

DAVID JORDAN

THREE TEXTS FROM LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

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## THREE TEXTS FROM LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

Felice Costabile has put us into his debt by producing, in his recently founded *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica*, editions of four texts inscribed on lead, *Defixiones* da Locri Epizefiri: nuovi dati sui culti, sulla storia e sulle istituzioni (2 [1999] 23–77).<sup>1</sup> It is his Nos. 1–3, which he presents for the first time, that concern us here. They are all quite important, for reasons not stated in the publication. (The editions are from photographs rather than autopsys, and dimensions of the inscriptions were not available.)

## 1. An Archaic Inscription

The first (24–29), from the area known as Centocamere, has a one-line text in archaic letters, which Prof. Costabile prints as [--]ελ Ϝ(υ)βάβα and assigns, on the basis of the letter forms, to the 6th century. He remarks (24f.) that one cannot be certain whether the tablet is actually a *defixio*. Despite the lack of recorded dimensions, he observes that the photograph has a cloth background that allows an estimate of *c.* 6 x 6 cm for the tablet and *c.* 2 cm for the height of the letters themselves, which would be rather large, therefore, in relation to those of *defixiones*. I myself would consider the tablet to be a label of some kind, its letters, especially if the estimate of the size is correct, probably intended for other than private reading.

As for the ending -]ελ, given the archaic date of the inscription, ε could have the value η, as Prof. Costabile notes, citing the Ερβηλ of *SupplMag* II 58.3 as an example of a word in -ηλ in a magical text. This last is an ostrakon from Egyptian Thebes of the 4th or 5th century of our era, on which Ερβηλ occurs in an invocation of Yahweh: Ἰάω Ερβηλ ἰω Πακερβηκ, with Ἰάω Καβαωθ Αδωναι Αβρααξ a few lines below it. The ending -ηλ is in fact a feature of magical texts that are much later than our Lokrian inscription, and in them it is part of an angelic or other divine Hebrew name (*e.g.* Μιχαηλ, Ισηλ). In an archaic Greek text, -ελ with this significance would be remarkable.

Can the transcription be correct?



Fig. 1: New lead tablet  
(my tracing)



Fig. 2: Terracotta sherd from Lokroi Epizephyrioi  
(*Klio* 52 [1970] 133)



Fig. 3: Terracotta sherd from Sardis  
(*Kadmos* 8 [1969] 158)

The published photograph yields the tracing shown here (Fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> and allows a reading 'Ev Ϝ(υ)βάβα, without anything necessarily lost at the left- or right-hand edge. The shape of Ϝ is uncommon: one expects the usual circle but with a tail rather than a bisecting vertical,<sup>3</sup> but the surrounding letters guarantee the reading. An early cult of Kybele at Lokroi Epizephyrioi is known from a graffito (Fig. 2),

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Costabile for sending me the first two volumes of the journal, and I know that readers will join me in wishing the enterprise every success. The journal is distributed by "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Via Cassiodoro 19, I-00193 Rome.

<sup>2</sup> In my own tracings here and below, dotted lines are those that I cannot be sure I see. They are not restorations.

<sup>3</sup> L. H. Jeffery, *The local scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. ed. with suppl. by A. W. Johnston (Oxford 1990) 104.

τᾶ]c Ϙυβάλαc, on a terracotta sherd found there, of the first half of the 6th century.<sup>4</sup> Margherita Guarducci, the editor of the graffito, remarked that it was the earliest epigraphical attestation of the cult in the Greek world and also unique in its spelling -βάλα.<sup>5</sup> Another such early witness is now the lead inscription, with its Ϙ(υ)βάβαc. It is interesting that one city should have both spellings. In its Ionized form the latter is attested *e.g.* at Hdt. 5.102, in a reference to the ἱρὸν ἐπιχωρίης θεοῦ Κυβήβης at Sardis. To judge from Maarten J. Vermaseren's *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*,<sup>6</sup> the Doric form on the new tablet appears nowhere else in Greek. Juliette de la Genière has argued persuasively that among the many institutions that Lokroi Epizephyrioi took from Sparta was the cult of this goddess, better attested for Lakonia than for anywhere else in early Greece.<sup>7</sup> As Prof. de la Genière notes (700), Sparta had particularly good relations with Sardis, no doubt her immediate source for the cult, in the reigns of Alyattes and Kroisos, and in fact aristocratic Spartan girls wore the Lydian headdress in religious processions (Alcm. *Parthen.* 1.67); according to tradition, Alkman himself (*Suda s.v.*) was a native of Sardis. In any case, the spelling Ϙ(υ)βάβα no doubt comes, through Sparta or not, from the Lydian form, which we know from an early 6th-century graffito (Fig. 3) found at Sardis, *kuvaγ*l.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Ἐποδαί

Of the second text (29–42) we have seven fragments (*a–g*), also from Centocamere, inscribed in a 4th-century hand.<sup>9</sup> Prof. Costabile notes that *a* and *b* join and contain a phrase much like one inscribed on two 4th-century lead tablets, from Phalasarna in Crete and from Selinous in Sicily,<sup>10</sup> and that *g* has the

<sup>4</sup> For the dating, based on that of Corinthian pottery among which it was found, see J. de la Genière, *De la Phrygie à Locres Épizéphyrienne: les chemins de Cybèle*, *MEFRA* 97 (1985) 693–718, p. 694.

