

Inv. no. 676

91 by 48 mm
Pb 45.8 Sn 54.0 Cu 0.2
folded four times

Irregular flattened 'blob' of alloy, more or less complete, untidily inscribed in three columns from L. to R. with a blunt stilus. The surface was scored before inscribing, perhaps to flatten it; and after being inscribed, the tablet was folded from both sides and the bottom towards the centre, to make a lump. Letters were carelessly written, and often distorted because of the awkward format. Much of the text in consequence is doubtful, if not illegible.



TRANSCRIPT

(i) quiinuolauerit	(ii) totia	(iii) uolau.i
siserussilib.r	animasuam	. . elma . .
l(over o or p)ente. .	]u.ñuolau . .	ueşel
	] . . ameam	
	5]n . . o.	
	traces	
	traces	
	quin	

RESTORED TEXT

(i) qui involaverit	(ii) Totia (?)	(iii) volav[
si ser(v)us si lib[e]r	anima(m) suam	. . .
. . .	[q]u(i) [i]ñvolav[	. . .
	]a(m) meam	. . .
	5 . . .	
	. . .	
	. . .	
	qu(i) in-	

'Who has stolen, whether slave or free . . . his life . . . [who] has stolen . . . my . . . who has stolen . . .'

i2. *ser(v)us*: 'Vulgar' spelling as in 9, 7 (see note).

3. If *L* has been written over *O*, then perhaps a garbled *violenter* or similar.

ii1. *totia*: unless this continues i3, it is a personal name: cf. *CIL* XIII 4177, *Totia Lalla*; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Eburacum* (1962), 133, No. 141, silver ring inscribed *TOT*.

ii2. *anima(m) suam*: presumably a garbled curse against the life (*anima*) of the thief, cf. 31, 37, 103.

3. The last two letters were distorted by being written over a small casting-hole, and could equally be *IT* or *ER*.

4. Perhaps a reference to the object stolen. iii3 may continue this line, but a series of short vertical strokes (not drawn) seems to have been made to separate ii from iii.

5-7. Damaged and distorted letters.

8. The reading is clear, so this line is best understood as leading into iii1.

iii1. Presumably a garbled continuation of *involaverit* from ii8.

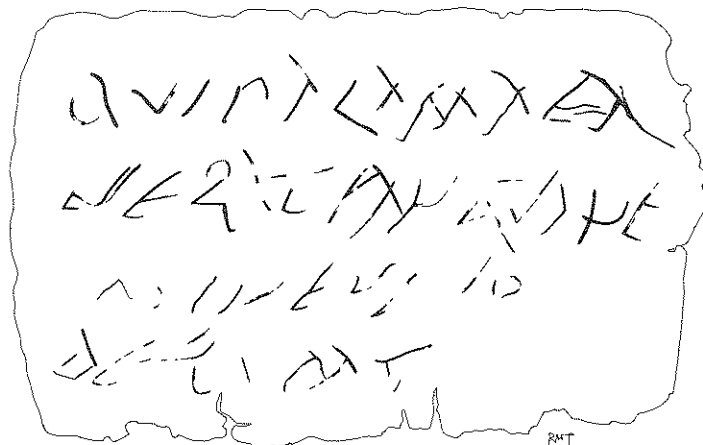
2. The letter before *ELMA* does not seem to be *D*, nor the letter after it *T*, so it would be risky to restore *delmaticam* (for *dalmaticam*, 'tunic', apparently the object stolen in *RIB* 243 (Chesterion)).

3. See note to ii4.

Inv. no. 672

92 by 58 mm
Pb 42.4 Sn 57.6
folded c. six times

Rectangle cut from alloy sheet, surface rough and corroded. Inscribed with a broad point in an angular, clumsy hand, the letters now rather faint.



TRANSCRIPT

quiçalamaea

neğatşanguine

... inen. . . [

de.t. .at *vacat* (?)

RESTORED TEXT

qui çalamaea

neğat şanguine

...

de[s]t[in]at

[Let him] who denies (making) false accusation (?) . . . blood . . . (she) appoints.'

1. *qui*: 4 and 39 also begin baldly with the relative pronoun; cf. 31, 44, 63, 99.

calamaea: the first letter might be *P*, but otherwise the reading is fairly certain. The word is unknown. Perhaps something derived from *calamus* ('reed-pen'), but just possibly a blunder for *calumnia(m)* ('false accusation'); in which case the text would be evidence of an 'ordeal spring' role for the spring of Sulis (cf. 94), a way of testing oaths.

2. *sanguine*: 'blood' is a common feature of the Bath tablets (cf. *RIB* 323 (Caerleon), *JRS* xlviii (1958), 150, No. 3 (Kelvedon), etc.), in the sense of 'paying' with it. Here 3 is too damaged for the verb to be recovered, although the first letter might be *M* (i.e. *sanguine|m*).

4. *de[s]t[in]at*: cf. 5, 8, in *fano ubi destinat*. Understand *Sulis*.

Inv. no. 598

108 by 44 mm
Pb 16.3 Sn 83.7
folded

Two conjoining fragments of a rectangle cut from thin (0.23 mm) high-tin alloy sheet, inscribed with a rounded point by a firm, practised hand. What survives is the bottom R. corner.

TRANSCRIPT

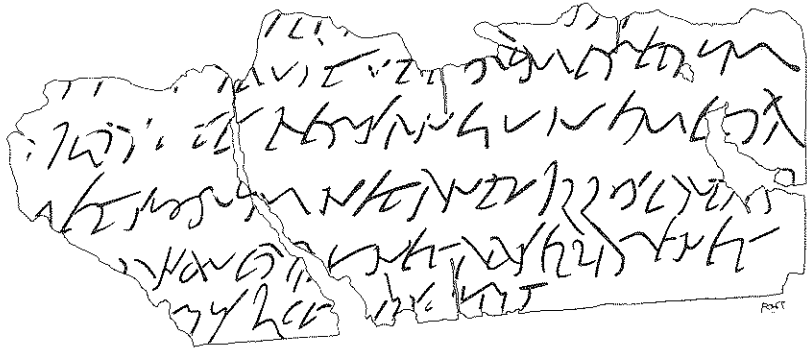
traces

]. [2]. .ipuitut.[.]rumpretium

[.igax̄hocpersanguinemetsa

]metsuorumnecanteillospati.r

5]̄anducarenecadsellare nec

].iushoc[.]b̄iṣ̄ōyerit *vacat*

RESTORED TEXT

...

. . .r]ipuit ut [eo]rum pretium

[?et e]xigax̄ hoc per sanguinem et sa-

[nitatem sua]m et suorum nec ante illos pati[a]r-

5 [is ?bibere nec m]anducare nec adsellare nec

[?meiere c.8]ius hoc [.]b̄iṣ̄ōyerit

'... has stolen, that . . . the price [of them and] exact this through [his] blood and [health] and (those) of his family, and not allow them [to drink or] eat or defecate or [urinate] before he has . . . []ed this.'

2. [. . .r]ipuit: 3rd sing. perfect of a compound of *rapio*, probably [corr]ipuit or [dir]ipuit, the first trace of a letter to survive (before what is restored as *R*) not having the bottom hook of *E* (for *eripuit*). This would have been a synonym of the usual *involavit*, the missing portion of the tablet containing an address to *Sulis* and a statement of what had been stolen.

[eo]rum *pretium*: enough survives of the first *E* for it to be restored with some confidence; there is no trace of *A* after it, but possible trace of *O* (in this hand always insignificant) ligatured to the *R*. There is no other instance of *pretium* in British curse tablets, but it makes an appropriate metaphor since the formula of 'exaction' (see next note) is usually applied to sums of money.

3. [e]xigax̄ hoc per sanguinem: the same formula is probably to be restored in 38, cf. *JRS* liii (1963), 123 (Ratcliffe-on-Soar), stolen denarii are 'given' to Jupiter *ut exigat . . . per venas*. For 'exaction' of other sums of money see 8, 34, 98. Only *Britannia* x (1979), 343, No. 3 (Uley) explicitly 'exact's goods rather than money (a linen cloth, *ita ut exsigat*).

hoc must refer to *pretium*, and would be redundant if another verb (*statuas* or similar) had not been lost from the beginning of 3. *Sulis* in effect is being asked to decide the cash or liquid equivalent of the stolen property, and to exact it 'in blood'. For the idea cf. 98, 8–9, *ut sanguinem suum (r)eputes* (with note).

3–4. *sa|[nitatem sua]m*: there is no exact parallel, but *JRS* liii (1963), 123 (Ratcliffe-on-Soar) lists the parts of the body through which ‘exaction’ is to be made, and denial of ‘health’ (*sanitatem*) is quite a common formula (52, 54, *RIB* 306 (Lydney), *Britannia* x (1979), 342, No. 2 (Uley), xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill)).

5. [*bibere nec m]anducare*: for this restoration cf. *Britannia* xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill), *nec illis permittas sanitatem nec bibere nec manducare* . . .

manducare: rare in Classical Latin (meaning ‘chew’), where *edere* is the usual word, but a well-known example of the ‘Vulgar’ synonym which passes by speech into the Romance languages (Fr. *manger*, It. *mangiare*).

adsellare: the deponent form *adsellari* (from *ad sellam*, ‘(go) to stool’) is Classical (see *TLL* and P. Flobert, *Les verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne* (1975), 232), but ‘Vulgar’ Latin tends to lose the deponent; cf. 98, 5, *furaverit* and 99, 1, *execro*. However, *adsellari/e* is not a ‘Vulgar’ word; its usage is exclusively medical and veterinary (i.e. ‘defecate’, not the four-letter synonyms of daily speech). The word used alike by literary authors and in ‘Vulgar’ graffiti is *cacare*. This was current in Roman Britain (see *Britannia* ii (1971), 295, No. 37) and may survive in Welsh as *cach* (see A.S. Gratwick in N.P. Brooks (ed.), *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in early medieval Britain* (1982), 11 and 42). *Adsellare* is the most striking, perhaps the only, instance of deliberately non-‘Vulgar’ language in the Bath tablets; but it is a technical term, possibly used here as a ‘literary’ euphemism, not a ‘conservative’ or ‘archaic’ usage.

6. [*meiere*]; *nec* (5) requires the restoration of another infinitive; *meiere* would balance the better-supported restoration of *bibere* (5), cf. *Historia Augusta*, *Firmus* (etc.) 14.5, a semi-professional soak of British origin who had the unusual ability of discharging all he had drunk, *ut quantum bibisset tantum mingeret*.

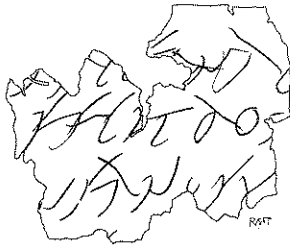
[. . .] *ius*: probably an adverb (e.g. *quantocius*, 54, 9) rather than a nominative ending.

[.] *bisoverit*: the writing is cramped and damaged by corrosion, so reading and restoration are uncertain. It must be the 3rd-person ending of a future perfect, often the last word of British curse tablet texts; it is 3rd-person singular, in spite of *illos* (4), no doubt because the author was referring to the thief. *Hoc* (6), like *hoc* (3), can be taken to refer to *pretium*; the sense of the verb must therefore have been ‘payment’ of the price exacted by Sulis. A possible restoration is [*u*] *bi so(l)verit* or [*a*] *b<i>so(l)verit* (where the doubtful *l* could equally well be displaced *L*).

Inv. no. 399

38 by 29 mm

Fragment preserving part of the upper edge of a tablet cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.



TRANSCRIPT

RESTORED TEXT

].a.e.na.[

].a.e.na.[

]fecitdo.[

]fecit do[n. . .

]nfanosu[

i]n fano su[o or lis

].[

].[

1. Perhaps the end of *Minervae* (but with *V* difficult to place) followed by a personal name. The letter after *E* looks like *P* (but *EPN* is an unlikely sequence) or possibly *G*; the last letter could be *T*. Perhaps *Egnat[ius]*.

2. Perhaps [*eum qui fraudem*] *fecit* or similar, cf. 32, 5–6 with note.
do[. . .]: *dono, donavi, donat, etc.*

3. [*i]n fano su[o or lis]*: mention of the 'temple' usually implies return of stolen goods (cf. 10, 32, 45, *RIB* 306 (Lydney), *Britannia* x (1979), 343, No. 3 (Uley), xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill)), but this tends to be towards the end of the text. So here cf. 97, *Basilia donat in templum Martis anilum argenteum*, and esp. 44, 2, (the thief) *templo Sulis dono*, and understand the 'gift' of the thief to the *fanum Sulis*.

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

27 by 29 mm

Fragment of a high-tin alloy tablet with a raised (top) edge, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.



TRANSCRIPT

RESTORED TEXT

]vacat pu[

pu[

]donoti[

]dono ti[bi

]alliu.[

p]alliu[m

'... I give to you ... cloak ...'

1. Indented, like 32, 65. The L. margin is not preserved, but the coincidence of word-beginnings in 2 and 3 suggests that they are the first words in their lines.

pu[. . .]: perhaps a personal name.

2. *dono ti[bi]*: cf. 38, 60.

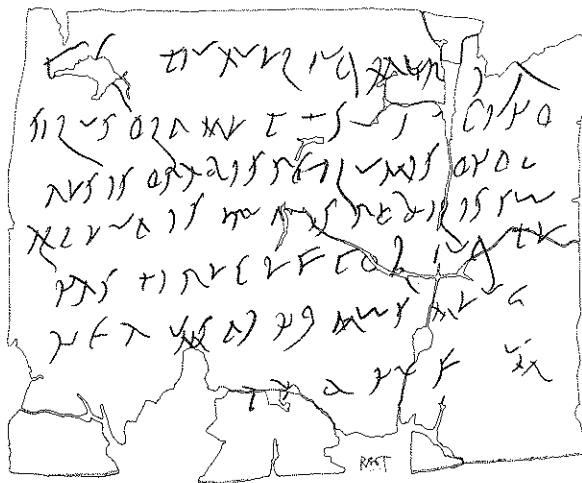
3. [*p*]allium: cf. 32, 62, 2 (with note), 64.

44 Theft of a bronze vessel

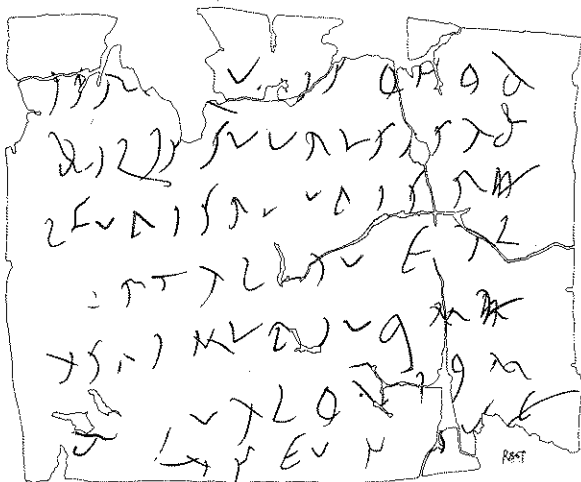
Inv. no. 615
Britannia xv (1984), 334–5, No. 2

75 by 58 mm
 Pb 22.7 Sn 77.2 Cu 0.1
 folded twice

Six conjoining fragments preserving almost the whole text of a rectangular tablet cast in alloy sheet with raised edges. The text was shallowly inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand, in letters written R. to L. in reverse sequence but preserving the line sequence of the original text. The surface is worn and corroded.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
(a) cχ.tiuaeliuqmu[c.3]n.a	(a) a[e]n[um me]um qui levavit [e]xc-
silusolpmetts.š. .cino	onic[tu]s [e]st templo Sulis
resisorabisreilumisonod	đono si mulier si baro si ser-
alleupiserupisrebilissuu	vus si liber si pure (<i>i.e.</i> puer) si puella
5 nastirecefcuhiuqte	5 et qui hoc fecerit san-
neaumspiniuusmeug	gu(in)em suum in ipsu (<i>i.e.</i> ipsum) aen-
vacat tadnufum	mu (<i>i.e.</i> um) fundat



(b) isr. .lumisonod	(b) dono si mul[ie]r si
bilissuuresisab	ba(ro) si servus si lib-
10 leupisreupisre(over er)	10 er si puer si puel-
. .rtalmueal	la eum latr[on]-
aspimeriuqme (over em)	em qui rem ipsa-
d.ialounim	m involavi[t] d-
[1-2]aineun.šue	eus [i]nvenia[t]

'(The person) who has lifted my bronze vessel is utterly accursed. I give (him) to the temple of Sulis, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, and let him who has done this spill his own blood into the vessel itself. (b) I give, whether woman or man, whether slave or free, whether boy or girl, that thief who has stolen the property itself (that) the god may find (him).'

The same reversal to achieve a 'secret' text is found in 62. Other sorts of reversal are found in 99 (one line only), 61 (mirror-image letters as well), 4 (letter-sequence in each word), 98 (entire text). The scribe worked from a 'straight' text, as can be seen from his mistakes.

(i) Failure to reverse pairs of letters: *pure* (6) (for *puer*), a mistake also found in 62 (which is not by the same hand); he nearly repeated the mistake in 10, where he began to write a ligatured *ER*, realised his mistake before completing it, and wrote *E* on top of it; in 12 he did the same again, by beginning to write a ligatured *EM*, then realised his mistake before completing it, and again wrote *E* on top of it. These mistakes imply that the primary text was not reversed, that it was written in a ligatured cursive akin to the scribe's own handwriting, and indeed was probably in fact written by him.

(ii) Omission of letters: *excon(f)ictus* (1) (see note); *ba(ro)* (9); in 6–7 he first wrote *ipsu(m) aen(u)m* and then interlined the missing *M* and *V*, in each case just out of sequence, no doubt because his eye was caught by the familiar sequence *VM* which he forgot to reverse; *sangu(in)em* (6) (see note) may be a 'Vulgar' spelling rather than a mistake.

(iii) Possible confusion of similar letters: *ut* for *et* (5) would be syntactically neater (see note), but he has written *E* not *V*; in 12 the *R* of *rem* is a composite of *P* and *R*. The peculiar *I* of *in* (6) was caused by the writing-point being deflected by surface irregularities.

1. *a[e]n[um me]um*: the restoration of *aenum* is guaranteed by its repetition in 6–7, but that of *meum* is cramped. It is a bronze vessel used for heating liquids: see W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen* (1969), s.v. *aenum*. In 66, 12 it seems to be used as a general term ('cooking vessel') for a *pannum ferri*.

levavit: the verb *levare* in the sense of 'steal' is never found in Classical Latin and very seldom thereafter, but it occurs in the sub-Roman *Lex Visigothorum* and once in Gregory of Tours, *HF* vi. 45, *hospiciola pauperum expoliabant, vineas devastabant . . . levantes pecora vel quicquid invenire potuissent*. This is its first appearance in 'Vulgar' Latin of the Roman period, no doubt a colloquial usage like English 'lift' = 'steal'.

1–2. *[e]xconic[tu]*: if the reading and restoration are correct, the word is unique. Perhaps **excon(v)ictus*, an intensive form of *convictus*, was intended; but since this is a curse tablet (*defixio*), **excon(f)ictus* for **exconfixus* ('utterly accursed') is better. For the verb cf. 97, 5 *configatur*, where (6) the rare intensive *excomesis* is also found; for the formation cf. *RIB* 6 (London), *defictus est*.

2–3. *templo Sulis dono*: this is the only tablet which 'gives' the criminal to the temple (although it is probably to be understood in 42), just as only 97 gives the stolen property to the temple, by extension from the usual 'recipient', the god who lives there.

3. *si mulier si baro*: equivalent to the commoner *si vir si femina* formula, also found in 57, 65, *Britannia* xvii (1986), 432, No. 6 (Brean Down), and an unpublished curse tablet from Brandon (Norfolk).

baro: the meaning must be 'man', since it is contrasted with *femina*. In Classical Latin it always means 'fool', and only comes to mean 'man' in medieval Latin. O. Prinz and J. Schneider (edd.), *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch* (1967) s.v. *baro* (I) cite the earliest instances, in the sub-Roman German law codes; esp. *Lex Ribv.* 86, 1, *si quis baro seu mulier Ribvaria . . . aliquem perdiderit*; *Pactus Alam.* II 41, *si quis mortuatus fuerit baro aut femina*. This may be, like *levavit* (1), an instance of a 'Vulgar' usage surfacing later in the written language; but a more attractive idea is that *baro* ('man') is of Celtic etymology despite its un-Celtic *-o*, a homonym of the Latin *baro* ('fool'), just as *Baro* is both found as a Latin cognomen (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 264) and as the name, probably 'Celtic', of a British potter (see M.R. Hull, *Roman Potters' Kilns of Colchester* (1963), 110ff., and (another man?) R.M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (1971), 138). This may be the explanation of the odd note preserved by John Lydus (*de mag.* i 12) from a lost source, that the Latin cognomen *Varro* (which as a sixth-century Greek he wrote as *Barro*) meant 'manly' in Celtic, 'Jewish' in Phoenician: τὸ δὲ Βάρρωνος ἐπώνυμον τὸν ἀνδρείον κατὰ τὴν Κελτῶν φωνήν, κατὰ δὲ Φοίνικας τὸν Ἰουδαῖον σημαίνει, ὡς Ἐρεννῖός φησιν. The scholiast to Persius *Sat.* V 138 preserves a confused tradition that *baro* was a 'Gallic' term: *lingua Gallorum barones dicuntur servi militum, qui utique stultissimi sunt, servi scilicet stultorum* (i.e. he explains it by the Latin homonym). *Baro* would not be the only Celtic loan-word in British 'Vulgar' Latin: see A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin writing-tablets* (1983), s.v. *ceruesa* and *bracis*. At all events, since it is now attested in British 'Vulgar' Latin of the Roman period, the suggestion (see Prinz and Schneider s.v. *baro*) that the word is of Germanic etymology can be discarded.

5. *et*: the reading is certain, but *V* and *E* in this hand are similar and *ut* would be neater since it would subordinate *fundat* to *dono* ('I give that he may . . .'), as in 97, *Basilica donat . . . ut configatur*. The copying mistake of *et* for *ut* is made in *P. Dura* 60B, where *V* and *E* are also similar. However, this weak *et* is also found in 34, *dono . . . et exsigatur*.

qui hoc fecerit: a variant (cf. 47, 3; 98, 6) on the usual *involverit*, future perfect (unless *et* is a mistake for *ut*) in parallel with the perfects *levavit* (1) and *involverit* (13). The two tenses seem to have been used indifferently in this formula.

5–7. A variant, vividly adapted to the object stolen, of the British formula that the thief should 'pay' in his own blood (see note to 65, 9ff.). It may have been suggested by the poorly attested practice (Virgil, *Aen.* VI 248–9) of catching some of a sacrificial victim's blood in a patera.

6. *sangu(in)em*: a 'Vulgar' spelling rather than a mistake. The second syllable tended to be contracted, cf. *sangune* (47, 65), *sanuene* (46, 7), *sanguino* (*JRS* xlviii (1958), 150, No. 3 (Kelvedon)), a 'Vulgarism' which survives in the Romance languages (Portug. *sangue*, Sp. *sangre*, Fr. *sang*).

11–12. *eum latr[on]em*: a forceful variant on the more usual *furem* (16, 65, *Britannia* x (1979), 344, No. 4 (Uley)).

12–14. *qui rem ipsam involavi[t] deus [i]nvenia[t]*. This can be understood as a relative clause defining *eum latronem* followed by an indirect command dependent on *dono* with ellipse or accidental omission of *ut* (see note to *et* (5)), and has been so translated. But it could also be taken as a separate sentence ('let the god discover the thief'), cf. 99, 3ff. (with note) and *Britannia* x (1979), 344, No. 4 (Uley, emended), *fur qui fraudem fecerit deus inveniat*.

13. *involverit*: this clause is parallel to *qui hoc fecerit* (5) and one would expect *involverit*, but there is not enough space to restore it.

Inv. no. 691

64 by 41 mm
Pb 45.5 Sn 52.7 Cu 1.8
folded once

Rectangular tablet cut from alloy sheet, shallowly inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. The handwriting is elongated and characterised by long descenders, especially of *L* and *Q*. After being inscribed it was folded in half; the outer face (*a*), containing a statement of the theft, has been almost entirely worn and corroded away.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
(a) deaesuli.[	(a) deae Suli .[
n(or m) traces	...
traces	...
.isqu.	].is qu[i

'To the goddess Sulis . . . whether slave or free, <if> whoever he shall be, you are not to permit him eyes or health unless blindness and childlessness so long as he shall live, unless [he . . .] these to the temple.'

The continuity of sense in (*b*) shews that little has been lost from the R. margin. The dotted letters are all guaranteed by their context, their peculiarities being explicable by speed and fluency of writing.

5. *si*: *S* has been elongated to mark the initial letter. See note to 30.

5–6. <*si*> *qui*<*s*>*cumq[ue]* *erit*: the author has conflated the two clauses that were available to him, *si quis erit* (cf. 31, 60, 63) and *quicumque erit* (cf. 11, 94, 98). *Si* may have suggested itself by having already occurred twice in the line.

6. *illi*: the second *I* has been ligatured to *L*, unusually in such a steeply-descending form of *L*.

6–7. *non illi permittas . . . sanitatem*: for this common formula cf. 32, 4–5 with note.

7. *oculos*: also cursed in 5, 7 (see note), cf. 97, 4.

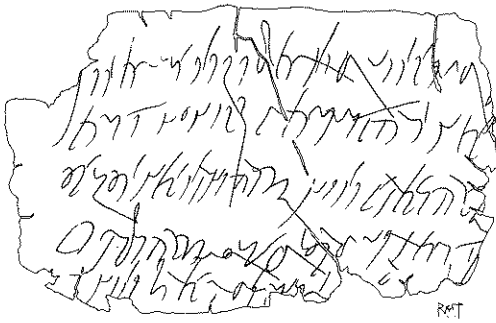
nisi caecitatem: *nisi* is a rhetorical device to emphasise what it follows by confounding expectation; one expects a concession ('except for . . .'), but finds the curse repeated instead. The same device may occur in 52 and 100.

caecitatem: the second *T* has been ligatured to *A* and lost half its horizontal stroke, but this is because the diagonal stroke of *A* was not modified (compare the ligature of the first *T* to *E*). It is not necessary to read a 'Vulgar' *caecitacem*. The final *M* has been reduced to a flourish at the foot of the damaged *E* (cf. the *EM* of *sanitatem*).

8. *orbitatemque*: the initial *O* resembles *CI* (but *C* with exaggerated foot), but has been written thus for emphasis. For the curse of childlessness cf. 10, 14–15, and perhaps *Britannia* xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill), [*nec nat*]os sanos. The connective *-que* is not found in any other Bath tablet (for an instance see *Britannia* xvii (1986), 430, No. 2 (Eccles)).

quoad vixerit: this phrase does not occur in any other British curse tablet and has a quasi-legal ring (cf. 10, 14–15 with note). It is frequent in the Digest (see *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae* s.v. *vivo*, 1422, 26).

9. The final verb, *pertulerit* (cf. 10, 19 with note) or its equivalent, has been lost in damage to the bottom edge of the tablet.



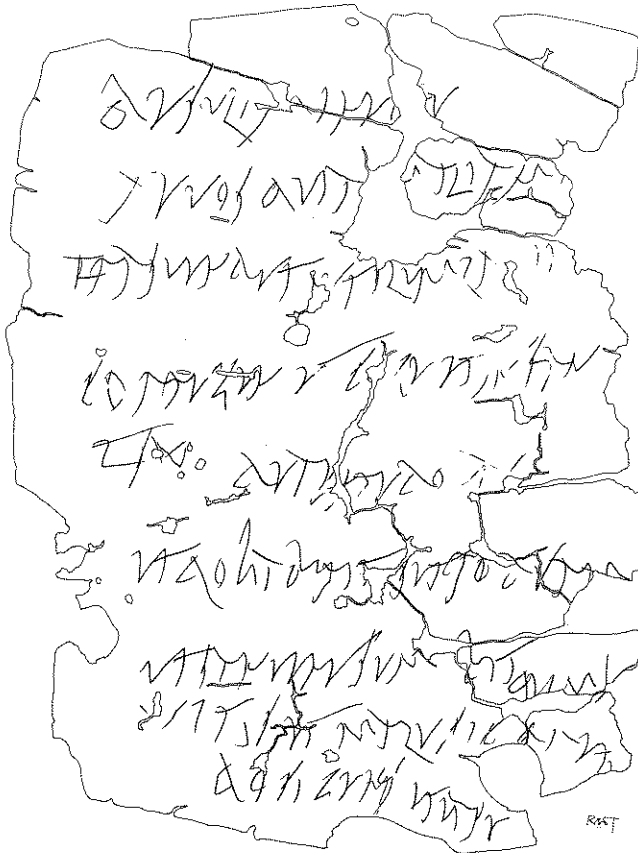
(b) 5 $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ iseruussilibersiquiscumq.[
eritnonillipermittasnec[
oculosnecsanitateṁnisi caecitateṁ[
orbitemquequoaduixerit[
nisihaecaḏfanum[

(b) 5 $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ i servus si liber <si> qui<s>cumq[ue]
erit non illi permittas nec
oculos nec sanitateṁ nisi caecitateṁ
orbitemque quoad vixerit
nisi haec aḏ fanum [

Inv. no. 611

81 by 111 mm
Pb 54.6 Sn 45.3 Cu 0.1
folded six times

Seven conjoining fragments amounting to most of an irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, its surface interrupted by many casting flaws, inscribed with a fine stylus by a practised but careless hand. The R. half is damaged by corrosion and by being folded, and there are patches of damage elsewhere. In this hand *E* and *V* can only be distinguished by context, but unfortunately the context is obscure; most of the text can be transcribed, but seems to be too garbled for restoration.



TRANSCRIPT

desulimine1-2u vacat

aeēosquiamaliama[

t(over l)rasuendetstilumla[.] . [

correēenēt. gēēt. .fan[

5 t(over l)sūu dea. .tēdo. . [

e(or u)tqohabuñit[.]šetrodeam

e(or u)tsanūēnesuā[.]bitquime

ūitšetmalu(or e).īc. .em

vacat doēigeniusu(or e)tēāne[

'To the goddess Sulis Minerva . . .'

There is an unscripted gap in 5, perhaps due to the cluster of small holes caused by casting flaws. There is also an odd unscripted gap before and after the first *ET* in 4, where the *T* seems never to have had a vertical stroke. Oddest of all, however, are the unscripted spaces at the end of 1 and the beginning of 9. There seems no reason to divide *Minervae* between 1 and 2, and the space at the beginning of 9 resembles that in a text whose letter-sequence has been reversed (e.g. 44 (a)). But 46 was written conventionally L. to R., and it is hard to believe that a scribe would make a reversed copy (i.e. a 'straight' text) of an already-reversed text. But the omission of *V* after *Q* (6) suggests mindless copying, and it is indeed puzzling that so little sense emerges from a comparatively long and well-written text.

1-2: can be restored in part as *de(ae) Suli Mine[r]v|ae eos qui*. The omission of *AE* is only a 'Vulgar' mistake due to its sounding the same as *E*, and also occurs in 65, 2 and 108. The last letter of 1 could be read as *E*, but it would be difficult to restore *RV*, let alone *RVA*, before it.

2. *amaliām* might be an unrecorded personal name (for *Aemiliām*?), or perhaps a garbled *familiām* (cf. 53).

3. *trasuendet* suggests the rare verb *tra(n)svendo* ('sell'), but the future tense and the singular person (after *eos qui*) make this unlikely.

