

“Who is his mother so I can curse him?”: The role of the mother as a passive (dangerous) medium on curse tablets

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ABSTRACT

Curse tablets are artefacts of a very specific nature. They are generally interpreted as material expression of a particular magic action, usually performed by an individual. Such finds are especially interesting for the study because they represent an epigraphic monument, on the one hand, as well as a standard archaeological find with its specific context on the other hand.

A particularly interesting phenomenon is visible on curse tablets throughout the Mediterranean – the presence of mother’s name to identify the victim of the curse. The “boom” of this phenomenon occurs in the 2nd century AD, but there also are much older examples, particularly from the 4th and 3rd century BC. In the 2nd century AD, the identification of the mother spread to Italy and the African provinces, where this kind of targeting became dominant. In my paper, I will focus on the later, Latin and Greek curse tablets in the Roman Empire.

Mothers’ names were assigned to identify a particular person: This is interesting because patronyms were usually used in the Greco-Roman world as the identifier. The purposes of the curse tablets bearing the mother’s name were thus different: the tablets were used in cases of private action in competition, love or trials linked to family affairs – all within a ritual framework. For this reason, this paper aims to observe the curse tablets as an important medium of the ritual practice which should enable us to answer the questions: Why should the name of the father, which is usually used, be replaced by the name of the mother? Could the reason for such replacement be the recognition of the mother as a mediator for targeting her child? Is this the most precise identification, as the mother is more accurately identifiable than the father? What does

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it tell us about the care-giving function of the mother within the family and about the authors of the curse tablets?

KEYWORDS

curse tablets, matrilineal descent, mother

On most curse tablets the name of cursed person is written out. On a few of them, the name of one of the parents is specified to ensure the gods or daemons hurt the right person. In antiquity it was quite common to use patronyms on inscriptions, especially before the 2nd century AD. The exceptions are Etruscan monuments, which show that using the matronym was quite common in Etruria, as, for example CIE 714 and 715.¹ From the 5th century BC to the 5th century AD, throughout the Mediterranean, the mother’s name was often used to depict a specific person on a curse tablet.

My research focusses on quantitative trends in the use of matrilineal names in the hope that they will help understand the phenomenon. But I acknowledge that this phenomenon also recurs in other milieux of magical practices such as magical gems and amulets and therefore their study could expand our understanding.

It is usually supposed that matrilineal descent began to be used in the 2nd century AD,² but we have much older examples from Greece, on Greek *katadesmoi* dating back to the 5th century BC. There are four tablets bearing the mother’s name written in Greek from the 5th century BC. Three of them were found on Euboea (Styra) and one comes from Sicily (Kamarina). In the Roman empire, the mother’s name starts to predominate from the 2nd century AD onwards. This is also true for Greek and Latin tablets.

One hundred and fifteen Latin and Greek curse tablets containing a mother’s name in total have been collected. Thirty-eight of these tablets (1/3 of them), are written in Latin. Seventy-seven curses are written in Greek.³

Language	Amount	Sites/Towns	Total number of CT (in <i>TheDeMa</i>)
Latin	38	16/13	494 (7.7%)
Greek	77	30/29	1207 (6.4%)

