

“Cursed be he that moves my bones”

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The last line of the epitaph of Shakespeare, engraved on the stone slab that covers his grave in Holy Trinity Church at Stratford-upon-Avon, warns, “Curst be he yt moves my bones.” The malediction was designed to frighten off the sexton of the church and his successors, who sometimes had to dig up an old grave in order to make room for the newly deceased.¹ Almost the same prohibition and malediction occur in the closing lines of an epitaph from Synnada in Asia Minor: *τις οὖν π[ο]τε τὰ ὀστέα σ[α]λεύσει?]*ι, *κατάρα αὐ[τῷ] γένοιτο* (“and whoever thus will move[?] these bones, may he have a curse”).² Both maledictions had the same purpose: they assured the undisturbed rest of the deceased. But while imprecations written on a gravestone were rather exceptional at the time of Shakespeare’s death, they were very common in antiquity, especially in Asia Minor (Anatolia). My concern here will not be with Shakespeare’s malediction but with the ancient funerary imprecations that are found in the Greek epitaphs of Asia Minor. By funerary imprecations (I adopt the term used by P. Moraux to denote this kind of curse) I mean curses that are clearly and publicly written on the gravestone by the owner of the tomb (who does not conceal his identity) to warn any potential wrongdoer that evil will befall him in case he should violate the grave in defiance of the legitimate prohibitions to do so.³ Although these imprecations were used by pagans, Christians, and Jews alike, I will restrict this study to the pagan formulae.⁴ A further restriction in this study has to do with the different groups of funerary imprecations that can be discerned. I distinguish two main categories. The first contains all the imprecations that do not specify the punishments awaiting the wrongdoer. I will call this group the “nonspecific” group. The second category includes the imprecations in which the punishments wished for are more or less clearly specified. I will refer to this group as the “specific” group. The nonspecific group contains many different types of imprecations.

The violator of the tomb may be declared to be *ἀσεβής* (impious) or, less frequently, *ιερόσυλος* (sacrilegious) or said to be guilty of *ἀσεβεία* (impiety) or, rarely, of *ιεροσυλία* (sacrilege). The name of a god or several gods is often added. The following texts may give an illustration. At Telmessus in Lycia an epitaph says that the man who will bury a strange corpse in the grave *ἀσεβής ἔστω θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ ἐκτὸς ὀφειλέτω τῷ Τελμησσέων δήμῳ* *, *ε’* (“will be impi-

ous towards the gods of the underworld and besides he will pay 5,000 denarii to the people of Telmessus").⁵ At Aperlae, also situated in Lycia, the person who will place another into the tomb *ὑπεύθυνος ἔσται ἀσεβείᾳ καταχθονίους θεοὺς καὶ ὑποκείται τοῖς διατεταγμένοις κ[αὶ] ἔξωθεν Ἀπερλειτῶν τῷ δήμῳ * μ(ύρια) β'* ("will be liable of impiety towards the gods of the underworld and he will fall under the regulations and besides he will pay 2,000 denarii to the people of Aperlae").⁶ In a number of related texts it is said that the offender will be *ἐνοχος* (or *ὑποχος* or other variants) to the god or gods or that he *ἐνέχεται* (or *ὑποκείται* or other variants) to the god or gods. These formulae indicate that the wrongdoer will fall under the power of the god(s). They may be considered as shortened expressions of the above-mentioned formulae. The following illustration comes from the region of the Söğüt Gölü near Tyriaeum in Pisidia: *[ἐ]νοχος ἔστω πᾶσι θεοῖς καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Λητῷ* ("He will be liable to all the gods and Selene and Leto").⁷ Another example is found at Olympus in Lycia: *ἐκτίσει ὁ θάψας τῇ πόλει * φ' καὶ ἔσται ὑπόδικος τοῖς κατακτονίους θεοῖς* ("The man who buries [a strange corpse] will pay 500 denarii to the city and he will be liable to the gods of the underworld").⁸ The implication of all the formulae of the first type is not only that the violator of the grave will be penalized by the human law⁹ but also that he will be punished by the god or the gods for his impious or sacrilegious deed. It is interesting to note that many of the legal terms referring to punishment by the human law (such as *ἐνοχος* or *ὑποκεῖσθαι*, etc.) recur in the imprecations discussed here.

In Lycia, especially along the south coast, the violator of the tomb is often called *ἀμαρτωλός* (a wrongdoer). Here, too, the name of a god or several gods is frequently mentioned. An example from Antiphellus gives the following text: *ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀμαρτωλός ἔστω θεοῖς καταχθονίους καὶ εἰσοίσει προστείμου τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ *, ἀφ'* ("The man who acts against these [prohibitions] will be a wrongdoer towards the gods of the underworld, and he will pay a fine of 1,500 denarii to the most sacred [i.e., imperial] treasury").¹⁰ Another example from Rhodiapolis warns, *εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμαρτωλός ἔστω θεοῖς πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις* ("If not, he will be a wrongdoer towards all the gods and goddesses").¹¹ As to the exact meaning of *ἀμαρτωλός* there is some dispute. According to some the word denotes a sinner, but according to others, among whom is K. H. Rengstorf (whom I follow), the word refers to "ganz allgemein den Gedanken des Übergriffs," and there are no good reasons for interpreting *ἀμαρτωλός* as "Sünder im Sinne einer qualitativen Aussage."¹² In any case one can assume that the term *ἀμαρτωλός* contains a threat of divine punishment by the offended god(s).

The formulae *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς* ("he shall have to reckon with") and *ἔξει πρὸς* ("he shall give an answer to") followed by the name of a divinity contain only a vague threat that the violator of the grave will be liable to the god(s). This seems to imply that the god(s) will bring an undefined punishment. The following texts illustrate these formulae. Near the Söğüt Gölü in Pisidia an epitaph warns the offender that *ἔστι αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἑλλίων καὶ Σελήνην* ("he will have to reckon with Helios and Selene").¹³ At Termessus in Pisidia the man who tries to violate the grave *ἐκτεῖσει προστείμου Διὶ Σολυμεῖ *, α' καὶ ἔξει πρὸς τοὺς κα-*

τοιχομένους ("will pay a fine of 1,000 denarii to Zeus Solymeus, and he shall give an answer to the departed").¹⁴ In the greater part of the texts the divinity is nameless, for example, at Eumeneia in Phrygia: ἔσται ἀντὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("He shall give an answer to the god")¹⁵ or at Laodiceia Combusta in Phrygia: [ἐξ]ι πρὸς τὸν θεόν ("He will have to reckon with the god").¹⁶ Such formulae were adopted by Christians and Jews but were never exclusively used by them.¹⁷

In some parts of Asia Minor a god or several gods are adjured not to permit any violation of the grave. An illustration of this usage is given by a tomb inscription from the neighborhood of Sidamaria in Lycaonia: ἐνορκίζω δὲ Μῆνας τὸν τε οὐράνιον καὶ τοὺς καταχθονίους μὴ ἐξ[ε]ῖναι τι πωλῆσαι τὸ περίβολον τοῦ τά[φ]ου, μήτε ἀγοράζειν ἐκτὸς[ς] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ[ς] ("I adjure the Mens, the one in heaven and those in the underworld, not to allow anyone to sell or to buy the precinct of this tomb, except to my brother [?]").¹⁸ It also happens that the potential violator is adjured by the god(s) not to desecrate the tomb. This is attested, for example, at Elaeussa-Sebaste in Cilicia, where an epitaph says. ἐξορκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τὸν ἐπουράνιον θεὸν καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην καὶ τοὺς παραλαβόντας ἡμᾶς καταχθονίους θεοὺς μηδένα κτλ. ἐπενβαλεῖν τοῖς ὅστοις ἡμῶν ἕτερον πτώμα ("We adjure you by the heavenly god [Zeus] and Helios and Selene and the gods of the underworld, who receive us, that no one [. . .] will throw another corpse upon our bones").¹⁹ Very often the adjuration is abbreviated and the deity is nameless; this is the origin of the well-known formula τὸν θεόν σοι, for example at Cotyaeum in Phrygia: τὸν θεόν σοι, μὴ ἀδικήσεις ("[I adjure] you by the god, do not harm [this tomb]").²⁰ This shortened formula was adopted by Christians, but it was never an exclusive Christian use.²¹ The verb most frequently used in the funerary adjurations is ὀρκίζειν, often with prepositions such as ἐν-, ἐπ-, κατ-, or ἐξ-.²² It is most interesting to note that this same verb also occurs in *defixiones*, in which daemons are frequently adjured.²³ What the gods invoked in the funerary adjurations were expected to do when someone violated the grave is not expressed in the texts but it is beyond doubt that the gods were thought to inflict some kind of punishment on the offender.

The four types of texts discussed so far correspond to the definition of funerary imprecations given above. Sometimes the erectors of the gravestones referred to the inscriptions as ἀραὶ (curses). In an epitaph from Canytelis near Elaeussa-Sebaste in Cilicia the violator of the grave is first warned that he will be ἡσεβηκῶς εἰς τε τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Σελήνην ("impious towards Zeus and Selene") and ἀσεβῆς εἰς τε τοὺς προγεγραμμένους θεοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον ("impious towards the above-mentioned gods and Helios") and this is summarized at the end of the text as ἐνεχέσθω ταῖς ἀραῖς ("May he be submitted to these curses").²⁴ In an inscription from the territory of Olba in Cilicia the usurper is adjured by the gods of the underworld and Helios Patrios (ὀρκίζω τοῦ[ς] χθονίους θεοὺς [καὶ] τὸν πάτριον Ἥλιον) and at the end of the text is added, "These are the curses" (αἶδε ἀραὶ).²⁵ In the imprecations discussed so far the evil wished for is never specified. The nature and the degree of the punishment are left up to the god (or gods) to be decided as if by a judge. For this reason I have called this group the nonspecific

group. In the second group of funerary imprecations, which I call the specific group, the evil wished for is more or less clearly specified. The punishment is fixed by the person who has set up the epitaph. As soon as the prohibition against the grave violation is transgressed, the punishment will automatically occur. This evil does not depend on the judgment of a god: it operates directly through the force of the (written) word itself.

The division of the funerary imprecations into a nonspecific group in which divine agents play an important role and a specific group in which a divine agent is not necessarily involved brings to mind the distinction made by K. Latte between two groups of curses.²⁶ On the one hand Latte discerned a group of *Greek* curses bringing evil for the wrongdoer by the "Zauberkraft des ausgesprochenen Wortes;" if the offender thereby became *ἐναγής* (unclean) in the sight of the gods, this was only a result and not the essence of the curse. On the other hand Latte saw a group of *Anatolian* curses rooted in a totally different, oriental religiosity. In Asia Minor the offense was regarded as *ἁμαρτία* (sin); the curse cut off the way to the gods and made the wrongdoer unclean, who subsequently became the focus of the wrath of the gods. As examples of the Anatolian curses Latte cited some formulas of our nonspecific group. The imprecations of the specific group in Asia Minor were explained by him as "übernommene echthellenische Wendungen."²⁷ Latte's division of the imprecations into two groups with different ethnic origin is not convincing. First of all, it is not certain that in Anatolia offences (including violation of the grave) were regarded as a sin, because the meaning of *ἁμαρτία*, *ἁμαρτωλός* as "a sin, a sinner" is questionable, as I have indicated above.²⁸ Also a division between a more "magical" practice (which would be Greek) and a more "religious" practice (which would be Anatolian) in regard to curses is problematic. It is nowadays generally agreed that such a theoretical distinction cannot be made.²⁹ I therefore think that there is no fundamental distinction between Greek and Anatolian curses nor between nonspecific and specific imprecations. The distinction I make is only a heuristic one and somewhat artificial. It is, for example, difficult to say whether the wish for the wrath of the gods belongs to the nonspecific or to the specific group. One could argue on the one hand that the intended punishments are not specified but on the other that some evils (such as cruel death, blindness, or natural disasters) were definitely regarded as the result of the anger of the gods and that these well-specified punishments were intended.³⁰ Likewise the term *ἄσεβής* (impious), which I have ranged in the nonspecific group, could have well-defined implications in the mind of the ancients, namely the exclusion from taking part in the sacrifices.³¹

I will discuss only the group of specific funerary imprecations because these contain much more detailed and varied information than the standard formulas of the nonspecific group.³² The number of these specific funerary imprecations is at this moment (as far as I have been able to collect the scattered evidence) somewhat higher than 350.³³ The texts come from all parts of Asia Minor. I propose to study here, after setting the material in its historical and psychological context, the information that the texts give on the curses themselves and on their relation with the "orthodox" religion involving priests, cults, and gods.

