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NOTES FROM CARTHAGE

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## NOTES FROM CARTHAGE

In July of 1995, as a result of the gracious invitation of Professor Naomi J. Norman, Director of the University of Georgia Excavations at Carthage, I was able spend a pleasant week there with her and her team. During my visit Dr. Abdelmajid Ennabli, Conservateur du Musée National de Carthage, kindly allowed me to examine the lead tablets housed in the museum.<sup>1</sup> These last include pieces excavated in the later 19th century by the Pères Blancs as well as apparently more recent discoveries, few with recorded find-spots. My main purpose was to survey the curse tablets, Greek and Latin, for further examination. I was able to identify 23 published examples<sup>2</sup> and can report 27 apparently unpublished that are now open and will no doubt all yield useful texts when properly cleaned and studied,<sup>3</sup> as well as 14 that are still rolled or folded up. Here I offer notes on a few of the unpublished tablets examined, all Roman Imperial in date.

## 1. A funerary inscription

Among the inscribed lead pieces is a small, roundish fragment. For its text, obviously funerary, see the next page. In the storerooms of the museum at Carthage one sees numbers of glass, terracotta, and lead cinerary jars, several with lead lids. Was the present inscription broken or perhaps even cut away from such a lid?<sup>4</sup>

We might expect a fuller spelling, *e.g.* Πακουβία (*cf.* D. Cass. 53.20.2 Πακουβιος, codd. *VM*; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.35 Pacubio, cod. *B*) or Πακουουία, for the *gentilicium* Pacuvia; for the shorter form, however, *cf.* Ἰγούιον (Iguvium), Λανούιον (Lanuvium), and Μαρούιον (Marrubium), cited by W. Dittenberger (1872:305).<sup>5</sup> Numidia has produced the spellings Pacuius (*CIL* VIII 8119; *cf.* Plin. *NH* 34.22) and Paquia (20048). I have not found any other Pacuvii, however spelled, at Carthage.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank both Professor Norman and Dr. Ennabli for their hospitality and Dr. Ennabli also for his encouragement to publish the present notes. I gladly acknowledge my special debt to Ms. Lisa Pintozi, who included, as part of her master's thesis at the University of Georgia (Pintozi 1991), a list of the lead tablets in the museum; she generously gave me a copy of the relevant chapter and thereby speeded my own work.

<sup>2</sup> Greek (15): *DefixTabAud* 237–243, 245, 252–253, 255–256, 260; *Survey* 142–143. Latin (8): *DefixTabAud* 216, 218, 220–221, 227, 232–233, 259.

<sup>3</sup> In his *DefixTabAud*, A. Audollent included 50 curse tablets from Carthage (213–261, 303) and referred (p. 359) to a “non exiguus tabellarum et fragmentorum numerus” left unread in the museum because their texts proved intractable; these last no doubt include some of the 27 apparently unpublished examples that I saw.

<sup>4</sup> I can offer no other local examples of inscribed lead lids of cinerary jars. Three from Arta and her vicinity in Greece, of probably the late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., *BCH* 79 (1955) 267, Miliadis 1926:64–72, no. 2, fig. 4.2, and Tsirivakos 1965:357, pl. 423γ, are inscribed on the inside, as if to be read by the deceased. Conceivably funerary also is a small lead pyxis of the 4th century B.C. in the museum of the University of Thessaloniki (Tiverios 1989), its provenance unrecorded; the lip of its lid is inscribed, *en pointillé*, Ἀργείων παῖς, to be read from the outside.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to J. Curbera Costello for help with the onomastics here and at 3 B 1 below.

Pintozzi 1991:47

Max. pr. H. 0.40, max. pr. W. 0.042 m.



- 1 Πακούια
- 2 Ἐπιγόνη
- 3 ἐτῶν
- 4 κγ.
- 5 Χαίρε.

Pacuvia Epigone, 23 years old. Hail.

D.R.J.

