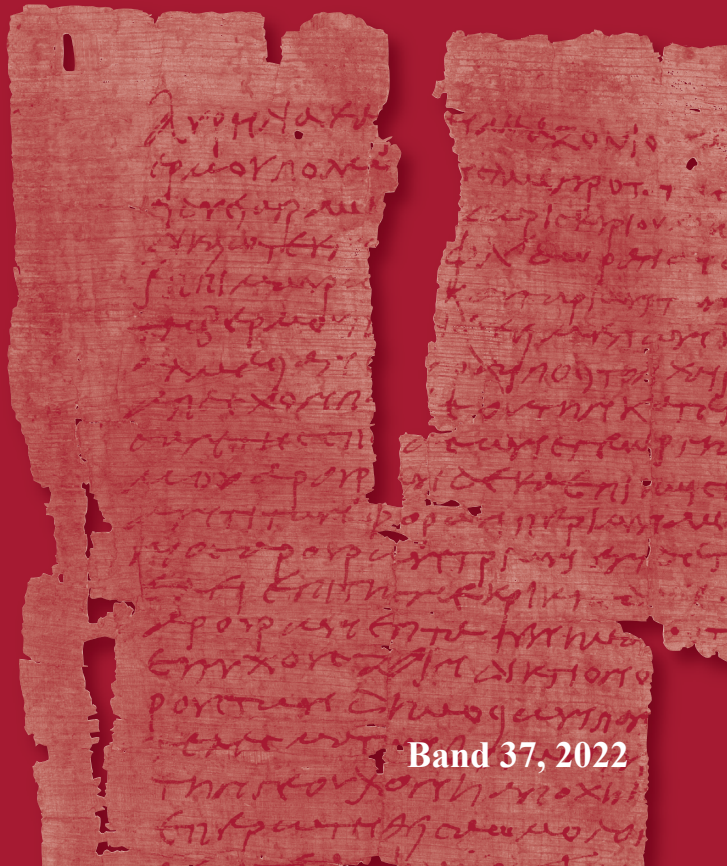


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FRANCESCO BERTANI

A New Structural Reading  
of the Cyrenaic Suppliants' Chapter  
(SEG L 1638, col. B, ll. 110–141)

The last part of the famous 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE Cyrenaic *lex sacra* (col. B, ll. 110–141) is introduced by the title ἱκέσιων “Of suppliants” running along the whole breadth of the inscription (l. 110).<sup>1</sup> Its content is divided into three distinct paragraphs, separated from one another by three *paragraphoi*. Each paragraph begins with a heading which includes the word ἱκέσιος followed by one or more adjectives.<sup>2</sup> From their actual headings, the paragraphs appear rather obscure and there is no general agreement on their meaning. Building upon previous bibliography and drawing comparison with other ritual documents, this paper aims to propose a new reading of the headings. This reading might provide diegetic coherence within, as well as structural symmetry between, the paragraphs of the text.

The first paragraph (ll. 111–121) begins with the sentence ἱκέσιος ἑπακτός, αἴ κα ἐπιπεμφθῆ ἐπὶ τᾶν | οἰκίαν (ll. 111–112); the second one (ll. 122–131) with the expression ἱκέσιος ἄτερος, τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής, ἰσθάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δαμοσίῳ ἱαρῶι (ll. 122–123); the third one (ll. 132–141) with the pericope ἱκέσιος τρίτος, αὐτόφρονος (l. 132).

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Abbreviations: *CGRN* = *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms* (<http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>); *TheDefix* = *Thesaurus Defixionum* (<https://www.thedefix.uni-hamburg.de>).

<sup>1</sup> “*Lex sacra*” is an umbrella expression which embraces a heterogeneous set of religion-related inscriptions: its use spread from the seminal collections of J. V. Prott, L. Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae*, 1, 2, Lipsiae 1896, 1906 and F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955. For a useful survey of the various typologies falling under this not-sharply delimited nomenclature, see R. Parker, *What Are Sacred Laws?*, in: E. M. Harris, L. Rubinstein (eds), *The Law and the Courts in Ancient Greece*, Duckworth 2004, 57–70. For more insights into the critical debate on the label “*lex sacra*”, often criticized as excessively generic and misleading, see the bibliography in A. Dimartino, *La lex sacra di Selinunte. Analisi e prospettive*, in: A. Iannucci, F. Muccioli, M. Zaccarini (eds), *La città inquieta. Selinunte tra lex sacra e defixiones*, Milano, Udine 2015, 151–152.

<sup>2</sup> For the wide bibliography on the Cyrenaic *lex sacra*, see *IG Cyrenaica* 016700 (consulted on 29/06/2022) and *CGRN*, n. 99 (consulted on 11/10/2022). The Greek text of the inscription quoted in this article is taken from C. Dobias Lalou, *La grande loi sacrée*, *SEG* 9, 72, Karthago 25 (2000) 297–309 (= *SEG* L 1638). Other important editions are S. Ferri, *La “Lex cathartica” di Cirene*, *Notiziario Archeologico del Ministero delle Colonie* 4 (1927) 93–145 (= *SEG* IX 72); F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*, Paris 1962, nr. 115; *Rhodes-Osborne GHI*, nr. 97; N. R. Robertson, *Religion and Reconciliation in Greek Cities. The Sacred Laws of Selinus and Cyrene*, Oxford 2010, 259–277.

