

A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora

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Es gibt zwar zweifelsohne noch sehr viele klassische Philologen und Kulturforscher, die es absonderlich finden, dass man solchen abstrusen Dingen Zeit und Arbeit opfere. Aber gewiss muss die Forschung das Inferno der Magie und des ganzen Zauberwesens durchwandeln, damit einmal der Kulturforscher des Altertums die Richtungslinien der religiösen Entwicklung scharf und sicher zu ziehen imstande sei. Man mag es vielleicht bedauern, aber es geht nun einmal nicht anders.

S. Eitrem (*Gnomon* 3 [1927] 176)

DEFIXIONES, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will. They became popular in the fifth century B.C. and continued in use in Mediterranean lands until at least the sixth century of our era. These inscriptions, of which some 1,100 examples have come to light, provide our best continuous evidence for the practice of magic in the millenium from classical times to the close of antiquity.¹ Around the beginning of this century two special corpora of defixiones appeared, compiled by R. Wünsch in 1897 and by A. Audollent in 1904.² Wünsch's edition included 220 Attic lead curse tablets, all in Greek. Audollent, intending his volume to complement Wünsch's, drew on the whole Greek and Roman world and included the texts not only of the remaining Attic and other Greek tablets known to him but also those inscribed in Latin and other ancient languages; his corpus comprises 305 examples. K. Preisendanz has presented the general bibliography of defixiones up through the third decade after the two corpora,³ and

¹ The best general discussion of defixiones and their importance is †K. Preisendanz's fundamental "Fluchtafel (Defixio)," *RAC* 8 (1972) 1–24.

² For references see n.7 *infra*.

³ "Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln," *ArchP* 9 (1930) 119–54 and 11 (1933) 153–64. At 9.119 Preisendanz announced that he was undertaking to compile a corpus of defixiones that had appeared since Audollent's volume, a project that never came to fruition. He had a set of reprints of his bibliography especially interleaved and

useful compilations and lists of Latin tablets not included in Audolent's corpus have appeared.⁴ No one, however, has produced a systematic checklist of Greek defixiones not included in either of the two corpora, although (or perhaps because) the Greek tablets are much more numerous than the Latin, they span a longer period, and they generally give us more diverse information about the development of ancient magical and religious beliefs. In the hope that such a list will make it easier for those interested in defixiones to gain a better view of the subject, I present here a catalogue of all the Greek examples known to me—over 650 in number—that do not appear in either Wünsch's or Audolent's corpus.

A word to excavators. With very few exceptions, defixiones are found, rolled up into scrolls or folded into small packets, in tombs, in chthonic sanctuaries, or in what were once underground bodies of water. Scanty references in ancient literature form the basis for the theory that when defixiones were deposited in graves, it was in order to invoke the *ἄωποι*, the 'untimely', who were buried there; these were persons who had died, whether through foul play or not, before what was thought to be their proper times and who were believed to have to wait in their graves—presumably with the opportunity to wander at night and to harm whomever the defixiones named—until their allotted years had passed and their souls could find rest.⁵ In only a very few cases, however, has it been possible to test this theory, for the ages of skeletons with which defixiones have been found are seldom reported and the burials are seldom adequately described; but in these few cases—*e.g.* a child's grave of the late fifth century B.C. in the Athenian Kerameikos, a young man's grave of the Roman imperial period near Corinth, a young person's burial of the fourth or fifth century A.D. at Ballana in Nubia, and children's sarcophagi of *ca* A.D. 400 at Rome⁶—suggest that the theory may be correct. Excavators can substantially increase our knowledge of the use of defixiones and our understanding of this area of ancient superstition about the dead if, when they find defixiones in burials, they examine the meth-

until at least 1963 added, on the interleaves, references to new publications concerning defixiones. I am deeply grateful to A. Henrichs for generously providing me with photocopies of Preisendanz's annotated reprints; they have been invaluable.

⁴ By M. Besnier, *RevPhil* 44 (1920) 5–30; E. García Ruiz, *Emerita* 35 (1967) 55 n.1; and H. Solin, *Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia* (=CommHumLitt 42.3 [1968]) 23–31.

⁵ For a summary treatment of the 'prematurely dead' in whose graves the defixiones were deposited see J. H. Waszink, *RAC* 2 (1954) s.v. "Biothanati."

⁶ Respectively pp.157, 167, and 187 *infra*, and R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig 1898) 3.

od and furniture of burial and the skeletons as well with an eye to determining the ages of the deceased.

The arrangement of the following list is geographical: it begins with tablets from Greece, covering the country in the order of the volumes of *Inscriptiones Graecae*; it continues with tablets from Yugoslavia, Austria, Sicily, and Italy and then proceeds counterclockwise around the Mediterranean until it reaches the Black Sea area. I have assigned a serial number to each of the 189 defixiones in the list whose texts have been published, but I merely report, in rectangular brackets, the 500 or more whose existence I have learned of through published announcements, word of mouth, or such. For each numbered entry I have recorded, if they are available:

LOC.: the present location of the tablet, with the inventory number of the museum or excavation depot where it is housed.

PROV.: the provenience and excavation context.

TABLET: the dimensions (in meters) and a description of any noteworthy physical features.

DATE: the date and the basis on which it has been determined by the editors and commentators. If a date appears after the words "Not given," it has been assigned by me.

BIBL.: the bibliography. I have tried to include not only every edition of the text but every suggestion that has been offered towards its establishment, interpretation, or dating. Here I have employed special conventions:

X: either the editio princeps or a treatment reproducing the text given in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item. It is to be assumed, unless it is stated to the contrary, that the editio princeps, but no subsequent treatment, of a text is based on autopsy.

[X]: a discussion that includes no text or conjectures.

+X: a discussion in which the preserved text is not fully reproduced but readings or conjectures are offered that are different from those in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item.

*X: a presentation of the whole text as preserved, but with readings or conjectures different from those in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item.

X (*non vidi*): an edition or discussion that I have been unable to consult. The phrase "the immediately foregoing unbracketed item" above is not intended to refer to an item marked *non vidi*. For an illustration of this notation see 107 below: the text is first given by Ferri; Olivieri next treats of it, but I have not seen his work; J. and L. Robert have given neither a text nor conjectures but have offered an interpretation; Jeffery has suggested changes in Ferri's text, changes that are recorded in *SEG*; Calder has given a complete text that is different from Jeffery's; Jeffery has given a complete text that

is different from Calder's; Masson has given a complete text that is different from Calder's; and Miller has reproduced Masson's text.

INSCR.: a description of the text. Here I have also noted if the tablet is opisthographic, if its text is written in any distinctive way (e.g. spelled backwards, ΔΓΒΑ), if maternal lineage is used to identify the persons named in it, if it is based on any known formula, or if it has anything else of particular note. I have occasionally quoted the shorter texts in full.

I am preparing a corpus of Greek defixiones. I shall be grateful if excavators will be good enough to inform me if their sites yield new defixiones or any new evidence for their use and if museum curators and others will tell me if they have any unannounced examples in their care. I shall be equally grateful if readers will inform me of any omissions or inaccuracies they may find in this survey.⁷

⁷ The following are cited in abbreviated form and normally with inscription numbers: A. ABT, "Bleitafeln aus Münchner Sammlungen," *ArchRW* 14 (1911) 143–58; M. ALMAGRO BASCH, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas, ibéricas y latinas* (=Monografías ampuritanas 2 [Barcelona 1952]); A. AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris 1904); A. BRUGNONE, "Defixiones inedite da Selinunte," *Studi di storia antica offerti dagli allievi a Eugenio Manni* (Rome 1976) 67–90; E. GÀBRICI, *Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte* (= *MonAnt* 32 [1927]) 379–400; M. GUARDUCCI, *Epigrafia greca IV* (Rome 1978); L. H. JEFFERY, "Further Comments on Archaic Greek Inscriptions," *BSA* 50 (1955) 67–84, and *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961); D. R. JORDAN, "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985) (forthcoming); A. P. MILLER, *Studies in Early Sicilian Epigraphy: An Opisthographic Lead Tablet* (Diss. Chapel Hill 1973) 144–70; R. MÜNSTERBERG, "Three Attic Curse Tablets," *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 13 (1901) 589–97 (in Serbian), and "Drei attische Fluchtafeln," *WissMittBosnHerz* 10 (1907) 375–77; N. NABERS, "Ten Lead Tabellae from Morgantina," *AJA* 83 (1979) 463f; B. PACE, *Camarina: topografia, storia, archeologia* (Catania 1927) 159–65; W. PEEK, "Attische Grabschriften II," *AbhBerlin* 1956.3, and *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen III* (Berlin 1941) 89–100; V. SHKORPIL', "Three Lead Tablets with Inscriptions from Olbia," *Istvestiia Arkheologicheskoiia Komissii* 27 (1908) 68–74 (in Russian); J. STRYD, "Ἀττικὰ μετ' ἀρῶν μολύβδινα ἐλάσματα," *ArchEph* 1903, 55–60; A. WILHELM, "Über die Zeit einiger attischer Fluchtafeln," *JÖAI* 7 (1904) 105–26; D. WORTMANN, "Neue magische Texte," *BonnJbb* 168 (1968) 56–111; R. WÜNSCH, *Defixionum tabellae* (= *IG III.3* [1897]); E. ZIEBARTH, "Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euboia," *SitzBerlin* 1934, 1022–50.

For bringing my attention to references that I might otherwise have missed and for allowing me to cite unpublished defixiones under their control, I should like to thank P. Amandry, J. P. Binder, P. du Bourguet, A. Brugnone, M. Chehab, E. Dusenbery, J. Humphrey, F. F. Jones, P. Kalligas, A. Kaloyeropoulou, U. Knigge, R. D. Kotansky, Stephen G. Miller, Stella G. Miller, A. P. Miller Zartarian, N. Norman, J. F. Oates, W. Openo, J. Papachristodoulou, G. Pugliese Carratelli, J. R. Rea, W. van Rengen, K. J. Rigsby, H. S. Robinson, M. Šašel Kos, R. V. Schoder, T. L. Shear Jr, C. Skinkel-Taupin, G. Steinhauer, S. C. Stone III, R. S. Stroud, R. F. Sutton Jr, H. A. Thompson, M. Vickers, K. Vierneisel, D. White, H. Whitehouse, C. K. Williams II, W. H. Willis, and J. R. Wiseman. I am particularly grateful to L. H. Jeffery and O. Masson for improving an earlier version of the Sicilian entries in this survey. Whatever mistakes and omissions remain should of course be attributed to me.

GREECE

ATHENS

Kerameikos

1. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** The right hand of a skeleton in a grave whose contents included a squat lekythos of mid-V^a. **TABLET:** H. 0.375, W. 0.07. **DATE:** V^a (Peek, from context; Jeffery). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 3 (phot., Taf. 22.3, 23.2). [Jeffery, "Comments" 19.]

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Over 70 lines of text on one side, perhaps originally as many on the other. Curses more than twenty men and women and often their tongues and souls as well, with phrases like *καταδῶ Στέφανον Πολυαρά[το] παρὰ Φερσε[φό]νει καὶ Ἑρμῆι*.

2. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** The right hand of a skeleton in a grave of V^a. **TABLET:** Max. pr. H. 0.045, max. pr. W. 0.016, plus several tiny fragments (dimensions unrecorded). **DATE:** V^a (Peek, from context). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 6 (phot., Taf. 23.1). E. Ziebarth, *GGA* 204 (1942) 19f. [Jeffery, "Comments" 20.]

INSCR.: Traces of three columns, of which only the second can be read. It contains men's names (nom.), each followed by *Παι*, possibly an abbreviation of the demotic *Παιανιεύς* or *Παιονίδης*.

3. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** A disturbed fill of IV^a in the area of the grave plots of the Potamians and of Hegeso (plans, J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [New York 1971] 303 I, J). **TABLET:** H. 0.05, W. 0.09. **DATE:** Second half of V^a (Peek, Guarducci); mid-IV^a (Jeffery). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 1 (phot., Taf. 23.4). [Jeffery, "Comments" 22.] Guarducci 247f.

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Against *Λυσανίας ἐκ τὸ ἀργυροκοπίο*, his wife, chattel, and bodily and mental parts. Ends with the unexplained phrase *ανθεμ . . . ν. γῆς ἠεράς*.

4. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** Same as 3. **TABLET:** Max. pr. H. 0.065, max. pr. W. 0.72, plus three small fragments: i, max. pr. H. 0.011, max. pr. W. 0.023; ii, max. pr. H. 0.011, max. pr. W. 0.012; iii, max. pr. H. 0.008, max. pr. W. 0.011. **DATE:** See 3. **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 2 (phot., Taf. 22.4). [Jeffery, "Comments" 22.]

INSCR.: Letters retrograde, spelling left to right. Against the same Lysanias, with a formula only slightly different from that of 3. "Attic script, but for Ionic λ" (Jeffery).

5. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** Same as 3. **TABLET:** Nine fragments, of which five can be joined. Max. pr. dimensions of the joined pieces: H. 0.03, W. 0.07. **DATE:** Late IV^a? (Jeffery). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 7 (drawing, p.96). [Jeffery, "Comments" 25.]

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Names (nom.) separated by the punctuation : .

6. **LOC.:** Kerameikos Museum. **PROV.:** Same as 3. **TABLET:** H. 0.105, W. 0.055. Lead in the form of a crude oval box. **DATE:** Around the beginning of IV^a (Peek, from letter forms); late V^a (Jeffery). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 4 (phot., Taf. 22.2). [Jeffery, "Comments" 23.]

INSCR.: Judiciary. Pytheas and three other men's names (nom.), followed by *ὅποσοι ἰσὶν ἀντίδικοι Εὐόπτη μετὰ Πυθέο.*

7. Loc.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 3. TABLET: H. 0.03, W. 0.10. DATE: First half of IV^a (Peek); late V^a (Jeffery). BIBL.: Peek, *Kerameikos* 5. [Jeffery, "Comments" 24.]

INSCR.: Two columns, the first a list of men's names (nom.), the second illegible. The names are perhaps those of trierarchs (Peek).

8. Loc.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 3. TABLET: Narrow strip of lead bent into the shape of a bracelet. H. 0.015, max. pr. W. 0.04. BIBL.: Peek, *Kerameikos* 8 (drawing of letters, p.97).

INSCR.: Three or more men's names: *Κρατῖνον : Πυθόδωρον : καὶ Πύθωνα :*
- - -.

9. Loc.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Grave 40 near the plot of Antidosis, daughter of Iatrokles (described by K. Kübler, *AA* 1942, 200-03). The skeleton is that of an adult, its sex unrecorded. TABLET: In the shape of an oval box, H. 0.065, W. 0.11, with an inscribed lid, which was found elsewhere in the grave. A crude male doll, H. 0.06, was found with, but not inside, the box. Presumably the box, with its lid affixed, once contained the doll. The doll's hands are bound behind its back and the name *Μνησίμαχος* is scratched into its right leg. DATE: Early IV^a (context, prosopography). BIBL.: J. Trumpf, *AthMitt* 73 (1958) 94-102 (phot., Beil. 71f, and Guarducci, Fig. 68, 69). [D. R. Jordan, "New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens," *Πρακτικά* of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens 1983 (forthcoming).]

INSCR.: Judiciary. A list of nine men's names (nom.), followed by *καὶ ἔτις ἄλλος μετ' ἐκένο ξύνδικός ἐστι ἔμάρτυς.* One of the men is Mnesimachos.

10. Loc.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: A grave near the 'Round Bath' (plan, Travlos [*supra* 3] 303 no. 169). Peek reports the grave as V^a, but the excavation notebooks have it IV^a. TABLET: H. 0.075, W. 0.12. DATE: Not given; later IV^a (letter forms, context). BIBL.: Peek, "Att. Grab." 206 (phot., Taf. IV.8).

INSCR.: A list of men's and women's names (nom.) written in two columns, the second upside down in relation to the first. The beginning of possibly another name is written upwards along the left of the first column.

11. Loc.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 10. TABLET: H. ca 0.15, W. 0.08. DATE: Not given; later IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Peek, "Att. Grab." 207 (drawing of upper part, p.60; phot., Taf. IV.7).

INSCR.: A list of four men's names (nom.+gen.) plus the demotic (?) *Κυ-δ]α[θηναίεϋς* or *-εῖς*], followed by a list of five names (nom.), one of them qualified with his place of residence and profession (*ἐμ Μελ[ίτ]ει οἰκῶν κάπηλος*), two described as *γραῦς καπηλῖς* (*vidi: καὶ παῖς* Peek) and *πορ-ν[ο]βοσκ[ός]*, one qualified with his profession and owner's name (*ὁ σκηνί-της ὁ Καλλιτέλους οἰκέτης*), and one with his owner's name only (gen.+owner's demotic). There follows a curse, beginning *καταδῶ*, against their various faculties, parts, and works.

12. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as **10**. TABLET: H. 0.075, W. 0.16. DATE: Not given; later IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Peek, "Att. Grab." 205 (drawings, pp.59f; phot., Taf. II, III).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: seven men's names (two nom., four nom.+demotic, one nom.+gen.+demotic: [Μελ]ανῶπ[ος Π]ολυστράτου Πο- [τά(μιοσ)]). Side B, every other line of which is spelled backwards: the seven names again (five nom., Melanopos and another with gen.+demotic).

13. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum, inv. I 459. PROV.: The bottom of Dipylon Well B₁; apparently not in situ (Jordan). TABLET: H. 0.026, W. 0.118, Th. 0.014. DATE: IV^a (Jordan, from backward spelling). BIBL.: [K. Braun, *AthMitt* 85 (1970) 197 (phot., Taf. 93.2).] D. R. Jordan, *ibid.* 225–29 (drawing, Fig. 1). *SEG* 30.325.1.

INSCR.: Not fully read. At the upper right-hand corner the phrase καὶ τὰ ἔργα spelled backwards.

14. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum, inv. I 460. PROV.: Same as **13**. TABLET: H. 0.076, W. 0.122. DATE: 313/2^a (Braun, from prosopography); 313/2–307^a (Jordan, from prosopography). BIBL.: Braun (*supra* **13**) 197f (phot., Taf. 93.1). *Jordan (*supra* **13**) 229–36 (drawing, Fig. 2). *SEG* 30.325.2.

INSCR.: In a column, five men's names (acc.), two of them with demotics, no governing verb. To the lower right of the column and upside down in relation to it, the misspelled beginning of the first of the names.

[R. M. Delbrueck, *AthMitt* 25 (1900) 309f, reports that excavations of graves on the south side of Ὀδὸς Ψαρομηλίγγου, *i.e.* in the area just north of the Dipylon Gate, yielded an opisthographic lead tablet that seemed to have spells in the Doric dialect and to belong to IV^a; it was found near an amphora containing a child's skeleton. Present location unknown.]

[In 1913 seven defixiones were discovered near the grave circle of Demetria and Pamphile: see K. Kourouniotes, *ArchEph* 1913, 185 (phot., 186), who assigned their letter forms to III^a or earlier. One tablet begins πρὸς τᾶς Πραξι- δίκας (*cf.* **48**), another καταδεῖ. Present location(s) unknown.]

["Some lead curse tablets rolled up and pierced with nails, as well as three small 'coffins' the sides of which were attached with hinges," discovered in 1964 above a child's grave of *ca* 430^a in the Eridanos necropolis, are announced by B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, *AthMitt* 81 (1966) 38 n.6 (phot., Beil. 51.1 and D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* [Ithaca 1971] Pl. 46). Schlörb-Vierneisel reports that in each coffin there lay on its side or face down a lead doll with exaggerated genitals and with its hands bound behind. The floors of two of the 'coffins' and the lid of a third are inscribed, as well as the backs of two of the dolls. Letter forms, prosopography, and excavation context suggest late V^a or early IV^a; see Jordan (*supra* **9**). Now in the Kerameikos Museum.]

[Two other lead tablets, neither yet published, were found in different places near the banks of the Eridanos in the Kerameikos. The first, which is opisthographic, contains (Side A) a list of three men's names spelled backwards

(nom., among them Satyrinos), the phrase *καὶ ὅσοι με<τὰ> (Σ)ατυρινο(ῦ)* (NATYPINOS tab.) *εἰσι καταδῶ*. The letter forms suggest IV^a or III^a. The second tablet, whose letter forms appear to belong to the first centuries after Christ, curses “whoever gave a *φάρμακον* to Hyakinthos.” Both now in the Kerameikos Museum.]

[W. Kovacovics, *AA* 1984, 55 and n.68, has announced the discovery, above a grave of IV^a and among sherds of the last quarter of IV^a, of a lead tablet inscribed with the names of eight persons, some of them to be identified as contemporaries of Demosthenes.]

Pnyx

15. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos. Prov.: “A cranny of a rock *ca.* 4.00 m. east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa.” TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.04, max. pr. W. 0.114; pierced with an iron nail. DATE: Late IV^a or early III^a (letter forms). BIBL.: H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 181 (drawing, Fig. 24).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Not completely read. Begins *Ἀυσίαν τὸν ... [κα]ταδῶ οἰκ[ί]αν*; later *[οἰ]κίαν καὶ ἔργα*.

[Thompson: “Overlying the bedrock around the eastern end of the Long Stoa and behind the retaining walls to the northeast of the Stoa, possibly a dozen more scraps of sheet-lead were found, the majority of them doubtless from similar documents. The fragments, however, have suffered so much from exposure that only an occasional letter is visible.”]

‘Sphageia’ (south of Akropolis).

16. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13086. DATE: Not given; probably V^a or IV^a if like most other Attic examples that are spelled backwards. BIBL.: Strýd 2 (drawing, cols. 55f).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Spelled backwards. Each side is as it seems written by a different person. What can be read of Side A seems to be a list of names (nom.); the letters on Side B, shallowly incised with a blunter instrument, are illegible.

17. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13083. TABLET: H. 0.04, W. 0.095. DATE: V^a or IV^a (letter forms, spelling). BIBL.: Strýd 3 (drawing, col. 57). [Wilhelm 122.]

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Six names (nom.), three of them qualified with demotics, one with a patronymic, two (one of them a woman’s) unqualified.

18. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13083. TABLET: H. 0.06, W. 0.185. DATE: IV^a (Wilhelm, from prosopography). BIBL.: Strýd 5 (drawing, cols. 57f). Wilhelm 121 (phot., Fig. 60).

INSCR.: After the heading *θεοί· ἀγαθῆ τύχη*, the phrase *καταδῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω* followed by six men’s names (acc.), two of them qualified with their fathers’ names (gen.). A concluding phrase runs *καταδῶ τούτος ἅπαντας πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν {τὸν} χθόνιον καὶ τὸν δόλιον καὶ τὸν κάτοχον καὶ τὸν ἐριούνιον καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω*.

19. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13083. DATE: Not given; IV^a.
BIBL.: Strýd 4.

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Four men's names (nom.) plus *καὶ τὸς ἄλλος τὸς μετ' ἐκένο* [ἀ]ντ[ιδ]ίκοσ [ἄπαν]τας.

[Strýd reports that a fifth tablet (Strýd 1), in three fragments of which two join, was found in the area of **16–19**; it was corroded beyond legibility. Now in the National Museum, Athens?]

Agora

20. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 997. PROV.: Found in the lowest layer of the dissolved mud-brick wall lying over House D in the Industrial District (plan: *Hesperia* 20 [1951] 136). "It is entirely probable that the little lead curse had been tucked into the foundation or under the floor of the house somewhere and that it was thrown up from its original position by [ancient] ransackers for building material." TABLET: H. 0.065, W. 0.145; rolled up and pierced with a nail. DATE: IV^a (letter forms, context). BIBL.: R. S. Young, *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 222f (phot., *Hesperia* 18 [1949] Pl. 39.2).

INSCR.: *καταδῶ* (*vidi*: -δέω Young) plus a name qualified as τὸ<ν> *χλακέα* (for *χαλ-*), *πρὸς τὸς κάτω*. Another bronzeworker is similarly named, as well as some other persons, one of them a man from Lamia, another a woman from Boiotia. The spellings of the names of the bronzeworkers and possibly of others are jumbled.

21. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 493. PROV.: From a deposit of IP in a well. TABLET: H. 0.23, W. 0.117. DATE: IP (context). BIBL.: G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 389–95 (phot., Fig. 2). +J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1938, 23. +D. R. Jordan, *Glotta* 58 (1980) 62–65. [H. S. Versnel, *Faith, Hope, and Worship* (=Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2 [Leiden 1981]) 22f.] *SEG* 30.326.

INSCR.: Hekate in various forms, Plouton, the Fates, Persephone, and Hermes are invoked to punish thieves and those having knowledge of the theft but denying it. The tablet bears a drawing of a six-armed Hekate (a bat according to Elderkin) as well as three magical symbols.

22. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 372. PROV.: A well near the Hephaisteion. TABLET: H. 0.015, W. 0.225; Elderkin suggests that a large indentation in the tablet may have been made with a nail now lost. DATE: IIP to IVP (Elderkin, from context); comparison with **23** suggests III^p. BIBL.: Elderkin (*supra* **21**) 384–89 (phot., Fig. 1).

INSCR.: Begins with the syllables *Borphor- etc.*, like **23–34**, **36**, and several other contemporary tablets from the Agora. Typhon (spelled Typhos) is invoked with a formula much like that of **23**, except that the first clause gives instructions to chill the bodily parts of the intended victim, a woman identified by maternal lineage. The text continues, "Yes, lord Typhon, avenge – – –, whom – – – bore (the names are cancelled on the tablet), and help him because Philostrata, whom Gorgippia bore, [– – –] her priesthood of A[" (Elderkin's translation). (Elderkin conjectured Ἄφ[ροδίτης, but on

examining the tablet I can find only A[. This is no doubt a ritual *διαβολή* and does not mean that Philostrata was in fact, as Elderkin assumed, a priestess: see S. Eitrem, *SymbOslo* 2 [1924] 33–61, on such fictitious charges of impiety in magical texts.) The chilling of the bodily parts is again urged. “Iao Iakoubia” *etc.* (see 23) introduce some other magical words not elsewhere attested. A *ὡς . . . οὕτως* clause similar to that of 23 is followed by another set of unique magical words, plus *ἤδη ἤδη, ταχὺ ταχύ*. The curse against the bodily parts is repeated. To my eye the hand appears the same as that of 23.

23. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 72. PROV.: A well “just outside the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa, directly north of its Pier 7 as counted from the west; [the well] seems to have been placed near the middle of the back wall of the small stoa that ran between the Odeion and the Civic Offices” (Jordan). TABLET: H. 0.116, W. 0.16. DATE: III^P (context). BIBL.: Elderkin (*supra* 21) 43–49 (phot., 44). *D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 245–48 (from autopsy). +J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1976, 48.

INSCR.: Begins with the syllables Borphor- *etc.* (*cf.* 22 *etc.*). Typhon (here correctly spelled) is invoked to bring general misery to an intended victim named Eros, who is given maternal lineage. The text continues: “I hand over to you Eros, whom Isigeneia bore, in order that you may ruin him and what he has in mind, even in your dark air, and those with him. Bind into the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion and chill and destroy whatever deeds he is about to do. Chill and do not allow [what he is about to do]. If indeed what Eros is about to do should be beset, Morzoune Alcheine Perpertharona Iaiaie, I hand over to you Eros, whom Isigeneia bore. Mighty Typhon (magical names beginning ‘Iao Iakoubia’: *cf.* 22), let Eros be chilled and his affairs with him. As these names are chilled, so too let the name, the breath, the impulse, the mind, the spirit, the reckoning of Eros be chilled. Let him be deaf, dumb, without mind, without heart, hearing nothing magical (? *περίεργον*).”

[T. L. Shear, *AJA* 37 (1935) 548 (phot. of eight tablets still rolled up, Fig. 7) and *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 325 (same phot., Fig. 12), and G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 43, report that excavation of the same well (see 23) also yielded 44 other tablets; from my count of the fragments, however, there seem to be remains of over 60 tablets from the well, although possibly joins can still be found that will reduce the number. Most of the fragments have not been unrolled because of their brittleness. The tablets so far read follow the same formula as 23 and most of them appear to be written by 23’s writer. Now in the Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 64–107 plus several uninventoried fragments.]

24. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 950. PROV.: A well sunk into the courtyard of the Poros Building (see M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 20 [1951] 168–87; plan, 169) about 100 m. outside the southwest of the ancient Agora proper, in the valley northwest of the Areopagus. TABLET: H. 0.115, W. 0.139. DATE: Mid-III^P (context). BIBL.: Jordan 1.

INSCR.: This and 25–39, all inscribed apparently by the same person and with the same formula, are directed against athletes, 24–26 each against a wrestler

named Eutychnian. The formula is very much like that of **23**, but after the syllables Borphor- *etc.*, the deity is addressed not as Typhon or Typhos but by a name so far attested only in texts from this well, Bepty(t) or Bety(t), variously spelled. It is clear from elsewhere in the texts that this is another appellation of Seth Typhon. Maternal lineage.

25. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 960. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.146, W. 0.059. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 2.
INSCR.: See **24**.

26. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 957. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.073, W. 0.125. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 3.
INSCR.: See **24**.

27. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 956. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.013, W. 0.097. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 4.
INSCR.: See **24**.

28. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 955. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.057, max. pr. W. 0.198. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 5.
INSCR.: See **24**. Against a Macedonian wrestler Petres.

29. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 958. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.223, W. 0.083 at top, 0.096 at bottom. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 6.
INSCR.: See **24**. Against a runner (?) about to compete in the Athenaia (*i.e.* either the Athenian ephebic meet of this name or the Panathenaia). Maternal lineage.

30. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 1000. PROV.: Same as **24** and wrapped inside **34**. TABLET: H. 0.053, max. pr. W. 0.07. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 7.
INSCR.: See **24**. **30–32**, apparently by the writer of **24–29**, are intended to spoil love affairs. The formula is similar to that of **24–29**. Maternal lineage.

31. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 948+949. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.067, W. 0.101. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 8.
INSCR.: See **30**. Against two men who visit a prostitute, to make them unsuccessful. Maternal lineage.

32. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 952. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.07, max. pr. W. 0.092. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 9.
INSCR.: See **30**. Against the prostitute of **31** and a man.

33. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 964. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.059, max. pr. W. 0.065. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 10.
INSCR.: By the writer of **24–32**. **24–29**, against athletes, and **30–32**, against woovers, have virtually the same wording in the last several lines, and it is only these lines that are preserved here. Purpose unclear.

34. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 959. PROV.: Same as **24** and wrapped around **30**. Max. pr. H. 0.092, W. 0.123. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 11.
INSCR.: By the writer of **24–33**. Fragmentary and unclear.

35. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 953. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.078. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 12.

INSCR.: By the writer of **24–34** but with a different formula. It addresses a ghost, using some of the ‘Iao’ names known from elsewhere (e.g. **22**) and variants on the magical names of Seth-Typhon known from **24–34**. Fragmentary, but the word [σ]υνανάκλισις suggests amatory matters.

36. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 951. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.059. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 13.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Not by the writer of **24–35** but with a similar formula that apparently begins with expanded Borphor- syllables and invokes Beptyt. Purpose unclear. Maternal lineage.

37. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, inv. IL 954. PROV.: Same as **24**. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.089, max. pr. W. 0.141. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan 14.

INSCR.: Very fragmentary. Possibly by the writer of **24–35**. It preserves part of what evidently was a sequence of Borphor- syllables. The formula is different from those of the well’s other tablets. Purpose unclear.

38. LOC.: Stoa of Attalos, inv. IL 1737. PROV.: A well sunk into the courtyard of a Roman house behind the Stoa of Attalos along the road from the Greek to the Roman Agora. TABLET: H. 0.157, W. 0.167. Rolled up around a wad of hair. DATE: See **24**. BIBL.: Jordan, Appendix.

INSCR.: By the writer of **24–35**, in a similar but somewhat longer formula. The object is the general demise of a woman, identified matrilineally. Evidently the writer had inscribed the rest of the text first and had left blank spaces for the intended victim and her identification, for her name and lineage are written in letters smaller than the rest, as if squeezed to fit.

[In all, excavations of the Athenian Agora have yielded some 100 defixiones. In addition to the tablets cited above, the following, unpublished, are of particular interest: a tablet (inv. IL 669), not fully read, found on the floor of the Tholos in a context that suggests, as do its letter forms, the first quarter of V^a; an opisthographic tablet (inv. IL 1504) containing a list of names (nom.) with deliberately jumbled spellings, found inside a miniature chytra in a pyre burial of V^a or IV^a; a list of men’s names (nom.) followed by Φερ-ρεφάττη (inv. IL 836), found in a context of ca 400^a (announced at *Hesperia* 10 [1941] 6); 17 tablets (inv. IL 1695, 1704–19), found in a well in a context of late IV^a or III^a, the legible texts being judiciary; an invocation of the nymphs (inv. IL 976), found in a cistern of late I^p or early II^p; a tablet (inv. IL 1722), found in a well in a context of III^p, reproducing a version of Audolent 74 and 75, directed against thieves.]

Dekeleia

39. LOC.: Zemaljski Musej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo. PROV.: Liosia, according to the dealer. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.10, W. 0.055. Five nail holes with remains of an iron nail. DATE: Not given; probably V^a or IV^a if like most other Attic examples that are spelled backwards. BIBL.: Münsterberg, *Glasnik (non vidi)*; *WissMitt* 373 (drawing, Fig. 1).

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. A list of twelve names (nom.), seven of men, three of women, two ambiguous.

40. LOC.: Zemaljski Musej Bosne i Hercegovine. PROV.: Same as 39. TABLET: H. 0.02–0.06, W. 0.22. Four nail holes with remains of an iron nail. BIBL.: Münsterberg, *Glasnik* (*non vidi*); *WissMitt* 376f (drawing, Fig. 2).

INSCR.: In three columns, each cursing a separate person, with similar phrases. At least one of the intended victims' names is masculine. The first curse, for example, begins with the person's name (acc., spelling jumbled) and continues καταδῶ ὥσπερ ταῦτα ἀνένπαλιν, οὗτ[ω] ἐκείνει <ἀ>νένπαλιν καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα τὰ πάντα γένοιο.

41. LOC.: Zemaljski Musej Bosne i Hercegovine. PROV.: Same as 39. TABLET: H. 0.11, W. 0.185. At least ten nail holes with remains of an iron nail. DATE: Not given. Probably V^a or IV^a if like most other Attic examples that are spelled backwards. BIBL.: Münsterberg, *Glasnik* (*non vidi*); *WissMitt* 377 (drawing, Fig. 3).

INSCR.: Spelled backwards, to be read from the bottom up. Published text: ³Σφοαῖος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ²T[ν]υδ[άρη καὶ] Θεοκρίτην τ¹ῆν Δί[ου τοῦ] A<i>-
γυπτίου.

Ilisos

[It is reported, *AthMitt* 25 (1900) 454, that in the course of an authorized private excavation three defixiones were found in a cemetery of V^a or IV^a near the Ilisos. Present location(s) unknown.]

Daphne?

[In the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, is a large defixio, not fully read, whose letter forms I should tentatively assign to IV^a or III^a. According to the man from whom it was bought, it was found in the area of the Daphne Monastery.]

Vari

[J. E. Jones, A. J. Graham, and L. H. Sackett, *BSA* 68 (1973) 373, announce that in an Attic country house of the second half of IV^a below the Cave of Pan, they have discovered a lead "sheet fr., very thin, roughly rectangular, L. 0.125 m., W. 0.06 m., folded lengthwise into tube, and pierced by several round holes. Purpose unknown. Found in room IV, from fill north of rectangular base." Is this sheet a defixio?]

