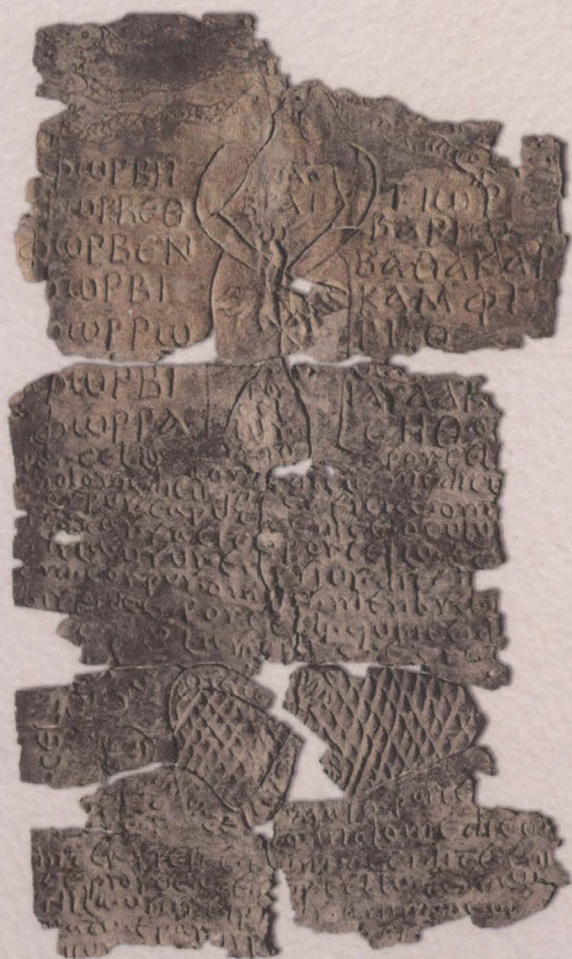


DANIELA URBANOVÁ



LATIN
CURSE TABLETS
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE





LATIN CURSE TABLETS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

This study deals with the *defixiones* in the Latin language, whose production within the Roman Empire ranges from the second to the early fifth century. Attested are altogether about 500 Latin curse texts, most of which are inscribed on lead tablets. These were intended to affect, with the help of supernatural powers, the action or health of persons, also of animals, against their will. As such, they provide the epigraphical evidence of magical practises which were widespread throughout the whole Mediterranean of antiquity. Additionally, there is a special category of so-called *prayers for justice*, which share several characteristics with them. They are predominantly used against thieves, and are meant to harm or eliminate the culprit. At the same time, their aim is to achieve justice: returning the stolen property, seeking punishment or revenge for the damage suffered.

This study examines the occurrences, development and expansion of Latin cursing tradition in the various provinces of the Roman Empire, determines the specific geographical and cultural peculiarities of the texts, explores the expansion of the types of curses and cursing formulae, and observes the tendencies in their development, their mutual interaction and the adaptation of the Mediterranean magical traditions especially in remote areas.

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OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE



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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to map and analyse the extant Latin *defixiones* whose production within the Roman Empire is attested from the 2nd cent. BCE to the end of the 4th/ beginning of the 5th cent. CE. There are altogether about five hundred Latin curse texts¹, most of which are inscribed on lead tablets. These were intended to affect the actions or health of people/animals against their will² and with the help of supernatural powers. As such, they provide the epigraphical evidence of magical practices which were widespread throughout the whole Mediterranean of antiquity. They are often aimed at rivals, e.g. in circus or in love, opponents in lawsuits, or enemies, in general. Additionally, there is a special category of so-called *prayers for justice*³, which are traditionally classified among *defixiones*⁴ and share several characteristics with them. They are predominantly used against thieves, and are meant to harm or eliminate the culprit. At the same time, their aim is to achieve justice: returning the stolen property, a “just” punishment, or revenge for the damage suffered (usually a theft, treachery, or fraud). I draw on all the accessible earlier editions of *defixiones*, either collective or published in journals.⁵ Recently-found curse tablets are usually well accessible in the form of photographs or facsimilia; the older findings, however, are nowadays frequently completely unintelligible due to corrosion. Scholars must therefore content themselves with older editions and cannot check the originals. Because of this, A. Kropp includes only 382⁶ out of

¹ There are about 1 700 *defixiones* known today from the entire ancient world. The exhaustive database of curse tablets called *TheDeMa* (Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis) contains an online corpus of all extant *defixiones*. The number of Greek *defixiones* exceeds one thousand (1188 tablets according to TheDeMa), and they date back as early as to the 5th century BCE (see Faraone, 1991, 4). The exact number of Latin *defixiones* makes 487 tablets but it is certainly not final.

² I.e. independently on their will, see the exact definition of Jordan (1985, 151): “*Defixiones*, more commonly known as curse tablets, are inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to influence, by supernatural means, the actions or the welfare of people or animals against their will”.

³ The term was introduced by Henk Versnel (1991, 61 ff.; 2010, 257–356).

⁴ I follow the common practice of scholarly literature and corpora and use the term *defixio* to denote all the inscriptions on lead tablets which were used to affect people or animals (curse tablets), i.e. as a superordinate term for curses, as well as prayers for justice.

⁵ See the list of abbreviations and bibliography, or the key to attachments I and II.

⁶ Kropp (2008, 8); and also Solin (2004, 116).

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ca. 500 extant Latin curse tablets in her recently published corpus⁷. I divide the Latin *defixiones* into two groups in this work – *curses* and *prayers for justice*. Each of them is analyzed according to slightly different criteria, as the two types are different from each other in structure, formulae and authorial intent. For the sake of my research, I was compelled to exclude the fragmentary, corroded, or otherwise damaged inscriptions from the corpus of Latin *defixiones*, as almost nothing could be deduced from these – i.e. it was impossible to assess at least three observed criteria (see also chapter 1.12.). On the other hand, this work contains the recently published new findings from Mainz, which were discovered at the construction of a department store in 1999.⁸ To date, 34 curse tablets⁹ have been found on site, but this is will not be the final number, as suggested by the 1999 findings at the spring dedicated to the goddess Anna Perenna in Rome.¹⁰ There have been new findings also in Pannonia¹¹ and Africa.¹² Therefore, I base my work on 309 texts, of which 208 are curses and 101 are prayers for justice.

Latin curse tablets have been found all over the Roman Empire, wherever Latin was spoken, while the earliest evidence comes from Italy. A. Kropp's (2008) new corpus includes 57 texts from Italy, of which only five are prayers for justice. The largest body of evidence found to date was uncovered relatively

⁷ Kropp, Amina. 2008. *Defixiones. Ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*, Speyer: Kartoffeldruck-Verlag Kai Brodersen, abbreviated as **dfx**. For the new findings not included in Kropp's corpus, see TheDeMa.

⁸ Blänsdorf (2005b, 2007/2008, 2008, 2010, 2012).

⁹ From the complete edition of all the texts from Mainz I include 23 published texts. The remaining 11 texts mostly very damaged and with nothing to say, have not been included in the corpus of this work (see also 10.1.).

¹⁰ The first report on this finding was published in 2005 (Piranomonte, 2005, 87–104). The first preliminary edition of the eight out of 21 texts found at the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome was published by J. Blänsdorf (2010a, 215–244). The tablets are severely damaged, therefore, their interpretation is very often unclear or problematic, I do not include these tablets in this work, but I deal with them in Chapter 7 (see 7.4.). See also Blänsdorf (2010b, 2012a) and Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012).

¹¹ Only one of them has been published [see Barta, 2009, 23–29; Barta – Lassányi, 2009, 63–69] before the start of my analysis, see also chapter 10), the present number of Latin curse tablets from Pannonia is nine, see TheDeMa and Barta (2012, 2015, 2016, 2017).

¹² These are the photos and drawings of curse tablets from the estate of A. Audolent which are now kept in museum in Clermont-Ferrand. See the edition prepared by G. Németh 2013 (see also Németh, 2011, 95–110).

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recently in Britannia¹³ – 160 tablets altogether, most of which (more than 100)¹⁴ are prayers for justice, while only 25 curses have been published from Britannia so far. *Africa Proconsularis* and *Africa Byzacena* are also the home of a substantial number of tablets, the former with 37 curses, the latter with 44 curses. We have some minor evidence from Gallia, as well (29 texts, of which there are only six prayers for justice, with the rest being curses). Prayers for justice are more attested in Hispania (seven out of 20 tablets) and Germania (11 out of 42 tablets).¹⁵ Only very few texts come from Noricum (two curses), Raetia (seven, of this five curses), Pannonia (four, of this two curses), Moesia (one), and the island of Delos (one). Few Greek *defixiones* have been found in Dacia, and recently a remarkable Latin curse was found in a grave in Apulum.¹⁶ Greek curse tablets have preserved in huge numbers in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, as well as in Africa,¹⁷ Italy¹⁸, and Sicily¹⁹, where Etruscan and Oscan *defixiones*²⁰ have also been found. For the numbers of tablets included in Kropp's corpus, see Chart 1:

Chart 1: Overview of the numbers of *defixiones* according to Kropp's corpus (2008)

According to Kropp's corpus <i>dfx.</i>			
Province	Curses	Prayers for justice	Total
Italia	52	5	57
Hispania	13	7	20

¹³ See 1.2. below. The present number of Latin curses from Britain in TheDeMa is 181 but new findings are expected to be published by Tomlin 2017 – *Britannia Romana: Roman Inscriptions and Roman Britain*. Oxbow Books.

¹⁴ This makes 101 prayers for justice, the remaining 37 tablets from Britannia cannot be classified with certainty as one of the types due to their bad condition.

¹⁵ These numbers differ from those in Kropp's corpus (2008) because of the newly published texts from Mainz, and are not final.

¹⁶ See Bounegru – Németh (2013, 238 –242).

¹⁷ See e.g. DT 234 –242.

¹⁸ See e.g. so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* from Rome, DT 145 ff.

¹⁹ See Bettarini (2005); Rocca (2012a).

²⁰ See e.g. DT 124 –128 (Etruscan) and DT 192 –193 (Oscan); see also 7.2. and Murano (2013).

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Britannia	22	101	160 ²¹
Gallia	23	6	29
Germania	17	3	20
Noricum	2	0	2
Raetia	5	2	7
Pannonia	2	2	4
Moesia + Delos	1 D	1 M	2
<i>Africa Proconsularis</i>	35	2	37
<i>Africa Byzacena</i> + <i>Numidia</i>	44	0	44
Total	216	126	382

The numbers of tablets analyzed in this work are stated in Chart 2:

Chart 2: Overview of the numbers of *defixiones* analyzed in this work

Urbanová's corpus			
Province	Curses	Prayers for justice	Total
Italia	45	5	50
Hispania	11	7	18
Britannia	25	69	94
Gallia	13	6	19
Germania	31	11	42 ²²
Noricum	2	0	2
Raetia	4	1	5
Pannonia	3	1	4
Delos + Moesia	1D	1M	2

²¹ Some of the remaining 37 tablets cannot be marked as either curses or prayers for justice due to their damage.

²² Unlike Kropp's corpus 2008, the amount of evidence from Mainz continues to grow with tablets being continuously published, see above.

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<i>Africa Proconsularis</i>	30	0	30
<i>Africa Byzacena</i>	43	0	43
Total	208	101	309

1.1 DEFIXIONES: A DEFINITION

Curse tablets, referred to as *tabellae defixionum* in Latin, as *καταδεσμοί* in Greek. Latin noun *defixio, onis, f.* meaning “enchantment, spell, curse”²³ has been derived from the verb *defigo, -ere*, “to fasten down, to fix, to strike, to bind with spells”. These were inscribed pieces of lead, usually in the form of small, thin sheets, intended to affect, by supernatural means, the lives of humans or animals against their will.²⁴ This definition applies not only to curses, but also to prayers for justice, although there is a difference between the two (see 1.2 below).

Therefore, curse tablets are closely linked to the field of magic, which is inseparably bound to ancient religion. Magical practices were very popular in antiquity, which is testified by many accounts of magic and magical rituals in Roman literature, whether we speak of scientific treatises or recipes for the treatment of various diseases, i.e. in iatromagic or protective contexts (Cato, Varro) (see e.g. Önnerrfors 1993, 5 –30), or of scientific-historical works (Pliny the Elder, see Versnel, 2002, 105 –158; 1991a, 177 –197). The fact that these practices started to be persecuted in Rome ever since the enactment Law of Twelve Tables only proves how deeply rooted magic was among ancient beliefs.²⁵

Curse tablets definitely cannot be classified among healing spells in a medical context, as their goal is primarily to harm, limit or eliminate an opponent. Most of them do not contain any reasons for the cursing: very often there is just a list of names designating the people who are meant to be afflicted by the curse. Authors of the curses usually appeal to chthonic deities, most frequently addressing Pluto and Persephone. Eventually, they appeal to Hermes, and from the 2nd century CE onwards, we also find curses beseeching various exotic deities and daemons (see 1.7 below). The author largely remains anonymous,

²³ *Defixio* is a modern term not attested in antiquity.

²⁴ See Jordan (1985, 151).

²⁵ VIII 1b 8 = Plin. HN 18, 17: “*qui malum carmen incantassit et fruges excantassit*” (see also Poccetti 2002, 11 –59), for further discussion see Graf (1996,41ff).

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partly to avoid any danger of the curse turning against him/her, and partly due to his/her awareness of the fact that these actions exceed moral boundaries, as well as the valid laws of contemporary society. Thus, curses usually express rivalry or animosity, while it is quite probable that the cursed person could be completely innocent.²⁶

1.1.2 Classification of Curses

In the case of approximately half of the extant curses, it is impossible to define with certainty what the reason or occasion for their delivery was; therefore, these texts are classified as non-specific curses.²⁷

1.1.2.1 Non-Specific Curses

Very often these are merely lists of people to be cursed inscribed on a tablet, while the curse itself was probably merely uttered by the author; see e.g. No. **201** from London, **dfx.3.14/15**: *Plautius Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola et si qui afuere*. (“[I accurse/may they be accursed?] Plautius, Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola, and those who were absent.”).²⁸

Many times, the text of tablet is damaged to such an extent that the reason or purpose of the curse can no longer be determined.²⁹ No. **88** from Mainz,

²⁶ In connection with this, H. Versnel (1991, 62 ff.) quotes views of ethnologists and anthropologists. These either call the author of a curse an “amoral familist”, or conversely, an able “family protector” whose aim is to “maximize the material, short-term advantage” for his own family and whose conviction is that “all others will do likewise”. All is fair in this fight, including magic; however, it is very strictly defined what measures should be taken in public, and what, on the contrary, should be kept secret (Banfield 1958; Davies 1977).

²⁷ A. Kropp (2008) here uses a term *Unspezifisch/Konkurrenz*, the TheDeMa database uses the category *defixio indeterminabilis*.

²⁸ Conclusion of the curse is unorthodox, A. Kropp (2008) revises the text as “*et ii qui afuerunt*”. Tomlin, R. S. O. and Hassall, M. W. C. (2003, 361 ff.) consider the passage “*et si qui afuere*” to be the first extant type of an “all inclusive” formula – then, the text could be interpreted in a way that the author curses not only the people named in the list, but also those present who he does not know by name; or eventually, that he curses the people being absent, but who are, nevertheless, his enemies (see 12.1.1).

²⁹ Most of the texts of *defixiones* have been preserved corrupted, primarily due to age, corrosion, or mechanical damage caused by manipulation with tablet, either already in ancient times or during the recent excavations; moreover, the texts contain a large

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dfx.5.1.5/6, DTM 8:³⁰ *Avita(m) noverca(m) dono tibi et Gratum (do)no tibi...* (“I give you stepmother Avita and I give you Gratus...”) (see also 10.1.1).

Furthermore, No. **122** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/14**, reads:

A: Te rogo, qui infernales partes tenes, commendo tibi Iulia(m) Faustilla(m), Marii filia(m), ut eam celerius abducas et ibi in numeru(m) tu(um) a(b)ias (=habeas). (“I ask you, who hold rule over the Underworld, I commend to you Iulia Faustilla, the daughter of Marius, so that you may take her as quickly as possible and have her in your number [of the dead]³¹.”).

Frequently, we can see the detailed accounts of the person’s body parts, which should be afflicted by the curse. No. **12** from Nomentum, **dfx.1.4.2/3**, reads:

A: Malchio Niconis oculos, manus, digitos, brachia, ungues, capillos, caput, pedes, femur, ventrem, nates, umbilicum, pectus, mamillas, collum, os, buccas, dentes, labia, mentum, oculos, frontem, supercilia, scapulas, umerum, nervos, ossum medullas, ventrem, mentulam, crus, quaestum,

amount of deviations from the classical norm caused by local or temporal differences. For the purposes of this work, I give up on reproduction of these texts (in the work itself and the attached corpus) including the symbols, brackets and supplements according to the Leiden Conventions, which would make the text hardly intelligible to the reader. The texts of the tablets are predominantly cited in their revised form, and can, therefore, slightly differ from the texts of the tablets stated in the attached corpus in their original form – Appendix I and II, where parentheses are used to denote any deviations, passages added to damaged parts, *lectiones variae*, or other peculiarities. Parentheses are also used in the cases when the revised form could pose any controversies regarding interpretation of a given place. The texts quoted are assigned by numbers stated in the corpora of this work, i.e. in Appendix I (curses) and Appendix II (prayers for justice). When speaking of a tablet for the first time, I always state its number according to Kropp’s corpus (2008) **dfx.**, i.e. for example, the tablet from London cited as No. **201** in this work corresponds to **dfx.3.14/15** in Kropp’s corpus (2008). The tablets which are cited more times are equipped with a reference to a particular place in this work, where the text is cited together with an English translation, or commentary. The concordance with the numbers of inscriptions in TheDeMa is attached at the end of this work.

³⁰ Most of the curse tablets from Mainz are not included in the corpus **dfx.** of A. Kropp, I cite these according to Blänsdorf’s edition (2012, DTM).

³¹ Square brackets in English translation indicate an interpretation of the author of this work.

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*lucrum, valetudines, defigo in has tabellas.*³² (“Malchio, son/slave of Nico, [his] eyes, hands, fingers, arms, nails, hair, head, feet, thigh, belly, buttocks, navel, chest, nipples, neck, mouth, cheeks, teeth, lips, chin, eyes, forehead, eyebrows, shoulder blades, shoulder, muscles, bone marrow, belly, penis, shin, business/profit, fortune and health, I accurse with this tablet.”).

The interpretation of such bizarre detailed lists of all body parts being cursed is still subject to scholarly discussion.³³

1.1.2.2 Types of Curses According to Content

Several curse tablets suggest rivalry, envy, and/or animosity in some particular situations as the real reasons of their manufacture. A. Audollent classified *defixiones* into four categories according to content as early as 1904: *defixiones iudiciariae, agonisticae, amatoriae* and *in fures*.³⁴ Modern taxonomy introduces a new category of “prayers for justice” (resp. “Bitten um Gerechtigkeit”) (see 1.2 below), which can be associated with the curses classified as *in fures* by Audollent. Furthermore, Ogden, D. (1999, 37 ff.), Faraone, Ch. A (1991, 3 ff.), and Gager, J. G. (1992) distinguish the following categories according to content, especially valid for Greek source material: 1) competition in theatre and circus; 2) sex, love and marriage; 3) legal and political disputes; 4) business and commerce; 5) pleas for justice and revenge. Kropp, A.³⁵ differentiates the subsequent categories of curses: 1) non-specific (unspezifisch); 2) legal (Prozess-defixiones); 3) agonistic in sport context (agonistische defixiones in sportlichen Kontext); 4) love spells (Herbeiführungsdefixiones); 5) competition in other contexts (e.g. business); and 6) prayers for justice. This work draws on this basic classification, whereas the category of texts connected to an amatory context is modified to a certain extent (the cases of rivalry in love are dealt with separately).³⁶

³² See also the unrevised text of the curse – Appendix I.

³³ See especially 7.3.1.1 and 7.3.1.2 in this work; for an elaborate discussion of the issue, see Gordon (1999, 239–277); Graf (1996, 130 f.).

³⁴ Audollent (1994, LXXXIII); see Kagarow (1929, 28 ff.), as well.

³⁵ Kropp (2008a, 179 ff.); see also Urbanová (2009b, 166–169), in TheDeMa the category of prayers for justice is divided into *defixiones criminales* (for the term, see Dreher, 2012, 29ff.) and prayers for justice but without any clear distinction.

³⁶ See also Faraone (1999, 28 ff.), and 4.1.5.

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1.1.2.2.1 *Defixiones Iudiciariae*

Legal curses are usually aimed at an opponent in court with a view to eliminate his ability to think or speak during the process, i.e. to win a lawsuit. No. **114** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/4**, reads:

Sextiliani et Gulae Pudentis et Pacorae Acuti et M. f(ilii?), Silvani et Sextiliani et L. Caecili Magni... alligate linguas horum, quos suprascripsi, ne adversus nos respondere possint. (The curse begins with the names of the cursed ones and follows: "...bind the tongues of those, whose names I wrote above, so that they cannot testify against us.")³⁷

Further, see e.g. No. **115** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/5**:

...facias illos mutos adversus Atlosam;³⁸ ac ligo, obligo, linguas illorum medias, extremas, novissimas, ne quid possint respondere contra. ("...make those against Atlosa mute; I tie and bind up their tongues in the middle, in the back and front, so that they cannot testify against.")

General Latin curses against enemies and rivals in business and trade are classified among these, as well. Legal curses are attested in almost every part of Roman Empire, except for Britannia, and were particularly frequent in the provinces of Germania and Africa.

1.1.2.2.2 *Defixiones Agonisticae*

Agonistic curses are aimed at rivals in *circenses* – gladiators, racers, charioteers and race-horses – predominantly supposed to limit their physical abilities and thus prevent them from winning. No. **152** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/12**, reads:

Obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint, nec se mo(v)ere possint, sed cadant, frangant, dis(f)rangentur, et agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec lora teneant nec agitare possint nec retinere possint nec ante se nec adversarios suos videant

³⁷ See also Poccetti (2005, 242 ff.). The curse is framed by magical words (see 1.7.1 and 11.1.2).

³⁸ Occasionally, not only the names of adversaries, but also of the representatives of the party, for the benefit of which the curse is delivered, appear in legal curses (see especially curses from Germania, 10.1.2 and 11.1.2).

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*nec vincant, vertant.*³⁹ (“Bind up and oppress the horses of the blue and red [teams], so that they cannot run nor obey the reins, nor be able to move, but may they fall, break, [may their chariots] be smashed apart, may the charioteers of the blue and red [teams] fall over, may they not be able to hold the reins, nor drive, nor restrain [the horses], nor see [what is] in front of them or their adversaries, nor win, let them crash over.”)

Compare also No. **130** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/22**, line 15:

*...obliga Gallicum, quem peperit Prima, ut neque ursum neque taurum singulis plagis occidat neque binis plagis occidat neque ternis plagis occidat taurum, ursum. Per nomen dei vivi omnipotentis ut perficiatis, iam, iam, cito, cito. Allidat illum ursus et vulneret illum.*⁴⁰ (...bind Gallicus, whom Prima bore, so that he kills neither a bear nor a bull, nor does he kill a bear or a bull with a single, nor double, nor triple punch. In the name of the living almighty god, may you carry [this] out, now, now, quickly, quickly. Let the bear strike him and hurt him.”) The Latin curses against rivals at circus, charioteers and race-horses are preserved only from African provinces.

1.1.2.2.3 Defixiones Amatoriae

Love spells are associated with love and its desires. In this context, two types of *defixiones* appear: a) love spells⁴¹ meant to raise the affections of a beloved who is not returning the author’s feelings, and b) curses delivered to harm a rival in love. Love spells pursue a temporary loss of the victim’s intellectual capacity and bodily functions of a victim until the desired love is fulfilled. In contrast with the other types of curses, these usually contain the name of the author to make it clear whom the target of the curse is supposed to love. The cases of rivalry in love (with the purpose of doing harm to a rival in love) are less conclusive, as it is possible neither to confirm nor confute in all cases that the curse is aimed at a rival in love.⁴²

³⁹ The text of the tablet begins with a long list of charioteers’/racers’ (seven) and race-horses’ names (42), against who the curse is delivered (see also Appendix I and 11.1.3.2).

⁴⁰ See also 11.1.3.1.

⁴¹ Faraone, Ch. A. (1999, 41 ff.) uses Greek term *ἀγωγή*, i.e. “a spell that leads”, or *attraction spell*, German terminology uses term *Herbeiführungszauber*.

⁴² We do not know who wrote the curse, only the addressees of curses. For further information on Greek source material, see also Faraone (1999, 18).

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See also No. **143** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/3**, which, on side A, contains a love spell meant to lead the beloved person into the arms of the author; however, we find a curse against a rival in races, and perhaps also in love, on side B:

A: Alimbeu, Columbeu, Petalimbeu. Faciatis Victoriam, quam peperit suavulva, amantem, furem prae amore meo, neque somnum videat, donec ad me veniat puellarum deliciae.

B: Deseces⁴³ Ballincum Lolliorum de curru actum, ne possit ante me venire et tu, quicumque es daemon, te oro, ut illam cogas amoris et desiderii mei causa venire ad me.

(A: “Alimbeu, Columbeu, Petalimbeu,⁴⁴ get Victoria, who was born to XY [*suavulva*],⁴⁵ to love [me], burn with passion for me, may she not sleep until she comes to me, the sweetest of girls.

B: Cut down Ballincus, [the charioteer] of *Lolii*, so that he falls down from his chariot, and cannot outride me, and you, whatever daemon you are, I beg you to force her to come to me out of love and desire for me.”)

See further No. **124** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/16**:

Καταξιν qui es Aegypto magnus daemon... et aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciatur. Τραβαξιαν omnipotens daemon adduc... amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei causa. Νοχθιριφ, qui cogens daemon coge illam... mecum coitus facere... Βιβιριξι, qui es fortissimus daemon, urge, coge illam venire ad me amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei causa. Ρικουριθ agilissime daemon in Aegypto et agita... a suis parentibus a suo cubili et aerie quicumque caros habet et coge illam me amare, mihi conferre ad meum desiderium.

(“Kataxin, the great daemon of Egypt... and take sleep away from her unless she comes to me... and satisfies me. Trabaxian, the almighty daemon, bring [her] over loving and burning with love and desire for me. Nochthirif, a forcing daemon, force her... to make love to me... Bibirixi, you who are the most powerful daemon, urge [her], make her come to me loving and burning

⁴³ This is the interpretation of Önnarfors, A. (1993, 42), Kropp, A. (2008) reads *haud secus*.

⁴⁴ Magical words, probably the names of daemons.

⁴⁵ In the case that the name of the mother of a cursed person was unknown to the author of a curse, the term *suavulva* was used instead. We know this practice from Greek *defixiones* (see Ogden, 1999, 85; and 1.6. and 1.8.1. below).

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with love and desire for me. Rikourith, the promptest daemon of Egypt, drive [her]... away from her parents, from her bed ...(?) and from whoever she holds dear and make her love me, and join with me as I wish.”⁴⁶

Evidence of love spells securing success in love comes almost exclusively from Africa.⁴⁷ The following curses can be considered examples of rivalry in love: No. **109** from Ptuj, Slovenia, **dfx.8.4/1**: A: *Paulina aversa sit a viris omnibus et defixa sit, ne quid possit mali facere*. (“May Paulina be averted from all men and may she be cursed, so that she can do no evil...”) (see also 10.1.3).

Finally, see e.g. No. **29** from Campania (Calvi Risorta), **dfx.1.5.1/1**: A: *Dite, inferi, Caium Babullium et fututricem eius Tertiam Salviam*. (“Oh Dis [and] the underworld gods, [I curse] Gaius Babullius and that slut of his, Tertia Salvia.”)⁴⁸

As apparent from the texts themselves, these can be regarded expressions of rivalry in love; nevertheless, this motivation cannot be proved with certainty in most cases.

The texts interpretable as displays of competition in love context come mainly from Italy, but we know of similar texts being preserved also in Hispania, Gallia and Germania. Kropp, A. (2008) classifies these as non-specific curses or curses against rivals (see 4.1.5 and 5.1.3).

1.2 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE: A Definition

A. Audollent’s (1904) classification of defixiones includes so-called *defixiones in fures* – curses aimed at thieves. These are either prophylactic, or, more commonly, against an unknown thief. Until recently, ancient epigraphic

⁴⁶ The name of the author and his victim are omitted in this tablet, perhaps they were written on the other side and did not survive, as Audollent (DT 230) assumed. He supposed so due to a damaged sequence containing *peper...* on side B, which could suggest the presence of common formula *quem peperit* usually written after a proper name. However, it seems more likely that the lover bought a prearranged tablet with spaces left to fill in the particular names – see the empty spaces marked by ..., but he simply forgot to write them (see also 1.6.).

⁴⁷ The only potential exception is perhaps No. **106**, **dfx.7.4/1** from Raetia. But its text is unintelligible here and there.

⁴⁸ The text of the tablet, however, is damaged, Kropp, A. (2008) completes the sequence with *fututricem*, DT proposes: *fotr(icem)* (see Appendix I).

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materials contained only a relatively small number of such lead tablets.⁴⁹ However, the excavations carried out in Britain in 1970s and 1980s uncovered a copious amount of relevant archaeological material: 140 tablets coming predominantly from the excavations taking place in a sacred precinct dedicated to Mercury in Uley,⁵⁰ and in the thermal springs and the adjacent temple of Minerva Sulis in the city of Bath.⁵¹ These relatively recent discoveries from Britain have provided scholars with a sufficient amount of texts to enable them to deduce relevant conclusions on this specific type of curses against thieves, today also called “prayers for justice”. The term comes from H. Versnel⁵², who defines these as the prayers addressed to a god or gods so that they punish a (usually unknown) person, who somehow did harm to the author of a tablet (with theft, fraud, denigration, false accusation, or curse), frequently a compensation for damage is also demanded (e.g. the thief should be compelled to return a stolen thing or to plead guilty in public).⁵³ Tomlin, R. S. O.⁵⁴ separates this category from common curses, as well, to indicate that these are prayers for justice rather than magical curses.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the term “prayers for justice” has been criticized by Dreher who proposed a new term *defixiones criminales*.⁵⁶

The dedication of such a tablet was, therefore, not motivated by envy, or effort to harm an opponent, nor to gain some advantages for oneself to the detriment of others (probably innocent people), but rather by some injury to the author – loss, theft, perjury. The authors generally turn upon local deities, not the chthonic ones as is usual in curses,⁵⁷ with prayers for help and to right the wrong, i.e. to get back the lost things, or with a wish to exact “rightful” vengeance on a culprit through the power of gods. In contrast to the curses, they very often include the author’s name, too. With regards to the documents found in Britain, esp. from Bath, we know for certain that these were not publicly displayed in the shrine⁵⁸ to make a culprit regret his/her crime or to return what

⁴⁹ 19 Greek ones and 5 Latin ones; see Tomlin (1989, 60 ff.); Gager (1992, 177).

⁵⁰ See Woodward – Leach (1993).

⁵¹ See Tomlin (1988); the older texts not published yet as well as the new findings are to be published in Tomlin 2017.

⁵² Versnel (1991, 60 ff.).

⁵³ Versnel (1991a); and esp. (2010, 275 ff.).

⁵⁴ Tomlin (1988, 100 ff.).

⁵⁵ See also 1.10.2.

⁵⁶ See Dreher 2010 (301–335) and (2012, 29–30), see also the categories in TheDeMa.

⁵⁷ Especially in Britannia and Germania, local deities are appealed to both as the addressees of curses and prayers for justice (see 10.3. and 12.3.).

⁵⁸ See Tomlin (1988, 59).

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s/he stole, as is the case of some Greek curses.⁵⁹ The tablets found in Bath were rolled, sometimes even pierced with a nail and thrown into the hot spring.⁶⁰ This means that the “prayers” constituted a private communication between their authors and the gods addressed. Nevertheless, the shrine also played its significant role in the process. The authors of the tablets often handed the stolen things over (most frequently clothes, money, jewellery, or dishes) or the known or unknown culprit symbolically to the deity. See e.g. No. **246** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/8**: *(d)eaē Suli donavi (arge)ntilos sex...* (“I have given to the goddess Sulis the six silver coins...”) (see 1.2.2 below); No. **275** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/76**: *Basilia donat in templum Martis anellum argenatum...* (“Basilia gives [in] to the temple of Mars [her] silver ring...”); and No. **260** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/36**: *...Templo Sulis dono ...eum latronem, qui rem ipsam involavit, deus inveniat* (“I give to the temple of Sulis ... that thief who has stolen the property itself [that] the god may find [him]”); or No. **247** (see 1.2.2 below). Thus it can be assumed that the point of the process was for the deity to consider the things his/her possession and therefore find them and get them back. The culprits were obviously handed over to the deities to be punished. In a few isolated cases, there are formulae suggesting that the culprit should be punished in a shrine, see No. **244** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/6**: *...ut mentes suas perd(at) et oculos suos in fano ubi destinat*. (“...may [the thief] lose his mind and sight in the shrine where [the goddess] appoints.”)⁶¹; this was a case of stolen gloves. Further, see No. **249** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/23**: *...ut an(imam) suam in templo deponat...* (“... that he [the thief] lay down his soul [i.e. life] in the temple...”), in this case, a plough was stolen.⁶² Let us now have a look at the various formulations used in the prayers for justice.

1.2.1 Prayers for Justice Outside Britannia

There are relatively few texts of prayers for justice preserved outside Britannia. Those that are extant most frequently come from Hispania, as well as more recently from the excavations carried out in Mainz. These are, however,

⁵⁹ H. Versnel (1991, 81; 2010, 281, No. 22) draws attention to the fact that some tablets of the Greek production, esp. from the shrine in Knidos, have been found unrolled or equipped with openings probably used for their fixation to be displayed publicly in the shrine. Only rarely do we find such a tablet (meant to be exposed in public) in the Latin production, as e.g. in the case of tablet No. **219** (see below), which was inscribed on a marble slab.

⁶⁰ See also 1.3. and 1.7.3. below; Tomlin (1988, 5 ff.); Versnel (1991, 90).

⁶¹ See also Tomlin (1988, 115).

⁶² See Tomlin (1988, No. 31).

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contrary to the much richer and more compact material found in Britannia, very variegated.

See No. **219** from Mérida (Spain), **dfx.2.3.1/1**, which reads:

Dea Ataecina Turibrigensis Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo, oro, obsecro, uti vindices quod mihi furti factum est. Quisquis mihi immutavit, involavit minusve fecit eas res, quae infra scriptae sunt; tunicas VI, paenulas linteas II, indusium... (“Goddess Ataecina Proserpina of Turibriga, by your majesty I ask, pray and beg that you avenge the theft which has been done to me. Whoever has taken, stolen, and robbed me of the things, which are written below: six tunics, two linen cloaks, an undergarment...”).

The author appeals to the goddess to avenge the crime committed against him/her, but due to a damaged conclusion of the text we cannot say whether s/he also begged return of the stolen items.⁶³ Furthermore, No. **217** from Bolonia (Spain), **dfx.2.2.1/1**, reads:

Isis Myrionyma, tibi commendo furtum meum, mi(hi) fac tuo numini maiestati exemplaria,⁶⁴ ut tu evites immedio eum, qui fecit furtum, abstulit autem res: opertorium album novum, stragulum nov(um), lodices duas de usu.⁶⁵ Rogo domina, per maiestatem tuam, ut hoc furtum reprehendas.⁶⁶ (“Isis Myrionyma, I entrust you with what has been stolen from me, make me proofs of your divinity and majesty, so that you publicly take away the life of man who did this theft, indeed who stole my property: a new white coverlet, a new rug, two used blankets. I ask you, Lady, by your majesty, that you punish this theft.”).

⁶³ See 1.10.2 and especially 8.2.

⁶⁴ *Fac tuo numini maiestati exemplaria* is not attested on any other Latin tablet, but we know the formula from Greek tablets preserved in Asia Minor. The power of a god is proved by an “exemplary” punishment of a crime (see Versnel, 1991, 91 f.; for further information on *lectiones variae*, emendations and various interpretations, see Tomlin (2010, 275 ff.), esp. the commentary (Tomlin, 2010, 258; Versnel, 2010, 285).

⁶⁵ The text is damaged, Tomlin, R. S. O. (2010, 258) reads *meo usu*, while other editors have *de usu*. This seems well-founded with respect to the contrast with *stragulum nov(um)*.

⁶⁶ The text contains many deviations from the classical norm, the problematic part *ut tu evites immedio* is interpreted by editors as *in medio*, i.e. in public (see also the original version in Appendix II).

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In this case, this theft of linens should even be punished by death, which may point to the author's momentary anger.⁶⁷ See further No. **215** from Saguntum (Spain), **dfx.2.1.3/2**: *Quis res tunica tulit e Livia, obi eam vel eum, ite(m) qui, quaestu(m) habeat, tra(c)ta*. ("Whoever has stolen a tunic from Livia, pursue her or him, as well as the one who could profit from it, catch [him/her].")⁶⁸.

1.2.2 Prayers for Justice from Britannia

No. **246** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/8**, reads:

(D)ea(e) Suli donavi (arge)ntiolos sex quos perd(idi) a nomin(i)bus infrascript(is) deae exactura est Senicianus et Saturninus et Ann(i)ola. Carta picta persc(ri)pta. ("I have given to the goddess Sulis the six silver coins which I have lost, it is for the goddess to exact [them] from the names written below: Senicianus and Saturninus and Anniola. The written page [has] been copied out.")⁶⁹

Here, the author merely seeks the return of the stolen property (see 1.10.2). Compare also No. **247** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/10**, dated to the 2nd century CE:

A: Docilianus Bruceri deae sanctissimae Suli devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit, si vir si femina, si servus si liber, uti eum dea Sulis maximo leto adigat⁷⁰ nec ei somnum permat⁷¹ B: nec natos nec nascentes, donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit. ("Docilianus, [son] of Brucerus to the most holy goddess Sulis. I curse him who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether man or woman, whether slave or free that the

⁶⁷ See also prayers for justice from Germania, 10.2.3.

⁶⁸ See also 6.1 and esp. 8.2 below.

⁶⁹ See Tomlin (1988, No. 8 and p. 119). *Carta picta perscripta* evidently indicates that the author copied the formula of the curse from some model tablet. In this context, *carta* means a lead tablet (see No. **306** from Uley, 1.9.3 and 12.2.3, further also No. **91** from Mainz, 2.3.5), see also 12.2.2.

⁷⁰ See Tomlin (1988, No. 10). The verb *adigere* is documented in the collocation *vulnus adactum, mortem ferro adactam*, the whole sequence *maximo leto adigas* appears e.g. on the tablet from Uley (see No. **300**, 6.2.1.3. and the Appendix II; Tomlin, 1993, 115; 6.2.1.3.), further also on tablet No. **239** from Carnuntum: *Defigo Eudem(um) nec(et)i(s) eum pessimo leto, ad inf(er)os d(uca)tis...* ("I accurse Eudemus, kill him by the worst death, lead him to the underworld...") (see 1.10.2 and 6.2.1.3).

⁷¹ The restrictive formulae present in prayers for justice seem to be inspired by love spells, see No. **143** *neque somnu(m) videat, donec ad me veniat, puellaru(m) d(eli)cias* (see 1.1.2.2.3 and 3.3.1.1, or 6.2.1.2).

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goddess Sulis may inflict death upon him and not allow him to sleep or [to have] children now and in the future, until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.”)

The author wants not only to get the stolen cloak back, but also wants vengeance on the culprit. Furthermore, No. **295** from Uley, **dfx.3.22/2**, dated to thr 3rd century CE, reads:

Deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur de Vitalino et Natalino filio ipsius de iumento, quod ei raptum est et rogat deum Mercurium, ut nec ante sanitatem B: habeant, nisi repraesentaverint mihi iumentum, quod rapuerunt, et deo devotionem, quam ipse ab his expostulaverit. (“Cenacus complains to the god Mercury about Vitalinus and his son Natalinus concerning a draught animal, which has been stolen from him, and asks the god Mercury, that they may have neither health before/unless they return at once to me the draught animal which they have stolen, and to the god the devotion which he has demanded from them himself.”).⁷²

Authors sometimes promise compensation for the god, i.e. part of stolen property as a reward.

Compare also No. **277** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/78**:

*Execro (eum) qui involaverit, quod Deomiorix de hospitio suo perdiderit. Quicumque res⁷³ deus illum inveniat, sanguine et vitae suae illud redimat.*⁷⁴ (“I curse [him] who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house. Whoever [stole his] property, the god is to find him. Let him buy it back with [his] blood and his own life.”). In this case, what concerns the author is only the punishment of the thief.

⁷² See Tomlin (1993, No. 1) and 1.10.2.

⁷³ Tomlin, R. S. O. (1988, 25) adds *r(es)*, Kropp, A. (2008) *(e)r(it)*. The addition of *res* seems more proper to me.

⁷⁴ *Exsecror* is a deponent verb in classical Latin – *exsecro* is wide-spread in Vulgar Latin, *Deomiorix*, a Celtic name, is uninflected here (*Deomiorigi?*); *hospitium* can mean an inn, a lodging, or even a house in late Latin.

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1.2.3 Differences between Curses and Prayers for Justice

The main differences between curses and the above mentioned “prayers for justice”, recently attested from the area of ancient Britannia, can be briefly summarized in the following points.⁷⁵

1) Curses usually contain the names of cursed people, an address to chthonic deities (in most cases), the verbs of cursing and the list of damages that should be suffered by the accursed.⁷⁶ Prayers for justice are made up of the name of the author, an address to a local deity, and mostly also the cause for the prayer (usually a theft). In some cases, the name of the cursed person is also stated, provided the author knows it, or suspects it; however, more than a half of these are aimed at unknown culprits. Eventually, there is a list of punishments to be exacted upon the cursed one, should s/he not return the stolen property, or simply a “just” vengeance.

2) Regarding the one who curses: for the reasons stated above (see 1.1), the cursing person is almost always anonymous in curses (except for love spells and rarely also legal curses, which aim at mere restriction, i.e. the temporary limitation of the victim’s bodily and mental functions, e.g. during the lawsuit).⁷⁷ On the contrary, the author usually states his/her name in prayers for justice (see e.g. No. 277, 1.2.2, with *Deomiorix* being the author). This is because an appeal to the gods for help and the punishment of a culprit was regarded a justified request, and therefore obviously in compliance with public morals.⁷⁸

3) Regarding the cursed ones: in curses, the names of the cursed ones are in many cases the only, and presumably the most important, part of the text. Curses containing only the names of cursed people, often together with a name

⁷⁵ See also Versnel (2010, 275 ff.) who in some points draws his conclusions rather from the Greek sources; however, the Latin prayers for justice can differ. Moreover, Versnel (2010, 279, point 3) supposes that the author attempts to legitimize his/her actions, or tries to avoid eventual bad consequences for himself/herself. See also Urbanová (2009, 341–350).

⁷⁶ This scheme is modified in the case of love spells (see 1.1.2.2.3). Apart from the name of the cursed person, all features are optional.

⁷⁷ See Urbanová (2009, 341–350) and Urbanová (2015, 597ff).

⁷⁸ For more detailed account, see Versnel (1991, 92) – the author considers such a tablet to be a legitimate request – accordingly, he can turn upon local deities with a plea for help in the terms of unwritten moral laws, even though the form is quite similar to curses, see a distinctive blending of the formulae and overlapping of both types in the prayers for justice coming from Germania (10.2.4 and 1.9.1 below).

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of father or mother,⁷⁹ have been preserved from all periods of the cursing tradition. The precise identification of the victim of a curse through the name is essential to the successful realization of said curse. Prayers for justice usually do not contain the names of people who should suffer harm – particularly in the case of thefts, the culprit is very frequently unknown; therefore, general formulae like *si vir, si mulier, si servus, si liber* appear on the tablets from Britannia (see e.g. No. 247). The deity is the only one who is able to trace the malefactor.

4) Regarding gods:⁸⁰ as already stated, the authors of curses usually address their pleas to chthonic deities (see No. 124), while those who pray for justice seek the aid of local gods (see No. 247). The way of addressing the gods is different, as well. Generally, the one who curses does not play the role of a reverent supplicant, instead s/he demands: *rogo vos cadant; te rogo, commendo tibi... ut eam abducas; facias loqui non possit*, or commands *alligate linguas; obligate et gravate; coge; aufer; perturba*. Those who write the prayers for justice approach gods with proper respect, as reverent supplicants do, see No. 219: *dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo, oro, obsecro; deae sanctissime Suli; deae Suli Minervae Solinus dono numini tuo maiestati*. In addition, the placement of the prayers for justice also differs from that of the curses: great number of the prayers for justice has been found in the shrines of chthonic or local deities, but only a few in graves; conversely, graves are the most common locations of curses.⁸¹

5) Regarding motifs: as previously mentioned, no explicit reasons are stated in curses. On the contrary, the prayers for justice contain a reverent plea to the gods and are meant to punish a thief or to get back stolen property, that is to say that the author has good reason to seek divine intervention, and therefore these often imitate the formulae of legal documents: *fraudem fecit, furaverit, infrascriptis, queror, vindices, exigas*.⁸² The author explicitly states what damage s/he has suffered and what his/her motivation for the delivery of a curse is: *involavit, perdidit, furaverit, furem*. As a result, this inclusion of the damage suffered by the author on a tablet can be regarded a distinctive feature, and on

⁷⁹ For further information on the presence of a name of the mother, see 1.6 below.

⁸⁰ See also 1.7 below.

⁸¹ See 1.8.3 and Versnel (2010, 279).

⁸² See Tomlin (1988, 63 ff.) and Urbanová – Franek (2017, 616ff).

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the basis of this inclusion we are able to classify the text as a prayer for justice.⁸³

6) Regarding verbs: curses mostly contain the verbs of cursing like *defigo*, *deligo*, *ligo*, *implico*, but also *rogo*, *peto*, *oro*, *precor vos*, *trado tibi*, *desacrifico*, *demando*, *devoveo*. The texts of prayers for justice from Britannia, as well as from other provinces, are predominantly formulated in three ways: when appealing to gods, those who curse use general expressions meaning a request or a prayer, many times referring to legal terminology: *rogo*, *ut vindices*; *conqueror tibi*; *deo queritur*; *ultionem requirat*; *obsecro*; *mandate*; less frequently there are verbs of cursing present: *exsecro*, *devoveo*,⁸⁴ see e.g. No. **295**: *Deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur de Vitalino et Natalino filio ipsius de iumento quod ei raptum est et rogat deum Mercurium ut...*; or No. **247**: *Suli devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit*. However, the verbs *dono* and *do* are used most frequently: No. **278**: *Minervae deae Suli donavi*⁸⁵ *furem, qui caracallam meam involavit*; or No. **275**: *Basilia donat in templum Martis anellum argenteum*. That means that the author commends his complaint to the deity as though pleading his/her cause before a judge, while handing over a stolen thing or the thief to achieve justice and revenge, eventually to punish the culprit.⁸⁶ See No. **247**: *...donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit*.

7) Regarding lists of damages: curses usually specify what damages should be inflicted upon the accursed by a deity. In this sense, the lists of punishments to be inflicted upon the thieves we see in prayers for justice hardly differ from those lists found in curses. In both are lists of accursed body parts or attempts at bringing diseases in the accursed. See No. **275**: *...ut sanguine et luminibus et omnibus membris configatur vel et iam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at)* (“...may he be accursed in [his] blood and eyes and every limb, or even have all [his] intestines quite eaten away...”) (see 6.2.1.3.). In some cases, the damages to be suffered are quite bizarre, see No. **298**: *... ne meiat, ne cacet, ne loquatur, ne dormiat* (“... may he not urinate, nor defecate, nor speak, nor sleep”) (see 2.3.1.), or No. **277**: *... sanguine et vitae suae id redimat* (“...let him buy it back

⁸³ See also Gager (1992, 175).

⁸⁴ The verb *defigo*, typically used for cursing, is attested only once in the context of prayers for justice, on a tablet from Carnuntum, see No. **239**, 1.9.2, 1.10.2 and 6.2.1.3).

⁸⁵ Predicative in past tense, see 2.2.2. and 12.2.3 below.

⁸⁶ See also 6.2.1.3.

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with [his] blood and his own life”).⁸⁷ Insofar as their creativity and cruelty are concerned, the authors of “just” complaints by no means fall short of the authors of curses motivated by rivalry or animosity. Nevertheless, the authors of curses are sometimes more specific about *terminus ante quem* the curse should be fulfilled or generally insist on the prompt execution of demanded restriction upon the rival. On the other hand, the prayers for justice, similar to love spells, are usually supposed to last for a limited period of time – physical or mental harm perpetrated upon a culprit (or an object of love) lasts only until the stolen things are returned to their owner (the object of love does whatever the author wants her/him to do). See No. 247 above: *...donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit*; eventually, in the case of love spells, No. 124: *...aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me...* (“...take sleep away from her unless she comes to me...”).⁸⁸

Thus, the principal similarities and differences between curses and prayers for justice can be briefly summarized as follows:

CURSES	PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE
name of cursed person	culprit (mostly unknown)
rarely ⁸⁹ author’s name	author’s name
address mostly to chthonic deities/daemons	polite address to predominantly local deities
	reason for prayer/vengeance – harm received
	transfer of lost thing or thief to a deity
list of damages supposed to afflict the cursed one	list of damages supposed to afflict the cursed one/restoration of stolen things

1.3 DATING AND SPREAD OF THE TABLETS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

In several cases, the dating of curses as well as of prayers for justice is problematic due to a lack of archaeological context. Older evidence, stored in deposits for a long period of time, is very often corroded and no longer legible.

⁸⁷ See 2.3.5.

⁸⁸ See 1.1.2.2.3.

⁸⁹ Only rarely do the curses contain a name of author; however, names are, as a rule, present in love spells.

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Lead itself, as an inorganic material, does not allow for precise dating of the texts, thus, palaeography is often the only clue to detect the age of inscriptions.⁹⁰ The texts, mostly in Roman cursive, a commonly used script well-known from the graffiti⁹¹ found in Pompeii, among other places, were inscribed on the malleable surface of tablets with a bronze chisel⁹² or some other sharp tool. Old Roman Cursive, also called majuscule cursive, was in use from the end of the 1st cent. BCE, and flourished in the period between the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE. Near the end of the 3rd cent. CE, majuscule cursive was replaced by the so-called New Roman Cursive, or minuscule, which was a sketchy script that blended certain particular letters together and is, therefore, less legible today. The shapes of the same cursive letters appear in many variants, and often vary widely from text to text and author to author, as is apparent e.g. from the facsimiles of letters used in the tablets from Bath.⁹³ As it is very hard to assess the presence and exact chronology of writing practices in particular provinces,⁹⁴ the dating based on the palaeographical data has to be held but approximate. In this work, I use the dating stated in particular monographs, although, I draw predominantly from the new corpus of Kropp (2008).

Generally, it can be said that the extant curses are older than prayers for justice, although the latter more or less mimic the expansion of the former across the Empire with only a slight delay. The oldest evidence of Greek curses comes from the 6th/5th cent. BCE.⁹⁵ The practice of creating the curse tablets then probably spreads from the region of Magna Graecia (Sicily, southern Italy) further northward and westward.⁹⁶ The oldest Greek prayers for justice come from Hellenistic period,⁹⁷ whereas Gager mentions two pieces of evidence from the 3rd cent. BCE. The two oldest Latin curse tablets date back to the 2nd cent. BCE and come from Pompeii (No. **33**, see 1.10.1) and the island of Delos (No. **110**). In the period between the 1st cent. BCE and the 1st cent. CE, there is a substantial increase in the amount of tablets preserved in Italy.⁹⁸ These two

⁹⁰ See also Kropp (2008a, 245 ff.); Tomlin (1988, 84 ff.); or Bartoletti (1990, 9 ff.).

⁹¹ See Kropp (2008a, 243 ff.); Gager (1992, 4).

⁹² See 1.4 and *PGM* VII, 396–400, see also 10.1.2; Barta (2009).

⁹³ See Tomlin (1988, 91–94).

⁹⁴ See especially the extensive discussion of this issue in Tomlin (1988, 87).

⁹⁵ See Kropp (2008a, 45); Bettarini (2005); Rocca (2012; 2012a).

⁹⁶ See Preisendanz (1972, 18 ff.); Kropp (2008a, 45 ff.).

⁹⁷ See Versnel (2010, 332); Gager (1992, 175 ff., No. 82 and No. 92).

⁹⁸ Today, we dispose of ca. twelve tablets from Italia dated back to the period BCE, and ca. ten tablets from the 1st cent. CE.

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centuries were, in all likelihood, the heyday of magical practices, particularly in Italy. The following centuries provide us with a much lower number of magical texts found in Italy. The situation in Hispania is similar, most of the texts we have come from the 1st cent. BCE⁹⁹ and the 1st/2nd cent. CE. However, the practice of cursing spread surprisingly quickly into all areas of Roman Empire, including the distant northern provinces located south of Rhine and Danube rivers (Germania, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia), via Roman legionaries, tradesmen, colonists and vagrant magicians. The major part of the texts found in Germany dates back to the 1st cent. CE, recent evidence from Mainz to 65–130 CE, and the tablets preserved in Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia to the 1st/2nd cent. CE. That means that these are older than the evidence found in Gallia, where the majority of the tablets dates back to the 4th/5th cent. CE,¹⁰⁰ although there are some texts preserved from the 2nd cent. CE, as well. It is therefore obvious that the Mediterranean cursing practices reached the distant northern parts of the Roman Empire with a relatively small delay. The increasing repression of magical practices and criminal charges associated with magic¹⁰¹ in the era of the Principate indicate that these practices were highly popular, which was reflected also in literature of the time (Horace, Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Apuleius).¹⁰² In the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE, there is a substantial increase in the number of curse tablets, especially of those found in Africa, and in Britain most of the tablets date to the period between 2nd and 4th cent. CE. At the same time, the evidence found in Italy, Hispania, and Germania decreases in the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE; this could, however, be just a coincidence. Based on the epigraphic material from other provinces, it can be assumed that the period between the 2nd and 4th cent. CE was the heyday of magical practices. However, due to the triumphant rise of Christianity from the end of the 4th cent. CE, the production of Latin curse tablets subsides distinctively; prevalently only in the marginal areas of Britannia and Gallia are there still numerous tablets preserved from as late as the 4th/5th cent. CE.¹⁰³ Latin prayers for justice, on the other hand, do not appear before the 1st/2nd cent. CE, and come predominantly from the areas of Britannia, Hispania, Germania, Italia, and rarely also from Gallia,

⁹⁹ Kropp's corpus (2008a, 45) includes altogether eight texts dated back to the 1st cent. BCE; in this work, only six of them are stated. The other six extant texts date back to the 1st cent. CE.

¹⁰⁰ It is, of course, questionable, to what extent does the randomness of archaeological findings influence these data. For celtic *defixiones* from this area see Meid (2014).

¹⁰¹ See Kropp (2008a, 50 ff.).

¹⁰² See Ogden (2009); Kropp (2008a, 58ff); Luck (1962).

¹⁰³ See also Kropp (2008a, 45 ff.). See also the inscriptions from the fountain of Anna Perenna, Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012).

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Raetia and Pannonia. A substantial growth in the production of these can be observed, similarly to curses, in the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE – this holds true mainly for the province of Britannia.¹⁰⁴ In the next centuries, the production of prayers for justice declines not only here, but also in other provinces. The latest evidence comes from Gallia and Britannia from the 4th/5th cent. CE.

1.4 MATERIALS USED

Most of the extant texts of curses and prayers for justice have been inscribed into a metal, esp. into lead or its alloys.¹⁰⁵ Lead was easily available in antiquity and often used for writing due to its malleability; the production of such tablets, thus, was in no way expensive or complicated.¹⁰⁶ Lead was traditionally supposed to be the most appropriate material to write a curse on, while gold and silver were usually used to produce protective amulets or healing spells.¹⁰⁷ In some rare cases, also other materials were used to write a curse, like stone, bronze, marble, potsherd, ceramic vessels, or gems.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the extant magical instructions recommend the use of lead to write a curse, see e.g. *PGM VII 397*¹⁰⁹: “...take lead from a cold-water pipe and make a *lamella* and inscribe it with a bronze stylus, as shown below, and set it with a person who has died prematurely.” Lead is a cold and dark grey material usually associated with diseases, or death. What is more, it is heavy – evokes troubles and lethargy, and that is why it was the preferred medium for curses (though only in later times), not to mention its availability to the common people.¹¹⁰ Some Greek tablets

¹⁰⁴ Randomness of archaeological findings plays, no doubt, a huge role in this.

¹⁰⁵ Tomlin, R. S. O. (1988, 81 ff.) was surprised by the fact; however, this has to be taken into account, too – only a fifth of the tablets found in Bath contains lead from two thirds, and approximately three fourths of all analysed evidence contain more than a half portion of tin.

¹⁰⁶ See Faraone (1991, 4 ff.); for a detailed account of the process of their making, see Tomlin (1988, 83 ff.).

¹⁰⁷ See Gager (1992, 3); Bevilacqua (2010, 21), Kotansky (1991, 107ff).

¹⁰⁸ See Bonner (1950, 103 –122). Most of the 309 texts analysed in this work (Appendix I and II) are inscribed on lead, only seven of these on some other material: No. **15** on a little clay lamp, No. **25**, No. **26** and No. **57** on a clay vessel, No. **102** on a brick, No. **209** on stone, and No. **219** on a marble desk.

¹⁰⁹ Instructions contained in magical papyri are cited according to Betz 1986 including the English translation.

¹¹⁰ See Franek – Urbanová (2017). The primary reason for the use of lead has most probably been its easy availability as a by-product of silver mining. However, the presence of lead as a comparatum in the simile-formulae shows that specific physical properties of the material were supposed to be projected onto the target of

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even involve a comparison of the cursed person to lead, see DTA 105, 106 and 107. Latin tablet No. **76** from Kreuznach (Germany), **dfx.5.1.4/5**, reads:

Sic quomodo plumbum subsidit sic Sintonem et Martialem Sintonis et adiutorium Sintonis et quisquis contra Rubrium fr(atrem) et me Quartionem, si qui(s) contravenerit... (“Just like lead sinks [to the bottom], may also Sinto and Martialis [the son/slave] of Sinto and the assistant of this Sinto, and everyone who comes out against Rubrius, my brother, and me, Quartio [sink to the bottom].”)

Unfortunately, the text is damaged.¹¹¹ Similarly, tablet No. **226** from Montfo in Gallia, **dfx.4.4.1/1**, reads:

Quomodo hoc plumbum non paret et decadet sic decadat aetas, membra, vita, bos, granum, merx, eorum qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt... (“Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom [*decadet* = classical *decidit* – the tablet has been found in a well], so may the youth?, limbs, life, livestock, grain, and trades of those who deceived me badly also fall into decay...”)¹¹²

In this tablet, the lead’s function is symbolic-metaphorical. Finally, there was the notion, based on the easy solubility of lead, that points to the fact that tablets could have been (like wax figurines) thrown into a fire during the cursing ritual, as in tablet No. **236** from Mainz, DTM 11: *...Sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatmodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit* (“...may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”).¹¹³

1.5 AUTHORS OF THE CURSES

The qualities and educational backgrounds of the authors of Latin curses (see 1.1) varied widely, judging by extant evidence: they range from coarse and artless drafts containing many mistakes to artfully written works with complicated formulae, magical signs, or pictures of daemons, following the magical prescripts preserved in Greek magical papyri.¹¹⁴ Professional magicians

the curses. In three Greek tablets from Attica, dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, lead is described as “worthless” (ἄτιμος), “passionless” (ἄ[θ]υμος), “useless” (ἄχρηστος), and “cold” (ψυχρός), and the adversaries of the curse-writers should become alike (TheDeMa 120, 976, 977).

¹¹¹ See also Tomlin (1988, 81); Gager (1992, 31; note 11); and also 10.1.2.

¹¹² See also 1.9.3 and 9.2.

¹¹³ See also 1.8.1 and 10.2.4 below.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. No. **152**, 11.1.3.2.

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are mentioned even by Plato in the 4th cent. BCE;¹¹⁵ furthermore, in most cultures charms are performed by specialists. It seems that professional magicians did not play a major role in the Latin cursing tradition before the turn of the new millenium.¹¹⁶ A series of tablets, all found in one particular locality and displaying a number of similarities,¹¹⁷ prove the existence of local magical “workshops”; see e.g. the collective curses of riders and racehorses from Hadrumetum.¹¹⁸ On tablet No. **124** from Carthage (see 1.1.2.2.3 above), there are even empty spaces which one can assume were to be filled in later at customer’s request with the names of the particular people to be cursed. As for the tablets found in Britannia, Tomlin (1988, 100 ff.) remarks that, although several tablets were certainly written by experienced scribes, they lack the diligence and neat handwriting of the tablets from Africa, and it cannot, therefore, be even said that some groups of tablets were written by the same hand. To sum up, it can be asserted that the extant evidence of curses and prayers for justice consists of tablets made both by laymen and by professionals, and that the proportion of professionally-made tablets appears to grow at the beginning of the first millenium CE.

1.6 CURSED PEOPLE, FILIATION

As previously stated, only the names of cursed people are usually listed on the tablets, while the authors of curses are mostly anonymous because of cultural and legal mores (see 1.1); however, there are some exceptions, esp. in legal curses (see 1.1.2.2.1) and love spells (see 1.1.2.2.3). Analogous to Greek curse tablets and magical papyri, men are cursed more often than women,¹¹⁹ an assertion also supported by the texts analysed in this work. Male personal names appear on Latin curse tablets almost three times as often as the female ones. When looking at the curses aimed against rivals in the circus, it is logical that we see a preponderance of the male names (charioteers and gladiators being the ones cursed), and additionally there is also a very high rate of horses’ names (over 1200). In many cases, onomastic analysis of the names seen on tablets enables us to assess the social standing of particular targets (see also Kropp, 2008, 57 ff.). They are very often one-word names of Greek or other foreign

¹¹⁵ Pl. *Rep.* II, 364C; see further detailed discussions of this topic in Gager (1992, 249 ff.); Graf (1996, 24 ff.).

¹¹⁶ Gager (1992, 4 ff.); Tomlin (1988, 100 ff.).

¹¹⁷ See e.g. No. **20**–**24** from Rome, in all of them the complicated text is basically the same, only the names of cursed people change (see 7.3.1.4 and Appendix I).

¹¹⁸ See Appendix I, No. **149**–**151**, and further No. **157**–**161**, see also 11.1.3.2.

¹¹⁹ See also Ogden (1999, 64 ff.); Winkler (1991, 227 ff.); Kropp (2008a, 57 ff.).

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origin, sometimes also specified by the terms referring to social standing like *servus* or *libertus*, eventually, and sometimes also by the name of a master or a patron. See No. **56** from Córdoba, **dfx.2.2.3/4**: *Priamus l(ibertus) mutus sit...*, or No. **16** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/2**: *Danae ancilla novicia Capitonis...*, sometimes names are modified with a particular occupation or activity, see No. **13** from Ostia, **dfx.1.4.3/1**: *ornatrix Agathemeris, Manliae serva, Achulea, Fabiae serva ornatrix, Caletyche, Vergiliae serva*, further e.g. No. **5** from Bologna, **dfx.1.1.2/3**: *Porcellus mulomedicus*, No. **132** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.2/25**: *Βαχα(χvχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon obliges perobliges Maurussum venatorem...*, No. **42** from Pula, **dfx.1.7.5/2**: *Amandus dispensator*. Nevertheless, the practice of creating curse tablets was definitely not just a matter of lower classes. This is evidenced e.g. in Tacitus' description of the death of Germanicus (*Annales* II, 69) which was believed to have been caused by some kind of witchcraft.¹²⁰ What is more, not only do the names of slaves or freedmen appear on curse tablets, but the *tria nomina* of Roman citizens do appear, as well. See e.g. No. **32** from Cumae, **dfx.1.5.3/2**: *M(arcum) Heium M(arci) f(ilium) Calidum* (see 2.3.1), and No. **38** from Este, **dfx.1.7.2/1**: *Quintus Praesentius Albus, uxor Praesenti...*; periodically, the names of those in high offices appear, as well. See No. **47** from Ampurias, **dfx.2.1.1/2**: *Titus Aurelius Fulvus, legatus Augusti*. When we look to the provinces, names of non-Roman origin are referred to, as well. This is especially true in the tablets from Britannia, and this sometimes poses a problem, it is often difficult to reliably discern the target's social standing.

Love spells, almost exclusively found in the African provinces, are somewhat different in this respect. The targets of Latin love spells are almost exclusively women, with only one exception: tablet No. **148** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.10.2.1/8**, which includes the spell delivered by a certain Septima to make Sextilius love her:

...non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius, uratur furens, non dormiat neque sedeat neque loquatur, sed in mente habeat me Septimam, Amoena filiam...
("...may Sextilius, son of Dionysia, not sleep, may he burn [with passion] in frenzy, may he not sleep, nor sit, nor speak, but may [only] I, Septima, daughter of Amoena, be on his mind...").¹²¹

The relatively monotonous imagery of Latin love spells is amended by the much more varied and extensive Greek evidence, which is almost always

¹²⁰ See the detailed discussion of the topic by Chalupa (2006, 101 ff.).

¹²¹ See also 1.9.2 below. The tablet is written in Latin, but in the Greek alphabet.

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written by men. In contrast, we also have Greek tablets written to love objects of the same sex.¹²² Thus, if love spells were predominantly written or ordered by men, as can be judged from the epigraphical evidence provided by the extant corpus of Greek and Latin love spells; the literary evidence, mainly concentrating on women seeking the help of sorcerers or witches in matters of unrequited love, provides us with a somewhat distorted image of the real situation.¹²³ Conversely, Dickie, M. W. (2000, 563-583) assumes that both sexes more or less equally contributed to the production of love spells.¹²⁴

The names of the accursed are usually specified by the father's name in the genitive, as was common in Roman practice (e.g. *Marci filius*), while eventually some other filiation is stated (e.g. *uxor Praesenti*). The cursed people are identified by the mother's name in approximately ten percent of all texts analyzed in this book, see No. **148** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/8**: *...non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius*. This holds true especially for the texts coming from Africa, but mothers' names also appear, albeit infrequently, in the texts from Italy, Gallia and Britannia¹²⁵ dating back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, and only exceptio nally in earlier texts. Filiation via a metronymic is mostly found in love spells, see e.g. No. **145** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/7**:

...cogite Bonosam, quam peperit Papte, amare me Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro sine intermissione... ("...force Bonosa, whom Papte

¹²² See Gager (1992, 80); and especially the detailed analysis of Winkler (1991, footnote 74) who states the following evidence: He wants her: *PGM* XVIIa, XIXa, LXXXIV, CI, CVII, CVIII, CIX; No. **121** (**dfx.11.1.1/13**, DT 227); No. **124** (**dfx.11.1.1/16**, DT 230); No. **125** (**dfx.11.1.1/17**, DT 231); No. **142** (**dfx.11.2.1/2**, DT 264); No. **172** (**dfx.11.2.1/33**, DT 304); No. **173** (**dfx.11.2.1/34**); No. **174** (**dfx.11.2.1/35**); No. **175** (**dfx.11.2.1/36**). She wants him: No. **148** (**dfx.11.2.1/8**, DT 270); DT271; *PGM* XV, XVI, XIXb, XXXIX; **dfx.11.2.1/8** (DT 270); Gager (1992, No. 18). She wants her: *PGM* XXXII, *SM* I 42. He wants him: *PGM* XXXIIa; Faraone (1999, 43 and footnote 9), see also Urbanová (2010, 636 ff.).

¹²³ See e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 5, 17; *Sat.* 1.8; Apul. *Met.* 1.5 –19, 2.5; Petron. *Sat.* 63; Luc. 6.413 –830.

¹²⁴ Dickie (2000, 578 ff.) mainly argues that the magical prescripts in magical papyri are meant to be a general guideline not specifically designed for any particular purpose or person. For further information on the Greek evidence, see Faraone (1999, 132ff).

¹²⁵ See e.g. No. **1** from Arezzo, **dfx.1.1.1/1**; No. **18** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/4**; No. **25** from Rome?, **dfx.1.4.4/13**; No. **63** from Trier, **dfx.4.1.3/15**; No. **188** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/22**.

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bore, to love me, Oppius, whom Veneria bore, unceasingly with sacred love...),¹²⁶

and in curses against rivals in circus, see e.g. No. **130** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/22**: *...(occi)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m), quem peperit Prima...* (“...kill, destroy, hurt Gallicus, whom Prima bore...”).¹²⁷ The reason such filiations were used is still the subject of scholarly discussion.¹²⁸ So far, the interpretation advocated by R. Wunsch and A. Audollent¹²⁹ is the most accepted: they suppose that this strange practice can be attributed to the rule *mater semper certa*, i.e. the magicians resorted to this kind of identification because the curse would not work if the father’s name happened to be wrong.¹³⁰ This kind of identification, however, appears only after the beginning of the 2nd cent. CE. In Greek and Roman legal documents, where the proper identification of people is no less crucial, paternal ancestry is preferred (Curbera, 1999, 198 ff.). Moreover, we have extant texts in which the mother is stated, even though her name is unknown, see e.g. 1.1.2.2.3, No. **143** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/3**: *Faciatis Victoriam, quam peperit suavulva, amantem, furentem prae amore meo...* (“get Victoria, who was born to XY [*suavulva*], to love [me], burn with passion for me...”), here, *suavulva*, like the *nomen* in other cases, stands for the unknown name of the mother. The use of a metronymic was widespread in magical papyri and other Egyptian texts, as well. Despite the strong influence of Egyptian practice on later Greek and Roman tablets (see 1.7.1 below, *signa magica, voces magicae*), especially in the African provinces, filiation via a metronymic was not a deviation from normal practice in Egypt, unlike in the Greek and Latin tradition (Curbera, 1999, 198 ff.). Graf (1996, 203 ff.), on the other hand, maintains that magical rituals and practices are typical for their systematic effort to deviate from conventional customs and methods. This can be seen, for example, in the frequent nonstandard orientation of script in curses (right-to-left, upside-down etc.), and in Latin texts written in the Greek alphabet, sacrificing unusual animals etc. Filiation via the mother’s name would fit nicely among these deviations from the norm.

Curbera (1999, 202) assumes that the use of maternal lineage in Greek and Latin curses derives from the appropriation of Egyptian magical instructions;

¹²⁶ See also 5.1.1 and 11.1.4.

¹²⁷ See 1.1.2.2.2 and 11.1.3.1.

¹²⁸ For an especially elaborate discussion of older views on this issue, see Curbera (1999, 195ff).

¹²⁹ Wunsch (1912, 9); Audollent (1904, LI ff.); Kagarow (1929, 48).

¹³⁰ Similarly, also Kropp (2008a, 171 ff.).

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this would, at the same time, well suit the magical effort to subvert the practices common in the Graeco-Roman world. Generally, it can be said that names of the accursed are usually written in the nominative. See, for instance, No. **14** from Ostia, **dfx.1.4.3/2**:

*...Periant, rogo Icmas Mevia... occidant Rufa Papiria... Lupus... colligo mentem... tabescant Primigenia... (“Please, may they perish, Icmas, Mevia... may they die, Rufa Papiria...Lupus... I bind the mind of... may they rot Primigenia ...”)*¹³¹

This is especially true in the case of the texts comprised exclusively of people to be cursed, sometimes the “stiff” nominative independent of a predicate may have been used, as well. It is possible that those who wrote the curses did not even try to decline the names in order to avoid any confusion of the names concerned, thus allowing the deity to find the proper intended target of the curse. No. **27** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/15**, reads:

Dii Manes commendo, ut perdant (= pereant?) B: inimicos meos commendo: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, alius trado: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo, Asclepiades, Time, Ce, Philaia, Caletiche, Menotia... (“Underworld gods, I commend [to you that] they may die/lose [the lawsuit], I commend my enemies: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, and further I deliver: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo, Asclepiades, Time, Ce, Phialaia, Caletiche, Menotia...”) (see 7.3.2).

Only about one fifth of the texts contains the names of the targets in the accusative, except for cases in which the author employs verbs of cursing. Regarding the curses consisting of a mere list of names, it is hardly recognizable whether the accusative or the nominative was used because of the very frequent omission of final *-m* and *-s*. As for the names of cursed horses, these are predominantly in the nominative, as well (see 1.10.1 below, No. **149**).¹³²

Prayers for justice differ in this respect quite substantially (see 12.3). While the author of the tablet often states his/her name, the potential targets, i.e. the thieves, etc., are usually unknown. More than half of these texts, however, do not include the name of the author either, in accordance with common cursing

¹³¹ See also Audollent (1904, L) Jeanneret (118, 132 ff.); Ruíz (1967, 219 ff.); Solin (1968, 14 ff.) and especially Adams (2013, 215–216 and 226ff.).

¹³² Sporadically, a proper name in genitive appears, see 8.1 and 10.1.2 (Barta, 2009; Boeneugru – Németh, 2013).

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practice. Two thirds of the authors' names found in the texts belong to men, and one third to women. Similar to curses, the prayers for justice are mostly aimed at men. More accurate identification of the culprit by providing father's name, in the case s/he is known, is very seldom found.¹³³ If the culprits are unknown, relative pronouns are used instead, as e.g. in No. **230** from Rottweil, **dfx.5.1.7/1**: *Fibulam Gnatae qui involavit...*, or No. **219** from Mérida, **dfx.2.3.1/1**: *Quisquis mihi immutavit, involavit minusve fecit (e)a(s) res, q(uae) i(n)fra s(c)ripta(e) s(unt); tunicas VI, paenula lintea II, in(dus)ium I, cuius (no)m(en) ignoro.*

Eventually, *nomen* simply stands in for the names of a culprit, as in No. **299** from Uley, **dfx.3.22/6**: *Nomen furis, qui frenum involaverit...* Finally, a sort of “catch-them-all” or “all-inclusive” formula¹³⁴ is sometimes used, almost exclusively on tablets coming from Britannia,¹³⁵ which should assure that the curse reaches the unknown target. The formula consists of identifying pairs: man-woman, boy-girl, or the social standing of the target: he-slave/she-slave, freedman/freedwoman, and eventually, some other names, as well.¹³⁶ See e.g. No. **247** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/10**: *...deae sanctissimae Suli devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit, si vir si femina, si servus si liber...*, (see also 1.10.2 below), No. **303** from Uley: *...si baro¹³⁷ si mulier, si puer si puella, si servus si liber...*

1.7 GODS AND DAEMONS

The names of gods and daemons addressed by the authors of curses and prayers for justice occur within the texts in a large number of tablets. This is due to the fact that a curse can only be realized through the influence of these supernatural

¹³³ This corpus contains six such cases: filiation via the mother in prayers for justice is attested only rarely (see No. **236**, 1.10.2 and 10.2.4), and perhaps a modified reference to mother in No. **226** (see 9.2).

¹³⁴ See Tomlin (1988, 95; 2003, 361, note 5).

¹³⁵ This formula is also once attested in Hispania, No. **218**, Itálica (see 6.1, 6.2 and 8.2).

¹³⁶ See e.g. No. **276** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/77**: *seu gen(tili)s seu christianus*, “whether pagan or Christian” (2.3.3), or No. **282** from Broomhill, **dfx.3.5/1**: *si paganus* “a civilian” *si miles*. See also Kropp (2008a, 171 ff.); 12.2.3.

¹³⁷ The term *baro* has to mean “man”, in contrast to the term *mulier*. In classical Latin, it is used to denote “a fool”. Apart from the *defixiones* found in Britannia, the use of *baro* meaning “man” is documented only from the mediaeval times (see also 1.10.2 and tablets No. **260**, No. **278**, No. **280**, and No. **299**).

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powers. If deities are named,¹³⁸ they are almost exclusively the chthonic ones, especially in curses; otherwise local non-chthonic deities are named. However, we have to remember that the ancient Mediterranean world was home to a vast number of supernatural beings on all levels, and that almost every deity or daemon¹³⁹ could be associated with death or the underworld. The oldest preserved Greek curses usually contain the chthonic deities Hermes, Persephone, Hades, Hecate, Demeter, and Gaia.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, Latin curse tablets from the 1st cent. BCE are addressed to the chthonic deities like Proserpine and Pluto, sometimes even Cerberus, as well as *Di Manes* (the underworld ghosts), *Di inferi* (the underworld gods),¹⁴¹ and rarely also Jupiter infernus, Juno Aeracura, Mutae Tacitae or Celtic god Ogmios. As for the not exclusively chthonic deities, Mars, Diana, Castor and Pollux usually appear in the tablets, as well as the deities associated with streams like nymphs, Anna Perenna, or Savus.¹⁴² When we look at the prayers for justice, especially those found in Britannia, Minerva Sulis (named also Dea Sulis), Mercury, and Neptune, are preferred. From the 2nd cent. CE onwards, and in the African provinces, we come across the complicated syncretistic curses with the names of daemons, which obviously points to the process of blending of Egyptian, Jewish and Greek religious cultures. There are, for example, the Egyptian Toth (identified also with Hermes), Osiris (the lord of the Egyptian underworld), his sister and wife Isis, Seth¹⁴³ (identified with Greek Typhon), as well as the Jewish gods and daemons Iaō (Yahweh), Adōnai, Sabaōth and the Babylonian Ereschigal.¹⁴⁴ In

¹³⁸ The names of deities are missing in several tablets, which could be due to the fact that their names were merely uttered, or because the tablets were very often found in the votive deposits of shrines or in other spaces connected to the cult of a particular god, e.g. in Mainz, Bath, or Uley. Therefore, those who delivered curses did not have to explicitly state deity's name, being present in the shrine.

¹³⁹ These include also the ghosts of untimely or violently dead people who restlessly remain near their buried bodies, the so-called *Nekydaimones*. For a detailed account of the powers appearing in *defixiones*, see Audollent (1904, LIX –LXVII); Preisendanz (1972, 6 –8, 13 and 17); Gager (1992, 12 ff.); Ogden (1999, 44 –46); Kropp (2008a, 94 –98).

¹⁴⁰ For more detailed image, see Ogden (1991, 44).

¹⁴¹ For further information, see Kropp (2008a, 94 ff.).

¹⁴² Savus, probably a river god, is attested on tablet No. **107** from Panonnia; for Anna Perenna, see 7.1.

¹⁴³ Seth appears on the tablets from Rome, too, see DT *Sethianorum tabellae*, and recently Blänsdorf (2010a, 232), as well as on those found in the spring dedicated to the goddess Anna Perenna (see 7.1).

¹⁴⁴ See Ogden (1991, 44 ff.), Fauth (2014), Quack (2017).

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the Latin tablets from the African provinces only a general term *daemones*¹⁴⁵ is sometimes used instead of the names of the deities called upon, some of them even display pictures of these daemons,¹⁴⁶ and then eventually their names, see e.g. No. **124**: *Καταζῖν, Τραβαζῖαν* etc. Furthermore, Latin curses included not only the Egyptian god Seth, but also other deities of eastern cults, e.g. Attis or *Mater Magna* in the tablets from Mainz;¹⁴⁷ and some tablets from Gallia and Hispania¹⁴⁸ contain the name of Isis. The divine powers, which could indicate a Christian or eastern influence, are very rare. The author of a curse preserved on a clay vessel found in Rome (No. **25**) appeals to “holy angels” (*sancti angeli*), but these are supposed to take his adversary to hell (see also 1.10.1 below).¹⁴⁹ Generally, the choice of a god or daemon for a particular curse depended on and was influenced by two external forces: a) local religious cults and customs, b) the magical papyri available to local specialists.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, the names of gods and daemons tell us a great deal about the faith and the local cults of a given period of time.¹⁵¹ Any further relationship between the curse-author’s choice of deity and the kind or purpose of the curse being prepared cannot be traced.

1.7.1 Voces Magicae – Nomina Barbarica, Signa Magica

The oldest Greek evidence of curse tablets, dating back to the 5th and 4th cent. BCE is comprised predominantly of lists of the names of the cursed individuals, leaving us to assume that the other parts of the curse (cursing formulae, gods’ names) were merely uttered. However, as far as the content and form are

¹⁴⁵ This corresponds to the Greek *νεκροδαίμων* (see Kropp, 2008a, 95).

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. the series of tablets No. **162**–**168** (see 11.1.3.2).

¹⁴⁷ See e.g. No. **85** and **87**, 10.1.1.

¹⁴⁸ See No. **64** from Trier (9.1.1) and No. **217** from Bolonia (1.2.1).

¹⁴⁹ However, the author of this curse probably does not refer to angels in the Christian sense of the word. Supernatural powers having the role of mediators between gods and men are called daemons, the term *angeli*, *ἄγγελοι* is attested especially in Anatolia (see Blänsdorf, 2010a, 239 ff.) perhaps under the influence of Judaism, although this term appears also on several Greek curse tablets (see e.g. DT 187), less often in Latin curses, recently also on the inscription found at the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome (see 7.1.). Greek Christian texts, especially the Coptic ones, which contain *angeli*, as well, are called “Rachegebete” by their editor (see Björck, 1938, 28 and 51 ff.). There is *ave, mater, ave* on the tablet with a love spell No. **182** from Thysdrus dated back to the 3rd cent. CE.

¹⁵⁰ Gager (1992, 13).

¹⁵¹ For more detailed information, see Kropp (1992, 7 ff.).

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concerned,¹⁵² the cursing tradition gradually developed to a considerable extent, perhaps in accordance with the knowledge and use of script and the spread of Koine and general literacy in ancient Greece. As we see from the Greek *defixiones* from the 1st cent. CE, as well as from the Latin ones from a century later, professional magicians who followed complicated magical precepts, including the names of daemons and magical words, played a substantial role in this process, especially in the African provinces. The tablets thus became complex artefacts combining several concomitant magical features: the curse itself is usually replete with a picture of daemon, magical words, signs, strange patterns made up of vowels or consonants, an unusual graphic layout, often together with a nonstandard orientation of script or with the use of the Greek alphabet to inscribe a Latin text, etc. Magicians appeal to the ghosts of the dead and daemons in a way that reverses the usual practice of prayer. An ancient believer appeals to gods in the normal human tongue, while a magician invokes ghosts and daemons by using unintelligible formulae and magical words bearing little resemblance to human language, a pattern of utterance called *voces magicae* in antiquity (see Poccetti, 2002, 35 ff.). This term encompasses the names of daemons (Iaō, Sabaōth, Ereschigal, Seth, etc.) (cf. 1.7), as well as the magical words and incantations sometimes referred to as *nomina barbarica* (ὀνόματα βάρβαρα).¹⁵³ Longer sequences of magical words are called *logoi* in the magical canon. These are obscure expressions which are often assignable neither to Greek, nor Hebrew, nor any other contemporary language.¹⁵⁴ The most familiar are the so-called *Ephesia grammata* (Ἐφέσια γράμματα, “the Ephesian letters”), the sequence of six words used for protective purposes and exorcism: *ασκιον, κατασκιον, λιζ, τετραζ, δαμναμενευς, αισιον*, (or *ισια*).¹⁵⁵ This sequence is said to have been engraved on a statue of Artemis in Ephesus, and, like the other magical incantations provided by Cato (*De Agricultura* 160), it was unintelligible to later authors.¹⁵⁶ Other incantations falling within the category of *voces magicae* are usually incomprehensible expressions like e.g.

¹⁵² See also Gager (1992, 7 ff.).

¹⁵³ The term is documented in Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1336 ff.; see also Graf (1996, 195).

¹⁵⁴ See also Gager (1992, 8 ff.); Ogden (1991, 46 ff.); for the supernatural powers of Jewish provenance, see Fauth (2014) and Quack (2017).

¹⁵⁵ These are documented from as early as the 4th cent. BCE. The term was sometimes used generally to denote other magical words, as well, which are today called *voces magicae*, event. *mysticae* (Gager, 1992, 7 and 267).

¹⁵⁶ See Kotansky (1991, 110 ff.); 1.1.2.2.

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ABRASAX/ABRAXAS,¹⁵⁷ *ABALANATHANALBA*,¹⁵⁸ *MASKELLI MASKELLŌ*,¹⁵⁹ *SARBASMISARAB*. Similar incantations were also used in healing to strengthen magician's power over daemonic forces: in this way s/he could make the ghosts of the dead cooperate.¹⁶⁰ Other magical features present in the curses of the imperial period are the so-called *signa magica* (*χαρακτῆρες*), i.e. the alphabetical and the non-alphabetical symbols and signs derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs or other letters, some of which possibly symbolizing celestial bodies.¹⁶¹ The term *signa magica* or *charaktères* includes also the series of vowels or shapes (triangles, squares, or other geometrical figures composed of vowels and consonants). The seven Greek vowels *α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω* were associated with planets and angels. The sources from Egypt suggest that the chanting of particular vowels in a certain order was a part of the religious ritual (see Gager, 1992, note 40). The purpose of all these "magical" components or peculiarities, i.e. *voces magicae*, as well as *signa magica*, or eventually also *imagines* of the daemons – all differing from common practices – were not meant to make the text difficult or impossible for the reader to understand, or even to completely conceal its content, as was previously assumed.¹⁶² Rather, they are used in order to distinguish one's doings from the common practices of written communication (normal use of script and language) as a demonstration of refined exclusivity symbolically reflecting magical procedure, i.e. to show the practitioner's ability to subvert the natural order of things.¹⁶³ Explicit allusion to the magical inversion of the natural order, graphically represented by the inverted text of a curse, is found in Greek (see. e.g. DT 67), as well as Latin curses. See e.g. No. **100** from Cologne: *Vaeraca, sic res tua: perve(r)se agas, comodo hoc perverse scriptu(m) est*.¹⁶⁴ ("Vaeraca, this is how it is going to be

¹⁵⁷ See Gager (1992, 265 ff.); Németh (2010, 193 ff.). Abrasax/Abraxas – very frequent magical word – the name of a deity connected to the Sun. Numeric equivalent of the single letters of Greek alphabet used in this name is number 365. On gems, the deity is usually depicted as *anguipes*, i.e. a being with a cock's head and snakes instead of legs (see also Bonner, 1950, 123 ff.).

¹⁵⁸ See Gager (1992, 265 ff.). The expression is frequently used on *defixiones*, in *PGM* or on gems, however, its interpretation is uncertain, it is usually considered to be a Hebrew acronym (see Németh, 2010, 193). Nevertheless, Bohak, G. (2008, 209ff) assumes that the Hebrew etymologies of the word are ill-founded; moreover, these words are not attested in old Hebrew magical texts.

¹⁵⁹ See for instance *PGM* VII line 302, and Gager (1992, 286).

¹⁶⁰ Audollent (1904, LXV ff.).

¹⁶¹ See Poccetti (2002, 42); Gager (1992, 8 ff.); Audollent (1904, LXXII ff.).

¹⁶² Especially Wunsch (1897, DTA).

¹⁶³ See Poccetti (2002, 38 ff.).

¹⁶⁴ Blänsdorf – Kropp – Scholz (2010, 272 ff.); see also 7.3.1.4 and 10.1.1.

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for you: may you go along twistedly [i.e. wrongly] just like this is written in a twisted way [the text is written right-to-left, i.e. in an unusual manner].”). The text is written right to left, as opposed to the normal left to right. Essentially, we are able to distinguish two levels of typical magical procedures in the Greek and Latin curse tablets predominantly found in Africa: the visual level, represented by *signa magica* (*charaktéres*), and the textual level, represented by *voces magicae*. Regarding the script, we are confronted with aberrance from the graphic norm. See the writing of Latin text in the Greek alphabet in No. **145** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/5** (line 15 ff.):

.. κωγιτε Βονωσα κουαμ πεπεριτ Παπτη αμαρε μη Οππιουμ κουεμ πεπεριτ Ουενερια αμορε σακρω... (...*cogite Bonosa(m), quam peperit Papte amare me Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro...*).¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, a combination of Roman and Greek characters appears quite often in Latin curse tablets: whereas Roman characters are used to inscribe the text of the curse itself, the Greek alphabet is reserved for the names of daemons, magical words and formulae, as e.g. in No. **161** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.1.1/21**, a curse against racehorses and charioteers with the names of daemons engraved in the Greek alphabet around its perimeter (see Appendix I). See also No. **127** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/19**, which shows the names of horses in Roman characters, and magical incantations written in the Greek alphabet not only in the margins, but also directly in the text. Transcriptions of a Greek formula into Latin also exist, but are very rare.¹⁶⁶ In short, the tendency of magical prescription to subvert linguistic and graphic norms in curses is a feature on display in tablets dating from the 2nd cent. CE, primarily in those from the African provinces. Only a few of similar tablets have been found in Italy (Rome) – the heavily damaged *Sethianorum tabellae* (DT 140–187), see No. **18** (1.9.2 and 3.3.3) and No. **19** (7.3.2); the recent findings in the spring of the goddess Anna Perenna in Rome (7.4); and tablets No. **3**, No. **4**, and No. **5** from Bologna (7.3.1.5). The presence of *voces magicae* and *signa magica* in prayers for justice is very exceptional, see No. **239** from Petronell-Carnuntum, **dfx.8.3/1** (see 6.2.13).

¹⁶⁵ See also No. **147**, No. **148**, and No. **172**; 11.1.4.

¹⁶⁶ For an elaborate discussion of this issue, see Poccetti (2002, 44 ff.); see also 11.1.3.1. and No. **133** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/26**.

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1.7.2 Script in the Service of Magic

Graphically, the most common magical peculiarity is the nonstandard orientation of text. Unlike the magical words, which are mostly seen in the African provinces, the names of daemons, magical signs and vocalic patterns spread to the outermost regions of the Roman Empire. The handwriting is most frequently oriented right-to-left, whether it is the whole text, or just some parts of it (often names of the cursed ones). Only rarely, however, do we find spiral or *boustrophedon* writing, upside-down; eventually, we do see that the texts written right-to-left are actually written backwards. These curiosities are attested in curses from Italy, Hispania, Britannia, and to a greater extent in Germania (see especially the recent findings in Mainz, Chapter 10), where right-to-left script is documented in one third of the tablets at our disposal.¹⁶⁷ Some rare evidence of graphical disorientation of a text can also be found in Noricum, Raetia, and Pannonia.

Prayers for justice differ from curses in this respect, as well. Approximately ten texts with a nonstandard orientation of text, especially right-to-left writing, have been preserved in Britannia, and four examples (written right-to-left and upside-down) in Germania. Aside from these few exceptions, graphical disorientation with magical purposes is not attested in prayers for justice. Faraone and Kropp (2010, 349 ff.) assume that a nonstandard textual orientation is a feature of a special cursing formula, the combination of compound words derived from the verb *verto* and the so-called *simile*-formula,¹⁶⁸ owing to the fact that this is usually accompanied by a peculiar orientation of text (not in all cases, though). This is primarily documented in the tablets from Germania, although rarely also from elsewhere: see e.g. No. 230 from Rottweil, **dfx.5.1.7/1**: *A: Fibulam Gnatae qui involavit aut qui melior est animi conscius, ut illum aut illam aversum faciant dii sicut hoc est B: aversum et qui res illius sustulit.*¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ The data result from the curses analyzed in this work.

¹⁶⁸ See 6.2.1.1, and esp. chapter 10.

¹⁶⁹ The verb *averto* (“to avert, turn off/away, to reverse, remove”) and the participle *aversus* (with a figurative meaning “to be hostile, disfavoured, adverse”) are used in both senses in this texts – *ut illum aut illam aversum faciant*, i.e. may s/he be afflicted by disfavour and enmity perhaps both of gods and men. Ch. A. Faraone and A. Kropp (2010, 387ff and notes 31 and 32) point out that this could also be meant as an equivalent of killing (*avert from life*), in the second part, the participle is used in the meaning “in an opposite, reversed way” *sicut hoc est aversum*, i.e. just like this is written in a reversed way, see also 6.2.1; Machajdíkóvá (2012, 142) who cites (P. ex F. 17,16–18L): *arseverse averte ignem significat. Tuscorum enim lingua arse averte, verse ignem appellari.*

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(“Whoever carried off Gnata’s fibula or knows something more about it, may the gods render him/her averted, just as this [text] is averted; [this holds for] the one who stole her thing.”).¹⁷⁰ The text is written right-to-left and partially upside-down.

1.8 RITUAL TREATMENT OF TABLET

Archaeological evidence proves that the production and formulation of curse tablets was just one facet of a more complex ritual: the tablets have been found rolled or pierced with a nail (see 1.8.2 below), or together with other magical objects (so-called *kollosoi* figurines), or even with some organic remains (hair, clothes, etc.).¹⁷¹ The prescriptions set forth in Greek magical papyri provide us with detailed descriptions of complicated rituals, and the archaeological excavations have provided material evidence of these time and time again.¹⁷² In one case, the so-called “Great Magical Papyrus of Paris” from Egypt, a love spell intended to win a woman’s love for the author/purchaser¹⁷³ of the tablet, we have a fairly complete description of the ritual necessitated by the *Φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός* (the “wondrous spell for binding a lover”), a charming love spell (see *PGM* IV 296-357). Prayers and magical formulae addressed to gods and daemons occupy the largest part of the ritual, along with other complicated instructions regarding the making of a clay or wax figurine symbolizing the love spell’s victim, as well as the creation of the lead tablet itself.

1.8.1 Figurines, Materia Magica, Gems

The Great Magical Papyrus of Paris starts with instructions on how to make figurines (*PGM* IV 298):

Take wax [or clay] from a potter’s wheel and make two figures, a male and a female. Make the male in the form of Ares fully armed, holding his sword in his left hand and threatening to plunge it into the right side of her neck. And make her with her arms behind her back¹⁷⁴ and down on her knees. And you

¹⁷⁰ See also 1.7.1 above, No. **100**.

¹⁷¹ See Graf (1996, 121 ff.); Kropp (2008a, 75 ff.).

¹⁷² See *SM* (1990, 162 ff.), No. **46–51**; Graf (1996, 124).

¹⁷³ The whole process of the spell is a very complicated one; therefore, we suppose that it was carried out by professional magicians in the name of a purchaser (see Graf, 1996, 130 ff.).

¹⁷⁴ Here, the symbolism of Greek *κατάδεσμος*, i.e. “the act of binding, tying up”, is reflected.

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are to fasten the magical material [something which belongs to a victim, most frequently hair, nails, and clothes] on her head or neck. Write on the figure of the woman being attracted as follows: On the head: ISEE IAOITHI OUNE... [what follows is the long list of magical words which are to be written on ears, eyes, face, right clavicle, arms and hands, heart, belly, genitals, butt, and soles; this is to be completed with the name of a victim and her mother written on figurine's chest]. And take thirteen copper needles and stick one in the brain while saying, 'I am piercing your brain, NN',¹⁷⁵ and stick two in the ears, and two in the eyes, and one in the mouth, and two in the midriff and one in the hands and two in the pudenda and two in the soles, saying each time: 'I am piercing such and such a member of her, NN, so that she may remember no one but me, NN, alone'.

Thus, the first step was to make a clay or wax figurine; in our case, the victim of spell is symbolized by a figurine of female form. This practice is attested not only in literary texts – see e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 73 ff.: *Terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore / Licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum effigiem duco.* ("These threads here I first tie round thee, marked with three different hues, and three times round these shrines I draw thy image.")¹⁷⁶, or Ovid's *Am.* III, 7, 30-31: *Sagave poenicea defixit nomina cera, et medium tenuis in iecur egit acus?* ("...or did a witch curse my name upon a red wax image and stick fine pins into the middle of the liver?")¹⁷⁷ – but also documented by archaeological findings including clay, wax, bronze, and lead figurines, which were put into graves with tablets, following the above mentioned guidelines (though not always to the letter).

¹⁷⁵ The writer of a spell fills in the name of the victim here.

¹⁷⁶ Translation of H. R. Fairclough, see *Virgil. Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1–6*, Loeb Classical Library 63, 1916, 61.

¹⁷⁷ The translation of Ch. A. Faraone, see "When Spells Worked Magic", *Archaeology: A publication of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Vol. 56, No. 2, 2003.

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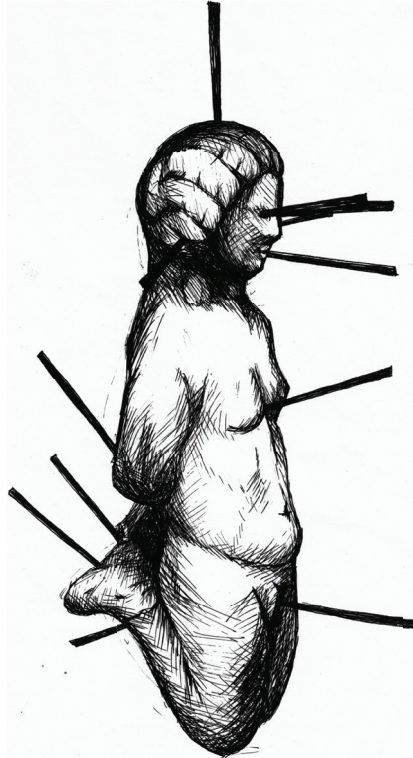


Figure 1: This female figurine.

This female figurine found in Egypt was hidden inside a clay vessel located in a grave along with the tablet (*SM I*, No. 47). The text of the tablet contains a love spell written by a man named Sarapammon to win the love of a woman named Ptolemais.¹⁷⁸ The concomitant ritual of the manufacture and piercing of the figurine with thirteen needles is not, in fact, as brutal and terrifying as it seems. Though the figurine symbolizes the intended victim of the spell, in this amatory context this denotes only a temporary restriction of the victim's mental and bodily facilities.¹⁷⁹ The one who performs the love-curse ritual longs for his beloved, and as such he does not want to hurt her. This is obvious from the above-said *PGM IV* 325 ff.: "I am piercing such and such member of her, NN, so that she may remember no one but me, NN, alone".

¹⁷⁸ Musée du Louvre; Gager (1992, 98); facsimile © Lucie Urbanová.

¹⁷⁹ Similarly to the legal curses (see 1.1.2.2.1) or some of the prayers for justice (see 1.2).

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The restriction of victim's faculties follows next; see *PGM* IV 354-6: "So that she, NN be unable either to drink or eat, that she not be contented, not be strong, not have peace of mind, that she, NN, not find sleep without me..." Pain and death are not the goal here: the point is to make the beloved person come to the curse-dedicator, and for this to happen, the beloved naturally has to be healthy and cheerful. Reading further, the aim of the author becomes clear – see *PGM* IV 352 ff.: "Let her be in love with me, NN, whom she, NN, bore. Let her not be had in a promiscuous way, let her not be had in her ass, nor let her do anything with another man for pleasure, just with me alone..." Furthermore, 392-406: "...attract her, bind her, NN, filled with love, desire and yearning for NN (add the usual), because I adjure you, god of the dead, [magical words]... so that you attract her, NN, to me and join head to head and fasten lip to lip and join belly to belly and draw thigh close to thigh and fit black together with black, and let her, NN, carry out her own sex acts with me, NN, for all eternity."

The manufacture of magical figurines was generally wide-spread in antiquity,¹⁸⁰ although many fewer figurines have been found than curse tablets.¹⁸¹ The oldest Greek evidence is bronze dating back to the 7th cent. BCE;¹⁸² the most recent findings of magical figurines in the context of Latin curses have been dated to the 1st-2nd cent. CE, and come from Mainz and Rome from the 4th/5th cent. CE.¹⁸³ Ch. A. Faraone¹⁸⁴ gives an overview of the extant magical figurines, citing altogether 34 findings. In most cases, these figurines – made of wax, baked or unbaked clay, bronze, or lead – have been found together with the tablets. Faraone¹⁸⁵ names the typical features of these figurines: their hands are usually tied or twisted behind their backs (rarely also feet): they are pierced with needles; or their body parts are reversed in some way (head, legs, or chest turned the other way round). They were commonly stored in little lead boxes marked with the name of their victim, and put into graves or springs. In terms of placement, the found figurines are in locations similar to those of curse tablets,

¹⁸⁰ The oldest precept to make a wax figurine of an enemy comes from Egypt (ca. 2133 –1786 BCE); see Gager (1992, 15).

¹⁸¹ See the more extensive discussion in Graf (1996, 130 ff.).

¹⁸² Faraone (1991a, No. 8 –10).

¹⁸³ For Mainz, see Witteyer (2004, 41 –50); for Rome (fountain dedicated to Anna Perenna), see Piranomonte (2010, 204; 7.1) and Piranomonte (2012, 134–144.).

¹⁸⁴ See Faraone (1991a, 200 –205).

¹⁸⁵ See Faraone (1991a, 200), see also Sánchez Natalías (2015, 194ff).

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especially the Greek ones; chronologically speaking, the figurines are even older.¹⁸⁶

Three basic types of figurines were used in connection with curse tablets that can be identified.¹⁸⁷ The first type accompanies love spells, where the figurine symbolizes the object of the author's passion. Contrary to the prescription laid out in the Paris papyrus and other magical papyri, almost exclusively figurines of women, mostly with their hands tied behind their backs, and figurines of copulating couples have been found in Egypt (see Faraone, 1991a, 204); no figurine in the shape of Ares as described in the magical papyri has been preserved (see also Graf, 1996, 138). On the contrary, the second type of figurines was attached to aggressive curses that were aimed at enemies and rivals with a view to doing damage, as is obvious from a finding from Kerameikos in Athens dating back to the 4th cent. BCE. The finding consists of four lead figurines whose limbs are distorted in various ways and who bear the name of their particular victim – moreover, they were stored in miniature coffins made of lead plate.¹⁸⁸ And finally, from the amphitheatre in Antiochia we have figurines of racehorses, including their names, which were probably used to symbolize a rival race team.¹⁸⁹

Furthermore, the relatively recent (1999) findings from the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome provide us with some interesting evidence of the use of figurines made of organic materials. The fountain hid lidded 18 lead and 3 terracotta cylindrical vessels, some of which bearing inscriptions and pictures of daemons, all hermetically sealed. Some of the vessels contained figurines made of organic materials (wax, flour, sugar, and herbal materials), and, what is more, these figurines have been found to have animal bones inside them. Similarly to the findings from Kerameikos stored in little lead coffins, this find also stems from aggressive magic, the figurines symbolizing the particular enemies at whom the curse was aimed. The curse-dedicator sealed these figurines in these containers and threw them into the spring, probably to represent the “isolation” of the victims and the damage done by the spells, from which there is no way out.¹⁹⁰ The extent to which these findings from the spring of Anna Perenna in

¹⁸⁶ See also Ogden (1999, 69 ff.).

¹⁸⁷ Similar figurines were also used in Greek *poleis* at public rituals against enemies as early as in the 4th century BCE (see Faraone, 1991, 9; 1991a, 196 ff.).

¹⁸⁸ See Gager (1992, 15); Faraone (1991a, No.5 and No.6).

¹⁸⁹ Gager (1992, 15 ff.).

¹⁹⁰ See Piranomonte (2010, 206).

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Rome resemble each other suggests that these magical items were made in a single specialized workshop.

The instructions given by papyrus *PGM IV 302 ff.* mention *οὐσία* (substance, matter, material), i.e. *materia magica*: “Adjoin a *materia magica* [something which belongs to a victim, mostly hair] on her head or neck.” Literary sources also speak of the use of hair, nails, or pieces of clothing belonging to a victim; see the remark on the clothes of the beloved Daphnis in Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 91 ff.:

Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit, pignora cara sui, quae nunc ego limine in ipso, terra, tibi mando; debent haec pignora Daphnin. Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina ducite Daphnin. (“These relics once, dear pledges of himself, the traitor left me, which, O earth, to thee here on this very threshold I commit – pledges that bind him to redeem the debt. Draw from the town, my songs, draw Daphnis home.”)¹⁹¹

Apuleius also refers to the use of *materia magica* in *Met.* 3,17,3: the famed witch Pamphile falls in love with a young Boeotian fellow, and contemplates alluring him with the help of love spell. Because she has just seen him at a barber’s, she sends her servant Photis to fetch some of his hair. The barber prevents the servant from doing so, however, because he rightly suspects that the hair will be used for some magical purposes. To avoid the punishment for not accomplishing her task, Photis brings hair from goatskin bags instead. Pamphile performs all the necessary charms and, much to her chagrin, the bags, now inflamed with lust, come to her at night to make love to her.

Somewhat surprisingly, given the ready decomposition of organic matter over time, the practice of using them in ritual cursing is archaeologically attested.¹⁹² It is a kind of magical *pars pro toto*: what will affect a part of the victim, will affect him/her totally (see Ogden, 19991 4 ff.).

In addition, magical gems also reflect the prescriptions set forth in Greek magical papyri on love spells. In antiquity, small gems engraved with various patterns or inscriptions were used as amulets endowed with a magical power. The motifs and inscriptions on these amulets follow the prescriptions for ritual *defixiones*, as well as those in magical papyri, and so can be regarded as stemming from the same ideological background.¹⁹³ The primary function of a

¹⁹¹ Transl. available at <classics.mit.edu>.

¹⁹² See Gager (1992, 16 ff.); Jordan (1985, 251 ff.).

¹⁹³ See Michel (2004, XIII).

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gem was to protect its bearer; they were either worn as jewels, or used as a corroborative means of healing. These gems were used in love affairs, too – we know of gems which were *de facto* love spells themselves, as well as gems that served as a protection against the suffering caused by unrequited love. The gem in the collection Skoluda M119, for instance, can be regarded as analogous to a love spell described in magical papyri.¹⁹⁴ On the right side of the gem, Ares is standing (with a shield, a sword, and a helmet), and Aphrodite, face turned aside, in front of him. Her hands are bound behind her back, and Ares the end of the rope holds in his. On the reverse is inscribed the relevant magical formula.¹⁹⁵ This gem represents a somewhat milder form of love spell than those recommended in magical papyri: the spell is not punctuated with a figure stabbed through with thirteen needles, as recommended in magical papyri. Similarly to the above mentioned figurines and tablets with love spells, the owner of this gem probably used it to gain the hitherto unrequited love. There was another type of gem perhaps used as a protection against the torments of love: see a gem from the collection Skoluda M026.¹⁹⁶ On it, Eros (love) is depicted as the tormentor of Psyche (soul): he shoots arrows at her, behind him there is a burning torch (a symbol of passion). Psyche is standing, tied to a column topped by the bird of the goddess Nemesis (the avenger of rejected lovers). Written above the scene is a Greek inscription ΔΙΚΑΙΩC *dikaios*, i.e. “deservedly”. In this case, we can assume that the owner of this gem hoped either for his love to be returned, or for a just revenge in return for his suffering.¹⁹⁷

1.8.2 Final Treatment of the Tablet

Once a tablet was finished, including being inscribed and equipped with the above mentioned required elements, it was mostly rolled, folded, or transfixed

¹⁹⁴ See Michel (2001, No. 113).

¹⁹⁵ Michel (2001, No. 113); the inscription is written as a palindrome (the same to be read forwards and backwards) – the formula accompanying the depiction of solar deities and love spells – *agogé*, according to the instructions in *PGM*, it should be written also on the tablet containing the love spell. Text reads: *ιαεω/ βαφρενεμ / ουννοθιλαρικ/ρικριφιαε/νειαφιρ/κιραλιθονομομενερφαβωεαι*. It is derived from Egyptian prayers to the solar god: “*Ἰαό* is the bearer of the secret name, lion of Re, intact in his casket”.

¹⁹⁶ Michel (2001, No. 111).

¹⁹⁷ For the prescriptions for the use of magical gems in love context, see *PGM* IV 1716 –1870, and further *PGM* LXI 1 –38.

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with nails.¹⁹⁸ Literary sources sometimes mention burning or melting wax or clay figurines whilst performing the curse (see e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 80).¹⁹⁹ There is little concrete evidence of this practice in the extant curse tablets, however. The most positive proof comes from Mainz, where tablets were found among the remnants of ashes that show some traces of melting around the edges; this is perhaps also affirmed by the texts on these tablets.²⁰⁰ Greek magical papyri refer to the rolling of tablets before they are put to an appropriate place,²⁰¹ and a substantial number of Latin *defixiones* have been found in this form. Latin curse tablets addressed to gods are most often rolled or folded like a letter; it is questionable, however, whether this practice had any special symbolic magical significance. Based on the data included in the recent corpus of A. Kropp (2008), almost a half of the Latin tablets examined here were found arranged in this way. Tablets showing evidence of having been transfixated with a nail are much rarer (47) and come predominantly from Italy. This leaves the substantial amount of tablets (67) with no final arrangement whatsoever.²⁰² As regards this last group, they were obviously not folded, rolled, wound with wire,²⁰³ or nailed to secure the curse from unwelcome trespassers – these tablets were hidden in graves, wells, or other inaccessible places; they did not need to be secured by the curse-dedicator, because their locations made them secure. (see 1.8.3).²⁰⁴ There can be no doubt that nailing the tablet had a ritual magical significance²⁰⁵ but its interpretation is ambiguous. K. Preisendanz (1972, 5) assumed that the rolling, nailing, or otherwise securing a tablet ensured that the victims, whose

¹⁹⁸ See Gager (1992, 18); Preisendanz (1972, 5 ff.).

¹⁹⁹ *Limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit / Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.* (“As by the kindling of the self-same fire / harder this clay, this wax softer grows, / so by my love may Daphnis.”) <classics.mit.edu>.

²⁰⁰ See 1.4 and 10.2.4, No. **236**: *...sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatomodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit.* (“...May their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”). See also No. **89** from Mainz, DTM 10, and 10.1.1, for the archaeological point of view, see Witteyer (2004, 48 ff.).

²⁰¹ See e.g. *PGM* VII 460, and also 1.8.3.

²⁰² However, the editors often do not include data regarding final arrangements of tablets, or the tablets are damaged to such an extent that it is impossible to assess the way they were treated.

²⁰³ See also 7.2.

²⁰⁴ See Gager (1992, 18); Faraone (1991, 4).

²⁰⁵ The nails were not used to fix the tablet on a wall or somewhere else, but purely for the transfixion; furthermore, they were often specially adjusted and inscribed, for the more extensive discussion of this, see E. Kagarow (1929, 15 ff.) who supposed that the act of transfixion was meant to bring pain or death to a victim.

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names were stated within, would be affected by the curse. D. Ogden²⁰⁶ also sees tablet rolling as a symbolic act: the twisting is related to the symbolic binding of magical figurines, as well as to the nonstandard orientation of text. Puncturing the tablet with a nail can be regarded as a physical manifestation of the uttered or written curse *defigo* (“to infix, to strike, to transfix”) in the course of ritual, symbolizing the affliction of a victim.²⁰⁷ The recent excavations at the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome document a strange way of storing the tablets: several lead tablets were found here in oil lamps.²⁰⁸ Altogether 74 mostly unused oil lamps dating back to the 4th cent. CE have been found here, six of which with little rolled curse tablets put in them, as if in place of a wick. Curse lamps, i.e. oil lamps with a curse inscribed on them, have also been found in other parts of the Roman Empire, see e.g. those from Athens dated to the 4th cent. BCE.²⁰⁹ In Rome, there is an even older piece of evidence of a curse lamp: a lamp dating to the 1st/2nd cent. CE (see No. 15, Appendix I). A. Mastrocinque (2007, 95 ff.) presumes that the lamp symbolized an enemy or a rival who was transmitted to the chthonic powers (in this case, nymphs) by the symbolic act of throwing the lamp into the spring. The wick – the symbol of light, warmth, and life – has been replaced by a cold, lead curse tablet which was intended to “freeze” the opponent, while the throwing of such lamp into a well probably symbolized death of the victim. Further bolstering the proof of the use of curse lamps are Greek magical papyri which, in laying out the processes of magical ritual, often refer to using lamps, especially in connection with the art of divination. There is also proof of lamps being used in some aggressive charms (see e.g. *PGM* VII 376-384, the charm inducing insomnia).²¹⁰

1.8.3 Depositing the Tablets – Locations of Findings

Once completed, the tablet had to be put into a place that would assure the effectiveness of the curse. D. Ogden (1999, 15) states five most common places of tablets’ deposit: 1) graves; 2) shrines of chthonic deities; 3) water; 4) places with a special relation to the victim or the curse; 5) shrines of local deities. Greek magical papyri also name the proper locations for tablets, see e.g. *PGM* IV 334 ff.: “...you place it, as the sun is setting, beside the grave of one who has

²⁰⁶ Ogden (1999, 31): *...twisting was seen as something inherently magical.*

²⁰⁷ See also A. Kropp (2008a, 86) who deals with the ritual treatment of tablets during the execution of the curse.

²⁰⁸ Piranomonte (2010, 201 ff.).

²⁰⁹ Mastrocinque (2007, 88 ff.); see also 7.1.

²¹⁰ For detailed discussion and the list of particular places in *PGM*, see Mastrocinque (2007, 93 ff.).

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died untimely or violently,²¹¹ placing beside it also the seasonal flowers”, *PGM* VII 451 ff. recommends throwing the tablet into a river or the sea, or hiding it underground, in a water pipe, a spring, or a sarcophagus; *PGM* V 304-369 also advises to put the tablet into the grave of a person who has died an untimely death, or into an unused well. Finally, *PGM* VII 470 mentions the hot water pipes in baths. Curse tablets are, indeed, usually found in graves: in fact, more than one-third of all Latin curses have been so found.²¹² Regarding Greek curse tablets, D. Ogden (1999, 15 ff.) documents a similar situation: approximately one-half of the curse tablets whose location is documented and is known, were found in graves.

Numerous findings also come from the shrines of chthonic and local deities, this holds true especially for the tablets found in the shrine of Minerva Sulis in Bath²¹³ (predominantly prayers for justice), as well as in the votive depository of a shrine in Mainz (both curses and prayers for justice). Other locations of tablets, i.e. water streams or springs, amphitheatres, and houses, are documented in much fewer cases.²¹⁴ It is predominantly with love spells that the location of deposit is connected to the victim – the ideal location being the target’s house.²¹⁵ The locations of Latin tablets, however, do not adhere to this rule, most of the tablets with love spells have been found in graves. This could be more the result of the fact that graveyards are much less likely to be disturbed by urbanization, and so tablets stored here deposited here had a better chance of being preserved up to these days than their counterparts in inhabited areas. The curses aimed against rival gladiators, especially the Greek ones, have been found in circuses, near the starting turning points. As for the Latin curses, only a few texts have been found in amphitheatres, including curses against

²¹¹ This notion is connected to a deeply rooted ancient belief that the souls of violently or untimely dead people restlessly stay near the graves until the “normal” span of their lifetimes is filled over. This is also confirmed by the archaeological findings of *defixiones* in the graves, where the age of the dead person could be verified (see Graf, 1996, 134 ff.; Ogden, 1999, 16; Gager, 1992, 18 and especially note 93).

²¹² See A. Kropp (2008a, 329) who states the exact numbers actual in 2008; i.e. 152 Latin *defixiones* found in graves, 256 in shrines.

²¹³ In this case, two proper disposal sites are actually combined, the tablets were thrown into a hot spring located in the sacred precinct of Minerva Sulis in Bath.

²¹⁴ A. Kropp (2008a, 329) states 29 tablets found in water streams (in the archaeological context, the spring of the goddess Sulis in Bath is classified as a shrine), 31 tablets coming from amphitheatres, and only 7 tablets found in houses. For prayers for justice, see also Versnel (2010, 279).

²¹⁵ See Gager (1992, 18).

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rival gladiators from Carthage,²¹⁶ as well as the non-specific curses found in the amphitheatre in Trier, Gallia.²¹⁷ J. Tremel (2004, 32 ff.) explains the presence of non-agonistic curses and prayers for justice in amphitheatres by the fact that immediate contact with the underworld powers, esp. daemons, had to be established for the proper execution of the curse. According to ancient beliefs, these forces resided in the depths of wells, as well as in graves, mostly those of the untimely dead. In this respect, an amphitheatre was as fine a place to deposit a tablet as a grave: the violent deaths incurred by the *circenses* ensured the presence of daemons. Some of the curses found in the amphitheatre in Carthage were found in the area where the bodies of dead gladiators were put before burial (*spoliarium*).

In many cases, however, we do not know where curse tablets were found, especially in the case of the older findings from the 19th century, which were unearthed by amateur archaeologists and treasure hunters. Additionally, the modern-day location of some *defixiones* does not have to be identical with the original one due to erosion or other external forces that affect the terrain. With the exception of curses against rivals in the circus that were found in amphitheatres, any closer connection between the type of the curse and its placement cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that all curses coming from the province *Africa Byzancena* have been found in graves does not prove anything; this is rather a coincidence related to the archaeological excavations that took place in this area.

1.9 CURSING FORMULAE

Any attempt to classify the very variegated inventory of Greek and Latin²¹⁸ cursing formulae is unavoidably impeded by several issues. The extant texts differ not only in age and provenience, but also in type and complexity. Furthermore, we cannot forget the question of authorship: the corpus includes curses made by professional magicians, as well as the more or less artless attempts of laymen (see also 1.5 above). Another issue is that the fragmentary character of many of the extant tablets does not allow us to determine with certainty exactly how the text was formulated. When classifying cursing formulae, we cannot avoid the often arduous task of trying to reconcile the

²¹⁶ See Faraone (1991, 3 and note 56).

²¹⁷ See Appendix I, No. **130**–**132**, No. **134**, No. **135**, and No. **140**; 11.1.3.1.

²¹⁸ The following scholars deal with the description of Latin and Greek formulae: Audollent (1904, XLIV–LXXXVII); Kagarow (1929, 29 ff.); Faraone (1991, 5 ff.); Kropp (2008a, 137 ff.); and esp. Kropp (2010, 370 ff.).

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formal syntactical aspect with the semantic and pragmatic ones in order to achieve neat, tidy categories. Complicating this is that more complex curses usually combine various types of formulae. So on the one hand, any attempt to account for every formal difference and to record all the possible additions to the curses only leads to an overwhelming number of categories; on the other hand, excessive pragmatic oversimplification leaves several important semantic and syntactical features unnoticed. For the most part, scholars now prefer a hybrid approach, looking at semantic aspects alongside facultative additions to the curses, starting from the simplest form (mere lists of the accursed), through the more developed versions (those displaying more complex structure), toward those texts obviously drawn from the prescriptions set forth by, for example, Greek magical papyri. A. Kropp (2008a; 2010) favours a new approach of pragmatic linguistics and ritual performance.

1.9.1 Structure of Curse

Generally, a Latin curse consists of the following elements (see also 1.2.3):

I) The names of the accursed in the nom./acc. (eventually, with a specifying patronymic or metronymic), be they human or equine, without any verb of cursing:²¹⁹

a) A list of cursed people:

No. **2** from Arezzo, **dfx.1.1.1/2**, reads: *M(arcus) Ponti (filius), Secundio, M(arcus) Ulp(ius), Anici (filius)*.

b) A list of cursed people, specified by occupation:

No. **13** from Ostia, **dfx.1.4.3/1**, reads:

Agathemeris Manliae serva, (Ac)hulea Fabiae serva ornatric, Caletyche Vergiliae serva ornatric, Hilara Liciniae serva ornatric, Chreste Corneliae serva ornatric, Hilara Seiae serva ornatric, Moscis ornatric, Rufa Apeiliae serva ornatric, Chila ornatric.

²¹⁹ The fact that these texts are indeed the lists of cursed people is attested by locations of these texts, usually in graves or wells, by the material used – lead with a text inscribed on it – as well as by the final arrangement of a tablet (rolling, transfixion) (see 1.8.2). In these cases, the curse itself was probably merely uttered, not written on a tablet.

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(“Agathemeris, the slave of Manlia, Achulea, the slave of Fabia, a hairdresser...”).

c) A list of cursed people, specified by metronymic filiations:

No. **141** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/1**, reads: *Laelianus, Saturninus, quos peperit Aquilia Saturnina* (see also 11.1.1)

Such “brief” cursing formula is probably the oldest type of curse, though it was very popular and wide-spread throughout the whole ancient cursing practice.

II) Other, more advanced types of curses consist of the names of the accursed, specified by filiation, predicates (cursing/handing over – *defigo/trado*), and/or the object in the accusative (list of cursed objects, mostly body parts).

See No. **12**:

Malchio Niconis oculos, manus, digitos, brachia, ungues, capillos, caput, pedes... defigo in has tabellas. (“Malchio, the son/slave of Nico, I curse with this tablet [his] eyes, hands, fingers, arms, nails, hair, head, feet...”) (see also 1.1.2.1 and 7.3.1.2);

No. **198** from London, **dfx.3.14/1**, reads: *Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo et illius vita(m) et mentem et memoriam et iocinera, pulmones...* (“I curse Tertia Maria and her life, and mind, and memory, and liver, lungs...”). (See also 12.1.1.).

The formula rarely appears also in prayers for justice. See, for instance, No. **269** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/53**:

Lovernisca d(onat) eum sive v(ir) sive femina, sive puer sive puella qui mafortium involaverit. (Lovernisca [gives] him who, whether [man] or woman, whether boy or girl, who has stolen [her] cape.”).

In most cases, however, this type of formula is not used separately, but in conjunction with other elements and formulae (see below).

III) Longer, more complex curses mostly contain the names of the gods whose help is being sought (Proserpine, Pluto, *Di Manes*), or the gods

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and daemons who are being sworn upon (*adiuro vos daemones*).²²⁰ Eventually, there is a polite address to the gods both in curses (*domini dei, sancti angeli*) and in prayers for justice (see 1.2.3), although more frequently in the latter (*deae sanctissimae Suli, Dea Ataecina Turibrig[ensis] Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo*), as well as the names of the cursed people and a filiation, although in prayers for justice, the culprit is usually unknown (see 1.6 the *all inclusive* formula) – predicates (cursing/handing over – *defigo/trado*), commonly extended in the purpose clause (*ut/ne* + pres. subj.). Lists of the injuries the accursed is to suffer (disease, restrictions, death) are also used. Such advanced curses are quite easily classifiable into the particular types of curses (see 1.1.2.2).

A curse against a gladiator (see 1.1.2.2.2 and 11.1.3.1):

See No. **130** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/22** (line15):

...oblīga Gallicum, quem peprit Prima, ut neque taurum singulis plagis occidat neque binis plagis occidat neque ternis plagis occidat taurum, ursum... (“...bind Gallicus, whom Prima bore, so that he kills neither a bear nor a bull, nor does he kill a bear or a bull with a single, nor double, nor triple punch.”).

A curse associated with a lawsuit (see also 1.10.1 below):

No. **70** from Frankfurt, **dfx.5.1.2/1**, reads:

Rogo Mane(s et Di?) inferi, ut (Ma)rius Fronto, (adv)ersariu(s) Sex(ti), sit vanus neque loqui possit contra Sextum... (“I ask [you], Manes and the infernal gods, may Marius Fronto, the enemy of Sextus, be unsuccessful, may he be unable to speak against Sextus...”).

A non-specific curse (see 1.1.2.1):

No. **1** from Arezzo, **dfx.1.1.1/1**, reads:

A: Q(uintum) Letinium Lupum, qui et vocatur Caucadio, qui est fi(lius) Sallusti(ae Vene)ries sive Ven(e)rioses, hunc ego apud vostrum B: numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico, uti vos Aquae ferventes, sive vos Nymphae,

²²⁰ See also Kropp (2008a, 160 ff.): the formulae with a subsidiary function – *Beschwörungsformel*.

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*sive quo alio nomine vultis appellari, uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis intra annum istum.*²²¹ (“I commend, devote, and sacrifice to your power Quintus Letinius Lupus, who is also called Caucasian, who is the son of Sallustia Veneria or Veneriosa, may you, boiling Waters, or you, the Nymphs, or whatever other name you want to be called, destroy him, and kill him in this year.”).

A curse against an inanimate victim (here, a business venture) (see 1.10.1):

See No. **138** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/35**:

Domini Dei, tenete detinete Falernas, ne quis illoc accedere possit; obligate, perobligate Falernarum balineum ab hoc die, ne quis homo illoc accedat. (“Lord gods, restrain and hinder the Falernian [baths], lest anyone should be able to approach that place; bind and bind up the Falernian baths from this day, lest any person should approach that place.”).

This type appears also in prayers for justice:

See No. **247** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/10**:

A: Docilianus Bruceri deae sanctissimae Sulis devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit, si vir si femina, si servus si liber, uti eum dea Sulis maximo leto adigat nec ei somnum permitat... (“Docilianus, [son] of Brucerus to the most holy goddess Sulis. I curse him who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether man or woman, whether slave or free that the goddess Sulis may inflict death upon him and not allow him to sleep...”) (see also 1.2.2).

These advanced texts of curses sometimes act upon analogies, the so-called *simile*- formula:

No. **17** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/3**, reads:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum ille mortuos, quei istic sepultus est... (“Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak nor talk [to anyone], may Rhodine be dead for Marcus

²²¹ The text reads *intra annum itus* (= *istum*).

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Licinius Faustus, nor be able to speak or talk [to him]. Just like the dead one is dear neither to gods, nor men, may Rhodine be equally [little] dear to Marcus Licinius, and may she mean to him as much as this dead one who is buried here...”).²²²

1.9.2 Optional Supplements of Curses

Curses can be further extended by several optional auxiliary concomitant supplements,²²³ most frequently (in approximately one-fifth of all cases), formulae that include information specifying the *terminus post, in, or ante quem* the imprecation shall be valid appear in curses and in prayers for justice. These specify when, till when, or since when, the curse should be valid:

(till when): see e.g. No. **1**: ...*uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis intra annum istum* (“...destroy him, and kill him in the course of this year.”).

(when): No. **135** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/28**, reads:

...*ut ursos ligare non possit, omni ursum perdat, omnem ursum Vincentius non occidere possit in die Mercuri(i) in omni ora, iam, iam, cito, cito...* (“...so that he is unable to tie up bears, may he lose with every bear, may Vincentius be unable to kill any bear on Wednesday at any hour, now, now, quickly, quickly.”).²²⁴

(since when): No. **144** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/4**, reads: ...*ut amet me Felicem, quem peperit Fructa, ex hac die ex h(ac hora)* (“...may she love me, Felix, whom Fructa bore, from this day on, from this hour on.”) (see 5.1.4 and 11.1.4), or No. **139**: ...*ab hoc die, ne quis homo illoc accedat* (“...lest any person should approach that place from this day.”) (see 1.10.1).

²²² See 1.9.3 below, further also No. **67** and No. **25**, 1.10.1, 9.1.2, and No. **234**, 1.10.2., and Urbanová – Cuzzolin (2016, 333, 338).

²²³ See also Kropp (2008a, 160 ff.) who differentiates six auxiliary formulae: *Anrufungsformel* (invocatory formula – a simple address to god); *Beschwörungsformel* (obsecration by god – *adiuro te*); *Klageformel* (a complaint – *conqueror*); *Gelübdeformel* (votum, see below); *Drohformel* (menacing formula, see below), and *Warnformel* (warning formula, see below); however, she omits the formulae containing time data), see also Dreher (2012, 29ff) and Versnel (2012, 34).

²²⁴ The expressions *iam, iam, cito, cito* are the transposition of the Greek terms ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ (see also 1.10.1, No. **131** below, further also Kropp, 2008a, 168) and the accumulation of synonyms (see 7.3.1.1, 10.1.1, and 11.3.1).

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Love spells, especially, include information specifying the duration of restrictions meaning “not until, unless”:

(**unless**): see, for instance, No. **124**: ...*et aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciat...* (“...and take sleep away from her unless she comes to me... and satisfies me.”) (see 1.1.2.2.3).

Prayers for justice are usually formulated similarly, see No. **247**:

...*nec ei somnum perimat, nec natos nec nascentes, donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit* (“...and do not allow him to sleep or [to have] children now and in the future, until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.”).

Prayers for justice, exclusively, sometimes include a formula expressing author’s **complaint** about damage suffered (see also 1.2.2):

No. **303** from Uley reads: *Deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus, conqueror numini tuo, me perdidisse rotas duas...* (“Honoratus to the holy god Mercury, I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels...”) (see 1.10.2)

compare also No. **295**: *Deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur de Vitalino et Natalino filio ipsius...* (“Cenacus complains to the god Mercury about Vitalinus and Natalinus his son...”) (see also 1.2.2. and 12.2.2 below)

and No. **296** from Uley: *Commonitorium deo Mercurio a Saturnina muliere de linteamine, quod amisit...* (“A memorandum to the god Mercury... from Saturnina a woman, concerning the linen cloth which she has lost...”) (see also 1.10.2).

Curses and prayers for justice can be further augmented with a votive formula, promising a reward to the deity upon fulfilment of the author’s wish, in accordance with ancient religious beliefs.²²⁵ See e.g. No. **9** from Minturno (Italy), **dfx.**1.4.1/1: *Dii inferi, si illam videro tabescentem, vobis sanctum illud libens ob anniversarium facere...* (“Infernal gods, if I see her decay, I will gladly offer you that sacrifice each year...”)²²⁶

²²⁵ See also Kropp (2008a, 164 f.) – *Gelübdeformel*.

²²⁶ Text of the tablet is damaged which makes any further interpretations uncertain (see also 7.3.1.3).

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Phrases typical of votive inscriptions appear also in No. **52** from Carmona (Spain), **dfx.2.2.2/1**, which reads:

Dis inferis, vos rogo utei recipiatis nomen Luxsia A(uli) Antesti filia caput, cor, consiliom, valetudinem, vitam, membra omnia, accedat morbo cotidie et sei faciatis, votum, quod facio, solvam vostris meritis. (“To the infernal gods, I ask you to accept [my request/ charge against]²²⁷ Luxia, the daughter of Aulus Antestus, may disease overcome her head, heart, intellect, health, life, and all limbs, and if you do [this], I will honour the promise I make [here] rightly.”)²²⁸

Promises to the gods are found in prayers for justice more frequently than in curses, although in a modified form – the author promises a finder’s fee to the deity (i.e. part of the stolen property or money) should it be returned.²²⁹

See No. **296** from Uley:

...deo Silvano tertia pars donatur ita, ut hoc exsigat, si vir si femina, si servus si liber... (...a third part [what she has lost] is given to the god Silvanus on condition that he exacts it [the stolen property/money], whether man or a woman, whether slave or a free... [has stolen it].”) (see also 1.10.2).

Compare also No. **292** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, dated to the 3rd century CE, **dfx.3.19/1**:

Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo ut exigat per mentem, per memoriam, per intus, per intestinum, per cor, per medullas, per venas, per..., si masculi si femina, quivis involavit (den)arios Cani Digni, ut in corpore suo in brevi tempore pariat. Donatur deo (suprascripto?) decima pars eius pecuniae, quam (so)lverit. (“It is commended to the god Jupiter the Great and the Mightiest to exact [the money] through mind, memory, entrails, intestines, heart, marrow, veins, ... [of the one] whoever has stolen them, whether a man or a woman, the money of Canus Dignus, may s/he return it personally as

²²⁷ For the text and this interpretation, see Corell (1993, 261 ff.); Versnel (1998, 236 f.). See also F. Maltomini (1995, 297) supposes that the sequence containing *votum* refers to the utterance of the pledge to the deity while depositing the tablet. See also Sáez (1999, 299) who adds a detailed linguistic commentary. The text contains several mistakes (see Appendix I).

²²⁸ The text according to Corell (1993, 261 ff.); for further interpretations, see Versnel (1998, 236 f.), and the commentary in 8.1.1.

²²⁹ See also Kropp (2008a, 164 f.).

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soon as possible.²³⁰ A tenth of the money paid [by the culprit] will be granted to the aforementioned god.”)

Some tablets, be they the Greek ones from Knidos²³¹ or the Latin ones from Germania, express the author’s wish that the gods remain unsatisfied or unappeased, thus making the curse irreversible. No. **231** from Mainz reads:

... nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis nec plumbis nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo, nisi ut illas vorent canes, vermes adque alia portenta, exitum quarum populus spectet... (“... may they not be able to buy themselves free from your divine power either by offering sheep or lead [tablets], or by gold, or silver, but may dogs, worms, and other monsters devour them, may the people watch their death...”)

(see Blänsdorf 2012, DTM No. 1; and 1.10.2 below).

A similar wish is expressed in tablet No. **85** from Mainz, **dfx.5.1.5/2**:

...neque se possit redimere, nulla pecunia nullaque re neque abs te neque ab ullo deo... (“may he not be able to redeem himself by any money or anything else, either from you or from any other god,...”) (see Blänsdorf 2012, DTM No. 5; and 10.1.1).

Prayers for justice coming from Britannia very often contain restrictions – diseases or other limitations of mental or bodily functions that the victims should suffer until s/he returns the stolen property. Moreover, these are the only ones that use the formula *sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere*, meaning that the culprit must pay the price with his own blood/life, see No. **274**: *...deae Suli facias illum sanguine suo illud satisfacere* (“...make him/her pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.”) (see 6.2.1.3).

Infrequently, but from time to time, curse authors use **menacing formulae** to put themselves into a position superior to that of the supernatural powers, threatening the invoked daemon with a punishment should he fail to accomplish the task he was given.²³² This is very rare in Latin curse tablets. The following evidence is a very complicated Latin love spell written in the Greek alphabet, probably ordered from a professional magician. In this text, which comes from

²³⁰ For further interpretations, see Vernsel (1991, 104, note 124); see also Vernsel (2010, 342 ff.): *Appendix on vota in curse-text*; see also 12.2.2.

²³¹ See Gager (1992, No. 89); Vernsel (2010, 285).

²³² See also Kropp (2008, 165 ff.) and Graf (1996, 201).

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Hadrumetum and dates back to the 2nd cent. CE, Septima tries to make Dionysius love her (see also 1.6. and 1.10.1.). I provide the Latin transcription of text No. **148** here (see Appendix I):

Adiuro... per magnum deum et per Anterotas et per eum, qui habet accipitrem supra caput et per septem stellas, ut, ex qua hora hoc composuero, non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius, uratur furens, non dormiat neque sedeat neque loquatur, sed in mente habeat me Septimam, Amoenae filiam; uratur furens amore et desiderio meo, anima et cor uratur Sextili, Dionysiae filii, amore et desiderio meo Septimes, Amoenae filiae. Tu autem Abar Barbarie Eloë Sabaoth Pachnouphy Pythipemi, fac Sextilium, Dionysiae filium, ne somnum contingat, sed amore et desiderio meo uratur, huius spiritus et cor comburatur, omnia membra totius corporis Sextili: si minus, descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam τὴν ταφὴν²³³ et mittam ut a fulmine feratur; ego enim sum magnus decanus dei, magni dei AXRAMMAXALALA.²³⁴ (“I adjure you, the great god [i.e. Osiris], and Anterotes [Anteros is a daemon who revenges those abandoned and deceived in love],²³⁵ and the one with a hawk head [i.e. Horus, the Egyptian god of death], and the seven stars [i.e. planets], from the moment I put this tablet [into the grave], may Sextilius, son of Dionysia, not sleep, may he burn [with passion] in frenzy, may he not sleep, nor sit, nor speak, but may [only] I, Septima, daughter of Amoena, be on his mind; may he burn with love and longing for me, may the mind and heart of Sextilius, son of Dionysia, burn with love and longing for me, Septima, daughter of Amoena. And you, Abar, Barbarie, Eloë, Sabaoth, Pachnouphy, and Pythipemi, make Sextilium, son of Dionysia, unable to sleep, but burn with love and longing for me, may his spirit and heart, as well as all limbs of Sextilius’ body be consumed by love: if not, I will descend into the shrine [grave] of Osiris, open his grave and throw him [into the river], so that he is carried away by the current; because I am the great decan of the god, mighty god AXRAMMAXALALA.”)

Periodically, such admonishing formulae are used – no doubt by professionals – to warn the invoked supernatural being about possible retaliation or ridicule from the curse’s victim, and, at the same time, to set the daemon against the

²³³ τὴν ταφὴν – acc. sg.: ἡ ταφή – a grave.

²³⁴ See also 1.7.1. and 1.7.2., for a commentary, see Audollent (1904, No. 270) and Graf (1996a).

²³⁵ See also similar depictions on gems (1.8.1).

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victim.²³⁶ The following example comes from the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* found in Rome, see No. **18** from Rome, **dfx.**1.4.4/4 (line 8):

...et si forte contempserit, patiatur febris, frigus, tortiones... (“and if he happens to scorn you, may he be afflicted with fever, cold shudder, and torments/cramps?...”); and further (line 15): *Si forte te seducat per aliqua artificia et rideat de te et exsultet tibi, vince, peroccide filium maris, Praesenticium pistrinarium.* (“If he by chance seduced you by some trick, laughed at you and mocked you, defeat and kill the son of sea, Praesenticius, the miller.”)²³⁷

Latin curses and prayers for justice sometimes also contain the so-called *historiola*, a brief mythical story built into the context of a curse which serves as a kind of magical precedent for author’s wish. *Historiolae* are especially well-known from the Egyptian magical documentation and Greek magical papyri. D. Frankfurter (1995, 469 ff.) who deals with the typology of *historiolae* differentiates two basic types of *historiolae*: 1) those which work only on the basis of a narrated story which is parallel to the situation meant to be accomplished through magical ritual, and 2) those which work as subsidiary elements of the invocation of gods. Only very rarely are these found in Latin tablets, see No. **148** above: “...if not, I will descend into the shrine [grave] of Osiris, open his grave and throw him [into the river], so that he is carried away by the current; because I am the great decan of the mighty god AXRAMMAXALALA.” This *historiola* probably belongs to the second type (see also prayers for justice No. **220**, 3.3.2., and No. **238**, 10.2.2.).

1.9.3 Classification of Cursing Formulae

E. Kagarow (1929, 32 ff.) distinguishes five basic formulae used in Greek tablets, with a total of 18 subtypes based on further extensions of the curse:

I. Beschreibende Formeln: descriptive formulae with references to the actions of the one who curses, the verb of cursing in the 1st sg. pres.: *καταδῶ τὸν δεῖνα*, “I bind NN”;

²³⁶ For the more detailed discussion of this, see Kropp (2008a, 166 f.) and Graf (1996, 201ff.).

²³⁷ For interpretation of this, see Solin (2004, 117 ff.). This curse against the miller appears among the agonistic curses from Rome. Solin explains this by the fact that his mill in the IXth precinct probably neighboured upon the stable-rooms of racehorses. The expression *filium maris* is a proverbial term name for a heartless, rude person (see Audollent, 1904, 201; Catullus 64, 155).

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II. Prekative Formeln: precative or request formulae with the verb in the 2nd sg. imper., the 3rd sg./pl. opt., or the 1st sg. pres. ind.;

III. Wunschformeln: wish formulae, in curses without any address to the deity, the verb in the 3rd sg./pl. opt. or imper.;

IV. Kontaminations- oder Mischformeln: mixed formulae, curses composed of various combinations of the particular types of formulae;

V. Vergleichungsformeln – comparative formulae that are used in curses which are based on a comparison, see also *simile-* formulae, consisting of *protasis* and *apodosis* indicated by comparative expressions like *ὡσπερ – οὕτω* (“just like – equally”) which corresponds to Latin *quomodo – sic* (see also Kropp, 2010, 370 ff., Urbanová 2016, 329ff.). Modern, pragmatic classification of formulae in Greek *defixiones* partially draws on Kagarow, as well. See Faraone (1991, 5 ff.) who distinguishes four basic types of cursing formulae:

1) *direct binding formula:* the one who curses uses verbs like *καταδῶ* in the 1st sg. referring directly to the cursed person or his/her body parts, which are stated as object in the accusative. The author presumes that his performative statement influences the victim automatically;²³⁸ this cursing formula can be extended by names of gods;²³⁹

2) *prayer formula:* the one who curses invokes gods or daemons with the verbs in the 2nd sg./pl. imper. It is actually a prayer to the underworld deities to accomplish the fulfillment of one’s wishes, i.e. to harm the victim in some way;²⁴⁰

3) *wish formula:* the victim is the subject of the verb in the 3rd sg./pl. opt.;²⁴¹

4) *similia similibus:* a more complicated type of formula, based on analogy (*Vergleichungsformeln* of Kagarow) (see 1.9.1. above, No. 17). The author

²³⁸ Faraone (1991, 10).

²³⁹ This corresponds to formulae **1** and **1a** (see 2.2.1.) in this work.

²⁴⁰ This corresponds to formulae **2** and **3** (invoking formulae, see 2.3 ff.) in this work.

²⁴¹ Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 5) states that this formula is in Greek *defixiones* usually a part of the curses belonging to the next category of *similia similibus*. The formula is richly documented in Latin curses and prayers for justice, too, see the invoking wish formulae with the subjunctive (2.3.5.) and the analogies in terms of the wish formula (2.3.6.).

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wishes the victim to resemble something s/he is not, or to be in a situation s/he is not, see e.g. No. **226** from Montfo (Gallia), **dfx.4.4.1/1**:

Quomodo hoc plumbum non paret et decadet sic decadat aetas, membra, vita, bos, granum, merx eorum, qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt... (“Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom, so may the youth?, limbs, life, livestock, grain, and trades of those who deceived me badly fall into decay...”) (see also 1.4 and 9.2).

Because Latin *defixiones* draw on the Greek cursing tradition,²⁴² this classification can, to a certain extent, be also applied to the Latin curse tablets, albeit with some modifications. Most recently, A. Kropp attempted a detailed typology of Latin cursing formulae based on the theory of speech acts.²⁴³ She focuses predominantly on the pragmatic and ritual aspect of curses, and more or less resigns on a formal syntactic perspective of particular statements that could have the same goal, but are expressed by different formal means. A. Kropp (2008a, 214 ff.; 2010, 371) postulates the following formulae from the pragmalinguistic point of view:

1) *Manipulationsformel* (manipulative formula): this term refers to the physical ritual treatment of the tablet which is, as an attack on the absent victim, metaphorically transposed to the linguistic level (see also 1.8.2. and 2.1.). This formula uses predicates in the 1st sg. pres. like: *defigo* (“I strike, transfix”, met. “I curse”), *ligo* (“I bind, tie up”, i.e. with spells), and its compounds *deligo* (“I bind up”), *alligo* (“I fasten, bind”), *obligo* (“I bind up, oblige”), *implico* (“I entangle, entwine”). *Immergo* (“I plunge, immerse”) refers to the act of throwing the tablet into water; *describo* (“I write down”, i.e. “I curse”), then, to the act of writing the curse. All these predicates refer to the ritual treatment of the tablet symbolizing a direct attack of the author on the cursed people: *ligo*, *obligo*, *linguas illorum*, see also Faraone’s *direct binding formula* above and in 2.2.1.

²⁴² Greek production is older, more variegated, and outnumbers the Latin one ca. two times.

²⁴³ See Kropp (2008a, 137 ff.): *Die Formulae defigendi* aus der Perspektive der Sprechakttheorie; see also Austin (1962); Searle (1982). And further, Kropp (2008a, 144: *Die Grundtypen der lateinischen Verwünschungsformeln und ihr Handlungsgehalt*); Kropp (2008a, 210 ff.: *Die Klassifizierung der Formulae defigendi*); and Kropp (2010, 161 ff.: *How Does Magical Language Work*).

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2) *Übergabeformel*²⁴⁴ (committal formula): the curse-dedicator uses this formula to commit the victim into the hands of the deity. A. Kropp (2008a, 146) supposes that from the ritual point of view this is connected to the deposition of tablets (see 1.8.3.), while formally it is identical to the direct curse (see Faraone's *direct binding formula* above). In this case, however, the predicate prioritizes the supernatural powers to whom the victim is committed, while the curser himself remains in the background. Committal formulae can use three types of predicates:

a) Performatives identical to the manipulative formula in the 1st sg. pres.: No. **32** from Cumae, **dfx.1.5.3/2**: *...hos homines omnes inferis (de)is deligo...* ("I bind [with spells] all these people to the infernal gods...") (see 2.3.1.).

b) Performatives expressing the commitment of a victim to the god in the 1st sg. pres.: *do, dono, dedico, trado*, ("I give, grant, dedicate, hand over"), *mando, commendo, demando, trado, defero* ("I commit, commend, entrust, give over, convey"), *desacrifico, devoveo* ("I sacrifice, devote"); see e.g. No. **1**: *Q(uintum) Letinium Lupum... hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico...* ("I commend, devote, and sacrifice to your power Quintus Letinius Lupus...") (see 1.9.1. above), or No. **20** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/8**: *Plotiu(m) tibi trado, mando...* ("I hand over and consign Plotius to you..."); and No. **38** from Este, **dfx.1.7.2/1**: *Proserpina cum tuo Plutone, tibi trado...* ("Proserpina with your Pluto, I give over to you..."). This type of predicate is very frequent, especially in those prayers for justice where the author commits the stolen items to the deity, see No. **250** from Bath: *Deae Suli Minerv(a)e Solinus, dono numini tuo maiestati paxsa(m) ba(ln)earem et (pa)lleum*. ("Solinus to the goddess Sulis Minerva, I give to your divinity [and] majesty [my] bathing tunic and cloak."), or the culprit to the deity, see No. **278** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/79**: *Minervae deae Suli donavi furem, qui caracallam meam involavit...* ("To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak...").²⁴⁵

c) Hedged performatives²⁴⁶ with the verb in the 3rd sg. pres. pass. and the agent of the action unexpressed. These are, from the pragmatic point of view, associated with the employment of protective tactics by the speaker. This formula usually appears in prayers for justice, using the verb *dono*. See No. **306**

²⁴⁴ See also Kropp (2010, 371).

²⁴⁵ See also 12.2.3. and 1.10.2.

²⁴⁶ A. Kropp (2008a, 148 f.) uses the term *verdeckte Performative*; Kropp (2010, 371ff) "hedged performatives".

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from Uley, **dfx.3.22/36**: *Carta*²⁴⁷ *quae Mercurio donatur, ut manecilis qui perierunt ultionem requirat...* (“The sheet [of lead] which is given to Mercury to exact vengeance for the gloves which have been lost...”) (see 12.2.3.), see also No. **292** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, **dfx.3.19/1**: *Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo ut exigat...* (“It is commended to the god Jupiter the Great and the Mightiest to exact [the money]...”) (see also 1.9.2.).

This semantic-pragmatic aspect of the predicates used in direct curses, namely the commitment to the god, seems to be a significant and to-date neglected feature of these formulae. In this work, I classify the curses with this type of predicate as a sub-category of direct curses (see 2.2.2. below, formula **1a**). A. Kropp also assigns those curses whose the predicate is extended by a relative clause of result using *ut/ne* + pres. subj. (not merely by an object in the accusative) to this type of formula. In my classification, these curses belong to the formulae **2** and **2a** (2.3.1. and 2.3.2.). A. Kropp (2008a, 149 ff.; 2010, 371) further distinguishes:

3) *Aufforderungsformel* (request formula): this corresponds to Kagarow’s *precativae formulae* and Faraone’s *prayer formula*. Faraone characterizes this formula in Greek *defixiones* as an appeal addressed to the gods or daemons with the intention of making them carry out the requested curse or restriction (through the 2nd sg./pl. imper.).²⁴⁸ This definition is unsuitable for Latin production, however, as it only accounts for one facet of the whole spectre of such pragmatically aimed constructions. A. Kropp (2008a, 149 ff.) defines this type of curse as a formula by which its author commits his/her affairs to the supernatural powers by means of a request for divine intervention. Thus, the curse can be carried out only with some external assistance.

This category is comprised of:

1) Direct speech acts with the predicates of cursing (or other) in the 2nd sg/pl. See No. **152** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/12**:

Obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint nec se movere possint sed cadant, frangant... (“Bind up and oppress the horses of the blue and red [teams], so that they cannot run nor obey the reins, nor be able to move, but may they fall, break...”) (see also 1.1.2.2.2.).

²⁴⁷ Latin *c(h)arta plumbea* means lead tablet (for more detailed account, see Tomlin, 1996, 439), and it appears also on tablet No. **91** from Mainz (see 2.3.5.).

²⁴⁸ Faraone (1991, 5): *Prayer formula* – “Gods and Daemons are invoked and urged by a second-person imperative to perform similar acts of binding...”

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or No. **130** from Carthage: ...(*occi*)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m), quem peperit Prima... (“...kill, destroy, hurt Gallicus, whom Prima bore...”) (see also 1.9.1.); and No. **124**: ...*daemon, urgue, coge illam venire ad me amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei*... (“...daemon, urge [her], make her come to me loving and burning with love and desire for me...”) (see also 1.1.2.2.3., formula **3**, 2.3.3.)

2) Explicitly performative formulae with the predicates expressing a plea or a request in the 1st sg. – *oro, rogo, peto, precor* (“I pray, ask, demand, request”), *obsecro, adiuro* (“I adjure, forswear”), *mando* (“I commit, order”) with a purpose clause attached by *ut* or *ne* + present subjunctive. The analysis in this work suggests that the predicate *rogo* appears both in curses and prayers for justice almost to the same extent, see No. **52**: *Dis inferis, vos rogo, uti recipiatis nomen Luxsia A(uli) Antesti filia*. (“To the infernal gods, I ask you to accept [my request/charge against] Luxsia, the daughter of Aulus Antestus.”)²⁴⁹ (see also 1.9.2. above); No. **64**: ...*rogo te, domina Isis, ut illi profluvium mittas*. (“...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on him.”)²⁵⁰ and further prayer for justice No. **233** from Mainz, DTM 3: *Rogo te domina mater Magna, ut me vindices de bonis Flori coniugis mei, qui me fraudavit Ulattius Severus*... (“I entreat you, Lady *Mater Magna*, to avenge me regarding the property of Florus, my husband, [of which] Ulattius Severus has defrauded me...”), or the use of predicate *precor* with the subjunctive alone, as in No. **151** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/11**: ...*precor vos, sancta nomina, cadant homines et equi frangant*... (“...I beg you, holy names, may men fall and horses break down...”). The predicate *adiuro* is attested only in Africa,²⁵¹ see e.g. No. **148** above: *Adiuro... per magnum deum... ut, ex qua hora hoc composuero, non dormiat Sextilius*... (“I adjure... the great god... from the moment I put this tablet [into the grave], may Sextilius... not sleep...”). This predicate is often further extended, as in No. **132** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/25**: *Et te adiuro quisquis inferne (es) daemon per haec sancta nomina necessitatis*... (“And I adjure you, whoever infernal daemon you are, by all holy names of the Necessity...”). However, *adiuro* mostly appears as an accompanying emphatic element combined with the verb *demando*, extending the formulation of the curse and classified as formula **2/2a** in this work (2.3.1. and 2.3.2.), see No. **179** from

²⁴⁹ For the interpretation of the whole text, see 8.1.1.

²⁵⁰ The term *profluvium* can mean both bleeding and diarrhoea; unfortunately, the text does not indicate what of these two does the author of the curse mean, the 2nd part of the tablet is problematic (see the detailed discussion in 9.1.1.).

²⁵¹ See also 1.9.2., A. Kropp (2008a, 161 ff.) classifies *adiuro* as an auxiliary obscuring formula.

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Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/40**: ...*adiuro te demon, quicumque es et demando*²⁵² *tibi, ex hac ora et ex hoc momento, ut crucientur equi...* (“...I adjure you, whatever daemon you are, and order you, from this hour and moment on, may the horses be tormented...”).

However, A. Kropp presumes that only the aforementioned verbs are used as the predicates in main clauses. This type of curses with the same syntactic structure can be found, although not very often, also with the predicates of cursing like *ligo, deligo, implico*, see e.g. No. **136** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/32**: ...*colligo, ligo lingua(s)... media(s), extrema(s), novissima(s), ne quid respondere possint...* (see 11.1.2.). These cases are missing from Kropp’s classification; in this work they are classified as formulae **2** and **2a**. Moreover, Kropp does not differentiate the curses with the predicate in the 2nd sg./pl. in a subordinate clause, where the author addresses the deity directly (as in No. **122**: *Te rogo..., commendo tibi Iulia(m) Faustilla(m)...*, *ut eam celerius abducas...*), from those with the predicate in the 3rd sg./pl., where the curse is aimed at the victim (as in No. **177** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/38**: ...*Rogo vos cadant, nec vincant...*; No. **30** from Capua, **dfx.1.5.2/1**: ...*Astragalum v(oveo), uti tabescat morbo...*). She only points out that the predicate is in relative clauses usually used in the 2nd sg. and only very rarely in the 3rd sg.,²⁵³ however, my analysis does not suggest anything like this, (see 2.3.1.). Finally, A. Kropp (2010, 370 ff.) recently introduced another subtype of request formula named *restrictions without specific addressee*, which had been classified as *Wunschsatz* (wish clause) in her previous work (Kropp, 2008a, 152 ff.). This concerns a request or a wish with the verb in the 3rd sg./pl. subj. See e.g. No. **109** from Ptuj, **dfx.8.4/1**: *A: Paulina aversa sit a viris omnibus et defixa sit, ne quid possit mali facere.* (“May Paulina be averted from all men and may she be cursed, so that she can do no evil...”) ²⁵⁴ (see also formula **4**, 2.3.5.). Faraone (1991, 5 ff.) classifies this type as a *wish formula*, which corresponds to the Greek predicates in the 3rd sg. opt., and is usually only a part of more complex *simile-* formulae. Eventually, A. Kropp (2010, 372) classifies the aforementioned formula *similia similibus* as a sub-category of request formula, calling it *analogy within request* (see 2.3.6.).

My aim in this work is, among others, to map the development of formal structures used to achieve the purpose of particular speech acts in Latin

²⁵² The verb *demando* in this combination become the predicate with a dependant relative clause using *ut/ne*; therefore, it puts on rather the meaning of “to order, to impose, to pray”.

²⁵³ Kropp (2008a, 151).

²⁵⁴ See also formula **4**, 2.3.5., and Faraone – Kropp (2010, 394).

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defixiones. Therefore, in chapter 2 of this work I introduce my own modified classification of cursing formulae.

1.10 AIMS AND WISHES OF THE AUTHORS

The use of curses and prayers for justice has always been connected to practical authorial goals. The prescriptions set forth in magical papyri offer a wide range of spells applicable in particular situations or designed for particular occasions. This chapter deals with the aims of curses, as well as with their content, i.e. what formidable things do the authors want to happen to their victims.

