

THE GOLD PLATES AND ANCIENT METAL EPIGRAPHY

Ryan Thomas

APPENDIX

Mesopotamia

3 copper plates and 3 copper tablets of E'iginimpa'e, ruler of Adab¹
7 lines
Sumerian; late third millennium BCE
foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

7 copper plates of Ur-Nanše of Lagash²
6 lines
Sumerian; late third millennium BCE
foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

1. Jerrold S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1986), 16; Douglas R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 30; Karen L. Wilson, *Bismaya: Recovering the lost City of Adab*, Oriental Institute Publications 138 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago, 2012), 93–95.

2. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, 25; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 93–94.

silver tablet of Urluma of Umma³

6 lines

Sumerian; late third millennium BCE

foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

gold plaque of Bara-irnun, wife of Gishakidu of Umma⁴

9 lines

Sumerian; late third millennium BCE

dedicatory inscription; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

fragment of gold leaf of Naram-Sin⁵

6 lines (?)

Sumerian; twenty-third century BCE

dedicatory inscription (?); associated with sanctuary

gold foil of Šar-kali-šarri⁶

23 lines

Sumerian; twenty-third to twenty-second centuries BCE

building inscription; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablets of Niwar-Mer⁷

6 lines

Akkadian; twenty-third century BCE (?)

foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet of Ištup-ilum⁸

9–10 lines

Akkadian; twenty-third century BCE (?)

foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

3. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, 93; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 367–68.

4. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, 93–94; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 371.

5. Douglas R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334–2113 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 170–71.

6. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 188–89.

7. *Ibid.*, 233–34.

8. *Ibid.*, 235–37.

bronze tablet of Atal-šen from Samarra⁹
 21 lines
 Akkadian; twenty-first century BCE (?)
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

copper tablet of Warad-Sin¹⁰
 27 lines, 2 sides
 Sumerian; eighteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with city wall

copper tablet of Simat-Eštar, wife of Rim-Sin I of Larsa¹¹
 28 lines
 Sumerian; eighteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

copper tablet of Kurigalzu II¹²
 14 lines, 2 sides
 Sumerian; fourteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit

gold tablet of Shalmaneser I¹³
 20 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with sanctuary

9. G. Wilhelm, "Gedanken zur Frühgeschichte der Hurriter und zum huttitisch-urartäischen Sprachvergleich," *Xenia* 21 (1988): 46–50; Douglas R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 3.2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 461–62; David Hawkins, "Hurrian," *Languages of Iraq, Ancient and Modern*, edited by J. N. Postgate (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 74–75.

10. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 188; Douglas R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 238.

11. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 293–94.

12. C. J. Gadd and Léon Legrain, *Ur Excavations: Texts I, Royal Inscriptions* (London: Trustees of the Two Museums, 1928), 50; Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 189.

13. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 191; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (To 1115 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 196.

2 gold, 2 silver, and 5 lead tablets of Tukulti-Ninurta I¹⁴
 81 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with temple

gold and silver tablets of Tukulti-Ninurta I¹⁵
 26 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with temple

2 gold, 2 lead, and 1 silver tablets of Tukulti-Ninurta I¹⁶
 43 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with shrine

gold and silver tablets of Tukulti-Ninurta I¹⁷
 21 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with shrine

gold and silver tablets of Tukulti-Ninurta I¹⁸
 35 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with temple

gold and silver tablets of Assurnasirpal II¹⁹
 18 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; ninth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with royal palace

14. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 191; Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, 253–56.

15. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, 256–57.

16. *Ibid.*, 259–60.

17. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, 260–61.

18. *Ibid.*, 264–65.

19. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 193; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 341–42.

gold tablet of Shalmaneser III²⁰
 24 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; ninth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with city wall

bronze tablet of Sargon II²¹
 60 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; eighth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with city wall

silver tablet of Sargon II²²
 51 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; eighth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with city wall

gold tablet of Sargon II²³
 40 lines, 2 sides
 Akkadian; eighth century BCE
 foundation deposit; commemorative; associated with city wall

lead tablet of unknown late Assyrian king²⁴
 fragmentary and short
 Akkadian
 royal dedication (?)

20. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 101, 194; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–754 BC)*, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 99–100.

21. Andreas Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994), 45–48.

22. *Ibid.*, 48–50.

23. *Ibid.*, 51–52.

24. W. G. Lambert, “An Inscribed Strip of Lead,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22 (1968–69): 64.

6 lead tablets from Assur²⁵
 10–53 lines
 Luwian; eighth century BCE
 letters from merchants in Assur to their business partners in Anatolia

Literary references:

Nabonidus claims to have found a gold foundation tablet of Naram-Sin²⁶

Iran/Persia

bronze tablet from Hamadan²⁷
 22 lines, 2 sides
 Babylonian; eighth century BCE (?)
 votive weapon documenting a royal decree; associated with sanctuary; display and memorial function

25. David J. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions Vol. 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age, Part 2. Amuq, Aleppo, Hama, Tabal, Assur Letters, Miscellaneous, Sea* (New York: De Gruyter, 2000), 533–55; Ilya Yakubovich, “Luwian and the Luwians,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000–323 BCE)*, edited by Sharon R. Steadman and Gregory McMahon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 541.

26. Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros’ des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften Textausgabe und Grammatik*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 256 (Münster: Ugarit, 2001), 444.

27. Igor M. Diakonoff, “A Cuneiform Charter from Western Iran,” in *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, edited by H. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Ókori Történeti Tanszkek, 1978), 51–68; Oscar White Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 238–40; Karen Radner, “A Median Sanctuary at Bit-Ištar,” in *Continuity of Empire: Assyria, Media, Persia*, edited by Giovanni B. Lanfranchi, Michael Roaf, and Robert Rollinger (Padova: SARGON, 2003), 119–30.

bronze tablet from Persepolis²⁸

105 (?) lines, 2 sides

Elamite; sixth century BCE

plaque documenting royal decree of land; associated with sanctuary; display and memorial function

gold and silver tablets of Darius I at Persepolis²⁹

10 lines; identical to DH

Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian; fifth century BCE

foundation deposits; commemorative and votive function

gold and silver tablets of Darius I from Hamadan³⁰

8 lines; identical to DPh (authentic?)

Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian; fifth century BCE

foundation deposits; commemorative and votive function (?)

gold tablet of Darius II from Hamadan³¹

23 lines

Old Persian; fifth century BCE

display inscription, emphasis on Darius's lineage and divine legitimacy

28. Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*, Oriental Institute Publications 69 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 64–65; Matthew W. Waters, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 12 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000), 87–89; Gian Pietro Basello, “From Susa to Persepolis: The Pseudo-sealing of the Persepolis Bronze Plaque,” in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, edited by K. De Graef and J. Tavernier (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 249–62.

29. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 104, 195; Amelie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 476; Rüdiger Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2009), 13, 119–20; Nimchuk, “Empire Encapsulated.”

30. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 104, 195; Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften*, 10, 98–99.

31. Herbert H. Paper, “An Old Persian Text of Darius II (D2Ha),” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 72 (1952): 169–70; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 335.

copper tablet from Shiraz³²
 136(?) lines, 2 sides, 4 columns
 dialect unknown; untranslated; first millennium BCE (?)
 apparently display inscription; pierced handle

Anatolia

bronze tablet from Hattuša³³
 352 lines, 2 sides, 4 columns
 Neo-Hittite; thirteenth century BCE
 treaty; display function, perhaps at city gate

lead strips from Kululu³⁴
 20–63 lines/entries
 Luwian; eighth century BCE
 administrative and economic records (see also Luwian lead inscriptions from Assur)

bronze plates from Upper Anzaf fortress near lake Van³⁵
 corroded
 ninth century BCE
 royal inscription; associated with temple

bronze plate from Upper Anzaf fortress near lake Van³⁶
 5 lines
 eighth century BCE
 votive tag; royal inscription

32. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron*, 240–41.

33. Emmanuel Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), no. 106; Heinrich Otten, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy: ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beih. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

34. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, 503–13.

35. A. Beril Tuğrul and Oktay Belli, “Cuneiform Inscriptions made visible on Bronze Plates from the Upper Anzaf Fortress, Turkey,” *Antiquity* 68 (1994): 638.

36. Oktay Belli, Ali Dinçol, and Belkis Dinçol, “Royal Inscriptions on Bronze Artifacts from the Upper Anzaf Fortress at Van,” *Anatolica* 30 (2004): 1–14.

 Literary references and other examples:

Anitta proclamation, hypothesized by Wilhelmi to originally have been written in metal³⁷

79 lines

Old Hittite; eighteenth century BCE

royal decree (?); display function

treaty/edict between Šuppiluliuma I and Šarri-kušuh, said to have been engraved in gold³⁸

fourteenth century BCE

loyalty oath of town commanders to Arnuwanda I, Ašmunikkal, and Tūdhaliya, said to have been written on bronze tablet³⁹

several hundred lines (?)

Middle Hittite/Neo-Hittite; fourteenth century BCE

display function; associated with sanctuary

Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, implied to have been written on bronze tablets⁴⁰

fragmentary so uncertain length, but must have been very long, perhaps as many as one thousand lines

Neo-Hittite; fourteenth century BCE

likely display inscription, possibly within sanctuary; votive; propaganda; political historiography

37. *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, no. 1; Erich Neu, *Der Anitta-Text*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974); Lisa Wilhelmi, “Materiality and Presence of the Anitta Text in Original and Secondary Context,” in *Materiality of Writing in Early Mesopotamia*, edited by Thomas E. Balke and Christina Tsouparopoulou (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 223–39.

