

CASTING CURSES

A study on the Religious Experiences of Women in Roman North Africa and
Roman Britain



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Introductory chapter

For more than a millennium, people used small lead tablets (*defixiones*) inscribed with curses to control the world around them. This is a phenomenon that is not attributed to a specific ancient culture or region. In fact, we find them throughout the whole Mediterranean world, from the Athenian Agora to Egypt. Even today, *defixiones* are used by Wiccans, for instance, as a means to bind and banish negative energies.¹ *Defixiones* prove to be insightful sources into the lives of the people from ancient societies, because they provide glimpses of the lived reality of ancient men and women. In this study the aim is to uncover how *defixiones* can contribute to our understanding of the religious experiences of women in the Roman West, more specifically Roman North Africa and Roman Britain.

Status Questionis

The Study of Women in Antiquity

The past decades saw an increase in studies on women in antiquity, and women and gender in ancient religions. These studies examine the presence of women in ancient societies based on various types of sources, such as literary sources, material and epigraphical evidence, and papyrological texts.² One type of evidence that is often overlooked are curse tablets (*defixiones*, or *κατάδεσμοι* in Greek). Only recently, scholars started using these sources for studies on women, gender, and religion – mostly in the context of magic – in antiquity.

In 2014, Pauline Ripat contributed with a chapter on cheating Roman women to the volume *Daughters of Hecate. Women & Magic in the Ancient World*. By contextualizing both

¹ The Wiccan beliefs are based on the Tree-Fold Law, meaning that those energies that are put out into the universe, both positive and negative, will come back three times. This will affect the emotional, spiritual, and physical self. Therefore, Wiccans try to avoid cursing people, and use *defixiones* to banish negative emotions and energies instead. If *defixiones* are handled wrongfully it could harm on the practitioner instead, as they are the most volatile in comparison to amulets and talismans. See, for example: Silver Raven Wolf, *Solitary Witch. The Ultimate Book of Shadows for the New Generation* (2003) 455-459; Harmony Nice, *Wicca. A Modern Guide to Witchcraft & Magick* (2018) 26-31.

² See for example: Brenda Longfellow and Molly Swetnam-Burland (eds.), *Women's Lives, Women's Voices. Roman Material Culture and Female Agency in the Bay of Naples* (2021); Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, Paul A. Holloway, and James A. Kelhoffer (eds.), *Women and Gender in Ancient Religions* (2010); Celia E. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic* (2006); Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (eds.), *Women in Antiquity. New Assessments* (1995).

Greek and Latin *defixiones* from Italy and the western provinces, she argues that the curses that target slave women and freedwomen were highly likely the work of female practitioners. The targeted women were perceived as interlopers by these female cursers. As Ripat concludes, their aim for casting the curses was to protect their relationships from the perceived interlopers.³

Another study using *defixiones* as source material, in combination with amulets and other sources, to understand the magical knowledge of Greek women, is provided by Irene Salvo. In the chapter ‘Owners of their own bodies. Women’s magical knowledge and reproduction in Greek inscriptions’, Salvo seeks to examine the ritual competence of women and their knowledge of their own bodies. With the selected source material, she shows that these ancient Greek women had knowledge of reproductive rituals with which they attempted to solve problems concerning conception, miscarriage, abortion, and childbirth.⁴ As she explains, there are some difficulties with the sources, as they might not be suitable for generalizations about women’s bodily knowledge, and therefore might only apply to her case study. Nevertheless, she states that ‘each single document and its context may present unique or specific characteristics that allow us to trace the experience of the ritual agents beyond the formulae of magical handbooks.’⁵

The studies of Pauline Ripat and Irene Salvo show what types of research can be conducted when using *defixiones* as the primary source material. Their focus on the lived reality of women, and the information that can be extrapolated from *defixiones*, provide more nuanced views of the daily life of different societal groups in antiquity. One of the most prominent scholars studying women in antiquity, especially the Roman West, is Emily Hemelrijk. In her studies we get a glimpse of aspects of the lives of some women, most of whom belonged to the upper strata of ancient societies.⁶ Hemelrijk primarily focusses on inscriptions, which form a

³ Pauline Ripat, ‘Cheating Women: Curse Tablets and Roman Wives’ in: Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayna S. Kalleres (eds.), *Daughters of Hecate. Women & Magic in the Ancient World* (2014) 340-364, 340.

⁴ Irene Salvo, ‘Owners of their own bodies. Women’s magical knowledge and reproduction in Greek inscriptions’ in: Matthew Dillon, Esther Eidinow and Lisa Maurizio (eds.), *Women’s Ritual Competence in the Greco-Roman Mediterranean* (2017) 131-148, 143-144.

⁵ Ibidem, 144.

⁶ See: Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Women and Society in the Roman World. A Sourcebook of Inscriptions from the Roman West* (2021); Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Verborgene Levens, Publieke Figuren. Romeinse Vrouwen buiten Rome* (2021); Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West* (2015); Emily A. Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West* (2013).

useful source since women of the sub-elite appear little in the works of ancient writers, especially outside of Rome.⁷

The inscriptions, studied by Hemelrijk, are found on civic monuments, usually statues with accompanying inscriptions. However, these sources have some disadvantages, for they for instance mostly represent a select group of women and their lives. These women, some of which had been slaves or were daughters of freedmen and freedwomen, belonged to the upper strata of ancient societies. The statues were granted by the city council to men and women who invested in the city, and people who received this honour often suggested to pay for the statues themselves. It is evident that these people, men and women, had the means to invest in these costly undertakings. *Defixiones*, on the other hand, were accessible to a wider audience. The material was less expensive and more easily available. They provide glimpses of daily life, struggles and worries, feelings of hurt, jealousy, and longing.

Emily Hemelrijk has shown that inscriptions prove to be useful and insightful sources when studying the lives of ancient women, as they add valuable information to the snippets of the lives of women that we find in the works of ancient writers, although they still only cover a selected group of women. Shifting the focus from the more commonly researched source material to the often overlooked *defixiones* will contribute to closing the scholarly gap between the social hierarchies and add to a more inclusive understanding of ancient societies and the people who were a part of them. They offer insights into the experiences of the ritual agents – men and women – and their knowledge, as the studies of Pauline Ripat and Irene Salvo have shown.

A Division between Religious and Magical Practices

In the studies on women and religion, the focus often lies on magical practices. *Defixiones*, too, conventionally are categorized as *magical* objects, as opposed to *religious* or *sacred* objects. In the modern scholarly debate, this often results in both negative connotations and stereotypes. A reason for this can be tracked back to the ancient sources. There, magic was seen as an oddity; it was practiced at night, secretly, trying to selfishly gain something. For Pliny the Elder,

⁷ Hemelrijk, *Women and Society in the Roman World* 1-14; Hemelrijk, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West* 7-36.

magical practices were fraudulent.⁸ In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* too, we can read that magical practices were carried out in the dark, preferably with no intruders.⁹

The ancient sources left their mark on the modern studies when research on the topic began, but the bias of scholars played a part in the process too. In 1871, *Primitive Cultures* by anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor was published. His study was followed up by anthropologist Sir James George Frazer, whose *The Golden Bough* was published in 1890. Both Tylor and Frazer argued that magical practices were only carried out by those who belonged to the lower strata of ancient societies. According to them, magic is the most primitive form of belief. They state that religion is a submission to the supernatural – i.e., God –, and magic is the manipulation of natural laws.¹⁰ Thus, they explicitly emphasize an opposition between religion and magic.

The research of Tylor and Frazer became the fundament on which all studies concerning magic built upon, although there were scholars who were critical of their ideas.¹¹ Nevertheless, conceptualizing between religion and magic as two opposites persisted. There is a small number of studies in which positive aspects are ascribed to the practices that are categorized as magical. Meritxell Ferrer Martin and Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels emphasize the healing and protecting abilities of the so-called magical objects, like amulets and gemstones.¹² Emily Hemelrijk also touches upon the magical powers of statues and busts of the emperor and empress, in the context of the imperial cult.¹³ Even though modern scholars try to apply more nuanced views to

⁸ See: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 25.59, 29.20, 30.1-18, 37.75. See, for more ancient sources discussing magical practices: Greg Woolf, 'Curse Tablets the History of a Technology' (2022) 124-125; Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and the Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds. A Sourcebook* (2002); George Luck, *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds. A Collection of Ancient Texts* (1985).

⁹ For example: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.10-15, 3.17.

¹⁰ Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Cultures* (1871); James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (1890). See also: Frits Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (1997) 3-19.

¹¹ See: Kimberly B. Stratton, *Naming the Witch. Magic, Ideology, and Stereotype in the Ancient World* (2007) 4-12; Mary Beard, John North en Simon Price, *Religions of Rome* 1 (2000) 219; Naomi Janowitz, *Magic in the Roman World. Pagans Jews and Christians* (2001); Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* 3-19; John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (1992) 22-23.

¹² Meritxell Ferrer Martin and Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels, 'Women's Ritual Practice in the Western Phoenician and Punic World' in: Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa (eds.), *Women in Antiquity. Real Women across the Ancient World* (2016) 533-551.

¹³ Emily A. Hemelrijk, *Verborgen levens, publieke figuren. Romeinse vrouwen buiten Rome* (2021) 120.

previous studies, they keep maintaining the binary division and the accompanying – negative – stereotypes.

In ancient societies, the gods were a given. *Omina*, processions, prophecies, and so forth were a part of mythical stories and of daily life. Ancient authors themselves contrasted religious and magical activities.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it was not always as black and white as is pictured in the modern scholarly debate from the nineteenth century onwards. Is it even possible to draw a clear line between religion and magic? Why would a Christian cross be classified as a *religious* symbol and an ancient amulet – which held similar qualities – as a *magical* object? Why was the making of *defixiones* defined a magical practice, and not as a form of pre-modern self-help through religious practices?

These are complicated questions, and it goes beyond the scope of the underlying thesis to answer all of them. However, a tentative answer might be found in the dominant discourse on Christianity in the nineteenth century. As discussed, Tylor and Frazer classified magic as the most primitive form of belief. The primitive character that magical practices had achieved fit into the existing hierarchy in what was perceived as ‘proper’ religion and what was not. A similar reasoning can be given for why women are almost always associated with ‘magical’ practices. The negative stereotyping operated as a warning to women of nineteenth-century societies.¹⁵

As scholars we should be aware of who is defining what. Perhaps there is no evident division between *religious* and *magical* practices. Perhaps they were so intertwined that it makes more sense to speak of ritual activities;¹⁶ as attributes were used, deities were involved, and formulae were followed. Men and women were taking part – actively and passively – in these ritual activities, and these men and women belonged to all layers of society. Therefore, this study will focus on the experiences of ritual activities, like the making and casting of *defixiones*.

¹⁴ For example: Apuleius, *Apologia* 9.1-5, 25.9-11, 26.6-7.

¹⁵ Similar patterns in scholarly biases of nineteenth-century fundamental research, when it concerns the history of women, have been identified in studies on topics such as migration, pilgrimage, and ancient legions. See especially: Elena Isayev, *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy* (2017); Jaś Elsner and Ian Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman & Early Christian Antiquity* (2005); Simon James, ‘Writing the Legions. The Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain’ in: *Archaeological Journal* 159 (2002) 1-58.

¹⁶ See: Catherine Bell, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997).

Sources and Methodology

Method: Lived Ancient Religion

In 2020 Valentino Gasparini, Maik Patzelt, Rubina Raja, Anna-Katharina Rieger, Jörg Rüpke and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli published their volume *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World. Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics*.¹⁷ This volume expands on the study of ‘lived religion’ by applying it to the ancient world and therefore the already lived experience.¹⁸

The concept ‘lived religion’ finds its roots in theological studies and scholars working with the concept focus on the religiosity of individuals and groups.¹⁹ These studies demand some form of direct access to the living of the religion, as is explained by Gasparini. This is not possible when one is studying the ancient world.²⁰ Therefore, they moved beyond the methodology of ‘lived religion’ and as a result, laid their focus on four key notions which are appropriation, agency, situational meaning, and mediality.²¹

Irene Salvo also contributed to this volume with a study on the neurobehavioral traits of ritual and spatiality in the Roman Empire. She examines the spatial features in which cursing rites took place, and how the environment shaped the emotional and bodily experiences of the ritual participant.²² Various elements were part of cursing rituals, like the burning of frankincense, the melting of lead, and additional visual and aural stimuli of the ritual space. These elements initiated a transformation of the state of mind of the ritual participant, enhancing

¹⁷ In 2019 the volume *Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices - Transmission – Landscape* was published studying ‘lived religion’ in Egypt. See: Nico Starling, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss (eds.), *Perspectives on Lived Religion. Practices - Transmission – Landscape* (2019). For another study on the individual in religious practices in antiquity, see: Jörg Rüpke, *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean* (2013).

¹⁸ Valentino Gasparini, Maik Patzelt, Rubina Raja, Anna-Katharina Rieger, Jörg Rüpke and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli, ‘Pursuing lived ancient religion’ in: Valentino Gasparini, Maik Patzelt, Rubina Raja, Anna-Katharina Rieger, Jörg Rüpke and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli (eds.), *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World. Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics* (2020) 1-8, 1.

¹⁹ Heinz Streib, *Lived Religion: Conceptual, Empirical and Practical-Theological Approaches. Essays in Honor of Hans-Günter Heimbrock* (2008) x.

²⁰ Gasparini, et al., ‘Pursuing lived ancient religion’ 1.

²¹ Ibidem, 2-3.

²² Irene Salvo, ‘Experiencing curses: neurobehavioral traits of ritual and spatiality in the Roman Empire’ in: Valentino Gasparini, Maik Patzelt, Rubina Raja, Anna-Katharina Rieger, Jörg Rüpke and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli (eds.), *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World. Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics* (2020) 157-180, 158.

their ritual experience.²³ In this study, Salvo shows how the methodology of ‘lived ancient religion’ can be applied to different case studies, specifically when using *defixiones* as sources.

As is emphasized in the volume, ‘lived ancient religion’ underlines the social context of religious action.²⁴ Furthermore, Gasparini stresses that “the paradigm of ‘lived ancient religion’ provides the stimulus to integrate ‘the’ evidence on a new basis, invoke new types of evidence, challenge existing classifications of material, and focus on neglected types of religious action.”²⁵ A study of *defixiones* fits perfectly within this research. They are an often-neglected type of source material that can offer new insights, which contribute to a better understanding of daily life and ritual practices in ancient societies, especially when studying the lives of women.

As stated, there were the four key notions in the volume by Gasparini. Two of them – i.e., agency and appropriation – will recur frequently in the following chapters, thus tying the case studies together. As Gasparini explains, the notion of agency was used to stress “the priority of personal engagement, knowledge, and skill in providing services of all kinds [...]”²⁶ It denotes the ability of an individual to take action and has the capacity to choose for themselves what actions to take. The notion of appropriation, so Gasparini continues, “denotes the situational adaptation and deployment of existing practices and techniques, institutions, norms, and media in order to suit the contingent needs and aims of the individual or group.”²⁷ In other words, the participant of ritual practices has the capacity to appropriate different strategies for expressing and communicating personal needs and wishes, and therefore has agency.

The Database

For this thesis a database was put together. Two catalogues formed the basis: for Roman North Africa the *Defixionum Tabellae* by Auguste Marie Henri Audollent (1904),²⁸ and for Roman

²³ Ibidem, 167-176.

²⁴ The concept of ‘lived ancient religion’ was coined around the 2010s by Jörg Rüpke, one of the scholars who worked on and contributed to *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2020). See: Jorg Rüpke, “Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning ‘Cults’ and ‘Polis Religion’” in: *Mythos* (2011) 191-204.

²⁵ Gasparini, et al., ‘Pursuing lived ancient religion’ 3.

²⁶ Ibidem, 2.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ When referring to the *defixiones* from Audollent his *Defixionum Tabellae* the abbreviation DT is used, followed by the corresponding number of the *defixio*.

Britain the *Romano-British Curse Tablets* by Colleen M. Bradley (2011).²⁹ From both catalogues the *defixiones* written in Latin were selected, creating a database that included 265 *defixiones* from various locations in the Mediterranean world. In the database the inscribed texts of the *defixiones*, as well as translations,³⁰ were included. An important feature on some of the *defixiones* were the legible names on the tablets because they provide information about the individual. The names were divided into two categories: names that belonged to humans, and names that belonged to deities, *daemons*, and other divine forces. Further included are the location in which they were found, and if possible, a dating. Based on these assessments, the decision was made for two case studies: an analysis of the *defixiones* from Roman North Africa and Roman Britain. The corpus will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

The Sources: Defixiones

As stated before, *defixiones* were used throughout the Mediterranean for more than a thousand years and were a means for the practitioners to control the world around them with the help of the divine. There were manuals that provided formulae for these tablets; however, there was room for personalization. The oldest *defixiones* were quite simple, as has been explained by George Luck: “X, bind Y, whose mother is Z.” In this formula, the X is either a deity or a *daemon*, who is ordered to bind Y, the victim of the curse.³¹

The formulaic nature of *defixiones* helps us to identify the author of the curse in some occasions, and the victim of the curse in many. Meritxell Ferrer Martin and Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels emphasize the importance of the formulaic nature of votive offering: “From the inscription formula we know that identifying oneself before the gods was important and a necessary part of the ritual practice, furthermore that identifying oneself meant identifying one’s relationship to others.”³² The same reasoning would apply to the study of *defixiones*.

In later times, the texts on the tablets became more elaborated and personalized, although the basic formula stayed. Additionally, as Colleen Bradley states, the uniformity reveals that the users, who belonged to various cultures, considered the same set of elements to

²⁹ When referring to the *defixiones* from Bradley her *Romano-British Curse Tablets* the abbreviation CMB is used, followed by the corresponding number of the *defixio*.

³⁰ The translations for Roman North Africa are based on Daniela Urbanová, *Latin Curse Tablets of the Roman Empire* (2018), with my own adaptations. For Roman Britain, the translations are based on Colleen M. Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* (2011), with my own adaptations.

³¹ Luck, *Arcana Mundi* 49.

³² Martin and Samuels, ‘Women’s Ritual Practice in the Western Phoenician and Punic World’ 541-542.

be crucial in communicating to the divine realm.³³ On these tablets palindromes, *signa magica* and *voces mysticae*, *charaktêres* etc. could be inscribed. These textual elements helped the initiator of the curse to transmit their needs to the divine forces. The *defixiones* were often nailed down, folded, or rolled, sometimes accompanied by dolls or amulets. As the *defixiones* became more elaborate, the accompanying dolls and amulets started disappearing. It is likely that the inscribed figures on the tablets replaced the physical dolls and amulets. These figures could be depictions of deities or *daemons*.³⁴

There are some difficulties using *defixiones* as a source. Their often fragmentary nature is one of them. Moreover, the above-mentioned aspects are not always present on all *defixiones*. However, I do believe that these sources are able to provide valuable insights on the individuals casting the *defixiones* and their religious experiences. These tablets could have been made by *magoi*, and men and women from all layers of ancient societies. These *defixiones* are not just lead tablets with an inscription, they were created and casted in specific rituals. Thus, the tablets were not used as a mere writing surface.

To come back to the studies mentioned at the beginning, *defixiones* have been used as evidence for the study of women in antiquity, although not often. When they were used, it was most often the Greek tablets that have been studied. One of the reasons is that there are more curse tablets unearthed that are written in Greek in comparison to the Latin ones.³⁵ Like Hemelrijk stated in her book *Women and Society*, the diverse character of Latin inscriptions makes them useful for studying women in ancient societies, as they tell a lot about women's lives from all different stages of life and class.

The same goes for *defixiones*. They were made and used by men and women from all layers of society, not only by professionals. They were a medium that was easily accessible, and they provide glimpses into daily life and struggles, as the following chapters will make clear. To focus on the religious experience and the appropriation of ritual practices, as has been done in the study of 'lived ancient religion' could, I believe, provide valuable insights into ancient societies and more specifically in the lives of the individual user; thereby better our understanding of the lives of the ancient people from all over society. As has been stated, this study seeks to examine the religious experiences of women in Roman North Africa and Roman

³³ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 3-4.

³⁴ Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells* 4-16.

³⁵ Greg Woolf, 'Curse Tablets: The History of a Technology' in: *Greece and Rome* 69.1 (2022) 120-134, 122-123.

Britain using *defixiones* as the primary source material, on which will be elaborated in the following chapters.

Roman North Africa

Introduction

In the following chapter the focus will be on Roman North Africa. Firstly, the corpus of *defixiones* will be discussed. By studying their context and the broader context of Roman North Africa, we will get a better understanding of the sources and how they can be studied. Thereafter, it is important to discuss the scholarly findings about women in Roman North Africa. This will all benefit the understanding of the analysis of the *defixiones*, with which the chapter concludes.

The Roman North African corpus

In 1904, when Auguste Audollent composed his *Defixionum Tabellae*, archaeologists had unearthed at least 55 fragments of uniquely identified *defixiones* in Roman North Africa at the site of the amphitheatre in Carthage. These were kept in the Musée Lavignerie de Saint-Louis in Carthage, of which the archaeologist Alfred Louis Delattre was the director.³⁶ In his study, Audollent recorded 92 *defixiones* (DT 213 – DT 305), adding newly unearthed tablets, which date from the second century BCE to the third century CE, to the collection of Delattre. The *defixiones* were found in three different Roman provinces: *Provincia Proconsularis*, *Provincia Byzacena*, and *Provincia Numidia*.

Of these *defixiones*, 66 are part of the database made for this thesis,³⁷ namely those *defixiones* that have – at least some – Latin writing on them.³⁸ Almost two-third of these are

³⁶ Joann Freed, 'Le Père Alfred-Louis Delattre (1850-1932) et les Fouilles Archéologiques de Carthage' in: *Histoire et Missions Chrétiennes* (2008) 67-100, 70-71.

³⁷ There are some remarks to be made here. There are 64 uniquely identified *defixiones*. The number of fragments is higher than this number: DT 224 consists of nine fragments; DT 225 consists of two fragments; DT 268 consists of seven fragments; DT 303 consists of six fragments. This means that the total number of fragments is 85. However, looking at all the separate fragments would cause difficulties studying them, for example in the process of categorizing them. Therefore, the fragments will be viewed as one entry in the database.

³⁸ Here too, there is a remark to be made. By Latin writing, writing in the Latin alphabet is meant. There are *defixiones* where the Latin text is written in Greek letters, like DT 267, DT 270, and DT 304. These *defixiones* are not part of the database, only the *defixiones* that have the text – at least some parts – written in the Latin alphabet. This means that DT 271 is in the database because the first line is written in Latin letters. However, the text is Greek which means that this *defixio* will not be discussed in depth, as the focus is on the *defixiones* with Latin

completely written in Latin ($n = 42$), and a little over a third is written in both Greek and Latin ($n = 24$). Linguistic aspects, like *voces mysticae*, *charaktêres*, and palindromes can be found on the fragments, just as engraved figures. On some of the fragments of the *defixiones* only a few letters are still legible, while others are still folded or rolled up.

The fragmentary nature of the *defixiones* comes with some challenges. Many cannot be fully reconstructed, which means that the socio-historical context of some of the tablets cannot be fully ascertained. Also, the *defixiones* that are in the database labelled as written in Latin, could in theory also have contained Greek or Punic writing in the missing parts of the tablets.

The *defixiones* that were found in *Provincia Proconsularis* ($n = 35$), were found in several places in and around the city of Carthage. One was found on the Punic necropolis of Douimes (DT 213). There is no transcript of this particular *defixio* in Audollent, only three translations.³⁹ Another *defixio* was found around the Serapeum in Carthage (DT 216). Then, several of them were found outside the amphitheatre (DT 247-254). Others were found in the cemeteries of Bir-ez-Zitoun and Bir-el-Djebbana (DT 222 and DT 258), and one *defixio* was found on the coast of the city (DT 262). The remaining *defixiones* that have been found in Carthage have no specific location ascribed to them.

