

TYCHE

Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Herausgegeben von

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer
Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

Band 11, 1996

1996

BOHNERBRODER



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Papyrologie und Epigraphik**

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H O L Z H A U S E N

Herausgegeben von:

Gerhard Dobesch, Hermann Harrauer, Peter Siewert und Ekkehard Weber

In Zusammenarbeit mit:

Reinhold Bichler, Herbert Graßl, Sigrid Jalkotzy und Ingomar Weiler

Redaktion:

Johannes Diethart, Wolfgang Hameter, Bernhard Palme
Georg Rehrenböck, Hans Taeuber

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Tafeln 1–10

A Curse Tablet from Pannonia Superior

Tafel 3

Among the three Greek inscriptions in *AIJ*, no. 526, from Sisak (ancient Siscia in Pannonia Superior), is a lead curse tablet (Jordan 1985a, 82) whose text, a list of Latin and Greek names, V. Hoffiller, its editor in the volume, reproduced virtually unchanged from its *editio princeps* (Brunšmid 1898, 190–192), which is faulty in several respects. Marjeta Šašel Kos has kindly supplied us with an excellent photograph; among the improvements that it allows are corrected readings of some of the names and the elimination of a ghost-word. Here we print the photograph along with a tracing made from it, a fresh transcription, and brief notes¹.

The tablet is roughly trapezoidal in shape. It has five nail-holes whose sizes and spacing suggest that before it was pierced the tablet was folded thrice horizontally, with the inscribed surface on the inside: first at line 11, then at line 4, and a third time above line 1 and at lines 9 and 14. Hoffiller does not commit himself as to the nature of the inscription and seems not to have noticed that the tablet was folded before it was nailed: „Der Gegenstand, an den die Platte angenagelt war, ist verloren gegangen. (Wohl eine *defixio*.)“; the folds, the nail-holes, the list of names, and five magical *charaktêres* below the text proper (Hoffiller seems to have overlooked these last) leave no room for doubt, however, that we have here a curse tablet. It is reported to have been found in September 1898 in the bed of the river Kulpa or Kupa (ancient Colapis); whether it was in any sense *in situ* there we cannot say, but in the Roman period curse tablets were frequently deposited in bodies of water (Jordan 1985a, 207; Tomlin 1988).

The letter-forms seem to suggest the 3rd century of our era. The most striking linguistic feature is that τ is usually doubled after other consonants: Κάλλιστος (12), Κέρττα (14), Ὀπτῖατα (7), but Φῆστα (5). The phenomenon, comparable to the much more frequent doubling of the first consonant (e.g. Κάλλιστος), is perhaps to be explained as a spelling to mark the syllabic boundary between the two consonants (e.g. Ὀπ-τῖατα: see Lejeune 1987, 286); it is documented in both Greek and Latin late inscriptions, e.g. Νικόστρατος (*IG IX [1] 963*), φυ[λα]κτῆριον (*Suppl. Mag. II 64.6*), *opttestor* (*CIL VI 9447.6*), *postteros* (19915), *urssos* (Audolent 1904, 253.51). Our reading Ἐπίτευξις (= Ἐπίτευκσις, 4) may show a similar doubling.

We have 29 names, 19 of them masculine, 8 feminine, and 2 (Γενηᾶλις, Οὐι-τᾶλες) ambiguous; as to language, 16 are Latin (including Σοσις; see below) and 12 Greek. One, Μάμμος, is a „Lallname“ known in several linguistic areas (Robert 1964, 170f. and Zgusta 1964, § 850). That most of the Latin names on the tablet

¹We regret that we have not been able to consult Zaninovic 1981.

(e.g. *Festus*, *Posilla*, *Vitalis*, *Optatus*, *Aprio*, *Gratus*) are frequent in northern Italy may reflect the importance of the northern Italian population in Pannonia (see Mócsy 1959, 94–100). Single names for all the persons are no doubt the result of the unofficial character of the document rather than an indication of their social status. Such names as Ἐρμῆς, Εὐπόρ, Κάρπη, Κρήσκης, Κόσμος, Φήλιξ, and Φίλητος, however, may well have belonged to slaves or former slaves. Almost all the names, Latin and Greek, are attested in Pannonia and Dalmatia, although they are more frequent in the latter (Mócsy 1959, Alföldy 1969)².

Most adjacent names are separated by single interpuncts. Beneath the text proper are five magical *characteres*; they are printed below as (X)₁₋₅.



D.R.J.