1.10.1 Aims and Wishes of the Curses' Authors

As already mentioned in 1.1, the primary goal of writing or ordering a curse tablet was to influence the actions or health of people or animals by means of supernatural powers, against the victims' will, and without their awareness.²⁵⁵ In other words, curse tablets were intended to hurt, limit, or eliminate the victim/rival for personal gain. The exact purpose of some curses, however, cannot be determined, especially with the non-specific curses (see 1.1.2.1., No. **201** and No. **88**), which consist simply of lists of the names of targets. This is presumably due to the fact that the curse itself was uttered during the ritual. Furthermore, there are many tablets damaged or corroded to such an extent that it is impossible today to distinguish the author's intent. E. Kagarow (1929, 55 ff.) gives a detailed account of the various aims of Greek *defixiones* in his "Die verschiedenen Arten der bösen Wünsche".²⁵⁶ The authors of the curses usually want to afflict the victim's physical and/or mental health by death, disease (fever, blindness, muteness, etc.), amnesia, insanity, or insomnia. Furthermore, they try to adversely affect the victim's family and/or love life (loss of family, loss of a partner), personal achievements (victory in the circus), business pursuits, or litigation. Sometimes even the victim's suffering on earth will not suffice and his/her posthumous life is cursed, as well. The situation is largely similar in the Latin production. The aim of the curse is usually related to a particular curse type (see 1.1.2.), although not in all cases. Several non-specific curses clearly define the damage which should be done to a victim, but do not say a word about the author's motivation (see 1.1.2.1., No. **122**), as in No. **90** from Mainz, DTM 13: *Cassius Fortunatus e(t) bona illius et Lutatia Restituta necetis e(os)*. ("Cassius Fortunatus and his property and Lutatia Restituta, kill them.") Such text cannot be classified as a typical representative of any type of

²⁵⁵ Jordan (1985, 206); Tomlin (2004, 11); Gager (1992, 21 ff.).

²⁵⁶ See also Kropp (2008a, 179 ff.); Gager (1992, 21 ff.).

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curse according to the context (*defixiones iudiciariae, agonisticae, or amatoriae*), although its aim is very clear: the death of the targets and loss of their property.

There are also texts in which the context is not explicitly stated, but the author's intent is nevertheless clear from the subtext of what is written, e.g. to win a lawsuit, to win at the *circenses*, to gain someone's love, etc. Generally, the desired results of curses can be classified as follows: **a restriction** (usually of victim's bodily and mental functions), **a disease**, **a disease/death** (combination of diseases leading to victim's death), and **death**. When looking at the amatory corpus, it is usually **gaining someone's love** (love spells), **separation** (rivalry in love) (see also Chapter 5 below). The different basic types of curses mostly show the author's attempt to injure his/her victims in an iterative and stereotyping way dictated by the situation. (see also Kropp, 2008a, 179ff).

Most frequently,²⁵⁷ the author aims at **a restriction**, i.e. a limitation of the victim's mental or bodily functions that assures personal gain in a particular situation. This is typical of the curses against adversaries in lawsuits, which usually focus on the victim's ability to testify in court (*mutus sit/fiat, neque loqui possit, ne adversus nos respondere possint*), or to intervene in some way (*sit vanus*). Some curses directly attempt to paralyse the victim's tongue to impede speech; see, for instance, No. **114**: *alligate linguas horum, quos suprascripsi, ne adversus nos respondere possint...* ("bind the tongues of those, whose names I wrote above, so that they cannot testify against us...") (see also 1.1.2.2.1., No. **115**).

Other curses pursue the total mental paralysis of the victim so that s/he is mute and unable to do anything, see e.g. No. **70** from Frankfurt, **dfx.5.1.2/1**:

Rogo Mane(s et dii?) inferi, ut (Ma)rius Fronto, (adv)ersariu(s) Sex(ti), sit vanus neque loqui possit contra Sextum, ut Fronto fiat mutus, cum accesser(it) consularem, ut sit mutus neque pos(sit) loqui, neque quicquam agere tamquam nullum ad inf(eros) re(ligatum?). ("I ask [you], Manes and the infernal gods, may Marius Fronto, the enemy of Sextus, be unsuccessful, may he be unable to speak against Sextus, may he become mute when he approaches the legate, may he be mute and unable to speak or do anything, as if he were not here, but bound in the underworld.")

²⁵⁷ This is the case of almost a third of the Latin evidence analyzed.

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Another case of a complex curse explicitly aimed at adversary's inability to win a lawsuit is No. **67** from Chagnon, **dfx.4.3.1/1**:

Denuntio personis infrascriptis Lentino et Tasgillo, uti adsint ad Plutonem, ad Proserpinam, hinc a(beant?). Quomodo hic catellus nemini nocuit, sic... nec illi hanc litem vincere possint. Quomodo nec mater huius catelli defendere potuit, sic nec advocati eorum eos defendere possint... ("I denounce the people stated below, Lentinus and Tasgillus, in order that they may depart from here to Pluto and Proserpine, and to leave this place. Just as this puppy harmed no one, so [may they harm no one]²⁵⁸... and may they not be able to win this suit; just as not even the mother of this puppy can defend it, so may their lawyers be unable to defend them...") (see Gager 1992, No.53; also 9.1.2.).

In this case, the ritual probably also included sacrificing of a dog (see Graf, 1996, 117 ff.). Legal curses pursue the death of an adversary only very rarely, however: usually the purpose of the curse is only a temporary restriction of victim's faculties.

The same holds true for the curses associated with the rivalry between gladiators and charioteers, which are often aimed at racehorses, as well (see 1.1.2.2.2., No. **152** and No. **130**). These usually seek a temporary restriction of the physical abilities of gladiators, charioteers, or horses during contests in order to achieve victory over the adversaries; only very rarely do these curses beg for death.²⁵⁹

See the curse aimed at ca. 35 racehorses, No. **149** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/9**:

Sarbasmisarab (SM) Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, Comes/comes²⁶⁰ cadat, cadant, frangant, disiungantur, male girent, palmam vincere non possint. ("Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, Comes/conductor, may he fall, may they fall, break, [may their horses]

²⁵⁸ This is how Gager fills in the lacuna (1992, No. 53).

²⁵⁹ Gager (1992, 22 ff.) contemplates to what extent the curses should be understood literally (see also Faraone, 1991, 8 and note 38). In some rare cases, the curse aims at the death of a rival in circus (see chapter 5 below).

²⁶⁰ Here scholars disagree on whether the name denotes a horse or the person in charge of the horses (see DT 272; Tremel, 2004, No. 22).

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unyoke themselves,²⁶¹ turn wrongly, may they be unable to win the palm-branch.”)

See also an extensive curse against gladiators, No. **131** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/23**:

Sancte, ... adiuro te per deum viv(um ut) facias Tziolum,²⁶² q(uem) p(eperit) Restituta et Tzelicam (appa)ritorem... Aedesiculam q(em) p(eperit) Victoria victos, pervictos, exaclos/exactos,²⁶³ exiliatos, pilatos, pla(n)gatos. Obligo et impli(co et tibi) trado... (ut facias) vulneratos, (cru)entatos de amphiteatro exire in die muneris filio(s Ae)miliani pri(di)e idus ianuarias sive idus. Age, age, iam, iam, cito, cito, ἦδη, ἦδη, ταχύ, ταχύ. (“Holy... I adjure you by the living god to make Tziolus, whom Restituta bore, Tzelica, the servant,... and Aedesicula, whom Victoria bore, defeated, completely outdone, exhausted/hissed off, expelled, devastated, beaten. I bind and entwine [them with spells] and commend [them] to you to make the sons of Aemilianus leave the amphitheatre injured and stained with blood on the day of the games, either before or on the Ides of January. Hurry up, now, now, quickly, quickly, now, now, quickly, quickly.”)

The temporary restriction of physical or mental faculties is also found in love spells,²⁶⁴ the aim being to confound one’s beloved into returning one’s affections,²⁶⁵ though in a somewhat milder form. In this case, the victim should be afflicted with the sort of love sickness that borders on madness. This

²⁶¹ The verb *di(s)iungo* is attested in Varro: *diungere boves ab opere*, “to unyoke the bulls”; in our text it probably refers to the situation when the harnessed racehorses break free from the chariot. J. Tremel (2004, No. 22) translates: “sie werden auseinander gehen”.

²⁶² The tablet dates back to the 3rd cent. CE, according to M. Jeanneret (1917, 48 ff.), to the beginning of the 3rd cent. CE. The graphic treatment displays the late ancient assibilation of *tj* group expressed by the writing of *Z* after the dental consonant *T*. This writing, though with Greek ζ, is also attested on tablet No. **135** from the 2nd cent. CE (see 11.1.3.1.).

²⁶³ J. Tremel (2004, No. 94) interprets the term *exaclos* as *exanclatos* = *exhaustos*, and further *plagatos* = *pla(n)gatos*. A. Kropp (2008) proposes the reading *exaclos* = *exactos*. I regard both of them plausible, *exactos* can perhaps be understood as “may they be hissed off” (see also DT 248; 11.1.3.1.).

²⁶⁴ For the Greek production, see especially Faraone (1999, 132 ff.) and Gager (1992, 78 ff.). Love spells make approximately a quarter of all preserved Greek texts; there are only very few extant Latin love spells, though (see chapter 5 below).

²⁶⁵ See also 1.1.2.2.3., No. **124** and No. **143A** below; further also 1.8. and 1.8.1.

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corresponds to the belief, deep-rooted in ancient literature and medicine, that intense desire or deep love is a pathological state befalling mind and body just like a disease. And although well distinguishable, love-sickness was also considered treatable only with great difficulties.²⁶⁶ The typical symptoms are: pathological pallor, feverish states, apathy, insomnia, lack of appetite, deranged mind. Let us recall, for example, Propertius, who starts his first book of *Elegies* by complaining about his unrequited love. Rather than naming his condition *amor*, he calls it *furor*, see Prop. I, 1, 6-7: *et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno / cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos* (“It’s already been a whole year that the frenzy hasn’t stopped. / Even now, the gods are against me.”)²⁶⁷ The poet contemplates using a love spell, asks witches for help, and mentions pallor – a common symptom of love-sickness, see Prop. I, 1, 22: *dominae mentem convertite nostrae et facite illa meo palleat ore magis*. (“change my mistress’ mind, / make her face more pale than my own!”)²⁶⁸

Insomnia is very commonly employed as a means to force the beloved out of his/her wits and into the arms of the curser, as e.g. in No. **148**: ... *non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius*... (“...may Sextilius, son of Dionysia, not sleep...”); ... *ne somnum contingat sed amore et desiderio meo uratur, huius spiritus et cor comburatur*... (“...unable to sleep, but burn with love and longing for me, may his spirit and heart be consumed by love...”). Other curses also seek the limitation of other basic physical needs, as e.g. in No. **144**: ... *ut amoris mei causa... non cibum non escam accipere possit*... (“...may she... because of her love for me... be unable to accept any meal or food...”). Still others seek to limit the victim’s mental faculties, see e.g. No. **146** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/6**: ...*obligate illam in sensum et sapientiam et inte(llectum)*... (“...bind her senses, reason, and intellect...”), or No. **144**: ... *ut obliviscatur patris et matris et (propinquorum) suorum et amicorum omnium (et aliorum) virorum, amoris mei causa*... (“...may she forget her father, mother, and her relatives and friends, and [other] men because of love for me...”) (see also 5.1.4. and 11.1.4.). Whatever the discomforts and limitations, they are meant to last only until the beloved one comes to the curse-dedicator, thus fulfilling his/her wish, see e.g. No. **124**: ... *aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciat*... (“...take sleep away from her unless she comes to me... and satisfies me...”) (see 1.1.2.2.3. above).

²⁶⁶ See Winkler (1991, 222); Luck (1962, 7 ff.).

²⁶⁷ Translated by Vincent Katz (1995).

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

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In the context of rivalry in love, the aim is to disrupt a rival's love affair (see also No. **109** and No. **29**, 1.1.2.2.3.). See e.g. No. **33** from Pompeii, **dfx.1.5.4/1**:

A: Philematio Hostili (serva): faciem... capillum, cerebrum, flatus, ren(es)...., ut illi non succedat... ut ille illam odiat. Quomodo... haec nec agere ne illa... quicquam agere possit... Philematio... B: nec agere... nec ullas res possit petere, quae ullo humano... Quomodo is eis desertus, illa deserta sit cunno. A(nte) d(iem) N(onum) C(alendas) N(ovembres?) defixos... (“Philematio, [the slave] of Hostilius: [I curse? her] face... hair, brain, breath, kidneys..., may she not succeed... may he hate her. Just like... this one [can]not do anything... may she equally be unable to do anything... Philematio... may she be unable to act... or to ask for anything, what to any human?... Just like this one is deserted by them, may she be deserted in her bed. The ninth day before the Calends of November [these were] cursed...”).²⁶⁹

See also tablet No. **104** from Bregenz, which includes: *...ne quiat nubere* (“so that she cannot marry”).²⁷⁰ Nevertheless, as previously mentioned (see 1.1.2.2.3.), it is not always possible to conclusively prove that a curse was intended to break a relationship in terms of a love triangle.

Other curse tablets try to induce a disease, especially a fatal one – and some even death – in the victim. The latter two – fatal disease and death – are more common than simply disease (see chapter 5). For a disease only, see also No. **64** from Trier, **dfx.4.1.3/16**:

Tib(erium) Claudium Treverum natione Germanum lib(ertum) Claudii Similis, rogo te domina Isis ut illi profluvium mittas. (“...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on Tiberius Claudius Treverus of German origin, the freedman of Claudius Similis.”)²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ The text inscribed on two tablets is damaged to a large extent; it starts with the list of cursed body parts. We do not know exactly what Philematio should not succeed in because of the lacunas. The *simile-* formula *quomodo* probably refers to a dead person, into whose grave the tablet was then put; *deserta sit cunno*, more accurately “may she be deserted in her lady parts”. There is a name of another rival also being cursed (*Vestilia Hostili*) at the end of the second tablet; therefore, the final *defixos* makes sense (see also Appendix I).

²⁷⁰ The name of the victim has not preserved due to the extensive damage of the text (see also 10.1.3.).

²⁷¹ The further text is obscure; for the detailed discussion, see 9.1.1.

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If just diarrhoea were the goal of the curse, it could be considered humorous; however, more often the curses seek much more serious suffering. The curses that include the lists of body parts to be cursed are probably also intended to induce a disease resulting in the victim's death; such texts are predominantly found in Italy.

See No. **20** from Rome:

Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor, sive me Salviam dicere oportet, eripias salutem, c(orpus, co)lorem, vires, virtutes Ploti... Tradas illum febris quartanae, tertianae, cottidianae, quae cum illo luctentur, deluctentur, illum evincant, vincant, usque dum animam eius eripiant.... Proserpina Salvia, do tibi frontem Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi supercilia Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi palpebras Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi pupillas Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi nares, labra, aures, nasum, linguam, dentes Ploti... (“Good, beautiful Proserpina, wife of Pluto, unless it would be fitting for me to call you Salvia, snatch away Plotius’ health, body, complexion, physical and mental faculties. ... Hand him over to the fourth-day, the third-day, the daily fevers,²⁷² let them wrestle and tussle with him, let them conquer and overwhelm him to the point that they snatch away his soul. ... I give you the forehead of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia. I give you the eyebrows of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia. I give you the eyelids of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia. I give you the pupils of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia. I give you the nostrils, lips, ears, nose, tongue, teeth of Plotius Proserpine, Salvia...”) (see the whole text in 7.3.1.4.).

Not very many extant curses ask for the victim's death, as has already been said, and this pertains mostly to the non-specific curses (see also No. **90**, 1.10.1. and 1.1.2.1. above). Rarely do we find a request for death in legal curses, curses having to do with amatory rivalry, or rivalry between gladiators. See No. **122**:

A: Te rogo, qui infernales partes tenes, commendo tibi Iulia(m) Faustilla(m), Marii filia(m), ut eam celerius abducas et ibi in numeru(m) tu(um) a(b)ias. (“I ask you, who hold rule over the Underworld, I commend to you Julia Faustilla, the daughter of Marius, so that you may take her as quickly as possible and have her in your number [of the dead].”)

²⁷² This probably refers to the symptoms of malaria (Fox, 1912, 36). See also No. **18**: *patiatur febris, frigus, tortiones, pallores, sudores, obripilationes meridianas, interdianas, serotinas, nocturnas* (see 1.9.2. and 5.1.2.).

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Furthermore, see an interesting curse probably coming from Rome, dated to the 4th/5th cent. CE (see also 1.7. above), No. **25** from Rome, **dfx.1.4.4/13**:

Deprecor vos Sancti Angeli. Quomodo haec anima intus inclusa tenetur et angustatur et non videt neque lumen, neque aliquem (refri)gerium non (h)abet, si(c a)nima, (mentes, cor)pus Collecticii, quem peperit Agnella teneatur, ard(eat), detabescat. Usque ad infernum semper ducite Collecticium, quem peperit Agnella. (“I beg you, holy angels/daemons. Just like this soul is enclosed inside,²⁷³ imprisoned, and sees no light, nor has any recreation, may the soul, mind and body of Collecticius, whom Agnella bore, be equally enclosed, may it burn, and fall into decay. Lead Collecticius, whom Agnella bore, away as far as to hell.”)

From time to time we see curses aimed at inanimate objects.²⁷⁴ See e.g. curses No. **138** and **139** from Carthage, aimed against public baths, see No. **138**.²⁷⁵

(VM, SM) Domini Dei tenete detinete Falernas, ne quis illoc accedere possit; obligate, perobligate Falernarum balineum ab hoc die, ne quis homo illoc accedat (VM, SM);

and No. **139**:

(ne) Illoc eat lavare. Nodate Falernas ab hac die. Obligate, perobligate balineum Falernesi, ne quis illoc ire possit ab hoc die.

(“Lord gods, restrain and hinder the Falernian [baths], lest anyone should be able to approach that place; bind and bind up the Falernian baths from this day, lest any person should approach that place. Lest any person go there to the bath; bind the Falernian [baths], from this day, bind and bind up the Falernian baths from this day, lest any person should approach that place.”)²⁷⁶

²⁷³ The exact location of the finding is unknown, H. Solin (1968, No. 34) states that the inscription, which is damaged to a large extent, was painted with black colour on the inner side of a terracota urn (see the attachment I; Kropp’s interpretation of the text, 2008).

²⁷⁴ See Gager (1992, 21 ff.) and No. **79** – a Greek curse against Italia and the gates of Rome.

²⁷⁵ The two tablets were found together in a spring and date back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, No. **139** is a continuation of No. **138**.

²⁷⁶ See Gager (1992, No. 82), the texts on both tablets start with *voces* magicae which are not stated here. See also Urbanová – Cuzzolin (2016, 318, 333ff.).

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1.10.2. Aims and Wishes of the Authors of Prayers for Justice

The circumstances of prayers for justice are somewhat different, and it is not always easy to find an unambiguous answer to the question of what their authors wanted to achieve and by what means they intended to do so.²⁷⁷ All were written under similar circumstances: the author had suffered some sort of damage, like a theft, or being defrauded, etc. A. Kropp (2008a, 119 ff.) names her subchapter on prayers for justice “Zwischen Fluch und *defixio* – Gebete für Gerechtigkeit”, and in it she illustrates the limitations scholars face in the interpretation of these texts. This is caused by several similarities as well as differences between prayers for justice and curses (see also 1.2.3.). R. S. O. Tomlin (1988, 62) considers prayers for justice to be, in fact, letters addressed to gods written by men who felt the right to complain. Similarly, H. S. Versnel (1991, 68 ff.; 2010, 321 ff.) strictly separates them from regular curses, arguing that these are prayers rather than magical spells. On the contrary, J. G. Gager (1992, 175) and D. Ogden (1999, 37 f.) classify them as a special category of curses different from the more common curses used in legal, amatory, or agonistic contexts.²⁷⁸ A. Kropp (2008a, 119) also assumes that they represent a special type of curses, one that is not intended to eliminate an opponent, but to exact justice/revenge, which is the author deems to be rightful.²⁷⁹ Several prayers for justice, however, do not differ from a curse at all in a practical sense – such cases, i.e. those texts which containing the typical aggressive features of curses but are incorporated into prayers for justice, are regarded as a *borderland category* by Versnel (2010, 232 ff.). Likewise, Ogden (1999, 38) speaks of these texts as *cross-over cases* (see also below), see also Dreher’s criticism on Versnel’s categories.²⁸⁰

Nevertheless, the texts of prayers for justice are often very aggressive. The polite addresses to gods and complaints about theft are usually followed not only by a sober request to get the stolen property back, but also a plea for cruel revenge. Very few of the extant texts try only to get the stolen property back, as e.g. No. **246** (1.2.2.) and No. **270** from Bath, which reads:

²⁷⁷ See also Urbanová (2009a, 130 ff.).

²⁷⁸ The differences are apparent especially from the structure of the texts (see also 1.2.3.).

²⁷⁹ See also G. Björck (1938, 28, 51 ff.) who calls them “Rachegebete”, i. e. literally the prayers for revenge.

²⁸⁰ Dreher (2010 and 2012). In this work, curses and prayers for justice are dealt with separately, which allows for a more accurate analysis of this type of evidence.

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(...) *eocorotis perdidit la(enam) (pa)llium sagum paxsam do(navi)... (S)ulis ut hoc ante dies novem (si) liber si servus si libera si serva (si) puer si puell(a) in rostr(o) s(uo) defera(t...)... caballarem, s(i) servus si liber), si serva si libera, si puer (si puella) in suo rostro defer(at)...* (“[I] ...eocoritis, have lost [my] Italian/Greek/Gallic cloak²⁸¹ [and] tunic, [which] I have given... Sulis, that he may bring it down in his beak before nine days, [whether] free or slave, whether free woman or slave woman, [whether] boy or girl... horse blanket, [whether slave or free, whether] slave woman or free woman, whether boy [or girl], bring it down in his beak...”)²⁸²

More often, the authors of prayers for justice pursue multiple goals at once. On the one hand, they want their things back; on the other, they want revenge against the culprit, i.e. they want him/her to be punished by the deity for what s/he did, frequently with the same cruelty and creativity as those of the authors of curse.

See No. **236** from Mainz, DTM 11:

A: Mando et rogo religione ut mandata exagatis Publium Cutium et Piperonem et B: Placida et Sacra, filia eius: sic illorum membra liquescant quatomodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eorum exsitum sit. (“I hand over [to you], and, observing all ritual form, ask that you require from Publius Cutius and Piperon Also Placida and Sacra, her daughter,²⁸³ the return of the goods entrusted to them, may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”).

In these prayers for justice, various restrictions similar to those in love spells are sought (see 1.10.1. above). And like in love spells, the restriction lasts only until the author is satisfied. See also No. **247** above:

²⁸¹ Tomlin (1988, No. 62) supposes that the three above mentioned terms for basically the same piece of cloth, *pallium*, Greek cloak, *sagum*, Gallic cloak, *laena*, Italian cloak are explicitly stated not because the author lost all three, but to make it easier for the goddess Sulis to find it. *Paxsam* is probably related to *pexus* [*pecto*], “teased, soft” and refers to a woolen tunic.

²⁸² The term *rostrum* preserved in Spanish and Portuguese in the meaning of “face, mouth” (see also Adams, 2007, 387 ff.).

²⁸³ Latin text continues on the other side with two female names in the nominative. This may be a mistake or the so-called fixed nominative (see 1.6.). Therefore, the English translation is “from Publius Cutius, Piperon, Placida, and Sacra, her daughter;” see Blänsdorf (2010, DTM 11).

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...nec ei somnum permitat B: nec natos nec nascentes, donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit... (“...and not allow him to sleep or [to have] children now and in the future, until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.”) (see 1.2.2.).

See further No. **250** from Bath, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE, **dfx.3.2/24**:

Deae Suli Minerv(a)e Solinus, dono numini tuo maiestati paxsa(m) ba(ln)earem et (pa)lleum, (nec p)ermitta(s so)mnum nec san(ita)tem ei, qui mihi fraudem fecit, si vir si femi(na), si servus s(i) liber nisi (s)e retogens istas s(p)ecies ad (te)mplum tuum detulerit... (“Solinus to the goddess Sulis Minerva, I give to your divinity [and] majesty [my] bathing tunic and cloak. Do not allow sleep or health to him who has done me wrong, whether man or woman, whether slave or free, unless he reveals himself and brings those goods to your temple...”) (see also 1.2.2., No. **295**).

Similar to love spells is the prayers for justice begging insomnia in the victims, which is used as a means of driving the beloved person to the one who wrote the spell (see 1.10.1.), see e.g. No. **148**: *non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius*. In prayers for justice, insomnia is usually associated with poor health, and a typical alliterative formula is used: *nec illi permitas nec somnum nec sanitatem* (“do not let him/her sleep nor be healthy”) (see No. **250**). Another similarity between love spells and prayers for justice is the authorial desire for the limitation of victim’s mental or bodily functions. See No. **303** from Uley, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE:

Deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus. Conqueror numini tuo, me perdisse rotas duas et vaccas quattuor et resculas plurimas de hospitiolo meo. Rogaverim genium numinis tui, ut ei, qui mihi fraudem fecerit, sanitatem ei non permittas nec iacere nec sedere nec bibere nec manducare, si baro si mulier, si puer si puella, si servus si liber, nisi meam rem ad me pertulerit et meam concordiam habuerit. Iteratis precibus rogo numen tuum, ut petitio mea statim pariat me vindicatum esse a maiestate tua. (“Honoratus to the holy god Mercury, I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels and four cows and many small belongings from my house. I would ask the genius of your divinity that you do not allow health to the person who has done me wrong, nor allow him to lie or sit or drink or eat, whether man or a woman, whether boy or a girl, whether slave or a free, unless s/he brings my property to me and is reconciled with me. With repeated prayers I ask your divinity to immediately hear my petition so that I am revenged by your

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majesty.”),²⁸⁴ see also No. **244** from Bath: *ut mentes suas perd(at)* (“may [the thief] lose his mind”) (see also 1.2. and No. **146** above, also 1.10.1. and 11.1.4.).

Prayers for justice sometimes invoke a disease or death, as well, and include “catalogues” of body parts, although much more briefly and less frequently than curses do, see e.g. No. **261**: *...non illi permittas nec oculos nec sanitatem nisi caecitatem orbitatemque...* (“...you are not to permit him eyes or health, unless blindness and childlessness...”); and No. **275** from Bath: *... ut sanguine et luminibus et omnibus membris configatur vel et iam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at)*. (“...he may be accursed in [his] blood and eyes and every limb, or even have all [his] intestines quite eaten away”) (see 1.2.3.). In some rare cases, the author of prayer for justice does not only seek the return of the stolen goods, but also wants the thief’s death as revenge. See No. **247** above:

...uti eum dea Sulis maximo leto adigat, nec ei somnum perimat... donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit... (“...that the goddess Sulis may inflict death upon him and not allow him to sleep... until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.”).

Furthermore, some texts, especially those from Britannia, include the author’s promise to give the deity a part of the property s/he wants to get back. See No. **296** from Uley, dated to the 2nd – 4th century CE, **dfx.3. 22/3**:

*Commonitorium*²⁸⁵ *deo Mercurio a Saturnina muliere de lintheamine, quod amisit. Ut ille, qui hoc circumvenit, non ante laxetur, nisi quando res (supra)dictas ad fanum s(upra)d(ic)tum attulerit, si vir si mulier, si servus si liber. Deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem donat ita, ut exsigat istas res, quae s(upra)scrip(t)ae sunt, ... quae per(didi)t. Deo Silvano tertia pars donatur ita, ut hoc exsigat, si vir si femina, si servus si liber.* (“A memorandum to the god... Mercury²⁸⁶ from Saturnina a woman, concerning the linen cloth which

²⁸⁴ See the commentary of Hassal – Tomlin (1992, 310 ff.); the verb *vindico* can mean revenge or death as well as acquirement of the stolen property in the context of prayers for justice. *Concordiam* is similar to *conscientiam* (Hassal – Tomlin, 1992, 311), attested nowhere else.

²⁸⁵ See the commentary of Tomlin (1993, 121 ff.); *commonitorium* is a technical legal term, which does not appear before the 4th cent. CE; here, in the meaning of “application, request”.

²⁸⁶ The name of god Mercury was written over another name of god Mars Silvanus who is, nevertheless, mentioned once more in the tablet; the tablet has been found in the

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she has lost. [She asks] that he who has stolen it should not have rest, before/unless/until s/he brings the aforesaid property to the aforesaid temple, whether man or woman, whether slave or free. She gives a third part to the aforesaid god on condition that he exact this property which has been written above. A third part [what she has lost] is given to the god Silvanus on condition that he exacts it [the stolen property/money], whether man or a woman, whether slave or a free... [has stolen it.]) Further also No. **295**: *...nisi repraesentaverint mihi iumentum, quod rapuerunt, et deo devotionem, quam ipse ab his expostulaverit.* (“...before/unless they return at once to me the draught animal which they have stolen, and to the god the devotion which he has demanded from them himself.”) (see 1.2.2.).

Finally, most of the extant prayers for justice do not seek the return of the stolen property, merely a **rightful revenge**, i.e. **the punishment** of the culprit. These have the most in common with curses, although they are motivated by justifiable reasons (loss suffered); the aim of both is the same: to harm or kill the victim with the help of supernatural powers. Perhaps the prayers for justice that seek only revenge are just the vitriolic expression of the momentary mental state of an angry, bereaved victim of theft and is not the sincere plea for the return of lost. As there is no hope that s/he gets the stolen items back,²⁸⁷ the victim simply tries to cope with the sheer fact of having been robbed. In writing these tablets, perhaps the punishment of the culprit is sufficient satisfaction. Prayers for justice by no means fall short of curses in terms of cruelty and the invention of various horrible torments. No. **260** from Bath, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE, **dfx.3.2/36** reads:

A: Aenum meum qui levavit (e)xonic(tu)s²⁸⁸ (e)st. Templo Sulis dono si mulier si baro si servus si liber si puer si puella et qui hoc fecerit, sanguinem suum in ipsum aenum fundat. B: Dono si mulier si baro, si servus si liber, si puer si puella, eum latronem, qui rem ipsam involavit, deus inveniat. (“[The person] who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed. I give [him] to the temple of Sulis, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, and let him who has done this spill his own blood

sacred precinct of Mercury. Perhaps it is a Roman identification with a local deity, see Tomlin (1993, 120).

²⁸⁷ See also Urbanová (2009, 346 f.).

²⁸⁸ See the commentary of Tomlin (1988, 164 f.); the text probably reads the hapax *exconfixus* (however, there is only *xconics* written in the text). For other instances of a prefix attached to a verb with prefix, see also No. **275** above: *intestinis excomesis* derived from *comedo*. The text is stated in its edited form (see also Appendix II).

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into the vessel itself. I give, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, that thief who has stolen the property itself [that] the god may find [him].”)

Most of the prayers for justice that seek aim the culprit’s death, belong to the category of requests for mere revenge. Phrases like *sanguine et vitae suae illud redimat* appear in these. See No. 277 above: *...deus illum inveniatur, sanguine ut vitae suae illud redimat*. (“...the god is to find him, let him buy it back with [his] blood and his own life.”); No. 239: *...nec(et)i(s) eum pessimo leto...* (“...kill him by the worst death...”); and No. 236: *...sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatomodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit* (“...may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”).

The special formula *sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere* is very frequent in the tablets from Britannia: see e.g. No. 274 from Bath: *...deae Suli facias illum sanguine suo illud satisfacere* (“...make him/her pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.”) (see 6.2.1.3.). Furthermore, the author’s emotional mental state is well illustrated in No. 283 from Caerleon, **dfx.3.6/1**:

Domina Nemesis do tibi pallium et galliculas, qui tulit, non redimat, nisi vita, sanguine suo. (“Lady Nemesis, I give you [my] cloak and shoes, may [the person] who stole them not redeem [them/it?], unless with his own life and blood.”).²⁸⁹

The elaborate and evocative prayers for justice from Germania are worth mentioning, as well. Their authors took pleasure in complicated *simile-formulae*, which are only very rarely attested elsewhere in such texts.²⁹⁰ This is especially true in the case of the recent findings from Mainz written in highly stylistic level of classical Latin (see Blänsdorf, 2010, 162), and pursue particularly cunning revenges. See No. 234 from Mainz, DTM 6:

A: Quintum in hac tabula depon(o) aversum se suisque rationibus vitae male consumantem. Ita uti galli Bellonarive absciderunt concideruntve se, sic illi abscissa sit fides fama faculit(a)s. Nec illi in numero hominum sunt, neque ille sit. Q(u)omodi et ille mihi fraudem fecit sic illi, sancta Mater Magn(a), et relegis(ti?)²⁹¹ cu(n)cta. Ita uti arbor siccabit se in²⁹² sancto, sic et illi

²⁸⁹ See also Gager (1992, No. 100); Versnel (1991, 86; 2010, 287).

²⁹⁰ See 1.9., 2.3.6., and especially chapter 10.

²⁹¹ See Blänsdorf (2010, DTM 6). I do not find Blänsdorf’s amendment *relegisti* (2012, DTM 6) correct, see also 2.3.6. and 10.2.2.

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siccet fama fides fortuna facultas. Tibi commendo Attihi domine, ut me vindices ab eo, ut intra annum vertente(m...) exitum illius vilem malum. (“On this tablet I curse Quintus, may the gods avert from him and his business, may he spend [his time] miserably. Just like the priests of *Mater Magna* [i.e. *galli*] and the priests of Bellona have castrated or cut themselves, so may his good name, reputation, the ability to conduct his affairs be cut away. Neither they are numbered among mankind, nor may he be. Just like he deceived me, so may [you,] holy *Mater Magna* take everything away from him. Just like the tree in the shrine will desiccate, so may his reputation, good name, fortune, and the ability to conduct his affairs do the same/wither. I commend to you, lord Atthis, that you take vengeance on him for me, so that by the end of the year (he may suffer) a horrible bad death.”).

Text No. 229 from Gross-Gerau also seeks the cruel punishment of the thief, but one that is unique in the Latin canon in terms of the level of wrath displayed.²⁹³

(H)umanum quis sustulit Verionis palliolum sive res illius, qui illius minus fecit, ut illius mentes memorias deiectas, sive mulierem sive eas, cuius Verionis res minus fecit, ut illius manus, caput, pedes, vermes, cancer, vermitudo interet membra, medullas illius interet. (“The human who stole Verio’s cloak or his things, who deprived him of his property, may he be bereft of his mind and memory, be it a woman or those who deprived Verio of his property, may the worms, cancer and maggots penetrate his/her hands, head, feet, as well as his/her limbs and marrows.”).²⁹⁴

²⁹² The interpretation of this tablet went through some changes, between *in* and *sic* in line 7 there is *QUINTI NOMEN* written upside down, which somewhat changes text’s interpretation with respect to the formula *aversus* (see Faraone – Kropp, 2010, 386). On the one hand, I follow the editor’s translation (see Blänsdorf, 2007/2008, 19 ff.), but on the other, I also take into account the new interpretation of the term *aversum* (Faraone – Kropp, 2010, 386). J. Blänsdorf (2012, DTM 6) states that P.-Y. Lambert discovered the sequence *QUINTI NOMEN*. For the whole text of the tablet, see the Appendix II; the reverse side was probably written by another hand.

²⁹³ See also Versnel (2010, 280).

²⁹⁴ See the commentary of Blänsdorf (2007, 62 ff.); 2010, 185) who assumes that an assault or devourment by worms was one of the most gruesome kinds of death that could be imagined in antiquity. For example, Galerius Maximianus, the persecutor of Christians, is said to have died in this way (Lactantius: *De mortibus persecutorum* 33.7). This kind of death is also found in Herodotus (4.205) and in the Bible (Isaiah 66.2). See also *skaphismos* in Plutarch’s *Artaxerxes* 75. See Blänsdorf (2007, 61 ff.;

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Some Greek and a very few Latin prayers for justice try to achieve also the culprit's public punishment or confession (see 1.2.1., No. **217**; Versnel, 2010, 274 ff.). In No. **231** from Mainz, DTM 1, we see an example of another refined revenge. It does not only include the diseases and worms the author hopes will infect the victim, but also explicitly emphasizes the irreversibility of the curse, i.e. that the culprits cannot redeem themselves in any way:

*A: (line 17): ... Verecundam et Paternam: sic illam tibi commendo, Mater deum Magna, rem illorum... quale rogo co(n)sument(u)r in... quomodo et res meas viresque fraudarunt, nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis B: nec plumbis nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo, nisi ut illas vorent canes, vermes adque alia portenta, exitum quarum populus spectet.*²⁹⁵
(“...Verecunda and Paterna: for thus I give her [=them] to you, Great Mother of the Gods, their property... I ask that they may be destroyed just as they have defrauded me of my property and resources; may they not be able to buy themselves free from your divine power either by offering sheep or lead [tablets], or by gold, or silver, but may dogs, worms, and other monsters devour them, may the people watch their death...”)²⁹⁶

Some prayers for justice from Germania and Pannonia display a peculiar blending of the formulae typical of curses with those of prayers for justice. This is probably caused by the laymen/authors' own creative modifications.²⁹⁷

1.11 TABLETS' EXPECTED EFFECT – DID THEY WORK?

This is a difficult question to answer. Science can tell us nothing about the actual effects of curses, because magic presumes the effects that can be neither

2010, 185). J. Blänsdorf (2007, 62) translates the sequence *sive res illius, qui illius minus fecit* as “oder den Besitz dessen, (er) der (den Besitz) dessen geringer gemacht hat”. For the phrase *res minus fecit*, see also tablet No. **219** (1.2.1., 1.10.2., and 8.2.) from Mérida in Hispania, **dfx.** 2.3.1/1: *Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo, obsecro, uti vindices, quot mihi furti factum est. Quisquis mihi immutavit, involavit minusque fecit (e)a(s res), q(uae) i(n)fra s(criptae) s(unt), tunicas VI, paenula lintea II, indusium...*, in which the phrase appears in an intensifying tricolon of synonyms; therefore, I regard it to be the synonym of *sustulit*.

²⁹⁵ The text of the curse is damaged, only the extant passages are cited here; for the interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010 and 2012, DTM 1); for the whole text, see the Appendix II and 10.2.3.

²⁹⁶ See 1.9.2. and 10.2.3.; see also Blänsdorf (2010, 163 ff).

²⁹⁷ See also Urbanová (2015, 597 ff.).

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proven nor disproven by scientific methods. It can only be assumed that ancient people believed in the effectiveness of magic, just as many modern people do; the basis of these beliefs can be explained through psychological lens (see below). That the ancients had faith in magical practices is substantially documented in literature.²⁹⁸ Pliny, in his *Naturalis Historia*, mentions that there is no one who would not be afraid of curse tablets: *defigi quidem diris precationibus nemo non metuit*.²⁹⁹ Laws against magical practices constitute another piece of evidence, as e.g. in the case of *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* from the time of Sulla:

*Magicae artis conscios summo supplicio affici placuit, id est bestiis obici aut cruci suffigi, ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur; libros magicae artis apud se neminem habere licet, et penes quoscumque reperti sint, bonis ademptis, ambustis his publice, in insulam deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur, non tantum huius artis professio sed etiam scientia prohibita est.*³⁰⁰ (“It was decided to inflict the maximum penalty, i.e. *damnatio ad bestias* or crucifixion, up on those who are versed in magical practices, the wizards themselves are to be burned to death; no one is allowed to possess magical books, and if they are found at someone’s place, they are to be burned publicly and those guilty are to be deprived of their property and deported to an island, the ignoble ones are to be executed, not only the practising of magic is forbidden, but also its knowledge.”). *Nulla poena sine culpa*.³⁰¹

Earlier scholars were influenced by the works of J. Frazer, who regarded magic as proto-religion. He built on the presumption of the mutual interdependence called *sympatheia*, as well as the desire to command the gods,³⁰² and supposed that no spells, charms, or amulets could actually work (see also Gager, 1992, 22). However, these assumptions have recently been re-assessed by modern scholars.³⁰³ J. Frazer perceived magical activities as the laws of causality wrongly applied. Particularly his evolutionary conception of magic (magic as proto- religion) has been rejected by modern religious science. Magic is treated

²⁹⁸ See also 1.3. and 1.10.1.

²⁹⁹ See Plin. *NH* 28, 4, 19; for more detail, see Kropp (2008a, 60 ff.).

³⁰⁰ Paulus *Sententiae* 5, 23, 17–18.

³⁰¹ *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* probably did not solve the problem of curse tablets in any way. Moreover, Paulus’ text is controversial because of the distinction *honestiores – humiliores*, which speaks rather in favour of later modifications (A. Chalupa, orally), see also Graf (1996, 62ff.).

³⁰² See Chalupa (2006, 106 ff.).

³⁰³ For the detailed discussion of the modern attempts to define magic, see Chalupa (2006, 106).

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as one of the aspects of religion, one which exists within religion, and therefore it cannot be regarded an earlier phenomenon. There is no doubt, however, that magic is concerned with a certain form of the construction of causal relationships.

Even if we were to call faith in spells groundless and absurd and presume magical practices to be entirely ineffective, we would not be able to escape the fact that magic was practised for centuries. The extant corpus of Latin curse tablets dated from the 2nd cent. BCE up to the 5th cent. CE proves this well enough. There is, however, no extant evidence, in which the authors of curses or prayers for justice report successful curses or prayers for justice that achieved the return of stolen property. Modern scholars, however, cite the tablets' very existence as a sort of proof of efficacy. Tomlin (1988, 101) examined this problem with regards to the prayers for justice found in Bath, and has come to the conclusion that the fact that people resorted to such practices for two centuries implies that the tablets worked, or rather that they were believed to work, and that it is possible that this faith was well-founded. Moreover, he posits that the question of whether they worked or not, is *de facto* irrelevant, as the mere existence of such belief is indisputable and sufficient response in itself. Every tablet was born of the dedicator's belief in the curse or prayer it carried. And it is worth noting that the tablets themselves are not without some scepticism. This is well illustrated by the included *vota*, which suggest that authors hope for the fulfillment of their wishes, but do not completely rely on the curse's effect, see No. **52**: ... *et sei faciatis, votum, quod facio, solvam vostris meritis*. ("...and if you do [this], I will honour the promise I make [here] rightily.") (see 3.3.2. and 8.1.1.; see also No. **20**, 7.3.1.4., and No. **220**, 8.2.).

Moreover, there is the argument that *defixiones* worked in a way, but not necessarily to the extent suggested by the curses (see Gager, 1992, 23; Ogden, 1999, 80). Tomlin proposes various perspectives on the psychological utility of the cursing ritual: the catharsis, the relief from tension and the transfer of emotions.³⁰⁴ He further states that to write a tablet and to throw it into a sacred spring could provide its author with the relief of feeling as though something, at least, had been done in this dire time (Tomlin, 1988, 101 ff.). In case of prayers for justice, it can be presumed that the tablets could have been displayed in the temple for all to see, thereby engendering the pangs of guilt in the culprit, or at least a fear of divine intervention that could inspire him/her to return the stolen things. Unfortunately, public display of prayers for justice is documented only

³⁰⁴ Tomlin (1988, 101).

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rarely in the Greek tradition,³⁰⁵ and is almost impossible in terms of the Latin tradition. Archaeological evidence from Bath shows that the tablets were thrown into the sacred spring and, what is more, were mostly rolled (see also Ogden, 1999, 80). P. Kiernan (2004, 99 ff.) looks at this evidence, and attempts to reconcile it with the proposed psychosomatic effect of the tablets, arguing that the tablets from Britannia could have been first displayed publicly in the temple and later thrown into the sacred spring. Taking into account that some tablets from Britannia contain also promise of reward to the deity if the thief is found and punished, he associates prayers for justice with votive inscriptions. But Versnel (2010, 342 ff.) criticizes such views and shows that these are not in fact promises to the deity in the sense of *votum* oriented to the future: the authors do not try to promise anything to the deity. Rather, these have to be seen as parallels of judicial accusations,³⁰⁶ in which the injured party – in either the present or past tense – commends the culprit a tithe of the stolen property, or both to the deity, while offering a reward in some cases (see 3.3.2.).

On the other hand, the whole matter can be attributed to the idea that blaming the vagaries of human life – disease, suffering, failure, loss – on the effect of the curse can make them more socially tolerable and easier to bear (see Gager, 1992, 23).

1.12 CRITERIA OF ANALYSIS

The opening chapters introduce the complex and diverse issues concerning the Latin magical texts analyzed in this work. Curses and prayers for justice are both similar and different in many ways. It seems useful, therefore, to analyze each group following slightly different criteria based on the different nature and diction of the two types of texts. For instance curses can be differentiated according to the type (or context) of their manufacture, i.e. legal curses, agonistic curses, love spells, etc., while this criterion cannot be applied to prayers for justice, as these were all made in the same context, i.e. the author had suffered some loss or damage. Curses and prayers for justice frequently differ also in structure, as well as in the aims and wishes of their authors. Thus, the criteria of analysis must be adjusted to the specific features of the particular texts: at some points these overlap, while at others they differ to a substantial degree; some features are found only in curses, some only in prayers for justice.

³⁰⁵ See Versnel (1991, 75 ff.), and especially Versnel (2010, note 22).

³⁰⁶ Versnel (2010, 342): prayers for justice, which are quasi-judicial accusations”.

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1.12.1 Shared Criteria of Curses and Prayers for Justice

The following criteria are taken into account when analysing Latin curses and prayers for justice:

- 1) **provenance** (province, locality)
- 2) **dating** (see Chapter 1. and 1.3.)
- 3) **place of finding** (grave, spring, circus, shrine, etc.) (see 1.8.3.)
- 4) **final arrangement of the tablet** (if it was punctured, rolled, etc.) (see 1.8.2.)
- 5) **cursing formulae** and their combination (formulation of the curse/prayer for justice from the syntactic and pragmatic points of view) (see 1.9. and Chapters 2. and 3.)
- 6) **additional elements**, including **time data** (the *terminus post* or *ante quem* the curse/prayer for justice should be executed, or its intended duration) or **vota** (promise of a reward to a deity for the fulfilment of author's wish) (see 1.9.2.)
- 7) **graphic disorientation** (curses, and less frequently prayers for justice, can be enriched with specific magical features on the graphic level of text, i.e. written right-to-left, upside down, etc.) (see 1.7.2.).

1.12.2 Criteria of Analysis Specific to Curses

The following criteria can only be distinguished in curses:

1. **the type of curse**, i.e. whether the curse is aimed at adversaries in lawsuits, at competitors in contests and races, or against rivals in love, or if it is supposed to raise affection, or the non-specific curse (see 1.1.2.2.).
2. **the authors and the accursed** (if the author's name is stated, which is very rare in curses), whether the curse was aimed against men, women, or horses (see 1.5.), and the filiation (further identification of the cursed people via mother's/father's name) (see 1.6.)
3. **the aims and wishes of authors** (what is sought via the curse, what is author's intent, in what way is the victim supposed to be harmed or limited – disease, death, restriction, separation, etc.) (see 1.10. and 1.10.1.)
4. **gods** (and supernatural powers) who are supposed to execute the curse, particularly the chthonic deities and daemons (see 1.7.)
5. **other magical elements**: apart from the aforementioned non-standard orientation of writing, these are also so-called *voces magicae* (names of

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daemons and magical words); *charaktéres*, i.e. *grammata* (magical patterns made of sequences of vowels and consonants); *signa magica* (magical non-alphabetic signs); *imago* (the image of daemon depicted on tablet) (see 1.7.1.); and graphic peculiarities, i.e. the use of Greek alphabet to write a Latin text, or a combination of Roman and Greek letters, which is especially true for the texts coming from African provinces [see 1.7.2.]. The use of Greek alphabet to write a Latin text is attested only once in prayers for justice (No. 239), the same in the case of *signa magica* (once in the analyzed corpus, No. 222).

1.12.3 Criteria of Analysis Specific to Prayers for Justice

Latin prayers for justice (1.2.) are analyzed either according to the criteria in common with curses (see points 1-7 above), or to their own specific set of criteria, as follows:

6. **the occasion of prayer** (theft, loss, perjury) (see 1.2.-1.2.3.)
7. **the stolen property** (clothes, jewellery, money, or some other loss) (see 1.2.)
8. **the aim of prayer and author's wish** (what does the author want to achieve: returning of the stolen property, return of the stolen property together with vengeance upon the thief, or mere vengeance) (see 1.10.2.), and the related restriction/punishment (limitation of bodily functions, disease, or death) (see 1.10.2.)
9. **the author's name** (see 1.5.); the culprit's name (although the culprits are often unknown) (see 1.6.); filiation (further identification of the cursed people via mother's/father's name) (see 1.6.)
10. **gods** (predominantly the local deities)³⁰⁷ (see 1.7.)
11. **address to the god** (whether the author explicitly addresses the deity s/he appeals to) (see 1.2.-1.2.3.) and the committal (of the thief or stolen property to the deity) (see 1.2.-1.2.3.)

These criteria could, at first sight, seem to be a mixture of incongruous and random data. They are, however, based on the logic of the curse and the cursing ritual by which it was dedicated. The curse was written according to the prescriptions of magical canon. The performance of the ritual, including both the verbal (inscribing and utterance) and non-verbal features (treatment of the

³⁰⁷ These are not necessarily stated explicitly, but can be deduced from the place of the particular finding, e.g. the shrine of a particular deity.

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tablet, its final arrangement and placement) attending the dedication of the curse constitute the practice of magic as we know it in the ancient world.

1.13 AIMS OF THE WORK

Based on the analysis and evaluation of the aforementioned data, I examine the occurrences, development and expansion of Latin cursing tradition in the various provinces of the Roman Empire; determine the specific geographical and cultural peculiarities of the texts of curses and prayers for justice; explore the expansion of the types of curses and cursing formulae; and observe the tendencies in their development, their mutual interaction and the adaptation of the Mediterranean magical tradition especially in the more remote areas. By way of introduction, I submit that the differences between the curses from the African provinces and the curses from all other European localities of the Roman Empire are striking. The African curse tablets were probably made by professional magicians experienced in charms and magical formulae. They are influenced by Egyptian and Eastern magical doctrine, which has been preserved partially in the form of the Greek magical papyri. These include complicated curses replete with the names of daemons,³⁰⁸ unintelligible magical words, and symbols. In Britannia, however, prayers for justice must have been popular, because we have a great number of them, and they are very complicated texts aimed against thieves and written by the victims of damage or loss themselves,³⁰⁹ while only a few very simple examples of curses have been preserved there. The northern provinces of Noricum, Raetia, Germania Superior, and Pannonia are interesting for their own adaptations of the Mediterranean tradition that incorporate local religious beliefs. Especially the recent findings from the votive depository adjacent to the temple of *Mater Magna* and Attis in Mainz provide us with good evidence of the blending of the formulae typical for curses and prayers for justice, along with some remarkable examples of the peculiar adaptations of traditional magical customs attested nowhere else in the Roman Empire. I am fully aware, however, that our knowledge of preserved Latin curses and prayers for justice – i.e. the documentation analyzed in this work – does not necessarily yield a concise and realistic image of ancient cursing practice. Curse tablets were designed for and addressed to the supernatural powers, and not to be seen by the eyes of mortals.

³⁰⁸ See 1.7. below.

³⁰⁹ Until now, there is only one extant tablet explicitly stating that it was written for someone else, see No. **294** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, **dfx.3.19/3**: *...nomine Camulorigi(s) et Titocun(a)e mulam quam perdederunt in fanum dei devovi...* (see 6.2.).

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As such, they were often carefully hidden – the randomness of the archaeological findings notwithstanding. Hence, it can be presumed that the extant *defixiones* are but a fragment of the overall ancient production and, consequently, that the corpus of curse tablets at our disposal cannot be regarded a representative sample of the Latin cursing tradition.

Furthermore, this work deals with the differences and common features of curses and prayers for justice, the latter being considered a parallel category of magical texts (see 1.10.2.). At this point the question arises to what extent are prayers for justice mere modifications or applications of usual curses, or if they should be regarded as a separate magical category fundamentally distinguishable from curses and votive inscriptions. On this question, scholarly opinion is split: J. Gager (1992, 175), D. Ogden (1997, 37 f.), M. Dreher (2010,2012) and A. Kropp (2008a, 119) look at the typology, ritual and formulae prayers for justice, and believe the former; H. S. Versnel (2010, 275 ff.) and R. S. O. Tomlin (1988, 62) propose the latter. I point out that especially in terms of authorial attitude and intent, prayers for justice are different from curses: the authors of prayers for justice seek “just” revenge, and the damage suffered is their motivation for manufacturing the tablet (the main goal is not a malevolent elimination of an opponent for one’s own sake, but revenge or compensation/satisfaction for the damage suffered). In comparing the extant Latin curses and prayers for justice, we may find more detailed data concerning the particular aims and wishes of the authors of prayers for justice, as well as the differences in this practice in various parts of the Roman Empire, thus helping to clearly define the extent of common features and differences between the two types of texts.

In this work I put forth a comprehensive examination of the extant evidence (a total of 309 tablets); I do not, however, examine the fragmentary texts. I am, then, only here concerned with those texts, which can be assessed according to at least three aforementioned criteria. The observed criteria can be divided into two groups: a) criteria concerning external, material features of the curse, e.g. ritual treatment of the tablet, places of deposition, etc.; b) criteria concerning the text of the curse or prayer for justice itself. This especially includes the data resulting from the analysis of the formulae used in the texts (5) and of other additional elements (6); as for the occurrence and spreading throughout the Roman Empire, focus on the specific types of curses (8); aims, wishes, and attitudes of the authors of curses (10) as well as of prayers for justice (15); and finally, examination of the motivations of prayers for justice (13) and stolen things (14). The addresses to deities, as well as the committal of culprits or stolen property in prayers for justice (18) are discussed in a separate chapter. A

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brief overview of the data not directly related to the text itself and its content, i.e. ritual treatment of the tablet, place of deposition (3), final arrangement of the tablet (4), dating (2), was given in the Introduction. The chapters dealing with the specific features of the extant texts from particular provinces are then focused on their authors and the accursed (9); or, in prayers for justice, on the authors and the culprits (16); on the deities and other magical features of curses (11 and 12) and in prayers for justice (17); as well as on the non-standard orientation of the script in curses and prayers for justice (7).

1.14 METHODOLOGY

In order to analyze the extant evidence, I compiled the texts which are observable according to at least three of the aforementioned criteria (cf. 1.12.1.). Therefore, the number of tablets used in my corpus is lower than that of Kropp's (2008) corpus, which includes 382 *defixiones* (see Charts 1 and 2 in Chapter 1). This work includes 208 curses and 101 prayers for justice (see Appendix I Latin Curses, and Appendix II Latin Prayers for Justice). The texts of curse tablets are given in their edited form, as is common practice (the original versions of often fragmentary texts include several peculiarities and deviations from Classical Latin, and would have to be cited using the Leiden Conventions common in epigraphy; this would impede the normal reading and quick orientation in the text). See also A. Kropp (2008), who cites the texts in their original form, as well as in the completed version modified into Classical Latin for the sake of better reading ("Lesetext"). Simplified original texts of *defixiones* are included in Appendix I and II, directly in text only if there is disagreement on the interpretation of some passages. The places where the text was damaged and afterwards edited are marked with parentheses. In several cases, the *lectiones variae* stated in the older editions of inscriptions are also taken into account, if they are significant for the interpretation of the text, its evaluation according to the applied criteria, or for the visualization of the extent of the damage to the text.

Afterwards, I analyzed the inscriptions according to the aforementioned criteria and statistically processed the results which enabled me to evaluate the data, the number of occurrences of particular observed phenomena, and mutual similarities and differences while applying different analytical criteria – these are sometimes not noticeable at first sight, like the use of particular cursing formulae when daemons are addressed, or that some of the seemingly interconnected features of the curses turn out to be mutually unrelated or independent of each other. Many combinations of compared criteria are open to analysis; however, not all of them lead to relevant results or reveal significant

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relationships. My particular interest is to compare particularly those parameters whose evaluation could reveal relevant interconnectedness or relationship between the particular features of curses. This will depend, for example, on the type of curse or the special use of particular types of curses in particular regions and times, as well as the ways of formulating curses or prayers for justice, authorial intent, the deities appealed to in particular regions or provinces, or the territorial proliferation of the more technical or practised magical elements suggesting the possible presence of professional magicians in the area, etc. The results of these comparisons are discussed in the analyses of the particular categories and in the Conclusion.

2. TYPOLOGY OF CURSING

When analysing cursing formulae in this work, I link the pragmatic-semantic perspectives, with some modifications drawing on the classification of formulae by A. Kropp (2010, 362 ff.) and Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 5 ff.) with the syntactic ones. In wider sense, I distinguish:

- 1) **simple nominal lists of cursed people, formula 0** (2.1.1.)
- 2) **direct cursing formula, formula 1 and formula 1a** (2.2.1. and 2.2.2.)
- 3) **invoking formulae of request and committal**
 - **formula 2, 2a** (2.3., 2.3.1., and 2.3.2.)**imperative invoking formulae using imperative/subjunctive** (direct speech act)
 - **formula 3, 3a** (2.3., 2.3.3., and 2.3.4.)**invoking wish-formulae using subjunctive** (indirect speech act)
 - **formula 4** (2.3. and 2.3.5.)**simile-formulae, i.e. analogy within invoking wish-formulae**
 - **formula 5** (2.3. and 2.3.6.)

The relationship between the function of a speech act statement and its linguistic form (in a broader sense) is a complex one: on the one hand, the linguistic form itself does not always correspond unambiguously to a particular type of speech act; on the other hand, the pragmatic value of a statement can often be expressed by various types of linguistic means, while these are often combined in one and the same utterance.¹ Thus, my intention is to encompass the variability of all formal means used in this specific, usually not analyzed, context of the ritual magical statements, in this I draw on the work of R. Risselada *Imperatives and other directive expressions in Latin*. I proceed from the simple formulae (predicate + object in the accusative) towards the more structured types (predicate + subordinate clause). I regard these two basic types of formulae to be the fundamental units on which the more complicated curses combining various types of formulae are based. The predicates of the main clause are classified into three main groups: direct curse (*defigo*); committal to a deity (*trado, do*); and request addressed to a deity (*rogo*), whereas all three are also analyzed according to the formal criteria, i.e. person, tense, mood. Furthermore, the way of application of the predicates of relative clauses is

¹ Risselada (1993, 66ff).

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analyzed, as well, if these are applied in the given formula, because I consider these to be an inseparable part of the formula.

Invoking formulae using imperative/subjunctive and wish-formulae contain in the main clause the predicates of cursing, as well as general predicates connected to the specific type of curse. Therefore, any further subdivision according to the meaning seems purposeless, as the type of predicate does not express the different approach of curse's author to the act of cursing itself, unlike the direct cursing formulae and the invoking curses using requesting and committal formulae; the invoking curses sometimes also contain the *simile*-formula.²

Concerning the fact that the texts of *defixiones* are very often damaged or fragmentary to some extent; moreover, they contain a lot of original, sometimes even unintelligible, formulations and deviations from the Classical Latin norm, as they have been written by non-professionals. Therefore, it is not always possible to assign them to the particular formula (see also 1.9.3.) without doubts. There are altogether 16 curses and 18 prayers for justice using the formulae which cannot be determined with certainty.

The analysis of used formulae takes into account the origin of a tablet, i.e. the province it comes from, its dating, and whether it is a simple or a combined formula. In the case it is a curse, I state also its type, if it is a prayer for justice, this criterion is not applied, as the context is still the same, i.e. loss or damage suffered.

2.1 SIMPLE AND COMBINED CURSES

The basic formulae described below are found either separately, or in a combination, on tablets. I speak of a **simple curse**, if only one formula was used in one curse and on one tablet. Approximately 30%³ of all Latin curses comprise of mere nominal lists of cursed people (see 2.1.1. below), while the simple curses are used on one quarter of all tablets. Most (three quarters) of the tablets contain some mutual combination of formulae coming after each other or repeating themselves. If the text of a curse contains more than one formula or the same formula used repeatedly throughout the tablet, I speak of a **combined curse**. Similarly, there are more prayers for justice with combined formulae

² See 1.9. and 1.9.3. above, as well as 2.3.6. below.

³ For the tablets with curses, 100% equals 208, for the tablets with prayers for justice 100% = 101.

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than those with the simple ones, the ratio being 6:1, while at least ten per cent of the evidence cannot be determined with certainty due to corruptions in texts.

2.1.1 Simple Nominal Lists of Cursed People

The texts, usually curses (see also 1.1.2.1. and 1.9.1.) and rarely also prayers for justice, which contain only the nominal lists of cursed people (these were inscribed on the tablet, while the curse itself was probably merely uttered,) are classified as **formula 0** curses. Such texts make approximately a third of all extant curses (see 2.1.) and are attested in almost all provinces, most commonly in Italy (13), Germania (ten), and especially in Britannia (20). As a matter of fact, these are predominantly classified as the non-specific curses (see 1.1.2.1.). In some rare cases, the context of a curse can be deduced – if there are the names of horses, the curse was probably delivered in the agonistic context, here and then the names include also attributes, as e.g. in No. **10** *adversarius*, No. **46** *inimici*, No. **48** *atvocati* which point to the legal context (see also 8.1.2., 1.6., No. **2**, **13**, and **141**, 1.9.1.). This formula appears altogether 66 times in curses, which makes 30 per cent of all tablets.

This type of formula is used only very rarely in prayers for justice (if the nominal list contains also the data referring to theft or revenge), two times in Italy and one time in Germania, see e.g. No. **210** from Concordia, **dfx.** 1.7.3/1: *Secundula aut qui sustulit*. (“Secundula or whoever stole it.”).

2.2 DIRECT CURSING FORMULAE

These are simple formulae correspondent to the term *direct binding formula* of Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 5 ff.) and to the term performative statement of A. Kropp (2010, 370 ff.), i.e. *manipulation formulae* and partially also *committal formulae* (see 1.9.3.). The formula contains a verb in the 1st sg. pres. appended by an object (in substantive form) and is divided into two categories **1** and **1a** according to the meaning of its predicate *defigo* × *trado*.

2.2.1 Formula 1: Direct Curse with the Predicates of Cursing

The formula comprises of the predicates in the 1st sg. like *defigo*, *ligo*, *deligo*, *obligo*, *describo*, the names of cursed people in the nom. or acc., the list of body parts, the mental and bodily functions, or the property and business of a victim, which are to be afflicted by the curse (prevailingly expressed by substantives as objects in the accusative). The one who curses is the subject of the cursing formula and automatically presupposes its execution (see Faraone, 1991, 10).

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This type, sometimes including formidable lists of all body parts, is not very common, it is attested in curses 15 times, which makes approximately 5.3% of tablets, and 4 times in prayers for justice, which makes 4% of tablets. It is used predominantly in the non-specific curses (see 1.1.2.1. and No. **12** below); in No. **11** it is combined with other formulae used in the legal context. Curses dominate this formula, only here and then it is found in prayers for justice (see No. **277** below), or with the predicate in pass. *enconfixus* (see No. **260**, 1.10.2. and 3.1.2.). No. **198** from London reads:

Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo et illius vita(m) et me(n)tem et memoriam et iocinera, pulmones... (“I curse Tertia Maria and her life, and mind, and memory, and liver, lungs...”) (see also 1.9.1.).

Compare also No. **12**: *Malchio Niconis oculos, manus, digitos, brachia, ungues, capillos, caput, pedes,...* *defigo in has tabellas*. (“Malchio, the son/slave of Nico, I curse with this tablet [his] eyes, hands, fingers, arms, nails, hair, head, feet,...”) (see also 1.1.2.1., 1.9.1., and esp. 7.3.1.2.).

No. **11** from Mentana, **dfx.** 1.4.2/2: *A: T(itus) Octavius sermone, M(arcus) Fidustius mutus (sit) sermone,...* *d(e)scribo cilos...* *B: membra omnia: latus, lingua, flatus, coria, talos, exta, ungues...* (“May Titus Octavius [be deprived] of speech, may Marcus Fidustius [be] mute [and deprived] of speech... I curse the eyelids... all limbs: hip, tongue, breath, skin, ankles, guts, nails...”) (see esp. 7.3.1.6.)

and No. **277** from Bath: *Execro (eum) qui involaverit, quod Deomiorix de hospitio suo perdiderit...* (“I curse [him] who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house.”) (see 1.2.2., 1.9.2., and 1.10.2.).

2.2.2 Formula 1a: Direct Curse with the Predicates of Committal

The structure of this formula is identical to the direct curse **1**, the only difference lies in the use of predicate. The predicates used are *do*, *dono*, *voveo*, *mando*, *trado*, *commendo*, *desacrifico*, *defero* in the 1st sg. + the name of the cursed person in the nom. or acc. + the list of body parts and functions (in substantive form usually as an object in the acc.), sometimes completed with the names of deities: No. **75**: *Dis Manibus hos(tes) voveo*. The writer of the curse commends curse’s victims to gods (in prayers for justice, also the culprit and stolen property are commended), while he himself remains the subject of the cursing formula which is to be executed by gods. This formula is classified by Faraone (1991, 5) under direct curses as the *direct binding formula*, and by

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Kropp (2010, 370 f.) as the *committal formula* (see 1.9.3.). It usually appears in combination with other formulae in more sophisticated curses with non-specific, legal or agonistic (rivalry in love) context (see No. **29** below). In curses, the predicates of committal prevail over the predicates of cursing; however, their dominance becomes more remarkable in prayers for justice (see No. **288** below). The formula and its variants (see below) is used 24 times in curses on approximately 11.5% tablets, and 9 times in prayers for justice, which is 9% of tablets. See No. **9** from Minturno, **dfx.** 1.4.1/1, which reads:

Dii inferi, vobis commendo illius membra, colorem, figuram, caput, capillos, umbram, cerebrum, frontem, supercilia... (“Underworld gods, I commend to you her limbs, hue, figure, head, hair, shade?/hair?, brain, forehead, eyebrows...”).⁴

Compare also No. **27** from Rome, **dfx.** 1.4.4/15: *Di Manes... inimicos meos commendo: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, alius trado: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo, Asclepiades, Time, Ce, Philaia...* (“Underworld gods, I commend my enemies [to you]: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, and further I deliver: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo...”) (see also 1.6. and 7.3.2.).

No. **76** from Kreuznach, **dfx.** 5.1.4/5: *...Sintonem et adiutorium eius Sintonis defero ad inferos...* (“I drive down to the gods of the Underworlds Sinto and the assistant of this Sinto...”) (see also 1.4. and 10.1.2.).

No. **288** from London, **dfx.** 3.14/6: *(D)ee Dea(na)e dono capitularem et fas(c)iam⁵ minus parte tertia. Si quis hoc fecit, si puer si puella si ser(vus) s(i liber) don(o eum) nec p(er) me (vi)v(ere) possit.* (“I give to the goddess Deana [my] headgear and band less one third. If anyone has done this, whether boy or girl, whether free or slave, I give him [to the goddess] and through me [i.e. my curse] let him be unable to live.”) (see also 12.2.2.).

This formula can be varied by the predicates of *handing over* in the past tense (see No. **278**), or in the form of the pf. pass. participle (see No. **31** and No. **82**), in some cases the verb is completely omitted (see No. **29**). A. Kropp⁶ classifies such cases as latently performative predicates (see also 1.9.3.). Such predicates in the past tense are found also in prayers for justice from Britannia like, for instance, No. **278**:

⁴ See also 1.9.2. and 7.3.1.3., the text is damaged to a large extent.

⁵ R. S. O. Tomlin (2003, 362 ff.) states that *capitulare* probably meant a cap, while *fascia* a scarf (see also 12.2.2.).

⁶ See Kropp (2008a, 148) and esp. Kropp (2010, 370 f.).

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Minervae deae Sulis donavi furem, qui caracallam meam involavit... (“To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak...”) (see 12.2.3., and Kropp, 2008a, 155 f.).

These peculiarities appear not only in curses, but also prayers for justice (see also No. **299** below).

See No. **31** from Cumae, **dfx.** 1.5.3./1: *Nomen delatum Naeviae L(ucii) l(ibertae) Secundae, sive ea alio nomine est.* (“Naevia Secunda, the freedwoman of Lucius, or if she is named differently, has been denounced/handed over.”).⁷

No. **82** from Kreuznach, **dfx.** 5.1.4/11: *Data nomina haec ad inferos.* (“These names have been handed over/denounced to the infernal gods.”) (see also 10.1.2.).

No. **29** from Calvi Risorta: *Dite, inferi, Caium Babullium et fututricem eius Tertiam Salviam.* (“Oh Dis [and] the underworld gods, [I curse] Gaius Babullius and that slut of his, Tertia Salvia.”) (see also 1.1.2.2.3.).

and No. **299** from Uley, **dfx.** 3.22/6: *Nomen furis, qui frenum involaverit, si liber si servus, si baro si mulier, deo donatur...* (The name of the thief [i.e. the thief, see 1.6.] who has stolen the bridle, whether free or slave, whether man or woman, is given to the god...) (see also 1.6.).

2.3 INVOKING FORMULAE

All formulae whose predicates express an invocation in wider sense, i.e. **plea**, **command**, or **wish**, are classified under the category of invoking formulae. This includes: the invoking formulae with the predicates of *request/committal* in the 1st sg. further extended by a purpose clause, not merely by a substantive object, i.e. formulae **2** and **2a** (see 2.3.1. and 2.3.2. below); **imperative invoking formulae** with the predicates in *imperative/subjunctive* extended either by a mere object – formula **3**), or by a purpose clause – formula **3a** (see 2.3.3. and 2.3.4. below); invoking **wish-formulae** with the predicates in

⁷ The interpretation of the term *nomen* is two-fold – either it is an expression used instead an unknown person because the one who writes the curse is not sure about victim’s name (see 1.6.), or it is a loan from legal language, similarly to No. **52** (see 1.9.2.): *nomen deferre* “to denounce someone”; see also No. **82** below. See Urbanová – Franek (2017, 618ff.).

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subjunctive which express a wish without explicit addressee⁸ – formula 4 (see 2.3.5.), and the *simile-formulae*, i.e. **analogy within invoking wish-formulae** – formula 5 (see 2.3.6.).

The curses which contain request and *committal formulae* 2 and 2a with the predicates in the 1st sg. usually contain either the verbs denoting committal like *do, dono, voveo...*, i.e. the same as the predicates of formula 1a (see 2.2.2. above); or the verbs denoting plea or request like *oro, rogo, peto, precor* (“I plead/ask”), *obsecro, adiuro* (“I adjure, I forswear”), *mando* (“I commend/command”) in the 1st sg. pres. Both groups of predicates are further extended by a purpose clause connected by the conjunctions *ut* or *ne* + present subjunctive, or using mere present subjunctive. In some rare cases, the predicates of *cursing* (*defigo*, see 2.2.1. and 1.9.3.) extended in this way appear, as well. This formula corresponds to A. Kropp’s (2010, 370 ff.) *committal* as well as *request* formula. The formula serves to commend the author’s concern to a deity, or to directly ask for the execution of the wishes expressed in the subordinate clause – in curses this is the harm which is to be done to the victims, in prayers for justice a compensation or revenge. This formula represents the more complicated extension of the predicates of *committal* (see formula 1a above), not very frequently also of the predicates of *cursing* (see formula 1 above), as well as of the invoking predicates of *plea* or *request*. This work takes into account also the author’s, i.e. agent’s, attitude towards the addressee. The predicate of the subordinate clause is either in the 3rd sg./pl. as in No. 27: *Di Manes commendo, ut pereant*. (“Gods *Manes*, I commend [to you], may they die.”) (see formula 2 below, 2.3.1. and 1.6.); or in the 2nd sg./pl. as in No. 64: *...rogo te, domina Isis, ut illi profluvium mittas* (“...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on him”) (see formula 2a below, 2.3.2., for the complete text, see 9.1.1.).

The result of my analysis is that formula 2 with the predicate of subordinate clause in the 3rd sg./pl. (see also 1.9.3.) is the type of formula most frequently used in curses. On the contrary, A. Kropp (2008a, 151) states that this type of formula appears very rarely, but this is not supported by my analysis (see 2.3.1. and 2.3.2. below). In prayers for justice the type with the predicate of subordinate clause in the 2nd sg./pl. (formula 2a) is used most commonly.

⁸ See A. Kropp (2010, 371 f.) who classifies these formulas under the category of request formulas as *indirect speech act, instruction without explicit addressee*. A. Kropp (2008a, 152 ff.) calls this formula *Wunschsatz* (see also 1.9.3.).

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Formula **2** represents the direct speech act of a third person (see Risselada, 1993, 42 ff. and 270 f.).⁹ In formula **2** the predicates of main clause are in the 1st person, while the subordinate clause expresses the action carried out not by the addressee (i.e. the deity), but by the absent victim. However, the addressee plays a significant role in the execution of the action expressed in subordinate clause, because the author makes him responsible for the execution of the action, sc. the deity should arrange for the harm or restriction which is to afflict the absent victim. In formula **2a** with the predicates of subordinate clause in the 2nd sg./pl. the author appeals to the deity with request or plea for the execution of the action specified in subordinate clause, i.e. the deity is the agent of the action in this case.

Furthermore, there is the **imperative invoking formula** with the predicate of main clause in imperative/subjunctive (see formula **3** below, 2.3.3.), in which both imperative and subjunctive are used collaterally having the same function.¹⁰ Imperative in the 2nd sg./pl. is usually used in curses, rarely imper. II is found, as well. Roughly one sixth of the curses contain subjunctive with formula **3** and **3a**, usually in the 2nd sg./pl., here and then also in the 3rd sg. This formula corresponds to the *prayer formula* of Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 5 ff.) which serves to invoke gods and daemons with the imperative in the 2nd sg./pl., and to the *request formula* of A. Kropp (2010, 371) which is described as a direct speech act with the predicate in imperative of the 2nd person or subjunctive used instead of imperative. In this work, the invocations with imperative/subjunctive are divided as follows:

Formula **3** – **imperative invoking formula**, the predicate in the 2nd person imperative/subjunctive extended by an object in the accusative: No. **115**: ... *facias illos mutos*... (“...make them mute...”) (see 1.1.2.2.2.); No. **18**: ... *tene, contere, confringe et... trade morti, filium Asseles, Praesenticium* (“...take hold of, destroy, bring to naught and... commit to death Praesenticius, son of Assela...”) (see 1.9.2.).

⁹ R. Risselada (1993, 258 ff.) calls this type a metadirective challenge: “Metadirectives are expressions by means of which the speaker explicitly mentions the perlocutionary effects that are systematically connected with the speech act that is being performed and “directs” the addressee to realize these effects.” This type with the predicates of main clause in the 1st sg. is attested only rarely in Latin literature. More often it appears after a directive predicate like *age, fac*, see formula **3** below, 2.3.3., e.g. *Tranio age, canem istanc a foribus abducant*... (“Tranio, make it happen that the dog is dragged away from the door...”; Pl. *Most.* 854).

¹⁰ See also Kropp (2008a, 151); Menge (2000, 551 ff.); and esp. Risselada (1993, 107 ff.).

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Formula **3a** – **imperative invoking formula**, the predicate in the 2nd sg./pl. imperative/subjunctive extended by the subordinate clause with *ut/ne* or with mere subjunctive: No. **114**: ... *alligate linguas horum, ... ne adversus nos respondere (possint)*... (“bind the tongues of those... so that they cannot testify against us...”) (see 1.1.2.2.1.); or No. **147** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/7**: *fac, Totti(na)... me amet... (semper?) de me cogitet*... (“make Tottina love me... constantly? may she think of me...”) (see 11.1.4.), in which the predicates of subordinate clauses are in the 3rd sg./pl.¹¹ (see 2.3.4. below); or marginally, an infinitive clause appears: No. **124**: ...*coge illam venire ad me*... (“...make her come to me...”) (see below and 1.1.2.2.3.).

Formula **4** – **invoking wish-formula** with the predicate in subjunctive, see subchapter 1.9.3. and esp. 2.3.5., corresponds to Faraone’s (1991, 5 ff.) term *wish formula* used for the Greek documentation (the victim is the subject of the 3rd person optative). Kropp (2010, 371 ff.) classifies it under the more general term of request formula as “instructions without explicit addressee”, see also 1.9.3. above. In Latin this denotes the author’s wish expressed by the subjunctive clause with the predicate in the 3rd sg./pl. (sometimes introduced by conjunction *ut*), the victim being the subject of the clause, while the addressee is unexpressed, see No. **35**: *Philocomus... tabescat, dominis non placeat*... (“May Philocomus decay, may he displease the masters...”).

Formula **5** – **simile-formula**, i.e. **analogy within invoking wish-formulae** (see 1.9.3. and esp. 2.3.6.) corresponds to Faraone’s (1991, 5) *simila similibus formula* which is the part of *wish formula* in terms of the Greek documentation, Kropp (2010, 375) refers to it as the analogy within the scope of invoking formula. In curses the persuasive analogy is applied via the comparative clauses of *quomodo – sic* type with a wish-formula using subjunctive in the main clause (2.3.5.), see e.g. No. **226**: *Quomodo hoc plumbum non paret et decadet, sic decadat aetas, membra*... (“Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom, so may the youth?, limbs...fall into decay...”) (see also 1.9.3., 1.4., and 9.2.).

¹¹ Apart from rare exceptions, e. g.: tablet No. **89**: *facia(tis), ut eorum ixsitum (= exitum) audiam*... (“make it happen that I will hear about their death...”), and No. **106**.

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2.3.1 Formula 2: Invoking Formula with the Predicates of Committal, Request, and Plea

This the formula which uses the predicates of *committal* like *do*, *mando*, *commendo*, *trado*, *voveo*, *defero* (these are the most common in curses, unlike prayers for justice where the amount of the predicates of committal and request is almost even), the predicates of *request/plea* like *oro*, *rogo*, *peto*, *precor*, *adiuro* (see 1.9.3.) (these are less common in curses except for *adiuro*), and the predicates of *cursing* like *ligo*, *oblio*, *alligo*, *deligo* (almost exclusively found in curses, esp. from African provinces), all in the 1st sg. pres. However, the predicates are very often combined, esp. those of *request* and *committal*, see No. 30 below: *mando*, *rogo*.¹² The request is usually addressed to the explicitly stated deity: *ad inferos*, *dis inferis*, *Proserpina*, together with the name of victim in the acc./nom. The predicate of purpose clause and introduced by conjunction *ut/ne* is in the 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj., or a mere subjunctive is used, and it aims at an absent cursed person who is the agent of the action expressed in subordinate clause, see No. 30 below: *mando*, *rogo*, *uti tabescat*; No. 115: *ligo*, *obligo linguas*, *ne possint respondere* (see also 1.1.2.2.1.); the formula can be enriched with a catalogue of body parts, as well (see No. 20 below). This formula is almost exclusively included in the more complicated curses (much more often than in prayers for justice), and is documented in the tablets coming especially from Africa, Italy and Germania. It is attested 90 times in curses (ca. 22%) and 26 times in prayers for justice (ca. 23%). It is found in almost all types of curses, most frequently in the legal curses (see No. 70 and No. 181), the non-specific curses (see No. 30 and No. 32 below), further also in the curses concerning rivalry in love (see No. 20 below), in love spells (see No. 173), in the agonistic context (see No. 151), and in some prayers for justice (see No. 298, No. 247, and No. 292 below). See No. 30 from Capua, **dfx.** 1.5.2/1, with the predicates of *committal* and *request*:

Cn(aeum) Numidium Astragalum v(oveo?) illius vitam valetudine(m), quaestum ipsumq(ue), uti tabescat morbo. (Ac) Sextius tabe(scat), mando, rogo. (“I dedicate? Gnaeus Numidius Astragalus, his life, health, profit and himself, may he die of disease. May Sextius die, I commend [him to you] and ask.”) (see also 1.9.3.).

¹² A frequent phenomenon in curses is the accumulation of synonyms (see 7.3.1.1., 10.1.1., and 11.3.1.).

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No. **20** from Rome with the predicate of *committal*:

...*Proserpina Salvia, do tibi nares, labra, aures, nasum, linguam, dentes Ploti, ne dicere possit Plotius.* (...Proserpina Salvia, I give you the nostrils, lips, ears, nose, tongue, teeth of Plotius, so that Plotius may be unable to speak...) (see also 1.10.1. and 7.3.1.4.).

No. **32** from Cumae, **dfx.** 1.5.3/2 with the predicate of *cursing*:

M(arcum) Heium M(arci) f(ilium), Calidum... hos homines omnes inferis (de)is deligo, ita ut ne q(uis) eorum quemcumque... possit, neve... quidquam agere p(ossit?). ("Marcus Heius, son of Marcus, Calidus... [the list of other six people follows] all these people I bind [with spells] to the infernal gods, so that none of them is able to... anyone, nor... [is able to] do anything.") (see also 1.6. and 1.9.3.).

No. **70** from Frankfurt, **dfx.** 5.1.2./1 with the predicate of *request*:

Rogo Mane(s et dii?) inferi, ut (Ma)rius Fronto, (adv)ersariu(s) Sex(ti), sit vanus neque loqui possit contra Sextum... ("I ask [you], Manes and the infernal gods, may Marius Fronto, the enemy of Sextus, be unsuccessful, may he be unable to speak against Sextus.") (see also 1.9.1. and 1.10.1.).

No. **181** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1/42 with the predicate of *plea/request*:

*Annibonia, Conscius, Laurentius, Piquarius, Felix, Copo, Salvus. Oro vos, ex hoc die, ut taceant, muti, mutili sint; Damnameneus.*¹³ ("Annibonia, Conscius, Laurentius, Piquarius, Felix, Copo, Salvus. I plead you, may they not speak, may they be mute, mutilated from this day on; Damnameneus.")

No. **173** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1./34 with the predicate of *cursing*:

...*(Perse)phone, ... obligo... (ex h)ac die ex hac ora, ut obliviscatur patris et matris (et) omnium suorum...* ("...Persephone, I bind [with spells] from this day and hour on, [may she forget about her mother, father, all her relatives and friends...]") (see also 11.1.4.).

and No. **151** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1./11 with the predicate of *plea/request*:

¹³ See 1.7.1. and Gager (1992, 267).

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*A: Sarbasmisarab.*¹⁴ *Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer Nervicus... precor vos, sancta nomina cadant homines et equi frangant. Sarbasmisarab...* (“Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer Nervicus [the names of horses]... I beg you, holy names, may men fall and the horses break down.”) (see also 1.9.3.).

Rarely, the variants of this formula are found in the prayers for justice from Britannia, namely the formula with the predicate of main clause in the 3rd sg., as e.g. in No. **275**: *Basilia donat in templum...* (see 1.2. and 6.2.1.3.) or in No. **298** which probably imitates the official language (see Kropp, 2008a, 156). In some cases, the goddess Sulis is both the addressee and the agent of subordinate clause (see No. **247**), or there is the predicate of main clause in the 3rd sg. act./pass. together with the predicate of subordinate clause also in the 3rd sg./pl., whereas the deity is both the addressee and the agent of subordinate clause, while the author as the agent of the predicate of main clause recedes (see No. **292** below).

No. **298** from Uley, **dfx.** 3.22/5, makes use of the predicate of *committal*:

Biccus dat Mercurio quidquid pe(r)d(id)it si vir si mascel, ne meiat, ne cacet, ne loquatur, ne dormiat, n(e) vigilet nec s(al)utem nec sanitatem nis(i) in templo Mercurii pertulerit... (“Biccus gives [over] to Mercury whatever he lost, whether [the culprit is] man or male¹⁵, may he be unable to urinate, nor defecate, nor speak, nor sleep, nor wake, nor [have] vigor nor health, until he brings [it] to the temple of Mercury...” (see also 6.2.1.2.).

Compare also No. **247** with another predicate of *committal*:

A: Docilianus Bruceri deae sanctissimae Suli devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit... uti eum dea Sulis maximo leto adigat nec ei somnum permitat... (“Docilianus, [son] of Brucerus to the most holy goddess Sulis. I curse him who has stolen my hooded cloak... that the goddess Sulis may inflict death upon him and not allow him to sleep...” (see 1.2.2. and 2.2.2.).

or No. **292** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, **dfx.** 3.19/1, too, with the predicate of *committal*:

¹⁴ This is the magical word, the tablet is equipped with magical signs, as well. It concerns the cursing of 26 horses and riders (see Appendix I).

¹⁵ Tomlin (1993, No. 4); this is a mistake of the writer, resp. a replacement of the formulas commonly used in prayers for justice from Britannia *si vir si femina* and *si mascel si femina* (see 1.6. and 1.10.2.).

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Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo, ut exigat. (“It is commended to the god Jupiter the Great and the Mightiest to exact...”) (see also 1.9.2.).

2.3.2 Formula 2a: Invoking Formula with the Predicates of Committal, Request, Plea, and Cursing

This is the invoking formula which uses the predicates of *request/plea* like *oro, rogo, peto, precor, deprecor, obsecro, queror, mando, demando*¹⁶ (these are the most common, esp. in prayers for justice); or the predicates of *committal* like *do, mando, commendo, demando, trado, devoveo, desacrifico* (these are less by half than the predicates of *request/plea*, more frequently used in prayers for justice, in which the predicate of *complaint* – *conqueror* – also appears; see No. 266 and No. 303 below, 1.10.2. and 1.9.2.); or the predicates of *cursing* like *ligo, colligo, implico, obligo* (these are documented predominantly in curses, esp. those coming from African provinces, and are very rare in prayers for justice) in the 1st sg. pres. The request is addressed to the mostly explicitly stated deity or daemons, e.g. *Nymphae, Orce pater, Proserpina, Dis inferis, domina Isis, Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu* (see No. 165) with the name of victim in the acc./nom. **The predicate of purpose clause and introduced by conjunction *ut/ne* is in the 2nd sg./pl.** The author appeals directly to the deity who is both the addressee and the agent of author’s wish expressed in subordinate clause, i.e. the agent of the predicate of subordinate clause, see No. 122: *Rogo, commendo..., ut eam abducas...* (see 1.10.1.). This formula is almost exclusively included in the more complicated texts and is used 23 times in curses (8.5%), and 42 times in prayers for justice (29%). It is found in the non-specific (see No. 1 and No. 64), legal (see No. 183), and agonistic context (see No. 165) and is very well documented in prayers for justice (see No. 217, 1.2.1., No. 236, and No. 266). Whereas curses usually contain formula 2 rather than formula 2a (in the rate of 2:1), formula 2a prevails over formula 2 in prayers for justice in the same rate of 2:1. The frequent use of subordinate clause with the predicate in the 2nd sg./pl. in prayers for justice is related to the usual term of address to the deity and the committal of thief or stolen property to gods.

See No. 1 with the predicates of *committal*:

Q(uintum) Letinium Lupum... hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico, uti vos Aquae ferventes, sive vos Nymphae..., uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis... (“I commend, devote, and sacrifice to your

¹⁶ The verbs *mando* and *demando* can either be the predicates of *committal* meaning “I commend, entrust”, or the predicates of *request* meaning “I command, order, plead”.

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power Quintus Letinius Lupus,... may you, boiling Waters, or you, the Nymphs,... destroy him, and kill him..." (see also 1.9.1.).

No. **64** with the predicate of *request*:

Tib(erium) Claudium Treverum, natione Germanum, lib(ertum) Claudii Similis, rogo te domina Isis, ut illi profluvium mittas. ("...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on Tiberius Claudius Treverus of German origin, the freedman of Claudius Similis.") (see also 9.1.1.).

No. **183** from Constantine, **dfx.11.3.1/1** with the predicates of *committal/request*:

...demando tibi, ut acceptu(m) habeas (S)ilvanum quem... et custodias... (de)mando, ut facias illum mortuum. Deponas eum ad Tartara... ("...I commend to you [the daemon is addressed] to take Silvanus who...and... to guard [him]... I order you to arrange for his death. Put him in Tartarean regions...").

No. **165** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/25** with the predicate of *request*:

*Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu... obsecro te, venias ad... et hos equos... contrahas... et auferas ab eis nervos, vires, medullas, impetus, victorias...*¹⁷ ("Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu [the names of daemons], I conjure you to come to...and to overthrow those horses...and to deprive them of muscles, strength, entrails/marrow, run-up, victories...").

No. **217** from Bolonia. **dfx.2.2.1/1** with the predicate of *request*:

Isis Myrionyma... rogo domina, per maiestatem tuam, ut hoc furtum reprehendas. ("Isis Myrionyma... I ask you, Lady, by your majesty, that you punish this theft.") (see also 1.2.1.).

¹⁷ The text is damaged, but daemons are invoked and there is a figure of a daemon on a ship depicted on the tablet (see also 11.1.3.2.).

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No. **236** from Mainz, DTM 11 with the predicates of *committal* and *request*:

Mando et rogo religione, ut mandata exagatis Publium Cutium... (“I hand over [to you],¹⁸ and, observing all ritual form, ask that you require from Publius Cutius ... the return of the goods entrusted...”) (see 1.4. and 1.10.2.)

and No. **266** from Bath, *dfx*.3.2/46 with the predicate of *complaint*:

...conqueror tibi Sulis, Arminia, (ut) Verecundinum Tarenti c(ons)umas, qui argentiolos duos mihi levavit,¹⁹ no(n il)l(i p)ermittas nec sedere nec iacere nec ambulare nec somn(um nec) sanitatem... (“[I] Arminia, complain to you, Sulis, [so that] you kill Verecundinus, son of Tarentus, who has stolen two silver coins from me. You are not to permit him to sit or lie, or to walk, or to [have] sleep, or health...”) (see also 12.2.3.).

2.3.3 Formula 3: Imperative Invoking Formula with the Predicate in Imperative

This formula uses the predicate in imperative/subjunctive and appeals directly to gods ordering them how to treat the victim of the curse. The deities are mostly explicitly stated, see e.g. No. **20**: *bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor*; ca. in one third of all texts and most of the tablets coming from Africa the authors appeal to daemons, see No. **132** below: *Βαχα(χvχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon*. There are either the predicates of *cursing* like *alligate*, *obligate*, *defigite*, or the predicates concerning the general actions related to curses like *retinete*, *cogite*, *facite/facias*, *interficite tere*, *contere*, *eripias*, *necetis*, *occidas*, *tradas...*, in prayers for justice *vindicare* (“to claim, avenge”) and *exigere* (“to exact back”) are found. The imperative or subjunctive predicate is further extended by an object in the accusative. Thus, it can be regarded an equivalent of formula **1**, see 2.2.1. above, No. **198**: *Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo...*, and formula **1a**, see 2.2.2. above, No. **27**: *di Manes... inimicos meos commendo...*, which differ from each other in the type of predicate, author’s attitude and mood. This formula usually appears as a part of the more complicated texts and combined with other formulae, it is found 72 times in curses (ca. 16%), and only 7 times in prayers for justice (ca. 4%). The formula is attested predominantly in curses, esp. those with the non-specific (see No. **5**),

¹⁸ The names of the deity are not written in the tablet itself, but the author probably addresses Attis and *Mater Magna* (the Great Mother), as the tablet has been found in the depository of the shrine devoted to them.

¹⁹ There is *revavit* in the text, which is probably a mistake (see Appendix I).

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legal (see No. **116**), love (see No. **182**), and agonistic context (see No. **132**). The author directly orders gods and daemons what to do, only very rarely this formula appears in prayers for justice (see also 2.3. and No. **276**).

No. **5** from Bologna, **dfx.1.1.2/3**, reads: *Porcellus, Porcellus mulomedicus... interficite eum, occidite, enecate, praefocate Porcellum et Maurillam uxorem ipsius...* (“Porcellus, Porcellus the veterinarian... destroy him, kill, slay, strangle Porcellus and his wife Maurilla...”).²⁰

See also No. **116** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1./6**: *Domina (Te)rra(?)...mutos et m(e)tu plenos facias...* (“Lady Earth?, make them mute and filled of fear...”) (see also 11.1.2.).

No. **182** from Thysdrus, **dfx.11.2.2./1**: *retine mi(hi) Patelariam Minorem, amor piger n(obis)...* (“Hold Patelaria Minor for me, our love is sluggish...”).²¹

No. **132**: *Βαχα(χυχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon, obliges, perobliges Maurussum venatorem...* (“Bachachuch, [you] who are the great Egyptian daemon, bind and tie up Maurussum the hunter...”) (see also 11.1.3.1.).

and No. **276** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/77**: *Seu gen(tili)s seu christianus, quicumque utrum vir, utrum mulier, utrum puer, utrum puella utrum servus utrum liber mihi Anniano Matutene de bursa mea sex argenteos furaverit, tu domina dea ab ipso perexi(g)e (eo)s... nec sic ipsi dona, sed ut sanguinem suum (r)eputes²³ qui mihi hoc inrogaverit.*²⁴ (“Whether pagan or Christian,

²⁰ The text of the tablet is damaged (see Appendix I and esp. 7.3.1.5.).

²¹ See also Appendix I.

²² The tablet dates back to the 3rd/4th cent. AD and R. S. O. Tomlin (1994, 106) assumes that its author was probably a Christian. Moreover, Tomlin (1988, 233) argues that this is the first epigraphic evidence of the word *christianus* in Britannia.

²³ R. S. O. Tomlin (1988, 232 ff.) adds *(r)eputes* meaning “to settle a debt, pay off”. H. S. Versnel (1991, 89) and A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.3.2/77**) read *epotes*, i.e. “drink up!?”; if it is so, the goddess Sulis (not explicitly named, but the tablet was found in the sacred spring in Bath) is to drink up culprit’s blood for punishment. No similar expression is attested elsewhere, despite the popularity of blood as the means of punishment in the texts from Britannia – *sanguine suo solvat, redimat* (see 1.2.3, 1.9.2., and 1.10.2.). The proper name *Matutene* is probably a metronymic.

²⁴ The nominal list of suspected people follows: *Postum(ianu?)s, Pisso, Locinna, (Al)auna, Materna, Gunsula, C(an)didina, Euty chius, Peregrinus, Latinus, Senicianus, Avitianus, Victor, Sco(tr)us, Aessicunia, Paltucca, Calliopis, Celerianus* (see Appendix II).

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whosoever, whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, has stolen from me, Annianus (son of) Matutina?, six silver coins from my purse, you Lady Goddess, are to exact [them] from him ... and do not give thus to him, but reckon as? the blood of him who has invoked this upon me.”) (see also 1.7.).

2.3.4 Formula 3a: Extended Imperative Invoking Formula with the Predicate in Imperative

This is the formula which uses the predicate in imperative/subjunctive and is extended either by the subordinate clause with *ut/ne*, or by simple subjunctive (ca. one seventh of formulae), rarely by a non-finite independent clause with the accusative after the predicate *coge* (see also 2.3. and No. **124** below). The formula is explicitly addressed to gods (see e.g. No. **20**),²⁵ especially to daemons (this holds true for the two thirds of the texts, as well as for all tablets coming from Africa, which use this formula): *Iaō, Adōnai* (see No. **161**, **dfx.11.2.1/21**); *daemones infernales* (see No. **171** below); *Tu autem Abar Barbarie Eloie Sabaoth Pachnouphy Pythipemi* (see also 1.9.2., No. **148**). The formula uses either the predicates of **cursing**: *perobligate, implicate* and especially *alligate, obligate, gravate* – this *tricolon* was a very popular formula in agonistic context: it concerns the cursing of charioteers and racehorses and it is attested only in the texts from Africa probably as a result of professional magicians’ batch production (see No. **152-161**, 11.1.3.2.); or the predicates referring to the action of the curse esp. in agonistic, love, and legal contexts: *fac/faciatis, coge, urgue, perturba, occidite, frangite, tenete, detinete, premas, deprimas*. These predicates are extended, similarly to the formula **2** (see 2.3.1. above), either by the subordinate clause with the predicate in the 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj., or by simple subjunctive, while the action aims at an absent cursed person who is at the same time the agent of the subordinate clause.

This type of formula appears almost exclusively in combination with other formulae in the more complicated curses and it is documented mostly in African provinces, further also in Italy, rarely in Hispania, Germania and Pannonia, as well. It is mostly used within agonistic context, especially in curses aimed against charioteers and racehorses (see No. **152** below, No. **143** and No. **171**), but also in non-specific curses, love spells (see No. **124**) and legal curses (see No. **38** below). Its occurrence in terms of curses and prayers for justice is analogous to formula **3**, it is found altogether 49 times in curses (ca. 17.5%) and

²⁵ See also 2.3.3. above, this concerns a complicated curse which combines formulas **3** and **3a** (see esp. 7.3.1.4.).

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only 7 times in prayers for justice (ca. 6%) (see No. **212** and No. **217** below, 1.2.1., as well as No. **276**: *nec sic ipsi dona sed ut sanguinem suum (r)eputes*,²⁶ 2.3.3.). No. **152** reads:

Obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint, nec se movere possint, sed cadant, frangant, dis(f)rangantur... (“Bind up and oppress the horses of the blue and red [teams], so that they cannot run nor obey the reins, nor be able to move, but may they fall, break, [may their chariots] be smashed apart...”) (see also 1.1.2.2.2. and 11.1.3.2.).

Compare also No. **143**: *Deseceas Ballincum Lolliorum de curru actum, ne possit ante me venire et tu, quicumque es daemon...* (“Cut down Ballincus, [the charioteer] of *Lolii*, so that he falls down from his chariot, and cannot outride me, and you, whatever daemon you are...”) (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

No. **171** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/3**: *...daemones infernales, obligate illis equis pedes, ne currere possint, illis equis, quorum nomina hic scripta et demandata habetis; obligate illos, ne currere possint crastinis et perendinis circensibus...* (“... Underworld daemons, bind up the hooves of those horses may they be unable to run, of those horses whose names you have inscribed and commended here; bind them up so that they cannot run in the *circenses* held tomorrow nor the day after tomorrow...”) (see also 11.1.3.2.).

No. **124**: *...Βιβίριξι, qui es fortissimus daemon, urgue, coge illam²⁷ venire ad me amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei causa...* (“Bibirixi, you who are the most powerful daemon, urge [her], make her come to me loving and burning with love and desire for me...”) (see also 1.1.2.2.3.).

No. **38** from Este, **dfx.1.7.2/1**: *Privatum Camidium, Q(uitus) Praesentius Albus, Secunda uxor Praesenti... si quis inimicus, inimica, adversarius, hostis, Orce pater, Proserpina cum tuo Plutone, tibi trado, ut mittas et deprimas, tradito tuis canibus tricipitibus et bicipiti(bus), ut eri(piant) capita, cogit(ata), cor...* (“Privatus Camidius (in acc.), Quintus Praesentius Albus, and Secunda, wife of Praesentius...if any [of them] is a foe, enemy, and adversary, be it man or woman, oh, Father Orcus, [and] Proserpine with your Pluto, I hand [them] over to you so that you throw down and suppress

²⁶ The predicate of the subordinate clause is in the 2nd sg. and is related directly to the addressee (deity), see also No. **282** from Broomhill, **dfx.3.5/1**: *...(ne ei) dimitte (male)ficium, dum tu vindicas* (see 12.2.3. and No. **217**, 1.2.1.).

²⁷ The name of the woman has not been preserved in the tablet (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

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[them], hand [them] over to your two- and three-headed dogs, may they tear their heads off?, thoughts, heart...”²⁸ (see also 1.6. and 1.9.3.)

and No. **212** from Mariana, **dfx.1.9.1/1**: (*Persequa?*)*ris eum, ut male contabescat, usque dum morietur, ... et illum persequaris, ne annum ducat...* (“Persecute him so that he languishes badly, until he is dead,... and persecute him so that he does not live more than a year...”) (see also 7.5.).

2.3.5 Formula 4: Invoking Wish-Formula with the Predicate in the 3rd sg./pl. Pres. Subj.

This is the wish-formula which uses the predicate in the 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj., in some cases introduced by conjunctions *ut* or *sic*, and expresses author’s unaddressed wish concerning what should happen to the victim being the subject of the predicate in the 3rd person, without the author playing the role of the agent. The addressee is not directly expressed or addressed as in the previous formulae (see also Kropp, 2008a, 153). No. **35** reads:

Philocomus, Antiochus, Pharnaces, Sosus, Erato, Epidia tabescat, dominis non placeat, item hi, quorum nomina hic sunt, pereant... illorum dicta, facta ad inferos... (“Philocomus, Antiochus, Pharnaces, Sosus, Erato, Epidia, may they decay, may they fall into disgrace of their masters, and may those, whose names are [inscribed] here, die... [I commend?] their words and deeds to the infernal gods...”).

A direct reference to a god or some other agent of the curse in the 3rd sg. is found only very rarely (see No. **277** and No. **229** below). The formula uses general predicates associated to the context and actions of the curse like *tabescat, obmutescant, sileat, amentita surgat*; simple subjunctive is here and then accentuated by *ut – ut insaniat*, or sometimes by *sic*: *sic non possit loqui*. The curses made in agonistic context contain predicates like *cadant, frangant*, rarely also the passive predicates like *implicetur, obligetur*; in love context *uratur, ardeat, obliviscatur, non possit dormire*, etc. Prayers for justice, especially those coming from Germania and Britannia, usually employ the predicates related to revenge: *Priscilla pereat* (No. **228**, see 10.2.1.), *ut illas vorent canes* (No. **231**), *ut animam suam in templo deponat* (No. **249**), *sanguine*

²⁸ The text of the tablet is damaged, completion *eri(piant)* seems to be the most logical one, i.e. the author orders the Underworld gods to toss out his enemies to the dogs. Not the victims of the curse, but the infernal dogs are the agents of subordinate clause in this case.

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suo solvat (No. **286**) (see 12.2.2.). This type of formula appears more frequently in the texts from Italy, here and then also from other European provinces and Britannia, though half of these texts comes from Africa. It is found purely in the more complicated curses in combination with other formulae, and is attested in non-specific, agonistic curses – the cursing of gladiators (No. **134**), charioteers and racehorses (No. **157**), love spells (No. **121**), legal curses (No. **56** and No. **105**), and in the curses related to rivalry in love (No. **51**, No. **91**, and No. **198**). It appears 50 times in curses (ca. 18%) and 31 times in prayers for justice (ca. 23%), see No. **230**, 1.7.2.; No. **23**, 1.9.2., 1.10.2., and 10.2.3.; No. **244**, 1.2.; No. **260**, 1.10.2.; and No. **277**, 1.2.2., 2.2.1., and 1.9.2.

See No. **134** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/27**: ...*Sapautulus currere non possit, obligentur illi pedes, nervi...* (“... may Sapautulus be unable to run, may his feet, muscles... be tied up.”) (see 11.1.3.1.).

No. **157** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/17**: *Naucelliu, Supe(r)stianu, Heliu, Privatianu, Zenore, Castore, Aratore*²⁹ ... *cadant; Macedone, Atquesitore cadant, Hellenicu Virgineu cadant, Comatu Indu cadant, Fariu Amatu cadant, Ideu, Centauru cadant, frangant, disfrangantur ma(le) girent, palma(m) vincere non (p)ossint, nec frenis audiant, cadant.* (“Naucellius, Superstianus, Helius, Privatianus, Zenor, Castor, Arator... may they fall, Macedon, Atquesitor, may they fall, Hellenicus, Virgineus, may they fall, Comatus, Indus, may they fall, Farius, Amatus, may they fall, Ideus, Centaurus, may they fall, may they break, may [their chariots?] be smashed apart, may they turn wrongly, may they be unable to win and get the palm of victory, may they not react to the bridle, may they fall.”).

No. **121** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/13**: *Uratur Successa aduratur amo(re) vel desiderio Successi.* (“May Successa burn, may she be set on fire with love and desire for Successus.”) (see 11.1.4.).

No. **56** from Córdoba, **dfx.2.2.3/4**: *Priamus l(ibertus) mutus sit omnibus modis.* (“May Priamus the freedman be mute in all ways.”) (see 8.1.1.).

²⁹ Most of the agonistic tablets from Africa including the long nominal lists of horses and charioteers from the cursed team put the names of the cursed persons and horses in the nominative, prevalingly omitting final *-s*. Therefore, some editors amend all horses’ names in African *defixiones* to their nominative forms (Kropp 2008). However, in the texts of ca. ten tablets (DT No. 275–284) from Hadrumetum, the names of horses stand in the accusative, as third-declension names clearly show, e.g. *Castore, Aratore* and others. See Herman (1987: 103ff) and Adams (2013: 249 ff.).

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No. **105** from Kempten, **dfx.7.2/1**: *Mutae*³⁰ *tacitae, ut mutus sit Quartus, agitatus erret ut mus fugiens aut avis adversus basyliscum...* (“Silent *Mutae*,³¹ may Quartus be mute, may he stray around roused up like a mouse, or a bird, fleeing from a basilisk...”).

No. **51** from Saguntum, **dfx.2.1.3/1**: *Quintula cum Fortunali sit semel et numquam.* (“May Quintula never meet Fortunalis again.”).³²

No. **91** from Mainz, **dfx.5.1.5/4**, DTM 15: *Prima Aemilia Narcissi agat, quidquid conabitur, quidquid aget omnia illi inversum sit, amentita surgat, amentita suas res agat. Quidquid surget, omnia interversum surgat. Prima Narcissi agat como haec carta nuncquam florescat, sic illa nuncquam quicquam florescat.*³³ (“[Whatever] Aemilia Prima, [the lover?] of Narcissus may do, whatever she attempts, whatever she does, let it all go wrong [lit. may it be perverted]. May she get up [out of bed] out of her senses/mind, may she go about her work out of her senses/mind. Whatever she strives after, may her striving in all things be reversed. May this befall Prima, the lover of Narcissus: just as this tablet shall never bloom, so she shall never bloom in any way.”).³⁴

No. **198** from London, **dfx.3.14/1**: *Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo et illius vita(m) et mentem et memoriam et iocinera, pulmones... Sic non possit loqui, quae secreta sint...* (“I curse Tertia Maria and her life, and mind, and memory, and liver, lungs... Thus may she be unable to tell the secrets...”) (see also 1.9.1., 2.2.1., and 12.1.1.).

No. **249** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/23**: *Si (qui)s vomerem Civilis involavit, ut an(imam) suam in templo deponat...* (“If anyone has stolen Civilis’ ploughshare [I ask] that he [the thief] lay down his soul [i.e. life] in the temple...”) (see also 1.2. and 12.2.3.).

No. **277** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/78**: *Execro (eum) qui involaverit, quod Deomiorix de hospitio suo perdiderit, quicumque res deus illum inveniatur,*

³⁰ Ov. *Fast.* II, 572 refers to the infernal goddess named Tacita, as well as the nymph called Muta (*Ibid.*, verse 538).

³¹ For the detailed commentary, see 10.1.2.

³² For the interpretation of this tablet, see Corell (1994, 281 ff.); see also 8.1.3.

³³ For the interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2007/2008, 6). The text is written counter-clockwise (see also 6.2.1.1., compounds of the verb *verto*, and 10.1.2.).

³⁴ Blänsdorf’s translation in Gordon – Simón (2009, 170); for the *simile*-formula, see also Urbanová (2016, 333ff.).

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sanguine et vitae suae illud redimat. (“I curse [him] who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house. Whoever [stole his] property, the god is to find him. Let him buy it back with [his] blood and his own life.”) (see also 1.2.2., 1.9.2., and 1.10.2.).

and No. **229** from Gross-Gerau: *(H)umanum quis sustulit Verionis palliolum sive res illius, qui illius minus fecit, ... ut illius manus, caput, pedes, vermes, cancer, vermitudo interet membra, medullas illius interet.* (“The human who stole Verio’s cloak or his things, who deprived him of his property, ... may the worms, cancer and maggots penetrate his/her hands, head, feet, as well as his/her limbs and marrows.”) (see also 1.10.2.).

2.3.6 Formula 5: Simile-Formula, i.e. Analogy within Invoking Wish-Formulae

This is the formula based on the analogy which is expressed by the wish that the victim becomes similar to something s/he differs from, or that the victim happens to be in a situation different from his/her recent condition (see 1.9.1. and 1.9.3. above, No. **226**). It uses the comparative clauses with conjunctions *quomodo – sic, ut/ita – sic*. No. **17** reads:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit... (“Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak nor talk [to anyone], may Rhodine be dead for Marcus Licinius Faustus, nor be able to speak or talk [to him]...”).

What is to happen to the victim is expressed by the wish-formula in the 3rd sg./pl. subj.³⁵ in the main clause introduced by *sic* (see formula **4** above, 2.3.5.). The subordinate clause using indicative and introduced by *quomodo* formulates what the victim of the curse should resemble. *Simile*-formulae, just like figurines (see 1.8.1.), employ the so-called persuasive analogy, which, unlike empirical analogy, does not anticipate future events by virtue of parallel events observed, on the contrary, it tries to influence future events according to the pre-designed model. The persuasive analogy in terms of cursing ritual is intended to transfer the desirable features of one object to another, while the objects concerned possess differences, as well as similarities (see Tambiah, 1978, 275;

³⁵ Mostly, pres. (or pf.) subj. is used, rarely also pres. ind. appears in main clause (see No. **101** below). In relative clause, indicative is usually used, but sometimes also subjunctive is found (see No. **91** and No. **25**) and Urbanová (2016, 334ff.).

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Faraone, 1991, 8; Kropp, 2008a, 175 ff.). The subjunctive in main clause expresses the wish that something is similar to something else, or that something attains the features of something else, which is founded on a strong belief in the power of some rituals or formulae. In the above mentioned case, Rhodine is supposed to resemble the dead man with respect to the inability to speak to Marcus Licinius, just like the dead one cannot speak anymore (see Faraone, 1991, 8 ff.). This formula is not documented very often, it appears 26 times in curses (ca. 9%) and 20 times in prayers for justice (ca. 12%). The curses which use this formula come from Africa, Italy, and Germania, rarely also from other provinces, especially in the contexts related to lawsuits (see No. **118** below and No. **67** above, 1.10.1., and No. **76**, 1.4., and 10.1.2.), and rivalry in love (see No. **91** above, 2.3.5.): *Prima Narcissi agat como haec carta nuncquam florescat, sic illa nuncquam quicquam florescat*; and No. **100**, 1.7.1. and 7.3.1.4.), as well as in the non-specific curses (see No. **25** below), concerning the rivalry in circus (No. **140**) and related to love spells. The situation of prayers for justice is somewhat different, almost two thirds of the texts using this formula come from Germania (see e.g. No. **231** above, 1.10.2.; No. **235**, 10.2.2.; No. **236**, 1.10.2., 10.2.4.; and No. **234** below), rare pieces of evidence have been found in Gallia (see No. **226**, 1.4. and 9.2., 10.2.2. and 10.2.3.), Britannia (see No. **242** below), Pannonia (see No. **239**, 1.10.2., 6.2.1.3., and 1.7.1.), and Noricum (see No. **101** below).

No. **118** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/8**: *Claudia Helene, Clodia Successi, Clodia Steretia, Clodius Fortunatus, Clodius Romanus... (quomodo) huic gallo... lingua(m) vivo extorsi et defixi, sic inimicorum meorum linguas adversus me obmutescant...* (“Claudia of Helen, Clodia of Successus, Clodius Fortunatus, Clodius Romanus [probably the names of freedmen]... just like I ripped out and transfixed alive the tongue of this cock, may the tongues of my enemies be equally struck mute against me...”).³⁶

No. **25** from Rome (?), **dfx.1.4.4/13**: *...Quomodo haec anima intus inclusa tenetur et angustatur et non videt neque lumen, neque aliquem (refri)gerium non (h)abet, si(c) a)nima, (mentes, cor)pus Collecticii, quem peperit Agnella teneatur, ard(eat), detabescat...* (“...Just like this soul is enclosed inside, imprisoned, and sees no light, nor has any recreation, may the soul, mind and body of Collecticius, whom Agnella bore, be equally enclosed, may it burn, and fall into decay...”) (see also 1.10.1.).

³⁶ I state the edited text of Kropp (2008), see also Appendix I and 11.1.2.

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No. **140** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/37**, reads: *A: Σεμσειλαμ³⁷ ... q(omod)o ped(es) (h)abes l(igat)os, sic et iis albis ligate pedes Alumno et Pyro, Poliacre et Lascivio, obligate pedes... ut obruant.* (“...just as your feet are tied up, may you [in plural] bind the hooves of [the horses of white team?]”³⁸ Alumnus and Pyrus, bind up the hooves of Poliarcus and Lascivius... so that they fall over”³⁹).

See also No. **234** from Mainz: *...Ita uti galli Bellonarive absciderunt concideruntve se, sic illi abscissa sit fides, fama, facultas. Nec illi in numero hominum sunt, neque ille sit. Quomodi et ille mihi fraudem fecit sic illi, sancta Mater Magna, et relegis cuncta. Ita uti arbor siccabit se in sancto, sic et illi siccet fama fides fortuna facultas.* (“...Just like the priests of *Mater Magna* [i.e. *galli*] and the priests of Bellona have castrated or cut themselves, so may his good name, reputation, the ability to conduct his affairs be cut away. Neither they are numbered among mankind, nor may he be. Just like he deceived me, so may [you,] holy *Mater Magna* take everything away from him. Just like the tree in the shrine will desiccate, so may his reputation, good name, fortune, and the ability to conduct his affairs do the same/wither.”) (see also 1.10.2.; and Blänsdorf, 2010, 170 ff).

No. **242** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/1**: *Qui mihi VILBIAM (fibulam) involavit, sic liquat⁴⁰ com(odo) aqua..., qui eam involavit... Velvinna, Exsupereus, Verianus, Severinus, Augustalis, Comitianus, Minianus, Catus, Germanilla, Iovina.* (“May he who has stolen the [brooch] from me become as liquid as water ... who has stolen it... [a list of potential culprits follows].”) (see also 9.2.). This is the only evidence of the *simile*-formula used in Britannia;

And No. **101** from Mautern, **dfx.6.1/1**: *Pluton, sive Iovem infernum dici oportet, Aeracura Iuno inferna, acciete iam celerius infrascriptum et tradite*

³⁷ J. Tremel (2004, note 160) identifies this magical word with Hermes; J. Gager (1992, 269) associates it with the Hebrew word meaning “sun” which is frequently attested in *PGM*.

³⁸ This place is interpreted according to J. Tremel (2004, No. **68**, 179 f.) *sic et iis albis*, in the tablet there is also a depiction of a demonic figure with hands tied to a cross (see also 11.1.3.2.).

³⁹ This is a rare example of the *simile*-formula used in combination with formula **3a** using imperative, not the usual wish-formula (formula **4**).

⁴⁰ *Liquat* – probably a misspelling instead of *liquetur*, *liquatur*, or *liquescat* (see Tomlin, 1988, No. 4).

2. TYPOLOGY OF CURSING

Manibus⁴¹ *Aurelium Sinnianum Caesarianum. Sic Silvia inversum maritum cernis, quomodo nomen illius scriptum est.* (“Pluto, or, if it is fitting to say the infernal Jupiter, Aeracura, the infernal Iuno, summon the one written below as fast as possible and hand over Aurelius Sinnianus Caesarianus to *Manes*. May you, Silvia, see your husband upside-down, just like his name is written.”)

This text contains a *simile*-formula combined with formula 3: *acciete, tradite Aurelium*, while, at the same time, applies the magical use of script (see 1.7.). The wife of the victim (Silvia), not the victim himself,⁴² is directly addressed, which is a very rare phenomenon – in fact, the author probably aims his curse at Silvia trying to cause her pain by the curse deadly afflicting her husband.

Most of the preserved texts of curses and prayers for justice include one of the aforementioned types of formulae. However, various peculiarities and modifications of these sometimes appear, mostly due to the non-professionals’ own invention (see 2.3.2. and 2.3.1. above).

⁴¹ Victim’s name (Aurelius Sinnianus Caesarianus) is inscribed in a right-to-left direction and upside-down. The curse relates to the magical application of script (see 1.7.). *Inversum* means “the other way round, upside-down” and refers not only to the way of inscribing the name of victim, but also to the persuasive analogy anticipating that the victim will be “inverted” in a way, too. The committal of the victim to the underworld ghosts (*Dis Manibus*), as well as to Pluto, probably means death, like in No. 27: *Di Manes, commendo, ut perdant/pereant, inimicos meos commendo* (see also 2.3.3. above; Faraone – Kropp 2010, 387 ff.; and esp. 10.1.1.).

⁴² See 10.1.1.

3. OCCURRENCE, DISTRIBUTION, AND DATING OF CURSING FORMULAE IN PARTICULAR PROVINCES

3.1 CURSING FORMULAE IN CURSES AND PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

This analysis of cursing formulae includes 208 curses using altogether 443 formulae. 88 tablets contain either simple formulae (27), or nominal lists (61) (see 2.1.); 104 tablets include combined formulae; while in the case of 16 tablets it is impossible to determine whether the formula used is simple or combined.

Furthermore, I analyze 101 prayers for justice using 173 formulae. 71 of these contain combined formulae, 12 include simple formulae, and in the case of 18 prayers for justice, formulae cannot be determined due to the damage of the text.

3.1.1 Formula 0

The tablets including Formula 0, i.e. mere nominal lists of cursed people, while each side of the tablet often contains a different list (see 2.1.1.), makes ca. 30% of all tablets.¹ This formula is attested 66 times in curses (ca. 15%); the oldest evidence is documented from the 2nd cent. BCE (No. 6 from Etruria), while the tablets from Italy (No. 10) and Hispania (No. 46, 8.1.2., and No. 54) using this formula date back to the 1st cent. BCE. The amount of evidence gradually grows from the turn of the 1st cent. CE and culminates between the 1st and the 3rd cent. CE, the most recent evidence being from the 5th cent. CE from Britannia. The nature of this formula mostly does not allow determining the context it was used in; therefore, we usually speak of non-specific curses, in ca. ten cases it is possible to guess the curse has been written in the legal context thanks to the use of terms like *inimicus* or *adversarius*, the formula rarely appears also in the agonistic context, e.g. the cursing of racehorses in No. 176 and No. 180), resp. the love context in No. 142: *Victoria, quam peperit suavulva, puella(rum deliciae?)* (“Victoria, daughter of NN, [the most beautiful of girls?]”). Concerning the curses coming from Britannia, where this formula is represented abundantly, the context can be assessed only in one case, namely No. 198 (see 2.3.5. and 12.1.1.) which could be connected to the rivalry in love. There are no names of deities in this formula. It hardly ever occurs in prayers for justice, as the character or context of the curse or prayer cannot be assumed on grounds of a mere nominal list. Only in three cases, the texts contain supplements which

¹ All numeral data pertain to the corpus of this work, if not stated otherwise.

3. OCCURRENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF CURSING FORMULAE

help us to estimate that the formula was used in prayer for justice, this makes 1.7% of all attested formulae (see e.g. No. **210**, 2.1.1.).

3.1.2 Formula 1 in Curses

There are not many tablets containing Formula **1**, i.e. the direct curse with the predicate of cursing (type *Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo*, see 2.2.1., No. **198**). It is used 15 times in 11 tablets, which makes 3% of all formulae used, mostly in combined curses. It is found in the tablets from Italy (six), together with the lists of body parts, see No. **11** (2.2.1. and 7.3.6.1.) and No. **12** (2.2.1., 1.1.2.1., and 7.3.1.2.), as well as from Britannia (six), see No. **198** (2.2.1. and 1.9.1.). Besides, the texts of curses from Britannia use also the predicate of cursing in pf. part. pass., see No. **199** from London, **dfx.3.14/2**: *Titus Egnatius Tyrannus defictus (= defixus) est et P(ublius) Cicereius Felix defictus est.* (“Titus Egnatius Tyrannus has been cursed and Publius Cicereius Felix has been cursed.”) Formula **1** is documented from the 1st cent. BCE from Italy (see No. **11** and No. **12**), then from the first half of the 1st cent. CE also from Italy (No. **14**, see 1.6.), and from Britannia (No. **198**, see 2.2.1., and No. **199**). Other texts date back to the 2nd cent. CE; finally, the most recent evidence dates back to the 4th/5th cent. CE and comes from Gallia (No. **63**, see 9.1.1.). Most frequently, the non-specific curses are concerned (six), only No. **11** is classified as a legal curse, and No. **26**, **57**, **104** (see 1.10.1.), and **198** can be, more or less reliably, associated to the context of rivalry in love; see also No. **57** from Maar, **dfx.4.1.2/1**: *Art(um) ligo Dercomogni (filium) fututor Artus fututor.* (“I bind [with spells] Artus,² [son] of Dercomognus, whoremonger, Artus is a whoremonger.”). No deity is explicitly addressed or appealed to in most of these texts, which is typical of the direct curse.

3.1.2.1 Formula 1 in Prayers for Justice

Formula **1**, i.e. the direct curse with the predicate of cursing (type *Execro (eum) qui involaverit*, see 2.2.1., No. **277**), logically appears very rarely in the tablets with prayers for justice, because this formula is inconsistent with the very purpose of prayers for justice, i.e. to ask the deity for the compensation or revenge for damage suffered, not to directly curse the culprit. It is found only four times in four tablets (two from Gallia, two from Britannia), which makes 2% of all formulae used in prayers for justice analyzed in this work. See e.g. No. **277** (1.2.2., 2.2.1.) and also No. **260** from Bath: *Aenum meum qui levavit*

² See 9.1.3.

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*exconfixus est.*³ (“[The person] who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed.”). The texts with this formula are relatively late – date back to the 3rd–5th cent. CE. The use of brief Formula 1 with the predicate of cursing can suggest that the text concerned is an attempt to curse the thief rather than a real prayer for justice, even if the connection with a damage suffered is implied (see also 1.2.).

3.1.3 Formula 1a in Curses

Formula 1a, i.e. the direct curse with the predicate of committal (type *Di Manes... inimicos meos commendo*, see 2.2.1., No. 27), is attested altogether 24 times in 13 tablets, which makes 5.4% of all formulae used, mostly in combined curses. This means that this formula is more frequent than the previous Formula 1. The tablets containing this formula mostly come from Italy (12) and Germania (eight), only rarely from Hispania, Gallia, Britannia, and Africa. The formula is documented as early as from the 1st cent. BCE from Italy (six) and Hispania, its occurrence slightly increases in the 1st cent. CE, and there are four pieces of evidence dated back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE, while the most recent one comes from Gallia from the 4th/5th cent. CE (No. 62, see 9.1.1.). There is the predominance of the non-specific curses (16, see e.g. No. 9, 2.2.2.), and the legal curses (six, see e.g. No. 27, 2.2.2. and 7.3.2.), and one evidence of rivalry in love also appears (see No. 29, 2.2.2.). This type of formula is documented only once in a curse tablet from Britannia, whereas it is more often found in prayers for justice in this province. There is one piece of evidence coming from an African province, as well, which is probably caused by the fact that in this area the more complicated curses were usually made by professionals. One of the variants is used in almost half of the texts containing this formula, i.e. the predicates of committal in passive and past tense (see 2.2.2. above). The texts including such peculiarities come predominantly from Italy (see No. 31, 2.2.2.) and Germania (see No. 82, 2.2.2. and 10.1.2.). A deity, to which the victim of the curse is commended, is usually explicitly stated; this pertains most frequently to Proserpine, Pluto, Cerberus, or a general address to the infernal gods – *Di inferi*.

3.1.3.1 Formula 1a in Prayers for Justice

There are relatively few tablets with prayers for justice which contain Formula 1a, i.e. the direct curse with the predicate of committal (type *(D)ea(e) Dea(na)e dono capitularem*, see 2.2.2., No. 288) in Latin documentation, although this

³ See also 1.2., 1.10.2., and 12.2.3.

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formula appears more frequently than Formula 1 with the predicates of cursing (see 3.1.2.1.). It is documented nine times in nine tablets, which makes 5% of all formulae used in prayers for justice, mostly in combined curses. It occurs mostly in tablets from Britannia (seven times in seven tablets), rarely also from Germania (one) and Hispania (one); the largest amount of curses containing this formula have been found in Italy. The prayers for justice using Formula 1a are younger than the curses with this formula (six tablets from the 1st cent. BCE); the oldest evidence dates back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE and it comes from Germania, while most of the texts from Britannia date back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE. This formula with the predicates of committal is usually accompanied by the name of a deity to whom the author commends the thief or stolen things (see No. 288, 2.2.2.), in some cases the predicate is in passive (see No. 269, 2.2.2.).

3.1.4 Formula 2 in Curses

There are altogether 45 tablets which contain Formula 2, i.e. invoking formula with the predicates of *committal*, *request*, *plea*, *cursing* + *ut* + 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *mando, ut tabescat*, see 2.3.1., No. 30), mostly in combined curses. Thus, it is the formula most common in curses – appears 90 times, which makes 20% of all formulae used. It is found in the curses coming from almost all provinces (except for the curses coming from Noricum and Britannia, but it is very frequent in prayers for justice from the latter province). Most frequently, it occurs in the texts from Africa (31 times in 21 tablets), Italy (46 times in 12 tablets), and Germania (eight times in eight tablets); other occurrences are rare. The formula is documented from the 2nd cent. BC onwards (No. 33, see 1.10.1.), later on its occurrence increases: there are six pieces of evidence from the 1st cent. BCE (five from Italy and one from Hispania), some tablets from Italy and Germania date also to the 1st cent. CE, while altogether 19 pieces of evidence predominantly found in Africa come from the 2nd/3rd cent. CE. It was used in all types of curses, mostly in non-specific curses (14 tablets, see No. 30 and No. 32, 2.3.1.), in legal curses (11 tablets, see No. 70, 1.10.1., 2.3.1., and No. 181, 2.3.1.), in love spells (eight tablets, see No. 173, 2.3.1. and 11.1.4., and No. 143, 2.3.1. and 1.1.2.2.3.), as well as in agonistic context, esp. in the curses associated with racehorses (six tablets, see No. 151, 2.3.1.). The names of deities are usually stated together with this formula, most commonly those of Pluto, Proserpine, and Cerberus. The tablets from African provinces usually contain the names of daemons and magical words; only one sixth of the texts does not contain any reference to a deity.

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3.1.4.1 Formula 2 in Prayers for Justice

There are altogether 21 prayers for justice which contain Formula 2, i.e. invoking formula with the predicates of *committal*, *request*, *plea*, *cursing* + *ut* + 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *mando, ut tabescat*, see 2.3.1.), mostly in combined curses. The formula appears 21 times, which makes 12% of all formulae used in prayers for justice, while roughly the same amount of the predicates of *committal* and of *request* is used. The occurrence of Formula 2 in prayers for justice is much lower than in curses, where this formula is attested most frequently (see 3.1.4.). The highest number of texts comes from Britannia (15 times in 14 tablets), some rare pieces of evidence have been found in Hispania (three times in two tablets), Italy (one), Gallia (one), and Germania (one). The formula is attested from the 1st/2nd cent. CE onwards (one from Germania, one from Italia, and one from Britannia), its use then slightly increases in the course of the 3rd/4th cent. CE, esp. in Britannia (ten). The lower occurrence of this formula when compared to Formula 2a, as well as to the occurrence of the same formula in curses, is probably caused by the typical diction of prayers for justice, which are addressed or appealed to a deity, which, at the same time, becomes an agent of the predicate of relative clause. Some prayers for justice include also variants of this formula (see 2.3.1.), i.e. a deity, not the victim/culprit, is the agent of subordinate clause (see No. 247, 2.3.1.), or the predicate of main clause is in the 3rd sg. (see No. 246, 1.2.2.), resp. in passive (see No. 292, 1.9.2. and 2.3.1.). The formula is usually accompanied by the name of a deity to which the author appeals or commends his stolen property/the culprit.

3.1.5 Formula 2a in Curses

There are altogether 17 tablets containing Formula 2a, i.e. invoking formula with the predicates of *committal*, *request*, *plea*, *cursing* + *ut* + the 2nd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *demandō tibi, ut acceptu(m) habeas*, see 2.3.2. and 5., No. 183), mostly in combined curses. The formula itself is attested 25 times in curses, which makes 5.6% of all formulae used. Thus, this formula appears almost four times less often than the previous Formula 2. Only the tablets coming from Africa contain this formula in any larger extent (16 times in 10 tablets); besides, there are some rare pieces of evidence from Italy (twice in two tablets), Hispania (twice in two tablets), Gallia, and Germania. Concerning the tablets from Britannia, the formula is documented only in prayers for justice, not in curses. It is attested from the 1st cent. BCE onwards in Italy (one) and Hispania (two), the largest amount of evidence dates back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE and comes from Africa; the most recent piece of evidence also comes from

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Africa and dates back to the 3rd/4th cent. CE. The formula is used in non-specific curses (six times, see No. **1** and No. **64** above, 1.9.3., 2.3.2., and 9.1.1.), in agonistic context, esp. in the curses against racehorses (five times, see No. **165**, 2.3.2. and 11.1.3.2.), and in legal curses (three times, see No. **183**, 2.3.2. and 5.), rarely also in the cases of rivalry in love. It is prevailingly accompanied by the names of deities, in the tablets from African provinces daemons are usually addressed and magical words are used.

3.1.5.1 Formula 2a in Prayers for Justice

There are altogether 29 prayers for justice which contain Formula **2a**, i.e. invoking formula with the predicates of *committal*, *request*, *plea*, *cursing* + *ut* + the 2nd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *rogo, ut reprehendas*, see 2.3.2., No. **217**), mostly in combined curses. The formula itself is attested 42 times, which makes 24% of all formulae used in prayers for justice. This means that it is the most frequent formula used in prayers for justice, while curses most often contain Formula **2** (see 3.1.4 and 3.1.4.1.). Most often it is documented together with the predicates of request like *rogo* and the predicates of plea like *oro, precor*, in lesser extent also with the predicates of committal, while only once with *defigo* (see No. **239**, 1.10.2., 6.2.1.3.). The largest amount of the texts containing this formula comes from Britannia (28 times in 19 tablets); however, it is interesting that no extant curse from Britannia includes this formula; then there are several pieces of evidence from Germania (five times in four tablets), and Hispania (three times in three tablets), while there is one piece of evidence from Gallia, Raetia, and Pannonia. The oldest prayer for justice with this formula dates back to the 1st cent. CE and comes from Hispania, in the next centuries the amount of evidence slightly increases – four texts from Germania date back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE, the largest number of evidence (16) comes from the 2nd /3rd cent. CE and comes predominantly from Britannia. This formula regularly appears in connection with the names of deities, which are appealed to and commended the stolen property or the culprit.

3.1.6 Formula 3 in Curses

There are altogether 36 tablets which contain Formula **3**, i.e. *imperative* invoking formula with the predicate in imperative/subjunctive (type *trade morti filium*, see 2.3.3. and No. **18**, 1.9.2.), almost exclusively in combined curses. The formula itself is attested 72 times, which makes 16% of all formulae used; the predicates are in subjunctive 14 times, the rest being in the 2nd person imperative. The formula appears most frequently in the texts from African provinces (28 times in 16 tablets), further in the texts from Italy (32 times in 11

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tablets), and rarely also in the texts from Gallia (three), Germania (four), Raetia (one), Noricum (two), and Pannonia (two) there is no evidence of the formula coming from Hispania and Britannia. The oldest tablets using this formula date back to the 1st cent. BCE and come from Italy (five); several pieces of evidence coming from Germania and Noricum date back to the 1st cent. CE, while there is a slight increase in the amount of the evidence during the 2nd cent. CE (five) and especially in the course of the 1nd/3rd cent. CE (nine), this concerns predominantly the texts coming from African provinces. The most recent evidence dates back to the 4th/5th cent. CE and comes from Italy (see No. **25**, 1.10.1.). The formula is used in all types of curses, most abundantly in non-specific curses, mainly in those from Italy (12 times, see No. **5**, 2.3.3. and 7.3.1.5.), further also in the context of rivalry in love in the tablets coming especially from Italy (four times, see e.g. No. **25**, 1.10.1.), in love spells esp. from Africa (six times, see No. **124**, 1.1.2.2.3., 2.3.3., and No. **182**, 2.3.3.), in legal curses again esp. from Africa (five times, see No. **116**, 2.3.3., 11.1.2.), and finally in agonistic context, exclusively in the tablets coming from African provinces, i.e. the curses against gladiators, charioteers, and racehorses (eight times, see No. **132**, 2.3.3., 11.1.3.1.). It is usually accompanied by the names of deities, resp. daemons and magical words in the case of the tablets coming from African provinces. Formulae **3** and **3a** are used predominantly in curses from Italy and Africa, only to a very low extent are they found in prayers for justice (the formula appears ten times more often in curses than in prayers for justice). This is caused by the very character of prayers for justice which appealed to gods in a polite and suppliant way, not directly.

3.1.6.1 Formula 3 in Prayers for Justice

There are only five tablets which contain Formula **3**, i.e. *imperative* invoking formula with predicate in imperative/subjunctive (type *ut illum aut illam aversum faciant di(i)*, see 2.3.3. and No. **230**, 1.7.2.), mostly in combined curses. The formula itself is attested seven times, mostly with imperative, once with subjunctive, which makes only 4% of all formulae used in prayers for justice. The tablets including this formula come from Italy, Hispania (see No. **215**, 8.2.), Germania, and Britannia (twice, see No. **276**, 2.3.3.), while the predicates typical of prayers for justice like *vindica*, *perexige* are used. The texts date back to the 1st-4th cent. CE. This formula, similarly to Formula **3a** with imperative, is inconsistent with the very purpose of prayers for justice, which is why it appears so rarely (see also 2.3.3.).

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3.1.7 Formula 3a in Curses

There are altogether 35 tablets which contain Formula **3a**, i.e. *imperative* invoking formula with the predicate in imperative/ subjunctive in the 2nd sg./pl. + *ut/ne* + the 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *obligate et gravate equos, ne currere possint...*, see 2.3.4., No. **152**), almost exclusively in combined curses. The formula itself is attested 50 times, which makes only 11% of all formulae used in curses. Even though it is found in almost the same amount of tablets as simpler Formula **3** (see 2.3.3. and 3.1.6. above), its repeated occurrence is lower than that of Formula **3**. The predicates of main clause in imperative prevail, subjunctive is found only in eight cases. This formula is most commonly found in African provinces (35 times in 25 tablets), several times in Italy (12 times in seven tablets), and rarely in the texts from Hispania and Gallia; it is not attested in the tablets coming from Pannonia, Raetia, and Britannia. The oldest tablets using this formula (seven) date back to the 1st cent. BCE and come from Italy (six, see e.g. No. **38**, 2.3.4.) and Hispania (one). Some rare evidence then dates back to the 1st and 2nd cent. CE; the highest amount of evidence (17) dates back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE and comes predominantly from African provinces; the most recent evidence also comes from Africa and dates back to the 3rd/4th cent. CE (see No. **132**, 2.3.3., 11.1.3.1.). The formula is used in most types of curses, most frequently in the agonistic context of the tablets from Africa – the curses against charioteers and racehorses (12 times, see No. **152**, No. **143**, and No. **171**, 2.3.4.), against rivals in circus (four times); but it appears also in love spells (six times, see No. **124**, 1.1.2.2.3.), in non-specific curses (ten times), and in legal curses (three times, see No. **38**, 2.3.4. and 7.3.1.6.). It is used mostly in connection with the names of deities, resp. daemons and magical words in the case of the tablets coming from African provinces.

3.1.7.1 Formula 3a in Prayers for Justice

There are altogether six tablets with prayers for justice which contain Formula **3a**, i.e. *imperative* invoking formula with the predicate in imperative/subjunctive in the 2nd sg./pl. + *ut/ne* + the 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj. (type *fac, ut... exitum illorum sit*, see 2.3.4. and No. **237**), always in combined curses. The formula itself is attested seven times, which makes only 4% of all formulae used in prayers for justice; the predicate in subjunctive is used only twice, otherwise imperative and general predicates like *fac, dimitte* prevail. The texts containing this formula have been found in Britannia (three times in three

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tablets)⁴ (see No. **276**, 2.3.3., No. **282**, 1.6., 12.2.3., and No. **289**, 6.1.), Italy (see No. **212**, 2.3.4.), Hispania (see No. **217**, 1.2.1.), and Germania. The texts concerned are documented from the 1st/2nd cent. CE (Germania), the later texts from Britannia date back to the 3rd/4th and 4th/5th cent. CE. The names of addressed deities are not stated in most of the cases. As already said above (3.1.6.1.), the low occurrence of this formula in prayers for justice is probably caused by its directiveness.

3.1.8 Formula 4 in Curses

There are altogether 36 tablets which contain Formula 4, i.e. invoking *wish*-formula with the predicate in the 3rd *sg./pl. pres. subj.* (type *Philocomus... tabescat.*, see 2.3.5., No. **35**). The formula itself is attested 50 times, which makes 11% of all formulae used in curses. The amount of tablets with Formula 4 is more or less identical to the amount of tablets containing Formulae 3 (36) and 3a (35). The largest number of evidence comes from African provinces (24 times in 17 tablets), several pieces of evidence also come from Italy (eight times in seven tablets), and the formula is rarely found also in the texts from Hispania (four times in three tablets), Germania (four times in three tablets), Britannia, Pannonia, and Noricum. The formula is documented from the 1st cent. BCE onwards in the texts from Italy (five) and Hispania (one, see No. **56**, 2.3.5.), some pieces of evidence from Italy (one), Hispania (two), Britannia (one, see No. **198**, 2.3.5.), and Germania (two) date back to the 1st cent. CE, while the amount of evidence increases during the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, esp. in African provinces (13); the most recent evidence dates back to the 3rd/4th cent. CE. It is used in all types of curses, most often in agonistic context – the curses against charioteers and racehorses (nine times, see No. **157**, 2.3.5.) and rivals in circus (three times, see No. **134**, 11.1.3.1.); furthermore, it appears in non-specific curses (ten times), in the context of rivalry in love (three times, see No. **51**, No. **91**, and No. **198**, 2.3.5.), in love spells (three times, see No. **121**, 2.3.5., 11.1.4.), and in legal curses (five times, see No. **56** and No. **105**, 2.3.5.). The formula is only rarely accompanied by the names of deities; only approximately one sixth of the texts explicitly refer to a deity.

3.1.8.1 Formula 4 in Prayers for Justice

There are altogether 23 tablets with prayers for justice which contain Formula 4, i.e. invoking *wish*-formula with the predicate in the 3rd *sg./pl. pres. subj.* (type

⁴ The texts from Britannia containing this formula include also other conjunctions, apart from *ut*, see No. **282** and No. **284**, 12.2.2.

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Philocomus tabescat., see 2.3.5.). The formula is mostly found in combined formulae and is attested 31 times, which makes 18% of all formulae used in prayers for justice. Thus, it is the second most common formula in prayers for justice, exceeded only by Formula **2a** (41 usages). The largest amount of evidence is found in the tablets from Britannia (20 times in 15 tablets), several times it occurs in the texts from Germania (eight times in five tablets), here and then also in the texts from Italy, Hispania, and Gallia. It is documented from the 1th cent. CE onwards in the texts from Germania (one) and Hispania (one); later on the number of evidence increases, three tablets from Germania date back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE, six tablets from Britannia to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, while most of the texts from Britannia (nine) are from the 4th cent. CE. Texts No. **277** and No. **229** (see 2.3.5. and further references *ibid.*) include some variants of this formula.

3.1.9 Simile-Formula – Formula 5 in Curses

There are altogether 18 tablets which contain Formula **5**, i.e. invoking *wish*-formula, or *simile*-formula (type *quomodo – sic*, see 2.3.6.), almost exclusively in combined curses. The formula itself is attested 26 times, which makes 6% of all formulae used in curses. The amount of tablets using this formula is not very high, and is comparable to the amount of tablets using Formula **2a** (see 3.1.5.). In a larger extent, it is found in the tablets coming from African provinces (nine times in five tablets), it appears several times also in the tablets from Italy (six times in four tablets), Germania (five times in four tablets), and Gallia (four times in two tablets), only rarely in the texts from Raetia and Noricum; it is documented neither in the tablets from Hispania, nor, in terms of curses, from Britannia. It is documented from the 2nd cent. BCE onwards in the texts from Italy (once, see No. **33**, 1.10.1), from the 1st/2nd cent. CE also in the tablets from Germania (see No. **91**, 2.3.6.), in larger extent it appears between the 2nd and 3rd cent. CE in African provinces; the most recent evidence dates back to the 4th/5th cent. CE (see No. **25** from Italy above). This formula is used mostly in legal curses (six times, see No. **118**, 2.3.6. and 11.1.2., No. **67**, 1.10.1., and No. **76**, 1.4. and 10.1.2.), in the context of rivalry in love (five times, see No. **91**, 2.3.5. and 2.3.6., and No. **100**, 1.7.1. and 7.3.1.4.), in non-specific curses (twice, see No. **25**, 2.3.6.), in the context of rivalry in circus (twice, see No. **140**, 2.3.6. and 11.1.3.2.), and in love spells. It is found in connection with the names of deities, resp. daemons and magical words in the case of the tablets coming from African provinces, while ca. one third of the texts does not appeal to any deity.

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3.1.9.1 Simile-Formula – Formula 5 in Prayers for Justice

There are altogether 11 tablets with prayers for justice which contain Formula 5, i.e. *simile*-formula, (type *quomodo – sic*, see 2.3.6.), mostly in combination with other formulae. The formula itself is attested 20 times, which makes 12% of all formulae used in prayers for justice. Its occurrence in prayers for justice is comparable to Formula 2 (see 2.3.1. and 3.1.4.1.) and the evidence comes predominantly from Germania (16 times in seven tablets), here and then also from Gallia, Raetia, Pannonia, and Britannia. The popularity of this formula in Germania, whether we speak of curses or prayers for justice, is apparent (see 3.1.9. and No. 231, No. 235, No. 236, and No. 234, 2.3.6., 1.10.2. and 10.2.1., 10.2.2., 10.2.4.). All texts coming from Germania date back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE, the oldest evidence; however, comes from Gallia and dates back to the 1st cent. CE (see No. 226, 1.4., 1.9.3., and 9.2.). The latest evidence comes from Britannia from the 2nd/3rd cent. CE (see No. 242, 2.3.6. and 9.2.). This formula usually appears in connection with the names of deities in prayers for justice.

3.2 CONCLUSION

The analysis of cursing formulae present in the corpus of curses (208 tablets, 443 formulae) and prayers for justice (101 tablets, 173 formulae) included in this work has brought along some interesting facts. Simple curses with one formula, mere nominal lists, as well as combined formulae are documented as soon as in the 1st cent. BCE. The two oldest pieces of evidence (No. 33 from Pompeii, and No. 110 from Delos) date back even to the 2nd cent. BC. This suggests that simple and complicated formulae co-existed from the very beginning of extant Latin production. Tablet No. 33 (1.10.1.) contains a complicated curse with a Formula 2 and two *simile*-formulae; the tablet from Delos, on the other hand, contains a mere nominal list of cursed people in legal context. Such a parallel usage of different types of formulae appears in the following centuries, too; therefore, no type of formula in the Latin production can be considered older or later than another.

Prayers for justice are attested later than curses, from the 1st/2nd cent. CE, predominantly in Hispania and Germania (see 1.3.). They hardly ever contain the simplest Formula 0; however, there are some texts using simple formulae, as well as combinations of various formulae. Similarly to curses, the more complicated texts prevail in the extant corpus, in the case of prayers for justice this dominance is even more striking – texts with combined formulae make 70% of all prayers for justice, in curses it is only 52%.

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Concerning the occurrence of particular cursing formulae in the provinces, where a comparable amount of evidence has been found (see Chapter 1, Chart 2), i.e. if we take into consideration the documentation found in Italy (45 tablets), Germania (31), *Africa Proconsularis* (30), *Africa Byzacena* (43), and Britannia (25), all types of formulae have been used only in Italy, where there is the largest amount of extant formulae ever (141). Surprisingly, there is no evidence of the use of Formula 1 in the tablets from *Africa Proconsularis* (77 formulae), *Africa Byzacena* (87 formulae), and Germania (49 formulae). All types of formulae (20) except for formula 3a have been attested even in Gallia, where a relatively small amount of texts has been found (13). The difference between the curses coming from Britannia (32 formulae) and those from other Roman provinces is apparent at the first glance. The repertoire of formulae used in the curses from Britannia is very poor as compared to other provinces – Formula 0 (mere nominal list of people) prevails (21 times); besides, there are Formula 1 (six times), Formula 1a (once), and Formula 4 (twice).⁵ It seems that figurative and elaborate prayers for justice were the most popular genre of magical texts in Britannia, while curses were of just a marginal concern; although, it has to be said that the aims of their authors and damages supposed to be done to the culprits very often remarkably resemble those expressed in the curses from other Roman provinces.

Invoking formulae are most frequently used in curses, the *committal/request* formula, i.e. Formula 2 – see No. 27: *Di Manes commendo, ut pereant...* (“Gods *Manes*, I entrust [to your charge] may they perish...”) (see 2.3.1. and 3.1.4.); the most common formula (90 times in 45 tablets = 20% of formulae). Thus, this formula can be regarded the most popular and universal one, as it has been used in all types of curses.

The second most common formula in curses (attested 72 times in 36 tablets = 16% of all extant formulae), is the *imperative* invoking formula with imperative/subjunctive, see No. 18:

...tene, contere, confringe et... trade morti, filium Asseles, Praesenticium (“...take hold of, destroy, bring to naught and... commit to death Praesenticius, son of Assela...”) and No. 115: *... facias illos mutos...* (“...make them mute...”) (see 2.3.3. and 3.1.6.).

This formula has been used especially in Italy and African provinces, though it is documented also in other provinces apart from Britannia.

⁵ In two cases the formula cannot be classified reliably into any of the categories.

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Formula **3a**, i.e. *imperative* invoking formula with imperative/subjunctive extended by a subordinate clause, has also been abundantly preserved (attested 50 times in 35 tablets = 11% of all formulae); see No. **114**, which reads:

...alligate linguas horum, ... ne adversus nos respondere (possint)... (“...bind the tongues of those... so that they cannot testify against us...”) (see 2.3.4. and 3.1.7.). This formula appears in all types of curses, most commonly in *Africa Byzacena*.

Finally, the invoking Formula **4**, i.e. *wish-formula with subjunctive*, is also documented in all types of curses in all provinces, most copiously in Africa (attested 50 times in 36 tablets = 11% of all formulae); see No. **35**:

Philocomus... tabescat, dominis non placeat... (“May Philocomus decay, may he displease the masters...”).

Formula **0**, i.e. mere nominal list of people (see 2.1.1.), is another formula attested in a large amount of tablets; attested 66 times in 61 tablets = 15% of all formulae.

The distribution and occurrences of particular formulae partially tells us something about erudition and attitudes of curses’ authors. The large amount of extant formulae in Italy and African provinces probably indicates the existence of professional magicians in these areas who made complicated curses to order. This is obvious e.g. from the series of five tablets found near Porta Salaria in Rome and dated back to the 1st cent. BCE, which contains the highest number of formulae used in one text (16) and the texts of which are basically identical to each other, the only difference being in the name of cursed person (see No. **20-24**, *dfx*.1.4.4./8-12; see also 7.3.1.4. and tablet No. **132** from Carthage, *dfx*.11.1.1/25 from the 3rd/4th cent. CE, which contains the curse against rivals in circus with 14 formulae; see 11.1.3.1.). The addresses to daemons and the use of magical words can also be attributed to the working of professional magicians in African provinces and Italy, esp. when speaking of directive Formulae **3** and **3a** with *imperative/subjunctive*. With the help of these the magician puts himself into a superior position over the invoked powers, see No. **130**: (*occi*)*dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m)...* (1.1.2.2.2. and 1.9.3.).

On the other hand, Formulae **2** and **2a** possess a very different attitude towards the supernatural powers; let us say a more cautious and less assertive one. By Formula **2** (see 2.3.1.), i.e. formula with the predicates of *plea/request*,

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*committal*⁶ in the 1st sg./pl. and a clause with final value and the predicate in the 3rd sg./pl.: see No. **27**: *Di Manes, commendo, ut pereant...*, the author entrust his matter to the charge of the gods, or pleads and asks the gods for the execution of curse's content specified in subordinate clause. The action of subordinate clause aims at an absent cursed person, not the addressee of the curse, i.e. the gods. Such formulae appear not only in the text made by the professionals in the field, but also in the artless attempts at curse tablets. Formula **2a** (see 2.3.2.), e.g. No. **122**: *Rogo, commendo..., ut eam abducas...* ("I ask, commend [to you]... to take her away..."), can be regarded the expression of a transient attitude of the author between the *committal/plea* and directive Formulae **3** and **3a**. The deity is explicitly addressed and is both the addressee of the statement and the agent of the content specified in subordinate clause. Such way of formulating one's wishes is less frequent in curses, it is found only in the curses from African provinces, rarely from Italy, Hispania and Germania (see 3.1.5.), but it is the most common formula in prayers for justice usually accompanied by a polite term of address to a deity. Furthermore, formula **4**, i.e. *wish*-formula (see 2.3.5.), is an expression of yet another attitude of the author – it is an unaddressed wish that specifies what should happen to the victim who is the subject of the 3rd person predicate, while the author does not put himself into the role of the agent, nor explicitly appeals to a deity. In such cases, the author completely recedes and there is no addressee, only the names of victims of the curse are explicitly stated; see No. **109**: *Paulina aversa sit a viris omnibus...* ("May Paulina be averted from all men...") (see also Kropp, 2008a, 152; 10.1.3.).

Formula **1**, i.e. direct curse with the predicates of cursing (see 2.2.1.) belongs to the less frequent formulae (15 times in 11 tablets = 3% of all formulae) which occur only in some provinces (6 times in Italy and Britannia, twice in Gallia, and once in Raetia); see No. **198**: *Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo...* ("I curse Tertia Maria..."). Unlike the previous Formula **4** with no explicit addressee appealed to, in Formula **1** the author himself is the subject of the performative predicate of cursing in the 1st sg.; moreover, there is usually no explicit reference to a deity; the author believes in the execution of the curse s/he himself uttered or inscribed. This formula appears rather in the texts made by non-professionals.

Formula **1a**, i.e. direct curse with the predicates of committal (see 2.2.2.), is slightly more common (24 times in 13 tablets = 5% of all formulae), although it is also documented only in some provinces (12 times in Italy, eight times in

⁶ In several cases, this formula is also used with the predicates of cursing, esp. *ligo*, in the tablets from Africa, as well as from Italia.

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Germania, and once in Hispania, Gallia, Britannia, and Africa); see No. **9**: *Dii inferi, vobis commendo illius membra...* (“Underworld gods, I commend to you her limbs...”). It can be considered a pre-stage or a non-extended variant of Formulae **2** and **2a**, which are complemented with a clause with final value. In this formula the author commends his victims to the explicitly stated gods; however, many times it appears in different variants (see 2.2.2.).

Eventually, formula **5**, i.e. *simile*-formula, is also one of the less frequent formulae (26 times in 18 tablets = 6% of all formulae) and appears in all provinces except for Britannia, Pannonia, and Raetia. This formula includes a *wish*-formula imbedded into comparative clauses; thus, the attitude of the author is basically identical to that of Formula **4**.

Regarding the relation of cursing formulae to the types of curses, there is no remarkable tendency in the use of a certain formula in a certain context. Simple, brief Formulae **0**, **1**, and **1a** are most frequently used in non-specific and legal curses, in which the author settles for the nominal list of potential adversaries and enemies. Formula **2** appears in a larger extent in non-specific curses, but its use is basically universal, it is found in legal curses, in love spells, as well as in agonistic context; the same holds true for the evidence of Formula **2a**, except for love spells. Similarly, Formula **3** is present in all types of curses, though it is most frequently found in non-specific curses, love spells, legal curses, and rivalry in circus and in love.

Two thirds of the evidence of Formula **3a** come from African provinces, from where we have all curses against charioteers and racehorses, as well as most of love spells. This often concerns the series of curses made by professional magicians with very similar, not to say identical, texts; the names of cursed people or horses being the only thing which changes. Thus, this formula is found predominantly in agonistic and love context; however, it appears also in non-specific and legal curses. Generally, it can be said that the directive Formulae **3** and **3a** are mostly represented in the texts from African provinces, which is also associated with addressing of daemons (see above).

Furthermore, almost a half of the evidence of Formula **4** has been preserved in African provinces, where it often appears in agonistic context, i.e. in the curses against charioteers and racehorses, and combined with other formulae, esp. Formula **3a**. Here and then the formula is used in non-specific curses, as well as other types of curses.

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Finally, Formula 5 is attested in all types of curses, mostly in legal curses and the curses related to rivalry in love.

Neither gradual development of cursing practice in time, nor the use of a certain formula in a certain time period, have been detected in Latin production of curse tablets; on the contrary, the preserved texts suggest that various formulae were used concurrently and were freely combined with each other. On the other hand, a different tendency can be observed in the Greek production of curse tablets, in which the oldest texts dated back to the 5th/4th cent. BC were the simplest ones – they usually contained mere nominal lists of cursed people, sometimes with the addition of the verb *καταδεῖν* or the names of gods (see Gager, 1992, 5). Latin cursing tradition is documented ca. three centuries later than the Greek one; although, it is very likely that in some areas of the Roman Empire (esp. Italy) it had existed even earlier (see 7.2.). Therefore, Latin *defixiones* date back to the time when the Greek-speaking world already used all types of cursing formulae. Nor the intricate paths of the spreading of cursing tradition throughout the large areas of the contemporary Latin-speaking world can be regarded a crucial determinant of the usage of a particular formula, though this tradition is the basis of not only the texts made by professional magicians, but also of the texts of more or less educated non-professionals. It seems that the choice of a particular formula was influenced rather by the writer's attitude, whether s/he was a professional or not, to the supernatural powers s/he appealed to and to the whole cursing ritual, in general. The committal of the whole matter to the gods, asking them for "help", could appear the most convenient solution to a non-professional who wished to recede into the background.

The different attitudes of writers of curses and prayers for justice are to a certain extent reflected also in the different application of particular formulae in the aforementioned categories of texts.

Latin prayers for justice are not attested in all provinces and the amounts of extant texts differ a lot territorially. The most plentiful documentation of this genre has been found in Britannia (see 1.2.). This work contains altogether 94 texts from Britannia, out of which there are 69 prayers for justice.⁷ A substantial number of texts has been preserved also in Germania (11 tablets, 36 formulae),

⁷ As already mentioned in the introductory chapter 1, for analysis purposes I was compelled to exclude all fragmentary pieces of evidence in which at least three observed criteria could not be assessed. New findings from Britannia are to be published in Tomlin 2017.

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Hispania (seven tablets, 12 formulae), and Gallia (six tablets, ten formulae). Only five tablets have been found in Italy, while we have a single piece of evidence from Raetia, Pannonia, and Moesia. Surprisingly, no prayers for justice have been found in African provinces, which are otherwise very rich in curses; similarly, no prayers for justice from Noricum have been published up to this day.⁸ Therefore, our knowledge of the formulae present in prayers for justice is very much dependent on the evidence coming from Britannia (altogether 100 formulae in 69 tablets), while in other provinces 73 formulae in 32 tablets have been preserved.

Prayers for justice most commonly contain invoking formulae, esp. Formula **2a**, which appears 42 times in 29 tablets (24% of all formulae used in prayers for justice). Again, this formula is predominantly present in the prayers for justice coming from Britannia (28 times), but it can be found also in other provinces apart from Italy. Formula **2** which is the most common in curses is 10% less frequent in prayers for justice than Formula **2a**. The writers of prayers for justice usually appeal to and directly address a deity, whereas the deity is at the same time the agent of the predicate of subordinate clause: No. **217**: *Isis Myrionyma... rogo domina, per maiestatem tuam, ut hoc furtum reprehendas.* (“Isis Myrionyma... I ask you, Lady, by your majesty, to punish this theft.”). The belief in the legitimacy of writer’s request may have played its significant role, too. Prayers for justice only very rarely contain the directive Formulae **3** and **3a**, which have been abundantly preserved in the curses from African provinces.

