The Erotic and Separation Spells
of the Magical Papyri and *Defixiones*

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For David Jordan

THIS PAPER examines gender and social issues in the erotic and separation spells of the Greek and Demotic magical papyri and in the comparative material of the erotic and separation *defixiones,* the *binding spell* tablets. The material is very considerable and there has been much scholarly discussion. The questions to be addressed are: Who were the users and the intended victims of the erotic and separation spells? What was the social status of the female victims? What is the goal of erotic magic? Finally, I shall examine whether the evidence of the erotic spells is consistent with the evidence of ancient literature in general.[1]

The scholarly discussion

Erotic magic has attracted more scholarly discussion than any other aspect of the magical papyri or indeed of Greek magic generally. Scholars generally have claimed that the papyri and *defixiones* present men as the predominant users of the erotic spells, hence a predominance of men in practicing erotic magic. Winkler, for example, asserts that "the prescrip-

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[1] Greek (*PMG*) and Demotic (*PDM*) magical papyri are cited in the numeration of H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*[2] (Chicago 1992). *DT* = A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris 1904); *SM* = R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum* I–II (Opladen 1990–1992); *SGD* = D. R. Jordan ''A Survey of Greek Defixiones not included in the Special Corpora,'' *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–197; *NGCT* = Jordan, "New Greek Curse Tablets," *GRBS* 41 (2000) 5–46.

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tion papyri and tablets are predominantly composed by (or on behalf of) men in pursuit of women."[2] Graf agrees that almost exclusively men practiced the erotic spells to obtain women; Faraone states that the majority of the erotic spells were performed by men on women.[3]

This claim runs counter to the general view that in Greek and Roman literature it is women who are represented as the main practitioners of erotic magic.[4] Hence various attempts have been made to explain the alleged predominance of men as practitioners in the magical papyri and *defixiones* and consequent discrepancy between Greek and Roman literature and the reality of the documents. Winkler hypothesises "a cultural habit on the part of men to deal with threats of eros by fictitious denial and transfer."[5] Graf also accepts inconsistency between literature and life and situates men's "almost exclusive" practise of erotic magic in the context of general social competition, explaining the erotic spells as a way to social and financial benefits for the male user via a successful marriage.[6]

[2] J. J. Winkler, "The Constraints of Eros," in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (eds.), *Magika Hiera* (New York 1991) 214–243, at 227; cited e.g. by J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York 1992) 244–245, cf. 80–81.

[3] F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1997) 185–186; C. A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1999) 43 n.9.

[4] A representative list: Hera and Aphrodite's *Kestos Himas*, *Il.*14.216 ff.; Calypso, *Od.*1; the nurse and Phaedra, Eur. *Hipp.*; Deianeira, Soph. *Trach.*; Simaetha, Theoc. 2; a Syrian sorceress, Lucian *Dial.meretr.* 4; Canidia, Hor. *Epod.* 5.17, *Sat.* 1.8; Dido, Verg. *Aen.* 4; a woman, Verg. *Ecl.* 8; Meroe, Apul. *Met.*1.8–10, Pamphile, 2.5, 3.15–16, the baker's wife, 9.29–30, etc.

[5] Winkler, in *Magika Hiera* 227–228; D. G. Martinez also mentions the notion of transference: "'May she neither eat nor drink': Love Magic and Vows of Abstinence," in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden 1995) 335–359, at 354–355. On fictitious denial and transfer see E. Pachoumi, "Eros as Disease, Torture and Punishment in Magical Literature," *SymbOslo* 86 (2012) 74–93.

[6] Graf, *Magic* 185–186; Graf's sociological explanation raises further questions which he himself notes, 188–190.

Others, however, have challenged the alleged discrepancy between literature and reality. Gager, for example, comments on Winkler's argument: "Yet, even more than Winkler seems prepared to admit, both the tablets and literary figures such as Lucian demonstrate that women resorted to precisely the same ceremonies, spells and devices as did men."[7] Ogden urges reasons for caution as well,[8] and Dickie has questioned the claim that in literature it is women who are predominantly represented as engaged in erotic magic.[9]

The claim of a discrepancy between literature and reality raises social and gender questions about the users and victims of erotic spells. Winkler states that "in fact *agogai* are aimed as a rule at women and maidens, who are constantly guarded and watched by their own families and by all the neighbours."[10] Graf argues that the male users of erotic spells aimed at young women, especially of "good families" with the purpose of "a permanent union, that is, marriage."[11] Faraone adds further complexities, separating Greek love magic into two categories, spells to induce *eros* and spells to induce *philia*: the first category was practiced mainly "by men, courtesans, or whores" and the victims were "young women and men, usually living in their natal home," while the second was used "by wives and social inferiors" and their victims were "husbands, kings and other

[7] Gager, *Curse Tablets* 80–81, continuing, "Thus it is not too much to insist that it is precisely through *defixiones* that women emerge from their stereotyped seclusion and passivity in aggressive pursuit of their own erotic dreams."

[8] D. Ogden, "Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds," in B. Ankarloo and S. Clark (eds.), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe* II (London 1999) 3–90, at 63–67: "Winkler is undoubtedly right about the scale of male involvement in cursing in comparison to female, but this collation of the relevant evidence now needs to be revised for a number of reasons" (64).

[9] M. W. Dickie, "Who Practised Love-Magic in Classical Antiquity and in the Late Roman World?" *CQ* 50 (2000) 563–583.

[10] Winkler, in *Magika Hiera* 233, 240 and n.74.

[11] Graf, *Magic* 186.

male heads of household."[12] Dickie, however, questions Faraone's taxonomy, arguing that "the φιλτροκατάδεσμος or ἀγωγή and the φίλτρον have a good deal of overlap in the forms of expressions they employ," and that they are used to induce both *eros* and *philia*.[13]

The terminology of the erotic and separation spells

The terms ἀγωγή[14] and ἀγώγιμον[15] are used in the magical papyri mainly to describe the erotic spell. But there are others, such as φίλτρον (erotic potion), φιλτροκατάδεσμος ("eros-binding" spell), ἔμπυρον (erotic spell "by means of fire"), πότισμα ("draught" spell) or ποτήριον ("drinking cup" spell), and φυσικλείδιον ("pudenda key" spell).[16] I shall also examine the small category of the nine διακοπός (sc. λόγος), "separation" spells. I have included the separation spells because they further illuminate the manifold issues of erotic desire from the viewpoint of separation.[17]

The Betz translators render ἀγωγή and ἀγώγιμον as "love spell of attraction, or love spell and charm of attraction."

[12] The first category included ἀγωγαί, φιλτροκατάδεσμοι, and ἴυγγες and was "a specialized extension of cursing rituals"; the second included φίλτρα and χαριτήσια, and was "a subcategory of healing and protective rites": Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 27–31.

[13] Dickie, *CQ* 50 (2000) 582–583.

[14] There is also an erotic spell called ἀγωγὴ ἀγρυπνητική, *agoge* "producing insomnia" (Appendix **11**). As ἀγρυπνητικός is a term used by the medical authors (e.g. Gal. I 326.2, VI 30.13, 626.13, VIII 162.7, X.930 Kühn), obviously in contexts where they aim to cure insomnia, spells for producing insomnia subvert medical precepts.

[15] Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1093D, Gal. XII 251. Note also ἀγώγιμον παράψιμον, *agogimon* "acting by means of touch" (**25**) and ἀγώγιμον αὔθωρον, "acting immediately" (**13**).

[16] This occurs only once (**59**).

[17] An example in which the notions of both attraction and separation are expressed in the same spell is **67**, an *agoge* spell which is also a separation spell.

Faraone translates both these terms as "a spell that leads."[18] The term ἀγωγή, however, is not restricted to erotic spells. For example, in the spells entitled Ἀγωγὴ Πίτυος βασιλέως ἐπὶ παντὸς σκύφου (*PMG* IV.1928–2005) and Πίτυος ἀγωγή (2006–2125), it is used of a "spell that leads" spirits or daimons of dead persons from the underworld, even though in the second one there are traces of erotic formularies.[19] The term is also used by the Neoplatonist Iamblichus in a theurgical context as meaning "the procedures of evoking the spirits."[20] Hence, Faraone's more neutral translation is technically more correct, but because we are here considering the use of the term in the erotic spells it is simpler to refer to ἀγωγή as an "erotic spell that leads." In this context, the term precisely refers to the procedure of evoking usually a daimon or a spirit of the dead in order to lead or bring the *eros* victim by means of a spell to be recited or a ritual to be practiced by the user of the spell or by the magician on behalf of the user.

The following sections aim, by posing specific questions with some detailed analysis, to address the issues that have been raised by scholars.

