

DEFIXIONES FROM A WELL NEAR THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 65–68)

OVER THE YEARS, excavations of the Athenian Agora have recovered some hundred defixiones or lead curse tablets, almost all of which were found, rolled up into scrolls, in what were once underground bodies of water (see Fig. 1 and Tables 1 and 2, pp. 208–210). In the Roman well that we shall call Well V, which was dug about 100 meters outside the southwest corner of the ancient Agora proper, in the valley to the northwest of the Areiopagos, 17 such inscribed lead tablets were found, most of them badly corroded or encrusted. The surfaces of only 14 have yielded readings; of these I present an *editio princeps* here. In the picture that they give of urgent personal concerns, transitory though they may now seem, the well's surviving curses illustrate a private side of life in Roman Athens seldom seen in the city's other remains; that these concerns express themselves in invocations in which the names of the Egyptian god Seth-Typhon are mixed with those of the god of the Old Testament is of a significance beyond the strictly religious. Before we examine the texts themselves, however, it will be convenient to consider certain preliminary questions that the tablets raise.¹

¹ I should like to thank H. A. Thompson, Director Emeritus of the American Excavations of the Athenian Agora, both for permission to publish these 14 texts and for improving my manuscript in several important ways, and also T. L. Shear, Jr., Director, for permission to publish IL 1737. To O. Broneer and E. R. Gebhard, M. Chehab, B. F. Cook, F. F. Jones, Stephen G. Miller, Mr. Shear and Mr. Thompson, H. Whitehouse and J. Rea, W. H. Willis and K. J. Rigsby, and J. R. Wiseman and C. K. Williams, II, I am grateful for the opportunity to examine and to cite here unpublished defixiones from Isthmia, Tyre, Cyprus, Antioch, Nemea, the Athenian Agora, Oxyrhynchos, elsewhere in Egypt, and Corinth, respectively. For the map of the Agora (Fig. 1) showing the wells and the cistern in which defixiones were found I am indebted to W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., and for the photographs of 8 and IL 1737 and of 7 and 9, to Eugene Vanderpool, Jr., and to Robert K. Vincent, former photographers of the Agora Excavations. An earlier version of this article forms part of a doctoral dissertation accepted by the Department of Classics of Brown University; I acknowledge with thanks A. L. Boegehold's improvements of a still earlier version. I am particularly grateful to Morton Smith for taking the time to read the penultimate manuscript and to offer many suggestions, several of which I have incorporated into the text below, and to M. B. Wallace, who with his usual kindness has tactfully removed numerous infelicities. If errors remain, they are sure to be my own. I should like to thank V. W. Steel for timely and fraternal help of a practical nature in the preparation of the manuscript.

Study of the defixiones presented here was first undertaken by G. A. Stamires in 1948, shortly after they came to light. He entered preliminary transcriptions of some of them in a notebook now in the files of the Agora Excavations; I did not discover the notebook, however, until my own transcriptions were virtually complete, but when I did, I was glad to see in how many places our readings were the same and to be able to compare our texts of several difficult passages.

In referring to papyrological publications I use the abbreviations recommended by J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, and W. H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 2nd ed. (= *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, Supplement VIII), Missoula 1978.

Other abbreviations supplemental to those designated by the *AJA* are as follows:

Hesperia 54, 3

Defixiones are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of thin sheets, intended to bring supernatural power to bear against persons or animals.² From the ancient world

-
- Audollent = A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter atticis in "Corpore inscriptionum atticarum" editas*, Paris 1904
- Bonner = C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (= *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series XLIX*), Ann Arbor 1950
- Delatte and Derchain = A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, Paris 1964
- Follet = S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle: Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris 1978
- Gàbrici = E. Gàbrici, "Rinvenimenti nelle zone archeologiche di Panormo e di Lilibeo, II. Lilibeo," *NSc*, ser. 7, 2, 1941, pp. 271–302
- Gignac = F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I, Phonology* (= *Testi e documenti per lo studio dell' antichità LV*), Milan 1976
- Hopfner = T. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber I* (= *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde XXI*), 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1974
- Lampe = G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961
- Martin = V. Martin, "Une tablette magique de la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Genava* 6, 1928, pp. 56–64
- Mayser = E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*, Berlin/Leipzig 1906–1934
- Moraux = P. Moraux, *Une defixion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul* (= *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Cl. des lettres . . . LIV*, ii), Brussels 1960
- PGM = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae, die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., rev. by A. Henrichs, Stuttgart 1973
- "QPVVVLA" = D. R. Jordan, "CIL VIII 19525(B).2 QPVVVA = q(uem) p(eperit) vulva," *Philologus* 120, 1976, pp. 127–132
- Sepher ha-Razim* = *Sepher ha-Razim, the Book of the Mysteries*, trans. M. A. Morgan (= *Texts and Translations XXV, Pseudepigrapha series XI*), Chico, California 1983
- "TILT" = D. Jordan, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos," *AthMitt* 95, 1980, pp. 225–239
- Wortmann = D. Wortmann, "Neue magische Texte," *BonnJbb* 168, 1968, pp. 56–111
- Wünsch = R. Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae* (= *IG III*, [3]), Berlin 1897

Numbers after the abbreviations "Audollent", "Delatte and Derchain", "PGM", "Wortmann", and "Wünsch" refer to texts, not to pages.

Numbers in bold type refer to the defixiones edited on pp. 213–250 below. The other defixiones from the Agora are referred to by their inventory numbers, which begin "IL" (for "Iron and Lead"). For the bibliography of these defixiones that have been published, see Tables 1 and 2. This is the first of a series of articles in which I hope to publish all the legible defixiones from the Agora. In the meantime, because the reader may find it useful to be able to consult IL 1737 from Well VII, I print a preliminary transcription of it in the Appendix (pp. 251–255 below).

Unless otherwise indicated, all dates below are A.D.

² Defixiones came into popularity in the ancient world in the 5th century B.C. and remained in use through the 6th century of our era. These texts are most conveniently consulted in two corpora, that of Wünsch, comprising tablets from Attica, all of which are in Greek, and that of Audollent, comprising further tablets from Attica and from the rest of the ancient world, in Greek, Latin, and other languages as well. Both works, however, are much out of date. For a checklist of Greek defixiones that have come to light subsequently, see my "Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora" (forthcoming in *GRBS* 26, 1985), and for Latin defixiones not included by Audollent, see E. Besnier, "Récents travaux sur les *defixionum tabellae* latines 1904–1914," *RevPhil* 44, 1920, pp. 5–30, and the lists compiled by E. García Ruiz, "Estudio linguístico de las defixiones latinas no incluidas en el corpus de Audollent," *Emerita* 35, 1967 (pp. 55–89), p. 55,

outside the Agora area over a thousand examples have come to light; of those whose find-spots can be identified (*ca.* 625) about half (*ca.* 325) come from tombs and cemeteries, others largely from such underground bodies of water as wells (at least 200), baths (12), fountains (6), a spring (1), and a cistern (1), and from sanctuaries of Demeter (*ca.* 60).³ Comparanda from these sites suggest then that the presence of the Agora's numerous defixiones in its bodies of water is not remarkable. It is not immediately evident, however, whether the tablets were *in situ* when they were discovered there, for in none of these bodies do the pottery and other objects among which the tablets were found make it clear whether or not the tablets were, for example, discarded there from elsewhere as debris.⁴ The texts, however, are more informative: the Agora's 1st-century defixio from a cistern addresses the *κύριαι νύμφαι*, no doubt believed to be resident in the cistern's waters, and the 3rd-century tablets from Wells IV and V have texts with phrases like *ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα* (presumably those written on the tablets) *ψύχεται, οὕτω καὶ Ἀλκιδάμου ψυχέισθω τὸ ὄνομα*, etc. (6, lines 27–29); these latter defixiones are examples of sympathetic magic,⁵ the phrase referring no doubt to the chill of the lead itself or of the water in the wells. In addition, a tablet that is in many respects a congener of those published here, IL 1737 (see Appendix, pp. 251–255 below) from Well VII, preserves, unfortunately in a context that is not legible because of

note 1, and H. Solin, *Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia* (= *CommHumLitt* 42, fasc. 3), Helsinki 1968, "Anhang," pp. 23–31. The best introduction to defixiones and discussion of their importance is +K. Preisendanz, "Fluchtafel (Defixion)," *RAC* VIII, Stuttgart 1972, cols. 1–24, where the pertinent bibliography is cited.

³ Defixiones from tombs and cemeteries are too numerous to list here: see my forthcoming "Survey". Defixiones from wells include two from Isthmia (announced by O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, II, *Topography and Architecture*, Princeton 1973, p. 115, late Roman) and five from Antioch (unpublished, late Roman). Also from wells are two examples from the Athenian Kerameikos (K. Braun, "Der Dipylon-Brunnen B₁," *AthMitt* 85, 1970 [pp. 129–269], p. 197, late 4th century B.C.), but it is argued elsewhere ("TILT," pp. 232–233) that they were not *in situ* when found. Audollent 22–37 plus some 185 unpublished fragments (British Museum inv. nos. 1891.4–18.18–39, Cyprus, Roman Imperial), according to a letter of July 14, 1890, in the records of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum, from Capt. Gerald S. Handcock to A. S. Murray, then Keeper of the Department, were found "by some natives who were clearing out an ancient shaft . . . at about 90 feet down, under a heap of bones." But their evidence, too, is ambiguous, for although the depth of the shaft suggests that it was presumably a well, the tablets may have been deposited there not because of some magical property of the well qua well but because of the presence of the bones (if, that is, the bones were human) or may have been dumped into the shaft, along with the bones, as debris from a grave. Defixiones from baths include Audollent 104, 105 (Bath, 2nd century), 114–120 (Bebryces) if genuine, and 124–126 (Volaterrae); those from fountains, four from Corinth (announced by J. Wiseman, "The Gymnasium Area at Corinth, 1969–1970," *Hesperia* 41, 1972 [pp. 1–42], pp. 9–42, late Roman) and two from Carthage (*SEG* IX, 837, 838, late Roman). Audollent 129 (near Arretium, 1st century) comes from a spring, and from a cistern comes a tablet published by H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner, "Two Curse Tablets from Beisan," *TAPA* 68, 1937 (pp. 43–77, 128), pp. 52–72, 128 (Nysa/Skythopolis, 4th century). For a list of defixiones from sanctuaries of Demeter see "TILT," p. 231, note 23.

⁴ As for objects in Well V in particular, see pp. 212–213 below.

⁵ W. S. Fox ("Submerged tabellae defixionum," *AJP* 33, 1912, pp. 301–310) has thus convincingly explained the custom of sinking lead tablets into wells. He has adduced not only many of the tablets cited in footnote 3 above but also much comparative material from European and Eastern cultures. To the last may be added an interesting account of wells around Bombay, by R. P. Masani, *Folklore of Wells, Being a Study of Water-Worship in East and West*, Bombay 1918, in a virtually inaccessible volume (partly available, however, in a French translation by L. Morin, "Le folklore des puits dans l'Inde et spécialement à Bombay," *RHR* 103–104, 1931, pp. 221–271). For ancient sympathetic magic in general see T. Hopfner, "Mageia," *RE* XIV, Stuttgart 1928 (cols. 301–393), cols. 311–315. See also note *f*, pp. 241–242 below.

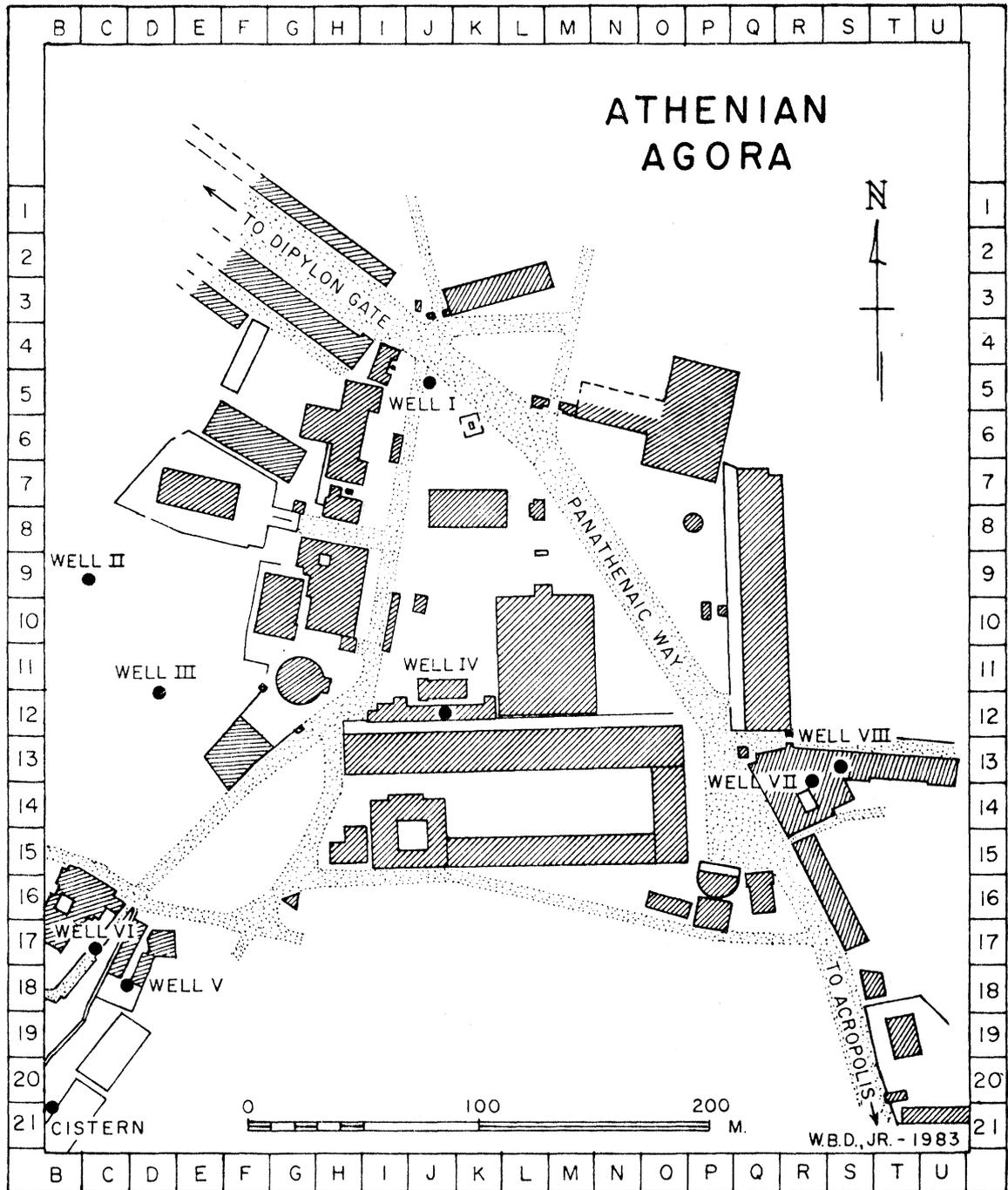


FIG. 1. Wells and cistern with lead curse tablets

TABLE 1: Underground Bodies of Water in the Athenian Agora that have Yielded Defixiones

	Location (see Fig. 1)	Context of defixiones	Number of defixiones	Inventory numbers and bibliography of defixiones
Well I*	J 5:1†	Late 4th and 3rd century B.C.	17	IL 1695, IL 1703–IL 1718
Well II	C 9:16	1st or 2nd century	1	IL 493 (ed. G. W. Elderkin, <i>Hesperia</i> 6 1937, pp. 389–395 [photograph, fig. 2]; cf. J. and L. Robert, <i>BullEp</i> 1938, p. 23, D. R. Jordan, <i>Glotta</i> 58, 1980, pp. 62–65 [= <i>SEG</i> XXX, 326], and <i>Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World</i> , H. S. Versnel, ed. [= <i>Studies in Greek and Roman Religion</i> II], Leiden 1981, pp. 22–23; for a partial drawing see <i>Picture Books of the Athenian Agora</i> no. 19, ill. 37)
Cistern	B 21:1	Late 1st or early 2nd century	1	IL 976
Well III	D 12:1	Late 2nd or 3rd century	2	IL 372 (ed. G. W. Elderkin, <i>Hesperia</i> 6, 1937, pp. 384–389 [photograph, p. 382, fig. 1, IL], 391
Well IV	J 12:2	Late 2nd or 3rd century	44 plus many fragments	IL 64–IL 107 (announced by T. L. Shear, <i>AJA</i> 37, 1933, p. 548, <i>Hesperia</i> 4, p. 325. IL 72, ed. G. W. Elderkin, <i>Hesperia</i> 5, 1936, pp. 43–49 [photograph, p. 44], D. R. Jordan, <i>ZPE</i> 19, 1975, pp. 245–248; cf. J. and L. Robert, <i>BullEp</i> 1976, p. 48)
Well V	C 18:2	Second half of 1st through first half of 3rd century	17	IL 948 + 949, IL 950–II 964, 1000 (IL 948 + 949, IL 950–IL 960, IL 964, IL 1000 edited here)
Well VI	C 17:3	3rd century (Heru- lian destruction fill)	1	IL 1049
Well VII	R 13:10	3rd century	1	IL 1737 (see Appendix)
Well VIII	S 13:1	Late 3rd to early 5th century	1	IL 1722

*The Roman numerals I–VIII above are assigned to the wells simply for the sake of convenience in the present publication. The wells are not so designated in other literature about the Athenian Agora.

†In locations given in the form J 5:1 the letter and number refer to the grid pattern as given in Figure 1, and the number after the colon is the number that the excavators have assigned to the deposit within that square. For these deposits there exist summaries in the excavation records in the Stoa of Attalos, from which I have taken the information about the dates of the contexts given above.

TABLE 2: Concordance of Defixiones in Table 1 and their Findspots

Inv. No.	Findspot	Inv. No.	Findspot
IL 64–IL107	Well IV	IL 1000	Well V
IL 372	Well III	IL 1049	Well VI
IL 391	Well III	IL 1695	Well I
IL 493	Well II	IL 1703–IL1718	Well I
IL 948 + 949	Well V	IL 1722	Well VIII
IL 950–IL 964	Well V	IL 1737	Well VII
IL 976	Cistern at B 21:1		

encrustation, the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\hat{\omega}\ \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau[\iota]$. We may then with some confidence infer that in at least the 1st and the 3rd centuries of our era underground bodies of water in the area of the Agora were considered magically appropriate repositories for defixiones and may assume that the 1st- and 3rd-century tablets found in them were in fact *in situ*.⁶ Similar inferences may be drawn from texts of 2nd-century defixiones found at Bath and near Arretium and from that of a 5th- or 6th-century example found at Corinth.⁷

If defixiones were deliberately deposited in underground bodies of water in the Agora, who put them there? Here again the answer must be elicited from the texts themselves. The handwriting shows that the texts from Well V were written by two or possibly three persons. Let us call them *A*, *B*, and *C*. *A*, whose skillful, elegant, fluent semicursive (see Pls. 65–68)

⁶ The inference would not be necessarily valid, however, for the 17 considerably earlier defixiones, of the 4th or the 3rd century B.C., found in Well I among much pottery that had evidently been cleared out from a near-by rectangular shrine, which is described by T. L. Shear, Jr., “The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972,” *Hesperia* 42, 1973 (pp. 359–407), pp. 360–369. Although there is no explicit evidence for the identity of who was worshiped at the shrine, votive deposits found within it show that its cult was female (Shear, p. 369). H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley (*The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972, p. 123) tentatively identify the site as the Leokorion, although they point out that there are objections that can be raised to such an identification. Sanctuaries of Demeter have yielded some sixty defixiones (footnote 3 above); sanctuaries of other identifiable deities or heroines, none. The defixiones from Well I are badly damaged, several of them not yet unrolled, and their texts that have been read have not revealed the name of any deity, hero, or heroine, but if it was Demeter who was worshiped at the rectangular shrine, the presence of the defixiones among pottery from the shrine is easily paralleled. One should avoid using the deposit of the defixiones, however, for inferences about the identity of the shrine’s deity or heroines, for Well I also contained objects obviously dumped from elsewhere than the rectangular shrine, e.g. 111 inscribed lead tablets, probably from the Hipparcheion, recording the values of the horses of the Attic cavalry (J. Kroll, “An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry,” *Hesperia* 46, 1977, pp. 83–140, esp. p. 84); the defixiones too may have been dumped into the well from some place other than the shrine. In any case, one would not be justified in assuming that the defixiones from Well I were necessarily found *in situ* there.

⁷ Bath: R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, I, Oxford 1965, pp. 49–50, no. 154, with the phrase *qu[i] mihi Vilbiam in[v]olavit, sic liquat com[o](do) aqua*. Near Arretium: Audolent 129 (from a spring, 2nd century), with a man’s name followed by the phrase *hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico, uti vos, Aquàe ferventes, siv[e] v]os, Nimfas (sic), [si]ve quo alio nomine voltis adpel[l]ari*, etc. Corinth: MF 69–118 (5th or 6th century), from the “Fountain of the Lamps”, announced by J. Wiseman, *op. cit.* (footnote 3 above), addressed to the $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\sigma\chi\upsilon\rho\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\iota$.

is to be recognized in defixiones invoking Seth-Typhon that were found in Wells III (IL 372) and VII (IL 1737) and in some found in Well IV,⁸ inscribed 12 tablets (1–12) from Well V. They consist of 11 invocations of Seth-Typhon, six of them (1–6) spells to spoil the performances of athletes, three of them (7–9) spells to upset amatory relations, and the remaining two (10, 11) too fragmentary to reveal their purposes; they also include an invocation of an unnamed ghost (12). **8** was intended to interrupt the relations of a pair of lovers named Juliana and Polynikos and no doubt to benefit one or more persons interested in either or both of the two; **9** was intended to stop the advances of two men, Leosthenes and Pius, towards the same Juliana and to cool their interest in her. It seems reasonable to assume that *A* was not writing simply on his⁹ own behalf against all these people but rather as a professional. Magic as a professional practice in the Agora should not surprise us, for Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* tells us of a mysterious juggler who could be hired in front of the Stoa Poikile to make persons appear out of thin air (1.4), and one of the speakers in Lucian's *Dialogues of Courtesans* recommends a witch near the Kerameikos who for a drachma and a loaf would bring back lost lovers with her spells (4.4); these are of course characters from fiction, but their authors must have meant them to appear to their 2nd-century readers acceptably verisimilar.¹⁰ *A*'s texts, which are for the most part formulaic, show certain inconsistencies that suggest, as I shall try to show below, that he consulted, at least from time to time, a written model, possibly a handbook for practicing magicians. *B*'s writing (Fig. 2) is crude, his letters uneven in size and evidently executed with little confidence. I assign at least one tablet from Well IV to him. His one text (13) from Well V follows the same formula as *A*'s invocations of Seth-Typhon: he and *A* were evidently using the same model or copies of the same model. We may wonder if he was *A*'s apprentice. I tentatively posit the existence of a third writer, *C*, because the script on the remaining tablet (14), while similar to *A*'s, appears somewhat more florid; the tablet, however, is badly encrusted, with the result that it is difficult to get a clear idea of the hand's character;¹¹ its text may in fact be another example of *A*'s work. In any case, the part of it that is legible does not follow the formula of any of the other texts from the well.

⁸ It is to be hoped that eventually more of Well IV's texts will become legible as the science of the treatment of lead advances and that they can be published before too long. The tablets are so badly corroded and often so fragmentary that it is difficult to assess the handwriting with any confidence; many of them, because of their fragility, are still as they were found, rolled up. As for the tablets illustrated here (Pls. 65–68), if the writing on 7 and IL 1737 has a somewhat lacier, more delicate appearance than that on 8 and 9, it is probably because the instrument used for inscribing 7 had a thinner point or the lead of 7 was somewhat softer.

⁹ When referring to *A*, *B*, or *C*, I use the masculine pronoun simply for the sake of convenience. Unless the suggestion (pp. 233–236 below) that *A* was a trained scribe and that *B* was *A*'s apprentice makes it unlikely, they may one or all have been female, as was Lucian's witch referred to below. One immediately thinks of the sorceresses in Theokritos' second *Idyll* and of Pamphile, with her *laminae litteratae*, in Apuleius' novel (3.17). S. G. Cole, "Could Greek Women Read and Write?" in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, H. P. Foley, ed., New York/London/Paris 1981, pp. 219–245, cites (p. 230) the female(?) *μολυβδοκόπος* ("inscriber of lead defixiones"?) of Wunsch 100.

¹⁰ For some discussion of the figure of the practicing magician in antiquity see M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, San Francisco 1978, chaps. 6 and 7, pp. 81–139.

¹¹ I regret that I cannot illustrate the hand. The letters on 14 are too faintly incised to be traced or photographed.