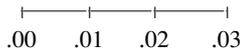
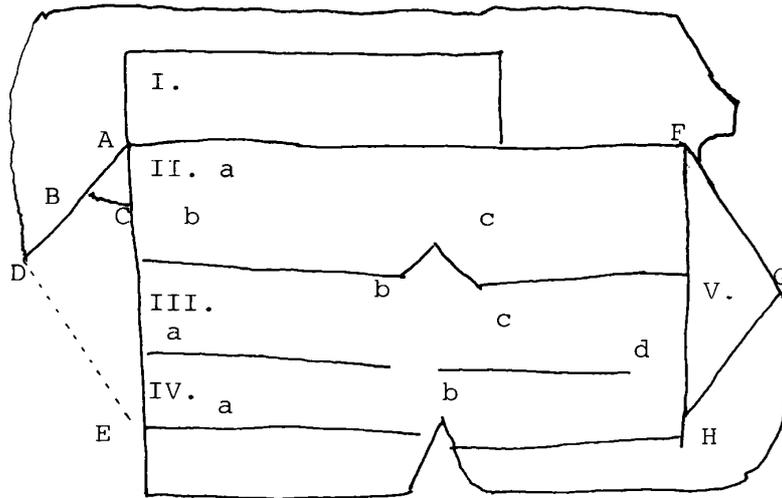


Fig. 1. Tablet 1.

2. An invocation of angels to send debility and death

One of the lead curse tablets no doubt had a roughly rectangular shape originally, with its surface divided by straight lines into compartments and its texts arranged between the lines; I offer a diagram



D.R.J.

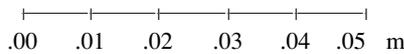
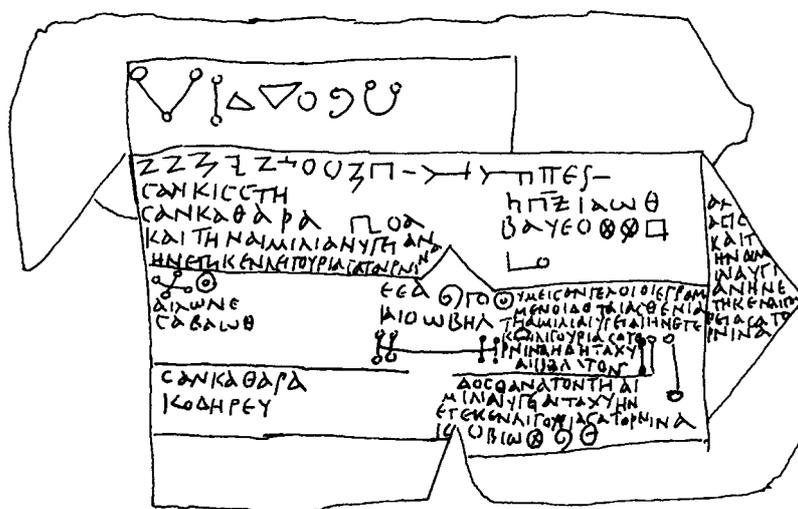


Fig. 2. Layout of texts of Tablet 2.

(Fig. 2). Line *GH* is incised so deeply as to slit the thin tablet; line *FG* seems just as deep and may be responsible for the loss of the part of the tablet at its upper right. Similarly, at the left-hand end of the tablet there may have been a corresponding triangle *ADE* and more at its lower left. If there was in fact a triangle *ADE* originally, I should not rule out the possibility that it, like triangle *FGH*, bore a text, even though the preserved area *ABC* is not inscribed; *cf.* the unscripted area at the bottom of *FGH*.

Pintozzi 1991:10

H 0.071, W. 0.014 m.



D.R.J.

.00 .01 .02 .03 .04 .05 m

Fig. 3. Tablet 2.

