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MAGICA GRAECA PARVULA


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1. “The 365 Members”

P. Colon. inv. T. 4, first published in 1968 by D. Wortmann (1968:108f., no. 12) and in 1992 reedited by F. Maltomini as SupplMag II 53, is an inscribed lead tablet, possibly of the 4th century of our era, said to come from Oxyrhynchos, with a curse directed against two athletes. I reproduce Maltomini’s text of a passage in lines 12-15.

12 δῆσιν, κατ
13 τάδησιν τὰ ἴππα, τὰ μέλη, τῶν νοῦν, τὰς φρένας,
14 τὴν διάνοιαν, τὰ τριακόσια ἐξήκοιτα πέλνῃ
t15 τε μέλη

“Bind, bind down the sinews, the members, the mind, the wits, the intellect, the three hundred sixty-five members” (translated after Maltomini)

Wortmann remarked that the mention of the 365 members was elsewhere uninstanced, but Maltomini has adduced several examples, not only in Coptic from the Great Paris Magical Papyrus (PGM IV 149f.) and but also in Greek on a lead curse tablet from Attica (Ziebarth 1934: 1042-45, no. 24, III p?) and in three exorcistic charms in late manuscripts, cod. Paris. 2316 (ed. Reitzenstein 1904:295), cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen. 355, and cod. Harl. 5596 (ed. Delatte 1927:246, 429), and he has been able to point to its background in the cosmology of Basilides.

Here I offer a further parallel, not in order to augment Maltomini’s already impressive evidence but rather to direct the reader to a badly edited text that needs more attention. Ziebarth, in his edition of the Attic tablet with the phrase, compared an obscure expression, τῶν τ᾽ ἔλεγον ὀνάμισι, on a lead curse tablet in the Louvre, inv. MND 406 = DefixTabAud. 15 (Aphaka, late Roman), directed against a dancer for the Blue faction. No illustration of this latter tablet has been published, apparently no drawing, tracing, or photograph was ever made, the inscribed lead is now presumably corroded beyond any hope of examination, and for our knowledge of this evidently very difficult inscription we must depend on Audollent’s readings; these last, sad to say, are unreliable, as L. Robert (1938:99-102) and A. Maricq (1952:360-68; cf. SEG 15.846) have recognized. Typical of mistakes in the edition is the meaningless ἐὰν τις οἰκατερισιφοτοθ in line 10; ἐὰν τις οἰκατερισιποθε (for οἰκατερισιτ) “if any-

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1 M. Braemer apud Maricq 1952:360: “L’oxydation et les tribulations de la guerre ont reduit en poussiere les minces feuilles de plomb.”

2 Audollent ad loc.: “Tabella ... mutila, minutissimis ac paene laevigatis litteris scariphata....” “... diu nec sine multo labore examinaveram ac pro mea virili parte descriptseram....”
one whoever” is the obvious correction.\textsuperscript{3} The curse itself has phrases that refer to a cosmic order, \textit{e.g.} in one of its passages (here with Audollent’s readings)

8 \[\text{τών λόγιους δεκανών... το... τοποφερέων... τών...}

9 \[\text{τών δέκανων... τών... φοιτήρων...}

with its 36 decans, five planets, and the sun and the moon.\textsuperscript{4} As for \[\text{τών τεξε υψίλου τι...}

Audollent printed its context (line 18) as

\text{Θλίψιν διά κανώρε, μν τών τεξε υψίλου τι...}

\text{ΔΙΑΚΑΝΩΠΕ, IN no doubt conceals either a prepositional phrase, as Audollent has assumed, or a compound noun in apposition to ἥλίσιν and with a similar meaning; in a recent note to me, R. D. Kotansky has conjectured διά ἄναρχειν or διαναρχειν. The letters τών τεξε υψίλου ατού... invite the conjecture τών τεξε μελών αὐτοῦ. The whole phrase would run “affliction through destruction of his 365 members” or “affliction, destruction of his 365 members.”}

2. An Erotic Spell from Alexandria

One of the first lead curse tablets to be published and still, as far as I am aware, the only such inscription yet known from Alexandria is now in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Its text, written probably in the 3rd century of our era, has appeared in print several times, but only the \textit{editio princeps} (Lenormant 1854) seems to have been based on its editor’s autopsy—unless Audollent’s “contuli” in his edition (\textit{DefixTabAud} 38) means that he reexamined the tablet himself, for his printed text is different from the \textit{editio princeps} in a few details. The spell consists of an invocation of chthonians, and it concerns two men. Neither Lenormant nor Audollent expressed himself as to the purpose of the spell,\textsuperscript{5} but that the purpose is to be accomplished by means of erotic conquest has been recognized by several scholars, \textit{e.g.} Pomyalovski (1873:25), Kagarow (1929:25), and Moraux (1960:48 n.1). Recently, Chr. Harrauer (1987:53-57) as an illustration of the references to the erotic in its text, has cited

22 ἵνα κατατήξητε αὑ-

23 τοῦ τάς κάρκες, τά νεύρα, τά μέλη, τήν ψυχήν

“in order that you will melt

his flesh, sinews, members, soul.”