As for the date of Well V's tablets, the well itself was in use from the second half of the 1st through the first half of the 3rd century of our era.¹² I am reluctant to try to assign, on the basis of the handwriting on the tablets, any closer date than "late Roman", for the only reliably dated bodies of handwriting of the period are on papyrus and pottery. Writing on lead is generally less cursive than writing on these other materials, as if writing on lead was a slower process; therefore the medium may have influenced the character of the tablets' handwriting, and comparison of forms, slant, general fluidity, and the like of letters written on lead with those on papyrus or pottery may be misleading. Nor have I had any success in identifying with known persons the intended victims of the tablets; this is chiefly because with the exception of the ephebe Attalos son of Attalos in 4¹³ the persons whose lineage is recorded on the tablets are given not paternal but, what is commoner in defixiones of the 2nd century and afterwards, maternal lineage (see note *e* below, p. 241). The result is that it would be premature to equate any of the persons named on the tablets with persons named in stone inscriptions, which usually give patronymics if they note lineage. From phrases at 6, lines 13/14 (see the note *ad loc.*) and 25/26 we may tentatively infer that the athlete Alkidamos, 6's intended victim, was about to compete in the Athenaia or the Panathenaia, games last explicitly attested in 255/6 (*IG II*², 2245) and in 263/4 or 267/8 (*Hesperia* 11, 1942, pp. 71–74, no. 37) respectively;¹⁴ if Alkidamos was in fact about to compete in either of these games, and if the custom of the games died out about the time of these last epigraphical attestations of them, then we may regard these dates as approximate latter *termini* for the inscribing of the tablets. On the context of the tablets within the well itself, Mr. Thompson has been kind enough to contribute the following note: "The curses were found at the

¹² Well V served a house of Roman date built above the ruins of the "Poros Building", which is described by M. Crosby, *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 168–187 (plan, p. 169); for arguments for the use of the building in classical times see E. Vanderpool, "The State Prison of Athens," in *From Athens to Gordion, the Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young* (= *University Museum Papers I*), K. DeVries, ed., Philadelphia 1980, pp. 17–31. There is, however, no evident connection between the magical use of the well and the function(s) of the earlier or later construction.

¹³ There in fact existed an Attalos son of Attalos who appears in a list of ephebes of 238/9 or 241/2, *IG II*², 2239, line 156 (for the date of which see Follet, p. 84), but the Attalos of the defixio is of course not necessarily the Attalos of the stone inscription.

¹⁴ The dates of these inscriptions are assigned by Follet, pp. 320 and 340. There may be a later artistic reference to the Panathenaic games: H. A. Thompson ("Activities in the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia* 29, 1960 [pp. 327–368], p. 366) has published the preserved "lower part of a large amphora-like vessel . . ." with an open bottom, decorated with "a nude male figure, holding some slender object in his hand. On the opposite side is preserved the lower part of a long-robed figure, presumably female. . . . The context provided by the well" in which it was found, "as also [its] floral ornament, would point to a date in the early 4th century after Christ. As to the purpose of the vase, one can scarcely avoid association with the Panathenaics; the male figure is clearly an athlete bearing the palm of victory, and the female figure may be a last pitiful representation of Athena. If it is indeed to be considered as a prize vase, its function, in view of the open bottom, must be considered as purely symbolic." *IG II*², 3818, cited by Thompson, an epigram honoring a man named Plutarch for thrice paying for the sacred ship in the Panathenaic procession, is assigned by P. Graindor (*Album d'inscriptions antiques d'époque impériale . . .* [= *Recueil de travaux publics par la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Gand LIII–LIV*], Gand/Paris 1924, no. 114) to the beginning of the 5th century, and by J. Kirchner, editor of *IG II*², to *ante med. s. V p.*, on the basis of its letter forms. If their 5th-century datings are right, the inscription provides a late attestation for the celebration of the festival. I should prefer, in view of the lack of explicit mention of the games in the inscription honoring Plutarch, to suspend judgment as to whether they were still included in the celebrations at such a late date.

level [in Well V] where the upper (dumped) fill changed to the fill of the period of use containing whole pots. One may assume therefore that they were dropped in while the well was still open and probably still in use, *i.e.* in all likelihood before A.D. 267, when the area was devastated. In my opinion one could put the date of deposit around the middle of the 3rd cent." *A*'s texts were presumably all more or less contemporary with one another; in Table 1 we see that Well VII's tablet, another of *A*'s productions, was also found in a 3rd-century context. *B*'s and *C*'s curses from Well V were found mingled among *A*'s and were no doubt contemporary with his.

Below I present (I) *A*'s texts: (A) his curses directed against athletes (1–6) and (B) lovers (7–9), (C) his two fragmentary curses of unclear purpose (10, 11), and (D) his invocation of a ghost (12), with some notes on the peculiarities and problems in the individual texts; I then (E) discuss *A*'s use of a formulary and print his formulaic texts together in parallel form, with notes (pp. 240–247, lettered *a* through *q*) on the magical and other matter that the texts have in common. There follow (II) *B*'s and (III) *C*'s texts with notes and also an appendix with a preliminary text of IL 1737 from Well VII, inscribed by *A*. I consider that the main contribution that I offer below is the transcribing of these often quite difficult texts. My notes on their syncretic theology, if one may use such a term for what their medleys of magical names and such imply, are necessarily tentative, and I leave chiefly to others the challenge of further interpretation.

In editing the texts I follow the Leiden Convention but introduce one sign, [?], that is not in common use.* The writing on the tablets is often irregularly spaced, and in damaged areas, especially in passages whose sense is obscure, it is occasionally impossible to know whether to assume a lost letter; [?] is meant to express the uncertainty. I would remind readers that [^{ca}3] means that approximately three letters are lost; ^{ca}3, on the other hand, without the rectangular brackets, means that traces of approximately three letters survive but are too indistinct to be individually described. In several passages the surfaces of the tablets are too damaged for words to be discerned or restored; if these are passages of Greek prose rather than of magical appellatives, I print the readable letters in capitals so as not to prejudice the articulation; when magical appellatives have been so damaged (as in 12), I print them in lower-case letters, there being little likelihood that they will be mistaken for Greek words. I dot all letters whose traces, if viewed out of context, would be compatible with more than one reading; only when in my opinion the dotted readings given in the printed texts are not guaranteed by context or parallels do I list the other possibilities, however. I regret that it has been impossible, because most of the surfaces are badly corroded or encrusted or because their letters are too faintly incised for photography or tracing, to illustrate more than a few of the inscriptions from the well.

I. CURSES INSCRIBED BY *A*

A. HIS CURSES DIRECTED AGAINST ATHLETES

Of *A*'s six curses intended to harm athletes, five (1–5) are directed against wrestlers, the sixth (6) against a racer.

* [Where the number of missing letters is clear, they are indicated here by subscript dots.—Ed.]

There are numerous published defixiones that may be cited as parallels to *A*'s curses against athletes. Among them those intended to affect the performances of charioteers are the most abundant: there are the well-known groups from Carthage (Audollent 232–244; *SEG IX*, 837, 838; 2nd or 3rd century?), Hadrumetum (Audollent 272–295; A. Grenier, *MélRome* 25, 1905, pp. 56–61; A. Audin, *BAntFr*, 1952/53, p. 180; 2nd or 3rd century?), and Rome (Audollent 159–187, *ca.* A.D. 400), as well as scattered examples from Lepcis Magna (J. Rea, *Libya Antiqua* 9–10, 1972–1973, pp. 92–96, 4th century), Berytos (*SEG VII*, 213, 2nd or 3rd century?), and Damaskos (*SEG VII*, 234, 4th century). From Caerleon in Wales (R. Egger, *ÖJh* 35, 1943, pp. 108–110, 1st century?) and from Carthage (Audollent 246–254, 2nd or 3rd century?) are also defixiones against *venatores* of the arena, and from Oxyrhynchos (Wortmann 12, 4th century) there is one against runners. As far as I know, Greece outside the Agora, however, has yielded only two defixiones against athletes, one from Corinth (MF-69-114, announced by J. Wiseman, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 33, late Roman), intended to affect a performance ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ but only partly read as yet, and another, from Isthmia (IM-2820, announced by O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, II, *Topography and Architecture*, Princeton 1973, p. 115, late Roman), against runners.¹⁵ So far, the Agora has yielded apparently the only defixiones against wrestlers.

1–3, each directed against a wrestler named Eutyechian, may well have the same athlete as their target: the Eutyechian of 1 is given maternal lineage and his trainer(?) Aithales is alluded to; that of 2 is identified only as a *παλαιστής* who is to compete against a Secundus; and that of 3 is identified as a pupil of Aithales who is to compete against a Hegoumenos. The identifications do not, of course, rule out the possibility that three separate persons named Eutyechian were among *A*'s intended victims.

1. Against Eutyechian

H. 0.115, W. 0.139 m.

Av. L. H. 0.0025 m.

Inv. No. IL 950

ca. med. III *p.*

Βωρφορβαβαρβ[ο][ρ][β]αβα[ρφο]ρβαβορβορβαϊη κραταιὲ Βετπυτ,

παραδίδωμί σοι Εὐτυχιανόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία, [ἴ]να κατα-

ψύξης αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ἰς τ[ὸν] ζοφώ-

δη σου ἀέρα καὶ τ[ο]ὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Δῆς ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης

5 ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξης καὶ ἀπολέσης

καὶ τὴν πάλην, ἣν μέλλει παλαίειν ἐν τῷ ΔΗ-

[¹⁻²] ΕΙ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ. Ἐὰν δὲ κα[ί]

παλαίῃ, ἵνα ἐκπέση καὶ ἀσχημονήσῃ, Μοξο[υ-]

νη Αλχεινη Πε[ρ]περθαρωνα Ιαια, παραδίδω[μί]

10 [σοι] Εὐτυχιανόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία. Κρα-

[ταιέ] Τυφῶν Κολχλοι Τουτονον Σηθ Σαθ[αωχ]

Εα, Ἄναξ Απομξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψ[ύξι]

¹⁵ These remarks about the difficult examples from Corinth and Isthmia are based on my own preliminary autopsy.

Εὐτυχιανῶ, οὗ ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία, Κολχοιχ[ειλ]ψ, [ψυ-]
 γήτ[ω] Ε[ὐ]τυχιανὸς καὶ μὴ εὐτονείτ[ω]
 15 [ἐν] τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ, ἀλλὰ γενέ[σθω]
 ἔγλυτος. Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύ[χε-]
 τα<ι>, οὕτω ψυχέσθω Εὐτυχιανός, ὃν [ἐ-]
 τεκεν Εὐτυχία, ὃν ἀπολύει Αἰθάλης.

Lines 3, 4. ἰς: εἰς

Line 12. ψ[ύξι]: -ξει

Line 15. παρασκευῇ: -σκευῇ

Line 16. ἔγλυτος: ἔκλ-

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Betpyt, I hand over to you Eutyechian, whom Eutychia bore, that you may chill him and his purposes, and in your dark air also those with him. Bind in the unilluminated *aïðn* of oblivion and chill and destroy also the wrestling that he is going to do in the . . . this coming Friday. And if he does wrestle, in order that he may fall and disgrace himself, Mozoune Alcheine Perpertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Eutyechian, whom Eutychia bore. Mighty Typhon Kolchoi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over the blacking out and chilling of Eutyechian, whom Eutychia bore, Kolchoicheilops, let Eutyechian grow cold and not be strong this coming Friday, but let him be weak. As these names grow cold, so let Eutyechian grow cold, whom Eutychia bore, whom Aithales promotes.”

Lines 6/7. ΔΗ/[¹⁻²ΕΙ] (Η or Ι; ΕΙ or Ω): The possible topographical reference, likelier here than a reference to a festival, since the latter would have a plural name (cf. Ἰαδριάνεια, Παναθήναια, *vel sim.*), is tantalizing. The traces are compatible with a reading Δη/[λί]ψ, which may refer to one of the Delia in Attica (see O. Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros*, Wiesbaden 1962, pp. 40–41, for a summary of the often disputed evidence for them), but I have not been able to find any explicit indication that athletic contests took place at any of these sites.

Lines 7, 15. ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ (line 15: -ινῇ) “this coming Friday”: There is ample evidence that the seven-day week was in popular use in the Greek and Roman world by at least the 2nd century: see F. Boll, “Hebdomas,” *RE VII*, Stuttgart 1912 (cols. 2547–2578), cols. 2573–2575, and W. Kubitschek, *Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung* (= *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft I*, vii), Munich 1928, pp. 30–38. We may compare Audollent 253, lines 10/11 in *ζιε / Merccuri* (Carthage, 2nd or 3rd century? See “*QPVVLLVA*”, p. 129, note 4, for the date), referring to the day on which its intended victim, a charioteer, is to compete.

Line 18. The meaning of the phrase ὃν ἀπολύει Αἰθάλης is not clear to me. At 3, line 2 we learn that a wrestler Eutyechian, possibly the same athlete as this tablet’s intended victim, is the *μαθητής* of Aithales (see the note *ad loc.*). Ἀπολύω usually means “undo”, “release”, “set free”, “discharge”, “dismiss”, and the like; it may also mean “pay” (e.g. *Tebtunis Papyri* 490a, 1st century), “sell” (e.g. Antiphon, v.20), or possibly “defray the expenses of” (G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, “Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia,” *AnatStud* 12, 1962 (pp. 185–217), p. 199, no. 16, lines 15/16 [Kilikia, Roman?]). In none of these meanings does the verb describe the usual activities of the trainer, unless it is here a *terminus technicus* of the athletic world and “release” can be understood in the pregnant sense of “present” for the competition or “enter” someone in the competition (after releasing/promoting him from training?). I provisionally translate “promotes” but should welcome a better explanation of the verb.

2. Against Eutychian

H. 0.146, W. 0.059 m.

Av. L. H. 0.0025 m.

Inv. No. IL 960

ca. med. III p.

- Βωρφορβαβαρφορβαβαρφορβαβαρβορβαβαίη κραταιέ
 Βετπυ, παραδίδωμί σοι Εὐτυχιαν{τ'}ὸν <τ>ὸ<ν> μέλλοντα παλαί-
 ιω Σεκοῦνδω, ἵνα καταψύξης Εὐτυχιανὸν κα[ι] τὴν
 γυνώμ[ην] κα[ι] τ[ὴν] δύναμιν, τὴν ἰσχύν, τὴν πάλην,
 5 καὶ ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Δῆ[ις] [ἰς]
 τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ καταψ[ύ]ξης
 καὶ ἀπολέση[ς] καὶ τὴν πάλην Εὐτυχιανοῦ πα-
 λαιστοῦ. Ἐὰν πρὸς Σεκοῦνδον καταψύξης καὶ μ[ὴ] ἀφῆ[ς]
 [Εὐ]τυχιαν[ὸ]ν παλαῖσαι, ἵνα ἐκπέση καὶ ἀσχημο[ν]ή-
 10 [σ]η, Μ[ορζ]ουνη Αλχεινη Πεπερθαρωνα Ιαια, π[αρα]-
 δ[ίδω]μί σοι Εὐτυχιανόν. Κραταιέ Τυφῶ[ν] Κολ-
 [χ]λο[ι]χειλωψ, ψυγῆτω Εὐτυχιανὸς π[α]λαι-
 στή[ς]. Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, ο[ύ]τως ψυ-
 γῆτω Εὐτυχιανοῦ τὸ [δ]ύ[ο]μα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐ-
 15 πι[σ]τομ[π]ή, ἡ ἐπιστ[ή]μη[ς], ὁ λογισμὸς, ἡ ἐ[πισ]τήμη. Ἔστω κωφός,
 ἀλαλο[ς], ἄλινος, ἀκέραιος, μήτε παλαίω[ν] μηδενί.]

Lines 2/3. παλαί/ιω: -ειω

Line 5. ἰς, line 6. [ἰς]: εἰς

Line 14. Εὐτυχιανοῦ: final *v* corrected from *s*.

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Betsy, I hand over to you Eutychian, who is going to wrestle with Secundus, that you may chill Eutychian and his purposes and his power, his strength, his wrestling, and in your dark air also those with him. Bind in the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion and chill and destroy also the wrestling of Eutychian, wrestler. If with regard to Secundus you chill him and do not allow Eutychian to wrestle, in order that he may fall and disgrace himself, Morzoune Alcheine Perpertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Eutychian. Mighty Typhon, Kolchoicheilops, let Eutychian the wrestler grow cold. As these names grow cold, so let Eutychian’s name and breath, impulse, charm, knowledge, reckoning, knowledge grow cold. Let him be deaf, dumb, mindless, harmless, and not fighting against anyone.”

Line 2. EYTYXIAN^TONO tablet, the T squeezed in above the N and the O: Evidently the writer sought to correct his mistake but only made matters worse by inserting T in the wrong place. The tablet is rather carelessly written, as an evident omission in line 8 or 9 and another mistake, Εὐτυχιανός in line 14, corrected to the genitive, suggest.

Line 8. ἀφῆ[ς] or ἐάση[ς].

Lines 8/9. The writer seems to have omitted something here, as comparison with the parallel texts in section E suggests (see p. 237 below). The translation above is meant simply to represent what is on the tablet, without repairing the error. [M. Smith suggests that the original sense ran: “If <he is going to wrestle> with Secundus, chill <him> and do not allow Eutychian to wrestle, <and if he does wrestle>” (i.e. reading in line 9 παλαῖσαι. <Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ παλαίη,>) “may he fall and disgrace himself.”]

Line 16. *μήτε παλαίω[ν μηδενί]* does not occur in the well's other texts, but cf. the participles at the ends of **4**, **6**, **8–11**. I offer *μηδενί* simply by way of example; *πρώτως* would also be appropriate (cf. **4**, lines 20/21), and with a little squeezing *Σεκούνδω* might fit. The traces of *ω[* may be read *σα[*, which would also allow a restoration *παλαίσα[ι ισχύων]*: cf. **4**, lines 20/21, *μη ισχυέτω πρώ/τως* [*παλαίειν*, lines 26/27, *μη / ισχύων όλως μηδέν*, **6**, line 12, *μη ισχύων όλως μηδενί* [*παλαίσαι* (?)].

Line 15. The parallels as set out in section E show that *A* or his model did not object to repeating such nouns as *ἐπιπομπή* and *ἐπιστήμη* in this sequence.

3. Against Eutyechian

H. 0.073, W. 0.0125 m.

Av. L. H. 0.002 m.

Inv. No. IL 957

ca. med. III *p.*

- [-- *ca.* 7 --] βαβαρφαβω[ρ]β[ω]ρβορβαβαιη κ[ραταιέ Βεπτυ,] πα[ραδί-]
 [δ]ωμί σοι Εὐτυχιανὸν τὸν Αἰθάλους μαθητήν, ὅπ[ως κατα]ψύξῃς [αὐτὸν]
 καὶ ἀπολ[έση]ς [καὶ ποιήσης] ἄτονον, ἄνου, ἀκέ[ραιον, καὶ] ἰς τὸν [ζοφώ-]
 δη σου ἀέ[ρα] καὶ τὴν πάλην, ἣν μέλλει παλαίσαι Εὐτυχιανός, καὶ το[ύς]
 5 σὺν αὐ[τῷ]. Δῆς ἰς τὸν τῆς [λή]θ[η]ς ἀφώτιστον αἰῶ[να] καὶ κ[ατα-]
 ψήξῃς καὶ ἀπολέσης καὶ τὴν π[άλην, ἣν μέλλει Εὐτυχιανός]
 παλαίσ[α]ι πρὸς Ἡγουμένον ΗΙΣΤΟΗΝ[---- *ca.* 10 ----, ὅπως μὴ δύνη-]
 ται παλαίσαι. [Ἐ]ἄ[ν] δὲ καὶ πα[λ]αίη, ἵνα π[έ]ση κα[ὶ] ἀσχη[μονή]ση, Μορζου-]
 [νη Αλχειν]η Πεπερθαρρωνα Ιαία, π[α]ρ[α]δίδωμί σοι [Εὐ]τ[ι]χιανόν. Κρα-]
 10 [ταίε Τυ]φῶν Κολχλοῖ Τον[τονον] Σηθ Σαθαοχ Εα, [Ἄναξ Απομξ]
 [Φριουρι]γξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύ[ξι], Κο[λ]χοιχει[λ]ωψ, ψυ[γῆ]τω Εὐ-]
 [τι]χιανός [καὶ ---- *ca.* 27 ----, Ὄς] τα[ῦτα] τὰ ὀ-]
 νόματα ψ[ύ]χεται, οὐ[τ]ω[ς] κα[ὶ] Εὐ[τ]ιχι[α]νο[υ] ψ[υ]χέσθω [τὸ ὄνομα καὶ]
 ἡ ψυχή, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπιπομπή, ὁ νο[ῦ]ς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπι-]
 15 [πουπή, ὁ λογισμός. Ἐ]στω ἄνου, ἀκέ[ρ]αιος, μηδὲν ἀκούων, [μήτε]
 [ὀργιζό]μενος, μήτε [----- *max. ca.* 31 -----]

Line 2. Εὐτυχιανού; line 4. Εὐτυχιανός; line 6. [Εὐτυχιανός]; lines 11/12. Εὐ/τιχιανός; line 13.

Εὐ[τ]ιχι[α]νο[υ]: -τυχ-

Line 3. ἰς, line 5. ἰς: εἰς

Line 14. ἐπιπομπή; lines 14/15. [ἐπι/πουπή: -μπή

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Bepty, I hand over to you Eutyechian, the pupil of Aithales, that you may chill him and destroy (him) and make (him) slack, mindless, harmless, and in your dark air also the wrestling that Eutyechian is going to do, and those with him. Bind in the unilluminated *aidōn* of oblivion and chill and destroy also the wrestling that Eutyechian is going to do with Hegoumenos . . . , so that he cannot wrestle. And if he does wrestle, in order that he may fall and disgrace himself, Morzoune Alcheine Pepertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Eutyechian. Mighty Typhon Kolchloi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchoicheilops, let Eutyechian grow cold As these names grow cold, so too let Eutyechian’s name and breath, impulse, knowledge, charm, mind, knowledge, charm, reckoning grow cold. Let him be mindless, harmless, hearing nothing, neither having any impulse nor”

Line 2. *Εὐτυχιανόν* so spelled here but cf. *Εὐτυχ-* in **1** and **2**. It is unclear how the name was spelled elsewhere on this tablet, for it falls either in lacunae (lines 4, 6, 9, 12) or in a badly corroded area (line 13). I have restored the spelling *-τιχ-* in these instances, but internal consistency need not be assumed: cf. IL 1737, which curses one Tyche, *A* spelling the name six times with upsilon, once with iota.

τὸν Αἰθάλους μαθητήν: Aithales' pupil in the sense of his trainee? I do not find *μαθητήης* elsewhere with this meaning, but it seems a natural interpretation here.

Line 3. [*καὶ ποιήσης*] simply *exempli gratia*. *A* or the composer of the model that he used was elsewhere capable of omitting the objects of such verbs: cf. **4**, lines 9–14, **9**, lines 9/10. The omission should not be viewed as an eccentricity, however: cf., e.g., Plato, *Crito*, 54d5.

Line 4. *ἦν μέλλει παλαῖσαι Εὐτυχιανός* and lines 6/7, *ἦν μέλλει Εὐτυχιανός* / *παλαῖσ[α]* restored after **1**, line 6.

Line 7. *ΗΙΣΤΟΗΝ*[: Articulate *ἦ ἰς τὸ ΗΝ*] and assume a topographical reference? I have found no likely word beginning *ΗΝ-*, however.

Line 12. The meaning and the length of [*καὶ μὴ παλαίετω πρὸς Σεκοῦνδον*] *vel sim.* would be suitable, but the phrase does not appear in the well's parallels.

4. Against Attalos

H. 0.013, W. 0.097 m.

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 956

ca. med. III p.

