

# GLI ESAMETRI GETTY E SELINUNTE

Testo e contesto

*a cura di*

**Claudia Antonetti**



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## PRESENTAZIONE

Il volume che ho il piacere di presentare alla comunità scientifica è il frutto di un lungo lavoro di ricerca interdisciplinare condotto da studiosi delle Università di Venezia, Urbino, Napoli e New York con il supporto della Soprintendenza ai Beni Culturali e Ambientali della Regione Siciliana, del suo Centro Regionale per l'Inventario, la Catalogazione e la Documentazione, e del Parco Archeologico di Selinunte. Si tratta del lavoro d'insieme più cospicuo sui cosiddetti 'esametri Getty' apparso dalla pubblicazione degli stessi a opera di D. Jordan e R. Kotansky nel 2011 e dopo l'importante volume collettivo edito da C. Faraone e D. Obbink nel 2013. Alcuni seminari di studio hanno scandito il lavoro *in itinere*: il convegno "Selinunte nell'antichità: prospettive e ricerche" tenutosi all'Università di Urbino il 17 e 18 ottobre 2012 e organizzato dal compianto Mario Luni e da Paola Angeli Bernardini e il "Forum veneziano sugli esametri Getty da Selinunte" che ho organizzato all'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia il 19 e 20 novembre 2015.

Gli 'esametri Getty' tramandano, incisi su una lamina plumbea opistografa di ignota provenienza e donata nel 1981 al John Paul Getty Museum, un testo di natura magico-catartica composito e piuttosto oscuro, databile fra il V e il IV secolo a.C., destinato a essere riprodotto sia oralmente sia per iscritto con inevitabili modifiche di cui sono testimoni gli esemplari più tardi del genere giunti fino a noi. Il testo si definisce in *incipit* un'epode, cioè un poema incantatorio, e poiché la diffusione antica e profonda di tali rituali è accertata in età tardo-arcaica e classica a Selinunte e a Imera, era legittimo il tentativo di valutarne l'efficacia all'interno di contesti storicamente determinati e conosciuti della Sicilia occidentale. Il contesto esemplare su cui meglio poteva focalizzarsi la ricerca ci è sembrato quello di Selinunte, in quanto comunità che, pur avendo subito i traumi della distruzione bellica operata dai Cartaginesi – non diversamente dalle maggiori *poleis* della Sicilia centro-occidentale a partire dal 409 a.C. –, ha anche sperimentato con successo le nuove esperienze di convivenza realizzatesi nel IV secolo fra diverse popolazioni elleniche, anelleniche e soprattutto puniche.

In tale prospettiva si è organizzata la nostra ricerca: la prima parte del volume raccoglie sistematicamente i contributi dedicati al testo nei suoi aspetti epigrafici, linguistici, stilistici, letterari, funzionali, culturali e religiosi; la seconda approfondisce il contesto paradigmatico scelto, quello di Selinunte, nella sua

storia archeologica, letteraria, religiosa e socio-culturale, in un'ottica di transizione e trasformazione dalla Sicilia classica a quella greco-punica.

Mi sia concesso ringraziare *in primis* quanti hanno partecipato alla ricerca realizzando in tal modo uno dei *desiderata* scientifici che da lungo tempo mi stavano a cuore e poi quanti hanno contribuito alla pubblicazione dei risultati: Nicola Serafini per una prima raccolta dei contributi, l'amico Pietro Cobetto Ghiggia e il suo staff per l'ottima veste donata al volume e l'acribia esercitata nel lavoro editoriale, il collega Ettore Cingano per aver generosamente co-finanziato l'opera.

*Claudia Antonetti*

*Venezia, 20 dicembre 2018*

ETTORE CINGANO

A fresh look at the Getty Hexameters: style, diction, tradition, and context  
(Part one)

Notwithstanding a number of papers which have appeared in recent years and the publication in 2013 of a miscellaneous volume contributed by eminent scholars in the field<sup>1</sup>, as of today it would sound optimistic to state that the nature, purpose, content, and genre of the Getty Hexameters (henceforth GH) has been satisfactorily clarified. The subtitle of the book edited by Faraone-Obbink (2013 a) reads *Poetry, Magic, and Mystery in Ancient Selinous*, and a cloud of mystery is still undoubtedly hovering above this text.

To confine myself to a few examples, several difficulties and peculiarities are still haunting the opening (vv. 2-4) of this fascinating text inscribed on a lead tablet. At v. 2 the epithet ἄρισημα appears to be an intentional choice by the ‘author’/engraver, given its rarity in (archaic) poetry. At the end of v. 2 the verb κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει> seems now universally accepted by scholars, with no or little explanation as to the textual choice: yet, κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει> is an emendation of the aorist participle κολάψας preserved in the text, a form of κολάπτω, “to carve, engrave”, which also occurs in the following line (κεκολαμμένα, v. 3). Moreover, the comprehension of the entire passage running from v. 2 to 5 is hampered at v. 3 by the otherwise unattested expression λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ, “in a house of stone”, a place whose identification remains obscure.

In the present paper I shall deal with a limited number of lines, most of all with the beginning (vv. 1-5) of the text, while providing occasional comments on other lines. With few exceptions, the Getty Hexameters have been mainly considered as a literary product to be investigated in the context and light of the highly sophisticated literary texts. Yet, many of the parallels which are dealt with for the first time in the present paper point to a different context and background.

To start with the first column, I reproduce below the initial part (vv. 1-14) of the critical edition recently provided by JANKO 2015, 4, with some minor adjustments. I am also relying on his critical apparatus, and shall discuss and propose elsewhere (CINGANO forth.: see *infra*, 51 n. 61) some textual supplements and emendations which contribute to a different interpretation of the text. Un-

<sup>1</sup> FARAONE-OBINK 2013 a.

less otherwise specified, I am using the translation provided in the volume edited by Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (2013 b, 11-13).

GH F 1, Side A, col. I 11-15

1	[ca. 3] ταις [ca. 2] ... καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπαείδω.	1
2	ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει>	
3	γράμματα κασσιτέρω κ<ε>κολαμμένα λάος ἐν οἴκωι,	
4	οὐ νιμ πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών,	
	οὐδ' ὅσα πόντωι βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἄμφιτρίτη.	5
	Παιήων, σὺ δὲ πάντος' ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέμπεις,	
	καὶ τάδ' ἐφώνησας ἔπε' ἀθάνατα θνητοῖσιν·	
	“Ὅσσα κατὰ σκι<ε>ρῶν ὀρέων μελαναυγεί χάρωι	
	Φερσεφόνης ἐγ κήπου ἄγ<ε>ι πρὸς ἀμολγὸν ἀνάγκη[ι]	
	τὴν τετραβ<ά>μονα παῖς ἀγιήν Δήμητρος ὀπηδόν,	10
	αἰγ' ἀκαμαντορόα νασμοῦ θαλεροῖο γάλακτος	
	βριθομένη[ν] ἔπεται <δὲ> θεαῖς πειθοῦσα φαειναῖς	
	[λ]αμπά<σιν>· [E]ἰνοδαί δ' Ἐκάτ<η>ι φρικώδει φωνῆι	
	[βα]ρβάρ<ω>ι ἐκκλάζουσα θεὰ θεῶι ἡγεμονεύει·	

1 μύσ<σ>ταις Furley 2 κολάψας GH: καλύπτει? Jordan-Kotansky 2011, καλύψει Dyck et Janko 1984 (*vel* καλύψει Janko 2015), *plerique*, κολάψει *vel* κολάψα Cingano (κολάψει *iam tent.* Janko 2013, 40 n. 36) 3 κοκολαμμένα GH: κεκολαμμένα Jordan - Kotansky 1983: κεκαλυμμένα *con.* Jordan-Kotansky 1983, Janko 2013, 40 n. 36

### *The opening line: v. 1*

In all likelihood v. 1 was the initial line of the poem, because of the programmatic first person statement it displays, followed by ritual instructions. The initial statement “... and I sing incantations that are not ineffective” (or “and I sing as an incantation things that do not remain unfulfilled”) refers to the overall effectiveness of the incantation throughout the text: it is picked up a few lines below by a second and more specific utterance attributed to Paeon (v. 7, καὶ τάδ' ἐφώνησας ἔπε' ἀθάνατα θνητοῖσιν), which embeds another first person statement at v. 15. The four invocations to Paeon (vv. 6-7, 23-24, 32-33, 49-50) punctuate the narrative governed by the speaker at v. 1, and contribute to

mark off different sections of the text; at the same time, they frame the text with a unifying structure<sup>2</sup>.

v. 1. καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπαείδω. In epic poetry ἀτέλεστον/α is only found in negative sentences as here, preceded by οὐκ, οὐδέ or μηδέ. The combination οὐκ ἀτέλεστα is attested twice in the same metrical position in Hom. *Il.* 4, 168; *Od.* 18, 345, ... ἅ ῥ' οὐκ ἀτέλεστα γένοντο<sup>3</sup>. An even closer parallel including καὶ occurs in Bion, F 17, 2 Gow, ... καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστα γένοντο (Ahrens: γένοιτο). The first line of GH aims at convincing the practitioner of the effectiveness of the words engraved in the tablet. In the context of magic, religion, and charm which pervades the tablet, the meaning of οὐκ ἀτέλεστα can be usefully compared with the text of a *defixio* also from Selinous, dating from the late 6th/early 5th cent. BC, where the opposite wish is expressed that the hostile and various undertakings of two women may be successfully thwarted (*SEG* XXXVI, 855=ARENA 1996, nr. 59=IGDS I, 29, 39-41=BETTARINI 2005, 15, 1-5):

[ ]κοι, ἡότι]κα λείει, ἀτέλε]στα καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ἔ[με]γ καὶ Σικανᾶι  
ἀτέλε]στα vac. καὶ ἔργα καὶ ἔπε]α, ἡό]τι] κα λείει<sup>4</sup>.

*pour (...)ko, que tout ce qu'elle désire, actes et paroles, n'aboutisse à rien; et pour Sikana, que n'aboutisse à rien tout ce qu'elle désire, actes et paroles.*

In the GH an apotropaic charm is about to be recited: by virtue of his incantatory force the speaker (or the tablet itself, acting as a speaking persona) is entitled to invoke Paeon in the following lines, with the aim to persuade, charm and protect a private individual but also a community. The emphasis of the opening line is enhanced by the verb ἐπαείδω, “to sing as an incantation”, unattested in epic poetry: here it governs ἀτέλεστα and introduces a blend of

<sup>2</sup> To be precise, the fourth and last mention of Paeon can better be called an evocation than an invocation, because the god is not invoked, but referred to in the third person; since these are the final lines of the text, the fourth mention of Paeon also serves a ringcompositional purpose of connecting to the beginning of the Getty Hexameters (see CINGANO forth.). On the structure of the GH see also CALIVA 2015, in part. 141-143, 152-157.

<sup>3</sup> The other occurrences in epic poetry are Hom. *Il.* 4, 57; *Od.* 2, 273; in *Hymn. hom. In Cerer.* 323 (... μηδ' ἀτέλεστον ἐμόν ἔπος ἐκ Διὸς ἔστω) ἐμόν ἔπος points to the effectiveness of the speaker's (Iris) words, similarly to the first person of ἐπαείδω in GH v. 1. Although it produces a totally different meaning, the syntactic structure of the first person announcement at v. 1 καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπαείδω, bears some similarity with the first person utterance in Callimachus, F 612 Pfeiffer, whose context is missing: ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰείδω, “I sing nothing unattested”, where the word spoken by the *persona loquens* is assessed by way of the same phrasing, with an adjective (of different meaning) built on *alpha* privative, preceded or followed by a (different) negative and ended by the same verb; yet, in GH v. 1 the prefix ἐπί provides the verb with quite a different connotation and setting, and lays more emphasis on the speaking persona.