38. Albrecht Götze, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XIX, *Historische Texte* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1927), no. 27; *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, no. 50; J. Siegelová, “Metalle und Metallurgie,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 8 (1993): 117.

39. *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, no. 260; Jared L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts*, Writings from the Ancient World 31 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 194–205.

40. *Catalogue des Textes Hittites*, no. 40; H. G. Güterbock, “The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as Told by His Son, Mursili II,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 10 (1956): 41–68; 75–98; 107–30; Hubert Cancik, *Grundzüge Der Hethitischen Und Alttestamentlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976); Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., “Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (1.74),” in *The Context of Scripture*:

Ulmi-Teshub treaty, said to originally have been written upon iron⁴¹
 88 lines
 Neo-Hittite; thirteenth century BCE
 display function

Kadesh peace treaty, said to originally have been written on silver tablets⁴²
 70 lines in Hittite version
 Akkadian; thirteenth century BCE
 display function; associated with temple

mention of bronze tablet placed before sun goddess of Arinna⁴³
 associated with sanctuary

Phoenicia and Phoenician Colonies

2 bronze tablets and 5 bronze spatula from Byblos, containing pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions⁴⁴
 ranging from 3 to 41 lines
 first half of the second millennium BCE (eighteenth to seventeenth centuries BCE?)
 some progress toward decipherment has been made by Best and Woudhuizen, according to whom the inscriptions are royal dedications relating to a temple context

Volume 1, Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World, edited by W. W. Hallo (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 185–92; Theo van den Hout, “‘Two Old Tablets’: Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in Hittite Society,” in *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*, edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub (Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), 169–86.

41. Theo van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995).

42. Elmar Edel, *Der Vertrag zwischen Ramses II. von Ägypten und Hattusili III. von Hatti*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 95 (Berlin: Mann, 1997).

43. Horst Klengel, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, XL, Hethitische Texte verschiedenen Inhalts* (Berlin: Akademie, 1968), 92; K. Watanabe, “Mit Gottessiegeln versehene hethitische Staatsverträge,” *Acta Sumerologica* 11 (1989): 266–67.

44. M. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata: Documents et recherches sur le développement de l'écriture en Phénicie* (Beirut: Direction des Antiquités, 1945); George

Azarbaal bronze spatula inscription from Byblos⁴⁵

6 lines

Phoenician; eleventh to tenth century BCE

the spatula itself is a prestige object, but the inscription seems to have been written over an earlier one and thus may have been ad hoc; revolves around an economic dispute

silver lamella from Tharros, Sardinia⁴⁶

2 lines

seventh to sixth centuries BCE (?)

amulet; iconography

silver lamella from Tharros, Sardinia⁴⁷

5 lines

seventh to sixth centuries BCE (?)

amulet; iconography

E. Mendenhall, *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos* (Beirut: AUB Press, 1985); Brian E. Colless, "The Canaanite Syllabary," *Abr-nahrain* 35 (1998): 28–46; Fred C. Woudhuizen, "On the Byblos Script," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 39 (2007): 689–756; Jan Best, "Breaking the Code of the Byblos Script," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 40 (2008): 129–33; Jan Best, "Suruya in the Byblos Corpus," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 40 (2008): 135–41; Jan Best and Lia Rietveld, "Structuring Byblos Tablets C and D," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 42 (2010): 15–40.

45. KAI 3; Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*; Samuel Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 81 (1961): 27–34; P. Kyle McCarter and Robert B. Coote, "The Spatula Inscription from Byblos," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 212 (1973): 16–22; Rollston, *Phoenicia and the Phoenicians*, 284.

46. M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1990), Sard. 15; Schmitz, "Reconsidering a Phoenician Amulet," 821.

47. Amadasi Guzzo, *Le iscrizioni fenicie*, Sard. 31; Schmitz, "Reconsidering a Phoenician Amulet," 821.

gold lamella from Carthage⁴⁸
 2 inscriptions of 2 lines each
 seventh to sixth centuries BCE
 amulet; iconography

gold lamella from Tyre⁴⁹
 3 lines
 sixth century BCE
 amulet; iconography

silver lamella from near Byblos⁵⁰
 22 lines
 sixth century BCE (?)
 amulet

bronze pendant from Tyre⁵¹
 2 lines
 sixth to third century BCE (?)
 amulet, imitating Egyptian “writing tablet” amulet; iconography

48. Jean Vercoutter, *Les Objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1945), 318–36; Brigitte Quillard, *Bijoux carthaginois II* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut supérieur d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art, 1987), 10–11; Schmitz, “Reconsidering a Phoenician Amulet,” 821–22.