All the *defixiones* that were found in *Provincia Byzacena* ($n = 30$), were found on a Roman necropolis in Hadrumetum. This necropolis was located alongside a road that led to Kairouan. The final *defixio* of Roman North Africa that is part of the database, had been found in *Provincia Numidia* ($n = 1$), in the city of Cirta (DT 300). The context of this *defixio* is unclear, but it has been combined with an inscribed image of a *daemon*.⁴⁰

texts. There are also *defixiones* on which only symbols, figures, and *signa magica* are still legible. These *defixiones* are in the database but will not be discussed in depth in this thesis.

³⁹ The *defixio* has been translated by Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, and Lidzbarski. See: Auguste Marie Henri Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae Quotquot Innotuerunt. Tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas* (1904) 289. I was not able to consult the original tablet, and since there are no photographs available there is a possibility that this *defixio* was written in the Punic language. In this thesis, the focus will be on other *defixiones*.

⁴⁰ Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 415-416; Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds* 218.



Map 1: Roman North Africa with the find spots of the *defixiones* mentioned in this thesis. Photo credits author.

Roman North Africa: a context

Before we turn to an in-depth analysis of the Roman North African corpus, it is important to understand the archaeological context in which the *defixiones* were found, as well as their social and religious context. This will provide a better understanding of the historical circumstances in which the *defixiones* were made and put to use.

Several classical authors wrote about Carthage's foundation by the Phoenicians and date it to 814 BCE.⁴¹ The settlement became the most important of the Phoenician colonies, soon after its foundation. It was a prosperous region in which many cultures came together. In the second century BCE, Rome expanded her territories towards the east and south. Initially, in the conquered territories, local administrative structures were kept as long as Rome's hegemony was acknowledged and the requested tributes were paid. This was also the case for North Africa.

For a long time, scholars studying the expansion of the Roman territories assumed Rome's superiority over the conquered territories. Concepts like Romanization were coined and coloured the scholarly debate. As a result, sources were studied and interpreted one-sidedly; thereby emphasizing the superiority of Rome over local and regional cultures. This resulted in a lack of academic interest in those native cultures and identities, as the leading narrative was

⁴¹ Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.12; Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 1.6.4; Tacitus, *Annales* 16.1; Appian, *Roman History* 8.1.1.

that of Rome as the superior force, influencing local culture and forcing Roman culture upon newly conquered people. However, there has been a paradigm shift in the scholarly debate. During the past decades, more attention has been paid to processes of mutual exchange and interaction between the local cultures and structures and that of Rome. This opened up a way for ancient historians to start looking into regional cultures in their own right. Furthermore, focussing on the acculturation processes will provide a more realistic and inclusive narrative.⁴²

This paradigm shift also influenced the research concerning religion in this region. As discussed in the introduction, the modern scholarly debate is dominated by studies on Christianity, and when non-Christian religions are discussed, Christianity is often portrayed as a victor over the other.⁴³ Religion in Roman North Africa is as diverse as the peoples who lived there, and local religious objects prove to be a valuable source of information for our understanding of these societies.

This is exemplified by, for instance, the study of Martin and Samuels on the household in Roman North Africa. For this study, they analysed several tophets in Carthage. Tophets are a type of specialized religious sanctuary, which contained the cremated remains of human infants and animal remains. On the tophets are inscriptions, which name the deceased person. These tophets were dedicated to Baal Hamma and Tanit, and they would have functioned as votive markers on commemoration and dedication.⁴⁴ The household in the Phoenician and Punic world comprised the living and the dead, and by analysing the tophets, Martin and Samuels could gain insightful information about the roles that women partook in the domestic context. This means that their participation in rituals could also be identified.⁴⁵ As has been said, many cultures came together in this region which resulted in the acculturation of religious practices as well. These dynamic processes of acculturation in this region are also reflected in the *defixiones*.

⁴² For more on Romanization, see for example: Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: the Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (1998); Miguel John Versluys, 'Understanding objects in motion. An archaeological dialogue on Romanization' in: *Archaeological Dialogues* 21 (2014) 1-24; Astrid van Ooyen, 'Deconstructing and reassembling the Romanization debate through the lens of postcolonial theory: from global to local and back?' in: *Terra Incognita* 6 (2015) 205-226.

⁴³ There is a focus on early Christianity in Roman North Africa, see for example: Clifford Ando, 'Religion and Violence in Late Roman North Africa' in: *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6 (2013) 197-202; Brent Shaw, *Sacred Violence: African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (2011).

⁴⁴ Martin and Samuels, 'Women's Ritual Practice in the Western Phoenician and Punic World' 540.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 541.

Women in Roman North Africa

Even though logic dictates that it is obvious that women were a part of these ancient societies, it is a challenge to find them in the modern scholarly debate, especially in Roman North Africa. In the previously discussed chapter by Martin and Samuels, they provide insightful information about the domestic context in the Phoenician and Punic world and the roles of those who were part of it. They conclude that: “Carthaginian women partook in more public functions, possibly on account of enjoying more equitable social status vis-à-vis men, relative to other ancient Mediterranean societies.”⁴⁶

Apuleius’ *Apologia* provides us with some knowledge about the life of one North-African woman in particular, Aemilia Pudentilla. She was a wealthy woman from Oea, *Provincia Tripolitana*. Apuleius of Madauros, her second husband and writer of the *Metamorphoses* and other literary works, portrays her as a sagacious and exceptionally devoted woman (*mulier sapiens et egregie pia*).⁴⁷ He falls in love with her, and they marry somewhere in the countryside.⁴⁸ Apuleius writes that she had been previously married and has two sons. She became a widow, and her father-in-law became legally in charge of her sons. Therefore, her father-in-law also became in charge of the inheritance of his late son and pressured Pudentilla to remarry with his second son.⁴⁹ Pudentilla, however, refused.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Martin and Samuels, ‘Women’s Ritual Practice in the Western Phoenician and Punic World’ 541.

⁴⁷ Apuleius, *Apologia* 68.5.

⁴⁸ Apuleius, *Apologia* 72-73, 87.

⁴⁹ For more passages on the capital of Pudentilla see for example: *Apologia* 72.6, 78.5, 87.7, 87.10, 92.3, 93.4, 101.5; Vincent Hunink, ‘The Enigmatic Lady Pudentilla’ in: *The American Journal of Philology* 119 (1998) 275-291, 277-278; Elaine Fantham, ‘Aemilia Pudentilla: or the wealthy widow’s choice’ in: Richard Hawley and Barbara Levick (eds.), *Women in Antiquity. New assessments* (1995) 220-232, 222-226.

⁵⁰ Apuleius, *Apologia* 68-69. The *Apologia* therefore seems to be somewhat of an exception to the other ancient sources, but there are some necessary remarks to be made. First and foremost, the *Apologia* is a plea and therefore the aim of the work was to exonerate Apuleius from the charges – he was accused of magical practices – that were made against him. The *Apologia* is thus a product of Apuleius’ defence and not a biography on the life of Pudentilla. Apuleius presents all information about Pudentilla’s life as facts, but these ‘facts’ serve a specific goal and that is to disprove the accusations made against him. It is also likely that the surviving version of the *Apologia* was written down by Apuleius sometime after the actual process had taken place. Consequently, some scholars argue that the *Apologia* is fiction and that the sole purpose of this work for Apuleius was to demonstrate his knowledge, even though the consensus is that the trial had taken place. See for example: Stephen J. Harrison, *Apuleius. A Latin Sophist* (2014) 42-44; Benjamin Todd Lee, Ellen Finkelpearl, and Luca Graverini (eds.) *Apuleius and Africa* (2014) 23, 42, 157; Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price (eds.), *Religions of Rome* 235; Hunink, ‘The Enigmatic Lady Pudentilla’ 276-279.

In ‘Aemilia Pudentilla: or the wealthy widow’s choice’, Elaine Fantham examines the narrative that Apuleius created in the *Apologia*. Her aim is to correct and enhance the point of view of Pudentilla in the situation concerning Apuleius’ trial. She suggests that, in addition to the description of Apuleius, there might have been three inscriptions that were commissioned by her.⁵¹ These inscriptions honour the Aemilii, but do not mention her by name.⁵² As explained in the introduction to this thesis, civic monuments like these inscriptions, with accompanying statues, were a vital element of the public sphere in ancient cities. They were commissioned by benefactors, and as Fantham suggests, Pudentilla might have been a benefactor herself.⁵³

Furthermore, some women become visible in these civic monuments. Witschel states that: “[...] women certainly played an important part in creating the epigraphical records of cities in Roman North Africa, i.e., in those areas of social communication that were made public and eternalized by engraving certain messages in durable material.”⁵⁴ Women were thus an active and visible part of the local societies in Roman North Africa, and they were monumentalized in public places. However, as Witschel argues, their dependency on male relatives was quite explicitly expressed in the cases analysed.⁵⁵

One thing that is remarkable in the cases discussed above, is the presence of elite and sub-elite women and their male relatives. Through archaeological and literary evidence, we learn about some specific elite women in Roman North Africa, like Aemilia Pudentilla. However, in the modern scholarly debate, non-elite women and the private sphere are rarely discussed. One study that does try to fill the gap in this debate is that of Martin and Samuels. With their study on tophefts from several Carthaginian households, they try to gain more insight in the female agency within the domestic context, and they focus on the ritual practices that were carried out within this context in the Phoenician and Punic world. They argue that within

⁵¹ These inscriptions can be found in the *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*. Fantham refers to the article by J. Guey, ‘L’apologie d’Apulée et les inscriptions romaines de Tripolitanie’ in: *Revue des études Latines* 32 (1954) 115-120. However, the only inscription mentioned by name by Fantham is IRT 230.

⁵² Fantham, ‘Aemilia Pudentilla: or the wealthy widow’s choice’ 224.

⁵³ Ibidem. For the civic monuments, see: Christian Witschel, ‘The Public Presence of Women in the Cities of Roman North Africa. Two Case Studies: Thamugadi and Cuicul’ in: Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West* (2013) 85-106, 85-86.

⁵⁴ Witschel, ‘The Public Presence of Women in the Cities of Roman North Africa’ 103.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, 104.

the domestic sphere, ritual practice and religiosity held a strong role in a community's development and that women were responsible for the performance of the rituals.⁵⁶

According to Martin and Samuels, there is a close connection between daily activities and ritual actions. Items within the household that were used daily, were also used in a ritual context in the same locations within the house. To these daily items, objects with cultic value could be added. The objects with cultic value, like amulets and jewels, also held a strong connection with magical powers, and their use stands out among women's daily practice, Martin and Samuels argue. These objects were used for protection of the household against hurt and evil forces, and to promote the wellbeing of household members, both the living and the dead.⁵⁷

Based on their analysis, Martin and Samuels conclude that women held a central role in the Phoenician and Punic societies. Looking at women's ritual practice in the domestic context, it becomes clear that they are positioned as nurturers and protectors of the household. They maintained the society by maintaining the family, as "the family formed the building blocks of political and institutional life."⁵⁸ Studying *defixiones* could also add to our understanding of the domestic sphere, but the focus of this study will shift from the domestic sphere to the public sphere. The *defixiones* that are found in Roman North Africa, were unearthed at sites that are traditionally considered public places, like the amphitheatre, for instance.

The Analysis of the Roman North African *defixiones*

An examination of the North African corpus shows that there were several motives for the commissioning and/or making of *defixiones*. These motives can be broadly ordered into the following categories: love ($n = 6$), competition ($n = 34$), legal ($n = 12$). Then, there is a group of *defixiones* of which the motives are unknown ($n = 15$).⁵⁹ These tablets are too fragmented to be appropriately analysed in this thesis, as they cannot demonstrate how women are either active or passive agents in this ritual practice.

⁵⁶ Martin and Samuels, 'Women's Ritual Practice in the Western Phoenician and Punic World' 533.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, 535-537.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 546.

⁵⁹ As discussed above, the total number of unique *defixiones* for the corpus of Roman North Africa is 66, and when categorized the sum is 67. This is because DT 265 falls into two separate categories: love, and competition. This *defixio* will be discussed more in-depth below.

Love

The first category that will be discussed, is the category ‘love’. We find two *defixiones* in Carthage and four in Hadrumetum. On all six *defixiones*, names are identifiable. These names are both male and female names, as well as names of several deities. In modern scholarly literature, women have prominently been identified as the initiators of love spells. This tradition can be influenced by the works of ancient writers, like Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* in which women – witches – are the actors and initiate spells.⁶⁰ However, this is not necessarily the case when looking at the love spells that have been found. John J. Winkler identified five categories: men in pursuit of women; men in pursuit of men; women in pursuit of men; women in pursuit of women; and recipes to deliver men or women. He states that most of the love spells fall into the first category.⁶¹

When examining the *defixiones* from Roman North Africa within this category, we see that all are men in pursuit of women. The obverse of the *defixio* DT 230 is as follows:

*Kataξiv qui es Aegypto magnus daemon[...] / et aufer illae somnum
usquedum veniat ad me[...] / et animo meo satisfaciat Τραβαξiαν omnipotens
daemon adduc[...] / amantem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei cau / sa
Noχθιριφ qui cogens daemon coge illam[...] / mecum coitus facere[...]
Βιβιριξι qui es / fortissimus daemon urge coge illam venire ad me aman /
tem aestuantem amoris et desiderii mei / causa Ρικουριθ agilissime daemon
in Aegypto et agita[...] / a suis parentibus a suo cubili et aerie quicum / que
caros habet et coge illam me amare mihi conferre ad meu / m desiderium*

Translation: “Kataxin, who is the great daemon of Egypt [...] and take her sleep away unless she comes to me [...] and satisfies my mind. Trabaxian, the almighty daemon, bring [her] over loving and burning with love and desire for me. Nochthirif, who is a forcing daemon, force her [...] to make love to me [...] Bibirixi, who is the most powerful daemon, urge [her], make her come to me loving and burning with love and desire for me. Rikourith, the promptest daemon of Egypt, drive [her] [...] away from her parents, from her

⁶⁰ Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.2.

⁶¹ John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (1990) 90-94; Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* 78-81.

bed and from whoever fleeting she holds dear and make her love me and join with me as I desire.”⁶²

On this *defixio*, we only find the names of five *daemones* and no names of the target or author. Gager suggests that DT 230 falls into the category of women pursuing men. However, the *pronomina demonstrativa* are declined through their feminine forms: for example, in line 2 ‘take her sleep away’ (*aufer illae somnum*), and in line 7 ‘make her come to me’ (*coge illam venire ad me*). Therefore, they are referring to a woman. In lines 11-12, the author asks the *daemones* her to ‘join with me as I desire’ (*mihi conferre as meum desiderium*). The *pronomina possessiva* is masculine, which means that the author is a man and the target of the *defixio* is a woman. Therefore, this *defixio* belongs to the category men in pursuit of women.

Another aspect that stands out is the fact that the names of the *daemones* are written with Greek letters. The use of the Greek alphabet is a recurrence on the *defixiones* when the author is referring to *daemones*, deities or other divine forces.⁶³ However, the names of *daemones* have also been written in Latin letters. An example of this is DT 265, which has been briefly mentioned before:

Obverse: *Alimbeu / Columbeu / Petalimbeu / faciatis Victoriam / quem peperit Sua / vulva amantem fu / rentem pre amore / meo neque somnu / videat donec ad me / veniat puella[r]um d[eli] / cias*

Reverse: *Desece Ballinc / um Lolliorum / de curru actum / ne possit ante me / venire et tu quicum / que es daemon / te oro ut illam cogas / amoris et desiderii / [mei] causa veni / [re ad me]*

Translation, obverse: “Alimbeu, Columbeu, Petalimbeu, get Victoria, who was born to ♀ [Suavulva] to love, to burn with passion for me, may she not sleep until she comes to me, the sweetest of girls.”

Reverse: “Cut down Ballincus, of Lollii, so that he falls down from his chariot, and cannot outride me, and you, whatever daemon you are, I beg you so that she comes to me out of love and desire for me.”

⁶² The reverse of this *defixio* is too fragmented to provide a meaningful translation.

⁶³ For example: DT 264, DT 250, DT 253, DT 293.

Although it has been suggested that Alimbeu, Columbeu, and Petalimbeu, inscribed on the obverse, are *voces mysticae*,⁶⁴ they could very well have been the names of different *daemones*.

On DT 265 we also find names of two targeted persons. Firstly, on the obverse we read the name Victoria, who is born to ♀ (*Victoriam, quem peperit Suavulva*), lines 4-6.⁶⁵ The used formula is typical for *defixiones*. In order to bind the correct target, the author would use *quem peperit*, following with the name of the target's mother. In this case, the name of the mother could have been unknown. The author therefore used *suavulva* to emphasize that Victoria was born from 'her womb' and followed the formula's matrilineal descent.

On the reverse we read the name Ballincus. Lollii remains an obscure person, but he could have been the owner of the horses that were used in the races, as is suggested by Audollent, making Ballincus a charioteer.⁶⁶ We do not have the name of the author, or their sex. It is likely that the author is a male figure, and that he and Ballincus were rivals in the races.⁶⁷ The author turned to the *daemones* to win over the love of Victoria. She might even have been more impressed with the author if he would win the races, thus he asked for some divine support – or intervention – during the races too.

Women are often seen as the initiators of curses in both premodern and modern stereotypes, especially when curses concern the topics of love and desire. Within this category in the Roman North African corpus, we see that this is not necessarily the case. Here, men are the majority of the initiators of the curses, and even some sentiments of jealousy are visible (DT 265).⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Urbanová, *Latin Curse Tablets* 23; Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (2001) 115-116.

⁶⁵ We see the same name and formula appear on DT 264. That *defixio* is fragmented. Most of it is written in Greek, there are various inscribed *signa magicae* that could be either a nail, or a sword, and there is a line. Above the line we read: *Victoriam quem peperit Suavulva*. Underneath the line we read: *puella[rum deli] [ciae]*. The *defixiones* DT 264 and DT 265 are likely to be related.

⁶⁶ Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 363-364.

⁶⁷ The *pronomina possessiva* is masculine, see lines 7-8: 'with passion for me' (*amore meo*).

⁶⁸ Irene Salvo also highlights the importance of emotions. Emotions frequently prompted the dedication of *defixiones* and jealousy was an important one. See: Salvo, 'Experiencing curses: neurobehavioral traits of ritual and spatiality in the Roman Empire' 161.

Competition

DT 265 is a *defixio* that falls into two categories. Here, love and competition cross paths. However, this is the only *defixio* from the Roman North Africa corpus analysed in this study that does so. What stands out is that the *defixiones* within this category are found in various locations. In Carthage we find them in or near the amphitheatre ($n = 6$) and in unknown locations ($n = 4$). The *defixiones* found in Hadrumetum within this category ($n = 24$) are found on the necropolis. It is therefore not necessarily the case that the location in which the *defixiones* were found is decisive for the reasoning behind the curse.

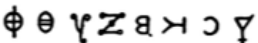
Many *defixiones* in this category seem to be related to one or another as they have the same names inscribed on them, as well as similar formulae. The names on the *defixiones* that can be identified in this category belong to charioteers, horses, and divine forces. For example, DT 273, which reads:

Obverse: *Sarbasmisarab* [signa magica] / *Delicaltanu Capri* / *a Volu[cer N]ervicus* / *Basilius Nilus Scintilla Hilari* / *nus Poli[d]romus Delicatus Marru* / *sius Blandus Profugus Pretiosus* / *Gemmatus Amor Pelops* [Z]efurus / *Alcastrus Attonitus Roseus* / *Germanicus Celestinus Cla* / *rus Salutaris Socrates co* / *mes haec nomina hominum* / *et equorum que dedi vobis* / *cadan precor bos Sarbasmi* / *sarab* [signa magica]

Reverse: *Feiub*

Translation, obverse: “Sarbasmisarab [signa magica] 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, companions; may the names of these men and horses which I gave to you, fall, I ask to you. Sarbasmisarab [signa magica].”

Reverse: “Feiub”

The obverse of this *defixio* starts and ends with *Sarbasmisarab*, a *voces mystica*, followed by eight *signa magica*: .⁶⁹ On this *defixio* we read 26 names, which,

⁶⁹ On DT 272, DT 273, and DT 274 we find the same *voces mystica* and *signa magica*. Also, the names of the horses that are inscribed on the *defixiones* match. There are some differences in the remaining texts inscribed on

according to Audollent, all belong to horses.⁷⁰ In the lines 11-13, the author inscribed ‘the names of these men and horses’ (*haec nomina hominum et equorum*). Therefore, it is likely that the 26 names that are inscribed belong to both horses and men, these men probably being their charioteers. The author of the *defixio* is unknown, but we might assume that they were rivals, as they wish that the names mentioned, fell during the races.

In Roman North Africa we find 34 *defixiones* within the category ‘competition’. Only five of these contain the names of women. Their names solely function as the standard formula, in which the name of the mother of the target is mentioned in order to have the right target of the curse. DT 247 is an example of this:

[...] / [occi] / dite / exter / minate vulnerate Gallicu quen / peperit Prima in
ista ora in am / piteatri corona et ar[...]a[...]a[...] / ludes orno[...]pe oc
ter[...]a[...]ias / gula[...]neiu / que p[...]ave / rite oc tene il / li manus obliga
[...] / [...] obture / non liget ur[su] ursos / [...] / par ill[...]u[...]ra[...]orat /
[...] / obliga illi pede[s] m[e] / m[br]a sensus me / [signa magica] dulla /
oblige Gallicum quen peperit Prima ut / neque ursu neque tauru singulis
plagis oc / cida[t n]eque binis plagis occidt neque ternis / plagis oc[ci]dat
tauru ursu per nomen / dei vivi omnipotentis ut perficiatis iam iam / cito cito
allidat illu ursus et vulneret illu

Translation: “[...] kill, destroy, hurt Gallicus, whom Prima bore, at that hour during the games in the amphitheatre and [...] 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 out, now, now, quickly, quickly. Let the bear strike him and hurt him.”

This *defixio* is very fragmented; the lines 8-10 and 12 cannot be fully reconstructed. At the top of the *defixio*, there are various figures inscribed. On the right side, we find a spear (*hasta*). In

the *defixiones*, but the message is the same: the names that are inscribed have to fall. It is therefore likely that they are related to each other. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 378-380.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 379-380.

the middle, there is a standing figure with the head of a snake. According to Audollent, this could represent the god Thyphon-Seth. On the left side, we find something that resembles a thunderbolt.⁷¹

Gallicus is the target of this hostile *defixio*, and his name is inscribed twice. His name is followed by the formula *quem peperit*.⁷² We see this same formula in DT 248, DT 249, DT 250, DT 253, DT 263, DT 264 and the above discussed DT 265.⁷³ Within this category of competition, one could argue that women play a marginal role. However, the *quem peperit* formula is used on *defixiones* to make sure the right target was cursed by the *daemones* and deities. Matrilineal descent was the only way to ensure this. Therefore, women functioned as anchors of identity.

Legal

In Roman North Africa, *defixiones* have been found that can be categorized as legal curses. These *defixiones* are characterised by the notion that the victims are to be silenced so that they cannot testify.⁷⁴ In this category, names can be identified ($n = 42$), of which a quarter belong to women (Table 1). What is striking, is that two women are likely to be identified as the author of a *defixio*. These will be discussed below.

⁷¹ Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae* 336-337.

⁷² On the *defixio* there are multiple “spelling errors” and in this case *quen* should have been *quem*.

⁷³ DT 248: “[...] *Tziolu q(eum) p(eperit) [Rest]uta [...] A(desicu)la(m) q(uem) p(eperit) Victoria [...]*.” The part *Adesiculam quem peperit Victoria* is repeated three times on this *defixio*. DT 249: “[...] *T]zeiolu(m) q(uem) p(eperit) Restu[t]a eto [Ade]siola(m) q(uem) p(eperit) Victoria*.” DT 250: “[...] *Maurussum venatore[m] quem peperit Felicitas [...]*.” On this *defixio* the part *Maurussum quem peperit Felicitas* is repeated thirteen times. It is repeated in different declensions, both on the obverse and the reverse. DT 253: “[...] *[Vi]ncent[io] T[ar]it[io]ni quen peperit Concordia [...]*.” This *defixio* is very fragmented, but the *quem peperit* formula is repeated at least three times. DT 263: “*Laelianus Saturninus quos peperit Aquilia Saturnina*.” DT 264: “[...] *Victoria quem peperit Suavulva [...]*.” DT 265: “[...] *Victoriam quem peperit Suavulva [...]*.” Urbanová suggests that DT 300 also contains a *quem peperit* formula (*quem peperit vulva*). See also: George Luck, *Arcana Mundi* for the basic formula in which “whose mother is Z” was an important part.