<sup>4</sup> Transl. by Dubois (*IGDS* I, 41).

magic and incantatory practices which are at the heart of the text. The connection of the verb with magic and ritual is attested in a passage in Herodotus (1, 132, 3) on Persian sacrificial practice: Διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μάγος ἀνήρ παρεστῶς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὴ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιοιδήν: ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι<sup>5</sup>. The connection of ἐπαείδειν and ἐπαιοιδή with magic and song is attested even earlier in Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 216-217; Aeschyl. *Ag.* 1021 (ἐπαείδων)<sup>6</sup>; cf. also Eurip. *Iph. Aul.* 1211; Xenoph. *Mem.* 2, 6, 11; Paus. 2, 12, 1; 6, 20, 18; in Plato the verb is used with the meaning “to charm, soothe”<sup>7</sup>.

Moreover, the sentence καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ’ ἐπαείδω can be taken as “a variant of τελεῖν ἐπαιοιδήν” (BREMNER 2013, 22): its meaning can be further clarified through the response in hexameters of an oracle in Aristophanes’ *Amphiarus* (F 29 Kassel-Austin), where the noun ἐπαιοιδή (at line end) is combined with the verb τελέω:

ὄσφον δ’ ἐξ ἄκρων διακίγκλισον ἥντε κίγκλου  
ἀνδρὸς πρεσβύτου, τελέει δ’ ἀγαθὴν ἐπαιοιδήν<sup>8</sup>.

*Thoroughly shake the old man’s butt from its foundations, like a shake-tail bird:  
(the god?) will effect a good incantation.*

The incantatory nature of the last sentence is paralleled by the (formulaic) expression ἐπαιοιδήν τελεῖν which occurs in a series of erotic incantations found in the magic papyri of a later age, most of them in hexameters. The position of ἐπαιοιδήν (or ἐπαείδω) at line end in the hexameter, usually at the beginning or ending of a text, shows that the word belongs to a well rooted tradition of magic hexameter poetry; see *SH* 900, 5, 15; *Hymn. in solem* F 59 (4), 17 Heitsch=*PGM* II, *Hymn.* 4, 17; *Hymn. in Lunam* F 59 (10), 2 Heitsch=*PGM* II, *Hymn.* 18, 2; *Hymn. in Hecatam* F 59 (13), 27 Heitsch=*PGM* II, *Hymn.* 21, 27. In *Hymn. in Venerem* F 59 (14), 11, 19 Heitsch (=PGM II, *Hymn.* 22, 19) and

<sup>5</sup> For the relation between ἐπαιοιδή and μάγος, μαγεία see also Gorg. *Hel.* 10; *P. Derv.* col. VI, 2.

<sup>6</sup> See MEDDA 2017, III, 125: “intonando un’ἐπωδή, un canto dai poteri magici”, with further comments.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 267 d; *Phaed.* 77 e, 114 d; *Thaet.* 149 d, 157 c; *Resp.* 364 c, 608 a; *Leg.* 665 c, 773 d, 812 c, 837e. On the meaning and contexts of ἐπαείδω in archaic and classical literature see CURTI 2012, 72-75; on ἐπωδή/ἐπαείδω in general and in Plato see WELCKER 1850, 64-88; PFISTER 1924; HELMIG 2003; RINELLA 2010, 177-178, 184-187.

<sup>8</sup> Transl. adapted from FARAONE 1992; 2013, 66-67. This parallel was noted by Faraone, who has also plausibly suggested to emend τελέει at v. 2 into the present imperative τέλει (or aor. imper. τέλεσον), thus providing the same subject for the two verbs. Accordingly, in v. 2 the pronoun σύ should be inserted before τέλει, in order to restore the dactylic metre (FARAONE 1992, 325 n. 27).

in *SM* II, 72, col. I 13-14, 27; col. II 8, 24-25, the line {σὺ δὲ} Κυπρογένεια, <σὺ> τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν and its minor variants call to mind the final lines of Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite, when she invokes the power of the goddess (F 1, 25-27 Voigt): ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, ... ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαί θῦμος ἰμέρρει, τέλεσον<sup>9</sup>.

As will become apparent later (CINGANO forth.), another central word in the GH is φάρμακον, the “remedy, charm” sent by Paeon to any addressee of the text in order to avert all possible misfortunes and damage (cf. φάρμακα col I 6, 23, 49, πολυφάρ[μακ... v. 50). An interesting late archaic parallel from Sicily occurs in the opening lines of Empedocles, B 111, 1-2 Diels-Kranz (D 43 Laks-Most), combining the full mastery in the use of unfailing *pharmaka* with the programmatic statement of bringing something into full effect (implied by οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπαιίδω in GH v. 1), to the benefit of whoever will follow the instructions:

φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγάσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ  
πεύσηι, ἐπεὶ μούνωι σοὶ ἐγὼ κρυνέω τάδε παντα.

*you will become acquainted with as many remedies there are as a defence against evil (misfortunes) and old age, since to you only I shall accomplish this (bring this into effect).*

As in GH v. 1, the first person statement at the opening of Empedocles' poem stresses the relation between speaking persona, addressee, and the fulfilment (v. 2 κρυνέω) of what is about to be told, expressed in both texts by the deictic (GH v. 2 τῶνδ' ... ἐπέων, 7 τὰδ' ἐφώνησας ἔπε(α); Emped. B 111, 2 τάδε πάντα). In Plato the φάρμακα are associated with ἐπφδαί (*Theaet.* 149 d διδοῦσαι ... φαρμάκια καὶ ἐπάδουσαι, *Resp.* 426 b); a similar telling context is found in Theocritus' *Pharmakeutria* (2, 13-15), a poem notoriously centred on magic and eros, in the invocation to Hecate by Simaetha who is about to perform an erotic charm:

χαῖρ', Ἐκάτα δασπλήτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμιν ὀπάδει,  
φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοισα χερείονα μήτε τι Κίρκας  
μήτε τι Μηδείας<sup>10</sup>...

*Hail, grim Hecate, and to the end attend me, and make these drugs of mine as potent as those of Circe or Medea ...*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. GRAF 1991, 188-189; FARAONE 1992, 320-327; 1999, 73-74, 136-141. ἐπαιοιδή is also found in papyri with prose incantations: for further examples see BRASHEAR 1979, 268.

<sup>10</sup> Transl. by A.S.F. Gow. On φάρμακα see the bibliography quoted *supra*, n. 9; see also KOTANSKY 1991, 108-110; RINELLA 2010, 233-240, *passim*.

In Theocritus, ἐς τέλος conveys the same meaning of the verb τελεῖν in the passages just quoted. In the first invocation of the GH Paeon is attributed the full competence on the most powerful *pharmaka* (v. 6 Παιήων, σὺ δὲ πάντος ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέμπεις), whereas Hecate is invoked at v. 13 ([E]ἰνοδίαι δ' Ἐκάτ<η>ι ...).

*Vv. 2-5: text, syntax, structure, wording, and meaning*

In the opening lines of the text one can easily identify two of the “three hallmarks of early magical incantations” singled out by FARAONE, 1996, 95-96, in dealing with the metrical inscription on the cup of Nestor, *CEG* I, 454 (quoted *infra*, 32): “(1) they are hexametrical; (3) they employ a curious mixture of familiar epic words and rare prosaic or technical terms”. The third hallmark (“(2) they often take the form of a conditional curse”) occurs in a modified version in the closing of the GH, with a substantially similar purpose (see CINGANO *forth.*, at vv. 49-50). Moreover, as FARAONE, 1996, 95-96, notes, v. 2 of the GH also features what he cautiously adds as the fourth hallmark of magic incantations, that is, “The peculiar use of the deictic pronoun ... as a marker for a performative utterance”: in GH v. 2, τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων, “the deictic pronoun refers to the hexameters ... inscribed on the lead tablet” (cf. also v. 7 τὰδ' ... ἔπε(α) and τὰδε πάντα in Empedocles, quoted above).

v. 2. The first thing to be noted at v. 2 is the use of rare or unusually attributed epithets: ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει> / γράμματα ..., “Whoever hides the notable letters of these sacred verses ...” In extant Greek literature the solemn expression ἱερὰ ἔπη, “holy, sacred words”, is found only once at a much later time, in Synes. *Hymn.* 1, 110 (anapaest. monom.), Ἥδη φέρομαι ἐπὶ βαλβίδας ἱερῶν ἐπέων, “Now am I borne back to the starting point of sacred words”. If we consider in GH vv. 1-2 the connection between the verb ἐπαείδω, “to incant”, and the ἱερὰ ἔπη also referred to the speaking persona (ἐμῶν), these lines can be fruitfully compared with a similar context and semantic framework in *Hymn. in solem* F 59 (4), 17 Heitsch (=PGM II, *Hymn.* 4, 17), μηδὲ σὺ μηνίσης ἐπ' ἐμαῖς ἱεραῖς ἐπαιοδαῖς, and *Hymn. in Lunam* F 59 (10), 2 Heitsch=PGM II, *Hymn.* 18, 2 (the opening of the hymn), (Σελήνη) εὐμενίη δ' ἐπάκουσον ἐμῶν ἱερῶν ἐπαιοιδῶν.

The occurrence of the adjective ἀρίσημα (cf. *Hymn. hom. in Merc.* 12, εἷς τε φῶς ἀγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο), creating a strong enjambement



with the noun γράμματα in the following line, is even more remarkable<sup>11</sup>: it is meant to enhance the importance of the inscribed letters of the magic text. Two inscriptions where ἀρίσημον occurs in the same metrical position after the hephthemimeral caesura suggest a traditional use of the adjective in spite of its rarity: 1) the Delian aretology of Sarapis by Maiistas (*Aretal.* 6, p. 69 Powell), late 3rd/early 2nd cent. BC=IG XI 4, 1299, 35=Delos, *RICIS* 202/0101), καὶ γὰρ τ' ἀμφιάλει Δήλωι ἀρίσημα τέλεσσας / τὰπολλωνίου ἰρά ..., “*In sea-girted Delos too you raised to prominence / Apollonios’ worship ...*”; 2) the recently published Salmakis inscription, “the pride of Halikarnassos”, *SGO* I 01/12/02 (2nd cent. BC), v. 45: ἔσπειρεν Πανύασσιν ἐπῶν ἀρίσημον ἄνακτα, “she (Halikarnassos) made Panyassis shoot forth to command the epic so outstandingly”. Along with the adjective in the same metrical position, these inscriptions share other significant features with GH vv. 2-3: cf. the verb τέλεσσας and ἰρά in Maiistas’ aretology (6-7) with ἀτέλεστα and ἱερῶν ἐπέων in GH 1-2: both texts convey the idea of ‘accomplishing, achieving’ something ‘notable, worthy’ in connection to the sacred. Besides, in both texts the adjective governs a noun which is placed in enjambement in the following line.

Finally and interestingly, both in the Salmakis inscription (v. 45) and in GH vv. 2-3 the notion of being ‘illustrious, notable’ conveyed by ἀρίσημος is connected with the art of engraving (ἱερῶν ἐπέων ... γράμματα ... κ<ε>κολαμμένα, GH v. 2) or composing hexameter verses (Panyassis ἐπῶν ἀρίσημον ἄνακτα, Salmakis inscription v. 45); the shape of the two hexameters is identical, with an initial spondee followed by dactyls.