(a) *The gender of the users and the victims*

The tabular survey of the erotic and separation spells of the magical papyri and *defixiones* presented in the Appendix can provide a starting point. I organise the spells into two main thematic categories. First, the *Formulary*, which use the *deina formula* rather than the actual names of the user and victim(s): this category contains 90 erotic and 8 separation spells on papyrus, and 3 erotic *defixiones*. Second, the *Actual* spells, real

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[18] Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* 25.

[19] *PGM* IV.2090–2091, πορεύου, ὅπου κατοικεῖ ἥδε (ἢ ὅσδε), καὶ ἄξον αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα. See also E. Pachoumi, "Resurrection of the Body in the Greek Magical Papyri," *Numen* 58 (2011) 729–740, at 730 n.3, and *SymbOslo* 86 (2012) 74–93.

[20] *Myst*. 3.6 τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν πνευμάτων; cf. 3.14 τρόποι τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀγωγῆς and 5.26 τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἀγωγῆς.

spells that give the precise names of the user and/or the victim: this category contains 13 erotic spells and 1 separation spell on papyrus and 36 erotic and 14 separation *defixiones*.

My aim is to present and analyse the erotic and the separation spells of the magical papyri. The references to the comparative material of *defixiones* are important and helpful in supporting the evidence of the papyri. Nevertheless, I do not attempt to provide a complete survey of all the erotic and separation *defixiones*.

Tabulation of the two thematic categories shows that most users of erotic spells on papyrus, when the gender is stated, are male and most victims female.[21] In the separation spells on papyrus, the gender of the user is not stated, but the gender of the victims is stated in most cases, with two exceptions (*Formulary* separation spells: **92**, **93**).[22] However, there are only six erotic spells in which the user is female and the victim male (two *Formulary*: **53**, **77**; four *Actual*: **102**, **103**, **108**, **109**). There is also one case of female homosexuality (*Actual*: **106**) and one of male homosexuality (*Actual*: **107**).

The comparative material of the erotic *defixiones* (κατάδεσμοι, *binding spell* tablets) can be useful and illuminating, because these spells offer us a wider chronological, geographical, and cultural range, dating from the fifth century B.C. to the late Roman period (s. VI A.D.) and found throughout the Mediterranean. The *defixiones* were most often inscribed on small lead tablets rolled up and pierced with a nail and placed in tombs, chthonic sanctuaries, or underground bodies of water, such as wells, baths, etc.

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[21] In the Demotic erotic spells the user is male and the victim female when the genders are stated, except in **68**, in which the victim is male but the gender of the user of the spell is not clear.

[22] More precisely, in four *Formulary* separation spells (**95**, **96**, **97**, and possibly **98**) the victims are a man and a woman (/husband and wife); in **94** the victims are two men; in **91** the victims can be either two men or a man and a woman. In the *Actual* separation spell **115**, in which the victims are three men, it is ambiguous whether it is a male homosexual spell.

In most of the erotic *defixiones* (3 *Formulary*, 36 *Actual*), when the gender is stated, the user is male and the victim female, with four exceptions, in which the user is female and the victim male (*Actual*: **119**, **134**, **135**, **137**). There are also two *Actual* erotic homosexual *defixiones*: **116** is for male homosexuality, although there is controversy whether it should be considered as an erotic spell or a juridical spell to gain victory in court, or even both;[23] and **144**, an *Actual* erotic *defixio* of female homosexuality.[24] There is an ambiguity about the gender of the user of the *Actual* erotic *defixiones* **139** and **140**, whether female and consequently to be considered as a female homosexual spell, where ἣν creates doubt about the gender of Παιτοῦς/Παντοῦς. Jordan (*SGD* p.190) holds that ἥν is for the masculine ὅν. Furthermore, Egyptian names beginning with Pe- and Pa- are usually masculine.

Among the 14 *Actual* separation *defixiones*, in one from a grave in Pella (**161**), written in Doric and dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C., the user is female, possibly Phila, [Φίλ?]αν, and the victims a man Διονυσοφῶν and a woman Θετίμα. In the very fragmentary *Actual* separation *defixio* **153** from Cnidus in Caria (II B.C.) the user is also female and the spell is directed at a woman who is now with the user's husband.

In the *Actual* separation *defixio* from a grave in Akanthos in Macedonia (**162**), dated to late fourth or early third century B.C., on side A the male user Παυσανίας binds his female eros victim, Σίμη. On side B the same Παυσανίας binds a person named Αἶνις, who could be either a man or a woman. In three other *Actual* separation *defixiones* from a well in the Athenian Agora (second half of the first to the first half of the third cen-

[23] Audollent, *DT* p.473, classed it under "Causa defixiones obscura"; D. R. Jordan considered it an erotic spell: "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 205–255, at 223 n.16; Preisendanz thought it was possibly a juridical curse, *PMG* pp.13 ff.; both: Daniel and Maltomini, *SM* II pp.16–17.

[24] F. Maltomini, "Osservazioni al testo di alcuni papiri magici greci I," in R.Pintaudi (ed.), *Papyrologica Florentina* VII (Florence 1980) 169–177, at 176.

tury A.D.),[25] although the name of the user is not mentioned, the victims are a man and a woman in two spells (**158**, **160**) and a woman and two men in the third (**159**). It is noteworthy that **159** and **160** are directed against the same woman, Ἰουλιανὴ ἣν ἔτεκεν Μαρκία.

As the examination so far reveals, there are some inaccuracies in Winkler's figures. He includes only seven *PGM* erotic spells in which the user is male and the victim female (**104**, **105**, **110**, **111**, **112**, **113**, **145**) and one ostrakon (**165**), but the spells, as we have seen, are in fact more numerous. Winkler also mentions only four *PGM* cases in which the user is female and the victim male (**102**, **103**, **108**, **109**), but there are two more *Formulary* erotic spells of which this is true (**53**, **77**). He assumes that the user in **115** is male and includes it in the male homosexual spells, but the name of the user is not mentioned and there is no indication about the gender. Again, Winkler cites twelve *DT* erotic spells as directed from men at women (**100**, **118**, **125**, **127**–**135**); but **134** and **135** are directed by a woman at a man. He also cites **134** and **135** as the only two *DT* cases in which the user is female and the victim male, but there are two more (**119**, **137**).[26]

The evidence examined so far, taken at face value, shows that the user of the spells, when the gender is stated, is usually male and the object, or victim, female. The comparative evidence of the erotic *defixiones* points in the same direction.

But we must take into account the *deina formula*. In the *Formulary* erotic spells the user of the spell is most commonly called ὁ δεῖνα son of τῆς δεῖνα, and the victim ἡ δεῖνα daughter of τῆς δεῖνα. Thus, in almost all the *Formulary* erotic spells in the magical handbook *PGM* IV the user is ὁ δεῖνα and the victim ἡ δεῖνα.[27] In the *Formulary* spells of another magical handbook,

[25] Jordan describes the three as "curses directed against … lovers": *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 213.

[26] Winkler, in *Magika Hiera* 240 n.74; cf. Ogden, in *Witchcraft and Magic* 64.

[27] 10 out of 11: **1**–**2**, **4**–**11**. **3** refers to the victim as πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα.

PGM VII, 5 out of 15 follow this formula (**20**, **21**, **23**, **24**, **26**); the other 10 either use the δεῖνα formula only for the victim, or do not use it at all. In the remaining magical papyri some 19 *Formulary* erotic spells apply the ὁ δεῖνα/ἡ δεῖνα user/victim formula. In some cases also only the gender of the victim is stated, using the δεῖνα formula, and not the gender of the user, and in other cases the gender of neither is stated. We mentioned above the six spells, in two of which the user is ἡ δεῖνα and the victim ὁ δεῖνα (**53**, **77**).

However, in some *Formulary* spells this δεῖνα is quite flexible and can be applied to either a male or a female user directed at either a male or female victim. In the "Erotic spell that leads by means of fire" (**55**), for example, as Dickie points out,[28] although the user is mentioned as ὁ δεῖνα and the victim as ἡ δεῖνα, it is made clear in the very beginning of the spell that "it leads men to women and women to men and makes maidens/ virgins to leap out of their homes" (70–71).

This point can also be illustrated in the *Formulary* separation spell **91**. Here the victims are two men, who could be lovers or friends, and against each of them the user, whose gender is not defined, asks Typhon, "give to NN the son of NN strife, war, and to NN the son of NN odiousness, enmity, just as Typhon and Osiris had" (372–373). But at the end of the spell there is an addition: "if it is a man/husband and woman/wife: 'just as Typhon and Isis had'" (374).

The *Formulary* spell **77**, although it states clearly at the beginning (2) that "it leads a woman to a man," is actually directed according to its content from a female user to a male victim (5–6). In the spell "The Sword of Dardanos" (**6**), at the beginning the victim is mentioned as male (1720–1721), but later as female (1807, also 1853–1856).[29] In **23** also, the victim is repeatedly mentioned as female, but once (909) as female

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[28] Dickie, *CQ* 50 (2000) 566.