THE ANATOLIAN AND GREEK TRADITIONS

The Greek funerary imprecations of Asia Minor are rooted in two traditions: Greek and oriental. All over the Greek world, including the Greek cities of Asia Minor, it was customary to protect material and immaterial objects from potential wrongdoers by means of imprecations.³⁴ I propose to call these the "nonfunerary" imprecations. In Anatolia the Greek custom coincided with the indigenous oriental tradition: in this country and in the Near East imprecations were commonly employed to protect such things as treaties, statues, and contracts from the time of the Sumerians and the Akkadians onwards.³⁵ The objects that were safeguarded by nonfunerary imprecations in the Greek world belonged to the public, the religious, and the private spheres, for example property and property rights of individuals and temples, the constitution of a city-state, laws, treaties between cities, *asylia* of temples, private foundations. Some imprecations were directed against enemies of the city or against religious offenders. Many conditional imprecations were imbedded in the self-cursing oath. The number of the nonfunerary imprecations is very large; I will give some examples taken from the oldest attestations (i.e., from the seventh century B.C. onwards).³⁶

At Cymae in Italy a Protocorinthian aryballos, dated in the seventh century B.C., is protected from theft by the following imprecation: *hōs δ' ἄν με κλέφσει, θυφλὸς ἔσται* ("The one who will steal me, will become blind").³⁷ Near Camirus on the isle of Rhodes a *σᾶμα*, which is probably a votive monument, is protected from damage: *Ζεὺ δέ νιν ὅστις πημαῖνοι λειόλη θείῃ* ("May Zeus completely destroy him who injures this"). This text presumably dates from the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.³⁸ A well-known and very extensive imprecation also dating from the early sixth century B.C. is the Amphictyonic oath. It concerns the plain of Cirrha, which was dedicated to the Delphic gods. The Amphictyons swore an oath not to till the sacred plain nor to let another till it. The text cited by Aeschines is as follows:

ἐναγῆς ἔστω τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς Λητοῦς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Προναιᾶς. καὶ ἐπεύχεται αὐτοῖς μήτε γῆν καρποὺς φέρειν, μήτε γυναικὰς τέκνα τίκτειν γονεῦσιν ἐοικότα, ἀλλὰ τέρατα, μήτε βοσκήματα κατὰ φύσιν γονὰς ποιεῖσθαι, ἦτταν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι πολέμον καὶ δικῶν καὶ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ ἐξώλεις εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ γένος ἐκείνων. καὶ μήποτε ὁσίως θύσειαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μηδὲ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι μηδὲ τῇ Λητοῖ μηδ' Ἀθηνᾷ Προναιᾷ, μηδὲ δέξαιντο αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερά.

Let them be under the curse of Apollo and Artemis and Leto and Athena Pronaea. The curse goes on: that their land bear no fruit; that their wives bear children not like those who begat them, but monsters; that their flocks yield not their natural increase; that defeat await them in camp and court and market-place; and that they perish utterly, themselves, their houses, their whole race. And never may they offer pure sacrifice unto Apollo, nor to Artemis, nor to Leto, nor to Athena Pronaea, and may the gods refuse to accept their offerings.³⁹

Equally famous are the so-called *dirae Teiae*, imprecations probably making part of a *Bürgereid* at Teus in Ionia (c. 480–450 B.C.). They were directed against those

who endangered the city life of Teus, for example, by obstructing the grain supply or by treacherous intrigues or disobedience to the magistrates. Even the steles and the text of the inscription were protected by an imprecation. The intended evil is nearly identical for every kind of offense: *κένον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κένο* ("He will expire, himself and his race").⁴⁰

From the examples given above one important point becomes clear, namely, that many of the funerary imprecations used by the Greeks of Asia Minor to protect their graves correspond very closely to the nonfunerary imprecations of the Greek world: they are rooted in the same tradition. In fact some imprecations such as the wish for death, blindness, infertility of the earth, destruction of the race (and this list could easily be extended) are found in nonfunerary and funerary imprecations alike, sometimes even in identical words. For example the imprecation *μή(τε) γῆν καρπὸς φέρειν*, which occurs in the Amphictyonic oath, is also found in many epitaphs in all regions of Asia Minor.⁴¹ The same formula is also known in *defixiones*.⁴² A second important point that must be emphasized is the fact that imprecations were very rarely used to protect graves from violation in the Greek world outside Asia Minor. I know only some twenty cases, of which only two can be confidently dated before the imperial period.⁴³ The protection of graves by means of imprecations seems to be alien to the Greeks of the Greek homeland. In Asia Minor the practice was very common. Here the second great influence on the funerary imprecations, the oriental tradition, becomes manifest.

In the Near East and in Anatolia there existed a long tradition of protecting the tomb with imprecations.⁴⁴ The oldest example is found in the epitaph of the Phoenician king Ahiram, which dates probably to the latter part of the eleventh century B.C. The text of this imprecation, which is directed against the king or governor who might violate the grave, is as follows: "May the sceptre of his rule be torn away, may the throne of his kingdom be overturned, and may peace flee from Byblos; and as for him, may his inscription be effaced (. . .)!"⁴⁵ Another Near Eastern example is found in the grave inscription of Sin-zer-ibni, priest of Sahar, who died at Nerab near Aleppo in the early seventh century B.C.: "May Sahar and Shamash and Nikkal and Nusk pluck your name and your place out of life, and an evil death make you die; and may they cause your seed to perish!"⁴⁶ The indigenous oriental tradition led to the emergence of funerary imprecations in Asia Minor written in the Lycian language from the sixth to the fourth century B.C. and in the Lydian language in the fourth century B.C. in the period of the Persian supremacy.⁴⁷ I cite an example from each of the two epichoric languages. At Antiphellus in Lycia the potential violator is warned; "The assembled (or confederate?) gods and the Lycian treasurer(?) shall punish(?) him!"⁴⁸ At Sardis in Lydia the offender is threatened, "Artemus will bring destruction(?) for him, (his) property, land(?)!"⁴⁹

From the moment Asia Minor was liberated from Persian rule, funerary imprecations began to appear in Greek. The oldest instances are found in Lycia at the end of the fourth century B.C. The first comes from Telmessus, the second from Antiphellus. Both are bilingual texts, and the Greek imprecation is generally thought to be inspired by the contemporary Lycian examples. The imprecation written in the Lycian language in the text of Telmessus is difficult to understand; it means something like, "He will punish(?)!"⁵⁰ Its Greek counterpart (clearly not a translation of

the Lycian text) is: ἐξώλεα καὶ πανώλεα εἶη ἅσῳι πάντων ("May there be for him complete ruin and destruction of all [or everything?]"). The Lycian imprecation in the text of Antiphellus warns, "Let the mother of this precinct(?) here (i.e., Leto) and the municipality(?) of Wehāta (i.e., Phellus) judge(?) him!"⁵¹ The Greek imprecation gives only a partial translation of this text and is much harsher: ἡ Λητώ αὐτὸν ἐπιτ(ρί)ψ(ε)ι ("Leto will destroy him"). Only a few decades later, probably in the first quarter of the third century B.C., comes a third Greek funerary imprecation, which is now in the J. P. Getty Museum (California).⁵² Its provenance is not known but on the basis of the names of the two goddesses who will bring the punishment (Artemis Medeia and Ephesia) I have a strong suspicion that it comes from Lydia.⁵³ If this is right, then the imprecation may be inspired by the Lydian examples of the preceding century. The text of the Getty imprecation is as follows: ἡ Ἀρτεμις ἡ Μηδεία καὶ ἡ Ἐφεσσία καὶ οἱ θεοὶ ἅπαντες αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους ("The Median and the Ephesian Artemis and all the gods [no verb expressed] him and his descendants"). During the remainder of the hellenistic period the number of imprecations against grave-violators remained very small.⁵⁴ One example from Pinara in Lycia may date approximately between the middle of the second century and the middle of the first century B.C.⁵⁵ Another text from the neighborhood of Olba in Cilicia also seems to be hellenistic.⁵⁶ It is only in the first century B.C. that some more texts emerge. One example comes from Mytilene on Lesbos,⁵⁷ another from Philomelium, a city in Phrygia.⁵⁸ There are in addition about fifteen texts that show some Roman influence and that probably should be dated some time after the beginning of the Roman occupation of Asia Minor; but they could equally well belong to the Roman imperial period.⁵⁹

A very large number of funerary imprecations can be assigned with certainty or with good probability to imperial times.⁶⁰ The attribution of the texts to different centuries, however, is problematic, for often the only criteria that are available, such as the letter forms or the personal names, are not very reliable. As far as I have been able to date the texts, the following results appear. Fifteen texts may date in the first century A.D., while twenty-three date in that century or later. Fifty-seven texts may date in the second century A.D., while thirty-two may date in that century or later. Another forty-five belong to the second or third century. Ninety-one texts seem to date in the third century or the early fourth century A.D. Only two or three texts certainly date in the (early) fourth century A.D. It is not at all certain that the growing number of imprecations is a sign of an increase in their popularity or in the belief in their efficacy, and it is dubious whether the growth reflects an increasing need to protect the graves from violation. As R. MacMullen has recently warned, the frequency of epigraphic attestation of behavior or activities does not permit us to draw conclusions about their actual prominence, decline, or the like; apart from economic and demographic factors, the number of inscriptions was influenced by "epigraphic habit," which was controlled by many forces, such as urbanization and hellenization, literacy and culture, fashion and psychological attitude.⁶¹ These factors fluctuated over the centuries and probably varied from one region of Asia Minor to the next. This could explain the fact that in northeastern Lydia the greatest number of funerary imprecations (eleven of eighteen attestations, all exactly dated by the Sullan or Actian era) date to the last quarter of the first century A.D. and the

first quarter of the second century A.D. It is interesting to note, however, that the period of greatest frequency of funerary imprecations in this region does not coincide with the period of greatest frequency of epitaphs.⁶² Apparently the habit of having *imprecations* and that of having *epitaphs* inscribed on the grave were influenced by different factors.⁶³

An important point I have so far neglected, though it is fundamental for the understanding of the funerary imprecations of Asia Minor, is the question why the Greeks of Anatolia so frequently protected their graves from violation with imprecations while the Greeks of the Greek homeland did it very rarely. I would suggest that a difference in ideas about the dead and the afterlife may be responsible.⁶⁴ From earliest times the Anatolians sometimes built the tombs of the deceased in the shape of the houses of the living. The custom to bury the dead in a "grave house" is already attested in the second part of the third millennium B.C. in the graves of the dynasts of Alacahüyük and Gedikli.⁶⁵ In Hittite texts of the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. one reads that the ashes of the dead king were placed in a house of stone (a mausoleum or a rock-cut chamber).⁶⁶ The concept of the grave house was widely spread in the Phrygian and Lydian periods and continued on in hellenistic times, during which it manifested itself for example in sarcophagi with architectural ornaments. In the Roman imperial period the concept gave rise to the representation of a door on gravestones in some parts of Phrygia.⁶⁷ The fact that the tomb was built in the form of a house implies a certain idea about the afterlife, namely, that the dead body continues living—that it still has feelings, needs, and desires.⁶⁸ The dead body needs a house to live in; this grave house has to stand and to remain undisturbed forever. Therefore the Anatolians protected it from violation.