The last word written in the tablet at v. 2, the aorist participle κολάψας, concerns a twofold textual problem which bears significantly on the overall interpretation of the whole text; still, the broad implications of the textual choice have been little noticed. All the previous editors have put aside both the verb κολάπτειν and the aorist participle form: they insert the future 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. of the verb καλύπτειν (κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει>) and translate it as “to hide, conceal, inter”. Καλύπτειν is held to be more appropriate than κολάπτειν for two reasons: κολάψας would create a repetition within the same sentence at v. 3, where the verb κολάπτω occurs again as a perfect participle (... κ<ε>κολαμμένα λᾶος ἐν οἴκωι); besides, the expression λᾶος ἐν οἴκωι, “in a house of stone” seems more fitting with the act of “concealing” the tablet rather than of “engraving, inscribing” it. Various forms of καλύπτω have therefore been restored by the editors: they range from the present indicative καλύπτει (suggested by JORDAN 1988 and in the apparatus of JORDAN-KOTANSKI 2011, who accordingly trans-

<sup>11</sup> See JANKO 2013, 46. Besides the *Homeric Hymn* and the two inscriptions I am about to quote, ἀρίσημος is only found in Tyrt. F 12, 29 West; [Theocr.] 25, 158; *Epigrammata graeca* 260, 1-2 Kaibel (III-II cent. BC, Cyrenaica); Hippocr. *Epist.* 10, 17.

late the text “who hides...” to the future *καλύψει* (suggested by A. Dyck and R. Janko in 1984, printed in FARAONE-OBBINK 2013 b), to *καλύψει* (3rd person aorist subjunctive) proposed by JANKO 1984 and apparently dismissed in his later contributions<sup>12</sup>.

Undoubtedly, the reason for changing not only the verb but also its participle form at GH v. 2 lies in the fact that, as remarked by FURLEY, 2015, 19, “The sentence certainly needs a finite verb by the standard of correct grammar ...”. While I fully subscribe to his remark and intend to support this view with further evidence, I also claim that the replacement of *κολάπτειν* with *καλύπτειν* is unconvincing and unnecessary for various reasons.

As a matter of fact, if one accepts the aorist participle form *κολάψας* written in the tablet, a sentence running “Whoever having engraved in a house of stone the notable letters of these sacred verses inscribed on tin, as many things as broad Earth nourishes shall not harm him...” sounds quite clumsy and incomplete, leaving the subject expressed by *ὅστις* (v. 2) without a finite verb. To my knowledge, the only scholar to have accepted the original reading *κολάψας* is BURKERT, 2012, who, however, has suggested a radical and unacceptable solution with the aim of inserting a finite verb in the sentence. BURKERT has proposed that at the end of v. 3 the word *λάως*, “of stone”, be emended into the verb *άλοῖ*, an indicative or subjunctive form of *ἠλόω* (“to nail”), governed by *ὅστις* at v. 2: the sentence should thus presumably run “whoever having engraved the letters nails them up ... in the house of stone ...”<sup>13</sup>.

In my opinion, a much easier solution would be to replace the aorist participle *κολάψας* with the aorist subjunctive or, less convincingly, the aorist optative of the same verb, *κολάψει* (*κολάψη*) or *κολάψαι*: it thus becomes crystal clear that the syntactical structure of vv. 2-5 running from *ὅστις* to Ἀμφιτρίτη is one of the oldest found in Greek language, occurring as early as the 8th cent. BC in two famous hexametrical inscriptions:

A) the Dipylon oinochoe, *CEG*, I 432 (Athens, ca. 740/730 BC):

<sup>12</sup> JORDAN-KOTANSKI, 2011, 57, print the participle *κολάψας* in the text of the tablet, but offer a different translation by replacing the verb and the form with the present indicative *καλύπτει* suggested in their apparatus: “Who hides in a house of stone the visible letters of these holy words, inscribed on a tin sheet...”. For the credit of the various emendations in chronological order I am relying on the detailed report by JANKO 2015, 3-4, but am unable to trace in JORDAN-KOTANSKI 2011 the form *καλύψαι* he attributes to them. JANKO 2013, 40 n. 36, had previously suggested *κολάψει* as a possibility, thus modifying only the form of the verb. BREMMER 2013, 23, seems to accept dubiously the repetition of *κολάψας* and *κεκολαμμένα* in the text, but then mentions the idea of “words ...hidden in a house of stone”.

<sup>13</sup> Burkert provides no translation of his emendation. See also the remarks by FURLEY c.d.s., 2 n. 4 “... the tablet was not nailed...”; on the other hand, contrary to what Furley claims, the hiatus originating from *κ<ε>κολαμμένα ἄλοῖ* could have been mitigated by *spiritus asper*.

hos νῦν ὄρχηστῶν πάντων ἀταλότατα παίζει  
τὸ τόδε κλμιν *vacat*

*whoever now amongst the dancers plays most sportively of all,  
 his will be this... (i.e. he will be presented with this) ... (vase).*

Both texts contain relative clauses: the main difference with GH v. 2 lies in the replacement of the relative pronoun ὅς (*CEG* I, 432) with another relative pronoun, ὅστις, which is also often found in an “inherently maximalizing relative clause”<sup>14</sup>. We can note in the two texts the same syntactical arrangement within the hexameter line, with the relative pronoun occurring at the beginning of the verse and the finite verb at the end, if one accepts κολάψει. In *CEG* I, 432 at the beginning of the second unfinished line the letters τὸ (=τοῦ) τόδε κ... point back to the (future) winner of the dance contest and to the vase which he will be awarded as a prize<sup>15</sup>. Similarly, in our GH text the statement in v. 2 is closely connected to what follows, but the correlation with the main clause of the sentence is postponed one line below (v. 4, οὗ νιν πημανέουσιν ...) because of the expansion of the relative clause at v. 3. To sum up, we can easily apply to the syntactical and grammatical structure of GH vv. 2-4 the cogent remarks of Calvert Watkins on *CEG* I, 432: “We have a bipartite, seemingly paratactic sentence, with the relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *hos* and finishing with the verb *παίζει*, followed by the main clause τὸ τόδε κ... the significant point syntactically is that we have a single sentence, a complete utterance – in verse – which is a unit whole, and which is grammatically incomplete until the end of the main clause”<sup>16</sup>.

B) The same relative-correlative sentence can be found in the metrical inscription on the cup of Nestor (*CEG* I, 454, Pythekoussai, 730/710 BC), which at vv. 2-3 presents the same correlation between the initial relative pronoun in-

<sup>14</sup> See PROBERT 2015, 202; on the distinction between ὅστις and ὅς see *ibidem*, 98-108, 123-124, *passim*; on the similarity and distinctive features of ὅς, ὅστις, see also MONTEIL 1963, 124 ff.; FAURE 2015. The interchange between ὅς and ὅστις in this typology of sentences is clearly demonstrated by the occurrence of both, serving the same function, in the prescriptive clauses of the ‘Dirae Teiorum’, B 3-6 (=SEG XXXI, 984): ὅστις Τηίων ἐπὶ ξυνῶι ἢ αἰσυμνητῆι ... ἐπανίσταιτο ... ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνο... (35-40) ὃς ἄν τὰς στήλ(λ)ας ἐν ἧσιν ἦπαρῆ γέγραπται ἢ κατὰξει ἢ φοινικῆια ἐκκόψει ἢ ἀφανέας ποιήσει κένον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος ...: see *infra*, 37.

<sup>15</sup> On the meaning of the second broken line I follow the interpretation of WATKINS 1976, 436-437; LEJEUNE 1979, 213; POWELL 1991, 160; PASSA 2016, 187; CARDIN 2017, 20-21: in the initial sequence τοῦ τόδε, the first word is a genitive pronoun pointing back to ὅς, and the second is a deictic referred to the prize of the contest, probably the vase itself. The different interpretation by DUHOUX 1991 neglects the agonistic context of the inscription and the telling Homeric parallels centred on contests (see below).

<sup>16</sup> WATKINS 1976, 437; see also PROBERT 2015, 203.

roducing a conditional clause with an aorist subjunctive, and the main clause introduced by a deictic referring to the relative pronoun, and followed by the verb in the future tense, as is the case with *πημανέουσιν* in GH v. 4:

... *ἡος δ' ἄν τῶδε πίεσι ποτερίο, αὐτίκα κένον*  
*ἡμερος ἡαίρέσει καλλιστεφάνο Ἀφροδίτες*

*he who should drink from this cup, straightaway*  
*desire of beautiful-crowned Aphrodite will seize him*

The modal particle ἄν combined with ὅς in *CEG* I, 454, 2 is missing in GH v. 2 and in *CEG* I, 432, though its absence is justified by other parallels<sup>17</sup>. Consequently, the presence of ἄν in *CEG* I, 454 with the aorist subjunctive *πίησι* helps in positing that, if one is willing to emend the tense of the aorist participle *κολάψας*, the same mood can be restored instead of the future in GH v. 2, and that the subjunctive rather than the indicative is also to be read in *CEG* I, 432. Further support for the use of the subjunctive in the protasis of sentences such as GH vv. 2-5 is provided by a number of literary, historical, and epigraphic texts, whose vast majority conveys a prescriptive meaning in many cases no different from the one in our text: it implies that if someone abides by the norms of behaviour stated in the relative indefinite clause, the consequences of such a behaviour will produce a valuable outcome of some kind, which is then specified in the main clause with either a future tense or an imperative or optative mood. On the other hand, while keeping its prescriptive, normative purpose, the same structure can also serve as a threat, a warning, a negative wish, a curse: destructive consequences await him who does deliberately neglect or violate a prescription, as is stated in the early inscription on Tataie's *lekythos*, which threatens blindness to any thief (Kyme, 675-650 BC: *SEG* XLVII, 1475=DUBOIS 1995, 12: *Ταταίης ἐμὶ λέρυθος· ἡὸς δ' ἄν με κλέφσει* *θυφλὸς ἔσται*)<sup>18</sup>. As regards the first category, a selection of Homeric passages may prove my point, all of them dealing with a contest (martial, athletic, or bridal) and announcing an award for the winner, who is referred to by a correlated pronoun in the main clause:

<sup>17</sup> In *CEG* I, 432 *παίξει* is interpreted as a subjunctive by Hansen, *adpar. ad loc.*, who refers to KÜHNER-GERTH 1904, 424-426; see also RUIPÉREZ 1985; PASSA 2016, 187; CARDIN 2017, 20.

<sup>18</sup> See PROBERT 2015, 203. For the subjunctive mood in this inscription see DUBOIS 1995, 42; see also *CEG* II, 893, Attica, end of 5th cent. BC (tetram. iamb. catal.), *Κηρισσοφώντος ἡ κύλιξ· ἐὰν δέ τις κατὰξῆι / δραχμὴν ἀποτείσει...* The same construct and meaning can be posited in the early lacunose Hakesandros inscription in iambic trimeter recently found in Methone (*Methone Pierias* I, 2 [Mq 2248], ca. 725 BC) [*ἡὸς δ' ἄν*] *με κλέφσει* *ὀμμάτων στερέσει* (A. Matthaïos).

a) *Il.* 3, 69-72=90-93 (Paris speaking):

αὐτὰρ ἔμ' ἐν μέσσω καὶ ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον  
 συμβάλετ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι·  
ὀπότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
 κτήμαθ' ἑλών εἶ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω<sup>19</sup>.

*I will meet Menelaus ...*

*and fight for Helen and her riches.*

*Whichever wins and shows himself the better man*

*let him take both wealth and woman to his house.*

b) *Il.* 18, 507-508:

... δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
τῷ δόμεν ὅς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι<sup>20</sup>.

