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A LATIN *DEFIXIO* (SISAK, CROATIA) TO THE RIVER GOD
SAVUS MENTIONING L. LICINIUS SURA, HISPANUS*

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Original scientific paper

This paper focuses on the analysis of a judicial defixio (AIJ557) found in 1912 in the River Kupa, a tributary of the Save, near Sisak (Siscia, Pannonia Superior), that invokes the river god Savus, as well as the ancient Latin goddess Tacita Muta. Among the targets, some of whom are specially stated to come from the western Mediterranean, we pay special attention to Lucius Licinius Sura, Hispanus. We also investigate the religious horizon implicit in the ritual offering, as well as the social and historical context of the information.

Keywords: Judicial defixio, Siscia, Pannonia Superior, Savus, Colapis, Tacita Muta, L. Licinius Sura.

Ključne riječi: pravna defixio, Siscia, Pannonia Superior, Savus, Colapis, Tacita Muta, L. Licinius Sura.

Among the finds made in 1912¹ in the River Kupa (ant. *Colapis*; Greek Κόλοψ –*Kolops* – Dio Cass.), a tributary of the Save, near the present-day Croatian town of Sisak (ancient *Siscia* in the Roman province of *Pannonia Superior*), there was an interesting Latin *defixio* that was deposited a

1 In fact, the *tabula* was found by a workman in the first half of 1913 in the rubble, brought to the banks of the Kupa during the extensive 1912 dredging (BRUNŠMID 1915–1919: 176).

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short time afterwards in the Zagreb Museum, where it is currently held (inv. no. A-18001). The interest of its content and the relative lack of knowledge about it to date, together with the Hispanic connections implicit in the text, have led us to write this paper.

1. The *defixio* is made of lead, as is usual, and is inscribed on both sides; it was initially brought to light by J. Brunšmid (1915–1919), whose reading is included in *AE* 1921, and was the subject of a publication by P. Guberina (1936–37). The *defixio* was also included in the epigraphic corpus of the *Pannonia Superior* (*AIJ*, 255–257), a fact apparently unknown to E. Vetter (1960: 127), who wrote about the inscription in two articles published in 1958 and 1960, the latter based on a photo sent to him by Hoffiller². Since then it has gone almost unnoticed and, as far as we know, no detailed study of it has been made, although it has appeared in references³.

The object is 13.8 cm high and 9.8 cm wide (*AIJ* 1970: 256), and less than half a millimetre thick. It was folded several times, first in half and then again inside.

It was in considerably better condition when it was found than it is now; although it has been recently restored. The fact that it is barely legible today led us to give up trying to carry out an autopsy on it; instead, we based our study on the replicas made from the photograph supplied by Ante Rendić-Miočević, which we contrasted with the sketch and the picture given by Hoffiller and Saria (*AIJ* 1970).

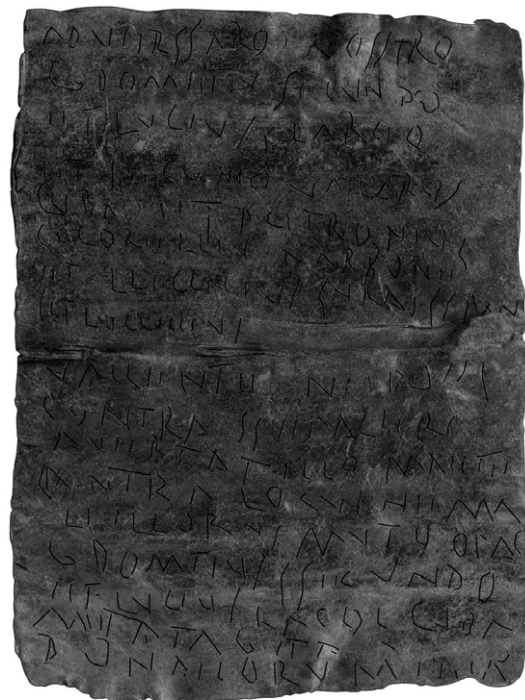
I. Interior, with a break between lines 8 and 9 (fig. 1):

ADVERSSARO.NOSSTRO
 G. DOMETIV SECUNDO
 ET. LVCIVS. LARCIO
 ET SECVNDO VACARVS
 5 CVBA. ET. P CITRONIVS
 CICORELLIV. NARBONE
 ET. L LICINIVS SVRA ISSPAN
 ET LVCCILLIVS
 VALLENTE. NE POSSI
 10 CVNTRA SSE FACERI
 AVERTAT. ILLO AMAETE
 CANTRA LOCVI NE MA
 LI ILLORVS MVTV. OFAC
 G DOMTIVS SSECVNDO
 15 ET. LVCIVS LACO L CVBA
 MVTA TAGITA [—
 [B?]ONA ILORVM [—

2 The authors would like to express their deepest gratitude to the director of the Zagreb Museum, Ante Rendić-Miočević, for the help given in the study of this piece. They would also like to thank Marjeta Šašel Kos, who sent to one of them (FMS) the articles by E. Vetter. The observations of Richard Gordon, J. Javier Iso Echegoyen and

Francisco Beltrán Lloris also contributed to improving the text, although any possible remaining errors are the exclusive responsibility of the authors.

3 BÖMER 1963: 130; *ILJ*, 6, with a reading of Pflaum; SOLIN 1968: 24; BARTOLETTI 1990: 34; *EDH*, HD027805; KROPP 2008 a, dff 8.1/1; Ead. 2008 b, 336)



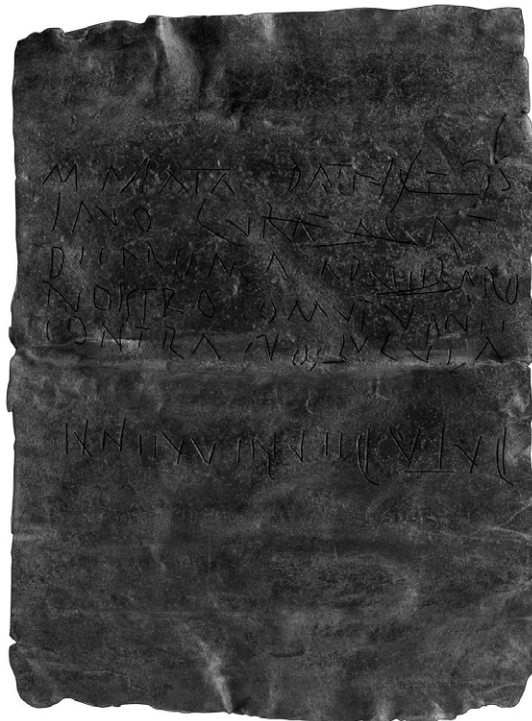
ADVISSARIO . NOSTRO
 GDOMITIV SILVINO
 ITLVCIU / LARCIQ
 IT IICUNCO JALORV
 GBA . IT IICITRONIVS
 CILORILLIV . NARRONII
 IT . LILCINI / (HRA) / (AN)
 ITLVIIIIIV /
 VALIINTU . NIIPV /
 CONTRA SIIIALIV
 AVIRTA TILLO NNIITI
 ANTR A LO CIV NIIMM
 LILLORV / NVTU . ORAS
 GDOMTIV / (SIC) VNO
 ITLVCIU / (SIC) VNO
 MITATA GITE
 DJNAILORV NIIVIV

Fig. 1. The Sisak *defixio*. Face 1 (photo: Archaeological Museum of Zagreb; sketch: Mari Cruz Sopena Vicién).

Sl. 1. Sisačka *defixio*. Strana 1 (foto: Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu; crtež: Mari Cruz Sopena Vicién).

II. Exterior (fig. 2):

DATA DEPREMENTI
 MADATA DATA ISTOS
 SAVO CVRA AGAT
 DEPREMA ADVERARO
 NOSSTRO OMVTVA NE
 CONTRA NOS LVCVIA



M MATA DATA DEPREMENTI
 IAVO CVRA AGAT
 DEPREMA ADVERARO
 NOSSTRO OMVTVA NE
 CONTRA NOS LVCVIA

IAVO CVRA AGAT
 DEPREMA ADVERARO
 NOSSTRO OMVTVA NE
 CONTRA NOS LVCVIA

Fig. 2. The Sisak *defixio*. Face 2 (photo: Archaeological Museum of Zagreb; sketch: Mari Cruz Sopena Vicién).

Sl. 2. Sisačka *defixio*. Strana 2 (foto: Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu; crtež: Mari Cruz Sopena Vicién).

Transcription:

I. Interior:

- Advers {s}ar(i)o(s). nos{s}tro(s)*
G(aius). Dom{e}<i>tiu(s) Secund{o}<us>
et. Lucius. Larci{o}<us>
et Secund{o}<us> Vacarus
- 5 *Cyba(lenses). et. P(ublius) Citronius*
Cicorelliu(s). Narbone(nsis)
et. L(ucius) Lic{c}<i>nius Sura <H>is{s}pan(us)
et Luc{c}il {l}ius
Val{l}en{te}<s>. ne possi(nt)
- 10 *{u}<o>ntra s{s}e faceri*
avertat. illo(s) am{a}<n>te(s)
c{a}<o>ntra locui ne ma-
li illor u{s}<m> mutu<m>. o(s) fac(iat)(?)
G(aius) Dom<i>tius S{s}ecund{o}<us>
- 15 *et. Lucius La(r)c(i)o L(ucii filius) Cyba(lenses)*
Muta Tagita [—
[b?]ona illorum [—

II. Exterior:

- Data depr{e}<i>menti*
ma(n)data data istos
Savo <ut> cura(m) agat
depr{e}<i>ma(t) adver(s)ar(i)o(s)
- 5 *no{s}stro(s) omutua(t) ne*
contra nos lucuia(nt)

I -3 *Lartio*, Brunšmid.- 4 *et. Secunduis Carus*, Brunšmid; *et. Secuno. Vacarus*, Guberina; *S. Sign()* *Nova*, Vetter.- 5 *Giba*, Vetter.- 7 *Liconium*, Brunšmid; *Saurus*, Veter.- 8 *Licilidius*, Vetter.- 10 *contra, me faceere*, Brunšmid; *issti faceri*, Vetter: *contra eum(?) agere<e=I>(?)*, Kropp.- 11 *illos. maete*, Brunšmid; *illo.maliti*, Guberina; *illo.magice*, Vetter.- 12 *contra*, Brunšmid.- 13 *ci.illoru*, Brunšmid; *gi.illorus*, Vetter; *mutu*, Brunšmid.- 14 *C Domtium Secundo*, Brunšmid.- 15 *Cricol Ciba*, Brunšmid.- 16 *faciat agat ut volon/ta*, Vetter; *faciat agat ut vol<u=O>n/ta/s* Kropp- 17: *tu f(ac) l(abia) n(a)e loru pruteas (=protegas)*, Brunšmid; *S Lar nae loru favela*, Guberina; *limbna, pavis-cant*, Vetter; *li<ngu=MBN>a <il>lor<m>(!)pav<e=I>sca<t>(?)*, Kropp.

II – 1 *dabis*, Vetter; *detrementi*, Brunšmid, allowed by García Ruiz (1967, 238) and interpreted as the genitive singular (=detrimenti) meaning »evil remittances«.- 2 *dat is*, Brunšmid, Kropp- 4 *de me ma*, Brunšmid, Guberina.- 5 *noistro*, Brunšmid and Guberina; *o(s) mutus*, Brunšmid; *au(t)*, Vetter; – 6 *cantra*, Guberina; *lucui a/ud(eat)*, Brunšmid. – 7 *age[re] isti*, Vetter.

Translation: »(Against) our adversaries, G. Domitius Secundus and L. Larcius and Secundus Vacarus, from Cibalae, and P. Citronius Cicorellius, from Narbo, and L. Licinius Sura, from His-

pania, and Lucilius Valens. That they cannot act against (us); that (the deity) distance them and not allow them to speak badly (of us), and that he silence them. G. Domitius Secundus and Lucius Larcus, from Cibalae, Muta Tacita... of them... (Names) given, sent, these given to the god Save that sinks, so that he can take care of our adversaries, defeat them, silence them and that they (cannot) testify against us«.

The intrinsic difficulty in dating curse tablets, when faced with a lack of a clear archaeological context (JEANNERET 1916: 234–235), often increases when, as in our case, it was not possible to carry out an autopsy (from which, as we mentioned above, it would have been difficult to obtain any results, due to the poor condition of the piece). Whereas Vetter (1960: 132) believes the *defixio* probably dates from the time of Hadrian, in the period between the enactment of the colonial statute of the town in 118 and the Marcoman wars that broke out in 167 (a period during which there was considerable immigration to the colony of *Siscia*, with business people arriving from as far away as the Tarraconensis and the south of Gallia). Bartoletti (1990: 34), however, favours a dating in the first half of the 1st century, based on palaeographic criteria from the study of the sketch made by Hoffiller and Saria. We used the same sketch in our study, but we believe this dating to be excessively early, based on the persons mentioned and the historical context of the inscription, which, as we shall see later, points to the Trajan period.