The ideas of the Greeks in the Greek homeland were different. As far as it is possible to learn anything about the original ideas of the Greeks,⁶⁹ it looks as if they did not attach the same importance as the Anatolians to material aspects of the afterlife. They were more concerned about the burial, the funerary rites and the remembrance of the name. The Greeks seem to have believed that the psyche (soul) left the body at the moment of death and went down to the underworld. There it lived a life that was only a weak reflection of the existence on earth.⁷⁰ As long as the name of the deceased person as an individual continued to be remembered, the psyche had an individual life and the deceased enjoyed a kind of immortality.⁷¹ As to the dead body, the Greeks imagined that it stayed in two places alike, in the grave and in the underworld. In the underworld the dead body did not cease to live, but it did not know any more the needs and desires of the living. Only great offenders were thought to have corporal feelings while being punished in Tartarus.⁷² The body, as far as it was thought to live on in the grave, was equally believed to be insensible—free from corporal feelings and needs.⁷³

The ideas about the afterlife may account for the almost fanatical concern of the Anatolians for the fate of the grave. They protected their tombs by means of legal measures (such as fines), imprecations, or both at the same time. Why some persons preferred imprecations is of course unknown. Perhaps it had something to do with the belief in the inefficacy of civil justice.⁷⁴ Indeed, the violator of the grave did his criminal work in the cemetery outside the town and therefore had a good chance to escape unnoticed and unpunished.⁷⁵ It has been noted that in circumstances or

places or periods in which human law is vitiated by its powerlessness, unsteadiness, partiality, or even absence, people who suffer injustice often resort to curses as a means of *Selbsthilfe*.⁷⁶ By the power of the curse, which operates independently from the human law, the culprit nevertheless gets the due penalty.

It is beyond doubt that the authors of the funerary imprecations were moved by noble sentiments and that they aimed at entirely justified goals. It is however remarkable that they asked only for the punishment of the offender, that is, revenge; they never requested that the harm done to the tomb or to the corpse should be repaired. In this respect the funerary imprecations resemble the prayers for vengeance discussed by H. S. Versnel (chap. 3). It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the terms used in the latter are also found in the former. For example the verb *μετέρχομαι* (punish) occurs in a funerary imprecation at Kalos Agros between Chalcedon and Nicomedeia in Bithynia: *μετελθῇ αὐτὸν ὁ θεός* ("May the god punish him").⁷⁷ A term derived from the verb *κολάζω* (inflict a punishment) is attested at Assus in Mysia: *αὐτοῖς πᾶ[σαν ἀκ]ολουθῆσαι κόλασιν* ("[I ask] to pursue them with all punishment").⁷⁸ And the wish that the offender not be concealed from the god Helios is found in an imprecation at Parium in Mysia: *μὴ λάθῃ τὸν Ἥλιον ἀλλὰ πάθῃ ἃ καὶ αὐτῇ* ("May he not stay hidden from Helios, but may he suffer what she [has suffered]").⁷⁹

THE POWER OF WORDS

The force of a curse is based on a more general belief in the efficacy of the word. This power is increased if the word is spoken by a person of higher status, such as a king, a priest, parents, the dying, or the dead.⁸⁰ Funerary imprecations against violators of the grave must have been regarded as very powerful, since they were the wish of the dying or the dead. In some inscriptions it is explicitly stated that the prohibitions and the imprecations are recorded in the testament, as is the case in an epitaph from Halicarnassus on the Doric coast of Caria, where one reads, *κατὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἀράς* ("according to the curses in the will").⁸¹ In one case in Nacraon in Mysia the text of the inscription with the imprecations is a copy of the will itself.⁸²

The force of the cursing word could be increased by a variety of rhetorical devices, such as repetition, rhythm, and the use of triplets. These phenomena are common to both "magical" and "religious" liturgy.⁸³ In the funerary imprecations a word is often repeated with only slight variations, such as *ὤλης ἐξώλης ἀπόλοιτο* ("May he die, dead and gone")⁸⁴ or *κακὸς [κα]κῶς ἐξώλης γένοιτο* ("May he, an evil man, be evilly destroyed").⁸⁵ Many funerary imprecations are metrical. This indicates nothing special when the epitaph itself is metrical, but often a prose epitaph is followed by a metrical (interdiction and) imprecation. Such is the case with the so-called North Phrygian curse formula, *τις ἂν προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύνφθονον, οὕτως ἁώροις περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς* ("Whoever will lay a hand heavy of envy against [this tomb], may he fall foul in the same way of untimely fates [i.e., of the fate of untimely dead children]"), in iambic trimeters,⁸⁶ with the East Phrygian curse formula, *ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο χῆρον βίον οἶκον*

ἐρημον; ("May he leave orphaned children, an empty [i.e., childless] life, a desolate house behind him"), a (bad) dactylic hexameter;⁸⁷ and with some other imprecations.⁸⁸ In many imprecations three elements of the malediction are put very closely together, such as οἶκῳ βίῳ τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ("for his house, life, body")⁸⁹ or ἄτεκνος ἄτρυμβος ἀνανχίστεντος ὀλῖται ("He will die without children, tomb, relatives").⁹⁰ The triple repetition of a funerary imprecation is not attested, but such a repetition occurs in adjurations.⁹¹ In Lycaonia, near the city of Perta, the god who will bring the punishment—namely, Men—is once augmented to nine Mens: ἐ[ξει] κεχολωμέν[ους] Μῆνας αἰνέα ("He will incur the anger of the nine Mens").⁹²

The power of a curse could also be enhanced by accompanying gestures, such as the touching of the earth or of the accursed person, the performance of a sympathetic action, or the raising of the hands.⁹³ This last act is perhaps once attested in the text of a funerary imprecation. In an epitaph near Hadrianutherae in Mysia the owner of the tomb says, χεῖρας ἀεί[ρω] ("I raise my hands").⁹⁴ Raised hands are depicted on three gravestones that have an imprecation. It is well known that this gesture is frequent on the tombs of children and young persons, who, it seemed, could not have died a natural death but must have been killed in a criminal way (if not taken away by a god). The raising of the hands is the symbol of the invocation to Helios for divine vengeance.⁹⁵ This explanation of the raised hands, however, seems excluded in at least one of the three cases, a tomb near Laodiceia Combusta in Phrygia erected by a daughter for her parents; there is no sign that they died a premature or a violent death.⁹⁶

A curse could become so powerful that it became a bad daemon, Ἄρα ("Curse").⁹⁷ Such a personification of the curse is only once attested in a tomb imprecation, namely at Neocaesareia in Pontic Cappadocia. This epitaph, which contains very extensive imprecations, was set up by an intellectual who had studied in Athens under Herodes Atticus. He was largely inspired by the maledictions that Herodes had engraved on herms in Attica for the protection of the statues of his dearest departed.⁹⁸ The author of the epitaph made several additions to his example. One of these is that Ἄρὰ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη δαιμόνων ("Curse, the oldest of daemons"), together with other gods, will penalize and hurry on the violator of the grave.⁹⁹ Ara as a daemon was sometimes identified with Erinys; she apparently had her home in Hades.¹⁰⁰

The power of a curse is always two-sided: the word can bring harm but also profit.¹⁰¹ There is a very narrow relation between cursing and blessing and both frequently occur together in many cultures, even in a funerary context.¹⁰² In the funerary imprecations of Asia Minor the aspect of the blessing is almost completely absent. In a text from the neighborhood of Pissia in Phrygia a blessing follows the imprecation: ὅσα εὖ ἐμοί, διπλᾶ σοι θεός ("The good [you do] to me, god [will give back] to you in double").¹⁰³ In the above-mentioned inscription from Neocaesareia the imprecations are followed by blessings for those who preserve the prescriptions without alterations and observe them: πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ πατρίδι καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ τῇ ἔπειτα μνήμῃ καὶ ἐκγόνοις ("And much good will come for him, for himself and for his fatherland and for his house and for his remembrance later and for his posterity").¹⁰⁴

An essential characteristic of the curse is that it is irrevocable: once it has been spoken, it usually cannot be stopped. The only ones who had the power to revoke the curse and to finish the punishment were the persons who spoke the curse and the god(s) who were invoked.¹⁰⁵ Apparently the gods could be placated by the offender by some kind of atonement, for example a sacrifice or, in northeastern Lydia, a confession, but even this possibility is expressly denied in a small number of funerary imprecations.¹⁰⁶ In a fragmentary epitaph from the neighborhood of Eumeneia in Phrygia it is wished that the violator may become the irreconcilable (*ἀδιάλυτος*) enemy(?) of the gods(?).¹⁰⁷ In Nacrason in Mysia one of the elements of an extensive imprecation is that the gods and the heroes will be enraged and implacable (*ἀνεξείλαστους*).¹⁰⁸ Near Saittae in Lydia an imprecation contains the wish that the transgressor will find (Men) Axiottenos implacable through the generations (*[ἀ]νεξείλαστον τέκνα τέκνων*).¹⁰⁹ And in Tabala in Lydia it is said that the violator will find enraged the insoluble (*ἄλυτα*) scepters (of the gods) in Tabala.¹¹⁰

Another characteristic of a curse is that it often strikes not only the wrongdoer himself but also his *οἶκος* (house, household) or his *γένος* (posterity), even when they are totally innocent or yet unborn.¹¹¹ In a very large number of funerary imprecations it is wished that the relatives of the offender will perish or that they will have a curse or will suffer from the wrath of the gods together with the violator, as in the following text from Aphrodisias in Caria: *ἐξώλῃ ἀπόλοιτο σὺν τέκνοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ γένει* ("May he die, dead with his children and with all his posterity").¹¹² But it also often happens that the wish for evil affects only the children or the relatives of the violator, so that the latter will be a witness of their untimely death or misery. An example of such a wish is *ἄωρα προθοῖτο τέκνα* ("May he place upon a bier his untimely dead children") in an epitaph from the neighborhood of Appia or Alia in Phrygia.¹¹³ For the extension of the imprecation to the descendants special abbreviated formulas were in use, such as *τέκνα τέκνων* (or *τέκνοις*) (to his children's children).¹¹⁴ The material property of the violator is sometimes equally affected by the imprecation, as it is part of the *οἶκος*. Most often the evil wish is for the destruction of the possessions, so that the violator stays alive but in utter misery. This may be illustrated by an example from Nacrason in Mysia: *πρόσρειζα δὲ καὶ πανόλεθρα ἀρθείη καὶ ἀφανισθείη πάντα* ("May everything from its roots and with total ruin perish and disappear").¹¹⁵

Very rarely funerary imprecations are directed against the whole society in which the violator lives. It may occur in the epitaph from Neocaesareia, where one of the imprecations is, *μὴ γυναῖκες τίκτοιεν κατὰ φύσιν* ("May the wives not bear children according to nature").¹¹⁶ This imprecation asks that the children that are born may not resemble their parents but will be deformed, monstrous. The birth of such children was regarded as a sign of the wrath of the gods against the community as a whole.¹¹⁷ But it is not at all certain that the author of this text really intended to strike the whole society. In fact this malediction is placed between other imprecations in which the violator alone is the object. The author of the text may thus have intended to strike only the wife of the offender. The use of the plural *γυναῖκες* (wives) may be caused by the fact that the author has taken over this imprecation from very old oaths, such as the Amphictyonic oath cited above, without making the

necessary adaptations.¹¹⁸ In another text from the territory of Nicaea in Bithynia it is asked that the violator *λυμῶ γε . . . τ . . . δὲ ἐξαπόλοιτο* ("May die from an epidemic disease[?]").¹¹⁹ If the meaning of the wish is properly understood, a large number of people from the society must have been the object of the attack, for it is characteristic of a plague to infect numerous people.¹²⁰

As a result of the dangerous contagion, a cursed person had to be banished from society, usually to a place far away from human habitation.¹²¹ There may be an allusion to such an expulsion in the inscription from Neocaesareia, in which is said, *τούτῳ μὴ πατρίς οἰκοῖτο* ("May his fatherland not be inhabited by him").¹²²