⁷⁴ Urbanová, *Latin Curse Tablets* 327-332.

Legal <i>defixio</i>	Number of female names	Number of male names
DT 216	1	8
DT 217	1	2
DT 218	2	5
DT 219	1	2
DT 220	1	5
DT 221	0	2
DT 222	3	5
DT 223		
DT 224	1	1
DT 229		
DT 300		1
DT 303		1
Total number	10	32

Table 1: The number of legible and identifiable names inscribed on the *defixiones* that were categorized as legal.

The first of the *defixiones* that was initiated by a woman is DT 219:

Obverse: *iudico ilu quiq[ue i]mitati / facias ilos muttos adversu Atlosam / ac ligo o(b)ligo lingu / as illoro medias / extremas novissi / mas ne quit possin / t respondere cont / ra facias illos mut / uos muturungallos / mutulos Crispum / arinis et Marinem / parinis [oblig]o lingua / s iloro isulcas ilo[s ... i]los ar / tu[s] l corn[...]ru[...]tisa⁷⁵*

Translation, obverse: “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 marinis [?] and Marinus parinis [?] I bind [?] their tongues...”

⁷⁵ On the reverse of this *defixio* there is a figure of a *sportula* inscribed, suggested by Audollent. A *sportula* is a basket that usually contained gifts and was given by patrons to their clients.

On this *defixio*, three names are legible: Atlosa, Crispus, and Marinus. Urbanová suggests that, of these names, Atlosa could have been the initiator and author of the curse. She is to be protected from Crispus and Marinus.⁷⁶

DT 220 is the second *defixio* written by a female author:

Obverse: *Domina [Te]rra [...]nase[...] / Germanum mutum [...] / dicu
accommodes Opsecr[...]a / Isperatae custodes a[...]o[...] / Martialim
Cosconio Ianu / arium et Rufum / ut e[...]*

Reverse: *sunt ibi mutos et m[e] / tu pleno[s] facias qurum / nomina h[ic] abeas
[adver] / sus Ops[ec]r[...]a Isperata[e...] / [...] adversus eam lo / qui no pissit
inimi[ci] / adversus ea loqui n[on] / [possint ...]*

Translation, obverse: “Lady Earth, make Germanus mute [...] arrange? that
Obsecra, of Sperata, guard [...] Martialis, Cosconius, Iuanuarius and Rufus,
[just] as [those who]

Reverse: are here, make them mute and filled of fear, [those] whose names
you have here [inscribed]. Against? Obsecra, of Sperata[...] may they be
unable to speak against her, the enemies to speak against her [...].”

The text of this *defixio* is very fragmented, which makes it difficult to correctly interpret the meaning behind and reasoning of the curse. It is however clear that Domina Terra⁷⁷ is invoked by Obsecra, who is the daughter or the freedwomen of Sperata, the author of this *defixio*. The names Germanus, Martialis, Cosconius, Ianuarius and Rufus are also legible on this *defixio*, but only for Germanus we can be sure he is targeted as he is cursed to be muted. Being muted is a common feature in the *defixiones* labelled as legal. The *defixiones* in this category in some way or form all bind the tongues of the victims of the curse so that they cannot testify, which the initiators feared.

Within this category the common feature is the muting of the targeted. The names on the *defixiones* belong to men and women, free people and slaves, belonging to various layers of the ancient society in Roman North Africa.⁷⁸ We see that not only men are the authors and

⁷⁶ Urbanová, *Latin Curse Tablets* 466.

⁷⁷ Domina Terra is likely to be a deity, although this cannot be stated surely.

⁷⁸ For *defixiones* mentioning the names of slaves, see for example: DT 216 and DT 222.

initiators of the curses, but also women, as is illustrated by DT 219 and DT 220. One can argue that there are only two *defixiones* in this corpus of which women are the initiator and therefore it is not sufficient to make strong arguments. However, these two *defixiones* do show that women were active and present in the public sphere. These women had agency, not only cursing their targets but also dealing with legal matters. This brings some nuance to the dominant views that women were strictly present in the private sphere.

Concluding remarks

Roman North Africa is a diverse region and deserves more academic attention. As has been illustrated by the discussed *defixiones*, they provide some valuable information on the ancient Roman North African societies.

What is most striking within the category that has been first discussed, is that men turn out to be the initiators of the curses. This contradicts the dominant discourse of women being the initiators of curses, and especially love spells; the dominant ancient and modern discourse of women being witches who were pursuing younger men with their devious tricks. What we see here is that women are the targeted group, and men are pursuing them through spells and the help of deities.

It turns out that in the category of competition, men are both the initiators of the curses, as well as the targets. The names that are legible on the *defixiones* belong to men and to horses. Only a couple of female names can be discerned. These names served a particular purpose; these women were the mothers of the men that were victims, ensuring the right person was targeted. These mothers proved to be a marker of identity, and within the *quem peperit*-formula of the curse had an instrumental role.

The final category that has been discussed is the category 'legal.' Of the 42 names that are legible, a small quarter belongs to women. Two of these women were responsible for two of the *defixiones* within this category. This illustrates that women were not only bound to the private sphere but were able to participate in legal matters themselves. They were part of the public life within Roman North Africa, but they were a minority in the corpus.

This chapter has illustrated that the historical truth is more nuanced than the dominant stereotypes prevail. Within the Roman North African corpus, the majority of names belonged to men, both as initiators and targets of the curses. Within the category of competition, many names belong to the horses. They were bound so that they would not have a chance to win the races. The smallest group of names belonged to women, and we find them in places that

contradict the stereotypes: as targets of love spells and participating in legal matters. Just like men, women had agency, and they actively participated in the Roman North African societies.

Roman Britain

Introduction

In the following chapter the focus will be on Roman Britain. Ideally, in order to be able to make a comparison between the structure, context, historical agents and discourse of the *defixiones* of Roman Britain with those of Roman North Africa, the circumstances in which both collections were found would be similar – at least to a certain extent. This is not the case, as will become clear in the following chapter. I will address the consequences of this discrepancy in the conclusion. The analysis of the *defixiones* in this chapter will follow the same structure of the previous chapter. In this chapter too, the corpus of *defixiones* will be discussed first. Followed by the broader context of Roman Britain and the scholarly findings about women in Roman Britain. This chapter will close with an analysis of the *defixiones* and some concluding remarks.

The corpus of Roman Britain

The Romano British corpus is based on the *defixiones* that have been collected in Colleen M. Bradley's *Romano-British Curse Tablets. The Religious and Spiritual Romanization of Ancient Britain*. This book was published in 2011 and contains a collection of 125 *defixiones* that have been found throughout Britain. Bradley's selection, which does not contain all the *defixiones* that have been found in Britain, is based on the studies of the British historian, archaeologist, and philosopher Robin George Collingwood and those of the British archaeologist Roger Simon Ouin Tomlin. Both Collingwood and Tomlin have made great contributions to the study of Roman Britain, and the study and translation of the Romano British *defixiones*.⁷⁹

For the database of this thesis, some alterations have been made. Firstly, in her database, Bradley included several artifacts that are possibly *defixiones*. These, however, have not been recognized as such by other specialists and therefore they will not be in the database made for this thesis.⁸⁰ One *defixio* in the collection of Bradley is fully written in Greek and a second *defixio* is fully written in Celtic, which is why these two tablets will be left out of the database as well.⁸¹ The Romano British corpus in this thesis then consists of 120 *defixiones*. These tablets

⁷⁹ Furthermore, Bradley used their translations and added her own interpretations and adjustments. Colleen M. Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets. The Religious and Spiritual Romanization of Ancient Britain* (2011) 85.

⁸⁰ This concerns three artefacts: CMB 82, CMB 95 and CMB 106.

⁸¹ The *defixio* written in Celtic is CMB 31, and the one written Greek is CMB 97.

have both been found in a folded and unfolded state, some of which were pierced with nails. A few have *charaktères* engraved on them, several have the text written in mirror image, and some have the text written from right to left but in correct order. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, it is difficult to accurately date the making and casting of the *defixiones*, especially when they are written in capital letters. However, numerous tablets, found in Britain, are roughly dated between the first century BCE and the fourth century CE, based on the Old Roman Cursive, and New Roman Cursive writing on them.⁸²

More than half of the *defixiones* in the database have been found in the waters of the natural spring of Bath ($n = 68$). The city of Bath, which is also known under the Latin name *Aquae Sulis* (the Waters of Sulis), was a small town in *Provincia Britannia*. In the second half of the first century CE, near the site of the natural spring, a temple was built. This temple was dedicated to the goddess Sulis-Minerva. The earliest discoveries of this temple were made at the end of the eighteenth century. Since then, more of the temple has been uncovered although much of the temple is still hidden beneath the yard of the abbey and the surrounding streets and buildings.⁸³

As is visible on Map 2 below, the *defixiones* of Roman Britain were found in numerous sites and cities, with Bath taking in more than half of the corpus. The second largest selection was found in Uley ($n = 14$), a village just 40 kilometres north of Bath. There, a temple dedicated to Mercury was built at the beginning of the second century CE on West Hill.⁸⁴ Apart from CMB 112, which was found in the masonry building there, all the *defixiones* were found at the temple.⁸⁵ However, the temple on West Hill was not the place where the *defixiones* were deposited when they were cast.

In the second half of the twentieth century, this temple was excavated. The archaeologists responsible for this excavation, Ann Woodward and Peter Leach, concluded that the stone temple from the second century was demolished at the end of the fourth century, after which it became a sub-Roman Christian church. They also believe that in the pre-Roman period

⁸²Ann Woodward and Peter Leach, *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977-9* (1993) 114.

⁸³Barry Cunliffe, *Roman Bath Discovered* (1971) 8, 17-22; Thomas F.C. Blagg, 'The Date of the Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath' in: *Britannia* 10 (1979) 101-107, 101-103; Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 13-17; Guy de la Bédoyère, *The Real Lives of Roman Britain* (2015) 107-108.

⁸⁴Roger Simon Ouin Tomlin, 'A Fourth-Century "Curse Tablet" from Uley' in: Ralph Haeussler and Anthony King (eds.), *Celtic Religions in the Roman Period. Personal, Local, and Global* (2017) 71-78, 71.

⁸⁵Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 119-124.

– before the stone temple – the site was probably already perceived as sacral.⁸⁶ Furthermore, they concluded that the tablets were not situated in their primary context but were found in ‘deposits of votive material which had been spread over the demolished and robbed remains’ of the structure.⁸⁷

In the other locations where the *defixiones* from the database were found, apart from London ($n = 5$) and Ratcliffe-on-Soar ($n = 3$), either one or two *defixiones* per location were found that are part of the database. These *defixiones* were found in different places, varying from a garden to different beaches, rivers, and shores, from Roman temples to Roman amphitheatres. They were also found in a Roman fort and a bathhouse of another Roman fort, in a Romano British cemetery, in a Roman oven, and in the courtyard of a Roman house. Lastly, some have been found in a well, underneath a house, and in a Roman villa. There are two *defixiones* of which the exact location of where they were found remains unknown. CMB 124 was found somewhere in the South of Britain and CMB 125 either in Avon or Gloucester. Because the exact location in which they were found is unknown, they are represented in Map 2.



Map 2: Roman Britain with the find spots of the *defixiones* mentioned in this thesis. Photo credits author.

⁸⁶ Woodward and Leach, *The Uley Shrines* 113.

⁸⁷ Ibidem; Tomlin, ‘A Fourth-Century “Curse Tablet” from Uley’ 71.

Roman Britain: a context

In the first century CE, the Roman invasions in Britain began, and the British territory became a Roman province: *Provincia Britannia*. Yet, there were some serious anti-Roman sentiments and the Britons revolted against them. The occupation of the Romans lasted from 43 CE to 410 CE, the period to which is traditionally referred as Roman Britain.

Before the Romans arrived on British territory, the inhabitants could be distinguished into two broader cultural groups, Iron A and Iron B. In the south and east of Britain, we find the Iron A peoples. They were migrants from Gaul and can be traced back to the seventh century BCE. In the North, the Bronze Age people saw developments in their small communities, as the pressure of migration progressed. These groups merged and are referred to as Iron B.⁸⁸ The Iron Age British people lived in tribes, where family ties were important social units.⁸⁹ Lindsay Allason-Jones describes Iron Age Britain as an introspective country where few people had an interest in the rest of the world. The coastal areas, especially in the east, had links with the Continent because of trade. But further inland there were not many links to the rural areas and the merchants and travellers that entered the British territories in the east.⁹⁰

When the Romans arrived in the first century, the rural British territories gradually evolved into a more cosmopolitan nature. And a generation after the revolts of 61 CE, the intermarriage between Romans and Britons slowly started. This resulted in, as Allason-Jones states: “an extraordinary mixture of races and languages.”⁹¹ This is supported by bioarchaeological evidence.⁹² This type of research can provide additional knowledge on these complex and diverse ancient societies. In her study, Rebecca Gowland advocated the importance of the study of bones as they are ‘the remnants of past social processes relating to different life course stages.’⁹³

The diversity of cultures and the processes of acculturation that followed the cross-cultural contacts are observable in religion too. The temple of Sulis-Minerva is recognized as a clear example of these processes that happened after the arrival of the Romans. The religious beliefs and practices of the Britons and Romans were similar in the sense that, as Bradley states: “They both believed that there were numerous divine forces in nature, and that by gaining their

⁸⁸ John Wachter, *Roman Britain* (1978) 15-17.

⁸⁹ Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain* (2005) 184.

⁹⁰ Ibidem. See also: Anthony Birley, *The People of Roman Britain* (1988).

⁹¹ Ibidem, 185.

⁹² Rebecca Gowland, ‘Embodied Identities in Roman Britain’ in: *Britannia* 48 (2017) 177-194, 184-187.

⁹³ Ibidem, 189.

favor, the divine elements could help individuals and the community.”⁹⁴ Before the arrival of the Romans, British religion was fragmented. There were many local variations, rituals, deities, and superstitions. However, the details are not clear as the ancient Britons were illiterate and we, therefore, can only rely on the descriptions of other ancient people, which in turn can be biased.⁹⁵

It is not known whether the Britons or the Romans built the temple of Sulis-Minerva in Bath. There are scholars who state that the temple was built right after the invasion of the Romans and that it was a result of Romanization.⁹⁶ However, as discussed in the previous chapter, this implies a Roman superiority over the local and regional cultures, which is a too unnuanced perspective. Sulis is a Celtic goddess, and she was connected to the sacred spring in Bath. She syncretized with the Roman goddess Minerva, but Miranda J. Aldhouse-Green argues that Sulis appeared dominant as her name was consistently put first.⁹⁷ This is not entirely the case, as on CMB 18 the name of Minerva is written before Sulis (*Minervae de[ae] Suli donavi*). Although it is not exactly known what the attributes of Sulis were before the Roman invasion, the *defixiones* that were found in the sacred spring do suggest that after the amalgamation with Minerva, the goddess was perceived as the goddess of justice.⁹⁸

The amalgamation of Sulis and Minerva illustrates how processes of acculturation occurred in Roman Britain regarding religion. Bradley states that the British religion was not damaged by the Roman invasions.⁹⁹ However, the Romans actively suppressed Druidism. They believed the Druids engaged in magical practices and that they promoted *superstitio*.¹⁰⁰ According to Wachter, the annihilation of the Druids had two principal factors. The Romans did not like their involvement in political matters, along with their anti-Roman attitude, in addition to them practicing human sacrifice.¹⁰¹ Therefore, at the same time the religious beliefs of the

⁹⁴ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 32.

⁹⁵ Wachter, *Roman Britain* 217; Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 32-33. See also: Martin Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (1984).

⁹⁶ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 41.

⁹⁷ Miranda Jane Aldhouse-Green, *The Gods of the Celts* (1986) 155.

⁹⁸ Miranda Jane Aldhouse-Green, “Gallo-British Deities and their Shrines” in: Malcolm Todd (eds.), *A Companion to Roman Britain* (2004) 193-219, 205; Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 42.

⁹⁹ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 42.

¹⁰⁰ Beard, North and Price, *Religions of Rome* 341; Wachter, *Roman Britain* 27.

¹⁰¹ Wachter, *Roman Britain* 217-218.

Romans and Britons merged, some British religious practices were negatively affected by the Roman invasions.

Women in Roman Britain

“When she had finished speaking, she employed a species of divination, letting a hare escape from the fold of her dress” (*Ταῦτα εἰποῦσα λαγὼν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου προήκατο μαντεία τινὶ χρωμένῃ*).¹⁰² With these words Cassius Dio describes Boudica, a Celtic queen who revolted against the Romans in 61 CE. In his *Roman History*, Dio portrays her as a wicked woman with power, wreaking havoc on Roman cities and Romans.¹⁰³ Moreover, in this specific case, he connects her behavioural traits with divination, emphasizing the negative connotations around witchcraft and women practicing it.

In the ancient literary sources, a few women from *Britannia* appear. In the cases of Boudica and Cartimandua, both women were queens from different tribes, who faced the Romans when they invaded *Britannia*. They are described in the works of Tacitus and Cassius Dio. Where Boudica is portrayed as a wicked woman by Cassius Dio, Cartimandua’s louche lifestyle is the topic of conversation in the works of Tacitus.¹⁰⁴ However, as has been addressed before, it is not wise to rely solely on these literary sources, as they are most often biased because of the personal or ideological messages ancient authors tried to put forward. Lindsay Allason-Jones argues that, despite the limited information about their lives, Boudica for example, has been the topic of diverse modern media, like art and film. The modern perceptions strongly emphasize that the images created by for example Tacitus and Cassius Dio influence the views of modern writers and artists and the way they perceive Boudica, as well as the influence of contemporary events.¹⁰⁵

Both Boudica and Cartimandua held respected positions, but to gain more inclusive knowledge about the women in these societies, sources other than literary, are of importance,

¹⁰² Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LXII 6.1.

¹⁰³ Cassius Dio, *Roman History* LXII 7.

¹⁰⁴ For Boudica see: Tacitus’ *Annales* 29-39; Cassius Dio’s *Roman History* LXII 1-12. For Cartimandua see: Tacitus’ *Histories* III 45, and Tacitus’ *Annales* XII 40. See also: I.A. Richmond, ‘Queen Cartimandua’ in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954) 43-52; David Braund, ‘Observations on Cartimandua’ in: *Britannia* 15 (1984) 1-6; Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain* (2005) 3; Lindsay Allason-Jones, ‘Women in Roman Britain’ in: Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Woman in the Ancient World* (2015) 467-478, 468-469.

¹⁰⁵ Allason-Jones, ‘Women in Roman Britain’ 468-469.

too. The names of women appear on tombstones, graffiti, inscribed on jewellery, and other types of inscriptions.¹⁰⁶ Yet, of many of these names, there is no trace of written evidence left.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, as Allason-Jones states: “The epigraphic record is strongly biased towards the upper- and middle-class Romanized population, especially those with links to the military, for they came from a group with a tradition of publicly recording their lives, achievements, and activities.”¹⁰⁸

Another source that proved to be valuable to the knowledge about women in Roman Britain, are the Vindolanda tablets. Research by Anthony Birley, and more recently by Elizabeth E. Greene, proves the presence of women in and near military units. Their studies bring forth a more nuanced view of the military, which is traditionally portrayed as a masculine structure. Birley, uncovered several cases of soldiers being accompanied by their wives in long distance relocations.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, in ‘Female Networks in Military Communities in the Roman West: A View from the Vindolanda Tablets’ Greene seeks to examine and illuminate the character of the communities that surrounded the army in the Roman West. She argues that there was a strong sense of social cohesion around the military units, which included women and children.¹¹⁰ Greene concludes that the Vindolanda tablets show that these military units were robust communities, and that the traditional view of the army as a masculine structure should be nuanced. Wives and children, as well as siblings and parents-in-law regularly travelled with and supported the Roman army.¹¹¹

Shifting the focus from the ancient literary sources to other types of sources, material and epigraphic, proves to be valuable in creating more nuanced views on these ancient societies. Thereby, these other types of sources also challenge the traditional images of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as is shown in the research of both Birley and Greene.

¹⁰⁶ Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain* 187-193.

¹⁰⁷ Allason-Jones, ‘Women in Roman Britain’ 470.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 471.

¹⁰⁹ Greg Woolf, ‘Female Mobility in the Roman West’ in: Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West* (2013) 351-368, 359.

¹¹⁰ Elizabeth E. Greene, ‘Female Networks in Military Communities in the Roman West: A View from the Vindolanda Tablets’ in: Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West* (2013) 369-390, 396-371.

¹¹¹ Ibidem, 378-380.

The Analysis of the *defixiones* from Roman Britain

The corpus of Roman Britain can be divided into four categories: vengeance ($n = 6$), theft ($n = 72$), other ($n = 9$), and unknown ($n = 36$).¹¹² Before analysing the *defixiones* based on their category, a few remarks will be made on the deities to which the Bath and Uley *defixiones* have been addressed. In both locations, the *defixiones* were found on a sacred site specific to one deity each. This did not mean that all the *defixiones* that were found on that site were solely addressed to that particular deity.

Bath

It would not come as a surprise if the larger part of the *defixiones* found in Bath, in the sacred spring of Sulis-Minerva, was dedicated to that goddess. However, this is not the case in the corpus (Table 2). Almost two-third of the *defixiones* from Bath have no specific deity mentioned on them. This is either because a name of a deity has clearly been omitted, or because the tablet is too fragmented, wherefore it is not possible to identify whether a name has been written on it or not. This means these tablets could have been addressed to a deity when they were made and deposited, although this can't be said with certainty as these tablets are too fragmented to be fully reconstructed.¹¹³

A little over a fifth of the *defixiones* are addressed to Sulis, and when adding the tablets that are addressed to Minerva and Sulis-Minerva, they form a little under a third of the corpus from Bath. The remaining tablets are addressed to Mars, an unspecified god as well as an unspecified goddess. Then, there is one last *defixio*, CMB 4, from Bath that is addressed to 'lady goddess.' It is likely that 'lady goddess' refers to Sulis-Minerva, seeing the context in which it was found and the same goes for the *defixio* mentioning the unspecified goddess, which is CMB 54. In the cases where the names have been omitted from the tablets, it could be possible that it was evident that the curse was addressed to Sulis-Minerva, as they were deposited in her sacred spring. On the other hand, several *defixiones* have been found at this site that were addressed to other deities.

¹¹² The total number of unique *defixiones* for the corpus of Roman Britain is 120, three of which fall into two categories. This explains the additional three, when adding up the numbers of the categorized *defixiones*. It concerns CMB 2, which falls into the category 'theft' and 'other' as it speaks of the stealing of a woman or girl named Vilbia, but it could also concern an elopement. The second *defixio* is CMB 74, which fits into both 'theft' and 'other' as it speaks of sabotage. The third *defixio* is CMB 119, which fits into the categories 'theft' and 'vengeance.'

¹¹³ These three points are applicable to all the *defixiones* on which the deity is classified as 'none.'

Deity mentioned on the <i>defixio</i>	Number of times mentioned
god (unspecified)	1
goddess (unspecified)	1
lady goddess	1
Mars	2
Mercury	1
Minerva	1
None	41
Sulis	14
Sulis-Minerva	6
Total	68

Table 2: The identifiable deities on the *defixiones* from Bath.

Uley

A difference between the *defixiones* from Bath and Uley is that, while those from Bath were found in the place where they were originally deposited, those of Uley were not. The tablets were found in deposits of votive material. These deposits were spread over the remains of the temple of Mercury, as has been previously mentioned. Nevertheless, half of the *defixiones* have been addressed to Mercury (Table 3), implying that even though they were not found in the place they were originally deposited, they were likely cast and deposited nearby the temple of Mercury and their finding place.

There is another noteworthy *defixio* in the selection from Uley, which is CMB 107. This *defixio* was initially addressed to the deity Mars-Silvanus, but this name was scratched away and replaced by the name of Mercury. We can only guess why the author of the curse changed the name of the deities. The *defixio* could, for example, have been standardized or pre-made, but the changing of the name shows that the initiator had agency and was able to make their own decision concerning to which deity the curse was addressed. As the scratched-out name is still legible, both deities are noted in Table 3.