While on the one hand, the word *ἰκέσιος* has been mostly considered as a synonym of *ἰκέτης*,<sup>3</sup> on the other, the identification of the three *ἰκέται* is all but unambiguous. Some scholars believe that the three figures should be regarded as human “suppliants”; others have claimed that they are all supernatural “visitors”; others have suggested that the first entity is a ghost or a demon while the second and the third one are humans.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it has been argued that *ἰκέσιος* could be an adjective describing the implied noun *καθαμμός*: “suppliant (purification)” (see note 3).

The reason for such a kaleidoscopic exegetical puzzle lies partly in the fact that although «the consequential numbering of the *ἰκέσιοι* (*ἄτερος, τρίτος*) induces one [...] to hypothesize a homogeneous nature»,<sup>5</sup> the meaning of the expressions *ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός* (l. 111), *ἰκέσιος...τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής* (l. 122) and *ἰκέσιος...αὐτόφονος* (l. 132) are difficult to trace back to a homogenous semantical pattern. In fact, if one was to consider all the *ἰκέσιοι* as human suppliants, the first paragraph (ll. 111–121) would present some shortcomings (see *infra*); on the other hand, it has been claimed that considering the *ἰκέσιος...τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής* (l. 122) and the *ἰκέσιος...αὐτόφονος* (l. 132) as supernatural forces would be rather far-fetched;<sup>6</sup> moreover, the levelling “suppliant

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, U. v. Wilamowitz Möllendorff, *Heilige Gesetze, eine Urkunde aus Kyrene*, Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 19 (1927) 167; J. Servais, *Les suppliants dans la “loi sacrée” de Cyrène*, BCH 84/1 (1960) 121; C. Dobias Lalou, L. Dubois, *La réintégration du citoyen coupable à Sélinonte et à Cyrène*, Karthago 27 (2007) 150; K. Matijević, *Die lex sacra von Selinunt: Totenmanipulation in der Archaik und Klassik*, Wiesbaden 2017, 42, n. 27. On the other hand, Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) rejects this interpretation and suggests that *ἰκέσιος* would not be a noun as *ἰκέτης*, but an adjective «used substantively with a noun understood [...]». With *ἰκέσιος* “suppliant” the noun that comes straight to mind is *καθαμμός* “purification” (p. 356).

<sup>4</sup> For a bibliographical overview on the nature — either human or supernatural — of the three suppliants, see for example I. Salvo, *A Note on the Ritual Norms of Purification after Homicide at Selinous and Cyrene*, Dike 15 (2012) 144–145 and K. Matijević, *Die lex sacra* (note 3) 42–46. A detailed survey of the different positions held by those scholars who believe that the first suppliant has a supernatural nature is presented by A. Jakubiec, *La nature de l’envoyeur du premier ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ de la loi cathartique de Cyrène (SEG IX 72, l. 111–121)*, ZPE 197 (2016) 96–97.

<sup>5</sup> Salvo, *A Note on the Ritual* (note 4) 145. On the same line, see also C. Dobias Lalou, *Suppliants ou revenants dans la grande loi sacrée de Cyrene?*, *Lalies* 18 (1997) 264; Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 355 n. 2; B. Eck, *La mort rouge. Homicide, guerre et souillure en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 2012, 280. On the other hand, lack of homogeneity is not seen as a shortcoming by E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden, Boston 2005, 283–284 and by Matijević, *Die lex sacra* (note 3) 46.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects: Grammar, Selected Inscriptions, Glossary*, Chicago 1968, 318; R. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 348; C. Traulsen, *Das sakrale Asyl in der Alten Welt. Zur Schutzfunktion des Heiligen von König Salomo bis zum Codex Theodosianus*, Tübingen 2004, 197; Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law* (note 5) 283; Matijević, *Die lex sacra* (note 3) 46; and of course all of the scholars claiming that neither the first suppliant might be a supernatural being. The scholars supporting a supernatural reading of all the suppliants are H. J. Stukeby, *The Cyrenean Hikesioi*, CPh 32/1 (1937) 32–43; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Eng. transl. Cambridge, London 1992 (ed. or. Heidelberg 1984), 70–73; M. H. Jameson, D. R. Jordan, R. D. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous*, Durham 1993, 55; 119.

(purification)» conjecture has been criticized as arbitrary.<sup>7</sup>

Since the main hindrance to the potentially easiest coherent explanation — conceiving every suppliant as a human being — resides in the content of the first paragraph, submitting its initial part to closer examination seems worthwhile.<sup>8</sup>

ἰκέσιος ἑπακτός, αἴ κα ἐπιπεμφθῆι ἐπὶ  
τὰν | οἰκίαν, αἰ μέγ κα ἰσαὶ ἀφ' ὅτινός  
οἱ ἐπῆνθε... (l. 111–112)

«Suppliant venu de l'étranger, s'il est  
envoyé à telle maison. Si (le maître de  
maison) sait de la part de qui (le  
suppliant) est arrivé chez lui...» (Servais).

«Suppliant dirigé contre la maison: s'il a  
été envoyé dans telle maison, si le maître  
de maison sait de la part de qui il lui est  
venu...» (Dobias Lalou).

«Suppliants/Visitants sent by spells. If a  
suppliant/visitant is sent to the house, if  
(the householder) knows from whom he  
came...» (*Rhodes-Osborne GHI*, nr. 97).

«Suppliant (purification), conjured by  
magic. If something be sent against his  
house, if he knows from whom it came  
against him...» (Robertson).

It was in 1937 that Stukey (*The Cyrenean* [note 6] pp. 32–43) — by questioning the previous interpretations of the paragraph, where the first suppliant was conceived as a human being<sup>9</sup> — highlighted how strange it would be that both the suppliant and his host could possibly be unaware of the name of the sender (ll. 112, 115–116).<sup>10</sup> For his own part, Stukey traced the adjective ἑπακτός back to the specific meaning of ἐπαγωγή as an «almost technical term denoting the sending of evils, or, more particularly the sending of harmful divinities against others by means of magical rites» (p. 35). Conse-

<sup>7</sup> See *BE* 2011, nr. 644.