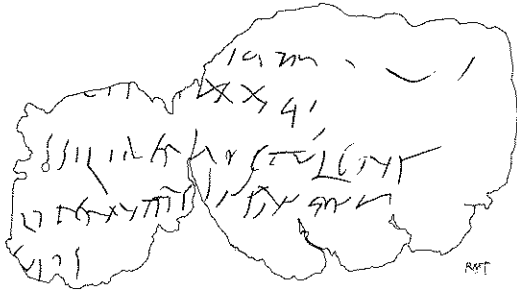
stilum: *VM* (especially since followed by *L*) probably marks a word-ending, and perhaps a stylus would be worth stealing and complaining about, but this interpretation is not convincing.

4. The letter read as *G* (it occurs again in 9) is not *H* (see 6) and probably not a ligatured *LI*; it has the same downstroke as *C* and resembles the unbarred *G* in 35.
5. *dea* is followed by *I* or a damaged *S*; it is not possible to read *Sulis*.
do[. . .] suggests the verb *donare*.
6. *q(u)o*: the spacing makes it unlikely that *V* was ever written; its omission after *Q*, especially by a practised hand, is rare enough to make it seem a symptom of the mindless copying which may have garbled this text.
hab. . . suggests the verb *habere*, but it is difficult to recover a verbal ending from what follows (a bungled *habuerit?*).
deam is perhaps to be distinguished at the end of the line.
7. *sanuenesua*: presumably *san(g)uene sua*, one of the 'Vulgar' spellings of *sanguine suo* (cf. 44, 6 with note), although the omission of *G* is unexpected; it would suggest the formula of the thief 'paying' in his own blood.
qui and perhaps *me* can be distinguished at the end of the line.
8. *uit. . .* Perhaps the remains of a verb like *involavit* in a clause introduced by *qui* (7).
9. *docigenius*: the foot of *C* disappears in a patch of corrosion, so that *S* cannot be excluded, but in this hand the intersection of the second stroke of *S* occurs at the top of the downstroke. The *VS* has been oddly written over part of the *NI*. The name *Docigenius* is not attested, but is plausible: there are other names in *Doci-* (e.g. *Docimedis*, 5, 95) and ending in *-genius* (e.g. *Primigenius*). As a 'Celtic' name-element, however, *-genus* is more likely; it is possible, therefore, that the *VS* is a correction of only the ligatured *I* of *NI* which it overlies, and that the name is *Docigenus*.

Inv. no. 684

66 by 36 mm
Pb 99.9 Cu 0.1
folded twice

Corroded fragment of sheet lead preserving part of five lines of text including the R. margin of four.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
]iq[.]er <i>traces</i>	?tib]i q[u]er[or]
]. .[c.2].exxigi <i>vacat</i>	]. .[c.2]. ex<x>igi
]ssiliberhoculerit	si servu]s si liber hoc tulerit
]lipermittas]sangune	non il]li permittas]n sangu(i)ne
5]sui .[	5]sui .[

'... I complain [to you] ... be exacted ... [whether slave] or free, has taken this ... you are [not] to permit [him] in blood ... his ...'

The restoration of 3 and 4 places the beginnings of two words in column, which may therefore represent the L. margin. If so, c. 16 letters are missing from 1 (which need not have been the first line of the original).

1. [tib]i q[u]er[or]: cf. 55, 2(?), 59, *conqueror ti[bi]* (with note). The restoration of [tib]i is required by the second person of *permittas* (4). It would have followed an address to Sulis in the dative.
2. ex<x>igi: 'Vulgar' gemination of the X; cf. 34, *exsigatur* (with note on the formula of 'exaction' and the spelling *exsigat* from Uley). There is no sign of the *exigas* ('you are to exact') one would have expected, so *exigi* must have been governed by some verb like *facias*.
3. [si servu]s si liber: the most common formula in British curse tablets.
hoc tulerit: a variant (cf. RIB 323 (Caerleon), *tulit* ('has stolen' not 'wore')) on the usual *involverit*, compounds of *tulerit* (see 10, 19 with note) being used at the end of texts to refer to the 'return' of stolen property; but *ferre* (*tulerit*), which overlaps in sense with *levare* (cf. 44, 1), is used in Classical Latin of 'violent theft'.
4. [non il]li permittas: for the formula, cf. 32, 4–5 (with note), but the reference to 'blood' should be to 'payment' by the victim; it is 'health' (etc.) which is not 'permitted'.
sangu(i)ne: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 44, 6 (with note).

Inv. no. 399

49 by 44 mm

folded

Two conjoining fragments of alloy sheet with raised (top) edge, inscribed on both sides with a stylus or nib by a practised hand. Side (b) not drawn.



TRANSCRIPT

RESTORED TEXT

(a)]sagilīano.[

(a)]sagilīano.[

]tequam infa[

an]tequam in fa[no

]. . .[c.4]lef.[

]. . .[c.4]lef.[

].er.[

].er.[

(b)]desimili.[

]dic. . .[

vacat

'... before ... in temple ...'

Inv. no. 399

(i) 33 by 33 mm
(ii) 16 by 30 mm

Two conjoining fragments and another detached, perhaps but not necessarily from the same tablet, of alloy sheet with raised (top) edge, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.



TRANSCRIPT

(i)]vacat qu[
]lar.msi[
]siserus. .[
]deasul.[

RESTORED TEXT

(i)] qu[
]lar[e]m si[
]si ser(v)us [
]dea Sul[is



(ii)]tcab[
]emin. .[
]r vacat[

(ii)]t cab[al. . .
si vir si f]emin[a
?si libe]r

The Inv. no. covers c. 30 fragments, from many different tablets, of varying analysis (within the range Sn 50–75). 49 (i) and (ii) look similar, but the results of analysis are not known. The sample of writing is too small, and the coincidence of letters too slight, to be certain that (i) and (ii) belong to the same tablet. It is, however, possible to link them conjecturally.

CONJECTURED TEXT

(i) and (ii)

qu[i involvavi]t cab[al-]
lar[e]m si [vir si f]emin[a]
si ser(v)us [si libe]r
]dea Sul[is

'(The person) who [has stolen] (my) horse blanket (?), whether [man or] woman, whether slave [or free] . . . goddess Sulis . . .'

1. The uninscribed space before *qu*[. . .] at the top of the text suggests that it was indented as the first word (cf. 32, 43, 65) and that the L. margin was not much further to the left. *Qu*[. . .] could be restored as a personal name (c.5 letters missing) followed by *donat* (cf. 97, 1), but a relative pronoun, whether *qui* or perhaps *quicumque*, is more likely.

qu[*i involavi*]: an abrupt beginning, the closest parallels being 4, *qui mihi uilbiam involavit*, 39, *qui involaverit si ser(v)us si liber*, 99, *execro qui involaverit*. The Romance word order subject-verb-object is common enough at the beginning of Bath tablets, but usually in the 'gift' formula, e.g. 97, *Basilia donat anilum argenteum*. That there was a verb in 1, whether *donat*, *involavit* or whatever, is certain: *-tc-* is an impossible consonant-sequence and must indicate a word-division, terminal *T* being a verb-ending.

1-2. *cab[al]|lar[e]m*: cf. 62, 7 (with note). The plausible restoration of this rare word (but one attested in the Bath tablets) is the most compelling argument for linking (i) with (ii).

2-3. The formulas interlock nicely, granted that the *A* of *femina* (and it is difficult to see what else could be restored) seems to have been written over another (unfinished?) letter. The uninscribed space after the *R* of [*libe*]*r* is odd, but the straight edge below it does not seem to be original.

3. *ser(v)us*: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 9, 7 (with note).

4. *dea Sul[is]*: if this had been spared, it would have been a second example (cf. 10, 10) of the nominative of *Sulis*, or perhaps the vocative (cf. 54, 2). The goddess is being invoked to punish the thief or to exact the return of the stolen *caballarem*; *eum*, *ut*, or even *tu/tibi*, are all candidates for restoration at the beginning of 4.

Inv. no. 619

39 by 38 mm
Pb 53.7 Sn 46.3
folded

Two conjoining fragments. Top L. corner of a tablet cut from alloy sheet, firmly inscribed with a stylus.



TRANSCRIPT

Ddeae

uictorin[

.[1-2]mesp[

[c.3]it[. .]. .[

RESTORED TEXT

<D>deae [Suli . . .

Victorin[

...

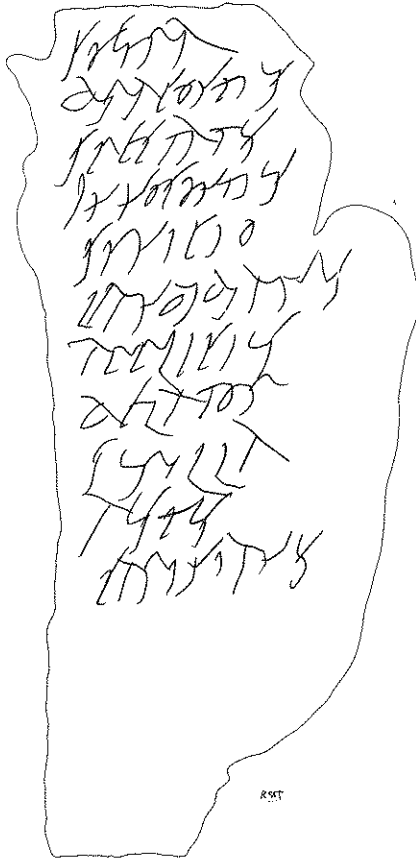
...

1. The first letter is capital *D*, repeated in lower-case, as if the scribe intended a capital-letter inscription and then changed his mind.
2. The final letter might be *A*, but *I* is more likely. The common name *Victorina* (cf. 96, *Victorinus*) cannot be excluded; but since a patronymic *Victorini* is unlikely, the name is probably one of the rare derivatives like *Victorinius* or *Victorinianus*.

Inv. no. 206
Britannia xii (1981), 373, No. 7

53 by 113 mm
 Pb 57.3 Sn 42.6 Cu 0.1
 not folded

Narrow strip of alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.



TEXT

- Severa
 Dracontius
 Spectatus
 Innocentius
 5 Senicio
 Candidianus
 Applicius
 Belator
 Surilla
 10 Austus
 Carinianus

'Severa, Dracontius, Spectatus, Innocentius, Senicio, Candidianus, Applicius, Belator, Surilla, Austus, Carinianus.'

Eleven personal names, two of them women, a list of enemies or suspected thieves. Three of the names (*Senicio*, *Belator*, *Austus*) are probably 'Celtic'; *Surilla* may be 'Illyrian'; *Applicius* seems to be unique, and of doubtful derivation; the others are Latin cognomina, two of them colourless (*Severa*, *Spectatus*), two of them derived from simpler cognomina (*Candidianus*, *Carinianus*), and the other two with a 'late-Roman' air (*Dracontius*, *Innocentius*). The handwriting is unlikely to be later than mid-third century, but its similarities with some of the Dura documents (which however also contain NRC *E* and *S*) justify the third-century date which the onomastic evidence implies.

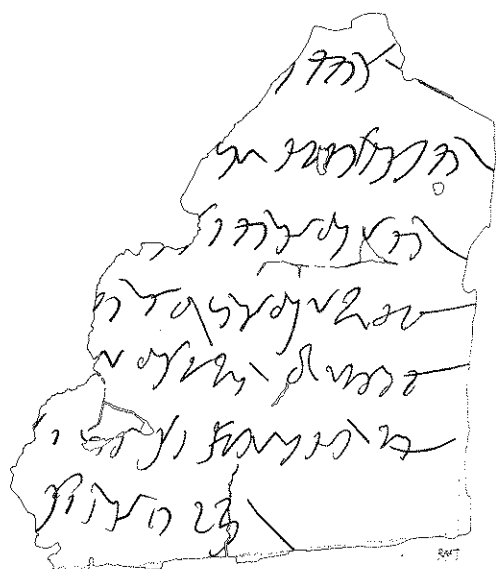
1. *Severa*: a common cognomen already well attested in Britain.
2. *Dracontius*: a cognomen derived from *draco* ('snake') which seems to be unattested before the third century, and is borne by five late-Roman dignitaries (see A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I (A.D. 260–395), s.v.).
3. *Spectatus*: quite a common cognomen otherwise unattested in Britain.
4. *Innocentius*: a cognomen favoured by Christians (Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 135, 252, cf. *Britannia* vii (1976), 385, No. 32 (Water Newton treasure)), and like *Dracontius* unlikely to be earlier than third-century.
5. *Senicio*: variant spelling of *Senecio*, a common Latin cognomen well attested in Britain, but perhaps also to be seen as 'Celtic' like *Senicianus* (8, 5 with note).
6. *Candidianus*: the second stroke of the C is misplaced, perhaps because the scribe was thinking of his next stroke (of A). This cognomen is developed like *Candidina* (98) from the well-attested cognomen *Candidus*; it is common elsewhere, but this is its first occurrence in Britain.

7. *Applicius*: originally read as [Si]mplicius because the serifs at the foot of *PP* were overlooked. This cognomen (?), presumably derived from *applicare* ('apply'), seems to be unattested; like others in *-ius* (Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 115) it is probably third-century at earliest.
8. *Belator*: the *B* is hardly distinguishable from the *D* of *Dracontius*, and *D* may have been written in error, but cf. *RIB* 323 (Caerleon) where there is similar but less extreme confusion. *Delator* ('informer') is not attested as a personal name, whereas *Belator* (usually spelt *Bellator*, *RIB* 674, *EE* IX 1331) is a well-attested 'Celtic' name.
9. *Surilla*: feminine diminutive form of *Surus*, a cognomen with variants (e.g. *Surinus*; *RIB* 754) mostly found in the Danubian provinces: see M. Buzalkovska-Aleksova in *Živa Antika* xxxiv (1984), 199–204.
10. *Austus*: apparently unattested and probably 'Celtic'; the developed form *Austinus* is known in Britain (see *Arch. J.* cxxx (1973), 94ff.), likewise *Austalis* (*EE* VII 1141) unless it is a variant of *Augustalis*.
11. *Carinianus*: cognomen developed from *Carinus*, itself developed from the common cognomen *Carus*.

Inv. no. 689
Britannia xv (1984), 338, No. 5
 Pl. xxv a

61 by 72 mm
 Pb 38.3 Sn 61.2 Cu 0.6
 not folded

Large fragment of a rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand. The tablet was not folded, and the damage to the L. end of 3 may be due to its having been pierced with a nail, but this is not certain.



	TRANSCRIPT		RESTORED TEXT
	]ittas <i>vacat</i>		perm]ittas
	]umnecsanita		somn]um nec sanita-
	]sitandiuta		[tem . . . n]isi tandiu ta-
	]iatquandiuhoc		]iat quandiu hoc
5	]udsehabuerit	5	ill]ud se habuerit
	]iursifeminaet		s]i vir si femina et
	]siancilla <i>vacat</i>		] si ancilla

' . . . you are [not] to permit [. . . sleep] or health . . . except for as long as . . . it shall find itself (?) . . . whether man or woman and . . . or slave woman.'

This is the bottom R. corner of a tablet containing formulaic curses of a thief, some of the formulation unparalleled. The address to the goddess and the statement of theft are lost.

1. There is a knife-cut, perhaps modern, after [. . .]ittas, but this seems to have been the last word in the line.

1-3. [. . . perm]ittas [. . . somn]um nec sanita[tem]: for this common formula of denying sleep and health to the thief, cf. 32, 4-5 (with note).

3. [n]isi probably introduces a bogus concession as in 45, 7 (see note).

3-5. tandiu . . . quandiu, cf. hoc . . . [ill]ud: too much has been lost to restore this pair of correlative clauses, in the absence of any parallel; they may have had the sense of 'so long as he shall live' (cf. 45, 8, *quoad vixerit*) or 'so long as he shall retain the stolen property' (or similar; unless ta[. . .](3) is part of *tacitus, taceat*, etc., cf. 97, 3, *siluerit*).

5. *se habuerit*: it is not certain that [ill]ud is the subject.

6. [s]i vir si femina: this pairing is common, but not linked to another by *et* or *et[iam]*; *ut* could be read, but there is unlikely to have been a verb for it in 7.

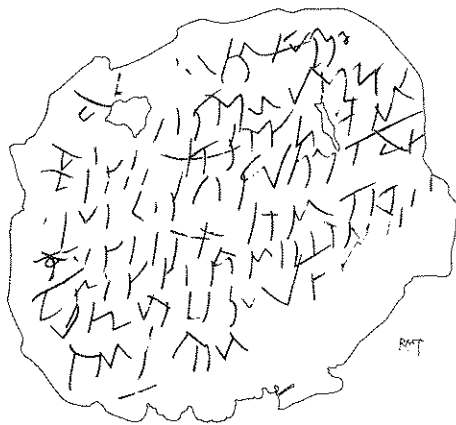
7. *si ancilla*: probably contrasted with *si liber* or *si libera*; cf. an unpublished curse tablet from Brandon (Norfolk), *si ancilla si liberta*. The final stroke of *ancilla* cuts the bottom edge of the tablet, proving that the text ended here, with a noun rather than the usual verb.

53 List of names and families

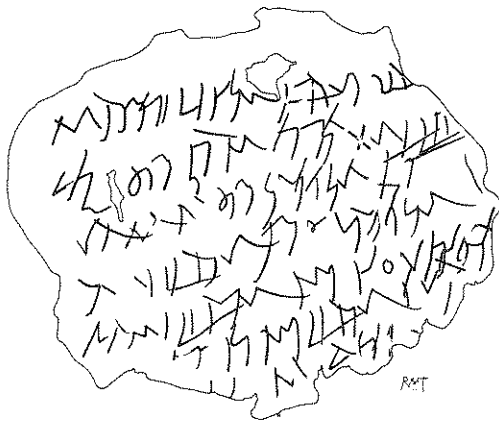
Inv. no. 601

65 by 49 mm
Pb 26.5 Sn 73.5
folded edge

Irregular oval of cast alloy sheet, with uneven surface and casting blemishes. One hole is natural, but the other (in *a2*) is probably due to a nail. Inscribed on both sides in an angular script with a blunt stilus, by a practised but careless hand. After being inscribed, part of the top edge and the adjoining L. side (of *a*) was folded over. Surface irregularities and wear, crowded layout, and the similarity of some letter-forms, make this a difficult text.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
(a)	d.[.]mercurio	(a) d[eo] Mercurio
	d.[c.2]isamualy. .	...
	din2-3itsanu. .m	...
	.iuilis. fueritde	[C]ivilis . . fuerit de
5	.uniia.iamt.t. .[	5 ...
	trinnifamiliam.[	?Trinni familiam [
	uelualisyu. . [	Velvalis(?) ...
	amsyam vacat	am sꝫam



(b)	markiilinumfamilia[	(b) Markelinum familia[m]
10	uelorigametfamili.[	10 Velorigam et famili[am]
	.uammoriuassumet	[s]uam Morivassum et
	[.]amiliamriouassumē[	[f]amiliam Riovassum e[t]
	familiamminouen. . .	familiam Minoven. . .
	etfamiliamsua.	et familiam sua[m]
15	].[1-2]m[.]des. .	15 ...

'To the god Mercury ... Civilis ... shall have been ... family of (?)Trinnus ... his ... (b) Mar(c)el(l)inus (and his) family. Veloriga and her family. Morivassus and (his) family. Riovassus and (his) family. Minoven. . . and his family . . .'

This is the only Bath tablet addressed to Mercury, and the only one to list names 'and family'.

1. *d[eo] Mercurio*: the C has no foot and may be an incomplete K (cf. 9). This is the first epigraphic evidence of the cult of Mercury at Bath; the other major collection of British curse tablets, from Uley, was addressed to him.

2-3. There is no easy way to make sense of these lines. The V in 3 ligatured to a following letter (lost) might be an unbarred G, in which case *sang[ue]m* (cf. 44, 5-6) could be restored, but there is no sign of the formulas with which it is usually associated.

4. [C]*ivilis*: cf. 31, 2. The two letters following might be *SI*.
fuerit: cf. 11 (i) and (iv), 97, 8.

5. The first letter might be *T* written over *A* (in which case the restoration of *tunicam* suggests itself, although *paxsam* seems to have been preferred), or *O* written after an abortive diagonal had been crossed out.

6. *trinni*: apparently a personal name, since it is followed by *familiam*, but it is unclear whether it is complete or carried over from 5. *Trinnus* or *Trinnius* seems to be unattested, but cf. *CIL* III 8723

(Salona), (*centuria*) *Trini* and the name of the sixth-century Welsh saint, *Trinio* (variously spelt). Perhaps a variant spelling of the Dobunnian name *Trenus* (*CIL* XVI 49, *Lucco Treni* f.).

familiam: the word is not found in any other Bath (or British) tablet, and in *RIB* only in *RIB* 445, a dedication by the *liberti et familia* of a legionary legate, where it must mean 'slave-household'. Although names are glossed *ser(v)us* in 9, *familia* is being used here in the wider sense of 'family', like those of Severianus (30) and Uricalus (94).

7. *uelualis*: perhaps another 'Celtic' name, apparently unattested, but cf. *Velvinna* (4) and *Velva* (*RIB* 688)

8. *am suam*: implies that 7 ended *famili-*, but of this there is no trace.

9. *Markelinum*: the only instance of *K* in the Bath tablets; only the context distinguishes it from *F*. 'Vulgar' spelling of a Latin cognomen well attested in Britain developed from *Marcellus. II* for *E* (see also 5), although common in graffiti and on Celtic coins, occurs elsewhere in the Bath tablets only in 14, 18 and perhaps 76, 102.

10. *Velorigam*: 'Celtic' name apparently unattested, but formed from the same element as *Vello-*names (e.g. *Vellocatius*, Cartimandua's consort) as well as in the nomen *Velorius* (*CIL* XIII 7555a), with the well-attested suffix *-riga* (f. of **rix*, 'king'). The head of this family was a woman, cf. 30, 1.

11. *Morivassum*: 'Celtic' name apparently unattested, but combining two elements found in other names, *mori-* (e.g. *RIB* 861, *Morirex*) and **uassos* ('servant') (e.g. *RIB* 215, *Vassinus*, and *Britannia* xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill), *Vassicillus* (?)).

12. *Riovassum*: 'Celtic' name apparently unattested, but combining the same **uassos* element with the well-attested *ri(g)o-*, and equivalent to *Vassorix* (*CIL* XIII 6071).

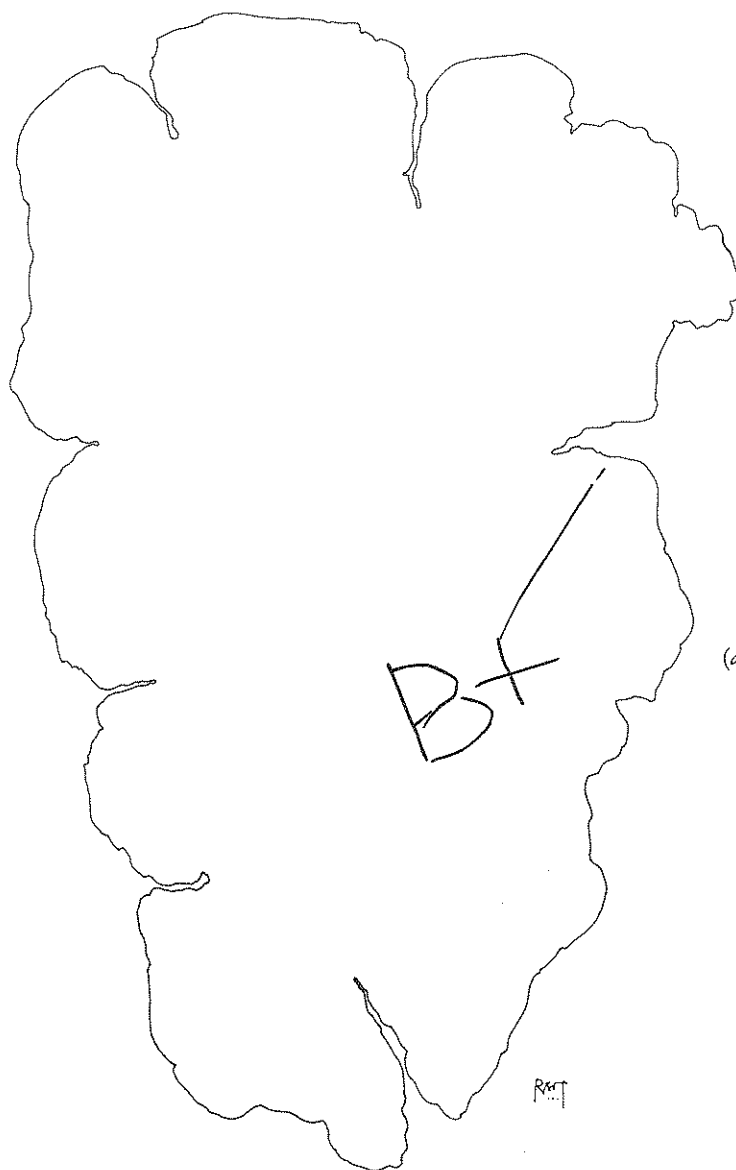
13. *Minoven. . .*: the final diagonal, suggesting *A* or *X*, goes over the edge of the tablet, proving that this is original; the limited space available made the scribe distort the last 3(?) letters, but they were hardly *DVM* (for *Minovendum*). There do not seem to be any 'Celtic' *Mino-* names on record, but *Minius*, a nomen in *CIL* V and a cognomen in *CIL* XIII, may incorporate the same element; cf. *Minianus* (4, 7) and perhaps *Minici* (9, 4).

54 *Theft of two silver coins*

Inv. no. 20,004
Pl. xxvi a

96 by 149 mm
Pb 56.9 Sn 43.0 Cu 0.1
not folded

Irregular piece of cast alloy sheet, the scalloped outline caused by its being hammered flat before inscribing. Inscribed on both sides, the main text (*b*) with a blunt stilus by a practised hand. The surface consists of lead corrosion which has flaked away, extensively damaging the main text (*b*), especially on the R. side and in a diagonal band from 7 to 11. Although it was not folded, it does not seem to have been pierced with a nail.

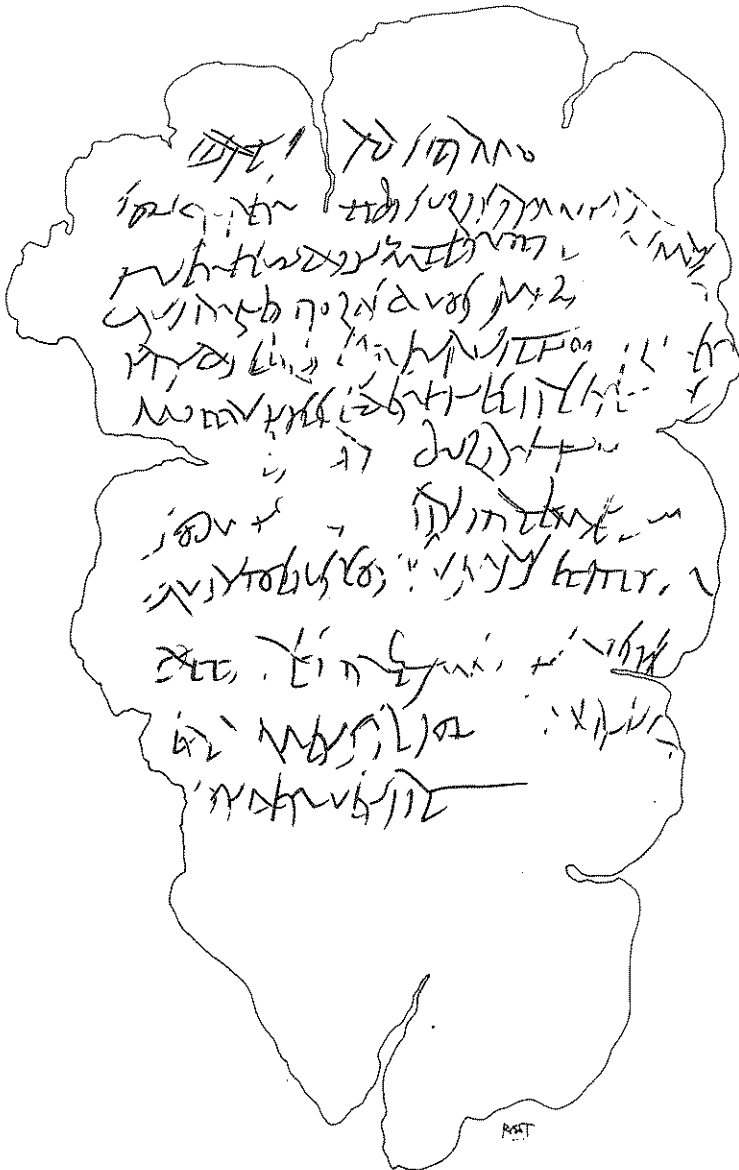


TRANSCRIPT

(a) B+

RESTORED TEXT

(a) B+



- (b) . .at.ad.iřamoř
 çoŋq.aer[1-2]tibisulisarmiņa
 1-2uerecuđdinumter1-2tiç[. .].umas
 quiargentiolořduosmihic.5]. .
 5 nađdiceř[c.5]řeuaaitno.[.].1.[.].er
 mittaşnecsedereneciacer[. .]ç
 traces a[.]bularen. .
 řomn. .[. .].sanitatem. .m
 quantociusçoņřumasetiteř.m
 10 deř.aestaçt2-3[c.2]ņuř. .
 2-3mensi.ioņ traces
 . .nperueniat vacat

- (b) ...
 çoŋq[u]<a>er[or] tibi, Sulis, Armiņa
 (ut) Verecundinum ?Ter[en]ři ç[ons]umas
 qui argentioloř duos mihi ...
 5 ...]řevavit no[n il]l[i p]er-
 mittaş nec sedere nec iacere [ne]ç
 ... a[m]bulare n[ec]
 řomn[um nec] sanitatem [řu]m
 quantocius çoņřumas et iteř[u]m
 10 ...
 ...
 [no]n perveniat

'... I, Arminia, complain to you, Sulis, [that] you consume Verecundinus (son of) Terentius, who has [stolen...] two silver coins from me. You are not to permit [him] to sit or lie [or... or] to walk [or (to have) sleep [or] health, [since] you are to consume (him) as soon as possible; and again... [not] to reach...'

a1. B+: the second letter(?) resembles marks on 116, a pseudo-inscription, and may be a private mark or symbol like the crosses found on leaden sealings and in ownership graffiti. A thinner diagonal stroke runs away from it, also of doubtful significance. 58 is another ORC text 'identified' by a few capitals on the other side.

b1. Damaged by corrosion. The crack is original, and it is uncertain how far the text avoided it. The first A may overlie a crossing-out. Presumably a 'heading', since 2ff. make sense without it.

2. *conq[u]<a>er[or] ti[bi]*: cf. 59, *conqueror ti[bi]*, and *Britannia* x (1979), 342, No. 2 (Uley), *deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur* ('complaining' to a god for the return of stolen property). The -ae- is a hypercorrection (it would sound the same). The crack makes it impossible to be sure how much has been lost at the end of the word; there is not enough room for the natural -itur, although -it ('Vulgar' active verb for Classical deponent) is possible. Another possibility, but unparalleled, is *conq[u]aer[it]*, a variant spelling of *conquiri*, if it could be understood in the sense of *requirit* ('requests').

Sulis: the only certain instance of the vocative (cf. 98, 6, *tu, domina dea*).

Arminia: the end of the line is damaged, but the lengthened A suggests it is the last letter. This must be the petitioner's name, the feminine form of a well-attested Latin nomen; cognomina are more usual in the Bath tablets, but the distinction was obsolescent by the third century, and cf. 95, *Maria*.

3. The first 1-2 letters are as drawn, with no sign that anything has been lost. Sense suggests that this odd T(?) was a mistake for *ut*, the V being omitted because it was repeated after T.