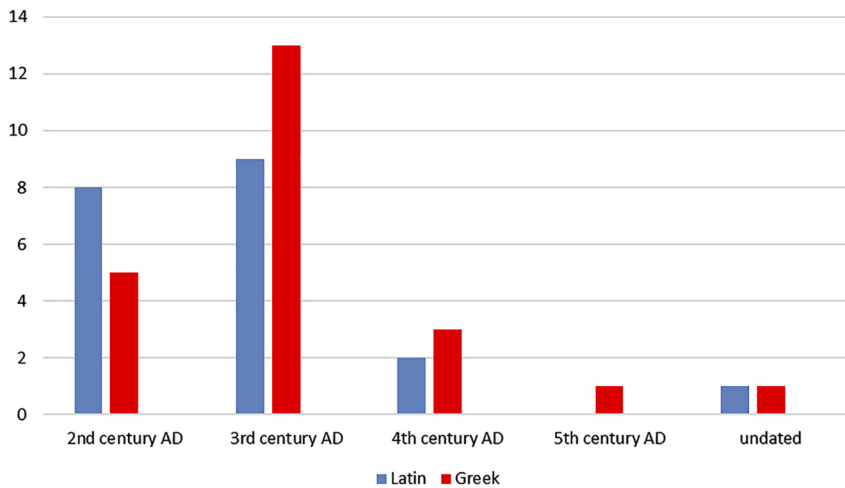
The oldest Latin curses bearing the name of the mother are dated to the 1st century BC. Three of them are from Italy: Rome, Nomentum and Ostia. The tablet from Rome comes from nearby Porta Salaria. Every one of them has a different formula. The Roman tablet bears a

¹ŠMIEJOVÁ-KELLOVÁ, M.: Magical Use of Mother ‘s Name. Humans, Goddesses and Curse Tablets. In PEDRUCCI, G. – PASCHE GUINARD, F. – SCAPINI, M. (eds): *Maternità e politeismi. Motherhood(s) and polytheisms* [Collana di antropologia delle religioni 4]. Bologna 2017, 303–308; here 303.

²GAGER, J.: *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. New York 1999, 14.

³*Thesaurus Defixionum Magdeburgensis* should be defined as the primary source.





Graph 1. Chronological chart of curse tablets from African sites (Michaela Kellová)

request to *Bona pulchra Proserpina*,⁴ the one from Nomentum⁵ lists the parts of the body which should be cursed, the Ostian curse⁶ is a list of names.

In the 2nd century AD, the use of the mother's name increases. From the 2nd century AD seven firmly dated examples have been counted from Hadrumetum, Carthage, one from Arezzo and one from Lilybaion (Sicily). From that time onwards we observe increasing numbers of tablets found outside Italy (or Greece), especially in Africa (see [Graph 1](#)), where it was quite popular to use the matrilineal descent. As is clearly visible, the mother's name was mentioned increasingly in the 2nd and 3rd century AD, and in the 4th century the trend decreases. From the 6th century onwards, there are no matrilineal descents on curse tablets.⁷ In Italy, the situation varies a little bit. There is a peak of the use of matrilineal descent on Latin *defixiones* in the 2nd century AD, and from the 3rd century AD, this is stable until the 5th century. On Greek tablets from Italy, the peak is in the 4th century because of the high number of the tablets with matrilineal descent from Porta San Sebastiano.

The mother's name on Latin curse tablets does not recur in every province. There are three examples from Britannia: Uley, Bath and Silchester, dated between the 2nd and 4th century. From Gallia, Trier has two examples (4/5th century), in Germania, Mainz (ancient Mogontiacum) has one example (1/2nd century). More sites are represented in Italy and Sicily: Rome (1st century BC to 5th century AD), Arezzo (2nd AD), Nomentum (1st BC), Ostia (1st BC) and Lilybaion (2nd AD), so that, in total, we have eleven examples in Italy. The use of matrilineal

⁴KROPP, A.: *Defixiones : dfx; ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*. Speyer 2008, n. 1.4.4/8.

⁵DT 135.

⁶WEISS, P.: Eine *tabella defixionis*, die spanischen Vibii Paciaeci und Crassus. *Chiron* 46 (2016) 223–263.

⁷There are two Greek tablets dated between the 4th and 6th century AD.



descent was quite popular in North African sites: Carthage has eleven tablets (from 2nd AD to 4th century), Hadrumetum has nine tablets (2nd–3rd century AD) and there is one example from Constantina (4th century AD).

For the Greek curses, the situation is somewhat different. The curses are found primarily on the West coast of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt. The most numerous sites are Athens, with twelve tablets, sixteen tablets from Rome, and six were discovered in Oxyrhynchus.