49. H. Lozachmeur and M. Pezin, “De Tyr. Un nouvel étui et son amulette magique à inscription,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant 3*, Volume III, *Études Isiaques*, edited by C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1994), 361–71.

50. André Lemaire, “Amulette Phénicienne Giblite en Argent,” in *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, edited by Robert Deutsch (Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publications, 2003), 155–74.

51. H. Sader, “Deux épigraphes phéniciennes inédites,” *Syria* 67 (1990): 315–21; Schmitz, “Reconsidering a Phoenician Amulet.”

Israel-Judah

2 silver lamella from Ketef Hinnom⁵²
 12–18 lines
 sixth century BCE
 amulets

South Arabia

bronze plaque from Našqim⁵³
 26 lines
 sixth century BCE
 dedicatory; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Našqim⁵⁴
 6 lines
 fifth century BCE
 dedicatory; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Našqim⁵⁵
 2 lines; fragmentary
 dedicatory (?); associated with sanctuary

52. Barkay, et al., “The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom”; Smoak, *The Priestly Blessing*, 12–42; Brian B. Schmidt, *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 105 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 123–44.

53. B-L Nashq; Francois Bron and André Lemaire, “Nouvelle inscription sabéenne et le commerce en Transeuphratène,” *Transeuphratène* 38 (2009): 12–29.

54. Nebes 1998/Homasy 1; Werner Arnold and Norbert Nebes, “Eine altsabäische Widmungsinschrift auf einer Bronzetafel,” *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 35 (1998): 7–14; Jändl, *Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, 75.

55. CL 25.IV.2001, n. 10; Francois Bron, “Deux inscriptions sabéennes sur bronze provenant d’al-Baydā,” *Semitica* 50 (2000): 229; Jändl, *Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, 138.

bronze plaque from 'Awām⁵⁶
 6 lines
 fifth century BCE
 dedicatory; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from 'Awām⁵⁷
 6 lines
 dedicatory; associated with sanctuary

Egypt

Literary references:

temple endowment decrees and hymns said to be inscribed on gold, silver, and bronze in the Great Harris Papyrus⁵⁸
 twelfth century BCE
 royal votive of Ramses III; associated with temple; display

Kadesh peace treaty of Ramses II, said to have been written on a silver tablet⁵⁹
 Egyptian; thirteenth century BCE
 treaty; display function; associated with temple

56. MB 2001 I. 20; Mohammed Maraqtan and Yūsuf Abdallah, "A Recently Discovered Inscribed Sabean Bronze Plaque from Maḥram Bilqīs near Mārib, Yemen," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61 (2002): 49–53; Jändl, *Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, 78.

57. Ja 831; Albert Jamme, *Sabaeen inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs (Mārib)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1962), 245, pl. 51; Jändl, *Altsüdarabische Inschriften*, 75–76.

58. Harris I: 6, 5–10; 47, 3–4; Christopher Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Corby: Oxford University Press, 2013), 32.

59. Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 226, lines 9–10.

Ancient Greece and Greek settlements⁶⁰

bronze plaque from Athens⁶¹
 4 lines
 sixth century BCE
 dedication

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶²
 3 lines; fragmentary
 sixth century BCE
 dedication (?)

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶³
 9 lines
 sixth century BCE
 contract

60. The following list is comprehensive rather than exhaustive, based on the collections in LSAG2 = L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, rev. ed. with supplement by A. W. Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); *Nomima* = Henri Van Effenterre and Françoise Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, 2 vols. (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1994); Minon = Sophie Minon, *Les Inscriptions éléennes dialectales (VIe-IIe siècle avant J.-C.)*, Vol I, *Textes* (Geneva: Droz, 2007); Bettarini Luca = Bettarini, *Corpus delle defixiones di Selinunte* (Alessandria: Ed. dell'Orso, 2005); Eidinow = Esther Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk Among the Ancient Greeks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Parke = H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona, Olympia, Ammon* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); and Jordan = D. R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26, no 2. (1985): 151–97.

61. LSAG2 Attica no. 21; IG I2 393.

62. LSAG2 Lakonia no. 12; IG V,1 1561.

63. LSAG2 Elis no. 15; *Nomima* I.23; *IvO* 2.

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶⁴
 several dozen lines (?)
 sixth century BCE
 legal document; display; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia, found at Zankle⁶⁵
 11 lines
 sixth century BCE
 treaty

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶⁶
 8 lines
 fifth century BCE (?)

bronze tablet from Olympia⁶⁷
 10 lines
 fifth century BCE
 treaty; display; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶⁸
 13 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document (?); display; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁶⁹
 8 lines
 fifth century BCE
 treaty; associated with sanctuary

64. *LSAG2* Doric colonies, Sicily no. 36; *Nomima* I.17; *IvO* 22.

65. *LSAG2* Euboic colonies no. 5; *IvO* 24.