<p>Βωρφορβα[-----<i>ca.</i>20-----] [βαβαιη κρατέε Βεπτν, παραδίδωμί σοι Ἄτταλ[ο]ν-----<i>ca.</i>18-----]</p> <p>4–9 <i>traces</i> 10 -----<i>ca.</i>20-----ΩΝΙΣΚ[.] 11 [¹⁻²] ἰς τὴν πάλην-----<i>ca.</i>12-----ΕΛΘΗ 12 <i>traces</i> 13 [²⁻³] ὄλωσ, ἀλλὰ πέση, Μονουνη] Αλχεινη [Πεπερθα]ρω[να] Ιαια, παραδίδωμί σοι Ἄτ- 15 ταλον τὸν ἔφηβον τὸν Ἄττάλου [νί]όν. Κρατέε Τυφῶν Κολχλοι Τοντο-</p>	<p>[νον Σηθ Σαθαω]χ Εα, Ἄναξ Απομξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει] καὶ ψύξει καὶ ἀνί- σχυῖ, Κολχοιχειλωψ, ψυγήτω Ἄττα- 20 λος ὁ ἔφηβος καὶ μὴ ἰσχυέτω πρῶ- τως [παλαί]ειν. Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχετε, οὕτως καὶ Ἄττάλου ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπιπομπή, ὁ νοῦς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογι- 25 σμός. Ἔστω κωφός, ἄλαλος, ἄνους, μὴ ὀρ- γιζόμενο[<i>s ca.</i>2]]ΟΙ[<i>ca.</i>2] πάλης, μὴ ἰσχύων ὄλωσ μηδέν.</p>
--	---

Line 2. [*κρατέε*]; line 16. *κρατέε*: *-ταιέ*

Line 22. *ψύχετε*: *-ται*

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Bepty, I hand over to you Attalos . . . in the wrestling . . . completely, but fall, Monoune Alcheine Pepertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Attalos the ephebe, son of Attalos. Mighty Typhon Kolchloi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling and powerlessness, Kolchoichei-lops, let Attalos the ephebe grow cold and do not let him wrestle (and come out) first. As these names grow cold, so too let Attalos’ name and breath, impulse, knowledge, reckoning grow cold. Let him be deaf, dumb, mindless, having no impulse . . . wrestling, not having any strength at all.”

Lines 10/11. E.g. *ἰσχ[ύ/ων, -ει, -η vel sim.] ἰς τὴν πάλην*.

Lines 14–16. *Ἄτ/ταλον τὸν ἔφηβον τὸν Ἄττάλου* / *[νί]όν*: See footnote 13 above for such an Attalos in an Attic ephebic list.

Lines 18/19. *ἀνί/σχυῖ*: The word is apparently unattested elsewhere as a noun.

5. Against Petres

H. 0.057, max. p.W. 0.198 m.

Av. L. H. 0.002 m.

Inv. No. IL 955

(For the text of 5, see p. 220)

Line 4. $\dot{\iota}\varsigma$: $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\varsigma$ Lines 9/10. $\psi\acute{\upsilon}$ /[$\xi\iota$]: $-\xi\epsilon\iota$

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie mighty Betsy, I hand over to you Petres the Makedonian . . . that you may chill . . . and those with him. Bind in the unilluminated air of oblivion and chill and destroy the wrestling . . . falling down and disgracing himself. And if indeed Petres the pupil of Dionysios does wrestle, in order that he may fall down and disgrace himself, Mozoune Alcheine Pepertharrona Iaia, I hand over to you Petres the pupil of Dionysios, who is to wrestle . . . the mode (?), the ordering (of his life?). Mighty Typhon Kolchloi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchloicheilops, let Petres grow cold As these names grow cold, so let the mind, the reckoning, the knowledge, the action (?), . . . grow cold, . . . but let him fall and disgrace himself.”

Line 1. Π[$\epsilon\tau\rho\eta$]ν τὸν Μακεδόν[α: Nowhere does the tablet fully preserve the intended victim’s name, but its incomplete iterations

1	Π[. . .]ν (acc.)
6	Π[. . . .] (Π or Τ; ϵ , σ , or σ)
7	Π[$\epsilon\tau$] . . .] (τ or π)
10	Π[. .]ρ[η]

leave no choices but Π[$\epsilon\pi\rho\eta$]ς or Π[$\epsilon\tau\rho\eta$]ς for the nominative form. There is apparently no sure instance of a Greek name beginning Π[$\epsilon\pi$ - (the name Π[$\epsilon\pi\rho$ - in a papyrus receipt, *BGU VII*, 1599, line 28 [Philadelphia, 1st century], may well be Egyptian, as the initial letters Π[ϵ - suggest) nor any attestation of a name Π[$\epsilon\tau\rho\eta$]ς. The latter, however it is to be accented, may be a congener of names like Πέτρος and Π[$\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha\dot{\iota}\omicron$]ς and is therefore restored here. Petres is the only person named in the well’s texts who is identified as a non-Athenian.

Line 3. AN[]N, ἀλλά: Cf. line 12,]ON, ἀλλά.

κ[αὶ κ]αταπίπτων does not occur in the parallels, but cf. line 6, [κατα]πίπτων and [κα]ταπέση.

Line 4. ἀφώτι]στον ἀέρα: The parallels have αἰῶνα here, but cf. 8, line 8 and 13 B, line 4: ἀέρα; see note *i*, p. 243 below.

Line 5. Ζήν]ωνος [ca. 3-]NAPIA[]KA [-2-3-]NH [-ca. 4-]: Ζήν]ωνος is restored from line 10, where it is also adjacent to a word with the letters NAPI. Zenon’s bearing on the curse is unclear.

Line 6. ἀ[σχημον]ῶν restored from lines 6/7, [κα]ταπέση / [καὶ ἀσ]χημονήση.

Δ[ιο]νυσίου μαθητής: Dionysios’ trainee (see note on 3, line 2 above)?

Line 8.]Z[or]Ξ[: E.g. Ζ[ή]νω]να, unless Ζ[ca. 2, ἴ]να [κ]ατ[αψύξ]ης is to be restored.

δ[ια]ίτην “mode of life” I restore here *exempli gratia*. Neither this noun nor τάξις, which follows, is found in the parallels.

Line 11. Possibly the intended victim’s name (genitive) rather than ψυχε(ί)σθω stood in the lacuna; here there is not enough room for both, although both occur in the parallels.

Lines 11/12. E.g. πρᾶξις or πρα/[γματεία, neither of them paralleled in the well’s texts, but cf. the use of the latter (plural) in another tablet written by A, IL 72, from Well IV.

6. Against Alkidamos

H. 0.223, W. 0.083 (top), 0.096 m. (bottom)

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

H. of lower margin 0.025 m.

Inv. No. IL 958

ca. med. III p.

[B]ορφορβαρβαρφορβαβαρ-
φορβαβορφορβαβαιη κρα-
ταιέ Βετπυ, παρ<α>δίδω-
μί σοι Ἀλκίδαμον, ὄν
5 ἔτεκεν Φ. ΥΣ. Α, ἵνα κα-
ταψύξης αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν
γνώμην, καὶ ἰς τὸν ζο-
φώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς
σὺν αὐτῷ. Δῆς ἰς τὸν
10 τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον
αἰῶν<α> καὶ καταψύξης
καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς ἐξενθεῖν
[τ]οῖς ὄρους Ἀθηναί-
ων. Ἐὰν δὲ κέ ἐξέρχη-
15 ται, ἵνα ἀπ[ο]κάμψη καὶ
ἀσχη[μονήση,] Μορζου-
νη Αλχεῖνη Πεπε[ρθαρων-]
α Ιαία, παραδίδωμί σοι]

Ἄλκ[ίδαμον.] Κραταῖε
20 Τυφ[ῶν] Κολχλο Ποντο-
νον Σηθ Σαθαοχ Εα,
Ἄναξ [Απ]ο[μ]ξ Φριουριγξ
ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξει Κολ-
χοιχειλωψ, ψυγήτω Ἄλκι-
25 δαμος καὶ μὴ ἐξερχέσθω
[τοῖς] ὄρους {ὄρους} Ἀθηναίων.
Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχε-
ται, οὕτω καὶ Ἀλκιδάμου
ψυχεῖσθω τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυ-
30 χή, ἡ ὄργη, ἡ ἐπιστήμη,
ὁ λογισμός. Ἔστω κωφός, ἄλα-
[λος,] ἄνους, ἀκέρεος, μὴδὲν ἀ-
κ[ο]ύων περὶ τοῦ Ἀπο[λλωνι-]
αν[οῦ], μῆτε ὀργιζόμενος πρὸς
35 Ἀπολ[λωνιανόν. vacat]

Lines 7, 9. ἰς: εἰς

Line 12. ἐξενθεῖν: -λθ-

Line 14. κέ: καὶ

Line 23. ψύξει: -ξει

Line 32. ἀκέρεος: -ραιος

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Betpy, I hand over to you Alkidamos, whom Ph–us–a bore, that you may chill him and his purposes, and in your dark air also those with him. Bind in the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion and chill (him) and do not allow him to get past the starting lines of the Athenaia. And if he does get past, in order that he may veer off course and disgrace himself, Morzoune Alcheine Pepertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Alkidamos. Mighty Typhon Kolchlo Pontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchoicheilops, let Alkidamos grow cold and do not let him get past the starting lines of the Athenaia. As these names grow cold, so too let Alkidamos’ name and breath, impulse, knowledge, reckoning grow cold. Let him be deaf, dumb, mindless, harmless, hearing nothing about Apollonian nor having any impulse against Apollonian.”

Line 5. Φ. ΥΣ. Α: Of the first letter represented by a dot there is a low loop opening into a corroded area at the upper right: α or ο. Of the second uncertain letter there is a vertical with possibly the beginning of a stroke rising to the right from its bottom: ι, κ, or τ. Φοῦσκα? Φαύστα?

Line 12. ἐξενθεῖν for ἐξελθεῖν: Assumption of the interchange of λ and ν (see Gignac, p. 109) is suggested by ἐξέρχη/ται in lines 14/15 and confirmed by ἐξερχέσθω in a similar phrase in lines 25/26. The verb, evidently a *terminus technicus* of the racecourse, occurs in several Carthaginian

defixiones directed against charioteers, Audollent 234–238 (2nd or 3rd century?), e.g. 234, lines 18–21, ἵνα / μὴ δυνασθῶσαν τῇ αὔριον ἡμέρα ἐλθόντες ἐν / τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ μήτε τρέχειν, μήτε περιπατεῖν, μήτε ν/εικῆσαι, μήδε ἐξελεθεῖν τοὺς πυλῶνας τῶν ἵππαφιων.

Line 13. [τ]οῦ[ς] ὄρους (ο or σ; υ or ν): The restoration [s] is guaranteed by the preserved letter before the first ὄρους of line 26. The object of the verb ἐξελεθεῖν in the Carthaginian defixiones quoted above is πυλῶνες τῶν ἵππαφιων, the gates of the *carceres* of the racecourse, attested only on the Carthaginian tablets, being presumably the equivalent of ἵππαφέσεις or ἵππαφίδες, as LSJ suggest. Presumably ὄρους has a meaning here analogous to πυλῶνες, i.e. “starting lines” (see O. Broneer, “Excavations at Isthmia,” *Hesperia* 27, 1958 [pp. 1–37], pp. 10–15, and P. Roos, “Wieder verwendete Startblöcke vom Stadion in Ephesos,” *ÖJh* 52, 1978–1980, pp. 109–113), although the word is unattested elsewhere in this sense.

Lines 13/14. Ἀθηναί/ων: Traces of the end of the word here and of line 26, Ἀθηναίων, when considered in the light of one another, make the reading of the last two letters inevitable. The word is presumably not the analogue of the genitive ἵππαφιων of the Carthaginian texts but is the name of the festival of the Athenaia, a recurrent ephebic meet at Athens held from 189/90 through at least 255/6 (see Follet, p. 320); the name is also used occasionally (e.g. Athenaios, xiii.561e; cf. Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 24; Pausanias, viii.2.1) for the Panathenaia, with its sacred ecumenical competitions (see Follet, pp. 331–343, for attestations in the Roman period and footnote 14 above for discussion of the final date of the competitions).

Line 15: ἀπ[ο]κάμψη. Evidently, as lines 12/13 and 25/26 imply, Alkidamos was a racer of some kind. The verb ἀποκάμπτω, however, of which only five other attestations can be cited, leaves it ambiguous whether he was a charioteer or a runner. At Xenophon, *De re equestri*, 714 and Pollux, 1.205 it is used as the opposite of ὀρθοδρομέω in passages discussing turning the course of horses. Its use at Theophrastos, *Characteres*, 22.9, of a miser turning from his path in order to avoid contributing money, and at Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1409^b23, of turning a corner while strolling, may include equestrian metaphors, but this is not clear. At any rate, by the time of Horapollon (4th century?) it could be used with no equestrian associations: ἀετὸν ἀποκεκαμμένον ἔχοντα τὸ ρόμφος (2.96). The answer is to be sought in the nature of the games themselves: none of the attestations gathered by Follet (see the note on lines 13/14 above) for the Athenaia and the Panathenaia in the Roman period indicates that around the time of the curse against Alkidamos either set of games included equestrian events. We may then provisionally conclude that Alkidamos was a runner and that ἀπ[ο]κάμψη “veer off course” *vel sim.* applies here to the foot race, even if its more immediate suggestion may be the chariot race.

Lines 33/34 and 35. The name restored here is the only one I find that will fit the available space. Was Apollonian the competitor of Alkidamos in the race? Was the intention that Alkidamos should hear nothing of Apollonian’s curse against him?

B. HIS CURSES DIRECTED AGAINST LOVERS

From outside the Agora Greece has produced only seven defixiones concerning erotic matters, all of them spells to interrupt such affairs. Two from Attica (Audollent 68, 69, 4th century B.C.?) have phrases that are similar to one another, e.g. 68 A, lines 10/11, ἐπιλαθέσ[θ]αι Χαρί[α]ν / [τῆς] κοίτης [π]ρὸς Θε[οδώ]ρα[ν]; three from Nemea (*SEG* XXX, 353, 4th century B.C.?, IL 367 and IL 372, announced by Stephen G. Miller, *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 64–65, late Hellenistic?), were intended to turn persons from the bodily parts of others; and from Boiotia (E. Ziebarth, *SBerl* 33, 1934, pp. 1040–1042, nos. 22, 23, Hellenistic?),

one example cursed among other things ἡ συνουσία and τὸ πυγίον of a woman, and the other was meant to stop the ἄψιν κῆ τὰ φιλείματα κῆ τὰ συνουσιάσματα τὰ Ζωΐλου κῆ Ἐνθείρας. Two defixiones with spells against couples have come to light outside Greece, one from Cumae (Audollent 198, 2nd century?), directed against a married pair, the other, from Oxyrhynchos (O. Guéraud, *MémInst* 67, 1935–1937, pp. 202–212, 3rd century), against two men. There are quite a few defixiones from outside Greece that were intended to promote rather than prevent erotic conquest, three from Carthage, nine from Hadrumetum, at least twelve from Egypt, one from Tyre, and two of unrecorded provenance.¹⁶

A woman named Juliana figures in 8 and 9; 8's text suggests that she was a prostitute. The institution in the Agora area was notorious: see R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, pp. 222–223.

7 (Pl. 65). Against Karpodora and Trophimas

H. 0.053, max. p.W. 0.070 m.

Av. L. H. 0.002 m.

Found wrapped inside 11.

Inv. No. IL 1000

ca. med. III p.

- Βορφορβα[---ca. 7---]φορβαρ[---ca. 15---βαβαιη κραταιε]
 Βεπτυτ, π[αραδίδωμι σοι Κα]ρποδώραν, [ἦν ἔτεκεν Εἰσιάς, καὶ Τρο-]
 φιμᾶν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τροφίμη, ἴνα καταψύξ[ῃς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν γνῶ-]
 [μη]ν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἴσοδον αὐτ[ῶν] καὶ τὴν συν[ήθειαν, καὶ ἰς τὸν]
 5 [ξ]οφώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς συνστάν[ο]ντας αὐτούς. Δῆς ἰς τ[ὸν]
 [ἀ]φώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ καταψύξῃς καὶ ἀπολέσῃς καὶ τ[αύ-]
 [τη]ν (?) τὴν συνήθειαν, τὸ συναναπεσεῖν, τὸ συγγενέσ[θαι, τὴν]
 [ὀμ]ειλίαν αὐτῶν, Τροφιμᾶ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τροφίμη, καὶ Κ[αρποδώ-]
 [ρα]ς, ἧς ἔτεκεν Εἰσιάς, καταψύξῃς καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς [αὐτοὺς ὀ-]
 10 μῶδ γενέσθαι. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄγῃς, ἴνα ἐκπέσῃ, καὶ ἀ[σχημο-]
 νήσῃ, Μοζουνη Αλχεινη Πεπερθαρωια Ιαια, πα[ραδίδωμι]
 σ[οι] Τροφιμᾶν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τροφίμη, καὶ Καρπ[οδώραν, ἦν]
 ἔ[τεκεν] Εἰσιάς. Κραταιε Τυφῶν Κολχλοι Το[ντονον]
 Σ[ηθ] Σ[αθαω]χ Εα, Ἄναξ Απομξ Φριουρινξ ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει καὶ]
 15 ψύ[ξι], Κολχοιχειλωψ, ψυγήτω Τ[ρο]φιμᾶ[s, δ]ν [ἔτεκεν]
 Τ[ρο]φίμη, καὶ Καρποδώρα, [ἦ]ν ἔ[τεκεν] Εἰσιάς, ὅπως μὴ]
 δυνηθοῖσαν συναναπεσεῖν, μ[ὴ] συγγενέσθαι, μὴ συγ-

¹⁶ Carthage: Audollent 227, 230, 231 (3rd century?). Hadrumetum: Audollent 264–271, 304* (3rd century?). Egypt: *PSI* I, 28 (Hermopolis Magna, 3rd or 4th century); *SEG* VIII, 574 (Hawara, 3rd century or earlier), XXVI, 1717 (near Antinoöpolis? 3rd or 4th century); Wortmann 1, 2 (Oxyrhynchos, 3rd or 4th century); Audollent 38 (Alexandria, 3rd century?); *Sammelbuch*, 6224, 6225 (2nd century?); M. Plaumann, "Ein antiker Liebeszauber aus Ägypten," *AmtlBer* 35, 1913/14, pp. 203–210 (3rd century); Martin (3rd or 4th century); and unpublished examples in the Rare Book and Manuscript Collection of the Perkins Library, Duke University, and in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Tyre: M. Chehab has kindly allowed me to examine some tablets from his excavations of an early Christian cemetery; one of them has the phrase (in Greek) "May Juvinus lie awake in his love for me, Porphyrios." Provenance unrecorded: P. J. Sijpesteijn, "Liebeszauber," *ZPE* 24, 1977, pp. 89–90 (3rd or 4th century?); L. Robert, *JSAV*, 1981, p. 35, note 1 (assigned to Hadrumetum or Carthage by Robert; "tardif" [Prof. Robert in conversation]).

κοιμηθῆναι, μὴ συνφαγ[έ]ν, [μὴ συνπιεῖν, -----ca. 12-----]
 ΣΑΙ. Ὡς ταῦτα τὰ ὄνομα[τα ψύχεται, οὕτως Καρποδώρας ἐπὶ Τρο-]
 20 [φιμ]ᾶ ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνο[μα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιπομπή, ὁ]
 [νοῦς,] ἡ ἐπι[στή]μη, [ὁ] λο[γισμός. vacat?]

Line 2. [Εἰσιάς]; lines 9, 13. Εἰσιάς; line 16. Εἰ[σιάς: Ὑ]σ-

Line 4. Ἰσοδον: εἶσ-

Line 4. [ἰς]; line 5. ἰς: εἰς

Line 5. συνστάν[ο]ντας: συστ-

Line 8. [ὄμ]ειλίαν: -μιλ-

Line 15. ψύ[ξι]: -ξει

Line 17. δυνηθοίσαν: -θῶσιν

Line 18. συνφαγ[έ]ν: συμφ- [συνπιεῖν]: συμπ-

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Beptyt, I hand over to you Karpodora, whom Isias bore, and Trophimas, whom Trophime bore, that you may chill them and their purposes and their visiting and their intimacy, and in your dark air also those bringing them together. Bind in your unilluminated *aiōn* and chill and destroy this (?) intimacy, lying together, union, conversation of theirs—of Trophimas, whom Trophime bore, and of Karpodora, whom Isias bore—chill (them) and do not allow them to be together. And if you do bring (them together), then in order that he may fall and disgrace himself, Morzoune Alcheine Perpertharōia Iaia, I hand over to you Trophimas, whom Trophime bore, and Karpodora, whom Isias bore. Mighty Typhon Kolchloi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchloicheilops, let Trophimas, whom Trophime bore, and Karpodora, whom Isias bore, grow cold, so that they cannot lie together, be united, go to bed together, eat together, drink together . . . As these names grow cold, so let Karpodora’s name grow cold to Trophimas, and (her) breath, impulse, charm, mind, knowledge, reckoning . . .”

Line 4. Ἰσοδον αὐτ[ῶν], literally “their entrance”, is no doubt used of Karpodora’s and Trophimas’ visits to one another. It may imply in itself nothing more than this, but the word εἶσοδος is used of a paramour’s visit at Lysias, 1.20.

συν[ῆ]θειαν: Line 7 and 9, line 4 guarantee the restoration. The term, like *συναναπείπειν*, *συγγενέσθαι*, and *ὀμιλία* below, may, in an erotic context such as here, denote or imply sexual intercourse, as a glance at the entries in LSJ *s.vv.* will confirm.

Lines 5/6. ἰς τ[ὸν / ἄ]φώτιστον αἰῶνα: The parallels have *τῆς λήθης* before *ἀφώτιστον*, but there is no space in the lacuna here.

Lines 6/7. [ταύ/τη]ν: There is room at the end of line 6 for three letters at most and at the beginning of line 7 for two letters at most. Whatever the missing word was, it does not occur in this passage in the parallels, which would suggest *τ[ὴν] στωρ/γῆ]ν* *vel sim.* as a restoration here, but there is not enough room.

συναναπείπειν: The verb otherwise does not occur before the Patristic writers (see LSJ and Lampe *s.v.*), where it is used with the neutral meaning “recline together”, e.g. at table, but LSJ cite a Latin gloss *concupio*. The verbs *ἀναπίπτω* and *συμπίπτω* “recline” are frequently attested but, as far as I see, without sexual implication.

συγγενέσθαι: Cf. PGM XIII, lines 323/324: *μὴ συν/γενέσθω ἢ δεῖνα ἑτέρω ἀνδρὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ τοῦ δεῖνα*, a phrase used in a spell to separate lovers.

Line 10. ἄγης: “bring (them together)”? [M. Smith suggests this translation (see note *j*, pp. 243–244 below, for examples of the verb ἄγω in love charms) and would assume that “the writer suspects

that Beptyt is being invoked—probably by Trophimas—[also] to perform an ἀγωγή and to bring Karpodora to him (Trophimas).”]

Lines 10–13: The “if” clause does not occur on the other two tablets cursing lovers but is found on those cursing athletes. *A* may in fact have had in mind the phrase from his curses directed against athletes, for on strictly grammatical grounds it is unlikely here, there being no obvious subject in the ἵνα clause, and ἐκπέση may have a literal meaning (cf. 5, line 6 [κα]ταπέση, of a wrestler, and 6, line 15 ἀπ[ο]κάμψη, of a runner, in phrases with ἀσχημονήση in such “if” clauses) more appropriate to athletic events. The broader meaning of ἐκπίπτω, however, whether to be hissed from a stage (e.g. Aristotle, *Analytica posteriora*, 1456^a18 or to lose an election (Polybios, iv.82.8), implies failure in an agonistic situation and therefore may be appropriate whether the ἀγών is athletic or erotic. A possible parallel for the phrase ἐκπέση, καὶ ἀσχημονήση, I *Corinthians*, 13.5, (ἡ ἀγάπη) οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ . . . ; 13.8, ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει (so edd. and many codd., but see Tischendorff’s *apparatus criticus* for ἐκπίπτει, a variant reading, in quotations of the passage in writers contemporary with *A*’s texts), suggests the fittingness of the expression in matters of human affections. (On the “if” clauses see also note *j*, pp. 243–244 below.)

Line 17. δυνηθοῖσαν for -ῶσιw (cf. 8, line 5): Possibly only an informal phonetic spelling rather than a false step in the direction of an optative. For examples of [o] spelled οι before σ see Gignac, p. 201. -σαν for -σιw I cannot parallel.

Lines 17/18. συγ]/κοιμηθῆναι. Not in the well’s other texts, but the συν- prefixes in the surrounding verbs on the tablet as well as the space available in the lacuna suggest that the prefix should be restored here as well.

Line 18: μὴ συμπιεῖν, not in the well’s other texts, I restore here, with the prefix from the preceding verbs, from similar phrases that appear in a papyrus formulary, *PGM* LXI, lines 18/19, (ἵνα) μὴ δυνηθῆ μῆτε / πιεῖν μῆτε φαγεῖν (late 3rd century), and in a papyrus love charm, Wortmann 4, line 45, μὴ ἐάσητε αὐτὴν φαγεῖν, μὴ πῖν, etc. (Upper Egypt, 5th century). *PGM* IV, lines 351–354; μὴ βιωθηθῶ, μὴ πυγισθῆτω . . . ἵνα μὴ δυνηθῆ ἢ δεῖνα μῆτε πιεῖν, μῆτε φαγεῖν (4th century), a phrase in a papyrus formulary, with echoes in two defixiones, *SEG* VIII, 574, line 9, μὴ βιωθηθῆ, μὴ πυγισθῆ, μὴ λαικάση . . . ἵνα μῆ, etc. (Hawara, 3rd century) and Martin, lines 4/5, μῆτε βιωθηθῆναι, μῆτε πυγι/σθῆναι, μῆτε λαικάσειw (Egypt, 3rd or 4th century), suggests that μὴ βινεῖν, μὴ πυγι]/σαι or μὴ βινεῖν, μὴ λαικά]/σαι may be in order as a supplement on our tablet. I do not, however, introduce either into its printed texts, because its preserved verbs tend not to be so explicit.