DEPOSITION OF CURSE TABLETS WITH MATRILINEAL DESCENT

The most common place for depositing curse tablets is the grave. One-half of the total of both Latin and Greek tablets have been bearing the name of mother are from necropolises from the 5th century BC on.⁸ A large number of these tablets was found in Rome. Totally, there are twenty-three curse tablets naming mother in both Greek and Latin from Rome. The exact number of Latin curses is seven.

On Via Appia next to Porta San Sebastiano a total of fifty-six curse tablets in Latin and Greek was found (DT 140–187). Forty-eight of them can be read. Only five of these tablets were inscribed in Latin, the rest in Greek.⁹ Two of them named the mother of the cursed one. Among the Greek tablets from San Sebastiano gate, at least three also bore matrilineal descent. These are dated to the end of the 4th century AD, and are deposited in graves. Along with the text, there were pictured symbols and illustrations,¹⁰ especially of oriental gods. These tablets are exceptional also in their manner of writing. An example is the tablet DT 155. There is an illustration of Osiris in a sarcophagus, Seth-Typhon with a horse's head, and below the picture of the cursed person who, according to the text, is the jockey, who is bound around the whole body and surrounded by two snakes. The text is inscribed in different ways. "Every other line of the tablet is written upside down and backward – that is, the tablet was simply turned top to bottom at every line as it was inscribed; here it probably manifests a deliberate attempt, through symbolic action, to "twist and turn" the intended target."¹¹ The curse was written against a charioteer. Alongside the text there are magical symbols.

Water sources are a very common location for *defixiones*. For Latin curses, we notice especially the fountain of Anna Perenna in Rome. Two tablets bearing the name of the mother were found under Piazza Euclide where the fountain was discovered and excavated during the building of an underground garage in 1999. The site is studied, especially because of magical practices which were performed here in late antiquity. Among the finds there were about twenty-four curse tablets, some of them found in six terracotta lamps and containers, with so-called voodoo dolls inside.¹² The fountain consists of two parts – a basin and a cistern around

⁸The high number is caused by the finds from Porta San Sebastiano.

⁹GAGER (n. 2) 67.

¹⁰GAGER (n. 2) 67–70.

¹¹GAGER (n. 2) 67.

¹²PIRANOMONTE, M.: The Discovery of the Fountain of Anna Perenna and Its Influence on the Study of Ancient Magic. In BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, G. – ROCCATI, A. – ŚWIERZOWSKA, A. (eds): *The Wisdom of Thoth: Magical Texts in Ancient Mediterranean Civilisations*. Oxford 2015, 71–85, here 82.



the spring¹³ “[...] the spring was used even before the Republican period (ceramic evidence), and continued to be used until the 5th century AD”.¹⁴ The reservoir near this spring was undoubtedly used for magical practices not only for placing *defixiones*, but also objects of a cult were discovered such as pine cones or egg shells.¹⁵

The first tablet found here with matrilineal descent was one of those found in a lamp; it consists of three pieces. The cursed person is Victor, to whom Privata gave birth. The second tablet is round, and the mother’s name is Equitia. Both are written in Latin. The first one uses the form of *quem peperit* and the second one uses *qui natus est*. The reason why they were written, is not known.

For the Greek tablets, the main site is the Athenian Agora, where eleven *katadesmoi* were found in water. In Athens, more than hundred curses were found, especially in the numerous wells (8) on the Agora and in a cistern. A total of twelve tablets naming the mother of the cursed person were found. One of these, *IL* 950 was discovered in Well V. It is dated between the second half of the 1st century AD to the first half of the 3rd century AD. Jordan supposes that this tablet should be dated to the first half of the 3rd century.¹⁶ This tablet’s curse is aimed against the wrestler Eutychianus. Against him two other curses were made – *IL* 960 and *IL* 957 – which were discovered in the same well. Demons such as *Betpyt*, were invoked here. These Greek spells were influenced by the form and demons of Oriental spells.

