cm, W. 3,8 cm

Weight 6 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and Engraved

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description An oval medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a figure beneath the horse. An inscription is above the rider.

Reverse Subject A long legged bird is tied to a form behind it and an inscription is above the bird.

Ob. Transcription ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ[Α]

Ob. Emended εἷς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν τὰ κακά

Ob. Translation One God who overcomes evil.

Rv. Transcription ΠΙΝΩ

Rv. Emended πίνω

Rv. Translation I drink.

Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Makhoul, "Rock-Cut Tomb at El-Jish", PL. XXXI, 7. (Dated to the fourth and the fifth centuries.) Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets</i>, no. 304, 305, and 306. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.) Cotton et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae, Volume I, Part II</i>, no. 765. (Dated to the Late Roman period.)
Notes/Comments	For the discussion about the dating of this type of amulets please see the notes/comments section in C.13. For the discussion about the image of the bird please see the notes/comments section in C.15.



Catalog ID 17

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1852

Acquisition Donation

Dimensions D. 4,4 cm

Manufacture Cast and Engraved

Weight 19,7 gr

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Material Bronze

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a human figure with her/his hands tied behind her/his back beneath the horse and there is a star on the left side of the rider. Under the horse, there are a letter Z and a form which looks like an eye. This scene is surrounded by an almost unintelligible inscription.

Reverse Subject A feline is topped by a bulbiform figure and a cross inside of a circle. This is flanked by two figures that are the personifications of the Sun and Moon. The scene is circled by an inscription.

Ob. Transcription CICINNICCOC[-----]

Ob. Emended Σισίννισσος

Ob. Translation St. Sisinius[-----]

Rv. Transcription ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC CO[Λ]ΟΜΟΝ ΑΜΙΝ

Rv. Emended Άγιος Άγιος Άγιος Άγιος Σολομών αμήν.

Rv. Translation Holy, holy, holy, holy Solomon Amen

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Stiegemann, *Byzanz: Das Licht aus dem Osten*, IV. 6. (Dated to the seventh century.)
Schlumberger, "Amulettes Byzantins Anciens", no. 2.
Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 732. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)
Matantseva, "Les amulettes byzantines", Pl. 14.
Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", figs. 6 and 7. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)

Notes/Comments Due to their close association with the bronze amulets of the sixth-seventh centuries in terms of iconography, this group is also dated the same period.

In some examples of this kind of amulets, the bulbiform figure is replaced by the image of Christ in bust form. The scene with the bulbiform flanked by the personifications of the Sun and Moon was likely connected to the scene of Crucifixion of Christ. Due to this fact and also the existence of the cross on the bulbiform figure depicted on this type of amulets, the bulbiform figure is identified as a representation of Golgotha.

The representation of lion was likely a reference to the apotropaic Psalm 90 (91) in which the verses read "you shall tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet".

Catalog ID 18

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Acquisition Purchase

Dimensions D. 3,3 cm

Manufacture Cast

Weight 14 gr

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Material Lead

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a broken hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a figure beneath the horse.

Reverse Subject A coiling snake is topped by lion on the bottom half and on the top half a bulbiform figure, identified as Golgotha, is topped by a cross inside of a circle. The representation of Golgotha is flanked by two human figures in bust, which are identified as the personifications of the Sun (on the left) and the Moon (on the right). The scene is circled by a worn inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription BOHΘH

Rv. Emended Βοήθει

Rv. Translation Help

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Stiegemann, *Byzanz: Das Licht aus dem Osten*, IV. 6. (Dated to the seventh century.)
Schlumberger, "Amulettes Byzantins Anciens", no. 2.
Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 732. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)
Matantseva, "Les amulettes byzantines", Pl. 14.
Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", figs. 6 and 7. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)

Notes/Comments

For the discussion about the object's dating and the images depicted on it, please see the notes/comments section in C.17.





C18



237

Catalog ID 19

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 2,4 cm

Weight 7 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A rider spears a human figure beneath the horse.

Reverse Subject A feline is topped by a bulbiform figure, identified as Golgotha, and a cross inside of a circle. This scene flanked by two figures that are the personifications of the Sun and Moon. The scene is circled by an unintelligible inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Stiegemann, *Byzanz: Das Licht aus dem Osten*, IV. 6. (Dated to the seventh century.)

Schlumberger, "Amulettes Byzantins Anciens", no. 2.

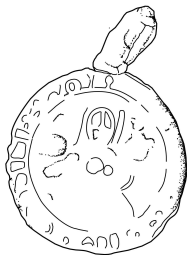
Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 732. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)

Matantseva, "Les amulettes byzantines", Pl. 14.

Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", figs. 6 and 7. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the object's dating and the images depicted on it, please see the notes/comments section in C.17.





C19

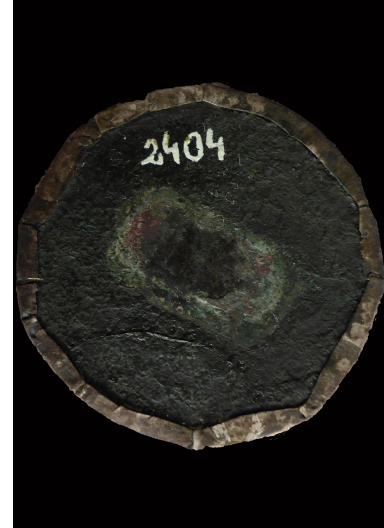


Catalog ID 20

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Silifke Museum, Mersin
Inv. 2404

Dimensions D. 4,2 cm

Weight 8 gr

Material Bronze Covered Silver
Sheet

Acquisition Unknown

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating 5th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion. (The mark behind the object may indicate that it may have been a ring.)

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a coiling snake beneath the horse. A star and a crescent flanks the rider. There is an inscription on the left side of the rider. The scene is bordered with dots.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription ΥΓΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣ

Rv. Emended Υγεία χάρις

Rv. Translation Health Grace

Bibliography Köroğlu, Gülgün. "Silifke Müzesi'nden Erken Bizans Dönemine Ait Gümüş Tılsım." *Seleucia ad Calycadnum* 3 (2013): 81-99. (Dated to the Early Byzantine period.)

Parallels

C.10

C.21

Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 27. (Dated to the seventh century)

Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 168. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Walter, "Intaglio of Solomon", fig. 6.

Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 161. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments On the basis of iconography and the paleography of the inscription, the object is dated to the fifth to the seventh centuries.

The words, health and grace, were common in different visual media from Late Antique period such as the pavement decorations in baths and Early Byzantine marriage rings. For more information please see Chapter II.



Catalog ID 21

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 2,6 cm

Weight 5 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Late Antique

Description A circular medallion.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider on a reared up horse spears a coiling snake beneath the horse.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

C.10

C.20

Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 27. (Dated to the seventh century)

Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 168. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Walter, "Intaglio of Solomon", fig. 6.

Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 161. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments This object cannot be dated to a specific century since there are no indicators for dating except the image of the holy rider which was depicted throughout centuries.



Catalog ID 22

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 3,1 cm

Weight 14 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a missing hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a human figure beneath the horse. The scene is bordered.

Reverse Subject A standing archangel spears a half human-half serpent figure with a staff topped by a cross. The archangel holds an object with his left hand, probably a globe, in front of him. The scene is bordered.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

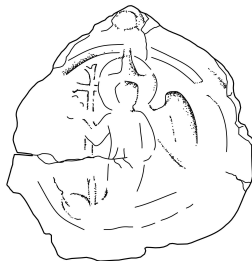
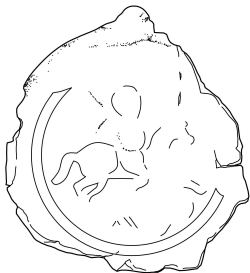
Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels	Pitarakis, <i>Life Is Short, Art Long</i>, no. 32 and 33. (Dated to the sixth and the seventh centuries) Matantseva, "Les amulettes byzantines", Pl. 14f. Ross, <i>Catalogue, Vol I</i>, no. 60. (Dated to the fourth and the fifth centuries)
Notes/Comments	The Archangel Michael appears in various versions of the Life of St. Sisinnios. In these medieval versions, the Archangel Michael fights against the female demon like St. Sisinnios. C.22 reflects this literary narrative with the combination of the images of the holy rider and the Archangel, both spearing a human figure.





C22



247

Catalog ID 23

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M11841

Dimensions D. 2,3 cm

Weight 6 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Mediterranean

Dating Late Antique

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a human beneath the horse. The scene is bordered.

Reverse Subject A haloed and standing human figure holds a rod with a snake coiled around it with his right hand and a tall staff topped by a cross with his left hand.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

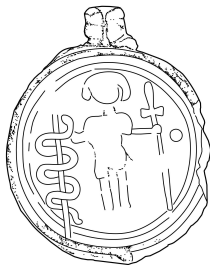
Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

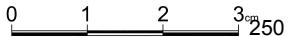
Parallels Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine", fig. 42. (Dated to the fifth century)
David Winton Bell Gallery, *Survival of the gods*, no. 49. (Dated to the third century)

Notes/Comments The rod with a coiled snake is one of the attributes of Greek god of healing, Asklepios. The image of Asklepios continued to be used in a magico-medical context during Late Antiquity. The depiction of a cross in this image must have been an attempt to Christianize the image of Asklepios for the continuation of its usage. The pairing of this motif with the image of the holy rider may have been for magico-medical purposes since the holy rider was frequently depicted on amulets for health such as C.16 and C.20.





C23



Catalog ID 24

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M9467

Dimensions D. 4,5 cm

Weight 27 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Jerusalem

Dating 12th century

Description A flask with a damaged neck.

Obverse Subject A haloed young saint with classical garments, possibly an apostle, holds an olive branch with his left hand and points to a place below with his right hand. On the right side of the saint, there is a building with two arches and a triangular roof topped by a cross. The scene is bordered by floral designs.

Reverse Subject The same image on the obverse appears on the reverse.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns: From Crusader Jerusalem to Byzantium". In Byzantine Religious Culture. Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2012. (Dated to the twelfth century)

Parallels

-

Notes/Comments The flask is dated to the twelfth century on the basis of the stylistic features of the vine scroll and the apostle.
The image of the apostle and the shrine on his left indicates the Holy Land as the provenance of the object. For more detailed study of the iconography please see Chapter II.



Catalog ID 25

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1855

Dimensions D. 3,4 cm

Weight 117 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Jerusalem

Dating 12th century

Description A flask with a neck and two handles.

Obverse Subject Three vases under three arches is at the center.

Reverse Subject The patriarchal cross is at the center.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography "New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns: From Crusader
Jerusalem to Byzantium". In Byzantine Religious Culture. Brill: Leiden,
Boston, 2012. (Dated to the twelfth century)

Parallels -

Notes/Comments The existence of the patriarchal cross referencing the True Cross and the vases as aniconic patterns, which became popular after the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in the twelfth century, suggests that the flask originated in Jerusalem.

The image of vases may have been a reference to the containers of divine manna, the miraculous food supplied by God to the Israelites. In the Christian context, manna was a symbol of Christ's divine nature and a prototype for the bread of the Eucharist. Thus, the vase should be considered as a vessel to contain his divine nature. The scene as a whole may indicate the sacrificial offerings to the Trinity.



Catalog ID 26

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M4363

Dimensions D. 3,6 cm

Weight 26 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Thessaloniki

Dating 12th-13th centuries

Description A flask with a missing neck.

Obverse Subject A military saint in bust form holds a shield with his right hand and a staff topped by a cross with his left hand. Letters are inscribed on the right side of the saint's head. The scene is bordered with crisscross lines.

Reverse Subject A female saint in bust form raises her arms in prayer. The scene is bordered with crisscross lines.

Ob. Transcription [Δ]ΗΜ[ΗΤΡΙΟΣ]

Ob. Emended Δημήτριος

Ob. Translation St. Demetrios

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

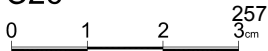
Parallels Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 203. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)
 Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," fig. 53. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)
 Totev, *Thessalonican Eulogia*, no. 19, 22, 23. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Notes/Comments This flask is a very typical example of the pilgrim flasks from the shrine of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki. Excavations in Peritheorion and Gratini in Thrace revealed similar lead pilgrim flasks presenting the iconographies of St. Demetrios in military attire, St. Theodora of Thessaloniki, and the Virgin. The pilgrim flasks from Gratini, were found with the coins of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) and the glazed pottery belonged to the thirteenth century. The pilgrim flask from Peritheorion is dated to the same period, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, due to the iconography of St. Demetrios and the pelography of the letters in the inscription.

