

*HUNGARIAN POLIS STUDIES* Nr. 20

**György Németh**

SUPPLEMENTUM AUDOLLENTIANUM



ZARAGOZA - BUDAPEST - DEBRECEN

2013

SUPPLEMENTUM AUDOLLENTIANUM

HUNGARIAN POLIS STUDIES (HPS)

University of Debrecen

Dept. of Ancient History

H-4010 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

Fax: + 36 52 512 900 / 22130

E-mail: [nemeth.gyorgy@btk.elte.hu](mailto:nemeth.gyorgy@btk.elte.hu); [pforisek2@yahoo.com](mailto:pforisek2@yahoo.com)

Nr. 20

Ed. by

György Németh

HU ISSN 1417-1708

Co-Editor:

Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation

2013

GYÖRGY NÉMETH

SUPPLEMENTUM AUDOLLENTIANUM

BUDAPEST – DEBRECEN – ZARAGOZA

Redactor manager

Dániel Bajnok; Ádám Szabó

© Author

© Editor of HPS

Cover photo: DTAud 263.

ISBN 978-963-473-620-2

Printed by  
KODEX KÖNYVGYÁRTÓ KFT.  
Budapest

# Contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Bibliography.....	5
Thematic bibliography of Auguste Audollent:.....	5
Other references:.....	6
Abbreviations.....	13
1. Introduction: About the genesis and the purpose of this book.....	15
2. Audollent and the defixiones.....	17
3. The archival bequest of Audollent.....	23
3.1. Defixiones in the Musée Bargoin.....	25
4. Charaktères.....	37
4.1. Territorial distribution of charaktères.....	41
4.2. Present location of the tablets.....	43
4.3 The Audollent archive in Clermont-Ferrand.....	45
4.4. The surviving drawings.....	48
4.5. The position of charaktères in the text of defixiones.....	49
5. Iconographical problems.....	51
5.1. Audollent's demons.....	51
5.1.1. Love Spell of Attraction.....	52
5.1.2. Curses of Obscure Purpose.....	53
5.1.3. Gladiators and Venatores.....	55
5.1.4. Circus.....	56
5.2. The snake-headed demon.....	60
5.3. The horse-headed demon.....	65
5.4. The lion-headed demon.....	69
5.4.1. Tabula ansata.....	73
6. Texts in boxes.....	79
7. Catalogue of drawings and photos.....	85
Greece.....	85
Italy (Rome).....	86
Africa (Tunisia).....	93
Images.....	121
Images of the Catalogue.....	122
Other images.....	235



## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme in Clermont-Ferrand for all due help and for allowing me to publish the results. I would like to express my gratitude to the head of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Michel Amandry and his chief assistant, Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, for allowing me to study the tablets in their collection and for giving me all information they had in their records. I owe a debt of gratitude to Mme Chantal Lamesch, the conservateur of the Musée Bargoin, for her support of my research, and also to the mayor of Clermont-Ferrand, who consented to the publication of the photos taken from the finds, which are the property of the town. I am also much indebted to Thierry Mollard who provided all possible help in the Musée Bargoin, to Marina Piranomonte and Rosanna Friggeri (Rome) for the inventory numbers of the Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln. I am grateful to Émilie Fabre for her unpublished university thesis (Fabre 2010), though her data were not always reliable. This study forms part of OTKA [Hungarian Scientific Research Fund] programme no. K 81332 (Ancient magic, parallel researches: Curse tablets and magic gems), and the Zaragoza project titled *Espacios de penumbra: Cartografía de la actividad magico-religiosa en el Occidente del Imperio romano* (Ref. FFI 2008-01511 / FISO). Furthermore, I am also grateful to the Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung, which contributed to the travels indispensable for the research.





# Bibliography

## Thematic bibliography of Auguste Audollent:

- AUDOLLENT, A. (1901): *Carthage Romaine, 146 av. J.-C. - 698 ap. J.-C.* Fontemoing, Paris.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1902a): Note sur une nouvelle “tabella devotionis” trouvée à Sousse. *BCTH*, 417–425.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1902b): Tablettes magiques. In: GAUCKLER, P. – GOUVET, E. – HANNEZO, G.: *Musées de Sousse*. Paris, 84–85.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1903): “Devotio” ou “Defixio”? *Mélanges Boissier*, Paris, 37–43.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1904): *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis, quam in totius Occidentis partibus propter Atticas, in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas*. Fontemoing, Paris.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1905a): Lecture de deux tabellae defixionis trouvées à Sousse. *BCTH*, CLXXXII–CLXXXIII.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1905b): Les tabellae defixionum d'Afrique. *BCTH*, 433–444.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1906): Rapport sur des “tabellae defixionum” récemment découvertes à Sousse. *BCTH*, 378–387.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1908a): Rapport sur des “tabellae defixionum” récemment découvertes à Sousse. (Suite). *BCTH*, 3–21.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1908b): Rapport sur deux fragments de lamelles de plomb avec inscription découvertes à Sousse. *BCTH*, 290–296.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1909): A propos de la langue des “tabellae defixionum”. *REA*, 366–368.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1910a): Deux nouvelles defixiones de Tunisie. *BCTH*, 137–148.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1910b): Bandeau de plomb avec inscription trouvé a Haïdra (Tunisie). *Mélanges offerts à Emile Châtelain*, Paris, 545–556.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1912): Fragment d'inscription sur lamelle de plomb trouvée à Souk-el-Abiod (Tunisie). *BCTH*, 356–358.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1913): Sur une “tabella defixionis” de Mentana. *REA*, 35, 459–460.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1922): Une nouvelle tabella defixionis de Tunisie. *BCTH*, 87–91.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1925): Les tablettes de plomb découvertes à Carthage. *BCTH*, C–CI.