Another important, possible place of deposition of Latin curses was in temples and shrines. Out of seventy-seven Greek tablets with mother’s name, none is from a temple. However, there are three tablets written in Latin and coming from temples, two of which were found in Britain (Uley and Bath) and one in Germania (Mainz – from the sanctuary of Isis and Magna Mater).

DOES THE PURPOSE OF THE CURSE TABLETS CHANGE WHEN A MOTHER’S NAME IS USED?

Matrilineal descent was used for all possible purposes to make curse tablet: love, agonistic, business, or judicial curses, as well as lists of names and prayers for justice. However, the most of those tablets (thirty-three) were made because of a rivalry in love. All Latin love curses come from Africa, especially from Hadrumetum and all the tablets from Hadrumetum come from a necropolis. Nine Latin and four Greek tablets naming mothers of the cursed ones were found. The whole number of curses from this site is not insignificant (38?). A total of thirteen tablets, comprising 1/3 of them, name the mother. On one of these, DT 271, we know the name of the

¹³PIRANOMONTE, M.: Religion and Magic at Rome: The Fountain of Anna Perenna. In GORDON, R. L. – SIMÓN, F. M. (eds.): *Magical Practice in the Latin West: papers from the international conference held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept.-1 Oct. 2005*. Leiden–Boston 2010, 191–214, here 191.

¹⁴BLÄNSDORF, J.: The Texts from the *Fons Annae Perennae*. In GORDON–SIMÓN (n. 13) 215–244, here 215.

¹⁵PIRANOMONTE: The Discovery (n. 12) 75.

¹⁶JORDAN, D.R.: Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia* 54 (1998) 198–254, here 214.



cursing person: her name is Domitiana. Most of the *defixiones* are anonymous, except for those which are prayers for justice. Erotic (love) tablets, while they contain love spells,¹⁷ may also contain the name of the writer. Love spells in *PGM*¹⁸ also demand the name of the mother. On this tablet, Domitiana demands that the cursed man – Urbanus – marry her. Gager supposes that named persons were freedman and freedwoman. This explains the mother's name in a curse, as usually the slaves were indicated by the name of their mother. The text says:

“I invoke you daimonion spirit who lie here, by the holy name AÔTH ABAÔTH, the god of Abraham and *IAÔ, the god of Jacob, IAÔ AÔTH ABAÔTH, god of Israma, hear the honoured, dreadful and great name, go away to Urbanus, to whom Urbana gave birth, and bring him to Domitiana, to whom Candida gave birth. . .”¹⁹

The dead man, in whose grave the tablet was discovered, should have been the mediator of the curse. We notice in this text the inspiration by the Septuagint and other Greco-Jewish texts.²⁰ “Marked with a mixture of Greek and Latin found in the tablets from this city (Hadrumetum), the text also reveals a not atypical admixture of traditional magical spells along with elements from Greco-Jewish holy text emanating from an Alexandrian milieu.”²¹

Greek love curses are spread throughout the whole Mediterranean and thus, no local tradition should be mentioned. In this way the matrilineal descent was used even in *PGM* with such a formula: “Attract to me her, NN, whose mother is NN.”²²

Even though in *PGM* the name of the mother is demanded mostly for love spells, in the curses it was used also for other purposes. One such use was to make curse tablets against charioteers and competitors in sports. One third of all curse tablets mentioning the mothers pertains to this kind of rivalry. Most of them were found in Rome: fourteen tablets out of a total of sixteen which mention matrilineal descent were written in the Greek language. For Latin tablets, the only site where the charioteers are cursed is Carthage. The name of the mother is found on eleven Latin and two Greek tablets from Carthage. Eight tablets from whole number of thirteen from this Punic city were agonistic. The purpose of making the curse differs according to the place of the discovery. Tablets from the amphitheatre are agonistic. There is one love spell (Greek) and one judicial *defixio* (Latin) from graves. One tablet was found in an Odeon (Latin) and it is a prayer for justice.²³

Other purposes also recur: there are simple lists of names, business issues concerning curses, judicial curses and so-called prayers for justice dealing with crimes.