Exact provenance unknown

42. LOC.: Unknown. Formerly in the Froehner Collection in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. TABLET: H. 0.08, W. 0.15; rolled up around an iron nail. DATE: First half of IV^a (prosopography). BIBL.: L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 11 (from W. Froehner's transcription and notes).

INSCR.: Judiciary. After καταδῶ (-δέω Froehner) τὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμμένος καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ὅσοι ἐνθαῦτα ἐνγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν, πρὸς Ἑρμῆν κάτοχον καὶ Γῆν καὶ Περσεφόνειαν, καὶ ὅσπερ οἱ παρ[ὰ] ταύτην ἀφικνῶνται οἴκαδε νοστῶσι, ὅτως οἱ ἐνθαῦτα ἀντίδικοι τέλος λαβόντων τῆς

[δίκ]ης, there is “dans un reseau de fils” a long list of men’s names (nom., nom.+gen., or nom.+demotic) and an unnamed woman identified as *θυγατήρ*+gen. After one of the men’s names, his profession, *κροκοπώλης*, is given.

43. LOC.: See **42.** **TABLET:** H. 0.117, W. 0.12; folded into quarters and pierced with a nail, L. 0.105. **DATE:** IV^a (Robert, from the genitive *Συρίσκο* in line 4). **BIBL.:** Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 12 (from Froehner’s transcription and notes).

INSCR.: Against the same persons as Audollent 70–72 and Wunsch 70–71, with much the same wording as these tablets.

44. LOC.: In private hands; bought at Athens. **TABLET:** H. 0.75, W. 0.11. **DATE:** Middle of IV^a (letter forms). **BIBL.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 9 (phot., Taf. 24).

INSCR.: After the phrase *Λιτίαν καταδ[ω] πρὸς τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν κἀτο[χ]ον [καὶ τῆ]ν Φε[ρ]σεφόνην*, *Litias*’ bodily parts are named. Similar formulae for seven other intended victims, with the curse against *Litias* repeated at the end, this time with *καὶ τὸν Ἄιδην* after *Persephone*’s name.

45. LOC.: In the hands of an antiquities dealer at Athens. **TABLET:** H. 0.041, W. 0.088. **DATE:** IV^a (from the demotic *Ὁῆθεν* and spelling). **BIBL.:** M.-Th. Couilloud, *BCH* 91 (1967) 513–15 (phot., Pl. XXII.1). *SEG* 24.262.

INSCR.: Eight names (nom.), four of them qualified with demotics alone, one with a father’s name (gen.), one unqualified, two (the only women in the list) followed by men’s names (gen.) and demotics.

46. LOC.: With **45.** **TABLET:** H. 0.055, W. 0.16. **DATE:** Middle of IV^a (letter forms). **BIBL.:** Couilloud (*supra* **45**) 515–17 (phot., Pl. XXII.2). *SEG* 24.263.

INSCR.: Two columns, *Μυτίς, τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἔναν[τία] γένοιτο ἅπαντα* in the left, a list of nine names (nom.), two of them women’s, in the right. Some of the words are written upside down.

47. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. **TABLET:** H. 0.03, W. 0.11. **DATE:** IV^a (letter forms). **BIBL.:** Ziebarth 15.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Largely illegible. Perhaps a list of names (nom.?) with demotics. Ziebarth could read *Λυσίμαχος Ἄλω<πε>κ<ῆ>-θεν*.

48. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. **TABLET:** H. 0.08, W. 0.075. **DATE:** *Ca* 323^a (Ziebarth, from prosopography). **BIBL.:** Ziebarth 1 (using O. Weinreich’s readings; phot., Taf. 1). +Robert, *Coll. Froehner* pp.13f. +S. Eitrem, *Gnomon* 12 (1936) 558. +W. Peek, *AthMitt* 67 (1942) 166f.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: across the the top of the tablet *καταδω, κατορύττω, ἀφανίζω ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*, beneath which there are three columns containing names (nom. or acc.), some of them qualified with abbreviated demotics, three with their professions (a painter, a flour[?]-seller, a scribe), and two as metics. All the names are men’s except two in the third column, which are indented to the right. Side B: three columns, the first two a list of names like that of Side A, the third, written at right angles to the

first two, a similar list plus *κατα[δῶ] καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔ[ρ]γα καὶ Ἄρισ[ταν]δρον* (who may be named on Side A); four names in the second column are those of women, each qualified as *λαϊκάστρια* (*vidi*: unread by Ziebarth).

49. Loc.: Munich Antiquarium, Alter Bestand, inv. III 1146. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.155. DATE: Late IV^a or early III^a. BIBL.: Abt 5. Ziebarth p.1031. *Eitrem (*supra* 48).

INSCR.: Judiciary. There are several lacunae, but the text seems to begin *Μένω[να καταδῶ?]* and to mention an *[ἔν]δειξιν* and *[τὴν δίκην?]* ἣν ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλει ἐν τῷ Μαιμα[κτ]ηριῶνι. The verbs *[ἀφα]νίζω* and *ἐπικατορύ[ττω]* are used, and Menon's *σύνδικοι* are included in the curse.

50. Loc.: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. TABLET: H. 0.069, W. 0.09. DATE: IV^a (letter forms, spelling). BIBL.: W. S. FOX, *AJP* 34 (1913) 74–76 (drawing, 75). +F. Pfister, *WKP* 31 (1914) 917f (*non vidi*).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: several men's names (nom., once nom. + gen.), some of them written upside down. Side B (not read): one line only.

51. Loc.: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. TABLET: Roundish tablet, Diam. ca 0.09. DATE: Late IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: FOX (*supra* 50) 76–80 (drawing, 77).

INSCR.: Judiciary curse in three columns, the first (17 lines) filling most of the tablet, the second (seven lines) just to the left of the first, the third (five lines) beneath and at right angles to the second. The intended victim, who is called an *ἀντίδικος*, is cursed (*καταδῶ*) along with his bodily parts and his *σύνδικοι*.

52. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. TABLET: H. 0.06, W. 0.06. DATE: III^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Ziebarth 5 (using O. Weinreich's readings; phot., Taf. 1).

INSCR.: Against a *στιγματίας* (*sic*) who is a netweaver, his business and workshop, as well as three men whose patronymics (gen.) and demotics are given. Note the juxtaposition of the slave (so *στιγματέας*, unless we are to assume a pregnant sense: cf. Kratinos fr.330 K., where the word is applied to a citizen whose property has been mortgaged) and free citizens.

53. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. TABLET: H. 0.02, W. 0.10. BIBL.: Ziebarth 18 (using Weinreich's readings).

INSCR.: Three names (nom.) with demotics.

54. Loc.: Unknown. Seen by Gell at Athens along with Wunsch 99. PROV.: Inferred from the similarity of its formula to that of Wunsch 99 and from the occurrence of the name Ageteas on both tablets. BIBL.: R. P. Austin, *BSA* 27 (1925–26) 73 (from a notebook of Sir William Gell's now in the British School at Athens).

INSCR.: From Gell's majuscule transcription published by Austin, I read *[εἰς τὸ] / δαιμόνιον σκοτεινὸν καὶ καταχθόνιων* (for -ον) καὶ / [— — —] εἰς ὅλους τοὺς θεοὺς / ΠΑΣΑΓΗΣ πέμπω δῶρον (cf. 109) ἀποκάτω εἰς τὴν γῆν / ὁ πρῶν Ἀγετέας πολίτης.

[Abt 2 (with a drawing but no transcription) is a lead tablet with a text of five lines, illegible from the published drawing. Munich Antiquarium, Alter Bestand, at the time of publication.]

Salamis

55. PROV.: The acropolis of the town. TABLET: Roundish, Diam. 0.065–0.08; pierced with a nail, L. 0.65. BIBL.: A. D. Keramopoulos, 'Ο ἀποτυμπατισμός (Athens 1923) 111f (drawing, Εἰκ. 17). *SEG 2.51 (with conjectures by A. Wilhelm).

INSCR.: The text in *SEG* begins Ξενόφιλον / καταγράφω / CDχ/С (for [E]ρχι[α]? Wilhelm).

[Keramopoulos also refers (111) to an “ὁμὰς εὐρεθεῖσα ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν Σαλαμίνι (πρβλ. Ἄρχ. Δελτ. 1917, σελ. 484 σημ.) ἐπὶ τῆς χερσονήσου Πούντας (δηλ. τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως τῆς Σαλαμίνας),” but the reference must be incorrect, for there is no mention of the defixiones on the page that he cites.]

AIGINA

[J. Papachristodoulou, *Deltion* 25 (1970) Chron. 131, has announced the discovery of a defixio (phot., Πιν. 99) in a grave at Μύλοι (plans, Σχέδ. 1, 2). The tablet was apparently folded about an iron nail.]

KORINTHIA

Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Akrocorinth

[N. Bookidis, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 304, and R. S. Stroud, *AJA* 77 (1973) 228f, have announced the discovery of fourteen defixiones of the Roman period, some of them pierced with nails. Most of the texts are directed against women.]

Gymnasium Area of Corinth

[J. Wiseman, *Hesperia* 38 (1969) 70, has announced the discovery of three defixiones in 1967 and 1968 in the excavation of the Apsidal Building (plan, 68), one in the setting trench for one of the walls (inv. MF 12994; phot., Pl. 21a), the other two from the setting trench for the apse and from a court area outside the apse (inv. MF 68-271 and MF 68-272, both still rolled up; phot., Pl. 21b). The letter forms of inv. MF 12994, which is not yet fully read, I should tentatively assign to IV^p or V^p.]

[Wiseman 70 n.10: “Still another lead scroll, MF 68-273, was found near the east end of the Gymnasium South Stoa Only a short piece of the scroll is preserved.”]

[Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 33, reports that in a room of an underground bath complex called “The Fountain of the Lamps” (plan, 11; phot., Pl. 3), “four large lead scrolls . . . were discovered; MF 69-112 and MF 69-118 were found inside basin 4, MF 69-113 and 114 between the basins and the bench, but below the level of the bench seat One . . . (MF 69-114) carries a carefully engraved representation of an anguipede who holds a raised sword

in his right hand, a gleaming staff in his left; a snake is wrapped about the staff. The head and the body of the figure are human." Inv. MF 69-114, read in part, appears to curse the performance of an athlete (?) ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ; inv. MF 69-118 invokes the "holy and powerful nymphs" to curse a retired (?) mimic actress.]

Near the National Highway north of Corinth

[Excavations in 1961 unearthed three defixiones (inv. MF 10239, MF 10240, MF 10281) in tombs of I^p or II^p. H. S. Robinson, who was in charge of the excavations, tells me that the skeleton in one of the tombs was that of a young man.]

Isthmus

[O. Broneer, *Isthmia* II (Princeton 1973) 115, has announced the discovery of two lead tablets in a context of early Roman date in a well in the Sacred Glen. One of them, inv. IM-2820, opisthographic and originally rolled up, has drawings of four men, presumably athletes, as well as a text, inscribed on one side, and an elaborate semicircular diagram, full of magical words, on the other. The second tablet, uninventoried and reported to be uninscribed, has proved, upon being unrolled, to have, on the inside, Greek letters, which have so far, however, resisted attempts at interpretation.]

NEMEA

56. Loc.: Nemea Museum, inv. IL 81. PROV.: The upper levels of sections M 16/17 (plan, Miller 12 Fig. 4). BIBL.: Stephen G. Miller, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 13 (phot., Pl. 7.d). *SEG* 24.421(2).

INSCR.: Two names, Πυρφαλίων and Κυκλίας.

57. Loc.: Nemea Museum, inv. IL 327. PROV.: A pit at the southwestern corner of the sanctuary. DATE: Not given; late IV^a? (*vidi*, letter forms). BIBL.: Stephen G. Miller, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 196f (phot. of tablet rolled up, Pl. 47.d). *SEG* 30.353.

INSCR.: A 'Trennungszauber' to turn one person from another, whose bodily parts are listed from head to toe.

[Miller announces, *Hesperia* 50 (1981) 64f, 67, the discovery of five other defixiones in the sanctuary, inv. IL 367, 369, 370, 372, 373; 367 and 372, whose letter forms suggest a late Hellenistic date, seem to be inscribed by one person and to have a formula quite like that of 57.]

THESPIAI

[At *Deltion* 1890, 164.19, it is announced that of the finds of the French excavation that year a squarish lead sheet with a barely readable inscription in small letters (Εὐρ. Γεν. Ἐφορ. 1715) was deposited in the National Museum, Athens.]

THEBES

[A. D. Keramopoulos, *Deltion* 3 (1917) 243f, has announced that excavation of Grave 20 in the 'Kolonaki' section in the southern part of the city yielded

fragments of three lead sheets, two of which were pierced with nails. The sheets may be uninscribed, however.]

SPARTA

[G. Steinhauer, former Ephor of Antiquities at Sparta, has been kind enough to allow me to study and to mention here a badly corroded fragment of an inscribed lead tablet (inv. 6406/25; max. pr. H. 0.075, max. pr. W. 0.052) that he unearthed in 1972 in the foundations of a house on 'Οδὸς τῶν Τριακοσίων near the modern stadium. Among the objects found at the same depth were Hellenistic terracotta figurines and potsherds; the few discernible letters do not disagree with a date of IV^a or III^a. The little that can be read is compatible with a list of names whose endings are lost.]

DELOS

58. LOC.: Delos Museum, inv. B 7539. PROV.: A well in a house at the foot of the 'rue de l'Inopos'. TABLET: H. 0.14, W. 0.14. DATE: Not given. I^a or I^p? (letter forms). BIBL.: Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos* (Paris 1970) 649–53 (drawings, 651, 653; phot., Pl. XVII, XVIII). +J. Triantaphyllopoulos, in *Mélanges helléniques offerts à Georges Daux* (Paris 1974) 332f.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Not fully read. Side A invokes the κύριω[ι] θεοὶ Συκοναῖοι and the [κ]υρί<α> θε<ᾶ> Συρία ἢ Συκοναί[α?] against someone who stole a necklace (?) as well as against those having knowledge of or participating in the theft. The gist of Side B seems to be the same, but the thief's brain, soul, muscles, and hands are also cursed, and finally there is an inclusive curse of him from his head to his toenails (?).

59. LOC.: Delos Museum? PROV.: The 'Magazin aux Colonnes' (plan, *BCH* 29 [1905] Pl. VIII). TABLET: Max. pr. (?) H. 0.047, W. 0.09. BIBL.: A. Jardé, *BCH* 29 (1905) 40. L. Robert, *Hellenica* III (1946) 116. Bruneau (*supra* 58) 650.

INSCR.: "Une lame de plomb où sont découpées les figures de deux guerriers ou gladiateurs combattants et où se lit, croyons-nous, l'inscription Λεύκ[ιος]" (Jardé).

RHODES

[I. Zervoudaki, *Deltion* 28 (1973) Chron. 622, reports the discovery of an opisthographic lead tablet (phot., Πλν. 591) among ruins of a rectangular shrine (plan, Σχέδ. 11) in the northern part of the town of Rhodes. Among the objects found in the structure were numerous terracotta hydrophoroi. Cf. R. A. Higgins *apud* J. N. Coldstream, *Knossos: the Sanctuary of Demeter* (*BSA* Suppl. 8 [1973]) 68: "Hydrophoroi . . . were common at this Sanctuary [at Knossos] in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Such figures are recorded at other Greek sites, nearly always in connection with the worship of Demeter."]

AMORGOS

60. PROV.: The field of D. Prasinos near Arkesine. TABLET: H. 0.21, W. 0.05. Nail hole. DATE: No earlier than II^a (Homolle); "wohl aus nachchristlicher

Zeit" (Homolle); early II^a (Zingerle, from the resemblance to papyrus *enteuxeis*); "allerdings würden die starken Vulgarismen, wenn anders sie authentisch sind, dann wirklich sensationell werden, wenn wir Zingerles Hinaufdatierung . . . annehmen" (Björck). BIBL.: Th. Homolle, *BCH* 25 (1901) 412–30 (after two copies made by Prasinus). [R. Wunsch, *BPW* 25 (1901) 1081.] *IG* XII.7 p.1. [K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht* (Tübingen 1920) 81. J. Zingerle, in *Sirena Buliciana* (Zagreb 1924) 186 n.3, and *JOAIBeibl* 23 (1926) 67–72. G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus* (Leipzig 1938) 129–31.] F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven* IV (= *AbhMainz* 1963.10) 136f.

INSCR.: *κυρία Δημήτηρ βασίλισσα* is invoked (*προσπίπτω ὁ δοῦλός σου*) to punish someone who beguiled the slaves of the *defigens* to escape. There is a reminiscence, in the phrase *μὴ γῆ, μὴ θάλασσα καρπὸν ἐνένκαίτο*, of the kind of curse often found in public inscriptions (see Homolle 426 n.3). The wording also resembles that of some of the official *enteuxeis* preserved on papyrus (Zingerle).

ERETRIA?

61. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. DATE: IV^a. BIBL.: Ziebarth 4.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Very fragmentary, but the word *ἀντιδίκους* suggests judiciary purpose. The verb *καταδῶ* is used.

62. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.04, W. 0.07. Nail holes. DATE: III^a?. BIBL.: Ziebarth 20.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Very fragmentary. Side A: apparently a list of names (case-endings not preserved). Side B: *πρὸς τὰς Πραξιδίκας, πρὸς Ἐρ[μῆν] . . . Λ.*

63. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: H. not given; W. ca 0.04. BIBL.: Ziebarth 21.

INSCR.: Published text: *Χά{ι}ριπ<π>ον / καταδῶ [E]ύδη - - - / . . . λιπον.*

KARYSTOS

64. LOC.: Froehner Collection, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. TABLET: H. 0.09, W. 0.05. Flat molded lead figurine, sex not indicated. DATE: IV^a (Guarducci). BIBL.: Robert, *Coll. Froehner* 13 (phot., Pl. VIII). Guarducci 248f.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: two curses, one below and at right angles to the other. The first begins *καταγράφω Εἰσιάδα τὴν Α<υ>τοκλέας πρὸς τὸν Ἐρμῆ τὸν κάτοχον*, the second the same except that the verb is *καταδεσμεύω*. They continue, the first with *κάτεχε αὐτὴ<ν> παρὰ σα<ν>-τόν* and the second with *[χ]ῆρες, πόδες Εἰσιάδος, σῶμα* (*vidi*: *Εἰσιάδα, σῶμα* Robert). Side B (previously unrecorded): at least one line of text, badly damaged.