<sup>5</sup> M. Guarducci, *Cibele in un'epigrafe arcaica di Locri Epizefiri*, *Klio* 52 (1970) 133–38.

<sup>6</sup> *EPRO* 50 (Leiden 1977–89).

<sup>7</sup> *Supra* n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> R. Gusmani, *Der lydische Name der Kybele*, *Kadmos* 8 (1969) 158–61. For the name of the goddess see also E. Laroche, *Koubaba, déesse anatolienne, et le problème des origines de Cybèle*, *Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne* (Paris 1960) 113–28, and C. Brixhe, *Le nom de Cybèle. L'antiquité avait-elle raison?*, *Die Sprache* 25 (1979) 40–45.

<sup>9</sup> The writer's treatment of the letter O is of palaeographical interest. As is normal on soft metal tablets and papyri, O is made with two basically downward, curled strokes, concave towards one another, usually touching and sometimes crossing one another at the extremities. From the excellent photographs we can see that when the strokes overlap, it is the left-hand stroke that breaks through the right, displacing the lead indentation; in other words, here it is the right-hand stroke that is made first. Prof. Costabile's enlarged photograph of *g* (38) splendidly illustrates this displacement of the right-hand stroke by the left. I have not been able to show this in the tracings, but we can see a hint of it in the O of COI in *b* 3: after making the right-hand stroke the scribe, without lifting the stylus, moves it back up to the top of the letter to make the left. So too in the O's of CAITOOYΔ in *b* 7: in each it is the left-hand stroke that is extended towards the beginning of the next letter. I cannot accept Prof. Costabile's assumption (32) of different hands and divergent dates for the fragments: "Paleograficamente i frammenti *a, b, c* possono ascrivere al V secolo per la presenza del *koppa* e per l'assenza delle vocali lunge *eta* ed *omega*, rese con E ed O. Il *koppa* mi sembrerebbe tuttavia un attardamento e tenderei a datare le iscrizioni attorno alla metà del V secolo, se no perfino nella seconda metà. La grafia assai più evoluta ed il *sigma* a quattro tratti (Σ) escludono comunque un'attribuzione al VI secolo, proponibile invece per l'iscrizione precedente. Il fr. *d* potrebbe essere un po' più tardo ed ascrivere al V–IV secolo. I fr. *e, g* sono di età ellenistica e comunque non anteriori al IV secolo." The letter that Prof. Costabile would read as Ϙ I myself would read as Q, its shape that of the O of COI mentioned above, although it may be O or I, one corrected from the other. But even if the letter is in fact Q, its context, αQc after an intralinear dash (*infra* p. 5), need not imply anything archaic, for here it may be a numeral: αQc = 291.

<sup>10</sup> Phalasarna: E. Ziebarth, *Neue attische Fluchttafeln*, *NachrGött* (1899) 105–31, no. 1; R. Wunsch, *Neue Fluchttafeln*, *RhM* 55 (1900) 62–85, pp. 73–85, though based on Ziebarth's inaccurate transcription, is useful for the establishment and understanding of the text. See my *The inscribed lead tablet from Phalasarna*, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 191–94, and C. Brixhe and A. Panayotou, *Le plomb magique de Phalasarna IC II–XIX 7*, *Hellènika Symmikta. Histoire, linguistique, épigraphie* 2 (= *Études d'archéologie classique* 8) (1995) 23–38, for later bibliography and for two independent editions, from autopsy. Both editions include line-drawings. Those of Brixhe and Panayotou are larger and are reproduced more clearly than mine, but the Selinuntine parallels show that there is less space between their fragments III and IV than they assume; this affects the

word ὄλβιο[ς, which is also in those texts. He concludes that the text of his fragments belongs to the same type of composition. He considers those two tablets, and therefore the fragments, however, to be *defixiones*. These they are not, in any usual sense of the word: the texts of the two tablets consist of ἐπωδαί, here basically hexametric verses, many of them obscure, that refer to mystical bliss and end in promises of protection from magic.<sup>11</sup> At least five of the new fragments, as I shall show here, come from a poem (or poems) with verses like those preserved on the lead tablets from Phalasarna and Selinous.<sup>12</sup> Whether such texts were part of communal ceremonies or were used by individuals as protective devices, for the diffusion of such ancient ἐπωδαί the new Lokrian fragments constitute the most important epigraphical evidence to come to light in many years.