Formula **3** is documented seven times in five tablets, three times in Britannia, twice in Germania, and once in Italy and Hispania; this makes 4% of all formulae used. Similarly, another directive Formula **3a** is found 7 times in 6 tablets in the same provinces and Britannia (three).

Only Formula **4**, i.e. the invoking *wish*-formula, is somewhat more frequent formula in prayers for justice; otherwise, it is very richly documented in curses. It is found 31 times in 23 tablets, especially in the texts from Britannia (20 times) and Germania (eight times), some pieces of evidence appear also in Italy, Hispania, and Gallia; overall, it makes 18% of all formulae used in prayers for justice.

What is remarkable is a relatively high number of texts containing Formula **5**, i.e. *simile*-formula, it makes 12% of all formulae used in prayers for justice,

⁸ So far, only two curses have been published from this Roman province.

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which is twice as much as in curses. Surprisingly, this formula is most often preserved in the texts from Germania (16 times in seven tablets), while single pieces of evidence come from Gallia, Raetia, Pannonia, and Britannia. Concerning curses, the formula is included to a larger extent in the tablets from Italy, Africa, and Germania. The popularity of *simile*-formula in Germania documented as early as in the 1st/2nd cent. CE proves the quick spreading of Latin cursing tradition even in the marginal regions of the Roman Empire.

Formulae **1** and **1a** are the most seldom of all formulae attested in prayers for justice. Similarly to curses, the low frequency of Formula **1** (four times), i.e. the direct curse with the predicates of *cursing*, is not a surprise; on the contrary, we would expect its total absence in prayers for justice, as these are primarily intended to ask the gods for help to achieve the returning of the stolen property, or revenge on the culprit. The use of this formula directly with the predicate of cursing in the 1st sg. points either to an extreme emotional state of mind of the author, or to a laic blending and mismatch of different formulae. Formula **1a** with the predicates of committal suits prayers for justice somewhat better, and indeed it is documented more times than Formula **1** in prayers for justice, especially in the texts coming from Britannia (seven times in six tablets), individually also in the texts from Hispania and Germania; overall, it is found nine times in nine texts, which makes 5% of all formulae used in prayers for justice.

Formula **0** is found very rarely in prayers for justice – twice in Italy and once in Germany (see 3.1.1. above).

Thus, the low occurrence of Formulae **3** and **3a** with imperative/subjunctive in prayers for justice can be regarded the most significant difference between the use of formulae in curses and prayers for justice. This is caused by the fact that this formula does not suit the author's attitude typical of prayers for justice, i.e. the polite and suppliant address to the gods. On the other hand, the abundant evidence of this formula in the curses from Italy and African provinces reflects the activity of professional magicians in these regions, whose complicated texts are often, and in African provinces almost exclusively, addressed to the daemons which are commanded what to do as the inferior ones. Another remarkable phenomenon is an inverse ratio of the use of invoking Formulae **2** and **2a** – Formula **2** is most often used in curses, while the subject of the predicate of subordinate clause is an absent victim; on the other hand, Formula **2a** is mostly found in prayers for justice. This divergence can again be assigned to a different attitude of prayer for justice, in which the writer appeals directly

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to a deity which is both the addressee of the prayers and the subject of the predicate of subordinate clause. No. 266 reads:

...*conqueror tibi Sulis, Arminia, (ut) Verecundinum Tarenti c(ons)umas, qui argentiolos duos mihi levavit...* (“[I] Arminia, complain to you, Sulis, [so that] you kill Verecundinus, son of Tarentus, who has stolen two silver coins from me.”).

The belief in the rightfulness of such prayer could also play a significant role in this context (see above and 12.2.3.).

The frequent use of Formula 5 in the prayers for justice from Germania is probably a reflection of its local popularity, as it is only very rarely documented in other Roman provinces. Conversely, both curses and prayers for justice very often contain Formula 4, i.e. the invoking *wish*-formula, in the case of prayers for justice the number of its occurrences is even higher than in curses. This is probably due to the fact that this formula lacks any explicit addressee, whereas the author expresses just an anonymous wish what should happen to the victim who is the subject of the predicate in the 3rd person. The formula is found especially in prayers for justice, whenever the writer does not attempt at the returning of the stolen things, but asks only for revenge on the culprit, often in the form of death. In such cases the use of formula 4 is as well-founded in prayers for justice as in curses.

3.3. OTHER ADDITIONAL FORMULAE

As already stated (see 1.9.2.), curses and prayers for justice sometimes contain further elaborate additional formulae. This concerns mostly time data and votive formulae, rarely also menacing and warning formulae.

3.3.1 Time Data in Curses

Altogether 39 tablets (19% of all curses), mostly from African provinces (ten in *Africa Proconsularis*; 18 in *Africa Byzacena*), but also from Italy (eight), rarely from Germania (two), and Raetia (one), use formulae containing time data. Many of these texts were probably made by professional magicians, which is true for most of the tablets found in African provinces (these are addressed to the daemons and use also other magical elements like *voces magicae*, *signa magica*, etc.) (see 1.7.1. and 1.7.2. above), as well as for some tablets coming from Italy (No. 20-24, see 7.3.1.4.). Unlike the tablets from Italy and Germania which contain non-specific curses, the use of time formulae in the tablets from

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African provinces is dependent on the type of curse. The above mentioned tablets No. **20-24** from Rome contain a time formula:

a) referring to the cursing itself: Plotius is supposed to be afflicted by fever until he dies in No. **20**:

Tradas illum febrī quartanae, tertianae, cottidianae, quae cum illo luctentur, deluctentur illum evincant, vincant, usque dum animam eius eripiant...
Expose him [Plotius] to quartan, tertian, quotidian fever, may these struggle and wrestle with him, may they knock him down and defeat him, up until they rip his soul out...”).

b) associated with a votive formula expressing until when the deity is supposed to fulfil writer’s wish, as read *ibid.*: *hoc si perfecerit [Cerberos] ante mensem Martium* (see also 3.3.2. below and 7.3.1.4.).

Furthermore, the tablets from Italy and Germania often use a time formula specifying, **until when** the deity is supposed to execute the curse, see No. **1**:
...uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis intra annum istum. (“...may you... destroy him, and kill him in the course of this year.”) (see 1.9.1.). Tablet No. **18** from Rome includes a formula stating precisely **since when** the curse comes into force:

...ab hac hora, ab hoc die, ab hac nocte... tene, contere, confringe et... trade morti, filium Asseles... (“...from this hour on, from this day on, from this night on... take hold of, destroy, bring to naught and... commit to death Praesenticius, son of Assela...”) (see 1.9.2.).

The time date included in the tablets from African provinces reflect the author’s wish in connection with the type of curse. In love spells, especially those from *Africa Byzacena*, the writer cannot wait to see his wish fulfilled; thus, he mostly specifies **since when** the spell, or the restrictions related to it, is supposed to work as in the cited No. **18**. Most of love spells contain this formula, like No. **144**:

...ut amet me Fe(licem), quem peperit Fructa, ex hac die ex h(ac ora) (see 5.1.4.) (“...may she love me, Felix, whom Fructa bore, from this day on, from this hour on”) and No. **148**:

...ex qua hora hoc composuero, non dormiat Sextilius... (“...from the moment I put this tablet [into the grave], may Sextilius not sleep...”) (see 1.9.2.).

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Besides, love spells usually contain another time formula referring to the lasting of restrictions supposed to torment the victim **until** the author's wish is fulfilled, see No. **143**: *neque somnum videat, donec ad me veniat...* (“...may she not sleep until she comes to me...”) (see 1.1.2.2.3.), or No. **124**:

Καταξίτη, qui es Aegypto magnus daemon... et aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciat... (“Kataxin, the great daemon of Egypt... and take sleep away from her until she comes to me... and satisfies me.”) (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

The time formula **since when** – *ex hac hora...* – is found also in the curses aimed against charioteers and racehorses in connection with the forthcoming races, see No. **162** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/22**:

B: Adiuro te daemon, quicumque es et demando tibi, ex (h)anc (h)ora ex (h)anc die ex (h)oc momento, ut equos prasini et albi crucies, occidas, et agitadores Clarum et Felicem et Primulum et Romanum occidas... (“I adjure you, daemon, whoever you are, and I command you, from this hour on, from this day on, from this moment on, to torment and kill the horses of the green and white [teams], to kill, and to kill Clarus, Felix, Primulus, and Romanus, the charioteers...”). This formula repeatedly appears in all agonistic curses from this provinces, except for No. **171**, in which it is precisely said when the races take place, i.e. **when** the curse is supposed to work:

...obligate illos, ne currere possint crastinis et perendinis circensibus... (“...bind them up so that they cannot run in the *circenses* held tomorrow nor the day after tomorrow...”) (see also 2.3.4. and 11.1.3.2.).

Moreover, there is another time datum in this curse – the writer wants the curse to work as soon as possible: *iam, iam, cito, cito*. These words are transposed from Greek terms ἤδη, ἤδη, τάχῃ, τάχῃ (see also No. **130** above, 1.1.2.2.2., 11.1.3.1., and No. **131**, 1.10.1.) and are found predominantly in the texts aimed against gladiators together with the information on the date of *circenses* – **when**, see No. **131**: *...pri(di)e idus Ianuarias sive idus, age age, iam iam, cito... ἤδη, τάχῃ*, (see 1.10.1.), or No. **135**, which reads:

...ut ursos ligare non possit, omnem ursum perdat, omnem ursum Vincentius non occidere possit in die Mercurii in omni ora, iam iam, cito cito facite... (“...so that he is unable to tie up bears, may he lose with every bear, may

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Vincentius be unable to kill any bear on Wednesday at any hour, now, now, quickly, quickly, make it happen.”)⁹

Or in the case of No. **132**, there is another specification, until when the curse should start working:

...perducas [Maurussum venatorem] ad domus tartareas intra dies septe(m)... (“...lead [Maurussum the hunter] to the infernal regions within seven days...”).¹⁰

The formula *iam, iam, cito, cito* only rarely appears in love spells, e.g. in No. **125**: ... *iam, iam (veniat)* (see 5.1.4. and 11.1.4. below), and in legal curses from the same province, see No. **123** (Appendix I).

To conclude, the time formulae meaning **until when**, i.e. until when the deity is supposed to execute the curse (see e.g. No. **1**: *intra annum istum*), appear especially in the tablets from Italy and Germania (11), particularly in combination with a votive formula in non-specific curses, in which the author wishes death for the victim, while the time formulae meaning **since when** prevail in African provinces (19 tablets = 49% of the curses containing a time formula), especially in *Africa Byzacena* (e.g. *ex hac hora...*), while somewhat different customs are attested in the curses against gladiators from Carthage –the time formulae meaning **when, until when**, and formula *iam, iam, cito, cito* are usually found in the curses against gladiators from Carthage. These subtle differences can be assigned to the various customs of local workshops of professional magicians.

3.3.1.1 Time Data in Prayers for Justice

Time data occur in 20 prayers for justice, which makes almost 20% of all extant texts, and are attested in the tablets from Britannia (14), Germania (four), Italy (one), and Pannonia (one).

These are predominantly various variants of the formula meaning **until** which refer to the lasting of a restriction for the culprit (similar to love spells), i.e. the restriction lasts **until** the thief returns the stolen things (see 3.3.1. and 6.2.1.2.). See, for instance, No. **247** from Bath:

⁹ See also 1.9.2. and esp. 11.1.3.1.

¹⁰ See also 2.3.3., 5.1.1., and esp. 11.1.3.1.

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...*nec ei somnum permitat, nec natos nec nascentes, donec caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis pertulerit.* (“...and do not allow him to sleep or [to have] children now and in the future, until he has brought my hooded cloak to the temple of her divinity.”).

See also No. **289** from Lydney Park: ...*nolis permittas sanitatem, donec perferat usque templum (No)dentis.* (“Do not let... be healthy until he brings [it] back to the temple of Nodens.”) (see 3.3.2. above).

or No. **265** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/44**: ...*(ne perm)ittas (somnia) nec sanita(tem) nisi tamdiu...quamdiu hoc (ill)ud/apud(?) se habuerit, si vir si femina et... si ancilla.* (“...you are [not] to permit [him/her sleep] or health except for as long as... until s/he has it [along], whether man or woman, and... or maid/slave woman.”) (see also 6.2.1.2.).

In the texts coming from Britannia, a modification of this formula appears using *ante* and *nisi*. Apart from the usual connotations of the conjunction *nisi* “if not, unless” (condition) and *non nisi* “except” (false concessive clause), *nisi* has another semantic nuance here – it combines a condition with time data: *non ante nisi* = “unless/not until”, as in the combination with *quando*: *nisi quando*. The phrase *nec ante nisi* is closely related to the constructions using *donec*: see No. **295** from Uley:

...*ut nec ante sanitatem habeant, nisi repraesentaverint mihi iumentum, quod rapuerunt...* (“...so that they may have neither health before/unless they return to me at once the draught animal which they have stolen...”) (see 1.2.2. and also No. **303**, 1.10.2.).

Further, No. **241** from Aylesford, **dfx.3.1.1**, reads:

...*nec ante sanitatem nec salutem (habeat?) nisi quam in domo dei (pertulerit?)...* (“...and may he [the unknown culprit(s)] not be healthy nor safe before unless [he brings them] to the house of God.”) (see also 12.2.2.). Here, conjunctions *antequam* and *nisi* are blended together (see also No. **258**, 6.2.1.2.).

Another variant occurs in No **261** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/37**:

A: Deae Suli... is, qui... B: si servus si liber si quicumque... erit... non illi permittas nec oculos nec sanitatem, nisi caecitatem orbitatemque, quoad vixerit, nisi haec ad fanum... (pertulerit?). (“To the Goddess Sulis... whether slave or free, [if] whoever he shall be...you are not to permit him eyes or

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health unless blindness and childlessness so long as he shall live, unless [he] these to the temple...”).

Moreover, there are time formulae which express **until when** the culprit is supposed to return the stolen things at god’s bidding. See, for instance, No. **235**, DTM 7 from Germania:

Quisquis nobis sustulit sacc(u)lum, in quo pecunia erat et eam pecuniam et anulos aureos (referat)... quod des(ti)natum est XI K(alendas) Febr(uarias), q(uae) p(roximae) s(unt)... (“Whoever has stolen from us the purse containing money, and those money and golden rings... [may he return them]... which is designated on the eleventh day before the following Kalends of February...”)¹¹ (see also 6.1.).

The writer of tablet No. **239** from Pannonia wishes that some Eudemus return a stolen vessel in nine days: *infra dies novem vasum reponat* (see 1.10.2. and 10.2.2.). This kind of formula is documented also in Britannia in tablet No. **270**: *...ut ante dies novem... in suo rostro defer(at)...*, here the culprit is supposed to bring the things back in nine days in his “beak” (see 1.10.2. and 6.2.1.3.). Conversely, in tablet No. **282**, the deity is supposed to punish the culprit in nine days: *dum tu vindicas ante dies novem* (see 12.2.3.). See also No. **287**:

Te rogo Neptunus,¹² ut tu me vindicas ante q(u)od (= quam) veniant dies novem (“I ask you, Neptunus, to avenge me before nine days come...”) (see also 12.2.3.).

Tablet No. **290** from Marlborough Downs, **dfx.3.16/1** even contains a nine-year punishment for the culprit:

Do deo Marti... id est... equuleum¹³ meum et secur(im)... illum iume(ntum). Rogat genium¹⁴ tuum, dom(ine), ut quampr(imu)m re(sideant?) nec eant per annos novem. N(on eis) permittas nec sedere nec... (“I give to the god Mars...

¹¹ For the interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010, 175 ff.) and esp. Blänsdorf (2012, No. 7).

¹² The tablet reads *Tibi rogo Metunus* (see 12.2.3.), an edited text is stated here.

¹³ The text reads *eculium* “small” or “young horse” and, with respect to the following *iume(ntum)*, this interpretation seems more suitable than *peculium*, which suggests itself first (see Tomlin – Hassall, 1999, 378). The text is damaged to a large extent, the writer appeals to the deity in the 3rd sg.

¹⁴ *Genium tuum* is probably a mixture of *per genium tuum* and *tuam maiestatem rogo*, the latter phrase being common in prayers for justice (see Tomlin 1999, 378).

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it is... my foal and axe... that livestock. He asks your Genius, Lord, that they [mount/stop?], as soon as possible and o not go for nine years. Do not allow them to sit nor...”).

Number nine is probably associated with the Roman week called *nundinum*; apart from that, it is also a magical number (see Egger, 1962, 87; Tomlin, 1988, No. 62). But it does not appear in curses, in tablet No. **132** (see above) the curse is supposed to start working in seven days.

The tablets from Italy, Germania, Pannonia, and rarely also Britannia (see above, No. **287**) contain the formula **until when** which refers to a deity, as it does in curses (see 3.3.1.), i.e. until when the deity is supposed to punish the culprit, whereas the author of the prayer for justice explicitly attempts both at the returning of the stolen property and at the punishment of the culprit. See e.g. No. **212**: ... *illum persequaris, ne annum ducat* (“...persecute him so that he does not live more than a year...”) (see 2.3.4.), and No. **228**:

Priscilla pereat. Per Matrem Deum intra dies C, cito vindicate numen vestrum magnum... (“May Priscilla die. By Mother of the Gods, in 100 days, quickly, avenge your huge divine power...”) (see 10.2.1.).

See also another tablet from Mainz No. **234**:

Tibi commendo Attihi domine, ut me vindices ab eo, ut intra annum vertente(m)... exitum illius vilem malum. (“...I commend to you to you, Lord Atthis, that you take vengeance on him for me, so that by the end of the year (he may suffer) a horrible bad death.”) (see 1.10.2. and 10.2.1.).

Unlike curses, which contain a great variety of different time formulae – **when**, **since when**, **until when**, **now**, **quickly** (also in combination with votive formula), which are addressed to the deity and specifying the time when the curse is supposed to take effect, in prayers for justice only time formulae **until when** and **unless/if not** usually occur and these are related either to the deity (**until when** s/he is supposed to punish the culprit), or both to the culprit and the deity (**until when** the stolen things should be returned through the god’s intervention).

The time data in curses referring to the victim and the restrictions s/he is supposed to be afflicted with (e.g. inability to sleep until the wish of the writer is fulfilled) are very seldom. The formula **not until**, which is closely related to conditional clauses, is used exclusively in love spells; however, it is also the most common time formula in prayers for justice. The prayers for justice

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coming from the European provinces sometimes contain the time data referring to **until when** the deity is supposed to punish the culprit. Only once, in the tablet No. **239** from Pannonia, the specification typical of prayers for justice appears, namely **until when** the culprit is supposed to return the stolen thing.

3.3.2 Vota

Curses and prayers for justice may further contain a **votive formula** by which the promise of reward is made to a deity for the execution of one's wish. Votive formula appears relatively rarely in curses (in 9 tablets = 4% of all curses) and it is found only in tablets coming from Italy (six), Hispania (two), and Germania (one); there is no evidence of *vota* preserved in other Roman provinces. Often they are used in combination with time data, i.e. **until when** the deity is supposed to execute author's wish (see above), and are found predominantly in non-specific curses which are intended to invoke disease or death on their victims. See, for instance, No. **20**:

...Quare hanc victimam tibi trado Proserpina, sive me Proserpina sive Acherusiam dicere oportet. Mihi mittas arcessitum canem tricipitem, qui Ploti cor eripiat. Pollicearis illi te daturum tres victimas: palmas, caricas, porcum nigrum, hoc si perfecerit ante mensem Martium, haec Proserpina Salvia tibi dabo, cum compotem feceris. (That is why I hand over to you this offering, Proserpine, whether I should call you Proserpine or Acherusia. Summon and send me the three-headed dog that would tear out Plotius' heart. Promise him that he will be given three offerings: dates, figs, and a black pig, if he does so until March, I will give this to you, Proserpine Salvia, if you fulfil my wish.)¹⁵

or No. **52**: *...et sei faciatis, votum, quod facio, solvam vostris meritis.* ("...and if you do [this], I will honour the promise I make [here] rightly.") (for the typical votive formula *votum solva(m) vostris meritis*, see also 1.9.2. and 8.1.1.).

This formula is even rarer in prayers for justice; it is documented only twice, once in tablet No. **232** from Germania, and once in tablet No. **220** from Hispania, which reads:

Domine Megare¹⁶ Invicte, tu qui Attidis corpus accepisti, accipias corpus eius, qui meas sarcinas sustulit, qui me compilavit, de domo Hispani. Illius

¹⁵ See also Versnel (1976, 399 ff.), and the whole text with a commentary in 7.3.1.4.

¹⁶ See esp. Tomlin (2010, 261 ff.) and 8.2.

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*corpus tibi et animam do, dono, ut meas res invenia(m). Tunc tibi hostiam quadripedem do(mi)ne, Attis, voveo, si eum furem invenero, domine Attis, te rogo per tuum Nocturnum, ut me quam primum compotem facias.*¹⁷

(“Unconquered Lord Megarus, you who received the body of Attis, may you receive the body of him who robbed me from the house of Hispanus. I give and donate his body and soul to you, that I may find my property. I then promise you a four-footed sacrifice, Lord Attis, if I find that thief. Lord Attis I ask you through your Nocturnus, to make me master of it as soon as possible.”). The tablet makes use of a *historiola*, as well (see 1.9.2.).

Concerning the taxonomy of prayers for justice, H. S. Versnel (2010, 343 ff.) presents a hypothesis that *votum* should be more common in prayers for justice than in curses, as they are more closely related to vows than to “magical” curses. However, this idea did not prove right. Prayers for justice cannot be classified as a sub-category of *vota*, rather they can be regarded a sort of actions at law. Nevertheless, the methods of the writers of prayers for justice do not point at future as votive inscriptions do, and there are also other differences between the two (see Versnel, 2010, 352; see also 1.11.).

Prayers for justice usually include a different practice, not the common votive formula (see above). See, for instance, No. 296:

Deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem donat ita, ut exsigat istas res, quae s(upra)scrip(t)ae sunt, ... quae per(didi)t. (“She gives a third part to the aforesaid god on condition that he exacts this property which has been written above, ... what she has lost...”) (see 1.10.2.).

The writers of prayers for justice usually commend the stolen property or the thief directly to the god who is supposed to take charge of the matter, see also No. 292, in which the author offers a reward to the god:

...quivis involavit (den)arios Cani Digni....donatur deo (suprascripto) decima pars eius pecuniae, quam (so)lverit. (“...whoever has stolen the money of Canus Dignus... a tenth of the money paid [by the culprit] will be granted to the aforementioned god.”) (see 1.9.2.).

That means that prayers for justice do not apply conditional clauses oriented towards future which are so common in votive formulae of votive inscriptions

¹⁷ For the reading and interpretation of this text, see Tomlin (2010, 260 ff.); see also 8.2.

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and curses, see above and No. **9**: *Dii inferi, si illam videro tabescentem, vobis sanctum illud libens ob anniversarium, facere...* (“Infernal gods, if I see her decay, I will gladly offer you annual oblation...”) (see 1.9.2.).

The committal of things and a promise to the deity are mostly enacted by Formulae **2** and **2a**, i.e. the committal formulae with clause with final value and with the predicate of main clause in present, sometimes, past, tense. Thus, unlike *vota*, they do not point at something which is only going to happen, but refer to a symbolic action taking place right at the very moment or in the near past,¹⁸ i.e. to the moment when the writer puts the tablet into a proper place, symbolically commending his matter to the god. The mere fact that the prayers for justice from Britannia offer a part of the stolen property, i.e. a kind of finder’s reward, to the god does not necessarily make them *vota* to all intents and purposes. As soon as the stolen property/the thief is in the hands of gods, in the minds of the authors of such texts the reward probably serves as a motivation for the deity to compel the culprit by various restrictions (see 1.10.2. and 6.2. below) to return the stolen things to the owner.¹⁹ See No. **291**, 6.1. and 12.2.2., and No. **289**, from Lydney Park, **dfx.3.15/1**, which reads:

*Divo Nodenti Silvanus: anellum perdidit, dimidiam partem donavit Nodenti, inter quibus nomen Seneciani, nolis permittas sanitatem, donec perforat usque templum (No)dentis.*²⁰ (“Silvanus to the god Nodens: [Silvanus] has lost a ring, he has given half [of its value] to Nodens. Do not let any of those named Senecianus be healthy, until he brings [it] back to the temple of Nodens.”) (see also 6.2. below).

This formula is documented altogether ten times in prayers for justice, and it is related to thefts and the writer’s wish to achieve the returning of his property and the punishment of the culprit. The time data common in votive formulae do not appear in these cases. As a result of these facts, the “finder’s” reward promised to the deity in prayers for justice from Britannia can be regarded a brand new formula on its own, not a *votum* in its proper sense.

3.3.3 Other Optional Supplements

Rarely, a **menacing formula** is found in curses (see esp. No. **148**. 1.9.2., also tablets No. **164** and No. **165** seem to indicate the presence of a menacing

¹⁸ See Versnel (2010, 348 ff.).

¹⁹ See also Kropp (2008a, 164 ff.); and esp. Versnel (2010, 349).

²⁰ See also Gager (1992, No. 99).

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formula). It is likely that all these three texts coming from *Africa Byzacena* are the works of professional magicians. The above mentioned No. **148** is a love spell, No. **164** and No. **165** are curses against racehorses, see also No. **165** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/25**, which reads:

Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu... obsecro te, venias ad... et hos equos... contrahas... et auferas ab eis nervos, vires, medullas, impetus, victorias. Noli meas spernere voces, sed moveant te haec nomina supposita... (“Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu [the names of daemons], I conjure you to come to...and to overthrow those horses...and to deprive them of muscles, strength, entrails/marrow, run-up, victories. Do not despise my words, but may the names attached urge you... [the names of daemons follow]”).²¹

A warning formula is documented only once (in one of the tablets belonging to the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* made by professional magicians and found in Rome. No. **18**, line 8 (1.9.2.), reads:

...et si forte te contempserit, patiatur febris, frigus, tortiones... (“and if he happens to scorn you, may he be afflicted with fever, cold shudder, and torments/cramps?...”),

and, further, line 15: *Si forte te seducat per aliqua artificia et rideat de te et exsultet tibi, vince, peroccide filium maris, Praesenticium pistrinarium.* (“If he by chance seduced you by some trick, laughed at you and mocked you, defeat and kill the son of sea, Praesenticius, the miller.”).

Moreover, prayers for justice and curses sometimes include a wish that the curse is irreversible, i.e. the victim will not have any chance to redeem oneself nor to use a counter-spell. Concerning curses, this is the case of text No. **15** written on a little clay lamp; however its interpretation is still a matter of discussion, at the end of the text there is:

...ne quis eum solvat, nisi nos qui fecimus. (“...may nobody be able to release him [from the curse] except for us who made it.”).

See also No. **85** (a curse):

²¹ The text is damaged, it appeals to daemons and a figure of a daemon on ship is depicted on it. See also Tremel (2004, No. 38 and 39) who interprets *spernere* as “entfernen” (“to banish, to dispose”). See also 11.1.3.2.

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...neque se possit redimere, nulla pecunia nullaque re neque abs te neque ab ullo deo... (“may he not be able to redeem himself by any money or anything else, either from you or from any other god,...”) (see 1.9.2.).

Regarding prayers for justice, such a wish appears in No. **231** and No. **232** from Germania. No. **231** reads:

...nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis nec plumbis nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo... (“...may they not be able to buy themselves free from your divine power either by offering sheep or lead [tablets], or by gold, or silver...”) (see 1.10.2., 1.9.2., and 10.2.3.).

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A general account of the traditional classification of curses according to their content or the context in which they were created is discussed in subchapter 1.1.2. These include the classifications of A. Audollent and other authors; the categories used by A. Kropp (2008a, 179 ff.) and applied in her recent corpus of *defixiones* (Kropp 2008; see 1.1.2.) are treated where the Latin production is concerned. A. Kropp draws on the classification of possible *causae defigendi* commonly used since Audollent's times (1904, LXXXVIII), which divides curses into 1) non-specific curses, 2) legal curses, 3) agonistic curses (rivalry in sport context as well as those used in other contexts), and 4) love spells, to which Kropp adds the new category of 5) the curses used in the context of theft and damage suffered. This means that a lawsuit, rivalry/competition, love, theft or damage suffered (in the case of prayers for justice), or an unspecified motive (in the case of the non-specific curses), is regarded to be a motive or context of the curse's creation.¹ This division of possible curse motivations; however, leaves some room for confusion, as some motives fall within the same broad category. For example, A. Kropp regards "love" to be the motive of all the texts explicitly related to love, whether they address love rivalry or love spells. Nevertheless, Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 10) places the former among the so-called *separation curses* whose aim is to break up a relationship, e.g. a love triangle, while the latter are classified as the *aphrodisiac curses* or *agogé*,² i.e. the love spells meant to win the unrequited love of a beloved person. In those cases when the Latin curses are very probably motivated by a rivalry in love, i.e. the author tries to eliminate his/her rival, Kropp designates the motive either merely as love. See No. 57 from Maar, **dfx.** 4.1.2/1:

Art(um) ligo Dercomogni (filium) fututor Artus fututor. ("I bind [with spells] Artus, [son] of Dercomognus, whoremonger, Artus is a whoremonger.") (see also 3.1.2. and 9.1.3.).

or as a competition, see No. 17, **dfx.** 1.4.4/3, see 1.9.1., or No. 29, **dfx.** 1.5.1/1, which reads:

¹ See also the categories newly used in TheDeMa (*defixio comercialis, defixio amatoria, defixio agonistica, defixio criminalis, defixio iudiciaria, prayer for justice, defixio indeterminabilis, tabella nominum*).

² In magical papyri (*PGM*) the Greek *ἀγωγή*, derived from the verb *ἄγω*, "to bring, to lead", denotes the love spells which torment a victim (usually a woman) to make her come to the author of the spell (usually a man) (see also Faraone, 1999, 175).

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Dite inferi, Caium Babullium et fututricem eius Tertiam Salviam. (“Oh Dis [and] the underworld gods, [I curse] Gaius Babullius and that slut of his, Tertia Salvia.”) (see also 1.1.2.2.3. and 2.2.2.).

Because of her “love” category, Kropp (2008) places this type of curse, which can be interpreted simply as a rivalry in love, either among love spells or among the agonistic curses, i.e. aimed at the rivals in circus and charioteers, or against enemies in the non-specific curses (see also Urbanová, 2009b, 167 f.).

My analysis of the texts of the curses stated in this work is based on the common classification (see 1.1.2.), meaning that I distinguish the **non-specific** curses (see 1.1.2.1.), the **legal** curses – *defixiones iudicariae* (see 1.1.2.2.1.), the curses **against the rivals in circus** – *defixiones agonisticae* (see 1.1.2.2.2.), which are further subdivided into the curses against **gladiators, charioteers and race-horses**, those aimed exclusively at **race-horses**, and finally the curses related to **love and its desires** – *defixiones amatoriae* (see 1.1.2.2.3.). The latter are further subdivided into love spells corresponding to Faraone’s *aphrodisiac curses* or *agogé*; A. Kropp (2008a, 184 ff.) calls these *Herbeiführungszauber*, “attraction spell”. In this work I use the term **love spell** for such texts; however, the texts related to love and relationships in the sense of Faraone’s *separation curses* are classified as the cases of **rivalry in love**. I do so despite the fact that the motive of rivalry in love is not always explicitly and unambiguously mentioned in the text of a Latin curse itself. The above mentioned tablets No. **57** and No. **29** indicate quite obviously that they can be placed in this category; but sometimes the motive is not quite so clear. Nevertheless, several curses included in the corpus of this work display either explicit or implicit, but altogether sufficiently intelligible, signs pointing to their classification as cases of rivalry in love. They are, then not non-specific curses wholly devoid of obvious authorial intent, and are therefore not classified as such in this work. H. Solin (1968, 23 ff.), too, regards rivalry in love as the possible motivation behind the production of several curses. In this work, the criteria applied in the classification of such texts into the category of rivalry in love include: an effort by the author to make the cursed person odious to a person of opposite sex and references to attempts at preventing or breaking a relationship or a wedding. No. **33** reads:

Philematio Hostili (serva)..., ut illi non succedat... ut ille illam odiat... Quomodo is eis desertus, illa deserta sit cunno. (“Philematio, [the slave] of

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Hostilius: “...may she not succeed... may he hate her... Just like this one is deserted by them, may she be deserted in her bed.”³

Compare also No. 17:

...Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, sic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum ille mortuos, qui istic sepultus est... (“Just like the dead one is dear neither to gods, nor men, may Rhodine be equally [little] dear to Marcus Licinius, and may she mean to him as much as this dead one who is buried here...”) (see 1.9.1. and 7.3.2.).

There are also some curses aimed at couples (see e.g. No. 29 above), and rarely also at men. Moreover, I include the following into this category: No. 16, 19 and 25⁴ (see 2.3.5. and 1.10.1.); No. 26 and No. 29 (see 2.2.2.), No. 33 (see above), No. 51 (see 2.3.5., 8.1.3.), No. 53 (see 8.1.3.) and No. 57 (see above and 9.1.3.), No. 78 (see 10.1.3.), No. 91 (see 2.3.5.), No. 104: ... *ne quiat nubere* (see 1.10.1.), No. 109 (see 1.1.2.2.3. and 10.1.3.) and No. 198 (see 2.3.5.).

Generally, it can be said that love spells – in the sense of *aphrodisiac curses* – represent a category somewhat different from the texts belonging to the category of rivalry in love, the latter being usually intended to eliminate one’s rival in the same way as other types of curses do, i.e. by summoning a disease or death upon the victim, or the restriction of his/her bodily and mental functions. Love spells, on the other hand, seek only temporary restrictions meant to torment the victim until the author’s wish is fulfilled, i.e. until the author’s beloved returns his/her love and affections. The author does not really want his/her beloved to suffer any real harm (see also 1.1.2.2.3., 1.10.1., and esp. 1.8.1.).

Prayers for justice, which are regarded by many scholars to be the subcategory of curses *sui generis*, are called *defixiones in fures* by A. Audollent, while A. Kropp and other modern scholars call these *prayers for justice* (see 1.1.2.2.). These texts are dealt with as their own category in this work (see 1.2.3.; Versnel, 2010, 275 ff.).

³ *Deserta sit cunno*, see (1.10.1.).

⁴ See also Solin (1968, No. 34).

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4.1 OCCURENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTICULAR TYPES OF CURSES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

It is extremely difficult to answer the question of the popularity and frequency of particular types of curses in concrete parts of the Roman Empire. We would expect that the number of tablets coming from a particular province would be influenced by demographic and cultural factors as well as the level of Romanisation. In other words, we would expect there to be a substantially larger amount of texts coming from Italy and the African provinces, rather than from Noricum, Raetia, or Pannonia, which were only sparsely inhabited and remote from the centre of the course of events in the first centuries CE (see Chapter 1, Charts 1 and 2). Surprisingly, a relatively large number of tablets have recently been found in Germania (in 1999) (see chapter 1) and Britannia (in the 1970s and 1980s). This is especially striking when we compare this to the amount of evidence preserved from Hispania and Gallia, the two most densely populated provinces under Roman control from the first half of the 1st cent. BCE and into the 2nd century CE. Roman influence became evident in Germania only in the middle of the 1st cent. CE, and predominantly in the fortified centres (*Colonia Agrippina*, *Mogontiacum*), and Roman concerns in Britannia manifested themselves in limited degrees in the south even later (the middle of the 1st cent. CE).⁵ Of course, the varied ethnic composition of the forces of military camps could have contributed to the quicker spread of the magical tradition to the marginal areas of the Roman Empire.

The randomness of the archaeological findings certainly contributes to the quality and quantity of the extant Latin evidence of curses. In Italy and the African provinces, we can presume that a greater number of curses can and has been found, thanks to the preponderance of ancient monuments and a longstanding tradition of professional archaeological research in these areas, as well as the illegal activities of treasure hunters and the density of settlements in antiquity. As for Britannia, where a substantially smaller amount of ancient material evidence has been found, we have to take into account the progress of archaeology and activities of professional and non-professional metal seekers. However, in the light of the recently discovered texts from Mainz and the amount of evidence coming from Britannia (160 published tablets), it can be assumed that neither demographic factors nor archaeological research exercise a decisive influence on the amount of the preserved tablets currently known. Instead, the recent findings suggest that many tablets probably still remain

⁵ See Wiegels – Spickermann – Barceló (1998, 954 ff.).

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undiscovered in their original locations, perhaps even in the area of Italy. For example, if we analyze the tablets written in the agonistic context, we have to admit that all of the Latin texts of this type that we possess come exclusively from African areas. This is somewhat surprising, considering that the competitions in circus were popular and organized also in other parts of Roman Empire; nevertheless, a number of tablets have been found in *Africa proconsularis* as well as in *Africa Byzacena*. We have a substantial amount of references in the works of ancient authors, as well as the epigraphic evidence (for example, from Pompeii) on the gladiatorial contests and horse races held in the area of Italy. Thus, is this lack of agonistic tablets preserved in Italy enough to conclude that such curses were not used there, or that they did not exist in those areas where they have not been found? This is unlikely, given the existence of several Greek tablets found directly in Rome containing agonistic curses. J. Tremel (2004, 28 ff.) in his work *Magica agonistica*, deals with the extant texts of agonistic curses written in both Greek and Latin. These texts have predominantly been found near stadiums or circuses in Greece (Athens, Isthmia, Corinth), Asia Minor (Antiochia, Apamea, Beirut, Damask), Africa (Hadrumetum, Carthage, Leptis Magna), as well as some additional texts from Delos and the area of Caerleon in Britannia; some Greek agonistic curses have been found in Italy right in the city of Rome. Furthermore, we currently know of 20 Greek curses against rivals in the circus found in Rome (see Tremel, 2004, No. 70-89). Most of these have been found either at the Porta S. Sebastiano on the Via Appia, or close to the Quirinal Hill, i.e. neither directly at the stadium nor circus. This was a huge breakthrough – altogether 43 Greek and five Latin tablets⁶ – published in 1898 by R. Wunsch and known as the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* (see 1., 1.7.1., and 1.9.). 18 of the Greek tablets contain the curses aimed at charioteers and riders.⁷ One of the Greek tablets (Tremel, 2004, No. 90) against charioteers, which was found in 1984 in Rome during the excavations in the columbarium of the Villa Doria Pamphili from the 4th cent. CE (see Bevilacqua, 1997, 545 ff.), starts with the words *φακτιω βενιτα*, i.e. the transliteration of Latin phrase *factio veneta* (= the blue team), to denote the target of the curse; it continues in Greek. From these extant agonistic curses in Greek, we can assume a Latin production also existed in Rome, but that the material evidence of it has, unfortunately yet to surface. What this

⁶ Only two of these Latin tablets are included in this work: No. **18** (a non-specific curse) and No. **19** (perhaps rivalry in love), the remaining texts are damaged to such an extent that they cannot be interpreted. However, none of the interpretable tablets contains agonistic curse.

⁷ See Tremel (2004, No. 70–89), i.e. the complete documentation of Greek agonistic curses found in Rome; *Sethianorum tabellae* (see DT 140–187).

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Roman evidence of curse tablets in Greek probably proves is the existence of a magical workshop which used complicated Greek curses (see *Sethianorum tabellae* above) and made a living from the orders related to horse races and bets on these, while the Latin production has either not been preserved or has not yet been found.

Tremel (2004, No. 91) classifies the Latin text found in the amphitheatre near Roman military camp in Caerleon in Britannia as an agonistic curse, which he does due to the place of finding. However, this added to the misleading interpretation of the damaged text, as it is actually a prayer for justice, see No. **283** from Caerleon:

Domina Nemesis do tibi pallium et galliculas, qui tulit, non redimat nisi vita, sanguine suo. (“Lady Nemesis, I give you my cloak and shoes, may the person who stole them not redeem [them/it?], unless with his own life and blood.”) (see also Gager, 1992, No. 100; Versnel, 1991, 86; 2010, 287; 1.10.2.).

The situation is similar in love spells, through which the authors try to win the love of a beloved woman (the authors of preserved Latin texts of love spells are predominantly men). These texts, too, come almost⁸ exclusively from the African provinces: three tablets have been found in *Africa proconsularis* and 12 tablets in *Africa Byzacena*. Again, it could be assumed that this type of complicated spells was the specialty of African provinces; nevertheless, there is also one text from Raetia which probably represents the author’s own adaptation of this type of spell, albeit a somewhat artless and damaged one. See No. **106** from Peiting, **dfx.** 7.4/1: ... *Gemella sub iugum missa quiesce... contineas te non pe(ccas?) ama Clementem...*⁹ (“Gemella, [who are] put under the yoke [of marriage?], be quiet, hold up, [do not sin?], love Clemens...”), (see also 10.1.1., No. **69**, 9.1.3. and 7.3.). Apart from this, there are countless

⁸ One text from the new findings made in the fountain of Anna Perenna has been interpreted as a love spell, too. The tablet contains a depiction of a bound-up person with snakes around, there are Greek letters in the upper part and a Latin text below: *quem pereo fantasia* interpreted by Blänsdorf (2012a, 159) as “whom I love passionately in my fancy.”

⁹ See Nesselhauf (1960, 76 ff.), some passages of the text is very hard to interpret.

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references to the use of enchantments and spells in love context in the works of Roman authors.¹⁰

With respect to the gaps in the documentation of various types of curses in particular provinces, it cannot be said with certainty that particular types of curses were only or even characteristically produced in certain provinces and vice-versa, or that a particular context worked as a common motive to resort to curses. Therefore, the extant texts can work as merely the starting point for inference and argument; they cannot provide us with all the answers.¹¹

4.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

Non-specific curses are the most frequently attested Latin curses (see 1.1.2.1.). The texts of these tablets do not provide us with any reference to their authors' possible motives for creating or ordering the tablets. A substantial amount of the non-specific curses are simply nominal lists of cursed people (see also Formula **0**, 2.1.1.). The corpus of this work includes altogether 94 non-specific curses, which accounts for approximately 45% of all curse tablets.¹² Most of the evidence comes from Italy (33), further also from Britannia (23) (see also 3.1.1.), Germania (17), Gallia (nine), Hispania (five), and this type of curses appears rarely also in the African provinces (five). This category does not only consist of nominal lists: many of these texts also employ more complicated formulae; they do not, however, provide any information about their authors' motivations. See e.g. No. **1** (1.9.1. and 2.3.2.), No. **5** (2.3.3., 7.3.1.5.), No. **9** (1.9.2. and 2.2.2.), No. **12** (1.1.2.1. and 7.3.1.2.), No. **13** (1.9.1.), No. **20** belongs to the most complicated curses (see 7.3.1.4. below) and further e.g. No. **18** (1.9.2.) from Italy; see also e.g. No. **52** (1.9.2. and 8.1.1.) from Hispania; No. **64** (2.3.2. and 9.1.1.) from Gallia; No. **88** (1.1.2.1. and 10.1.1.) and No. **90** (1.10.1. and 10.1.1.) from Germania; No. **101** (2.3.6. and 10.1.1.) from Noricum; No. **122** (1.1.2.1. and 1.10.1.) and No. **138** (1.10.1.) from Africa; and finally No. **201** (1.1.2.1. and 12.1.1.) and No. **199** (3.1.2. and 12.1.1.) from Britannia. Non-specific curses are attested throughout the whole period of the working of magical tradition in the territories belonging to the Roman Empire; most of the

¹⁰ See e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 5 and 17, *Sat.* 1.8; Apul. *Met.* 1.5 –19, 2.5; Petron. *Sat.* 63; Verg. *Ecl.* 8; Ovid. *Am.* 7.30 –31 Prop. 1.6 –26 (see also 1.3. and 1.10.1.; further also Luck, 1962; and Ogden, 2009).

¹¹ The type of curse cannot be reliably determined in 3 of altogether 208 tablets.

¹² All percentage data pertain to the corpus analyzed in this work, i.e. as for curses, 100% = 208; as for prayers for justice, 100% = 101.

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pieces of evidence date back to the time between the 1st cent. BCE and the 3rd cent. CE.

4.1.2 Legal Curses

Legal curses, which are aimed at enemies in the context of lawsuits (see 1.1.2.2.1.), represent the second most frequently preserved type of Latin curses. The corpus analyzed in this work includes 42 tablets motivated by a lawsuit, which comprises 20% of all preserved curses. Most of these come from Germania (12) and *Africa proconsularis* (14), while a much smaller amount of legal curses has been preserved in other provinces, except for Noricum and Britannia, where no such texts have been found so far. We have four tablets from Italy and Hispania, three from Gallia, and two from Pannonia¹³ and Raetia. This uneven amount of evidence found across the Roman Empire – where the lawsuits took place – is less indicative of the popularity of this type of curse in Africa or Germania, most likely, than the randomness of archaeological findings. The popularity factor cannot be completely disregarded however, especially in the case of Germania. The highest concentration of texts of legal curses comes from the 1st cent. CE or the 2nd/3rd cent. CE, the latter being true especially for the tablets from Africa. The texts containing formula **0**, i.e. mere nominal lists of cursed people supplemented with attributes like *adversarius/adversaria* (see No. **10**, 2.1.1.), make up approximately a quarter of legal curses. Nevertheless, the more complicated curses also exist, whose primary aim is to negatively affect the adversary's ability to speak or think, see No. **11** (2.2.1. and 7.3.1.6.), No. **27** (2.2.2. and 7.3.2.), No. **38** (2.3.4. and 7.3.1.6.) from Italy; No. **46** and **47** (1.6., 2.1.1. and 8.1.2.) from Hispania; see also the complicated curses coming from Gallia, No. **67** (1.10.1., 6.2.1. and 9.1.2.); further No. **70** (1.10.1. and 10.1.2.), No. **75** (10.1.2.) and No. **76** (1.4. and 10.1.2.) from Germania; No. **105** (2.3.5. and 10.1.2.) from Raetia; No. **114** and **115** (1.1.2.2.1. and 11.1.2.), No. **116** (2.3.3. and 11.1.2.), No. **118** (2.3.6. and 11.1.2.), No. **136** (1.9.3. and 11.1.2.), and No. **181** (2.3.1.) from the African provinces. Most of the tablets containing legal curses (34) have been found in graves.

¹³ The third, recently found, tablet containing legal curse is not included in the corpus of this work; however, it has been published by A. Barta (2009, 23 ff.) (see also 10.1.2.).

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4.1.3 Agonistic Curses

Agonistic curses aimed at gladiators, charioteers, and race-horses (see 1.1.2.2.2.) represent the third most frequently preserved type of curse. As previously noted, all tablets containing this type of curse come exclusively from the African provinces; however, it can be assumed that they were used also in other provinces, since we know circuses and organized games (see 4.1.) were held throughout the Roman Empire. Altogether 40 tablets with agonistic curses have been analyzed, which accounts for approximately 20% of all curses included in the corpus of this work. These are the texts usually made by professional ritual practitioners that make use of magical words and other magical elements, such as a peculiar graphic arrangement, etc. (see 1.7.2.). Surprisingly, the texts aimed against gladiators represent the smallest portion of the extant agonistic corpus: only six tablets found in the circus in Carthage (*Africa proconsularis*). The corpus analyzed in this work includes a total of 21 curses against charioteers and race-horses. Most of these (16) come from the Roman necropolis near the ancient town of Hadrumetum (today's Sousse, *Africa Byzacena*); the rest were found in the Roman graves near Carthage. All the tablets with curses against race-horses (13) – except for one found in Carthage – come from the necropolis near ancient Hadrumetum. Interestingly, Greek and Latin agonistic curses differ in where they were most frequently deposited. The Latin curses against gladiators found in Carthage were found right in the circus, while the curses against charioteers and race-horses have been found in graves. The Greek documentation suggests different customs in this respect in particular regions, with the Greek agonistic tablets from Athens and Isthmia being found in wells, while the texts from Corinth in baths (see Tremel, 2004, 28 f.). Randomness, however, again plays its role in this case. Nevertheless, amphitheatres and stadia were obviously regarded the proper places for the deposition of a tablet (violent deaths took place here), as is apparent from the tablets containing the non-specific and legal curses found in the amphitheatre of Trier in Gallia. The earliest tablets with the agonistic curses are attested from the 2nd cent. CE (four), the largest amount of evidence dates back to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE (28), while there is some evidence also from the 3rd cent. CE. See the curses against gladiators: No. **130** (1.1.2.2.2. and 11.1.3.1.), No. **131** (1.10.1.), No. **132** (2.3.3., 1.6. and 1.9.3.), No. **135** (1.9.2. and 11.1.3.1.), see esp. 11.1.3.1.; the curses against charioteers and race-horses: No. **140** (2.3.6. and 11.1.3.2.), No. **143** (1.1.2.2.3., 2.3.4. and love spells below), No.

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152 (1.1.2.2.2.), No. **157** (2.3.5.),¹⁴ No. **171** (2.3.4.), No. **177** (1.9.3.), No. **149** (1.10.1.), No. **151** (2.3.1. and 1.9.3.), No. **165** (2.3.2., 3.3.3.), and esp. 11.1.3.2.

4.1.4 Love Spells

The texts containing **love spells** (see 1.1.2.2.3.), through which the authors seek to gain the affections of an unrequited lover, come mostly from the African provinces, as previously stated (see 4. and 4.1.); a single text has been preserved in Raetia (see No. **106** above)¹⁵. The corpus of this work includes altogether 16 tablets with love spells, which makes up approximately 8% of all the tablets analyzed here. This paucity is probably due to randomness, too, as we have sufficient references to love spells in Roman literature to presume their flourishing existence in Italy (see also Verg. *Ecl.* 91 ff.; 1.8.1. and 4.1.). Tablets with love spells have been found in graves in Carthage (three) and Hadrumetum (12), and the aforementioned tablet No. **106** in a house in Raetia. Compared to the non-specific and legal curses, love spells are later: the text from Raetia (No. **106**) is regarded to be the earliest preserved love spell and is dated back to the 1st cent. CE; three tablets date to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE; however, the largest amount of these texts (12) comes from the 3rd cent. CE. Both the tablets found in Carthage and those found in Hadrumetum imply that they were made by professionals in the field: see No. **124** (1.1.2.2.3.), which contains empty spaces for filling in the name of a beloved person and other data. Tablet No. **143** is an interesting combination of a love spell and a curse aimed at a rival in the circus (1.1.2.2.3. and 2.3.4.). All preserved Latin love spells, except for one (see No. **148**, 1.9.2. and 1.10.1.), were written or ordered by men (see also 1.6.). Furthermore, see No. **121** (2.3.5.), No. **142** (3.1.1.), No. **144** (1.10.1.), No. **145** (1.7.1.), No. **146** (1.10.1.), No. **147** (1.6.), No. **173** (2.3.1. and 11.1.4.), and No. **182** (2.3.3., Appendix I, and esp. 11.1.4.).

4.1.5 Rivalry in Love

The corpus of this work includes 15 curses which could be motivated by **rivalry in love** (see 1.1.2.2.3. and 4.), which makes accounts for approximately 7% of all curses analyzed here. The largest amount of evidence (seven) comes from Italy, two tablets have been found both in Hispania and Germania; there is only

¹⁴ Tablets No. **152–161** are the evidence of serial production of tablets in agonistic context, their text and form are more or less identical, only the names of the cursed creatures change (see also 11.1.3.).

¹⁵ For another potential love spell from Rome, see Blänsdorf (2012a, 159), see 7.3. and No. 69 (9.1.3).

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one piece of evidence from each of the other provinces, except for Raetia and the African provinces where no such type of curse has been documented. This motivation appears throughout the whole period of the existence of magical tradition: the tablets from Italy and Hispania date to the 1st cent. BCE, while most of such texts date to the 1st/2nd cent. CE (nine), but some rarely also to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE and the 4th/5th cent. CE. Unlike the preserved love spells, which were predominantly written or ordered by men, the curses against rivals in love mostly seem to be the workings of women. These texts were most likely made in the context of a love triangle and most of them are aimed at women or at a couple; see No. **26**, No. **29**, and No. **51**. A man is the target of the curse only twice: see No. **25** (1.10.1.) and No. **57** (3.1.2. and 9.1.3.). It can thus be presumed that women used these curses more frequently than men, see also No. **16** (5.), No. **17** (1.9.1. and 7.3.2.), No. **29** (2.2.2.), No. **33** (1.10.1.), No. **51** (2.3.5. and 8.1.3.), No. **91** (2.3.5. and 10.1.2.), No. **104** (1.10.1. and 10.1.3.), No. **109** (1.1.2.2.3. and 10.1.3.), and No. **198** (2.3.5. and 12.1.1.).

Generally speaking, the extant Latin curse tablets most likely are of limited predictive value concerning the use or popularity of particular types of curses in particular regions of the Roman Empire. This is due to the randomness of archaeological findings, as well as the fact that curse tablets were usually hidden by their authors in remote and inaccessible places like graves, springs, wells, and the like. These were places associated with supernatural powers and concealed from the public. Furthermore, it has to be taken into account that such magical practices were prohibited and severely punished (see also 1.11.).

5. AIMS AND WISHES OF THE AUTHORS OF CURSES WITH RESPECT TO THE TYPES OF CURSES

As previously stated, the authors of curses and prayers for justice pursue pragmatic goals: their desire is to use supernatural powers to manipulate others for their own profit – mostly to afflict their rivals (in a number of contexts) in such a way that the authors' lives are improved. Authors typically wish to win a lawsuit, to gain victory in circus, or love. Although these wishes do not explicitly appear in tablets, they can be deduced from the texts themselves. In this work, I draw on particular wishes and goals as they are expressed in the texts.

The writers of curses attempt to temporarily or permanently harm their victims in some way, to force them to do something, or even to eliminate (kill) them, to inflict a disease upon them, and/or to limit their bodily and mental functions. Only love spells are somewhat different from other curses, as their primary goal is not to harm the victims, but to gain the accursed beloved's unrequited love. As in legal or agonistic curses, restrictions are employed in love spells; however, these are supposed to last just for a limited span of time (see 1.10.1.).

The aim of curse is, in many cases, associated with the type of curse. The restrictions to be imposed usually follow the type of curse: for instance, the authors of legal curses very often try to afflict the victim's ability to speak in court. For the sake of the analysis of the texts included in the corpus of this work, I sought to distinguish the particular aims of authors as precisely as possible. The following categories of authors' aims arose:

- **restrictions** – limitation mostly of the victim's bodily, but also mental functions, these can differ depending on the type of curse;
- in **legal curses** they are related especially to the ability to speak and think, see also 1.10.1., see No. **114** from Carthge:

...alligate linguas horum, quos suprascripti, ne adversus nos respondere possint. (“...bind the tongues of those, whose names I wrote above, so that they cannot testify against us.”) (see 1.1.2.2.1.)

- in **love spells**, see No. **124**:

...aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciat. (“...take sleep away from her unless she comes to me... and satisfies me.”) (see 1.1.2.2.3.)

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- in **agonistic curses**, see No. **149**:

...cadant, frangant, disiungantur, male girent, palmam vincere non possint.
 (“...may they fall, break, unyoke themselves, turn wrongly, may they be unable to win the palm-branch.”) (see 1.10.1.).

The authors of some agonistic curses do not seek just the restriction of adversary’s bodily functions, but also ask for his death, such cases have been found in Africa, see No. **130**, No. **132**, and No. **133** (curses against gladiators) (see 11.1.3.1.1), No. **162** (a curse against charioteers and race-horses) (see 11.1.3.2.), and No. **183** (damaged text of a legal curse from Africa). That means that the authors pursue **restrictions as well as death** of their victims via these curses. See, for instance, No. **130** from Carthage against a gladiator:

...(occi)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m), quem peperit Prima, in ista hora in amphitheatri corona. Non liget ursum, ursos... Obliga illi pedes, membra, sensus, medullam. Obliga Gallicum, quem peperit Prima, ut neque ursum neque taurum singulis plagis occidat neque binis plagis occidat neque ternis plagis occidat taurum, ursum. Per nomen dei vivi omnipotentis ut perficiatis, iam, iam, cito, cito. Allidat illum ursus et vulneret illum. (“...kill, destroy, hurt Gallicus, whom Prima bore, at that hour during the games in the amphitheatre. May he not bind a bear, bears... Bind his feet, limbs, senses, marrow. Bind Gallicus, whom Prima bore, so that he kills neither a bear nor a bull, nor does he kill a bear or a bull with a single, nor double, nor triple punch. In the name of the living almighty god, may you carry [this] out, now, now, quickly, quickly. Let the bear strike him and hurt him.”) (see also 11.1.3.1.).

In this context, see also a legal curse against Silvanus, No. **183** from Constantine:

A: ... ut facias illum sine sensu, sine memoria, sine (spi)ritu, sine medulla¹, sit vi mutuscus² B: demando tibi ut acceptu(m h)abeas (S)ilvanu(m) quem³ ... et custodias... (de)mando ut facias illum mortuum. Deponas eum

¹ The Latin term *medulla* is hard to interpret in this context, it either refers to the bone marrow, or to the entrails, or to the heart, but possibly also to strength, in general.

² This is the only attested occurrence of the word *mutuscus* in Latin. M. Jeanneret (1917, 120) understands it as *valde mutus*, perhaps it could be also interpreted as “struck dumb violently”, or as “helpless”.

³ Some parts of the text of the tablet are damaged. A. Kropp suggests to read it according D. R. Jordan (1976, 127 ff.) who adds *q(uem) p(eperit) Vulva Facta*, i.e.

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ad Tartara.⁴ (“...so that you make him lose his sense, his memory, his spirit, his vigour, let him become mute by [your] power. I commend to you to take Silvanus who...and... to guard [him] ...I order you to arrange for his death. Put him in Tartarean regions...”).

- **disease**, see No. **64**: ...*rogo te, domina Isis, ut illi profluuium mittas*. (“...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on him.”) (see 1.10.1.), and further No. **12** (1.1.2.1. and 7.3.1.2.), No. **52** (1.9.2. and 8.1.1.); resp. the victim is more often afflicted with a disease leading to **death**, see e.g. No. **30** from Capua: ...*Astragalum v(oveo), uti tabescat morbo*... (“I dedicate? ...Astragalus ...may he die of disease...”) (see 2.3.1.), or No. **20** (1.10.1. and 7.3.1.4.). This type occurs predominantly in the non-specific curses.
- **death**, see No. **1**: ...*uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis* ...may you ...destroy him, and kill him...” (1.9.1.). This is especially common in non-specific curses; and, but is also attested – albeit to a very limited extent – in legal curses, curses related to rivalry in love, and agonistic curses (see above).
- **gaining love** in love spells (see 1.1.2.2.3., No. **143** and No. **124**), or a **separation** in the curses related to rivalry in love. In some cases, the authors of the curses motivated by rivalry in love even try to completely eliminate, i.e. to kill, the victim (see above). See e.g. No. **16** from Rome, **dfx.** 1.4.4/2:

Danae ancilla novicia Capitonis: hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas Danaene. Habeas Eutychem Soterichi uxorem. (“Danae, the new maid of Capito: accept her as an offering and consume Danae. Take also Eutychia, the wife of Soterichus.”).

And yet, in several texts, the aim or purpose of the curse is not specified.

“whom bore”, whereas *vulva facta* is a term standing instead of the unknown name of victim’s mother. This term has been attested nowhere else in Latin curses; however, a similar one is often used (see *suavulva* above, 1.1.2.2.3., No. **143**). See also 2.3.2.

⁴ The curse is addressed to a daemon, which is depicted in the tablet as a creature with goat legs (see DT 300).

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5.1 OCCURRENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE AIMS OF CURSE IN RESPECT OF THE TYPE OF CURSE

Based on my analysis of the authorial aims of the curses, I assume that approximately one-third of the analysed evidence (77 tablets, 37% of texts) neither the motivation to write the curse nor the way in which the victim is supposed to be affected can be reliably judged. This is related to the formula and type of curse used. Approximately 60 tablets (85% of cases) contain the texts with Formula **0** (see 2.1.1.), i.e. mere nominal lists of cursed people. Sometimes these are supplemented with the specifying terms like *inimicus* or *adversarius*, so at least in a few cases the type of curse can be determined: such a text would most probably be related to a lawsuit. However, no other information is found in the texts regarding the aim of the curse or what was supposed to happen to the victim. The texts using Formula **0** are usually classified under non-specific curses, because neither the motivation nor the context of the curse are clear. See e.g. No. **2** from Arezzo, **dfx.** 1.1.1/2: *M(arcus) Ponti (filius), Secundio, M(arcus) Ulp(ius?) Anici f(ilius)*. In some non-specific curses, however, we can surmise the curse's purpose while lacking concrete evidence of its context or author's motivation (see 1.10.1., No. **122**).

The occurrence of such texts in particular areas of the Roman Empire is then connected with the use of the simplest type of curse: a simple nominal list. This type is, to some larger extent, attested in Italy (13) and Germania (ten), but the largest amount of these simple curses comes from Britannia (20) (see 3.2. and 12.1.1.). Only ten of these can be with certainty associated with the legal context, and two of these with the agonistic context (the cursing of race-horses). But in the latter case the text itself is damaged to such an extent that although it can be presumed that the author wanted to prevent the cursed horses from winning, it is not explicitly expressed in the text.

5.1.1 Restrictions

The authors of Latin curses usually sought a temporary restriction of bodily or mental functions of their victims. Altogether 86 tablets (which makes 41% of all texts analysed in this work) contain various restrictions intended to afflict the victim. This concerns primarily the attempt *to paralyse the opponent so that s/he would not be able to do something*. This holds true for the legal curses: *Oro vos ex hoc die, ut taceant, muti, mutili sint...* (No. **181**, 2.3.1.); *...nec illi hanc litem vincere possint...* (No. **67**, 1.10.1. and 6.2.1.); *...ut sit mutus neque pos(sit) loqui, neque quicquam agere...* (No. **70**, see 1.10.1.); and for the agonistic curses. No. **134** reads:

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...*Sapautulus currere non possit, obligentur illi pedes, nervi...* (“...may Sapautulus be unable to run, may his feet and muscles be tied up...”) (see also 11.1.3.1.).

On the contrary, in love spells *the victim is paralysed so as to be forced to do something*, like in No. 143:

A: Faciatis Victoriam, quam peperit suavulva, amantem, furem prae amore meo, neque somnum videat, donec ad me veniat puellarum deliciae. (“Get Victoria, who was born to XY, to love [me], burn with passion for me, may she not sleep until she comes to me, the sweetest of girls.”) (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

It can be said, therefore, that the most frequent wish of the authors of curses is not death or elimination of the opponent, but only a restriction of his/her abilities that is frequently meant to last for a limited span of time in most cases (duration of lawsuit, races, or, in the case of love spells, an explicitly expressed time span; see above).

The occurrence of curses with restrictions is related to the type of curse as well as to the amount of evidence documenting a particular type of curses in the areas of the Roman Empire (see also 4.1.). Most of the tablets (35) containing restrictions come from the African provinces and pertains to the curses against gladiators (five), charioteers and race-horses (19), or race-horses alone (11). Unfortunately, as previously stated, no Latin agonistic curses have been found in other parts of the Roman Empire (see 4.1.3.). Only in a very few cases did the authors of curses seek their rivals’ death (see also Chapter 5, No. 130). See No. 132:

A: ... Παρπαζῖν deus omnipotens, adducas ad domus infernas Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas. B: ... Perversus sit, perperversus sit Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas, nec laqueos possit super ursum mittere, non alligare... collegam tenere omnino non possit... Manus illi et ro(bur), pedes illi obligentur, non possit currere... (“Παρπαζῖν [the daemon is addressed], the almighty god, bring Maurussum, whom Felicitas bore, to the infernal dwellings... May Maurussum, whom Felicitas bore, be knocked down, beaten hollow, may he be unable to throw nets on bear, nor tie him up ... may he be unable to hold back the corrial... May his hands and strength? and feet be bound, may he be unable to run...”) (see also 11.1.3.1.).

Compare also No. 133:

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(Adiuro vos) animae huius loci et... sancta nomina (VM)... date interitu(m) his venatoribus... (“I adjure you, spirits of this place and... holy names [the names of daemons follow]... bestow death upon these hunter gladiators...”)
(see 11.1.3.1.).

As already mentioned, restrictions are very often used in legal curses, as well. In nearly two-thirds of the texts (27) of all preserved tablets (42) concerning lawsuits, the writers pursued the restriction of opponent’s ability to testify in court. In 11 cases the purpose was not specified, and surprisingly, in four cases the writers wished death upon their adversaries, see No. **75** from Germania: *B: Dis Manibus hos(tes) v(oveo): L(ucium) Celi(um), C(aium) Haeb... neca illa nom(in)a* (see 10.1.2.); further also No. **103** from Raetia (see 5.2. and 10.1.2.), and No. **123** and No. **183** (see 2.3.2. and 5. above) from the African provinces.

Finally, restrictions appear to be necessary components of love spells, which are primarily meant to gain the love of a beloved person; their purpose is to make the victim fall savagely in love (see 1.10.1.). The authors usually beseech the daemons to make the victim unable to sleep, eat, drink, walk, or think, or to forget her/his parents, all relatives, and friends. The purpose is to make her/him burn with desire for the author of the curse. See No. **145** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1./5:

...cogite Bonosam quam peperit Papte amare me Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro sine intermissione; non possit dormire Bonosa neque esse... (“...force Bonosa, whom Papte bore, to love me, Oppius, whom Veneria bore, unceasingly with sacred love, may she be unable to sleep nor eat...”) (see als No. **148**, 1.9.2., No. **144**, 5.1.4., No. **146**, 1.10.1., and esp. 11.1.4.).

Restrictions are also used in the context of rivalry in love (see No. **33**, 1.10.1., and No. **91**, 2.3.5.) and in non-specific curses.

5.1.2 Disease, Disease/Death, Death

Only in a relatively small number of tablets (four, which makes up less than 2% of all texts analysed in this work) do the authors try to bring about a disease on their victims. More frequently (11 tablets, which makes up approximately 5% of curses), they want their victims to be afflicted with a disease that leads to their death. Finally, most of the tablets (22, which makes up approximately 10% of curses) express the authors’ wish to kill their victims. Death, then, is the aim of the curse in altogether 33 tablets (almost 16% of curses).

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The texts seeking a disease for the victim have been found in Italy, Hispania, Gallia, and Germania. See No. **64** from Gallia: *...rogo te, domina Isis, ut illi profluuium mittas.* (“...I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke bleeding/diarrhoea on him.”), while the wish to afflict one’s victim with diarrhoea may look rather ridiculous, in the case of other texts it does not bode well (see 9.1.1.). Additionally, see e.g. No. **52**: *...caput, cor, consiliom, valetudinem, vitam, membra omnia, accedat morbo cotidie...* (“...may disease overcome her head, heart, intellect, health, life, and all limbs...” (see 1.9.2. and 8.1.1.), or No. **12** (see 1.1.2.1.), in which all the body parts of the cursed people are supposed to be afflicted.

All of the texts that call for a disease leading to death can be classified as non-specific curses. They have been found mostly in Italy (nine), with single pieces of evidence come from Germania and Britannia. No. **18** from Italy reads:

... tene, contere, confringe et... trade morti, filium Asseles, Praesenticium...
(l. 8) *... et si forte te contempserit, patiatur febris, frigus, tortiones...*
(“...take hold of, destroy, bring to naught and... commit to death Praesenticius, son of Assela... and if he happens to scorn you, may he be afflicted with fever, could shudder, and torments/cramps?...”) (see also 1.9.2.).

The tablets found in Italy include usually also a votive formula (see 3.3.2.). The writer of tablet No. **20** seeks to afflict his victim with a fatal disease:

Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor, sive me Salviam dicere oportet, eripias salutem, c(orpus, co)lorem, vires, virtutes Ploti... Tradas illum febris quartanae, tertianae, cottidianae, quae cum illo luctentur, deluctentur, illum evincant, vincant, usque dum animam eius eripiant... (“Good, beautiful Proserpina, wife of Pluto, unless it would be fitting for me to call you Salvia, snatch away Plotius’ health, body, complexion, physical and mental faculties. Hand him over to the fourth-day, the third-day, the daily fevers, let them wrestle and tussle with him, let them conquer and overwhelm him to the point that they snatch away his soul..”) (see also 1.10.1., 3.3.2., and 7.3.1.4.).

The tablets in which the authors explicitly attempt to kill their opponents come from Italy (nine), Germania (four), Raetia (two), Noricum (one), and Africa (seven), whereas the tablets found in Africa combine restrictions with death (see 5.1.1. above). Again, this mostly concerns the non-specific curses (see No. **1**, 1.9.1. and 2.3.2., No. **5**, 2.3.3., and No. **14**, 1.6.), as well as the curses related to

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rivalry in love in which the authors seek the death of their rivals (see No. **16**, 5., and No. **25**, 1.10.1. and 2.3.6.), and rarely also legal curses (see 5.1.1. above).

5.1.3 Separation

Separation as the aim of the curse is limited to the texts motivated by rivalry in love (see 4.1.5.). This type of curse is represented in 15 tablets, which makes up less than 7% of all tablets analysed in this work. The authors' primary goal is to break up a love affair, probably because of a love triangle. The pursuit of separation is usually accompanied by restrictions. See No. **17**:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, sic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit... ("Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak nor talk [to anyone], may Rhodine be dead for Marcus Licinius Faustus, nor be able to speak or talk [to him]...") (see also 1.9.1. and further also 2.3.5. and 7.3.2.).

There is only one case when the author seeks to kill the victim (see 5.1.2. above, No. **16**).

5.1.4 Love

There are relatively few Latin tablets in which the authors want to gain love (16 tablets, approximately 8% of all texts analysed in this work), compared to the Greek production (out of which 25% of all preserved tablets contain love spells).⁵ Most of these have been found in the African provinces; only one piece of evidence comes from Raetia (see 4.1.4.). As previously mentioned, love spells are a special category of Latin curses. While the formulations and content of the curses concerning rivalry in love (see above) do not really differ from other types of curses, love spells have their own specific, one could say almost poetic, charm. The author of a love spell wishes to gain the love of his/her unrequited beloved by invoking various restrictions upon the desired object to make her/him fulfil his/her expectations. Thus, we are presented with erotically tuned wishes expressing how much the beloved is supposed to love the author of the curse. See, for instance, No. **124** from Carthage:

Bıβıρıçi, qui es fortissimus daemon, urge, coge illam venire ad me amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei causa... ("Bibirixi, you who are the most

⁵ Gager (1992, 78 ff.).

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powerful daemon, urge [her], make her come to me loving and burning with love and desire for me...” (see also 1.1.2.2.3.),

or No. **125** from Carthage, **dfx.** 11.1.1/17: *...detineatur (in om)ne tempus in a(mor)e et desiderio Martialis, quem peperit Coronaria... ut... ex hoc die ex hoc momento... amet Martialem, ut omni muliebri hora me in mente habeat et tota die (in a)nimo habeat amore(m) meum⁶... iam, iam... (veniat?)... (“...may she [the woman’s name was not preserved] be bound by love and desire [for me] all the time, Martialis, whom Coronaria bore...may she... from this day on, from this moment on... love Martialis, may she all the time think of nobody else but me and feel love for me throughout the whole day... now, now... [may she come to me?]...”).*

In some tablets, the love spell author’s situation is hinted at more explicitly. See tablet No. **182**, 2.3.3.: *amor piger nobis*, or No. **144**, in which some Felix longs for the love of Vettia, daughter of Optata, and explicitly asks the daemons not to let her scorn him. No. **144** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1/4, reads:

...commendo tibi quod, ut illam immitas dae(mones/monibus?)... aliquos infernales, ut non pe(rmittatur)⁷ me contemnere sed faciat (quodcu)mque desidero Vettia, quam peperit Optata, vobis enim adiuvantibus, ut amoris mei causa non dormiat non cibum non escam accipere possit (VM, SM). Obligo Vettiae, (quam) peperit Optata, sensum sapientiam et (intel)lectum et voluntatem, ut amet me Fe(licem), quem peperit Fructa, ex hac die ex h(ac ora), ut obliviscatur patris et matris et (propinquor)um suorum et amicorum omnium (et aliorum) virorum amoris mei autem (causa?) Fe(licis, quem) peperit Fructa; Vettia, qua(m) peperit Optata) solum me in mente habeat...(dormi)ens vigilans uratur... (“...I commend to you to imprecate daemons? upon her... some infernal ones so that she is not allowed to despise me, but does anything I wish, Vettia, whom Optata bore, with your help, may she be unable to sleep, nor to accept any meal nor dish, because of

⁶ The text of the tablet is written in Latin, but in the Greek alphabet, and it contains magical words. However, it is damaged to a large extent. Unfortunately, the name of the beloved woman has not been preserved; we have only the name of the author (*Martialis*). The expression *muliebris hora* is unclear and attested nowhere else (see also 11.1.4., and No. **143A**, 5.1.1.).

⁷ The text of the tablet is partially disrupted, especially in the beginning, A. Önnersfors (1991, 42) adds *possit* to the preserved sequence of letters *pes...*, but I regard A. Kropp’s (2008a, **dfx.** 11.2.1/8) addition *permittatur* to be more pregnant. Unlike DT, A. Önnersfors reads *perdat* instead of *obligo* in the third line, probably having overlooked it among the magical signs (see Appendix I and 11.1.4.).

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love for me [enchancing words, magical signs]. I bind [with spells] the senses, reason, intellect, and will of Vettia, whom Optata bore, so that she loves me, Felix, whom Fructa bore, from this day on, from this hour on, so that she forgets her father and mother and her relatives and friends and [other men] because of love for me, Felix, whom Fructa bore; may she, Vettia, whom Optata bore, think only of me... may she burn [with love], whether being asleep or awake.”).

Unlike other types of curses, these texts contain a wide range of bodily and mental restrictions meant to compel the victim to fulfil author’s wishes. The most representative example of such a text is No. 144 above, which includes every type of restriction sent upon the victim of a love spell: insomnia, lack of appetite, confusion, and amnesia (see also 1.10.1. and 5.1.1. above). In curses, such restrictions only very rarely appear. See tablet No. 165 from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1/25, with the curse against race-horses: *...auferas illis dulce somnum, fac eos ne currere possint...* (“...take sweet sleep from them, make them unable to run...”) (see also 3.3.3.). Furthermore, tablets No. 132 which contains the curse against gladiators makes use of this restriction:

Βαχα(χvχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon obliges perobliges Maurussum venatorem, quem peperit Felicitas. Iechri auferas somnum, non dormiat Marussus, quem peperit Felicitas... (“Bachachuch, [you] who are the great Egyptian daemon, bind and tie up Maurussum the hunter, whom Felicitas bore. Iechri, deprive him of sleep, may Marussus, the hunter, whom Felicitas bore, not sleep...”).

Paradoxically, very similar restrictions are found also in prayers for justice on the other end of the Roman Empire, in Britannia (see also 1.10.2.).

5.2 CONCLUSION

Apart from those 77 curse tablets whose aim we are unable to determine, it can be assumed that in most cases the authors of curses pursue certain bodily and mental *restrictions* for their victims (41% of analysed curses). The invoking of a particular type of restriction depends on the situation that motivated to write the curse; and so it is related to the type of curse. Complicating the matter is that there are several texts in which the aims of the curse are explicitly stated but, all the same, we know nothing of the authors’ motivations. This is especially apparent in the curses seeking to afflict the victim with a disease or a disease leading to death. As these texts are almost exclusively non-specific curses containing no information on the possible motivations that drove their authors

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resort to cursing, it is impossible to find out anything about the author's motivation to write or to order the curse. This holds true for all of the texts included in the category of *disease/death* (11 tablets). Interestingly, all these tablets come from Italy and date to the period between the 1st cent. BCE and the 1st cent. CE. The texts pursuing solely the *death* of the victim (22 tablets) are very similar in this respect; this pertains mostly to the non-specific curses found in Italy and Germania, as well as the agonistic curses coming from Africa. Thus, the victim's death is the goal of the authors in 33 tablets, which makes up less than 16% of analysed curses. We will probably never know what situations compelled ancient people to bring about their enemies' or rivals' death. Perhaps fear of the tablet being found plays some role in this: the author used a non-specific curse to afflict his/her victim with death because any reference to the parties involved could lead to his/her identification and consequent persecution. However, this hypothesis is likely flawed, as in legal curses the names of the "advocates" of the cursing party are sometimes stated, probably to make it clear which lawsuit is concerned. Although legal curses seek the death of the adversary only very rarely; nevertheless, tablet No. **103** from Bregenz, Raetia, **dfx.** 7.1/1, includes both the name of its author and the name of the adversary who is supposed to die:

Domitius Niger et Lollius et Iulius Severus Nigri servus adve(rs)ar(ii) Bruttae et quisquis adversus eam loqu(i)t(ur) omnes per(da)tis. B: (Ro)g(o) vos, omnes qui illi malum (pa)ratis⁸ dari... dari O(g)mio a(bs)umi morte...
("Domitius Niger and Lollius and Iulius Severus, the slave of Niger, the adversaries of Brutta and whoever speaks against her, ruin them all. I ask you to hand over all those who prepare something evil for her... to hand over to Ogmios to be consumed by death...").

But the text of the tablet is damaged and it could well be just a layman's attempt at creating a legal curse. In any case, it is unclear whether the fact that death as the primary goal appears especially in non-specific curses for concrete tangible reasons, or if it is just a random phenomenon.

Finally, the aims of the authors of love spells and the curses concerned with rivalry in love are quite clear. As regards love spells, we mostly have the texts written by men to win the love of a beloved woman through various restrictions. Conversely, the texts pursuing the separation of a couple in a love triangle (i.e. in the context of rivalry in love) were more frequently written by women. Whereas love spells are a marginal category on its own, and a very different one

⁸ The text is disrupted here and there; for a detailed commentary, see 10.1.2.

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from other types of curses, the cases of rivalry in love aiming at separation are very much the same as the common non-specific, legal, or agonistic, curses: their diction is equally foreboding and they afflict their victims equally cruelly.

6. REASONS FOR THE MAKING OF PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

Unlike curses, the motifs of the authors of prayers for justice are always identical and mostly explicitly stated in the text itself. Prayers for justice were made in the context of theft, fraud, injustice or other harm suffered by their authors. H. S. Versnel (1991, 60 ff.) describes them as pleas addressed to a god or gods in order to punish the (mostly unknown) culprit, frequently including a request for a compensation for damage done to the author (e.g. by forcing the thief to return the stolen things or pledge guilt publicly) (see also 1.1.2.). Nevertheless, there is still a discussion among scholars on the nature of these texts (see 1.10.2.). A more accurate definition of the similarities and differences between prayers for justice and curses can be supplied by the detailed analysis of formulas used in these texts (see Chapter 3) and the aims of their authors.

The only distinctive feature, which can be regarded as typical of prayers for justice, is a reference to the damage suffered. Moreover, in several cases the preserved texts tell us what exactly has been stolen. Thus, they provide us with an interesting insight into the world of ancient thieves and their victims defending themselves against the adversities of fate. Because the culprits were mostly unknown, these tablets were probably the only possible and accessible way to cope with damage suffered “effectively”. The texts analysed here suggest that the reason for the making of a prayer for justice was usually a theft (in $\frac{3}{4}$ of cases). This context is indicated by the terms denoting either thieves: *qui sustulit, furavit, furtum fecit, minus fecit, involavit, levavit, diripuit, fur, latro* (“who has taken away, stolen, committed a theft, seized, lifted, a thief”), or their victims: *amisi, perdidit* (“I have lost”). Sometimes writers of prayers for justice ask a deity to make things right: *persequaris, exigas, vindices*¹ (persecute, exact, punish”). Only ca. 20 tablets refer to the fact that the author has been made a victim of fraud or deceit, see No. **226**: *qui mihi dolum malum fecerunt* (“those who deceived me badly...”); see also 9.2., or No. **233**, which reads:

Rogo te domina mater Magna, ut me vindices de bonis Flori coniugis mei, qui me fraudavit Ulattius Severus (“I entreat you, Lady Mater Magna, to

¹ The verb *vindicare* in the context of prayers for justice – *vindices, vindica* – usually means “punish the culprit” or “avenge me” (see e.g. No. **219**, 1.2.1., No. **233**, 1.9.3. and 1.2.2., No. **303**, 1.10.2.), in a wider sense it can also denote “exact back” (see Tomlin, 2010, 248), which is attested in *Dig.* 47.2.9.

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avenge me regarding the property of Florus, my husband, [of which] Ulattius Severus has defrauded me.”) (see also 1.9.3. and 10.2.2.).

In some rare cases it is impossible to find out the motif of the prayer for justice.

6.1 THEFTS AND FRAUDS

The thefts documented in the texts of Latin prayers for justice may seem somewhat petty today, especially when taking into account that their authors could only be satisfied by quite cruel consequences for the culprit. However, these probably reflect the moved emotional state of the robbed one right after s/he suffered his/her loss (see also 1.10.2.).

Clothes and *shoes* were the most common objects of thefts, especially while visiting baths – let us remember Catullus’ poem No. **33**, which starts with an exclamation *O furum optime, balneariorum*, thus making fun of a certain (otherwise unknown) Vibenna who was said to be the best of spa thieves. Nevertheless, thefts were certainly committed also in other places and situations, since sheets and other textiles were stolen too. See, for example, No. **215**:

Quis res tunica tulit e Livia (1.2.1. a 9.2.), or No. **217**, which reads: ... *qui fecit furtum, abstulit autem res: opertorium album novum, stragulum nov(um), lodices duas de usu*. (“...who did this theft, indeed who stole my property: a new white coverlet, a new rug, two used blankets...”) (see 1.2.1., *stragulum*, see No. **245**).

Shoes are referred to in tablet No. **218** from Itálica, Hispania, **dfx.** 2.2.4/1:

Dom(i)na Fons fove(ns), ut tu persequaris tuas/duas² res demando quiscunque caligas meas telluit³ et solias... (“Helpful Lady Spring, I ask you to trace back/exact two things, whoever stole my boots and sandals...”) (see 6.2. and 8.2.).

Tablet No. **244** from Bath is remarkable, as well – the author complains about the gloves being stolen:

² The text is disrupted, Versnel reads *tuas* (1991, 60), while Tomlin reads *duas* (2010, 254 ff.), the latter seems to be more probable; the list of stolen things follows: *caligas, solias*.

³ *Telluit*, the Vulgar Latin perfect *tolluit* instead of the classical *tulit*, which is replaced by *sustulit* in Late Latin (see Tomlin, 2010, 254 ff.).

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Docimedis perdidit manicilia dua. Qui illas involavit, ut mentes suas perd(at) et oculos suos in fano, ubi destinat. (“Docimedis has lost two gloves. Whoever stole them, may he lose his mind and sight in the shrine, where [the goddess] appoints.”).⁴

Furthermore, coats are mentioned here and there, see No. **270** from Bath: *perdidi la(enam) (pa)llium sagum paxsam...* (“I have lost [my] Italian/Greek/Gallic cloak...”) (see 1.10.2.), or No. **296** from Uley: *linteamen* (a linen cloth) (see 1.10.2.), see also No. **293** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar: *ocrea* (probably leather gaiters or leggings) (see 12.2.2.), No. **288** from London: *capitulare et fascia* (headgear and band) (see 2.2.2. and 12.2.2.), further also No. **283** from Caerleon: *pallium et galliculas* (cloak and shoes) (see 1.10.2. and 4.1.), No. **278** from Bath: *caracalla* (hooded cloak) (see 12.2.3. and 2.2.2.), or No. **269** from Bath: *mafortium* (cape),⁵ No. **271** from Bath: *...si quis balniarem Cantissenae involaverit...* (“...if someone has stolen Cantissenae’s bathing suit...”).

There are 21 tablets with prayers for justice that refer to a theft of clothes or textiles; this makes 29% of all analysed texts concerning thefts (72 tablets). These are documented in Hispania (four), in Germania (one), and especially in Britannia⁶ (16), which is particularly connected to the tablets found in the spas in Bath.

Like today, **money** was also often lost, or rather stolen. Such cases are attested in 15 tablets (which makes 16% of all tablets) from Italy (one), Hispania (one), Germania (three), Raetia (one), and Britannia (nine); out of these there are 12 cases of theft and three cases of fraud. Usually, smaller sums of money are concerned, see No. **246** from Bath: *(arge)ntiolos sex* (see 1.2.2.), or No. **252** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/26: *(denarii) V* (see 12.2.1.). The highest documented sum of money appears in tablet No. **291** from Pagans Hill, **dfx.** 3.18/1:

...in (denari)is III milibus, cuius dimidiam partem tibi (dono?), ut ita illud exigas a Vassicillo ...pecomini filio et uxore sua, ... quod illi de hospitiolo

⁴ The tablet comes from the sacred spring in Bath dedicated to the goddess Minerva Sulis. It is a unique record of the Latin word for gloves – *manicilia*, newly attested also in tablet No. **306** from Uley (for the detailed discussion of this, see Tomlin, 1988, No. 5; see also 1.2.).

⁵ Short coat worn by women (see Tomlin, 1988, No. 61; see 1.9.1.).

⁶ It has to be stated here that most of the evidence of prayers for justice comes from Britannia, A. Kropp (2008a) mentions 101 tablets, and this work contains 69 of them.

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meo (pec)ulaverint. (“...in three thousand dinars, of which [I give?] you a half so that you exact it from Vassicillus, son [of]..., and his wife, because/whatever they have stolen it from my house.”) (see also 6.2. and especially 12.2.2.).

In some cases, the writer of the prayer for justice has been deprived not only of money, but also of other valuables, especially jewellery, as tablet No. **235** from Mainz, DTM 7, shows:

Quisquis nobis sustulit sacc(u)lum, in quo pecunia erat et eam pecuniam et annulos aureos... (“Whoever has stolen from us the purse containing money, and those money and golden rings...”) (see 10.2.2.).

Furthermore, see No. **238** from Wilten, **dfx.**7.5/1:

Secundina Mercurio et Moltino mandat, ut si quis sustulit 14 (denarios) sive draucos duos, ut eum sive fortunas eius in(fi)dus Cacus sic auferat quomodi ill(a)e ablatum est id, quod vobis delegat, ut persequatis... (“Secundina commends to Mercurius and Moltinus that whoever has stolen two necklaces worth fourteen *denarii*⁷ may be deceived and deprived of property by the perfidious Cacus, just as she was deprived of hers, which she orders you to trace back, and she orders you to chase him...”).

Stolen **jewellery** is found only in nine tablets from Gallia (one), Germania (two), Raetia (one), and Britannia (five), which makes 12% of all cases of theft. For example, see No. **225**: *dextrale* (bracelet), or No. **248**: *Nomen rei, qui dextrale involaverit...*, further also fibulas, as in No. **230**: *Fibulam Gnatae, qui sustulit* (see 1.7.2.), or a ring, as in No. **275**: *Basilis donat in templum Martis anellum argenteum...* (see 6.2.1.3. below).

Moreover, stolen **dishes** are mentioned in six tablets from Pannonia (one) and Britannia (five), see e.g. No. **239**: *vasum reponat* (see 1.10.2. and below), and dishes made of tin are referred to in No. **284**, **dfx.** 3.7/1 *vasa stagnea* (see 12.2.2.), or No. **273** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/57: *pannam ferri* (iron pan) (see 12.2.3.).

Finally, thefts of cattle are also found in tablets, as in No. **295** from Uley (1.2.2.) (*iumentum*), in No. **290**, **dfx.** 3.16/1 the author complains about his foal

⁷ This is the interpretation of J. G. Gager (1992, No. 101) who associates the word *draucus* with *draukion*, a Greek term for necklace (Versnel, 1991, 83). Moltinus probably refers to a Celtic deity. See also 10.2.2.

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and axe being stolen (*equuleum, securim*) (see 3.3.1.1.), and in No. **294**, **dfx.** 3.19/3 theft of a mule is mentioned (*mola = mulam*) (see 6.2.). Various items of everyday use associated with the cultivation of soil and cattle breeding appear in prayers for justice, as well. In tablet No. **249**, a certain Civilis writes that he has been robbed of his plough *vomer* (see 2.3.5. and 12.2.3.), the author of tablet No. **264** refers to the loss of a horse blanket (*caballarem*), the writer of tablet No. **281**, **dfx.** 3.4/1 has lost his *caricula* (probably a cart) (see 12.2.3.), and in tablet No. **303** the author complains at length about the fact that he has been deprived of two wheels, four cows, and a lot of small belongings he had at home (*resculas*) (see 1.10.2. and 12.1.1.).

Concerning the prayers for justice connected to any kind of fraud, we are usually unable to find out more information on the exact situation referred to, as e.g. in tablet No. **305** from Uley, **dfx.** 3.22/34: *tibi commendo... qui mihi fraudem fecit de denariis illis, quos (mih)i debebat...* (I commend to you... [the one] who cheated me of those dinars he owed me...) (see 6.2.1.1.). Moreover, the prayers for justice from Germania referring to frauds are remarkably elaborate (see e.g. No. **234**, 1.10.2., No. **233**, 6.1. and 10.2.2., and also No. **232**, 1.10.2. and 10.2.3.). Rarely, we also find the prayers for justice motivated by an injustice related to love or family relationship, as in No. **228**:

...commendo deabus iniurium fas, ut me vindicetis a Priscilla Caranti, quae nubere erravit (“I commend to the goddesses [my] fatal injustice, so that you avenge me on Priscilla, the daughter of Carantus, who made the mistake of getting married.”)⁸

The author of tablet No. **257** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/32 probably complains about a false accusation:

...qui calamea (i.e. probably *calumniam*) *negat, sanguine... de(s)t(i)nat...* (“whoever denies the fallacy, with blood... where he resides...”)⁹

6.2 AIMS OF THE AUTHORS OF PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE RELATED TO THE DAMAGE SUFFERED

As the definition of prayers for justice suggests, their authors try to achieve punishment for a person who did them wrong, or compensation for the damage

⁸ See Scholz – Kropp (2004, 34 ff.); see also 10.2.1, with another interpretation, Urbanová – Frýdek (2016, 343ff.).

⁹ See Tomlin (1988, No. 40).

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done, all with the help of gods. (see also 1.2. and 6.). Therefore, it can be said that their aims and wishes fall within two categories: either they are related to the stolen things and seek compensation for the damage done, or they pursue a punishment or revenge upon the culprit to get at least some kind of justice. Thus, they want the tablet to somehow limit or do harm to the culprit, or, especially, to make him/her give the stolen things back. We would expect that the one being robbed very much cared about getting his/her things back, so that his primary goal would be to make the culprit return them by various restrictions and with the help of divine interference (see also 1.10.2.). However, the analysis of the preserved prayers for justice shows that the authors instead mostly pursue punishment of or revenge on the culprit. Thus, it can be assumed that the authors of prayers for justice did not even expect, quite realistically, that they would get their things back. Such prayers for justice, concerned with the punishment of or revenge on a culprit, are closely related to curses – they have the same goal, i.e. to harm, or even kill, the culprit; albeit, unlike curses, this does not bring any advantages to them, unless they take some satisfaction in the mere fact that the culprit has at least been punished. However, this satisfaction is in fact disputable and dreamed-of, since even if the deity fulfilled author's wish and punished the thief, s/he may never know, because the culprit is mostly unknown.

The authors of prayers for justice then usually explicitly pursue: 1) the return of the stolen items (wish only to get the stolen things back with the help of a deity); or 2) the return of the stolen items using restrictions (wish both to get things back, especially to make the culprit return the stolen things using restrictions, and to punish the culprit); 3) only the punishment of/revenge on the culprit (see also 6.2.1.3.).

After a second look at the wishes of the authors of prayers for justice concerned with the compensation for the loss, it is quite clear that only a tiny portion of all prayers for justice (four out of 101 texts analysed in this work) seek the mere **returning of stolen things** without any explicit reference to the punishment of culprit – one tablet from Hispania, three from Britannia (see e.g. No. 270, 1.10.2., and No. 246, 1.2.2.). Tablet No. 218 from Itálica, **dfx.** 2.2.4/1 is an example of such a “moderate” prayer for justice:

Dom(i)na Fons fove(ns), tu persequaris tuas/duas res, demando. Quiscunque caligas meas telluit (= tulit) et solias, tibi, dea, demando, ut tu illas,

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*ad(cep)tor*¹⁰ *si quis puella, si mulier sive (ho)mo, involavit, (ut) illos persequaris.* (“Helpful Lady Spring, I ask you to trace back/exact two things, whoever stole my boots and sandals, I entrust them to you, Goddess, that you exact them, whether the thief that stole them is a boy or girl, a woman or a man.”) (see also 6.1. and 8.2.).

Less than a third of all evidence, i.e. 28 tablets analysed here, pursue the **returning of stolen things using restrictions, including also the punishment of culprit**. The tablets from European provinces express a wish to get the stolen things back in connection with the subsequent revenge on the culprit, see e.g. No. **239** (see 1.10.2. and 6.2.1.3.), or No. **236**, which reads:

A: Mando et rogo religione ut mandata exagatis Publium Cutium, et Piperonem et B: Placida et sacra, filia eius, sic illorum membra liquescant quatomodum hoc plumbum liquescet, ut eorum exsitum sit. (“I hand over [to you], and, observing all ritual form, ask that you require from Publius Cutius, and Piperonem and Placida, and Sacra, her daughter, the return of the goods entrusted to them, may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”) (see 1.10.2. and 10.2.4.).

On the other hand, in the tablets from Britannia restrictions appear only for a limited span of time and the deities use them to make the culprit return stolen things. See, for instance, No. **295** from Uley:

...ut nec ante sanitatem habeant, nisi repraesentaverint mihi iumentum, quod rapuerunt. (“...that they may have neither health before/unless they return at once to me the draught animal which they have stolen.”) (see 1.2.2. and 11.2.2.).

The prayers for justice, which express both the wish to get things back using restrictions and to be revenged, are documented in Hispania (twice), Germania (twice), Pannonia (once), and Britannia (23 times); in seven tablets from Britannia the author promises to the deity a substantial part of the stolen money or a part of the value of stolen things, see No. **291** (6.1. and 12.2.2.), or No. **292**, which reads:

Donatur deo (suprascripto?) decima pars eius pecuniae, quam (so)lverit. (“A tenth of the money paid [by the culprit] will be granted to the aforementioned god.”) (see 1.9.2. and 3.3.2.).

¹⁰ This part of the text is disrupted, R. S. O. Tomlin (2010, 254 ff.) proposes to read *adceptor* (who has them?), or also *adiutor* (who helped the thief, etc.).

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Tablet No. **289** from Lydney Park is remarkable in this context:

*Divo Nodenti Silvianus: anellum perdidit, dimidiam partem donavit Nodenti, inter quibus nomen Seneciani, nolis permittas sanitatem, donec perferat usque templum (No)dentis.*¹¹ (“Silvianus to the god Nodens: [Silvianus] has lost his ring, he has given half [of its value] to Nodens. Do not let any of those named Senecianus be healthy, until he brings [it] back to the temple of Nodens.”)¹² (see also 3.3.2. above).

In this case it seems that Silvianus who had lost his ring wrote the tablet, because he found out that certain Senecianus had it and he wanted to get it back from him. Incidentally, a golden ring engraved with the inscription *Venus* and later with a common Christian inscription *Seniciane vivas in de(o)* has been found ca. 50 km far from the location of this tablet. J. G. Gager (1992, 196 ff.) states that the two inscriptions may suggest that the ring had two owners. First it belonged to Silvianus who lost it, and then it belonged to a Christian named Senecianus who had the other inscription made. Furthermore, Annianus, the writer of the tablet found in Bath, also complains about a certain Senecianus in connection with the theft of six silver coins (see No. **276**, 2.3.3.). This is the only known example of both the tablet and the *corpus delicti* mentioned in the very same tablet having been preserved; both date back to 350-400 AD.

It appears that the idea of justice or satisfaction is inevitably bound to punishment or proper revenge in prayers for justice. Most of the preserved texts of prayers for justice (55) pursue only revenge on or punishment of the culprit; such tablets have been found in Italy (four), Hispania (three), Gallia (six), Germania (nine), Britannia (31), Raetia (one), and also in Moesia (Mo. **240**). This includes more than a half of the texts, while the largest amount comes from Britannia.¹³ See, for instance, No. **212** from Corsica:

...(Persequa?)ris eum, ut male contabescat, usque dum morietur,... et illum persequaris, ne annum ducat... (“...Persecute? him so that he languishes badly, until he is dead,... and persecute him so that he does not live [more than] a year...”) (see also 2.3.4. and 7.5.).

or No. **226** from Montfo in Gallia, which uses a complicated *simile*-formula:

¹¹ There are many mistakes in the text (see 3.3.2.).

¹² See Tomlin (1988, 95).

¹³ In 14 out of 101 tablets, the exact purpose cannot be said due to disruption of the text, or it is not stated at all.

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Quomodo hoc plumbum non paret et decadet sic decadat aetas, membra, vita, bos, granum, merx eorum, qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt... (“Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom, so may the youth?, limbs, life, livestock, grain, and trades of those who deceived me badly fall into decay...”) (see also 1.9.3., and esp. 9.2.).

The culprit in tablet No. **229** from Germania (see 1.10.2.) is threatened by formidable penalties like losing his mind and hands, while worms and other portents feed on his head and legs, just because a certain Verio complains about the loss of his cloak. The lists of body parts which are supposed to be afflicted are also found here and there. No. **237** from Mainz, DTM 12, reads:¹⁴

...qu(omo)di hoc liquescet se (... sic co)llum membra me(du)lla peculium d(e)l(i)ques(ca)nt, eoru(m)... (“...just as this [lead] shall melt, so may his neck, limbs, strength, savings melt away...”) (see 10.2.4.).

Quite cruel punishments appear also in Britannia, see e.g. No. **260** where the author has been robbed of a bronze vessel:

...et qui hoc fecerit, sanguinem suum in ipsum aenum fundat. (“...let him who has done this spill his own blood into the vessel itself.”) (see 1.10.2. and 12.2.3.).

While analysing the texts of prayers for justice, my intention was to distinguish how exactly their authors wanted to punish or take their vengeance on the culprits, and eventually to get their things back, with the help of a deity. Like in curses, the authors of prayers for justice usually combine various penalties. Generally, it can be said that in many cases the primary goal of the authors of prayers for justice to get their property back and/or to take revenge on the culprit are related to the type of penalty chosen; however, it is not always so. Restrictions working for a limited span of time (as in love spells) are mainly used in the cases when the authors want to get their stolen property back, and their purpose is to make the culprit return the stolen things. Nevertheless, the very same restrictions are sometimes used only to punish the culprit. If the authors primarily pursue punishment or revenge, their goal is to harm the culprit in the ways mostly identical to those used in curses. However, especially in the texts from Germania and Britannia (see 1.10.2.) special types of penalties and formulations, which have not been found in curses, appear. In 37 tablets analysed in this work, the authors seek *death* of the culprit, often combined with

¹⁴ The text of tablet No. **237** is related to text No. **236** (see 1.10.2. and 10.2.4.).

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other penalties (see also 6.2.1.3. below). 30 tablets contain no particular type of restriction; this includes the texts pursuing the returning of stolen things, those in which the authors try both to get their things and punish the culprit, as well as those in which the aim is just to punish the culprit. Formulations like *redat pretia damno* (No. 221, 9.1.3.) or *rogo ut vindices* (No. 219, 8.2.) are found. Some of the texts are; however, damaged to a large extent, so that no particular restrictions can be detected. Finally, in 34 tablets a combination of various **restrictions** is used, often with temporary effect; in 15 of these cases the authors want to get their things back as well as to punish the culprit, while restrictions are 19 times used as a punishment. The authors try to ensure that the deity deprives the culprit of **sleep**: *ne illi permittas dormire* (No. 307, 12.2.3.), in Britannia the collocation *nec permittas somnum nec sanitatem ei, qui mihi fraudem fecit* is very often used (No. 250, see 1.10.2.), i.e. the authors want to deprive the culprit of **sleep** and **health**, or of the ability to have children *nec natos ei permittat* (No. 247, see 1.2.2.), unless s/he returns the stolen property. Furthermore, the prayers for justice are often meant to afflict the culprit's ability to think, or to remove his/her intellect: *qui illas involavit, ut mentes suas perd(at)* (No. 244, see 1.2. and 6.1.). Physical abilities, especially the bodily functions of the culprit, are the target of prayers for justice, as well, see No. 266: *...no(n il)l(i p)ermittas nec sedere nec iacere nec ambulare nec som(num nec) sanitatem...* (“...you are not to permit him to sit or lie, or to walk, or to [have] sleep, or health...”) (see also 12.2.3.), or No. 298: *... ne meiat, ne cacet, ne loquatur...* (“...may he be unable to urinate, nor defecate, nor speak...”) (see 2.3.1.). Similarly to curses, prayers for justice sometimes pursue to afflict the culprit with a **disease**, or take satisfaction in culprit's **death**, either in the way identical to curses: *pereat, extinguas, morietur, contabescat, consumas*, or using innovative phrases like *maximo leto adigere* (see No. 247, 1.2.2. and 1.9.1., and No. 300, 6.2.1.3.), or No. 294 from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, **dfx.** 3.19/3, which reads:

*Nomine*¹⁵ *Camulorigi(s) et Titocun(a)e mulam, quam perdidit, in fanum dei devovi. Cuicumque nomen involasit*¹⁶ *mula(m) illam, ut sanguin(em) suum mittat, usque diem, quo moriatur, quicumque involasit furta moriatur... a deo moriatur.* (“In the name of Camulorix and Titocuna I have dedicated in the temple of the god the mule [?] which they have lost.

¹⁵ This is the only evidence of a lead tablet from Britannia, which explicitly states that it has been written on behalf of someone else (see also 1.12.2.).

¹⁶ *Involasit* instead of the commonly used *involavit* is probably an archaism like *violasit* (Tomlin, 1993, 313 ff.).

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Whoever stole that mule, may he bleed until the day s/he dies, whoever stole it, may he die... may he be killed by the god?”¹⁷

Blood very often appears in the prayers for justice found in Britannia, and the authors regard it a proper “compensation” for their loss. Usually the formula *sanguine suo satisfacere/redimere* is used, see e.g. No. 277: *...sanguine et vitae suae id redimat*. (“...let him buy it back with [his] blood and his own life.”) (see also 1.2.2.), or No. 276 from Bath: *ut sanguinem suum (r)eputes qui mihi hoc inrogaverit*. (“...reckon as? the blood of him who has invoked this upon me.”) (see 2.3.3.), further No. 283: *...qui tulit, non redimat, nisi vita, sanguine suo*. (“...may the person who stole them not redeem [them/it?], unless with his own life and blood.”) (see 1.10.2., 4.1.; and esp. Tomlin, 1988, 67 ff.). The ideas of reckoning (*reputes*), repayment (*solvere*), and redemption (*redimere*) in one’s own blood, i.e. life, appear exclusively in the texts from Britannia (see also Versnel, 2010, 287 ff.); and esp. Tomlin, 1995, 373 ff.). The verb *redimere* is attested also in Germania, but not used in the same context as it is found in the tablets from Britannia – it is instead related to the wish that the curse is irreversible and the culprits cannot buy themselves free from the power of the deity (see No. 231, 10.2.3.).

6.2.1 The Aims of the Authors of Prayers for Justice in Relation to the Culprit – Revenge/Restrictions

There are three types of formulas that are repeatedly used in prayers for justice in connection with penalties and restrictions. First, there are wishes mostly identical to the repertoire of penalties used in curses: the authors want to afflict the culprit with a *disease* or *death*, including lists of body parts being affected, as well (see 5.1.2.). Second, several restrictions, especially those found in the tablets from Britannia, are identical to the restrictions used against victims in the love spells from African provinces (limitations of bodily and mental functions of the victims – insomnia, madness, amnesia, restrictions of bodily functions, etc.). These are often accompanied also by an explicit wish addressed to a deity to keep the restrictions valid until (*donec*) or unless (*nisi*) the culprit returns the stolen things back (see 1.10.1, 5.1.1., and 5.1.4.). Third, there are specific wishes found only in prayers for justice, or particular adaptations of wishes usually found in curses, but formulated in a different way.

¹⁷ It seems that, when writing *a deo moriatur*, the author understood *moriatur* not as a deponent verb but as a verb in passive.

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6.2.1.1 Punishment/Revenge – Points in Common with Curses

Similar to the authors of curses, the writers of prayers for justice wish, although not very often, to invoke a disease upon their enemies (see 5.1.2.). See, for instance, No. **212**: *...ut male contabescat* (see 2.3.4. and 6.2.), or No. **305** from Uley, **dfx.** 3.22/34, which reads:

Tibi commendo... qui mihi fraudem fecit de denariis illis, quos (mih)i debebat... seminudi, edentuli, tremuli, podagrici, sine cuiusque hominis misericordia in fanum et thesaurum potentiss(imi) dei... (“I commend to you... [the one] who cheated me of those dinars he owed me... [may they be half-naked, teethless, trembling, gouty, and without the compassion of anyone... to the shrine and treasury of the mightiest god...”).¹⁸

Apart from diseases, the lists of body parts supposed to be afflicted with the curse, are sometimes found in prayers for justice, though briefer ones than those used in curses (see No. **12**, 1.1.2.1.). These are found in 8 tablets from Gallia (two), Germania (two), Pannonia (one), and Britannia (three), and are often combined with other penalties. See No. **224** from Dax/Landes, **dfx.** 4.3.2/1:

Leontio, f(ilio) Leontio, Didio, Iovino (in)volaverunt... manus, pedes, oculique, quicumque levavit anul(um), immergo. (“They have robbed:¹⁹ Leontius, son of Leontius, Didius, Iovinus... I plunge the hands, feet, and eyes of the one who has stolen the ring.”) (see esp. 9.2.).

Tablet No. **229** from Germania reads:

...ut illius manus, caput, pedes, vermes, cancer, vermitudo interet membra, medullas illius interet. (“...may the worms, cancer and maggots penetrate his/her hands, head, feet, as well as his/her limbs and marrows.”) (see also 2.3.5. and 1.10.2).

See also No. **292** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar:

¹⁸ The text of the tablet is disrupted so it does not concur; however, its meaning is clear – the debtor is obviously supposed to return the stolen money to the temple of Mercury.

¹⁹ The re-edited text is stated here. The tablet dates back to the 4th/5th cent. AD and has been found in a well, which is why the cursing verb *immergo* is used (see also 1.9.3.). The editors presume that the names listed in the beginning are in dative (not in nominative without the final *-s*), which seems more probable to me, as well (see 9.2.).

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Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo ut exigat per mentem, per memoriam, per intus, per intestinum, per cor, per medullas, per venas, per..., si masculi si femina, quivis involavit (den)arios Cani Digni... (“It is commended to the god Jupiter the Great and the Mightiest to exact [the money] through mind, memory, entrails, intestines, heart, marrow, veins... [of the one] whoever has stolen them, whether a man or a woman, the money of Canus Dignus...”) (see 1.9.2. and 12.2.2.).

The peculiar formulations *per mentem* (No. 292) and *...(e)xigas hoc per sanguinem* (No. 258) (see below and 12.2.2.) are documented only in prayers for justice.

Moreover, prayers for justice sometimes attack the culprit’s health and life, as curses do, via the formula *vitam valetudinem*, together with the innovative (see below) *sanitatem*, which is attested only in Britannia (see 6.2.1.2. below). Compare e.g. the curse No. 52 (1.9.2.) and the prayer for justice No. 231 from Mainz (see 10.2.3.), or No. 285 from Hamble, **dfx.** 3.11/1, which reads:

Domine Neptune, tibi dono hominem, qui solidum²⁰ involavit Muconi et argenti(olos) sex. Ideo dono nomina eius, qui decepit, si masculi si femina, si puer si puella. Ideo dono tibi, Niske, et Neptuno vitam, valitudinem, sangu(in)em eius, qui conscius fuerit eius deceptionis, animum (eius), qui hoc involavit et qui conscius fuerit, ut eum decipias furem, qui hoc involavit, sangu(in)em eius consumas et decipias, domin(e) Neptune. (“Lord Neptune, I commend to you the man who stole a gold coin from Muconius and six silver coins. Thus, I commend [to you] the names of those [= the people] who robbed me, whether a man, or a woman, whether a boy or a girl. Thus, I commend to you, Niskus, and to Neptun the life, vigour, and blood of the one who was aware [of the theft], [and] the soul of the one who has stolen it and who was aware of it, to deprive that thief of it. Lord Neptun, take the blood of the one who has stolen it and deprive him of [the stolen property].”)²¹

The formula using the compounds of the verb *verto* is often used, as in curses, in the form of participles like *aversus/aversa*, or *perversus* (No. 132, 11.1.3.1., and also 5.1.1.), or *inversus* and *interversus* (No. 91, 2.3.5.). The formula

²⁰ The tablet reads *(so)ldmu (=solidum)*.

²¹ The verb *decipere* is definitely used in the meaning “to rob sb”, Niskus is probably the name of a Celtic water deity (see Tomlin, 1997, 455 ff.), *decipere* appears also in the very damaged tablet No. 99 from Mainz, DTM 28 (Blänsdorf, 2012, No. 28), but the context in which it is used is unintelligible.

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analogically makes use both of the primary meanings of the compounds of *vertere* “turn, avert, inverse”, and their metaphorical sense “to be unfavourable, averse to, angry with sb” (see No. **230**, 1.7.2.). It is often accompanied by a magical orientation of the script, i.e. the part of the text is written upside down or in the right-to-left direction, that means in a perverted way or “adversely” to afflict the victim of the curse with the same kind of “aversion or animosity”.²² Faraone and Kropp (2010, 387 ff., and notes 31 and 32) notice that this could be an equivalent of killing (“avert from life”). The formula is found in the texts of curses from Italy (see No. **9**, 7.3.1.3.), Germania (see No. **100**, 1.7.1. and 7.3.1.4.), Noricum (see No. **101**, 2.3.6.), and Gallia (see e.g. No. **67**, **dfx.** 4.3.1/1, and No. **68**, **dfx.** 4.3.1/2 from Chagnon in Gallia.²³ The latter two curses are aimed at adversaries in a lawsuit. No. **67** reads:

...Quomodo hic catellus nemini nocuit, sic... nec illi hanc litem vincere possint. Quomodo nec mater huius catelli defendere potuit, sic nec advocati eorum eos defendere possint...

No. **68** reads:

...aversi ab hac lite esse (debent?), quomodo hic catellus aversus est nec surgere potest, sic nec illi, sic transficti sint quomodo ille. Quomodo in hoc monumento animalia obmutuerunt nec surgere possunt nec illi... (“Just as this puppy harmed no one, so [may they harm no one?] ²⁴ and may they not be able to win this suit. Just as not even the mother of this puppy can defend [it], so may their lawyers be unable to defend them... [and] so [may] also these [legal] opponents be turned back from this suit, just as this puppy [lies] upside-down and is unable to stand up, so neither [may] they [be unable to stand up]; may they be pierced through, just as this [puppy is]. Just as in this tomb all [living] creatures have been silenced and cannot rise up, neither may they [be able to speak? or rise up]...”) (see also 1.10.1.).

Concerning prayers for justice, see No. **235** from Mainz, DTM 7:

...(quo)mod(i) hoc graphio averso, quod minime uti solet, sic (eum) ...aversum, dii deaeque (e)sse sinat(i)s et hominibus... (“...just as this [is written] with a perverted/hostile/evil stylus, which is not usual at all, so

²² The formula is also attested in the Greek production, see Mastrocinque (2007, 88 ff.) who cites the inscriptions with a similar formula in Greek.

²³ Both tablets have been found in the same grave, No. **68** is the continuation of No. **67** (see also 9.1.2.).

²⁴ For the interpretation of the *lacuna*, see Gager (1992, No. 53).

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may you, gods and goddesses, make [him feel] the people's hostility..." (see Faraone – Kropp, 2010, 390 ff.; and esp. 10.2.2.).

This kind of formula is also attested in the prayers for justice found in Germania and Pannonia (see No. **234**, 1.10.2.; No. **109**, 1.9.3.; and No. **230**, 1.7.2.).

The authors of prayers for justice often wish to invoke *death* upon the culprits. They do this, as already said above, in various ways, either using the formula *vitam valetudinem* (see above), or the formulations common in curses, or, finally, a special formula *sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere* (see also 6.2. and below).

As for curses, the authors wish death for the culprits in the texts of the prayers for justice found in Italy, Hispania, Germania, Pannonia, and Britannia, see e.g. No. **217**: *...ut tu evites immedio eum, qui fecit furtum...* ("...so that you publicly take away the life of man who did this theft...") (see 1.2.1.); furthermore, the usual verbs like *pereat* (No. **228**, 10.2.1.), *extabescat*, or phrases like *exitum malum feceris* (see No. **232**, see 10.2.3.), or *exitum illius vilem malum* (see No. 234, 1.10.2. and 10.2.3.) are used. In tablet No. **236** the idea of death is associated with melting lead:

...Sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatmodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit. ("...may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.") (see 1.4. and 1.10.2.), as in the curse No. **89** from Mainz (see 10.1.1. and 10.2.4.).

This metaphor is also documented in Britannia, but in connection with water, not lead, see No. **242** from Bath: *...sic liquat com(odo) aqua...* (see 2.3.6.). Further, in tablet No. **279** from Bath, *dfx.* 3.2/82 there is a wish: *...deus faci(a)t ani(m)am p(er)d(e)re sui...* ("may the god take his life...").

6.2.1.2 Restrictions/Punishment – Points in Common with Love Spells

Restrictions found in the texts of prayers for justice from Britannia often resemble the formulations of the love spells documented in African provinces. For both the actual penalties sent against the culprits of thefts and their duration, it appears that the writers of the tablets from Britannia were inspired with the wishes of the authors of love spells. Different restrictions from those present in legal or agonistic curses are used in love spells (see 5.1.4.). However, the use of formulas with temporary restrictions, i.e. until the wish of the author is fulfilled, is logical in the context of theft. Such restrictions in prayers for justice serve to

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make the culprit return the stolen things to the owner, but in love spells their purpose is to make the beloved person come to the author and be at his/her will. These parallel situations, though in different contexts (loss of things, lack of interest of a beloved person), could easily lead to the use of the same formulae (see also Urbanová, 2010, 644 ff.; and also 5.1.1.). In the love spells found in African provinces the author usually asks daemons not to let his victim sleep (see No. **148**, 1.9.2.: *...non dormiat, ne somnum contingat...*), eat, or drink (No. **144**, 5.1.4.: *...non cibum non escam accipere possit...*), tries to limit victim's bodily functions, i.e. the ability to sit, speak (see No. **148**, 1.9.2.: *...neque sedeat neque loquatur...*), or think reasonably (see No. **144**: *...obligo sensum sapientiam et (intel)lectum...*), or to make the victim mad with love (No. **148**: *...uratur furens amore et desiderio meo...*), or forgetful of parents and all relatives (see No. **173**: *...ut obliviscatur patris et matris (et) omnium suorum...*, 11.1.4.). Similar, slightly modified, restrictions combined in various ways can be found also in the prayers for justice from Britannia, which date back to the 2nd cent. CE or later, i.e. the same period as the love spells from African provinces. The authors ask deities especially for the restrictions of bodily functions, insomnia, or they try to attack the mind or health of the culprit. See, for instance, No. **291** from Pagans Hill:

...nec illis (p)ermittas sanit(atem) nec bibere nec ma(n)d(u)care, nec dormi(re) nec (natos) sanos habe(a)nt nisi hanc rem (meam) ad fanum tuum (at)tulerint. (“...and do not let them be healthy, nor to drink, nor to eat, nor to sleep, nor may they have healthy children, unless they bring that property [of mine] to your shrine.”) (see 6.1., 6.2., and esp. 12.2.2.). See also No. **303** (1.10.2. and 12.1.1.) and No. **304** from Uley (see 6.2.1.3. below).

Rather bizarre restrictions of bodily functions are found in tablet No. **298** from Uley and further also in text No. **258** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/33, which reads:

...(dir)ipuit, ut (eo)rum pretium... (e)xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa(nitatem sua)m et suorum, nec ante illos pati(a)r(is) bibere? nec m)anducare nec adsellare nec (meiere?)...ius hoc absolverit... (“... has stolen, so that you exact the price of [them] through [his] blood and [health] and [the blood and health] of his relatives, and not allow them [to drink?] or eat or defecate or [urinate?] [before he has]... repaid it.”) (see 2.3.1.).

Text No. **244** from Bath aims at mind, soul, and sight of the culprit: *...ut mentes suas perd(at) et oculos...* (“...may [the thief] lose his mind and sight...”) (see 6.1.). See also tablet No. **229** from Gross-Gerau: *...ut illius mentes memorias deiectas...* (“...may he be bereft of his mind and memory...”) (see 1.10.2.).

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Restriction in the form of insomnia is found in tablets No. **247** from Bath (1.2.2.), No. **291** from Pagans Hill (see above), and No. **253** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/27, which reads:

Deae Sul(i) Minervae: rogo (s)antissimam maiestatem tuam, ut vindices ab his, qui (fraude)m fecerunt, ut eis (per)mittas nec somnum... (“To the goddess Sulis Minerva: I ask your holiest majesty to avenge [me] upon those who [defrauded?] me, do not let them neither sleep...”)

Nevertheless, the formula present only in prayers for justice is found more frequently. This can be regarded an innovation and adaptation of the formulas like *ne dormiat, ne somnum contingat*, using the verb *permitto*, i.e. *nec ei permittas somnum sanitatem*, see No. **250** from Bath (6.2. above, 1.10.2.) and No. **265** from Bath, **dfx.** 3.2/44, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, which reads:

...(ne perm)ittas (s)omnum nec sanita(tem n)isi tamdiu...quamdiu hoc (ill)ud/apud(?) se habuerit, si vir si femina et... si ancilla. (“...you are [not] to permit [him/her sleep] or health except for as long as... until s/he has it [along], whether man or woman, and... or maid/slave woman.”) (see also 3.3.1.1.).

A similar wish to the one common in love spells, i.e. to make the beloved one avert from her relatives or to forget about them (see esp. 11.1.4., e.g. No. **144**), is found only once in prayers for justice. In the following prayers for justice the culprit is supposed to be remote or averted from those close to him, which probably means to lose them, while the formula *aversus* is used, see No. **238** from Wilten:

...ut persequatis vobisque deligat, ut persequatis et eum aversum fortunis suis avertatis et a suis proximis et ab eis quos carissimos (h)abeat, (h)oc vobis mandat, vos eum p(er)se(qu)atis. (“...she orders you to trace back, and she orders you to chase him, too, and deprive him of his property and his relatives and those he holds dearest, this she commends to you, may you chase/seize him.”)²⁵

However, the writers of prayers for justice use these restrictions not only to make the culprit return the stolen property, but also to punish him or take

²⁵ Versnel (1991, 83) reads *corripatis* instead of *persequatis* (see also 6.1. and 10.2.2.).

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revenge on him, perhaps even together with a wish that the cursed one dies (see No. 304 below).

6.2.1.3 Wishes Specific to Prayers for Justice – Punishment/Revenge

Some specific wishes of the authors of prayers for justice are represented by formulations nowhere else attested in the Latin corpus; these are documented in the tablets found in Britannia, which pursue culprit's *death*. These tablets contain the formula *sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere* (see also 1.7.2.), which is attested with some alternations and often combined with other penalties altogether in 20 tablets. It is mostly related to thefts, but it appears also in connection with perjury (see No. 247 below) in those cases when writers want only to punish the culprit. More than two thirds of the uses come from Bath and date back mostly to the 2nd cent. AD and later. See No. 274 from Bath:

Uricalus, Do(c)ilosa ux(or) sua, Docilis filius suus et Docilina, Decentinus frater suus, Alogiosa: nomina eorum, qui iuraverunt ad fontem deae Sulis pridie Idus Apriles. Quicumque illic periuraverit, deae Suli facias illum sanguine suo illud satisfacere. (“Uricalus, Docilosa, his wife, Docilis, his son, and Docilina, Docilinus, his brother, Alogiosa: names of those who swore by the spring of goddess Sulis the day before the Ides of April [12th April]. Whoever [of these] who broke the oath [made] there, make him/her pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.”)²⁶

Furthermore, see No. 304 from Uley, *dfx.* 3.22/32:

(Deo) sancto Mercuri(o) (que)r(or) tibi de illis, qui mihi male cogitant et male faciunt supra... iumen(tum?)²⁷ ... si servus si liber si mascel si femina, ut non illis permittas nec stare, nec sedere, nec bibere, nec manducare, nec has (i)r(a)s redimere possint, nisi sanguine suo. (To the holy god Mercury, I complain to you about those who think badly of me and harm [my cattle?]. . . whether a slave or free, whether a man or a woman, so that you let them neither stand, nor sit, nor drink, nor eat, nor redeem that wrath,²⁸ unless with

²⁶ R. S. O. Tomlin (1988, 226 ff.) states that this is probably the first material evidence of the belief that hot springs punish those who swear false, as it is found in literary sources (see also 1.9.2.).

²⁷ This part is disrupted: *supra ed... s... iumen(tum?)*, perhaps the culprits not only thought badly of the author, but also somehow attempted to harm his cattle.

²⁸ For the interpretation of this, see Tomlin (1995, 373 ff.), the expression *has (i)r(a)s redimere* is uncertain and is not paralleled in any other text, it can be understood as “to redeem oneself from the cause of anger” of the author.

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their own blood...”). This text contains not only the restrictions of bodily functions, as in love spells, but also seeks vengeance through the formula *redimere sanguine suo*.

In several prayers for justice the formulations pursuing punishment or vengeance are very similar to those used in curses; see No. 247 above in which the author does not state his name, as is usual in curses, nor does he begin with a polite address to a deity. See also No. 275 from Bath, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE:

Basilia donat in templum Martis anellum argenteum, si servus si liber, medius fuerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit, ut sanguine et liminibus et omnibus membris configatur vel etiam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at) is, qui anellum involavit vel qui medius fuerit. (“Basilia gives [in] to the temple of Mars [her] silver ring, whether slave or free, whether [someone was] involved in this or knows something about it, may he be accursed in [his] blood and eyes and every limb, or even have all [his] intestines quite eaten away, he who has stolen the ring or who was involved in this.”) (see also 12.2.3.).

The author of this begins with an address to the deity, as is usual in prayers for justice; however, she uses the verb of cursing and demands that the culprit is punished (see also 1.10.2.). In tablet No. 294 (see 6.2.) the wish that the culprit dies is even repeated three times:

...Cui(us)cumque nomen involasit mulam illam, ut sanguin(em) suum mittat, usque diem, quo moriatur, quicumque (illam) involasit et ipse moriatio... a deo mor(ia)tur. (“...Whoever stole that mule, may he bleed until the day s/he dies, whoever stole it, may he die... may he be killed by the god.”).

Moreover, the collocation *maximo/pessimo leto adigere* is used in the prayers for justice found in Britannia and Pannonia (see also 6.2., No. 247, 1.2.2. and 1.9.1., No. 239, and No. 300 below). A. Kropp (2004, 87 ff.) relates this formulation to the old Roman sworn formula documented in Livy (22.53.11), i.e. with public curses:

Si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, domum, familiam remque meam pessimo leto adfacias. (“If I wittingly speak false, may Jupiter

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Optimus Maximus utterly destroy me, my house, my family, and my estate.”²⁹

This formula is used also in tablet No. **300** from Uley, dated to the 2nd–4th century CE, **dfx.** 3.22/16:

*Deo Mercurio Docilinus... Varianus et Peregrina et Sabinianus, qui pecori meo dolum malum intulerunt et in t(e)rr(a) proloquuntur.*³⁰ *Rogo te ut eos maximo (le)to adigas nec eis sanit(atem nec)somnum permittas, nisi a te quod mihi ad(mi)ni(strav)erint redem(e)rint.* (“To the god Mercury Docilinus... Varianus and Peregrina and Sabinianus, who caused a great damage to my cattle, and may they confess [publicly?]. I ask you to drive them to the most horrible death and not allow them to sleep nor to be healthy, unless they redeem from you what they have done to me.”)

This interesting piece of evidence shows a lack of logic, which may suggest the indignation of its author. If the deity really fulfilled author’s wish and adhered to the sequence of events, as they are stated in the tablet, the culprits would probably be dead before they could compensate for the damage they had done. Nevertheless, similar formulations and wishes specifying when exactly the culprit is supposed to die and return the things to the temple, are found in 10 tablets from Britannia. Tomlin (2010, 260 ff.) associates this practice with the similar texts found in Hispania, in which authors do not mention at all that they would like to have their things back; this is true for several texts from Britannia, too, which seek only vengeance (see above). This discrepancy, i.e. that the dead person cannot return anything, is then explained by the idea that by handing over his matter to the deity in a proper way (he does not forget to name all things which have been stolen) the author automatically supposes that it will be the deity who avenges him and exacts the stolen property back. This is clear from the texts using verbs like *exigere* or *vindicare* in combination with the capital punishment. However, it is at the least questionable whether the authors of the 55 tablets analysed in this work without any explicit reference to the returning of things meant these or other expressions in this way, as the wish to get things back and to punish the culprit is very often explicitly stated (28

²⁹ See Livy. Books XXI–XXII With An English Translation. Cambridge. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, 1929.

³⁰ The interpretation of this place in the text is disputable. R. S. O. Tomlin (1989, 329 ff.) reads *prolocuntur*, the whole passage is then interpretable only with difficulties, since no formula like this is attested anywhere else. *Proloquuntur* may mean that the culprits are supposed to plead guilty in public.

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tablets). Scholars assume that the exalted emotional state after a damage suffered could play a role, too; thus, it would be an expression of the momentary rage of the author (see Ogden, 1999, 38; Versnel, 2010, 280). This is; however, problematic because we do not know whether the particular tablets were written right after the theft. Moreover, it can be assumed that some authors believed in the returning of their things and, at the same time, wanted to punish the culprit, possibly even by death, while others did not hope for this at all and thus resorted to mere vengeance on the culprit in the way identical to curses. The text of tablet No. **239** from Carnuntum may be crucial to the understanding of how the authors of such texts perceived the matter:³¹

Sa(nc)te Dite pater et Veracura et Cerbere, auxilie, qui tenes limina inferna sive superna (SM + VM alphab.);... v(os) pre(co)r fa(ci)a(tis) Eudemum... (a)d r(egnum? infernum) quam celerisi(me) infra dies novem vasum reponat. Defigo Eudemum nec(et)i(s) eum pessimo leto, ad inf(er)os d(uca)tis eundem recoligatis M(anibu)s ministeria infernorum (d)eu(m). (Quom)do i(lle) plumbus pondus habet sic et (E)ud(e)mus habeat vos iratos, inter la(r)vas... iam hostiat quam celerissim(e). (“Holy Father Dis, and Veracura,³² and helpful Cerberus who rule over the infernal and terrestrial lands, I beg you, make Eudemus... into the infernal kingdom? As quickly as possible, lead him to the underworld, may he return the vessel in nine days. I accurse Eudemus, kill him by the worst death, lead him to the underworld and bind him with the ghosts, you servants of the infernal gods. Just like this lead has its weight, may Eudemus feel your anger, may he enter among the ghosts as quickly as possible.”).

This text starts with a polite address to the gods: *Sa(nc)te Dite pater et Veracura et Cerbere*; unfortunately, the following part of the text is disrupted, and the editor’s addition³³ *fa(ci)a(tis) Eudemum... (a)d r(egnum? infernum)*, does not seem ideal, as we would rather expect some restrictions leading to the returning of the vessel. Surely, the author does not intend to make Eudemus deliver the stolen vessel to the infernal kingdom, though it could be argued that *lacuna* in the text between the words *Eudemus* and the addition *...(a)d r(egnum? infernum)* can encompass 7-8 letters.³⁴ Moreover, there is a wish to get the stolen property back: *infra dies novem vasum reponat*. In this passage

³¹ The text of the tablet is damaged to a large extent (see also 1.10.2. and Appendix II).

³² *Veracura* probably refers to Iuno Veracura – Iuno inferna (see Kropp, 2004, 86).

³³ See Egger (1962, 81 ff.).

³⁴ See also A. Kropp (2004, 87) who argues that the two fragments do not belong to each other.

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the author uses formulations typical of prayers for justice, except for one discrepancy – he does not state his name. H. S. Versnel (2010, 279) considers the stating of one's name to be one of the essential distinctive features of prayers for justice as compared with curses. Concerning the prayers for justice analysed in this work, the name of the author is not stated in ca. 62 tablets, but the text of 30 of these is disrupted so that it cannot be said with certainty whether the author originally put his name after all. We can, however, be sure that in the remaining 32 tablets the author did not state his/her name. The texts not stating the name of the author usually come from Hispania, and ca. half of these texts have been found in Germania and Britannia. As a result, almost a third of all preserved texts of prayers for justice do not mention the name of the author. However, the mood of the tablet soon after merges into the typical curse even using the verb *defigo* and asking death for Eudemus, the suspected thief: *defigo Eudemum nec(et)i(s) eum pessimo leto*. Although the author seeks the returning of his property, he simultaneously curses the culprit – punishes him or seeks vengeance on him through death. Therefore, it rather appears that the author conceives his text more as an adaptation of a common curse supplemented with the wish to get his things back. The texts from Britannia, which pursue especially punishment or vengeance on the culprit, can then be understood as prayers for vengeance³⁵ derived from common curses (see also 10.2.3.).

The complicated, elaborate, and sophisticated texts of prayers for justice are found only in the tablets from Germania. These document the wishes of authors nowhere else attested, see e.g. No. **234** from Mainz (see 1.10.2.) containing the following wish:

Ita uti galli Bellonarive absciderunt concideruntve se, sic illi abscissa sit fides, fama, facult(a)s. (“Just like the priests of *Mater Magna* [i.e. *galli*] and the priests of Bellona have castrated or cut themselves, so may his good name, reputation, the ability to conduct his affairs be cut away.”).

It has to be stated here that the whole text of this complicated prayer for justice, which is incorporated into a *simile*-formula, is constructed with great stylistic and rhetorical skill. This formula is attested only once in Germania (see Blänsdorf, 2012, No. 6).

³⁵ See also G. Björck (1938, 28 and 51 ff.) who speaks of “Rachegebete”, i.e. literally prayers for vengeance (see also 1.10.2.).

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Another remarkable wish documented only in two tablets from Germania seeks vengeance in the form of the culprit being devoured by worms, see No. **229** (1.10.2.) and No. **231**, which reads:

...nisi ut illas vorent canes, vermes adque alia portenta, exitum quarum populus spectet. (“...but may dogs, worms, and other monsters devour them, may the people watch their death...”)

(see also 1.10.2., 1.9.2., and 10.2.3.).

No vengeance similar to this has been preserved in the Latin evidence; it appears once in Greek *defixiones*, see the curse against Arsinoe of Messina dated back to the 2nd cent. CE (see Versnel, 1998, 229 ff.; Gager, 1992, No. 116), and TheDeMa 290.

Other unusual wishes of the authors are found in the tablets containing both prayers for justice and curses from Germania and Hispania, and perhaps also in tablet No. **300** from Britannia (see above). The authors try to achieve public satisfaction, i.e. the public confession of guilt, and esp. public vengeance,³⁶ as indicated in text No. **217** from Hispania:

...ut tu evites immedio eum, qui fecit furtum... (“...so that you publicly take away the life of man who did this theft...”) (see 1.2.1.).

A similar wish is found also in the recently published tablets from Mainz (see No. **232**, 10.2.3., and No. **231**), in which deaths of the culprits are supposed to be watched by the people: *...ut exitum tuum populous spectet...*, and No. **232** also asks that the culprits confess:

*Cr(ucietur/cras veniat) et dicat se admisisse ne(fa)s...*³⁷ (“ May he be tortured and may he confess that he has committed a villany...”)

To conclude, these texts are fascinating testimonies of the intrusion, spreading, and blending of the Mediterranean cursing tradition in the regions belonging to the Roman Empire, as is seen from the adaptations of formulas used in love

³⁶ See especially H. S. Versnel (2010, 284 ff.) who in this respect mentions the so-called *confession inscriptions*, the steles containing confessions of guilt from Asia Minor (Versnel, 1991, 75 ff.), as well as other cases of Greek prayers for justice explicitly referring to the fact that the culprit is supposed to plead guilty in public and that his punishment should take place in public.

³⁷ The text is very long and quite damaged; for its interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010, 180 ff.; and esp. 2012, No. 2). See 3.3.3., 1.10.2., and 10.2.3.

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spells from African provinces in the prayers for justice from Britannia. Regarding the evidence found in Germania, they may even indicate the presence of professional magicians in the region (see Blänsdorf, 2010, 147 ff.).

6.3 CONCLUSION

Compared to the wishes and aims of the authors of Latin curses, which appear to be quite compact, dependent on a particular type of curse, and in agreement with the cursing practice of a particular province, the aims and wishes of the authors of prayers for justice are more varied. The differences between the two genres are largely dependent on the particular territory. The tablets coming from the European provinces like Italy, Hispania and Gallia have several features in common, and are more closely linked to curses. On the other hand, the evidence found in Britannia indicates an autonomous and innovative development of this genre in the region. Finally, the tablets from Germania display quick intrusion of the Mediterranean magical practices to the more remote areas of the Roman Empire, as well as some laic adaptations of this magical tradition – blending of formulas and dissolving of the differences between curses and prayers for justice.

The writers of curses mainly attempt to restrain their opponents in some way; therefore, they most often include restrictions (86 tablets, which make 41% of all cases). Altogether 33 curses (which make 16%) pursue death of the victim, sometimes combined with restrictions, too; in 37% of cases the aim of the curse cannot be distinguished.

In prayers for justice three main types of aims are involved: first, to make the culprit return the stolen items without a mention of punishment (see 6.2. above) – this is, however, very rare (only in 4% of prayers for justice); second, to make the culprit return the stolen things and, possibly, to punish him – this is the case of almost a third of all texts (28 tablets = ca. 28%); third, only to punish or to take vengeance on the culprit – this is the aim of most of the prayers for justice (55 tablets = ca. 55%). Concerning the types of penalties supposed to afflict the culprits, it can be assumed that the most frequent aim of the authors of prayers for justice is vengeance or, more precisely, *death* of the culprit often combined with other punishments. The culprit, whether known or unknown, is supposed to repay the damage done with his own life in 37 tablets (= ca. 37%). Thus, death is twice as frequent in prayers for justice as in curses. It is disputable whether this is related to the idea of just punishment for a crime, or rather due to the momentary emotional state of the author. Restrictions are found only in 34

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tablets (= ca. 34%) with prayers for justice, i.e. less often than in curses. In curses the repertoire of various restrictions and penalties affecting the victim is mostly dependent on the type of curse; however, interesting combinations of various penalties and types of vengeance afflicting the culprit are often found in prayers for justice. These make use of the formulations attested in curses, i.e. the formulations used to invoke death or disease on the culprit, as well as of the formulas attacking one's health and life like *vitam valetudinem*. They also include lists of body parts which should be afflicted by a disease, or the formulas based on the compounds of the verb *verto*, like in curses.

Reception and adaptation of formulas commonly used in love spells for the purposes of prayers for justice exists predominantly for the area of ancient Britannia.³⁸ Both the prayers for justice from Britannia and love spells use similar restrictions (*nec somnum permittas, nec ambulare, manducare...*), which are supposed to work for a limited span of time, specifically in prayers for justice until the culprit returns the stolen property. Moreover, recently peculiar formulas have been found in Britannia, which so far have been documented neither in curses nor in prayers for justice from the continental European provinces. One of these is the formula for a temporary restriction of culprit's bodily functions (*nec ei permittas somnum, sanitatem...*) lasting until s/he returns the stolen things. Another such formula enables the authors to invoke death on the culprit, mostly in those cases when they seek only punishment or vengeance; however, it is sometimes found also in relation to the returning of stolen things (ten tablets). The culprit is usually supposed to redeem himself with his own blood (*sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere*). The texts of prayers for justice found in Germania also contain bizarre, picturesque and nowhere else attested penalties and restrictions (see No. **234** above: *sic illi abscissa sit fides, fama, facultas*), 6.2.1.3.; or No. **229** and No. **231**: a wish that the culprit is devoured by worms). Similarly to the Greek prayers for justice, a wish that the culprit is publicly punished rarely appears also in the Latin prayers for justice (see No. **217**, No. **231**, No. **232**, and No. **300**).

Generally, it can be said that ca. half of the penalties used in the texts of prayers for justice are identical to those included in curses. The other half then comprise either adaptations of the formulas commonly used in love spells, or completely

³⁸ The documentation of prayers for justice outside Britannia is scarce and similar formulas have not been attested.

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new, unattested formulas. However, it is surprising that the punishments used in prayers for justice seem to be crueller than in curses.³⁹

³⁹ See also Ch. A. Faraone (1991, 10) who argues that in Greek curses the authors usually pursue only the restrictions of victims' bodily ad mental functions, not their death.

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7.1 NEW FINDINGS

Until recently, we have been acquainted with ca. 60 cursing tablets from the area of ancient Italy; the new corpus of Kropp (2008) states altogether 52¹ texts containing curses and five texts containing prayers for justice. In total, this monograph includes and analyses 45 curses and five prayers for justice (see chapter 1.). However, the amount of preserved evidence is certainly not definite. During the construction of underground garages in 1999 an ancient fountain has been discovered in Rome including a cistern built around the spring and an adjacent reservoir.² The two inscriptions found in the fountain with a dedication *Nymphis sacratīs Annae Perennae* dated back to the 2nd cent. CE suggest that the spring was related to the cult of this ancient Roman deity. The pottery found at the place indicates that the fountain was used from the 4th cent. BCE up to the 6th cent. CE.³ The information on this cult can be found in Ovid and other ancient authors, as well as in *Fasti Vaticani*.⁴ The rich archaeological findings lifted from the cistern included a very precious material connected to the

¹ A. Kropp has excluded some fragmentary texts published in DT, which are now either lost or completely corroded.

² Piranomonte (2010, 191 ff.; 2012), Blänsdorf (2010a, 2012a), and Blänsdorf, J. – Piranomonte (2012); see also 1.8.1. and 1.8.2. above. These findings have not been included into the analysis of this work.

³ For the inscriptions, see AE (2003, No. 251 –253); for the detailed discussion of ancient references and epigraphic evidence concerning this cult, see Piranomonte (2010, 192 ff.); see also Blänsdorf (2010a, 215 ff., 2012a), and Piranomonte – Simón (2010, esp. 191 –192).

⁴ Ovid (*Fasti* III, 523 –564 and 655 –674) describes cheerful celebrations in honour of the goddess Anna Perenna associated with drinking of wine, and states two explanations for the origins of this cult. The first version of the story is that Anna, Dido's sister, came to Latium, where she was offered hospitality by Aeneas; however, his wife Lavinia was jealous of her and attempted to kill her. Therefore, Anna fled from the palace and became a nymph of the river god Numicius (III, 654): *amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor...* ("In a perennial river I hide, and Anna Perenna is my name..."; transl. according to Loeb's edition: J. G. Frazer, 1931). The other version of the myth speaks of an old woman Anna from Bovillae who fed the plebeians with her bread, when they abandoned the city and receded to *Mons Sacer* (The Sacred Mountain). Other references can be found in Silius Italicus (*Pun.* VIII, 49 –201), Varro (*Menipp.* frg. 506), and Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.12.6.). Anna Perenna's day is said to have been celebrated in the Ides of March (15.3.) (*Fasti Vaticani*, *CIL*² 1, p. 242; see esp. Piranomonte, 2010, 292 ff., 2012).

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magical practices. The cistern was regarded a convenient place to deposit a curse, since it was a water source inhabited by water deities (nymphs) who could fulfil the wishes of the cursing one (see 1.7. and 1.8.3.).⁵ The archaeological material found in the cistern connected to magical practices includes oil lamps dated to the 4th/5th cent. CE, since at least six of the total number of 74 lamps have been undoubtedly used as magical offerings – small rolled into scrolls lead tablets have been put inside them instead of a wick (see also 1.8.2). Three little lead slices with curses found in an oil lamp have been published by J. Blänsdorf (2010a, No. 6a, b, c). The texts are quite damaged and contain impenetrable sequences of magical signs; however, a typical, though a fragmentary, formula including the name of the victim and filiation via mother's name appears here: *Victor, quem peperit Pria(...)* *alluia* (6a); *Victor, quem peperit Privata...* (6c) (“Victor, whom ... bore.”). Moreover, 26 other, mostly lead, tablets containing curses have been found in the cistern.⁶ One of them – *defixio* with Christ and Nymphs (4th/5th cent. CE), although largely disrupted, floats between Paganism and Christianity. This tablet, Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012, 629) dated to the 4th/5th cent. CE, reads:

*...conatas suas person(as)...ill...
et uaticolo m.l...erio...
filio et quisquis .c.rm...
(roga)mus cras **deas uest(ra)s ...**
et cristum nostr(um)...
(Qui) gaudent timi(a)nt t...
eu(m) uincam i...c...
...suc.ui ...*

If Blänsdorf's⁷ reading and interpretation are correct, the author of the tablet was a Christian who did not hesitate to use all means available to achieve his goal. The beginning of the tablet is very damaged, but in the 4th line and further, we can read the sequence *(roga)mus cras deas uest(ras)...et cristum nostr(um)... (Qui) gaudent timi(a)nt t...eu(m) uincam...* “we will ask tomorrow your goddesses...and our Christ... Those who rejoice, shall fear, I shall defeat him...?”

⁵ See also tablet No. 1, 1.9.1.: *hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico, uti vos Aquae ferventes, sive vos Nymphae, sive quo alio nomine vultis appellari, uti vos eum interimatis, interficiatis...*

⁶ Piranomonte – Simón (2010, 164). See also the most recent publication Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012, 617–639).

⁷ Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012, 629).

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Finally, 24 lead cylindrical vessels including a cap, which were sealed airtight with pitch, have also been found there.⁸ After being opened, two other smaller cylindrical vessels have been found placed one inside another as the Russian matryoshka dolls, while in some cases the tiniest vessels either had their own caps or were turned upside down. Some of these vessels even bear inscriptions and depictions of daemons. The depiction of the bird-headed daemon holding in his right hand an object is very interesting; beside him there is a magical palindrome in Greek letters. *ABAANAΘANAABA* associated with the Gnostic movements, and a solar religion. The Greek letters on the belly of the demonic figure: *IXNOΠ/XNK/ΘΘΘ* can be resolved as *Iesous Xristos Nazarios O Pais Xristos Nazarios Kai Theos, Theos, Theos*.⁹

Seven of the vessels also concealed anthropomorphic figurines¹⁰ symbolizing the victims of the curses made of organic materials (wax, flour, sugar, milk and herbal materials), and the core of the figurines was made of animal bones, which sometimes bear inscriptions of their own (see also 1.8.1). The vessels dated to the second half of the 4th century CE probably represent the production of a single specialized magical workshop,¹¹ but the curse tablets also dated to the 4th century CE, which have been found separately in the cistern, differ from each other extensively, where the type of script, language level, and the content of the curses are concerned. For example, the tablet published by J. Blänsdorf (2010, No. 7) can be regarded as the work of a professional magician (see 7.4. below). Many of the texts are severely damaged and the interpretation of the iconography of daemons together with the texts and magical signs is especially problematic, given that there is no material suitable for comparison. Therefore, it is now still too soon for the detailed analysis of these. J. Blänsdorf (2010a, 216) asserts that 19 of the inscriptions found are written in Latin and two in a strange mixture of Latin and Greek. Seven inscriptions contain also depictions of daemons or victims (*imagines*) and magical signs, two texts refer to the spring and the nymphs, others invoke Egyptian deities, which is a practice

⁸ Piranomonte – Simón (2010, 205 ff.).

⁹ See Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012, 619) and Piranomonte – Simón (2010, 171); for the interpretation of the Greek letters on the belly see Néméth (2015, 55–60).

¹⁰ A very strange figurine has been found in the container with the depiction of the Egyptian god Seth. The figurine was made of an organic material, wrapped in lead, and transfixed with two nails, one in its legs and another in its belly. The snake seems to clasp the body of the figurine and bite it in the face. See Piranomonte – Simón (2010, 9).

¹¹ For further discussion, see Piranomonte (2010, 203 ff.).

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similar to the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* also found in Rome in the neighbourhood of Porta S. Sebastiano (see 1.7.1. and 4.1. above).

7.2 THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF ANCIENT ITALIA AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

The Mediterranean cursing tradition very soon reached Italian shores, which has been proved by the preserved Greek curses dated back to the 6th cent. BCE found in Sicily at the original site of the Selinus colony (today's Selinunte) (see Kropp, 2008a, 45; and esp. Bettarinin, 2005; Rocca, 2012).¹² The cursing tradition had spread across the territory of ancient Italy not only among the Latins, but also other nations inhabiting the area at the time.¹³ Concerning the Oscan epigraphic documentation, the corpus (see Rix, 2002) includes altogether 12 Oscan curses; more recently, see also F. Murano (2012) who refers to 14 Oscan curse tablets. All come from Campania, Lucania and Bruttium, i.e. from the regions strongly influenced by Greek culture; five of these have been dated as back as to the 4th/3rd cent. BCE.¹⁴ Similarly to the Latin curses, several of these include mere nominal lists of cursed people, and four pieces of evidence

¹² See Rocca (2012, 397 ff.); and Rocca 2012a, 210 who states that the corpus of Greek *defixiones* from Selinus now includes altogether 45 texts.

¹³ See also a Greek prayers for justice dated back to the 3rd cent. BCE found in Bruttium, DT 212; Gager (1992, No. 92).

¹⁴ The texts are cited according to the corpus of Sabellic inscriptions (Rix, 2002); or Vetter (1953) as (Ve) in agreement with the usual practice in citing Oscan inscriptions, i.e. bold letters mean that the inscription has been written in Oscan alphabet. The evidence of Oscan curses: **Sa** 3 (Aquilonia, dated to the 3rd cent. BCE, includes the names of cursed people); **Cm** 13 (Ve 3; Cuma, dated to the end of the 2nd cent./beg. of the 1st cent. BCE, a legal curse, see below); **Cm** 14 (Ve 5; Cuma, dated to the last quarter of the 4th cent. BCE, the text is much damaged but probably contained a legal curse); **Cm** 15 (Ve 7; Cuma, dated to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE, a legal curse); **Cp** 36 (Ve 4; Capua, dated to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE, a legal curse, see also DT 192 and below); **Cp** 37 (Ve 6; Cuma, dated to the 4th/3rd cent. BCE, see also DT 193; the text is damaged but it probably contains a non-specific curse against an enemy, the author (Vibia Aquia) commends to the goddess Ceres Ultrix to harm Paciu Cluvatius). Altogether 6 Oscan *defixiones* written in Greek alphabet come from Lucania: **Lu** 43 –47 and **Lu** 63, these are mostly nominal lists of accursed people, i.e. non-specific curses, **Lu** 43 dates back to the 3rd cent. BCE; **Lu** 63 to the 4th/3rd cent. BCE; and **Lu** 46 to the end of the 4th cent. BCE.

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are legal curses. See e.g. **Cm 13** (Ve 3),¹⁵ a lead tablet found in the Oscan necropolis of Cumae, dated to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE:

stenim. kalauiiúm.trí aginss.urinss.úlleis.fakinss

Stenium Calavium Tre(bi filium?) actiones, orationes, illius facinora

fangyam. biass. biítam. aftiím. anamúm. aitatúm amirikum. tíf[eí?...]

*linguam, vires, vitam, spiritum? animam, aetatem, quaestum tib(i?...)*¹⁶

This Oscan tablet contains a curse aimed at Stenius Calavius, probably in a legal context – it is supposed to afflict his legal actions, speeches, deeds, tongue, and, in the same manner as in Latin curses, also his vigour, life, breath?, soul, youth?, and fortunes. See the similar lists of cursed body parts and fortunes in Latin curses and prayers for justice, e.g. No. **11** (2.2.1. and 7.3.1.6.), No. **12** (1.1.1.2. and 7.3.1.2.), and No. **226** (1.4. and 9.2., and esp. 7.3.1.1. below).

Similarly, another Oscan *defixio* **Cp 36** (Ve 4),¹⁷ a lead curse tablet found in a Roman grave in the necropolis of Capua, dated back to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE, contains a legal curse:

steniklúm. vírriis/ tríhpíu. vírriis/ plasis. bivellis/ úppiis. helleviis/ lúvikis úhtavis

Steniculum Virrius, Tryphio Virrius, Plasius Bivellius, Oppius Hellvius, Lucius Octavius

statiis. gaviis. nep fatiúm. nep. deíkum. pútían/s/ lúvkis. úhtavis núvellúm velliam/

Statius Gavius nec dari nec dicere possint; Lucius Octavius. Novellorum voluntatem

nep. deíkum . nep. fatiúm. pútíad/ nep. memnim . nep. úlam. sífei. heriiad.

*nec dicere nec dari possit, nec meminisse, nec illam sibi velit.*¹⁸

¹⁵ The text is cited according to Rix (2002): **Cm 13**, the translation into Latin according to Vetter (1953, No. 3).

¹⁶ Crawford (2011, 507 ff.) translates: “(I curse) Srenius Calavius, son of Tre..., (legal) actions, speeches of that man, deeds, tongue, strengths, life, sight (?) spirit, age, wealth, for you...”.

¹⁷ The text is cited according to Rix (2002): **Cp 36**, the translation into Latin according to Vetter (1953, No. 4).

¹⁸ Crawford (2011, 441 ff.) translates: “Steniculum Virrius, Tryphio Virrius, Plasius Bivellius, Oppius Helvius, Lucius Octavius, Statius Gavius, any they not be able to

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In the first part of the tablet, the names of those supposed to be unable to speak or testify are stated: **nep fatium. nep. deikum. pútian/s/** – *nec fari nec dicere possint*; the other part refers to L. Octavius who should be unable to speak or testify as the Novelli wish and forget about everything. This tablet, too, uses formulae similar to the Latin legal curses, see also e.g. No. **113** and No. **116** from Carthage (see Appendix I and 11.1.2.). Both above mentioned Oscan tablets are very similar to Latin curses as to the form and content; thus, it is obvious that Oscan and Latin cursing traditions come from the same formulary sources. The text of both Oscan tablets mentioned above has been written in a left-to-right direction, which is unusual in Oscan inscriptions, as these prefer right-to-left direction.¹⁹ E. Vetter (1953, 29) thought this to be the influence of Latin with respect to the relatively late dating of both tablets. However, I assume that it is associated with the magical use of script, i.e. unusual orientation of script, which is found also in Latin curses from the area of old Italy (see e.g. No. **2** and No. **7**, see Appendix I, 1.9.1. and 7.7.). The corpus of Etruscan inscriptions also includes lead tablets probably containing Etruscan curses; however, the more complicated texts are hard to interpret. D. H. Steinbauer (1999, 311ff., No. S 47) believes that the only certain evidence of Etruscan curse is the inscription **Po** 4.4 inscribed on a lead tablet found in Campiglia Marittima, dated back to the 2nd cent. BCE, and identifies the names of victims written on it.²⁰ He regards the expression *θapicun θapintaś* an Etruscan cursing formula, perhaps meaning “I have accursed with a curse”. A. J. Pfiffig (1965, 324 ff.) treats also the texts **AV** 4.2-3 inscribed on small lead statuettes as Etruscan *defixiones* dated back to the 4th cent. BCE. Finally, two other recently found texts on lead tablets **Vt** 4.1 and 4.2 can also be classified undoubtedly as Etruscan curses. Both were found in a grave, rolled into scrolls and wrapped by lead wire, and contain mainly the names of cursed people; the tablet **Vt** 4.1 includes also a filiation via mother’s name, which is a typical feature of a *defixio* (see also 1.6.).²¹

pronounce, not to speak, may Lucius Octavius not be able to pronounce not to speak the wish of the Novelii, may he desire for himself neither memory nor that (wish) ”.

¹⁹ See e.g. Urbanová – Blažek (2008, 160 ff.).

²⁰ The inscriptions are cited according to Rix (1991).

²¹ My gratitude for this oral piece of information belongs to H. Eichner (see also below), a similar method is attested also in the Latin tablet No. **16**. The Etruscan inscriptions usually state either only father’s name or both father’s and mother’s names.

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7.3 SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE CURSE TABLETS FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF OLD ITALY

The earliest preserved Latin curses come from the 2nd cent. BCE: No. **33** from Pompeii (see 1.10.1.), and tablet No. **6** from Etruria dated to the 2nd/1st cent. BCE and containing a mere nominal list of cursed people.²² Nevertheless, Latin curse tablets, as well as the Oscan and Etruscan ones, very probably existed as early as in the 4th/3rd cent. BCE. The largest number of texts found in the territory of Italy comes from the 1st cent. BCE (ten tablets) and from the 1st cent. CE (ca. ten tablets), while there are eight pieces of evidence dated to the 1st/2nd cent. CE and the 2nd cent. CE.²³ From the 2nd cent. CE on, the evidence gets more and more scarce.

Regarding the external features accompanying the cursing traditions in the territory of old Italy, it can be said that the largest amount of tablets containing curses or prayers for justice has been found in graves (30), two tablets have been found in the soil, four other beside water sources, and one in a shrine,²⁴ while the place of finding is unknown to us in seven cases. Lead is the most used material apart from few exceptions (No. **25**, No. **26**, and No. **209**) (see 1.4.). The usual ways of tablet's treatment include transfixion, i.e. the ritual *defigo*, in 18 cases (mostly dated to the 1st cent. BCE), and rolling in nine cases (mostly in the earlier tablets); ten tablets have been found with no signs of ritual treatment. Concerning the remaining texts, the editors do not state any ritual treatment, or the tablets have been treated in some different way.²⁵

Compared to the evidence found in African provinces, fewer types of curses have been found in Italy; however, we can rightly assume that this is caused by the insufficiency of the preserved documentation. For example, no Latin agonistic curses have been preserved from Italy; all the evidence of Latin curses against gladiators, race horses and charioteers comes from African provinces. On the other hand, some Greek tablets written against rivals in the circus have

²² Moreover, one Latin tablet also dated to the 2nd cent. BCE has been found on the island of Delos.

²³ The dating of tablets is problematic (see also 1.3.), and the editors often state only estimated dates, e.g. the 1st/2nd cent. CE and the like.

²⁴ The above mentioned recent findings in the cistern of Anna Perenna's shrine in Rome (ca. 26 tablets) have to be added among the tablets found in the context of water sources. The tablet found in a shrine comes from the Janiculum, from the temple of Syrian deities.

²⁵ For example, tablet No. **16** has been found rolled into scrolls and wrapped with iron wire, see also the Etruscan evidence from the area of Volterra above.