SAMOTHRACE

[E. B. Dusenbery, *Archaeology* 20 (1967) 117f (phot., 119), has announced the discovery, in the South Necropolis but not in a grave, of a defixio with a

ten-line text consisting of a list of names. The letter forms suggest IV^a. Now in the Samothrace Museum.]

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

65. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 9345. TABLET: H. 0.095, W. 0.08. Eleven nail holes. DATE: IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Ziebarth 11. INSCR.: Names (?), possibly written in code, before and after the words τῆ<ν> ῥίνα.

66. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: H. 0.05, W. 0.04. DATE: IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Ziebarth 10.

INSCR.: “Buchstaben . . . von rechts nach links laufend.” The published text: [Σω]σίβιος / vac. ασκη vac. / [Νεκ]τανιβίου vac. / vac. / Ἄρισ vac. / κα.

67. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.05. DATE: IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Ziebarth 9. +O. Kern, *GGA* 204 (1942) 21 n.1.

INSCR.: Apparently a list of names (acc.), at least one a woman's, another followed by a name in the genitive, then [κα]ί ἱερέα καὶ τε[λ]οστ[ῆ]ν (for -[λ]εστ-) Ἀρτέμιδος καί - - -. The curse formula seems to be καταδῶ (vidi: -δέ[ω] Ziebarth) πρὸς <τ>ῆν [Ἐκάτην (?)] τῆ[ν] χθονίαν [καὶ - - -] καὶ τὸ[ν] Ἐρμῆν (?).

68. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. TABLET: H. 0.03, W. 0.06. DATE: IV^a (letter forms, with inferences from prosopography). BIBL.: Ziebarth 2 (phot., Taf. 1).

INSCR.: Judiciary: καταδῶ Καλλίστρατον καὶ τοὺς συνηγόρου[ς] αὐτοῦ πάντας καταδῶ.

69. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470.8. TABLET: H. 0.06, W. 0.06. DATE: IV^a or III^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Ziebarth 6, using readings by O. Weinreich.

INSCR.: The *defigens* curses (καταδῶ) the works and bodily parts (?) of two men.

70. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, TABLET: In two pieces. Fr. i: H. 0.08, max. pr. W. 0.05; fr. ii: H. 0.04, max. pr. W. 0.05. DATE: “Late writing.” BIBL.: Ziebarth 27.

INSCR.: Fragmentary. Hekate *katachthonia* and Kerberos seem to be invoked.

71. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: H. 0.035, W. 0.1. BIBL.: Ziebarth 3.

INSCR.: Judiciary. Published text: Κράτων[α], Δη[μ]ίαν (for -έαν Ziebarth) {λ} [κ]αταδῶ [σ]υνδίκους.

72. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.08, max. pr. W. 0.07. Two nail holes. BIBL.: Ziebarth 7. +E. Ziebarth, *GGA* 204 (1942) 21 n.1. INSCR.: Mostly lost. A woman identified by name and profession (she is a seamstress) is cursed ([κατα]δῶ), as well as a man identified by name only.

73. National Museum, Athens. TABLET: H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.05. One nail hole. BIBL.: Ziebarth 8. +A. Rehm, *GGA* 204 (1942) 21 n.1.

INSCR.: Against a Νίκων[α Ἐφ]έσιον, his mind, his business, and his house (?), all in the accusative. No governing verb.

74. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470.4. TABLET: H. 0.04, W. 0.06. BIBL.: Ziebarth 12, using Weinreich's readings.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Apparently a list of men's and women's names (nom.).

75. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.035, W. 0.13. BIBL.: Ziebarth 13, using Weinreich's readings.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic, beginning Ἐρμῆ κά[τ]οχε κα<ι> Γῆ κάτοχε κα<ι> Φρεσσ[ε]φόνη· κάτεχε Ἀφροδίτην. Against Aphrodite, her tongue, soul, chattel.

76. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. TABLET: H. 0.085, W. 0.04. BIBL.: Ziebarth 14, published unseen, from Weinreich's readings.

INSCR.: A list of men's names (nom.).

77. LOC.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.015, max. pr. W. 0.03. BIBL.: Ziebarth 16, using Weinreich's readings.

INSCR.: A small chip whose preserved text has no discernible meaning.

78. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. BIBL.: Ziebarth 17, using Weinreich's readings.

INSCR.: Mostly lost. A list of names (nom.)? "Buchstaben meist von rechts nach links."

79. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. TABLET: In two pieces. Fr. i: max. pr. H. 0.025, max. pr. W. 0.06; fr. ii: H. 0.025, max. pr. W. 0.055. BIBL.: Ziebarth 26.

INSCR.: Published text: Fr. i, ἐν/καταγράφω ἀποκερύττω / Ξεφίλον ο; Fr. ii, [Ἐ]κάτη καταχθο[νία] / καὶ Περσεφόνη.

80. National Museum, Athens. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.04, max. pr. W. 0.05. BIBL.: Ziebarth 28.

INSCR.: Mostly lost. (Finger?)nails, eyes (?), the spine, and the feet are mentioned.

81. LOC.: National Museum, Athens. BIBL.: Ziebarth 29.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A begins [κα]τέχετε Τιμαθεν ("Τιμά<ν>-θην?" Ziebarth: correct to τιμάς ἐν?) Ὀλύμπω and after a lacuna resumes with what may be part of a dactylic verse (καὶ φοβερῆ κατ' Ὀλυμπον) but after another lacuna seems to have reverted to prose (κατὰ Νικάνδρα<ς?> ὀρκί[ζω]). Side B, to judge from the published text, contains only magical words.

ILLYRICUM

DOMAVIA (Srebrnica)

[M. Šašel Kos writes me that D. Srejšević, *Clanci i grada* (a local historical journal published at Tuzla, Bosnia) 6 (1965) 10f (*non vidi*), has announced the discovery of a defixio with cursive Greek writing.]

SISCIA

82. Loc.: National Museum, Zagreb. Prov.: The bed of the river Kupa (ancient Kolapis). TABLET: Irregularly shaped. H. 0.148, W. 0.102. Folded horizontally six times, then pierced with a nail. BIBL.: V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien I* (Zagreb 1938) 526 (phot., p.240). INSCR.: A column of men's (?) names, some abbreviated, most followed by a raised dot. Most names are Latin in Greek transliteration. One of the men is described as ἐπτεύξας ἀπόσιμα (for -σημα, *addendum lexicis*) "treating of (serving?) a legal summons (?)."

AUSTRIA

DONNERSKIRCHEN

83. Prov.: Findspot unknown; tablet discovered in 1974 by H. Novak of Vienna. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.045, max. pr. W. 0.078. DATE: IV^p. BIBL.: E. Weber, *RömÖsterr* 3 (1975) 286–88 (phot., Taf. 22.1; drawing, 287). INSCR.: Published text: Ἀθήνα² αβλανα² αναλ³βα Ἰάω Πλ[ούτων?] ἄτον Πόγ- [τιον?] ⁵ "Vollig überraschend und auch sonst, soviel ich sehe, nicht belegt ist, dass als erste Gottheit an den Spitze Athene angerufen wird."

BURGENLAND

[Weber (*supra* 83) 288 (phot., Taf. 22.2) has announced the discovery in 1973 of a lead tablet. "Sie war in ein starkes, jetzt an der Oberseite zum Teil weggebrochenes Bleiblech eingeschlagen. Zusätzlich hatte man versucht, durch Platte und Umschlag einen starken vierkantigen Nagel (?) zu trieben, doch ist das nicht vollständig gelungen: das Loch geht nicht ganz durch. Alle diese Anzeichen sprechen für eine allerdings auffallend grosse und schwere tabella defixionis." It is of course too early to know whether the tablet is inscribed in Greek.]

SICILY

KAMARINA

Necropolis at Passo Marinaro

84. Loc.: Syracuse Museum. TABLET: H. 0.013, W. 0.080. DATE: V^a or IV^a (Olivieri, from letter forms); ca 450^a (Jeffery, Miller). BIBL.: P. Orsi, *Mon Ant* 14 (1904) 922–25 (drawing of Side A, Fig. 119), with notes by A. Olivieri. +A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftenkunde* (=SonderschrWien 7 [1909]) 211. Pace 9 (same drawing, Fig. 65). [Jeffery, "Comments" 14, *LSAG* 276 no. 20.] +Miller 22.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. "Traces of women's names" (Jeffery, "Comments"). Side A: Orsi's drawing implies Λάκαινα Δαμαρέτα ANAΘΙΜΕΝΗ (Ἀναξιμένης Wilhelm, taking the Σ of ΚΥΤΑΣΙ below to be part of this word) / [Λάκαινα (?) Δαμ]αρέτα ΚΥΤΑΣΙ (κ' υἰάσι? Olivieri; Κύ<ρ>τα Wilhelm). Side B: AVIA (e.g. κ|α<ι> υἰά[σι]?).

85. Loc.: Syracuse Museum. TABLET: H. 0.024, W. 0.115; the inscribed part is pierced with a nail. DATE: V^a or IV^a (Olivieri, from letter forms); mid-V^a?

(Jeffery). BIBL.: Orsi (*supra* 84) 922–25 (drawing of Side A, Fig. 120), with notes by Olivieri. Pace 10 (same drawing of Side A, Fig. 66). [Jeffery, “Comments” 15.]

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Very fragmentary. Side A: apparently two names (nom.) spelled backwards. Side B: ΛΕΜΑ.

86. LOC.: Syracuse Museum? PROV.: A grave. TABLET: Oval. H. 0.050, W. 0.083. DATE: V^a OR IV^a (Olivieri); late V^a? (Jeffery); late V^a (Miller). BIBL.: Orsi (*supra* 84) 925f (drawing, Fig. 121), with notes by Olivieri. Pace 11 (same drawing, Fig. 67). [Jeffery, “Comments” 16.] Miller 24.

INSCR.: Apparently a list of names (nom. or nom.+gen.)

87. LOC.: Syracuse Museum, inv. 23963. TABLET: H. 0.0825, W. 0.165. DATE: The period immediately before 482^a (Ribezzo); *ca* 450^a? (Jeffery); *ca* 450^a (Miller). BIBL.: F. Ribezzo, *RivIGI* 8 (1924) 263–65 (drawing, 264). *SEG 4.29, with emendations by G. Crönert and E. Schwyzer. Pace 12. [Jeffery, “Comments” 17, *LSAG* 279 no. 12.] Miller 20.

INSCR.: Μένον Δαμέα ἐν[γράφει (?)] plus a list of names (mostly acc., three [one of them a woman’s] nom.). Most of the men’s names are followed by those of their fathers (gen.), the woman’s by her mother’s (gen.).

88. LOC.: Syracuse Museum, inv. 24086. TABLET: 0.041 × 0.035 (*sic*). DATE: *Ca* 450^a? (Jeffery, Miller), *ca* 450^a–425^a (SEG). BIBL.: Ribezzo (*supra* 87) 266–68 (drawing, 266). A. Vogliano, *BFC* 32 (1925–26) 161 (*non vidi*). *SEG 4.30, with emendations by Crönert and Schwyzer. Pace 13. +Jeffery, “Comments” 18, *LSAG* [276 no. 18], 411 (partial drawing, Pl. 52). SEG 16.542. Miller 21.

INSCR.: Boustrophedon. [οἷ]δε (or τοῖ]δε) γεγράβεται ἐπὶ δυσπραγί[αι τῶν] κέρδον, plus a list of names (nom. or nom.+gen.). Ends [οἷ]δε (or [τοῖ]δε) πάντες δύσσοοι.

Exact provenance unknown

89. LOC.: Syracuse Museum, inv. 24089. DATE: II^a (SEG). BIBL.: F. Ribezzo, *RivIGI* 11 (1927) 147ff (with drawing) (*non vidi*). *SEG 4.31, with emendations by Crönert.

INSCR.: Judiciary. Against several persons (nom.+gen.). At least three and possibly four are sons of one man, Aristomachos. Ends καὶ ἄλλος, ὅστ[ις μ]αρτυρήσῃ Ἀριστομάχῳ, ἐ[ν]γέγραντ[αι] (?) καὶ τῆνοι καὶ τῆνος Ἀ[ρι]στόμαχος Ἀρίστω [ὄλ]λυστα[ι] (?).

GELA

90. LOC.: Gela Museum? PROV.: Under a skeleton in Grave 19 of the necropolis. TABLET: Now in three pieces. Combined dimensions: H. 0.055, W. 0.55. DATE: V^a (Guarducci); *ca* 450^a (Miller). BIBL.: [P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 17 (1906) 472–74 (drawing, Fig. 326). Jeffery, “Comments” 13. M. Guarducci, *ASAtene* n.s. 21–22 (1959–60) 269 (another [?] drawing, Fig. 13). Jeffery, *LSAG* 278 no. 57.] Miller 54. [A. Brugnone, *Kokalos* 24 (1978) 66 (drawing reproduced from Guarducci, Fig. 2).]

INSCR.: Possibly a list of names (nom.?) spelled backwards.

91. LOC.: Rare Book Room, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. PROV.: Deduced from letter forms. TABLET: H. 0.062, W. 0.171. DATE: Ca 450^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Miller pp.65–109 (drawing, 68).

INSCR.: Written, in the 'red' alphabet, on the back of an earlier official document in the 'blue' alphabet. A man curses (*ἀπογράφω*), on behalf of another man (Eunikos), all *χορηγοί*, their children, and their fathers, "to futility both in the contest and outside the contest." "Let no one be more successful with men or women than Eunikos." The text ends, "may they preserve victory for Eunikos always (and) everywhere Because of my friendship for Eunikos I write (this)" (Miller's translation).

PHILOSOPHIANA? (Sofiana)

[D. Ademesteanu, *BdA* IV.48 (1963) 263f and 273 (phot., Fig. 9), has announced the discovery, in the course of investigations of the early Christian basilica and cemetery in the region of Sofiana (south of the River Gela), of an inscribed lead tablet found in a context dated by a coin of Herakleios. Neither the tenor nor even the language of the text is apparent from the photograph.]

PHINTIAS

92. LOC.: Licata Museum? TABLET: H. 0.19, W. 0.09, Th. 0.02. DATE: II^a/I^a (Latin onomastics, orthography, letter forms). BIBL.: G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81) 458 (phot., Tav. XXVI). *SEG* 31.837.

INSCR.: Men's names (nom.) plus *καταγράφω*.

AKRAGAS

93. LOC.: In a private collection at Rome. PROV.: A pot that contained ashes and bones, discovered at the beginning of this century. TABLET: H. 0.054, max. pr. W. 0.073. DATE: V^a (Pandolfini, from letter forms); end of VI^a or beginning of V^a (Crevatin, from letter forms). BIBL.: [M. Pandolfini, *ArchCl* 27 (1975) 46f (phot., Tav. XXI; drawing, Fig. 1).] F. Crevatin, *ibid.* 47–49. [Brugnone (*supra* 91) 63–68 (same drawing, Fig. 1).]

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Names (nom.) spelled backwards, embedded in a text that is otherwise for the most part incomprehensible.

SELINOUS

Necropolis at Buffa

94. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.098. DATE: Second half of VI^a (Brugnone, from letter forms); ca 500^a (A. E. Raubitschek, private communication, from spelling and letter forms). Later still? BIBL.: Brugnone 1 (phot., Tav. II). *SEG* 26.1112.

INSCR.: Boustrophedon. Published text: --]κοίνῶ<ι> καλῆι εἰ ἀτέλε²στα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα εἰ³να]ι καὶ Σικανῶι ἀτέλε⁴στα vac. καὶ ἔπε[α εἰ⁵να]ι καλῆι εἰ. I very tentatively read, from the photograph:] κ' Οἰνοκ[α]λῆι εἰ (possibly for εἴη?: Raubitschek) ἀτέλε²στα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα εἰ³ι καὶ Σικανῶι ἀτέλε⁴στα vac. καὶ ἔπε[α Οἰ⁵ν]οκ[α]λῆι εἰ. I should welcome better suggestions.

95. TABLET: H. 0.037, W. 0.025–0.04. DATE: End of VI^a (Brugnone, from letter forms); *ca* 500^a (A. E. Raubitschek, private communication, from spelling and letter forms). Later still? BIBL.: Brugnone 2 (phot., Tav. III, IV, V). *SEG* 26.1113.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Boustrophedon. Judiciary. Curses the tongues of a man and his *σύνδιφοι*.

96. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.065, max. pr. W. 0.103. DATE: End of VI^a. BIBL.: Brugnone 3 (phot., Tav. VI). *SEG* 26.1114.

INSCR.: Three names (nom.).

97. TABLET: H. 0.037, W. 0.0625. DATE: Beginning of V^a (but *cf.* **95**). BIBL.: Brugnone 4 (phot., Tav. VII, Fig. 1). *SEG* 26.1115.

INSCR.: Published text: *χαμ<α>ὶ σ' ἐπέχω² κα<ν> νόσο ῥοπαὶ³ ἐπ' ἀτελείαι ἡο⁴ εἰ[.]κα[. .]εἰ[. .]οῦντι.*

98. TABLET: Broken on all sides; max. pr. H. 0.029, max. pr. W. 0.023. DATE: First half of V^a. BIBL.: Brugnone 5 (phot., Tav. VII, Fig. 2). *SEG* 26.1116.

INSCR.: Parts of six letters are preserved that suggest no interpretation.

Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Gaggara

99. LOC.: Now completely disintegrated. The Palermo Museum has a photograph in its archives. TABLET: Roundish: max. Diam. *ca* 0.043. DATE: VI^a or V^a (Comparetti); early V^a (Schwyzer); possibly earlier than 450^a (Gàbrici); *ca* 500^a–475^a? (Jeffery); *ca* 500^a–475^a (Miller). BIBL.: D. Comparetti, *Rend Linc* V.27 (1918) 193–97 (drawing, 194). Schwyzer, *DGE* 167a(1). Schwyzer, *RhM* 73 (1924) 426–29. V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Olivieri, *Inscriptiones graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertinentes* (Milan 1925) 23 (phot. facing pp.160, 162). F. Ribezzo, *RivIGI* 9 (1925) 64. +K. Latte, *Gnomon* 3 (1927) 375f. Gàbrici 12 (Comparetti's drawing, Fig. 180). *SEG* 4.37 (Side A), 38 (Side B). [P. Jacobsthal, *Diskoi* (Berlin 1933) 30–32 (Comparetti's drawing of Side B, Abb. 22). Jeffery, "Comments" 1, *LSAG* 277 no. 38a.] Miller 36. J. Heurgon, *Kokalos* 18–19 (1972–73) 70–74, without knowing Miller. [G. Manganaro, *ibid.* 75f.]

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. The writing on Side A is in more or less distinct lines; that on Side B is spiral. Side A begins *Σελινόωντιος [κ]αὶ ἡ Σελινόωντιό γλῶσσα ἀπεστραμέν' ἐπ' ἀτ<ε>λείαι ἐνγράφω τῶν τένον.* The curse is repeated for the *ξένοι σύνδιφοι* (discussed by Heurgon) and (on Side B) for a Timaso and a Tyrrhana.

100. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: Probably originally oval, but partly destroyed on being unrolled; max. pr. Diam. 0.053. DATE: Same as **99**. BIBL.: Gàbrici 13, with readings by A. Olivieri (drawing, Fig. 181). [Jeffery, "Comments" 2.] Miller 40.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Follows the same formula as **99**, with different names of the intended victims.

101. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: H. 0.05, W. 0.1. DATE: VI^a or V^a (Comparetti); V^a (Schwyzer, Miller); first half of V^a (Jeffery). BIBL.: Com-

paretti (*supra* 99) 197–99 (Gàbrici's drawing, 198). Schwyzer, *DGE* 167a(2). Gàbrici 16 (same drawing, Fig. 184). Jeffery, "Comments" 4. Miller 42.

INSCR.: A list of names (nom.), seven of men, one possibly of a woman, to the left of them the sign >, interpreted by the editors as γ(ράφο).

102. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.045, max. pr. W. 0.07. DATE: Mid-V^a or slightly earlier (Jeffery). BIBL.: Gàbrici 19 (drawing, Fig. 187). [Jeffery, "Comments" 7.]

INSCR.: Sense unclear.

103. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: H. 0.112, W. 0.05. Nail hole? BIBL.: Gàbrici 18 (drawing, Fig. 186). [Jeffery, "Comments" 6.]

INSCR.: Apparently a list of abbreviated (?) names written in a column.

104. LOC.: Palermo Museum? TABLET: H. 0.046, W. 0.126. DATE: Ca mid-V^a or slightly later (Jeffery); V^a (Miller). BIBL.: Gàbrici 15 (drawing, Fig. 183). *Jeffery, "Comments" 3. *SEG* 16.571. Miller 43.

INSCR.: εἰεν ἐξόλειαι (Jeffery: ἐσθίετε οἰνεῖαι Gàbrici) καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γενεᾶς plus a list of men's names (nom. or nom.+gen.). At least two of the intended victims are further qualified as Herakleidai.

105. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: H. 0.06, W. 0.12. DATE: V^a Miller. BIBL.: Gàbrici 17 (drawing, Fig. 185). Jeffery, "Comments" 5. *SEG* 16.572.

INSCR.: Spelled backwards, often with the order of the letters scrambled. A list of names (nom.).

106. LOC.: Palermo Museum. DATE: Possibly early IV^a (Jeffery); shortly before 409^a (Schwyzer); last years of V^a (Gàbrici, Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri); "Gàbrici's late fifth dating is more reasonable than Miss Jeffery's tentative 'early fourth'" (Calder). BIBL.: Comparetti (*supra* 99) 199–202 (drawing, 199). Gàbrici 14, with readings by Olivieri (same drawing, Fig. 182). Schwyzer, *DGE* 167a(3). Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri (*supra* 99) 24. [Jeffery, "Comments" p.72. W. M. Calder III, *Philologus* 107 (1963) 172 n.6.]

INSCR.: Three names (all nom., if Ζιλίαν [African? Comparetti] is nom.) followed by καὶ ὄσστις ὑπὲρ τήνων μέλλει ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράσειν. Σελινῶι <ε>νόμασαν (?) χείρ[ω]μα (Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri: χρήσιμα Comparetti). In the right-hand margin after the list of names there is the sign Δ (= δ(ιδονται)? Comparetti).

[In addition, drawings of two very fragmentary tablets appear in Gàbrici's publication (his 20 [drawing, Fig. 188]) = Jeffery, "Comments" 8; his 21 [drawing, Fig. 189] = "Comments" 9), without transcriptions. The first may be boustrophedon. Jeffery dates them both V^a.]

Just outside the sanctuary walls

107. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: H. 0.099, W. 0.172. DATE: 450^a or earlier (Ferri, from spelling); 475^a–450^a? (Jeffery, followed by Masson); between 99 and 104 (Calder); 475^a–450^a (Miller). BIBL.: S. Ferri, *NSc* VII.5–6 (1944–45) 168–73 (phot., Fig. 1; drawing, Fig. 2). A. Olivieri, *Rend Nap* n.s. 23 (1946–49) 193–202 (*non vidi*). [J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.*

1950, 244.] +Jeffery, "Comments" 10. *SEG* 16.573. Calder (*supra* 106) 163–72. *L. H. Jeffery, *Philologus* 108 (1964) 211–16. *O. Masson, *BCH* 96 (1972) 375–88 (phot., Fig. 1, 2). Miller 37.

INSCR.: In two parts, separated by a horizontal line. In the upper part, the text begins [A]πελον τὸν Λυκίνο κα[κα]ταγράφο παρ τὰν ἡαγνὰν [θ]εόν, τὰν ψυχὰν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰν δύνασιν. The curse is then repeated six times, with ellipses, variations, and (so I assume) mistakes, for other victims, likewise qualified with their fathers' names. The lower part is a list of names (nom. + gen.), some of them the same as those in the upper part.

108. LOC.: Palermo Museum. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.044, max. pr. W. 0.072. DATE: Ca 475^a–450^a? (Jeffery); ca 475^a–450^a (Miller). BIBL.: Ferri (*supra* 107) 174 (drawing, Fig. 3). *Jeffery, "Comments" 11. *SEG* 16.574. Miller 38. Heurgon (*supra* 99) 72, without knowing Miller.

INSCR.: Judiciary. The formula is apparently the same as that of 99.

LILYBAION

109. LOC.: Palermo Museum. PROV.: From a grave. TABLET: H. 0.167(?), W. 0.11(?). DATE: Not given. II^a? (letter forms). BIBL.: E. Gàbrici, *NSc* VII.2 (1941) 296–99 (drawings, Fig. 54, 55). *Epigraphica* 5–6 (1942–43) 133 no. 1929.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Spelled backwards. Begins δέομαί σου and invokes Hermes *katochos*, Kerberos, Persephone, and the Telchines. The intended victim's bodily parts are enumerated. The formula πέμπω δῶρον (*cf.* 54) is used, but its significance is not clear from the published text.

110. LOC.: Palermo Museum. PROV.: A grave. DATE: Not given; I^a or I^p? (letter forms). BIBL.: Gàbrici (*supra* 109) 299–302 (drawing, Fig. 56). *Epigraphica* 5–6 (1942–43) 133 no. 1929.

INSCR.: A list of Latin names of men and women in Greek transcription (nom. or nom. + gen.), followed by καὶ τοῦ<ς> ὑπὲρ ετους (for αὐτοῦς? τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἔτους Gàbrici) ἅπαντας.

PANORMOS or vicinity

111. PROV.: "Among terracotta fragments in the Virzi Collection, presumably from the Palermo region." TABLET: H. 0.05, W. 0.102. DATE: Ca 500^a (letter forms). BIBL.: G. Manganaro, *AnnPisa* 7 (1977) 1335–38 (phot., Tav. LVII, LVIII). *SEG* 27.656.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Published text: Side A: Σιμέ : Πρατομακες : ²Λεπτίνας : Πραξίας ³ΡΛΤ' []OKVKVIEΣ (*i.e.* {κν} κ' υἱες?) : ⁴Αραοτές : πυριν : πεσ. [- -] ⁵-τιλλαμ : πέδαν : . . [- -] ⁶τε πεσα vac. ⁷RE. Side B: [- -]ν ΠΥΤΑΙ τοτε πε[.]αι (*e.g.* ἐ]ν πύται τοτε πε[σ]εἰ[ν? Manganaro) ²[- -]EATVI . . . N.L.V ³vac. ⁴vac. ⁵REDEITI . . . IRI.

HIMERA

[M. T. Manni Piraino, *REA* 71 (1969) 301–04 (phot., Pl. III), 72 (1970) 383, and, with fuller readings, *Quaderno imerese* (= *Studi e materiali IstArchUnivPa-*

lermo 1 [Rome 1972]) 106–09 (better phot., Tav. LIV.1, 2; LV.1; drawing of inside, LV.2), has published an opisthographic lead tablet, whose letter forms suggest to her the first quarter of V^a, found at the base of an interior wall of a house of mid-V^a. The text, which she interprets as a personal letter requesting hospitality for a friend, seems to me not well enough preserved to reveal its nature; I report the tablet here because it may in fact be a defixio. Published text: (outside) *Ενοπιδας* *ηιαλε* ²*διευχες* : *λοχαγος* ³*διαιτις* (inside) [– – – *εϋχο*]μαι *ἵνα* *μ*²[*ε* – – –] *ε*³[*ο*] *ξέγ*[*ο*ν – – – *εϋ* *ἄ*]νεσθαι ⁴[*ο*]ιδος *νοσ*[– – –].]

MESSANA, necropolis at S. Placido

112. LOC.: Messina Museum? PROV.: Beside the skull of a skeleton. TABLET: H. 0.068, max. pr. W. 0.166. DATE: Not given; I^p or II^p? (letter forms). BIBL.: P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 24 (1916) 154–59 (drawing by D. Comparetti, Fig. 25).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Most of the text seems preserved, but it is difficult to interpret as published. The Nymphs (or the *Νυμφικαί*, spelled -*κέ*?) are addressed, as well as Kore (?) and the Erinyes (?), with the verb *παρακατατίθεμε* (for -μαι).

113. Messina Museum? PROV.: Found near **112**. TABLET: H. 0.062, W. 0.071. DATE: Not given; same as **112**? BIBL.: Orsi (*supra* **112**) 160 (drawing by Comparetti, Fig. 26), with Comparetti's notes.

INSCR.: Crudely inscribed piece, almost illegible. ΕΛΠΙΔΟΥΔΙ/Δ Μ[plus traces of three more lines. The drawing by Comparetti suggests that the tablet may have originally had some other inscription before the present text was written over it, or even (as L. H. Jeffery has speculated to me privately) that an illiterate person wrote the later text.

114. LOC.: Messina Museum? PROV.: A grave. The tablet was apparently dropped in through a tube. TABLET: H. 0.026, W. 0.16. DATE: II^p? SEG. BIBL.: Orsi (*supra* **112**) 167–69 (drawing by Comparetti, Fig. 34), with Comparetti's notes. *A. Vogliano, *BPW* 45 (1925) 1937. *SEG 4.47, with emendations by G. Crönert.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Vogliano's text: Side A: Βαλερίαν Ἀρσινόην τὴν σκύ²ζαιν (for -ζαν) σλώλ{λ}ηκες τὴν ἄμαρ³τωλὸν Ἀρσινόην κ(αί) μελέαν. Side B: Βαλερίαν Ἀρσινόην τὴν ἄμαρ²τωλὸν νόσος, τὴν σκύζαν [[αν]] σῆ³ψις.

KENTORIPA

115. LOC.: Syracuse Museum, inv. 39856. PROV.: From a grave. DATE: I^p? (Comparetti, from letter forms). BIBL.: D. Comparetti, *ArchStorSicilia* 16–17 (1919–20) 197–200 (drawing, 199). Ribezzo (*supra* **89**) 145ff (*non vidi*). *SEG 4.61, with emendations by G. Crönert and A. Wilhelm.

INSCR.: The text in SEG: Κυρεία, ἐξαροις (ἐξεγ- Comparetti) τὸν Ἐλε<ύ>-θ[ε]²ρον· ἄν ἐ<κ>δεικῆσσης με, ³ποιῶω ἀργύρε[ο]ν σπάδικα, ⁴ἄν ἐξάρης αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶ ἄν⁵θρωπείνου γένεος.

MORGANTINA

116. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 62-820. PROV.: "In the fill of the adyton of the small sacellum in the southern corner of the [chthonic] shrine" lying "just east of the theater in the southwest quadrant of the Hellenistic agora" (Nabers). For a discussion of the shrine see R. Stillwell, *AJA* 67 (1963) 164f, and E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 68 (1964) 141-44. TABLET: Max pr. H. 0.07, max. pr. W. 0.125. DATE: "The tablets belong to a late phase of the city, perhaps as late as the first century B.C." (Nabers, from context and letter forms). BIBL.: Stillwell 165, with notes by N. Nabers. *Nabers 1 (phot., Pl. 65.1). *SEG* 29.927.

INSCR. (*vidi*): ¹[- - -] ²άρχα (masc. gen.: Βρυσα[. . .] Nabers) ³τὰν λιβέρ-
[τ]⁴αν αὐτᾶς (λίβε[ρταν ⁴τ]αύτας Nabers) παρδέξαι ⁵Πλούτω καὶ Γᾶ καὶ
⁶Ἑρμᾶ.

117. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 63-270. PROV.: "Against the large circular altar which dominates the court immediately to the east of the sacellum" in the same chthonic shrine. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.082, max. pr. W. 0.113. DATE: See **116**. BIBL.: Nabers 3 (phot., Pl. 65.2). *SEG* 29.929.

INSCR.: Three women's names (gen., unless the first, published as Ἐρωτικῆν, is in fact acc.), one of them identified as a *liberta*, followed by Γᾶ, Ἑρμᾶ, Φερσεφόνα, π[ο]τιδ[ε]ξαί . . . ΓΑ.

118. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 62-1724. PROV.: "The uppermost section of the well-altar or immediately outside it" (Nabers). TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.092, max. pr. W. 0.046. DATE: See **116**. BIBL.: Stillwell (*supra* **116**) 165 (phot., Pl. 35.9). [N. Nabers, *AJA* 70 (1966) 67.] Nabers 4 (phot., Pl. 65.3). Guarducci 250 (phot., Fig. 70). [*SEG* 29.930.]

INSCR.: Naber's text: Γᾶ, Ἑρμᾶ, ²θεοὶ κατα³χθόνιοι, πο⁴τιδέεσθε ⁵τὰν Βενού⁶σταν τοῦ ⁷Ρούφου τὰ⁸ν θεράπαι⁹ναν.

119. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 62-1730. PROV.: Same as **118**. TABLET: H. 0.105, max. pr. W. 0.055. DATE: See **116**. BIBL.: Nabers 5. *SEG* 29.931.

INSCR.: The same text as **118**.

120. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 62-1728. PROV.: Same as **118**. TABLET: H. 0.055, max. pr. W. 0.100. DATE: See **116**. BIBL.: N. Nabers, *AJA* 70 (1966) 68. *Nabers 6 (phot., Pl. 65.4). *SEG* 29.932.

INSCR.: Published text, Γᾶ, Ἑρμᾶ, θεοὶ ²κα[τ]αχθόνιοι ἀπαγάγετε τὰν Βενού[σταν] ³τοῦ Ρούφου[ν] . . . IOY, plus traces of another line of letters.

121. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 62-1725. PROV.: Same as **118**. TABLET: H. 0.039, max. pr. W. 0.092. DATE: See **116**. BIBL.: Nabers 7 (phot., Pl. 65.5). *SEG* 29.933.

INSCR.: The same gods are invoked against a Venusta, who is this time identified as a servant of Sextus.

[Excavations of the sanctuary yielded three other inscribed lead tablets that are too damaged to read. One (Nabers 2 = *SEG* 29.928; Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 63-1201), found "built into the rubble altar at the rear of

the adyton together with a number of small plain lamps," shows traces of at least four lines of text. The second (Nabers 8 = *SEG* 29.934; inv. 62-1729), now in two fragments of which the larger shows traces of seven lines of text, and the third (Nabers 9 = *SEG* 29.935; inv. 62-1727), with "a four-bar sigma and an angular epsilon" among other letters, were found "deep within the fill of the well-altar" and are evidently somewhat earlier than the other tablets. Nabers (*supra* 120) 67f argues that all the legible tablets except 120 are not defixiones but "pious prayers," and J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1966, 518, offer support of this identification; for arguments that all the Morgantina tablets may be defixiones see Guarducci 251 and Jordan (*supra* 13) 236-38.]

SICILY OR SOUTHERN ITALY

122. DATE: V^a or IV^a (letter forms). BIBL.: Comparetti (*supra* 115) 194-97. INSCR.: A crude lead figurine of a man with ten lines of text on his chest. The words recognizable in the published transcription are all men's names (nom.).

ITALY

LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

123. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria. PROV.: A tomb of III^a. DATE: III^a. BIBL.: F. Costabile, *Municipium Locrensium, Istituzioni ed organizzazione sociale di Locri romana* (Naples 1976) 68 (drawing, Tav. XXII, Fig. 42). *A. Landi, *Dialecti e interazione sociale in Magna Grecia* (1979) no. 244 (Costabile's drawing, Tav. LXXVII).