The text as published (32f.):<sup>13</sup>

<i>a + b</i>		<i>c</i>	
[δαμναμεν?ε]ὺς σκιασια ἐνδασια ἐ[ν ἀμολγοί]			
[---τ]ετρακο- αφσσ[ο]ιδον ὕμ[---]			
[---κατ]αδ[ο]έδεμαι οα- αι φράσιν [---]			
[---]δαμασον [δασια ε] δεκακος α[---]		[-----]Σ[---]	
5	[---]εδις μνᾶσαι τὸν [αμο] Ἑκατ[---]	5	[---]ΝΟΣΤ[---]
[---σ?]υ καδαλέσαι ΤΟΟΥΔ[---]		[---]ΡΙΟΣ[---]	
[---]+εαν Θεβ(άιαν) λαμβάνε [---]		[---]ἄστερ[οεν]?[---]	
<hr/>			
<i>d</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>
]ΠΙΟΕΑ[	[---]+E+[---]	[---]A-Ασ[---]	[---]+ΔΣΓΗΦΕΣ[---]
]ΤΑΚΡΑ[	[---]ΕΡΑ[---]	[---]ΟΜ[---]	[---]ΝΕΙΑ πόδα[ς---]
]ΕΤΟΝΑΚ[	[---]ἀναθ]έματα [---]	[---]+[---]	[---]ΝΗ- Η ολβιο[ς---]
]ΣΙΝΕΤ[	[---]θεσσας • [---]		[---]Α ΣΑΧ τετρ[α---]
5 ]ΙΝΥΔΥΡ[	5 [---] οὔτοι [---]		5 [---]ΚΤΑΝΟΙΚΑ+[---]
			[---]ΣΔΕΑΡ[-----]
			[-----]ΙΟΣΝ[---]

First I give my own tracings and transcriptions, from the published photographs, of the individual fragments. Again, the dimensions go unrecorded in the publication; it is unfortunate, therefore, that for the photographs, which appear at different magnifications, the printed scales, when included, are all, misleadingly, of the same size. I have not succeeded in bringing the tracings into any uniform magnification. The line numbers for the placed fragments are those of the inscription that I reconstruct (*infra* p. 100).

supplements. Selinous: Unpublished, in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Roy Kotansky and I are preparing an *editio princeps*, which we hope can appear soon. I have quoted some of its text in my edition of the tablet from Phalasarna; for a preliminary discussion see P. Kingsley, *Ancient philosophy, mystery, and magic. Empedocles and the Pythagorean tradition* (Oxford 1995) 269–72. There is a further witness of the text, a 5th-century lead tablet from Himera: see my Ephesia grammata at Himera, *ZPE* 130 (2000) [this volume] 104–107.

<sup>11</sup> For the genre see Fr. Pfister, Epode, *RESupp* 4 (Stuttgart 1924) 323–44, and W. D. Furley, Besprechung und Behandlung. Zur Form und Funktion von ΕΠΩΔΙΑΙ in der griechischen Zaubermedizin, in G. W. Most, H. Petersmann, A. M. Ritter, edd., *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 1993) 80–104. The verses from Phalasarna have received much discussion as being the earliest epigraphical witness to the so-called Ephesia Grammata, for a general treatment of which see K. Preisendanz, Ephesia grammata, *RAC* 5 (1961) 515–20. Furley (96–99) and R. D. Kotansky, Greek exorcistic amulets, in M. Meyer, P. Mirecki, edd., *Ancient magic and ritual power* (Leiden 1995) 243–77, esp. 253–57, have discussed the verses in their wider religious context.

<sup>12</sup> It is of interest that excavations of the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinous have yielded numerous female votive terracotta figurines, many evidently imported from Lokroi Epizephyrioi: see G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three essays on religion and thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1971) 173–77; Kingsley, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 10) 271.

<sup>13</sup> P. 33: “Con i segni ò Ò si indica l’interlinea con il rigo superiore. Il segno – indica il segmento paleograficamente usato con valore magico di troncamento (*paragaphos* rettilinea).”