The text shows, together with the typical pleonasm (JEANNERET 1916: 238) of *defixiones* (thus *data deprementi, ma(n)data da(ta), deprema(t)*), characteristic of Vulgar Latin, with the gemination of the sibilants (*adverssaro, Isspan, Ssecundo, nosstro*), the liquids (*Cicorelliu, Vallente*) and the occlusives (*Luccillius, Vallente*). Another feature of the Latin in this *defixio* is the use of *e* in place of *i*, clearly seen in line 2 of the internal face (*Dometiu = Domitiu*) and lines 1 and 4 of the external face: *deprementi* (for *deprimenti*), *deprema* (instead of *deprima*). *Depremas* appears in two other tablets from *Hadrumetum* and *Este* (GARCÍA RUIZ 1967: 65). Likewise, there is a confusion between *o* and *a/u*: *cuntra, cantra* (= *contra*), as well as a loss of the final consonant *t* (*cura, aga, deprema*), that has disappeared from practically all Romance languages (GARCÍA RUIZ 1967: 85), except Catalan. Another characteristic feature is the use of *locui* (A l. 12) and *lucua* (B l. 6) instead of *loqui*, of *obmutuat* (B l. 5) instead of *obmutescat*, as well as the mixing of cases when consigning the name of the persons to be cursed, with nominatives alongside theoretical accusatives or datives. They are anthroponyms that are independent of the syntax, placed »en vedette« (JEANNERET 1916: 132) in the heading of the *defixio*.

The expression *muta tagita* (= *tacita*) that appears in line 16 of the obverse is repeated in an inscription from Kempton (AE 1958: 150), while in another from Clothall we read *tacita deficta* (AE 1937: 66). These expressions, aimed at silencing adversaries, are characteristic of judicial *defixiones*⁴, in which the term *adversarius* is typically used to designate the other party in the process⁵, with *inimicus* being used as an alternative⁶. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that the words *muta tagita* refer to the *nomina* of the adversaries, something that appears evident in similar

4 GAGER 1992: 116–124; Cartago –DTAud 219–20–, Susa –AE 1931, 132; VENTURA VILLANUEVA 1996: two in Cordoba.

5 Thus the Emporitans: MARCUS SIMON, e.p., or in *Nomentum* (Mentana) –DTAud. 133; Solin, *Arctos* 23 (1989) 199 ss., Frankfurt –AE 1978, 545–, *Brigantium* (Bregenz) –DTAud. 93– or the closest in Ljubljana: SOLIN 2004: 127–128.

6 As in the Frankfurt 1 tablet –AE 1978, 546– which asks that the *inimici* of Sextus be *vani* and *muti*, as in the

previous example from the same origin (see also Scholz, in Reuter and Scholz 2004, 49 ss. no. 74 a, b), in others from Kreuznach — *CIL XIII* 7553–54; *DTAud.* 96, 98–, Cartago –*DTAud.* 223, or the very interesting ones from Villepouge and Chagnon (Charente) (*CIL XIII* 11069–70; – *DTAud.* 111–112; *ILS* 8752; *ILAquit. Santones* nos. 1041, b), although there is no shortage of examples of the coexistence of both words on the same tablet (*Este*: even adding *hostis*: AE 1915, 10) or of both forms in the same place (for example, Empúries: *IRC III* 174–175).

expressions in lines 1–2 on the exterior face, we believe that in this case they refer to the ancient Latin divinity *Muta Tacita*. In that case, the defixion would not only be directed at *Savus*, but also at that ancient Latin divinity.

Another linguistic feature of the inscription is the use of the verb *avertere*, to designate (l. 11 of the interior face) the action to be suffered by the adversary. In the tablets found at Cagnon and Villepouge (Charente Inferior), in the *ager Santonum*, we can read the following: *sic illos inimicos aversos ab hoc lite esse, quomodi hic catellus aversus est ne surgere potest*, »that these enemies be »turned« in this dispute, in the same way as the turned doll (upside down) is incapable of rising« (DTAud. 111–12). Another parallel, even closer to our *defixio*, is the tablet found at *Poetovio* (Ptuj), with a similar chronology (2nd century), in which we find repeated the expression *ne possit mali facere*, which we find, with variations, in the Sisak inscription: *Paulina aversa sit / a viris omnibus / et deficsa sit ne quid / possit mali facere. / Firminam [cl]od(as) ab om- / nibus humanis* (AE 1907, 99).

Faraone and Kropp (e.p.) have put forward a convincing argument for understanding the expression *aversum facere*, which appears (in variant spellings of *versum*: *inversum*, *perversum*, etc.) in texts from Germania, Gallia and *Noricum*, such as those of *Arae Flaviae* (Rottweil am Neckar), Mainz, Mautern, Wilten and *Poetovio* (Ptuj), as the equivalent of »kill« or »separate from life«. Without accepting this interpretation, which is documented in highly diverse tablets that record a ritual of »transferred death« (MARCO SIMÓN e.p. 2), the action of »turning the adversary upside down« in the coming trial would be synonymous with his silencing or »symbolic death«, making it impossible for him to testify against supplicant.

The terms used in the heading of the exterior face of the Sisak defixion, *data mandata* (lines 1 and 2), are a perfect match with other texts from Kreuznach (DTAud. 151 and 153), in which these terms appear together with the names of the objects of the curse (*ibid.* 153): *Nomina / data [manda-] / ta [liga]ta / ad inferos...* They are the names, therefore, given, sent and tied to the infernal gods.

2. Water was one of the most frequent places for depositing curse tablets. We only have to think of the numerous finds at Bath (TOMLIN 1988), or those recently found at the Fontana di Anna Perenna in Rome (PIRANOMONTE e.p.). It is also of paramount importance in the imagery and ritual practice of the Celts and other ancient peoples as a path to the beyond and the manifestation of the divinity. The example from Sisak, however, is the first Latin *defixio* addressed unequivocally to a river divinity found in the Latin West, in this case *Savus*, the present-day River Save, which flows into the Danube in the city of Belgrade.⁷

Two inscriptions from the *ager Emonensis* (CIL III 3896) and *Andautonia* (CIL III 4009 = AIJ 475) are dedicated to *Savo Aug(usto)*⁸. There is a shrine to the deity at Saudörfel (near *Celeia* in *Noricum*), where he was venerated together with *Adsalluta* (CIL III 5134, 5138), a probable personification of the River Saan, which flows into the Save between Saudörfel and Ratschach (DE I, 97), and also perhaps *Neptunus*. There is a *collegium navicularium* in *Emona*, which is not surprising given the navigability not only of the Save, whose waters flow through the ancient towns of *Noviodunum*, *Andautonia*, *Sirmium* and *Singidunum*, as well as *Siscia*, but also of the neighbouring rivers (*Hemona*, *Korkaras*, *Colapis*, *Valdasus*, *Urpanus*, *Bacuntius*, *Bathinus*, *Besante*, *Drinus*) (FITZ 1979), in an area rich in iron ore mines.

7 On the River *Savus*, Strab. 4, 207; 7, 314; Plin. *Nat.* 3, 128, 147–148; Ptol. 2, 16, 14; 3, 9, 1. Vid. PATSCH 1909–15. On the role of the river in Octavian's campaign of 35 BCE, Cass. Dio 19, 37, 3–5.

8 See also CIL III 5134 = 11680; CIL III 5138; CIL III 11684; AE 1934, 71 = AIJ 255; AE 1938, 152 = AIJ 27. The majority of the testimonies also include *Adsalluta*.

There are few parallels for the curse tablet that concerns us here. There is a *defixio* from Trier in which Isis is requested to send »to the river« (the Mosel) one Tiberius Claudius of Trier, a freedman of Claudius Similis⁹. There are some British *defixiones* addressed to *dominus Neptunus*¹⁰, and it is probable that the bearded divinity with the wavy locks depicted in the pediment of the temple of *Sulis Minerva* in Bath refers to a similar aquatic god (GREEN 1992: 161) to that interpreted through *Neptunus*, who, in the earliest stages of Roman religion, was linked to rivers and springs and not to the sea (OLMSTED 1994: 399, with references), as appears to be shown by the *Neptunalia* held on 23 July to exorcise the drought (Fest. 377 L; Tert. *Spect.* 6; Varr. *LL* 6, 19). Likewise, Neptune was generally considered by the ancient Celts to be the *numen praesens* of a manifestation of water (DUVAL 1976: 89–90; THEVENOT 1968: 129–131).

In order to explain why a *defixio* was deposited in a river addressed to the divinity of the same name, with a personality as genuinely indigenous as that of *Savus*, we have to look to a cosmological and ritual context that appears to characterise various western European peoples.

The deposits of arms in the rivers of the western provinces of the Empire are well known. To the finds of the Thames in London (the Battersea shield, etc.; in fact, the majority of the metal objects from the First Iron Age found in Great Britain come from rivers), we can add the swords found in certain places, particularly in Brittany (Vilaine, Loire in Nantes). Recent investigations have studied the votive deposits in the rivers and lakes of the territory of the Nervii and the Atrebatas (LEMAN-DELERIVE – WARMENBOL 2007) in the Low Countries (VAN HOOFF 2007), and a comprehensive analysis of the river finds from the Latenian period (SCHÖNFELDER 2007) underlines the predominance of arms in the Middle La Tène and the marked presence of coins in the Late La Tène (»die Zeit der Heiligtümer am Fluss«, *ibid.* 466), which continued into the Roman period. Extraordinary finds of thousands of coins have been made in Toulouse (see: BOUDARTCHOUK – GARDES 2007), as well as the find at the Loire ford at *Cenabum* of a large number of coins, some 500 small lead wheels and copper feet; these are without doubt exvotos offered to the river divinity.

Aristotle tells us that the Celts submerged newborn babies in a river (*Polit.* 7,15,2; HOFENEDER 2005: 38) mentioned as the Rhine in a poem in the »Greek Anthology« from around 200 BCE, adding, moreover, that such an action was carried out to prove their legitimacy (*Anth. Graec.* 9,125). Claudian echoes these Spartan practices when he says of the Gauls that the Rhine tests their birth (*In Ruf.* 2, 111 ss.). And it is for this reason that the Gallic chieftain Viridomarus, who would invade Italy in the 3rd century BCE, boasted about having been born from the Rhine itself (Propertius 4, 10, 40–41; HOFENEDER 2008: 129–135, with the historiographical discussion of this passage). This ritual practice, inappropriately called »Druid baptism« (ZECCHINI 1984: 19 -n. 5), is recorded by many later writers (CHEVALIER 1983: 326) and Virgil (*Aen.* 9, 603–604) refers to it for other Italian peoples, as do other authors for the Germanic peoples (BOURGEOIS 1991: 93).

9 KROPP 2008: 4.1.3./16: *Tiberium Claudium, trevirum, natione / Germanum, libertum Claudii Similis. Rogo / te, domina Isis, ut illi profluvium / mittas et quidquid in bonis / habet in morbum megarum.*

10 Thus, those of Brandon (HASSAL – TOMLIN 1993: 293–295; *AE* 1994, 1112), Caistor St. Edmund (*AE* 1982, 669; HASSAL – TOMLIN 1982: 408–409) or the estuary of the Hamble (Hampshire), in the latter with a mention of the female water deity *Niska* (*AE* 1977, 977; TOMLIN 1997: 455–457). This association of *Neptunus* with a female water divinity such as *Niska*, theonym that reappears in plural to refer to the water divinities to which the eight de-

fixions found at Amélie-les-Bains (Arles) were addressed (lastly, LAMBERT 2002: 247–250), allows us to hypothesise that the Latin theonym of the inscriptions was in reality a case of the *interpretatio* of an indigenous divinity with a personality perhaps similar to that which appears later in the Irish *Dinnsenchas* –compiled in the 12th century, such as Nechtan, spouse of *Boand*, the eponymous goddess of the River Boyne (GREEN 1992: 158, with references). A fragmentary inscription from Chesterholm, in the area of Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 1694) has been interpreted as a dedication to *Neptunus* alone or to *Nodens Neptunus*, in the latter case in an assimilation of the deity that has its main shrine at Lydney, near the River Severn.

This extremely interesting ritual to legitimise the newborn (or, to interpret it in a different way, to ensure their resistance to the cold waters of the river) is complemented by other types of evidence, both epigraphic and iconographic, which underline the linking by the Celts of this great river to an ancestral divinity. In fact, in a shrine at Strasbourg there is an *ara* dedicated to the Father Rhine by no less a figure than C. Oppius Severus, legate of the *Legio VIII Augusta* around 130 AD: *Rheno patri Oppius Severus leg(agus) Aug(usti)* (AE 1969–70, 434). This is a form of address, that of *pater*, applied to a river that is documented in very few cases, such as that of the Tiber (WISOWA 1912: 224). Other rivers, in addition to the Rhine and the Mosel, were deified in Gallia, where temples and inscriptions have been found dedicated to the goddesses *Sequana* (Seine), *Matrona* (Marne), *Icauna* (Yonne) and *Souconna* (Saône) (IZARRA 1993: 230).