*In their midst lay two talents of gold,*

*to be given to the one who among them should utter the straightest judgment.*

c) *Il.* 23, 805, 807:

ὀπότερός κε φθῆσιν ὀρεξάμενος χροά καλόν,  
 ... τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ δώσω τόδε φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον

*whichever of the two (Ajax or Diomedes) will first reach the other's fair flesh*

*... to him I will give this silver-studded sword.<sup>21</sup>*

d) *Od.* 21, 75-77, wedding contest of Penelope:

ὅς δέ κε ῥήτατ' ἐντανύσῃ βιδὸν ἐν παλάμησι  
 καὶ διοϊστεύσῃ πελέκεων δυοκαίδεκα πάντων,  
τῷ κεν ἄμ' ἐσποίμην ...

<sup>19</sup> In this text only the correlated pronoun is missing, presumably because there were only two contenders, Paris and Menelaos, who fight in order to get the ultimate prize of the war, Helen. See also the archery contest in *Il.* 23, 855-858 (repeated twice), and *Il.* 10, 303-309 for a more elaborate sentence announcing the reward set by Hector for the bravest among the Trojans.

<sup>20</sup> The two clauses may also be inverted, with the correlative preceding the relative pronoun, as here and in e) below (perhaps also in *CEG* I, 459, 2, quoted below).

<sup>21</sup> Out of a contest, the same structure appears in *Il.* 11, 409-410, with a verb similarly indicating excellence over one's peers, ὅς δέ κ' ἀριστεύσῃ μάχῃ ἐνι τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεῶ / ἐστάμεναι κρατερώς, ἢ τ' ἔβλητ' ἢ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον.

*Whoever makes the best attempt at stringing the bow  
and shooting an arrow through the rings of a dozen axes,  
with that man I will go...*

The same syntactic structure, with a more complicated double negative utterance, occurs in the wedding contest for Pero, daughter of Neleus:

e) *Od.* 11, 284-291

τὴν πάντες μνώοντο περικίτται· οὐδέ τι Νηλεὺς  
τῷ ἐδίδου, ὅς μὴ ἔλικας βόας εὐρυμετώπους  
ἐκ Φυλάκης ἐλάσειε βίης Ἴφικληΐης ...

*All that dwelt about sought her in marriage, but Neleus  
would give her to no man, save to him who should drive  
from Phylace the kine of mighty Iphicles, sleek and broad of brow...*

The same relative-correlative sentence is found in two tragic texts (quoted by BANNIER 1918, 455) where a contest is also at issue: Eurip. *Phoen.* 48-49 (an announcement by Creon: ὅστις σοφῆς αἴνιγμα παρθένου μάθοι, / τούτω συνάψειν λέκτρα); *Iph. Aul.* 61-62 (bridal contest for Helen): ὅτου γυνὴ γένοιτο Τυνδαρίς κόρη, / τούτω ξυναμυνεῖν ...

At a close look, the text of GH vv. 2-5 turns out to imply a situation similar to those just listed: they are rooted in a contest from which one winner will stand out and get an award, just as GH vv. 2-5 aims at singling out the person which will be rewarded with permanent protection from whatever harm may come upon humans from earth and the sea. The key-notion of utter safety for the follower will be repeated in ringcompositional style at the end of the text (vv. 49-50), where Paeon is named as the powerful god who can counter all sorts of evil (expressed by the compound πολυφάρμακος; see CINGANO forth.). Thus, no differently from the Dipylon *oinochoe* and the cup of Nestor which act as speaking objects in *CEG* I, 432, 454, and from the Homeric passages heralding a contest and its award, the Getty tablet heralds the reward for the one who is willing to follow the inscribed instructions.

Leaving aside the setting of a contest, an analogous prescriptive purpose occurs in a relative-correlative sentence in Theognis (v. 479) which is very close to *CEG* I, 454, 2, in matters of structure, vocabulary, and context (a symposium): ὅς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον, οὐκέτι κείνος / τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερός οὐδὲ νόου, *whoever exceeds his limit of drink, this man is no longer in command of his tongue or his mind.*

Regarding the second category (threats, curses etc.), some of the closest parallels for the structure of GH vv. 2-4 are notably found in inscriptions or texts which are imbued with a similar magic and/or apotropaic context. A striking

archaic example so far unnoticed, with many similarities with GH vv. 2-4, is offered by *CEG* I, 459, 2=*SEG* XXVI, 285 (Kamiroi, Rhodes), c. 600-575 BC (hexam.), with the two verbs in the optative mood:

A σᾶμα τόζ' Ἰδαμενεὺς ποιήσα ἵνα κλέος εἴη·  
B Ζεὺ<δ> δέ νιν ὅστις πημαίνωι λειδῶλη θείη.

'I, Idameneus, made this monument so that there would be glory.  
And may Zeus make him who might do damage utterly destroyed',  
or

'And may Zeus make whoever might harm it utterly destroyed'<sup>22</sup>.

We find clustered consecutively in the same line of this *imprecatio* the verb πημαίνω preceded by ὅστις and by νιν, whereas in GH vv. 2-4 we read ὅστις ... / οὗ νιν πημανέουσιν... Although they share a background connected to magic, curses, and apotropaic formulae, the two texts express an opposite wish: πημαίνω is used here to express the wish that someone misbehaving will be damaged, whereas in GH v. 4 it occurs in a negative sentence, thereby granting that no damage will fall upon the person following the instructions of the tablet (on the verb see further CINGANO forth.). Besides, the word order of ὅστις and νιν is inverted in *CEG* I, 459: the first option which would better resemble the structure of GH vv. 2-4, with νιν preceding the relative pronoun and referred to the potential injurer of the tomb "as the 'antecedent' of a semi-free relative clause", has no parallels in Greek language, according to Probert (2015, 204). The second option, where νιν rather refers to the σᾶμα mentioned in v. 1 and is not correlated with ὅστις as in GH vv. 2-4, seems therefore preferable<sup>23</sup>; it should however be recalled that the enclitic accusative of the 3rd person pronoun usually stands for αὐτόν, αὐτήν, and "seldom for αὐτό, it" (see LSJ s.v.), as in very few exceptions: Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 242; Aeschyl. *Choeph.* 542, and Soph. *Trach.* 145.

Another case in point is the destructive wish expressed in the closing lines of an epigram in the *Vita Homeri Herodotea* 32 (5th cent. BC), which is imbued with magic also in the preceding lines<sup>24</sup>: Homeric epigram 14, 22-23 ('the kiln'), ed. Vasiloudi:

<sup>22</sup> I am reproducing the translations offered by PROBERT 2015, 203-204, who usefully discusses in detail the two options regarding the interpretation of v. 2, with no mention of GH vv. 2-4.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Hom. *Il.* 21, 347 quoted by PROBERT 2015, 204, with a different enclitic pronoun: χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθείρη.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. vv. 15-16, a curse with an invocation to Circe to display all her manifold powers: ... πολυφάρμακε Κίρκη / ἄγρια φάρμακα βάλλε, κάκου δ' αὐτούς τε καὶ ἔργα. On *pharmaka* see *infra*, 50; for an analysis of this epigram see FARAONE 2001 a.

ὄς δέ χ' ὑπερκύψῃ, περὶ τούτου πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον  
φλεχθεῖη, ὡς πάντες ἐπίστωντ' αἴσιμα ρέζειν.

*And whoever peeps over the top, may his whole face  
be burned, so that all may learn to behave decently.*

Finally, the same relative-correlative structure appears in a line of another text closely connected to the Getty Hexameters, as will become manifest in CINGANO forth.: the lead tablet in hexameters from Phalasarna, Crete (4th cent. BC): SEG XLIII, 615=830 F e 8 Bernabé (see JORDAN 1992, 194): Q ὄς κέ με σίνηται τε καὶ οἱ... κακὰ κόλλοβρα δῶσι ... *Whoever hurts me*<sup>25</sup>...

Moving now to a different category, the same syntactical structure as in GH vv. 2-4 can be found in a conspicuous and significant group of judicial/legal prose inscriptions from the 6th and 5th cent. BC, all of them bearing a normative and statutory meaning: a maximalizing relative clause is followed by a stronger prescriptive imperative or infinitive mood in the main clause, where a pronoun is correlated with the relative:

a) *Nomima* I, 91 (III)=2, 9 DEL BARRIO VEGA, 2015 (Euboea, 2nd half 6th cent. BC):

ἥοστις ἄν μὲ ποιῆι αὐτὸν ὀφέλεῖν

*que celui qui ne le fait pas soit lui-même redevable*<sup>26</sup>.

b) *IG IX* 1<sup>2</sup>, 3, 609A, 9-14 (Papadakis bronze: M.-L. 13=*Nomima* I, 44), Locris or Aetolia (525-500 BC):

... ἥοστις δὲ δαιθμὸν ἐνφέρῃ ἢ ψᾶφον διαφέρῃ ἐν πρείγαι, ἔ'ν πόλι, ἐν ἀποκλεσίαι ἔ'στάσιν ποιέοι περὶ γαδαισίας, αὐτὸς μὲν φερρέτο καὶ γενεὰ ἅματα πάντα ...

*whoever proposes a division or puts it to a vote ... he himself and his family shall be accursed for all time ...*

c) *IvO* 11=*Nomima* I, 21, 5-7, Olympia, 500-475 BC:

<sup>25</sup> Although the text of the line is uncertain, I agree with BRIXHE-PANAYOTOU (1995, 34) that “manifestement nous avons affaire ici à une corrélation”... “celui qui ... qu'à celui-là aussi...”... “celui qui viendra à me nuire, que celui-là aussi endure des mots mutilants”.

<sup>26</sup> Transl. by DEL BARRIO VEGA 2015, 31.



Αἰ δέ τις σὺλαίε, φέ(ρ)ρεν αὐτόν ποτ τὸν Δία ...

d) ‘Dirae Teiorum’ (Teos, ca. 475 BC), *Nomima* I, 104= Rhodes-Osborne 102=ANTONETTI-DE VIDO 2017, 15<sup>27</sup>:

A 1-11: Ὅστις φάρμακα δηλητήρια (2) ποιῶ ἐπὶ Τηίοισιν (3) τὸ ξυνὸν ἢ ἐπ’ ἰδιώτηι, (4) κένον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ (5) αὐτόν καὶ γένος τὸ κένο. (6) ὅστις ἐς γῆν τὴν Τηίην (7) κωλύει σίτον ἐσάγεσθαι (8) ἢ τέχνηι ἢ μηχανῆι ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν ... ἐσαχθέντα ... ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτόν καὶ γένος τὸ κένο.

*Whoever makes harmful spells (or drugs) against the Teians as a community or against an individual, may he perish, both himself and his family. Whoever prevents grain being imported to the Teian land ... may he perish, both himself and his family ...*

B 3-6=SEG XXXI, 984: ὅστις Τηίων <τ>[ὠι ξ]υνῶι ἢ αἰσυμνήτην [ἰσταί]η ἢ ἐπανισταίτο ἐπ’ αἰ[συμ]νηῆ ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτόν καὶ γένος τὸ κείνο ... (35-40): ὅς ἂν τὰς στήλας ἐν ἡῖσιν ἠπαρῆ γέγραπται ἢ κατάξει ἢ φοινικῆια ἐκκόψει ἢ ἀφανέας ποιήσει κένον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτόν καὶ γένος [τὸ κένο].

C 5-10=SEG XXXI, 985: ὅς ἂν τιμὴν ἔχων [σ]ὺν θετοῖσιν [Τ]ηῖ[ο]ι[σ]ιν τὸν πλησί[ο]ν δολεῖται τοῦτον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτόν καὶ γένος τὸ κένο.