In northeastern Lydia the cursing of the potential violator of the grave sometimes went together with the erection of a scepter or several scepters. This is attested in a steadily growing number of texts.¹²³ The most striking example, in which the procedure is most fully described, comes from the territory of Silandus: *ἐπηράσαντο μή τις αὐτοῦ τῷ μνημείῳ προσαμάρτη, διὰ τὸ ἐπεστάσθαι σκῆπτρα* ("They have established an imprecation that no one should do wrong to his grave monument, through the erection of scepters").¹²⁴ In a second text from the neighborhood of Saittae the scepter itself speaks the imprecation: *ὅς ἂν τοῦτο ἄρῃ ἢ κατεάξῃ, τῶν θεῶν κεχολωμένων τύχοιτο· περὶ τούτου σκῆπτρον ἐπηράσ(α)το* ("Who will displace or break this [gravestone], may he find the gods enraged; concerning this the scepter has established an imprecation").¹²⁵ A third text, again from the territory of Silandus, does not mention the imprecation: *ἵνα μή τις προσαμάρτη τῇ στήλῃ ἢ τῷ μνημείῳ, σκῆπτρα ἐπέστησαν τοῦ Ἀξ[ι]οττηνοῦ καὶ Ἀναεΐτιδος* ("In order that no one should do wrong to this stele or to this grave monument, they have set up scepters of [Men] Axiottenos and Anaetis").¹²⁶ Apart from these texts, in which the erection of a scepter is explicitly mentioned, there are several funerary imprecations in which it is wished that the violator will find the scepters enraged.¹²⁷ It is not certain that we have here the same procedure; possibly the wrath of the scepters is only a variation of the wrath of the gods. According to a common belief the gods are really embodied in their representations.¹²⁸ The erection of scepters is also mentioned in confession inscriptions from northeastern Lydia.¹²⁹ In one case it is done in order to prevent a crime (theft of clothes) from being committed; in three cases the crime (theft, poisoning) has been committed but the culprit is unknown or the suspect denies guilt. All the cases, funerary and expiatory, have in common the fact that the wrongdoer is not known.¹³⁰ This again illustrates the above-mentioned function of the imprecations in relation to the execution of justice.

The scepter was undoubtedly erected as the symbol or the incarnation of the judicial power of the god. This is an old and widespread image.¹³¹ By this action the crime was transferred to the juridical authority of the god in order that the offender might be unmasked and punished. The erection of the scepter presumably was the work of the priest: two reliefs on expiatory steles show the priest with a long stick, which must be the scepter of the god.¹³² The spot where the scepter was placed is not known. It does not seem likely that the holy object was set up near the place of the (future) crime (in funerary context, the grave). It is more probable that it was erected inside the temple area.¹³³ In the first and second of the above-cited texts there is a close connection between scepter and imprecation. This is also the case in one

confession inscription: a scepter is erected and apparently simultaneously imprecations are placed in the temple.¹³⁴ These were perhaps written on a *πιπτάκιον* (tablet).¹³⁵ One can suppose that the tablet, which is generally assumed to contain an exposition of the issue, its transference to the god, and the imprecations for the culprit, was fixed in an easily visible place in the temple area so that everyone could read it.¹³⁶ It is not known if the same procedure was followed in funerary cases, but it does not seem improbable. After the wrongdoer had been punished by the god and had confessed his fault or paid an atonement, the divine involvement and the imprecations could be dissolved. This was done by the removal of the scepter (*λυθῆναι τὸ σκῆπτρον*) and the imprecations, as is attested in an expiatory text.¹³⁷ The mention of *ἄλυστα σκῆπτρα* (insoluble scepters) in a funerary imprecation seems to refer to a similar possibility of stopping the punishment, a possibility that is here, however, expressly denied.¹³⁸

Apart from the erection of scepters in northeastern Lydia there is no sign that the priests played a role with regard to funerary imprecations. As to the influence of the imprecations upon the cult of the gods, for example, upon the sacrifices, there is no such explicit mention in the texts.¹³⁹ The failure of the sacrifice of the wrongdoer may be implied in the very common wish that the gods will be angry (*κεχολωμένοι* or the like).¹⁴⁰ and in the less frequent formula that the gods will not be well disposed (*ἔλεως*).¹⁴¹

FUNERARY IMPRECATIONS AND THE GODS

In almost one-third of the funerary imprecations a god or several gods are named and are expected to inflict the punishment on the wrongdoer. Formal prayers to the gods to take action against the violator of the tomb are rare. A person from Eirenopolis in Cilicia prays, *καταρῶμαι τοὺς καταχθονίους ὧλιαν ἐξωλίαν* ("I pray to the gods of the underworld for utter destruction").¹⁴² A citizen of Nicaea in Bithynia, who died and was buried in Philippopolis in Thrace, prays, *[ἐν]εὔχομαι τῷ Κενδρεῖσῳ Ἀπόλλωνι—πανσπερμεῖ ἐξολέσθαι* ("I pray to Apollo Cendreisos to destroy [the violator] with all his seed").¹⁴³ And a woman from the neighborhood of Nacoleia in Phrygia addresses the following order to Helios Teitan: *τὴν αὐτὴν [χ]άριν ἀντάποδος* ("Do him the same 'favor' in return").¹⁴⁴ In none of the texts is there any sign of submissiveness on the part of the authors to the mighty gods, which is a characteristic aspect of prayers for justice or vengeance.¹⁴⁵

The gods named in the tomb imprecations may be anonymous (*θεός, θεά, θεοί*) or specified by name, for example, Apollo, Hecate, Helios, Leto, Men Axiottenos, Nemesis, Pluto, Selene, or Zeus Olympios. About thirty different gods are named in the texts. Some gods appear only once or twice. This is occasionally due to the fact that the imprecation was set up by an intellectual who diverged from popular belief. Two examples are the imprecation engraved by the man from Neocaesarea, who studied in Athens under Herodes Atticus, and an imprecation set up by a certain P. Varius Aquila, a Roman citizen from Assus in Mysia who was obviously influenced by the Second Sophistic. The first text contains the unique mention of

Hermes Chthonios and Zeus Olympios.¹⁴⁶ The second text mentions Ge, Kore, and Pluto,¹⁴⁷ the first of whom does not occur in any other funerary imprecation, while the two other gods are found again in the text of Neocaesareia alone. In some cases a god is mentioned only once because he or she was a foreign god.¹⁴⁸ Thus there is only one attestation of Atarknateis (= Atargatis), a North Syrian goddess, who is obviously to be connected with a family or group of Syrian immigrants (in the region of northeastern Lydia).¹⁴⁹ Another unique mention is that of the *θυοὶ Περσῶν* (gods of the Persians) at Acipayam in Pisidia.¹⁵⁰ The Persian gods were introduced in the valley of Acipayam by Persian colonists.¹⁵¹ A third example is the goddess Daeira, mentioned in the inscription of Neocaesareia; she is an Athenian divinity belonging to the Eleusinian cult. Her name must have been picked up by the author of the text during his stay in Athens.¹⁵² In some cases a god or a group of gods is rarely mentioned because the god was only a local god, worshipped by a small group of devotees, such as the gods in Iaza, the scepters (= gods) in Tabala, or the gods in Tamasis (all in northeastern Lydia).¹⁵³

Some gods are mentioned more or less frequently in the funerary imprecations. The most "popular" gods were the *καταχθόνιοι θεοί* (gods of the underworld). In a number of texts they are named together with the *οὐράνιοι θεοί* (heavenly gods). The gods of the underworld and heaven joined together formed the group of all gods,¹⁵⁴ the *πάντες θεοί* (or, briefly, *θεοί*), who are also frequently mentioned in the funerary imprecations. I think it is fair to say that the gods as a whole and the gods of the underworld were the most important agents mobilized to act for the punishment of the violator. In second place come the lunar gods, Men and Selene, and the related goddess Hecate with her Erinyes. The sun god Helios ranks third, often in the company of a lunar god. Less popular are Zeus and Meter, the Anatolian mother goddess who occurs under different names and forms in the texts, such as Leto, the Pisidian goddess, and perhaps also Anaëtis.

The reason why a specific god was chosen by an individual to act as agent is almost never mentioned in the texts.¹⁵⁵ The gods may have been chosen because the Greeks were convinced that the gods punished all crimes, especially the crimes against themselves. The gods of the underworld may have been chosen because the dead, having departed from the world of the living, belonged to the realm of the chthonic gods.¹⁵⁶ These were not only gods who had their home in Hades, as Pluto, Hecate, or Men Katachthonios, but also gods who were in some way related to the underworld, such as the lunar god, the sun god, and all fertility gods.¹⁵⁷ A number of these gods, like the *καταχθόνιοι θεοί*, Hecate, and the Erinyes also play a role in *defixiones*.¹⁵⁸ A third group of gods (Helios, Zeus Olympios, and Nemesis) may have been preferred because they were all-seeing gods: they saw everything that happened on earth, even the hidden crimes. Moreover these gods were truth-loving gods and executors of revenge. In prayers for vengeance they are frequently invoked, especially Helios.¹⁵⁹ The gods of this third group defended justice; their role in the funerary imprecations once more illustrates the connection of these texts with the execution of justice.¹⁶⁰ The choice of a particular god by the person who set up an imprecation depended on many factors that we cannot uncover now. Personal religiosity may have played a role, but the personal preference seems to have been

strongly influenced by the local custom. There are regions in Asia Minor in which a marked preference existed for one or another god, for example, for Men Katachthonios in eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia, for Selene in western Cilicia and for the Pisidian gods (who are presumably Hecate and Helios) in the valley of Acipayam in West Pisidia.

Notes

The following oft-cited studies will be referred to by author's last name and date of publication:

- A. E. Crawley, "Cursing and Blessing," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1911), 4:367–74
- K. Latte, *Heiliges Recht: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der sakralen Rechtsformen in Griechenland* (Tübingen, 1920).
- P. Moraux, *Une imprécation funéraire récemment découverte à Néocésarée* (Paris, 1959).
- A. Parrot, *Malédiction et violations de tombes* (Paris, 1939).
- L. Robert, "Malédiction funéraires grecques," *CRAI* (1978): 241–89.
- W. Speyer, "Fluch," *RAC* 7 (1969): 1160–1288.
- J. Strubbe, "Vervloeking en tegen grafschenners," *Lampas* 16 (1983): 248–74.
- R. Vallois, "APAI," *BCH* 38 (1914): 250–71.
- H. S. Versnel, 'May he not be able to sacrifice . . .': Concerning a Curious Formula in Greek and Latin Curses," *ZPE* 58 (1985): 247–69.

1. For the full text of the epitaph, see G. E. Bentley, *Shakespeare: A Biographical Handbook* (New Haven, 1961), 67. For its purpose, see S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (Oxford, 1970), 4.

2. W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua [MAMA]*, vol. IV (Manchester, 1933), no. 84, lines 4–6. The editors restore in line 5, σ[κυβλίσε]ι (will desecrate); one could also think of σ[κυλεύσε]ι or σ[κυλήσε]ι (will rob).

3. P. Moraux, *Une défexion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul*, *Mém. Ac. Roy. Belg.* vol. 54, pt. 2 (Brussels, 1960), 3–5. It is clear that funerary imprecations differ in many ways from *defixiones*; see the essays of C. Faraone and H. S. Versnel (chaps. 1, 3). But in the course of this article some points of contact will appear, for example in terminology.

4. Under this rubric, however, I include not only the imprecations written down by pagans, but also the imprecations engraved by Christian and Jewish people in so far as they took over formulas and ideas from the pagan world. For an example of the use of a pagan formula by a Christian see W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. I, pt. 2 (Oxford, 1897), no. 658, frag. a, line 24 (from the Phrygian Pentapolis): ἄ(ω)[ρ]α τέκνα (ἐ)χωσι (or (τύ)χωσι) ("May they have untimely dead children"). The use by a Jew is attested, for example, in W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, *MAMA*, vol. VI (Manchester, 1939), no. 316, frag. b, lines 2–5 (from the territory of Acmonia in Phrygia): λάβοιτ[ο ἀπρ]οσδόκητον ὁ[ποι]ον καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτῶν ("May he receive a sudden death, just as their brother").