[29] In another spell from the same handbook, *PGM* IV.2441–2621, although the user is at first masculine, in 2479 the feminine is used.

and in brackets as male, ἡ δεῖνα (ἢ ὁ δεῖνα), implying the gender flexibility of the spell.

Similarly, the *Formulary* spell **96** is described as "The method for separating man and woman and a woman from her husband." **33** states at the very beginning that its purpose is "to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa."[30]

Hence we must agree with Dickie that "the use of the masculine grammatical gender is merely a convention for writing out as economically as possible spells that may be used equally by either sex,"[31] and (obviously) that the same applies to the use of the female gender for the victim. Thus, spells following the δεῖνα formula are clearly intended as flexible models.

In sum, about the thematic category of *Formulary* erotic and separation spells on papyrus, 98 in number, we may conclude that: (a) 55 out of 72 Greek spells, when the gender is stated,[32] use the δεῖνα formula either for both the male and the female or for one of the two; and (b) a similar formula is used in 8 out of 26 Demotic spells. Thus 63 out of 98 spells use the δεῖνα formula. This formula problematises the assumption that men were the main users of the erotic spells, as more than half of the spells use the δεῖνα formula, and weakens the alleged discrepancy between literature and reality as regards the users of the erotic spells.

In the thematic category of *Actual* erotic papyri spells, the user is female in 5 out of 14 spells and the victim is male in 4 and female in 1.[33] There is also 1 *Actual* separation spell, in which three male victims are mentioned by name (**115**).

The alleged discrepancy is further weakened by Dickie's ob-

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[30] Transl. Johnson in Betz 217.

[31] Dickie, *CQ* 50 (2000) 567.

[32] There are 8 *PGM* spells where the gender of both the user and the victim is not stated at all.

[33] *Formulary* **102**, **103**, **108**, **109**; and one *Actual* female homosexual spell **106**.

servation that in fact in literature not only women but also a significant number of men are portrayed as engaged in magic.[34]

It is true that in the magical papyri there are references exclusively to male magicians, or to male figures engaging in magic,[35] with only two exceptions, the Syrian woman from Gadara (*PMG* XX.4) and the Thessalian Philinna (XX.13).[36] But, obviously, in the case of erotic magic the distinction between the magician and the user is crucial.

Thus this survey greatly problematises the claims that the great majority of the users of erotic magic were men and that there is a puzzling discrepancy between the evidence of the magical papyri and the world of literature.

(b) *The status of the women victims*

As we have seen, scholars have raised the question of the social status of the women victims of the erotic magic. Were they in fact the well-protected and guarded maidens of good families usually living in their natal home? Let us analyse some concrete examples.

In the *Formulary* "Wondrous eros-binding spell" (**2**), the male user adjures the chthonic gods and daimons, the men and women who died untimely deaths, both youths and maidens (336–343) to assist "the daimon of a dead person" (νεκυδαί-

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[34] E.g. Jason in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.215–219; Calasiris and the Thessalian hero in Heliod. *Aeth.* 3.16.2–3; Moeris in Verg. *Ecl.* 8; the Hyperborean magician and the young man in Lucian *Philops.* 14; for more examples see Dickie, *CQ* 50 (2000) 577–580.

[35] E.g. Apollonius of Tyana (*PMG* XIa.1), Astrapsoukos (VIII.1), Pachrates (**8**.2446), Pibechis (*PMG* IV.3007), Pitys (IV.1928, 2006, 2140), Pnouthis (I.42), Zminis of Tentyra (XII.121), Imhotep (*PDM* xii.24), Julius Africanus (*PMG* XXIII.55–63), Claudianus (**23**), Keryx (I.43), Manetho (III.440), Nephotes (IV.154), Thphes (XIII.959); also Demokritos (VII.795, XII.351), Orpheus (XIII.933), Pythagoras (VII.795), Solomon (IV.850, XCII.6), Mithras (V.4, III.462), Zoroaster (XIII.968).

[36] Thessalian witches were of course legendary in antiquity; e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 749; Luc. *Phars.* 6.452; Apul. *Met.* 2.21. See J. Cazeaux, "La Thessalie des magiciennes," in B. Helly (ed.), *La Thessalie* (Lyon/Paris 1979) 265–275.

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μων, 361, 368, 397)[37] invoked to go to "every place and every street and every house" and "lead and bind" the woman "whose magical material you have" (ἧς ἔχεις τὴν οὐσίαν) in order to love him (348–351). The male user also wishes her "not to have sexual intercourse, not to have anal intercourse, nor do anything with another man for pleasure (μὴ βινηθήτω, μὴ πυγισθήτω, μηδὲ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιή[σ]ῃ μετ᾽ ἄλλου ἀνδρός) except with me alone, NN, so that she, NN, may not be able to drink or eat, that she may not be content, not be patient, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, may not find sleep without me, NN" (351–356).[38] Furthermore, the user later emphasizes his wish that the daimon of the dead person "may not let her, NN, take for pleasure the experience of another man, not even of her own man/husband, except of me alone, NN" (μὴ ἐάσῃς τὴν δεῖνα ἄλλου ἀνδρὸς πεῖραν λαβεῖν πρὸς ἡδονὴν μηδὲ ἰδίου ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ δεῖνα, 374–376). Is there any evidence here that the male user casts the spell at a maiden living in her natal home? Clearly, the reverse. And the reference to ἰδίου ἀνδρός counts decisively against that possibility.[39]

In the *Formulary* "Another erotic spell that leads" (**9**) the male user invokes Hekate-Selene-Artemis together with those who died untimely and those of the heroes who died without a wife and children, to take away from the female victim sweet sleep and "if she lies having anyone else in her embrace" (εἰ δέ τιν᾽ ἄλλον ἔχουσ᾽ ἐν κόλποις κατάκειται, 2737)[40] let her thrust him away and put me into her mind/heart and having aban-

[37] O'Neil in Betz mistranslates νεκυδαίμων as "god of the dead": the reference here is to the daimon of the dead person into whose grave the love-binding spell is placed (τίθεσαι … παρὰ ἀώρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην, 332–333).

[38] On the verbs see D. Bain, "Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)," *CQ* 41 (1991) 51–77; also D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BJb* 168 (1968) 56–111, at 72.

[39] No matter whether this means "legal husband" or, as Dickie suggests, "the man with whom the woman is currently living": *CQ* 50 (2000) 569.

[40] ἐν κόλποις could also mean "in her vagina."

doned him immediately let her stand before my door, subdued in soul longing for my bed of love" (δαμνομένη ψυχῇ ἐπ' ἐμῇ φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ, 2737–2741).[41] The user further describes the victim: "may she, NN, driven mad come to my doors quickly forgetting children and intimacy with parents and hating the whole race of men and women except me, NN, and may she have only me, NN, subdued in heart by eros' mighty necessity/force" (2753–2760). Here again the references to the female victim do not at all befit a well-guarded maiden in her natal home.

Similarly in the *Actual* erotic spell **105**, the daimon of the dead person is invoked "not to let Karosa herself whom Thelo bore remember her [own] husband/man ([ἰδίῳ] ἀνδρί), child, drink, food, but she should come melting with passion and love and intercourse, especially longing for the intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore" (52–54). In the *Formulary* "Laudable erotic spell" (**66**), in Greek and Demotic, the male user invokes what he addresses as "image of Helios" (36/176) to bind the female victim "so that she may love me and do whatever I want (ἵνα με φιλῇ καὶ ποιήσῃ ὅσα θέλω) [and] she may forget (her) father and mother, brothers, husband, friend, except me only she may forget them all" (28–30/172–174). In neither of these cases can the female victim be a maiden in her natal home.

In the *Formulary* "erotic spell that leads" **67**, which is also a separation spell (65 = 202), the user, whose gender is not defined, addressing the spell to a lizard asks him to bring the female victim and make her hate "her husband/man" and vice versa (45–47 = 189–190). Similarly, in the *Actual* separation *defixio* written on an ostrakon (**165**), the user, whose gender is not stated, wants to send away Allous "from Apollonios, her husband/man" (38–42). In the *Actual* erotic spell **111** the male user adjures the daimons who lie there and the youths who

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[41] φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ is a Homeric formula, e.g. *Il.* 3.445, 6.25, translated "in the bed of love" by R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago 1951), also O'Neil in Betz p.89. The same phrase in a similar context at **10**.2908–2911.

died untimely to make the female victim leave (her) father, mother, brothers, sisters and "if she has another at the bosom (εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερο[ν] ἔχι ἐν κόλποις), she should put him aside and forget and hate him" (46–51)—clearly envisaging the possibility of a lover or husband.

All the spells considered so far attribute a considerable level of sexual freedom and sexual experience to the female victims and exclude the possibility that these women were well-guarded maidens in their natal homes.