Of all the iconographic documentation, that which most interests us here is a Probus Antoninianus that depicts two river divinities with the legend *Siscia*. These are undoubtedly the *Colapis* and the *Savus* that join at the place where the town was established (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 11–12, ill. 12; DUKAT 2004–2005: 289, no. 82). There is further numismatic evidence testifying to the importance of the water divinities to the Gauls, including splendid coins minted by the *Parisii* showing a large male head, to the right, on a boat (IZARRA 1993: 120).

The Augustan poets (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 727; Ovid. *Trist.* 4, 2, 41–42) allude to *Rhenus bicornis* in an iconography characteristic of certain taumorphic fluvial depictions of Acheloos (WEISS 1988); this is how the river god is depicted in the Bonn relief (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 38, ill. 42)¹¹.

Rivers were not only used to test the legitimacy of the newborn or to toughen their resistance to cold water, but also to facilitate the final journey of the deceased. Around 1560, in terracing on the Zuiderzee in Holland, fossilised trunks containing human remains brought down by the Rhine were found; these were reminiscent of the burial canoes discovered in France, in Montseugny (Haute-Saône), Caen and Le Havre (IZARRA 1993: 229). In the excavations carried out in 2001 at Fiskerton, on the banks of the River Witham in eastern England, two large canoes interpreted as votive offerings were found, along with wooden posts related to lunar eclipses in a Latenian context, but also in association with Roman-period pottery (PARKER PEARSON et al. 2007: 443, fig. 7). Similar finds from the Late Bronze Age made at other sites, specifically in rivers such as the Save and the Drave (WIRTH 2007: 452, fig. 2), appear to indicate that water and rivers were considered as funerary areas or as the entrance to the next world.

Apart from that, and given the obviously judicial content of the text we are studying, the action of throwing the defixion into the waters of the Save could be considered as its consignment (*consecratio*) to the river divinity of the powerful enemies in the cause that was approaching.

The appeal to the ancient divinity *Muta Tacita* in the text can be fully justified for two reasons. On the one hand, it has been defended for the expressions *muta tacita* in the Kempton *defixio*, in which the Latin god was mentioned together with the Erinyes and Orcus (KROPP 2008a: dfx. 7.2/1; Ead. 2008 b, 3334). On the other hand, the invocation also makes complete sense in this context. *Tacita*, the goddess of silence, belonging to the earliest period of Roman religion¹² -tra-

11 However, not only the Rhine appears as *bicornis*: also the Eridanus (Po), according to Virgil, the Mosel according to Ausonius (*corniger Mosella*) and even the Tiber itself. It even appears obvious that the *taruos trigaranos* (the bull of the three horns), so commonly depicted on Gallic bronzes, as well as on the Parisian pillar of the Nautes, was linked to the river cults (IZARRA 1993: 232). A sarcophagus found in Lyon, dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century, in which C. Annus Flavianus, a veteran of the

Leg. XXX Vlpia was buried, shows over the inscription the figures of two river deities reclining on an aquatic urn with a palm, which, according to N. Blanc, may represent the Rhône and the Rhine (where the soldier had previously served), but are more likely to refer to the Rhône and the Saône (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 31, ill. 31).

12 See for example WISSOWA 1884–86 (1978): 975–76; TABELING 1932: 68 ss., 77 ss.; RADKE 1979: 295 ss.

dition attributes the creation of her cult to Numa (Plut. *Numa* 8, 11). Ovid (*Fast.* 2, 571–582), who identifies *Tacita* with the goddess *Muta*¹³, also held to be the mother of the *Lares compitales* (Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 35), indicates that during the *Feralia* –held on 21 February to mark the end of the *dies Parentales*– an old woman made *Tacita* a strange offering. Sitting on the ground in a circle of young men, she took three grains of incense with three fingers and placed them on the threshold, where a mouse had passed. Next, she tied a lead object with enchanted threads and moved seven black beans around her mouth; then she grilled the head of a fish that she had previously pierced with a bronze needle and sealed its mouth. Finally, she poured some drops of wine over the animal. The purpose of this ritual, with unmistakably magical characteristics, was to silence enemy mouths and tongues (Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 581: *hostiles linguas inimicaque ora*), making it the perfect invocation in this judicial *defixio* by the *defigens* to silence the adversaries. Everything points to a divine personality of an infernal nature, as silence reigned in the infernal kingdoms (*Manes taciti*: Ovid. *Fast.* 5, 422; 2, 609; *loca tacentia* inhabited by the *silentes* dead: Verg. *Aen.* 6, 264).

These are the essential lines of a historical context that help to explain the deposit of the *Siscia defixio* with an appeal to the river god *Savus*. We will now consider the specific historical circumstances that motivated the action and, above all, the inclusion of important figures from such distant places as Narbonne and Hispania as objects of the curse.

3. We do not know why the *defigens* carried out a *devotio hostium* to the god *Save* before the coming trial against their *adversarii*. Perhaps we have to consider that it was a group (*adversario nostro*) whose interests would have been prejudiced by the future testimony of the six persons involved. The fact that they were almost all foreigners (to *Siscia* itself) allows us to hypothesise that we are dealing with an indigenous group, whose financial interests would have been affected by the persons in question.

Siscia, Strabo's *Segestiké* (7, 313; likewise Geogr. Rav. 4, 20) was a Roman colony established at the place where the *Colapis* flows into the *Savus*, with a population of Italians, Dalmatians and immigrants from the east and west, as the targets of our inscription. The town was established as an essential communications centre between the north and south (Danube-*Adria*) and the east and west (*Illyricum*-Italy). The name *Segestica* encompasses the earliest settlers and appears in Republican-period sources, whereas that of *Siscia* is most dominant in the Imperial period. Although its linguistic assignment is not unanimously agreed by philologists, the truth is that the majority of place names with the root *Seg-* belong to the Celtic sphere, and Celtic is the cultural horizon revealed by the archaeological site of Pogorelec, with material clearly datable to the Late La Tène (ŠAŠEL 1974: 704).

The town, which had been the headquarters of Tiberius (11–9 BC, 6–9 AD) attained colonial status in Flavian times (perhaps in 71), adopting the name of the Imperial family (*Flavia*, later *Aelia* under Hadrian). It had a *tabularium provinciae*, a *beneficiarii* station, a *publicum portorium Illyrici* customs post and a naval base for the *Flavia Pannonica* fleet (ŠAŠEL 1974: 738, with references). It also had a post of the *Legio IX Hispana* until 42–43 AD, and the *defixio* appears to show evidence of trade with the west via Italy (SZILÁGYI 1979: 213), with workshops making *sigillata* and a large bronze manufacturing industry, judging by the helmets found in the River Kupa (see also »Flux«, RE III A, 361 ss.; MÓCSY 1959: 24–25, 101, 138).

The funerary inscriptions and military diplomas are evidence of a large number of Roman army auxiliary troops (*alae* and *cohortes*) stationed in Pannonia; they were recruited from the

¹³ In reality it is, according to the poet, the nymph Lara, »the chatterbox«, whose tongue Jupiter pulled out for

having revealed to Juno his love for Juturna (Ovid, *Fast.* 2, 583–616).

civitates of Save and Drave and had names such as the *Breuci*, the *Colapiani* (who lived in the Kulpa valley, near *Siscia*), *Cornacates*, *Sisciani*, *Varciani*, *Iasi* and *Latobici* (MÓCSY 1974: 51). All this is evidence that the Celtic names were clearly dominant in the north and west of Pannonia, while in the rest, the linguistic horizon appears to have been Pannonian (Illyrian); the *Varciani* would still have been Celtic (MÓCSY 1974: 60–61 and 64, fig. 11). Although the theory of contact with Hispania based on names such as *Aturo*, *Ciliunus*, *Teitia* or *Anbo* (MÓCSY 1974: 61) does not appear to be well founded, it is true that the astral iconography of the stelae in the northeast of the province (MÓCSY 1974: 62, fig. 10) shows clear similarities to analogous themes on the Hispano-Roman stelae in the north of the Iberian Peninsula (crescents, swastikas, arches and, above all, the square-shaped angular motifs, the »celestial locks«). These themes, the same as the funerary banquet, emphasise iconographic connections that appear to be unique in the western provinces of the Empire, although, far from reflecting Hispanic influences (MÓCSY 1974: 61), they probably arrived in Hispania with the *Legio VII Gemina* (in 74 AD), following their stationing in *Carnuntum* (Pannonia) in place of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, which had been on the eastern front between 63 and 68 and which would have been responsible for introducing these themes to the area of Danube (MARCO 1978: 32).

A network of roads linked *Siscia* and *Sirmium* (Srijemska Mitrovica), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo, in Slovenia), *Andautonia* (Ščitarjevo), *Senia* (Senj, on the coast), *Emona* (Ljubljana) and *Ad Fines*, and *Siscia* appears to have played an important role in concentrating the traffic, merchandise and new products heading to Italy in a quarter circle between *Carnuntum* and *Singidunum*, from where they could easily have reached *Salonae* or *Aquileia* (ŠAŠEL 1974: 730). The prominence of the town as the centre of southern Pannonia can be seen in a symbolic universe of divinities related to commerce: *Silvanus* (*Magla*, *Domesticus*, *Silvestre*), *Mars Marmogius*, the »Illyrian« *Liber*, and also *Hercules*, *Herculenis*, *Venus* and *Ceres* (ŠAŠEL 1974: 735), with an essential directorial role up until the Marcoman invasions in the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The names of the inhabitants provide little evidence of the indigenous inhabitants, although the incidence of eastern names shows the intense commercial activity in the town, which can also be seen in the presence (documented on tombstones) of freedmen, such as an individual from *Tergeste* (Trieste) (MÓCSY 1974: 71).

Of the six people named as adversaries by the *defigente* or *defigentes*, *Lucius Larcus* and *Secundus Vacarus* are natives of *Cibalae* (the modern day Vinkovci: *It. Ant.* 261, 1; 268, 4), between the rivers Drave and Save, near *Volcae palus* (Victor, Dio Cass. 55, 32, 3), a municipality under Hadrian (*CIL* III 3267) and *colonia Aurelia C.* from the 3rd century (*CIL* VI 2833). The Narbonense *origo* of *Citronius Cicorellius* is testified to and the Hispanic origin of *Licinius Sura* is emphasised, the latter doubtlessly being related to the powerful family referred to in inscriptions found at *Barcino* and in other parts of the *Tarraconensis*.

Thus we can see that at least four of the six people mentioned are immigrants to *Siscia*. The leads us to believe that the consignors may have been natives. At first the territories of the indigenous peoples of the Middle Danube, Save and Drave would have been considered as *prata legionum* and we know that, at least in the 1st century AD, some of them maintained their own organisation under military officers (*praefecti*), such as *Antonius Naso* of the *Colopiani* from the area of *Siscia* (*CIL* III 14387; *ILS* 9199).

The transformation of the ancient settlements into towns with a privileged status would have obliged them to receive a colony of Roman veterans, which, logically, would have required a revision of the rustic property, with the best land going to the colonists, while the natives would have had to be content with the poorest land. Over time, a large amount of colonial and municipal

property began to accumulate in the hands of a group of important landowners, some of them immigrants from other areas (ROSTOVZEFF 1962: 458). This could be the historical context of the *Siscia defixio*.

4. Line 7 of the *Sisak defixio* specifically names *Lucius Licinius Sura, Hispanus*. Some years ago, this name would have been automatically identified with a close collaborator of the emperor Trajan; we know little about his private life, although we do know from the written sources that he was highly educated and erudite, as well as being enormously rich (CABALLOS 1990: I/1, 183–193).

On the other hand, the traditional attribution of the inscription on the Arch of Berà (fig. 3) to Licinius Sura, a close collaborator of Trajan, which names him as a member of the Sergia tribe, led to the mistaken supposition that, like the emperor, he was a native of *Italica*. However, X. Dupré's in-depth study (1994) clearly showed that the Arch of Berà and its inscription date from the time of Augustus and that the Lucius Licinius Sura named in it was an ancestor -grandfather or great-grandfather- of the Trajan Licinius Sura. The latter therefore was left without the only document that mentioned the Sergia tribe; now we do not even know the tribe of this influential person, unless we reconsider the interpretation of *RIT* 358, about which we will speak below.

For one reason or another, it is quite clear that the family of the Trajan Licinius Sura was not from *Italica* but from the *Tarraconensis*, where the *gens Licinia* had a long and widespread representation. In fact, there were many *Licinii* in both *Hispania citerior* and *Gallia Narbonensis*, particularly in the area of *Barcino* and its surroundings (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 168–169).



Fig. 3. Arch and inscription of Berà (Tarragona) (photo: I. Rodá).

Sl. 3. Luk i natpis iz grada Berà (Tarragona) (foto: I. Rodá).

Also, the description of *Hispanus* given in the *defixio* appears to point more towards *Hispania Citerior*. However, does it indicate which part of this province? *Licinii* abound and the *cognomen* Sura is found on various issues of coinage from *Saguntum*, *Ercavica* and, as we shall see below, from *Celsa* (BURNETT – AMANDRY – RIPOLLÈS 1992: 100, nos. 201–203, and 141, nos. 464–467).