5. E. Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris [TAM]* vol. II, pt. 1 (Vienna, 1920), no. 51, lines 15–20. The variant ἡσεβηκώς is found, for example, at Canytellis near Elaeussa-Sebaste in

Cilicia; see R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, ausgeführt 1891 und 1892*, DenkschrWien, vol. 44, no. 6, Philos.-hist. Kl. (Vienna, 1896): pts. 58–59, no. 133, lines 8–10: ἔσται[ι] ἡσεβηκῶς εἰς τε τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν (“He will have committed an act of impiety towards Zeus and Helios and Selene and Athena”).

6. Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure: Explication des inscriptions*, vol. III. pt. 5, *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1870), no. 1299, lines 4–6. For ἱερόσυλος see, for example, E. Kalinka, *TAM* II.2 (Wien, 1930), no. 521, lines 16–25 at Pinara in Lycia. For ἱεροσυλία see, for example, W. Judeich, in *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, ed. C. Humann, C. Cichorius, et. al. (Berlin, 1898), no. 270, line 3 at Hierapolis in Phrygia: ἔνοχος ἔσται ἱεροσυλίᾳ (“He will be liable of sacrilege”). The combination of ἀσεβείας and ἱερόσυλος is also attested, for example, ἀσεβή[ς] ἔσται καὶ ἱερόσυλος (“He will be impious and sacrilegious”), at Sidyma in Lycia; cf. Kalinka (see, n. 5), no. 221, lines 13–14.

7. C. Naour, *Tyriaion en Cabalide: Epigraphie et géographie historique* (Zutphen, 1980), 74, no. 31, lines 8–9. One finds ὑποκείσθαι in the same region: R. Heberdey and E. Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien*, DenkschrWien vol. 45, no. 1, Philos.-hist. Kl. (Vienna, 1897): 7, no. 20, lines 6–7: ὑ[π]οκείσθω Ἥλίῳ καὶ Σελήνῃ (“He will fall under Helios and Selene”).

8. E. Kalinka, *TAM*, vol. II, pt. 3 (Wien, 1944), no. 1081, lines 3–5.

9. For violation of the grave as a judicial offense and its punishment, see E. Gerner, *ZSav* 61 (1941): 237–43, 247–48; J. S. Creaghan, *Violatio Sepulcri: An Epigraphical Study* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1951, microfilm), 116. The potential wrongdoer is often threatened with a charge for *τυμβωρυχία* (violation of the grave) or *ἀσεβεία* (impiety) or *ἱεροσυλία* (sacrilege), for example, at Termessus in Pisidia (R. Heberdey, *TAM* vol. III, pt. 1 [Wien, 1941], no. 224, lines 11–12): the offender will pay a fine καὶ ἔνοχος ἔσται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχίας (“and he will fall under the charge of violation of the grave”). We know that in some cities there existed a νόμος τυμβωρυχίας or ἀσεβείας (law concerning violation of the grave or impiety), for example, at Olympus in Lycia; cf. Kalinka (see n. 8), no. 953A, lines 7–8: the offender will pay a fine καὶ ὑποκείσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ τῆς τυμβωρυχίας νόμῳ (“and he will fall under the law of grave robbery”). At Sidyma in Lycia the wrongdoer will pay a fine καὶ ὑ[ποκ]εῖμενος [ἔστω] τῷ τῆς ἀ[σε]βείας νόμῳ (“and he will fall under the law of impiety”); cf. Kalinka (see n. 5), no. 246, lines 23–25.

10. Le Bas and Waddington (see n. 6), no. 1275, lines 9–11.

11. Kalinka (see n. 8), no. 923, line 4.

12. K. H. Rengstorff, “ἀμαρτωλός,” *TWNT* 1 (1933): 321–22. The scholars who interpret ἀμαρτωλός as “sinner” consider the violation of the grave as a sin, for example, W. Arkwright (*JHS* 31 [1911]: 271 and 277) and Parrot (1939, 107). Ἀμαρτωλός is also attested in *defixiones*; see chap. 3, p. 64, where the term seems to denote “the culprit, the criminal.” See also n. 28.

13. Heberdey and Kalinka (see n. 7), 8, no. 23, lines 2–3. In Termessus in Pisidia the offender will have to reckon with the deceased, for example, Heberdey (see n. 9), no. 365, lines 4–6: ἢ ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κατυχομένους (and he will pay a fine).

14. Heberdey (see n. 9), no. 509, lines 8–11.

15. Buckler, Calder, and Guthrie (see n. 2), no. 360, lines 11–13.

16. *SEG* VI, no. 300, lines 11–13.

17. For these formulae, commonly called the “Eumeneian” and the “Laodiceian” formulae, see M. Waelkens, in *Actes du VII^e congrès international d’épigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza 1977*, ed. D. M. Pippidi (Paris, 1979), 126–28; A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten* (Berlin, 1980), 74–83. The formula δώσει λόγον τῷ Θεῷ (“He will give an

account to God"), however, was exclusively Christian; see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vols. XI–XII (Paris, 1960), p. 407.

18. E. N. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis*, I (Leiden, 1971), 98–99, no. 156, lines 10–18.

19. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *JOAI Beib.* 18 (1915): 45–48, lines 3–9.

20. E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. II (Mainz, 1979), 517–18, no. 2161C, lines 1–4. For the formula and its interpretation, see L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. XIII (Paris, 1965), 100–3.

21. Cf. Waelkens (see n. 17), 127.

22. Also attested is (ἐν)ὄρκῳ. Other verbs such as ἐπαρώμαι, are rarely used. (Of the latter there is an attestation at Germanicopolis in Cilicia: *SEG* VI, no. 784.)

23. A. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* (Paris, 1904), lviii and index 474–76; Th. Drew-Bear, *BASP* 9 (1972): 93–94.

24. E. L. Hicks, *JHS* 12 (1891): 231, no. 11 (revised by Heberdey and Wilhelm [see n. 5], 58, n. 2), lines 5–6, 9–10, 10–11.

25. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, *MAMA*, vol. III (Manchester, 1931), no. 56, lines 1–2, 4. There is no need to interpret the last words as "These are the Arai [i.e., the Erinyes]" as does Parrot (1939, 121); cf. Creaghan (see n. 9), 50.

26. Latte 1920, 77–78.

27. *Ibid.*, 78 and n. 48.

28. The curses cited by Latte do not at all prove that the offence was a sin; there is no indication in the texts that someone called ἀσεβής (impious) was really considered a sinner. Concepts of sin may have existed in some regions of Asia Minor, for example in northeastern Lydia (cf. n. 128), but I do not think that it was common to the whole of Asia Minor. For a critique of Latte, see also G. Björck, *Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus*, Papyrus Upsaliensis 8 (Uppsala, 1938), 109.

29. H. S. Versnel, *Mnemosyne* 29 (1976): 395–96 and 389, n. 65 with bibliography; Speyer 1969, 1163–1164. For a summary of recent discussion on the concepts of "magic" and "religion," see H. S. Versnel, *Lampas* 19 (1986): 68–71.

30. Strubbe 1983, 266 with bibliography in n. 102; R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1983), 235–36; Speyer 1969, 1187, 1189.

31. On this aspect see Versnel, 1985, 247–69.

32. In the specific group I have included all the funerary imprecations except the above-mentioned formulas of the nonspecific group.

33. I have edited and commented on all these texts in my doctoral dissertation *Arai Epitymbioi: Een uitgave en studie van de heidense vervloekingen tegen eventuele grafsceniers in de Griekse funeraire inscripties van Klein-Azië* (Gent, 1983). Here I cite only the most important earlier editions that are readily accessible. The main results of my investigations are published in Strubbe 1983, including a map of Asia Minor with the ethnological boundaries of the different peoples (p. 252) and a survey of the geographical distribution of the imprecations over the different regions (pp. 252–53).

34. Much material is collected in E. Ziebarth, *Hermes* 30 (1895): 57–70; Latte 1920, 61–80; Speyer 1969, 1203–9; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, vol. IV, *Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane* (Roma, 1978), 222–36.

35. Collections of material can be found in the doctoral dissertation of S. Gevirtz, *Curse Motifs in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (University of Chicago, 1959) and in an article by the same author in *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (1961): 137–58; see also Speyer 1969, 1170–74. For the relation between funerary and public imprecations, cf. Björck (see n. 28), 107–11.

36. Some "nonfunerary" imprecations may be even older, for example, the Attic Bouzy-

gean curses, which are said to have been instituted by the mythical ancestor Bouzyges; see Speyer 1969, 1204.

37. P. Friedländer and H. B. Hoffleit, *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse, from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars* (Berkeley, 1948), no. 177C.

38. P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n.* (Berlin, 1983), no. 459.

39. Aeschin. *Or.* 3. 111; translation by Ch.D. Adams, *The Speeches of Aeschines* (London, 1948), 393–95. Many elements of the Amphictyonic oath occur in hellenistic oaths; see Moraux 1959, 20–22. A new parallel can be added: M. Wörle, *Chiron* 8 (1978): 201–46 (*SEG* XXVIII, no. 1224), from Telmessus in Lycia.

40. W. Dittenberger, *SIG*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1915), no. 37–38; P. Herrmann, *Chiron* 11 (1981): 1–30 (*SEG* XXXI, no. 984–85).

41. For example, at Seleuceia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia: Heberdey and Wilhelm (see n. 5), 105, no. 185, lines 7–8: τύχοι τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν πάντων κεχολωμένων καὶ μήτε θάλασσα αὐτῷ πλωτὴ εἴη μήτε γῆ καρπὸν ἐνέγκαι (“May he find all the gods of the underworld enraged, and may the sea not be navigable for him, and may the earth not bear fruit”). Another example near Thyateira in Lydia (G. Radet, *BCH* 11 [1887] 453–54, no. 15, lines 5–8): μήτε οἱ θεοὶ ἰλεως αὐτῷ γένοι[ν]το, μήτε τέκνων [δὴν]σις μήτε γῆ καρπο[φόρος] (“May the gods not be well disposed to him, may there be no pleasure of children, may the earth not bear fruit”). Radet restored [ποιή]σις in lines 7–8; at the end of line 8 other possibilities are καρπο[φορή]σονται or καρπὸ[ν]/καρπο[ύς] φέροι or δοίη. Two elements of the preceding imprecation run parallel with the Amphictyonic oath. In the following funerary imprecation from Halicarnassus on the Doric coast of Caria even three elements run parallel: μηδὲ γῆ καρποφορήσονται αὐτῷ μηδὲ θάλασσα πλωτὴ μηδὲ τέκνων δνησ(ι)ς μηδὲ βίου κράτησις ἀλλὰ ὦλη πανῶλη (“May the earth not bear fruit for him, and may the sea not be navigable, may there be no pleasure of children, no control of life but [may he become] dead and gone”) (G. Hirschfeld, in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, vol. IV, pt. 1, ed. G. Hirschfeld and F. M. Marshall [Oxford, 1893], no. 918, lines 3–5).

42. See Versnel 1985, 254, n. 21.

43. They are, at Aegina in the fourth century B.C., the somewhat vague threat αὐταντὸν αἰτιάσῃ (“He will accuse himself”) (Dittenberger [see n. 40], no. 1236) and at Calydon in Aetolia in the third century B.C., [ἐ]πικατάραιον (cursed) (G. Klaffenbach, *IG*, vol. IX, pt. 11, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1957), no. 148).

44. Much material is collected in the works cited in n. 35 and in Parrot 1939, 9–106.

45. Translation by J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. III, (Oxford, 1982), 12–16, no. 4.

46. Translation by J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. II (Oxford, 1975), 93–97, no. 18.

47. The emergence occurred simultaneously with the economic growth of Lycia and Lydia under Persian rule, for which see C. G. Starr, *Iranica Antiqua* 11 (1975): 84–87, 94–99.