Similarly, in the *Actual* erotic *defixiones* there are examples (**141**, **146**–**150**) in which the male users wish the female victims to have sexual intercourse and experience with no other men but them. In **141**, for instance, Ammonion binds Theodotis "so that you may not ever be able to commingle with another man nor have sexual intercourse nor have anal intercourse nor fellate nor do anything for pleasure with another man, except me alone, Ammonion son of Hermitaris" (ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῇς ἑτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι πώποτε μήτε βινηθῆναι μήτε πυγισθῆναι μήτε ληκάζειν μηδὲ καθ' ἡδονὴν ⟨ποιήσῃς⟩ μεθ' ἑταίρῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, εἰ μὴ μόνος ἐγώ, ὁ Ἀμμωνίων Ἑρμιταρίς, 3–6), "so that Theodotis the daughter of Eus may no longer have (erotic/sexual) experience with another man, but with me alone, Ammonion" (ἵνα ἡ Θεόδοτις Εὖς μηκέτι λάβη πεῖραν ἑταίρου ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἐμοῦ μόνου, τοῦ Ἀμμωνίωνος, 9–10). The list of the various types of sexual practice is a pattern found in these other five *defixiones* and implies that they belong to the same erotic subcategory. The sheer variety of the sexual practices and the emphasis on "not ever" and "no longer" mark the female victim as sexually active.

Within this sub-category, two provide further information about the female victim. In **149** Theodoros adjures the chthonic gods and daimons, men and women who died untimely, youths and maidens, to assist the daimon of a dead person, invoked to "go to every place and every street and every house and every tavern (ὕπαγε εἰς πᾶν [τό]πον καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄμφοδον [[ε̣]] καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκίαν [καὶ π]ᾶν καπηλῖον) and lead and bind Matrona whom Tagene bore" (17–20). Here

a tavern, καπηλῖον, is added to the list of possible places that the daimon should search for the female victim. The other *defixio*, **150**, also includes a tavern (17–20). Tavern girls were generally associated with prostitution.[42]

In the *Actual* separation *defixiones* from a well in the Athenian Agora, the woman who is the victim of two separation spells is probably a prostitute, as Jordan suggests, since the two male victims of the spell are described in one as "the ones who visit Juliana (τοὺς προσερχομέν[ους Ἰουλι]ανῇ) … in Juliana's place of business" (ἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριν τὸ Ἰουλιανῆς, **159**), while the other refers to their "affection and intimacy and lying down together" (καὶ ἡ στοργὴ] αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ συνήθεια καὶ τὸ συν-αν[απεσεῖν, **160**), implying a sexual relationship. Likewise, in the *Actual* separation spell **154**, the woman victim has a re-lationship with two men and with "the other men" (πρὸς τὸς ἄ]λλος ἀνθρώ[π]ος).

In sum, the claim that the female victims of the spells were the well-protected and guarded maidens of good families usually living in their natal home is challenged by a con-siderable number of spells directed against women described as sexually active, having a high level of sexual freedom and ex-perience, being married, or (it seems) engaged in prostitution.

(c) *The goal of erotic magic*

Is the goal "a permanent union, that is, marriage"? And how valid is the distinction between ἀγωγαί and φιλτροκατάδεσμοι on the one hand and φίλτρα on the other? Again, we need to look at concrete cases.

The male user in the *Formulary* "Wondrous eros-binding spell" (**2**) wishes that the daimon of a dead person may "lead and bind her, NN, to love, sexually love and long for him, NN" (ἄξον, κατάδησον τὴν δεῖνα φιλοῦσαν, ἐρῶσαν, τὸν δεῖνα πο-θοῦσαν, 395–396). Both verbs ἐράω and φιλέω (together with

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[42] K. Olson, "Matrona and Whore: Clothing and Definition in Roman Antiquity," in C. A. Faraone and K. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* (Madison 2006) 186–204.

ποθέω) are used in this φιλτροκατάδεσμος to induce ἔρως and φιλία (and πόθος) in the female victim. The spell supports neither distinctions of feeling nor distinctions of genre.

Similarly, in the *Actual* erotic spell **105**, Karosa is to be aroused until "having leapt forth (ἐκπηδήσασα)"[43] she comes to Apalos "for erotic passion and love" (ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ, 50–52). The feelings of erotic passion and love also involve yearning for sexual intercourse: "melting for erotic passion and love and sexual intercourse, especially longing for the sexual intercourse of Apalos whom Theonilla bore" (τη]κομένη τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, πλείστω⟨ς⟩ ποθου[μ]ένη πρὸς τὴν συνουσίαν τοῦ Ἀπαλῶς ὃν ἔτεκεν Θεονίλλα, 53–54). The male user of the *Formulary* spell **28** also wants to arouse ἔρως, φιλία, and συνουσία in the female victim (ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς συνουσίας τὸν δεῖνα, ἐμέ, col. i.8–9; φιλ[είτω ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα] and ἐραμ[ένη μου] ἔρω[τι αἰωνίῳ], col. ii.6–7, 11–12). Similarly, the *Actual defixio* **147** aims at both ἔρως and φιλία between Ptolemais and Sarapammon (φιλοῦσάν με, ἐρῶσ[ά]ν μου, 27).

The male user of the *Formulary* spell **27** wants to induce φιλία and ἔρως in the woman victim at first sight: "(let her) see me and having seen me fall in love with me" (ἰδέ με καὶ ἰδοῦσ[α ἐρ]άσθητί μου, 13; ἡ δεῖνα μ]ε ἰδοῦσα ἐρασθῇ μου, 19).[44] The smile of the woman when they see each other is described as the "sign of love" (κ]αὶ προσγελᾷ αὐτὴ τότε. σημεῖον γὰρ τῆς [φιλίας ἐστὶ το]ῦτο, 22–23).

In the *Formulary* spell "The Sword of Dardanos" (**6**), the male user invokes the god: "cause the soul of her, NN, to return to me, NN, so that she may love me, so that she may feel erotic passion for me, so that she may give me what is in her hands" (ἐπίστρεψον τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς δεῖνα εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, ἵνα με φιλῇ, ἵνα μου ἐρᾷ, ἵνα μοι δοῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς χερσὶν ἑαυτῆς, 1806–

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[43] The verb is used in other ἀγωγαί as well: **55**.71, **61**.359, **144**.17, **148**.10.

[44] This is the love-at-first-sight commonplace (Theoc. 2.82 ff., Verg. *Ecl.* 8.4, etc.).

1810). The goal here is again sexual union.[45] But the phrase ἵνα μοι δοῖ τὰ ἐν τοῖς χερσὶν ἑαυτῆς may allude to her power, or even, more practically, to her holdings, her offerings, or her possessions. The latter is also supported by the antithesis created between this phrase and the one that follows, λεγέτω μοι τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἑαυτῆς (1810–1811), which must refer to feelings and thoughts (the phrase occurs only here in the erotic and separation spells). A similar example is in the mistitled "Binding erotic spell (φιλτροκατάδεσμος) of Astrapsoukos" (*PGM* VIII.1–63), which is not an erotic or separation spell: the magician asks of Hermes, ἐπανάγκασον αὐτοὺς δοῦναί μοι ἃ ἔχουσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, "force them to offer me what they have in their hands" (19–20).[46] Hence both these phrases must rather allude to material holdings or possessions.

In the *Formulary* erotic spell "Claudianus' Lunar spell" (**23**) the user calls upon Selene to "order an angel to go away to her, NN, to lead her by the hair, by the feet; may she, being in fear, terrified by visions/phantasms, sleepless because of her erotic passion for me and her love for me, NN, come to my bedroom (κέλευσον ἀγγέλῳ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, ἄξαι αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν π[ο]δῶν· φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη, ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτί μου καὶ τῇ ἐμοῦ φιλίᾳ, τοῦ δεῖνα, ἥκοι σηκῷ, 886–889). As in the previous spell, the male user wants to induce both ἔρως and φιλία in the female victim. Moreover, two more verbs, ἀγαπῶ and στέργω, elaborate the feelings to be induced in the victim, when the user requests her to remain "fully satisfying, loving, feeling affection for me, NN, and she may not be able to commingle/have sexual intercourse with another man except me alone" (πληροφοροῦσα, ἀγαπῶσα, στέργουσα ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, καὶ μη δυνασθῇ ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ συν-

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[45] I discuss this complicated spell in, "Eros and Psyche in Erotic Magic," *ClMed* 62 (2011) 39–49.

[46] The magician, more explicitly, asks Hermes to give him "favor, sustenance, victory, prosperity, elegance, beauty of face, and strength" among all men and women (4–6). For a similar expression in the *Actual* erotic spells note *SM* 39.14, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν αὐτῇ εἴπω δοῖ μοι.

μιγῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, 910–912).