- AUDOLLENT, A. (1930a): Note sur une plaquette magique de Carthage. *CRAI*, 30, 303–309.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1930b): Deux tabellae defixionum trouvées dans la Fontaine aux mille amphores. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CII.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1930c): Une nouvelle tabella defixionis africaine. *Mélanges Paul Thomas. Recueil de mémoires concernant la philologie classique dédié à Paul Thomas*, Gent, 16–28.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1933a): Les inscriptions de la “Fontaine aux mille amphores” à Carthage. Extrait du *Cinquième Congrès International d'Archéologie*, Alger (14–16 Avril 1930), Alger, 120–140.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1933b): Quelques aspects extérieurs des tabellae defixionum. *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga*, Paris, 31–39.
- AUDOLLENT, A. (1951): Double inscription prophylactice contre la grêle, sur une croix de plomb trouvée en Tunisie. *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 43, 45–75.

**Other references:**

- AVELLINO, F. M. (1845–1846): Notizia di una iscrizione in lamina di piombo. *Bulletino archeologico napoletano*, 4, Pl. I. 3.
- AVELLINO, F. M. (1848): Notizia di una iscrizione in lamina di piombo. *Bulletino archeologico napoletano*, 6, 89–90.
- AVRAM, A. – CHIRIAC, C. – IONEL MATEI, I. (2007): Defixiones d'Istros. *BCH*, 131, 383–420.
- BETZ, H. D. (ed.) (1986): *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*. Chicago–London.
- BEVILACQUA, G. (2003): Le ninfe Ephydriades nelle Sethianorum tabellae di Roma. In: LAZZARINI, M. L. – LOMBARDI, P. (ed. d.): *L'Italia centro meridionale tra repubblica e primo impero: alcuni aspetti culturali e istituzionali: giornata di studio, Roma, 13 dicembre 2002*. Roma.
- BEVILACQUA, G. (ed.) (2010): *Scrittura e magia. Un repertorio di oggetti iscritti della magia greco-romana*. Roma.
- BEVILACQUA, G. (2012a): IX. 44-45. Sethianorum tabellae. In: FRIGGERI, R. – GRANINO CECERE, M. G. – GREGORI, Gian G. L. (edd.): *Terme di Diocleziano. La collezione epigrafica*. Roma, 602–603.
- BEVILACQUA, G. (2012b): IX, 44. Defixio greca contro gli aurighi dalla via Appia. In: FRIGGERI, R. – GRANINO CECERE, M. G. – GREGORI, Gian G. L.

- (edd.): *Terme di Diocleziano. La collezione epigrafica*. Roma, 603–606.
- BEVILACQUA, G. (2012c): IX, 45. Defixio greca contro Kardelos dalla via Appia. In: FRIGGERI, R. – GRANINO CECERE, M. G. – GREGORI, Gian G. L. (edd.): *Terme di Diocleziano. La collezione epigrafica*. Roma, 607–610.
- BLÄNSDORF, J. (2010): The Texts from the *Fons Annae Perennae*. In: GORDON, R. – SIMÓN, F. M. (edd.): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30. Sept. – 1. Oct. 2005*. Leiden – Boston, 215–244.
- BLOMART, A. (2013): Religion ou magie? Les textes oubliés sur l'evocatio et la devotio Romaines. SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE, E. – PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, A. (edd.): *Mito y Magia en Grecia y Roma*. Barcelona, 295.
- BONNER, C. (1950): *Studies in Magical Amulets: Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, Ann Arbor.
- BRACKMANN, S. (2011): Ein Votivtäfelchen mit einer ungewöhnlichen Weihinschrift für Zeus. *ZPE* 178, 221–222.
- BRODERSEN, K. (2002): Frauen und Männer auf griechischen Fluchtafeln. In: ULF, C. – ROLLINGER, R. (edd.): *Geschlechter – Frauen – Fremde Ethnien in antiker Ethnographie. Theorie und Realität*. Innsbruck, 485–494.
- BRODERSEN, K. – KROPP, A. (2004): *Fluchtafeln. Neue Funde und neue Deutungen zum antiken Schadenzauber*. Frankfurt am Main.
- CAGNAT, R. L. V. (1899): *Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis de Carthage. Collections des Pères-Blancs*. Paris.
- CAGNAT, R. (1903): Les tablettes magiques d'Hadrumète. *Journal des savants*, 256–264.
- CAGNAT, R. (1904): Rapport. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 231–232.
- CARTON, L. (1906): *Les fouilles d'El-Kenissia (près Sousse)*. Paris.
- CHOPPARD, L. – HANNEZO, G. (1893): Nouvelles découvertes dans la Nécropole romaine d'Hadrumète. *BCTH*, 193–202.
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Ch. (1900): Tabella devotionis à inscription punique. *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, 3, 87–97.
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Ch. (1901): La tabella devotionis punique. *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale*, 4, 314–319.
- COLLINS, D. (2008): *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*. Blackwell, Malden–Oxford.

