

Curse Tablets from Pydna

Jaime Curbera and David Jordan

MANTHOS BESIOS, of the 16th Greek Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, has generously allowed us to publish here six lead curse tablets that he brought to light in 1994–97 in his excavations of graves of the fourth century B.C. at ancient Pydna, on the Thermaic Gulf; we are deeply grateful to him.¹ The six, which are housed in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum, yield 66 names in all, a substantial addition to the previously very limited early prosopography of Pydna. Three have only names, the others names followed by phrases that show that the curses were meant to affect lawsuits.²

¹We are also grateful to Anastasios-Ph. Christidis of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki for proposing us as editors, to Theodora Glaraki of the Center for the Greek Language there for checking some of our readings, and to Miltiadis Hatzopoulos and Argyro Tataki of the Center for Greek and Roman Antiquities, Athens, for encouragement and advice. Faults that remain are ours, of course.

²Special abbreviations:

Bechtel, *Dial.* = F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte I* (Berlin 1921)

Bechtel, *HPN* = F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle 1917).

Hoffmann = O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* (Göttingen 1906)

Jordan = D. R. Jordan, "Three Curse Tablets," in D. R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen, edd., *The World of Ancient Magic. Papers from the First International Samson Eitrem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute at Athens* (*Papers from the Norwegian Inst. at Athens* 4 [Bergen 1999]) 115–124

NGCT = D. R. Jordan, "New Greek Curse Tablets (1985–2000)," *GRBS* 41 (2000) 5–46

OGS = O. Masson, *Onomastica graeca selecta I–II* (Nanterre 1990), III (Geneva 2000)

Russu = I. Russu, "Macedonica. Osservazioni sulla lingua e l'etnologia degli antichi Macedoni," *Ephemeris Daco-romana* 8 (1938) 105–232

Tataki, *Ber.* = A. B. Tataki, *Ancient Beroea. Prosopography and Society* (Μελετήματα 8 [Athens 1988])

1. Pydna, inv. ΠΥ 10501
No dimensions recorded. IV^a.

We have not seen this tablet and know the text only from preliminary excavation notes.

Fr. a	Fr. b
1 [³⁻⁴]INA	1]ΝΙΚΩΝ
2 Νίκανδρος	2]ΥΚΙΤΤΟ[
3 Ἑλλάν	
4 Εὐφάνιος	
5 [¹⁻²]ητος	
6 Νικωνίδα	
7 Εὐθύδικος	
8 Λυσίδαμο[ς]	
9 Ἄρπαλος	
10 Δωρός	
11 Ναύτας	

a 5 e.g. [Ἄγ]ητος, [Κτ]ήτος

Tataki, *Mac.* = A. B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* (Μελετήματα 26 [Athens 1998])

Thumb/Scherer = A. Thumb, A. Scherer, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte II* (Heidelberg 1959)

For preliminary accounts of this area of graves see M. Besios, "Ανασκαφή στο βόρειο νεκροταφείο Πύδνας, 1989," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 3 (1989) 155-159, and "Νεκροταφεία Πύδνας," 10 (2000) 233-238. Pydna is the fourth Macedonian town from which curse tablets have been reported. The others are Acanthus (five examples: E. Trakosopoulou-Salakidou, "Κατάδεσμοι από την Ακανθο," in A.-Ph. Christidis, D. Jordan, edd., *Γλώσσα και μαγεία. Κείμενα από την αρχαιότητα* [Athens 1997] 153-169, with texts of two, illustrations of the rest; Jordan no. 3 for a later reading of one of the two published: NGCT 41-45), Arethusa (one: S. Moschonisioti, A.-Ph. Christidis, Th. Glarakí, "Κατάδεσμος από την Αρέθουσα," in Christidis/Jordan 193-200, with text and photograph: NGCT 46), Pella (five: one published in detail by E. Voutiras, *Διονυσιοφώντος γάμοι. Marital Life and Magic in Fourth Century Pella* [Amsterdam 1998], with previous bibliography, four announced by I. Akamatis, "Η αγορά της Πέλλας," *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 4 [1990] 143-154 at 148 n.20, and personal communication: NGCT 31-35). So far, all the Macedonian examples are of the fourth century B.C.

Most of the names are banal, but we may note the Greek name Ἄρπαλος (9), especially frequent in Macedonia, a new example of the rare name Εὐφάνιος (4),³ and the *harpax* Δωρός (or Δωρος) (10). This last is obviously shortened, probably from Δωρώνδας and formed like Ἄπολλώς (← Ἄπολλώνιος) or Γοργός (← Γοργώπας).⁴ The text having no examples of the confusion ω ↔ ο, a misspelling here of the common Δῶρος is unlikely.

The surviving letters of b 2]ΥΚΙΤΤΟ[are incompatible with any name that we have found. We are tempted to doubt the transcription.

2. Αγροτεμάχιο 951, Tomb 187
Max.pr.H. 0.143, max.pr.W. 0.288. IV^a.

Fig. 1

The text is in two columns, their letters unusually large for curse tablets. Of the tablet the left-hand and possibly the top edges seem original; areas are lost at the right of the second column, along with a few letters of text, but at the extreme right there is a blank space that suggests that there was no third column. There is no loss of text at the top or the bottom.

Col. i	Col. ii
1 Νίκυλλα	7 Εὐρυν[--]
2 Πολεμοκράτης	8 Βουλόνα
3 Νικόλαος	9 Στρατονίκ[α?]
4 Θράσων ὁ Νικόλλας	10 Πολυκάστ[α?]
5 Ἴππίας	11 Ἄντιφίλα
6 Εὐβούλα	12 Γαλέστα

³Cf. Εὐφάνια (IG VII 1029) interpreted by Dittenberger as a form of Εὐφάνεια (cf. Καλλ[ικ]λία 1124), as his accentuation shows.

⁴See Bechtel, *HPN* 526 and 540. Cf. also the name Κάλωσ at Philoponus *Diff. Ton.* 12 Egeroff (= K. Latte, H. Erbse, *Lexica graeca minora* [Hildesheim 1965] 366). The perispomenon accentuation Ἄπολλώς in the papyri and in literary texts is probably due to the influence of Egyptian and Persian names in -ῶς; see R. Kühner, F. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* I.1 (Hannover 1890) 494.

