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THE HEXAMETRIC PAEAN IN THE GETTY MUSEUM:
RECONSTITUTING THE ARCHETYPE

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THE HEXAMETRIC PAEAN IN THE GETTY MUSEUM: RECONSTITUTING THE ARCHETYPE

The Getty Museum in Malibu houses a remarkable lead tablet bearing a paean of the late fifth century BC, into which another incantation is embedded. It is thought to be from the sanctuary of Demeter Malophorus and Hecate at Selinus. This is the sole paean in hexameters that is known, except for the paean in hexameters that was supposedly composed by Socrates while he waited in prison for the Salaminia to return from its sacred voyage to Delos. The start of the latter poem, of similar date, is quoted by Diogenes Laertius: παιᾶνα κατὰ τινας ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ “Δήλι’ Ἀπολλων χοῖρε, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεινῷ”.¹

Although the Getty hexameters had been studied since they entered the Museum in 1981, it was only in 2011 that an edition of them by David Jordan and Roy Kotansky finally appeared.² Published with the helpful encouragement of Ken Lapatin and Christopher Faraone, this edition is warmly to be welcomed. Jordan undertook an immense and indefatigable labour of decipherment, not just of the Getty tablet itself, which is easy to read where it is not broken, but of the fiendishly difficult and hideously corrupt but equally extraordinary parallel versions which do so much to clarify its text. In successive articles, he has also done the crucial work of comparison between the tablet and the parallel texts which he identified.

The nature of the incantation was the topic of a seminar at the Getty Museum in October 2010, the proceedings of which have now appeared.³ My own view is that this set of texts has nothing whatever to do with mystery-cult or Orphism and is instead a late fifth-century hexametric incantation against witchcraft, into which an earlier spell is embedded; it was intended for civic rather than private use. I have argued these points elsewhere, while also confirming that the order of the fragments that the editors adopted, and which is followed here, is the correct one, offering reasons why the reconstruction of an archetype is necessary, and arguing for several new supplements, which are based on very careful calculations of the number of missing letters. I also showed that the archetype of the main text was in Homeric dialect, while that of the subordinate incantation, the *Ephesia grammata* of the Idaean Dactyls, was in Doric.⁴

Although the *editio princeps* represents an immense achievement, it can be improved in three respects. Above all, during the many years while the study of this text has been in progress, the editors infrequently managed to keep track of which scholars first suggested particular supplements or readings, although their apparatus does provide some names. From frequent experience I am well aware of how hard it is, when one is leading a seminar on a completely new ancient text, simultaneously to participate oneself and to record who suggests what amidst the give and take of excited discussion. The long gestation of editions of extremely difficult texts like the Derveni papyrus can lead to further confusion. In this case the missing data is supplied by my own copious notes written on the handouts that Jordan provided to seminars that he led, two of which I attended. These seminars were held at Harvard University in early November 1983, where among others Albert Henrichs, Jeffrey Rusten, Ruth Scodel, Igor Shevchenko, and Folkert van Straten were present; at Columbia University in February 1984, where Alan Cameron, Leonardo Tarán, James Coulter, and others participated; and at the University of California, Los Angeles, in November 1988, where David Blank, Walter Burkert, Andrew Dyck, and Michael Haslam took part. Jordan also presented the text in Oxford in January 2002.⁵ I have omitted proposals that subsequent research has shown to be impossible.

Secondly, since the tablet was first studied, small fragments have fallen off along the breaks between the separate pieces of which it is constituted. Early tracings of it by Jordan, which he included in hand-

¹ D. L. 2. 42. This parallel for the genre was missed by all the contributors to Faraone and Obbink 2013, myself included, who found the notion of a hexameter paean perplexing.

² Jordan and Kotansky 2011.

³ Faraone and Obbink 2013.

⁴ Janko 2013. On the *Ephesia grammata* see Bernabé 2013.

⁵ See his article on it in www.csad.ox.ac.uk/CSAD/Newsletters/Newsletter10.

outs at these seminars, show parts of letters which do not appear on the tracings that the editors have now reproduced.⁶ In addition, the transcripts included in these handouts and disseminated at those occasions record letters that have since disappeared. This calls to mind the editing of carbonized papyri like those from Herculaneum: a careful representation of the text's current state is not necessarily the best edition of it. Other unrecognized traces can be discerned on the high-resolution images of the original that were sent to the participants in the Getty seminar.⁷

Lastly, the editors have not always chosen to print the best among the alternative readings that they had themselves advanced. Their feeling for the idioms and metrical features of the early Greek epos can in places be improved. I have used their transcripts of 1983–4 as sources for their earliest views. Further proposals found in the transcripts of 1988 seem to have been Jordan's alone.⁸ Other ideas seem first to have been advanced by Kotansky.⁹ Martin West subsequently made some suggestions by letter.¹⁰ In the interests of fairness and clarity I have tried to ascribe all proposals to those who seem first to have made them, ignoring later iterations by others. Given the nature of my sources, however, and the fact that the two editors were at times working independently of each other, I may not have always done so correctly; accordingly, I apologize for any errors of attribution. For illustrations and details of the traces in the parallel texts the reader is referred to Jordan's various editions of them.