- COUDRAY DE BLANCHÈRE, R.-M. de – GAUCKLER, P. (1897): *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, Paris.
- CUMONT, F. (1913): Une figurine grecque d'envoûtement. In: CRAI, 57, 412–421.
- DANIEL, R. W. – MALTOMINI, F. (1992): *Supplementum magicum*. Vol. II. Opladen.
- DELATTRE, R. P. (1893): Inscriptions de Carthage 25. *Recueil de notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, 38, 164–165.
- DELATTRE, R. P. (1899): *Musée Lavigerie de Saint Louis de Carthage*. Paris.
- DICKIE, M. W. (2000): Who practised love-magic in classical antiquity and in the late Roman world? *CQ*, 50/2, 563–583.
- DIES, A. (1953): Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Auguste Audollent. *CRAI*, 97, 334–350.
- DUPONT-FERRIER, G. (1943): Éloge funèbre de M. Auguste Audollent, membre libre de l'Académie. *CRAI*, 87, 194–198.
- FABRE, E. (2010): Auguste Audollent (1864–1943): *Archéologue, épigraphiste, historien*. Master II, Clermont-Ferrand. (Manuscript)
- FARAONE, C. (1991): Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Defensive Use of “Voodoo Dolls” in Ancient Greece. *Classical Antiquity*, 10, 165–205; 207–220.
- FERRON, J. (1967): La tabella defixionis punique de Carthage. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 117, 215–222.
- FOSSUM, J. – GLAZER, B. (1994): Seth in the Magical Texts, *ZPE*, 100, 86–92.
- FRIGGERI, R. – GRANINO CECERE, M. G. – GREGORI, G. L. (edd.) (2012): *Terme di Diocleziano. La collezione epigrafica*. Roma.
- GAGER, J. G. (1992): *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford.
- GAUCKLER, P. (1895): Découvertes archéologiques en Tunisie. *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, 56, 83–160.
- GAUCKLER, P. (1904): Annonce. *BCTH*, CXCIV–CXCIV.
- GAUCKLER, P. – GOUVET, E. – HANNEZO, G. (1902): *Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie. – Musées de Sousse*. Paris.
- GIANNOBILE, S. – JORDAN, D. (2006): A lead phylactery from Colle san Basilio. *GRBS*, 46, 73–86.
- GOETSCHY, P. H. (1894): Fouilles archéologiques exécutées en mai 1894 dans la région d'Haydra (Tunisie). *Recueil de notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique de la province de Constantine*, 39, 566–568.

- GORDON, R. (2002): Shaping the text: innovation and authority in Graeco-Egyptian malign magic. In: HORSTMANSHOFF, H. F. J. et al. (edd.): *Kykeon*. Leiden – Boston – Köln, 69–111.
- GORDON, R. (2005): Competence and 'Felicity Conditions' in two Sets of North African Curse-Tablets (DTAud nos. 275-85; 286-98). *MHNH*, 5, 61–86.
- GORDON, R. – SIMÓN, F. M. (edd.) (2010): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30. Sept. – 1. Oct. 2005*. Leiden – Boston.
- GORDON, R. (2011): *Signa nova et inaudita*: The theory and practice of invented signs (*charaktères*) in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts. *MHNH*, 11, 15–44.
- GRENIER, A. (1905): Nouvelles tabellae defixionis de Sousse trouvées dans les fouilles de la nécropole: Musée du Bardo. *MEFRA*, 55–62.
- GROHMANN, A. (1933): H. A. Winkler, Siegel und Charaktere. *Archiv Orientalní* 5, 311–315.
- HELTTLA, A. (1995): Epigraphical Laughter. In: Jäkel, S. – Timonen, A. (edd.): *Laughter down the centuries*, vol. 2. Turku, 145–159.
- HENZEN, G. (1866): Iscrizioni Napoletane. *Bulletino dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 247–253.
- ITKONEN-KAILA, M. – SOLIN, H. (edd.) (1966): *Graffiti del Palatino I: Paedagogium*. Helsinki.
- JEANNERET, M. (1918): *La langue des tablettes d'exécration latines*. Paris.
- JORDAN, D. R. (1976): CIL viii 19525 (B.)2: QPVULVA = Q(UEM) P(EPERIT) VULVA. *Philologus*, 120, 127–132.
- JORDAN, D. R. (1977): A Ghost-Name Ενεμερεσεπτα. *ZPE*, 24, 147–149.
- JORDAN, D. R. (1985): A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora. *GRBS*, 26, 151–197.
- JORDAN, D. R. (1994): Magica Graeca Parvula. *ZPE*, 100, 323–324
- JORDAN, D. R. (2000): Ψήγματα κριτικῆς. *Eulimene*, 1, 127–131.
- JORDAN, D. R. (2003): “Remedium amoris”, a Curse from Cumae. *Mnemosyne*, 56, 666–679.
- JORDAN, D. R. (2005): Three notes. *ZPE*, 152, 155–156.
- KÁKOSY, L. (1978): *Egyptomi és antik csillaghit*. Budapest.
- KÁKOSY, L. (1982): Decans in Late Egyptian Religion. *Oikumene* 3, 163–191.
- KÁKOSY, L. (1998): A Naos with a Decan-Atum in Cairo. *Acta Ant. Hung.* 38, 185–190.