The placed fragments:

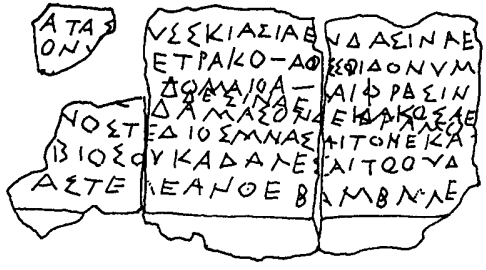
	f	a	b
	↓	↓	↓
	<p>2 ]ατα[ ]υσσκιασιαε νδασιναε[          3 ]ονυ[ ]ετρακο—αο ccoιδονυμ[          4 ] . [ ]δομαιοα— καιφρασιν[          5 ] . [ ]δαμασονδε εκακοςαε[          6 ]νοστ εδιοσμνα αιτονεκατ[          7 ]βιοσο υκαδαλε αιτουουδ . [          8 ]υατε .  ?εανθεβ αμβλλε[          9 ]———[</p>		
	↑		
	c		

Fig. 4. f, c+a+b

3 ol corr. from (or to) ι?, but cf. shape of o in ]ccoι 4 ] . [ : tops of two verticals ]δ begun as τ? ]κ: lower end of diagonal sloping to right 5 ] . [ : low horizontal Lines 5-6 efface an earlier text: τ|?δ?εσιναε[ . ]δραμο . [ : ε or α, δ or τ 6 τ| : left-hand end of high horizontal 7 . [ : lower end of diagonal rising to right 8 ]υ: diagonal rising to right . [ : vertical, upper part obscure ]?: diagonal, sloping to right? θ or ο λ or μ


	<p style="text-align: center;">g</p> <p>-----</p> <p>1 ]εοστηφε[          2 ]νειαπολα[          3 ]ακτηολβιο[          4 ]ατραχτετρ[          5 ]καιοικακ[          6 ]αδεαρχ[          7 ]οσνυ[          8 b l ] a [ n k          9 b l ] a [ n k</p>
--	--

Fig. 5. g

1 φ begun as ε ζ[ , δ[ , or ζ[ 2 λ begun as δ, ε (ε would be correct) α or λ 5 κ[ : upper tip of vertical 6 α or ]λ

The unplaced fragments:


	<p style="text-align: center;">d</p> <p>-----</p> <p>1 ]κτοεατ[          2 ]κτακρα-<sup>c.22</sup>[          3 ]ετοναρχ[          4 ]σινετα[          5 ]?ιν-<sup>c.22</sup>ρ[          6 ]blank[          7 ]blank[          8 ]——[</p> <p>1 ε or γ 4 α or λ 5 ρ or ε</p>
---	--

Fig. 6: d


	<p style="text-align: center;">e</p> <p>-----</p> <p>1 ] . ε . [          2 ]ερα[          3 ]εματα[          4 ]οεσσα . [          5 ] . ουτον . [</p> <p>-----</p>
---	--

Fig. 7: e

1 ] . [ : α, κ, or ]λ . [ : lower part of vertical 3 α[ or λ[ 4 α or λ 5 ]τ or γ[

Here I reproduce the text of lines 6ff. of the Phalasarna tablet (*supra* n. 10), showing in **bold letters** the parts represented by the fragments from Lokroi. Raised numbers are those of the lines of the Phalasarna tablet itself. Underscored letters were seen by their first editor, Erich Ziebarth, but are now lost.

- J* ἄσκι **κατασκι** κατασκι **ασιαν ενδασιαν** ἐν ἀμολγῶι [αῖ]ξ?)  
*K* αῖγα βίαι ἐκ **κήπο ἐλαύνετε** τ[ῶι δ' ὄ]νομα **Τετραγ[ο]ς**.  
*L* ἑοὶ δ' ὄνομα Τρεξ <— ∪ ∪ —> ἀνεμῶλιος **ἀκτῆ**.  
*M* Ὀλβιο[ς] ὦι κ(α)τὰ δὲ κ[κ]εδαθῆι κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν «**ἰώ**».  
*N* **Κ[ΟΙ]ΦΡΕCΙΑΛΛΥΤΟ**[vac.?] ἔρχηι μακάρων {μακαρων} κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν α[ὐ]δάν,  
*O* «**Τραξ Τετραξ** Τετραγος.»  
*P* Δαμναμ]ε[ν]ευ vac. ἑ **δάμασον δὲ κακῶς** [ἀ]έκοντας ἀνάγκα[ι].  
*Q* Ὅς κέ με κίνηται **καὶ οἱ κακὰ** κόλλαβα δοῖσι,  
*R* ἱερακόπτε[ρον?] <sup>10</sup>πελειόπετον χιμ[αί]ραc ἀμικαντον λεωκέρας λ[έ]ωντος ὄνυξ,  
λεοδράκοντος γλῶσαν γένειον.  
*S* Ἦ με καταχρίτ[ωι δ]ηλήσεται, οὔτε ἐπηνίκτ[ωι]  
*T* οὔτε πατῶι [οὔ]τ' ἐπατωγήι, c[ίν]τορ ἀπάντων. {α}

