Remedium amoris:
A Curse from Cumae in the British Museum

One of the very first publications of lead curse tablets (*defixiones*, κατάδεσμοι) 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 βαρβαρασυθ at the end of line 29; this being, however, unbelievable as Greek, Franz emended the text to βάρβαρα [ὀνό]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

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[1] I would thank the staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for their kindnesses, Jaime B. Curbera 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*).

[2] Requests 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.]: Χωρίσατε Ἱερακίωνα· ·· ἀπὸ Σερηνίλλας ···; Grammatikaki and Litinas 2000 [Rom. Imp.], same formula but with χώρισον); 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* O 2 Κασῦσον, πύρω[28]σον τὴν ψυχὴν [v'] Ἀλλοῦτος, [29]τὸ γυναικῖον σῶμα, τὰ μέ[30]λη, ἕως ὁποσσῆ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ[31]κίας Ἀπολλωνίου ···. [40]Ἀπόλλαξον Ἀλλοῦν ἀπὸ A[41]πολλωνίου, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς [II[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.

[4] Karl 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 <u>underscored</u>. 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)   IIIᵖ
GR 2001.11-5.1   Cumae

    1   *Charaktêres*
    2   [Ωρ ᶜ·² αια]οφιοφοριος [ᶜ·⁵]
    3   ηθιτουτω σ ουπεμονδεσ [ᶜ·⁵]
    4   δαίμονες και πνεύματα οἱ ἐν τῷ [τό-]
    5   πῳ τούτῳ θηλυκῶν και ἀρρενικ[ῶν,]
    6   ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομ[α τοῦ]
    7   Ερηκισιφθη αραφαραχαραρα τῇ θι[σικηρε]
    8   Ιαω Ιαβεζε βυθ λανα ᵛ βεσαφλαν [ᶜ·⁴²]
    9   νκηπαμμουροφ σηντιναξο[ᶜ·⁸?]
    10   ὁ τῶν ὅλων βασιλεύς, ἐξεγέρθητι, κ[αὶ]
    11   ὁ τῶν φθιμένων βασιλεύς, ἐξοφέ[θητι]
    12   μετὰ τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν. Ταῦτα γὰρ
    13   γείνεται διὰ Οὐαλερίαν Κοδράτιλλαν,
    14   ἣν ἔτεκεν Οὐαλερία Εὔνοια, ἣν ἔσπει-
    15   ρε Οὐαλέριος Μυστικός. Ὡς τὸ φῶς ὀγγέ-
    16   λει θε οἷς τὰ κ[ατὰ] σκότος κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν
    17   [ ]οτφερρο[ᶜ·⁴] ευορσερχεμ[ ]νε [ᶜ·²]
    18   μελει, διάσκοπ[ε τὴ]ν στοργήν, τὴν
    19   φιλίαν. Δῆς αὐτὴν [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα Τοῖς
    20   δὲ ἐν φωτὶ δὸς α[ὐτὴν μ]ειςεῖν (?). Εἰς χό-
    21   λον θεῶν, εἰς φόβον, εἰσε[ρ]λθέτω
    22   [ἡ Οὐαλερία Κοδράτιλλα, ἣν ἔτεκ]εν
    23   Β[αλερία Εὔνοια,] ἣν ἔ[σ]πειρε Βαλέριος
    24   Μυστικός. Μεισε[ίτω] αὐτήν, λήθην
    25   αὐτῆς λαβέτω ᵛ Βετρούβιος ᵛ
    26   Φῆλιξ, ὃν ἔτεκεν Βετρουβία Μαξίμιλ-
    27   [λα, ὃ]ν ἔσπει[ρε Βετρού]βιος Εὐέλπιστος

28 [————— c.17 —————]εχεαι Τυφῶν
29 μα[—c.6—]ον Βαρβαρουθ
30 αατα αχων. Δότε {εἰϲμ[εῖ-]
31 σοϲ} Βετρουβίῳ Φήλικι, ὸν ἔ[τεκ]ε Βε-
32 τρουβία Μαξίμιλλα, ὸν ἔσπειρε Β[ετ]ρου-
33 βιοϲ Εὐέλπιστοϲ, εἰϲ μεῖσοϲ ἐλθεῖν
34 καὶ λήθην λαβεῖν τῶν ποθῶν
35 Οὐαλερίαϲ Κοδρ[α]τίλληϲ, ἣν ἔσπειρε
36 Βα[λέ]ριοϲ Μυστ]ικ[ό]ϲ, ἣν ἔτεκε Βαλερία
37 [Εὔνοια —c.7—]το. Κατέχετε ὑμεῖϲ
38 [————— c.11 ———— τα]ῖϲ λοιπαῖϲ τειμωρίαιϲ
39 [————— c.13 —————]αϲ, ὅτι πρώτη ἠθέτησε
40 [Βε τρούβιον Φ]ήλικα τὸν ἑαυτῆϲ ἄνδρα
41 [————— c.12 —————] Ι ακουβηειυντον[—c.3—]τα
42 [——————— c.14 ———————]?[—c.42—]