- KNAUSS, F. S. (ed.) (2012): *Die unsterblichen Götter Griechenlands*. Lindenberg in Allgau.
- KOTANSKY, R. (1994): *Greek Magical Amulets. The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae. Part I. Published Texts of Known Provenance*. Opladen.
- KROPP, A. (2008): *Magische Sprachverwendung in vulgarlateinischen Fluchtafeln (defixiones)*. Tübingen.
- LAMBERT, P.-Y. (2010): Celtic Loricae And Ancient Magical Charms. In: GORDON, R. – SIMÓN, F. M. (edd.): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30. Sept. – 1. Oct. 2005*. Leiden – Boston, 629–648.
- LIDZBARSKI, M. (1900): Eine punische «tabella devotionis». *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1, 26–34.
- LIEZMANN, H. (1934): Ein Gnostiker in der Novatianuskatakomben. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 11, 359–362.
- MANZELLA, I. Di Stefano (ed.) (1997): *Le iscrizioni dei Cristiani in Vaticano. Materiali e contributi scientifici per una mostra epigrafica, Inscriptiones Sanctae Sedis 2*; Città del Vaticano.
- MARTIN, M. (2010): *Sois maudit! Malédictiones et envoûtements dans l'Antiquité*. Paris.
- MASTROCINQUE, A. (2005a): *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism*. Tübingen.
- MASTROCINQUE, A. (2005b): Le “defixiones” di Porta San Sebastiano. *MHNH*, 5, 45–59.
- MASTROCINQUE, A. (2012): A magical name: *omelanpharok*: He who wears a black mantle. *MHNH*, 12, 289–290.
- MERKELBACH, R. (1996): *Abrasax. Ausgewählte Papyri religiösen und magischen Inhalts 4. Exorzismen und jüdisch/christlich beeinflusste Texte*. Opladen.
- MERLIN, A. (1908): Lettre. *BCTH*, cxcvi.
- MERLIN, A. (1930): Une lamelle plomb trouvée à Carthage. *CRAI*, 30, 33–35.
- MICHEL, S. (2004): *Die magischen Gemmen*. Berlin.
- NÉMETH, Gy. (2011): Sequences of characteres in some circus defixiones in Latin from Hadrumetum. *ACD*, 47, 95–110.
- NÉMETH, Gy. (2012a): Audollentiana. *ACD*, 48, 141–147.
- NÉMETH, Gy. (2012b): The snake-headed demon. *MHNH*, 12, 139–156.
- NÉMETH, Gy. (2012c): Il demone e Gesù Cristo. In: FRIGGERI, Rosanna – GRANINO CECERE, Maria Grazia – GREGORI, Gian Luca (eds.) *Terme di Diocleziano: La collezione epigrafica*. Milano, 619.

