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EPHESIA GRAMMATA AT HIMERA

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 130 (2000) 104–107

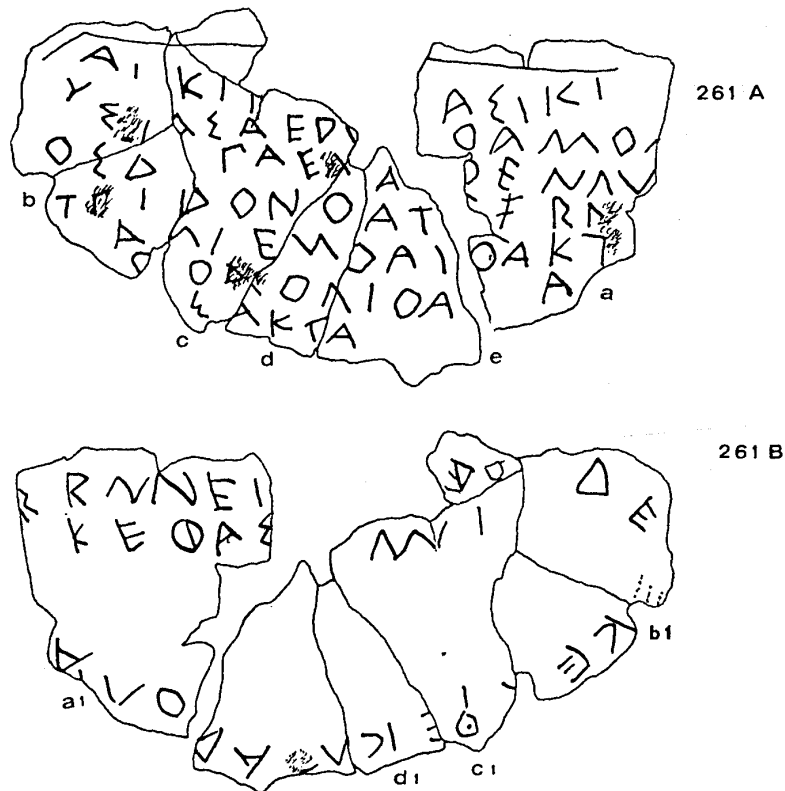
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EPHESIA GRAMMATA AT HIMERA

In memory of William Brashear

Volvala barchin heman la lavolvola dramme pagloni – Anemolius
("Gladly I share what is mine, not ungladly accept what is better.")

Shortly after I submitted to the editors the manuscript of the preceding article,¹ Jaime Curbera, now preparing a new bibliography of the lead *defixiones* of Sicily, brought to my attention what seemed a possible example from Himera, of which M. T. Manni Piraino printed a drawing and a description some years ago.² I am particularly indebted to Dr. Curbera, for it provides another witness to the ἐπφδάí from Selinous, Phalasarua, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi. I reproduce the drawing and description here:³



Cinque frammenti di una laminetta di piombo molto sottile. Si conserva parte del bordo superiore originario (framm. 1–2) e del bordo di destra (framm. 1a). La laminetta reca incisa una lunga iscrizione sulla faccia anteriore (A), mentre su quella posteriore (B) corrono poche lettere: apografi, fig. 36, 261 A–B. Prima metà V sec.

Di quello documento debbo forzatamente limitarmi a dare un primo, approssimativo apografo: benchè molti segni appaiano abbastanza chiaramente identificabile, non sono riuscita tuttavia a dare un senso compiuto al complesso dell'iscrizione, che potrebbe anche non essere greca. Nel dubbio mi pare opportuno presentarla senza commento in attesa di ulteriore approfondimento.

¹ Three texts from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, *ZPE* 130 (2000) [this volume] 95–103. I would thank Prof. Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones for the interest that he has taken in the verses discussed there and below.

² M. T. Manni Piraino, Le iscrizioni, in N. Allegro et al., *Himera, II. Campagne di scavo 1966–1973* (Rome 1976) 665–701, esp. 697–98. It had escaped my notice when I was preparing my Survey of Greek *defixiones* not included in the special corpora, *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–96.

³ In the reproduction below, fr. *a* has been brought closer to fr. *b+c+d+e* than in the publication. Dimensions go unrecorded in the description.