66. *LSAG2* Arkadia no. 38; *IvO* 27.

67. *LSAG2* Elis no. 6; *Nomima* I.52; *Minon* 10; *IvO* 9.

68. *Nomima* I.36; *IvO* 13.

69. *Nomima* I.42; *SEG* 22:336.

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷⁰
4 lines
fifth century BCE
deposit

bronze plaque from Elis⁷¹
4 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷²
24 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document; display; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷³
11 lines (?)
fifth century BCE
legal; votive; list of enfranchisement (?)

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷⁴
4 lines
fifth century BCE
dedication

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷⁵
5 lines
sixth century BCE
legal document; associated with sanctuary

70. *Nomima* II.60.

71. *LSAG2* Elis no. 18; *Minon* 21; *IvO* 15.

72. *LSAG2* Elis no. 17; *Nomima* I.56; *IvO* 16.

73. *LSAG2* Elis no. 13; *Nomima* II.27; *IvO* 12.

74. *LSAG2* Euboic colonies no. 19.

75. *Minon* 1.

bronze tablet from Olympia⁷⁶
 6 lines
 sixth century BCE
 legal document; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Olympia⁷⁷
 6 lines
 sixth century BCE
 sacred law; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷⁸
 5 lines
 sixth century BCE
 sacred law; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁷⁹
 9 lines
 sixth century BCE
 legal decree on Olympic wrestling; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Elis⁸⁰
 8 lines; fragmentary
 sixth century BCE
 sacred law; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁸¹
 7 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document; associated with sanctuary

76. *Nomima* I.4; *Minon* 2; *IvO* 6.

77. *LSAG2* Elis no. 4; *Nomima* I.4; *Minon* 3; *IvO* 5.

78. *LSAG2* Elis no. 5; *Nomima* I.109; *Minon* 4; *IvO* 7.

79. *Minon* 5.

80. *LSAG2* Elis no. 2; *Minon* 6; *IvO* 1.

81. *Minon* 7; *IvO* 8.

bronze plaque from Olympia⁸²
8 lines
fifth century BCE
sacred law; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁸³
9 lines
fifth century BCE
sacred law; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁴
6 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁵
7 lines
fifth century BCE
grant of citizenship; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁶
8 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁷
7 lines
fifth century BCE
treaty; associated with sanctuary

82. Minon 8.

83. *LSAG2* Elis no. 10; *Nomima* I.24; Minon 9; *IvO* 4.

84. Minon 11; *IvO* 19.

85. *LSAG2* Elis no. 8; *Nomima* I.21; Minon 12; *IvO* 11.

86. *LSAG2* Elis no. 9; *Nomima* I.108; Minon 13; *IvO* 3.

87. *LSAG2* Elis no. 12; *Nomima* I.51; Minon 14; *IvO* 10.

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁸
 7 lines
 fifth century BCE
 treaty; display; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Olympia⁸⁹
 9 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document; associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Olympia⁹⁰
 14 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

bronze plaque from Olympia⁹¹
 9 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

bronze plaque from the Heraion in Argos⁹²
 11 lines
 sixth century BCE
 legal document; display; associated with sanctuary

bronze sheet from Argos⁹³
 7 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

88. *Nomima* I.60; Minon 15.

89. Minon 23; *IvO* 20.

90. *LSAG2* Euboic colonies no. 22; *IvO* 25.

91. *LSAG2* Elis no. 20; Minon 25; *IvO* 18.

92. *LSAG2* Argos no. 9; *Nomima* I.100; *IG* IV, 506.

93. *Nomima* I.107; *IG* IV, 554.

bronze plaque from Argos⁹⁴
7 lines
fifth century BCE
proxeny decree

bronze plaque from Argos⁹⁵
7 lines
fifth century BCE
sacred law

bronze plaque from Argos⁹⁶
20 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document; display

bronze plaque from Achaea⁹⁷
3 lines
sixth century BCE
legal document

bronze plaque from Aitolia⁹⁸
3 lines; fragmentary
fifth century
(?); associated with sanctuary

bronze plaque from Galaxidi⁹⁹
46 lines
fifth century BCE
legal document; display; associated with sanctuary

94. LSAG2 Argos no. 22; *Nomima* I.35.

95. LSAG2 Argos no. 20; *IG* IV, 554.

96. *Nomima* I.65.

97. *Nomima* I.75.

98. LSAG2 Aitolia no. 7; *IG* IX,12 1:91,1.

99. LSAG2 Lokris no. 3; *Nomima* I.43.

bronze plaque from Galaxidi¹⁰⁰
 16 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document; display

bronze plaque from near Naupaktos¹⁰¹
 25 lines
 sixth century BCE
 legal document; land regulations; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Lousoi, Arkadia¹⁰²
 3 lines; fragmentary
 fifth century BCE
 treaty

bronze plaque from Arkadia¹⁰³
 7 lines
 sixth century BCE
 sacred law

bronze plaque from Arkadia¹⁰⁴
 20 lines
 fifth century BCE
 deposit at sanctuary

bronze tablet from Arkadia¹⁰⁵
 23 lines
 fifth century BCE
 festival calendar; associated with sanctuary

100. *LSAG2* Lokris no. 4; *Nomima* I.53; *IG IX* 12,717.