Deity mentioned on the <i>defixio</i>	Number of times mentioned
god (unspecified)	1
Mars-Mercury	1
Mars-Silvanus	1
Mercury	7
None	5
Total	15

Table 3: The identifiable deities on the *defixiones* from Uley.

No specific comments will be made on the addressed deities regarding the other sites where the *defixiones* have been found. This has two reasons. First, the number of *defixiones* per location is too small to draw valid conclusions from. Second, unlike Bath and Uley, the other *defixiones* have not been found in a temple dedicated to a specific deity. Therefore, it is expected to find a bigger variety of deities that are addressed by the initiators of the curse.

Vengeance

There are six *defixiones* that belong to the category ‘vengeance’, of which two will be discussed in further detail. The first *defixio* is a curse that is addressed to the goddess Sulis-Minerva. *Defixio* CMB 40 reads:

*deae Sul[i] Minervae / rogo [s]ancitissimam / maiestatem tuam u[t] / vindices
ab his [q]ui [fra] / [ude] fecerunt ut ei[s] per] / mittas nec s[o]mnum / [nec...]*

Translation: “To the goddess Sulis Minerva, I ask your most sacred majesty that you take vengeance on those who have done me wrong, that you permit them neither sleep nor [...]”

As there are no names on the tablet, it cannot be traced what the gender of the writer of the curse was, nonetheless they asked Sulis-Minerva to avenge them. This curse is fragmented, the ending is missing and cannot be fully reconstructed, yet it follows a formula that can be read on more *defixiones* in the corpus of Roman Britain. The initiator asked that the goddess permitted those who have done them wrong no sleep, along with some other unknown things.

In other *defixiones*, within this category and the others, a similar formula can be read, where the initiator asks that the victim is not permitted sleep, nor health, nor safety, nor had permission to drink and eat. In most cases, this wish is also placed on the victims' family.¹¹⁴ It is therefore likely that the initiator of this *defixio* wished similar things upon the accursed person.

Where CMB 40 is initiated by one person, it seems that the *defixio* CMB 119 was initiated by at least two people and possibly more:

Obverse: *carta qu[a]e merurio dona / tur ut manecilis qui per[i]erunt / ultionem requirat qui illos / invalaviit ut illi sangu[in]em [e]t sanita / tem tolla[t] qui ipsos manicili[o]s tulit / [u]t quantocicius illi pareat quod / deum mercurium r[o]gamus [...] ura*
 Reverse: *q[...]os nc u[...]lat*

Translation, obverse: “The sheet of lead which is given to Mercury, that he exact vengeance for the gloves which have been lost, that he take blood and health from the person who has stolen them, that he provide what we ask the god Mercury [...] as quickly as possible for the person who has taken these gloves”

Reverse: “[...]”

This curse seems to be initiated by more than one person, as they write “we ask” (*rogamus*). They ask the god Mercury to exact vengeance for the gloves that have been stolen. This is where two categories explicitly overlap. The wishes of the initiators in the corpus of the *defixiones* from Roman Britain seem to be more hostile in comparison to those of Roman North Africa, at least those analysed for this study. However, DT 247 might be an exception for the Roman North African corpus.

Theft

In the category ‘theft’, there are several names clearly legible on the *defixiones*. In this category, 90 names can be identified, some of which belonged to the initiator of the curse and some of the accursed thieves. Of these names, the majority belong to men (Table 4). These names are

¹¹⁴ See for a similar formula: CMB 7, CMB 22, CMB 38, CMB 46, CMB 48, CMB 50, CMB 79, CMB 98, CMB 109, CMB 110, CMB 116, CMB 121.

both male and female, and belong to both slaves and free people. This provides the opportunity to find out what the gender was of the person who initiated the curses, some of which will be discussed below.

<i>Defixio</i> concerning theft	Number of female names	Number of male names
CMB 4	8	12
CMB 5	1	2
CMB 7		2
CMB 13	1	
CMB 14	1	1
CMB 17		1
CMB 21	1	
CMB 23		1
CMB 24		1
CMB 30		3
CMB 37		1
CMB 38		1
CMB 44	1	
CMB 54		1
CMB 56	1	
CMB 57	1	
CMB 59		1
CMB 75		1
CMB 79		1
CMB 80		3
CMB 81		1
CMB 83		1
CMB 84	3	17
CMB 85	1	3
CMB 93		2
CMB 98		1
CMB 102		1
CMB 103	1	1

CMB 105	1	4
CMB 107	1	
CMB 108		3
CMB 109		1
CMB 115	1	
Total number	23	67

Table 4: The number of legible and identifiable names inscribed on the *defixiones* that were categorized ‘theft’.

An example of women asking the divine forces to help them reclaim their stolen items is CMB 14, which can be read below:

Obverse: *Basilia donat in templum Martis ani / lum argentuem si servus si liber [ta] / m[e]dius fuerit vel aliquis de hoc / noverit ut sanguin[e] et liminibus ob Primurudem*

Reverse: *omnibus membris configatur vel et / iam intestinis excomesis [om]nibus habet[at] / si qui anilum involavit vet qui medius / fuerit*

Translation, obverse: “Basilia gives to the temple of Mars her silver ring, and asks that so long as someone whether slave or free have been privy to or knows anything about it he may be cursed in his blood and eyes and”
Reverse: “every limb, or even have all his intestines eaten away if he has stolen the ring or been privy to it.”

A common feature of the curses concerning theft is the initiator of the curse, while also being the victim of theft, offering that which had been stolen to the deity or divine force they ask for help. Apart from the female name *Basilia*, there is a second name on this *defixio*. The male name *Primurudes* is on the obverse side of the tablet, written perpendicularly to the other writing on the right side of the tablet. Both names are not very common in Roman Britain and are, as Mark W.C. Hassall and Tomlin state, unattested in Roman Britain.¹¹⁵ There is even a possibility

¹¹⁵ Mark W.C. Hassall and R.S.O. Tomlin, ‘II. Inscriptions’ in: *Britannia* 14 (1983) 336-356, 336, 350.

that the male name is linked to a gladiatorial establishment, as two leading members of this establishment bore titles that are similar to this name.¹¹⁶

It is not certain whether Primurudes was the one who had stolen the silver ring or was somehow involved. On the Romano British *defixiones* a formula is used when the accursed person is unknown. This formula could either be short, as is the case in CMB 14, “whether slave or free” (*si servus si liber*), or it could be elaborated on such as in CMB 24, “whether free or slave, whether free woman or slave woman, whether boy or girl” (*si liber si servus si liber si serva si puer si puella*). There are also *defixiones* on which this formula is repeated several times.¹¹⁷

In the corpus there is only one exception, which is CMB 4:

*seu gen[tilli]s seu C / h[r]istianus quaecumque utrum vir / utrum mulier utrum
puer utrum puella / utrim servus utrum liber mihi Annian / o mantutene de
bursa mea s[e]x argente[o]s / furaverit tu d[o]mina dea ad ipso perxi[g] / e
[eo]s si mihi per [f]raudem aliquam INDEP / REGSTVM dederit nec sic ipsi
dona sed ut sangu / inem suum EPVTES qui mihi hoc inrogaverit¹¹⁸*

Translation: “Whether pagan or Christian, whoever it is, whether man or woman, boy or girl, slave or free has stolen from me, Annianus, if Matutina, [has taken] six argentei from my purse, you, lady goddess, exact them from him. If through some deceit he had give me [...] and do not thus give to him but [...] his blood who has invoked this on me [...]”

On this *defixio*, instead of *si* the word *utrum* is used in the formula. Furthermore, CMB 4 is also the only *defixio* that addresses the faith of the unknown accursed person. It is explicitly stated at the beginning of the curse “whether pagan or Christian” (*seu gentillis seu Christianus*). Here, a distinct division is made between someone pagan, someone coming from their own *gens*, or someone Christian, someone coming from elsewhere.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem. Hassall and Tomlin speak of the *summa rudis* and *secunda rudis*.

¹¹⁷ Examples of *defixiones* with this formula are: CMB 7, CMB 18, CMB 19, CMB 21, CMB 22, CMB 28, CMB 37, CMB 38, CMB 41, CMB 43, CMB 44, CMB 48, CMB 50, CMB 51, CMB 53, CMB 54, CMB 57, CMB 59, CMB 62, CMB 64, CMB 66, CMB 68, CMB 72, CMB 73, CMB 75, CMB 81, CMB 83, CMB 102, CMB 104, CMB 107, CMB 109, CMB 111, CMB 115, CMB 116, CMB 122, CMB 124, CMB 125.

¹¹⁸ On the reverse of this *defixio* there is a list of names written, which will not be discussed in depth.

Whereas in CMB 14 the victim of theft was a woman, in the case of *defixio* CMB 85 the victim of theft is a man. The curse reads:

*qu[ia]rgentios Sabiniani fura / verunt id est Similis Cupitus Lochita / hos deus
siderabit in hoc septiso / nio et peto ut vitam suam per / dant ante dies septem*

Translation: “Those who have stolen the silver coins of Sabiniaus, that is Similis, Cupitus, Lochita, a god will strike down in this Septizonium,¹¹⁹ and I ask that they lose their life before seven days.”

Sabiniaus’ coins have been stolen and he is asking an unspecified god to punish the thief. Sabiniaus has three suspects, so it seems: Similis, Cupitus and Lochita; two men and one woman. They all risk losing their life for stealing his coins.

As has been pointed out before, the Romano British curses seem to be more hostile. This could be linked to the difference in categories between the two case studies. What it does give an insight into, are the emotions that hide behind the curses. This concerns emotions that are not unknown to our modern society: anger, rage, distraught. Moreover, emotions frequently prompted people to start making *defixiones*. This is in line with the findings of Irene Salvo’s study on the neurobehavioral traits of ritual practices, where she emphasizes that jealousy is frequently the incites the dedication of *defixiones*.¹²⁰

The final *defixio* that will be discussed within the category ‘theft’ is CMB 84. This *defixio* functions as an example of crime within the slave quarters. The tablet describes the theft of a cloak, and names a list of nineteen possible thieves:

*daeo Maglo [do] euum qui frudum / fecit de padoio [do] elameum qui / furtum
[fecit] de padaoium saum / qui sa[q]um Sevandi involva / vit / S[i]l]vester
Ri[g]omandus / S[e]nilis Venustinus / Vorena / Calaminus / Felicianus /
Rufaedo / Vendicina / Ingenuinus / Iuventius / Alocus / Cennosus / Germanus
/ Senedo / Cunovendus / Regalis / Ni[g]ella / S[enic]ianus / [do] antae nonum
diem / illum tollat / qui sa[g]um involauit / Servandi*

¹¹⁹ Also known as a Nymphaeum. A monument in ancient Greece and Rome that was consecrated to the nymphs, particularly the nymphs that were connected to springs.

¹²⁰ Salvo, ‘Experiencing curses: neurobehavioral traits of ritual and spatiality in the Roman Empire’ 161.

Translation: “I give to the god Maglus him who did wrong from the slave quarters. I give him who did theft the cloak from the slave quarters, who stole the cloak of Servandus: Silverster, Rigomandus, Senilis, Venustinus, Vorvena, Calaminus, Felicianus, Rufaedo, Vendicina, Ingeniunus, Iuventius, Alocus, Cennosus, Germanus, Sendo, Cunovendus, Regalis, Nigella, Senicianus. I give that the god Maglus before the ninth day take away him who stole the cloak of Servandus.”

As can be read, the cloak of Servandus had been stolen, and the god Maglus is asked for help. Servandus, who is likely the writer of the tablet, wishes to take away the life of the person who stole his cloak, with the help of the divine forces of Maglus. The tablet exemplifies the acculturation of Roman Britain well. Maglus is a deity of Celtic origin.¹²¹ Addressing him on this *defixio*, a practice that came from the Mediterranean world, and writing in Latin shows the intertwining of local and foreign customs.¹²²

The names on the tablet are of importance too. This *defixio* was found in the courtyard of a Roman home. There is a great chance that the nineteen names on the tablet were the names of slaves that belonged to that household. The names are also a mixture of Celtic and Roman names, and it is possible to distinguish male ($n = 16$) and female ($n = 3$) names. One of the names, the name Senicianus, was deleted by the author of the *defixio*, although his name is still legible. There is a possibility that the author of the curse had mistakenly written the name of Senicianus on the tablet, or that he might not have been a suspect of the theft after all, which is

¹²¹ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 45-46.

¹²² This is also visible in several *defixiones* from both Roman North Africa and Roman Britain. There are curses that were addressed to $\text{I}\alpha\omega$, the name of a divine force. There is a lot of debate about the origins of this divinity. Some scholars argue that its origins are either Jewish or Hebrew, referring to YHWH. Others state that it has biblical connections, and a third group argues that its origin is Greek, and it composes all deities. The name $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ appears on: DT 243, DT 253DT 264, DT 271, DT 286, DT 291, DT 293, DT 294 as well as CMB 71 and CB 123. See: Ra‘anan Boustan and Joseph E. Sanzo, ‘Christian Magicians, Jewish Magical Idioms, and the Shared Magical Culture of Late Antiquity’ in: *Harvard Theological Review* 110 (2017) 217-240; Nathanael Andrade, ‘The Jewish Tetragrammaton: Secrecy, Community, and Prestige among Greek-Writing Jews of the Early Roman Empire’ in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period* 46.2 (2015) 198-223; Richard L. Gordon and Francisco Marco Simón (eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West Papers from the International Conference held at the University of Zaragoza 30 Sept.–1 Oct. 2005* (2010); Attilio Mastrocinque, ‘Creating One’s Own Religion: Intellectual Choices’ in: Jörg Rüpke (eds.), *A Companion to Roman Religion* (2007) 378-391.

why his name was deleted. This, again, shows that the authors of the tablets had agency in making and casting the *defixiones*.

As these few examples show, theft is a common reason for the commissioning of *defixiones* in Roman Britain. Theft had a big effect on the personal life and emotions of the people, which could be a reason why these *defixiones* are often very hostile, wishing upon the targeted thief no rest, bad health, and death. The initiators of the curses, the victims of theft, often sacrifice to the addressed deities that what has been stolen from them. This could concern jewellery, clothing or fabrics, as well as tools and even draft animals. Another common feature of these *defixiones* are the formulae. The ill-wishing follows the same patterns on many tablets, as well as the common formula that is used when the thief is unknown. Another remarkable tablet is CMB 4; in its common formula for accursing an unknown target, an explicit contrast is made between “us” and “them” when referring to religion as a marker of distinction.

Other

The category ‘other’ forms as a residual category, as there were too few *defixiones* and too many variations between these curses.¹²³ The reasons behind the curses vary from unspecified aggression to a love affair or business transaction, from wishing health and victory to kidnapping or an elopement, from sabotaging an opponent to false accusations, and from harming an animal to committing perjury. Regarding this category, two final *defixiones* will be elaborated on. These two will be discussed because it is not fully certain what the reasoning behind them is, beginning with CMB 96:

Obverse: *Dio M[ercurio] dono ti[bi] / negotium Et / [t]ern[a]e et ipsam / nec
sit i[n]vidi[a] me[i] / Timotneo san / gui[n]e suo*

Reverse: *Dono tibi / Mercurius / aliam neg[o] / tium NAVIN / [...] / NII [...] / MIN [...] SANG / SVO*

Translation, obverse: “To the god Mercury, I entrust to you my affair with Eterna and her own self and may Timotneus feel no jealousy of me at the risk

¹²³ The category unknown will not be discussed in depth in this study, as this study is not extensive enough. This category is either too fragmented for a proper analysis, or on the tablets there is a list of names. It cannot be made up why these people are accursed, only that they are.

of his life-blood.”

Reverse: “I entrust to you, O Mercury, another transaction [...]”

This *defixio* is addressed to Mercury and speaks of an affair between Eterna, her own self, Timotheus, and the author of the curse. Bradley suggests that this curse could concern either a love affair or a business transaction, but they could also be neither. She argues that it is difficult to be sure as most of the *defixiones* concerning business related matters were found in the earth, whereas those concerning love related matters were found in water – at least in the case of Roman Britain. Secondly, the *defixiones* concerning love related matters usually have some form of the verb ‘binding’ on them, whereas those concerning business related matters usually have the occupation of the target written on them.¹²⁴ John Wachter also suggests that the relationship between the persons mentioned could be any: “[...] an overt threat to Timotheus not to interfere in the abduction of his wife, girl-friend, daughter or sister.”¹²⁵

Another example of a *defixio* with ambiguous reasoning is CMB 2:

*qu[i] mihi Vilviam in[v]olavit / sic liquat co[odo] aqua / [...] qui eam
[invol]avit / Velvinna Ex[s]upereus / Verianus Serverinus / Agustalis
Comitianus / Minianus Catus / Germanill[a] Iovina*

Translation: “May he who stolen Vilbia from me become as liquid as water
[...] who stolen her, whether Velvinna, Exsupereus, Severinus, Augustalis,
Comitianus, Minianus, Catus, Germanilla, Jovina.”

It is explicitly stated by the author of the curse that Vilbia is stolen from him, and he has a couple of suspects for the kidnapping. There has been some debate about whether Vilbia was a female name though scholars agree that Vilbia was possibly a Celtic female name.¹²⁶ The ambiguity of this *defixio* lies within the use of the verb *involare*. This verb, which means stealing, is commonly used on those *defixiones* concerned with theft. However, as Keppie et al.

¹²⁴ Bradley, *Romano-British Curse Tablets* 49.

¹²⁵ Wachter, *Roman Britain* 240.

¹²⁶ L.J.F. Keppie, A.S. Esmonde Cleary, M.W.C. Hassall, R.S.O. Tomlin, and B.C. Burnham, ‘Roman Britain in 1998’ in: *Britannia* 30 (1999) 319-386, 384.

suggest, *involare* was used as “snatching someone’s lover” in vulgar Latin.¹²⁷ This curse could therefore also concern a kidnapping of someone’s concubine. It is not sure who has kidnapped Vilbia, although the author has his suspicions: Velvinna, Exsupereus, Severinus, Augustalis, Comitianus, Manianus, Catus, Germanilla and Jovina. These names, both male ($n = 6$) and female ($n = 3$), could be the names of slaves. It therefore seems as if the curse could also concern the theft of a slave woman or girl, or theft by other slaves. The reason for the kidnapping of Vilbia remains ambiguous, but he or she who has done so, should become liquid as water.

Concluding remarks

In Roman Britain, it is not necessarily the case that all curses were dedicated to the primary deity of a specific site. This has been demonstrated by the *defixiones* that have been found at Bath, as well as Uley. In Bath, at the sacred spring of Sulis-Minerva, a third of the curses from the database was addressed to the goddess. The other two-third were either addressed to another deity, or it was not known to whom it was addressed. In the case of Uley, half of the *defixiones* from the corpus were addressed to Mercury, who was the primary deity of the site where the tablets were found. Of course, these numbers can differ from reality because of the fragmented nature of the tablets. As a result, the names of the addressed deities could have been lost over time.

The *defixiones* that have been found in Roman Britain offer us a unique view into the daily lives of its inhabitants. The majority of the curses fall into the category ‘theft’, and these give us insight into the feelings and emotions of those who have been victim to it. This category provides us with 90 legible names, of which the minority in this corpus were female. These names belonged to both the victims of theft, who were the initiators of the curses, as well as the thieves. The names, especially those of the initiators, give us insight into who dedicated the curse and was a victim of theft. Them, dedicating these curses is them taking action, taking control of something that might be out of their hands. Dedicating these tablets provided a means to deal with and express their emotions. The curses are most often very hostile towards the thieves by wishing death upon them, as well as cursing their relatives. The initiators of the curses often also ask the addressed deity to bring back their stolen possessions. Theft had – and still has – an impact on the lives of those who are victim to it, as people’s possessions were precious.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, 384.

The *defixiones* also show the processes of acculturation well. Some of the legible names were traditionally Roman, while others were traditionally Celtic. Moreover, when looking at the addressed deities, it becomes clear that some syncretized, like Sulis-Minerva. Furthermore, both Celtic gods, like Maglus, and Roman gods, like Mars, are addressed on these tablets. They indicate that the practice of making *defixiones* is not unique to one culture but can be found throughout the whole of the Mediterranean. The people who made these *defixiones* were in charge of what was on them; to which deity the curse was addressed, who was cursed and why the targeted people were cursed, and scratching out names, like on the discussed *defixio* CMB 84, is evidence hereof.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to bring nuance to existing views in the historiography regarding the ritual – *religious* and *magical* – practices of women, and by extension those of men. Analysing *defixiones* on the basis of the ‘lived ancient religion’ methodology opens up a way for ancient historians to focus on the lived experiences of these ancient people and their daily lives. There is room to look at emotions, feelings, and sentiments that occupied the daily lives of these people. Furthermore, *defixiones* prove to be a useful and versatile type of source material for research on a more local level, as the two case studies have shown.

As has been discussed, in order to be able to make a comparison between the context, historical agents and discourse of *defixiones* of Roman North Africa and those of Roman Britain, the circumstances in which the collections were found would be – at least to a certain extent – similar. However, this is not the case. Consequently, the *defixiones* were, for instance, categorized differently, but by focusing on the notions of agency and appropriation the case studies were tied together.

The analysis of the *defixiones* from Roman North Africa and Roman Britain offers us insight into the daily lives of ancient people. In the Roman North African corpus, we find a couple of *defixiones* that function as evidence for the presence of women in the public sphere. These women, although a minority in the corpus, were involved in legal matters, and initiated curses to restrain their opponent from speaking. Whereas in the category ‘competition’, women are not visibly involved with the races and games. The female names on the curses within this category solely function as a marker of the identity of the accursed person.

Striking in the Roman North African corpus as well, were the *defixiones* within the category ‘love’. As discussed in depth, stereotypes concerning women and magical practices are present in both ancient literary sources and the modern scholarly debate. These stereotypes are habitually negative and depict women as wicked and jealous, secretly conducting love spells in order to pursue men with the help of evil forces. Yet, in the case of the *defixiones* from Roman North Africa, the initiators of the curses were men. Although this is a minor category, it provides nuance to the existing stereotypes that prevail in the modern scholarly debate.

In Roman Britain, the majority of the *defixiones* were found at the sacred spring of Sulis-Minerva in Bath, most of which concerned theft. Within the category ‘theft’, 90 names were legible. The minority of these names belonged to women, and they were either the victim of theft or the suspected thieves. The location in which these tablets were found also place women out of the private sphere, like the category ‘legal’ in Roman North Africa. These findings add

to the results of the study of Martin and Samuels, and they are in line with the outcomes of the studies by Birley, as well as Greene on the Vindolanda tablets.

Then, there are also several differences between the two case studies. First, the divine forces that are addressed on the curses differ between Roman North Africa and Roman Britain. In Roman North Africa, the presence of *daemones* on the tablets is stronger; whereas in Roman Britain, deities like Sulis-Minerva and Mercury are addressed more often. This might be an explanation for the different categories in the case studies, as the motives for the commissioning of *defixiones* could have influenced the chosen divine force, because of the qualities that were attributed to them. These variations also show the local adaptations and variations of this Mediterranean practice. Local deities are addressed on the *defixiones*, as well as divine forces from other religions. Moreover, the amalgamation of deities is a result of the processes of acculturation that happened in the two regions.

Due to the timeframe in which this thesis was conducted, it was not possible to get a thorough understanding of every single aspect that plays a role in the commissioning of *defixiones*. This provides a possibility for future research to add to and create a more in-depth understanding of the daily lives of ancient people and their ritual experiences. Using various types of ancient sources combined, such as literary sources and material and epigraphical evidence, aids in a better understanding of what the daily lives might have looked like in these ancient societies.

Furthermore, the corpus of this thesis is a selection of the catalogues that were composed by both Audollent and Bradley. In turn, these catalogues are selections themselves and since these were composed, more *defixiones* have been unearthed. Consequently, other conclusions can be drawn when this type of research is conducted. Nevertheless, each single *defixio* and the context in which it was found can present unique or specific characteristics that allow us a glimpse of the daily lives and experiences of the ritual agents, men and women, slaves and free, that go beyond the, often biased, descriptions in ancient literary sources.