Verecundinum: a well-attested cognomen developed from the more common *Verecundus*, which has already been found in Britain. It is unusual to name the thief (cf. perhaps 10, 11), but maybe his identity was known from the circumstances of the theft or fraud (perhaps specified in 4-5).

Ter[en]ti: the letters restored or doubtful resemble TTA in 6, and are here taken to be a damaged E, a cramped N (letter-size fluctuates in this hand) and ligatured TI. If so, this is a patronymic to identify the thief precisely (for the use of patronymics cf. 30). *Terentius* is already well attested in Britain as a nomen.

c[ons]umas: there is a faint trace of the first S and the restoration is guaranteed by the word's recurrence in 9.

4. *argentiolos duos*: cf. 8, *[arge]ntiolos sex* (with note to 1-2). The script of 54 would suit the first half of the third century; since the loss of two 'silver coins' is worth mentioning, they can hardly be the debased 'antoniniani' of the mid-third century; but the double-denarius of Caracalla, while it still had a comparatively high silver content, is a likely candidate.

4-5. These lines are damaged, and what survives (presumably a description of the theft or fraud (e.g. 98, *de bursa mea* etc.)) does not suggest any restoration, although it obviously contained a 3rd-sing. perfect verb (-avit).

5ff. *no[n] il[li] p[er]mittas*, etc. For this formula, and esp. the denial of 'sleep' and 'health', cf. 32, 4-5 (with note). 'Sitting' (*sedere*) and 'lying' (*iacere*) are not found, but cf. Audollent 270 (Hadrumetum), *non dormiat neque sedeat*. For *ambulare* cf. *Britannia* iii (1972), 365 (Wanborough).

7. An infinitive to balance *ambulare* has been lost, but its length is uncertain because the L. margin may have been affected by the crack.

8. [?cu]m: there seems to have been some re-writing here; [eu]m would also be possible, but abrupt (and *illum*, cf. 5, would be more natural).

9. *quantocius*: not in *OLD* (to c. A.D. 200); A. Souter, *Glossary of Later Latin* (1949) dates its use from the fourth century (cf. Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* s.v.). This must be its earliest occurrence.

consumas: repeated from 3; not in any other British curse tablet, but cf. Audollent 138 (Rome).

et iter[u]m: probably introducing a renewal of the request to Sulis, cf. *Britannia* xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill), *iteratis precibus te rogo ut ab ipsis nominibus [inimicorum] meorum hoc [pertu]ssum(?) recipi perveniat*.

10-11. Too damaged for restoration; apart from *perveniat* (12) there seems no coincidence with the end of the Pagans Hill tablet. *MENSI* might suggest [ta]men si, but [.]ion... defies restoration, and it is difficult to fit two subordinate clauses into 10-12. The next letter might be an exaggerated T if the diagonal which reaches into 10 belongs to it, but what abstract noun contains -mension-?

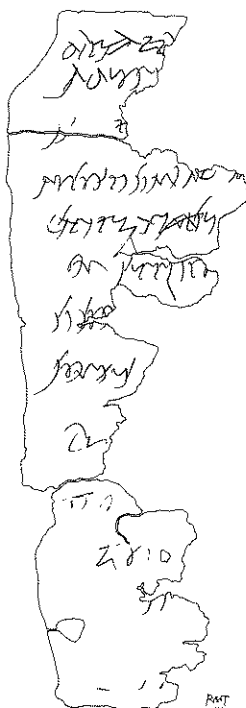
12. *perveniat*: the last word also of the Pagans Hill tablet; there is sufficient trace of [no]n (and few words that end in -n), but one would have expected the negative to be *ne* or *nisi*.

55 Theft of headgear

Inv. no. 462

31 by 63 mm
Pb 39.2 Sn 60.8
folded twice

Three conjoining fragments preserving the edge of a rectangle cut from alloy sheet. Inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. One side is so corroded that only a few traces remain of letters, and no transcript is possible. One-third of the other side is also lost to corrosion.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
	daçuşaga[	...
	aquer.[	...
	n[2-3]t[	...
	recentisimi. . .[	recentis(s)imi. . .[
5	capitularem(over)ciui	5 capitularem Civi[li]s?
	emsupplic.[	em supplic.[
	siser[	si ser[vus si liber
	somnus[	somnus[
	.u[	...
10	..[	10 ...
	[.]ge.[	...
	traces	...
	traces	...
	traces	...

The text is too fragmentary for any significant restoration. Some letter-forms remain uncertain, e.g. the distinction between *E* and *O*, and *C* and *T*. The remains of the *si servus si liber* formula shew that a thief is being cursed; *capitularem* is surely the object stolen.

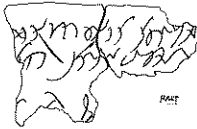
1. The first 5 letters are written with a different point and less pressure than the rest of the text. What is read tentatively as the second stroke of *S* looks like part of the *V*, with no break discernible. *Dacus* is a 'Celtic' name, usually spelt *Daccus* (*CIL* XIII 10010, 737).
 2. Perhaps some part of the verb *queror*, cf. 47, 1.
 5. *capitularem Civi[li]s*: the scribe wrote a bold *E* (as if to mark the end of the word), then continued with *CI*, etc. (the upward diagonal is not *S*, since the vertical stroke overlies it); he then scrawled *M* over the *E*, not to replace it, but to follow it, when he realised *M* had been omitted. A *capitularis* will be something for the *caput* ('head'), either a hood or cap, the literary sources (see *TLL* s.v. *capitulare*, 2) not making this clear: esp. Isidorus, *Orig.* 19, 31, 3, *capitulum est, quod vulgo capitulare dicunt, idem et cappa*. It is glossed κεφαλόδεσμος ('headband') (*C. Gloss. Lat.* III, 369, 63), which is used in Diocletian's *Prices Edict* to translate *capicarium* (xxvi 204, now attested in the Aezani fragment: see *ZPE* 34 (1979), 176). The evidence for hoods (woven separately, and worn with the Gallic cape) and leather hats is collected and discussed by J.P. Wild in *Bonner Jahrbücher* clxviii (1968), 177-8, 186-7. A *cap[er]olare* seems to be among the stolen property listed by the Caistor St. Edmund curse (*Britannia* xiii (1982), 408, No. 9).
- Civi[li]s*: cf. 31, 2 (with note), 53, 4.

RBS 79 CS 3

24 by 16 mm

Two conjoining fragments from the top edge of a tablet cut from alloy sheet, inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. Only traces of letters remain on one side. The other reads:

TRANSCRIPT



]pinetionis soruim[

]sta fraudem[

]s.ab[

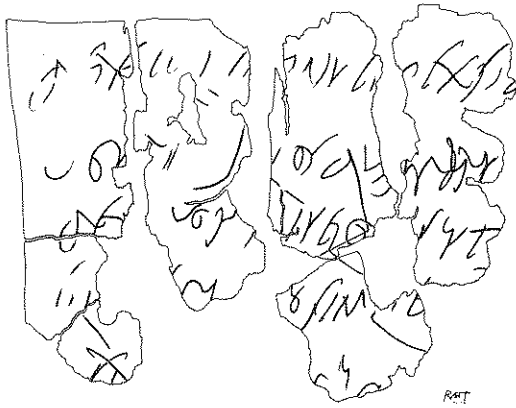
There seems to be word-division, but what words are being divided is obscure.

2. *fraudem*: for possible phrases (but precluded by . . .*sta*), see 32, 5–6 (with note) and 98, 7 (with note).

Inv. no. 419

66 by 51 mm
Pb 52.0 Sn 47.8 Cu 0.2
folded several times

Seven conjoining fragments from the top L. corner of a rectangular tablet cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand. Pieces have broken away at the folds, and the surface is much corroded.



TRANSCRIPT

deae. .l. .m̄iņę.exsib[
 đoņa.[c.2]i[.]losqui1-2baņ[
 de[c.2]uon.[.]iņelq[c.2]sunt[
 s̄i[2-3]. . .[c.3]osim[.]l.e[
 5 sa[8-10]. . .[

RESTORED TEXT

deae . . . Exsib[uus? *vacat*
 dona[vit] i[l]los qui 1-2baņ[
 . . . sunt [. . . si servus]
 si l[iber si bar]o si m[u]l[i]e[r]
 5 sa[

'To the goddess . . . Exsibuus has given those who . . . are . . . [whether slave] or [free, whether man] or woman . . .'

1. It is difficult to restore the obvious *Suli Minervae* after *deae*: the first letter has a R. turning foot (i.e. *E* or similar, not *S*); the *L* is incomplete; there are damaged letters which can be read as *MINE*, but there is not enough space for the rest before *EX*.

Exsib[uus]: *ex-* almost certainly marks the beginning of a word; *exsigas* or similar (cf. 34, 5) is possible, but the last surviving letter looks more like *B* than *G*, and the word's position in the text suggests a personal name. For *Exsibuus* cf. 37, 6.

2. The exaggerated size of the *I* suggests that it is an initial letter. Since the word is followed by *qui* (or certainly not *quos*), it must refer to the thieves, not the objects stolen (e.g. *argentiolos*). *Illos* is therefore a reasonable restoration, and determines the length of the first word; *dona[vit]* is the right length and makes good sense, but is difficult to fit to the surviving traces.

1-2*ban*: *B* is certain, and *A* since *R* is excluded by the following *N*; the letter before *B* resembles *M*, but there is little space between it and the *I* of *qui* for another letter. The damage caused by the break leaves the question unresolved.

3. Too damaged for restoration. Faint traces suggest *s<u>uo*, followed perhaps by *n[um]ine* (or *n[om]ine*), but this is only a guess.

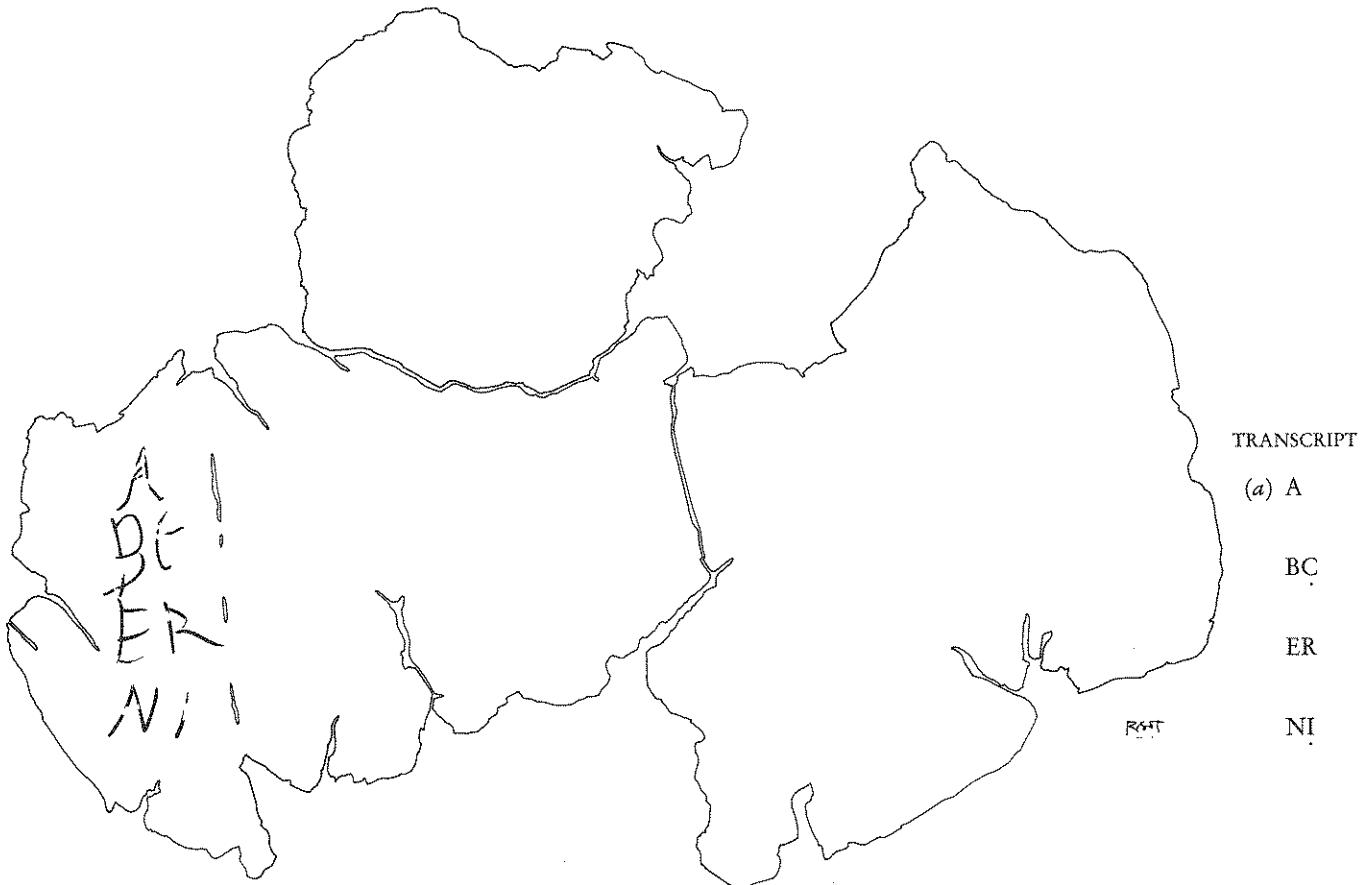
4. *si l[iber]* etc. Surviving letters and traces make the restoration of this pair of formulas certain.

5. *sa[. . .]*: perhaps *sa[nguine(m)]* rather than *sa[nitatem]*, since the traces to the R. do not suit *nec somnum*.

Inv. no. 590

159 by 100 mm
Pb 19.4 Sn 80.6 Cu 0.1
folded twice

Three conjoining fragments of an irregular piece of cast alloy sheet, inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. The inside text (*b*) was inscribed in ORC. The tablet was then folded upon itself, first from the R., and then the L. On the narrow flap thus left, an outside text (*a*) was inscribed in capitals (cf. 54). There are many casting blemishes and irregularities, and the surface is worn; (*a*) survives almost intact, but most of (*b*) is lost.



a2. C resembles an ORC *E*, but a lower-case letter is unlikely. For the sequence *ABC* cf. 1. The rest is obscure; there is no name *Abcernus*, and (*a*) may be a cryptic way of identifying the contents known only to the writer.

b8. Trace of *si . . . si* formulas, perhaps [*si servus*] *s[i libe]r si . . .*

10. Probably *invo[lavit/erit]*.



traces

]eşueḅ *traces*

5]no *traces*

]n.çi. . *traces*

] .curi]las.[

]s. . . .[c.2]:si.[

[]

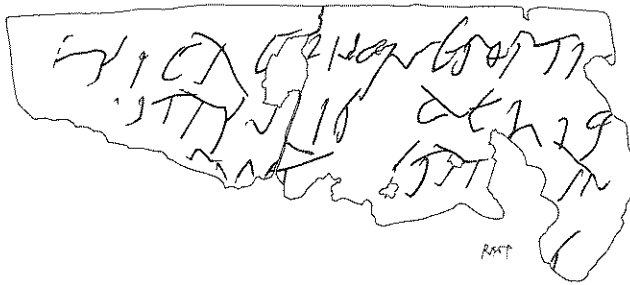
10]inuo[

]lo[

Inv. no. 596

81 by 36 mm
Pb 67.0 Sn 33.0
not folded

Two conjoining fragments preserving part of the top edge and top L. corner of an irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a blunt stylus in a straggling script by a practised hand. The surface has casting flaws and is corroded.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
enicaçõnquerorti[	Enica çõnqueror ti[bi
]tanulis[1-2]dehi.[	...
] . . [c.2?]sta[ç.c.2]am[	...
]	...

'I, Enica, complain to you . . .'

1. *Enica*: attested in Cisalpine Gaul as a 'Celtic' woman's name (*CIL* V 7641, *Enica Comiogia*, cf. 7845, *Enicus*).

conqueror ti[bi]: cf. 54, b2, *conq[u]<a>er[or] tibi, Sulis, Arminia*. *C* and the next letter are damaged by a hole which may be due to a nail. *C* is certain unless the tail of a *G* has been lost; the next letter could be the *R*. half of an *O* like that in *-queror*, a clockwise stroke cut horizontally by an anti-clockwise stroke; the third letter is an acceptable if elaborate *N*, but different from that in *enica*. 'Complaining' to a god: cf. *Britannia* x (1979), 342, No. 2 (Uley), *deo Mercurio Cenacus queritur*.

2. The original cast edge of the tablet curves underneath 1, the break occurring under *N*, so that it is not clear where 2 begins; *T* may be the second letter, preceded by *N*(?) like that in *con-* (1), although *V* for *ut* would be more helpful.

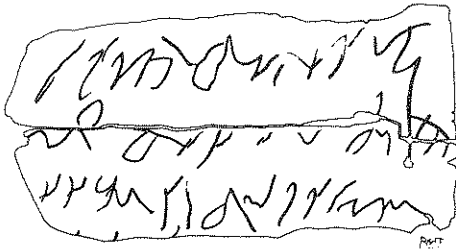
anulis: perhaps to be taken together (or as *anuli*), as a reference to stolen ring(s), cf. 97, *RIB* 306 (Lydney), *Britannia* x (1979), 344, No. 4 (Uley), but the case-ending (genitive or ablative) is puzzling. It would be tempting to read *Sulis*, if the *N* were not so unlike the *S* in the middle of 2.

60 *Theft of a pan(?)*

Inv. no. 600

59 by 29 mm
Pb 51.9 Sn 47.9 Cu 0.1
folded

Two conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle of cast alloy sheet, containing the first three lines of a longer text inscribed with a blunt stylus in a straggling script. The break coincides with the first fold.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
	ocneadeaesuli	Ōcnea deae Suli
1a	o mdono.bipa	M(inervae) dono [ti]bi pa-
	nnumsiquiseum	num. si quis eum
	traces	...

'Ocnea to the goddess Sulis M(inerva). I give you a pan(?). If anyone [has stolen] it . . .'

1,1a. *Ocnea*: the first *O* resembles those in *dono*, rather cramped, typically of this unsteady hand (cf. the *D* of *deae* and the *V* of *quis*); the second *O* was omitted, and was interlineated like *M* in 44, 6. This *O* is better drawn than the others, and is perhaps by a second hand; if so, this raises the question of whether the text (like others?) was checked before being folded up. The name seems to be unattested, but could be a variant spelling of *Occonia* which is found in Cisalpine Gaul (*CIL* V 7948, *Occonia Secundina*); arguably it is a feminine version of *Occon* (*ECMW* No. 124) which must be cognate with *Occus* and *Occius* (see Holder s.v.).

1-2. *deae Suli M(inervae)*: the clumsy *D* resembles *Q* in *quis* more than *D* in *dono*, but is an acceptable form guaranteed by its context. This is the only tablet to abbreviate *Minervae*, but the name is abbreviated to *Min* on *RIB* 146 and a patera from the sacred spring (p. 56), and to *M* on two other pateras (pp. 56-7).

2. *dono [ti]bi*: damaged by the break; the *O*s are cramped and the traces of *TI* unconvincing, but the reading and restoration are guaranteed by the context. For the formulation of this tablet, cf. 32, *deae Suli Minerv(a)e Solinus dono numini tuo . . .* (34 similar).

2-3. *pannum*: the first two letters are damaged, but cf. 66, *Exsuperius donat pannum*. *Pannus* usually means 'rag' or 'patch', an unlikely object of theft; for the possibility that it is used for *panna* ('pan') see note to 66, 2.

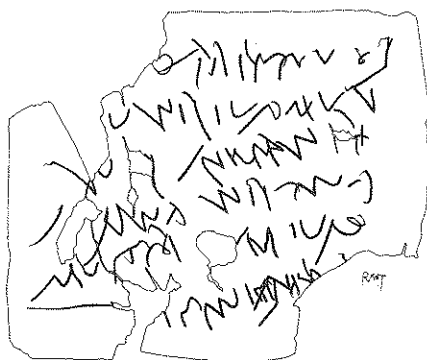
3. *si quis eum*: cf. 31, 1-2, *si cus* (i.e. *quis*) *vomerem*; 63, *si quis balniarem*. *Involavit/erit* probably followed.

61 *Theft of a woman's cape*

Inv. no. 664
Britannia xv (1984), 337, No. 4
 Pl. xxv b

55 by 46 mm
 Pb 70.9 Sn 29.1
 not folded

Two conjoining fragments of a rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus in mirror-image letters from R. to L., preserving the line sequence of the original text but reversing the order of letters in each line. This transposition was accompanied by copying errors. Some words are divided by an uninscribed space. Two corners have been lost, and there is surface damage due to casting flaws and subsequent corrosion, esp. in 5–6.



	TRANSCRIPT		RESTORED TEXT
	[c.4]ḍacsinreuol		Lovernisca ḍ[onāt]
	[c.2]ueuisiuqmue		eum qui sive v[ir]
	eu[.]s animefeuisi		<i>sive femina s[i]ve
	alleup euisreup		puer sive puella
5	muitroḍ aḿ iuq	5	qui maḍortium
	vacat tireualou(over ireu)[.]i		i[n]volaverit

'Lovernisca [gives] him who, whether [man] or woman, whether boy or girl, <who> has stolen (her) cape.'

This is the only British curse tablet to be written in mirror-image cursive (for other reversals see note to 44), but mirror-image capitals, more easily achieved, are found in a tablet from London (*Britannia* xviii (1987), 360, No. 1) and a lost tablet from Norfolk known only from a drawing by A.K. Gregory. Being written from R. to L. and in mirror-image, the letters are unevenly spaced and sometimes distorted: note the *LL* of *puella* and in *femina* how the horizontal strokes of *F* have been misplaced and the *N* ligatured to *A* is indistinguishable from *E*. The scribe began 6 correctly with *INV*, but his (or her) eye slipped to the second *V* of *involaverit* in the text being transposed, and caused him (or her) to continue with *-ERI*, before the mistake was realised and *-VOLA* was written over it.

1. *Lovernisca*: this 'Celtic' woman's name ('vixen') is not attested, but several cognates are known, all from Brit. **louerno-* (*LHEB*, 384, meaning 'fox'): *Lovernius* (*ECMW* No. 89; *Britannia* xii (1981), 370, No. 5 (Uley)), *Lovernianus* (*JRS* lix (1969), 239, No. 23), *Lovernac* (*ECMW* No. 170). The suffix *-isca* would seem to be a name-element (cf. names cited by Holder s.v. *-is-co-*) rather than from **isca* ('water').

2–4. This is the only instance of *sive* used to introduce these formulaic pairs of mutually exclusive alternatives; otherwise *si*, except *seu* and *utrum* in 98.

5. *qui*: repeated in error (cf. 99 for a clumsy repetition of relative clauses).

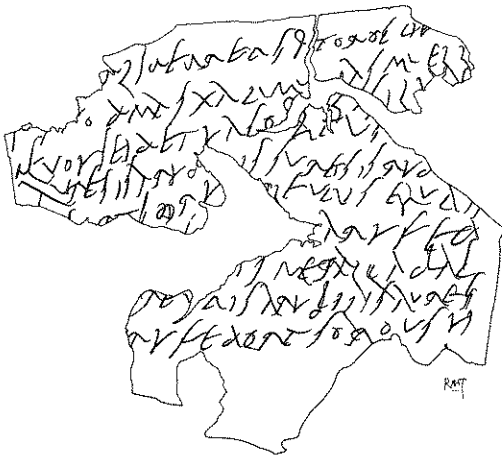
maḍortium: this reading was suggested by Dr J.R. Rea. The fourth stroke of the *M* is vestigial and ligatured to the first stroke of the *A*. What was taken to be a nail hole is a casting flaw (a 'cold shut'), since the second stroke of *A* cuts its lip, not vice versa. The uninscribed space *L.* of this hole, which would suggest word-division, cannot be explained. For the use and meaning of the word *maḍortium* see *TLL* s.v. and S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (1971), s.v. μαφόριον. In Latin sources *maforte* is the usual form, but μαφόριον (i.e. *mafortium*) occurs in Greek papyri (esp. of the third and fourth centuries) and in Diocletian's *Prices Edict*, xxix 29, where the Latin text is lost; as *mafurtium* it is said by Nonius Marcellus (early fourth century) to be the current term for the Classical *ricinium*. See Nonius Marcellus xiv (ed. Lindsay, p. 869) s.v. *RICINIUM, quod nunc mafurtium dicitur, palliolum femineum breve* (according to Varro a *pallium simplex* worn by women, esp. in mourning). In the fourth century it was worn by nuns over head and shoulders: Ambrose, *de virginibus* i 11(65), where it is equivalent to 'veil'; Jerome, *ep.* xxii 13.5, *per umeros maforte volitans*. The only source not to regard it as a woman's garment is Cassian (*Inst.* i 6), who gives the clearest description of its function in recommending its use to fifth-century monks: it is a short cape (*angustum palliolum*) covering neck and shoulders (*colla atque umeros*), which is unpretentious and a cheap substitute for a hooded cloak (*byrrus*).

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3
Britannia xviii (1987), 364, No. 3

65 by 56 mm

folded once

Two conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed R. to L. with a stylus by a practised hand in reverse sequence of letters line by line, care being taken not to divide words between lines. If the hole at the bottom was caused by a nail, the tablet must have been folded onto it. Later the tablet was badly crumpled and about a third was lost, but the text where it survives is fairly free from corrosion.



TRANSCRIPT

[c.5]alidedrepsitorocœ[c.4]
odmasxapmugasmuell[. . .]
 meuonseidetnaohtusilū[.].[. . .]
 auresisareb[. . .]issure(over i)sisreb[c.4]
 5 [c.2].[.]řřso(over ñi)rn[c.2]lleupiserup. .
 [c.8].[c.7]arefed
 [c.12].řmerall(over c?)abac
 [c.7]reupisarebilisaures(over i)
 [c.7]refedortsorousni

RESTORED TEXT

[c.4]eocorotis perdedi la[enam]
 [pa]lleum sagum paxsam do[navi]
 [.] [S]ulīs ut hoc ante dies novem
 [si li]ber si ser(v)us si [li]bera si serva
 5 [si] pure (i.e. puer) si puell[ā i]n rostr[o] s[uo]
 defera[t]
 caballarem s[ic] ser(v)us si liber si
 serva si libera si puer [si puella]
 in suo rostro defer[at vacat?]

'I, [.]eocorotis, have lost (my) Italian/Greek/Gallic cloak (and) tunic, (which) I have given . . . Sulis, that (he) may bring it down in his snout before nine days, [whether] free or slave, whether free woman or slave woman, [whether] boy or girl . . . horse blanket, [whether slave or free, whether] slave woman or free woman, whether boy [or girl], bring down in his snout.'

The same reversal to achieve a 'secret' text is found in 44, where other sorts of reversal are noted. The scribe worked from a 'straight' text, as can be seen from his mistakes.

(i) Failure to reverse the ligatured ER of *puer* (5), as in 44, 4.

(ii) Need to correct letters in 4, 5, 7 and 8, esp. *I* (4) which was due to writing *SI* twice.

(iii) Space left at the end of lines (i.e. the L. margin) had to be filled with letters of exaggerated size. There was probably a vacant space at the (L.) end of 9.

1. [c.4]eocorotis perdedi (etc.): cf. 5, *Docimedis perdedi(t) manicilia dua*; RIB 306 (Lydney), *Silvianus anilum perdedit*. Presumably the petitioner's name, perhaps cognate with a unique title of Mars: RIB 213, *Deo Marti Corotiaco*.

perdedi: variant spelling of *perdidi* also found in RIB 306 (Lydney); probably first-person, unlike 5, 2, *perdidi(t)* (see note), since there is no apparent tendency here to omit final consonants. The two *Ds* (resembling NRC A) are found in other ORC texts (e.g. 60, 66, 2) but are uncommon and not repeated in 2ff. (*donavi*, etc.).

1–2. *la[enam | pa]lleum sagum*: Dr J.P. Wild comments that they are all plain rectangular cloaks, whose physical differences are unknown: ‘But socially they have quite different overtones. The *sagum* is the Gallic native/military cloak par excellence while the *pallium* is the Greek national equivalent, carrying the aura of intellectual life and the stage into the Roman world. The *laena* is an old-fashioned term for an Italian cloak (Greek *χλαίνα*).’ Since the author can hardly have lost three different cloaks, he must be attempting to define the cloak he has lost in a bookish, quasi-legal way which will both impress Sulis and ensure that his cloak is fully identified. *Sagum* is now attested in the Vindolanda tablets (*JRS* lxxvi (1986), 121). *Pallium* is the term used by most petitioners (32, 43, 64), the spelling *palleum* being also found in 32, 3–4 (see note). Like bicycles in Oxford, it was a classic object of theft: cf. Catullus xxv, 6, *cinaede Thalle . . . remitte pallium mihi meum quod involasti*. Martial uses *pallium* and *laena* indifferently, of the dinner guest who leaves with two cloaks: viii 59, 9–10, *lapsa nec a cubito subducere pallia nescit | et tectus laenis saepe duabus abit*.

2–3. Nothing has been lost in the Y-shaped crack between the two fragments of the tablet, but the main fragment (see drawing) has become distorted; the *G* of *sagum* thus fits between *A* and *V*, and the *IS* of *[S]ulis* is complete.

2. *paxsam*: cf. 32, 3 (with note). It is a tunic, not a cloak, and so presumably lost in addition to the *pallium* or whatever, as happened to Solinus (32).

do[navi]: enough survives of the last four letters to guarantee the restoration, and cf. 8, 1 (with note).

3. [. . .]*[S]ulis*: the loss of three letters before *Sulis* increases the obscurity of this text. The one letter of which trace survives is too far from *V* to be the *S* of *Sulis*; it is *C*, *E* or *S*, which excludes *tibi*, *fano*, or *dea*. *Sulis* could be nominative, vocative or genitive, but nominative is unlikely, since *Sulis*, who did not have a *rostrum* (see 5), so far as we know, can hardly have been the subject of *deferat* (6).

ut: introduces the terms of the ‘gift’, as in *Britannia* x (1979), 343, No. 3 (Uley), *deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem donat ita ut exigat* (etc.). Cf. also 97, 4.

hoc: object of *deferat* (6), the neuter pronoun being used loosely to refer to the four nouns in 1–2 variously feminine or neuter in gender.

ante dies novem: ‘magical’ time-limit, cf. *Britannia* xviii (1987), 360, No. 1 (London), *ante . . . die(s) novem*; *AE* 1929, 228 (Carnuntum), *infra dies nove(m)*. The last two letters in the line (*EM*) are the wrong size because the scribe miscalculated the space remaining; he was evidently trying to finish the line with the end of a word.

4. *ser(v)us*: ‘Vulgar’ spelling, cf. 9, 7 (with note).

si [li]bera si serva: this pair is unusual, cf. 52, 7, *si ancilla* (with note). The final *A* is exaggerated to fill the space at the end of the line.

5. *puer*: the scribe failed to reverse *ER* (for the same mistake, see 44, 4) because he wrote *E* in its correct place and automatically ligatured *R* to it, which is why *R* is misplaced; except perhaps for *NI(?)* under the *O* of *rostro* (5), this is the only ligature in the text.