In preparation for the conference at the Getty Villa, I created a full text of the tablet with *apparatus criticus* based on my notes and the new images. Although it proved impossible to publish this in the proceedings of the conference, I was able to include instead a normalized, readable version of the archetype with a facing translation.¹¹ In order to facilitate the further study of this extraordinary set of texts, the full version, with a full critical apparatus and revised translation, follows below.

One editorial innovation, essential for the study of these texts, is the use of the subliterate asterisk, e.g. α*, to denote letters that have been changed by an editor. This is adapted from the convention used in Herculanean papyrology, where the subliterate asterisk has been used to show that a reading of one of the apographs of the papyri has been altered by an editor. The need for such a symbol is shown by the prior editions of these texts, in which such letters have been denoted variously by angle-brackets or underlining, both of which conventions introduce a risk of ambiguity, or by no convention at all, which is even more risky for the understanding of what is in the original text.

The text given below is not a diplomatic transcript, but a version of the Getty hexameters that is made intelligible with the help of the other sources for the text. When the archetype of the underlying text can be restored with certainty, I have restored the archetype; the reader will, as always, need to read the *apparatus criticus*. The sources for the text are all in the public domain except for one, a silver tablet from Rome of the first century BC or AD, now in the Perkins Library of Duke University, an edition of which is in preparation by David Jordan. This source gives part of the incantation in a mixture of Greek and Latin letters, and is very garbled. Although the readings of this text and its lections are sometimes helpful for reconstituting the archetype, it is excluded from the apparatus for now, except for the one line of it that is published.¹²

⁶ Jordan and Kotansky 2011, Figs. 1–3. Jordan and Kotansky illustrate in their Fig. 3 the drawings of cols. i–ii that were distributed at Columbia, but at a smaller scale; they have suffered erasures or omissions of letters that are certainly present and are less clear. Their tracing of col. iii is sometimes better and sometimes worse than the one in my possession.

⁷ I thank Christopher Faraone and Ken Lapatin for these, and I am also grateful to Ken Lapatin for making the tablet available so that I could check some readings in 2010. The images, excellent as they are, do not show clearly the traces at the breaks, where the lead is bent.

⁸ Letter of Kotansky to me, dated Los Angeles, 17 Oct. 1995.

⁹ Letters of Kotansky to me, Los Angeles, 17 Oct. 1995; 20 May, 25 May and 15 Aug. 1996.

¹⁰ Letter of Kotansky to me, Los Angeles, July 2005.

¹¹ Janko 2013, 40–3.

¹² Jordan 1988, 256–7.

Sigla

- H lamella plumbea ex Himera ap. Jordan⁵ = *SEG* 50, 1001 = *Orph.* 830e (saec. v a.C., ante a. 409)
 K lamella plumbea ex Oxyrhyncho Coloniae conservata ap. Jordan² = *Suppl. Mag.* 49 = *Orph.* 830a (saec. iii–iv p.C.)
 L lamella plumbea e Locris Epizephyriis ap. Jordan⁴ = *Orph.* 830d (saec. iv a.C.)
 M papyrus ex Aegypto *P. Mich.* inv. 7 col. i, 12–13 (*P. Mich.* III 155) = *PGM* LXX = *Orph.* 830b (saec. iii/iv p.C.)
 R lamella argentea e Roma, quae in bibliotheca Universitatis Dukianae conservata est, ap. Jordan² = *Orph.* 830g (saec. i a.C.–i p.C.)
 S lamella plumbea e Selinunte, quae in Malibu conservata est, ap. edd.³ = *Orph.* 830c (non multum ante a. 409 a.C.)
 Σ^A lamella plumbea A e Selinunte ambobus lateribus inscripta ap. Rocca (saec. v med. a.C.)
 Σ^N lamella plumbea N e Selinunte ambobus lateribus inscripta ap. Rocca (saec. v fin. a.C., ante a. 409)
 Σ consensus lamellarum Σ^{Ar} Σ^{Av} Σ^{Nr} Σ^{Nv} vel earum quae exstant
 Φ lamella plumbea e Phalasarna Athenis conservata ap. Jordan³ = *IC* 2.223–5 no. xix.7 (saec. iv/iii a.C.)

