A Survey of Greek Defixiones
Not Included in the Special Corpora

D. R. Jordan

Defixiones, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or welfare of persons or animals against their will. They became popular in the fifth century B.C. and continued in use in Mediterranean lands until at least the sixth century of our era. These inscriptions, of which some 1,100 examples have come to light, provide our best continuous evidence for the practice of magic in the millennium from classical times to the close of antiquity.\(^1\) Around the beginning of this century two special corpora of defixiones appeared, compiled by R. Wünsch in 1897 and by A. Audollent in 1904.\(^2\) Wünsch’s edition included 220 Attic lead curse tablets, all in Greek. Audollent, intending his volume to complement Wünsch’s, drew on the whole Greek and Roman world and included the texts not only of the remaining Attic and other Greek tablets known to him but also those inscribed in Latin and other ancient languages; his corpus comprises 305 examples. K. Preisendanz has presented the general bibliography of defixiones up through the third decade after the two corpora,\(^3\) and

\(^{1}\) The best general discussion of defixiones and their importance is K. Preisendanz’s fundamental “Fluchtafel (Defixio),” RAC 8 (1972) 1–24.

\(^{2}\) For references see n.7 infra.

\(^{3}\) “Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln,” ArchP 9 (1930) 119–54 and 11 (1933) 153–64. At 9.119 Preisendanz announced that he was undertaking to compile a corpus of defixiones that had appeared since Audollent’s volume, a project that never came to fruition. He had a set of reprints of his bibliography especially interleaved and
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useful compilations and lists of Latin tablets not included in Audollent’s corpus have appeared. No one, however, has produced a systematic checklist of Greek defixiones not included in either of the two corpora, although (or perhaps because) the Greek tablets are much more numerous than the Latin, they span a longer period, and they generally give us more diverse information about the development of ancient magical and religious beliefs. In the hope that such a list will make it easier for those interested in defixiones to gain a better view of the subject, I present here a catalogue of all the Greek examples known to me—over 650 in number—that do not appear in either Wünsch’s or Audollent’s corpus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**PROV.:** the provenance and excavation context.

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

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

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

- X: either the editio princeps or a treatment reproducing the text given in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item. It is to be assumed, unless it is stated to the contrary, that the editio princeps, but no subsequent treatment, of a text is based on autopsy.
- [X]: a discussion that includes no text or conjectures.
- +X: a discussion in which the preserved text is not fully reproduced but readings or conjectures are offered that are different from those in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item.
- *X: a presentation of the whole text as preserved, but with readings or conjectures different from those in the immediately foregoing unbracketed item.
- X (non vidi): an edition or discussion that I have been unable to consult. The phrase “the immediately foregoing unbracketed item” above is not intended to refer to an item marked non vidi. For an illustration of this notation see 107 below: the text is first given by Ferri; Olivieri next treats of it, but I have not seen his work; J. and L. Robert have given neither a text nor conjectures but have offered an interpretation; Jeffery has suggested changes in Ferri’s text, changes that are recorded in SEG; Calder has given a complete text that is different from Jeffery’s; Jeffery has given a complete text that...
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is different from Calder's; Masson has given a complete text that is different from Calder's; and Miller has reproduced Masson's text.

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

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


1. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** The right hand of a skeleton in a grave whose contents included a squat lekythos of mid-V a. **Tablet:** H. 0.375, W. 0.07. **Date:** V a (Peek, from context; Jeffery). **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 3 (phot., Taf. 22.3, 23.2). [Jeffery, “Comments” 19.]

**Inscr.:** Tablet opisthographic. Over 70 lines of text on one side, perhaps originally as many on the other. Curses more than twenty men and women and often their tongues and souls as well, with phrases like καταδῶ Στέφανον Πολυφρατο παρὰ Φεροσ[φο]νει καὶ Ερμέι.

2. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** The right hand of a skeleton in a grave of V a. **Tablet:** Max. pr. H. 0.045, max. pr. W. 0.016, plus several tiny fragments (dimensions unrecorded). **Date:** V a (Peek, from context). **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 6 (phot., Taf. 23.1). E. Ziebarth, *GGA* 204 (1942) 19f. [Jeffery, “Comments” 20.]

**Inscr.:** Traces of three columns, of which only the second can be read. It contains men’s names (nom.), each followed by Πα, possibly an abbreviation of the demotic Παυανεις or Παυονεις.

3. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** A disturbed fill of IV a in the area of the grave plots of the Potamians and of Hegeso (plans, J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [New York 1971] 303 1, J). **Tablet:** H. 0.05, W. 0.09. **Date:** Second half of V a (Peek, Guarducci); mid-IV a (Jeffery). **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 1 (phot., Taf. 23.4). [Jeffery, “Comments” 22.] Guarducci 247f.

**Inscr.:** Spelled backwards. Against Λυσανιάς ἐκ τὸ ἄργυροκοπιό, his wife, chattel, and bodily and mental parts. Ends with the unexplained phrase αὐτής . . . ν. γῆς ἱερᾶς.

4. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** Same as 3. **Tablet:** Max. pr. H. 0.065, max. pr. W. 0.72, plus three small fragments: i, max. pr. H. 0.011, max. pr. W. 0.023; ii, max. pr. H. 0.011, max. pr. W. 0.012; iii, max. pr. H. 0.008, max. pr. W. 0.011. **Date:** See 3. **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 2 (phot., Taf. 22.4). [Jeffery, “Comments” 22.]

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

5. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** Same as 3. **Tablet:** Nine fragments, of which five can be joined. Max. pr. dimensions of the joined pieces: H. 0.03, W. 0.07. **Date:** Late IV a? (Jeffery). **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 7 (drawing, p.96). [Jeffery, “Comments” 25.]

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

6. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** Same as 3. **Tablet:** H. 0.105, W. 0.055. Lead in the form of a crude oval box. **Date:** Around the beginning of IV a (Peek, from letter forms); late V a (Jeffery). **Bibl.:** Peek, *Kerameikos* 4 (phot., Taf. 22.2). [Jeffery, “Comments” 23.]
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INSCR.: Judiciary. Pytheas and three other men's names (nom.), followed by ὣποσοῦ ἵσιν ἀντίδικοι Ἑνύῃ μετὰ Πυθεό.

7. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 3. TABLET: H. 0.03, W. 0.10. DATE: First half of IVa (Peek); late Va (Jeffery). BIBL.: Peek, Kerameikos 5. [Jeffery, “Comments” 24.]
INSCR.: Two columns, the first a list of men's names (nom.), the second illegible. The names are perhaps those of trierarchs (Peek).

8. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 3. TABLET: Narrow strip of lead bent into the shape of a bracelet. H. 0.015, max. pr. W. 0.04. BIBL.: Peek, Kerameikos 8 (drawing of letters, p.97).
INSCR.: Three or more men's names: Κρατίνον : Πυθόδωρον : καὶ Πῦθωνα :

9. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Grave 40 near the plot of Antidosis, daughter of Iatrokles (described by K. Kūbler, AA 1942, 200–03). The skeleton is that of an adult, its sex unrecorded. TABLET: In the shape of an oval box, H. 0.065, W. 0.11, with an inscribed lid, which was found elsewhere in the grave. A crude male doll, H. 0.06, was found with, but not inside, the box. Presumably the box, with its lid affixed, once contained the doll. The doll's hands are bound behind its back and the name Μνησίμαχος is scratched into its right leg. DATE: Early IVa (context, prosopography). BIBL.: J. Trumpf, AthMitt 73 (1958) 94–102 (phot., Beil. 71f, and Guarducci, Fig. 68, 69). [D. R. Jordan, “New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens,” Πρακτικά of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Athens 1983 (forthcoming).]
INSCR.: A list of nine men's names (nom.), followed by καὶ ἐ τις ἄλλος μετ’ ἐκένο ἕνυδικος ἐστὶ ἐ μάρτυς. One of the men is Mnesimachos.

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

11. LOC.: Kerameikos Museum. PROV.: Same as 10. TABLET: H. ca 0.15, W. 0.08. DATE: Not given; later IVa (letter forms). BIBL.: Peek, “Att. Grab.” 207 (drawing of upper part, p.60; phot., Taf. IV.7).
INSCR.: A list of four men's names (nom.+gen.) plus the demotic (?) Κυ-β[λα][θναμενεις or -εις], followed by a list of five names (nom.), one of them qualified with his place of residence and profession (ἐμ Μελ[ιτε]ι oικον κάπηλος), two described as γραῦς κατηλιάς (vidi: καὶ πᾶς Peek) and πορ-νο[λο]βροφικός, one qualified with his profession and owner's name (ὁ σκηνι-τῆς ὁ Καλλιστός οἰκέτης), and one with his owner's name only (gen.+ owner's demotic). There follows a curse, beginning καταδώ, against their various faculties, parts, and works.
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12. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum. **Prov.:** Same as 10. **Tablet:** H. 0.075, W. 0.16. **Date:** Not given; later IVa (letter forms). **Bibl.:** Peek, “Att. Grab.” 205 (drawings, pp. 59f; phot., Taf. II, III). **Inscr.:** Tablet opisthographic. Side A: seven men’s names (two nom., four nom. + demotic, one nom. + gen. + demotic: [ΜΕΛ][ΑΝΩΠΟΣ] ΠΟΛΥΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΥ- [ΤΑ(ΜΟΣ)]). Side B, every other line of which is spelled backwards: the seven names again (five nom., Melanopos and another with gen. + demotic).

13. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum, inv. I 459. **Prov.:** The bottom of Dipylon Well B1; apparently not in situ (Jordan). **Tablet:** H. 0.026, W. 0.118, Th. 0.014. **Date:** IVa (Jordan, from backward spelling). **Bibl.:** [K. Braun, **AthMitt** 85 (1970) 197 (phot., Taf. 93.2)]. D. R. Jordan, ibid. 225–29 (drawing, Fig. 1). **SEG** 30.325.1. **Inscr.:** Not fully read. At the upper right-hand corner the phrase καὶ τὰ ἔργα spelled backwards.