- |      |                                   |     |                                  |
|------|-----------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| I.   | <i>Charaktêres</i>                | IV. | a. 1 σανκαθαρα                   |
| II.  | a. <i>Charaktêres</i>             |     | 2 κοδηρευ                        |
|      | b. 1 σανκισστη                    |     | b. 1 Δὸς θάνατον τῆ Αἰ-          |
|      | 2 σανκαθαρα ΠΟΑ                   |     | 2 μιλιαὶ Ὑγείαι—ταχύ—            |
|      | 3 καὶ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν Ὑγείαν,        |     | 3 ἦν ἔτεκεν Λιγουρία Κατοριλίνα. |
|      | 4 ἦν ἔτηκεν Λειγουρία Κατοριλίνα. |     | 4 Ια[?]οβιω <i>Charaktêres</i>   |
|      | c. 1 <i>Charaktêres</i> Ιαωθ      | V.  | 1 Αλ-                            |
|      | 2 βαυεο <i>Charaktêres</i>        |     | 2 αεις                           |
|      | 3 <i>Charaktêr</i>                |     | 3 καὶ τ-                         |
| III. | a. 1 <i>Charaktêres</i>           |     | 4 ἦν Αἰμ-                        |
|      | 2 Αιλωνε                          |     | 5 ιλία<ν> Ὑγί-                   |
|      | 3 Καβαωθ                          |     | 6 αν, ἦν ἔ-                      |
|      | b. 1 <i>Charaktêres</i>           |     | 7 τηκεν Λιγου-                   |
|      | 2 Ιαιω Βηλ                        |     | 8 ρεία Κατο-                     |
|      | 3 <i>Charaktêres</i>              |     | 9 ρίλινα.                        |
|      | c. 1 Ὑμεῖς ἄνγελοι οἱ ἐγραμ-      |     |                                  |
|      | 2 μένοι, δόται ἀσθένειαν          |     |                                  |
|      | 3 τῆ Αἰμιλία Ὑγείαι, ἦν ἔτε-      |     |                                  |
|      | 4 κείη Λιγουρία Κατο-             |     |                                  |
|      | 5 ρίλινα—ἦδη, ταχύ—               |     |                                  |
|      | 6 [καὶ θάνατον.                   |     |                                  |
|      | d. <i>Charaktêres</i>             |     |                                  |

II.a.4, V.6 ἔτηκεν: read ἔτεκεν III.c.1 ἄνγελοι: ἄγγ- 1/2 ἐγραμ/μένοι: ἐγγεγραμ- 2 δόται: δότε ἀσθένειαν: -νειαν  
V.1-2 ἀλλάσεις οἱ (ἀπ)αλλάξεις

I. *Charaktêres*

II. a. *Charaktêres*. b. SANKISTÊ, SANKATHARA POA (?), and Aemilia Hygeia, whom Liguria Saturnina bore. c. *Charaktêres*. ΙΑΩΘΗ ΒΑΥΕΟ. *Charaktêres*.

III. *a. Charaktêres.* AILÔNE (for ADÔNAI or ADÔNAIE) SABAÔTH. *b. Charaktêres.* IAIO BAAL. *Charaktêres.* *c.* You angels inscribed, give debility to Aemilia Hygeia, whom Liguria Saturnina bore – now, quickly – and death. *d. Charaktêres.*

IV. *a.* SANKATHARA KODÊREU. *b.* Give death to Aemilia Hygeia – quickly – whom Liguria Saturnina bore. IA[?]OBIÔ. *Charaktêres.*

V. ALASIS (or “do away with”?) and Aemilia Hygeia, whom Liguria Saturnina bore.

The magical *charaktêres* in I–IV include shapes that resemble Greek letters: Δ and O in I; Z, O, Π, E, and H in II; E, A, Γ, and O in III; and Θ in IV. The straight or curved line with a circle at each end occurs frequently in magical texts (*e.g.* in 3 and 4 below); its commonest form is the single straight line, usually vertical, with a circle at each end, resembling a dumbbell: ; often it occurs in rows connected by a horizontal: . We may compare the use of these “dumbbells” here in III.*b* and on a curse tablet from the Isthmus of Corinth:

Ιαιω Βηλ “dumbbells”  III. <i>b</i>	Αου (ο or φ) / Ιωβηλ “dumbbells” αθσελμα (λ or ς) / αθσειαμα Isthmian curse tablet (Jordan 1994:122) <sup>6</sup>
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The initial vocables in the two configurations are similar (*cf.* *PGM XIXa* 42 ουοιβηλ ουαιβηλ?), and it is no doubt significant that just beneath the “dumbbells” the last vocable in this configuration on the Isthmian tablet is evidently based on the noun ἀσθένεια “debility”, the condition wished on the intended victim of the present Carthaginian text.<sup>7</sup>

As for the other magical vocables on the tablet, *σανκικτη* (II.*b*.1, spelled *σανκικσστη*), *σανκαθαρα* (II.*b*.2, IV.*a*.1), and *κοδηρευ* (IV.*a*.2) are all parts of a string of such recurrent in magical texts of the period; it is found in several forms, *e.g.* *υεσσεμμιγαδων Ορθω Βαυβω νοηρε σοιρε σανκαθαρα Ερεσχιγαλ σανκικτη δωδεκακικτη ἀκρουροβόρε κοδηρε* at *PGM II* 33f.;<sup>8</sup> I know of one north African example of the string, at *DefixTabAud* 295.1–4 (Hadrumetum). *Βαυεο* (III.*b*.2) may be a corruption of the *Βαυβω* of the sequence. *Αιλωνε* (III.*a*.2), followed as it is by *Caβαωθ*, is obviously an ignorant miscopying of the *Αδωναϊ* or *Αδωναιε* that must once have stood in an exemplar; for the latter spelling see *PGM IV* 1560, 1735, 1802f., VIII 60, etc.

At II.*b*.2, whether the letters ΠΟΑ are to be regarded as a vocable or as *charaktêres* is unclear. From the right leg of Π a foot is extended in a way that is unusual for the letter; the inscription offers no other Π for comparison, however. Whatever *σανκικσστη*, *σανκαθαρα*, and ΠΟΑ may have meant, they were evidently credited with some verbal force, for they seem to govern an accusative, as does the apparently new vocable *αλασις* in V.

Text III.*c* is addressed to plural “inscribed angels”. Are they the *Αδωναϊ*, *Caβαωθ*, *Ιαιω* (*i.e.* *Ιαω* = Yahweh), and *Βηλ* and the magical vocables that appear earlier? We may compare instructions at *PGM III* 41ff. from a spell to be inscribed on a silver tablet: ἔστι δὲ τὰ γραφόμενα ὀνόματα ταῦτα· *Ιαω Caβαωθ Αδωναι Ελωαι Αβρασαξ αβλαναθαναλβα ακραμμαχαμαρι πεφθα φωζα φνεβειννουι, κύριοι ἄγγελοι, δότε μοι*, etc. “These are the names inscribed: IAÔ SABAÔTH ADÔNAI ELÔAI ABRASAX ABLANATHANALBA AKRAMMACHAMARI PEPHTHA PHÔZA PHNEBENNOUNI, sovereign angels, give me . . .” Among the “angels” we find, as in the new spell from Carthage, the familiar Yahweh, Sabaoth,

<sup>6</sup> The vocables plus the “dumbbells” in the Isthmian tablet are part of a larger design that closely resembles one on a curse tablet from Hadrumetum, Héron de Villefosse 1905 (see Jordan 1994, figs. 3 and 5, for illustrations).

<sup>7</sup> Ἀσθένεια is wished on the charioteers against whom another curse tablet from Carthage, Jordan 1988a: 1 = *SEG XL* 921, is directed.

<sup>8</sup> For a tentative explanation of the meaning of these vocables see Martinez 1991:37–40.

Adonai, etc., but also the palindrome *αβλαναθαναλβα* and three non-Greek words of magical power;<sup>9</sup> the command in both spells is the same, *δότε* “give”. The verb of IV.b.1–3 is in the singular; is its command addressed to the *Ια[?]οβιω* of IV.b.4?