Bernabé	Bernabé 2005 (<i>OF</i> 830)
Brixhe et Panayotou	Brixhe et Panayotou 1995
D'Alessio	D'Alessio 1993
Daniel et Maltomini	Daniel et Maltomini 1990
edd. ¹	Jordan et Kotansky ap. Universitatem Harvardianam anno 1983
edd. ²	Jordan et Kotansky ap. Universitatem Columbiae anno 1984
edd. ³	Jordan et Kotansky 2011
Janko ¹	ego ap. Universitatem Columbiae anno 1984
Janko ²	ego ap. Universitatem Californiensem civitatis Sanctae Mariae et Angelorum anno 1988
Janko ³	ego ap. symposium Gettianum anno 2010
Janko ⁴	ego post symposium Gettianum
Jordan ¹	Jordan 1988, 250–1 et 256–7
Jordan ²	Jordan ap. Universitatem Californiensem civitatis S. Mariae et Angelorum anno 1988
Jordan ³	Jordan 1992
Jordan ⁴	Jordan 2000a, 99
Jordan ⁵	Jordan 2000b
Jordan ⁶	Jordan 2001, 186, 190
Kotansky ¹	epistulae quae mihi misit annis 1995–6
Kotansky ²	epistulae quae mihi misit anno 2005
Rocca	Rocca 2009
Wortmann	Wortmann 1968, 62
Ziebarth	Ziebarth 1899, 129–32

α	littera dubia quae aliter legi potest
{α}	littera ab editore deleta
<α>	littera ab editore inserta
[α]	littera ab editore suo Marte suppleta
ιαι	littera ab editore e fonte gemino suppleta
α*	littera ab editore mutata
—	paragraphus a librario in margine adscripta
[.]	littera deperdita
[]	nulla vel una littera deperdita
[. (.)]	una vel duae litterae deperditae
...	reliquiae totidem litterarum incertarum
- - -	lacuna ubi deperditarum numerus litterarum definiri nequit

Col. i

<Preamble>:¹³

- 1, and the spells that I sing are not unfulfilled.
 If a man graves on tin the meaning-filled letters
 of these sacred verses and hides them in a stone house,
 no creature that the broad earth rears shall cause him harm,
 5 and no creature that roaring Amphitrite feeds at sea.

<First spell>:

- Paeon – to every place you send protective drugs –
 you uttered for mortals these verses immortal:¹⁴
 “Ossa(?) the child, from the shadowy mountains in the black-lit place,
 leads from Persephone’s garden by force to its milking
 10 the four-footed attendant of holy Demeter,
 the goat¹⁵ that weighs heavy with rich milk’s tireless flow.
 She follows, obeying goddesses¹⁶ with torches ablaze.
 Hecate of the crossroads, screaming obscurely
 in hair-raising voice, a goddess, leads the god:¹⁷
 15 ‘Self-commanded [go] I through the depth of the night
 coming forth [from the halls]. To [immortals] and mortals tell I
 the divinely shown [paths] of the bright harvest spirit.’”¹⁸

<Second spell>:

- [O], grant favour to whomever [you] wish,
 and
 20 in the house
 [lacuna of two (?) lines]

¹³ My headings are based on the presence of refrains.

¹⁴ This introduces the speech of Paëon (the healing aspect of Apollo), which seems to end at l. 17, including the words spoken by Hecate.

¹⁵ Amaltheia?

¹⁶ Persephone and her servant Hecate?

¹⁷ i.e. the divine goat Amaltheia?

¹⁸ i.e. of Demeter. Hecate acts as intermediary between the upper and lower worlds. A new invocation of Paeon seems to follow.

rest. Janko⁴ φρικώδεϊ S: φρικώδε(ε)ι Jordan¹ ap. K φωνῇι S: φωνη K **14** βάρβαρον edd.¹:
 βάρβαρον edd.³: βάρβαρον Jordan¹ ap. K ἐκκλάζουσα S: κράζουσα K θεὰ θεῶι S: θεὰ
 ὀ[δὸ]ν Janko⁴ ap. K (ο vel θ): θεὰ [θεῶ]ν Jordan¹ ap. K ἡγεμονεύει edd.¹: ἡγεμονεύει{c} Janko⁴ ap.
 K **15** ἔρχομαι edd.³, fort. brevius, post ἤλυθο]ν Janko¹, sed]ι pro certo habeas νύκτα β[αθεῖαν
 Dyck: νύκτ’ ἀβ[ατόνδε West: νύκτ’ ἀβ[έβηλος Jordan⁶ β Jordan², imago: β edd.³ **16** ἐγ Janko⁴: ἐκ
 Jordan²: κάκ edd.³, spatio longius μεγάρω]ν Jordan²]ν edd.¹:]ν vel]ι imago, edd.³ προμολοῖσα
 Jordan²: προμολοῖσα S θ[εόφρα]τα edd.² κέλευθα Janko³: θεοῖσιν edd.³ **17** ἀθανάτοισι Janko¹:
 ἀθάνατα Jordan² θνητοῖσι τε ci. Janko¹: θνητωιδε S: θνητοῖσιν edd.¹ (-ι δε edd.³) θ legi in lamella: θ
 edd.¹⁻³ δε vel λι δαίμο]ν edd.¹]ο fort. e]ν corr. librarius ἀγλα[οκάρπου Jordan²: ἀγλα[οδώρου
 edd.³: ἀγλα[οφήμου West α[imago: α[edd.³ **18** τέλεσ[ο]ν Janko¹ c[edd.¹⁻³: nunc deest χά[ρι]ν
 Janko³]ῶι Janko⁴:]ῶ]c edd.³ litt. οἰκ, quae nunc perierunt, test. edd.¹ θε[λήνης Janko⁴: θά[νωσιν
 edd.³ fort. ε vel ι imago: α vel λ edd.³ **19**]ι vel]ν imago:]ι edd.¹⁻³ ι[vel η[, κ[imago, edd.¹: om.
 edd.²⁻³ **20** κα]τὰ δώ[ματα Jordan² δω[edd.¹⁻²: δ[edd.³