14. **Loc.:** Kerameikos Museum, inv. I 460. **Prov.:** Same as 13. **Tablet:** H. 0.076, W. 0.122. **Date:** 313/2a (Braun, from prosopography); 313/2–307a (Jordan, from prosopography). **Bibl.:** Braun (supra 13) 197f (phot., Taf. 93.1). *Jordan (supra 13) 229–36 (drawing, Fig. 2). **SEG** 30.325.2. **Inscr.:** In a column, five men’s names (acc.), two of them with demotics, no governing verb. To the lower right of the column and upside down in relation to it, the misspelled beginning of the first of the names.

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

[In 1913 seven defixiones were discovered near the grave circle of Demetria and Pamphile: see K. Kourouniotes, ArchEph 1913, 185 (phot., 186), who assigned their letter forms to IIIa or earlier. One tablet begins πρὸς τὰς Πραξιδώκας (cf. 48), another καταδε˘έ. Present location(s) unknown.]

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

[Two other lead tablets, neither yet published, were found in different places near the banks of the Eridanos in the Kerameikos. The first, which is opisthographic, contains (Side A) a list of three men’s names spelled backwards]
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(nom., among them Satyrinos), the phrase καὶ δὲνοι μὲ <τὰ> (Σ)ἀνρυνὸ(δ) (ΝΑΤΥΡΙΝΟΣ tab.) εἰσὶ καταδώ. The letter forms suggest IVa or IIIa. The second tablet, whose letter forms appear to belong to the first centuries after Christ, curses "whoever gave a φάρμακον to Hyakinthos." Both now in the Kerameikos Museum.

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

Pnyx

15. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos. Prov.: "A cranny of a rock ca. 4.00 m. east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa." Tablet: Max. pr. H. 0.04, max. pr. W. 0.114; pierced with an iron nail. Date: Late IVa or early IIIa (letter forms). Bibl.: H. A. Thompson, Hesperia 5 (1936) 181 (drawing, Fig. 24).


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

'Sphageia' (south of Akropolis).

16. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13086. Date: Not given; probably Va or IVa if like most other Attic examples that are spelled backwards. Bibl.: Strýd 2 (drawing, cols. 55f).

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


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

18. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 13083. Tablet: H. 0.06, W. 0.185. Date: IVa (Wilhelm, from prosopography). Bibl.: Strýd 5 (drawing, cols. 57f). Wilhelm 121 (phot., Fig. 60).

Inscr.: After the heading θεοὶ ἄγαθη τύχη, the phrase καταδῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύτω followed by six men's names (acc.), two of them qualified with their fathers' names (gen.). A concluding phrase runs καταδῶ τούτως ἀπαντάς πρὸς τὸν Ἐρμῆν τὸν {τὸν} χόδυνον καὶ τὸν δόλων καὶ τὸν κάτοχον καὶ τὸν ἐρωύνου καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύτω.

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

**Agora**

20. **Loc.**: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 997. **Prov.**: Found in the lowest layer of the dissolved mud-brick wall lying over House D in the Industrial District (plan: Hesperia 20 [1951] 136). “It is entirely probable that the little lead curse had been tucked into the foundation or under the floor of the house somewhere and that it was thrown up from its original position by [ancient] ransackers for building material.” **Tablet**: H. 0.065, W. 0.145; rolled up and pierced with a nail. **Date**: IVa (letter forms, context). **Bibl.**: R. S. Young, Hesperia 20 (1951) 222f (phot., Hesperia 18 [1949] Pl. 39.2). **Inscr.**: καταδώ (vidi: δεώ Young) plus a name qualified as τὸ <ν> χλακέα (for χαλ-), πρός τὸς κάτω. Another bronzeworker is similarly named, as well as some other persons, one of them a man from Lamia, another a woman from Boiotia. The spellings of the names of the bronzeworkers and possibly of others are jumbled.


22. **Loc.**: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 372. **Prov.**: A well near the Hephaisteion. **Tablet**: H. 0.015, W. 0.225; Elderkin suggests that a large indentation in the tablet may have been made with a nail now lost. **Date**: IIp to IVp (Elderkin, from context); comparison with 23 suggests IIIp. **Bibl.**: Elderkin (*supra* 21) 384–89 (phot., Fig. 1). **Inscr.**: Begins with the syllables Βορφορ- etc., like 23–34, 36, and several other contemporary tablets from the Agora. Typhon (spelled Typhos) is invoked with a formula much like that of 23, except that the first clause gives instructions to chill the bodily parts of the intended victim, a woman identified by maternal lineage. The text continues, “Yes, lord Typhon, avenge — —, whom — — bore (the names are cancelled on the tablet), and help him because Philostrata, whom Gorgippia bore, [— —] her priesthood of A[—]” (Elderkin’s translation). (Elderkin conjectured Ἀφιτης, but on
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examining the tablet I can find only A[. This is no doubt a ritual διαβολή and does not mean that Philostrata was in fact, as Elderkin assumed, a priestess: see S. Eitrem, SymbOsl 2 [1924] 33–61, on such fictitious charges of impiety in magical texts.) The chilling of the bodily parts is again urged. “Iao lakoubia” etc. (see 23) introduce some other magical words not elsewhere attested. A ως . . . ωτως clause similar to that of 23 is followed by another set of unique magical words, plus ηδη ηδη, ταχυ ταχυ. The curse against the bodily parts is repeated. To my eye the hand appears the same as that of 23.


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

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

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

Inscr.: This and 25–39, all inscribed apparently by the same person and with the same formula, are directed against athletes, 24–26 each against a wrestler
named Eutychian. The formula is very much like that of 23, but after the syllables Borphor- etc., the deity is addressed not as Typhon or Typhos but by a name so far attested only in texts from this well, Bepty(t) or Bepty(t), variously spelled. It is clear from elsewhere in the texts that this is another appellation of Seth Typhon. Maternal lineage.


29. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 958. Prov.: Same as 24. Tablet: H. 0.223, W. 0.083 at top, 0.096 at bottom. Date: See 24. Bibl.: Jordan 6. Inscr.: See 24. Against a runner (?) about to compete in the Athenaia (i.e. either the Athenian ephebic meet of this name or the Panathenaia). Maternal lineage.


33. Loc.: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 964. Prov.: Same as 24. Tablet: Max. pr. H. 0.059, max. pr. W. 0.065. Date: See 24. Bibl.: Jordan 10. Inscr.: By the writer of 24–32. 24–29, against athletes, and 30–32, against wooers, have virtually the same wording in the last several lines, and it is only these lines that are preserved here. Purpose unclear.

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35. **Loc.**: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 953. **Prov.**: Same as 24. **Tablet**: H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.078. **Date**: See 24. **Bibl.**: Jordan 12.

**Inscr.**: By the writer of 24–34 but with a different formula. It addresses a ghost, using some of the 'lao' names known from elsewhere (e.g. 22) and variants on the magical names of Seth-Typhon known from 24–34. Fragmentary, but the word νανακλισις suggests amatory matters.

36. **Loc.**: Stoa of Attalos, Agora inv. IL 951. **Prov.**: Same as 24. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.059. **Date**: See 24. **Bibl.**: Jordan 13.

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

37. **Loc.**: Stoa of Attalos, inv. IL 954. **Prov.**: Same as 24. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.089, max. pr. W. 0.141. **Date**: See 24. **Bibl.**: Jordan 14.

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

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

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

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

Dekeleia

39. **Loc.**: Zemaljski Musej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo. **Prov.**: Liosia, according to the dealer. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.10, W. 0.055. Five nail holes with remains of an iron nail. **Date**: Not given; probably V* if like most other Attic examples that are spelled backwards. **Bibl.**: Münsterberg, Glasnik (non vidi); WissMitt 373 (drawing, Fig. 1).
D. R. JORDAN

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

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

INSCR.: In three columns, each cursing a separate person, with similar phrases. At least one of the intended victims’ names is masculine. The first curse, for example, begins with the person’s name (acc., spelling jumbled) and continues καταδώ ὁσπέρ ταύτα ἀνέναπλυν, οὐτ[ω] ἐκεῖνει <ἀ> νέναπλυν καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἐργα τὰ πάντα γένοιτο.

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

INSCR.: Spelled backwards, to be read from the bottom up. Published text: Σφαοῖς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, Ἕξεκρήτην τ' ἤν Δί[ου τοῦ] Ά<ἱ> - γυπτίου.

Ilisos

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

Daphne?

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

Vari

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

Exact provenance unknown

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

INSCR.: Judiciary. After καταδώ (-θεω Froehner) τὸς ἐνθαῦτα ἐγγεγραμμένος καὶ ἀνύφρασι καὶ γυναίκας ὅσος ἐνθαῦτα ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν, πρὸς Ἐρμῆν κάτοχον καὶ Γην καὶ Περσεφόνεαν, καὶ ὅσπερ οἱ παρ[α] ταύτην ἀφικνοῦται οὐκάδε νοστόσα, ὅτως οἱ ἐνθαῦτα ἀντίδικοι τέλος λαβόντον τῆς
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[δύκης, there is "dans un reseau de fils" a long list of men's names (nom., nom. + gen., or nom. + demotic) and an unnamed woman identified as θυγατηρ + gen. After one of the men's names, his profession, κροκοπώλης, is given.

43. Loc.: See 42. Tablet: H. 0.117, W. 0.12; folded into quarters and pierced with a nail, L. 0.105. Date: IVa (Robert, from the genitive Συμάκτο in line 4). Bibl.: Robert, Coll. Froehner 12 (from Froehner's transcription and notes).