The tablet did not figure in the collection of Greek love charms from Egypt in \textit{SupplMag} I but is now included in vol. II (as no. 54) among curses of a general sort; R. Daniel, its editor in this latter volume, remains as agnostic as Lenormant and Audollent about its

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\textsuperscript{3}I take this opportunity to record two conjectures sent \textit{per litteras} by R. Merkelbach: (16) μὴ κατωμένην κε ἐχθρὸς (χορὸς R. M.) αὐτοῦ καὶ δ ἄναρχειν αὐτοῦ. (24) τῷ χειρὶ ἔργον τῶν ἀυτῶν καλποφοροῦ (καλλαεινόν R. M.).

\textsuperscript{4}For the right-hand part of line 8, whose meaning is opaque as published, R. Ganszyniec (1905:728) proposed

\[\text{τῶν παγκρατέων λήτουργοιντων... τῶν...}

We might think of another ἥ for the unread bit just after δεκανών.

\textsuperscript{5}Audollent: “Mercurium, Plutonem, Cererem, Proserpinam invocat Eonicus nescio quis ne sibi nocere possit Annianus.”
purpose. There can be no doubt, however, that the spell has an erotic element. Lenormant and Audollent read the last four lines as

36 τελεσιώ
37 κατε τήν πράξειν ταύτην καὶ κατάσχετε [τήν] φιλ[αν]?
38 ....... υποκ Ἡῳρίκ ...... ὅτι στο .... διαλυ ......
39 ...... ν μερενής......... εὐήτο .... ματο ..... Daniel reads, from a photograph that he has helpfully reproduced,

36 τελεσιώ
37 [κατε τήν πράξειν ταύτην κα]τά]σχετε [τήν φιλ[αν]
38 ['Αννιανο]ủ πρὸς Ἡῳρίκ[όν, πρόκλητον, [ά]διαλύτως,]
39 [ἀπὸ τῆς χήμερον ημ[έ]ρας .... εὐήτο[....]ματο[....]]

I have been able to inspect the tablet myself on several occasions in the Cabinet des Médailles, and my transcription establishes what Pomyalovski and the others have understood from the rest of the text:

36 τελεσιώ
38 ['Αννιανο]宝玉 πρὸς Ἡῳρίκ[όν, πρόκλητον, [ά]διαλύτως,]
39 [ε.γ. ἀγάπηκαθημερινή κα[ι] εὐήτο[....]μάτο[....]

37 Ἡῳρίκ[όν: read 'Ἰωρ'

“Accomplish this action and bewitch (or secure?) the friendship of Annianus for Ionikos by means of love, delight, indissoluble affection (?) every day (?) and ....”

3. “The Fruit of Sodom and Gomorrah”

In 1988 I published a lead curse tablet, possibly of the 3rd century of our era, found in the circus at Carthage and directed against horses and charioteers (Jordan 1988:120-26, no. 1). It follows the same general formula as DefixTabAud 252 and 253, which are also from Carthage. Although the new tablet is the most fragmentary of the three, some of its lines are well enough preserved to elucidate a puzzling passage in the other two:8

252 κατάςχων τὸν καρπὸν (7)τῶν ἀποδομῶν καὶ τὸ ὀμορω, κατάςχες
253 κατάς[χων τὸν καρ(9)πὸν τῶν ἀκοδομῶν καὶ τὸ ὀμορω, καθ...

New tab. κατάς(8)χων τὸν καρπὸν τῶν Σολδάμων καὶ Γομμό[(9)]ρων, κατά]χες[...]. The passage as it stood in DefixTabAud 252 and 253 made no sense; we now see that it was

6As the photograph shows, there is room for about five letters in the lacuna here. One needs a connective like καὶ to fill the space.
7Again, the lacuna, about three letters wide, requires a supplement longer than Daniel has offered.
8The name “Gomorrah,” elsewhere feminine singular in Greek, is here restored in the new text as if neuter plural, on the basis of the other two tablets. Presumably the ending is influenced by that of the neuter plural “Sodom.”
either corrupt on the tablets themselves or mistranscribed by Audollent. The word καρπός has two meanings, though, “fruit” and “wrist,” and I kept both possibilities open in my comments, finding no convincing Biblical parallels for either in association with Sodom and Gomorrah. I should, however, have looked into the extra-canonical Wisdom of Solomon: there (10.6-7) we learn that