<sup>8</sup> Translations are taken from Servais, *Les suppliants* (note 3) 119; Dobias Lalou, *La grande loi* (note 2) 306; *Rhodes-Osborne GHI*, nr. 97; Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 266.

<sup>9</sup> By then, the main interpretations had been advanced by Ferri, *La "Lex cathartica"* (note 2) 91–145; by Wilamowitz Möllendorff, *Heilige Gesetze* (note 3) 155–176; and by G. De Sanctis, *Le decretali di Cirene*, *RFIC* 55 (1927) 185–212.

<sup>10</sup> See Stukey, *Cyrenean* (note 6) 34–35. Consider that the difficulty aroused by the possible anonymity of the suppliant's sender was also admitted by a defender of the "human interpretation" like Servais, *Les suppliants* (note 3) 124. Salvo, *A Note on the Ritual* (note 4) 146 asserts that «the uncertainty about the knowledge of the name seems to be more logical if it is referred to a person rather than to a ghost», but Jakubiec, *La nature* (note 4) 97 rightly responds that in the text «le nom qu'il faut prononcer semble toutefois être celui de l'envoyeur de l'ἰκέσιος et non celui de l'ἰκέσιος lui-même».

quently, the *ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός* would be a malign supernatural visitor, conjured by someone against somebody's household (pp. 35–38). Being free from syntactical tortuosity as well as coherent in meaning (the master of a haunted household would try to get rid of the supernatural force, whether aware or not of its summoner's identity), this explanation achieved a certain success.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, the semantic asymmetry which the latter generates between the parallel headings of a thematically unitary text, and a suspect looseness in the translation of *ἰκέσιος/ἰκέτης* as “visitor” invited criticism:<sup>12</sup> the debate is ongoing and, as mentioned above, has not yet found agreement on any solution. However, some hitherto only partially explored clues might allow us to build upon Stukeley's suggestions in order to develop a new, more reliable exegesis of the Cyrenaic “suppliants' section”.

Stukeley (p. 35), while discussing the meaning of the word *ἐπαγωγή* in Plato (*Resp.* 364c and *Leg.* 933d) and Theophrastus (16,7), quoted a famous passage from Euripides' *Hippolytus*, where the Nurse asks Phaedra whether the miasma affecting her mind might come *μὼν ἐξ ἐπακτοῦ πημονῆς ἐχθρῶν τινος* (v. 318). The words *πημονή ἐπακτός* have been understood as “damage brought on by spells” by most of the ancient and modern commentators;<sup>13</sup> and they were paired by Stukeley (*ibid.*) with an expression occurring in a 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BCE *devotio malefica* from Knidos (*I.Knidos*, nr. 154 = *TheDefix*, nr. 589).<sup>14</sup> In fact, the text of the curse tablet embeds the sentence *εἴ τι ἢ ἐμοὶ πεποῖκει φάρμ[α|κον] ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτόν* (ll. 14–15), where

<sup>11</sup> Its fortune, though, was not immediate. On the reasons of this interpretation's immediate unsuccess, see Parker, *Miasma* (note 6) 348: «the suggestion has not been taken seriously, chiefly, no doubt, because its author rashly tried to transform the second and the third suppliants, who are palpably humans, into further spirits». However, Stukeley's interpretation found support after the 1993 edition of the *lex sacra* from Selinous (*SEG XLIII* 630 = Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law*, [note 5] nr. 27). In fact, the *ἐλάστερος* appearing in side B of the Sicilian inscription was parallel to the Cyrenaic *ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός*, thus fostering an interpretation of the latter as a demon: for bibliography, see Salvo, *A Note on the Ritual* (note 4) 146. For first edition of and studies on the Selinous *lex sacra*, see Jameson, Jordan, Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra* (note 6) and Iannucci, Muccioli-Zaccarini, *La città inquieta* (note 1). For a monograph comparing several aspects of Cyrene and Selinous *leges sacrae*, see Matijević, *Die lex sacra* (note 3).

<sup>12</sup> For a defense of *ἰκέσιος* as “visitor”, see Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law* (note 5) 283–284. For criticism, see Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 356. For possibilism, see for example Traulsen, *Das sakrale Asyl* (note 6) 189. For semantics and evolution of the words *ἰκέτης* and *ἰκέσιος* in the Archaic and Classical age, see recently D. G. Muscianisi, *Theran ἡκεσιος (6th c. BC) and Homeric ἰκετήσιος*, in: F. Logozzo, P. Poccetti (eds), *Ancient Greek Linguistics. New Approaches, Insights, Perspectives*, Berlin, Boston 2017, 775–787.

<sup>13</sup> See for example *schol. Eur. Hipp.* 318a–h p. 186 Cavarzeran; U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Euripides. Hippolytos*, Berlin 1891, 87; W. S. Barrett, *Euripides. Hippolytos*, Oxford 1964, 218; D. Kovacs, *Euripides. Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*, Cambridge, London 1995, 155. On the other hand, note that a magical reading of the passage is questioned by P. Cassella, *Sulla semantica di ἐπακτός e ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός della Lex Cathartica di Cirene*, *AAP* 46 (1997) 337–338.

<sup>14</sup> For the nomenclature *devotio malefica* (comprehensive of both *defixiones* and “prayers for justice”), see S. Chiarini, *Devotio malefica. Die antiken Verfluchungen zwischen sprachübergreifender Tradition und individueller Prägung*, Stuttgart 2021, 16–17.