- NÉMETH, Gy. (2013): The horse-head demon. *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis (SEBarc)*, 11, 7–27.
- OGDEN, D. (2002): *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds. A Sourcebook*. Oxford, 218.
- OLDFATHER, W. A. (1908): Livy I.26 and the supplicium de more maiorum. *TAPhA*, 39, 49–72.
- PEYRAS, J. (1996): Un procès en réhabilitation. Hermès – Mercure dans l'amphithéâtre de Carthage. *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne*, 22/2, 127–141.
- PIRANOMONTE, M. (2010): Religion and Magic at Rome: The Fountain of Anna Perenna. In: GORDON, R. – SIMÓN, F. M. (edd.): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30. Sept. – 1. Oct. 2005*. Leiden – Boston, 191–213.
- PIZZONE, A. M. V. (2007): Elementi magico-rituali nel “De providentia” di Sinesio di Cirene: dalla liturgia di PGM IV 475–824 all'immagine di Helioros. In: Palme, B. (ed.): *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*. Wien, 541–548.
- POCETTI, P. (2002): Manipolazione della realtà e manipolazione della lingua: alcuni aspetti dei testi magici dell'antichità. In: MORRESI, R. (ed.), *Linguaggio – Linguaggi. Invenzione – Scoperta*. Atti del Convegno, Macerata-Fermo, 22-23 ottobre 1999. Rome, 11–59.
- PREISENDANZ, K. (1930a): Der Stettiner Sargzauber. *Forschungen und Fortschritte*. 6, 149.
- PREISENDANZ, K. (1930b): Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 9, 119–154.
- PREISENDANZ, K. (1933): Die griechischen und lateinischen Zaubertafeln. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 11, 1933, 153–164.
- PREISENDANZ, K. (1972): Fluchtafel. In: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 8, 1–30.
- PREISENDANZ, K. et al. (1973–1974): *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri<sup>2</sup>. Vols. I-II*. Stuttgart.
- REINACH, S. (1898): Tombe d'Hadrumète ornée de Bas-reliefs en stuc. *BCTH*, 353–355.
- RIGODON, R. (1964): La vie et l'œuvre d'Auguste Audollent. *BHSA*, 83, 119–129.
- SÁNCHEZ NATALÍAS, C. (2011a): Escribiendo una *defixio*: los textos de maledicción a través de sus soportes. *ACD*, 47, 79–93.



- SÁNCHEZ NATALÍAS, C. (2011b): The Bologna *defixio(nes)* Revisited, *ZPE*, 179, 201–217.
- SÁNCHEZ NATALÍAS, C. (2012): *Fistus difloiscat languat...* Re-reading of *defixio* Bologna 2, *ZPE*, 181, 140–148.
- SHORTER, A. W. (1935): The God Nehebkau. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 21, 41–48.
- SMITH, G. A. (2004): The Myth of the Vaginal Soul. *GRBS*, 44, 199–225.
- SOLIN, H. (1968): Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia. *CHL*, 42/3, 1–31.
- STAEDLER, E. (1936): Das “Spottkruzifix” vom Palatin: ein Motivbild? *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 117, 253–260.
- TOMLIN, S. O. (2007): 'Remain Like Stones, Unmoving, Un-running': Another Greek Spell Against Competitors in a Foot-race. *ZPE*, 160, 161–166.
- TOMLIN, R. (2010): Cursing a Thief in Iberia and Britain. In: GORDON, R. – SIMÓN, F. M. (edd.): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza*, 30. Sept. – 1. Oct. 2005. Leiden – Boston, 245–273.
- TREMEL, J. (2004): *Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport*. Nikephoros Beihefte 10. Hildesheim.
- VERSNEL, H. S. (1987): Les imprecations et le droit. *RHDFE*, 65, 5–22.
- VERSNEL, H. S. (1991): Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers. FARAONE, C. – OBBINK, D. (edd.): *Magica Hiera*. Oxford, 60–106.
- VILLEFOSSE, A. Héron de (1901): Tablettes de plomb (tabulae execrationum). *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 326–334.
- VILLEFOSSE, A. Héron de (1905): Rapport. *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 291.
- WINKLER, H. A. (1930): *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhameddanischen Zauberei*. Berlin – Leipzig.
- WUILLEUMIER, P. (1927): Cirque et astrologie. *MEFRA*, 44, 184–209.
- WÜNSCH, R. (1897): *Defixionum tabellae*. *IG III*, 3. Appendix. Berlin.
- WÜNSCH, R. (1898): *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*. Leipzig.
- WÜNSCH, R. (1900): Neue Fluchtafeln. *Rheinisches Museum*, 55, 232–271.
- ZOUBIRI, S. N. (2012): Le corpus des *defixiones* nord-africaines: le cas des tablettes dites de Proclos et d'Harpocratiôn. *Ephesia grammata*, 5, 1.

## Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
ACD	<i>Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
BCTH	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques</i>
BHSA	<i>Bulletin historique et scientifique de la haute Auvergne</i>
CHL	<i>Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
DTAud	See Audollent 1904.
DTWü	See Wünsch 1897.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGCVO	Wessel, C.: <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae Veteres Occidentis</i> , Halle, 1936.
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i> , ed. René Cagnat et al. 3 vols. Paris 1911–1927. Vol. I, 1911.
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres</i> , Berlin, 1925–1931.
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> , see Preisendanz 1973–1974
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
RHDFE	<i>Revue historique de droit français et étranger</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SGD	Jordan, David R.: A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora. <i>GRBS</i> 26, 1985, 151–197.
SVR	Wünsch, R.: <i>Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom</i> . Teubner, Leipzig, 1898.
Tremel	Tremel, J.: <i>Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln im antiken Sport</i> . Nikephoros Beihefte 10. Hildesheim, 2004.
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