*K* τῶν δ' Selinous *M* δὴ *N* καὶ φρεῖν αὐτὸς *conj.* G. B. D'Alessio, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 290 α[ὐ]δάν Brixhe and Panayotou, *supra* n. 10 *Q* οἱ (or οἱ?) κακὰ κόλλοβα (or κόλλυβα) δῶσι “give evil cakes?” *R extra metrum. Materia magica?* ἀμικαντον H. Lloyd-Jones *per epist.* λ[έ]ωντος *S* ὄ = οὔ P. Maas, *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 36f.; = οὔ Wunsch, *supra* n. 10 δηλήσεται {ι} δηλήσεται *conj.* S. Eitrem, *NordTidskr* 4 (1922) 132 ἐπηνίκτοι *conj.* Maas: “will not harm me with an unguent, nor with an offering” (to the dead? see LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιφέρω I.2) *T* ποτῶι ἐπατωγήι? Meter defective c.π. or c[ίν]τορα πάντων?

This is enough to show that *f* 2, with its *αταc* of κατασκι, stands just at the left of the *ασιανενδασιανε* in *a+b* 2, and that the ]ατκηολβιοc[ of *g* 3 followed *a+b* 3 in the original inscription. Beneath *g* 7 there is a blank, which occupies the space that corresponds to the inscribed *c+a+b* 8-9; therefore *g* stood at the right of *c+a+b*. I have not been able to place *d* and *e* in relation to the other fragments and cannot rule out the possibility that they come from another inscription. If they do and if that inscription contained ἐπφδαί as here, the ]κίνετα[ι of *d* 4 suggests that the subject may have been similar.

There is a curious feature in 3 and 4, the intralinear dash. It evidently serves to separate the individual verses – or rather groups of verses, for there is no such dash in 4 between ἀκτῆ and the verse that begins Ὀλβιοc. Our writer would have had a written model, no doubt; if it or its exemplar was arranged according to *stichoi*, these dashes would have stood at the left or the right of the column of text. I have no explanation for the αος (corr. from or to αιc?) after the dash in 3. Are the letters the remnant of a lectional note?<sup>14</sup> It may be more than mere coincidence that there are some of the same apparently meaningless letters, this time οα, adjacent to the dash in 4. In my reconstruction of the inscription I have arbitrarily assumed that a dash with a few letters stood also before the verse that begins Ασκι κ]αταc[κι in line 2.

	$f$	$a$	$b$		$g$
	↓	↓	↓		↓
-----					
1	[				]εοστηφες[ ]
2	[	αcκικ]αταc[κι?]	υccασιανε νδασιανε ναμολγοι		]νειασπολα[ ]
3	[	]ονυ[ματ]ετρακο—αο cκοιδονυμ ατρεξ			ανεμολιος ακτηολβιος οικαταδε]
4	[	κκεδαθει κ]αταμαξι δομαιοα— καιφραcιν αντοcεχειμακαρονκαταμαξιτονανδ ατραχτετρ αχτετρα]			
5	[	γος	δαμναμ]ε[ν] δαμασονδ εκακοcα εκονταcαναγκα		οcκεμεcινεται καιιοκακ[ακολλα]
6	[	βαδοcι?	]νοcτ εδιοcμναc αιτονεκατ[οιοφ		]αcδεαρχ[ ]
7	[		]βιοcο υκαδαλε cαιτοουδα ιπολυφαρμαc-		]οcνυ[ ]
8	[		]αcτε  εανθεβ αμβλλε[		]bl a nk ]
9	[		]-----[		]bl a nk ]
		↑			
		$c$			

<sup>14</sup> A number? αος = 271, αιc = 211. May the α that I have bracketed at the end of the Phalasarna text be a numeral?

The poem on the Lokrian tablet ended in line 8, somewhere between  $c+a+b$  and  $g$ . The horizontal at the bottom of  $c+a+b$ , which was evidently meant to mark the end of the text, presumably stood in the original only under the part of 8 that was actually inscribed.

Lokroi 2–5 basically correspond, then, to Phalasarna  $J-Q$ , which in spots are clearly corrupt but which I have supplied above simply to show the general shape of the Lokrian inscription. The Lokrian hexameter after Phalasarna  $J$ , however, had the letters ]νειαπολλ[, which do not match anything in this part of the Phalasarna text; nor are the letters in  $g$  1 found in what precedes Phalasarna  $J$ .