¹⁷MASTROCINQUE, A.: Acanto e spade nella magia amorosa. *MHNH* 14 (2014) 25–38.

¹⁸*PGM* is an abbreviation for *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (Greek Magical Papyri), the corpus of magical spells found from Graeco-Roman Egypt. Published by BETZ, H. D ET AL.: *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. 2 vols. Chicago 1986–1992.

¹⁹GAGER (n. 2) 113.

²⁰GAGER (n. 2) 112.

²¹SHAW, B. D.: Cult and Belief in Punic and Roman Africa. In ADLER, W. (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Religions in the Ancient World. Vol. II: From the Hellenistic Age to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge 2013, 255.

²²*PGM* VII 467–477; *PGM* IV 1390–1495. In translation by H. D. Betz. Also see *PGM* IV 1457–1458.

²³KROPP (n. 4) n. 11.1.1/34.



FORMULATIONS

There are several ways to assign a “child” to its mother in Latin on these curse tablets: *quem/quos peperit NN* (16 tablets), *filius NN* (4), *qui natus/nata est, que nascitor di matre* or simply by the name of the mother in genitive. Most of the sixteen tablets bearing *quem peperit NN* are mainly from two sites²⁴ – Hadrumetum and Carthage – and the targets are either love rivals or horse race competitors. The other forms are used on these sites as well, so it is not possible to conclude that those tablets had just one original pattern.

Some of the tablets²⁵ did not have the exact name of the mother mentioned. Still, the author used variations of the verb “to give birth” with mother’s name substituted by *vulva*. In this way, the reason to mention a mother is not to precisely identify the target. The possible explanation could be to fulfil the spell receipt, like those in PGM mentioned above, even if the mother is not known by the author of the tablet. There are two examples of such substitution from Hadrumetum and one from Konstantina. On the other hand, on the tablet from the fountain of Anna Perenna²⁶ the unnamed mother is meant to be abused: . . .(*Sura*), *qui nat(us) maledicta modo est de vulva*. . .²⁷

WHY THE NAME OF THE MOTHER WAS USED

But why should the name of the father, which is usually used, be replaced by the name of the mother? The questions cannot be answered without hesitation. Possible solutions are offered by Gager:²⁸

1. Precise identification.
2. The influence from Babylonia or Egypt and their early spells.
3. “The practice was taken over from the world of slaves, who were regularly identified by matrilineal descent.”
4. On some Jewish and Christian monuments in Egypt the deceased were identified by the name of the mother.

These solutions do not mention the legal side of giving names to children, although it could help us to understand the phenomenon, too. “It is common knowledge that in the normal situation Roman children born of a legal marital union (i.e., when there was *conubium*) were the legal heirs and offspring of their father and would therefore inherit his rank, status, property, and, importantly, his name. If, however, children were born in a non-marital union, i.e., when there was no right of marriage, they would enter their mother’s status, and incidentally take her

²⁴All 16 tablets were located on four sites: Hadrumetum, Carthage, Rome and Trier.

²⁵DT 264, DT 265, DT 300 and nr. 7 in BLÄNSDORF (n. 14).

²⁶Nr. 7 in BLÄNSDORF (n. 14).

²⁷BLÄNSDORF (n. 14) 224.