5–6. [*i*]n rostr[o] s[uo] defera[t]: the restoration is guaranteed by the repetition in 9. *Deferat* does not mean ‘return’ (of stolen property) as *reducat* (64) does, but other compounds of *fero* are certainly used in this sense (*pertulerit*, *attulerit*, see 10, 19 with note). The formulas of 4–5 repeated in 7–8 strongly suggest that the thief is being required to bring (back) the stolen property. The problem is *in rostro suo*: the word means ‘beak’, usually of birds, but occasionally of other animals. (It is also applied to beak-like objects, notably a warship’s ram, but none of these seems applicable.) Must we translate *The Jackdaw of Rheims* to Roman Bath? St. Columbanus cursed the raven which stole his gardening glove in terms reminiscent of 10, 14–15 – it would not rear its chicks until it brought the glove back – but marauding birds can hardly have been a hazard at the baths of Sulis. It is easiest to take *rostrum* as an abusive reference to the mouth or ‘snout’ of the (human) thief, *rostrum* being sometimes thus transferred to the human anatomy in colloquial Latin: see J.N. Adams, ‘Anatomical Terms Transferred from Animals to Humans in Latin’, *Indogermanische Forschungen* lxxxvii (1982), 90–109, esp. 103.

7. *caballarem*: cf. 49, 1–2. *Caballus* is the ‘Vulgar’ word for ‘horse’ which has entered the Romance languages (Fr. *cheval*, etc.). *Caballarius* is used as a substantive (‘horseman’), the derived adjective is *caballinus*. *Caballaris* seems to be attested only, as an adjective, in *AE* 1906, 138, *homo caballaris* (‘man on horseback’, contrasted with *homo pedester*, ‘pedestrian’). *Caballarem* here is a substantive, and probably in 49 as well. Since it is an object of theft, the meaning ‘horseman’ is excluded; the cloaks etc. of 1–2 suggests a textile context, perhaps a horse blanket like the *τάπηρ καβαλαρικός* (Latin term lost) of Diocletian’s *Prices Edict*, xix 33.

7–8. Formulas repeated from 4–5, but with *serva* and *libera* in reverse order; the restoration seems certain.

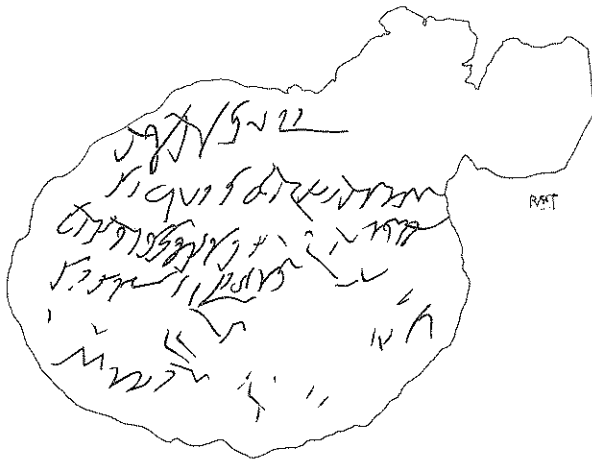
9. *defer[at]*: as a verb probably the last word of the text. If, as seems likely, it was followed by a space, this would imply a primary text which was transposed line by line.

63 *Theft of a bathing tunic*

Inv. no. 697

83 by 50 mm
Pb 99.6 Sn 0.3 Cu 0.1
folded

Irregular oval formed by a splash of molten lead, inscribed with a blunt stilus by a practised but careless hand. The surface is irregular and pitted. The lower half of the text is worn and faint.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
deaesuli <i>vacat</i>	deae Suli
siquisbalniarem	si quis balniarem
cantisseneinu[.]la[.]erit	Cantissen(a)e inv[o]la[v]erit
sisr.usşiliber <i>traces</i>	si s(e)r(v)us şi liber . . .
5 <i>traces</i>	5 . . .
mena <i>traces</i>	. . .

'To the goddess Sulis. If anyone has stolen the bathing tunic of Cantissena, whether slave or free, . . .'

2. *si quis*: cf. 31, 60.

balniarem: 'Vulgar' spelling of *balnearem*. Properly an adjective ('of the bath', used like the English 'bath-'), applied to a jug, slippers (see *Grammatici Latini* (ed. H. Keil) I, 77, 2), and the *vestis* worn by Alexander Severus (see note to 32, 3). It is used absolutely in the neuter plural in the sense of 'bathing things' (*CIL* XIII 5708, *JRS* lxxii (1982), 102, line 56), but here in the (feminine) singular understanding *paxsam* ('tunic'), as explicitly in 32, 3 (see note).

3. *Cantissen(a)e*: 'Vulgar' spelling, *-e* for *-ae*. The name, probably a man's, seems to be unattested, but *Cantius* occurs six times in *CIL* XIII, cf. *ECMW* No. 42, *Can<n>tianus*; No. 258, *Cantusus*. The suffixes *-issa* and *-enna* are often found in 'Celtic' names.

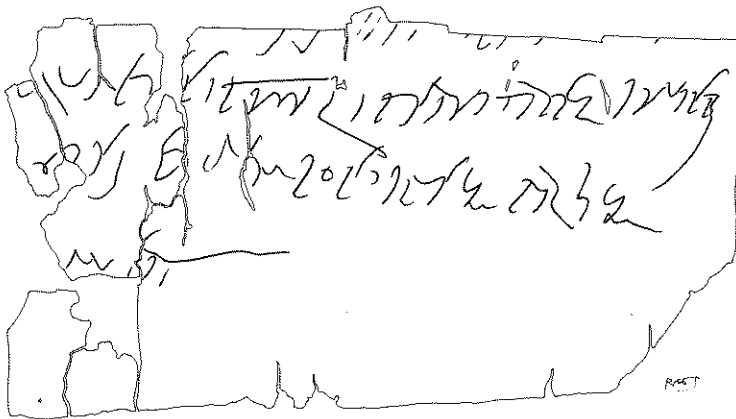
4. *si s(e)r(v)us si liber*: the fourth letter resembles the *R* in *balniarem* more than the succeeding *E*; the writer was so familiar with the *si servus* formula, or in such a hurry, that he omitted the *E* and finished the word with a quick scrawl.

64 *Theft of a cloak*

Inv. no. 417

98 by 53 mm
Pb 32.7 Sn 67.3 Cu 0.1
folded five times

Five conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus in a third-century script. After being folded on itself five times, it was cut through with a knife, the present text being only the last two complete lines of a longer text. Of the original tablet only the bottom L. corner, the bottom edge, and part of the R. edge thus survive.



TRANSCRIPT

traces

quiescit2-3litsanitateminuictus

nisi eidem loco ipsum pallium

[1-2]ducat vacat

RESTORED TEXT

...

quiescit 2-3lit sanitatem invictus

nisi eidem loco ipsum pallium

[re]ducat

'... rests ... health unconquered unless he brings the cloak itself back to the same place.'

2. *quiescit*: the exaggerated horizontal of the *T* marks this as the end of the word. The verb is not found in any other tablet; one would have expected the subjunctive *quiescat* ('he is [not] to rest').

2-3*lit*: presumably another verb like *quiescit*, but the first 2-3 letters (which look like *NN*) are obscure.

sanitatem: this suggests a variant of the formula which denies sleep or health to the thief until he returns the stolen property, cf. 32, 4-5 (with note). The *E* is the NRC type which is not found before the third century, and in the Bath ORC texts occurs only here and in 65 and 66, 1. It is found in the Dura papyri of c. 200/250 which otherwise resemble many of the Bath ORC texts.

invictus: this like *quiescit* does not occur in any other curse tablet, and its reference is obscure; surely not to the thief, unless an error for *victus* ('overcome'), but perhaps to an agent in the text which is lost. The ligatured *VS* much resembles one in *P. Grenf.* II 110 (A.D. 293)=R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri* (1972), I, No. 48.

3. *eidem loco*: the reference is to some place mentioned in the text which is lost, probably the temple of Sulis.

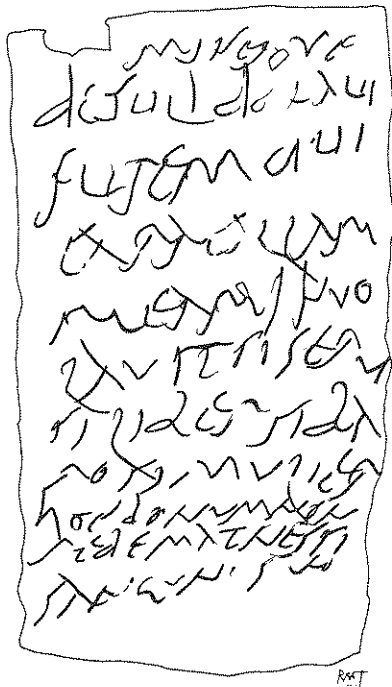
ipsum pallium: *ipsum* has the sense of 'the said cloak', it had been mentioned in the text which is lost; cf. 44, *ipsum aenum*, *rem ipsam*. For the theft of a *pallium*, cf. 32, 43, 62 (with note to 1-2).

65 *Theft of a hooded cloak*

Inv. no. 671
Britannia xiv (1983), 340, No. 6.

50 by 88 mm
 Pb 40.3 Sn 59.6 Cu 0.1
 not folded

Rectangle cast in alloy sheet and hammered, before being inscribed with a stylus in a third-century script which combines ORC and NRC forms.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
	minerue	Minerv(a)e
	desulidonau	de(ae) Suli donavi
	furemqui	furem qui
	caracallam	caracallam
5	meaminuo	meam invo-
	lauitsiseruſ	lavit si ser(v)uſ
	silibersiba	si liber si ba-
	rosimulier	ro si mulier
	hocdonumnon	hoc donum non
10	redematnessi	redemat nessi
	sangun.suo	sangu(i)n[e] suo

'To Minerva the goddess Sulis I have given the thief who has stolen my hooded cloak, whether slave or free, whether man or woman. He is not to buy back this gift unless with his own blood.'

The script is interesting and unusual in that it uses the NRC *E* (as once in 64 and in 66, 1) and related *F*, the NRC vertical *D* and *Q*, forms of *C* and *H* which also tend to be NRC, and NRC *V* (like modern lower-case *u*), while at the same time using ORC *V* as well (like modern lower-case *v*), and typically ORC forms of *A*, *B*, *M*, *N*, *R* and *S*. Unusually, therefore, it seems to be transitional between ORC and NRC. It seems to be inscribed on the same kind of thick tinny sheet as some of the NRC texts (e.g. 97).

There are six 'Vulgar' spellings, noted below. A consultant paediatrician who saw the drawing of 65 commented that the crowding of the last four lines, with their diminishing letter-size and the upward slope of 11, would in his profession be seen as typical of dyslexia.

1. *Minerv(a)e*: 'Vulgar' spelling, *-e* for *-ae*, as in 32, 1. (A diagonal stroke once read as *A* seems to be a casual cut). Although in smaller script almost as if inserted above 2, and oddly preceding *deae*, *Minerv(a)e* was the first word to be written (*D* of *donavi* overlies it). It is indented because of the casting flaw in the top edge, and perhaps because it was the initial word, cf. 32, 43. This is the only text of any kind to put *Minerva* before *Sulis* when identifying the two.

2. *de(ae)*: 'Vulgar' contraction also found in 46, 1 and 108. Not found in *RIB*, but there are six instances of *d(e)ae* (*Index*, p. 96).

donavi: usually it is the stolen property which is 'given' to the god, but cf. 61, *d[onat] eum qui . . . i[n]volaverit*.

2ff. *furem qui caracallam meam involavit*: cf. 10, 5, *eum qui caracellam meam involaverit*. Not the same *caracalla* ('hooded cloak', see note to 10, 6): the script of 10 is probably earlier, the formulation of the two tablets is almost entirely different, cloaks were at risk of theft in a bathing establishment (cf. 32, 43, 62, 64, for thefts of a *pallium*).

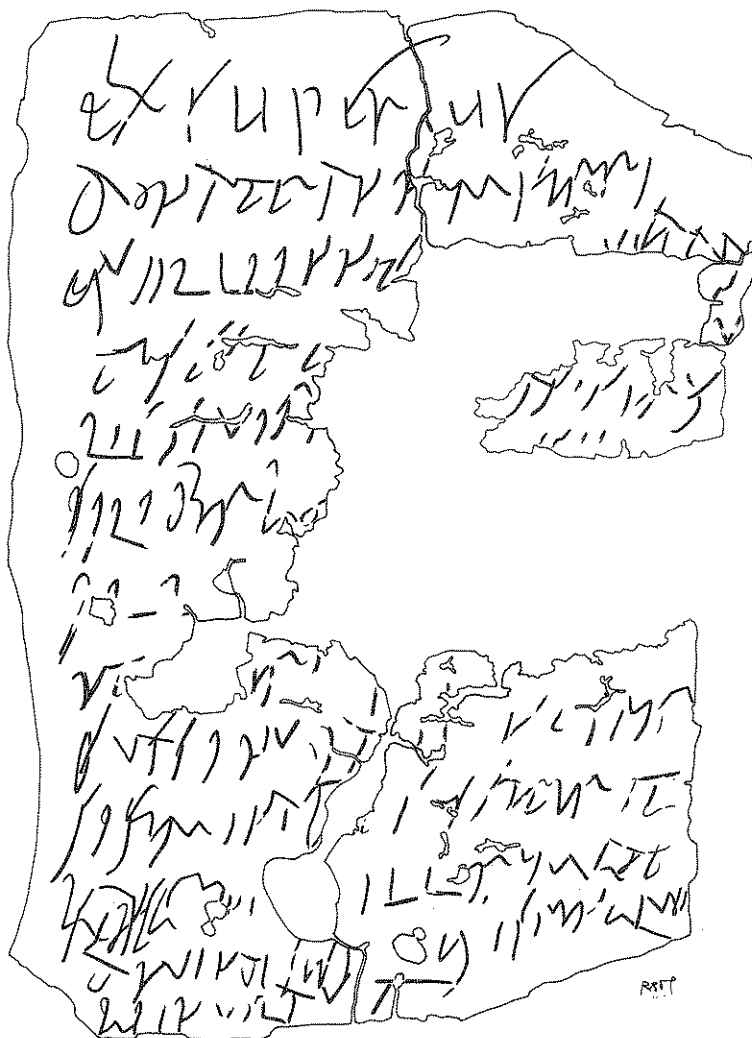
6. *ser(v)us*: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 9, 7 (with note); the most common formula in British curse tablets.
- 7–8. *si baro si mulier*: variant of the *si vir si femina* formula, cf. 44, 3 (with note).
- 9ff. For the formula cf. 99, 5, *sanguine et vitae suae illud redemat*, RIB 323 (Caerleon, emended), *non redimat ni(si) vita sanguine sui*, *Britannia* xvii (1986), 434, No. 6 (Brean Down), *(re)dim[a]t sa(n)guin[e s]uo*. The idea of 'paying' with one's own blood is typical of British curse tablets: cf. also 38 (restored), 41, 66, 94, *JRS* xlviii (1958), 150, No. 3 (Kelvedon), *sangu(i)no suo solvat*; variants in 44, 97, 98; other references to 'blood' in 6 (restored), 40, 46, 47, 98.
10. *redemat*: hypercorrection of *redimat* (see previous note) also found in 99, 6.
- nessi*: for *nisi*. The 'Vulgar' gemination of *s* is also found in 32, 14 and *Britannia* x (1979), 342–3, Nos. 2 and 3 (Uley), *nissi*; the hypercorrect *e* for *i* is also found in *Britannia* xvii (1986), 431, No. 2 (Eccles), *nesi*.
11. *sangu(i)ne*: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 47, 44, 6 (with note).

66 *Theft of an iron pan (?)*

Inv. no. 614

99 by 134 mm
Pb 14.8 Sn 85.2
folded 9 times

Five conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle cut from high-tin alloy sheet, inscribed with a blunt stilus which has indented the thin (0.36 mm) metal but left only faint marks of writing. The round holes in 5/6, 11 and 12, are casting defects. The surface is badly worn and corroded. 1 is written in NRC (cf. 5), the rest in ORC.



TRANSCRIPT

exsuperius vacat

donatpannumferri

qui illi innoc[c.5] n[f] am

tusc. . . [] s[u]

5 lissiuir. [c.5] as. serus

silib[er]ho[] traces

ill[]

et[.]. [.] er. [.]

suasinu[.] la[.] [.] n. iuir

10 sifeminas[.] .sfecerit

san(over hoc)guin. vacat ill[.] rumhoc

deuindices[.] vacat q[.] isaenunm[]

hiin[] olau[.] t vacat

'Exsuperius gives an iron pan(?). (The person) who . . . innocence for him . . . of (?) Sulis, whether man [or woman], whether slave or free, . . . this . . . and . . . have stolen his . . . , whether man or woman, is to have given satisfaction with their blood. You are to reclaim(?) this [if] anyone has stolen the vessel from me.'

1. *Exsuperius*: cf. 4, 4–5 (with note), *Exsupereus*. The first *E*, both *S*s, both *V*s, the *P* and *R*, are all of NRC form. None of these forms recur in the rest of the text, which is ORC. (The *R*s may look similar, but in 1 it is made without lifting the stilus; in 2ff. it is made in two strokes). 1 is written with the same stilus and in the same indenting way as 2ff., to which it belong grammatically. (For the format cf. 97, which comes closest: *Basilia donat in templum Martis anilum argenteum*). The nearest parallel is 5, where a personal name in NRC is followed by a text in capitals. 66, with its combination of NRC and ORC, is much more of a palaeographical embarrassment, since it blurs the two categories into which Latin cursive writing is divided.

2. *pannum ferri*: *pannus* (cf. 60, 2) usually means 'rag' or 'patch', but this would be an unlikely object of theft, and no sense can be got from *ferri* ('of iron'). There is a second reference to the object stolen in 12, where it is apparently *aenum* (cf. 44, 1 with note), a '(bronze) cooking vessel'. The best solution may be to understand *pannum* here and in 60, 2 as an error or a local variant for *pannam*, a 'dish' or 'pan': see W. Hilgers, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen* (1969), s.v. *panna*. *Pannas* is a regular item in the graffiti of production at La Graufesenque, apparently 'bowls', since *pana communis* occurs as a graffito on a Drag. 37. An iron *panna* is envisaged in *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* (ed. G. Goetz) II 595, 49. Surviving examples suggest it was an oval frying pan with pivoted handle: see W.H. Manning, *Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum* (1985), 104.

RESTORED TEXT

Exsuperius

donat pannum ferri

qui illi innoc[entiam?] n[on]fam

tusc. . . [] Su-

5 lis si vir [si femin]a s[i] ser(v)us

si liber hoc

ill[is]

et[er]. . . [er]. . . [er]. . .

suas inv[o]la[veru]n[t] s[i] vir

10 si femina s[ati]sfecerit

sanguin[e] ill[o]rum hoc

devindices [si?] q[u]is aenum mi-

hi inv[er]lav[i]t

3. *innoc[entiam]*: there is trace of O and the restoration is attractive (unless perhaps *innocenti* or *innocentiae*, which suits *illi* better but is still more allusive); the word occurs in 100, but again in an obscure context.

n[on]fam: *suam* cannot be read; there may be trace of a letter (A?) after M, in which case *[i]n[on]fam[a]vi[t]* is remotely possible, assuming VI to have been lost in the corrosion at the beginning of 4.

4-5. *Su[er]lis*: the word's position immediately before the *si vir* (etc.) formulas suggests that it is genitive (from a locative phrase like *ad fontem* or *ad fanum*) rather than the subject of the clause.

9. *suas*: perhaps after *res* (cf. 32, 15 with note) in 8, a reference to the property stolen.

inv[o]la[veru]n[t]: the N and the spacing require the plural, picked up by *illorum* (11). The alternation of singular and plural is puzzling. In 41 the singular is the thief, the plural his family, but 66 is too fragmentary to tell whether that is the explanation here.

10-11. *s[ati]sfecerit sanguin[e]*: the spacing in 10 is rather ample, and there is possibly trace of V ligatured to the second S, but the restoration is attractive in view of 94, 8, *sanguine suo satisfacere*.

12. *devindices*: cf. 35, 4, *vindices* (with note); the compounded form is very rare: TLL cites only the pre-Vulgate ('Itala') text of *Luke* (for Vulgate *vindicare*) and a scholiast.

[si] q[u]is: cf. 60, 3 and 63, 2. Half the S of *si* survives.

aenum: see note to 2. Properly a '(bronze) cooking vessel', it seems to be used here in a general sense, like English 'copper' (boiling vessel) or 'tin' (can).

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

21 by 32 mm

Fragment.



TRANSCRIPT

nec s[

n.[

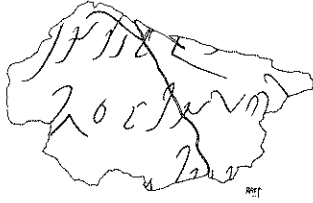
t.[

Perhaps part of the *nec somnum nec sanitatem* formula (see 32, 4–5 with note).

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

40 by 24 mm

Fragment.



TRANSCRIPT

]insac!.[

]hocinuq!a[

]c.4[

RESTORED TEXT

...

]hoc invola[vit/verit

...

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

24 by 27 mm

Two conjoining fragments preserving part of the raised (top) edge of a tablet.



TRANSCRIPT

]ia *vacat*

]deasuli.[

]nem d.[

RESTORED TEXT

].ia

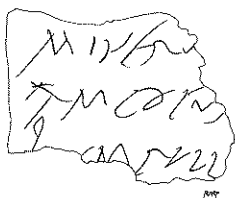
] dea Suli[s

]nem d.[

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

29 by 22 mm

Fragment.



TRANSCRIPT

| mineru[

| ἀμχόκουσ[

| λυπέλλ[

RESTORED TEXT

Minerv[a or ae

...

-lum pell[

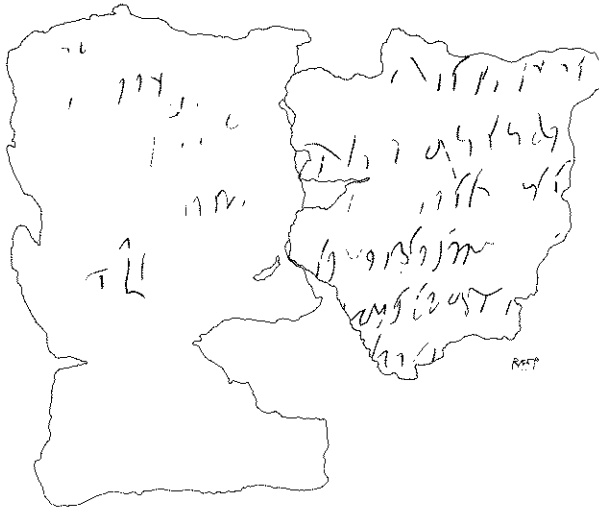
Cocus is a well-attested 'Celtic' name (*CIL* XIII 10010, 603), but the first *C* might be *L* followed by an exuberant *O*, rather than *CO* ligatured. It would be unusual for the petitioner's name in the nominative to follow the object stolen (?); contrast 31, 63, where it is genitive.

Inv. no. 602

80 by 64 mm

folded

Two conjoining fragments of badly corroded leaden sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand. Virtually nothing survives on the L. fragment.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
<i>traces</i>	...
<i>traces</i>	...
]a3-4quisuīb[	...
<i>traces</i> .ise[. .]uss[	s]i se[rv]us s[i
5 .i. siuirsi.em[	5] si yir si [f]em[ina
]discebit[	] discebit [
]traces	...

'... whether slave or [free] ... whether man or woman ... will learn (?) ...'

4-5. Only these formulas can be recognized with certainty; [si] l[iber] is perhaps to be restored in 5 of the L. fragment, but there seems to be the beginning of *si* at the end of 4.

6. *discebit*: reading uncertain, since the present subjunctive, not the future, is usual in curse tablets. If this is intended as the future of *disco*, it is a 'Vulgar' confusion between conjugations (2nd for 3rd). The verb *disco* is unattested in curse tablets, but just possibly equivalent to *inveniat* (99, 5): Sulis will learn who the thief is (a dubious use of *disco*); or perhaps the thief will learn to respect Sulis.

Inv. no. 619

27 by 20 mm

Two conjoining fragments.



TRANSCRIPT

traces

c.2].ori.α{

tacituri{

trace

3. *tacituri* ('being silent in the future'): perhaps a curse on anyone with knowledge of the theft who remains silent, cf. 97, 3, *siluerit*.

Inv. no. 619

22 by 22 mm

Fragment.



TRANSCRIPT

].ueŋ. .[

noŋaŋ. .[

].[

1. Perhaps]*ven*[*iat*].
2. Not *non ante* (cf. 41, 4, *nec ante*), unless the horizontal of the *T* was badly misplaced.

Inv. no. 207

44 by 29 mm
Pb 80.5 Sn 19.4 Cu 0.1
folded

Irregular piece of leaden alloy sheet, apparently complete, inscribed with a chisel-pointed stylus. 1 is in cursive, 2 in capitals.



TRANSCRIPT

o1-2oç(or t)

DOMX

1. The second letter could be *E*, *N*, *R* (but more like *NRC R* than *ORC*) whether or not ligatured to *V*. The last letter is *C* or *T* with an extended horizontal, unless this is meant to mark *X* (2) as a numeral; if so, it is badly aligned.
2. *DOMX*: the same letters are found at the beginning of one of the lead tablets addressed to the *Niskas* (nymphs) of the hot spring at Amélie-les-Bains (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* xci (1975), 44, No. 7). There they have been seen as part of a blundered *dom(i)nas*, a solution that might be adopted here: *dom(in)a*, 'Lady', cf. 98, 6, *domina dea*. Perhaps even *oro t(e)*, *dom(in)a*, 'I beg you, Lady'.

Inv. no. RBS 79 CS 3

80 by 34 mm

not folded

Irregular piece of tinny alloy sheet, apparently broken from the bottom of a longer text. Wear and corrosion make it difficult to see whether it was inscribed in columns like 39, or in disorderly lines. Letter-forms are distorted (e.g. the recognizable *T* at the bottom). 3 probably ends in *RIAM*, but otherwise there are too many ambiguities to make a transcript practicable.



Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

17 by 19 mm

Fragment inscribed in what looks an odd ORC (there seems to be a capital *R* among it), which makes no apparent sense. Written L. to R., so not a reversed text.

TRANSCRIPT



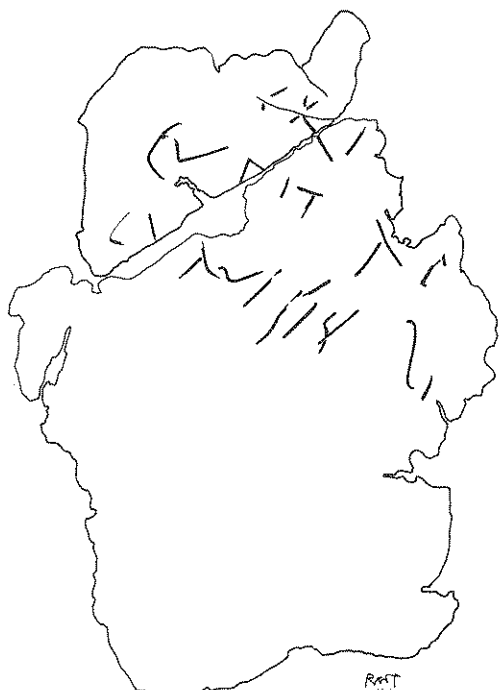
liqas
l.tug.ius
liiRulu
luj *vacat?*
5 l.e.rnfi

Inv. no. 683

65 by 81 mm

folded twice

Two conjoining fragments of an irregular piece of lead sheet, clumsily inscribed with a blunt stilus. The surface is heavily corroded.



TRANSCRIPT

traces

cupit[1-2]a.[

. .quisius *vacat* . .[*vacat*

2. Perhaps *Cupit[i]a[nus]*, a cognomen developed from *Cupitus* already attested in Britain (*RIB* 1988; *ECMW* No. 283).

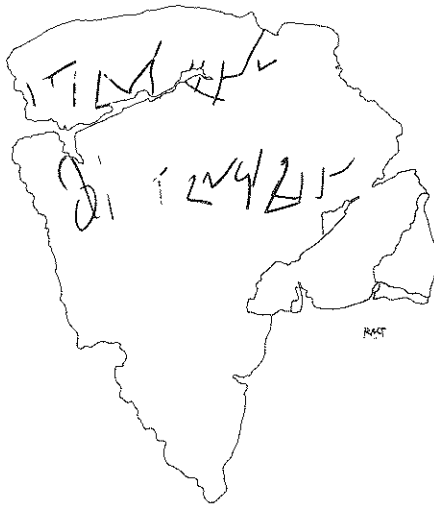
3. Another personal name, ending in *-visius*. The previous letter looks like *A*, but could be *R*. The name may begin *P[.]* or *CV*.

Inv. no. 20,019

53 by 67 mm

folded

Irregular piece of leaden sheet, clumsily inscribed with a blunt stilus. The two lines may be by different hands.



TRANSCRIPT

]tiluslinu[

]bitiluslin[*vacat*

RESTORED TEXT

?B]tilus Linu[s

?Bitilus Lin[us

1 and 2 contain virtually the same sequence of letters and would seem to be the same word(s) repeated. (The only discrepancy is the *uu* of 2, where the writer may have written *u* and then a ligatured *-us*, since this was habitual at the end of a word.) The sequence *usl* suggests that *-us* is the end of a word, perhaps a personal name.

Bitilus: perhaps *Bitil(l)us*, a diminutive form of the 'Celtic' name *Bitus* (well attested, see Holder s.v.); as *Bitilla* it is found in Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 7458).

Linus: a name from Greek mythology, but perhaps also 'Celtic' since it is found at Narbonne (*CIL* XII 5188, cf. 3586) and in north Italy (XI 6108).

Inv. no. 416

79 by 39 mm
Pb 52.5 Sn 47.3 Cu 0.2
folded four times

Three conjoining fragments from the bottom of a rectangular tablet, whose flanged edges suggest that it was cast as such, boldly inscribed with a blunt stilus by a practised hand. The sample is too small to be sure of the letter-forms, and the reading remains conjectural



TRANSCRIPT

*traces*reşmca.[]esila(*interlin.*)q2-3mali

egņenu.a.itij[1-2]. vacat

2. It is tempting to read *res mea[s]* (cf. 12), but the C is certain. A seems to have been interlined above the IL (its second stroke does not look like the remains of an L in 1), but it is unclear whether it was meant before or after the L. After the L is a patch of corrosion and a letter may be lost, although there is no sign of one ever having been there. The flourish of the final I suggests a word-ending.

3. The final letter might be the second stroke of an elongated S; I is unlikely (cf. 2), and a verb-ending impossible. Perhaps a personal name ending -a[v]itij[us], even the well-attested nomen *Avitius*. If so, the rest of this enigmatic fragment is probably personal names, 2 ending in a patronymic.

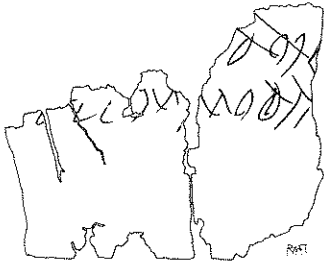


Inv. no. 399

41 by 31 mm

folded

Two conjoining fragments from the bottom of a tablet.



TRANSCRIPT

][

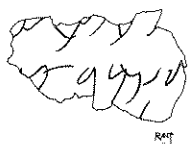
]doil[

]. . .mmod(over i)a.[

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

23 by 14 mm

Fragment.



TRANSCRIPT

traces

]utquand[

][

RESTORED TEXT

] ut quand[iu

2. Perhaps from a pair of correlative clauses, as in 52.

Inv. no. 20,003

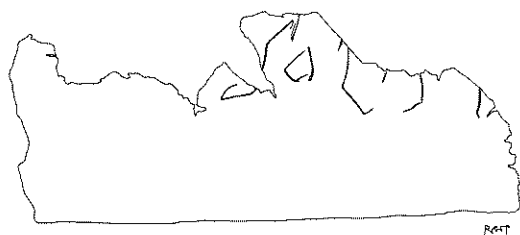
66 by 29 mm
Pb 34.4 Sn 65.6
folded

Fragment from the bottom of a tablet cut from alloy sheet.