- 13 Φιλάν
14 Τιμοκράτης
15 Ταρρίας

7 Εύρυν[όα], Εύρυν[όμα], Εύρυν[οος], or Εύρυν[ομος] 9 Or less likely
Στρατόνικ[ος] 10 Or less likely Πολύκαστ[ος]

Two of the names, Πολεμοκράτης (2) and Ἴππιας (5), also figure in 4 and 5, respectively, which are directed against groups of men appearing in lawsuits. If the two instances of each name are more than mere homonymy, we may wonder whether the groups named in 2, 4, and 5 had some common interest.

Of the six texts presented here, this is the only one to name women, and here a woman heads the list, as if the principal target of the *defigens*. Further, we note that while endings and therefore genders of the names in 7, 9–10 are lost, feminines in -κάστη/α are commoner than masculines in -καστος; it is therefore likely that in at least 8 and 10 we have women rather than men. A main interest of this tablet in any case is onomastic. Metronymy is documented as an acceptable civic usage in the epigraphy of Macedonia,⁵ but here the metronymic Θράσων ὁ Νικύλλας (4) has nothing necessarily to do with the Macedonian practice: it may imply only that Θράσων is closely associated with Νικύλλα (1); it is hardly likely to be related to later magical practice of identifying persons by maternal lineage. More interesting are the names Βουλόνα (8), Γαλέστας (12), Φιλάν (13), and Ταρρίας (15). The first, no doubt to be related to the name Βουλονόα documented in Thessaly (*AEpigr* 1924.160 no. 403), is formed like Ἄριστόνα (*AEpigr* 1913.11 no. 8), Φιλόνας (*IG VII* 60.2), shortened forms of some of the numerous names beginning in Ἄριστον- and Φιλον-.⁶

⁵A. B. Tataki, "From the Prosopography of Ancient Macedonia: the Metronyms," *ArchMak* 5 (1993) 1453–1471.

⁶F. Bechtel, *Namenstudien* (Halle 1917) 39–41 (= *Kleine onomastische Studien* [Königstein 1981] 39–41).

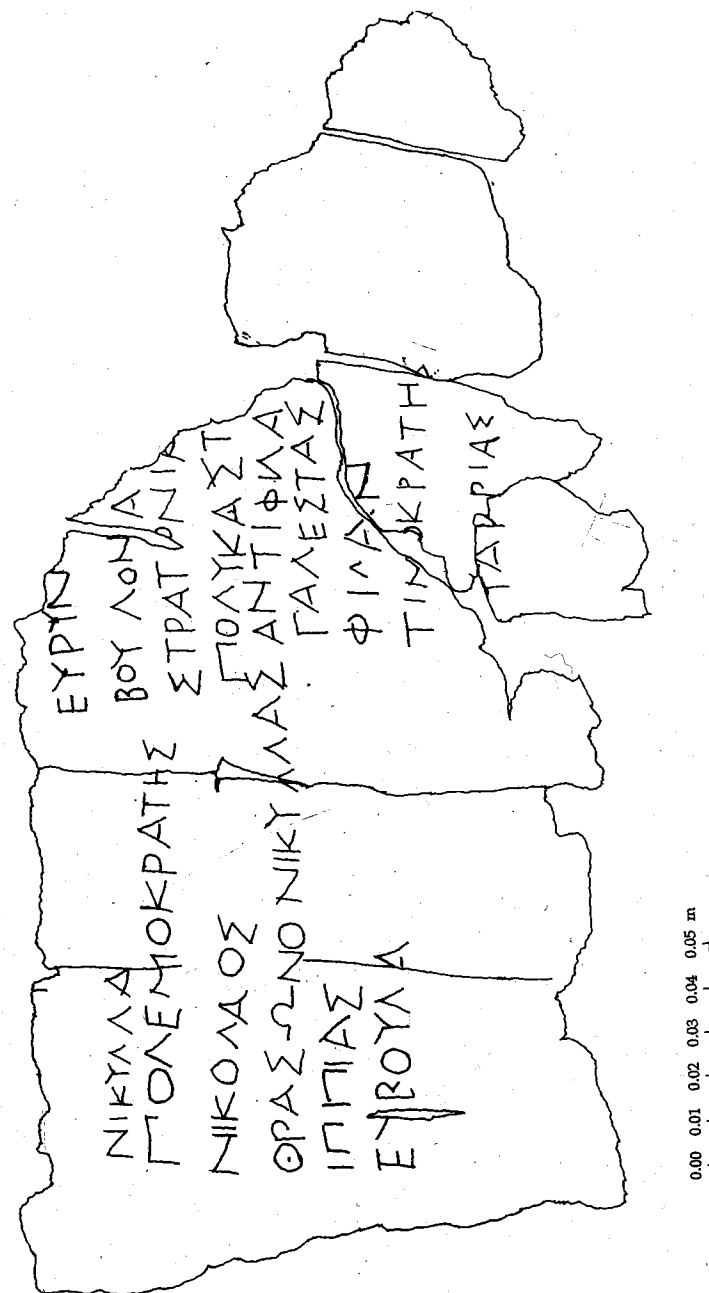


Fig. 1: Tablet 2

Γαλέστας is documented from at least Hellenistic times in northern Greece (six examples), the Aegean islands (seven), Asia Minor (five), Syro-Palestine (two), Egypt (five), and Cyrene.⁷ Neither Hoffmann nor Ion Russu took the name into consideration as Macedonian, but it may well be, as Theodor Bergk, Louis Robert, and Günther Klaffenbach have already noted:⁸ the examples date in Hellenistic and Roman times and occur in Macedonia and in lands with Macedonian settlers. The origin of Γαλέστας, however, is obscure. Bergk (258 n.60) saw a Greek name with the stem γάλα, γάλακτος ("wohl gleichbedeutend wie γαλακτοφάγος"), but this is morphologically hard to accept. Hans Krahe, who knew only one of the examples (from Athamania), posited an Illyrian background,⁹ but against this is the provenance of the others. It may be relevant that the ending -στᾶς is frequent in Macedonian and North-Greek ethnics¹⁰ and that ethnics used as personal names