²⁸GAGER (n. 2) 14.



name (or rather that of her father or patron).²⁹ However, there were other reasons, non-legal, to use mother's name, such as the high status of the mother's family. Also, there are inscriptions (*CIL* XIII 1910; *CSIR-D* 1.1. 26) where siblings got their names from both their parents.³⁰ This practice can be observed on one of the Hadrumetum tablets: DT 263. On this tablet the cursed men were called Laelianus and Saturninus. Both were sons of Aquilia Saturnina. The tablet is in fact just list of these names. The form of *quos peperit* was used to describe Aquilia Saturnina as their mother. Thus, the reason to introduce the mother's name could be the legal status of the cursed brothers.

In my opinion, there is no universal answer for all the curse tablets and every tablet or, at least, for every single site, must be studied separately. For example, the tablet DT 141 from Porta San Sebastiano (Rome) aims at a freedwoman. Thus, I suppose that no other possibility should be concerned but the identification by the matrilineal naming of slaves in this exact case. This identification cannot be applied on DT 129 from Arezzo, where the cursed person was probably the citizen Quintus Letinius Lupus. Most of the named mothers are called just by one name, as Privata,³¹ Ponponia,³² or Agnella.³³ There are, however, a few examples of both *nomen* and *cognomen*, such as Aquilia Saturnina³⁴ or Sallustia Veneria on DT 129.

The reason for the replacement of patrilineal with matrilineal descent could be, especially concerning love spells, the recognition of the mother as a means of targeting her child. The most precise identification is needed, especially in judicial tablets. Since the mother is more accurately identifiable than the father, this could really be one reason for the use of matrilineal descent. In this way, the text of the tablet DT 25 might be helpful:

“Daimones under the earth and daimones whoever you
may be; fathers of fathers and mothers (who are a)
match (for men), whether male or female. . .”³⁵

On this tablet, two men (out of three) are “matched” with their mothers.³⁶ All three cursed persons were, according to the text, opponents of the author.

A possible problem in the case of the same name for mother and daughter could have been solved by the mentioning the mother's name as well. Two Latin tablets, where this is done, should be mentioned: DT 268 from Hadrumetum, DT 141 from Rome, and *dfx* 11.1.1/34 from Carthage.³⁷ On both tablets there is a girl's name identical to that of her mother. For this reason, there probably should be a distinction between those two women, especially regarding

²⁹NUORLUOTO, T.: Emphasising matrilineal ancestry in a patrilineal system: Maternal name preference in the Roman world. In NOWAK, M. – ŁAJTAR, A. – URBANIK, J. (eds): *Tell Me Who You Are: Labelling Status in the Graeco-Roman World*. Truekaw, Poland 2017, 257–289, here 258.

³⁰NUORLUOTO (n. 29) 275–277.

³¹Fountain of Anna Perenna, Rome. BLÄNSDORF (n. 14) 215–244, n. 6.

³²Amphiteatre in Carthage. DT 252.

³³Rome (unspecified). KROPP (n. 4) n. 1.4.4/13.

³⁴The *defixio* from Hadrumetum (819 in *TheDeMa*) SGD 24.

³⁵Original in Greek. Translation published by GAGER (n. 2).

³⁶The third man was identified by his status of the governor.

³⁷KROPP (n. 4).



dfx 11.1.1/34,³⁸ where a total of thirteen cursed persons are named, and *Rupilia* is the only one with matrilineal descent. The name of the mother is in the genitive: *Rupilia Rupiliae*.

For the most part, the tablets are quite long and well-prepared. In several examples (e.g. DT 135, DT 270) the number of lines exceeds fifteen. The name of the mother should have had its purpose in the composition of those texts as it was repeated (DT 270).

CONCLUSION

There is no adequate reason for using a mother's name in these spells. For the love spells, which are mainly from Africa, there are spell-instructions in *PGM*, where the name of the mother is used. The mother's name, or at least phrases indicating the original use of it, could be found in all love spells from Hadrumetum. However, is not the exact rule elsewhere (e.g. Egyptian love curse *SGD161*³⁹) to mention mother on a love spell. Love spells therefore are not the real reason for using matrilineal descent, since the name of the mother was used on other types of curses as well.