Faced with the reliable dating of the Arch of Berà to the period of Augustus, our attention is inevitably drawn to the funerary inscription found in *Caesar Augusta* (Zaragoza) for *Hyacinthus, horrearius Surae* (BELTRÁN 1982: 56). The characteristics of the epigraph indicate that it is from the late-Augustan or Tiberian period and the shape of the stela, with a semicircular cornice and a sunken field, is similar to others found at *Celsa* (Velilla de Ebro). We also know of the *duumvirs* from this last colony of the triumviral and Augustan period, both named L. Sura (BURNETT – AMANDRY – RIPOLLÈS 1992: 111–112, nos. 263 and 271). These facts appear to point to the origin of Licinius Sura's family as the *conventus* of *Caesar Augusta* (ALFÖLDY 1977: 295), to which we could also add Marcial's reference (*Ep.* I, 49, 19–20), in which, addressing himself to Licinianus, he mentions the clement climate of the *Tarraconensis* and the *Laietania* and states »*Dum Sura laudatur tuus*«. It is possible that the family of the Trajan Sura was originally from *Celsa* and quite possibly the ancestor named on the Arch of Berà came from that colony, although perhaps the interests of the *gens* later focused more on the area of Catalonia where Sura may have been born.

This hypothesis that Licinius Sura was a native of *Celsa* is reinforced by the find in the »House of the Dolphins« in that Roman colony on the banks of the Ebro of a seal for tiles manufactured with local alabaster, with the inscription *L(ucius)*Lici(nius)*At(ticus?)* (most recently: BELTRÁN 1997: 29). Based on the archaeological context, it is dated no later than the year 54, probably during the reign of Tiberius, and the person, perhaps a freedman, has been related to the magistrates named L. Sura and to L. Licinius Sura (*PIR* 2 L 258).

Moreover there has been a considerable increase in the number of finds and epigraphic studies on the importance of the *gens Licinia* in the area of the *Tarraconense* corresponding to the present-day provinces of Tarragona and Barcelona. In fact, both the monumental inscriptions and those on the amphoras and *dolia* testify to the constant presence of *Licinii* (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005).

In *Barcino*, a Lucius Licinius was one of the first magistrates of the colony, according to what we can deduce from the chronology of the blocks that make up the *exedra* of Montjuïc (*IRC* IV, 62a, 138).

Likewise, the seals on amphoras manufactured in the *Laietania* region, on the coast of Barcelona, and in the area of El Vallés, on Pascual 1 and Dressel 2–4 forms, show the abundance of various *Licinii* in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 170–179).

All this goes to paint a revealing picture of persons belonging to the local elite and of rich rural landowners who based their economy on wine production. The place name *Liciniano* and its derivatives (AEBISCHER 1926: 101–102, and 2006, 115–116; BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 180–181) indicates a *fundarius* property that appears to survive today in the name of Lliçà in the county of El Vallés, although this *fundus* of a certain size would not necessarily have coincided with the limits of that municipality, but could have spread to the areas of Granollers and Llerona, the *Lauro* of the coinage and a producer of good wines (LLORENS – RIPOLLÈS 1998), where significant structures have been found (RODÁ, forthcoming a).

One of those rural landowners, who most probably had a network of freedmen, was the Lucius Licinius Sura of the Arch of Berà (fig. 3), a direct ancestor of the person of the same name who reached the highest positions in the Trajan administration.

Let's place ourselves in that period. The presence of Licinius Sura is testified to by the numerous homages in *Barcino* to his freedman and assistant, Lucius Licinius Secundus, the private individual with the largest number of honorific inscriptions in the Roman world (*IRCI*, 125 and *IRC IV*, 83–104, pp. 163–188). The series of inscriptions (fig. 4) is very uniform, carved over a short period of time, between Sura's third consulate and his death (107–108 AD). To meet the considerable demand from dedicators, the artisans took advantage of the available stock of tripartite pedestals, even adapting a moulded block originally cut as a base (*IRC IV*, 96).

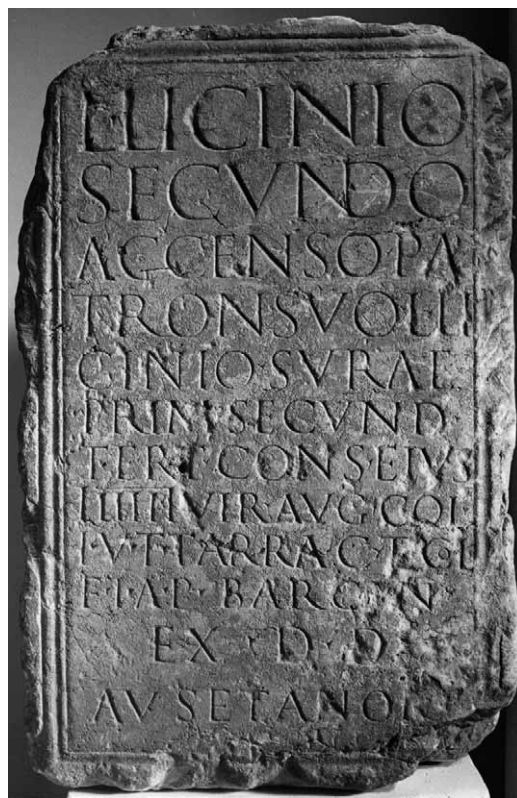


Fig. 4. Pedestal with inscription referring to L. Licinius Secundus, freedman of Licinius Sura *Barcino* (photo O. Clavell). Museu d' Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona (*IRC IV*, 83).

Sl. 4. Postolje s natpisom koji se odnosi na L. Licinija Sekunda, oslobođenika Licinija Sure *Barcino* (foto: O. Clavell). Museu d' Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona (*IRC IV*, 83).

This unusual series of honours in the forum of *Barcino*, which name the public or private dedicators (MELCHOR GIL 2003) without specifying in any of the cases the habitual form *LD*, was without doubt due to the key nature of Licinius Secundus in being able to access the benefits that could come from contact with Sura, whose properties and financial interests he took care of in the area.

Licinius Secundus' first position was as an Augustan *sevir* in *Tarraco* and then in *Barcino*. However, although this freedman is only honoured in *Barcino*, his patron Sura could have had monuments in this and other colonies.

The first epigraph we can look at (fig. 5) is the one that cites, in large, clear, well-carved square capitals (24.3 cm), one *L. Licinius* who would have been the dedicator of a certain public building at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, as the block belongs to an epistyle of some considerable size, belonging perhaps to a portico (*IRC IV*, 38).



Fig. 5. Epistyle with inscription from a portico or public building in *Barcino* (photo: O. Clavell). Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona (*IRC IV*, 38).

Sl. 5. Epistil s natpisom s trijema ili javne zgrade u Barcinu (foto: O. Clavell). Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya, Barcelona (*IRC IV*, 83).

Based on the chronology, we believe that the Lucius Licinius of this block of Montjuïc sandstone must either have been Sura, or his freedman, Secundus, who was perhaps the executor of his patron's will. Therefore, it was at first thought that this inscription could be related to that of the block containing the letters *NTO*, that possibly corresponds to the formula *ex testamento*; however, in this case the palaeography appears to take us to a date in the proto-imperial or even Augustan period (*IRC IV*, 376).

Two inscriptions are attributable to Licinius Sura. A lost epigraph from *Barcino*, known through manuscript tradition (*IRC IV*, 39; *HEp* 7, 2001, 83–84, no. 207), records the posts held by an anonymous figure who was a pontiff and a member of the *collegium* of *sodales augustales* and was honoured with the triumphal ornaments and a statue. The honours may refer to those awarded in the year 106 to commemorate the second Dacian War and to the statue that, if we accept the account of Cassius Dio (*LXVIII*, 15, 3), was erected in the Trajan forum. The identification of this epigraphic text as referring to Sura was picked up by E. Hübner, reiterating the opinion of B. Borghesi (*CIL* II, 4508) and coming into alignment with G. di Vita (1987: 335, n. 204), despite the drawback that none of the inscriptions that can be definitely attributed to Sura mention the *ornamenta triumphalia*.

On the other hand, a lost fragment of an inscription from *Tarraco* (*RIT* 358) could read as follows [*L. Li*]ci[ni]us, -o] / *M. f. Serg*(ia) [*Sura*, -e] / [*cos II*] *desig. II*[I] / [*orna*]menti[s] *triumphalibus*] (*IRC IV*, 106, n. 120; *HEp* 7, 2001, 337, no. 956). We are aware that this is a hypothetical restitution, but it has a certain degree of plausibility. If this hypothesis were to be correct, Licinius Sura would be reinstated into the *Sergia* tribe.

Whatever the case may be, we do know for certain that a direct ancestor of the Trajan Licinius Sura ordered the building of the Arch of Berà and that he is mentioned twenty-three times on the pedestals erected to his freedman, Licinius Secundus, as part of a process that we could summarise with the popular saying »adorar el santo por la peana« (»worship the saint through the base«).

In any case, there are also plausible indications, which we have just stated, of direct homages to Sura in *Barcino* and *Tarraco*. In the small, but very active colony of *Barcino* during the Trajan and Hadrian periods there was a concentration of the interests of the most influential senatorial families

of the time; they were represented by their freedmen who held real *de facto* positions of power. We have the evidence of Licinius Sura and his freedman and assistant, Secundus, the epigraphs of the *Minicii Natales*, father and son (*IRC* IV, 30–35) probably related to the *Licinii Silvani Graniani* of *Baetulo* (*IRC* I, 139–139; CABALLOS 1990 I/1: 180–183) and, in addition, the family saga of the *Pedanii*, the descendants of a mysterious Lucius Pedanius Secundus Julius Persicus (*IRC* IV, 37; CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 421–422; NAVARRO 2003: 674), related perhaps to Pedanius Secundus, *consul suffectus* in the year 43 AD, and to the *Pedanii Salinatores* (*IRC* IV, pp. 103–105; CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 413–421; RODÁ, forthcoming b). That led R. Syme to suggest a Hispanic and specifically a *Barcino* origin for this family (SYME 1958: 480, 599, n. 9, 785, 794, n. 15; 1981: 282).

Within this line of thought we can also place the proposal to attribute the fragmentary inscription we suggested may refer to Minicius Natal father (*IRC* IV: 31; *HEp* 7, 2001: 76–77, no. 180) that, on the other hand, F. J. Navarro (2003: *AE* 2003: 1011) interprets as a reference to Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus, who would not only have been Hispanic, as has been believed up until now (CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 386–388; CASTILLO 1982: 66), but also perhaps from *Barcino*. This would mean that the two consuls from the year 102 AD, Licinius Sura and Julius Ursus Servianus, would have had similar geographical origins.

However, although the new proposal for a reading of the text is very attractive, it finds no support in the existence in *Barcino* of a portrait that E. Albertini attributes to Julius Ursus Servianus, in his compilation of 1911–1912 (:434, no. 200, fig. 228; RODÁ 1975: 245–246, ill. V). This is a head belonging to the Barberà collection that is currently in the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia in Barcelona. Although some of the sculptures in this collection may be from the Modern Period, the one that interests us here may be ancient, although its style does not correspond to the beginning of the 2nd century AD, but apparently to an earlier time (KOPPEL – CLAVERIA 2008: photo), despite the fact that it has a certain physiognomic similarity to the Stratfield Saye House bust which contains the dedication *L. Ursum.cos III/Crescens lib* (RODÁ 1975: 246, ill. VI; OPPER 2008: 45, 219, 235, no. 155).

What is certain is that the evidence and the hypotheses begin to show a concentration in *Barcino* of the most important figures of political power in the Trajan empire.

Based on all this historical context, we believe we can link the Hispanic Sura of the *Siscia defixio* to the Trajan Sura who played an important role in the second campaign of the Dacian Wars, who was a close confidant and had the complete trust of Trajan and who even came close to being a candidate for the imperial throne, after having been a deciding factor in Nerva's choice of Trajan as his successor. In any case, the *Siscia defixio* provides very interesting information on the use of magic by certain plausibly indigenous *defigentes*, who consign, in an authentic *consecratio*, important foreign figures to exorcise the insecurity and anxiety resulting from the essential changes –not only in the economic area, but also in the perception of the world- brought about by the Roman presence in *Pannonia Superior*.

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LATINSKA DEFIXIO (SISAK, HRVATSKA) UPUĆENA RIJEČNOM BOGU SAVU SA SPOMENOM HISPANCA L. LICINIJA SURE*

U članku je ocrтана analiza pravosudne *defixio* (AIJ557), pronađene 1912. god. u rijeci Kupi, pritoci Save, pokraj Siska (*Siscia, Pannonia Superior*), koja zaziva boga Sava (*Savus*), kao i antičku rimsku božicu *Tacitu Mutu*. Među prokletim osobama za neke se izrijekom spominje da potječu sa zapadnog Sredozemlja, posebna je pažnja posvećena Hispancu Luciju Liciniju Suri. Također, proučava se i religijski horizont implicitan u ritualnom daru, te društveni i povijesni kontekst informacije.