Stukey (*ibid.*) interpreted the expression φάρμακον ἐπακτόν as «charm against the author».<sup>15</sup> A few years after Stukey's article, Paul Maas<sup>16</sup> linked the Knidian sentence to that of a 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE hexametric *phylakterion* from Phalasarna (Faraone, Obbink, pp. 185–187)<sup>17</sup>: οὐ με καταχρίστ[ωι] δηλήσειτο οὔτε ἐπνίκετ[ωι] | οὔτε πατώι [οὔ]τ'ἐπατωγήι, σ[ί]ν[ω]τορ ἀπάντων (vv. 19–20). While arguing that «Cretan ἐπένικτος and Knidian ἐπακτός are probably synonymous», Maas criticized Stukey's interpretation of the Knidian sentence. In fact, the scholar accepted Stukey's reading of the Cyrenaic ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός as a “harmful divinity conjured by magic”, but also noted that the idea of conjuring a drug (the Knidian φάρμακον) would not make sense.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, Maas (cautiously) proposed interpreting the Knidian φάρμακον ἐπακτόν and the Cretan (φάρμακον) ἐπένικτον as «a remedy as administered to the skin by being applied (as opposed to being rubbed in)». Although this exegesis found appreciation in the ensuing studies on the Cretan *phylakterion*,<sup>19</sup> it should be stressed that Maas' suggestion, as admitted by the scholar himself, lacks clear parallels; moreover, it implies the assumption that only a demon could be the object of the “magical sense” of the verb ἐπάγειν: an assumption which is invalidated by the above-mentioned Euripidean line (*Hipp.*, v. 318), where the object of conjuration is not a demon, but damage/pain/a calamity (σημονή).

As briefly mentioned by Stukey,<sup>20</sup> Euripides' reliance on the same formulary shared by the Knidian inscription seems to be attested by the question that Phaedra asks the Nurse, who claims to possess some φίλτρα θελκτήρια (v. 510): πότερα δὲ χριστόν ἢ ποτόν τὸ φάρμακον; (v. 516).

We now proceed with a synoptic overview of the passages, which also include the Cretan *phylakterion*.

<sup>15</sup> Note that F. Graf — in *Victimology or: How to Deal with Untimely Death*, in: K. B. Stratton, D. S. Kalleres (eds), *Daughters of Hecate. Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, Oxford, New York 2014, 401 — translated the sentence of the Knidian curse tablet thus: «whoever “has made a pharmakon, a potion, an ointment or a spell against me or someone of us”».

<sup>16</sup> See P. Maas, *EPIENIKTOS*, *Hesperia* 13/1 (1944) 36–37.

<sup>17</sup> See D. R. Jordan, *The Inscribed Lead Tablet from Phalasarna*, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 191–194; C. A. Faraone, D. Obbink, *The Getty Hexameters: Poetry, Magic, and Mystery in Ancient Selinous*, Oxford 2013, 185–187.

<sup>18</sup> See Maas, *EPIENIKTOS* (note 16) 37: «the magical sense of ἐπάγω, ἐπαγωγή, etc., where daemons are the object, does not fit a pharmaceutical context. I agree, however, with H. J. Stukey [...] that ἐπακτός in *Lex sacra Cyren.*, B5, line 30 might be a spirit [...] but I cannot explain ἰκέσιος in this connection».

<sup>19</sup> See for example Jordan, *The Inscribed* (note 17) 194 (Jordan also considers whether ἐπένικτος might mean ghost); Faraone, Obbink, *The Getty* (note 17) 187.

<sup>20</sup> See Stukey, *Cyrenean* (note 6) 35, n. 18.

Eur. <i>Hipp.</i>	Phalasarua <i>Phylakterion</i>	<i>I.Knidos</i> , nr. 154 = (Faraone, Obbink, <i>The Getty</i> , <i>TheDefix</i> , nr. 589. note 17, pp. 185–187).
( <i>scil.</i> miasma) μῶν ἐξ ἐπακτοῦ πημονῆς ἐχθρῶν τινος (v. 318).	οὐ με καταχρίστ[ωι δηλήσεται οὐτε ἐπηνίκτ[ωι]   οὐτε πατῶι [οὐ]τ'ἐπατωγήι (vv. 19–20).	φάρμ[α]κον] ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐπακτόν (ll. 14–15).
( <i>scil.</i> magic potion) πότερα δὲ χριστόν ἢ ποτόν τὸ φάρμακον (v. 516).		

By arguing that the Knidian φάρμακον ἐπακτόν means “charm against someone” like the Euripidean πημονή ἐπακτός, Stukeley built upon the well-founded and now widely shared assumption that already in the Classical age the word «φάρμακον itself signified “charm” as well as “drug”». <sup>21</sup> In accordance with this distinction, both the Euripidean *Hippolytus* (5<sup>th</sup> century BCE) and the Knidian curse tablet (2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) would distinguish between physical φάρμακα (supposed to be rubbed in or drunk) on the one hand, and aggressive charms (considered as a sort of immaterial φαρμακεία to be cast against someone) on the other. Due to the clear intertextuality of the sources, the same interpretation should in fact be extended to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE *phylakterion* from Phalasarua, which displays an expression where the word φάρμακον or πημονή are understood: “he won’t damage me, with either a spreadable, or a castable or a drinkable (πημονή/φάρμακον)”.