13 γίνεται   24 μισείτω   30/31 μῖσοϲ   33 μῖσοϲ

1-3 untranscribed by Henzen, who suggests *ὀφιοφόριος, from *ὀφιοφόρος, in 2 ὀ[ρφν]οία ὀφιοφόρος Franz 2/3 γλώ[σσ]ῆς Franz; [: three *charaktêres*? 3 ὑπ᾿ ἐμῶν δεσμῶν Henzen; σ[ε]ὑπ᾿ ἐμ[ὸ]ν δεσ[μὸν ἄγω] Franz 4/5 [τῷ τό]᾿πῳ Franz; τῷ τό᾿πῳ Kaibel, Wünsch; (τῷ) τό᾿πῳ Audollent 6 ὄνομ[α] edd. 7 ερηκισιθφ(?)ρηδρα- ραραραϲχαρασηφθι ··· Henzen; ερηκισθαρη δ ρδρα- Franz βισαφλαν ··· Henzen 9 γ(?)κτιποημμουπορδηντι- ναξο ··· Henzen; εκτ-, ‑φδην‑Franz; τὸν ῞Αι[δ]ην τινάξω conj. Kaibel 10/11 ἐξεγέρθητι / ὁ Wünsch, ἐ. [καὶ] / ὁ *alii* 11 ἐξοφε[(ε or η): ἐξοφέ[θητι Henzen; ἐξοφ[έθητι Franz; ἐξοφή[θητι] Audollent, ἐξα[νάσθητι] Kaibel 15 ῾Ως ··· 20 ο[—4-6—]—c.5— left untranscribed by Henzen, who suggests ὡς τὸ φῶς ἀγγέ[λῃ] (15), τοῖϲ / δ᾿ ἐν φωτὶ ··· [εἰ]ϲ μεῖσοϲ (19/20), and κατεπράγην 15 τὸ φῶς ἀγγ[είλη Franz ὡς [σ]οφῶς ἀγγέλ[ω] Kaibel; (σ)οφῶς (τοφῶς tab.) ἀγγέλ[λ]῾[λω] Audollent 16 [τὰ] πᾶσι ἔχθιστα [τοῖϲ κατὰ σ]κότος Franz; [τὰ ὑπὸ σ]κότος Kaibel; ..... κότος Wünsch κατ᾿ ἐπιταγήν: κατεπράγην Franz; κατεπραμμ[έ]ν[α? for καταπεπραγμένα Kaibel 17 . ...φο᾿ ᾿φορμα......μενοροσετχενος Audollent; unread by others 18 μεν ‑‑‑‑[τὴ]ν ὀργὴν τὴν Franz; δι- αϲκόψ[ω? Kaibel 19 φιλίαν ··· Τάρ]ταρα: [τῶν ἐνε ρθε]ν [θ]ε[ῶ]ν τὴν τ[ε π]αρὰ (παρὰ Kaibel) τοῖϲ Franz 20 δὲ ἐν: δ᾿ ἐν Henzen; [ἐν] Franz; [‑‑ἐ]ν Kaibel δὸς α[—4-6—]—c.5—: [φί]λαιϲ εἰϲ μεῖσοϲ edd.; 21 θεῶν εἴσω [προς?]ελθέτω Henzen; εἴσω__ ἐλ[θ]έτω Minervini, εἰς [ὀργὴν] ἐλ[θ]έτω Franz 24 μεισε[ῖ?]ν Henzen 28 ··· ··· σχεμτυφων Henzen; ‑‑‑‑Τύφων Franz 29/30 μ······ωχι βαρβαρασουθ / δα···· ιϲχων Henzen; βάρ- βαρα ὀνό᾿[ματα λ]οχών Franz 37 [Εὔνοια ἀ]ποκατέχετε Henzen; [Ε. ὑ]πο- Kaibel 38 [αὐτὴν καὶ ἐ]σχάταιϲ τ. Henzen 39 [κολάζετε αὐτὴν(?)] ὅτι Henzen; [καὶ ποιναῖ]ϲ ὅτι Franz 40 ····· [Φ]ήλικα Hen- zen; [τὴν πίστιν (*vel* φιλίαν Kaibel) πρὸς Φ]ήλικα Fran 41 ······ Αι ακοῦ···· Henzen; *fortasse* [κ]αὶ ἀκού[σ]ατ[ε] *vel* ἀκού[ε]τ[ε] κτλ. Kaibel; αι ακουαπι Wünsch; αι ακουτημμτος ....τα 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 ARARARACHARARA ÊPHTHISIKÊRE IAÔ IABEZEBYTH 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 Quadritilla, whom Valeria Eunoea 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 Vale- ria Quadratilla, whom Valeria Eunoea 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.) {—} Vitru- vius 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 Va- leria Eunoea bore. [—] Control (pl.) (sc. her), you [—], with remaining (?) punishments ... (*c*) because