*Whoever when holding office with the adopted Teians tricks (or enslaves) his neighbour, may this man perish, himself and his family.*

This inscription bearing the curses of the Teians is particularly relevant here, insofar as a) it refers to a context of magic and destructive powers similar to the GH to which I shall return; b) it proves the interchangeability of both the relative pronouns ὅστις and / ὅς ἂν, and of the subjunctive with the optative mood in the clauses they govern<sup>28</sup>.

e) *GIBM* IV 886 (=M.-L. 32=*Nomima* I, 19=ANTONETTI-DE VIDO 2017, 19), Halikarnassos (475-450 BC):

<sup>27</sup> I am following the text edited by C. Vessella in ANTONETTI-DE VIDO 2017, 70-71.

<sup>28</sup> See also above, n. 14, and cf. *Nomima* I, 104, inscr. A 1-7 and B 3-6 with inscr. B 35-39 and C 5-10. Like ὅς, ὅστις can be constructed with κεῖνον and the subjunctive mood: see ἡόσστις κ’ ἀπολιπέει ... ἡόσστις κα ... διαφθεῖρει in *Nomima* I, 43, 35-38 quoted here below, f).

Il. 32-37: τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἦν τις θέλῃ συγγέαι ἢ προθήται ψῆφον ὥστε μὴ εἶναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, τὰ ἔοντα αὐτῷ πεπρήσθω ... καὶ αὐτὸν φεύγεν αἰεὶ, cf. Il. 43-45 ὃς ἄν ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίῃ...

f) (without a correlated pronoun) law of the Eastern Lokrians relative to their colony at Naupaktos, 500-475 BC: M.-L. 20, 35-38 verso=*Nomima* I, 43:

Il. 35-38: ... ἥσσις κ' ἀπολίπῃ πατέρα καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν χρημάτων τῷ πατρί, ... ἐξεῖμεν ἀπολαχεῖν τὸν ἐπίφοιον ἐν Ναύπακτον. ἥσσις κα τὰ φεραδεκότα διαφθείρῃ τέχνη καὶ μαχαναῖ ... ἄτιμον εἶμεν...

*whoever leaves behind a father and his share of his property to his father, (when his father passes away), the colonist at Naupaktos may recover his portion. Whoever subverts these decisions on any pretext or by any device whatsoever ... he shall be without rights*<sup>29</sup>...

g) *Nomima* II, 2, 25-26 (=IG V 2.262), Mantinea, Arcadia, ca. 460 BC:

εἴ τις ἰν τοῖ ἱεροῖ τῶν τότε [ἀπυθανόντων] φονές ἔστι, εἴτε αὐτὸς εἴτε [τῶν ἐσγόνων] τις ... ἰμενφῆς ἔναι καὶ τὸ χρεστέριον ...

*Si quelqu'un est meurtrier de ce ceux qui (ont péri) dans le sanctuaire, il y aura, tant pour lui-même que pour ses descendants en ligne masculine ... sacrilège, conformément à l'oracle*<sup>30</sup>...

h) (without a correlated pronoun) IG XII 1=*I.Lindos* II 2, A 11 (*SEG* XXXIX, 727), Lindian chronicle, Rhodes, 99 BC:

ὁ τι δὲ κά τις μὴ ποιήσῃ [τῶν] [ἐν τῷδε τῷ] ψαφίσματι γλιγγραμμένων, ἀποτεισάτω ἱερὰς Ἀθήνας Λινδίας δραχμὰς πεντακοσίας ...

<sup>29</sup> As in this case and in h) quoted below, a large number of ancient prescriptive rules present a pattern with a relative clause followed by a main clause with the verb in the imperative or infinitive mood, and an unexpressed correlative pronoun: for early examples see PROBERT 2015, 190, 204-205; see also *CEG* I, 462, 2; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 256, 7-8 (440-430 BC); *CID* 1, 9 (ca. 400-350 BC), A 46-48; B 30-31; C 10-12, 16-17; M.-L. 83 (411-409 BC)=Rhodes-Osborne 176 (p. 456-459): § 1-2; *SEG* XXXII, 53=Rhodes-Osborne 22, *passim*; *SEG* XII, 87=Rhodes-Osborne 79, 7-11, 337/336 BC; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 987, 25=LUPU 2009, 118, 30-34, Chios, ca. 335 BC (decrees of the Klytidai); *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 635 B I 6-7=*IG* VII 4136, 6-7, 228-226 BC (with main verb in the future; see also A 4-9); Marmarini inscription (ed. DECOURT-TZIAPHALIAS, 2015), B 54, 77, Thessaly, 2nd cent. BC; *SGO* I 16/25/02.1; *SGO* I 16/44/03, 1; *TAM* II, 622, Lycia (Roman imperial period) ὃς ἄν δὲ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων ἐκκολάψ[αι] τι [πειρ?]άση ...

<sup>30</sup> Transl. by Van Effenterre-Ruzé (*Nomima* II, 28).

*if one should not carry out any one of the items inscribed in this decree ...*

My first remark is that in none of the different typologies of texts quoted above the relative pronoun introducing the bipartite sentence is followed by a participle, as would be the case if one accepts the aorist participle κολάψας in the relative clause of GH v. 2 (ὅστις ... ἀρίσημα κολάψας 3 γράμματα ... κ<ε>κολαμμένα). We should therefore dismiss the possibility suggested by FURLEY (2015, 19) that “in this subliterate text perhaps καλύψας would also be defensible, with an understood ἔχει or ἔχει, meaning ‘whoever has concealed’”. In the majority of these texts – even more so in the metrical ones – the relative pronoun followed by a modal particle governs a verb in the subjunctive mood<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, since a future tense is often attested in the main clause of the sentences in the passages listed above, but nowhere in the protasis, we should also definitely rule out the possibility that a future indicative κολάψει (or the widely accepted emendation καλύψει) be read instead of κολάψας.

Before advocating the correctness of the verb κολάπτειν vs. καλύπτειν at the end of GH v. 2, I anticipate that my suggested reading is κολάψῃ=κολάψῃ or, less convincingly, κολάψαι. In point of fact, considering that in the protasis of quite a few texts listed above the subjunctive is replaced by the optative mood, one can also surmise that the aorist optative κολάψαι was intended to be written in the text.<sup>32</sup> Although being less frequent than the subjunctive form in these clauses, the reading ΚΟΛΑΨΑΙ can be palaeographically more convincing than ΚΟΛΑΨΕΙ, in order to account for the mistaken form ΚΟΛΑΨΑΣ engraved in the Getty tablet<sup>33</sup>. However, the subjunctive mood seems to me more appropriate on the ground of the parallels quoted and of what stated *supra*, n. 33.

<sup>31</sup> On the grounds of the epic and early inscriptional parallels I see little reason for doubting that in *CEG I*, 432 the verb ΠΑΙΖΕΙ should be definitely interpreted as the subjunctive παίζῃ and not as an indicative mood, an option still maintained by PROBERT 2015, 203 n. 7. The subjunctive mood παίζῃ=παίζῃ had already been advocated by BANNIER 1918, 454-456 (quoted by Hansen *ad CEG I*, 432), with the support of three Homeric passages; see also *supra*, 33 n. 21. For further examples of relative clauses in poetry and prose with the subjunctive mood, and mostly with a correlated pronoun, see KÜHNER-GERTH 1904, 425-426.

<sup>32</sup> My thanks go to Stefano Vecchiato for pointing out this possibility to me after discussing this text in a seminar at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. My deepest thanks also to my colleague Luca Mondin for discussing the possibility to keep the verb κολάπτειν in the text; however, he would rather favour the transmitted participle form κολάψας.

<sup>33</sup> For a tentative explanation of the mistake see *infra*, 44. On the difference between the use of the relative pronoun either with the subjunctive or with the optative mood (with or without ἄν) see KÜHNER-GERTH 1904, 424-425: “Das Relativ ... steht mit dem Konjunktive als dem Modus der erwarteten Verwicklung, wenn eine attributive Bestimmung nicht als eine tatsächlich vorhandene, sondern als eine unter gewissen Bedingunge, vorkommenden falls eintretende bezeichnet werden soll, daher bei allgemeiner Angabe einer zukünftigen Handlung, einer ganzen Gattung, einer unbestimmter Wiederholung”; 427: “Das Relativ ohne ἄν wird mit dem Optative

It is now time to consider the verb *κολάψῃ* as opposed to *καλύψῃ*, by offering first the text and the different translations required by the two textual options:

## I.

- 2 ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κ<α>λ<ύ>ψ<ει>  
 3 γράμματα κασσιτέρῳ κ<ε>κολαμμένα λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ  
 4 οὐ νιν πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθῶν ...

*Whoever **hides** in a house of stone the notable letters (or words) / of these sacred verses (or words) inscribed on tin, / as many things as broad Earth nourishes shall not harm him* <sup>34</sup> ...

## II.

- 2 ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κολάψ<ει>  
 3 γράμματα κασσιτέρῳ κ<ε>κολαμμένα λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ  
 4 οὐ νιν πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθῶν ...

*Whoever **inscribes** the notable letters of these sacred verses (or words) / which have been inscribed on tin in a house of stone, (my translation) / as many things as broad Earth nourishes shall not harm him ...*

Strangely, although most previous scholarship has openly or tacitly accepted the emendation *καλύψῃ*<sup>35</sup>, the relevance of the verb in this context has never been ascertained or challenged. The consequence ensuing from the insertion of *καλύψῃ* is that here the unidentified narrator would be recommending to hide (forever) the tablet, presumably in a tomb, as scholars have generally intended the meaning of the otherwise unattested expression *λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ*.

To begin with, the use of the verb *καλύπτω* with *γράμματα* as a direct object is unparalleled. In epic poetry, “*καλύπτω* ... is used of burial ... and of death and darkness more generally; it also frequently describes a protective covering, either before or after death”<sup>36</sup>; the same applies to the occurrences of the verb in few archaic inscriptional epigrams, where the subject is either *γαῖα* or *πόντος*, “covering” a corpse (*CEG* I, 69, 1; 76, 1; 166, 2). In sum, *καλύπτω*

verbunden erstens in derselben Bedeutung ... aber mit Beziehung auf eine historische Zeitform im Hauptsatze, also bei allgemeinen Angaben, bei öfter wiederkehrende Fällen”.

<sup>34</sup> It is worth reporting the translation offered by JANKO 2013 and 2015: “If a man graves on tin the meaning-filled letters / of these sacred verses and hides them in a stone house, / no creature that the broad earth rears shall cause him harm ...”. See also the translation by JORDAN-KOTANSKY, 2011, quoted *supra*, 30 n. 12.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. CALIVA 2015, 139: “The text of the Hexameters itself explicitly identifies inscription and *internment* as a prerequisite for the charm to achieve ...” (my italics).

<sup>36</sup> GRAZIOSI-HAUBOLD 2010, 213; see also *LfgRE* s.v. (H.W. Nordheider).

generally means “to cover, to wrap (up), to shroud/to veil in a shroud or in death” (cf. Hom. *Il.* 5, 23; 13, 425, ἐρεβεννῆ νυκτὶ καλύψαι) a corpse, a body or a face, whereas the meaning “to hide or conceal” something is rare (see LSJ s.v., § 2) and not relevant to our passage. It should be added that the material or substance (earth, sea etc.) used to cover someone or something is nearly always expressed (cf. Hom. *Il.* 7, 462: ἀδτις δ’ ἦϊόνα μεγάλην ψαμάθοισι καλύψαι), unless it has a metaphorical meaning. Neither of these conditions would apply to the GH text, if one accepts καλύψει at v. 2.