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

44. Loc.: In private hands; bought at Athens. Tablet: H. 0.75, W. 0.11. Date: Middle of IVa (letter forms). Bibl.: Peek, Kerameikos 9 (phot., Taf. 24).

Inscr.: After the phrase Διώς καταδδ[ω] προς τὸν Ερμηντὸν κατὰ [καὶ τῇ]ν Φε[ρ]σεφώ[ή]ν, Litas' bodily parts are named. Similar formulae for seven other intended victims, with the curse against Litias repeated at the end, this time with καὶ τὸν "Αδην after Persephone's name.


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

46. Loc.: With 45. Tablet: H. 0.055, W. 0.16. Date: Middle of IVa (letter forms). Bibl.: Couilloud (supra 45) 515–17 (phot., Pl. XXII.2). SEG 24.263.

Inscr.: Two columns, Μυτίς, τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ψυχήν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἔναν[τι τὸ γένος ἄσπαντα in the left, a list of nine names (nom.), two of them women's, in the right. Some of the words are written upside down.

47. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. Tablet: H. 0.03, W. 0.11. Date: IVa (letter forms). Bibl.: Ziebarth 15.

Inscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Largely illegible. Perhaps a list of names (nom.?) with demotics. Ziebarth could read Δυσίμαχος Αλώ<π>κ<ν>θεν.


Inscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: across the top of the tablet καταδω, κατορύτω, ἀφανίζω εξ ἀνθρώπων, beneath which there are three columns containing names (nom. or acc.), some of them qualified with abbreviated demotics, three with their professions (a painter, a flour[?]-seller, a scribe), and two as metics. All the names are men's except two in the third column, which are indented to the right. Side B: three columns, the first two a list of names like that of Side A, the third, written at right angles to the
first two, a similar list plus κατακαθή καὶ ἐπή καὶ ἔ[ρ]γα καὶ Ἀρίστονδρον (who may be named on Side A); four names in the second column are those of women, each qualified as λαυκάσταρα (vidi: unread by Ziebarth).

49. **Loc.**: Munich Antiquarium, Alter Bestand, inv. III 1146. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.155. **Date**: Late IVa or early IIIa. **Bibl.**: Abt 5. Ziebarth p.1031. *Eitrem* (supra 48).

**Inscr.**: Judiciary. There are several lacunae, but the text seems to begin Μένων[να κατακαθή?] and to mention an [ἐν]δείξων and [τὴν δίκην?] ἦν ἄγω-
νιζεσθαι μέλλει ἐν τῷ Μαμια[κτ]ῆριῳν. The verbs [ἀφα]νίζω and ἐπικατ-
ορύ[ττω] are used, and Menon's σύνδικοι are included in the curse.


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

51. **Loc.**: Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. **Tablet**: Roundish tablet, Diam. ca 0.09. **Date**: Late IVa (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Fox (supra 50) 76–80 (drawing, 77).

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

52. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. **Tablet**: H. 0.06, W. 0.06. **Date**: IIIa (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 5 (using O. Weinreich's readings; phot., Taf. 1).

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

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

**Inscr.**: Three names (nom.) with demotics.

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

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

Salamis

55. **Prov.** The acropolis of the town. **Tablet:** Roundish, Diam. 0.065–0.08; pierced with a nail, L. 0.65. **Bibl.** A. D. Keramopoullos, 'O ἀποτυμπανωμός (Athens 1923) 111f (drawing, Εἰκ. 17). *SEG* 2.51 (with conjectures by A. Wilhelm).

**Inscr.** The text in *SEG* begins Ξενόφιλον / καταγράφω / CDΧ/Γ (for Ἐρχομένος [α]? Wilhelm).

[Keramopoullos also refers (111) to an “ὁμᾶς ἐυρεθεία ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν Σαλαμίμι (πρβλ. Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917, σελ. 484 σμ.) ἐπὶ τῆς χρονονόσην Πούντας (δηλ. τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως τῆς Σαλαμίνος),” but the reference must be incorrect, for there is no mention of the defixiones on the page that he cites.]

Aigina

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

Korinthia

Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Akrocorinth

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

Gymnasium Area of Corinth

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

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

[Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 33, reports that in a room of an underground bath complex called “The Fountain of the Lamps” (plan, 11; phot., Pl. 3), “four large lead scrolls . . . were discovered; MF 69-112 and MF 69-118 were found inside basin 4, MF 69-113 and 114 between the basins and the bench, but below the level of the bench seat . . . One . . . (MF 69-114) carries a carefully engraved representation of an anguipede who holds a raised sword
in his right hand, a gleaming staff in his left; a snake is wrapped about the staff. The head and the body of the figure are human.” Inv. MF 69-114, read in part, appears to curse the performance of an athlete (??) ἐν τῷ κύρκω; inv. MF 69-118 invokes the “holy and powerful nymphs” to curse a retired (?) mimic actress.]

Near the National Highway north of Corinth

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

Isthmus

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

Nemea


57. Loc.: Nemea Museum, inv. IL 327. Prov.: A pit at the southwestern corner of the sanctuary. Date: Not given; late IV?? (vidi, letter forms). Bibl.: Stephen G. Miller, Hesperia 49 (1980) 196f (phot. of tablet rolled up, Pl. 47.d). SEG 30.353. Inscr.: A ‘Trennungszzauber’ to turn one person from another, whose bodily parts are listed from head to toe.

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

Thespiae

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

Thebes

[A. D. Keramopoullos, Deltion 3 (1917) 243f, has announced that excavation of Grave 20 in the ‘Kolonaki’ section in the southern part of the city yielded
fragments of three lead sheets, two of which were pierced with nails. The sheets may be uninscribed, however.

**Sparta**

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

**Delos**


**Inscr.:** Tablet opisthographic. Not fully read. Side A invokes the τηρος Συκοναίων and the κυρία <α> θεοί νυμφίας against someone who stole a necklace (?) as well as against those having knowledge of or participating in the theft. The gist of Side B seems to be the same, but the thief’s brain, soul, muscles, and hands are also cursed, and finally there is an inclusive curse of him from his head to his toenails (?)?


**Inscr.:** “Une lame de plomb où sont découpées les figures de deux guerriers ou gladiateurs combattants et où se lit, croyons-nous, l’inscription Αεώνοις” (Jardé).

**Rhodes**

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

**Amorgos**

60. **Prov.:** The field of D. Prasinos near Arkesine. **Tablet:** H. 0.21, W. 0.05. Nail hole. **Date:** No earlier than II* (Homolle); “wohl aus nachchristlicher
Zeit" (Homolle); early IIa (Zingerle, from the resemblance to papyrus en­
teuxeis); "allerdings würden die starken Vulgarismen, wenn anders sie au­
thisch sind, dann wirklich sensationell werden, wenn wir Zingerles Hin­

F. Bömer, Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven IV (= AbhMainz 1963.10) 136f.

INscr.: κυρία Δημήτρια βασιλίσσα is invoked (προσπίπτω ό δούλος σου) to punish someone who beguiled the slaves of the defigens to escape. There is a reminiscence, in the phrase μη γη, μη θάλασσα καρπόν ἐνέκαστο, of the kind of curse often found in public inscriptions (see Homolle 426 n.3). The wording also resembles that of some of the official enenteuxis preserved on papyrus (Zingerle).

Eretria?

INscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Very fragmentary, but the word ἀντιδίκως suggests judiciary purpose. The verb καταδῶ is used.

INscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Very fragmentary. Side A: apparently a list of names (case-endings not preserved). Side B: πρός τὰς Πραξίδικας, πρός Ἐρημίν... Λ.

INscr.: Published text: Χά[ι]ρπον νέου / καταδῶ [Ε]υδή - - - / ...μπον.

Karystos

64. Loc.: Froehner Collection, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Natio­
 nale, Paris. Tablet: H. 0.09, W. 0.05. Flat molded lead figurine, sex not indicated. Date: IVa (Guarducci). BIBL.: Robert, Coll. Froehner 13 (phot., Pl. VIII). Guarducci 248f.
INscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: two curses, one below and at right angles to the other. The first begins καταγράφω Εἰσιάδα τῆς Λ<ν> τοκλέας πρός τὸν Ἐρμῆ τὸν κάτοχον, the second the same except that the verb is καταδέσμευτο. They continue, the first with κάτεχε αὐτή <ν> παρὰ σακ<ν>... τῶν and the second with [χ]έρεις, πόδες Εἰσιάδος, σώμα (vidi: Εἰσιάδα, σώμα Robert). Side B (previously unrecorded): at least one line of text, badly damaged.

Samothrace

[E. B. Dusenbery, Archaeology 20 (1967) 117f (phot., 119), has announced the discovery, in the South Necropolis but not in a grave, of a defixio with a
ten-line text consisting of a list of names. The letter forms suggest IVa. Now in the Samothrace Museum.

**EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN**

65. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens, inv. 9345. **Tablet**: H. 0.095, W. 0.08. Eleven nail holes. **Date**: IVa (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 11. **Inscr.**: Names (?), possibly written in code, before and after the words τῆς <ν> ρύκα.


67. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.05. **Date**: IVa (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 9. +O. Kern, *GGA* 204 (1942) 21 n.1. **Inscr.**: Apparently a list of names (acc.), at least one a woman’s, another followed by a name in the genitive, then [κ]τὶ ἱερέα καὶ τε[λ]οστή (for -[λ]εστ-) Αρτέμιδος και[α] - - -. The curse formula seems to be καταδόφ (vidi: -δι[ω] Ziebarth) πρός <τ> ἤν [Εκάτην (?)] τῆ[ν] χονίαν [και - - -] καὶ τὸ[ν] Ἐρμήν (?)].

68. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470. **Tablet**: H. 0.03, W. 0.06. **Date**: IVa (letter forms, with inferences from prosopography). **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 2 (phot., Taf. 1). **Inscr.**: Judiciary: καταδό Καλλιστρατον καὶ τοὺς συνηγόροντι αὐτοῦ πᾶν-τας καταδώ.

69. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470.8. **Tablet**: H. 0.06, W. 0.06. **Date**: IVa or IIIa (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 6, using readings by O. Weinreich. **Inscr.**: The *deigens* curses (καταδώ) the works and bodily parts (?) of two men.

70. **Loc.**: National Museum, Athens, **Tablet**: In two pieces. Fr. i: H. 0.08, max. pr. W. 0.05; fr. ii: H. 0.04, max. pr. W. 0.05. **Date**: “Late writing.” **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 27. **Inscr.**: Fragmentary. Hekate *katachthonia* and Kerberos seem to be invoked.


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

73. National Museum. **Tablet**: H. 0.06, max. pr. W. 0.05. One nail hole. **Bibl.**: Ziebarth 8. +A. Rehm, *GGA* 204 (1942) 21 n.1.
INSCR.: Against a Νίκων[α Ἐφ]εσίου, his mind, his business, and his house (?), all in the accusative. No governing verb.

74. Loc.: National Museum, Athens, inv. 14470.4. Tablet: H. 0.04, W. 0.06. Bibl.: Ziebarth 12, using Weinreich’s readings.
INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Apparently a list of men’s and women’s names (nom.).


INSCR.: A list of men’s names (nom.).

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

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

INSCR.: Published text: Fr. i, ἐν/καταγράφῳ ἀποκερύττῳ / Χεφλὸν ο; Fr. ii, Ἐ[ε]κάντη καταχθο[νία] / καὶ Περσεφόνη.

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

INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A begins κατεχε Τιμαθεν (“Τιμά<ν> ὑπό θυγ? Ziebarth: correct to τιμᾶς ἐν?) Ὀλυμπωρ and after a lacuna resumes with what may be part of a dactylic verse (καὶ φοβερὴ κατ’ Ὀλυμπων) but after another lacuna seems to have reverted to prose (κατὰ Νικάνδρα<ς> ὀρκ[ί]ω]. Side B, to judge from the published text, contains only magical words.

ILLYRICUM

Domavia (Srebnica)

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


INCR.: A column of men’s (?) names, some abbreviated, most followed by a raised dot. Most names are Latin in Greek transliteration. One of the men is described as επιστέφας ἀπόστιμα (for -σημα, addendum lexicis) “treating of (serving?) a legal summons (?)”.

AUSTRIA

DONNERSKIRCHEN


INCR.: Published text: Άθηνα ἡβαναναναναλβα Πάω Πόν[ν?] 4 τον Πόν[ν?] 5 . . . . “Vollig überraschend und auch sonst, soviel ich sehe, nicht belegt ist, dass als erste Gottheit an der Spitze Athene angerufen wird.”

BURGENLAND

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

SIČILY

KAMARINA

Necropolis at Passo Marinaro

84. LOC.: Syracuse Museum. TABLET: H. 0.013, W. 0.080. DATE: V° or IV° (Olivieri, from letter forms); ca 450° (Jeffery, Miller). BIBL.: P. Orsi, Mon Ant 14 (1904) 922–25 (drawing of Side A, Fig. 119), with notes by A. Olivieri. + A. Wilhelm, Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftenkunde (=SonderschrWien 7 [1910]) 211. Pace 9 (same drawing, Fig. 65). [Jeffery, “Comments” 14, LSAG 276 no. 20.] +Miller 22.

INCR.: Tablet opisthographic. “Traces of women’s names” (Jeffery, “Comments”). Side A: Orsi’s drawing implies Δάκανα Δαμαρέτα ΑΝΑΘΙΜΕΝΗ (Ἀναζωμένη Wilhelm, taking the Σ of ΚΤΑΣΙ below to be part of this word) / [Δάκανα (?) Δαμαρέτα ΚΤΑΣΙ (κ’ νιάσι? Olivieri; Κυ<ρ>τα Wilhelm). Side B: . . . . AVIA (e.g. κ]α<i> νιά[iει])?

85. LOC.: Syracuse Museum. TABLET: H. 0.024, W. 0.115; the inscribed part is pierced with a nail. DATE: V° or IV° (Olivieri, from letter forms); mid-V°?
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(Jeffery). BIBL.: Orsi (supra 84) 922–25 (drawing of Side A, Fig. 120), with notes by Olivieri. Pace 10 (same drawing of Side A, Fig. 66). [Jeffery, “Comments” 15.]


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

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


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


INSCR.: Boustrophedon. [οι]δε (or [τοι]δε) γεγράβαται ἐπὶ δυσπραγία(αι τῶν) κέρδου, plus a list of names (nom. or nom.+gen.). Ends [οι]δε (or [τοι]δε) πάντες δυσπροοι.

Exact provenance unknown


INSCR.: Judiciary. Against several persons (nom.+gen.). At least three and possibly four are sons of one man, Aristomachos. Ends καὶ ἄλος, δοῦλος μιαρτηὴσι Ἀριστομάχου, ε[ν] γέγραγται[α] (?) καὶ τῆνοι καὶ τῆνος Ἀ[ρ]στομαχος Ἀριστω [δι]λυστα[ι] (?).

GELA

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

INSCR.: Possibly a list of names (nom.) spelled backwards.
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91. **Loc.**: Rare Book Room, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. **Prov.**: Deduced from letter forms. **Tablet**: H. 0.062, W. 0.171. **Date**: Ca 450 BCE (letter forms). **Bibl.**: Miller pp.65–109 (drawing, 68).

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

**Philosophiana**? (Sofiana)

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

**Phintias**


**Inscr.**: Men’s names (nom.) plus καταγράφω.

**Akragas**

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

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

**Selinous**

Necropolis at Buffa

94. **Tablet**: Max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.098. **Date**: Second half of VIa (Brugnone, from letter forms); ca 500 BCE (A. E. Raubitschek, private communication, from spelling and letter forms). Later still? **Bibl.**: Brugnone 1 (phot., Tav. II). **SEG** 26.1112.

**Inscr.**: Boustrophedon. Published text: -- -- |κοίνο<ε| καλέι ει* *άτελε* *στα καί* ἡργα καί ἐπεα ει[πυβα][λ], καί Σικαναί κατελευστα υαν. καί ἐπε[α ειπυβα], καλέι ει. I very tentatively read, from the photograph: ] κ’ Οινο[κ(α)λέι ει (possibly for ειη?: Raubitschek) άτελεστα καί ἡργα καί ἐπεα ει[πυβα] καί Σικαναί κατελευστα υαν. καί ἐπε[α Οινοκ(α)λέι ει. I should welcome better suggestions.
95. **Tablet:** H. 0.037, W. 0.025–0.04. **Date:** End of VIa (Brugnone, from letter forms); *ca* 500a (A. E. Raubitschek, private communication, from spelling and letter forms). Later still? **Bibl.**: Brugnone 2 (phot., Tav. III, IV, V). **SEG** 26.1113. **Inscr.**: Tablet opisthographic. Boustrophedon. Judiciary. Curses the tongues of a man and his σύνδειοι.

96. **Tablet:** Max. pr. H. 0.065, max. pr. W. 0.103. **Date:** End of VIa. **Bibl.**: Brugnone 3 (phot., Tav. VI). **SEG** 26.1114. **Inscr.**: Three names (nom.).

97. **Tablet:** H. 0.037, W. 0.0625. **Date:** Beginning of Va (but cf. 95). **Bibl.**: Brugnone 4 (phot., Tav. VII, Fig. 1). **SEG** 26.1115. **Inscr.**: Published text: \( \chiαμ<\alpha>\iota \sigma' \epsilonπεχω \sigmaκα<\nu> \nuοσο \rhoοπει \deltaιπ' \\alphaπε\lambdaειαν \\ho \\epsilon[\_\]κα[\_\]\epsilon[\_\]\oντη.

98. **Tablet:** Broken on all sides; max. pr. H. 0.029, max. pr. W. 0.023. **Date:** First half of Va. **Bibl.**: Brugnone 5 (phot., Tav. VII, Fig. 2). **SEG** 26.1116. **Inscr.**: Parts of six letters are preserved that suggest no interpretation.

Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Gaggara


**Inscr.**: Tablet opisthographic. The writing on Side A is in more or less distinct lines; that on Side B is spiral. Side A begins Σελυνόντιος [κ]αι [κ]α [Σελυνόντιο γ]λόσα [ά]πεπτραμέν' [έ]π' [ά]τ<\epsilon>λείας [έ]γγράφω [τ]αί [τ]ένων. The curse is repeated for the ξένοι σύνδειοι (discussed by Heurgon) and (on Side B) for a Timaso and a Tyrhrana.

100. **Loc.**: Palermo Museum. **Tablet:** Probably originally oval, but partly destroyed on being unrolled; max. pr. Diam. 0.053. **Date:** Same as 99. **Bibl.** Găbrici 13, with readings by A. Olivieri (drawing, Fig. 181). [Jeffery, “Comments” 2.] Miller 40.

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

101. **Loc.**: Palermo Museum. **Tablet:** H. 0.05, W. 0.1. **Date:** VIa or Va (Comparetti); Va (Schwyzer, Miller); first half of Va (Jeffery). **Bibl.** Com-
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paretti (supra 99) 197–99 (Gàbrici’s drawing, 198). Schwyzer, DGE 167a(2). Gàbrici 16 (same drawing, Fig. 184). Jeffery, “Comments” 4. Miller 42.