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Appendix I

Defixio	Ancient text	Location	Motive
DT 215	<i>Dualerius Epaprhoditus / Valerius Oncarpus / Valerius Pleogius / Valeriu[s] Onomacus / [Va]lerius Sabinus / Valerius Herma / Valerius Maternus / Valerius Romanus / Valerius Trophimus / Plotius Hermes / Critonius Faustus / Valerius Hermes / Valeria Omphale / Valeria Trophime / Valeria Flora / [...]va / [...]</i>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 216	<i>Scribonia Philomusus Criso / Alypus Lerastus Philaryrus / Avner Felic Liberais / conseri conservae / amici amicae c[o]nati ad / [...]enes quicumque cona / verit dicerit fecerit / [a]ut facere coluerit / colliberti aut colliberta[e]</i>	Carthage	Legal
DT 217	Obverse: <i>[...]osui fisci lingua / me cotra me nec dicere nec / facere va[l]eant nisi quod ego / voluero al[li]go deligo linguas / abtracati dioti esse hypticrati / se[...]uni Callicraphae [...]reti / Primi m[...]trim[...]pho[...]ri[...]li / [...]et pe motri [...]necessi / aput[...]ti victo ua[...] / patri m[eo] nec adver[sus me...] / irati[...] / [...]</i> Reverse: <i>[...] / alligo d[...] ram illam[...]lingu / a et ta[...]te pe[...] / Pudentis[...]ani[...] / [...] / Alliga delliga[...] / [...]la[...]o[...]nirali[...]a[...] / n Callicraphae[...]</i>	Carthage	Legal
DT 218	<i>[...] / [Sex]tiliani et qula / Pudentis et P[...]ora[...] / Aeuti et M f[...] ai[...] / Silvani et Sextilian / a / et L Caecili Ma[g] / [ni] adligate lingu / [a]s horum quos suprascri / psi ne adversus / nos respondere</i>	Carthage	Legal

	Margin: <i>αρασβεθ αραβησπιγοε[...] ψιντιβορ</i>		
DT 219	<i>Iudico ulu quiq[ue i]mitati / facias illos muttos adversu Atlosam / ac ligo oligo lingu / as illoro medias / extremas novissi / mas ne quit possin / t respondere cont / ra facias illos mut / uos muturungallos / mutulos Crispu m / arinis et Marinem / parinis [oblig]o ligua / s iloro isulcas ilo[s...i]los ar / tu[s] l corn[...] ru[...] tisa</i>	Carthage	Legal
DT 220	Obverse: <i>Domina [Te]rra [...] nase [...] / Germanum mutum[...] / dicu accommodes Opsecl[...]a / Isperatae custodes a[...]o[...] / Martialim Cosconio Ianu / arium et Rufum / ut e[...]</i> Reverse: <i>sunt ibi mutos et m[e...] / tu pleno[s] facis qurum / nomina h[ic] abeas [adver] / sus Ops[ec]r[a] Isperata[e...] / [...]adversus eam lo / qui no pissit inimi[ci] / adversus ea loqui n[on] / possint[...]</i>	Carthage	Legal
DT 221	<i>[...]n Se[curus] como[d]o m[...]ra[...] / no potes [contr]a nos drspondere[...] / eca sic no [posit] contra patre meu[m con]tra / [me] advocati qui contr[a] nos non posit secum ve / [l]ut ruga iu[...] nostra Toresilius quiqui / venerint comodo litera a non po / su[...]vi cui nec nemo potes illos venire / comodo / Securus[...]o sic n[o]n posit / [lo]qui comodo Securus non potes loqui / [sic n]on posint [lo]qui arvo[cati] / qui qui que</i>	Carthage	Legal
DT 222	Obverse: <i>Claudia Helenis / Clodia Successi / Clodia Steretia / Clodius Fortunatus / Clodius Romanus / Mu[re]ius</i>	Carthage	Legal

	<p><i>Crim[...] enius / Servilius Faustus / Valerius Extrictatus / quomodi haec nomina a / [...] / [...] / [adversu]s me ommute[scant] / [...] lo]qui [quomodi]</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>veturia di Manes ita uti / vost poniteque sic adversus</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>huic gallo lingua / vivo extorsi et defi / xi sic inimicorum / meorum linguas ad / versus me ommutescant / sic qui [in] me l[o]qui / sucue fuerit ad nilo / [...]odiat res illius / [...]ec praecatio ita / [...]erteta est ad [...] / [...]r vos muta[...] / [...]per ves[tr...]</i></p>		
DT 223	<p>Obverse: <i>at[i]ur[o] q[...] s[...] / [...] / [...]lutaru[...] t[...] / at[...] ura[...] ili ac g[...] gini / [...]e[...] e passin contr[a] ho[...] / [...]luera[...] ut[...] / olut bu[...] o[...] sint[...] aput / [...]ndus[...] adcovilartr / us[...] bpinus[...] usta u / [...sing]ula ilo[...] co[...] as / [...]a[...] apingettistus / re / a[...] roa salvi ce / [...]ariad[...] rtia / ut acuad vitia per / [c]ussi sunt sic ante / nec valiat adversus [re] / [spond]ere s[...] quae[...] / [...]sin[...] a[...] n[...] /[...] / unssno</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>[...]ritat pra[...] / aqo[...] a[...] ede[...] ni[...] / [...]allabina h[...] / vestra d[...] / [...]tis[...] delo p[...] / [...]tas[...] e[...] qu[...] / [...] / [...]pre[...] / [...] / [...]u[...] quo u[...] / v[...] s de cl[...] / [...]</i></p>	Carthage	Legal
DT 224	<p>Fragment I: <i>[...]curo tequ / [e...re]licta teque / [...]ati / [...]i</i></p>	Carthage	Legal

<p><i>p[ri]mi ad / [...] opius ad / [...] dver / [...] cpaves et / [...] rpem ono / [...] op[...] / [...] ct[...]</i></p> <p>Fragment II:</p> <p><i>[...] to / [...] s[...] um / [...] con[tr]a / [...] atio vin / [...] ri / [...] pi / [...] Africani / [...] ri / [...] lingu / [...]</i></p> <p>Fragment III:</p> <p><i>[...] / mutia[...] / oppra[...] / ra in erga [...] / inmica [...] / Ulpia [...] / Publia [...] / sic lin[gua ...] / inmic[...] / tuque [...] / sic quic[umque...] / larin[...] / mena[...] / lingua [...] / lingua [...] / lingua [...] / l[i]nguar[um ...]</i></p> <p>Fragment IV:</p> <p><i>[...] / [...] / [...] par[...] / [...] aber[...] / [...] Flaci[...] / [...] Rufinum [...] / [...] motac[...] li[...] / [...] ac du[...] / [...]</i></p> <p>Fragment V:</p> <p><i>[...] / abis[...] / sar[...] / nu lin[gua ...] / ac prot [...] / [...]</i></p> <p>Fragment VI:</p> <p><i>[...] / a[...] / que[...] / te[...] / [...] / [...] rita[...] / [...]</i></p> <p>Fragment VII:</p> <p><i>[...] / [...] io pa[...] / [...]</i></p> <p>Fragment VIII:</p> <p><i>[...] / [...] r[...] / [...] st[...] / [...] o[...] e[...] / [...] ib[...] / [...]</i></p>		
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	Fragment IX: [...] / [...]amd[...]priu[...] / [...]gera pe[...] / [...]lepus[...] / [...]mio mola[...] / [...]		
DT 225	Fragment I: [si quis adversu]s me locutus fu[erit] / [...fueri]t contra / [...]em Fragment II: capatrn[...]	Carthage	Unknown
DT 226	[si quis adversus fratres] / meos [et adversus patrem] / meum l[ocutus fuerit]	Carthage	Unknown
DT 227	uratur / Sucesa / aduratur / amo vet / desideri / Sucesi Upper margin: απηνηνιαραφ Left margin: αρακσω Right margin down: σβεα Right margin up: βαρεμ Lower margin: [...]i ⁂ tutt φ[...]	Carthage	Love
DT 228	Obverse: te rogo qui infer / nales partes tenes com / mendo tibi Iulia Faustil / la Marii filia ut eam cele / rius abducas et ibi in num / erum tu a[b]ias	Carthage	Unknown

	<p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>te rogo qui infernal / es patres tenes, commen / do tibi Iulia Faustilla / ut eam celerius abduca / s infernales partibus / in numeru tu abias</i></p>		
<p>DT 229</p>	<p>Left of figure:</p> <p><i>occid[as ...] / facias pe[r ...] / facias demo[n ...] / loquto da[...] / [...]ablivoni cit[o] / me teneat a / ta ata / [...] et exta / [ia]m iam / [ci]to cito / facias / ex oc die / ex [a]c ora / iam iam / cito cito / facias</i></p> <p>Right of figure:</p> <p><i>[...] / cat[... d] / onec et c / [iam] iam / [...] / [...] / cito</i></p> <p>Left below figure:</p> <p><i>[...]m [d]onec et / [...] e eat</i></p>	<p>Carthage</p>	<p>Legal</p>
<p>DT 230</p>	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>Κατάζιγ [q]ui es Aegypto magnus daemon / et aufer illae somnum usquedun veniat at me / et animo meo satisfaciat Τραβαζίαv omnipotens daemon adduc / amante aestuante amoris et desiderii mei cau / sa Νοχθίριφ qui cogens daemon coge illa / m[ec]un coitus facere Βίβιριζίqui es / f[ort]issimus daemon urge [c]oge illam venire ad me aman / te aestuante amoris et desiderii mei / causa Πικονίθ agilissime daemon in Aegypto et agila / a suis parentibus a suo cubile et aerie quicum / que caros habes et coge illa me amare, mihi conferre ad meu / [m] desiderium</i></p> <p>Reverse, horizontal:</p> <p><i>[...] / [...]vi cirie / au tab cr[...]t[...] / peper[...]it ap[...]rgiebs / deorum ep cam</i></p>	<p>Carthage</p>	<p>Love</p>

DT 232	Reverse, vertical: [...]/[...] / [...] <i>f[aci]as</i>		
	[...G]l[o]riosa R[o]ga[tus] Bor / [u]stenes Ianuarius Vit / [a]lis Romanus Roman / us Adautus Primitiv / os Eforianus Urb[a]n[us] / Catai 𐤕𐤓𐤕 / <i>murqk</i> / <i>ub[...]</i> akk [...]u / ovo[...]ab[...]	Carthage	Competition
DT 233	Upper margin: <i>καβρακκρακκρου</i>		
	Left column: [Fr]enalius / [Ve]nator / [Exs]uperus / Augur / Volens / Sidereus / Atonitus / [B]eronica / Crysiph / us Right column: Sidereus / Igneus / Turinus / Martius / Rapidus / Arminius / Inpulsator / Castalius / Gelos / Piropus / Euginis / Animtor / Bladus / Sidonius / Omnipot[e]ns / Aquila / Lici[u]s / Amazonius / Imber Center: <i>Καρουραχχθα / βραχχθαθ / ηθαειθουμα / νεσφομηι μελα / ηιεουηεμη / εσταβαηι / excito [t]e / demon qui ic conver / sans trado tibi os / equos ut deteneas / illos et inplice[ntur] / [n]ec se movere posse[nt]</i> Left margin: <i>ρακκ / ραρα / [ι]ρακ</i> Right margin: <i>βραχθαβραχθαχθαη / ρικσονυθν</i>	Carthage	Competition

DT 243

Βυλαμω χυχβαχ[βαχυχ] / ευ[λ]αμω βακαγζ[ιχυχ] /
 λαμωευ βαθητ[οφωθ] / αμευλ θενχ[...] / μαευλω
 θεχ[...] / ευλαμων / ουοιοακιδυοουω
 αιταιωουοω[...] / ιαω οοοσσσιρρω σιφερμουχ μουωρ
 θ[...] / φνουνοβοηλοχλο βαζαρα βαζαρα β[αζαρα] /
 δια τὸ μέγα ὄνομα Ιτοκονιεν ββ[...] / ερε[χι]σιφθη
 αραρακααρα ηφθησικη[ρε] / ρεχ[ι]σιφθη
 αραρακααρα ηφθησικηρ / εχισιφθη αραρακααρα
 ηφθησικη / χισιφθη αραρακααρα ηφθησικ / ισιφθη
 αραρακααρα ηφθησι es[...] / σιφθη αραρακααρα
 ηφθης [n]ec se m[oe]r[e possint] / ιφθη
 αραρακααρα ηφθη in pro[elio ...] / φθη
 αραρακααρα ηφθ sate inpodesate os[...] / θη
 αραρακααρα ηφ tus omdaite in pro[elio] / η
 αραρακααρα η cursare inpodisate ra / ευλαμω
 αραρακααρα κααραηφθησικ[ηρε] / υλαμω sera
 ραρακααρα Ivite κααραηφθησικη[ρ] / λαμω m elsi
 αρακααρα illum κααραηφθησικη / αμω cidite do
 ρακαρ oamu eiu κααραηφθη s[...] / [μω ...] s
 inp[...] ακα omios uti κααραηφθ [...] / [ω] cursore
 κ [...]nes[...]o[...]b κααραηφθ [...] / tinos [...]

vesiti victori κααραηφθ s[...] / κισιφθη larum[...]
 victima ut κααραηφθ a[...] / ισιφθη
 rim[...]r[...]scrienalum la κααρα li[...] / σιφθη
 κααρ caos[...] / ιφθη sep[...]ti[...] dierum in pr
 καρα casis pa[...] / φθη [...]te dis[f]ran[g]ite
 [...]asor[...]sia[...] καρ meis in pr[...] / θη
 [...]onissima nostro κα in crastino die [...] / [η ...]n
 sate e[...]as ipsoru κ cundesate is eos / [...]nietur
 p[...]asa[...] et cursoro[m...] / [...]spe[...]a[...]
 testis su[...]r[...]ie[...]asiget[...] / [...]su
 tellun[...]veneti et i[...] / [...]nov[...]id[...]

Carthage

Competition

DT 244

Obverse:

Carthage

Competition

	<p><i>βακβρακκαβρακκρα / ρλοιαθ[...]θθεκκρου / εθε / βυβ / αλραβ / ραισιρε / λ[...]αις / ραβ[...]ρ / ν[...] / καρουρααθα / βραχχθαθ / [...]ηθαειεουμα / νεσφομει / ηιθουηεμν / εσιαβαθ / σατεσετετ / ρυρζεινυλε[...] / [...]ανε[...]ν[...]</i></p> <p>Obverse, left margin: <i>θαθχακβρακκααραργβρακ[...]ρα</i></p> <p>Obverse, right margin: <i>βραχεαη[...]ηεεινθω[...]</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>T[...]nioco[...]e / cripus[...] / eorum o[...]n / [...]rim[...] / retinete iapran / ur in ispatium</i></p>		
DT 247	<p><i>[...] / [occi] / dite / exter / minate vulnerate Gallicu quen / peperit Prima in ista ora am / piteatri corona et ar[...]a[...]a[...] / ludes orno[...]pe oc ter[...]a[...]ias / gula[...]neiu que p[...]ave / rite oc tene il li manus obliga[...] / [...]obture non liget ur[su] ursos / [...] par ill[...]i[...]ra[...]orat / [...] oblige illi pede[s] m[e] / m[br]a sensus me / dulla / oblige Gallicu quen peperit Prima ut / neque ursu neque tauru singulis plagis oc / cida[t n]eque binis plagis occidt neque ternis / plagis oc[ci]dat tauru ursu per nomen / dei vivi omnipotenstis ut perficeatus iam iam / cito cito allidat illu ursus et vulneret illu</i></p>	Carthage	Competition
DT 248	<p>Obverse: <i>[...]be sancte ati / [uro t]e per deum vivu / [m ut] facias Tziolu q p / [Rest]uta et Tzelica / [appa]ritorem en[...]a / [Ades]icla q p Victoria</i></p>	Carthage	Competition

	<p>Obverse, left column: <i>victos / per / vic / tos</i></p> <p>Obverse, right column: <i>exaclos exi / liatos ex / pilatos / plaga / tos / obligo /</i> <i>[et] inpli / [co et tib]i trado / [Adesicla q p] Victoria</i> <i>/ [...]ementia / [...]ivi Adesicla q p / [Victoria facias]</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>vulneratos [cru] / entatos de an[pit] / eatro exire i</i> <i>di[e] / muneris fili[os Ae] / miliani pri[di]e idus /</i> <i>ianuarias sive id / us age age iam / iam cito cito ή[όη]</i> <i>/ ήόη τα[χύ τυχύ]</i></p>		
DT 249	<p>Obverse: <i>[έξορκίζω σε ό]στις [...] π[οτ' οὖν εἶ ...]κιτο[...]οτ /</i> <i>[...δαιμόνιον] πνεῦμα κα[τὰ ... το]ῦτον ου / [...] τοὺς</i> <i>ὄρους ο[...]ι κατα[...] / [...]μενου κιμέ[νου...]ενου /</i> <i>[...]οση ἄρκους με[...]εθε τὸν / [...]οσιτ[ζ...]η εν</i> <i>ἐθηκεν Οὐικτωρία [...]ει τὸν Τζείουλον ης /</i> <i>[...ἐ]θηκεν Ρεστοῦτα σουμβιετα ο[...]ολιμη φιλίαν</i> <i>επρα / [...]ολιμε σωματει μὴ ιπτουκια αν[...]εστωσιν</i> <i>σουω εἰς τω / [...] γεβραγμένος ἐν τοῦ βυθοῦ</i> <i>κ[...]καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρα[ς] / [...]ω ὄνομα ὁ</i> <i>ἀληθινὸν ανετ[...]εινωνι σωματει λα / [...]ελευ εἰς</i> <i>ἀποδετοι εἰς εταυ[...]εἰς τὸ πλάκιον δῆσατε /</i> <i>[...συν]δῆσατε μὴ δυνάσθωσαν θη[ρεύει]ν μὴ ἰδεῖν μὴ</i> <i>κρα[τεῖν] / [...]μηδὴ [δυνάσθ]ωσαν καὶ μη[...]εινειν</i> <i>τοὺς ἄρκους / [...]έξορκίζ[ω...]ον[...]ε τὸν</i> <i>Τζίο[υλον] / [...] σορονα / [...] δεχας ζε /</i> <i>[...]εχιφισατο</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p>	Carthage	Unknown

	<p>[...]er leg[...] T]zei / olu q p Restu[t]a eto / [Ade]siola q p Victoria</p>		
<p>DT 250</p>	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>Bxx[χvχ...] qui es in Egipto magnu[s] / demon oblige peroblige Maurussum vena / torem quem peperit Felicitas / Iexpi auferas sumnum, non dormiat / Maurussum quem peperit F[e]licitas / Παρπξζiv deus omnipotens adducas / ad domus infernas Maurussum quem / perperit Felicitas / Noxτοθxit qui possides tractus Ita / lie et Campanie qui tractus es per / Acershium lacum [perducas ad] / [domus tartareas intra dies septe] / perductas as domus tartareas Maurus / sun quem perperit Felicitas intra dies septe / Βυτvδαχx demon qui possides Ispani / am et Africam qui solus per marem / trassis pertransseas hanimam et ispiri / tum Maurussi quem peperit Felici / tas pertranseas omnem remedium et / omnem filacterium et omnem tuta / mentum et omnem oleum libutorium / et perducatis obl[i]getis pe[r]obligetis / [...]etis apsumatis desumatis consu / [m]st[i]s cor membra viscera interania / [M]auruss[i...] quem peperit / [Felicitas]</i></p> <p>Obverse, right margin:</p> <p><i>et te ad / [iu]ro quisquis inferne / [es] demon per hec sancta nomina necessitatis</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>μα[σ]κελλει μασκελλω φνουκεν[τα]βα[ωθ] όρεοδαρζαηγ[ρα] / ρηζixθων ίππόχτων πυρχτων [...]οιτ[...]ιτ[...]η[...]ω[...]ρ[...] / κερδερωσάνδαλε κατανεικάνδα[λε] depre[ndatis] / [e]t faciatis</i></p>	<p>Carthage</p>	<p>Competition</p>

DT 251

<p><i>pallidum mextum tristem / [...] mutum non se regentem Maurussum quem pe[pe]r[it] Felicitas / in omnem proelium in omni certamine evanescat ruat[...]tr[...]e / Maurussus quem peperit Felicitas desub ampitriatri corona / eatem auram patiatum Maurussus quem peperit Felici[t]as [...]ere [non] / possit perversus sit perperversus sit Maurussus quem [p]e[pe]rit Fe[licitas...] / nec lac[ueos] possit super ursum mittere non alligare / [c]onlega[m] tenere omnino non possit manos illi et ro[bur] / [pe]des illi obligentur non possit currere lassetu[r]e / [ha]nomam et ispuritum deponat in omnem prolium [in] omni[bus con] / [g]ressionibus depannetur vapulet vulneretur[...]ur[...]e[ma] / [n]us alienas inde [f]igatur traetur exiat Maurussu[s] [quem peperit] / F[elicit]as desub ampitriatri corona facie at terrae / [...] te cito depremite defigite perfigite consu[mite... Mau]ru[s] / [sum] quem peperit Felicitas et remise ferarum morsus fe[...] / [t]am tauros tam apros tam leones quae[...]l[...Mau] / [rus]sus quem peperit Felicitas occidere possit[...]m</i></p>		
<p>Column I: <i>[adiuro vos a]nime [...]n[...]asse vius loci / [per] ec sancta nomina Psarchyrinχ / oncrobrotescirvio arcadams / ter vos adiuro anime vius loci / erecisipte araracarara / eptisicere [c]ybcacyc bacaci / cyχ bacaxicyc obrimemao / saum / obriulem patatnaχ apoms / psesro [i]aω iossef ioerbet / [i]opacerbet bolcoset date / interitu is venatoribus / Metrete Syndicio Celsano / Atsurio Felici Cardario / Vincentio ne viribus suis / placere possint / adi[u]ro vos per nomin[a] / [...] audita o[...] / [...]</i></p>	<p>Carthage</p>	<p>Competition</p>

	<p>Column II:</p> <p>[adiuro vos per hec no]mina neces / [sitatis] temae[...]cerciel baci el / [...]aciχecese amestubal / merteme perturacrini mascel / li mascello fnycentabaot / zosagrac hunc epitto e / repton ypo ton lepeto oreo / peganyx et per magnum Caos vos adiuro / iabezepat erecisipte araracarara / eptisicere cogens enim vos et reges / demoniorum bacaxicyχdemenon / bacaxicyχ cogens enim vos et iu / dices exsenyum animarum qui vos / in tachymorey vite iodicaverunt / criny[...]arincbor cogens enim vos / et sangtus deus Mercurius in / fe[rnu]s coge[ns] ipse se[...]s[...] / [...]</p> <p>Column III:</p> <p>[...] ine fiat / decsocemri obligate / os venatores</p>		
DT 253	<p>βρα / ερεκισιφθη αραραχααρα ηφθισικηρε / ευλαμω / ερε / ιωερβηθ ιωπακερβηθ ιωβολχοσηθ βολχοδκηφ / βασουμ παταθναζ χθεθωνι ριγγχοσεσρ[ω ...] / απομυπακερβωθ πακαρθαρα ιακ[ο]υβια ααψκακοχ [...] / μωτοντουλιψ οβριουλημ κυμ[...ᾱ]ναζ βρακκοβαρ[...] / ρσυραβκαβ και συ θεοξηρ ᾱναζ κα[τάσ]χων τὸν καρ / πὸν των ασοδομων και τὸ ομορων καδ[...] / Vincentζus Tζaritζο in ampitζatru Cartag[in]is in ζie / Mercuri in duobus cinque in tribus nove [Vi]ncentζο / Tζaritζoni quen peperit Concordia ut ursos liga / re non possit in omni ora in omni momento in ζie Mer / curi και τὴν ἰσχὸν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν καρδίαν / [...] / τὸ ἦπαρ τὸν νοῦν τὰς φρένας· ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς / αννηναμηγισεχει τὸ βασίλιον ὑμῶν in Vinc / entζο Tζaritζoni quen peperit Con[cor]dia in ampitζatru / Carthaginis in ζie Mercuri obligate in[p]licate lac[i]nia / Vincentζο</p>	Carthage	Competition

