

Remedium amoris: A Curse from Cumae in the British Museum

One of the very first publications of lead curse tablets (*defixiones*, *κατάδεσμοί*) in modern times is that by Wilhelm Henzen, who presented, in 1846, along with a drawing of it made under the supervision of Theodor Mommsen himself, an example, of Roman Imperial date, that had been found in a grave at Cumae and was then in the possession of William Temple, British legate at Naples. I have been able to study the tablet in the British Museum, where it is now housed, and to arrive at fuller readings. These last I am happy to offer here to Eugene Lane, in whose contributions to our studies we all rejoice.¹

It is a text of particular human interest, having as its purpose not only to bring supernatural vengeance on an errant wife but to enable the wronged husband, evidently still in love with her, to hate her and to lose the memory of his desire for her. As such it is both a request for vengeance, “because she first broke faith with ... her husband,” and a *Trennungszauber* that is so far unique in being written on behalf of one of the parties to be separated.²

Its bibliography may be briefly summarized. Not long after Henzen’s edition of 1846, which was evidently based on autopsy, Johann Franz presented, as *CIG* III 5858b,³ a slightly different text along with a drawing (*Fig. 2*) whose source is unrecorded; this last is presumably only a simplification of that published by Henzen (*Fig. 1*). Whether or not the tablet was available to Franz, he apparently did not examine it: if he had, he no doubt would have abandoned certain of his assumptions of errors in the drawing. For example, Henzen’s transcription, the drawing, and indeed the tablet itself show βερβερουθ at the end of line 29; this being, however, unbelievable as Greek, Franz emended the text to βέρβεραι [ὄνδ]ματα. The text has been reproduced, occasionally with new readings from the drawing or with conjectures, by Carl Wachsmuth (1863:562), Georg Kaibel (*IG* XIV 872, with the drawing of *CIG*), Richard Wünsch (*DTWü* p. xv), René Cagnat and Jacques Toutain (*IGRR* I 415), and Auguste Audollent (*DTAud* 198).⁴ My autopsy may well be the first since 1846. Henzen’s readings are the best of those published; Kaibel’s, largely conjectural, which are reproduced by Cagnat and Toutain, are easily the worst.

A few edges and some of the inscribed surface have corroded away since Henzen’s time. A chief

¹I would thank the staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for their kindnesses, Jaime B. Curberra and Olli Salomies for useful suggestions about the proper names, and Allaire Stallsmith for the information about the modern Cretan spell (notes on 15-18 *infra*).

²Requests for vengeance: The basic treatment is Versnel 1991. For the publication of some 120 further examples, in Latin, see Tomlin 1988 (Bath, Rom.Imp.). Prayers/requests for vengeance normally eschew the apparatus of “black” magic, such as *voces magicae*, maternal lineage, and the application of analogies; all three occur in our text, which according to Versnel’s classification would fall into a “borderland” between prayer and magic.

Trennungszauber: We have such separative curses on lead tablets (Attica: *DTAud* 68-69 [IV^a, see note on line 24 *infra*], *SEG* 35.220-22 [III^p]; Boeotia: Ziebarth 1934:1040-42, nos. 22-23 [Hell.]; Nemea: *SEG* 30.353, Miller 1980:67, inv. IL 367, 372 [Hell./Rom.Imp.?]; Oxyrhynchus?: *SupplMag* 55 [III^p]; Rome: Bevilacqua 1997 [Imp.], papyrus (e.g. *PGM* LXVI [III^p/IV^p]), and even gemstones (e.g. Bonner 1950:277, no. D150 [Rom. Imp.]: *Χωρίσασθε Ἰερουσαλίμ· ἐπὶ Σερηνίλλως* ···; Grammatikaki and Litinas 2000 [Rom. Imp.], same formula but with *χωρίσσον*); for examples in Demotic and Coptic see the list at *SupplMag* II, p.222, n.1). It is common to find such separative magic as part of positive love-charms—“turn X away from Y so that X will come to me” (e.g. Voutiras 1998 [Pella, IV^a], *PGM* 0 2 *Κωσον, πύρω²⁸σον τήνψυχήν Ἀλλούτος, ²⁹τὸ γυναικίον σῶμα, τὸ μέ³⁰λη, ἕως ἔποσση ἐπὶ τῆς οἰ³¹κίας Ἀπολλωνίου* ··· ⁴⁰*Ἀπέλλοξον Ἀλλοῦν ἐπὶ Ἀ⁴¹πολλωνίου, τοῦ ἐνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῆς* [III^p])—but this is not the case in the Cumaean curse.

³*CIG* III appeared in fascicles in the years 1845-53; I do not know the exact date of that with 5858b.