# 1. Introduction: About the genesis and the purpose of this book

In March 2009 I arrived as a visiting professor to the Institute of History at Université Blaise Pascal in Clermont-Ferrand, yet I could hold only four of my lectures due to the strike of students who even occupied the university building. To take advantage of an unexpected amount free time, first I visited the Musée Bargoin, the archaeological department of which contains former director A. Audollent's private collection of *defixiones*. The conservateur of the collection, Mme Chantal Lamesch, kindly allowed me to spend the remaining time examining the tablets day by day. She informed me that the documents of Audollent's bequest are kept not in the museum but in the county archive (Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme). In the archive I found a folder with all drawings and photos produced by Audollent during the editing of his *Defixiones Tabellae*.<sup>1</sup> Since an overwhelming majority of these tablets have never been published with drawings and only rarely with photos, whereas many *defixiones* have been lost by now or have become illegible due to corrosion, I immediately recognized the significance of the drawings. Several items were very dim or sketched onto blue photos, which hampered their examination, however, I resolved to disclose the entire corpus for researchers of the magical tradition as soon as possible. *En route* I decided to collect not only Audollent's sketches but also all available drawings of *defixiones* that have been published. By converging drawings of various background (Roman curse tablets by R. Wünsch, *defixiones* published in hardly accessible journals or in volumes of CIL) and my own sketches of photos or of lead lamellae found in the Archive, the concept of this magical picture book finally took shape.<sup>2</sup>

I visited the Musée Bargoin and the Archive two more times, in 2010 and in 2011, to answer all questions raised during the collection of the material. The most difficult job was to identify drawings with items published in DTAud or in various journals since Audollent wrote inventory numbers only onto some drawings or photos. Finally I completed this task in two years. It is a great pleasure for me to hand over to colleagues whatever I found and comprehended during these three years. I might not have been able to locate one or two drawings, and I might even have misidentified certain items (which I hope I did

---

1 Archives Départementales du Puy de Dôme, 19 J 12.

2 Own drawings: DTAud 72; 196; 238; 263; 276; 280; 292; BCTH 1905.1; BCTH 1906.1; BCTH 1906.2; BCTH 1910.1; BCTH 1910.2.

not), still, I gladly take the responsibility of all failures to make this corpus of public property open to further investigations with the least possible delay.

György Németh

Zaragoza–Budapest, 25 June 2013

## 2. Audollent and the *defixiones*

Auguste Audollent was born in Paris on 14 July 1864.<sup>3</sup> His father was a clerk in the Ministère des Finances. Audollent learnt Latin and ancient Greek as a secondary school student, thus he applied to the Sorbonne and later graduated in classical philology. Simultaneously, in 1887–1888 he studied Latin epigraphy at the École Pratique des Hautes Études under the direction of Héron de Villefosse, a famous epigrapher of his time.<sup>4</sup> He received his university degree in 1888, and from that autumn he was working as a researcher at the École française de Rome for two years. From October 1889 until February 1890 he took part in an epigraphical research expedition in Algeria. From 1893 till his retirement he worked as a teacher of Latin language, literature and epigraphy at the Faculty of Humanities in Clermont-Ferrand. In early 1893 he visited Carthage again, and encouraged by René Cagnat and Antoine Héron de Villefosse he started examining curse tablets uncovered in increasing numbers at the excavations of Carthage and Hadrumetum. He intended to write his Latin dissertation on this subject. As it was customary those days, he had to submit two treatises: one in Latin and another one in French.<sup>5</sup> He returned to Tunis in 1901 at the request of Rev. Alfred Louis Delattre, director of the Musée Lavigerie de Saint-Louis (today Musée National de Carthage) to process curse tablets kept in the museum:

*“Je n'en ai point déchiffré ni fait déchiffré depuis longtemps. Beaucoup de ces lamelles de plomb sont encore roulées. Vous devriez venir passer quelques jours à Carthage pour les développer et les lire. Le musée Lavigerie en renferme plus de 100. Vous voyez que vous auriez de quoi vous amuser.”*<sup>6</sup>

Paul Gauckler, director of the Bardo Museum in Tunis also invited Audollent to examine their tablets that were found in Carthage and Hadrumetum and opened with new technology.<sup>7</sup> During his journey to Tunisia, Audollent also visited Sousse to publish local

3 Biographical data acquired from the following references: Dupont-Ferrier 1943; Diès 1953; Fabre 2010; Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme. Audollent's detailed autograph autobiography is also kept in the Archive. Audollent published his own bibliography until 1921 in *Revue d'Auvergne* 38, 1921, 86–91.

4 Diès 1953, 334.

5 This latter was the monumental *Carthage romaine, 146 avant Jésus-Christ-698 après Jésus-Christ* published in 1901.

6 Letter from Alfred Delattre to Audollent, 29 April 1901. Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, n° 19 J 10.