Među nalazima otkrivenima 1912. godine u rijeci Kupi (lat. *Colapis*; gr. *Kolops*), pritoci Save, pokraj današnjega hrvatskoga grada Siska (antička *Siscia* u rimskoj provinciji Gornjoj Panoniji – *Pannonia Superior*), nalazi se i zanimljiva latinska *defixio* (pločica koja sadrži kletvu) koja je ubrzo nakon toga dospjela u Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, gdje se i danas čuva (inv. br. A-18001). Zanimljivost njezina sadržaja te činjenica da se za nju do danas razmjerno malo znade, kao i hispanke veze o kojima se govori u tekstu, razlozi su koji su nas naveli na pisanje ovog priloga.

1. *Defixio* je, kao što je i uobičajeno, olovna te nosi natpis s obje strane; prvotno ju je objelodanio J. Brunšmid (1915–1919), čije je čitanje uključeno u *AE* 1921, a bila je i predmetom objave P. Guberine (1936–1937). *Defixio* je uvrštena i u epigrafički *corpus* za Gornju Panoniju (AIJ, 255–257), što je očigledno promaklo E. Vetteru (1960: 127), koji je pisao o natpisu u dva članka objavljena 1958. i 1960. god., od kojih je potonji temeljen na fotografiji koju mu je poslao Hoffiller. Od tada je ostala gotovo nezapažena te, koliko nam je poznato, nije temeljitije obrađena, iako je bila spominjana u opaskama.¹⁴

Visina pločice iznosi 13,8 cm, širina 9,8 cm (AIJ 1970, 256), a debljina je manja od pola milimetra. Bila je nekoliko puta presavinuta, najprije po sredini te potom ponovno prema unutrašnjoj strani.

14 BÖMER 1963: 130; *ILJ*, 6, sa čitanjem Pflauma; SOLIN 1968: 24; BARTOLETTI 1990: 34; *EDH*, HD 027805; KROPP 2008 a: dfx 8.1/1; Ead. 2008 b: 336)

Pločica je bila u vidljivo boljem stanju u trenutku nalaza nego što je danas, premda je nedavno restaurirana. Kako je danas gotovo nečitljiva, odustali smo od toga da izvršimo autopsiju na njoj. Umjesto toga, svoju smo analizu temeljili na replikama izrađenima prema fotografiji koje nam je ustupio Ante Rendić-Miočević, a koje smo usporedili sa skicom i slikom dobivenima od Hoffillera i Sarije (AIJ 1970).

I. Unutrašnja strana, s prekidom između redova 8 i 9 (slika 1):

- ADVERSSARO.NOSSTRO
 G. DOMETIV SECUNDO
 ET. LVCIVS. LARCIO
 ET SECVNDO VACARVS
 5 CVBA. ET. P CITRONIVS
 CICORELLIV. NARBONE
 ET. L LICINIVS SVRA ISSPAN
 ET LVCCILLIVS
 VALLENTE. NE POSSI
 10 CVNTRA SSE FACERI
 AVERTAT. ILLO AMAETE
 CANTRA LOCVI NE MA
 LI ILLORVS MVTV. OFAC
 G DOMTIVS SSECVNDO
 15 ET. LVCIVS LACO L CVBA
 MVTA TAGITA [—
 [B?]ONA ILORVM [—

II. Vanjska strana (slika 2):

DATA DEPREMENTI
 MADATA DATA ISTOS
 SAVO CVRA AGAT
 DEPREMA ADVERARO
 NOSSTRO OMVTVA NE
 CONTRA NOS LVCVIA

Prijepis:

I. Unutrašnja strana:

- Advers {s}ar(i)o(s). nos{s}tro(s)*
G(aius). Dom{e}<i>tiu(s) Secund{o}<us>
et. Lucius. Larci{o}<us>
et Secund{o}<us> Vacarus
 5 *Cyba(lenses). et. P(ublius) Citronius*
Cicorelliu(s). Narbone(nsis)

- et. *L(ucius) Lic{c}<i>nius Sura <H>is{s}pan(us)*
 et *Luc{c}il {l}ius*
Val{l}en{te}<s>. ne possi(nt)
 10 *{u}<o>ntra s{s}e faceri*
avertat. illo(s) am{a}e<n>te(s)
c{a}<o>ntra locui ne ma-
li illor u{s}<m> mutu<m>. o(s) fac(iat)(?)
G(aius) Dom<i>tius S{s}ecund{o}<us>
 15 et. *Lucius La(r)c(i)o L(ucii filius) Cyba(lenses)*
Muta Tagita [—
[b?]ona illorum [—

II. Vanjska strana:

- Data depr{e}<i>menti*
ma(n)data data istos
Savo <ut> cura(m) agat
depr{e}<i>ma(t) adver(s)ar(i)o(s)
 5 *no{s}stro(s) omutua(t) ne*
contra nos lucuia(nt)

I -3 *Lartio*, Brunšmid.- 4 et. *Secunduis Carus*, Brunšmid; et. *Secuno. Vacarus*, Guberina; *S. Sign()* *Nova*, Vetter.- 5 *Giba*, Vetter.- 7 *Liconium*, Brunšmid; *Saurus*, Vetter.- 8 *Licilidius*, Vetter.- 10 *contra, me faceere*, Brunšmid; *issti faceri*, Vetter: *contra eum(?) agere<e=I>(?)*, Kropp.- 11 *illos. maete*, Brunšmid; *illo.maliti*, Guberina; *illo.magice*, Vetter.- 12 *contra*, Brunšmid.- 13 *ci.illoru*, Brunšmid; *gi.illorus*, Vetter; *mutu*, Brunšmid.- 14 *C Domtium Secundo*, Brunšmid.- 15 *Cricol Ciba*, Brunšmid.- 16 *faciat agat ut volon/ta*, Vetter; *faciat agat ut vol<u=O>n/ta/s* Kropp- 17: *tu f(ac) l(abia) n(a)e loru prutecas (=protegas)*, Brunšmid; *S Lar nae loru favela*, Guberina; *limbna, pavis cant*, Vetter; *li<ngu=MBN>a <il>lor<m>(!)pav<e=I>sca<t>(?)*, Kropp.

II – 1 *dabis*, Vetter; *detrementi*, Brunšmid, dopustio García Ruiz (1967, 238) te protumačio kao genitiv jednine (=detrimenti) u značenju »kletve« – 2 *dat is*, Brunšmid, Kropp- 4 *de me ma*, Brunšmid, Guberina.- 5 *noistro*, Brunšmid i Guberina; *o(s) mutus*, Brunšmid; *au(t)*, Vetter; – 6 *cantra*, Guberina; *lucui a/ud(eat)*, Brunšmid. – 7 *age[re] isti*, Vetter.

Prijevod: »(Protiv) naših protivnika, G. Domicija Sekunda i L. Lartija i Sekunda Vakara, iz Cibala, i P. Citronija Cikorelija, iz Narbone, i L. Licinija Sure, iz Hispanije, i Lucilija Valenta. Da ne mogu ništa protiv (nas) učiniti; da ih (božanstvo) udalji i da im ne dopusti (o nama) ružno govoriti te da ih ušutka. G. Domicije Sekund i Lucije Larcije, iz Cibala, Muta Tacita... od njih... (imena) data, poslata, ista predana bogu Savu koji potapa, tako da se može pobrinuti za naše protivnike, pobijediti ih, ušutkati te da oni (ne mogu) svjedočiti protiv nas.«

Poteškoće s datiranjem kletvenih pločica, kada nedostaje jasan arheološki kontekst (JEAN-NERET 1916: 234–235), nerijetko se povećavaju kada, kao u ovom slučaju, nije moguće izvršiti autopsiju (koja bi, kao što je navedeno, teško donijela bilo kakve rezultate, s obzirom na loše stanje predmeta). Vetter (1960: 132) vjeruje kako *defixio* vjerojatno potječe iz Hadrijanova vremena, iz doba između proglašenja kolonijalnog statuta grada 118. godine te Markomanskih ratova koji su

izbili 167. god. (razdoblje tijekom kojeg je imigracija u koloniju Sisciju bila znatna, s trgovcima koji su stizali iz tako dalekih krajeva kao što su *Tarraconensis* i južna Galija), a Bartoletti (1990: 34) je skloniji datiranju u prvu polovinu 1. st., prema paleografskim kriterijima na osnovi analize skice koju su sastavili Hoffiller i Saria, iste one koja je poslužila za našu studiju. Ovu dataciju smatramo pretjerano ranom s obzirom na osobe koje su spomenute te povijesni kontekst natpisa, koji upućuju, kako će se kasnije vidjeti, na Trajanovo vrijeme.

Tekst pokazuje, zajedno s tipičnim pleonazmom (Jeanneret 1916, 238) za defiksije (npr. *data deprementi, ma(n)data da(ta), deprema(t)*), karakterističnim za vulgarni latinitet, s udvajanjem sibilanata (*adverssaro, Isspan, Ssecundo, nosstro*), likvida (*Cicorelliu, Vallente*) te okluziva (*Luccillius, Vallente*). Još jedna značajka latiniteta ove defiksije je korištenje *e* umjesto *i*, što je jasno vidljivo u drugom retku unutrašnje strane (*Dometiu = Domitiu*) te prvom i četvrtom retku vanjske strane: *deprementi* (za *deprementi*), *deprema* (umjesto *deprima*). *Depremas* se javlja na dvije druge pločice s lokaliteta *Hadrumetum* i Este (GARCÍA RUIZ 1967: 65). Jednako tako, postoji zbrka između *o* i *alu*: *cuntra, cantra* (= *contra*), a nema ni finalnog konsonanta *t* (*cura, aga, deprema*), koji je nestao iz gotovo svih romanskih jezika (GARCÍA RUIZ 1967: 85), izuzev katalonskoga. Sljedeća značajka je korištenje *locui* (A l. 12) i *lucuia* (B l. 6) umjesto *loqui*, te *obmutuat* (B l. 5) umjesto *obmutescat*, kao i miješanje padeža pri navođenju imena osoba koje se proklinju, pri čemu se nominativi pojavljuju uz teoretske akuzative i dativ. To su antroponimi koji se pojavljuju neovisno od sintakse, izdvojene (JEANNERET 1916: 132) u zaglavlju ove *defixio*.

Izraz *muta tagita* (= *tacita*), koji se pojavljuje u šesnaestom retku na poledini ponavlja se u natpisu iz Kemptena (AE 1958, 150), a u natpisu s lokaliteta Clothall čitamo *tacita deficta* (AE 1937, 66). Ovi izrazi, usmjereni na uštkavanje suparnika, karakteristični su za pravosudne defiksije,¹⁵ kod kojih se termin *adversarius* tipično upotrebljava za označavanje suprotne stranke u postupku,¹⁶ s terminom *inimicus* kao alternativom.¹⁷ Iako ne možemo isključiti mogućnost da se riječi *muta tagita* odnose na *nomina* suparnika, kao što je očigledno u sličnim izrazima u retcima 1–2 vanjske strane, smatramo da se u ovom slučaju odnose na antičko rimsko božanstvo *Muta Tacita*. U tom slučaju, defiksija ne bi bila usmjerena samo na Sava, već i na to antičko rimsko božanstvo.

Sljedeće lingvističko svojstvo natpisa je uporaba glagola *avertere*, za označavanje (r. 11 unutrašnje strane) radnje koju suparnik treba pretrpjeti. U pločicama pronađenima na lokalitetima Cagnon i Villepouge (departman Charente Inferior), u okviru *ager Santonum*, čitamo sljedeće: *sic ilos inimicos aversos ab hoc lite esse, quomodi hic catellus aversus est ne surgere potesti*, »da ovi neprijatelji budu »prevrnuti« u ovom sporu, poput ove (naglavce) prevrnutе lutke, koja se ne može uspraviti« (DTAud. 111–12). Sljedeća paralela, još i bliskija našoj *defixio*, jest pločica pronađena u Ptuju (*Poetovio*), sa sličnom datacijom (2. stoljeće), na kojoj ponovno nalazimo izraz *possit mali facere*, koji nalazimo, s varijacijama, na sisačkom natpisu: *Paulina aversa sit / a viris ómnibus / et deficsa sit ne quid / possit mali facere. / Firminam [cl]od(as) ab om- / nibus humanis* (AE 1907, 99).

15 GAGER 1992: 116–124; Cartago – DTAud 219–20–, Susa – AE 1931: 132; Ventura Villanueva 1996: dva u Córdoba

16 Na primjer, iz Empúriesa: Marcus SIMON, e.p., ili s lokaliteta *Nomentum* (Mentana) – DTAud. 133; SOLIN, *Arctos* 23/1989: 199 ss., Frankfurt – AE 1978: 545–, *Brigantium* (Bregenz) – DTAud. 93– ili najbliži u Ljubljani: SOLIN 2004: 127–128.