48. E. Kalinka, *TAM* vol. I (Wien, 1901), no. 59. Translation by Ph. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1961), 93. The exact meaning of the verb of the imprecation (*tubeiti*) is doubtful. It is translated as “shall strike/hit him” by E. Laroche (in *Fouilles de Xanthos*, vol. VI, *La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, ed. P. Demargne, H. Metzger, et. al. [Paris, 1979], 107) and by G. Neumann (*Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901*, *DenkschrWien*, vol. 135, Philos.-hist. Kl. (Vienna, 1979), ad N 314b).

49. R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch, mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg, 1964), no. 5. The last words of the imprecation are problematic; they should perhaps be translated as "(and) whatever he possesses."

50. Kalinka (see n. 48), no. 6. Translation by Houwink ten Cate (see n. 48), 88. For the meaning of the verb of the imprecation, *tubeiti*, see n. 48. The second word of the imprecation, *punamaθθi*, is enigmatic.

51. Kalinka (see n. 48), no. 56. For translations, see Houwink ten Cate (see n. 48), 93 and T. R. Bryce, *AnatSt* 31 (1981): 86. The meaning of the verb (*qasttu*) is not certain; see Bryce, *ibid.*, 88 (to strike/punish?).

52. A. N. Oikonomides, *ZPE* 45 (1982): 115–18 (*SEG* XXXII, no. 1612).

53. J. and L. Robert (*BE* [1982]: no. 280) seem to suggest a provenance from Lycia. Artemis Ephesia had a temple at Ephesus and possessed territory in the Caystrus valley in Lydia; see R. Meriç et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* VII, pt. 2 (Bonn, 1981), 296. She also occurs as the divinity who punishes the violator of the tomb (together with Artemis of Coloe) in a bilingual Lydian-Aramaic inscription that comes from Sardis in Lydia (Gusmani [see n. 49], no. 1 from the early? fourth century B.C.). Artemis Medeia is—correctly I believe—identified by S. M. Sherwin-White (*ZPE* 49 [1982]: 30) with the Persian Artemis. This goddess is also well known in Lydia; see J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie*, vol. I, *Exploration, histoire, monnaies, et inscriptions* (Paris, 1983), 117. Her presence there is explained by the settlement of Persian colonists in the region, for example, in Sardis, Hypaepa, Hierocaesarea; see L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983): 508. I think that a provenance from the regions north or south of Mt. Tmolus in Lydia would not be unlikely.

54. The economic situation of Asia Minor during the hellenistic period was miserable. The country was distressed by many wars, and after the coming of Rome the land suffered heavily from exploitation, see T. R. S. Broughton, in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. IV, ed. T. Frank (Baltimore, 1938), 503–98. The number of imprecations of the nonspecific group was also extremely small in the hellenistic period. There are, for example, only one or two instances of the ἀμαρτωλός formula (cf. *supra*) in the third century B.C.: Kalinka (see n. 8), no. 923 and possibly no. 520. There are four attestations in the following centuries B.C.: Kalinka, *ibid.*, nos. 797–98; G. E. Bean, *AnzWien* 99 (1962): 4, no. 1; E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas, und Kibyratien* (Vienna, 1889), no. 58. All examples come from Lycia.

55. Kalinka (see n. 6), no. 524 lines 4–5: [μητε γῆ μητε θάλασσο]α καρπὸν φέροι, ᾗ[λ]' ἐξώλεις [καὶ] πανώ[λ]ε[ις εἶεν] ("May neither the earth nor the sea yield fruit, but may they become dead and utterly destroyed"). The letterforms of the inscription and the archaeological data of the monument indicate the date.

56. Keil and Wilhelm (see n. 25), no. 111 (Pfuhl and Möbius [see n. 20], 496, ad nos. 2069–70), lines 4–8: βάλοι αὐτό[ν] ὁ "Ἡλιος καὶ ἡ Σελήν[η] ("May Helios and Selene throw him down"). According to the first editor, E. L. Hicks (*JHS* 12 [1891]: 260, ad no. 36), the letters are not later than the Christian era. This date is confirmed by the type of the grave, a *naiskos* hewn into the rocks with the representation of a soldier.

57. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG*, vol. XII, *Supplementum* (Berlin, 1939), no. 83 (Pfuhl and Möbius [see n. 20] 535–36, no. 2232, lines 4–6: ἐξέωλης καὶ πρωώλης γένουτο αὐτὸς καὶ γένος τὸ κήνω ("May he become a dead and deceased man, himself and his race"). Mytilene was a flourishing harbor town and trading place and the residence of many Romans; see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton, 1950), 415.

58. W. M. Calder, *MAMA*, vol. VII (Manchester, 1956), no. 201, line 20: οὗτος τὰν αὐτὰν μοῖραν ἐμοὶ λαχέτωι ("May he obtain the same fate as I"). Philomelium was a

well-situated trading center, where many Italian business men had settled down; see W. Ruge, "Philomelion," *RE* XIX, pt. 2 (1938): 2522. The text is dated by W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, vol. I (Berlin, 1955), no. 1870.

59. The recovery from the economic disasters of the hellenistic period started under the Julio-Claudii. From that time Asia Minor became very wealthy but its prosperity began to decline from the dynasty of the Severi onwards; cf. Magie (see n. 57), 688–723; Broughton (see n. 54), 733–34, 794–97, 903–13.

60. The number of nonspecific imprecations is also very large during the imperial period. Some of the formulas, such as *ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν* ("He shall have to reckon with the god"), only emerged at the beginning of the third century A.D.; cf. Waelkens (see n. 17), 127.

61. R. MacMullen, *AJP* 103 (1982): 233–46, especially 244. I now doubt if the view that I expressed earlier on this point (Strubbe 1983, 250–51) is correct. Further investigation is necessary.

62. Of the dated epitaphs published by P. Herrmann (*TAM* vol. V, pt. 1 [Wien 1981]), 24 texts date in the first half of the first century A.D., c. 40 in the second half; c. 86 in the first half of the second century A.D. and c. 122 in the second half; c. 95 in the first half of the third century A.D. and c. 22 in the second half; only 3 date after 300 A.D.; see, now, R. MacMullen, *ZPE* 65 (1986): 237–38.

63. For a good understanding of the role and the importance of funerary imprecations in a given region one should also take into account the number of epitaphs with regulations for the protection of the grave other than imprecations, such as fines or the threat of legal action. As to northeastern Lydia, for example, it is most striking that the number of fines is extremely low. In *TAM* vol. V, pt. 1 one finds only a dozen examples, and these come without exception from the western part of the region, i.e., west of the rivers Hyllus(?)–Hermus.

64. Cf. R. Lattimore (*Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* [Urbana Ill., 1942], 108–12 and 117), who noted in a general way a special attitude toward death in Asia Minor in contrast to the rest of the Greek world.

65. M. Waelkens, *Antike Welt* 11 (1980): 3.

66. O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (Oxford, 1977), 59–63; H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Berlin, 1958).

67. Waelkens (see n. 65), 4–11; idem., *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologie und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür* (Mainz, 1986).

68. E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1979), 48.

69. The original ideas of the preclassical times cannot easily be detected because from early times the Greeks have been influenced by other peoples, for example, the Egyptians; cf. Vermeule (see n. 68), 69–82. Of course there are many uncertainties and contradictions, as ideas about the afterlife are neither logical nor uniform.

70. J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Ph. D. diss., Free University of Amsterdam, 1979), 69–70, 84–87; Vermeule (see n. 68), 23–24.

71. Vermeule (see n. 68), 8, 27; S. Humphreys, *The Family, Women, and Death: Comparative Studies* (London, 1983), 152–53, 170.

72. Vermeule (see n. 68), 48, 55.

73. Vermeule (see n. 68), 54, 74.

74. One inscription from Termessus in Pisidia, dating after 212 A.D. because of the *Aureliusnomen*, mentions the possibility that the violator will not be deterred by the fine; in that case a curse will come into action (R. Heberdey [see n. 9], no. 742, lines 5–9): *ἐπεὶ ὁ πεύρασας ἐκτεῖσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ *, ἀφ' εἰ δέ τις κέ τοῦτον καταφρονήσει, σχήσει ἀτεκνία* ("because the man who tries [sc. to open the grave] will pay to the very

sacred [i.e., imperial] treasury 1,500 denarii; and if someone will despise this [sc. penalty], he will be childless").

75. For the location of cemeteries beyond the city gates, see B. Kötting, "Grab," *RAC* XII (1983): 375–76 and D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (London, 1971) 188–89. There is no evidence that cemeteries were guarded. Only in Lycia did there exist a special institution that had functions with regard to the grave (including, possibly, its protection), namely the *miñti*; see T. R. Bryce, *AnatSt* 26 (1976): 183–84. It is well attested in Lycian inscriptions but occurs only three times in the Greek inscriptions of Lycia, as the *μίνδης-μενδῖται*: Kalinka (see n. 5), no. 40 and no. 62 (at Telmessus); Petersen and von Luschan (see n. 54), no. 27 (at Cyaneae). The texts date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The institution apparently did not appeal to the Greeks.

76. This is attested in Greece and elsewhere, for example, in Western Europe from the eighth century to the end of the eleventh century A.D.; see L. K. Little, *Annales ESC* 34 (1979): 43–60, esp. 47, 57–58. Little has shown that the *anathema* was frequently used in this period, during which the Carolingian rulers were weak and unable to give military or judicial help to the injured. For the same phenomenon in Babylonia, Israel, and elsewhere, see W. Wiefel, *Numen* 16 (1969): 218; Gevirtz (see n. 35), 258–59; J. Hempel, *ZDMG*, n.s. 4 (1925): 39 and n. 2; 41, n. 1. No allusions to the failure of human justice are found in the funerary imprecations, cf. Versnel's essay (chap. 3, n. 34).

77. F. W. Hasluck, *JHS* 25 (1905): 63, line 15 (the text may be Christian). The term is also attested at Neocaesarea in Pontic Cappadocia; see Moraux 1959, 11, line 9. The verb *ἐκδικέω*, however, is not attested in funerary imprecations.

78. R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Assos* (Bonn, 1976), no. 71, lines 11–12. The imprecation of Assus comes very close to the text of a tablet from Cnidus; see Versnel's essay (chap. 3, pp. 72–73).

79. P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Parion* (Bonn, 1983), no. 29, lines 6–8. (I do not follow the interpretation of Frisch, who takes *αὐτῇ* as the damaged *εἰκὼν*; I take it to refer to the woman who may have died an untimely death.) For Helios, common in both types of texts, see below.

80. Speyer 1969, 1165–67, 1194; Vallois 1914, 254–55 and n. 7; Crawley 1911, 370.

81. A. Maiuri, *ASAtene* 4–5 (1921–22): 470–71, no. 13 (*SEG* vol. IV, no. 196), lines 1–2; see also Heberdey and Wilhelm (see n. 5), 54–55, no. 123, lines 4–6 with Add. p. 164 (from the neighborhood of Elaeussa-Sebaste in Cilicia): *κατ' ἐντολὴν καὶ διαθήκην Ἀρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐντέλλομαι καὶ κελεύω καὶ διατάσσομαι* ("According to the order and the will of my husband Arius I order and command and stipulate"). The interdictions and the imprecation follow. The juridical term *διατάσσομαι*, which frequently occurs in wills, is not rare in funerary imprecations, especially at Aphrodisias in Caria; see, for example, J. M. R. Cormack, in *MAMA*, vol. VIII, ed. W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack (Manchester, 1962), nos. 544, 550, 566, 577.

82. P. Herrmann and K. Z. Polatkan, *Das Testament des Epikrates und andere neue Inschriften aus dem Museum von Manisa*, SBWien vol. 265, no. 1, Philos.-Hist. Kl. (Vienna 1969), 8–17, no. 1.