⁷NORTHERN GREECE: Dodona (one): A. I. Antoniou, *Δωδώνη. Συμβολή Ἡπειρωτῶν στήν ἀνοικοδόμησις κτισμάτων τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῆς Δωδώνης* (Athens 1991) 100 (end III^a, spelled Γαλίστας); Athamania (one): Diod. 33.22.1, etc. (ca 140^a, transmitted Γαλαίστας); Beroea (four): Tataki, *Ber.* 342 (II^a), 341, 343 (I^a-I^p), 340 (II-III^p). AEGEAN ISLANDS: Delos (one): *I.Délos* 1416 B 118 (157/6^a); Rhodes (six): *IG XII.1* 1273 = *SEG* 30.1134, etc. (II^a?), M. Segre and G. Pugliese-Carratelli, "Tituli Camirenses," *ASAtene* n.s. 11-13 (1949-51) 89.2 (79-81^p), *I.Lindos* 386b.59, 90 (27^a), 383 (27-10^a), 420.b.29 (23^p); M. Nilsson, *Tibres amphoriques de Lindos* (Copenhagen 1909) 81, 407, no. 14P = *IG XII.1* 1273. ASIA MINOR: Pergamum (one): *I.Pergamon* 566.6 (II-I^a); Attalid kingdom (one): *I.Magnesia* 87.2 (159-138^a); Xanthos (one): *TAM* II 383 (hell.?); Stratoniceia (two): *I.Stratonik.* 268.3, 10, 685.13 (imp.). SYRO-PALESTINE: Sidon (one): *SEG* 23.367 = M.-Th. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (EAD 22 [Paris 1974]) 314 (II^a); Judaea (one): *Jos. AJ* 14.424 (I^a, transmitted Γαλίστας). EGYPT (five): *ProsPtol* 5068 (226/5^a), 1870 (beg. II^a), *Syll.*³ 585.136 (beg. II^a), *Ael. VH* 1.30 (hell.), *BGU VII* 1637.3 (II^p, spelled Γαλέτου). CYRENE (one): *SEG* 9.104.3 (III-II^a). For a doubtful case (a sculptor Ταλέστας Ἀρτεμιδώρου) see E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig 1885) 299, *GIBM* IV 900, S. Dow, "A Family of Sculptors from Tyre," *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 351-360 at 357.

⁸Th. Bergk, "Die Liste der delphischen Gastfreunde," *Philologus* 42 (1884) 228-265 at 258; L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*² (Paris 1962) 249; G. Klaffenbach, *Die Grabstelen der einstigen Sammlung Roma in Zakynthos* (*AbhBerlin* 1964.2) 10; cf. also Tataki, *Ber.* 412.

⁹*Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen* (Heidelberg 1929) 52.

¹⁰See e.g. W. Dittenberger on *IG IX.1* 689 and F. Papazoglou on *IG X.2.2* 36 (with bibliography).

are not rare in these regions: cf. Ὀρέστας, Πευκέστας, Ἀρύββας (ethnic of Epirote Ἄρυββα according to Steph. Byz.), perhaps Λιμναῖος (Hoffmann 147; Bechtel, *HPN* 530), and Λυγκωρίτας (see below).¹¹

Φιλάν is the local form of a name *Φιλᾶων (cf. Ἑλλάν [1.a.3], Ἴάν [*IG IX.2* 517.71, Crannon]); it does not seem to be attested elsewhere.¹²

Ταρρίας is documented at Ps.-Plut. 339B6 and 10 for a Macedonian at Susa with Alexander in 324 B.C. Modern editors give it the spelling (᾿Α)ταρρίας, which we find for Macedonians in Diodorus (19.36.2) and Curtius (5.2.5, etc.).¹³ Long ago, however, the reading Εὐτυχῆς Ταρρίου Μακέτα at *P.Tebt.* III 815 (Tataki, *Mac.* 316, no. 59) confirmed the soundness of the text of the pseudo-Plutarchean passage (see Russu 217). Our tablet now provides the third example of this Macedonian name.

3. Μακρυγιάλος '96, Αγροτεμάχιο 480
H. 0.04, W. 0.04. IV^a.

Fig. 2

- 1 Δι[ό]γνητος
- 2 Θεύτιμος
- 3 Παυράτας
- 4 Κυλλισ[-]
- 5 Λ[- - -]

4 λ or δ, λ or α 5 Λ or Δ

¹¹Note that unlike other "Macedonian" names (Ἀμύντας, Φιλώτας, cf. E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften* [Uppsala 1903] 33), Γαλέστας does not keep its -ας outside Macedonia and non-Ionic lands but rather appears as Γαλέστης.

¹²For the suffix -ᾶων/-αν see e.g. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1933) 162-164, and O. Masson, "Notes d'anthroponymie grecque et asianique 4," *BN* 13 (1962) 85-91 (= *OGS* I 31-37).

¹³The change, first suggested by W. Nachstädt, *De Plutarchi declamationibus quae sunt "De Alexandri fortuna"* (Berlin 1895) 35-36, and later independently by Hoffmann in 1906 (203-204), is included in Nachstädt's *Teubneriana* of Plutarch's *Moralia* II (Leipzig 1935): 107.4 (᾿Α)ταρρίας and 7-8 ἀλλ' Ἀταρρίας (ἀλλὰ Ταρρίας codd.). Ἀταρρίας has subsequently been accepted by editors and by historians (e.g. H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II [Munich 1926] 90-91 no. 178).

Παυράτας is new. It is formed on the stem of παῦρος "small," with the same suffix as in Μεγάτας (SGDI 2094.41, Delphi). The name in 4 is severely damaged, but it was no doubt formed on the stem of κυλλός "club-footed, bandy-legged" (L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* [Paris 1963] 253–254) or κῦδος "renown" (Bechtel, *HPN* 269–270).