⁴Karl Wessely (1886a, on lines 6-10; 1886b:181, on lines 7-9) has discussed the *voces magicae* of the text. Audollent noted that G. Minervini (1847-48, *non vidi*) had also treated of the text.

difficulty for transcription today is that the lead is unusually dark and has been covered with wax for preservation. This means that it has been virtually impossible to produce raking shadows in order to identify letter-strokes. Legible photography or tracing has been out of the question. The present transcription should be regarded as only provisional, therefore; the tablet needs to be cleaned and then reread again. I have been glad to have frequent recourse to the drawing made under Mommsen's eye; it is not entirely accurate, I must report, but I offer it to show the general shape and layout of the inscription. In my transcription, letters that appeared in the drawing but are now lost are underscored. I would caution the reader of the *apparatus criticus* below that Franz and Kaibel used square brackets ([]'s) to indicate not only lacunae but also their own additions and alterations; unwilling to guess what they might mean in any instance, I have reported in my apparatus criticus these brackets as printed.

The inscription begins with a line of magical signs (*charaktêres*). The text proper divides itself into basically four parts:

- I. (a) Magical names (2-3); (b) adjuration in the name of a deity (4-9); (c) command (pl.) (10-11); (d) justification (12-15).
- II. (a) Analogical magic (15-16); (b) in the name of a deity (17-18); (c) command (sg.) (18-27).
- III. (a) Magical names (28-30); (b) command (pl.) (30-39); (c) justification (39-40).
- IV. Magical names (41-42?).

British Museum H. 0.233, W. 0.120 (top), 0.108 (middle), 0.115 (bottom)
GR 2001.11-5.1

III P
Cumae

1 *Charaktêres*
2 [Ϟρ^{c.2} σαα]οφιφοριος... [-c.5]
3 ηθιτουτω σ ουπεμονδεσ [-c.5]
4 δαίμονες καὶ πνεύματα σί ἐν τῷ [τό-]
5 πω τούτω θηλυκῶν καὶ ἄρρενικῶν,
6 ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον ἴσχυ[αι τοῦ]
7 Ἐρηκισφθη εραφ εραφ εραφαι ηθι[σικηρε]
8 Ιωω Ιαβεζε βυθ' λαωαι ὕβεσφαλαω [-c.42]
9 νκηηπεμμουροφ σηνπιναιξο[-c.8?]
10 ὁ τῶν ἄλων βεσιλαύς, ἐξεγέρθηη, κ[αὶ]
11 ὁ τῶν φθιμένων βεσιλαύς, ἐξοφέ[θηη]
12 μετὰ τῶν κεκοσθηούτων θεῶν. Τούτω γὰρ
13 γαίνετα διὰ Οὐαλερίων Κοδρέπλλαω,
14 ἦν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία Εὐνοια, ἦν ἔσπει-
15 ρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικῶς. Ὡς τὸ φῶς ἀγγέ-
16 λει θεοῖς τὰ κ[ατὰ] σκότος κατ' ἐπιτολήν
17 []σφερρο[-c.4] ευορσερχεμ[]νε[-c.2]
18 μελει, διέκοπε[ε τή]ν στοργήν, τήν
19 φιλίαν. Δῆς σάτην [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα τοῖς
20 δὲ ἐν φωτὶ δὸς α[νύτην] μλεισεῖν (?). Εἰς γό-
21 λων θεῶν, εἰς φόβον, εἰσε[ε]λθέτω
22 [ἡ Οὐαλερία Κοδρέπλλα, ἦν ἔτεκε]εν
23 Β[αλερία Εὐνοια,] ἦν ἔ[σ]πειρε Βολέριος
24 Μυστικῶς. Μεισε[ίτω] σάτην, λήθην
25 σάτης λαβέτω ὕ Βετρούβιος ὕ
26 Φήλιξ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Βετρούβια Μαξίμλα-
27 [λα, δ]ῖν ἔσπει[ρε Βετρού]βιος Εὐέλπιστος

- 28 [—^{c.17}—]ερχεσθαι Τυφῶν
 29 μα[^{-c.6}]ον Βαρβάρουθ
 30 αικτα σαρων. Δότε {εἰςμ[εἰ-]
 31 σος} Βετρουβίω Φήλικι, ὄν'ε[τεκ]ε Βε-
 32 τρουβία Μαξιμίλλα, ὄν'εσπειρε Β[ετ]ρου-
 33 βιος Εὐέλπιστος, εἰς μείσος ἐλθεῖν
 34 καὶ λήθην λαθεῖν τῶν ποθῶν
 35 Οὐλαρίος Κοδρ[α]τίλλης, ἦν'εσπειρε
 36 Βα[λ]ερίος Μυσε[κ]ί[ο]ς, ἦν'εσκε Βολερία
 37 [Εὐνοια^{-c.7}]τρο. Κατέχετε ὑμεῖς
 38 [—^{c.11}—]ταῖς λοιπαῖς τιμωρίας
 39 [—^{c.13}—]ας, ὅτι πρώτη ἠθέτησε
 40 [ΒετρούβιονΦ]ήλικα τὸν ἐσσητῆς ἄνδρα
 41 [—^{c.12}—]Ἰσκουβειντων[^{-c.3}]τρα
 42 [—^{c.14}—]?[^{-c.4?}]