Baal (Βηλ), teamed on the new tablet with Jewish divinities, occurs relatively seldom in Greek magical texts. At *PGM* IV 1010 (Ιαω· Βαλ Βηλ), in the Isthmian curse tablet cited above, and at III.b.2, his name appears with that of Yahweh; at *PGM* IV 1488 (Βαλ ιαβα) and 1492 (βαια Βαλ), among magical vocables addressed to Yahweh and Sabaoth; at *PGM* O 2 7, with Sabaoth. We must remember that our scribe very likely copied his text from a formulary, supplying only the identification of the intended victim. There is a small but growing body of evidence that such formularies were produced largely in Egypt, for distribution throughout the Mediterranean (Jordan 1994:123f.). The reader should resist any temptation to see at III.b.2 a connection between the Carthaginian provenance of the lead tablet and the worship of Baal at Carthage.

As is common in magical texts from as early as the 1st century of our era, the intended victim is given maternal lineage; the phrase *δείνα, ἦν* (or *ὄν*) *ἔτεκεν ἢ δείνα* is standard, so familiar as to be radically abbreviated in the magical formularies (Jordan 1976, 1988b:239), e.g. *Δ ἦν* (or *ὄν*) *ἢ Δ*, *Δ ἢ Δ*, or even *Δ Δ*. That our scribe is inconsistent in his spelling of one of the elements in the phrase, *ἔτεκεν* at III.a.3/4, IV.b.3 but *ἔτηκεν* at I.b.4, V.6/7, may mean that his formulary had such an abbreviation. We may compare mistakes on other curse tablets from Carthage, e.g. *τὸν Τζείου(ου)λον, ἦς ἔθηκεν* (for *ὄν ἔτεκεν*) *Ῥεστοῦτα* at *DefixTabAud* 249(B).6 and *quem* for *quam* in the Latin expression of this phrase in 3 below.

There is another scribal confusion. Greek magical texts of the Roman Imperial period often end with the phrase *ἦδη ἦδη, ταχύ ταχύ* “now, now, quickly, quickly”,<sup>10</sup> itself also so standard as to be subject to abbreviation in formularies, e.g. *ἦδη// ταχύ//* at *PGM* IV 973, 1593, 1924, 2037, and 2098, *ἦδη [β' ταχύ] β'* at VII 254, *ἦδη β ταχύ β* at XII 143 and 396 and *SupplMag* I 92.18, and even *ἦδη β// ταχύ β//* at *PGM* VIII 52.<sup>11</sup> Some such misunderstood abbreviation in his formulary evidently influenced our scribe to write *ἦδη, ταχύ* at III.c.5 rather than to double the adverbs.<sup>12</sup> Whether single or doubled, *ταχύ* at IV.b.2 is unexpected between the intended victim’s name and the phrase expressing her maternal lineage. Its awkward position too may be the result of an abbreviation in the formulary, which for this part of the text would have had *ΔΗΔΗΔΗΤΑΧΥ vel sim.*, with some lectional sign after *ΔΗΔΗ* and *ΤΑΧΥ* to indicate the doubling; conceivably, after the scribe had dealt with the first *Δ* of *ΔΗΔΗ*, the abbreviation for maternal lineage, his eye jumped forward past *ΔΗΔΗ*, which it quite resembles, he copied the *ΤΑΧΥ*, he noticed his mistake, and he then supplied the woman’s lineage as the formulary required.

Like the deceased in 1, the intended victim here, Aemilia Hygeia, has a Latin *gentilicium* and a Greek *cognomen*. Her mother has a different *gentilicium*, Liguria. I can cite three Aemilii at Carthage, all known from funerary inscriptions, L. Aemil[ius] Me[---] (Ben Abdallah 1986:56), M. Aemilius Ephagatus (for Epagathus, *ILT* 1109), and Aemilia Maxima (*ibid.*), but no local Ligurius or Liguria.