Besides, the emendation καλύψει brings about an awkward syntactic construct, since it presupposes a direct link between words which are quite distant apart and separated by another verbal form, κεκολαμμένα: καλύψει (v. 2) and λάος ἐν οἴκῳ (v. 3) are both placed at the end of different lines<sup>37</sup>. The word order in v. 3 points towards smoothly linking λάος ἐν οἴκῳ with the verb immediately preceding it, κεκολαμμένα, rather than with a verb in the preceding line, to mean “... verses (which have been) inscribed on tin in the house of stone”; such a translation also provides a more fitting rendition of the middle perfect form κεκολαμμένα<sup>38</sup>. Finally, even though the practice of placing the tablets with *defixiones* in graves and chthonic sanctuaries is well attested<sup>39</sup>, one question remains unanswered in the context of the Getty Hexameters tablet which, it must be recalled, is not a curse but an apotropaic charm. It is hard to understand what would be the purpose to hide in a tomb a text carefully inscribed on a tablet which “proves on examination to have been once foldable so to form a small portable packet”<sup>40</sup>. The format itself rather suggests that the text inscribed on the tablet was meant to circulate as a handy and protective talisman, to be read and memorized rather than concealed in a specific place where it would have served no purpose and be neglected<sup>41</sup>. Such a possibility is enforced by the sol-

<sup>37</sup> In order to make the syntax work with the insertion of the verb καλύψει, the two translations reported above cannot but require the Greek word order and/or the tenses to be changed: FARAONE-OBBINK 2013 b, anticipate the placing of λάος ἐν οἴκῳ (*supra*, 40 “Whoever hides in a house of stone...”), whereas JANKO 2013, inverts the two verbs in the sentence and creates two coordinate clauses in the present tense (*supra*, 40 n. 34 “If a man *graves on tin* the meaning-filled letters / of these sacred verses *and hides* them in a stone house...”: my italics); the same applies to the translations provided by JORDAN-KOTANSKY 2011, 57; FURLEY c.d.s., 18.

<sup>38</sup> The objection just raised, regarding the wide separation of the verb from the complement (λάος ἐν οἴκῳ) if καλύψει were read in v. 2, would lose weight with κολάψει / κολάψαι, given the identity of the verb in the sentence.

<sup>39</sup> See, for instance, BURKERT 1985, 75.

<sup>40</sup> So JORDAN-KOTANSKI 2011, 54. According to JANKO 2013, 33, the folding of the sheets had the main purpose “to protect the writing to the maximum extent possible”.

<sup>41</sup> On the contrary, maledictions are not supposed to be read or memorized by anyone: see, among others, NISOLI 2007, 36: “La finalità delle *defixiones* è quella di annichilire o rendere vane le azioni di un avversario ... affinché una situazione problematica o incerta si risolva a suo favore, il *defigens* decide di rivolgersi al mondo dell’aldilà. Proprio per questo motivo le *defixiones* non sono destinate alla vista e alla lettura umana: ne sono palese dimostrazione i luoghi di deposizione di esse...”. On the nature and placing-spots of the *defixiones* in Selinous see CRIPPA-DE

emphrasing of the opening statement at vv. 2-3, where the focus is placed on the sacred importance of its very words (τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα), with γράμματα in strong enjambement in the following line, and a stress laid also on the material on which they have been inscribed, κασσιτέρωι, tin (=lead). It should be kept in mind that this material (κασσίτερος =“lead”, “piombo”) “[era] infatti, scelto per la sua morbidezza e soprattutto per la duttilità – era possibile ripiegare e arrotolare la tavoletta come un messaggio...”<sup>42</sup>.

Conversely, if καλύπτειν is unattested with γράμματα, the verb κολάπτειν is well attested with γράμματα as a direct object in epigraphical, geographical, civic and religious contexts which are strikingly compatible with, or evocative of, the context we can gauge for the Getty Hexameters; moreover, quite a few epigraphical texts belong in the same geographical area, Sicily that is, or even in the proximity of Selinous.<sup>43</sup> To begin with the meaning of the verb, “... le verbe κολάπτω désignait à l’origine l’activité du pic; il a été employé pour désigner la gravure en pointillé ...”<sup>44</sup>, “... en particulier sur métal précieux comme on le voit dans la célèbre inscription de Sélinonte IGDS I, 78, 7-8... Par la suite, le verbe s’applique à la gravure sur bronze au burin et on le retrouve en Sicile ... dans le décret de Nakone (IGDS I, 206=SEG XXX, 1119) sur la restauration de la concorde civile”<sup>45</sup>. The earliest inscriptional evidence of the verb is found in an inscription from temple G in Selinous (450 BC), dating approximatively within the assumed decades plausible for the Getty tablet:

1) IGDS I, 78, lines 8-10=ARENA 1996, nr. 53, 8-10, temple G, Selinous, 450 BC (IG XIV 268=SGDI 3046):

... ἐν (8) χ[ρ]υσέῳ [L... ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς] .. ἰόνύματα ταῦτα (9) κολάψαντα[ς] ἐς τὸ  
[Ἀ]π[ο]λ[λ]ῶνιον καθήμεν (10) τὸ Διός ... ἰγράψαντες

SIMON 2009, 93-95; ROCCA 2009, XIV. I remain unconvinced by JANKO’s assumption (2013, 37) that the text was “buried by magistrates in order to protect the city as a whole”.

<sup>42</sup> DE SIMON 2009, 96. The *lex Selinuntina* was also engraved on lead.

<sup>43</sup> The provenance of the GH is far from sure (see *supra*, Tribulato, 3-20 and *infra* Antonetti, 107-130 in this volume); on the other hand, the circumstances of its bequeathing to the Getty Museum with other tablets which surely are from the Selinuntine area, along with similarities with other epigraphical texts from the area, converge in my opinion for surmising that this tablet too was found there, although this does not imply it originates from Selinous (see also JANKO 2013, 32). With the exception of JANKO 2013, the epigraphical evidence has attracted little or no attention from previous scholarship on the GH. On the language of the GH see also BETTARINI 2012, 112-117; JANKO 2013, 44-56; LUCARINI 2018, 24-25.

<sup>44</sup> Dubois (IGDS I, 78); see also PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1982, 192.

<sup>45</sup> DUBOIS 2013, 14.

*having embossed on gold and having inscribed these names  
they should be deposited in the Apollonion... (of) Zeus after writing<sup>46</sup>...*

It is also worth noting here the mention of the metal (gold) on which the text has been engraved, as well as the mention of the place where the text was to be preserved, the temple of Apollo.

2) another text unearthed in Sicily, a decree on reconciliation: *IGDS I, 206=M.-L. 38=SEG XXX, 1119, 33-35, Nakone, late 4th, early 3rd cent. BC:*

... τὸ δὲ ἀλίασμα τόδε κολαψάμενοι οἱ ἄρχοντ<ε>ς ἐς χάλκωμα  
ἐς τὸ πρόναον τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ] Ὀλυμπίου | ἀναθέντω.

*The archons shall engrave this decree on a bronze tablet  
and set it up in the pronaos of (the temple of) Olympian Zeus.*

Here too, along with a deictic (τόδε) referring to the text, the place where the text is bound to be preserved is named, the temple of Zeus, and the metal (bronze) is also specified. Interestingly, this long inscription also shows a constant focus on the involvement of the polis and of the citizens which – to a minor degree – is also present in the Getty Hexameters (cf. vv. 22-31 and see *infra*, 49-50).

3) a third inscription also from Sicily, a honorary decree of the priests of Apollo for Nemenios, *SEG LIX, 1100, A 29-32=B 28-30, Halaisa, (first half?) 1st cent. BC:*

(29) οἱ δὲ ταμίαι οἱ Διοδωρεῖοι ... (30) καὶ τόδε τὸ δόγμα κολάψαντες (31)  
ἐς χαλκώματα δύο, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀναθέντων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (32)  
ἐς τὸ πρόναον τοῦ Διὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐν ἀποδόντων αὐτῷ [Νεμηνίω].

Here too the deictic τόδε refers to the text which is to be inscribed on two bronze plaques, to be placed one in the pronaos of Zeus in the sanctuary of Apollo, and the other to be given to the person celebrated<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> The various editors of this inscriptions print either the accusative or the nominative of the participle κολάψαντας/τες. On the text, words and meaning of this inscription see the detailed analysis by MUSTI 1985, 140-141, 145-150, 443-445.

<sup>47</sup> This inscription is nearly identical with another one from the late 2nd/early 1st cent. BC, from Acragas, a proxeny decree for Demetrios, the son of Diodotus from Syracuse=*IG XIV 952=IGUR I, 2=IGDS I, 185: τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε κολάψαντας ἐς χαλκώματα δύο, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀποδοῦμεν Δημητρίω Διοδότῳ Συρακοσίῳ ὑπόμῆμα τὰς ποτὶ τὸν δᾶμον εὐνοίας...*

Along with other evidence (see below), the Sicilian occurrences displayed hereabove show that the aorist participle (κολάψαντες, κολαψάμενοι) was the tense used in engraving such public utterances which were then placed on public display in the precinct or interior of temples or in other buildings<sup>48</sup>. Differently from the text of GH vv. 2-3, in these inscriptions the aorist participle κολάψαντες, κολαψάμενοι is justified by the presence of a finite verb in the sentence. The purpose of these inscriptions was to announce to the *polis* the rules presiding over a decision. On these grounds one can surmise that the regular use of the aorist participle of κολάπτειν in such inscriptions contributes to explain the wrong engraving of the participle κολάψας in GH v. 2, instead of the aorist subjunctive κολάψῃ (or the optative aorist κολάψαι). The engraver may have been misled by the scribal practice in these statutory decrees.

The expression (γράμματα) κολάπτειν can be further found (especially with the compound verb ἐγκολάπτω) on a large number of inscriptions and of literary texts, in most cases with the mention of the sacred or civic public space where the inscription will be on display: cf. for instance *IG I<sup>3</sup> 386*, 166=*I.Eleusis* 52, col. III 45, Eleusis (408/7 BC) καὶ [γρά]μμ[α]τα ἐγκολά[φσαν]τι; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1672*, 6=*I.Eleusis* 177, 6, Eleusis (329/8 BC): 6 τοῖς τὰ γράμματα ἐπικολάψασιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ; *Tit. Camir.* 109, 8-10, Kamiros, Rhodes (shortly after 325 BC): ... τὰς κτοίνας ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἐγκολάψαι ἐν ταῖς στάλαι καὶ στάσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶς Ἀθάνας; *IG XI 2 145*, 15, Delos, 302 BC: ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ ἐγκολάψαντι ἀγθῆμια ... ; *IG XI 2*, 148, 68, Delos, 297 BC: τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἐγκολάψαντι ; *I.Thesp.* 54, 33-34 Roesch, Thespiāi (ca. 230-228 BC), with the noun ἐνκόλαψις replacing the verb: ... τῶς δὲ εἰρ[ε]θέντας ἐγδόμεν τὰν ἐνκόλαψιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐν τὰν στάλαν τὰν ἐν τῷ προυτανίῳ; *IG VII 3073*, 10-11 (Lebadeia, 2nd cent. BC) ... τῶν δὲ γραμμάτων τῆς ἐγκολάψεως ... ; *Philae* 144, 4-5 (Egypt, 7 BC) εἰς μνάμαν τόδε [μναμεῖον] ἀγνὸν ἐνεκόλαψεν ἱαρῶ...