<p> <i>Tzarit̃oni ut ursos ligare non possit omni urs / u perdat omni ursu Vincent̃us non occidere possit in ̣i / e Mercuri in omni ora iam iam cito cito facite / χυχβαχ ευλαμω ιωερβηθ / βακαχυχ υλαμωε ιωπακερβηθ / βακα̣ιχ λαμωεν [ι]ωβολχοσηθ / βα̣αβαχυχ αμωεϋλ ιωαπομψ / μωεϋλα / μανεβαχυχ ωεϋλαμ ιωπακαρθαρα / ιωπαθνα̣ / βαδετοφωθ ιαβε̣εβεβιω ιωτοντουλιψ / βαινχωωχ ιω ιαω ουβριουλημ / βευ̣υθιε ευλαμω / βρ[...] / εισισρω σισιφερμοχ χνω[...]βρασα̣ / σοροορμερ φεργαρβαρμαρ [οφριουρινχ] / ἐπικαλοῦμέ σε ὁ μέγας καὶ [ἰσχυρὸς ...]ην[...]εο / τος κρατῶν καὶ δεσμεύων κ[αὶ κατόχων δ]εσμο / ἱς ἀλύτοις αἰωνίοις ἰσχυρο[ἱς ἀδαμαντίνοις] καὶ πᾶ / σον ψυχὴν κρατ[...] κατᾶσε[ισον...κατὰ]δησον / ὑπόταζον πρόσ[κλισον Vincent̃u Tzarit̃oni] qu / [e]n peperit Concor[diā ... oblig] / ate Vincent̃o T̃ari[t̃oni ...] / in ampit̃atru in ̣ie [Mercuri ...] / exterminate Tzarit̃o[n ...] / ἐξέλθη μήτε τὲν / ἐξέλθη ἰς τόνδε τὸν τ[όπον μηδὲ τὴν πύλην] / ἐξέλθη μήτε τὲν τυμηθ[ην ἀπέλθειν] / τὸν τῶπων ἀλλὰ μίνη κ[ατὰ σοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀλύ] / τοις, ἰσχυροῖς αἰωνίοις ἀ[δαμαντίνοις τὴν] / ψυχὴν τοῦ Vincent̃us T̃a[rit̃oni quen peperit Concor] / diā obligate implicate Vinc[ent̃u Tzarit̃oni ... in] / duobus cinque ursos in trib[us nove] / vincatur vulneretur dep[annetur ... non curre] / re possit Vincent̃us T̃a[rit̃oni] / facite Vincent̃[u Tzarit̃oni ... Vin] / cent̃u T̃[arit̃oni ... in ampi] / t̃atru Cart[haginis ...] / ta per[...Vincent̃u Tzarit̃o] / ni obligate in[plicate lacinia in duobus cinque in] / tribus no[ve ...] / non possit [...] / possit [...] in] / ̣ie Mercuri [...] / ne anima e[...] in proeli] / o vincatur deficiat [...] in </i> </p>		
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	<p><i>omni] / ora per ispiritales tra[ctus ...] / ω / ηρεχισιφη [αραρ]αχα[ραρα ηφθισικηρε] / ευ[λ]α[μω]</i></p> <p>Left margin: Ρεκυφθηαραχαααραραηφθισικηρε</p> <p>Right margin: ιφθηαραραχααραραηφθι</p>		
DT 254	<p><i>[...] / ti ispidus p[...] / [...]t spa[ti...]a[...] / [...]lp[...]a[...]ca[...] / [...]bar meo[...] tua[...] qui[...] / tras atlu[...]u[...]o[...] / [...]in victorem [...] ampit[eatro] / corona cor[on]a iam [iam] / [...]</i></p>	Carthage	Competition
DT 258	<p><i>[...]se[...] / retur defix[...ta def / cate apo / [...]ceti[...]ani illu e / [...]</i></p>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 259	<p>Obverse, there are a symbol and a figure engraved</p> <p>Reverse: <i>ea[...]ini[...] / ard[...]</i></p>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 260	<p>There are six <i>signa magica</i> and a <i>daemon</i> engraved on this <i>defixio</i></p>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 261	<p><i>[...] / r m n t a o</i></p>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 262	<p>There are five <i>signa magica</i> engraved on this <i>defixio</i></p> <p>Obverse: <i>marearmar</i></p>	Carthage	Unknown
DT 263	<p><i>Laelianus / Saturninus / quos peperit A / quilia Satu / rnina</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Unknown
DT 264	<p>Obverse, above figure: <i>[...]ζαλαχ[...]σουμιμαρει / [...]χειωσων αδαωθ / [...]ωπζπλγ[...]γγ[...] / [...]αςω σαδαωθ αρφειμαζε / [...]ενοναφαλαμ / [...]αρα[...]ε[...]γειαω / [...]αμειας σαδαωθ</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Love

DT 265	Obverse, below figure: <i>Ιαω / ιωια / σαδαρθ / ιωια / αδδηλολωρ / [...]</i> <i>αλεχμειωθ / Victoria / quem peperit / Suavulva / puella[rum deli] / [ciae]</i>		
	Obverse: <i>Alimbeu / columbeu / petalimbeu / faciatus Victoria / quem peperit Sua / vulva amante fu / rente pre amore / meo neque somnu / vedent donec at me / veniat puella[r]u d[eli] / cias</i>	Hadrumetum	Love
	Reverse: <i>Desecus Ballinc / um Lolliorum / de curru actus / ne possit ate me / venire et tu quiquam / que es demon / te oro ut illa cogas / amoris et desiderii / [mei] causa veni / [re at me]</i>		Competition
DT 266	<i>[...]ope commendo tibi quo[d] / [...]mella ut illan inmittas dae / [...]aliquos infernales ut non pes / [...]is me contemnere sed faciat / [quodcu]mque desidero Vettia quem pepe / rit Optata vobis enim adiutantibus / ut amo[r]is mei causa non dormiat non ci / bum non escam accipere possit / peperit Optata sensum sap[i]entiam et [intel] / lectum et voluntatem ut amet me Fe[licem] / quem peperit Fructa ex ha[e] die ex h[ac ora] / ut obliviscatur patris et matris et [propinquor] / um suorum et amicorum omnium [et aliorum] / virorum amoris mei autem Fe[licis quem] / peperit Fructa Vettia que[m peperit Optata] / solum me in mente habeat [...dormi] / ens vigilans uratur fringat[...] / ardeat Vettia quam peper[it Optata...] / [a]moris et desiderii m[ei causa]</i>	Hadrumetum	Love
DT 268	<i>[...] Persefina obbligate illa im sensum et isapientiam [e]t inte[llectum ...]sebmen per me</i>	Hadrumetum	Love

DT 271

<p>tialu[...] / [...]a recipiatisque nos per Bonosa qun peperi Bonosa demado [...]t voluntatem ut[...] / [...]ate[...]me[...] ut obliviscatur] patris et mtris [...]am ex hac diem ex ha[c ora] / [...]p]er deo meo vivum / [...]de im[...]d[...] or[...]me[...]ea [...]te[...]c]elum et mare [...]r[...] / [...]et d[...]r ac ligo celum terra deu[m ...]ve[...] adque [...] / [...]li[...]quit sit sub[...]os coronnos arissore hoc enobr[...] / [...]eramg[...]s quis v[...]er t[er]rae [e]t damatameneus cemesilla[m...] / [...]de meos ades limi ut tu [...]arasaote[...]itia [...] / [...]lon[...]li Bonosa quem vobis ego il[...] commendo lileca reci[piatis ...] / [...]nas e[...]pi[...]lar [...]vo[...] novis re[...]</p>		
<p>horcizo se daemonion pneumn to enthade cimenon to onomati to agio Αωθ / Αβ[α]ωθ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Αβρααν καὶ τὸν Ιαω τὸν τοῦ Ιακου Ιαω / Αωθ Αβαωθ θεὸν τοῦ Ισραμα ἄκουσον τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐντείμου / καὶ φ[οβ]εροῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ ἄξον αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν / cae apelthe pros ton Orbanon hon ethecn Urbana / Δομιτιανὴν ἣν ἔτεκεν Κ[αν]ιδιά ἐρῶντα μαινόμενον ἀγρυπνοῦν / τα ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπιθυ[μ]ία καὶ δεόμενον αὐτῆς ἐπανελθεῖν / εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ σύμβιο[ν] γενέσθαι ὀρκίζω σε τὸν μέγαν θεὸν / τὸν αἰώνιον καὶ ἐπαιώνιο[ν] καὶ παντοκράτορα τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν / ὑπεράνω θεῶν· ὀρκίζω [σ]ε τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν θά / λασσαν· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν διαχωρίσαντα τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς· ὀρκίζω σε / τὸν διαστήσαντα τὴν ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ζεῦξαι / τὸν Οὐρβανόν ὃν ἔτεκεν Οὐρβανά πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανάν ἣν ἔτεκεν / Κανιδιά ἐρῶντα βασανιζόμενον ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐ / τῆς καὶ ἔρωτι ἴν' αὐτὴν σύμβιον ἀπάγῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν</p>	<p>Hadrumetum</p>	

ἑαυτοῦ· ὀρκί / ζω σε τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν ἡμίονον μὴ
 τεκεῖν· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν διορίσαν / τα τὸ φ[ῶς] ἀπὸ τοῦ
 σκότους· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συντρεῖβοντα τὰς πέτρας· /
 ὀρκί[ζω] σε τὸν ἀπορήξαντα τὰ ὄρη· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν
 συνστρέφοντα τὴν / γῆν ἐ[πὶ τ]ῶν θεμελίων αὐτῆς·
 ὀρκίζω σε τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομα ὃ οὐ λέγεται· ἐν / τῷ
 ἰσα[...]φ ὀνομάσω αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ δαίμονες ἐξεγερθῶσιν
 ἔκθαμβοι καὶ περὶ / φοβοὶ [γ]ενόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν καὶ
 ζεῦξαι σύμβιον τὸν Οὐρβανόν ὃν ἔτεκεν / Οὐρβανά
 πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανάν ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδά ἐρῶντα καὶ
 δεόμε / νον αὐτῆς· ἡδ ταχύ ὀρκίζω σε τὸν φωστῆρα
 καὶ ἄστρα ἐν οὐρανῷ ποιή / σαντα διὰ φωνῆς
 προστάγματος ὥστε φαίνειν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις· /
 ὀρκίζω σε τὸν συνσεῖσαντα πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ
 τὰ ὄρη / ἐκτραχηλίζοντα καὶ ἐκβρά[ζ]οντα τὸν
 ποιοῦντα ἔκτρομον τὴν [γ]ῆ / ν ἅπασ καινίζοντα
 πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν ποιή /
 σαντα σημεῖα ἐν οὐρανῷ κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης
 ἀγαγεῖν καὶ ζεῦξαι / σύμβιον τὸν Οὐρβανόν ὃν
 ἔ[τ]εκεν Οὐρβανά, πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανήν ἣν / ἔτεκεν
 Κανδιδά ἐρῶντα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐ / τῆς δεόμενον αὐτῆς καὶ ἐρωτῶντα αὐτὴν
 ἵνα ἐπανέλθῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν / αὐτοῦ
 σύμβιο[ς] γενομένη· ὀρκίζω σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν μέγαν
 τὸν αἰώ / νιον καὶ παντοκράτορα ὃν φοβεῖται ὄρη καὶ
 νάπαι καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰ / κουμένην δι' ὃν ὁ λείων
 ἀφείησιν τὸ ἄρπασμα καὶ τὰ ὄρη τρέμει / καὶ [ἡ
 γῆ] καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἕκαστον ἰδάλλεται ὃν ἔχει φόβον
 τοῦ Κυρίου / α[ὶ]ω[νίου] ἀθανάτου παντεφόπτου
 μεισοπονήρου ἐπισταμένου τὰ / γ[ενόμ]ενα ἀγαθὰ καὶ
 κακὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ ὄρη /
 καὶ [τὴν] γῆ[ν] Αωθ Αβαωθ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Αβρααν καὶ
 τὸν Ιαω τὸν τοῦ Ιακου / Ιαω Αωθ Αβαωθ θεὸν τοῦ

	<p> <i>Ισραμα ἄζον ζεδζον τὸν Οὐρβανόν ὄν / ἔτεκεν Οὐρβα πρὸς τὴν Δομιτιανάν ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδά ἐρῶντα / μαι[ν]όμενον βασανιζόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἐπιθυμίᾳ / τῆς Δομιτιανῆς ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδά ζεῦζον αὐτοὺς γάμῳ καὶ / ἔρωτι συμβιοῦντας ὅλῳ τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ποιήσον αὐ / τὸν ὡς δοῦλον αὐτῇ ἐρῶντα ὑποτεταχθῆναι μηδεμίαν ἄλλη[ν] / γυναῖκα μήτε παρθένον ἐπιθυμοῦντα μόνην δὲ τὴν Δομιτια[νάν] / ἣν ἔτεκεν Κανδιδά, σύμβιον ἔχειν ὅλῳ τῷ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῶ[ν χρόνῳ]· / ἥδη ἥδη, ταχὺ ταχὺ</i> </p>		
<p>DT 272</p>	<p> Obverse: <i>Sarbasmisarab / Delicatianus Capria Volucer Nervicus / comes cadat Dextroiugus Nous cum Amando / Germanicus Celestinus comes cadat Hilarin / us Polidromus Delicatus Maurusius Salutaris cada / t Blandus Profugus Pretiosus Germanicus Amor / Pelops Zefurus Alcastrus Clarus Clarus cadat ca / dat Funarius Nous cum Dario Superbus Tetrap / la cadant Blandus Gemmatus Attonitus pra / sini Roseus Salutaris cadat, comes Salutaris Clarus / cad / an frangan disiungantur male guren palma / vincere [n]on possin Sarbasmisarab</i> </p> <p> Reverse: <i>Feiub</i> </p>	<p>Hadrumetum</p>	<p>Competition</p>
<p>DT 273</p>	<p> Obverse: <i>Sarbasmisarab. / Delicaltanus Capri / a Volu[cer N]ervicus / Basilius Nilus Scintilla Hilari / nus Poli[d]romus Delicatus Marru / sius Blandus Profugus Pretiosus / Gemmatus Amor Pelops [Z]efurus / Alcastrus Attonitus Roseus / Germanicus Celestinus Cla / rus Salutaris Socrates co / mes haec</i> </p>	<p>Hadrumetum</p>	<p>Competition</p>

	<p><i>nomina hominum / et equorum que dedi vobis / cadan precor bos Sarbasmi / sarab</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Feiub</i></p>		
DT 274	<p>Obverse: <i>Sarbasmisarab / Delicaltanus Ca / pria Volucer Nervicus B[asi] / lius Nilus Scintilla Hila[ri] / nus Polidromus Delicatus / [M]aurisiu[s] Blandus Profu[gus] / Pretiosus [G]emmatu[s] [A]mo[r] / Pelops Zefurus Alcastrus A[t] / tonitus [Ro]seus Germanic[us] / Celesti[n]us Clarus Salutaris / comes [So]crates precor ho / mines et equi fragan / Sarbasmisarab</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Aur / iub</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 275	<p><i>KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΙΙΑΙΑΙΑΟ / Privatianu Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu Salutare / Supeстите russei servu Reguli Eliu Castore Repentinu / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΙΙΑΙΑΙΑΟ / Glaucu Argutu veneti Destroiugu Glauci cadant Lydu / Alumnu cadant Italu Tyriu cadant Faru cadant Croceu cadant / Elegantu cadant Prancatiu Oclopecta Verbosu cadant / Adamatu cadant Securu Mantineu Prevalente cadant / Paratu Vagarfita cadant Divite Garulu cadant Cesareu / Germanicu veneti cadant Danuviu cadant / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΙΙΑΙΑΙΑΟ / 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 T]agu cadant / Eucles cadant</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

<p><i>Verbosu cadant / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΠΙΑΙΑΙΟ / Privatianu cadat vertat frangat male giret / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΠΙΑΙΑΙΟ / Naucelliu Supeſtianu russei cadat vert[at fran]gat / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΠΙΑΙΑΙΟ / Supeſtite russei ſervu Reguli cadat vertat fran[gat] / Salutare cadat vertat frangat / Eliu cadat vertat frangat vertat / Caſtore cadat vertat frangat vertat / Repentinu cadat vertat frangat / KKKAAAAA ΘΦΙΟΠΙΑΙΑΙΟ</i></p> <p>Left margin:</p> <p><i>obligate et gravate equos veneti et russei ne currere poſſint nec fre / re poſſint nec retinere equos poſſint nec ante ſe nec adverſarios ſuos</i></p> <p>Lower margin:</p> <p><i>niſ audire poſſint nec ſe moere poſſint / videant nec vincant vertant</i></p> <p>Right margin:</p> <p><i>ſet cadant frangant diſ[f]rangantur et agitanteſ veneti et russei</i></p> <p>Upper margin:</p> <p><i>vertant nec lora teneant nec agita</i></p>		
<p><i>Privatianu cadat vertat Salutare cadat vertat / [Su]peſtianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat Caſtore / [Su]peſtite russei ſervu Reguli cadat vertat Eliu vertat / [Ro]manu cadat vertat Repentinu cadat vertat / [Arg]utu Croceu cadant Tyriu Hel[iu cad]ant Lupercu Faru cadant / [Can]dore cadat Crisapiſ Tigride cadant Alumnu cadat / [C]entauro Ideu cadant Virgineu Bracatu cadant Lydeu cadat /</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p><i>[Au]ri[co]mu Adamatu cadant Epafu cadat Victore cadat / [Pancrati]u Oclopecta Verbosu Crinitu cadant frangant / [Securu M]antineu Prevalente cadant Elegante cadat / Latrone Vagulu Improbu Vagarfita cadant fran[gant] / Hellenicu cadat Delusore cadat Garulu cadat / Lydeu cadat Danubiu Inumanu cadant Lyceu / Iuvene Capria Mirandu cadant Cesareu Divite / Tagu Agricola cadant Ganimede Cursore cadat / [...Na]uc[elliu] ve[rtat] Salutare vertat / [...v]ertat</i></p> <p>Left margin: <i>[alligate et obligate equos ven]eti et russei / [...nec ante se] nec adversario[s suos]</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>[fran]gant disfrangantur male girent</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>agitantes veneti et russei vertant nec</i></p>		
DT 277	<p><i>Privatianu cadat vertat Salutare cadat vertat / Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat / Supeстите russei servu Reguli [ca]d[a]t vertat / Romanu cadat vertat Repentinu c[adat] ver[tat] / Eliu cadat vertat Ca[store cad]at vertat / Argutu Cro[ceu cada]nt Tyrii Luper[cu ... ca]dant / Italu cad[at ... cad]at Cen[tauru ...] / Crisas[pis ...] / [...]</i></p> <p>Left margin: <i>[alligate et obligate equos ...] / nec agitare possint nec [...]</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p>Right margin: [...] <i>et agitantes veneti et</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>ussei cadant vertant nec lora teneant</i></p>		
DT 278	<p>Obverse:</p> <p>[...]cadat Alumnu cadat A[d]amat[u] cadat / Danubiu Ideu cadant Virgineu Bracatu cad[ant] / Epafu Victore cadant Lydeu cadat Elegante cadant / Pancratiu Oclopecta Verbosu Crinitu cadant vertant / Securu Mantineu Prevalente cadant Lydeu / Latrone Vagulu cadant Helve[ticu] cada[t] Lydeu / Hellenicu Inumanu cadant Mul[tivol]u cadant / Delusore cadant Impr[ob]u Vagarfita cadant / Iuvene Capria Mirandu cadant Cesareu / Divite Garulu Ganimede Cursore Agricola cadant / Privatianu cadat vertat Salutare cadat vertat / Supestianu russei qui et Naucelliu cadat v[ertat] / Supestite russei servu Reguli cadat vertat / Romanu [cadat vertat] Repenti[nu cadat vertat] / Eliu cadat [vertat Ca]store cadat vertat</p> <p>Left margin: [...]veneti et russei ne currere possint nec frenis / [...a]nte se nec adversarios suos videant</p> <p>Right margin: [...]disiungantur a[gitantes]</p> <p>Lower margin: <i>audiant nec pedes [...] / nec vincant [vertant]</i></p> <p>Upper margin:</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	[...]		
	Reverse, all <i>signa magica</i>		
DT 279	<p><i>Supestianu qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat frangat / Zitrie cadat vertat frangat Romanu / Niofitianu cadat vertat frangat Lydeu / Supestite cadat vertat frangat Repenti[nu] / Eupropete cadat frangat vertat / Verbosu cadat Mantineu Prevalente cadant / Vagarfita cadat Paratu cadat Elegantu / Puerina cadat Iperesiu [...] / Diamante cadat S[ec]undin[u ...]ervu cadat / [...]a cadat frangat disfran[ga]tur / Cassidatu cadat Vagulu Oceanu cadant / Iscintilla cadat Car[...]lu cadant / Gentile cadat Equi[colu] cadat [...] / Bracciatu cadat Germanu [...] / Amandu [Cel]estin[u ...]</i></p> <p>Left margin: <i>alligate et obligate et gra[v]ate equos veneti et russ[ei ...] / [...] agitantes veneti et russ[ei ...]</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>[n]ec prestant [...] fr]enis [...] / [...ne]c vincant [vertant]</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>cadant fran[gant ...]ant</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 280	<p><i>Naucelliu Supestianu Heliu / Privatianu Zenore Castore / [...]e aratore cadant / Macedone Atquesitore cadant / Hellenicu Virgineu cadant / Comatu Indu cadant / Fariu Ama[t]u cadant / Ideu Centauru cadant</i></p> <p>Left margin:</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p><i>cadant frangant di</i></p> <p>Lower margin: <i>frangantur ma[le] girent</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>palma vincere non [p]ossint</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>nec frenis audiant cadant</i></p>		
DT 281	<p><i>Na[ucelliu Supeſtianu Heliu] / P[rivatianu Zenore Castore] / Roseu Exuperatore cadant / Mac[e]done Atquesitore cadant / Helle[nicu] Comatu Indu cadant / Pran[...] cadant / Amat[u] Fariu cadant / Ideu Centauru cadant</i></p> <p>Left margin: <i>[cad]ant frangant dis[fran]</i></p> <p>Lower margin: <i>gantur male girent [pal]</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>ma [vincere] non p[o]ssint cadant</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>nec frenis audiant cadant</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 282	<p>Obverse: <i>[Privatianu cadat v]ertat Salutare cadat vertat Eliu cada[t] / [Supeſtianu russ]ei qui e[t N]aucelliu [cadat] vertat Castore / [Supeſtite russei servu] Reguli [cadat] vertat Castore / [...Repent]inu [cadat verta]t Eliu / Argutu Croceu</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

<p><i>cadant Tyriu Italu cadant Lupercu cadat / Candore Faru cadant Alumnu cadant Adamatu cadat / Centauru Crisaspis Tigride cadant Epafu cadat / Ide[u] Danubiu cadant Virgineu Bracatu cadant Lydiu / Victore cadat Pancratiu Oclopecta Verbosu Crinitu cad[ant] / [...] cadant Latrone Vagulu cadant Tagu / Hellenicu cadant Inhumanu cadat Delusore cadat / Multivolu cadant Improbu Vagarfita cadant / C[esa]reu Divite Garulu cadant Agricola cadant / [Iuvene C]apira Mirandu cadant Ganimede / Supesti[anu ...] / Supestite [russei servu R]eguli cadat vertat / Romanu cadan[t Repe]ntinu cadat vertat Eliu / Eliu cadat [...]e cadat vertat Lydeu</i></p> <p>Left margin:</p> <p><i>gravate e[t] obligate equos [veneti] et russ[ei ne] cur[r]ere possint ne[c] / nec agitare possint nec an[te se nec adver]sari[os suo]s</i></p> <p>Lower margin:</p> <p><i>[frenis] au[d]iant [nec se] moere possint set ca / videant nec vi[ncan]t cadant frang</i></p> <p>Right margin:</p> <p><i>dant fran[gant] disfrangantur male girent [...] / ant</i></p> <p>Upper margin:</p> <p><i>[v]eneti et russei ver[ta]n[t nec] lora teneant</i></p> <p>Reverse, all <i>signa magica</i></p>		
<p>Obverse:</p>	<p>Hadrumetum</p>	<p>Competition</p>