TRANSCRIPT

] [

]sol. . . [



The traces do not support a restoration of [*sanguine suo*] *sol*[*vat*] (cf. *JRS* *xlvi* (1958), 150, No 3 (Kelvedon)), but it cannot be excluded.

Inv. no. 399

- (i) 19 by 21 mm
- (ii) 13 by 12 mm
- (iii) 16 by 10 mm

c. 15 small fragments from an unknown number of tablets. The best three have been drawn.

TRANSCRIPT



(i)]-suum[

]ute[



(ii)]el |

]-[|



(iii)]çum[

Inv. no. 670

43 by 54 mm

folded

Two conjoining fragments of a leaden tablet, clumsily inscribed with a blunt stilus. Heavily corroded, with few visible traces of letters.



TRANSCRIPT

]. .ηφφ.[

]P[.]

traces

Inv. no. RBS 79

20 by 22 mm

Fragment (not drawn) of a tablet inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.

TRANSCRIPT

traces

].sum.[

]acusaue[

]qudfra[

4. Perhaps *qu(o)d fra[udem fecit]* or similar, cf. 32, 5–6 (with note).

Inv. no. RBS 79

16 by 17 mm

Fragment (not drawn) of a tablet inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.

TRANSCRIPT

traces

]resinuol[

traces

1. Underlined, cf. 9, 1. Not enough survives to tell whether this was the first line of the original tablet.
2. Presumably *res invol[avit or -erit]*, cf. 32, 15 (with note).

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

21 by 14 mm

Fragment (not drawn).

TRANSCRIPT

RESTORED TEXT

]ili[

].erus[

trace

si s]er(v)us [

1. Perhaps [s]i li[*ber*], but a long way from *si ser(v)us*.
2. [s]er(v)us: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 9, 7 (with note).

Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3

Residue. c.40 small fragments of alloy sheet, half of them uninscribed, one or two letters legible on some, the rest illegible. One rectangular fragment, 23 by 17 mm, is pierced by a neat nail-hole 2.5 mm in diameter only 3 mm from the (original) edge.

Inv. no. RBS 79

Residue. More than 50 small fragments of tablets, uninscribed or illegible, and pieces of scrap lead including a *Gloria Exercitus* coin, much corroded, encased in lead corrosion.

Inv. no. 681

c. 100 by 32 mm
 Pb 36.0 Sn 63.9 Cu 0.1
 still folded (7 times)

Only the first fold, now two detached fragments, preserves the original height of the tablet. The text was inscribed in three lines across the width, of which only the L. end is visible. Not drawn.

TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
d[	d[<i>ae Suli . . . ?</i>
qu[	qu[<i>i involavit . . . ?</i>
..[...

Inv. no. 613

c. 150 mm wide
 Pb 45.8 Sn 54.1 Cu 0.1
 still folded (3 times)

Tablet folded three times and then doubled over, now in three conjoining pieces with one end corroded. On the outside, but concealed when the tablet was doubled over, was inscribed (not drawn):

TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
.ecurap. .[	[S]ecura P. .[

Two personal names, the second perhaps a patronymic. For the first, cf. *RIB* 1946, *Securus*.

Inv. no. 699

Irregular lump of lead scrap, caused by pouring the molten metal onto a rough surface, clumsily inscribed. The surface is heavily corroded. Not drawn.

TRANSCRIPT

traces

ta.[]



Inv. no. 480


32 by 22 mm
(after folding)

Pb 67.4 Sn 32.5 Cu 0.1


Fragment of a tablet, still folded, inscribed on both sides. Traces of letters visible.

94–111 *Texts in New Roman Cursive (NRC)*

94–97, S=  (97 also has NRC )

98– S= 

108–111, *descripta* without line drawings.

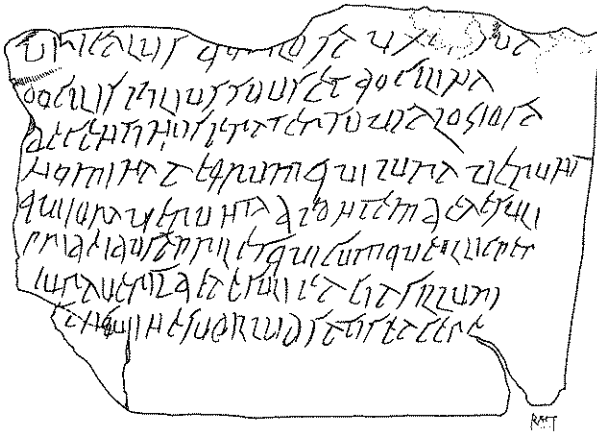
The distinction between ORC and NRC, and the controversy over how they are related, is lucidly summarised in A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin Writing-tablets* (1983), 53ff. The Bath tablets suggest that the distinction was not always clear-cut. Peculiarities of script are noted in the commentary on each tablet. In particular, E=  is found with ORC forms in 64–66 and 14, 2a, as in some of the Dura papyri; other NRC forms are also found in 65, while 66 has one line of NRC and the rest in ORC; ORC A is found in 104; ORC S in 94 and 95, and both ORC and NRC S in 97 (which also suggests how one could develop from the other); ORC and NRC V are both found in 95, 96 and 97.

The Bath NRC tablets tend to be physically different from the ORC texts. Instead of being (usually) inscribed on thin lead/tin alloy sheet which is then folded or pierced with a nail, they tend to be inscribed on thick alloy sheet, sometimes a separate casting, which is not folded or pierced. 95 and 96, perhaps to be regarded as a single list of names, are the only two Bath tablets certainly from the same hand.

Inv. no. 618
Britannia xii (1981), 378, No. 9
 Pl. xxvii a

75 by 55 mm
 Pb 40.6 Sn 59.1 Cu 0.3
 not folded

Rectangle cut from thick (1.5 mm) alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus in a distinctive square NRC by a practised hand. The bottom L. corner has been lost, there are patches of corrosion and a 'brassy' patination, but the text is largely intact.



TRANSCRIPT

uricalusdo.ilosaux. .sua
 docilisfiliussuusetdocilina
 decentinusfratersuusalogiosa
 nominaeorumquiiurauerunt
 5 quiiuraueruntadfontemdeaesuli
 prideidusaprilesquicumqueillicper
 iuraueritdeaesulifaciasillum
 sanguinesuoillud̄satisfacere

RESTORED TEXT

Uricalus Do[c]ilosa ux[or] sua
 Docilis filius suus et Docilina
 Decentinus frater suus Alogiosa
 nomina<a> eorum qui iuraverunt
 5 <qui iuraverunt> ad fontem deae Suli(s)
 prid(i)e idus Apriles quicumque illic per-
 iuraverit deae Suli facias illum
 sanguine suo illud̄ satisfacere

'Uricalus, Docilosa his wife, Docilis his son and Docilina, Decentinus his brother, Alogiosa: the names of those who have sworn <who have sworn> at the spring of the goddess Sulis on the 12th of April. Whosoever has perjured himself there you are to make him pay for it to the goddess Sulis in his own blood.'

This text is unique in being, not a curse tablet, but a sanction against perjury which accompanied an oath sworn 'at the spring of Sulis' (the only time this phrase occurs). It is the first epigraphic evidence of a belief attested in literary sources, that certain hot springs and seething pools punished perjury. The script is more angular than any other NRC text from Bath: the *A* is occasionally found in the Vindolanda tablets, but is typically NRC (see 97 for a more developed form); *N* is still an ORC variant but made with three strokes instead of two, unlike the *M* which is NRC; *R* is still made with two strokes lifting the stylus, as in ORC, and so is the *S* (cf. 95, 96; in 97 this ORC *S* is found with NRC *S*).

1. *Uricalus*: this 'Celtic' name seems to be unattested, but *Calus* is known (e.g. *CIL* VII 1336. 216) and names in *Viro-* and *Viri-* are common (of which *Uri-* would be a variant, like *Urilucolus*, *Britannia* viii (1977), 444, No. 101).

1-2. *Docilis* is a Latin cognomen from which *Docilosa* and *Docilina* (both apparently unattested) are developed. Both children were named from their mother.

uxor sua . . . filius suus: cf. 9, 30, for such statements of relationship.

3. *Decentinus*: developed from the Latin cognomen *Decens*, but apparently unattested. Uricalus' parents chose to give one son a 'Celtic' name, the other a 'Roman' one, no doubt because after more than two centuries of Roman rule, 'Roman' and 'Celtic' names formed a common stock of names on which to draw.

Alogiosa: presumably Decentinus' wife. Her unusual name (attested only in *CIL* VIII 24331, but cf. II 4976.39, *Aloiosa*, XIII 1331, *Alogiosus*) is, like *Alogius* from which it is developed, a 'late' formation from the Greek ἄλογος (see *TLL* s.v. *Alogius*, but perhaps *alogia* ('feast') was an intermediary).

4. *nomina<a>*: the *A* was repeated by mistake, like *qui iuraverunt* (5). This is a straightforward use of 'names' with no magical overtones (see note to 8, 3).

qui iuraverunt: what the oath was is not stated; since it was sworn by two brothers, their wives, and the two children of one marriage, it was probably a family matter, perhaps the division of inherited property.

5. *ad fontem deae Suli(s)*: the first mention of the sacred spring from which *Aquae Sulis* took its name, although the term *fons Sulis* could have been inferred from Solinus' reference to the burning of coal at Bath: (There are in Britain) *fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen, in cuius aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit vertit in globos saxeos* (*Collectanea Rerum Mirabilium* 22, 10). *Praesul* ('divine protector') is a rare word, and the coincidence of the syllable *sul* tempts one to modify an emendation printed by Holder to read *quibus fontibus praeest Sulis Minervae numen*.

Suli(s): the second *S* omitted by mistake, perhaps from 'Vulgar' carelessness about terminations and declensions, or because *deae Suli* was a familiar phrase from dedications and addresses to the goddess.

6. *prid(i)e idus Apriles*: the only date in the Bath tablets; the year unfortunately is not specified, perhaps because the date had a local religious significance (in Rome it would be the first day of the *Ludi Cereales*).

prid(i)e: almost the same 'Vulgar' synizesis is found in a tilemaker's graffito from London, *EE* VII 1141, *di(e)bus*.

6-7. *periuraverit*: cf. *Pan. Lat.* vi (vii), 21.7, *Apollo noster, cuius ferventibus aquis periuria puniantur*, one of the Gallic spas sacred to Apollo Grannus 'in whose hot waters acts of perjury are punished'. This tablet is the first evidence from Bath of a belief found at other thermal sites which is the forerunner of the medieval 'ordeal'. In Sardinia to swear innocence on a charge of theft, one bathed one's eyes in the water of a hot spring; if one was lying, blindness ensued (Solinus, 4.6). The hot springs at Aponus near Padua were used to resolve legal disputes (Cassiodorus, *Variae* II 39, details obscure). The water of the seething spring of Zeus Asbamaios near Tyana was used to test oaths: when it was drunk by perjurers, they fell ill (ps. Aristotle, *Mirabilia*, 152=Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.6). The best-documented is the seething pools of the Palici in Sicily, where the oath was written down and ritually recited; according to ps. Aristotle, *Mirabilia*, 57, the oath was written on a tablet which was thrown into the water and floated if it was true. Perjurers were scalded to death. (Macrobius, *Sat.* V 19.15ff. collects most of the other ancient testimonies, to which Diodorus Siculus XI 89 can be added; see also J.H. Croon, 'The Palici: an autochthonous cult in ancient Sicily', *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. v (1952), 116-29).

7. *deae Suli*: dative, and so probably governed by *satisfacere* (which takes a dative of the party compensated) rather than by *periuraverit* (accusative of the deity perjured).

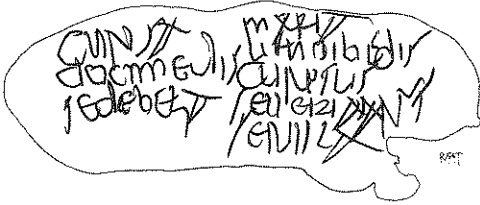
facias: the scribe wrote *facias*, not *faciat*, but who is 'you' if it is not Sulis? Possibly the spring itself is being addressed, but if one believes the uncanny powers of the spring are due to its resident goddess, one is unlikely to distinguish the two. More likely the writer intended an explicit invocation of Sulis (cf. 54, *tibi, Sulis*; 98, *tu, domina dea*) on the lines of *quicumque illic periuraverit, dea Sulis, facias illum tibi sanguine suo satisfacere*, but the vocative *dea Sulis* absorbed the *tibi* at the cost of being attracted into its case, to the loss of grammar and sense. This was easily done; it is only an extension of the idiom of addressing a tablet to the goddess (*deae Suli*) and then asking 'you' to do something (e.g. *non permittas*).

8. *sanguine suo satisfacere*: cf. 66, 10-11, *s[ati]sfecerit sanguin[e]*; for the common British formula of 'paying' with one's own blood, cf. 65, 9ff. (with note).

Inv. no. 659
Britannia xiv (1983), 339, No. 4

59 by 22 mm
 Pb 34.1 Sn 65.8 Cu 0.1
 not folded

'Blob' 7 mm thick formed by pouring molten alloy into a half-oval section cavity in a piece of stone. Inscribed on the smooth upper face with a stylus, by the same practised hand as 96. They are the only pair of tablets from Bath which are by the same hand.



TEXT

Cunsa	Maria
Docimedis	Vendibedis
Sedebelia	Cunsus
	Severia<ia>nus
	Seni<i>la

'Cunsa, Docimedis, Sedebelia, Maria, Vendibedis, Cunsus, Severianus, Senila.'

The script is NRC but shares with 96 features not found collectively in other NRC texts from Bath: elongated *A* (cf. 101, *Britannia* xvii (1986), 431, Fig. 2 (Eccles)); two *Es*, one of earlier 'Greek *E*' form; ORC or upper-case *N* made with three strokes (*Vendibedis* in 95 is made with NRC *N*); upper-case *R*; ORC *S* (as sometimes in 97); NRC *V* but at least one ORC *V* (*-us* in *Severianus* in 95).

Cunsa: presumably the feminine form of *Cunsus* (see below), but cf. the potter's name *Cunis(s)a* (F. Oswald, *Index* s.v.). *Cunsa* and *Cunsus* seem to be unattested (they are not in *TLL* Onomasticon), but initial *Cun(o)-* ('dog') is a common Celtic name-element.

Docimedis: otherwise attested only in 5, 1 (see note).

Sedebelia: apparently unattested, but cf. *Sedia* (*CIL* XIII 2492) and *Belia* (XII 3469, and perhaps 96).

Maria: feminine form of the Latin nomen *Marius*, already attested in a curse tablet from London (*RIB* 7).

Vendibedis: the *N* is of NRC form and the (NRC) *Es* are formed with two hooked strokes, unlike *N* and *E* elsewhere in 95. The name seems to be unattested, but initial *Vind(o)-* (in *ECMW*, *Vendo/u-*) ('white') is a common Celtic name-element.

Cunsus: unless the flourish(?) after *N* is an attenuated letter, this is presumably the masculine form of *Cunsa* (see above).

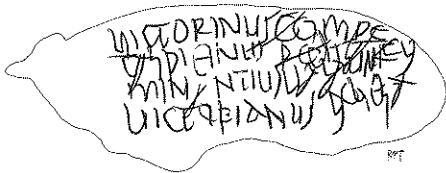
Severia<ia>nus: cf. 30, 1; Latin cognomen developed like *Severinus* (4, 5) from *Severa* and, as *Severiana*, already attested (*RIB* 563).

Seni<i>la: *Senilis* is a common 'Celtic' name already well attested in Britain, and this may be a variant of it; it is already attested as a potter's name (F. Oswald, *Index* s.v.). *Senilus* is found on a sub-Roman tombstone (*CIIC* 483, Cornwall, misread as *Selnius*).

Inv. no. 661
Britannia xiv (1983), 341, No. 7
 Pl. xxviii a

58 by 22 mm
 Pb 32.3 Sn 67.8
 not folded

'Blob' 7 mm thick formed like 95, similarly inscribed by the same hand. The centre of the text is damaged by diagonal scoring and pitting.



TEXT

Victorinus	Compe-
Talipieinus	<pe>dita
Minantius	Valaune(over i)cus
Victorianus	<.>Belia

'Victorinus, Talipieinus, Minantius, Victorianus, Compedita, Valaunecus, Belia.'

Victorinus: common Latin cognomen well attested in Britain, developed like *Victorianus* (see below) and *Victorin*[] (50), from *Victor*.

Talipieinus: the dotted letters are damaged; the name seems to be unattested.

Minantius: apparently unattested, but plausible as a Latin cognomen formed like many others (see Kajanto, *Cognomina*, 357-9) from a present participle, *minans* ('threatening').

Victorianus: like *Victorinus* (above) developed from *Victor*, or perhaps from *victoria*; previously unattested in Britain.

Compedita: written in two lines, *-pe-* being repeated by mistake; apparently unattested, but Kajanto notes its cognates *Compes* and *Compedia*, and the parallel formation *Impeditus*.

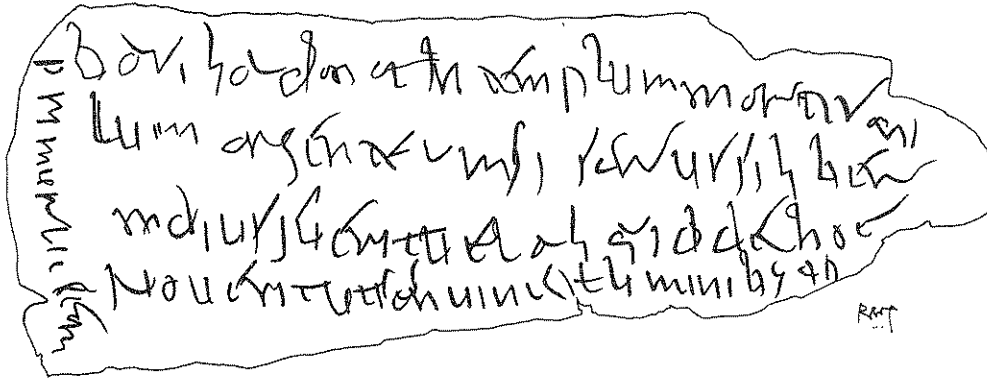
Valaunecus: the *E* is NRC made with two hooked strokes, the first obscured by the *N* it overlies, the second exaggerated; it was made before the *C* was written, over the *I*, presumably to replace it. The name is apparently unattested, but is presumably a 'Celtic' theophoric name derived from the god Vellaunus (identified with Mars and Mercury, *RIB* 309, *CIL* XII 2373, cf. *RIB* 369, *Vallaunius*).

Belia: *B* overlies the diagonal to its *L*., which seems to belong to an *A* like that in *Victorianus*; the *S*-like stroke overlies the putative *A*, but is not *S* and is too close to *A*(?) to be *X*. It may be best, therefore, to see it as a crossing-out (both 96 and 95 contain letters written in error), since the name *Belia* is attested (*CIL* XII 3469, Nîmes) and may also be an element of *Sedebelia* (95).

Inv. no. 669
 Britannia xiv (1983), 338, No. 3

128 by 49 mm
 Pb 22.8 Sn 77.1 Cu 0.2
 not folded

Tapering oblong of thick (2 mm) cast high-tin alloy sheet, hammered flat before being inscribed. Inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised but careless hand. The surface has many small casting blemishes, and there has been some rubbing and scratching, but the tablet is in unusually good condition.

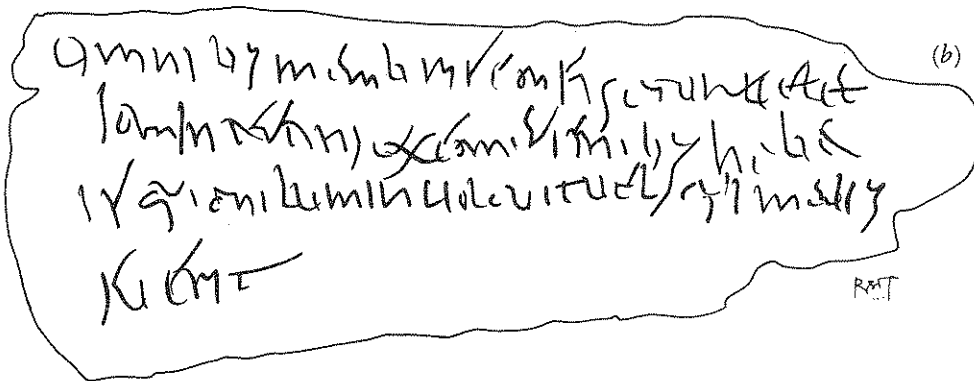


TRANSCRIPT

(a) basiliadonatintemplummartisani
 lumargenteumsiserussiliber
 mdiusiſueritelaliquiddehoc
 noueritutsanuineetliminibuseſ

RESTORED TEXT

(a) Basilia donat in templum Martis ani-
 lum argenteum si ser(v)us si liber
 (ta)mdiu siſuerit vel aliquid de hoc
 noverit ut sanguine et liminibus et



(b) 5 omnibusmembrisconfigaturuelet
 iamintestinisexcomesisnibushabe
 isquianiluminuolauituelquimedius
 fuerit *vacat*

(b) 5 omnibus membris configatur vel et-
 iam intestinis excomesis (om)nibus habe(at)
 is qui anilum involavit vel qui medius
 fuerit

'*Basilia* gives <in> to the temple of Mars (her) silver ring, that so long as (someone), whether slave or free, keeps silent or knows anything about it, he may be accursed in (his) blood and eyes and every limb, or even have all (his) intestines quite eaten away, if he has stolen the ring or been privy to (the theft).'

At right-angles to (a): '*Primurudeum*'

The script is NRC (as one would expect from the name *Basilia*) but duplicates certain letters with ORC variants. *N* is once made with three strokes (cf. 94, 95, 96), in *noverit*, perhaps because it is an initial letter. *S* is indifferently ORC (two-stroke) and NRC (two-stroke but without lifting the stilus), except that terminal *VS* is always ligatured; looking at the sequence *si ser(v)us si* (2) it is easy to envisage the NRC *S* developing from the ORC. By contrast, 94, 95, 96 use only the ORC *S*. *V* is usually NRC (like modern *v*), but ORC *V* (like modern *v*) is found where it may have become fossilised, in terminal *VS* (cf. 95, *Severianus*, where it is not ligatured) and after *Q*, but also for no obvious reason in *argenteum*.

The text is an odd mixture of 'Vulgarism' and sophistication. It contains the 'Vulgar' spellings *ser(v)us*, *anilum* (*anulum*), the 'gift' is made *in templum*, where *in templo* would be more classical and plain *templo* would be 'correct' (in fact *in templum* is probably due to the 'Vulgar' tendency to replace inflexion with a preposition); and *involavit* ought to be *involaverit* (cf. *fuertit*). The syntax collapses in 6, where the object of *habe(at)* is in the ablative case, *habe(at)* being virtually a Romance auxiliary verb. But the text is also one of the most fluent and elaborate from Bath, and it contains two very rare verbs, *configatur* and *excomesis*.

The scribe is also careless. *Liminibus* is a mistake for *luminibus* (cf. the distorted *LV* of *siluerit*). Syllables were omitted from (*ta*)*mdiu*, (*om*)*nibus* and *habe(at)*, *G* was omitted from *sanguine* and clumsily supplied above the wrong letter.

(a) *Primurudeum*: the loop between *E* and *M* (contrast the ligatured *EM* of *templum*) should probably be seen as *V*; apparently an unattested name in the accusative case, whose formation recalls the titles borne by the two leading members of a gladiatorial establishment, the *summa rudis* and *secunda rudis*.

1. *Basilia*: a personal name of Greek derivation hitherto unattested in Britain and only twice in *CIL* XIII (both Christian); like *Basilus*, which itself is not common in the Latin-speaking West, it is unlikely to be earlier than the fourth century in Britain.

donat: this is the only tablet to 'give' the stolen property to the temple (which is usually named as the place to which it is to be returned); 44, exceptionally, 'gives' the thief to the temple; usually the stolen property or the thief are 'given' to the god.

in templum Martis: perhaps a 'Vulgarism' (see above); only 33 is addressed to Mars, whose temple has not been identified, although its existence is implied by *RIB* 140, an altar dedicated to Loucetius Mars and Nemetona (perhaps the deities depicted in *CSIR* I 2, No. 39) found near *RIB* 152, which records the restoration of a *locus religiosus*, apparently a temple precinct distinct from that of Sulis. It is not stated why a petition to Mars should be deposited with Sulis. The petitioner may be acknowledging the dominance of Sulis (cf. 98, 1–2), or only reminding her that another god has also been consulted: cf. *ZPE* 61 (1985), 101–9, an Egyptian petition to Athena which adds 'We have also appealed to (the god) Ammon'.

1–2. *anilum*: the *L* was written twice (but not as *LL*, cf. *anilum* (7)), almost on top of itself; the 'Vulgar' spelling is also found in *RIB* 306 (Lydney).

2. *ser(v)us*: 'Vulgar' spelling common in the Bath tablets (see note to 9, 7). The formula is very common.

3ff. *siluerit* . . . *noverit* . . . *fuertit*: future perfect, in contrast to the perfect of *involavit* (7); if a distinction is intended, it is between the person who has stolen the ring and those who will be keeping their knowledge to themselves.

4. *ut*: introduces the terms of the 'gift', as in 62, 3 (see note).

et liminibus et: the *EE* of . . . *ine et* is represented by three curving vertical strokes, the middle one being both the second stroke of the first *E* and the first stroke of the second *E*. *Liminibus* was written, and in this text may be a 'Vulgar' spelling of *luminibus* (cf. *anilum* for *anulum*); but it is also possible that *V* was omitted by haplography, ligatured *LI* in this hand being similar to *V*, and ligatured *LV* causing the scribe difficulty (see *siluerit*). For other curses on eyesight, see 5 and 45.

et: as in the first *et*, the *E* is carelessly formed, the second stroke being vertical rather than hooked; the cross-stroke of the *T* is displaced and downward-curving as if ligaturing with another letter. The reading *ET* is required by the context.

5. *configatur*: a synonym of the usual *defigatur*, previously unattested in curse tablets.

6. *intestinis*: cf. *JRS* liii (1963), 123 (Ratcliffe-on-Soar), *per intestinum* (etc.); for another list of affected parts see *RIB* 7 (London), but such lists are more common in curse tablets outside Britain, although the mention of 'blood' seems to be peculiar to Britain.

excomesis: this rare intensive compound of *comedo* occurs only in late Latin, notably in Gildas, *De Excidio* 85.2, *animae viscera excomedens* (hunger for the Gospel eats out the bowels of the soul).

habe(at): see above. The syntax would be better without it.

7. *anilum*: 'Vulgar' spelling (see note to 1–2).

involavit: see above, s.v. *siluerit* (3).

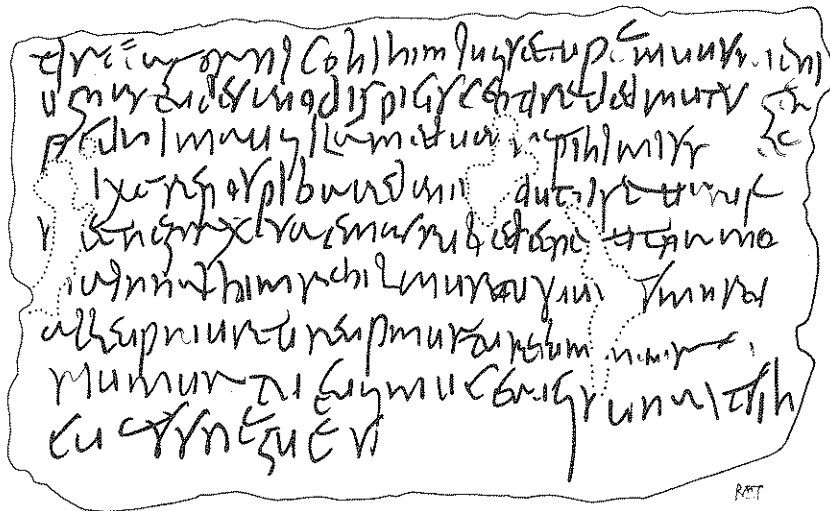
medius: the context requires this to mean 'privy to', 'accomplice', an extension of its basic meaning 'in the middle of', 'in between', which is not attested in *TLL* or *OLD*. (*OLD* comes no closer than 10, 'neutral', and 11, 'intermediary').

98 *Theft of six silver coins*

Inv. no. 622
Britannia xiii (1982), 404–5, No. 7

105 by 60 mm
 Pb 73.9 Sn 26.0 Cu 0.1
 not folded

Irregular rectangle cut from leaden alloy sheet, scraped flat before being inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. The text was written L. to R., but with the sequence of letters reversed from beginning to end of (a) and in each line of (b). This transposition was accompanied by mistakes. Both ends have since been broken, and areas of the surface have been lost through corrosion.



TRANSCRIPT

(a) tireuagornicohihimiuqsetupeumusmeni
 ugnastudesanodispiciscentirededmut[.]ger
 peɖnimaquilameduar[.]ɾepihimiss[c.2].e
 [c.2]ixerepospibaedanim[.]duttireuaruf
 s[.]etnegraxsaemasrubedenetutnamo
 .ainnaihimrebilmurtussuu. smurtu
 alleupmurtueupmurtureilumɾurt.
 riumurtueuqmuceauqsunaitsih
 cuessnegues *vacat*

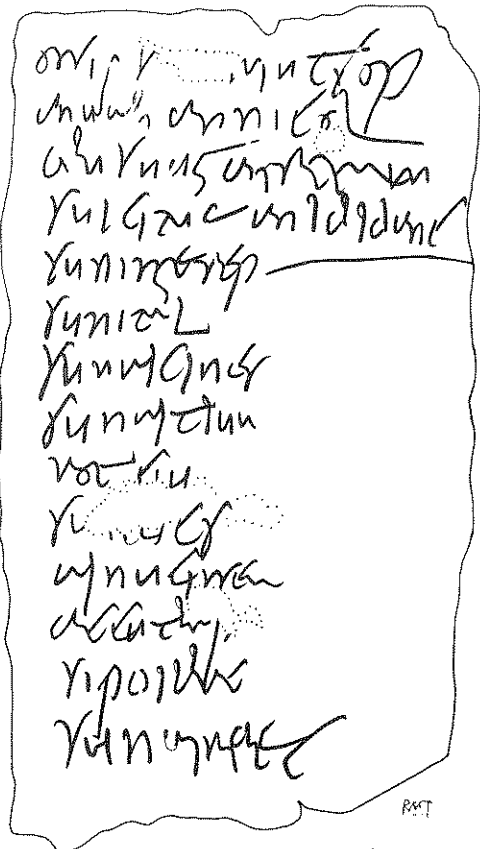
RESTORED TEXT

(a) seu gen(tili)s seu C-
 h(r)istianus quaecumque utrum vir
 [u]ɾum mulier utrum puer utrum puella
 utrum s[er]vvs utrum liber mihi Annia[n]-
 5 o ma<n>tuɾene de bursa mea s(e)x argente[o]s
 furaverit tu d[o]mina dea ab ipso perexi[g]-
 e[. eo]s si mihi peɾ [f]raudem aliquam inDEP-
 REG[.]STVM dederit nec sic ipsi dona sed ut sangu-
 inem suum (r)epuɾes qui mihi hoc inrogaverit

'Whether pagan or Christian, whosoever, whether man or woman, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, has stolen from me, Annianus (son of) Matutina(?), six silver coins from my purse, you, lady Goddess, are to exact [them] from him. If through some deceit he has given me . . . , and do not give thus to him, but reckon as(?) the blood of him who has invoked this upon me. 'Postumianus, Pisso, Locinna, Alauna, Materna, Gunsula, Candidina, Euticius, Peregrinus, Latinus, Senicianus, Avitianus, Victor, Scotius, Aessicunia, Paltucca, Calliopis, Celerianus.'