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

102. Loc.: Palermo Museum. Tablet: Max. pr. H. 0.045, max. pr. W. 0.07. Date: Mid-Va or slightly earlier (Jeffery). Bibl.: Gàbrici 19 (drawing, Fig. 187). [Jeffery, “Comments” 7.]

Inscr.: Sense unclear.

103. Loc.: Palermo Museum. Tablet: H. 0.112, W. 0.05. Nail hole? Bibl.: Gàbrici 18 (drawing, Fig. 186). [Jeffery, “Comments” 6.]

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

104. Loc.: Palermo Museum? Tablet: H. 0.046, W. 0.126. Date: Ca mid-Va or slightly later (Jeffery); Va (Miller). Bibl.: Gàbrici 15 (drawing, Fig. 183). [Jeffery, “Comments” 3. SEG 16.571. Miller 43.

Inscr.: ειν έξολος (Jeffery: εσθείε ούνεία Gàbrici) και αυτόν και γενεάς plus a list of men’s names (nom. or nom.+gen.). At least two of the intended victims are further qualified as Herakleidai.

105. Loc.: Palermo Museum. Tablet: H. 0.06, W. 0.12. Date: Va Miller. Bibl.: Gàbrici 17 (drawing, Fig. 185). Jeffery, “Comments” 5. SEG 16.572.

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

106. Loc.: Palermo Museum. Date: Possibly early IVa (Jeffery); shortly before 409a (Schwyzer); last years of Va (Gàbrici, Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri); “Gàbrici’s late fifth dating is more reasonable than Miss Jeffery’s tentative ‘early fourth’” (Calder). Bibl.: Comparetti (supra 99) 199–202 (drawing, 199). Gàbrici 14, with readings by Olivieri (same drawing, Fig. 182). Schwyzer, DGE 167a(3). Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri (supra 99) 24. [Jeffery, “Comments” p.72. W. M. Calder III, Philologus 107 (1963) 172 n.6.]

Inscr.: Three names (all nom., if Ζλίαν [African? Comparetti] is nom.) followed by καὶ δόστις υπὲρ τήνων μέλλει ἦ λέγειν ἦ πράσεων. Σελινῶν <ἐ> νόμασαν (?) χείρονιμα (Arangio-Ruiz and Olivieri: χρήσιμα Comparetti). In the right-hand margin after the list of names there is the sign Δ (= δ(δοντα)? Comparetti).

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

Just outside the sanctuary walls

107. Loc.: Palermo Museum. Tablet: H. 0.099, W. 0.172. Date: 450a or earlier (Ferri, from spelling); 475a–450a? (Jeffery, followed by Masson); between 99 and 104 (Calder); 475a–450a (Miller). Bibl.: S. Ferri, NSc VII.5–6 (1944–45) 168–73 (phot., Fig. 1; drawing, Fig. 2). A. Olivieri, Rend Nap n.s. 23 (1946–49) 193–202 (non vidi). [J. and L. Robert, Bull.epigr.
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INSCR.: In two parts, separated by a horizontal line. In the upper part, the text begins Ἄλπεικον τὸν Λυκίον καὶ ταγράφο πάρ τάν ἡγιάζαν [θ]εόν, τάν ψυχάν αὐτό καὶ τάν δύνασιν. The curse is then repeated six times, with ellipses, variations, and (so I assume) mistakes, for other victims, likewise qualified with their fathers’ names. The lower part is a list of names (nom. + gen.), some of them the same as those in the upper part.

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

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

Lilybaion

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

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

110. LOC.: Palermo Museum. PROV.: A grave. DATE: Not given; Ia or IIa? (letter forms). BIBL.: Gàabrici (supra 109) 299–302 (drawing, Fig. 56). Epigraphica 5–6 (1942-43) 133 no. 1929.

INSCR.: A list of Latin names of men and women in Greek transcription (nom. or nom. + gen.), followed by καὶ τοῦ<ς> ύπέρ ετούς (for αὐτούς? τοῦ ύπέρ ετούς Gàabrici) ἀπαντάς.

Panormos or vicinity


INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Published text: Side A: Σμέ: Πρατομάκες : 2Λεπτίνας : Πραξίας 3ΡΑΤ[ ]ΟΚΥΚΥΙΕΣ (i.e. [κυ] κ’ νίες?): 4Αρατώτες : πυρνι : πεσι , [−−−] 5-τιλκαμ : πέδαν : . . . [−−−] 6τέ πέσια vac. 7RE. Side B: [−−−] ν ΠΤΑΙ τοτε πε[ ], λαν (e.g. έλν πιναί τοτε πε[ε]ίν? Manganaro) 2[−−−]ΕΑΤΥΙ . . . N.L.V 3vac. vac. 5REDEITI . . . IRI.

Himerà

[M. T. Manni Piraino, REA 71 (1969) 301–04 (phot., Pl. III), 72 (1970) 383, and, with fuller readings, Quaderno imerese (= Studi e materiali IstArchUnivPa-
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lermo 1 (Rome 1972)) 106–09 (better phot., Tav. LIV.1, 2; LV.1; drawing of inside, LV.2), has published an opisthographic lead tablet, whose letter forms suggest to her the first quarter of V°, found at the base of an interior wall of a house of mid-V°. The text, which she interprets as a personal letter requesting hospitality for a friend, seems to me not well enough preserved to reveal its nature; I report the tablet here because it may in fact be a defixio. Published text: (outside) Ευπιδάς ήλαιε δεινοχεῖς: λοχαγος δικαίως (inside) [- - - ευχα]μεν ἰνα με [ε - - -] εδώυς δ[...], ξένοιοι [ον - - εν α]υεσθαν 4[...], ἰνδος νοσ[- - -].]

MESSANA, necropolis at S. Placido

112. Loc.: Messina Museum? Prov.: Beside the skull of a skeleton. Tablet: H. 0.068, max. pr. W. 0.166. Date: Not given; I° or II°? (letter forms). BIBL.: P. Orsi, MonAnt 24 (1916) 154–59 (drawing by D. Comparetti, Fig. 25).

Inscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Most of the text seems preserved, but it is difficult to interpret as published. The Nymphs (or the Νυμφάκια, spelled -κε?) are addressed, as well as Kore (?) and the Erinyes (?), with the verb παρακατατιθεμε (for -μα).

113. Messina Museum? Prov.: Found near 112. Tablet: H. 0.062, W. 0.071. Date: Not given; same as 112? BIBL.: Orsi (supra 112) 160 (drawing by Comparetti, Fig. 26), with Comparetti’s notes.

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

114. Loc.: Messina Museum? Prov.: A grave. The tablet was apparently dropped in through a tube. Tablet: H. 0.026, W. 0.16. Date: II°? SEG. BIBL.: Orsi (supra 112) 167–69 (drawing by Comparetti, Fig. 34), with Comparetti’s notes. *A. Vogliano, BPW 45 (1925) 1937. *SEG 4.47, with emendations by G. Crönert.


KENTORIPA


Inscr.: The text in SEG: Κυρεία, ἔξαρους (ἐξέγει-Comparetti) τὸν Ἑλεγχικόν 3πούσῳ ἀργύρῳ οὐ σπάδικα, 4ἐν ἐξάρης αὐτὸν ἐκ τὸ ἀν 5θροπείνου γένεσις.
MORGANTINA


117. Loc.: Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 63-270. Prov.: “Against the large circular altar which dominates the court immediately to the east of the sanctuary” in the same chthonic shrine. Tablet: Max. pr. H. 0.082, max. pr. W. 0.113. Date: See 116. Bibl.: Nabers 3 (phot., Pl. 65.2). SEG 29.929.

Inscr.: Three women’s names (gen., unless the first, published as Ἐροστε- κυ, is in fact acc.), one of them identified as a liberta, followed by Γά, Ἐρμᾶ, Φερσεφώνα, π[ο]τίδεξαξαί . . . Γά.


Inscr.: Nabers’ text: Γά, Ἐρμᾶ, 2θεοί κατα3χθόνιοι, πο4τίδεξασθε 5τὰν Βε- νοῦ6σταν τοῦ 7Ποὺφον τὰ 8ν θεράπται9ναν.


Inscr.: The same text as 118.


Inscr.: Published text, Γά, Ἐρμᾶ, θεοὶ 2κα[τ]λαχθόνιοι ἀπαγάγετε τὰν Βε- νοῦ[σταν] 3τὸν 4Ποὺφο[ν], . . . IOY, plus traces of another line of letters.


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

[Excavations of the sanctuary yielded three other inscribed lead tablets that are too damaged to read. One (Nabers 2 = SEG 29.928; Museo di Morgantina, Aidone, inv. 63-1201), found “built into the rubble altar at the rear of
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the adyton together with a number of small plain lamps," shows traces of at least four lines of text. The second (Nabers 8 = SEG 29.934; inv. 62-1729), now in two fragments of which the larger shows traces of seven lines of text, and the third (Nabers 9 = SEG 29.935; inv. 62-1727), with "a four-bar sigma and an angular epsilon" among other letters, were found "deep within the fill of the well-altar" and are evidently somewhat earlier than the other tablets. Nabers (supra 120) 67f argues that all the legible tablets except 120 are not defixiones but "pious prayers," and J. and L. Robert, Bull. épigr. 1966, 518, offer support of this identification; for arguments that all the Morgantina tablets may be defixiones see Guarducci 251 and Jordan (supra 13) 236–38.

SICILY OR SOUTHERN ITALY

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

ITALY

LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

123. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria. PROV.: A tomb of III\(\text{a}\). DATE: III\(\text{a}\). BIBL.: F. Costabile, Municipium Locrensium, Instituzioni ed organizzazione sociale di Locri romana (Naples 1976) 68 (drawing, Tav. XXII, Fig. 42). *A. Landi, Dialetti e interazione sociale in Magna Grecia (1979) no. 244 (Costabile’s drawing, Tav. LXXVII).
INSCR.: The tablet is broken away at the left and no line is safely restorable. Among what is preserved, Hermes and Ge are named (nom.? voc.? dat.) as well as several men’s and women’s names (acc.).