13 γίνεται 24 μείστω 30/31 μίσος 33 μίσος

1-3 untranscribed by Henzen, who suggests *ὄφισφόριος, from *ὄφισφόρος, in 2 ὄ[ρ]φιν]εἰα ὄφισφόρος Franz 2/3 γλώ[σσ]ῆς Franz; [: three *caraktères*? 3 ὑπ' ἐμῶν δεσμῶν Henzen; σ[ε]ὑπ' ἐμ[ὸ]ν δεσμῶν ἄγω] Franz 4/5 τῷ τὸν πω Franz; τῷ τὸν πω Kaibel, Wunsch; (τῷ) τὸν πω Audollent 6 ὄν[α]μ[α] edd. 7 ερηκισθη(?)ρηδρα-ραραραραραραρα Henzen; ερηκισθηρηδρα- Franz βισσάων Henzen 9 γ(?)καταπαμμουροδρητα-ναξο Henzen; εκτ-, φθην-Franz; τὸν Ἄιδ[ι]ον τινώξω conj. Kaibel 10/11 ἐξσγέρθη / ὄ Wunsch, ἐ. [καὶ] / ὄ *alii* 11 ἐξσφε[ε] (ε or η): ἐξσφέ[θη] Henzen; ἐξσφέ[θη] Franz; ἐξσφέ[θη] Audollent, ἐξσ[ν]έσθη] Kaibel 15 ὄξ ... 20 α[^{-4.6}]^{-c.5} left untranscribed by Henzen, who suggests ὡς τὸ φῶς ἀγγέ[λη] (15), τοῖς / δ' ἐν φῶτι ... [εἰ]ς μείσος (19/20), and καταπερώην 15 τὸ φῶς ἀγγέ[λη] Franz ὡς [σ]σφῶς ἀγγέ[λη] Kaibel; (σ)σφῶς (σφῶς tab.) ἀγγέ[λη] Audollent 16 [τὰ] πῶσι ἔχθησται [τοῖς κατὰ σ]κότος Franz; [τὰ] ὑπὸ σ]κότος Kaibel; κότος Wunsch κατ' ἐπιτολήν: καταπερώην Franz; καταπερωμ[ε]ν[α]? for καταπεπρομ[ε]ν[α] Kaibel 17 ... φ σ φ ο ρ μ α μενοροστεγνος Audollent; unread by others 18 μεν --- [τῆ]ν ὀργὴν τῆν Franz; δι-οκῶμ[ω]? Kaibel 19 φιλίαν ... Τάρ]τραρα: [τῶν] ἐνε ρθε]ν [θ]ε[ω]ν τῆν τ[ε] π[α]ρα (παρὰ Kaibel) τοῖς Franz 20 δὲ ἐν: δ' ἐν Henzen; [ἐν] Franz; [-ε]ν Kaibel δὲ ε[^{-4.6}]^{-c.5}; [φ]ί]λιας εἰς μείσος edd.; 21 θεῶν εἶσω [προς?]ελέτω Henzen; εἶσω ... ἐλ[θ]έτω Minervini, εἰς [ὀργή]ν ἐλ[θ]έτω Franz 24 μείσε[ι]? Henzen 28 ... σχηματῶν Henzen; — Τύφων Franz 29/30 μ ωγα βαρβαράουθ / δα ιαρον Henzen; βάρβαρα ὄν[α]μ[α]κτα.α]αρον Franz 37 [Εὐνοια] ἐ]ποκατέχετε Henzen; [Ε.ύ]πο- Kaibel 38 [αὐτῆ]ν καὶ ἐ]σχάτους τ. Henzen 39 [καλῶ]ξετε αὐτῆν(?) ὅτι Henzen; [καὶ ποινά]ς ὅτι Franz 40 [Φ]ήλικα Henzen; [τῆ]ν π[ί]στιν (*vel* φιλίαν Kaibel) πρὸς Φ]ήλικα Fran 41 Αἰσκού Henzen; *fortasse* [κ]αὶ ἔσκού[σ]α[ε]τ[ε] *vel* ἔσκού[ε]τ[ε] κτλ. Kaibel; εαεσκουεπει Wunsch; εαεσκουετημτος τὰ Audollent

“I. (a) OR[—]NAIAOPHIOPHORIOS [—]ÊTH TOUTÔ SOUPEMONDES[—], (b) demons and spirits in this place, of <sc. prematurely dead persons> female and male, I adjure you by the holy name of ERÊ-KISIPHTHÊ ARARACHARARA ÊPHTHISIKÊRE IAÔ IABEZBYTH LANA BESAPHLAN.[—] NKÊIPAMMOURO-PHAÊNTINAXO[—]. (c) King of the ..., arouse yourself, and king of the dead, ... with the underworld gods. (d) For these things come about through Valeria Quadratilla, whom Valeria Eunoia bore, whom Valerius Mysticus begot.

“II. (a) As the light announces to gods the things in darkness under orders of ..., cut off the delight, the love (for her). (b) Bind (?) her into Tartarus. And grant those in (the) light to (hate her?). Let Valeria Quadratilla, whom Valeria Eunoia bore, whom Valerius Mysticus begot, enter into hatred of gods, into fear. Let Vitruvius Felix, whom Vitruvia Maximilla bore, whom Vitruvius Euelpistus begot, hate her, come to have forgetfulness of her.