col. ii (fr. 2^v)

- 1]ομ[.....]δε[- - -
 ἀνθρώπων τ' ἀνόμων οἱ[ίκ]ων ἀπο χεῖ[ρας ἐρύκοις.
 Παιήων] – cὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς {τ}ἀλγέξιμα φάρμακα πέμπεις –
 κηληθ]μοῦ κατάκουε φ[ρ]ακὴν γλυκὴν ἑύφρων·
 5 πᾶσιν δ' ἀ]νθρώποις ἐπιφθέγγε[ς]θαι ἄν[ωγα,
 ἥως δῆμ]ωι κᾶν εὐπολέμωι καὶ ναυσίν, ἥ[ότα]ν κῆρ
 ἄφρων ἐπ' ἀ]νθρώποις θανατηφόρος ἐγγύ[θεν ἔλθῃ,
 ἥως καὶ ἐπ]ὶ προβάτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τέχναις βροτ[είαις].
 ἥουτω δὲ φ]θέγγε[ς]θαι ἐν εὐφρόνῃ ἡδὲ κατ' ἡμαρ,
 10 χρησμὸν ἔχων ἥσιον {σιον} στόματος θυ[ρέτροισιν ἐν αὐτοῖς·
 “βέλτιόν ἐ[ς]τι πόλει τὰ γὰρ ἀρχῆς ἐστὶν ἄριστα.”
 Παιήων, cὺ δ]ὲ πάντος ἀκε[ς]φόρος ἐσσι καὶ ἐσθ[λός].
 ἄσκι κατασκι {κατασκι} αασσια {ασια} ενδασσιαν ἐν ἀμολγῶι.
 [λέγ' ἥ]δε· I “ἀμολγόν(δ) αἰξ αἰγα βία ἐκ κᾶπου ἐλαύνει·
 15 I τῶι δ' ὄνομα Τετρᾶγος· (coi δ' ὄνομα Τραῖξ). ἡδι[- - -
 I τετροαναγαγε Τετρᾶγ[ος c. 16] ἄνευ-
 I μῶλιος ἀκτᾶ, (***) ἡυδάτων ιο[- - -
 I ὀλβι[ος (τ)ῶι κε] τάδε κεδασθῆι κατ' ἀμαξί-
 I τῶν αἰῶ, καὶ φρασίν αὐτῶς ἔχηι
 20 I μακάρων κατ' ἀμαξίτων ἀνδάν·
 ‘Τραῖξ Τετρᾶξ Τετρᾶγος. Δαμναμενεῦ,
 22 ἡδάμασον δὲ κακῶς ἀέκοντας ἀνάγκῃ.”

marg. inf. hic erat ut coniecerim

fontes: vv. **1–12** S; **13–15a** HLΣSΦ (usque ad Τετρᾶγος); **15b** LΦ (coi δ' ὄνομα Τραῖξ); **15c–16a** S (de ἡδι[usque ad Τετρᾶγ[ος]; **16b–17a** HLSΦ (ἀνεμῶλιος ἀκτᾶ); **17b** S (ἡυδάτων ιο[); **18–20** HLΣSΦ; **21–2** LΣ[S] Φ (sed Σ, verbis Τραῖξ Τετραῖξ Τετραγος omissis, vv. 21–2 ante 18–20 habuit)