4. Μακρυγιάλος 95, Αγροτειμάχιον 480
H. 0.046, W. 0.084. IV^a.

Fig. 3

Col. i	Col. ii
1 Εὐίππας <i>vacat</i>	5 Ἀμύντωρ
2 Σιτάλκα[ς]	6 Κλέανδρος
3 Καλλίας	7 Μικαλίνος
4 Πολεμοκράτης	8 [Ἀ]γησίας
	9 καὶ ἄν τις
	10 ἄλλος ὃ πὲρ ἐ-
	11 κείνου

7 Μορ Ν 8 *vel* [Κ]τησίας 10 ΑΛΛΟΣΥΠΕΡΕ tab.; Y: ∇ directly above Π

The overall structure, again a list of names with no verb of cursing but with a generalizing phrase at the end, is common on curse tablets, especially in the fourth century, as examples from Attica, Lesbos, and Epizephyrian Locri show.¹⁴ Here the final phrase refers to the allies of a single person (ἐκείνου), the

¹⁴ATTICA (a selection): *DTWü* 21: names (nom.) + ἐναντία αὐτῶι εἶ[ι]ναί ἅπαντα; 35: names (nom.) + πάντες ὅσοι ἐμοὶ ἐχθρὰ ἢ [ἐ]ν[αντία] πράττουσι; 38: names + καὶ τὸς ἄλλος πάντας ἡόσοι συν[ήγο]ροι αὐτό[ις]; *Agora* XXVIII C 1 (p.56): names (nom. + gen., headed by Μενεκράτης) + καὶ πάντας τοὺς συνηγούρους τοὺς Μενεκράτους; J. Trunpf, "Fluchtafel und Racheruppe," *AthMitt* 73 (1958) 94–102 (Ceramicus): names (nom.) + καὶ ἔ τις ἄλλος μετ' ἐκένωιν ξύνδικός ἐστι ἔ μάρτυς (lead box containing doll inscribed Μνησιστρατος, whose name occurs in but does not head the list). LESBOS: J. B. Curbera and D. R. Jordan, "Curse Tablets from Mytilene," *Phoenix* 51 (1998) 31–41, no. 1: names (nom.) + καὶ ὅσοι μελλ' εἴ[ο]ι[σι] περὶ αὐτῶν ἔρην ἢ πό[λ]ην; no. 2: names (nom.) + καὶ ἄλλος ἢ τις μετ' α[ῦ]των; no. 3: men's names (nom.) + κάλλος ἢ ἐστι μετ' αὐτῶν (*NGCT* 48–50). LOCRI: D. R. Jordan, "Three Texts from Lokroi Epizephyrioi," *ZPE* 130 (2000) 95–103, no. 3: names (nom.) + οἱ ἄλλοι ἀντανταθ[έ]ντες, καὶ εἴ τις ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ι] (or ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ς]) ἀμῖν (*NGCT* 83).

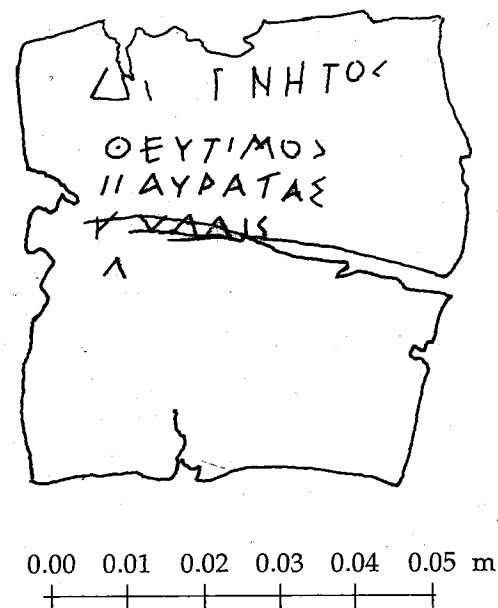


Fig. 2: Tablet 3

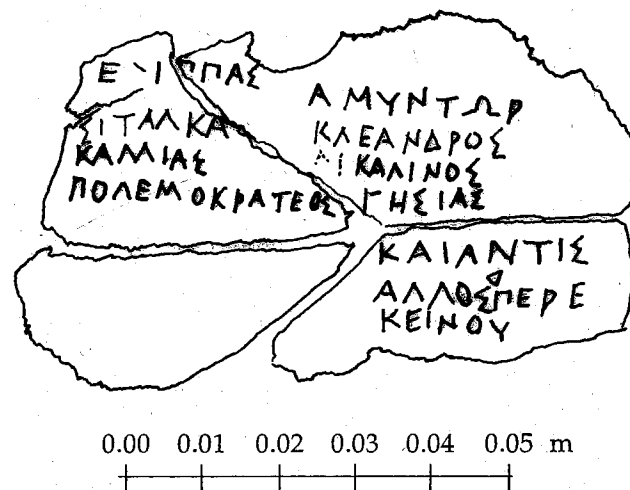


Fig. 3: Tablet 4

principal victim, evidently the Εὔπιος whose name appears at the top of Col. *i*; the blank space just below the name, if deliberate, is presumably meant to distinguish him from the others.

The lettering of ΑΛΛΟΣΥΠΕΡΕ (10) suggests that the scribe first intended πὲρ ἐκείνου, with Thessalian πέρ "on behalf of" (Bechtel, *Dial.* 200; Thumb/Scherer 75) and then corrected the local form to the Koinê ὑπέρ. (The implied verb would be λέγη, μαρτυρήσῃ or such, the purpose being to affect some legal action.) Thessalian features were indeed already documented in Macedonia¹⁵ and are even likelier to be found in border cities such as Pydna, and the influence of the Koinê was already at work when the tablet was written. This latter we see in the conditional ἄν (= ἔάν, 10), which, especially in the phrase ἄν τις, is a Koinê vulgarism, "beim Volke sehr beliebt."¹⁶

The names in the list offer nothing unexpected.¹⁷ Ἀμύντωρ (5) is a Greek name typically Macedonian, and Σιτάλκας (2) a Thracian name¹⁸ already documented in Amphipolis in Eastern Macedonia (*IG II²* 8078 = *Tataki, Mac.* 61, no. 119).