.00 .01 .02 .03 .04 .05 m

²The only names on the tablet that are not found in these lists are Γρατίολα, Εὐτυχᾶς (there are many examples of Εὐτύχης), and Σηράνος. *Seranus* is a Latin name especially frequent in Spain (Untermann 1965, 161); because we know of two other Spaniards at Siscia (*AJ* 537, 557), we may wonder if our Seranus also came from Spain. It may be relevant that the 6th-century Martinus, bishop of Bracara in northern Portugal, was born in Pannonia (Greg. Tur., *Hist. franc.* 5.38).

Siscia (Sisak)
National Museum, Zagreb

H. 0.148, W. 0.102 m

III^P?

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Γενηᾶλις · | |
| 2 | Ἴανουαρία | |
| 3 | Σηρᾶνος Εὐπορ | |
| 4 | Ἐπίτευξις | |
| 5 | Ποσίλλα · Φῆστα | |
| 6 | Οὐτιᾶλες [·] Κόσμος | |
| 7 | Φίλητος · Ὀπιτᾶτα | |
| 8 | Κάρπη · Μάμμος | |
| 9 | Πρειβάτο[ς ·] Εὐτυχᾶς | |
| 10 | Ἴηρακλᾶς · Ἴαπρείων · | |
| 11 | Φῆλιξ · Ἀττικός · Εὐπλους | |
| 12 | Κάλλιστος Ἐρμῆς · Σόσις | |
| 13 | Λαβέρις · Δωρύφορος · Κρήσκης | |
| 14 | Γρᾶτος · Κέρττα Γρατίολα | |
| 15 | | (X) ₁ |
| 16 | | (X) ₂ (X) ₃ (X) ₄ (X) ₅ |

1. Since the tablet has no clear case of the equivalence of η and [i], rather than *Genialis* as the spelling of the Latin name transcribed here, we assume *Genealis*, a spelling often found in inscriptions and papyri (e.g. Γενεάλιος, Corsten 1985, 46.6 [imp.], *P.Hamb.* 68 [VIP]; Γενεαρίου for -λίου, *P.Lond.* IV 1423.17, 19 [byz.]) and manuscripts (see *ThLL s. v. genialis*).

3. Εὐπορ transliterates *Eupor*, the Latin rendering of the Greek Εὐπορος: cf. *Bospor/-Bósporos* (*CIL* XV 5499), *Euphor*/Εὐφορος (II 3802), *Nicep(h)or*/Νικήφορος (VI 9430), *Symp(h)or*/Σύμφορος (VI 6827), etc., and also *Deuter*/Δεύτερος (III 8981), *Glapyr*/Γλάφυρος (VI 21997). A similar Latin rendering of Thracian names in -πορις, e.g. *Mucapor*/Μουκαπορις, *Aulupor*/Αυλουπορις (see Fraenkel 1935, 1665), has led some scholars (e.g. Evans 1885, 125; Alföldi 1944, 41; C. Edson at *IG* X [2.1] 665; Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 150, 236) to assume that *Eupor* too represents a Thracian name, but the similarity here is secondary and deceptive; we note, in any case, that the name in fact occurs very seldom in Thrace (e.g. *IGBulg* has no instances). Neither Detschev (1954) nor Beševliev (1970) takes *Eupor* as evidence for the Thracian language. The most we can say about our Εὐπορ is that he received his name in a Latin milieu: otherwise he would have been called Εὐπορος, Εὐποράς, *vel sim.*

4–5. ἐπιτεύξας / ἀπόσιμα (for -σημα, *harax*) edd.: „An den Namen Εὐπορ schließt sich die Bemerkung ἐπιτεύξας ἀπόσημα, er war wohl derjenige, der den Auftrag vollzogen hat“ (Hoffiller). The letter that the editors read as α in their ἐπιτεύξας is in a damaged area and is not easily legible in the photograph; it consists of a curve open to the right, followed by a long, almost vertical, stroke. We may contrast other α's: their spines are almost always diagonal, their bodies either sharply angulate (as in the first and third α of line 2) or with low, rounded bellies (as in the second α of that line). The curve after the ξ in line 4, on the other hand, is rather high. We take the curve and the vertical to be σι or, less probably, ει (contrast the ligatured ει's of lines 9 and 10). The resulting name Ἐπίτευξις

is diffuse in the Imperial period, e.g. Solin 1982, 1216 (16 instances from Rome), *CIL* V 6592, X 2129, 3584, 4366, XI 3737, 7740, etc. In line 5, the editors' hypothetical ἀπόσημα is a ghost-word; what they must have taken to be an initial α, much closer to the edge of the tablet than the rest of the text, is a mark resulting apparently from damage to the lead. Our Ποσίλλα (λλ or μ), with ο for the Latin short u (cf. *Posilla* at *CIL* III 8399, X 247, etc.), is a form of *Pusilla*, a name well documented in the region, e.g. *AIJ* 48.4, 142.3, 197.2, 248.4, A. and J. Šašel 1986, 3109.5.