What follows Lokroi 5 does not match the rest of the verses from Phalasarna. The little that I have been able to supply in 6 and 7 comes from the Selinuntine text: ]Ε Διὸς μνήκαιδ' (for -καιτ') ἐκάτοιο Φ[ and [οὐ]κ ἄν δειλήκαιτ' {οὐδεῖς} οὐδ' αἰ πολυφάρ[, respectively. We see in Lokroi 7, then, a multiple assurance of protection of the kind that we find in Phalasarna  $S-T$ . We may compare Demeter's promise in lines 227f. of her Homeric *Hymn*:

Θρέψω κοῦ μιν, ἔολπα, κακοφραδίησι τιθήνης  
οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήεται οὔθ' ὑποτάμνον.

Here I reconstruct, for 2 through the first part of 7, what I can of such a text, arranged in *stichoi*. I have arbitrarily printed the dashes at the left of the *stichoi*, and, as arbitrarily, have used ε's and ο's for η's and ω's in the lacunae, without claiming consistency; in the reconstructed inscription above, there is room for about five letters – *i.e.* for a dash and about three letters before  $A$ . In  $B$ ,  $G-J$  these (lectional?) letters may have preceded rather than followed the dashes, as assumed here. My Τρεχ restored in  $C$  below (Τρεξ in Phalasarna  $L$ ) reflects the preserved Τραχ of  $F$ . The corruption in  $D$  is no doubt worse than I have assumed here.

$A$	[ <sup>2</sup> — +c.3	Ασκι Κ]ατα[κι ]υσκι Ασιαν Ενδασιαν ἐ[ν ἀμολγῶι.]
$B$	[— +c.3	—υυ—]νει Ἀπόλλ(?)[υυ <sup>3</sup> —υυ] ὄνυμα Τετρακο(ε?).
$C$	— ΑΟC	Coὶ δ' ὄνυμ[α Τρεχ υ—υυ— (plus more?) ἀνεμόλιος] ἀκτῆ.
$D$		ῶλβιο[ε ὁῖ κατὰ δὲ <sup>4</sup> κεδαθεῖ] κ[ατ' ἀμαξι]δομ «Αἰ».
$E$	OA —	Καὶ φρακῖν [αὐτος ἔχει μακάροῦν κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδ]ά(ν),
$F$		«Τραχ Τετρ[αχ Τετρα <sup>5</sup> γος.»]
$G$	[— +c.3	Δαμναμεν]ε[υ,] δάμασον δὲ κακῶς ἀ[έκονταε ἀνάγκααι.]
$H$	[— +c.3	ῶοε κέ με κίνετα] καὶ οἱ κακ[ᾶ κόλλο <sup>6</sup> βα δῶοαι.]
$I$	[— +c.3	—υυ]ν ὅε τε Διὸς μνάκαιτο {ν} ἐκάτ[οιο φ υ—×]
$J$	[— +c.3	—υυ—υυ]αε δὲ ἀρχ[—υυ— <sup>7</sup> υυ]βιοε
$K$		Οὔ κα δαλέσαιτο οὐδ' αἰ[ὶ πολυφάρμακ υ—×]

$D$  ἀμαξιτὸν «ἰῶ»  $I$  μνήκαιδ' (for -καιτ') ἐκάτοιο Φ[ Selinous  $K$  [οὐ]κ ἄν δειλή(ε)ταιτ' {οὐδεῖς} οὐδ' αἰ πολυφαρ[ Selinous

The part of the Selinuntine inscription with what corresponds to  $K$  is arranged according to *stichoi* and shows that the οὔ κα δαλέσαιτο of Lokroi  $K$  begins a hexameter. The ]βιοε immediately before, which would end the preceding verse, is therefore awkward, metrically. Is the text corrupt here? It has, to be sure, corruptions elsewhere. The ending ]δομαιοα of  $D$  (*cf.* κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν «ἰῶ» at Phalasarna  $M$ ) makes no sense; nor does meter allow the second ν of μνακαιτον in  $I$  (*cf.* μνήκαιδ', also awkward, here in the Selinuntine text); and the cluster θεβαμβλβε[ (θ or ο, λ or μ!) in 8 is obviously impossible.<sup>15</sup>

Prof. Costabile (*supra* n. 9) has noted the absence of η and ω in  $a+b$ . For example, in 7 ( $K$ ) the verb is δαλέσαιτο (Att.-Ion. δηλ-). Unless a vowel follows ] κίνετα[ι in  $d$  4, we have another ε there. On the other hand, η's are the only possible transcriptions in  $g$  1 and  $g$  3 ( $C$ ). Unless οι in  $H$  (Phalasarna  $Q$ ) represents ὁῖ, the fragments preserve only one instance of ο where Attic-Ionic spelling would have ω,

<sup>15</sup> The καὶ φρακῖν of  $E$  (φρακῖν αὐ[ Selinous), on the other hand, manifestly better than the Κ[ΟΙ]ΦΕCΙΑΛΛΥΤΟ[ of Phalasarna  $N$ , supports G. B. D'Alessio's correction of this last: see *app. crit. ad loc.*).