Lines 19/20. Καρποδώρας ἐπὶ Τρο/φιμ]ᾶ (or -μ]ᾶ) or Τροφιμᾶ ἐπὶ Καρπο/δώρ]α: See note *q*, p. 247 below.

8 (Pl. 66). Against Leosthenes and Pius

H. 0.067, W. 0.101 m.

Av. L. H. 0.002 m.

Inv. No. IL 948 + 949

ca. med. III p.

Βωρφορβαβαρφορβα[ρ]βαρφορβαβ[αρφο]ρβαβαη κραταιῆ Β[επτv, πα-

ραδίδωμι σοι Λεοσθένην καὶ Πε[ῖον] τοὺς προσερχομέν[ους Ἰουλι-

ανῆ, ἧ ἔτεκεν Μαρκία, ἵνα κ[α]ταψύξης αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν γνώ-

μην, ὅπως μὴ δυνηθῶσιw ὁμ[ο]ῦ λαλήσαι, μὴ περιπα[τῆσαι,]

5 μὴ ἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριw τὸ Ἰουλιανῆς δυνηθοῖσιw καθ[ί]ξειw

ἢ προσπένψαι Ἰουλιανῆ Λεοσθένη ἢ Πείος, καὶ ἰς τὸν [ζ]ο-

φώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς προσπενπομένους. Δῆς ἰς τὸν

- τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον ἀέρα καὶ καταψύξεως καὶ μὴ
 ἀφῆς ὀμειλῆσαι Πρόκ[ροκ]λο<ν> (?) καὶ Λεοσθένην καὶ Πείον. Μου-
 10 ζουνη Αλχεινη Περπερθαρωνα Ιαια, παραδίδωμί σοι Λεοσθέ-
 νην καὶ Πείον. Κραταῖε Τυφῶν Κολχλο Ποντονον Σηθ
 [Σ]αθαωχ Εα, Ἄναξ Απομξ [Φ]ριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει' καὶ ψύξι, Κολχοι-
 χειλωψ, ψυγήτω Λεοσθέ[νης] καὶ Πείος, ὅπως μὴ δύνων-
 ται λαλήσαι Ἰουλιανῆ. Ὡ[ς τα]ῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως'
 15 καὶ Λεοσθένου καὶ Πείου [ψυχ]έσθω τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ Ἰου-
 λιανῆ καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ [ἐπισ]τήμη, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιπομπή, ὁ νοῦς,
 ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογισμός. Ἐσ[τω]σαν κωφοί, ἄλαλοι, ἄνοες, ἀ-
 κέραιοι, μηδὲν ἀκούουσα [Ἰου]λιανῆ περὶ Λεοσθένου ἢ Πεί-
 ου, μήτε ὀργιζόμενοι μ[ή]τε λέγοντες πρὸς Ἰουλιανῆν.

Lines 2, 9, 10. Λεοσθένην; 6, 13. Λεοσθένης; 18. Λεοσθένου: Λεω-

Lines 5, 6, 7. ἰς: εἰς

Line 5. ἐργαστήριον: -ριον δυνηθοῖσιν: -ῶσιν

Line 6. προσπένψαι: -μψ-

Line 7. προσπενπομένους: -μπ-

Line 9. ὀμειλῆσαι: -μιλ-

Line 12. ψύξι: -ξει

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Bepty, I hand over to you Leosthenes and Pius, who visit Juliana, whom Markia bore, that you may chill them and their purposes, so that they cannot speak together or walk about, that Leosthenes and Pius cannot sit in Juliana’s place of business or send messages to Juliana, and in your dark air also the messengers sent. Bind in the unilluminated air of oblivion and chill and do not allow Proklos (?) and Leosthenes and Pius to have conversation. Monzoune Alcheine Perpertharona Iaia, I hand over to you Leosthenes and Pius. Mighty Typhon Kolchlo Pontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchoicheilops, let Leosthenes and Pius grow cold, so that they cannot speak with Juliana. As these names grow cold, so too let Leosthenes’ and Pius’ names grow cold to Juliana, and (their) breath, impulse, knowledge, impulse, charm, mind, knowledge, reckoning. Let them be deaf, dumb, mindless, harmless, Juliana hearing nothing about Leosthenes and Pius, (they) having no impulse towards or speaking to Juliana.”

Lines 2/3. προσερχομέν[ους Ἰουλιανῆ]: The participle means literally “visiting” or “frequenting” (e.g. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1.2.47 π. Σωκράτει “visit him as teacher”, as LSJ translate), but in at least one instance (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 4.38 ἀν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι τὸ σῶμά μου δεθηῆ οὕτω μοι τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεί ὥστε αἷς ἀν προσέλθω ὑπερασπάζονται μὲ) the verb is used of a visit with the purpose of sexual gratification, and it is clear from the sentence’s context that the visit was one for which money would usually be paid. The use of the verb on the tablet does not of course imply in itself that the Juliana whom Leosthenes and Pius visit is a prostitute, but the fact that it is *two* men who pay the visit(s) suggests it; further, Juliana’s ἐργαστήριον (line 5), her place of business, may be a brothel, for the word is euphemistically so used: cf. Demosthenes, lxx.67, Alkaios, *Fr.* 5.1.

Line 5. ἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον for -ριον: See D. J. Georgacas, “On the Nominal Endings -is, -iv in Later Greek,” *CP* 43, 1948, pp. 243–260, for the omission of omicron.

δυνηθοῖσιν for -ῶσιν (cf. 7, line 17): See Gignac, p. 201.

καθ[ί]ζειν restored from Isokrates, VII.15: ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων κ. and XVIII.9: κ. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐ. The aorist infinitive or the infinitive of another verb, καθ[ή]σθαι (cf. Demosthenes, LIX.67: ἐπ' ἐ. καθῶνται) is also possible. The Latin verb *sedere* if used in such a context would no doubt have had an erotic connotation: see N. J. Herescu, “Le sens ‘erotique’ de *sedere*,” *Glotta* 38, 1960, pp. 125–134, and A. D. Booth, “Sur les sens obscènes de *sedere* dans Martial 11.99,” *Glotta* 58, 1980, pp. 278–279. Something of the sort may be meant here, whatever the correct restoration of the verb.

Line 7. *προσπενπομένους*: The persons cursed at this point in 7 are the *συνστάν[ο]ντας*, those who bring Karpodora and Trophimas together; evidently in 8 as well it is the intermediaries who are being cursed, those who are sent with the messages referred to at line 6. (LSJ cite no instance of a middle form of the verb *προσπέμπω*.)

Line 8. *ἀέρα* occurs in this phrase at 5, line 4, but the well's other parallels have *αἰῶνα* here; see note *i*, p. 243 below.

Line 9. The tablet's ΠΡΟΚΡΟΚΛΟ I assume, for want of a better explanation, to be a graphic error for the accusative of the proper name Πρόκλος, but the appearance of a third party at Leosthenes' and Pius' conversation is unexpected. [M. Smith: some mangled adverb?]

9 (Pl. 67). Against Juliana and Polynikos

H. 0.070, max. p.W. 0.092 m.

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 952

ca. med. III p.

- βωρφορβαβαρφορβα.[– – ^{ca. 6} – –]ρβαβοραρβαβ[αιη κρατεῖ]
 Βετπυ, παραδίδωμί σοι Ἰουλιανήν, ἣν ἔτε[κεν Μαρκία,
 καὶ Πολύνεικον, ἵνα καταψύξης αὐτοῦ[ς καὶ τὴν γνώ-
 μην καὶ τὴν στοργὴν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν [αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐ-
 5 τοὺς ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς σὺν [αὐτοῖς. Δῆς ἰς τὸν]
 τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ κατα[ψύξης καὶ μὴ ἀ-
 φῆς αὐτοὺς ἰς τὸ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. Μουζουνη [Αλχεινη Πεπερ-]
 θαρωια Ιαια, παραδίδωμί σοι Πολύνεικο[ν καὶ Ἰουλι-]
 ανήν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Μαρκία, ὅπως ψύξης καὶ ἀ[πολέσης καὶ ποι-]
 10 ἡσης ἀσχημονῆσαι καὶ μὴ ἐάσης ἰς τὸ αὐ[τὸ γενέσθαι.]
 Δυσκράτεε Τυφῶν Κολχλο Ποντονο[ν Σηθ Σαθαωχ]
 Εα, Ἄναξ Απομξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει[ι καὶ ψύξι, Κολχοι-]
 χειλωψ, ψυγῆτω Πολύνεικος καὶ Ἰουλια[νῆ καὶ ἡ στοργῆ]
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ συνήθεια καὶ τὸ συναν[απεσεῖν – – ^{ca. 7} – –]
 15 ΣΕΙ καὶ ἀκαταστασία αὐτῶν. Ὡς τα[ῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύ-]
 χεται, οὕτω καὶ Ἰο[ν]λιανῆς ψυχέσθω τ[ὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ Πολυ-]
 νείκου καὶ ἡ ψυχ[ῆ κ]αὶ ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, [ὁ νοῦς, ὁ λογισ-]
 μός. Ἔστωσαν ἄκωφ[οί, ἄ]λαλοι, ἄνοες, ἀκέρε[οι, μηδὲν]
 ἀκούων περ[ὶ] μηδενὸς ΑΥΤΑΛΛΑΛΛΑ[- – – ^{ca. 22} – – – –]

Line 1. [κρατεῖ]: -ταιέ

Line 3. Πολύνεικον; line 8. Πολύνεικο[ν]: -νικ-

Lines 5, 7, 10. ἰς; line 5 [ἰς]: εἰς

Line 11. Δυσκράτεε: -ταιε

Line 12. [ψύξι]: -ξει

Lines 16/17. Πολυ]/-νείκου: -νικ-

Line 18. ἀκέρε[οι]: -ραιοι

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Betsy, I hand over to you Juliana, whom Markia bore, and Polynikos, that you may chill them and their purposes and love and intimacy, and themselves in your dark air and those with them. Bind in the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion and chill (them) and do not allow them to be in the same place. Monzoune Alcheine Pepertharōia Iaia, I hand over to you Polynikos and Juliana, whom Markia bore, that you may chill and destroy (them) and make (them) disgrace themselves and not allow them to be in the same place. Evilly mighty Typhon Kolchlo Pontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchoicheilops, let Polynikos and Juliana and their love and intimacy and lying together grow cold, to their . . . confusion. Just as these names grow cold, so too let Juliana’s name grow cold to Polynikos, and (her) breath, impulse, knowledge, mind, reckoning. Let them be deaf, dumb, mindless, innocent, hearing nothing about anything . . .”

Line 1. The spelling of *κρατέε* in the restoration is based on that of *Δυσκράτεε* (line 11) below.

Lines 4/5. [*αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐ*]/*τοὺς ἰς*: The parallels in 7 and 8 would suggest simply (*αὐτῶν*.) *καὶ ἰς*, but *ΤΟΥΣ* at the beginning of line 5 demands some other restoration here. What I offer is simply *exempli gratia*, although I note that *αὐτῶν* cannot, for lack of space in the lacuna, appear in this position after 7, line 4, *συν[ήθειαν]*.

Lines 7, 10. *ἰς τὸ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι*: Evidently an alternative expression for *ὁμοῦ γενέσθαι*, which occurs in this position at 7, lines 9/10; the similar phrases *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* and *ὁμοῦ* are used as reinforcements of one another at *Acts*, 2.1.

Lines 9/10. *ψύξης καὶ ἀ[πολέσης καὶ ποι]/ήσης ἀσχημονήσαι*: For the restoration *ἀ[πολέσης]* cf. 1, line 5, 7, line 6, etc. Another verb, e.g. *ποι]/ήσης*, is needed to govern the infinitive.

Line 11. *Δυσκράτεε* (-*τες* cannot be read) for -*ταιε*: *Δυσκράταιος* is hitherto unattested, but *δυσ-*, as LSJ note *s.v.*, “may be joined to words expressing negation in order to increase their bad senses.” The adjective *κραταίος* does not in itself have a bad sense, but it is no doubt its association with Seth-Typhon in the well’s texts that makes its intensive prefix appropriate here. The variation from the formula I cannot diagnose.

Line 13. *καὶ ἡ στοργή* restored *exempli gratia* from line 4.

Lines 17/18. *ὁ λογισ]/μός*: Parallel phrases at 8, lines 16–20 and in 2–7, guarantee the restoration, although at 2, lines 24/25 the word is divided *λογι/σμός*.

Lines 18, 19. *ἔστωσαν* and *ἀκούων*: *A* evidently began the sentence thinking in the singular, then corrected himself with the insertion above the line and continued in the plural. At line 19, however, he has reverted to the singular; cf. the participial phrase in the singular at 8, lines 18/19 after the phrase that begins with the plural *ἔστωσαν*.

C. HIS FRAGMENTARY CURSES OF UNCLEAR PURPOSE

Two of *A*’s texts (10 and 11) are too fragmentary to reveal why they were written. The final passages of *A*’s curses are the same whether athletes or lovers are the targets, and it is only the final passages of 10 that are preserved, with the result that the text is compatible with either interpretation. If these are the only two possibilities, the fact that the preserved part of 10 names only one person may favor the assumption that it is directed against an athlete rather than a pair or more of lovers (cf. the pairs in 7 and 9 and the ménage in 8), but these are of course not necessarily the only two possibilities. 11 may be directed against either an athlete or lovers, but lovers seem more probable.

10. Against Julian

Max. p.H. 0.059, max. p.W. 0.065 m.

Av. L. H. 0.0025 m.

H. of lower margin 0.015 m.

Inv. No. IL 964

ca. med. III p.

- *ca.* 2 [- ----- *ca.* 33 -----]
 ΦΗ[- ----- *ca.* 22 ----- Κραταιέ Τυφῶν]
 Κολ[χλοι Τοντονον Σηθ Σαθαωχ Εα, ἼΑναξ]
 Απο[μξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξῃ]
 5 Κοχοῖ [- *ca.* 5 -χειλω]ψ, ψυ[γῆτω Ἴουλιαν-]
 νὸς καὶ μὴ [εἰσῆ]ς πῶπο[τε --- *ca.* 9 ---]
 ὧς ταῦτα τὰ [ὀ]νόματα [ψύχεται, οὕτως]
 Ἴουλιαν[οῦ]:
 καὶ [τ *ca.* 3] ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα [καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀρ-]
 γῆ, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπιπο[μπή, ὁ νοῦς, ἡ]
 10 ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογισμός. Ἐ[στω κωφός, ἄλα-]
 λος, ἄνους, μὴ ὀργιστόμ[ε]νος [- --- *ca.* 8 ---]
 μὴ ἰσχύων ὄλωσ μηδενί [- --- *ca.* 15 -----]
 Line 4. [ψύξι]: -ξει

“. . . Mighty Typhon, Kolchloi Tontonon Seth Sathaoch Ea, Lord Apomx Phriourinx over blacking out and chilling, Kolchoi . . . Cheilops, let Julian grow cold and do not allow him ever As these names grow cold, so too let Julian’s name grow cold, and (his) breath, impulse, knowledge, reckoning. Let him be deaf, dumb, mindless, having no impulse . . . , not having strength at all against anyone.”

Line 5. Κοχοῖ I assume to be a variant of the parallels’ Κολχοῖ. The deviation from the formula here, however, must have been not only a matter of spelling, for there is room for *ca.* 5 letters between Κοχοῖ[and what the parallels suggest, χειλω]ψ.

Line 6. [εἰσῆ]ς or [ἀφῆ]ς.

πῶπο[τε (π, γ, or τ; ρ, α, or ω) does not occur in the well’s other tablets. Παλαῖσαι or παλαίειν would fit the lacuna, but wrestling is not mentioned elsewhere on the fragment.

Line 8. The canceled mistake may have been τ[οῦ δ(ε)ῖ(να)] if the phrase was carelessly copied from a formulary. Ἴουλιαν[οῦ] has been inserted above it in tiny letters.

Line 12. μηδενί (δ or λ; ι, γ, or π): The text may have ended here (but cf. the locution at 4, lines 26/27, μὴ / ἰσχύων ὄλωσ μηδέν, with the accusative) or continued μηδενί [παλαῖσαι *vel sim.*].

11. Against Serenus, also styled Archibios

The left-hand edge of the tablet in the area of lines 11–12 and the right-hand edge in the area of lines 13–15 are preserved, although the surfaces in these areas are mostly lost.

Max. p.H. 0.092, W. 0.123 m.

Av. L. H. 0.0025 m.

Found wrapped around 7.

Inv. No. IL 959

ca. med. III p.

1-3 traces

[- ca. 5 - Σ]εραπίας, δν ἔτεκε[ν ----- ca. 12 -----]

5 [κατ]αψύξῃς τοῦ [Σ]ερήνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιβίου [- ca. 5 -]

[-²⁻³-] τὴν δύναμιν, τὴν προθυμίαν ----- ca. 15 -----][-²⁻³-] γένηται καὶ ἀσθενῆς καὶ ἄπικρος καὶ [- ca. 10 - Σε-]

[ρῆ]νον τὸν καὶ Ἀρχιβίον τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν [- ca. 11 -----]

[καὶ] ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐ[τοῖς ----- ca. 10 -----]

10 [- ca. 9 -----] . ON. Δῆς ἰς τὸν τῆς [λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα καὶ]

[- ca. 11 -----] τοὺς θυμούς κα[ὶ ----- ca. 12 -----]

A[- ca. 15 -----]OMA[- ca. 14 -----]

[- ca. 15 -----] ³⁻⁴ [- ca. 14 -----]

[- ca. 10 -----] Μορ[ζουνη Αλχ[ε]ι[νη Πεπερθαρωνα]

15 [Γαια ----- ca. 11 -----] ΠΑΛΛΑ[- ca. 16 -----]

[- ca. 15 -----] E[] O[- ca. 16 -----]

[- ca. 15 -----] - ca. 3 [- ca. 16 -----]

[-²⁻⁴- Κολχλοιχειλωψ,] ψυχέσ[θ]ω [Σερήνος ὁ καὶ Ἀρ-][χίβιος ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ -----³⁻⁶-----] ΤΑΡΑ[- ca. 16 -----]

20 [- ca. 8 -----] . Ὡς ταῦτα] τὰ δνό[ματα ψύχεται, οὕτως Σε-]

[ρήνου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχι]βί[ου] τοῦ ἀν[δρὸς τοῦ ----- ca. 7 -----]

[- ca. 15 -----] . Ἔστω [κωφός, ἀλαλος, [- ca. 5 -]

[- ca. 14 -----] ἀ]γένητο[s ----- ca. 12 -----]

[- ca. 12 -----] ἄνο]υς, ἀκέραι[ος [- ca. 5 - μήτε]

25 [ὀργιζό]μενο[s,] μήτε [- ca. 15 -----]

[- ca. 15 -----] . ΗΣ.

Lines 9, 10. ἰς: εἰς

Line 23. ἀ]γένητο[s: ἀ]γένν-?

Line 4. Σ]εραπίας: Of the ρ there is a vertical only, squeezed in between ε and α as if an after-thought. The text is too badly preserved to reveal either why the curse names Serapias or even its general purpose. If it was meant to affect a wrestling match (see the note below on line 15), Serapias may have been the opponent of the intended victim, but we may note that elsewhere (2, line 8, 3, line 7, and possibly 6, lines 33/34, 35) when the opponent is named his lineage is not given. Another possibility is that the tablet, like 7, around which it was wrapped, is one of A's defixiones against lovers and is either intended to interrupt the relations of Serapias and the Serenus named at lines 5, 7/8, and 20/21, or, as I think likelier, written on Serapias' behalf in order to interrupt Serenus' relations with his wife or mistress, the τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν of line 8 elsewhere meaning either husband (usually) or lover (occasionally): see LSJ *s.v.* ἀνὴρ. If it is with regard to the woman that Serenus' δύναμις and προθυμία are to be chilled, it is probably Serenus rather than the woman whom Serapias wants for himself. We may compare a spell on an ostrakon, PGM O 2 (Egypt, 2nd century), in which the writer wants to make a woman leave her husband and come to him; he undertakes to spoil his beloved's affection for the present partner: δὸς Ἀλλοῦτι ὕβριν, μῖσος, ἀ/ηδίαν, ἔως ἀποστῆ τῆς οἰκί/ας (lines 40-42).

Lines 5/6. - ca. 5 -]/[-²⁻³-: e.g. τὴν γνώ/μην]. The phrase occurs in the well's curses against athletes and against lovers: cf. 1, line 3, 2, lines 3/4, 6, lines 6/7, 8, lines 3/4, 9, lines 3/4.

Line 6. τὴν δύναμιν, τὴν προθυμίαν: For the former in this position in the curse cf. 2, line 4, directed against a wrestler; the latter, without parallels in the well's texts, could have erotic or athletic application.

Line 7 is not paralleled in the well's texts. For ἄπικρος, "unbitter", LSJ cite only Aristotle, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, 1250^a42 ἄ. δὲ τῶ ἦθει καὶ ἀφιλόνεικον, "free from bitterness and contentiousness", as Rackham translates, and a variant reading at Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, 158 whose context does not serve to elucidate the meaning of the word. Whatever the meaning here, it is apparently somewhat extended from the literal.

Line 8. If a woman's name followed in the lacuna, it no doubt contained the letters ΤΑΡΑ, as line 19 shows.

Line 11. τοὺς θυμούς: I find no instance of the use of the plural in reference to the emotions of one person. Here it may refer to both Serenus' and his wife's or mistress' feelings. The term does not occur elsewhere in the well's texts.

Line 15.]ΠΑΛΛ[(Λ or Λ): The traces are of course compatible with the assumption that the curse is directed against a wrestler (e.g. παλαῖσαι, παλαίειν, παλαίστης) but equally so with the assumption of a curse directed against a lover or lovers: cf. PGM O 2, lines 38/39, ἀπαλλαξὸν Ἄλλοῦν ἀπὸ Ἄ/πολλωνίου. In neither case is it easy to fit the letters into a phrase parallel to those after Μορζουνη, etc. in the well's other texts, e.g. παραδίδωμί σοι Σερήνον, with or without Serenus' further identification, for in the lacuna after the magical names only ca. 15 letters are missing.

Lines 17/18. E.g. [^{ca.} 2 ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ / ψύξι, Κολχοιχειλωψ,], but this formula is not always strictly obeyed: cf. 1, lines 12/13 and 4, lines 18/19.

Line 18. ψυχέσ[θ]ω: Here and below the traces are also compatible with the assumption of plurals, i.e., ψυχέσ[θ]ω[v here, Ἔστω[σαν at line 22, ἀ]γένητο[ι at line 23, ἄνο]ξες, ἀκέραι[οι at line 24, and]μενο[ι] at line 25, but because at line 7 it is clearly one person who is to be affected, I restore singulars here as well.

Line 23. ἀ]γένητο[ς (ο or α) for ἀ]γένν- (?) "unproductive": Evidently part of the list of negative adjectives, but a reading γένητα[ι (cf. line 7 above) is also compatible with the traces.

Line 24. ἄνο]υς (υ or ε).

Lines 24/25. [-^{ca.} 5 - μῆ (or μήτε) / ὀργιζό]μενο[s] *exempli gratia*: cf. 4, lines 25/26, 7, lines 25/26, 9, line 34, 10, line 11.

D. HIS INVOCATION OF A GHOST

This last of A's productions (12) from Well V does not follow his usual formula. It is apparently another instance of sympathetic magic, as its verbs διαψύξης (line 3) and καταψύξης (line 4) imply; its presence in the well is therefore explicable. There is an unexpected element, however: the tablet invokes a ghost. I have found only one possible ancient instance, in itself somewhat questionable, of a well believed to be haunted by a ghost. It is the deep shaft, probably but not certainly a well (footnote 3 above), that yielded the Cypriot defixiones (Audollent 22–27, etc., Roman Imperial); the tablets were found among many bones, and their texts begin with verses that invoke ghosts of the "tombless dead" (see T. Drew-Bear, "Imprecations from Kourion," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 9, 1972 [pp. 85–107], pp. 88–92). If the bones were human (this information is not recorded), the ghosts may have been invoked at the shaft because deaths occurred there, and therefore the well, if it was a well, should not be regarded as typical. In any case, no bones, human or otherwise, were found in Well V in the Agora.