“III. (a) [—]ECHEAI Typhon, MA[—]ON BARBAROUTH DATA ACHON, (b) grant (pl.) {—} Vitruvius Felix, whom Vitruvia Maximilla bore, whom Vitruvius Euelpistus begot, to enter into hatred and to have forgetfulness of his desires for Valeria Quadratilla, whom Valerius Mysticus begot, whom Valeria Eunoia bore. [—] Control (pl.) (sc. her), you [—], with remaining (?) punishments ... (c) because

she first broke faith with Vitruvius Felix her own husband.

“IV. [—] ΙΑΚΟΥΒΕΕΙΥΝΤΟΝ[—]ΤΑ ...”

2.-3. How much, if any, of these lines we should consider Greek words I would not guess. We have several magical texts, roughly contemporary with the Cumaean, in which the syllables *borphor-* and the like appear, e.g. the curse tablets *SEG* 35.213-23, invoking Typhon, who appears in line 28 below. What is preserved of line 2 is suspiciously similar. Editors have tried ὀφιοφῶρ[ι]ος, which, if a Greek word, is a *hapax*; Kaibel proposed ὀ[ρφ]υ[α]ία. For 2/3 Henzen proposed γλώ[σσ]α, and Franz dismissed the drawing and read γλώ[σσ]ης, but there is too much room in the lacuna, and line 3 inescapably has ηθ. I should not rule out the possibility that we have not γλώ[but further *charaktères*. In the next line the editors may be right in seeing not *voces magicae* but τούτω and ὑπ' ἐμὸν δε αμ[ό]ν, which would in fact fit the traces, but it is hard to interpret as Greek the σο immediately preceding the last phrase. A possibility for the lacuna at the end of line 3 is νεκυ], i.e. νεκυ]δ[ε]αίμονες.

4.-5. Cf. *PGM* IV Ὀρκίζω πάντας τοὺς δαίμονες³⁴⁶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συναπερσεύεσθαι τῷ δ[ε]αί³⁴⁷μονι τούτῳ· καὶ ἀνεγειρέ μοι σαυτόν, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ, ³⁴⁸εἴτε ἄρρηγν εἴτε θήλυς, in a formula for an erotic charm, which was evidently quite popular, for five curse tablets from Egypt (*SupplMag* 46-50, IIP/IIIP) reproduce it. The accompanying instructions in the papyrus state that the lead tablet on which the formula is to be inscribed should be placed παρὰ θύρου ἢ βιότου θήκην (333), at the grave of someone whose death has been premature or violent. This would be the meaning of ἐν τῷ [τό]πῳ τούτῳ on the Cumaean tablet. The papyrus formula allows that the dead person may be either male or female; so too the Cumaean text, which was evidently copied from a formulary with a similar phrase, but here something has gone wrong, the syntax of θήλυκῶν καὶ ἀρρενικῶν] being awkward. We need not begrudge our writer the use of the masculine article after the neuter in line 4, but we note that the phrase καὶ περύματα in fact does not appear after δαίμονες in the popular erotic formula. May the anomalies have a common source, the displacement of καὶ περύματα from its proper place in the formulary that the Cumaean writer was using, the original having, for example, δαίμονες οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ περύματα (sc. e.g. θύρων) θήλυκῶν καὶ ἀρρενικῶν?

7.-9. The palindrome here is quite common in magical texts of Imperial times; I have counted 19 other instances. Here it is slightly misspelled: φθ- is repeated rather than reversed, and the normal form has αραραραρα. As to whether any of it has any recoverable meaning, there are the speculations adduced at Preisendanz 1949:135-36. The “holy name” (3) here includes the palindrome, Ιωω (Yahweh), and Ιαβεζεβουθ, which in several texts directly follows the palindrome. The vocables λωωα and βεσοφλωα] seem to be unique here. We often find the palindrome Αβλωωαθωωαλβωα as part of the Hebrew divine name, e.g. *PGM* VIII Ιωω: Cαβωωθ: 61 Αδωωαε Αβλ., V' Εγω εἶμι ⁴⁷²ὁ ἐπιτελοῦμενός σε ... Ἐβρωστί. ⁴⁷⁶Αβλ. αβρωσλωα; I am therefore tempted to wonder whether the syllables λωωα βεσοφλωα[—] may have begun life as a miscopying of it.

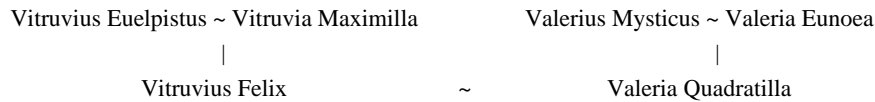
10.-11. Presumably the two kings should have complementary rôles or realms; the ὄλων of line 10, as corresponding to the φθιμένων of line 11, is probably not right. Is it a corruption of θεῶν?