¹⁵See A. Panayotou, "Γλωσσικές παρατηρήσεις σε Μακεδονικές επιγραφές," *ArchMak* 4 (1986) 413–429 at 418–419, and M. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macédoine (Μελετήματα* 19 [Athens 1994]) 121–122. For other kinds of Thessalian-Macedonian cultural similarities, see Hatzopoulos, "Thessalie et Macédoine: affinités et convergences," in *La Thessalie. Quinze années de recherches archéologiques* II (Athens 1994) 249–254, and Hatzopoulos and L. Loukopoulou, *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides* II (*Μελετήματα* 11.2 [Athens 1996]) 230 n.1, 268.

¹⁶A. Deissmann at P. Meyer, *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten* (Berlin 1916) 178 n.6.

¹⁷We hesitantly print Μικαλίνος, a name akin to μίκκος, μικρός, etc.; cf. Μικαλίνη at Pantikapaion. B. Latyshev, *IosPE* IV 253, read this name as Μικλαίνη in 1901, but A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 220 n.217 (cf. Bechtel, *HPN* 485) corrected the reading. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague 1955) 298 §1083, adduced Hsch. μικλάς· αἴγας to explain Latyshev's reading, which V. V. Struve reproduced in 1965 in *CIRB* 284.

¹⁸D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna 1957) 450–452.

5. Μακρυγιάλος '94, Αγροτεμάχιο 480
H. 0.034, Max.pr.W. 0.177. IV^a.

Col. *i*

- 1 Πausανίας, Ἴππίας, Λυγκωρίτα(ς),
- 2 Σιμμίας, Τρόχας, Κρατεύας, Αἴολος,
- 3 Γεμας, Ἀμηρύγκας, Ορωιδυος,
- 4 Λιμναῖος, Θεόπροπος, Ἀρύββας,
- 5 Φίλιππος, Μένυλλος, Ἄσανδρος,
- 6 Φιλώνιχος, Κτολέμμα(ς), Λόκρος,
- 7 Ἄλκιμος, Ἀμύντας, καὶ ὅστις Σιμμίαι

Col. *ii*

- 8 καὶ Τρόχαι {συν} καὶ Κρατεύαι καὶ Πausανίαι σύνδικο[ς.]
 - 9 καταγράφω τὰς γ[λ]ώσσας ἐκείνων πάντων ἀνδρῶ[ν.]
- 6 κτολεμμα^o tab. 7 ὅστις or ὅσστις tab.

The structure, names plus a repeated reference to the principals, is basically that of 4, except that here we have a second statement of cursing at the end.¹⁹ Here the words σύνδικο[ς] and γ[λ]ώσσας (8, 9) reveal the purpose of the curse: to affect the outcome of a lawsuit by silencing those who are supporting Simmias, Trochas, Crateuas, and Pausanias (7–8), evidently the main litigants, whose names appear in the first two lines of the list. It is somewhat awkward that the second reference to the principals should omit two of the names in line 1. The writer seems to have been inattentive, in any case: he began the second reference in the order of line 2 and then, as {συν} suggests, almost forgot to name the other principals; perhaps his omission of the names Hippias and Lyncoritas is only another sign of his inattention. Λυγκωρίτα (1) and Κτολέμμα (6), if genitives, would be exceptional as the only patronymics in the

¹⁹To this last the phrase τὸς ΟΠΙ (φύ[ος], cf. L. Dubois, *Bull.épigr.* 1990, 863) *φικέλο πάντας γλώσσας καταγράφω* in *SEG* 39.1020, an early fifth-century curse tablet from Selinus, may be compared, whatever its syntax (*NGCT* 66).

list. In two cases, Λυγκωρίτα (1) and Κτολέμμα (6), the final -ς is missing, a phenomenon familiar in Northern Greek inscriptions.²⁰

Among the names the most striking feature is the frequency of the ending -ας,²¹ an indication of their "éolo-dorien" character.²² Most interesting, linguistically, is the shift πτ- → κτ- in Κτολέμμα(ς) (6), clearly a form of Πτολέμμας (cf. SEG 36.626.25). This shift is rare in Greek but not unparalleled: Κτολεμαῖς (CPR I 224.28 (231/2P)); cf. the opposite shift (κτ → πτ) in πτοίνα (← κτοίνα) (SGDI 4264, Rhodian Peraia, imp.).

The text is onomastically rich. Most names are known in the region and several are typically Macedonian.²³ Τρόχας (2, 8) was so far documented only in Boeotia,²⁴ where names in τροχ- are frequent.²⁵ The names Λυγκωρίτας (1), Γε.μας (3), and Ορωιδυος (3) are new. Of these Γε.μας is too damaged for anything more than speculation.²⁶ More can be said of the other three.

The formation of Λυγκωρίτας is transparent. Just as the ethnic Λυκωρίτης presupposes a place-name Λυκώρεια, Λυγκωρίτας presupposes a *Λυγκώρεια, which is not documented in our sources but should derive from Λύκγος + ὄρος: cf. the similar

²⁰A. Leukart, *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās* (SBWien 558 [1994]) 42–45.

²¹Not -ας: see O. Masson, "Géminations expressives dans l'anthroponymie grecque," *BSL* 81 (1986) 217–229 at 225 (= *OGS* II 557) n.33.

²²So J. N. Kalléris, *Les anciens Macédoniens* I (Athens 1954) 292.

²³"Αλκιμος (7), Ἀμύντας (7), Ἄσανδρος (5), Κρατεύας (2), Λιμναῖος (4), Πανσανίας (1), Πτολέμας (6, spelled Κτ-), Σιμίτας (2), Φίλιππος (5). The name Ἀρύββας (4) is common also in Epirus: cf. Hoffmann 177, O. Masson, "Quelques anthroponymes rares chez Thucydide," *Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni* IV (Rome 1980) 1479–1488 at 1487–1488 (= *OGS* I 329–330). For a good discussion of the frequency of Κρατεύας in Aeolic lands (Thessaly, Boeotia) and Macedonia see K. J. Rigsby, "Two Inscriptions from Mysia," *Hermes* 117 (1989) 246–250 at 248 n.13.