LAOS

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

METAPONTION

INSCR.: Published text: κα<\(\text{τα}\)> διδήμι τῶ<\(\varepsilon\)> 2πρωτόν ἐργαστήριον καταδιδήμι οἴστετε μή ἐργαζόμεθα ἀλλὰ ἀκρείναι καὶ ἄτυχεῖν. 4τῶν τούδε κακών 7παίλων καταδιδήμι πού<\(\varepsilon\)> (τού<\(\varepsilon\)> Gigante) 8γίνων ἱστρών ὅστε μὴ ἐργάζονται ἀλλʼ ἀργείν (ά<\(\varepsilon\)>ργείν Gigante) 9τοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἴσιοις μαξὶν χρῆσιν ἐναρμόνιον πάντας, plus at least fourteen men’s names.

TARAS

125. LOC.: Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 111486. PROV.: A grave. TABLET: H. 0.085, W. 0.037. DATE: IV\(\text{a}\) or III\(\text{a}\) (Landi). BIBL.: Fiorelli, NSc 1880, 34,
JORDAN, D. R., A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora, Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, 26:2 (1985:Summer) p.151

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

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

126. Loc.: Museo Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 111485. Prov.: Same as 125. Tablet: H. 0.085, W. 0.037. Date: IV B.C. or III B.C. (Landi). Bibl.: Fiorelli (supra 125) 34, with notes by Comparetti. SGDI 4616(II). Schwyzer, DGE 80. IG XIV 668(II). Landi (supra 123) no. 194b (phot., Tav. lxxvi).

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

TORANO CASTELLO (near Cosenza)


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

HYDROUS

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

POMPEII

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

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

ROME

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

INSCR.: In two columns. A physician of the third praetorian cohort is cursed (κατάσχετε); a brother (the physician or the defigens?) wants to go to his native country. The text continues: μη ἔστησε οὗν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κα[τα]σχέτε τὴν Υπαλικὴν (for Ἰτ-) γῇν ἐς ἀεί[ν], θεινώσῃ[τε] ὑπὲρ καὶ τὰς Ῥωμαίους πύλας, ἀλλὰ κατάσχετε plus the physician's name, followed by Ἐνλαμῳν and several other magical names plus καὶ κατάσχετε.
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[Guarducci (supra 129) 57 mentions that another inscribed lead tablet, more or less contemporary with 129, was found by the same person in the same area but probably in a different grave. I have now read the tablet, which is in the Musei Capitolini, and plan to publish it elsewhere. It is a charm to make a woman hate a man.]

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

131. LOC.: See 130. TABLET: Originally folded up; on being opened it was broken into several pieces, all but eight of which were lost. The eight could be assembled into two fragments, which do not join each another. Fr. i: max. pr. H. 0.05, max. pr. W. 0.04; fr. ii: max. pr. H. 0.09, max. pr. W. 0.09. DATE: IVp? BIBL.: Wünsch (supra 130) 41-45 (drawing of fr. i, Fig. 7).
INSCR.: Fr. i: a drawing of a smiling figure, whose torso is presumably bound up in cords and whose head and shoulders are pierced with nails; around it a long snake is coiling and looks ready to bite it (for similar figures on defixiones, see Wünsch (supra n.6) 16 and 20, and 83 supra). At the left of the figure there are three lines of magical words, seven lines of magical symbols (among them the vowels ooooeep), and two (or three?) more lines of magical words. Presumably there was something similar at the right of the figure, but that part of the tablet is lost except for the beginnings of three lines of letters that may be magical words or names (Seth, etc.) at the top. Fr. ii: very lacunous and without much apparent sense, presumably mostly magical words except for one passage of recognizable Greek: κούρα<i>, πολυνυμα κούρα, ἀρσατι κ[αι ... και] ἀρπάσαται (for -τε ... -τε) τὴν ψυχήν, τὴν καρδιάν, τὰ σπλάχνα, τοὺς μουσλίν (for μυ-) καὶ τὰ νεῦρα καὶ τὰς σάρκας τῆς Ακλατεί (sic: for Εἰστικᾶ<ς> ?), ἦν ἔτεκεν μῆτηρ Ἀκεσαματερ (sic: ἧδη ἡδη, ταχύ ταχύ.

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

Gaul

Antipolis

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

Near Augustodunum

132. Loc.: Musée Rolin d’Autun. Prov.: Excavations at the foot of the
Pierre de Courd on the ancient road from Lugdunum to Augustodunum.
Tablet: H. 0.105, W. 0.048. Date: II² (letter forms of the Latin text). Bibl.:
Inscr.: Tablet opisthographic. Outside: a mark X (H. 0.045). Inside: begin­
ning at the top of the tablet, a list of men’s names in Latin (nom.), one of
them identified as nepos Veracis; beneath the list is the word Αβρασσα; be­
ginning at the bottom and upside down in relation to the Latin text is a
column of magical names in Greek, the first of them with a magical sign on
either side. Marcillet-Joubert considers the Greek text to be in a different
hand from the Latin.

Spain

Emporion

133. Loc.: Ampurias Museum. Prov.: A Hellenistic level (III*-Iª) above the
necropolis of the Campus Martius. Tablet: H. 0.105, W. 0.195. Date: Not
given; III*-? (letter forms). Bibl.: M. Almagro Basch, MemMusProvInc 9–10
(1948–49) 287f (drawing, Fig. 126; phot., Pl. LXXV.1). G. Garcia y Bellido,
ArchEspArq 24 (1951) 238–40 (drawing, Fig. 14). Almagro Basch 19 (phot.,
p.31; drawing, p.32).
Inscr.: Judiciary. After παντας τοις ὑπὲρ Ἀριστάρχος[ν], a list of names
(nom.) headed by that of Aristarchos.

134. Loc.: Ampurias Museum. Prov.: A Hellenistic-Roman level near the
Hellenistic stoa and Early Christian basilica. Tablet: Max. pr. H. 0.147, max.
pr. W. 0.173; incomplete except at bottom. Date: Iª (Almagro Basch), but
the letter forms suggest late V* or IVª. Bibl.: Almagro Basch 21 (phot.,
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Inscr.: Apparently a list of names (nom.? and acc.), followed by at least three lines: οὖκος (for -κός?) κατοκίσται (κο εσκατοκίσται Almagro Basch) / [- - -]νομος ύμεα τοι / [- - -]μεθα καὶ τῆς γρ (αθής?). The text may however be a private or public letter (so J. and L. Robert) rather than a defixio.

135. Loc.: Ampurias Museum. Tablet: H. 0.075, W. 0.075. Date: “Later than” 134 (Almagro Basch). Bibl.: Almagro Basch (supra 133) 287f (drawing, Fig. 127; phot., Pl. LXXV.2). Garcia y Bellido (supra 133) 238–41 (same drawing, Fig. 14). Almagro Basch 20 (same phot., p.33; same drawing, p.34). Inscr.: Six men’s names (nom.).

Africa

Thevesete

136. Loc.: Archaeological Museum, Algiers. Tablet: H. 0.051, max. pr. W. 0.104. Date: The beginning of the Empire at the latest (Roesch, from letter forms); “On penserait pour la date au 1er siècle a.C., ce qui nous paraît bien trop ancien” (J. and L. Robert). Bibl.: P. Roesch, BAlger 2 (1966–67) 231–37 (drawing, Fig. 1; phot., Fig. 2), from photographs. +J. and L. Robert, Bull. épigr. 1968, 592.

Inscr.: Ten-line curse beginning [Σατορνυ]ναυ [κ]αταδώ. What immediately follows has many lacunae. The second half of the text has some connected sense: ἀπολλάνω / [τὴν Σατορνυνα<ν> διὰ μανίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρτῃ ὀράς / [ἡδη (?) ἵππη ήδη, ταχύ ταχυ / ταχύ, ἀποκοπτω πεζαν αυ/την] ταχυ διὰ τῶν αὐώνων. There are straight lines framing the inscription at the right and at the bottom and possibly (although the photograph does not make this clear) also at the top. The left edge is lost.

Pupput (Suq-el-Abiod, Tunisia)


Inscr.: The beginnings of five lines of text with no apparent sense. The sacred name Ἐρεσχεγιαλ can be read.

Carthage


Inscr.: Very fragmentary. Against (a charioteer and?) horses. Seven lines, of which the first three are apparently not Greek but may be Latin names of horses (acc.) in the Greek alphabet (cf. e.g. Audollent 238.6–8); the last four lines read ἀπό/λοιπο ὑπὸς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς / ἴ[να]υς ἴ[να]υς.


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

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

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

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

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

Hadrumetum

Inscr.: Against a charioteer and horses. A drawing, in outline, of a human figure; the area of the tablet above the shoulders is lost, but part of the head is preserved, leaning on the right shoulder, as if the figure is intended to represent a dead man. The text, written inside the outline of the torso and across both legs, begins in the area of the lower ribs with the intended victim’s name (nom.) and identification (\(\delta\ \eta/\nu/\chi/\omega/\xi/\sigma/\iota\nu/\sigma/\iota\nu\)) and continues, after some magical signs and eleven lines of magical words, with a 12-line curse covering the legs from the thigh down: “Make Archelaos the charioteer fall in the circus; all day let him fall with these horses that he drives.” Four horses are then named (acc.). The closing formula \(\eta/\delta/\eta\ \eta/\delta/\eta\), \(\tau/\alpha/\chi/\upsilon\ \tau/\alpha/\chi/\upsilon\) is used.