<sup>9</sup> R. K. Ritner, in *GMPT ad loc.*, writes that “PEPHTHA PHÔZA PHNEBENNOUNI is equivalent to Egyptian ‘He is Ptah the healthy, the lord of the Abyss’.” As is noted above, Sankistê, Sankathara, and Kodêreu are elements of the string of vocables beginning *νεσεμμιγαδον*; as a whole, this last is addressed as *κύριοι θεοί* and *κύριοι θεοί ἄγγελοι* in a curse tablet said to come from Claudiopolis in Bithynia (*Survey* 169, col. IV = Becker-Bertau, I. K. 31, 9; 3rd or 4th century?).

<sup>10</sup> The formula itself is much more ancient. Th. Gaster (1944:187) cites parallels from at least as early as the 7th century B.C., in Phoenician and Akkadian.

<sup>11</sup> Another variant, *ἦδη ταχύ β'*, evidently copied directly from a formulary, is to be seen at the end of the text of a lead curse tablet in the Perkins Library of Duke University. I am grateful to members of the Department of Classics there for entrusting its publication to me and hope that its text can appear before long.

<sup>12</sup> So too in two erotic charms from Egypt, *SupplMag* I 40.21 (papyrus) and 41.13 (lead), where the adverbs are not doubled.

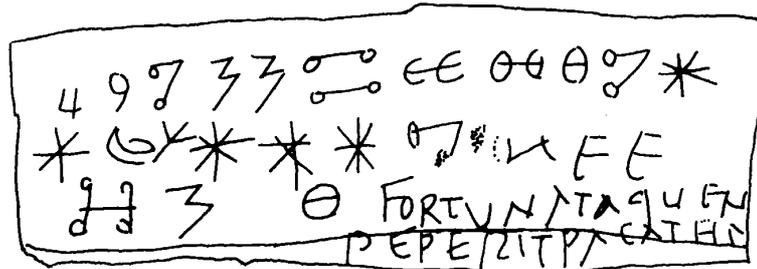
3. *Charaktêres*, brief Latin identification of accursed

An opisthographic lead curse tablet, apparently intact, with a smooth brownish patina. Its thickness (0.002–0.003 m.) is a little greater than that of most Carthaginian curse tablets that I have seen. Side B is inscribed upside down to Side A. The tablet seems never to have been rolled up or folded. The writing is apparently in the same hand as that of 4.

Pintozzi 1991:31

H. 0.039, W. 0.112 m.

Side A



D.R.J.

.00 .01 .02 .03 .04 .05 m

Fig. 4. Tablet 3, Side A.

- 1–2 *Charaktêres*  
 3 *Charaktêres* Fortunata, quen  
 4 peperit Pacathā

Side B



D.R.J.

.00 .01 .02 .03 .04 .05 m

Fig. 5. Tablet 3, Side B.

- 1 Capura, quen peperit  
 2 Prima

A 1, B 1 (?) quen: *read* quam

A. *Charaktêres*. Fortunata, whom Pacata bore.

B. Capura, whom Prima bore.

Side A and 4, with their *charaktêres* followed by a brief matrilineal identification of the accursed, find a close parallel in a small lead tablet of unknown provenance now at Cologne (Daniel 1994): its text consists of three lines of *charaktêres* (among them some Greek letters) plus Ἡλιοδώρα, ἣν ἔτε/κεν Ἴσειδώρα “Heliodora, whom Isidora bore;” its editor, Robert W. Daniel, tells me (letter of Aug. 28,

1995) that, like the present tablet, it seems never to have been folded but that he cannot rule out the possibility that it was once rolled up.

The *charaktères* of **3** (Side A) and of **4** resemble one another, particularly in lines 2 and 3. Stars precede a tilted lambda with circles at its feet. What immediately follows in the worn area on **3** is roughly compatible with the palm branch and elaborated X of **4**; E's precede vertical dumbbells that are connected by a line, and the rest of the sequence has a stylized Z- or Ξ-like shape and a rounded Θ.