The tablet is broken at the right, and the lack of parallel texts leaves the sense of the curse not immediately apparent. The verb ἀσχημονήσωσι (line 4) shows that there were at least two intended victims: in addition to Agathemerros (line 1) at least Karpime (line 2). A Potamon, also styled Poly[, appears in line 11, and the name of a woman, the daughter of Euodia, was in the lost part of that line. The curse is no doubt erotic, as the phrase [σ]υνανάκλισις ἢ στοργ[η] (line 13) shows; if it is like 7–9 and all other erotic curses from Greece, its purpose was to separate lovers (see pp. 222–223 above). Presumably more than one pair were involved; Agathemerros and Karpime seem to belong to different pairs.

It is not clear how much text was lost at the right, but the break was not even and we can therefore conclude something about the relative lengths of the right-hand lacunae. The shortest are those of lines 4, 5, 6, and 12; in the text below I call the length of these lacunae *n* and express the lengths of the unsupplemented parts of other right-hand lacunae as *n* plus or minus average letter spaces. Cursive Greek is far from being stoichedon, and the number of letters themselves that filled the length *n* would have varied from line to line.

12. Against Agathemerros *et al.*

H. 0.060, W. 0.078 m.

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 953

ca. med. III *p.*

	παραδίδωμί σοι Ἀγαθήμερον κ[αί	<i>n</i> + 6	καί]
	Καρπίμην, νεκύδαιμον, ΕΠΙΚΑ[	<i>n</i> + 3	ἵνα ὄνει-]
	δίσης καὶ κακώσης καὶ διαψύξης κα[ί	<i>n</i> + 3]
	καὶ καταψύξης καὶ ἀσχημονήσωσι κα[ί	<i>n</i>]
5	³⁻⁴ αιαν Ἰακονβια Ἰαιαiah Βολχοσηθ [	<i>n</i>]
	Λαικελθι Νευθι Ἰαω Ἰαη Βολχοσηθ Ἰωσ[ηθ	<i>n</i>]
	[.]θ Τονορμα Δοχη [.]αρεπηθοθ Τατειμιοτ[	<i>n</i> + 2]
	μοζου[χ]η Μο[ρ]ζ[ουνη] Καρμανα Δαχ[εινη	<i>n</i> - 1]
	σερα[²⁻³ -]φο [ca. 3-] οὐδὲν τοῦ ΔΗΓΑ[	<i>n</i> + 2]
10	[.]οννα[.]πορμεναθουκ- ^{ca. 4} - θρα[	<i>n</i> + 1	ξ-]
	ρως Ποτάμονος τοῦ καὶ Πολυ[	<i>n</i> + 1]
	[?], ἦ ἔτεκεν Εὐοδία, καὶ ΚΑ[- ²⁻³ -]Μ[	<i>n</i>]
	[σ]υνανάκλισις ἢ στοργ[η]Ε[¹⁻²]ΕΥ[	<i>n</i> + 3]
	λαβαλβαλυθωανω ^v [	<i>n</i> + 2]

Line 1. κ[αί (κ or υ).

Line 2. Νεκύδαιμον (nominative -μων) is almost always so spelled. The LSJ entry νεκυδαίμων should be corrected to νεκυδ-: the instances cited show the spelling without omicron. The form νεκυδ- does occur in at least one text, however, *PSI* I, 28 (a defixio from Hermopolis Magna, 4th century), spelled ναικυοδ-. Most νεκυδαίμονες invoked in magical texts were apparently assumed to be ghosts of ἄωροι, persons believed to have died before their allotted time: on these latter see J. H. Waszink, "Biothanati," *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* II, Stuttgart 1954, cols. 391–394.

ΕΠΙΚΑ[: No doubt some form of ἐπικαλοῦμαι.

Lines 2/3. ἵνα ὄνει]/δίσης restored *exempli gratia*: with the exception of this verb and of κακώσης the vocabulary in this passage is similar to that of 1–9.

Lines 5/8. On the whole, the sequence bears comparison with that in lines 4–10 of IL 1737, where the syllables are articulated into words. They are not so articulated in 12.

- 12 ⁵ - ³⁻⁴ - αιαν Ιακουβια Ιαιαιαη Βολχοσηθ [
 IL 1737 - - ^{ca. 7} - - αιαν Ια Ιαω ⁵ Ιακουβια Ιαω Βολχοσηθ Ιω[-^{ca. 18} -] Ιωμαλθαλαλ[.]ψ
 12] ⁶ Λαικελθι Νευθι Ιαω Ιαη Βολχοσηθ Ιωσ[ηθ
 IL 1737 ⁶ Εκεβεννευ Εκευθι Νευ[θι Ια]ω Ιωσηθ Ανεβηθ Αβρασαξ ⁷ Ιαωαι
 12 ⁷]θ Τουορμα Δοχη
 IL 1737 Φαιθων Τουβρια . [- ^{ca. 5} -] οριθ Του[ορ]μα Αοχη Ασχεφαρ ⁸ Τεθου Αθαφελαμι
 12 Τατειμιοτ[]μοξου[χ]η Μο[ρ]ζ[ουνη] Καρμανα Δαχ[εινη]
 IL 1737 Τατειμιατα Ελοε Ιαρταρ ⁹ Ιαρταρμορξουχη Μορξουνη Καρμανη Δαχεινη
 12
 IL 1737 Πεπερθαρωρα ¹⁰ Ιαια Αχεραια.

The two sequences are not completely parallel, however, for each includes words that the other omits, and that of IL 1737 cannot be confidently used, therefore, to restore 12's lines.

Line 6. Λαικελθι (Λ or Κ).

Line 9. σ^ερα[-²⁻³-φ^ο[-^{ca. 3}]] (ο or ε; ν, γ, or π): I assume magica rather than Greek but have no parallels for this or for the magica in line 10.

Lines 10/11. ε]/ρωσ restored simply *exempli gratia* on the assumption of an erotic context. If the restoration is correct, the sense may have run, "Let the love of Potamon, also styled Poly[, for so-and-so (feminine dative) wane," with the case of the relative pronoun assimilated to that of its missing antecedent.

Line 12. ΚΑ[-²⁻³-]Μ[(Μ or Ε): E.g. Κα[ρπί]μ[η] or Κα[ρπί]μ[ης].

Line 13. [σ]υνανάκλισις "lying together": The only other attestation of the noun that I have found is that cited by Lampe, Eustathios, *Homilia in Lazarum*, 10 (p. 35, line 8, Cavallera), but I have not had access to its context. The nouns *ἀνάκλισις* and *σύγκλισις* are also attested, but here, too, I have not been able to examine all occurrences; in the ones to which I have had access, they do not seem to imply anything erotic. The verbs *συγκλίνω* and *συγκλίνομαι* do occur with erotic connotations (see LSJ *s.v.*), and *στοργ[ή]* (ρ, ι, γ, or π; lower part of vertical), just adjacent, if correctly read, narrows the semantic field.

Ε[¹⁻²]ΕΥ[(Υ or Κ).

Line 14. I have not found these syllables elsewhere.

E. HIS FORMULARY

In the *Acts of the Apostles* (1st century) we read that certain itinerant Jewish exorcists at Ephesus undertook to cast out demons in the name of "the Jesus whom Paul preaches. . . . But the evil spirit answered them, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are you? . . . And this became known to all residents of Ephesus, both Jews and Greeks, and fear fell on them all Many of those who were now believers came, confessing and divulging their practices. And a number of those who practiced magic arts brought their books together and burned them in the sight of all; and they counted the value of them and found it came to fifty thousand pieces of silver" (19.13–19, Revised Standard Version). The sands of Egypt have in fact yielded a considerable number of such books of magic, handbooks written on papyrus for the use of professional and amateur magicians, in Hieratic, Demotic, Coptic, and Greek, and mediaeval manuscripts preserve a magical handbook in Hebrew, the *Sepher ha-Razim*,

whose original seems to go back to the 4th century.¹⁷ Extant Greek examples range in date from the 1st century B.C. through the 4th or 5th century of our era;¹⁸ they contain instructions for performing various kinds of magic, among them the inscribing of defixiones, e.g. *PGM* IV, lines 329–433; V, lines 304–370; XXXVI, lines 1–34, 231–356; and LVIII, lines 1–14 (all 4th century). Defixiones are preserved that were in fact obviously copied from formulae very much like those found in certain of these papyrus books; for example, formulae quite similar to that at *PGM* IV, lines 336–406 served as models for the texts of five defixiones, *SEG* VIII, 574 (Hawara, 3rd century), Wortmann 1 and 2 (Oxyrhynchos, 3rd or 4th century), *SEG* XXVI, 1717 (near Antinoöpolis?, 3rd or 4th century), and an example in the University of Michigan Collection soon to be published by D. Martinez;¹⁹ and a slightly different version of *PGM* LVIII, lines 1–14 was the model for Audollent 188 (Rome? 4th or 5th century?).

No model survives for the texts from Well V. If they are viewed as they are printed in parallel form below (pp. 236–240), however, it becomes clear that 1–10 follow the same general pattern. We also see that there are certain inconsistencies, especially in *A*'s rendition of the magical appellatives, which are most simply explained if we assume that he was not composing his texts *ad lib.* or reproducing them from memory but was copying them from a model. For example, at 6, lines 20/21, 8, line 10, and 9, line 9, we read ΚΟΛΧΛΟΠΙΟΝΤΟΝΟΝ but elsewhere among *A*'s formulaic texts, ΚΟΛΧΛΟΙΤ-; whichever of the two versions is "correct", the difference is not to be explained as a variant phonetic spelling or such but as the kind of "error" that a copyist might introduce, for Π and ΙΤ look so much alike that optical confusion is easy. Again, we may compare the version of the syllables in *A*'s tablet IL 1737, where they are articulated as two words and spelled ΚΟΛΧΛΟΙ ΤΟΤΟΛΙΘ (note *l*, pp. 244–245 below): here, too, the confusion is obviously optical, between ΛΙ and Ν and between Θ and Ο. Optical confusion may also explain the variations on the name ΒΕΙΤΥ(Τ) and ΒΕΤΙΥ(Τ) (see note *c*, p. 241 below) in these texts.

If, as seems on the whole quite likely, *A* used a model, he did not, however, follow it slavishly but rather composed certain parts of his curses *ad lib.*; for example, after the word γνώμην (7, lines 3/4, 8, lines 3/4, 9, lines 3/4) in the curses directed against lovers he allowed himself some latitude before returning to the formulaic phrase "in your dark air". Several of the formulae extant on papyri contain phrases such as *PGM* VII, line 660, κοινά,

¹⁷ Hieratic and Demotic: F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique de l'Ancien Empire jusqu'à l'époque copte*, Paris 1920. Coptic: A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I–III, Brussels 1930–31. Greek: the texts are most conveniently consulted in the two volumes of *PGM*, but many such papyri are not included in this work; English translations, by a team of scholars under the direction of H.-D. Betz, of the papyri in *PGM* and of all other published magical papyri are to appear soon, along with an updated bibliography by R. D. Kotansky and new indices; I am much indebted to M. Smith for allowing me to purchase a photocopy of the indispensable indices that were intended for the third volume of *PGM*, which was typeset but never published. Hebrew: the *Sepher ha-Razim*; for the date, see the translator's introduction.

¹⁸ 1st century B.C.: *PGM* XX; *P. Berol.*, inv. no. 21243 (Abusir el Melek), edited by W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33, 1979, pp. 261–278; and *P. Mon. Gr.*, inv. no. 216, edited by P. Fabrini and E. Maltomini in *Papiri letterari greci*, A. Carlini, ed., Pisa 1978, no. 38. 4th or 5th century: e.g. *PGM* VII–X, XIa.

¹⁹ Mr. Martinez presented the text of this tablet at a meeting of the American Society of Papyrologists, Cincinnati, December 29, 1983.

ὡς βούλει, line 404, κ., ὡς ἂν βούλη; III, line 682, κοι(νόν), ὡς θέλεις. As K. Preisendanz, in the unpublished indices to his *PGM*, explained it (*s.v.* κοινός), the adjective is “quite frequent in magical formularies to indicate the places where the wishes or demands of the writer were to be inserted in ‘common’ speech [i.e. presumably in his ordinary Greek].” If *A* was copying from a model it no doubt contained similar phrases after γνώμη and elsewhere, such as between [ψυ]/γῆτ[ω] at 1, lines 13/14 and Ὡς ταῦτα at line 16 in the curses against athletes. Something of the sort may also explain why the nouns after τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ in both types of curses are inconsistently ordered.

In the phrase ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα, which occurs in Well V’s texts against athletes and against lovers (see note *i*, p. 243 below), *A* twice (5, line 4, 8, line 8) substitutes ἀέρα for the last word, and *B* also uses ἀέρα when he writes the phrase (13 B, line 4). If *A* used a written model, then no doubt *B* used either the same model or a copy of it, for his one curse follows *A*’s formula. A possible explanation, then, for *A*’s inconsistency in the use of αἰῶνα and ἀέρα and for *B*’s variations from *A* is that in their formulary or formularies alternative versions of phrases were recorded and that the writers were not always consistent in their choice between these versions (see the note on 13 B, lines 3/4, p. 249 below). There in fact exist several instances of alternative readings recorded in magical formularies; presumably the practice was common: see A. D. Nock, *Essays in Religion and the Ancient World* I, Z. Stewart, ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 177–179).

The “fifty thousand pieces of silver” that we read of in *Acts* is a conveniently round sum, and its accuracy is therefore suspect. Its inclusion in the story of the book burning suggests, in any case, that books of magic were items that could be bought and that there was a market for them in the 1st century. For our understanding of society at the time and its beliefs, it would be of obvious importance to know who the producers, the sellers, and the buyers of these books were, but the evidence is too scanty for anything more than conjecture. Occasionally one sees a magical text written in a good hand but by someone who manifestly was copying from a model that he did not understand;²⁰ in such cases, the clarity of the hand probably shows training in writing, and the misunderstanding of the model shows a lack of training in magic; if a text with such features were professionally produced, it would probably, then, be the work of a trained scribe “moonlighting” as a professional magician. *A*’s uncommonly clear script may well be that of a man with professional scribal training. If his optical (“scribal”) variants cited above are enough to convict him of a lack of training as a

²⁰ E.g. an unpublished silver phylactery from Egypt, *P. Colon.*, inv. no. T.3 (4th century), shows exceptionally skillful, controlled writing but also (1) a sequence of letters ΦVNZWC/EIINEVAΛA, which almost pictorially reproduce what must have stood in the formulary that the writer used, ὀρκίζω σε, πνεῦμα, a phrase evidently misunderstood as magical names, even though it is in a context of Greek prose, and (2) at the bottom of the text and unrelated to it syntactically, beside a drawing of the Seal of Solomon with magical letters in its interior, the words σφραγίδος Σολομῶνος ἐν <μ>έσω τὰ δαίμονια, a phrase that the writer found presumably in instructions in his formulary and ignorantly incorporated into his text. Another example is a defixio from Beirut, *SEG* VIII, 213 (2nd or 3rd century?), which retains in its text such symbols as Δ and Γ: they are in fact abbreviations, of a type frequently found in instructions in papyrus formularies (see K. Preisendanz, “Miszellen zu den Zauberpapyri, III.7: Zur Kurzung λόγος,” *WS* 41, 1919, pp. 9–14, and *PGM*, vol. II, p. 269 for λό(γος) and γρ(άφε) respectively, but the writer evidently took them to be magical χαρακτήρες. It is difficult, however, to judge the quality of the script of the Beirut text, for I know it only from the published drawing.

magician, then we must not rule out the possibility that he, too, was a professional scribe who produced our texts merely as, no doubt paid, *πάρεργα*.

Below I present *A*'s formulaic texts printed together in parallel form, first his curses directed against athletes and then those against lovers. It is evident that the two formulae for the two types of curse are closely parallel to one another. (Although the purpose of the fragmentary 10 is unclear, the curse is almost completely formulaic; for the sake of convenience, I print it here among *A*'s curses against athletes.) After the formulaic texts I offer comments on the features that these curses have in common with one another.

Curses directed against athletes

1	Βωρφορβαβαρβ[ο]ρ[β]αβα[ρφο]ρβαβορβορβαιη ^a	κραταιέ ^b	Βετπυτ, ^c	² παραδίδωμί	σοι ^d
2	Βωρφορβαβαρφορβαβαρφορβαβαρφορβαβαιη ^a	κραταιέ ^b	² Βετπυ, ^c	παραδίδωμί	σοι ^d
3	[ca. 7]βαβαρφαβω[ρ]β[ω]ρβορβαβαιη ^a	κ[ραταιέ ^b	Βετπυ, ^c	πα[ραδιδω]μί	σοι ^d
4	Βωρφορβα[ca. 20 ² βαβαιη ^a	κρατέ ^b	Βετπυ, ^c	παραδίδωμί	³ σοι ^d
5	[ca. 5]ca. 4 β[.]ραβορβαβαιη ^a	κραταιέ ^b	Βετπυ, ^c	παραδίδωμί	σοι ^d
6	[B]ορφορβαρβαρφορβαβαρ ² φορβαβορφορβαβαιη ^a	κρα ³ ταιέ ^b	Βετπυ, ^c	παρ<a>διδω ⁴ μί	σοι ^d

- 1 Εὐτυχιανόν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία,^e
- 2 Εὐτυχιαν[τ']ὸν <τ>ὸ<v> μέλλοντα παλαι³ιν Σεκούνδω,
- 3 Εὐτυχιανὸν τὸν Αἰθάλου μαθητήν,
- 4 Ἄτταλ[ον ca. 18]⁴⁻⁹traces¹⁰ca. 20 ΩΝΙΣΧ[¹¹1-2] ἰς τὴν πάλην ca. 12 ΕΛΘΗ¹²traces
- 5 Πε[τρ]ην τὸν Μακεδόν[ca. 2²ca. 5
- 6 Ἀλκίδαμον, ὃν ⁵ἔτεκεν Φ. ΥΣ. Α,^e

- 1 [ί]να κατα³ψύξῃς^f αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γνώμην,
- 2 ἵνα καταψύξῃς^f Εὐτυχιανὸν κα[ί] τὴν ⁴γνώμ[ην] κα[ί] τ[ὴν] δύναμιν, τὴν ἰσχύν, τὴν
- 3 ὄπ[ως κατα]ψύξῃς^f [αὐτὸν] ³καὶ ἀπολ[έση]ς [καὶ ποιήσης] ἄτονου, ἄνου, ἀκέ[ραιου],
- 5 ἵ[να κ]αταψύξ[ῃς] ca. 35 ³ca. 10] ca. 3 [ca. 10]AN[.]N, ἀλλὰ κ[αὶ] (?) κ[ατα]πίπτω ⁷
- 6 ἵνα κα⁶ταψύξῃς^f αὐτπν καὶ τὴν ⁷γνώμην,

- 1 καὶ ἰς τ[ὸν] ζοφώ⁴δη σου ἀέρα^g
- 2 πάλην, ⁵καὶ ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα^g
- 3 καὶ ἰς τὸν [ζοφώ]⁴δη σου ἀέ[ρ]α^g κ[αὶ] τὴν πάλην, ἣν μέλλει παλαῖσαι
- 5 [ca. 8]ΑΓΟΝΗ ca. 3 ⁴[ca. 15
- 6 καὶ ἰς τὸν ζο⁸φώδη σου ἀέρα^g

- 1 καὶ τ[ὸ]ς σὺν αὐτῶ. Δῆ^hς ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης ⁵ἀφώτιστον
- 2 καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶ. Δῆ^hς [ἰς] ⁶τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον
- 3 Εὐτυχιανός, καὶ τοῖς] ⁵σὺν αὐτῶ. Δῆ^hς ἰς τὸν τῆς [λή]θ[η]ς ἀφώτι[στον]
- 5 καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶ. Δῆ^hς ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτι[στον]
- 6 καὶ τοὺς ⁹σὺν αὐτῶ. Δῆ^hς ἰς τὸν ¹⁰τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον

- 1 αἰῶναⁱ καὶ καταψύξῃς^h καὶ ἀπολέσης^h ⁶καὶ τὴν πάλην, ἣν μέλλει
- 2 αἰῶναⁱ καὶ καταψύ[ξ]ῃς^h ⁷καὶ ἀπολέσης[ς]^h καὶ τὴν πάλην Εὐτυχιανοῦ
- 3 αἰῶ]ναⁱ καὶ κ[ατα]ψύξῃς^h καὶ ἀπολέσης^h καὶ τὴν πάλην, ἣν μέλλει
- 5 ἀέραⁱ καὶ καταψύ⁵ξῃς^h καὶ ἀπολέσης^h καὶ [e.g. τὴν πάλην] ca. 3 [ca. 12
- 6 ¹¹αἰῶν<a>ⁱ καὶ καταψύξῃς^h ¹²καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς ἔξενθεῖν ¹³[τ]οῦ[ς]

- 1 παλαίειν ἐν τῇ ΔΗ⁷[1-2]ΕΙ ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ.
 2 πα⁸λαιστοῦ.
 3 Εὐ³τιχιανός] ⁷παλαίσι[α]ι πρὸς Ἑγουνμενὸν ΗΙΣΤΟΗΝ[ca. 10, ὅπως μὴ δύνῃ]⁸ται παλαίσιαι.
 5 Ζήν]ωνος [ca. 3]ΝΑΡΙΑ[?] ΚΑ[2-3]ΝΗ[ca. 4] ⁶[κατα]πίπτων καὶ ἀ[σχημον]ῶν.
 6 ὄρους Ἄθηναί¹⁴ων.