There is a photograph (tav. CXV, n. 10) that also accompanies the announcement, but it serves only to show that the inscription must have been extremely difficult to read. Its text indeed makes no sense until one notices that it is a garbled version of the lines discussed in the preceding article. The inscription itself has obvious mistakes, but is not to be ruled out that, given the poor legibility, there are also some inaccuracies in the drawing. Here I give my transcription of this last, along with a “corrected” version, marking my changes with double underscoring. I have made no sense of what I transcribe here as lines 2 and 3 of Side *b*. They are upside down in relation to line 1 and may even not have been intended as part of the same text.

Side *a*:

	_____ [
1	α ¹ κκι ¹ κ[ατ]ακκι ¹ ν[<i>ac.</i> ?]	Α ¹ κκι κ[ατ]ακ{ι}κι ν[<i>ac.</i> ? max. 5]
2	υ ² κ[?]ια ² α ² εδ ² [α ²]ο ² α ² μολ[	υ ² κ[κ?]ι α ² α ε(ν)δ ² [α ²]Ο ά ² μολ[γ ² οι vac.? ²]
3	ο ³ δ[¹⁻²]πα ³ ε ³ α[]ο ³ εν ³ λυ[	Ο ³ Δ[¹⁻²]ΠΑ έ(κ) κ ³ ά[π]ο έ ³ λα ³ ύ[νετε.]
4	τ ⁴ ο ⁴ ιδ ⁴ ο ⁴ να ⁴ τε ⁴ φ ⁴ ρα[	τ ⁴ ο ⁴ ι δ' ό ⁴ νο(μ)α Τε ⁴ τρα[γος.]
5	α ⁵ λι ⁵ ε ⁵ μο ⁵ α ⁵ ιο ⁵ α ⁵ κ ⁵ τ/α	ά ⁵ νε ⁵ μ ⁵ ό ⁵ λι ⁵ ο(ς) ά ⁵ κ ⁵ τ/ά.
6	ο[?]ο ⁶ ο ⁶ λι ⁶ ο ⁶ α	Ο[?]Ο ⁶ ό ⁶ λ(β)ιο ⁶ ς
7	κα ⁷ κ ⁷ τα	ό ⁷ ι <u>κα⁷τ⁷ά</u>

Side *b*:

1	δε ¹ κ ¹ ε ¹ α ¹ θ ¹ ε ¹ κα[]α ¹ μο ¹ δα[	δ ¹ ε ¹ κ ¹ ε(δ)α ¹ θ ¹ ε(ι) κα[τ'] Α ¹ Μ ¹ Ο ¹ Δ ¹ Α[
2	]ρ ² ρ ² ν ² ν ² ει[^{ε2}]φο	
3	] κ ³ ε ³ φ ³ α ³ ς[¹⁻²]. . .	

b1 δ¹ε = δ¹ή κ¹ε(δ)α¹θ¹ε(ι) or κ¹εδ(α)θ¹ε(ι)

The inscription with its congeners:

A

Himera	^{a1} Α ¹ κκι κ[ατ]ακ{ι}κι	² ?]υ ² κ[κ?]ι	α ² αα	ε(ν)δ ² [α ²]Ο	ά ² μολ[γ ² οι vac.? ²]
Selinous	¹³ Α ¹³ κκι κατακκι	α ¹³ α ¹³ κκι	α ¹³ α ¹³ κκι	εν ¹³ δ ¹³ α ¹³ κκι[αν	π ¹³ ρ ¹³ ος (??)] ¹⁴ δ ¹⁴ ε ά ¹⁴ μολ ¹⁴ γ ¹⁴ όν
Phalasarna	⁶ Α ⁶ κκι κατακκι	κα ⁶ τα ⁶ κκι	α ⁶ α ⁶ κκιαν	εν ⁶ δ ⁶ α ⁶ κκιαν	έν ά ⁶ μολ ⁶ γ ⁶ ώι
Lokroi	² [— c.3 Α ² κκι	κ[ατ]ακ[κι	?]υ ² κ ² κκι	α ² κκιαν	εν ² δ ² α ² κκιαν έ[ν ά ² μολ ² γ ² οι.