The female saint on the reverse side of the object must be the Virgin Mary since in similar examples, the image of the Virgin Mary in orans accompanies the image of St. Demetrios.



C26



Catalog ID 27

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul, Inv. M5310

Dimensions D. 3,8 cm

Weight 28 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Thessaloniki

Dating 12th-13th centuries

Description A flask with a damaged neck and handles.

Obverse Subject A military saint in bust form holds a shield with his right hand and a staff topped by a cross with his left hand. Letters are inscribed on the both sides of the saint's head. The scene is bordered with crisscross lines.

Reverse Subject A female saint in bust form raises her arms in prayer. The scene is bordered with crisscross lines.

Ob. Transcription Α ΔΗΜ[ΗΤΡΙΟΣ]

Ob. Emended Άγιος Δημήτριος

Ob. Translation St. Demetrios

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

C.26.

Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 203. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)

Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," fig. 53. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)

Totev, *Thessalonican Eulogia*, no. 19, 22, 23. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Notes/Comments

For the discussion about the object's dating and the images depicted on it, please see the notes/comments section in C.26.





C27



260

Catalog ID 28

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul, Inv. M9468

Dimensions D. 3,1 cm

Weight 28 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Thessaloniki

Dating 12th-13th centuries

Description A flask with a long neck and handles.

Obverse Subject A female saint in orans pose.

Reverse Subject A very worn image of a saint.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels C.26
C.27

Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 203. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)

Bakirtzis, "Byzantine Ampullae from Thessaloniki," fig. 53. (Dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)

Totev, *Thessalonican Eulogia*, no. 26. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the object's dating, please see the notes/comments section in C.26.

The female saint in orans pose must be the Virgin Mary as it is on C.26 and C.27. Although it is difficult to observe and determine the sex or identity of the saint the other side of the object due to the state of the object, parallel examples show that this saint must be St. Demetrios.



Catalog ID 29

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul, Inv. M12005

Dimensions D. 5,8 cm

Weight 120 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast in two halves and soldered
together

Provenance Constantinople (Said to be
found)

Dating 14th century

Description A flask with a decorated neck.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary is in orans pose with the Child Christ depicted on her chest
in a medallion. There are letters on the both sides of her head.

Reverse Subject A saint with long hair on horseback carries a staff with his right hand.

Ob. Transcription Μ[Ρ ΘΥ]

Ob. Emended Μήτηρ Θεοῦ

Ob. Translation The Mother of God

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Pitarakis, B. "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades." In *Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent Anısına*, edited by A. Özaydın: Dünya Yayıncılık, 2008.
(Dated to the fourteenth century)

Parallels Hunger, "Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft", figs. 6-9. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
 Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, no. 127.
 Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 40. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth century)

Notes/Comments The cross-hatching decorations on the object's neck are a characteristic of lead flasks produced from the late eleventh to the fourteenth century.

This flask is said to have been found in Istanbul. If this information is accurate, this flask might have carried holy water or oil from a shrine in Constantinople. One such place was the Zoodochos Pege, a shrine with healing waters dedicated to the Virgin Mary. An iconographic type, called the Zoodochos Pege, which presented the Virgin and the Child Christ emerging from a fountain, appeared in the fourteenth century. This iconography displays similarities with the Blachernitissa iconography of the Virgin Mary: in both images, the Virgin Mary is in orans pose and the Child Christ is in front of her chest. Thus this image reveals a connection between the image of the Virgin Mary with the Child Christ in front of her and the shrine itself. C.29 may have been a flask that contained holy water from the shrine of the Zoodochos Pege.

The rider image on the obverse is identified as St. Christopher due to his long hair and the branches on his staff, which references one of the saint's miracles. The saint was often depicted at the entrance and apses of Cappadocian churches to ward off evils. His cult was also known to the inhabitants of Constantinople. He was celebrated in Constantinople in his martyrion near the church of St. Polyeuktos and in the church of St. George of Kuparissiou. Most importantly, from a symbolic perspective it was a rational choice to pair St. Christopher whose name meant "Christ-carrier" with the Virgin Mary who was also perceived as a vessel to carry the son of God. This also shows the Western influence on Byzantine art in Late Byzantine period since St. Christopher's cult was less renowned in the East than in the West.



C29



Catalog ID 30

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. M11589

Dimensions D. 2,9 cm

Weight 11 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Egypt (?)

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A standing female saint raises her arms in prayer. There are traces of two animals flanking the saint's foot. The scene is bordered.

Reverse Subject A standing male saint holds a staff topped by a cross with his left hand and is flanked by two animals with long necks. The scene is bordered.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

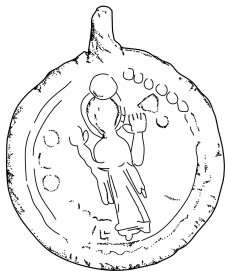
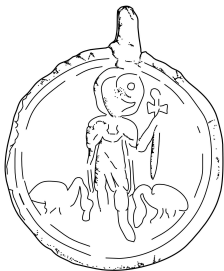
Metzger, *Les Ampoules*, no. 97. (Dated to the sixth century)
Anderson, "Menas Flasks in the West", fig. 1. (Dated to the seventh century)
Lazaridou, *Transition to Christianity*, no. 92. (Dated to the sixth century)

Notes/Comments

The animals flanking the male saint on the reverse resemble the camels that are illustrated on the pilgrim flasks from the shrine of St. Menas in Egypt with their long and bowed necks. The clay pilgrim flasks of the sixth and seventh centuries from the saint's shrine display the same imagery.

St. Menas was occasionally paired on the flasks with other figures and St. Thekla is the only female saint depicted with St. Menas on the flasks from Abu Mina. A closer look at C.30 shows that there were two figures flanking the female saint on the obverse, although they are almost invisible due to the corrosion on the object. St. Thekla was often depicted between two lions at her feet. The female saint on the obverse is likely St. Thekla.





C30



Catalog ID 31

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Denizli Museum,
Inv. 5803a

Dimensions H. 4,2 cm, W. 4,9 cm

Weight -

Material Lead

Acquisition Hieropolis Excavation, East
Necropolis, HNE08 Alan B, 2008

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Rome

Dating 13th-14th centuries

Description A badge with three hoops.

Obverse Subject Two male saints in bust form flank a cross. The saint on the right carries a sword over his right shoulder and holds a scroll on his left hand. The saint on the left carries a key over his left shoulder and holds a cross staff in his right hand. the scene is surrounded by a Latin inscription.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription + SIGNA APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAVLI

Ob. Emended + SIGNA APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI

Ob. Translation Sign of the Apostles Peter and Paul

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Ahrens, S. "A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges from Hierapolis of Phrygia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 84 (2012): 67-76. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Parallels Anderson, *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart*, 103. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges*, 249. (Dated to the thirteenth century)

Notes/Comments The pilgrim badges were a tradition of Western Christianity. However, this badge were found with two other badly preserved badges in a Roman family tomb in Hierapolis, Turkey. These are the only recorded pilgrim badges in the Eastern Mediterranean outside Jerusalem. It is possible that the owner of the badges came from Europe to Asia Minor to go to Jerusalem and when his pilgrimage was cut short due to his death, he was buried in Hierapolis with the badges.

Coins and metal finds show that there are burials in this tomb from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The political situation in Hierapolis narrows this period down for the dating of the badges. The pilgrimage should have taken place either in the second half of the thirteenth century when Turkish outpost in Hierapolis was given up for a short time or during the Catalan Conquest of Hermos Valley in 1304 which brought large flow of Christians to Asia Minor.

The inscriptions and the images on the badge indicate that C.31 came from Rome.

Catalog ID 32

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Denizli Museum,
Inv. 5803b

Dimensions H. 5 cm, W. 3,5 cm

Weight -

Material Lead

Acquisition Hieropolis Excavation, East
Necropolis, HNE08 Alan B, 2008

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Saint-Leonard-de-Noblat,
France

Dating 13th-14th centuries

Description A badge with three hoops.

Obverse Subject A male saint holds a book with his right hand and making a blessing gesture towards a naked figure who kneels and raises his arms in front of the saint. Two fetters are hung between them. An inscription is above the scene.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription SI: LEONARDI

Ob. Emended SIGILLUM LEONARDI

Ob. Translation Sign of St. Leonard

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Ahrens, S. "A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges from Hierapolis of Phrygia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 84 (2012): 67-76. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Parallels Anderson, *Pilgrismärken och vallfart*, 95-96. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
 Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges*, 232-233. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
 Ekre, *Pilgrim och vallfartsled: om medeltida vallfärder från och genom Lödöse*, 14. (Dated to the thirteenth century)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the object's dating, please see the notes/comments section in C.31.

The inscriptions and the images on the badge indicate that C.32 came from Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat in south-central France. Parallel examples which are found during excavations date to the thirteenth century.



Catalog ID 33

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Denizli Museum,
Inv 5803c

Dimensions H. 5,2 cm, W. 2,9 cm

Weight -

Material Lead

Acquisition Hieropolis Excavation, East
Necropolis, HNE08 Alan B, 2008

Manufacture Cast

Provenance The Shrine of Our Lady of
Rocamadour, France

Dating 13th-14th centuries

Description A badge with one hoop and three holes.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary with the Christ Child on her lap sits on a throne. The Virgin wears a crown and carries a lily scepter over her right shoulder. The scene is surrounded by an inscription.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription SIGILLVM: BEATE MARIE: DE ROCAMADOR

Ob. Emended SIGILLUM: BEATE MARIE: DE ROCAMADOR

Ob. Translation Seal of the Blessed Mary of Rocamadour

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

..... Ahrens, S. "A Set of Western European Pilgrim Badges from Hierapolis of Phrygia." *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti* 84 (2012): 67-76. (Dated to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries)

Parallels

Köster, *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln*, 66-68. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Anderson, *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart*, 95-96. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Bruna, *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes*, 96-97, nr. 100. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges*, 235. (Dated to the thirteenth century)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about the object's dating, please see the notes/comments section in C.31.

The inscriptions and the images on the badge indicate that C.33 came from the Shrine of Our Lady of Rocamadour in south west France.

Catalog ID 34

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 2, cm

Weight 7 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Syria (?)

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A rider spears a human figure beneath the horse. There is a cross on the left side of the rider.

Reverse Subject Two standing haloed figures flank a long structure topped by a triangular shape.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 298-303, and 310. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Sodini, "La terre de semelles", figs. 10-15. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments This long structure between the two figures most closely resembles the abstract representation of St. Symeon on his pillar. This type of representation of Symeon the Stylite was common in sixth- and seventh-century clay medallions from Syria. It is difficult to say whether the stylite saint on C. 34 is St. Symeon the Elder or the Younger. There are no inscriptions to identify the saint properly and both saints were depicted in this abstract form.

The iconography of St. Symeon the Younger often includes two haloed figures, his mother Martha and his disciple Conon, flanking the saint and his column. However, the two figures on C.34 are wearing short garments, which indicate that they are male. The other alternative is that they might be monks or supplicants who appear on other examples of St. Symeon tokens without haloes. I believe that the two figures were intended to follow the artistic theme of St. Symeon the Younger with Martha and Conon. However, such details as the length of the dress were overlooked, maybe due to the nature of mass production or a lack of expertise.



Catalog ID 35

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Istanbul Archaeological
Museums
Inv 75.222 (m)

Dimensions D. 4 cm

Weight 17 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase 09.04.1975

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Syria/Palestine (?)

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A medallion with three holes.

Obverse Subject Christ stands between John the Baptist on the right and an angel on the left. John the Baptist holds a staff with his left hand and stretches his right arm toward Christ's head. Above Christ's head, the Holy Spirit appears as a dove. The scene is bordered with dots.

Reverse Subject Two human figures face each other. Between them, there is a tall staff.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, nos. 8, 9, 10, 18. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Ross, *Catalog*, Vol 2, nos. 36, 37. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands," no. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 19. (Dated to the fourth to the seventh centuries)

Vikan, "Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium," fig. 30. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments

The scene on the reverse is likely the Annunciation with Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel. A closer look at the scene shows that the figure on the left has a wing. Thus, this figure must be the Archangel. The straight line between the Virgin Mary and the Archangel is the Archangel's staff, which was often depicted in the scene of the Annunciation.