- 1 Ἐάν³ δὲ κα[ι] ⁸παλαίη,
 2 Ἐάν³ πρὸς Σεκοῦνδον καταψύξης καὶ μ[η] ἀφῆ]ς ⁹[Εὐ]τυχιαν[ὸ]ν παλαίσιαι,
 3 [Ἐ]α[ν]³ δὲ καὶ πα[λ]αίη,
 5 Ἐάν³ δὲ καὶ παλαίη Π[ε]τρης ὁ Δ[ιο]νυσίου μαθητής,
 6 Ἐάν³ δὲ κέ ἐξέρχῃ¹⁵ται,

- | | | | | |
|---|--|--|-------------------------|---------|
| 1 | ἵνα ἐκπέση | καὶ ἀσχημονήση, ^k | Μοζο[υ] ⁹ νη | Αλχεινη |
| 2 | ἵνα ἐκπέση | καὶ ἀσχημονή ¹⁰ σ]η, ^k | Μ[ορζ]ουνη | Αλχεινη |
| 3 | ἵνα πέση | κα[ι] ἀσχη[μονήση], ^k | Μορζου ⁹ νη | Αλχεινη |
| 4 | ¹³ [2-3] ὅλως, ἀλλὰ πέση, | | Μουουν]η | Αλχεινη |
| 5 | [ἵ]να [κα]ταπέση ⁷ [καὶ ἀσ]χημονήση, ^k | | Μοζουνη | Αλχεινη |
| 6 | ἵνα ἀπ[ο]κάμψη καὶ ¹⁶ ἀσχη[μονήση], ^k | | Μορζου ¹⁷ νη | Αλχεινη |

- | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Πε[ρ]περθαρωνα | Ιαια, ^l παραδίδω[μί | ¹⁰ σοι] Εὐτυχιανόν, | ὄν ἔτεκεν |
| 2 | Πεπερθαρωνα | Ιαια, ^l π[αρα] ¹¹ δ[ίδω]μί | σοι Εὐτυχιανόν | |
| 3 | Πεπερθαρωνα | Ιαια, ^l π[α]ρ[α]δίδωμί | σοι [Εὐ]τ[ιχιανόν]. | |
| 4 | ¹⁴ [Πεπερθα]ρω]να | Ιαια, ^l παραδίδωμί | σοι Ἄτ ¹⁵ ταλον | τὸν ἔφηβον |
| 5 | Πεπερθαρ[ων]α | Ιαια, ^l παραδίδωμί | σοι Π[ετ]ρη]ν | τὸν Διονυ ⁸ σίου |
| 6 | Πεπε[ρ]θαρων] ¹⁸ α | Ιαια, ^l παραδίδω[μί | σοι] ¹⁹ Ἄλκ[ίδαμον]. | |

- 1 Εὐτυχία.
 4 τὸν Ἄττάλου ¹⁶[υ]ίόν.
 5 μ[αθητῆ]ν τὸν μέλλοντα παλαίειν [ca. 5]Ζ[ca. 3]ΝΑ[]ΑΤ[ca. 4]ΗΣ τὴν δ[ια]ίτ[η]ν (?), τῆ]ν

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | Κρα ¹¹ [ταιέ] Τυφῶν | Κολχλοι | Τουτονον | Σηθ Σαθ[αωχ] ¹² Εα, |
| 2 | Κραταιέ Τυφῶν | | | |
| 3 | Κρα ¹⁰ ταιέ Τυφῶν | Κολχλοι | Του[τονον] | Σηθ Σαθαωχ Εα, |
| 4 | Κρατεέ Τυφῶν | Κολχλοι | Τουτο ¹⁷ [νον | Σηθ Σαθαωχ] Εα, |
| 5 | τάξι. ⁹ Κραταιέ | Τυφῶν | Κολχλοι | Τ[ο]ντονον Σηθ Σαθαωχ Εα |
| 6 | Κραταιέ | ²⁰ Τυφ[ῶν] | Κολχλο | Πουτο ²¹ νον Σηθ Σαθαωχ Εα, |
| 10 | ² ΦΗ[ca. 22. Κραταιέ | Τυφῶν] | ³ Κολ[χ]λοι | Τουτονον Σηθ Σαθαωχ Εα, |

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 1 | Ἄναξ | Απομξ | Φριουριγξ | ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξι | ¹³ Εὐτυχιανού, οἶ |
| 3 | [Ἄναξ | Απομξ | ¹¹ Φριουρι]γξ | ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξι, | |
| 4 | Ἄναξ | Απομξ | ¹⁸ Φριουριγξ | ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει] καὶ ψύξει, καὶ ἀνι ¹⁹ σχι, | |
| 5 | [Ἄν]αξ | [Απ]ομξ | Φριουριγξ | ἐπὶ ἀφ[αν]ίσει καὶ ψύ ¹⁰ ξι, | |
| 6 | ²² Ἄναξ | [Απ]ο[μ]ξ | Φριουριγξ | ²³ ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξι, | |
| 10 | Ἄναξ | ⁴ Απο[μξ | Φριουριγξ | ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξι, | |

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | ἔτεκεν Εὐτυχία, | Κολχοιχ[ειλ]ωψ, ^m | [ψυ] ¹⁴ γῆτ[ω] | Ε[ὐ]τυχιανός |
| 2 | | Κολ ¹² χ[λο]ιχ[ειλω]ψ, ^m | ψυγῆτω | Εὐτυχιανός π[α]λαι] ¹³ στῆς |
| 3 | | Κο[λ]χοιχ[ειλ]ωψ, ^m | ψυ[γῆ]τω | Εὐ ¹² τιχιαν]ός |
| 4 | | Κολχοιχ[ειλω]ψ, ^m | ψυγῆτω | Ἄττα ²⁰ λος ὁ ἔφηβος |
| 5 | | Κο[λ]λο[ι]χ[ειλω]ψ, ^m | ψυγῆτω | Π[ετ]ρη]ς ca. 4 |
| 6 | | Κολ ²⁴ χοιχ[ειλω]ψ, ^m | ψυγῆτω | Ἄλκι ²⁵ δαμος |
| 10 | | ⁵ Κοχο[ι]ca. 5 χ[ειλω]ψ, ^m | ψυ[γῆ]τω | Ἰουλια ⁶ νός |

- 1 καὶ μὴ εὐτονείτ[ω ¹⁵ξεν] τῇ μελλούσῃ παρασκευῇ, ἀλλὰ γενέ[σθω] ¹⁶ξγλυτος. Ὡςⁿ
 2 Ὡςⁿ
 3 [καὶ ca. 27] Ὡς]ⁿ
 4 καὶ μὴ ἰσχυέτω πρῶ²¹τως [παλαί]ειν. Ὡςⁿ
 5 καὶ μὴ [ca. 5]T[.]NAPIΩ[2-3] Ζήνωνος. Ὡςⁿ
 6 καὶ μὴ ἐξερχέσθω ²⁶[τοῦ]ς ὄρους {ὄρους} Ἀθηναίων. ²⁷Ὡςⁿ
 10 καὶ μὴ [εἰάση]ς πῶπο[τε ca. 9.] ⁷Ὡςⁿ

- 1 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύ[χε] ¹⁷τα<ι>, οὕτω ψυχέσθω Εὐτυχιανός, ὃν [εἴ]¹⁸τεκεν
 2 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, ο[ύ]τως ψυ]¹⁴γήτω Εὐτυχιανοῦ
 3 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕ[τω]ς κα[ὶ] Εὐ[τι]χι[α]νο[ύ] ψυχέσθω
 4 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ²²ψύχετε, οὕτως καὶ Ἀττάλου ψυχέσθω
 5 ταῦ¹¹[τα τὰ ὀνό]ματα ψύχεται, οὕτως ψυχέσθω
 6 ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχε²⁸ται, οὕτω καὶ Ἀλκιδάμου ²⁹ψυχέσθω
 10 ταῦτα τὰ [ὀ]νόματα [ψύχεται, οὕτως] ⁸καὶ [[T ca. 3]] ¹¹Ἰουλιαν[οῦ] ψυχέσθω

- 1 Εὐτυχία,^e ὃν ἀπολύει Αἰθάλης.
 2 τὸ [ὀ]νομα καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐ]¹⁵πιστομπή,^o
 3 [τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ¹⁴ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐ]πιστήμη,
 4 ²³τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη,
 6 τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυ³⁰χή, ἡ ὀργή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη,
 10 τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀρ]⁹γή, ἡ ἐπιστήμη,

- 2 ἡ ἐπιστ]ήμη[η,] ὁ λογισμός, ἡ ἐ]πιστήμη.
 3 ἡ ἐπιπο]νπή,^o ὁ ν[οῦ]ς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἡ ἐπι ¹⁵πονπή, ὁ λο]γισμός.
 4 ²⁴ἡ ἐπιπομπή,^o ὁ νοῦς, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογι²⁵σμός.
 5 καὶ (?) ὁ νοῦς, ὁ λογισμός, ἡ [ἐπιστήμ]η, ἡ πρᾶ¹²[ξις, ca. 35
 6 ³¹ὁ λογισμός.
 10 ἡ ἐπιπο[μπή,^o ὁ νοῦς, ἡ] ¹⁰ἐπιστήμη, ὁ λογισμός.

- 2 Ἔστω κωφός,¹⁶ ἄλαλο[ς, ἄ]νους, ἀκέραιος, μήτε παλαίω[ν μηδενί.]
 3 Ἔ[στω ἄ]νους, ἀκέρ]αιος, μηδέν ἀκούων,
 4 Ἔστω κωφός, ἄλαλος, ἄνους,
 5]ON, ἀλλὰ πέση καὶ ἀσχημονήση.
 6 Ἔστω κωφός, ἄλα³²[λος,] ἄνους, ἀκέρεος, μηδέν ἀ³³κ[ο]ύων περὶ τοῦ Ἀπο[λλωνι]³⁴αμ[οῦ,]
 10 Ἔ[στω κωφός, ἄλα]¹¹λος, ἄνους,

- 3 [μήτε ¹⁶ὀργιζό]μενος, μήτε [max. ca. 31.]
 4 μὴ ὀρ²⁶γιζόμενο[ς, ca. 2]OΙ[ca. 2] πάλης, μὴ ²⁷ισχύων ὅλως μηδέν.
 6 μὴτε ὀργιζόμενος πρὸς ³⁵Ἀπολ[λωνιανόν. vacat]
 10 μὴ ὀργιζόμε[ε]νος [ca. 8,] ¹²μὴ ἰσχύων ὅλως μηδενί [ca. 15.]

Curses directed against lovers

- 7 Βορφορβα[ca. 7]φορβαρ[ca. 15 -βαβαιη^a κραταιέ]^b ²Βεπτυτ,^c π[αραδίδωμι
 8 Βωρφορβαβαρφορβα[ρ]βαρφορβαβ[αρφο]ρβαβαιη^a κραταιέ^b Β[επτυτ,^c πα]²ραδίδωμι
 9 Βωρφορβαβαρφορβα.[ca. 6]ρβαβοραρβαβ[αιη^a κρατεέ]^b ²Βεπτυτ,^c παραδίδωμι
 7 σοι^d Κα]ρποδώραν, [ἦν ἔτεκεν Εἰσίας,^e καὶ Τρο]³φιμᾶν, ὃν ἔτε[κεν Τροφίμη,^e
 8 σοι^d Λεοσθένην καὶ Πε[ῖ]ον] τοὺς προσερχομέν[ους Ἰουλι]³ανῆ, ἣ ἔτεκεν Μαρκία,^e
 9 σοι^d Ἰουλιανῆν, ἦν ἔτε[κεν Μαρκία,]^e ³καὶ Πολύνεικον,

7 ἴνα καταψύξ[η]ς^f αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν γνώ⁴μη]ν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἴσοδον αὐτ[ῶν] καὶ
 8 ἴνα κ[α]ταψύξ[η]ς^f αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ τὴν γνώ⁴μη]ν, ὅπως μὴ δυνηθῶσιν ὄμ[ο]ν λαλήσαι,
 9 ἴνα καταψύξ[η]ς^f αὐτοῦ[ς] καὶ τὴν γνώ⁴μη]ν καὶ τὴν στοργήν καὶ

7 τὴν συν[ήθειαν],
 8 μὴ περιπα[τῆσαι],⁵ μὴ ἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον τὸ Ἰουλιανῆς δυνηθῶσιν καθ[ί]ζειν]
 9 τὴν συνήθειαν [αὐτῶν

7 καὶ ἰς τὸν ⁵ζ[ο]φώδη σου ἀέρα^g καὶ
 8 ἢ προσπένψαι Ἰουλιανῆ Λεοσθένης ἢ Πείους, καὶ ἰς τὸν [ζ]ο⁷φώδη σου ἀέρα^g καὶ
 9 καὶ αὐ⁵τοὺς ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη σου ἀέρα^g καὶ

7 τοὺς συνστάν[ο]ντας αὐτούς. Δῆς^h ἰς τ[ὸν] ἄ]φώτιστον αἰῶναⁱ καὶ
 8 τοὺς προσπενπομένους. Δῆς^h ἰς τὸν ⁸τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον ἀέραⁱ καὶ
 9 τοὺς σὺν [αὐτοῖς]. Δῆς^h ἰς τὸν ⁶τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶναⁱ καὶ

7 καταψύξ[η]ς^h καὶ ἀπολέσης καὶ τ[αὐ⁷τη]ν (?) τὴν συνήθειαν, τὸ συναναπεσεῖν, τὸ συγ-
 8 καταψύξ[η]ς^h
 9 κατα[ψύξ[η]ς^h

7 γενέσ[θαι], τὴν ⁸ὄμ]ειλίαν αὐτῶν, Τροφιμᾶ, οὗ ἔτεκεν Τροφίμη,^e καὶ Κ[αρποδῶ⁹ρα]ς,

7 ἧς ἔτεκεν Εἰσιάς,^e καταψύξ[η]ς^h καὶ μὴ ἀφῆς [αὐτοὺς ὁ] ¹⁰μοῦ γενέσθαι.
 8 καὶ μὴ ⁹ἀφῆς ὄμειλήσαι Πρόκ[ρο]-
 9 καὶ μὴ ἀ⁷φῆς αὐτοὺς ἰς τὸ αὐτὸ γενέσθαι.

7 Ἐάν^j δὲ καὶ ἄγης, ἴνα ἐκπέση καὶ ἀ[σχημο]¹¹νήση^k
 8 κ]λο<ν> (?) καὶ Λεοσθένην καὶ Πείον.

7 Μοζούνη Αλχεινη Πεπερθαρῶια Ιαία,^l πα[ραδίδωμί] ¹²σ[ο]ι
 8 Μον¹⁰ζούνη Αλχεινη Πεπερθαρῶια Ιαία,^l παραδίδωμί σοι
 9 Μονζούνη [Αλχεινη Πεπερ]⁸θαρῶια Ιαία,^l παραδίδωμί σοι

7 Τροφιμᾶν, ὃν ἔτεκεν Τροφίμη,^e καὶ Καρπ[οδώραν, ἣν] ¹³ἐ[τ]εκ Εἰσιάς.^e
 8 Λεοσθέ¹¹νην καὶ Πείον.
 9 Πολύνεικον καὶ Ἰουλι]⁹ανῆν, ἣν ἔτεκεν Μαρκία,^e

9 ὅπως ψύξ[η]ς καὶ ἀ[πολέσης] καὶ μὴ ἐάσης ἰς τὸ αὐ[τὸ] γένεσθαι.]

7 Κραταῖε Τυφῶν Κολχλοϊ Το[ντονον]¹⁴Σ[ηθ Σ]αθαωχ Εα, Ἄναξ
 8 Κραταῖε Τυφῶν Κολχλο Ποντονον Σηθ ¹²Σ[αθαωχ] Εα, Ἄναξ
 9 ¹¹Δυσκράτεε Τυφῶν Κολχλο Ποντονον Σηθ Σαθαωχ] ¹²Εα, Ἄναξ

7 Απομξ Φριουρινξ ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει] καὶ ¹⁵ψύ[ξι], Κολχοιχειλωψ,^m ψυγῆτω
 8 Απομξ [Φ]ριουφιγξ ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει] καὶ ψύξι, Κολχοι¹³χειλωψ,^m ψυγῆτω
 9 Απομξ Φριουριγξ ἐπὶ ἀφ[ανίσει] καὶ ψύξι, Κολχοι¹³χειλωψ,^m ψυγῆτω

7 Τ[ρο]φιμᾶ[ς], ὃν [ἔτεκεν] ¹⁶Τρ[ο]φίμη,^e καὶ Καρποδώρα, [ἣ]ν ἐ[τεκε]ν Εἰσιάς,^e
 8 Λεοσθέ[νης] καὶ Πείος,
 9 Πολύνεικος καὶ Ἰουλιανῆ

- 7 ὅπως μὴ] ¹⁷δυνηθοῖσαν συναναπαιεῖν, μ[ὴ συγγενέσθαι, μὴ συγ]¹⁸κοιμηθῆναι, μὴ
 8 ὅπως μὴ δύνων¹⁴ται λαλήσαι Ἰουλιανῆ.
 9 καὶ ἡ στοργῆ] ¹⁴αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ συνήθεια καὶ τὸ συναναπαιεῖν ca. 7]¹⁵ΣΕΙ καὶ ἀκαταστασία
- 7 συνφαγ[εῖ]ν, [μὴ συνπιεῖν ca. 12]¹⁹ΣΑΙ. Ὡςⁿ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως
 8 Ὡςⁿ τα]ῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύχεται, οὕτως ὅς
 9 αὐτῶν. Ὡςⁿ τα]ῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ψύ]¹⁶χεται, οὕτως
- 7 Καρποδώρας ἐπὶ Τρο²⁰φιμ]ᾶ^q ψυχέσθω τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ
 8 ¹⁵καὶ Λεοσθένου καὶ Πείου [ψυχ]έσθω τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ Ἰου¹⁶λιανῆ^q καὶ ἡ
 9 καὶ Ἰο[υ]λιανῆς ψυχέσθω τ[ὸ] ὄνομα ἐπὶ Πολυ]¹⁷νείκου^q καὶ ἡ
- 7 ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργῆ, ἡ ἐπιπομπή,^o ὁ ²¹νοῦς,] ἡ ἐπι[στή]μη,
 8 ψυχῆ, ἡ ὀργῆ, ἡ [ἐπισ]τήμη, ἡ ὀργῆ, ἡ ἐπιπομπή,^o ὁ νοῦς, ¹⁷ἡ ἐπιστήμη,
 9 ψυχ[ῆ] καὶ ἡ ὀργῆ, ἡ ἐπιστήμη, [ὁ νοῦς,
- 7 [ὁ] λο[γισμός. vacat?]
 8 ὁ λογισμός. Ἔσ[τω]σαν κωφοί, ἄλαλοι, ἄνοες, ἄ¹⁸κέραιοι, μηδὲν ἀκούουσα
 9 ὁ λογισ]¹⁸μός. Ἔστω ἄσαν κωφ[οί, ἄ]λαλοι, ἄνοες, ἀκέρε[οι, μηδὲν] ¹⁹ἀκούων
- 8 [Ἰου]λιανῆ περὶ Λεοσθένου ἡ Πεί¹⁹ου, μήτε ὀργιζόμενοι μ[ή]τε λέγοντες πρὸς Ἰουλιανῆν.
 9 περ[ὶ] μηδενὸς ΑΥΤΑΛΛΑΛΛΑ[ca. 22.]

Notes

^a There is such little regularity to be detected in the spelling of these syllables that I venture only a few restorations among them and these only *exempli gratia*. Similar magical polysyllables composed of βαρ, βορ/βωρ, φορ/φωρ, and the like are often associated with Hekate/Selene, e.g. at *PGM* IV, lines 1402 and 1416, in a hymn to Hekate; at lines 2348–2353, at the end of another hymn to her; on a gem showing a triple Hekate (A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes*, Paris 1964, no. 252); in a defixio from Carthage (Audollent 242, lines 44/45 [3rd century?]), where in the form φορβαβορφορβα/βορφ . ορορ they are said to be her ἀλιθινὸν (for -ληθ-) ὄνομα, ὃ τρέμει τάρταρα, γῆ, βυθός, οὐρανός; on another, from Oxyrhynchos, (Wortmann 1, lines 74–76 [3rd or 4th century]); and on an unpublished example from Antioch (3rd or 4th century?) that begins with “Borphor” syllables and Hekate’s name and continues, like the formulaic tablets from Well V, παραδίδωμί σοι. In Well V’s texts, however, these syllables are used to invoke Seth-Typhon (see note c, p. 241 below), similar invocations of whom are not easy to find or obvious. At *PGM* VII, lines 652–660, for example, there are preserved instructions for using a bat to keep a person sleepless: “Take the blood of a black cow, eagle, or ‘Typhonic’ (*sc.* animal: τυφωνίου)—preferably of an eagle—and write on (the bat’s) right wing ‘borphor phorba phorphorba phorphorpha phorba phorba phorba phorba: baphaie: phorbaphor: barba.’ Put these (clusters of syllables?) one under the other in a column and write [in Greek, whatever] you want. On the left wing write the following in the same style,” and there follows another list of “Borphor” syllables. The possible connection with Seth-Typhon here is the stipulation that the blood of the “Typhonic animal” may be used, but we should note that this animal is not preferred. The “Typhonic animal” is no doubt the ass (see note l, pp. 244–245 below). Some instructions in the *Hippiatrica*, “Excellent for distemper of asses.

Write ‘*barbaros barbarizousa zabachora barbaron pyri pyritoumole*, save the wearer’ on a piece of paper and hang it around the (*sc.* animal’s) neck” (II.31.10–12 Oder/Hoppe), which appear to assume a connection between the “Borphor” syllables and asses, may then provide further evidence for the association of these syllables with Seth-Typhon. The “Borphor” syllables occur also in an invocation of Iao (i.e. Yahweh, the god of the Jews) Sabaoth at *PGM* IV, lines 1227–1264; for traces of association of Seth-Typhon and Yahweh in magical texts in the early centuries of the present era see note *m*, pp. 245–247 below. Of course it may well be that these “Borphor” syllables are merely representations of outlandish sounds (cf. βαρβαρίζω “speak gibberish”, βορβορύζω “rumble”) and in their emphasis on the strange and the possibly frightening may have been thought equally suitable for any destructive deity likely to be invoked in magic. [M. Smith: “(But) their association with Hekate-Selene-Artemis is too well-attested and consistent to be accidental. Perhaps they were (meant) to imitate the barking of the dogs thought to accompany the goddess: cf. Theocritus, 2.35.”]

^b κραταιέ: See note *m*, pp. 245–247 below.

^c Βεπτυ(τ) or Βεττυ(τ): I have not found the name outside the well. It is presumably another name of Seth-Typhon, who is invoked below in the formula and whose name appears in this position after “Borphor” syllables and the epithet κραταιέ on tablets from Well IV (e.g. IL 72, inscribed by *A*) and also on IL 372 and IL 1737, both *A*’s work.

^d The expression “*παραδίδωμί σοι* + name,” while frequent on curse tablets from wells in the Agora, seldom occurs in Greek magical texts elsewhere, the only other such examples that I have found being at *PGM* V, line 335, in a formula for the invocation of a ghost in the names of Iao Sabaoth, on a curse tablet from Antioch (see note *a*, p. 240 above), and possibly on one from Lilybaion (Gâbrici, pp. 296–299, Side B, lines 11/12, *παραδίδω/[μί σοι (?)]* · · · *ἵνα* [2nd century B.C.?]). We may compare a phrase that recurs in early 5th-century defixiones from Rome, e.g. Audollent 155 A, lines 29/30: [ῶ]σπερα ὑμῶν (i.e. Seth-Typhon and Osiris?) / *παραδίδουμ* (lines 47/48 *-θί[θο/μ]ε*, 156, line 8 *-δίδω*), followed by the intended victims’ names, and also the phrase *παραδίδωμί τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἥρῶν φυλάσσειν* in 2nd-century funerary imprecations from Attica (*IG* II², 13209 and 13210) and from Lappa on Crete (*ICret* II [16], 28). From the Hebrew composition known as the *Sepher ha-Razim*, a collection of magical spells taken from various sources and set into a Jewish cosmological framework, we may also compare some striking parallels to our texts’ *παραδίδωμί σοι* · · · *ἵνα* (or *ὅπως*) constructions, e.g.,

I deliver to you, angels of anger and wrath, N son of N, that you will strangle and (cause to) waste away (p. 27, Morgan)

I hand over to you, angels of disquiet, . . . the life and the soul and the spirit of N son of N, so that you may tie him in chains

(p. 49, Morgan)

^e In Greek and Latin magical texts it is usual, after about the beginning of the 2nd century, to give maternal rather than paternal lineage of the persons to be affected: see “*QPVVLLVA*,” for a list of defixiones that show the practice and also an account of some of the explanations for it that have been advanced. This practice, which may be Egyptian in origin, is seen in magical texts that I cite from Egypt’s Middle Kingdom, and I have been told by a Copt that magical spells also in present-day Egypt use maternal rather than paternal lineage.

^f καταψύξης: The verb *καταψύχω* occurs also in invocations of Seth-Typhon from Wells III, IV, and VII. It may refer to the chilling effects of the waters in the wells, but it need not, for it occurs on a lead tablet found in a sarcophagus at Rome (Audollent 155 B, lines 20–25): *ὀρκίζο* / · · · / · · · *ἀγίους χ[αρα]κτῆρες οὐσπερ γεγραμμένους ἐν τού/τω τῷ πετάλω τῷ ψυχρωφώρω, εἴν[α]* · · · / · · · *καταψύξετε τ[ῆν] ἰσ/[χύν]*, etc.; on the Roman tablet it is no doubt the chill of the lead itself that is

alluded to. The verb also occurs on a defixio of unknown provenance (Moraux, lines 13/14 [see the editor's notes *ad loc.*, where possible Aristotelian parallels are adduced]). It may be significant that all these instances of the verb are in invocations of Seth-Typhon. Mr. Thompson has contributed the following note: "It might be worth pointing out that in the ancient Athenian household the well was the normal equivalent of our refrigerator. A great many ancient well heads, both of terracotta and of marble, have cuttings to hold transverse bars from which objects could be suspended in the cool depths. Cf. [H. A. Thompson,] *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 50–51; B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora* XII, Princeton 1970, p. 208; M. Lang, *Athenian Agora Picture Book* no. 11, p. 8. Hence deposit in a well had a strong connotation of cooling."

^g I understand <ε>ίς in this phrase as depending on the verb *καταψύξῃς*, for in such late Greek the preposition need not imply motion: see Mayser II.2, p. 373.

As for the "dark air" itself, the ending of IL 1737,

25	καταψύγοι-
26	το καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα Τύχης . . . ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύσῃ μηκέτι ἀνα-
27	στῆναι . . . ἀλλὰ μέ-
28	νη . . . ἀδύναμος
29	[μέ]χρι οὗ ἀνέλωμαι ἐκ τοῦ ζοφώδους ἀέρος, ἀλλὰ ἀτον[ο]ῦσα
30	κα[ὶ] ἀδύναμος γένοιτο μέχρι θανάτου,

shows that the "dark air" must there be somehow the equivalent of the phenomenal world: Tyche is to remain enfeebled until her death and until the curser himself is taken up out of the dark air, i.e. until he transcends the present world. Citations by Lampe *s.v.* ἀήρ A 6, "air as sphere of daemonic powers, subdued and brought under power of Christ through Crucifixion 'in the air'," offer promising parallel images around the time of A's activity, e.g. Origen, *Comm. in Eph.*, 6.12 (p. 572): "For the air flowing about us seems to be full of opposing forces"; Athanasios, *Ep. Adolph.*, 7 (M.26.1801B): "(Christ) stretching out his hands to heaven seized the archon of the power of the air and made the path in the heavens clear for us"; *idem*, *Pass.*, 29 (M.28.233D) "Many (of the saved), leaving behind the things on earth, with a free step traverse the air and abide in heaven, no longer fearing the archon of the air." In early Christian writers the term "dark" apparently also can have resonances of transcendentalism, for example in Eusebios (*ob.* 339): "Yea, at that time when [Christ] beheld the whole human race lying sunk in dark night (*νυκτὶ ζοφερᾷ*) and obscurity profound through the deceit of baneful demons and the operations of God-hating spirits, . . . he broke asunder once for all the many-fettered chains of our wickedness . . ." (*Hist. Eccl.* x.4.13, tr. after Oulton); the somewhat later Isidore of Pelousion, *Epp.*, 5.485 (M.20.853A), refers to the mortal world as the *λαβύρινθος ζοφερός* from which we must escape. The imagery of A's tablets does not imply any adherence to the religion of these writers, but his texts' vocabulary and metaphors, when viewed in the light of these passages, suggest some (perhaps subconscious) transcendentalist assumptions on the part of the writer of his formulary.