Keeping thus in mind that the expressions ἐπένικτος (synonym of ἐπακτός) and πημονή ἐπακτός seem attested in the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BCE with the meaning of “aggressive charm”, we now turn to the list of the paragraph headings: ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός, αἶ κα ἐπιπεμθῆι ἐπὶ τὰν | οἰκίαν (ll. 111–112); ἰκέσιος ἄτερος, τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής, ἰσ|σάμενος ἐπὶ τῶι δαμοσίωι ἰαρῶι (l. 122); ἰκέσιος τρίτος, αὐτόφονος (l. 132). Here, according to the hitherto advanced explanations, ἐπακτός (l. 111) τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής (l. 122) and αὐτόφονος (l. 132) would be attributive adjectives specifying a quality of their respective ἰκέσιος (suppliant *epaktos*, suppliant *tetelesmenos* or *ateles*; suppliant *autofonos*). However, there is also another possibility that has not yet been considered.

<sup>21</sup> See for example R. Gordon, *Imagining Greek and Roman magic*, in: B. Ankarloo, S. Clark (eds), *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, 2, *Ancient Greece and Rome*, London 1999, 252; Graf, *Victimology* (note 15) 386–417 and also F. Graf, *Untimely Death, Witchcraft, and Divine Vengeance. A reasoned Epigraphical Catalog*, ZPE 162 (2007) 139–150; F. Graf, *Greece*, in: D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, Leiden, Boston 2019, 132–133; J. Van Der Vliet, *Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, in: Frankfurter, *Guide* (note 21) 256.



Several lexical and syntactical clues have induced scholars to believe that the three paragraphs forming the Suppliants' chapter were composed at different times; consequently, the stonemason would likely have copied from a draft that collected texts composed independently of one another.<sup>22</sup> In fact, the idea that the text of the Cyrenaic *lex sacra* might stem from a papyrological source conglomerating various ritual prescriptions not only seems supported by its use of *paragraphoi* to separate different sections;<sup>23</sup> it is also backed by the custom, well attested in the Classical age, of copying public inscriptions from papyrus documents,<sup>24</sup> and by the increasingly ascertained circulation, already in the early Classical age, of ritual *volumina* providing instructions for different occasions.<sup>25</sup> Whether the engraver copied the Suppliants' chapter from an already composite model, or composed the model drawing in person from multiple

<sup>22</sup> See for example Wilamowitz Möllendorff, *Heilige Gesetze* (note 3) 156 and 174; Traulsen, *Das sakrale Asyl* (note 6) 189.

<sup>23</sup> For *paragraphos*, see for example O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia*, Milano 1988, 62; R. Barbis Lupi, *La paragraphos: analisi di un segno di lettura*, in: A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists. Copenhagen, 23–29 August 1992*, Copenhagen 1994, 414–417; R. Crioli, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996, 81–82. For *paragraphos* as a sign used to separate different spells within a papyrological magical handbook, see R. Martín Hernández, *A Coherent Division of a Magical Handbook. Using Lectional Signs in P.Lond. I 121 (PGM VII)*, S&T 13 (2015) 147–164. For epigraphic *paragraphos* as a clue that the artifact was copied from a papyrus model, see L. Del Corso, *I documenti nella Grecia classica tra produzione e conservazione*, QS 56 (2002) 155–189.

<sup>24</sup> See for example M. Guarducci, in *I.Cret.* p. 87; L. Boffo, *Ancora una volta sugli "archivi" nel mondo Greco: conservazione e "pubblicazione" epigrafica*, Athenaeum 83 (1995) 121–122; Del Corso, *I documenti* (note 23) 184–188; G. Camassa, *Gli archivi, memoria dell'ordine del mondo*, QS 59 (2004) 91–92; M. Faraguna, *Legislazione e scrittura nella Grecia arcaica e classica*, ZPE 177 (2011) 14; E. A. Meyer, *Inscribing in Columns in Fifth-Century Athens*, in: I. Berti, K. Bolle, F. Opdenhoff, F. Stroth (eds), *Writing Matters. Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Inscriptions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Berlin, Boston 2017, 212.

<sup>25</sup> The most ancient surviving Greek papyri go famously back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. However, for papyrus rolls circulating already in the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, see for example T. Braccini, *La scienza dei testi antichi. Introduzione alla filologia classica*, Firenze 2017, 13; G. Cavallo, H. Maehler, *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin, New York 2008, 18. For 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE depictions of papyrus rolls on vases, see H. R. Immerwahr, *Book Rolls on Attic Vases*, in: C. Henderson jr (ed.), *Classical, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, I, Roma 1964, 17–48 and H. R. Immerwahr, *More Book Rolls on Attic Vases*, AK 16 (1973) 143–147. For papyrus rolls' "proto-history", see L. Del Corso, *Morfologia dei primi libri greci alla luce delle testimonianze indirette*, in: B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses. Wien, 22–28 Juli 2001*, Wien 2007, 161–168. For ritual anthologies' circulation in the Classical and Hellenistic ages, see for example C. A. Faraone, *Magical Verses on a Lead Tablet: Composite Amulet or Anthology?*, in: Faraone, Obbink, *The Getty* (note 17) 110–114; J. Dieleman, *The Greco-Egyptian Magical Papyri*, in: Frankfurter, *Guide* (note 21) 317; F. Bertani, *La capra nell'ombra. Due congetture agli esametri Getty (col. I vv. 8, 10)*, QUCC 131/2 (2022) 110–114. For the possibility that written handbooks might have played a role in official temple-religion practices, see for example H. S. Versnel, *Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers*, in: C. A. Faraone, D. Obbink (eds), *Magika Hiera. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, New York, Oxford 1991, 91.