INSCR.: The tablet is broken away at the left and no line is safely restorable. Among what is preserved, Hermes and Ge are named (nom.? voc.? dat.?) as well as several men's and women's names (acc.).

LAOS

[G. Pugliese Carratelli has informed me that he plans to publish several defixiones found in a grave here.]

METAPONTION

124. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Taranto, inv. 109295. PROV.: A grave of IV^a or early III^a. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.067, W. 0.05. DATE: III^a (from spelling and grammar). BIBL.: F. G. Lo Porto, *ParPass* 35 (1980) 282-88 (phot., drawing, 283). +M. Gigante, *ibid.* 381f. *SEG* 30.1175.

INSCR.: Published text: κα<τα>δίδημι τῶνδ<ε> ²πρῶτον ἐργαστήρ[ι]³ον· καταδίδημι ὤ[σστε] ⁴μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀλλὰ ⁵ἀεργεῖν καὶ ἀτυχεῖν. ⁶τῶν τοῦδε κακῶν ⁷[πά]λιν καταδίδημι τοῦ[ς] (τοῦ[δε] Gigante) ⁸[τ]ῶν ἰατρῶν ὥσστε μὴ ἐργ⁹[άζε]σθαι ἀλλ' ἀργεῖν (ἀ<ε>ργεῖν Gigante) ¹⁰[τ]οὺς ἐν τῶι βολίμωι γε¹¹[γρα]μένους πάντας, plus at least fourteen men's names.

TARAS

125. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 111486. PROV.: A grave. TABLET: H. 0.085, W. 0.037. DATE: IV^a or III^a (Landi). BIBL.: Fiorelli, *NSc* 1880, 34,

with notes by D. Comparetti. *SGDI* 4616(I). Schwyzer, *DGE* 80. *IG* XIV 668(I). Landi (*supra* 123) no. 194a (phot., Tav. LXVI).

INSCR.: A list of men's and women's names (nom.).

126. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 111485. PROV.: Same as 125.

TABLET: H. 0.085, W. 0.037. DATE: IV^a or III^a (Landi). BIBL.: Fiorelli (*supra* 125) 34, with notes by Comparetti. *SGDI* 4616(II). Schwyzer, *DGE* 80. *IG* XIV 668(II). Landi (*supra* 123) no. 194b (phot., Tav. LXVI).

INSCR.: A list of men's and women's names (nom.).

TORANO CASTELLO (near Cosenza)

127. LOC.: From the necropolis. BIBL.: O. Cavalcanti, *La zona archeologica di Torano Castello* (Grottaferrata 1974) (phot., Tav. 39). *J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1976, 816.

INSCR.: Διοδώρα<ν> τὰν Κληναγόρας ἀδελφέα[ν], Θεάριν τὰν Στ[- - - θυγα]τέρα (suppl. J. and L. Robert), [- - -]λαν τὰν Φιλίρας ματέρα.

HYDROUS

[D. Michaelides of the British School at Rome has been kind enough to allow me to examine and to report here a defixio of Roman imperial date that he discovered in the course of his excavations in the city. I have not yet arrived at any sense for it.]

POMPEII

128. PROV.: Near a sepulchral herm. TABLET: H. 0.06, W. 0.08. Nail hole. BIBL.: M. della Corte, *NSc* 1916, 305 (drawing, Fig. 19). R. Sabbadini, *RivFC* 46 (1918) 108–11. *CIL* IV Suppl. 9252 (with della Corte's drawing). Solin (*supra* n.4) no. 40.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: two illegible lines, then Κλανδία Ἐλεγα, of which the letters are out of order. Side B: only a few traces, possibly not intended as letters.

ROME

129. LOC.: Musei Capitolini. PROV.: The area of an ancient cemetery near the Porta Ardeatina. TABLET: H. 0.04 (left)–0.035 (right), W. 0.104. DATE: Not later than III^p, possibly 270^p–282^p (Guarducci, from the reference to the cohort). BIBL.: M. Guarducci, *BullComm* 74 (1951–52) 57–70 (phot., Fig. 1; drawing, Fig. 2). +J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1955, 292. *SEG* 14.615. *M. Guarducci, *RendLinc* VIII.24 (1969) 275–83 (drawing, Fig. 1). Guarducci 251–54 (drawing, Fig. 71).

INSCR.: In two columns. A physician of the third praetorian cohort is cursed (κατάσχεσ); a brother (the physician or the defigens?) wants to go to his native country. The text continues: μὴ ἐάσητε οὖν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κ[α]τάσχετε τὴν Ὑταλικὴν (for Ἴτ-) γῆν ἐς ἀε[ί], θεινώση[τ]ε [δὲ καὶ] τὰς Ῥωμαίων πύλας, ἀλλὰ κατάσχετε plus the physician's name, followed by *Ευλαμων* and several other magical names plus καὶ κατάσχετε.

[Guarducci (*supra* 129) 57 mentions that another inscribed lead tablet, more or less contemporary with 129, was found by the same person in the same area but probably in a different grave. I have now read the tablet, which is in the Musei Capitolini, and plan to publish it elsewhere. It is a charm to make a woman hate a man.]

130. LOC.: Unknown; in the collection of R. Wünsch at the time of publication. TABLET: H. 0.04, W. 0.13; once rolled up. BIBL.: R. Wünsch, *ArchRW* 12 (1909) 36f (drawing of text, Fig. 5).

INSCR.: Σέξτος Φερτείνιος / Σέξτου υἱός.

131. LOC.: See 130. TABLET: Originally folded up; on being opened it was broken into several pieces, all but eight of which were lost. The eight could be assembled into two fragments, which do not join each another. Fr. i: max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.04; fr. ii: max. pr. H. 0.09, max. pr. W. 0.09. DATE: IV^p? BIBL.: Wünsch (*supra* 130) 41–45 (drawing of fr. i, Fig. 7).

INSCR.: Fr. i: a drawing of a smiling figure, whose torso is presumably bound up in cords and whose head and shoulders are pierced with nails; around it a long snake is coiling and looks ready to bite it (for similar figures on defixiones, see Wünsch (*supra* n.6) 16 and 20, and 83 *supra*). At the left of the figure there are three lines of magical words, seven lines of magical symbols (among them the vowels ωωωεεε), and two (or three?) more lines of magical words. Presumably there was something similar at the right of the figure, but that part of the tablet is lost except for the beginnings of three lines of letters that may be magical words or names (Seth, *etc.*) at the top. Fr. ii: very lacunous and without much apparent sense, presumably mostly magical words except for one passage of recognizable Greek: κοῦρα<ι>, πολυόνυμαι κοῦραι, ἄραται κ[αὶ . . . καὶ] ἀρπάσεται (for -τε . . . -τε) τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν καρδίαν, τὰ σπλάγχνα, τοὺς μοιαλοὺς (for μν-) καὶ τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς σάρκας τῆς Ακιλατει (sic: for Εἰταλικᾶ<ς>?), ἦν ἔτεκεν μήτηρ Ακεσαματερ (sic)· ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

[K. Lohmeyer, *RhM* 20 (1905) 164f, has announced his discovery of two tablets along the Via Appia. The first (H. 0.17, W. 0.10, pierced with six iron nails; phot., 164), from near the columbarium of the freedmen of Marcella (see E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* II [New York 1962] 333–39 “Columbarium II”), has traces of Greek letters. “Man muss . . . mit R. Wünsch, der die Tafel untersucht hat, annehmen, dass der Fluchende eine bereits beschriebene Bleitafel für seine Zweck benutzt und die vorhandene Schrift zunächst durch Hämmern vernichtet hat. Dabei sind nur einige Reste (z.B. am oberen Rande die Figur eines πάρεδρος).” Lohmeyer remarks that if it is contemporary with the period of use of the columbarium, I^p, the tablet is the oldest known defixio from Rome. The second he found near graves farther out the Via Appia; its text is corroded badly (and therefore we cannot be sure that it was written in Greek), but it seems to preserve part of a typical magical figure, like that shown by Wünsch (*supra* n.6) 28. Present location(s) unknown.]

GAUL

ANTIPOLIS

[F. Benoit, *Gallia* 18 (1960) 319, has announced the discovery of an opisthographic lead tablet (phot. of one side, Fig. 48) with Greek letters; he speculates that the language may be Ligurian, but from the photograph I read the Greek words τὰ ὀνόματα and [Δ]αμοφάνες. This is apparently the tablet that formed the subject of an article in the newspaper *Nice-Matin* of September 2, 1972, under the headline line "Le Professeur Oikonomides (Chicago) réussit à déchiffrer en partie une tabella du III^e siècle avant J.-C." The article contains A. Oikonomides' preliminary translation: "Invocation à Demeter et à tous les dieux de l'enfer . . . toutes les . . . choses que Damophanez fera . . . cette année . . . Racolte détruite . . . pas de fécondation . . . les démons . . . pêche . . . chasse . . . pas d'enfants . . . Qu'il sera seul pour toujours." IV^a? At the time of the *Nice-Matin* article the tablet was in the Musée du Bastion Saint-André, Antibes.]

NEAR AUGUSTODUNUM

132. Loc.: Musée Rolin d'Autun. Prov.: Excavations at the foot of the Pierre de Couard on the ancient road from Lugdunum to Augustodunum. TABLET: H. 0.105, W. 0.048. DATE: II^p (letter forms of the Latin text). BIBL.: J. Marcillet-Joubert, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 185f (phot., Taf. VIII).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Outside: a mark X (H. 0.045). Inside: beginning at the top of the tablet, a list of men's names in Latin (nom.), one of them identified as *nepos Veracis*; beneath the list is the word *Αβρασα*; beginning at the bottom and upside down in relation to the Latin text is a column of magical names in Greek, the first of them with a magical sign on either side. Marcillet-Joubert considers the Greek text to be in a different hand from the Latin.

SPAIN

EMPORION

133. Loc.: Ampurias Museum. Prov.: A Hellenistic level (III^a-I^a) above the necropolis of the Campus Martius. TABLET: H. 0.105, W. 0.195. DATE: Not given; III^a? (letter forms). BIBL.: M. Almagro Basch, *MemMusAProvinc* 9-10 (1948-49) 287f (drawing, Fig. 126; phot., Pl. LXXV.1). G. García y Bellido, *ArchEspArq* 24 (1951) 238-40 (drawing, Fig. 14). Almagro Basch 19 (phot., p.31; drawing, p.32).

INSCR.: Judiciary. After πάντα<ς> τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀριστάρχ[ου], a list of names (nom.) headed by that of Aristarchos.

134. Loc.: Ampurias Museum. Prov.: A Hellenistic-Roman level near the Hellenistic stoa and Early Christian basilica. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.147, max. pr. W. 0.173; incomplete except at bottom. DATE: I^a (Almagro Basch), but the letter forms suggest late V^a or IV^a. BIBL.: Almagro Basch 21 (phot., drawing, p. 35). [J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1955, 282.

INSCR.: Apparently a list of names (nom.? and acc.), followed by at least three lines: οἱ]κοες (for -κους?) κατοικίσαι (κο εσκατοικίσαι Almagro Basch) / [- - -]νομος ὑμέας τοῦ / [- - -]μεθα καὶ τῆς γρ(αφῆς?). The text may however be a private or public letter (so J. and L. Robert) rather than a defixio.

135. LOC.: Ampurias Museum. TABLET: H. 0.075, W. 0.075. DATE: "Later than" **134** (Almagro Basch). BIBL.: Almagro Basch (*supra* **133**) 287f (drawing, Fig. 127; phot., Pl. LXXV.2). García y Bellido (*supra* **133**) 238–41 (same drawing, Fig. 14). Almagro Basch 20 (same phot., p.33; same drawing, p.34). INSCR.: Six men's names (nom.).

AFRICA

THEVESTE

136. LOC.: Archaeological Museum, Algiers. TABLET: H. 0.051, max. pr. W. 0.104. DATE: The beginning of the Empire at the latest (Roesch, from letter forms); "On penserait pour la date au I^{er} siècle a.C., ce qui nous paraît bien trop ancien" (J. and L. Robert). BIBL.: P. Roesch, *BAAlger* 2 (1966–67) 231–37 (drawing, Fig. 1; phot., Fig. 2), from photographs. +J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1968, 592.

INSCR.: Ten-line curse beginning [Σατορνί]ναν [κ]αταδῶ. What immediately follows has many lacunae. The second half of the text has some connected sense: ἀπολλύω / [τὴν Σατο]ρνίνα<ν> διὰ μανίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας / [ἦδ]η (?) ἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἦδη ἦδη ἦδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ / ταχύ. ἀποκόπτω πᾶσαν ἀν/[τὴν] ταχὺ διὰ τῶν αἰώνων. There are straight lines framing the inscription at the right and at the bottom and possibly (although the photograph does not make this clear) also at the top. The left edge is lost.

PUPPUT (Suq-el-Abiod, Tunisia)

137. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.025, max. pr. W. 0.037, upper left corner alone preserved. BIBL.: A. Audollent, *BAC* 1912, 356–58.

INSCR.: The beginnings of five lines of text with no apparent sense. The sacred name Ἐρεσχιγ[αλ can be read.

CARTHAGE

138. LOC.: Carthage Museum? PROV.: The 'Fountain of the thousand amphoras'. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.075, max. pr. W. 0.06. BIBL.: A. Audollent, *Cinquième congrès international d'archéologie, Alger 1930* (Algiers 1933) 120f. *SEG* 9.837.

INSCR.: Very fragmentary. Against (a charioteer and?) horses. Seven lines, of which the first three are apparently not Greek but may be Latin names of horses (acc.) in the Greek alphabet (cf. e.g. Audollent 238.6–8); the last four lines read ἀπό]/λοιτο - - - / τοὺς ἵππ[ους - - -] / Μ̄ κατασ - - -.

139. LOC.: Carthage Museum? PROV.: See **138**. TABLET: H. 0.13, W. 0.17. BIBL.: Audollent (*supra* **138**) 121–28. *SEG* 9.838.

INSCR.: A long curse against charioteers and horses. Several magical names and the seven vowels appear at the beginning. The κύριοι θεοί are invoked.

140. LOC.: Carthage Museum? PROV.: See **138**. BIBL.: Audollent (*supra* **138**) 129–31 (drawing). *AnnEpigr* 1933, 234. *SEG* 9.839.

INSCR.: Against horses. Magical names in Greek similar to those at the beginning of **138**, followed by a Latin text.

141. LOC.: Carthage Museum? PROV.: See **138**. BIBL.: Audollent (*supra* **138**) 129–31 (drawing). *AnnEpigr* 1933, 235. *SEG* 9.840.

INSCR.: Same names and almost the same Latin text as **139**.

142. LOC.: Carthage Museum? TABLET: H. 0.125, W. 0.09. BIBL.: A. Merlin, *CRAI* 1930, 33–35 (drawing, 35). K. Preisendanz, *ArchP* 11 (1933) 164. *SEG* 9.841.

INSCR.: A crude drawing of a man with the head of a snake; he holds a palm (?) branch in his left hand and a crude caduceus in his right. On his torso are written the letters $\omega/\mu\epsilon/\lambda\alpha\mu/\phi\alpha/\rho\omega\kappa$ and, beneath his feet, a man's name (nom.). Cf. **143**.


143. LOC.: Unknown; at the time of publication, in the collection of the late Dr Carton. TABLET: H. 0.14, W. 0.19. BIBL.: A. Audollent, *CRAI* 1930, 303–09 (drawing, 305). Preisendanz (*supra* **142**) 164. *SEG* 9.842.

INSCR.: Like **142**, except that the end of the magical sequence is written not $\rho\omega\kappa$ but $\rho\omega/\kappa$ and the man's name (nom.) is different.


HADRUMETUM


144. LOC.: Bardo Museum, Tunis. PROV.: The Hadrumetum necropolis. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.155, W. 0.09. DATE: I^P (letter forms). BIBL.: A. Grenier, *MélRome* 25 (1905) 56–61 (phot., Pl. III.1). A. Audollent, *BAC* 1905, CLXXXII f (from autopsy).

INSCR.: Against a charioteer and horses. A drawing, in outline, of a human figure; the area of the tablet above the shoulders is lost, but part of the head is preserved, leaning on the right shoulder, as if the figure is intended to represent a dead man. The text, written inside the outline of the torso and across both legs, begins in the area of the lower ribs with the intended victim's name (nom.) and identification (\acute{o} η νίοχος $\pi\rho$ ασίνου) and continues, after some magical signs and eleven lines of magical words, with a 12-line curse covering the legs from the thigh down: "Make Archelaos the charioteer fall in the circus; all day let him fall with these horses that he drives." Four horses are then named (acc.). The closing formula $\eta\delta\eta$ $\eta\delta\eta$, τ αχὺ τ αχὺ is used.


145. PROV.: Excavations of 1905 conducted by the French military in the part of the first-century Roman necropolis north of the 'Eiffel Tower' (M. Gauckler *apud* Audollent). TABLET: Of an unusual shape: . Max. pr. H. 0.15, W. of rectangular top 0.065, max. pr. W. of the round part 0.13. In the middle of the round part, a nail hole. DATE: II^P or III^P. BIBL.: A. Audollent, *BAC* 1908, 4–6 (phot., pl. I).

INSCR.: In the rectangular part, magical words and a magical symbol. In the round part, magical names beneath which there are written, in columns, repeated with the first letter omitted each time until only the final letter remains, the seven vowels and the magical name Δ αμναμενευς. The two col-

umns are upside down in relation to each other, the result being two triangles () of text, with a space left between. It is here that the nail hole is made. At the left and right of the configuration made by the repetitions are inscribed vertical strings of letters, mostly illegible.

146. PROV.: Found in 1903 near a tomb, rolled up. TABLET: H. 0.112, max. pr. W. 0.074. Completion of a geometric diagram that covers most of the preserved part of the tablet allows the original width to be calculated at 0.104 (so Audollent). The resulting reconstructed shape is approximately . Nail holes. DATE: Presumably the same as **145**. BIBL.: Audollent (*supra* **145**) 6–10 (phot., Pl. II). +D. R. Jordan, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 147–49. *SEG* 27.1204.