^h Δῆς . . . καταψύξῃς . . . ἀπολέσῃς: The use of the second-person subjunctive in positive commands is not a feature of classical Attic (see R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* II, ii, 3rd ed., Hanover/Leipzig 1904, p. 220). According to N. Turner, *Syntax* (= J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek* III), Edinburgh 1963, p. 84, it "probably does not appear in [the] N[ew] T[estament] although there are examples in inscriptions of v–iii B.C. ([F.] Sloty, [*Der Gebrauch des Konjunktiv in den griechischen Dialekten* I (= *Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* III), Göttingen 1915, pp. 22ff.]) and post-Christian Greek." Among the late examples that Turner cites are Ignatios, *Pol.*, 8.3 and *BGU* II, 385, line 5 (Fayum, 2nd or 3rd century). For other instances see H. Reinhold, *De graecitate*

apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum Novi Testamenti quaestiones grammaticae (= Dissertationes philologicae Halenses XIV, iii), Leipzig 1901, p. 104, and still others may be traced through the references given in Mayser II, i, p. 229.

ⁱ Τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα (ἀέρα 5, 8): [M. Smith: “By contrast to *A*’s previous phrase ἰς τὸν ζοφώδη ἀέρα, this refers to the totally lightless (ἀφώτιστον) sphere of the underworld.”] I leave the ambiguous term αἰῶν untranslated. I have found no reference to an “*aiōn* of oblivion” anywhere else in Greek. That *A* twice writes “air” for “*aiōn*” and that *B* also in this phrase writes “air” (at 13 B, line 4) suggests not only that they had a formulary in common but also that to *A* the difference between the two terms seemed not very important.

^j In *A*’s curses directed against athletes, the “if” clauses apparently have two functions:

a) In 1 and 3–6, the general sense obviously runs, “I hand over to you so-and-so, in order that you will prevent him from doing such-and-such, *but if he does* (ἐὰν δὲ καί) *do such-and-such*, I hand him over to you in order that he will fail”; in other words, Seth-Typhon is given two chances to enact the curse. I have not found parallels, I may note, for this idea of a second chance in Greek magical curses, but a curse in the *Sepher ha-Razim* seems to have a comparable provision:

I adjure you, angels of wrath and destruction, that you will rise up against the ship of N son of N and that you will not permit it to sail from any place. *But if* wind (sufficient) for sailing come to it, let (the wind) carry it to sea and shake it in the midst of the sea and let neither man nor cargo be saved from it.
(p. 28, Morgan)

b) In 2 as it stands the sense is different: “I hand over to you so-and-so, that you will prevent him from doing such-and-such; *if* (ἐὰν alone) *you prevent him*, I hand him over to you.” Evidently the conceit in 2 is that of rewarding a deity for a service rendered. We may compare a defixio from Olbia published by V. V. Shkorpil’, *IstvArkhKom* 27, 1908, pp. 68–74, no. III, which has the phrase σε τειμήσω κα[ί] σ[οι] ἄριστον δῶρρον παρασκε[υάσω] (1st century B.C. according to Shkorpil’ but assigned to the 3rd century B.C. by Y. G. Vinogradov [*VDI* 118, 1971, p. 79], on the basis of its letter forms and its spelling), and also one from Kentoripa (*SEG* IV, 61) which has the phrase ἂν ἐ<κ>-δεικησσης με, ποίσω ἀργύρε[ο]ν σπάδικα (1st century?). A reward may be envisaged also at Wünsch 99, lines 1–3: Δαίμονι χθονίω ··· / ··· / πέμπω δῶρον (early Roman?) and in another such text presumably by the same writer (R. P. Austin, *BSA* 27, 1925/26, p. 79, no. 12), as well as on a defixio from Lilybaion (Gâbrici, pp. 296–299), with a similar phrase (2nd century B.C.?). Usually such a promise of reward is joined with or replaced by a threat of punishment if the deity disobeys (e.g. *PGM* IV, lines 2094–2097): B. Olsson (“Drohungen an die Götter. Religionsgeschichtliche Streifzüge,” *ΔΡΑΓΜΑ Martino P. Nilsson . . . dedicatum [= Acta Instituti romani regni Sueciae, ser. alt. 1]*, 1939, pp. 374–378) has collected other examples of such threats in magical texts. In the case of 2 it is unclear why the deity should consider the consequence, παραδίδωμί σοι, as a reward, however, and why the future tense is not used. I should welcome a better explanation.

An “if” clause occurs here also in one of *A*’s curses directed against lovers, 7, line 10, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄγης. I have suggested *ad loc.* that *A* may have introduced it in error, for it does not appear in his other curses directed against lovers. If, however, the “if” clause is deliberate here, can one see in it either of the two presumed functions of *A*’s clauses against athletes? The verb may hold the clue. In the magical papyri, the term ἀγωγή has the technical meaning “love charm”, e.g. at *PGM* IV, lines 2441, 2943, etc.; there are numerous examples of the verb ἄγειν in such charms, e.g. XXXVI, lines 69/70 Ἀγωγή ···, οὐ μῖζον οὐδέεν. / ἄγι δὲ ἄνδρας γυνεξίν καὶ γυνέκας ἄνδρεσιν (cf. XIII, line 238); and occasionally the verb seems to have the technical meaning “bring (him/her/them) in

his/her/their love” even when no object is expressed, e.g. IV, lines 2076/2077: ἄγει δὲ καὶ κατακλί-
νει / καὶ ὀνειροπομπέει, etc. (cf. lines 1718/1719: κλί/νει καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν, in a love charm). If the
verb at 7, line 10 has this technical meaning, then 7’s “if” clause may have function (a) of the curses
directed against athletes: “I hand over to you so-and-so and so-and-so, that you will prevent them
from doing such-and-such (here: ὁ]μοῦ γενέσθαι), but if they do (ἐὰν δὲ καὶ) do such-and-such (here:
but if you accomplish the opposite, if you bring [them together] in their love), I hand them over to
you in order that he (*sic*) will fail.” I offer this suggestion only hesitantly.

^k ἐκπέση καὶ ἀσημονήση: On this phrase see the note on 7, lines 10–13, p. 225 above.

^l Μορζουνη, etc.: These bizarre syllables occur not only in 1–10 (this part of 11 is lost) but on
those of A’s tablets so far read from Well IV (e.g. IL 72) and, in a somewhat longer form, in his invo-
cation of a ghost (12) and his IL 1737. As far as I know, the sequence does not occur outside the
Athenian Agora. They are examples of the βάρβαρα ὀνόματα frequently met with in magical texts
of the Roman period (see W. Speyer, “Barbar, B.I.h: barbarische Worte im Zauber [Theurgie],”
JahrbAntChrist 10, 1967, pp. 265–266), and in fact in Lucian’s *Dialogues of Courtesans* we read
that his Kerameikos witch used βαρβαρικὰ καὶ φρικώδη ὀνόματα in her charms (4.6; p. 211 above).
Their meaning, if there was any, was meant to be kept secret, and from Well V’s texts it would not
be apparent even how they are to be divided; fortunately, they are articulated, correctly or not, into
words in IL 1737. For want of any better criterion, I chiefly follow IL 1737’s divisions in articulat-
ing this passage in Well V’s texts.

Before discussing the words in 1–10, I give the relevant portion of IL 1737’s text and then list
the versions as they occur in (a) IL 1737, (b) 12, (c) IL 72, and (d) A’s formulaic texts from Well V.

IL 1737

9 Ἰαρταρμορζουχη ὕ Μορζουνη ὕ Καρμανη ὕ Δαχεινη ὕ Πεπερθαρωρα
10 Ιαια ὕ Αχειραιρα

(a) IL 1737	(b) 12	(c) IL 72	(d) 1–10
Ἰαρταρμορζουχη	[-- --/.] . δ . ου[.]η	<i>nothing</i>	<i>nothing</i>
Μορζουνη	M[o]ζ[ουνη]	Μορζουνη	Μορζουνη (Μουζο- 8, 9; Μονο- 4)
Καρμανη	Καρμαν	<i>nothing</i>	<i>nothing</i>
Δαχεινη	Δαχ[εινη]	Αλχεινη	Αλχεινη
Πεπερθαρωρα	<i>lost</i>	Πεπε[ρ]θαρωρα	Πεπερθαρωρα (Περπ- 3, 8; -ρρωρα 3, 5; -ωια 7, 9)
Ιαια	<i>lost</i>	[Ι]αιαη	Ιαια
Αχειραιρα	<i>lost</i>	<i>nothing</i>	<i>nothing</i>

Μορζουνη, however it is to be spelled, is not attested in other magical texts that I know of. The
similarity between Δαχεινη in (a) and (b) and Αλχεινη in (c) and (d) immediately strikes the eye as
a case of optical confusion between the similar combinations ΔΑ and ΑΛ. I have found neither
spelling to occur elsewhere. As for the next part of the appellation, I assume, somewhat arbitrarily,
that line 10 of IL 1737 begins a new word, even though there is no blank space at the end of line 9: in
a sequence of magical names in IL 1737 that corresponds to Well V’s κραταιὲ Τυφῶν Κολχλοι, etc.,
line 11 ends with no blank space but word division must be assumed, because its line 12 begins with
the recognizable combination Βασαωθ, presumably a jumbled spelling of Σαβαωθ (note *m*, p. 246
below). Πεπερθαρωρα, however spelled, is also apparently limited to the Agora. One of the words in
IL 1737’s version of the appellative discussed in note *m* is clearly Coptic, a circumstance that sug-
gests that there may have been Coptic influence in this sequence as well and that the initial letters
Πε- here may represent the Coptic masculine article, but a search of W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictio-
nary* (Oxford 1939) has not revealed any word that may be represented by the letters that follow the

Κολχλοι I have not found outside the Agora; it is probably to be seen, without the second lambda, in the last appellative of our sequence, Κολχοιχειλωψ. The most promising approximations that I have found occur in appellations of Seth-Typhon at *PGM* IV, line 3261 and LVIII, lines 27/28, in which they seem to be combined with the next syllable in our sequence and are written Κοκλοτομ and Κοχλωτα/τετομη respectively. [M. Smith: “It is almost certainly a corruption of ΒΟΛΧΟ, a standard epithet of Seth: Bonner, pp. 163–164, 198, and Audollent, p. 509.”]

Τουτονον: Although this cluster of syllables is not separated from the next three letters in IL 1737, what follows is clearly the name of Seth. [M. Smith makes the attractive alternative suggestion, that Κολχλοιτονονον (or its variants) Σηθ here is “a corruption of κοχλαζόποντον Σηθ = Seth who makes the sea boil (cf. *PGM* IV, lines 183ff.)” But why accusative?]

Σηθ: See the note on Typhon above.

Σαθαωχ: IL 72’s Σαβαω[θ] (the supplement being guaranteed by the other texts from Well IV) and IL 1737’s anagram Βασαωθ show that Well V’s word is no doubt a corruption of the name of the Jewish God of Hosts, for a general treatment of whom see Beer, “Sabaoth,” *RE* IA, Stuttgart 1920, cols. 1533–1535. I cannot, however, diagnose the corruption as inadvertent: it is obviously not, for example, the result of phonetic or visual similarity. Although the name Yahweh is often associated with that of Seth in magical texts (see A. Procopé-Walter, “Iao und Set [zu den figurae magicae in den Zauberpapyri],” *ArchRW* 30, 1933, pp. 34–40, and Moraux, pp. 23–37), and it may be, as numerous scholars have suggested (see Moraux, p. 19), that certain ancients saw some connection between Ιαω and (ε)ιω, Coptic for “ass”, the animal usually associated with Seth in magical texts, association of the name Sabaoth, on the other hand, with Seth-Typhon in magical texts from outside the Agora does not occur as such, as far as I have seen.

Ea is spelled Αεα in IL 1737. [M. Smith suggests the classical cry ἔα “come” and refers to E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, Oxford 1950, III, p. 580.] For an example more contemporary with our texts, with possibly a different meaning, see *Luke*, 4.34: Ἔα, τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνέ; where it may be meant to express the unclean spirits’ cry of pain. The different spelling in IL 1737 shows that A, and possibly the writer of the formularies that he used for IL 1737 and for the formulaic texts of Well V, probably thought of Ea as an unknown magical word; for this reason I leave it capitalized and unaccented.

Ἄναξ “lord” appears in IL 1737 as ANOX, a word that means “I am” in Coptic. How is the variation between ANAΞ and ANOX to be explained? Three possibilities suggest themselves: (a) that IL 1737’s ANOX is a corruption of ANAΞ, (b) that Well V’s and IL 72’s ANAΞ is a corruption of ANOX, and (c) that in the original sequence of appellatives there stood ANOX ANAΞ or ANAΞ ANOX, here reduced by haplography to ANOX in IL 1737 and to ANAΞ on the other tablets. Corruption of (a) ANAΞ to ANOX is unlikely, however, since in a presumably Greek-speaking milieu it would be easier for a Coptic word to be miscopied as a Greek word than the reverse. If (b) “I am” stood in the original, it would be paralleled in several examples of Jewish prayers collected by E. Norden in his *Agnostos Theos*, Stuttgart 1956, pp. 186–187, and in occurrences in Coptic and Greek in sequences of magical appellatives in the papyri, e.g. *PGM* VII, line 406, LXXIV, line 2, etc. (ANOX/ANOK) and IV, line 2255, XII, line 74 (εἰμί); for a useful discussion of ANOX and related words in these texts, see A. A. Barb, “Abraxas-Studien, 2. ‘Ich bin’,” in *Hommages à Waldemar Déonna* [= *Collection Latomus* 28], Brussels 1957, pp. 73–76. I have not, however, found the phrase associated elsewhere with Seth-Typhon in magical texts. There are possible analogues of (c) ANOX ANAΞ “I am lord” on two magical gems discussed by A. Jacoby, “Ein Berliner Chnubisamulett,” *ArchRW* 28, 1930, pp. 269–285. They have similar texts, the first running XNOYBI ANOX [Γ]ΙΓ’ΑΝΤΟΠ[ΗΚΤΑ Μ]ΑΡΟΥΘΑC CEMICIAAMΨ and the second, XNOYMIC ΤΥ[ΠΑΝΝΟC] ANOX CEMECIAAMΨ ΗΦΟΝ. If the original of A’s

sequence of magical appellatives had ANOX ANAΞ, the meaning here would be “I am lord Apomx Phriourinx ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξει.”

Απομξ, usually spelled Απομψ, occurs in the well-known sequence beginning Ιωερβηθ, which is often found in magical invocations of Seth-Typhon: see Moraux, p. 17, note 3. I do not know its meaning or that of

Φριουριγξ. The syllables form the end of IL 1737’s vocable, which occurs, with variations, in several magical texts, e.g., as Σοροορμερφεργαββαροφριουριωχ at Audollent 252, line 23 and 253, line 34 (Carthage, 3rd century?) after the Ιωερβηθ sequence, as Σοροορμερφεργαμαρ/βαφριουριγξ in an invocation of Yahweh Sabaoth at PGM IV, lines 1567/1568, as Σορο/ε[ρ]μερ[φεργαρ]-βαξμαμφριουριξγ at XII, lines 174/175, where it is called the “daimôn of the great god”. The vocable appears with further variations on several magical gems that have representations of Chnoubis: A. Delatte, “Études sur la magie grecque,” BCH 37, 1913 (pp. 247–278), p. 270; Bonner, nos. 99 and 100; and A. J. Festugière, “Pierres magiques de la Collection Kofler,” Mélanges 37 (pp. 287–293), 1960/61, p. 289.

ἐπὶ ἀφανίσει καὶ ψύξει: ἀφάνασις “making to disappear” *vel sim.* is an obviously appropriate activity for the deity of the ζοφώδης ἀήρ; for words of chilling associated with Seth-Typhon see note *f*, pp. 241–242 above.

Κολχοιχειλωψ: The first two syllables may be congeners of Κολχλοι above. I have not found the last two syllables outside the Athenian Agora; if the spelling with ψ rather than φ is correct, should we look for Greek and read an epithet χείλωψ “lipface” (cf. βόωψ, Κύκλωψ, etc.), unattested but possible descriptive of the “puffer” Typhon?

ⁿ Ὡς . . . οὕτως: Audollent, Index VIε, “Similia similibus,” pp. 491–492, has collected examples of defixiones whose sentences with the construction ὥς (or ὡσπερ) . . . οὕτως show sympathetic magic. For a general discussion of the notion see J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* I, chap. 3, “Sympathetic magic.”

^o Ἐπιπομπή I understand as “charm” in the magical sense. The word occurs with such a meaning at PGM IV, line 1702, V, line 169, etc. Apparently the curser wanted to be sure that his target would not seek magical retaliation for the curse. Such an intention would explain the phrases that are meant to keep the intended victim from hearing about the curser’s activity, e.g. 3, line 11: ἔστω κωφός . . . μὴ ἀκούων, 6, lines 33/34 . . . μὴ ἀκούων περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνι/ανοῦ, IL 72, lines 17/18: . . . μη/δὲν ἀκούων περίεργον “hearing nothing magical” and possibly 9, lines 17/18: . . . [μηδὲν] / ἀκούων περ[ὶ] μηδενὸς ΑΥΤΑΛΛΑΛΛΑ[.

^p A’s texts show some inconsistency in the listing of the intended victims’ faculties that are to be affected. If the inconsistency means that A was composing *ad lib.* rather than simply copying from his model, probably again here the model had some such phrase as κοινά, ὡς βούλει (see pp. 234–235 above). This may explain the repetitions of certain nouns in this sequence.

^q In 8 plural names are to be chilled with regard to one person. The preserved letters TOONO[at 7, line 20 suggest that here, however, it is only one person’s name that is to be chilled. For this reason one may consider either Καρποδώρας ἐπὶ Τρο/φιμ]ᾶ (or -μ]ᾶ) or Τροφιμᾶ ἐπὶ Καρπο/δώρ]α as a supplement at 7, lines 19/20; I print the former (with -μ]ᾶ) simply *exempli gratia*. I assume that the same arrangement, of chilling one partner’s name with regard to the other, obtains in 9, and I restore accordingly, but I note that in 8 ἐπί governs the dative while in 9 it must govern the genitive if the restoration is correct. It is not clear which case the preposition governs in 7, for if the woman’s name is to be chilled with regard to the man’s in 9, his name, Trophimas, would appear on the tablet as ΤΡΟΦΙΜΑ whether genitive or dative; if his name is to be chilled with regard to the woman’s, then 7’s preposition governs the dative.

II. A CURSE INSCRIBED BY *B*

In general, the text (13) of *B*'s tablet, the only opisthographic example from the well, follows the formula of *A*'s 1–10. If, as I have attempted to show above, *A* used a formulary, *B* must have used either the same one or a closely similar copy. We may conjecture that in the parts of the formulary that corresponded to 13 *A*, lines 5–8 and *B*, lines 1–3 there stood some such phrase as *κοινά, ὡς βούλει* (see pp. 234–235 above) and that here *B* was composing *ad lib*. Accordingly, it is impossible to restore these lines with any certainty.

The curse is too fragmentary to reveal its purpose.

13 (Fig. 2). Against Ploutas

Max. p.H. 0.060, max. p.W. 0.059 m.

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 951 *ca. med.* III *p.*

Side A

[----- *ca.* 10 -----] αβαβ-

[.] φορβαβαίη κραται-

[ε Β] επτυτ, παραδίδω-

[μί σ] οι Πλουτᾶν, ὄν ἔ-

5 [τεκ] ε ΜΗΡΤΗΡΙΝΕ ἀδύ-

[νατ] ον καὶ ἀπρ[α]κτον τῆς

[⁻²⁻³] ΗΤΗΣ [⁻²⁻³] μένης

[⁻³⁻⁴] ΚΑΤΑ [⁻⁶⁻⁷] ΑΤΟΝ

Side B

[⁻²⁻⁴] ΤΟΥ [¹⁻²]

Ν καὶ τοῦ σώ[μα-]

τος. Δῆς ἰς τὸν

τῆ[ς] λήθης ἀέρα

5 καὶ καταψύξῃ[ς]

καὶ μ[ῆ] ἀφῆς *ca.* 2]

ΝΑΙ [----- *ca.* 7 -----]

[⁻²⁻³] [----- *ca.* 8 -----]

ΑΘΑ [----- *ca.* 8 -----]

B, line 3. ἰς: εἰς.

Side A

“(‘Borphor’ syllables) -babaie, mighty Betpyt, I hand over to you Ploutas, whom his mother(?) bore, that he may be powerless and unavailing”

Side B

“. . . and of the body. Bind in the air of oblivion and chill and do not allow”



FIG. 2. 13, Side A

Side A

Line 5. ΜΗΡΤΗΡΙΑΝ (Τ or Π): One expects the name of Ploutas' mother here. Unless a drastic corruption of a name like Μυρρίνη is to be assumed, I cannot interpret the letters as a spelling of any name known to me, however. A possible articulation is μήρτηρ (for μήτηρ: see Gignac, p. 108, for the intrusion of ρ), followed by ἰνε or [so M. Smith] ἰν' ξ̂. If the writer was copying from a formula, his model would probably have read, instead of the name of the intended victim and that of his mother, τὸν δ(ε)ἰ(να), δὲν ἔτεκεν ἢ δ(ε)ἰ(να) or ἢ μήτηρ (for examples of variations in the expressions of maternal lineage in magical texts see "QPVVLLVA"). If *B* was as unskilled as his handwriting suggests, he may have inadvertently retained the model's μήτηρ instead of substituting the mother's name. As for the next three letters, the possibilities are that they represent εἶναι (see Gignac, pp. 189–193), or as M. Smith proposes, are an informal spelling of ἴνα ἦ. I follow his suggestion in the translation above, although accusatives are unexpected. For παραδίδωμι + infinitive + accusative see the funerary imprecations cited in note *d*, p. 241 above.

Lines 5/6. The phrase ἀδύ[νατ]ον (or -μ[ον]) καὶ ἀπρ[α]κτον is not in the well's other texts.

Line 7.] ΗΤΗΣ] [(Λ or]Μ; Τ, ΣΤ, or Π; Γ[or Π]: e.g.] ΗΣ τῆς γ[ενο]μένης.

Side B

Line 2. Ν or Η.

Lines 3/4. ἰς τὸν / τῆ[ς] λήθης ἀέρα: *A*'s formulaic texts have ἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης ἀφώτιστον αἰῶνα but show inconsistencies: twice (5, line 4 and 8, line 8) he substitutes ἀέρα for αἰῶνα and once (7, line 5) he omits τῆς λήθης. In omitting the word ἀφώτιστον and choosing ἀέρα rather than αἰῶνα, *B* also departs from the formulaic phrase. We have examples of formularies that record alternative readings (see p. 235 above). One hypothesis that would account for these deviations in *A* and *B* is that they had a formulary in common that showed a variant and a correction written above the line, e.g.

ΤΗΣΛΗΘΗΣ ΑΕΡΑ
ΙΣΤΟΝΑΦΩΤΙΣΤΟΝΑΙΩΝΑ,

ΤΗΣΛΗΘΗΣ having been inadvertently omitted but added later as a correction and ΑΕΡΑ recorded as a variant. In writing 7, *A* may have overlooked the ΤΗΣΛΗΘΗΣ above the line and in 5 and 8 may have inadvertently chosen the variant ΑΕΡΑ. Similarly, *B*, whose technique shows less skill (cf. the slovenliness of his writing and his spelling μήρτηρ) may have simply copied what was above the line. I would welcome a simpler hypothesis, however.

Line 6. μ[ὴ] ἀφῆς or μ[ὴ] ἐάσης.

Line 7. ΝΑΙ] [(Κ[or Υ[), e.g. ναί, κ[ύριε, κ[ραταίε (cf. IL 1737, line 14), etc.: For instances of ναί followed by an appellation in magical texts see A. J. Festugière, "Une formule conclusive dans la prière antique," *SymbOslo* 28, 1950, pp. 89–94.