In the *Formulary* "Erotic spell that leads" (**5**) the male user sends Myrrh to lead and bind a woman, "and make her have me only in her mind, desire me alone, love/feel affection for me alone, NN, and fulfil all my wishes" (ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μόνον, τὸν δεῖνα, κατὰ νοῦν ἐχέτω, ἐμοῦ μόνου ἐπιθυμείτω, ἐμὲ μόνον στεργέτω, τὰ ἐμὰ θελήματα πάντα ποιείτω, 1519–1523). The verb στέργω is replaced later in the spell by φιλέω in a similar context, "until she comes to me, NN, loving me, and fulfils all my wishes" (ἕως ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δεῖνα, φιλοῦσά με καὶ ποιήσῃ πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου, 1532–1534).

In the *Actual* erotic spell **111**, the daimons of that place and the youths who died untimely are adjured to lead Euphemia to Theon, "loving (him) with mad erotic passion and affection and intercourse" (ἐρῶσα ἔρωτα μανιώδη καὶ στοργὶν καὶ συνου-σία⟨ν⟩, 7). Later in the spell Theon repeats his request, but using this time φιλοῦσαν instead of ἐρῶσα: φιλοῦσάν με ἔρωτι καὶ πόθῳ καὶ στοργῇ καὶ συνουσίᾳ, ἔρωτι μανιώδη (30–31). The phrase is then repeated: φιλοῦσαν ἔρωτι μανιώδη (43). The use of ἐρῶσα and φιλοῦσαν in the same context reveals the author's tendency to use these two verbs of similar meaning in any possible combinations. This tendency becomes even more obvious in the expression φιλοῦσα{ν} με, ἐρῶσά{ν} με θῖον ἔρωτα ἀκατάπαυστον καὶ φιλίαν μανικήν, "loving me, desiring me with divine, incessant erotic passion and mad love" (48–49). The concept of covering the various shades of the meaning of "love with affection" is again repeated in φιλήσῃ καὶ ἀγαπήσῃ καὶ στοργήσῃ (51).

In the female homosexual *Actual defixio* **144**, the terms used are "erotic passion and love" (ἐπ' ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ, 13, 45, 47) and "love, yearning, unending erotic passion" (φίλτρον, πόθον, ἔρωτι ἀκαταπαύστῳ, 51–52, 55). Here again φίλτρον is used for "love" and not for "love potion, or spell" and joined to πόθος and ἔρως without any implication of distinctions of meaning or categorisation. The term φίλτρον has the same meaning in **102**, in which Capetolina wishes "may Nilos love me with eternal love" (φιλῇ με Νῖλος φίλτρον αἰώνιον, 21).

In the *Actual* separation *defixio* **160** from the Athenian Agora, the erotic relationship is described as "their purpose and affection and intimacy" (καὶ τὴν γνώ]μην καὶ τὴν στοργὴν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν [αὐτῶν, 3–4) and "their affection and intimacy and lying down together" (καὶ ἡ στοργὴ] αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ συνήθεια καὶ τὸ συναν[απεσεῖν, 13–14). The noun στοργή, generally meaning "love, affection," is used here of the sexual relationship between a prostitute and a man.

In the *Actual* separation *defixio* **164** from Egypt, Didymos' wish for sexual intercourse with Tereous is explicitly articulated, "and until she joins together her lips to my lips, hair to my hair, belly to my belly, little black to my little black, until I accomblish my intercourse and my male genitals with her female genitals" (καὶ κολλήσῃ αὐτῆς [τ]ὰ χίλη εἰς τὰ χίλη μου, τὴν τρίχαν εἰς τὴν τρίχαν μου, τὴν γαστέραν εἰς τὴν γαστέραν μου, τὸ μελάνιον εἰς τὸ μελάνιόν μου, ἕως τελέσω τὴν συν-ουσία(ν) μου καὶ τὴν ἀρσενικήν μου φύσιν μετὰ τῆς γυναικίας αὐτῆς φύσεως, 25–30). This sexual depiction is widely expressed in the magical papyri.[47] For example, in the *Formulary* "Wondrous love-binding spell" (**2**), the male user expresses the desire that "she may join fast together (her) head to my head and join together lip to lip and fasten belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit the black together with the black

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[47] E.g. in the *Actual* erotic spell **104**, "joining fast together thigh to thigh and belly to belly and her black to my black the most pleasant" (μηρὸν μηρῷ καὶ κοιλίαν κοιλίᾳ κολλῶσα καὶ τὸ μέλαν αὐτῆς τῷ ἐμῷ μέλανι ἡδυτάτῳ, 22–23); the *Actual* spell **114**, "until they join together lips to lips and white to black" (χίλησιν χίλη[α] συνάψουσιν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τῷ μέλανι, 27–29); the *Actual* spell **141**, "may draw thigh close to thigh and genitals to genitals for being together always, for all the time of her life" (μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ φύσε[ι]ν φύσει πρὸς συνουσίαν ἀεὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς, 12–13); the *Formulary* "Erotic spell that leads by means of fire" (**55**), "she may join fast together her female genitals to my male one" (καὶ τὴν θηλυκὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν τῇ ἀρσενικῇ μου κολλήσῃ, 83); and the *Formulary* "Other erotic spell by means of fire" (**56**.113–114). For discussion see Pachoumi, *ClMed* 62 (2011) 41–42 and n.13. For examples in erotic poetry see Daniel and Maltomini, *SM* I p.122.

(κεφαλὴν κεφαλῇ κολλήσῃ καὶ χείλεα χείλεσι συνάψῃ καὶ γαστέρα γαστρὶ κολλήσῃ καὶ μηρὸν μηρῷ πελάσῃ καὶ τὸ μέλαν τῷ μέλανι συναρμόσῃ, 400–404).

It is noteworthy that some examples emphasize the idea of θεῖον ἔρωτα, divine erotic passion (**111**.48–49, **27**.7–8, **102**.3, **148**.13–14, 25), and θίῳ κα[ὶ ἀπορ]ρήτῳ καὶ ἀκαταπαύστῳ ἔρωτι (**164**.8–9). This divine love is elsewhere described as τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μιστήριον, Aphrodite's mystery rite (**60**.306), and τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον, the divine mystery (**105**.52), which is here associated with the act of sex.[48] This is a special case of the wider assimilations of magic with religious mysteries.[49]

So far, then, the evidence of the Greek and Demotic magical papyri and the *defixiones* seems to imply that the purpose of practicing erotic magic is a sexual union, but without defining it as marriage. Instead this union is described as erotic passion, love, sexual intercourse, affection, ἔρως, φιλία, συνουσία, ἀγά-πη, στοργή. The evidence does not support a categorisation of spells as those inducing ἔρως versus those inducing φιλία.

To this general picture there are two exceptions, both from the *defixiones*. The first is the erotic *defixio* **135**,[50] in which the female user binds the male victim with erotic passion, love, and desire, "and needing of her (having the need of her), that he may return to his house and become (her) companion" (δεό-μενον αὐτῆς ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ σύμβιο[ν] γε-νέσθαι, 6–8). The word σύμβιος is repeated five more times in the spell and is used for the male victim (21–23, 28–30) or the female user (12–15, 30–32, 44–46). The explicit aim is to "join

[48] For interpretation of the clause [ἐφ'] ὅσον κεῖται παρά σοι τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον see Pachoumi, *SymbOslo* 86 (2012) 88 n.40.

[49] E.g. τὸ μέγα τοῦτο μυστήριον (*PMG* I.131), ὡς σὺ ἐνομοθέτησας καὶ ἐποίησας μυστήριον (IV.722–723), τὸ σόν, θεά, μυστήριον μέγιστον (**8**.2592), ἀμυστηρίαστον (*PMG* XIII.56–57), ὦ μα[κάρι]ε μύστα τῆς ἱερᾶς μαγείας (I.127), μύσται τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως (IV.474), μυσταγωγός (IV.172 and 2254), συμμύστης (IV.731–732 and XII.94), παῖς μυστοδόκος (XX.6), etc..

[50] Also R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln*[2] (Bonn 1912) 23–26.

them with marriage and love, living together for the whole time of their life" (ζεῦξον αὐτοὺς γάμῳ καὶ ἔρωτι συμβιοῦντας ὅλῳ τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ, 42–43). The second exception is the separation *defixio* from Pella (**161**), which aims to prevent a wedding, so that the female user may marry the male victim herself, [Θετί]μας καὶ Διονυσοφῶντος τὸ τέλος καὶ τὸν γάμον καταγράφω (1–2 and 4–5).

The question whether the goal of the erotic spells is marriage has also been linked to the financial benefits of marriage.[51] In fact there is only one *Actual* erotic *defixio*, **144**, in which the sexual and erotic subjugation is connected to financial benefits (ἐκδότην αὐτὴν ὡς δούλην ἑαυτὴν αὐτῇ παρέχουσα⟨ν⟩ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς [κ]τήματα πάντα, 17–18 and 39), but this is a female homosexual *defixio*.