Most of the tablets with the mother's name seems to refer to slaves or freedmen or freedwomen. This raises an interesting point about these last-mentioned persons: when a man was freed, then he became a citizen who had a patron, namely, the former slaveowner of the freedman. The patron could be also woman. (This situation is almost the same in Greece and Rome). Roman patrons gave a new citizen his or her new name, and this was mentioned in freed person's nomenclature. This idea of obtaining the patron's name, however, would fit just a few of these tablets, as the forms of the allusion to the mother by the verb *pariō* (*peperit*), which means to give birth, would not fit this concept. The only tablets where we can assume that the patron's name could have been used are those where the "mother" is mentioned in the genitive case. Although might be possible, there is no evidence of substitution patron's name in the tablets from Greece and Rome.

The high percentage of curse tablets found in North Africa indicates matrilineal descent, however. They appear in the 2nd century AD for the first time. Here we can speculate about the older regional magic tradition as the origin of this trend, since the name of the mother there was crucial. "Its (North African) distinctive rituals and beliefs were fundamentally different from the styles and patterns found elsewhere in the empire."⁴⁰ The tablets were probably made by professionals⁴¹ who could have required the name of the mother for such spells.

APPENDIX

- a. DT 129, Arezzo, Latin, 2nd century AD: The name of the cursed man was Quintus Letinius Lupus, son of Sallustia Veneria or Veneriosa. Nymphs are asked to destroy the cursed person. The reason is not known.

³⁸KROPP (n. 4).

³⁹JORDAN, D. R.: A Survey in Greek Defixiones not Included in the Special Corpora. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 26.2 (1985) 151–252.

⁴⁰SHAW (n. 21) 237.

⁴¹SHAW (n. 21) 255.



- b. DT 135, Nomentum, Latin, 1st century AD. Two persons are cursed on this tablet, both are children of servants. Parts of their bodies are listed to be bound, as well as the business and health of one of them (the man). The curse is written on both sides of the sheet, one person for each side.
- c. DT 141, Rome, Latin, 4th century AD: This curse was discovered under Porta San Sebastiano. Two cursed persons are named. Only one has a descent: Auricincta, daughter of Auricincta. She was freedwoman. One additional name (father) is also mentioned.
- d. DT 155, Rome, Greek, 4th century AD: This agonistic curse was discovered under Porta San Sebastiano. Both sides are covered by text, with a total of eighty-six lines and drawings. The cursed man's name is Kardelos, son of Pholgentia. Death is demanded for him. The text repeats.
- e. Anna Perenna 6, Rome, Latin, late 4th century AD: Consists of three pieces, found in lamp. The pieces have "text" on both sides, which consist only of characters without further meaning on reverses. The cursed person's name is Victor, son of Privata. Texts on obverses are almost the same on two of three pieces.
- f. Anna Perenna 7, Rome, Latin, 4th century: A lead sheet with a drawing. The name of the cursed is Sura the judge. No concrete name is mentioned but the invective "from a cursed womb". Demons are demanded to remove the eyes of the cursed person. The name is repeated.
- g. DT 268, Hadrumetum, Latin, 3rd century AD: This is a love curse. The cursed girl is called Bonosa, daughter of Bonosa. Persephone is asked to take the girl away from her parents.
- h. DT 270, Hadrumetum, Latin, 2nd century AD: The cursed persons are called Sextillius, son of Dionysia, and Septima, daughter of Amoena. Names are repeated. It is a love spell.
- i. DT 263, Hadrumetum, Latin, 3rd century AD: This tablet consists just of the names of two cursed brothers with a matronym: *Laelianus, Saturninus quos peperit Aquilia Saturnina*.
- j. IL 950, Athens, Greek, 3rd century AD: The curse against the wrestler Eutyichianus, son of Eutychia. The author demands that this competitor should be chilled by Betpyt and other demons before (or during) the contest on Friday. The names and the curse are repeated.