This object resembles the pilgrim flasks from the Monza and Bobbio Collections in Italy although the scenes on C.35 are executed more crudely. The Christological cycle was a subject frequently depicted on these pilgrim flasks from the sixth-seventh centuries. Armbands and rings with the cycle of Christ were also created during the same period in Syria/Palestine.

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Muğla Museum,
Inv. 2919

Dimensions D. 3,9 cm

Weight 20 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Beybağ Sounding, 07BBS07,
Kurtarma Kazısı

Manufacture Struck

Provenance Antioch

Dating 538-539 AD

Description A perforated coin.

Obverse Subject A beardless emperor in military dress wears a crown with pearls and carries an orb topped by a cross with his right hand and a triangular shield with his left hand. The shield is decorated with the image of the holy rider spearing an enemy. A cross is depicted on the left side of his head. An inscription crowns the figure.

Reverse Subject The letter M is topped by a cross and two letters remain below it. A Latin word and Latin numbers flank the M.

Ob. Transcription DNIVTINIANVSPPAV

Ob. Emended Dominus Noster Justinianus Perpetuus Augustus

Ob. Translation Our Lord Justinianos Everlasting Augustus

Rv. Transcription Two letters: Θ Ο
Latin Word: ANNO

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation Latin Word: Year

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Mary Margaret Fulghum, "Coins Used as Amulets in Late Antiquity", in *Between Magic and Religion: Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and Society*, ed Sulochana R. Asirvatham, et al (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 139-147.

Notes/Comments

The inscription on the obverse identify the emperor as Justinian. The letter M on the reverse is for the coin's denomination which is 40 nummi. These show that this coin is a follis of Justinian I. The letters Θ and O on the reverse show where the coin was struck. In the sixth century, Antioch was called Theoupolis, a name assumed after the earthquake in 528. ANNO and XII show the year of Justinian's reign when this coin was struck which was the twelfth year of his reign, 538-539 AD.

The coin came from a layer which had material dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The hole on the coin and the later dating of the level from which it came indicate that the coin was a keepsake that had spiritual instead of a monetary value. The image of a rider spearing an enemy on the shield of Justinian was likely a protective symbol for the wearer of this object.

Catalog ID 37

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions H. 2,5 cm, W. 2,1 cm

Weight 7 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating Early Byzantine Period

Description A medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A standing archangel carries a staff topped with a cross in his right hand and an orb in his left hand. The scene is bordered.

Reverse Subject Four lines of a worn inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription + O KATOIKWN EN BOHTI

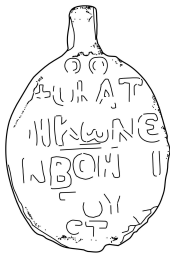
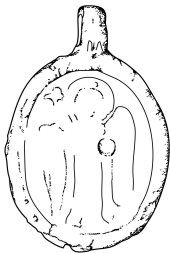
Rv. Emended Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ (τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)

Rv. Translation Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High will rest in the shadow of the shadow of the Almighty.

Bibliograph Unpublished

Parallels Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 238. (Dated to the Early Byzantine period)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 585. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments The inscription on the reverse is Psalm 90 (91). It was frequently depicted on various media such as medallions, armbands, and architectural elements originated from Syria and Palestine since it was believed to be apotropaic. These examples with the psalm date to the Early Byzantine period.



C40



Catalog ID 38

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Denizli Museum,
Inv. 4601

Dimensions H. 3,5 cm, W.1,8 cm

Weight 6 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and engraved

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider spears a figure beneath the horse. The spear is topped by a cross.

Reverse Subject Four lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription + O KATYKON

Rv. Emended Ὁ κατοικῶν (ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)

Rv. Translation Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High will rest in the shadow of the Almighty.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 168. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Maguire, *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 136. (Dated to the fourth to the seventh centuries)
Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 165. (Dated to the sixth century)

Notes/Comments For the discussion about Psalm 90 (91), please see the notes/comments section in C.37.

The parallel examples which combine the image of the holy rider and Psalm 90 (91) are traditionally dated to the sixth and seventh centuries and originated from Syria/Palestine.



Catalog ID 39

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 1,8 cm

Weight 2 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A medallion with a missing hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed rider holding a spear topped by a cross. The missing part of the object must have been showing the figure beneath the horse.

Reverse Subject Two lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription + Ο ΚΑΘΗΚΝ

Rv. Emended Ὁ κατοικῶν (ἐν βοήθειᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ)

Rv. Translation Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High will rest in the shadow of the Almighty.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels C.38
Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 168. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Maguire, *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 136. (Dated to the fourth to the seventh centuries)
Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, 165. (Dated to the sixth century)

Notes/Comments The letters in the reverse are placed arbitrarily, and the last register of the inscription is missing. However, the context and the letters themselves demonstrate that this is the first word of Psalm 90 (91).

For the discussion about Psalm 90 (91) and the dating of the object, please see the notes/comments section in C.37 and C.38.



Catalog ID 40

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location İstanbul Archaeological Museums, Inv. 76.83(m)

Dimensions D. 3,6 cm

Weight 33,6 gr

Material Gilded Bronze

Acquisition Confiscation 04.05.1976

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating 11th-12th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hole.

Obverse Subject A young male saint with abundant hair carries a spear with his right hand and a shield with his left hand. There are letters identifying the saint on either side of his head.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription Α ΓΕΡΩ

Ob. Emended ἅγιος γεώργιος

Ob. Translation Saint George

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Seibt and Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel*, fig. 3.3.8 and 5.3.2. (Dated to the eleventh century)

Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 2. (Dated to the twelfth century)

Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 111. (Dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries)

Buckton, et. al., *The Treasury of San Marco*, no.1 9. (Dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments

On the basis of iconography and the paleography of the inscription, C.40 can be dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The object has neither hoop nor decoration on its reverse. This kind of objects may have primarily been designed to be nailed to other objects such as processional crosses, icon frames or intaglios. Since the hole on the C.40 is to the right of the saint's head and this is an awkward place to put a nail, C.40 cannot be a fitting. There are similar bronze medallions without hoops dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These medallions are thought to be inexpensive versions of expensive objects such as cameos and stone carvings. It is also considered that they may have been dies to make impressions on sheets of metal. It is difficult to determine the specific purpose of these objects. Nevertheless, the hole on C.40 indicates that as well as its original purpose C.40 may have been used as a pendant and a portable icon due to its religious iconography.

Catalog ID 41

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location İstanbul Archaeological Museums, Inv. 76.84m

Dimensions D. 3,5 cm

Weight 20,52 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Confiscation 04.05.1976

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating 11th-12th centuries

Description A roundel.

Obverse Subject A haloed saint with a long and pointy beard in bust form holds a codex with his left hand and makes a blessing gesture with his right hand. The saint's garments indicate that he is an apostle. The scene is surrounded with a border.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bilderwerke*, no. 6592. (Dated to the eleventh centuries)

Ćurčić and St Clair, *Byzantium at Princeton*, no. 62. (Dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries)

Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 234. (Dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries)

Notes/Comments

The saint's large forehead, long beard, and the codex in his left hand indicate that he is John the Theologian. There are few Byzantine small objects that bear a sole image of St. John. However, St. John was frequently represented on reliquary crosses and in the pendentives beneath the domes of churches, together with the other evangelists.

For the discussion about the function and dating of this object, please see the notes/comments section in C.40.



Catalog ID 42

Obverse Image

Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1854

Dimensions D. 2,7 cm

Weight 8,4 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Early Byzantine Period

Description A medallion with two hoops on the sides.

Obverse Subject A vase with two handles and a vine growing out of it is flanked by two birds.

Reverse Subject Two standing angels face each other and hold a tall cross between them.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 639 and 655. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Dalton, *East Christian Art*, fig. LIX. (Dated to the sixth century)
Ross et al., *Catalogue Vol I*, no. 119. (Dated to the seventh century)
Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, no. 598. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries)
Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*, no. 141. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments

The vine growing out of a vase is a symbol of fertility that was employed not just by Christians, but also Greeks, Romans, and Jews. The motif was used in Early Christian floor mosaics along with the representations of various animals. The Christian interpretation of this symbol might be a vivid hope for eternal life and salvation. The vine was also used as a literary image for Christ in the Gospel of John.

The object's reverse features an image of the adoration of the cross, a scene frequently depicted on Early Byzantine objects. This scene with the angels may symbolize the heavenly protection.

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1718

Dimensions D. 2,6 cm

Weight 10,1 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast and engraved

Provenance -

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular button with a complete hoop on its back.

Obverse Subject Six lines of inscription are surrounded by a herringbone patterned border.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription + ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ ΣΟΛΟΜΟΝ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟ ΦΟΡΟΝΤΙ

Ob. Emended + σφραγίς Σολομών βοηθεί τῷ φορόντι

Ob. Translation Seal of Solomon, help the wearer.

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 461. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Grünbart, *Gold und Blei*, 139.

Notes/Comments This object belongs to the domain of objects which bear inscriptions referring the narrative of Solomon. As this group objects and parallel examples, this button is also dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.

The function of this object is not precisely known. Buttons in sets which fasten two sides of a garment were not started to be used until the Late Byzantine period. However, these objects with hoops, which belong to the Early Byzantine period, might have sown on the garments as ornaments and weights.



Catalog ID 44

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Fethiye Museum,
Muğla Inv. 1062

Dimensions D. 2,9 cm

Weight 10 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and engraved

Provenance -

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular button with a broken hoop.

Obverse Subject Four lines of inscription is surrounded by a border of dots.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription + ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΟ ΦΟΡΟΥΝΤΗ

Ob. Emended + κύριε βοηθεί τῷ φορούντι

Ob. Translation Lord help the wearer.

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

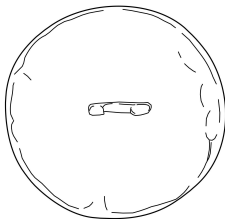
Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels -

Notes/Comments For the dating and function of this object, please see the notes/comments section in C.43.





C44





Location	Istanbul Archaeological Museum, Inv. 7201 (m)	Acquisition	Purchase
Dimensions	H. 2,6 cm, W. 3,2 cm	Manufacture	Cast
Weight	7,24 gr	Provenance	Syria/Palestine
Material	Lead	Dating	Early Byzantine Period

Description A rectangular pendant with two hoops.

Obverse Subject A haloed figure in bust form tops a cross. This is flanked by two haloed and crucified human figures.

Reverse Subject Four registers of inscription written in retrograde.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription + O KATIKON [E]N BOITIA TOY IΨICTOY ICXC POICAPE

Rv. Emended Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου Ἰησοῦς Χριστός --

Rv. Translation Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High (will rest in the shadow of the Almighty) Jesus Christ --.

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, fig. 14. (Dated to the seventh and sixth centuries)
Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, nos. 14 and 15. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments The image on the obverse is the symbolic representation of the Crucifixion of Christ which is commonly depicted on the sixth-and-seventh-century pilgrim flasks from Monza and Bobbio Collections. Scenes from the Christological cycle are illustrated along with Psalm 90 (91) on the armbands from Syria/Palestine.

The inscription on the reverse is written in retrograde. This practice was used to enhance the magical power of the words.



Catalog ID 46

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions D. 2,2 cm

Weight 4 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Early Byzantine Period (?)

Description A medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject A haloed standing male saint carries a long object with his left hand and raising his right arm in prayer. Letters are on the both sides of the saint's head.

Reverse Subject Four lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription ΑΓΙΟ ΓΙΟ[---]

Ob. Emended Άγιος Γιό[---]

Ob. Translation Saint (?)

Rv. Transcription ΑΓΙΟ [-----] ΒΟΗΘΕΙ

Rv. Emended Άγιος [-----] Βοήθει

Rv. Translation Saint (?) Help

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels -

Notes/Comments The image and inscriptions on the objects cannot be observed due to the damage. Only the parts of the prayer asking for help from the saint is visible.