(6) αὕτη δίκαιων ἔξαπολλυμένων ἀσεβῶν ἐφόδιωτο φύγοιτα καταβάλλειν πῦρ
Πενταπόλεως, (7) ἢ ἐπὶ μαρτύριον τῆς πονηρίας καταζομένη καθεστήκε
χέρος, καὶ ἀτελείων ὄραες καρποφοροῦντα φυτά, ἀπιστούσης ψυχής μη-
μεῖν ἔπτωκια στῆλη ἀλός.
(6) [Wisdom] saved a good man from the destruction of the godless, and he es-
caped the fire that came down on the Five Cities, (7) cities whose wickedness
is still attested by a smoking waste, by plants whose fruit can never ripen, and
a pillar of salt standing there as a memorial of an unbelieving soul.
(transl. New English Bible)

Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.483, describes the results:

Γειτνίᾳ δ’ ἡ Σοδομῶτις αὕτη, πάλαι μὲν εὐδαίμων γῆ καρπῶν τε ένεκεν
καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλιν περιουσίας, νῦν δὲ κεκαυμένη πάσα. φαίη δ’ ώς δί’,
ἀσεβείαν οἰκήτωρός κεραυνώς καταβλέπαι, ἔστι γούν ἔτι λείψανα τοῦ
θεοῦ πυρός, καὶ πέντε μὲν πόλεως ἰδεῖν σκόας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς
ἐποδιὰν ἀνασχηματίσθην, οἱ χρόιαν μὲν ἔχουν τῶν ἐδωδίμων ὁμοίων,
δραφαμένως δὲ χερείν εἰς καπνὸν διαλύονται καὶ τέφραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ
τὴν Σοδομίτων μιμεοῦμενα τοιοῦταν ἴχει πίεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκέως.
Adjacent to [the Dead Sea] is the land of Sodom, in days of old a country blest
in its produce and in the wealth of its various cities, but now all burnt up. It is
said that, owing to the impiety of its inhabitants, it was consumed by thunder-
bolts; and in fact vestiges of the divine fire and faint traces of five cities are still
visible. Still, too, may one see ashes reproduced in the fruits, which from their
outward appearance would be edible, but on being plucked with the hand dis-
solve into smoke and ashes. So far are the legends about the land of Sodom
born out by ocular evidence.
(transl. H. St. J. Thackeray)

Whatever his source, the Venerable Bede in his *De locis sanctis* (Molinier and Tobler 1879: 228; cf. MacPherson 1895:65-87), written around the year 720, could refer to the same
fruits:

Servat adhuc regio speciem pene. Nascuntur ehim ibi poma pulcherrima, que et
edendi cupiditatem spectantibus generant; si carpas, fatiscunt ac resolvuntur in
cinerem, fumumque excitant, quasi adhuc ardeant.
The district still retains the appearance of the punishment (of the Cities of the
Plain); for very beautiful apples grow there, which excite among spectators a
desire to eat them, but when plucked, they burst and are reduced to ashes, and
give rise to smoke as if they were still burning.
(transl. J. R. MacPherson)

The Apples of Sodom, along with the Pillar of Salt that was once Lot’s wife and the so-

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9 Bede’s essay is basically an abbreviation of the account, written by the late 7th-century Irish abbot Adamnan of the travels of the Gaulish bishop Arculf (*Relatio de locis sanctis scripta ab Adamnano*, ed. Molinier and Tobler 1879:139-210; cf. MacPherson 1895:1-64), but Adamnan does not mention the fruits.
called Jewish bitumen that is dissolved only by menstruous blood or urine, continue through the centuries to figure in accounts of pilgrims and others who visited the Dead Sea.\textsuperscript{10} Two 18th-century accounts are worth contrasting. The first is that of Charles de Ste-Maure ([Ste-Maure] 1724:152f.):

Je me suis rendu à l’endroit d’où l’on découvre, dit-on, quand la Mer est basse, quelques ruines de Gomore que j’ai aussi inutilement tenté de découvrir qu’un reste de la Statue de la femme de Lot: on m’assuroit pourtant que je trouverois vers un petit Promontoire à l’Occident de cette Mer un monument visible de cette anciene Métamorphose; apparemment qu’il ne m’étoit pas plus permis ce jour-là que dans tous les autres de ma vie de voir des choses extraordinaires, & je n’ai pas plus trouvé des pommes de Sodome que les Arbres qui les portent: de la manière dont les Juifs m’ont parlé de ce fruit, je croirois avec eux que c’est purement l’invention de quelque bel Esprit pour fournir des matières ou des comparaisons à ceux qui jugent à propos de s’en servir.