101. *LSAG2* Lokris no. 2; *Nomima* I.44.

102. *LSAG2* Achaia no. 8; *Nomima* I.57; *IG V*, 2 410.

103. *LSAG2* Arkadia no. 2.

104. *LSAG2* Arkadia no. 27; *IG V*, 2 159.

105. Jan-Mathieu Carbon and James P. T. Clackson, "Arms and the Boy: On the New Festival Calendar from Arkadia," *Kernos* 29 (2016): 119–58.

bronze plaque from Kierion, Thessaly¹⁰⁶
 11 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document; display

bronze plaque from Megara¹⁰⁷
 4 lines
 fifth century BCE
 dedication

lead plaque from Dodona¹⁰⁸
 7 lines
 fifth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹⁰⁹
 2 lines
 sixth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁰
 6 lines
 fifth century BCE
 oracle question

106. *LSAG2* Thessaly no. 10; *Nomima* I.33; *IG IX 2*, 257.

107. *LSAG2* Megara no. 8; *IG VII*, 37.

108. *Nomima* II.29.

109. *Eidinow*, 75, no. 2; *SEG* 43:323.

110. *Eidinow*, 75–76, no. 4; S. Dakaris, A. Ph. Christidis, and J. Vokotopoulou, “Les Lamelles oraculaires de Dodone et les villes de l’Épire du Nord,” in *L’Illyrie méridionale et l’Épire dans l’Antiquité. Actes du 2e Colloque International de Clermont-Ferrand*, 25–27 octobre 1990, edited by P. Cabanes (Paris: De Boccard, 1993), 60.

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹¹
 5 lines
 fifth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹²
 3 lines
 fifth to fourth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹³
 5 lines
 fifth to fourth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁴
 3 lines
 fifth to fourth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁵
 3 lines
 fifth to fourth century BCE
 oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁶
 3 lines
 fifth to fourth century BCE
 oracle question

111. Eidinow, 114, no. 1; *SEG* 15:391.

112. Eidinow, 76, no. 6; *SEG* 15:393; Parke 23.

113. Eidinow, 81, no. 28; *SEG* 15.394.

114. Eidinow, 81, no. 27; Parke 22; Ep. *Chron.* 1935: 255, 13.

115. Eidinow, 89, no. 2; Ep. *Chron.* 1935: 255, 15.

116. Eidinow, 89, no. 3; Ep. *Chron.* 1935: 259, 34.

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁷
3 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁸
7 lines
sixth to fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹¹⁹
4 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁰
4 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²¹
3 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²²
6 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

117. Eidinow, 91, no. 9; *Ep. Chron.* 1935: 258, 27.

118. Eidinow, 89, no. 1; Parke 5.

119. Eidinow, 92, no. 13.

120. Eidinow, 95, no. 2; *Ep. Chron.* 1935: 258, 24.

121. Eidinow, 84, no. 4; *Ep. Chron.* 1935: 255, 14.

122. Eidinow, 102, no. 2.

lead plaque from Dodona¹²³
4 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁴
3 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁵
2 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁶
4 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁷
7 lines
fifth century BCE
oracle question and answer (?)

lead plaque from Dodona¹²⁸
4 lines
fifth to fourth century BCE
oracle question

123. Eidinow, 108, no. 1; Parke 3; Ep. *Chron.* 1935: 253, 10.

124. Eidinow, 121, no. 2; Ep. *Chron.* 1935: 258, 25.

125. Eidinow, 121, no. 3; Parke 4; SEG 15:386.

126. Eidinow, 116, no. 1; Parke 26.

127. Eidinow, 108, no. 2; SEG 15:391c.

128. Eidinow, 110, no. 1; SEG 15:395.

bronze plaque from Lokris¹²⁹
6 lines
fifth century BCE
will

bronze plaque from Mykenai¹³⁰
8 lines
fifth century BCE
dedication

bronze plaque from Kaulonia¹³¹
9 lines
sixth to fifth century BCE
will

bronze plaque from Krimisa¹³²
9 lines
sixth to fifth century BCE
will

bronze plaque from Tegea¹³³
12 lines
fifth century BCE
legal; will

bronze tablet from Idalion, Cyprus¹³⁴
31 lines
Cypriote syllabic; fifth century BCE
contract; display; Smith says imitated wooden tablet

129. *Nomima* II.56.

130. *LSAG2* Mykenai no. 2; *IG* IV, 492.