17 Kao na pločici Frankfurt 1 – AE 1978: 546 – gdje se traži da Sekstovi *inimici* budu *vani* i *muti*, kao i u pri-

jašnjem primjeru istog podrijetla (vidi također SCHOLZ, u: REUTER – SCHOLZ 2004: 49 ss. no. 74 a, b), u ostalima s lokaliteta Kreuznach — CIL XIII 7553–54; DTAud. 96, 98–, Cartago – DTAud. 223, ili vrlo zanimljive pločice s lokaliteta Villepouge i Chagnon (Charente) (CIL XIII 11069–70; – DTAud. 111–112; ILS 8752; ILAquit. *Santonos* nos. 1041, b), iako ne nedostaju primjeri suživota obje riječi na istoj pločici (Este: čak i uz dodatak *hostis*: AE 1915, 10) ili obaju oblika na istome mjestu (na primjer, Empúries: IRC III 174–175).

Faraone i Kropp (u tisku) predložili su uvjerljiv argument za razumijevanje izraza *aversum facere*, koji se pojavljuje (s različitim izričajem riječi *versum: inversum, perversum*, itd.) u tekstovima iz Germanije, Galije i Norika, poput onih iz *Arae Flaviae* (Rottweil am Neckar), Mainza, Mauterna, Wiltena i Ptuja (*Poetovio*), u značenju »ubiti« ili »odvojiti od života«. Bez prihvaćanja ovog tumačenja, koje je zabilježeno na vrlo raznolikim pločicama koje dokumentiraju ritual »prenesene smrti« (MARCO SIMÓN, u tisku 2), radnja »prevrtanja suparnika naglavce« u predstojećem suđenju bila bi jednoznačna njegovom uštkavanju ili »simboličkoj smrti«, sa svrhom da ga se onemogući da svjedoči protiv molitelja.

Termini iz zaglavlja vanjske strane sisačke defiksije, *data mandata* (retci 1 i 2) savršeno odgovaraju ostalim tekstovima iz Kreuznacha (*DTAud.* 151 i 153), u kojima se ovi termini pojavljuju zajedno s imenima objekata prokletstva (*ibid.* 153): *Nomina / data [manda-] / ta [liga]ta / ad inferos...* To su, dakle, imena koja su dana, poslana i vezana za božanstva podzemlja.

2. Voda je bila najčešće mjesto za polaganje pločica s prokletstvom. Dostaje prisjetiti se brojnih nalaza u Bathu (TOMLIN 1988), ili onih nedavno otkrivenih u fontani Anne Perenne u Rimu (PIRANOMONTE, u tisku). Voda je imala najveće značenje u predodžbama i ritualnim činima Kelta i drugih drevnih naroda, kao put prema onom svijetu i objavi božanstva. Primjerak iz Siska je, međutim, prva latinska *defixio* nedvojbeno upućena nekom riječnom božanstvu, otkrivena na latinskom zapadu, u ovome slučaju u rijeci *Savus*, današnjoj Savi, koja u Beogradu utječe u Dunav.¹⁸

Dva natpisa iz *ager Emonensis* (*CIL* III 3896) i Andautonije (*CIL* III 4009 = *AIJ* 475) nose posvetu *Savo Aug(usto)*.¹⁹ U mjestu Saudörfel (kraj mjesta *Celeia* u Noriku), postoji svetište tom božanstvu, gdje je štovano zajedno s *Adsallutom* (*CIL* III 5134, 5138), vjerojatnim utjelovljenjem rijeke Saan (Savinja), koja utječe u Savu između mjesta Saudörfel (Boštanj) i Ratschach (Radeče) (*DE* I, 97), kao i možda s Neptunom. U Emoni postoji *collegium navicularium*, što ne iznenađuje uzme li se u obzir plovnost ne samo Save, čije vode teku kroz drevne gradove *Neviodunum*, *Andautonia*, *Sirmium* i *Singidunum*, kao i Sisciju, već i susjednih rijeka (*Hemona*, *Korkaras*, *Colapis*, *Valdasus*, *Urpanus*, *Bacuntius*, *Bathinus*, *Besante*, *Drinus*) (FITZ 1979), u području koje je bogato rudnicima željezne rude.

Postoji nekoliko paralela za pločicu s prokletstvom kojom se ovdje bavimo. U *defixio* iz Triera traži se od Izide da »u rijeku« pošalje nekog Tiberija Klaudija iz Triera, oslobođenika Klaudija Similija.²⁰ Neke su britanske *defixio* upućene Neptunu (*dominus Neptunus*)²¹ te je vjerojatno

18 O rijeci *Savus*, Strab. 4, 207; 7, 314; Plin. *Nat.* 3, 128, 147–148; Ptol. 2, 16, 14; 3, 9, 1. Vidi: PATSCH 1909–15. O ulozu koju je rijeka imala u Oktavijanovom pohodu 35. god. pr. Kr., Cass. Dio 19, 37, 3–5.

19 Vidjeti također *CIL* III 5134 = 11680; *CIL* III 5138; *CIL* III 11684; *AE* 1934, 71 = *AIJ* 255; *AE* 1938, 152 = *AIJ* 27. Većina svjedočanstava uključuje također *Adsalluta*.

20 KROPP 2008: 4.1.3./16: *Tiberium Claudium, trevirum, natione / Germanum, libertum Claudii Similis. Rogo / te, domina Isis, ut illi profluvium / mittas et quidquid in bonis / habet in morbum megarum.*

21 Primjerice, one s lokaliteta Brandon (HASSALL – TOMLIN: 1993, 293–295; *AE* 1994, 1112), Caistor St. Edmund (*AE* 1982, 669; HASSALL – TOMLIN 1982: 408–409) ili iz estuarija rijeke Hamble (Hampshire). Na posljednjoj se spominje žensko vodeno božanstvo *Niska*

(*AE* 1977, 977; TOMLIN 1997: 455–457). Ova povezanost Neptuna sa ženskim vodenim božanstvom kao što je *Niska*, teonimom koji se ponovno pojavljuje u množini za označavanje vodenih božanstava kojima je upućeno osam defiksija pronađenih na lokalitetu Amélie-les-Bains (Arles) (posljednji rad o tome je LAMBERT 2002: 247–250), dopušta nam hipotezu da je latinski teonim na natpisima zapravo tumačenje domaćeg božanstva sa osobnošću koja možda sliči onoj koja se kasnije pojavljuje u irskim *Dinn-senchas* – sastavljenim u 12. stoljeću, kao što su Nechtan, supružnik božice pod imenom *Boand*, eponimne božice rijeke Boyne (GREEN 1992: 158, s referencama). Fragmentarni natpis iz Chesterholma, u području Hadrijanova zida (*RIB* 1964) protumačen je kao posveta Neptunu samom ili božanstvu *Nodens Neptunus*, u biti asimilaciji božanstva čije se glavno svetište nalazi u Lydneyu, pokraj rijeke Severn.

da se bradato božanstvo s valovitim uvojcima koje je prikazano na zabatu hrama *Sulis Minerva* u Bathu odnosi na vodeno božanstvo slično (GREEN 1992: 161) onome tumačenom kroz Neptuna, koji je, u najranijim razdobljima rimske religije bio povezan s rijekama i izvorima, a ne s morem (OLMSTED 1994: 399, s referencama), kao što je, čini se, pokazano *Neptunalijama* održanima 23. srpnja radi istjerivanja suše (Fest. 377 L; Tert. *Spect.* 6; Varr. *LL* 6, 19). Također, drevni Kelti su općenito smatrali Neptuna kao *numen praesens* bilo kojeg prikaza vode (DUVAL 1976: 89–90; THEVENOT 1968: 129–131).

Da bismo objasnili zašto je *defixio* bačena u rijeku upućena istoimenome božanstvu, sa osobnosti koja je tako izvorno domaća kao *Savus*, moramo obratiti pozornost na kozmološki i ritualni kontekst koji se doima karakterističnim za razne zapadnoeuropske narode.

Nalazi oružja bačenog u rijeke u zapadnim provincijama Carstva dobro su poznati. Nalazima iz Temze u Londonu (štit izvađen kod mosta Battersea, itd.; zapravo, glavnina metalnih predmeta iz prvog razdoblja želznog doba pronađenih u Velikoj Britaniji potječe iz rijeka), možemo dodati i mačeve s nekih lokaliteta, poglavito u Bretanji (Vilaine, rijeka Loire kod Nantesa). Nedavna istraživanja proučavala su votivne depozite u rijekama i jezerima s područja Nerva i Atrebata (LEMAN-DELERIVE – WARMENBOL 2007) u Nizozemskoj (VAN HOOFF 2007), a sveobuhvatna analiza riječnih nalaza latenskog razdoblja (SCHÖNFELDER 2007) naglašava prevladavanje oružja tijekom srednjeg latena te naglašenu prisutnost novca tijekom kasnog latena (»die Zeit der Heiligtümer am Fluss«, *ibid.* 466), što je nastavljeno i u rimskom razdoblju. Izniman je nalaz tisuća komada novca otkriven u Toulouseu (vidjeti BOUDARTCHOUK – GARDES 2007), kao i nalaz iz gaza preko Loire na lokalitetu *Cenabum*, gdje je uz mnoštvo novca pronađeno i petstotinjak malenih olovnih kotačića te bakrena stopala; riječ je nesumnjivo o *ex-voto* nalazima prinesenima riječnom božanstvu.

Aristotel nam kazuje kako su Kelti znali zagnjuriti novorođenčad u rijeku (*Polit.* 7,15,2; HOFENEDER 2005: 38), koja se spominje kao Rajna u jednoj pjesmi iz »Grčke antologije« iz vremena oko 200. g. pr. Kr., te dodaje kako je to činjeno radi dokazivanja njihove legitimnosti (*Anth. Graec.* 9,125). Klaudijan se prisjeća ovih spartanskih navika kada govori o Galima da Rajna provjerava njihovo rođenje (*In Ruf.* 2, 111 ss). Upravo se stoga galski poglavica Viridomar, koji će napasti Italiju u 3. st. pr. Kr., hvalio kako je rođen iz same Rajne (Propertius 4, 10, 40–41; HOFENEDER 2008: 129–135, s historiografskom raspravom tog odjeljka). Ova ritualna praksa, neprikladno nazvana »druidsko krštenje« (ZECCHINI 1984: 19 -n. 5), zabilježena je kod mnogih kasnijih pisaca (CHEVALLIER 1983: 326), a Vergilije (*Aen.* 9, 603–604) je spominje u vezi s drugim italskim narodima, kao što to čine i drugi autori za germanske narode (BOURGEOIS 1991: 93).

Ovaj iznimno zanimljivi ritual kojim se daje legitimnost novorođenom djetetu (ili, da to protumačimo na drukčiji način, kojim se potiče otpornost na hladnu vodu rijeke) nadopunjen je drugim vrstama dokaza – kako epigrafskim, tako i ikonografskim – koji ističu, prema keltskom shvaćanju, povezanost ove velike rijeke s drevnim božanstvom. Zapravo, u svetištu u Strasbourg postoji *ara* posvećena Ocu Rajni (u hrvatskom bi to odgovaralo »Majci Rajni« *op.p.*), što je učinio nitko manje važan od C. Opija Severa, legata *Legio VIII Augusta* oko 130. godine: *Rheno patri Oppius Severus leg(agus) Aug(usti)* (*AE* 1969–70, 434). Slučajevi poput ovog, u kojem se za obraćanje rijeci rabi termin *pater*, zabilježeni su vrlo rijetko, primjerice u slučaju rijeke Tiber (WISOWA 1912: 224). U Galiji su uz Rajnu i Mosel deificirane i druge rijeke, pa su tako ondje nalaženi hramovi i natpisi posvećeni sljedećim božicama: *Sequana* (Seine), *Matrona* (Marne), *Icauna* (Yonne) te *Souconna* (Saône) (IZARRA 1993: 230).

Među ikonografskim zabilješkama ovdje nas najviše zanima Probov antoninijan koji prikazuje dva riječna božanstva uz legendu *Siscia*. To su bez sumnje *Colapis* i *Savus*, rijeke koje se

spajaju na mjestu gdje je nastao grad (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 11–12, ill. 12; DUKAT 2004–2005: 289, br. 82). Postoje i druga numizmatička svjedočanstva o važnosti vodenih božanstava za Gale, uključujući i veličanstveni novac koji su kovali *Parisii*, a koji prikazuje veliku mušku glavu, okrenutu nadesno, u čamcu (IZARRA 1993: 120).

Pjesnici Augustova doba (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 727; Ovid. *Trist.* 4, 2, 41–42) spominju *Rhenus bicornis* s ikonografijom svojstvenom nekim tauromorfnim riječnim prikazima Aheloja (WEISS 1988); taj je riječni bog tako prikazan na reljefu iz Bonna (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 38, ill. 42).²²

Rijeke nisu korištene jedino za provjeru legitimnosti novorođenčadi ili za jačanje njihove otpornosti na hladnu vodu, već i za olakšavanje posljednjeg pokojnikova putovanja. Oko 1560. godine, prilikom terasiranja na Zuiderzee u Nizozemskoj, pronađeni su fosilizirani trupci s ljudskim ukopima, koje je nanijela Rajna, a koji podsjećaju na pokope u čunovima pronađene na francuskim nalazištima Montseugny (Haute-Saône), Caen i Le Havre (IZARRA 1993: 229). U istraživanjima provedenima 2001. godine u Fiskertonu, na obalama rijeke Witham u istočnoj Engleskoj, pronađena su dva velika čuna, protumačena kao zavjetni darovi, zajedno s drvenim stupovima povezanima uz pomrčinu mjeseca u latenskom kontekstu, no jednako tako i uz keramiku rimskog vremena (PARKER PEARSON et al. 2007: 443, sl. 7). Izgleda da slični nalazi iz kasnog brončanog doba s drugih lokaliteta, osobito iz rijeka poput Save i Drave (WIRTH, 2007: 452, sl. 2), ukazuju da su vode i rijeke smatrane zagrobnim područjima, odnosno ulazima u drugi svijet.