sources, the result is an anthological text, whose subheadings serve to order an otherwise heterogeneous material. A similar fashion is often found in the well-known category of the Graeco-Egyptian magical handbooks conflating variegated sets of ritual prescription taken from multiple sources and deriving from different periods.<sup>26</sup> Here it is not uncommon to find the juxtaposition of different versions of the same ritual or of different rituals belonging to the same typology.<sup>27</sup> In an anthological frame of this kind, various rituals intended to achieve the same outcome are often distinguished from each other by headings repeating the name of the procedure (e.g., *oneiraitēton*) plus the adjective ἄλλο,<sup>28</sup> just occasionally followed by further detail.<sup>29</sup> In other circumstances, the name of the procedure is specified only in the first heading, the ensuing ones repeating just the word ἄλλο/ἄλλως.<sup>30</sup> When looking at the classificatory model in contexts where headings act more as text separators than as accurate content-descriptors of the specific paragraphs, we could perhaps try extending it to the Cyrenaic “suppliants’ section”. The headings’ subdivision would be: ἰκέσιων (l. 110); ἰκέσιος (l. 111); ἰκέσιος ἄτερος (l. 122); ἰκέσιος τρίτος (l. 132). According to this reconstruction, each paragraph’s title would be the word ἰκέσιος, followed, in the second and third occasions, by an ordinal number serving as the adjective ἄλλος in the ritual anthologies on papyrus. On the other hand, the words ἐπακτός (l. 111) τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής (l. 122) and αὐτόφρονος (l. 132) would not be a part of their respective paragraph’s heading, but rather introduce the first sentence of their paragraph’s content. Overall, the structure of the Cyrenaic Suppliants’ chapter would be the following one.

<sup>26</sup> For an overview on Graeco-Egyptian *papyri magicae*, see W. Brashear, *The Greek Magical Papyri: An Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928–1994)*, in: ANRW 2/18.5, Berlin, New York 1995, 3380–3684; T. Nowitzki, *Antike Ritualmagie. Die Rituale der ägyptischen Zauberpapyri im Kontext spätantiker Magie*, Stuttgart 2021. The most recent edition of Greek-Egyptian magical handbooks is *Pap.Mag.Formularies*.

<sup>27</sup> For signs of collation and formularies’ juxtaposition in Graeco-Egyptian magical handbooks, see for example A. D. Nock, *Greek Magical Papyri*, JEA 15 3/4 (1929) 220–222; L. R. LiDonnici, *Compositional Patterns in PGM IV* (= *P. Bibl.Nat.Suppl. gr. no. 574*), BASP 40 1/4 (2003) 141–178; F. Maltomini, *Pratiche testuali e tracce di ‘ricerca magica’ nei formulari in greco*, MHNH 18 (2018) 37–54.

<sup>28</sup> See for example *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XXIIa, fol. 1 l. 2 ἄλλο αἶμαρ<ρ>οϊκόν, *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XIIb, ll. 28–33 ὄνειραιτητὸν ἐς λύχν[ο]ν ...|...|...|...|... ἄλλο ὄνειραιτητὸν.

<sup>29</sup> See for example *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV, ll. 78–85 φυλακτήριον τοῦ προκειμένου...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|...|... φυλακτήριον πρὸς δαιμόνια ...; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* VII col. 9, ll. 312–317 [φ]υλακτήριον...|...|...|...|...|...|... ἄλλο φυλακτήρ<τ>ον, πρὸς σελήνην.

<sup>30</sup> See for example *Pap.Mag.Formularies* 24 (= *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XCVII) col. 1, l. 7 ἄλλο (l. 7); col. 2, ll. 13–21 [ἄλλο:] | σάυρας δεξι[ὸν ὀφθαλμὸν] | ἐκκόψας κ[αὶ αὐτὸν βα]λλῶν ἐν αἰ[γείω δέρματι] | ἅπτε ἀριστ[ερ- ca 9] | ἄλλο νυκ[τιβαούτος τὴν] | καρδία[ν ca. 13] | τῷ τρ[ί]ψατος ca 12] | ἄλλο κρ[ca 14]; *Pap.Mag.Formularies* 30 (= *Pap.Graec.Mag.* VI + II) recto col. 2, l. 58 ἢ ποιήσεις αὐτή ..., recto, col. 3, l. 112 ἄλλως ποιήσεις ...; *Pap.Graec.Mag.* VII, Col. 5+6, ll. 199–206 πρὸς ἡμικράνιον· λαβὼν ἔλαιον εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου εἰπὲ λόγον [...] ἄλλο· εἰς δέρμα κόκκινον ἐπίγραψον | τὰδε ...| πρὸς βήκα ἐπὶ δέρμα ὑαίνης ἐπίγραψον ...| ἄλλο· εἰς δέρμα ὑαίνης ἐπίγραψον ...; col 7, ll. 250–254 λόγος ὁ λεγόμενος πρὸς τὸν | καθημερινὸν λύχνον ...|...|...| ἄλλο πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λύχνον ...