C46



Catalog ID 47

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Çorum Museum,
Inv. 580

Dimensions D. 7,2 cm

Weight -

Material Composite, Painted with
Silver

Acquisition Confiscation, 05.10.1968

Manufacture Embossed

Provenance -

Dating 11th century-12th centuries

Description A roundel.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary in bust form raises her arms in orans pose. Her name is written on both sides of her head. The scene is bordered with a pearl design.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription ΜΡ ΘΥ

Ob. Emended Μητηρ Θεοῦ

Ob. Translation The Mother of God

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke*, no. 6592. (Dated to the eleventh century)
Buckton, et. al., *The Treasury of San Marco*, no. 9. (Dated to the ninth and tenth centuries)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 217. (Dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries)
Vassilaki, *Mother of God*, fig. 144. (Dated to the eleventh century)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 701. (Dated to the Middle Byzantine period)
Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 42. (Dated to the tenth century)

Notes/Comments

This iconography of the Virgin Mary indicates a Middle Byzantine dating for C.47. A round copper roundel which is dated to the eleventh century and bears the image of St. John the Evangelist from Bode Museum in Berlin has a striking resemblance to C. 47 regarding the style of the object. On the basis of this similarity and the iconography of the Virgin Mary, C.47 is dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

C.47 appears to be a personal icon or an applique on another object due to its larger size and weight. The attention paid to details on C.47 and the fact that it is gilded with silver indicate that this object may have been commissioned by an individual who had selected the subject ahead of time.

Catalog ID 48

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul

Dimensions H. 2,1 cm, W. 1,9 cm

Weight 2 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Early Byzantine Period

Description A medallion in lead shape with a hoop.

Obverse Subject Standing Virgin Mary holds the Child Christ on her left side. They are flanked by censors. The scene is surrounded by a decorative border.

Reverse Subject A standing haloed female raises a crown with her right hand, and holds a palm branch with her left hand. The scene is surrounded by a decorative border.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels -

Notes/Comments The lamps, which are similar to the lamps depicted on the obverse, was suspended in front of the icons of Christ and the Virgin Mary, over the altar, and under the dome in Byzantine churches. Oil from the lamps, hung over the tombs or icons of saints, was believed to be healing and collected by the pilgrims. Thus, the lamps in C.48 might refer to a holy shrine related to the cult of the Virgin Mary.

The crown and the palm branch, which are depicted on the reverse, were used in classical art as symbols of victory, which was personified by the goddess Nike. This symbol continued to be depicted on the artistic media from the Early Byzantine period such as the Barberini Ivory. In Christianity, the symbols of the crown and the palm branch were adopted as attributes of martyrs. They were used to represent the victory of martyrs who maintained their loyalty to the true faith while being tortured and were granted entrance to the Heavenly Kingdom. Thus, the image on the reverse of C.48 of a female holding a crown and a palm branch, the attributes of victory, might depict a female martyr although it is difficult to speculate about the precise identity of the saint.

Catalog ID 49

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Bursa Museum,
Inv. 4564

Dimensions H. 3,7 cm, W. 2,4 cm

Weight 8 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Early Byzantine Period

Description A rectangular medallion.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary standing under an arch holds the Child Christ on her left side. The scene is bordered.

Reverse Subject -

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Wamser, <i>Die Welt von Byzanz</i>, nos. 645, 658, and 733. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries) Wamser and Zahlhaas, <i>Rom Und Byzanz</i>, no. 337. (Dated to the seventh and eighth centuries) Stiegemann, <i>Byzanz</i>, no. IV.9. (Dated to the seventh century)
Notes/Comments	This object was possibly a pendant with a hoop which is missing now. The representation of this image, which emphasizes the figures' silhouette, resembles the Virgin's pre-iconoclastic representations in which the Virgin Mary embraces the Child Christ and seeks physical contact. This iconography can be also observed on the jewelry belonged to sixth and seventh centuries.



Catalog ID 50

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1853

Dimensions H. 1,9 cm, W. 2,6 cm

Weight 11,1 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating Early Byzantine Period

Description A rectangular medallion with two hoops.

Obverse Subject Two crosses, one depicted on the other, are inside of a circle. On four corners, there are four stars.

Reverse Subject Three lines of inscription.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription ΨΥΛΑΚΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΑΠΟ [-----]

Rv. Emended φυλακτήριον από [-----]

Rv. Translation Phylactery from [-----]

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels

Spier, *Late Antique and Early Christian Gems*, no. 142. (Dated to the fourth century)
Stiegemann, *Byzanz*, no. IV.60. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)
Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 583. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments

The symbol on the obverse is a Chi-Rho without a Rho. It is very commonly depicted in Early Byzantine artistic media, especially jewelry.

The inscription on the reverse could have determined the provenance of this object, but unfortunately the last word of the inscription is unintelligible.



Catalog ID 51

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Tekirdağ Museum,
Inv. 2323

Dimensions D. 3,4 cm

Weight 16 gr

Material Bronze

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast and engraved

Provenance -

Dating 12th-14th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a missing hoop and a finial on the bottom.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary in bust form raises her arms in prayer and the Child Christ in front of her.

Reverse Subject A styled cross inside of a square and aniconic decorations around it.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

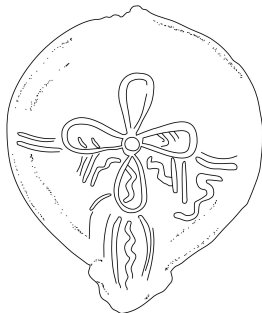
Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Evans and Wixom, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 134. (Dated to the twelfth century)
Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux*, no. 110. (Dated to the end of twelfth century)
Seibt and Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel*, fig. 3.1.12. (Dated to the thirteenth century)

Notes/Comments The iconography with the Virgin Mary raising her arms in prayer and the Child Christ hovering over her chest in a medallion became popular in the Middle Byzantine period. This image is often called *Blachernitissa* after a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary housed in the monastery of the Blachernai Church in Constantinople. This icon may have had the image of the Virgin Mary with the Child Christ in front of her chest in a medallion. C.51 reflects the features of this iconography from the Palaeologan period where the frontal flap of the Virgin's mantle, or *maphorion*, is used as a semicircular outline to support the figure of the Child Christ in bust form.

The image on the other side, cross formed of four petals and superimposed upon a square, also confirms the Palaeologan dating. This type of crosses are presented on the Palaeologan coinage.





C51



312

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Rezan Has Museum,
Istanbul Inv. 1626

Dimensions H. 5 cm, W. 4, 3 cm

Weight 12,7 gr

Material Silver

Acquisition Donation

Manufacture Cast and engraved

Provenance Syria/Palestine

Dating 6th-7th centuries

Description A circular medallion with a hoop.

Obverse Subject The upper part of the obverse has a haloed rider spearing a figure beneath the horse and in front of the horse there is an angel. The inscription above the angel's right wing identifies him as the Archangel Michael. Beneath the left wing of the archangel, there are two unidentified haloed figures in bust form. This scene has an inscription beneath it. Under this inscription, there is a monogram on the right side. Next to the monogram, large portion of the surface is chipped. A bird, a scorpion, an inscription of three letters, and a cross monogram are visible. All these images are surrounded with another inscription.

Reverse Subject The Lord's Prayer is written on the surface in eleven registers and the area surrounding the registers. The prayer starts with the surrounding area and then continues with eleven registers.

Ob. Transcription Surrounding inscription:
+ O KATYKON EN BΩHA TOY YΨICTOY E[IN C]KEPI TOY ΘY TOY OYPANO
Inscription in the middle: CΦP[AGI]C COLOMON
Inscription above the angel: MIXAIΛ
An unintelligible monogram
Inscription above the bird: ΠΙΟ
A cross monogram with the letters: ΣΡΛ

Ob. Emended	Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Ὑψίστου, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σφραγίς Σολομών Μιχαήλ An unintelligible monogram πίνω ΣΡΛ: Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
Ob. Translation	Whoever dwells in the shelter of the Most High will rest in the shadow of the Almighty. Solomon's Seal Michael An unknown monogram I drink Monophysite Trisagion: Holy God, Holy almighty, Holy immortal, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us.
Rv. Transcription	[ΠΑ]ΤΗΡ ΗΜΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ [ΑΓΙΑ]ΣΤΙΤΟ ΤΟ ΩΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΕΛΘΑΤΟ Ι ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ ΣΟΥ ΓΕΝΙΘΙΤΟ ΤΟ ΘΕΛΙΜΑ ΣΟΥ ΟΣ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΙΣ ΓΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΤΟΝ ΗΙΜΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΟΥΣΙΟΝ [ΔΟΣ Η]ΜΙΝ ΣΙΜΕΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ Α[ΦΕΣ ΗΜΙ]Ν ΤΑ ΨΕΛΙΜΑΤΑ [ΗΜ]ΟΝ ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΜΙΣ ΑΦΙΟΜΕΝ ΤΥΣ ΟΦΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΙΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΣΙΝΙΚΙΣ ΙΜΑΣ.
Rv. Emended	Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς.
Rv. Translation	Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation.
Bibliography	Unpublished
Parallels	Matantseva, "Les Amulettes Byzantines", Pl. 14. Stiegemann, <i>Byzanz: Das Licht aus dem Osten</i>, IV. 6. (Dated to the seventh century.) Papanikola-Bakirtzis, <i>Everyday Life in Byzantium</i>, no. 732. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.) Pitarakis, "Magie, Santé, Piété Privée", figs. 6 and 7. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.) Wamser, <i>Die Welt von Byzanz</i>, no. 653. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries) Stiegemann, <i>Byzanz</i>, no. IV.55. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries) Hadzidakis, "Un anneau byzantin", figs. 1-4. (Dated to the fifth and sixth centuries) Pitarakis, <i>Life Is Short, Art Long</i>, no. 33. (Dated to the sixth and seventh centuries)

Notes/Comments This medallion is closely related to the amulets with the imagery of the holy rider and the archangel which are dated to the sixth and seventh centuries. Moreover, the existence of the animals motifs, the names of Solomon and the Archangel Michael, and Psalm 90 (91) which are commonly depicted on the amulets from Syria/Palestine support this dating.

On the obverse, there is a cruciform monogram, ΣΡΛ, which is an abbreviation for a prayer that can be found on different jewelry from the early Christian period. The meaning of the monogram is associated with the numeric value of its letters, known as isopsephy. The value of these letters, 6130, is equal to the isopsephy of the Monophysite Trisagion which appears on different objects from Syria/Palestine. On the reverse, the Lord's prayer is inscribed on the surface in eleven registers and in the area surrounding the registers. It rarely appears on this kind of amulets although it is a common occurrence on wooden and clay tablets and papyri. The various protective images and prayers are combined together to galvanize the protective power of the object.

The careful execution of the inscriptions and the precious metal of the object indicate that this object may have been commissioned for a certain person. If the damaged monogram on the obverse is indeed a private name, it is also an evidence which supports this conclusion.

Catalog ID 53

Obverse Image



Reverse Image



Location Haluk Perk Collection,
Istanbul Inv. 3912

Dimensions H. 3,2 cm, W. 2,5 cm

Weight 10 gr

Material Lead

Acquisition Purchase

Manufacture Cast

Provenance -

Dating 11th-14th centuries

Description A rectangular plaque.

Obverse Subject The Virgin Mary in half-length holds the Child Christ on her right arm and extends her left hand towards Christ. Christ makes a gesture of blessing with his left hand and probably holding a scroll with his right hand.

Reverse Subject A tall cross.

Ob. Transcription -

Ob. Emended -

Ob. Translation -

Rv. Transcription -

Rv. Emended -

Rv. Translation -

Bibliography Unpublished

Parallels Chatzidakis, "A Byzantine icon of the *dexiokratousa*", 27.11. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Weitzmann, *The Icon*, Pl. 32. (Dated to the thirteenth century)
Chatzidakis, Hosios Loukas, fig. 32. (Dated to the eleventh century)
Pentcheva, Icons and Power, fig. 45. (Dated to the eleventh century)

Notes/Comments This iconographical type is known as *dexiokratousa* (right-handed), a variant of Virgin Hodegetria. In this image, the Virgin holds the Child on her right arm instead of her left arm and the Child Christ holds a scroll in his left hand and blesses with his right or at times vice versa. Even though the Child Christ is almost unobservable on C.53, the traces of his hands indicate that this scene follows the well-known iconography, which became popular in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods.



APPENDIX B:

FIGURES



Fig. 1: Lamella, 3rd century, Gold, 4.2 × 2 cm. The Paul J. Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Image Source: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/9214/unknown-maker-lamella-roman-3rd-century/?artview=dor74742>



Fig. 2: Amulet, 3rd-4th century, Jasper and gold, diam. 2.1 cm. Numismatic Museum, Athens, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 722.



Fig. 3: Amulet, 6th-7th century, Silver plated copper. Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, Image Source: Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantines anciennes", no. 1).