For what regards the second occurrence of κολάπτειν within the same sentence of the GH (v. 3), the middle perfect participle form κεκολαμμένα is unparalleled; still, the same form of the compound ἐγκολάπτω is employed with γράμματα by Herodotus, in the mid 5th cent. BC: Herodot. 2, 136, 3 μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι; 5, 59 Καδμήια γράμματα ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου ἐν Θήβῃσι ... ἐπὶ τρίποσι τρισὶ ἐγκεκολαμμένα<sup>49</sup>. Here too we are faced with a public display of the inscrip-

<sup>48</sup> On the 'formulaic' use of the verb κολάπτω in Sicilian inscriptions see DUBOIS 2013, 14.

<sup>49</sup> Ἐγκολάπτω also occurs in two other passages: Herodot. 1, 187, 1 (aorist indicative); 2, 106, 4 (middle perfect participle).



tions in two prominent places, while the first passage quoted specifies the material on which the text is engraved, as happens with *κασσιτέρω* in GH v. 3. The only other occurrence of this form is attested in *OGIS* 740, 33-36, from the Fayoum (95 BC), where the placing of the inscribed stele is also in a sacred space: ... 32 εἶναι τὸ μνηυόμενον ἱερὸν ἄσυλον καὶ ἀναθεῖναι στήλας | 34 λιθίνας ἐκκεκολαμμένας τοῖς θ' ἑλληνικο[ῖς] | 35 καὶ ἐνχωρίοις γράμμασιν πρὸ τοῦ λιθίνου προπύλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

Before setting to suggest an alternative meaning for the expression *λῶος ἐν οἴκῳ* and to account for the repetition of the verb *κολάπτειν* within the same sentence of GH vv. 2-3, I would like to point out the occurrence of *γράμματα* at the beginning of the hexameter line as in GH v. 3, in a Greek magic papyrus where a compound of the verb *χαράσσω* bears a meaning similar to *κολάπτω*: *Hymn. in Lunam* F (10) 40 Heitsch (=PGM II, *Hymn.* 18, 40) *γράμματα* σῶ σκήπτρῳ α<ὐ>τὸ<ς> Κρόνος ἀμφεχάραξεν (=ἐγκόλασεν), referred to the sceptre conferred to Selene by Kronos. An equivalent expression with a middle perfect participle is found in *FD* III 4, 37, 24-26 from Delphi (101 BC), where the stress is also laid on the material for the engraving and on the civic value of displaying the inscription in a prominent place of the *polis*: (24) εἰς δ[έ]λτον χαλκῆν (25) γράμματα ἐνκεχαραγμένα ἔστω, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐν λίθῳ μαρμαρίνῳ ἢ καὶ ἐν λευκώματι, ὅπως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἐκκε[ίμενα] ἦ ἐν ἱερῶι ἢ ἀγορῶι φανερώς.

To sum up, the evidence provided proves beyond reasonable doubt that both the expressions *γράμματα κολάπτειν* and *γράμματα κεκολαμμένα* are well rooted in an epigraphical tradition attested in various areas of the Greek world from the mid 5th cent. BC onwards, most importantly in Sicily, including the area where presumably the Getty Hexameters tablet was found (cf. above the Selinous inscription: *IGDS* I, 78). In nearly all the occurrences I have quoted the engraving is presented as an official act, a public initiative meant to display the inscribed stele or the like in the premises of a civic or (in most cases) a religious space<sup>50</sup>.

For what concerns *κασσίτερος*, another mention of the word in the epigraphic corpus is connected to *γράμματα*, as in GH v. 3: cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 204, 49=*I.Eleusis* 144, 49, Eleusis (352/351 BC), καὶ] ἀνα[γ]νωσθ[ή]τω τῶι δήμῳι ἢ τε μαντεία καὶ τὰ (49) [έ]κ τῶ[ν κα]τ[ε]τ[ι]τέρω[ν] γρ[ά]μματα. In poetic language, *κασσίτερος* is only attested (with very few exceptions) in epic poetry: apart from Hes. *Theog.* 862; *Scut.* 208, in a few Homeric passages it is combined with other metals (gold, bronze: cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 20, 270-272). In considering the form *κεκολαμμένα* in GH v. 3, the most striking passage which seems to lie behind the combination of words indicating the written text, the

<sup>50</sup> On the placing of decrees, treatises and other inscriptions in a civic or religious place in Sicily see GIANGIULIO 1982, in part. 957-970.

material and the act of inscribing is found in Homer (*Il.* 23, 503), with a chariot “thickly covered with gold and tin”: ἄρματα δὲ χρυσῶ πεπυκασμένα κασσιτέρῳ τε ~ GH Side A, col. I 3 γράμματα κασσιτέρῳ κεκολαμμένα ... Remarkably, the two lines convey through the same syntactic and grammatical pattern the notion of an object (a chariot ~ a tablet) covered or inscribed with (gold and) lead. The partial identity of words is enhanced by the close similarity of the phonic and grammatical pattern (ἄρματα ~ γράμματα, πεπυκασμένα ~ κεκολαμμένα, κασσιτέρῳ ~ κασσιτέρῳ), and I suggest that what we have here is a readaptation of the Homeric diction: no matter how obscure the text of the Getty tablet may look, its verses are firmly placed within a traditional system of hexameter poetry, as will become even clearer in the following of my analysis. The same combination of technical words and epic language found in Homer is reflected in the Getty Hexameters, where in the same line (v. 3) no less than two materials are named, tin/lead (κασσιτέρῳ) and stone (λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ); even though they do not refer to the same object, both are governed by the participle κεκολαμμένα placed between them.

Clearly, the person who engraved the Getty Hexameters deemed it was necessary to lay particular emphasis at the beginning of his utterance on the materiality and on the factual process of engraving the sacred words/verses. The repetition of the verb κολάπτειν and the awkward insertion of two technical words within the same line has disrupted the formulaic nature of the verses and generated problems in the phrasing and meaning of the sentence.

### *A house of stone*

As a consequence of the insertion of different expressions within the limited space of two verses, the meaning of the periphrasis λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ at the end of GH v. 3 remains obscure: it is unattested in the whole corpus of Greek literature, and the same applies to the construction of the genitive λᾶος with whatsoever noun<sup>51</sup>. In early hexameter poetry the simple link ἐνὶ οἴκῳ is often found at the end of the line, as here (cf. Hom. *Il.* 6, 500; 7, 127; 8, 284, *Od.* 4, 4; 9, 478, *passim*; Hes. *Op.* 131), while ἐν οἴκῳ occurs in a different metrical position (Hes. *Op.* 364, 407, 525). The interpretation preferred by scholars who adopt the emendation καλύψει at GH v. 2 is that the tablet will be hidden “presumably [in] a tomb or a chthonic shrine” (JANKO 2013, 34). The lack of evidence for λᾶος leaves no other choice than look at the possible context where the correlated adjective λάϊνος, “of stone”, is found. The only (very late) evidence for λάϊνος οἶκος is Nonnus, *Dionys.* 6, 123 indicating a cave of stone

<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, in Hom. *Od.* 10, 210-211 the house of Circe, goddess of magic, is described as ... τετυγμένα δώματα Κίρκης / ξεστοῖσιν λάεσσι ...; cf. φάρμακα at v. 213 and in GH vv. 6, 23, 49, 50 (πολυφαρ).

in the rocks; λάινος οἶκια (=“tomb”, or “temple-grave” of stone) is found in Diod. gramm. (1st cent. AD?), *Anth. Gr.* 7, 700, 1-2 (=epigr. 9 Gow-Page). Combined with other nouns (μνήμα, τάφος, τύμβος etc.) λάινος is referred to a tomb in *CEG* I, 58, 2 (Dipylon, ca. 510-500?), λάινον ... μνήμα; *SEG* LI, 673 v. 1, Atrax, Thessaly, second half 4th cent. BC: Λαίνεος ... τύπος; *SGO* I 01/12/01 (=IG XII 1, 145), Halikarnassos, late Hellenistic period: λάινο[ν Ἰ]σσυρή [χῶμα Σεμι[ρά]μιος =Antipat. Sidon. (ca. 130 BC), *Anth. Gr.* 7, 748, 2 (epigr. 33, 2 Gow-Page); *IC* II, XXIII 21, 1 (Crete, Polythenia, 2nd cent. BC), τύμβος ὁ λ<α>ί<νε>[ος]<sup>52</sup>.

However, the identification of “the house of stone” with a tomb or the like *only* stands if one reads in the text the emended verb καλύπει. It founders if, as I hope to have shown in detail, such an emendation is found faulty and unnecessary, and the form κολάψει or κολάψαι is accepted instead which, moreover, requires a minor palaeographic adjustment<sup>53</sup>. In order to find a plausible interpretation for λᾶος ἐν οἴκῳ, we should turn back to the context of the inscriptions listed above where the expression γράμματα κολάπτειν occurs, or even just the verb κολάπτειν. As I have already pointed out, from the evidence collected we can gather that the ultimate destination of an inscribed text or stele would have been either a prominent civic place (such as the πρυτανεῖον, the ἀγορά), or a religious place (the precinct of a temple, a votive chamber, a family shrine).

If we turn back again to the adjective λάινος, the interpretation of λᾶος οἶκος as a temple or, more generically, as a religious place with a building of stone, finds adequate support in a number of texts. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (vv. 296-299) mentions the building of the temple to the god and recalls that both the floor and the temple were made of stone:

λάινον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἠδ' Ἀγαμήδης  
 υἱέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων  
 κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν ἀοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ.

*Upon them [the foundations] Trophonios and Agamedes,  
 the sons of Erginus ...  
 laid a stone floor; and about it the teeming peoples built the temple  
 with blocks set in place, to be a theme of song forever*

(Loeb transl. by M.L. West)<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> See also Ariston epigr. 2, 8 Gow-Page; Diod. epigr. 10, 4 Gow-Page.

<sup>53</sup> While the shift from κολάψας to κολάψαι or κολάψῃ implies the change of 1 or 2 letters only at the end of the word, the emendation καλύπει brings about the replacement of 4 letters.

<sup>54</sup> For another mention of a temple of stone see Hom. *Il.* 9, 404-405, ... λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἔργει / Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρήεσση; *Od.* 8, 80 (the oracle

In the most recently published 4th cent. BC metrical inscription in trochaic tetrameters from Uzunyuva (Milas/Mylasa), edited by MAREK-ZINGG, 2018 the editors have conjectured the word νηός in the lacuna at v. 36 to which λάϊνος is referred: λάϊνος νεογ(ν)ὰ κεύθω[ν νηός? - ~ - - \*]<sup>55</sup>. Even without the genitive of the matter λᾶος, οἶκος indicates a votive chamber in *CEG* II, 860, 1 (Cnidia, end of VI cent. BC?) Κούραι καὶ Δάματρι οἶκον καὶ ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκεν<sup>56</sup>... Furthermore, it indicates a temple in *IG* IV 1580 (Aegina); Herodot. 8, 143; Eurip. *Phoen.* 1372-1373 (Πάλλαδος ... οἶκον), Aristoph. *Nub.* 599-600 (Artemis) ἢ τ' Ἐφέσου μάκαιρα πάγχρυσον ἔχεις / οἶκον...; *SEG* LIV, 783, 2 (Kos, Asklepieion, late 3rd cent. BC). In the decrees of the Klytidai (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 987, 25=LUPU 2009, 118, 4-6, Chios, ca. 335 BC) οἶκος clearly defines a sacred public space: ... τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κοινὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον ἐνεγκεῖν ... (22) ... τὰ ἱερὰ κεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, *passim*; cf. 30-34 ὃς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα ἢ ἀδοτὸς χρήσῃται τῷ οἴκῳ ... (cf. LUPU 2009, 65, 113; 129, 12).