The second is by the Swedish physician Fredrich Hasselquist who travelled in the Levant in the years 1749-52 and whose diaries were edited by the celebrated botanist C. Linnaeus (Hasselquist 1766:90):\textsuperscript{11}

\textit{Poma Sodomitica.} La Pomme de Sodome est le fruit du \textit{Solanum melongena} de Linnaeus, appelé par d’autres \textit{Mala insana}. On en trouve quantité près de Jéricho, dans les vallées qui sont près du Jourdain dans le voisinage de la Mer Morte. Il est vrai qu’elles sont quelquefois remplies de poussière; mais cela n’arrive que lorsque le fruit est attaqué par un insecte (\textit{tenthredo}) qui convertit tout le dedans en poussière, ne laissant que la peau entière, sans lui rien faire perdre de sa couleur.\textsuperscript{12}

In either case, the passage in the texts from Carthage should be translated: “Having bewitched the fruit” (not the wrist) “of Sodom and Gomorrah, bewitch ....”

\textbf{4. A Curse on the Horses and Charioteers of the Blues}

Slightly over sixty years ago, R. Mouterde published (1930f.:106-23; cf. \textit{SEG} 7.213), with a drawing, a virtually intact lead curse tablet that had come to light in Beirut in 1929. The first line of its text, \textit{Kάτοχος ἦπιων κε ἡμιὸχων}, shows that it is directed against horses and charioteers, and a later phrase, \textit{χρόνος καλαένων} (line 21) shows that they are of the Blue faction; indeed, the tablet has a crude drawing of presumably a horse, viewed from the front, bound, and at its side a head with an open beak, about to bite.\textsuperscript{13} Mouterde noted that

\textsuperscript{10}E.g. the German Dominicans Burchard of Mount Zion (Stewart 1897), writing in the 13th century, and and Felix Fabri (Stewart 1892), writing in the 15th.
\textsuperscript{11}I am grateful to Aliki Asvesta for alerting me to this passage. I have access only to the French translation; the Swedish original appeared in 1757. \textit{Solanum melongena} is the eggplant.
\textsuperscript{12}The latest handbook that I have been able to consult, Post and Dinsmore 1933, identifies the plant (192) as \textit{Calotropis procera}.
\textsuperscript{13}Mouterde interpreted the drawing somewhat differently (107): an “effigie ... d’un personnage de face, sans bras apparents, debout sur la jambe gauche, au travers de laquelle la jambe droite semble liée; au
the tablet was found in October 1929, no doubt in diggings for construction work at the eastern end of the rue du Maréchal Pétain in the city, just north of the so-called “Circus of Herodes Agrippa.” The mention of the circus faction gives the tablet a date in the 4th century of our era at earliest.14 Curse tablets directed against members of factions and discovered in circuses find ready parallels15 (above all at Carthage: see Jordan 1988:119), nor is the text itself remarkable in its structure—magical words, a command to the “holy angels” to impede the victims “through the power of” a force whose λόγος is given, a list of the victims’ names, and a final curse, “bind and do not release the hands, the feet, the sinews of the horses and charioteers of the ‘blue color.’” What is more interesting is that the text contains numerous mistakes, several of them the result of the scribe’s misunderstanding of the formula that he was using. The inscription thus provides another example of the use of such “magic books” and for this reason is worth reconsidering. Here I reproduce (FIG. 1) the published drawing of the tablet and offer a diplomatic transcript of the drawing (I have divided the text into words for the reader’s convenience), as well as some notes chiefly on what I believe stood in the model from which the inscription derives and on the list of horses and charioteers.16

14Mouterde referred the reader to the map “Béryte au VIe siècle” at the end of Collinet 1925. For the circus, still unexcavated, and its identification, see Humphrey 1986:491f. Mouterde assigned the script to the 2nd or 3rd century, but Humphrey (439), following Cameron 1976:200 n.1, prefers a later date, on the good grounds that “circus factions are first attested in the eastern provinces only in AD 315 and at most centers they appear much later.”

15See in general Pavis d’Escurac 1987. Instructions in a 16th-century manuscript, Cod. Vindob. phil. gr. 108, f. 79 (ed. Kroll 1903:61) evidently reflect earlier usages. I quote the passage in full because, as far as I am aware, it has not been cited as evidence for the depositing of magical writings in circuses: Eι δε βούλει εν ταύτω ή εἰς πραγματείαν έχειν πράσσειν, πωλείν και αγοράζειν ως βούλει, γράφων το άνωμα και τοι του ευσυλλόγου και το άνωμα της πραγματείας μεθ’ αύτου δράκοντος και καρ- μίας και ροδοτάγματος και την άβ δε άγενήτω βούς Εστήνης μελεύθης και ενειλήτας, εν κηρώ χώσων είς εμπακει ταύτω και θαμμέεις.