B

Himera	³ Ο ³ Δ[¹⁻²]ΠΑ	έ(κ) κ ³ ά[π]ο	έ ³ λα ³ ύ[νετε.]	⁴ τ ⁴ ο ⁴ ι	δ' ό ⁴ νο(μ)α Τε ⁴ τρα[γος.]
Selinous	α ¹⁵ ί ¹⁵ ξ	α ¹⁵ ί ¹⁵ γα β ¹⁵ ί ¹⁵ αι	έκ κ[ή]που	έ ¹⁵ λα ¹⁵ ύ ¹⁵ νετε.]	¹⁵ τ ¹⁵ ώι δ' ό ¹⁵ νομα Τε ¹⁵ τραγος.
Phalasarna	[α ¹⁷ ί]ξ	α ¹⁷ ί ¹⁷ γα β ¹⁷ ί ¹⁷ αι	έκ κ[ή]πο	έ ¹⁷ λα ¹⁷ ύ ¹⁷ νετε.	τ[ώι δ' ό]νομα Τε ¹⁷ τραγ[ος.
Lokroi	— c.3	]N	έ(κ) κ ³ ά ³ πο	(έ)λα[ύ ³ νετε. (?) ³	] ό ³ νομα Τε ³ τρακο(ς?).

C

Himera				⁵ ά ⁵ νε ⁵ μ ⁵ ό ⁵ λι ⁵ ο(ς)	ά ⁵ κ ⁵ τ/ά.
Selinous	†ΗΔ[— ^{c.11} —]	¹⁶ τε ¹⁶ τρο ¹⁶ αν ¹⁶ ρ ά ¹⁶ γ ¹⁶ ε ¹⁶ τε	Τραγ[υ—	ά ¹⁷ νε] ¹⁷ μ ¹⁷ ό ¹⁷ λι ¹⁷ ο ¹⁷ ς	ά[κ]τ ¹⁷ έ.
Phalasarna	⁷ κοι δ' ό ⁷ νομα		Τρεξ[—υυ—]	ά ¹⁹ νε ¹⁹ μ ¹⁹ ό ¹⁹ λι ¹⁹ ο ¹⁹ ς	ά ¹⁹ κ ¹⁹ τ ¹⁹ ή.
Lokroi	— Α ¹⁹ Ο ¹⁹ Κ	κοι δ' ό ¹⁹ ν ¹⁹ μ[α	Τρεχ[—υυ— (plus more?)	ά ¹⁹ νε ¹⁹ μ ¹⁹ ό ¹⁹ λι ¹⁹ ο ¹⁹ ς]	ά ¹⁹ κ ¹⁹ τ ¹⁹ ή.

D

Himera	⁶ Ο[?]Ο	“Ο ⁷ λ(β)ιο ⁷ ς	⁷ ό ⁷ ι	κα ⁷ τ ⁷ ά	^{b1} δ ¹ ε κ ¹ ε(δ)α ¹ θ ¹ ε(ι)	κα[τ'] Α ¹ Μ ¹ Ο ¹ Δ ¹ Α[
Selinous	¹⁸ “Ο ¹⁸ λ(β)ιο[ς]	ό ¹⁸ ι	κ[α]τ ¹⁸ ά	δ ¹⁸ ε	κ ¹⁸ ε(δ)α ¹⁸ θ ¹⁸ ήι	κατ' ά ¹⁹ μα] ¹⁹ ξι ¹⁹ τ ¹⁹ όν «'Ιά»
Phalasarna	“Ο ¹⁹ λ(β)ιο[ς]	ό ¹⁹ ι	κ(α)τ ¹⁹ ά	δ ¹⁹ ε	κ[κ]ε(δ)α ¹⁹ θ ¹⁹ ήι	κατ' ά ¹⁹ μα ¹⁹ ξι ¹⁹ τ ¹⁹ όν «'Ιά»
Lokroi	“Ο ¹⁹ λ(β)ιο[ς]	ό ¹⁹ ι	κατ ¹⁹ ά	δ ¹⁹ ε	κ ¹⁹ ε ⁴ δ ¹⁹ α ¹⁹ θ ¹⁹ ήι	κατ' ά ¹⁹ μα ¹⁹ ξι(?)]δομ «'Αϊ».

The dialect of the inscription is West Greek (but *a4* ὄνο(μ)α⁴). Letters are occasionally omitted, some omissions probably explicable as phonetic (e.g. *a2* ε(ν)δᾱ[^{c2}]Ο, *a3* ἐ(κ) κάπο), others not (e.g. *a4* ὄνο(μ)α, *a6* Ὀλ(β)ιοϙ). Spelling and letter forms suggest a 5th-century date for the tablet from Himera. They could no doubt as easily belong to the second as to Prof. Manni Piraino's proposed first half of the century, but here I do not insist. In any case, the Carthaginian destruction of the city in 409 (D.S. 13.59–62, Str. 6.272) gives the inscription a secure *terminus ante quem*.