²⁴D. Rousset, "Les Doriens de la métropole. Nouveaux documents épigraphiques et prosopographie," *BCH* 114 (1990) 445–472 at 454 n.34.

²⁵Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1961, 340, and Τροχ- in *LGPN* III.B.

²⁶Should it be read Γερμας and related to *Germus* (CIL III 3054, Dalmatia) and *Germullus* (IG XIV 11.30, Dalmatian?; *P.Vind.Worp* 24.1)?

place-names Ἀκρώρεια (← ἄκρος + ὄρος), Ἀνεμώρεια (← ἄνεμος + ὄρος), or Λυκώρεια (← Λύκος + ὄρος).²⁷ *Λυγκώρεια is probably to be identified with the *montes Lyncon* (ὄρη Λυγκῶν), an area between Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly, rich in woods and water and mentioned by Livy (32.13.3) in his account of the Second Macedonian War.²⁸ Our Λυγκωρίτας is the first (though indirect) epigraphical documentation of this area. As we have noted above, local ethnics as personal names are well known in Macedonia.

Ἀμηρύγκας reminds us of Ἀμαρυγκεύς, an Elean king in Homer (*Il.* 23.630, cf. 2.622, 4.517). Curiously enough, a tradition recorded by Pausanias (5.1.11) made Amarynceus the son of Pyttius, who moved to Elis from Thessaly. This may support the relationship with the Ἀμηρύγκας of Pydna. Also Αἰόλος, the name of the Thessalian who became the eponym of the Aeolians, may be another link with Thessaly. The form Ἀμηρύγκευς with η on the tablet instead of the Homeric ἄ, however, causes difficulty. Was the name of the Homeric king originally *Ἀμηρυγκεύς and then "hellenized," as if derived from ἀμαρύσσω, ἀμάρυγξ, etc.? *Non liquet.*

Ορωιδυος puzzles. If it is Greek, its second element may be related to the stem of Lakonian βείδου(ι)ος, Attic ιδυῖος/ιδῦδος "surveillant" and of the Epirote φείδους (SGDI 1346).²⁹ The first part of the name (and especially the origin of the sound noted as ω) is not easy to explain, though. Ορωιδυος, in any case, may be related to Ὀροιδος, the name of the king of the Epirote

²⁷See F. Bölte, "Lykoreia," *RE* 13 (1927) 2382. The form Λυγκωρίτας (← *Λυγκώρεια) of our tablet may be an itacist spelling of *Λυγκωρείτας (cf. Λυκωρείτης in Steph. Byz., but Λυκωρίτης at Paus. 4.34.9) or may not: cf. Μαρονίτης ← Μαρόνεια, documented at a time when the spelling ι for ει is unlikely (IG I³ 259.iv.5, 260.vi.19, 264.i.26, etc.). See also W. Dittenberger, "Ethnika und Verwandtes 2," *Hermes* 41 (1906) 161–219 at 189 n.2.

²⁸J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy, Books XXXI–XXXIII* (Oxford 1973) 189–190; N. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1976) 280–281.

²⁹Note that the name Βείδους at SGDI 2113.5 is to be read as Βείθους (see *FD* III.3 385).

Parauaei at Thuc. 2.80.6. As the ending -υος is documented for Epirote names,³⁰ an Epirote or Illyrian origin cannot be excluded.

6. Μακρυγιάλος, Αγροτεμάχιο 480, North of Tomb 224 Fig. 5
Max.pr. H. 0.056, W. 0.100. IV^a.

Col. i	Col. ii
1 Καταδεσμεύω τὰς γλώσσας	7 καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος
2 Χωροτίμο,	8 τι μαινεται
3 Διονυσίο, Αμδώκο,	9 ἐχθρός
4 Ἄριστίωνος,	10 [μ]ή δυνάσσω ἀν-
5 Πρωτοχάρεος,	
6 Ἄμυντίχο,	
11 [τ]ιλέγε[ι]ν μήδ[ε - -]	

1 καταδεσμεύω 3 δ or α: Ἄμ(α)δῶκο? Ἄμα(δ)ῶκο? 4 Ἄριστίωνος
10 δυνάσσω

This is the most discursive of all the texts, beginning with a verb of cursing, continuing with a list of names, and ending with a generalizing clause. The victims of the curse being the men's tongues and their ability to "speak against" the *defigens*, the purpose of the tablet is again to affect a lawsuit. καταδεσμεύω, denominative of κατάδεσμος, has so far occurred only twice elsewhere on curse tablets,³¹ both of the fourth century and one also having the adjective ἐχθρός as here. New is the description of the *defixi* as μαινόμενοι (εἴ τις ἄλλος τι μαινεται). Is this

³⁰Γένυος (son of Neoptolemus: Proxenus *FGrHist* 703 F 2), Φώτυος (general of the Chaones: Thuc. 2.80.5). See Hammond (*supra* n.28) 501 n.1.

³¹Jordan no. 1, B 1-2 καταδεσμεύω ἀ(ν)τίδικον Δίῳ/ωνι καὶ Γράνικον (*cf.* A 11-13 ἀντι/καταδεσμεύω (*hapax*) τὸς ἐχ' ῥ'θ/ός [*sic*] (Attica, early IV^a); V. Ch. Petrakos, *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές του Ωρωπού (Βιβλιοθήκη της ἐν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 170) no. 745α (NGCT 23, 1B?).