16Unfortunately, today our only evidence for the text is the drawing that Mouterde published; it is not stated whether he himself produced it. In what follows, I assume that the drawing is correct except in two places: ζάνος (lines 27/28, for ξανος (c) according to Mouterde) in the drawing for the likelier ζάνθημα (i.e. ξανθήματος) and ποιύφορο (line 28) for -ορο (i.e. θ', seen and drawn as γ').
FIG. 1. Lead Tablet from Beirut. The Published Drawing.

15 ἀγίοι ἄγεζαι ζυγίσατε καὶ κατασχετε
16 [ἀγία] ἀγαθελευμίνασινα άγιος [ὁ]
17 οἱ τίθεν οὐσίαν τού νασκάλι νασκή
18 Φιούχειντα ὁμο ορεοκάρπος άμω
19 κε ταῦριν σύνεσφατε λισατε καὶ φαν
20 τε ταστρεφατε λεπτοκοπισάτε μᾶλε
21 ἱππος κε ἰγνοχος ἁριος καλλαίνη
22 μυθικός φαλακρός λαθτός οὐσουτροφός
23 καλιχοφός φλογαρφήνος πάληνεδένιον
24 ἱππας φακράτος ἃκαρις οφαλος ιγκε
25 ἱππίος οἰκετικος τύραννος διπλακός καλινοφό
26 λυκιος ακτινοβόλως εὔδικος καλλαίνης λυρ
27 κε νομοθετικος καρυκρός θερσιδίκινας κατα
28 φος ἃκαρις λαμπατος διαφαρατίς φασφόρον
29 οὐσικτρόνος γερμανος οικελικος αἰσχρο
30 φος οἰνοθετικος δαντιωχος κρα περίκης καλαξ
31 κρα περί λυκος
32 ἀσιας πολάς κατά ως καλαξ
33 ἵππιος κε ἰγνοχος ξρος ολαίαρδενων
The Model

With the exception of the specification of the team’s color in lines 21 and again in lines 30ff. and of the names of the horses and charioteers in lines 22-30, there is nothing in the entire text that is obviously not formulaic.

The first line, Κάτοχος ἵππων κέ ἴνιχων (for καὶ ἴνιχomega) “A Spell to Suppress Horses and Charioteers” is evidently copied from the title of the recipe itself.

At the right-hand ends of lines 16 and 19 stands the sign Χ, the common abbreviation of λόγος, here used in the technical sense of a recognizable string of magical syllables. This word, thus abbreviated or written in full, often occurs in recipes, e.g. at PGM I 131f., ἐστιν / δὲ ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος ἐπιτάκει ἐπιτά / πρὸς ἴμαυν ἓξορκιμός / τοῦ παρέδρου; several lines of voces magicae follow, then (143f.) οὕτω ἐστίν ὁ λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος πρὸς ἴμαυν ἐπιτάκει ἐπιτά. Certain of these logoi recurred evidently so frequently in such ritual that in the recipes it was enough to refer to them by their opening words, e.g. at VII 301f. ἓξορκίζω σε, ὀστρακη, κατὰ τῆς πικρᾶς ἀνάγκης, μακελλη λόγος “I adjure you, shell, by bitter Necessity,” (then add) the maskelli logos;” IV 2203f. τὸν δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος / κατὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης μακελλη λόγος; III 90 δὲ ἓξορκίζω σε μακελλη μακελλη λόγος “because I adjure you (in the name of) the maskelli maskello logos.” The abbreviation Χ in our text is enough to show that the text is copied from a recipe; if our writer gave the matter any thought, he no doubt assumed that it was a magical charaktēr of some kind.

The maskelli (or maskelli maskello) logos is one of the more frequent strings of magical vocables, occurring as it does in Greek, Latin, and demotic Egyptian texts; the list of instances that I give below, all of them from papyri and curse tablets of late Roman date, has as its core 18 examples collected by Zs. Ritoók (1978:437-42), who seems, however, not to have known the Beirut text.