The script is NRC, as one would expect from the opposition of *gentilis* and *Christianus*. The *B* of *bursa* (5) is of interest, since it superficially resembles an ORC *B*, but it was in fact made in the usual NRC way with two down-strokes. Stroke 1 was made with a large loop like that of *I* in *qui* (1), and Stroke 2 coincidentally began where this loop was cut by Stroke 1.

(a) is the only Bath text to be entirely reversed. (For other reversals see note to 44). The scribe failed to reverse the *AN* of *Candidina*, no doubt because the ligature was familiar and he had just written it five letters earlier. He also omitted the *R* of *reputes* (if this restoration is correct), perhaps because it became confused with the odd-looking *M* of *suum*; he omitted the *E* of *sex*, *TILI* in *gen(tili)s*, and *R* in *Ch(r)istianus*, the last because he was ending one line and beginning another, or perhaps because the word was unfamiliar.



(b) ossips[c.3]mutsop
 anua].annicol
 alusnuganreçam
 suicitueanididanc
 sunirgerep ———
 sunital
 sunaicines
 sunaitiua
 rotciu
 su. .ocs
 ainucissea
 accutlap
 sipoillac
 sunairelec

(b) 10 Postum[inu]s Pisso
 Locinna [A]launa
 Maçerna Gunsula
 C[an]didina Euticius
 Peregrinus ———
 15 Latinus
 Senicianus
 Avitianus
 Victor
 Sco[ti]us
 20 Aessicunia
 Paltucca
 Calliopis
 Celerianus

The text is important for its casual reference to Christianity, which may also be implied by *in domo dei* of the *Éccles* curse (*Britannia* xvii (1986), 431, No. 2), but is otherwise ignored by British curse tablets. This is also the first occurrence of the word *Christianus* in the epigraphy of Roman Britain.

1–2. *seu gen(tili)s seu Ch(r)istianus*: the missing letters can be supplied since a pair of mutually exclusive alternatives is implied both by *seu . . . seu* and by analogy with the three *utrum . . . utrum* pairs which follow. *Gentilis* is the usual late-Roman Christian term for ‘pagan’ (see A. Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français des Auteurs Chrétiens*, s.v.), *gens* being so used only once where demanded by metre; it was not, of course, used by non-Christians to describe themselves, but it would be unwise to conclude that the author, although a believer in Sulis, was also a Christian, since the word *gentilis* is being used here as the formulaic alternative to *Christianus* (‘whether Christian or not’). Since both words are misspelt, they may have been unfamiliar to the scribe. The other three pairs of alternatives are common in British curse tablets, and it is tempting to think that a novel *gentilis/Christianus* pair was added as a tribute to the universal power of Sulis by someone who knew both the traditional formulas and the words of St. Paul: ‘. . . there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus’ (*Gal.* 3.28).

seu: only here; *sive* is used in 61, otherwise always *si . . . si*.

2. *quaecumque*: an error for *quicumque* (cf. 11, 45, 94, 99), which is required by the male/female pairs which follow and by *qui* (9). *Quaecumque* would imply the thief was known to be a woman. 2ff. *utrum*: only here, otherwise (except 61) always *si . . . si*.

4–5. *Annia[n]o ma<n>tutene*: the tablet is damaged here in two places by corrosion, but there is trace of *N* and the dotted *T*, and otherwise the reading is fairly certain. Since the unmistakable *ANNI* yields no sense (*anni*, ‘years’) in isolation, it is probably best to take it as the beginning of a personal name (cf. 8, *Anniola*) in apposition to *mibi*, for which *O* in 5 provides a dative ending. There is no

exact parallel, but something similar seems to be intended by the use of *Deomiorix* in 99. *Mantutene* must also be explained. It seems to be a hypercorrection of *matutine*, the *N* being inserted because of its derivation from *mane* (noted by the grammarian Priscian, *Inst.* (ed. Hertz) II 137, 7). As an adverb ('in the morning') this is almost unknown, and there was no need to specify the time of theft. It is easier to understand it as a matronymic (cf. 30,1), *Matutin(a)e*, the name *Matutinus* being found in another NRC text (*Britannia* x (1979), 348, No. 20).

5. *bursa*: in Classical Latin used only in its primary sense of 'ox-hide', but in Medieval Latin the sense of 'purse' dominates; the latter sense was evidently a 'Vulgar' usage in the Roman period.

s(e)x argenteos: cf. 8, 1, [*arge*]ntiolos sex (with note). *Argenteus* is used of a specific denomination of silver coin in Diocletian's currency reform, but 98, with its casual reference to Christianity in Britain and use of NRC, must belong to later in the fourth century. One might expect one of the periods in the fourth century when silver coin was comparatively abundant, but not necessarily a reference to a specific denomination (e.g. 'heavy' and 'light' *miliarense*, *argenteus*, *siliqua*); *argentei* need only be a collective term embracing various denominations, like the English use of 'silver'.

6. *furaverit*: active for the Classical deponent form *furatus erit*, a 'Vulgarism' like *adsellare* (41, 5 with note) and *execro* (99, 1).

tu, d[o]mina dea: cf. *RIB* 323 (Caerleon), which invokes *dom(i)na Nemesis*, and 54, 2, where *Sulis* is vocative.

6-7. *perexi[ig]*: the verb is unique, but must be an intensive compound of *exigo* (for which see note to 41, 3, *exigas*). Surviving traces do not suit the restoration of the obvious *perexigas*; they suggest the ungrammatical *perexiget*. The imperative *perexige* (cf. *dona* (8)) is also possible, but prevents the restoration of *eos*.

7. *per [f]raudem aliquam*: cf. *Britannia* xv (1984), 341, No. 9 (Pagans Hill), *fraude sua ulla*. The purpose of 7ff. seems to be apotropaic, to make any counter-spell by the thief rebound upon him, but unfortunately the tablet is damaged and the text probably corrupt.

7-8. *inDEPREG[.]STVM*: the end of 7 is corroded and the beginning of 8 is worn, so that the reading is uncertain. An object of *dederit* is required, presumably an unpleasant one (since *per fraudem aliquam*), but why should the petitioner ask *Sulis* not (*nec*) to give it to the thief? Perhaps one should separate *inde* ('thence') and restore an obscure technical term like *pr(a)egestum* ('previous action?') or *pr(a)egustum* ('foretaste?').

8. *nec*: obscure, since it seems to connect a 3rd sing. perfect subjunctive (*dederit*) with a 2nd person imperative (*dona*).

sic: also obscure; perhaps to be taken with *ut* (if this means 'as'), 'not in this way, but in that'. Elsewhere found only in 4, 2.

8-9. *ut sanguinem suum (r)eputes*: the phrase is unparalleled, but 'blood' is a favourite theme of British curse tablets, usually in formulas requiring the thief to 'pay' for his crime in his own blood. *Reputo*, which is used in the sense of 'reckoning' an account, is appropriate to this metaphor. *Sulis* is apparently being asked to 'reckon' the six *argentei* in terms of the thief's lifeblood, which she is to 'exact' from him. For the idea cf. 41, 2-3, *pretium . . . per sanguinem* (with note).

9. *(r)eputes*: *R* was omitted by haplography with the preceding *M* (of *suum*), which it would have resembled.

hoc: presumably the enigmatic *inDEPREG[.]STVM* (7-8).

10ff. Eighteen personal names, the longest such list from Bath, the usual mixture of 'Roman' (ten, including two of Greek etymology) and 'Celtic' (eight). The eight Latin names are all well-attested cognomina, four of them developed from simpler cognomina.

10. *Postum[inu]*s: fits the space available better than *Postumianus*; both of them are developed from *Postumus*.

11. *Pisso*: apparently unattested, but probably a 'Celtic' name (cf. Holder s.v. *Pisus* and *Pissius*) rather than a 'Vulgar' spelling of *Piso*.

12. *Locinna*: apparently an unattested 'Celtic' name, but cf. *Loc(or g)irrus* (*CIL* XIII 10010.1152).

13. *Alauna*: what survives of the first two letters resembles the ligatured *LV* (i.e. *-ul-*) of *Gunsula*, but *A* and *V* are often similar in this hand. *Alauna* is a common place-name in Britain and Gaul (*PNRB*, 243), and thus a possible 'Celtic' personal name.

14. *Materna*: Latin feminine cognomen already attested in Britain (*RIB* 1182).

15. *Gunsula*: apparently unattested; perhaps a diminutive form of *Cunsa* (95) or derived, like *Sulinus*, from *Sulis*.

16. *Candidina*: feminine cognomen derived, like *Candidianus* (51, 6), from *Candidus*, which is well attested in Britain.

17. *Euticius*: name of Greek derivation common in the west, properly spelt *Euty chius*, but cf. *Britannia* iii (1972), 352, No. 2 (Cirencester), *Euticianus*.

18. *Peregrinus*: Latin cognomen already attested at Bath (*RIB* 140, *civis Trever*).

19. *Latinus*: Latin cognomen already attested at Bath (*RIB* 158, *c(ivis) Eq(uester)* from Nyon). It survived the Roman period (*CIIC* 470, 520).

20. *Senicianus*: cf. 8, 5 (with note).

21. *Avitianus*: developed from the cognomen *Avitus* (e.g. *RIB* 188) and well attested outside Britain.

22. *Victor*: one of the most common Latin cognomina in Britain.

23. *Sco[ti]us*: 'Celtic' name also spelt *Scottius* (*CIL* XIII 10010.1745 and 1748).

24. *Aessicunia*: apparently unattested, but probably a 'Celtic' theophoric feminine name derived from the god *Esus* like *Aesica* (see *PNRB*, 242), with 'Vulgar' gemination of *s*, and **cunos* ('dog').

25. *Paltucca*: apparently unattested, but perhaps incorporating the 'Celtic' cognomen *Tucca* (Holder s.v., and the derived nomen *Tuccius*).

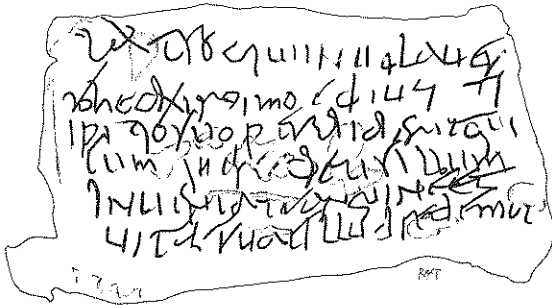
26. *Calliopis*: transliteration of a Greek personal name also found as *Calliopus* (late-Roman and rare, according to *TLL* Onomasticon).

27. *Celerianus*: developed from the cognomen *Celer*, which is well-attested in Britain.

Inv. no. 667
Britannia xiv (1983), 339, No. 5
 Pl. xxvii b

75 by 39 mm
 Pb 0.2 Sn 99.8
 not folded

Irregular rectangle cut from a thick (c. 1.5 mm) sheet of tin, hammered flat before inscribing, but pitted areas remained and make some letters indistinct. In one corner there are traces of an earlier beaded border. It was inscribed with a blunt stilus by a practised hand, 2 being written R. to L. with sequence of letters reversed.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
	exēcroquiinuolauer	exēcro qui involaver-
	sohedxiroimoediūq ti	it qui Deomiorix de hos-
	ipitiosuoperdideritqui	<i>pitio suo perdiderit qui-
	cumquer. .deusillum	cumque r[es] deus illum
5	inueniatsanguineet	5 inueniat sanguine et
	uitaesuaeilludredemat	vitae suae illud redemat

'I curse (him) who has stolen, who has robbed Deomiorix from his house. Whoever (stole his) property, the god is to find him. Let him buy it back with (his) blood and his own life.'

The script is NRC except for a three-stroke *N* also found in 95, 96, and once in 97. The scribe may have intended a *boustrophedon* text, alternate lines reversed (cf. *Britannia* xvii (1986), 431, No. 2 (Eccles)), but if so, fortunately forgot it when he came to 4.

1. *execro*: the active form, although archaic (see *TLL* s.v.), is here a 'Vulgarism' for the Classical deponent form *execror*: cf. *adsellare* (41, 5 with note) and *furaverit* (98, 6). The word is not used in any other curse tablet, but there are other variations on the usual *dono*, e.g. *devoceo* (10), *defico* (*RIB* 7 (London)).

1ff. *involaverit . . . perdiderit*: probably future perfect, as in 10, 7 etc.

2. *Deomiorix*: this 'Celtic' personal name seems to be unattested, but initial *Deio-/Dio-* and the termination *-rix* are both common names-elements; for the rest of the name, perhaps cf. *CIL* III 10324, [] *amiorix*. The nominative is a solecism for whatever oblique case(s) would be required by *involaverit* and *perdiderit*. It looks as if *Deomiorix* was not in the habit of declining his name; perhaps he did not know how to.

2-3. *hos<i>pitio*: for another theft *de hospitio* see *Britannia* xv (1984), 339, No. 7 (Pagans Hill). In Classical Latin *hospitium* almost always means 'lodgings', the sense of 'house' or 'home' being virtually confined to Christian authors of the fourth century (see *TLL* s.v., 3043); that this was a 'Vulgar' usage is suggested by its survival in demotic Greek as σπιῖν ('house'). In Bath, with its population of visitors, the sense of 'lodgings' is possible, but the Pagans Hill parallel and the 'Vulgarism' of the tablets' Latinity make the sense 'house' preferable.

3ff. *quicumque r[es] deus illum inueniat*: surviving traces suit the restoration of *res*. *Res* is often used in the sense of '(stolen) property' (see note to 32, 15), and a similar formula in 44, 11ff., *eum latronem qui rem ipsam involavit deus inueniat*, suggests that the scribe omitted *involaverit* (or similar) by mistake, perhaps because he had already written it once. This would be easier than understanding *res* as a mistake for *re(u)s* (cf. 15, 1), and supplying *sit* ('whoever is guilty').

quicumque: for other instances see note to 45, 5-6.

deus: Sulis is usually called *dea*, and the male gods Mars (33) and Mercury (53) both receive tablets, but the collective term *deus* is surely being applied to the goddess, as it is in 44, 13-4; *deus inueniat* also occurs in *Britannia* x (1979), 344, No. 4 (Mars-Mercury, Uley, emended), and must have been formulaic.

5-6. *sanguine et vitae suae illud redemat*: a formula, cf. 65, 9ff., *hoc donum non redemat nesi sanguine suo* (with note), and esp. *RIB* 323 (Caerleon, emended), *non redimat ni(si) vita sanguine sui*. 'Blood' is coupled with 'life' in Livy VI 14, 8, *illi devovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod supersit* (a promise of total loyalty).

vitae suae: 'Vulgar' confusion of case-endings (cf. the failure to decline *Deomiorix*), genitive by mistake for ablative (*vita sua*).

illud: understand *donum* (cf. 65, 9ff.) or even a reference as vague as 94, 8, *sanguine suo illud satisfacere*.

redemat: hypercorrection of *redimat* also found in 65, 10.

RIB 2349*

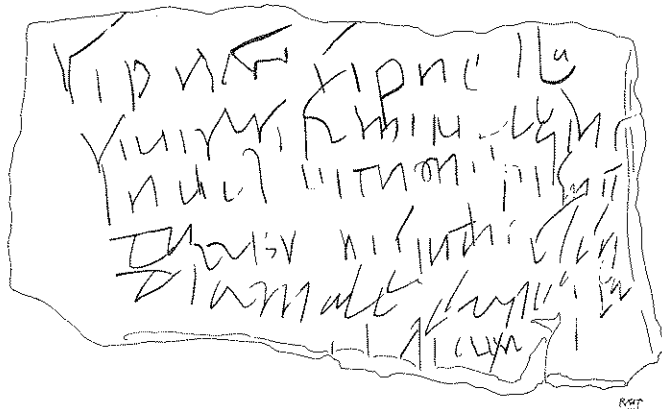
75 by 45 mm

E.W.B. Nicholson, *Vinisius to Nigra* (1904)

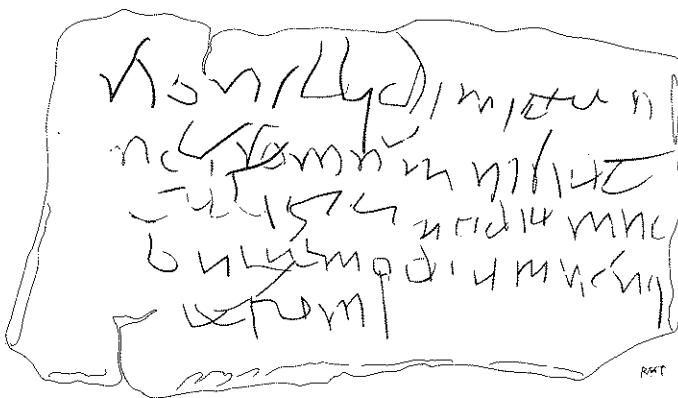
M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (1985), No. 1

not folded

Irregular rectangle cut from thick alloy(?) sheet, inscribed on both sides with a chisel-pointed stylus by a practised hand. There are casting blemishes, the surface seems to have been scraped flat before inscribing, leaving a confusing landscape of minute furrows, and there has been damage since by wear and corrosion. The tablet was found with 4 in 1880, but was not deciphered. In 1904 it was published by E.W.B. Nicholson as *Vinisius to Nigra: a 4th century letter written in south Britain and discovered at Bath*, but Nicholson was unfamiliar with Latin cursive and NRC in particular, and as a result read the text upside-down. Haverfield, who must also have been unfamiliar with NRC, did not accept Nicholson's reading, but concluded on examination of the original that it was illiterate (*EE IX*, p. 515, *litteras certas nullas vidimus*). He is followed by *RIB*: 'The scribbles are not Roman writing'. The tablet is now lost. Nicholson's published photographs were inadequate, as he himself recognized, but the photographs from which he worked have been preserved by the Bodleian Library (*MS Eng. misc. d. 71*) and make it possible to draw much of the text.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
(a) sipuersipueſlla	(a) si puer si puęlla
siuirſifeminaquih.[	si vir si femina qui h[oc]
inuoſ[.]uitnon.p. .mſt	involo[.]vit non [?] p[er]mſt-
taſtu.ſ[.]niſinſ.c.en	taſtu[] niſ(i) inn[o]cen-
5 tiamuſlla[.]ęa traces	5 tiam uſlla[m?] traces
vacat(?) traces	traces



(b) nonillidimitta.	(b) non illi dimittat[us?]
neęsomnumniſiut	neę somnum niſi ut
taſtigiam.diumne	TATIGIA m[o]dium ne-
10 bulaemodiumęni	10 bulae modium ęni-
. fumi vacat	[at] fumi

'Whether boy or girl, whether man or woman, (the person) who has stolen it is not to be permitted(?) . . . unless any innocence . . . you(?) are not to grant(?) him nor sleep unless that . . . a bushel of cloud, a bushel of smoke may come.'

The script is a bold but careless NRC, where A is liable to be confused with V, and the V of *puella* looks like N. As in other NRC texts, N (in *femina*) is once made with three strokes as in ORC, S twice resembles ORC S (si *puella*, *niſ(i)* (4)), and an ORC V is twice written above the line (*qui*, *somnum*). Two vertical strokes in 4, at the second N of *innocentiam* and between the C and E, are probably casual damage or slips of the stylus; there may be similar marks elsewhere, but it is difficult to distinguish them on a photograph. Nicholson commented from his own examination of the tablet: 'It sometimes shows marks to be accidental which in a photograph might be mistaken for intentional cuts; and, on the other hand, lines doubtful in a photograph sometimes come out more clearly in the original'.

1–2. Common formulas. It is unusual to begin with them, and there seems to be no statement of what has been stolen (*hoc*), but it is clear from the photographs that the tablet was more or less complete, and 98 also begins abruptly with pairs of mutually exclusive alternatives.

3–4. *p[er]mit|tatu[]*: the traces support the restoration of *p[er]-*, but the division between *R* and *M* is obscure; to the left of *P* are two short strokes which may be more casual damage avoided (or caused) by the scribe. The context suggests that this is some variant on the ‘do not permit him sleep’ formula (see note to 10, 12ff.); *permittas* cannot be read, but perhaps *permittatur*.

4. *nis(i)*: the reading is not certain, and entails assuming that *I* was omitted by haplography. *Nisi* is used to make a threat ‘unless’ stolen property is returned, or to emphasise the punishment (see note to 45, 7). Neither usage seems to be intended here.

4–5. *inn[o]cen|tiam*: cf. 66, 3, where the text is again damaged; if a formula could be identified, some restoration might be possible.

7–8. *non illi dimitta[s?]| nec somnum*: this seems to be a variant of the *nec ei somnum permittat* (10, 12ff., with note) formula, *dimittere* being used for variation from *permittere* (3–4). *Nec* may be redundant, unless it repeats a *nec* lost in (a), *non* (7) then being a double negative.

8. *somnum nisi . . .*: *nisi* is probably to emphasise the deprivation of sleep (e.g. ‘no sleep unless nightmares’) (see note to 45, 7), since the clause which follows does not refer to the return of stolen property; but how *nec somnum* was emphasised is not clear.

ut: followed by subjunctive, if *veniat* is correctly restored, so perhaps introducing some sort of indirect command; but after *nisi* it seems to be redundant.

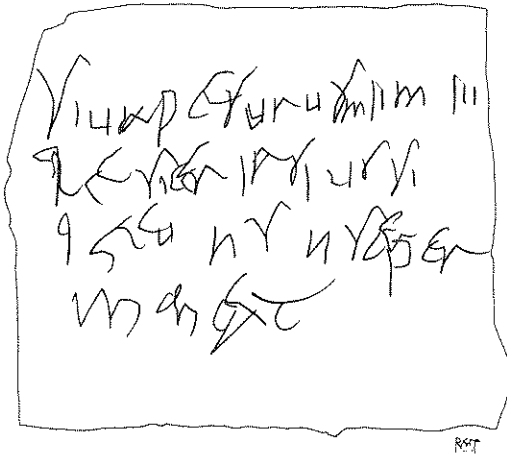
9. The first letters of the line are too damaged to be read with any certainty, especially in view of the oddness of what follows. No noun (*fastigia?* *vestigia?*) seems to fit; perhaps a personal name.

9ff. *m[o]dium nebulae modium veni[at] fumi*: with the reservations expressed, this reading is fairly certain, but the phrase is unparalleled and its meaning obscure. *Modium* is found as a neuter variant of the usual *modius* (cf. 103, 1). ‘Smoke’ is coupled with ‘cloud’ by a fourth-century writer: according to Rufinus (*Apol.* 2, 7), Jerome throws dust in his reader’s eyes, *tamquam fumos et nebulas lectoribus spargit*. The idea of a ‘measured quantity’ of ‘cloud’ as something worthless is found in Plautus (*Poen.* 274): seven nights with her are not worth one-twelfth of a pint of cloud, *quoniam ego nebulai cyatho septem noctes non emam*. So it may be that there is some proverbial expression here of which the key is lost; perhaps an *adunaton* like ‘twisting a rope of sand’ in the Cornish legend: the victim will have to measure out equal quantities of cloud and smoke before the spell is lifted.

Inv. no. 686

64 by 55 mm
Pb 8.5 Sn 91.5
folded once

Rectangle cut from thick (1–1.5 mm) high-tin alloy sheet, hammered flat before inscribing. Inscribed with a stylus in straggling letters irregularly spaced but written L. to R.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
siuapesurusmiiiii	si . . .
ilesiceriasiusi	ILE si CERIASIUS si
igeunsnsēper	IGEVSNS . . . per-
maneat <i>vacat</i>	maneat

'Whether . . . let him remain.'

Most of the letters are legible, but the only certain word is *permaneat*. (It contains two forms of NRC A, the second one found in 95 and 96). Despite the irregular spacing of the letters, this is not a reversed text; it may be a garbled copy.

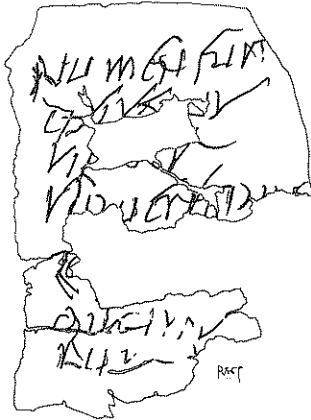
1. The fourth letter might be *R*, but looks more like the *A* in 2, both of them clumsy versions of the second *A* in *permaneat*.
miiiii: inscribed as drawn; perhaps *II* for *E* (cf. 53, 9 with note). There is no suprascript line to identify a numeral.
 2. *CERIASIUS*: there seems to be no such word; perhaps a blundered personal name (*Cerialis*?).
 3. *IGEVSNS*: the repeated *NS* strongly suggests miscopying; perhaps a blunder for *ingenuus* ('free-born') or a personal name like *Ingenuus* (30), *Igennus*(?) (*Britannia* iii (1972), 352, No. 2 (Cirencester), or the garbled name in 9, 17–18.
- 3–4. *permaneat*: otherwise unattested in a curse tablet.

The text is too corrupt, and there are too many possibilities, for emendation and restoration. The repeated *SI*, and odd syllables from (e.g.) *puer*, *liber*, *mulier*, *seruus*, suggests that it may be a garbled copy of a text of the 'whether A or B' formulaic type.

Inv. no. 597

38 by 53 mm
Pb 43.5 Sn 56.1 Cu 0.3
folded

Three conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle cut from thin (0.3 mm) alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus by a practised hand.



	TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
	numenfur	numen fur-
	ti si se[r].]us	ti si se[r](v)us
	si l[.] .r	si l[ibe]r
	sipuersipue	si puer si puę-
5	lla[	lla [
 [...
	... [...

'The name(?) of the thief(?), whether slave or free, whether boy or girl ...'

1-2. *numen furti*: the initial *N* seems to have been adapted from another letter; the *R* is not *ST*, both because *S* in this hand is written more expansively, and because the horizontal stroke of '*T*' preceded the vertical. *Numen* is best understood as an error for *nomen*, cf. 15, *nomen rei* (etc.) and 16, *nomen furis* (etc.). The same confusion of spelling seems to occur in *Britannia* xviii (1987), 360, No. 1 (London), a plea for vengeance *de iste numene* with a list of names on the reverse. Likewise *furti* ('of the theft') is either an error for *furis* ('of the thief'), or was erroneously thought to be a synonym. 2ff. The formulas guarantee the reading and restoration.

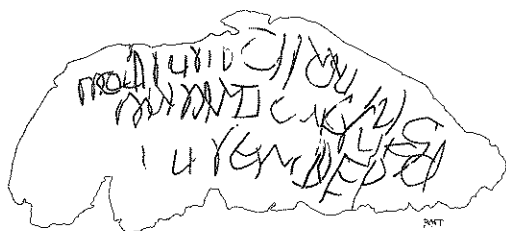
2. *se[r](v)us*: 'Vulgar' spelling, cf. 9, 7 (with note).

6ff. The surface is too worn to be deciphered. Analogy with 15 and 16 suggests a reference to the theft and 'is given', but it is difficult to find *qui involav(er)it* and *donatur* in the remaining traces.

Inv. no. 668
Pl. xxvi b

66 by 27 mm
Pb 41.2 Sn 58.7 Cu 0.1
not folded

Irregular half-oval cut from 1 mm alloy sheet, inscribed with a blunt stilus, 1 from L. to R., 2–3 from R. to L. Rough patches and an original double crease lengthwise make some of the letters difficult, but there has been little damage since.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
modsusio. iuiuçi	...
maina(over i)ticafsuęd	deus faci(a)t ani(m)am
iuseręp	pe(r)d(e)re sui

'... may the god make (him) lose his life.'

1. Perhaps a mistake for *modius* (cf. 100, 9–10). What follows is damaged and odd-looking; perhaps it includes a crossing-out. The genitive(?) ending suggests a (garbled?) personal name, of the petitioner or his victim.

2. *deus*: the *E* resembles *F* or *K*, but is acceptable as a NRC *E* usually made with two hooked strokes; there are two more sorts of *E* in 3. For Sulis as *deus*, cf. 99, 4 (with note).

ani(m)am: the first *A* was written over *I*, resulting in what looks like an ORC *M*, but there are certain NRC *M*s at the L. end of 1 and 2. *M* as omitted in error, no doubt under the strain of reversing the text. This is probably the explanation of *faci(a)t*, unless the writer was ignorant of the subjunctive. For other curses against the *anima*, see 31 (where 'life', not 'soul', is clearly meant), 37, 39.

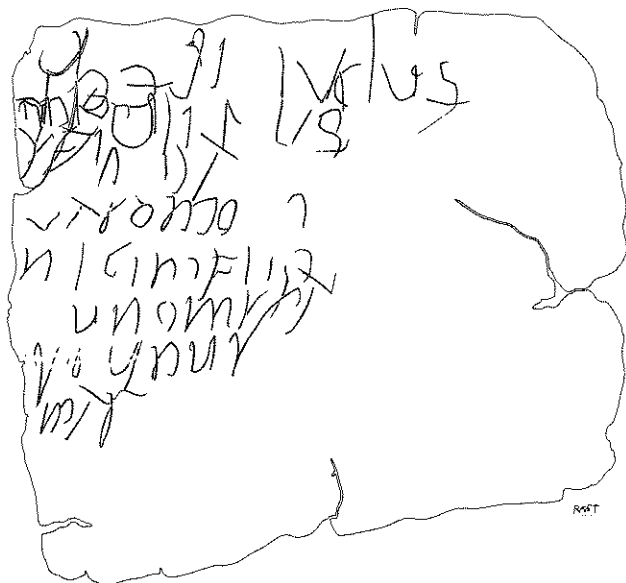
3. *per(r)d(e)re*: another copying error, like those in 2.

sui: a 'Vulgarism', either because the writer confused a possessive pronoun with a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *illius*), or because of uncertainty over case-endings. The same solecism is found in the Caerleon curse, RIB 323 (emended), *non redimat ni(si) vita (et) sanguine sui*.

Inv. no. 123

82 by 74 mm
Pb 50.3 Sn 49.6 Cu 0.1
folded once

Irregular rectangle cast and trimmed from alloy sheet 0.8 mm thick, smoothed with an edged tool 6 mm wide, probably the butt end of a stylus. This edge was minutely serrated, and has left a confusing landscape of miniature furrows. There are three texts: one superimposed upon another in 1–3, and a third in 4ff., by at least two hands. The L. edge, although cut, not broken, may not be original. The fold is not down the centre of the tablet as the tablet now is, and there is no L. margin. This fold has damaged the text, and so has other surface cracking and corrosion. The reading as a result is in doubt.



TRANSCRIPT

*traces us**traces us**traces a*

uṣomo[.].

5 nicinifii.

]unom. .a

s. .nus

maṣ

The wide and irregular R. margin, and the endings in *-us* and *-a*, suggest a list of names.

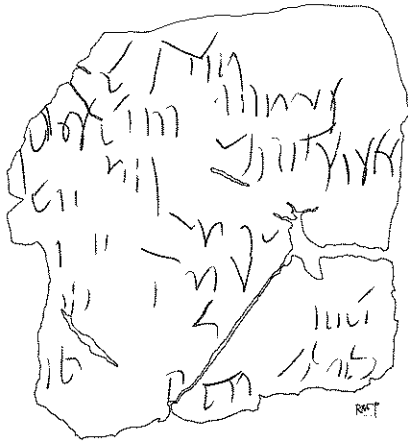
The script(s) are a puzzling mixture, rather like 65. 1 and 2 conclude with what is otherwise a capital *S* (e.g. 5, 8, etc.), preceded by what seems to be a NRC *V* (certainly in 1). 3 concludes with ORC *A*. 4ff., which is smaller and neater, and by a different hand, begins with ORC *VA*; the other *Vs* are NRC, but the two *As* (6, 8) are ORC. *M*, *N* and *S* are typically NRC.