12.-13. Τῶν τε γὰρ γείνετα διὰ Οὐολερίων Κοδράκλωα. This is the first sign that the text is an appeal for vengeance, the writer being careful to note that the spell is a reaction to another's deeds rather than merely the aggressive magic motivated by *phthonos* or the will to dominate. We may compare the phrases ἐξίωι (sic) οὖν ὀδικού²⁶μενος καὶ οὐκ ὀδικῶν²⁷ πρότερος on a curse tablet from Oropos (Petraikos 1997:745α, Π⁴) and ἐξερῶμε (for ἐξερῶμεα) τὸν καταγράψοντα καὶ τὸν ἀπολέσσαντα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐ³κὼν ὄλλε ἀνεκκαλεζόμενος διὰ τοὺς ⁴κλέπτες τοῦτο ποιεῖ on another, from the Athenian Agora (*SEG* 30.326, IP-IIP). Below (39-40), the *defigens* includes another justification for his actions: it was she who first broke faith with him, her husband.

14.-15. Nothing is commoner in Greek magical texts under the Empire than identification by maternal lineage, with the ritual formula δι' ἡν ἔτεκεν or, less often, ἐγέννησεν (see Jordan 1976, Curbera 1999); the present spell is apparently unique in giving both parents' names. (K. Preisendanz prints *PGM* LXXI as if both mother and father are to be named, δι' ἔτεκεν ἢ δι' ἔγεννησεν [ὁ δὲ δίνει], but,

like Franz and Kaibel, he often, as here, uses [] where the Leiden Convention would require < >; the papyrus is indeed intact in this line, ἐγέννησεν being no doubt a marginal gloss wrongly incorporated into the main text. As in Modern Greek, it would mean “bore,” not “begot.”)

Having both maternal and paternal lineage for each spouse, we may reconstruct a stemma:



The parents were evidently all *liberti*, receiving their masters’ *gentilicia*; in addition, three of them have Greek *cognomina*, another possible indication of servile background.

15.-18. I have not found, in magical texts, any good parallel for the conceit of the light announcing dark matters to gods. There is a curiously similar passage, however, also with the phrase κατ’ ἐπιτολήν, in a speech addressed apparently to the Sun: *PGM LXII Διαστολήτω*³⁰ τὸ σκοτός κατ’ ἐπιτολήν (iambic trimeter) τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ προσελθέτω τὸ ἱερὸν φῶς³¹ ἐκ τοῦ ἑσπέριου εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, in which the light overcomes the darkness by order of the cosmic god. We may compare addresses to the Sun, XIV 11 κατ’ ἐπιτολήν τοῦ θεοῦ (unnamed) and XII κατ’ ἐπιτολή⁴[γ]ήν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ Ἰωῦ Ἀδωνεα Ἀβλωνεαθωνολβια. The Cumaean text has already invoked his name in line 8, which is that of the ὑψίστος θεός. In lines 17-18 he is given apparently another mystical name, whose elements I have not found in other magical texts, but the transcription is far from sure.

The sentence beginning ὡς τὸ φῶς makes us expect a correlative, “so too ...,” possibly something on the order of “so too let this tablet announce the wickedness of Valeria Quadratilla;” what we find, though, is an awkward shift of thought: “interrupt the delight, the love....” We may suspect that the entire formula for the analogical magic that is implied here was once longer but over time has become truncated. We may compare an instance of analogical magic on a curse tablet from Olbia (*SEG 37.673*, Hell.; cf. Jordan 1997), whose text, addressed to a ghost, begins [Ἰ]σπερ σὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ γινώσκουμε²ν, οὐτως Εὐπόλις (plus other names), ἐπὶ [ὄκο]νον προῦμα παρσ⁶γείνονται ... “Just as we do not know you, so too may Eupolis ..., at whatever lawsuit they are present” The verb of the οὐτως clause has somehow dropped out, but it was no doubt something like “fail to know how to offer their evidence.” We may also cite a spell for warts from today’s Crete, also based on analogical magic and also to be performed at a grave, whose occupant is presumably also unknown to the speaker. If there is any continuity in these matters, its beginning and that of the Olbian spell have a common background: Ὅπως δε ν ξέρω ποιός εἶναι εδὼ μέ σα “Just as I do not know who is here inside.” We expect “so too may the warts not know how to stay on my hands” or the like, but we find instead ἐτσι να μνη ξέρω πότε θα φύγουν οι κουτσόκοι από τα χέρια μου “thus may I not know when the warts will leave my hands.” But ignorance is not the purpose of the spell, which is rather to get rid of the warts. The analogy has somehow degenerated, conceivably through the omission, over time, of phrases in the original.

We are not explicitly told whose delight and love are to be cut off. I assume that it is Vitruvius Felix’ and others’ for Valeria Quadratilla. Below (24-25, 33-34) he is to come to hate her and to forget his desire for her.