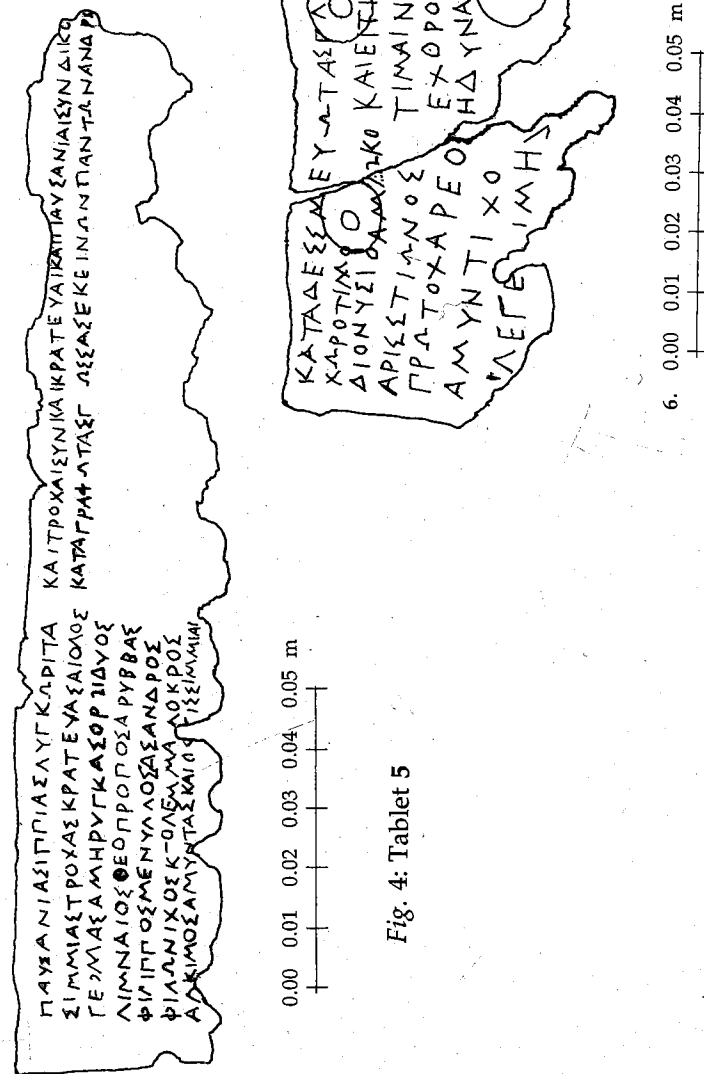


Fig. 5: Tablet 6

merely a formulaic phrase or does it here have specific applicability?³²

For the long vowel resulting from contractions and compensatory lengthenings the writer uses *o*, a spelling documented in Macedonia down to the time of Alexander.³³ We find contraction of *εε* spelled *ει* in *ἀν[τ]ιλέγε[ι]ν*, however. Localisms such as the doubling of /s/ before consonants³⁴ and Koinê (or Ionic) forms (*ει*) are found side by side.

The most remarkable of the names are *Αμ(α)δῶκος* (3), a Thracian name already documented in Macedonia,³⁵ and *Χωρότιμος* (2), a *hapax* though of clear formation: cf. *IG VII 2718.4 Χωρόφιλος*, *SGDI 2659.2 Γάτιμος* (Acarnania), etc. *Ἀμόντιχος* (6) has an ending well documented in both Boeotia and Macedonia.³⁶

Most fourth-century curse tablets come from Attica. When contemporary examples appear elsewhere it is worth asking, therefore, whether they show non-Attic regionalisms in their formulae; the six from Pydna do not, unless the verb "rage,"

³²May *μαίνομαι* here have a specifically political sense, "riot," "rage," and be used of *οἱ δημοτικοί*? Cf. Thgn. 313–314 *ἐν μὲν μαινομένοις μάλα μαινομαι, ἐν δὲ δικαίοις / πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰμι δικαιοτάτος*; Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 1.9 *οἱ χρηστοὶ ... οὐκ ἐάσουσι μαινομένοις ἀνθρώποις βουλευεῖν οὐδὲ λέγειν οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιάζειν*; Aeschin. 3.211 *μανεῖς ὁ δῆμος*. See in general R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes* (Göttingen 1975) 231, *Greek Lexicographical Notes, Second Series* (Göttingen 1982) 97. Were the *defixi* here seen as litigious rabble? Unfortunately, their names do not tell us much of their social status (see n.41 *infra*).

³³C. Brixhe, A. Panayotou, "L'atticisation de la Macédoine," *Verbum* 11 (1988) 245–260 at 252.

³⁴See J. Méndez Dosuna, *Los dialectos dorios del Noroeste* (Salamanca 1985) 373–383.

³⁵G. Lefebvre, P. Perdrizet, *Les graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* [Nancy/Paris/Strasbourg 1919] 102, and C. Saatsoglou-Paliadéli, *Τὰ ἐπιτάφια μνημεῖα ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης τοῦμβας τῆς Βεργίνας* (Thessaloniki 1984) 227. L. Gouнарopoulos and M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Επιγραφές κάτω Μακεδονίας I* (Athens 1998) 424, cite an unpublished example from Leukopetra.

³⁶O. Masson, "Sur le nom de Bilistiché, favorite de Ptolémée II," *Studia in honorem Iro Kajanto* (*Arctos Suppl.* 2 [1985]) 109–112 at 112 (= *OGS II* 467–470 at 470).

which is new here among fourth-century curse texts, is to be considered such. So far, there is too little evidence to tell whether the formulae of curses from outside Attica show Attic influence or whether they are part of a widespread Koinê. In this regard *καταδεσμεύω*, the opening verb of 6, invites attention: the only two other instances on curse tablets are from Attica and from the border-town Oropus,³⁷ and the noun, *κατάδεσμος*, from which it comes is itself from *καταδῶ*, the opening verb *par excellence* on fourth-century curse tablets in Attica. There it occurs in enough non-Attic dialect forms to raise the question whether some of the professionals who inscribed the tablets there were foreigners who brought their local curse formulae with them,³⁸ but so far, as a main verb it is virtually unattested, in any form, on tablets elsewhere.³⁹ *καταγράφω* (5.9), while relatively rare in fourth-century Attica, occurs, perhaps significantly, on another, contemporary, Macedonian curse tablet, from Arethusa.⁴⁰

In conclusion, these six texts, as we see, throw new light on different features of this corner of Macedonia. Except for *Κτολέμμα(ς)*, the language presents nothing unexpected for a fourth-century Macedonian town near the Thessalian border. Besides local forms (*ᾶ*, *πέρ* for *περί*), it shows the pressure of

³⁷*Supra* n.31. The tablet from Oropus has nothing obviously non-Attic, *i.e.* no obvious influence from the Boeotians who controlled the town from time to time in the fourth century.