Fig. 4: Amulet, 6th-7th century, Copper alloy, 3.45 x 3.7 cm. Benaki Museum, Athens, Image Source: Deniz Sever.



Fig. 5: Hystera Amulet, 12th century, Silver, diam. 6.6 cm. Benaki Museum, Athens, Image Source: Deniz Sever.



Fig. 6: Justinian I's Coin, 6th century, Bronze, diam. 3,9 cm. Muğla Museum, Muğla, Image Source: Deniz Sever.



Fig. 7: Justinian I's coin, 6th century, Bronze. Private Collection, Image Source: Fulghum, "Coins Used as Amulets", figs. 8.1 and 8.2.



Fig. 8: Pilgrim Flask, 12th-13th century, Lead, diam. 4. Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 203.



Fig. 9: Encolpion-Reliquary of St. Demetrius, 13th century, Gold and enamel, diam. 3,75. British Museum, London, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, no. 201.



Fig. 10: Figurine of a Woman, 5th century, Painted plaster, 38.4 x 14.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Image Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/12.185.4/>



Fig. 11: St. Orestes, 11th century, Wall painting. Karanlık Kilise, Cappadocia, Image Source: Pitarakis, “Objects of Devotion and Protection”, fig. 8.8.



Fig. 12: St. Aaron the Anchorite, 10th century, Wall Painting. Faras Cathedral, Sudan, Image Source: Michałowski and Gerster, *Faras*, no. 46.



Fig. 13: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th century, Pewter alloy, diam. 4,6. Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, Italy, Image Source: Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza.



Fig. 14: Armband, 6th-7th century, Silver. Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, Image Source: Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands", fig. 10.

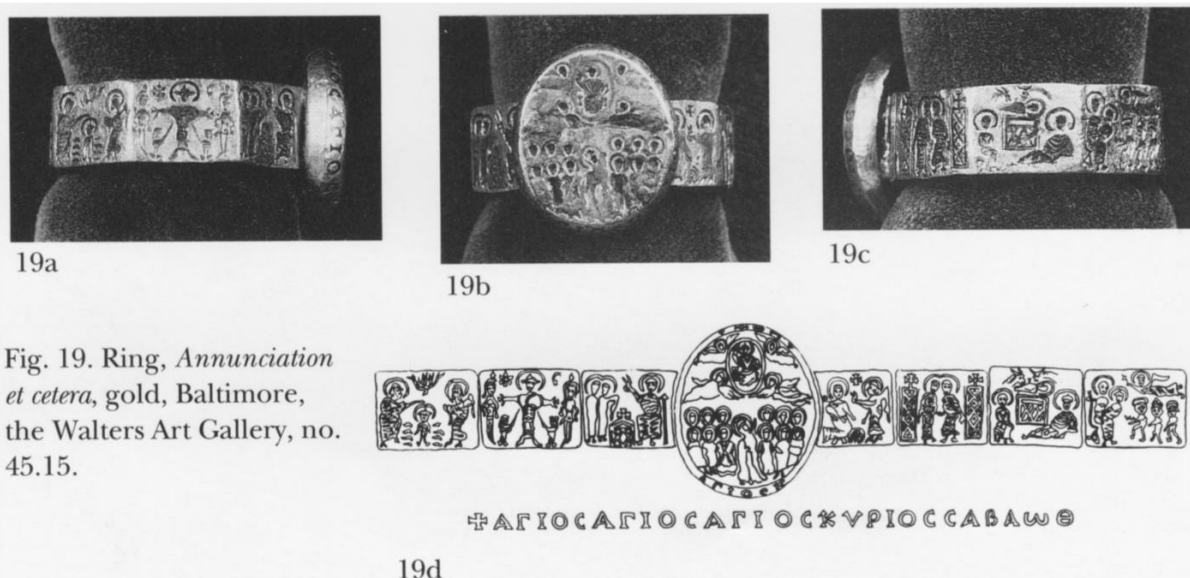


Fig. 15: Marriage Ring, 6th-7th century, Gold and niello. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Image Source: Vikan, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands", fig. 19.



Fig. 16: Intaglio, 6th-7th century, Hematite and silver, 5 x 3.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Image Source: <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.491/>



Fig. 17: Amulet, 11th-12th centuries, Lead, diam. 4.2 cm. İstanbul Archaeology Museums, İstanbul, Image Source: Deniz Sever.



Fig. 18: Medallion, 12th century, Silver, diam. 7.4 cm. National Museum of the History of Ukraine, Kiev, Image Source: Evans, *The Glory of Byzantium*, no. 204.



Fig. 19: Plaquette of St. John Prothomos, 11th-12th century, Bronze, diam. 3.2 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, Image Source: Ross, *Catalogue Vol. I*, no. 62.



Fig. 20: A scene depicting supplicant Maria with St. Demetrius (on the right), Watercolor by W. S. George, 1908-1909. British School at Athens, Image Source: The British Council, Ο Ναός του Αγίου Δημητρίου, 75.



Fig. 21: Coin of Antoninus Pius, 2nd century, Bronze. Image Source: Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, pl. 3.10.



Fig. 22: Sts. Theodore and George, 11th century, Wall painting. Yusuf Koç Kilise, Cappadocia, Image Source: Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 28.



Fig. 23: Amulet, 6th-7th centuries, Bronze, 3,8 X 2,8 cm. El-Jish, Israel, Image Source: Israel Antiquities Authority's official website: <http://www.antiquities.org.il>



Fig. 24: St. Sisinnios, 6th-7th centuries, Wall painting. The Monastery of Apa Apollo, Bawit, Egypt, Image Source: Pitarakis, "Bizans'ta Büyü", fig. 7.



Fig. 25: The Evil Eye, 2nd century, Floor Mosaic. Antioch, Image Source: Levi, "The Evil Eye and the Lucky Hunchback", fig. 121.



Fig. 26: Rings, 10th-11th centuries, Silver and Copper alloy, diam. 2.1 cm and 2.7 cm. Archaeological Museum, Corinth, Image Source: Papanikola-Bakirtzis, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, nos. 660 and 661.



Fig. 27: Amulet, 11th -12th centuries, Lead, diam. 4,6 cm. Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Image Source: Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane*, no. 621.



Fig. 28: Portrait, 2nd century, Encaustic on wood. British Museum, London, Image Source: Walker, *Ancient Faces*, no. 91.



Fig. 29: Necklace with a Medallion, 2nd century, Gold. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Image Source: Stefanelli, *L'oro Dei Romani*, no. 198.



Fig. 30: Intaglio, 3rd-4th centuries, Green Quartz and Silver, 1,8 X 1 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Image Source: Pitarakis, *Art of Healing*, no. 24.



Fig. 31 and 32: Rings, 6th-7th centuries, Silver and Bronze, diam. 2 and 2,4 cm. Sammlung C.S., Munich, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 645 and 658.



Fig. 33: Seal, 7th century, Lead. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C., Image Source: Pentcheva, "The 'activated icon'", fig. 17.2.



Fig. 34: Seal, 11th century, Lead. Fogg Art Museum, Massachusetts, Image Source: Pentcheva, "The 'activated icon'", fig. 17.3.



Fig. 35: Coin with the images of the empresses Zoe and Theodora, 11th century, Gold, diam. 2, 5 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., Image Source: Pentcheva, “Rhetorical Images of the Virgin”, fig. 1.



Fig. 36: Pendant with the Image of St. Thekla, 5th-6th centuries, Gold, 2,6 X 1,7 cm. Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, Image Source: Lazaridou, *Transition to Christianity*, no. 93.



Fig. 37: Pilgrim Token, 6th-7th centuries, Clay, diam. 2 cm. Sammlung C.S., Munich, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, no. 310.



Fig. 38: Pilgrim Token of St. Symeon the Younger, 10th-11th centuries, Lead, diam. 5,7 cm. Private Collection, Image Source: Verdier, "A Medallion of St. Symeon", fig. 6.



Fig. 39: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th centuries, Pewter alloy, diam. 6 cm. Museum and Treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, Italy, Image Source: Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, no. 2.



Fig. 40: Pilgrim Flask, 6th-7th centuries, Pewter alloy. The Abbey of St. Columbanus, Bobbio, Image Source: Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, no. 18.



Fig. 41: Sts. George and Christopher, 18th century, Wall painting. The Church of St. George of Arpera, Cyprus, Image Source: Walter, *The Warrior Saints*, fig. 42.



Fig. 42: Lid of a Medicine Box, 5th century, Ivory. The Cathedral of Chur, Zurich, Image Source: Hendrickson, "Magic, Medicine", fig. 42.



Fig. 43: Cameo, 6th-7th centuries, Agate, 2,66 X 2,12 cm. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington D.C., Image Source: Kirin, *Sacred Art, Secular Context*, no. 11.



Fig. 44: Lamp, 6th-7th centuries, Silver. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Image Source: Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, no. 13.



Fig. 45: Procession of Female Martyrs, 6th century, Mosaic. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Image Source: David, *Eternal Ravenna*, fig. 157.



Fig. 46: Procession of Male Martyrs, 6th century, Mosaic. Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Image Source: David, *Eternal Ravenna*, fig. 157.

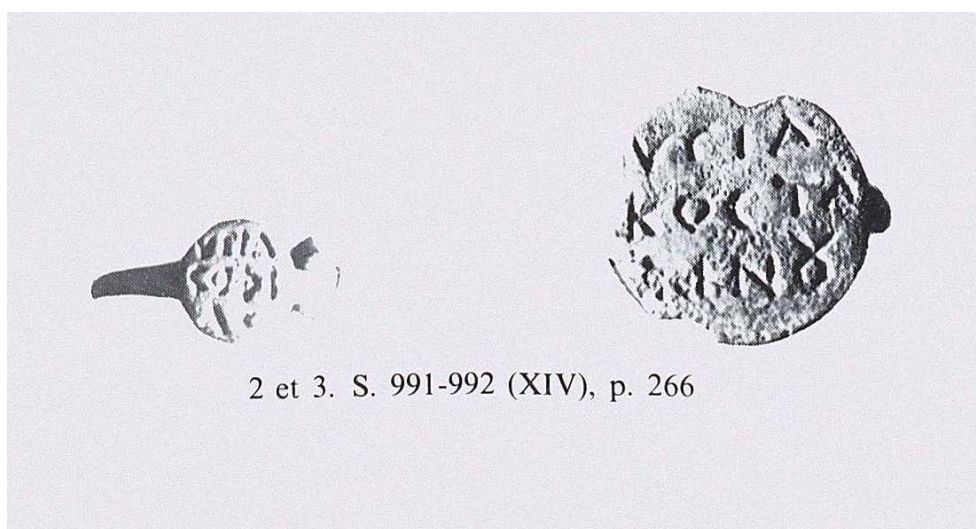


Fig. 47: Rings, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, PL. XXII, no. 2 and 3.

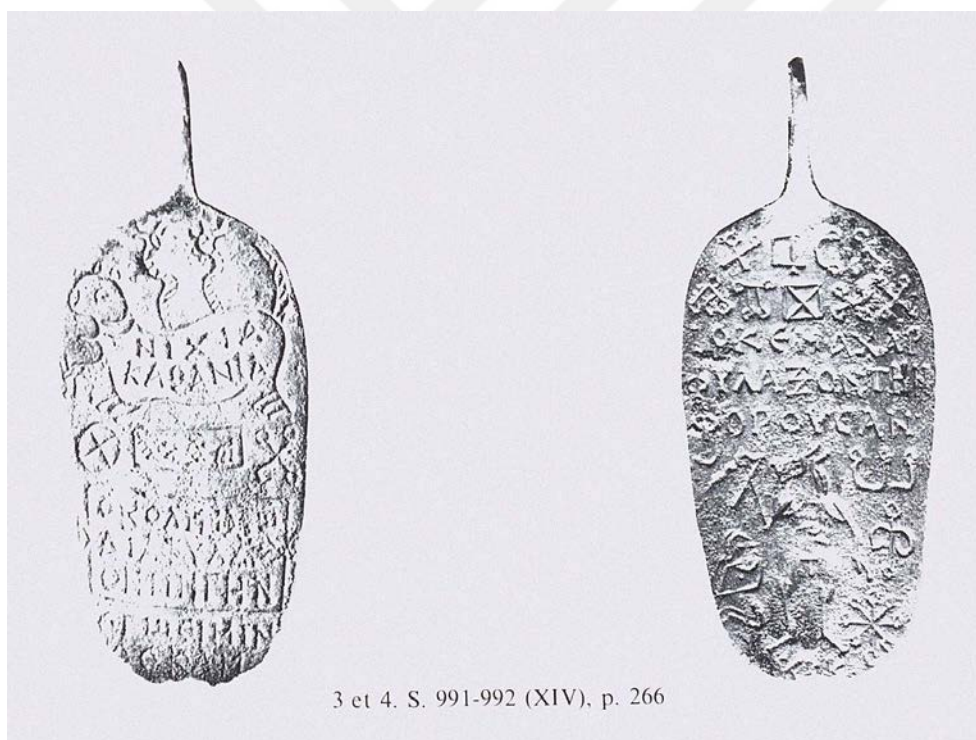


Fig. 48: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr*: 4, PL. XLVI, no. 3 and 4.