Osim toga, uzme li se u obzir očigledno pravosudni sadržaj teksta koji proučavamo, bacanje defiksije u vode rijeke Save moglo bi se smatrati njenim posvećenjem (*consecratio*) riječnom božanstvu moćnih neprijatelja u predstojećem sporu.

Dva razloga čine zazivanje drevnog božanstva pod imenom *Muta Tacita* u tekstu potpuno razumljivim. S jedne strane, istovrsnim se slučajem smatralo i spominjanje *mute tacite* u defiksiji iz Kemptena, gdje se latinsko božanstvo spominje zajedno s Erinijama i Orkom (KROPP 2008 a: dfx. 7.2/1; *Ead.* 2008 b, 3334). S druge strane, u ovom kontekstu ovakva invokacija ima savršenog smisla. *Tacita*, božica šutnje, pripada najranijem razdoblju rimske religije – stvaranje njezina kulta tradicionalno se pripisuje Numi (Plut. *Numa* 8, 11). Ovidije (*Fast.* 2, 571–582), koji izjednačava *Tacitu* s božicom *Mutom*,²³ koju se istovremeno smatra i majkom *Lares compitales* (Lact. *Inst.* 1, 20, 35), navodi kako je tijekom *Feralia* – održanih 21. veljače u znak obilježavanja završetka *dies Parentales* – neka starica prinijela *Taciti* neobičnu žrtvu. Sjedeći na zemlji u krugu mladića, s tri je prsta uzela tri zrna tamjana i stavila ih na prag, kuda je prije toga prošao miš. Zatim je vezala olovni predmet začaranim nitima i prevrtala sedam zrna crnoga graha u ustima; potom je ispekla glavu ribe koju je prethodno probušila brončanom iglom te ribom prekrila usta. Naposljetku je izlila na životinju nekoliko kapi vina. Ovaj ritual s nesumnjivim karakteristikama čaranja imao je za svrhu ušutkati usta i jezike neprijatelja (Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 581: *hostiles linguas inimicaque ora*), što ga je činilo savršenom invokacijom za ovu sudsku defiksiju, kojom je *defigens* želio ušutkati suparnike. Sve upućuje na božansku osobnost iz podzemnog svijeta, budući da je šutnja vladala u podzemnim

22 Međutim, ne pojavljuje se jedino Rajna kao *bicornis*: jednak je slučaj s Eridanom (Po), prema Vergiliju te s rijekom Mosel prema Ausoniju (*corniger Mosella*), pa čak i sa samim Tiberom. Također se čini očiglednim da je *tauros trigaranos* (trorogi bik), tako često prikazivan na galskim broncama, kao i na pariškom stupu *Nauta (Nautae Parisiaci)*, povezan s riječnim kultovima (IZARRA 1993: 232). Na sarkofagu iz Lyona, datiranom u prvu četvrtinu 3. stoljeća, u kojem je pokopan C. Anije Flavijan, veteran

Leg. XXX Vlpia, prikazani su iznad natpisa likovi dvaju riječnih božanstava oslonjeni na vodenu žaru s palmom. Prema N. Blanc, likovi bi mogli predstavljati Rhônu i Rajnu (gdje je vojnik prethodno služio), ali je vjerojatnije da se odnose na Rhônu i Saônu (VOLLKOMMER 1994: 31, ill. 31).

23 Zapravo je, prema pjesniku, riječ o nimfi Lari, »brbljavici«, kojoj je Jupiter iščupao jezik jer je Junoni otkrila njegovu ljubav prema Juturni (Ovid. *Fast.* 2, 583–616).

kraljevstvima (*Manes taciti*: Ovid. *Fast.* 5, 422; 2, 609; *loca tacentia* koja su nastavali mrtvi *silentēs*: Verg. *Aen.* 6, 264).

Ovo su osnovne crte povijesnog konteksta koje nam pomažu objasniti polaganje sisačke defiksije sa zamolbom riječnome bogu Savu (*Savus*). Stoga ćemo se sada pozabaviti specifičnim povijesnim okolnostima koje su dale povoda ovom činu te iznad svega, uvrštanjem važnih ličnosti iz tako dalekih krajeva, kao što su to Narbona i Hispanija, kao objektima prokletstva.

3. Ne znamo razloge zašto je *defigens* izvršio *devotio hostium* božanstvu rijeke Save prije postupka protiv njegovih neprijatelja (*adversarii*). Možda bismo morali razmisliti o tome da je riječ o skupini (*adversario nostro*), čiji interesi bi bili ugroženi budućim svjedočanstvom šestorice umiješanih osoba. Činjenica da su gotovo svi bili stranci (u samoj Sisciji) dopušta nam pretpostaviti da je riječ o lokalnoj grupi, čije bi financijske interese upletene osobe mogle ugroziti.

Siscia, Strabonova *Segestiké* (7, 313; također Geogr. Rav. 4, 20), bila je rimska kolonija osnovana na mjestu gdje rijeka *Colapis* utječe u *Savus*, a stanovništvo su joj činili Italici, Dalmatinci te doseljenici sa istoka i zapada, kao mete našeg natpisa. Grad je ustanovljen kao ključno komunikacijsko središte između sjevera i juga (Dunav-*Adria*) te istoka i zapada (*Illyricum*-Italija). Ime *Segestica* obuhvaća najranije naseljenike i pojavljuje se u izvorima iz doba Republike, dok *Siscia* prevladava u doba Carstva. Iako među filozozima nema opće suglasnosti u vezi s lingvističkom pripadnosti, činjenica je da većina imena mjesta s korijenom *Seg-* pripada keltskoj sferi, a keltski je i kulturni horizont otkriven arheološkim istraživanjima na lokalitetu Pogorelec, s građom koja se jasno može datirati u kasni latén (ŠAŠEL 1974: 704).

Grad je Tiberiju služio kao glavni stožer (11–9. g. pr. Kr.; 6–9. g. po Kr.), a kolonijalni je status stekao u vrijeme Flavijevaca (možda 71. g. po Kr.), usvajajući i ime carske obitelji (*Flavia*, potom *Aelia* pod Hadrijanom). Grad je imao *tabularium provinciae*, beneficijarsku postaju, carinarnicu *publicum portorium Illyrici* te riječnu bazu za flotu *Flavia Pannonica* (ŠAŠEL 1974: 738, s referencama). Također je imao i postaju za *Legio IX Hispana* do 42–43. g. po Kr., a *defixio*, čini se, ukazuje i na trgovinu sa zapadom preko Italije (SZILÁGYI 1979: 213), s radionicama koje su proizvodile *sigillatu* te razvijenom industrijom bronce, sudeći po kacigama pronađenima u rijeci Kupi (vidjeti također »Flux«, *RE* III A, 361 ss.; MÓCSY 1959: 24–25, 101, 138).

Nadgrobni natpisi i vojne diplome pokazatelji su mnogobrojnih pomoćnih trupa rimske vojske (*alae* i *cohortes*) smještenih u Panoniji; novačene su iz savskih i dravskih *civitates* kao što su Breuci, Kolapijani (koji su živjeli u dolini Kupe, blizu *Siscije*), Kornakati, Siscijani, Varcijani, Jasi i Latobici (MÓCSY 1974: 51). Sve ovo ukazuje na to da su keltska imena prevladavala na sjeveru i zapadu Panonije, a čini se da je lingvistički horizont u preostalome dijelu bio panonski (ilirski); *Varciani* bi pritom ipak pripadali keltskom horizontu (MÓCSY 1974: 60–61 i 64, sl. 11). Iako se čini kako teorija o kontaktu s Hispanijom, koja se temelji na imenima kao što su *Aturo*, *Ciliunus*, *Teitia* ili *Anbo* (MÓCSY 1974: 61) nema čvrsto uporište, činjenica je da astralna ikonografija na stelama iz sjeveroistočnog dijela provincije (MÓCSY 1974: 62, sl. 10) jasno pokazuje sličnosti s analognim temama na hispano-rimskim stelama na sjeveru Iberskog poluotoka (polumjeseci, svastike, lukovi te, iznad svega, kvadratični uglati motivi, »nebeske ključanice«). Ove teme, jednako kao i posmrtna gozba, naglašavaju ikonografske veze koje se čine jedinstvenima u zapadnim provincijama Carstva, iako su, daleko od toga da odražavaju hispanске utjecaje (MÓCSY 1974: 61), vjerojatno su dospjele u Hispaniju s *Legio VII Gemina* (74. g. po Kr.), nakon njezina razmjesta u *Carnuntumu* (Pannonia) umjesto *Legio XV Apollinaris*, koja se nalazila na istočnom frontu između 63. i 68. godine, a kojoj bi se moglo pripisati uvođenje tih tema u Podunavlje (MARCO 1978: 32).

Mreža cesta povezivala je Sisciju i *Sirmium* (Sremska Mitrovica), *Neviodunum* (Drnovo, u Sloveniji), *Andautoniju* (Ščitarjevo), *Seniju* (Senj, na obali), *Emonu* (Ljubljana) te *Ad Fines*, a čini

se kako je *Siscia* imala važnu ulogu u koncentraciji prometa, robe i novih proizvoda namijenjenih Italiji u odsječku između *Carnuntuma* i *Singidunuma*, odakle su lako dospijevali do Salone ili Akvileje (ŠAŠEL 1974: 730). Istaknutost grada kao središta južne Panonije odražava se u simboličkom univerzumu božanstava povezanih s trgovinom: *Silvanus* (*Magla, Domesticus, Silvestre*), *Mars Marmogius*, »ilirski« *Liber*, kao i *Hercules, Herculenis, Venus* te *Ceres* (ŠAŠEL 1974:735), sa osnovnom upravljačkom ulogom sve do markomanskih provala u vrijeme Marka Aurelija.

Imena stanovnika daju malo dokaza o izvornom stanovništvu, iako prisustvo istočnih imena ukazuje na intenzivnu trgovačku djelatnost u gradu, što se također može razvidjeti prema pristustvu (zabilježenom na nadgrobnim spomenicima) oslobođenika, primjerice pojedinca iz *Tergeste* (Trst) (MÓCSY 1974: 71).

Od šestorice koje *defigens* ili *defigentes* spominju kao protivnike, *Lucius Larcius* i *Secundus Vacarus* stanovnici su grada *Cibalae* (Vinkovci: *It. Ant.* 261, 1; 268, 4), koji leži između rijeka Drave i Save, nedaleko od *Volcae palus* (Victor, Dio Cass. 55, 32, 3), a municipija za Hadrijana (*CIL* III 3267) te *colonia Aurelia C.* od 3. st. (*CIL* VI 2833). Spomenut je narbonski *origo* Citronija Cikorrelija, a naglašava se hispano podrijetlo Licinija Sure, a potonji je bez dvojbe u rodu s moćnom obitelji koja se spominje u natpisima iz *Barcina* i drugih dijelova *Tarakone*.

Tako nam je jasno da su barem četvorica od šestorice spomenutih ljudi došljaci u Sisciju. To nas dovodi do uvjerenja da su sastavljači mogli biti domaći ljudi. Isprva su se područja domorodačkog stanovništva oko srednjeg toka Dunava, Save i Drave mogla smatrati kao *prata legionum* i znamo da su, barem tijekom 1. st. po Kr. neka od njih zadržala svoju vlastitu organizaciju pod vojničkim časnicima (*praefecti*), npr. *Antonius Naso* među *Kolapijanima* (*Colopiani*) u području Siscije (*CIL* III 14387; *ILS* 9199).

Preobrazba drevnih naselja u gradove s privilegiranim statusom obvezala bi ih da prime koloniju rimskih veterana, što bi, razumljivo, zahtijevalo reviziju izvangradskih posjeda, pri čemu bi najbolja zemlja pripala kolonistima, a domaće stanovništvo moralo bi se zadovoljiti najlošijom zemljom. S vremenom su se brojni kolonijalni i municipalni posjedi počeli gomilati u rukama skupine važnih zemljoposjednika, među kojima je bilo i došljaka iz drugih krajeva (ROSTOVITZEFF 1962: 458). To bi mogao biti povijesni kontekst defiksije iz Siscije.