PAPYRUS FORMULARIES
- a PGM III 456
- b PGM IV 2753
- c PGM IV 3175
- d PGM IX 10
- e PGM Xlc 6
- f PGM XII 290
- g PGM XIXa 9
- h PGM XIXa 10
- i PGM XXXI 154
- j PGM XXXI 342
- k PGM LXXXVIII 9
- l DMP 15v2

“EFFECTIVE” PAPYRUS TEXTS
- m SupplMag 12
- n SupplMag 45

The logos has a fairly standard form, which I give here with the variants, some of them trivial; for the meaning, if any, see Merkelbach and Totti 1991:26 and Thissen 1991:297f., the latter summarized by Daniel in his notes on SupplMag 54.27-29.
Frequently the logos is preceded or followed by other *voces magicae*; among those that follow, λεπεταν (e, λεπεταν λεπεταν διμνω, and λεπεταν λεπεταν φριξ φρωξ (h x17)) recur.

The scribe no doubt found ξ in his exemplar and then ignorantly incorporated it into the body of the text at the ends of lines 16 and 19. Here ξ would have referred to the *maskelli maskello* logos in lines 17ff. I have assumed elsewhere (Jordan 1988:127) that the text of the model ran ἀναίον ἀγγελεῖον, συνήθεσε (συνήθεσε tab.) καὶ κατάχεσε καὶ κατακλώ ὀπλώσατε (add. lex., ἐπὶ λάτας λαθωμισάτας tab.) ἀυτοῖς, διὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ μας-κελλί μακκέλλω φινουκέταβαωθ ορεοβαρζαγραμ, which would have been followed by the abbreviation λογω(ς) that now stands in line 19 of the tablet: “holy angels, bind and control and utterly confuse them, through the power of *maskelli maskello phnoukentabaoth oreobazagra*.”

The ἀλω of μακκέλλω (line 17) has dropped to the end of the next line (18), but the logos continues, beginning from the beginning of line 18: φινουκέταβαωθ ορεοβαρζαγραμ, with the γραμ crowded down to the end of line 19, ousted from its normal place by ἀλω. (Ορεοβαρζαγραμ, without μ, is the usual spelling; the ending μ is apparently new here, but cf. the additional letters at the ends of ορεοβαρζαγραμ in j and zosagrac in s). As in *epqs*, the elements ρηξ-χθων, ὑποχθων, and πυρπηγανυξ do not appear.

Once the logos is ended (hence the repetition of the sign ξ here, as if the closing of a quotation?), Greek begins, beginning from the left-hand end of line 19: κέ (for καὶ) πάλιν (κεταλή tablet, κέ τά νῦν for νῦν Mouterde) ευνέρθατε, ἀγγεῖσατε, καὶ/20 ταπτρέφατε, λεπτοκοπήσατε, καὶ/20 τὰ 20τε / (21) ἐπουκος κέ ἡ μόλος χρώς καλαείνων “and again, drive together, bind, overturn, chop into bits, lead astray the horses and charioteers of the blue color.” The scribe’s mark μ before ραμ in this word must be a misunderstanding of the γ of Ορεοβαρζαγραμ. Virtually the same mark occurs immediately below, in line 20; in interpreting it as a misunderstanding of c I follow Mouterde (“à lire [c]φάλλετε, ‘faîtes tomber’”) but prefer to assume an aorist (with a single λ), parallel to the other aorists in the phrase. The γ of γραμ (end of 19) and the χ of φαλε- (end of 20) are virtually identical in

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17 δέτε τών λεπετον Φριξ Φρωξ ed. of x.
the drawing. By way of summary, I offer a hypothetical reconstruction of the model for lines 15-21. If the reconstruction is right, presumably the scribe was careful to keep the letters of *maskellw* and of *oreobarzagram* clustered together, for some reason. In order to explain the *te* at the beginning of line 20 of our tablet, I have assumed a supralinear correction in the model. I have again separated the letters into words for the reader’s convenience:

![Image](image.png)

The logos occurs earlier on the tablet, rather out of order and with mistakes and intrusions, in a column beginning at the left of the drawing (lines 2-14): *frix* / *fwx* / *beiabou* / *s/t/w/ktenewter* / *itepocqwn* / *upocqwn* / *lamnw* / *damna* / *lukadamna* / *menippa* / *puriphganuc* / *oreobarzagra* / *fnoukentabaw*. The first two syllables (read *fãrÃwx* here?) are evidently the same as those in the phrase *lepeta* / *lepeta* / *frw* in *hx*. To *beiabou* we may compare *beououbeou*, which follows the logos in *p*; in the *la* of *beia*- *Mouterde saw, perhaps rightly, *Iaw* occurs also just before the logos in *e). *itepocqwn* looks very much like a miswriting of *ippocqwn*. I have not found *s/t/w/ktanewter* (so *Mouterde*; *s/or i/t/w/ or *p/o/), *lamnw*, *damna*, *lukadamna*, or *menippa* (cf. *damnameneuç*) in connection with the *maskelli* logos. Just to the right of the drawing, a “wing-form” (*pteroeidevç*) *Eulamw* is written, imperfectly; if the model showed each repetition, perhaps *lamw*, which should have followed the *γλαμω* of line 6, found its way into the left-hand column as *lamnw*. Farther down, at the right-hand ends of lines 13f., we have two vocables perhaps intended to be written in a column under the repetitions of *Eulamw*, the first usually spelled *akramma-* *camarei* (*e.g.* *PGM* XII 184), and the second, *θωβαρραβαυ* (*e.g.* VII 977).