131. *LSAG2* Achaian colonies no. 29; *SEG* 4:71.

132. *LSAG2* Achaian colonies no. 30; *Nomima* II.57; *SEG* 4:75.

133. *Nomima* II.59.

134. *Nomima* I.31; Olivier Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques: recueil critique et commenté; réimpression augmentée*, 2nd ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard,

bronze tablet from Samos¹³⁵
 11 lines
 fifth century BCE
 dedication; associated with sanctuary

bronze tablet from Arcades, Crete¹³⁶
 39 lines
 sixth to fifth century BCE
 legal agreement; display; secondary use

silver plate from Ephesus¹³⁷
 17 lines
 sixth century
 list of sacred income; associated with sanctuary

lead sheet from Berezan, Olbia¹³⁸
 16 lines
 fifth century BCE
 private letter

bronze plaque from Lokroi, Italy¹³⁹
 (?) lines
 fifth century BCE
 (?)

bronze plaque from Lokroi, Italy¹⁴⁰
 (?) lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

1983), 217.

135. *IG XII*, 6 2:542.

136. *Nomima* I.22; L. H. Jeffery and A. Morpurgo-Davies, "An Archaic Greek Inscription from Crete," *The British Museum Quarterly* 36 (1971): 24–29.

137. *IEphesos* 1a, no. 1; *SEG* 34:1079.

138. *Nomima* II.72.

139. *LSAG2* Doric colonies, Italy no. 1.

140. *LSAG2* Doric colonies, Italy no. 3.

bronze sheet from Metaponte, Italy¹⁴¹
 9 lines
 sixth to fifth century BCE
 will

bronze sheet from Petelia, Italy¹⁴²
 8 lines
 fifth century BCE
 will

bronze plaque from Sicily¹⁴³
 several dozen lines
 sixth century BCE
 legal document

bronze plaque from Palazzolo, Sicily¹⁴⁴
 5 lines (?); fragmentary
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

lead tablet from Gela, Sicily¹⁴⁵
 7 lines; fragmentary
 fifth century BCE
 business transaction (?)

lead tablet from Gela, Sicily¹⁴⁶
 13 lines
 fifth century BCE
 banking document (?)

141. *Nomima* II.55; *IGSI*, 149, no. 20.

142. *LSAG2* Achaian colonies no. 28; *Nomima* II.58; *IG XIV*, 636.

143. *Nomima* I.1.

144. *Nomima* I.18; *SEG* 4:27.

145. *Nomima* II.63.

146. *Nomima* II.77.

bronze plaque from Kasmenai, Sicily¹⁴⁷
 5 lines
 fifth century BCE
 legal document

bronze plaque(s) from Leontinoi, Sicily¹⁴⁸
 several dozen lines (?); fragmentary
 sixth century BCE
 legal document

bronze plaque from Himera, Sicily¹⁴⁹
 4 lines
 fifth century BCE
 dedication

bronze tablet from Himera, Sicily¹⁵⁰
 18 lines
 sixth to fifth century BCE
 legal document

lead tablet from Kamarina, Sicily¹⁵¹
 29 lines
 fifth century BCE
 defixio

lead tablet from Kamarina, Sicily¹⁵²
 9 lines
 fifth century BCE
 defixio

147. *LSAG2* Doric colonies, Sicily no. 15.

148. *LSAG2* Euboic colonies no. 2; *SEG* 4:64.

149. *LSAG2* Euboic colonies no. 19.

150. *SEG* 47:1427.

151. *LSAG2* Doric colonies no. 18; Eidinow, 425; Jordan, 88; *SEG* 4:30.

152. *LSAG2* Doric colonies no. 19; *SEG* 4:29.

lead plaque from Sicily¹⁵³
14 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead tablet from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁴
11 lines
sixth to fifth century BCE
defixio

circular lead tablet from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁵
14 lines; 2 sides
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead tablet from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁶
9 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead tablet from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁷
19 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁸
6 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

153. Eidinow, 157–63, 426; Jordan, 91.

154. Bettarini no. 16; Jordan, 95; *SEG* 26:1113.

155. Eidinow, 427–28; Jordan, 99; Bettarini no. 20; *SEG* 4:37.

156. Eidinow, 428; Jordan, 100; Bettarini no. 21; *SEG* 36:857.

157. Eidinow, 429; Jordan, 107; Bettarini no. 23; *SEG* 16.573.

158. Bettarini no. 22; Jordan, 108; *SEG* 16.574.

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁵⁹
6 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁰
9 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶¹
4 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶²
7 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶³
5 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁴
9 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

159. Bettarini no. 1.

160. Bettarini no. 2; *SEG* 55.1021.

161. Bettarini no. 3; *SEG* 55.1022.

162. Bettarini no. 4; *SEG* 55.1023.

163. Bettarini no. 10; *SEG* 47.1459.

164. Bettarini no. 11; *SEG* 47.1460.

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁵
14 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁶
26 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁷
15 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁸
5 lines
sixth to fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁶⁹
4 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷⁰
7 lines
fifth century BCE
defixio; associated with sanctuary