DT 283

<p><i>Privatianu cadat vertat Salutare cadat vertat / Supeſtianu ruſſei qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat / Supeſtite ruſſei ſervu Reguli cadat vertat / E[li]u cadat Caſtore cadat [Re]pentinu cadat / E[li]u cadat Caſtore cadat [Re]pentinu cadat / Faru cadat Candore cadat Crisaspis [T]i[g]ride cadat / Alumnu cadat Ideu Centauru cadant Lydeu cadat / Virgineu Bracatu cadant Adamatu cadat Lyceu / Epafu cadat Victore cadat Elegante cadat Lydeu / Pancratiu Oclopecta Verbosu Crinitu cadant / Lydeu cadat Securu Mantineu Prevalente cadant / Hilaru cadat Latrone Vagulu cadant Lydeu / [...]reu[...]c]adat Hellenicu cadat / Danuviu cadat Inhum[a]nu cada[t D]erisore cadat / Improbu Vagarfi[ta cadant] Iuvene Capria Mirandu cadat / Caesareu Divite Garul[u cada]nt Ganimede cadat / Cursore Agri[co]la cadat Vagarfiſta cadant / Privatianu cadat vertat Salutare cadat vertat / [Supes]tianu ruſſei qui et Naucelliu cadat vertat / [Supes]tite ruſſei ſervu Reguli cadat vertat Eliu ver[t]at / [Ro]manu cadat vertat Caſtore vertat Repentinu cadat</i></p> <p>Left margin:</p> <p><i>alligate et obligate equos veneti et r[us]ſe[i] ne c[ur]rere p[ossint] / nec lo[ra] teneant nec ante ſe vider[e poſſint] n[ec] adverſario[s ſuos ſed]</i></p> <p>Lower margin:</p> <p><i>[nec frenis audir]e poſſint [nec ſe] moere / [v]ertant frang[a]nt palma vincere non poſſint</i></p> <p>Right margin:</p> <p><i>poſſint cadant frangant diſiungantur male gire</i></p>		
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DT 284

Upper margin: <i>nt et agitantes veneti et russei vertant</i>		
Reverse, all signa magica		
<i>Privatianu Naucelliu Supes[tian]u russei Repentinu / Supesti[te russ]ei servu Reguli Eliu Castore Elegante / Glaucu Argutu veneti Destroiugu Glauci cadant Elegante cadant / Ideu Centauru cadant Bracatu Virgineu cadant Noviciu / Securu Mantineu Prevalente Ilarinu cadant Danuviu / Pancratiu Oclopecta Verbosu Crinitu cadant Auricomu / Elegante Cesareu Improbu Vagarfita cadant / Paratu Delusore cadant Latrone Vagulu cadant Hellenu / Divite Garulu cadant Adamatu cadant Danuviu cadant / Acceptore cadant Germanicu veneti cadant Elegante / Eolu Decore Oceanu Eminente Tagu cadant Eburnu / Epafu cadant Agricola cadant [Mir]andu veneti Multivolu / Capria Inhumanu cadant Voluptate Capriolu Viatore / Securu [Au]guriu Audace Pardu Tigride Percussore / Aliatore cadat Massinissa cadant frangant / Privatianu cadat vertat Naucelliu cadat vertat / Supestite russei servu Reguli cadant vertant / Eliu Castore cadat vertat Eliu cadat vertat Lidu / Reptinu cadat vertat Naucelliu vertat / [...v]ertant Privatianu / [...] Supestite russei se[rvu Re]guli / [Cas]tore et Eliu et Reptinu et Castore / et Pr[ivati]anu et Naucelliu 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</i>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p><i>moere possint / set cadant frangant disiungantur [...] / palma vincere non possint</i></p> <p>Upper margin: <i>Iao Adonaei OIOA</i></p> <p>Left margin: <i>OSOSNANOSCACOS daemon</i></p> <p>Lower margin: <i>Soeches OO[...]OCSIOSE</i></p> <p>Right margin: <i>PThORICHOTAVCREA[...]EC</i></p>		
DT 286	<p>Obverse: <i>Cuigeu / censeu / cinbeu / Perfleu Animo / diarunco arait / deasta to / bescu / berbescu / arurara / baçagra / Noctivagus / Tiberis Oceanus</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Adiuro te demon qui / cunque es et demando ti / bi ex anc ora ex anc di / e ex oc momento ut equos / prasini et albi crucies / ocidas et agitatore Cla / rum et felice et Primu / lum et Romanum ocidas / collida neque spiritum / illis lerinquas adiuro te / per eum qui te resolvit / temporibus deum pela[g]i / cum aerium Iαω Iasdaω / οοπιω αηια</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 287	<p>Obverse: <i>[...]_[...]omn / milue / a sit n / [...]u / [...]alus [Bub] gum lugo e ve / [...]as ocidas ex oc die ner / [v]a [vi] illis concidas ne[que] / [...]asetame p[oss]int</i></p> <p>Reverse :</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	[...] / <i>umloscissimos</i> / <i>a[...]lla[...]c[...] / [...]</i>		
DT 288	<p>Obverse, left of figure: <i>[Cu]igeu / c[e]nseu / cinbeu / perfleu / diarunco / deasta / [be]scu / [bere] / [aru]rara / [baça]gra</i></p> <p>Obverse, right of figure: <i>[...]a[...] / d[...] / cu[...] / um[...] / ram[...] / et te [...] / re[...] t[e] / nebraru / et vos [...] / curo[...] / eatis[...] / uam[...p] / eto[...] / e ut me[...] / [...]t ba[...]as / Bubalus Nilus Liber / Pretiosus Argutus / Alumnus</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>[...]re[...] / [...] / [...]s ad m[...] / [...]rogate[...]m[...] / o[...]contra[...]auferas ab / eis nervia vires medullas impetor vic / torias noli meas spernere voces set / moveant te hec nomina supposita / [...]llas mau / Cuigue censeu cimbeu per / [fleu] diarunco deasta bescu / [berebe]scu[...a]rurara baa[ç]agr[a] / [...]oli mea[s] spe[r]nere voces set / [...]illius[...]ec / [...]hos equos[...] / [...]currere[...] / [...]a[...]o te[...]per hec sancta / nomi[na...] necessit[a]tis</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 289	<p>Obverse, left of figure: <i>Cuig[e]u / censeu / [c]inbeu / [pe]rfleu / [dia]runco / [de]asta / [besc]u / [berbe]scu / [ar]urara / baçagra</i></p> <p>Obverse, right of figure: <i>rogo [...] / cui[...]e[...] / ne sum / mas exi / sti s[i] / cut mi / hi bapa / etes / antmo / a[r]aito / Lynceus Margarita / Profugus Oceanus / o[...]i[...]ginae [tene]brarum</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p>Reverse:</p> <p>[...]ve sancte a[...] / [...]eret a in te p[...]et te[...]ta / [...]eas[...]cus op[se]cro te venias ad / [...]e[...]t[...]e et os equos[...] / [...]tiante contra[h]as tuis[...]e[...] / Aufer[as] ab eis nervia vires med[ul] / las im[pe]tos victorias noli meas [sper] / [n]ere v[oc]es s[et mov]ean te hec / [su]ppos[i]t[a...]mate[...]ter / si cuis tali[...]ta[...]neces finia / ultima nomina Cuigeu cense[u] / cimbeu perfleu [d]iarunco veasta / bescu cerebescu [a]rurara ba[ζa]gr[a] / noli meas spernere voce set equos / prasini et albi e[...]cia[...]cr]ucia[s] / auferas illis dulce somnum fac eos ne / currere possint oc te peto aure[...]om / nervitatem tenpus et necessita[tis] / tue depremas e[quo]s e[q]uos tecum n[...] / supositos tue b[...]mmate[...]ste</p>		
DT 290	<p>Obverse:</p> <p>[...] / [...]bu / [...] / [...]pie[...] / [...] / mare aruta fra / gatt[...]ei[...]b tru / gatt[...]eo[...]b tru</p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p>[Adu]ro te demon[...]be et dem[an] / [do tibi] ex anc die ex oc mo / [mento...] / [...] / [...] / [...]m adiu / [ro] te per eum qui te re / [solvi]t vite temporibus de / [um pelagicum] aerium altis / [simum...]ai[...]</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 291	<p>Obverse, left of figure :</p> <p>[...] / [...qui te] re / [s]olvit ex vi / te temporib / us deum / pela[gicum] / [...]</p> <p>Obverse, right of figure:</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p><i>Adiu[ro] / te de[mon] / quicu[nque] / et de[man] / do [tibi] / ex anc d[ie] / ex anc o[ra] / ex oc m[omen] / to ut cru[ci] / etur ad[...] / u u[...] / [a]itmo / arpitto / [...] / me[...]iat[...]dit[...] / [...] / [...]aini[...]</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>[Adiu]ro te demon cuiqun / [que es] et demando tibi / [...] / [...]ut crucietur / [...] / [...] / [...]n q[ui] te / [...]vit / [...]deum pelagi / [cu]m aerium altissimum / Ιαω οτ ου ταααωωωω / [...]τα[...]</i></p>		
DT 292	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>Quint[...]o / Ocuria anoχ / [oton] b[arnion] / formione / [efecebul]</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>Adiuro te qu[i]cunqu[e] / es et demando tibi ex [oc die] / ex ac ora ex oc momento / ut crucietur Adbocata / per eum qui te resolvit / vite temporibus deum / pelagicum aerium altis / [adi]u[r]o ut hos h[a]b[i]a[s] quos / [...]d[...]a[...]b[...]ei bite [co]mm[endo] / [...] / η[...]ωωαηια[...]</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 293	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>Ocuria / anoχ / oton / barnion / formione / efecebul / Adiuro te demon quicunque es et deman / do tibi ex anc die ex anc ora ex hoc momento / ut crucietur ad diem illum / adiuro te per eum qui te [r]esolvit ex vite / temporibus deum pelagicum aerium / altissimum Ιαω οι ου ια / ιαα ιω ιωε οοριωω α ηια / ε / illi Peciolus descum / Lynceus frangatur / efecebul / formione / barnion / oton / anoχ / Ocuria</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

	<p><i>Adiuro te demon / quincunque es et de / mando tibi ex hanc / die ex hanc ora ex oc / momento ut crucie / tur adiuro te per eum / qui te resolvit ex vite / temporibus deum pela / gicum aerium altissimu[m] / Ιαω οι ου ιαιαα τωωε / ο ορινω αηια / Lynceus</i></p>		
DT 294	<p><i>Ocuria / anoχ / oton / barnion / formione / efecebul / Adiuro te dem[on] quicun / q[u]e et demando ut ex hoc die / [ex] hac hora ex hoc momento cru / cietur [...]b[...]inferno / [...]e[...]obis adiuro te per eum / [qui te res]olvit ex vte tempori / [bus deu]m pelagicum aerium / altissimum Ιαω οιοιυιαια / [α ιω ιωε οορ]ινοαηια / efecebul / formione / barnion / oton / anoχ / Ocuria / Ri[...] / Frangrio / Peciolus / Profugu[s]</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition
DT 295	<p><i>Υεσσε[μ]ιγαδ[ων] ια[ω] αω βαθβω / εηαηιε[...] σοπεσαν χαν / θαρα ερησχιγαλ σανχιστη δωδε / [x]αχητη ακρουροβπρε χοδηρε / δροπιδη ταρταρουχε ανοχ ανοχ / καταβρειμω φοβερα προς τ / ε[...]ννη κατανεικαωδρα δαμαστρει / [...]σα μευαλοδεξε σερουαβθος tibi / commendo quoniuiam maledixit / partourientem, current cuillic / et demones infernales obliga / te illis equis pedes ne currere / possint illis equis quorum no / mina hic scripta et demandata / habetis Incletum Nitidum Patri / ciou Nauta σιουν [...]αα ταχαρχην / obligate illos ne currere possit cra / stini et perendinic cir[cens]ibus / Patricium Nitidum Na[ut]a Incleto / ταχαρχην tou autem Domina / Canpana χambtrras Nitidum / Patricium Nauta Incletu ταχαρ / χην ne currere possint cras et / perendie et omnibus horis / in circo ruant quomodo et tu / iucundu emeritus es βιοσ / θανατος iam iam cito cito / quoniam d[e]ducunt illos / σθφωνιαχι δαιμονες</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Competition

DT 297	<p>[...] / <i>mi</i>[...] / [...]koue / [...]mado m / [...]tene <i>il</i>[lum] / [...]eate / [...]pae / dicae[...]apmi / do[...]komme[ndo] / <i>facendae</i> / <i>me</i>[...]ente / <i>ari</i>[...]ou / <i>hec</i> / <i>ee</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Unknown
DT 300	<p>Obverse: [...]aviuli / [...]tei gutur / babo / w / o o os / [...]o / [...]a]tur / <i>Desumatur</i> / <i>ut facia</i>[s] <i>il</i>[l]um <i>sine</i> / <i>sensum sine memo</i> / <i>ria sine ritu sine</i> / <i>medul</i>[l]a / <i>sit</i> <i>vi mutuscus</i></p> <p>Reverse: [...] <i>ento demando tibi ut ac</i>[c]eptu[m] [<i>h</i>]abeas / [<i>S</i>]ilvanuq puulva fac[i]a[s] et custodias / [...] <i>nto</i> [de] / <i>mando ut fa</i> / <i>cia lum mo</i> / <i>rtu</i>[um] / <i>depona</i>[s] / <i>eum at</i> / <i>Tartara</i></p>	Hadrumetum	Legal
DT 303	<p>Fragment I: [m]edia extrema novissima [...] / [...] coligo ligo <i>ligua luc gavi</i>[...] <i>media</i> / [ext]rem novissima ne quit <i>repo</i>[n]dere facias / <i>varios</i> [...]coligo <i>ligua</i> [...] / [<i>novi</i>]sima nequ repoderi facuas ilos muto[s] / [<i>lig</i>]ua <i>lig</i>[o] coligo [...]xili[...]rom rep[ondere]</p> <p>Fragment II: [...] / [...]o <i>liguas le o media extrem no</i>[visima] / [...]ap[...]soret[...]s <i>aligo coligo</i> [...] / [...]mane quit possi[nt] mihi [...] / [...]ns <i>vari aligo coligo</i> <i>ligua</i> [...] / <i>novissima ne quit ripodere facias ilos</i> / <i>potiora suidi videxmi aligo coligo</i> / <i>novissima ni quet</i> [...]x[...]ospin / [<i>fa</i>]cias [...] / [<i>me</i>]dia extrema <i>novissima mutos mu</i>[tos] / [...]Publius Curtius <i>alligo</i> <i>colligo ligo</i> [...] / [...]ilo[...]um <i>ligo co</i>[ligo ...]</p> <p>Fragment III:</p>	Hadrumetum	Legal

<p>[...] <i>qui</i> / <i>aligo</i> co[l]igo [...] / <i>media</i> ext[re]ma]</p> <p>Fragment IV:</p> <p>[...] <i>quit</i> / [...] <i>ne quit</i> / [...]</p> <p>Fragment V:</p> <p>[...] / [...] / [...] / [...] <i>ligo</i> [...] / [...] / [...] <i>u aligo</i> <i>coligo ligu[a]</i> / [...] <i>o</i> [...] <i>vamus</i> [...]</p> <p>Fragment VI:</p> <p>[...] / [...] <i>vi</i> [...] <i>ne quit ripo</i> / [d...<i>media</i>] <i>extrema</i> / [...] / [...] <i>ligua</i> / [...] / [...] / [...] <i>n</i> [...] <i>as</i> [...] <i>n</i> [...]</p>		
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Appendix II

<i>Defixio</i>	Ancient text	Location	Motive
CMB 1	Obverse: <i>Mariv</i> Reverse: <i>C6CEc4</i>	Alcester	Unknown
CMB 2	<i>qu[i] mihi Vilviam in[v]olavit / sic liquat co[odo] aqua / [...] qui eam [invol]avit / Velvinna Ex[s]upereus / Verianus Serverinus / Agustalis Comitianus / Minianus Catus / Germanill[a] Iovina</i>	Bath	Other, Kidnapping, Theft
CMB 3	<i>Severianus fil[ius] Brigomall[a]e / Patarnianus filius / Matarunus ussor / Catonius Potentini / Marinianus Belcati / Lucillus Lucciani / Aeternus Ingenui / Bellaus Bellini</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 4	Obverse: <i>seu gen[tilli]s seu C / h[r]istianus quaecumque utrum vir / utrum mulier utrum puer utrum puella / utrim servus utrum liber mihi Annian / o mantutene de bursa mea s[e]x argente[o]s / furaverit tu d[o]mina dea ad ipso perxi[g] / e [eo]s si mihi per [f]raudem aliquam INDEP / REGSTVM dederit nec sic ipsi dona sed ut sangu / inem suum EPVTES qui mihi hoc inrogaverit</i> Reverse: <i>Postum[ianu]s Pisso / Locinna Alauna / Meterna Gunsula / C[an]didina Euticius / Peregrinus / Latinus / Senicianus /</i>	Bath	Theft

	<i>Avitanus / Victor / Scu[tri]us / Aessicunia / Paltucca / Calliopis / Celerianus</i>		
CMB 5	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>[D]eae Suli donavi [...arg] / [e]ntiolos seks quos perd[idi] / a nomin[i]bus infrascript[is] / deae exactura est / Senicianus et Saturnius sed / et Ann[i]ola carta picta perscri[pta]</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>An[i]ola / Senicianus / Saturnius</i></p>	Bath	Theft
CMB 6	<i>Severa / Draconitus / Spectatus / Innocentius / Senicio / Candidianus / [Si]mplicius / Belator / Surilla / Austus / Carinianu[s]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 7	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>Docilianus / Bruceri [filius] / deae sanctissim[a]e / Suli / devodeo eum [q]ui / caracellam mean / involaverit si / vir si femina si / servus si liber / ut [...] us dea Sulis / maximo letum / [a]digat nec ei so / mnum permit</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>tat nec natos nec / nascentes do / [ne]x caracallam / meam ad tem / plum sui numi / nus per[t]ulerit</i></p>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 8	<i>Uricalus Do[c]ilosa uxor sua / Docilis filius suus et Docilina / Dencentinus frater suus Alogiosa / nomina eorum qui iuraverunt / qui iuraverunt ad fontem deae Suli[s] / prid[i]e idus Apriles</i>	Bath	Other

	<i>quicumque illis per / iuraverit deae Suli facias illum / sanguine suo illud satisfacere</i>		
CMB 9	<i>Brittuenda / Marinus / Memorina</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 10	Obverse: <i>Nomen / furis qui / LATERA</i> Reverse: <i>IRQVET / donatu / r[...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 11	Obverse: <i>Pet[it]io / rove te / Victoria vind[...] / cun[...] Minici / Cunomolius / Minerva ussor / Cunitius ser[v]us / Sempvara ussor / Lavidendus ser[v]us / Mattonius ser[v]us / Catinius exsactoris / furem / Methianu[s...]</i> Reverse: <i>[...a]micus[...] / TPIAS / GINENINVS[us] / gienunus</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 12	<i>nomen rei / qui destra / le involave / rit</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 13	<i>Deae Suli Minervae Docca / dono numini tuo pecuniam quam / misi id est [denarios quinque] et is [q]ui / [... eam involaveri]t si ser[vu]s s[i liber ...] / [...] ex s igatur [...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 14	Obverse: <i>Basilia donat in templum Martis ani / lum argentuem si servus si liber [ta] / m[e]dius fuerit vel aliquis de hoc / noverit ut sanguin[e] et liminibus ob</i>	Bath	Theft

	Obverse, perpendicular to other writing: <i>Primurudem</i>		
	Reverse: <i>omnibus membris configatur vel et / iam intestinis excomesis [om]nibus habet[at] / si qui anilum involavit vet qui medius / fuerit</i>		
CMB 15	<i>Cunsa / Docimedis / Sedebelia / Maria / Vendibedis / Cunsus / Severiaanus / Seniila</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 16	<i>Victorinus / Talipieinus / Minatius / Victorianus / Campe / pedita / Valauneicus / aBelia</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 17	<i>Execro qui incolaver / it qui Deomiorix de hos / ipitio sue perdiderit qui / cumque re[u]s deus illum / inveniatur sanguine et / vitae suae illud redemat</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 18	<i>Minervae / de[ae] Suli donavi / furem qui / caracallam / mean invo / lavit si servus / si liber si ba / ro si mulier / hoc donum non / redemat nessi / sangu[i]ne suo</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 19	Obverse: <i>a[e]n[um me]um qui levavit [e]xc / onic[tu]s [e]st temlo Sulis / dono si mulier si baro si ser / vus si liber si pure su puella / et qui hoc fecerit san / gu[in]em suum in ipsum aen / mu fundat</i>	Bath	Theft
	Reverse: <i>dono si mul[ie]r si / ba[ro] si servus si lib / er si puer puel / la eum latr[on] / em qui</i>		

	<i>rem ipsa / m involavi[t] d / eus [i]nvenia[t]</i>		
CMB 20	<i>Britivenda / Venibelia</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 21	<i>Lovernisca d[onati] / eum qui sive v[ir] / isive femina s[i]ve / puer sive puella / qui ina [...]sortium[...] i[n]volaverit</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 22	<i>[... perm]ittas / [... solmn]um nec sanita / [tem...n]isi tandiu ta / [...] iat quandiu hoc / [... ill]ud se habuerit / [...]si vir si femina / [...] si ancilla</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 23	<i>Docimedis / [p]erdidi[t] mani / cilla dua qui / illas involavi[t] / ut mentes sua[s] / perd[at] et / pculos su[o]s / in fano ubi / destina[t]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 24	<i>[...] eocrotis perdidit la[enam] / [pa]lleum sagum paxsam do[navi] / [...] S]ulis ut hoc ant dies novem / [si li]ber si ser[v]us si [li]ber si serva / [si] pu[e]r 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 sue rostro defer[at]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 25	<i>stragulum q[ue]m / [p]erdidi anim[a invo] / lavit [...] nisi / s[an]g[u]ine sua</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 26	<i>[...s] / ang[ine] / noctis / qui mih[i] / uui[...]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 27	<i>[...invo] / laver[it...] / furerit [...] / vi si l[iber si servus quicum] / que co[...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 28	<i>[...]ve[...] / [...]diabt[...] / [si l]iber [si servus ...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)

CMB 29	[...] <i>marin[us ...] / [...] quas pe[rdidi] / [...]tiolo meo[...] / [i]nvolaverit si [...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 30	[...] <i>involaverit [...]llum invola / [verit] virus [...] mulieris [...]illido[...]us / [...]llum vitali[...] / espeditus[...] tatirum[...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 32	Obverse: <i>Senianus / Magnus / Mc[...]</i> Reverse: <i>Lucianu[s] Marcellianus / [M]allainus / Mu[t]ata Medol[...] / geacus</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 33	<i>Adixoui / deiana / deieda / andagin / uindiorix / cuamiin / ai</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 34	[...] <i>em det nisi / [...] in vero d[e]ae S[ulis...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 35	[... <i>d]eae Su[li...]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 36	[... <i>dea] Sulis t[ibi] [...] / [...]en[...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 37	<i>si [qui]s vome / rem Civilis / involavit / ut an[imam] / suua[m] in tem / plo deponat / [si n]o[n] vom / [erem ...]ub / [...si se]rvus / si liber si li / bertinus[...] / unan[...]o / finem faci / [a]m</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 38	<i>deae Suli Minerv[a]e Soli / nus dono numini tuo ma / iestati paxa[m] ba[ln]earem et [pal] / leum [nec p]ermitta[s so]mnum / nec san[ita]tem ei qui mihi fr[a]u / dem [f]ecit si vir si femi[na] si servus / s[i] l[ib]er nissi [s]e</i>	Bath	Theft