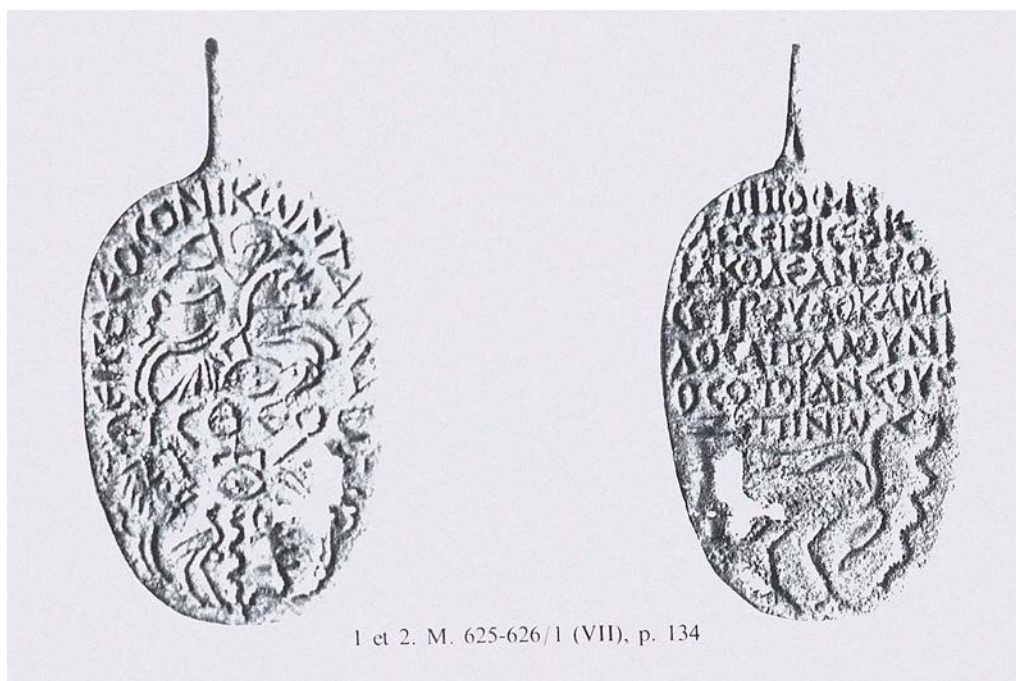


Fig. 49: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVI, no. 1 and 2.



Fig. 50: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVIII, 1 and 2.

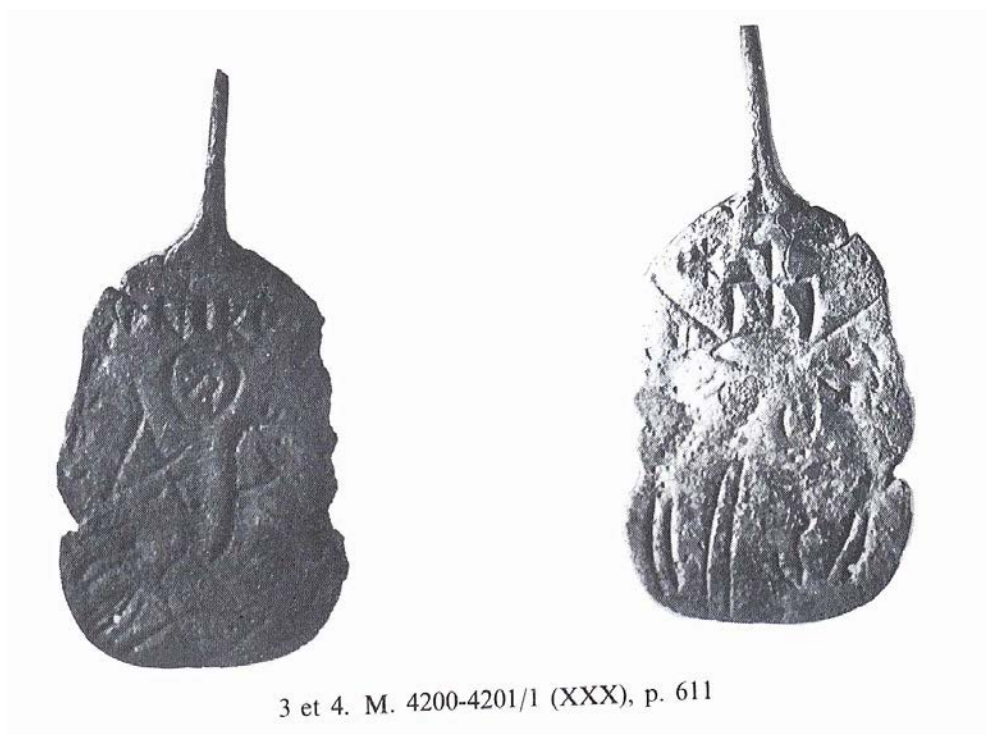


Fig. 51: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVII, no. 3 and 4.



Fig. 52: Medallion, Late Antique, Bronze. Necropolis of Tyre, Lebanon, Image Source: Maurice H. Chéhab, *Fouilles De Tyr: 4*, PL. XLVII, no. 1 and 2.

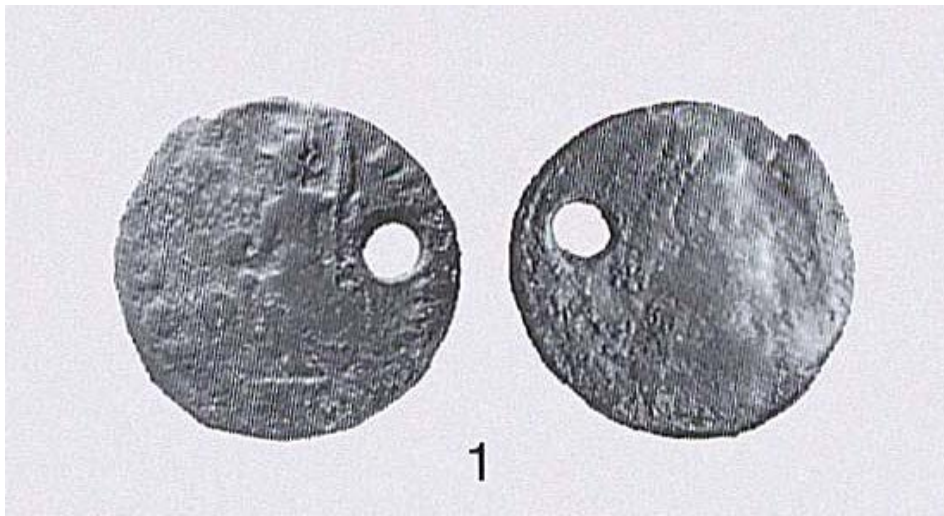


Fig. 53: Pierced Coin, 4th century, Bronze, diam. 1,8 cm. Bet Shemesh, Jerusalem, Image Source: Seligman, "Late Hellenistic and Byzantine Burial Caves", fig. 20.1.

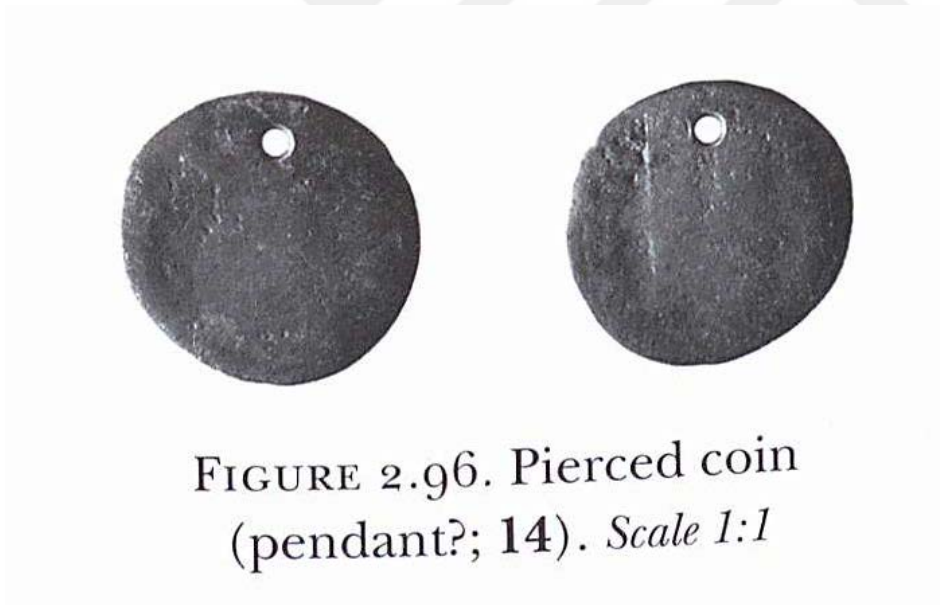


Fig. 54: Pierced Coin, 4th century, Bronze. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Rife, *Isthmia IX*, 108, fig. 2.96.



Fig. 55: Small Icon, 12th-13th centuries, Steatite, L. 4,7 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Morgan, "Excavations at Corinth", fig. 11.



Fig. 56: Medallion, Copper, Middle Byzantine Period. Acropolis, Athens, Image Source: Παπαευθυμίου, "Το Ασκληπιείο των Αθηνών", 101.



Fig. 57: Medallion, 11th century, Copper Alloy. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Hanfmann, "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis", fig. 31.

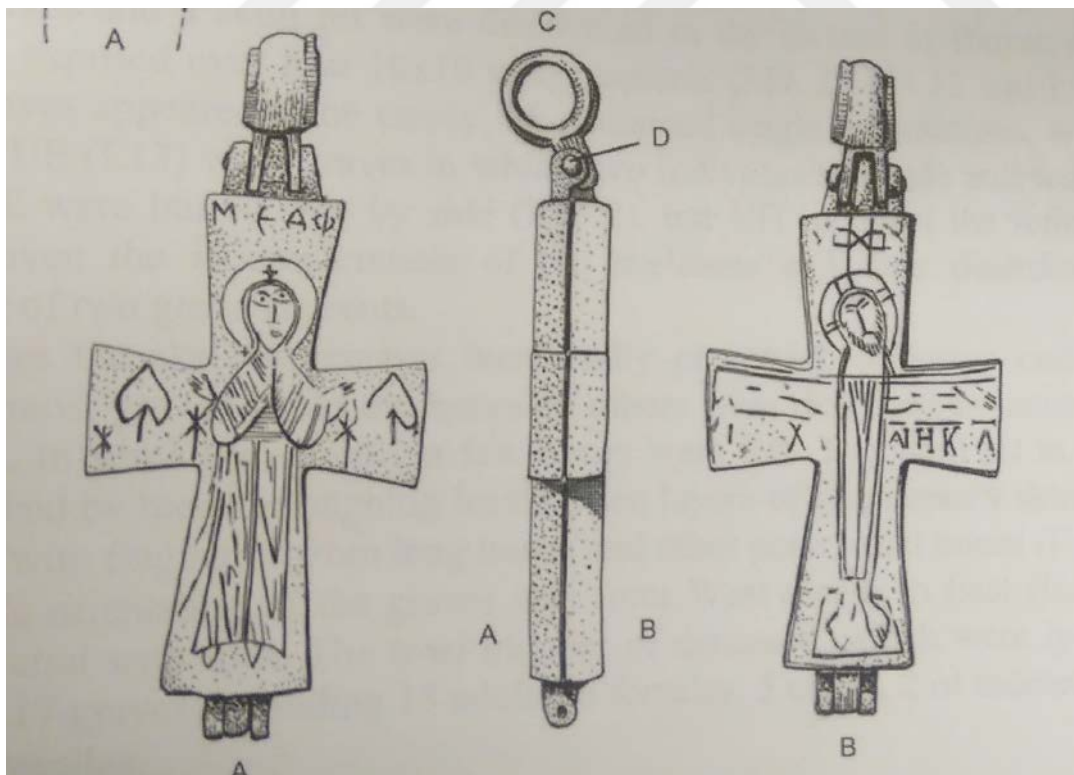


Fig. 58: Reliquary Cross, 11th century, Bronze. Barçın Höyük, Turkey, Image Source: Rosenberg, "The Byzantine graveyards", fig. 14.