165. Bettarini no. 12; *SEG* 47.1461.

166. Bettarini no. 13; *SEG* 39.1020.

167. Bettarini no. 14; *SEG* 39.1021.

168. Bettarini no. 15; *SEG* 26.1112.

169. Bettarini no. 17; *SEG* 26.1114.

170. Bettarini no. 24; *SEG* 16.572.

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷¹
 10 lines
 fifth century BCE
 defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷²
 6 lines
 fifth century BCE
 defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead lamina from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷³
 5 lines
 fifth century BCE
 defixio; associated with sanctuary

lead tablet from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷⁴
 38 lines (?); 2 columns
 fifth century BCE
 legal decree; associated with sanctuary

Literary references:

gold tablet mentioned in inscription from Selinous, Sicily¹⁷⁵
 fifth century BCE
 votive; associated with sanctuary

tin scroll from Mount Ithome¹⁷⁶
 alleged seventh century; fabrication
 religious text

171. Bettarini no. 28; *SEG* 4.39.

172. Bettarini no. 29.

173. Bettarini no. 31; *SEG* 43.629.

174. Robin Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478–404 BC* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), no. 115.

175. *LSAG2 Doric colonies* no. 39; *IG XIV* 268.

176. Pausanias 4.20.4; Katherine M. Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way?: Reflections on References to Written Documents in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient*

bronze tablet from the tomb of Alcmene¹⁷⁷
 allegedly from the time of Herakles; fabrication
 Egyptian characters
 wisdom text

lead tablet from Mount Helicon, Boeotia¹⁷⁸
 Hesiod, *Works and Days*
 votive (?); associated with sanctuary

Italy

3 gold tablets from Pyrgi¹⁷⁹
 ranging from 9–16 lines
 Etruscan and Phoenician; sixth century BCE
 royal dedication to goddess Uni; associated with sanctuary; display function,
 originally tacked to another object

Literature, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 492 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 98–101.

177. *de gen. socr.*: 577e–579b; Stott, *Why Did They Write This Way?*, 99–102; Garrett G. Fagan, *Archaeological Fantasies: How Pseudoarchaeology Misrepresents the Past and Misleads the Public* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 184–85.

178. Pausanias 9.31.4; Deborah Steiner, *The Tyrant's Writ: Myths and Images of Writing in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 88; cf. D. Jordan, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 95 (1980): 238.

179. H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte. Editio minor. Teil 1: Einleitung, Konkordanz, Indices. Teil 2: Texte*, edited by G. Meiser (Hamburg: Baar-Verlag, 2014), Cr 4.3–8; Jacques Heurgon, "The Inscriptions of Pyrgi," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 56 (1966): 1–15; Philip C. Schmitz, "The Phoenician Text from the Etruscan Sanctuary at Pyrgi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 559–75; Ignasi-Xavier Adiego, "The Etruscan Texts of the Pyrgi Golden Tablets Certainties and Uncertainties," *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 32–33 (2015–2016): 135–56.

lead strip of Santa Marinella¹⁸⁰
 11 lines; 2 sides
 Etruscan; fifth century BCE
 oracular (?); associated with sanctuary

lead tablet of Magliano¹⁸¹
 circular; 2 sides
 Etruscan; fifth century BCE
 funerary; display function

Literary references:

bronze inscription from Vatican hill¹⁸²
 “from before the city”
 Etruscan

tablets of bronze of Ancus Marcius¹⁸³
 seventh century BCE
 sacrificial law

bronze tablet of Servius Tullius¹⁸⁴
 sixth century BCE
 treaty; associated with sanctuary

tablets of bronze from temple of Jupiter Capitolinus¹⁸⁵
 sixth century BCE
 treaties with Carthage; associated with sanctuary

180. M. Pallottino, *Testimonia Linguae Etruscae*, 2nd ed. (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1968), 878; Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, Cr 4.10.

181. Rix, *Etruskische Texte*, Av 4.1; L. Bouke van der Meer, “The Lead Plaque of Magliano,” in *Interpretando l’antico. Scritti di archeologia offerti a Maria Bonghi Jovino*, Quaderni di Acme 134 (Milano: Cisalpino, 2013), 323–41.

182. Pliny, *Nat.* 16.237.

183. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Ant.* 3.36.

184. *Ibid.* 4.26.

185. Polybius, *Hist.* 3.26.

bronze tablet in temple of Diana¹⁸⁶
fifth century BCE
legal decree; associated with sanctuary

bronze Twelve Tablets of the Law¹⁸⁷
fifth century BCE
early law code

186. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Ant.* 10.32.

187. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 3.57.10.