1 ομ imago: γτα nunc edd.: δε hic collocaverunt edd.^{1–3}, perperam **2** ἀνθρώπων Janko¹: ἀγγέλλ]ων edd.³ οἱ[ίκ]ων Jordan²: θ[υέ]ων edd.³ ο vel θ χεῖ[ρας edd.² ἐρύκοις vel ἐρύκοι Janko³: ἔχεσθαι edd.² **3** rest. edd.¹ e fr. 1^r, 4 c vel κ edd.^{1–3}: nunc deest **4** κηληθ]μοῦ Janko⁴: καὶ φθόγ]γου edd.³ μ vel λ in lamella dispexi: γ edd.³: φ imago ap. edd.^{1–3} φ[ρ]ακὴν Janko³: φ(ρ)ακὴν Kotansky², sed lacuna praesto est: φάκιν edd.^{1–2} ἑύφρων Janko⁴ **5** πᾶσιν δ' Janko⁴: θνητοῖς edd.³, longius ἀ]νθρώποις edd.¹]ν edd.^{1–2}:]ν edd.³ φ vel ο, θ imagines omnes: φ edd.^{1–3} ἄν[ωγα Kotansky²: ἀν[άγκη edd.³ **6** ἥως δημ]ῶι Janko⁴: κᾶν πολέμ]ωι edd.³ κᾶν εὐπολέμ]ωι fere edd.² (-ω]ι): κᾶνευ πολέμ]ων edd.³ (adest hasta directa, sed spatium angustius erat ut litt. γ scribes) ἥ[ότα]ν κῆρ Burkert **7** ἄφρων Janko: πᾶσιν Burkert ἐπ' Burkert ἀ]νθρώποις edd.² ἐγγύ[θεν ἔλθῃ Burkert: ἐγγύ[ς] ἵκηται Janko¹ **8** ἥως Janko³: ἡ Kotansky¹, brevius καὶ ἐπ]ὶ Kotansky¹ ι vel γ, η βροτ[είαις vel βροτ[είοις Janko¹ τ[edd.^{1–2}, et etiam nunc haud secus legi potest: τ[edd.³ **9** ἥουτω δὲ West: ἥουτω ἐπι- Rutherford: κᾶπι- edd.³, brevius φ]θέγγε[ς]θαι edd.² θ potius quam ο vidi: θ edd.³ εὐφρόνῃ edd.²: εὐφρόνῃ edd.³, contra metrum κατ' ἡμαρ Burkert τ potius quam ι **10** χρησμὸν Janko⁴: κηπ]τρον Janko³: breviora ci. alii litt. τ e c a librario mutatum est {σιον} del. edd.² θυ[ρέτροισιν Janko³ ἐν Janko⁴: ἐπ' Janko³ αὐτοῖς Janko³ **11** βέλτιόν Janko⁴: λωῖόν Janko³, brevius ἄριστα Janko¹ α vel λ, δ imago: om. edd.^{1–3} **12** Παιήων cὺ Burkert δ]ὲ Burkert: γ]ε Jordan² πάντος edd.²: παντὸς edd.³ ἐσθ[λός] Burkert ante **13** [θεοί.] τύχα Σ^{Nr}Σ^{Ar} (suppl. Janko⁴):]εφ[Σ^{Ar} (ἐπιδιδά Φερ]εφ[όνος ci. Janko⁴ post Περ]εφ[όνη Rocca) **13** ἄσκι κατασκι κατασκι Kotansky² ap. S (sed vocem κατασκι repetitam deleverit Bernabé metri causa): ἄσκι κᾶτασκι {υσκι} Bernabé ap. L: ασκι κατασκι κατασκι Φ: ασκι κᾶτασκι {υ}κι

Col. ii

1 [grant] that [you keep]
and lawless [men's] hands from our homes.

<Third spell>:

[Paeon] – you send protective drugs yourself –
[kindly] hear in your mind the incantation's sweet song.
5 [I bid you] intone [it] for [all of the] people,
as in [folk] good at war and in ships, when [some doom]
[comes suddenly] nigh bringing men to their deaths,
[as too both] for flocks and for mortal mens' crafts,
utter [what follows] by night and by day,
10 keeping holy your [oracle¹⁹ in] the doors of your mouth:
‘[better] so for the city: for order is best.’
[Paeon] – to every place you bring cures and are good.

<Spell of the Idaean Dactyls>:²⁰aski kataski aassia endasiân en amolgôi.²¹

[Speak thus]:

‘Goat drives goat by force from the garden to milking.
15 His name is Tetrâgos; your name is Trâx.
Hêdi tetroanarage Tetrâgos.
. windy shore,
. of the waters
Happy is he for whom these [words] are always spread along the road,
20 who keeps in mind along the road the saying of the blessed gods:²²
“Trâx Tetrâx Tetrâgos.
22 Damnameneus, subdue by force those who are resistant in evil.”²³

¹⁹ Or ‘sceptre by’? A long noun is needed to fill the wide lacuna, and few are available.

²⁰ This spell was in Doric dialect.

²¹ Magic words (the ‘Ephesian letters’, ascribed to the Idaean Dactyls), which seem to scan as a rough hexameter.

²² Or ‘and keeps them in mind, though he has troubles from the gods’ (the version of the earlier Selinuntine tablets).

²³ These two lines, restored from parallels, seem to be the ‘saying of the gods’. Damnameneus was one of the Idaean Dactyls; the name is given as Damnymena in the earlier Selinuntine version.