145. Prov.: Excavations of 1905 conducted by the French military in the part of the first-century Roman necropolis north of the ‘Eiffel Tower’ (M. Gauckler apud Audollent). Tablet: Of an unusual shape: \(\circ\). Max. pr. H. 0.15, W. of rectangular top 0.065, max. pr. W. of the round part 0.13. In the middle of the round part, a nail hole. Date: II\(^{p}\) or III\(^{p}\). Bibl.: A. Audollent, BAC 1908, 4–6 (phot., pl. 1).
Inscr.: In the rectangular part, magical words and a magical symbol. In the round part, magical names beneath which there are written, in columns, repeated with the first letter omitted each time until only the final letter remains, the seven vowels and the magical name \(\Delta/\mu/\nu/\alpha/\mu/\eta/\epsilon/\nu/\eta/\sigma/\iota\nu/\epsilon/\nu\). The two col-
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Columns are upside down in relation to each other, the result being two triangles (\(\square\)) of text, with a space left between. It is here that the nail hole is made. At the left and right of the configuration made by the repetitions are inscribed vertical strings of letters, mostly illegible.

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

Inscr.: In the ‘dome’ four vowels in no apparent order. Beside the rectangular part, along the vertical edges of the tablet, vertical strings of magical words. Around the rectangular part, a curse [κατάκλεινον τὸν Ἑσύχιον, ὤν ἐθέκεν (for ἔτ-) 'Ὑπερεξία ἐν ἐμέρες (for ἑμέρας) ἔπτα (a hypothetical proper name Ἐνεμερεστία according to Audollent) ἧρον τὲ [ν] ψυχέν κέ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ — — —]. In the preserved half of the geometric design, along the right-hand side, the same curse occurs (whence the certainty of the reconstruction just quoted). In the center of the diagram there are scattered letters, with no apparent sense, and magical designs.

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

Inscr.: Against the same person as 146. Inside the design’s ‘cap’, magical words and signs. Along the vertical edges of the tablet, vertical strings of letters (among which [Σ]αβαῳβ can be read). Written around the outside of the circle, the curse as on 146, with καὶ μὴ ἄφης instead of ἧρον. Around the inside of the circle, the seven vowels and the name Δεμναμενες written, as on 145, so as to form triangles. In the space remaining, the curse is repeated, this time with ἧρον again, and ends εἰστρεφον (Audollent; correct to ἕκ- or κε’), [κ]ατάστρεφον αὐτῷ ψυχέν τοῦ Ἑσύχιον. In the pedestal, the same curse, beginning as on 145 but ending ἦρον τε[ν] ψυχέν.


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

Carthage or Hadrumetum?

[L. Robert, JSA 1981, 35 n.1, has announced and quoted from a defixio meant to win four women for one man. The man and three of the women}
are given maternal lineage, but the fourth woman is identified as Περπε­
τούαν τινες (=ής?) νόι είσιν Οὐδολύσιος καὶ Φαστανός (for Φαστα­
νός?). The provenance is unrecorded, but Robert has assigned the tablet to
Carthage or Hadrumetum on the basis of its formulae. Now in the J. Paul
Getty Museum.]

LYCIA MAGNA
149. LOC.: Department of Antiquities, Castello, Tripoli. (The Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford, has a plastic cast.) PROV.: Under the starting gates of the
circus. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.118, max. pr. W. 0.138. DATE: IVp (letter
INSCR.: One line of magical symbols, followed by magical words and four
names (acc.), presumably those of a team of horses, without connectives,
and, after καὶ, a fifth name (acc.), described as “their charioteer.” No gov­
erning verb.

KYRENAIKA
150. DATE: IIIª (Gallavotti). BIBL.: C. Gallavotti, Mai 15
(1963) 450–54. Pugiese Carratelli, RendLinc VIII.18 (1963) 340–44. [J. and
L. Robert, Bull. épigr. 1964, 574.]
INSCR.: A hexametric base for the formulaic part, which requests the
presence of Tyche along with Zeus and the Charites. Praxidike, “the great
daughter of Aglaokarpos,” is invoked to bind the tongue, the hands, and the
feet of the intended victim, a woman. The hexameters, which are corrupt,
have been restored and discussed by Gallavotti.
[D. White has kindly sent me a photograph of a lead tablet (inv. 74-299)
found in the course of the University of Pennsylvania’s excavations at Ky­
rene, of which he is the director. The tablet has a hole that may have been
made with a nail, and there seem to be two illegible lines of letters followed
by Ξύβον/φ... .]

NUBIA

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


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

NEAR ANTINOOPOLIS?


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

HAWARA

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

Inscr.: A charm, addressed to an unnamed nekydaimon, to make a woman love a man. The text closely follows the formula at Pap.Graec.Mag. 4.335–84
(cf. 152, 155, 156), which is preceded by instructions for the attachment of wax dolls of Ares and Aphrodite to such a tablet. Near the tablet but not necessarily associated with it were found two small wax dolls too crudely fashioned to be identified with any certainty.

Oxyrhynchus


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

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

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

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

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


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

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

Qamadir

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

Exact provenance unknown


Inscr.: A charm to make a woman love a man. Ὄριον Σαραπούτης ἀποι- ξιν καὶ ἀναγκαὶ αὐτοῦ (Eitrem: ἀναποίησιν Wünsch, ἀναπόθελει Boll) Ἁγαθὴ Απολλωνία τοῦ ἐπαθητὴν Παῦλον ἢ μήν (for ὀν) ἑτέρον ἔτει Μέσσως. Beside the text is a drawing of a mummy.


Inscr.: Written by the same person as 155 and inscribed with the same text, except that Ὄριον Σαραπούτης does not occur at the beginning, the relative ὀν is correctly written, and after Μέσσως the phrase ἔπει ἐπὶ (Bilabel, Eitrem: ἔπει ἐπὶ? Boll) μήνας is added.


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

161. Loc.: Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva. Prov.: Bought in Egypt by J. Nicole. Tablet: H. 0.11, W. 0.19. Date: ?IIP or IVIP? Bibl.: V. Martin, Geneva 6 (1928) 56–64 (phot., Fig. 1; drawing of the figures, Fig. 2). Inscr.: A charm to make a woman love a man. The intended victim is bound (καταδεσμευόν) to (εἰς) the tail of the serpent, the mouth of the crocodile, the horns of the ram, the venom of the asp, the hairs of the cat, the penis (?) of the god, "that she may have no relations with any man other than" the defigens, who names himself and gives his maternal lineage. The text ends ἑττέν δὲ τὰ ζώδια ταῦτα, beneath which are four drawings of humans (or gods?) and animals at the left and a set of magical signs at the right.

162. Loc.: Institut de Papyrologie, Paris. Tablet: H. 0.25, W. 0.19. Collart reports nail holes at the edges of the tablet, but on examination I cannot find them. Date: VIP (letter forms). Bibl.: P. Collart, RevPhil III.4 (1930) 248–56
D. R. JORDAN


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

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

SYRIA-PALESTINE

NEAR HEBRON


INSCR.: Four lines of magical signs followed by εξορκίζω ἡμᾶς χαρακτήρας κατακλίνε (for -nai) ἐπὶ κάκωσιν καὶ ἀδελκίαν plus the intended victim’s (a man’s) name with maternal lineage. The curse continues βάλεται (for -te) αὐτόν ἐπὶ κάκωσιν καὶ βάνατον (κακώσις <ε> i καὶ βάνα [άτω Lifshitz] κλα κεφαλαργίας (for -λγ-) ταχ(υ τα)χύν ἡδη ἡδη.

NYSA-SKYTHOPOLIS (Beth-Shean)


INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Side A: after the logos Chych Bachych etc., the κύριοι ἄγγελοι are invoked to bind (δῆσατε, καταδῆσατε) the parts of three women, whose maternal lineages are given. They are to be made dumb, blind, etc., before the female defigens, whose maternal lineage is also given. After several magical logoi, some of which (Ioerbeth etc., Eulamon etc., Maskelli Maskello etc.) are known from elsewhere, the curse is repeated, in an expanded form. An Ereschigal logos, a set of magical signs, fragments of other logoi, and possibly another repetition of the curse are followed by a closing formula containing the words μὲν ὁμοματα. Side Ρ
σφ<ρ>αγίζω σε, Ἔνλαμων, μετὰ τῶν σῶν παρέδρω[ν], followed by magical names that include Ιαω, Βεζε[βοθ], and the logos Maskelli Maskello etc. Youtie and Bonner see possible Christian influence in the personal names.


Inscr.: At the top of the text, two horizontal lines enclose an angel’s name, magical signs, the letters XMT, another angel’s name, and some other magical words and signs. Most of the text is incomprehensible, but it seems to invoke the κύριο<ω> φίλιοι θεοί to make ([ποιη]σταί for -τε?) a man (identified patrilineally) lose (?) a lawsuit. The names of the intended victim and the letters XMT show Jewish and Christian influence.

Tyre

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

Damaskos


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

Berytus

167. Prov.: Mouterde conjectures that the tablet may have been found in the course of construction work along Beirut’s Rue du Maréchal Pétain, which abuts an ancient hippodrome (plan, “Béryte au VIe siècle” at the end of P. Collinet, Histoire de l’École de droit de Beyrouth [Paris 1925]). Tablet: H. 0.158, W. 0.09 (top)—0.1 (bottom). Date: Late IIp or IIIp (Mouterde, from the word καλακέινων). Bibl.: Mouterde (supra 166) 106-24 (drawing, Pl. III). SEG 7.213. *A. Mariq, Byzantion 22 (1952) 368-70 (Mouterde’s drawing facing 368). SEG 15.847.