Lines 30ff. are obviously corrupt. *Mouterde printed

![Image](image.png)

and explained (1930f.:116), “*Χραβ*, aux lignes 30 et 31, précédant les mots *δήσον* et *δηλύ- cè*, ‘lie’ et ‘perce’, semble faire corps avec eux; comme, par ailleurs, c’est un terme nouveau dans les textes magiques, il semble indiqué d’y voir un mot sémitique, en relation avec l’idée de blesser à mort. Or la racine *ẓən*, dont le sens général est ‘détruire’, a donné à l’hébreu et à l’araméen de tous les âges le mot ‘glaive’; *ṭən* en hébreu, *ẓən* en araméen. Nous aurions donc ici la transcription du mot ‘glaive’ dans l’araméen parlé en Syrie au IIIe’ (the date to which *Mouterde had assigned the tablet) “le magicien évoque-rait la *μάχαιρα* qui trace le cercle magique, mais qui perce aussi le cœur ou les membres
des envoûtés: ‘glaive, lie’, ‘glaive, perce’.” Mouterde also (112) explained the letters at the right-hand ends of lines 32 and 33 as (33)χρ(ο)λ(32)ός καλα(ε) (33) α(να)ένων (“certains mots sont partagés entre deux lignes”), i.e. a poor attempt at a repetition of the χρός καλα(ε)νών of line 21. Using this last suggestion as a clue, I would take (1) the χραβ with the ος καλαε/ανα(ε)νων of lines 32 and 33, i.e. (30)χρ(α)(33)ός καλα(ε)(34)ένων and (2) the κ’s of both χραβ’s to be the scribe’s misunderstanding of the abbreviation κ(αί) (Ις vel sim.) in his model, and for these lines would offer a tentative guess that is at least less far-fetched than Mouterde’s explanation:

30 κ(αί) δήσον ἵππων 
31 χρυρά κ(αί) μη λύσης 
32 χερας, πόδας, νεύρα 
33 ἵππων κέ ἦπι ὄχων.

32 χερας; read χείρας 33 κέ: καί

“... and bind securely and do not release the hands, the feet, the sinews of the horses and charioteers.”

In lines 30f., ἵππων χρυρά, if my explanation is right, shows the late adverbial ending in -α, well attested by the time of our tablet (Hatzidakis 1892:52, Jannaris1897:149f.).

**The Horses and Charioteers**

“Personalized” here rather than copied from a formulary would be the references to the Blue faction in lines 21 and 30 and 32f. and the names of the “horses and charioteers” in lines 22-30.

As for the names, they show common informal phonetic spellings of the period, and an omission in one of them, the second ο of καλαμορφοφος in line 23 (haplography, -φος for -ΦΩΣ), probably argues that the writer was clumsily copying from a list, presumably supplied by his client.

ΟΛΥΚΟΤΡΑΜΟΣ in line 29 is problematical; Mouterde articulated ο Lυκότραμος, leaving the ο unexplained and interpreting the remainder as a hapax, Λυγκότραμος “qui a des yeux de lynx.” I am tempted to assume a scribal omission and to read ΔΟΛΥΚΟΤΡΑΜΟΣ for Δολυχοδρόμος “long-distance runner,” a good name for a horse. As a suffix, τραμος is apparently unproductive (there are no examples in Dornseiff and Hansen 1957 or in Kretschmer and Locker 1977), but the spelling may be a perversion of δρόμος, with τρ for δρ (cf. Gignac 1976:80).