Conclusions

In this paper I have examined important gender and social issues raised by scholars[52] in the erotic and separation spells of the magical papyri, looking at the same time at examples from the comparative material of the erotic and separation *defixiones*.

I tested the modern orthodoxy that the users of erotic spells were overwhelmingly male and that consequently there is a discrepancy between the situation in the documents, which presumably reflect reality, and Greek and Roman literature, where, allegedly, women are represented as the main practitioners of erotic magic. The evidence reveals that more than half of Greek and Demotic *Formulary* erotic and separation papyri spells (63 of 98) use the δεῖνα formula, which can be quite flexible, applied both to men and to women. Nor is the evidence of literature as one-sided as generally assumed. Consequently, neither the claim that men were overwhelmingly or predominantly the users of erotic spells, nor the claim that there is a great discrepancy between real life and the world of

[51] See Graf, *Magic* 185 ff.

[52] It may be accidental that the scholars on the magical papyri are mostly men.

literature is soundly based.

As to the female victims of the erotic spells, were they, as some scholars allege, the well-protected and guarded maidens of good families usually living in their natal home? Examination of the documents has shown that many erotic spells directed against women describe them as sexually active, with a high level of sexual freedom and experience, or as married, or as probably engaged in prostitution.

Furthermore, the use of *Formulary* spells implies a tendency towards ritualising the erotic/sexual desire, which may be a very liberating psychological process for the users. The use of masculine gender for the user and feminine for the victim in the *deina* formula may seem to reflect an attempt to stereotype the sexual desire (male gender for the user, female for the victim). But the fact that the *deina* formula was a grammatical convention that could be used by either sex suggests the creation of unified attitudes towards sexual desire, common to men and women. Hence, the factor of common sexual attitudes emerges as important among the gender and social issues.

Finally, the magical papyri and the *defixiones* imply that the goal of erotic magic is sexual union, but without defining it as marriage, with the exception of only two *defixiones*. This union is described as erotic passion, love, sexual intercourse, affection (ἔρως, φιλία, συνουσία, ἀγάπη, στοργή). The evidence also does not support a distinction between spells inducing ἔρως and those inducing φιλία.[53]

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APPENDIX

1. *FORMULARY* SPELLS

a. *Formulary* erotic spells – papyri (90)

1 *PGM* IV, Magical Handbook (s. IV) lines 94–153	(No title) (in Old Coptic and Greek) User: Male, NN whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN whom NN bore
2 296–466	Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός, Wondrous eros-binding spell User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν δ.
3 1265–74	Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα, Aphrodite's name User: Male, ἐπικαλεσάμενος … εἰσελθών Victim: Female, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα
4 1390–1495	Ἀγωγή (ἐπὶ ἡρώων ἢ μονομάχων ἢ βιαίων), Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. τῆς δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
5 1496–1595	Ἀγωγή (ἐπὶ ζμύρνης ἐπιθυομένης), Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. τῆς δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
6 1716–1870	Ξίφος Δαρδάνου, Sword of Dardanos User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. (or Male, ὁ δ., 1721)
7 1872–1927	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δ. τῆς δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
8 2441–2621	Ἀγωγή, Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. (or Female, εἰποῦσα, 2479) Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν δ.
9 2708–84	Ἄλλη ἀγωγή, Another erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
10 2891–2942	Ἀγωγή, Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ., ἣν δ.
11 2943–66	Ἀγωγὴ ἀγρυπνητική, Erotic spell that leads producing insomnia User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
12 *PGM* VII (s. III–IV) 191–92	Φ[ιλ]τροκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος, Eternal eros-binding spell User: ? Victim: ?
13 300a–10	Ἀγώγιμον αὔθωρον, Erotic spell able to lead acting immediately User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
14 385–89	Ποτήριον καλόν, A good drinking cup spell User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ. <ἣν> ἡ δ.
15 405–06	Φίλτρον, Erotic spell User: ? Victim: ?

16 459–61	Φίλτρον κάλλιστον, Excellent erotic spell User: ? Victim: ?
17 462–66	Φίλτρον κάλλιστον, Excellent erotic spell User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
18 467–77	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ., ἢ\<ν\> δ. / τῆς δ.
19 593–619	Ἀγωγὴ ἀσχέτου, Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable person User: Male (ὁ λέγων, 610) Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
20 619–27	Ἐκ τοῦ Διαδήματος Μουσέως, From the Diadem of Moses User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
21 643–51	Ποτήριον, Drinking cup spell User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
22 661–63	Φίλτρον, Erotic spell User: ? Victim: ?
23 862–918	Κλαυδιανοῦ σεληνιακόν, Claudianus' lunar spell User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. (or Male, ἢ ὁ δ., 909)
24 969–72	Πότισμα καλόν, A good draught spell User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
25 973–80	Ἀγώγιμον παράψιμον, Erotic spell able to lead by means of touch User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆ[ς] δ.
26 981–93	Ἀγώγιμον, Erotic spell able to lead User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἔτεκε δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν δ.
27 *PGM* X.1–23 (s. IV/V)	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
28 *PGM* XIc (s. V)	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν κτλ.
29 *PGM* XII.469–73 = *PDM* xii.119–34 (s. IV)	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female
30 474–79 = 135–46	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ., ἣν [δ.
31 480–95 = 147–64	Another User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
32 *PDM* xiv.335–55 (s. III)	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
33 355–65	Another Erotic spell, "to give favor to a man before a woman and vice versa" User: Male. Victim: Female
34 428–50	(No title) (Two erotic potions) User: Male, NN son of NN Victim: Female, NN daughter of NN

35 636–69	(No title) (Erotic potion) User: Male, NN whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN whom NN bore
36 772–804	A method (three erotic spells) User: Male, NN whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN whom NN bore
37 930–32	A prescription (Erotic spell) User: Male. Victim: Female
38 1026–45	(No title) User: Male, NN whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN whom NN bore
39 1046–47	(No title) User: Male, husband. Victim: Female, wife
40 1047–48	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
41 1049–55	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
42 1063–69	(No title) User: Male, NN whom NN bore Victim: Female, NN whom NN bore
43 1070–77	(No title) "A spell to bring [a woman] to a man, to send dreams" User: Male, NN son of NN Victim: Female, NN daughter of NN
44 1090–96	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, NN daughter of NN
45 1130–40	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
46 1155–62	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
47 1188–89	(No title) Erotic spell? User: ? Victim: Female
48 1190–93	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
49 1194–95	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
50 1196–98	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female
51 1206–18	(No title) User: Male. Victim: Female
52 *PGM* XIVb (s. III)	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ γυνή
53 *PGM* XIXb.1–3 (s. IV)	(No title) User: Female, ἡ δ. Victim: Male, ὁ δ.
54 4–18	Ἀγωγὴ ἐπὶ κυνός, Erotic spell that leads over a dog User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
55 *PGM* XXXVI.69–101 (s. IV)	Ἀγωγή, ἔμπυρον, Erotic spell that leads by means of fire (ἄγι δὲ ἄνδρας γυνεξὶν καὶ γυνέκας ἄνδρεσιν, 70) User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἢν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ.
56 102–33	Ἄλλο ἔμπυρον, Another Erotic spell by means of fire User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἢν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ.

57 134–60	Ἀγωγὴ θαυμαστή, Marvelous Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ.
58 187–210	Ἀγωγή, Erotic spell that leads User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
59 283–94	Φυσικλείδιον, Pudenda key spell User: Male, τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. μήτρα τῆς δ.
60 295–311	Ἀγωγή, ἔνπυρον, Erotic spell that leads by means of fire User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
61 333–60	Ἀγωγὴ ἐπὶ [ζ]μύρνης, Erotic spell that leads over myrrh User: Male, ὁ δ. τῆς δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
62 361–71	Ἀγωγὴ ἄσχετος, Erotic spell that leads an unmanageable person (woman) User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
63 *PGM* XXXVIII (s. IV)	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.
64 *PGM* LII.1–9 (s. III)	(No title) User: ? Victim: ?
65 9–19	(No title) User: ? Victim: ?
66 *PGM* LXI.1–38 = *PDM* lxi.159–96 (s. III)	Φίλτρον ἐπαινετόν, Laudable erotic spell User: Male (αὐτός, 12) Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τὴν/ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ.
67 39–71 = 197–216	Ἀγω[γή (ἄγει γ]υναῖ[κ]α[ν ἀ]δικισθε[ῖσαν ὑπὸ το]ῦ ἀνδρός, 39), Erotic spell that leads; also a Separation spell ([διάκοψον τ]ὸν δ. ἀπὸ τῆς δ., 65) User: ? Victims: Female, ἡ δ., and Male, τ]ὸν ἄνδρα (husband and wife, κα[ὶ] αὐτὴν ὁ ἀ]νήρ)
68 *PDM* lxi.95–99 (s. III)	"Spell for giving praise and love in Nubian" User: Male, or Female? Victim: Male
69 100–05	"The red cloth of Nephthys" User: ? Victim: Female?
70 112–27	"A Prescription for making a woman love you" User: Male Victim: Female
71 128–47	(No title) User: Male Victim: Female
72 148–58	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female
73 *PGM* LXII.1–23 (s.III)	(No title) User: Male, ὁ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ. τῆς δ.