ἰκέσιων (l. 110)	(Chapter) of the suppliants
ἰκέσιος. ἐπακτός αἶ κα ἐπιπεμφθῆ ἐπὶ τὰν   οἰκίαν... (ll. 111–112).	(First) suppliant. If an aggressive charm is sent against   his household...
ἰκέσιος ἄτερος. τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής ἰσθάμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δαμοσίῳ ἱαρῶι... (ll. 122–123).	Second suppliant. If he sits <i>tetelesmenos</i> or <i>ateles</i>   at the public shrine... <sup>31</sup>
ἰκέσιος τρίτος. αὐτόφονος ἀφικετεύεν ἐς [c. 3–4]/-πολιάν καὶ τριφυλιάν... (ll. 132–133).	Third suppliant. Coming suppliant as a murderer to [...] <i>-polian</i> and <i>trifylian</i> ... <sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The expression τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής has been interpreted in multiple ways. For those scholars who believe that this suppliant is a human being, it might mean “initiated or uninitiated to a cult”: see for example Ferri, *La “Lex cathartica”* (note 2) 130; Parker, *Miasma* (note 6) 349–350; Rhodes-Osborne GHI, p. 501. “Consecrated or unconsecrated to a divinity”: see for example Wilamowitz Möllendorff, *Heilige Gesetze* (note 3) 169; Servais, *Les suppliants* (note 3) 136. “Purified or unpurified murderer”: see for example Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées* (note 2) 195; Traulsen, *Das sakrale Asyl* (note 6) 194. “Taxpaying or exempt-from-tax person”: see for example Dobias Lalou, *Suppliants* (note 5) 265–266; Salvo, *A note on the ritual* (note 4) 147. For those scholars who believe in a supernatural nature of the suppliant, τετελεσμένος ἢ ἀτελής might mean “vindictive demon, already successful or not yet”: see Stukeley, *Cyrenean* (note 6) 42. “Ghost who has taken his seat at the public shrine with or without performance of a ritual”: see Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution* (note 6) 70–71. Furthermore, Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 357, 361 reads “paid or unpaid suppliant (purification)”. That latter solution is followed by D. H. De La Fuente, *Una nota sobre las purificaciones en el derecho griego: la Lex Sacra de Cirene y las Leyes de Platón*, *Potestas* 8 (2015) 66–67.

<sup>32</sup> Scholars who consider the third suppliant as a human tend to interpret him as a man who needs purification after committing a murder. In this respect, the main translations are “murderer”: see for example Wilamowitz Möllendorff, *Heilige Gesetze* (note 3) 170–171; Parker, *Miasma* (note 6) 350–351; Rhodes-Osborne GHI, p. 501; Traulsen, *Das sakrale Asyl* (note 6) 197–198; Salvo, *A Note on the Ritual* (note 4) 148 and *Nel nome di Apollo e Artemide: sangue, miasma, e trasmissione del sapere rituale nella Grecia Antica*, *Otium* 2 (2017) article 17, pp. 6–7. “Kin-murderer”: see for example Dobias Lalou, *Suppliants* (note 5) 267. “Slaying with one’s own hand”: see for example Ferri, *La “Lex cathartica”* (note 2) 132; Servais, *Les suppliants* (note 3) 140; De La Fuente, *Una nota sobre las purificaciones* (note 31) 68. Scholars who see this suppliant as a supernatural power do believe that it is a supernatural force punishing a murderer: see for example Stukeley, *Cyrenean* (note 6) 39. Or perhaps the ghost of a suicide: see Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution* (note 6) 72. Also, Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 364–365 translates: «suppliant (purification) the third, slaying with one’s own hand» and comments: «it is labelled as “slaying with one’s own hand” because it leads up to a demonstrative sacrifice in which one slays the animal with one’s own hand». For the two possible interpretations of the verb ἀφικετεύω as “proceed to supplication / come suppliant” or “intercede for a suppliant”, see for example Robertson, *Religion* (note 2) 365. Here I translate the verb following the interpretation of Dobias Lalou-Dubois, *La réintégration* (note 3) 151: «“(infinif present actif) en allant vers la [...] *polia* et aux trois tribus” [...]». On a donc de ce verbe [...] l’actif, dans un emploi absolu, mais qui pourrait avoir pour objet implicite l’ἰκέσιος détaché en titre».

In all circumstances, the word ἰκέσιος would maintain its primary meaning of “human suppliant”, and be a synonym of ἰκέτης (see *supra*, note 3). In this way, the title of the chapter (“chapter of the suppliants”) would prove coherent with that of every paragraph (each singling out an ideal suppliant). The suppliant person (first, second or third) would always be the subject — either grammatical or logical — of the following sentence (the first suppliant has his own household persecuted by an aggressive charm; the second suppliant sits at the public shrine; the third suppliant presents himself as a suppliant after homicide). As a whole, the three paragraphs prescribing the rituals to be enacted in three different supplicatory circumstances would begin enumerating a paradigmatic human suppliant: “(first) suppliant”; “second suppliant”; “third suppliant”. Subsequently, a short narration would sum up the circumstances under which one might turn to the prescriptions described in the specific paragraph (spell-persecution; wait for oracular consultation; murder), followed by a description of the proper rites.

One of the main innovations entailed by the new interpretation put forward here, is that in the first heading the word ἰκέσιος would be separated from the word ἐπακτός: in fact, we would not be dealing with a supernatural visitant conjured by magic against somebody but rather with a person who — being persecuted by a curse — would turn into a suppliant pleading to be released from such condition.<sup>33</sup> In this respect, it seems noteworthy that the first suppliant’s (ἰκέσιος) possible ignorance of the charm’s (ἐπακτός) caster would be no less explainable than that of anyone who might face a visitor sent by spells (ἰκέσιος ἐπακτός) from an unknown conjurer. Furthermore, it has been observed that the ritual described in the first paragraph seems coherent with what one would expect from a counter-curse ritual.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the fact that the reading

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<sup>33</sup> For a literary parallel, see for example Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, where purification from murder and purification from curses appear intertwined. In fact, after killing his mother, Orestes is persecuted by Clytemnestra’s curses (*Cho.* 912, *Eum.* 115–116, 131–139, 415–417), which are put into practice by a group of Erinyes speaking the language of ritual binding spells (*Eum.* 306–396). In order to get rid of his nemesis, Orestes turns himself into a suppliant (ἰκέτης) of Apollo (*Cho.* 1035, *Eum.* 43, 92, 151, 232, 577) and Athena (*Eum.* 474). For the assonances between the Erinyes’ ὕμνος δέσμιος and Greek binding spells, see C. A. Faraone, *Aeschylus’ ὕμνος δέσμιος (Eum. 306) and Attic judicial curse tablets*, *JHS* 105 (1985) 150–154 and S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, London 1997, 92.