The inscription is not arranged according to metrical *stichoi*, but between *C* and *D* there are three letters that are hard to assign to either verse; they may be lectional notes, as assumed for the —ΑϙC of Lokroi 3,⁵ which may be intended to separate verses. Conceivably the OC of the OCΔ[¹⁻²]ΠΑ of Himera 3, occurring just after verse *A*, is another such lectional note.

The texts begin with what seem to be the so-called Ephesia Grammata,⁶ which Hesychios (*s.v.*) reports in the form ακκι κατακκι λιξ (αιξ cod.) τετραξ δαμναμενευα αασια. The first literary mention of them is by the comic poet Anaxilas (*PCG* fr. 18; see notes by Kassel and Austin), *c.* 350, but we do not know the form in which he knew them. Up to now, the lead tablets from Selinous, Phalasarua, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi, also of the 4th century, have given the first epigraphical attestations, but the tablet from Himera, with its 5th-century date, is earlier.

Each of the four inscriptions has its corruptions; the oldest witness is by no means the best, but it allows some observations about the text and raises questions. Editors of the inscription from Phalasarua, for example, have bracketed the second κατακκι of its line 6 as being an inadvertent dittography, but it now apparently finds some support in the [?]υκ[κ?]ι of Himera *a1* and the ?]υκκκι of Lokroi 2. In fact, with the second κατακκι (read κατυσκι?) retained, the line from Phalasarua could, without much forcing, be read as a hexameter.

After the word Τετρακο(ς?) of *B* the Lokrian text has —ΑϙC, and after the restored ἐ[ν ἀμολογῶι of *A* it has room for another such dash and *c.*3 letters. If these dashes and letters are indeed meant to separate verses, then we should look for meter underlying *B*. The αἶξ αἶγα βίαι of Selinous 14 and Phalasarua 6, even though the αιξ of the Hesychian codex gives the first word some allure, is difficult, in both meter and sense (whom does the verb ἐλάονετε address?). Does the OCΔ[¹⁻²]ΠΑ from Himera now point to a different and perhaps sounder tradition? Or should we assume OC (lectional note) and α[ι]γα? Without αἶξ, the opening words would sin less against the meter. Τετραγος or -κος at the end of a verse is of course metrically impossible, and the τῶι δ' ὄνομα of Selinous 15 (and of Phalasarua 6 and Lokroi 3?) is problematic, but now we can easily see the origin of τῶι: a scribe must have had a model without η's or ω's (*cf.* ἀ[κ]τέ at Selinous 17 *vs.* the ἀκτ/ά and ἀκτή of the other witnesses) and have assumed the article τῶι instead of the West Greek pronoun τοί. This means that in the texts from Selinous and possibly elsewhere we have a phrase with the West Greek pronoun followed by a very similar phrase with the Attic-Ionic. Is one offered as an alternative to the other? It may be significant then that the second phrase does not occur in the text from Himera. But the recognition of an alternative phrase, if this is what it is, does not solve the problem of the meter: the corruption is no doubt more radical, with the Selinuntine ΕΗΔ[^{c.11}] τετροαναρ ἄγετε, itself impossible, presumably the remnant of a once better text.

Verse *D* does scan, even if the Lokrian witness is no doubt more corrupt than I have assumed in my restoration of it. The faults from Himera, in any case, are instructive. The inscription is in an awkward hand, as if copied out slowly, with letters omitted and evidently misinterpreted. It is not clear whether the omissions were the scribe's work or whether he simply copied what stood in the model, not his to

⁴ If, as I have assumed (Three texts, 100), the verses originally had a form “hors dialecte”, the loss of μ, presumably through a scribal error, would have occurred before the verses were converted to West Greek: our scribe would have been confronted with ONOA.

⁵ Three texts, 99.

⁶ Three texts, 97, n. 11.

reason why. The AKTA for κατά of Himera *a7*, for example, evidently originated as a scribe's miscopying, but comparison with the KTA in the same place in Phalasarna 17 suggests that the two mistakes are part of the same corruption. Similarly, the ΑΜΟΔΑ[of Himera *b1* and the ἄμοξι(?)]δομ of Lokroi 4 also suggest a common, corrupt source. The inscription from Himera shows that by the 5th century the original was old enough, and indeed had become widely enough disseminated, for its tradition already to have accumulated errors, many of them scribal.

Athens

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