18.-20. Although plural beings are addressed in line 6 (ἐξορκίζω ὑμῶς), the verbs here are in the singular. Such shifts are hardly infrequent in magical texts: cf. *DTAud 241* (Carthage, IIP?), which begins in the plural (ἐξορκίζω ὑμῶς ... ἵνα ἑκατόησθητε πᾶν μέλος ...), shifts to the singular (κατόησον ἐν τῶν τὰ σκέλη ...¹³... ἐμσώρωσον ἐν τῶν τὰ¹⁴ ἄμματα, etc.), and then returns to the plural (¹⁷κατόησσε[ε]). R. Wünsch (1911:11) remarks that “zwei fluchrezepte sind hier ineinander geflossen: das erste setzte mehrere geister..., das andre nur einen dämon in bewegung.... Später wird zum ersten formular zurückgekehrt.” The present text returns to the plural in line 30 (ἴδτε).

The editors have transcribed] παρὰ (or π]αρὰ) τοῖς δὲ ἐν φωτῖ, some restoring part or all of ἐν. The particle δὲ, however, suggests that τοῖς should begin a new sentence, and indeed autopsy shows

that the π of $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ is an impossible reading. The first letter is τ , the high horizontal extending well to the right of the vertical; elsewhere on the tablet, π is formed without any such extension. We therefore presumably have a very short sentence between $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ and $\tau\omicron\iota\zeta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. I restore $[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\rho]\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$ *exempli gratia* and propose $\delta\eta\eta\zeta$ rather than the editors' $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta$ as the verb. Its second letter is η , ϵ , or ϱ . If $[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\rho]\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$ is correct, the phrase $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\upsilon$ $[\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\rho]\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$ is hardly idiomatic, however, but it happens that a formula recurrent in contemporary curse tablets from the Athenian Agora has a similar phrase with the substandard positive subjunctive of command: $\delta\eta\eta\zeta\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \tau\eta\zeta\ \lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\zeta\ \delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\xi\eta\zeta\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta\zeta$ etc. (*SEG* 35.213-24).

For the phrase $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \phi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$ in the next sentence I have found no parallel, but the concept is perhaps to be found in a recently-published curse tablet from Spain (Barchín del Hoyo, Cuenca, I^a-IP, Curbera et al. 1999), in which the writer invokes those below and then those above (*ceteros quos merito devovi supra*; cf. $\tau\omicron\iota\zeta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \phi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$). The verb itself in 20 is almost certainly $\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta$ (ϱ or ϵ). The command with the plural $\delta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ below (30-34) has the structure $\delta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ plus dative plus infinitive. Here presumably the structure is “and to those in (the) light, grant ($\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta$)” plus another infinitive. The traces would allow $\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\upsilon$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\upsilon\ \mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ or the like; if the conjecture is correct, Valeria Quadrilla is literally to be sent to Hell, to the realm of the “king of the dead” (11), to incur the $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ of the chthonians subject to him (12), and those ($\tau\omicron\iota\zeta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \phi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$?) ruled by the other king who is summoned (10)—the living? the gods of the heavens as opposed to the chthonians of line 12?—are to hate her.

22.-23. Note the spelling $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ - here and above but $\beta\omega\acute{\alpha}$ - elsewhere.

24. In an Attic curse tablet of IV^a we apparently have the motif of the spouse's forgetting his desire: *DTAud* 68A $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\zeta$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\zeta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\upsilon$ 11 $[\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \tau\eta\zeta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta\zeta\ \tau\eta\zeta\ \pi\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\zeta]$.

28.-30. The curse tablets from the Athenian Agora cited above (18-20) also invoke Typhon, giving him the Hebrew divine name $\zeta\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$; the opening of line 28 presumably consisted of epithets and other *voces magicae*, which would have extended into line 30. In line 29 the letters are more widely spaced than elsewhere, the ν of $\nu\alpha$ standing beneath the ϵ of the $\eta\epsilon\chi\epsilon\alpha$ of 28.

30.-31. The phrase $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ is superfluous here, occurring as it does in line 33.

37. LSJ list both Henzen's $\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (“*dub.l.*”) and Kaibel's $\acute{\alpha}\nu\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, citing this passage as the one instance of each verb. Both entries should be deleted, for η cannot be read. The letter is τ , formed like that of $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha$ (19). I have not found a restoration for the unpromising $\eta\tau\alpha$, however.

39.-40. Here we have the main justification for the curse. Editors have supplied $[\tau\eta\upsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\upsilon]$ (or $\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\upsilon$) $\pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma\ \Phi\eta\gamma\lambda\iota\kappa\alpha$, but consistency demands a *gentilicium* here, and the verb $\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ can in fact take a personal object, e.g. LXX Isaiah 1.2, Mark 6.26.

41. A final magical name. The traces at the right of the first lacuna are compatible with $]\ \text{I}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}$ -, which is found, for example, at *SEG* 35.227 (curse tablet, Athenian Agora, III^P), in the appellation $\tau\upsilon\phi\acute{\omega}\nu$ 15 $\chi\omega\chi\epsilon\lambda\omega\psi\ \text{I}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\ \text{I}\omega\epsilon\rho\beta\eta\theta$ etc.; $\text{I}\epsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\iota}\ \alpha$ are part of a common *logos*: cf. Moraux 1960:17 n.4.