	<i>retēfens istas / s[p]ecies ad [te]mplum tuum detulerit / [li]beri sui vel son [...] sua e[t] qui / [...]deg[...] / ei quoque [...]xe[...] / [...]so]mnum ne[c sanitatē] / m[...]n[...]alul[e]um / et relinq[ua]s nissi as [te]mplum tu / um istas res retulerint</i>		
CMB 39	<i>deo Marti[...] / do[no] maiest[ati tue] / sacellum [...] / nisi e[...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 40	<i>deae Sul[i] Minervae / rogo [s]ancitissimam / maiestatem tuam u[t] / vindices ab his [q]ui [fra] / [ude]fecerunt ut ei[s per] / mittas nec s[o]mnum / [nec...]</i>	Bath	Vengeance
CMB 41	<i>[...]q[...] / et invol[vit ...] / duo de [...] / adhūsgar [...] / deveniat si lib[er] / si ser[v]us si peur [si] / [p]uella si vir s[i ...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 42	Obverse: <i>illorum anima / las[s]er[ur] / titumus / sedileubisediac / uaquepamun</i> Reverse: <i>Exsibuus / lothuius / mascentius / aesibuas / petiacus</i>	Bath	Vengeance
CMB 43	<i>[...] dono ti / [bi...] ream / [...]l[...]sivio meo / [...] e]x[i]gas pe[r sa] / nguinem e[ius] qui has / [involave]rit vel qui / [medius fuer]it si femina / [...]o [si] liber / [...]sa[...] / [...]um pertuleri[t]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 44	<i>qui involaverit / si ser[v]us si lib[er] / [...] / Totia / anima[m] suam / [q]u[i</i>	Bath	Theft

	<i>i]nvolav[...] / [...]a[m] meam / [...] / qu[i] in / volavi[...]</i>		
CMB 45	<i>qui alamaea / negat sanguine / [...]inen[...] / de[s]t[in]at</i>	Bath	Other, False accusations
CMB 46	<i>[...r]ipuit ut [eo]rum pretium / [...et e]xigas hoc per sanguinem et sa / [nitatem sua]m et suorm nec ante illos pati[a]r / [is bibere nec m]manducare nec / adsellare nec / [...]ius hoc [...]bisoverit</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 47	<i>[...] pu / [...] dono ti[bi] / [p]alliu[m]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 48	Obverse: <i>deae Suli [...] / [...] / [...] is qu[i]</i> Reverse: <i>si servus si liber si quis cum[que] / erit non illi permittas nec / oculos nec anitatem nisi caeciatatem / orbitatemque quoad vixerit / nisi haec ad fanum [...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 49	<i>desulimine [...] / aeosquiamaliama [...] / ttrasuendetsilumla [...] / corregenetc [...]egeet [...] fan [...] / tlsruu dea [...] tedo [...] / etqohabunit[...]setrodeam / etsanuenesua[...]bitquime / uitisetmalu [...]ic[...]em / docigeniusuteane[...]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 50	<i>[...tib]i q[u]er[or] / [...]exxigi / [si servu]s si liber hoc tulerit / [non il]li permittas in angu[i]ne / [...]sul[...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 51	<i>qu[i involavi]t cab[al] / lar[e]m si [vir si f]emin[a] / si ser[v]us [si libe]r / [...] dea sul[is ...]</i>	Bath	Theft

CMB 52	<p>Obverse: <i>d[eo] Mercurio / [...C]ivilis [...] fuerit de / [...] Trinni familiam [...] / Velvalis [...] / am suam</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Markelinum familia[m] / Velorigam et famili[am] / [s]uam Morivassum et / [f]amiliam Riovassum e[t] / familiam Minoven[...] / et familiam sua[m]</i></p>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 53	<i>[...] / recentis [...]imi[...] / capitularem civi[li]s [...] / em supplic [...] / si ser[vus] si liber [...] / somnus [...]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 54	<i>deae [...] Exsib[uus] / dona[vit] i[l]los qui [...] ban / [...] sunt [...] si servus] / si l[iber] si bar]o si m[u]l[i]e[r] / sa[...]</i>	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 55	<i>Enica conqueror ti[bī] / [...] tanulis [...]dehi[...]</i>	Bath	Other, Justice
CMB 56	<i>Oconeā deae Suli / M[inervae] dono ti[bī] pa / nnum si quis eum [...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 57	<i>deae Suli / si quis balniarem / Cantissen[a]e inc[o]la[v]erit / si s[e]r[v]u si liber [...]</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 58	<i>[...] quiescit [...]lit sanitatem Invictus / nisi eidem loco ipsum pallium / [re]ducatur</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 59	<i>Exsuperius / donat pannum ferri / qui illi innoc[entiam] [...]nfam / tusc[...]su / lis 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 mi / hi involav[i]t</i>	Bath	Theft

CMB 60	[...]ia[...] / [...] <i>dea Suli</i> [s ...] / [...] <i>nem</i> <i>d</i> [...]	Bath	Unknown
CMB 61	<i>Minerv</i> [a ...] / <i>amcocus</i> [...] / <i>lumpell</i> [...]	Bath	Unknown
CMB 62	[...] <i>qui suib</i> [...] / [<i>s</i>] <i>i se</i> [rv]us [<i>s</i>] [...] / [...] <i>si vir si</i> [<i>f</i>]em[<i>ina</i> ...] <i>discebit</i> [...]	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 63	[... <i>B</i>] <i>ilitus Linu</i> [s ...] / [...] <i>Bitiluu</i> s <i>Lin</i> [us ...]	Bath	Unknown
CMB 64	Obverse: <i>si puer si puella / si vir si femina qui</i> <i>h[oc] / invol</i> [a]vit non p[er]mit / <i>tatu</i> [...] <i>nis</i> [i] inn[o]cen / <i>tiam ulla</i> [m ...] Reverse: <i>non illi dimitta</i> [s] / <i>nec somnum nisi ut</i> <i>TATIGIA m</i> [o]dium ne / <i>bulae modium</i> <i>veni /</i> [<i>at</i>] <i>fumi</i>	Bath	Theft
CMB 65	<i>si uapesurusmiimiiii / ille si ceriasius si /</i> <i>igeunsnser per / maneat</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 66	<i>nomen fur / ti si se</i> [rv]us / <i>si l</i> [ibe]r / <i>si</i> <i>puer si pue / lla</i> [...]	Bath	Theft
CMB 67	[...] <i>modsusio</i> [...] <i>iuuci / deus faci</i> [a]t <i>ani</i> [m]am / <i>pe</i> [r]d[e]re sui	Bath	Vengeance
CMB 68	Obverse: [...] <i>doscim</i> [...] / <i>verit si ser /</i> [<i>vus si</i> <i>liber</i>] Reverse: [...] / [...] <i>m fecerit</i> [...] / [...] <i></i> <i>intelleg</i> [...]	Bath	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 69	[...] <i>m qui mi</i> [hi ...]	Bath	Unknown

CMB 70	<i>Docime[edis ...] / de[ae] su[li ...] / [...n[...]</i>	Bath	Unknown
CMB 71	[charakteres] <i>ιαω / αβρασαχ / πανη αβαν / ναθαυλβα / δαθε / σαλνθεμ / ετ νικθωριαμ / tib[erium] clau[diu]m similem quem pe / perit heren[n]ia marcellia</i>	Billingford	Other, Health and Victory
CMB 72	[...] / <i>caricula quae [si s]er / [v]u[s i] liber si ba[ro] s[i muli]er / qui [... d]omin / a [...] facias / sic [i]llas [re]dim[a]t sa[n]guin[e s]uo lier / [...] si bar[o] mu / [...]</i>	Brean Down	Theft
CMB 73	<i>SERADVASORISDVAS / s[i] ser[v]us si anc[i]l[la] si libertus si / liberta si m[u]lie[r] / si baro popia[m] fer[re]a[m] / EAENEC furtum fece / r[it] dominio Neptuno cor[u]lo pare[n]ta[tu]r</i>	Brandon	Theft
CMB 74	<i>Dom[i]na Ne / mesis do ti / bi palleum / et galliculas / qui tulit non / redimat no / uita Sanguiene / sui</i>	Caerleon	Other, Theft, Sabotage
CMB 75	<i>A Nase [...] / eve[h]it Vroc [...] / sius fascia[m] et armi[lla] / s cap[t]olare / spectr[um] / cufia[m] duas ocrias x vas / a stagnea si mascel si me / mina / si puer / si pu[e]lla duas / ocri[as] si vull[u]eris factae sang[uine] / suo ut [i]llu[m] requeratat Neptu[nu]s / e[t] amictus e[t] cufina [et] arm[i]lla[e] / senarri sv cap[t]olare tunc sanguine[e] / fascia tenet fur e / carta s[upra] s[cripta] ratio[n]e</i>	Caistor St. Edmund	Theft
CMB 76	[... D]iogen[i]s dalmatic[um] / seithaus [...] / dalmaticum	Chesterton	Unknown

CMB 77	<i>uetus / quodmodo sanies / significatur / Tacita deficta</i>	Clothall	Unknown
CMB 78	<i>[...]mneui [...]cl [...]ni c[u]m / [...]pluminono[...] telo[...] at/[...] su[a [...]s[...]silomo[...] / cui[...]rliomi[...]q / opoulnsllm [...] na / pocciapuoico [...] tcs / marinan [...]rt / masus[...]msaso / si s[...]jsnsus / [...]ns</i>	Dodford, Northampton	Theft
CMB 79	Obverse: <i>donatio diebus quo / perit Butu resque / qu[a]e [...] nec ante da / netate nec salute / nesi qua[m] in dopm[o die] / [...] sanetate in do / [mo de]</i> Reverse: <i>s[...] s[upra] s[cripti]</i>	Eccles Villa	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 80	Obverse: <i>deo DaVIIS [...] Senislis / Senii [...]</i> Reverse: <i>[denariis] III milibus [...] Aur]elius Se[...] / [...]us[...]</i>	Farley Heath	Theft
CMB 81	<i>domine Neptune / t[i]b[i] d[o]no [h]ominem qui / [solidum] invola[v]it mu / coni et argenti[olo]s / seks ide[o] dono nomi[n]a / qui decepit si mascelt si / femina si puuer si puue / lla ideo dono tibi niske / et neptuno vitam vali / tudinem sanguem eius / qui conscius fueris eius / deceptionis animus / qui hoc involavit et / qui conscius fuerit ut / eum hoc involavit sanguem / eiuis consumas et de / ciplas domin[e] ne[p] / tune</i>	Hamble Estuary	Theft

CMB 83	<i>Quicumque res Careni in / volaverit si mulrer si mascel / sangu[i]no suo solvat erit / et pecunie quem exesu / Mercurio dona et Virtuti s[acra]</i>	Kelvedon	Theft
CMB 84	<i>daeo Maglo [do] euum qui frudum / fecit de padoio [do] elameum qui / furtum [fecit] de padaoium saum / qui sa[q]um Sevandi involva / vit / S[il]vester Ri[g]omandus / S[e]nilis Venustinus / Vorena / Calaminus / Felicianus / Rufaedo / Vendicina / Ingenuinus / Iuventius / Alocus / Cennosus / Germanus / Senedo / Cunovendus / Regalis / Ni[g]ella / S[enic]ianus / [do] antae nonum diem / illum tollat / qui sa[g]um involauit / Servandi</i>	Leicester	Theft
CMB 85	<i>qu[ia]rgentios Sabiniani fura / verunt id est Similis Cupitus Lochita / hos deus siderabit in hoc septiso / nio et peto ut vitam suam per / dant ante dies septem</i>	Leicester	Theft
CMB 86	<i>Carinus / Similis / Consortius / Comes Masloriu[s] / Senorix Cunittus / Cunittus Cunedecan / ES / Ceanatis Tiberin[us]</i>	Leintwardine	Unknown
CMB 87	<i>Enestinus / Motius / Comintinus</i>	Leintwardine	Unknown
CMB 88	<i>Tretia[m] Maria[m] defico et / illeus uita[m] et me[n]tem / et memoriam [e]t iocine / ra pulmones interm xixi / ta fata cogitata meor / iam sci no[no] possitt loqui / [quae] sicreta si[n]t neque SINTA / MERE posit neque [...] / [...] CL V DO</i>	London	Unknown
CMB 89	Obverse:	London	Unknown

	<p><i>T[itus] Egnatius / Tyran[n]us defic[t]us / est et / P[ublius] Cicereius Felix / defectus e[st]</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>T[itus] Egnatius / Tyran[nus] defixtus / est et / P[ublius] Cicereius Felix</i></p>		
CMB 90	<p><i>a[u]rel[ius] satir / ninus domitia atti / ola et si qui afuere</i></p>	London	Unknown
CMB 91	<p><i>[d]eae 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></p>	London	Theft
CMB 92	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>tibi rogo Metu / nus u[t] m[e] vendic / as de iste nu / mene me ven / dicas ante q[u]o / d ven[iant] die[s] no / vvem rogo te / Metunus ut [t]u / mi vend[i]cas / ante q[u]o[d] / ven[iant] di[es] n[o]ve / m</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>xuparanti / silvielesatavile / xsuperatus Silvico / le Avitus Melus / so datus / perucitibi / Santinus / Magetus / apidimis Antoni / Santus Varia / nus Varasius datus</i></p>	London	Vengeance
CMB 93	<p><i>Devo / Nodenti Siluianus / anilum perdedit / demediam partme / donauit Nodenti / inter quibus nomen / Seniciani nollis / petmittas anita / tem donec perfera / usque templum / [No]dentis / Rediuiua</i></p>	Lydney Park	Theft

CMB 94	<p><i>do a / deo Marti A [...] VNISEA id [est ...] / eculium eum et secur [...] / tidissee [...] illum iume [...] / rogat genium tuum domine / ut quampri[imu]m res[ideant] / nec eant per annos novem n[on eis] / permittas nec sedere [nec...] / [...] MOMBRIC [...]</i></p>	Marlborough Downs	Unknown
CMB 96	<p>Obverse: <i>Dio M[ercurio] dono ti[bi] / negotium Et / [t]ern[a]e et ipsam / nec sit i[n]vidi[a] me[i] / Timotneo san / gui[n]e suo</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Dono tibi / Mercurius / aliam neg[o] / tium NAVIN / [...] / NII [...] / MIN [...] SANG / SVO</i></p>	Old Harlow	Other, Love affair, Business transaction
CMB 98	<p><i>[...]mitr[...]pio[...] / in is iii milibus cuius [de]mediam / partem tibi ut ita illum [e]xigas a Vassicil / lo [...] pecomini filio et uxore sua quoniam [...]rtussu quod illi de hopitiolo m[eo] / [...]ulaverint nec illis [p]ermittas sanit[a] / [tem] nec biberre nec man[n]d[u]care nec dormi[re] / [nec nat]os sanos habe[a]nt nessi hanc rem / [meam] ad fanum tuum [at]tulerint iteratis / [pre]c[i]bus te rogo ut [ab ip]sis niminibus / [inimicorum] meorum hoc [pertu]ssum recipe / [...] perven[ia]t</i></p>	Pagan's Hill	Theft
CMB 99	<p><i>[...]gno[...] quem / [...]tuadrodit[...] / [...]t[...] / [...]q[...] / octies novem e / sit omni gen / borum fatigatu / e exorit [...]s[...]</i></p>	Pagan's Hill	Unknown

CMB 100	[...]cond[...]tin[...] / [...]umqu[e] quomin[us ...]/[...]fra[d]e sua ul[la ...] /[...]us donav[...] / [...] eus [...]	Pagan's Hill	Unknown
CMB 101	Obverse, there is a symbol engraved	Puckeridge- Braughing	Unknown
CMB 102	Obverse: <i>donatur deo Ioui / optimo maximo ut / exigat per mentem per / memoriam per intus / per intestinum per cor / [p]er medullas per uenas / per [...] as / [...] si mascel si / femina quisquis</i> Reverse: <i>inuolauit rios Cani / Digni ut in corpore / suo in breui temp[or]e / pariat denature / deo ssto decima pars / eius pecuniae quam / [so]luerit</i>	Ratcliff-on- Soar	Theft
CMB 103	<i>nomine Camulorigi[s] et Titocun[a]e molam quam perdederunt / in fanum dei devovi cuicumque n[o]m[e]n invalasit / mola[m] illam ut sa[n]guin[em] suum mittat usque diem quo / moriatur q[ui]cumque invo[l]a[sit] [f]urta moriatur / et PAVLAVTORIAM quicumque illam involasit / et ipse moriato mo[ri]atur quicumqu[e] illam / involasit er VERTIGN de [h]ospitio vel vissacio [...] quicumque illam involasit a devo mori[a]tur</i>	Ratcliff-on- Soar	Theft
CMB 104	<i>annoto de duas / ocrias ascia[m] scal / pru[m] ma[n]ica[m] si m[ulier] au[t] si / b[are] RIANINE duas / partis deo AC CEVM</i>	Ratcliff-on- Soar	Theft

CMB 105	<p><i>Nimincillus [Quintinus] / lu[n]ctinus</i> <i>D[o]cillinae / lon[g]intus</i> <i>VSCANIMIHMS / [...] NIS [...] IC [...]</i> <i>eu[m] / qui invalaveri / t deus det ma /</i> <i>la[m] plagam</i></p>	Silchester	Theft
CMB 107	<p>Obverse: <i>Commonitorium deo / Mercurio a Satur</i> <i>/ nina muliere de lintia / mine quod</i> <i>amisit ut il / le qui hoc circumvenit non /</i> <i>ante laxetur nisi quando / res ssdictas as</i> <i>fanum ssdic / tum attulerit si vir si mu /</i> <i>lier si servus s[i] liber</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>Deo ssdicto tertiam / partem donat ita ut</i> <i>/ ex sigat istas re quae / ssta[e] sunt / Ac</i> <i>a quae perit deo Silvano / tertia par</i> <i>donatur ita ut / hoc exsigat si vir si</i> <i>femina si ser / us si liber [...] E [...] TAT</i></p>	Uley	Theft
CMB 108	<p>Obverse: <i>Deo Mercurio / Cenacus queritus / de</i> <i>Vitalino et Nat / lino filio ipsius d[e] /</i> <i>iumento quod erap / tum est. Erogat /</i> <i>deum Mercurium / ut nec ante sa /</i> <i>nitatem</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>habeant nini / nisi repraes[n] / taverint</i> <i>mihi iu / mentum quod r[a] / puerent et</i> <i>de devotionem qua[m] / ipse ab his ex /</i> <i>postulaverit</i></p>	Uley	Theft
CMB 109	<p><i>Biccus dat M / ercuri quidquid /</i> <i>pe[r]d[di]it si vir si m / ascel ne meiat /</i></p>	Uley	Theft

	<i>ne cavet ne loqu / tur ne dormiat / n[e] vigilet nec s[a] / [l]uetm nec sa / nitatem ne / ss[i] in templo / Mercuri per / tulerit ne co[n] / scientiam de / perferat ness[i] / me intercen / te</i>		
CMB 110	<i>deo Mercurio / Docilinus QV AENM / Varianus et Peregina / et Sabinianus qu[i] perco / ri meo dolum malum in / tulerunt et INT[...]RR pro / locuntur rogo te ut eos / max[i]mo [le]to adigas nec / eis sanit[at]em nec] som / num perm[itt]as nisi / a te quod m[ihi] ad[mo] / ni[st]rav]erint / rede[e]rint</i>	Uley	Other, Harm of an animal
CMB 111	<i>nomen fuis / [qu]i frenem involaverit / si l[i]ber si servus si baro / si mulier deo dona / tor duas paetes / AFIMA sua ter / tia ad sanita / tem</i>	Uley	Theft
CMB 112	Obverse: [...] / [r]ogo laqu[...] Reverse: [...]as date[...] / summam div[...]	Uley	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 113	<i>Deo M[a]rti Mercur[io] / anulus areus de hos[pitiolo ... involav] / erit et pedica ferre[a...] / s [...] qui fraudem fec / [it ...] / r[...] deus inveni[a]t</i>	Uley	Theft
CMB 114	<i>PETRONIUS</i>	Uley	Unknown
CMB 115	<i>deo Mercurio Mintl / a Rufus donavi / eos vel mulier cel / PARIVSLIIFASPATEM / [ma]teriam sagi / donavi</i>	Uley	Theft
CMB 116	Obverse:	Uley	Other,

	<p><i>[deo] sancto Mercuri[o] [que]r[or] / tibi de illis qui mihi male / cogitant et male faciunt / supra EDS iumen / si servus si liber si m[ascel] / si [fem]ina ut non illis per / mittas nec sta[r]e nec / sedere nec bibere</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>nec manducar[e] n[e]c h[as] / [i]r[a]s redemere possit / nesi danguine suo AENE</i></p>		Unspecified aggression
CMB 117	<p><i>Aunillus / V[ica]riana / Covitius / Mini [filius] dona[t] / Varicillum / Minura / Atavacum</i></p>	Uley	Unknown
CMB 118	<p><i>Lucilia / Mellossi [fillia] / AEXSIEVMO / Minu[v]assus / Senebel[l] / enae [filius]</i></p>	Uley	Unknown
CMB 119	<p>Obverse:</p> <p><i>carta qu[a]e merurio dona / tur ut manecilis qui per[i]erunt / ultionem requirat qui illos / invalaviit ut illi sangu[in]em [e]t sanita / tem tolla[t] qui ipsos manicili[o]s tulit / [u]t quantocicius illi pareat quod / deum mercurium r[o]gamus [...] ura</i></p> <p>Reverse:</p> <p><i>q[...]os nc u[...]lat</i></p>	Uley	Theft (suggested, not given)
CMB 120	<p><i>IORID [...] SONAE [...] / [...] LTELL [...] / [...] ESVNT sup[pe]cti sunt inter [...] / [...] ILLVSI [...] EVSRE [...] / VMINVENETET [...] / lami[l]la una et anulli quator [...]</i></p>	Uley	Theft

CMB 121	<p><i>epre[...]r[...]epeto[...] / peto iudicio tuo quo[...]d [...]eculans / [...] / tum ne lili permittas bibere nec / [do]rmire nec ambulare neque allam[...] / s gentisue uide ille nascit [...] / eita ulla nec alumen [...] / [...]pre [...]uemente loquantur et r [...] / [...] ugabantur certum sciu[...]t[...] / si / [...]meuerecameue / [...]meor</i></p>	Wanborough	Vengeance
CMB 122	<p>Obverse: <i>s[i] servus si [l]ib[er] qu / i [f]uravit su[st]uli / t [ne ei] dimitte / [male]fic[i]cum d[u]m / tu vindi[c]a[s]</i></p> <p>Reverse: <i>ante dies / nov[em] si pa / [g]a[n]is si / mil[e]s [qui] / su[s]tu[l]it</i></p>	Weeting-with-Broomhill	Theft
CMB 123	<p><i>ma[t]r[i]x [t]i[b]i / dico sede in / tuo loco VO[...] / [...]S dedit tibi ad / iuro te per Iaω / et per Sabao et / per Adōnai ne / atus teneas se / d sede in tuo lo / co nec nocea[s] Cleuomedem / [fi]liam A[...]</i></p>	West Deeping	Unknown
CMB 124	<p><i>[...] amisi oro tuam m[aie] / statem ut firem istum / si ancil[l]a si [p]uer si [puella] / ext[i]ngus [...]ut illi s[...] / cias perduci [r]em ra[ptam] / [...] um et [...]</i></p>	Unknown	Theft
CMB 125	<p><i>[do]atur deo Merc[urio] si / q[i]lis involaverit c[...]lam / [...] licinnum nec non alia minutalia / Rocitami si baro si mulier si puel[l]a / si puer si ingenuus si servus n[o]n an[t]e / eum laset quam mimbra [ra]pu manu di / em mortis</i></p>	Unknown	Theft

<i>concutiat e[u]m quui[i] se / curam [...]<i>nnoris involavit EA[...] / AEAPR nec non et quui res / [p]ictor[ia]a[s] / involaverit</i> </i>		
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