[] {υϰιϰι} Jordan⁵ et Janko⁴ ap. H: ιαϰϰι καταϰιι {υϰϰι} καταϰιι Rocca et Janko⁴ ap. Σ^{Nr}: ιαϰϰι καταϰιι {υϰϰι} καταϰιι Rocca et Janko⁴ ap. Σ^{Nv}: ιαϰϰι καταϰιι {υϰϰι} καταϰιι Rocca et Janko⁴ ap. Σ^{Ar}: αϰϰι ιαϰαϰι {υϰϰι} καταϰιι Rocca et Janko⁴ ap. Σ^{Av}: ααϰια {ααα} corr. Bernabé metri causa ap. S (sed etiam ααϰ(ϰ)ια legerit): ααϰ(ϰ)ια{υ} Janko⁴ ap. Φ: ααα L: αϰ(ι)α Janko⁴ ap. H: ρον Σ^{Nr} Σ^{Nv} Σ^{Ar}, unde (ϰι)ρὸν Rocca ενδαααυ, edd.¹ ap. S (ενδαααυ Bernabé): ενδαααν Φ: ε(ν)δαααυ(ν) Jordan⁴ et Janko⁴ ap. H: ενδααα(α)υ{α} Costabile ap. L: ενδ(αααν) Janko⁴ ap. Σ^{Nr} Σ^{Nv}: εν αμολγῶι Janko³ ap. S, ubi πρὸς suppl. edd.²: εν αμολγῶι Φ: εν) αμολγῶι Janko⁴ et Jordan⁴ ap. H: εν αμολγῶι Costabile ap. L: εν) αμολγῶι Janko⁴ et Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr}: εν) αμολγῶι Janko⁴ et Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv}: 14 λέγ’ ιῶ]δε Janko³: πρὸς] δὲ Kotansky², sed obstat hasta directa longissima, qua margo vv. 14–20 indicatur: om. edd.³ αμολγόν(δ) Janko³, quamquam metrum claudicat αἰξ αἶγα βίαι S (αἰξ del. edd.³): αἰξ αἶγα βίαι Φ (α vel λ leg. Ziebarth): αἰξ αἶγα βίαι Rocca ap. Σ^{Av}: αἰξ αἶγα βίαι Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr}:]οϰ δ[ι(ι)]γα H:]υ L: ἐκ S Φ: ἐ(κ) Jordan aut Rocca ap. HL Σ^{Nr} Σ^{Av}: κᾶπῶ Jordan⁵ ap. H: κᾶπου Σ^{Nr} Σ^{Av}: ιαπο L, unde κᾶπῶ Jordan⁴: κήπου edd.² e S (η vel ι potius quam υ): κήπῶ Φ: ἐλαύνει suppl. Bernabé ap. S (ἐλαυνε edd.³): ἐλαύνει Σ^{Nr}: ἐλαύνει Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv}: ενλυ[H, unde ἐλαύνει Bernabé post ἐλαύνετε Jordan⁵: ἐλαύνει(ι) {τε} Bernabé ap. Φ: δα[L, unde ἐ)λαύνετε, ci. Jordan⁴, et ἐ)λαύνει Bernabé 15 τῶι S: τῶι H: τῶι Jordan³ ap. Φ: τῶι Σ^{Nr}: τῶι Rocca

ap. Σ^{Nv} : deest L ὄνομα S: ὄνομα $\Sigma^{Nr} \Sigma^{Nv}$: ὄνο(μ)α Jordan⁵ ap. H: ὄνομα Jordan³ ap. Φ : ὄνομα Jordan⁴ ap. L μα vel λ[]λ imago: om. edd.¹⁻³ Τετραγος S: Τετραγος Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr} : Τετραγος Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv} : Τετραγος Rocca ap. Σ^{Av} : Τετραγος Jordan⁵ ap. H (τετραγ[]): Τετραγος Jordan³ ap. Φ : Τετρακο(ς) Jordan⁴ post Costabile ap. L κοὶ δ' ὄνομα Τραξ L: κοὶ δ' ὄνομα Τρεξ Φ : om. S ιηδι[S: om. cett. ι vel ε S imago: om. edd.¹⁻³ **16** τ vestigia obscura α vel λ αγε Τετραγ[ος Brixhe et Panayotou: ἄγετε τραγ[edd.¹⁻³ γ vel ι[imagines omnes: γ edd.¹⁻³ **16-17** ἀνεμώλιος edd.¹ ap. S: ἀνεμώλιος Φ : ἀνεμώλιο(ς) Jordan e H (αλιεμοαίο): periit L **17** ἀκτά H: ἀκτῆ edd.¹ ap. S, ubi ē in η, sc. θ, correxit librarius u.v.: ἀκτῆ L Φ τ vel γ metri causa lacunam statui ο[imago luce clarius: θ[edd.¹⁻³ **18** ὄλβιος S: ὄλβιος $\Sigma^{Av} \Phi$: ὄλβιος Jordan⁴ ap. L: ὄλ(β)ιος Σ^{Nr} : ὄλ(β)ιος Jordan⁵ ap. H (ολιοα) (ι)ῶι Janko⁴: ὄι S Φ : ὄι Rocca ap. Σ^{Av} : ὄι Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr} : α H ικεῖ τάδε edd.³ e S (litt. τ nunc tantum τ vel γ dispicitur): κ(ε) τάδε Ziebarth ap. Φ et fort. H (nisi ἀκτά repetitur): κε τόδε Σ^{Nr} : κεῖ τόδε Σ^{Ar} : κεῖτὰ δὲ edd.² ap. S: κεῖτὰ δὴ ci. Jordan⁴ ap. S κεδδαθῆι edd.¹ ap. S: κεδδαθῆι Φ : κεδδαθῆι Σ^{Nr} : κεδδαθῆι Rocca ap. Σ^{Ar} : κεδ(δ)αθῆι(ι) Jordan⁵ ap. H: ικεδαθῆι Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv} **18-19** ικατ' ἀμαξιτὸν Janko⁴ ap. S (τ vel ξ, ζ): ικατ' ἀμαξιτὸν edd.² ap. S (ικατ' ἀμαξιτὸν edd.³, sed ubinam litt. ιτο legerint nescio): κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν Φ : κιατ' ἀμαξιτὸν Jordan⁴ ap. L: κα[τ] ἀμ[οδ]αξιτὸν Jordan⁵ ap. H: κατ' ἀμ[οδ]αξιτὸν Janko⁴ e κατακικον Σ^{Nr} et κατακικον Σ^{Nv} , quod suppleverat Rocca **19** αἰῶ Janko⁴ ap. S (α vel λ, μ): (α)ἰῶ Janko⁴ ap. Φ : αἰῶ(ς) Jordan⁴ ap. L: : {ι}α(ι)ῶ(ς)