After a feminine name in the expression of maternal lineage we expect not *quen* but a *quam*. The same mistake in gender occurs on three curse tablets from Hadrumetum, *DefixTabAud* 264–65 (*Victoria, quem peperit sua uulua*) and 266 (*Vettiam, quem peperit Optata*). In formularies the words *quem* (or *quam*) *peperit* were often abbreviated to *q p* (Jordan 1976), and in fact the abbreviation occurs, unresolved, at 248.6, [*Ades*]icla, *q p Victoria* (Carthage); cf. 300(B).2 [*S*]iluanu[m,] *q p uulua* (Cirta). Use of a formulary and careless resolution of its *q p* could explain the mistakes here and in 266.<sup>13</sup>

It is noteworthy that on at least Side B, *peperit* and perhaps also *quen* seem to have been written rather more quickly than the two names. I do not notice such a difference on Side A or in **4**.

The names Fortunata, Pacata (here spelled Pacathā), and Prima are too common to need discussion. I have not found a Capura as such elsewhere. A Caprus (for Carpus?) appears on a Christian gravestone at Carthage (*ILT* 1147); is Cap{u}ra its feminine? J. Curbera Costello (note of Sept. 20, 1995) offers a probably better solution, that Capura is the Latin form of the Greek καπυράς (Robert 1963:243, “sorte de pâtissier”), attested at Pessinus (Koerte 1897:48f., no. 31), “not yet documented as a proper name, but the use of profession-nouns in -ās as proper names is common; for Latin u as a transcription of Greek υ see *CIL* VIII, vol. 3, *grammatica quaedam* (p. 313), e.g. Assurus, Dionusus, Eutuche; regularly Greek -ās > Latin -a; therefore Καπυράς > Capyra > Capura (cf. mediaeval Greek καπούριον ‘crustulum’).” A Prima, we may note, was the mother of a *venator* cursed in *DefixTabAud* 247, a tablet found in the amphitheater at Carthage.

#### 4. Another

The left- and right-hand sides are apparently preserved, part of the top and evidently a little more of the bottom broken away. The hand is apparently the same as that of **3**.

Pintozzi 1991:33

Max. pr. H. 0.055, W. 0.082 m.



- 1–3 *Charaktères*
- 4 Aterius, quen
- 5 peperit [- - -]

4 quen: read quem

D.R.J.

.00 .01 .02 .03 .04 .05 m

Fig. 6. Tablet 4.

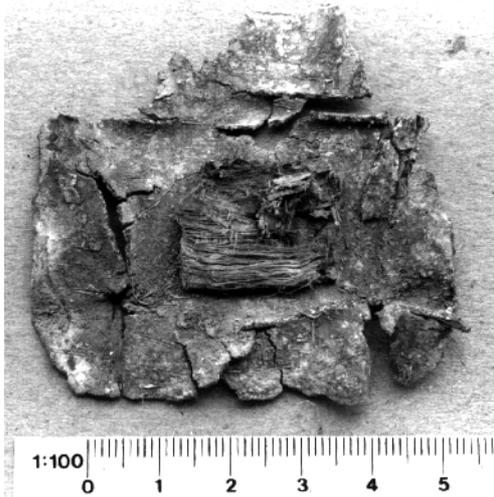
*Charaktères*. Aterius, whom [- - -] bore.

<sup>13</sup> For *quam* > *quem* Jeanneret 1918:79 attempts a phonetic explanation, invoking the early history of the French language. It is striking that from the Hadrumetine curse tablets he is able to cite only one instance of *quam*>*quem* (*Bonosa quem uobis . . . commendo*, *DefixTabAud* 268.10) in a phrase that is not part of the formula for maternal lineage.

The *nomen* (H)aterius<sup>14</sup> is well attested in North Africa, but I have not found it at Carthage.

### 5. Aliquid novi

Among the unopened tablets was one loosely folded into a small rectangular packet (Pintozzi 1991:44, 0.040 x 0.023 m.), which I was able to open without mishap. The resulting dimensions are H. 0.056, W. c. 0.055 m. The inner surface has a 4-line Latin text, difficult to read because of a layer of encrustation.