74 *PGM* LXIII.1–7 (s. II/III)	(No title) (Erotic potion, πο[τ]όν) User: ? Victim: ?
75 8–12	[Γυναῖκα κοι]μωμέ[νην] ὁμολο[γῆσαι τὸ ὄν]ομα οὗ φιλεῖ, Erotic spell to make a woman confess the name of the man she loves. User: Male Victim: Female
76 *PGM* LXVII	(No title) Fragmentary erotic spell? User: Male(?), δεῖνα, ὃν] ἔτεκεν ἡ δ(εῖνα) Victim: Female(?), τὴν δεῖνα, ἣν ἔτεκεν] ἡ δεῖνα
77 *PGM* LXXVIII (s. III)	Eros punishment, ἄγει γυναῖ]καν πρὸς ἄνδρα … καὶ μ[ονίμους αὐτοὺς ποιεῖ] καὶ πιστικούς User: Female, ἡ δ. ἣν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. ἣ[ν ἔτεκ]εν ἡ δ. Victim: Male, ὁ δ.
78 *PGM* CIII (s. II)	(No title) User: Male, ἐμὲ τὸν δ. Victim: Female(?), [NN whom NN] bore
79 *PGM* CXVII (s. I)	(No title) User: Male (fr.23.2). Victim: Female (fr.2 [her] husband [forgetting], also 9 and 14); τῇ δῖνα (22.4)
80 *PGM* CXIXa.1–3 (s. III)	Erotic spell through touch User: ? Victim: ?
81 4–6	Erotic spell User: ? Victim: Female(?)
82 *PGM* CXXII.5–25 (s. I)	Enchantment [spoken] three times over apples User: ? Victim: Female
83 26–50	(No title) User: ? Victim: Male, NN, or Female, NN
84 *P.Oxy.* 4672 (s. III/IV)	(No title) User: Male, πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δ. τῆς δ. Victim: Female, τῆς δ. ἧς ἔτεκεν ἡ δ.
85 *P.Oxy.* 4674 (s. IV/V)	(No title) User: Male, ἐμὲ τὸν δ. ὃν ἔτεκεν ἡ δ. Victim: Female, πρὸς τὴν δ. υς τὴν δ.
86 *P.Oxy.* 3834.1–5 (s. III)	ἐπὶ ἐκκρίματος, καλόν, Over (seminal) secretion, a good one User: Male, συγγενόμενος Victim: Female, εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῆς δ.
87 6–11	ἄλ(λο), Another User: Male, τῷ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.
88 *P.Oxy.* 4468 recto (s. I)	(No title) User: ? Victim: Female, τὴν δ. δ.
89 P.Duk.inv. 729[54] 1–12 (s. II/III)	Πόσιμον πεπιρασμ[έν]ον ὑπὸ πολλῶν, Drinkable tested by many User: Male, τὸν … τῷ δ. Victim: Female, ἡ δ.

[54] D. R. Jordan, *GRBS* 46 (2006) 159–173.

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90 19–27	Κατάδεσμ[ος, Binding spell User: τὸν δ. ὃν ἔτεκ(εν) ἡ δ. Victim: ἡ δ. ἣν ἔτεκ(εν) ἡ δ̣.

b. *Formulary* separation spells – papyri (8)

91 *PGM* XII.365–75 (s. IV)	Διακοπός, Separation spell User: ? Victims: Two males, or a male and a female: ὁ δ. τῆς δ. and ὁ δ. τῆς δ., or a husband and wife, εἰ δὲ ἀνήρ ἐστιν καὶ γυνή
92 445–48 = *PDM* xii.50–61	A spell for separating one person from another. User: ? Victims: two
93 449–52 = 62–75	Another (Separation spell) User: ? Victims: two
94 453–65 = 76–107	Another (Separation spell) User: ? Victims: Two males, ὁ δ., ὁ δ.
95 466–68 = 108–18	A spell to cause a woman to hate a man User: ? Victims: a woman and a man (husband and wife?)
96 *PDM* xiv.366–75 (s. III)	The method of separating a man from a woman and a woman from her husband User: ? Victims: a man from a woman (NN son of NN, NN daughter of NN) and a woman from her husband
97 *PGM* CXXVIa (s. V)	(No title) User: ? Victims: A Female and a Male, τὴν δ. [ἀπὸ τοῦ δ.]
98 *PGM* CXXVIb (s. V)	(No title) User: ? Victims: Two: one Female, τῆς δ., and one Male(?)

c. *Formulary* erotic *defixiones* (3)

99 *DT* 229, Carthage (s. I)	In Latin User: ? Victim: ?
100 *DT* 230 Carthage (s. I)	In Latin and Greek User: Male Victim: Female
101 *DT* 296 Hadrumetum (s. III)	In Greek, very fragmentary User: ? Victim: ?

2. *ACTUAL* SPELLS

a *Actual* erotic spells – papyri (13)

102 *PGM* XV (s. III)	User: Female, Καπετωλίνα ἣν ἔτεκε Πεπεροῦς Victim: Male, σε, Νῖλε, τὸν καὶ Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα ὃν ἔτεκε Δημητρία

103 *PGM* XVI (s. I)	User: Female, Διοσκοροῦς ἣν ἔτεκε Τικωί Victim: Male, Σαραπίων ὃν ἔτεκε Πασάμητρα
104 *PGM* XVIIa (s. IV)	User: Male, Ἑρμείας ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἑρμιόνη. Victim: Female, Τιγηροῦς ἣν ἔτεκεν Σοφία
105 *PGM* XIXa (s. IV/V)	User: Male, Ἁπαλῶς ὃν ἔτεκεν Θεονίλλα. Victim: Female, Κάρωσα ἣν ἔτεκε Θελώ
106 *PGM* XXXII (s. II)	User: Female, Ἡραεὶς ἣν ἔτεκεν Θερμουθαριν. Victim: Female, Σαραπιὰς ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη
107 *PGM* XXXIIa (s. II)	User: Male, Σεραπιακὸς ὃν ἔτεκεν Θρέπτη Victim: Male, Ἀμώνειος ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη
108 *PGM* XXXIX (s. IV)	User: Female, Ἀλλοῦς ἧς ἔτεκεν Ἀλεξανδρία Victim: Male, Ἡρακλῆς ὃν ἔτεκεν Τααῖπις
109 *PGM* LXVIII (s. II/III)	User: Female, Ἐρ]ι[έα] ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἐρχηελιώ Victim: Male, Εὐτύχης ὃ[ν] ἔτεκεν Ζωσίμη
110 *PGM* LXXXIV = *SM* 40 (s. III)	User: Male, Πτολεμαῖος ὃν ἔτεκεν Διδ[ύ]μη Victim: Female, Πτολεμαὶς ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη
111 *PGM* CI = *SM* 45 (s. V)	User: Male, Θέων ὃν ἔτεκεν Προεχία Victim: Female, Εὐφημία ἣν ἔτεκεν Δωροθέα
112 *PGM* CVIII = *SM* 43 (s. IV)	User: Male, Διόσκ[ο]υρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Θέκλα Victim: Female, Λεοντία ἣν ἔτεκεν μήτρα Εὔα
113 *PGM* CIX (s. IV)	User: ? Victim: Female, Καλημέρα
114 *P.Oxy.* 4673 (s. IV–V)	User: Male, τῷ Ἑλένῳ ὃν ἔτεκεν Ταπιαμ Victim: Female, ἣ]ν ἔτεκεν Εἰσι[δώρα?

b. *Actual* separation spells – papyri (1)

115 *PGM* LXVI (s. III–IV)	User: ? Victims: Three Males, Φιλόξενος, Γεννάδιος, Πελάγιος

c *Actual* erotic *defixiones* (36)

116 *DT* 38 = *SM* 54 (s. II/III)	Erotic spell, or Juridical spell to gain victory in court? Male homosexual spell User: Male, Ἰωνικός Victim: Male, Ἀννιανός
117 *DT* 51 Athens	User: ? Victim: Female, Γαμετὴ ἣν ἔτεκεν Ὑγία
118 *DT* 100 Crucinacum (s. I)	In Latin User: Males, Surus, Caenus, Secundus Victim: Female, Silonia
119 *DT* 103 Crucinacum (s. II)	In Latin User: Female(?), Aprilis Kaesio Victim: Male, Artus Dercomogni
120 *DT* 135 Nomentum (s. II)	In Latin User: ? Victims: Male, Malcius Nicones, and Female, Rufa Pulica