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been preserved directly in Rome. Thus, it can be supposed that there existed also some Latin examples of this type of curse, not only in Italy, but also in other provinces where the wrestling matches and races in the circus were held (see 4.1.). Generally, in European provinces we know only of non-specific, legal and rivalry in love curses, in Britannia only of non-specific curses and perhaps also of a single piece of evidence connected to rivalry in love, whereas only three potential love spells have been found in Europe: the first one in the province of Raetia (see No. **106**); second, the No. **69** from Gallia; and the third one at the fountain of Anna Perenna.²⁶ Conversely, most of the love spells and all agonistic curses against gladiators, charioteers and race horses come from African provinces, while no Latin curses associated with rivalry in love nor prayers for justice have been found in Africa.

7.3.1 Non-Specific Curses

Most of the curse tablets found in Italian territory contain non-specific curses – the corpus of this work includes altogether 33 of them, which makes almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of all cursing texts preserved in Italy. The relatively high occurrence of this type of curse in Italy corresponds to its high occurrence in all parts of the Roman Empire, the non-specific curses make ca. 45% of all preserved curses (see also 4.1.1.). These often contain mere nominal lists of cursed people, 14 tablets of this type have been found in Italy (see 2.1.1. above). As already said (see 5.1.2.), the authors of non-specific curses, when compared to other types of cursing texts, usually pursue the death of victim. This is especially true for the non-specific curses found in Italy (see chapter 5.). 15 out of 33 non-specific curses pursue victim's death or a disease with lethal consequences; only once restrictions or disease is applied. The aim of the remaining non-specific texts cannot be determined, as these include only the nominal lists of victims.

7.3.1.1 Cursing of Body Parts

The typical phenomenon which appears in the non-specific curses from Italy is that these often contain very detailed lists²⁷ of all particular body parts of the victim supposed to be afflicted by the curse. Apart from that, the authors aim at the victim's ability to think, or, generally, at the life and health of the accursed

²⁶ See Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012, 621); however, it is unclear whether this is really a love spell.

²⁷ I call these lists only if there are at least three terms in sequence which either refer to particular body parts or contain more general terms like *corpus*, *membra omnia*, or health, mental condition, or life.

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one. The fortune of the victim, probably a frequent cause of rivalry, is often jeopardized, too. This means that the authors try to destroy not only the physical health of their enemies, but also their social status.²⁸ The lists of cursed body parts, soul, or mind, are, nevertheless, found many times especially in Greek, but also in Latin curses, love spells, and prayers for justice.²⁹

The lists, whether of cursed people or body parts, are considered to be a solid part of magical thinking. The composition of an exhaustive list of items which are supposed to be afflicted, or of all eventual events that could happen, is at the same time perceived as a blockage of all of the victim's chance to escape the curse. The similar anticipation of various situations that might happen is found also in Roman legal documents (see Gordon, 1999, 241ff.). The oldest Greek evidence of the lists of accursed body parts or victim's fortunes have been preserved from the 4th cent. BCE in Attica,³⁰ but from the end of the 6th cent. BCE also in Selinunte in Sicily,³¹ most frequently in connection with the actual motif of the curse, i.e. e.g. in the legal context. In the latter, however, the curse is usually meant to limit an adversary's tongue and ability to speak and think; in the context of rivalry in business, the curse usually aims at the object of rival's enterprise (see Gordon, 1999, 258 ff.; DTA 61a, b, a 94), while the agonistic curses attack the physical abilities of gladiators. H. S. Versnel (1998, 217 ff.) uses the term *instrumental curses* for those curse whose authors deliberately attempt at limiting the abilities of their adversaries in agreement with the actual purpose of the curse, i.e. to gain advantages for themselves (see also 1.10. and esp. chapter 5. above). Unlike the most of the later curses containing extensive lists of almost all body parts, which he calls *anatomical curses*, the above mentioned kind of lists is mostly used in non-specific curses and the author's aim is to destroy his/her victim utterly. P. Poccetti (2002, 26 ff.) sees the enumeration of body parts supposed to be afflicted by the curse as a linguistic transposition of the ritual procedure (expressed by Lat. *defigo*) of transfixing the body parts of the clay figurines, *kolossoi* (see 1.8.1.; and also Gager, 1992, 97 ff.).

The pursuit of the best possible effect of the curse is manifested by various communicative strategies. A shortened list of accursed items can be understood as a synecdoche, i.e. the curse is supposed to afflict the whole body, see e.g. the

²⁸ See also Gordon (1999, 270 ff.).

²⁹ See also H. Versnel (1998, 217) who cites some noteworthy Greek curses which use this type of formula.

³⁰ See Wünsch (1897); Jordan (1985, 205; 1988, 273).

³¹ See Gager (1992, No. 49); Bettarini (2005); Rocca (2012, 209 ff.).

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Greek love spell from Euboea, dated to the 4th cent. BCE, aimed at a woman. The spell should afflict her hands, legs, and the whole body (see Gager, 1992, No. 19; Gordon, 1999, 258 ff.). Compare also tablet No. **3**, **dfx.1.1.2/1**, in which the author curses the body as a whole, and then separately also head, teeth, and sight:

Porcellus, Porcellus mulomedicus...interficit(e) omn(e) corpus caput dente(s) oculos mortuos facite Porcellum et Maurillam uxorem ipsius... (“Porcellus, Porcellus the veterinarian... destroy his entire body, his head, teeth, eyes, make Porcellus and his wife, Maurilla, (dead?).³²)

In the Hellenistic times and especially in the following centuries, the authors more and more often accumulate the more or less synonymic expressions in Greek agonistic curses, as well as in several Latin ones. See, for instance, No. **157** against charioteers and race horses:

...cadant, frangant, disfrangantur ma(le) girent... (“...may they fall, may they break, may [their chariots?] be smashed apart, may they turn wrongly...”) (see 2.3.5.).

or No. **132**, the curse from Carthage aimed against a gladiator which includes a nominal list of body parts using two verbal tricola to specify how exactly the daemons are supposed to harm the victim:

A: (l. 20)et perducatis, obligetis, perobligetis... apsumatis, desumatis, consumatis cor, membra, viscera, interania Mauruss(i)... (“...and lead [him to the Underworld]), bind [him], bind [him] fast... ruin, destroy, consume the heart, limbs, guts, intestines of Maurussus...”) (see also Tremel, 2004, No. 96; 5.1.1. and 11.1.3.1.).

This curse, dating to the 3rd cent. CE, well illustrates the further development of cursing formulae in the Imperial Age, when the production of curse tablets in specialized workshops of professional magicians was on the rise. In this time the curses got more complicated and variegated and included remarkable rhetorical features, such as frequent repeating and duplicating of the formulae. R. Gordon (1999, 263) speaks of an emphatic redundancy, i.e. a continuous repetition of the same thing using different words.³³ Gradually, the lists of accursed items became more and more detailed and exact; they pursue

³² The text of the tablet is corrupted and it contains *lectiones variae* (see Appendix I and 7.3.1.5.).

³³ See also the similar formulations used in *PGM*, e.g. IV 1510 –19.

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completeness while, at the same time, they attack not only the physical aspects of the victim, but also his/her social status, health, and fortune.³⁴ Gordon (1999, 269) considers this cursing procedure to be a certain analogy to the clay or other models of human organs and body parts found in shrines (*ex vota*) as a thanksgiving for being cured by the deity. Furthermore, F. Graf (1996, 130 f.) notices the link between these curses and the Egyptian healing rituals, during which particular body parts were being consecrated to their respective deities; thus, the cursing of the body parts can be perceived as a reversal of these healing rituals, or as abuse of the latter to harm the victim. Finally, H. S. Versnel (1998, 224 ff.) mentions that *anatomical curses*, i.e. the curses enumerating all body parts which are supposed to be afflicted, even though they are of later date, are not a mere rhetorical extension of *instrumental curses*, i.e. the curses in which only those body parts are accursed which are connected to the purpose of the curse. The curses containing the lists of all body parts do not usually state any reason or context; however, their main goal is that the victim suffers and dies. Generally, the earliest Greek curses from the 4th cent. BCE usually do not pursue adversary's death, but only a restriction, i.e. the limitation of certain functions and abilities.³⁵ Conversely, the curses of later date increasingly display the attempt to harm the victim as much as possible, to afflict him/her with suffering and death. Concerning the Latin production, the most detailed lists of cursed body parts come from Italy and date back to the 1st cent. BCE and CE.

Altogether 27 Latin tablets³⁶ contain the cursing of body parts (which makes ca. 13% of all texts), while this type of formulation is most often found in Italy (in 15 tablets), and in Africa (seven). The brief general lists are sporadically attested also in Hispania (one), Germania (two), Noricum (one), and Britannia (one). The most extensive and detailed lists of accursed body parts have been preserved in tablets No. **9** from Minturno from the first half of the 1st cent. CE; No. **11** (see 2.2.1. and 7.3.1.6.) from the first half of the 1st cent. BCE; and No. **12** from Nomentum from the first half of the 1st cent. BCE; further also in tablets No. **20-24** from Rome (Porta Salaria) from the first half of the 1st cent. BCE (Fox, 1912, 11; see below). Another very extensive example of cursed body parts (not included in this work) was found in 2003 in Rome and dated to the 2nd half of the 1st century. The curse is aimed at Caecilia Prima and appeals to the whole infernal procession, while the victim is supposed to die a terrible

³⁴ See also Gordon (1999, 269 ff.) and above.

³⁵ Faraone (1991, 8 and note 38).

³⁶ For the lists of accursed body parts in prayers for justice, see 12.2.3.

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death inflicted upon her by all the invoked infernal powers according to their particular competencies,³⁷ see Bevilacqua (2009, 47-70).

7.3.1.2 Nomentum

Tablet No. 12 (see 1.1.2.1.) (side A) represents perhaps the most well-known and cited example of the magical cursing procedure when the author enumerates the single body parts and organs of the victim, i.e. figuratively tears the victim's body apart. But it does not proceed downwards systematically, as other preserved Latin lists of body parts do (see also below):

*A: Malchio Niconis oculos,
manus, digitos, brachia, ungues,
capillos, caput, pedes, femur, ventrem,
nates, umbilicum, pectus, mamillas,
collum, os, buccas, dentes, labia,
mentum, oculos, frontem, supercilia,
scapulas, umerum, nervos, ossum
medullas, ventrem, mentulam, crus,
quaestum, lucrum, valetudines, defigo
in has tabellas.*³⁸

(“Malchio, son/slave of Nico: [his] eyes, hands, fingers, arms, nails, hair, head, feet, thigh, belly, buttocks, navel, chest, nipples, neck, mouth, cheeks, teeth, lips, chin, eyes, forehead, eyebrows, shoulder blades, shoulder,

³⁷ See also TheDeMa 517. The beginning of this large curse reads: Dite pater, Proserpina Dia, Canes Orcini, Ustores inferi, Ossufragae, Larvae, Furiae, Maniae, Aves nocturnae, Aves Harpyiae, Ortygiae, Virga, Ximaera, Geryones, Siredonas, Circe, Gegantes, Spinx, vos precatur et petit, rogat vos, numina deum inferum, qui suprascripti estis. Ea(m) Caeciliam Primam, sive quo alio nomine est, uti eam, Dite Pater, deprimas malisque doloribus eam adpetas, aput te abducas. Proserpina Dia, tu facias illam Caeciliam Primam, sive quo alio nomine est, uti eam deprimas, adimas illae sanguinem de venis, corpus, calorem animi illae Caeciliae Primae eripias. Canes Or(c)ini, Orcini tricipites, vos, illius Caeciliae Primae exedit(is) iocinera, pulmones, cor cum venis, viscera, membra, medullas, eius diripiatis, dilaceretis, lumina eius C(a)e(c)iliae P(r)imae a(d)ripiatis vosque Ustores inferi, eius Caeciliae Primae peruratis lumina, stomachum, cor eius, pulmones, adipos, cetera membra omnia illius Caeciliae Primae, peruratis, (a)duratis, vos, neque vivere nec valere possit....

³⁸ Both sides of the text contain many Vulgar Latin elements and mistakes, I state here the amended text of the whole tablet (for the original text see Appendix I).

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muscles, bone marrow,³⁹ belly, penis, shin, profit/business, fortune, and health, I accurse with this tablet.”)

Each line of the text of the curse always curses four or five body parts next to each other but their order is not logical. The first item is the eyes, probably the most important body part, which is also a reflection of one’s character. Then, the hands follow – perhaps we would rather expect the sequence arms, hands, fingers, (nails) (see No. **20** below). However, the procedure is different in this tablet, especially the leap *caput – pedes* is significant – the author leaps from the head down to the “heels” (or more precisely to the feet), perhaps following the logic of a famous proverb. Then he proceeds again back up to the head and again down. Some body parts appear more times, e.g. *oculos* in the 1st and the 6th line, and *venter* in the 3rd and the 8th line. R. Gordon (1999, 270 ff.) assumes that this reduplication may be a reflection of the perception of the body both from outside and from inside (the organs hidden inside the body); therefore, he translates the other *venter* as bowels. Concerning the term *oculus*, he states that its use in the beginning of the curse does not refer to the mere organ of sight, the eye, as is the case in the 6th line, but it has to be understood in wider sense as a reflection of one’s soul and character. Nevertheless, it is a non-specific curse, i.e. we do not know the context of it, so it is possible that the eyes could be the most important instrument of the cursed one – perhaps he saw something he should not have; anyway, the loss of sight is certainly one of the worst things which could happen to a man. Finally, the last sequence of the curse: *quaestum, lucrum, valetudines* is supposed to afflict not only the health state of the victim, but also his social and economic status. Some curses proceed from the more general terms concerning the physical habitus like *salutem, corpus, colorem, vires...* (see No. **20** below) to the outer and inner body parts and social status, or just briefly state the most important parts (see also No. **3** above, 7.3.1.5., or No. **30**: *vitam, valetudinem, quaestum*, see 2.3.1.). Side B of tablet No. **12** contains a curse against the public slave Rufa:

*B: Rufa publica manus, dentes,
oculos, brachia, ventrem, mamillas,
pectus, ossum, medullas, ventrem*

³⁹ A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.1.4.2/3**, A) interprets this passage as *os, merillas*, the tablet reads *ossu*. Thus, the bones are concerned here; however, it could be read also together with the following term *merillas* as “the bone marrow”, the same on side B. See also slightly different interpretations and translations of other scholars: Gordon (1999, 270; Önnarfors (1991, No. 19); Solin (1995, 571 ff.); Gager (1992, No. 80); Versnel (1998, 223 ff.).

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*crus, os, pedes, frontes,
ungues, digitos, ventrem,
umbilicum, cunnum, (v)ulva(m) il(i)a Rufae
publicae defigo in has tabellas.*⁴⁰

(“Rufa, the public slave, [her] hands, teeth eyes, arms, belly, nipples, chest, bone marrow, bowels... shin, mouth, feet, forehead, nails, fingers, womb?, navel, pudenda, vulva, loins of Rufa, the public slave, I accurse with this tablet.”).

The list of accursed limbs is briefer and limited only to the body parts, completely omitting the head and hair,⁴¹ as well as the social status which could not be the author’s concern in this case. The text reads *venter* three times, the term being interpreted according to R. Gordon (see above) as a belly from the outer look, the bowels, as well as the female organs, i.e. womb, although the second to last body part referred to in the tablet is probably *(v)ulva(m)*, which can mean both vulva and womb. Also the corrupted term *ilia* can denote both bowels as well as loins. Genitals are referred to in most detail: *ventrem, cunnum, vulvam, ilia*.

7.3.1.3 Minturno

Tablet No. **9** from Minturno in Latium, **dfx.1.4./1**, is another remarkable example of this type of text; the tablet dates back to the first half of the 1st cent. CE. Tyche, a wife or rather a slave of Charisius, is being cursed here. The tablet has been found rolled into scrolls and transfixes in a grave under the skull of the

⁴⁰ See also the interpretative notes of H. Solin (1989, 195 ff.). A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.1.4.2/3**, B) adds the term *quaestum* which is readable only on side A, which I find inappropriate despite the fact that the edition in DT 135 keeps a free space in the tablet. DT 135 corrects the reading of Borsari (AE 1901, 183) *quas ilae Rufas* in the final part as *(v)ulva(m) ilia Rufae*, “loins of Rufa”. This reading is better from the paleographical point of view and is received also by H. Solin (1995, 571). A. Önnersfors (1991, No. 19) translates the last part *ventrem, umbilicum, cunnum, (v)ulva(m) il(i)a* as “Bauch, Nabel, Geschlecht, Gebärmutter, Eingeweide”. R. Gordon (1999, 270) as “womb, navel, cunt, vulva, groin”. J. Gager (1992, No. 80) as “belly, navel, genitals, womb, groin”. H. S. Versnel (1998, 223) as “womb, navel, cunt, vulva?, groin”. That means that most of the scholars assume that the final part of the curse is the very detailed enumeration of all body parts connected with sexual life.

⁴¹ R. Gordon (1999, 270) notes realistically: “Rufa is represented solely as a body, most insistently, it seems, as a thing to be penetrated.”

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deceased, together with a small marble statuette of a woman with combed hair (see DT 190, *CIL* 10, 8249) probably symbolizing the victim.⁴² Although the text itself is not very corrupted mechanically, it contains many Vulgar-Latin elements and mistakes, as obvious from the amended transcription in *CIL* 10, 8249.⁴³ I state here the reconstructed *lectio* with the interpretations according to DT 190 which has been taken over also by Kropp (2008):

Dii inferi, vobis commendo, si quicquam sanctitatis habetis, ac trado Tychenem Charisii, quodquod agat, ut incidant omnia in adversa. Dii inferi, vobis commendo illius membra, colorem, figuram, caput, capillos, umbram, erebrum, frontem, supercilia, os, nasum, mentum, buccas, labra, verbum(?), vultum(?), collum, iocur, umeros, cor, pulmones, intestina, ventrem, brachia, digitos, manus, umbilicum, vesicam, femina, genua, crura, talos, plantas, digitos. Dii inferi, si illam videro tabescentem, vobis sanctum illud libens ob anniversarium, facere deis parentibus...illius?... ta peculium tabescas.

(“Underworld gods, I commend to you, if you have any power whatsoever, and I entrust [to you] Tyche, wife/slave of Charisius, whatever she does, may everything turn against her.⁴⁴ Underworld gods, I commend to you her limbs, hue, figure, head, hair, shade?/hair?, brain, forehead, eyebrows, mouth, nose, chin, cheeks, lips, words (=speech?), face, neck, liver, shoulders, heart, lungs, bowels, belly, arms, fingers, hands, navel, bladder, thighs, knees, shins, ankles, feet, toes. Underworld gods, if I see her decay, I will gladly [offer] you that sacrifice [probably *sacrificium* should be added here] each year.”)

⁴² Collins (2008, 83 ff.).

⁴³ *Dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)e(n)do, si quic(q)ua(m) sactitates (= sanctitatis) h[a]betes (= habetis), ac tadro (= trado) Ticene (= Tychenem) Carisi, quodqu[o]d agat, quod incida(n)t omnia in adversa. Dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)e(n)do il(l)ius mem(b)ra, colore(m), figura(m), caput, capilla (= capillos), umbra(m), cerebru(m), fru(n)te(m), supe[rcil]ia, os, nasu(m), me(n)tu(m), bucas, la[bra, ve]rba, (h)alitu(m), col(l)u(m), iocur, umeros, cor, pulmones, i(n)testinas (= intestina), ve(n)tre(m), brac(ch)ia, digitos, manus, u(m)b(i)licu(m), visica (= vesicam), femena (= femina), genua, crura, talos, planta(s), tigidos (= digitos). Dii i(n)feri, si illa(m) videro tabesce(n)te(m), vobis sacrificiu(m) lubens ob an(n)iversariu(m) facere dibus parentibus il(l)iu[s] voveo?... peculiu(m) ta[be]scas.* If the addition of *tabescas* is correct, it is probably a mistake instead of *tabescat*.

⁴⁴ See also Faraone – Kropp (2010, 384 ff.); 1.9. and 6.2.1.1. – formulae using the compounds of the verb *verto*.

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The remaining text is damaged, it lacks a verb on which the infinitive *facere* depends, i.e. either *voveo*, as is added in *CIL* (see above), or *promitto* “I promise”⁴⁵ (see also 1.9.2.). The next sequence is corrupt and unclear: *Di parentes* are the spirits of ancestors commemorated at the feast of the *Parentalia*. The offering refers to underworld gods, but the author at the same time promises a sacrifice to the spirits of ancestors. With respect to the disrupted state of the text, it cannot be figured out what or who *illius* refers to; it would be logical to link it with the text after lacuna: *peculium tabescat*, “may she disappear, may her, i.e. Tyche’s, fortune vanish”.

The text starts with more general terms denoting the overall look and condition of the victim: *color*, “hue”, here perhaps refers both to the hue of the skin and to the state of health, appearance;⁴⁶ also the term *figura*, “figure, shape” has to be understood in wider sense as an overall image of the person reflecting her health state, too.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it is questionable what exactly *umbra(m)* means here in the sequence *caput, capillos, umbra(m), cerebru(m)*; the alliterative sequence of terms referring to the head is disrupted by the term *umbra* which is in the context of accursed body parts attested with certainty only in this single tablet.⁴⁸ In this case it could be another expression denoting hair or feathers; eventually, it could be seen as a metaphor of the mental condition of “light-heartedness”.⁴⁹ Another problematic part is *la[bra, ve]rba* (*CIL*), A. Audollent (1904, No. 190) reads *la[bra, ve]rbum*. The term *verbum* is associated with the function of lips and could thus be understood as “speech” or “ability to speak”; however, it is nowhere else attested in a similar context. Though legal curses often attack the ability to speak, they contain rather the expressions like *alligo linguas* (e.g. No. **113**, 11.1.2.), or *mutus sit* (No. **11**, 2.2.1.; No. **70**, 1.10.1., and No. **105**, 2.3.5. and 10.1.2.). The term *verbum*, but used in the phrase *verbum facere*, appears only in one tablet containing a non-specific curse – No. **56** from Cordoba, **dfx.2.2.3/4**, which reads:

Priamus l(ibertus) mutus sit omnibus modis. Adnue, ne quis possit de hereditate verbum quod facere, omnes obmutescant, sileant. (“May Priamus

⁴⁵ DT 190 also cites other attempts at filling this free space.

⁴⁶ See also No. **20**; Fox (1912, 35).

⁴⁷ See also OLD *figura* 3b.

⁴⁸ Tablet No. **240** from Gigen in Moesia, **dfx.9.1/1** whose text is very damaged reads the edited sequence *ne(rvis), as(pectui), um(brae)... (c)erebro*.

⁴⁹ See OLD *umbra* 3b, 5.

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the freedman be mute in all ways. Grant that nobody is able to speak a word about the heritage, may they all be struck mute, may they be silent.”)⁵⁰

The following *v(ul?)tu(m)* has also been complemented and interpreted in various ways. A. Audollent (1904, No. 190) completes the securely preserved and intelligible letters *VITU* as *vultum* instead of *halitum* read by CIL 10, 8249 (see above). Neither of these two expressions is attested in Latin curses. The term *flatus* appears in such contexts, see No. **11 B**: *latus, lingua, flatus* (see 2.2.1. and below).⁵¹ Certain evidence is found only in tablet No. **33**: *capillum, cerebrum, flatus, ren(es)* (see 1.10.1.). Nevertheless, both interpretations are plausible in the context given. E. Vetter (1923, 63 ff.) proposes to amend *VITU* as *victu(m)*, arguing that the change *ct > tt* is well documented in Latin ever since the Republican Era. He also notices the semantically identical expression in an Oscan curse (Ve 6) **Cp 37**: *nip putiia edum nec possit edere* which is attested also in Greek tablets (see e.g. DT 86). The effort to accurse not only the particular body parts, but also the activities they are related to or responsible for, is visible in Latin curses, as well. No. **20** reads:

...Proserpina Salvia, do tibi nares, labra, aures, nasum, linguam, dentes Ploti, ne dicere possit... (“Proserpina Salvia, I give you the nostrils, lips, ears, nose, tongue, teeth of Plotius, so that Plotius may be unable to speak...”).

This type of formula, however, occurs only very rarely in non-specific curses. The cursing of victim’s bodily functions, i.e. of the activities expressed by verbs, is common in the legal context as a restriction; see No. **114**: *... alligate linguas horum, quos suprascripsi, ne adversus nos respondere (possint)* (see 1.1.2.2.1.). Concerning love spells, see e.g. No. **148** (1.9.2.), or No. **145** which preserves also the wish to make the victim unable to eat: *...non possit dormire Bonosa neque esse...* (5.1.1.). This formula is documented also in the prayers for justice from Britannia; see e.g. No. **304**: *... ut non illis permittas nec stare, nec sedere, nec bibere, nec manducare...* (“...so that you let them neither stand, nor sit, nor drink, nor eat...”) (see 6.2.1.3.). Although Vetter’s interpretation fits into the ideological frame of Latin curses, the noun *victus* is attested nowhere else and this type of wish is usually formulated verbally not only in the aforementioned types of curses. I translate this disputable term as “face”, i.e. as a noun which sums up the previous parts of the face stated; then, the author

⁵⁰ See Appendix I with the commentary; see also 2.3.5. and 8.1.1.

⁵¹ However, it is an edited *lectio* of *ilatu* in the case of No. **11**; the tablet is corrupted and the text contains many mistakes (see below).

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proceeds lower to the neck, see *collum*. The term *vultum* fits well into the whole list, and it is the most plausible solution to me, even though not unchallengeable due to the matters stated above. The emendation to *halitum* is also plausible based on the attested term *flatus*. In this context I regard the emendation to *victum* the least probable, while the emendation to *verbum* is also problematic. This tablet contains the list of organs, not of their functions which are usually expressed verbally (see No. 20 below), as already said. If the functions of the body parts were concerned here, a single body part, i.e. *labra* which is also corrupted, would be followed by two specifications of its function: first, as an amended *verbum* which would be a very rare expression of the inability to speak; second, as an amended *halitum* which would refer to the ability to breathe.

The text of the curse starts with the address to gods with a committing formula *commendo ac trado* and a wish that anything Tyche does turns against her, *incidant omnia in adversa* (see also 6.2.1.1.). Then it proceeds to curse the particular body parts, both via the general term *membra* which is very probably used in the sense *membra omnia*, as it is frequent in several tablets (see e.g. No. 4, 7.3.1.5., No. 11 B, 7.3.1.6., No. 52, 8.1.1., and No. 148, 1.9.2.), and via the terms which represent the overall appearance symbolizing also the health state of the victim: *colore(m)*, *figura(m)*. Finally, the list of body parts from head to toes follows. No terms are repeated, and the author explicitly pursues the victim's death, which is clear from the unfortunately corrupted votive formula *si illam videro tabescentem* (see also 3.3.2.).

7.3.1.4 Rome

Tablets No. 20-24 dated to the half of the 1st cent. BCE and found in Rome probably near Porta Salaria contain the most detailed and complicated texts referring to particular body parts. The archaeological context is unknown, as they probably were not found during any official excavations.⁵² The text of the five tablets, though corrupted, has been easy to reconstruct by comparing the preserved parts of the tablets with one another, as all the texts are identical apart from minor modifications (omission or addition of a term, graphic differences). The curses were very probably made by a professional magician; W. S. Fox (1912, 54)⁵³ notes that tablets No. 20-22 and No. 24 have even been written with the same hand. That only the names of victims vary in the tablets while the

⁵² See Fox (1912, 11). In 1908 the tablets were acquired by the Department of Classical Archaeology of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

⁵³ See also CIL I, 2 No. 2520, p. 729 and 967.

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rest of the curse stays unchanged⁵⁴ suggest that the cursing text could have been prepared in advance with free spaces left to fill in the name of a victim. The victim of tablet No. **20** is *Plotius*, probably a slave of *Avonia* who is cursed in tablet No. **21**. Tablet No. **22** curses *Maximia Vesonia*, tablet No. **24** perhaps *Aqu(ilia)*, and no name of the victim has been preserved in tablet No. **23**, but W. S. Fox (1912, 49 ff.) presumes that it was a male victim – in the line 38 (*illun(c)*) has been preserved.

The preserved text of tablet No. **20** with some additions made by W. S. Fox (1912, 16 ff.)⁵⁵ is the following:

*A: Bona pulchra Proserpina, (P)lut(o)nis
uxsor, seive me Salviam deicere oportet,
eripias salutem, co(rpus, co)lorem, vires, virtutes
Ploti. Tradas (Plutoni), viro tuo. Ni possit cogitationibus
sueis hoc vita(re. Tradas) illunc
febri quartan(a)e, t(ertian)ae, cottidia(n)ae,
quas (cum illo) luct(ent, delucent: illunc)
ev(in)cant, (vincant), us(que dum animam
eiu)s eripia(nt. Quare ha)nc victimam
tibi trad(o, Prose)rpi(na, seiv)e me
Proserpin(a, sei)ve m(e Ach)eruosiam dicere
oportet. M(e mittas a)rcessitum canem
tricepitem, qui (Ploti) cor eripiat.
Polliciarus illi te daturum t(r)es victimas
palma(s, ca)rica(s), por(c)um nigrum
hoc sei pe(rfe)cerit (ante mensem)
M(artium. Haec P)r(oserpina Salvia tibi dabo),
cum compote(m) fe(ce)ris. Do tibi caput
Ploti Avon(iae. Pr)oserpina S(alvia),
do tibi fron(tem Plo)ti. Proserpina Salvia,
do (ti)b(i) su(percilia) Ploti. Proserpin(a)
Salvia, do (tibi palpebra)s Plo(ti).
Proserpina Sa(lvia, do tibi pupillas)
Ploti. Prose(rpina Salvia, do tibi nare)s,
labra, or(iculas, nasu)m, lin(g)uam,*

⁵⁴ See also No. **124**, 1.1.2.2.3.

⁵⁵ See also the discussion on language peculiarities: Ruíz (1967, 62 and 229); Ernout (1957, No. 140); from the point of view of a votive ritual, see Versnel (1976, 399 ff.), see also Adams (2007).

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*dentes P(loti), ni dicere possit
 Plotius, quid (sibi dole)at: collum, umeros,
 braccia, d(i)git(os, ni po)ssit aliquit
 se adiutare: (pe)c(tus, io)cinera, cor,
 pulmones, n(i possit) senti(re), quit
 sibi doleat: (intes)tina, venter, um(b)ilicu(s),
 latera, (n)i p(oss)it dormire: scapulas,
 ni poss(i)t s(a)nus dormire: viscum
 sacrum, nei possit urinam facere:
 natis, anum, (fem)ina, genua,
 (crura), tibias, pe(des, talos, plantas,
 digito)s, unguis, ni po(ssit s)tare (sua
 vi)rt(u)te. Seive (plu)s, seive parvum
 scrip(tum fuerit), quomodo quicqu(id)⁵⁶
 legitim(e scripsit), mandavit, seic
 ego Ploti ti(bi tr)ado, mando,
 ut tradas, (mandes men)se Februari(o)
 e)cillunc.
 B: Mal(e perdat, mal)e exset,
 (mal)e disperd(at. Mandes, tra)das, ni possit
 (ampliu)s ullum (mensem aspic)ere,
 (videre, contempla)re.*

The text has been dated to 75-50 BCE based on the palaeographic and linguistic features, it contains several Vulgar Latin features and dialectic expressions. For better reading, Kropp (2008) adapts the text to Classical Latin as follows:

A: Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis uxor, sive me Salviam dicere oportet, eripias salutem, corpus, colorem, vires, virtutes Ploti. Tradas Plutoni, viro tuo, ne possit cogitationibus suis hoc vitare. Tradas illum feбри quartanae, tertianaе, cottidianaе, quae cum illo lucentur, delucentur illum evincant, vincant, usque dum animam eius eripiant. Quare hanc victimam tibi trado Proserpina, sive me Proserpina sive me Acherusiam dicere oportet. Mihi mittas arcessitum canem tricipitem, qui Ploti cor eripiat. Pollicearis illi te daturum tres victimas: palmas, caricas, porcum nigrum, hoc si perfecerit ante mensem Martium. Haec Proserpina Salvia tibi dabo, cum comptem

⁵⁶ Vetter (1923, 66) reads the corrupted *quicqu(id)* as *quisqu(e)* or *quisqu(is)* based on the comparison with the other tablets.

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feceris: do tibi caput Ploti Avon(iae),⁵⁷ Proserpina Salvia, do tibi frontem Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi supercilia Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi palpebras Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi pupillas Ploti, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi nares, labra, aures, nasum, linguam, dentes Ploti, ne dicere possit Plotius, quid sibi doleat: collum, umeros, brachia, digitos, ne possit aliquid se adiutare, pectus, iocinera, cor, pulmones, ne possit sentire, quid sibi doleat: intestina, ventrem, umbilicum, latera, ne possit dormire: scapulas, ne possit sanus dormire: viscerem sacrum, ne possit urinam facere: nates, anum, femina, genua, crura, tibias, pedes, talos, plantas, digitos, ungues, ne possit stare sua virtute. Sive plus sive parvum scriptum fuerit, quomodo quicquid legitime scripsit, mandavit, sic ego Ploti(um) tibi trado, mando, ut tradas, mandes mense Februario eccillum. B: Male perdat,⁵⁸ male exeat, male dispereat. Mandes, tradas, ne possit amplius ullum mensem aspicere, videre, contemplari.

(“Good, beautiful Proserpina,⁵⁹ wife of Pluto, unless it would be fitting for me to call you Salvia, snatch away Plotius’ health, body, complexion, physical and mental faculties. Hand him over to Pluto, your husband so that he is unable to escape this [curse] by his wits.⁶⁰ Hand him over to the fourth-day, the third-day, the daily fevers,⁶¹ let them wrestle and tussle with him, let them conquer and overwhelm him to the point that they snatch away his soul. Thus I commend him as a sacrifice to you,⁶² Proserpina, whether it

⁵⁷ A. Kropp (2008) omits *Avon(iae)* perhaps because she finds it to be a scribe’s mistake. However, *Ploti Avon(iae)* may also mean that Plotius was the slave of Avonia.

⁵⁸ *Perdat* = *pereat*, these verbs are frequently interchanged in *defixiones* (see also 7.3.2. below).

⁵⁹ Polite addresses like this are typical rather of prayers for justice and do not appear in curses very often, and, provided they do, it is usually when appealing to daemons (see No. **25**, *sancti angeli*, 1.10.1., and No. **124**, *omnipotens daemon*, 1.1.2.2.3.) For the polite epithets in inscriptions, see Ehmig (2015).

⁶⁰ *Cogitatio* probably means “the faculty of thought, reasoning of power” (see Fox, 1912, 36 ff.).

⁶¹ This probably refers to the symptoms of malaria (Fox, 1912, 36). See also No. **18**: *patiatu[r] febris, frigus, tortiones, pallores, sudores, obripilationes meridianas, interdianas, serotinas, nocturnas* (see 1.9.2. and 5.1.2.).

⁶² The sacrifice (*victima*) is Plotius who is handed over to the deity, as e.g. in tablet No. **16**: *Danae ancilla novicia Capitonis: hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas* (see chapter 5). However, it could also refer to the following text below, where the author enumerates the offerings to Cerberus (namely the offerings which

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would be fitting for me to call you Proserpina or Acherusia.⁶³ Send me the three-headed dog⁶⁴ so that he rips out Plotius' heart. Promise him that you will give him three sacrifices: dates, figs, and a black pig,⁶⁵ if he completes this before the month of March.⁶⁶ These will I give you, Proserpina, when you have done for me as I have prayed:

I give you the head of Plotius, [slave] of Avonia, Proserpina Salvia.
I give you the forehead of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia.
I give you the eyebrows of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia.
I give you the eyelids of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia.
I give you the pupils of Plotius, Proserpina Salvia.
I give you the nostrils, lips, ears, nose, tongue, teeth of Plotius so that Plotius may be unable to speak about what afflicts him;
[I give you his] neck, shoulders, arms, fingers so that he may be unable to help himself in any way;
[his] chest, liver, heart, lungs so that he may be unable to know [the source of] what afflicts him;
[his] intestines, belly, navel, sides so that he may be unable to sleep;
[his] shoulder blades⁶⁷ so that he may be unable to sleep soundly;
[his] intimate parts⁶⁸ so that he may be unable to urinate;

accompanied the deposition of the tablet, see Gager, 1992, No. 134), provided that her wishes are fulfilled.

⁶³ *Acherusia* is the epithet of Proserpina named after the river *Acheron* in the Underworld, metonymically also the Underworld itself.

⁶⁴ Altogether six curses from Italia are addressed to Cerberus, Pluto, and Proserpina No. **20–24**, 7.3.1.4., No. **38** from Este: *Plutone, tibi trado, ut mittas et deprimas, tradito tuis canibus tricipitibus et bicipiti(bus), ut eri(piant) capita, cogit(ata), cor...* (see also TheDeMa 517, and 2.3.4. and 7.3.1.6.). Furthermore, the address is found in a prayer for justice from Pannonia (see No. **239**, 6.2.1.3., and Barta 2015, TheDeMa 1115). According to the ancient tradition (Hesiod, *Theog.* 311), Cerberus fed on human flesh, too.

⁶⁵ The three offerings are meant for each of Cerberus' heads, or it is due to the magical significance of the numeral 3. Dates and figs (*carica, ficus*) were typically offered to Persephone and Demeter, the same holds true for a black pig to Cerberus. The black colour of the offerings was considered to be the most appropriate for the chthonic deities, as proved by magical papyri (see Fox, 1912, 40 ff.).

⁶⁶ See time data and votive formulae in 3.3.1. and 3.3.2.

⁶⁷ Shoulder blades are mentioned separately, because the author forgot about them in the previous sequence of cursed body parts, see e.g. tablet No. **21** (l. 30): *intestina, ventrem, umbilicum, scapulas, latera...* (see also Gager, 1992, No. 134).

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[his] buttocks, anus,⁶⁹ thighs, knees, legs, shins, feet, ankles, soles, toes, nails so that he may be unable to stand by his own strength;⁷⁰

Whether more or less has been written, just like someone has written this curse in a proper way [i.e. according to the magical precepts] and handed [it] over, so I hand over and consign Plotius to you, so that you may take charge of him by the month of February. Let him perish miserably, let him leave life miserably, let him be utterly wiped out miserably. Take charge [of him] and hand [him] over so that he may not consider, see, or contemplate another month.”).

The final verbal tricolon represents the above mentioned redundant repetition of the same thing with different words typical of curses. The interpretation of the concluding part is problematic: *Sive plus sive parvum scriptum fuerit, quomodo quicquid legitime scripsit, mandavit, sic ego Ploti(um) tibi trado*. W. S. Fox (1912, 45) assumes that this passage proves that the curse is a revenge for the cursing of the author himself. He refers to the Greek *defixio* DT 4a: *ἀνατίθημι δὲ καὶ τὸν κατ’ [ἐμοῦ] γράψαντα...*, the tablets from Cnidus dated back to the ca. 1st cent. BCE which contain a prayer for justice appealing to Demeter and Persephone. The author who was falsely accused of trying to poison her husband seeks justice – she wants the culprit to confess and be punished. J. G. Gager (1992, No. 89) does not interpret the passage as an allusion to enemies who wrote a curse against the author, i.e. as a revenge for malediction, but as the enemies themselves who falsely accused the author he translates: “And I hand over also the person, who has written (charges) against me...”.

Another Greek curse which is usually cited to support the interpretation of this sequence as a possible defence or revenge for a curse having been written by

⁶⁸ Although tablet No. **9** above reads *vesicam*, i.e. urinary bladder, *viscum* here is probably a mistake in the declining of the noun *viscus*, *visceris*, “guts, intestines”. It could also refer to testicles or uterus, see OLD: *viscus* 3; *sacrum* probably stands for *os sacrum*, i.e. the innermost part of the pelvic cavity; it could also denote kidneys which are usually not mentioned curses in the lists of body parts. I mention here two not completely certain pieces of evidence: tablet No. **33** *ren(es)* (see 1.10.1. above) and No. **104** *re(nes)*. J. G. Gager (1992, No. 134) translates literally as a “sacred organ”. With respect to the following specification *ne possit urinam facere*, it has to refer to organs concerned with the activity.

⁶⁹ The term *anus* is quite rare in *defixiones*; apart from the five tablets from Rome, it occurs once more in tablet No. **104**: *anum, genita(lia)* (see 10.1.3.).

⁷⁰ The reading *sua virtute* is uncertain. There are parallels with respect to the content – see No. **304**, a prayer for justice from Britannia: *ut non illi permittas nec sta(r)e nec sedere nec bibere* (see 6.2.1.3.); similarly, also a love spell No. **148**, 1.9.2.

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Plotius is DT 14; according to W. S. Fox, it could really refer to the enemies who had cursed the author before, but it can be interpreted in two ways: *Γράφω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἀντία ποιοῦντας μετὰ τῶν [ἀ]ώρων*. (“I accurse all my enemies who do something [against me] among the spirits of the dead.”), i.e. *Γράφω μετὰ τῶν [ἀ]ώρων*.⁷¹ However, if we read the text as *ἀντία ποιοῦντας μετὰ τῶν [ἀ]ώρων*, as “...I accurse all my enemies who do [something against me] with the spirits of the dead...”, it means that the enemies had cursed the author of the tablet with the help of the spirits of the dead. Thus, neither of the Greek tablets mentioned helps us very much to interpret our curse. Among spells and formulae of Greek magical papyri, *PGM XXXVI*, 256-264, there is a defensive spell against curses which suggests how one can protect himself from being cursed (see also No. **132**, 11.1.3.1.); nevertheless, this is not the case of the curse against Plotius, as it seeks vengeance, not protection.

Fox’s interpretation is also accepted by J. G. Gager (1992, 242) who explains the whole text as revenge for a curse written against the author by Plotius. Thus, the writer of the curse must have found out somehow that he had been cursed and made his own curse to return the blow. If so, this would have to be true also for the other four tablets No. **21-24** whose text is identical. That means that there must have been five people the author knew about who had used a curse against him, while hitting back against them. As already stated, the interpretation of this section as a reference to another curse does not seem plausible nor is it arguable on the basis of the other texts. I regard tablet No. **100** to be a better example of a Latin counter-spell:

*A: Vaeraca, sic res tua: perve(r)se agas, comodo hoc perverse scriptu(m) est. B: Quidquid exop(ta)s nobi(s) in caput tuum eveniat.*⁷² (“Vaeraca, this is how it is going to be for you: may you go along twistedly [i.e. wrongly] just like this is written in a twisted way [the text is written right-to-left, i.e. in an unusual manner]. Whatever [bad] you wish for us, may it come down on your head.”)

Moreover, E. Vetter argued already in 1923 against the interpretation of the passage as a counter-spell.⁷³

⁷¹ This is how A. Audollent interprets the curse DT 14: *Diis mandantur adversarii eius hominis, qui laminam exaravit*.

⁷² For the interpretation of this curse, see Blänsdorf – Kropp – Scholz (2010, 272 ff.); see also 1.7.1. and 10.1.1.; see also Faraone – Kropp (2010, 395 ff.).

⁷³ See Vetter (1923, 66 ff.): “Diese Auffassung ist sachlich wie sprachlich gleich verfehlt.” E. Vetter asks the same question as I do: How could the author have

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I assume that the passage in concern – *Sive plus sive parvum scriptum fuerit, quomodo quicquid legitime scripsit, mandavit, sic ego Ploti(um) tibi trado...* – is rather a sort of final formula which concludes the curse referring to the magical precepts and the tablet’s author, a professional magician who is not to be identified with the one who ordered it. Thus, I interpret it as “whether more or less has been written, just like [the magician] has written [this for me, his client] in a proper way, and handed [it] over, so am I handing over and commending Plotius to you...”; or “whether more or less has been written, just like someone has written this curse in a proper way [i.e. according to the magical precepts] and handed [it] over, so am I handing it over to you...”; or “whether more or less has been written, [gods, consider it in such a way] that it has been written in a proper way.”⁷⁴

As mentioned above, these five basically identical tablets are the most detailed and complicated preserved Latin texts which accurse particular body parts.⁷⁵ Unlike tablets No. 12 and No. 9 cited above, they do not comprise only the enumeration of single limbs or fortune (see No. 12: *...ventrem, mentulam, crus, quaestum, lucrum, valetudines, defigo in (h)as tabellas*), but also explicitly try to afflict the victim’s bodily as well as mental capacities related to the body parts concerned: *intestina, ventrem, umbilicum, latera, ne possit dormire*. They blend the simple lists of body parts with the wish-formulae meant to limit specific bodily and mental functions; thus, they apply the formulations frequently used in love spells, legal curses and prayers for justice. There is also a votive formula which is meant to assure the accomplishment of the curse (see also No. 9). The victim is not only supposed to be cut to pieces, but also afflicted by a feverish disease. Similarly to the previous curse, there are more general terms in the beginning: *eripias salutem, corpus, colorem, vires, virtutes Ploti*, and after that, 36 body parts of the victim follow. It is probably one of the cruellest preserved Latin curses ever⁷⁶. Interestingly, the death of the victim is

known about the fact that Plotius had cursed him pursuant to the laws of magic? (See also Urbanová, 2013, 189 ff.).

⁷⁴ I thank Prof. J. Nechutová for this idea of interpretation. See also E. Vetter (1923, 66) who translates the relevant text in a similar way: “Sollte zuviel oder zuwenig geschrieben sein (nämlich von der Verfasserin der Defixion), so übergebe und überliefere ich dir den Plotius in solcher Weise, wie es gemacht hat wer richtig geschrieben und übergeben hat.”

⁷⁵ See also a new curse tablet from Rome, Bevilacqua (2009, 47 –70) containing another very complicated curse similar to this. It appeals to the full infernal procession to completely destroy all body parts of the victim Caecilia Prima, see TheDeMa 517.

⁷⁶ See also Bevilacqua (2009).

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pursued predominantly in the non-specific curses. Other non-specific curses coming from Italy are much briefer, see No. **3** (7.3.1.1. and below), No. **30** (2.3.1.), and No. **33** (1.10.1.).

7.3.1.5 Bologna

The non-specific curses from Bologna are extraordinary texts which also contain lists of cursed body parts, although briefer than the above mentioned ones. These texts have a very strange history. Tablets No. **3**, No. **4**, and No. **5** (of this corpus) were acquired by the Archaeological Museum of Bologna, so we do not know anything about the circumstances of the finding itself, and they were published in 1899 by Olivieri (1899, 193–198). Later editions of and commentaries on these texts were built on this first edition (see Besnier, 1920, No. 1–4; Jeanneret, 1916; Ruíz, 1967, No. 5 and 8; Kropp, 2008, **dfx.1.1.2/1–4**). The fragments of the tablets were put into a deposit with the coming of World War I and, afterwards, they were regarded as lost forever. It was not until 2009 that they were re-discovered and published again (see Sánchez Natalías, 2011, 201–217 – texts Bologna 1, 3 and 4; Sánchez Natalías, 2012, 140–148 – text Bologna 2). The tablets are fragmentary⁷⁷ and they have been published as four separate texts by A. Olivieri (this division is kept with respect to the references to other corpora). The recent research shows that tablets No. **3** (Bologna 1 according to Sánchez Natalías) and No. **5** (Bologna 3) belong to each other and that the two texts concur; thus, they are the parts of a single *defixio*. Moreover, another tablet (Bologna 1 according to Sánchez Natalías and **dfx.1.1.2/4** according to Kropp, 2008) probably belonged to the same *defixio*; however, it draws on the previous fragments only after a lacuna (see Sánchez Natalías, 2011, 202).⁷⁸ Finally, tablet No. **4** (Bologna 2 according to Sánchez Natalías) represents a single text (Sánchez Natalías, 2012, 140–148). As already mentioned, fragments No. 1, 3, and 4 are the parts of a single tablet, which was probably made by a professional in the field; C. Sánchez Natalías (2011, 204 and 206) attaches a facsimile and a photograph of the tablet. The early editors did not include any dating of the tablets, but C. Sánchez Natalías (2011, 201)

⁷⁷ The tablet Bologna 1 is ripped into four pieces probably due to the deep furrows made by the chisel while being made. Its proportions are 9.8 x 9.9 cm and it contains 19 lines of text. The text of Bologna 3 is the continuation of a part of the tablet Bologna 1, and it has been reconstructed from seven fragments which fit well into each other; its proportions are 4.1 x 7.1 cm (see Sánchez Natalías, 2011, 201).

⁷⁸ Unfortunately, the text of this fragment is disrupted to such an extent that it has not been included in the corpus of this work; nevertheless, its short intelligible part is stated below.

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dates them to the 4th/5th cent. CE for palaeographic reasons. Because of how they were made, the author associates the texts from Bologna with the new findings from the fountain dedicated to Anna Perenna in Rome (see 7.1.) as well as with the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae* (Wünsch, 1898). The texts Bologna 1, 3, and 4 (according to Sánchez Natalías) contain punctuation – the words are divided by a dot, which is rather unusual in curses (see rare occurrences in Appendices I and II). The tablet is especially remarkable because it depicts two figures even before the text itself. Generally, only scarcely do the Latin curse tablets include depictions of daemons, deities, or other figures. If figures are present, they appear mostly in the texts from African provinces and Italy. In the first part of tablet Bologna 1 (No. 3) there is a barefooted standing figure of a deity incised with the hands crossed over its belly and an eight-pointed star in the area of the genitals. Though the image of the head with six snakes emerging from it is partially damaged, it can be reconstructed according to the identical deity depicted in tablet Bologna 2 (No. 4) well preserved. Along the body of this daemonic figure and right on its chest in the Greek alphabet – probably an invocation of Hecate/Selene (see Sánchez Natalías, 2011, 209). The text of the curse is written under the portrayal of this deity; then, it continues in the text of Bologna 3, which starts with a depiction of a lying and tied up, as if mummified, victim with his hands crossed over his belly and the name *Porcellus* inscribed on his arms. A part of the curse runs vertically past the image, and the text continues below it. The iconography of this tablet is completely unparalleled, as the curses and papyri usually contain either the depiction of a daemon/deity⁷⁹ or (rarely) of a victim.⁸⁰ But the tablet from Bologna includes both the image of the deity invoked and, below it, the depiction of the victim of the curse who is even marked by his name.⁸¹ Both depicted figures have their hands crossed identically over the belly, which C. Sánchez Natalías assumes to be the expression of *simile* magic: the daemon is bound with the magical words, i.e. enforced to fulfil the author's wish and to afflict (bind with spells) the victim of the curse.

⁷⁹ See esp. tablets No. 129–132 (Carthage) and No. 162–168 (Hadrumetum).

⁸⁰ Similar depictions of the victim are attested in Greek curse tablets from Rome aimed at charioteers, the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae*; see e.g. Wünsch (1898, No. 19-20) and DT No. 158, 159.

⁸¹ For the detailed commentary on the depictions and their magical significance, see Sánchez Natalías (2011, 202 ff.).

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The text of the tablet from Bologna – fragments Bologna 1 and 3 (Sánchez Natalías, 2011), i.e. No. **3** and No. **5** in the corpus of this work, is the following:⁸²

Bologna 1: (VM in alphabet past the figure of the depicted daemon and on his chest in three columns): *φορβη*, SM *ψυιαο, τιωρ, φορβεθ, βραι, βαριω, φορβεν, ω, βαθακαρ, φορβι, καμφι, φορρω*, SM *ρηο, φορβι, ιγαακ(ερβε) φορρα* *Κηθ.ο*; the text of the curse itself begins at the knees of the standing figure and is written in three columns:

*Porcellu(s) molomedicu(s)*⁸³// *Porcellus molom(e)dicu(s) // Porcel(lus) medicu(s)* (the text continues below the depiction of the deity): *molomedicu(s). Interficit(e) omn(e) corpus caput tente (=dentes?)*⁸⁴ *oculus*⁸⁵ *a/u?tas (= mortuos ?)*⁸⁶ *facite Porcellu(m) et (Mau)rilla(m)*⁸⁷ *uxorem ipsius dite...em?*⁸⁸ *corpus omne membra bisc(e)d(a)*⁸⁹ *Porcelli, qui i(n)ce(n)dat? (cada/ perea)t?*⁹⁰ ... *languat et ru(at)?*...

⁸² The text stated here is partially edited; for the original version, see Appendix I.

⁸³ I.e. *mulomedicus*.

⁸⁴ A. Kropp (2008) reconstructs the text as *ten(e)te*, N. C. Sánchez (2011) as *dentes*.

⁸⁵ Probably a mistake instead of *oculos*.

⁸⁶ N. C. Sánchez (2011: 210) proposes the addition of *(pl)a(n)tas* which may be appropriate with respect to the fact that this is an anatomical curse. However, the list of cursed body parts focuses here rather on the most important parts, i.e. I consider it to be a shortened list of body parts (see 7.3.1. and 10.1.1.), which usually include mainly head, eyes, heart, liver, hands, or feet. Furthermore, Sánchez contemplates the reading *(r)u(p)tas*, probably due to the text of Bologna 2 which reads: *runpite binas*, i.e. *rumpite venas*; no similar expression has been preserved in other Latin curses. I consider A. Kropp's (2008) amendment of the disrupted *a/u?tas facite* to *(mor)t(u)os facite* to be more plausible. A similar phrase using the verb *facio* has been preserved also in the tablet **dfx.11.3.1/1** from Africa dated to the 4th cent. CE which reads: ... *ut facias illum mortuum* (see No. **183**, chapter 5.).

⁸⁷ The earlier editors used to add the name of the wife – *Sillam*. Nevertheless, N. C. Sánchez (2011, 211) states that the name *Maurilla* is twice well readable in the text.

⁸⁸ This part seems to be impossible to interpret (see also Sánchez 2011, 211), the additions like *(occi)dite* or *(tra)dite* are not possible, as there is no free space before the sequence *dite* in the text.

⁸⁹ Probably *viscera*.

⁹⁰ N. C. Sánchez (2011, 211) mentions a possible amendment of the expression *iced...* to *i(n)ce(n)d(at)*. Although this solution is plausible from the linguistic point of view as well as, in my opinion, possible semantically, N. C. Sánchez (2011, 211nn) refutes it arguing that this verb has not been documented in any other curses nor

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Bologna 3: The text written vertically along the depiction of the tied victim of the curse, i.e. Porcellus: *(Po)rcellu(s et) (Mau)rill(a) ipsius mulomedicus*. The text continues horizontally: *Porcellu(s), Porcellus mulo(medicus?) Porce(llus mu)lomedicu(s) interficite eum, occidite, eni(ca)te, profucate*⁹¹ *Porcellu(m) et Maurilla(m) uxorem ipsius anima, cor, nata,*⁹² *(h)epar...*

(Bologna 1: “Porcellus, the veterinarian. Porcellus, the veterinarian. Porcellus, the physician. The veterinarian. Destroy his entire body, his head, teeth, eyes, make Porcellus and his wife, Maurilla, (dead?)... Porcellus’ body, limbs, entrails, may he burn, perish, languish.” Bologna 3: “Porcellus, the veterinarian, and Maurilla, his [wife]. Porcellus. Porcellus, the veterinarian. Porcellus, the veterinarian. Destroy him, kill, slay, strangle Porcellus and his wife Maurilla, [their] soul, heart, buttocks, liver...”)

Although the very disrupted text of fragment No. 4, which is another part of this curse, is not a direct continuation of the previous fragments, it indicates that the author wished not only death for his/her victim, but also wanted Porcellus and his wife Maurilla to be afflicted by a feverish disease. There are only few intelligible words in the text; C. Sánchez Natalías (2011, 215 ff.) rightly assumes that only the beginning of the text can be interpreted:

...(febres?) tercianas quartana(s) (pa)lloris frigora morb(os)...Porcellus mulomedicus... (“...tertian, quartan, [fevers?]... pallor, cold, disease[s?]...”)

does it fit the context. However, some sort of burning or combustion may certainly be conceivable in relation to fever or other diseases, see also TheDeMa 517. Further, Sánchez proposes the addition of *(cada)t, languat et ru(at?)*, which is a common verbal tricolon escalating the harms supposed to afflict the cursed one (see also e.g. No. 132, 11.1.3.1.); *cadat* often appears in agonistic context in the texts aimed against race horses but I do not find it very fitting into the text in our case. N. C. Sánchez (2011, 211 ff.) refuses to add *pereat* – as inappropriate semantically, perhaps having in mind that the sequence lacks its logic, i.e. *pereat, languat (i.e. languescat?)*, *ruat*. Nevertheless, such logical leaps occur quite often in the texts of curses and prayers for justice, see also No. 40 (7.7.): *pereant et defigantur*, not to mention the wishes of authors of prayers for justice who want the deity to kill the culprit and, only after that, to make the culprit return the stolen things (see No. 300, 6.2.1., and 6.2.1.3.). Thus, conversely, I regard the addition of *pereat* more appropriate, as it is richly documented in curses, i.e. as an accumulation of synonyms without any logical interconnectedness.

⁹¹ The expression *eni(ca)te*, i.e. probably *enecate*, *profucate*, i.e. perhaps *praefocate* in Classical Latin.

⁹² I.e. *nates*.

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Porcellus, the veterinarian... [Fire?].”) (see also No. 18 and No. 20, 7.3.1.4.).

The remaining text is written in Latin letters, but unintelligible. C. Sánchez Natalías (2011, 2015) supposes that the author decided to use his/her own “magical chants”; some expressions seem to be the transcriptions of Greek words in Latin letters; however, the overall sense is unclear.

The text of tablet Bologna 2 (Sánchez Natalías, 2012, 140–147), No. 4 in this work, consists of two fragments having the proportions 11.5 x 6.5 cm, which are parts of a single text. The tablet probably broke while being rolled into scrolls or unrolled. Again, there is a barefooted standing deity depicted on the tablet, with six snakes emerging from its head and hands crossed (or perhaps tied) across the belly and an eight-pointed star in the area of genitals. The figure is identical to the deity depicted in the tablet Bologna 1 (see above). From its shoulders down below, along the sides and on its chest, there are magical words written in the Greek alphabet – these are almost identical to the ones written on the chest of the figure in the previous tablet. The text of the curse itself starts about from its knees and it is aimed at *Fistus* (or *Festus*), who is said to have been a senator.⁹³

Bologna 2: (VM in alphabet around the figure of the depicted daemon and on his chest in three columns):

*φωρβη SM via τιωρ φωρβεν βιρα βαριω φ(ω)ρβεο ω βαθασωρ φωρβι, κανφι, ρηο φωρβω, σεβρνβ φωρβι ιανσακερβε φωρρω; the text of the curse starts with the cursing in three columns, too: *Fistu(m) sina(t)ore(m)*⁹⁴ *occi(di)te ini(c)ate*⁹⁵ // *Fistu(m) occidite inicate...// Fistu(m) sinator(em)... occi(dite) ... the continuous text below the picture of the daemon: (occid)ite ini(i)ca(te) Fi(stum). Fistus difloiscat (diffluat?)*⁹⁶ *langu(e)at... (m?)ergat et disuluite**

⁹³ N. C. Sánchez (2012, 144) states that the *cognomen* *Fistus* is documented, but no senator of this name is known to us. With respect to the writing of *sinator* instead of *senator*, the *cognomen* *Festus* is also possible but the exact identification of the person is uncertain.

⁹⁴ Tj. *senatorem* (see also Appendix I).

⁹⁵ Instead of *enecate* as in the previous tablet (see also Appendix I).

⁹⁶ N. C. Sánchez (2012: 142) amends *difloiscat* as *dif(f)luat*. The whole tricolon of rather unusual cursing verbs: *diffluat*, *languat*, *mergat* invokes the idea of a sick man whose body decays and dissolves. The verb *(im)mergo* appears only once in curses and refers to the act of the curse tablet's immersion under the water (see No. 224, 9.2.). The wish that the victim “melts” just like lead does occurs in the tablets

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(dissolvite?)⁹⁷ omni(a) membra omni(a) viscida (viscera?)⁹⁸ ipsius Fisti. Disolbite membra biscida la(ng)u(e)at runpite binas⁹⁹ ipsiu(s) rumpite omnis memb(ra) Fisti sinat(o)ris... (“Crush, kill Fistus the senator. Crush, kill Fistus. Crush... Fistus the senator... Crush, kill Fistus, the senator. May Fistus dilute, languish, sink and dissolve all his limbs, all his entrails (?) of Fistus. Dissolve his limbs [and] entrails (?), may he languish. Burst his veins (?), break all his limbs of Fistus, the senator...”).

Unlike the complicated long texts of curses No. 20–24 from Rome (see 7.3.1.4.), the re-discovered tablets from Bologna may demonstrate other types of magical precepts or practices in the field. The curse itself is very brief and clear, and the author concentrates on the extensive magical apparatus – the depiction of the deity, magical words, and peculiar orientation of the text – rather than on the complicated, figurative, or exhausting text of the curse, so brief and random list of victim’s body parts suffices. However, because of the uncertain dating of the tablets from Bologna as well as the tablets from Rome, we cannot say certainly enough that the manner of cursing developed throughout time.

7.3.1.6 Cursing of Body Parts in Particular Contexts

Apart from the non-specific curses, in Italy the lists of body parts appear only in two legal curses (No. 11 and No. 38) and a single case of rivalry in love (No. 25, see 1.10.1.). However, the case of tablet No. 11 dated to the first half of the 1st cent. BCE and classified as a legal curse is a complicated one. The text is disrupted and contains many mistakes.¹⁰⁰ On side A there is a formula common in legal curses *mutus (sit)* which pertains to Titus Octavius and Marcus Fidustius, and another person being accursed is Irena, the slave of Plautia.

from Mainz (see No. 236); however, these use the verb *liquesco*, which appears also in tablet No. 237 from Mainz: ... *qu(omo)di hoc liquescet se (...sic collum membra me(du)lla peculium d(e)l(i)ques(ca)nt, eoru(m)...* (“...just as this [lead] shall melt, so may his neck, limbs, strength, savings melt away...”) (see 10.2.4. and 6.2.).

⁹⁷ *Disuluite* and *disolbite* a line below – probably instead of the Classical *dissolvite*.

⁹⁸ The term *viscida*, as well as the *biscida* in the same line and *bisceda* in the previous tablet, probably means *viscera*.

⁹⁹ I.e. *rumpite venas*. The verb *rumpo* is not very frequent in curses, only the compound *abrumpo* occurs in a love spell but probably in a metaphorical sense, i.e. the girl is supposed to be pulled away from those who are close to her (viz č. 145, 5.1.1. and 11.1.4.).

¹⁰⁰ I give the edited version here (see Kropp, 2008; Solin, 1989, 198 ff.; see also Appendix I).

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Immediately following her name there is a list of cursed body parts which continues on side B. Finally, Trebonius is the last cursed person – the curse aims to afflict his fortune and to paralyse him physically. The remaining text is damaged to such an extent that it is impossible to interpret it (see Appendix I). It is disputable whether this curse can actually be classified as a legal curse, assuming that the introductory sequence *mutus (sit)* relates to all cursed people in the tablet (three men and a woman) and further extends to the list of body parts. Nevertheless, as already said, legal curses usually confine themselves only to the elimination of opponent’s ability to speak, think, or remember, i.e. they mostly attack the tongue and mental capabilities. But to tablet No. **11** can also be perceived as a combination of two mutually unrelated curses, which I find more probable. Thus, I assume that the first curse is aimed against the adversaries in a lawsuit, i.e. against T. Octavius and M. Fidustius, while the other curse attacks Irena and Trebonius for different reasons not related to the context of a lawsuit. No. **11** reads:

A: T(itus) Octavius sermone, M(arcus) Fidustius... mutus sermone, Fidusti(s) mutus, Irena Plotiaes, d(e)figere ex(t)am, umer(os?), nisu(m), quaestu(m), caput, oculos d(e)scribo cilos...B:... mem(b)ra omnia: latus, lingua, flatus, coria, talus, ex(t)ae, ungues, visceres... Trebonius quaestu(m), vestigia, flatus, faci(em), latus, bona (i)ra(m) (?)... (see also 2.2.1.).

(“[May] Titus Octavius [be deprived] of speech, [may] Marcus Fidustius [be] deprived of speech, [may] Fidustius [be] mute, Irena, [the slave] of Plautia,¹⁰¹ I curse [her/their?] guts, shoulders, gait,¹⁰² profit/business, head, eyes,¹⁰³ I curse the eyelids?,¹⁰⁴ all limbs: hip, tongue, breath,¹⁰⁵ skin, ankles,

¹⁰¹ The verb *defigere*, written as *d(e)figere* is used in infinitive form, probably a mistake instead of *defigo*.

¹⁰² A. Audollent (DT 134) reads *nesu*, which he interprets as *nisum*; according to DT, the simpler and more common reading *nasum* before *caput* and *oculos* does not fit into the whole sequence, despite the body parts being arranged randomly. However, the following term *quaestum* indicates that it could also refer to a more general concept – “gait, steps”, see No. **30**: *vitam valetudinem, quaestum*. Compared to the previous curses, the author starts rather unexpectedly – from guts to shoulders, proceeds further to *nisum, quaestum*, and progresses to the head. In the list on side B, although starting with the summarizing *membra omnia*, the author enumerates various body parts completely incidentally, unlike in the previous curses whose authors proceeded more or less from head to heels.

¹⁰³ The tablet preserves *olau*s, which has been satisfyingly interpreted by Solin (1989, 195 ff.) as a mistake instead of *oclus*. DT 134 presumes *ol(f)a(t)us* instead of *olfactus*; however, this *lectio* could evoke and be related to the initial *nesu*, which

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guts, nails, intestines... Trebonius [I curse his] profit/business, soles/steps?, breath, face,¹⁰⁶ hip, fortune, anger?...”)

Finally, tablet No. **38** from Este dated to the 1st cent. BCE is undoubtedly a legal curse. After a long list of people (nine men and five women)¹⁰⁷ supposed to be afflicted by the curse, the author commends them to Pluto, just like in the above mentioned tablets No. **20–24** from Rome (see 7.3.1.4.) and synecdochically attacks not only the mental capabilities of the victims, but also their hearts (usually tongue is attacked in legal curses). No. **38** reads:

Privatum Camidium, Q(uintus) Praesentius Albus, Secunda uxor Praesenti... si quis inimicus, inimica, adversarius, hostis, Orce pater, Proserpina cum tuo Plutone, tibi trado, ut mittas et deprimas, tradito tuis canibus tricipitibus et bicipiti(bus), ut eri(piant) capita, capita,¹⁰⁸ cogit(ata), cor, in tuum gemin... r(ecipia)nt illos...

(“Privatus Camidius (in acc.), Quintus Praesentius Albus, and Secunda, wife of Praesentius...if any [of them] is a foe, enemy, and adversary, be it man or woman, oh, Father Orcus, [and] Proserpine with your Pluto, I hand [them] over to you so that you throw down and suppress [them], hand [them] over to your two- and three-headed dogs, may they tear their heads off?, thoughts, heart... and take them with themselves to you?...”) (see 2.3.4.).

7.3.2 Other Types of Curses

There are only four legal curses preserved in the territory of old Italy – apart from those mentioned above (No. **11** and No. **38**), also No. **10** (containing a mere list of cursed people specified by the term adversaries)¹⁰⁹ and No. **27** from Rome dated to the first half of the 1st cent. CE, which reads:

may also be understood as *nasum*. This would only be plausible if based on the assumption that the sense of smell was somehow important, or perhaps a source of living, to the victims.

¹⁰⁴ Classical *cilium*.

¹⁰⁵ This is a reconstructed reading, the tablet reads *ilatu*.

¹⁰⁶ A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.**1.4.2/2) adds *faci(am?)* but I regard *faciem* more probable. See also the interpretation of H. Solin (1989, 195 ff.).

¹⁰⁷ I do not state all the names in the text (see Appendix I).

¹⁰⁸ The author probably by mistake mentions the head twice.

¹⁰⁹ Written as *arvorsa(r)ius*. Tablets No. **10** (DT 133) and No. **11** (DT 134) have been found in the same grave and both probably accurse the same person, Titus Octavius.

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A: Dii Manes commendo, ut perdant (= pereant?) B: inimicos meos commendo: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, alius trado: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo, Asclepiades, Time, Ce, Philaia, Caletiche, Menotia, item adversarios annorum menores. (“Underworld gods, I commend [to you that] they may die/lose [a lawsuit] I commend my enemies: Domitia, Omonia... and further I deliver: Nicea, Cyrus... and the younger enemies.”).¹¹⁰

A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.**1.4.4/15) interprets *perdant* as *pereant*, i.e. “may they die”, the commutation of *pereo* and *perdo* is documented in Latin tablets, see No. **20**: *Male perdat, male exeat, male dispereat*, in which no other interpretation would make sense; however, the verb appears also in the proper context, see No. **135**. *...ut ursos ligare non possit, omnem ursum perdat...* (“...may he be unable to tie up bears, may he lose with every bear...” (see 3.1.3. and 11.1.3.1.). In the legal context, *perdere causam, litem* means “to lose a lawsuit”; thus, this interpretation is plausible here. Moreover, the authors of legal curses pursue the death of their opponents only very rarely.

Seven tablets from Italy altogether can be classified under the category of rivalry in love (see 4.1.5.). Especially tablet No. **19**, **dfx.**1.4.4/5 dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE is especially remarkable. It has been found in Rome and belongs to the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae*, see Wunsch (1898, No. 2); it contains magical patterns and a part of the text is written bottom-up or upside-down:

Asterius, Asterius, Asterius, Asterius, Auricincta libera, quae nascitur de matre cum Samio; Auricincta... quae nascitur de matre Auricincta, Auricincta. (“Asterius, Auricincta, the freedwoman and [the child?] who will be born to the mother [Auricincta] and Samius; Auricincta ... who will be born to the mother Auricincta, Auricincta.”).

H. Solin (1998, 77 ff.) interprets the text as: a man accusing Asterius as well as his ex-girlfriend Auricincta who is pregnant with Samius’ child.

Furthermore, the extraordinary tablet No. **17** related probably to the context of rivalry in love which applies a complicated *simile*-formula against Rhodine the author’s rival in love, and against other people, too:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum

¹¹⁰ See also Appendix I, the unedited text.

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ille mortuos, quei istic sepultus est. Dite pater, Rhodine(m) tibi commendo, uti semper odio sit M(arco) Licinio Fausto. Item M(arcum) Hedium Amphionem, item C(aium) Popillium Apollonium, item Vennoniam(m) Hermionam(m), item Serviam(m) Glycinnam(m)...

(“Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak nor talk [to anyone], may Rhodine be dead for Marcus Licinius Faustus, nor be able to speak or talk [to him]. Just like the dead one is dear neither to gods, nor men, may Rhodine be equally [little] dear to Marcus Licinius, and may she mean to him as much as this dead one who is buried here. Father Dis, I commend to you Rhodine so that she may be always hated by Marcus Licinius Faustus. [I commend to you] also Marcus Hedium Amphio, also Gaius Popillius Apollonius, also Vennoniam Hermionam, also Serviam Glycinnam.”)¹¹¹

The author, whether a woman or a man, tries to break the relationship of Marcus Licinius Faustus and Rhodine. At the end of the curse, s/he put also the names of other cursed people who are probably not related to the previous context of the curse (see also the detailed procedure in tablet No. **11**, 7.3.1.6.). Texts No. **16** (see chapter 5.), No. **29** (see 1.1.2.2.3.), and No. **33** (see 1.10.1.) were very probably made in the same context of rivalry in love.

7.4 A TABLET FOUND IN THE SPRING OF ANNA PERENNA

Speaking about the tablets found in Italy, the recent findings briefly referred to in the introduction to this chapter (7.1) cannot be passed over. I state here as an illustrative example the text of tablet No. **7** (Blänsdorf, 2010a, 221 ff. and 236 ff., Blänsdorf – Piranomonte 2012, 633) dated to the 4th cent. CE, which is probably the most interesting, and longest extant piece of a curse from the fountain, and, what is more, a not disrupted one. Its general execution suggests that it is the work of a magical workshop. The text is framed on both sides with vertical lines and four snake-like figures with small heads and open mouths resembling beaks, which are joined together in the middle. Two heads point upwards, two downwards. Magical signs are found above the text, on the sides between the snakes, and also below the text. In the middle of the text there is a rhombus filled with a schematically drawn face imposed on a thick neck and a limbless cello-shaped body. The top of figure's head is marked by four vertical strokes perhaps symbolizing a crown.¹¹²

¹¹¹ See also 5.1.3. and 1.9.1.

¹¹² Piranomonte (2010, 211) considers the central rhombus to be a depiction of a vagina and interprets the figure inside the rhombus as a symbolic depiction of the goddess Anna Perenna. Blänsdorf - Piranomonte (2012, 633) consider the central rhombus to

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The text of the curse above the rhombus reads as follows:

*Sacras santas a supteris¹¹³ et angilis quod
rogo et peto magnam virtutem vestram:
tollatis pertollatis
oculus, sive dextrum et
sinesteru Surae, qui na(tus)
maledicta modo ets¹¹⁴ de vulva.
fiat rogo et peto
magnam virtutem vestra(m).*

The text continues under the rhombus:

*tollite oculus
dexteru sinesteru,
ne possit durare virtus arbitri
Surae, qui natu(s)
est de vulva
maledicta.¹¹⁵*

(“Sacred, holy [nymphs],¹¹⁶ through the underworld [gods?] and daemons, I ask [you] and request this by your great power: take away and remove the eyes entirely,¹¹⁷ both the right one and the left one, of Sura,¹¹⁸ who was born from an accursed womb.¹¹⁹ I ask and request [from you by] your great power to make it happen. Take the eyes, the right one [and] the left one, so that the

be a depiction of a *vulva* and the figure inside the judge Sura as a newborn child. See also Németh (2015, 55ff).

¹¹³ *Supteris* perhaps created analogically according to *superis*, i.e. *inferis* (Blänsdorf 2010a, 239).

¹¹⁴ *Ets* is a mistake for *est*.

¹¹⁵ For the translation and interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010a, 238 ff.), see also No. **183** *vulva facta*.

¹¹⁶ The votive inscription (AE 2003, 251) found in the shrine addresses the nymphs as follows: *Votum sacratis quondam nymphis... et esse sanctas* (see Piranomonte, 2010, 199 ff.).

¹¹⁷ *Oculus* = *oculos*.

¹¹⁸ The cognomen *Sura* is attested in tablet No. **107** from Pannonia containing a legal curse, which refers to certain *Licinius Sura Hispanus* (see also Simón – De Llanza, 2008); however, the tablet dates to the first half of the 2nd cent. CE.

¹¹⁹ I. e. mother. The mother's name, if it is unknown to the author, is usually replaced by *vulva* in *defixiones* (see also No. **143**, 1.1.2.2.3.).

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power of Sura the Arbitrator may not persist, who was born from an accursed womb.”).

The content suggests that this curse has been made in a legal context – *arbiter* was a state official in the Dominate whose job was to help the judge prepare the legal procedure and secure the evidence.¹²⁰ What is remarkable about this curse is that it seeks to afflict only the eyes of the victim. Although the eyes are a frequent target of curses, they usually appear combined with other body parts (see above). J. Blänsdorf (2010a, 224) classifies this curse as a prayers for justice, notwithstanding the fact that it lacks any typical features of this genre (i.e. author’s name, motif of the curse, and esp. a reference to the damage suffered), perhaps due to a polite address to the nymphs. As far as I am concerned, such an address could just as well be found in any common curse. A single common feature cannot substantiate the classification of this text among prayers for justice; thus, I assume that it is an ordinary legal curse (see also 1.2.3.).

7.5 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

There are only five extant texts of prayers for justice found in the territory of old Italy and the adjacent islands; moreover, the text of these is considerably disrupted. These are texts No. **209–213** (see Appendix II). Only No. **210** (dated to the first half of the 2nd cent. – the 2nd/3rd cent. CE), No. **211** (the 2nd/3rd cent. CE), and No. **212** (1st/2nd cent. CE) have been dated. Inscription No. **209**, **dfx.1.5.4/3** was discovered on the facade of a tomb in Pompei and it addresses those passing by in the way typical of ancient epitaphs:

Hospes paulisper morare, si non est molestum, et quid evites, cognosce. In addition, it warns against false friends: Amicum hunc, quem speraveram mihi esse, ab eo mi(hi) accusatores subiecti et iudicia instaurata. Deis gratias ago et meae innocentiae: omni molestia liberatus sum. Finally, it concludes with a maxim: Qui nostrum mentitur, eum nec dii Penates nec inferi recipiant.

(“Stranger, stay a moment if it is no trouble to you, learn what you should avoid. This man, whom I hoped was my friend, suborned witnesses against me and initiated proceedings. I thank the gods and my own innocence. I was

¹²⁰ Blänsdorf (2010a, 224).

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set free from all troubles. Whoever of us is lying, may both *Penates* and the underworld gods reject him.”)¹²¹

This inscription somewhat breaks with common usage and it is even questionable whether it can be regarded a prayer for justice in the proper sense of the word. The whole cause seems to be irrelevant, as the person who suffered the damage is already dead. Though it contains a complaint, it does not pursue any punishment or compensation for the damage, not even the culprit’s name (which must have been familiar to the author) is mentioned; therefore, it can be supposed that everything turned out well in the end.

Other texts available to us, No. **210** and No. **211** are short and partially damaged (see 2.1.1. and Appendix II). The disrupted tablet No. **212**, which has been found in Corsica and dated to the 1st/2nd cent. CE, is also worth mentioning here:

*...ule vindica te, qui tibi male f(ecit), qui... vindica te et si C(aius) Statius tibi nocuit, ab eo vind(ica te)... (Persequa?)ris eum, ut male contabescat, usque dum morietur, (et qui?)cumque alius et si Pollio conscius est, et illum persequaris, ne annum ducat.*¹²² (“...ule [probably a fragment of the name of addressed deity], avenge yourself [on] the one who did you harm, who... avenge yourself and if Gaius Statius has injured you, avenge yourself on him... Persecute? him so that he languishes badly, until he is dead, and whoever else, and if Pollio knows [about it], persecute him, too, so that he does not live [more than] a year...”) (see also 2.3.4.).

In the beginning which has, unfortunately, not been preserved, the author probably commits the stolen thing to the deity who is, in return, supposed to exact a revenge on the culprit for the damage suffered, as if the stolen thing belonged to the deity. Prayers for justice are usually not formulated like this; here the author addresses the deity in a directive rather than a polite way: *vindica te*. H. S. Versnel (1991, 82) supports the interpretation of this text as a prayer for justice by referring to text No. **218**. In this tablet the author also refers to the deity and, though the deity is not addressed directly as in tablet from Corsica, uses the 2nd person possessive pronoun *tuas* to do so: *Domina Fons fove(ns), ut tu persequaris tuas res demando, quiscunque caligas meas telluit (= tulit) et solias, tibi, dea, demando...* The phrase *ut tu persequaris tuas*

¹²¹ The translation based on Williams C. A. (2012) *Reading Roman Friendship*, Cambridge University Press, p. 264.

¹²² For the interpretation of this, see Versnel (1991, 82 ff.) and Solin (1998, 127 ff.).

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res is crucial here, Versnel translates: “O Mistress Spring... I ask that you track down/claim your possessions. Whoever has stolen my shoes and sandals I ask that you...” However, R. S. O. Tomlin (2010, 254 ff.) and A. Kropp read *duas res* (“Lady Spring, I entrust two things to your spring that you exact them, whoever stole my boots and sandals...”) (see 6.2., 6.1., and esp. 8.2.). Although this place is problematic to interpret, the facsimile suggests that *tuas* is a less probable reading.¹²³ In any case, the text is certainly a prayer for justice, although the phrase *vindica te* included in No. **212** from Corsica is rare in the extant evidence, as is proved by the use of the expressions like *vindico*, *persequor?*, *consciis* and *qui tibi nocuit* in prayers for justice.

7.6 ADDRESSED DEITIES AND DAEMONS

Roughly a half of the curses found in Italy appeal to some supernatural powers, while there are 23 texts with no names of deities included, which could, however, have been partially caused by disruptions in texts. The earliest evidence dated to the 2nd cent. BCE does not contain any address to a deity. Nevertheless, from the 1st cent. BCE we have six pieces of evidence including the underworld trinity of Proserpina, Pluto, and Cerberus, see No. **20** (7.3.1.4.) and No. **38** (7.3.1.6.). Generally said, the texts from Italy appeal exclusively to the underworld deities¹²⁴: *Di Manes* (once), *Di inferi* (seven times), Pluto (three times), apart from a single tablet address to nymphs¹²⁵ (see No. **1**, 2.3.2.). Unlike the texts found in other European provinces, the tablets from Italy relatively frequently address daemons (in five tablets: No. **3**, No. **4**, No. **5**, No. **18**, and No. **25**); daemons appear also in the tablets found in the sacred spring of the goddess Anna Perenna (see 7.4. above). No particular deity is addressed in the extant prayers for justice from Italy and the adjacent islands; tablet No. **213** from Sardinia, **dfx.1.10.2/1** reads *rogo, domine*, but its text is very disrupted and it is unclear to which deity the author appeals. Concerning the above mentioned tablet No. **212**, it is very likely that it included an address to the deity; unfortunately, the beginning of the tablet is damaged.

¹²³ See Tomlin (2010, 255).

¹²⁴ For a whole underworld procession see also the tablet from Rome, Bevilacqua (2009, 47-70), TheDeMa 517, and 7.3.1.1.

¹²⁵ However, with respect to the new findings in the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome (see above), water deities occur much more often in *defixiones* than we thought.

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7.6.1 Voces Magicae, Signa Magica, a Non-Standard Orientation of Script

The production of professional magical workshops is well documented in the territory of Italy (in Rome) from as early as the end of Republic, but the amount of later evidence is higher, especially from the 4th cent. CE. This includes the tablets found near Porta Salaria (No. **20–24**), which have been dated to the half of the 1st cent. BCE (see 7.3.1.4. above), as well as the tablets found in Via Appia near Porta S. Sebastiano. The latter are also called *Sethianorum tabellae* (see No. **18** and No. **19**; Kropp, 2008) and editors vary in dating them (2nd/3rd cent. or 4th cent. CE). Finally, the most recent evidence comprises tablets and cylindrical containers from the spring of the goddess Anna Perenna (4th/5th cent. CE) (see 7.1.). Magical words written in the Greek alphabet appear mostly in these, but also in the tablets from Bologna in Etruria (see No. **3**, No. **4**, No. **5**, and No. **18**). Furthermore, magical signs (No. **19**), vocalic patterns (No. **18**), or depictions of daemons (No. **3**, **4**, **18**, and No. **19**) occur in these. The territory of old Italy is the area with the highest frequency of appeals to daemons, magical words, formulae, and graphic peculiarities of all European provinces. Typically, curses are conceived in this way in African provinces, from where the practice of professional magicians spread to Europe. Roughly a 1/9 of the texts of curses (see e.g. No. **2**, No. **7**, No. **10**, No. **19**, and No. **29**) contain less sophisticated graphic peculiarities like e.g. the text written fully or partially with the right-to-left oriented script, or written upside-down or vertically, which did not have to be made by of professionals. No magical features occur in the prayers for justice found in Italy.

7.7 FORMULAE AND CURSED PEOPLE

The curses found in Italy contain the largest amount of extant cursing formulae (see esp. chapter 2.) – in total, 141 formulae used in 45 tablets, i.e. approximately three different or identical formulae per tablet. It is partially caused by the higher number of longer and more complicated extant texts, but this is not a decisive factor. This becomes clear if we compare the evidence from Italy with a similar amount of extant curses from *Africa Byzacena* (43 tablets) – only 87 formulae occur in the latter, though these have mostly been made by professionals. Moreover, only the evidence from Italy documents all types of formulae dealt with in this work. Most frequently (46 times), curses use the invoking formula **2**, i.e. the formula applying predicates of *committal*, *request*, *plea*, *cursing* + *ut* + 3rd sg./pl. pres. subj. (see 2.3.1.), or the invoking formula **3**, i.e. the *imperative* formula with the predicate in imp./subj. (see 2.3.3.). Also the number of cursed people is relatively high: 45 tablets contain 224 victims, of which 145 are men, 79 women. This means that 5 people are

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accursed in a single curse on average; tablets No. **19** (see 7.3.2. above) and No. **40** are even aimed at small children. See No. **40** from Cremona, **dfx.1.7.4/1**:

Q. Domatius C. f. bonum tempus mihi mea(e)que aetati. Id ego mando remandata,¹²⁶ quo is apud Deos inferos ut pereant et defigantur, quo ego heres sim, pupillus Coraniu(us) C. f.,¹²⁷ C. Pobili(us) populi l(ibertus) Aphrodis(ius), L. Corneliu(s). Meo sumptu defigo illos, quod pereant.¹²⁸ (“[I], Quintus Domatius, son of Gaius, [I wish that] me and my age? is happy. Therefore I convey the order/message [i.e. the tablet with the curse] by which they may be accursed¹²⁹ by infernal gods and perish, by which I shall become an heir [the list of the accursed ones in nominatives follows]: boy Coranius, son of Gaius, Gaius Publicius, the freedman,¹³⁰ Aphrodisius, Lucius Cornelius. At my own cost, I accurse them so that they may die.”).

The text is hard to interpret due to its poor condition, and the inexperience of its author. Although the cursing of rivals to influence the inheritance proceedings suits the context of common curses well, the text contains features very different from those present in ordinary curses. The curse starts with the

¹²⁶ H. Solin (2004, 125) interprets *remandata* as a mistake instead of *demando* which is common in curses – i.e. *demandata* – and translates the whole as follows: “damit dadurch (d. h. durch die *demandata*) bei den unterirdischen Göttern bewirkt würde, dass die weiter unten erwähnten Personen untergehen.” The term *mandata* is attested in tablets, but in a different sense (see No. **236**, see 1.10.2.) in a prayer for justice: *Mando et rogo religione, ut mandata* (probably meaning “the entrusted things”) *exagatis*. However, the expression *demandata* found in tablet No. **171** from Hadrumetum, which contains an agonistic curse, is crucial for the context of our curse: ... *obligate illis equis pedes, ne currere possint, illis equis, quorum nomina hic scripta et demandata habetis...* (“...underworld daemons, bind up the hooves of those horses may they be unable to run, of those horses whose names you have inscribed and commended here...”) (see 2.3.4. and 11.1.3.2.). Thus, the term *demandata* can be understood as a noun meaning “order, message, and committal”.

¹²⁷ I read according to H. Solin (2004, 124 ff.). In that case it could be assumed that the accursed *pupillus*, the boy, is a younger brother of the tablet’s author, *Q. Domatius C. f.* A. Kropp (2008) reads differently as *C(ai) Grani C(ai) filii*.

¹²⁸ Reading and interpretation of the tablet according to H. Solin (2004, 123 ff.) who adds a missing verb meaning “to wish for” in the first sentence.

¹²⁹ H. Solin (2004, 125) reads *is* as a pronoun in Abl. pl.; A. Kropp (2008) fixes to *hi*, which seems more plausible here, as the omission of aspiration and mistakes in endings are frequent in *defixiones*.

¹³⁰ H. Solin (2004, 125) states that *populi libertus* denotes a former public slave who has been set free; the inscriptions refer to such people as *coloniae municipii libertus*, see also No. **12**: *Rufa publica*.

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author's name who wishes to live happily – this phrase, although attested in inscriptions, does not occur elsewhere in the context of curses. However, a similar notion, i.e. that the author curses someone to live happily, can be found in the curse No. **50** from Hispania (see 8.1.1.).

Unlike in prayers for justice, authors' names appear only very rarely in curses, and if so, sometimes perhaps only due to his/her inexperience (see 1.1.). To take this text as a prayer for justice just based on the fact that its author mentions his name is, therefore, implausible. The author seeks the death of lawful heirs so that the money falls to him. Moreover, the author did not suffer any harm, or at least he does not mention any; on the contrary, he tries to damage the others. To a very limited extent, the authors' names appear in legal curses, perhaps whenever the author attempted to afflict all those who ran various lawsuits against him or acted against him (see also 10.1.2.). Further, the names of authors appear in love spells so that the daemons know to whom they are supposed to bring the beloved person burning with love. Thus, I regard the inexperience of the author to be the main reason for the problematic interpretation of this curse.

The name of the author, or the person who probably ordered the curse, is attested also in the lead tablet No. **7** from Picenum, **dfx.1.2.1/1**, whose text is written right-to-left:

*Antistia Sabina et Vibia Polytyche Clymene, Cambosa piam a Felicissima Oppia Silvina dicato.*¹³¹

Its text is again problematic, although names in the nominative are frequent in curses, as its sense is rather unclear. A. Audollent in DT (No. **131**) even doubts whether this is a real curse. Anyway, the text can be interpreted as follows:

(“Antistia Sabina and Vibia Polytyche Clymene, Cambosa may she be accursed by Felicissima Oppia Silvana.”).

This interpretation, which is supported by the material used and the orientation of the script, presupposes that *pious* is used here in the sense of *sacer*, “accursed”, i.e. *sacras dicato*. The verb *dico,(-are)* with its meaning “to consecrate, commit” fits well to the context of curses, as the authors of these often commit, entrust, or commend their enemies as victims to the higher

¹³¹ A. Kropp (2008) interprets the text as follows: *Antistia(m) Sabina(m) et Vibia(m) Polytyche(n) Clymene(m), Cambosa(m) piam a Felicissima Oppia Silvina dicat(am)* (see Appendix I).

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powers (see 1.9.3., the committal formula), but some unusual phrases were used in this tablet. Unfortunately, the tablet has not been dated. I assume that it very probably contains a curse. The above mentioned unusual phrases may, again, be ascribed to the amateurism of its author.

The names of the cursed ones usually stand in the nominative in curses; the accusative is with certainty attested only in few tablets. Altogether 45 tablets from Italy analyzed in this work have been aimed against 224 people, of which there are 145 men and 79 women – the number of cursed men is almost double. The average number of people cursed in a single tablet is 5. Only in three cases do the authors state the filiation via mother's name (see also 1.6.); these are tablets No. **1** (1.9.1., 2nd cent. CE), No. **18** (1.9.2., the 2nd/3rd or 4th cent. CE), and No. **25** (1.10.1., the 4th/5th cent. CE), the latter two tablets being of a later date.

Prayers for justice found in Italy do not display many features typical of this genre. Although there is always a reference to the damage or loss suffered, no extant tablet includes the author's name and the address to a deity appears only twice – in tablet No. **212** which contains perhaps a fragment of the name of a god (see 7.5.), and in tablet No. **213** whose text is very disrupted but we can read *rogo domine* there. On the other hand, names of culprits are present in all the texts except for No. **209**, while No. **211** uses the name of the culprit in the accusative. There are only five prayers for justice from Italy analyzed in this corpus, victims of which are seven men and one woman. It cannot be determined from the texts whether their authors tried to get their stolen property back. To conclude, the prayers for justice from Italy contain only a few typical features, which is certainly to a large extent caused by the fragmentary condition of the extant evidence.

8. HISPANIA

Hispania, located in the territory which had been partially colonized by the Carthaginians after the Second Punic War, was one of the first and oldest Roman provinces outside Italy. By 206 BCE, the Romans conquered the Carthaginian territories on the Iberian Peninsula and in 197 BCE constituted the province *Hispania citerior* in the eastern parts of the peninsula, as well as the province *Hispania ulterior* in its south-western parts. The remaining areas, still opposing the Roman power at the time, were finally subdued only in Pompeius' times. In 27 BCE, Augustus divided the territory of Hispania into three provinces: *Hispania citerior – Tarraconensis* (Tarraco being its capital, present day's Tarragona), *Hispania Lusitania* (located roughly in the area of today's Portugal, the capital being Augusta Emerita, present day's Mérida), and *Hispania Baetica* (in the south, the capital being Corduba, present day's Córdoba). In the following years of peace, these areas were being quickly romanized; in 74 BCE, the inhabitants of Hispania received Latin civil law.¹ Considering the presence of Romans in the territory of Hispania as early as in the 2nd century BCE, the existence and early spreading of the Latin cursing tradition can be expected here. Indeed, the earliest evidence of curses comes not only from Italy, but also from Hispania. Almost all curses found here are dated to the 1st century BCE and CE; as for prayers for justice, these date back to the 1st/2nd cent. CE.

8.1. THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF HISPANIA AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Kropp's corpus from 2008 includes altogether 20 tablets found in ancient Hispania, out of which there are 13 curses and seven prayers for justice. This corpus contains 11 curses and seven prayers for justice (see Chapter 1). With respect to the external features of the tablets found here, it can be said that the highest number of curses has been found in graves (six), as most of the Latin curse tablets do. Three prayers for justice and three curses have been found in the soil; one curse and one prayer for justice in the water. Two prayers for justice come from the shrines: No. **217** from the shrine of Isis, and No. **220** from the Roman shrine in ancient Salacia in Lusitania.² One tablet has been found in a house. All texts from Hispania are written on lead, except for No. **219** which was inscribed on a marble slab (see 1.2.1. and 1.4.). Unlike the tablets from Italy which are usually transfiged, only two tablets found in

¹ Svoboda (1974, 236 ff.); Burian – Oliva (1984, 394 ff.); Barceló (1998, 618).

² See Simón (2004, 79 ff.); present day's Alcácer do Sal, see also 3.3.2. and 8.2.

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Hispania were treated in this way. Most of the evidence does not display any traces of manipulation; two prayers for justice have been inscribed on the so-called *tabula ansata* (No. 217 and No. 218). Finally, text No. 50 is a Latin-Greek bilingual written on a metal disc.

Much like in Italy and other European provinces, there are three types of curses documented in Hispania: non-specific (five), legal (four), and the ones probably related to rivalry in love (see 4.1. and 7.3.).

8.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

Two of the non-specific curses found in Hispania (No. 54 and No. 55) are merely nominal lists of people accursed. The non-specific curse No. 52 from Carmona is remarkable, as it is one of the oldest tablets from the second half of the 1st cent. BCE. It is very similar to the evidence found in Italy cited in the previous chapter and, what is more, it is the only text from Hispania which includes the list of body parts (see also 1.9.2.). It reads:

*Dis inferis, vos rogo utei recipiatis nomen Luxsia A(uli) Antesti filia caput, cor, co(n)silio(m), valetudine(m), vita(m), membra omnia, accedat morbo cotidie et sei faciatis, votum, quod facio, solva(m) vostris meritis.*³ (“To the infernal gods, I ask you to accept [my request/ charge against] Luxia, the daughter of Aulus Antestus, may disease overcome her head, heart, intellect, health, life, and all limbs, and if you do [this], I will honour the promise I make [here] rightly.”)

Corell and Versnel point out that the curse includes phrases of legal context, arguing that *nomen recipere* was a technical term related to the admission of the charge by a Roman magistrate.⁴ This certainly holds true in this case; nevertheless, the verb *recipere* relatively frequently appears also in the meaning

³ For the text and this interpretation, see Corell (1993, 261 ff.); Versnel (1998, 236 f.). See also F. Maltomini (1995, 297) who supposes that the sequence containing *votum* refers to the utterance of the pledge to the deity while depositing the tablet. See also Sáez (1999, 299) who adds a detailed linguistic commentary. The text contains several mistakes (see Appendix I).

⁴ The use of “legal” language is typical of prayers for justice; however, it also appears in the typical legal phrase *nomen deferre*, which means “to denounce sb”; see e.g. *nomen delatum Naeviae* (No. 31, 2.2.2., or No. 78, 10.1.3., and No. 80). In Britannia, the term *nomen* is used in the sense of “a debtor” or “a creditor,” as well (see 12.2.2., No. 291). See also Urbanová – Franek (2016, 616 ff.).

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of “to take with oneself [to the Underworld]”, or to accept as one’s victim, as in No. **87** from Mainz, **dfx.5.1.5/6**, DTM 4, which reads:

*Tiberius Claudius Adiutor in megaro eum rogo te, Mat(e)r Magna, megaro tuo recipias. Et Attis domine, te precor, ut hu(n)c (h)ostiam acceptum (h)abiatis...*⁵

(“Tiberius Claudius Adiutor, in the *megaron*,⁶ I ask you, *Mater Magna*, to receive him in the *megaron* [on your altar?]; Lord Attis, I ask you to embrace him as an offering to you [lit. to possess him as an offering received]...”).

There is a similar phrase in the curse No. **16** from Italy:... *hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas Danaene* (“...accept [her] as an offering and consume Danae.”) (see Chapter 5.).

The term *nomen* is frequently used both in curses and prayers for justice not only instead of an unknown name, as e.g. in No. **299**: *nomen furis*, or in No. **219** (see 1.6.), or referring to the names written above as e.g. in No. **150** (see 11.1.3.), but also probably in the meaning of “a man”, “a woman”, or “a person” attached to a proper name, as in No. **62** from Trier, **dfx.4.1.3/10**, influenced by legal language: *Prissiae nomen deposit(um)* (“the person/woman named Prissia has been accursed [in this tablet]”). It can also be understood as a denouncement or a charge (i.e. *nomen*) against someone, i. e. the charge against Prissia was deposited in the grave,⁷ see also No. **78** (10.1.3). The verb *depono* refers to the deposition of the tablet in a proper place and the *nomen* itself is redundant with respect to the proper name; see also the recently published tablet from Dacia (Bounegru – Németh, 2013, 238–242) which includes the nominal list of people accursed, while *nomen* here serves to introduce the proper names in genitive: ...*nomen Clianes, nomen Iulies, nomen Valeries*.... A similar list is found in tablet No. **31** from Cumae: *Nomen delatum Naeviae L(ucii) l(ibertae) Secundae* (see 2.2.2.), or in No. **234** from Mainz which reads *Quinti nomen* (see 1.10.2.).

⁵ For the reading and interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010, 173 ff.).

⁶ The term *megaron* derived from the Greek *μέγαρον* may refer to a part of the sanctuary or a depository of offerings for the chthonic deities, perhaps also an altar dug into the ground (see also No. **220**, 8.2.; Blänsdorf, 2010, 174 ff.; 10.1.).

⁷ For the meaning of *nomen* in curse texts, see Urbanová – Franek (2016, 616ff.).

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Thus, the beginning of the above mentioned tablet No. **52** may be understood as a legal-wise appeal to the chthonic deities to receive a woman named Luxsia. The text continues with a more general list of cursed body parts with an alliteration of *caput* and *cor*; then focuses on the thinking *co(n)silio(m)*,⁸ health, life; and finally, concludes with an all-embracing formula *membra omnia*. At the same time, the author specifies the aim of the curse, i.e. what the victim is supposed to suffer – all limbs are supposed to be afflicted by a disease. The laconic *defigo in has tabellas* after a long list of all body parts in the curse No. **12** (see 7.3.1.2.) was probably meant in the same way. Other texts from Italy containing lists of body parts explicitly pursue the death of the victim (see e.g. No. **20**, 7.3.1.4.). Our curse ends with a reference to *votum*, which means that the author probably promised a reward to the gods for the fulfilment of his/her wish (see 3.3.2).

Another interesting text is No. **56** from Córdoba which dates to the 1st cent. BCE and concerns inheritance, just like the above cited text No. **40** see (7.7.). No. **56** reads:

*Priamus l(ibertus) mutus sit omnibus modis. Adnue, ne quis possit de hereditate verbum quod facere, omnes obmutescant, sileant.*⁹ (“May Priamus the freedman be mute in all ways. Grant that nobody is able to speak a word about the heritage, may they all be struck mute, may they be silent.”).

The curse makes use of the restrictions typical of a legal context; however, the exact situation which motivated it cannot be determined from the text.

Tablet No. **50** from *Hispania citerior* proves the early intrusion of the Mediterranean magical practices in the West. Its text is inscribed in a spiral from the periphery to the centre of both sides of a lead disc. The texts on both sides are basically identical, except that one is written in Greek and another in Latin. J. B. Curbera (1999a, 283) dates the text before the 1st cent. CE based on its linguistic characteristics (Ancient Greek) and palaeography. In addition, he assumes that the author of the curse was more versed in Greek than in Latin, perhaps it could be the work of a professional more eloquent in Greek, but who for the sake of his client, as well as of the local deities, translated the text into

⁸ This term referring to the mental faculties is documented nowhere else; however, the term *sensus* often appears, esp. in agonistic and amatory curses found in the African provinces, see e.g. the agonistic curses No. **130** and No. **140** (11.1.3.1.); and the love spells No. **144** and No. **146** (5.4. and 11.1.4.).

⁹ For the original text, see Appendix I and 7.3.1.3.

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Latin.¹⁰ Only very few bilingual curses in the proper sense of the word have been preserved;¹¹ Latin tablets usually contain only magical words or names of daemons in Greek (see e.g. No. **124**, 1.1.2.2.3.), or Greek alphabet is used to write a Latin text in some cases (see e.g. No. **145**, 1.7.1., and No. **147**, 1.6.).

See No. **50**, **dfx.2.1.2/1**:

*A: ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ κα[ι] ὑπέρ τῶν ἐμῶν τοῖς κατὰ Ἄδην δίδωμι παραδίδωμι Νεικίαν καὶ Τειμήν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλουσι οἷς δικαίως κατηρασάμην.*¹² (“I give and hand over to those in the Underworld Nikaias, Timeas, and all others whom I have cursed rightly/in a proper way, for the sake of myself and my family/friends.”).¹³

*B: Pro me, pro meis devotos, defixos inferis... Timen et Niciam et ceteros, quos merito devovi supr(a pro) me pro mei(s), Timen, Nician, Nician.*¹⁴ (“For the sake of myself and my family/friends [may they be] accursed/sacrificed and accursed by the infernal gods... Timeas and Nikaias, and the others whom I have accursed above rightly/in a proper way, for the sake of myself and my family/friends, Timeas, Nikaias, Nikaias.”).

The Latin text starts with *pro me* meaning “to protect sb, for the sake of sb”, a term corresponding to the Greek ὑπέρ ἐμοῦ on side A. The term is not common in curses; rather, we would expect it in prayers for justice. Instead of the finite forms *defigo* and *devoveo* which are usually found in curses and would perfectly correspond to *δίδωμι* and *παραδίδωμι* in the Greek version, the Latin text uses the passive perfect participle. J. B. Curbera (1999a, 282) presumes the elliptic predicative construction of the *munitos facies* (= *munies*) type; thus, the verb is missing in the beginning. The use of pass. pf. participle is documented in curses, esp. in those from Britannia, and recently also in the tablets found in Mainz (see 2.2.1., 2.2.2., and 3.1.2.). This is well illustrated in text No. **87**, already stated above:

A: ... Attis domine, te precor, ut hu(n)c (h)ostiam acceptum (h)abiatis, et quit aget, aginat sal et aqua illi fiat. Ita tu facias dom(i)na it, quid cor eoconora

¹⁰ Curbera (1999a, 283).

¹¹ See DT 249 and 252 (No. **134**), see Appendix I and 11.1.3.1. See also Simón (2012, 135 ff.).

¹² Another possible interpretation is “to protect sb”, but this seems more appropriate for a plea or a prayer, not for the curse, as it is the case here.

¹³ I thank Juraj Franek for much useful advice and help regarding the Greek text.

¹⁴ For the reading and interpretation, see Curbera (1999a, 281 ff.).

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(= *iecinora?*) *c(a?)edat B: [facias] devotum defectum illum membra, medullas. Nullum aliud sit, Attis, Mater Magna.*¹⁵ (“...Lord Attis, I ask you to embrace him as an offering to you [lit. to possess him as an offering received], and may whatever he does or busies himself with become salt and water [=salty water] for him. Thus, may you, Lady, do whatever harms¹⁶ his heart, liver, [make] him cursed and ‘caught’, in his limb, strength, let nothing else happen [?], Attis, *Mater Magna.*”)

The terms *devotum*, *defixum* on side B can be related to *ita tu facias domina*, i.e. “make him accursed”, as the same addition would fit in text No. 50. The sequence *et ceteros, quos merito devovi supr(a)* is also problematic because there are no other names in the text. It is, therefore, unclear who these others are supposed to be; *supr(a)* appears only in the Latin text and could refer to the names of the victims mentioned above in the curse tablet. Similar expressions are found e.g. in agonistic curses from Carthage, see No. 114 (1.1.2.2.1.): *...alligate linguas horum, quos suprascripti*; or in prayers for justice from Britannia, see No. 296 (1.10.2.): *...nisi quando res (supra)dictas ad fanum s(upra)d(ic)tum attul(e)rit*. J. B. Curbera argues that the sequence may refer to a part of the curse uttered orally, in which case, *supr(a)* would mean “before”. Finally, it is clear that the meaning of the term *merito* does not correspond to the Greek *δικαίως* (“rightly/in a proper way”). If the term is transposed from the Greek to Latin, *merito* could mean also “worthily”. This would indicate that the author of the curse suffered some harm and that the text could actually be a prayer for justice. However, the author does not mention any particular harm suffered, appeal to the local deities, or mention his name. Thus, the term *merito* probably refers only to the subjective feelings of the author. Besides, the magical features of tablet’s treatment (the text is written in Greek formed into a spiral) point rather to the curse (see also Curbera, 1999a, 281 ff.). On the other hand, important parallels are found in Latin curses, if we base our argumentation on the more consistent Greek version and translate *δικαίως*¹⁷ as “in a proper way”. See No. 20:

...quomodo quicqu(id)legitim(e) scripsit), mandavit just like someone has written this curse in a proper way [i.e. according to the magical precepts] and handed [it] over, so I hand over (see 7.3.1.4.)

or No. 236 from Mainz:

¹⁵ For the reading and interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010, 173 ff., 2012, DTM 4).

¹⁶ *Cedo = caedo?* (see also 10.1.1.).

¹⁷ For *δικαίως* on magical gems, see Simone (2004, 264 ff.).

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Mando et rogo religione, ut mandata exagatis... (“I hand over [to you], and, observing all ritual form, ask that you require... the return of the goods entrusted...”).¹⁸

Therefore, I assume that the terms *δικαίως* and *merito* refer rather to the right way of the writing of the curse tablet and proper performance of the accompanying rituals, during which the above mentioned unnamed *ceteri* were accursed orally. The curse is also remarkable for the fact that the author clearly states that he accurses his opponents for his own sake and the sake of his family, which, though it is typical of curses, is usually not mentioned explicitly. A similar authorial approach can be seen in tablet No. 40 (see 7.7.).

8.1.2 Legal Curses

There are four curses attested from the territory of ancient Hispania which are probably related to a legal context (see No. 46–49). These contain predominantly the names of opponents sometimes specified by terms like *inimici* or *adversarii*. Tablet No. 46, which has been found on a beach and dates back to the 1st century BCE, perhaps includes also the name of its author. He, so as not to omit any concealed enemy, concludes his list of people accursed without using a verb *defigendi* with the phrase *omnes qui inimeici Senecae* (“[I accurse] all the enemies of Seneca”). See No. 46 from Ampurias, **dfx.2.1.1/1**:

*Veranio, Pupilius Stabilio, Apolindorus, Phylargurus Scapi, Syrisca Alexae, Papus, Amphio Parnaci(s), Zodiana, omnes quei inimeici Senecae.*¹⁹

The people accursed are probably the slaves of Greek origin, their names being accompanied by the name of their master in genitive, Pupilius Stabilio who could be a freedman. The name Zodiana is probably a graphic variant of a Semitic name Susanna; perhaps it proves the Late Latin assimilation of the group *dī* pronounced as [z, dz] which appears inscribed as Z, or as ζ, as well; see e.g. No. 135: *in ζīe (= die) Mercuri* (3.3.1. and esp. 11.1.3.1.).

The following three texts (No. 47–49) come from ancient Emporiae, present day’s Ampurias at the eastern root of the Pyrenees. The tablets inscribed on

¹⁸ For the reading and interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2010, No. 12); DTM 11; see also 10.2.4.

¹⁹ For the text and interpretation of proper names, see Curbera (1996, 292 ff.); see also Solin (1968, No. 25) who cites parts of the text.

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both sides date to the 1st cent. CE²⁰ and have been found separately in the urns located in a grave. The text of tablets No. **48** and No. **49** is written upside down and right-to-left. H. Solin states that all the texts concern a lawsuit between the local ethnic groups²¹ *Olossitani* (the inhabitants of the town of Olot) and *Indicetani*. The high Roman magistrates are also mentioned namely *Maturus procurator Augusti* and the two imperial deputies *Rufus* and *Fulvus* with the attribute *legatus Augusti*. Only tablet No. **49** exceeds the merely nominal list in the nominative; though it also lacks the verb of cursing, as well as an address to the deity.

See No. **47** from Ampurias, **dfx.2.1.1/2**:

A: Maturus, procurator Augusti, consilium legati, legati Indicetanorum. (“Maturus, the imperial *procurator*, a council of the legate, the legates of the *Indicetani*.”).

B: Olossita(ni), Titus Aurelius Fulvus, legatus Augusti, Rufus, legatus Augusti. (“The *Olossitani*, Titus Aurelius Fulvus, the imperial legate, Rufus, the imperial legate.”).

Compare also No. **48** from Ampurias, **dfx.2.1.1/3**:

A: Consilium Fulvi legati, Olossitani, Campanus Fidentinus Augus(ti)... (“The council of the imperial legate Fulvus, the *Olossitani*, Campanus Fidentinus, the imperial...”).

B: Fulvus, legatus Augusti, Rufus, legatus Augusti, Maturus, procurator Augusti, legati, advocati Indicetanorum. (“Fulvus, the imperial legate, Rufus, the imperial legate, Maturus, the imperial *procurator*, the legates and legal assistants of the *Indicetani*.”)

and No. **49** from Ampurias, **dfx.2.1.1/4**:

A: (Oloss)itani, Sempronius Campanus Fidentinus atversari me(i) inique ne int(er)sint. B: (Ful)vus legatus (Augusti), Rufus lega(tus Augusti), Matu(rus), pro(cu)r(at)or (Augusti), consilium, legati advocati (Indicetano)ru(m). (“The *Olossitani*, Sempronius Campanus Fidentinus. May my enemies not come

²⁰ See Solin (1968, No. 26–28) who dates the texts to 78 CE because of the reference to Marius Maturus, *Procurator Augusti*, who is also known from Tacitus’ *Annales* (see Gager, 1992, No. 52). See also Marco Simón (2010, 399 ff.).

²¹ For detailed discussion, see also Gager (1992, No. 52).

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out [against me] unjustly. Fulvus, the imperial legate, Maturus, the imperial *procurator*, the council, the legates and legal assistants of the *Indicetani*.”).

The overall interpretation of the text is not without obstacles if the lawsuit concerned these two parties, as both the *Olossitani* and the *Indicetani*, are accursed in the tablets. J. G. Gager (1992, No. 52) cites one of the plausible solutions,²² namely that the cursing party, the *Olossitani*, represented by Sempronius is stated on side A of tablet No. 49. This party then accurses its enemies on side B. However, this cannot be assumed in the case of the remaining two tablets related to this lawsuit. On side B of tablet No. 47, the *Olossitani* appear together with the legates Fulvus and Rufus, while on tablet No. 48 the same legates are accursed together with the supposed counter-party, i.e. the legal assistants of the *Indicetani*. The solution proposed by N. Lamboglia (1959, 147 ff.) could be applicable to text No. 49 which is constituted so that the sentence *Atversari me(i) inique ne intersint* can be supposed to introduce the following list of people. However, the remaining two texts do not fit this interpretation, at all, especially if we take into account that curses often include names of various people within the same text (see e.g. No. 11, 7.3.1.6.). Moreover, putting the name of the one who accurses together with the name of the accursed one is against the common practice in curses, although this can be corrupted in some rare cases (see No. 47). It seems more likely that an unnamed third party accurses both the *Olossitani* and the *Indicetani*, as well as the imperial magistrates.²³

8.1.3 Curses with Amatory Undertones – Rivalry in Love

Only two texts found in Hispania indicate the motivation to get rid of a rival in love; see No. 51: *Quintula cum Fortunali sit semel et numquam*. (“May Quintula never meet Fortunalis again.”),²⁴ and No. 53 from Córdoba dated to the 1st cent. BCE. The text of the latter is very damaged and it contains a lot of deviations from the Classical Latin; however, it is not completely intelligible. It starts probably with the name of its author who appeals to the infernal gods in a

²² See Lamboglia (1959, 147 ff.).

²³ See esp. the detailed discussion of the historical background of the text and the same interpretation of M. F. Simón (2010, 408 ff.) who shares the opinion of G. Fabre, M. Mayer, and I. Rodão (1991, 162 ff.) that the curse could be made in the context of the distribution of holdings belonging to the town of Emporiae during the process of defining the territory for the recently established *municipia*. Therefore, a third party could be the author of the curse, perhaps a citizen of Emporiae and the owner of the holdings east of the town which were supposed to fall to the *Olossitani*.

²⁴ Corell (1994, 281 ff.); the 1st cent. CE, see 2.3.5.

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very broken Latin: *Dionisia Dentatai ancilla rogat deibus, ego rogo bono, bono, deibus rogo, oro bono einfereis bono...* The further sequence is unintelligible to a large extent, but the person accursed is probably a woman named *Salpina* (see Appendix I); the conclusion is *ut illam ducas, rogo, oro*.²⁵

8.2 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

The number of preserved prayers for justice found in Hispania almost reaches the evidence coming from Italy. This corpus includes seven tablets mostly dated to the 1st/2nd cent. CE; the oldest piece of evidence is probably tablet No. **220** from Alcácer do Sal in Lusitania.²⁶ Compared to the preserved curses, the prayers for justice from Hispania are longer and more complicated. Most of the prayers for justice found in Hispania are related to thefts, except for tablet No. **214** whose text is corrupted to such an extent that it cannot be interpreted with certainty. However, it seems that it was motivated by some injustice or deceit; the tablet reads: *...qui mi(hi) facinus inposuit...* (“...who inflicted me with that crime...”). Moreover, tablet No. **216** from Saguntum, **dfx.**2.1.3/3, dated to the 1st/2nd cent. CE concerns the peculation of money. Though its text is not very damaged mechanically, it is hard to read and interpret.²⁷

Felicio Aur(eliani). Rogat et mandat pecuniam, quae a me accepit Heracla, conservus meus, ut instetur huius senus (sinus/sensus?),²⁸ o(c)ellus (= ocellos) et (v)ires, q(u)icumqui sunt,²⁹ aride fiant, do pecuniam (h)onori sacricola(e). (“Felicio the slave of Aurelianus(?), asks and entrusts the

²⁵ See also H. Solin (1968, No. 22) who interprets this text as a case of rivalry in love. see also Sánchez Natalías (2014, 278 ff.).

²⁶ For the translation and commentary, see 3.3.2.

²⁷ J. Corell (2000, 242) reads: *C(h)r(y)se ligo auri po(ndo), rogat et ad Iau dat*; A. Kropp (2008, **dfx.**) reads the same until *rogat*, but then reads *rogat, mandat*. I take over the amendments and interpretation of R. S. O. Tomlin (2010, 264 ff.).

²⁸ Tomlin (2010: 267) interprets the preserved form *senus* as *sinus* and translates *bosom?*, i.e. “breast, chest”(?). However, I am inclined to believe that it is more plausible to regard the form *senus* as a mistake for *sensus* frequently documented in curses (see the commentary to tablet No. **52**, 8.1.1.). There is no doubt that this text is a brief catalogue of the most important parts supposed to be afflicted by the curse, i.e. thinking, eyes, and vigour, see also No. **20** (7.3.1.4.): *salutem corpus, colorem, vires...*; No. **30** (2.3.1.): *vita(m), valetudin(em), quaestum*; and also No. **52** (8.1.1.).

²⁹ Tomlin (2010, 267) rightly notices that *q(u)icumqui* obviously refers to the previous term *vires* despite the fact that it is a feminine. Relative pronouns usually denote an unknown thief; however, in this case the culprit is known to the author, so a literal translation “whoever they are” does not make sense.

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money that Heracla, my fellow-slave, received from me [to deposit them? as a loan?], may his senses be stricken, his eye [eyes?] and strength, whatever they are?... may they desiccate, I will give the money to the honour of the priest.”).

The central part of the text is hard to interpret: a brief list of cursed body parts, which may include *sen(s)us*, *ocellus* (= *ocellos*) and *vires...aridae fiant*, “may his senses, eyes, and strengths... dessicate/languish”, is followed by *q(u)icumqui sunt*, so the whole passage does not make much sense, perhaps it means “whatever they are”.

All other prayers for justice from Hispania concern thefts; see e.g. No. **215** whose author Livia complains about her tunic being stolen:

Quis res tunica tulit e Livia, obi eam vel eum, ite(m) qui, quaestu(m) habeat, tra(c)ta... (“Whoever has stolen a tunic from Livia, pursue her or him, as well as the one who could profit from it, catch [him/her].”).³⁰

The best-known text of this type found in Hispania is a plea inscribed on a marble tablet from Mérida (No. **219**). The end of the text is disrupted but it displays all the features typical of prayers for justice:³¹ the name of the author, a polite address to the deity, and, last but not least, three verbs of request and plea used to make the goddess avenge the theft suffered by the author. The culprit is unknown and the author lists all stolen things: see No. **219** from Mérida, **dfx.2.3.1/1**:

Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo, oro, obsecro, uti vindices quod mihi furti factum est. Quisquis mihi immutavit, involavit minusve fecit (e)a(s) res, q(uae) i(n)fra s(c)riptae s(unt): tunicas VI, paenula lintea II, in(dus)ium I, cuius (no)m(en) ignoro... (“Goddess Ataecina Proserpina of Turibriga, by your majesty I ask, pray and beg that you avenge the theft which has been done to me. Whoever has taken, stolen, and robbed me of the things, which are written below: six tunics, two linen cloaks, an undergarment...”) (see 1.2.1. and 1.10.2.).

Tablet No. **218** contains the formula *si puella, si mulier* typical especially of the prayers for justice from Britannia, by which the author tries to specify who

³⁰ See 1.2.1. and Appendix II; the text contains several mistakes. J. Corell (1994, 284 ff.) interprets *obire* as “to persecute, chase after”, and *tracto* as “to drag, slide, hold”.

³¹ See also Versnel (1991, 91); and recently Tomlin (2010, 247 ff.).

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could be the culprit so as to make sure that the deity finds him/her. As far as I know, this is the only evidence of this formula outside Britannia:

Dom(i)na Fons fove(ns),³² ut tu persequaris tuas/duas res demando, quiscunque caligas meas telluit (=tulit) et solias, tibi, dea, demando, ut (tu) illas, ad(cep)tor/ (adiutor?)³³ si quis puella, si mulier sive (ho)mo, involavit, (ut) illos persequaris... (“Helpful Lady Spring, I ask you to trace back/exact two things, whoever stole my boots and sandals, I entrust them to you, Goddess, that you exact them, whether the thief that stole them is a boy or girl, a woman or a man.”) (see also 7.5.).

As in the previous case, the author does not state his/her name. Tablet No. **217** from Bologna, dated to the first half of the 2nd cent. CE, contains a prayer for justice addressed to Isis. The goddess is supposed to exact the exemplary punishment and public death of the thief who has stolen the author’s clothes. The author does not explicitly mention whether she wants her things back or not. Wishes like punishment in public are only rarely found in prayers for justice. For other examples of this, see texts No. **231** and No. **232** from Germania pursuing the public punishment (see also 6.2.1.3. and 10.2.3.). For the complete text and its translation, see 1.2.1.

Finally, tablet No. **220** from Alcácer do Sal in Lusitania dated to the second half of the 1st cent. CE is very interesting, too:

Domine Megare³⁴ Invicte, tu qui Attidis corpus accepisti, accipias corpus eius, qui meas sarcinas sustulit, qui me compilavit,³⁵ de domo Hispani. Illius

³² The text is damaged, *lectiones variae*: Versnel (1991, 82) reads *Foyi* and *tuas res*; Tomlin (2010, 254 ff.) *fove(ns)* and *duas res*; A. Kropp (2008) *font(i)* and *duas res*. The reading *duas* seems to be more plausible due to the fact that it is specified by the stolen things themselves: *caligas, solias*.

³³ The passage is damaged, Tomlin (2010, 254 ff.) proposes to add *adceptor* (“the one who has them”), or *adiutor* (“the one who helped the thief”), etc. (see also 6.1., 6.2. and 7.5.).

³⁴ Tomlin (2010, 261 ff.) interprets *Megare* as an epithet – the lord of *megaron*, i.e. Pluto, or the genius of the underground chamber where Attis was buried (see also the discussion of Versnel 2010, 297). M. F. Simón (2004, 79 ff.) regards the female name *Megaira*, the daughter of Theban king, to be one of the options. He also suggests interpreting it as an address to Kybelé; however, this interpretation seems to be inappropriate with respect to the previous *domine invicte* in the masculine gender. For the term *megaron*, see Blänsdorf (2010, 174) who relates it to the altar dug into the ground to sacrifice victims for the chthonic deities, dealing esp. with tablet No. **87** (see 8.1.1. and 10.1.). See also Simón (2010, 412 ff.); A. Chalupa

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*corpus tibi et animam do, dono, ut meas res invenia(m). Tunc tibi hostiam quadripedem do(mi)ne, Attis, voveo, si eum furem invenero, domine Attis, te rogo per tuum Nocturnum, ut me quam primum compotem facias.*³⁶

(“Unconquered Lord Megarus, you who received the body of Attis, may you receive the body of him who robbed me from the house of Hispanus. I give and donate his body and soul to you, that I may find my property. I then promise you a four-footed sacrifice, Lord Attis, if I find that thief. Lord Attis, I ask you through your Nocturnus,³⁷ to make me master of it as soon as possible.”).

There are some peculiarities in the text of this prayer for justice. An anonymous author promises a four-footed sacrifice³⁸ to the deity so that he is able to find his things himself. Though the author commends the body and soul of his enemy to the deity, which (i.e. commending the culprit or the stolen things to the deity) is quite usual in the prayers for justice from Britannia. However, the finding of the stolen property is usually up to the deity, see e.g. No. **277**: *deus illum inveniat* (1.2.2.) or No. **260** (1.2., 1.10.2., and 12.2.3.), like in the case of the above mentioned tablet No. **218**. The sequence *qui meas sarcinas sustulit, qui me compilavit, de domo Hispani* concerning the stolen property and the culprit is also ambiguous. Tomlin (2010, 262ff.) supposes that the author has been robbed by someone who came from the house of a Spaniard, living perhaps in the neighbourhoods, and considers the name *Hispanus* vulgar, even abusive, in Lusitania. However, the text may also be understood in a different way as “may you receive the body of him who robbed me from the house of that Spaniard, where I live right now”. The author speaks of his luggage (*sarcinas*) having been stolen from him; thus, he could be on a journey and living in the house of a Spaniard. There are terms like *de hospitio* and *hospitiolo* in the prayers for justice from Britannia, though these probably mean the residence of the one being robbed; see No. **303**: *me perdidisse rotas duas et vaccas quattuor et*

(2011, 244) translates as “The Invincible Lord of the burial-mound”, i.e. the mound Attis has been buried in.

³⁵ The verb *compilavit* is attested only twice in prayers for justice: in text No. **220**, and in **dfx.7.3/1**, a very disrupted tablet from Raetia: ... *et qui meum compilavit pro...* (see Kropp, 2008).

³⁶ For the reading, translation, and interpretation, see Tomlin (2010, 260 ff.).

³⁷ Simón (2004, 79ff.) assumes that *Nocturnus* is a daemon of the Underworld; Versnel (2010, 296) regards it to be another epithet of the deity appealed to in the beginning.

³⁸ See also *votum* in 3.2.3.; this is an isolated example of the *votum* in prayers for justice.

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resculas plurimas de hospitiolo meo (1.10.2.), No. 277, and No. 291 (see esp. 12.2.2.).

8.3 ADDRESSED DEITIES AND DAEMONS

The addresses to supernatural powers are found only rarely in the curses from Hispania, only three out of 11 tablets contain an address to the infernal gods (see No. 50, No. 52, and No. 53). This is perhaps due to the fact that the evidence coming from Hispania mostly consists of brief texts, often merely nominal lists of people accursed. In this context, prayers for justice from Hispania are more variegated; the following deities are explicitly appealed to: Isis (No. 217), Domina Fons (No. 218), Proserpina (No. 219), and Attis (No. 220). The names of deities are often omitted if the authors utter their promises, prayers, or curses right in the shrine of the deity concerned. However, due to the relatively small amount of evidence found in this area, no decisive conclusions can be made based on these tablets.

8.4 *VOCES MAGICAE, SIGNA MAGICA, PECULIAR ORIENTATION OF SCRIPT*

Only graphic magical features are found in the texts from Hispania, and none of these appear in prayers for justice. There are no Greek magical words, names of daemons, nor *signa magica* preserved in Hispania. A magical orientation of script is, however, present in tablets No. 48 and No. 49 (see 8.1.2.): they are written right-to-left and upside-down. Furthermore, text No. 50 displays several magical peculiarities: it is inscribed on a disc-shaped plate and written on both sides in a spiral in Greek and Latin. Thus, there are reasons to believe that this text was made by a professional in the field (see 8.1.1. above). There is no special orientation of script in prayers for justice from Hispania.

8.5 FORMULAE AND PEOPLE ACCURSED

There are only 15 formulae, a relatively small amount, used in altogether 11 curses found in Hispania. The most frequent one is formula 0, i.e. a nominal list of people accursed (six times); the formula 4, i.e. invoking wish-formula with the subjunctive (see 2.3.5.), is sometimes (four times) used, too. Concerning the longer and more complicated prayers for justice found in Hispania, there are 12 formulae used in seven tablets, mostly formulae 2 and 2a (see 2.3.1. and 2.3.2.), invoking formulae with the predicates of committal and request (see also Chapter 3). Formula 1, i.e. direct cursing formula, and formula 5, i.e. *simile*-formula, have not been documented in the texts from Hispania yet. With regards

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to the low number of preserved texts, the average number of people accursed in one tablet is relatively high; this is mainly due to the fact that several texts consist of the catalogues of people accursed. Thus, there are altogether 44 victims (27 men and 17 women) in 11 curses. Just like in Italy, men are more often victims of curses than women. The average amount of victims per curse is four. The people accursed are slaves, as well as distinguished magistrates (see No. 47–49). The names of victims are mostly in the nominative, only once (the bilingual curse No. 50) in the accusative. In some cases, the names are specified by social status: *Rufus, legatus Augusti* (No. 47), or *Priamus libertus* (No. 56). The filiation via the mother's name is not attested, sometimes the people are filiated via the father's name: *Luxsia, A(uli) Antesti filia* (No. 52). The author's name appears twice: in the legal curse No. 46, and in the hardly interpretable text of tablet No. 53 which is probably related to rivalry in love (see 8.1.3.).

The prayers for justice from Hispania are more diverse and, compared to the evidence found in Italy, contain more features typical of this genre. The author's name is stated twice: *Livia* in No. 215, and *Felicio Aur(eliani)* in No. 216. The culprits are unknown, except for one case of the conversion of funds (*Heracla* in No. 216); see No. 220: *accipias corpus eius, qui meas sarcinas sustulit*; No. 218: *quiscunque caligas meas tulit*; No. 219: *quisquis mihi immutavit... cuius nomen ignoro*. The *all inclusive* formula otherwise documented only in Britannia *si puella, si mulier* appears, too (No. 218). In three cases, the deities are politely addressed and the stolen things or the culprit are commended to them; twice the authors try to get their things back (see No. 218 and No. 220), or to punish the thief (see No. 216, No. 217, No. 218, and No. 220) without any explicit reference to the stolen property. In one case the culprit is supposed to be afflicted by death in public (see No. 217, 8.2. and 1.2.1.). Prayers for justice from Hispania display three or four typical elements of this genre.

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The borders of ancient Gallia located in the western part of Europe were marked by the Rhine in the north, the Atlantic Ocean in the west, and the Alps in the east, while it stretched southwards to the Mediterranean and was divided from the Iberian Peninsula by the Pyrenees. However, Gallia, or better to say, *Gallia Transalpina* or *ulterior*,¹ was the ancient name for the area of today's France. This was further divided to *Gallia Narbonensis* (sources mostly speak of *Provincia*, i.e. today's Provence) named according to the town of Narbo located on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and to the so-called *Gallia Comata* (i.e. "long-haired") located in the northwest. Before being conquered by the Romans, these territories had no geographic, linguistic, or political unity;² according to ancient sources it was particularly *Gallia Belgica* located between the rivers Rhine and Marne, which differed from the other territories.³ The first Gallic area conquered by the Romans was the province of *Narbonensis* in 125-120 BCE. Other Gallic territories, esp. *Comata*, were subdued by Caesar in 58-51 BCE. The acquisition of Gallia enabled the Romans to take control over and unite the nations inhabiting the vast area between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, which had, until then, been very ethnically diverse and territorially fragmented. In Augustus' time, the Gallic territory was re-organized – *Narbonensis* fell under the administration of the Senate and the remaining territories were divided into three administrative units: *Aquitania* (between the Pyrenees and today's Garonne), *Lugdunensis* (in modern-day central France up to Seine), and *Belgica*. The Gallic territories were romanized relatively quickly, especially in the 1st cent. BCE when several colonies bearing Augustus' name were established.⁴ With regards to the Roman presence in the Gallic territory from the half of the 1st century BCE, we may suppose also the occurrence of Latin curse tablets in the area on the verge of the Common Era and especially in the first centuries CE.

¹ *Gallia Cisalpina* or *citerior*, i.e. "on the hither side of the Alps" (from the Roman perspective), is the name of the area of northern Italia from which the Gallic tribes started to penetrate the Italian territory in the 4th cent. BCE (see Svoboda, 1974, 209 ff.).

² Lafond – Uggeri (1998, 763).

³ Lafond – Uggeri (1998, 763 ff.).

⁴ See Svoboda (1974, 209 ff.).

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9.1 THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF GALLIA AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Kropp's corpus (2008) includes a total of 29 tablets found in the territory of ancient Gallia, from which there are 23 curses and 6 prayers for justice. Of these, 13 curses and all the prayers for justice were included in this corpus (see Chapter 1). As for the external features of these tablets, most of the curses (six) and prayers for justice (three) were found in the amphitheatre in Trier; other curses have been found in graves (four); and one piece of evidence (tablet No. **69**) comes from the well at Roman villa;⁵ two prayers for justice (No. **224** and No. **226**) were also found in wells; prayer for justice No. **225** was found in a shrine; we do not know anything about the location of the rest of the tablets.

All the texts found in Gallia are engraved into lead, be it tablets or a discus in No. **224** (see also No. **52**, 8.1.1.), except for a single text, No. **57** which was written on a clay vessel.

The tablets were mostly found rolled into scrolls, or not manipulated at all; only very rarely they were also transfixed. The rolling of the tablet is the most common kind of ritual manipulation with curses and prayers for justice. This is especially true for the tablets preserved in the African provinces and Britannia. However, due to the relatively small amount of evidence from Gallia, no relevant conclusions can be drawn for this area.

The dating of the texts from Gallia suggests that the preserved documentation is very spotty and not really conclusive about the spread of the Mediterranean cursing practice in this area. The oldest piece of evidence is the prayer for justice from Montfo in *Narbonensis*, dating to the 1st cent. CE (No. **226**). The tablets found in the grave in Evreux also date to the 1st/2nd cent. CE (Kropp, 2008: **dfx.4.2.2/1** and **4.2.2./2**) but their text is damaged to such an extent that they could not be included in the corpus of this work; nevertheless, these are most probably curses, as the right-to-left orientation of script suggests. Other pieces of evidence date to the 2nd cent. CE, while the largest number of preserved curses and prayers for justice comes from the later periods (4th/5th cent. CE), including most of the texts found in Trier. Also in Gallia, similar to the evidence from Italy (see 7.2.), it can be presumed that curses and prayers for justice were continuously used from the beginning of the 1st century CE, or even earlier, until the 5th century CE.

⁵ See DT 110 and 1.9.3.

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As in the case of other European provinces, only the non-specific (nine), legal (three), and rivalry in love (one) curses are documented in Gallia (see also 4.1. and 7.3.).

9.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

This is the most common type of curses in Gallia, as in Italy and Hispania. Four texts contain only the nominal lists of accursed people without any verb of cursing (No. **58-60** and No. **64**). Unfortunately, several non-specific curses from Gallia are very corrupted and they are mostly also quite short; see e.g. No. **62** from Trier, **dfx.4.1.3/10**, one side of which contains magical signs, and the other reads *Prissiae nomen deposit(um)*. (“The person/woman named Prissia has been accursed [in this tablet]/the charge against Prissia has been deposited [in the grave]”) (see also 8.1.1.). Magical signs, i.e. the non-alphabetic signs called *signa magica* (see 1.7.1.) occur only very rarely in the texts from Italy and Gallia. Tablet No. **63** from Trier,⁶ **dfx.4.1.3/15**, is another example of a corrupted text containing many mistakes, which is only partially intelligible:

Bona san(c)ta nomen (= numen) pia nomen (= numen)...denitia (= denuntio?) tibi san(c)t(ae) Dia⁷ dekigo (= defigo) (Ro)danum, quen peperit Annula Regula... domina... ekigo (= (d)efigo)... (“Good, saint, gracious/holy goddess... I commend to you, holy goddess, and I accurse Rodanus whom Annula Regula bore...I accurse...”).

The curse starts with a polite address to the deity just like tablet No. **20** from Italy (see 7.3.1.4.). The following sequence *nomen pia nomen* is uncorrupted and there is no doubt that *nomen* here does not stand for the name of the victim (who is later named – *Rodanus*); moreover, the adjective *pius* is rather related to the address to the goddess. The author probably meant to appeal to the deity as

⁶ The text was dated either to the 4th/5th cent. CE or to the 3rd cent. CE. See Kropp (2008) who states the amended version and her own reading of the text. The preserved text is longer, but several words are unintelligible or not identifiable in the sequence of preserved words, which makes it impossible to interpret the text as a whole. Thus, A. Kropp leaves out some passages and reads some of the passages differently. I state here the text amended according to the facsimile and transcription in CIL 13, 11340, I: *Bona santa nomen, pia nomen noemolia ecesse denitia tibi santne dia dekigo... danum quen peperit Anula Regula eatta aer domina que a... e tanta kamapo.m... r... re... carnis Bonarium... ekigo att. . a trata... te... ti... nci... tai. . . ta . . otun.*

⁷ A. Kropp (2008) reads *Dianae*, which is allegedly written right-to-left; however, when comparing this to the facsimile in CIL, her reading seems implausible.

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piously as possible, i.e. using *numen*.⁸ The term *numen* appears in curses, see e.g. tablet No. **1**: *Q(uintum) Letinium Lupum... hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico...* (see 1.9.1.), as well as, and more frequently, in prayers for justice, see No. **303**: *Iteratis precibus rogo numen tuum...* (see 1.10.2.), or No. **231**: *Mater Magna, te rogo p(e)r (t)ua sacra et numen tuum...* (see 3.3.3., 1.10.2., and 10.2.3.). The sequence *tibi san(c)t(ae) Deae/Dianae defigo* is unusual, as Kropp also states, while the verb *defigo* is used with the object in the accusative (see No. **40**. *defigo illos*). Thus, it can be assumed that the author intended to use another typical cursing formula: *do, demando, trado, commendo*, i.e. “I commend to you, goddess”, see e.g. No. **208**: *Dono tibi, Mercurius* (see 12.1.1.), or No. **122**: *commendo tibi Iulia(m) Faustilla(m)* (see 11.1.1.). However, if we look at the facsimile in CIL, the pronoun *tibi* is immediately followed by *DENITIA*,⁹ which could conceal the verb *denuntio* meaning “I announce, order, commend, file an action” (in legal context),¹⁰ which is attested only once, but also in a tablet from Gallia; No. **67** from Chagnon: *Denuntio personis infrascriptis Lentino et Tasgillo, uti adsint ad Plutonem, ad Proserpinam* (see 9.1.2. below); the tablet is, however, very damaged. On the one hand, the polite address to the goddess and the verb *denuntio*, usually used in the legal context, speak rather to the diction of prayers for justice; on the other, the presence of victim’s name, the filiation via mother, and the use of the verb *defigo* point to a common curse. Besides, the verb *denuntio* also appears in tablet No. **67**, which is definitely a legal curse. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that the verb appeals to the people accursed, meaning probably “I order” (see below), while in our text the author appeals to the goddess using the same verb, as is usual in the *committal* formulas (see 2.2.2.). Therefore, if the addition of *denuntio* was correct, it would be evidence of an extraordinary use of the verb in a common curse – to commend the victim to the goddess.

Tablet No. **64** from Trier with a non-specific curse is remarkable, too:

Tib(erium) Claudium Treverum natione Germanum lib(ertum) Claudii Similis, rogo te domina Isis ut illum profluvio mittas et quidquid in bonis

⁸ The interchange of *o* and *u* is well attested in curses; see e.g. *grano* = *gran(um)* in No. **226** (9.2.). The interchange of the words *nomen* and *numen* can also be detected in tablets No. **287** and No. **297** (see Appendix I).

⁹ A. Kropp states the reading together with the previous unintelligible part [---] *ecessedentia*, CIL isolates *denitia*.

¹⁰ A. Önnersfors (1991, 46) translates *denuntio* as “I order” (*ich befehle*); J. G. Gager (1992, No.53) as “I denounce”.

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habet in morbum megarum. (“Tiberius Claudius Treverus, of German origin, the freedman of Claudius Similis, I ask you, Lady Isis, to invoke the bleeding/diarrhoea on him.”). The following passage *et quidquid in bonis habet in morbum megarum* perhaps means “[may] whatever he has good/healthy [fall] into big/terrible? disease.”).

The last word *megarum* is problematic: it could denote the part of Isis’ temple, or the votive depositories of the temple (see Blänsdorf, 2010, 174 ff.). If so, however, it is unclear how this is related to the previous text – perhaps the author wanted the victim to fall sick in the temple?¹¹ A similar formulation occurs in the prayer for justice No. 244 found in Britannia: *...ut mentes suas perd(at) et oculos suos in fano ubi destinat*. (“...may [the thief] lose his mind and sight in the shrine where [the goddess] appoints.”) (see 1.2.). But in the latter, nothing suggests that the text is a prayer for justice; therefore, this interpretation is inappropriate, as well. I regard Kropp’s (2008, **dfx**.8.1/1) interpretation of the sequence *ut illum profluvio mittas* as *ut illi profloviu(m) mittas* a plausible solution; M. F. Simón (2008, 74) reads the text as follows: *ut illum pro fluvio mittas* saying that “Isis is requested to send Tiberius Claudius to the river”. This interpretation seems not only very unlikely to me, but also not corresponding to the preserved documentation. The Latin term *profluvium* does not refer to a water flow, or a river, but to a flow, in general, meaning the outflow of bodily fluids: diarrhoea, urine, or bleeding;¹² this is also how it is used in medical terminology. This leads us to a much more probable interpretation that the author wants the goddess to invoke bleeding or diarrhoea on the victim. The first part of the text specifies the disease supposed to afflict the victim – the loss of bodily fluids, blood, diarrhoea (*profluvium*), which is then, in the second part of the text, referred to with a more general term for disease – *morbum*. Nevertheless, the word *megarum*, which is attested nowhere else in Latin, remains disputable. There are two possible interpretations of this: either *megarum* is a specific name of the disease which is nowhere else preserved,¹³ or, more generally, it denotes a “terrible, difficult, deadly, incurable” disease. The latter option seems more plausible, considering the previous expressions introduced by the indefinite pronoun *quidquid*; thus, *morbum megarum* could serve as some kind of predicate to *quidquid*. The term *megarum* then can be regarded a transposition of the Greek *μέγαλον* meaning

¹¹ See also Chalupa (2011, 239 ff.).

¹² Forcellini (1965⁴).

¹³ It is only attested as a loan from Greek and in relation to a temple (see No. 87, 8.1.1. and 10.1.1.). For an oral consult on this, I thank P. Poccetti.

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“big”, a reverse analogical term to *μέγας* with the interchange of *r/l*; thus, the sequence would mean “may he fall sick with a big/terrible disease”.¹⁴

9.1.2 Curses with Amatory Undertones

Only two texts from Gallia indicate the motive of trying to get rid of a rival or to punish an unfaithful partner. One of these is text No. **57** engraved on a clay vessel, found in Maar and dating to the 2nd century CE. The lower part of the vessel is engraved with a Latin alphabetic sequence, the upper part with the text of the curse itself. After the vessel was fired, other proper names (*Aprilis Kesio*) were engraved on it,¹⁵ No. **57**: *Art(um) ligo Dercomogni (filium) fututor Artus fututor*. (“I bind [with spells] Artus, son of Dercomognus, whoremonger, Artus is a whoremonger.”) The interpretation of this text, however, can slightly differ: H. Gering (1916, 632 ff.) amends and interprets the text as *artum ligo Dercomogni, fututor(em), art(um) fututor(em)*. (“I bind with spells the copulating limb [= penis] of Dercomognus, the copulating limb.”) Moreover, the beginning of the inscription can also be understood as *arte [magica] ligo... art(um)/Artum fututor(em)*; A. Kropp (2008) states a similar reading: *Art(e) ligo Dercomogni (filium) fututor art(us)*¹⁶ *fututor*. I regard the first interpretation the most plausible; the name engraved later probably belongs to another enemy, which was subsequently added by the author. As for Kropp’s interpretation, I regard the addition of *Art(us)*, i.e. the proper name of the victim, more likely, as the identification of the victim just through his father’s name would be very unusual (see also No. **29**, 1.1.2.2.3., in which a similar term *fututrix* refers directly to the person stated).

Tablet No. **221** from Trier is another text suggestive of the love context. It is a prayer for justice dating to the 4th/5th century CE; however, its text is so corrupted that it is hardly interpretable. No. **221** from Trier, **dfx.4.1.3/7**, reads:

Matrimoni(a A)b(ae et) amicorum. (A)ba reddat (pre)tia damno... (“[I commend/accuse?] the marriage of Aba and friends?, may Aba pay the price? for the damage?...”), for other interpretation, see TheDeMa 721.

¹⁴ A similar expression is attested in Greek. Du Cange cites *morbus magnus, morbus grossus* which was said to denote epilepsy; however, it is questionable whether such a late datum (13th century) can be applied to our text.

¹⁵ Facsimile in CIL 13, 3, 1, 10008, 7. It is unclear whether the names belong to one or two people.

¹⁶ This is probably a mistake, see the reading of DT 103 and CIL 13, 3, 1, 10008, 7.

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Finally another more extensive text is tablet No. **69** which was found in a well in the little town of Rom in Aquitania. It dates to the 2nd /3th century CE¹⁷ and has a long and complicated history. The tablet was found in 1887 and the text – written on both sides of the tablet in *scriptio continua* – was deciphered and edited by C. Jullian (1898, 168 ff.). Until R. Egger (1962, 240 ff.) examined this hardly readable and interpretable text, it was regarded Celtic both by its first editor and other scholars, see e.g. DT 110, Haas (1943, 285 ff.).¹⁸ However, the new reading of Egger based on photographs significantly differed from the previous editions. This led him to the conclusion that the text in question was a Latin *defixio* written in a local dialect with Celtic names included and made in the context of competition between actors. Thanks to this interpretation, the text was included in the corpus of Latin *defixiones* (Kropp 2008, **dfx.** 4.3.4/1.; Gager 1992. No. 16); see also the interpretation and translation of Versnel (1985. 247 ff) who also accepted Egger's reading. Nevertheless, it was still raising doubts not only among the scholars of Celtic studies but also due to its atypical character when compared to other preserved curses. In 1996, W. Meid published a new reading of the text based on autopsy that did not conform with the reading of A. Egger, at all.¹⁹

See the new proposed restoration of the text with word separation suggested by Meid (2014, 60 ff.):

A: *te uoraiimo, eh, za, atanto tehon, zo(a), atanta te, compriato sosin dertin oipommio atehotisse potea(t). te priauimo atanta tehon, te, za, timezo, zia, te uoraiimo, ape sosio derti(n) imo(n) na demtisse [ueie (?)]*B: *ape ci alli carti eti heiont Caticnato na demtisse Clotucil(l)a se demtitiont eti cartaont, Dibona, sosio, deui, pia, sosio pura, sosio gouisa [at]ehoti[sse] sosio pura heoti[sse], sua demta apodunna uolis(s)et.*

The paraphrasing interpretation of the text (Meid, 2014, 62) is as follows: „We implore you (*oravimus*), divine one, immortal one of gods, living one, immortal one, you that this beloved darling, whom I fuck, might be left to me. We pray to you (*precavimus*), immortal one of gods, you divine one, I shall honour, we implore you that this darling of mine may not be taken away, B: that any other

¹⁷ For other dating see DT 110, Kropp **dfx.** 4.3.4/1.

¹⁸ See the detailed discussion on the history of the interpretation of the tablet in Meid (1996. 118 ff. and 2014, 58 ff.).

¹⁹ See Meid (2014, 59) who states: „An autopsy of the object which I made in the Museum of St.-Germaine-en-Laye in 1987 and another one in 1997 convinced me that the new readings [of A. Egger] had no factual basis, and were in fact chimerical, hence the interpretation based on them was illusionary, the result of wishful thinking”.

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lovers leave her to Catignatus that Clotucilla is not taken away. If they take her away and befriend her, o Divona (we implore you that) she, o goddess, remain faithful, pure and joyful, be left pure, (and that) he (= the other lover) would be willing to give back the one taken away.”).

The language of the text, however, is so unique that only some parts of the text can be understood with certainty. Meid (2014, 60 ff., 1996, 121) assumes that it uses Latin as the basic language, even though it does not appear so at the first sight. Perhaps it documents a very specific kind of Vulgar Latin (as e. g. *priaiimo – precavimus; te uoraiimo – te ora(v)imus; pia, pura* etc.) mixed up with Greek (*atanat tehon – αθανατα θεων* “immortal one of gods”, *timezo τιμήσω* “I shall honour”) and Gaulish (the pronoun *sosio, derti*) elements. According to Meid’s interpretation (2014, 61 ff.), the text is connected to love affairs²⁰ and was probably written by a slave which might explain the peculiar linguistic register. Although the text was inscribed on a lead tablet and was found in well, it is most likely not a typical love spell or curse but rather a prophylactic plea to deities.

9.1.3 Legal Curses

Only a few legal curses have preserved in Gallia; this corpus includes two of them. The most famous and complicated curse found in Gallia is found in tablets No. **67** and No. **68**. These are *tabulae ansatae* (i.e. tablets with dovetail handles) containing a single curse, which were found in a grave transfixated and attached to one another. There was also a coin dated to 172 CE, i.e. Marcus Aurelius’ time, in the grave; the tablets date to the end of the 2nd cent. CE. The text of both tablets is sporadically corrupted;²¹ No. **67** from Chagnon (the territory of the Santones), **dfx.4.3.1/1**, reads:

²⁰ Meid (2014, 61) presumes a love scenario based on the text of the following tablet: a young man named Catignatus loves a young woman Clotucilla who is his mistress. She is referred to as *derti*, which literally means „skin” and is used figuratively for a person of female sex like Latin *scortum*. He is afraid that she might be taken away from him and asks goddess Divona for help.

²¹ C. M. Jullian (1897, 177 ff.) noticed that the text was not written all at once – the magical formula was only later added to the end of tablet No. **67**; therefore, the sequence of magical words interrupted the continuous flow of the text (see also DT 111). I cite here the amended text according to A. Kropp (2008).

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Denuntio personis infrascriptis Lentino et Tasgillo, uti adsin(t) ad Plutonem, (et) ad Proserpinam, hinc a(beat?) . Quomodo hic catellus nemin(i) nocuit, sic... nec illi hanc litem vincere possint. Quomodi nec mater huius catelli defendere potuit, sic nec advocati eorum e(os d)efendere ~~non~~ possint, sic il(lo)s (in)imicos (=illi inimici) (VM): atracatetracati gallara precata egdarata hehes celata mentis ablata.

the text continues on the tablet No. **68**, **dfx.4.3.1/2**:

aversos (=aversi) ab hac l(i)te esse (debent?). Quomodi hic catellus aversus est nec surgere potest, sic nec illi. Sic tra(n)specti²² sint quomodi ille. Quomodi in hoc m(o)nimont(o) (=monumento) animalia ommutuerun(t) nec surgere possun(t) nec illi mut(i?). (VM): Atracatetracati gallara precata egdarata he hes celata mentis ablata. (see 6.2.1., 9.1.2., and Appendix I).

“I order the people written below, Lentinus and Tasgillus, to come to Pluto and to Proserpina, may they depart [?] from here. Just as this puppy harmed no one, so [may they harm no one?] and may they not be able to win this suit.²³ Just as not even the mother of this puppy can defend [it], so may their lawyers be unable to defend them... [and] so [may] also these [legal] opponents...

[The subsequently added unintelligible sequence follows – obviously magical words in Latin, which is concluded by the intelligible words *celata mentis ablata*, whose meaning, however, is unclear. In this context, one would perhaps expect a formula referring to the limitation of the mental faculties of the adverse party’s advocates. The text further continues in the other tablet building on *sic illi inimici*.]

...be turned back from this suit;²⁴ just as this puppy [lies] upside-down and is unable to stand up, so neither [may] they [be unable to stand up]; may they be pierced through, just as this [puppy is]. Just as in this tomb all [living] creatures have been silenced and cannot rise up, neither may they [be able to speak? or rise up]...”)

²² *Transpecti*, i.e. *transpicti*, is probably a mistake instead of the Classical Latin *transfixi*.

²³ For the interpretation and emendation of the *lacuna* and translation, see also Gager (1992, No. 53).

²⁴ See the compounds of the verb *verto* in curses (6.2.1.1.).

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The text indicates that a puppy was killed during the cursing ritual so that the author could have achieved the magical analogy – the transfer of the desired attributes from one object to another, i.e. the enemies are supposed to be as helpless as the puppy (see 2.3.6.).²⁵ Some curses contain analogies with the dead person buried in the grave where the tablets had been put, see No. 17:

Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M. Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. (“Just like this dead one, who is buried here, cannot speak nor talk [to anyone], may Rhodine be dead for Marcus Licinius Faustus, nor be able to speak or talk [to him].”)²⁶

In addition, tablet No. 118 from Carthage describes the ritual using a cock: *...quomodo huic gallo... linguam vivo extorsi et dexifi...* (see 2.3.6. and 11.1.2.). The victim is sometimes also compared to the lead tablet (see No. 226; 1.4., 1.9.3., and 9.2.).²⁷

The text from Chagnon is one of the few legal curses whose author’s explicit goal was to kill his opponents; most of the legal curses aim only at restrictions.

Finally, the concluding unintelligible passages in both tablets, which are obviously *voces magicae*, have not been interpreted yet. These are a mixture of magical and identifiable Latin words; they are written in Latin, and in somewhat bigger, letters.²⁸ Most scholars agree that the expressions *atrakatetracati gallara / egdarata he / hes* are magical words; among these there is *precata*, and at the end we read *celata mentis ablata*. The magical word combining the *a*, *t*, *r*, and *c* sounds is formed similarly to the famous *abracadabra*, see also DT 198, which includes a similar sequence *απαπαχαπαπα*.²⁹ None of these magical words is attested elsewhere. The sequence of Latin expressions is hard to interpret, as well, the author perhaps wanted to deprive his opponents of their *celata mentis*, “secret plans”?

Another legal curse found in Gallia (No. 61) is very damaged (see Appendix I).

²⁵ See especially Graf (1996, 117 ff.) and Urbanová (2016, 329 ff.).

²⁶ See 1.9.1., 2.3.6., 5.1.3., and 7.3.2.

²⁷ See also Franek – Urbanová (2017).

²⁸ See Jullian (1897, 18) and the facsimile stated.

²⁹ Jullian (1897, 185) points out the resemblance of the term *atrakatetra* and the Greek *ἀρά* meaning “a curse”, or the personified goddess of revenge and doom, as well as *κατάρα* meaning “a curse”; and the similarity of the term *egdarata* and the Greek *ἐκταράσσειν* meaning “to frighten, terrify”.

9.2 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

There are altogether six prayers for justice preserved in Gallia. Four of them are related to a fraud or theft of money, and two to a theft. The earliest and most complicated text is No. **226** from Montfo in *Narbonensis*. The tablet was found in a well, dates to the 1st century CE, and reads:

*Quomodo hoc plumbu(m) non paret (= apparet?) et decadet³⁰ sic decadat aetas, membra, vita, bos, grano(m), mer(x) eoru(m), qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt... Idem Asuete(m)os, Secundina, qu(a)e illum tulit, et Verres Tearus et Amarantis et haec omnia vobis, dii, interdico in omnibus sortibus tam celebrare Masitlatida concinere necrocantum (= necrocantum?) col...s cantum et omnes deos...ta datus... (“Just as this lead is not visible and sinks to the bottom [*decidit* – the tablet has been found in a well], so may the youth?, limbs, life, livestock, grain, and trades of those who deceived me badly also fall into decay... and also³¹ Asuemetos, Secundina, who bore him?, and Verres Tearus and Amarantis?...”) (see also 1.4., 1.9.3., and 6.2.).*

The end of the text is slightly corrupted; however, its first part can be easily interpreted. The sequence of proper names *Asuemetos, Secundina, quae illum tulit* is harder to interpret, the editor assumes that it is an unusual transposition of the common curse formula *quem peperit XY*. Nevertheless, this is a prayer for justice, and the author refers to the damage he suffered (*dolum malum*), so it is quite possible that *quae illum (=illud?) tulit* actually means “[*Secundina*] who took/stole? it”. This would correspond to tablet No. **306**: *qui ipsos manicilios tulit* (12.2.3.) as well as No. **283** (1.10.2.) and No. **215** (1.2.1. and 8.2.). The following passage is problematic, as the terms *Masitlatida* or *necrocantum* are attested only in this tablet. The editor deduces from the context that these refer to local Gallic religious feasts.³² Lejeune (1981, 52) believes that *necrocantum* is a hybrid Greco-Latin term corresponding to the Latin *morticinium*. At first sight, it seems that the author forbids (*interdico*)³³ the gods to celebrate the feasts of *Masitlatida* and take part in the funerary chants in any way: *...et haec omnia vobis, dii, interdico in omnibus sortibus tam celebrare...* The mortals as

³⁰ See especially the reading and interpretation of Marichal (1981, 41 ff.) and (Lejeune 1981, 51 ff.). *Decadet* = Class. *decidit* (see also Appendix II).

³¹ Though the text reads *idem*, it is no doubt that it is a mistaken *item* which is often used in curses when the names of the victims are added (see e.g. No. **17** and No. **27**, 7.3.2.).

³² Marichal (1981, 51).

³³ See Marichal (1981, 50). The verb is not documented in curses.