Inter p. 156 et 157

Ο ΤΙ Υ Δ Τ Δ Δ Φ Ι Ο Φ Ο Ρ Ι Ο Σ Μ Ω
 Η Θ Τ Ο Υ Τ Ω Σ Α Υ Π Ε Μ Ι Ν Α Ε Σ Δ
 Δ Δ Ι Μ Μ Ο Ν Ε Κ Δ Ι Τ Ι Ν Ε Ν Μ Δ Τ Δ Ο Ι Ε Ν Τ Ο
 Π Ω Τ Ο Υ Τ Ω Θ Η Ν Κ Ω Ν Κ Α Ι Δ Ρ Ρ Ε Ν Ι Κ
 Ε Ρ Ο Ρ Κ Ι Ζ Ω Ν Μ Δ Ε Τ Ο Δ Γ Ι Ο Ν Ο Ν Ο Μ
 Ε Ρ Η Κ Ι Ο Φ Η Δ Ρ Α Ρ Α Ρ Α Χ Α Ρ Δ Η Μ Τ Ο
 Ι Δ Ω Ι Δ Ρ Ε Σ Ε Β Θ Λ Α Ν Δ Β Ε Σ Δ Λ Δ Ι
 Μ Κ Τ Ι Μ Α Μ Μ Ο Υ Γ Ο Φ Δ Μ Η Ν Τ Ι Ν Α Σ Ο
 Ο Τ Ω Ν Ο Χ Ω Ν Β Λ Ο Ι Κ Ε Ν Ε Σ Ε Ρ Ε Ρ Β Η Τ Ι
 Ο Τ Ω Ν Φ Ω Μ Ε Ν Ω Ν Β Α Ο Χ Ε Ν Ο Σ Δ Δ Ι
 Μ Ε Α Τ Ω Ν Κ Α Τ Α Χ Θ Ν Ι Ω Ν Θ Ε Ω Ν Τ Ο Υ Τ Α Γ Α Ρ
 Ε Κ Η Ν Ε Τ Ω Δ Ι Δ Α Χ Α Δ Ε Ρ Ι Α Η Κ Ο Δ Ρ Α Τ Ι Μ Δ Ν
 Η Ν Ε Τ Ε Κ Ε Ν Ο Υ Δ Α Ε Ν Δ Ε Υ Ν Ο Ι Δ Η Ν Ε Ρ Ε Ε
 Τ Ε Ο Ν Δ Α Ε Ρ Ι Ο Σ Μ Υ Σ Τ Ι Κ Ο Σ Μ Ε Τ Α Φ Ω Σ Ο Γ Γ Ε
 Π Α Μ Ε Χ Ο Σ Τ Α Κ Ο Τ Ο Κ Κ Α Τ Ε Ρ Ρ Α Η Ν
 Μ Ε Ν Α Δ Ι Δ Κ Ο Φ Μ Ε Ν Ο Ρ Ε Γ Χ Ε Ν Η Ε
 Τ Ε Ρ Ρ Η Ν Μ Η
 Φ - Μ Δ Ε Ο Μ Τ Η Ν Μ Δ Ρ Α Τ Ο Ν
 Λ Ν Ψ Τ Ι Λ Ο Τ Μ Η Λ Ι Τ Ε Κ Χ
 Λ Ο Ν Ι Ε Ω Ν Ε Γ Ω Μ Ε Α Ε Τ Ω
 Η ΟΥ Δ Α Ρ Ι Δ Κ Ο Δ Ρ Α Τ Ι Μ Δ Η Ν Ε Τ Ε Κ Ε Ν
 Δ Χ Ε Ρ Ι Δ Ε Υ Ν Ο Ι Δ Η Ν Ε Ε Ρ Ρ Ε Δ Δ Ε Ρ Ι Ο Σ
 Μ Υ Σ Τ Ι Κ Ο Σ Μ Ε Σ Ε Ν Δ Υ Τ Η Ν Η Α Θ Η Ν
 Δ Υ Τ Η Σ Δ Β Ε Τ Ω Ρ Ε Τ Ρ ΟΥ Β Ι Ο Σ
 Φ Η Τ Ι Ζ Ο Ν Ε Τ Ε Κ Ε Ν Ρ Ε Τ Ρ ΟΥ Β Ι Δ Α Μ Δ Ζ Μ Α Ι
 Μ Ε Μ Ε Ι Β Ι Ο Σ Ε Ν Η Λ Ι Τ Ι Ο Σ
 Μ Α Τ Α Χ Ι Δ Ε Ρ Δ Ο Ρ Δ Ο Υ Φ
 Δ Α Ι Δ Χ Ω Μ Δ Ο Τ Ε Κ Ε Ν
 Ε Δ Ε Β Ε Ρ ΟΥ Κ Ω Φ Η Χ Ι Ο Ν Ε Κ Ε Β
 Τ Ρ ΟΥ Β Ι Ο Μ Δ Ζ Μ Α Μ Δ Ο Ν Ε Κ Ε Ρ Ι Ν ΟΥ
 Ε Λ Ε Ε Ν Ε Ν Ι Ο Σ Ε Ζ Ω Ε Κ Ο Σ Ε Ν Η Ν
 Κ Ο Χ Μ Ο Η Ν Λ Δ Ο Β Η Τ Ε Μ Π Ο Τ Χ Τ
 Ο Ν Δ Ε Ρ Ι Α Η Ε Ρ Π Η Μ Η Σ Η Ν Ε Ε Ρ Ρ
 Δ Δ Α Υ Κ Ο Σ Η Μ Ο Κ Ε Τ Δ Α Η Ι Δ
 Τ Ο Κ Α Τ Τ Υ Ε Τ Α Μ Μ Ε Ι Ο
 Μ Χ Θ Ρ Ο Ι Ο Τ Ε Ι Μ Μ Ω Γ Ι Α Κ
 Ε Ο Τ Π Ρ Ω Τ Η Μ Ε Θ Η Σ
 Η Ι Κ Ο Τ Ο Η Ε Δ Υ Τ Η Σ Α Υ Β Ρ Α
 Δ Ι Δ Κ Ο Υ Α Τ Η Μ Η Τ Ο Μ Μ Η Τ Ε