III. A CURSE INSCRIBED BY *C*

For our last text (14) I posit the existence of a third writer because its script, neat and controlled, seems, while similar to *A*'s in 1–12, to be somewhat more florid. 14 is so badly encrusted, however, that it is difficult to make any confident statement about the character of its writing, even that it is definitely not another example of *A*'s work. We should note that whatever is missing in its first five lines, lines 6–7 have "Borphor" syllables like the beginnings of *A*'s and *B*'s formulaic texts and also give them the same conclusion: -βαβαιη κραταίε. The babbling here, however, if it continued from the beginning of the text of the

tablet, would have been unusually long for *A*'s formula. Βεπτυ(τ) or Βετπυ(τ) may have continued in the lost beginning of line 8, but the occurrence of ΟΙ, δίδωμί σοι 14 or 15 letters after the deity's name shows that at least here the formula was different from that of 1-10.

14.

Max. p.H. 0.098, max. p.W. 0.141 m.

Av. L. H. 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 954 *ca. med.* III *p.*

1-5 *traces*

6 ----- min. 20 ----- βορφορβα[-¹⁻³-]α[-¹⁻²-]φορ

7 ----- min. 20 ----- βαβαιη κρατέ

8 ----- min. 20 ----- ΟΙ, δίδωμί σοι

9 ----- min. 25 ----- ΔΑΡΙΑ

10 ff. Traces of *ca.* 13 lines

Line 7. κρατέ: -ταιέ

APPENDIX: Inv. No. IL 1737

Because of its parallels to *A*'s formulaic curses, I append, with brief notes, another of his texts, interesting in its own right. It was found among 3rd-century pottery in Well VII, which had been sunk into the courtyard of one of the Roman houses behind the Stoa of Attalos along the road from the Greek to the Roman Agora.

Lines 1–3 show large lacunae caused by damage that resulted when a wad of hair was impressed into the surface on being rolled up inside the tablet. Several of the grooves left by the hair and a few dark brown strands of the hair itself remain (Pl. 68). This is the hair mentioned in lines 11 and 14 as being that of Tyche, the intended victim; its inclusion was part of the magical operation. Lucian has the witch in his *Dialogues of Courtesans* (p. 211 above) say, when one of the women asks her to bring back a lost lover, “You’ll need something belonging to the man himself, such as clothing or boots or a few of his hairs or anything of that sort” (tr. Macleod). Such material once intimately associated with the intended victim is known in ancient magical terminology as his *οὐσία* (see Hopfner, pp. 401–408, §§667–677). A few other examples of hair folded or rolled up in extant magical texts may be cited. A papyrus of unspecified Egyptian provenance, *PGM XVI* (2nd/3rd century [1st century edd.; *vidi*]) was found folded up into a small packet with hair inside. Auburn hair was found inside *PGM XIXa* (Hermopolis Magna, 4th or 5th century). No hair remained in the defixio Wortman 1 (Oxyrhynchos, 3rd or 4th century) by the time it reached the eyes of scholars, but its text has the phrase *κατάδησον Ματρώναν*, / [ἦν ἔτ]εκεν Ταγένη[s], ἦς ἔχῃς τῆν οὐσίαν—ἔ τρίχες (for *οὐσίαν—τὰς τρίχας*) τῆς / [κεφ]αλῆς αὐτῆς (lines 19–21). Dr. Helen Whitehouse of the Ashmolean Museum kindly writes me that an unpublished defixio in her care (inv. no. 1982.63), from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society, “contained a dark-brown mass of organic matter which has been analysed by the Home Office Forensic Science Laboratory as human hair, threads of wool, and small pieces of gypsum, bound together with mud” (letter of November 28, 1983).

It was for a love charm that Lucian’s witch was to use the man’s *οὐσία*, and the two papyri with hair inside and the defixio Wortmann 1 are love charms. The text of the tablet in the Ashmolean Museum has not been fully transcribed, but a preliminary reading that I made in 1983 shows that it, too, is a love charm. This suggests a pattern, but there is nothing in the text of IL 1737 to suggest love in the usual sense, and, as we have noted (p. 222 above), so far all erotic defixiones from Greece have been separative rather than love charms.

Tyche’s name and maternal lineage in lines 1, 10, 13/14, and 16 are written in smaller letters than the rest of the text and have a squeezed look. Evidently *A* prepared the tablet before he had a customer for it, and he found afterwards that in these passages he had not left enough space for the identification to be filled in. This seems to be the only one of his texts so produced.

Against Tyche

H. 0.157, W. 0.167 m.

Av. L. H. (lines 1–3) 0.0015, (elsewhere) 0.003 m.

Inv. No. IL 1737

Inv. No. IL 1737

ca. med. III p.

κραταίε Τυφών, παραδιδωμί σοι Τύχην, ἣν ἔτεκεν Σοφία, ἵνα κακῶ σῆς -- ^{ca.6} --] ^{ca.2} σῆς αὐτῆς [-- ^{ca.6} --] αὐ[τ]ῆς τὴν ἰσχύν, τὴν [δύνα-]
 μιν, τοὺς τόπους, τὰ νέερα, τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν [-- ^{ca.8} --] τ[α] μέλη πάρι[τα] ἰς τὸν ζῶφ[ί]ωθι σου ἀέρα. <Δ[ῆ]ς ἰς (?)> τ[ὸν]

τῆς λήθης ἀφάριστος αἰῶνα, καὶ ΣΤΗ. . [-- ^{ca.28} --] ἡσῆς Τύχην, ἣν ἔ[τεκεν]

Σοφία, εἶος ἀδύνατος γένηται, ΑΤΑ [-- ^{ca.4} --] ΙΟΝΛΑΜΟΥ -- ^{ca.7} -- [--] εἰαν [--] Ια [--] Ιαω [-- ^{ca.3} --]

5 Ἰακουβία ^v Ιαω ^v Βολχουστῆ ^v Ιω [-- ^{ca.18} --] Ιωμαθαλααλ [--] ἤ

Εκεβενε ^v Εκευθι ^v Νευθι ^v Ια [-- ^{ca.5} --] οριθ ^v Του[ο]ρ[μ]α ^v Αοχη ^v Ασχεφαρ ^v

Ιαωαι ^v Φαιθων ^v Τουβρια ^v [-- ^{ca.5} --] Ια [--] Ιωσθ ^v Ανεβθ ^v Αβρασαξ ^v

Τεθου ^v Αθαφελαμ ^v Τατεψιατα ^v Ελοε ^v Ιαρταρ ^v

Ιαρταρμουχη ^v Μορβουνη ^v Καρμανη ^v Δαχεινη ^v Πεπερβαρωρα

10 Ιαα ^v Αχραφα, ^v δίδωμί σοι Τύχην, ἣν ἔτεκεν Σοφία, τὴν προγεγραμμένην,

ἣς εἴσιν αἱ τριγές αἱ ἐνελημέται. Ναί, κραταίε Τυφών ^v Κολχλοι ^v Τοτολιθ Σηθ

Βασαωθ ^v Αεα ^v Ανοχ ^v Απομψ ^v Οσσερω ^v Αποικαίλεμουρ [-- ^{ca.3} --]

Ορμερφαρβαρμαφριουριξ ^v ἐπὶ ἀφανισμῶ καὶ ψύξει Τύχ[ῆ]ς, ἣς ἔτε-

κεν Σοφία, ἣς εἴσιν αἱ τριγές αἱ ὡδε ἐνελημέται. Ναί, κραταίε Τυφών ^v

15 Χωχειλωψ ^v Ιαω ^v Ιακουβθα ^v Ιωερβθ ^v Βολχουστῆ ^v Βασουχα ^v

Φαθα ^v Θναχα ^v ^{ca.3} ροσερρωσ, ψυγέτω Τύχη, ἣν ἔτεκεν Σοφία, ἣν ἐνγέγρα-

φα ἰς τὴν πλάκα κ[αί] μῆ [περι]πατήσαιο. Ναί, κραταίε Τυφών

[-- ^{ca.5} --] ἠ ^v Βαγγη [-- ^{ca.2} --] ρφω [-- ^{ca.3} --] ρι ^v Σουτορηθ [--] ὁ ἔστη-

κὼς ἐν τῷ φρέατι [-- ^{ca.5} --] ^{ca.2} ΑΔ ^{ca.2} γῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ [-- ^{ca.2} --]

20 ΤΟΝΧΑΕΙΝΙΟΝΕΧ [-- ^{ca.15} --] ΙΡΙΑΝ [-- ^{ca.10} --]

ἔῆτον, κατὰ στρεψον [-- ^{ca.7} --] τὴν ἰσχύν, τὴν δύναμιν, ^{ca.3}

^{ca.3} [-- ^{ca.9} --] τὰ] ἀρθρα, ἀφάνισον -- ^{ca.5} -- τὸν πλε[ύμ]ονα ^v

Τ[-- ^{ca.9} --] καί] τῆς κοιτίας αὐτῆς -- Τύχης, ἣς ἔτεκεν Σοφία. Ὡς ταῦτα ^v

[τὰ δυνάματα] καταγέγραφα καὶ καταψύχεται, οὕτως καὶ τὸ σῶμα

25 [καί] [αἱ] σ[τ]άρκες καὶ τὰ νεύρα καὶ τὰ ὀστά καὶ τὰ μέλη καταψύχοι-

το καὶ τὰ σπλάνχνα Τύχης, [ἣς] ἔτεκεν Σοφία, ἵνα μὴ ἰσχύση μηκέτι ἀνα-

στῆραι, μὴ περιπατήσαι, μὴ λαλῆσαι, μὴ κειμηθῆραι, ἀλλὰ μέ-

νη νεκρά, ὄψρα, ἀδύναμος, παραλελυμένη, κατεψυγμένη

[μέ]χρη ὅδ' ἀν' ἔλωμαι ^v ἐκ τοῦ ζοφώδους ἀέρος, ἀλλὰ ἀτον[ο]ῖσα

30 καὶ ἀδύναμος γένουτο μέχρι θανάτου. Ναί, κραταίε [Τυ]φ[ὼ]ν.]

(For the text of IL 1737, see p. 252)

Lines 2, 17. *ἰς*: εἰς

Line 3. Τίχην: Τύχην

Lines 16/17. ἐνγέγρα/φα: ἐγγ-

Line 26. σπλάνχνα: σπλάγγνα

Line 27. κεινηθήναι: κιν-

“Mighty Typhon, I hand over to you Tyche, whom Sophia bore, that you may do her harm and --- her ---, her strength, capacity, sinews, muscles, breath, ---, all members in your dark air. <Bind into> the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion and --- Tyche, whom Sophia bore, until she becomes weak. ---eian Ia Iao Iakoubia Iae Bolchoseth Io--- Io-malthalal[?]]ps Ekebenneu Ekeuthi Neuthi Iao Iae Ioseth Anebeth Abrasax Iasai Phaithon Toubria ---orith Tonorma Aoche Aschephar Tethou Athaphelami Tateimiata Eloē (?) Iartar Iartarmorzouche Morzoune Karmane Dacheine Pepertharora Iaia Acheraira, I give you Tyche, whom Sophia bore, the aforementioned, whose hairs these are, rolled up. Yes, mighty Typhon Kolchloi Totolith Seth Basaoth Aea Anoch Apomps Osesero Apoikailemour--- Ormerpheriarbarmaphriourinx over the blacking out and chilling of Tyche, whom Sophia bore, whose hairs these are, here rolled up. Yes, mighty Typhon Chocheilops Iao Iakoubia Ioerbeth Bolchoseth Basoucha Phatha Thnacha ---roserrros, let Tyche, whom Sophia bore, whom I have inscribed on the tablet, grow cold and not walk about. Yes, mighty Typhon ---e Bagel ---npho---ri Sontorneth --- in the well --- of earth and heaven ---. Bind, twist --- the strength, the capacity, ---, the joints, make her lungs disappear --- of the abdomen, (i.e.) of Tyche, whom Sophia bore. As I have written down these names and they grow cold, so, too, let the body and the flesh and the muscles and the bones and the members and the bowels of Tyche, whom Sophia bore, grow cold, that she may no longer rise up, walk around, talk, move about, but let her remain a corpse, pale, weak, paralyzed, chilled until I am taken out of the dark air, rather let her grow exhausted and weak until she dies. Yes, mighty Typhon.”

Line 1. κακώ[σῆς: Cf. 12, line 3, where the same verb is used.

[---ca.6---]: Evidently one of Tyche’s parts or faculties.

Line 2. Unless the writer of *A*’s formulary considered “the unilluminated *aiōn* of oblivion” to be in apposition to “your dark air”, either the formulary or *A*’s copying from it is defective here. I have supplied what seems to be the minimum.

ΣΤΗ . [(E, Θ, or Ο; Ι| or Κ|)

Line 4. ΑΤΑ[-ca.4-]ΟΝΛΑΜΟΥ---ca.7-[-.] (Λ or Κ).

Lines 4–10. The broken word]ειαν and what follows are roughly parallel to the sequence at 12, lines 4–6: see the note *ad loc.* Ia, Iaw, Iakoubia, and Βολχοσηθ, as well as several possibilities beginning Ιω-, all occur in appellations of Iao/Seth collected by Moraux, p. 17, note 4. Ιωμαλθαλαλ[?]ψ (ψ or υ), looks as if it belongs to the same set; its last element may conceal λαίλαψ “hurricane”, “whirlwind”, appropriate to Typhon (cf. the χείλωψ possibly to be recognized in Κολχοιχειλωψ: see note *m*, p. 247 above, *ad fin.*). Also apparently new are Εκεβεννεθ, Ανεβηθ, Τουβρια, . [-ca.5-] οριθ (Α or Λ; υ| or κ[;]α or]λ), Ασχεφαρ, Τεθου, Αθαφελαμι, Ιαρταρ, and Αχεραρα. Αβρασαξ (line 6) is common in magical texts: see M. Le Glay, “Abrasax,” *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, Zurich/Munich 1981, pp. 2–7, with earlier bibliography. Ιαωαι (line 7) is an obvious palindrome on Iaw; it occurs, for example, in the so-called “planetary”

inscription at Miletos: see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., Tübingen 1924, pp. 393–399. **Φαιθων** (line 7) looks like a variant on **Φαέθων**. **Αοχη** (line 7) is an optical congener of **Δοχη** (12, line 7) but also appears, spelled **Αωχη**, in a context of Jewish angelic names at *PGM X*, line 44; **Ελοε** (line 7; Ε or Θ; λ or μ; ρ, ε, or θ; ε or θ), if correctly transcribed, suggests the Hebrew *Elohim* (cf. *PGM XLV*, line 5; 6, line 1; 11, line 1); and with **Τεθου** (line 8) we may compare **Τεθ ουρ ουρ** at *PGM XIII*, line 1061 in a spell ascribed to Moses. With the exception of the apparently new **Αποικαιλεμουρ** [^{max-2}] (line 12), **Μορζουνη** and the *magica* following it appear, with variations, in 1–10 and 12: see note *l*, pp. 244–245 above.

Line 11. **Ναί, κραταιέ Τυφῶν**: Cf. the phrase in lines 14, 17, and 30 below and *IL 72*, line 12, another of *A*'s texts, as well as the instances of **ναί** in prayers collected by Festugière, *op. cit.* (note on 13 B, line 7, p. 249 above). In *IL 1737*, however, the use of **ναί** is an exception to Festugière's generalization that it serves chiefly as a "formule conclusive", for here it occurs not only at the end of the invocation.

Lines 11–13. For discussion of this sequence of appellatives see note *m*, pp. 245–247 above. **Τοτολιθ** and **Σηθ** are not separated by a blank space, but this is probably because both words are squeezed to fit into the line.

Line 15. Along with their congeners in lines 4/5 above, **Ιαω** and most of the magical names that follow in lines 15/16 occur in the sequences of appellatives collected by Moraux, *loc. cit.* **Φαθα** and **Θναχα** (χ or ψ) are apparently new, unless the former represents the Egyptian Phtah (cf. the spelling **Φαθ** at *PGM XII*, line 292).

Line 17. **κ[αί] μῆ [περι]πατήσοιτο**: The middle of **περιπατέω**, as far as I know elsewhere uninstanced, is what we may call the "maledictory middle". L. Robert writes of the "goût comme exaspéré dans les malédictions funéraires de l'optatif moyen: **πάθοιτο, περιπέσοιτο, τύχοιτο, ἔχοιτο, χωρήσοιτο, λάθοιτο, λάβοιτο**; on en verra d'autres. C'est la manie, la passion, la maladie du moyen dont parlait K. Buresch [*Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, p. 47] pour τὸν αὐτὸν μόρον **πάθοιτο** dans une malédiction de Lydie, à Daldis, avec 'l'horrible **περιπέσοιτο**' et le 'plus monstrueux encore **ἔχοιτο**' dans une épitaphe de Dokimeion: **αἰεὶ οἱ γενεή τε καὶ οἶκος πῆματ' ἔχοιτο**" ("Malédictions funéraires grecques, I. Une épitaphe métrique au Pirée," *CRAI* 1978 [pp. 241–269], p. 255).

Line 18. These names seem new. In **Βαγηλ** one recognizes the Hebrew *-êl*, often found at the ends of names of angels: cf. **Γαβριηλ, Μιχαηλ**, and the long lists collected by J. Michl, "Engel V (Katalog der Engelnamen)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum V*, Stuttgart 1962, cols. 200–239, G. Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels*, New York/London 1967, and J.-H. Niggemeyer, *Beschwörungsformeln aus dem "Buch der Geheimnisse" (Sefür ha-Razîm)*. *Zur Topologie der magischen Rede* (= *Judaistische Texte und Studien III*), Hildesheim/New York 1975, pp. 225–238.

Lines 18/19. **ὁ ἔστη]/κῶς ἐν τῷ φρέατ[ι**: The first supplement is simply *exempli gratia*. Along with the rest of this line and the next, it may be a predication on Seth-Typhon, although I have no parallel for him sitting in a well. For the Semitic background of the use of the participle in such invocations, see E. Norden, *op. cit.* (p. 246 above), pp. 201–207. The phrase here may refer to the findspot of the present defixio.

Line 20. I may be only the lower extension of the **φ** of **φρέατ[ι** immediately above; **Ρ** or **Φ**.

Lines 27/28. **μέ/νη**: On the late positive jussive subjunctive see note *h*, pp. 242–243 above.

Line 29. **[μέ]χρι οὐδ' ἀνέλωμαι** is another possible articulation. For discussion of the phrase see note *g*, p. 242 above.

Lines 29/30. ἀλλὰ . . . / . . . θανάτου: We may compare a phrase that ends the first of the two curses from the *Sepher ha-Razim* quoted on p. 241 above,
 cause him to waste away continually until he approaches death. (p. 27, Morgan)

TABLE 3: Concordance of Inventory and Present Serial Numbers of Defixiones from Well V

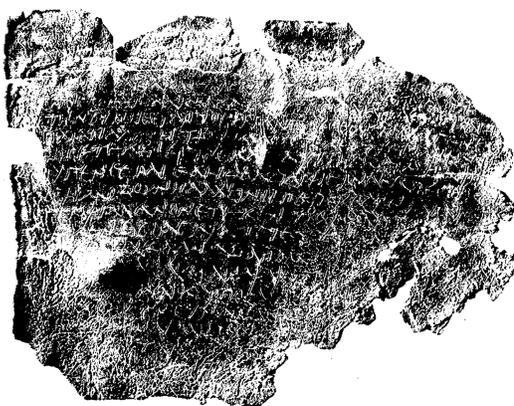
Inv. No.	Ser. No.	Inv. No.	Ser. No.
IL 948 + 949	8	IL 956	4
IL 950	1	IL 957	3
IL 951	13	IL 958	6
IL 952	9	IL 959	11
IL 953	12	IL 960	2
IL 954	14	IL 964	10
IL 955	5	IL 1000	7

D. R. JORDAN

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
 Department of Classics
 Charlottesville, VA 22903



7, enlarged



7, actual size



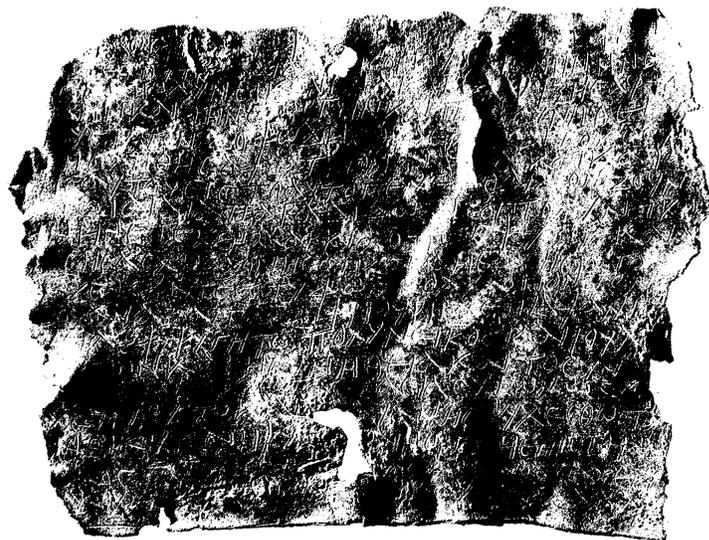
8, enlarged



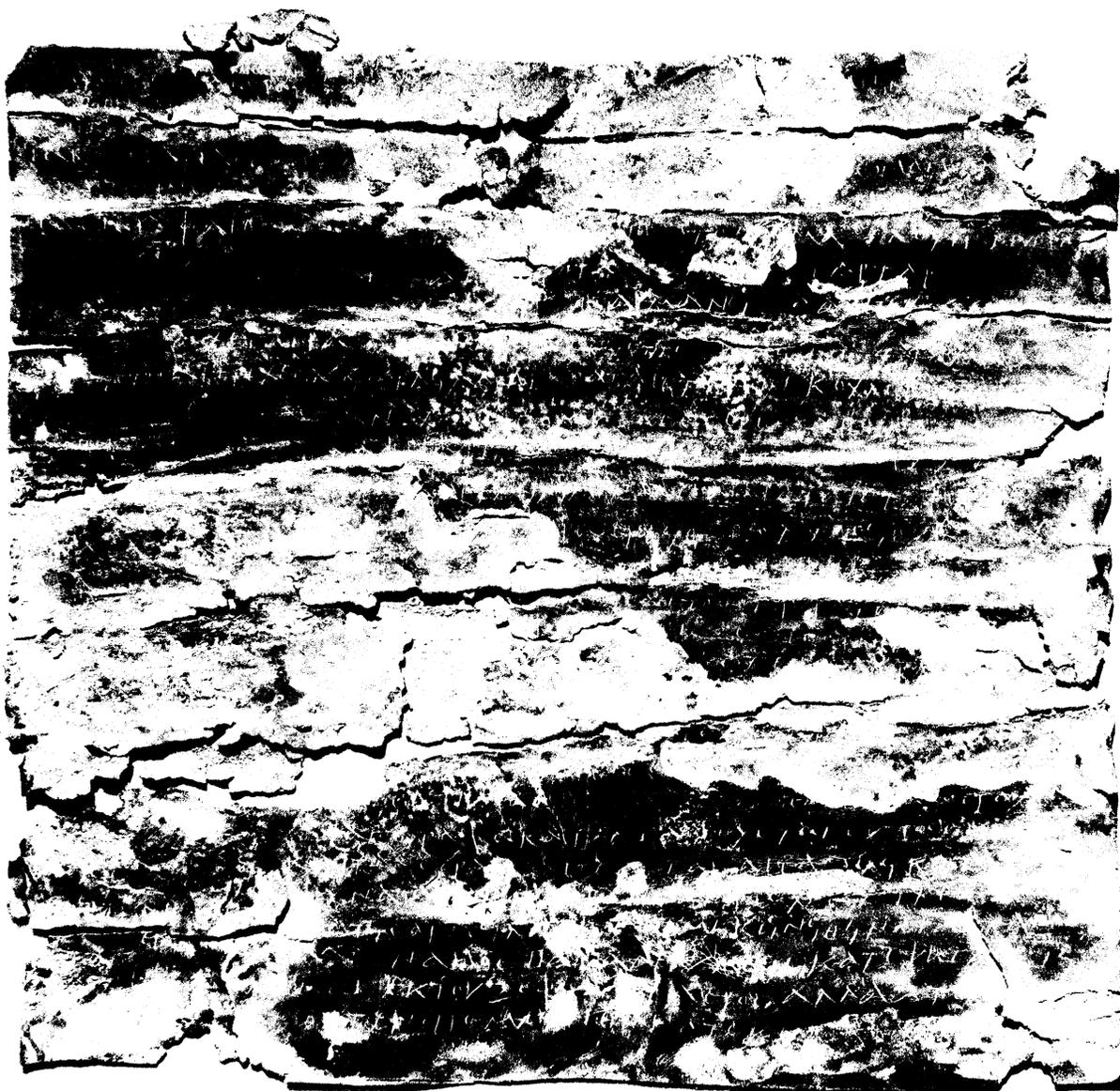
8, actual size



9, enlarged



9, actual size



a. IL 1737 (The chips at the top are out of place)



b. IL 1737: area of the hair, actual size



c. IL 1737: detail showing the hair