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well as the gods, although not manifestly, take part in religious feasts and rituals; the absence of gods during rituals means that the ritual was unsuccessful. The editor of the tablet assumes that *dii* in the sequence *vobis dii interdico* should be read separately as an address to the gods, i.e. without any connection to *vobis*. Thus, the author addresses the gods and forbids the aforementioned people to take part in certain religious ceremonies and offerings: “I forbid you (by the gods) to participate in (the feast?) Masitlatida and the chants for the dead.”³⁴

In tablet No. **223**, found in the amphitheatre in Trier and dated to the 4th/5th cent. CE, the author complains about a non-specified fraud or damage (*fraus*). The text is corrupted to a large extent; however, quite well interpretable:³⁵ No. **223**, **dfx.4.1.3/11**:

Si tu (H)ostillam quae e Racatia (nata est, consumpseris), ~~fra~~ qi (=quae) mihi fraude(m) fe(cit), deus, nos te, q(u)i audis(ti, sacrificio colemus). (“If you [consume/torment to death?] Hostilla, who [was born] from Racatia, who deceived me, god, we [will honour] you, who answered [this plea, with an offering?]”)

I consider Kropp’s (2008) reading stated above to be plausible, except for a very strange and elsewhere undocumented filiation formula *e Racatia (nata est?)*. Although this solution may seem logical, the text can be reconstructed much more easily as follows:

Si tu (H)ostillam q(ua)e e(t) Racatia(e) frau(dem) qi (= quae) mihi fraude(m) fe(cit), (consumpseris) deus, nos te, q(u)i audis (sacrificio colemus)... (“If you [consume/torment to death?] Hostilla, who deceived Racatia as well as me, god, we [will honour] you, who answered [this plea, with an offering?]”).

This interpretation does not require the erasure of the first reference to the fraud (*frau*) and also corresponds to the use of the 1st pl. pronoun *nos*. Thus, two people would complain in a single tablet about the damage done to them by Hostilla (see also Urbanová, 2013, 188 ff.).

³⁴ Marichal (1981, 50) presumes that the tablet was made by a professional magician.

³⁵ See CIL 13, 11340 V, which states the text as follows: *Si tu (H)ostillam q(ua)e e(t) Racatia (consumpsisti) qui(a) mihi frau(dem) fe(cit), deus, nos te q(u)i audis//deus nosti qui audis (sacrificio colemus)*. The text was engraved in place of an earlier text, which had been effaced. This reading presupposes that the text is a prayer for justice assuming that both Hostilla and Racatia are the culprits of the fraud stated.

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Tablet No. **224** dating to the 4th/5th cent. CE and engraved on a discus and found in a well is also very damaged. The editors interpret the text of No. **224** from Dax/Landes,³⁶ **dfx.4.3.2/1**, as follows:

Leontio (T. F?) Leontio Deidio Iovino (in)bo/lave/runt (= involaverunt) manus pedis quicumqui le(vavit) anue (= anulum?)³⁷ culi qui i...imm+rgo (immergo?).

The presence of the verb *(in)volaverunt* points to the genre of prayers for justice. There are three more statements that have the same function: the names of the people stated in the beginning are supposed by the editors to be in the dative, i.e. these should denote the victims of the theft (Leontius, son of Leontius, Didius, and Iovinus?). Then the verb *involaverunt* follows, i.e. perhaps the thieves have stolen various things. Thus, the authors attack the culprit's hands and feet (*pedis* is probably a mistake for *pedes*, and the corrupted term *culi* can be reconstructed as *oculi*). The text, however, lacks the verb of cursing: *defigo* typical of curses, or *do*, *mando* typical of prayers for justice can be added here. The concluding sequence with the addition of Kropp can be interpreted as "Whoever has stolen the ring, I plunge him/her [together with this tablet], i.e. I accurse him/her". Based on these, the whole tablet can be translated as follows:

("They have robbed: Leontius, son of Leontius, Didius, Iovinus... I plunge the hands, feet, and eyes of the one who has stolen the ring.").

This presupposes that there were more missing stolen objects in the lacuna, as three people could not possess a single ring, or a single thing. However, it could be just as well assumed that the author states in the beginning the names of potential thieves in the nominative without the final *-s*, i.e. *Leontio(s)*, *Didio(s)*, *Iovino(s) involaverunt (mihi)*... A similar case is found in tablet No. **242** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/1**:

Qu(i) mihi VILBIAM (= fibulam) in(v)olavit, sic liqu(esc?)at com(odo) aqua... qui eam (invol)avit: ... Velvinna, Ex(s)upereus, Verianus, Severinus,

³⁶ See Simón – Velázquez (2000, 261 –274). The cursing verb *immergo* is related to the locality where the tablet was found, i.e. the well (see also 1.9.3.). The text was written right-to-left probably by an inexperienced and poorly educated author; it is divided into two columns and complemented or amended after it had already been done (see also Appendix II).

³⁷ A. Kropp (2008) reconstructs the corrupted text as follows: *quicumqui le(vavit) anulum*.

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Agustalis, Comitianus, Minianus, Catus, Germanill(a), Iovina. (“May he who has stolen the [brooch] from me become as liquid as water ... who has stolen it... [a list of potential culprits follows].”)

The tablet from Dax might be understood in the same way, i.e. the author starts with the names of people suspected of the theft and continues with the cursing of their body parts. The translation, then, would be as follows:

(“Leontius, son of Leontius, Didius, Iovinus have robbed [me?] ... I plunge the hands, feet, and eyes of the one who has stolen the ring.”).

This interpretation seems more logical to me with respect to the common cursing practice of prayers for justice (see also Urbanová, 2013, 194 ff.).

The last two texts containing a prayer for justice (No. **225** and No. **222**) are very damaged. In the former, only shorter sequences are intelligible:

Deus te rog(o qui) dextrale... (“I ask you, god, [punish?] the one who [has stolen] the bracelet...”).³⁸

Tablet No. **222** was found in the amphitheatre in Trier and is dated to the 4th/5th cent. CE. Its text is divided into rectangles and is partially intelligible. The first rectangle, stretching over a third of the tablet, contains unintelligible letter sequences and non-alphabetic magical signs; the other two rectangles contain the text itself. No. **222**, *dfx.4.1.3/9*, reads:

A: BAL...INABIHTIARO vestro... (rogo? Di)anam et Martem vinculares, ut me vindicetis de ququma (= Cucuma?/cucuma?). Eusebium in unguis obligetis et me vindicetis. B: Depositum Eusebium. (“[the initial sequence is unintelligible, in your...?] [I ask] the constraining Diana and Mars to avenge me for the pot [the issue concerning the pot]³⁹ /to take vengeance on Cucuma on my behalf?, put Eusebius on the instruments of torture and avenge me. Eusebius has been damned.”)

Although it cannot be refuted that the author may have wished that the deities avenge him on Cucuma and Eusebius who had done him some harm, I regard Önnorfors’ interpretation more plausible. He assumes that the author wanted to

³⁸ For the whole text, see Appendix II.

³⁹ Önnorfors (1991, No. 21) interprets *ququma* as *cucuma* meaning ‘a bog pot, cauldron’. CIL 13, 11340, III takes it for the name of the victim, probably of local origin.

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take his revenge on Eusebius for a damage he had done to his pot or cauldron. Moreover, it is explicitly repeated on side B that Eusebius has been damned in the tablet, which rather speaks for Önnersfors' interpretation. Considering its late dating and the other evidence from Gallia, the tablet is written in remarkably good Latin and without any omission of final *-m*.

9.3 ADDRESSED DEITIES AND DAEMONS

Half of the curses found in Gallia contain an address to supernatural powers. Similarly to the evidence from Hispania, there are several short curses comprised only of nominal lists of the people accursed where no deities appear. Only in tablets No. 67 and No. 68 do the typical infernal couple of Proserpina and Pluto occur; tablet No. 64 from Trier is addressed to Isis. The curses from Gallia also appeal to the less typical deities, namely to Diana. In addition, the tablet No. 69 is probably addressed to a deity called *Dibona*, i.e. *Divona*⁴⁰ (see 9.1.3.). The prayers for justice preserved in Gallia are similar to this: tablets No. 221 and No. 224 do not contain any direct address to a deity; tablet No. 222 from Trier appeals to Diana and Mars, and tablet No. 223 from Trier reads only *deus* which probably refers to Mars, too. The general term *deus* certainly denoted a particular deity and was more than sufficient in this case, as the tablet was found in the amphitheatre; however, today we often do not know which god was meant by it. Finally, tablet No. 226 probably appeals to infernal deities. Nevertheless, with respect to a relatively small number of preserved texts from Gallia, one cannot make any relevant conclusions out of these.

9.4 *VOCES MAGICAE, SIGNA MAGICA, PECULIAR ORIENTATION OF SCRIPT*

The texts from Gallia, just like those from Italy and the African provinces, include magical words written in Greek or Latin as well as magical signs which are attested nowhere else; *signa magica* appear only very rarely. Tablet No. 65 from Autun contains magical words and names of daemons written in the Greek alphabet (*αβρασα, αβρασαξ, δαμναμενς...*). These accompany a very simple text of a non-specific curse (a nominal list of victims). Tablets No. 67 and No. 68 include Latin cursing formulas *atracatetracati gallara...* Tablet No. 62 contains *signa magica*, i.e. the non-alphabetic signs. It is very likely that the texts containing magical words and *signa magica* were ordered to be written by a professional; the other tablets seem to be mostly the attempts of laymen. In

⁴⁰ See Meid (1996, 121).

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tablet No. **57** there is also an alphabetic sequence⁴¹ engraved upside-down, which probably had a magical function of its own, as the alphabetic sequences are also documented in Greek *defixiones*.⁴² A peculiar magical orientation of the script (right-to-left) sometimes appears in the tablets found in Gallia, see No. **224**, though somewhat less frequently than in the texts from Italy, Hispania, and Germania (the tablets from the grave in Evreux not included in this corpus: Kropp, 2008, **dfx.4.2.2/1** and **dfx.4.2.2/2**).

9.5 FORMULAE AND PEOPLE ACCURSED

There are 20 formulae, a relatively small number, used in altogether 13 curse tablets from Gallia; these are, surprisingly, either the very simple or the very complicated ones. Formula **0**, i.e. the nominal list of people accursed, has been used five times mostly in the tablets of later date (4th/5th cent. CE); the earlier texts tend to include more complicated formulae. Tablets No. **67** and No. **68** dated to the 2nd cent. CE contain four *simile*-formulae. All other formulae appear, too, except for formula **3a**, i.e. the imperative invoking formula extended by a purpose clause with *ut* (see 2.3.4.).

The prayers for justice from Gallia are fairly corrupted: ten formulae can be detected in six tablets. The imperative formulae **3** and **3a** are not included due to the polite nature of these texts; a single *simile*-formula is attested in No. **226** dated to the 1st cent. CE.

Considering the relatively small number of preserved texts, the average number of people accursed is quite high, a total of 35 people are accursed in 13 curse tablets, while men definitely dominate the list (29 men, six women). A single tablet includes three victims on the average; the social status of victims is diverse (slaves, freedmen, free citizens). The names of the people accursed are mostly in the nominative, only rarely in the accusative (No. **63** and No. **64**).

The prayers for justice from Gallia refer to thefts, frauds, or thefts of money; however, when compared to the evidence found in Hispania, there are less typical features of the genre. The author's name is not included in any of the texts – only tablet No. **224** is disputable regarding this, but I believe that the problematic names belong to the potential culprits, not to the authors (see 9.2.). Six tablets include the names of the people accursed. A polite address does not

⁴¹ CIL 13, 1, 10008: *alphabetum ad pedem litteris inversis*.

⁴² See A. Dietrich (1901, 77 ff.) who includes all the evidence and presumes that alphabetic sequence could have served the function of a magical formula.

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appear either, except for only three tablets: No. **226** *deus, te rogo*, No. **226** *dii*, and No. **223** *deus*. The names of the culprits are mostly known (six men and four women), twice the name is not specified, probably due to the corruption of the text, or because the author did not know the name of the culprit. It can be said that the authors of the prayers for justice from Gallia, just like those found in Italy, exclusively pursue vengeance on the culprit rather than a compensation for the damage or return of the stolen property. However, it has to be taken into account that some texts (No. **224** and No. **225**) are very damaged and impossible to be reconstructed any more. To conclude, the prayers for justice from Gallia mostly contain the above mentioned three typical features of the genre.

The filiation of the victim's name via father is rather scarce (No. **57** and No. **64**), filiation via mother's name is attested with certainty only in curse No. **63**: *defigo (Ro)danum, quem peperit Annula* (see 9.1.1.); prayers for justice are problematic in this context, too. I suppose that the interpretative amendment of tablet No. **223**: *Si tu (H)ostillam q(ua)e e Racatia (nata est?)* is very uncertain (see 9.2. above). Furthermore, the formulation of tablet No. **226**: *Asuetemeos, Secundina, quae illum tulit* is, as well, non-standard and documented nowhere else – it is not clear whether it can be regarded a metronymic filiation formula. As far as can be deduced from the uncorrupted texts found in Gallia, the authors of these, except for No. **67** and No. **68**, do not pursue the death of their victims.

10. GERMANIA, RAETIA, NORICUM, PANNONIA

This chapter deals with the evidence found in the northern parts of the Roman Empire, namely the provinces of Germania, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia, which are located along the large rivers of the Rhine and the upper and middle Danube. Compared to the other provinces, curses and prayers for justice from these regions employ the Mediterranean cursing practice in a very interesting and unique way. Besides, they share several common features despite the fact that they often come from the regions very distant from each other. Thus, it seems that there were lively contacts between the above mentioned areas enabled by the existence of large rivers interconnecting even the remote regions, as well as roads established due to the fortification of the Roman borders.

Germania (*Magna Germania*, or *Germania libera*, i.e. Great or also Free Germania) was the ancient name of the territory north of the Danube, between the Rhine and Vistula, reaching as far as the Baltic and the North Seas.¹ Caesar, crossing the Rhine in 55 and 53 BCE,² marked the beginning of more intensive military strives between Germans and Romans. Although Romans attempted to subdue the Germanic peoples, while Tiberius and Drusus the Elder managed to penetrate from the Rhine as far as to the Elbe, the expedition of the legate Varus to the province of Germania ended in catastrophic defeat in the Battle of Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE. After that, Romans never really tried to subjugate the Germanic peoples again. They only constructed the network of fortifications called *limes* along Rhine and Danube to avert the Germanic invasions into the Roman territory. The main support points of this were the towns of *Colonia Agrippina* (today's German Köln, or Cologne), *Mogontiacum* (today's Mainz), and *Carnuntum* (today's Petronell in Austria). During the time of Augustus, a province of Germania was established at the left bank of the Rhine; then, in 89 CE, Domitian divided it into *Germania superior*, the upper one, and *Germania inferior*, the lower one bordering the northern periphery of *Gallia Belgica*. With the end of the Marcomannic Wars in 180 CE, Rome got rather defensive toward the Germanic tribes and had to face the constant invasions into the frontier territories.³ After the second half of the 1st century CE, Romans intensified their presence in the areas adjacent to the Rhine. However, the vast regions north of the Rhine and the Danube have never been conquered by Romans.

¹ Svoboda (1974, 213 ff.).

² Wiegels – Spickermann – Barceló (1998, 954 ff.).

³ Svoboda (1974, 213).

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The area of ancient Raetia was located beside the upper Danube in the mountainous regions of today's south-eastern Switzerland, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg, including the alpine areas in between Lake Constance (German Bodensee), the Danube, and the river Inn. The province was named after a pre-Roman population, probably of non-Indo-European origin, whose language has been documented in ca. 215 inscriptions sharing some common features with the Etruscan language.⁴ Most of the region's parts were conquered by the expeditions of Drusus and Tiberius already in 15 BCE.⁵ The province of Raetia was established probably in Tiberius' time not later than the first half of the 1st century CE; it bordered on *Germania Magna* in the north, *Germania superior* in the west, and Noricum (located behind the river Inn) in the east. The most significant commercial and administrative centres of the province were *Regina Castra* (Regensburg), *Brigantium* (Bregenz), *Cambodunum* (Kempten), *Augusta Vindelicum* (Augsburg), and *Curia* (Chur). The province was further divided in Diocletian's time into the western *Raetia I (prima)* with its main centre in *Curia*, and the eastern *Raetia II (secunda)* with the centre in *Augusta Vindelicum*. Thus, a relevant Roman presence as well as the possibility of the occurrence of curse tablets in this area can be presumed as soon as the 1st century CE.

Ancient Noricum was named after one of the Celtic tribes originally inhabiting the area, the *Norici*. It was located in the central part of today's Austria in between the later provinces of Raetia and Pannonia. The inhabitants of this region had vivid commercial connections with Rome already in the 2nd century BCE,⁶ especially thanks to the export of gold, iron, salt, cattle, skins, and wool southwards via the contemporary commercial centre of Aquileia. Noricum was attached to the Roman Empire in 15 BCE most likely in connection with the conquest of the neighbouring Raetia and, probably, with no severe fights taking place. It remained, at first, to have the status of *regnum Noricum*, the common provincial administrative was being built only gradually. However, the cultural advancement of the region (its indigenous written tradition) helped its very early integration and intensive Romanization. The main administrative centre was *Virunum*. Thus, Noricum, of all the Roman provinces along the river Danube, was exposed to the Roman influence for the longest period of time.

Pannonia is the ancient name of the territory (and later the Roman province) bordered by Danube in the north and east which lies in today's Hungary and

⁴ See Urbanová – Blažek (2008, 70 ff.).

⁵ Waldherr (2001, 749 ff.).

⁶ Dietz (2000, 1003 ff.); Svoboda (1974, 420).

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eastern Austria (*Carnuntum*, *Vindobona*) and reached as far as Slovakia (*Gerulata*). Its southern regions further extended to the territories of today's Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia as far as to the south of the river Sava; originally, it was part of Illyricum. In 119 BCE, the Romans succeeded in occupying the town of *Sciscia* (today's Sisak in Croatia), but it was only a temporary victory, as the town was definitively conquered in 35 BCE.⁷ Furthermore, the rebellious population of northern Pannonia was not subdued before Tiberius who managed to do so in 6–9 CE. He separated Pannonia from Illyricum; thus, Pannonia became an independent province ca. in half of the 1st century CE. It was in this time that the frontiers of the Roman Empire were reinforced militarily: on the right bank of Danube, the military camps of *Carnuntum* (today's Petronell), *Vindobona* (today's Vienna), *Aquincum* (today's Budapest), and *Brigetium* (at the crossroads of the rivers Váh and Danube) were built, where four legions were planted. Later, during Domitian's and Trajan's reign, the Roman borders were mutually interconnected with roads and significantly enforced by the system of checkpoints. Moreover, forward military bases were established beyond the borders (e.g. Devín–Bratislava). The important centres of the region were also the towns of *Scarbantia* (today's Sopron), *Savaria* (today's Szombathely) in Hungary, *Poetovio* (today's Ptuj) in Slovenia, and the above mentioned Sisak in Croatia. The Roman expansion to Dacia increased the importance of the province and in the 2nd century CE it was further divided into two provinces: *Pannonia superior*, the upper Pannonia with three legions situated in *Carnuntum*, *Vindobona*, and *Brigetium*, and *Pannonia inferior*, the lower Pannonia, with one legion being in service in *Aquincum*. The establishment of colonies settled mostly by Italian veterans was very important for the process of Romanization in Pannonia. Latin inscriptions and archaeological excavations document the ongoing Romanization in the time of the principate and the spread of Roman cults (Jupiter, Venus, Apollo, Neptune, Fortuna, Hercules) in the area. There is also the evidence of the existence of Romanized oriental cults and local deities (Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras, Isis, Sedatus) in this region. Therefore, the occurrence of curse tablets here can be expected from the 1st century CE.

⁷ Burian (2000, 250 ff.); Svoboda (1974, 452).

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10.1 THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Most of the curse tablets come from Germania – Kropp's corpus (2008) includes 20 tablets from Germania, but only two from Noricum, seven from Raetia, and four from Pannonia.⁸

More tablets have been unearthed in 1999 thanks to the excavations taking place in the construction area of a new shopping mall in Mainz (ancient *Mogontiacum*, *Germania superior*).⁹ These were found in the remnants of a sacred precinct dedicated to the Egyptian goddess *Isis Panthea*,¹⁰ and the Phrygian *Mater Magna* (Great Mother), the deities very rarely documented in the Northern provinces. The votive inscription found in the location tells us that the construction of the mutually connected shrines of both deities was ordered by an imperial freedwoman named Claudia Iemas and an imperial slave Vitulus.¹¹ Three clay figurines, the so-called *kolossoi*,¹² and 34 inscribed lead tablets¹³ have been found in the votive deposits probably adjacent to the temple of *Mater Magna*. The complete edition of all tablets found at Mainz was published in 2012.¹⁴ My corpus includes only 22 of these texts based on the publications of J. Blänsdorf (2004, 2005, 2007/2008, 2008, 2010, 2012); the other twelve tablets (not included in my corpus) published in 2012 contain mostly hardly interpretable fragmentary or short texts including prevalently the names of cursed people. In other words, most of the evidence of curses and prayers for justice (34 tablets) comes from Mainz. Between 1885 and 1886, other eleven tablets were found in the Roman burial ground near Kreuznach,¹⁵

⁸ New curse tablets found in Pannonia have recently been published by Barta (2009, 23 ff.; 2012; 2015, 2016, 2017, 2017a) so, up to this day, the total number of curse tablets found in Pannonia is nine.

⁹ See Blänsdorf (2005, 2008, 2010, and especially 2012).

¹⁰ The name of this goddess, whose cult spread around the whole Mediterranean and is documented in Italia as soon as the end of the 2nd century BCE, appears also in tablets No. **64** from Trier (see 9.1.1.) and No. **217** from Hispania (1.2.1) which contains a prayer for justice and dated to the 2nd century CE.

¹¹ Blänsdorf (2008, 47 ff.).

¹² See especially Witteyer (2004, 42 ff.); and 1.8.1.

¹³ Blänsdorf (2008, 50). However, the authors of these texts appeal only to *Mater Magna* and Attis, not to Isis.

¹⁴ See Blänsdorf (2012). The texts cited according to this edition, are marked with the abbreviation DTM, if not stated otherwise.

¹⁵ See DT (94 –103); Kropp (2008, **dfx.5.1.4/1** –5.14/11).

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single pieces of evidence have preserved in diverse localities.¹⁶ This corpus includes altogether 42 tablets from Germania (31 curses and 11 prayers for justice), two curses from Noricum, five tablets from Raetia (four curses and one prayer for justice),¹⁷ and four tablets from Pannonia (three curses and one prayer for justice).¹⁸

Most of the texts found in Germania (ten tablets) date to the 1st century CE, the tablets from Mainz (ca. 17) have been dated to 65–130 CE, and single pieces of evidence are from the 2nd or the 3rd century CE. The same applies to the prayers for justice found in Germania and the texts coming from the territories of Noricum, Raetia, and Pannonia – they were all made in the 1st or the 2nd century CE. This suggests that the Mediterranean cursing tradition spread to the Northern provinces only with a small delay, when compared to the dating of the tablets found in Italy and Hispania (mostly the 1st century BCE or the 1st century CE). Surprisingly, the texts found in the Northern provinces are much earlier than those coming from Gallia (these are mostly dated to the 4th/5th century CE). As a comparison, the texts from the African provinces and Britannia mostly date to the 2nd/3rd century CE. Nevertheless, these data point rather to the randomness of the findings than the real situation.

The largest number of curses and prayers for justice coming from Germania has been found in the shrine's votive deposit at Mainz (altogether 34 tablets), out of which 22 are included in this corpus (15 curses and seven prayers for justice).¹⁹ Several tablets have also been revealed in graves (curses No. **70–81**, No. **83**, and a prayer for justice No. **227**), other texts were found in the soil (curses No. **82** and No. **100**, and prayers for justice No. **228–230**). Only a single tablet from Germania was found in connection to a water source (No. **84**). The texts from Raetia have preserved in graves (No. **103–104**, No. **238**) as well as in houses (No. **105** and No. **106**); those from Noricum in the soil (No. **102**) or in the shrine (No. **101**); and the ones from Pannonia in the water (No. **107**), in a grave

¹⁶ See e.g. the tablet from Gellep published by Blänsdorf (2014, 181-187) which is not included in this corpus.

¹⁷ The text of the tablets (**dfx.7.3/1** and **7.3/2** in Kropp's corpus, 2008) is very corrupted; therefore, they are not included in my corpus.

¹⁸ A legal curse most recently found in Aquincum and published by Barta (2009, 23 ff.) is not included in this corpus; however, it is stated in the text below. For further new evidence, see Barta (2012, 2015, 2016, 2017).

¹⁹ If we also take into account the severely damaged texts from Mainz, it can be presumed that DTM 18, 24, 26, 27, and 34 are the curses containing the nominal list of people accursed; DTM 9 and 29 are perhaps prayers for justice; and DTM 30–33 cannot be classified reliably either as curses or prayers for justice.

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(No. **109**), in a house (No. **108**)²⁰, and in an amphitheatre in Carnuntum (the only prayer for justice). All texts were inscribed on lead tablets except for No. **102** found in Raetia, which was written on a brick (see 10.1.1.1.).

The tablets containing both curses and prayers for justice have been mostly found rolled into scrolls or with no signs of any ritual manipulation, only rarely also transfixed.

As in the other European provinces, in Germania we have mostly the non-specific curses (17), whereas the number of the legal curses (12) is relatively high, too; two texts are connected to rivalry in love. The two curses found in Noricum are non-specific; in Raetia two legal curses and one curse related to rivalry in love have been found; the same applies for Pannonia where new pieces of evidence documenting legal curses from Aquincum were recently published.²¹ One love spell comes from Raetia (No. **106**)²². Generally, it can be said that, as far as the preserved documentation is concerned, curses dominate over prayers for justice in the Northern provinces, which corresponds to the general tendency manifested also in the provinces on the European continent. However, the texts from Germania, whose number is sufficient to judge from, suggest the increasing amount of prayers for justice; the ratios of curses and prayers for justice are as follows: 45:5 in Italy, 11:7 in Hispania, 13:6 in Gallia, and 31:11 in Germania.²³ No prayers for justice have been found in the African provinces yet.²⁴ The number of preserved texts is certainly not final, neither can be; however, with some doubts, it can be stated that prayers for justice were more frequently made in the northern and western European provinces. Interestingly, the evidence found in Britannia speaks for a contrary situation – prayers for justice are much more frequent here than curses (this corpus includes 69 prayers for justice and only 25 curses from Britannia).

²⁰ The new curses from Pannonia found in Aquincum and Savaria come from graves.

²¹ Barta (2009, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2017a)

²² See also 7.3. dealing with the new findings from the fountain of Anna Perenna and the tablet No. **69** from Gallia.

²³ If all pieces of evidence from Mainz are taken into account, including those not stated in this corpus, the ratio of curses and prayers for justice found in Germania is 36:13.

²⁴ In her corpus, Kropp (2008) classifies the texts dfx. 11.1.1/2, dfx. 11.1.1/34 from Africa as prayers for justice; however, I take them as legal curses.

10.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

The non-specific curses are the best attested curse type also in Germania (17 tablets); two such curses have been found in Noricum, too. Two thirds of these are very short, frequently containing mere nominal lists of the people accursed. However, the interpretation of some texts, despite their simplicity, is still doubted.

Generally, it can be assumed that the names of victims usually stand in the nominative, which is often “stiff”, i.e. used independently on the relevant predicate.²⁵ For example, No. **90** from Mainz, DTM 13: *Cassius Fortunatus e(t) bona illius et Lutatia Restituta necetis e(os)*. (“Cassius Fortunatus and his property and Lutatia Restituta, kill them.”).

Only a fifth of all texts of curses include victims’ names in the accusative; nevertheless, in the case of mere nominal lists without any cursing verb, it is hardly determinable what case the author actually meant, as the omission of the consonants *-s* and *-m* in final position was a common feature at the time. However, we have to consider also the isolation of the proper name due to a clear focus on it in curse texts, see Adams (2013, 215-216, 226 ff.). See, for instance, No. **97** from Mainz, DTM 23:

Minicius Campanus, Martianus Armicus Severum tesserarium, Cantarum²⁶ equitem. J. Blänsdorf (2012, 159) interprets the text as follows: “Minicius Campanus, Martianus Armicus [verfluchen] den *tesserarius* Severus und den Reiter Cantarus.” (“Minicius Campaus and Martianuss Armicus [accuse/damn?] *tesserarius*²⁷ Severus and the equestrian Cantarus.”).

The cursing verb is omitted so the change of case could have also expressed the opposition of subject and object. However, it must be said that this would mean a significant deviation from common cursing practice, as curses do not usually include authors’ names (see also 1.2.3.) except for some rare examples of legal curses. Names regularly appear only in love spells. The omission of the author’s

²⁵ See Audollent (1904: L); Jeanneret (1918, 132 ff.); Ruíz (1967, 219 ff.); Solin (1968, 14 ff.). The author could have feared to decline the victim’s name to avoid the misidentification of the accursed person. See also 1.6., and No. **27**: *B: inimicos meos commendo: Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, alius trado: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice...* (see 7.3.2.). See also Adams (2013, 226-228).

²⁶ However, Blänsdorf (2010, 166) reads *Cantar(um)*.

²⁷ The term is here used in military context: “a military officer of lower grade” whose task was to pass the commander’s orders to soldiers (see also Blänsdorf, 2010, 166).

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name may have had been caused by various reasons: first, the author was very well aware of the fact that s/he committed an act in conflict with the generally accepted moral principles and that his/her actions were illegal; thus, no one should have known anything about it. Furthermore, there could have been a significant fear that the curse could backfire on the author, if his/her name was included in the text – let us remember that the tablets rolled into scrolls were often transixed with a nail, in which case the curse could have also afflicted the author. In addition, the author could have been afraid of a vengeance in the form of a counter-spell.²⁸ The text cannot be interpreted as a prayer for justice either because, although this genre often contains the author's name, there is no reference to any damage suffered, which is the only distinctive feature differentiating prayers for justice from curses (see also 1.2.3.). I consider the oscillation of the nominative and the accusative cases to be a mistake or the tendency to isolate proper names in nominative often present in curse texts, see Adams (2013, 215 ff. and Urbanová, 2018 in print); therefore, I suppose that all names mentioned in the tablet refer to the people accursed, i.e. [*defigo*] *Miniciu(m) Campanu(m), Martianu(m) Armicuu(m) Severum tesserarium, Cantarum equitem*.

The much damaged tablet No. **94** from Mainz, DTM 19, is disputable, too (the text is probably written right-to-left): *I... An... Arbil... Veceta i... Verecundus SANAACAS*²⁹ *Sottas, m(a)las*. J. Blänsdorf (2008, 56 ff.; 2012: DTM 19) presumes that the fragments of the names preserved in the beginning of the text refer to those who are being accursed, i.e. to *malas Saganas*, “bad witches”. This would, again, be in disagreement with common cursing practice, as the authors identified by name would then accurse the unspecified and explicitly unnamed bad witches.

Let us examine another tablet from Germania No. **73** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1.4/2**:

*Fructus Gracilis et Aureum Adiutorium def(ero) i(nfer)is, sic non possit respo(nde)re quaestionibus. (I hand over Fructus Gracilis and Aureus Adiutorius to the infernal gods so that they cannot answer the questions.)*³⁰

²⁸ See also Versnel (1991, 62 ff.) who takes into account further ethnological perspectives.

²⁹ DTM 19 proposes to read *sacaanas* (= *saganas*) or *sana agas*, the latter, however, would probably mean that it is not a curse, see also TheDeMa 135.

³⁰ See also Kropp's (2008) well-grounded addition of *Fructum Gracilem*, for a different interpretation see Blänsdorf (2012, 187) and TheDeMa 741.

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The author seems to begin with the name of the victim in the nominative; however, the following name after the coordinate conjunction *et* is stated in the accusative. This oscillation of cases is most probably the result of the author's negligence or the tendency to put the names of cursed persons in nominative – i.e. in their proper forms; see also the tablet No. **97** above.

Also the following text from Mainz displays the omission of final *-m*, not the functional opposition of subject and object. See No. **88**, DTM 8:³¹

Avita noverca dono tibi et Gratum (do)no tibi... (“I give you stepmother Avita and I give you Gratus...”).

It seems more plausible that the stepmother is the victim of this curse together with Gratus, The other, less probable, option is that she is the author of the tablet stating her name. Tablet No. **98** from Mainz, DTM 25, is another example of inattentive writing: *Lamixa Zerita... uilli ancil(l)am* (“[I accurse] Lamixa Zerita, the maid of ...uillius.”). The victim's name stands in the nominative here, whereas its attribute is used in the accusative. I assume that the authors of the abovementioned texts No. **97** and No. **94** made the same common mistake or wanted to keep the name of the victim in an unchanged form in nominative which is obvious in case of the latter curse.

Similarly, in a tablet from Britannia, the names of accursed people oscillate between the accusative and the nominative. Text No. **204**, dfx.3.22/18, which was found in Uley together with other two prayers for justice, is dated to the 2nd–4th cent. CE: *Aunillus, V(ica)riana, Covitius Mini(f) dona(t) Varicillum, Minura, Atavacum*. The editors³² point out that the lists of cursed people found in Britannia usually contain either all names in the nominative or (rarely) in the accusative, based on which they assume that the oscillation of the cases is deliberate in this tablet. That would mean that all names in the nominative are the names of the authors, while all names in the accusative denote those accursed. Nevertheless, three names are stated after the verb *dona(t) – Varicillum, Minura, Atavacum* – out of which only two stand in the accusative. The editors solve this problem by amending the text as follows: *dona(t) Varicillum, Minura (donat) Atavacum*. However, if the other *donat* is not added and if the initial names really are in the nominative, the text can, again, be regarded an example of graphic oscillation and the negligence of its author(s). Perhaps the text was meant as a prayer for justice with no reason stated, but this

³¹ See also Blänsdorf (2008, 55 ff.; 2012: DTM 8).

³² See Hassall – Tomlin (1995, 376 ff.).

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is a mere speculation considering the fact that prayers for justice mostly contain a single or, at the most, two names of authors while the number of victims (if the culprit is known or suspected) is usually higher. For example, No. **294** from Britannia reads: *Nomine Camulorigi(s) et Titocun(a)e* (see 6.2.) and No. **308** (see 12.2.3.).

In addition, the new findings in Mainz provided us with two remarkable non-specific curses politely addressed to Attis and Mater Magna. These, however, certainly cannot be regarded prayers for justice as they do not contain the names of authors nor any damage suffered.³³ No. **85** from Mainz, **dfx.5.1.5/2**, DTM 5, reads:

*A: Bone sancte Atthis Tyranne, adsi(s), advenias Liberali iratus. Per omnia te rogo, domine, per tuum Castorem, Pollucem, per cistas penetrales, des ei malam mentem, malum exitum, quandius vita vixerit, ut omni corpore videat se emori praeter oculos. B: neque se possit redimere, nulla pecunia nullaque re neq(ue) abs te neque ab ullo deo nisi ut exitum malum. Hoc presta, rogo te per maiestatem tuam.*³⁴ (“Good, holy Att(h)is, Lord, help [me?],³⁵ come to Liberalis in anger. I ask you by everything, Lord, by your Castor and Pollux, by the *cistae*³⁶ inside your sanctuary, give him a bad mind, a bad death, as long as he lives his life, so that he may see himself dying all over his body, except for his eyes. And may he not be able to redeem himself by any money or anything else, either from you or from any other god, but may he [die] a bad death. Grant this, I ask you by your majesty.”)

The tablet is written in good Latin including rhetorical devices and anaphorically ordered dicola and tricola; therefore, it can be supposed that the author had at least some education, either a general one, or in the field of

³³ Blänsdorf (2010, 149) notes that these texts in a way belong to the category of prayers for justice, though they lack the typical features of this genre, e.g. the damage suffered (see e.g. No. **239**, 6.2.1.3.).

³⁴ This is the reading and interpretation of Blänsdorf (2007/2008, 17 ff.; 2010, 166 ff.; 2012, DTM5). See also Chalupa (2011, 240) who, without any argumentation, considers the text to be a prayer for justice.

³⁵ Apart from Blänsdorf’s interpretation, this place can also be understood as a pleonastic “appear, come to Liberalis”.

³⁶ *Cistae* were probably baskets to deposit the cut-off genitals of the priests of Mater Magna (see Blänsdorf, 2010, 168) held in the inner parts of her temple; no sanctuaries were built to Attis. See Chalupa (2011, 240 ff.) who translates “by the baskets (hidden) inside the sanctuary”.

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magic.³⁷ Attis is addressed not as a chthonic deity but as the supreme god, though the former aspect of his is probably present, too. The author politely appeals to the deity: *Bone sancte Atthis Tyranne* and continues with two synonymic verbs, which Blänsdorf interprets as separated from each other adding (*mihi*) after the first *adsis*. However, I believe that this amendment is inappropriate as there is another more plausible option – the two verbs display the accumulation of synonymic terms common in curses, i.e. “appear, come to Liberalis, and give him a bad mind (probably in the sense “to make him insane”). Further, the author wishes that the victim dies a terrible and painful death,³⁸ which he is supposed to observe for the rest of his life, that is why his eyes are to remain intact. The author’s wish that the victim cannot break the effect of the curse nor escape it³⁹ in any way (redeem himself or use a counter-spell) is an innovative feature in the extant Latin curses. This formula is otherwise documented in this form only in Germania in curse No. **85** and the prayers for justice, No. **231** and No. **232**.⁴⁰ The verb *redimere* also appears in the prayers for justice found in Britannia, but it is associated with vengeance on culprit who cannot redeem his crime in other way than with his own blood, see No. **277**: *...sanguine et vitae suae redimat*. (“...let him buy it back with [his] blood and his own life.”) (see 6.2. and 6.2.1.).

Another curse addressed to Attis is No. **87** from Mainz, **dfx.5.1.5/8**, DTM 4, which reads:

*A: Tiberius Claudius Adiutor in megaro eum rogo te, Mat(e)r Magna, megaro tuo recipias. Et Attis domine, te precor, ut hu(n)c (h)ostiam acceptum (h)abiatis, et quit aget, aginat sal et aqua illi fiat. Ita tu facias dom(i)na it, quid cor eoconora (= iecinora?) c(a?)edat B: Devotum defictum illum menbra, medullas... Nullum aliud sit, Attis, Mater Magn(a).*⁴¹

³⁷ See also Blänsdorf (2010, 149 ff.).

³⁸ See Blänsdorf (2010, 148), and Versnel (1998, 227 ff.) who, in the curses containing extensive lists of body parts, notices the growing tendency to afflict the victim with the most painful death possible (see also 7.3.1.1.).

³⁹ This effort is also documented in the Greek texts (see 1.9.2.).

⁴⁰ See 3.3.3., 1.10.2., and 10.2.3.

⁴¹ This is the reading and interpretation of Blänsdorf (2010, 174, DTM 4); see also 8.1.1. Blänsdorf (2007/2008, 12 ff.) states that side A of this tablet was inscribed with capital letters including some mistakes, while side B was written in the Old Roman cursive. He regards this to be the evidence of the fact that the two tablets were written without any help from a professional ritual practitioner.

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(“Tiberius Claudius Adiutor, in the *megaron*,⁴² I ask you, Mater Magna, to receive him in the *megaron* [on your altar?], Lord Attis, I ask you to embrace him as an offering to you [lit. to possess him as an offering received], and may whatever he does or busies himself with become salt and water [=salty water]⁴³ for him. Thus, may you, Lady, do whatever harms⁴⁴ his heart, liver, [make] him cursed and ‘caught’, in his limb, strength, let nothing else happen [?],⁴⁵ Attis, *Mater Magna*.”)

As in the previous one, the text begins with the polite address to the deity common in prayers for justice, but there is no mention of damage suffered. Moreover, the victim, Tiberius Claudius, is handed over as an offering to the deity as is common in curses, see also No. 16: *hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas Danaen*. Chalupa (2011, 241) takes into account two possible interpretations of the sequence *hu(n)c (h)ostiam (h)abiatis*: the offering to the deity is either Tiberius Claudius himself or an animal sacrifice. I am inclined to the first option that the sequence refers to Tiberius Claudius himself, analogically to the above mentioned tablet No. 16: *hanc = Danaen*. The tablet also contains a not very detailed list of cursed body parts, which is referring to the body as a whole: *cor, iecinora, membra, medullas*, as in the previous tablet. In addition, the tablet demonstrates the blending of the formulaic expressions typical of curses – *(h)ostiam acceptum (h)abias; devotum, defixum, membra*,

⁴² The term *megaron* derived from Greek μέγαρον may denote a part of the sanctuary, a depository of the offerings to the chthonic deities, or an altar dug into the ground (see also No. 220, 8.2.; Blänsdorf, 2010, 174 ff.). Tomlin interprets as *Domine Megare* in tablet No. 220 (3.3.2.), i.e. as “the Lord Megarus” meaning the lord of the underground sanctuary where Attis was buried; the ambiguous *megaron* is later in the text elucidated by *ut hu(n)c hostiam*...Whatever the interpretation, the human offering in tablet No. 87 was probably supposed to head for the Underworld (see 10.1.1.). Chalupa (2011, 241) suggests another, very likely, interpretation: “Tiberius Claudius Adiutor, on your altar, please, Mater Magna, receive him on your altar...” (see also Simón, 2010, 412).

⁴³ *Sal et aqua illi fiat* is probably a kind of proverb. The salt water is of no use as it cannot quench one’s thirst. Thus, the meaning here is obvious: “may his business go to waste, may it be of no benefit to him”, see also the Czech proverb “nemít ani na slanou vodu” which can be translated as “not having enough money even for a salt water” (comparable to the English idioms like “living on the breadline”, “being hard up”, or “not keeping the wolf from the door”). This is perhaps also related to the verb *aginat* – Blänsdorf (2010, 173) states *aginatus – qui agit aliquid, id est negotiatur* in his commentary.

⁴⁴ *Cedo = caedo?* (see also 10.1.1.).

⁴⁵ I.e. perhaps “may it happen as I wish and not otherwise”.

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medulas including an alliteration – with the typical features found in prayers for justice – *Attis domine, te precor*, as well as with author's own innovations like *sal et aqua illi fiat* (the expression is attested only in the tablets from Germania, see No. 233).⁴⁶ Finally, the concluding formula *nullum aliud sit* has been found nowhere else so far. The text includes the features of Vulgar Latin and its author(s) had to be acquainted with the formulae used in Roman prayers, as these are applied here for magical purposes.⁴⁷

Another non-specific curse found in Mainz, No. 89, DTM 10, is inspired by the cult of *Mater Magna* and refers to the self-harm practiced by her priests; unfortunately, the text is disrupted to a large extent and reads:

A: Mando et rogo liberta(m) Cerialis, ut ea(m) ext(r)a IPIVTI (= ipsam?) fac(i)atis, ut se plangat... (v)elit se, quomodum arc(h)igalli se B: CO(.)LI sibi settas facia(ti)s,... ita me(n)ses duos, ut eorum ixsitum (= exitum) audiam, d(i)liquescant quattmmodi hoc d(i)liquescet. (“I commend [to you] and ask that you make the freedwoman of Cerialis out of her mind, may she hurt herself... want to... herself just like *archigalli* [beat] themselves... [the following text is unintelligible] in two months may I hear of her death... may they melt away just as this [piece of lead] will melt away.”)⁴⁸

Unfortunately, side B is completely unintelligible; therefore, the interpretation of the text cannot be complete. However, I suppose that it contains a request to the deity to fulfil the author's wish within two months.

The following text, No. 100 from Cologne, makes use of the magical orientation of the script in agreement with the formulaic use of compounds of *verto* (see 6.2.1.1.):

*A: Vaeraca, sic res tua: perve(r)se agas, comodo hoc perverse scriptu(m) est. B: Quidquid exop(ta)s nobi(s) in caput tuum eveniat.*⁴⁹ (“Vaeraca, this is how it is going to be for you: may you go along twistedly [i.e. wrongly] just like this is written in a twisted way [the text is written right-to-left, i.e. in an

⁴⁶ A similar phrase is documented in Britannia: *...sic liquat com(odo) aqua...* (see No. 142).

⁴⁷ See especially Blänsdorf (2010, 154).

⁴⁸ The analogy between the victim and the lead tablet also appears in other tablets not only from Mainz (see 1.4. and 6.2.1.1.; see also 10.2.4.), see also Franek-Urbanová (2017).

⁴⁹ For the reading and interpretation, see Blänsdorf – Kropp – Scholz (2010, 272 ff.); see also 1.7.1. and 6.2.1.1.; and Faraone – Kropp (2010, 395 ff.).

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unusual manner]. Whatever [bad] you wish for us, may it come down on your head.”).

This brief tablet displays several deviations from common practice. Although, the right-to-left orientation of the text is not rare in curses, there is usually no explicit reference to a formula based on the verb *verto*. *Perverse agas* denotes that whatever the victim does may end reversely, i.e. badly. Such a formula accompanied by the reverse orientation of script also appears in tablet No. **230** which was, too, found in Germania, and contains a prayer for justice (see below); and in tablet No. **109** from Pannonia related to rivalry in love (see below). All other extant texts either use this formula together with only a victim’s name written reversely, or just figuratively, without any magical orientation of the script, see e.g. No. **68** (9.1.2. and 10.1.2.). Side B of this curse could perhaps be also interpreted as a counter-spell, if the author suspected Vaeraca of using a curse of her own against him/her (see also 7.3.1.4. and 10.1.2. below).

A magically oriented script (victim’s name written upside-down) related to the formulation of the curse is found in tablet No. **101** from Noricum, formerly interpreted as a love-spell:⁵⁰

A: Pluton sive Iovem infernum dici oportet, Aeracura Iuno inferna, acciet(e) iam celerius infrascriptum et tradite Manibus⁵¹ Aurelium Sinnianum Caesarianum B: Sic Silvia inversu(m) maritu(m) cernis, quomodo nomen illius scriptum est. (“Pluto, or, if it is fitting to say the infernal Jupiter, Aeracura, the infernal Iuno, summon the one written below as fast as possible and hand over Aurelius Sinnianus Caesarianus to *Manes*. May you, Silvia, see your husband upside-down, just like his name is written.”).

The tablet was found inside a tiny vessel in the remnants of a sacral building. Egger (1963, 30 ff.) interpreted the text as a love spell by which a deceived wife wants to get her husband from his mistress back home.⁵² In other words, Pluto and Iuno are asked to hand the unfaithful husband over to the infernal gods who

⁵⁰ Egger (1993, 24 –33); for the interpretation, see Faraone – Kropp (2010, 387 ff.), for another interpretation made by Weber (1985) see TheDeMa 768.

⁵¹ The committal to *dis Manibus*, as well as to Pluto, obviously means death; see also *Dii Manes commendo, ut perdant/pereant?*, which may refer to the wish either that the opponent loses a lawsuit, or to destroy the opponents (No. **27**, 7.3.2.).

⁵² Egger considered *Silvia* to be the name of the author which is, however, not common in curses; therefore, he interpreted the text as a love spell, as the author’s name is usually stated in these (see above, e.g. No. **143**, 1.1.2.2.3.).

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are then supposed to bring him home. However, the tablet does not closely resemble other love spells: *inversus* meaning “homecoming” is not attested – if used, it always denotes “reversed, inverted, perverted” – and the committal to the infernal deities Pluto and Iuno points rather to the common cursing practice against opponents ending in harming or, as in this case, killing the victim.⁵³ If we regard the text as a curse reflecting a usual rivalry or animosity, the unnamed author accuses Aurelius Sinnianus and, on side B, makes clear that s/he wants to hurt him and cause pain to his wife Silvia, who is even explicitly addressed in the curse: *sic Silvia inversu(m) maritu(m) cernis*. Kropp (2008a, 156) points out two other examples of the direct address to the victim in curses, namely No. **106** from Peiting, **dfx.7.4/1**: *Gemella ama Clementem*, and No. **102** written as a letter addressed explicitly to the victim: *Livia peribis*. Nevertheless, such formulations are very rare and documented only in the texts found in Noricum and Raetia.⁵⁴

The curse No. **102** found in Wilhering, **dfx.6.2/1**, was inscribed on a brick and reads:

(Do)mino fartori Victorino salutem. Mox litteras meas perceperis, ut statuim(us). Demes litteras meas felicissime et i(n?) pos(t?) cum Livia peribis. (“Hail to the chicken-feeder Victorinus. Soon you will receive [read] my letter, as we proposed. You will very happily throw it away and right after die together with Livia.”)

Kropp (2008a, 456 ff.) is inclined to interpret this text as a joke or a writing exercise. Be it meant seriously or not, it is certainly a very peculiar and unique evidence of cursing text. The direct addresses to the cursed people may demonstrate the local adaptations of cursing tradition in the Northern provinces and the amateurish attempts of the authors coming from these areas. As for the term *epistula* in curse texts, see TheDeMa 1429, 1115.

10.1.2 Legal Curses

Most of the specified curses found in Germania are legal curses; out of these 12 have been included in this corpus together with three curses from Pannonia and

⁵³ See also Faraone – Kropp (2010, 388). The sequence *maritum inversum* may perhaps be understood also as a separation curse, i.e. “may he turn away from Silvia”.

⁵⁴ Kropp (2008a, 156 ff.) notes that the classification of the texts containing such formulae is often disputable considering a peculiar location of the finding of the material used (No. **102** written on a brick).

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two curses from Raetia. These texts, too, display many peculiarities deviating from the common use of this genre – e.g. they often contain the name of the author/cursing party. In addition, they differ in the aims of their authors – unlike the usual restrictions found in legal curses, the adversaries at court are often supposed to not only be limited in some way but also killed (see 5.1.1.). Generally, it can be said that legal curses from the region in question almost all come from Kreuznach; except for No. **92** which was found in Mainz, No. **103** and No. **105** from Raetia, and No. **107** and No. **108** from Pannonia. In these, we find two particular ways of formulating the curse. One formulation comprises of the nominal list of cursed people, usually referred to as enemies (*inimici, hostes, adversarii*), in the nominative which occurs in five texts (apart from a single text No. **81** which contains the names predominantly in the accusative) and a brief concluding formula specifying what exactly should happen to the victims. The other formula contains more detailed statements, usually referring to a smaller number of enemies, specifying the restrictions to paralyse the adversaries in a lawsuit.

No. **74** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1.4/3**, is one of the simpler texts:

A: Inimicorum nomina ad inferos... B: Inimicorum nomina: Optatus Silonis ad inferos: Faustus Ornatus, Terentius Attisso, Atticinus Ammonis, Latinus Valeri(i), Adiutor Iuli(i), Tertius Domiti(i), Mansuetus Senodatium, Montanus materiarius, Aninius Victor, Quartio Severi, Sinto Valentis, Lutumarus lanius, Similis Crescentis, Lucanus Silonis, Communis Mercatoris, Publius offector, Aemilius Silvanus, Cossus Matuini.

The text is formulated as an appeal to the court. Side A starts with *Inimicorum nomina ad inferos* [*data* or *defero*?] written in shapely letters, which can be understood as “The names of the enemies [have been given/handed over?] to the infernal gods”. Additionally, *ICLUM* is inscribed on the side, which is probably the fragment of a previous text recycled as a palimpsest for the above mentioned curse.⁵⁵ The list of the enemies introduced by *inimicorum nomina* is inscribed on side B of the tablet and all the names of curse victims are in nominative. The victims of the curse are mostly slaves or freedmen; some names are further specified by an occupation – Montanus *materiarius* (“the wood trader”), Lutumarus *lanius* (“the butcher”), Publius *offector* (“the dyer”).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ See CIL 13, 2, 1, 7553.

⁵⁶ TIL *Volume IX*, 2, p. 486, l. 82.

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Nevertheless, text No. **75** from Kreuznach is somewhat more interesting because of the cursing formulae and the information it provides on its author's aims. The author uses the curse to kill his adversary at court. See No. **75**, **dfx.5.1.4/4**:

A: Data nomina ad inferos...⁵⁷ B: Dis Manibus hos v(oveo): L(ucium) Celi(um), C(aium) Haeb... et siquos alios hos(tes) habeo, neca illa nom(in)a. (“These names have been handed over/denounced to the infernal gods...; I [commend?] these [people] to the gods *Manes*: Lucius Caelius, Caius Haeb..., and if I have other enemies, kill them, too.”)⁵⁸

Tablet No. **82** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1.4/11**, is very brief, too: *Data nomina haec ad inferos...* Unfortunately, the text is disrupted so the victims' names did not preserve neither is it possible to assess the context of the curse.

All these texts make use of the predicates of committal in the passive (both perfect passive participle and present participle) (see below), so that the agent of the action remains unexpressed (see also 2.2.2.). This formula marginally appears also in other parts of the Roman Empire. As for the tablets from Germania, the formula occurs in tablet No. **81** from Kreuznach containing a long list of 11 cursed people in the accusative/nominative concluded with the verbal form *datur*, i.e. “is commended” (see Appendix I).

Tablet No. **79** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1./8**, displays a peculiar orientation of script. The list of the enemies' names in nominative is written in the central part of the tablet and the cursing formula is written vertically along the perimeter. It reads:

Inimici et inimic(ae)⁵⁹ Caranita(n)i: Abilius Iuvenis, Sabinus apparitor, Arria Dardisa, Optatus Silonis, Privatu(s) Se)veri, Cossus Maesi, Marcus aerari(us), Atta Marci uxor, Camula uxor Gamati Ambiti, Val(erius) Ciri, Atticinus (Amm)onis, Terentius Attiso, Iulia(?) Attisonis, Narcissus Caliphontis, Calipuntis(?) et Pudentis et Pudens... Albus(?) Vicinus...along

⁵⁷ I state the reading according to DT 97. Both CIL 13, 2, 1, 755 and Kropp (2008) read *ad inferas larvas*. Consulting the facsimile in CIL, the reading *larvas* does, in fact, seem uncertain; however, these *lectiones variae* do not change the meaning of the curse in any way.

⁵⁸ *Nomen* is used here in the meaning “person” (see also 8.1.1. and 10.1.2.), see also Urbanová – Franek (2016).

⁵⁹ The tablet reads *inimici et inimici*, which is considered to be a mistake of the author by editors (CIL 13, 2, 1, 7551, DT 101; Kropp 2008).

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the perimeter.⁶⁰ *Sic te morbo addicant Dii M(anes)... Dii inferi... sunt?* (“The enemies, male or female, of Caranitanus: [a list of ca. 17 people follows,⁶¹ including three women, free citizens, as well as freedmen; the disrupted text of the curse is written along the perimeter]. Thus, may *Di Manes* summon a disease upon you... the infernal gods... are.”)

The author’s effort to make his enemies sick is similar to the restrictions commonly used in legal curses.

Another simple legal curse is text No. **108**, found in Ljubljana, **dfx.8.2/1**, which reads:

C(aius) Volusius Maximus, Firmi Optati Proculus, Virotouta, Constans, servi atque publicius Porcius Munitus, Clodius Dexter, Tullius Secundus, Cornellius Priscus, quicumque adversar(ii) sunt omnes.

The list of people accursed is concluded by a formula lacking a cursing verb: “and all those who are [my] enemies”.

Nevertheless, the more complicated and detailed legal curses appear more frequently in the northern provinces than the simple ones. These usually aim at restrictions of the victims’ ability to speak or think. Very similar texts No. **70** (see 1.10.1. and 2.3.1.) and No. **71** from Frankfurt are especially remarkable, as they contain the name of an author, Sextus; the formulations used are very similar, too. No. **71** from Frankfurt, **dfx.5.1.2/2**, reads:

(Do i)nimicos Sexti, ut sic non possint (cont)ra Sextum venire nec agere quicq(uam) possint... ut sic (sint) vani et m(uti) q... et illi qui in... loqui Va(le)ntinus et (Fron?)to et Ripanus et Le... et Iuventin(us?)... et Luci(us) e(t)... (F)rontonem... adversari... sint vani et m(uti) (qu)omodo ista... (“[I commend] the enemies of Sextus, so that they are not able to come out or take whatever actions against Sextus... so that they are idle and mute in such a way... and those who... to speak... Valentinus and Fronto? And Ripanus and... Iuventius and Lucius... Fronto [in the accusative]... the adversaries... may they be idle and mute just like...”)

⁶⁰ The habit to write the curse along the tablet’s perimeter, so that it encloses the names of the accursed (usually horses), is well attested in the African provinces (see 11.1.3. below). In this tablet, it is probably only an unconscious attempt to make the text special.

⁶¹ The disruption of the text does not allow us to read the whole curse.

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Though the text is very damaged, it is quite understandable. Tablet No. **70**, **dfx.5.1.2/1**, includes very similar formulae:

Rogo Mane(s et dii?) inferi, ut (Ma)rius Fronto, (adv)ersariu(s) Sex(ti), sit vanus neque loqui possit contra Sextum. (“I ask [you], *Manes* and the infernal gods, may *Marius Fronto*, the enemy of *Sextus*, be unsuccessful, may he be unable to speak against *Sextus*.”)

Both tablets include also the author’s name or the name of the party on whose behalf the curse is supposed to work.

Author’s name sometimes also appears in other legal curses, e.g. in those from the African provinces, see No. **115** from Carthage: ... *facias illos mutos adversus Atlosam* (“...make those against *Atlosa* mute...”); and No. **116** from Carthage: *(adver?)sus Obsecram Speratae... adversus eam loqui non possint, inimici adversus eam loqui...* (“Against? *Obsecra*, [the daughter/freedwoman] of *Sperata*... may they be unable to speak against her, the enemies to speak against her...”) (see 11.1.2.); see also another text No. **46** from Hispania: *omnes quei inimeici Senecae* (see 8.1.2.). Unlike these scarce examples from other provinces, the curses from Germania strangely often include the author’s name. Apart from the three aforementioned tablets No. **79**, No. **70**, and No. **71**, names also appear in tablet No. **76** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1.4/5**, which reads:

Sinto Valentis sive alii inimici. Sinto Valentinus inimicus. Sic quomodo plumbum subsidet, sic Sintonem et Martialem Sinto(nis) et adiutorium Sintonis et quisquis contra Rubrium fr(atre)m⁶² et me Quartionem, si qui(s) contravenerit, Sintonem et adiutorium eius Sintonis defero ad infero(s). Sic nusquam contra nos (inve)nisse respon(sio)nis, cum loquantur inimici. Sic (d)esumat non parentem⁶³ tanquam infero(s). (“*Sinto*, [the freedman?] of *Valens*, or other enemies. *Sinto Valentinus* [is] an enemy. Just as the lead sinks [to the bottom], so I drive down to the gods of the Underworld *Sinto* and *Martialis*, [the son/slave] of *Sinto*, and his assistant and whomever [is] against my brother *Rubrius* and me, *Quartio*, if anyone comes out against [us], *Sinto* and the assistant of this *Sinto*. In this way, [he/they can] never contrive? a response against us [to refute our statement?], when the enemies

⁶² The text is slightly disrupted, I state the reading from Kropp (2008) and *CIL* 13, 2, 1 7554.

⁶³ I take over the interpretation of R. Wünsch who reads *desumat sc. plumbum Sintonem* and further *non parentem*, i.e. *ita ut in iudicio non appareat*. The tablet may be unfinished, as there is no space left on it, perhaps we can surmise *tanquam esset apud inferos*.

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speak out. In this way, may [this lead tablet] afflict? [Sinto] absent [at court?] just like [as if he was in?] the Underworld.”)

R. Wunsch assigns the hardly interpretable parts to the commonness of the author. The tablet has been found in a grave together with tablets No. 75 and No. 74 (see above), which also curses *Sinto Valentis*, probably the same person. All three tablets date to the second half of the 1st century CE.

Tablet No. 92, found in Mainz, is another interesting example of this genre. Unfortunately, its text is very damaged, partially because of the iron nail piercing it from outside. Thus, only some short parts of the texts are understandable. It may perhaps, in fact, be a prayer for justice, but it is impossible to tell due to the above mentioned reasons. Blänsdorf (2008, 64 ff.) points out that several other tablets from Mainz have been transfixed, too; however, the idea that the holes served the public exposure of the tablets in a temple is implausible – in Mainz, as well as in Britannia, curses and prayers for justice were thought to be reserved for the eyes of gods. Only shorter sequences of the text are understandable; *recto*, the text is written in normal way but *verso*, it runs in right-to-left direction. It cannot be decisively regarded a curse – the text may well be a prayer for justice. Tablet No. 92 reads:

A: Fo(r)tunam dolus q(u)otti(die...)i... sed⁶⁴ vir pa(tri?)... deo meo... i meo.u (sp)oliav(it)... B: mentem, memoriam, cor, cogitatum il(le q)uisquis patrem meum con(s)p(exit?), illi et ius (/sui te illi?).

The text cannot be coherently translated,⁶⁵ but the less damaged side B contains a well-readable list of cursed body parts focused especially on mental capacities: *mentem, memoriam, cor, cogitatum* (“mind, memory, heart, cogitation”). This probably points to a legal context of the curse, just like the following sequence *illi et ius*, but the overall sense cannot be deduced more accurately. Moreover, it is questionable whether the initial term *Fortunam* refers to the goddess or a property. The ritual treatment of the tablet indicates that it is rather a curse, as prayers for justice are less often pierced than curses (a single tablet from Italy, two from Germania). The same applies to the

⁶⁴ Blänsdorf (2012, DTM 16) states another possible reading of this sequence: *dolus q(u)ot ti(b)i sed*, which could then be translated either as “every day” or “how much [...] to you” (see also Appendix I).

⁶⁵ Blänsdorf (2008, 65) states a fragmentary translation: “Fortuna die List täglich/wieviele dir... aber ein Mann dem Vater... meinem Gott?... meinem geraubt hat... Verstand, Gedächtnis, Herz, Gedanken, und jener, wer auch meinen Vater an(geschaut?)... dem auch das Recht (?)”.

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aforementioned list of body parts, as these appear mainly in curses (see No. **87** above).⁶⁶

The following two legal curses come from Raetia. Tablet No. **103**, from Bregenz, **dfx.7.1/1**, again, contains the name of the person on whose behalf the tablet was made; in addition, the victims are supposed to die.⁶⁷

A: Domitius Niger et Lollius et Iulius Severus Nigri servus adve(rs)ar(ii) Bruttae et quisiquis adversus eam loqu(i)t(ur) omnes per(da)tis. B: (Ro)g(o) vos, omnes qui illi malum (pa)ratis dari... dari O(g)mio⁶⁸ a(bs)umi morte... Niger... Valerium... et Ni(g)er. (“Domitius Niger and Lollius and Iulius Severus, the slave of Niger, the adversaries of Brutta and whoever speaks against her, ruin them all. I ask you to hand over all those who prepare something evil for her... to hand over to Ogmios to be consumed by death... [the disrupted text follows, then other names of cursed people]”).

Some parts of the text are damaged. Egger (1943, 116) amends the sequence *omnes per(..)tis* as *pereatis*, which can also be understood as an appeal directly to the victims of the curse, not the gods supposed to realize the curse. However, considering the following formula *rogo vos...*, I regard Kropp’s emendation to *per(da)tis* as a more plausible solution better conforming to the formulae commonly used in curses (see 2.3.6.). The sequence *qui illi malum (pa)ratis* is probably a mistake of the author instead of the intended *parant* but, due to the damage to the text, it is also possible that some part of the text is missing or that the text should be emended differently. The curse was made against the enemies of Brutta who does not act in the 1st person, though she could have been the author of the curse; see also No. **76** above: *contra Rubrium fratrem et me Quartionem* (see 5.2.).

The following tablet No. **105** from Kempten in Raetia, **dfx.7.2/1**, is very likely inspired by a piece of poetry or a fable:

Mutae⁶⁹ tacitae, ut mutus sit Quartus, agitatus erret ut mus fugiens aut avis adversus basyliscum, ut eius os mutu(m) sit, Mutae. Mutae (d)irae sint,

⁶⁶ Only six prayers for justice in this corpus include lists of body parts, and these are mostly very brief ones (see No. **224**, No. **226**, No. **237**, No. **275**, No. **292**, and No. **308**).

⁶⁷ I state the reading of Kropp (2008).

⁶⁸ Ogmios was a Celtic deity equivalent to Heracles.

⁶⁹ For the reading and interpretation, see Egger (1963, 248 ff.). The infernal goddess Tacita, probably an old Roman deity, is mentioned by Ovid in *Fasti* II 572 and her

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Mutae, tacitae sint, mutae. Quartus ut insaniat, ut Eriniis rutilus sit et Quartus Orco. Ut Mutae tacitae, ut mutae sint ad portas aureas. (“Silent Mutae, [I ask you] may Quartus be mute, may he stray around roused up like a mouse, or a bird, fleeing from a basilisk, may his mouth be mute, Mutae. May Mutae be cruel, Mutae, may they be silent, mute. May Quartus go insane, may he be driven to Erinyes and [may] Quartus [be driven to] Orcus. May Mutae be silent, may they be mute at the golden gates.”)⁷⁰

Egger (1963, 248 ff.), who discusses the addressed deities in detail, assumes that the tablet is the first attestation of the names of the old, obviously chthonic, Roman deities in plural – Mutae, Tacitae. Ovid (*Fasti*, II v. 569) even describes the offering in honour of Tacita – the devotee should sew the mouth of a fish with a bronze needle, pierce its eyes with it, then smear the head with pitch and roast it on fire. The aim of this ritual is to destroy the hostile tongues and mouths, which fits very well with the tradition of legal curses.⁷¹ With regards to the overall context of the curse, I assume that the author appeals to *Mutae* and uses *tacitae* as their epithet: *Mutae (d)irae sint, Mutae tacitae sint, mutae.*⁷² This curse surpasses the common use and induces a fairy-tale atmosphere, including terrifying elements like a basilisk, which is found nowhere else in Latin curses. The pragmatic striking the victim dumb is accompanied by a picturesque depiction of the victim’s mental state – he is supposed to flee like a mouse or bird, get dumb, go insane, and be driven to Erinyes to Orcus (see Egger, 1963, 252). The interpretation ...*ut (ab) Eriniis rutilus sit et Quartus Orco rutilus sit* is also possible, meaning “may Quartus be driven by Erinyes, may he be driven to Orcus”. Egger compares Erinyes to Gorgons who are able to petrify

cult goes back to the age of the Roman Kingdom. Ovid (*ibid*, v. 538) also refers to a nymph named *Muta* who was deprived by Jupiter of speech and condemned to live in the marshlands of the Underworld, because she slandered him (see Mazzolani, 1991, 309). Besides, Ovid uses the word *Taciti* to denote the underworld ghosts called *Manes* in his description of the festival of *Lemuria* (November the 9th and May the 13th) which is the time when the ghosts of the departed called *lemures* return to their homes at night (*ibid*, v. 422).

⁷⁰ Egger (1963, 254) associates the golden gate with one of the Silius Italicus’ verses (XIII 556) mentioning that the gate to the Underworld was golden. This would infer that the Mutae are supposed to stand at this gate and not to let Quartus pass to Elysium.

⁷¹ See also Egger (1963, 250 ff.). Ovid (*Fasti* II, v. 581): *hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora* (“we have bound fast hostile tongues and unfriendly mouths”; see the transl. of J. G. Frazer, *Ovid’s Fasti*, Loeb Classical Library, 1931).

⁷² Egger (1963, 249) interprets as follows: *Mutae (d)irae sint. Mutae, tacitae sint. Mutae!*

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a man; thus, Quartus is supposed to flee from these, just like a mouse flees from the basilisk.

The following text from Pannonia including the address to the same deity, *Mutae tacitae*⁷³, can also be considered to be a legal curse. Apart from the aforementioned deities, the author also appeals to the river god named Savus.⁷⁴ The tablet was found in the river Kupa, a tributary of Sava, near the ancient town of Siscia. Like the other legal curses, it aims at the adversaries' ability to speak, see No. **107** from Kupa, **dfx.8.1/1**:

*A: Adversar(i)o(s) nostro(s) G(aius) Domitiu(s) Secundus et Lucius Larcus et Secundus Vacarus Cyba(lenses) et P(ublius) Citronius Cicorelliu(s) Narbone(nsis) et L(ucius) Lic(i)nius Sura (H)ispan(us)et Lucilius Valens ne possi(nt) contra se facere, avertat illo(s) amentes, contra loqui ne mali illorum mutu(m) os fac(iat)(?) G(aius) Domitius Secundus et Lucius La(r)c(i)o L(ucii) filius Cyba(lenses). Muta Tagita (= tacita)... (b?)ona illorum... B: Data deprimenti ma(n)data data istos Savo (ut) cura(m) agat deprima(t) adver(s)ar(i)o(s) nostro(s) obmutua(t) ne contra nos loquantur*⁷⁵

(“[Against] our adversaries: G(aius) Domitiu(s) Secundus and Lucius Larcus and Secundus Vacarus from Cibalae and P(ublius) Citronius Cicorelliu(s) from Narbona and L(ucius) Lic(i)nius Sura from Hispania and Lucilius Valens, so that they cannot act against [us], may [the deity] avert them insane [from the lawsuit?], may it make their mouths mute so that they cannot speak badly against [us]. G(aius) Domitiu(s) Secundus and Lucius La(r)c(i)o, the son of L(ucius) from Cibalae. Muta Tacita/Silent Muta... their property?... [The names of the enemies] given, commended to the [god] Savus who drowns, these [names] given, [may] he take care of them, drown our enemies [and] silence them so that they [cannot] speak against us.”)

⁷³ For another legal curse from Aquincum containing also the name of this deity, see Barta (2015, 101 ff.).

⁷⁴ See Vetter (1959, 304 ff.; 1960, 127 ff.).

⁷⁵ I draw on the recent reading and interpretation of Simón – de Llanza (2008, 168 ff.) who managed to decipher more sequences of the text on side A (inward). For the *lectiones variae*, see Kropp (2008) and especially Vetter (1960, 127 ff.). The text contains several deviations from the Classical Latin (gemination of sibilants: *adverssar(i)o(s)*, liquids: *Vallente*, and occlusives: *Luccillius*), interchanges of *e* and *i*: *Dometiu*; *a*, *u* and *o*: *cuntra*, *cantra* etc. The reading stated here has to be regarded as one of the interpretations; for the preserved form of the text, see Appendix I. For the most recent reading after autopsy, see Barta (2017, 26-28).

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There are some problematic passages in the text. A formula using the verb *verto* appears, too: *avertat illos amentes*, which is interpreted by Simón – De Llanza (2008, 173) in analogy with text No. 68: *aversi ab hac lite esse (debent?)*, “[may] these [legal] opponents be turned back from this suit”. They rightly emphasize the fact that the formula *avertat illos* does not have to be interpreted as “to kill” in this case, as suggested by Faraone and Kropp (2010, 387 ff.). For other tablets using this formula, see also 6.2.1.1. above.⁷⁶ Simón – de Llanza suppose that the “inversion” of the opponents in the trial is intended rather as a means to put them to silence, or a symbolic death which makes the opponent unable to testify against the author.⁷⁷ I assume that in this particular tablet the phrase *avertat illos amentes* followed by *contra loqui ne mali (possint?)* can be interpreted as “may they turn/invert their mind” in the sense of going insane, not being able to think, or losing memory, thus, being unable to testify in court (as is frequent in legal curses). The association of the compound of *verto* with *amentita*, the term referring to a state of madness, supposed to cause a failure, also appears in tablet No. 91 from Mainz, however, in connection with rivalry in love:

Prima Aemilia Narcissi agat, quidquid conabitur, quidquid aget, omnia illi inversum sit, amentita surgat, amentita suas res agat. Quidquid surget, omnia interversum surgat. (“[Whatever] Aemilia Prima, [the lover?] of Narcissus may do, whatever she attempts, whatever she does, let it all go wrong [lit. may it be perverted]. May she get up [out of bed] out of her senses/mind, may she go about her work out of her senses/mind. Whatever she strives after, may her striving in all things be reversed.”)

The text of the latter uses a magical orientation of the script – it is partially written in a spiral counter-clockwise (see 2.3.5.).

Most recently, another remarkable legal curse tablet, dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century CE, has been found in Aquincum in Pannonia (see Barta, 2009, 23 ff.; Barta – lassányi, 2009, 65).⁷⁸ It reads:

⁷⁶ Though the cited parallel text from Gaul, when treated as a whole, suggests that the authors actually wanted their opponents’ death (see 9.1.2. above).

⁷⁷ Simón – de Llanza (2008, 173): “...‘the action of turning the adversary upside down’ in the coming trial would be synonymous with his silencing or ‘symbolic death’, making it impossible for him to testify against the supplicant.”

⁷⁸ The reading of Barta – Lassányi (2009, 65 ff.); for *lectio varia*, see B. Fehér (2011, 154).

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Iulia Nissa et Gaius Mutilius ne possit facere contra Oceanum, contra Am(o)en<a>(m).⁷⁹ Ne possit Gaius contra Felic(i)one(m) facere. Respectes lingua ne possit adversus co(n)servos... [-]arr ---]rionis lingua⁸⁰ ne possit [---] facere. Eunici Suri lingua ne possit adversus Oceanu<m> Asellionis lingua et nomen ne possit adversus Oceanum facere loqui. Ne possit Gaius aut Iulia adversus Annia/(num ?), Anniani lingua ne possit [---contra Ocea]num⁸¹ facere et Decibali lingua et nomen ne possit adversus Oceanum facere. Eo modo hoc ego averso graphio scribo, sic linguas illorum aversas ne pos(s)int facere contra (h)os L[----e]go(?) suprapos<ui>, ne Gaius aut Iul[ia] Nissa et Eunicus Surus adversus Oceanum lin[gu?]as ob[---]AE[---]lingu[a---] ECCIGNISN[---]contra Am(o)en<a>(m).

(“Iulia Nissa and Gaius Mutillus, may s/he be unable to act against Oceanus, against Amoena/Amoenus? May Gaius be unable to act against Felicio. May the tongue of Respecta be unable [to speak] against her fellow slaves... may the tongue of ...rio/Ammionis?) be unable to act... May the tongue of Eunicus Surus be unable [to speak] against Oceanus, may the tongue of Asellio and [the name probably refers to Asellio as a person] be unable to act, speak against Oceanus. May Gaius or Iulia be unable [to speak] against Annia?, may the tongue of Annianus be unable to act [against Oceanus...?] and may the tongue and [Decebalus as a person]⁸² be unable to act against Oceanus. Just as I write this with a perverted [= hostile]⁸³ stylus, may their tongues be perverted so that they cannot act against these?... [which I?] stated [above], so that neither Gaius nor Iulia Nissa nor Eunicus Surus cannot... tongues against Oceanus... tongue... against Amoena/Amoenus.”)

The text of the curse is partially disrupted and very hard to read. The accursed people are supposed to be unable to act or speak against Oceanus, Amoena/Amoenus?, and Felicio.⁸⁴ It seems that the author emended the text several times and added more passages between the lines – these are written by the same hand but in smaller letters. This and the number of mistakes indicate

⁷⁹ B. Fehér (2011, 154) reads *Am(o)ene(m)*.

⁸⁰ The passages inscribed with smaller letters have probably been added by the author only afterwards (also between the lines). Fehér (2011, 154) reads *Ammionis (?) lingua*.

⁸¹ I consider the recent emendation of Barta (2012) to be plausible.

⁸² For the strange use of the noun *nomen* in this text see Urbanová-Franek (2017, 623-624).

⁸³ The text is not written in a magical way, i.e. right-to-left or upside-down.

⁸⁴ Barta (2009, 28 ff.) states that all names on the tablet are of a Pannonian origin or from the areas adjacent to Pannonia, which proves that the tablet is a local product.

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that it is probably a work of a not very educated layman (see Barta, 2009, 27 ff.). Moreover, the later added sequences in smaller letters cannot be clearly integrated into the text. The sequence *Ne possit Gaius aut Iulia adversus Annia(num)*, *Anniani lingua ne possit [---contra Ocea]num facere*, Barta interprets the text as *Ne possit Gaius aut Iulia adversus Annia(num)* but in this form it would make Annianus the member of both the cursing and the accursed party; if the name referred to two different people of the same name, we would expect some specifying epithet to distinguish them. Neither does it seem likely that Annia is the name of a woman belonging to the cursing party, whereas Annianus is probably the name of a man belonging to the accursed party. I presume that the author made a mistake – he intended to write *adversus Amoenam/Amoenem* in the sequence *ne possit Gaius aut Iulia adversus Annia*, but, while writing it, already thought of Annianus, his next candidate to be cursed, therefore, he added the formula *Anniani lingua ne possit* containing his name only later and in small letters. Barta (2009, 27) even considers a possibility that the later added text could have been a counter-spell against the text written in bigger letters; however, she herself leaves it, as it is evident that the text was written by a single hand. Apart from these, there is no similar Latin counter-spell preserved in the text of the original curse. Besides, it is implied that such a counter-spell would then be aimed at completely different people from those on behalf of whom the curse was first written. Perhaps tablet No. **100** (see 10.1.1.) can be suspected to be the only evidence of a Latin counter-spell (i.e. there is a suspicion that there were other people who wanted to do harm to the author of the spell); as for tablets No. **20–24** (see 7.3.1.4.), such a suspicion is more than doubtful. Thus, as mentioned above, the curse was inscribed on behalf of Oceanus, Amoena/Amoenus, and Felicio; the victims are Iulia, Gaius, Respecta, Eunicus Surus, Decebalus, Ammio, Annianus, and Asellio.

The quite simple and monotonous text comprising solely of wish clauses *ne possit facere contra*, also includes a *simile*-formula using the compound of the verb *verto*: *Eo modo hoc ego averso graphio scribo, sic linguas illorum aversas ne pos(s)int facere contra. Graphio averso* probably means “with a hostile, mean stylus”;⁸⁵ the second part of the formula can be interpreted in two ways. Either *sic linguae eorum aversae (sint)* means “may their tongues be perverted, so that they cannot...”, which seems more plausible to me (see also No. **107** and

⁸⁵ A. Barta informed me personally that a crooked stylus has been found next to the tablet, which implies that the tablet could have been inscribed with a stylus which had been deliberately bent to serve magical purposes; thus, the term *averso* may refer to this fact.

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No. **68** in 9.1.2., and No. **91**, especially 2.3.5.), or *aversae* can be attached to *linguae* as its attribute, which would then be translated as “so that their hostile tongues cannot act against...”. A similar formulation is found in the prayer for justice No. **235** from Mainz (see 6.2.1.1. and 10.2.2. below).

10.1.3 Amatory Curses – Rivalry in Love

In the northern provinces, the context of rivalry in love is indicated only in four texts: tablets No. **78** and No. **91** from Germania aimed at women in love triangles; tablet No. **104** from Raetia concerning the same issue, and tablet No. **109** from Pannonia which is perhaps related to a competition in prostitution. No. **78** from Kreuznach, **dfx.5.1.4/7**, reads:

A: Nomina data, (dela)ta(?), le(gata?) ad inferos, (ut) illos per vim corripiant. B: Silonia Surum, Caenu(m), Secundum. Ille te (s)ponsus procat. Il(l)um amo. (“The names given [denounced, bound?] to the infernal gods, so that they seize them by force. Silonia [curses], Surus, Caenus, Secundus [names in the accusative]. That [Secundus] proposes to you [Silonia]. [But] I love him [,too].”) ⁸⁶

The quite well readable text was inscribed on both sides of a small lead discus. On side B, there are three male names and a female name belonging perhaps to a rival in love. Audollent (1904, No. 100) assumes that these are the names of slaves; I draw on the interpretation of *CIL*, i.e. I regard Secundus as a groom, admitting that the other two men were somehow associated with the matter, too, but today we are unable to tell exactly how.

Tablet No. **91** is another remarkable text probably connected to rivalry in love. It makes use of a *simile*-formula including the verb *verto* as well as the magical orientation of the script (see above and especially 2.3.5.).

Furthermore, tablet No. **104** found in Bregenz in Raetia, **dfx.7.1/2**, reads:

A: Deo⁸⁷ A M C(?) ea(m) re(m) imple(b)it D(is)p(at)er ad Era(m).⁸⁸ Ogmius salute(m), cor, talos, re(nes), anum, genita(lia)... auris B: cistula(m), utensilia dab(it)⁸⁹ spiritibus ac oboediunt ei, ne quiat nubere. Ira de(i).

⁸⁶ For the interpretation of the text, see *CIL* 13, 2, 1, 7550, Wunsch (1897, XXVIII) and Blänsdorf (2012, 186).

⁸⁷ Egger (1943, 114) amends to *de(fig)o*.

⁸⁸ *Era* probably refers to *Aeracura*, the wife of Dis Pater (see *ibid*, 112).

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The right-to-left text was inscribed partially as a boustrophedon; unfortunately, it is very mechanically damaged and contains many mistakes. I base my argumentation on the emendations and interpretation of Egger (1943, 104 ff.). The initial sequence *deo*, probably the dative form of *deus*, is problematic, as we would expect here some verb of committal like *do*, *mando*, etc. Thus, it is presumed that it is a mistake and should instead be *defigo*. Although the aim of the curse is clear from its concluding words *ne quiat nubere* (“so that she cannot marry”), the name of the woman concerned is missing. Nevertheless, this was necessary for the success of the curse; therefore, Egger supposed that the name is hidden under the initials *A M C*, i.e. “I accurse AMC, Pluto and Aeracura will execute⁹⁰ this matter.” Even if he was right, the use of mere initial letters to denote victim’s name would be a very unusual practice. Ogmios⁹¹ seems to be the deity supposed to afflict the body parts of the victim. Egger compares the text to No. **20** (see 7.3.1.4.): *eripias salutem, corpus...* and presumes that there was a verb meaning “to bereave of” which is now missing due to the disruption of the text; the list of body parts may also be related to the sequence *dabit spiritibus*. Based on the above mentioned arguments, the translation of the sequence is as follows:

[May] Ogmios [take away?/hand over to daemons her] health, heart, ankles, kidneys?, anus, genitals?⁹²... ears?, the casket [further, the author wanted to deprive the victim of her casket where she probably used to put her valuables, as well as of other things – *utensilia*⁹³], they will obey him [= Ogmios], so that she cannot marry.

Finally, there is an expression *Ira de(i)* in the end which perhaps means something like *habeat deos iratos* (“may she be afflicted by the wrath of gods”). For a similar phrase, see No. **85** (10.1.1.): *Bone sancte Atthis Tyranne, adsi(s), advenias Liberali iratus*. (“Good, holy Att(h)is, Lord, help [me?], come to Liberalis in anger.”), and especially No. **239** from Carnuntum (see 6.2.1.3): *...(E)ud(e)mus habeat vos iratos...* (“...may Eudemus feel your anger...”).

⁸⁹ Egger (ibid, 114) adds *dabit*, the tablet reads *dav(it) spiridebus* (see also Kropp, 2008; and Appendix I).

⁹⁰ The editor amends *impleid* to *imple(b)it*; later we read *dav(it)*. Both interpretations of the verb *dare* on this tablet, be it a past tense form or a future tense form instead of present subjunctive, are plausible and attested in other tablets.

⁹¹ See also No. **103** above.

⁹² The term *genitalia* is, as far as I know, not attested in any other tablet.

⁹³ For the detailed discussion of this, see Egger (1943, 114).

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The last piece of evidence of the rivalry in love context is tablet No. **109** from Pannonia, **dfx.8.4/1**:

A: Paulina aversa sit a viris omnibus et defixa sit, ne quid possit mali facere.
B: Firminam (cl)aud(as) ab omnibus humanis. (“May Paulina be averted from all men and may she be cursed, so that she can do no evil. Seclude Firmina from all men.”)⁹⁴

This tablet probably documents the rivalry among local prostitutes.⁹⁵ The curse again combines the formula *verto – aversa sit* with the magically-oriented script (the text was written right-to-left, partially as a boustrophedon, partially upside-down; see above, especially 6.2.1.1.).⁹⁶ Such a formula accompanied by a magical orientation of the script appears in two curses connected to rivalry in love.

10.2 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

So far, 15 prayers for justice have been found in the northern provinces; this corpus includes eleven texts from Germania, and a single text from Raetia as well as Pannonia.⁹⁷ The tablets were mostly made as a reaction to theft (six texts) or fraud, especially regarding money (four texts); tablets No. **227** and No. **228** seem to be related to some harm in a love or family affair; tablet No. **240** is, unfortunately, so damaged that its motivation cannot be decided. Generally, the prayers for justice found in Germania do not agree with the evidence from other provinces in many aspects. They often contain picturesque, complicated formulae and nowhere else attested innovations, both when speaking of the formulation of the curse and regarding vengeance supposed to afflict the culprit. Besides, vengeance upon the culprit is typical of the prayers for justice from these areas; the author tries to get his/her things back only in two texts, whereas death of the culprit is asked for five times.

⁹⁴ See also 1.1.2.2.3. and 3.2.

⁹⁵ See A. Premerstein (1906, 198) who states that the accursed women were local prostitutes.

⁹⁶ See also Faraone – Kropp (2010, 381 ff.).

⁹⁷ Kropp (2008) states two texts from Raetia in this context: the damaged tablet **dfx.7.3/1** was not included in this work. As for the prayers for justice found in the Northern provinces, I also include so far the only preserved text No. **240** from Moesia.

10.2.1 Prayers for Justice in Amatory Context

Tablet No. **227** from Avenches en Chaplix, **dfx.5.1.1/1**, was probably inscribed because of a misfortune or loss in an amatory context:

Marium Cinnesium et eum q(u)i exin co(n)ciliavit Aequa(m). A vita (discedat?). ([“I accurse] Marius Cinnesus and the one who then won/seduced? Aequa. May he die[?].”)

The very brief text of the tablet was written right-to-left and it lacks any address to a deity or a predicate of committal. Therefore, it could well have been a curse – the text is formulated similarly to curses; however, provided that the verb *concilio* is interpreted correctly, the damage suffered is present, too (see also Kropp, 2008). The author may have been either a man who wished to take vengeance upon Marius, or another man whose name he did not know, for seducing his beloved, or a woman who tried to exact vengeance on the seducers of Aequa, perhaps in the name of Aequa herself; the third option is that the text was inscribed by Aequa herself. Although the authors in the nominative are usually stated in the beginning of prayers for justice, we also know of several cases when the offended one speaks in the third person, see e.g. No. **273** from Britannia: *Exsuperius donat pannam ferri* (see 12.2.3.), or No. **275**: *Basilis donat in templum Martis anellum argenteum* (see 6.2.1.3.). The question remains whether the author imitates the official language, which seems more plausible, or the text is written on behalf of someone else, see also TheDeMa 738.

Another text, which is regarded by the editors as tied to the miseries of love, addresses *Mater Magna* and *Attis*, just like the texts from Mainz; No. **228** from Gross-Gerau, **dfx.5.1.3/1**, reads:

*A: Deum maxsime, Atthis Tyranne, totumque Duodeca Theum, commendo deabus iniurium fas, ut me vindic(e)tis a Priscil(l)a Caranti, quae nubere er(r)avit. Pe(r) matrem deum vestrae ut (v)indicat(e) sacra pater(ni/na?). P(ri)scil(l)a pere(at). B: Per matrem deum, intra dies C(?), cito, vindicate numen vestrum magnum a Priscilla, quae detegit sacra. Priscillam (n)usqu(a)m nullam numero. Nu(p)sit gentem tremente Priscilla quam er(r)ante.*⁹⁸ (“The greatest of gods, Lord Atthis, the entirety of twelve

⁹⁸ For the reading, translation, and interpretation, see Scholz – Kropp (2004, 34 ff.); see Chalupa (2011, 244 ff.). See also Versnel’s (2010, 300 ff.) multiple additions and interpretative suggestions, as well as his criticism of the first edition, especially his interpretation of the sequence *deabus iniuriam, fas* is very persuasive.

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gods, I commend to the goddesses [my] fatal injustice, so that you avenge me on Priscilla, the daughter of Carantus, who made the mistake of getting married. By Mother of the Gods, may you avenge the secret of the fathers/Paternus.⁹⁹ May Priscilla die. By Mother of the Gods, in 100 days, quickly, avenge your huge divine power on Priscilla¹⁰⁰ who revealed the secret. Priscilla is worth nothing to me, she married a terrible person, Priscilla is so sinful.”¹⁰¹

The text is problematic and makes use of strange formulations. Nevertheless, it contains twice *vindico* (“to avenge”), a typical verb used in prayers for justice. If the above mentioned interpretation is in principle right, the text is a unique example of a prayer for justice used in an amatory context, despite the fact that we do not know and cannot explain properly what exactly the author meant by *detergere sacra Paterni*. However, if we treat the sequence as *detergere sacra paterna*, it may not necessarily be a prayer for justice written in an amatory context, i.e. a drama caused by jealousy. *Sacra Paterna* can also be understood as secret family rituals known only to the family clan – *sacra privata* also called *sacra occulta*.¹⁰² Therefore, it can be assumed that the goddesses are supposed to exact revenge on the married woman named Priscilla, the daughter of Carantus, who after getting married disclosed the rituals and secrets of her

⁹⁹ The editors suggest two possible interpretations of the sequence *sacra pater(na)*: either it refers to an ancestral secret, or to a secret of Paternus, the latter implying that Paternus was the author of the prayer for justice. Adding (*vota*) *nuptialia* after *sacra*, i.e. “the wedding vows fathers had made”, would make the following passage *sacra detergere* hardly interpretable (see also Scholz – Kropp, 2004, 35 ff.). Chalupa (2011, 244) translates the sequence as “the rites of Paternus”.

¹⁰⁰ Chalupa (2011, 244) interprets differently as follows: “avenge Mother of the Gods with your huge divine power”. Although, it is not an accurate translation of the Latin text, this possibility is plausible, too.

¹⁰¹ The translation of the concluding section by Scholz – Kropp (2004, 35 ff.) is unnecessarily loose: “weil Priscilla (ebenso) geil wie irre ist.”

¹⁰² See a detailed discussion of this matter in Urbanová – Frýdek (2016, 348ff), including the following translation into German: A: Größter aller Götter, Atthis, Herr, Gesamtheit der zwölf Götter. Ich überantworte den Göttinnen das Unrecht, es ist gerecht (*fas*), dass ihr mich an Priscilla, Tochter des Carantus rächt, die schlecht geheiratet hat. Bei eurer Großen Göttermutter, rächt die väterlichen Geheimrituale. Priscilla soll zugrunde gehen. B: Bei der Großen Göttermutter, rächt eure große Göttlichkeit bald, innerhalb von hundert(?) Tagen, an Priscilla, die die (väterlichen) Geheimrituale verrät. Priscilla erachte ich als absolut null und nichtig. Sie hat einen schrecklichen Mann geheiratet, Priscilla ist so sündhaft/hat so einen Fehler begangen.

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family handed over from generation to generation to the family of the groom. If this was so, the tablet was not written by the rejected groom, but rather by the father of the bride. Let us remember that unlike curses, which can be classified according to their context as legal, agonistic, etc., the context of prayers for justice is stereotypical (theft, fraud, or other damage suffered). The amatory context of prayers for justice can be presumed only in case of the above mentioned texts and tablet No. **221** from Gallia (see 9.1.3.); we do not know of such examples in other provinces.

10.2.2 Prayers for Justice Using Formula *aversus*

A formula using *aversus* (a compound of the verb *verto*, meaning “to pervert, avert”) is used in four prayers for justice found in Germania and one coming from Raetia (see 6.2.1.1.). In some cases, the formula is also accompanied by perverted or a non-standard orientation of the script fitting to the particular *simile*-formula. Tablet No. **230** containing a magical orientation of the script, as well, (see 1.7.2. and 10.1.1) is one of the most interesting documents found in Germania.

Another example of the use of this formula, although without any special orientation of the script, is tablet No. **233** from Mainz, DTM 3. This time the formula is used only figuratively, i.e. meaning “adversely”:

*Rogo te domina Mater Magna, ut me vindices de bonis Flori coniugis mei, qui me fraudavit Ulattius Severus. Quemadmod(um) hoc ego averse scribo, sic illi B: omnia, quidquid agit, quidquid aginat, omnia illi aversa fiant, ut sal et aqua illi eveniat. Quidquid mi abstulit de bonis Flori coniugis mei, rogo te domina Mater Ma(g)na, ut tu de eo me vindices.*¹⁰³ (“I entreat you, Lady *Mater Magna*, to avenge me regarding the property of Florus, my husband, [of which] Ulattius Severus has defrauded me. Just as I write this in a perverted/hostile way, so may whatever he does and carries out be wasted,¹⁰⁴ may it become salt and water [= salty water]. Whatever he has taken away from me from the property of Florus, my husband, I entreat you, Lady *Mater Magna*, to avenge me/exact revenge on him for it.”)

The text indicates that the widow of Florus was deprived by Ulattius Severus of a part of her property. Blänsdorf (2010, 153) assumes that this man may have

¹⁰³ For the reading and interpretation, see (Blänsdorf 2010, 172); see also Faraone – Kropp (2010, 390 ff.).

¹⁰⁴ The formula *sal et aqua fiat* is attested also in tablet No. **87** (see 8.1.1. and 10.1.1.).

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been the administrator of the widow's property. And because a woman had no right to take legal action, she resorted to ask the deity for redress.

Furthermore, a similar tablet No. **235** from Mainz, DTM 7, reads:

Quisquis nobis sustulit sacc(u)lum, in quo pecunia erat et eam pecuniam et anulos aureos (referat)¹⁰⁵ ... quod des(ti)natum est XI K(alendas) Febr(uarias), q(uae) p(roximae) s(unt) ... sive dolum (m)alum adhib(et) ... (quo) mod(i) hoc grapphio averso, quod minime uti solet, sic (eum) ... aversum, dii deaeque (e)sse sinat(i)s et hominibus ... si qui(s) hunc) manu contigit, id aequ(e.), quomodi ... sucus defluit e ... hoc plumbum ussu cui ... geum desti(natum)ve esse velit ... sicut innocentiam ... est, si in dea ...) ...
("Whoever has stolen from us the purse containing money, and those money and golden rings... [may he return them]... which is designated on the eleventh day before the following Kalends of February... if he uses a fraud [i.e. fails to do so]... just as this [is written] with a perverted/hostile/evil stylus,¹⁰⁶ which is not usual at all, so may you, gods and goddesses, make [him feel] the people's hostility... if anyone holds [that money] in his hands/touches them, it equally... just as liquid flows out of... this lead is [will melt?]... and wants?... as innocent...")¹⁰⁷

The text is severely corrupted; it starts as a common prayer for justice with an unknown culprit and continues with a time datum until when the culprit is supposed to return the stolen property (see 3.3.1.1.), which is not very common in prayers for justice. The formula *grapphio averso* appears also in the tablet from Pannonia mentioned above in 10.1.2. – in both cases, the formula is not accompanied by a magical orientation of the script and can be interpreted as "with a hostile/bent stylus". The following text is very damaged, Blänsdorf (2010, 176 ff.) links the passage *si qui(s) hunc) manu contigit* with tablet No. **275** from Bath (see 6.2.1.3.): *si servus si liber medius fuerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit*. Even though a similar formulation might have been stated also in the tablet from Mainz, the preserved text does not indicate any such thing.

The *aversus* formula is also used in tablet No. **234** from Mainz (see 1.10.2 and 2.3.6.). The text of the tablet is written in a very high class Latin and contains

¹⁰⁵ The emendation of Blänsdorf (2012); see also Appendix II.

¹⁰⁶ See Blänsdorf (2008, 66; 2010, 175; and especially 2012): "with a hostile, adversary stylus". Perhaps this refers to a ritually reversed or crooked stylus, as in the case of the tablet found in Aquincum in Pannonia (see 10.1.2.). (see also Faraone – Kropp, 2010, 390 ff.).

¹⁰⁷ See Blänsdorf (2012; 2010, 175 ff.).

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complicated and innovative formulae; *aversus* is used in agreement with the orientation of the script and the name of the victim *QUINTI NOMEN* is inscribed upside-down.

Finally, *aversus* also occurs in tablet No. **238** from Wilten, **dfx.7.5/1**:

*Secundina Mercurio et Moltino mandat, ut si quis sustulit XIII (denarios) sive draucus duos, ut eum sive fortunas eius in(fi)dus Cacus sic auferat quomodi ill(a)e ablatum est id, quod vobis delegat, ut persequatis vobisque deligat, ut persequatis et eum aversum fortunis suis avertatis et a suis proximis et ab eis quos carissimos (h)abeat, (h)oc vobis mandat, vos eum p(er)se(qu)atis.*¹⁰⁸ (“Secundina commends to Mercurius and Moltinus¹⁰⁹ that whoever has stolen two necklaces worth fourteen *denarii*¹¹⁰ may be deceived and deprived of property by the perfidious Cacus, just as she was deprived of hers, which she orders you to trace back, and she orders you to chase him, too, and deprive him of his property and his relatives and those he holds dearest, this she commends to you that you may seize/chase him.”) (see 6.1. and 6.2.1.2.).

The author adds a *historiola* to achieve a bigger effect of the prayer for justice – the culprit of the theft is supposed to lose his property, just like Cacus deprived Heracles of his flock (see 1.9.2.).

10.2.3 Prayers for Justice Using Peculiar Formulae

The following three prayers for justice found in Germania are remarkable for the cruel and cunning vengeance they invoke on the culprit. Tablet No. **229** from Gross-Gerau, dated to the 1st century CE, is written by or on behalf of Verio who summons a terrible death on the thief who stole his cloak:

...ut illius manus, caput, pedes, vermes, cancer, vermitudo interet membra, medullas illius interet. (“...may the worms, cancer and maggots penetrate his/her hands, head, feet, as well as his/her limbs and marrows.”) (for the complete text, see 1.10.2.).

¹⁰⁸ See the *lectio varia* of Versnel (1991, 83) who reads *corripiatis* instead of *persecuatis* based on the first edition (see Franz 1959, 69 ff.). This reading may be correct, too. A. Kropp (2008) amends to *persecuatis*.

¹⁰⁹ Gager (1992, No. 101) considers Moltinus to be a Celtic deity.

¹¹⁰ The interpretation of Gager (1992, No. 101); the other option is “fourteen *denarii* and/or two necklaces”. Versnel (1991, 83) relates the term *draucos* to *draukion*, the Greek word for necklace.

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The authors of the prayer for justice No. **231** from Mainz also wish to afflict their victims, Gemella and other two women named Verecunda and Paterna, with death caused by being devoured by worms and other beasts and, what is more, they are supposed to die publicly. However, the exact wrongdoing of the two women is not clear. The tablet is inscribed on both sides with two extensive prayers for justice, each written by a different hand; the vengeance invoked on Gemella is written on the inner side.¹¹¹ The text is sporadically very disrupted and contains all peculiar formulae found exclusively, or mostly, in the texts coming from Germania:

No. **231** from Mainz, DTM 1: *A: Mater Magna, te rogo p(e)r (t)ua sacra et numen tuum: Gemella fiblas meas, qualis sustulit, sic et illam REQUIS (rogo?) adsecet,*¹¹² *ut nusquam sana si(t). Quomodo galli se secarunt, sic ea(m?) velis nec se secet sic, uti planctum ha(be)at, quomodo et sacrorum deposierunt in sancto, sic et tuam vitam, valetudinem, Gemella. Neque hosti(i)s neque auro neque argento redimere possis a Matre deum, nisi ut exitum tuum populus spectet. Verecundam et Paternam: sic illam tibi commendo, Mater deum magna, rem illorum in AECRUMO DEO VIS quale rogo co(n)sument(u)r in quomodo et res meas viresque fraudarunt, nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis B: nec plumibis (=plumbis) nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo, nisi ut illas vorent canes, vermes adque alia portenta, exitum quarum populus spectet tamquam quae c... FORRO/MO l auderes comme(ndo) duas... very damaged text follows TAMAQVANIVSCAVERSSO scriptis istas AE RISS. ADRICIS . S. LON a . illas, si illas cistas caecas, aureas, FECRA E[--]I[--]LO[--]ASO OV[--]JEIS mancas A.*¹¹³

(“*Mater Magna*, I ask you by your sanctuary and your divine force. Gemella who stole my fibulas/broaches, [I ask you] may she [in the accusative] cut herself?... so that no part of her be healthy. Just as the *galli* have cut themselves, so [may] she want to do. And may she not cut herself so, that she [only?] laments. As they have deposited the holy things in the sanctuary,

¹¹¹ See Blänsdorf (2012; 2010, 159 ff.) who, based on the handwriting, supposes that each text was written by a different person.

¹¹² The term *adsecet* is problematic – we would expect *se secet* here, i.e. “may she cut herself”. Considering the following text, Blänsdorf puts this place in relation to tablets No. **232** (see below) and No. **234** (see 1.10.2.) containing references to the practice of *galli*, the priests of *Mater Magna*, who used to castrate themselves; thus, he translates as follows: “dass auch jene sich schneidet, so dass sie nirgendwo gesund ist”.

¹¹³ For the reading and interpretation, see (Blänsdorf 2012, No. 1).

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so [may] also your life and health [be deposited there], Gemella. Neither by offerings nor by gold nor by silver may you be able to redeem yourself from Mother of the Gods, except that people may watch your death. Verecunda and Paterna: for thus I give her [=them] to you, Great Mother of the Gods, their property... I ask that they may be destroyed just as they have defrauded me of my property and resources; may they not be able to buy themselves free from your divine power either by offering sheep or lead [tablets], or by gold, or silver, but may dogs, worms, and other monsters devour them, may the people watch their death...”)

The rest of the text is disrupted to such an extent that it cannot be coherently translated. Blänsdorf (2012, 1) reads a somewhat more coherent sequence afterwards: *si illas cistas caecas, aureas* (“if those hidden golden holy boxes”); see also *cistae penetrales* mentioned in tablet No. **87** (10.1.1.). The right-to-left passage *AVERSSO scriptis istas* may indicate the use of the formula *aversus* popular in the texts from Germania, too. Then, the meaning of the passage would be “in a hostile way”. As stated above, the text starts as a common prayer for justice containing the names of victims, but it lacks the names of authors. Some formulations used in the tablet are very strange and attested only scarcely in the other provinces. The culprits are supposed to be afflicted by an irreversible curse – they cannot redeem themselves in any way (see also 1.9.). Concerning the punishment, both common formulations – *ut nusquam sana si(t)* – and vengeance analogous to the practice of the priests of *Mater Magna* – *Quomodo galli se secarunt, sic ea (velit) nec se secet sic...* – appear. Finally, the revenge invoked on the victims seems especially cruel: *ut illas vorent canes, vermes* (see also 1.10.2. and No. **229**), while their death should take place in public: *exitum quarum populous spectet* (see also 1.10.2 and No. **217**, 1.2.1.).

The prayer for justice, No. **232** from Mainz, DTM 2, makes use of very similar formulations. However, the text is interpretable only partially due to its great damage. Unlike the previous tablet, we also find the request that the culprit pleads guilty:

Quisquis dolum malum adm(isit de) hac pecun(i)a... (nec)¹¹⁴ ille melior et nos det(eri)ores sumus... Mater deum, tu persequeris per terras, per (maria, per locos) ar(i)dos et umidos, per benedictum tuum et o(mnes... qui de hac pecunia dolum malum adhibet, ut tu perse(quaris illum... Quomodo) galli se

¹¹⁴ Blänsdorf (2010, 180) adds *nec* which agrees with the translation stated. Recently (2012, DTM 2), he has dropped this addition translating as follows: “jener ist der bessere (= im Vorteil) und wir sind die unterlegenen”.

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secant et praecidunt vir(i)lia sua, sic il(le)... R S Q intercidat MELORE pec(tus?)... BISIDIS (ne)que se admisisse nec... hostiis si(n)atis nequis t(...) neque SUT TIS neque auro neque argento neque ille solvi, (re)fici, redimi posit. Quomodo galli, bellonari, magal(i) sibi sanguin(em) ferventem fundunt, frigid(us) ad terram venit, sic et (...)CIA copia, cogitatum, mentes. (Quem)admodum de eis gallo(r)u(m, ma)galorum, bellon(ariorum sanguinem/ritus?) spectat, qui de ea pecunia dolum malum (admisit, sic illius) exitum spectent, et a(d)quem modum sal in (aqua liques)cet, sic et illi membra m(ed)ullae extabescant. Cr(ucietur/cras veniat)¹¹⁵ et dicat se admisisse nef(a)s. D(e)mando tibi rel(igione), ut me votis condemnes et ut laetus libens ea tibi referam, si de eo exitum malum feceris.¹¹⁶

(“Whoever has defrauded this money, [neither] is he better [for it] nor we the worse. Mother of the Gods, you pursue [your enemies] across land and [sea], arid and humid [places], through your blessed one [=Atthis], and [everybody who] commits malicious fraud concerning [this] money: may you pursue him... [Just as] the *galli* lacerate themselves and sever their genitals, so may he cut... his chest [?]... And if he says he has not committed..., let him not free, save, redeem himself with gold nor with silver. Just as the *galli*, the *bellonari* [= the priests of Bellona], the *magali*¹¹⁷ spill their hot blood, which is cold [when] it touches the ground, so... , [his] abilities, thinking, wits... Just as... of the *galli*, the *magali*, the *bellonari*... [Just as] they watch the person who committed fraud concerning the money, [so] let [the people] watch his death and just as salt will [dissolve in water], so may his limbs and marrow melt away/decay. May he be tortured and may he confess that he has committed a villany. I entrust to you [with due respect?], oblige me to keep my promise [by fulfilling my wishes], and I gladly and willingly return my thanks to you, if you make him die a horrible death.”)

This interesting text starts, as many prayers for justice, with the pronoun *quisquis* standing for the unknown culprit’s name. The author, who does not state his/her name, suffered some harm connected to money from the culprit: *dolum malum*; the following passage is disrupted and unclear, but the author certainly asks *Mater Magna* to pursue the culprit. Like in tablet No. **231**, there

¹¹⁵ Blänsdorf (2010, 180 ff. and 458 ff.) adds *crucietur*; later he adds *cras veniat* (2012, DTM 2).

¹¹⁶ For the reading and interpretation, see Blänsdorf (2012, No. 2).

¹¹⁷ The term is attested nowhere else but it is probably a variant of the name of the priests of *Mater Magna* or of some other cult who used to hurt themselves.

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are references to the ritual practice of the ecstatic cult of this deity. The tablet makes use of three complicated *simile*-formulae as well as of a shortened list of body parts: *copia, cogitatum, mentes*. The culprit should, again, be unable to redeem himself: *neque auro neque argento neque ille solvi, (re)fici, redimi posit*; besides, the formula contains a verbal tricolon frequently occurring in curses. Moreover, the culprit is supposed to plead guilty: *et dicat se admisisse ne(fa)s*. The above mentioned *sal et aqua illi fiat* formula is used in an unusual way: *et a(d qu)em modum sal in (aqua liques)cet, sic et illi membra m(ed)ullae extabescant* – otherwise, the formula is always used in connection with the victim's property and business in the other tablets from Mainz (see No. 87, 10.1.1., and No. 233 above), but in this tablet it is used as a parallel to the decay of culprit's limbs. The idea of melting or putrefaction of the victim's limbs also appears in the *simile*-formula referring to the parallel with lead (see No. 236, 1.4. and 1.10.2.), below: *sic illorum membra liquescent quatmodum hoc plumbum liquescet*, and No. 237 (6.2. and below). Thus, the expression used in the text of this tablet seems to be contaminated by the *sal et aqua* formula, usually used in a property or business context, and the formula, which draws the analogy between the melting of lead and decay of limbs.

10.2.4 Prayers for Justice or Curses?

Texts No. 236 and No. 237 found in Mainz, as well as No. 239 from Carnuntum, are at the intersection of curses and prayers for justice. When comparing the three tablets from Mainz, i.e. DTM 10 (No. 89) with DTM 11 (No. 236) and DTM 12 (No. 237), it becomes evident that the latter two combine the formulae and wishes typically occurring in curses and the formulations and aims found usually in prayers for justice.

Tablet No. 89 from Mainz, DTM 10, which is a typical curse, reads:

A: Mando et rogo liberta(m) Cerialis, ut ea(m) ext(r)a IPIVTI (= ipsam?) fac(i)atis, ut se plangat... (v)elit se quatmodum arc(h)igalli se B: CO(.LI sibi settas facia(ti)s, ... ita me(n)ses duos, ut eorum ixsitum (= exitum) audiam d(i)liquescant quatmodi hoc diliquescet. (“I commend [to you] and ask that you make the freedwoman of Cerialis out of her mind, may she hurt herself... want to... herself just like *archigalli* [beat] themselves... [the following text is unintelligible]¹¹⁸ in two months may I hear of her death...

¹¹⁸ Blänsdorf (2012, DTM 10) translates the disrupted text *sibi settas facia(ti)s* as follows: “ihr euch Anhängerschaften? verschafft”, i.e. he understands *settas* as *sectas*.

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may they¹¹⁹ melt away just as this [piece of lead] will melt away.”) (see 10.1.1.).

The text is formulated as a common curse: the author commends his matter to the gods but does not state the reason of his/her request – the context of the curse cannot be determined. The vengeance upon the victim is paralleled to the behaviour of the priests of *Mater Magna*; the freedwoman of Cerialis is supposed to die within two months, specifically her limbs should probably melt, just like lead melts.

Tablets No. **236** and No. **237**,¹²⁰ however, probably belong to prayers for justice.

No. **236** from Mainz, DTM 11:¹²¹ *A: Mando et rogo religione ut mandata exagatis Publium Cutium et Piperonem et B: Placida et Sacra, filia eius: sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatmodum hoc plumbum liquescet ut eoru(m) exsitum sit.* (“I hand over [to you], and, observing all ritual form, ask that you require from Publius Cutius and Pipero the return of the goods entrusted to them. Also Placida and Sacra, her daughter,¹²² may their limbs melt, just as this lead shall melt, so that it shall be their death.”) (see 1.10.2.).

No. **237** from Mainz,, DTM 12: *...sic... s siccum QUANMI qu(omo)di hoc liquescet se(... sic collum membra, me(du)lla, peculium d(e)l(i)ques(ca)nt eoru(m), quamodum gallorum angat se... s(ic i)lla aga(t), ut de se (pro)bant?, tu dom(i)na es, fac, ut X mensibus... exitum illorum sit.* (“so... dry... just as this [lead]¹²³ shall melt, so may his neck, limbs, strength, savings melt away, may she be anxious like *galli* do. May she go along, as she... [?] of herself. You are the Mistress, make them die within ten months.”) (see also 6.2.).

¹¹⁹ The curse was probably supposed to affect other people, too, as there are verbs in plural on side B; see Blänsdorf (2012, 118).

¹²⁰ The text inscribed on tablet No. **237** seems to be a continuation of tablet No. **236** (see Blänsdorf, 2008, 61).

¹²¹ See also Blänsdorf (2010, 178 ff.; 2012, DTM 11).

¹²² The Latin text continues on the other side with two female names in the nominative. This may be a mistake or the so-called fixed nominative (see 1.6.). Therefore, the English translation is “from Publius Cutius, Pipero, Placida, and Sacra, her daughter;” see Blänsdorf (2010, DTM 11).

¹²³ For the reading and interpretation of the text, see Blänsdorf (2012, DTM 12; 2010, 179 ff.). Considering the text of the previous tablet, I suppose that *hoc* again refers to the lead tablet on which the text is inscribed.

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The texts of the previous two tablets are very similar; there is no doubt that No. **236** is a prayer for justice, as indicated by the formulation *mando et rogo religione ut mandata exagatis*. Its authors want the goddess to execute *mandata*, i.e. commended things (perhaps money), from Publius Cuttius and others (see also No. **216**, 8.2.). However, the authors do not explicitly address the deity nor do they state their names – as is usual in curses – so *mandata exagatis* is the only hint we have that suggests it is a prayer for justice, not a curse. The concluding wish that the victims die is more or less corresponding to the authors' aim in the curse No. **89**. The same wish appears also in the following tablet No. **237**; this time, it is even accompanied by the list of the accursed body parts and a repeated wish that the victims die. Thus, despite the common practice in both genres, the above mentioned curse No. **89** and the following prayers for justice No. **236** use almost identical formulations.

The texts from Mainz display some repeated motifs; however, in this case they do not imply that they were produced by professional magicians. These usually prepared identical curses using complicated magical formulae based on magical formularies together with some space left out for the particular victim's name (see e.g. tablets No. **20–24**, 7.3.1.4.), but the texts from Mainz are mostly distinct from each other. Besides, they are written in common, well understandable Latin not including any magical words. Blänsdorf (2008, 59) assigns the mutual differences between these texts to the invention of local inhabitants.¹²⁴

The blending and combining of the formulae of curses and prayers for justice is also documented in tablet No. **239** from Pannonia dealt with in detail in 6.2.1.3.

The above mentioned texts indeed seem to be the adaptations of the Mediterranean tradition adjusted to the particular situations and needs, just as their non-professional authors perceived the whole ritual – this resulted in the blending of curses and prayers for justice.

10.3 ADDRESSED DEITIES AND DAEMONS

Almost two thirds of the tablets found in Germania do not contain any address to a deity; however, this includes also thirteen tablets found in the sacred precinct of *Mater Magna* in Mainz in which the invoked deity is implied. *Mater*

¹²⁴ Blänsdorf (2010, 163 ff.) considers these texts to be produced by private citizens acquainted with the practice of cursing inscribing their wishes themselves on the tablets, not of professional magicians or their scribes.

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Magna is documented only once in the curses from Germania (No. **89**); the authors more often ask Atthis for help (No. **85** including Castor and Pollux, No. **87** together with *Mater Magna*). Tablet No. **84** is the only one that makes use of magical signs, which may indicate that it was addressed to some daemon. On the contrary, the curses from Kreuznach are explicitly addressed to deities, mostly *Di inferi* and *Di Manes*. The curses from Noricum, Raetia, and Pannonia often invoke the local deities, too. Tablet No. **101** from Noricum address Pluto and Iuno Aeracura, curses No. **103** and No. **104** from Raetia mention the Celtic Heracles named Ogmios, tablets No. **105** and No. **107** refer to the goddess Muta, and No. **107** from Pannonia invoked the river god Savus. The prayers for justice found in the northern provinces address a deity with a name more than in half of the texts, most frequently addressed deities are *Mater Magna* and Atthis (No. **228**, No. **231**, and No. **232–234**); tablet No. **239** from Pannonia invokes the usual infernal trinity Pluto, Aeracura, and Cerberus; for the invoked deities in the new findings from Pannonia, see also Barta (2015 and 2017); finally, tablet No. **238** from Raetia is addressed to Mercury and the Celtic deity named Moltinus.

10.4 *VOCES MAGICAE, SIGNA MAGICA, A NON-STANDARD ORIENTATION OF SCRIPT*

The curses found in the northern provinces do not contain magical words or names of daemons, except for tablet No. **84** which makes use of *signa magica*. Prayers for justice, in general, do not usually contain magical words or signs, except for tablet No. **239** from Pannonia which contains a disrupted sequence of magical words written in the Greek alphabet (see Appendix II). Unlike other European provinces, a peculiar orientation of script occurs quite frequently in the texts found in Germania – a third of the curses and five out of 13 prayers for justice (i.e. more than 1/3 of the preserved texts); concerning the tablets from Pannonia (No. **107** and No. **109**) and Raetia (No. **104** and No. **106**), these also contain peculiarly oriented script. Magical oriented script appears only once in Gallia (No. **224**, 6.2.1.1.) and in ca. a fifth of the texts found in Britannia. Most frequently we find the right-to-left orientation of script; however, boustrophedon (No. **109**) and upside-down writing are documented, too. In Germania, a non-standard orientation of script is sometimes accompanied by the formula *aversus* (see 10.2.2. above).

10.5 *FORMULAE AND PEOPLE ACCURSED*

There are altogether 47 formulae in 31 curse tablets found in Germania, which is not a very high number. The most frequent ones are: Formula **0** (simple list of

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cursed people, ten tablets), Formula **1a** (direct curse with the verbs of committal), and Formula **2** (invoking formula with a relative clause, eight tablets). The invoking Formula **2a** and Formula **3a** with the imperative appear only scarcely; *simile*-formula occurs five times. More complicated curses have also been preserved in Raetia (eleven formulae in four tablets) and Pannonia (eight formulae in three tablets) (see Chapter 2).

The relatively high number of formulae (36 in eleven tablets) used in the prayers for justice in Germania indicates that these are complicated texts: *simile*-formula (16 times), wish-formula **4** using the subjunctive, and the invoking formula **2a** are used most frequently. The prayers for justice from Raetia and Pannonia use on average three formulae a tablet. The prayers for justice preserved in Germania can be, with regards to their elaborateness and diversity, regarded as the top of this genre.

Concerning the relatively higher number of texts preserved in Germania, the average number of cursed people is rather lower in comparison with the texts from Gallia or Hispania. Altogether 31 tablets are aimed against ca. 95 people, whereas men (81) markedly outweigh women (14). Thus, ca. three people are accursed in a single tablet; in Pannonia, the average is even ca. five people per tablet. These include slaves, freedmen, as well as free citizens, the names are more often stated in the nominative than the accusative. Some tablets also contain the author's name or the name of the person on whose behalf the curse was inscribed, see e.g. the legal curses No. **71**, No. **76**, and No. **78**; the presence of author's name in tablets No. **94** and No. **97** is disputable (see 10.1.1. above).

The prayers for justice from Germania, Raetia, and Pannonia usually concern thefts, in three cases they react to deceit or fraud, and two tablets are even connected to rivalry in love (see No. **227** and No. **228** above, 10.2.1.). Unlike the texts coming from the other provinces, several of these are examples of rare formulations referring to author's wishes, including *simile*-formulae, which are only very scarcely, or not at all, found in the prayers for justice from other provinces. Some texts are very similar to curses: the author's and invoked deity's names are included only in about half of the texts. Somewhat more frequently, the texts involve a committal of the stolen property or the culprit to the deity. The culprits' names are mostly known (six men, six women), four prayers for justice pursue an unknown culprit (No. **229**, No. **232**, No. **235**, and No. **238**). Just like the authors of the prayers for justice found in Gallia and Italy, the authors of these texts almost always sought only revenge on the culprit; only tablets No. **235** and No. **236** from Germania and No. **239** from Pannonia explicitly pursue the return of the stolen property. Other prayers for

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justice found in the northern provinces mostly display very cunning types of vengeance supposed to afflict the culprit, including a public revenge. Generally, it can be said that the prayers for justice from the areas concerned are mostly longer and picturesque texts – e.g. No. **228** includes five typical features of this genre, whereas five other texts include four of them.

Filiation via father's name appears only rarely (No. **86** and No. **228**), filiation via mother's name is used in a single prayer for justice No. **236**; however, it does not use the usual *quam peperit* formula (see 10.2.4.).

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This chapter is dedicated to the very rich and diverse curses found in the African provinces. The areas of Africa explored and known in antiquity spread from the Mediterranean coast in the north to the southern areas bordered by Sahara, the Great Desert. Greeks called this land *Λιβύη*, and the name *Africa* was probably derived from the Libyan tribe of Afers. The latter was taken over by Romans partially also due to the epithet of Roman commander Scipio the Elder *Africanus* who, during the Third Punic War, defeated the Punic and conquered Carthage. However, the name Africa has been used ever since the Second Punic War.¹ In 146 BCE, when the Romans won the contest for the hegemonic position in the Mediterranean and defeated the Punic for the last time, they established the province of *Africa* in the former Carthaginian territory. In 105 BCE after the defeat of Iugurtha, the northern coast of Africa east of Carthage (today's Libya), also called *Tripolis* ("three cities") by the Greek, was attached to the province, as well. In 46 BCE, when Caesar defeated Pompey in the Battle of Thapsus, he temporarily attached Numidia as the province of *Africa nova* to the Roman Empire; nevertheless, this territory became a real part of the Roman property only during the reign of Augustus, in 25 BCE. The original province of *Africa* claimed from Carthage got the name *vetus*. *Colonia* Carthage, founded by Caesar in 40/39 BCE, became the capital of both above mentioned Roman provinces bordering on the province of *Cyrenaica* in the east and *Mauretania* in the west. From ca. 27 BCE, these areas (*Africa nova* and *Africa vetus*) joined administratively by Augustus were called *Africa Proconsularis*, which was administered by the Senate.

In the following centuries, the African provinces flourished, trade and agriculture advanced, Africa became the granary of Rome, and Carthage rose up again as an important city. The influx of Roman inhabitants in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE led to the development of a specific Roman-African culture.² Later on, the emperor Septimius Severus separated Numidia from *Africa Proconsularis* and made it an imperial province. Finally, Diocletian divided the original province into three administrative units: *Africa Proconsularis*, *Africa Byzacena*, and *Africa Tripolitana* which was connected with Numidia. From 429 CE, the African provinces had to face the raids of the Vandals.

The preserved curses come almost exclusively from Carthage and Hadrumetum; Kropp (2008) assigns them in her corpus to the provinces of *Africa*

¹ See Huss – Leisten (1996, 217 ff.); see also Svoboda (1974, 35 ff.).

² Svoboda (1974, 35 ff.).

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Proconsularis and *Africa Byzacena*. Because the evidence from both provinces seems to be compact and different from the evidence found in other provinces, I deal with it as a whole.

11.1 THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF THE AFRICAN PROVINCES AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Kropp (2008) speaks of 81 curse tablets found in the African provinces altogether, out of which this corpus includes 73 tablets; no Latin prayers for justice are known so far from this area. The preserved tablets are of later date than the evidence found in the European provinces, especially Italy and Hispania – more than two thirds of the tablets were, not very accurately, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, and some tablets were inscribed in the 2nd century CE (six) and in the 3rd century CE (12). The high number of tablets occurring in the 2nd/3rd century CE (46) is, no doubt, related to the huge influx of Romans into the African provinces at the time. Only very few tablets have been dated to the 3rd/4th century CE but this does not necessarily imply that the cursing practice significantly declined in the area – this can rather be attributed to the randomness of archaeological findings.

As for the external features of these tablets, most of them were found in graves (63): this includes all the tablets found in Hadrumetum and most of those found in Carthage. Some tablets were also preserved in the amphitheatre of Carthage (seven). All African tablets in this corpus were inscribed on lead slabs.

Almost two thirds of the tablets were rolled into scrolls before being deposited; tablets pierced with a nail appear only scarcely, unlike the common use of this practice in Italy (see 7.3.); the rest of the evidence either does not display traces of any manipulation, or the editors do not state so.

The African provinces preserved the greatest variety of curse types. For instance, Latin agonistic curses aimed against rival gladiators, charioteers, and race-horses were found nowhere else, although it is more than likely that they were used also elsewhere, e.g. in Rome (see 4.1.). Moreover, love spells have almost entirely been preserved on curse tablets from Carthage and Hadrumetum.³ Conversely, non-specific curses are attested relatively rarely in Africa (five), when compared to the European provinces. Most of the legal

³ The tablet No. **106** from Raetia (see 4.1.), probably also the tablet No. **69**, and one tablet from the fountain of Anna Perenna are the only love spells found outside Africa, see 7.3.

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curses (12) and curses against gladiators (six) have been found in Carthage, whereas most of the tablets aimed against race-horses (12), charioteers and race-horses (16), and love spells (12) have been preserved in Hadrumetum. On the contrary, no cases of rivalry in love nor Latin prayers for justice are documented in the African provinces.

Many of these were probably made by professional ritual practitioners specializing in the serial production of curses. The content of the magical apparatus used is very complicated – formulations referring to magical papyri, influences of Greek, Egyptian, and Hebrew traditions, magical words mostly written in the Greek alphabet, addresses to daemons (see 1.7.), and use of imperative formulae (see 3.1.6. and 3.1.7.). The graphic layout is also complicated – non-alphabetic *signa magica*, magical patterns called *grammata* made of the sequences of vowels and consonants, often also non-standard orientation of script, combination of Greek alphabet and Latin letters, Latin text written in the Greek alphabet, etc. (see 1.7.1. and 1.7.2.). Thus, the African curses are very different from the curses from other provinces where professional magicians did not operate to such an extent as in Africa (based on the preserved evidence); the only exception was Rome (see 7.6.1.). The African curses made mostly by professionals provide us with a high-quality testament to the adapting, combining, and blending of the Mediterranean magical traditions.

11.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

Although non-specific curses are prevalent in the European provinces, especially in Britannia, there are only few of them in the African provinces (five of them have been included in this corpus). Tablet No. **111** is one of the very few containing a simple list of cursed people in the nominative (see Appendix I). Tablet No. **141** found in Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/1**, is a little more advanced, as it also includes the filiation via mother's name (see 1.6.): *Laelianus, Saturninus, quos peperit Aquilia Saturnina*. ("Laelianus, Saturninus, who were born from Aquilia Saturnina.").

Tablet No. **122** probably pursues the death of Iulia Faustilla; the author wrote an almost identical text on both sides of the tablet:

*Te rogo, qui infernales partes tenes, commendo tibi Iulia(m) Faustilla(m),
Marii filia(m), ut eam celerius abducas et ibi in numeru(m) tu(um) a(b)ias
(= habeas). B: Te rogo, qui infernales partes tenes, commendo tibi Iulia(m)
Faustilla(m), ut eam celerius abducas infernales partibus in numeru(m)
tu(um) habeas.* ("I ask you, who hold rule over the Underworld, I commend

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to you Iulia Faustilla, the daughter of Marius, so that you may take her as quickly as possible and have her in your number [of the dead]. I ask you, who hold rule over the Underworld, I commend to you Iulia Faustilla, the daughter of Marius, so that you may take her as quickly as possible to the Underworld among your number [of the dead].” (see also 1.1.2.1. and 1.10.1.).

The curse beginning with magical words and inscribed in tablets No. **138** and No. **139** is remarkable, as it is aimed at the welfare of the public baths. It is one of the few Latin examples of cursing a business venture, not a particular person.⁴

11.1.2 Legal Curses

This corpus includes 14 legal curses from the African provinces: 12 from Carthage, and two from Hadrumetum. Most of these contain complicated formulae, whereas the authors use mainly resourceful restrictions impeding victims’ ability to speak, remember, or testify in court. Tablet No. **112** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/2**, is one of the simpler legal curses:

Scribonia, Philomusus, Criso, Alypus, Lerastus, Philargyrus, Auner, Felix, Liberalis, conservi, conservae, amici, amicae, cognati... Quicumque conaverit, dixerit, fecerit (a)ut facere voluerit, colliberti aut colliberta(e). (“Scribonia, Philomusus, Criso, Alypus, Lerastus, Philargyrus, Abner, Felix, Liberalis, fellow slaves (male and female), friends, girlfriends, relatives... Whoever would have tried, said, did, or wanted to do, fellow freedmen and freedwomen.”).

The text, though disrupted, clearly implies a legal context;⁵ the verb of cursing is missing.

Brief, simple formulae are found in tablet No. **181** from Hadrumetum whose victims are supposed to be struck mute (for the text and the translation, see 2.3.1.). The same applies for tablet No. **137** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/34**, which reads:

⁴ For the complete text and translation of both tablets, see 1.10.1.; see also Gager (1992, No. 82); for linguistic remarks, see Urbanová – Cuzzloin (2016, 318, 333 ff.).

⁵ Kropp (2008) considers this text to be a prayer for justice, as in the case of No. **137**; however, I suppose it is rather a prophylactic legal curse, i.e. if anyone attempted to act against me, I accurse him.

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Gallus, Lunul, Fausta, Placidus, Meius, Rupilia Rupiliae, Licinius, Maxima, Salbao, Martia, Septimius, Amiana, Saturina, Speratus et si quis contra fecerit Cleopatra(m?). (“[A nominal list of enemies] and whoever would have acted against Cleopatra.”)⁶

The text lacks any verb of cursing, and the names of enemies are inscribed in the nominative. It can be interpreted in two ways: either it is a curse against the enemies stated in the beginning as well as Cleopatra stated in the end, or, as in the translation, a curse against all those who could hurt Cleopatra with her name in the accusative *Cleopatram*. The name of the author or the person on whose behalf the curse was written appears in three legal curses from Africa (see also No. **115** and No. **116** below).

Furthermore, the tablets from Africa often directly attack the tongue of the accursed person, see No. **114**: ...*alligate linguas horum* (1.1.2.2.1.). Another example is tablet No. **113** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/3**, which originally contained extensive text, but is now largely disrupted. I state the reading of intelligible fragments amended by Kropp (2008); see also Appendix I:

...lingua, ne contra me nec dicere nec facere va(l)ean nisi quod ego voluero; al(li)go, deligo linguas...esse... Calligraphae... Primi... apud... patri meo nec adversus me... irati... alligo... illam ...linguam et... Pudentis... alligo, deligo... Calligraphae... Alligo, deligo... (“...[I bind] the tongue so that they cannot speak nor act against me, unless [they speak] what I wish them to; I bind and tie the tongues...”)

The curse probably aims at three people, namely *Primus*, *Pudens*, and *Calligrapha*, who are not supposed to be able to testify against the author and his father: *patri meo nec adversus me*.

A very elaborate formula binding the tongue is found in tablet No. **115** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1/5**, which reads:

Indico illu(m) quiq(ue i)mitati⁷ facias illos mutos adversus Atlosam; ac ligo, obligo, linguas illorum medias, extremas, novissimas, ne quid possint

⁶ I state the text amended by Kropp (2008) who considers it to be a prayer for justice. However, this interpretation seems at least doubtful (see also Appendix I).

⁷ I state here the text as amended by Kropp (2008); see also Appendix I. The tablet, probably mistakenly, reads *iudico* instead of *indico* in the beginning of the text. The damaged sequence *ilu(m) quiq(ue i)mitati* can be interpreted as “the names I have imitated (i.e. inscribed in the tablet)” – *imitati* is a plausible solution here derived

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*respondere contra. Facias illos mutos, muturungallos, mutulos, Crispu(m) marinis et Marinem parinis... (oblig)o? linguas illorum...*⁸ (“I state his [name?] and [the names?] of those who I inscribed, make those against Atlosa mute; I tie and bind up their tongues in the middle, in the back and front, so that they cannot testify against. Make them mute, completely speechless, dumb, Crispus? and Marinus? I bind? their tongues...”).

The text, although sporadically damaged and unintelligible, pursues the silencing of the adversaries in a remarkable way – the curse is supposed to afflict, or disable, the tongues in the middle, back and front, so that the victims really can utter no sound whatsoever. Although the author does not proceed logically in the sequence *medias*, *extremas*, *novissimas*, i.e. it starts from the middle, the formulation resembles modern phonetic studies on articulation. Moreover, the position of *medias* in the beginning of the sequence may be connected to metric structure and the number of syllables of the words coming one after another.⁹ Similarly, the process of becoming speechless is expressed by three adjectives obviously derived from common *mutus*, whereas the term *muturungallos* is a *hapax legomenon* and *mutulos* does not appear anywhere else in this sense.¹⁰ The curse should help Atlosa against the accursed people whose names bear the attributes *marinis* and *parinis*. Audollent (1904, No. 219) points out that their meaning is unclear; even if *marinis* was the name of freedman Crispus’ patron, it could not at the same time refer to the master as well as the freedman – *Marinem parinis*.

The formula paralysing the tongue as the organ of speech was very popular, as is also documented in another tablet, No. **136** from Carthage, **dfx.** 11.1.1/32. It comprises six fragments,¹¹ I state here only two of them, which are longer and amended by Kropp (2008):

Frg. I: *...(alligo linguas)... medias, extremas, novissimas... colligo, ligo linguas... medias, extremas, novissimas, ne quid respondere (possint), facias vanos... colligo linguas... novissimas nequ(id) respondere (possint?), facias illos mutos... (Lin)guas lig(o), colligo, (ne au)xilium eorum resp(ondere possit)...*

from *imitor*. Another possible interpretation is that the verbal form is derived from *immito* (“send, throw”), i.e. “the names I have sent [to the gods or daemons]”; however, no names of deities have preserved in the text (see also No. **144**, 5.1.4.).

⁸ The end of the tablet is largely disrupted (see also the commentary to DT 219).

⁹ See also Poccetti (2005, 344 ff.).

¹⁰ See TIL *mutulus* 17315: *valde mutus*; *muturungallos* 1753, 59.

¹¹ See DT 303; Kropp (2008); see also Appendix I and 1.9.3.

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Frg. II: ...*linguas l(ig)o, medias, extremas, no(vissimas)...* *ne quid possint mihi...* *alligo, colligo linguas, novissimas, ne quit respondere (possint?), facias illos potiora...* *al(li)go, colligo novissimas, ne quid...* *Medias, extremas, novissimas mutos, mutos...* *Publius Curtius alligo, colligo, ligo...*

(“[...I bind the tongues]... in the middle, back and front... I tie, bind up [their] tongues in the middle, in the back and front, [so that they cannot] testify, make [them] idle... I tie the tongues... front [so that they cannot] testify, make them mute... I tie, bind up [their] tongues so that they cannot come help them?”)

The text of the second fragment is almost identical, except that it contains the name of one of the victims, Publius Curtius. Because of the use of “tongue” in the plural, it is very likely that the original text also included the names of other enemies (see also 1.9.3.).

Another interesting text is tablet No. **116** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/6**, which pursues the same restrictions but adds that the enemies should be afraid, too:

A: Domina (Te)rra? facias (?) Germanum mutum... dicu accomodes Obsecra(e) Speratae custodes... Martialim, Cosconium, Ianuarium et Rufum, ut... (Quomodo qui) B: sunt ibi, mutos et metu plenos facias, quorum nomina h(ic) habes. (Adver?)sus Obsecram Speratae... adversus eam loqui non possint, inimici adversus eam loqui non possint¹² ... (“Lady Earth?, make Germanus mute... arrange? that Obsecra, [the daughter/freedwoman?] of Sperata, guard?... Martialis, Cosconius, Iuanuarius and Rufus, [just] as [those who] are here, make them mute and filled of fear, [those] whose names you have here [inscribed]. Against? Obsecra, [the daughter/freedwoman?] of Sperata... may they be unable to speak against her, the enemies to speak against her...”) (see also 2.3.2. and 10.1.2.).

Unfortunately, the text is damaged in places, which makes it impossible to interpret it coherently. For instance, we do not know what or to whom *custodes* refers to; DT 220 presupposes the presence of a disrupted *simile*-formula which is suggested to be added to the concluding section of side A *ut (muta sunt ossa quae) sunt ibi, mutos et metu plenos facias quorum nomina hic habes...* (“just as these bones here are mute [an analogy to the bones in the grave where the tablet was deposited], make those whose names you have inscribed here mute and full of fear”). In addition, the name of the author, or the person on whose behalf the

¹² For the text inscribed on the tablet see also DT 220; for new interpretation and additions (*Quomodo qui*), see Kropp (2008) and Appendix I.

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curse was inscribed (*Obsecra Speratae*), is included, too, even including the her mother's or patron's name. This is perhaps for accurate identification of the people involved and the relevant lawsuit.

The disrupted legal curse No. **117** also contains a *simile*-formula – Securus, Toresilaus, and the advocates are supposed to be unable to testify and speak against the author and his father:

Se(curus?), como(d)o... no(n) potes(t) (contr)a nos d(e)respondere... sic non (possint?) (respondere) contra patre(m) meu(m) con)tra (me) advocati qui contr(a) nos non pos(s)it... (for the complete text, see DT 221 and Appendix I).

The complicated and interesting curse No. **118** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/8**, also makes use of a *simile*-formula and, like No. **68** from Gallia (see 9.1.2.), also the magical analogy between an animal killed during the cursing ritual – a puppy in Gallia, a cock in Africa.¹³ The curse is inscribed on both sides of the tablet: side A contains the names of adversaries in a lawsuit, side B has the text of the curse itself whose end is, unfortunately, very damaged (for the emendations, see DT 222 and Kropp, 2008). No. **118** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/8**, reads:

A: Claudia Helenis, Clodia Successi, Clodia Steretia,¹⁴ Clodius Fortunatus, Clodius Romanus, Mu(rc)ius Crim...enius, Servilius Faustus, Valerius Extricatus. Quomodo haec nomina (ad inferos dedi sic omnes adversu)s¹⁵ me ommutes(cant) (neque lo)qui (possint?). B: (Quomodo) huic gallo...lingua(m) vivo extorsi et defixi, sic inimicorum meorum linguas adversus me ommutescant. Sic qui (in?) me l(o)qui aususve fuerit, ad ni(hi)lo (r)ediat res illius... Haec praecatio ita... est ad... (Preco?)r vos muta... per ves(tram?)... victoria(m?), di(i) Manes, ita uti... sic adversus.

(“[The names of the accursed people, probably freedmen and freedwomen] Just like [I commended to the infernal gods] these names, [may all] be struck dumb toward me and [may they be unable to speak]. [Just like] I ripped out and transfixing alive the tongue of this cock, may the tongues of my enemies be equally struck mute against me. Equally, if someone dared to speak against me, may his effort? Go waste... This plea in such a way...”)

¹³ See also the same ritual in a Greek curse text from Carthage (TheDeMa 60).

¹⁴ DT 222 suggests to read the name *Speretia*, i.e. *Speratia*.

¹⁵ DT 222 adds (*adversu)s me ommute(scant)*; furthermore, Kropp (2008) adds *ad inferos dedi sic omnes*.

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The rest of the text is very corrupted and cannot be interpreted coherently; the only additional information it provides us with is that the author invokes infernal ghosts (see also 2.3.6. and 9.1.2.).

Thus, only the legal curse No. **183** (see Chapter 5) seeks the death of the opposing party. We also know that, despite their damaged state (see Appendix I), tablets No. **119** and No. **120** clearly contain legal curses.

11.1.3 Agonistic Curses

All Latin agonistic curses, as already said above, have been found in the African provinces, despite the fact that it is more than probable that rivals in the circus were being accursed also in other places where *ludi* and chariot races were held (see 4.1.). All Latin as well as Greek agonistic curses were recently analysed, translated, and published by J. Tremel (2004).

This corpus includes seven curses against gladiators: six were found in the Carthage amphitheatre, one in the grave in Hadrumetum (containing not only an agonistic curse but also a love spell) (see No. **143**, 1.1.2.2.3.). All texts against rivals in the circus were inscribed by professional magicians.

A larger number of preserved agonistic curses aim at charioteers and race-horses – this corpus includes 20 such tablets, most of which were found in Hadrumetum (16), the rest in Carthage (four). Most of these were produced in magical workshops and their texts are almost identical, since usually only the names of accursed people and horses vary. As for the curses aimed exclusively against race-horses, which were also probably written by professionals in the field, I include 13 of these in my corpus: 12 from Hadrumetum, a single tablet from Carthage. The distribution of findings does not seem to reflect the real situation, rather, the locations are randomly scattered according to the archaeological excavations.

11.1.3.1 Curses against Gladiators

The slightly disrupted tablet No. **130** is an illustrative example of the typical curse against a rival, in this case probably a gladiator (*venator*), i.e. the hunter, who was going to fight bears and a bull. It depicts a standing daemonic figure holding a spear in his right hand and a lightning bolt in his left. The tablet is dated to the 2nd/3rd cent. CE and it contains *signa magica*, too (see also 1.1.2.2.2. and Chapter 5). The curse addresses a daemon using imperative formulae (see 3.2.). No. **130** from the amphitheatre in Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/22**, reads:

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... (*occi*)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m), quem peperit Prima, in ista hora in amphiteatri corona... hoc tene, illi manus oblige... obture... non liget ursum, ursos... Obliga illi pedes, membra, sensus, medullam. Obliga Gallicu(m), quem peperit Prima, ut neque ursu(m) neque tauru(m) singulis plagis occidat, neque binis plagis occid(a)t neque ternis plagis occidat tauru(m) ursu(m). Per nomen dei vivi omnipotentis ut perficiatis iam, iam, cito, cito. Allidat illu(m) ursus et vulneret illu(m).¹⁶ (“...kill, destroy, hurt Gallicus, whom Prima bore, at that hour during the games in the amphitheatre... hold, tie his hands... block?¹⁷... May he not bind a bear, bears... Bind his feet, limbs, senses, marrow. Bind Gallicus, whom Prima bore, so that he kills neither a bear nor a bull, nor does he kill a bear or a bull with a single, nor double, nor triple punch. In the name of the living almighty god, may you carry [this] out, now, now, quickly, quickly. Let the bear strike him and hurt him.”)

The curse against gladiators No. **131** found in Carthage is another remarkable and resourceful text (for the complete text, see 1.10.1.). It dates to the 3rd century CE and has also been found in the amphitheatre. It was obviously made by a professional in the field; side A depicts a standing long-eared and ass?-headed daemon holding bowls and wands in his hands. The time formula in the end is written in Greek.¹⁸ The author/purchaser of the text intends to hurt and kill his rival during the games in the circus. He targets the victim’s body parts needed in combat (hands, feet), but also his adversary’s senses. His effort to make the curse effective is illustrated by the careful enumeration of all supposed effects of the curse¹⁹ – accumulation of synonyms like *obligo et implico* (“I bind and entwine [them with spell]”), or *vulneratos, (cru)entatos* (“injured and stained with blood”), just like (*occi*)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicum in the previous tablet; or the variations of the same word-base using prefixes and suffixes and combined with the accumulation of synonyms, for example (*facias*) victos, pervictos, exaclos/exactos, exiliatos, pilatos, pla(n)gatos (“[may they be] defeated, completely outdone, exhausted/hissed off, expelled, devastated, beaten”). The curse is concluded with a time formula

¹⁶ I do not state disrupted parts of the text here; for the complete text and supplements see Appendix I.

¹⁷ The verb *obturo* surrounded by lacunae is obscure here, it may perhaps refer to a restriction of sensation, i.e. “shut one’s ears”, or “strike blind”.

¹⁸ I state the Latin text of the curse according to Kropp’s (2008) and Tremel’s (2004, No. 96) emendations. See also the description of the tablet in DT 248; Tremel (2004, No. 94).

¹⁹ See also Poccetti (2002, 31 ff.).

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specifying the exact day on which the rivals should be afflicted by the curse; the Greek formula forces the daemon to exact the curse as soon as possible (see also 3.3.1.).

The following text is the longest and most complicated preserved curse against another gladiator. The text is inscribed in Latin on both sides of the tablet, whereas side B contains also Greek magical words. The tablet dates to the 3rd/4th century CE and was found in the amphitheatre. No. **132** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/25**, reads:

A: Βαχα(χvχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon,²⁰ obliges, perobliges Maurussum venatorem, quem peperit Felicitas. Ιεχρη, auferas somnum, non dormiat Marussus, quem peperit Felicitas. Παρπαζιv, deus omnipotens, adducas ad domus infernas Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas. Νοκτοvκιτ, qui possides tractus Itali(a)e et Campaniae, qui tractus es per Acherusium lacum, (perducas ad domos Tartareas, intra dies septem),²¹ perducas ad domos tartareas Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas intra dies septe(m). Βvτvβαχκ,²² demon qui possides Hispaniam et Africam, qui solus per mare transis, pertranseas animam et spiritum Maurussi, quem peperit Felicitas. Pertranseas omne remedium et omne phylacterium et omne tutamentum et omne oleum libutorium et perducatis, obligetis, perobligetis... (oblig)etis? absumatis, desumatis, consumatis cor, membra, viscera, interania Mauruss(i venatoris?), quem peperit Felicitas. Et te adiuro, quisquis inferne es demon per haec sancta nomina necessitatis.

B: (VM)²³...depre(hendatis) et, faciatis pallidum, maestum, tristem... mutum, non se regentem Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas; in omni proelio, in omni certamine evanescat, ruat... Maurussum, quem peperit

²⁰ The text is stated here in an amended form; for the original text, see Appendix I, DT 250, Kropp (2008), and Tremel (2004, No. 96). The names of daemons are found especially in the tablets from the African provinces, but they appear also in the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae*, see DT 140 (No. 18); for the specific epithets of daemons, see also tablet No. **124**, 1.1.2.2.3., and No. **133** below.

²¹ The sequence stated in brackets was probably inscribed once more, because the author probably forgot to include the victim's name (see DT 250).

²² Kropp (2008), perhaps mistakenly, leaves out the name of the daemon.

²³ See Appendix I; there is a so-called *maskelli maskellô* formula which is attested in curses as well as magical papyri, the complete formula is as follows: *maskelli maskellô aphnoukentabaô oreobazagra rêxichthôn hippochthôn puripêganux* (see PGM VII, 302; also Gager, 1992, 268). The above mentioned magical words certainly contain some Greek elements; however, their meaning is obscure.

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Felicitas. Desub amphiteatri corona...eatem auram²⁴ patiatur Maurussus, quem peperit Felicitas...(vinc)ere? (non) possit, perversus sit, perperversus sit Maurussus, quem peperit Felicitas, nec laqueos possit super ursum mittere, non alligare (ursum possit)... collegam²⁵ tenere omnino non possit... Manus illi et ro(bur), (pe)des illi obligentur, non possit currere... lassetu(r)... animam et spiritum deponat in omni proelio, in omni(bus) congressionibus depannetur,²⁶ vapulet, vulneretur... (vincat)ur²⁷...(d)e (man)ibus alienis²⁸ inde (f)igatur, trahatur. Exeat Maurussus, (quem peperit) F(elicit)as desub amphiteiatri corona facie(s) ad terram... te cito²⁹ depremite, defigite, perfigite, consumite... Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas. Et /ut? remisse ferrarum morsus (patiatur?)... (t)am tauros, tam apros, tam leones, quae... Maurussus, quem peperit Felicitas, occidere possit... (nulla?)m (feram).³⁰

(“Bachachuch, [you] who are the great Egyptian daemon, bind and tie up Maurussus the hunter, whom Felicitas bore. Iechri, deprive him of sleep, may Maurussus, the hunter, whom Felicitas bore, not sleep. Parpaxin, the almighty god, bring Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, to the infernal dwellings. Noktoukit, [you] who hold the territories of Italy and Campania, you who were dragged through the swamps of Acheron,³¹ [lead to the infernal regions within seven days] lead Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, to the infernal regions within seven days. Bytybachk, [you,] the daemon who hold the territories of Hispania and Africa, the only [daemon] who pervades across sea, pervade the soul and spirit of Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore.

²⁴ Kropp (2008) reads *eadem auguria*, which would be possible, if we understood *auguria* as the same curses.

²⁵ Kropp (2008) reads *(c)ol(l)ega(tum) = colligatum*; DT 250 and J. Tremel (2004, No. 96) read *(c)onlega(m)*, i.e. *collegam*.

²⁶ DT 250 points out: *depannetur*, i.e. *depanare – dilacerare*.

²⁷ The addition of Kropp (2008).

²⁸ Kropp’s (2008) interpretation, the tablet reads *e (man)us alienis*.

²⁹ Kropp’s (2008) addition of the whole formula *iam, iam, cito, cito* is, in my opinion, unjustified. Furthermore, she adds the verb *patiatur* after *ferrarum morsus*.

³⁰ Kropp (2008) logically adds *(nulla)m (ferram)*.

³¹ The interpretation of Tremel (2004, No. 96; DT 250); DT 250 assumes that *Acerushium (= Acherusium) lacum* refers to *Acherusiam paludem*, i.e. the swamps near Cumae. It may perhaps also be associated with today’s Lago Averno, or *lacus Avernus*, which was thought to be the entrance to the Underworld in antiquity. The particular connection of this daemon to the regions of Italia and Campania, as well as the reason for his being dragged through the waters of Acheron or the lake, are unclear.

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Pervade through any defense, through all amulets and protective means and all protecting oils³²... and lead [him to the Underworld]), bind [him], bind [him] fast... ruin, destroy, consume the heart, limbs, guts, intestines of Maurussus [the hunter], whom Felicitas bore. And I adjure you, whoever infernal daemon you are,³³ by these holy names of inevitability.

(VM)... Catch Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, and make him pale, unhappy, and sad... mute, may he not hold control over himself; in each combat, in each contest, may [he] lose, fall down... Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore... At the games in the amphitheatre... may Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, suffer,³⁴ may he be unable to win? May [he] be knocked down, beaten hollow,³⁵ Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, may he be unable to throw nets over the bear nor tie him up, may he be unable to hold back the corrial³⁶... May his hands and strength? and feet be bound up, may he be unable to run... may he fatigue himself... may he leave his soul and spirit [i.e. die?] in each combat, in all contests, may he be torn to pieces, flogged, hurt, may he be transfixed, dragged with alien [opponent's] hands. May Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, die with his face to the ground in the amphitheatre... quickly press down, pierce, transfix, consume... Maurussus [in the accusative], whom Felicitas bore. And may he [suffer?] the bites of wild beasts... so bulls, boars, lions who... Maurussus, whom Felicitas bore, [may he be unable to kill any beast?]'").

This curse, just like the previous one, is a very interesting example of the use of specific language for magical purposes. It illustrates the author's effort to use all language means available to make the curse as effective as possible – these are supposed to support maximally precise and detailed formulation of the curse in

³² See DT 250; this sequence clearly expresses that the daemon is supposed to break through all protective means the victim could use against a curse, e.g. amulets, protective gems, oils, etc.

³³ The *Nekydaimôn* is addressed here, i.e. the spirit of a dead person who can provide services for the living.

³⁴ Tremel (2004, No. 96) translates *auram patiatur* as “Luft erdulden”, i.e. perhaps “endure hot and dust”.

³⁵ The terms *perversus*, *perperversus* are translated loosely with regards to the result of the action.

³⁶ If we accepted Kropp's (2008) reading *(c)ol(l)ega(tum) = colligatum* instead of *(c)onlega(m)*, the passage would be translated as follows: “may he be unable to throw nets on the bear nor tie him up... and hold him tied up”. Both interpretations are plausible.

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order to fortify the desired effect.³⁷ The very sophisticated cursing formula makes use of the binary formulae *auferas somnum* and *non dormiat Maurussus*, similarly to tablet No. **20** from Rome (see 7.3.1.4.). The restriction concerning a victim's ability to sleep is typical especially of love spells; however, it also appears in the prayers for justice from Britannia; it is not attested in other contexts.³⁸ The author first addresses five daemons individually, then at the end of side A s/he turns to them all in plural. There is an accumulation of verbs, either of the same base with varied suffixes or of the different base with identical suffixes:³⁹ at the end of side A we read *perducatis*, ***obligetis***, ***perobligetis***...(*obligetis*, *absumatis*, *desumatis*, *consumatis*; *depremite*, ***defigite***, ***perfigite***, *consumite*... Synonyms are also cumulated, either by coupled expressions: *animam et spiritum*, or, more frequently, by fours: protective means *remedium*, *phylacterium*, *tutamentum*, *oleum libitorium* and body parts *cor*, *membra*, *viscera*, *interania*,⁴⁰ whose list is introduced by seven verbs specifying the damage (see above). The author anxiously keeps on including his rival's filiation *quem peperit Felicitas*, whenever he states his name, Maurussus. The text is slightly disrupted and contains several lacunae; thus, some passages cannot be reliably interpreted.

Tablet No. **133** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/26** dated to the 2nd century CE is also aimed against gladiators. Unfortunately, it is severely damaged; therefore, I state only part of it.⁴¹ It is remarkable for its use of extensive, incomprehensible formulae containing magical words atypically written in Latin letters, and even a Latin sequence written in the Greek alphabet occurs. Unlike the previous texts, the text of the curse itself is formulated in a much simpler way:

(Adiuro vos) animae huius loci et... sancta nomina Psachyrinx (VM)⁴² ter vos adiuro, animae huius loci (VM)... date interitu(m) his venatoribus:

³⁷ See also the lists of body parts (7.3.1.1).

³⁸ See 5.1.1., or also 9.1.1. and 1.9.2.

³⁹ See Poccetti (2002, 32).

⁴⁰ In comparison to the non-specific curses found in Italia (see 7.3.1.1.), the curses against gladiators contain briefer lists of victims' body parts. The author of tablet No. **130** attacks victim's legs and limbs, as well as his ability to react promptly; however, he does not enumerate the particular limbs. Tablet No. **132** accurses probably the most significant and vulnerable organs; the following tablets No. **135** and No. **134** aim at the opponents' strength, spirit, mind, as well as heart and liver (see below), which are included in Greek cursing formulae.

⁴¹ For the whole text, see Appendix I; Kropp (2008); DT 151; Tremel (2004, No. 97).

⁴² A sequence of obscure magical words written in Latin letters follows (see Appendix I).

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Metrete, Syndicio, Celsano, Atsurio, Felici, Cardario, Vincentio, ne viribus suis placere possint. (“I adjure you, spirits of this place and... holy names [the names of daemons and more magical words follow], I forswear you three times, spirits of this place [magical words], bestow death upon these hunter gladiators [the names of the victims], may they be unable to take [the audience’s]”⁴³ fancy with their strengths...”)

There is no doubt that the curse was written by a professional, as it includes more magical words than cursing formulae; it is, therefore, interpretable only with difficulties.

The following curse tablets against gladiators (No. **134** and No. **135**) were found in the Carthage amphitheatre and are dated to the 2nd century CE. Both probably come from the same magical workshop, as their texts are sporadically identical, and the graphic layout is very similar, too. Tablet No. **134** represents undoubtedly the peak of the magical treatment of the curse text, especially with regards to its graphic conduct, i.e. the use of the magic of script. Besides, it reflects the producer’s high erudition – the whole text is written in the Greek alphabet and framed by magical letters called *grammata* (see 1.7.2.). The magical words, probably referring to the names of daemons,⁴⁴ appear in four columns. The curse itself, or at least most of it, is written in Greek, shorter passages also in Latin, but in the Greek alphabet. The Greek sequences contain complicated formulae including the accumulation of synonyms, like in the above mentioned texts, but the Latin texts is simpler.⁴⁵ The author first forswears the daemons using many magical words, then he addresses Rabkab, the daemon of drought and braking to halt Sapautulus, the son of Ponponia. The daemon is supposed to bind up the victim and break his strength, heart, liver, soul, and reason. No. **134** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/27**: [lines 1–10: VM and the Greek text],⁴⁶ reads:

... line 6: ... *Ραβκαβ καὶ σὺ θεοξήρ ἄν(α)ξ κατάσχων τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ἀποδομῶν καὶ τὸ ὁμοιῶν κατάσχεσ τοῦ Σαπαντούλου ὃν ἔτεκεν Πονπονία δῆσον αὐτὸν καὶ...τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καρδίαν τὸ ἦπαρ τὸν νοῦν τὰς φρένας*

⁴³ For the interpretation, see Tremel (2004, No. 97).

⁴⁴ See the facsimile DT 252; Tremel (2004, No. 98).

⁴⁵ For the complete text of the curse, see Appendix I; DT 252, Kropp (2008). For the translation of the whole text, see Tremel (2004, No. 98); I deal predominantly with the Latin passages here.

⁴⁶ I state the text including the Greek cursing formulae following Kropp’s reading (2008); for the magical words, see Appendix I. The texts are stated in their original reading, i.e. are including authors’ mistakes.