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

Apamea

[At the 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Athens 1982) W. van Rengen announced the discovery of two defixiones (H. 0.052,
max. pr. W. 0.118; max. pr. H. 0.049, W. 0.141) in the Belgian excavations. The first invokes the κύρων ἀγώνα τοῖς καρακτήρεσι to bind the limbs and other parts of charioteers “so that they cannot drink or eat or sleep but will see from their doors δέμοιας ἄφεντας, δέμοιας βλέψις, Ἡφέστου πῦρ . . . .” The second has a similar text but lacks the invocation and the phrase just quoted. Both texts end ἡδη ἡδην, ταχυν ταχυν.

ANTIOCH

[J. H. Humphrey, BASOR 213 (1974) 40, has mentioned three defixiones from the metae of the hippodrome. F. F. Jones, Curator of Collections of the Princeton Art Museum, where many of the Antioch finds are housed, has written to me that she suspects that the tablets that Humphrey refers to are to be identified with examples in the museum: inv. 3421-145 (from 7-θ, Trial Trench 2), 3603-154a+b, 3754-155 (both from the spina of the hippodrome), 3603-156 and 3608-157 (from the hippodrome, Trench 4) (plan, Antioch-on-the-Orontes II [Princeton 1938], Plan D). G. Downey, ibid. 148, has announced fifteen inscribed lead tablets found at Antioch and Daphne in the seasons of 1934 and 1935. I do not know where they are, but Dr Jones has been kind enough to allow me to look through the Antioch excavation inventories at Princeton, where I found listed nos. 4740-1130 (five defixiones), 4758-1132 (one; the composition of its lead is analyzed by R. H. Brill and J. M. Wampler, AJA 71 [1967] 76 no. 135), 4868-1145 (one), and 5456-1176 (one), all found in wells in 1934 and 1935; they are possibly included in Downey’s fifteen. I was also able to unroll one tablet on which no inventory number was marked and to arrive at a preliminary text, which begins with the syllables Βωρφορ-, quite like several defixiones of IIIp from the Athenian Agora (e.g. 23ff), but invokes not Typhon but Hekate, consigning to her a greengrocer who is identified matrilineally.]

CYPRUS

AMATHOUS

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

SALAMIS

[I mention here because they may be defixiones several lead scrolls found “in the ancient cemetery,” one of them (H. 0.065–0.075?, W. 0.027?) unrolled and published by A. P. di Cesnola, Salaminia2 (London 1884) 68–72, with A. K. Sayce’s readings (drawing, Fig. 83; phot., Cesnola, Lawrence Cesnola Collection: Cyprus Antiquities (London 1881)] Pl. [LVI] [non vidi]). Its text, writ-
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In a Cypriot syllabary, has been edited several times since, after Cesnola's drawing, most recently, with an improved but as yet not fully explicable transcriptions, by O. Masson, Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques (Paris 1961) no. 311 (with Cesnola's drawing, "pas très fidèle," Fig. 90; Cesnola's photograph, Masson in Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie (1980) 185, Fig. 8); Masson gives the previous bibliography. Present location(s) unknown.]

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

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

ASIA MINOR

UPPER MAIANDROS VALLEY

168. LOC.: In the collection of Dr Toepke at the time of publication. PROV.: Known only from the dealer. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.245, W. 0.10. DATE: IIp (names). BIBL.: F. K. Dörner, JÖAIBeibl 32 (1940) 63-72 (phot. of Side A, Fig. 14; of Side B, Fig. 15). +J. and L. Robert, Bull.epigr. 1941, 11. INSCR.: Tablet opisthographic. Judiciary. Side A: magical signs, after which the phrase ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς, δαίμονες, κατὰ τοῦ ἐνγεγραμμένου ὄνοματος, "to make my opponents and whoever else pleads for them be judged guilty." Six intended victims (men) are named, two with paternal, one with maternal, lineage. Magical signs follow the curse, and then at least one line of Greek, but the bottom of the tablet is broken away. Side B: virtually the same curse, without the magical signs at the top and with the beginning ὀρκίζω σε κατ' ἐαυτής, Γη, χθον καὶ Ἐκάτη και Ἐρμή, χθόνιοι καὶ Λήθη μνήμα, ὀρκίζω ὑμᾶς καθ', ἐαυτῶν καὶ τούς λυποὺς (for loss)-θεούς, with the same instructions plus καὶ ἄν εἴπωσιν οἱ συνήγοροι αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο καθ' αὐτῶν γενέσθω. In similar phrases demons and the underworld gods are invoked, with the same instructions. Magical signs follow, and at least one line of Greek, but here too the bottom is lost.

KLAUDIOPOLIS (Bithynia)

169. LOC.: Museum, University of Reading. TABLET: H. 0.15, W. 0.35. DATE: IIIp or IVp ("from a comparison with similar documents"). BIBL.: J. M. R. Cormack, HThR 44 (1951) 25-34 (phot. facing 25). [Ch. Picard, RevArch VI.41 (1953) 94f.] INSCR.: Judiciary? Five columns. The first two and part of the third are men's and women's names (nom.), followed by a command, "Let all these be spellbound; let them not spy on Capetolinus, but let them be speechless, dumb, saying nothing against Capetolinus," whose maternal lineage is given, "by the power of these names" (Cormack's translation). The fourth and fifth columns contain an adjuration beginning κύριοι θεοί, καταδήσατε πάντας
The logos Yesemmigadon etc. and some magical names connected with lao are followed by instructions to the κύριοι θεοί ἄγγελοι much the same as those in the third column.

HERAKLEA Pontike
[F. K. Dörner, Anz Wien 99 (1962) 30–35, has reported the discovery of several fragments of lead tablets.]

SOUTH RUSSIA

PANTIKAPAION

170. Loc.: Kerch State Historico-Archaeological Museum. Prov.: From the necropolis. Tablet: H. 0.08, W. 0.47. Pierced with two nails. Bibl.: B. Pharmacowsky, AA 1907, 126–28, from readings by V. V. Shkorpil’.

Inscr.: Tablet opisthographic, each side inscribed with three columns. The texts of only the first two have been preserved, and these not completely. Side A: κατορθίζω plus four men’s names (acc.), one of them identified as τὸν κυβερνήτην, then the phrase παρ’ ἑρμαν <χ>θόνον καὶ Ἐκάτα[n] χθονίαν [ι] καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνα χθόνιον καὶ παρὰ Λευκ<ν>θέαν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόναν χθονίαν καὶ παρὰ Ἀρτέμιδα στροφαίαν καὶ Δήμητρα χθονίαν καὶ παρ’ ἤρως χθονίους, τούτων μὴ δείξατο . . . μηδὲ μηρία τθ<ε>ντες etc. Side B: the same formula directed against a different man, his works, and his children. There is a slight variation after the naming of the deities, but it does not serve to elucidate the meaning of the very last phrase.

OLBIA

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

Inscr.: A list of men’s names (nom.+gen.) plus καὶ τός αὐτῶν συνιόντας πάντας.

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

Inscr.: A list of men’s names (nom.).


Inscr.: Published by Shkorpil’ as a personal letter offering to bribe a judge; the vocabulary however (<[ω]σπερ . . . ὀντ[ως] . . . , [ἐ]να ἐμοί αὐτῶν κατάσχες καὶ με[τα]λάβης) suggests a curse concerning judiciary matters (μαρτυρίαν). A gift is in fact offered at the end of the text (ἐπ’ ὀδέ σε τεμάσω καὶ σ[οι] ἀρατον διάφορον παρασκε[νάσω]), but it is probably a reward for the god or nekydaimon for enacting the curse: for similar promises of reward to supernatural powers in curses, see 54, 109, Wünsch 99.
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INSCR.: A list of men's names (nom.+gen.) followed by the letters ΠΙΝΑΚ / ΚΕΦΑΚΕΜ.

175. LOC.: Unknown; the tablet was seen and copied by Héron de Villefosse at Paris in 1905. TABLET: H. ca 0.15, max. pr. W. ca 0.06. BIBL.: A. Héron de Villefosse, BAniFr 1905, 312f.
INSCR.: A list of men's names (all apparently nom.).

EXACT PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

INSCR.: Judiciary. A list of men's names (nom.) plus καὶ ὅσοι συνήγοροι καὶ παρατηροῦσι.

PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

177. LOC.: Munich Antiquarium. DATE: Not given. Probably V* or IV*, cf. Attic examples spelled backwards. BIBL.: Abt 4. TABLET: In two fragments that do not join. Fr. i: max. pr. W. 0.12; fr. ii: max. pr. H. 0.08, W. 0.14. The whole seems to have been folded into sixteen squares, of which twelve have nail holes.
INSCR.: Spelled backwards. Unless the top is broken away, the text begins δωκαλ (for καταδω?). τὰ ἐργα and τὰ ἐργασια (sic) of the intended victim, a woman, are cursed.

178. LOC.: Unknown; in the collection of J. Sieveking, Munich, at the time of publication. TABLET: Max. pr. H. 0.08, max. pr. W. 0.04. BIBL.: Abt 3.
INSCR.: The published text, which consists of five lines, makes no sense to me. To the left of and at right angles to these lines: ατυμηδη.

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

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

189. Loc.: In the collection of R. J. Demarée, The Hague. Table: H. 0.05, W. 0.025 (top)–0.07 (bottom). Date: Not given. IIIp or IVp? (letter forms). Bibl.: P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 89f (phot., Taf. XIIa).

INSCR.: A charm to make a woman love a man. Magical syllables (mostly vowels) plus ἀξω καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν δοιναμήν (for δυναμίν) σου καὶ τὴν εξουσιάν σου plus magical syllables plus ἀξον Τερμοῦτων, τῆ(ν) ἔτεκεν Σοφία, Ζωῆ, τῷ ἔτεκεν Δροσερ, ἐρωτε λαμικῷ καὶ ἀκατὰ[πα]υστῷ <καὶ?> ἀφ’ θ’ ἱρτῳ (for ἀφθάρτῳ?).

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