she first broke faith with Vitruvius Felix her own husband.

    "IV. [—] IAKOUBÊEIYNTON[—]TA ...."

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 ὀφιοφόρ{ι}ος, which, if a Greek word, is a *hapax*; Kaibel proposed ὁ[ρφ v]αία. For 2/3 Henzen proposed γλῶ[σσα], 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 γλω[but further *charaktêres*. In the next line the editors may be right in seeing not *voces magicae* but τούτῳ and ὑπ' ἐμὸνδε ᾳμό[ν, which would in fact fit the traces, but it is hard to interpret as Greek the σο immediately preceeding the last phrase. A possibility for the lacuna at the end of line 3 is νεκυ], *i.e.* νεκυ]ῦδαίμονες.

4.-5. *Cf. PGM* IV 'Ορκίζω πάντας τοὺς δαίμονας ³⁴⁶τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ συνπαρασταθῆναι τῷ δαί³⁴⁷μονι τούτῳ· καὶ ἀνέγειρέ μοι σαυτόν, ὅστις ποτ᾽ εἶ, ³⁴⁸εἴτε ἄρρην εἴτε θῆλυς, 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 ἀώρου ἢ βιαίου θήκην (333), at the grave of someone whose death has been premature or violent. This would be the meaning of ἐν τῷ [τό]⁵πῳ 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 θηλυκῶν καὶ ἀρρενικ[ῶν] 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 πνεύματα in fact does not appear after δαίμονες in the popular erotic formula. May the anomalies have a common source, the displacement of καὶ πνεύματα 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 πνεύματα (*sc. e.g.* ἀώρων) θηλυκῶν 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 αραραχχαραρα. 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, Ιαω (Yahweh), and Ιαβεζεβυθ, which in several texts directly follows the palindrome. The vocables λανα and βεσσαφλαν[seem to be unique here. We often find the palindrome ΑβλαναθαναλΒα as part of the Hebrew divine name, *e.g. PGM* VIII Ιαω: Cαβαωθ: ⁶¹ΑδωναιΑβλ., V 'Εγώ εἰμι ⁴⁷²ὁ ἐπικαλούμενός σε ··· 'Εβραϊστί· ⁴⁷⁶Αβλ. αβρασιλωα; I am therefore tempted to wonder whether the syllables λαναβεσσαφλαν[—] may have begun life as a miscopying of it.
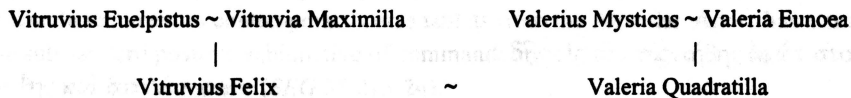
10.-11. Presumably the two kings should have complementary rôles or realms; the ὅλων of line 10, as corresponding to the φθιμένων of line 11, is probably not right. Is it a corruption of θεῶν?

12.-13. Τοῦταγὰρ γείνεται διὰ Οὐαλερίαν Κοδράτιλλαν. 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 ἀξιῶι (*sic*) οὖν ἀδικού²⁶μενος καὶ οὐκ ἀδικῶν ²⁷πρότερος on a curse tablet from Oropos (Petrakos 1997:745α, IIᵃ) and ἐξξεροῦμε (for ἐξαιροῦμαι) τὸν καταγρά²φ οντακὲ τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐ³κὼν ἀλλὰ ἀναικαζόμενος διὰ τοὺς ⁴κλέπτας 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 ὂνῆνέτεκεν 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, ὂν ἔτε⁸κεν ἡ δῖνα, ἐγέννησεν [ὁ δῖνα], 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:

Vitruvius Euelpistus ~ Vitruvia Maximilla   Valerius Mysticus ~ Valeria Eunoea

| |

Vitruvius Felix   ~   Valeria Quadratilla

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᾽ ἐπιτα-γήν, in a speech addressed apparently to the Sun: *PGM* LXII Διασταλήτω ³⁰τὸ σκότος κατ᾽ ἐπιταγὴν (iambic trimeter) τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ προελθέτω τὸ ἱερὸν φῶς ³¹ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου 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᾽ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ (unnamed) and XII κατ᾽ ἐπιτα⁶⁴[γ]ὴν τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ Ιαω Αδωνεα Αβλαναθαναλβα. The Cumaean text has already invoked his name in line 8, which is that of the ὕψιστος 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 [Ὥ]σπερ σὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ γεινώσκομε²ν, οὕτως Εὔπο[λ]ις (plus other names), ἐπ᾽ [ὁκο]ῖον πρᾶγμα παρα⁶γείνονται ··· "Just as we do not know you, so too may Eupolis ..., at whatever lawsuit they are present ...." The verb of the οὕτως 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 δεν ξέρω ποιός είναι εδώ μέσα "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 έτσι να μην ξέρω πότε θα φύγουν οι κουτσίκοι 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 ὑμᾶς), the verbs here are in the singular. Such shifts are hardly infrequent in magical texts: *cf. DTAud* 241 (Carthage, IIIP?), which begins in the plural (ἐξορκί⁴ζω ὑμᾶς ··· ἵνα ⁶καταδήσητε πᾶν μέλος ···), shifts to the singular (καταδήσσον αὐτῶν τὰ σκέλη ··· ¹³··· ἀμαύρωσσον αὐτῶν τὰ ¹⁴ὄμματα, etc.), and then returns to the plural (¹⁷καταδήσατ[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 (δότε).

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

that the π of παρά 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 φιλίαν and τοῖς δέ. I restore [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα *exempli gratia* and propose δῆς rather than the editors' δός as the verb. Its second letter is η, ε, or ο. If [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα is correct, the phrase δὸς αὐτὴν [εἰς Τάρ]ταρα 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: δῆς εἰς τὸν τῆς λήθης ὀφώτιστον ἀῶνα καὶ καταψύξῃς καὶ ἀπολέσῃς etc. (*SEG* 35.213-24).

For the phrase ἐν φωτί 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, Iᵃ-Iᵖ, Curbera et al. 1999), in which the writer invokes those below and then those above (*ceteros quos merito devovi supra*; cf. τοῖς δὲ ἐν φωτί). The verb itself in 20 is almost certainly δός (ο or ε). The command with the plural δότε below (30-34) has the structure δότε plus dative plus infinitive. Here presumably the structure is "and to those in (the) light, grant (δός)" plus another infinitive. The traces would allow μ[ειοεῖν] αὐτήν, α[ὐτὴν μ]ειοεῖν 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 χόλος of the chthonians subject to him (12), and those (τοῖς δὲ ἐν φωτί?) 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 Οὐαλ- here and above but Βαλ- elsewhere.

24. In an Attic curse tablet of IVᵃ we apparently have the motif of the spouse's forgetting his desire: *DTAud* 68A ἐπι]λαθέσθαι Χαρίαν Θεοδώρα[ς] καὶ το[ῦ π]α[ι ¹⁰δί]ο τοῦ Θεοδώρας· ἐπιλαθέσ[θ]α Χαρί[α]ν ¹¹[καὶ τῆς]κοίτης τῆς [π]ρὸς Θε[οδώ]ρα[ν].

28.-30. The curse tablets from the Athenian Agora cited above (18-20) also invoke Typhon, giving him the Hebrew divine name Σαβαωθ; 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]ον standing beneath the ε of the]εχεα of 28.

30.-31. The phrase εἰς μ[εῖ]σος is superfluous here, occurring as it does in line 33.

37. LSJ list both Henzen's ἀ]ποκατέχετε ("*dub.l.*") and Kaibel's ὑ]ποκατέχετε, citing this passage as the one instance of each verb. Both entries should be deleted, for]π cannot be read. The letter is τ, formed like that of]ταρα (19). I have not found a restoration for the unpromising]το, however.

39.-40. Here we have the main justification for the curse. Editors have supplied [τὴν πίστιν (or φι-λίαν) πρὸς Φ]ήλικα, but consistency demands a *gentilicium* here, and the verb ἀθετεῖν 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] Ιακουβ-, which is found, for example, at *SEG* 35.227 (curse tablet, Athenian Agora, IIIᵖ), in the appellation Τυ-φῶν ¹⁵Χωχειλωψ Ιαω Ιακουβια Ιωερβηθ etc.; Ιαω Ιακουβια are part of a common *logos*: cf. Moraux 1960:17 n.4.

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