83. See the contribution by F. Graf (chap. 7).

84. For example, E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung*, vol. I (Bonn, 1980), no. 500 (*SEG* XXVIII, no. 943), lines 13–14 (from the neighborhood of Cyzicus in Mysia). Another variation is *ὥλης πανώλης* (deceased and totally dead). For other variants and their attestations, see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica*, vol. VI (Paris, 1948), 14–15. These expressions became fixed formulas that were often used without any regard to the grammatical context, such as *ὥλη πανώλη γένοιον* ("May they become deceased and

totally dead") in Th. Ihnken, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylus* (Bonn, 1978), no. 28, lines 10–11 (from Magnesia in Lydia) or in an abbreviated form such as ἀλλὰ ὦλη πανώλη (but dead and totally deceased) in Hirschfeld and Marshall (see n. 41), no. 918, line 5 (at Halicarnassus on the Doric coast of Caria). For other examples see J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* vol. VI (Paris, 1948), 14–15 and Robert (see n. 20) 132–33.

85. A. Geissen, *ZPE* 56 (1984): 300, no. 3, lines 9–10 (unknown provenance, perh. Smyrna?); the same expression in Moraux 1959, 11, line 8 and in literary texts, for example, Men. Dysc. 442. For repetitions of the same word, see A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 39 (1980): 12 and n. 9.

86. As to the meaning of the imprecation I follow Robert (1978, 259–62), who gives many examples of the formula; see also E. Gibson, *ZPE* 28 (1978): 17–18.

87. For a variety of reasons I doubt if L. Robert's interpretation of χῆρον βίον (an empty life) as the life of the widow (empty by the dead of her husband) is right; see Strubbe 1983, 255–56, where one finds many examples of the formula. Λίποιτο is awkward in the meter.

88. Calder (see n. 58), no. 210, lines 8–10 and no. 246, lines 6–7 (both from Claneus in Phrygia), written in iambic senarii. Other interesting cases are the following texts: (1) E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* (Princeton, 1971), 314, no. 41, frag. c, lines 1–3 (near Metropolis in Phrygia), with an imprecation written in perfect iambic trimeters and the epitaph composed in poor dactylic hexameters; and (2) Calder (see n. 58), no. 201, lines 19–20 (from Philomelium in Phrygia), with metrical epitaph in Ionic dialect followed by a metrical prohibition and imprecation in Doric dialect. Such metrical formulas, if not orally transmitted, were perhaps collected in books that were in the hands of stonecutters and masons; see Th. Drew-Bear, in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to B. M. W. Knox on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. G. Bowersock (Berlin, 1979), 316; E. Gibson, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia* (Missoula, Mont., 1978), 94; for similar collections of defixio formulae, see H. S. Versnel, *Hermeneus* 55 (1983): 204 and his contribution to the present volume (chap. 3, p. 91 and n. 143).

89. Calder (see n. 58), no. 199, lines 9–11 (from Philomelium in Phrygia); the verb indicating the nature of the penalty is suspended, cf. Robert (see n. 20), 97–98. Compare W. M. Calder, *MAMA*, vol. I (Manchester, 1928), no. 437, lines 4–7 (near Amorium in Phrygia): ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ προσκόψαιτο ὀράσει, τέκνοις, βίῳ ("May the god cut him off from sight, children, life"); and R. Merkelbach and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, vol. VI (Bonn, 1980), no. 2304, lines 4–5 (from Ephesus on the west coast of Asia Minor): μὴ ἐνπλήσθωτο μήτε βίου μήτε τέκνων μήτε σώματος ("May he not have full measure of life, children, health[?]").

90. Peek (see n. 58), no. 819, frag. f, lines 6–14 (from the neighborhood of Appia in Phrygia). Compare Judeich (see n. 6), no. 339, lines 10–11 (from Hierapolis in Phrygia): ἀλλὰ ἄτεκνος καὶ ἄβιος καὶ πηρὸς π[αθή]ματι παντὶ ἀποθάνοι ("But may he die with every suffering, childless and without life and cripple").

91. Calder (see n. 81), no. 234, line 3 and no. 234A, line 7 (Lane [see n. 18], 97–98, no. 155), both near Savatra in Lycaonia. Oaths, too, were often repeated three times; see R. Hirzel, *Der Eid: Ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1902), 82, n. 4.

92. Calder (see n. 81), no. 234B, lines 2–4. Nine Mens also occur in adjurations; see the texts cited in n. 91. The reading of W. M. Calder in no. 234A, lines 7–8 ἐνορκῶ τρίς θ' Μῆνας ("I adjure thrice the nine Mens"); is preferable to Lane's reading of it as ἐνορκῶ τρίς θεούς Μῆνας ("I adjure the three gods Men"); see Versnel 1985, 262, n. 55.

93. Speyer 1969, 1167, 1201–03; Vallois 1914, 267–69; Crawley 1911, 369.

94. L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1935), 387, n. 2. The text of this inscription is not yet fully published. L. Robert indicates the contents only vaguely as follows: "L'im-

précation protégeant la tombe." There is thus no certainty that we have to do with an imprecation belonging to the group of funerary imprecations to which our study has been restricted.

95. G. Pfohl, "Grabinschrift I," *RAC* XII (1983): 480–81; S. Mitchell, *Regional Epigraphic Catalogues of Asia Minor*, vol. II (Oxford, 1982), 104, ad no. 110; P. Lambrechts and R. Bogaert, in *Hommages à M. Renard*, vol. II (Brussels, 1969), 413, n. 1 with further bibliography. See also Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 70).

96. W.M. Calder, *MAMA*, vol. I (Manchester, 1928), no. 294. Two forearms with outstretched hands are depicted on the back of the stele. The first of the two doubtful cases is Calder, *ibid.*, no. 399 (from the region southeast of Nacoleia in Phrygia). The imprecation, which wishes that the violator may receive the same fate (χάρις, lit. "favor") as the deceased may suggest that the departed died an abnormal or violent(?) death. The second case is Heberdey and Kalinka (see n. 7), 53, no. 74 (from Oenoanda in Pisidia). The grave is a family tomb, designed for husband, wife, and children according to the main inscription, which is engraved in a *tabula*. There is a second inscription in a different lettering under the border of the lid of the sarcophagus. It is very fragmentary and may record the death of a wife. Two hands are depicted besides this second inscription. They could refer to the abnormal death of the wife, who perhaps was not the same person as the wife of the first inscription; it is conceivable that the tomb was sold or usurped after the death of the wife.

97. Speyer 1969, 1196; Vallois 1914, 256–58. The same occurs with non-Greek peoples, for example, in Babylonia; see S. Mercer, *JAOS* 34 (1915): 284, 305.

98. Moraux 1959, 46–50. The text of the inscription is to be found on p. 11 (*SEG* XVIII, no. 561). For Herodes' curses, see Moraux 1959, 13–14.

99. Moraux 1959, 11, line 12. Why Ara is called the oldest of daemons is not clear; see Moraux, *ibid.*, 39–40. Ara was not foreign to popular belief. She is also named in an imprecation on a grave monument at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, which is directed against a man who had done wrong to his brother (V. W. Yorke, *JHS* 18 [1898]: 307, no. 3; cf. J. Zingerle, *JOAI Beibl.* 23 [1926]: 59).

100. Moraux 1959, 39; cf. Speyer 1969, 1196; E. Wüst, "Erinyes," *RE Suppl.* VIII (1956): 86–87. The Erinyes are attested a few times as guardians of the grave. The three Erinyes are depicted on a monument with an imprecation at Anazarba in Cilicia, and according to the inscription they protect the deceased, a eunuch (ἄγονον εὐνοῦχον φυλάσσομεν): Heberdey and Wilhelm (see n. 5), 38, no. 94 frag. c, line 1 (E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. I [Mainz, 1977], 498–99, no. 2084 with plate 299); for the relief, see also L. Deubner, *AM* 27 (1902): 262–63. The Erinyes are perhaps mentioned in another inscription from the territory of Cyzicus in Mysia: Schwertheim (see n. 84), no. 83, lines 7–8: φυλάσσου]σιν δὲ οἱ δαίμονες οἱ τεταγμένοι ἀπὸ ἀναπ[αύσεως ("The daemons, who have been ordered for the rest[?], protect [sc. the grave monument]"). The parallel with the inscription from Anazarba suggests, I believe, that the identification of the daemons with the Erinyes is the correct one, not that with the Manes as J. and L. Robert (*BE* [1980], no. 401) suggest. The fact that the gravestone belongs to a Christian family is no problem, because the Erinyes were not considered real pagan deities; see Robert, 1978, 148. I am convinced that the restoration of J. Zingerle (*Philologus* 53 [1894]: 347–48) to the text of G. Doublet and G. Deschamps, *BCH* 14 (1890): 630, no. 35, lines 1–2 (from Neapolis in Caria)—ἐπάρατος ἔσται[ι Ἐριν]ύσ[ι - -] ("He will be cursed to the Erinyes")—is not correct. In Caria ἐπάρατος is never followed by the name of a divinity, in contrast to the usage in Lycia. I suggest restoring ἐπάρατος ἔσται[ι τέκνα τέκν]ύς [- -] ("He will be cursed to his children's children").

101. Speyer 1969, 1161, 1164, 1166; Crawley 1911, 367, 369.

102. Speyer 1969, 1172; Lattimore (see n. 64), 121. Blessings are also found in Shake-

spere's epitaph; they precede the imprecation (line 3) "Bleste be ye man yt spares thes stones"; see n. 1.

103. J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 19 (1899): 306–7, no. 246, line 19.

104. Moraux 1959, 11, lines 16–18 with commentary on pp. 42–43.

105. Speyer 1969, 1169–70, 1189–91; Wiefel (see n. 76), 219–20; Vallois 1914, 264. Compare *defixiones* that sometimes say that the only one who can loose the spell is the *defigens*; see Versnel 1985, 262, n. 59.

106. Versnel 1985, 261–62 has collected all the evidence not only in Greek funerary imprecations but also in adjurations, "nonfunerary" imprecations, Jewish and Christian imprecations, and Latin texts. The wish that the violator of the grave may never get something perhaps also refers to the irrevocability of the imprecation, for example, C. Naour, *ZPE* 44 (1981): 18–21, no. 1 (*SEG* XXXI, no. 1003), lines 7–9 (near Saittae in northeastern Lydia): *μηδέποτε τοῦ Ἀξιωττηνοῦ Μηνὸς ἰλεως τύχοιτο* ("May he never find Men Axiottenos well disposed"). Versnel, *ibid.*, 263 argues that the state of *ἄσέβεια* (impiety) to which the violator is often condemned (see above) is also irrevocable, for the impious is not allowed to sacrifice to the enraged gods, who could only be placated by atoning sacrifices.

107. Th. Drew-Bear, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie* (Zutphen, 1978), 102–3, no. 40, lines 10–11.

108. Herrmann and Polatkan (see n. 82), 8–17, no. 1, line 99.

109. S. Bakir-Barthel and H. Müller, *ZPE* 36 (1979): 182–83, no. 36 (*SEG* XXIX, no. 1179), line 8.

110. The inscription is not yet published. It is mentioned by G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978): 260 (Herrmann [see n. 62], 62, testimonium B3). For a discussion of the "scepters of the gods" see below.

111. The same phenomenon is visible in a wide variety of regulations, for example, in oaths (cf. Parker [see n. 30], 186) and in the confession inscriptions of northeastern Lydia (see E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 1 (1983): 83 with n. 40). It is also attested outside the Greek world; see, for example, J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im alten Testament und in seiner Umwelt* (Bonn, 1958).

112. Cormack (see n. 81), no. 570, lines 9–10.

113. J. and L. Robert (see n. 100), no. 493 (*SEG* XXX, no. 1501), lines 4–5. For further examples of the formula and similar wishes, see Robert 1978, 263–64.

114. *τέκνα τέκνων* occurs, for example, in Heberdey and Kalinka (see n. 7), 53, no. 74, line 13 (from Oenoanda in Pisidia); *τέκνα τέκνοις*, for example, *ibid.*, 8, no. 22, lines 20–21 (from the neighborhood of the Söğüt Gölü near Tyriaeum in Pisidia). For the abbreviated formula, cf. Robert (see n. 20), 96–97 and *idem* 1978, 282–83; but I do not believe that it was used as an independent curse nor that it was typical of Jews or those imitating Jewish culture.