Fig. 59: Pilgrim Flask, 12th century, Lead, diam. 3,8 cm. Kadıkalesi, Turkey, Image Source: Mercangöz, “Kuşadası, Kadıkalesi”, fig. 6.

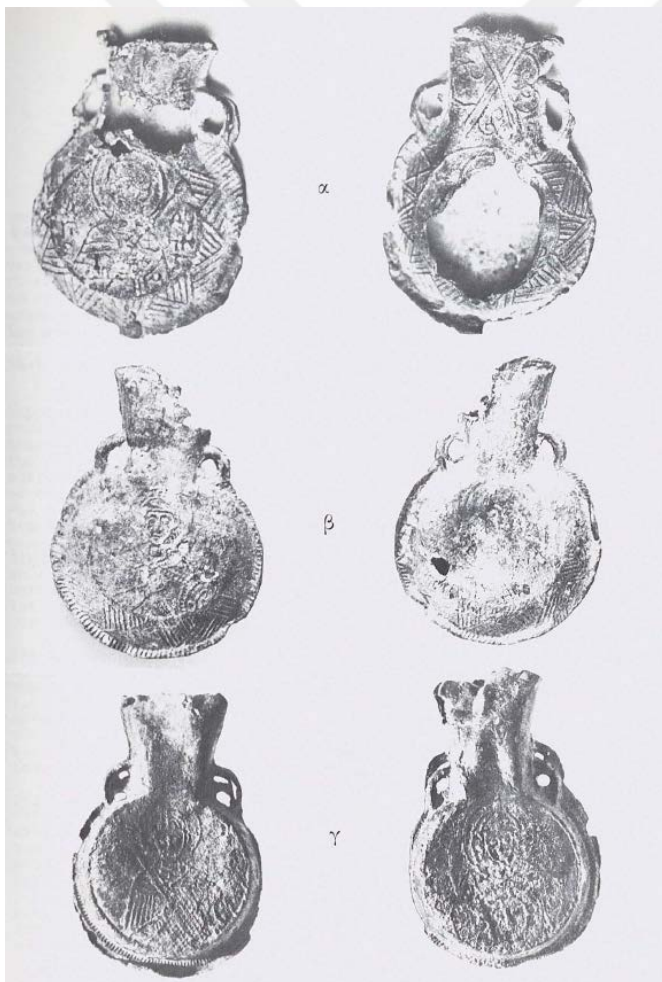


Fig 60: Pilgrim Flask, 12th and 13th centuries, Lead, diam. 5-6 cm. Peritheorion and Gratini, Greece, Image Source: Bakirtzis, “Κουτρούβια μύρου από τη Θεσσαλονίκη”, 529.



Fig. 61: Pilgrim Flask, 12th and 14th centuries, Lead, diam. 4,8 cm. Çanlı Kilise, Turkey, Image Source: Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 268.



Fig. 62: Small Icon, Late Byzantine Period, Painted Wood. Çanlı Kilise, Turkey, Image Source: Ousterhout, *A Byzantine Settlement in Cappadocia*, fig. 270.

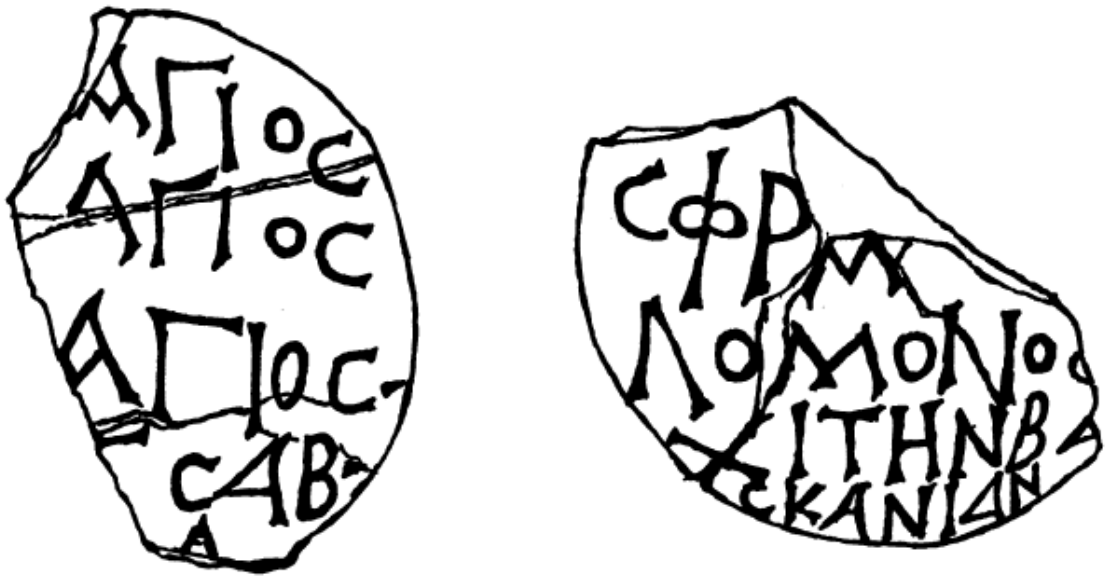


Fig. 63: Medallion or Token, 6th and 7th centuries, Glass Paste. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, fig. 4.



Fig. 64: Discs, 6th and 7th centuries, Copper. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, figs. 5-6.

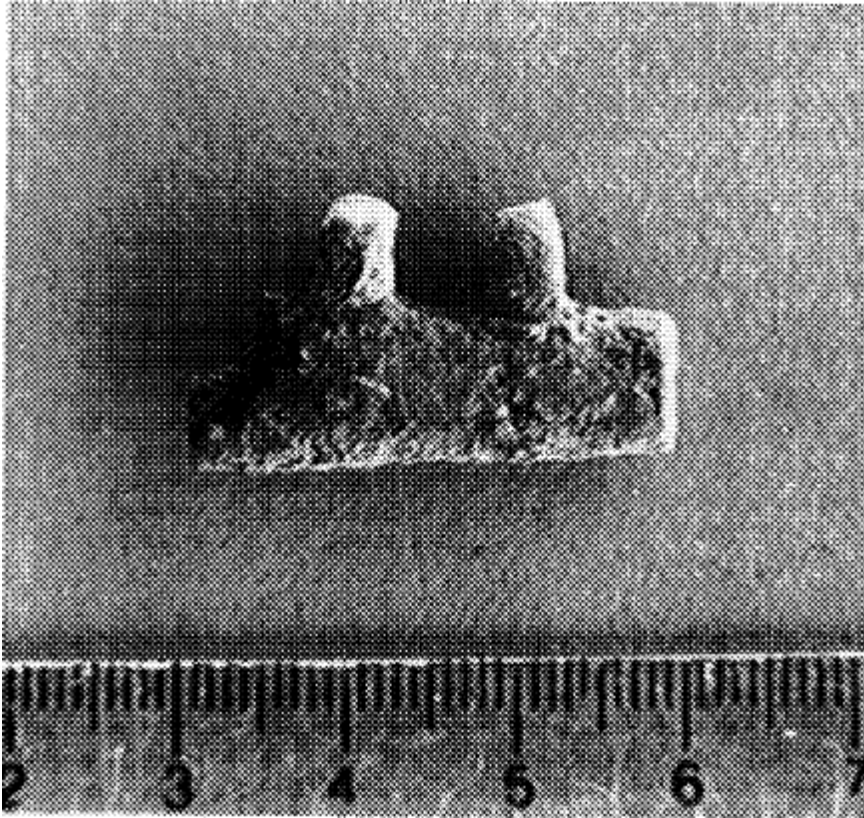


Fig. 65: Tubular Container, Late Antique, Bronze. Anemurium, Turkey, Image Source: Russell, “The Archaeological Context of Magic”, fig. 9.



Fig. 66: Medallion, 6th and 7th centuries, Copper. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 10.a.



Fig. 67: Medallion, 4th and 6th centuries, Copper. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 10.b.

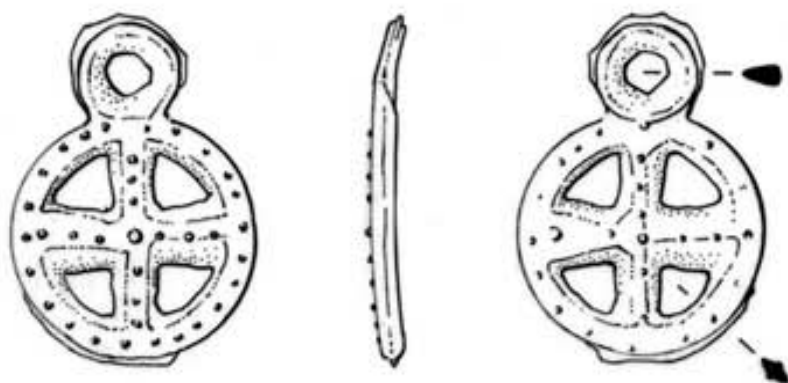


Fig. 68: Medallion, 5th century, Bronze. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 10.d.

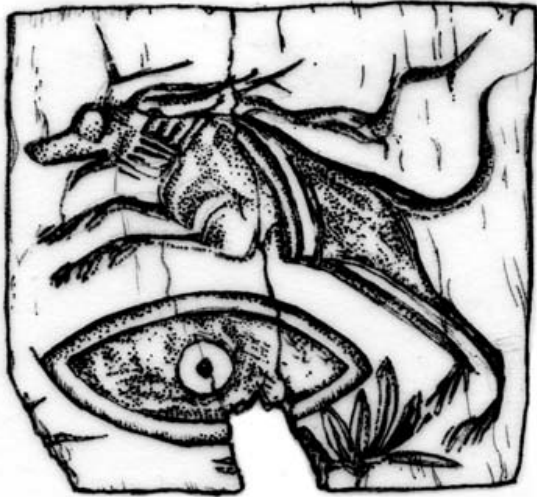


Fig. 69: Plaque, 5th century, Bone. Butrint, Albania, Image Source: Mitchell, “Keeping the Demons”, fig. 11.d.



Fig. 70: Pilgrim Tokens, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, diam. 3-4 cm. Beth She'an, Israel, Image Source: Rahmani, “Eulogia Tokens “, figs. 1, 3, 5, 6.



Fig. 71: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, W. 4 cm. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Hanfmann, "The Eighth Campaign at Sardis", figs. 12-13.



Fig. 72: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta. Sardis, Turkey, Image Source: Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, fig. 155-156.

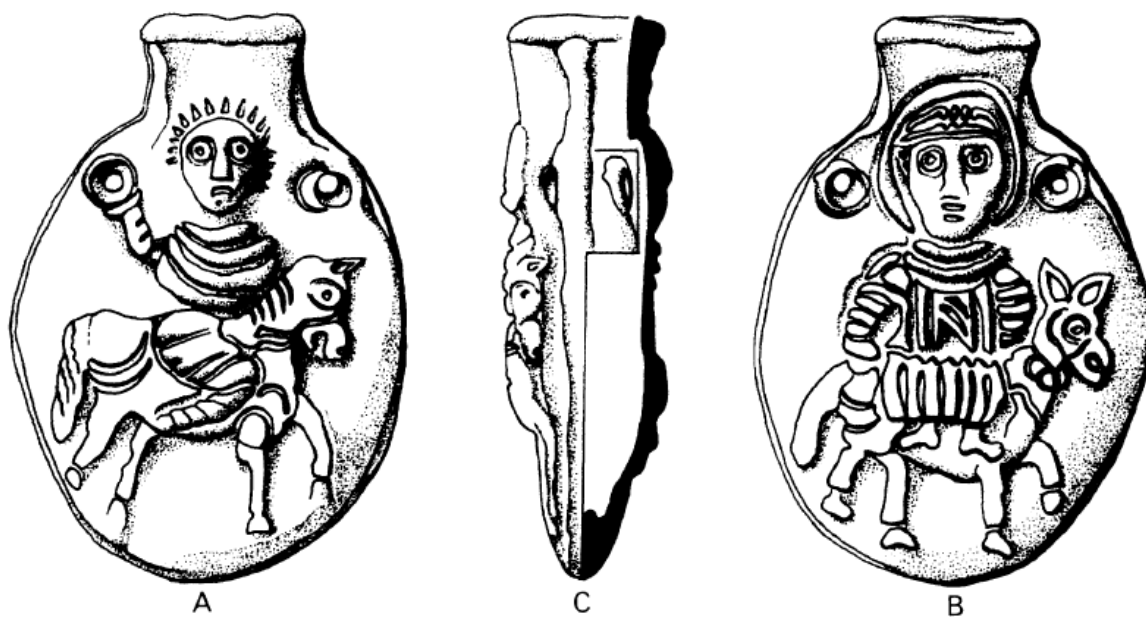


Fig. 73: Pilgrim Flask, 6th and 7th centuries, Terracotta, 7,6 X 4,7 cm. West of Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, Image Source: Maeir and Strauss, "A Pilgrim Flask of Anatolian Origin", fig. 1.