1–2. It is not possible to disentangle the two texts; perhaps a retrograde *DEO* with *MODII* written over it on a lower alignment.

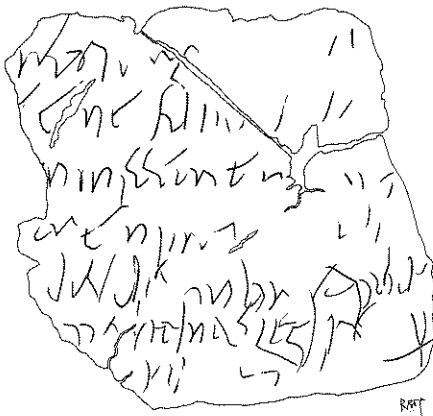
Inv. no. 533

53 by 52 mm
Pb 57.0 Sn 43.0
folded 4 times

Two conjoining fragments forming most of an irregular square cut from alloy sheet, inscribed on both sides with a stylus by a practised hand. The surface being rough, and the writing rather shallow, much of the text is too faint to be deciphered. There is also damage due to folding, and the loss of one edge and corner.



TRANSCRIPT	RESTORED TEXT
(a)]ç traces	(a) ...
]doscim traces	]DOSCIM[
]traces ueřitsiser	...]veřit si ser-
]traces	[vus si liber] ...
5]traces	5 ...
]traces	...
]traces	...



(b)]...ř traces	(b) ...
]...ç traces	...
]mfecerit traces	]m fecerit [
]...ņ traces	...
5]đasd. .nřr[.].ř.p. .đ.	5 ...
] traces intelleg traces	... intelleg[
] traces	...

'... whether slave or free ... has done ... understand/stood ...'

a2.]DOSCIM[; perhaps part of a personal name, cf. *Docimedis* (5, 95).

3. Perhaps [*invola*]veřit, but the surviving traces do not suggest it.

b3. Perhaps [*fraude*]m fecerit (cf. 32, 5–6 (with note)), but the *M* is not certain and the preceding letter does not look like *E*.

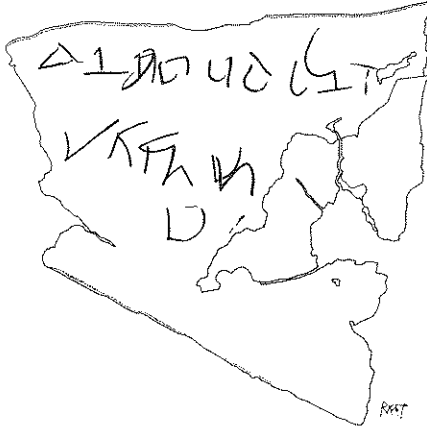
5. The traces are too slight to risk any restoration, e.g. a date.

6. There is almost no sign of the first *L*, but there is room for it; something seems to be ligatured to the *E*. *Intellegere* is not used in any other tablet; perhaps a reference to the god's understanding (cf. 99, 5, *inveniat* (with note)), or the thief's understanding of the god's power. Cf. 71, 6, *discebit*.

Inv. no. 620

55 by 55 mm
Pb 30.0 Sn 70.0
folded

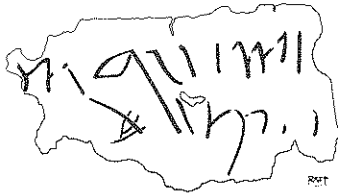
Fragment of cast alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus in what seems to be NRC. Some of the letter-forms are too ambiguous for transcription (there even seems to be an inverted *T*); *A*, *E*, *N*, *S* and *V* can be recognized.



Inv. no. 619

41 by 23 mm

Fragment inscribed with a blunt stilus.



TRANSCRIPT

]mquimi[

traces

RESTORED TEXT

]m qui mi[hi

...

M and *V* are of NRC form. Probably from a curse of *eum qui mihi fraudem fecerit, qui mihi . . . involaverit* or similar formula.

Inv. no. 399

(i) 27 by 31 mm

still folded

Four fragments of alloy sheet, still folded, not necessarily from the same tablet. On the outside of (i) can be read the top L. corner of a text in NRC. Not drawn.

TRANSCRIPT

doçim[
deşu[
. .n.[

RESTORED TEXT

Doçim[edis? . . .
deş(ae) Su[li . . .
. . .

1. *Docim[edis]*: cf. 5, 95.
2. *deş(ae)*: 'Vulgar' contraction also found in 46, 1 and 65, 2.

Inv. no. 399

18 by 22 mm

folded

Two fragments, probably conjoining, from the bottom of a tablet inscribed in NRC. Not drawn.

TRANSCRIPT

]uş.[
]đuo[
]m.[

110

Inv. no. 20,001

c. 40 by 30 mm

still folded

Two conjoining fragments of a still folded tablet, probably inscribed in NRC. On the corroded and irregular surface can be seen traces of the L. margin and four lines of text. Not drawn.

TRANSCRIPT

.[
qui[
iṣti.[
. .ni(*or* m). .[

111

Inv. no. 595

c. 90 by 60 mm

still folded

Irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, inscribed on both sides, probably in NRC. Then folded three times and doubled on itself. No text at present legible.

112–116 *Illiterate Texts (Pseudo-Inscriptions)*

The second Westeremden rune-stick has runes so baffling that scholars have called them magical, working on the well-known epigraphical maxim that whatever cannot be readily understood must be sorcery.

R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (1973), 99–100

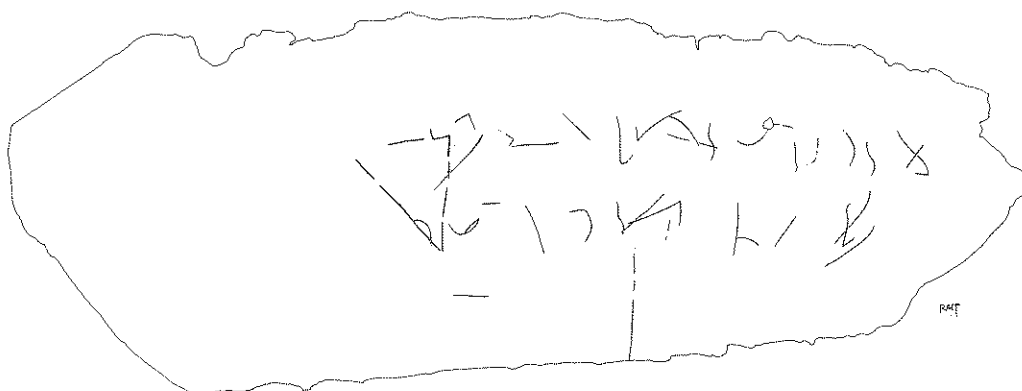
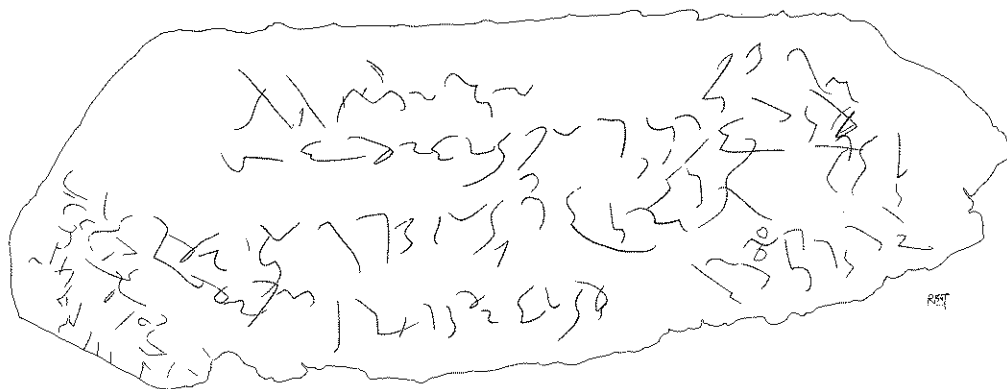
Since scholars have rejected 100 as illiterate scribbles, caution is needed when relegating other tablets to the same category. The next five texts all seem to have been intended to *look* like inscribed tablets: they contain repeated or implausible letter-forms which are best interpreted as an illiterate person's attempt at a *defixio*. The author will have seen others inscribing tablets and throwing them into the sacred spring; for him the mysterious act of writing would have been part of the magic. Homer's only reference to writing (*Iliad* VI 168–70) catches its sinister glamour in an illiterate society: Bellerophon was sent to Lycia with a letter of introduction that requested his execution, 'many grim and fatal symbols written on a folded tablet, to destroy him'. (The Lycians preserved a letter written by Bellerophon's descendant Sarpedon during the Trojan War: Pliny, *NH* xiii 88.) By 'writing' his own tablet, an illiterate author may have wished to save the expense of a scribe, or to keep his petition secret. On the other hand, the great variety of hands among the tablets (only two, 95 and 96, were certainly written by the same person) casts doubt on the idea that there 'must' have been professional scribes available; perhaps Sulis required her petitioners to write their own letters, using more or less standard formulae; and if one could not write, one did one's best with a stylus. After all, the goddess would be able to read it.

Inv. no. 666

133 by 47 mm
Pb 3.2 Sn 96.8
folded six times

Strip cut from a sheet of almost pure tin, one side (*b*) hammered flat, the other (*a*) scraped smooth, before inscribing. Inscribed on both sides with a stylus.

This is the most realistic of the pseudo-inscriptions, resembling 97 and *Britannia* xvii (1986), 434, No. 8 (Braughing). Individual letters can certainly be recognized, like *M*, *R* and *H* in *a1*, *VS* ligatured and unligatured in *a2* and 3, *L*, *G* and *V* in *a3*, but other characters do not look like letters at all, for example '3' (L. facing and R. facing). This occurs repeatedly, three times in *a2*, most distinctly as the second letter, between one character resembling NRC *A* and another which cannot be NRC *D* and whose 'ductus' is unlike the ORC *D* it superficially resembles. On (*b*) it is hard to recognize a single letter. The characters generally are distorted laterally, as if they were trying to fill as much space each as possible.



Inv. no. 122
Pl. xxviii b

59 by 68 mm
Pb 0.1 Sn 99.9
not folded

Irregular triangle cut from thick (1–2 mm) sheet tin, scored with a knife. Inscribed on both sides with a blunt stilus, L. to R. (a) mostly consists of repeated '7' characters overlapping each other like ligatured *TI*. (b) consists of similar characters on a different axis, resembling inverted *V*, overlapping each other.



Inv. no. 674

60 by 47 mm
Pb 21.2 Sn 78.8
not folded

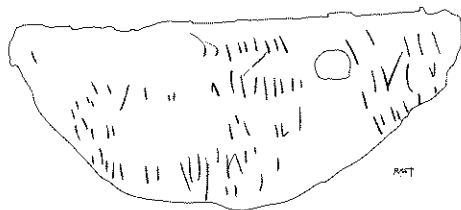
Triangle cut from thick (c. 1.5 mm) alloy sheet, inscribed with a stylus. Some characters could be recognized as letters, but others seem to be random. There are no lines of script, nor any recognizable sequence of inscription.



Inv. no. 694

60 by 25 mm
Pb 99.9 Cu 0.1
folded twice

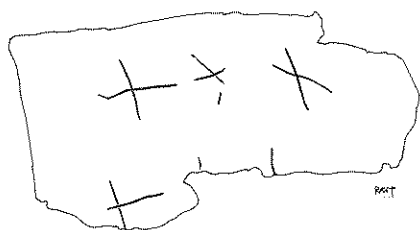
Semi-oval cut from thick (c. 2 mm) sheet lead, inscribed with four lines of short vertical cuts, probably with a stylus. A nail was driven through from the other side, before the tablet was folded over onto the nail head. The surface is corroded, but there is no sign that these vertical strokes ever belonged to deliberate letters.



Inv. no. 532

52 by 27 mm
Pb 43.5 Sn 56.4 Cu 0.1
folded once

One corner of a rectangle(?) cut from alloy sheet, inscribed with crosses, one row of three, and part of a second row of three. Cf. 54(a) (with note).



117–122

Uninscribed Tablets

These six items resemble curse tablets cut from metal sheet, but are not inscribed. They are not uninscribed fragments of (inscribed) tablets or pieces of scrap lead. 120 may have been a tag; 121 and 122 have been scored repeatedly, 121 perhaps in a deliberate pattern. 118 looks like an ordinary tablet, and 117 was undoubtedly intended for inscribing; it comes from the same sheet as 2, but does not conjoin. 119 seems to be an off-cut. Like 15, which looks as if it was not inscribed by its maker, these 'blanks' suggest that tablets were manufactured for use by others; the process is discussed above (pp. 83–4).

117

Inv. no. 682

81 by 60 mm
Pb 47.3 Sn 52.6 Cu 0.1
not folded

Rectangle cut from thick (1.5 mm) alloy sheet, scraped smooth on both sides as if for inscribing, but uninscribed. One corner has been broken off, another cut off (recently?). Physically it is identical in appearance to 2, save that 2 is thinner but thickens to the same thickness as 117. The analysis is identical, the only such coincidence in appearance and analysis among the Bath tablets. (Even 95 and 96, which look alike and are from the same hand, differ slightly in composition). However, 2 and 117 do not conjoin. They must therefore have been cut from a larger alloy sheet, with other tablets which have not been recovered. Many of the Bath tablets have been cut from alloy sheet, but no pair of them demonstrably from the same sheet. This suggests that the tablets which have been recovered and analysed are only a small sample of the total deposited. There is no knowing whether tablets were dredged up from time to time and melted down for re-use, or whether hundreds of them remain in the unexcavated deposits. The latter seems more likely. Thousands of coins of all periods were found with the tablets, suggesting that the sacred spring was not being dredged. At the temple of Mercury at Uley curse tablets were cleared away from time to time, but not used as scrap, so far as we know.

118

Inv. no. 20,006,

86 by 37 mm
Pb 42.7 Sn 57.3
folded twice

Irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, not inscribed, but folded inward from both ends. It would then have resembled an inscribed tablet folded. Did it accompany a verbal petition?

119

Inv. no. 617

90 by 49 mm
Pb 35.1 Sn 64.9
not folded

Off-cut(?) from a thick (1.3 mm) alloy sheet. Three sides are cut straight, except for a hole in the casting, the fourth is the irregular jagged edge of the original sheet. It is not inscribed. It looks like a piece left over when the sheet was cut into rectangular tablets, but no tablet can be identified as coming from this sheet (cf. note to 117).

120

Inv. no. 663

119 by 30 mm
Pb 4.9 Sn 95.1
folded (crumpled?)

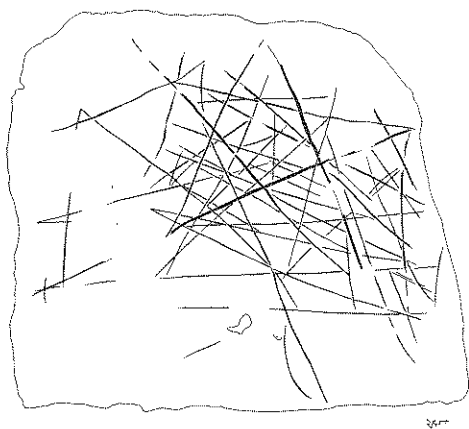
Strip cut from high-tin alloy sheet, square at one end (but since damaged), at the other end cut to a right-angled point. An irregular hole 1–2 mm in diameter has been punched in the pointed end. Not inscribed. It was subsequently folded, perhaps not deliberately, or wrapped round something. It looks like a tag or label.

121

Inv. no. 662

60 by 51 mm
Pb 5.7 Sn 94.3
not folded

Irregular trapezium cut from unusually thick (over 2 mm) high-tin alloy sheet, one edge probably the original edge of the sheet. Not inscribed. One side is covered with many intersecting shallow straight cuts. They were made after the piece was cut out, since few of them reach as far as its edges. Four bold cuts which overlie most of the others can be linked with a fifth, less distinctive, to form a five-pointed star or *pentacle*. There may have been others, judging by the way that lines often intersect towards the edge at acute angles, but there are so many lines that it is difficult to tell. Pentacles are found on Celtic coins: D.F. Allen, *The Coins of the Ancient Celts* (1980), 149.



122

Inv. no. 678

43 by 42 mm
folded

Irregular piece of alloy sheet with jagged edges. Not inscribed. Scored repeatedly on one side in no apparent pattern, before being folded.

123-130 *Tablets still folded or otherwise illegible*

123

Inv. no. 481

c. 85 mm wide
Pb 22.5 Sn 77.5
still folded

Rectangle, one corner missing and one side badly corroded, folded upon itself about six times. There is a text on the inside in capitals.

124

Inv. no. 603

c. 90 mm wide
Pb 35.4 Sn 64.5 Cu 0.1
still folded

Irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, only the reverse impression of the inscribed text visible. Folded several times, and both ends doubled over towards the middle, forming a compact lump.

125

Inv. no. 546

c. 60 mm wide
Pb 52.1 Sn 47.1 Cu 0.8
still folded

Irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, folded several times and doubled over twice, forming a compact lump c. 20 mm square. No inscribed text visible.

126

Inv. no. 486

c. 55 mm wide
Sn 100
still folded

Irregular rectangle cut from sheet tin, folded several times. No inscribed text visible.

127

Inv. no. 693

c. 55 mm

still folded

Irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, folded several times and doubled over. No inscribed text visible.

128

Inv. no. 692

c. 70 mm wide
Pb 36.7 Sn 63.3
still folded

Two conjoining fragments of an irregular rectangle cut from alloy sheet, part of a tablet folded several times and doubled over. No inscribed text visible.

129

Inv. no. 685

c. 30 mm

still rolled

Fragment of a tablet still rolled up, both edges corroded away. No inscribed text visible.

130

Inv. no. RBS 79 13

c. 35 mm wide

still folded

Irregular rectangular strip, folded onto itself from both ends, and pierced twice, apparently by small nails or tacks. No inscribed text visible.

Pieces of Lead Scrap, not Inscribed

Inv. no. 487

54 by 38 mm
Pb 97.9 Sn 2.1

Irregular rectangle cut from sheet lead 2 mm thick. The surface is rough and has not been smoothed for inscribing. No inscribed text. It has been flattened out after being wrapped round a square edge, perhaps as flashing, tank lining, etc.

Inv. no. 698

(i) 43 by 35 mm
(ii) 42 by 35 mm
Pb 100

Two irregular pieces of sheet lead more than 2 mm thick, cemented together. No inscribed text.

Inv. no. 20,002

c. 45 by 32 mm
Pb 99.5 Sn 0.5

Irregular triangle of sheet lead more than 2mm thick. No inscribed text.

Inv. no. 20,000

Flattened lump, caused by pouring molten lead onto a rough surface. No inscribed text.

Inv. no. 690

Pb 100

Another flattened lump, caused by pouring molten lead onto a rough surface. No inscribed text.

Inv. no. 660

Pb 54.0 Sn 45.6 Cu 0.5

Lump formed by a droplet of molten alloy. No inscribed text.

Inv. no. 298

32 mm long, 9–11 mm diameter

Bead-like tube, formed by hammering sheet lead round a cord or rod 4 mm thick.

Inv. no. 298 (again)

c. 95 by 17 mm

Irregular fragment, tapering in thickness from 6 mm, probably formed by molten lead running between two stones.

I. Personal Names

Including fragmentary and doubtful names (e.g. *Adixoui*, *Maximo*, *Tatirum*), for all of which reference should be made to the commentary.

Adixoui 18, 1	Cunsus 95, 3	Lucianu[s] 17, 4	Sco[ti]us 98, 19
Aesibuas 37, 9	Cupit[i]a[nus] 77, 2	Lucillus 30, 6	[S]ecura 91
Aessicunia 98, 20			Sedebelia 95, 3
Aeternus 30, 7	Dacus 55, 1	Magnus 17, 2	Sediacus 37, 4
A(u)gustalis 4, 6	Decentinus 94, 3	[M]allianus 17, 5	Sedileubi 37, 4
[A]launa 98, 11	Deiana 18, 2	Mantuten(a)e 98, 5	Senianus 17, 1
Alogiosa 94, 3	Deieda 18, 3	Marcellianus 17, 4	Senicianus 8, 5, 8; 98, 16
Andagin 18, 4	Deomiorix 99, 2	Maria 95, 1	Senicio 51, 5
Annia[n]o 98, 4	Docca 34, 1	Marinianus 30, 5	Senila 95, 5
Ann[i]ola 8, 6, 7	Docilianus 10, 1	Marinus 3, 2	Senovara 9, 8
Applicius 51, 7	Docilina 94, 2	Marin[] 12, 1	Severa 51, 1
Arminia 54, 2	Docilis 94, 2	Markelinum 53, 9	Severianus 30, 1; 95, 4
Austus 51, 10	Do[c]ilosa 94, 1	Mas(e)ntius 37, 8	Severinus 4, 5
Avitianus 98, 17	Docigenius 46, 9	Matarnus 30, 3	Solinus 32, 1
	Docimedis 5, 1; 95, 2	Materna 98, 12	Spectatus 51, 3
Basilia 97, 1	Docim[edis] 108, 1	Mattonius 9, 10	Surilla 51, 9
Belator 51, 8	Doscim[] 105, 2	Maximo 10, 11	
Belcati 30, 5	Dracontius 51, 2	Medol[] 17, 6	Talipieinus 96, 2
<>Belia 96, 4		Memorina 3, 3	Tatirum 13, 7
Bellaus 30, 8	E[g]na[tius] 42, 1	Methianu[s] 9, 13	Ter[en]ti 54, 3
Bellini 30, 8	Enica 59, 1	Minantius 96, 3	Titumus 37, 3
Bitilus 78, 1, 2	Espeditus 13, 6	Minervina 9, 6	Totia 39 ii, 1
Brigomall(a)e 30, 1	Euticius 98, 13	Minianus 4, 7	Tpiasu(!) 9, 16
Britivenda 2, 1; 3, 1	Exsactoris 9, 11	Minici 9, 4	Trinni 53, 6
Bruceri 10, 2	Exsibuus 37, 6	Minoven[] 53, 13	
	Exsib[uus] 57, 1	Morivassum 53, 11	Uricalus 94, 1
Calliopis 98, 22	Exsupereus 4, 4	Mu[t]ata 17, 6	
Candidianus 51, 6	Exsuperius 66, 1		Valaunecus 96, 3
Candidina 98, 13		Oconeia 60, 1	Vendibedis 95, 2
Cantissen(a)e 63, 3	Germanill[a] 4, 8		Venibelia 2, 2
Carinianus 51, 11	Gunsula 98, 12	P[] 91	Velvalis 53, 7
Catinius 9, 11		Paltucca 98, 21	Velvinna 4, 4
Catonius 30, 4	Ingenui 30, 7	Patarnianus 30, 2	Velorigam 53, 10
Catus 4, 7	(Ingenuus?) 9, 17, 18; 101, 3	Peregrinus 98, 14	Verecundinum 54, 3
Celerianus 98, 23	Innocentius 51, 4	Petiacus 37, 10	Verianus 4, 5
Ceriasius 101, 2	Iovina 4, 8	Postum[inu]s 98, 10	Victor 98, 18
Civilis 31, 2; 53, 4; 55, 5		Pisso 98, 10	Victoria 9, 3
Cocus 70, 2	Latinus 98, 15	Potentini 30, 4	Victorianus 96, 4
Comitianus 4, 6	Lavidendus 9, 9	Primurudeum 97	Victorin[] 50, 2
Compedita 96, 1	Linu[s] 78, 1, 2	Pu[] 43, 1 <i>SSim</i>	Victorinus 96, 1
Cuamenai 18, 6	Locinna 98, 11		Vindiorix 18, 5
Cunitius 9, 7	Lothuius 37, 7	Riovassum 53, 12	Vitali[?] 13, 5
Cunomolius 9, 5	Lovernisca 61, 1		
Cunsa 95, 1	Lucciani 30, 6	Saturninus 8, 5, 9	

Possible names whose beginning is lost

- []eocorotis 62, 1
- []micus 9, 15
- []nus 23, 1
- []vendi 27
- [].visius 77, 3

II. Gods and Goddesses

Including restored readings (only 42, 3 is uncertain).

Mars

Marti 33, 1

Martis 97, 1

Mercury

Mercurio 53, 1

Minerva

M(inervae) 60, 2

Minervae 34, 1; 35, 1

Mine[r]vae 46, 1

Minerv(a)e 32, 1; 65, 1

Minerv[] 70, 1

Sulis

Sulis (*nom.*) 10, 10

Sulis (*voc.*) 21, 1 (*unless dat.*); 54, 2

Sulis (*nom. or voc.*) 49, 4; 69, 2

Sulis (*gen.*) 42, 3(?); 44, 2; 62, 3; 66, 4

Suli(s) (*gen.*) 94, 5

Sulis or Suli 19, 3

Suli (*dat.*) 8, 1; 10, 4; 20 i, 1; 32, 1;

34, 1; 35, 1; 45, 1; 46, 1; 50, 1;

60, 1; 63, 1; 65, 2; 90, 1; 94, 7;

108, 2

III. Latin Words

Excluding personal names (see Index I and II) unless they are doubtful (e.g. *maximo*), words doubtfully Latin (e.g. 14), words of doubtful meaning (e.g. 46), words whose reading or restoration are very uncertain. Words whose reading is fairly certain which make little sense in the context, or where the context is obscure, are marked thus: (?). Words where the letters read yield no obvious sense are marked thus: †. Letters supplied (), restored [], or judged superfluous < >, are enclosed by the usual brackets, except in multiple entries, unless the reading is of particular interest.

a 8, 3

ab 35, 4; 98, 6

ABC 1; 58(a)

ad 10, 17; 32, 8, 14; 36, 4; 45, 9; 94, 5

[a]digat 10, 11

adsellare 41, 5

aenum 44, 1, 6; 66, 12

aliquam 98, 7

aliquid 97, 3

ambulare 54, 7

[a]misi 34, 3

ancilla 52, 7

anilum 97, 1, 7

anima 37, 1

anima(m) 6, 2; 39 ii, 2

ani(m)am 103, 2

an[imam] 31, 4

ante 41, 4; 62, 3

[an]tequam 48, 2

anulis 59, 2

Apriles 94, 6

aqua 4, 2

argente[os] 98, 5

argenteum (*adj.*) 97, 2

argentiolos 54, 4

[arge]ntiolos 8, 1

B+ 54(a)

ba(ln)earem (*adj.*) 32, 3

balniarem 63, 2

baro 44, 3, 9; 57, 4; 65, 7

[bibere] 41, 5

bursa 98, 5

caballarem 49, 1; 62, 7

caecitatem 45, 7

†calamaea 40, 1

capitularem 55, 5

caracallam 10, 16; 65, 4

caracellam 10, 6

carta 8, 6

†ceriasius 101, 2

Ch(r)istianus 98, 1

com[o](do) (*i.e. quomodo*) 4, 2

configatur 97, 5

conq[u]<a>er[or] 54, 2

conqueror 59, 1

consumas 54, 3, 9

cum(?) 54, 8; 83 iii

[c]um(?) 10, 10

cus (*i.e. quis*) 31, 1

de 97, 3; 98, 5; 99, 2

dea (*nom.*) 10, 10

dea (*voc.*) 98, 6

dea 46, 5; 49, 4; 69, 2

deae (*gen.*) 19, 3(?); 94, 5

deae (*dat.*) 8, 1, 4; 10, 3; 20 i, 1;

32, 1; 34, 1; 35, 1; 45, 1; 50, 1;

57, 1; 60, 1; 63, 1; 90, 1; 94, 7

de(ae) (*dat.*) 46, 1; 65, 2; 108, 2

deam(?) 46, 6

dederit 98, 8

deferat 62, 6, 9

(denarios) 34, 3

deo 33, 1; 53, 1; 104, 1(?)

deponat 31, 6

destina(t) 5, 9

de[s]t[in]at 40, 4

destrale 15, 2

det(?) 19, 2

detulerit 32, 8

deus 44, 13; 99, 4; 103, 2

deveniat 36, 5

devindices 66, 12

devoceo 10, 5

dies (*plur.*) 62, 3

dimitta[s] 100, 7

discebit 71, 6

d[]mina 98, 6

†domx 74, 2

do[n] 42, 2

dona (*imper.*) 98, 8

donat 61, 1; 66, 2; 97, 1

donat<u>ur 16, 5

donavi 8, 1; 11 i, 3; 62, 2; 65, 2

dona[vit] 57, 2

do[ne]c 10, 15

dono 9, 14; 32, 2; 33, 2; 34, 2;