121 *DT* 138 Rome (s. I B.C.)	In Latin User: Male, Soterichus Victim: Female, Eutychia
122 *DT* 139 Rome (s. I B.C.)	In Latin User: ? Victim: Female, Rhodine, ut semper odio sit M. Licinio Fausto
123 *DT* 190 Minturnae (s. II)	In Latin User: ? Victim: Female, Tychene Carisi
124 *DT* 191 Cales (s. I)	In Latin User: ? Victims: Male, C. Babu[llius C. fi]lius, and Female, Tertia Salvia Quartae Satiae
125 *DT* 227 Carthage (s. I)	In Latin and Greek User: Male, Suc(c)es(s)us Victim: Female, Suc(c)es(s)a
126 *DT* 228 Carthage (s. I)	In Latin User: ? Victim: Female, Iulia Faustilla Marii filia
127 *DT* 231 Carthage (s. I)	Latin in Greek letters User: Male, Μαρτιαλις κουεμ πεπεριτ Κορωναρια Victim: Female
128 *DT* 264 Hadrumetum (s. III)	In Latin User: ? Victim: Female, Victoria quem peperit Suavulva
129 *DT* 265 Hadrumetum (s. III)	In Latin User: Male(?) Victim: Female, Victoria quem peperit Suavulva
130 *DT* 266 Hadrumetum (s. II)	In Latin User: Male, Felix quem peperit Fructa Victim: Female, Vettia quem peperit Optata
131) *DT* 267 Hadrumetum (s. II)	In Greek including Latin in Greek letters User: Male, Ὄππιομ κουεμ πεπεριτ Οὐενερία Victim: Female, Βονῶσα κουαμ πεπεριτ Πάπτη
132 *DT* 268 Hadrumetum (s. III)	In Latin User: Male(?) Victim: Female, Bonosa qu(am) pe(pe)ri(t) Bonosa
133 *DT* 269 Hadrumetum (s. III)	Latin in Greek letters User: ? Victim: Female, Τοττινα κου[αμ] πεπεριτ – –
134 *DT* 270 Hadrumetum (s. II)	Latin in Greek letters User: Female, Σέπθιμαμ Ἀμένε φιλια (Septima Amoenae filia) Victim: Male, Σεξτίλλιος Διονισίε φιλιους (Sextilius Dionysiae filius)
135 *DT* 271 Hadrumetum (s. III)	In Greek, some in Latin letters User: Female, Δομιτιανὴ ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδά Victim: Male, Οὐρβανὸς ὃν ἔτεκεν Οὐρβανά
136 *DT* 292 Hadrumetum (s. III)	Erotic spell(?) in Latin User: Male(?) Victim: Female, Adbocata

137 *DT* 299 Ammaedara (s. III)	User: Female, [Ἰ]ουε[ν]αλία(?) Victim: Male, – – ὃν ἔτεκεν Καλ[πουρ]νία
138 *DT* 304, cf. **133** Hadrumetum (s. I)	In Greek and Latin with Greek letters User: ? Victim: Female, Τοττινα κου[αμ πεπεριτ – –]
139 *SM* 37A (s. II)	User: Male(?) Παιτοῦς ἣν (for ὃν) ἔτ[εκ]ε Τμεσιῶς Victim: Female, Νίκη Ἀπολλωνοῦτος
140 *SM* 37B (s. II)	User: Male(?) Παντοῦς ἣν (for ὃν) ἔτεκεν Τμεσιῶς Victim: Female, Νίκη Ἀ[πολ]λωνοῦτος
141 *SM* 38 (s. II)	User: Male, Ἀμμωνίων Ἑρμιταρίς Victim: Female, Θεόδοτις Εὖς
142 *SM* 39 (s. III)	User: Male, Πτολεμαῖος ὃν ἔτεκεν Θασεῖς Victim: Female, Ἀπλωνοῦν ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀρσινόη
143 *SM* 41 (s. III/IV)	User: Male, Ζοὴλ τῷ ἔτεκεν Δροσερ Victim: Female, Τερμοῦτις τὴν ἔτεκεν Σοφία
144 *SM* 42 (s. III/IV)	User: Female, Σοφία ἣν αἴτεκεν Ἰσάρα Victim: Female, Γοργονία ἣν αἴταικεν Νιλογενία
145 *SM* 44 = *PGM* CVII) Linen (s. III/IV)	User: Male, Ἀχ[ιλ]λᾶς ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἑλένη Victim: Female, Ταπιὰς ἣν ἔ[τε]κεν Δημητρία
146 *SM* 46 (s. II/III)	User: Male, Ποσιδώνιος ὃν ἔτεκεν Θσενουβάσθις Victim: Female, Ἡρωνοῦς ἣν ἔτεκεν Πτολεμαΐς
147 *SM* 47 (s. II/III)	User: Male, Σαραπάμμων ὃν ἔτεκεν Ἀρέα Victim: Female, Πτολεμαΐδα ἣν ἔτεκεν Ἀϊᾶς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ὠριγένους
148 *SM* 48 (s. II/III)	User: Male, Αἰλουρίων ὃν ἔτεκε μήτηρ ὀνόματι Κοπρία Victim: Female, Κοπρία ἣν ἔτεκε μήτηρ Ταῆσις
149 *SM* 49 (s. II/III)	User: Male, Θεόδωρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη
150 *SM* 50 (s. II/III)	User: Male, Θεόδωρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα [ἣν ἔτ]εκεν Ταγένη{ς}
151 *SM* 51 Clay vessel (s. II/III)	User: Male, Θεό]δωρος ὃν ἔτεκεν Τεχ[ῶσις Victim: Female, Ματρῶνα ἣν ἔτεκεν Ταγένη

d. *Actual* separation *defixiones* (14)

152 *DT* 5 Cnidus (s. II B.C.)	User: ? Victims: Male from Female/husband from wife and children Male, Νάκωνα Female, Προσόδιον
153 *DT* 10 Cnidus (s. II B.C.)	User: Female Victim: Female, Δωροθέα, who had the user's husband, τίς τὸν ἐ[μ]ὸν ἄνδρα εἶχε

154 *DT* 68 Attica (s. IV B.C.)	User: ? Victims: Female, Θεοδώρα, from two Males and others, Καλλίας, Χαρίας, τὸς ἄλλος [ἀνθ]ρώπος
155 *DT* 69 Attica (s. IV B.C.)	User: ? Victim: Female(?)
156 *DT* 85 Boeotia	User: ? Victims: Male and Female, Ἄνθειρα and Ζωΐλος (A), and two others mentioned, a Female, Φιλιμένη (A), and a Male, Μολοττός (B)
157 *DT* 198 Cumae (s. II)	User: ? Victims: (Hatred between) a man/husband and a woman/wife. Male, Βετρούβιος Φῆ[λ]ιξ ὃν ἔτεκεν Βετρουβία Μαξίμιλ[λα ὃ]ν ἔσπει[ρε Βετρού]βιος Εὐέλπιστος Female, Οὐαλερία Κορδάτιλλα ἢν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία Εὔνοια ἢν ἔσπειρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικός
158 *SGD* 30 Athenian Agora (s. I/III)	User: ? Victims: a man and a woman Male, Τροφιμᾶς ὃν ἔτε[κεν Τροφίμη Female, Καρποδώρα ἢν ἔτεκεν Εἰσιάς
159 *SGD* 31 Athenian Agora (s. I/III)	User: ? Victims: two Males (customers of a prostitute Ἰουλιανῇ ᾗ ἔτεκεν Μαρκία), Λεοσθένης and Πεῖος
160 *SGD* 32 Athenian Agora (s. I/III)	User: ? Victims: a man and a woman Male, Πολύνεικος Female, Ἰουλιανὴ ἢν ἔτε[κεν Μαρκία]
161 *NGCT* 31 Pella (s. IV B.C.)	User: Female, Φίλ?]α Victims: Male, Διονυσοφῶν Female, Θετίμα
162 *NGCT* 44 Akanthos (s. IV/III B.C.)	Side A: User: Male, Παυσανίας Victim: Female, Σίμη Side B: User: Male, Παυσανίας Victim: Male/Female(?), Αἶνις
163 *NGCT* 3 Messene (s. IV B.C.)	User: ? Victim: Female, Γλυκέραν τὴ Δίωνος γυναῖκα
164 *NGCT* 94 (s. IV)	User: Male, Δίδυμων ὂν ἔτεκεν Ταιπιαμ Victim: Female, τὴν Τερηου‹ν› ἢν ἔτεκεν Απια
165 *PGM* O 2 *Ostrakon*	User: ? Victims: a woman/wife to be separated from her man/husband, Female, Ἀλλοῦς, Male, Ἀπολλώνιος