*i.e.* the *κακῶς* of *G*. In *C*, we have not *Τραξ* as in Phalasarna *O* but *Τραχ*; the fragments preserve no other word that might require *ξ*. *Τραχ* may be merely a different pronunciation of the vocable, itself no doubt intentionally mysterious, but if *χ* here is the “spelling” of *ξ*, it may, like *ε,ο* for *η,ω*, reflect an alphabet that was used some time before the texts at Phalasarna, Selinous, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi were inscribed in the 4th century<sup>16</sup> and it may have its implication for the date of the composition of the verses. The Phalasarna text also, we may note, shows traces of earlier spelling, *δέ* for *δή* (*M*), *κήπο* (*K*), *ὀ* for *οὐ* (?*S*); the *η* of *ἐπηνίκτ[ω]* (*S*) may well have arisen as a clumsy updating of a text without *η*’s.

As for the dialect, Claude Brixhe and Anna Panayotou (36 [*supra* n. 10]) have remarked that if the Phalasarna tablet were not known to be from Crete, it would have occurred to no one to examine its text for Cretan dialect features, for it shows little other than the occasional Dorism (*e.g.* *ἀνάγκα[ι]* in *P*) and one phrase with psilosis (*κατ’ ἀμαξιτόν* in *M, N*):<sup>17</sup> “la langue utilisée pour ce genre de documents ressortit à toute une tradition qui la place souvent hors dialecte.” For this reason such features as *ὄνομα* in *B, C* (Att.-Ion. *ὄνομα*) beside Att.-Ion. *κοί* in *C*, *μνάσαιτο* in *I* (Att.-Ion. *μνήσ-*), and *δαλέσαιτο* and *α[ι]* in *K* (Att.-Ion. *δηλ-, εἶ*) are worth noting in the Lokrian inscription. Whatever the use of these *ἐπωδαί*, here we have them in West Greece.

### 3. A Judiciary Curse Tablet

No. 3 (42–53), in a 4th- or possibly early 3rd-century hand, from the area known as Parapezza, outside the ancient city, is clearly a *defixio*, with a judiciary curse. The published photograph, tracing, text, and translation:

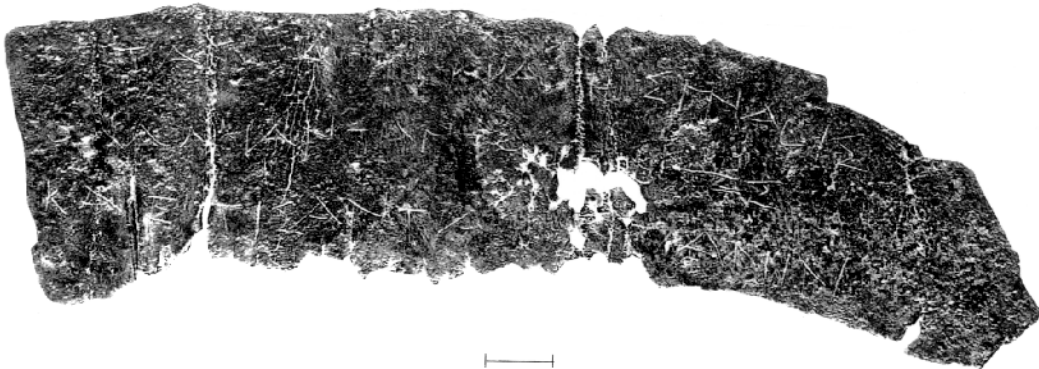


Fig. 8. The published photograph



Fig. 9: The published tracing

<sup>16</sup> For example, early Lokrian *ξ* is usually written *+*: see L. H. Jeffery, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 3) 104.

<sup>17</sup> In the Selinuntine inscription, these passages are lost.

- 1 Θέστα, κύ[ν]δ[ικοι] Κύδιμος, Γνάθις ν
- 2 Θάλλ[ο]ιαν – Ἄνθον [μά]ρτυ[ρ]ας,
- 3 καὶ ἐ[κ]τίσαντα [πρ]ύτανιν.

(Consegno agli dei inferi)

Thesta; avvocati: Kydimos, Gnathis;

Thallias, Anthos testimoni,

e prytane che ha condannato a pagare (il risarcimento).