col. iii (fr. 1^v)

- 1 ()]κηι θν[ητ - - -
 ()]ο κέλε[θ]ε [- - -
]ωσεικ[.]οκ[- - -
 ιΗρακλῆς Διὸς υἱός, [ἀ]ίτε[ο π]άγκακ[α ἔργα,
 5 ιω[]νός τε Διός. μνήσαι δ' (ι)Εκάτοιο φ[αεινῶν
 ιοῖς π[α]ί[ε]ις τόξ[ι]ων καὶ ιύδρης πολύ[δεια] κάρηνα.
 Παιήων, ιὸ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέ[μ]πει,
 8 ιούκ ἂν δεῖ(ι)λήσαιτ' οὐδεῖς {ουδαί} πολυφάρ[μακος ἄλλος.

vacat

fontes: vv. **1-4** S; **5-8** SL (sed pro 6-7 duos versus incognitos praebet L)

1 θν[ητ Janko³ **2** κέλε[θ]ε olim edd. λει edd.¹⁻³: λει vel δεδ imago ap. edd.²:]ε[imago nova ε nunc periit: vestigia in imagine vetere non inveniuntur ιέρχομαι αὐτοκέλε(υ)ςτος ἐγὼ διὰ νύκτα β[ι]αθεῖαν ci. edd.³ e fr. 1^r, 15, haud recte **3** fort. α[]ώσεικ vel εις κ[ακ]ὸν Janko⁴ κ vel γ imagines: ν edd.³ **4** ιΗρακλῆς vel (ι)Ηρακλῆς Janko⁴: ιΗρακλῆς edd.³, longius Διὸς edd.¹⁻², imagines: Διὸς edd.³ υἱός edd.¹⁻³, imago vetus: υιο[imago nova ἀ]ίτε[ο Janko⁴, verbo αἴκτου secundum poetarum mores false resolutio:]ιτε[S: olim]ιτε[ι] vel]ιτεπ[edd., sed ι non praebent imagines π[α]γκακ[α ἔργα Janko⁴: πάγκακ[ον ἦμαρ edd.³, coll. Hes. OD 813 γ vel π imago vetus: nunc nihil dispicitur **5** ιω[]νός τε Janko⁴ (poeta Aesculapium invocat):]νοτε L: ιδμω[ι]ν ιός τε edd.³ vel φράδμω[ι]ν ιός τε Jordan ap. Bernabé, longiora μνήσαι δ' S: μνᾶσαι {τδν} L (seclusi): μνήσαιτ' {ον} Jordan ap. Bernabé (ι)Εκάτοιο edd.³: Ἐκάτοιο L φ[αεινῶν Janko³: periit L: (τε) Φ[οίβου Jordan ap. Bernabé **6** ιοῖς π[α]ί[ε]ις Janko³:

Janko⁴ ap. $\Sigma^{\text{Nr}} \Sigma^{\text{Nv}}$: $\iota\alpha\iota\delta\iota$ Jordan⁵ ap. H: “ $\iota\omega$ ” Ziebarth ap. Φ : $-\gamma$ “ $\iota\omega$ ” edd.² ap. S ($-\nu$ $\iota\omega$ edd.³) $\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ S (ι imago: non leg. edd.¹⁻³): καὶ $\Sigma^{\text{Nr}} \Sigma^{\text{Nv}}$: καὶ L: κοι Φ teste Ziebarth (tantum κ[habet nunc) φρακὶν SL: φρακὶν Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr} : φρακὶν Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv} : φρεκὶν D’Alessio ap. Φ (φρεκὶλ) αὐτὶδὸς edd.¹ ap. S: αὐτὶδὸς D’Alessio ap. Φ (λυτο[): αὐτὶδὸς Rocca ap. $\Sigma^{\text{Av}} \Sigma^{\text{Nr}}$ $\tau\iota$ bracch. sin. habet imago u.v.: non leg. edd.¹⁻³ $\iota\epsilon\chi\eta\iota$ edd.¹ ap. S: $\epsilon\chi\eta\iota$ Φ : $\iota\epsilon\chi\eta\iota$ Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr} : $\iota\epsilon\chi\eta\iota$ Rocca ap. Σ^{Av} **20** $\iota\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\upsilon$ edd.¹: $\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\upsilon$ $\Sigma^{\text{Nr}} \Sigma^{\text{Av}}$: $\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\upsilon$ {μακαρων} Φ κατ’ ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδάν Φ (αὐδάν Brixhe et Panayotou, haud recte): κατ’ ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδάν (sic) S (ἀμαξιτὸν Kotansky², sed litt. αμ numquam visae sunt u.v.): κατ’ ἀμαξιτὸν αὐδάν (Jordan⁴ ap. L: ἄπο κέδεα εἰδός Σ^{Nr} (μέδεα ci. Cassio ap. Rocca): ἄπο κέδεα εἰδός Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv} :]ρρννει[. . . (. . .)]φο | κεφα[(sic) L **21** $\iota\tau\rho\alpha\zeta$ Τετραξ Τετραχίος Kotansky²: Τραξ Τετραξ Τετραγος Φ : Τραξ Τετραξ Τετραγος, Jordan⁴ ap. L (qui τραχ scripsit, litteris alienis confusis, ut agn. Jordan⁴): om. Σ ϵ vel τ , γ , ξ $\gamma\iota$ edd.², imagines omnes: $\gamma\iota$ edd.³, haud recte $\iota\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ Kotansky²: $\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ Φ : $\iota\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ Jordan⁴ ap. L: $\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ Σ^{Nr} : $\iota\Delta\alpha\mu\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ Rocca ap. Σ^{Av} **22** $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ δὲ κακῶς Φ : $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ δὲ κακῶς L Σ^{Nr} : $\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ $\iota\delta\iota$ δὲ κακῶς Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv} $\iota\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ ἀνάγκαι Ziebarth ap. Φ (ἀνάγκαι[c] suppl. Brixhe et Panayotou, longius): ἀέκοντας ἀνάγκαι Jordan⁴ ap. L: ἀέκοντας [Rocca ap. Σ^{Nr} : ἀέκοντα $\iota\kappa\iota$ [Rocca ap. Σ^{Nv}

col. iv (fr. 2^v)

vacat

Col. iii

<Concluding spell>:

- 1 mortal
 you²⁴ command

 Heracles, son of Zeus, [destroy] completely evil [deeds],
 5 and grandson of Zeus.²⁵ Remember the Far-shooter’s blazing arrows,
 with which you smite the many-necked heads of the Hydra.²⁶
 Paeon – since he sends protective drugs himself –
 8 no one else with many drugs could inflict harm.

²⁴ Plural.

²⁵ Asclepius is the only grandson of Zeus who belongs in this context of healing.

²⁶ Heracles killed the hydra in the swamp at Lerna, which apparently sometimes symbolizes recurrent fevers like those of malaria. Apollo’s burning arrows that Heracles uses here surely relate to the cure of such fevers.

ἦδ’ Ἡρακλῆος edd.³, multo longius $\iota\epsilon$ [nova in imagine dispexi: $\iota\alpha$ [Kotansky² $\xi\iota$ S: $\xi\iota$ edd.³, perperam καὶ edd.³: $\iota\alpha\iota$ edd.¹⁻², Jordan² ρ vel ι] πολὺ[δαιρα κάρηνα Janko³: πολυ[κρήνου edd.³ **7** Παῖ]ήων $\iota\omicron$ edd.¹ η vestigium inferius $\omicron$ vel θ , ϕ πέ[μπει edd.¹ ϵ vel τ pro 6–7 [c. 20 litt.] $\alpha\varsigma$ δε αρχ[c. 18–20 litt.] βίος hab. L **8** $\iota\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ ἄν Scodel: οὐ κα L δέ[ι]λήχαιτ’ Scodel: δαλέχαιτο L λ vel χ οὐδεῖς {ουδαι} Kotansky¹: {ουδεις} οὐδ’ αἶ Scodel: ουδα[L δε: librarius τ scribere incepit πολυφάρ[μακος Kotansky¹: πολυφάρ[μακα Scodel ἄλλος Janko⁴: ἐλθὼν Janko³: πίνου Scodel: ἦκοι edd.³: ἔλθοι Jordan ap. Bernabé

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