115. Herrmann and Polatkan (see n. 82), 8–17, no. 1, lines 102–3; also Ramsay (see n. 4), no. 498 bis (from the neighborhood of Sebaste in Phrygia): *μητε τῶν ἰδίων τι ἀκμά[ζη]* ("May none of his property flourish").

116. Moraux 1959, 11, line 7.

117. M. Delcourt, *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique* (Liège, 1938), 9–28; cf. also Moraux 1959, 23.

118. The wish for the birth of monstrous children does not occur in Herodes' imprecations; it is a personal addition made by the author from Neocaesarea; see Moraux 1959, 14.

119. S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)* vol. II, pt. 2 (Bonn, 1982), no. 1251, line 4. The curse of a plague may also be present in the wish that the air will not be pure and healthy (Herrmann and Polatkan [see n. 82], 7–18, no. 1, lines

99–100 [from Nacrasion in Mysia]: μήτε - ἄῃρ καθαρὸς ἢ ὕγιεινός) and in the wish that the violator will never use a clear fountain (J. Franz, *CIG* vol. III [Berlin, 1853], no. 4190, lines 5–6 [from Nazianzus in Cappadocia]: μήπ[οτε καθαρᾷ χρησεται] πηγῇ). Impure air and water were thought to cause diseases, especially epidemic diseases; see Strubbe, 1983, 263–64.

120. L. Robert, *REA* 42 (1940): 309, n. 2. For λοιμός, see A. Patrick, in *Diseases in Antiquity*, ed. R. Brothwell and A. T. Sandison (Springfield Ill., 1967), 245.

121. This *apopompe* is frequently attested in antiquity; see Versnel 1985, 254 with bibliography; Speyer 1969, 1167, 1184–86, 1197–98. It also occurs in later periods (see F. Pradel, *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* [Giessen, 1907], 356–360) and in other cultures than the Mediterranean, (see H.-P. Hasenfratz, *Die toten Lebenden: Eine religions-phänomenologische Studie zum sozialen Tod in archaischen Gesellschaften* [Leiden, 1982], esp. 14–24, 33–34, 38–41).

122. Moraux 1959, 11, line 6, with commentary on the exact meaning of the wish on p. 22.

123. See the recent collections by C. Naour, in *Travaux et recherches en Turquie*, vol. II (Paris, 1984), 47–48; idem, *EA* 2 (1983): 119–21; L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983): 519–20.

124. Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 160, lines 5–8.

125. Naour (see n. 123), 45–46, no. 11 (*SEG* XXXIV, no. 1231), lines 7–9.

126. Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 172, lines 6–9.

127. Near Silandus: C. Naour, *EA* 2 (1983): 118–19, no. 2, lines 8–10 and 121, no. 9, lines 3–5. Near Saittae: Herrmann (see n. 63), no. 167A (*SEG* XXVIII, no. 917), lines 13–15; H. Malay, *ZPE* 47 (1982): 112–13, no. 1 (*SEG* XXXII, no. 1222), lines 4–6. At Tabala: see n. 110. It is not improbable that scepters were erected in these cases, because the wrath of the scepters (= the gods) is the same penalty that is exacted in the imprecation spoken by the scepter (in the second of the three texts, see n. 125). If so, one may possibly go even further and suppose that scepters were also erected in the cases in which the wrath of the gods was wished for (especially of Men Axiottenos and/or Anaëitis, see the third of the three texts [cf. n. 126]) even without any mention of the scepters in the text, as for example, in Herrmann, *ibid.*, no. 173 (compare the confession inscription published in L. Robert, *BCH* 107 [1983]: 520, in which no scepter is mentioned but the relief shows the priest with the scepter of the god!). If that supposition is right, implying that the erection of scepters was the normal usage in this context in that region, why is the erection of the scepters mentioned in only three cases? If the hypothesis is wrong, why did three families have recourse to the extraordinary procedure of the scepters? As far as I see, there is nothing in the three epitaphs that gives any clue. This may speak against the second hypothesis.

128. L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983): 520; J. Zingerle, *JOAI Beibl.* 23 (1926): 13–14. The region of northeastern Lydia was characterized by a special religiosity; see H. W. Pleket, in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden, 1981), 177–78; F. S. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht im Zusammenhange mit der sakralen Rechtspflege der Antike* (Munich, 1913), 76–82.

129. Herrmann (see n. 62), nos. 159, 231, 317, 318 from the territories of Silandus and Collyda. All texts, funerary and expiatory, come from a small region in northeastern Lydia, north and south of the middle Hermus. For the confession inscriptions of northeastern Lydia in general, see Versnel's essay (chap. 3, pp. 75–79, with a collection of texts in n. 77).

130. Cf. O. Eger, in *Festschrift P. Koschaker*, vol. III (Weimar, 1939), 290. But the scepters apparently could not be erected in all judicial cases: the gods had to become involved in the case—for example, by perjury; see P. Herrmann and E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 3 (1984): 4 and 6, ad no. 3. The theory of E. N. Lane (*Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis*, vol. III [Leiden 1976], 27–29) that the gods were involved through the oath does not seem very likely.

The involvement of the gods in cases of violation of the grave is evident, for this crime was also an offence against the gods as an act of impiety.

131. Steinleitner (see n. 128), 101, n. 1; Eger (see n. 130), 291, n. 33; Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 76). It has been remarked that the number of scepters does not necessarily correspond to the number of gods involved, as in the third text from the territory of Silandus; see C. Naour, *EA* 2 (1983): 120.

132. L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983): 518–22. As to the problem of the further role and the judicial power of the priests and of the *Tempelgerichtsbarkeit*, see E. Varinlioglu, *EA* 1 (1983): 84–85; P. Herrmann, in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für F. K. Doerner zum 65. Geburtstag*, vol. II, ed. S. Şahin, E. Schwertheim et al., (Leiden, 1978), 421 with n. 25; see also Versnel's essay (chap. 3, pp. 75–79).

133. The scepter was not placed on an altar, as was supposed in earlier publications; see L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1983): 522; Herrmann (see n. 62), 77, ad no. 231. On one of the two expiatory texts with relief, published by L. Robert, *ibid.*, the scepter stands on a base.

134. Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 318, lines 9–11: ἐπέστησεν σκῆπτρον καὶ ἀράς ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ("She set up a scepter and laid down curses in the temple"); cf. lines 24–27: ἐπεζήτησαν λυθῆναι τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰς ἀράς τὰς γενομένας ἐν τῷ ναῷ ("[The gods in Azitta] requested that the scepters should be dissolved and the curses that were made in the temple"). Cf. also Steinleitner (see n. 128), 100–104 and Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 76).

135. In the expiatory inscription published in Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 251, lines 6–7, it is said that the injured has given a tablet (πιττάκιον ἔδωκεν). In another expiatory inscription, *ibid.*, no. 362, lines 3–6, it is told that someone has overthrown and removed the tablet (τὸν βεβληκότα τὸ π[ι]νακίδιον κ(α)ὶ ἤρκό(τ)α).

136. See the bibliography given by I. Diakonoff, *BABesch* 54 (1979): 163, n.121. It is logical to suppose that the tablet was placed near the scepter; perhaps it was attached to the base on which the scepter stood (see n. 133). For the analogous practice of placing prayers for justice or vengeance publicly in the temple area, see Versnel's essay (chap. 3, pp. 72–74).

137. Cf. n. 134; see also G. Petzl, *ZPE* 30 (1978): 260, n. 48.

138. Ἄλυστα σκῆπτρα can hardly refer to the removal of the scepters themselves, for the tomb had to be guarded from violation forever.

139. It is mentioned, though very rarely, in "nonfunerary" imprecations and in Greek and Latin *defixiones*; see the collection of texts by Versnel 1985, 247–55.

140. See Versnel 1985, 250, 259. For the term ἀσεβής and its implications, see above.

141. For the term, see Versnel 1985, 255 with n. 23, 260–61, with literature and a collection of examples (including tablets of Cnidus and the prayer for justice of Artemisia; cf. also Versnel's contribution to this volume (chap. 3, pp. 69, 73). For the wrath of the gods, see Versnel 1985, 259, n. 44. For μῆ ἔλεως in funerary imprecations, see the text from Saittae in Lydia cited in n. 106; Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 101, also from the territory of Saittae; and the text cited in n. 41 near Thyateira in Lydia.

142. G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–1968*, *DenkschrWien* vol. 102 (Vienna, 1970): 207–8, no. 234, lines 6–8.

143. G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* vol. III, pt. 1 (Sofia, 1961), no. 998, lines 6–8.

144. Calder (see n. 58), no. 399, line 3.

145. See Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 70).

146. Moraux 1959, 11, lines 10, 12. For commentary on the gods, see *ibid.*, 38–39. For the author, see *ibid.* n. 98.

147. Merkelbach (see n. 78), no. 71, lines 6, 10–11. For the author, see *ibid.* 96.

148. Some foreign gods are mentioned more frequently. For example, Anaeitis, the Per-

sian Anahita who was introduced by Persian colonists (see n. 53), occurs not infrequently in funerary imprecations of northeastern Lydia. Nor are the *καταχθόνιοι δαίμονες* (daemons of the underworld), who are the Latin *Di Manes*, any rarer. They are mostly attested in and around the bigger cities that played an important role in commerce and industry and where native Romans had settled down as businessmen or governors, like Cyzicus, Acmonia, Cibyra, Smyrna. Many of these inscriptions show marked Roman influence; a good example is G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, vol. I (Bonn, 1982), no. 210 (from Smyrna on the west coast of Asia Minor).

149. A. M. Fontrier, *Mouseion* (1886): 77, no. 565, line 7 with restorations by K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* (Leipzig, 1898), 117 n. and 118 (from an unknown place in Maeonia).

150. Robert 1978, 280 (*SEG XXVIII*, no. 1079, with a new restoration of line 5 by H. W. Pleket), lines 1–2.

151. Robert 1978, 283–86.

152. Moraux 1959, 11, line 12. For a commentary on Daeira, see *ibid.*, 30–38.

153. For the gods in Iaza, cf. Herrmann (see n. 62), no. 468A, line 3; for the scepters in Tabala, see n. 110; for the gods in Tamasis, see Herrmann, *ibid.*, 50, ad no. 156.

154. For the sake of completeness the gods on the land and the gods in the sea are added in the inscription of Nacrason, published by Herrmann and Polatkan (see n. 82), 8–17, no. 1, lines 97–98: *θεοὺς - ἐπουρανίους τε καὶ ἐπιγείους καὶ ἐναλίους καὶ καταχθονίους* ("the gods in the heaven and on the land and in the sea and in the underworld"). The gods of the land and the sea are not mentioned in other funerary imprecations.

155. A unique case is *Ἡλίου τε τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος* ("and Helios who sees everything") in Moraux 1959, 11, line 10. I do not think this is a meaningless *epitheton ornans* in imitation of Homer, for example, *Od.* 11.109 (*ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ*, "who sees everything").

156. It is not important here whether the spirits of the dead were thought to descend to the underworld or to reside in the grave.

157. For the relation of the moon with the underworld, see for example W. Drexler, "Men," *Roscher*, vol. II, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1890–97) 2768–2769; F. Schwenn, "Selene no. 1," *RE* vol. II, pt. A, sec. 1 (1921): 1137. For this reason Selene plays an important role in magic too; see Schwenn, *ibid.*, 1139–40. For the sun and the underworld, see A. Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, 2nd. ed. (Leipzig, 1913), 21–23. For fertility gods see, for example, Th. Schreiber, "Artemis," *Roscher* vol I, pt. 1 (Leipzig, 1884–90), 570–73.

158. See Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 64); for the Erinyes see especially his n. 17; Audollent (see n. 23), index, pp. 461–64.

159. Moraux 1959, 27; Versnel's essay (chap. 3, p. 70 with nn. 45–46).

160. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the god Hosios Dikaos, who in some way has to do with justice, in a funerary imprecation: at Hadrianutherae in Mysia the owner of the tomb says [*θεῷ Ὁσίῳ τε Δικαίῳ χειρὰς ἀείρω*] ("I raise my hands to the god Hosios and Dikaos"); see the reference given in n. 94.