- 38, 1; 43, 2; 44, 3, 8; 60, 2
donum 65, 9
dua 5, 3
duo 36, 3
duos 54, 4
- eam 4, 3
[eam] 34, 4
ei 10, 12; 32, 5, 11
eidem 64, 3
ei[s] 35, 5
[e]ius 38, 5
[eo]rum 41, 2
eorum 94, 4
eo(?) 9, 12
eos 46, 2
[eo]s 98, 7
erit 45, 6
est 8, 4; 34, 3; 44, 2
et 5, 6; 8, 5, 6; 20 ii, 2; 32, 3, 14;
34, 3; 36, 2; 41, 3, 4; 44, 5;
52, 6; 53, 10, 11, 12, 14; 54, 9;
66, 8; 94, 2; 97, 4; 99, 5
etiam 97, 5
eum 10, 5; 44, 11; 60, 3; 61, 2
[e]um(?) 10, 10
exactura 8, 4
excomesis 97, 6
exconictus 44, 1
execro 99, 1
[e]xigas 41, 3
[e]x(i)gas 38, 4
ex<s>igat[ur] 34, 5
ex<x>igi 47, 2
- faci[a]m 31, 13
facias 94, 7
faci(a)t 103, 2
falsu[m](?) 24, 2
familiam 53, 6, 7(?), 9, 10, 12, 13, 14
fanum 45, 9
fano 5, 8; 42, 3; 48, 2
fecerit 44, 5; 105(b), 3
fecerunt 35, 5
fecit 42, 2
[f]ecit 32, 6
femina 10, 8; 32, 6; 34, 5(?); 38, 7;
49, 2; 52, 6; 61, 3; 66, 5, 10;
71, 5; 100, 2
ferri 66, 2
filius 30, 2; 94, 2
fil(ius) 30, 1
(filius) 9, 4(?), 11(?); 10, 2;
30, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
finem 31, 13
fontem 94, 5
frater 94, 3
fraudem 35, 4; 56, 2; 85, 4(?); 98, 7
fr(a)udem 32, 5
- fuerit 11 i, 3, iv, 2; 38, 7; 53, 4;
97, 8
fumi 100, 11
fundat 44, 7
fundo 9, 12
furaverit 98, 6
furem 65, 3
furis 16, 2
furti 102, 1
- gen(tili)s 98, 1
- habe(at) 97, 6
habuerit 46, 6(?); 52, 5
haec 45, 9
has 38, 5
his 35, 4
hoc 11 iv, 1; 22, 2; 41, 3; 44, 5;
47, 3; 52, 4; 62, 3; 65, 9;
66, 6, 11; 68, 2; 97, 3; 98, 9;
100, 2
hos<i>pitio 99, 2
- iacere 54, 6
id 34, 3
idus 94, 6
†igeuns 101, 3
illas 5, 4
illi 13, 4(?); 45, 6; 47, 4; 54, 5;
66, 3; 100, 7
illic 94, 6
illorum 37, 1; 66, 11
illos 41, 4; 57, 2
illud 52, 5; 94, 8; 99, 6
illum 13, 2(?); 94, 7; 99, 4
in 5, 8; 19, 3(?); 31, 5; 42, 3; 44, 6;
47, 4; 48, 2; 62, 5, 9; 97, 1
infrascriptis 8, 3
infr[] 12 iii, 2
inn[o]centiam 100, 4
innoc[entiam?] 66, 3
inrogaverit 98, 9
intelleg[] 105(b), 6
intestinis 97, 6
inveniat 44, 14; 99, 5; cf. 36, 5
†inictus 64, 2
involverit 10, 7; 11 i, 1; 12 i, 4;
13 1, 2; 15, 3; 16, 3(?); 34, 4;
36, 2; 38, 6; 39 i, 1, ii, 3, 8;
58, 10(?); 61, 6; 63, 3; 99, 1
inv[o]la[ver]n[t] 66, 9
involverit 4, 1, 3; 5, 4; 6, 5; 23, 3;
31, 3; 44, 13; 49, 1; 65, 5;
66, 13; 68, 2; 86, 2; 97, 7; 100, 3
ipsam 44, 12
ipsi 98, 8
ipso 98, 6
ipsum 44, 6; 64, 3
is 34, 3; 97, 7
istas 32, 7, 15
iterum 54, 9
- iuraverunt 94, 4, 5
- la[enam] 62, 1
las(s)et[ur] 37, 2
†later[] 16, 3
latronem 44, 11
letum 10, 11
levavit 44, 1
liber 10, 9; 11 i, 4, ii, 3; 31, 10;
32, 7; 36, 5; 38, 8; 39 i, 2;
44, 4, 9; 45, 5; 47, 3; 49, 3;
57, 4; 62, 4; 63, 4; 65, 7; 66, 6;
97, 2; 98, 4; 102, 3
[liber] 34, 4; 55, 7; 62, 7; 105, 4
libera 62, 4, 8
[li]beri (*children*) 32, 9
libertinus 31, 10
liquat 4, 2
loco 64, 3
l(u)minibus 97, 4
- mafortium 61, 5
maiestatem 35, 3
maiestati 32, 2; 33, 2
[m]anducare 41, 5
manicilia 5, 2
ma<n>tutene 98, 5
maximo 10, 11
me(?) 46, 7
mea (*abl.*) 98, 5
meam 10, 6, 17; 39 ii, 4; 65, 5
meas 12 ii, 2, iii, 2
medius 97, 7
[?medius] 38, 7
[?meiere] 41, 6
membris 97, 5
meo 12 i, 3; 38, 3
[me]um 44, 1
mentes 5, 5
mihi 4, 1; 7 ii, 4; 32, 5; 54, 4;
66, 12; 98, 4, 7, 9; 107, 1
modii(?) 104, 1
modium 100, 9, 10
mulier 13, 3(?); 44, 3, 8; 57, 4;
65, 8; 98, 3
- nascentes 10, 15
natos 10, 14
nebulae 100, 9
nec 10, 12, 14; 32, 5, 12; 35, 6;
41, 4, 5; 45, 6, 7; 52, 2;
54, 5, 6, 7; 67, 1; 98, 8; 100, 8
negat(?) 40, 2
nessi 65, 10
nisi 6, 6; 19, 2; 33, 4; 45, 7, 9;
52, 3; 64, 3; 100, 4, 8
nissi 32, 7, 14
noctis(?) 7 ii, 3
nomen 15, 1; 16, 1
nomina 94, 4
nominibus 8, 3

- non 31, 7; 45, 6; 47, 4; 54, 5, 12;
 65, 9; 100, 3, 7
 novem 62, 3
 noverit 97, 4
 numen (*i.e.* nomen) 102, 1
 numini 32, 2; 34, 2
 numinis 10, 18

 oculos 5, 7; 45, 7
 omnibus 97, 5, 6
 orbitatem 45, 8

 palleum 32, 3, 13; 62, 2
 pallium 43, 3; 64, 3
 pannum 60, 2; 66, 2
 pati[a]r[is] 41, 4
 paxsam 62, 2
 paxsa(m) 32, 3
 pecuniam 34, 2
 pell[] 70, 3
 per 38, 4; 41, 3; 98, 7
 perd[at] 5, 6
 pe(r)d(e)re 103, 3
 perdedi 62, 1
 perdiderit 99, 3
 perdedi 6, 2; 8, 2; 12 i, 2(?)
 perdedi(t) 5, 2
 perexi[g]e[] 98, 6
 periuraverit 94, 6
 permaneat 101, 3
 permittas 32, 4; 35, 5; 45, 6;
 47, 4; 52, 1; 54, 5
 permittat 10, 13
 p[er]mittatu[] 100, 3
 persc[ri]pta 8, 6
 pertulerit 10, 19
 pertuleri(t) 38, 11
 perveniat 54, 12
 †petio 9, 1
 picta 8, 6
 pretium 41, 2
 prid(i)e 94, 6
 puella 36, 7; 44, 4, 10; 61, 4;
 62, 5, 8; 98, 3; 100, 1; 102, 4
 puer 36, 6; 44, 4, 10; 61, 4; 62,
 5, 8; 98, 3; 100, 1; 102, 4

 quaecumque 98, 2
 quam 34, 2
 quandiu 52, 4; 81, 2(?)
 quantocius 54, 9
 quas 12 i, 2
 -que (*conj.*) 45, 8
 q(ue)m 6, 1
 q[u]er[or] 47, 1
 qui 4, 1, 3; 5, 3; 7 ii, 4; 10, 5;
 15, 2; 16, 2; 32, 5, 9; 34, 3;
 35, 4; 38, 5, 6; 39 i, 1, ii, 3, 8;
 40, 1; 44, 1, 5, 12; 45, 4;
 46, 2, 7(?); 49, 1; 54, 3; 57, 2;
 61, 2, 5; 65, 3; 66, 3; 90, 2;
 94, 4, 5; 97, 7; 98, 9; 99, 1, 2;
 100, 2; 107, 1; 110, 2
 quicumque 11 i, 4, iii, 2, 3, 4;
 94, 6; 99, 3
 qui<s>cumque 45, 5
 quiescit(?) 64, 2
 (quinque) 34, 3
 quis 60, 3; 63, 2; 66, 12
 quis (cus) 31, 1
 quoad 45, 8
 qu(o)d(?) 85, 4
 quomodo (com[o](do)) 4, 2
 quoque 32, 11
 quos 8, 2

 recentis(s)imi 55, 4
 redemat 65, 10; 99, 6
 [re]ducat 64, 4
 rei (reus, *gen.*) 15, 1
 reli<n>q[ua]s 32, 14
 rem 44, 12
 (r)eputes 98, 9
 res (*plur.*) 12 ii, 2; 32, 15; 79, 2(?);
 86, 2; 99, 4(?)
 r[e(u)s](?) 99, 4
 retagens 32, 7
 retulerint 32, 15
 rogo 35, 2
 rostro 62, 5, 9
 †rove 9, 2

 sacellum 33, 3
 sagum 62, 2
 [s]anctissimam 35, 2
 sanctissim(a)e 10, 3
 sanguine 6, 7; 7 ii, 1; 40, 2; 47, 4;
 65, 11; 66, 11; 94, 8; 97, 4;
 99, 5; cf. 46, 7
 sanguinem 38, 4(?); 41, 3; 44, 5;
 98, 9
 sanitatem 32, 5, 12; 35, 7(?); 41, 3;
 45, 7; 52, 2; 54, 8; 64, 2
 sanuene (*i.e.* sanguine) 46, 7
 satisfacere 94, 8
 s[ati]sfecerit 66, 10
 se 32, 7(?); 52, 5
 sed 8, 5(?); 98, 8
 sedere 54, 6
 serva 62, 4, 8
 servus 10, 9; 26, 1; 31, 9; 32, 6;
 34, 4; 44, 3, 9; 45, 5; 55, 7;
 71, 4; 98, 4; 105, 3
 [servus] 11 i, 4; 38, 9; 47, 3; 57, 3;
 62, 7
 ser(v)us 9, 7, 9, 10; 36, 6; 39, 2;
 49, 3; 62, 4, 7; 65, 6; 66, 5;
 87, 2; 97, 2; 102, 2
 s(e)r(v)us 63, 4
 seu 98, 1

 sex 8, 2; 98, 5
 si 10, 7, 8, 9; 11 i, 4; 12 i, 4;
 31, 1, 10; 32, 6, 7; 34, 4, 5;
 36, 5, 6, 7; 38, 7, 8; 39 i, 2;
 44, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10; 45, 5; 47, 3;
 49, 2, 3; 52, 6, 7; 55, 7;
 57, 3, 4; 58, 8; 60, 3;
 62, 4, 5, 7, 8; 63, 2, 4; 65, 6, 7, 8;
 66, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12; 71, 4, 5; 87, 2;
 97, 2; 98, 7; 100, 1, 2; 101, 1, 2;
 102, 2, 3, 4; 105, 3
 sic 4, 2; 98, 8
 siluerit 97, 3
 sive 61, 2, 3, 4
 so(l)verit(?) 41, 6
 somnum 10, 12; 32, 4, 12; 35, 6;
 52, 2; 54, 8; 100, 8
 somnus 55, 8
 †son[] (sponsa?) 32, 9
 species 32, 8
 †stilum 46, 3
 stragulum 6, 1
 sua 6, 7; 32, 9; 46, 7; 94, 1
 suae 99, 6
 suam 39 ii, 2; 41, 4(?); 53, 11, 14
 su<u>a(m) 31, 5
 suas 66, 9
 sua(s) 5, 5
 sui (*gen.*) 10, 18; 47, 5(?); 103, 3
 sui (*plur.*) 32, 9
 sunt 57, 3
 suo 62, 5, 9; 65, 11; 94, 8; 99, 3;
 cf. 42, 3
 suorum 41, 4
 su[o]s 5, 7
 supplic[] 55, 6
 suum 41, 4; 44, 6; 83 i, 1(?); 98, 9
 suus 94, 2, 3

 tacituri 72, 3
 (ta)mdiu 97, 3
 tandiu 52, 3
 te(?) 9, 2
 templo 31, 5; 44, 2
 templum 10, 17; 32, 8, 14; 97, 1
 tibi 21, 1; 38, 1; 43, 2; 47, 1;
 54, 2; 59, 1; 60, 2
 tu 98, 6
 tuam 35, 3
 tulerit 47, 3
 tuo 32, 2; 34, 2
 tuum 32, 8, 14

 ubi 5, 8; 41, 6(?)
 ulla[m](?) 100, 5
 ussor (*i.e.* uxor) 9, 6, 8; 30, 3
 ut 5, 5; 10, 10; 31, 4; 35, 3, 5;
 41, 2; 54, 3(?); 62, 3; 81, 2; 97, 4;
 98, 8; 100, 8; cf. 44, 5
 utrum 98, 2, 3, 4

ux[or] 94, 1
vel 32, 9; 38, 6; 97, 3, 5, 7
veni[at](?) 100, 10
vero(?) 19, 3
†vilbiam 4, 1
vind() 9, 3
vindices 35, 4
vir 10, 8; 13, 3(?); 32, 6; 36, 7;
52, 6; 61, 2; 66, 5, 9; 71, 5;
98, 2; 100, 2
[vir] 34, 5; 49, 2
vitae 99, 6
vixerit 45, 8
vomere[m] 31, 1, 7

Beginning lost and not restored

[]ius 41, 6
[2-3]lit 64, 2
[]ream 38, 2
[]revavit 54, 5
[r]ipuit 41, 2
[]sivio 38, 3
[]tiolo 12 i, 3
[1-2]um 10, 10

IV. Divergent Spellings and Forms

'Vulgar' spellings like *nessi* (*nisi*) and 'Vulgar' forms like *furaverit* (for Classical deponent) are collected in the section on Language (pp. 74–8), pure copying errors in the section on Authorship (pp. 98–9). Reference should also be made to the Commentary. Restored letters are not bracketed, but letters supplied () or removed < > to bring a word into accord with the 'Classical' norm are indicated. Anagram errors (e.g. in 6), failures to reverse pairs of letters in reversed texts (e.g. in 44), and 'words' whose correct spelling is unknown (e.g. 40, 1, *calamaea*), have all been excluded.

- adsellare 41, 5
 Aessicunia 98, 20
 A(u)gustalis 4, 6
 anilum (anulum) 97, 1, 7
 anima(m) 6, 2; 39 ii, 2
 ani(m)am 103, 2
 An(n)iola 8, 7
- ba(ln)eam 32, 3
 balniarem 63, 2
 ba(ro) 44, 9
 Bel(l)ator(?) 51, 8
 Brigomall(a)e 30, 1
 Bruceri (Bruceti?) 10, 2
- Cantissen(a)e 63, 3
 caracellam (caracallam) 10, 6
 Cat(t)inius(?) 9, 11
 Cat(t)onius(?) 30, 4
 Cat(t)us(?) 4, 7
 Ch(r)istianus 98, 1
 como(do) (quomodo) 4, 2
 Compe<pe>dita 96, 1
 conqu<a>eror 54, 2
 cus (quis) 31, 1
- d(e)ae 19, 3
 de(ae) 46, 1; 65, 2; 108, 2
 destrale (dextrale) 15, 2
 donat<u>ur 16, 5
- Espeditus (Expeditus) 13, 6
 exconictus (*exconfixus?) 44, 1
 execro (execror) 99, 1
 ex(i)gas 38, 4
 ex<x>igi 47, 2
 Ex<s>actoris 9, 11
 ex<s>igatur 34, 5
 Exsuperius (Exsuperius) 4, 4
- faci(a)t 103, 2
 fr(a)udem 32, 5
 furaverit 98, 6
- gen(tili)s 98, 1
- habe(at) 97, 6
 hos<i>pitio 99, 2
- illa<s> 5, 4
 involavi(t) 5, 4
- las(s)etur 37, 2
 liminibus (luminibus) 97, 4
 liquat 4, 2
 Luc(c)ianus 17, 4
- manicil(l)ia(?) 5, 2
 ma<n>tutene (matutin-) 98, 5
 Mascntius (Maxentius?) 37, 8
 Matarnus (Maternus) 30, 3
 mentes (mentem) 5, 5
 Minerv(a)e 32, 1; 65, 1
- nessi (nisi) 65, 10
 nis(i) 100, 4
 nis<s>i 32, 7, 14
 nomina<a> 94, 4
 numen (nomen) 102, 1
- Oconea (Oconia?) 60, 1
 (om)nibus 97, 6
- palleum (pallium) 32, 3; 62, 2
 pal<u>leum 32, 13
 Patarnianus (Paternianus) 30, 2
 paxsa(m) 32, 3
 perdedi (perdididi) 62, 1
 pe(r)d(e)re 103, 3
 perdididi(t) 5, 2
 perdn(t) (perdat) 5, 6
 pertuleri(t) 38, 11
 prid(i)e 94, 6
 (p)uella 36, 7
- quaecumque (quicumque) 98, 2
 quandiu (quamdiu) 52, 4; 81, 2(?)
- q(ue)m 6, 1
 qu(i) 39 ii, 3, 8
 qui<s>cumque 45, 5
 q(u)o(?) 46, 6
 qu(o)d(?) 85, 4
- recentis(s)imi 55, 4
 redemat (redimat) 65, 10; 99, 6
 reli<n>quas 32, 14
 (r)eputes 98, 9
 ret(t)ulerint 32, 15
- sanctissim(a)e 10, 3
 sangu(i)ne 47, 4; 65, 11
 sangu(in)em 44, 5
 sanuene (sanguine?) 46, 7
 semnum (somnum) 35, 6
 Sen(n)ianus(?) 17, 1
 Senicia(n)us 8, 5
 Senicio (Senecio) 51, 5
 Seni<i>la 95, 5
 ser(v)us 9, 7, 9, 10; 36, 6; 39, 2;
 49, 3; 62, 4, 7; 65, 6; 66, 5;
 87, 2; 97, 2; 102, 2
 s(e)r(v)us 63, 4
 Severia<ia>nus 95, 4
 s(e)x 98, 5
 <i>sive 61, 3
 so(l)verit(?) 41, 6
 s(p)on[](?) 32, 9
 Suli(s) 94, 5
 su<u>a(m) 31, 5
 sua<e> 99, 6
 sua(s) 5, 5
 sui (for suam) 103, 3
- (ta)mdiu 97, 3
 tandiu (tamdiu) 52, 3
- Valaunecus (Vell-?) 96, 3
 ussor (uxor) 9, 6, 8
 vita<e> 99, 6

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List of Abbreviations

Collections of papyri (*P. Dura*, etc.) are cited by the abbreviations given in E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1980), 159–77.

Other abbreviations are as follows:

<i>Abinnaeus</i>	H.I. Bell, V. Martin, E.G. Turner, D. van Berchem, <i>The Abinnaeus Archive</i> (1962)	<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Arch. J.</i>	<i>The Archaeological Journal</i>	Hist. Aug.	Historia Augusta
<i>Audollent</i>	A. Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> (1904)	Holder	A. Holder, <i>Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz</i> (1896–)
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>	<i>IBCbr.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae</i> (1876), ed. E. Hübner
<i>Bull. de</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique</i>	IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
<i>Corr. Hell.</i>		<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–), ed. H. Dessau
<i>C. Gloss.</i>	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i> (1888–), ed. G. Goetz	<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>Lat.</i>		<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>ChLA</i>	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> (1954–), ed. A. Bruckner, R. Marichal	<i>LHEB</i>	K.H. Jackson, <i>Language and History in Early Britain</i> (1953)
<i>CIIC</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum</i> (1945–9), ed. R.A.S. Macalister	<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>	<i>Mus. Helv.</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>CMRDM</i>	<i>Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis</i> (1971–8), ed. E.N. Lane	NRC	New Roman Cursive
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>	<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>	<i>ORC</i>	Old Roman Cursive
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> (1958), ed. R. Cavenaile	<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>	<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> , ed. K. Preisendanz
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>	<i>PNRB</i>	A.L.F. Rivet, C. Smith, <i>The Place-names of Roman Britain</i> (1979)
<i>CSIR</i>	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i>	<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>Cumb.</i>	<i>Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Transactions of</i>	<i>Rev. Phil.</i>	<i>Revue de Philologie</i>
<i>Westm.</i>		<i>RIB</i>	<i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , I (1965), ed. R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright
<i>ECMW</i>	<i>The Early Christian Monuments of Wales</i> (1950), ed. V.E. Nash-Williams	<i>RIB Index</i>	<i>RIB I, Epigraphic Indexes</i> (1983), compiled by R. Goodburn and H. Waugh
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>	<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
		<i>Tab. Vind.</i>	A.K. Bowman, J.D. Thomas, <i>Vindolanda: the Latin Writing-Tablets</i> (1983)
		<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> , ed. P. Herrmann
		<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
		<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

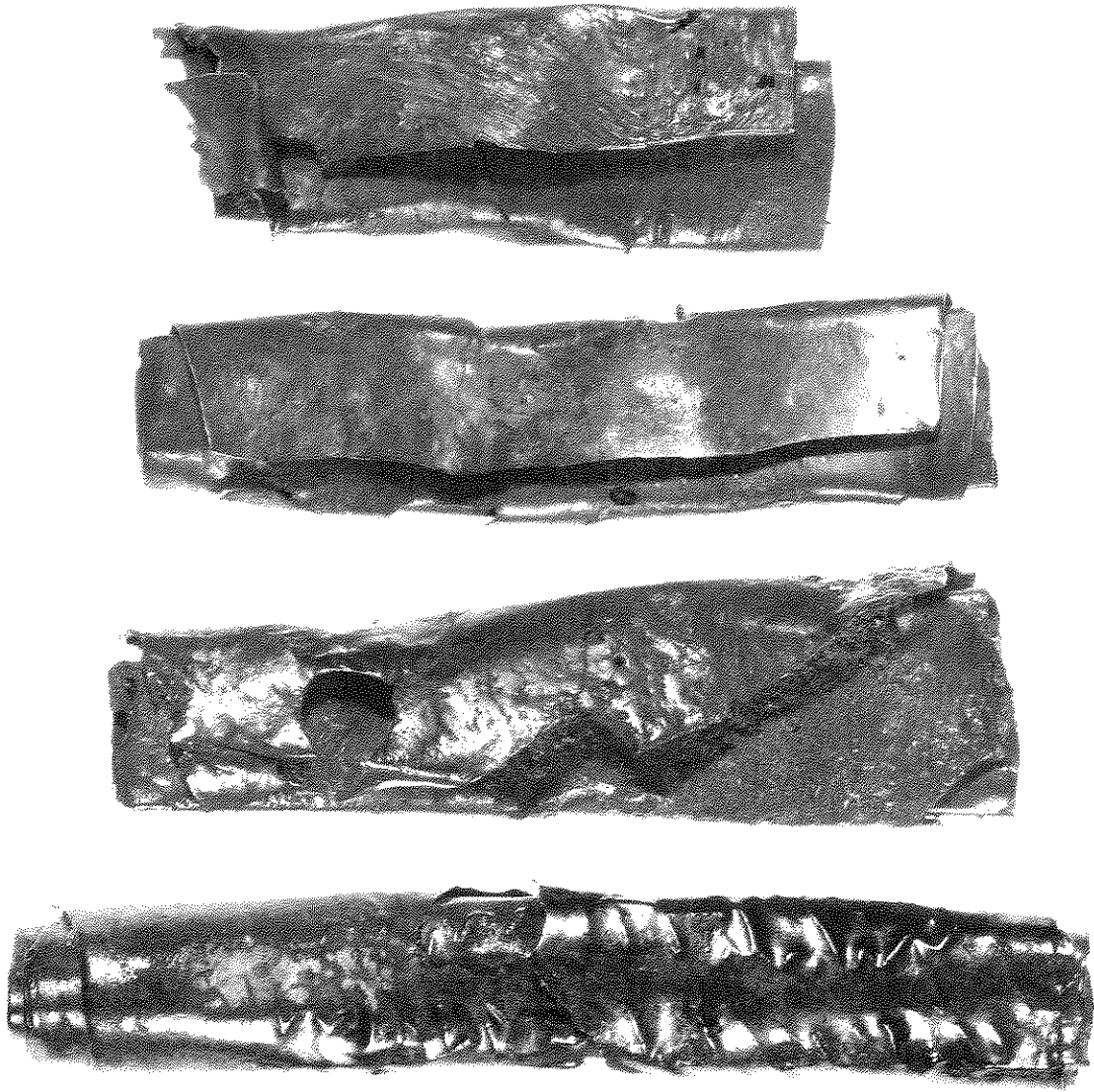


Plate XXI *Four curse tablets as found, before unrolling. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXIIa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 9(a). Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXIIb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 17(b). Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXIIIa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 15. Scale 2:1.*

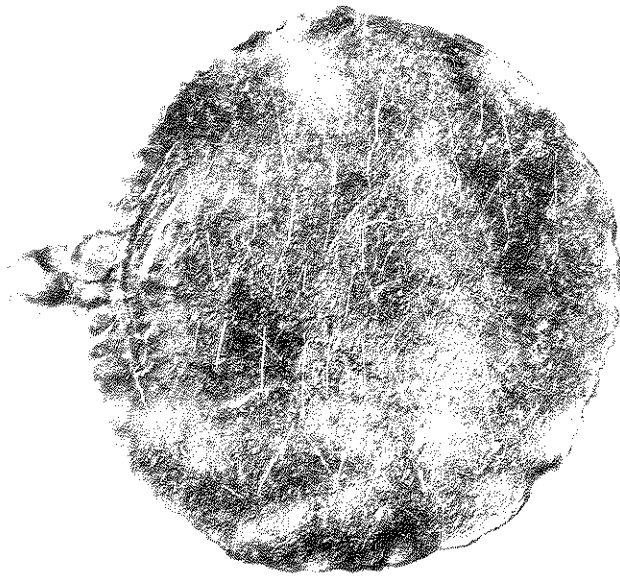


Plate XXIIIb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 18. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXIV *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 30. Scale 1:1.*

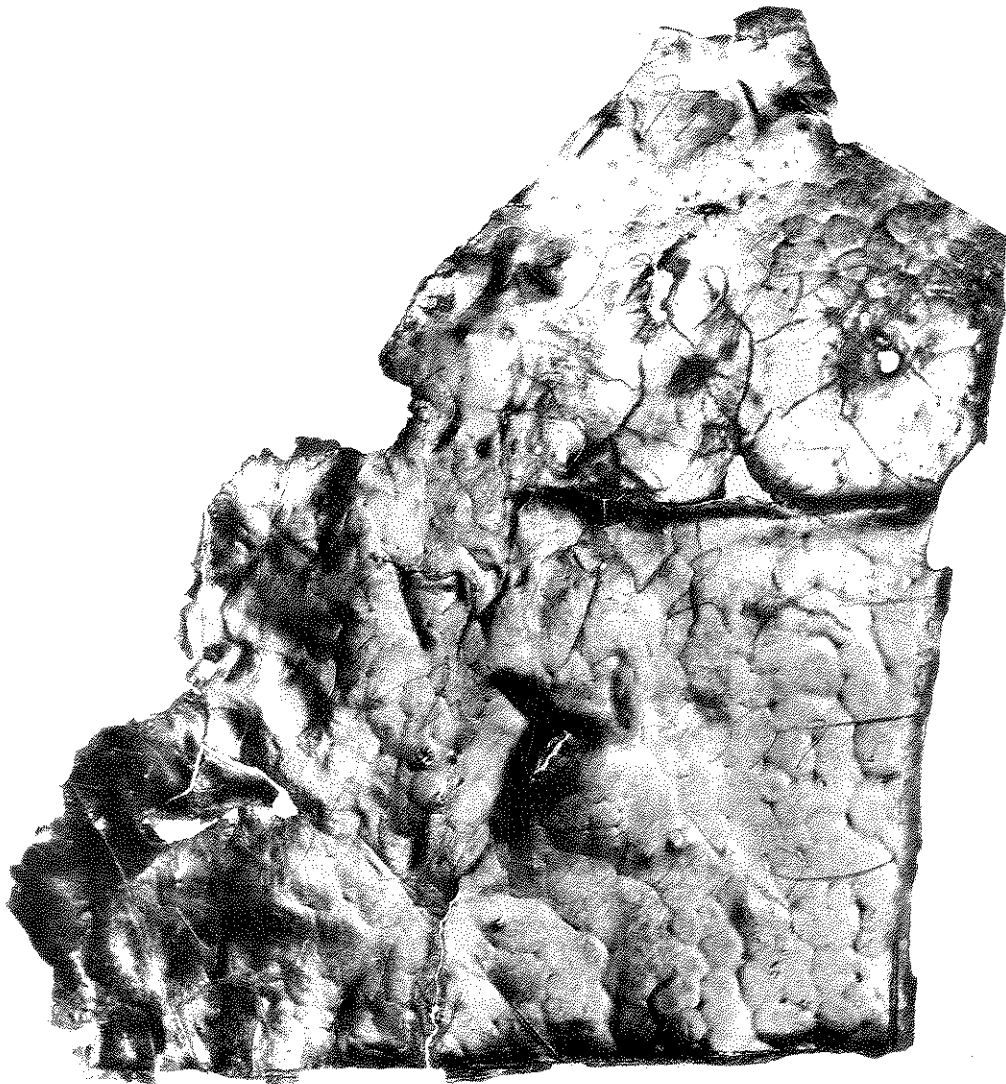


Plate XXVa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 52. Scale 2:1.*

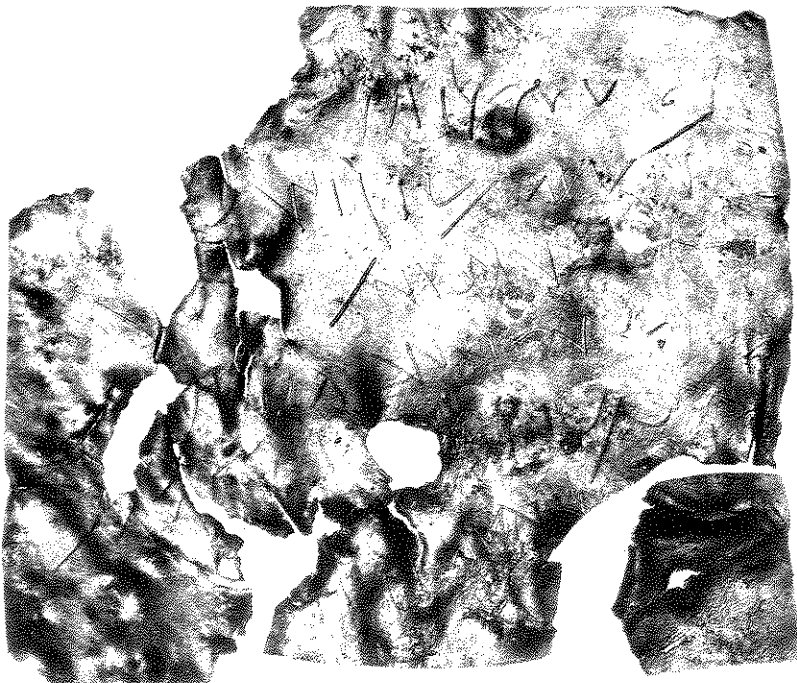


Plate XXVb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 61. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXVIa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 54(b). Scale 1:1.*



Plate XXVIb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 103. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXVIIa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 94. Scale 2:1.*

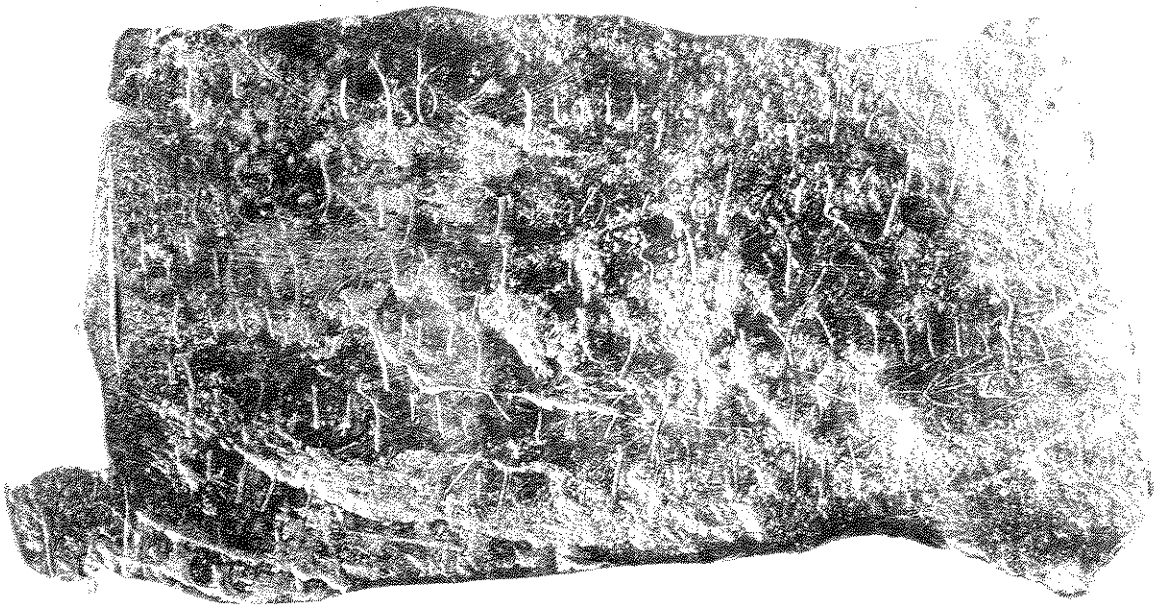


Plate XXVIIb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 99. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXVIIIa *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 96. Scale 2:1.*



Plate XXVIIIb *Curse tablet, Tab. Sulis 113(a). Scale 2:1.*