³⁸For discussion see D. R. Jordan, "Towards the Text of a Curse Tablet from the Kerameikos," in Ch. Kritsas, A. Matthaïou, and V. Mitsopoulou, edd., *Συμπόσιον εἰς μνήμην τοῦ Adolf Wilhelm* (forthcoming). We may think of Adeimantus' famous allusion to the wandering priests who sold *katadesmoi* in Attica (Plato *Resp.* 364B–C).

³⁹Exceptions are a tablet from Macedonian Acanthus, with *καταδεῖ* (Jordan 3: *NGCT* 44, late IV^a) and two later examples from Lilybaeum, with *καταδέω* and *καταδίδημι* (*SEG* 47.1442–1443: *NGCT* 78–79, late III^b).

⁴⁰ATTICA: *DTWü* 160; *DTAud* 47, 69?; E. Ziebarth, "Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euböia," *SBBerl* (1934) 1020–1050, no. 26 (*ἐν καταγράφω*). ARETHUSA: *supra* n.2. The verb also occurs on the tablet from Oropus that has *καταδεσμεύω* (*supra* n.31); cf. *καταγράφω* on the Theban *DTAud* 84.

the Attic-Ionic Koinê (the conditionals ἄν and εἰ, the pronoun ἐκεῖνος). Signs of Koinê, however, appear here within judiciary curse formulae that are documented throughout the Greek world, and we may wonder to what extent they reflect here the spoken language of Pydna. Of the names that the six texts add to the prosopography of the town, many are well known as Greek and characteristic of Macedonia,⁴¹ others suggest a population with names also influenced by Thrace (Ἀμ(α)δωκος, Σιτάλκας) and perhaps also Epirus (Ἄρῦββας?, Λυγκωρίτας? Ορωιδυος?) and Thessaly (Αἰόλος?, Ἄμηρύγκας?).

Appendix: Index of Names (• = new)

[Ἀ]γησίας (4.8) (or [Κ]τησίας)	Γαλέστας (2.12)
Αἰόλος (5.2)	Γε μας (5.3)
Ἄλκιμος (5.7)	Δι[ό]γνητος (3.1)
Ἀμ(α)δωκος (6.3)	Διονύσιος (6.3)
•Ἄμηρύγκας (5.3)	•Δωρός (1.a.10)
Ἄμύντας (5.7)	Ἐλλάν (1.a.3)
Ἄμύντιχος (6.6)	Εὐβούλα (2.6)
Ἄμύντωρ (4.5)	Εὐθύδικος (1.a.7)
Ἀντιφίλα (2.11)	Εὐίππας (4.1)
Ἄριστίων (6.4) (Ἄριστίων tab.)	Εὐρυν[-], fem., (2.7)
Ἄρπαλος (1.a.9)	Εὐφάνιος (1.a.4)
Ἄρῦββας (5.4)	Θεόπροπος (5.4)
Ἄσανδρος (5.5)	Θεύτιμος (3.2)
•Βουλόνα (2.8)	Θράσων (2.4), son of Νίκυλλα

⁴¹ Ἄμύντας, Ἄμύντιχος, Ἄμύντωρ, Ἄρπαλος, Ἄσανδρος, Γαλέστας, Κρατεύας, Λιμναῖος, Πανσανίας, Πτολεμῆας (see O. Masson, "Quand le nom Πτολεμαῖος était à la mode," *ZPE* 98 [1993] 157-167 at 160-161 [= *OGS* III 149-159 at 152-153]), Σιμμίας, Ταρρίας, and Φίλιππος; on these names see the indices of Hoffmann, Russu, and Hatzopoulos/Loukouroulou (*supra* n.15). Because some of these, Ἄμύντας, Πανσανίας, Πτολεμαῖος, Φίλιππος, were frequent among the Macedonian nobility, it might once have been tempting to suppose, following Hoffmann, that their bearers on our tablets belonged to prominent fourth-century Macedonian families. As the epigraphical material from Macedonia increases, however, the wide diffusion of these names becomes more and more evident. For lack of patronymics or any further such details on our tablets, any such identification would hardly be more than speculative.

Ἰππίας (2.5, 5.1)	•Ορωιδυος (5.3)
Καλλίας (4.3)	•Παυράτας (3.3)
Κλέανδρος (4.6)	Πανσανίας (5.1)
Κρατεύας (5.2, 5.8)	Πολεμοκράτης (2.2, 4.4)
[Κ]τησίας (4.8) (or [Ἀ]γησίας)	Πολυκάστ[α?] (2.10)
•Κτολέμμα(ς) (5.6)	Πρωτοχάρης (6.5)
•Κυλλισ[-] (3.4)	Σιμμίας (5.2, 5.7)
Λ[-] (3.5)	Σιτάλκα[ς] (4.2)
Λιμναῖος (5.4)	Στρατονίκ[α?] (2.9)
Λόκρος (5.6)	Ταρρίας (2.15)
•Λυγκωρίτα(ς) (5.1)	Τιμοκράτης (2.14)
Λυσίδημο[ς] (1.a.8)	Τρόχας (5.2, 5.8)
Μένυλλος (5.5)	•Φιλάν (2.13)
•Μικαλῖνος (4.7)	Φίλιππος (5.5)
Ναύτας (1.a.11)	Φιλώνιχος (5.6)
Νίκανδρος (1.a.2)	•Χωρότιμος (6.2)
Νικόλαος (2.3)	[1-2]ητος (1.a.5)
Νίκυλλα (2.1, 2.4), mother of Θράσων	[3-4]ινα (1.a.1)
Νικωνίδας (1.a.6)	[-]νίκων (1.b.1)
	•[-]υκίττο[-] (1.b.2)

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