INSCR.: In the 'dome' four vowels in no apparent order. Beside the rectangular part, along the vertical edges of the tablet, vertical strings of magical words. Around the rectangular part, a curse [κατάκλεινον τὸν Ἑσύχιν, ὃν ἔθεκεν (for ἔτ-) Ὑπερεχία ἐν ἐ]μέρες (for ἡ]μέραις) ἐπτὰ (a hypothetical proper name *Ενεμερεσεπτα* according to Audollent)· ἄρον τέ[ν] ψυχὲν κέ τὸ ὄνομα α[ὐτοῦ – – –]. In the preserved half of the geometric design, along the right-hand side, the same curse occurs (whence the certainty of the reconstruction just quoted). In the center of the diagram there are scattered letters, with no apparent sense, and magical designs.

147. Found with **146**, crushed around fragments of eggshell. TABLET: A rectangular tablet, H. 0.12, W. 0.12, on which there is a design . Nail holes. DATE: The same as **146**. BIBL.: Audollent (*supra* **145**) 10–21 (phot. Pl. III). +Jordan (*supra* **146**). *SEG* 27.1204.

INSCR.: Against the same person as **146**. Inside the design's 'cap', magical words and signs. Along the vertical edges of the tablet, vertical strings of letters (among which [Σ]αβαωθ can be read). Written around the outside of the circle, the curse as on **146**, with καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς instead of ἄρον. Around the inside of the circle, the seven vowels and the name *Δαμναμενευς* written, as on **145**, so as to form triangles. In the space remaining, the curse is repeated, this time with ἄρον again, and ends εἴστρεψον (Audollent; correct to ἔκ- οἱ κέ?), [κ]ατάστρεψον αὐτῷ ψυχὲν τοῦ Ἑσυχίου. In the pedestal, the same curse, beginning as on **145** but ending ἄρ[ον] (ἀφ[ῆς] Audollent) αὐτοῦ τὲν ψυχὲν.

148. LOC.: Musée du Louvre. PROV.: Unknown. Given by Sgt M. Icard to the Louvre. TABLET: Max. pr. H. ca 0.06, max. pr. W. ca 0.075. The fragment may belong with another (R. Cagnat, *BullSocNatAnt* 1904, 231f; Audollent p.426) also given to the Louvre by Icard. BIBL.: A. Héron de Villefosse, *BullSocNatAnt* 1905, 291f (drawing, 291).

INSCR.: A semicircular figure, in the border, in the center, and at the right of which are inscribed magical names, among them *Σαβαωθ* and *Ιαω*. In the center there are also magical figures.

CARTHAGE OR HADRUMETUM?

[L. Robert, *JSav* 1981, 35 n.1, has announced and quoted from a defixio meant to win four women for one man. The man and three of the women

are given maternal lineage, but the fourth woman is identified as Περπετούαν τινες (=ἦς?) υἱοί εἰσιν Οὐολούσιος καὶ Φανσσανος (for Φασσιανός?). The provenance is unrecorded, but Robert has assigned the tablet to Carthage or Hadrumetum on the basis of its formulae. Now in the J. Paul Getty Museum.]

LEPCIS MAGNA

149. LOC.: Department of Antiquities, Castello, Tripoli. (The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has a plastic cast.) PROV.: Under the starting gates of the circus. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.118, max. pr. W. 0.138. DATE: IV^p (letter forms). BIBL.: J. Rea, *LibAnt* 9–10 (1972–73) 92–96 (phot., Pl. XXXVII.b). INSCR.: One line of magical symbols, followed by magical words and four names (acc.), presumably those of a team of horses, without connectives, and, after καί, a fifth name (acc.), described as “their charioteer.” No governing verb.

KYRENAIKA

150. DATE: III^a (Gallavotti). BIBL.: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *ASAtene* 23–24 (1961–62) 324f (phot., Fig. 141; drawing, Fig. 142). C. Gallavotti, *Maia* 15 (1963) 450–54. Pugliese Carratelli, *RendLinc* VIII.18 (1963) 340–44. [J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épigr.* 1964, 574.]

INSCR.: A hexametric base for the formulaic part, which requests the presence of Tyche along with Zeus and the Charites. Praxidike, “the great daughter of Aglaokarpos,” is invoked to bind the tongue, the hands, and the feet of the intended victim, a woman. The hexameters, which are corrupt, have been restored and discussed by Gallavotti.

[D. White has kindly sent me a photograph of a lead tablet (inv. 74-299) found in the course of the University of Pennsylvania’s excavations at Kyrene, of which he is the director. The tablet has a hole that may have been made with a nail, and there seem to be two illegible lines of letters followed by Εὐβοι/ος]

NUBIA

BALLANA

[L. P. Kirwan, *apud* W. B. Emery, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo 1938), has announced (76, 383, 405) that three strips of lead were found rolled up (phot., Pl. 107C) in Tomb C of Cemetery 209 (plan, Fig. 35). They “could not, unfortunately, be unrolled. It is possible, however, that they were inscribed in a . . . manner” similar to that of a gold-leaf love-charm (405–07; phot., Pl. 107B; drawing, Pl. 116.1) also found in the tomb. The charm and the lead strips were placed behind some amphoras, as if to be hidden there, about 1.5 m. from two skeletons, one of them that of a young person, lying in the entranceway. Presumably the lead tablets are contemporary with the crudely inscribed gold charm, whose letter forms I should tentatively assign to IV^p or V^p.]

EGYPT

HERMOPOLIS MAGNA

151. LOC.: Biblioteca Medicea e Laurenziana, Florence. TABLET: H. 0.20, W. 0.18. DATE: III^P–IV^P (Norsa, from letter forms). BIBL.: M. Norsa, *Omaggio della Società per la ricerca dei papiri greci in Egitto al quarto Convegno dei Classicisti* (Florence 1911) 20–26. *PSI* I 28. +R. Wünsch, *BPW* 32 (1912) 3–6. +R. Ganszyniec, *ByzJb* 3 (1922) 120. +E. Kurtz, *ibid.* 340. +F. Maltomini, in *Miscellanea papyrologica* (= *Pap.Flor.* 7 [1980]) 176.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. A charm intended to make a woman love a woman. Side A (*vidi*; first edited by Maltomini): iambic verses addressed to an underworld god. The text is full of errors and breaks off in mid-sentence. Apparently the writer thought to make a fresh start and turned the tablet over. Side B: the same verses, with fewer errors, apparently complete. Magical names. A love-charm is copied out four times, with variations; between each repetition, different magical epikleseis. Choliambic verses form part of the epiklesis after the first version of the charm. The verse passages have been variously reconstructed by Wünsch, Ganszyniec, and Kurtz.

NEAR ANTINOOPOLIS?

152. LOC.: Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 27145. TABLET: H. 0.11, W. 0.11. Found wrapped about an unbaked clay female figurine (H. 0.09) that had been pierced with thirteen bronze nails, the ensemble intact within a crudely fashioned clay pot. DATE: III^P/IV^P (Kambitsis). BIBL.: [P. du Bourguet, *Revue du Louvre* 25 (1975) 255–57 (phot. of figurine, 255; of defixio, 257; of pot, 256.) S. Kambitsis, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 213–30 (phot. of figurine and pot, Pl. XXX; of defixio, Pl. XXXI). *SEG* 26.1717. P. du Bourguet, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), forthcoming.

INSCR.: The text, a charm to make a woman love a man, follows, like **153**, **155**, and **156**, the formula given in the papyrus prescription *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4.335–406 for preparing such a defixio with a ‘voodoo’ doll. In the formula and in the other defixiones based on it, an unnamed, possibly unknown, nekydaimon is invoked (*e.g.* 347f of the papyrus: ἀνέγειρέ μοι σαντόν, ὅστις ποτ’ εἶ, εἶτε ἄρρην, εἶτε θήλυς), but here he is given the name Antinous.

HAWARA

153. LOC.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. 48217. PROV.: Found “by seabkh-diggers at Hawaret el Maqta in the Fayoum, presumably in the great cemetery used by the inhabitants of Krokodilopolis or Arsinoe” (Edgar). TABLET: H. 0.22, W. 0.16. There are four holes in the tablet, perhaps for the attachment of small ‘voodoo’ dolls (see *Inscr.*). DATE: Not later than III^P (Edgar, from letter forms). BIBL.: C. C. Edgar, *BSRAA* 21 (1925) 42–47. *SB* 7452. [K. Preisendanz, *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 191f.] *SEG* 8.574. [A. D. Nock, *JEA* 15 (1929) 233f.] Wortmann pp.58–75.

INSCR.: A charm, addressed to an unnamed nekydaimon, to make a woman love a man. The text closely follows the formula at *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4.335–84

(*cf.* **152**, **155**, **156**), which is preceded by instructions for the attachment of wax dolls of Ares and Aphrodite to such a tablet. Near the tablet but not necessarily associated with it were found two small wax dolls too crudely fashioned to be identified with any certainty.

OXYRHYNCHOS

154. LOC.: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, inv. 36059. TABLET: 15 × 19 cm (*sic*). DATE: III^P (Grenfell and Hunt, from letter forms). BIBL.: [B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *AnnRepEg* 1902–03, 7.] O. Guéraud, *MIFAO* 67 (1937) 202–12. [Guéraud, *AnnEg* 38 (1938) 248f.]

INSCR.: The upper central part of the tablet is covered with a long magical palindrome (imperfect), repeated with one letter or more dropped from each end with each repetition, so that finally only the middle letter is left; in the triangular spaces remaining at the left and the right are two other magical words, repeated in such a way that the left-hand word expands towards the right with the addition of letters and the right-hand word expands towards the left. On both sides of and below these configurations is a spell to make a man hated by another man; it ends ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα, ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὄρα, ἦδη ἦδη. Maternal lineage.

155. LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Cologne, inv. T.1. TABLET: H. 0.15, W. 0.095. Found inside a clay pot along with **156**, the pot and the other defixio inscribed with a charm, written in the same hand on behalf of the same person and against the same intended victim. DATE: III^P/IV^P (Wortmann). BIBL.: Wortmann 1 (phot., Fig. 1, 2). [Kambitsis (*supra* **152**).]

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. A charm to make a woman love a man. The text follows, with variations and additions, the formula at *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4.335–84 (*cf.* **152**, **153**, and **156**). Maternal lineage.

156. LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Cologne, inv. T.2. TABLET: H. 0.15, W. 0.095. See **155**. DATE: Same as **155**. BIBL.: Wortmann 2 (phot. of Side A, Fig. 3; of Side B, Fig. 4). [Kambitsis (*supra* **152**).]

INSCR.: An abbreviated version of **155**, written by the same person.

157. LOC.: Institut für Altertumskunde, Cologne, inv. T.4. TABLET: H. *ca* 0.13, W. *ca* 0.08. DATE: IV^P. BIBL.: Wortmann 12.

INSCR.: Against two runners. The text begins with a column at the upper left composed of the words Εὐλαμῶ, Ὑλαμῶε, so altered until Ωευλαμ is reached (*cf.* *Pap.Graec.Mag.* 4.1305, **162**, *etc.*). At the upper right there seems to be an invocation of some sort ([ἐπι]καλοῦμαι), but the surface is too worn for much more to be seen. “Bind down ([κα]τάδησον) the muscles, the members, the mind, the wits, the understanding, the 365 members and muscles of . . .”

[B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt report the discovery of “three leaden tablets, each rolled up round a wisp of hair and inscribed with imprecations which chiefly consist of magical formulae (one at Cairo)” (*AnnRepEg* 1903–04, 15), and of a “lead magical tablet” (*ibid.* 1905–06, 15). Present location(s) unknown.]

QAMADIR

[J. de M. Johnson, *AnnRepEg* 1911–12, 14, reports that in a Roman grave “a leaden roll with Greek inscription, the stilus enclosed, was found beside the head.”]

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

158. Loc.: Archäologisches Institut, Heidelberg. PROV.: Egyptian provenance deduced from the personal names. TABLET: H. 0.088, W. 0.101. DATE: I^P? (Boll, from letter forms); II^P? (U. Wilcken *apud* Boll, and Jordan, from letter forms). BIBL.: F. Boll, *SitzHeidelberg* 1910.2, no. 1 (phot., Taf. I). +R. Wünsch, *BPW* 30 (1910) 688f. *SB* 6224. +S. Eitrem, *P.Oslo* II (1931) p.33 n.1. [D. R. Jordan, *Philologus* 120 (1976) 129.]

INSCR.: A charm to make a woman love a man. Ὠρίων Σαραποῦτις ²ποιήσον καὶ ἀναγκα³σον (Eitrem: ἀναποίη/σον Wünsch, ἀναπόδ[ι]/σον Boll) ⁴Νίκην ⁵Ἀπολ⁶λωνοῦ⁷τος ἐ⁸ρασθῆ⁹ναι Παι¹⁰τοῦτ[ος], ¹¹ἦν (for ὄν) ἔτ[ε-κ]¹²ε Τ[μ]έσ<ως>. Beside the text is a drawing of a mummy.

159. Loc.: Archäologisches Institut, Heidelberg. PROV.: See **158**. TABLET: H. 0.088, W. 0.101. DATE: Same as **158**. BIBL.: Boll (*supra* **158**) no. 2 (phot., Taf. II). *SB* 6225 (F. Bilabel). +Eitrem (*supra* **158**). [Jordan (*supra* **158**).]

INSCR.: Written by the same person as **155** and inscribed with the same text, except that Ὠρίων Σαραποῦτις does not occur at the beginning, the relative ὄν is correctly written, and after Τμεσιῶς the phrase ἐπὶ ἐ (Bilabel, Eitrem: ἐπὶ ἐ[πτα? Boll] μῆνας is added.

160. Loc.: Unknown? At the time of publication in the papyrus collection of the Kgl. Kunstsammlungen, Berlin, inv. P.13412. TABLET: H. 0.28, W. 0.16. DATE: III^P (Plaumann). BIBL.: M. Plaumann, *AmtlBer* 35 (1913–14) 203–10 (phot., Abb. 117). [W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*² (Berlin/Leipzig 1921) (phot., Abb. 7).]

INSCR.: A charm to make a woman love a man, both identified by maternal lineage. A nekydaimon is invoked (ὄρκίζω σε) in the name of κύριος θεὸς Ιαω, who is given seven magical names (divided on the tablet). Plaumann reports that the letters are written in ink.

161. Loc.: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva. PROV.: Bought in Egypt by J. Nicole. TABLET: H. 0.11, W. 0.19. DATE: III^P or IV^P. BIBL.: V. Martin, *Genava* 6 (1928) 56–64 (phot., Fig. 1; drawing of the figures, Fig. 2).

INSCR.: A charm to make a woman love a man. The intended victim is bound (καταδεσμεύω) to (εἰς) the tail of the serpent, the mouth of the crocodile, the horns of the ram, the venom of the asp, the hairs of the cat, the penis (?) of the god, “that she may have no relations with any man other than” the defigens, who names himself and gives his maternal lineage. The text ends ἔστιν δὲ τὰ ζώδια ταῦτα, beneath which are four drawings of humans (or gods?) and animals at the left and a set of magical signs at the right.

162. Loc.: Institut de Papyrologie, Paris. TABLET: H. 0.25, W. 0.19. Collart reports nail holes at the edges of the tablet, but on examination I cannot find them. DATE: V^P (letter forms). BIBL.: P. Collart, *RevPhil* III.4 (1930) 248–56

(phot. facing 250). [C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor 1950) 104.]

INSCR.: An unknown nekydaimon is invoked (ὀρκίζω σε, νεκυδαίμων, ὅστις ποτὲ εἶ) in the name of the κυρία Brimo, along with a magical logos, to arrest the wrath and the spirits of a man whose maternal lineage is given. A magical figure follows, under which there are permutations of the letters Ευλαμω (as on 157) and more magical names. There is a long palindrome, repeated in a column, with letters omitted from each end so that it shrinks towards the center. The palindrome is surrounded by other magical words, and all are followed by a partial repetition of the curse, this time with a phrase that suggests that the purpose may have been judiciary (ὅπως μὴ ἀντίπη ἡμῖν ἐμοί [sic]). The defigens then names himself (dat.) and gives his maternal lineage.

[The Rare Book and Manuscript Collection of the Perkins Library of Duke University at Durham, North Carolina, houses two defixiones of Egyptian provenance. One (H. 0.10, W. 0.07), a love-charm, has a drawing that shows a figure in apparently military garb in the upper left-hand corner. The other (max. pr. H. 0.13, W. 0.10), very crinkled, is unread.]

SYRIA-PALESTINE

NEAR HEBRON

163. PROV.: Known only from the dealer. TABLET: H. 0.0925, W. 0.07. DATE: III^P (Jordan, from letter forms). BIBL.: B. Lifshitz, *RBibl* 77 (1970) 81f (phot., Pl. IX). [Jordan (*supra* 158).]

INSCR.: Four lines of magical signs followed by ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς χαρακτηῆρα[ς κατα]κλίνε (for -ναι) ἐπὶ κάκωσιν καὶ ἀε[ικίαν] plus the intended victim's (a man's) name with maternal lineage. The curse continues βάλεται (for -τε) αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κάκωσι<ν> καὶ θάν[ατον (κακώσ<ε>ι καὶ θαν[άτω Lifshitz) κ]αὶ κεφαλαργίας (for -λγ-) ταχ[ὺ τα]χύ· ἤδη ἤδη.

NUSA-SKYTHOPOLIS (Beth-Shean)

164. LOC.: University Museum, Philadelphia, inv. 29-108-602. PROV.: A cistern of 330^P-636^P. TABLET: In two fragments that do not join. Fr. i: max. pr. H. 0.08, W. 0.108; fr. ii: max. pr. H. 0.04, W. 0.85. DATE: IV^P (letter forms). BIBL.: H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, *TAPA* 68 (1937) 43-72, 128 (phot., Pl. I).