<sup>34</sup> See recently Jakubiec, *La nature* (note 4) 97–98. For a study which, starting from the Cyrenaic text, provides an overview on ritual dolls in Greek and Oriental practices, see Matijević, *Die lex sacra* (note 3) 50–84. For a seminal study on ancient Greek “voodoo dolls” exploring their defensive use and their Oriental roots while providing a catalogue of their archeological exemplars, see C. A. Faraone, *Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: the Defensive Use of “Voodoo Dolls” in Ancient Greece*, *ClAnt* 10/2 (1991) 165–220. For the defensive use of ritual dolls, see also E. Eidinow, *Binding spells on Tablets and Papyri*, in: Frankfurter, *Guide* (note 21) 362. For the ritual dolls’ Oriental ancestry, see also G. Németh, *Voodoo Dolls in the Classical World*, in: E. Németh (ed.), *Violence in Prehistory and Antiquity*, Kaiserslautern, Mehlingen 2018, 179–194; G. Németh, *Bones in dolls. Magic figurines of the Anna Perenna fountain*, in: T. A. Bács, Á. Bollók, T. Vida (eds), *Across the Mediterranean – Along the Nile. Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity Dedicated to László Török on the Occasion of his 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, 1, Budapest 2018, 147–154. For the dolls-catalogue’s updates, see M. Bolla, *Un caso*

of ἐπακτός as “aggressive charm” would align the Cyrenaic text with the language attested in other previous, contemporary and subsequent sources concerned with and deriving from apotropaic and aggressive rituals, might be a further point in favor of the reconstruction proposed here. To be clear, curse rituals were famously known to involve interaction between the human, the demonic and the spiritual spheres, that latter being often summoned in order to visit and badger one or more victims.<sup>35</sup> And the idea that, from an emic point of view, the belief of being targeted by a curse ritual — (πημονή) ἐπακτός | φάρμακον ἐπακτόν — involved the conviction of supernatural harassment is all but unlikely. Here, however, I do not mean to enter the debate on the aggressive charm’s manifestations. Remaining at the linguistic and syntactic level, I rather hope to propose a possible way to endow the text of the inscription with a unitary and coherent structure. The already rich exegetical work on the content of this enigmatic text still has a long way to go.

Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici  
University of Turin  
Via Sant’Ottavio 20  
10124 Turin, Italy  
francesco.bertani@unito.it

Francesco Bertani

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*di magia a Brixia*, NAC 46 (2017) 119–130; G. Németh, *Voodoo Dolls* (note 34) 179–194; J. L. Lamont, *Cursing Theophrastos in Paros*, AJA 125/2 (2021) 207–222. For the use of dolls in curse rituals, see also F. Bertani, *Sul significato di ἐμ μνήμασιν in due defixiones attiche di IV sec. a.C.* DTA nrr. 55 e 87, ARF 23 (2021) 18.

<sup>35</sup> For a recent overview on binding spells, see Eidinow, *Binding Spells* (note 34) 351–387. For two recent miscellanies on curse tablets providing an updated bibliography, see the final issues of the “Curses in Context” project: C. A. Faraone, I. Polinskaya, *Curses in Context 3: The Greek curse Tablets of Classical and Hellenistic Periods*, London, Chicago 2021; C. A. Faraone, S. Torallas Tovar, *Curses in Context 4: Curse Tablets in the Wider Realms of Execrations, Commerce, Law, and Technology*, G&R 69 (2022). For ritual curses as communicative acts involving the supernatural dimension, see recently Chiarini, *Devotio malefica* (note 14) 186–202. For the important role played by dead and demons within curse rituals, see for example B. Bravo, *Une tablette magique d’Olbia pontique*, in: *Poikilia. Études offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant*, Paris 1987, 185–218; D. R. Jordan, *New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens*, in: *Πρακτικά τοῦ XII Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Κλασικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας, Αθήνα, 4–10 Σεπτ. 1983*, Δ’, Αθήνα 1988, 273; J. Stroszeck, *The Archaeological Context of Curse Tablets in the Athenian Kerameikos*, in: Faraone, Polinskaya, *Curses in Context 3*, 21–48; J. J. Bravo, *The Shrines of Heroes as a Context for Curse Tablets*, in: Faraone, Polinskaya, *Curses in Context 3*, 220–222. For the sending of demons in various rituals from Graeco-Roman Egypt, see for example *Pap.Graec.Mag.* IV, ll. 2090–2091 πορευού (scil. καταχθόνιος δαίμων) ὅπου κατοικεῖ ἤδε (ἢ ὄσδε) | καὶ ἄξον αὐτήν πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα, *Pap.Mag.Formularies* 15 (= *Pap.Graec.Mag.* XII), ll. 179–180 σύ, μέγα δυναμένωι δαίμων. πορευέθητι εἰς τὸν τοῦδε οἶκον, ll. 183–185 Ἀγαθὲ Δαίμων ... | ... ἐπάκουσόν μου πορευθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Δ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅπου κοιμάται, | εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ παραστάθητι αὐτῷ φοβερός, τρομερός ...