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ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς αλκ...αμνηγεισειχεεε βασιλιον ὑμῶν ἵνα βλέπη?⁴⁷... [lines 11–12 in Latin:]⁴⁸ *implicare lacinia(m) Sapautulo in cavea corona amphitheatri...* [VM follow in lines 13–24; Greek text in lines 25–35:] ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς κα(ὶ δ)υ(να)τὸς κρατῶν καὶ δεσμεύων καὶ κατόχων δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις αἰωνίοις ἰσχυροῖς ἀδαμαντίνιοις καὶ παῦσον ψυχὴν κράτησον καί...κατάδησον ὑπόταζον προσκλίσον τὸν Σ(α)παυ(τού)λ(ον) κατάδησον αὐτὸν σμαύρησον... ἐξέλθε τόνδε τὸν τόπον μηδὲ τὴν πύλη(ν) ἐξέλθη μέτε τὴν τμηθῆ ἀπελθεῖν τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ μένη κατάδησον σοῖς δεσμοῖς ἰσχυροῖς αἰωνίοις ἀδαμαντίνιοις τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ Σαπαυτούλου ὃν ἔτεκε Πονπονία [the Latin text follows in lines 36–44:] ... *patiatur, lacinia illi implicetur, obligetur, ursellu(m) non respiciat, non liget neminem, pugni illi solvantur, non sit potestatis qua (non) vulneretur, sanguinetur Sapautulus currere non possit, obligentur illi pedes, nervi, il(i)a contra γῆς, cont(r)a(h)ente(m?) σοῦ facite Sapautulu(m?)*⁴⁹... *Ianuaris in omni momento, ἥδη ταχύ.* [the curse is concluded with VM written in Greek alphabet: lines 45–46].

The translation of the Latin and Greek cursing formulae:

([Greek text in lines 6–11:] “... Rabkab, the god of drought, [just like you] detain the crops [so that they cannot ripen], detain also Sapautulus, whom Ponponia bore, in the same way, tie him up and [break?] his strength, his heart, liver, spirit, mind. I forswear you... your majesty that he may (not) see... [lines 11–12 continue in Latin:] “Entangle the nets/straps?⁵⁰ of Sapautulus in the arena during the games in the amphitheatre... [VM in lines 13–24; Greek formula in lines 25–35:] I summon you, great and forceful, mighty lord, binding and detaining with unbreakable, eternal, mighty, strong, insurmountable bonds, suppress soul, seize it, tie up, enslave, knock down Sapautulus, bind him up, debilitate [him]... so that he cannot leave this place nor this gate... but may he stay chained by strong, mighty, insurmountable bonds, and the soul of Sapautulus, whom Ponponia bore,... [the Latin text

⁴⁷ The end of the Greek sequence is disrupted; the Latin text written in Greek alphabet directly follows Greek passages (see Appendix I).

⁴⁸ The Latin passages written in Greek alphabet are transcribed in Latin letters here.

⁴⁹ The concluding sequence *cont(r)a(h)ente(m?) σοῦ facite Sapautulu(m?)* is obscure. Tremel (2004, No. 98) interprets it as “mit dir als Gegner, macht des Sapautulus...”.

⁵⁰ DT 252 presumes that the text concerns the *venator* gladiator who used nets when fighting in the arena. Tremel (2004, No. 98) considers *lacinia* to be a piece of cloth and translates as follows: “ein Stoffetzen soll um ihn gewickelt werden...”. *Lacinia* means “a hem/edge of a garment”, or anything which hangs from clothes. I regard the interpretation of DT more plausible.

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follows in lines 36–44:] ... may he suffer, may his ropes/cloth/straps? become entangled, may be chained, may he not spot the bear, may he not tie anyone up, may his fists become weak,⁵¹ may there be no possibility of him staying unharmed. May Sapautulus bleed, may he be unable to run, may his feet, muscles/nerves be tied up, and may [he lie on the ground] prone?, make Sapautulus... in January, immediately, right now, quickly.”)

An almost identical graphic layout, magical words, and Greek cursing formulae are found in tablet No. **135**. Unfortunately, the text is severely damaged and also contains several mistakes. The curse is written both in Greek (in the Greek alphabet) and in Latin (in Latin letters); I state the amended Latin passages of the text.⁵² No. **135** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/28**: [VM in lines 1–9; the Latin text follows in lines 10–14:],⁵³ reads:

Vincentζus (= Vincentius) Tζaritζo (=Zarizo) in ampitζatru (= amphiteatro) Carthaginis in ζie (= die) Mercurii in duobus quinque in tribus novem... (obligate, implicate laciniam)⁵⁴ Vincentζo Tζaritζoni, quem peperit Concordia, ut ursos ligare non possit in omni ora, in omni momento in ζie Mercuri. [the Greek text follows in lines 15–16:] *καὶ τὴν ἰσχὸν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καρδίαν τὸ ἦπαρ τὸν νοῦν τὰς φρένας ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς ἀνηναμηγισεχει τὸ βασίλιον ὑμῶν* (the Latin text directly follows in lines 16–21): *in Vincentζo Tζaritζoni quem peperit Con(cor)dia in ampitζatru Carthaginis in ζie Mercuri obligate, implicate lacinia Vincentζo Tζaritζoni, ut ursos ligare non possit, omnem ursum perdat, omnem ursum Vincentζus non occidere possit in ζie Mercuri in omni ora iam iam, cito cito facite;* [in lines 21–35 there are VM inscribed in three columns; further, in lines 35–38 there is a Greek formula, which is identical to the lines 25–35 of tablet No. **134**; the same Latin text follows; however, it is very disrupted; see Appendix I].

⁵¹ The phrase *pugni illi solvantur* is ambiguous – it may mean either that Sapautulus is supposed to lose his strength to punch, or that the straps around his fists are supposed to loosen.

⁵² I state only the graphic peculiarities connected to assibilation (see DT 253; Tremel, 2004, No. 99; Kropp, 2008). For the complete Latin text, see Appendix I. I state the reading of Kropp (2008).

⁵³ Magical words and the first Greek cursing formula are identical to those used in the previous tablet No. **134** (lines 1–5: magical words; lines 6–9: Greek formula).

⁵⁴ This is the addition of Kropp (2008) who amends according to the following sequence; the author probably left out the verbs by mistake. The Latin formula may also draw on *κατάσχεσ* (“detain”), the first Greek predicate preceding the Greek formula.

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The translation of the Greek and Latin cursing formulae:

([the Latin text of lines 10–14 follows the Greek text identical to the lines 6–9 of the table No. **134**: “... Rabkab, the god of drought, [just like you] detain the crops [so that they cannot ripen], detain also...] Vincentius Zarizo in the Carthaginian amphitheatre on the day of Mercury⁵⁵ in [the fight of] two [gladiators] against five [beasts] and three against nine, [bind up and entangle the nets/straps] of Vincentius Zarizo, whom Concordia bore, so that he is unable to tie up bears at any hour, at any moment on the day of Mercury. [the Greek text follows in lines 15–16:] and [bind] his sturdiness, strength, heart, liver, spirit, reason; I forswear you, [VM] your majesty, [the Latin text follows right after in lines 16–21:] against Vincentius Zarizo, whom Concordia bore, in the Carthaginian amphitheatre on the day of Mercury, tie up and entangle the nets/straps of Vincentius Zarizo, so that he is unable to tie up bears, may he lose with every bear, may Vincentius be unable to kill any bear on Wednesday at any hour, now, now, quickly, quickly, make it happen... [three columns of magical words follow in lines 22–34; after that a Greek formula in lines 35–39:] ...I summon you, great and forceful, mighty lord, binding and detaining with unbreakable, eternal, mighty, strong, insurmountable bonds, suppress soul, seize it, tie up, enslave, knock down Vincentius Zarizo...”)

There are slight changes in some parts of the disrupted Latin text (see Appendix I). Vincentius was probably supposed to die, as we read *exterminate* in line 43; however, the preceding as well as following passages are unintelligible. Line 52 contains a formula not used in the previous Latin sequences but similar to the one used in the previous tablet, No. **132**: ...*vincatur, vulneretur, dep(annetur... non curre?)re possit* (“may he be defeated, hurt, flogged/torn to pieces?, may he be unable to run?”). The end of the text is full of lacunae; nevertheless, another interesting formula has been preserved in line 64: ...*vincatur, deficiat... (in omni) hora, per spiritales tra(ctus?)* (“may he be defeated, may he lose... at any hour, may he be unable to breath?”).⁵⁶ As already mentioned above, this combined curse probably comes from the same source as the previous tablet; its Latin text is simpler than the Greek formulae and mostly identical to No. **134**, and only slight changes appear (based on what the disrupted text suggests). The author uses the Greek formulae to afflict victim’s body parts and tries to bind up his rival with an eternal, strong, and irreversible curse.

⁵⁵ I.e. on Wednesday.

⁵⁶ For the interpretation of this part, see DT 253; or “may the daemons drag him?”.

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11.1.3.2 Curses against Charioteers and Race-Horses

The curse tablets against charioteers and race-horses, or against race-horses exclusively, have mostly been found in Hadrumetum, few of them come from Carthage. They were predominantly custom-made by professional magicians, as whole series of very similar texts have been preserved invoking the same daemons, using the same *signa magica*, and showing the same depictions of daemons. They differ only slightly in the graphic layout and the names of charioteers and race-horses; however, it is not uncommon that they even aim at the same people and horses. We are able to distinguish four basic types of serial curses used by local ritual practitioners.

The longest and most extensive series contains tablets No. **152–161** and No. **177** which were found in the Roman necropolis of Hadrumetum and are dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE. DT, and also Tremel (2004, No. 25–34 and No. 49) date the tablets to the 2nd century CE. Tablet No. **152** is the most famous of these – it has been preserved in almost perfect condition and its graphic layout is of a high, nearly artistic, standard. The names of cursed charioteers (seven) and horses (42) are interpolated by magical signs, whereas the cursing formula itself runs around the perimeter and frames the whole text:

*Privatianu, Superstianu russei qui et Naucelliu, Salutare,
Superstite russei servus Reguli, Aelius Castore, Repentinu.*
SM/VM

*Glaucu, Argutu veneti, Dextroiugu Glauci cadant; Lydu
Alumnu cadant; Italu, Tyriiu cadant; Faru cadant; Croceu cadant;
Elegantu cadant; Pancratiu, Oclopecta, Verbosu cadant;
Adamatu cadant; Securu, Mantinaeu, Praevalente cadant;
Paratu, Vagarfita cadant; Divite, Garrulus cadant; Cesareu,
Germanicu veneti cadant; Danuviu cadnat;*
SM/VM

*Latrone, Vagulu cadant, Agricola cadant; Cursore
Auricomu cadant; Epafu cadant; Hellenicu cadant;
Ideu, Centauru cadant; Bracatu, Virgineu cadant;
Ganimede cadant; Multivolu cadant; E(o)lu,
Oceanu, Eminentu cada(nt); (V)agu cadant;
Eucle cadant; Verbosu cadant.*
SM/VM

Privatianu cadat, vertat, frangat, male giret.

SM/VM

Naucelliu Supe(r)stianu russei cadat, vert(at fran)gat

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SM/VM

Supē(r)stite russei servus Reguli cadat, vertat, fran(gat);

Salutare cadat, vertat, frangat;

Eliu cadat, vertat, frangat, vertat;

Castore cadat, vertat, frangat, vertat;

Repentinu cadat, vertat, frangat.

SM/VM

The following text inscribed around the perimeter frames the names of cursed charioteers and horses:

Obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint nec se movere possint, sed cadant, frangent, dis(f)rangantur et agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec lora teneant nec agitare possint nec retinere equos possint nec ante se nec adversarios suos videant nec vincant, vertant.

The text starts with the names of seven charioteers of the red team (*russei*). *Privatianus*, *Naucellius*, *Superstianus*, *Superstes*, *Elius*, *Castor*, and *Repentinus*. The following aims at the 42 horses of red and blue (*veneti*) teams; some names are repeated. After each one or two names of the horses, there is the verb *cadat/cadant* (“may he/they fall”); as for the names of charioteers, the sequence *cadat, vertat, frangat* (“may [the chariot/charioteer?] fall, turn over, break”) is used. *Signa magica* and *voces magicae* are interpolated after each paragraph of the names. The framing text of the curse itself explicitly attacks the charioteers and the horses of red and blue teams:

(“Bind up and oppress the horses of the blue and red [teams], so that they cannot run nor obey the reins, nor be able to move, but may they fall, break, [may their chariots] be smashed apart, may the charioteers of the blue and red [teams] fall over, may they not be able to hold the reins, nor drive, nor restrain [the horses], nor see [what is] in front of them or their adversaries, nor win, let them crash over.”)

Most agonistic tablets from African provinces which include long lists of the names of horses and charioteers from the cursed team put the names of the cursed persons and horses in the nominative, prevailingly omitting final *-s*. Therefore, some editors amend all horses’ names in African *defixiones* to their nominative forms (Kropp 2008).). However in the texts of ca. ten tablets⁵⁷ from

⁵⁷ See (DT, No. 275–284); Kropp (dfx.11.2.1/12– dfx.11.2.1/22.), the numbers **152-161** in this work.

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Hadrumetum the names of horses stand in the accusative as third-declension names clearly show, e. g.: *Salutare*, *Superstite*, *Castore*, and others. The horses' names are governed by the verb *cadat/vertat/frangat*. This phenomenon has been studied by several experts.⁵⁸ Adams (2013, 250) interprets the names in the accusative as probably based on the intransitive use of *frangat* (= *frangat se*), *vertat* and *cadat* and states: "...expressing an event in which the subject is inactive – and where an implicit or explicit higher agency or divine power is envisaged as inflicting punishment." (Adams 2013: 250).

The other tablets from this series (No. **153–161** and No. **177**) are less elaborate and contain different *signa magica*; however, the graphic layout of the curse is similar and, apart from some minor changes, the names of charioteers and horses are the same too. The framing cursing formula is a shorter variation of the one used in tablet No. **152**. Compare No. **157** (2.3.5.) or No. **160** from Hadrumetum aimed at eight charioteers and 50 horses. The latter text accuses the same charioteers as the above mentioned tablet: *Privatianu cadat, vertat...*, as well as the same horses: *Hellenicu cadat, Danuviu cadat...* The magical signs are inscribed after each paragraph and the framing curse text is as follows in No. **160** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/20**:

Alligate et obligate equos veneti et r(us)s(ei), ne c(ur)rere p(ossint nec frenis audir)e possint (nec se) mo(v)ere possint, cadant, frangent, disiungantur, male girent et agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec lo(ra) teneant nec ante se vider(e) possint) n(ec) adversario(s) suos sed v)ertant, frang(a)nt, palma(m) vincere non possint. ("Fasten and bind the horses of the blue and red [teams], so that they cannot run nor obey the reins, nor be able to move, but may they fall, break, [may their horses] unyoke themselves, turn wrongly, may the charioteers of the blue and red [teams] fall over, may they not be able to hold the reins, nor see [what is] in front of them or their adversaries, but may they fall over, break, may they be unable to win the palm-branch.").

The curse stereotypically addresses the daemons with imperative Formula **3a** including relative clause (see 3.1.7.); it also makes use of wish-formula **4** *cadat/cadant* (see 2.3.5.).

Another series of preserved curses contains tablets No. **162–166** and No. **179**. These are either texts aiming against charioteers as well as race-horses (No.

⁵⁸ See Herman (1987: 103ff) and Adams (2013: 249 ff).

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162–163),⁵⁹ or texts aiming at race-horses exclusively (No. **164** and No. **165**); tablets No. **166** and No. **167** are damaged, but they most likely curse the race-horses whose names have not been preserved. They all come from the Roman necropolis near Hadrumetum and are dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE (DT), or to the 3rd century CE (Tremel, 2004). I reproduce tablet No. **162** as an example; the other texts of this series were obviously almost identical but are disrupted. Side A of the tablets depicts a long-bearded anthropomorphic daemon standing on a ship holding an urn? in his right hand and a torch in his left.⁶⁰ Left of the daemon, there is a column of ten magical words: *Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu, Perfleu, Diarunco, Deasta, Bescu, Berbescu, Arurara, Baçagra*; one magical word is inscribed on the chest of the daemon: *Antmoaraitto*.⁶¹ The names of cursed horses are written inside the depicted ship: *Noctivagus, Tiberis, Oceanus*, whereas the curse itself is inscribed on side B of tablet No. **162** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1/22:

B: Adiuro te demon, quicumque es, et demando tibi ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)anc die, ex (h)oc momento, ut equos prasini et albi crucies, occidas et agitatore(s) Clarum et Felice(m) et Primulum et Romanum occidas, collidas neque spiritum illis relinquis; adiuro te per eum, qui te resolvit temporibus,⁶² deum pela(g)icum, aerium...(VM alphab.): Ιαω Ιαδαω οοριω ανια. (“I adjure you, daemon, whoever you are, and I command you, from this hour on, from this day on, from this moment on, to torment and kill the horses of the green and white [teams], to kill, and to kill Clarus, Felix, Primulus, and Romanus, the charioteers, strike them, leave them breathless, I adjure you by the one who freed you by then [from the hardships of life], by the god of sea and air.” [Greek magical words follow]) (see also 3.3.1.).

Greek magical words follow; the text is aimed at four charioteers and the horses of white and green teams.

This series, too, contains slight variations of cursing formulations, numbers of charioteers, horses, as well as damage done to the text. The cursing formula varies in tablets No. **164** and No. **165** aimed at race-horses – there is a menacing

⁵⁹ Tablet No. **163** is severely damaged, the names of the charioteers are not preserved. However, it can be supposed, based on the other tablets from the series, that it was aimed at charioteers and race-horses.

⁶⁰ This figure has not yet been identified with any of the usual depictions of known daemons, e.g. on gems.

⁶¹ This magical word and the names of the horses differ in some cases; the Greek magical words are slightly varied, too (see No. **167**, and Appendix I).

⁶² Based on tablets No. **168–170**, we may add *qui te resolvit ex vitae temporibus*.

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formula addressed to the daemon (see 3.3.3.) and a list of body parts supposed to be afflicted by the curse. See No. **165** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.**11.2.1/25, whose text is structured as in No. **162**, i.e. the left column of side A contains the same names of daemons, in the centre there is a depiction of a daemon with the word *Antmoa(r)aitto* inscribed on his chest, and the names of cursed horses are written inside the depicted ship: *Lynceus, Margarira, Profugus, Oceanus*. The severely disrupted text begins under the ship: *...(re)ginae (tene)brarum, rogo... ne summas existi s(i)cut mihi...* (“...the queens/of the queen? of darkness,... I ask... do not take, as to me...”), and continues on side B:

sancte... obsecro te venias ad... et (h)os equos... contra(h)as tuis... e(t)... aufer(as) ab eis nervia, vires, med(ul)las, im(pe)tos (= impetus), victorias. Noli meas (sp)ernere v(oc)es, s(ed mov)ean(t) te haec (nomina?) (su)ppo- s(i)t(a)... ter si quis tali... neces finia ultima nomina Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu, Perfleu, Diarunco, Deasta, Bescu, Berbescu, Arurara, Baçagra, noli meas spernere voce(s), sed equos prasini et albi... (c)rucia(s/tis?) auferas illis dulce(m) somnum, fac eos ne currere possint, (h)oc te peto... nervitatem tempus et necessita(tis?) tu(a)e depremas e(quos), e(q)uos/(q)uos tecum h(abeas?) suppositos⁶³... (“...holy... I conjure you to come to... and to overthrow those horses... and to deprive them of muscles, strength, entrails/marrow, run-up, victories. Do not despise my words, but may [the names?] attached urge you three times... if someone... kill them, the noble, highest names [magical words follow], do not despise my words, but torment the horses of the green and white [teams], take sweet sleep from them, make them unable to run, this I request from you... strength, time?, necessity?, oppress the horses whose [names you have?] inscribed/ in your power [below?]” (see also 2.3.2.).

Another series of curses against race-horses and charioteers is comprised of tablets No. **168–170** and makes use of formulae aimed at race-horses.⁶⁴ All tablets are more or less identical; tablet No. **168** depicts a sitting daemon with a whip in his hand, the other two tablets do not contain any depiction of a daemon. Side A of tablet No. **169** begins with magical words written in Latin letters followed by the curse itself and is concluded by Greek magical words together with the names of the daemons mentioned in the beginning which are, however, inscribed upside-down this time. The curse as well as the Greek magical words are repeated on side B followed by the name of the cursed race-

⁶³ Kropp (2008) amends the text as follows: *Deprimas equos, (q)uos tecum h(abeas) sup(p)ositos tu(a)e*.

⁶⁴ Tablet No. **168** is severely damaged.

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horse, *Lynceus*. Tablet No. **170** is inscribed only on one side and contains a curse against four race-horses using the same magical words and cursing formulae. All three tablets come from the Roman necropolis near Hadrumetum and are dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE. No. **169** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/29**, reads:

A: VM in a column: *Ocuria anoχ oton barnion formione efecebul; Adiuro te, d(a)emon, quicunque es, et demando tibi ex (h)anc die, ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietur... ad diem illum. Adiuro te per eum, qui te (r)esolvit ex vit(a)e temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimum.*

VM in the Greek alphabet: *Ιαω οι ου ι α ιαα ιοιωε ο οριω αηια;*

VM inscribed upside-down: *Ocuria anoχ oton barnion formione efecebul; Lynceus frangatur illi Peciolus descum*

B: *Adiuro te d(a)emon, quicunque es, et demando tibi, ex hanc die, ex hanc (h)ora, ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietur. Adiuro te per eum, qui te resolvit ex vit(a)e temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimu(m);* (VM in the Greek alphabet as on side A)

Lynceus (the name of the cursed horse).

A: [VM in Latin letters] (“I adjure you, daemon, whoever you are, and demand from you that from this day, from this hour, from this moment, he may be tormented... until that day. I adjure you by the one who freed you by then [from the hardships of life],⁶⁵ by the god of sea and air. [VM in the Greek alphabet and VM in Latin letters] *Lynceus*, may he break down...”)⁶⁶

The text of side B is almost identical to side A, including the Greek magical words and the name of cursed horse, *Lynceus*.

Finally, the last series of curses found in Hadrumetum is aimed at charioteers and race-horses,⁶⁷ contains tablets No. **149–151**,⁶⁸ and is characterized by

⁶⁵ See also Tremel (2004, No. 43).

⁶⁶ The rest of the text is obscure: *illi peciolus descum*. *Pesciolus* probably also refers to a horse name, as suggested by DT; although side B includes only *Lynceus*, the name *Peciolus* appears in tablet .

⁶⁷ DT 273 supposes that only horses are accursed in these; however, tablet No. **150** reads *nomina hominum et equorum*. DT regards this as a mistake, but Tremel (2004, No. 23) presumes the presence of charioteers. The latter is also confirmed by tablet No. **151** which reads *cadant homines et equi frangant*.

⁶⁸ For tablet No. **149**, see 1.10.1.

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simple, brief formulae which may remind us of the non-specific curses using mere nominal lists. The text starts with magical words and signs followed by a long list of accursed horses and concludes with a brief cursing formula and more *signa magica*. Side B contains only one, probably magical, word. No. **150** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/10**, reads:

*A: Sarbasmisarab, SM; Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, Basilius, Nilus, Scintilla, Hilarinus, Polydromus, Delicatus, Maurusius, Blandus, Profugus, Pretiosus, Gemmatus, Amor, Pelops, Zephyrus, Alcastrus, Attonitus, Roseus, Germanicus, Caelestinus, Clarus, Salutaris, Socrates, Comes/ comes.*⁶⁹ *Haec nomina hominum et equorum, quae dedi vobis, cadant, precor vos. Sarbasmisarab, SM*

B: Feiub

A: “[A nominal list of accursed horses and charioteers?] May these men and horses, which I gave to you, fall, I ask you. [VM; B: VM]”)

The cursing formulae are brief in all three tablets; however, they differ from each other. Tablet No. **149** reads: *...cadant, frangant, disiungantur, male girent, palmam vincere non possint* (“...may they fall, break, [may their horses] unyoke themselves, turn wrongly, may they be unable to win the palm-branch”); No. **151**, **dfx.11.2.1/11**, cursing the same names as in No. **150** (altogether 26) reads: *Precor vos, sancta nomina, cadant homines et equi frangant.* (“I beg you, holy names, may men fall and horses break down.”) (see 2.3.1.).

Tablet No. **171** from Hadrumetum, **dfx. 11.2.1/31**, is the only one which does not fit in any of the aforementioned series. It begins with VM inscribed in the Greek alphabet (lines 1–8), whereas the curse itself is written in Latin letters, although some Greek words and letters appear, too. It reads:

*...tibi commendo, quoniam maledixit parturientem, currant cuillic et daemones infernales, obligate illis equis pedes, ne currere possint, illis equis, quorum nomina hic scripta et demandata habetis: Inclitum, Nitidum, Patricium, Nautam σιον αα ταχαρχην.*⁷⁰ *Obligate illos, ne currere possint*

⁶⁹ It is not clear whether this is a horse name (see Kropp, 2008), or a general term for a person who has something to do with horses (see DT 272, and Tremel, 2004, No. 22).

⁷⁰ DT considers the sequence *σιον αα ταχαρχην* to be magical words; however, considering the fact that *ταχαρχην* can also be interpreted as “starting out quickly”, it may refer to a horse name, too, as Gager (1992, No. 11) sees it.

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crastinis et perendinis cir(cens)ibus Patricium, Nitidum, Nautam, Inclitum ταχαρχην. Tu autem, Domina Campana χαμβτηρας⁷¹ Nitidum, Patricium, Nautam, Inclitum ταχαρχην, ne currere possint cras et perendie et omnibus horis in circo ruant, quomodo et tu iucunde(?) emeritus es, βίος θάνατος, iam iam, cito cito, quoniam deducunt illos σφωνιακι δαίμονες.

(“I commend to you, because he damned/impaired [my] intentions/plans?,⁷² that they may run to him? and [you,] infernal daemons, bind up the hooves of those horses, may they be unable to run, of those horses whose names you have inscribed and commended here: Inclitus, Nitidus, Patricius, Nauta, [VM/‘Starting out quickly’] Bind them up so that they cannot run in the tomorrow’s and the day-after-tomorrow’s races: Inclitus, Nitidus, Patricius, Nauta, [VM/‘Starting out quickly’]. But you, Lady of Campania/[of the Acherusian plains],⁷³ knock down Inclitus, Nitidus, Patricius, Nauta, [VM/‘Starting out quickly’], so that they cannot run in the *circenses* held tomorrow nor the day after tomorrow, and may they fall down at each hour in the circus, just like you spent your day pleasantly and died prematurely,⁷⁴ now, now, quickly, quickly, because the daemons of Typhon⁷⁵ lead them away.”)

The number of curses against charioteers and race-horses found in Carthage is much lower than similar curses coming from Hadrumetum. These are either the

⁷¹ The term *χαμβτηρας* is perhaps a wrongly derived form of the verb *κόμπτω* (“to bend, knock down”, or “to steer/lead the horse or chariot around the base”). In this context, *Domina Campana* is perhaps supposed to lead the horse and fulfil the curse by knocking down or riding the horse wrongly (?). Tremel (2004, No. 45) translates as follows: “...du Domina Campana beugst Nitidus...”.

⁷² The text reads *maledixit parturientem*; DT 295, as well as Tremel (2004, No. 45), assume that the victim of the curse has accursed a female giving birth, e.g. a wife of the author, or a mare. Gager (1992, No. 1) comprehends this sequence as *me parturientem* with the verb *parturio* in a metaphoric sense, i.e. “to intend, plan sth”, and translates as “he slandered (my) intention”. I regard the latter as more plausible.

⁷³ DT supposes that *Domina Campana* refers to Hecate. Gager (1992, No. 11) interprets this sequence as the names of horses: Patricius, Nitidus, Nauta, Inclitus, Quick-Starter, *Domina Campana*, *Lambteras*, Nitidus, Patricius, Nauta, Inclitus, Quick-Starter. I prefer the interpretation of DT 295 and Kropp (2008); see also No. 132, 11.1.3.1.

⁷⁴ This is probably a reference to the prematurely deceased person buried in the grave where the tablet was put; for the Greek *βίος θάνατος*, see Gager (1992, No. 11, note 70).

⁷⁵ *Typhon* is the daemon identified with the Egyptian god Seth, the patron of spells and charms (see Gager, 1992, note 71).

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curses aimed both at charioteers and race-horses (tablets No. **126**, No. **128**, No. **129**, and No. **140**), or the curses aimed exclusively against horses (No. **127**). Tablet No. **126** contains a nominal list of cursed horses but, unfortunately, the names of charioteers were not preserved (see Appendix I). Tablets No. **127–129**, like the above mentioned curses from Hadrumetum, were made by professionals. The cursing formulae are written in Latin; however, Greek magical words, names of daemons, as well as *signa magica*, occur, too. Tablet No. **127** depicts the starting turning points, while No. **129** a figure of a man/daemon. The text of the curse is framed by magical words. Tablet No. **128** is remarkable for its graphic layout: the magical words, signs, and patterns are organized as *carmina figurata* with the magical words repeating themselves in lines (see DT 243). Unfortunately, the curse text of tablets No. **128** and No. **129** is severely disrupted.

We might compare the damaged No. **126** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/18**, which preserved only a nominal list of horses: ... *Gloriosus, Rogatus, Borustenes, Ianuarius, Vitalis, Romanus, Romanus, Aductus, Primitivus, Ephorianus, Urbanus*... The tablet does not include any cursing formula, but there is a depiction of a cock head. Nevertheless, it is likely that cursing formulae were originally present in the tablet, too.

Tablet No. **127** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/9**, contains a brief cursing formula:

Frenalius, Venator, Exsuperus, Augur, Volens, Sidereus, Attonitus, Hieronica, Chrysiphus. Sidereus, Igneus, Turinus, Martius, Rapidus, Arminius, Impulsator, Castalius, Gelos, Pyropus, Eugenius, Animator, Blandus, Sidonius, Ominipotius, Aquila, Licinus, Amazonius, Imber [VM]. *Excito te daemon, qui hic conversas, trado tibi hos equos, ut detineas illos et implicentur nec se movere possint.* [VM]. (“[A nominal list of horses] I call upon you, daemon, who reside here, I deliver these horses to you so that you detain them, and may they entangle [in their gears]⁷⁶ and be unable to move.”).

The curse is supposed to afflict 28 race-horses and its graphic layout resembles the evidence found in Hadrumetum – the horses’ names are stated in two columns between which there is a depiction of a circus, Greek magical words are inscribed in a column in the middle of the tablet and these are followed by a Latin cursing formula. The whole text is framed by magical sequences of Greek

⁷⁶ Tremel’s interpretation (2004, No. 52); Semeseilam is a *vox magica* of uncertain origin and meaning, occurring also in PGM, see Gager (1992, 269).

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letters which can be compared to tablet No. **160** (see 11.1.3.2). Most of the agonistic tablets found in Hadrumetum have a very similar structure, except that these are framed by cursing formulae around the perimeter.

Tablet No. **140** found right in the Carthage amphitheatre and dated to the 3rd century CE represents another type of agonistic curse. Although the text is largely disrupted, it can be divided into three parts:⁷⁷ part A depicts a figure with crossed hands tied up, followed by a cursing formula, and the names of the accursed ones; part B contains a vocalic triangle; and part C repeats the cursing formula and the above mentioned names. No. **140** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/37**, reads:

A: Σεμεσειλαμ, quomodo stomachos habes ligatos, sic et Concordi... liget braccia, cor, sensum... cum Carchedoni cum Concordio ac cum Acenauce cum Alumnino et Pyro, Popyrio... Lascivio... Bates et Lucifero, Concordio, Sereno. Prehend(at)...

B: a vocalic triangle inscribed in the Greek alphabet

C: Q(uomod)o ped(es) habes l(igat)os, sic et iis albis⁷⁸ ligate pedes Alumno et Pyro, Poliarce et Lascivio obligate pedes... ut obruant. Pre(hendite),⁷⁹ (ob)ligatae ped(es) (Ba)tes et Lucife(ro) et (Concordio et Sereno?).

(“Semeseilam, just as you have your entrails tied up,⁸⁰ may he bind the arms, heart, sense of Concordius, and may he also seize... of Carchedo with Concordius and... [the names of other horses follow]; C: Just as your feet are tied up, may you [in plural] bind the hooves of [the horses of white team?] Alumnus and Pyrus, bind up the hooves of Poliarcus and Lascivius... so that they fall over. Seize, bind up the hooves of Bates and Lucifer and...”)

The cursing formula proceeds in a way similar to the texts found in Hadrumetum (see No. **171** above).

⁷⁷ See Tremel (2004, No. **68**)

⁷⁸ I agree with Tremel’s (2004, No. **68**) interpretation of the sequence *eius Salbi* as *sic et iis albi(s)*; see Appendix I.

⁷⁹ Kropp (2008) reads *pre(hendite)* analogically to side A; Tremel (2004, No. **68**) reads *Prend(at...)*.

⁸⁰ The interpretation of Tremel (2004, No. **68**): “as you hold the tied up entrails”. Considering the depiction on the tablet, it seems to be a magical analogy – the daemon is bound by magical words, i.e. forced to fulfil author’s wish and bind the victim with spells (see also No. **3** and No. **5**, 7.3.1.5.).

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11.1.4 Love Spells

Basically all preserved love spells come from the African provinces. This corpus includes 15 of these: three tablets found in Carthage dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, eleven tablets from Hadrumetum, and a single text found in Thysdrus. All have been dated to the 3rd century CE except for No. **148**, which comes from the 2nd century CE (see 1.9.2). Apart from No. **148**, all of these love spells were written by men to win the affection of a beloved woman. This is in line with the instructions of love spells preserved in magical papyri; however, they are contrary to the references to magical practices in Roman literature (see also 5.1.4.). No curse tablets concerning rivalry in love have preserved in the African provinces (see 5.1.3.).

Like the agonistic curses, love spells were also usually produced in specialized magical workshops. Most of them contain several magical features, whether we speak of content (complicated cursing formulae invoking mostly daemons, Greek magical words, and peculiar magical signs), or graphic layout (“magically” inscribed text, e.g. No. **125** from Carthage whose Latin text is written in the Greek alphabet, see also tablets No. **145**, No. **147**, No. **148**, and No. **172** from Hadrumetum). This is comparable to the agonistic curses, such as tablet No. **134** (11.1.3.1.).

The authors of love spells predominantly address daemons to force the beloved one return their feelings (only two tablets appeal to Persephone, No. **146** and No. **173**). They are usually formulated in two ways: either the authors use formulae to describe their wish and to specify how exactly the beloved one is supposed to love him/her; or, more frequently, they apply formulae afflicting their beloved one with various restrictions which serve as compulsory measures to make the victim fulfil their wish; sometimes the two types are combined. Accordingly, the second type is formulated exactly as a curse or a prayer for justice (see 5.1.4.).

Tablet No. **121** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/13**, can be regarded the first type. Its formula framed by magical words is brief and clear (see 2.3.5.): *Uratur Successa aduratur amo(re) vel desider(o) Successi*. (“May Successa burn, may she be set on fire with love and desire for Successus.”).

The severely disrupted tablet No. **125** from Carthage, **dfx.11.1.1/17**, is formulated very similarly:

Quorum... magna ut... quomodo... anuntio regis... mortuus ab il(la ... det)ineatur anima... (in h)oc loco, sic et... cuius est... detineatur (in om)ne

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tempus in a(mor)e et desiderio) Martialis, quem peperit Coronaria... (VM)
...Adiuro vos per hunc pr(a)e(po)situm super necessi(tat)es terr(a)e sic et
te... dominus ex hoc die ex hoc momento... amet Martialem, ut omni muliebri
hora me in mente habeat et tota die (in a)nimo habeat amore(m) meum⁸¹ ...
iam, iam... (veniat?)... ([the beginning of the text is damaged but it could be
interpreted based on mortuus and what follows:] “Just like the soul of the
deceased one? is bound to this place, may she [the woman’s name was not
preserved] be bound by love and desire [for me] all the time, Martialis,
whom Coronaria bore. I adjure you by this proposal... by the
inevitability?⁸²... Lord, from this day on, from this moment on, may she love
Martialis, may she all the time think of nobody else but me and feel love for
me throughout the whole day⁸³... now, now... [may she come to me?]...”
(see also 5.1.4.).

Tablet No. **143** found in Hadrumetum, or, more exactly, its side A, contains non-restrictive formulae, as well. The author, who perhaps forgot to include his name, wishes that Victoria falls madly in love with him: *faciat Victoria... amantem, furem prae amore meo...* Side B of the same tablet reads a curse aimed at a rival charioteer concluded with an erotic wish: *...daemon, te oro, ut illam cogas amoris et desiderii mei causa venire ad me.* (“...daemon, I beg you to force her to come to me out of love and desire for me.”). For the whole text and translation of the text, see 1.1.2.2.3.

Finally, the same wish is suggested in tablets No. **147** and No. **172** from Hadrumetum, at least as far as we are able to read from the severely damaged text. The tablets are Latin but inscribed in the Greek alphabet and their purpose is to soothe the heart of a certain Tottina, probably the same woman in both.⁸⁴

⁸¹ The text of the tablet is written in Latin, but in the Greek alphabet, and it contains magical words. However, it is damaged to a large extent. Unfortunately, the name of the beloved woman has not been preserved, we have only the name of the author (*Martialis*). For the Greek transcription of the text, see Appendix I.

⁸² The word is obscure and probably a part of an unattested formula. Some texts, e.g. No. **132** (11.1.3.1.), make use of *nomina necessitatis* (“the holy names of inevitability”).

⁸³ The expression *muliebri hora* is attested nowhere else, but perhaps it referred to the time spent in the women’s part of the house, doing female work, or in the women’s company, see also the translation in TheDeMa 808: “in (ihrer) ganzen Weiblichkeit...”.

⁸⁴ See DT 304.

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These tablets begin with disrupted sequences of magical words and names of invoked daemons.⁸⁵ The No. **147** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/7** reads:

(Colom)beu... Petalim(beu),⁸⁶ fac Totti(na)... me amet... (semper?) de me cogitet Tottina, qu(am) peperit... liquet (/linquat?) animo tuo... amo(r)e(m) me(c)um fecit... et tu dom(ina/ine?)... (a)more... (“Colombeu... Petalimbeu... make Tottina love me... constantly? may she think of me, Tottina, whom... bore... [unintelligible passage], may she make love to me?⁸⁷ and you, Lord,... with love?”)

The frequent lacunae make the text interpretable only with difficulties. The sequence *liquet animo tuo* can be understood as “you are clear about”. However, the addressee of these words is not clear – if it is a daemon, it would imply that the author wants to emphasize that Tottina already made love to him (*amorem mecum fecit*) and that is why he wants her; or, if it is the victim, it would perhaps be a mistaken *faciat*. Nevertheless, the authors only rarely directly address their victims (see No. **103** and No. **67** above). DT 269 amends to *li(n)quat* based on the *obliviscatur patris et matris* formulae usually present in love spells (see e.g. No. **173–175** below), i.e. the victim is supposed to leave her family and friends because of the author. However, the exact term in this sense is not attested anywhere else. No. **172** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/33** (the Latin text is written in the Greek alphabet, see Appendix I), reads:

(Cogite?) Tottinam me a(mare)...sine men(dacio?)..., ut (ame)t me solum (ut a)met me (solum) Tottina, qu(am) peperit...)...videret... non possit quamdiu... (omnibus die)bus vixerit, (usque ad diem mortis suae?).⁸⁸ (“[Force] Tottina to love me... honestly/faithfully?...may she love me only, may she love me only, Tottina, [whom... bore?]... so that she sees...may she be unable to... until... all days of her life [until the day she dies?]”)

The damaged sequence containing *non possit* suggests that there originally was a restrictive formula in the text. Unfortunately, today it is impossible to know whether the two tablets supposed to affect Tottina’s feelings have been ordered by the same man, as the author’s name did not survive in either of the tablets. Thus, we cannot decide whether Tottina (if we speak of the same woman in

⁸⁵ For the Greek text, see Appendix I.

⁸⁶ For the emendation, see DT 269; tablet No. **143** above reads *Columbeu*.

⁸⁷ *Fecit = faciat?*; a similar formulation appears in No. **124**: *coge illa(m)... m(ec)un coitus facere* (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

⁸⁸ The emendation in DT 304 based on DT 267; see No. **145**, 5.1.1. and 11.1.4.

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both tablets) had more lovelorn suitors, or only one admirer who ordered the second tablet after the first one did not work as he wished.

The quite disrupted tablet No. **142** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.**11.2.1/2, is probably a love spell, too. The text interpolated with magical signs starts with Greek magical words and contains also a depiction of matted ropes pierced by sword.⁸⁹ The text of the spell itself is brief and its end is damaged: *Victoria, quam peperit sua vulva, puella(rum deliciae?)* (“Victoria, daughter of NN, [the most beautiful of girls?]”) (see 3.1.1.).

The Carthaginian evidence only rarely displays restrictive formulae. See No. **124** (1.1.2.2.3.), which invokes daemons using special epithets concerning their particular competences and abilities. However, only one restrictive formula is used in this text: *Καταξίη qui es Aegypto magnus daemon... et aufer illae somnum usquedum veniat ad me... et animo meo satisfaciat.* (“Kataxin, the great daemon of Egypt... and take sleep away from her unless she comes to me... and satisfies me.”) (see also No. **132**, 11.1.3.1.).

The restrictive formulae occur regularly in the texts found in Hadrumetum. Several of these include almost identical formulae which implies that they came from serial production. All types of usual restrictions used in love spells are well illustrated in tablet No. **144** (see 5.1.4).

Tablet No. **145** was written or ordered by a certain Oppius to make Bonosa love him “unceasingly with sacred love”. The Latin spell written in the Greek alphabet makes use of several magical words, names of daemons,⁹⁰ as well as restrictions. No. **145** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.** 11.2.1/5, reads:

...cogite Bonosam quam peperit Papte amare me Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro sine intermissione; non possit dormire Bonosa neque esse... Bonosa neque aliud... sed abrumpatur et me solum?⁹¹... videret omnibus diebus... usque ad diem mortis suae. (“...force Bonosa, whom Papte bore, to love me, Oppius, whom Veneria bore, unceasingly with sacred love, may she be unable to sleep nor eat... Bonosa, nor [anything else?]... may she

⁸⁹ See DT 264.

⁹⁰ For the text written in the Greek alphabet, see Appendix I.

⁹¹ The text reads *soad*, Kropp (2008) amends to *solum*.

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be torn from [her family?]⁹² and me only... may she see every day... until she dies.”)

In other words, the spell is supposed to force Bonosa love Oppius by making her unable to either sleep or eat. Despite the considerable corruption of the text, it can be guessed, thanks to the frequent repeating of the formulae, that Oppius probably wanted Bonosa to leave all those close to her who could somehow impede their relationship, as well as to love him only faithfully until her death (see 1.6., 1.7., and 5.1.1.).

The author of tablet No. **146** aims his spell, using various restriction, at Bonosa, too; however, this tablet probably concerns another woman than the previous tablet No. **145**.⁹³ Only fragments of this text survived, and I state here only the less disrupted passages⁹⁴ of No. **146** from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/6**, which reads:

...Persefina, obligate illam in sensu et sapientia et inte(llectu)... per me... recipiatisque nos per Bonosam, quam (pe)peri(t) Bonosa, demando et voluntatem ut... me... (ut obliviscatur) patris et matris... ex hac die ex ha(c ora)... per deum meum vivum... caelum et mare... ac ligo caelum terra(m) deu(m)... qui sit sub (VM) per... Bonosa, quam vobis ego... commendo, ... recipiatis... vobis... (“...Persephone, bind her senses, reason, and intellect... for me... betroth/give back? to us Bonosa, whom Bonosa bore?, Bonosa, I commend... and will so that... me... [so that she forgets] about her father and

⁹² Perhaps the same meaning as in *obliviscatur patris et matris*; see No. **144**, or No. **124**: *Πικροπιθ agilissime daemon in Aegypto et agita... a suis parentibus a suo cubili*. The lacuna after *agita* is not the result of text’s damage in this case, but the space was left out on purpose so that the author could add the name of his beloved. However, the author of our spell probably forgot to do so (see 1.1.2.2.3.).

⁹³ Tablet No. **145** refers to Bonosa, the daughter of Papte (*quam peperit Papte*); tablet No. **146**, though severely damaged, suggests that it concerns another Bonosa who was the daughter of Bonosa – *recipiatisque nos per Bonosam, quam (pe)peri(t) Bonosa* (if the emendation is correct).

⁹⁴ For the complete preserved reading of the text, see DT 268 and Kropp (2008); Appendix I. I state the reading and emendations of Kropp (2008). Kropp (2004, 71 ff.) also tried to read the fragments in a new way by changing their order – she put the DT 268 fragments III and IV forward so that they preceded fragments I and II. She desisted from this reading in her corpus, however I regard her reconstruction of the beginning of the tablet plausible. If we accepted this change, the tablet would begin as follows: *...sebmen per me tialu (= per me Tial(um))? Persefina oblegate illa(m) in sensu et sapientia et inte(llectu)... voluntatem ut...*

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mother... from this day on, from this hour? on... by my living god... heaven and earth... I bind heaven, earth, god... who is under? [VM] by... Bonosa, whom I commend... to you... receive?... to you...”)

Although the text clearly indicates that this is a love spell, it contains unusual formulae and is hard to understand. Persephone’s name obviously had to be preceded by the names of daemons which did not survive, as suggested by the plural verbal form *obligate*. The list of mental faculties introduced by the preposition *in* is unusual (*in sensu...*),⁹⁵ as well as the verb *recipere* used in love context which otherwise appears in curses in the meaning “to accept, receive”, especially in the Underworld – see No. **52** (8.1.1.): *...vos rogo, utei recipiatis nomen Luxsia A(uli) Antesti filia...* (“I ask you to accept [my request/charge against] Luxsia, the daughter of Aulus Antestus.”); or No. **87** (10.1.1.): *...megaro tuo recipias...* (“...receive him in the *megaron*...”). Thus, although it would agree with the love context, it remains unclear whether the author really meant the phrase *recipiatis nos per...* in the sense “may you betroth/give back to us”. Another verb used in the text, *demando*, is also typical rather of curses – it usually appears in the sense “I hand over/commend...”, as in e.g. No. **1** (1.9.1.): *...hunc ego apud vostrum numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico...* (“...him I commend, devote, and sacrifice to your power...”). Besides, it occurs in the agonistic curses from the African provinces in the meaning “I command/order” – see o: *Adiuro te demon, quicumque es, et demando tibi ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)anc die, ex (h)oc momento, ut equos prasini et albi crucies...* (“I adjure you, daemon, whoever you are, and I command you, from this hour on, from this day on, from this moment on, to torment the horses of the green and white [teams]...”); or No. **169** (11.1.3.2.). In our love spell, the author meant *demando* most likely as “I commend/hand over”.

The best preserved text from Hadrumetum is the love spell No. **148**. The tablet was obviously made by a professional in the field, as it contains complicated Latin formulae written in the Greek alphabet. It is the only love spell we have which was ordered by a woman. The spell begins with the address to Osiris and daemons named *Anterotes* who avenge those abandoned and deceived by their loved ones,⁹⁶ followed by a long list of restrictions intended to force Sextilius fall in love with Septimia. No. **148** reads:

⁹⁵ See also Kropp (2007, 72).

⁹⁶ The same concepts appear on magical gems with amatory or protective charms (see 1.8.1.).

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... *non dormiat Sextilius, Dionysiae filius, uratur furens, non dormiat neque sedeat neque loquatur, sed in mente habeat me Septimam, Amoenae filiam; uratur furens amore et desiderio meo, anima et cor uratur Sextili, Dionysiae filii, amore et desiderio meo Septimes, Amoenae filiae...* (“...may Sextilius, son of Dionysia, not sleep, may he burn [with passion] in frenzy, may he not sleep, nor sit, nor speak, but may [only] I, Septima, daughter of Amoena, be on his mind; may he burn with love and longing for me, may the mind and heart of Sextilius, son of Dionysia, burn with love and longing for me, Septima, daughter of Amoena...”).

In addition, the spell is concluded with a menacing formula (for the complete text and its translation, see 1.9.2).

Finally, tablets No. **173–175** represent a serial production using restrictive formulae, as e.g. No. **144** (see 5.1.4.) and No. **175**. Unfortunately their text is severely damaged; tablet No. **173** from Hadrumentum, **dfx.11.2.1/34**, was published by M. Bessnier (1920, No.13) including minor emendations and it reads:

...(Perse)phone, oblig(o illius quam peperit illa... inc)olunitatem... (ex h)ac die, ex hac (ora, ut obliviscatur patris et matris et) omnium suo(rum)... (amor)is insanie(ns) (sed) amore et desiderio meo uratur... (ha)nc obl(igo). (“...Persephone, I bind [with spells] her whom... bore, from this day and hour on, [may she forget about her mother, father, all her relatives and friends...]... may she be mad with love, [but] may she burn with love and longing for me... I bind her...”)

Kropp (2004, 73 ff.; 2008) reconstructs the text of No. **173** (based on the more preserved texts No. **144** and No. **175**) as follows:

(...quam peperit Perse)phone oblig/(o(?)... inc)olunitatem (sapientiam sensus ut amet me... quem peperit... ex (h)ac die ex hac (hora ex hoc momento ut obliviscatur patris et matris et) omnium suo(rum et amicorum omnium et omnium virorum... insanie)ns insani(en)s vigilans?) uratur? comburatur?... amore et d(esiderio meo...ha)nc? obl(igo...).

If the addition *Persephone* to *...phone* is right, the initial emendation⁹⁷ to *quam peperit Persephone* seems problematic, as one would expect rather an address to the goddess, like tablet No. **146** above beginning with *Persefina, obligate*.

⁹⁷ Kropp (2004, 73; 2008) adds a filiation formula before the reconstructed word *(Perse)phone*.

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Kropp's emendation makes Persephone the mother of the victim; however, the use of this name as a female proper name is not attested in Greek⁹⁸ or Latin. Besides, generally, it can be said that in antiquity children were not usually given divine names. I suppose that it is very unlikely that the filiation formula preceded Persephone; this would work only if another proper name was present. As for the remaining emendations, these seem justified and agree with the formulae used in No. 144 below, although it cannot be proven that all these formulae were really used in our text:⁹⁹

...ut amoris mei causa non dormiat non cibum non escam accipere possit (VM, SM). Obligo Vettiae, (quam) peperit Optata, sensum sapientiam et (intel)lectum et voluntatem, ut amet me Fe(licem) , quem peperit Fructa, ex hac die ex h(ac ora), ut obliviscatur patris et matris et (propinquorum) suorum et amicorum omnium (et aliorum) virorum amoris mei autem (causa?) Fe(licis, quem) peperit Fructa; Vettia qua(m, peperit Optata) solum me in mente habeat... (dormi)ens vigilans uratur...

Tablet No. 174 from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/35**, is also damaged but it was probably very similar to the previous tablet. It reads:

...(sapienti)a(m), sensus... (illam? ... quam pepe)rit Rus... ob(ligo eam? ... ut oblivisc)atur patr(i)s et ma(tris et omnium suorum et amicorum omnium aliorum) viror(um)... uratur (amore et desiderio meo ex h)ac di(e, ex hac ora).¹⁰⁰

The tablet probably started in the same way as No. 144 above, i.e. *obligo*, then a female name and filiation via mother's name could follow, after that, the spell attacks the victim's mental capacities (*sapientiam, sensus*) followed by another filiation formula, a restrictive formula *obliviscatur patris...*, and the verb *uratur* meaning that the victim should burn with love for the author of the tablet.

The last text of the series, No. 175 from Hadrumetum, **dfx.11.2.1/36**, is longer but also severely disrupted. I state it in the amended form according to Kropp (2008):

⁹⁸ See *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. M. P. Frazer – E. Matthews (eds.). Oxford Clarendon Press, 2005.

⁹⁹ For the whole text, see Appendix I; for the translation and commentary, see 5.1.4.

¹⁰⁰ I state the text with the additions of Bessnier (1920, No. 14), and the emendations of Kropp (2004, 74 ff.; 2008); see also Appendix I and 11.1.4.

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... (*obligo... quam peperit...*) *sapientiam?*... (*ut amet me*) (... *ex hac die ex hac hora ex hoc m(omento ut obliviscatur patris et matris et suorum omnium (et amicorum) omnium et omnium vi(rorum...)... (in)sanien(s...ins)aniens vigilan(s...ur)atur comburatur ardeat sp(iritus amore et?) (de)siderio meo. Obli(go) caelum terram aq(uas)... aera immobile(m) sed dom(...) amoris huius Veram. adiuro te per mag(na...n)omina eius dei qui sub terra (sedet)... (VM)... (de)tinentem? sempiternum amorem qui... Ego Optatus commendo deo... (Veram quam) peperit Lucifera et nulli ali(o) attendat nis(i) mihi soli neminem alium (in mente habeat nisi me) Optatum quem peperit Ammia P(...)ia... a Saphonia consummatum consu(mmatum consummatum) col(l)iga in sempiterno tempore.*

The order of the information was probably as follows: an address to the deities, a formula using *obligo* (i.e. I bind the mind of XY, whom NN bore, so that she loves me), and a filiation formula of the author (i.e. I, XY, whom NN bore). The beginning of the text was perhaps preceded by another part of the formula specifying from when the spell should work:

(“[from this day on]... from this hour on, [from this moment on, may she forget about her father and mother and about] all her [friends] and about all [men?]... may she be mad, mad, may she be unable to sleep, may her soul be consumed, burnt, and be consumed [by love and]... desire for me. I bind heaven, earth, waters?, air... immovable... of the love of this Vera. I forswear you by the great names of this god who reside? under the ground [VM]... [who] keeps alive? eternal love which... I, Optatus, commend to the god [Vera, whom] Lucifera bore, and may she long for none else but me, [may she think only of me] Optatus, whom Amia bore... Saphonia. May it be accomplished, accomplished, accomplished, bind [her/us? in love?] forever.”)

11.2 ADDRESSED DEITIES AND DAEMONS, *VOCES MAGICAE*

Most texts from the African provinces are explicitly addressed to deities; only in 12 texts (ca. 16%) do the authors not appeal to any supernatural power, but it has to be said that this may be due to a mechanical damage. The addressed deities in the African curses are very specific, as the African tablets only scarcely invoke the deities commonly appearing in curses from the European provinces – Pluto is indirectly addressed only once in No. **122**: *...qui infernales partes tenes* (11.1.1.), Proserpine only twice in No. **146** and No. **173** (11.1.4.), *Di Manes* and *Di inferi* appear only in No. **118** (11.1.2.), Hecate is perhaps addressed by the epithet *Domina Campana* in No. **171** (11.1.3.2.; see also No.

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132, 11.1.3.1.), and, finally, *Domina Terra* is appealed to in No. **116** (11.1.2.). Almost 80% of the African tablets are addressed to daemons (mostly to the spirits of the dead) or include magical words referring to them. This is in sharp contrast with the tablets found in the European provinces, which make use of these only very rarely – five tablets from Italy,¹⁰¹ and three from Gallia. The Carthaginian evidence analyzed in this work contains 12 texts addressed to daemons. Moreover, they usually invoke more daemons at once with their names mostly inscribed in the Greek alphabet, just like the magical words. The exceptions are: tablet No. **133** written exclusively in Latin letters, and No. **132** written both in the Greek alphabet and Latin letters. As for the evidence found in Hadrumetum, names of daemons appear in 19 tablets, whereas, again, they usually appeal to more than one daemon at a time. In 11 tablets their names are written in Greek letters, and in ten texts Latin letters are used, too; in some cases both scripts are combined (see No. **162** and No. **169**, 11.1.3.2., and No. **170**, Appendix I). The magical words in the texts from Hadrumetum are inscribed both in the Greek alphabet (13 times) and in Latin letters (nine times). The tablets, mostly made by professional magicians as already mentioned above, invoked these powers using either only the general term *daemones*, or directly by their proper names, or by Greek magical words and formulae. The names of daemons occur in e.g. No. **148**: *Αβαρ, Βαρβαριε, Ελοεε, Σαβαοθ, Παχηνουφν, Πυθιπεμι*; No. **124**: *Καταζιν, Τραβαζιαν, Νοχθιριφ, Βιβιριζι, Ρικουριθ*; and No. **132**: *Βαχαχυχ, Ιεχρι, Παρπαζιν, Νοκτουκιτ, Βντυβαχκ*. Names of daemons were sometimes also embellished with epithers specifying their competences or powers, as e.g. in No. **132**: *Βαχα(χυχ), qui es in Egypto magnus daemon... Παρπαζιν, deus omnipotens, adducas ad domus infernas Maurussum...*; or No. **124**: *Βιβιριζι, qui es fortissimus daemon...* Tablets No. **132** and No. **133** combine the names of daemons with magical words: No. **132** makes use of the so-called *μασκελλει μασκελλω* formula, whereas No. **133** contains sequences of magical words inscribed in the Greek alphabet as well as Latin letters (see 11.1.3.1.). Supernatural powers were also invoked by more general terms like *animae huius loci* (No. **133**), *daemones infernales* (No. **171** and No. **144**), *deus pelagicus aerius* (No. **162**), *nomina necessitatis* (No. **164**), or just *sancta nomina* (No. **133**). In addition, the initial three magical words of tablet No. **143** inscribed in Latin letters may also refer to daemons: *Alimbeu, Columbeu, Petalimbeu, faciatis Victoria(m), quem peperit Suavulva, amante(m)...*

¹⁰¹ This number does not include the texts found in the fountain dedicated to Anna Perenna in Rome; see Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012), and TheDeMa 517.

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Magical words appear in eight tablets from Carthage, mostly in combination with the names of daemons (seven times), and, with the exception of No. **133**, they are inscribed in the Greek alphabet. Regarding the tablets from Hadrumetum, magical words appear in 22 of these, 13 times in combination with the names of daemons. In these, the use of Greek alphabet (13 times) slightly prevails over Latin letters (nine times). Tablet No. **162** from Hadrumetum makes use of both scripts in magical words.

The tablets including names of daemons and complicated formulae are, no doubt, the product of specialized magical workshops, which proves the huge popularity of magical rituals and practices in the Northern Africa of the 2nd/3rd century CE. A long tradition of magical rituals in this region gradually blended with Egyptian, Hebrew, and Greek magical cultures.

11.3 SIGNA MAGICA, DEPICTION OF DAEMONS, A NON-STANDARD ORIENTATION AND USE OF SCRIPT

Unlike the tablets from the European provinces, the African texts frequently include non-alphabetic magical signs. Only five Latin tablets from Italy, three from Gallia, and a single piece of evidence from Germania contain *signa magica* or a depiction of daemon. Furthermore, *signa magica* are, in some cases, combined with a depiction of daemon, or vocalic/consonantic patterns. Two of the Carthaginian tablets contain non-alphabetic signs, five of them vocalic or consonantic patterns (No. **128**, No. **129**, No. **134**, No. **135**, and No. **140**), and seven of them depict a daemon. These features mostly appear right in the text of the curse, at the beginning, or around the perimeter of the tablet. The tablets from Hadrumetum are similar – 17 of them make use of non-alphabetic signs, especially the serially produced curses against charioteers and race-horses (No. **149–160**). These either frame the text of the curse (No. **149–151**), or appear after each paragraph of the curse (No. **152–160**). Vocalic patterns are not present in the Latin tablets found in Hadrumetum analyzed in this work. Moreover, daemons are depicted in these quite often (nine times), or at least other symbols are used, as e.g. the depiction of a sword? in No. **142**. They usually occur right in the text but not in combination with magical signs.

On the other hand, the orientation of script is not so variegated in the African tablets as in the texts found in the European provinces where it plays a significant magical role. The African tablets make use of somewhat more complicated magical means. The Carthaginian texts are inscribed mostly left-to-right (only three tablets are partially written vertically); the tablets from Hadrumetum also prefer left-to-right orientation of script, but the cursing

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formulae are frequently written around the perimeter of the tablet and include the names of victims, especially horses (eleven serially produced curses No. **152–161**). On the contrary, perimeter of the texts from Carthage is usually inscribed with magical words. Vertical or upside-down text appears only very rarely in these.

The special, magical, purpose of the text of the curse is often conveyed by the change of the common code, i.e. use of a different, unusual alphabet. This is mostly done by inscribing the Latin text in the Greek alphabet, especially in love spells both from Carthage (No. **125**) and from Hadrumetum (No. **145**, No. **147**, No. **148**, and No. **172**).

The curses against gladiators found in Carthage combine both languages and codes in special ways – the Greek alphabet both for Latin and Greek text is used in No. **134**, mostly Latin text is combined with Greek formulae in No. **135**, and No. **132**. Tablet No. **133** even contains several Greek words written in Latin letters among the magical formulae (see 11.1.3.1.).

As already said before, the graphic layout of the African texts indicates a very sophisticated practice of specialized ritual practitioners.

11.4 FORMULAE AND PEOPLE ACCURSED

The number of formulae used in the texts from the African provinces is relatively high: 77 formulae in 30 Carthaginian tablets (*Africa Proconsularis*), and 87 formulae in 43 tablets from Hadrumetum (*Africa Byzacena*). The simple Formula **0** (brief nominal list of cursed people is very scarce and appears only in four tablets from Carthage and four tablets from Hadrumetum; Formula **1a** (direct curse with the predicates of cursing) is not attested. The most frequent formulae are Formula **3a** (imperative formula extended by the subordinate clause) – 15 times in Carthage, 20 times in Hadrumetum; Formula **2** (invoking formula extended by the subordinate clause) – eight times in Carthage, 23 times in Hadrumetum; Formula **3** (imperative invoking formula) – 20 times in Carthage, eight times in Hadrumetum; and Formula **4** (wish formula using subjunctive) – nine times in Carthage, 15 times in Hadrumetum. Less frequently, Formula **2a** (eight times in Carthage, eight times in Hadrumetum) and Formula **5**, the *simile*-formula (eight times in Carthage, once in Hadrumetum) appear. The high number of formulae is caused by the complicated nature of the African curses; the professional magicians most frequently appeal to deities with imperative formulae specifying what they are supposed to do (see 3.2.).

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The number of victims of the African curses is related to the preserved types of curses – the curses against charioteers, and especially race-horses have survived only in the African provinces. The number of cursed people, as well as the ratio of men and women and the average number of cursed people per tablet, basically copy the numbers from the European curses. As for the Carthaginian tablets, men (80) are four times more often cursed than women (21) which is certainly due to the prevalence of legal and agonistic curses in the region. This prevalence is even bigger in the tablets from Hadrumetum – men (88), women (12) – which, again, is the result of the high number of preserved agonistic curses. Nevertheless, the number of cursed horses is exponentially higher than the number of cursed people. The agonistic curses found in Carthage accurse ca. 258 horses, i.e. eight horses per tablet; the texts from Hadrumetum even ca. 986 horses, i.e. 23 horses per tablet. Compared to this, the average number of people accursed per a tablet (three in the texts from Carthage, two in the texts from Hadrumetum) seems low but actually it corresponds to the general state in the other provinces. The people on whose behalf a tablet was inscribed are found only rarely: in three legal curses from Carthage (No. **115**, No. **116**, and No. **137**), and in love spells where the author's name is essential for the proper functioning of the spell (No. **125**, No. **144**, No. **146**, No. **148**, No. **175**, and No. **182**). In some cases, probably due to disruption of the text, the author's/orderer's name was not preserved.

Furthermore, filiation via mother's name, another typical magical feature, most frequently appears in the African texts (see 1.6.) – six times in Carthage, 11 times in Hadrumetum. Metronymics specifying the cursed person are only scarcely attested in other provinces: three times in Italy, once in Gallia and Britannia. It is found mostly in love spells as a way of identifying the victim, usually in the so-called *quam peperit* formula; however, it also occurs in some Carthaginian curses against gladiators. The filiation via father's name appears only in two texts from Carthage (No. **114** and No. **122**), despite the fact that patronymics are largely used to identify a person in the common texts from all over the Roman Empire and are attested from almost all European provinces.

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The first contact between ancient Mediterranean states and the inhabitants of the British Isles, which were then¹ known as Albion, took place as soon as in the 4th century BCE. It was motivated by the search for mineral raw materials, namely the exploitation of tin, by the Phoenicians and the inhabitants of the Greek colony of Massalia (today's Marseille). Strabo speaks of the region as *Βρεταννικαὶ νῆσοι* and calls its inhabitants *Βρεταννοί*.² The Roman names *Britannia* and *Britanni* are attested from the 1st century BCE in Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*. The inland of the British Isles was unknown until Caesar's military campaigns in 55 and 54 BCE when the Roman army penetrated to the river Thames. However, these campaigns were not successful, as the British king Cassivellaunus forced the Romans to return to Gallia. Thus, Britain remained out of Roman reach for another century. Southern Britain was conquered only during Claudius' reign in 43–47 CE; more territories were attached after the suppression of Queen Boudica's uprising during the reign of Nero in 54–68 CE. This moved the boundaries of the Roman Empire as far as to today's Chester and Lincoln in central Britain.³ Nevertheless, conflicts persisted in its western part up until the Flavian period and it was during the administration of Cn. Iulius Agricola in 77–84 CE when the area finally fell under the Roman control. At this time, a border defence system was built from the east to the west from today's Firth of Clyde to Firth of Forth. Although Roman armies also pervaded the northern part of the country, they were unable to hold the territory for a longer period of time. The effort to secure a stable border in the north culminated around 122 CE when ca. 117 km long Hadrian's Wall was constructed across Britain. It ran through today's cities of Newcastle and Solway Firth and its purpose was to defend the Roman province from the barbaric raids of the northern Caledonian tribes. In 142 CE, the emperor Antoninus Pius rebuilt the defence line constructed in the time of Agricola but it survived only fewer than the following 20 years.⁴ After that, Septimius Severus was again compelled to re-establish Hadrian's Wall which was regarded as the northern frontier line of the province up until the end of Roman dominance in Britain. In 410 CE, Roman armies were once and for all withdrawn from the province due to the usurpation of imperial power as well as the barbaric threat hanging over Italy. Moreover, the inhabitants of Britain asked for the help of the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes who started to invade the area from the 3rd century CE.

¹ See Svoboda (1974, 104 ff).

² See Eck (1997, 783).

³ See Svoboda (1974, 105).

⁴ See Eck (1997, 783 ff.).

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Just like in Germania, Romans first got into contact with Britannia thanks to Caesar's military campaigns; however, the area was coherently romanised only after the 1st century CE, i.e. relatively late when compared to other provinces. The 3rd century CE was the heyday of Roman power and culture in the territory of Britain; the most significant Roman centres were *Londinium* (today's London), *Verulamium* (today's Old Verulam), *Camulodunum* (today's Clochester), *Eburacum* (today's York), *Aquae Sulis* (today's Bath), and *Vindolanda* (today's Chesterholme).

In the second half of the 20th century a large amount of Roman inscriptional evidence was found in Britain. In 1973, wooden tablets containing military documentation as well as private correspondence⁵ dated to the 1st–2nd century CE were excavated in the Roman military fort of *Vindolanda* located southwards of Hadrian's Wall. As for the Mediterranean cursing tradition, the numerous findings of curse tablets in this territory prove that it very quickly spread up to the most western explored part of the contemporary world.

12.1 THE EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE TERRITORY OF BRITANNIA AND ITS SPECIFIC FEATURES

Only ten curse tablets were known from the territory of ancient Britannia until the 1970s and 1980s when huge archaeological discoveries of lead curse tablets took place in Uley and Bath. The archaeological excavations in Uley started at the end of the 1970s in the sacred precinct of Mercury⁶ which provided us with ca. 140 mostly rolled into scrolls and severely damaged lead tablets. Some of these were perhaps never inscribed or, more plausibly, the traces of the inscribed letters faded away in the course of time. Fortunately, 86 of these still contain some text inscribed either on both or just one side. The tablets have been dated to the 2nd–4th century CE and were found in all sectors of the archaeological area, but most of them survived in the votive depository of the temple. The tablets are continuously published in the periodical *Britannia*.⁷

In 1979–1980, other numerous precious lead tablets were found during the sanitation of thermal spring and the adjacent sacred precinct of goddess

⁵ See e.g. Bowman (1983); or Petersmann (1992).

⁶ See Woodward – Leach (1993). Five tablets were published by Tomlin (1993, 112 – 130); see also 1.2.

⁷ See the section *Roman Britain II, Inscriptions*. Kropp' corpus (2008) contains 39 tablets from Uley and 87 from Bath including very damaged fragments in which only one word or two are readable.

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Minerva Sulis in Bath. Out of the total number of 130 tablets and bigger fragments, ca. 70 tablets are at least partially readable,⁸ but the remaining 60 are either small and severely disrupted fragments not yet published, or tablets without any trace of a text.⁹ Thanks to Roger Tomlin, we possess an excellent edition of the tablets found in Bath with commentary.¹⁰ Thus, if we include the isolated findings of amateurs with metal detectors, we know of ca. 250 curse tablets from Britannia.¹¹ So far, ca. 160 of them have been published, mostly dated to the 2nd–4th century CE (see Kropp, 2008). The corpus of this work includes 94 tablets found in Britannia: 25 curses and 69 prayers for justice. Paradoxically, the evidence of curse tablets in Britannia is much richer thanks to these findings than the evidence in other provinces where magical rituals had a demonstrably longer tradition, e.g. in Italy, Hispania, etc. Thus, the British findings confirm the randomness and fragmentary nature of the preserved evidence we possess from the Roman Empire. In addition, the rich material excavated in Uley and Bath proves that curse tablets were for centuries widely used in Britannia; the same can also be presumed in other territories of the Roman Empire, although these have not yet provided us with such a high number of texts. Most of the tablets found in Britain contain prayers for justice (see 1.2. and 1.2.3.), unlike the other European provinces from which we have mostly curses and only very few, or no (the African provinces), prayers for justice are attested. The numerous prayers for justice found in Britannia differ from those from the European provinces in many aspects and include many otherwise undocumented peculiarities.

Most of the curse texts found in Britain date to the 2nd/3rd–4th centuries CE (five tablets in each); the oldest tablets come from the 1st century CE (No. **198** and No. **199** from London); and some pieces of evidence have been dated to the 5th century CE. Their dating is, therefore, similar to that of the African tablets most of which date to the 2nd–3rd century CE. On the other hand, the British tablets are later than the evidence from Italy or Hispania dated usually to the 1st century BCE –1st century CE, or from Germania dated to the 1st–2nd century CE. All curses found in Britain were inscribed on the lead-alloyed tablets.

⁸ See Tomlin (1988); Urbanová (2009a, 125 ff.).

⁹ See Tomlin (1988, 257 ff.).

¹⁰ See Tomlin (1988, 59–270).

¹¹ Not all of them have been published yet, the present number of Latin curses from Britain in *TheDeMa* is 181 but new findings are expected to be published by Tomlin (2017).

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Tablet No. **302** from Uley is probably the oldest British evidence of a prayer for justice – it has been dated to the 1st century CE – of an age comparable to the evidence from Hispania, Gallia, and Germania. The number of preserved prayers for justice in the European provinces rises in the 2nd century CE only to decrease in the 3rd century CE, whereas few pieces of evidence from Gallia were dated to the 4th/5th century CE. The situation of Britannia is different: only few tablets come from the 1st/2nd century CE and the 2nd century CE, while their numbers significantly rise in the 2nd/3rd century CE (28 tablets); ca. eight tablets were dated to the 3rd century CE and eight tablets to the 3rd/4th century CE; the number of preserved tablets relatively increases again in the 4th century CE (16 tablets) and their production probably ceases at the beginning of the 5th century CE.¹²

Considering the external features of the tablets found in Britannia, it can be said that the highest number of curses was found in the sacred precinct of goddess Minerva Sulis in Bath, namely in the spring itself (No. **184–194**), or in the soil (five tablets), in the baths (three tablets), and in the shrine (four tablets from Uley). Unlike the European or African provinces where the tablets were most commonly, or at least frequently, found in graves,¹³ only a single British curse tablet has been found in a grave (No. **195**).

As for the British prayers for justice, these were, just like curses, mostly found at shrines possessing a watersource, which is in line with the above mentioned archaeological findings, i.e. the evidence from the thermal springs of Bath and from the sacred precinct of Mercury in Uley (altogether 56 tablets). Only very few tablets were located in the soil, water, or a house. This corresponds to the situation in the European provinces where most of the prayers for justice, documented in much less numbers, were also found at a shrine (ten tablets, especially from Mainz), while fewer were located in the soil (six tablets), water sources (five tablets), in the amphitheatre (four tablets), and in the grave (four tablets). The locations of curses as well as prayers for justice from other provinces clearly suggest that the authors (almost exclusively laymen) of often very cruel prayers for justice rather appeal directly to the local deities and only rarely put the tablets into the graves to invoke the spirits of the deceased as the

¹² The numbers refer to the tablets analyzed in this work.

¹³ This applies to all African and European provinces except for Gaul, where most of the tablets were found in the amphitheatre of Trier, and Germania, where the largest number of tablets preserved at the shrine of Isis and *Mater Magna* in Mainz (see 10.1.1.).

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mediators between the earthly and supernatural world. All prayers for justice found in Britain were inscribed on the lead-alloyed tablets.

The curse tablets found in Britannia were mostly not treated in any way before being deposited (eleven tablets), but if so, the most frequent way was rolling (eight tablets), or transfixion (four tablets); in many cases, there are no visible traces of any manipulation or the editors do not state so. This is contrary to the European provinces, e.g. in Italy the tablets were usually transfixed (18), whereas the African tablets (56) and the tablets from Germania (23) were mostly rolled into scrolls. As for the tablets with no traces of any manipulation, see the evidence from Hispania (six) and Gallia (five). When we compare the data from all provinces, the most frequent adjustments of the tablets are (in order): rolling, no manipulation, transfixion.

Whether we speak of Britannia (38 tablets) or the European provinces (ten tablets), the prayers for justice were mostly rolled into scrolls. Many tablets were not manipulated in any way before put into their locations (17 tablets from Britannia, nine from the European provinces), and only few tablets display the traces of transfixion (eight tablets from Britannia, one from Italy, two from Germania).

The curses from Britannia, unlike the evidence from the European and especially the African provinces, are short and monotonous, comprising mostly nominal lists of cursed people. Thus, the particular context of most of these is almost unidentifiable; all are thus classified as non-specific curses, except for tablet No. **198** which is probably connected to rivalry in love. What is remarkable in Britannia is the contrast between the brief and artless curses and the elaborate and ornate prayers for justice.

12.1.1 Non-Specific Curses

The 25 curses found in Britannia are predominantly very short, monotonous, and disrupted; 21 of these comprise only of a nominal list of cursed people, exceptionally also including some specification of social standing like *uxor* or *servus*, and even a filiation via father's name (e.g. No. **188**), some other identifying term like *Velorigam et familiam suam* (No. **191** below), or a cursing verb (No. **199**).

See e.g. No. **184** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/4**: *Britvenda, Venibelia*. (“[I accurse/commend] Britivenda and Venibelia.”). This tablet probably dates to the 3rd century CE and contains two female names in the nominative written in

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capital letters and partially mirror-like. The names are of Celtic origin so it may perhaps be an expression of an animosity between the Roman and local population.

Tablets No. **185**, No. **187**, No. **190**, No. **192–194**, No. **196–197**, No. **200**, No. **203**, and No. **205–206** have the same structure (see Appendix I).

Tablet No. **191** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/45**, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, makes use of an unusual extension of cursed names:

A: D(eo) Mercuri... san(g)u(ine)m (C)ivilis... fuerit de... Trinni familiam... Velvalis... (famili)am suam B: Markelinum familia(m), Veloriga(m) et famili(am) (s)uam, Morivassum et (f)amiliam, Riovassum e(t) familiam, Minoven...et familiam sua(m)... (“To the god Mercury [I commend?] the blood¹⁴ of Civilis... so that he is?... the family of Trinnus?, Velvalis [and] his family?, Markelinus [and his] family, Veloriga and her family, Morivassus and [his] family, Riovassus and [his] family, Minoven... and his family...”)

The tablet dates to the 2nd/3rd century CE and is largely disrupted. Although it was found in the spring of the goddess Sulis in Bath, it is addressed to Mercury. Furthermore, it is the only text which accurses the victims with their whole families; however, its syntax is incomprehensible. *Civilis*, *Trinnus*, and *Markelinus* are Roman names, the other names are of Celtic origin.¹⁵

Text No. **188** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/22**, dated to the 2nd century CE, is inscribed on a metal discus and contains a filiation:

Severianus fil(ius) Brigomall(a)e, Patarnianus filius, Matarnus uxor, Catonius Potentini, Marinianus Belcati, Lucillus Lucciani, Aeternus Ingenui, Bellaus Bellini. (“Severianus, the son of Brigomalla,¹⁶ Patarnianus [his?] son, Matarnus [and his?] wife, Catonius, [the son] of Potentinus, Marinianus, [the son] of Belcatus, Lucillus, [the son] of Luccianus Aeternus, [the son] of Ingenuus, Bellaus, [the son] of Bellinus.”)

Text No. **201** from London, **dfx.3.14/5**, can also be regarded as a curse:

¹⁴ The author perhaps meant blood metaphorically, i.e. the consanguinity of the victim, as suggested by the term *familiam*.

¹⁵ See the commentary of Tomlin (1988, No. 53).

¹⁶ Tomlin (1988, 30) states that *Brigomalla* is attested nowhere else; however, *Brigomallos* exists. If it is a female name, it is the only piece of evidence of filiation via mother’s name in Britannia.

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Plautius Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola et si (= ii?), qui afuere. (“[I accurse/may they be accursed?] Plautius Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola and those who were absent.”) (see 1.1.2.1. with commentary).

The tablet dates to the 2nd/3rd century CE and, as Tomlin (2003, 361) suggests, it is remarkable because in the British tablets the victims are only rarely identified both by *nomina* and *cognomina*.

Three tablets explicitly use the cursing verb *defigo* but mostly in the passive voice (see also 2.2.2.).

Tablet No. **199** from London, **dfx.3.14/2**, dated to the 1st century CE, contains a rare use of the verb *defigo* in the perfect passive participle form:

Titus Egnatius Tyrannus defictus (= defixus) est et P(ublius) Cicereius Felix defictus est. (“Titus Egnatius Tyrannus has been cursed and Publius Cicereius Felix has been cursed.”) (see also 3.1.2.)

Another tablet from Britannia using the same form is No. **195** from Clothall, **dfx.3.9/1: Tacita deficta...** (see Appendix I).

There are not many more elaborate curses in Britannia but, for instance, No. **198** from London, **dfx.3.14/1**, dated to the 1st century CE, reads:

Tertia(m) Maria(m) defigo et illius vita(m) et mentem et memoriam et iocinera, pulmones, intermixta¹⁷ facta, cogitata, memoriam. Sic non possit loqui (quae) secreta sint neque sinit amere (=amare) possit neque... claudo.¹⁸ (“I curse Tertia Maria and her life, and mind, and memory, and liver, lungs, acts, thoughts, memory. Thus may she be unable to tell the secrets, or... love...or... I enclose/conclude.”) (see also 2.3.5.).

¹⁷ The tablet reads *intermixita*, Kropp (2008) interprets as *intermixta*. However, this place of the text is disrupted so the word can be either a garbled term for intestines (?), or a term belonging to *facta* perhaps meaning “may she not interfere with her acts”(?), as suggested by the following sentence. I suppose that the most plausible interpretation is: “may her thought, memory, and acts mix up, confuse”.

¹⁸ With respect to the previous damaged text, it is unclear whether the author “concludes” his curse or “encloses” the victim. See also No. **249** from Bath below (12.2.3.) which contains a prayer for justice concluded with *finem faci(a)m*.

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This is the only curse from Britannia which includes a list of cursed body parts as well as the only text whose context can be determined – it is probably an amatory curse concerning rivalry in love.

Another interesting curse is tablet No. **208** from Old Harlow, **dfx.3.17/1**, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE, which reads:

A: Deo M(ercurio), dono ti(bi) negotium (A)eternae et ipsam nec sit invidia mei Timotneo.¹⁹ Sanguine suo. B: Dono tibi, Mercurius, aliam (aliud?) neg(o)tium Navin(ii?)... ne(c?)... sang(uine) suo.

The interpretation of this text is disputable – Wright and Hassall (1973, 325 ff.) regard it as a curse and they translate *negotium* as “affair”,²⁰ Versnel (1991, 85 ff.) compares it to the Greek curses aimed at rivals in business and translates *negotium* as “shop, business, store”.²¹ Thus, the text can be translated as follows:

(“To the god Mercury, I give/commend the business of Aeterna and herself, may she not be envious of me, Timotneus, [otherwise she will pay for it] with her own blood. I give you, Mercury, another? Business of Navinius... own blood...”).

However, Versnel (1991, 86) interprets the sequence *...nec sit invidia mei Timotneo. Sanguine suo...* as “the guilty party must pay with his blood”, which would classify the text rather as a prayer for justice motivated by damage suffered than a curse. Nevertheless only an explicit reference to a theft or fraud (i.e. a damage suffered) can be regarded the decisive criterion of classifying a text as a prayer for justice, but our text does not contain any. Therefore, I suppose that it is a curse (cf. e.g. No. **138** and No. **139** from Carthage, 1.10.1.) inspired by prayers for justice in its use of *sanguine suo*, which usually appears in the prayers for justice only from Britannia (see 6.2.1.3).

Unfortunately, the disrupted tablet No. **186** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/9**, dated to the 3rd century CE, can also be regarded as a problematic text in this respect; it starts with the sequence:

¹⁹ Kropp (2008) amends *Timotneo* to *Timothei*.

²⁰ The translation of Wright – Hassall (1973, 325): “To the god Mercury, I entrust you my affair with Eterna and her own self, and may Timotneus feel no jealousy of me at the risk of his life blood. I entrust to you, O Mercury, another transaction...”

²¹ Versnel (1991, 85 ff.) translates the sequence *nec sit invidia mei Timotneo* as “and don’t let there be envy on my account – Timotheus”.

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Petio (= *petitio/peto?*): *rove* (= *rogo?*) *te, Victoria vind(ex?) Cun... Minici, Cunomolius, Minervina ussor* (= *uxor*) *Cunitius servus, Senovara ussor, Lavidendus ser(v)us, Mattonius ser(v)us, Catinius Exactoris fundo eo*²² ... *Methianu(s) ... dono...*

If Tomlin's (1988, No. 9) interpretation of *petio* as *petitio* and of *rove* as *rogo* is right, this could also be a prayer for justice. The initial sequence *Victoria vind(ex?)* is disputable, as we do not know whether it refers to a female name. Other names of cursed people are here specified by epithets like *uxor* or *servus*; however, the disrupted term *vind...* does not correspond to any of these. Tomlin presumes that it may be an address to the goddess of Victory and adds *vind(ex)*, i.e. the author invokes the goddess Victory, the protector and avenger.²³ Another possible interpretation may be: *Petitio, rogo te (ego) Victoria, vind(ica me* i.e. *de istis nominibus)*, comparable to No. 287 (12.2.3.): ... *ut tu me vindicas de isto nomine*. Then, the text would be interpretable as follows:

(“A request, I ask you [me] Victoria, avenge [me upon these people]: Cunomolius [the son?] of Minicius, Minervina [his?] wife, Cunitius [their?] slave, Senovara [his?] wife, Lavidendus [their?] slave, Mattonius [their?] slave, Catinius [the son?] of Exactor... Methianu(s)... I give...”)

Some prayers for justice, in fact, refer to themselves as requests. See, for instance, No. 303 from Uley:

Deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus, conqueror numini tuo, me perdidisse rotas duas et vaccas quattuor... Iteratis precibus rogo numen tuum, ut petitio mea statim pariat me vindicatum esse a maiestate tua. (“Honoratus to the holy god Mercury, I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels and four cows... With repeated prayers I ask your divinity to immediately hear my petition so that I am revenged by your majesty.”) (see also 1.10.2.).

Compare also No. 296 from Uley:

Commonitorium deo Mercurio a Saturnina muliere de linteamine, quod amisit. (“A memorandum to the god... Mercury from Saturnina a woman, concerning the linen cloth which she has lost.”) (see also 1.10.2.).

²² This sequence is obscure; one would expect some reference to a thief (see also Tomlin with a commentary, 1988, No. 9).

²³ This goddess is attested neither in curses nor in prayers for justice.

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Nevertheless, the partially disrupted tablet No. **186** does not refer to any damage suffered; therefore, I classify it rather as a curse, not a prayer for justice.

The last, somewhat problematic, curse from Britannia is tablet No. **204** from Uley which, according to some scholars, may contain the names of the victims in the accusative, as well as the names of those who accurse in the nominative (for the detailed discussion of this text, see 10.1.1.).

12.2 PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

As already said above, the corpus of prayers for justice found in Britain is extensive; ca. 69 prayers for justice and 25 curses have been included in this work out of total 160 published tablets from Britannia. Kropp (2008) classifies 101 tablets as prayers for justice and 22 as curses.²⁴ The remaining published texts (37 tablets; see Kropp, 2008) are damaged to such an extent that it cannot be determined with certainty to what genre they belong. Moreover, they cannot be assessed by the criteria of analysis applied in this work.

The documentation found in Britain is the main source of the information we have on Latin prayers for justice. However, based on the less extensive evidence from other provinces, it can be assumed that it is also considerably distinctive.

The context and motivation of prayers for justice are always the same – the author suffered some harm, most often theft (see 6.1.), while the individual texts differ in the aims and wishes of their authors (see 6.2.). I divide the prayers for justice from Britannia into three groups based on the aims of their authors, i.e. whether they pursue:

- 1) only the return of the stolen property without any explicit reference to punishment;
- 2) the return of the stolen property by means of restrictions or punishment of the culprit;
- 3) only revenge or punishment of the culprit.

²⁴ I consider some of the texts Kropp unjustifiably classifies as prayers for justice to be, in fact, curses (see 12.1.1. above).

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As already mentioned above in 6.2., only very few prayers for justice from all provinces (four) seek merely the return of the stolen things. The aim to get the stolen things back together with revenge or punishment of the culprit appears in 28 texts. The most frequent wish of the authors of prayers for justice, however, is revenge or punishment (55 texts), and two texts even demand that the vengeance upon the culprit is executed in public (see 6.2., 8.2., and 10.2.3.).

The situation in Britannia is quite similar – apart from 12 texts whose aim cannot be determined, only three texts pursue the return of the stolen things; the authors of 23 texts hoped for getting their things back as well as for vengeance being executed upon the culprit; while, more frequently, the texts (31) seek only vengeance or punishment of the culprit. If we compare the preserved prayers for justice from all provinces, vengeance comes out as a prevailing wish of the authors (55 out of 101 texts). Nevertheless, these criteria can be disputed if we take into consideration Tomlin's (2010, 260; 6.2.1.3.) explanation of the logical discrepancies occurring in some prayers for justice, i.e. when the authors ask first for the death of the culprit and only after that want to get their things back (see e.g. No. 300). He presumes that the authors automatically expected the deity to execute vengeance upon the culprit and, at the same time, settles for the return of stolen property. Some texts indicate such an option by using the verbs like *exigere* and *vindicare* in connection with the death of the thief. However, if a text does not include any explicit reference to getting the stolen things back, I classify it as the 3rd group (vengeance/punishment). This is because there are several prayers for justice whose authors explicitly state their wish to get things back. If a text is incomplete, it is, of course, problematic to determine the whole extent of author's wish; see e.g. No. 251, No. 254, No. 256, No. 259, No. 262, No. 267, No. 301, and No. 302. These texts, although being obviously prayers for justice, are so damaged that they cannot be coherently interpreted; thus, I state these only in Appendix II. I always base my argumentation on the particular preserved text without any further speculations.

12.2.1 Texts Pursuing the Return of the Stolen Property

This category pertains to tablets No. 246, No. 252, and No. 270. Prayer for justice No. 246 from Bath dated to the 3rd century CE (see 1.2.2.) is addressed to the goddess Sulis by an anonymous author who commends his/her money to the goddess in return for her favours: *donavi (ar)gentiolos sex* ("I have given... the six silver coins..."). The author state the names of people suspected of being the thief: *...a nomin(i)bus infrascript(is) deae exactura est...* ("...it is for the goddess to exact [them] from the names written below..."); see also 1.2.2.

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Tablet No. **252** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/26**, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, reads:

Deae Suli Minervae: Docca dono numini tuo pecuniam, quam... (a)misi, id est (denarios) V, et is, (q)ui (eam involaveri)t, si ser(vu)s, s(i) liber, (si vir, si femina), exigatur... (“To the goddess Minerva Sulis: Docca, I give to your divinity the money which I have lost, i.e. five [*denarii*], and the one [who stole] it, whether slave or [free, whether man or woman,] may s/he be forced [to give it back?]”).²⁵

The author of tablet No. **270** whose name was not preserved in full demands his stolen things without any restrictions. He does so using a peculiar formulation *in rostro suo deferat*, i.e. the culprit is supposed to bring it in his “beak” (see 1.10.2.).

The authors of all tablets commend the property they have lost to the deity to exact it back, as confirmed by the verbs *exigo* and *defero*. Tablet No. **218** from Hispania contains a similar prayer for justice using the verb *persequor* (see 6.2. and 8.2.).

12.2.2 Texts Pursuing the Return of the Stolen Property via Restrictions

Some prayers for justice pursuing the return of stolen things also include a polite address to a deity, author’s name, and the committal of the often unknown thief, or the stolen property, to a deity. The deity is then supposed to take over responsibility for the matter and fulfil the author’s wish. See e.g. No. **247**: *Docilianus Bruceri deae sanctissimae Suli devoveo eum, qui caracallam meam involaverit...* (1.2.2.); No. **250**: *Deae Suli Minervae: Solinus dono numini tuo maiestati paxam balnearem...* (1.10.2.); No. **298** from Uley: *Biccus dat Mercurio, quidquid perdidit...* (2.3.1. and 6.2.1.). The author often commends the culprits or the stolen property to a deity who is supposed to “take over the responsibility”, take the matter into his/her own hands, and fulfil author’s wish. The authors usually explicitly appeal to the culprits to bring the stolen things to the temple of the deity. To secure the return of the spoil, the culprits are compelled to do so by various restrictions sent upon them by the deity; see (6.2.1) and, for instance, No. **298** from Uley, dated to the 4th century CE:

... si vir si mascel, ne meiat, ne cacet, ne loquatur, ne dormiat, ne vigilet nec salutem nec sanitatem, nisi in templo Mercurii pertulerit... (“...whether [the

²⁵ The tablet has been found damaged with some parts of the text not preserved; the verb *exigatur* may have also referred to the money, which would then be translated as “may the money be exacted [from the thief]”.

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culprit is] man or male,²⁶ may he be unable to urinate, nor defecate, nor speak, nor sleep, nor wake, nor [have] vigor nor health, until he brings [it] to the temple of Mercury...”).

The authors mostly attack the culprit’s health and the ability to sleep, which is probably inspired by love spells (see 2.3.1. and 6.2.1.).

No. **295** from Uley (see 1.2.2.) reads:

...ut nec ante sanitatem habeant, nisi repraesentaverint mihi iumentum, quod rapuerunt... (“...so that they may have neither health before/unless they return at once to me the draught animal which they have stolen...”).

Compare also No. **247** (see 1.2.2.):

...uti eum dea Sulis maximo leto adigat nec ei somnum permitat... (“...so that the goddess Sulis may inflict death upon him and not allow him sleep ...”).

Restrictions can also be combined with the wish that the deity kills the culprit, as seen in the previous tablet, or in No. **300**, which reads:

Rogo te ut eos maximo (le)to adigas nec eis sanit(atem nec) somnum permittas, nisi a te quod mihi ad(mi)ni(strav)erint redem(e)rint. (“...I ask you to drive them to the most horrible death and not allow them to sleep nor to be healthy, unless they redeem from you what they have done to me.”)

Apart from the formula *maximo leto adigere* (see 6.2.1.3.), a similar formula *exigere per sanguinem* appears in two tablets from Bath. No. **255**, **dfx.3.2/20**, reads:

(Deae Suli?) dono ti(bi)... (E)xigas pe(r sanguinem? e)ius, qui has (involave)rit vel qui (medius? fuer)it, si femina... (si) liber... (d)um? pertuleri(t). (“[To the goddess Sulis?]: I commend to you... to exact [those things?] through his [blood], who [stole?] them or [participated in it], whether a woman... [or] free... [unless?] s/he brings [the stolen things] back.”).

²⁶ Probably a confusion of formulae *si vir si femina* and *si mascul si femina* (see 2.3.1.).

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The text is very disrupted; therefore, it was amended according to the better preserved text of tablet No. **258** also from Bath; both tablets date to the 2nd/3rd century CE (see also 7.1.2.1.). Tablet No. **258**, **dfx.3.2/33**, reads:

...(dir)ipuit, ut (eo)rum pretium... (e)xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa(nitatem sua)m et suorum, nec ante illos pati(a)r(is bibere? nec m)anducare nec adsellare nec (meiere?)... ius hoc absolverit²⁷ ... (“...has stolen, so that you exact the price of [them] through [his] blood and [health] and [the blood and health] of his relatives, and not allow them [to drink?] or eat or defecate or [urinate?] [before he has]... repaid it.”).

The same formula, though extended, appears in tablet No. **292** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar (see also 6.2.1.1. and 1.9.2.), which reads:

Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo ut exigat per mentem, per memoriam, per intus, per intestinum, per cor, per medullas, per venas, per..., si mascel si femina, quivis involavit (den)arios Cani Digni... (“It is commended to the god Jupiter the Great and the Mightiest to exact [the money] through mind, memory, entrails, intestines, heart, marrow, veins, ...[of the one] whoever has stolen them, whether a man or a woman, the money of Canus Dignus...”).

To make sure that the stolen things really get back to the owner, the authors sometimes promise a reward to the deity – mostly a part of the money or stolen things’ value (see also 1.10.2., 3.3.2., discussing No. **289**, No. **292**, and No. **296**).

Furthermore, see also No. **291**, **dfx.3.18/1**, from Pagans Hill dated to the half of the 3rd century CE:

(Deo Mercu)ri(o?)... in (denari)is III milibus,²⁸ cuius dimidiam partem tibi (dono?), ut ita illum (=illud) exigas a Vassicillo ...pecomini filio et uxore sua, quoniam (per)cussum?²⁹ quod illi de hospitio meo (pec)ulaverint. Nec illis (p)ermittas sanit(atem) nec bibere nec ma(n)d(u)care, nec dormi(re)

²⁷ The text reads *...bisoverit*; Tomlin (1988, No. 41) adds *absolverit*.

²⁸ The value of the money stated in this tablet seems very high; other prayers for justice usually refer to much smaller sums of money (see 6.1.). However, today it is difficult to assess the real value of the sum in the 3rd century CE.

²⁹ This part of the tablet is disrupted; Tomlin (1984, 352) reads *tussum* and amends to *(per)tussum (= percussum?)* which then probably means “the coinage”, i.e. the money, in general.

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(nec nat)os sanos habe(a)nt nisi hanc rem (meam) ad fanum tuum (at)tulerint. Iteratis (pre)c(i)bus te rogo, ut (ab ip)sis nominibus³⁰ (inimicorum) meorum hoc (percu)ssum recipi(atur?), perven(ia)t. (“[To the god Mercury?]...in three thousand dinars, of which [I give?] you a half so that you exact it from Vassicillus, son [of]... and his wife, because/whatever they have stolen it from my house. Do not allow them to be healthy nor to drink nor to eat, nor to sleep, nor may they have healthy children, unless they bring that property [of mine] to your shrine. With repeated prayers I ask you [to arrange] that the money happen to return back [to me] from these [hostile] people.”) (see also 6.1. and 6.2.)

The custom to promise a “finder’s reward” to the deity is not attested in any of the tablets found in Bath, but it is well documented in Uley and other locations. See tablet No. **286** from Kelvedon, **dfx.3.12/1**, dated to the first half of the 3rd century CE:

Quicumque res Vareni involaverit, si mulier, si mascul, sangu(i)ne suo solvat et pecuniam, quam exesuerit (= exsolverit?),³¹ Mercurio donat et Virtuti s(emis).³² (“Whoever has stolen the property of Varenus, whether a woman or a man, may he pay [for it] with his own blood and from the money he repays, may he give a half to Mercury and [the goddess] Virtus.”)

The author of tablet No. **288** from London, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, **dfx.3.14/6**, promises a reward to the goddess Diana:

(D)ea(e) Dea(na)e³³ dono capitularem et fas(c)iam³⁴ minus parte tertia. Si quis hoc fecit, si puer si puella si ser(vus) s(i) liber don(o eum) nec p(er) me

³⁰ Tomlin (1983, 352) notes that *nomen* was used in Britain to a person in general, and especially “a debtor” or “a creditor; see also No. **246**: *A nomin(i)bus infrascript(is) deae exactura est* (1.2.2. and 12.2.1.) in which the term also refers to people in general. See Urbanová – Franek (2016, 616 ff).

³¹ See also Versnel (1991, 84) who, based on other texts from Britannia, suggests *exsolverit* (“he will pay off”) instead of the interpretation *exesuerit*, “he has spent” (see also Gager 1992, No. 97).

³² The text contains several mistakes (see Appendix II); I state it here in the emended form. For the addition *s(emis)*, which I tend to believe, see Egger (1964, 16). Kropp (2008) keeps *s(acra)*.

³³ Hassall – Tomlin (2003, 362) state that this is the first epigraphical evidence of the existence of Diana’s cult in London and, at the same time, the first prayer for justice addressed to Diana in Britain. The tablet date to the 2nd/3rd century CE; some tablets addressed to Diana and Mars also survived from the 4th/5th century CE from Trier

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(vi)v(ere) possit. (“I give to the goddess Deana [my] headgear and band less one third. If anyone has done this, whether boy or girl, whether free or slave, I give him [to the goddess] and through me [i.e. my curse] let him be unable to live.”) (see also 2.2.2.).

A very strange reward is promised in tablet No. **284** from Caistor St. Edmund, **dfx.3.7/1**:

A Nase... eve(h)it Vroc... sius fascia(m) et armi(lla)s, capitulare,³⁵ speculum,³⁶ cufia(m), duas ocrias, X vasa stagnea, si mascel, si femina, si puer, si puella. Duas oc(ri)as³⁷ si vull(u)eris (= volueris?), factae sang(u)ine suo, ut (i)llu(m) requirat Neptu(nu)s et amictus et cufia et armilla(e)... denarii XV capitulare. Tunc sanguin(e)... fasciam tenet fur e carta s(upra)s(cripta)... ratione. (“From Nase... Vroc... sius carried away a scarf³⁸ and bracelets, a cap, a mirror, a mutch, a pair of knee stockings/leggings?, ten tin vessels, whether a man or a woman, whether a boy or a girl. If you would like a pair of knee stockings/leggings?, [Neptune,] may they become [yours] through his/her blood, may Neptune find him and the cloak and the mutch and the bracelets... fifteen denarii, a cap. Then, the thief will have a band [repaid with his own?] blood, resulted from what is inscribed above.”).

(see Kropp, 2008), e.g. **dfx.4.1.3/8**: ...inimicum... Marti et Dianae, or No. **222** (9.2.).

³⁴ See the commentary of Tomlin (2003, 362 ff.): *capitulare et fascia*; both parts of the clothing are along with each other in other tablets from Britain, too. This suggests that they were worn together – *capitulare* was probably a cap or some covering of head, while *fascia* a scarf. Furthermore, notice also that the author gives an unusually great part of the things (two thirds) to Diana as a reward; see also No. **299** and No. **293** below. The authors mostly give up a third of the stolen property for the sake of the deity, see e.g. No. **296**: ...Deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem donat... (see 1.10.2. as well as No. **286** above). The severely damaged end of the text seems to be amended thoughtfully, although no formulation like that is documented elsewhere. Texts from Britannia usually include the formula *sanguine suo solvat, redimat* (see 1.2.3., 1.9.2., and 1.10.2.).

³⁵ See Hassall – Tomlin (1982, 408 ff.): the text reads *cap(t)olare (= capitulare)*.

³⁶ The text reads *spectr(um)? (= speculum)* (Hassall – Tomlin, 1982, 408 ff.); *cufia (= cofia)*, see also the Italian *cuffia* (“a mutch”).

³⁷ This term probably refers to leather stockings, leggings, or gaiters.

³⁸ The term could also refer to tights; Hassall – Tomlin (1982, 408 ff.) translate as “wreath”, i.e. a garland, ribbons.

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The text is disrupted and contains many mistakes as well as probably garbled formulae.³⁹ It seems that the author, probably a female as suggested by the mutch, offers a pair of knee stockings or leggings⁴⁰ as a reward to Neptune for tracing and securing the things stolen from her. The formula *factae sanguine suo* is attested nowhere else, but its interpretation fits in the context of prayers for justice; the following sequence is very damaged (a half of the line is missing). One would expect the usual *sanguine satisfacere* (No. 274, 6.2.1.3.), or *sanguine et vitae suae illud redimat* (No. 277, 1.2.2. and 2.2.1.) after the reference to blood; however, *fasciam tenet fur* occurs right after. The meaning conveyed, that the thief has the scarf, does not make much sense, unless it referred to a kind of binding spell by which the author originally meant something like *fascia teneant furem*. I suggest the emendation *Tunc sanguin(e) et vitae suae illud redemat/sanguine satisfaciatur, si fasciam tenet fur e carta s(upra)s(cripta)... ratione*. If we accept this, the concluding sequence can be translated as follows: (“[as soon as Neptune finds the thief], may s/he repay for it with his/her own blood, if the thief has [that] scarf, resulted from what is inscribed above.”). Moreover, a formulation similar to our *carta s(upra)s(cripta)... ratione* is used in tablet No. 246 from Bath: *carta picta persc(ripta)* (see 1.2.2.).

Furthermore, I regard No. 241 from Aylesford, dated to the first half of the 4th century CE, **dfx.3.1.1**, to be this type of prayer for justice, too.⁴¹ It reads:

B: Donatio⁴² diebus (= deis?). Quo(d) perit (= perdidit?) Butu resque, quae fu(rat/ratur/ratus?) nec ante sanitatem nec salutem (habeat/habeant?), nisi qua(m) in do(m)o die (= dei)... sanitatem in do(m)o dei?) (pertulerit?).

See the commentary of Hassall – Tomlin (1982, 428 ff.) who translate the preserved *donatio diebus* as “A gift to the gods?”, and the following sequence *quo perit* as “by which Butu has perished”. However, although no similar formula has been documented so far, I prefer the emendation *quo per(i)at = pereat*. They also emend the disrupted *fu..t* to *furat* (instead of the expected

³⁹ The translation is based on the interpretation and translation of Hassall – Tomlin (1982, 408 ff.).

⁴⁰ Perhaps also a sum of money correspondent to the value of the stolen property.

⁴¹ The damaged text on side A: *sssti S(unt?) s(upra)s(crip)ti* (see Kropp, 2008); this addition must be followed by the thief’s name or the formula *si vir si mulier...*; however, this was not preserved in the tablet perhaps due to a mechanical damage.

⁴² The tablets contain predominantly *dono*; the term *donatio*, just like *petitio* (see above), probably imitates the official language, i.e. it refers to “a proposal”, or “a submission” (of the request). For the original text, see Appendix II.

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furatur) and translate “and the property he steals”. The proper name Butu is supposed to be the name of the thief who should die because of the theft he committed on the author. Kropp (2008) plausibly adds *quo(d) per(did)it Butu*,⁴³ however, the beginning of the disrupted *fu..t* which must also have referred to the theft or the stolen property can also be regarded as a mistake instead of the intended *furatus*. If this is the case, then Butu is the author of the tablet who afflicts the unknown culprit with restrictions to compel him return the stolen things. This interpretation requires some emendations of the original text which may not be unjustified considering the fact that the text contain several deviations from Classical Latin (see Appendix II). Moreover, the latter kind of formulation is well documented in prayers for justice. Thus, I interpret the text as follows:

“Committal to the gods. [What] Butu has lost, and the things that have been stolen from him,⁴⁴ may [the unknown culprit(s)] not be healthy nor safe, until/unless [he brings them] to the temple of the god.”⁴⁵

If we followed Tomlin’s interpretation, which, however, does not have any documented parallel in preserved texts, the beginning of the text with emended *pereat* may have been as follows: (“Committal to the gods. [By which] Butu may die, the things he steals, may he not have health or vigour...”). As the text was probably inscribed by someone inexperienced in the practice, the sentences do not follow coherently after each other, which makes the proper understanding of the text difficult (see also 3.3.1.1.).

Tablets No. **250** (see 1.10.2.) and No. **261** (see 3.3.1.1.) fall within the same category.

The much damaged tablet No. **263** from Bath, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, **dfx.3.2/39**, also indicates that its author sought the return of his property:

... *(tib)i(?) q(u)er(or)...* *exigi*, *(si servu)s, si liber hoc tulerit, (non il)li permittas in sangu(i)ne... sui...* (“...I complain to you, [goddess Sulis]... to exact... [whether a slave] or a free man has taken it, do not let him, in blood...”)

⁴³ See a similar formulation in No. **246**: *(D)eaē Suli donavi (arge)ntiōlos sex, quos perd(idi)* (see also No. **277**, 1.2.2., and No. **291** above).

⁴⁴ This emendation implies the passive meaning of the perfect participle *furatus*, as it is attested e.g. in Apuleius.

⁴⁵ There is a doubling of the concluding sequence which is obviously a mistake.

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The author of tablet No. **265** asks the deity not to let the culprit sleep and be healthy, until he has his things back with him: ...*tamdiu quamdiu hoc (ill)ud/apud? se habuerit...* (see 6.2.1.2. and 3.3.1.1.).

The much disrupted text of tablet No. **272** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/56**, perhaps reveals that the culprit was supposed to bring the *pallium* he has stolen to the same place where he took it: ...*nisi eodem loco ipsum pallium (re)ducat* (see Appendix II).

The brief tablet No. **293** from Ratcliffe-on-Soar, **dfx.3.19/2**, dated to the 4th century CE, also promises a reward to the deity:

Annoto de duas ocreis, ascia(m), scalpru(m), manica(s),⁴⁶ si m(u)lier au(t) si b(aro)... duas partis deo... (“I give a report/I accuse?⁴⁷ [the unknown culprit] about the pair leggings/gaiters, [which I have lost and also] an axe, a knife, gloves [all things in the accusative], whether [they have been stolen by] a woman or a man... two thirds to the god...”).

Tablet No. **299** from Uley, **dfx.3.22/6**, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, which has not yet been mentioned, is another remarkable prayer for justice:

Nomen furis, qui frenum involaverit, si liber, si servus, si baro, si mulier, deo donatur, duas partes a fima (= a femina?) sua tertia ad sanitatem(?) (templum?). (“The thief who has stolen the bridle, whether free or a slave, whether a man or a woman, is commended to the god, two thirds of his woman?, one third to his health? [are promised to the god]”). (See 1.6.).

Tomlin (1993, 127) notes that the author probably confused the restrictive formula *ne ei permittas somnum et sanitatem* referring to health with the formula *ad templum pertulerit* which concerns the return of the stolen things to the temple and would make more sense here. See also the prayer for justice No. **305** which makes use of very strange restrictions (6.2.1.1.).

⁴⁶ The term *manica*, -ae, f. may refer either to “manacles”, or “a hook”, or “gloves”. It is hard to decide what exactly the author has lost here, he may have just as well meant *mantica*, i.e. “a sack”.

⁴⁷ The verb *annoto* does not appear anywhere else in curses or prayers for justice. It may mean either “I condemn”, or it may convey a similar meaning to *commonitorium* or *petition*, i.e. *peto*, *rogo* (“I submit a request, ask, beg”).

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12.2.3 Texts Pursuing Vengeance upon or Punishment of the Culprit

This is the most frequently preserved type of prayer for justice in Britain – 31 tablets. The authors of these let loose their justified anger by afflicting the culprit with vengeance or punishment. They do not mention the return of stolen property at all and, consequently, they do not promise any reward to the deity. On the other hand, these texts usually contain much crueller and more creative punishments (see 6.3.); 22 prayers for justice found in Britannia include formulae expressing the wish to kill the culprit, in another five texts such intention can be presumed due to the presence of the often incomplete formula *sanguine suo redimere/satisfacere* (see 6.2.1.3. and 6.3.).

The diction of some prayers for justice from Britannia, as well as from other provinces, especially Germania, closely resembles that of curses. Tablet No. **260** from Bath, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE reads:

A: Aenum meum qui levavit (e)xonica(tu)s (= exconfixus)? (e)st. Templo Sulis dono si mulier si baro si servus si liber si puer si puella et qui hoc fecerit, sanguinem suum in ipsum aenum fundat... (“[The person] who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed. I give [him] to the temple of Sulis, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, and let him who has done this spill his own blood into the vessel itself...”).⁴⁸

The author further commends the unknown thief to the deity who is supposed to find him/her: *...eum latronem, qui rem ipsam involvavit, deus inveniat.*

Tablet No. **275** expresses a similar wish which is structured as a prayer but its content strongly reminds us of curses:

...ut sanguine et luminibus et omnibus membris configatur vel et iam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at), qui anulum involavit vel qui medius fuerit (“...may he be accursed in [his] blood and eyes and every limb, or even have all [his] intestines quite eaten away, he who has stolen the ring or who was involved in this.”) (see 6.2.1.3.).

The culprit is also supposed to be killed by the addressed deity in tablet No. **266** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/46**, dated to the 3rd/4th century CE, which reads:

⁴⁸ For the whole text, see 1.10.2. and 3.1.2.1. with a commentary.

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...conqueror tibi Sulis, Arminia, (ut) Verecundinum Tarenti c(ons)umas,⁴⁹ qui argentiolos duos mihi levavit,⁵⁰ no(n il)l(i p)ermittas nec sedere nec iacere nec ambulare nec somn(um nec) sanitatem, (illu)m⁵¹ quantocius consumas et iter(u)m...(no)n perveniat. (“[I] Arminia, complain to you, Sulis, [so that] you kill Verecundinus, son of Tarentus, who has stolen two silver coins from me. You are not to permit him to sit or lie, or to walk, or to [have] sleep, or health, kill him as soon as possible so that it does not happen again?”)

The end of the text is disrupted and obscure – the verb *perveniat* also occurs in the concluding part of tablet No. **291** (see 12.2.2. above), but in a different meaning. The author perhaps wishes that the culprit does not appear again and steal something else.

Moreover, tablet No. **308** even uses the verb *concrucio*, which is in its simpler form of *crucio* frequently found in the curses against race-horses from Hadrumetum; see e.g. No. **162**: ...*ut equos prasini et albi crucies*...; or No. **169**: *ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietur*... (see 11.1.3.2.).

See tablet No. **308** from Britannia?, **dfx.3.24/1**, dated to the 2nd/3rd century CE, in which, too, the deity is supposed to torture the culprit to death:

(Don)atur deo Merc(urio, si) q(u)is involaverit... nec non alia minutalia⁵² Tocitami, si baro, si mulier, si puella, si puer, si ingenuus,⁵³ si servus. N(o)n an(t)e eum laxet, quam membra (ra?)pi manu (ad?) diem mortis *concruciat e(u)m, qu(i) securim (I)unioris involavit... nec non et qui res (p)ictor(i)a(s?)*

⁴⁹ The verb *consumo* is attested in curses meaning “to destroy, kill”; see No. **16** from Italia (Chapter 5): *Danae ancilla novicia Capitonis: hanc hostiam acceptam habeas et consumas Danae*... (“Danae, the new maid of Capito: accept her as an offering and consume Danae...”); or the curse No **132** from Carthage aimed against a gladiator: ... *consu(m)at(i)s cor, membra, viscera, interania (M)auruss(i) venatoris, quem peperit Felicitas*. (“...consume the heart, limbs, entrails, and bowels of Maurusus [the hunter], whom Felicitas bore.”) (see 11.1.3.1.). It appears in the same meaning also in prayers for justice, see No. **285** (6.2.1.1.) ... *qui hoc involavit, sangu(in)em eius consumas*.

⁵⁰ There is *revavit* in the text, which is probably a mistaken *levavit* (see Appendix I).

⁵¹ Tomlin (1988, No. 54) regards *illum* or *eum* the most probable emendations.

⁵² See the commentary of Tomlin (1991, 293 ff.), and also No. **303** *resculas* (1.10.2.).

⁵³ This is perhaps an otherwise unattested variation of the usual formula against an unknown thief *si liber si servus*.

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*involaverit.*⁵⁴ (“Whoever has stolen... is commended to the god Mercury... and also other knick-knacks of Tocitamus, whether a man or a woman, a girl or a boy, free-born or slave. [May the god let] him not rest, until? his limbs and hands? [Mercury?] may he torture him up [until] the day of [his] death the one who has stolen the axe of Iunior... and [may he] also [torture?] the one who has stolen the fittings for painting/writing?”).

The text is disrupted and it seems that the formulae do not concur in the usual way. See Tomlin (1991, 293 ff.) who supposes that the author copied the text from a sample form without any deeper understanding of it. Formula using the verb *laxo* is also documented in tablet No. **296** (see 1.10.2.):

...qui hoc circumvenit, non ante laxetur, nisi quando res (supra)dictas ad fanum s(upra)d(ic)tum attulerit... (“...he who has stolen it should not have rest, before/unless/until s/he brings the aforesaid property to the aforesaid temple...”).

Thus, in tablet No. **308** we would expect something like “until he brings the things back” after *N(o)n an(t)e eum laxet*; however, the author of our text followed up with another punishment for the thief. The following sequence is unclear, too – it seems that the author wanted to proceed with the list of body parts supposed to be tortured by the god, but the missing part between *membra* and *manu* amended by Tomlin as *(ra?)pi* does not make sense. One would rather expect a brief list of body parts, although hands fall within the more general term “limbs”. A similar repeating of the body parts regarded important by the author are also found in curses (see e.g. No. **12**, 7.3.1.2.); nevertheless, our prayer for justice lacks a verb. Apart from an axe, the author has been probably deprived of the fittings for painting or writing. The verb *concrucio* indicates that the tablet is a most western adaptation of the Mediterranean, in this case perhaps the African, cursing tradition, similarly to love spells (see 6.2.1.2.).

Tablet No. **309** from Britannia?, **dfx.3.24/2**, is another prayer for justice, unfortunately disrupted, using the formulations of killing which are found nowhere else. It reads:

⁵⁴ Text contains several deviations from Classical Latin; I state it here in emended form (see Appendix II).

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...amisi, oro tuam m(aie)statem, ut furem istum, si ancilla, si puer, si (puella), ext(i)nguas... ut illi s(ic fa)cias perduci⁵⁵ (r)em ra(ptam?)... um et. ([The name of the author or a reference to stolen property did not preserve] "...I have lost, I ask your majesty to extinguish that thief, whether a female slave,⁵⁶ or a boy, or a girl,... to arrange that s/he...")

The verb *exstinguo* ("to extinguish, quench, annihilate") does not appear in any other curse or prayer for justice. Considering the fact that the end of the text is much damaged, it cannot be determined whether its author sought only vengeance, or perhaps also a return of the stolen things; therefore, I classify the tablet as a text pursuing vengeance.

Speaking about vengeance, one cannot omit tablet No. **306** from Uley, **dfx.3.22/36**, dated to the 3rd century CE. Its author explicitly refers to the fact that he wants revenge:

C(h)arta, quae Mercurio donatur, ut manecilis,⁵⁷ qui perierunt, ultionem requirat; qui illa involavit, ut illi sanguinem et sanitatem tollat; qui ipsos manicili(o)s tulit, (u)t quantocius illi pareat,⁵⁸ quod deum Mercurium r(o)gamus... ("The sheet [of lead] which is given to Mercury to exact vengeance for the gloves which have been lost, may he take his blood and health, of the one who has stolen those gloves, may he fulfil as soon as possible what we ask the god Mercury for...")

A similar formulation using the verb *pario* is also attested in tablet No. **303**:
...ut petitio mea statim pariat me vindicatum esse a maiestate tua. ("...to immediately hear my petition so that I am revenged by your majesty.") (see 1.10.2.).

⁵⁵ Hassall – Tomlin (1988, 489 ff.); *perduci* is uncertain and does not fit in the context very much, we would rather expect *reduco* ("to bring back") followed by a reference to the stolen things. However, the text is too damaged to be interpreted reliably.

⁵⁶ Hassall – Tomlin (1988, 490 ff.) suggest the interpretation *ancilla* ("a female slave") based on tablet No. **280** (below) which reads *si servus, si ancilla, si li(bertus, si) liberta, si mulier, si baro*.

⁵⁷ The term *manicilium* probably means "the gloves", it is also attested in tablet No. **244** from Bath (see 6.1.). The author of this tablet writes *maneciliis* instead of *maniciliis* (see also Appendix II).

⁵⁸ Tomlin (1996, 441); *pareat* = Classical Latin *pariat*.

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Some texts suggest that the culprit is supposed to suffer his punishment, probably die, in the shrine; see the disrupted tablet No. **249** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/23**:

Si (qui)s vomerem Civilis involavit, ut an(imam) suam in templo deponat... (si? n)o(n) vom(erem)... (si ser)vus, si liber, si libertinus⁵⁹ ... finem faci(a)m. (“If anyone has stolen Civilis’ ploughshare [I ask] that he [the thief] lay down his soul [i.e. life] in the temple... unless?⁶⁰... the ploughshare, whether a slave or free, or a freedman... I am done [with this/him].”) (see also 1.2. and 2.3.5.)

The formula *animam deponere* also appears in a curse against a gladiator, No. **132**, from Carthage: *...animam et spiritum deponat in omni proelio...* (see 11.1.3.1.). However, the verb *depono* is also used in a different context, as in tablet No. **183** from Constantine in Africa (see Chapter 5): *...(de)mando, ut facias illum mortu(um). Depona(s) eum ad Tartara...* (“...I order you to arrange for his death. Put him in Tartarean regions...”). Nevertheless, all the occurrences of the verb *depono* in curses as well as prayers for justice are obviously related to death. As for the concluding sequence *finem faciam*, it is not clear what it relates to – i.e. whether the author used it to make end to the injustice he suffered, or to do away with the culprit, or perhaps it may have been the formula used to conclude the curse, see No. **198** ending with *claudio* (12.1.1.).

The author of tablet No. **280** from Brandon, **dfx.3.3/1**, probably wishes that the thief who has stolen an iron pan is immolated for the deity:

SERADVASORISDVAS⁶¹ si servus, si anc(il)la, si li(bertus, si) liberta, si m(u)lie(r), si baro, popia(m) fer(re)am⁶² eaenec furtum fecer(it), domino

⁵⁹ Tomlin (1988, No. 31) states that *libertinus* does not occur in any other curse tablet; the text following after is disrupted so we do not know what it was contrasted with; see also No. **308** using the pair *si ingenuus si servus*. I translate as “freedman”; see also the following tablet No. **280** with the terms *libertus, liberta*.

⁶⁰ Something like “unless he brings back the ploughshare” can be expected here, but the text is damaged. The interpretation that the culprit is supposed to confess or do penance in the temple does not seem very plausible to me.

⁶¹ The incomprehensible sequence is perhaps an anagram *adversarius(?)* (see Hassall – Tomlin, 1994, 295). According to the editors, the term *cor(u)lo* may have been an allusion to ritual execution or punishment.

⁶² See Hassall – Tomlin (1994, 294 ff.) who comment on the obscure term *popia ferrea*, which probably refers not to a dipper, but a pan; see also No. **273**: *pannam ferri* (see below). The incomprehensible *eaenec* follows.

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Neptuno cor(u)lo pare(n)ta(tu)r. (“[Whoever], whether a male or female slave, whether a freedman or a freedwoman, whether a woman or a man, has committed the theft of the iron pan and?... may s/he be immolated to the god Neptune with a hazel-tree?”).

Hassall – Tomlin (1994, 295) state that this is the first reference from Britain to the fact that the culprit should be immolated to the god; other texts from Britain usually instead make use of verbs like *dono* or *deveo*, i.e. the authors rather commend or devote the culprit or the stolen things to the deity (see No. 247 and No. 294).

The culprit of another iron pot’s theft is supposed to pay with his own life, too; No. 273 from Bath, *dfx.3.2/57*, dated to the 2nd–3rd century CE reads:

Exsuperius donat pannam ferri,⁶³ qui illi innoc(entiam?)... Sulis, si vir, (si femina), si servus si liber. Ho(c)... suas invola(veru)n(t), si vir, si femina, s(at)isfecerit sanguine illorum. Hoc devindices, (si) quis aenum mihi involavit. (“Exsuperius gives the iron pan, who... innocence? to him... Sulis, whether a man [or a woman], a slave or free. This?... stole my..., whether a man or a woman, may s/he pay for it with his/her own blood. Avenge this, if someone stole the pot.”).

The formula *sanguine suo* is attested only in the texts from Britannia and almost exclusively in prayers for justice; only a single curse (No. 208, see 12.1.1.) makes use of it.

Furthermore, tablet No. 281 from Brean Down, *dfx.3.4/1*, dated to the 4th century CE expresses a similar wish – the culprit should repay for the theft of a cart with his own blood:

...caricula, quae⁶⁴...(si s)er(v)u(s si) liber, si ba(ro) s(i muli)er, qui... (d)omina... facias sic (i)lla (re)dim(a)t sanguin(e s)uo... si bar(o), si

⁶³ The term *pannum ferri* (= *pannam?*) is obscure, it cannot refer to a fabric because of the specifying *ferri*; however, the term is further explained by *quis aenum mihi involavit*. Thus, it must have referred to a metal pot, perhaps a pan or a baking tin. Tomlin (1988, 201) supposes that it is a local variant of the term *panna*, i.e. a type of vessel.

⁶⁴ Kropp (2008) adds *dono tibi caricula, quae amisi*, which seems to be a logical solution well fitting in the usual diction of prayers for justice; nevertheless, the disrupted text does not completely correspond to this interpretation (see Hassall – Tomlin, 1986, 434).

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mulier... (“[I commend to you?] the cart/load which [was stolen from me/I have lost?], whether a slave or free, man or woman, who [committed this]... Mistress... make him/her redeem it with his/her own blood... whether a man or a woman...”).

The text is very disrupted but able to be interpreted. Its author obviously commends the stolen property – probably a cart or some load⁶⁵ – to the deity. The prayer for justice is concluded with the common formula against an unknown culprit.

The grievance of the robbed author is apparent in tablet No. **278** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/79**, dated to the 3rd – 4th cent. as well. The tablet contains an unusual, but plausible, term *donum* when speaking of the thief’s spoil:

Minervae deae Sulis donavi furem, qui caracallam meam involavit, si servus, si liber, si baro, si mulier. Hoc donum non redimat, nisi sangu(i)n(e) suo.... (“To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether a slave or free, whether a man or a woman. May s/he not redeem this ‘gift’ unless with his/her own blood.”).

Just like in curses, the authors of prayers for justice ask the deity to carry out the requested vengeance in a certain span of time. See No. **282** from Broomhill, **dfx.3.5/1**:

Si servus, si liber, (qu)i furavit, su(st)ulit, (ne ei) dimitte (male)ficium, dum tu vindicas ante dies novem, si pa(g)a(n)us, si miles, (qui) sustulit. (“[The one] who has stolen, taken [it?], whether a slave or a free man, do not forgive him his crime, until you punish [him] in less than nine days, whether [it was] a pagan or a soldier who has taken [it].”) (see also 3.3.1.1 and 1.6.).

An almost identical formula is found in tablet No. **287** from London Bridge, **dfx.3.14/3**, which reads:

Te rogo Neptunus,⁶⁶ ut me vindicas de isto nomine,⁶⁷ me vindicas (= vindicas) ante q(u)od ven(iant) die(s) novem, rogo te, Neptunus, ut tu mi

⁶⁵ The term *caricula* is not clear in this context, as it probably does not refer to “a small dried fig”. Therefore, it may rather be a diminutive form of *carrus* (for a detailed discussion of this, see Hassall – Tomlin, 1986, 435).

⁶⁶ The tablet reads *tibi rogo Metunus*, i.e. *Neptunus* in the nominative instead of the proper vocative; see also *Mercurius* (Vulgar Latin; see Appendix II). The text contains several deviations from Classical Latin, and I state the amended form here.

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vend(i)cas ante quod ven(iant) di(es) n(o)vem. B: (E)xsuperanti(us), Silviel(a)e, Sattavill(a)e, (E)xsuperatus Silvicol(a)e, Avitus, Meluss: datus, pervici tibi: Santinus, Mag...etus, ... Antoni(us), San(c)tus, Vas(s)ianus, Varasius datus. ("I ask you, Neptunus,⁶⁸ to avenge me upon that culprit, to avenge me sooner than nine days [pass]. I ask you, Neptune, to avenge me before nine days come [the nominal list of potential culprits concluded by datus pervici tibi...datus]").

The concluding *datus* was probably meant as *datus est*, i.e. the author commended the culprit to the hands of the deity; the sequence *pervici tibi* is obscure.⁶⁹ Perhaps it may be understood as ...*Melusso datus est tibi*, i.e. he is commended to you, the god, to be overcome/punished. Further, tablet No. **290** (see 3.3.1.1.) also makes use of a magical number nine when specifying the duration of the punishment in years: ...*nec eant per annos novem*.

Several prayers for justice also express the conviction of their authors that the deity will really find the culprit, either due to a return of the stolen things or vengeance. Tablet No. **277** (1.2.2.), or No. **297** from Uley, **dfx.3.22/4**, dated to the 2nd–4th century CE, reads:

Deo M(a)rti Mercurio... anulus aureus de ho(s)pitolo? involav?)erit⁷⁰ et pedica ferre(a)... qui fraudem fecit... deus inveni(a)t. ("To the god Mercury... a golden ring, [whoever has stolen it from the house?] and an iron shackle... who committed the theft... may the god find [him/her]").⁷¹

Despite the damage done to the text, a reference to the theft containing *involaverit/furaverit* can be added according to the usual formulae. The tablet

⁶⁷ The text reads *de iste numene* instead of *de isto nomine*; the term *numen* would not make sense here (see also No. **63**, 9.1.1., and No. **291** above, 12.2.2.). The term *nomen* refers to the unknown culprit.

⁶⁸ This is probably a mistake of the author caused by the Vulgar Latin pronunciation of the *pt* consonant group (see also Italian *Nettuno*). Moreover, no god named *Metunus* is documented, only the Priapic *Mutunus* exists (see Hassall – Tomlin, 1987, 360) but the editors do not take him into account.

⁶⁹ See the commentary of Hassall – Tomlin (1987, 363); the text reads *peruci tibi* which is amended by the editors to *pervici tibi*, i.e. the Classical Latin *pervici te*, and translated as "I have prevailed upon you".

⁷⁰ Tomlin (1991, 308) adds *involaverit*; Kropp (2008) *furaverit*. Both additions are logical and fit well in the usual diction of prayers for justice.

⁷¹ Tomlin (1991, 308) states that this is the only text which is addressed to Mars and Mercury together; the tablets from Uley are usually addressed to Mercury only.

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certainly mentions theft of a golden ring, but the term *pedica ferrea*, i.e. “an iron manacle” or “a legcuff”, is problematic. Tomlin (1991, 308) assumes that the term does not, in fact, allude to a stolen item but is a part of a (nowhere else attested) formula expressing the wish that the culprit is bound with shackles. However, because of the various common stolen things commonly referred to in prayers for justice from Britain (see 6.1.), it seems possible that someone stole iron shackles. The concluding, yet disrupted, formula *deus inveniat* obviously concerns the thief; see also No. **277**: *deus illum inveniat* (1.2.2.), or No. **260**: *Eum latronem, qui rem ipsam involavit, deus inveniat* (see 1.2. and 1.10.2.). In contrast with these, tablet No. **220** from Hispania pursues the finding of the stolen property, not the thief: *ut meas reas invenia(m)* (see 8.2.).

The perpetrator of defraud mentioned in tablet No. **307** from Wanborough, **dfx.3.23/1**, dated to the 2nd century CE, should be punished, too:

...Depre(co)r te, peto...peto iudicio tuo qu(i) d(e me? p)eculans... tum, ne illi permittas bibere nec (esse nec vigilare nec do)rmire nec ambulare neque ullam (partem vivere sinas? illi)us gentisve, unde ille nascit(ur)... ulla nec alumen⁷²... pr(ae?)ve(h)emente(r?) loquantur et r...ugabatur(?) certum sciu(n)t... s... (“I beg you [and] ask... ask for your judgement? the one who defrauded me of? ...do not let him drink, nor [eat, wake, nor] sleep, nor walk, nor any [member?] of the family he comes from live...[the remaining text cannot be interpreted]”).

Unfortunately, the tablet is much damaged,⁷³ but its beginning corresponds to prayers for justice. As for the sequence *peto iudicio tuo*, one may surmise that the deity, whose name may have been stated in the text but was not preserved, is supposed to condemn the (perhaps unknown) culprit; see Rea (1971, 366). However, such a formula is not documented anywhere else so this passage remains incomprehensible. The term *iudico* is probably a mistake for *indico*, which appears, for instance, in tablet No. **115** from Carthage (see 11.1.2.); nevertheless, the interpretation of the sequence as *indico tuo qui...* does not help us much in understanding of the text. Only the restrictive formula *ne ei permittas* is plausibly clear.

⁷² See the commentary of Rea (1972, 365) who interprets *alumen* as *alimentum* pointing out the similarity with love spells, see No. **144**: *...ut amoris mei causa non dormiat non cibum non escam accipere possit* (see 5.1.4. and 11.1.4.). Perhaps the author of this tablet No. **307** wanted the culprit to starve.

⁷³ I base my argumentation on the reading of Rea (1972, 365 ff.). The editor himself notes that several passages are disrupted and cannot be interpreted as a consequence. See also TheDeMa 715.

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Tablet No. **243** from Bath, **dfx.3.2/2**, was very likely inscribed by a Christian.⁷⁴ It is dated to the 4th century CE and contains several peculiar expressions and even a proverb:

A: Si puer si puella, si vir si femina, qui hoc involavit non ei remittatur,⁷⁵ nis(i) innocentiam... non illi dimittatur nec somnum, nisi ut Euticia modium nebulae modium veniat⁷⁶ fumi. (“Whether a boy or a girl, whether a man or a woman, may the one who has stolen it not be forgiven... unless... innocence (in the accusative)⁷⁷... may s/he be unforgiven, [may s/he be unable to] sleep, only if Euticia sells a *modius* of mist and a *modius* of smoke.”).

The text does not start with a typical polite address to the deity; the author’s name is not stated. Instead of the *ne ei permittas* commonly used in Britannia, the tablet reads *non ei remittitur* and *non illi dimittatur* – see the commentary of Tomlin (1994, 106 ff.) who thinks that these expressions imply the author’s familiarity with Christian texts where the verbs meaning “to forgive” frequently occur. If he is right, the text is a Christian modification of the usual cursing formula. The end of the tablet reads *nisi ut Euticia* (= Class. *Eutychia*)..., a formula which is not found anywhere else. The name *Euticia* does not refer to any known deity or mythological figure, perhaps it alludes to some unknown proverb which has not been preserved, or, eventually, it may have been the culprit’s name who would then be sentenced to an unrealizable task, see also Lat. *fumum vendere*. Proverbial expressions also appear in the texts from Germania in connection with the business and property of the accursed person; see the curse No. **87** (10.1.1.): *...quit aget, aginat sal et aqua illi fiat*, and the prayer for justice No. **233** (10.2.2.): *sal et aqua illi eveniat*.

⁷⁴ See also tablet No. **276** (2.3.3.) with a modified formula against the thief: *seu gen(tili)s seu christianus*. For the adaptations of the cursing tradition by Christian authors, see Björck (1938, 46 ff.), Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012).

⁷⁵ The reading according to Tomlin (1994, 106); *remittere* and *dimittere* often appear in Christian texts (and also in tablet No. **276** from Bath, 2.3.3.); however, the commonly used formula is *non ei permittas*.

⁷⁶ *Veniat* perhaps stands for *vendat*.

⁷⁷ The text is, unfortunately, damaged. Tomlin (1994, 106) presumes that the author may have wished that “he [i.e. the thief] is not forgiven, if he does not prove his innocence”. However, the culprit is unknown in this text. The term *innocentia* occurs in other three texts; however, these are mostly disrupted and therefore cannot shed any light on the meaning of our text (see No. **273** above, No. **235**, 10.2.2., and No. **209**, 7.5.).

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12.3 ADDRESSED DEITIES

The curses found in Britannia are only rarely addressed to a deity, and only No. **191** and No. **298** appeal to Mercury. Other tablets do not explicitly invoke any deity; however, when considering the evidence found in the sacred precinct of Mercury in Uley, it can be presumed that the authors addressed the tablets to him (see No. **203–207**). The same applies for the findings in the sacred spring of the goddess Minerva Sulis, No. **184–194**. Thus, it can be assumed that 18 tablets appealed to Mercury or Sulis; as for the texts found elsewhere, the addressed deities cannot be determined.

Prayers for justice found in Britannia are different in this respect due to their distinct formulaic structure – they often begin with a polite address to the deity. Fittingly to the numerous findings of tablets in Bath and Uley, their authors most frequently address the goddess Sulis (15 times) or Mercury (12 times). Ca. 23 tablets from Bath and Uley obviously, although not explicitly, appealed to Sulis or Mercury; in five tablets, no address to the deity is preserved. Furthermore, prayers for justice also invoke deities not often appearing in curses like Neptune (four) and Mars (five), or rarely also Jupiter (No. **292**), Diana (No. **288**), and Domina Nemesis (No. **283**).

Generally, it can be said that prayers for justice from Britannia are more frequently addressed to local deities not typically associated with dark forces; they almost never invoke the powers usually appealed to in curses like daemons or *Di inferi*, *Di Manes*, Pluto, and Proserpina. Both curses and prayers for justice are usually addressed to Mercury or to the goddess Sulis, similar to the tablets from Mainz whose authors usually appeal to *Mater Magna* and Attis. Moreover, many tablets from Bath and Uley not explicitly stating any deity obviously also invoked the goddess Sulis and Mercury, which is also comparable to the tablets found in the votive depository adjacent to the temple of *Mater Magna* in Mainz.

12.4 *VOCES MAGICAE, SIGNA MAGICA*, A NON-STANDARD ORIENTATION OF SCRIPT

Just like those from all the European provinces apart from Italy and Gallia, the texts from Britannia do not contain any Latin or Greek magical words, names of daemons, or magical signs. Only graphic magical features occur, i.e. a non-standard orientation of script (mostly right-to-left or mirror-like writing). The curses found in Britannia, which are much less numerous than the prayers for justice from this area, make use only of the right-to-left orientation of script, but

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with individual letters inscribed in the normal way, or the mirror-like script with the right-to-left direction of script as well as individual letters. Such graphic layouts appear in five curses from Britannia, i.e. almost a quarter of the preserved texts.

The prayers for justice are more diverse in this respect again – about one sixth of the texts are written in a non-standard way (right-to-left), especially the tablets from Bath (No. **242**, No. **260**, No. **269**, No. **270**, and No. **277**). Tablet No. **276** was inscribed right-to-left as well as upside-down; the texts from Uley do not make use of these techniques. As for the other locations in Britannia, only tablet No. **241** is written as a boustrophedon; No. **287** is inscribed anti-clockwise and mirror-like around its perimeter; and No. **282** is written mirror-like.

This leads us to the conclusion that curses make use of a non-standard orientation of script generally more frequently than prayers for justice, although some texts from Germania and Britannia do apply a magically oriented script to a greater extent even in prayers for justice.

12.5 FORMULAE AND PEOPLE ACCURSED

12.5.1 Formulae

Only few formulae are documented in the curses found in Britannia: 32 in 25 tablets. Formula **0**, i.e. the nominal list of people accursed, prevails markedly (20 tablets); furthermore, Formula **1**, i.e. direct curse with the predicates of cursing in active or passive voice, is represented six times (see 2.2.1.). Formula **1a**, direct curse with the predicates of committal, occurs only once; whereas Formula **4**, i.e. invoking wish-formula, is found in two curse tablets.

Although the number of formulae used in the prayers for justice from Britannia is not much higher than that of curses (100 formulae in 69 tablets), unlike curses, these are mostly quite complicated. The most frequent formula is Formula **2a**, i.e. invoking formula with the predicates of committal with a purpose clause introduced by *ut* and the predicate in the 2nd person sg. subjunctive (28); Formula **4** (20) as well as Formula **2** with the predicates of committal with a clause with final value introduced by *ut* and the 3rd person subjunctive (15) are well documented, too; Formula **1a** is attested seven times. The imperative Formulae **3** and **3a** are used only scarcely (each in three tablets) and, finally, the *Simile*-Formula **5** is found in a single tablet. In other words, the formulae with the predicates of committal are used most frequently, because

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they correspond to the usual structure of prayers for justice whose authors commend the thief or the stolen things to a deity. Another frequent formula is the indirect Formula 4 (see 2.3.5.).

12.5.2 Victims of curses

Considering the quite insufficient evidence of preserved curses from Britannia, the average number of people accursed seems rather high when compared to Italy or the African provinces. Altogether 25 tablets are aimed against ca. 108 people, and men (79) dominate over women (29) significantly in this respect. Thus, approximately four people are accursed in each tablet. The victims are slaves, freedmen, and free citizens; even the local names of Celtic origin appear. The names of the victims are usually inscribed in the nominative, or, only rarely, in the accusative. Two tablets include the author's name, too – No. 208 (see 12.1.1.) and No. 204 which is, however, problematic to interpret (see 10.1.1.). There is usually no filiation via father's or mother's name; rather the more general attributes occur, such as *uxor* or *servus*. Two tablets include filiation via father's name (No. 203 and No. 188) as well as one filiation via mother's name (though not expressed by the common *quam peperit* formula).

12.5.3 Authors and victims of prayers for justice

The prayers for justice from Britannia were mostly motivated by thefts, and only ten times are due to a different reason like deceit, defraud, and an unstated or undeterminable cause. This area provides the only sufficiently preserved regional body of evidence of all Latin prayers for justice; thus, it may really be a representative corpus of this cursing tradition pointing, at the same time, to the specific features of the texts from ancient Britannia. It seems that prayers for justice in Britannia were more often written by men (22) than women (seven); however, these data are incomplete because of the often anonymous authorship of prayers for justice, as well as of curses. The author's name is included in less than half of the texts (ca. 30 times). As for the victims, these are, again, more often men (36) than women (22); nevertheless, the ratio is, in this case, not so unbalanced as in curses. The texts mostly concern thefts committed by an unknown culprit – 52 texts, out of which 37 use the general formula *si puer si puella...* Due to the prevalence of unknown culprits (52 tablets), the names of people accursed are included only scarcely.

The basic structure of a prayer for justice can be divided into six elements (see Chapter 6 and 1.2.3.), whereas I consider a reference to *damage or loss suffered* to be the only decisive criterion for the classification of a text as prayer for

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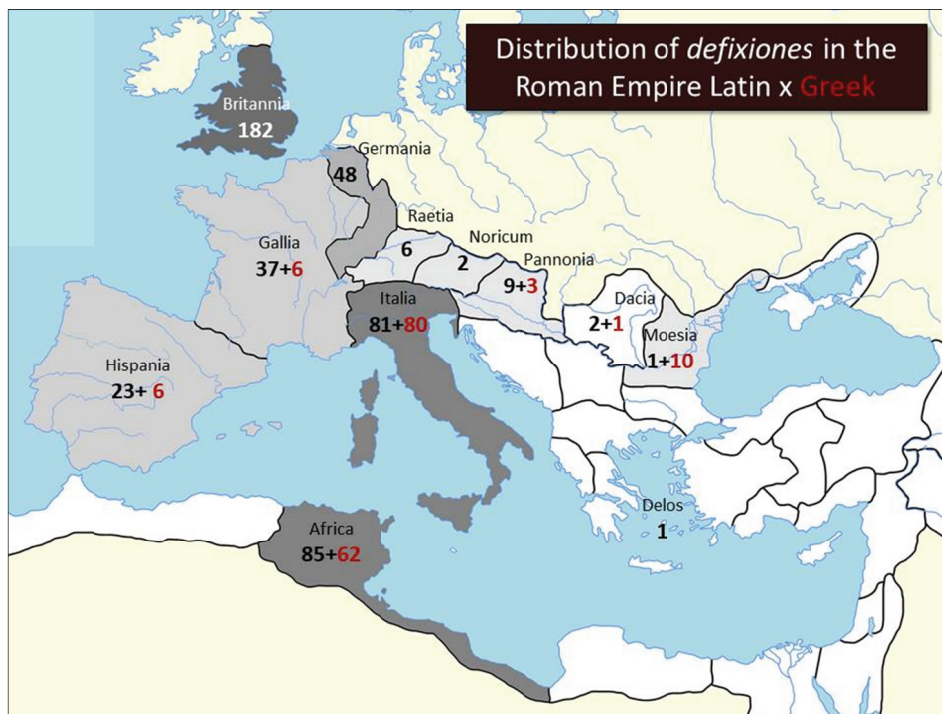
justice is. Other optional elements appearing in prayers for justice are: *polite address to a deity*, *author's name*, *committal of the thief or the stolen property to a deity*, *culprit's name* (if it is known). Finally, prayers for justice can also make use of *the list of damages afflicting the culprit*, or *the restrictions leading to the return of the stolen property*. A polite address to deity was found in 37 tablets from Britannia, which makes up about half of the preserved texts in this area. The thief or the stolen property are committed to a deity using predicates like *do* and *dono* in 30 tablets; the author's name also appears 30 times, as already stated above; a reference to the culprit, whether known or unknown, is found in almost all tablets (67); two texts are damaged to such an extent that it is impossible to say whether they contained such a reference or not (No. **251** and No. **302**). An explicit statement about the aim of the prayer for justice – return of the stolen property, revenge and return of the stolen property, revenge only – occurs in 57 tablets (see also 12.2.).

Only ten texts (ca. 1/7) out of the total number of prayers for justice analysed in this work from Britain (69) contain other information than the damage suffered, including: *author's name*, *address to a deity*, *a reference to the culprit*, and/or a reference to *punishment/restrictions/return of the stolen property*. 18 tablets contain four of the above mentioned elements; 21 tablets include three of the usual elements of prayers for justice. Finally, 16 texts contain only two usual elements of prayers for justice. Four texts are damaged to such an extent that only a single element can be identified with certainty. Thus, the most frequent elements of the prayers for justice from the province of Britannia are: a essential reference to damage suffered, to the culprit (67 times), and to the aim of the prayer (57 times). Speaking of the aims expressed in these tablets, it must be emphasized that in almost half of the texts the author pursues punishment of or revenge upon the culprit (31 tablets), while 23 texts aim both at punishment of the culprit and return of the stolen property, and only three texts refer to mere return of the stolen things; in 12 disrupted texts the aim cannot be determined with certainty. Other features of prayers for justice like *address to a deity*, *author's name*, and *committal of the matter to a deity* appear ca. in half of the texts. Therefore, a reference to the culprit, whether known, unknown, or suspected, as well as revenge upon or punishment for him, appears to be the crucial information provided by prayers for justice (right after stating the damage suffered). By all means, it was, no doubt, essential also for those who inscribed the curse tablets or had them made by professionals in order to harm their opponent/s.

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This chapter draws on and briefly summarizes the partial conclusions of the previous Chapters 2–6. It sums up the conclusions of Chapters 7–12, i.e. the specific features of the evidence found in the particular provinces to point out the similarities and differences of the analyzed curses and prayers for justice.

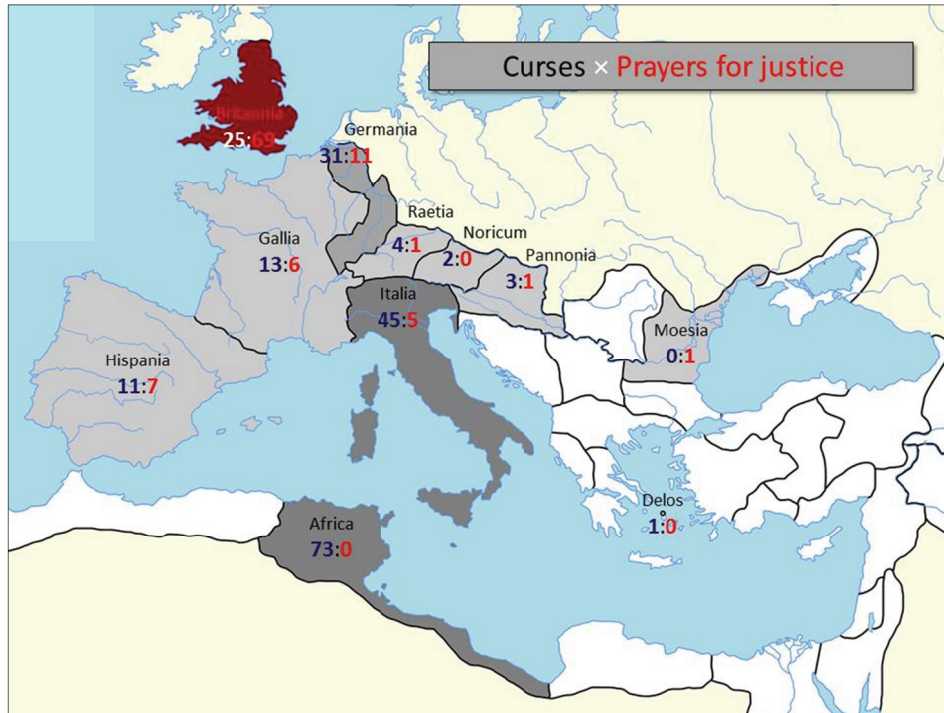
The dating and distribution of the curses and prayers for justice preserved in the Roman Empire are not even. Curses have been found predominantly in the European provinces and Africa and although a somewhat higher number of prayers for justice preserved in Hispania and Germania, no Latin prayers for justice are attested from Africa; on the other hand, ancient Britannia provides us with the largest number of prayers for justice. An overview of the number of all extant Greek and Latin defixiones preserved from antiquity, according to the present state in TheDeMa can be seen in the Map 1. The greek curses are marked in red.



Map 1. Distribution of defixiones in the Roman Empire (TheDeMa).

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The overview of the analyzed Latin texts from each province and the distribution of curses and prayers for justice can be seen in Map 2.



Map 2. Distribution of curses and prayers for justice.

The analysis of these texts often raises more questions than answers. One has to keep in mind that the fragmentary evidence we possess makes our knowledge of the ancient cursing tradition fragmentary, too. This becomes obvious when we compare the numerous findings coming from the modern archaeological excavations in Britain with the overall number of texts found in Italy: while many tablets come from marginal areas of the Roman Empire like Britain, where over 160 texts were found in only two sanctuaries, or Mainz, where 34 tablets were found; whereas only 57 texts are preserved in the whole area of Italy, out of which only 50 can be analyzed.¹ However, we know that magic was

¹ The most recent findings (26 tablets, many of these being fragmentary or only brief texts) from the spring dedicated to the goddess Anna Perenna in Rome do not influence the statistics significantly. See 7.1., and also Blänsdorf (2010a, 2012a); Piranomonte (2010); Blänsdorf, J. – Piranomonte (2012).

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practiced in Italy for a long time, much longer than in the above mentioned marginal areas – sanctions against curses appear already in the Laws of the Twelve Tables (see 1.1.). Thus, we have to admit that the preserved tablets do not provide us with a comprehensive image of the contemporary magical tradition; rather they provide us with a mere glimpse of the contemporary reality which included the evidence forever lost now or not found yet. This, no doubt, also applies to the texts produced by specialized magical workshops, especially the series of curses against riders and race-horses. Despite the fact that a relatively high number of these (ca. 73 analyzable texts) have been preserved in Africa, it must have been only a fragment of the overall production at the time.

The lacunose evidence is problematic in other respects, too, and there are questions which cannot be answered with certainty today. The earliest Greek curses were found in the Greek colony of Selinous in Sicily and date to the 6th/5th century BCE; in Attica the first cursing texts are preserved from the 5th century CE (see 7.2.). However, the oldest extant Latin curse, coming from Pompeii, was dated as late as the 2nd century BCE (see No. 33).² The preserved evidence implies that, despite Selinous' position in the imminent proximity of Italy and the 45 Greek curses found in this location,³ it would have necessarily lasted two or three centuries until Latin curse tablets started to be produced in Italy. But this seems very unlikely if we take into account the preserved Oscan curses, five of which are dated to the 4th or 3rd century BCE⁴ and which contain formulae almost identical to Latin curse texts. Moreover, the corpus of Etruscan inscriptions documents lead tablets dated to the 4th–2nd century BCE probably containing curses. In spite of the fact that the cursing formulae used in Etruscan texts cannot be interpreted as easily as those in Oscan tablets, the ritual treatment of the tablets (they were put in graves, rolled into scrolls, and wrapped with a wire) speaks unambiguously for curses (see 7.2.). Therefore, I assume that the first Latin curse tablets were probably inscribed as early as the first Oscan and Etruscan curses, i.e. in the 4th/3rd century BCE.

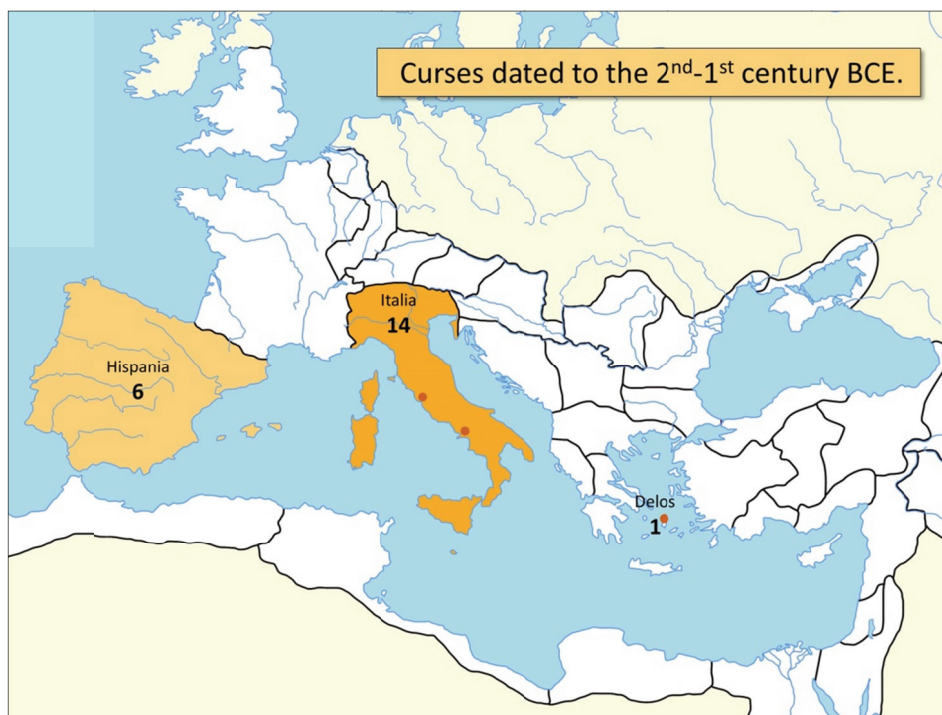
² Tablet No. 110 from Delos was also dated to the 2nd century BCE, while tablet No. 6 from Etruria comes from the 2nd–1st century BCE (see below; 1.10.1. and 7.3.).

³ See Bettarini (2005); Rocca (2012, 397 ff.); 7.3.

⁴ See 7.2.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXTANT LATIN *DEFIXIONES***Curses**

The distribution of preserved Latin curse texts in time and space is graphically illustrated by Map 3. Only two texts certainly come from the 2nd century BCE – the unfortunately very disrupted text No. **33**, **dfx.1.5.4/1** from Pompeii that contains a list of cursed body parts and a *simile*-formula (see 1.10.1.); and a simple Latin curse No. **110**, **dfx.10.1/1** from Delos including the names of accursed people (see Appendix I). Tablet No. **6**, **dfx.1.1.3/1**, from Cerveteri in Etruria dates to the 2nd/1st century BCE and is also comprised of a simple nominal list of accursed people. Only a few pieces of evidence from the 1st century BCE preserved in Italy and Hispania (see Map 3).

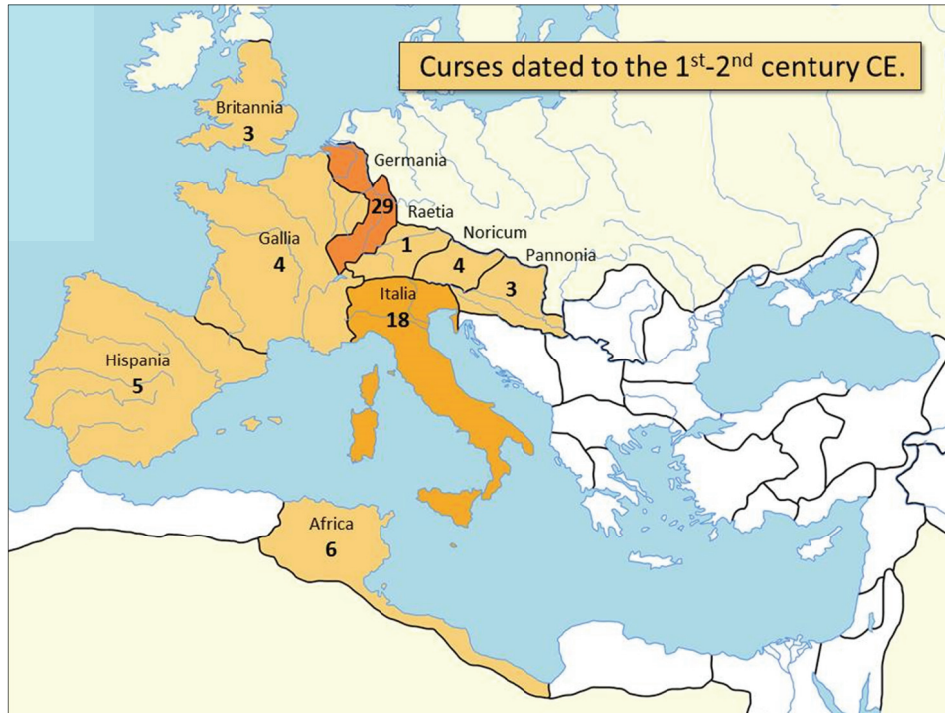


Map 3. Curses dated to the 2nd-1st century BCE.