Prof. Costabile identifies Thesta as the sister of Dionysios I, tyrant of Syracuse, and discusses the significance of the presence of the prytanis, an official previously unattested at Lokroi Epizephyrioi, for the constitution of the city. In 2 the name Θάλλ[ο]ια in this spelling would be a *hapax*, with or without the O, which, he explains, is not, however, a letter but the representation of a magical knot.

From the published photographs (two, taken under different angles of light) I have been able to derive

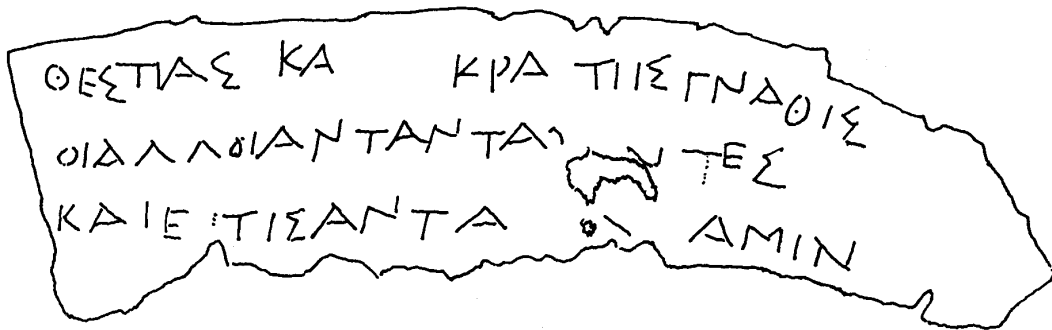


Fig. 10: My own tracing

and transcription and text:

- 1 θεστιασκα<sup>[ε3]</sup>κρατηγναθις
- 2 οιαλλοιανταντα [ ]ντες
- 3 καιε τισαντα<sup>[ε2]</sup> [L2]αμιν

2 [ ]: θ or ο In one of the photographs, there is a diagonal sloping to the right from near the top of the spine of ε, which is transcribed as α in the *ed.pr.*, but this apparent diagonal seems only an effect of the lighting; it does not appear on the other photograph, which shows the surrounding letters fairly clearly. 3 ε τ: top of vertical? [ ]: diagonal sloping to right

- 1 Θεστίας, Κα[λλι]κράτης, Γνάθις,
- 2 οἱ ἄλλοι ἀντανταθ[έ]ντες,
- 3 καὶ εἴ τις ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ι] ἀμῖν.

3 ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ι] or ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ς] (*sc. ἐστιν*)

Thestias, Kallikrates, Gnathis,  
the others opposed (*sc. by us*) in court,  
and anyone who opposes us in court.

The first line has three mens' names, all banal. Of interest are the generalizing phrases that follow. In the second line we have the passive participle ἀντανταθ[έ]ντες, from ἀνταντάω, a verb first attested

here; it is the denominative of a noun known only from Hesychios, ἀνταντάν· ἐπίβουλον, ἀντίδικον.<sup>18</sup> In the εἰ (W.Gr. αἰ) and the ἀμῖν (Att.-Ion. ἡμῖν) of the third we have a mixture of Koine and West Greek.<sup>19</sup> The εἴ τις, in any event, invites a finite verb. I have assumed the Koine ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ι] (W.Gr. -τῆι;<sup>20</sup> ]η[ cannot be read), but I should not rule out ἀντα[ντ]ᾶ[ι] (sc. ἐστιν). The last word, ἀμῖν, implies a plurality of *defigentes*, which finds a parallel in *DTWü* 77, with its opening verb καταδοῦμεν.

The curse tablet, for its part, confirms Hesychios' text, emended by its latest editor, K. Latte, to ἀντάταν, on the basis of the *hapax* ἀντάταις at *SGDI* 5105.23 (a treaty between Gortyn and Knossos, early II<sup>a</sup>). The ending of Hesychios' ἀνταντάν presumably means that he knew the word only in this non-Ionic form. His gloss and the new inscription should alert editors of new judiciary curse tablets to the possibility of ἀντανταί among the personnel of law-courts where the dialect was not Ionic.

Athens

David Jordan

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<sup>18</sup> It is possible, but not yet provable, that another compound of ἀντάω has a legal meaning, in the phrase μετὰ τὴν καταπορὸν δύνασθε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ π[ρο]ξαντήσαι at *BGU* 361 ii 8 (II<sup>p</sup>). LSJ, perhaps correctly, define the verb προξαντάω, a *hapax*, as “appear in court”.

<sup>19</sup> This is no problem; C. D. Buck, *The Greek dialects* (Chicago 1955) § 134c: “The substitution of εἰ for αἰ belongs to the earliest stage of Attic (κοινή) influence in the West Greek dialects.”

<sup>20</sup> Buck, *op. cit.* § 41.