6. Οὐιτᾶλες for -λις (*Vitalis*) shows a use of *e* for short *i* characteristic of late Latin; cf. the spelling *Vitales* at e.g. *CIL* III 14449, V 1612, 8603.

9. Πρειβᾶτο[ς] (-το[ς] Brunšmid, -τος Hoffiller), the area after the τ being destroyed by the nail-hole; we see only a shallow vertical curve, opening to the right: ο̣ or conceivably ι̣.

10. Ἀπρείων: Ἀπρήων edd. The ligature ει is virtually identical to that in Πρειβᾶτο[ς] (line 9).

12. Because there is confusion elsewhere of ω and ο (Δωρύφορος, 13), Σοσις can be either the Greek Σῶσις (as the editors assumed) or a syncopation of the Latin *gentilicium* *Sösius/Sossius* (cf. the *gentilicium* Λαβέρις below, line 13). The Latin name is likelier here, for late attestations of Σῶσις, mostly Doric, are rare, while *Sosius/Sossius* is well documented in the region, e.g. among the Italian families of Salona: *CIL* III 8493, 8836, 9346, 10538.

14. Γρατίολα (Γραπ(...) Φλα(...) Brunšmid, Hoffiller) is apparently the only direct documentation of the name, which is formed like *Insidiola*, *Mariola*, or *Pecuniola*: see Kajanto 1965, 25. As indirect evidence for Γρατίολα we have noticed the name *Grasiola* (from *Gratiola*) in a 10th-century document from northern Spain (Loscertales 1976, 95) and, in modern Italian, *Graziolo* (from *Gratiolus*). At *CIL* XIII 1650 a *Severiola* is the daughter of a *Severus*; we may surmise that our Γρατίολα was the daughter of the Γράτος named at the beginning of line 14.

15f. Long ago A. D. Nock (1929, 232) noted the need for a proper study of magical *charaktêres* such as these; it remains unfilled. Here we offer a few readily accessible parallels for the five examples at Siscia. (X)₁ is basically an inversion of a ψ with a bead at its head. ψ itself, with (e.g. *PGM* VII 215) or without (206f., *GMA* 18.1, *SMA* 185 rev.) the bead, is occasionally used as a *charaktêr*. To the inverted ψ of (X)₁ we may compare  (*Suppl. Mag.* II 96.7),  (98, fr. c), and  (*GMA* 18.7). (X)₂ is apparently an inversion of a well-known *charaktêr* that resembles the Coptic Ⲅ or Ⲅ̄: cf. Ⲅ̄ (*PGM* VII 860),  (XXXVI 188f.), ⲄⲄ (*Suppl. Mag.* II 94.33),  (Lifshitz 1970, line 1). (X)₃ seems less frequent than the other *charaktêres* on the tablet: *GMA* 12 fr. a 1 and Delatte and Derchain 1964, 105 rev. show circles or dots within circles; beneath a representation of Hekate on a lead curse tablet from the Athenian Agora (Jordan 1985a, 21) there is a radiate circle within another circle (Camp 1980, 19, fig. 37). (X)₄, a χ with circles in its angles, which occurs also at *PGM* VII 930, may be compared with : *PGM* VII 930, a χ with beads both at its tips and in its angles. (X)₅ is evidently a poor execution of a *charaktêr* resembling a supine κ (e.g. *PGM* VIII 860, LII 42, *SMA* 11 rev.; the same with beads at its tips, *PGM* XXXVI 203f.). κ, whether normally positioned (e.g. VII 402, *GMA* 15.13, 18.1), inverted (*PGM* X 30ff., *GMA* 12 fr. a), or prone (*Suppl. Mag.* II 66.1, *GMA* 18.18, Delatte and Derchain 481 obv.), is frequent as a *charaktêr*.

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Canadian Archaeological Institute at Athens
7, Dionysiou Aiginitou Street
GR–11528 Athens

Jaime B. Curbera – David R. Jordan