The amount of evidence gradually increases in the 1st and 2nd century CE – texts from this era were found in Italy, Hispania, and also in the Northern provinces,

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especially Germania where several texts date to 65–130 CE (single pieces of evidence have also been found in Pannonia, Noricum, and Britannia).⁵

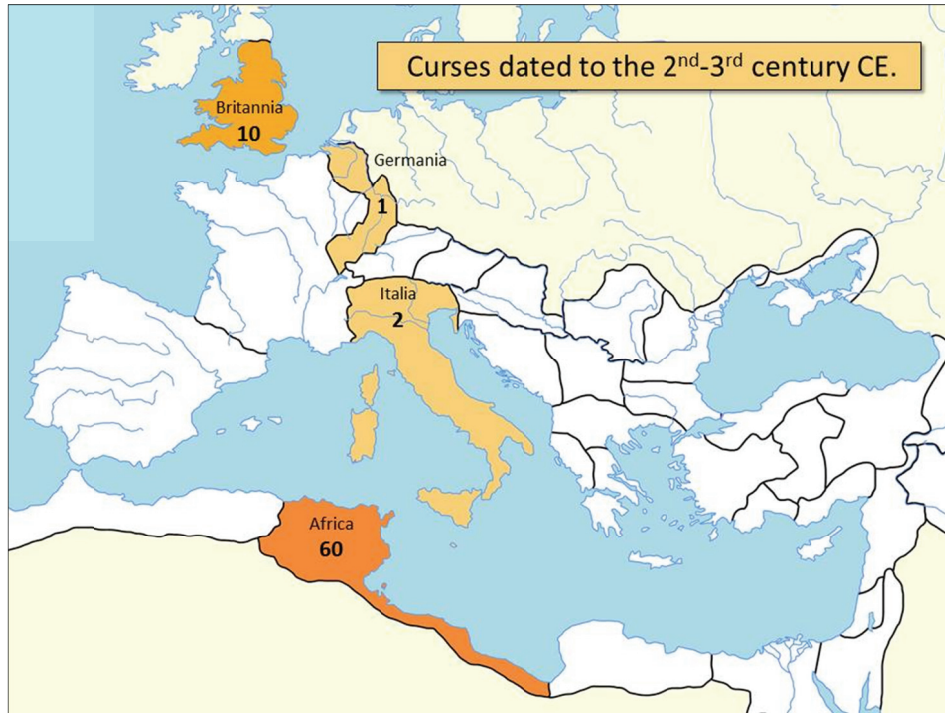


Map 4. Curses dated to the 1st-2nd century CE.

The extant documentation suggests that there was a huge boom of magical practices in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE; however, the largest amount of evidence from this era does not come from Italy, Hispania, or Germania, but from Africa, see Map 5.

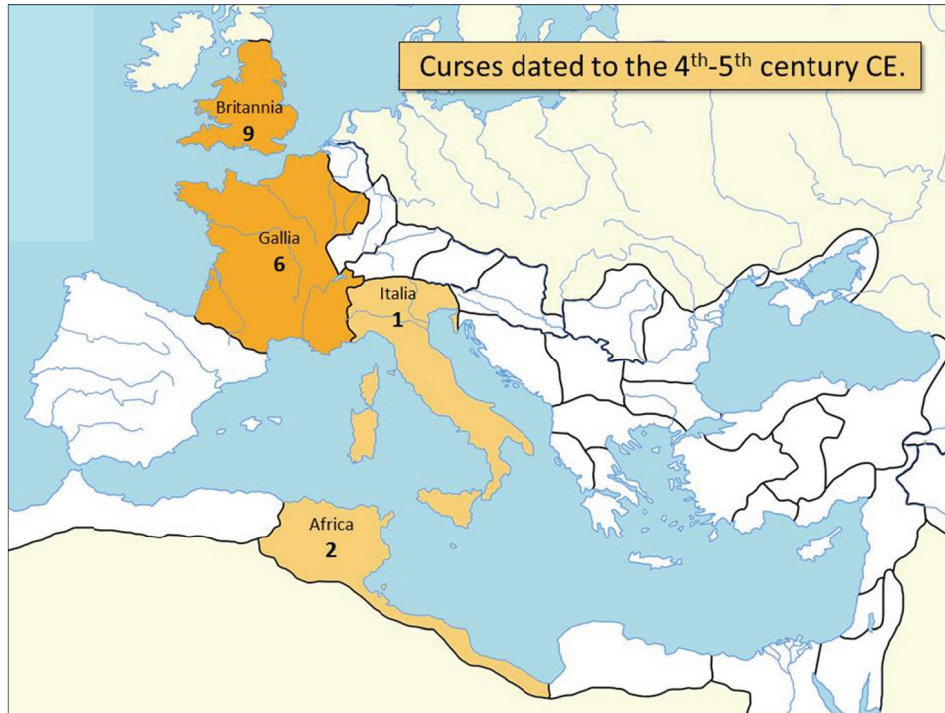
⁵ See 7.1., 8.1., 10.1., and 12.1. and Barta (2009, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2017).

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Map 5. Curses dated to the 2nd-3rd century CE.

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Map 6. Curses dated to the 4th-5th century CE.

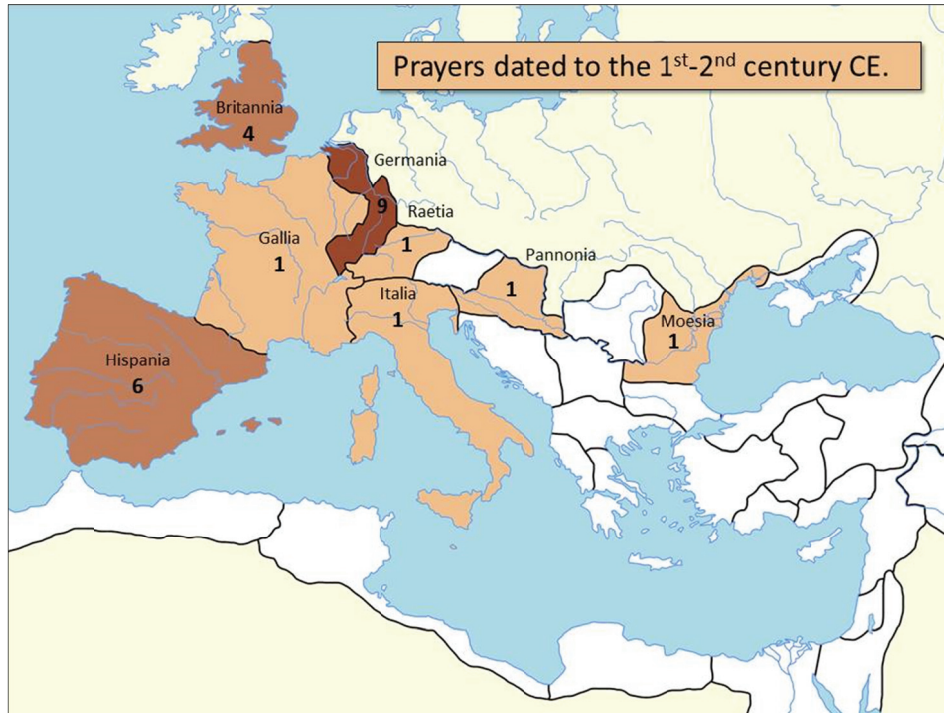
Texts dated to the 4th-5th century CE come predominantly from Gallia and Britannia.⁶

Prayers for Justice

The evidence of prayers for justice seems to be of a later date than the curses – the first extant prayers for justice found in the European provinces date to the 1st century CE, with most of them being made in the 1st or the 2nd century CE. The not very rich Greek corpus of extant prayers for justice is older by centuries – see the evidence from the 4th/3rd century BCE found in Athens or from the 3rd century BCE found in Bruttium in Italy (DT 72 and 212; Gager, 1992, No. 83 and 92). Based on this, one may plausibly presume also the existence of Latin prayers for justice, as well as of curses, already in the 3rd century BCE.

⁶ The new findings from Italy, from the fountain of Anna Perenna, not included in this corpus, about 16 tablets are dated to the 4th – 5th century CE).

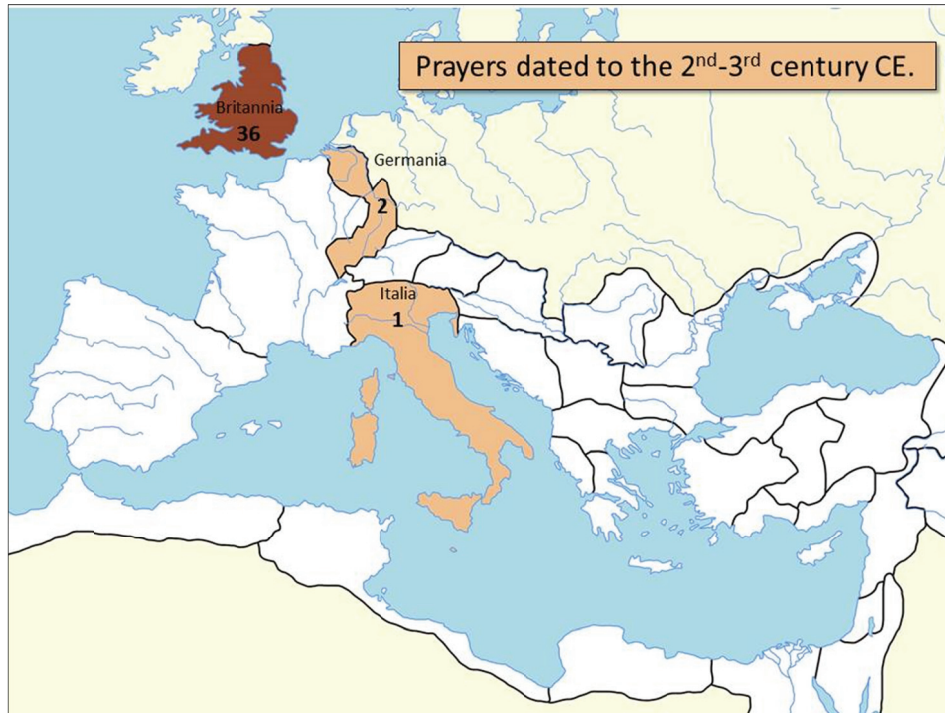
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Map 7. Prayers for justice dated to the 1st-2nd century CE.

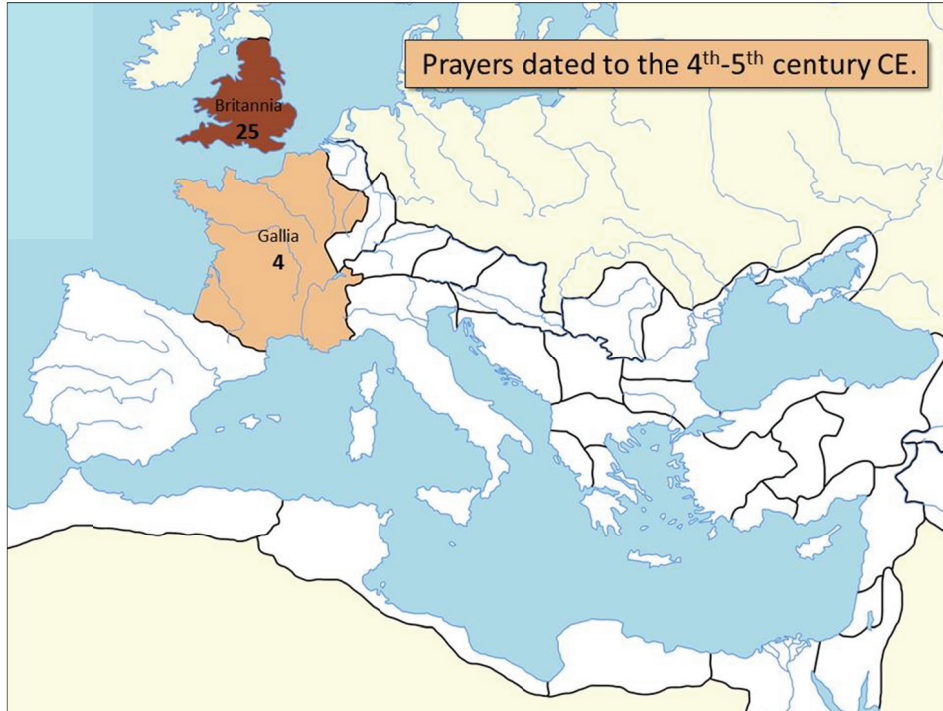
The amount of evidence of the extant prayers for justice increases in Britannia beginning in the 1st century CE and reaches its peak during the 2nd/3rd century CE, as most of the tablets found in Britannia were made in this period.

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Map 8. Prayers for justice dated to the 2nd-3rd century CE.
Later pieces of evidence were found only in Britannia and Gallia.

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Map 9. Prayers for justice dated to the 4th-5th century CE.

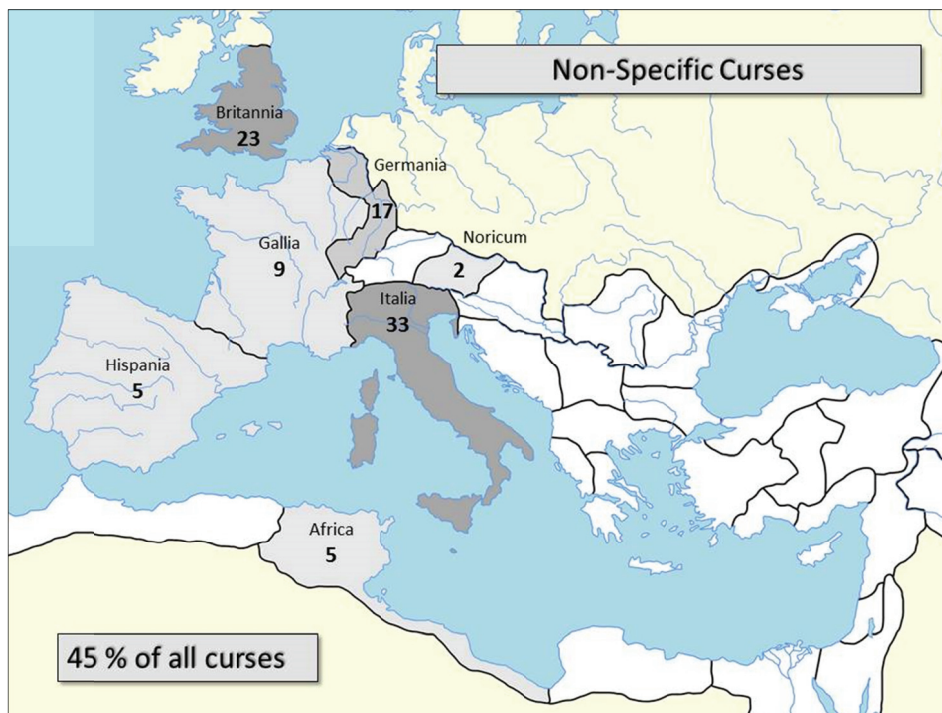
However, it remains disputable to what extent the preserved tablets reflect the real spread of the contemporary ancient cursing tradition. In addition, the dating of the texts is often problematic and may considerably differ from scholar to scholar (see 1.3.).

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CURSES

Non-Specific Curses

This type of curse, whose motivation and context cannot be determined, is the most frequently preserved from all curse texts (see 1.1.2. and especially 4.1.1.) – it comprises 45% of all analyzable texts. Most of non-specific curses have been found in Italy (33; see the anatomical curses in 7.3.1. ff.), Britannia (23; see 12.1.1.) with almost no other extant types of curses, and Germania (17; see 10.1.1.); only a few pieces of evidence come from the African provinces (see 11.1.1.). This type of curse is documented in all periods of the existence of magical tradition in the Roman Empire, but mostly from the 1st-3rd century CE.

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Map 10. The evidence of non-specific curses.

Nevertheless, the context of possible *causae defigendi* is often obvious, then we differentiate *legal* and *agonistic* curses, as well as *love spells* or cases of *rivalry in love* (see the classification of curse types in 1.1.2.2.).

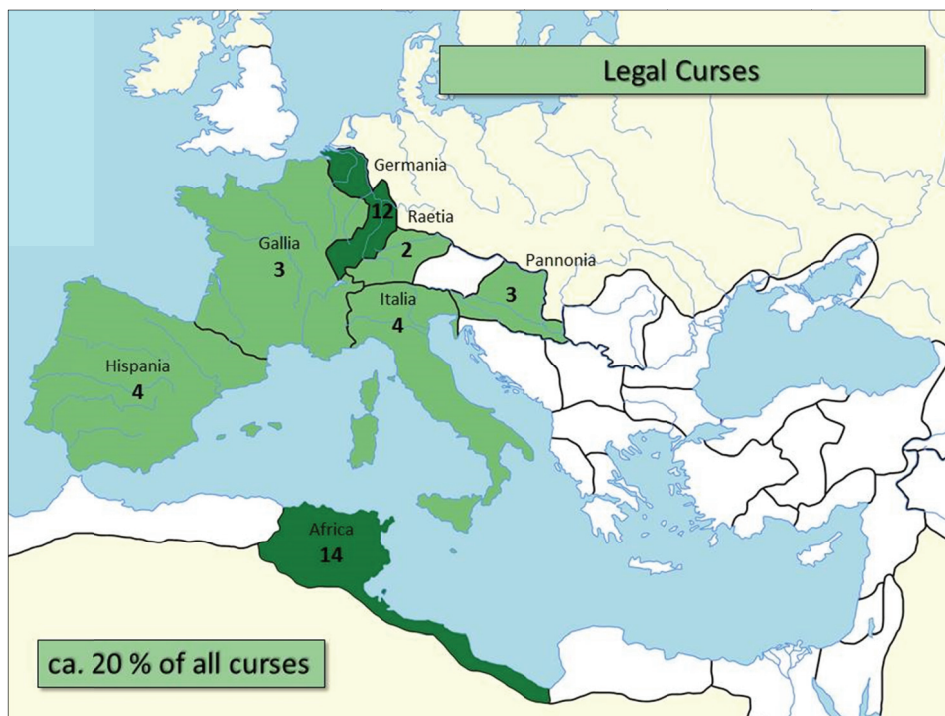
Furthermore, the territorial distribution of the extant evidence raises doubts about whether the preserved texts really reflect the reality of the time.

Legal Curses

The *tabellae iudiciariae*, as legal curses are sometimes called, are the second most frequent type of curses – they make for 20% of all texts. The highest number of legal curses is attested from Germania (12) and the African provinces (14); only a few texts were found in other provinces – Italy (four), Hispania (four), Gallia (three), and Pannonia (three); no legal curses have been documented in Noricum and Britannia yet. This very uneven distribution of extant legal curses obviously does not reflect the real situation, as legal procedures certainly took place in all provinces. Thus, it cannot be taken as a

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proof that legal curses were particularly popular either in Germania or in the African provinces, or even not used at all in some places, rather it illustrates how random archaeological findings may be. Most of extant legal curses date to the 1st century CE; the African evidence comes mostly from the 2nd/3rd century CE (see also 4.1.2.).

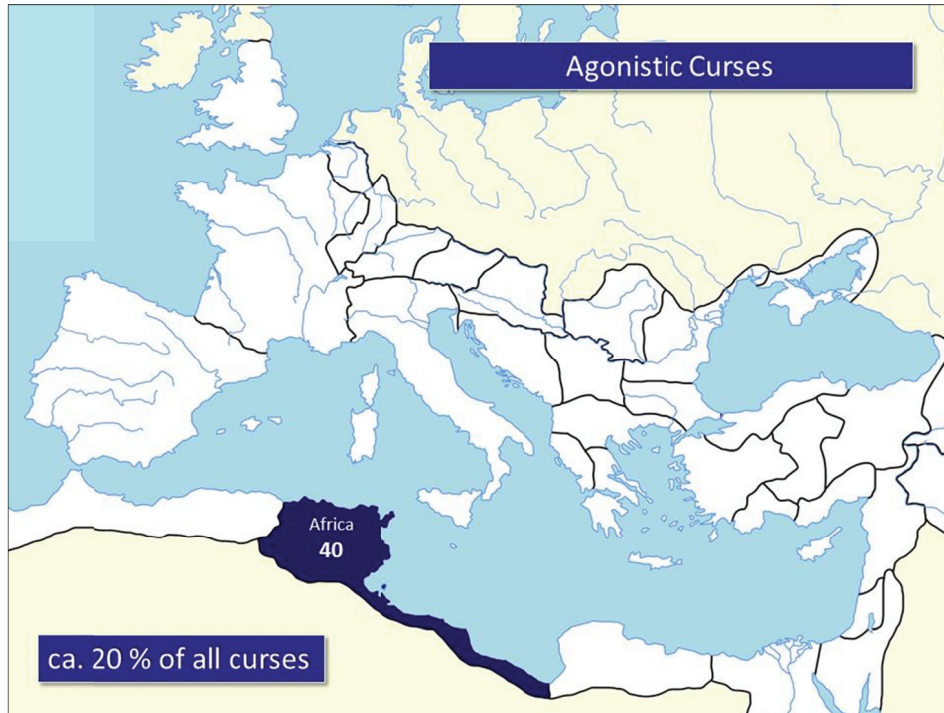


Map 11. The evidence of legal curses.

Agonistic curses

This type of curses aimed at gladiators, charioteers, and race-horses makes up for 20% of all analyzed texts.

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Map 12. The evidence of agonistic curses.

All Latin agonistic curses were found in the African provinces only; however, it may be presumed that they were used in all areas where amphitheatres stood and games took place (see also 4.1.).⁷ Agonistic texts from Africa were mostly made in specialized magical workshops by professional ritual practitioners. This is clear from their use of magical words often written in the Greek alphabet, and their magical graphic layout (e.g. *signa magica*, depiction of daemons, etc.); the professionally made tablets are mostly addressed to daemons (see also 11.1.3. and 11.3.). Only a small number of agonistic curses intended to afflict gladiators (seven tablets) were found in the Carthage amphitheatre; on the other hand, 34 tablets aimed against charioteers and race-horses were found in the graves near Hadrumetum. These varied locations of extant Latin agonistic curses are matched by the Greek curses against rivals in the circus found in Rome (20 tablets; see Tremel, 2004, No. 70–90). Most of these were located in the proximity of Porta S. Sebastiano on Via Appia or on the Quirinal, i.e. not in a

⁷ See also the new findings from the fountain of Anna Perenna Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012), with a curse possibly aimed at gladiator.

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stadium or a circus. Although no Latin curses against rivals in the circus preserved in Rome, based on the Greek evidence, we can plausibly assume that such texts originally existed. Curse texts were found in other amphitheatres, too, e.g. in Trier or Caerleon in Britannia; however, these are not agonistic curses.⁸ Almost three quarters of agonistic curses date to the 2nd/3rd century CE.

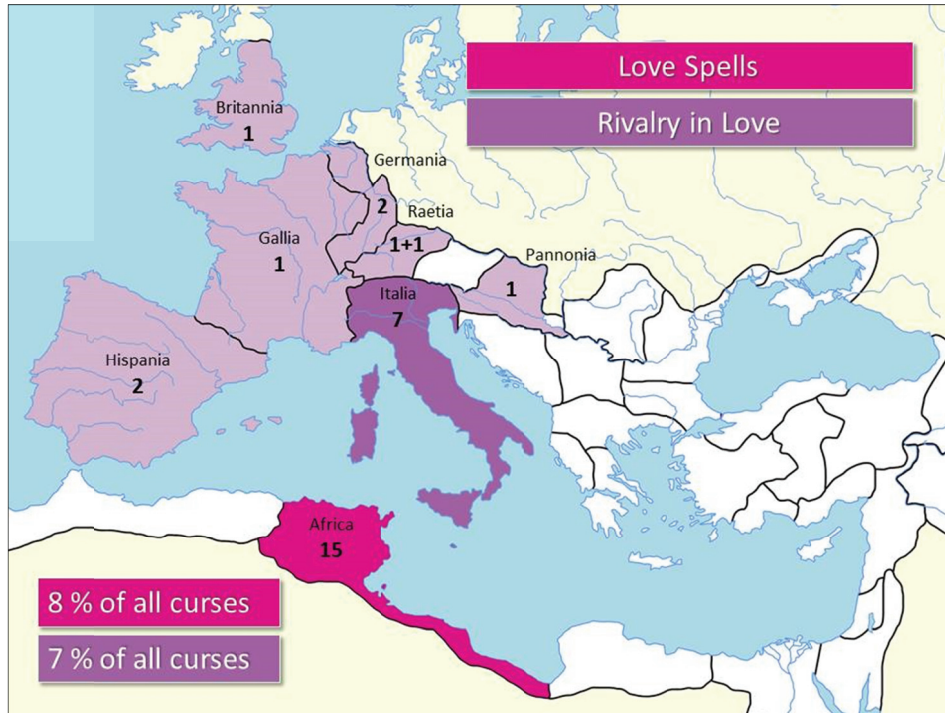
Love Spells

Love spells, too, preserved almost exclusively in the African provinces, only single and not very intelligible text No. **106** was found in Raetia – they make up for ca. 8% of Latin analyzed texts.⁹ The formulations used in love spells differ substantially from other types of *defixiones* (see 4.1.4.). The fact that we do not possess hardly any tablet from other provinces, is probably due to the randomness of archaeological findings, too, as it is suggested by the references to the widespread use of these rituals and practices in the works of Roman writers, especially the elegiac poets or Apuleius. The extant love spells are of later date than other types of curses – they mostly date to the 3rd century CE. These were predominantly made by professional magicians as is obvious from many graphic peculiarities occurring in these texts, e.g. Latin text inscribed in the Greek alphabet (see 11.1.4. and 11.3.).

⁸ See e.g. tablets No. **58–64** from Trier, and No. **283** from Caerleon; see also 4.1.3.

⁹ These are marked in pink in the Map. See also the new findings from the fountain of Anna Perenna Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012), probably including a love spell of uncertain text, which is not included in the analysis of this work, and the tablet No. **69** (9.1.3.).

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Map 13. The evidence of love spells and curses related to rivalry in love.

Rivalry in love

The tablets referring to the fact that they were motivated by rivalry in love make up for ca. 7% of all texts analyzed in this corpus.¹⁰ They are attested from all European provinces, most frequently from Italy; no evidence of these has been found in the African provinces yet. The first tablets connected to rivalry in love date to the 1st century BCE; however, most of them were made in the 1st/2nd century CE. These were mostly inscribed by women (in the context of a love triangle), contrary to love spells whose authors were, except for one item (see No. **148**, 1.9.2.), men. They are most frequently aimed against a rival woman or a couple and they are formulated in the same way as other types of curses.

DISTRIBUTION OF CURSING FORMULAE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

As for the distribution and frequency of particular types of curse formulae in curses and prayers for justice (see also Chapter 3, especially 3.2.), it has to be

¹⁰ These are marked in purple in the map.

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stated that all types of formulae are attested only from Italy, where each curse text includes approximately three formulae on average. Many types of formulae (all but one) are also documented in Africa and Gallia; however, the average number of formulae per text is lower – two formulae per tablet. In this respect, there seems to be a substantial difference between the curses found in Britannia and those from other provinces of the Roman Empire. The curses from Britannia are mostly comprised only of nominal lists of accursed people, rarely accompanied by Formula 1 or 4. This stands in direct opposition to the cunning and resourceful prayers for justice found in this area (see 12.2.).

No gradual development of cursing tradition bound to using or not using a certain formula can be observed in Latin curses. Parallel use and combining of various formulae appear already in the very first preserved Latin curses. This may perhaps be due to the lacunose character of the extant evidence.

Invoking formulae are the most frequently used construction in curses, specifically Formula 2, i.e. type *commendo, ut pereant*, can be regarded the most universal and commonly used formula. Its addressee is usually an explicitly stated deity and the 3rd sg./pl. predicate of the subordinate clause aims at the absent accursed person (see 2.3.1.). This formula appears in curses from all regions (90 times), as well as in prayers for justice, although to a lesser extent (21 times). For a more detailed account of its use, see Chapter 3, especially 3.2.

Moreover, the choice of formulae is often a source of information on the authors' level of education and approach, in general. The imperative invoking formulae, i.e. Formula 3, type *interficite eum*, and Formula 3a, type *obligate equos, ne currere possint*, which occur especially in the African provinces and Italy. Their use is related to the addressed deities and, in the above mentioned cases, especially daemons, which is closely linked to the activities of professional magicians in these areas (see 3.2.). On the contrary, these formulae are only scarcely used in prayers for justice. The invoking wish-formula 4, type *Philocomus tabescat* without any explicitly stated addressee is documented mostly in the curses from Italy and the African provinces, too; however, it is found also in the prayers for justice from Britannia and Germania (see 3.1.8. and 3.1.8.1.).

The invoking formula 2a, type *rogo, ut reprehendas*, is typically used in prayers for justice. It contains the predicates of request, plea, or committal and the addressed deity is supposed to be the agent of the author's wish (see 3.1.5.1.). Unlike other regions, the prayers for justice found in Germania often make use

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of complicated and artful *simile*-formulae of *quomodo – sic* type (see 3.1.9.1. and 10.2.). Thus, the distinct structure of prayers for justice – authors commend their affairs and directly appeal to deity – plays a significant role in the choice of the particular formulae, despite the fact that the authors' wishes are sometimes almost identical in curses and prayers for justice.

The following chart gives an overview of the most frequently used formulae in curses and prayers for justice from particular provinces.

The frequency of particular formulae in curses and prayers for justice:

CURSES	PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE
Formula 2: <i>commendo, ut pereant...</i> 20 % (90×) Italy, Africa, Britannia	Formula 2a: <i>rogo, ut reprehendas...</i> 24 % (42×) Britannia, Germania
Formula 3: <i>trade morti filium...</i> 16 % (72×) Italy, Africa	Formula 4: <i>Philocomus tabescat...</i> 18 % (31×) Britannia, Germania
Formula 4: <i>Philocomus tabescat...</i> 11 % (50×) Africa, Italy	Formula 2: <i>commendo, ut pereant...</i> 12 % (21×) Britannia
Formula 3a: <i>obligate equos, ne currere possint...</i> 11 % (50×) Africa, Italy	Formula 5: <i>simile</i> -formula 12 % (20×) Germania
Formula 0: <i>nominal list</i> 15 % (66×) Britannia, Italy, Germania	Formula 1a: <i>dono capitularem...</i> 5 % (9×) Britannia

For other additional information regarding the time data and *vota* in curse texts, see 3.3. ff.

DEPOSITION OF THE TABLET – LOCATIONS OF FINDINGS

As already mentioned above, curse tablets were usually put into graves, sanctuaries of chthonic deities, water sources, shrines of local deities, amphitheatres, or other places having some connection to the victim (see 1.8.3.), which is in agreement with the instructions stated in the magical papyri. The analysis of extant Latin curses reveals some differences in the customs related to tablet's deposition in a proper place. These depend on the character of curse text (curse/prayers for justice) and probably also on the particular territory, which is related to the gradual spread of cursing customs to the Northern provinces as well as Britannia and the adjustments of these rituals made by local people.

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Latin curses were predominantly put into graves, which applies for all provinces apart from Germania, Britannia, and Gallia. In Germania, most of the tablets were found in sanctuaries (15), less tablets were discovered in graves (13). As for Gallia, most of the, evidence was found in amphitheatre (six), some tablets also in graves (four). Beside the findings at the shrine of the goddess Sulis in Bath, altogether 13 tablets analysed in this corpus were found in water sources.¹¹

In Britannia, the most appropriate place for tablets seems to have been the shrines of local deities, more specifically, the sacred precinct and spring dedicated to Sulis in Bath and the sacred precinct of Mercury in Uley. Almost no tablets were found in the shrines outside Germania – one tablet in Italy, one in Noricum.

Even though the potential suitable places for depositing a tablet are the same both for curses and prayers for justice, the analysed evidence of the latter shows a different practice. In the European provinces, and especially in Britannia, prayers for justice were mostly found in sanctuaries or shrines with hot springs like Bath (66 tablets altogether). More numerous findings come also from water sources (nine tablets) or from the soil (eight tablets); however, in the latter case, the original places of tablets' deposition cannot be determined. Only four prayers for justice from the European provinces were found in graves and six of them in amphitheatres (Trier, Carnuntum, Caerleon).

Based on the extant but lacunose documentation, it can be assumed that the preferred deposition places in the European provinces and Africa were graves (curses) and sanctuaries (prayers for justice). On the other hand, the texts with curses from Germania and Britannia found in shrines may suggest certain blending of curses and prayers for justice, or of the authors' approach to these practices. The idea that authors of rightful prayers for justice do not fear to put their tablets to the sanctuary of local deity to be avenged or to punish the culprit deservedly, while the authors of curses tend to use rather graves or other places associated with chthonic deities and daemons because they are well aware that their amoral behaviour is not supported by the evidence. Both the authors of prayers for justice and the authors of curses from the Northern provinces and Britannia deposit their tablets in the shrines of local deities.

¹¹ See also the new findings from the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome (7.1.).

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FINAL TREATMENT OF THE TABLET

As already stated in 1.8.2., about a half of the extant curse tablets were folded, rolled into scrolls, wrapped with a wire, or pierced with a nail before being deposited in a proper place.¹² In all provinces, the tablets containing analysable curses were most frequently rolled into scrolls (121) or show traces of transfixion with a nail (28). 50 pieces of evidence do not display any signs of a ritual manipulation; however, these cannot be distinguished in several damaged tablets. The transfixion of tablets occurs mostly in curses from Italy (18)¹³ which makes it the most common way of treating the tablet in this area – only half of the tablets found in Italy were rolled into scrolls or not ritually manipulated at all. This type of ritual manipulation is rather scarce in other provinces.

Prayers for justice are similar in this respect – the not very numerous evidence from the European provinces is mostly rolled into scrolls, or not manipulated in any way; transfixion is documented only rarely (once in Italy, twice in Germania). The distinguishable tablets from Britannia were mostly rolled into scrolls, too (38); 17 tablets do not show any signs of a ritual manipulation, while eight tablets were transfixed.

ADDRESSED DEITIES

Both curses and prayers for justice often include an address to a deity who is supposed to fulfil author's wish; however, the explicit name of that deity is not stated in ca. third of all texts and was probably merely uttered. Moreover, an explicit reference to deity is often omitted in the texts which were found in votive depositories, e.g. in Bath or in Mainz, because the authors of these obviously appealed to the deities worshipped in the particular sanctuary. The choice of the addressed deities was dependent rather on the territory than on the different character of curses and prayers for justice.

Gods and Daemons Addressed in Curses

The analysis of the names of deities used in curses from all provinces shows that 66 analysed curses do not explicitly state any deity, and 64 texts appeal to

¹² For the data from the recent corpus of Kropp (2008), see 1.8.2. As for the texts analysed in this work, some sort of ritual manipulation pertains to ca. three quarters of them.

¹³ For other treatments of the tablets, see the new findings from the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome, Blänsdorf – Piranomonte (2012) and 7.1.

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daemons, either via magical words or their names. Especially the tablets from the African provinces are often addressed to daemons; the otherwise commonly used chthonic deities like Pluto, Proserpina, or *Di Manes* appear only scarcely in these. This can, no doubt, be explained by the activities of professional magicians in this area. On the contrary, in the European provinces daemons are more often appealed to only in Italy (see 7.3.1.5.). Only three out of the few extant curse texts found in Hispania include an address to chthonic *Di inferi*; however, in Italy we find *Di inferi* (seven times), *Di Manes*, Pluto (three times), Pluto together with Proserpina, Cerberus (six times), as well as the deities associated with water sources (see the most recent findings at the spring of Anna Perenna in Rome; 7.4.). As for Gallia, ca. half of the texts include an address to a deity, whereas other gods apart from Pluto and Proserpina appear in these – Mars and Diana, Isis. The spread of oriental cults to the Northwestern provinces is evident in the texts from Germania, too, where a large number of curse tablets were found in the votive depository of the sacred precinct including a temple dedicated to *Mater Magna* and the goddess Isis. Thus, apart from the usual addresses to chthonic deities like *Di inferi* (four times), or *Di Manes* (three times), the authors of these texts (mostly prayers for justice) also appeal to *Mater Magna* and Attis. As for the other ca. 13 tablets from the same depository, it can be assumed that their authors appealed to *Mater Magna* or Attis, as well, although the names of these were not included in the curse text. The few curses preserved in Britannia only rarely state any deity – Mercury appears twice; nevertheless, it can be presumed that the eleven curses found in Bath were addressed to the local goddess Sulis, while the seven tablets from the Mercury's sacred precinct in Uley appealed to Mercury. Concerning the less frequent local deities, No. **103** and No. **104** from Raetia are addressed to the local god Ogmios (10.1.2.), and the texts from Raetia and Pannonia occasionally appeal to the goddess Muta (No. **105** and No. **107**), or to the river god Savus (see 10.1.2.).

The curses from the African provinces are always addressed to chthonic deities or daemons, which more or less also applies to the evidence found in Italy and Hispania which includes addresses to water nymphs, as well. On the other hand, the spread of the cursing tradition to the northern and western marginal areas of the Roman Empire was accompanied by the introduction of the local deities not primarily considered as the chthonic ones.

Gods Addressed in Prayers for Justice

Prayers for justice display similar tendencies to curses with regards to addressed deities. As already mentioned above, we possess ca. 66 curses (less than third of

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the evidence) which include no address to deity, if we exclude those tablets which were found in a depository or shrine of a particular deity and can be thus regarded appealing to the deity concerned.

The names of deities often do not occur in prayers for justice, too, especially in the European provinces. However, this is true only for about a sixth of the texts, if we again exclude the evidence from the sanctuaries in Mainz (three) addressed to Mater Magna, and in Bath or Uley (23) addressed to Sulis and Mercury. The aforementioned names are also the most frequently explicitly addressed deities in prayers for justice (15 texts appeal to Sulis, 13 to Mercury). Furthermore, the authors of prayers for justice, too, occasionally appeal to chthonic deities like *Di inferi*, Pluto, Proserpina, or Cerberus, although much less than the authors of curses. Magical words are found only very scarcely in prayers for justice (see No. 239, 6.2.1.3.). What is remarkable is that curses and prayers for justice from Gallia, Germania, and Britannia seem to appeal to the same deities – Diana in Gallia, *Mater Magna* and Attis in Germania, Sulis and Mercury in Britannia. The prayers for justice from the marginal area of the Roman Empire sometimes appeal to local deities, as well, e.g. Moltinus (No. 238), or Juno Aeracura (No. 101 and No. 239).

Even though prayers for justice are often addressed to the local deities, the tendency typically appears in the marginal areas of the Roman Empire, regardless of whether the text contains a curse or a prayer for justice. The different situation of the texts from these areas can be assigned to the local customs and adaptations of the Mediterranean cursing tradition.

VOCES MAGICAE, SIGNA MAGICA, AND SCRIPT IN THE SERVICE OF MAGIC

Several accompanying magical elements start to appear especially in the curses from the African provinces from the 2nd century CE. These frame or supplement the proper text of those curses which were produced by specialized workshops and based on the complicated magical instructions documented in *PGM*. The authors of these appeal to daemons as to executors of their wishes not only through their names but by using also magical words, both usually inscribed in the Greek alphabet. Occasionally, sequences of incomprehensible magical formulae, incantations, or the so-called *charaktères*, also named *grammata* (geometrical patterns built of vocals and consonants), or *signa magica* (strange magical symbols) are used for this purpose (see 1.7.1.). Some tablets also include a depiction of the addressed deity or daemon, or even of the cursed

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person – see e.g. the tablets from Bologna (7.3.1.5.), see also the findings from the fountain of Anna Perenna.

On the other hand, prayers for justice almost never include these magical elements. As for the curses from the European provinces, generally, it can be said that they only rarely include magical words and the names of deities/daemons. If there, after all, are some texts which use these means, they rather date to the later periods and are located mostly in Italy (see tablets No. **3–5**, No. **18**, and No. **25**) or in Gallia (No. **67** and No. **68** with magical words in Latin letters; No. **65** in the Greek alphabet).

On the contrary, the tablets from African provinces very frequently (80% of analysed texts) used magical words and names of demonic figures or exotic deities. In the texts found in Carthage, incantations and names of deities are inscribed exclusively in the Greek alphabet; the extant texts from Hadrumetum, on the other hand, use (and often combine) both Latin letters and the Greek alphabet to inscribe magical words and names of deities with a slight predominance of the Greek alphabet. The most northern tablet documenting magical words written in the Greek alphabet is No. **239** from Carnuntum in Pannonia. Therefore, despite the insufficient amount of extant evidence, we can assume that the African cursing customs, probably thanks to professional magicians, spread to the other parts of the Roman Empire, especially to the Italian territory and its centre, Rome.

The situation is similar regarding other graphic magical features of tablets. Depictions of demonic figures occur only scarcely outside the African provinces, e.g. in Bologna (7.3.1.5.) or in Rome (No. **18** and No. **19**). Recently, they can also be found in the evidence found in the fountain of Anna Perenna in Rome (see 7.1.). The complicated texts mostly combine these depictions with non-alphabetic symbols and Greek incantations (No. **3.5**), rarely also with *charaktéres* (No. **18** from Rome belonging to the so-called *Sethianorum tabellae*).¹⁴ Few *signa magica* are documented in the tablets from Gallia and Germania (No. **62**, No. **84**, and a prayer for justice No. **222**); No. **57** from Gallia includes alphabetic sequences which may have had a magical power, too (see 9.4.).

The African evidence is the most complicated and the most elaborate as for the graphic layout. A quarter of the tablets from Carthage (mostly curses against

¹⁴ These consist of altogether 43 tablets written in Greek and five disrupted texts written in Latin.

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charioteers, race-horses, and gladiators) and a fifth of the tablets from Hadrumetum (the series of almost identical agonistic curses aimed at charioteers and race horses) analysed in this work include a depiction of demonic figure (see 11.2. and 11.1.3.2.); a sixth of the texts accompany such a depiction not only with usual incantations but also with patterns built of vocals and consonants. Half of the mostly agonistic texts from Hadrumetum contain also *signa magica* occurring after each paragraph (see especially No. 152, 11.1.3.2.). As already said above, the African tablets were mostly made by experts in the field, which is also evident from the series of almost identical tablets, differing from each other only in the number and names of accursed people or horses. The differences between these series are probably due to the distinct customs of particular magical workshops.

A certain magical effect may have also been acquired in a less sophisticated way, i.e. not using any depictions of daemons, vocalic patterns, etc., but through the simple change in the usual orientation of script. This kind of magical reversal of writing (right-to-left/upside-down) is several times matched also by the formula *verto – aversus* in the text (see especially 10.2.2.). In the curses and prayers for justice from the European provinces, we find several ways of script's reversal: right-to-left, upside-down, spiral, or *boustrophedon*. It can be assumed that these means were applied to enforce the effectiveness of curses, especially by the authors who were only superficially familiar with cursing conventions and made and inscribed the tablets themselves. Other than the left-to-right orientation of script was used only in roughly 1/5 of the analysed curse texts. Save the series of tablets against charioteers and race-horses from Hadrumetum (11.1.3.2.) whose texts were written around the perimeter, a special orientation of script occurs mostly in the European provinces. In Italy and Hispania, we have five such texts, whereas 1/3 of tablets found in Germania were written right-to-left, and the practice reached as far as Britannia (1/5 of curses).

Prayers for justice make use of these means only rarely and almost exclusively in Germania (more than half of texts) and Britannia (1/7 of texts).

AUTHORS AND VICTIMS OF CURSES

The analysis of curse texts shows that the victims were more often men than women, as is stated in the conclusion of each chapter pertaining to *defixiones* from particular provinces (see 7.7., 8.5., 9.5., 10.5., 11.4., and 12.5.2.). This is probably related to the sovereign social status of ancient men, which is evident especially because curses found in Italy aim at men twice as much as at women;

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in Germania, it is even four times more often men than women. As for the texts from the African provinces, the situation is similar, although these are mostly agonistic curses aiming at race-horses. The curses from Carthage analysed in this work accurse about 258 horses, while the curses found in Hadrumetum accurse about 986 horses.

Generally, it can be said that each curse is usually supposed to afflict more than one person at a time. Thus, a single curse from Italy accurses five people on average (the highest number of all); four people are accursed per a tablet in Hispania and Britannia; two-three people per a tablet in other provinces.¹⁵

As already mentioned above, authors' names scarcely appear in the curse texts, except for love spells due to the importance of identifying the exact person on whose behalf the daemons are supposed to "deliver" the beloved person. Occasionally, the names of authors are also found in legal curses from Hispania and Germania (see 8.5., and especially 10.5.).

Authors and Victims of Prayers for Justice

Prayers for justice may include both the authors' and the victims' names. However, as these texts were usually aimed against thieves, the victim's name was often not included if the culprit was unknown to the author. In such cases, the author usually referred to the culprit using a relative clause like e.g. *qui involavit*, or the formula *si puer, si puella, si vir, si mulier...*, which is frequently found especially in the prayers for justice from Britannia. Generally, the prayers for justice from the European provinces include less features typical of this genre than the evidence found in Britannia. Apart from Germania and Hispania, the authors' names are not stated at all – author's name occurs in half of the evidence found in Germania which is more or less matched by the far more numerous corpus of prayers for justice from Britannia. The authors are more often men than women, especially in Britannia where men outnumber women by three to one.

In cases when the culprits were known or suspected, the accursed men (56) outnumber the accursed women (34), too. Considering the accursed people from all provinces, the victims of prayers for justice are more frequently men than women, just like in curses. Nevertheless, the number of unknown culprits accursed via the formula *si puer, si puella* or not referred to at all is the highest, especially in Hispania and Britannia. Conversely, the texts from Italy do not

¹⁵ Love spells are usually aimed at one person only.

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contain any unknown culprit at all, and the texts from Gallia refer to these only twice; the numbers of unknown culprits and the accursed men and women are almost equal in the texts from Germania.

If we compare the structure (comprising of six elements, see Chapter 6., 1.2.3., and especially 12.5.3.) of the European prayers for justice (32 tablets, mostly from Germania) to that of the Britannia evidence (69 tablets), slight differences in the authors' approach and local modifications can be observed in these. Unfortunately, we do not possess compact and numerous corpora of prayers for justice from the particular European provinces, so the data may be distorted. However, both the European and the British evidence accord in the address to deity and authors' aims.

An *address to deity* is found in approximately half of the prayers for justice from the European provinces (16 times in 32 texts), as well as from Britannia (37 times in 69 texts), i.e. in the approximately same ratio (half of the texts). Unlike the evidence from Britannia, other typical features of prayers for justice like *author's name* or *committal of stolen things* appear relatively less frequently in the European provinces. The author's name is included 30 times in 69 texts in Britannia, whereas in the European provinces, it appears only in a quarter of cases (eight times in 32 texts); it is attested somewhat more frequently only in Germania and Hispania.¹⁶ Similarly, the committal of the matter to deity is preserved in about half of the texts from Britannia (30 times in 69 texts), whereas the European prayers for justice include it only in a third of the cases (eleven times in 32 texts); again, the feature appears more often only in texts from Germania and Hispania.

As already said before, the authors of prayers for justice seek mere return of stolen things only rarely (see No. 218 in Hispania, three tablets from Britannia, see 12.2.1.). More significant differences between the provinces can be observed in cases where the author pursues both the return of his property and punishment of the culprit – 23 texts from Britannia, but only five texts from the European provinces (ca. 1/7 of the evidence). The authors of the European prayers for justice mostly ask for punishment of/vengeance on the culprit (24 times in 30 texts), i.e. more frequently than the tablets from Britannia where this wish appears ca. in half of the cases (31 times in 69 texts).

Furthermore, the occurrence of structural elements typical of prayers for justice is much lower in the European provinces than in Britannia, although the

¹⁶ These data may be distorted with regards to the disruption of preserved texts.

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randomness of the archaeological findings and the disruption of some texts may play some role in this. All six elements at once (i.e. *address to deity, author's name, committal of the thief or stolen things, reference to the culprit, and list of damages, restrictions*; see 12.5.3.), apart from the necessary reference to the damage suffered which classifies a text in the genre of prayers for justice, are found only once in the European provinces (Germania) and only ten times in Britannia (see 12.5.3.). A higher number of these elements used in a single text is attested only in Hispania and Germania (four times, four elements), contrary to Italy and Gallia where these typical features occur only scarcely. To sum up, based on the analysis of the extant corpus of prayers for justice it can be assumed, with some doubts, that the European prayers for justice seem to be closer to curses. This does not apply only to some texts found in Hispania and Germania, which display traits common to the evidence from Britannia, the most numerous and representative preserved corpus of prayers for justice. The only more numerous corpus found in the European provinces (Germania and some rare pieces of evidence from Pannonia and Raetia) contains complicated texts with several unusual, nowhere else attested features and formulae. Moreover, the formulations found in some of these resemble the formulations commonly used in curses. This, together with the fact that both curses and prayers for justice from Mainz were found in the same sanctuary context, may indicate that the adaptations of ancient Mediterranean tradition were contingent on the particular territory. The same is also suggested by the combining and blending of curses and prayers for justice (see also 10.2.4.).

Aims and Wishes of the Authors of Curses and Prayers for Justice

The analysis of aims and wishes of authors expressed in *defixiones* analysed in this work reveals some interesting facts. The authors of curses mostly pursued **restrictions**, i.e. the paralysis of mental and bodily functions of the victims, which they do in 41% of texts (86 texts, see 5.2.) in agreement with the type of curses (legal, agonistic, love spells, etc.). It has to be noted here that the corpus of curses is twice as big as the corpus of prayers for justice.

The authors of prayers for justice most frequently (55%, 55 texts) sought **revenge**, or **punishment** of the known, or more often unknown, culprit; only in about a third of the texts (28 tablets) they also want, beside punishment or restrictions upon the culprit, to achieve the **return** of their stolen things. This seems to be an expression of a certain scepticism and loss of hope on the authors' behalf about getting their things back. On the other hand, the wish to merely exact revenge on the culprit or punish him, albeit rightfully, is more or less matched by the wishes of the authors expressed in the curses.

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Restrictions occur less frequently in prayers for justice than in curses – 34% of texts (see 6.3.). Prayers for justice from Britannia make use of both restrictive formulae typical of love spells found only in the African provinces and various peculiar local formulae limiting culprit's physical abilities.

Only 16% of texts (33), mostly non-specific curses, are supposed to bring death to the victim, most frequently occurring in the texts from Italy. The authors of prayers for justice seek death of the culprit twice more often than the authors of curses – 37 % of texts (37 tablets), occasionally and paradoxically even to kill the culprit first and to obtain the stolen property back only after that (see 6.2.1.3.). Besides, prayers for justice are often supposed to afflict the culprit with various horrible miseries which seem to be much crueller than those expressed in other types of curses. However, the frequent wish to kill the thief may also be a reflection of an extreme emotional state of anger or grievance of the robbed author. The extant corpus of prayers for justice is of about a century later date than that of curses. This seems to apply also for the not very numerous Greek prayers for justice attested from the 4th/3rd century BCE in Athens and from the 3rd century BCE in Italy (Bruttium). Texts of prayers for justice are probably derived from the magical rituals associated with curses; nevertheless, the structure of the formulations themselves differs from curses: a polite address to deity (in lesser extent) appearing also in curses, see No. **20**: *Bona pulchra Proserpina...*), author's name, and legal language and formulations (see especially Formula **2a** above).

Concerning the punishment of the culprit, in approximately half of the prayers for justice the aims of the authors are formulated as in curses, although the afflictions stated are many times worse and more often pursue the death of the culprit. Moreover, a special formula *sanguine suo satisfacere/redimere* is documented exclusively in the texts from Britannia (see 6.2.1.3.). Particularly sophisticated texts using complicated *simile*-formulae and aims of authors not attested in any other province of the Roman Empire, apart from the Greek texts, appear in the tablets found in Germania (see 10.5.).

Based on the analysis of extant *defixiones* presented in this work – keeping in mind that we lack a representative corpus of prayers for justice not only in Greek documentation, but also in most of the European provinces and Africa – I suppose, unlike Versnel (2010, 275 ff) that the preserved prayers for justice can often be regarded as peculiar innovative modifications and applications of

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common curses used in a specific context¹⁷ rather than an individual category of magical rituals essentially distinct from curses and votive inscriptions. The above mentioned analysis of both categories of texts, and especially the analysis of the formulations expressing authors' aims and wishes in curses and prayers for justice, lead to the conclusion that both categories of texts are basically identical. Both curses and prayers for justice use similar means to afflict the victim or the culprit, whether known or unknown. The authors of prayers for justice either afflict the culprit using the same ways that are found in curses, i.e. the innovative adaptations of the formulae common e.g. in love spells, or, as in the texts found in Britannia, they use completely new formulations of their own. The texts found in Germania and Britannia, especially, point to a certain blending in the perception of curses and prayers for justice – the authors of these prayers for justice and curses address their wishes to local deities and formulate their wishes in the same way, regardless of the particular type of text (see 10.2.4.).

The curses in legal context and prayers for justice cannot be considered isolated from the contemporary practice of law, especially when we take into account that important social groups were denied the access to court. Contents of the prayers for justice indicate that, first, their writers were often women and, second, that they often include a list of possible culprits. These observations highlight two peculiarities of the Roman law. Regarding the first case, women could press charges (via *filiae familias*) only after the reign of Diocletian. The adult women's access to court was only possible when accompanied by their male legal guardians, and, a lawsuit cooperation of their tutor has been required *ex lege* (through the process of *auctoritatem interponere*). Due to the excessive formalism of the Roman law, women, most likely, were forced to seek magical means to achieve "justice". In the second case, the author offers a list of names of the possible culprits – Roman law required the wronged party to find the culprit and press charges against him/her. If the wronged party did not find the person guilty of the injustice (thief or a felon), the culprit could not be prosecuted at court. The issue is made more complicated by the fact that the members of lower social groups were often not able to file a lawsuit against the members of higher social groups. In all these cases, magical ritual was the only option to achieve "justice".

¹⁷ This is in accordance with the views of Gager (1992, 175), Ogden (1999, 37 f.), and Kropp (2008a, 119).

Appendix I: The Corpus of Latin Curses

I.1. Italia

KEY:

1st line: **inscription's number** according to Kropp: **dfx.**; Audollent: **DT**; Blänsdorf (2012): **DTM**; Blänsdorf (2008, No. 7): **BI** 2008, 7; Besnier (1920): **Be**; Solin (1968): **So**; Gager (1992): **Ga**; Tomlin (1988): **To**; Tomlin (1993, No. 1): **To** 1993: 1; Tremel (2004): **Tr**, etc.; the periodical *Britannia (II inscriptiones)*: **Brit**; (For an exhaustive bibliography of particular inscriptions, see the corpus of Kropp, 2008 and TheDeMa).

location/place of finding of inscription (i.e. grave, shrine, amphitheatre, etc.; x = unknown);

dating (the 2nd cent. = the 2nd cent. CE; θ = unknown). + note on the preservation of the text: corrupted, fragmentary, etc.

2nd line: **type of curse** (i.e. its context: **non-specific**; **legal**; **love** = love spell; **rivalry in love**; agonistic – competition: **contestants** or **charioteers and horses** or **horses**);

the people accursed: number and gender: 1 m. = 1 male; f. = female; **case** of the names of victims: **nom./acc.**; **filiation** – name of father (*pater*) and mother (*mater*), if stated;

author's name, if stated;

aim of the curse (i.e. what is supposed to happen to the victim): **death**, **disease**, or **restrictions** (i.e. limitations of the bodily and mental faculties of the victim); **separation** (rivalry in love); **love** (love spells); N = unidentifiable;

3rd line: **deities appealed to**: *Pluto*, *Isis*, etc., (N = none); **impl.** = the tablet has been found at the shrine of a deity who, although not explicitly stated, was probably the addressee;

magical proprieties: **VM** = *voces magicae* (names of daemons/deities, magical words); **SM** = *signa magica* (non-alphabetical signs); **I** = *imago* (e.g. depiction of a daemon or other); **V** = *grammata* (patterns made of letters);

graphical peculiarities: orientation of script (i.e. right-to-left, boustrophedon, etc.; or Latin text written in Greek alphabet;

further additions – *votum*, etc.

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<p><u>TEXT</u>: the amendments, <i>lectiones variae</i>, and punctuation of the particular editors are in parentheses; in the texts having more complicated structure, I also comment on the graphical lay-out; in African agonistic texts, I state shortened lists of the names of horses accursed.</p>	
ITALIA	TEXT
<p>1. Arezzo, Etruria dfx.1.1.1/1; DT 129; tab. opistogr.; water source; the 2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Q(uintum) Letinium Lupum, qui et vocatur Caucadio, qui est fi(lius) Sallusti(es Vene)ries sive Ven(e)rioses, hunc ego apud vostrum B: numen demando, devoveo, desacrifico, uti vos Aquae ferventes, siv(e)vos Nimfas (=Nymphae), (si)ve quo alio nomine voltis adpel(l)ari, uti vos eum interemates, interficiates intra annum itus (=istum).</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. acc.; mater; death</p>	
<p><i>aquae ferventes/Nymphae</i></p>	
<p>2. Arezzo, Etruria dfx.1.1.1/2; Be 52; x; θ</p>	<p><i>M(arcus) Ponti (filius), Secundio, M(arcus) Ulp(ius?) Anici f(i)lius.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 3 m. nom.? pater? N</p>	
<p>N; partially right-to-left</p>	
<p>3. Bologna, Etruria dfx.1.1.2/1; Be 1; Olivieri 1899 (no dating); Sánchez Natalías 2011,¹ (Bologna 1), dates to the 4th-5th cent. based on palaeography; x; corrupted text; punctuation</p>	<p>VM alphas around the depiction of the deity and on his chest in three columns: <i>φορβη</i>, SM <i>ψυιασ</i>, <i>τιωρ</i>, <i>φορβεθ</i>, <i>βραι</i>, <i>βαριω</i>, <i>φορβεν</i>, <i>ω</i>, <i>βαθακαρ</i>, <i>φορβι</i>, <i>καμφι</i>, <i>φορρω</i>, SM <i>ρησ</i>, <i>φορβι</i>, <i>ιαγαακ(ερβε)</i> <i>φορρα</i> <i>ρηθ σ</i>; the text of the curse itself runs in three columns at the level of the knees of the depicted figure:</p> <p><i>Porcellu(s) molomedicu(s) (=mulomedicus)</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. + 1 f. nom.?.; death</p>	

¹ For the Bologna tablets No. **3**, **4**, and **5**, see 7.3.1.5., and Sánchez (2011). Tablet No. **3** (Bologna 1 according to Sánchez) and No. **5** (Bologna 3) belong to each other and are the parts of a single *defixio*. Similarly, the tablet Bologna 4 according to Sánchez and **dfx.** 1.1.2/4 according to Kropp) was probably a part of the same *defixio* (see Sánchez, 2011, 202); however, it is very corrupted. Finally, tablet No. **4** (Bologna 2 according to Sánchez) has recently been published (Sánchez, 2012, 140–148). I state the most recent reading of C. Sánchez (2011 and 2012).

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<p>VM alphab. I – a standing daemonic figure with hands crossed and six snakes coming out of its head, SM;</p>	<p>//<i>Porcellus molom(e)dicu(s)</i>// <i>Porcel(lus) medicu(s)</i>; the text continues under the depiction of deity: <i>·molomedicu(s) · interficit(e) · omn(e) corpus · caput · tente (=dentes)² · oculus (=oculos) a/u?tas³ facite Porcellu(m) · et · (Mau)rilla(m)⁴ · usure(m)(=uxorem) · ipsius · dite...em · corpus · omnis · membra · bisc(e)d(a) (=viscera?) · Porcelli, · qui iced... (cada)t⁵ ...·languat (=languet) et ru(at)...</i></p>
<p>4. Bologna, Etruria dfx.1.1.2/2; Be 2; Olivieri: 1899 (no dating); Sánchez Natalias (2012: Bologna 2), dates to the 4th-5th cent. based on palaeography; x; corrupted text</p>	<p>VM alphab. around the figure and on the chest of depicted deity in three columns: <i>φωρβη</i> SM <i>via τωρ φωρβεν βιρα βαριω φ(ω)ρβεο ω βαθασωρ φωρβι, κανφι, ρηο φωρβω, οεβρνβ φωρβι ιαυακερβε φωρρω</i>; the text begins with a curse in three columns: <i>Fistu(m) sina(t)ore(m) (=senatorem) occi(di)te ini(c)ate (=enecate)// Fistu(m) occidite inicate ...//ληο Fistu(m) sinator(em) d caeqem tiu occi(dite) qan...</i>; the text under the figure: <i>(occid)ite ini(i)ca(te) Fi(stum). Fistus difloiscat (=diffluet?) langu(e)at ...(?)ergat et disuluite (=dissolvite?) omni(a) membra omni(a) viscida (viscera?) ipsius Fisti disolbite (=dissolvite?) membra biscida (=viscera?) la(ng)u(e)at runpite (rumpite) binas (=venas?) ipsiu(s) runpite (=rumpite) omnis (=omnia) menb(ra) Fisti sinat(o)ris...</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. acc.?!/ nom.?!; death</p>	
<p>VM alphab. SM, I – daemon – identical to the previous tablet No. 3</p>	

² A. Kropp (2008) amends to *ten(e)te*, C. Sánchez (2011) reads *dentes*.

³ Sánchez (2011, 210) proposes to add *(pl)a(n)tas*, or *(r)u(p)tas*, which are related to the affliction of the named body parts; nevertheless, this is attested nowhere else. The best solution, in my opinion, is the one of Kropp (2008): *(mor)t(u)os facite*. See especially 7.3.1.5.

⁴ The former editors added the name of the wife *Sillam*, Sánchez (2011, 211) reads *Maurilla(m)*.

⁵ Sánchez (2011, 211) proposes to add *cadat* and refutes *pereat*, which I regard better, see 7.3.1.5.

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<p>5. Bologna, Etruria dfx.1.1.2/3; Be 3 (no dating) Sánchez 2011 (Bologna 3), dates to the 4th-5th cent.; x; corrupted text; part of/ continuation of tablet No. 3. + fragment No. 4, Sánchez (2011, 215ff)</p>	<p>The text written vertically around the depiction of the tied up victim of the curse, i.e. Porcellus: <i>(Por)cellu(s) et (Mau)rill(a) ipsi...us molo...medicus</i>; the text continues horizontally: <i>Porcellu(s), Porcellus molo (=mulo) Porce(llus mu)lo · medico(s) · interficite · eum, · occidite, · eni(ca)te (=enecate), · profucate (=praefocate?) · Porcellu(m) · et · Maurilla(m) usure (=uxorem) · ips(i)us· anima, · cor · nata (=nates?), · (h)epar...isi...e...m...r...us</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. + f. nom./acc.?.; death</p>	
<p>I – victim of the curse, VM alphab., see No. 3; part of the text written vertically</p>	<p>fragment 4, the text is disrupted, only the intellegible part is ciety here: <i>...(febres?) tercianas quartana(s) (pa)lloris frigora morb(os)...Porcellus mulomedicus...</i></p>
<p>6. Cerveteri, Etruria dfx.1.1.3/1; So 32; grave; the 2nd/1st cent. BCE</p>	<p><i>...Mam(i)lius· M(arci) · f(i)lius) · C(aius) · Mamilius· Limetanus· C(aius) Mamilius ·Atelus C(aius) ·Macius Copo ·L(ucius) Laterius· Balbus· L(ucius) Laterius· Corvinus, L(ucius) · Laterius· Cor(v)us, Q(unitus) · Laterius· Rabilinus (...La)terius ·Hispanus, P(ublius) · Laterius· Luscus, M(arcus) · (Late)rius, Q(uintus) · (Lat)erius· Paperianus (...L)aterius Balbus...Mincius C(ai) f(i)lius), M(arcus) Laterius Mulus, Hileria Midia, Patolcia, Pineia.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 15 m. + 3 f. nom.;</p>	
<p>2× pater; N</p>	
<p>N; punctuation</p>	
<p>7. S. Severino, Picenum dfx.1.2.1/1; DT 131; grave, urn; ⚭</p>	<p><i>Antestia (=Antistia) Sabina et Vibia Politice (=Polytyche) Clymene, Cambosa piam a Felicissema Oppia Silvina dicato. CIL IX 5575; Kropp (2008): Antistia(m) Sabina(m) et Vibia(m) Polytyche(n) Clymene(m), Cambosa(m) piam a Felicissima Oppia Silvina dicat(am).</i></p>
<p>non-specific, 4 f. nom?/acc.?.; N; (the name of the author? <i>Felicissima</i>)</p>	
<p>N; right-to-left</p>	
<p>8. S. Benedetto, Marsi dfx.1.3.1/1; DT 132; water (lac. Fucinum); ⚭</p>	<p><i>Sextus Pompeius Leonida(s), L(ucius) Paquedius Philo, Septimius Felix, Marcius Celadus, Hernius Labicanus, Marinus,</i></p>

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non-specific ; 7 m. nom.; N	<i>C(aius) Gavius Secu(n)du(s).</i>
N	
9. Minturno, Latium dfx. 1.4.1/1; DT 190; grave; half of the 1 st cent.	<i>Dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)e(n)do, si quic(q)ua(m) sactitates (=sanctitatis) h(a)betes (=habetis), ac tadro (=trado) Ticene (=Tychenem) Carisi, quodqu[o]d agat, quod incida(n)t omnia in adversa. Dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)e(n)do il(l)ius mem(b)ra, colore(m), figura(m), caput, capilla (=capillos), umbra(m), cerebru(m), fru(n)te(m), supe(rcil)ia, os, nasu(m), me(n)tu(m), bucas, la(bra, ve)rba, (h)alitu(m), col(l)u(m), iocur, umeros, cor, pulmones, i(n)testinas (=intestina), ve(n)tre(m), brac(ch)ia, digitos, manus, u(m)b(i)licu(m), visica (=vesicam), femena,(=femina), genua, crura, talos, planta(s), tigidos (=digitos). Dii i(n)feri, si illa(m) videro tabesce(n)te(m), vobis sacrificiu(m) lubens ob an(n)uversariu(m) facere dibus parentibus il(l)iu(s) voveo? ...peculiu(m) ta(be)scas.</i> Transcription according to CIL 10, 8249.
non-specific ; 1 f. acc.? // acc. of cursed body parts; serva/uxor?; disease/ death	
<i>Dii inferi</i> votive formula	
10. Mentana, Latium/ Nomentum dfx. 1.4.2/1; DT 133; grave, urn; the first half of the 1 st cent. BCE; corrupted text	<i>T(itus) Octavius T(iti) l(ibertus), P(ublius) Fidustius, Pos(tumus?), Gavia, si qui(s) arvorsa(r)ius (=adversarius) aut(?) arvorsa(r)ia (=adversaria).</i>
legal adversarius ; 3 m. + 1 f. nom.; 1×libertus; N	
N; partially upside-down	
11. Mentana, Latium/ Nomentum dfx. 1.4.2/2; DT 134; So 1989; tab. opistogr.; grave, urn; the first half of the 1 st cent. BCE;	<i>A: T(itus) Octavius sermone, M(arcus) Fidustius v... mutus sermone, Fidustum mutus, Irena Plotiaes (=Plautiae) d(e)ficere (=defigere) ex(t)am, umer(os?), nesu(m) (=nisum?), quaestu(m), caput, oc(u)lus</i>

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corrupted text	(=oculos) <i>d(e)scribo cilos ... exei</i> <i>B: ...mem(b)ra omnia: latus, licua</i> (=lingua), <i>ilatu (=flatus) coria, talus,</i> <i>ex(t)ae, uncis (=ungues), visceres</i> (=viscera) <i>ex (h)oc(?) tand moreo ila con</i> <i>Mc... Trebonius⁶ quaestu(m), vestigia, ilatu</i> (=flatum?), <i>faci(em/am?), latus, bona,</i> <i>(i)ra(m)⁷ matse aepa nopru mecol i(-)nn in</i> <i>// ano...</i> the concluding sequence is completely unintelligible.
legal <i>mutus sermone</i> ; 3 m. + 1 f. nom.; filii/ser.? + <i>serva</i> ; acc.? of cursed body parts? restrictions	
N	
12. Mentana, Latium/ Nomentum dfx. 1.4.2/3, DT 135; tab. opistogr., grave, urn; the first half of the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>A: Malc(h)io Nicones (=Niconis) oculos,</i> <i>manus, dicitos (=digitos), brac(ch)ias, uncis</i> (=ungues), <i>capil(l)o(s), caput, pedes, femus</i> (=femur), <i>venter (=ventrem), natis</i> (=nates), <i>umlicus (=umbilicum), pectus,</i> <i>mamil(l)as, collus (=collum), os, buc(c)as,</i> <i>dentes, labias, metus (=mentum), oc(u)los,</i> <i>fronte(m), supercili(a), scap(u)las, umerum,</i> <i>nervia (=nervos), ossu(m), merilas</i> (=medullas), <i>venter (=ventrem),</i> <i>mentula(m), crus, qua(e)stu(m), lucru(m),</i> <i>valetudines defico (=defigo) in (h)as</i> <i>tabel(l)as.</i> <i>B: Rufa pu(b)lica manus, de(n)tes, oc(u)los,</i> <i>bsac(ch)ia (=bracchia), venter (=ventrem),</i> <i>mamil(l)a(s), pectus, os(s)u(m), merilas</i> (=medullas), <i>venter (=ventrem) ... crus, os,</i> <i>pedes, frontes (=frontem), uncis (=ungues),</i> <i>dicitos (=digitos), venter (=ventrem),</i> <i>umlicus (=umbilicum), cunus (=cunnum),</i> <i>ulvas (=vulvam ilae (=ilia) ... quaestum⁸</i>
non-specific ; <i>A:</i> 1 m. nom. fil./ser.; <i>B:</i> 1. f. nom.; <i>serva</i> <i>publica</i> ; disease/death?	
N	

⁶ See also the other reading in DT 134 after *ilatu:connatus ex annu novo cres ex oc tand moreo ila con matie bonus quadrin...*

⁷ Solin (1989) reads: *(i)ra(m)*; Kropp: (2008) *ira*. **DT 134:** *ra*.

⁸ Kropp states the interpretation of Solin (1998, 315), she adds *quaestum* to the text and reads *cunnum quaestum* (analogically to side *A*) instead of the sequence *(v)ulva(m) il(i)a/ilae* as stated in DT 135), see 7.3.1.2. DT 135 amends the concluding part *ilae Rufas* to *ilia Rufae*, this reading has been taken over by Solin

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	<i>Rufaes (=Rufae) pu(b)lica(e) def(i)co (=defigo) in (h)as tabel(l)as.</i>
13. Ostia, Latium dfx.1.4.3/1; Be 32; So 36; grave; Ø	<i>Agathemeris · Manliae · ser(va) · Achulea · Fabiae ser(va) ornatric, Caletuche (=Caletyche) · Vergiliae ser(va) ornatric · Hilara · Liciniae (serva orn)atric · Crheste (=Chreste) · Corn(eliae) ser(va) ornatric · Hilara · Seiae · ser(va) ornatric, Mosc(h)is · ornatric, Rufa · Apeiliae · ser(va) ornatric, Chila · ornatric.</i>
non-specific ; 8 f. nom., serva; N	
N; punctuation	
14. Ostia, Latium dfx.1.4.3/2; So 37; tab. opistogr.; grave; the first half of the 1 st cent.; very corrupted text	<i>A: (...inferis (lig)o Tucia Crecta e(t) Antonia...a...e(t) Silio e(t)...D(e)xtera mater ...d n...oc...no M(n)estus. Peri(an)t, (r)ogo: Icimas (=Icmas) Mevia r...a.er.pe...lus oc(c)idant. Ru(fa) Papria Unaesi(me) (=Onaesime)...u...lu...itine Lu(p)us ...nno ...r...a colico (=colligo) mende(m) (=mentem) ...tit...e Monta..lce tabes(cant) Trimigenia e(t)...rm..ace...(Re)stuti Resipecti Iulia Fort(u)nata ...o... vac ...in ... Epia Scant(illa?) Ulia Pia peri(ant) ...o...ntri...m...t...Iucunda Maevia ...e...ce ... B: Mucan(a) Iucunda (M)aevia Procla Iu(li)a (T)ripe(a) Prote Minucia M...Cuarta et Fadia Nereis Po...stidia Aur(elia) Mus(a)rio...aep...</i>
non-specific ; A: 8 f. + 4 m. nom.; B: 7 f. nom.; serv./lib.?.; death	
<i>inferis</i>	
15. Rome dfx.1.4.4/1; DT 137; So 37; x, clay lamplet, the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Helenus suom (=eius) nomen eimferis (=inferis) mandat, stipem strenam, lumen suom secum defert. Ne quis eum solvat, nisi nos, qui fecimus.</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom.;	
<i>inferis</i>	
16. Rome dfx.1.4.4/2; DT 138; grave?; the 1 st cent.	<i>Danae ancilla no(v)icia Capitonis: hanc (h)ostiam acceptam habeas et consumas</i>

(1995, 571) and Önnersfors (1991, No. 19). Borsari (AE 1901, 183) reads in the last but one line *quas il(l)ae Rufas*.

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<p>rivalry in love, 2 f. nom.; ancilla/uxor; death?/separation</p>	<p><i>Danaene. Habeas Eutychem Soterichi uxorem.</i></p>
<p>N</p>	
<p>17. Rome dfx.1.4.4/3; DT 139; grave; the 1st cent. BCE</p>	<p><i>Quomodo mortuos, qui istic sepultus est nec loqui nec sermonare potest, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium Faustum mortua sit nec loqui nec sermonare possit. Ita uti mortuos nec ad deos nec ad homines acceptus est, seic Rhodine apud M(arcum) Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum ille mortuos, quei istic sepultus est.</i></p>
<p>rivalry in love, 1 f. nom. and further 2 m. + 2. f. acc.; restrictions/separation</p>	<p><i>Licinium accepta sit et tantum valeat, quantum ille mortuos, quei istic sepultus est.</i></p>
<p><i>Dis pater</i></p>	<p><i>Dite pater, Rhodine(m) tibi commendo, uti semper odio sit M(arco) Licinio Fausto. Item M(arcum) Hedium Amphionem, item C(aium) Popillium Apollonium, item Vennoniam(m) Hermionam(m), item Serviam(m) Glycinna(m).</i></p>
<p>18. Rome dfx.1.4.4/4; DT 140; So 1998; So 2004; grave, urn; 2nd/3rd cent. – the second half of the 4th cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>(Praesenticius pistrinarius?) filius (Aselles) ...qui (manet in regione non)a, (trad)o⁹ ab hac (h)ora, ab hoc die, ab hac nocte t...mti c...ege...tere,¹⁰ contere, confr(in)ge et... trade morti, fili(u)m Aselles, Praese(n)ti-</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. nom./acc. mater; disease, death</p>	<p><i>(ci)um pistrinarium (=pistrinarium), qui manet in regione nona, ubi videtur arte(m) sua(m) facere et trade Plutoni praeposito mortuorum et si forte te contempserit, patiatu febris, frigus, tortionis, palloris, sudores, obbripilationis (=obripilationes) meridianas, interdianas, serutinas (=serotinas), nocturns ab hac (h)ora, ab hoc die, ab hac (nocte?)(e)t perturba eum, ne repr(a)e(h)aensione(m) (h)abeat et si forte occansione(m) invenerit, praefocato eum, Praese(n)tetium, fili(um) Aselles, in t(h)ermas, in valneas (=balneis), in</i></p>
<p><i>Pluto</i>; I (standing daemon), VM (names of daemons alphab.), V (angular vocal. pattern)</p>	

⁹ See DT 140.

¹⁰ Solin (2004, 118) reads *tene* instead of *tere*; he regards *pistrinarius* a contortion of Lat. *pistrinarius*, just like Audollent.

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	<p><i>quocumque loco, et pede(m) frange Pr(aesentici)o Aselles et (si) forte te seducat per aliqua (artifici?)a et rideat de te et exsultetur tibi, vince, peroccide filium mares (=maris), Praese(n)tecium pristin(ar)iu(m), filium (A)selles, qui manet in regione (nona, ed)e ede, tacy tacy. Victor, Asella mater, Prae(sen)tici(us) pris(tina)r(ius). ΟυσΙΡΩΜΕΝΙ, ΟΥΣΙΡΙΑΣΙ, ΟΥΣΙΡΙΝΑΣΙΡΙ, ΟΥΣΙΡΙΝΕΜΟΡΙ, ΕΥΛΑΜΟΝ ΚΑΤΈΧΕ.</i></p>
<p>19. Rome dfx.1.4.4/5; DT 141; So 1998; grave, urn; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>Asterius, Asterius, Asterius, Asterius, Aur(i)cin(cta) libera, qu(a)e nascitor (=nascitur) di (=de) matre (c)um Samio; CA Auricin(c)ta lou...eec libera, qu(a)e nascitor di matre Auricin(c)ta, Auricin(c)ta.</i> (perhaps a man curses his ex-girlfriend who is going to have a child with Samius? – the interpr. of So 1998:77)</p>
<p>rivalry in love; 1 f. + 1 m. + child? nom.; N/separation</p>	
<p>SM, I (mummy, Sol/Sarapis, hawk); written partially upside-down, partially vertically</p>	
<p>20. Rome dfx.1.4.4/8; Be 33; Fox 1; tab. opistogr.; x; half of the 1st cent. BCE; corrupted text, amended according to the following tablets; for the reading, see Fox (1912)</p>	<p><i>A: Bona pulchra Proserpina, (P)lut(o)nis uxor, seive me Salviam deicere oportet, eripias salutem, co(rp)us, co)lorem, vires, virtutes Ploti. Tradas (Plutoni), viro tuo. Ni possit cogitationibus sueis hoc vita(re. Tradas) illunc febrī quartan(a)e, t(ertian)ae, cottidia(n)ae, quas (cum illo) luct(ent, delucent: illunc) ev(in)cant, (vincant), us(que dum animam eiu)s eripia(nt. Quare ha)nc victimam tibi trad(o, Prose)rpi(na, seiv)e me Proserpin(a, sei)ve m(e Ach)eruosiam dicere oportet. M(e mittas a)rcessitum canem tricepitem, qui (Ploti) cor eripiat. Polliciarus illi te daturum t(r)es victimas palma(s, ca)rica(s), por(c)um nigrum hoc sei pe(r)ferit (ante mensem) M(artium. Haec, P)r(oserpina Salvia tibi dabo), cum compote(m) fe(ce)ris.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m., acc. of cursed body parts, servus (<i>Plotius</i>); disease/death</p>	
<p><i>Proserpina</i> (<i>Salvia, Acherusia</i>), <i>Pluto, canis triceps</i> (Cerberus) votive formula</p>	

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	<p><i>Do tibi caput Ploti Avon(iae. Pr)oserpina S(alvia), do tibi fron(tem Plo)ti. Proserpina Salvia, do (ti)b(i) su(percilia) Ploti. Proserpin(a) Salvia, do (tibi palpebra)s Plo(ti). Proserpina Sa(lvia, do tibi pupillas) Ploti. Proser(pina Salvia, do tibi nare)s, labra, or(iculas, nasu)m, lin(g)uam, dentes P(loti), ni dicere possit Plotius, quid (sibi dole)at: collum, umeros, bracchia, d(i)git(os, ni po)ssit aliquit se adiutare: (pe)c(tus, io)cinera, cor, pulmones, n(i possit) senti(re), quit sibi doleat: (intes)tina, venter, um(b)ilicu(s), latera, (n)i p(oss)it dormire: scapulas, ni poss(i)t s(a)nus dormire: viscum sacrum, nei possit urinam facere: natis, anum, (fem)ina, genua, (crura), tibias, pe(des, talos, plantas, digito)s, unguis, ni po(ssit s)tare (sua vi)rt(u)te. Seive (plu)s, seive parvum scrip(tum fuerit), quomodo quicqu(id) legitim(e scripsit), mandavit, seic ego Ploti ti(bi tr)ado, mando, ut tradas, (mandes men)se Februari(o e)cillunc. B: Mal(e perdat, mal)e exset (=exeat), (mal)e disperd(at. Mandes, tra)das, ni possit (ampliu)s ullum (mensem asp)icere, (videre, contempla)re.</i></p>
<p>21. Rome dfx.1.4.4/9; Be 34, Fox 2; So 1968; tab. opistogr.; x; half of the 1st cent. BCE; corrupted text, see No. 20</p>	<p><i>A: (B)ona pu(lchra P)roserpina, Plutoni(s u)xsor, seive (me Salviam) deicere oportet, eripias salu(tem), corp(us), colorem, vires, virtutes Av(on)ia(e). T(r)adas Plutoni, viro tuo. (Ni possit cogitati)onibus s(ueis hoc) quidqui(d) vit(are. Protinus tradas illanc) febri quart(an)ae, t(ertianae, cottidianae), quas cum illa (l)ucten(t, delu)ctent, illanc) evincant, vincan(t, usque dum animam) eius eripiant. (Qu)are hanc victimam (tibi) trado, (Proserpin)a, seive me (Pros)erpina se(ive me Ach)eruosiam dicere (opo)rtet. Me m(ittas a)rcessitum cane(m tricipi)te(m, qui</i></p>
<p>non-specific (<i>Avonia</i>); 1 f.; acc. of cursed body parts; disease/death</p>	
<p><i>Proserpina</i> (<i>Salvia</i>, <i>Acherusia</i>), <i>Pluto</i>, <i>canis triceps</i> (<i>Cerberus</i>) votive formula</p>	

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	<p><i>Avoniae)s cor eripiat. (Pollicearis illi te dat)urum tres victim(as): palmas, carica(s, porcum ni)grum, hoc si perfec(er)it an(te mensem) Martium. Haec (Salv)ia tibi dabo, cu(m) compotem feceris: do tibi caput (A)von(iae)s, Pr(ose)rpina Salvia, d(o) tibi frontem Avonia(e, Pr)oserpina Salvia, do tibi supercilia (Avoni)aes, Proserpi(na (Sa)lvia, do tibi palpe(bra)s Avoniaes, Proserpi(na S)alv(i)a, do (ti)bi pupillas (Av)onia(e)s, (Proserpina Sal)via, do t(ibi) oricula(s, la)bra, (nares), nasum, (de)ntes, li(n)guam Avon(iae, ni dice)re possit (Avo)nia, quid s(i)bi (dol)eat: (collum, umero)s, (br)acchia, digito(s, ni) possit ali(quid) se adiutare, pec(tus, ioci)nera, cor, pulmones, ni (possit) quit sentire, quit sibi dolea(t: intest)ina, ventrem, umbilicum, scapul(as), latera, ni po(ssit) dorm(i)re: viscum sac(r)um, ni possi(t) urinam f(ace)re : (nati)s, femina, anum, gen(ua, crur)a, tibias, pedes, talos, (p)la(ntas, digi)tos, ungues, ni (po)ssit (stare) su(a virtute). Seive plus (seiv)e p(ar)vum (scri)ptum fuerit, quomodo quicqui(d le-giti)me scripsit, mandav(it, s)EIC ego (Avo)niam tibi trado, man(do), ut tradas (illanc m)ensi Februario. B: (Male perdat, male e)x(eat), male disperd(at). (Ma)nd(es, tr)adas, nei po(s)s(i)t ampli(us) ull(um) men(s)em aspicere, vi(dere), contemplari.</i></p>
<p>22. Rome dfx.1.4.4/10; Be 35; Fox 3; tab. opistogr.; x; half of the 1st cent. BCE, corrupted text, see No. 20 a 21</p>	<p><i>A: Bona pulch(ra Proserpin)a, Plutonis uxor, seive me S(al)via(m dicer)e oportet, eripias salutem, c(o)rpus, colorem, vires, virtutes Maximae Vesoniae. Tra(das) Pluton(i), viro (tuo), ni poss(it co)gitationibus su(eis hoc) quidq(uid vitare. Pro)tinu(s) tra(das illanc) febr(i) qu(artanae, terti)anae, (cottidianae), quas cum illa luc(tent, delucent, illanc) ev(i)ncant,</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 f. (<i>Maxima Vesonia</i>); acc. of cursed body parts; disease/death</p>	
<p><i>Proserpina</i> (Salvia,</p>	

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<p><i>Acherusia</i>, <i>Pluto</i>, <i>canis triceps</i> (Cerberus) votive formula</p>	<p><i>vincan(t, u)sque dum anima(m) e(ius) eripiant. Q(uar)e hanc victima(m) tibi trad(o), P(roserpina, sei)ve me Pros(erpina) seive me (Acherusiam) dicere oportet. Me mitta(s arcessitu)m canem tr(ic)ep(item), qui (Maximae Vesonia)e cor er(ip)iat. Polli(cearis illi te da)turum tres victimas: palm(as, caricas, porc)um nigrum, hoc sei(p)erf(e)cerit an)te mense(m) Martium. Ha(e)c (Salvi)a ti(bi) dabo, cum compote(m) fece(ri)s: do tibi ca(put) Max(i)mae Vesoniae, P(roser)pina S(alvi)a, do tibi frontem Max(i)mae (Vesoni)ae, Proserpina S(alvia), do tibi super(cilia) Vesoniae, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi palpetras Maximae Vesoni(ae), Proserpina Salvia, do tibi pupillas Vesoniae, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi oriclas, labras, nares, nasum, lingua(m), dentes Maximae Vesoniae, nei dicere possit Maxima Vesonia, quid sibi doleat: collum, umeros, bra(cchia), digitos, ni possit aliquit se (adi)utar(e: pectus, ioc)inera, cor, pulmone(s, ni possit) sentire, quit sibi doleat: i(nte)st(ina), venter, umb(licus), scapulae, (latera), n(i) possit dormire: viscu(m) sacrum), n(i) possit u(rina)m face(re: natis, anum, femina), genua, (ti)bia(s, crur)a, pedes, talos, (plantas, digito)s, ungis, ni possit sta(re sua vir)tute. Seive plus seive par(vum scriptu)m fuerit, quomod(o) quicquid legitime) scripsit, man(davit, seic ego M)ax(imam Veso(niam, Proserpina, tibi) trado, m(ando, ut tradas illa)nc mensi Februar(io). B: (Male), male, male perdat, (male e)x(s)et (=exeat), male disp(e)rdat. Tr(a)das, ni possit (a)mpliu(s) ullum (m)ensem aspi(c)ere, vid(e)re, contempar(e).</i></p>
<p>23. Rome dfx.1.4.4/11; Be 36;</p>	<p>A: <i>(Bona pulchra Proserpina, Plutonis</i></p>

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<p>Fox 4; tab. opistogr.; x; half of the 1st cent. BCE; very fragmentary, amended text, see No. 20, 21, 22</p>	<p><i>uxsor), seive me (Salviam dicere oportet, eripias salutem), c(o)rpus, (colorem, vires, v)irt(utes ...i). Tra(d)as (Plutoni, viro tuo, ne possit cogitationib)us su(ei)s hoc</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1, name not preserved, m.?.; acc. of cursed body parts; disease/death</p>	<p><i>(quicquid vitare. Protinus tradas illunc febr)uar)-tan(a)e, (tertiana)e, cottidiana)e, qua)s cu(m illo l)ucent, (delucent, illunc e)vin(cant, vinca)nt, usque (dum animam eiu)s (er)ipia(nt. Qua)re hanc (victimam tibi) tra(do, Proserpina), seive me</i></p>
<p><i>Proserpina (Salvia, Acherusia), Pluto, canis triceps (Cerberus) votive formula</i></p>	<p><i>(Proserpina seive me Acherusiam) dicere (oportet. Me mittas arcessitum ca)nem (tricipitem, qui ...i cor eri)pia(t. Po)lliciarus (illi te daturum tres victimas: palmas, (caricas, porcum nigrum, hoc sei per)fecerit (ante mensem Martium. Haec Proserp)ina tibi (dabo, cum compotem fecer)is: do tibi (caput ...i, Proserpina Salvi)a, do tibi (frontem ...i, Proserpina Sa)lvia, do tibi (supercilia ...i, Proserpina Sa)lvia, do tibi (palpebras ...i, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi pupillas ...i, Proserpina Salvia, do tibi n)ares, labra, (oriculas, linguam, dentes, n)asum...i, ni dicere possit...ius), quid (sibi do)leat: (collum, umeros, br)acc(hia), dig(itos, ni) possit (aliquid se adiutare l) p)ect(us, ioci)nera, (cor, pulmones, ni pos)sit sen(tire), quit (sibi doleat: intestina, ve)nter, umblicus, (latera, ni possit dormire: s)cap(ul)as, ni (possit sanus dormire: viscu)m sacrum, (ni possit urinam) f(acere: natis, a)num,(femina, gen)u(a, crura, tibi)as, pedes, (talos, plantas, digitos, ungis), ni (possit stare sua vir)tu(te. Sei)ve (plus seive parvum script)um (fuerit, quomodo quic)q(ui)d legitime (scripsit, mandavit), seic ego(...) tibi trado, (mando, ut tradas i)llun(c) m(e)nsi (Februari)o. B: Mal(e)p)erd(a)t, male (ex)seat, male dispe)rd(a)t.</i></p>

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	<i>M(andes, tra)das, (ni possit amplius ullu)m m(ense)m aspicere, (videre, contemplare).</i>
24. Rome dfx. 1.4.4/12; Be 37; Fox 5; tab. opistogr.; x; half of the 1 st cent. BCE; fragmentary, amended text, see No. 20, 21, 22, 23	<i>A: (Bona pulchra) Proser(pin)a, Pl(utonis u)xsor, se(ive me Salviam dic)ere (oportet, erip)ias s(al)utem, (corpus, colorem, vires, virtutes...ae Aqu(illiae. Tradas Plutoni, viro tuo, ni) pos(sit cogit)ationibus (sueis hoc quicquid vitare. Tradas illa(nc) f)ebri qua(rt)ana(e, tertianae, cottidianae, quae cum illo l)ucent, (delucent, illanc evincant, vi)ncant, u(sque dum animam eius eripiant. Qua)re hanc (victimam tibi) tra(do, Proserpina), seive me (Proserpina seive me Acherusia)m dic(ere oportet. Mihi mittas arcessitum canem) trice(pitem, qui...ae Aquilliae cor eripiat. Polli)ciarus (illi te daturum tres victimas: pal)ma(s, caricas, porcum nigrum, hoc si perfecerit ante mensem Martium. Haec Salvia tibi dabo cum computem feceris: do tibi caput...ae Aquilliae), Pros(erpina Salvia, d)o t(ib)i (frontem...ae Aquilliae. Pro)serpin(a Salvia), d(o ti)bi su(percilia...ae Aquilliae. P)ros(erpina Salvia, do tibi palpebras...ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Salvia, do tibi pu)pilla(s...ae Aquilliae. Proserpina Salvia, d)o t(ibi nares, labra, auriculas, linguam, dentes, nasum...ae, Aquilliae ni dicere possit...a Aquillia, quid sibi doleat: collum, umeros, bracchia, digitos, ne possit aliquid se a)diuta(re: pectus, iocinera, cor, pulmon)es, (ni possit sentire, quid sibi doleat: i)nt(estina, venter, umblicus, latera, ni possit dormire: scapulas, ni possit sana dormire: vis)cum (sac)rum, (ni possit urinam facere): f(emina, natis, anum genua, tibia)s cru(ra, pedes, talos, plantas, digi)tos, (ungis, ni possit s)tare sua (virtute. Seive plus) seive parv(um sc)riptum (fuerit, quomodo quicquid) leg(itime scri)psi(t,</i>
non-specific; 1 f. (<i>Aquillia</i>); acc. of cursed body parts; disease/ death	
<i>Proserpina</i> (<i>Salvia</i> , <i>Acherusia</i>), <i>Pluto</i> , <i>canis triceps</i> (<i>Cerberus</i>) votive formula	

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	<i>mandavit), se(ic ego Aquilliam tibi trado, mando, ut tra)das, m(andes illanc mense Februario. B: Male perdat, male exseat, male disp)erd(at. Mandes, tradas, ni possit amplius ullum mensem aspicere, videre, contemplare).</i>
25. Rome? dfx. 1.4.4/13; So 34; grave, urn; the 4 th /5 th cent.	<i>Deprecor vos, sancti angeli. Quomodo (ha)ec anima intus in(cl)usa tenetur et angustiatur (=angustatur)(et) non vede (=videt) (ne)que (l)umine (=lumen), ne(que) a(li)quem (refri)gerium non (h)abet, si(c a)nima, (mentes, cor)pus Collecticii, quem pepe(rit) Agne(lla), teneatur, ard(eat), destabes(cat) (=detabescat). Usque (ad) infernum (se)mper (du)ci(t)e Collecticium, quem peperet (=peperit) Agnella.</i>
non-specific/rivalry in love?; 1 m., acc. mater; death (to be taken to hell)	
<i>sancti angeli</i> dipinto	
26. Rome dfx. 1.4.4/14; So 33; grave, urn; the end of the 2 nd cent.	<i>Comodo (=quomodo) isti non qumbere (=cumbere) inter s(e)...peculio illi inter se consu(m)p(t)ionem cognoscunt, sic ne(c) Eufrates Iulius, Manilia Bictoria (=Victoria). Ego coacta pecoris, peculi, Iuli Euphratis et Maniliae Bictorias (=Victoriae), hos ego ubicumque deposui.</i>
rivalry in love; 1 m. + 1 f. nom.; separation	
N; with the depiction of married couple with a child between them	
27. Rome, dfx. 1.4.4/15; So 35; tab. opistogr.; domus Liviae, the Palatine Hill; the first half of the 1 st cent.	<i>A: D(ii) Manes com(m)ando (=commendo) ut perdant (=pereant?)¹¹ B: inimicos meus (=meos) com(m)and(o): Domitia, Omonia, Menecratis, alius trado: Nicea, Cyrus, Nice, Porista, Demo, Asclepiades, Time, Ce, Philaia, Caletic(he), Menotia, itimm (=item) atversar(ios) annor(um?) menor(es?) (=minores).</i>
legal inimicos; 9 f. + 5 m. nom.; servi?; restrictions	
<i>Di Manes</i>	
28. Rome dfx. 1.4.4/16; CIL 11,616; shrine; the 2 nd cent.	<i>T(itus), Tregillo, Celsus.</i>
non-specific; 3 m. nom.; N	

¹¹ Kropp (2008) amends *to pereant*; both interpretations are possible see 7.3.2.

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N	
<p>29. Calvi Risorta, Campania dfx.1.5.1/1; DT 191; tab. opistogr.; grave; the first half of the 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Dite inferi C(aium) Babullium et fotr(icem) (=fututricem?) eius Tertia(m) Salvia(m) B: Dite (pr)om(is)sum Quartae Satiae recipite inferis.</i></p>
<p>rivalry in love; <i>A</i>: 1 m. + 1 f. acc.; <i>B</i>: 1. f.; separation; author's name <i>Quarta Statia</i>?</p>	
<p><i>Dite, di (inferi)</i> written vertically</p>	
<p>30. Capua, Campania dfx.1.5.2/1; DT 195; grave; half of the 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>Cn(aeum) · Numidium Astragalum v(oveo) il(l)ius · vita(m) valetudin(em), quaistum · ipsu(m)q(ue) · uti tabescat · morbu. (Ac?) C(aius) Sextiu(s) · tabe(scata) ma(n)do· rogo.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 2 m. acc./nom.; disease, death</p>	
<p>N; punctuation</p>	
<p>31. Cumae, Campania dfx.1.5.3/1; DT 196; grave; θ</p>	<p><i>Nomen delatum Naeviae L(ucii) l(ibertae) Secunda(e), seive ea alio nomini est.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 f. liberta;</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>32. Cumae, Campania dfx.1.5.3/2; DT 199; grave; the 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>M(arcum) Heium M(arci) f(ilium), Caled(um), ...Blossiam G(ai) f(iliam), P(ublium) Heium M(arci) f(ilium), Cale(dum), Chilonem Hei M(arci) s(ervum), M(arcum) Heium (M(arci)?) l(ibertum) (?) G(aium) Blossium l(ibertum) Bithum Atton(em?) (He)i M(arci) ser(vum) Blossiam L(uci) f(iliam) (hos?) homines omnes infereis (=inferis) (de)is deligo, ita ut ni q(uis) (e)orum quemcumque...re possit, ni...quid(quam agere?) p(ossit?). Id ded(ico) deis inferis?) ut ea ita faci(ant).</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 6 m. + 2 f. acc.; pater/patronus; restrictions?</p>	
<p><i>inferis deis</i></p>	
<p>33. Pompei, Campania dfx.1.5.4/1; So 39; 2 writing</p>	<p><i>A: ... (h)oc prim(um) ... P(hi)lematio Hostili (serva) facia(m) (=faciem) ... capil(lu(m),</i></p>

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tablets (lead); grave; the 2 nd cent. BCE; fragm.	<i>cerebru(m), flatus, ren(es)...ut illai non suc(c)edat¹² n(ec)... qui praec... odium) ...ut il(l)ic (=ille) illa(n)c (=illam) odiat. Como(do) ...(h)aec nec agere ne ilai (=illa)... qui(c)qua(m) agere pos(s)it ula ...os P(hi)lematio... B: nec agere nec in...nec u(l)la(s) res pos(s)it pete(re), quae ul(l)o (h)uma(no... Comodo (=quomodo) is eis desert(us), ilaec (=illa) deserta sit cu(n)no. A(nte) d(iem) N(onum) C(alendas) N(ovembres?) difidos (=defixos) a dic il(l)aec deser(ta?)...ida fiat...dic il(l)ae ...Vestilia Hostili.</i>
rivalry in love ; 1 f. ser. nom.; separation/restrictions	
N	
34. Pompei, Campania dfx. 1.5.4/2; So 40; grave; θ	<i>Κλαυδία Ελένα (Klaudia Elena)</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. N	
N; written alphab.	
35. Campania? dfx. 1.5.6/1; So 1998; water; the beginning of the 1 st cent.?	<i>Philocomus, Antioc(h)us, P(h)arnace(s), Sosus, Erato, Epidia tabescat, dom(i)nis non placeat. Eide(m) (=item) his (=hi), quorum nom(ina) hic sunt perea(nt), quo(d) e(t) placean(t) peculio. Il(l)orum dicta, facta ad inferos.</i>
non-specific ; 4 m. + 2 f. nom.; disease/death	
<i>ad inferos</i>	
36. Lucania? dfx. 1.6.1/1; DT 211; grave; θ	<i>M(arcus) Afarius Ampilatus.</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom.; N	
N	
37. Altino, Venetia; dfx. 1.7.1/1; in the soil near to an ancient town; half of the 1 st cent.; fragm.	<i>L(ucius) Caulius Hieronymus, L(ucius) Caulius Hieronymus, Stephanephoria, Secundus, Onesimus, Festa, Diocles, Daphnus, Proclus, Zmyrna Hieronymis, Naustrebius Severus, Maecius Carter,</i>
non-specific ; cca 15 m. + 6 f.	

¹² CIL I² 2, 2541 *suc(c)edas*.

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nom.; pater/dominus (names repeat themselves); N	<i>Maecius Berullus, Satrenus, Munatia Marcella, Paetinus, Septicianus, Macrina ...ia, L(ucius) Caulius Hier(onymus), Stephanephoria, Secundus, Onesimus, Festa, (Di)ocles, Italus, Cervoniu(s,...)onius Opilio, Cervonia. Dedicati(?)...as¹³// dedi defici(t)as.</i>
38. Este, Venetia dfx. 1.7.2/1; Be 39; grave, urn; the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>Privatum Camidium, Q(uitus) Praesentius Albus, Secunda uxor Pr(a)esenti, T(itus) Praesentius, Maxsuma (=Maxima)T(iti) Praesenti uxor, C(aius) Arilius, C(aius) Arenus, Polla Fabricia(?), L(ucius) Allius, L(ucius) Vassidius Clemens, Prisca (u)xor Vassidi, Monimus Acutius, Ero(tis?) Acutia(?), C(aius) Pro... Damio l(ibertus). Si quis (i)nimicus inimi(ca), adve(r)sarius, hostis, Orce pater, (P)roserpina cum tuo Plutone, tibi trado, ut tu il(l)u(m) mit(t)as et deprem(as) (=deprimas), tradito tuis canibus tricipiti(bus) et bicipitibus, ut ere(piant) capita capita cogit(ata?), cor in tuom gem(in?)...r(ecipia)nt il(l)os...</i>
legal inimicus/a, adversarius, hostis ; 9 m. + 5 f. acc./nom.; restrictions/death	
<i>Orce pater, Proserpina cum Plutone, canes tricipites, bicipites</i>	
39. Concordia, Venetia; dfx. 1.7.3/2; So 1977; water – canal; the first half of the 2 nd cent. – the beginning of the 3 rd cent.; fragm.	<i>Ael(l)ia Decimana D I Iulius ...isina deperi(ant).</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. + 1 f. nom.; death	
N	
40. Cremona, Venetia dfx. 1.7.4/1; So 1998; reading according to So 2004; in the soil; the beginning of the 1 st	<i>Q(uitus) · Domatius · C(ai) · f(ilius). · bonum· tempus mihi · mea(e)que · aetati. · Id · ego· mando· remandata (So: demandata) · quo· is¹⁴. apud· deos· i(n)feros· ut· pereant</i>

¹³ For the reading of the last two words as: *dedi defici(t)as* see, TheDeMa 547.

¹⁴ Kropp 2008 reads: *quo(d) (h)is* interpreting as *ut hi*.

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cent.	· <i>et (d)efigantur quo(d) · ego heres ·sim pupillus Corani(us) C(ai) ·f(ili)ii</i> , ¹⁵ · <i>C(aius) · Pobl(ici)us) · populi · lib(ertus) · Ap(h)rodis(ius) · L(ucius) · Corneliu(s) · meo · sum(p)tu · defig(o) · illos · quo(d) · pereant.</i>
non-specific /inheritance; 5 m. pater/patronus; nom.; pupillus (little child); death	
<i>apud Deos inferos</i> punctuation ·	
41. Pula, Histria dfx.1.7.5/1 ; Be 6; grave; half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>Caecilius Honoratus, Mindius Donatus, Mindius Charmides, Mindius Zoticus, Mindius Hermes, Mindius Maleus, Mindius Narcissus, Mindius Eititeus(?), Marcius Soter, Decidius Hister, Decidia Certa, Minervius Epaphroditus, Lucifer disp(ensator), Lucifer adiutor coloni, Vitalis disp(ensator), Trophimus, Trophimus alius, Anconius qui vilicavit, Tertius, Amandus, Viator.</i>
non-specific ; 21 m. nom.; N	
N	
42. Pula, Histria dfx.1.7.5/2 ; Be 7; grave; half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>(Mindius Narcissus, Mindius Maleus, Decidius Hister, Decidia Certa, Minervius Epaphroditus, Me(nande)r(?), Lu(cifer d)ispensator, Lucifer alius, Amandus dispensator, Vitalis dispensator, Trophimus qui dispensavit, Anconius qui vilicavit, Viator colonus. (Sept)imius(?) Sabinianus, Flavius Hedistus, Annius Calvo, Annius Civilis.</i>
non-specific ; 16 m. + 1 f. nom.; <i>dispensator</i> (the names from tablet No. 41 dominate); N	
N	
43. Classe, Aemilia; dfx.1.8.1/1 ; So 1988; grave; θ	<i>Q(uitus) Tiburius Optatus tr(aditur?)</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom.; N	
N	
44. Classe, Aemilia dfx.1.8.1/2 ; grave; θ	<i>Venustus tr(aditur?)</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom.; N	
N	

¹⁵ Kropp (2008) reads: *C(ai) Grani C(ai) f(ili)ii*.

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<p>45. Verona, Italia; grave; the 2nd cent. Sánchez Natalías 2016</p>	<p><i>Augustum, Carsadia(m) vel Carsidia(m), Secundum Caupunum vel Caupon(i)um def(ig)o.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 2 m. + 1 f. acc.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	

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I.2. Hispania

HISPANIA	TEXT
<p>46. Ampurias dfx.2.1.1/1; So 25; Curbera 1996; water (beach); the 1st cent. BCE</p> <p>legal <i>qui inimici</i>; 6 m. + 2 f. nom.; author's name Seneca? N</p> <p>N</p>	<p><i>Veranio, Pupilius Stabilio, Apolindorus, Phulargurus Scapi, Surisca Alexae, Papius, Amphio Parnaci(s), Zodianana, omnes qui inimeici Senecae.</i></p>
<p>47. Ampurias dfx.2.1.1/2; So 26; Ga 52; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 1st cent.</p> <p>legal <i>legati</i>; 3 m. nom. + non-specified legates; N</p> <p>N; right-to-left, upside-down</p>	<p><i>A: Maturus, proqurator Augusti, consilium legati, legati Indicetanorum (consilium) Indicetanoru(m) B: Olossitan(i), Titus Aurelius Fulvus, legatus Augusti, Rufus, legatus Augus(ti).</i></p>
<p>48. Ampurias dfx.2.1.1/3; So 27; Ga 52; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 1st cent.</p> <p>legal <i>advocati</i>; 4 m. nom. + non-specified legates (the same people as in No. 47)</p> <p>N; right-to-left, upside-down</p>	<p><i>A: Consilium Fulvi legati, Olossitani, Campanus Fidentinus Augus(ti)...o...</i> <i>B: Fulvus, legatus Augusti, Rufus, legatus Augusti, Maturus, proqu(r)ator Augusti, legati, advocati Ind(i)cetanorum.</i></p>
<p>49. Ampurias dfx.2.1.1/4; So 28; Ga 52; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 1st cent.</p> <p>legal <i>A: adversari mei, B: advocati</i>; 4 m. nom. + legates, see 47, 48; N</p> <p>N; right-to-left, upside-down</p>	<p><i>A: (Oloss)itani, Sempronius Campanus Fidentinus atversari (=adversarii) me(i) inique ne int(er)sint.</i> <i>B: (Ful)vus legatus (Aug)usti, Rufus lega(tus Aug)usti, Matu(ru)s, pro(cu)r(at)or (Aug)usti, consilium, legati atvocati (Indicetano)ru(m).</i></p>
<p>50. Barchín de Hoyo dfx.2.1.2/1; So 30; Curbera 1999; a lead discus, opistogr.;</p>	<p><i>A: ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ κα(ἰ) ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμῶν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀθην δίδωμι, παραδίδωμι Νεικίαν καὶ Τειμὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄ(λ)λους οἷς δικαίως</i></p>

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in the soil; before the 1 st cent.	<i>κατηρασάμην.</i>
non-specific ; 2 f. acc.; N	<i>B: Pro me, pro meis devotos, defixos inferis</i>
<i>inferis</i> written in a spiral., <i>A</i> : Greek text in alphabet; <i>B</i> : Latin letters and language	<i>Timen et Niciam et ceteros, quos merito devovi supr(a pro) me pro mei(s), Timen, Nician, Nicia(n).</i>
51. Saguntum dfx.2.1.3/1 ; Corell 1994; in the soil; the 1 st cent.;	<i>Quintula cum Fortunali sit semel et numquam.</i>
rivalry in love ; 1 m. + 1 f.; separation	
N	
52. Carmona dfx.2.2.2/1 ; Corell 1993; Sáez 1999; x; the second half of the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>Dis · inferis (=inferis) · vos · rogo · utei (=uti) · recipiates (=recipiatis) · nomen · Luxsia · A(uli) · Antesti · filia · caput · corco(n)s(i)lio(m) · valetudine(m) · vita(m) · membra · omnia · accedat morbo · (=morbus?) · cotidea · (=cotidie) · et · sei (=si) · faciatis · votum · quod · faccio · solva(m) · vostris · meritis.</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. nom. pater; disease	
<i>Dis inferis</i> votive formula punctuation ·	
53. Córdoba dfx.2.2.3/1 ; So 22; grave; the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>Dionisia Den(t)atiai ancilla rogat deibus: ego rogo, bono, bono, deibus rogo, oro, bono einfereis bono, Salpina rogo, oro et bonis inferis, ut dioso(m) (=deorsum), quod fit deibus inferabus, ut hoc, quo(d) sit causa et ecquod votum feci, ut solva(t), rogo, ut illam ducas, rogo, oro.</i>
non-specific/rivalry in love? ; author's name in nom. <i>Dionisia</i> ; the name of the victim is (<i>Salpina?</i>); separation?	
<i>Deibus inferabus</i> votive formula	
54. Córdoba dfx.2.2.3/2 ; So 23; grave; the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>T(itus) noster, Fausta Fausti, Pollio filius, Casius, Clipius(?), Munnitia.</i>
non-specific ; 4 m. + 2 f. nom.;	

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N	
N	
55. Córdoba dfx.2.2.3/3; So 24; grave; the 1 st cent.?	<i>C(aius) · Nu(misius) Sex(to?) C(aius) · Num(isius) · P(h)ilem(on) Num(isia) · Hera(cl)ia Calipso · Num(isiorum) (serva), C(aia) · Avilia · Ir(e)na· C(aius) Num(isius) · Epa(ph)rodi(tu)s C(aius) · Num(isius) · Ae(s)c(h)inus, Scinti(ll)a · Num(isiorum) (serva).</i>
non-specific ; 4 m. + 4 f., serva; nom.; N	
N; punctuation	
56. Córdoba dfx.2.2.3/4; tab. opistogr.; in the soil; the 1 st cent. BCE	<i>A: Priamus· l(ibertus) · mutus· sit omnibus· modis. B: · hannue (=adnue), · n(e) · q(u)is · pos(s)it · de (he)reditate verbum quet (=quod) · facere· omnes · o(b)mut(e)s- q(ua)nt (=obmutescant), silient (=sileant?).¹⁶</i>
non-specific /inheritance; 1 m., libertus; nom.; restrictions;	
N; right-to-left; punctuation	

¹⁶ Reading according to CIL II² 251a, side **B**: *ne q(u)is pos(s)it de (he)reditate/ silient/ quet hannue verbum /facere omnes omut[e]sq[ua]nt*. I state here the word order suggested by CIL and taken over by Kropp (2008).

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I.3. Gallia

GALLIA	TEXT
<p>57. Maar, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.2/1; DT 103; Gering 1916; CIL 13,3,1, 10008,7; grave, clay vessel; the 2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>Art(um) ligo Dercomogni (filium), fututor, Artus fututor.</i> reading: DT 103 written after burning off: <i>Aprilis Kaesio.</i> Kropp (2008) reads: <i>art(e) ligo... fututor art(us) fututor</i></p> <p>For other readings see TheDeMa 718</p>
<p>rivalry in love <i>Artum?</i> 1. m. acc.? pater?; separation</p>	
<p>N; peculiar graph. lay-out; alphab. sequence</p>	
<p>58. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/1; Be 17; amphitheatre; the 4th/5th cent.?</p>	<p><i>Primus.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 m. nom.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>59. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/4; Be 20; amphitheatre; the 4th/5th cent.?</p>	<p><i>Matrona.</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 f. nom.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>60. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/6; Be 22; amphitheatre; half of the 4th cent.</p>	<p><i>Ursus, Ursula, Martinianus, Ursacia...</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 2 f. + 2 m. nom.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>61. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/8; Be 24;</p>	<p><i>inimicum... qui ... i(u)vate ... Marti et</i></p>

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amphitheatre; 4 th /5 th cent.? fragm.	<i>Dianeā (= Dianae)</i>
legal inimicum ; N	
<i>Marti, Dianae</i>	
62. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx. 4.1.3/10; Be 26; tab. opistogr.; amphitheatre; the 4 th /5 th cent.?	<i>A:</i> SM <i>B:</i> <i>Prusiae nomen deposit(um)</i> . CIL 13, 11340, 8 Kropp (2008): <i>Pr(i)ssiae nomen deposit(um)</i> .
non-specific ; 1 f. N	
SM	
63. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx. 4.1.3/15; Be 31; amphitheatre; 4 th /5 th cent. – the second half of the 3 rd cent.; corrupted text	The reading in CIL 13, 11340: <i>Bona san(c)ta nomen pia nomen (=numen?) noemnolia ecessedenitia (=denuntio?) tibi santne Dia dekigo (=defigo)...danum, quen peperit Annula Regula eatta aer domina que a e tanta kamapom . . r . . re . . carnis Bonarium...ekigo (=d)efigo?)...att. . a trata. . te. . . ti. . . nci...tai...ta.... otun...</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. acc.; mater; N	
<i>Bona sancta, sanctae Dianae</i>	The reading of Kropp (2008): <i>Bona san(c)ta nomen (=numen?) pia nomen noemnolia ...ecessedenitia (=denuntio?) tibi san(c)t(ae) Dia¹⁷ defigo (Ro)danum, quen peperit An(n)ula Regula...eatta aer domina qu(a)e a...e tanta fama po m...r...re...carnis Bonarium...(d)efigo att...a...trata...te... ti... nci...tai...ta...otun...</i>
64. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx. 4.1.3/16; Simón 2008; x, θ	<i>Tib(erium) Claudium Treverum, natione Germanum, lib(ertum) Claudii Similis, rogo te, dom(i)na Isis, ut illum (illi) profluvio(m)</i>

¹⁷ Kropp (2008) reads *Dianae* which is said to have been written right-to-left; however, this reading does not seem possible after looking at the facsimile in CIL.

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non-specific ; 1 m. libertus, acc.; disease	<i>mittas et quidquid in bonis habet in morbum megarum.</i> ¹⁸
<i>domina Isis</i>	
65. Autun, Gall. Lugd. dfx.4.2.1/1; grave; the 2 nd cent.	<i>Onesiforus, Musc(u)losus, Carpus, Attianus nepos Veracis, Titus</i> ; VM alfab. <i>αβρασα, αβρασαξ, δαμναμενευς, κομπωθ, θιφεριθ, γωματου, αβαλθχυθ, βισωτορθ, δεθερθ.</i>
non-specific ; 5 m. nom.; N	
VM alfab.	
66. Lyon, Gall. Lugd. dfx.4.2.3/1; x; θ	<i>Trivillia, sororem, matrem, Livianus, Acitius, Casigus, Cassius, Ingunus, Caducnius sunt?</i>
non-specific ; 2 /3? f. + 6 m. nom.; N	
N	
67. Chagnon, Gall. Aquitania dfx.4.3.1/1; DT 111; Ga 53; CIL XIII, 11069/70; tab. ansata, (belongs to the following tablet); grave; half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>Denuntio personis infrascriptis (=infrascriptis) Lentino et Tasgillo, uti adsin(t) ad Plutonem, (et) at Proserpinam, hinc a(beat?). Quomodo hic catellus nemin(i) nocuit, sic ... nec illi hanc litem vincere possint. Quomodi nec mater huius catelli defendere potuit, sic nec advocati eorum e(os d)efendere non possint, sic il(lo)s (in)imicos Atracatetracati gallara precata egdarata hehes celata mentis ablata (et) at Proserpinam hinc a(beat).</i>
legal <i>litem vincere</i> ; 2 m. restrictions, death	
<i>Pluto, Proserpina</i> ; VM in Latin letters	
68. Chagnon, Gall. Aquitania dfx.4.3.1/2; DT 112; CIL XIII, 11069/70; tab. ansata; grave; half of the 2 nd cent.	Continues in No. 67 : <i>aversos (=aversi) ab hac l(i)te esse (debent?).</i> ¹⁹ <i>Quomodi (=quomodo) hic catellus aversus est nec surgere potesti (=potest), sic nec illi. Sic tra(n)specti (=transfixi) sin(t) quomodi ille. Quomodi in hoc m(o)nimont(o) (=monumento) animalia ommutuerun(t) nec surgere possun(t) nec illi mut(i?)... Atracatetracati</i>
legal <i>aversi ab hac lite esse debent</i> ; restrictions/death	
VM in Latin letters	

¹⁸ Kropp (2008) interprets *ut illi profluvium mittas*. Simón (2008, 178) *ut illum pro fluvio mittas*, see 9.1.1.

¹⁹ The addition of Kropp (2008).

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continues in No. 67 . Rom, Gall. Aquitania	<i>gallara precata egdarata he hes celata mentis ablata.</i>
69 . 4.3.4/1; Rom (Gall. Aquitania/ Rauranum) Deux Sèvres; DT 110; Egger 1962; Versnel 1985; Ga 16; Meid 2014, 60. tab. opistogr.; well at a Roman villa; the 3 rd /4 th cent.	Reading Meid (2014, 60 ff.): <i>A: te uoraiimo, eh, za, atanto tehon, zo(a), atanta te, compriato sosin dertin oipommio atehotisse potea(t). te priauiimo atanta tehon, te, za, timezo, zia, te uoraiimo, ape sosio derti(n) imo(n) na demtisse (ueie (?))</i>
non-specific?/love? ; 1 m. 1. f.	<i>B: ape ci alli carti eti heiont Caticnato na demtisse Clotucil(l)a se demtitiont eti cartaont, Dibona, sosio, deui, pia, sosio pura, sosio gouisa [at]ehoti[sse] sosio pura heoti[sse], sua demta apodunna uolis(s)et.)²⁰</i>
<i>Dibona</i> ; Celtic/Greek/Latin features, unintelligible text	

²⁰ For other interpretations see, Egger (1962); Kropp (2008); Versnel (1985) and TheDeMa.

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I.4. Germania

GERMANIA	TEXT
<p>70. Frankfurt, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.2/1; So 13; grave (a Roman cemetery); half of the 2nd cent.; corrupted text</p> <p>legal <i>adversarius Sexti</i> (author's name <i>Sextus?</i>); 1 m. nom.; restrictions</p> <p><i>Manes, Dii inferi</i></p>	<p><i>Rogo Mane(s et dii?) inferi, ut (Ma)rius Fronto, (adv)ersariu(s) Sex(ti), sit vanus neque loqui po(s)sit contra (S)extum, ut F(r)onto fiat mutus, q(um) (=cum) accesser(it) consular(e)m, ut sit mutus neque poss(it) loqui, neque qui(c)quam ag(e)re tanquam nullo(m) ad inf(eros) re(ligatum?).</i></p>
<p>71. Frankfurt, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.2/2; grave (a Roman cemetery), θ; corrupted text</p> <p>legal <i>do inimicos</i>; ca. 6 m. nom.; restrictions; identical names in No. 70</p> <p>N</p>	<p><i>(Do? i)nimicos Sexti, ut (s)ic non (p)ossint (cont)ra Sextum veni(re) nec agero (=agere) quicq(uam) possint (u)t sic (sint?) vani et muti q... di et illi qui in itoac lotum ... loqui Va(le)ntinus et (Fron?)to et Ripanus et Le ... et Iuventin(us?)... et Luci(us) e(t) ...gar...(F)rontonem ...li ... adversari ...sint vani et m(uti) (qu)omodi ista garu ...s...</i></p>
<p>72. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/1; DT 94; tab. opistogr.; found in a grave together with No. 73; the 1st/2nd cent.</p> <p>legal 1 m. nom.; identical names in No. 73</p> <p>N</p>	<p><i>A: Fructus B: Gracilis</i></p>
<p>73. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/2; DT 95; found in a grave together with No. 72; the 1st/2nd cent.; fragm.</p> <p>legal <i>non possit respo(nde)re</i>;</p>	<p><i>Fructus Gracilis et Aur(e)um Adi(u)torium def(ero) i(nfer)is, sic non possit respo(nde)re qua(e)s(tionibus)²¹</i></p>

²¹ Kropp (2008) amends to *Fructum Gracilem*, see 10.1.1.

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2 m. acc./nom.; restrictions	
<i>inferis</i>	
74. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/3; DT 96; tab. opistogr.; grave, urn; the second half of the 1 st cent.	<i>A: Inimicorum nomina ad...(ICLUM)</i> ²² <i>inferos...</i> <i>B: Inimicorum nomina: Optatus Silonis ad inferos Faustus Ornatus(?), Terentius Attisso, Atticinus Ammonis, Latinus Valeri(i), Adiutor Iuli(i), Tertius Domiti(i), Mansuetus Senodatium(?), Montanus materiarius, Aninius Victor, Quartio Severi, Sinto Valentis, Lutumarus Ianius, Similis Crescentis, Lucanus Silonis, Communis Mercatoris, Publius offector, Aemilius Silvanus, Cossus Matuini.</i>
legal? <i>inimicorum nomina</i> ; 19 m. nom. slaves /craftsmen?; N	
<i>ad inferos</i> <i>A:</i> written vertically; <i>B:</i> last name written vertically probably due to the lack of space	
75. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/4; DT 97; tab. opistogr.; grave, urn; the second half of the 1 st cent.	<i>A: Data nomina ad inferos // (inferas larvas)</i> ²³ <i>B: Dis Manibus hos v(oveo): L(ucium) C(a)eli(um), C(aium) Haeb...et si quos alios hos(tes) habeo, neca illa nom(ina).</i>
legal? <i>hos(tes)</i> ; 2; death	
<i>ad inferas larvas, Dis Manibus</i>	
76. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/5; DT 98; grave, urn; the second half of the 1 st cent.	<i>Sinto Vale(n)tis sive alii inimici Sinto Valentinus inim(i)cus. Sic comdi (=quomodo) plumbum subsidet, sic Sintonem et Martialem Sinto(nis) et adiutorium Sintonis et quisquis contra Rubrium fr(atre)m</i> ²⁴ <i> et me Quartionem, si qui(s) contravenerit, Sintonem et adiutorium eius Sintonis defero ad infero(s). Sic nusquam contra nos (inve)nisse respon(sio)nis cum loquantur inimici. Sic</i>
legal <i>inimici</i> ; 2 m., relatives, pater, names of the authors? <i>Rubriis, Quartio</i> ; restrictions	
<i>ad inferos</i>	

²² See CIL 13,2,1,7553, written up obliquely and in larger letters. Kropp (2008) reads ...lum.

²³ See DT 97; CIL 13,2,1,7553; Kropp (2008) reads: *inferas larvas*.

²⁴ The reading of Kropp (2008), and CIL 13,2,1, 7554; DT 98 reads differently: *Rubrium Fr(o)n(tonis)...respond..nis*.

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	<i>(d)esumat non parentem tanquam infero(s).</i>
77. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/6 ; DT 99 ; DTM , p. 188; grave, urn; the second half of the 1 st cent.?.; fragm.	<i>(M)ansu(e)t(us), Se(cund?)ina et omnes, qui illi ass(u)nt (=adsunt) et doc(e)n(t illu)m.</i>
legal? 2, 1 certainly m.; N	
N	
78. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/7 ; DT 100 ; discus, opistogr.; grave.; found together with No. 79, 80 ; the second half of the 1 st cent.?	<i>A: Nomina data, (dela)ta(?), le(gata?) ad inferos, (ut) illos per vim conrip(i)ant. B: Silonia Surum, Caenu(m), Secundum. Ille te (s)ponsus procat²⁵. Il(l)um amo. Kropp 2008 reads Silonia(m).</i>
rivalry in love ; 1 f. + 3 m. (serv.?) acc.; separation	
<i>ad inferos</i>	
79. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/8 ; DT 101 ; grave; the second half of the 1 st cent.; corrupted text, found together with No. 78, 80 ;	<i>Inimici et inimici (=ae) Caranita(n)i Abilius Iu(v)enis, Sabinus a(p)paritor, Arria Dardisa(?), Optatus Silonis, Privatu(s) Se)veri, Cossus Maesi, Marcus aerari(us), Atta Marci uxor, Camula uxso(r) Gamati Ambiti, Val(erius) Ciri, Atticinus (Amm)onis, Terentius Attiso, Iulia(?) Attisonis, Narcis(s)us Caliphon(t)is, Cali(pu)nti(s)? et Pudentis (e)t Pude(n)s (...)ssia(?) (...us Albus?) Vicinus...nsi...</i>
legal inimici ; cca 13 m. + 4 f. nom.; fil./ser./uxor; disease	
<i>Dii M(anes), Dii inferi</i> The cursing formula is written vertically around the perimeter	<i>around the perimeter: Sic te morbo ad(d)icant Dii M(anes)... Dii inferi...sunt(?).</i>
80. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.4/9 ; DT 102 ; tab. opistogr.; grave; the second half of the 1 st cent.?.; frag.; found together with No. 78, 79 ;	<i>A: (Se)verinus et San(c)tius (defe)ro in(f)e(r)is nomina ... serea, ut sic mihi ... non respond(e)at ...(non) respon(de)at (Se)verin(us...) B: corrupted text:...ia...in sunt</i>

²⁵ DT 100 reads *(c)onr(u)ant* and adds *pro(vo)cat*. See also CIL 13, 2, 1 7550.

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legal <i>non respondeat</i> ; 2 m. nom.; restrictions	
<i>inferis</i> ;	
81. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx. 5.1.4/10; So 14; grave; the second half of the 1 st cent.; fragm.	<i>Potitus, Fusci adv(ersarius?), Ivisum Valli, Marullum Pusionis, Maxsumus Priuni, (Ne)rvinum(?) Paterni, Maturum Suavis, Turicum Macri, Sulpicium Secundani ... Prudentem Solve(n)di, Mensor Marulli, Novim(arum?), Marulli s(ervo)s, Secunda(m?) ... es ... litis va(nus?) est, datur.</i>
legal? 11 m. nom./acc. pater/patronus? + 1 f. serva; N	
N	
82. Kreuznach, Germ. Sup. dfx. 5.1.4/11; So 15; tab. opistogr.; in the soil; half of the 1 st cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: Data nomina haec ad inferos</i> <i>B: corrupted text, name?</i>
non-specific ; unintelligible names; N	
<i>ad inferos</i>	
83. Rossdorf, Germ. Sup. dfx. 5.1.6/1; grave; the 2 nd cent.	<i>Gn(aeus) Hor(at)ini(us) (G)n(aei) l(ibertus), Araricus, Flav(i)a Finita.</i>
non-specific ; 2 m. lib./ser. + 1 f. nom.; N	
N; written mirror-like, upside-down, unintell.	
84. Mainz (Germ. Sup.) dfx. 5.1.5/1; water, the 3 rd cent.?. fragm.	<i>A: Trado(?) Her(mem)</i> <i>B: I(?) Ω R E</i> the addition of Kropp (2008).
non-specific ; 1 m.?. N	
SM, 0; mirror-like	
85. (Mainz) Mainz, Germ. Sup. dfx. 5.1.5/2; DTM 5; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna+Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>A: Bone sancte Atthis (=Attis) tyranne, adsi(s), advenias Liberali iratus. Per omnia te rogo, domine, per tuum Castorem, Pollucem, per cistas penetrales, des ei</i>

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non-specific 1 m.; death	<i>malam mentem, malum exitum, quandius vita(m) vixerit ut omni corpore videat se emori praeter oculos.</i> <i>B: neque se possit redimere nulla perꝑcunia nullaque re ne(que) abs te neque ab ullo deo nisi ut exitum malum. Hoc praesta, rogo te per maiestatem tuam.</i>
<i>Attis, Castor, Pollux</i>	
86. Mainz, Germ. Sup dfx.5.1.5/3; DTM 21; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Trutmo Florus Clitmonis filius.</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom. pater; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis (impl.); + pierced figurine</i>	
87. Mainz, Germ. Sup dfx.5.1.5/8; DTM 4; BI 2010: 8; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>A: Tiberius Claudius Adiutor in megaro eum rogo te, Mat(e)r Magna, megaro tuo recipias. Et Attis domine, te precor, ut hu(n)c (h)ostiam acceptum (h)abiatis et quit aget, aginat sal et aqua illi fiat. Ita tu facias dom(i)na it, quid cor eocnora (=iecinora?) c(a)edat. B: Devotum defictum illum menbra, medullas AA(?). Nullum aliud sit, Attis, Mater Magn(a).</i>
non-specific ; 1 m.; restrictions, disease/death?	
<i>Mater Magna et Attis</i>	
88. Mainz, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.5/6; DTM 8; BI 2010: 4; BI 2008:6; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Avita(m) noversa (=noverca(m)) dono tibi et Gratum (do)no tibi...E MESMANT...</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. + 1 m. acc.; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis (impl.) written right-to-left</i>	
89. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 10; BI 2008: 10; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater	<i>A: Mando et rogo liberta(m) Cerialis, ut ea(m) ext(r)a IPIVTI (ipsam?) fac(i)atis, ut se plangat ... (v)elit se, quatomodum</i>

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Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>arc(h)igalli se B: CO(.)LI sibi settas facia(ti)s, ... ita me(n)ses duos, ut eorum ixsitum (=exitum) audiam d(i)liquescant quاتمmodi hoc d(i)liquescet....</i> ²⁶
non-specific ; 1 f. nom./acc.? <i>liberta(m) Cerialis</i> ; death	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.)	
90. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 13; BI 2008:9; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Cassius Fortunatus e(t)bona illius et Lutatia Restituta necetis e(os).</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. + 1. f. nom.; death	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.)	
91. Mainz, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.5/4 ; DTM 15; BI 2010: 5; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Prima Aemilia Narcissi agat, quidquid conabitur, quidquid aget, omnia illi inversum sit, amentita surgat, amentita suas res agat. Quidquid surget, omnia interversum surgat. (P)rima Narcissi aga(t): como haec carta nuncquam florescet, sic illa nuncquam quicquam florescat.</i>
rivalry in love? 1 f. <i>Prima Aemilia Narcissi</i> (mistress? BI); fil./uxor/lib./serva?; restrictions/ separation?	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.); peculiar graph. lay-out: the beginning of the text is written in a spiral unclockwise	
92. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 16; BI 2010: 11; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd	<i>A: Fo(r)tunam dolus q(u)otti(die...)i sed // q(u)ot ti(b)i sed vir pa(tri?)...deo meo...i meo.u(sp)oliav(it) IUNCNOA REIANTI (?) B: mentem, memoriam, cor, cogitatum il(le</i>

²⁶ Blänsdorf (2008, 60) states *quatmmodi hoc liquescet*, which also appears in his final edition (2012, No. 10). However, elsewhere he states *diliquesc(u)nt*, too (2010, No. 14, p. 180).

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cent.; corrupted text	<i>q)uisquis patrem meum con(s)p(exit?), illi et ius //sui te illi?).²⁷</i>
legal? restrictions?	
<i>deo meo?</i> ; side B written right-to-left	
93. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 17; BI 2008; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>P. Vinnonius, Primus SPAIAIE C²⁸</i>
non-specific ; 2 m. nom.; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.); peculiar letters, partially written right-to-left	
94. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 19; BI 2008: 7; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>I ... An ... Arbil ... Veceta i ... Verecundus SANAACAS (i.e. /sacaanas/saganas/sana agas?) Sottas (/Sattos), m(a)las.</i>
non-specific ; 1 m.? nom. + several f. acc. pl.? + <i>malas</i> ; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.); written right-to-left, corrupted	
95. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 20; BI 2008: 1; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Ce(.)conius/ Cu(.)conius Anudrius.</i>
non-specific ; 1 - 2 m. nom.; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.)	
96. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 22; BI 2008: 2; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>A: SORE</i> (i.e. right-to-left <i>Eros</i>) <i>B: Eros</i>

²⁷ Blänsdorf (2012, No. 16) states two possible interpretations of the passages reading right-to-left or left-to-right: *q(u)otti(die...)i sed* or *q(u)ot ti(b)i sed*; and *illi et ius* or *sui te illi?*

²⁸ Kropp (2008) interprets the unintelligible place as an abbreviation: *salutem plurimam ad inferos ad inferos?*; see Blänsdorf (2008, 55), and DTM 17.

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non-specific ; 1 m. servus; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.) str. <i>A</i> written right-to-left	
97. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 23; BI 2008: 8; BI 2010: 1; shrine (<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i>); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Minicius Campanus, Martianuss Armicus Severum tesserarium, Cantarum equitem.</i> ²⁹
non-specific ; 2 m. nom. + 2 m. acc.; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.)	
98. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 25; BI 2008: 4; shrine (<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i>); the 1 st /2 nd cent.	<i>Lamixa Zerita...villi ancil(l)am.</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. <i>ancilla</i> ; nom./acc.?; N	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.)	
99. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 28; BI 2008: 15; BI 2010: 6; shrine (<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i>); tab. opistogr.; the 1 st /2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: E VNAMSO ... NES RVOCNIO- TESROSCO (=unintelligible sequence a te rogo?) voto me condemn(n)e(s) o. in vim CERO LAE LIANT (unintelligible), quodsi SEME...IS suo DEANTA VE (unintel.)</i>
non-specific ; N	<i>B: OIVO I TTEPE (unintel.) fero et decipio OA cum eos devovet exfetum (=exitum?) set sanum animosum (dam)nat?, si devove(t) m(e)os EIVERAPE NEAG OM /ESVERAPE ... (unintel.)</i>
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.) votive formula?; written right-to-left in a peculiar way	
100. Cologne, Germ. Sup. BI 2010: 3; Blänsdorf – Kropp – Scholz 2010); tab. opistogr.; in the soil (Roman cemetery; half of the 1 st cent.	<i>A: Vaeraca (/Uxeraca?), sic res tua: perve(r)se agas, comodo hoc perverse scriptu(m) est. B: Quidquid exop(ta)s nobi(s) in caput tuum eveniat.</i>

²⁹ Blänsdorf (2010, No. 1, p. 166) used to state *Cantar(um)*; however, later (2012: 23) he interpreted as *Cantarum*.

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non-specific ; 1 f. nom.; restrictions	
N; written right-to-left	

I.4.1. Noricum

NORICUM	TEXT
101. Mautern dfx.6.1/1 ; Egger 1948; So 7; Faraone – Kropp 2010; Weber 1985; tab. opistogr.; shrine; half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>A: Pluton sive(m) Iovem infernum dici opornotet (=oportet), Eracura (=Aeracura) Iuno inferna, acciet(e) ia(m) c(e)lerius infrascriptum e(t) tradite † Manibus Aurelium Sinnianum C(a)eserianum B: Sic Silvia inversu(m) maritu(m) ceernis (=cernis), quommodi nomen il(l)ius scriptum est.</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. + 1. f.; death	
<i>Pluton sive Iovem infernum, Aeracura Iuno inferna, Manibus</i> the name of the victim written upside-down	
102. Wilhering dfx.6.2/1 ; So 8; brick; in the soil; Ø	<i>(Do)mino fartori Victorino salutem. Mox litteras meas perceperis, ut statuim(us). Demes litteras meas felicissime et i(n?) pos(t?) cum Livia peribis.</i>
non-specific , 1 m. <i>fartor</i> + 1 f.; death	
N	

I.4.2. Raetia

RAETIA	TEXT
103. Bregenz, Austria	<i>A: Domitius Niger et Lollius et Iulius</i>

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<p>dfx.7.1/1; DT 93; Egger 1943; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>Severus et Severus Nigri ser(v)us adve(rs)a-r(ii) Bruttae et quisquis adversus il(l)am (reading of DT) eam (reading of Kropp) loq(u)it(ur), omnes per(da)tis. B: (Ro)g(o) vos omnes, qui illi malum (pa)ratis dari dm ... o ...dari O(g)mio a(bs)umi mort(e) ... t ... t ... nti et Nige(r)... dim ... o Valerium ... a et Ni(g)er.</i></p>
<p>legal <i>adversarii Bruttae</i>; 4 m. + <i>et quisquis</i>; nom.; 2 m. servi?, author's name? death</p>	<p><i>A:Deo (=De(fig)o?) amc(?) ea(m) re(m) imple(b)id (=implebit) D(is) p(ate)r ad era(m). Ogmius salute(m), cur (=cor), talus (=talos), re(nes), anum, genita(lia)...auris B: cesthula(m) (=cistulam), utensilia davi(t) (=dabit?) spiridebus (=spiritibus) ac ov(o)ediu(nt) (=oboediunt) ei, ne quiat nubere.</i> <i>Ira de(i).</i></p>
<p><i>Ogmius</i></p>	<p>104. Bregenz, Austria dfx.7.1/2; Egger 1943; grave; the first half of the 2nd cent.?.; corrupted text</p>
<p>rivalry in love <i>ne quiat nubere</i>; separation</p>	<p>105. Kempten, Austria dfx.7.2/1; Egger 1963; So 10; in a house; half of the 2nd cent.</p>
<p><i>Dis pater, era (Aeracura?), Ogmius boustrophedon</i></p>	<p><i>Mutae tacitae, ut mutus sit Quartus agitatus erret ut mus fugiens aut avis adversus basyliscum ut e(i)us os mutu(m) sit. Mutae, mutae (d)irae sint, mutae, tacitae sint, mutae. (Qu)a(rt)us ut insaniat, ut Eriniis rutilus sit et Quartus Orco. Ut mutae tacitae, ut mutae sint ad portas aureas.</i></p> <p><i>Gemella supra mensuram naturae domini tui Clementis iaces, qu(are?) ut te patitur, sic tu patere (ver?)am eius (mensu?)ram patere audacter, quod te iuve(t). Somnus te tuetur, Gemella sub iugum missa quiesce ... contineas te, non pe(cca?)s. Ama Clementem, sicut ibi eum non videbis ... qua plumbum.</i></p>
<p><i>Dis pater, era (Aeracura?), Ogmius boustrophedon</i></p>	<p>106. Peiting, Austria dfx.7.4/1; So 11; Nesselhauf 1960; in a house; the 2nd/3rd cent. – the first half of the 1st cent.</p>
<p>legal <i>Quartus ut mutus sit</i>; 1 m. nom.; restrictions</p>	<p>love love spell <i>ama</i>; victim's name is missing, author: <i>Clemens</i>;</p>
<p><i>Muta Tacita?</i></p>	<p>N; written right-to-left and upside-down, diverse orientation of letters</p>

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I.4.3. Pannonia

PANNONIA SUPERIOR	TEXT
<p>107. Kupa, Croatia dfx.8.1/1; So 5; Vetter 1959; Simón – De Llanza 2008; in water; the first half of the 2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: =(recto)³⁰: Adverssar(i)o(s) · nosstro(s) G(aius) · Dometiu(s) Secundus et. Lucius. Larcio(=us) et Secundo(=us) Vacarus Cyba(lenses) · et · P(ublius) Citronius Cicorelliu(s) · Narbone(nsis) et. L(ucius) Licc(i)nius Sura (H)isspan(us)et Luccillius Vallente (Valens) ne possi(nt) cuntra (=contra) sse faceri (=facere?)³¹ avertat. illo(s) amaete (=amentes) cantra (=contra) locui (=loqui) ne mali illorus(=m) mutu(m). os fac(iat)(?) G(aius) Dom<i>tius Ssecundo (=us) et · Lucius La(r)c(i)o L(ucii filius) Cyba(lenses) Muta Tagita (=Tacita) ... (b?)ona illorum ...</i></p> <p><i>B: =(verso): Data deprementi (=deprimenti)³² ma(n)data data istos Savo (ut) cura(m) agat deprema(t) adver(s)ar(i)o(s) nosstro(s) obmutua(nt) ne contra nos lucuia(nt) (=loquantur).</i></p>
<p>legal <i>adversarios</i>; 6 m. nom; restrictions</p>	
<p><i>Savus</i> (river god), <i>Muta</i>; <i>Tacita</i>? Part written upside-down</p>	
<p>108. Ljubljana, Slovenia dfx.8.2/1; So 4; at the entrance to the house; the second half of the 1st cent. (So 1st-2nd cent.)</p>	<p><i>C(aius) Volusius Maximus, Firmi Optati Proculus, Virotouta, Constans, servi atque publicius Porcius Munitus, Clodius Dexter, Tullius Secundus, Cornellius Priscus, quicumque adversar(ii) sunt omnes.</i></p>
<p>legal <i>quicumque adversari sunt omnes</i>; 7 m. + 1 f.?.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>109. Ptuj, Slovenia dfx.8.4/1; Premerstein 1906; tab.</p>	<p><i>A: Paulina aversa sit a viris omnibus et deficsa (=defixa) sit, ne quid possit mali</i></p>

³⁰ I state here the reading according to Simón –De Llanza (2008), for a new reading based on autopsy see, Barta (2017, 26-28).

³¹ Vetter (1960, 127 ff.) and Kropp (2008) read *ageri = agere*; both readings are possible according to Simón – De Llanza (2008).

³² Vetter (1960, 127 ff.) reads *detrimenti*.

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opistogr.; grave; half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>facere.</i>
rivalry in love 2 f.; nom./acc.; separation/restrictions	<i>B: Firminam (cl)od(as) (=claudas) ab omnibus humanis.</i>
N; written as boustrophedon, side B changes orientation of script, now and then also upside-down	
110. Delos, the Cyclades d <i>fx.</i> 10.1/1; So 1; grave; the second half of the 2 nd cent. BCE	<i>L(ucium) Paconium senem, Q(uintum) Tullium Q(uinti) f(ilium) N(umerius) Cottius N(umeri) f(ilius), C(aium) Seium C(ai) filium Cilonem, (Caium) Seium Aristomachum...Caecilium L(uci) f(ilium), Ar..., Q(uintum) Samiarium(?) Arc..., M(arcum) Satricanium Ar(c...), A, Q(uintus) Paconios Arc..., Heracleide(m) Antipatr(i) filium, Heliodorum ... tiu ... Demetrium ... sun ..., Seuthem, Pragmaticum, Serapion Serapionis f(ilium), P(ublius) Granius Alexandrus, ... ailus P(ublili) filius, Arcceius Nicephorus, Cn(aeus) Paconios Apollonis, Marai(os) (G)erillano(s), N(umerius) Varaios et sei qui(s) alius eri(t) inimeicus Tito Paconio.</i>
legal <i>et si quis alius erit inimeicus</i> ; 15 m. acc./nom.; pater; N; author: <i>Titus Paconius</i>	
N	

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I.5. Africa

AFRICA	TEXT
<p>111. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/1; DT 215; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>Dalerius (=Valerius) Epaprhoditus (=Epaphroditus), Valerius Oncarpus, Valerius Pleogius, Valeriu(s) Onomacus, (Val)erius Sabinus, Valerius, Herma, Valerius Maternus, Valerius Romanus, Valerius Trophimus, Plotius Hermes, Critonius Faustus, Valerius, Hermes, Valeria Omphale, Valeria Trophine, Valeria Flora...</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 11 m. nom. + 3 f. nom.; N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>112. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/2; DT 216; grave; the 2nd/3rd- 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>Scribonia, Philomusus, Criso, Alypus, Lerastus, Philargurus (=Philargyrus), Avner (=Abner), Felix, Liberalis, conservi, conservae, amici, amicae, c(og)nati ... Quicumque conaverit, dixerit (=dixerit), fecerit (a)ut facere voluerit, colliberti aut colliberta(e).</i></p>
<p>legal <i>quicumque conaverit;</i> 8 m. + 1 f. + <i>conservi/ae,</i> <i>amici/, cognati,</i> <i>colliberti/ae;</i> N</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>113. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/3; DT 217; grave; tab. opistogr.; the 2nd/3rd cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A: ...?osui fisci lingua, ne contra me nec dicere nec facere va(l)eant nisi quod ego voluero; al(li)go, deligo linguas abtracati dioti esse hypticrati (VM?) se ...uni ... Callicraphae (=Calligraphae)...reti Primi... m...trim...pho. ri..li et pe motri ...necessi apud (=apud)...ti victo ua ...patri m(eo) nec adver(sus me)... irati ... alligo d...ram illam ... lingua(m) et ta ...te pe... Pudentis ... ani... alligo, delligo... la..o..nirali ...a...n Callicraphae... frg. B: corrupted text, see also DT 217.</i></p>
<p>legal <i>deligo linguas;</i> 1 f. + 2 m.; restrictions</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>114. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/4; DT 218; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>(VM: αρασβεθ αραβησπιγοε ψιντιβορ) (Sex)tiliani et Gula(e) Pudentis et P(ac)or(a)e Acuti et M(arci) f(ili) ...ai Silvani et Sextiliani et L(uci) Caecili(i) Ma(gni?). Adligate lingu(a)s horum, quos suprascripsi, ne</i></p>
<p>legal <i>alligate linguas;</i> 5 m. + 2 f., pater; restrictions</p>	

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VM alphab. around the perimeter	<i>adversus nos respondere (possint).</i>
115. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/5; DT 219; Poccetti 2005; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Iudico (=Indico) il(l)um quiq(ue i?)mitati: facias il(l)os mut#os adversu(s) Atlosam ac ligo, o(b)ligo, linguas illorom (=illorum), medias, extremas, novissimas, ne quit possint respondere contra. Facias illos mutuos (=mutos), muturungallos, mutulos, Crispu(m) marinis et Marinem parinis. Fragm.: (obligo) li(n)guas il(l)oro(m), isulcas i(l)lo(rom) ...los ar/tu(s)...l cor n...ru...tisa.</i>
legal <i>facias illos mutos</i> ; 2 m.? the author named <i>Atlosa?</i> ; restrictions	
N	
116. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/6; DT 220; grave; tab. Opistogr.; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: Domina (Te)rra(?)nase...(facias?) Germanum mutum ... dicu accomodes Opsecra(e) (=Obsecrae) Isperatae (=Speratae) custodes a..o ... Martialim Cosconio(m), Ianuarium et Rufum, ut ...e (...quomodo qui? the addition of Kropp (2008) B: sunt ibi, mutos et m(e)tu pleno(s) facias, qurum (=quorum) nomina h(ic) (h)abeas (=habes). (Adver?)sus Ops(ec)ra(m) Isperata(e) ...adversus eam loqui non pissit (=possint), inimi(ci) adversus ea(m) loqui no(n) possint?.</i> ³³
legal <i>adversu eam loqui...</i> ; 5 m. acc. + 1 f. acc.; the author named <i>Obsecra Speratae</i> ; restrictions?	
<i>Domina Terra?</i>	
117. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/7; DT 221; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...n...Se(curus?), como(d)o (=quomodo) ...m ...ra ...no(n) potes(t) (contr)a nos d(e)r(e)spondere ...eca sic no(n) possint respondere? the addition of Kropp) contra patre(m) meu(m) contra (me) advocati qui contr(a) nos non pos(s)it secum ve(l)ut ruga iu(ra) nostra Toresilius quiqui venerint. Comodo li(t)tera(e) non possu(nt) c)uicui sic(?) nemo potes(t) ilos (=illoc) venire, comodo Securus ...o sic n(o)n pos(s)it (lo)qui, comodo Securus non potes(t) loqui (sic) non possint (lo)qui arvo... (=advocati?) qui qui que...</i>
legal <i>non potest contra nos</i> ; 2 m. nom.; restrictions	
N	

³³ Reading according to Kropp (2008); see also DT 220 who slightly differs in reading the sequence *nase* at the beginning.

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<p>118. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/8; DT 222; tab. Opistogr.; grave, urn; the 2nd/3rd cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A: Claudia Helenis, Clodia Successi, Clodia Steretia, Clodius Fortunatus, Clodius Romanus, Mu(rc)ius Crim...enius, Servilius Faustus, Valerius Extricatus. Quomodi haec nomina a(d inferos dedi sic omnes)³⁴ (adversu)s³⁵ me ommutes(cant) (neque lo)qui (possint?).³⁶ B: (Quomodo)...huic gallo ... lingua(m) vivo extorsi et defixi, sic inimicorum meorum linguas adversus me ommutescant. Sic qui (in?) me l(o)qui osusve (=aususve) fuerit, ad ni(hi)lo (r)ediat res illius...(ha)ec pr(a)ecatio ita ... erteta est ad ... (preco?)r vos muta ... per ves(tr..) ... ve(c)tura(m) (=victoria(m?)), Di(i) Manes, ita uti vost(?) poniteque sic adversus.</i></p>
<p>legal <i>linguas ommutescant</i>; 3 f. + 5 m. nom., lib./ser.?; restrictions</p>	
<p><i>Di Manes</i> Part written vertically</p>	
<p>119. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/9; DT 223; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.; very corrupted text, fragm.</p>	<p>The text of the tablet is very damaged, I state only the intelligible lines: l. 5:...<i>possin(t) contr(a)</i>... l.14:...<i>ut... perper(c)ussi sunt sic ante nec valiat adversus (respond)ere...</i></p>
<p>legal <i>possint contra</i>; restrictions</p>	
<p>N</p>	
<p>120. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/10; DT 224; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.; fragm.</p>	<p>The text of the tablet is very damaged, only the intelligible fragments are stated here. <u>Frg. I:</u> <i>curo tequ (re)licta teque ...ati i p(ri)mi ad opius ad (a)dver...</i> <u>Frg. II:</u> <i>...to s.um . con(tr)a atio vin ri ... pi ... Africani ri ...lingu...</i> <u>Frg. III:</u> <i>...mutia oppra ra in erga inimica Ulpia Publia sic lin(gua) in(i)mic(a) tuque sic quic(umque) larin mena... lingua lingua lingua l(i)nguar(um)...</i> the following text is corrupted</p>
<p>legal <i>inimica</i>; 1 f. + 1 m. (originally probably more victims); restrictions</p>	
<p>N</p>	

³⁴ The addition of Kropp (2008).

³⁵ The addition of DT 222.

³⁶ The addition of Kropp (2008).

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<p>121. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/13; DT 227; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p>(VM: <i>αραχσω απηγηνιαρα βαρεμαεβσ</i>) <i>Uratur Suc(c)es(s)a aduratur amo(re) vet</i> (=<i>vel</i>) <i>desideri(o) Successi ...i...tutt</i></p>
<p>love <i>aduratur amo(re)</i>; love spell/he wants her</p>	
<p>VM alphas. around the perimeter</p>	
<p>122. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/14; DT 228; tab. Opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd-1st cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Te rogo · qui infernales · partes tenes ·</i> <i>commendo· tibi· Iulia(m) · Faustilla(m) · Marii</i> <i>filia(m) · ut · eam · celerius abducas et · ibi · in</i> <i>· numerum tu(um) abias (=habeas) B: Te rogo</i> <i>· qui infernales · partes · tenes · commendo·</i> <i>tibi · Iulia(m) Faustilla(m) · ut eam celerius</i> <i>abducas infernales partibus in numeru(m) ·</i> <i>tu(um) · abias (=habeas).</i></p>
<p>non-specific; 1 f. nom./acc.? Pater; death?</p>	
<p><i>Qui infernales partes tenes</i> (<i>Pluto</i>) punctuation ·</p>	
<p>123. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/15; DT 229; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.; very corrupted text</p>	<p><i>Occid(as)... facias pe(r...) facias, d(a)emo(n</i> <i>...) loquito (=locuto) da... (o)bliv(i)oni cit(o)</i> <i>me teneat a ta ata... et exta. (Ia)m iam (ci)to</i> <i>cito. Facias ex (h)oc die, ex (ha)c (h)ora. Iam</i> <i>iam, cito cito facias ...m (d)onec et</i> <i>(...r)e(d)eat(?) ...cat... (d)onec et c (iam)</i> <i>iam... cito</i></p>
<p>legal? death?</p>	
<p>I (in the centre a headless standing daemon in tunic holding a bowl and a wand with a lantern on top; part written vertically</p>	
<p>124. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/16; DT 230; tab. Opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Καταζιν (q)ui es (in) Aegypto magnus</i> <i>daemon ... et aufer illae somnum usquedun</i> <i>veniat at me ... et animo meo satisfaciat.</i> <i>Τραβαζιαν omnipotens daemon adduc ...</i> <i>amante(m) aestuante(m) amoris et desider(i)</i> <i>mei causa. Νοχθιριφ, qui (es?) cogens</i> <i>daemon, coge illa(m) ... m(ec)un (=mecum)</i> <i>coitus facere... Βιβιριζι, qui es f(ort)issimus</i> <i>daemon, urgue (c)oge illam venire ad me</i> <i>amante(m) aestuante(m) amoris et desider(i)</i></p>
<p>love <i>adduc amante(m)</i> <i>aestuante(m)</i>; names of the beloved woman and the lovesick man (the author) are missing; love spell/he wants her</p>	

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<p>VM daemons alphab. Καταξιν, Τραβαξιν, Νοχθιριφ, Βιβιριξι, Ρικουριθ</p>	<p><i>mei ... causa. Ρικουριθ, agilissime daemon in Aegypto et agita ... a suis parentibus a suo cubile et aerie quicumque caros habet et coge illa(m) me amare, mihi conferre ad meu(m) desiderium.</i></p> <p>B: totally corrupted text ...<i>vi cirie aut ab cr...t...peper...it...ap...rgiebs deoum...ep cam ... (faci)as?</i></p>
<p>125. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/17; DT 231; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p>The tablet is written in the Greek alphabet, its beginning is damaged. L. 2. ...περα...(κου)ωρο(μ)...κ(ο)υω ρορ ... μαγνα ουτ ... διας ...τ κουωμο(δο) ... ανουντιο ρηγισ ... μορτους αβ ιλ(λα) ... (δητ)ινητουρ ανιμα ... οκ λοκο σικ ετ ... κουιους εστ ... τη δητινεατουρ (ιν ομ)νε τεμπους ιν α(μωρ)ε ετ δεσυδερι(ο) Μαρ(τ)ιαλικι κουεμ πεπεριτ Κορωναρια σερρουσεμ ...λω κνημεω τριπαρνωχι α(β)ρασαζ σχωμονοε ευφνεφερησα μαλχαμα ιαρεμμουθου χεννειθ; ατιουρο ουως περ ουνκ πρε(πο)σιτου σουπερ νεκεσσι(τατ)ης τερρε σικ ετ τε ... δομινους αιη απερ ...ουτ ε(ξ) ακ διη οκ μομεντο ... ατε ... ιλλ(α)ς ησου ...αμετ Μαρτιαλε ουτ ομμνι μουλιεβρι ωρας μ(ε) ιν μεντε αβεατ ετ τωτα διε (ιν α)νιμω αβεατ αμωρεμ με(ουμ)...(α)νιμ(ω) τισ μαγνα τυ...(δομ)ινομ ιαμ ιαμ...πενια...transcription in Latin letters:</p>
<p>love <i>habeat amore(m) me(um)</i>; the author named <i>Martialis</i>; mater, the name of the woman has not preserved; love spell/he wants her</p>	<p>...<i>quorum... magna ut... quomodo ... anuntio regis ... mortuus ab il(la ...det)ineatur anima ... (in h)oc loco, sic et ... cuius est ... te detineatur (in om)ne tempus in a(mor)e et desider(i)o Mar(t)ialiki (Martialis), quem peperit Coronaria VM Adiuuro vos per (h)unc pr(a)e(po)situm super necessi(tat)es terr(a)e sic et te ... dominus ... ut ... e(x) (h)oc die,(ex) (h)oc momento ... ill(a)s ... amet Martiale(m), ut ommni (=omni) muliebri (h)oras m(e) in mente (h)abeat et tota die (in a)nimo habeat amore(m) me(um) (a)nim(o) ... tis magna tu... (dom)inum iam iam ... penia (veniat?). I state</i></p>
<p>VM alphab. Latin text written in the Greek alphabet</p>	<p>...<i>quorum... magna ut... quomodo ... anuntio regis ... mortuus ab il(la ...det)ineatur anima ... (in h)oc loco, sic et ... cuius est ... te detineatur (in om)ne tempus in a(mor)e et desider(i)o Mar(t)ialiki (Martialis), quem peperit Coronaria VM Adiuuro vos per (h)unc pr(a)e(po)situm super necessi(tat)es terr(a)e sic et te ... dominus ... ut ... e(x) (h)oc die,(ex) (h)oc momento ... ill(a)s ... amet Martiale(m), ut ommni (=omni) muliebri (h)oras m(e) in mente (h)abeat et tota die (in a)nimo habeat amore(m) me(um) (a)nim(o) ... tis magna tu... (dom)inum iam iam ... penia (veniat?). I state</i></p>

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	the transcription of the text in Latin letters according to Kropp 2008; see also DT 231.
126. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/18; DT 232; Tr 51; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...Gloriosa, Rogatus, Borustenes, Ianuarius, Vitalis, Romanous, Romanus, Adauctus, Primitivos, Eforianus, Urbanus catai murqk ub...akk...v/ ovo...ab</i> ³⁷
competition charioteers /horses , ten horses in nom; the names of the riders have not preserved; restrictions	
I (a cock head)	
127. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/19; DT 233; Tr 52; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Frenalius, Venator, Exsuperus, Augur, Volens, Sidereus, Attonitus, Hieronica, Chrysiphus. Sidereus, Igneus, Turinus, Martius, Rapidus, Arminius, Impulsator, Castalius, Gelos, Pyropus, Eugenius, Anim(a)tor, Blandus, Sidonius, Ominipotius, Aquila, Licinus, Amazonius, Imber</i> (VM: <i>καρουραχχθα βραχχθαθ ηθαειουμα νεσφομι μελα ηειηνεη εσταβαηι</i>) <i>Ixcito (=excito (t)e · d(a)emon, qui · (h)ic conversas · trado · tibi (h)os equos · ut deteneas (=detineas) illos · et · inplice(ntur) (n)ec se movere posse(nt) (=possint)</i> . VM: <i>ρακκ ραρα ιρακ καβρακκρακκου βραχθαθαθ θαχαση ρικσονυθωθ</i>
competition horses (<i>h)os equos · ut deteneas</i> ; 28 horses; nom.; restrictions	
VM around the perimeter as well as in the text alphab.; I (starting turning points); punctuation·	
128. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/20; DT 243; Tr 62; grave; the 3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...(n)ec se m(ove)r(e possint?) in pro(elio?) ... cur)sare (currere) inpodesate (=impedite) (h)os ... tus ...omdiate? In pro(elio?) ... cursare inpodisate (=impedite) SM (so)lvite m.elsi...SM illum (oc)cidite do SM oamu eiu? SM ...s...s...inp SM omios uti cursare SM nes ...o...b SM tinos...vesiti victori SM larum...victima ut SM...a. rim...r scrienalum</i>
competition charioteers/horses (<i>oc)cidite</i> ; charioteers <i>veneti</i> (blue team); names	

³⁷ The names of the horses mentioned in agonistic curses are stated almost in amended form.