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: after the logos Chych Bachych *etc.*, the κύριοι ἄγγελοι are invoked to bind (δήσατε, καταδήσατε) the parts of three women, whose maternal lineages are given. They are to be made dumb, blind, *etc.*, before the female defigens, whose maternal lineage is also given. After several magical logoi, some of which (Ioerbeth *etc.*, Eulamou *etc.*, Maskelli Maskello *etc.*) are known from elsewhere, the curse is repeated, in an expanded form. An Ereschigal logos, a set of magical signs, fragments of other logoi, and possibly another repetition of the curse are followed by a closing formula containing the words [ἐ]δήσα κ[ἐ] κατέ-δησα κὲ ἐσφρ[ά]γισα δις (correct to διὰ?) τὰ μεγάλ[α] ὀνόματα]. Side P

σφ<ρ>αγίζω σε, Ευλαμων, μετὰ τῶν σῶν παρέδρω[ν], followed by magical names that include Ιαω, Βεζε[βυθ], and the logos Maskelli Maskello *etc.* Youtie and Bonner see possible Christian influence in the personal names.

165. Loc.: University Museum, Philadelphia, inv. 29-108-603. PROV.: A room in a house. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.087, max. pr. W. 0.089. DATE: Last quarter of III^p or first quarter of IV^p (letter forms, context). BIBL.: Youtie and Bonner (*supra* 164).

INSCR.: At the top of the text, two horizontal lines enclose an angel's name, magical signs, the letters ΧΜΓ, another angel's name, and some other magical words and signs. Most of the text is incomprehensible, but it seems to invoke the κύρι<οι> ἄγιοι θεοί to make ([ποιή]σαται for -τε?) a man (identified patrilineally) lose (?) a lawsuit. The names of the intended victim and the letters ΧΜΓ show Jewish and Christian influence.

TYRE

[M. Chehab has kindly informed me that in the course of excavations of the early Christian necropolis he has discovered more than 80 lead tablets, rolled up. The scrolls have not yet been unrolled or cleaned, but Greek letters are visible on a few of them.]

DAMASKOS

166. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.095, W. 0.87. DATE: IV^e (SEG). BIBL.: R. Mouterde, *MéIUSJ* 15 (1930–31) 124–27 (drawing, 125). SEG 7.234.

INSCR.: The text is too badly damaged to yield much connected sense. The word κάμψαι in line 5 suggests that it may be a charioteer who is being cursed. The logoi Maskelli Maskello *etc.* and Chych Bachych *etc.* occur. Maternal lineage.

BERYTUS

167. PROV.: Mouterde conjectures that the tablet may have been found in the course of construction work along Beirut's Rue du Maréchal Pétain, which abuts an ancient hippodrome (plan, "Béryte au VI^e siècle" at the end of P. Collinet, *Histoire de l'École de droit de Beyrouth* [Paris 1925]). TABLET: H. 0.158, W. 0.09 (top)–0.1 (bottom). DATE: Late II^p or III^p (Mouterde, from the word καλαείνων). BIBL.: Mouterde (*supra* 166) 106–24 (drawing, Pl. III). SEG 7.213. *A. Maricq, *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 368–70 (Mouterde's drawing facing 368). SEG 15.847.

INSCR.: Against the horses and charioteers of the Blue faction (καλαείνων). After fourteen lines of magical names written on either side of and beneath a sketch of a bound figure being attacked by a beaked (?) head, the ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι are invoked against 34 intended victims; it is not clear which ones are horses and which are charioteers. The text contains certain abbreviations (λό(γος), γρ(άφει)) that evidence ignorant use of a formulary.

APAMEA

[At the 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Athens 1982) W. van Rengen announced the discovery of two defixiones (H. 0.052,

max. pr. W. 0.118; max. pr. H. 0.049, W. 0.141) in the Belgian excavations. The first invokes the *κύριοι ἀγώτατοι χαρακτήρες* to bind the limbs and other parts of charioteers “so that they cannot drink or eat or sleep but will see from their doors *δέμ[ο]νας ἀώρ[υ]ς, δέμονας βιέους, Ἡφέστου πῦρ . . .*” The second has a similar text but lacks the invocation and the phrase just quoted. Both texts end *ἤδη ἤδη, ταχύ ταχύ.*]

ANTIOCH

[J. H. Humphrey, *BASOR* 213 (1974) 40, has mentioned three defixiones from the metae of the hippodrome. F. F. Jones, Curator of Collections of the Princeton Art Museum, where many of the Antioch finds are housed, has written to me that she suspects that the tablets that Humphrey refers to are to be identified with examples in the museum: inv. 3421-I45 (from 7-θ, Trial Trench 2), 3603-I54a + b, 3754-I55 (both from the spina of the hippodrome), 3603-I56 and 3608-I57 (from the hippodrome, Trench 4) (plan, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* II [Princeton 1938], Plan I). G. Downey, *ibid.* 148, has announced fifteen inscribed lead tablets found at Antioch and Daphne in the seasons of 1934 and 1935. I do not know where they are, but Dr Jones has been kind enough to allow me to look through the Antioch excavation inventories at Princeton, where I found listed nos. 4740-I130 (five defixiones), 4758-I132 (one; the composition of its lead is analyzed by R. H. Brill and J. M. Wampler, *AJA* 71 [1967] 76 no. 135), 4868-I145 (one), and 5456-I176 (one), all found in wells in 1934 and 1935; they are possibly included in Downey’s fifteen. I was also able to unroll one tablet on which no inventory number was marked and to arrive at a preliminary text, which begins with the syllables *Borphor-*, quite like several defixiones of III^P from the Athenian Agora (*e.g.* 23ff), but invokes not Typhon but Hekate, consigning to her a greengrocer who is identified matrilineally.]

CYPRUS

AMATHOUS

[Audollent 22–37, first published by L. Macdonald, *ProcSocBiblArch* 13 (1890/91) 160–90, as from Kourion and so reported by Audollent and by T. B. Mitford (*I.Kourion* 127–142), are in fact from Amathous: see P. Aupert and D. R. Jordan, *AJA* 85 (1981) 184. The Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum houses over one hundred unpublished defixiones from Amathous and the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at least one. Those whose texts have been read follow the formula of Audollent 22–37 and evidently issue from the same atelier.]

SALAMIS

[I mention here because they may be defixiones several lead scrolls found “in the ancient cemetery,” one of them (H. 0.065–0.075?, W. 0.027?) unrolled and published by A. P. di Cesnola, *Salaminia*² (London 1884) 68–72, with A. K. Sayce’s readings (drawing, Fig. 83; phot., Cesnola, *Lawrence Cesnola Collection: Cyprus Antiquities* (London 1881)) Pl. [LVI] [*non vidi*]). Its text, writ-

ten in a Cypriot syllabary, has been edited several times since, after Cesnola's drawing, most recently, with an improved but as yet not fully explicable transcription, by O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris 1961) no. 311 (with Cesnola's drawing, "pas très fidèle," Fig. 90; Cesnola's photograph, Masson in *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie* (1980) 185, Fig. 8); Masson gives the previous bibliography. Present location(s) unknown.]

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

[C. O. Zuretti, *RivFC* 20 (1892) 1–17 (drawing between 15 and 16), has published three inscribed lead tablets that had been given by A. P. di Cesnola to Sen. Fabretti of Turin and were in Fabretti's possession at the time of publication. The published texts and apparently the drawings as well are incomplete and inaccurate, but I have little doubt that the tablets would prove to be defixiones if more fully read. Present location(s) unknown.]

ASIA MINOR

UPPER MAIANDROS VALLEY

168. LOC.: In the collection of Dr Toepke at the time of publication. PROV.: Known only from the dealer. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.245, W. 0.10. DATE: IIP (names). BIBL.: F. K. Dörner, *JÖAIBeibl* 32 (1940) 63–72 (phot. of Side A, Fig. 14; of Side B, Fig. 15). +J. and L. Robert, *Bull.épig.* 1941, 11.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Judiciary. Side A: magical signs, after which the phrase *ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, δαίμονες, κατὰ τοῦ ἐνγεγραμμένου ὀνόματος*, "to make my opponents and whoever else pleads for them be judged guilty." Six intended victims (men) are named, two with paternal, one with maternal, lineage. Magical signs follow the curse, and then at least one line of Greek, but the bottom of the tablet is broken away. Side B: virtually the same curse, without the magical signs at the top and with the beginning *ὀρκίζω σε κατ' ἐαυτῆς, Γῆ, χθὸν καὶ Ἐκάτη καὶ Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε καὶ Λήθη μυχία· ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς καθ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς λυποῦς* (for *λοιπ-*) *θεούς*, with the same instructions plus *καὶ ἂν εἴπωσιν οἱ συνήγοροι αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο καθ' αὐτῶν γενέσθω*. In similar phrases demons and the underworld gods are invoked, with the same instructions. Magical signs follow, and at least one line of Greek, but here too the bottom is lost.

KLAUDIOPOLIS (Bithynia)

169. LOC.: Museum, University of Reading. TABLET: H. 0.15, W. 0.35. DATE: III^P or IV^P ("from a comparison with similar documents"). BIBL.: J. M. R. Cormack, *HThR* 44 (1951) 25–34 (phot. facing 25). [Ch. Picard, *RevArch* VI.41 (1953) 94f.]

INSCR.: Judiciary? Five columns. The first two and part of the third are men's and women's names (nom.), followed by a command, "Let all these be spellbound; let them not spy on Capetolinus, but let them be speechless, dumb, saying nothing against Capetolinus," whose maternal lineage is given, "by the power of these names" (Cormack's translation). The fourth and fifth columns contain an adjuration beginning *κύριοι θεοί, καταδήσατε πάντας*

τοὺς ἐνγεγραμμένους. The logos Yesemmigadon *etc.* and some magical names connected with Iao are followed by instructions to the κύριοι θεοὶ ἄγγελοι much the same as those in the third column.

HERAKLEA PONTIKE

[F. K. Dörner, *AnzWien* 99 (1962) 30–35, has reported the discovery of several fragments of lead tablets.]

SOUTH RUSSIA

PANTIKAPAION

170. LOC.: Kerch State Historico-Archaeological Museum? PROV.: From the necropolis. TABLET: H. 0.08, W. 0.47. Pierced with two nails. BIBL.: B. Pharmakowsky, *AA* 1907, 126–28, from readings by V. V. Shkorpil’.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic, each side inscribed with three columns. The texts of only the first two have been preserved, and these not completely. Side A: κατορύσσω plus four men’s names (acc.), one of them identified as τὸν κυβερνήτην, then the phrase παρ’ Ἑρμῶν <χ>θόνιον καὶ Ἑκάτα[ν] χθονία[ν] καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον καὶ παρὰ Λευκ<ο>θέαν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόναν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Ἀρτέμδα στροφαίαν καὶ Δήμητρα χθονίαν καὶ παρ’ ἥρωας χθονίους, τούτων μηδεῖ[ς] θεῶν λύσιν ποιήσαιτο . . . μηδὲ μηρία τιθ<έ>ντες *etc.* Side B: the same formula directed against a different man, his works, and his children. There is a slight variation after the naming of the deities, but it does not serve to elucidate the meaning of the very last phrase.

OLBIA

171. LOC.: Odessa Archaeological Museum, inv. 44309. TABLET: H. 0.03, W. 0.135. BIBL.: Shkorpil’ I (drawing, p.69). V. P. Yailenko, *VDI* 153 (1980) 86f (phot., Fig. 2; drawing, Tab. VIII.1).

INSCR.: A list of men’s names (nom.+gen.) plus καὶ τὸς ἀοτῶι συνιόντας πάντα.

172. LOC.: Unknown; once in the collection of P. A. Mavrogordato, Odessa. TABLET: H. 0.06–0.075, W. 0.095. Four nail holes. BIBL.: Shkorpil’ II (drawing, p.71).

INSCR.: A list of men’s names (nom.).

173. LOC.: See **172**. TABLET: H. 0.08, W. 0.13. DATE: I^a (Shkorpil’, from letter forms and spelling); III^a (Vinogradov, from letter forms and spelling). BIBL.: Shkorpil’ III (drawing, p.72). [Y. G. Vinogradov, *VDI* 118 (1971) 79.] Miller 13.

INSCR.: Published by Shkorpil’ as a personal letter offering to bribe a judge; the vocabulary however ([ῶ]σπερ . . . οὔτ[ως] . . . , [ἔ]να ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς κατάσχησ καὶ μ[ετα]λάβησ) suggests a curse concerning judiciary matters (μαρτυρίαν). A gift is in fact offered at the end of the text (ἐπ’ ᾧδέ σε τειμάσω καὶ σ[οι] ἄριστον δῶρρον παρασκε[νάσω]), but it is probably a reward for the god or nekydaimon for enacting the curse: for similar promises of reward to supernatural powers in curses, see **54**, **109**, Wunsch 99.

174. DATE: IV^a or III^a (Kocevalov, from spelling?). BIBL.: S. Dlozevskii, *Visnyk Odeskoi Komissii Kraieznavstva* 4–5 (1930) 53 (*non vidi*). A. Kocevalov, *WurzJbAltWiss* 3 (1948) 163.

INSCR.: A list of men's names (nom. + gen.) followed by the letters ΠΙΝΑΚ / ΚΕΦΑΚΕΜ.

175. LOC.: Unknown; the tablet was seen and copied by Héron de Villefosse at Paris in 1905. TABLET: H. ca 0.15, max. pr. W. ca 0.06. BIBL.: A. Héron de Villefosse, *BAntFr* 1905, 312f.

INSCR.: A list of men's names (all apparently nom.).

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

176. LOC.: Musée du Cinquanteaire, Brussels, inv. A 1858. TABLET: H. 0.077, W. 0.074. DATE: Late IV^a or very early III^a. BIBL.: [V. Verhoogen, *BMusBrux* 1935, 17f.] D. R. Jordan, "A Greek Defixio at Brussels," *Mnemosyne* IV.30 (1987) (forthcoming) (with phot.).

INSCR.: Judiciary. A list of men's names (nom.) plus *καὶ ὄσοι συνηγοροῦσι καὶ παρατηροῦσι*.

PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

177. LOC.: Munich Antiquarium. DATE: Not given. Probably V^a or IV^a, cf. Attic examples spelled backwards. BIBL.: Abt 4. TABLET: In two fragments that do not join. Fr. i: max. pr. W. 0.12; fr. ii: max. pr. H. 0.08, W. 0.14. The whole seems to have been folded into sixteen squares, of which twelve have nail holes.

INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Unless the top is broken away, the text begins *δωκλλ* (for *καταδω*?). *τὰ ἔργα* and *τὰ ἐργασια* (*sic*) of the intended victim, a woman, are cursed.

178. LOC.: Unknown; in the collection of J. Sieveking, Munich, at the time of publication. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.08, max. pr. W. 0.04. BIBL.: Abt 3.

INSCR.: The published text, which consists of five lines, makes no sense to me. To the left of and at right angles to these lines: *ατιμηδη*.

179. LOC.: Istanbul Archaeological Museum. PROV.: Turkey? Bought from a Greek dealer in 1910 in the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul. TABLET: H. 0.110, W. 0.083. DATE: III^p or IV^p (Moraux, from letter forms); end of III^p or beginning of IV^p (Guarducci). BIBL.: P. Moraux, *Une défixion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul* (Brussels 1960). [C. Préaux, *BullAcadBelg* V.46 (1960) 282.] Guarducci 254f.

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Judiciary. The text of Side A is continued on Side B, which has one line only. The text begins with magical names of Iao-Seth and continues with instructions to make the opponents of the defixens neither plan well nor remember. Their minds, soul, anger are to be chilled *ἀπὸ τῆς σήμε[ρον ἡμέ]ρας εἰς ἅπαντα [τὸν] τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον*.

180–188 LOC.: Antioch Museum. PROV.: Antioch? Tablet bought in the Antioch Bazaar. TABLET: W. 0.04 each, other dimensions not given. BIBL.: H. Seyrig, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 48–50.

INSCR.: Nine figurines of horses. Six of them are inscribed with one name each (masc. nom.), presumably those of horses; the other three are inscribed with a different name (nom.) on each side (twice masc.+masc., once masc.+fem.), apparently those of the drivers or riders as well as of the horses themselves. One of the horses' (?) names seems to be inscribed over another name.

189. LOC.: In the collection of R. J. Demarée, The Hague. TABLET: H. 0.05, W. 0.025 (top)–0.07 (bottom). DATE: Not given. III^p or IV^p? (letter forms).

BIBL.: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 89f (phot., Taf. XIIa).

INSCR.: A charm to make a woman love a man. Magical syllables (mostly vowels) plus ἀξιῶ καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν δοίναμήν (for δύναμίν) σου καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν σου plus magical syllables plus ἄξον Τερμούτιν, τῆ(ν) ἔτεκεν Σοφία, Ζοῆλ, τῶ ἔτεκεν Ἀροσερ, ἔρωτι μανικῶ καὶ ἀκατα[πα]ύστῳ <καὶ?> ἀφ' ἑ'ίρωτῳ (for ἀφθάρτῳ?).

[M. Vickers informs me that the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, houses four defixiones. Inv. G.514.1 is still rolled up, with the original nail piercing it; for a photograph see Kurtz and Boardman (*supra* p.157) Pl. 45. Inv. G.514.2 (max. pr. H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.06), whose letter forms suggest IV^a or III^a, preserves parts of four lines of text, apparently the end of a curse. The opisthographic inv. G.514.3 (H. 0.1, W. 0.085), whose letter forms may be IV^a, begins “whoever bewitched (κατέδεσεν) me, whether woman, man, slave, free, foreigner, townsman . . .” (*cf.* the tablet from the Athenian Kerameikos announced by Kovacsovics [*supra* p.158]). Inv. G.514.4 (H. 0.02–0.04, W. 0.09) contains illegible marks, perhaps crude attempts at letters (*cf.* Wunsch 128ff).]

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