7 Date of the letter: 8 August 1901.

*defixiones*. In his first studies about this subject (in the volumes of *Musées de Sousse*) he published four curse tablets from Hadrumetum, and another lamella was published in a journal titled *BCTH*.<sup>8</sup> In 1903 he published a theoretical survey arguing against labelling curse tablets as *devotiones*, and he proposed to call them *defixiones* consistently.<sup>9</sup>

*“La devotio se fait a ciel ouvert, plus d'une fois même dans l'intérêt public; la defixio aime les ténèbres ; celui qui y a recours se dissimule et enfuit presque toujours la tablette où il a inscrit ses malédictions dans un tombeau, dans un puits, dans les eaux d'une source.”*<sup>10</sup>

Audollent was not the first scholar insisting on the term *defixio*, since R. Wünsch used the same term for his corpus of Attic tablets published in 1897;<sup>11</sup> still, Audollent's article had a tremendous effect on French literature (which was paramount in the field of *defixiones* due to contemporary excavations in North Africa), and the term *devotio* was shortly abandoned in French scholarship.

He accomplished his *opus magnum* in an incredibly short period of time: the *Defixionum Tabellae* was completed by 1904, containing the texts of 305 curse tablets on 568 pages with commentaries and indices (142 pages) enumerating not only human names, horse names, and curse formularies, but also grammatical and orthographic details both in Latin and in Greek texts. He dealt with various problems of *defixiones* in the introduction (128 pages): edition history, category definition (including differentiation from seemingly similar phenomena), technology (material, inscribing, tools), possible purposes and uses of cursing. This survey was the first comprehensive study ever written on the subject, dealing with all problems involved and taking into consideration not only the 305 lamellae edited in his volume, but also all other known curse tablets (mainly from Attica): altogether 488 *defixiones*.<sup>12</sup> Audollent did not translate the texts and provided drawings

---

8 Audollent 1902b, 84–85. These items correspond to DTAud. 272; 273; 274, and 267. The fifth item (Audollent 1902a, 417–425) corresponds to DTAud 275.

9 Audollent 1903, 37–43.

10 Audollent 1903, 42. Alain Blomart has argued recently that *devotio* was more common in peaceful periods than in wartime (e.g. the self-sacrifice of Decius Mus on the battlefield), and even more common on curse tablets, too (tab. Sulis, Kropp 3.2/10: *Suli devoveo eum*). His conclusion is as follows: “À travers toutes les attestations mentionnées ici, nous constatons donc que la frontière entre religion et magie et loin d'être imperméable, même chez nos ancêtres les Romains.” Cf. *Religion ou magie? Les textes oubliés sur l'evocatio et la devotio Romaines*. Suárez de la Torre, E. – Pérez Jiménez, A. (edd.): *Mito y Magia en Grecia y Roma*, Barcelona, 2013, 295.

11 Wünsch 1897.

12 DTAud xxx.

of only three items, all from the edition of Héron de Villefosse.<sup>13</sup> Normally he did not include sketches of charaktères, the only exception being the charaktêr sequences from Hadrumetum.<sup>14</sup> However, this was not his fault only. Charaktères were poorly neglected until the early 2000s. Hardly anybody had known about the drawings he made of most tablets that he studied until the rediscovery of these documents in his bequest in Clermont-Ferrand, and no-one has ever thought of making them public.<sup>15</sup>

After the release of his volume, Audollent became the most recognized scholar in this field beside Richard Wünsch, and since French excavations in North Africa revealed new curse tablets year by year, these finds were sent to Audollent to publish them. He issued two other *defixiones* from Hadrumetum in 1905 and a summary in French about the language, onomastics, and other characteristics of North African curse tablets in 1906. In 1907 he published two lamellae, currently kept in Clermont-Ferrand, which were sent to him by the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, as it is written on the envelope still kept in the Archive. In 1908 he disclosed several new *defixiones* in two articles, and in 1909 he issued a short comprehensive study on the language of curse tablets. In 1910 he disclosed two new *defixiones* (from Hammam Lif and Sousse) and republished DTAud 299 (from Ammaedara, today Haïdra), which he had edited in his volume following the erroneous reading of Paul Henri Goetschy. In 1912 he published a short Greek fragment found in Souk-el-Abiod, then next year he wrote a discussion paper on the *defixio* from Mentana, followed by a gap of an entire decade. In 1922 he published a Latin love spell from Feriana (I found its manuscript in Clermont-Ferrand), and in 1925 he reported on four *defixiones* from Carthage found in the 'Fontaine aux Mille Amphores' and promised to have them published in the near future, however, he actually issued them eight years later.<sup>16</sup> In 1930 he provided a profound publication of a love spell from Hadrumetum (kept in the Louvre) in the *Mélanges* in honour of Paul Thomas. The aim of the spell is to win the love of Lucifera's daughter to Optatus.<sup>17</sup> In the

13 DTAud 266 (only the drawing of the charaktères), DTAud 286 side A and B, DTAud 287. All three drawings are made by Héron de Villefosse.

14 DTAud 272; 275; 276; 278.

15 David Jordan had also visited the archive, as I found a scribbled note of his on an envelope, yet as I know he never intended to publish the drawings.

16 Audollent 1925, c: "La lecture, parfois laborieuse, est aujourd'hui terminée. Je suis en train de rédiger un commentaire explicatif, qui ne tardera guère à être au point." Two of the four *defixiones* were transferred from Audollent's bequest to the Musée Bargoin, inv. nr. 72.1.275 and 72.1.276.