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not preserved; restrictions	<i>la SM li ... sep ... ti ... dierum in pr SM casis ... pa ... te ... dis(f)ran(g)ite asor.sia SM meis in ... pr ... onissima nostro SM in crastino die ...n sate e.as ipsoru(m) SM cundesate in eos...nietrur p. asa.et (DT interprets as συνδήσασ, i.e. Colligate) in eos...et cursoro(m)? ...spe ... testis ... veneti et ...id(us?)...</i>
VM, SM, alphab. V (grammata)	
129. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/21; DT 244; Tr 63; tab. Opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: VM alphab. B: ...T.nioco...e crispus ... eoum (=equum?) ...retinete ...in ispatium (=spatium)</i>
competition charioteers/horses <i>retinete</i> ; the names of people and the horses have not preserved; restrictions	
VM around the perimeter and also in the text alphab.VM, I (<i>A</i> : a man/daemon? with a whip, starting turning points)	
130. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/22; DT 247; Tr 93; amphitheatre; the 2 nd /3 rd cent. corrupted text	<i>...(occi)dite, exterminate, vulnerate Gallicu(m), quen peperit Prima, in ista (h)ora in amp(h)iteatri corona...et ..ar ..a... a... ludes ...orno...pe (h)oc ter...a...ias...gula neive que p...ave rite (h)oc tene, illi manus obliga...obture...non liget ur(sum), ursos ... par... ill u ... ra orat ... Obliga illi pede(s), m(e)m(br)a, sensus, medulla(m). Obliga Gallicu(m), quen peperit Prima, ut neque ursu(m) neque tauru(m) singulis plagis occida(t n)equ e binis plagis occid(a)t neque ternis plagis oc(ci)dat tauru(m), ursu(m). Per nomen dei vivi omnipotentis, ut perficeatis iam, iam, cito, cito. Allidat illu(m) ursus et vulneret illu(m).</i>
competition contestants <i>vulnerate Gallicu(m)</i> ; 1 m. acc.? mater; venator; restrictions/death	
SM, <i>per nomen dei vivi omnipotentis</i> , I (a standing snake-headed man – Typhon/Seth holding a spear in his right hand and a thunder-bolt? In his left hand)	

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<p>131. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/23; DT 248; Tr 94; tab. Opistogr.; amphitheatre; the 3rd cent.</p>	
<p>competition contestants <i>victos, pervictos</i>; 3 m., acc.? gladiators, mater + <i>apparitor</i>, acc.; restrictions</p>	
<p>I (a standing long-eared daemon with an ass-head? holding bowls in his right hand and a torch in his left hand); The end written in Greek</p>	<p><i>A: ... be sancte...ati(uro t)e (=adiuro te) per deum viv(um ut) facias Tziolu(m), q(uem) p(eperit) (Restit)uta, et Tzelica(m) (appa)ritorem en.a A(desicu)la(m), q(uem) p(eperit) Victoria, victos, pervictos, exaclos³⁸ (=exanclatos, exiliatos, exipilatos (expilatos), pla(n)gatos. Obligo (et) inpli(co et tibi)trado... (Aedesiclam, q(uem) p(eperit) Victoria, ... ementia ... ivi A(e)desic(u)la(m), q(uem) p(eperit) (Victoria ut facias (the addition of DT 248) B: vulneratos, (cru)entatos de an(pit)eatro exire i(n) di(e) muneris fili(os Ae)miliani pri(di)e idus Ianuarias sive idus. Age, age iam iam, cito cito ἤ(δῆ) ἤδῆ ταχύ ταχύ).</i></p>
<p>132. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/25; DT 250; Tr 96; tab. Opistogr.; amphitheatre; half of the 4th cent. (Tr the 3rd cent.); corrupted text</p>	
<p>competition contestants <i>obliges, perobliges</i>; 1 m. acc.; mater; <i>venator</i>; restrictions/death</p>	
<p>VM alphab. (daemons <i>Βαχαχυχ, Ιεχρι, Παρπαζιν, Νοκτουκιτ, Βυτυβαχκ</i>; magical word <i>μασκελλει</i>); the same diction as in No. 124</p>	<p><i>A: Βαχα(χυχ), qui es in Egipto magnu(s) d(a)emon, obliges, perobliges Maurussum venatorem, quem peperit Felicitas. Ιεχρι, auferas somnum, non dormiat Maurussum, quem peperit F(e)licitas. Παρπαζιν, deus omnipotens, adducas ad domus infernas Maurussum, quem peperit Felicitas. Νοκτουκιτ, qui possides tractus Itali(a)e et Campani(a)e, qui tractus es per Acerushium (=Acherusium) lacum, (perducas ad domos tartareas intra dies septe(m)), perducas ad domos tartareas Maurussum quem peperit Felicitas intra dies septe(m). Βυτυβαχκ,³⁹ demon qui possides (H)ispaniam et Africam, qui solus per marem trassis (=transis), pertransseas hanimam (=animam) et ispiritum (=spiritum) Maurussi, quem peperit Felicitas; pertranseas omnem remedium et omnem filacterium et omnem tutamentum et omnem</i></p>

³⁸ Tremel (2004, No. 94) *exaclos* – *exanclatos* = *exhaustos, plagatos – plangat*; Kropp (2008) suggests reading *exaclos* = *exactos*.

³⁹ Reading according to Tremel (2004, No. 96) and DT 250.

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	<p><i>oleum libitorium et perducatis, obl(i)getis, perobligetis ...etis (oblig?)etis apsumatis (=absumatis), desumatis, consu(m)at(i)s cor, membra, viscera, interania Mauruss(i venatoris?) quem peperit (Felicitas). Et te ad(iu)ro, quisquis inferne es demon per h(a)ec sancta nomina necessitatis.</i></p> <p><i>B: VM alphab. μασκελλει μασκελλω φνουκεν (Σα)βαωθ ορεοβαρζαγ(ρα) φηζικθων πυρκτων φιτ... ιτηωρ κερδεργσανδαλε κατανεικανδα(λε) depre(ndatis),(e)t faciatis pallidum, mextum (=maestum), tristem ... mutum, non se regentem Maurussum quem pe(pe)r(it) Felicitas; in omnem proelium, in omni certamine evanescat, ruat ... Maurussus quem peperit Felicitas. Desub ampitatri corona ...eatem auram (eadem auguria the addition of Kropp) patiatur Maurussus quem peperit Felicitas... (vinc)ere (non) possit, perversus sit, perperversus sit Maurussus quem (p)e(pe)rit Fe(licitas), nec lac(ueos) possit super ursum mittere, non alligare ... (ursum possit the addition of Kropp, 2008) ... (c)onlega(m) (=collegam/ colligatum m⁴⁰) tenere omnino non possit, manos illi et ro(bur?) ... (pe)des illi obligentur, non possit currere, lassetu(r) ... hanimam et ispiritum deponat, in omnem proelium, in omni(bus cong)ressionibus depannetur, vapulet, vulnere(ur)...(vincat)ur (Kropp 2008). ... e (man)us alienas inde (f)igatur (Kropp 2008: (d)e (man)ibus alienis inde (f)igatur, trahatur), tra(h)atur. Exiat Maurussu(s quem peperit) F(elicit)as desub ampitatri corona facie at terrae (=facies ad terram)...te cito depremite, defigite, perfigite, consu(mite Mau)ru(ssum) quem peperit Felicitas. Et (ut?) remise</i></p>
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⁴⁰ The different reading of Kropp: (c)ol(l)ega(tum) = colligatum; DT 250, and Tremel (2004, No. 96) (c)onlega(m).

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	(= <i>remisse?</i>), <i>ferrarum morsus... (patiatu</i> r? The addition of Kropp) (<i>t</i>) <i>am tauros, tam apros, tam leones, quae...Maurussus quem peperit Felicitas occidere possit...</i> (Kropp adds (<i>nulla</i>) <i>m (feram)</i>).
133. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/26; DT 251; Tr 97; amphitheatre; the 2 nd cent.; corrupted text	(<i>Adiuro vos a</i>) <i>nim(a)e... (h)uius loci (per) (ha)ec sancta nomina Psachyrinx</i> (VM: <i>oncrobrotescirvioarcadams</i>) <i>ter voos (=vos) adiuro, anim(a)e (h)uius loci</i> (VM: <i>ererecisipte araracarara eptisicere (c)ycbacyc bacacicyx bacaxicyc obrimemao saum obriulem patatnax apoms psesro (i)aw iossef ioerbet (i)opacerbet bolcoset</i>) <i>date interitu(m) (h)is venatoribus: Metrete, Syndicio, Celsano, Atsurio, Felici, Cardario, Vincentio, ne viribus suis placere possint. Adi(u)ro vos per nomin(a)... audita... (adiuro vos per haec no)mina neces(sitatis)</i> the addition of Kropp (2008)...(VM: <i>cerciel baci</i> el ... <i>aci</i> xese <i>amestubal merteme perturacrini mascelli mascello fnycentabaot zosagrac</i>) [partially written in the Greek alphabet, partially in Latin letters: <i>Hunc epitto eretton hypo ton lepeta oreo peganyx et per magnum C(h)aos vos adiuro</i> (VM: <i>iabezepat ererecisipte araracarara eptisicere</i>) <i>coggens enim vos et reges demoniorum</i> (VM: <i>bacaxicyx demenon bacaxicyx</i>) <i>cogens enim vos et iudices exsenyium animarum, qui vos in tachymorey vite iodicaverunt</i> (VM: <i>criny. arincbor</i>) <i>cogens enim vos et sangtus deus Mercurius infe(rnu)s coge(ns) ipse se ... fiat desocemri?, obligate (h)os venatores.</i>
competition contestants <i>date interitu(m) (h)is venatoribus; 7 m., venatores; restrictions/death</i>	
VM in Latin letters (daemons, ghosts <i>sancta nomina, animae huius loci</i>)	
134. Carthage dfx. 11.1.1/27; DT 252; Tr 98; amphitheatre; the 2 nd cent.? (Tr the 3 rd cent.); corrupted text; related to the following text	(VM 1. 1–5 + Greek text): <i>ερεκισιφθη αραραχααρα εφθισικεκε ευλαμω ιωερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ ιωβολθωσηθ βολκοδηφ βασουμαπαντα θνυχθεθωνι ρινγχοσερσω απομψπακερβωθ πακαρασαρα ρακουβα ααακαχοχ</i> (Gr. 1. 6): <i>ραβκαβ και συ θεοζηρ</i>

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<p>competition contestants <i>Implicate lacinia(m)</i> <i>Sapautulo</i>; 1 m. mater; restrictions</p>	<p>ἄν(α)ξ κατάσχων τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ἀποδομῶν καὶ τὸ ὄμοιῶν κατάσχεσ τοῦ Σαπαυτοῦλου ὃν ἔτεκεν Πονπονία δῆσον αὐτὸν καὶ ... τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καρδίαν τὸ ἦπαρ τὸν νοῦν τὰς φρένας ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς ἀλκ...αμηνηγεισειχεεε βασιλίον ὑμῶν ἵνα βλέπη...(l. 11–12, in Latin): μπλικατε λακινια(μ) Σαπαυτοῦλου ἰν καβια κορονα αμπιθεατρι (VM follow in four columns l. 13–24): χυχβαχ ευλαμω ιωερβηθ υλαμωε ιωπακερβηθ...(l. 25–35 in Greek): ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ (ἰ δ)υ(να)τὸς κρατῶν καὶ δεσμεύων καὶ κατόχων δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις αἰωνίοις ἰσχυροῖς ἀδαμαντίνοις καὶ παῦσον ψυχὴν κράτησον καὶ ... κατάδησον ὑπόταξον προσκλίσον τὸν Σ(α)παυ(τού)λ(ον) κατάδησον αὐτὸν σμαύρησον ... ἐξέλθε τόνδε τὸν τόπον μηδὲ τὴν πύλη(ν) ἐξέλθη μέτε τὴν τυμηθη ἀπελθεῖν τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ μένη κατάδησον σοῖς δεσμοῖς ἰσχυροῖς αἰωνίοις ἀδαμαντίνοις τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ Σαπαυτοῦλου ὃν ἔτεκε Πονπονία ε...(l. 36, Latin text): υριανι πατιατουρ λακινια ἰλλι ἰνπλικητουρ οβλιγητουρ ουρσελλου(μ) νον ρεσπικιατ νον λιγет νημινεμ πουγνι ἰλλι σολβαντουρ νον σит ποτεστατισ quа (νον) βουλνερητουρ σαγγουνητουρ Σαπαυτουλους κουρρερε νον ποσσιτ οβλιγητουρ ἰλλι πεδες νερβια ἰλ(ι)α κοντρα γῆς κοντ(ρ)α(η?)εντε σου φακιτε Σαπαυτουλου ομν ... φαζελουνε σου ιανουαριας ἰν ομνι μομεντο ἦδη ταχύ (VM alphab. l. 45–46): ευλαμω (ερεικισ)φηθ αραραχ αραρα φθισικερε. [the transcription of Latin text: l. 11–12] <i>Implicate lacinia(m) Sapautulo in cavea corona amphitheatri...</i> (Greek text in l. 12–35, the rest in Latin: l. 36–44):... <i>uriani patiatur, lacinia illi inplicetur, obligetur, ursellu(m) non respiciat, non liget neminem, pugni illi solvantur, non sit potestatis qua non bulneretur (=vulneretur), sanguinetur</i></p>
<p>VM (daemons – esp. of drought and obstruction) around the perimeter as well as in the text, V (grammata); Greek and Latin text, both written written in alphabet, Greek text prevail only a part is written in Latin (from l. 37)</p>	

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	<p><i>Sapautulus currere non possit, obligentur illi pedes, nerbia (=nervi), il(i)a contra γῆς, cont(r)a(h)ente(m?) σοῦ facite Sapautulu(m?)... Ianuarias in omni momento, ἤδη ταχύ.</i></p>
<p>135. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/28; DT 253; Tr 99; amphitheatre; the 2nd cent.; corrupted text; related to the previous text</p>	<p>VM alphab. 1–5 magical words; the first Greek formula follows identical to the one used in the previous tablet No. 134, l. 6–9. (l. 10–14, Latin text): <i>Vincentζus Tζaritζo in ampitζatru Cartang(in)is (=Carthaginis) in ζie (=die) Merccuri(i) in duobus cinque (=quinque) in tribus nove(m) (obligate, implicate laciniam)⁴¹ Vincentζo Tζaritζoni, quen peperit Concordia, ut urssos ligare non possit in omni ora, in omni momento in ζie Merccuri</i> (l. 15–16, continues in Greek): <i>καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καρδίαν τὸ ἦπαρ τὸν νοῦν τὰς φρένας ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς ἀνηναμηγισεχει τὸ βασίλιον ὑμῶν</i> (l.16–21, continues in Latin): <i>in Vincentζo Tζaritζoni quen peperit Con(cor)dia in ampitζatru Carthaginis in ζie Merccuri obligate, in(p)licate lac(i)nia Vincentζo Tζaritζoni, ut urssos ligare non possit, omni urssu(m) perdat, omni urssu(m) Vincentζus non occidere possit in ζie Merccuri in omni ora iam iam, cito cito, facite;</i> (l. 21–35 VM in three columns; further, l. 35–39 – Greek formulae, the same passage as in the previous tablet No. 134, l. 25–35);</p>
<p>competition conteastants <i>ut urssos ligare non possit;</i> 1 m. nom., mater; (the passages repeat themselves with slight variations; places identical to the previous tablet, esp. 35 ff.); restrictions/death?</p>	
<p>VM (daemons – esp. of drought and obstruction) around the perimeter as well as in the text; V (grammata); written in alphabet mostly in Greek, only partially in Latin language and letters</p>	<p>(l. 39–44, in Latin): <i>(Vincentζu Tζaritζoni) quen peperit Concor(dia...oblig)ate Vincentζo Tζarit(ζoni)...in ampitζatru in ζie (=die) (Mercuri)...exterminate Tζaritζo(ni)...</i> (l. 44–9 corrupted Greek text.); (l. 49–65, in Latin): <i>Vincentζus Tζa(ritζoni</i></p>

⁴¹ This addition is stated by Kropp (2008); according to the following passage, the author probably made a mistake.

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	<p><i>quen peperit Concor)dia obligate, implicate Vinc(ent)us T(ari)toni quen peperit Concor)dia Vinc(ent)u T(ari)toni ... in) duobus cinque urssos in trib(us novem ...) vinceatur, vulneretur, dep(annetur ... non curre?)re possit Vincent)us T(a)rit)oni facite Vincent)u T(ari)toni (=Vincetium Thearithonem) ... Vin)cent)u T(a)rit)oni in ... ampi)t)eatru Cart(haginis) ... ta per... (Vincent)u T(ari)toni obligate, in(plicate laciniam in duobus quinque, in) tribus no(ve)... non possit... possit... (in))ie Mercuri(i) ... ne anima (et spiritus deponat, in omni proeli)o⁴² vinceatur, deficiat... (in omni (h)ora, per ispiritales (=spiritalis) tra(ctus?) (l. 66–68 VM alphab.)</i></p>
<p>136. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/32; DT 303; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.? corrupted text (six fragments).</p>	<p><u>Frg.I:</u> ...<i>(m)edia(s), extrema(s), novis(s)ima(s) ... col(l)igo, ligo li(n)gua(s) uc gavi(?) media(s), (ext)rema(s), novis(s)ima(s), ne quit re(s)po(n)dere (possint), facias varios (=vanos) ...col(l)igo li(n)gua(s) ... (novis)sima(s) nequ(e/id) re(s)po(n)deri (possint?), facuas (=facias) il(l)os mutos ... (Lin)gua(s) lig(o), co(l)ligo, (ne au)xili(um) (eo)rom re(s)p(ondere possit)...</i></p>
<p>legal <i>ligo li(n)gua(s)</i>; 1 m. nom.? in frg. II; otherwise very damaged; restrictions</p>	
<p>N; resembles DT 219</p>	<p><u>Frg.II:</u> ...<i>(collig?)o li(n)gua(s) l(ig)o, media(s), extrem(as), no(vissimas) ... ap ... soret ..s al(l)igo, col(l)igo... (media(s)? extrema(s)? novissi?)ma(s) ne quit possi(nt) mihi... al(l)igo, col(l)igo li(n)gua(s), novissima(s), ne quit ri(s)po(n)dere (possint?) facias il(l)os potiora...suidi vixmi Al(li)go, col(l)igo novis(s)ima(s),ninquet (=ne quid)... (au)xilium r)espon(dere? possit?) (fa)cias (me)dia(s), extrema(s), novis(s)ima(s) mutos, mu(tos)... Publius Curtius alligo, colligo ...ligo...corrupted text.</i></p>

⁴² The addition of Kropp (2008).

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	<p><u>Frg.III:</u> ...<i>qui al(l)igo, col(l)igo...media(s), ext(remas)</i></p> <p><u>Frg.IV:</u> ...<i>quid...ne quid...</i></p> <p><u>Frg.V:</u> ...<i>lig al(l)igo, col(l)igo li(n)gua(s)... vanos...</i></p> <p><u>Frg.VI:</u> ...<i>vi...ne quit ri(s)po(ndere possint?) ... (medias) extrema(s)...li(n)gua(s)...</i></p>
<p>137. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/34; Ruíz (1967:68); in the soil, θ</p>	<p><i>Gal(l)u(s), Lunu(l), Fausca, Plac(id)u(s), Meiu(s), Rupil(i)a Rup(iliae), Liciniu(s), Maxima, Salbao, Mart(i)a, Septemiu(s) (=Septimius), Amia(na)?, Saturina, Speratus et(?) si qui(s) contra feceri(t) Cl(e)opatra(m?).</i></p>
<p>legal <i>contra feceri(t)</i>; 8 m. + 6 f., nom.; the author <i>Cleopatra?</i>; N</p>	
N	
<p>138. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/35; Ruíz (1967: 69); So 44, Ga 82; water source; found together with No. 139; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p>VM: Αρθυ Λαιλαμ Σεμεσε(ι)λαμ αεηιουω βαχυχ βακαξιχυχ μενε βαιχυχ αβρασαξ υχ μενε βαιχ υχ αβρασαξ</p> <p><i>Domini Dei, tenete, detinete Falernas, ne quis illoc accedere possit, obligate, perobligate Falernaru(m) balineu(m) ab hac die, ne quis homo illoc accedat.</i></p>
<p>non-specific/competition (against the baths); restrictions</p>	
<i>domini dei</i> ; VM alphas.	
<p>139. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/36; Ruíz (1967: 70); So 45, Ga 82; water source; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p>VM: Αρθυ Λαιλαμ Σεμεσειλαμ αε(η)ιουω βαχ)υχ βακαχυχ βακαξιχυχ μενε βαιχυχ αβρασαξ βαζαβαχυχ (με)νε βαιχυχ αβρασαξ</p> <p><i>(Ne) illoc eat lavare. Nodiate (=nodate) Falernas ab hac die. Obligate, perobligate balineu(m) Falerne(n)si (Kropp, 2008: Falernense), ne quis illoc ire possit ab hac die.</i></p>
<p>non-specific/competition, addition to the previous tablet No. 138; (against the baths); restrictions</p>	
VM alphas.	
<p>140. Carthage dfx.11.1.1/37; Tr 68; amphitheatre; half of the 3rd</p>	<p><i>A: Σεμεσειλαμ, (q)uomodo (s)tomac(h)os (h)abes ligatos, sic et Concordi ... omate ... A ..liget brac(ch)ia, cor, sensu(m)c ...tinor ...co</i></p>

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cent.; corrupted text	(= <i>cum</i>) <i>Karkidoni (Carchedoni) co (=cum) Concordio (a)c con (=cum) Acenauce con (cum) Alumnino et Pyr(rh)o, Porp(h)yrrio ... Lascivio ... Bates et Lucifero, Concordio, Sereno. Pre(he)nd(at)...</i>
competition charioteers/horses <i>ligate pedes</i> ; <i>A</i> : 12 horses + 1m.; <i>C</i> : ca. 8 horses; restrictions	<i>B</i> : vocal. triangular alfab.
<i>I</i> (daemon?, horses?), <i>B</i> : <i>V</i> (grammata);	<i>C</i> : <i>Q(uomod)o ped(es) (h)abes l(igat)os, sic et eius Salbi//⁴³ et eis albis ligatae (=ligate) pedes Alumno et Pyr(rh)o, Polyarcis et Lasco-vuo obligatae (=obligate) pedesotinos? ut obruant. Pre(hendite), (ob)ligatae ped(es) (Ba)tes et Lucife(ro) e(t) (Concordio et Sereno?)</i> .
141. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/1; DT 263; grave; θ	<i>Laelianus, Saturninus, quos peperit Aquilia Saturnina.</i>
non-specific ; 2 m. nom., mater; <i>N</i>	
<i>N</i>	
142. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/2; DT 264; Vetter (1923); grave; θ (the 3 rd cent. according to the following?); corrupted text	Corrupted text l. 1–10 VM alfab., SM, <i>I</i> , then again VM: <i>Iαω σαβαοθ αββηλωρ αλεχμειωθ; Victoria, quem (=quam) peperit suavulva, puella(rum deliciae?)</i> . SM
love <i>puella(rum deliciae?)</i> ; 1 f. nom., mater; love spell/he wants her (the same name appears also in the following tablet, are they related?)	
VM names of deamons alfab., SM, <i>I</i> (a sword, key, two transfixing cords)	
143. Hadrumetum	<i>A</i> : <i>Alimbeu, Columbeu, Petalimbeu, faciatis</i>

⁴³ Kropp (2008) reads...*eius Salbi*, Tremel (2004, 68) reads *et eis albis*.

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<p>dfx.11.2.1/3; DT 265; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>Victoria(m), quem peperit suavulva, amante(m), furente(m) pr(a)e amore meo neque somnu(m) videat, donec at me veniat, puella(r)u(m) d(eli)cias.</i></p>
<p><i>A: love amante(m), furente(m); B: competition charioteers ne possit a(n)te me venire + love cogas amoris; 1 f. mater + 1 m. acc. (see No. 142), author's name is missing; A: love spell/he wants her; B: restrictions + love spell/he wants her</i></p>	<p><i>B: Desecus (=deseces?/haud secus)⁴⁴ Ballincus (=Ballincum) Lolliorum de curru actus (=actum), ne possit a(n)te me venire, et tu, quiquaque es d(a)emon, te oro, ut illa(m) cogas amoris et desider(i) (mei) causa ven(ire ad me).</i></p>
<p>VM (the names of daemons in Latin)</p>	
<p>144. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/4; DT 266; Kropp (2004: 4); grave; the 3rd cent.?</p>	<p><i>(...o)pe? commendo tibi quo(d?)... mella, ut illan(=m) inmitas (immitas) dae(mones? /monibus?)... aliquos infernales, ut non pes... (=permittatur?)... is(es?) me contemnere, sed faciat (quodcu)mque desidero. Vettia, quem (=quam) peperit Optata, vobis enim adibantibus (=adiuvantibus), ut amoris mei causa non dormiat, non cebum (=cibum), non escam accipere possit VM, SM obligo Vetti(a)e, (quam) peperit Optata, sensum, sap(i)entiam et (intel)lectum et voluntatem ut amet me Fe(licem), quem peperit Fructa, ex ha(c) die, ex h(ac) hora), ut obliviscatur patris et matris et (propinquo(r)u(m) omnium)⁴⁵ suorum et amicorum omnium (et aliorum/ omnium) virorum amoris mei autem (perhaps a mistake instead of causa/ gratia?) Fe(licis, quem) peperit Fructa; Vettia, que(m) peperit Optata), solum me in mente habeat... (dormi/ insaniens)ens, vigilans uratur, frigat</i></p>
<p>love ut amet me; 1 f. Vettia, mater, author Felix, mater; love spell/he wants her</p>	
<p>VM alphab., SM, I;</p>	

⁴⁴ Önnersfors (1991, 12) adds *deseces*, Kropp (2008) adds *haud secus*.

⁴⁵ The additions of the editors are stated in parentheses, first, those of DT 266, second, those of Kropp.

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	<i>(/frigeat?) ... ardeat Vettia, quam peper(it) Optata... a)moris et desider(i) m(ei causa) ...</i>
145. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/5; DT 267; grave; θ ; corrupted text: intelligible from l. 5	The whole tablet is written in alphabet, l. 1–5 damaged text, l. 5–14 the names of daemons alphab.; 15–25 Latin text. Latin text is stated in Latin letters according to the transcription of Kropp (2008); see also DT 267: ... <i>κωγιτε Βονωσα κουαμ (π)επεριτ Παπητ ημαρε (μ)η Οππιουμ κουεμ πεπεριτ Ουενερια αμορε σακρω σινε ιντερμισσιονε νον ποσσιτ δορμειρε Βονωσα νεκουε ησσε ... Βονωσα νεκουε αλουτ ... σεδ αβρομπατουρ ετ μη σωαδ ο(υ)ιδερετ ομνιβουζ διηβουζ αδξ...ουσκουε αδ διεμ μορτιζ σουε...ι...</i>
love <i>amare (m)</i> ; 1 f. <i>Bonosa</i> , mater; author: <i>Oppius</i> ; mater; love spell/he wants her	
VM (daemons/magical words) Latin text written in the Greek alphabet	The transcription of the text in Latin letters: ... <i>cogite Bonosa(m), quam (p)eperit Papte, amare (m)e, Oppium, quem peperit Veneria, amore sacro sine intermissione; non possit dormire Bonosa neque esse...Bonosa neque aliut...sed abrumpatur et me soad (=solum?⁴⁶) ... videret omnibus diebus ad x ... usque ad diem mortis sui (=suae).</i>
146. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/6; DT 268; grave; the 3 rd cent.; fragments	Text is very corrupted (DT 268 states 7 fragments whose order in the text is marked here as follows) ⁴⁷
love <i>obligate illa(m)</i> , 1 f. acc. mater; author's name is missing but it probably originally was in the text; love spell/he wants her	<u>fig. I and II:</u> <i>Persefina (Proserpina), obbligate (=obligate) illa(m) im(=in) sensum et isapientiam (=in sensu et sapientia) (e)t inte(l lectum?) a ... recipiatisque nos per Bonosa(m), qun (quam?)(pe)peri(t) Bonosa, dema(n)do ... (e)t</i>
<i>Persefina</i>	<u>fig. IV:</u> <i>volumtatem (=voluntate) ut. me...</i> <u>fig. I a II:</u> <i>(ut obliviscatur) patris et m(a)tris.</i>

⁴⁶ Kropp (2008) reads *solum*.

⁴⁷ Reading according to Kropp (2008). Kropp (2004, 71 ff.) suggested a slightly different order of the fragments; however, she desisted from it in the later edition; see also 11.1.4.

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	<p><u>fig. IV:</u> ...<i>am ex hac diem ex ha(c ora) per deo (=deum) meo (=meum) vivum...caelum et mare...</i></p> <p><u>fig. VI:</u> ... <i>ac ligo c(a)elum terra(m) deu(m) ...qui sit sub os coronnos arissore hoc enobr... eramg ... s quis v.er t(er)rae (e)t damatameneus cemesilla(m) (=semesillam?) ... de meos ades ... ut...tu...</i></p> <p><u>fig. V and VI:</u> <i>Bonosa, quem (=quam) vobis ego... commend... recipiatis ... vobis...</i></p> <p><u>fig. II and IV:</u> (11.) <i>sebmen per me tialu</i></p>
<p>147. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/7; DT 269; tab. opistogr.; grave; found together with the previous tablet No. 146; θ (the 3rd cent., as well?)</p>	<p>The whole tablet is written in alphabet. Side <i>A</i>: magical words alphab., l. 1–20, side <i>B</i>: fragm. I, an address to daemons, l. 5–19 corrupted Latin text. The transcription of Latin text in Latin letters is stated according to Kropp (2008); for the complete text, see DT 269</p>
<p>love fac (ut) Totti(na)...me amet;, 1 f. <i>Tottina</i> mater; author's name has not preserved; love spell/he wants her</p>	<p><i>A</i>: VM <i>B</i>: VM starts with names of daemons Columbeu ... Petalimbeu ...</p> <p>l. 2–4: (<i>κολομ</i>)βεο(ν), βολν βε...πεταλιμ(βεου)</p> <p>5: φακ Τοττι(να) ...με αμετ ... κεξητετ ... αδ ... αουε ... (σεμπερ(?)) δε με κογιτετ Τοττινα κου(αμ) πεπεριτ ... να ...αικαινι λικουετ ανιμο του ο β... τ αμο(ρ)ε με(κο)υμ φεκι ...α ετ του δομ(ινα?) ... (α)μορε...</p>
<p>VM (daemons and magical words) Latin text written in alphabet</p>	<p>(<i>Colom</i>)beu...Petalim(beu)... <i>Fac (ut) Totti(na) ... me amet ... (semper?) de me cogitet Tottina, qu(am) peperit ... ni liquet (/linquat?) animo tuo b... t amo(r)e(m) me(c)um fecit ... et tu dom(in)a(?) ...(a)more...</i></p>
<p>148. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/8; DT 270, grave; the 2nd cent.</p>	<p>The whole tablet is written in alphabet, the last line VM. The transcription of Latin text in Latin letters is stated according to DT 270 and Kropp (2008).</p>
<p>love uratur furens amore; 1 m., mater; the author: <i>Septima</i>; love spell/she</p>	<p><i>Αδ(ιρ)ο επ ... περ μαγνουμ δεουμ ετ περ (Αν)τέροτας ...ετ περ εουμ, κουι αβετ</i></p>

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wants him	<p>αρχεπτορεμ σουπρα χαπουθ ετ περ σεπτεμ στελλας, ουυθ, εξ κουα ορα οχ σομπποσυερο, νον δορματ Σεξτιλιος, Διονσιε φιλιους, ουρατυρ φουρενσ, νον δορμιαθ νεκυε σεδεατ νεκυε λοκυατουρ, σεδ ιν μεντεμ αβιατ με Σεπτιμαμ, Αμενε φιλια; ουραθυρ φουρενσ αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο, ανιμα ετ χορ ουραθυρ Σεξτιλι, Διονσιε φιλιους, αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο. Σεπτιμες, Αμενε φιλιε. Του αυτεμ Αβαρ Βαρβαριε Ελοεε Σαβαοθ Παχηνουφυ Πυθιπεμι, φαχ Σεξτιλιουμ, Διονσιε φιλιουμ, νε σομνουμ χονθιναθ, σεθ αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο ουραθυρ, ουιυς σπιριτους ετ χορ χομβουρατουρ, ομνια μεμβρα θοθιους χορπορις Σεξτιλι, Διονσιε φιλιυς. Σι μινυς, δεσχενδο ιν αδυτους Οσυρις ετ δισσολουαμ θεν θαπεεν ετ μιπταμ ουθ α-φθαλ α φουλμινε φερατουρ; εγω ενιμ σουμ μαγνους δεχανουσ δει μαγνι, δει ΑΧΡΑΜΜΑΧΗΑΑΑΑΑ.Ε</p> <p><i>Ad(iur)o... per magnum deum et per (An)terotas ... et per eum, qui habet archeptorem (=accipitrem) supra caput et per septem stellas, ut, ex qua hora (h)oc somposuero (=composuero), non dormiat Sextilios, Dionysi(a)e filius, uratur furens, non dormiat neque sedeat neque loquatur, sed in mentem (h)abiat me Septimam, Amene (=Amoenae) filia(m); uratur furens amore et desiderio meo, anima et cor uratur Sextili, Dionysi(a)e filius (=filii), amore et desiderio meo. Septimes, Am(o)en(a)e fili(a)e. Tu autem Abar Barbarie Eloee Sabaoth Pachnouphy Pythipemi, fac Sextilium, Dionysi(a)e filium, ne somnum contingat, set amore et desiderio meo uratur, (h)uius spiritus et cor comburatur, omnia membra totius corporis Sextili, Dionysi(a)e filius (filii). Si minus, descendo in adytus Osyris et dissolvam την ταφήν⁴⁸ et</i></p>
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⁴⁸ The text reads *θαπεεν*; see *την ταφήν* acc. sg. of *ἡ ταφή* – a grave.

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	<i>mittam ut a fulmine feratur; ego enim sum magnus decanus dei magni, dei AXRAMMACHALALA.E</i>
149. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/9; DT 272; Tr 22; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr 1. the 2 nd cent.) series of tablets	<i>A: Sarbasmisarab SM Delicatianus, Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, comes cada(n)t, Dextroiugus, Novus cum Amando, Germanicus, Caelestinus, comes cada(n)t, Hilarinus, Polydromus, Delicatus, Maurusius, Salutaris cada(n)t, Blandus, Profugus, Pretiosus, Germanicus, Amor, Pelops, Zephyrus, Alcastrus, Clarus, Clarus, cada(n)t, cada(n)t, Basilius, Nilus, Scintilla, Clarus cada(n)t; comes, Salutaris, Clarus cadan(t), frangan(t), disiungantur, male guren(t) (=girent), palma(m) vincere (n)on possin(t). Sarbasmisarab SM</i>
competition/horses <i>cadan(t), frangan(t)</i> ; ca. 35 race horses; nom. ; restrictions ; names of the horses almost the same as in No. 150-151 .	<i>B: Feiub</i>
VM, SM (eight of them up and down, <i>sancta nomina</i> ?)	
150. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/10; DT 273; Tr 23; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 1 st /2 nd cent.);	<i>A: Sarbasmisarab, SM Delicaltanus (Delicatianus), Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, Basilius, Nilus, Scintilla, Hilarinus, Polydromus, Delicatus, Maurusius, Blandus, Profugus, Pretiosus, Gemmatus, Amor, Pelops, Zephyrus, Alcastrus, Attonitus, Roseus, Germanicus, Caelestinus, Clarus, Salutaris, Socrates, comes. Haec nomina hominum et equorum, qu(a)e dedi vobis, cadan(t), precor bos (=vos) Sarbasmisarab, SM B: Feiub</i>
competition/horses <i>cadan(t)</i> ; altogether 26 names nom.; (DT only horses, Tr horses and riders); restrictions	
VM, SM – identical to the previous tablet No. 149	
151. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/11; DT 274; Tr 24; tab. opistogr.; grave, found together with No. 150 ; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 1 st /2 nd cent.)	<i>A: Sarbasmisarab SM Delicaltanus (Delicatianus), Capria, Volucer, Nervicus, Basilius, Nilus, Scintilla, Hilarinus, Polydromus, Delicatus, Maurusius, Blandus, Profugus, Pretiosus, Gemmatus, Amor, Pelops, Zephyrus, Alcastrus, Attonitus, Roseus, Germanicus, Caelestinus, Clarus, Salutaris, Comes, Socrates.</i>
competition/horses <i>cadant homines et equi frangan(t)</i> ;	

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<p>26 horses, nom.; (riders) identical to tablet No. 150; restrictions</p>	<p><i>Precor bos (=vos), sancta nomina, cadant homines et equi frangan(t). Sarbasmisarab.</i> SM <i>B: aur iub</i></p>
<p>VM, SM – identical to the previous tablet</p>	
<p>152. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/12; DT 275; Tr 25; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd cent.)</p>	<p>An artistically composed tablet (see facts. DT 275), the names of charioteers, horses, and SM/VM interchange in lines. The text is monotonous, the formulae repeat themselves, there is a formula engraved around the perimeter of the tablet. The names of riders and horses are probably in acc. without the ending <i>-m</i>, see also Adams (2013, 250):</p>
<p>competition charioteers /horses <i>cadat, vertat, frangat</i>; (red and blue teams), seven riders: <i>Privatianus, Superstianus, Naucellius, Salutaris, Superstes, servus Reguli, servus Reguli, Elius, Castor, Repentinus</i>, 42 (Tr)/43 (DT) horses of red and blue teams; acc. restrictions</p>	<p>SM <i>Privatianu, Supe(r)stianu russei qui et Naucelliu, Salutare, Supe(r)stite⁴⁹ russei servu Reguli, Eliu, Castore, Repentinu.</i> SM/VM <i>Glaucu, Argutu veneti, Destroiugu Glauci cadant; Lydu Alumnu cadant; Italu Tyriu cadant; Faru cadant; Croceu cadant; Elegantu cadant; Pancratiu, Oclopecta, Verbosu cadant; Adamatu cadant; Securu, Mantinaeu, Pr(a)evalente cadant; Paratu, Vagarfita cadant; Divite, Gar(r)ulu cadant; C(a)esareu, Germanicu veneti cadant; Danuviu cadnat; SM/VM</i></p>
<p>SM in each paragraph, the cursing text runs around the perimeter</p>	<p><i>Latrone, Vagulu cadant, Agricola cadant; Cursore, Auricomu cadant; Epafu cadant; Hellenicu cadant; Ideu, Centauru cadant; Bracatu, Virgineu cadant; Ganimede cadant; Multivolu cadant; E(o)lu, Oceanu, Eminentu cada(nt); (V)agu cadant; Eucle cadant; Verbosu cadant.</i> SM/VM <i>Privatianu cadat, vertat, frangat, male giret.</i> SM/VM <i>Naucelliu Supe(r)stianu russei cadat, vert(at</i></p>

⁴⁹ The text reads *Supe(r)ste*, Kropp (2008) amends to *Supe(r)stite(s)*, as well as *Supestianu* to *Supe(r)stianu(s)*.

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	<p><i>fran)gat</i> SM/VM</p> <p><i>Supe(r)stite russei servu Reguli cadat, vertat, fran(gat);</i></p> <p><i>Salutare cadat, vertat, frangat;</i></p> <p><i>Eliu cadat, vertat, frangat, vertat;</i></p> <p><i>Castore cadat, vertat, frangat, vertat;</i></p> <p><i>Repentinu cadat, vertat, frangat.</i> SM/VM</p> <p>The text around the perimeter:</p> <p><i>Obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audire possint nec se mo(v)ere possint, set cadant, frangant, dis(f)rangantur et agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec lora teneant nec agitare possint nec retinere eqos possint nec ante se nec adversarios suos videant nec vincant, vertant.</i></p>
<p>153. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/13; DT 276; Tr 26; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd cent.); corrupted text; series of tablets</p>	<p>I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and charioteers; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora.</p> <p>As for riders, mostly: <i>cadat, vertat Privatianu cadat, vertat, Salutare cadat, vertat, Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat, vertat...</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers /horses <i>cadat, vertat;</i> (red and blue teams), seven riders (as in the previous text No. 152) + <i>Romanus</i>, tj. eight riders and 47 horses; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>As for horses, mostly: <i>cadant, 2x frangant Lupercu, Faru cadant, Candore cadat, Chrysaspis, Tigride cadant, Alumnu cadat, Centauru, Ideu cadant, Virgineu, Bracatu cadant, Lydeu cadat, Auricomu, Adamatu cadant...</i> in twos or threes;</p>
<p>SM in each paragraph</p>	<p>The text around the perimeter: <i>(Alligate et obligate equos ven)eti et russei ... (fran)gant, dis(f)rangantur, male girent,(et) agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec... (nec ante se) nec adversario(s) suos</i>. (Kropp, 2008, amends the formula according to No. 152).</p>
<p>154. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/14; DT 277; Tr 27; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p>I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora.</p>

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<p>(Tr the 2nd cent.); damaged below</p>	<p>As for riders, mostly: <i>cadat vertat Privatianu cadat, vertat, Salutare cadat, vertat, Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat, vertat...</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers /horses <i>cadat, vertat</i>; (red and blue teams), against the same riders as in the previous tablet – eight charioteers, uncertain number of horses (ca. seven of them have preserved); acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>As for horses: <i>cadat Argutu, Cro(ceu cada)nt, Tyriu, Luperc(u... ca)dant, Italu cad(at ... cad)at Cen(tauru) ... Chrysas(pis)</i></p> <p>The text around the perimeter: <i>Alligate et obligate equos ... et agitantes veneti et russei cadant, vertant nec lora teneant nec agitare possint nec...</i> (Kropp, 2008, amends the formula according to No. 152).</p>
<p>SM in each paragraph as in No. 153</p>	
<p>155. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/15; DT 278; Tr 28; tab. opistogr.; grave, found together with the two previous tablets (DT); the 2nd/3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd cent.); damaged above, corrupted text, but probably identical to the previous one</p>	<p>I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora.</p> <p>A: As for horses, mostly in twos or threes: <i>cadant, 2×frangant...cadat Alumnu, cadat Adamasu cadat, Danubiu, Ideu cadant, Virgineu, Bracatu cad(ant), Epapfu, Victore cadant, Lydeu cadat, Elegante cadant, Pancratiu, Oclopecta, Verbosu, Crinitu cadant, vertant, Securu, Mantineu, Prevalente cadant, Lydeu (cadat), Latrone, Vagulu cadant...</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers /horses (red and blue teams), against the same riders as No. 153 a 154, i.e. eight riders, 37 horses; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>As for riders, mostly: <i>cadat, vertat Privatianu (cadat, vertat, Salutare cadat, vertat, Supe(r)stianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat, vertat, Supe(r)stite russei servu Reguli cadat, vertat, Romanu cadat, vertat, Repentinu cadat, vertat, Eliu cadat, (vertat Ca)store cadat, verta...</i></p>
<p>A: SM in each paragraph; B: SM</p>	<p>The text around the perimeter: <i>(Alligate et obligate equos) veneti et russei, ne currere possint nec frenis audiant nec pedes ... disiunga(n)tur a(gitantes) ... (a)nte se nec adversarios suos videant.</i> (Kropp, 2008,</p>

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	amends the formula according to No. 152). <i>B</i> : SM
156. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/16; DT 279; Tr 29; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent. (Tr the 2 nd cent.); damaged below, corrupted text, probably identical to the previous one	I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and charioteers; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora. SM As for riders: <i>Supestianu, qui et Naucelliu cadat, vertat, frangat, Zitrie cadat, vertat, frangat, Romanu, Nofitianu cadat, vertat, frangat...</i> SM
competition charioteers <i>/horses alligate et obligate;</i> (red and blue teams), probably only five riders, the number of horses uncertain; acc.; restrictions	As for horses, mostly in twos or threes: <i>cadant Verbosu cadat, Mantineu, Praeualente cadant, Vagarfita cadat, Paratu, Elegantu (cadat), Puerina cadat, Iperesiu ...Diamante cadat, S(ec)undin(u ... s)ervu cadat...cadat, frangat, disfringatur, SM Cassidatu cadat, Vagulu, Oceanu cadant ...SM</i>
SM (5 as in No. 153 , in each paragraph);	The text around the perimeter: <i>Alligate et obligate et gra(v)ate equos veneti et russ(ei)...nec pre(he)ndant ...(nec fr)enis ... cadant, fran(gant) ... agitantes veneti et russ(ei)... (ne)c vincant (vertant).</i> (Kropp, 2008, amends the formula according to No. 152).
157. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/17; DT 280; Tr 30; grave, found together with the previous tablet – briefer version?; the 2 nd /3 rd cent. (Tr the 2 nd cent.); corrupted text	SM Riders: <i>Naucelliu, Supe(r)stianu, Heliu, Privatianu, Zenore, Castore SM...cadant;</i> Horses in twos: <i>cadant Macedone, Atquesitore cadant, Hellenicu, Virgineu cadant, Comatu, Indu, cadant, Fariu Ama(t)us cadant, Ideu, Centauru cadant SM...</i>
competition charioteers <i>/horses cadant, frangant;</i> five riders a 12 horses; acc.; restrictions	The text around the perimeter: <i>cadant, frangant, disfrangantur, ma(le) girent, palma(m) vincere non (p)oss(int) nec frenis audiant, cadant.</i>
SM (as in No. 153 , in each paragraph)	

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<p>158. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/18; DT 281; Tr 31; grave, found with the five previous tablets; the 2nd/3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd cent.); corrupted text; almost identical to the previous one</p>	<p>SM, corrupted text Riders: <i>Nau(celliu, Supertianu, Heliu), P(rivatianu, Zenore, Castore)</i> SM... Coupled horses: <i>cadant Roseu Exsuperatore cadant, Mac(e)done, Atquesitore cadant, Helle(nicu), Comatu, Indu cadant ... cadant, Amat(u) Fariu cadant, Ideu, Centauru cadant</i> SM...</p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses (<i>cad</i>)<i>ant, frangant</i>; five riders, 12 horses; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>The text around the perimeter: (<i>cad</i>)<i>ant, frangant, dis(fran)gantur, male girent, (pal)ma(m) (vincere) non p(o)ssint, cadant nec frenis audiant, cadant.</i></p>
<p>SM as in No. 153, in each paragraph)</p>	
<p>159. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/19; DT 282; Tr 32; tab. opistogr.; grave, found with the previous one; the 2nd/3rd cent.? (Tr the 2nd cent.); corrupted text</p>	<p>I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora. SM <i>A:</i> As for riders: <i>cadat, vertat (Privatianu cadat v)ertat, Salutare cadat, vertat, Eliu cadat...</i> SM</p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>cadat, vertat</i>; (red and blue teams), the number of the riders is unclear due to the corruption of the text, perhaps the same ones as in the previous tablet, 41 horses; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>As for horses: <i>cadat/cadant Argutu, Croceu cadant, Tyrii, Italu cadant, Lupercu cadat, Candore, Faru cadant, Alumnu cadat, Adamatu cadat, Centauru, Crisaspis, Tigride cadant, Epafu cadat, Ide(u), Danubiu cadant, Virgineu, Bracatu cadant, Lydiu cadat, Victore cadat, Pancratiu, Oclopecta, Verbosu, Crinitu cadant...</i>SM</p>
<p><i>A:</i> (SM as in No. 153, in each paragraph) <i>B:</i> (SM as in No. 155)</p>	<p>The text around the perimeter: <i>Gravate e(t) obligate equos (veneti) et russ(ei ne) cur(r)ere possint ne(c frenis) au(d)iant (nec se) mo(v)ere possint, set (=sed) cadant, fran(gant), disfrangantur, male girent (agitantes?) ... (v)eneti et russei ver(ta)n(t nec) lora teneant nec agitare possint nec an(te se nec adver)sari(os suo)s videant nec vi(ncan)t, cadant, frangant.</i></p>

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	<i>B</i> : SM
160. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/20; DT 283; Tr 33; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 2 nd cent.); corrupted text	I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora. SM <i>A</i> : As for riders: <i>cadat, vertat Privatianu cadat, vertat, Salutare cadat, vertat, Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat ... SM</i> As for horses: <i>cadat/ cadant ...Hellenicu cadat, cadat, Danuviu cadat, Inhum(a)nu cada(t, D)erisore cadat, Improbu, Vagarfi(ta cadant), Iuvene, Capria, Mirandu cadat, Cesareu, Divite, Garru(lu cada)nt...SM</i>
competition charioteers/horses <i>cadat, vertat</i> ; (red and blue teams) eight charioteers (as in No. 153), 50 horses; acc.; restrictions	The text around the perimeter: <i>Alligate et obligate equos veneti et r(us)s(ei), ne c(ur)rere p(ossint nec frenis audir)e possint (nec se) mo(v)ere possint, cadant, frangant, disiungantur, male girent et agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec lo(ra) teneant nec ante se vider(e) possint) n(ec) adversario(s suo)s sed (v)ertant, frang(a)nt, palma(m) vincere non possint. B: SM</i>
<i>A</i> : (SM in each paragraph, as in No. 153) <i>B</i> : (SM as in No. 155)	
161. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/21; DT 284; Tr 34; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 2 nd cent.); corrupted text	I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora. There are VM around the perimeter, the curse starts with the names of riders: <i>Privatianu, Naucelliu Superstianu russei, Repentinu...</i>
competition charioteers/horses <i>cadant, vertant</i> ; (red and blue teams), differs from the previous ones: seven riders, 60 horses; acc.; restrictions	horses separately, in twos, or in larger groups: – <i>cadant Elegante, Glaucu, Argutu veneti, Destroiugu Glauci cadant, Elegante cadant, Ideu, Centauru cadant, Bracatu, Virgineu cadant, Noviciu (cadat), Securu, Mantineu, Prevalente, Ilarinu cadant, Danuviu (cadat), Pancratiu, Oclopecta, Verbosu, Crinitu cadant, Auriscomu (cadat)...</i>
VM (names of daemons around the perimeter alphab.: <i>Iao, Adonai,</i>	then again riders <i>cadant, vertant: Privatianu</i>

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<p><i>Soeches)</i></p>	<p><i>cadat, vertat, Naucelliu cadat, vertat, Supetite russei se(rvu Re)guli et Castore et Eliu et Repentinu...</i></p> <p>the curse at the end (corrupted text): <i>Nec agitare possint, nec retine(r)e equos p(ossin)t nec lora (teneant)... non possint. Alliga(te e)t ob(lig)a(te et grav)at(e) equos veneti et russei, ne currere p(o)ss(i)nt nec frenis audire possint nec pedes mo(v)ere possint, set cadant, frangant, disiungantur... palma(m) vincere non possint.</i></p>
<p>162. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/22; DT 286; Tr 36; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd–3rd cent.)</p>	<p><i>A:</i> VM in the left column: <i>Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu, Perfleu, Diarunco, Deasta, Bescu, Berbescu, Arurara, Baçagra</i>; a depiction of daemon in the middle, <i>Antmoaraitto</i> + names of horses: <i>Noctivagus, Tiberis, Oceanus</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>ut equos crucies</i>; four riders (white and green teams), three horses names (on a ship); nom.; restrictions/death</p>	<p><i>B:</i> <i>Adiuro te demon, quicunque es, et demando tibi ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)anc die, ex (h)oc momento, ut equos prasini et albi crucies, o(c)cidas et agitatore(s) Clarum et Felice(m) et Primulum et Romanum oc(c)idas, collida(s) neque spiritum illis leringuas (=relinquas); adiuro te per eum, qui te resolvit (vitae) temporibus, deum pela(g)icum, aerium...</i></p>
<p>VM alphas/Latin letters (<i>Iαω / Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu...</i>); <i>A:</i> I (a daemon standing on a ship, holding an urn and a torch)</p>	<p>VM alphas: <i>Iαω Iασδαω οοριω αηια</i></p>
<p>163. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/23; DT 287; Tr 37; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.?.; fragm., very corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A:</i> corrupted text: <i>... ua ... om ... m ve...a itar ... potu ... us ... omn ... milue ... a sit n...u (Bub)alus gum lugo a ve...as, occidas ex (h)oc die nerv(i)a illis concidas ne(que) asetame ... (poss)int</i> the addition of Kropp (<i>equos</i>) <i>agitare...(poss)int</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>occidas</i>; the names have not preserved,</p>	<p><i>B:</i> <i>...umloscissimos a...lla...c</i></p>

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uninterpretable; restrictions	
I (the same daemon standing on a ship as in No. 162)	
164. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/24; DT 288; Tr 38; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.?; fragments	<i>A:</i> in the left column the corrupted names of daemons identical to those in No. 162 : <i>(Cu)igeu, C(e)nseu, Cinbeu, Perfleu, Diarunco, Deasta, (Be)scu, (Bere)bescu, (Aru)rara, (Baça)gra</i> ; <i>I:</i> daemon in ten middle below horses' names: <i>Bubalus, Nilus, Liber, Pretiosus, Argutus, Alumnus</i> ;
competition horses <i>auferas ab eis nervia</i> ; six horses names (on a ship); nom.; restrictions	<i>a... d ... cu... um ... ram et te ... re(ginae?) t(e)nebraru(m) et vos ... curo ... eatis... p(?)eto ... ut me t ba as ... (obsecro te venias</i> the addition of Kropp 2008 <i>B:...s ad m...rogate...contra(has?)... auferas ab eis nervia (nervos), vires, medullas, impetos, victorias. Noli meas spernere voces, set moveant te haec nomina supposi(ta) ...VM</i>
VM (in Latin letters <i>Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu...</i> altogether ten, as in No. 162), <i>sancta nomina Necessitatis</i> ; I (the same daemon standing on a ship as in No. 162) menacing formulae	identical to side <i>A: Cuigeu ... (N)oli mea(s) spe(r)nere voces, set ... illius ec ... hos equos ... currere Te (adiuro) per haec sancta nomi(na ...necessit(a)tis.</i> (the addition of Kropp, 2008).
165. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/25; DT 289; Tr 39; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 3 rd cent.); very corrupted text	<i>A:</i> in the left column the corrupted names of daemons identical to those in No. 162 , <i>Antmoa(r)aitto</i> + names of horses: <i>Lynceus, Margarira, Profugus, Oceanus,...(re)ginae (tene)brarum, rogo... cui ... e ne summas exsisti s(i)cut mihi ...bapa etes B: lve sancte ...</i>
competition horses <i>auferas ab eis nervia</i> ; four horses (against green and white teams); nom.; restrictions	<i>a ...eret a in te...p...et te...ta eas...cus ops(se)cro te venias a ... et (h)os equos ...tiante contra(h)as tuis... e(t)... aufer(as) ab eis nervia, vires, med(ul)las, im(pe)tos (=impetus), victorias. Noli meas (spern)ere v(oc)es, s(et mov)ean(t) te haec (nomina?) (su)p(posit)it(a)</i> (amended according to Kropp 2008) <i>mate... ter si cuis (=quis) tali ...ta neces finia ultima nomina</i> (VM as on side <i>A</i>)
VM (in Latin letters <i>Cuigeu, Censeu, Cinbeu...</i> altogether ten, as in No. 162); I (the same	

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<p>daemon standing on a ship as in No. 162) výhrůžné formule</p>	<p><i>Cuigeu... noli meas spernere voce(s), set equos prasini et albi et(?) cia ...(agitatores?) (cr)ucia(s) auferas illis dulce(m) somnum, fac eos ne currere possint, (h)oc te peto ... aure... om nerritatem tenpus et necessita(tis) tu(a)e depremas e(quos), e(q)uos tecum h(abeas) sup(p)ositos tu(a)e...</i> (amended by Kropp, 2008).</p>
<p>166. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/26; DT 290; Tr 40; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.? (Tr the 3rd cent.); damaged above, very corrupted text, probably the same as in the previous tablet</p>	<p><i>A: I, corrupted text</i> <i>B: (Adu)ro te demon ... et dem(ando tibi) ex hanc die, ex(h)oc mo(mento) ... adiu(ro) te per eum, qui te re(solvit) vite temporibus, de(um pelagicum), aerium, altis(simum)...</i></p>
<p>competition horses, restrictions</p>	
<p>VM, I (daemon on a ship similar to that in No. 164);</p>	
<p>167. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/27; DT 291; Tr 41; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.? (Tr the 3rd cent.); corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A: in the left column ...(qui te) re(s)olvit ex vit(a)e temporibus deum pela(gicum); a depiction of daemon in the middle + VM: (a)itmo arpitto; in the right column: adiu(ro) te, de(mon), quicu(m)que es) et de(man)do (tibi) ex (h)anc d(ie), ex (h)anc (h)o(ra), ex (h)oc m(omen)to, ut cru(ci)etur ...u.u</i></p>
<p>competition horses ut cru(ci)etur; restrictions</p>	
<p>VM alphab.; I (daemon on a ship similar to that in No. 164)</p>	<p><i>B: corrupted text: (adiu)ro te demon cuiqun(que es) et demando tibi ... ut crucietur ...deum pelagi (cu)m aeriium, altissimum; probably identical to the previous VM: Ιαω οι ου ιαααωωωω...ια</i></p>
<p>168. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/28; DT 292; Tr 42; tab. opistogr.; grave, found with the previous one; the 2nd/3rd cent.?; damaged above and on</p>	<p><i>A: I (sitting daemon) + VM (corruption identical to that of No. 169): Quint.o...Ocuria anoχ (oton) b(arnion) formione (efcebul);</i> <i>B: Adiu(ro) te, qu(i)cunqu(e) es, et demando tibi ex (hoc die) ex (h)ac (h)ora, ex (h)oc</i></p>

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sides	<i>momento, ut crucietur Adbocata? per eum, qui te resolvit vit(a)e temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altis(simum). (Adi)u(ro), ut hos h(a)b(i)a(s) (e)quos ... d. a. b. ei bite (co)mm(endo). VM alfab.: η ωωαηα</i>
competition horses <i>ut crucietur</i> ; one name of horse? have preserved; restrictions	
<i>A</i> : VM in Latin letters; <i>B</i> : VM alfab., I (a daemon sitting on a pedestal holding a whip);	
169. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/29; DT 293; Tr 43; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.? (Tr the 3 rd cent.)	<i>A</i> : VM in a column: <i>Ocuria anoχ oton barnion formione efecebul</i> ; <i>Adiuro te, d(a)emon, quicunque es, et demando tibi ex (h)anc die, ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietur... ad diem illum. Adiuro te per eum, qui te (r)esolvit ex vit(a)e temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimum VM alfab. (Iαω οi οv ι α ιαα ιωιωε ο οριωω αηια ε; Lynceus...); + VM upside-down as in the beginning + Lynceus frangatur illi Peciolus descum?</i>
competition horses <i>ut crucietur</i> ; <i>A</i> : perhaps two horses: <i>Lynceus, Peciolus?</i> ; nom.; restrictions	
VM (names of daemons in Latin letters), VM alfab. (always at the end); partially upside-down	<i>B</i> : identical to side <i>A</i> (only VM in the beginning are missing): <i>Adiuro te d(a)emon, quicunque es, et demando tibi, ex hanc die, ex hanc (h)ora, ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietur. Adiuro te per eum, qui te resolvit ex vit(a)e temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimu(m); VM alfab. just like on side A; Lynceus.</i>
170. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/30; DT 294; Tr 44, grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.?; corrupted text); almost identical to the previous one	<i>A</i> : VM in a column, identical to those in No. 169 ; <i>Adiuro te, d(a)em(on), quiqunq(u)e, et demando, ut ex hoc die, (ex) hac hora, ex hoc momento crucietur... b. infernu ... (v?)obis. Adiuro te per eum, (qui te res)olvit ex ute (=vitae) tempori(bus, deu)m pelagicum, aerium, altissimum VM (Iαω...) Profugu(s), Peciolus, Frangio...Ri... + VM upside-down as in the beginning of the text.</i>
competition horses <i>ut crucietur</i> ; four horses; nom.; restrictions	

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<p>VM (names of daemons in Latin letters), VM alphab. (always at the end); partially upside-down</p>	
<p>171. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/31; DT 295; Tr 45; grave; the 3rd cent. (Tr the 2nd/3rd cent.)</p>	<p>The beginning of the VM alphab. l. 1–8: Γεσσε(μ)ιγαδ(ων) ια(ω)αω βαυβω εηαιε σοπεσαν κανθαρα ερεσιγαλ σανκιση δωδε(κ)ακτη ακρουροβορε κοδηρε δροπιδεη ταρταροϋχε ανοχ ανοχ καταβρειμω φοβερα προστ ε ... ννη κατανεικανδρα δαμαστρε ι...σα μεγαλόδοξε σερουαβους (the curse continues in Latin): <i>tibi commendo, quoniam maledixit parturientem, currant cuillic et d(a)emones infernales, obligate illis equis pedes, ne currere possint, illis equis, quorum nomina hic scripta et demandata habetis: Inclitum, Nitidum, Patrici(um), Nauta(m) σιονν αα ταχαρχην. Obligate illos, ne currere possi(n)t crastini(s) et perendinic (=perendinis) cir(cens)ibus Patricium, Nitidum, Na(ut)a(m), Incl(i)t(um) ταχαρχην. Του (=tu) autem, Domina Campana (=Campana) χαμβτηρας Nitidum, Patricium, Nauta(m), Incl(i)tu(m) ταχαρχην, ne currere possint cras et perendie et omnibus horis in circo ruant, quomodo et tu iucunde(?) emeritus es, βίος θάνατος, iam iam, cito cito, quoniam d(e)ducunt ill σφωνιακι δαίμονες.</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>ne currere possint</i>; four horses and one charioteer? (DT) acc.; restrictions</p>	
<p>VM alphab. + <i>Domina Campana</i></p>	
<p>172. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/33; DT 304; grave; Θ; very fragm., corrupted text</p>	<p>Fragm. l. 1–10 VM alphab.; l. 10.: <i>Tottina με α(μαρε)...ρ σινε μενδ(ακιο?)...ουτ (αμε)τ με σολουμ....(ουτ α)μετ με (σολουμ) Tottina κου(αμ πεπεριτ...) ... ουειδερειτ ... σιμ ... (ν)ον ποσιτ κουανδιε...(ομνιβους διεβ)ους ουιξεριτ (ουσκουε αδ διεμ μορτις σουε...) corrupted text. Transcription in Latin letters:</i></p>
<p>love (<i>ut a)met me (solum)</i> 1 f. <i>Tottina</i>; author's name has not preserved; love spell/he wants her</p>	<p><i>(Cogite?) Tottina(m) me a(mare) ... sine men(dacio?)..., ut (ame)t me solum... (ut a)met me (solum) Tottina, qu(am peperit...) ... videret...non possit quandie (=quamdiu) ...</i></p>
<p>VM alphab. (daemons) Latin text written in</p>	

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alphabet;	<i>(omnibus die)bus vixerit, (usque ad diem mortis suae)</i> the addition of DT 304
173. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/34; Be 13; grave; the 3 rd cent.?; corrupted text (restit. Kropp 2004)	... <i>(Perse)phone, oblige illius quam peperit illa ... (inc)olumitatem ... (ex h)ac die, ex hac (h)ora, ut obliviscatur patris et matris et omnium suo(rum) ... (amor)is insanie.(sed) amore et desiderio meo uratur...(ha)nc obl(igo).</i> according to Besnier; Kropp (2004) amends the text based on other tablets as follows: ... <i>quam peperit Perse)phone oblig/(o ... in)columitatem (sapientiam sensus ut amet me ... quem peperit ... ex (h)ac die ex hac (hora ex hoc momento ut obliviscatur patris et matris et) omnium suo(rum et amicorum omnium et omnium virorum ... insanie)ns insaniens (s) vigilans(?) uratur(?) comburatur...</i> amore et d(esiderio meo... ha)nc(?) obl(igo...)
love <i>amore et desiderio meo uratur</i> , woman's and author's names have not preserved; love spell/he wants her	
<i>Persephone?</i>	
174. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/35; Be 14; grave; the 3 rd cent.?; corrupted text (amended by Kropp, 2004)	... <i>(sapienti)a(m), sensus ... (illa(m?)... quam pepe)rit Rus... ob(ligo eam(?...ut oblivisc)atur patr(i)s et ma(tris et omnium suorum et amicorum omnium aliorum viror(um)...uratur (amore et desiderio meo ex h)ac di(e, ex hac ora... according to Besnier; Kropp (2004) amends the text based on other tablets as follows: ...sapienti)a(m) sensus (intellectum voluntatem ... quam pepe)rit Rus(...) ob(ligo ut amet me ...m quem peperit...a ex hac die ex hac hora ut oblivisc)atur patr(i)s et (matris et omnium suorum et amicorum omnium et omni)um viror(um...)(insaniens vigilans uratur comb)uratur (...amore et desiderio meo...ex h)ac di(e ex hac hora...)</i>
love <i>uratur</i> ; woman's and author's names have not preserved; love spell/he wants her	
N	
175. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/36; So 42; grave; the 3 rd cent.?; very corrupted text (amended by Kropp, 2004)	I state the text amended by Kropp (2004): ... <i>(obligo... quam peperit...)ns mentia (=sapientiam? ... (ut amet me) (...ex hac die ex) hac hora ex hoc m(omento ut obliviscatur patris et matris et suorum omn)ium (et amicor)um omnium et omnium vi(rorum...)</i>
love <i>comburatur ardeat</i> ; 1	

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<p>f. <i>Vera?</i>, <i>Lucifera mater</i>, 1 m. <i>Optatus mater</i>; love spell/he wants her</p>	<p>...N ... (in)sanien(s ...ins)aniens vigilan(s ...ur)atur comburatur ardeat sp(iritus? amore? et) (de)siderio meo. Obli(go) caelum terram aq(uas?)... et haera immobile(m) set dom(...) amoris huius Veram adiuro te per mag(na? ...n)omina eius dei qui sub terra (sedet? ...) VM: osornophri oserchochlo erboonthi im(...)hr...mne...phiblo chnembo sar(basmisarab... de)tinentem? sempiternum amorem qui... ego Optatus commendo deo... (Veram, quam) peperit Lucifera et nulli ali(o) attendat nis(i) mihi soli neminem alium (in mente habeat nisi me) Optatum, quem peperit Ammia P(...)ia....a Saphonia consummatum consu(mmatum consummatum) col(l)iga in sempiterno tempore.</p>
<p>VM (daemons in Latin letters)</p>	
<p>176. Hadrumetum d<i>fx.</i>11.2.1/37; Be 5; Tr 47; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent. (Tr the 1st/2nd cent.)</p>	<p>VM: <i>Acanaxatrasamacna</i>; horses: (<i>Basi</i>)lius, <i>Amor</i>, <i>Pretiosus</i>, <i>Profugus</i>, <i>Pelops</i>, <i>Clarus</i>, <i>Salutaris</i>. SM</p>
<p>competition horses, seven horses (only names); nom.; restrictions</p>	
<p>VM in Latin letters; SM</p>	
<p>177. Hadrumetum d<i>fx.</i>11.2.1/38; Be 11; Tr 49; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.?</p>	<p>I state only the cursing formulae, not all the names of horses and riders; for the complete text, see the above-cited corpora.</p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>obligate e(quo)s</i>; (red team), seven riders + 46 horses; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>The text of the curse as well as the names of riders and horses run around the perimeter, SM in each paragraph.</p>
<p>SM (<i>A</i>: in each paragraph, as in No. 158)</p>	<p><i>A</i>: <i>Privatianu</i>, <i>Heliu</i>, <i>Pompeiu</i>, SM <i>Privatianu</i>, <i>Heliu</i>, <i>Pompeiu</i>, <i>Repentinu</i>, <i>Felice</i>, <i>Surdu</i>, <i>Supe(r)stite russei</i>, <i>Regiu</i>, <i>Centauru</i>, <i>Bracatu</i>, <i>Virgeneu</i>, <i>Celestinu</i>, <i>Paratu</i>, <i>Glaucu(s)</i>, <i>Eolu(s)</i>, <i>Igneu(s)</i>, <i>Decore</i>, <i>Oceanu</i>, <i>Garulu</i>, <i>Eburnu</i>, <i>Verbosu</i>, <i>Germanicu</i>, <i>Eminente</i>, <i>Tagu</i>, <i>Voluptate</i>, <i>Capreolu</i>, <i>Viatore</i>, <i>Securu</i>, <i>Maguriu</i>, <i>Audace</i>, <i>Arbustu</i>, <i>Cesareu</i></p>

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	<p>...<i>Rogo vos cadant Privatianu, Heliu, Pompeiu, Repentinu, Felice, Surdu, Superstite russei...</i>+ 46 repeating names + <i>Rogo vos, cadant, ci(e)ant male.</i></p> <p>The text around the perimeter: <i>Rogo vos, obligate e(qu)os ... minesren ... (ne)c se mo(v)ere possint, se(t c)adant, male gurent (=girent) et agitan(tes v)ertant nec lora teneant nec ante se nec adversarios suos videant nec vinceant, male gurent. B: SM</i></p>
<p>178. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/39; Be 10; Tr 48; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 2nd cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A: Proteu, Felice, Pompeiu, Castre(n)se, C(a)esareu, Romanu, Amandu, Acceptore, Luxuriu... Africu ... (Di)amante, (Vic)toricu ...cadant ... cadant ... inte ... Exorbe ... ne ... an ... Querulu(s), Eliu(s)... gantedsvne ...te</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>cadant, frangant</i>; 11 horses + three riders <i>Felix, Pompeius, Proteus</i>; acc.; restrictions</p>	<p>The text around the perimeter: <i>cadant, frangant, dis(frangantur) male gurent, vertant nec frenis (a)udiant ... (n)e currere possint, cadant... cadant, disfrangantur, cadant...</i></p>
<p>SM (<i>A</i>: in each paragraph as in No. 158, <i>B</i>: only SM)</p>	<p><i>B: SM</i></p>
<p>179. Hadrumetum dfx.11.2.1/40; Be 15; Tr 50; tab. opistogr.; grave; the first half of the 2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: VM: I daemon; Baitmo, Arbitto (on daemon's chest); in the left column: Lynceus, Margarita: premas, depremas, hocidas (=occidas) quinto depremas; in the right column: nervi a illis concidas neque spiritum (h)abeant.</i></p>
<p>competition charioteers/horses <i>ut crucientur</i>; (green team); two horses, nom.; + one groom <i>Donatus conditor</i>; restrictions</p>	<p><i>B: Adiuo te, demon, cuicuncue es, et demamdo tibi ex (h)anc (h)ora, ex (h)oc momento, ut crucietuntur (=crucientur) ecui (=equi), cuos (=quos) abes (=habes) tecum Donati, conditoris prasini. Adiuo te per eum, cui (=qui) te resosvit vitae temporibus, deum pelagicum, aerium, altissimum. VM alphab.</i></p>
<p>VM in Latin letters, VM alphab. at the end; I (daemon on a ship holding a torch and an urn, as in No. 162)</p>	

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180. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/41; So 48; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Margarita, Lynceus.</i>
competition horses , two horses; nom.; restrictions?	
N	
181. Hadrumetum dfx. 11.2.1/42; grave; θ	<i>Annibonia, Concisus, Laurentius, Piquarius, Felix, Cobbo(?), Salvus. Oro bos (=vos) ex (h)anc die, ut taceant, muti, mutili si(n)t; VM Damnameneus(?).</i>
legal 6 m. + 1 f.; nom.; restrictions	
VM (<i>Damnameneus</i>)	
182. Thysdrus, dfx. 11.2.2/1; grave; half of the 3 rd cent.	<i>(H)os (=hoc) opera ritine (=retine) mi(hi) Patelaria(m) Menor (=Minorem), amor piger n(obis?). Ecx (=ex) of(f)icina magica donatus⁵⁰ t(u)is. (H)oc tibi o(p)tamus te bidere (=videre). Bictor (V=ictor) Colon(us) C(oloniae) Nov(a)e estrumetarius (=instrumentarius?). (H)oc nobis o(p)tamus AEE ave mater ave.</i>
love <i>amor piger</i> ; 1 f. <i>Patelaria Minor</i> , the author named <i>Colonus</i> ; love spell/he wants her	
N partially verically	
183. Constantine, Africa Numid. dfx. 11.3.1/1; DT 300; tab. opistogr.; grave; the 4 th cent.?.; corrupted text	<i>A: ... aviuli ...tei gutur babo w o o os... o...a(?)ur...desumatur, ut facia(s) il(l)um sine sensum (=sensu), sine memoria, sine (spi)ritu, sine medul(l)a, sit vi mutuscus</i> <i>B: ...ento demando tibi, ut ac(c)eptu(m h)abeas (S)ilvanu(m), q(ue)m p(eperit?)⁵¹vulva facta... et custodias ... nto (de)mando, ut facia(s) (il)lum mortu(um). Depona(s) eum at Tartara.</i>
legal <i>sit vi mutuscus</i> ; 1 m., <i>Silvanus</i> ; restrictions/death	
I (daemons with goatlike legs)	

⁵⁰ Kropp (2008) regards *Donatus* a proper name with respect to the plausible interpretation of the whole text as follows: “With this tablet hold/bind (with love) Patellaria the younger for me, our love stagnates. I have received from the magical workshop, please, look at it. (I) Victor Colonus... this we wish...” I assume that the term is a verb.

⁵¹ DT 300 reads the preserved sequence as *pu(u)lvam fac(i)a(s) = pulverem*; Jordan (1976, 127–132) reads *vulva*; I take over the interpretation of Kropp (2008).

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I.6. Britannia

BRITANNIA	TEXT
184. Bath dfx. 3.2/4; To 2; Brit 15; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.?	<i>Britiuenda, Venibelia.</i>
non-specific ; 2 f. nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); some letters written mirror-like	
185. Bath dfx. 3.2/5; To 3; Brit 13; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.? corrupted text	<i>Brpituenda (=Brituenda), Marinus, Memorina.</i>
non-specific ; 2 f. + 1 m. nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
186. Bath dfx. 3.2/9; To 9; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.?; two fragments	<i>A: Petio (=petitio?): rove (=rogo?) te, Victoria vind(ex?) Cun ... Minici, Cunomolius, Minervina ussor (=uxor), Cunitius servus, Senovara ussor (=uxor), Lavidendus ser(v)us, Mattonius ser(v)us, Catinius Exactoris fundo eo Methianu(s) ... dono. ... B: (... a)micus ...tpiasu ...gineninsu(s) ...gienusus</i>
non-specific ; nominal list: 3. f. + 7 m. nom.; uxor N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
187. Bath dfx. 3.2/16; To 17; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.?; corrupted text	<i>A: Senianus, Magnus, M...o ,B: Lucianu(s), Marcellianus, (M)allianus, Mu(t)ata, Medol... geacus</i>
non-specific ; nominal list: 7–8 nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
188. Bath dfx. 3.2/22; To 30; metal discus; shrine (water source); the 2 nd cent.	<i>Severianus fil(ius) Brigomall(a)e, Patarnianus filius, Matarnus ussor (=uxor), Catonius Potentini, Marinianus Belcati, Lucillus Lucciani, Aeternus Ingenui,</i>
non-specific ; nominal list: 7 m.	

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+ 1 f. uxor; nom. 1×mater, pater; N	<i>Bellaus Bellini.</i>
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
189. Bath dfx. 3.2/29; To 37; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: Illorum anima las(s)e(tur) titumus sedileubisediac usa quepanum</i> (unintelligible text) <i>B: Exsibuus, Lothuius, Mas(e)ntius, Aesibuus, Petiacus.</i>
non-specific ; 5 m. nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
190. Bath dfx. 3.2/43; To 51; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Severa, Dracontius, Spectatus, Innocentius, Senecio, Candidianus, Applicius, Belator, Surilla, Austus, Carinianus.</i>
non-specific ; 9 m. + 2 f. nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
191. Bath dfx. 3.2/45; To 53; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>A: D(eo) Mercurio ... san(g)u(e)m (=sang-(uine)m). (C)ivil ... fuerit de ...Trinni(?) familiam ...Velvalis(?) ...am suam</i> <i>B: Markelinum familia(m), Veloriga(m) et famili(am) (s)uam, Morivassum et (f)amiliam, Riovassum e(t) familiam, Minoven...et familiam sua(m)...</i>
non-specific ; nominal list: 6 m. + 1 f. acc. (1×nom.); N	
<i>deo Mercurio</i>	
192. Bath dfx. 3.2/66; To 78; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; very corrupted text	<i>(B)itilus, Linu(s), Bitiluꝛs, Lin(us).</i>
non-specific ; 2 m. nom.; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
193. Bath dfx. 3.2/74; To 95; Brit 14; shrine (water source); the 4 th cent.	<i>Cunsa, Maria, Docimedis, Vendibedis, Sedebelia, Cunsus, Severiaianus (=Severianus), Seniila (=Senila)</i>
non-specific ; 4 f. + 4 m., nom.; N	

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<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
194. Bath dfx. 3.2/75; To 96; Brit 14; shrine (water source); the 4 th cent.	<i>Victorinus, Talipieinus, Minantius, Victorianus, Compepedita (=Compedita), Valauneicus, Belia.</i>
non-specific ; 5 m. + 2 f. nom; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.)	
195. Clothall dfx. 3.9/1; So 19; Roman grave; θ	<i>Vetus quomodo sanies significatur. Tacita deficta.</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. nom.; disease/death	
N; written partially right-to-left	
196. Leintwardine dfx. 3.13/1; water (baths); θ	<i>Carinus, Similis, Consortius, Comes, Masloriu(s), Seniorix, Cunittus, Cunittus, Cunedecanes, Ceanatis, Tiberin(us).</i>
non-specific ; 11 m. nom.; N	
N	
197. Leintwardine dfx. 3.13/2; water (baths); θ	<i>Enestinus, Motius, Comitinus.</i>
non-specific ; 3 m. nom.; N	
N	
198. London dfx. 3.14/1; So 17; tab. opistogr.; in the soil; half of the 1 st cent.	<i>Tertia(m) Maria(m) defico (=defigo) et illeus (=illius) vita(m) et me(n)tem et memoriam (e)t iocinera, pulmones intermixita (=inter-mixta) fa(c)ta, cogitata, memoriam. Sci (=Sic) no(n) possitt loqui (quae) sicreta (=secreta) si(n)t neque SINIT... amere (=amare) possit neque ... cludo (=claudio).</i>
rivalry in love , 1 f. acc.? restrictions/separation?	
N	
199. London dfx. 3.14/2; in the soil; half of the 1 st cent.	<i>A: T(itus) Egnatius Tyran(n)us defic(t)us (=defixus) est et P(ublius) Cicereius Felix defictus e(s)t. B: T(itus) Egnatius Tyran(n)us defictus est et P(ublius) Cicereius Felix.</i>
non-specific ; 2 m., nom.; N	
N	

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200. London Southwark dfx. 3.14/4; Brit 21; in the soil, the 4 th cent.?	<i>Martia sive Martina.</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. nom.	
N; right-to-left	
201. London dfx. 3.14/5; Brit. 34; in the soil; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Plautius, Nobilianus, Aur(e)l(ius), Saturninus, Domitia, Attiola et si qui afuere.</i> ⁵²
non-specific ; 4 m. nom. + 2 f., nom.; N	
N	
202. Thetford dfx. 3.21/1; Brit 13; in the soil; the 4 th cent.	<i>...Peminius Novalis, (defix)us est Pem(inius).</i>
non-specific ; 1 m. nom.; N	
N; written right-to-left	
203. Uley dfx. 3.22/12; Brit 26; shrine; 2.–4. cent.; corrupted text	<i>Lucila Mellossi (filia) AEXSIEUMO, Minu(v)assus Senebel(l)enae (filius?).</i>
non-specific ; 1 f. pater + 1 m. nom., mater; N	
<i>Mercurius</i> (impl.)	
204. Uley dfx. 3.22/18; Brit. 26; shrine; the 2 nd -4 th cent.	<i>Aunillus, V(ica)riana, Covitius Mini (filius) dona(t) Varicillum, Minura, Atavacum...</i>
non-specific ; 2 m. + 1 f. nom.; pater curse 3 m. acc.? ⁵³ ; N	
<i>Mercurius</i> (impl.)	
205. Uley dfx. 3.22/39; UI 86; Brit 24; shrine; the 2 nd -4 th cent.	<i>Petronius.</i>

⁵² Kropp (2008) completes the text with *et ii qui afuerunt*. Tomlin – Hassall (2003, 361 ff.) assume that the sequence *at si qui afuere* is the first preserved “all inclusive” formula in this region, see 1.1.2.

⁵³ See 10.1.1.

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non-specific ; 1 m. nom.; N	
<i>Mercurius</i> (impl.)	
206. Uley dfx. 3.22/9; UI 20; shrine; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Cunnovina?</i>
non-specific 1. f. nom.; N	
<i>Mercurius</i> (impl.)	
207. Bath dfx. 3.2/3; To 1; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.	<i>ABCEEFX</i> (Kropp amends: <i>Abcdef(i)x(io)</i>)
alphabetical sequence?	
208. Old Harlow dfx. 3.17/1; Brit. 4; tab. opistogr.; water; the 3 rd /4 th cent.	<i>A: Dio (=deo) M(ercurio), dono ti(bi) negotium Et(t)ern(a)e (=Aeternae) et ipsam nec sit i(n)vidi(a) me(i) Timotneo.⁵⁴ Sangui(n)e suo.</i>
non-specific ; <i>A</i> : 1 f. + shop?; <i>B</i> : 1 m. + shop? vengeance/death	<i>B: Dono tibi, Mercurius, aliam (=aliud) neg(o)tium Navin(ii?)... ne(c?)... min...</i>
<i>Mercurius</i>	<i>sang(uine) suo.</i>

⁵⁴ Kropp (2008) amends *Timotneo* = *Timothei*.

Appendix II: The Corpus of Latin Prayers for Justice

II.1. Italia

<p>KEY</p> <p><u>1st line</u>: inscription's number according to Krop: dfx.; Audollent: DT; Blänsdorf (2012): DTM; Blänsdorf (2008, No. 7): BI 2008:7; Besnier (1920): Be; Solin (1968): So; Gager (1992): Ga; Tomlin (1988): To; Tomlin (1993, No. 1): To 1993:1; etc.; the periodical <i>Britannia (II inscriptions)</i>: Brit;</p> <p>(For an exhaustive bibliography of particular inscriptions, see the corpus of Kropp, 2008) and TheDeMa.</p> <p>location/place of finding of inscription (i.e. grave, shrine, amphitheatre, water source, etc.; x = unknown);</p> <p>dating (the 2nd cent. = the 2nd cent. CE; \emptyset = unknown). + note on the preservation of the text: corrupted, fragmentary, etc.</p>	
<p><u>2nd line</u>: the people accused – number, or SVSM (formula <i>si vir si mulier</i>), i.e. an unknown culprit; NN (<i>qui</i>) i.e. an unknown culprit referred to through a relative pronoun</p> <p>motif of the making of the prayer for justice: theft; other, N = cannot be determined;</p> <p>aim of the prayer for justice: – only return of stolen things; – return (of things) and vengeance (punishment of culprit, or restrictions until he returns the stolen property); – only vengeance/punishment of culprit (restrictions/death); N = cannot be determined;</p>	
<p><u>3rd line</u>: deities appealed to: <i>Dea Sulis, Mercury</i>, etc., (X = none), or <i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.) – i.e. the tablet has been found at her shrine;</p> <p>author's name N (= is missing); + what the author hands over to the deity – R (<i>dono rem</i> i.e. stolen things); F (<i>dono furem</i> i.e. a thief); 0 (not stated)</p> <p>graphical peculiarities: orientation of script (i.e. right-to-left, boustrophedon, etc.);</p> <p>further additions – <i>votum</i>, reward to the deity, etc.</p>	
<p><u>TEXT</u>: the amendations, <i>lectiones variae</i>, and punctuation of the particular editors are stated in parentheses and footnotes.</p>	
ITALIA	TEXT
209. Pompei, Campania dfx. 1.5.4/3; on the facade of	<i>Hospes paulisper morare, si non est molestum, et quid evites, cognosce. Amicum</i>

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a tomb; θ	<i>hunc, quem speraveram mi(hi) esse, ab eo mi(hi) accusatores subiecti et iudicia instaurata. Deis gratias ago et meae innocentiae: omni molestia liberatus sum. Qui nostrum mentitur, eum nec Dii Penates nec inferi recipiant.</i>
1 m. <i>amicus</i> ; N, N	
X, N, 0	
210. Concordia, Venetia/Histria dfx. 1.7.3/1; Be 59; water – canal; the first half of the 2 nd cent. – the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Secundula aut qui sustulet... (=sustulit)</i>
1. f. nom.; N/theft; N	
X, N, 0	
211. Verona, Venetia/Histria dfx. 1.7.6/1; grave; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Trophimen, Zosimen, Chariten, vindictam de illis fas.</i>
3 m. acc.; N, vengeance	
X, N, 0	
212. Mariana, Corsica dfx. 1.9.1/1; grave; the 1 st /2 nd cent.; ¹ corrupted text	<i>...ule vindica te, qui tibi male f(ecit), qui ... (v)indica te et si C(aius) Staius tibi nocuit, ab eo vind(ica te) ... (Persequa?)ris eum, ut male contabescat, usque dum morie(t)ur, (et qui?) cumque ali(u)s et si Pollio conscius est, et illum persequaris, ni annum ducat.</i>
2 m. nom.; other; vengeance: disease/death	
...ule(?), N, F	
213. Sardinia dfx. 1.10.2/1; θ ; corrupted text	<i>fr.4:... numerum venerunt ra...; fr.5: (r)oco (=rogo) dom(i)ne, ut; fr.7:...rogo, subruptus (=surreptus) sit Urvanus (=Urbanus); fr. 9:... denari ...; fr. 10: ... rogo... cum pes-sim...</i>
probably 1 m. nom.; theft? return; vengeance	
<i>Domine</i> , N, 0	

¹ Solin (1981, 121) dates the tablet into the period of the Early Empire.

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II.2. Hispania

HISPANIA	TEXT
<p>214. Ampurias, Hisp. dfx.2.1.1/5; So 29; in the soil; the 1st/2nd cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p>...ei...q(u)i me sepelven...unaeos cum qui mi(hi) facinus inposuit, (pau)cos sit paupertati meam ... hodie podui (=potui) me inopia fuit ... (c)um putet eo modo facio tibi ... parturiens p(ro) donis turnavit.</p>
<p>NN (qui); other; vengeance?</p>	
<p>X, N, 0</p>	
<p>215. Saguntum, Hisp. Tarracon. dfx.2.1.3/2; Corell 1994; in the soil; the 1st/2nd cent.?</p>	<p><i>Quis res tunica tolid (=tulit) e Livia(?), obi eam vel ium (=eum), ite(m) is qui qu(a)estu(m) h̄habeat tra(c)ta.</i> (See Tomlin 2010, 269ff)</p>
<p>NN (qui); theft; vengeance</p>	
<p>X, Livia, F</p>	
<p>216. Saguntum, Hisp. Tarracon. dfx.2.1.3/3; Corell 2000; To: 2010; in the soil; the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>CR Felicio Aur(eliani) rogat et mandat pequnia(m), quae a me accepit Heracla, conservus meus, ut insttetur (h)uius senus (sinus/sensus?), o(c)ellus et (v)ires, q(u)i-cumqui sunt, aride fiant, do pequniam (h)onori sacricola(e).²</i></p>
<p>1 m. <i>conservus</i>; theft/fraus; return?; vengeance: restrictions</p>	
<p>X, Felicio Aur(eliani), R</p>	
<p>217. Bolonia, Hisp. Baetica dfx.2.2.1/1; well in the shrine of Isis; tab. ansata; the first half of the 2nd cent. To: 2010</p>	<p><i>Isis Mur(i)onumem (=Myrionyma), tibi comendo furtu(m) meu(m). Mi(hi) fac tuto (=tuo) numini, ma(i)estati exemplaria:³ ut tu evide(s) (=evites) immedio (= in medio) (eum), qui fecit (furtum), autulit (=abstulit) aute(m) res: opertor(i)u(m) albu(m) nov(um), stragulu(m) nov(um), lodices duas de uso (=usu)⁴. Rogo, domina, per</i></p>
<p>NN (qui); theft; vengeance: public/death</p>	
<p><i>Isis Muromem = Myrionyma,</i></p>	

² Corell (2000, 242) reads: *C(h)r(y)se ligo auri po(ndo) rogat et ad Iau dat*; Kropp (2008) partially takes over his interpretation; I take over the additions of Tomlin (2010, 264).

³ The reading of Tomlin (2010).

⁴ Tomlin (2010, 258) reads *meo uso*; as *de uso* seems to be contradictory to *novum*.

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N	<i>maiestate(m) tua(m), ut (h)oc furtu(m) reprindas (=reprehendas).</i>
218. Itálica, Hisp. Baetica; dfx. 2.2.4/1; in a house, tab. ansata; the first half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>Dom(i)na Fons font(i)/ fove(ns), ut tu persequaris duas /tuas res demando, quiscunque caligas meas telluit (=tulit – sustulit) et solias, tibi dea demando, ¶ ut (tu) illas, ad(cep)tor (adiutor?)⁵ si quis puel(l)a, si mulier sive (ho)mo, involavit, (ut) illos persequaris.</i>
NN, theft; return;	
<i>Domina Fons</i> , N, R	
219. Mérida, Hisp. Lusitania dfx. 2.3.1/1; To 2010; marble desk; water; θ	<i>Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina, per tuam maiestatem te rogo, obsecro, uti vindices, quot (=quod) mihi furti factum est. Quisquis mihi imudavit (=immutavit), involavit, minusve fecit (e)a(s) res, q(uae) in(fra)s (criptae) s(unt): tunicas VI, (p)aenula lintea II, in(dus)ium I, cuius (no)m(en) ignaro... i ... ius⁶</i>
NN; (<i>quisquis</i>), theft; return; vengeance	
<i>Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina</i> ; N, 0	
220. Alcácer do Sal, Hisp. Lusitania dfx. 2.3.2/1; Tomlin (2010); shrine; the second half of the 1 st cent.	<i>Domine · Megare Invicte, · tu · qui Attidis corpus · accepisti · accipias · corpus · eiu s; qui · meas · sarcinas · supstulit · qui me · compilavit de · domo · Hispani · illius · corpus · tibi · et · anima(m) · do, · dono, ut meas res · invenia(m) · tunc tibi (h)ostia(m) quadrupede(m) do(mi)ne, Attis, voveo, si eu(m) fure(m) invenero, dom(i)ne Attis, te rogo per tu(u)m Nocturnum, ut me quamprimu(m) compote(m) facias.</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>); theft; return; vengeance	
<i>Domine Megare⁷ invicte, domine Attis</i> ; N, F votive formula; punctuation ·	

II.3. Gallia

GALLIA	TEXT
221. Trier, Gallia Belgica	<i>Matrimoni(a A)b(ae et) amicorum. (A)ba</i>

⁵ Tomlin (2010, 254 ff.) reads *fonti*; *adceptor/adiutor*, *duas*, see 8.2., corrupted text.

⁶ Tomlin (2010, 286) reads the final sequence: *cuius I. C...m ignoro i...ius...*

⁷ *Domine Megare* “the Lord of Megaron”, i.e. Pluto. See Tomlin (2010, 262).

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dfx.4.1.3/7; Be 23; amphitheatre; the 4 th /5 th cent.?	<i>reddat (pre)tia damno ...</i>
1 f.; other; vengeance?	
X, N, 0	
222. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/9; Be 25; Önnerfors 1991: 21; amphitheatre; the 4 th /5 th cent. – the second half of the 3 rd cent.	<i>A:...BAL...INABIHTIARO vestro ... (rogo? Di)anam et Martem vinculares, ut me vindictis de Ququma (=cucuma/Cucuma?) Eusebium in ungulas obligetis et me vindictis. B: Depos(i)tum Eusebium. (See also TheDeMa 723.)</i>
2? m. acc.; other; vengeance	
<i>Dianam et Martem vinc ulares; SM; N, 0</i>	
223. Trier, Gallia Belgica dfx.4.1.3/11; Be 27; amphitheatre; the 4 th /5 th cent.?	<i>Si tu (H)ostillam, q(ua)e e Racatia (nata est, consumpseris), qi (=quae) mihi fraude(m) fe(cit), deus, nos te, q(u)i audis(ti, sacrificio colemus). CIL 13, 11340,5. The amendment of Urbanová (2013): Si tu (H)ostillam q(ua)e e(t) Racatia(e) frau(dem) qi (=quae) mihi fraude(m) fe(cit), (consumpseris). See 10.2.</i>
1 f., other; vengeance	
<i>deus; Racatiae et mihi? N, 0</i>	
224. Dax/Landes, Gall. Aquitania dfx.4.3.2/1; well, disk; the 4 th /5 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>Leontio, f(ilio) Leontio, Deidio, Iovino bolaverunt =involaverunt) manus pedis (=pedes) quicumqui le(vavi)t anul(um), oculique imm(e)rgo... i ... ru ... e.</i>
NN? Perhaps potential thieves: <i>Leontio, Didio, Iovino</i> , ⁸ theft; vengeance: accursed body parts	Kropp (2008) interprets as follows: <i>Leontio, filio Leontio, Didio, Iovino (involaverunt) manus, pedes, oculique. Quicumque levavit anulum. Immergo.</i> Urbanová (2013): <i>Leontius, filius Leontii, Didius, Iovinus involaverunt ... manus, pedes, oculique, quicumque anulum levavit immergo.</i> See 9.2.
X, 0; written right-to-left	

⁸ The text is ambiguous; the names of people stated in the beginning of the text can refer both to the victims of the theft and to the potential thieves, the latter being more probable, see 9.2.

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<p>225. Murol, Gall. Aquitania dfx.4.3.3/1; shrine; Θ; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>Deus, te rog(o, qui) distrale (=dextrale) cointra (=contra) ... t ... k ... futat ... o ... colas se ...n... musque contra ... Martis a ... vel tertio... ut confet(eat) (quod) tulit torq(uem) lues r(e) suis sic r... se et festul ...m domine numa...</i></p>
<p>NN, theft; vengeance</p>	
<p><i>deus</i>, N, 0</p>	
<p>226. Montfo, Gall. Narbonensis dfx.4.4.1/1; Versnel 1991; Marichal 1981; well; the 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>Quomodo hoc plumbu(m) non paret (=apparet?) et decadet (=decidit), sic decadat (decadat) aetas, membra, vita, bos, grano(m), mer(x) eoru(m), qui mihi dolum malu(m) fecerunt. Idem (=item) Asuetemeos, Secun- dina, qu(a)e illum tulit, et Verres Tearus et Amarantis et haec omnia vobis, dii, interdico in omnibus sortebus (=sortibus) tam celeb- rare Masitlatida concinere necracantum (=necrocantum) col ... scantum et omnes deos ... ta datus...</i></p>
<p>2 m. + 2 f. nom.; other; vengeance: death?</p>	
<p><i>dii</i>; N; 0</p>	

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II.4. Germania

GERMANIA	TEXT
<p>227. Avenches en Chaplix/ Switzerland, Germ. Superior dfx. 5.1.1/1; grave; the 2nd/3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>Marius (=Marium) Cinnesus (=Cinnesuum) et eum q(u)i exin co(n)ciliavit Aequa(m). A vita. (See also TheDeMa 738)</i></p>
<p>1 m. nom. + X <i>et eum</i>; other; vengeance</p>	
<p>X, N, 0; written right-to-left;</p>	
<p>228. Gross-Gerau, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.3/1; Scholz – Kropp 2004; tab. opistogr.; in the soil; the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Deum maxsime, Atthis Tyranne, totumque Duodeca Theum, commendo deabus iniurium fas, ut me vindic(e)tis a Priscil(l)a Caranti, quae nubere er(r)avit. Pe(r) matrem deum vestrae ut (v)indicate sacra pater(ni/na?). P(ri)scil(la) pere(at). B: Per matrem deum, intra dies C(?), cito, vindicate numen vestrum magnum a Priscilla, quae detegit sacra. Priscillam (n)usqu(a)m nullam numero. Nu(p)sit gentem tremente Priscilla quam er(r)ante. (See Urbanová-Frýdek 2016).</i></p>
<p>1 f. pater; other; vengeance: death</p>	
<p><i>deorum maxime, Atthis tyranne, totumque Duodeca Theum, deabus; Paternus? R</i></p>	
<p>229. Gross-Gerau, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.3/2; BI 2007; in the soil, 1st cent.</p>	<p><i>(H)umanum quis sustulit Verionis palliolum sive res illius, qui illius minus fecit, ut illius mentes, memorias deiectas sive mulierem sive eas, cuius Verionis res minus fecit, ut illius manus, caput, pedes vermes, cancer, vermitudo interet, membra, medullas illius interet.</i></p>
<p>NN (<i>quis</i>); theft; vengeance: death</p>	
<p>X, <i>Verio</i>, 0 written right-to-left</p>	
<p>230. Rottweil, Germ. Sup. dfx.5.1.7/1; Faraone–Kropp 2010; tab. ansata; in the soil; the 1st-3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Fib(u)lam Gnatae qui involavit aut qui melior est animi conscius, ut illum aut illam aversum faciant di(i) sicut hoc est B: aversum et qui res illaeus (=illius) sustulit.</i></p>
<p>NN (<i>qui</i>); theft; vengeance</p>	

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<p><i>dii; Gnata, 0; written right-to-left, partially upside-down</i></p>	
<p>231. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 1; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Mater Magna, te rogo p(e)r (t)ua sacra et numen tuum: Gemella fiblas meas, qualis sustulit, sic et illam REQUIs (rogo?) adsecet, ut nusquam sana si(t). Quomodo galli se secarunt, sic ea(m?) velis nec se secet sic, uti planctum ha(be)at, quomodo et sacrorum deposierunt in sancto, sic et tuam vitam, valetudinem, Gemella. Neque hosti(i)s neque auro neque argento redimere possis a Matre deum, nisi ut exitum tuum populus spectet. Verecundam et Paternam: sic illam tibi commendo, Mater deum magna, rem illorum in AECRUMO DEO VIS quale rogo co(n)sument(u)r in quomodo et res meas viresque fraudarunt, nec se possint redimere nec hosteis lanatis B: nec plumibis (=plumbis) nec auro nec argento redimere a numine tuo, nisi ut illas vorent canes, vermes adque alia portenta, exitum quarum populus spectet tamquam quae c... FORRO/MO l auderes comme(ndo) duas ... further very corrupted text TAMAQVANIVSCAVERSSO scriptis istas AE RISS. ADRICIS . S. LON a . illas, si illas cistas caecas, aureas, FECRA E[-]I[-]LO[-]ASO OV[-]EIS mancas A</i></p>
<p>1 f. nom. + 2 f. acc.; theft; vengeance: death – in public</p>	
<p><i>Mater Magna</i>, probably two authors – N, 0</p>	
<p>232. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 2; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>Quisquis dolum malum adm(isit de), hac pecun(i)a ... ille melior et nos det(eri)ores sumus ... Mater deum, tu persequeris per terras, per (maria, per locos) ar(i)dos et umidos, per benedictum tuum et o(mne) ... qui de hac) pecunia dolum malum adhibet, ut tu perse(quaris illum ... Quomodo) galli se secant et praecidunt vir(i)lia sua, sic il(le)...</i> R S Q intercidat MELORE pec(tus?)... BISIDIS (ne)que se admisisse nec ... hostiis si(n)atis nequis t(...) neque SUT TIS neque auro neque argento neque</p>
<p>NN (<i>quisquis</i>); theft/fraud, vengeance: restrictions, death</p>	
<p><i>Mater deum, Attis</i>, N, F votum</p>	

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	<p><i>ille solvi, (re)fici, redimi posit. Quomodo galli, bellonari, magal(i) sibi sanguin(em) ferventem fundunt, frigid(us) ad ter ram venit, sic et (...)CIA copia, cogitatum, mentes. (Quem)admodum de eis gallo(r)u(m, ma)galorum, bellon(a-riorum sanguinem/ritus?) spectat, qui de ea pecunia dolum malum (admisit, sic illius) exitum spectent, et a(d qu)em modum sal in (aqua liques)cet, sic et illi membra m(ed)ullae extabescant. Cr(ucietur/cras veniat)⁹ et dicat se admisisse nef(a)s. D(e)mando tibi rel(igione), ut me votis condemnes et ut laetus libens ea tibi referam, si de eo exitum malum feceris.</i></p>
<p>233. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 3; BI 2010: 7; BI 2007/8: 7; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Rogo te, domina Mater Magna, ut me vindices de bonis Flori coniugis mei, qui me fraudavit Ulattius Severus. Quemadmod(um) hoc ego averse scribo, sic illi B: omnia, quidquid agit, quidquid aginat, omnia illi aversa fiant, ut sal et aqua illi eveniat. Quidquid mi abstulit de bonis Flori coniugis mei, rogo te domina Mater Magna, ut tu de eo me vindices.</i></p>
<p>1 m. nom.; theft/fraud; vengeance</p>	
<p><i>domina Mater Magna, N; uxor Flori; R</i></p>	
<p>234. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 6; BI 2010: 18; BI 2007/8: 9; Faraone–Kropp 2010; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1st/2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Quintum in hac tabula depon(o) aversum se suisque rationibus vitaeque male consumantem. Ita uti galli, Bellonarive absciderunt, concideruntve se, sic illi abscissa sit fides, fama, facult(a)s. Nec illi in numero hominum sunt, neque ille sit. Q(u)omodi et ille mihi fraudem fecit, sic illi, sancta Mater Magn(a), et relegis(ti) cu(n)cta. Ita uti arbor siccabit se in sancto, sic et illi siccet fama, fides, fortuna, facultas. Tibi commendo, Attihi d(o)mine, ut</i></p>
<p>1 m.; other – fraud; vengeance: death</p>	
<p><i>sancta Mater Magna, Attihi domine, N, 0</i></p>	

⁹ Blänsdorf (2010, 180 ff. and 458 ff.) adds *crucietur*, in edition from 2012 DTM 2: *cras veniat*.

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the name of the accursed one written upside-down, the reverse side written by another hand	<i>me vindices ab eo, ut intra annum vertente(m...) exitum illius vilem malum.</i> <i>B: (rotated 90° in the left): ponit nom(en) huius maritabus I si agatur ulla res utilis, sic ille nobis utilis sit suo corpore. Sacrari horr(e)bis. QUINTI NOMEN upside-down. See 10.2.2.</i>
235. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 7; BI 2008: 14; BI 2010: 9; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Quisquis nobis sustulit sacc(u)lum, in quo pecunia erat et eam pecuniam et anulos aureos (referat)¹⁰ ... quod des(ti)natum est XI K(alendas) Febr(uarias), q(uae) p(roximae) s(unt) C ... sive dolum (m)alum adhib(et) ...quo) mod(i) hoc grapphio averso, quod minime uti solet, sic (eum) aversum dii deaeque (=deaeque) ... (e)sse sineat(i)s (=sinatis) et (ho)minibus, si qui(s) hunc) manu contigit, id aequ(e.), quomodi (e)t ho...sucus defluit e...hoc plumbum ussu cui...geum desti(natum)ve esse velit...sicut innocentiam est, si in dea ... UNN CREU.</i>
NN (<i>quisquis</i>); theft; return; vengeance: restrictions, death	
<i>dii deaeque</i> , N, 0 scriptio continua?	
236. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 11; BI 2010: 12; tab. opistogr.; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.; found together with the following tablet	<i>A: Mando et rogo religione, ut mandata exagatis Publum Cutium et Piperonem et B: Placida et Sacra, filia eius: sic illorum membra liquescan(t) quatomodum hoc plumbum liquescet, ut eoru(m) exsitum sit.</i>
2 m. acc. + 2 f. nom. mater; theft? return; vengeance: death	
<i>Mater Magna + Isis</i> (impl.); R;	
237. Mainz, Germ. Sup. DTM 12; BI 2010: 13; shrine (Mater Magna + Isis); the 1 st /2 nd cent.;	<i>sic ... s siccum QUANMI qu(omo)di hoc liquescet se (...sic) collum membra, me(du)lla, peculium d(e)l(i)ques(ca)nt eoru(m), quatomodum gallorum angat se ...</i>

¹⁰ The addition of Blänsdorf (2012, No. 7).

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probably continuation of the previous No . 236; other; vengeance: death	<i>s(ic) illa aga(t), ut de se (pro)bant(?), tu dom(i)na es, fac, ut X mensibus ... exitum illorum sit.</i>
<i>domina</i> , ie <i>Mater Magna</i> ; N, 0; the continuation of the previous one?	

II.4.1. Raetia, Panonia, Moesia

RAETIA, PANNONIA, MOESIA	TEXT
<p>238. Wilten bei Innsbruck, Raetia dfx.7.5/1, tab. opistogr.; Versnel: 1991; grave; half of the 2nd cent.</p> <p>NN (<i>quis</i>); theft; vengeance: restrictions</p> <p><i>Mercurius, Moltinus, Cacus; Secundina</i>; R historiola</p>	<p><i>A: Secundina Mercurio et Moltino mandat, ut, si quis *(denarios) XIII sive draucus (=draucos?) duos sustulit, ut eum sive fortunas eius in(fi)dus Cacus sic auferat, quomodo ill(a)e ablatum est (i)d, quod vobis delegat, ut B: persecuatis (=persequatis) vobisque deligat, ut persicuatis (=persequatis) et eum aversum a fortunis (s)uis avertatis et a suis proximis et ab eis, quos carissimos (h)abeat. (Ho)c vobis mandat, vos (e)um p(er?)se(cu)atis?/corripiatis? – the addition of Versnel (1991, 83).</i></p>
<p>239. Petronell, Pannonia Sup., um dfx.8.3/1; Egger 1962; Kropp 2004a; amphitheatre; the end of the 2nd cent.</p> <p>1 m. acc./nom.; theft; return; vengeance: death</p> <p>VM alfab., <i>sancte Dis pater, Veracura (Iuno Aeracura, Cerberus</i>; N, F</p>	<p><i>Sa(nc)te Dite pater et Veracura et Cerbere, auxilie, q(u)i tenes limina inferna sive sive superna VM alfab.: ΔΜΟΗΡΜΗ... Σολουμ νος σφραγες φορ(ε)ται ν ρα το? λ[εσθναι] ... v(os) pre(co)r fa(ci)a(tis) (Eudemum?)... (a)d r(egnum? infernum quam cel(e)ris(s)i(me) infra dies nove(m) vasum reponat. Defigo Eudem(um), nec(et)i(s) eum pes(s)imo leto, ad inf(er)os d(uca)tis, eundem recol(l)igatis M(anibu)s ministeria infernorum (d)eu(m). (Quom)od(o) il(l)e plu(m)bus po(n)dus h(a)bet, sic et (E)ud(e)mus h(a)beat v(o)s iratos Inter la(r)vas ... ate ia(m) hostiat quam celeris(s)im(e)... m...</i></p>
<p>240. Gigen, Moesia</p>	<p><i>... bebet in a ...pici ancil(l)is si ..l lenis membra</i></p>

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dfx.9.1/1; So 1998; Egger 1952; water (baths?); the first half of the 2 nd cent.; very corrupted text	... <i>ret me sic pupu(m),...us sic An(niam) anu(m) ve ... ut ego possi(m) tib(i) ...(s)ic patias res it(em?)... de(ve)xavi(t) ang(oribus) ...(ma)m(illis), ar(tubus), cer(vicibus), ne(rvis,) as(pectui), um(brae)...</i> (c)erebro usque dum...
NN <i>Annia?</i> N?, N/vengeance?	
X, N	

II.5. Britannia

BRITANNIA	TEXT
241. Eccles villa (Aylesford) dfx.3.1/1; Brit. 17; tab. opistogr.; in a house; the first half of the 4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: S(unt?) s(upra)s(crip)ti.¹¹B: Donatio diebus (=deis). Quo(d) per(did)it? Butu resque, qu(a)e fu(rat/ur?) nec ante sanetate(m) (=sanitatem) nec salute(m) (habeat?), nesi qua(m) in do(m)o die (=dei)....sanetate(m) in do(m)o dei?.</i>
the names are missing; theft; return, vengeance: restrictions	
<i>diebus (deis); Butu? R;</i> boustrophedon	
242. Bath dfx.3.2/1, To 4, DT 104; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Qu(i) mihi VILBIAM (=fibulam) in(v)olavit, sic liqu(esc)at com(odo) aqua ... qui eam (invol)avit: ...Velvinna, Ex(s)u pereus, Verianus, Severinus, Agustalis, Comitianus, Minianus, Catus, Germanill(a), Iovina...</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>) + 3 f. nom. + 7 m. nom.; theft; suspected thieves; vengeance: death	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N (<i>mihi</i>), 0; written right-to-left	

¹¹ The addition of Kropp (2008) who supposes that there were several names of the thieves, or the formula *si vir si mulier...*; however, the latter has not preserved due to the damage to the text.

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<p>243. Bath dfx.3.2/2; To 100; DT 105; To 1994; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 4th cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Si puer si puella, si vir si femina, qui h(oc) invol(a)vit non ei remittatur,¹² nis(i) innocsentia(m) ale ... B: non illi dimitta(t)ur nec somnum, nisi ut Euticia modium nebulae modium veniat fumi</i></p>
<p>SVSM/<i>Euticia</i>? theft; vengeance: restrictions</p>	
<p><i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0</p>	
<p>244. Bath dfx.3.2/6; To 5; shrine (water source); the 4th cent.</p>	<p><i>(D)ocimedis (p)erdidi(t) manicilia dua; qui illas involavi(t), ut mentes sua(s) perd(at) et oculos su(o)s in fano ubi destina(t).</i></p>
<p>NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; vengeance: restrictions</p>	
<p><i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); (<i>D)ocimedis</i>, F</p>	
<p>245. Bath dfx.3.2/7; To 6; shrine (water source); the 3rd cent.?.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>A: lost text; B:...Stragulum q(ue)m (p)erdidi, anima(m) ... (invo)lavit ... nisi s(an)g(u)ine sua.</i></p>
<p>NN, theft; vengeance</p>	
<p><i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0</p>	
<p>246. Bath dfx.3.2/8; To 8; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3rd cent.?</p>	<p><i>A: (D)ee Suli donavi (arge)ntiolos sex, quos perd(idi). A nomin(i)bus infrascript(is) deae exactura est: Seniciannus (=Senecianus?) et Saturnius se et Ann(i)ola, carta picta persc(ripta). B: Ann(i)ola, Senicianus, Saturninus.</i></p>
<p>2 m. nom. + 1 f. nom.; theft; suspected thieves; return</p>	
<p><i>deae Suli</i>; N, R</p>	
<p>247. Bath dfx.3.2/10; To 10; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 2nd cent.</p>	<p><i>A: Docilianus Bruceri deae sanctissim(a)e Suli devoveo eum, (q)ui caracellam (=caracallam) meam involaverit, si vir, si femina, si servus, si liber, ut(i) eum dea Sulis maximo letum (=leto) (a)digat nec ei somnum permit B: tat nec natos nec nascentes, do(ne)c</i></p>
<p>NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; return; vengeance: restrictions, death</p>	

¹² Reading according to Tomlin (1994, 106).

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<i>deae sanctissimae Suli;</i> <i>Docilianus Bruceri;</i> F	<i>caracallam meam ad templum sui numinis</i> <i>per(t)ulerit.</i>
248. Bath dfx.3.2/14; To 15; shrine (water source); the 3 rd cent.	<i>Nomen rei, qui destrale (=dextrale)</i> <i>involverit (donatur/datur?).</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, F?	
249. Bath dfx.3.2/23; To 31; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Si cus (=quis) vomerem Civilis involavit, ut</i> <i>an(imam) suua(m) in templo deponat, (si?</i> <i>n)o(n) vom(erem) ... ub ... (si ser)vus, si liber,</i> <i>si libertinus ... unan ... o finem faci(a)m.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); <i>Civilis</i> ; 0	
250. Bath dfx.3.2/24; To 32; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.	<i>Deae Suli Minerv(a)e Solinus, dono numini</i> <i>tuo, maiestati paxsa(m)(=pexam?)</i> <i>ba(ln)eam et (pal)leum, (ne p)ermitta (s</i> <i>so)mnum nec san(ita)tem ei, qui mihi</i> <i>fr(a)udem (f)ecit, si vir, si femi(na), si servus,</i> <i>s(i) l(ib)er, nissi (s)e retegens istas s(p)ecies</i> <i>ad (te)mplum tuum detulerit ... (li)beri sui vel</i> <i>son... sua e(t?) qui ... deg ... ei quoque ...</i> <i>xe... (so)mnum ne(c sanitate)m ...n</i> <i>...(p)aluleum (=pallium) et relinq(ua)s, nissi</i> <i>ad (te)mplum tuum istas res retulerint.</i>
SVSM, theft; return; restrictions	
<i>deae Suli Minervae;</i> <i>Solinus;</i> R	
251. Bath dfx.3.2/25; To 33; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Deo Marti ... do(no?) maiest(ati tuo)</i> <i>sacellum (=sagellum)¹³ ... nisi e ...</i>
NN, theft; N	
<i>deo Marti;</i> N, R	

¹³ The addition of Kropp (2008), probably a graphic version of *sagulum*, i.e. a military cloak. Tomlin (1988, No. 31) supposes that someone might have stolen edificial components during the construction of a small shrine.

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252. Bath dfx.3.2/26; To 34; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Deae Suli Minervae: Docca dono numini tuo pecuniam, quam ... (a)misi, id est (denarios) V, et is, (q)ui (eam involaveri)t, si ser(vu)s, s(i liber), (si vir, si femina?), exsigatur...</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>); theft; return	
<i>Deae Suli Minervae; Docca; R</i>	
253. Bath dfx.3.2/27; To 35; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Deae Sul(i) Minervae: rogo (s)anctissimam maiestatem tuam, u(t) vindices ab his, (q)ui (fraude)m fecerunt, ut ei(s per)mittas nec semnum (=somnum) (nec)...</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>); other; return; restrictions	
<i>Deae Suli Minervae; N, 0</i>	
254. Bath dfx.3.2/28; To 36; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>(Si? q(uis?) ... et invola(vit/verit) duo de ... de(a/us?)¹⁴ adhuisgar(?) deveniat, si lib(er), si ser(v)us, si puer, (si) (p)uella, si vir, s(i mulier?)...</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance?	
<i>deus/Minerva Sulis? N, 0</i>	
255. Bath dfx.3.2/30; To 38; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>(Deae Suli?): dono ti(bi) ... ream ... (se?) l(i)sivio (=lixivio?) meo...(E)x(i)gas pe(r sanguinem? e)ius, qui has (involave)rit vel qui (medius? fuer)it, si femina ... (si) liber ...sa ...(d)um/tuum?¹⁵ pertuleri(t).</i>
SVSM, theft; return; vengeance	
<i>deae Suli (?) N, F?;</i>	
256. Bath dfx.3.2/31; To 39; shrine (water source);	<i>Qui involaverit, Totia(?) volav(erit?) ... si ser(v)us, si lib(e)r anima(m) suam ... (q)u(i</i>

¹⁴ Kropp (2008) adds *de(us)*; however, in this case *dea* would be more logical with respect to the fact that the tablet comes from Bath and most of the tablets found in this locality are addressed to the goddess – *dea Sulis*. But see also the curse No. **191** from Bath addressed to Mercury, or the identical formula in the tablet No. **260**.

¹⁵ The addition of *tuum* by Tomlin (1988, 38).

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the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>i)nvola(v)verit?... a(m) meam... qu(i) in(volaverit?)...</i>
NN/ <i>Totia</i> ?; theft; N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0	
257. Bath dfx.3.2/32; To 40; shrine (water source); 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Qui calamea (=calum(n)ia(m)?) negat sanguine ... de(s)t(in)at.</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>); other; vengeance	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0	
258. Bath dfx.3.2/33; To 41; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...(dir)ipuit, ut (eo)rum pretium (statuas? et e)xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa(n)itatem sua(m) et suorum nec ante illos pati(a)r(is) bibere? nec m)anducare nec adsellare (=cacare) nec (me)iere?) ... ius(?) hoc ... bisoverit (=absolverit?).</i>
names are missing/NN?; theft; return; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0	
259. Bath dfx.3.2/34; To 42; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>a.e.na ...(qui?)... fecit do(no?)...(i)n fano Su(lis?)/su(o?)...</i>
NN, N, N?	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, F?;	
260. Bath dfx.3.2/36; To 44; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: A(e)n(um me)um qui levavit, xconic(tu)s (=e)xconfictus? i.e. exconfixus) (e)st. Templo Sulis dono si mulier si baro, si servus, si liber, si pure (=puer), si puella, et qui hoc fecerit, sangu(in)em suum in ipsmu (=ipsum) aenmu (=aenum) fundat. B: Dono si mul(ie)r, si baro, si servus, si liber, si puer, si puella. Eum latr(on)em, qui rem ipsam involavi(t), deus (i)nvenia(t).</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death	
<i>deus</i> ; N, F written right-to-left	
261. Bath dfx.3.2/37; To 45; tab. opistogr.; shrine	<i>A: Deae Suli ... is, qu(i) ... B: si servus, si liber, (si) qui(s)cumq(ue) ... erit. Non illi</i>

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(water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.; corrupted text (esp. side A)	<i>permittas nec oculos nec sanitatem, nisi (=sed?) caecitatem orbitatemque, quoad vixerit, nisi haec ad fanum ... (pertulerit?).</i>
SVSM, theft? return; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>deae Suli</i> ; N, F?	
262. Bath dfx.3.2/38 , To 46; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>De(ae) Suli Mine(r)vae eos, qui amaliama ... trasvendet stilum la ... corregentetc ... geet ... fan ... tsuu ... dea ... te do(no?) ... et qo habunit ... setrodeam et san(g)uene sua ... bit qui me vit isetmalu.ic.em ... Docigenius et ... eane¹⁶</i>
NN, theft? vengeance	
<i>deae Suli Minervae</i> ; <i>snad Docigenius</i> ; F	
263. Bath dfx.3.2/39 ; To 47; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...(tib)i(?) q(u)er(or) ... exxigi (=exigi), (si servu)s, si liber hoc tulerit, (non il)li permittas in sangu(i)ne ... sui...</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: restrictions, death	
<i>tibi – Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N	
264. Bath dfx.3.2/41 ; To 49; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Qu(i involavi)t cab(al)lar(e)m, (si vir, si femina, si ser(v)us, (si libe)r... dea Sul(is).</i>
SVSF (<i>qui</i>), theft; N	
<i>dea Sulis</i> ; N, 0	
265. Bath dfx.3.2/44 ; To 52; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>(Ne perm)ittas(?) (somm)um nec sanita(tem...n)isi tandiu (=tamdiu) ta ...iat quandiu (=quamdiu) hoc (ill)ud/apud? se habuerit, (s)i vir, si femina et... si ancilla.</i>
SVSM, theft; return;	

¹⁶ The text comprises of seven fragments and is damaged to a large extent. The author wrote it very negligently so it is hard to reconstruct it; see Tomlin (1988, 46).

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vengeance: restrictions	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); N, 0	
266. Bath dfx.3.2/46; To 54; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>A: B +</i> <i>B: ...at.ad.itamo conq(u)aer(or)(=conqueror) tibi, Sulis, Arminia, (ut) Verecundinum Ter(en)ti c(ons)umas, qui argentiolos duos mihi ... revavit (=levavit?). No(n il)l(i)p)ermittas nec sedere nec iacere (ne)c ...a(m)bulare n(ec) somn(um nec) sanitatem, (illu)m/(cu)m?</i> ¹⁷ <i>quantocius consumas et iter(u)m ... (no)n perveniat.</i>
1 m. acc. pater; theft; return?; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>B: tibi Sulis; Arminia; 0</i>	
267. Bath dfx.3.2/49; To 57; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>Deae ... Exsib(uus?) ... dona(vit) il(l)os, qui ban ... sunt ... (si servus) si l(iber, si bar)o si m(u)l(i)e(r), sa(nguinem?)...</i>
SVSM, N	
<i>deae (Suli); Exsibuus(?) F</i>	
268. Bath dfx.3.2/52; To 60; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Oconea deae Suli M(inervae): dono (ti)bi pannum (=pannam?) Si quis eum ... (involavit?).</i>
NN (<i>quis</i>), theft; N	
<i>deae Suli Minervae; Oconea; R</i>	
269. Bath dfx.3.2/53; To 61; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Lovernisca d(onat) eum, qui, sive v(ir) sive femina, s(i)ve puer, sive puella, qui mafortium i(n)volaverit.</i>
SVSM, theft? N	
<i>Dea Sulis</i> (impl.); <i>Lovernisca</i> ; F; written right-to-left and mirror-like	

¹⁷ The addition of Tomlin (1988, No. 54), or *cum*.

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270. Bath dfx.3.2/54; To 62; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>...eocorotis ... perdedi (=perdidi) la(enam) (pa)lleum (=pallium), sagum, paxsam (=pexsam?). Do(navi) ... (S)ulis, ut hoc ante dies novem, (si li)ber, si servus, si (li)bera, si serva, si pure (=puer), si puell(a, i)n rostr(o) s(uo) defera(t) ... caballarem, s(i) servus, si liber, si) serva, si libera, si puer, (si puella) in suo rostro defer(at?)...</i>
SVSM, theft; return	
<i>Sulis;</i> ... <i>eocorotis</i> (? author's name); R; written right-to-left	
271. Bath dfx.3.2/55; To 63; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Deae Suli: si quis balniarem (=balnearem) Cantissen(a)e inv(o)la(v)erit, si s(e)r(v)us, si liber... mena</i>
SVSM, theft; N	
<i>deae Suli; Cantissena; 0</i>	
272. Bath dfx.3.2/56; To 64; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>... quiescit¹⁸ lit ... sanitatem invictus, nisi eidem loco ipsum pallium (re)ducat.</i>
N, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions?)	
<i>Dea Sulis (impl.); N, 0</i>	
273. Bath dfx.3.2/57; To 66; shrine (water source); the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Exsuperius donat pannum ferri (=pannam?), qui illi innoc(entiam?) ... nfam tusc ... Sulis, si vir, (si femin)a, s(i) ser(v)us si liber. Ho(c) ... ill ... et ... er suas inv(o)la(veru)n(t), s(i) vir, si femina, s(ati)sfecerit sanguin(e) ill(o)rum. Hoc devindices, (si?) q(u)is aenum mihi involav(i)t.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death?	
<i>Sulis; Exsuperius; R</i>	
274. Bath dfx.3.2/73; To 94; shrine (water source);	<i>Uricalus, Do(c)ilosa ux(or) sua, Docilis filius suus et Docilina, Decentinus frater suus,</i>

¹⁸ One would expect rather *nec quiescat* here (perhaps a mistake); *invictus* does not make sense: if it refers to the thief, it could perhaps stand for *victus*, or does it refer to somebody else? Nevertheless, it can be presumed that there was a common restrictive formula in the text.

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the 4 th cent.	<i>Alogiosa: nomina aeorum (=eorum), qui iuraverunt, qui iuraverunt ad fontem deae Suli(s) prid(i)e Idus Apriles. Quicumque illic periuraverit, deae Suli facias illum sanguine suo illud satisfacere.</i>
3 m. nom. + 3 f. nom.; other; vengeance: death – for perjury?	
<i>deae Suli, nomina ad fontem</i> ; F	
275. Bath dfx.3.2/76 ; To 97; Brit. 22, 23; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.	<i>A: Primurudeum (written vertically)¹⁹. Basilica donat in templum Martis anilum (anellum) argenteum, si ser(v)us, si liber, m(e)dius/ (ta)mdiu²⁰ fuerit vel aliquid de hoc noverit, ut sanguine et liminibus (=luminibus) B: et omnibus membris configatur vel etiam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at) (=intestina excomesa omnia) is, qui anilum (=anellum) involavit vel qui medius fuerit.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death	
<i>in templum Martis; Basilica</i> ; R	
276. Bath dfx.3.2/77 ; To 98; tab. opistogr.; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.	<i>A: Seu gen(tili)s seu ch(r)istianus, quaecumque (=quicumque), utrum vir, (u)trum mulier, utrum puer, utrum puella, utrum s(er)vus, utrum liber, mihi, Annia(n)o Mantutene (=Matutenae), de bursa mea s(e)x argente(o)s furaverit, tu, d(o)mina dea, ab ipso perexi(g)e (eo)s, si mihi per (f)raudem aliquam inde praeg(u)stum dederit nec sic ipsi dona, sed ut sanguinem suum eputes (=epotes/ reputes),²¹ qui mihi hoc inrogaverit: B: Postum(inu/ianu?)s, Pisso, Locinna, (A)launa, Materna, Gunsula, C(an)didina, Eutic(h)ius, Peregrinus, Latinus, Senicianus (=Senecianus?), Avitianus, Victor, Sco(ti)us, Aessicunia, Paltucca, Calliopis, Celerianus.</i>
<i>A: SVSM, B: 11 m. nom. + 7 f.? nom.</i> ; theft; suspected thieves? vengeance	
<i>domina dea; Annianus</i> ; 0; written right-to-left, from below upwards	
277. Bath dfx.3.2/78 ; To	<i>Execro (eum), qui involaverit qui (=quod)</i>

¹⁹ Perhaps the name of the victim? See Tomlin (1988, No. 97).

²⁰ Tomlin (1988, No. 97) adds *tamdiu*, Kropp (2008) *medius*.

²¹ Tomlin (1988, 234) reads *inde praeg(e)stum(?)* and *reputes*, Kropp (2008) states *inde praeg(u)stum* and *epotes*.

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99; shrine (water source); the 4 th cent.	<i>Deomiorix de hosipitio (=hospitio) suo perdiderit. Quicumque r(es)/ (e)r(it?)²² deus illum inveniatur, sanguine et vitae suae illud redemat (=redimat).</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; vengeance: death	
<i>deus; Deomiorix; 0</i> written right-to-left	
278. Bath dfx.3.2/79; To 65; shrine (water source); the 3 rd /4 th cent.	<i>Minerv(a)e de(ae) Suli donavi furem, qui caracallam meam involavit, si ser(v)us, si liber, si baro, si mulier. Hoc donum non redemat, nesi (=nisi) sangu(i)n(e) suo.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance	
<i>Minervae deae Suli; N, F</i>	
279. Bath dfx.3.2/82; To 103; shrine (water source), the 4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>...modususio. iuiuci ?... Deus faci(a)t(?) ani(m)am p(e)rd(e)re sui.</i>
N, N, vengeance	
<i>deus; N, 0; boustrophedon?</i>	
280. Brandon dfx.3.3/1; Brit. 25; water; 4 th cent.; corrupted text	<i>SERADVASORISDVAS²³ s(i) ser(v)us, si anc(ell)a, si li(bertus, si) liberta, si m(u)lie(r), si baro, popia(m) fer(re)a(m) eaenec furtum fecer(it), domino Neptuno cor(u)lo pare(n)ta(tu)r.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death; F?	
<i>domino Neptuno; N, 0</i>	
281. Brean Down dfx.3.4/1; Brit 17; shrine; the second half of the 4 th cent.	<i>...(dono? ti?)b(i?)²⁴...caricula, quae (amisi? Si ser(v)u(s) si) liber, si ba(ro) s(i) mulier, qui ... (d)omina ... facias sic (i)lla (re)dim(a)t sa(n)guin(e) suo ... si bar(o), si mulier...</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance	

²² Tomlin (1988, 235) adds *res*, Kropp (2008) *erit*.

²³ Hassall – Tomlin (1995, 295) interpret the unintelligible part as an anagram of *adversarius*?

²⁴ The addition of *dono tibi* and *amisi* by Kropp (2008). Although this addition is quite logical and fitting to the formulary of prayers for justice, it does not correspond to the preserved corrupted text; see Hassall – Tomlin (1986, 434).

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<i>domina</i> ; N, R	
282. Broomhill dfx.3.5/1 ; Brit 25; tab. opistogr.; in the soil; θ	<i>A: S(i) se(r)vus, si (l)ib(er),(qu)i (f)uravit, su(st)ulit, (ne ei) dimitte (male)fic(i)um, d(u)m tu vindi(c)a(s) B: ante dies nov(em), si pa(g)a(n)us, si mil(e)s, (qui) su(s)tulit.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance	
X, N, 0; mirror-like	
283. Caerleon dfx.3.6/1 ; Ga 100; amphitheatre; 1 st cent. – half of the 2 nd cent.	<i>Dom(i)na Nemesis, do tibi palleum (=pallium) et galliculas. Qui tulit, non redimat ni(si) vita, sanguinei suo.</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; vengeance: death	
<i>domina Nemesis</i> ; N, R	
284. Caistor St. Edmund dfx.3.7/1 ; Brit. 13; water; θ	<i>A Nase ... eve(h)it Vroc ... sius fascia(m) et armi(lla)s, cap(t)olare (=capitulare), spectr(um)? =speculum?), cufia(m) (=cofiam), duas ocrias, X vasa stagnea, si mascel, si memina (=femina), si puer, si pu(e)lla. Duas ocrisa (=ocri(as), si vull(u)eris (=volueris?), factae sang(uine) suo, ut (i)llu(m) requeratat (=requirat) Neptu(nu)s et amictus et cufia et arm(i)lla(e) ... denarii XV cape(t)olare. Tunc sanguin(e) fasciam tenet fur e c(h)arta s(supra)s(cripta) ... ratio(n)e.</i>
SVSM/1 m.?.; theft; return; vengeance: death	
<i>Neptunus</i> ; <i>A Nase...</i> (the author?); R; N; reward to the deity	
285. Hamble dfx.3.11/1 ; Brit 28; water (estuary); the 4 th cent.	<i>Domine Neptune, t(i)b(i) d(o)no (h)ominem, qui (so)ldmu (=solidum) involav(it) Muconi et argenti(olo)s sex. Ide(o) dono nomi(n)a (eius?), qui decepit, si mascel, si femina, si puuer, si puuella. Ideo dono tibi, Niske, et Neptuno vitam, valitudinem, sangu(in)em eius, qui conscius fueris (=fuerit) eius deceptionis, animus (eius?), qui hoc involavit et qui conscius fuerit, ut eum decipias furem, qui hoc involavit, sangu(in)em eiius consumas et decipias, domin(e) Ne(p)tune.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance: death	
<i>domine Neptune, Niske; Muconius</i> ; F	
286. Kelvedon dfx.3.12/1 ; in a house (Roman	<i>Quicumque res Vareni involaverit, si mulrer (=mulier), si mascel, sangu(i)no suo solvat et</i>

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<i>oppidum</i>) in the stove; the first half of the 3 rd cent.	<i>pecunie</i> (=pecuniam), <i>quam exesuerit</i> (=exsolverit?), <i>Mercurio donat et Virtuti s(acra)/s(emis)</i> . ²⁵
NN (<i>quicumque</i>), theft; return?; vengeance; reward to the deity	
<i>Mercurio et Virtuti; Varenus; 0</i>	
287. London Bridge dfx. 3.14/3; Brit 18; tab. opistogr.; water; Ø	<i>A: Tibi rogo, Metunus</i> (=te rogo Neptune), <i>u(t) m(e) vendicas de iste numene</i> (=de isto nomine) <i>me vendicas ante q(u)od ven(iant) die(s) novem, rogo te, Metunus</i> (=Neptunus), <i>ut (t)u mi</i> (=me) <i>vend(i)cas ante q(u)o(d) ven(iant) di(es) n(o)vem. B: Xuparanti</i> (=Exsuparantius, <i>Silviele</i> (=Silviola), <i>Sattavil(l)e, Xuparatus</i> (=Exsuparatus), <i>Silvicol(a)e, Avitus, Melusso datus, peruci tibi</i> (=pervici tibi): <i>Santinus, Mag...etus, apidimis Antoni(us), San(c)tus, Vas(s)ianus, Varasius datus.</i>
13: 10 m. nom. + 3 f. nom.; N; supposed culprits; vengeance?	
<i>Metunus</i> (=Neptunus); N; side <i>B</i> written mirror-like unclockwise around the margins of the tablet	
288. London dfx. 3.14/6; Brit 34; amphitheatre; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>(D)ea(e) Dea(na)e dono capitularem et fas(c)iam minus parte tertia. Si quis hoc feci(t), (s)i p(u)er, si (p)uella, s(i) (s)er(vus) s(i) liber), don(o eum) nec p(er) me (vi)v(ere) possit.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance; reward to the deity	
<i>deae Deanae; N, R</i>	
289. Lydney Park dfx. 3.15/1; Versnel 1987; Ga 99; Celtic-Roman; shrine; the 1 st /4 th -5 th cent.	<i>Devo</i> (=divo) <i>Nodenti: Silvianus anillum</i> (=anellum) <i>perdedit, demediam</i> (=dimidiam) <i>partem donavit Nodenti. Inter quibus nomen Seneciani nollis petmittas</i> (=permittas) <i>santatem, donec perfera(t) usque templum (No)dentis.</i>
NN; theft; return, vengeance: restrictions, reward to the deity	
<i>devo Nodenti; Silvianus; R</i>	

²⁵ Reading *semis*, see Egger (1964, 16 ff.).

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<p>290. Marlborough Downs dfx.3.16/1; Brit 30; in the soil; the 4th cent.?.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>...Do... deo Marti a.vnisea id (est?)... eculium (=equuleum) (m)eum et secur(im) ...tidisse e(t?)... illum iume(ntum). Rogat genium tuum, dom(ine), ut quampr(imu)m re(sideant?) nec eant per annos novem. N(on eis) permittas nec sedere (nec) ... mimbric...</i></p>
<p>NN, theft; vengeance: restrictions</p>	
<p><i>deo Marti</i>; N, 0</p>	
<p>291. Pagans Hill dfx.3.18/1; Brit 15 a 22; the first half of the 3rd cent.; corrupted text (esp. in the beginning)</p>	<p><i>(Deo Mercuri(o?)... mitr ... pio ...in* (denari)is III milibus, cuius (de)mediam (=dimidiam) partem tibi (dono?), ut ita illum (e)xigas a Vassicillo ...pecomini filio et uxore sua, quoniam (per)tussum (=percussum?), quod illi de hospitiolo m(eo)...(pec)ulaverint. Nec illis (p)ermittas sanit(atem) nec bibere nec ma(n)d(u)care nec dormi(re) (nec nat)os sanos habe(a)nt, nessi (=nisi) hanc rem (meam) ad fanum tuum (at)tulerint. Iteratis (pre)c(i)bus te rogo, ut (ab ip)sis nominibus (inimicorum) meorum hoc (percu)ssum? recipi(atu)r?), perven(ia)t.</i></p>
<p>1 m. pater + 1 f. (<i>uxor</i>); theft; return; vengeance: restrictions; reward to the deity</p>	
<p><i>deo Mercurio(?)</i> N, R</p>	
<p>292. Ratcliffe-on-Soar dfx.3.19/1; Versnel 1991; Brit 24; shrine, the first half of the 3rd cent.</p>	<p><i>Donatur deo Iovi Optimo Maximo, ut exigat per mentem, per memoriam, per intus, per intestinum, per cor, (p)er medullas, per venas, per...as...Si mascel, si femina, quivis involavit * (dena)rios Cani Digni, ut in corpore suo in brevi temp(or)e pariat. Donatur deo ssto(supra scripto?) decima pars eius pecuniae, quam (so)lverit.</i></p>
<p>SVSM, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions, accursed body parts</p>	
<p><i>deo Iovi Optimo Maximo; Canus Dignus</i>; F; reward to the deity</p>	
<p>293. Ratcliffe-on-Soar dfx.3.19/2; Brit 24 and 35; shrine; the 4th cent.; corrupted text</p>	<p><i>Annoto de duas ocrias (=ocreis), ascia(m), scalpru(m), ma(n)ica(m), si m(ulier) au(t) si b(aro)... duas partis deo ac cevum...</i></p>
<p>SVSM, theft; return; reward to the deity</p>	

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<i>deo</i> ; N, 0	
294. Ratcliffe-on-Soar dfx. 3.19/3; Brit 24; on the surface/shrine; θ	<i>Nomine Camulorigi(s) et Titocun(a)e molam (=mulam), quam perdederunt, in fanum dei devovi. Cuicumque (=cuiuscumque) num(e)n (=nomen) involasit mola(m) illam, ut sa(n)-guin(em) suum mittat, usque diem, quo moriatur. Q(ui)cumque invo(l)a(sit) (furta, moriatur, et paulatoriam(?) quicumque (illam) involasit, et ipse moriato mo(ri)atur. Quicumqu(e) illam involasit et vertogn(?) de (h)ospitio vel vissacio (bissacium?), quicumque illam involasit, a devo (=deo?) mori(a)tur.</i>
NN (<i>quicumque</i>), theft; vengeance: death	
<i>dei; nomine Camulorigis et Titocunae</i> ; R; written right-to-left	
295. Uley dfx. 3.22/2; To 1993:1; tab. opistogr.; shrine of Mercury; half of the 3 rd cent.	<i>A: Deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur de Vitalino et Natalino filio ipsius d(e) iument(o?), quod ei raptum est e(t) rogat deum Mercurium, ut nec ante sanitatem B: habeant, nissi nissi repraese(n)taverint mihi (iu)mentum, quod rapuerunt, et deo devotione(m), qua(m) ipse ab his expostulaverit.</i>
2 m. pater, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions; reward to the deity	
<i>deo Mercurio; Cenacus</i> ; 0	
296. Uley dfx. 3. 22/3; To 1993:2; tab. opistogr.; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd -4 th cent.	<i>A: Commonitorium deo Mercurio a Saturnina muliere de lintiamine (=linteamine), quod amisit, ut ille, qui ho(c) circumvenit, non ante laxetur, nissi quand(o) res s(upra)dictas ad fanum s(upra)d(ic)tum attul(e)rit, si vir si (mu)lier, si servus si liber. B: Deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem (d)onat, ita ut exsigat istas res, quae s(upra)s(crip)ta(e) sunt aca(?) quae per(didi)t. Deo Silvano tertia pars donatur, ita ut hoc exsigat, si vir, si femina, si servus, si liber ... at</i>
SVSF, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions; reward to the deity	
<i>deo Mercurio</i> (re-written over <i>Marti Silvano</i>), <i>deo Silvano; Saturnina</i> ; 0	
297. Uley dfx. 3.22/4; To 1993: 3; shrine of Mercury;	<i>Deo M(a)rti Mercuri(o) ... anulus aureus de ho(spitiolo? involaverit/furaver(it))²⁶ et pedica</i>

²⁶ Tomlin (1991, 308) proposes the addition of *involaverit*; Kropp (2008) *furaverit*. Both additions are logical and necessary.

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the 2 nd /4 th cent.	<i>ferre(a) ... s qui fraudem feci(t) ... br... deus inveni(a)t.</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; vengeance (see No. 277)	
<i>deo Marti Mercurio</i> ; N, 0	
298. Uley dfx.3.22/5 ; To 1993: 4; discus, shrine of Mercury; the 4 th cent.	<i>Biccus dat Mercurio quidquid pe(r)d(id)it. Si vir, si mascel, ne maiet (=meiat), ne cacet, ne loquatur, ne dormiat, n(e) vigilet nec s(al)utem nec sanitatem (habeat?), ness(i) (=nisi) in templo Mercurii pertulerit, ne(c) co(n)scientiam de (hoc furto?) perferat, nessi me intercedente.</i>
SVSM, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>Mercurio</i> ; <i>Biccus</i> ; R	
299. Uley dfx.3.22/6 ; To 1993: 5; discus; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Nomen furis, (qu) i frenem (=frenum) involaverit, si l(i)ber, si servus, si baro, si mulier, deo donatur, duas partes afima(?) sua tertia ad sanitatem (templum?)</i>
SVSM, theft; return; vengeance?; reward to the deity	
<i>deo</i> ; N, F	
300. Uley dfx.3.22/16 ; Brit 20; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd -4 th cent.	<i>Deo Mercurio Docilinus quaenm(?) Varianus et Peregrina et Sabinianus, qu(i) pecori meo dolum malum intulerunt et in t(e)rr(a?) prolocuntur (=proloquuntur). Rogo te, ut eos max(i)mo (le)to adigas nec eis sanit(atem nec) somnum perm(itt)as, nisi a te quod m(i)hi ad(mi)ni(strav)erint, redem(e)rint.</i>
2 m. nom. + 1 f. nom.; other; return; vengeance: death	
<i>deo Mercurio</i> ; <i>Docilinus</i> ; 0	
301. Uley dfx.3.22/22 ; Brit 26; shrine of Mercury; the 2./3. cent.	<i>Deo Mercurio Mintla Rufus: donavi eos, vel mulier vel pariusliifaspatem(?)...(ma)teriam sagi donavi.</i>
SVSM, theft?; N	
<i>deo Mercurio</i> ; <i>Mintla Rufus</i> ; F	
302. Uley dfx.3.22/24 ; shrine of Mercury; the 1 st cent.; corrupted text	<i>Mercurio res id est lanam.</i>

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N, theft; N	
<i>Mercurio</i> ; N R	
303. Uley dfx. 3.22/29; Brit 23; To 1993: 72; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>Deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus: conqueror numini tuo me perdidisse rotas duas et vaccas quattuor et resculas plurimas de hospitiolo meo. Rogaverim genium numinis tuui (=tui), ut ei, qui mihi fraudem fecerit, sanitatem ei non permittas nec iacere nec sedere nec bibere nec manducare, si baro, si mulier, si puer, si puella, si servus, si liber, nissi meam rem ad me pertulerit et meam concordiam habuerit. Iteratis pr(a)ecibus rogo numen tuum, ut petitio mea statim pareat (=pariat) me vindicatum esse a maiestate tua.</i>
SVSM, theft; return; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>deo sancto Mercurio; Honoratus</i> ; 0	
304. Uley dfx. 3.22/32; To 1993,76; Brit 26; tab. opistogr.; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>A: (Deo) sancto Mercuri(o). (Que)r(or) tibi de illis, qui mihi male cogitant et male faciunt supra ed... s ... iumen(tum?) ... si servus, si liber, si m(ascel), si (fem)ina, ut non illis permittas nec sta(r)e nec sedere nec bibere B: nec manducar(e), n(e)c h(as) (i)r(a)s redemere possi(n)t, nessi sanguine suo aene(?)</i>
SVSM, other; vengeance: restrictions	
<i>deo sancto Mercurio</i> ; N, 0	
305. Uley dfx. 3.22/34; To 1993, 78; shrine of Mercury; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>Tibi commendo... qui mihi fraudem fecit de denar(ii)s ill(i)s quos (mih)i debebat ... seminudi, edentuli, tremuli, podagrici, sine cuiusque hominis missericordia ... in fanum et thesaurum potententiss(imi) (=potentissimi) dei.</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), other; return; vengeance: restrictions - disease	
<i>potentissimi dei</i> ; N, F	
306. Uley dfx. 3.22/36; To 1993, 80; Brit 27; shrine of Mercury; the 3 rd cent.; corrupted text	<i>C(h)arta, qu(a)e Mercurio donatur, ut manecilis (=manicilis), qui (=quae) per(i)erunt, ultionem requirat; qui illos (=illa) invalaviit (=involavit), ut illi sangu(in)em (e)t sanitatem tolla(t); qui ipsos</i>
NN (<i>qui</i>), theft; vengeance	

APPENDIX II: THE CORPUS OF LATIN PRAYERS FOR JUSTICE

<i>Mercurio</i> ; N, 0	<i>manicil(o)s (=ipsa manicilia) tulit, (u)t quantocius (=quantocius?) illi pareat (=pariat), quod deum Mercurium r(o)gamus ... ura .. q.ncu ...lat(?)</i>
307. Wanborough dfx.3.23/1; Brit 3; x, the second half of the 2 nd cent.; corrupted text	<i>...(D)epre(co)r te, peto ... evene ... peto iudicio tuo qu(i?) d(e me? p)eculans ...tum, ne til(l)i permittas bibere nec (esse nec vigilare nec do)rmire nec ambulare neque ullam (partem vivere sinas? illi)us gentisve, unde ille nascit(ur) ...ulla nec alumen (=alimentum/a) ... pr(ae?) ve(h)emente(r?) loquantur et r ... ugabatur(?) certum sciu(n)t...si... meverecameve ... meor..(?)</i>
N, other; vengeance: restrictions	
X, N, 0	
308. Britannia? dfx.3.24/1; Brit 22; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>(Don)atur deo Merc(urio, si) q(u)is involaverit c ... lam .icinum(?) nec non alia minutalia Tocitami(?), si baro, si mulier, si puel(l)a, si puer, si ingenuus, si servus. N(o)n an(t)e eum laset (=laxet), quam mimbra (=membra) (ra?)pi manu (ad?) diem mortis concruiat (=concruciat) e(u)m, qu(i) securam (=securim) (I)nnioris (Iunioris?) involavit ea ... aeapr(?) nec non et ququi (=qui) res (p)ictor(i)a(s?) involaverit.</i>
SVSM, theft; vengeance	
<i>deo Mercurio; Toticama, Iunior(?); F</i>	
309. Britannia? dfx.3.24/2; Brit 19; the 2 nd /3 rd cent.	<i>...amisi, oro tuam m(aie)statem, ut furem istum, si a(nc)il(l)a, si (p)uer, si (puella), ext(i)nguas ... ut illi s(ic) facias perduc²⁷(r)em ra(ptam?) ...um et...</i>
SVSM, theft; return; vengeance: death?	
<i>tuam maiestatem</i> ; N, 0	

²⁷ Hassall – Tomlin (1988, 489 ff.) suggest *perduci* instead of *reducere*?

Appendix III: Concordance to TheDeMa

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
1.	256	51.	565
2.	264	52.	571
3.	257	53.	572
4.	147	54.	573
5.	508	55.	1153
6.	1151	56.	576
7.	509	57.	718
8.	855	58.	1184
9.	510	59.	1186
10.	511	60.	1187
11.	512	61.	722
12.	220	62.	724
13.	513	63.	727
14.	514	64.	1192
15.	515	65.	449
16.	516	66.	732
17.	263	67.	190
18.	529	68.	190
19.	533	69.	181
20.	488	70.	739
21.	489	71.	740
22.	490	72.	817
23.	491	73.	741
24.	492	74.	742
25.	536	75.	743
26.	537	76.	744
27.	538	77.	745

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE TO THEDEMA

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
28.	1152	78.	746
29.	539	79.	747
30.	540	80.	748
31.	541	81.	749
32.	542	82.	750
33.	543	83.	766
34.	1145	84.	751
35.	546	85.	261
36.	1059	86.	752
37.	547	87.	757
38.	548	88.	755
39.	550	89.	124
40.	552	90.	131
41.	553	91.	753
42.	554	92.	756
43.	556	93.	133
44.	557	94.	135
45.	308	95. DTM 20	-
46.	561	96.	136
47.	187	97.	121
48.	188	98.	880
49.	482	99.	122
50.	372	100.	258
101.	768	154.	27
102.	769	155.	28
103.	773	156.	29
104.	774	157.	30
105.	775	158.	31
106.	777	159.	32

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE TO THEDEMA

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
107.	778	160.	33
108.	779	161.	34
109.	780	162.	36
110.	782	163.	37
111.	884	164.	38
112.	783	165.	39
113.	784	166.	40
114.	785	167.	41
115.	786	168.	42
116.	787	169.	43
117.	794	170.	44
118.	795	171.	45
119.	796	172.	829
120.	800	173.	833
121.	804	174.	834
122.	805	175.	835
123.	806	176.	47
124.	807	177.	49
125.	808	178.	48
126.	51	179.	50
127.	52	180.	1196
128.	62	181.	836
129.	63	182.	837
130.	93	183.	838
131.	94	184.	148
132.	96	185.	149
133.	97	186.	155
134.	98	187.	1154
135.	99	188.	160

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE TO THEDEMA

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
136.	812	189.	168
137.	814	190.	1155
138.	222	191.	627
139.	1198	192.	1157
140.	68	193.	1160
141.	819	194.	1161
142.	820	195.	665
143.	21	196.	1165
144.	821	197.	1166
145.	824	198.	668
146.	825	199.	669
147.	826	200.	1167
148.	827	201.	671
149.	22	202.	681
150.	23	203.	692
151.	24	204.	698
152.	25	205.	1180
153.	26	206.	1170
207.	604	260.	266
208.	675	261.	619
209.	544	262.	621
210.	459	263.	622
211.	555	264.	624
212.	558	265.	626
213.	560	266.	628
214.	563	267.	631
215.	568	268.	634
216.	569	269.	635
217.	570	270.	637

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE TO THEDEMA

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
218.	598	271.	638
219.	599	272.	639
220.	600	273.	640
221.	721	274.	652
222.	723	275.	654
223.	725	276.	101
224.	733	277.	655
225.	734	278.	197
226.	735	279.	657
227.	738	280.	661
228.	260	281.	662
229.	259	282.	663
230.	767	283.	91
231.	758	284.	664
232.	763	285.	667
233.	289	286.	102
234.	765	287.	670
235.	878	288.	672
236.	754	289.	577
237.	754	290.	674
238.	109	291.	676
239.	265	292.	154
240.	781	293.	679
241.	601	294.	680
242.	150	295.	683
243.	603	296.	684
244.	151	297.	685
245.	152	298.	686
246.	575	299.	687

APPENDIX III: CONCORDANCE TO THEDEMA

No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa	No. Urbanová	No. TheDeMa
247.	156	300.	696
248.	157	301.	702
249.	161	302.	703
250.	162	303	707
251.	163	304	710
252.	164	305	711
253.	165	306	713
254.	167	307	715
255.	169	308	716
256.	170	309	717
257.	615		
258.	616		
259	617		

Abbreviations And Conventions

- Be:** BESNIER, MAURICE. 1920. “Recent travaux sur les *Defixionum tabellae* latines, 1904–1914”. *Revue de Philologie* 44, 5–30.
- Brit.:** Britannia, part II, Inscriptiones.
- CIL:** *Corpus Inscriptionum latinarum*.
- dfx.:** KROPP, AMINA. 2008. *Defixiones. Ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*. Speyer: Kartoffeldruck-Verlag Kai Brodersen. = also Kropp 2008.
- DT:** AUDOLLENT, AUGUSTE. 1904. *Defixionum tabellae*. Paris: Albert Fontemoing.
- DTA:** WÜNSCH, RICHARD. 1897. *Defixionum tabellae atticae, Inscriptiones Graecae*, 3.3. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- DTM:** BLÄNSDORF, JÜRGEN. 2012. *Die defixionum tabellae des Mainzer Isis- und Mater Magna-Heiligtums, Defixionum tabellae Mogontiacenses (DTM)*. In Zusammenarbeit mit Pierre-Yves Lambert und Marion Witteyer. Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, Direktion Landesarchäologie Mainz.
- Ga:** GAGER, JOHN G. 1992. *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GMP:** BETZ, HANS D. (ed.). 1986. *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spell*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press.
- PGM:** *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. 2001. Vol. 1: Karl Preisendanz (ed.), Albert Heinrichs (rev. ed.), 1973 et 2001; vol. 2: Karl Preisendanz (ed.), 1974. Alebrt Heinrichs (rev. ed.) 1974 et 2001. München: K. G. Saur.
- SGD:** JORDAN, DAVID R. 1985. “Survey of Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora”. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26, 151–197.
- SM:** *Supplementum Magicum*. 1990–1992. Robert Daniel – Franco Maltomini (eds.). *Papyrologica Coloniensia* 16, Nr. 1, 2. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- So:** SOLIN, HEIKKI. 1968. “Eine neue Fluchtafel aus Ostia”. *Commentationes humanarum litterarum, Societas scientiarum Fennica* 42(3), 3–31.
- To:** TOMLIN, ROGER S. O. 1988. “The Curse Tablets”. In: Barry Cunliffe (ed.). *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*. Vol. 2: *The Finds from the*

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TheDeMa (Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis) <http://www-e.uni-magdeburg.de/defigo/thedema.php> (last accessed 12 December 2017).

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