- Bevilacqua, G. 1997. "Un incantesimo per l'odio in una *defixio* di Roma," *ZPE* 117:291-93
- Bonner, C. 1950. *Studies in magical amulets chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 49) Ann Arbor
- CIG. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum* (Berlin 1828-77, repr. Hildesheim 1977)
- Curbera, J.B. 1999. "Maternal lineage in Greek magical texts," in D.R. Jordan, H. Montgomery, E. Thomassen, eds., *The world of ancient magic. Papers from the first international Samson Eitrem Symposium at the Norwegian Institute at Athens, 4-8 May 1997* (= *Papers from the Norwegian Institute at Athens* 4, Bergen):195-205
- Curbera, J.B., M. Sierra Delage, I. Velázquez. 1999. "A bilingual curse tablet from Barchín del Hoyo (Cuenca)," *ZPE* 125:279-83
- DTAud. A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt* (Paris 1904, repr. Frankfurt 1967)
- DTWü. R. Wünsch, *Defixionum tabellae (Inscriptiones Graecae III [3]* (Berlin 1897, repr. in A.N. Oikonomides, *Inscriptiones atticae. Supplementum inscriptionum atticarum*, I [Chicago 1976])
- Grammatikaki, E., and N. Litinas, "Μολικὸς κατόβριμος," *Επιμνησ.* 1:61-69
- Henzen, G. 1846. "Iscrizione greca sopra una lamina di piombo," *AnnInst.*203-14
- IG XIV. G. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones graecae Siciliae et Italiae* (Berlin 1890)
- IGRR. *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes* (Paris 1906-27, repr. Chicago 1975)
- Jordan, D.R. 1976. "CIL VIII 19525(B).2 QPVVLA = *q(uem) p(eperit) vulva*," *Philologus* 120:127-32
- . 1997. "An address to a ghost at Olbia," *Mnemosyne* 50:212-19
- Miller, Stephen G. 1980. "Excavations at Nemea, 1979," *Hesperia* 49:178-205
- Minervini, G. 1847-48. (untitled?) *Bullettino archeologico napoletano* 6:66-68
- Moraux, P. 1960. *Une defixion judiciaire au Musée d'Istanbul* (*Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, Cl. des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques 54.2, Brussels)
- Petrakos, V.Ch. 1997. *Ορισμοί των ειδωλίων (= Επιμνηστική της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 170, Athens)
- PGM. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechische Zauberpapyri* (Stuttgart 1973-74)
- Preisendanz, K. 1949. "Palindrom," *RE* 18B (Stuttgart):133-9
- SEG. *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum* (Leiden, Aphen aan den Rijn, Amsterdam 1923-present)
- SupplMag. R.W. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum magicum (Papyrologica Colonensia* 16.1-2, Opladen 1990-92)
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1988. "The curse tablets," in B.W. Cunliffe, ed., *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath* (*OUCA Monograph* 16, Oxford):59-277
- Versnel, H.S. 1991. "Beyond cursing: The appeal to justice in judicial prayers," in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magica hiera. Ancient Greek magic and religion* (New York/Oxford):60-106
- Voutiras, E. 1998, *Αποκαταστάσεις ζωής. Marital life and magic in fourth century Pella* (Amsterdam)
- Wachsmuth, C. 1863. "Inschriften aus Korkyra," *RhM* n.F. 18:559-74
- Wessely, K. 1886a. "Bericht über griechische Papyri in Paris und London," *WStud* 8:175-230
- . 1886b. "Ephesia Grammata aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen, etc.," *Jahresbericht über das k.-k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien* 12
- Wünsch, R. 1911. *Antike Fluchtafeln (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* 20, Bonn)
- Ziebarth, R. 1934. "Neue Verfluchungstafeln aus Attika, Boiotien und Euboia," *Sitz-Berlin* 32:1022-50