Mouterde took Λυπρόφος in lines 29f. to be a miswriting of "Λυτροφὸς “qui ne se retourne pas,” which is unattested; I assume that τ is correctly formed but that the spelling is informally phonetic, i.e. an unattested name Λυπρόφος “shining whitely,” if such a compound is possible (cf. καλλίφως “shining beautifully,” πλησίφως “shining fully,”

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18 After ἵππων κέ ἦπι ὄχων in line 33 there remain a few letters, ΧΙΩΛΑΛΥΧ, not accounted for in the proposal of (30)χρ(α)(33)ός καλαε(34)ένων above. Is ΧΙΩΛΑΛΥΧ another attempt, soon abandoned, to reproduce the phrase χρός καλα(ε)νών of line 21?
“shining with increasing light,” etc.); άπρος of course means “white” by the time of our tablet (cf. Psychari 1930:304-8; for further discussion Andriotis 1990:40 refers to Schwyzer 1931)

The list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Νυφικός, Θαλαφόρος, Άπτητός, Μουσοτρόφος,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Καλλιμοψιφός, Φλοπάρθενος, Παντομεδών,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot;Τπατος, Φίλαρματος, Μακάρις, Οφάλιος, Ηγέ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>μων, Όκεανος, Τύρανος, Χορίκης, Καλλιμοψιφός (or Φος),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Λύρος, &quot;Ακτυνοβόλος, Εύδικος, Ζαβαθής, Χωρ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>ίκες, Νομοθέτης, Βάρβαρος, Βερεθνήκης, Ξα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>δός, Μακάρις, Δωράτος, Άνθερετος, Ψυφόρος,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>&quot;Δολικοκτρόμος (?), Γερμανός, &quot;Ομελίκος, &quot;Ασπρό</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>φος (?), &quot;Ανατολικός, &quot;Αντίοχος</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22 Νυφικός: read Νυψιφός  Θαλαφόρος: read Θαλλάρα Άπτητός: Άπτη  23 Καλλιμοψιφός: |
| 24 Καλλιμοψιφός: Καλλά  24 Φλοπάρθενος: Φίλος  24, 28 Μακάρις: Ρίος  24 "Οφάλιος: Όμφός  |
| 25 Όκεανος: Όκεανος  25 Τύρανος: Τύρωνος, ηρός  25, 26/27 Χορίκης: Χωρίκης |
| 26 "Εύδικος: "Εκδικός  27 Βερεθνήκης: Βερεθνήκης  27/28 Ζωθός: Ζωθός  28 Άνθερετος |
| Άσπρόφος: "Ασπρόφος  29 "Δολικοκτρόμος: "Δολικόκτρομος (?), "Ομελίκος: "Ομελίκος |
| 30 φος: φος |

In all, there are 35 names. Three of them each occur twice, at intervals too regular to suggest accident:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22f.</td>
<td>4 names  +  Kallimorphos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23f.</td>
<td>4 names  +  Makarios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24f.</td>
<td>4 names  +  Chorikios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25f.</td>
<td>Kallimorphos  +  4 names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26ff.</td>
<td>Chorikios  +  4 names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28f.</td>
<td>Makarios</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mouterde, not trying to account for the repetitions, assumed that all 35 names belonged to horses. A simpler explanation is that the three repeated names above are those of charioteers, and that each man had two teams of four horses at his disposal. In the first three instances the men’s names are preceded by, in the second three, followed by, the names of the horses that drew the quadrigae that the men drove. In Preisigke 1932 and Foraboschi 1967-71 I have found two instances of Kallimorphos, one of Chorikios, as men’s names (on a mosaic from the circus at Barcelona [Höhne and Henze 1981:93, pl. 59] one of the charioteers is in fact named Calimorfus); Makarios is frequent. There is a seventh team (lines 29f.), presumably listed as charioteer (Germanos) plus four horses, if the writer follows the order of his lists in 25f., 26ff., and 28f., but he may have reverted to the earlier order and listed the charioteer first (if so, Antiochos); both names are attested for men. In general, the horses' names may be compared with those listed at Toynbee 1948 and Salomonson 1965:81-89 and with those on two subsequently edited lead tablets from Carthage, Jordan 1988: nos. 1 (= 3 above) and 3 and on an unpublished tablet, reported to come from Oxyrhynchus, in the Papyrrussammlung of the Institut für Altertumskunde.

The stable, therefore, of the Blues at Beirut sometime in the 4th century or later:
**Charioteers**  
*Teams of Horses*

Kallimorphos  
(22f.) Nymphikos, Thallophoros, Aettetos, Mousotrophos  
(25f.) Aurios, Aktinobolos, Ekdikos, Zabades

Makarios  
(23f.) Philoparthenos, Pantomedon, Hypatos, Philarmatos  
(28f.) Donatos, Anthairetos, Phosphoros, Dolichodromos (?)

Chorikios  
(24f.) Omphalios, Hegemon, Okeanos, Tyrannos  
(26ff.) Nomothetes, Barbaros, Hieronikes, Xanthos

Germanos (or Antiochos)  
(29f.) Obeliskos, Asprophos (?), Anatolikos, Antiochos (or Germanos)

Gennadius Library, Athens

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