Fig. 74: Ring Bezel, 10th and 11th centuries, Bronze, diam. 2,3 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Deniz Sever



Fig. 75: Ring, 10th and 11th centuries, Silver, diam. 2,1 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Deniz Sever

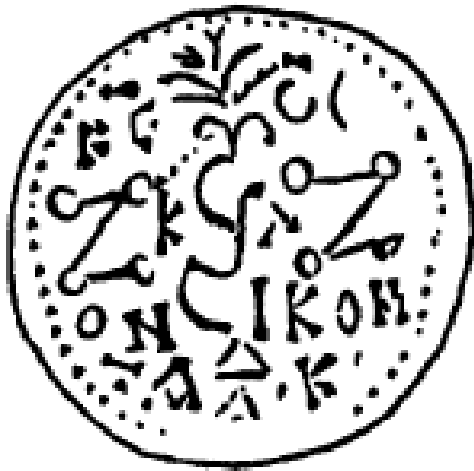


Fig. 76: Ring, 10th and 11th centuries, Bronze, diam. 2,1 cm. Corinth, Greece, Image Source: Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, no. 1953, Fig. 51.



Fig. 77: Inscription, Late Antique. Miletus, Turkey, Image Source: Cline, "Archangels, Magical Amulets", fig. 3.



Fig. 78: Nativity, 13th century, Wall Painting. Omorphi Ekklesia in Aigina, Greece, Image Source: Foskolou, "The Virgin, the Christ-Child", fig. 21.1.

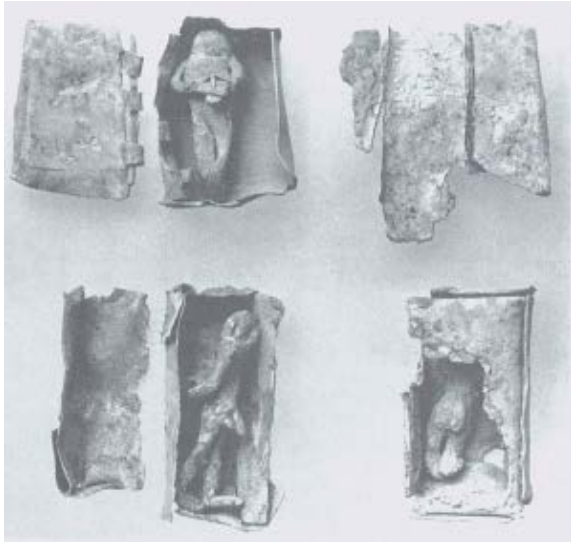


Fig. 79: Figurines in Miniature Coffins, 5th century BC, Lead. Kerameikos, Athens, Image Sources: Gager, *Curse Tablets*, Fig. 3.

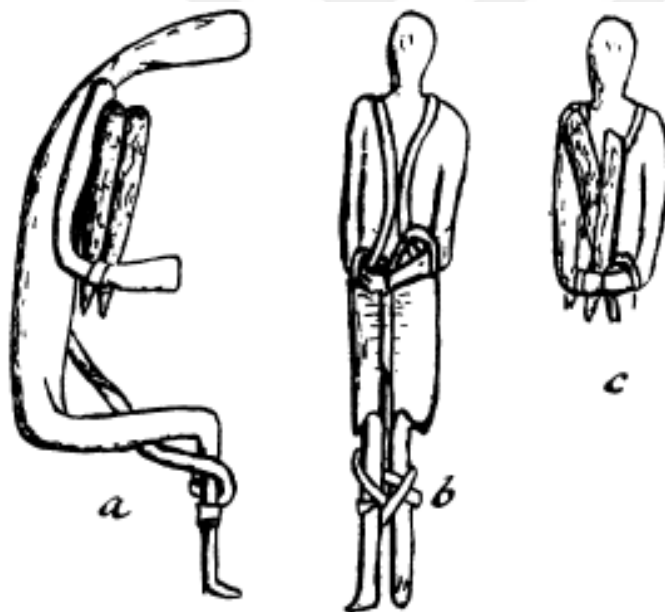


FIG. 2.

Fig. 80: Figurines, Lead. Tell Sandahannah, Jerusalem, Image Sources: Wright, "Exploration and Discovery", Fig. 2.



47: L



48: L

Fig. 81: Two Coffins, 3rd century AD, Lead. Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, nos. 47-48, Pl. 24.



Fig. 82: Short Side of a Coffin, 3rd century AD, Lead. Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 73, Pl. 36.

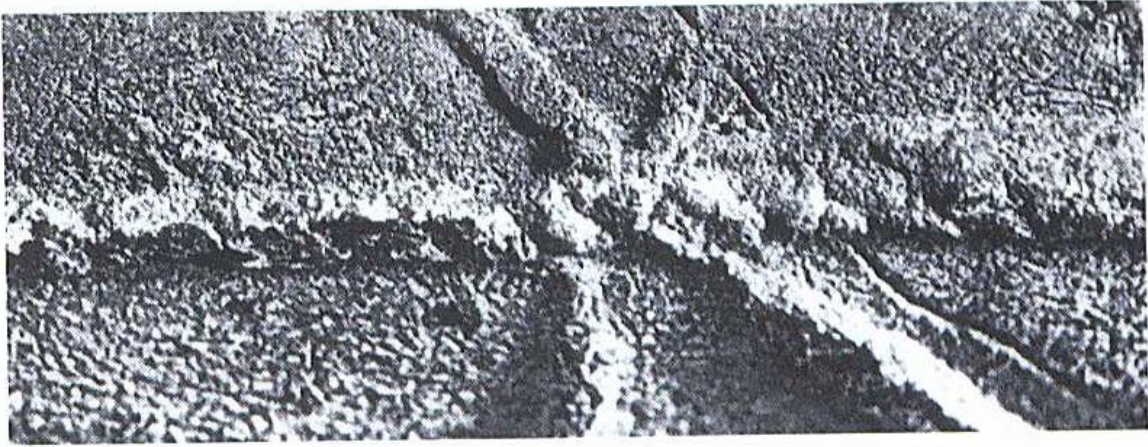


Fig. 83: Detail from a Coffin, 3rd century AD, Lead. Southern Judea, Palestine, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, fig. 14.



Fig. 84: Detail from a Coffin, 3rd – 4th century AD, Lead. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Image Source: White, “The Eschatological Connection”, fig. 15.

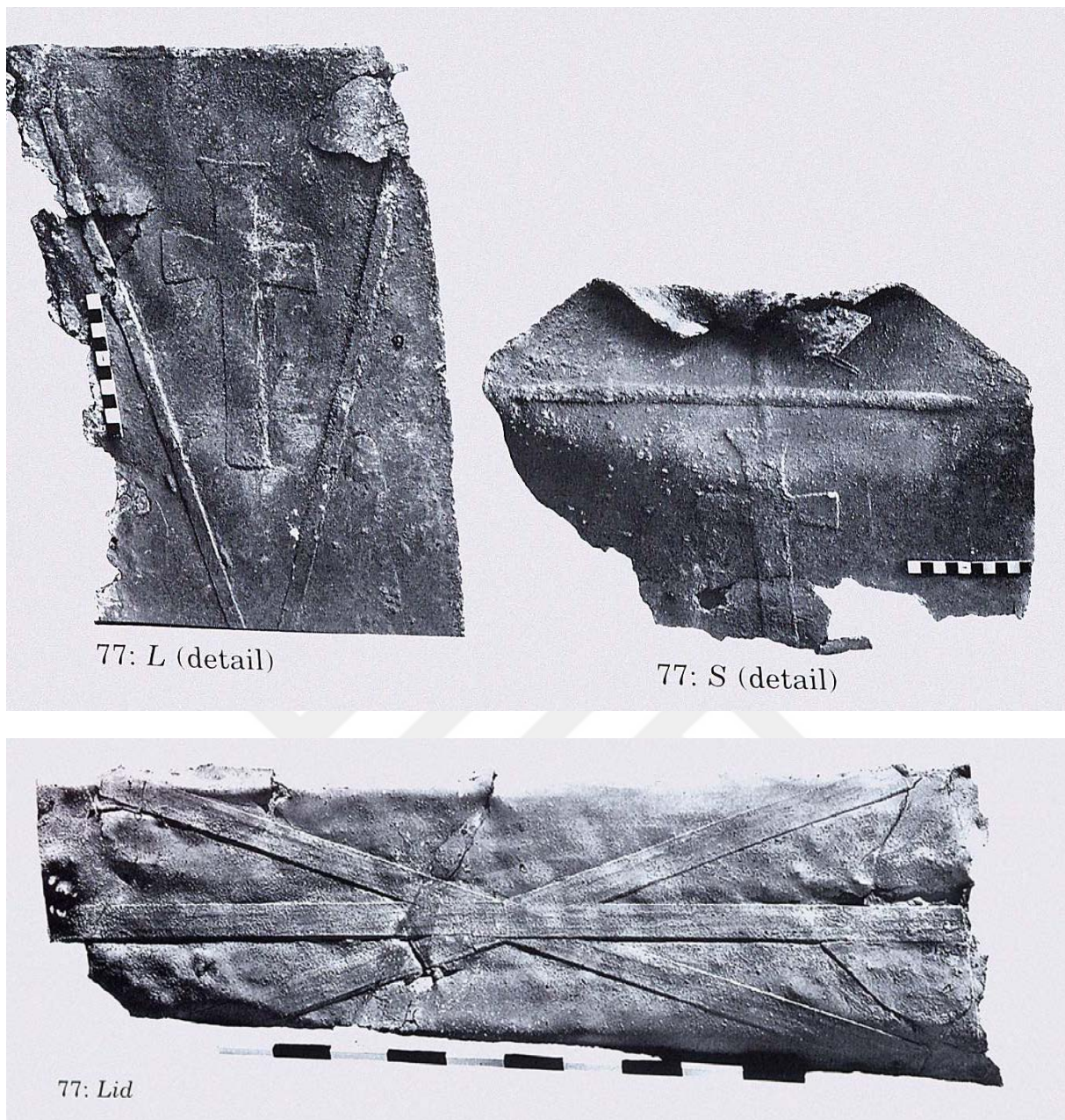


Fig. 85: Details from a Coffin, 4th century AD, Lead. Near Syrian Orphanage, Jerusalem, Image Source: Rahmani, *A Catalogue*, no. 77, Pl. 38.



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30, 32, 48, 52)

Fig. 86: Medallion, 10th-12th centuries, Lead, diam 4,3 cm. St Petersburg, State Hermitage, Image Source: Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", no. 9.



Fig. 87: Medallion, 11th-12th centuries, Gold. St Petersburg, State Russian Museum, Image Sources: Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and Their Tradition", Pl. 6a.



Fig. 88: Medallions, 6th-7th centuries, Lead, 4,7 X 2,8 and 3 X 2,7 cm. Palestine, Image Source: Wamser, *Die Welt von Byzanz*, nos. 273-275.



Fig. 89: Flask, 12th century, Lead, 4,6 cm. Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, Stiftung der Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Image Source: Pitarakis, "Lead Flasks and Pilgrimage after the Crusades", fig. 2.



Fig. 90: Flask, 13th century, Lead. Acre, Israel, Image Source: Syon, "Souvenirs from the Holy Land", fig. 1.

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