17 Audollent 1930c, 16–28.



same year he interpreted a snake-headed demon from Carthage as a curse tablet. There is only the name beneath the demon's legs: Harpokratiôn, also called Neilos. As I argue for it in the chapter on iconography, this item is more probably an amulet.<sup>18</sup>

The promised *defixiones* were finally disclosed in 1933 with thorough commentaries.<sup>19</sup> Audollent provided drawings of the letters, which highlight the frame structure of the texts. The frame and the curse itself are both in Greek on the circus *defixio*, whereas only the frame is in Greek and the curse itself is in Latin in the case of the two items against a bath:

*“Domini dei tenete detinete Falernas nequis illoc accedere possit obligate perobligate Falernaru(m) ba lineu(m) ab hac die nequis homo illoc accedat.”*

In 1933 he also published a lead container from his own collection in *Mélanges Nicolas Iorga*. There were three fragments of a Latin curse tablet and a bronze stylus placed in the container.<sup>20</sup> He did not even attempt to provide a reading of the tablet – the short article was obviously written upon request to honour a historian of a different field of interest in a volume hardly accessible to scholars of ancient magic, thus this study became a typical “*Mélanges* item”.

The last contribution of Audollent in the field of magic is also difficult to access. It was written in 1933, disclosing the inscription of a Christian spell against hailstorm found in Tunisia inscribed onto a lead cross (Double inscription prophylactique contre la grêle, sur une croix de plomb trouvée en Tunisie).<sup>21</sup> The exemplary and systematic examination of this inscription (from Aïn Founa) can be a fundamental reading for scholars of vulgar Latin as well. The fate of this article was determined by the history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first part of volume 43 of *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* was printed in 1943. Audollent's writing was submitted to the second part, which however was printed in 1951 – almost two decades after its composition. The editing of the volume must have been postponed for years and ultimately stopped during the German occupation. The material was

---

18 Audollent 1930a, 303–309; Jordan 1985, 185, Nr 142. See chapter 5.2. below (“The snake-headed demon”).

19 Audollent 1933a, 120–140; Jordan 1985, 184–185. It is curious that in Jordan's view Nr. 140–141 are written “against horses”, though the two tablets are against “Falernarum balineum”, i.e. against a bath.

20 Audollent 1933b, 31–39.

21 Audollent 1951, 45–75.

printed only in 1951, after the consolidation of the political and economic situation. Audollent, however, did not live to see it finished.

Having reviewed the studies of this excellent epigrapher in the field of ancient magic, it is conspicuous that while he sometimes published several papers a year on curse tablets between 1902 and 1913, it was followed by a pause of nine years, and his previous activity never revived in this area. After 1913 he prepared only two thorough studies on magic: the finds of the 'Fontaine aux mille amphores' and the posthumously published phylactery. I found numerous unpublished (though publishable) *defixiones* and amulets in his bequest. What happened to Audollent after 1913?

Having settled in Clermont-Ferrand, Audollent got married, had eight children and 36 grandchildren, whereas beside his teaching career at the university he started excavations in the temple of Mercury in the hillside of Puy de Dôme above Clermont in the summer of 1901. From 1903 until 1939 he was the director of the Musée Municipal de Clermont-Ferrand (today Musée Bargoin). In 1902 and 1906 he lead excavations again on the top of Puy de Dôme, a difficult archaeological terrain. In 1905 he became professor at the Faculty of Humanities in Clermont-Ferrand, where he retired only in 1937. In 1907 he returned to Algeria and Tunisia to investigate further inscriptions, yet his position as dean of faculty from 1914 to 1937 (!) and the excavations in the Roman cemetery of Martres-de-Veyre (1922–1923) consumed all his time. The emphasis of his academic interest was shifted towards the archaeological finds of Auvergne. Several curse tablets were sent to him to have them deciphered, but he did not have time to deal with those. The internationally acclaimed scholar of ancient magic gradually became the leading archaeologist and epigrapher of Auvergne and Clermont-Ferrand. His renown was somewhat overshadowed by the scandal around the inscriptions found in Glozel, which he considered Neolithic (!) but turned out to be hardly legible vulgar Latin texts.<sup>22</sup> In spite of this, his national reputation did not diminish significantly, and he became a corresponding member of the Institut de France in 1917, and a regular member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in 1932.

During the German occupation of France, Clermont-Ferrand belonged to the territory of the Vichy Government between 1940 and August 1944. When Audollent died in 7 April 1943 (following his wife to the grave, who got ill while working for the Red Cross), only a short obituary was published in Paris. A eulogy more worthy of his character

22 Audollent, A.: *L'énigme de Glozel*. Paris, 1927.

was published only ten years later, in 1953.<sup>23</sup> Though a street is named after him in Clermont-Ferrand, his life achievement (especially the part relating to ancient magic) still awaits rediscovery. I hope this book can contribute to it.

---

<sup>23</sup> Diès 1953.