Along these lines, my view is that in the GH too the “house of stone”, generic as it is, must refer to a religious place or space with a building where the text of the Getty Hexameters was originally deposited after being inscribed on lead. Admittedly, the main difficulty in comparing vv. 2-3 of the GH with the inscriptions (including those from Sicily) and with the literary sources (Herodotus, Euripides Aristophanes, etc.) is that in the GH οἶκος is not specified by the name of the god who presides over it. Accordingly, the identification of the place alluded to remains impossible to ascertain. A tentative explanation could be that the expression was left deliberately generic in order to serve multiple occasions in different places where the ritual-incantatory text would be recited. Or else, the text with an apotropaic-incantatory purpose was deposited in the precinct of a temple at Selinous which was well known to the followers, hence no need was felt to specify which sacred place was meant (as happens also with the decree of the Klytidai at Chios, where the setting of the οἶκος is not specified).

Alongside with other texts from the Selinuntine area, the inscriptions with the verb κολάπτειν may help to work out a plausible context: they show that an

‘room’). The link λάϊνος οὐδός is also found in Parmenides D 4, 12 Laks-Most=F 1, 12 Diels-Kranz, ἐνθα πύλαι Νυκτός τε καὶ Ἥματος εἰσι κελεύθων, / καὶ σφας ὑπέρθυρον ἀμφίς ἔχει καὶ λάϊνος οὐδός ; Bacchyl. *Pae.* F 4, 21 Maehler=Athen. 178 b (Ἡρακλῆς) στὰ δ' ἐπι λάϊνον οὐδόν (house of Ceux).

<sup>55</sup> See MAREK-ZINGG 2018, 4 (text), 28 (supplement).

<sup>56</sup> See also BURKERT 1985, 200, with further references and bibliography: “family shrines are concentrated in a sacred house, *oikos*”. The translation of GH vv. 2-3 offered by KOTANSKY 2016, 9, is still unconvincing in my opinion: “Whosoever would enclose, in *his* house of stone...” (my italics). It still relies on the emendation καλύπτει, and connects the verb to the too distantly placed λᾶος οἶκος, thereby referring a house of stone to any individual willing to make a personal use of the tablet.

inscribed text with official value was meant to be displayed in a public space, so that its statutory value would be reinforced, and it could also be read by whoever wished to do so<sup>57</sup>. The practice of depositing an incantatory text in a public place can be compared with the *defixiones* (usually inscribed on lead) which were deposited in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at *Selinous*: a procedure which attests “una tradizione magico-defissoria di carattere ufficiale” ... “Lungi dall’appartenere ad ambiti segreti o marginali ... le *tabulae defixionum* di Selinunte sono collocate in aree cultuali che nel V secolo a.C. sono di grande sviluppo, di scambi e di incontro di tradizioni e culture di grande varietà e ricchezza”<sup>58</sup>.

To make the background of the Getty Hexameters and my overall interpretation more explicit, it is convenient to repeat here my translation of GH vv. 2-3, based on the occurrence of the form *κολάψῃ* in v. 2, followed by *κεκολαμμένα* in the same sentence: “*Whoever inscribes the notable letters of these sacred verses (or words) / which have been (previously) inscribed on lead in a house of stone, / as many things as broad Earth nourishes shall not harm him ...* “. According to my interpretation, the two forms of the verb *κολάπτειν* refer to two distinct moments in time, a past (*κεκολαμμένα*) and a present/future (*κολάψῃ* / *κολάψαι*); accordingly, they reflect two different ways (public or official, and private) of relating to the apotropaic text inscribed on the lead tablet.

A. *Public purpose and display for the sake of the city*. As stated at v. 3 by the clause *κασσιτέρωι κεκολαμμένα λαός ἐν οἴκωι*, the text of the charm had first been inscribed on lead and officially deposited for display in a public place in a building made of stone, presumably a sanctuary or a shrine. This first stage with the text deposited in a public place reflects the civic, official use of the incantation for the sake of the *polis*, which is a significant presence in the Getty Hexameters: the concern for the *polis* is clearly expressed at GH A II v. 31, ... *ἔισσι πόλει· τὰ γὰρ ἀρχῆς ἐστιν ἀρίστ[α]*, “... is for/to the city, for best are the things from the beginning (?)” or else “[better] so far the city: for order is best”, JANKO 2013, 43, but a general scenario more suitable for a community than for an individual must also be envisaged in the whole preceding section (GH A II vv. 22-31), where Paeon is asked to ward off damage against armies, ships, flocks, and human activities: cf. (22) ... *ἀνόμων οἴκ[ω]ν ...* | (25) ... *ἀ]νθρώποισιν ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι ἄν[ωγα]* | (26) ... *κα]ν εὐπολέμωι*

<sup>57</sup> For the sake of convenience, I am listing again the places mentioned in the inscriptions quoted *supra*, 42-45, where the various typologies of texts were deposited after being inscribed: ἐν τῷ προτανίῳ / ἐν ἱερῶι ἢ ἀγορᾷ / ἐς τὸ πρόγαον τοῦ Διὸς [τοῦ] Ὀλυμπίου / ἐν τῷ ἱρῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου / ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐς τὸ πρόγαον τοῦ Διὸς / ἐς τὸ [Ἀπολλ]ῶνιον καθέμεν / ἐν τῷ ἱερῶι τᾶς Ἀθάνας / ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείωι / ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίωι / πρὸ τοῦ λιθίνου προπύλου τοῦ ἱεροῦ / ἱερῶ.

<sup>58</sup> CRIPPA-DE SIMON 2009, 101 and 100; see also ROCCA 2009, XIV.

καὶ ναυσίν ... | (27) ... ἀνθρώποις ... | (28) ἢ προβάτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τέχναισι βροτῶν. As noted by Janko (2013, 37), “this official aspect also recalls the prayers/curses prescribed in the famous *dirae Teiae*”, a text (quoted *supra*, 37) which shows to what extent a whole community could take in the most serious way the threat of φάρμακα δηλητήρια, “harmful spells (or drugs)” sent by some hostile force. Hence the *polis* would decide to undertake drastic measures to ward off the peril, such as those stated in the *dirae Teiorum*. In other words, the *dirae* show that the magistrates of the city proceeded to organise an articulate judicial reaction against whomsoever intended to threaten its institutions.

B. *Individual use of the protective charm.* Conversely, the generalizing sentence of GH vv. 2-5 (ὅστις τῶνδ’ ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κ<ο>λάψ<ει> / (3) γράμματα ... / (4) οὐκ νιν πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθῶν / (5) οὐδ’ ὅσα πόντωι ...) entails a shift from the *polis* to the individual, insofar as it is explicitly addressed to whomsoever is willing to follow the precepts and verbal apotropaic ritual featured in the tablet. If we leave aside the words κασσιτέρωι ... οἴκωι referring to the engraving of the text which occurred earlier in time, the main bipartite sentence with the relative clause implies that whoever is willing on his own private initiative to (copy and) inscribe on a tablet the (same) text which had been previously deposited in a house of stone in the *polis*, he will be granted the powerful protection and support of Paeon, who can effectively counter all sorts of evil (cf. πολυφάρμακος v. 50, and my interpretation *ad loc.* in CINGANO, forth.).

To recapitulate from a different perspective, in the opening lines of the GH the speaking persona (the tablet itself, embodied with magic powers, an itinerant magician, or a practitioner of some sort) is ‘advertising’ the effectiveness of the text for private use by individuals: as already noted, the portable format of the tablet suggests that after being copied/inscribed again it could conveniently be taken around or kept at home, and serve as a portable talisman to be read aloud or recited whenever needed<sup>59</sup>. If this interpretation is correct, the unprecedented double occurrence of two forms of κολάπτειν within the same sentence refers to two aspects of the engraving at a different time: they complement each other in proving the adaptability of the written text for both a private and a civic, official use<sup>60</sup>. The Getty Hexameters can thus be defined as a

<sup>59</sup> In my interpretation, the form κολάψει or κολάψαι, which refers to something which is still to happen, should better be intended as “re-inscribe, inscribe again”.

<sup>60</sup> The official or semi-official nature and the civic concern of one section of the GH are acknowledged by JANKO 2013, 32, 37; FURLEY c.d.s., 5; KOTANSKY 2016, 3, 7: “The Getty’s verses intend to produce salvific restoration and wholeness for both individual and polis”; however, the full acceptance of the emendation καλύψει at v. 2 and consequently of the internment of the tablet prevents them from reaching any conclusion in the direction suggested here.

text of civic interest aimed also at an individual use; they disprove the traditional view that these texts only belonged to a sphere of private ritual, of secrecy, and to the exclusive use by an individual. In a specular way, the text of the *dirae Teiorum* is just as imbued with a background of magic and fear of evil forces conspiring against the *polis*: the political and judicial initiative of the magistrates in order to ward off evil and hostile magic practices shows the other side of the same social and cultural background.

The proem of the GH perfectly embodies the cultural issue dealt with by C. Faraone in many of his contributions: the use of hexameters in magical charms exemplifies the shift “from a living oral tradition in which hexameter poets create new charms or variations on old ones, to a scribal tradition, in which handbooks provide exemplars for most incantations, including (for the first time) *verbatim* quotations from authoritative hexametrical texts such as the Homeric poems”<sup>61</sup>. The dense style of vv. 2-3 with the focus on the ἀρίσημα γράμματα of the ἱερὰ ἔπεα and the repetition of the verb κολάπτειν is a telling example of the stress laid on the writing and inscribing of the text, a focus which – as already pointed out (vd. *supra*, 46), disrupts the fluidity of the (mainly) Homeric diction. It is surely not by chance that after stressing the value of a written and portable talisman the language becomes smoother and clearer: in the transition to the main clause of the sentence, the speaking persona relies entirely on the formulaic diction of epic poetry in order to close with a generalizing, universal imagery. Vv. 4-5 of the GH create an all-encompassing scenery taken from the natural world which is well attested in epic and also in lyric poetry, as an impressive background against which to pit the protective effect of the charm:

ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κολάψ<ει> / γράμματα ... / οὐ νιν  
 πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεΐα χθών / (5) οὐδ' ὅσα πόντῳ βόσκει  
 ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.

*Whoever inscribes the notable letters of these sacred verses (or words) / which  
 have been inscribed on tin in a house of stone, / as many things as broad Earth  
 nourishes shall not harm him / nor as many things as much-groaning Amphitrite  
 rears in the sea.*

<sup>61</sup> I am quoting from FARAONE 1996, 96. I shall deal with vv. 4-7, 28, 32, 49-50 of the GH in CINGANO, forth., to be published elsewhere.

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*A fresh look at the Getty Hexameters:  
style, diction, tradition and context (vv. 1-5)*

The aim of the present paper is to offer a different interpretation of vv. 1-4 of the Getty Hexameters. A close analysis of the syntax, grammar, and diction of (mostly) Homeric passages, metrical inscriptions, and legal prose texts also on inscriptions shows that the beginning of the GH shares many features with texts from the early and classical age which had been so far neglected. Moreover, it shows that the widely accepted emendation *kalypsei* at v. 2 should be rejected in favour of the form *kolapsei* (aor. subjunct.), which only requires a slight modification of the inscribed participle *kolapsas*. Finally, the widespread occurrence of the verb *kolaptein* in the epigraphical tradition from the 5th cent. BC in similar contexts in the same Sicilian area and elsewhere, helps to define the GH as a text of civic interest aimed also at an individual use, and in assuming that it was not buried, but initially deposited for display in a building made of stone in a public/religious place. A study of the last section of the GH will be published elsewhere.

Keywords: apotropaic charms, contest, curses, legal inscriptions, metrical inscriptions.