Within the folds was a rather flat rectangular papyrus packet, c. 0.017 x c. 0.022 m., evidently once a small sheet that had itself been folded into this form. One face of the packet (the upper, as originally buried?) has over the years disintegrated into a webbing of fibers (see figure); the other, however, which may consist of more than one layer, is fairly well preserved. The papyrus remains unopened. I did not see any traces of ink on the exposed surfaces.<sup>15</sup>

There are ready parallels for a lead curse tablet rolled or folded about some other substance. From the Athenian Agora we have an example from a context of probably the 4th or the 3rd century B.C. (Jordan 1985:208f., Well I); it has not yet been opened, but visible inside is wax, once presumably a doll. If so, the tablet finds later comparanda from Egypt, e.g. a lead tablet wrapped about an unbaked clay doll (3rd century of our era? *SupplMag* I 47; see Bourguet 1975 for photographs) and a papyrus love-charm around two intertwined wax dolls (5th century? *SupplMag* I 45; see Wortmann 1968: plates 7f. for photographs). From Greece there is one curse tablet and from Egypt several once rolled or folded around wads of the intended victims' hair (Jordan 1985:252); one of the tablets recently examined at Carthage (Pintozzi 1991:7) also has impressions of what seems to be hair on its inner side. A lead curse tablet from Hadrumetum (*Survey* 147) is reported to have been found folded around bits of eggshell. I know of no other example of a lead curse tablet folded about papyrus.

Most of the ancient papyrus that we have today comes from the dry sands of Egypt, but examples have also been found elsewhere, in such places as Herculaneum, Dura Europus, Judaea, Callatis on the Black Sea, Derveni near Salonica (see e.g. Montevecchi 1973:24–28), and Daphne in Attica (see Liagouras 1981).<sup>16</sup> To this list we may now add Carthage.<sup>17</sup>

### Bibliographical References<sup>18</sup>

Ben Abdallah, Z. B. 1986. *\*Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du Musée du Bardo* (= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 92, Rome), "Appendice: Inscriptions de Carthage":249–289

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to R. S. O. Tomlin for his advice about the reading.

<sup>15</sup> That the papyrus is preserved at all no doubt means that the lead tablet was not deposited in any body of water, as was fairly common in the Roman Imperial period (see e.g. Jordan 1985:208f. for examples deposited in wells and a cistern in the Athenian Agora). The tablet was presumably not, therefore, from one of the few recorded find-spots of Carthaginian curse tablets, the "Fountain of the Thousand Amphoras," which has yielded at least four examples (*SEG* IX 837–40 = *Survey* 138–41).

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to Olga and Evangelos Kakovoyannis for this reference.

<sup>17</sup> See Addendum below.

<sup>18</sup> Abbreviations of names of periodicals are those of *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978) 3–10. Unless it is indicated otherwise in the text, numbers after references to works marked with asterisks are not pages but catalogued items.

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## Addendum

After this article was in page proofs, I noticed an intriguing example, from not very far from Carthage, of another papyrus preserved perhaps because it too was in a metal container: T. C. Gouder and B. Rocco, "Un talismano bronzeo da Malta contenente un nastro di papiro con iscrizione fenicia", *Studi Magrebini* 7 (1975) 1–18. The tubular lion-headed bronze talisman, found in a grave at Tal-Virtù near Rabato, held a small sheet of papyrus with a drawing of Isis beside the following text, the editors' translation of which I reproduce here: "Ridetivi, o forti d'animo, del vostro nemico, / fatevi beffe, fiaccate ed assalite l'avversario. / [---] disprezzate(lo), calpestate(lo) sulle acque; / [---] anzi distendete(lo) / [---] sul Mare, legate(lo), sospendate(lo)!" On the basis of the letter-forms the editors tentatively assign the papyrus and its container to the 6th century B.C.