4. U sedmome retku sisačke *defixio* izričito se spominje *Lucius Licinius Sura, Hispanus*. Prije više godina to bi se ime automatski identificiralo s bliskim suradnikom cara Trajana; o njegovom privatnom životu znademo malo, iako se iz izvora saznaje da je bio vrlo obrazovan i učen, osim toga što je bio neizmjereno bogat (CABALLOS 1990: I/1, 183–193).

S druge strane, uobičajeno pripisivanje natpisa na slavluku u mjestu Berà (sl. 3) Liciniju Suri, bliskome Trajanovu suradniku, gdje se spominje kao član tribusa *Sergia*, dovelo je do krive pretpostavke, da je on, kao i car rođen u Italici. Ipak, temeljita studija X. Dupréa (1994) jasno je dokazala da se luk iz Bere (Berà) zajedno s natpisom, datira u Augustovo vrijeme te da je u njemu spomenuti *Lucius Licinius Sura* bio predak – djed ili pradjed – Trajanova Licinija Sure. Potonji je stoga ostao bez jedinog dokumenta u kojem se spominje tribus *Sergia*; pa sada čak ni ne znamo kojem tribusu je ta utjecajna osoba pripadala, ukoliko se ne bismo iznova pozabavili sa tumačenjem *RIT* 358, o kojem ćemo u nastavku nešto reći.

Prema jednom ili drugom razlogu prilično je jasno da obitelj Trajanova Licinija Sure nije potjecala iz Italike, već iz *Tarakone* (*Tarraconensis*), gdje je *gens Licinia* bila dugo i široko zastupljena. U biti postojali su brojni *Licinii* i u pokrajini *Hispania citerior* i pokrajini *Gallia Narbonensis*, napose u području *Barcina* (*Barcino*) i njegovoj okolici (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 168–169).

Također, oznaka *Hispanus* navedena u defiksiji, čini se, više usmjeruje prema pokrajini *Hispania Citerior*. No, kazuje li ona o kojem je dijelu provincije riječ? *Licinii* se često javljaju, a *cognomen* Sura nalazi se na različitim kovovima iz Sagunta, Erkvike te, kako ćemo poslije vidjeti, iz Celse (BURNETT – AMANDRY – RIPOLLÈS 1992: 100, br. 201–203, i 141, br. 464–467).

Suočeni s pouzdanom datacijom luka u Beri u augustovsko doba, našu pozornost neizbježno privlači nadgrobni natpis pronađen u Zaragozi (*Caesar Augusta*), na kojem se spominje *Hyacintus, horrearius Surae* (BELTRÁN 1982: 56). Obilježja nadgrobnog natpisa naznačuju da je iz kasnog augustovskog ili ranog tiberijevskog razdoblja. Oblikovan je poput stele, s polukružnim vijencem i upuštenim poljem i sliči drugim spomenicima nađenim u Celsi (*Celsa*, Velilla de Ebro). Također znademo da su se obojica duumvira te kolonije iz trijumvirskog i augustovskog vremena zvala *L. Sura* (BURNETT – AMANDRY – RIPOLLÈS 1992: 111–112, br. 263 i 271). Te činjenice izgleda da upućuju na to da je podrijetlo obitelji Licinija Sure iz konventa grada *Caesar Augusta* (ALFÖLDY 1977: 295), na koju bi se također mogla odnositi Marcijalova opaska (*Ep.* I, 49, 19–20), u kojoj, oslovljavajući Licinijana, on spominje blago podneblje Tarakonije i Laietanije te izjavljuje »*Dum Sura laudatur tuus*«. Moguće je da je obitelj Trajana Sure izvorno potjecala iz Celse, a također prilično moguće da je predak, spomenut na luku u gradu Berà došao iz te kolonije, iako su se kasnije interesi toga gensa više usmjerili prema području Katalonije, gdje se Sura možda rodio.

Ta pretpostavka, da je Licinije Sura potjecao iz Celse potkrijepljena je nalazom pečata za crepove od lokalnog alabastera u »Kući delfina«, u toj rimskoj koloniji na obalama Ebra, s natpisom *L(ucius)*Lici(nius)*At(ticus?)* (najnovije: BELTRÁN 1997: 29). Prema arheološkom kontekstu datira se ne kasnije od 54. god., vjerojatno tijekom Tiberijeva vladanja, a osoba, možda slobodnjak, stavlja se u svezu s magistratima imenom *L. Sura* i *L. Licinius Sura* (*PIR* 2 L 258).

K tomu, znatno su povećani nalazi i epigrafičke studije o značaju roda Licinijevaca (*gens Licinia*) u području Tarakone, koja odgovara današnjim pokrajinama Tarragona i Barcelona. U biti, kako monumentalni natpisi, tako i oni na amforama i dolijima svjedoče o neprekinutoj nazočnosti obitelji *Licinii* (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005).

U mjestu *Barcino*, jedan *Lucius Licinius* bio je jedan od prvih magistrata kolonije, prema onome što možemo zaključiti iz kronologije blokova od kojih je sastavljena eksedra na Montjuicu (*IRC* IV, 62a, 138).

Slično, pečati na amforama proizvedenim na području Laietanije, na obali Barcelone te na području El Vallés, na tipovima oblika Pascual 1 i Dressel 2–4, pokazuju brojnost različitih Licinija u augustovskom i julijevsko-klaudijevskom vremenu (BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 170–179).

Sve to pridonosi stvaranju slike o osobama koje su pripadale domaćoj eliti te bogatim seoskim veleposjednicima, koji su svoje gospodarstvo zasnivali na proizvodnji vina. Toponim *Liciniano* i njegove izvedenice (AEBISCHER 1926: 101–102, i 2006, 115–116; BERNI – CARRERAS – OLESTI 2005: 180–181) upućuju na fundijarski posjed, koji je, čini se, danas preživio u imenu Lličà u grofoviji El Vallés, premda se taj razmjerno veliki *fundus* nije morao nužno podudarati s granicama tog municipija, već je mogao biti proširen i na područja Granollera i Llerona – *Lauro* na kovovima te proizvođač dobrog vina (LLORENS – RIPOLLÈS 1998), gdje su otkrivene značajne konstrukcije (RODÁ, u tisku a).

Jedan od tih ladanjskih veleposjednika, koji je najvjerojatnije raspolagao mrežom slobodnjaka, bio je *Lucius Licinius Sura* s luka u Beri (sl. 3), izravni predak istoimene osobe, koja je dosegla najviše položaje u Trajanovoj upravi.

Pokušajmo se uživiti u to vrijeme. Nazočnost Licinija Sure posvjedočena je brojnim posvetama u Barcinu njegovom slobodnjaku i pomagaču Luciju Liciniju Sekundu, pojedincu s najvećim brojem posvetnih natpisa u rimskome svijetu (*IRC I*, 125 and *IRC IV*, 83–104, pp. 163–188). Niz natpisa (sl. 4) vrlo je jednoličan, uklesan u kratko vrijeme, između trećeg Surina konzulata i njegove smrti (107–108. g. po Kr). Kako bi zadovoljili zamašnu potražnju posvetitelja, klesari su upotrijebili raspoloživo skladište trodijelnih postolja, čak prilagodivši jedan profilirani kamen izvorno isklesan kao postolje (*IRC IV*, 96).

Taj neobični niz počasti na forumu Barcina, koji spominju ili javne ili privatne posvetitelje (MELCHOR GIL 2003) a da se ni u jednom slučaju ne pojavljuje uobičajena formulacija *LDDD*, bez sumnje može se zahvaliti ključnome položaju Licinija Sekunda, koji mu je omogućavao pristup beneficijama koji su mogli potjecati od njegova kontakta sa Surom, čijim posjedima i financijskim interesima je upravljao u tom području.

Prvi položaj Licinija Sekunda bio je onaj augustovskog sevira u Tarakoni (*Tarraco*) a onda u Barcinu (*Barcino*). Iako je slobodnjaku počast odana samo u Barcinu, njegov patron Sura mogao je imati spomenike kako u jednoj, tako i u drugoj koloniji.

Prvi natpis koji možemo proučiti (sl. 5) je onaj u kojem se, u velikim i jasnim, odlično klesanim uglatim kapitalama (24,3 cm), navodi neki *L. Licinius* koji je mogao biti darovatelj neke javne zgrade početkom 2. st. po Kr., budući da kamen pripada nekom prilično velikome epistilu, možda s nekog trijema (*IRC IV*, 38).

Temeljeći svoje mišljenje na kronologiji, mislimo da *Lucius Licinius* s tog bloka od pješčenjaka s Montjuïca mora biti ili *Sura*, ili njegov slobodnjak, *Secundus*, možda izvršitelj oporuke svog patrona. Stoga, prvotno se mislilo da se taj natpis može staviti s drugim blokom na kojemu se čitaju slova *NTO*, koja možebitno odgovaraju formulaciji *ex testamento*; ipak, u tom slučaju paleografija čini se da nas dovodi do datacije u proto-carsko ili čak augustovsko razdoblje (*IRC IV*, 376).

Liciniju Suri mogu se pripisati dva natpisa koja ćemo ovdje razmotriti. Jedan izgubljeni natpis iz Barcina, poznat prema rukopisnoj predaji (*IRC IV*, 39; *HEp* 7, 2001, 83–84, br. 207), bilježi funkcije koje je obnašala neka nepoznata osoba, koja je bila *pontifex* te član kolegija *sodales augustales* i odobreni su joj trijumfalni ukrasi i statua. Počasti se možda odnose na one ukazane 106. god. radi obilježavanja Drugoga dačkog rata te na statu u koja mu je, ako prihvatimo izvješće Kasija Diona (LXVIII, 15, 3), podignuta na Trajanovu forumu. E. Hübner prihvatio je ideju da bi se tekst tog natpisa odnosio na Suru, ponavljajući mišljenje B. Borghesija (*CIL II*, 4508), a u skladu sa G. di Vitom (1987: 335, br. 204), usprkos tome što nijedan natpis, koji se može sa sigurnošću pripisati Suri, ne spominje *ornamenta triumphalia*.

No, jedan izgubljeni ulomak natpisa iz Taragone (*Tarraco*; *RIT* 358) mogao bi se pročitati na sljedeći način: [*L. Li*][*ci*][*n*ius, -o] / *M. f. Serg*(ia) [*Sura*, -e] / [*cos II*] *desig. II*[*I*] / [*orna*][*ment*][*s*] [*triumphalibus*] (*IRC IV*, 106, br. 120; *HEp* 7, 2001, 337, br. 956). Svjesni smo da je to hipotetička rekonstrukcija, no ona posjeduje određeni stupanj plauzibilnosti. Ako bi ta hipoteza bila točna, Licinije Sura mogao bi se ponovno pripisati tribusu Sergia.

Bilo kako bilo, znademo sa sigurnošću da je izravni predak Trajanova Licinija Sure naručio izgradnju luka u gradu Berà te da se dvadeset i tri puta spominje na postoljima, podignutima u čast njegovu slobodnjaku Liciniju Sekundu, kao dio procesa, koji bismo mogli sažeti narodnom poslovicom »*adorar el santo por la peana*« (»častiti sveca kroz postolje«).

Kako god bilo, postoje plauzibilne naznake, koje smo upravo naveli, izravnih počasti Suri u Barcinu i Tarakoni. U maloj, ali vrlo aktivnoj koloniji Barcina tijekom vladanja Trajana i Hadrijana, postojala je koncentracija interesa najutjecajnijih senatorskih obitelji toga vremena; zastupali su ih

njihovi slobodnjaci koji su *de facto* imali u rukama položaje moći. Imamo podatke o Liciniju Suri i njegovom slobodnjaku i pomoćniku Sekundu, natpise Minicija Natala (*Minicii Natales*), oca i sina (*IRC IV*, 30–35) vjerojatno u rodu s Licinijima Silvanima Granijanima (*Licinii Silvani Graniani*) iz Betulone (*Baetulo*; *IRC I*, 139–139; CABALLOS 1990 I/1: 180–183) te, u dodatku, obiteljsku predaju Pedanija (*Pedanii*), potomaka misterioznog Lucija Pedanija Sekunda Julija Persika (*Lucius Pedanius Secundus Julius Persicus*; *IRC IV*, 37; CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 421–422; NAVARRO 2003: 674), možda povezanog s Pedanijem Sekundom (*Pedanius Secundus*), koji je bio *consul suffectus* 43. god. po Kr., i s Pedanijima Salinatorima (*Pedanii Salinatores*; *IRC IV*, pp. 103–105; CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 413–421; RODÁ, u tisku *b*). To je navelo R. Symea da predloži hispansko, a napose barcinsko podrijetlo za tu obitelj (SYME 1958: 480, 599, n. 9, 785, 794, n. 15; 1981: 282).

Prema tome mišljenju također možemo odrediti prijedlog atribucije fragmentiranog natpisa, za koji smo predložili da bi se mogao odnositi na Minicija Natala Oca (*IRC IV*: 31; *HEp* 7, 2001: 76–77, br. 180) a kojeg, s druge strane F. J. Navarro (2003: *AE* 2003: 1011) tumači kao spomen Lucija Julija Ursa Servijana, koji ne samo da je mogao biti Hispanac, kao što se to do danas smatralo (CABALLOS 1990 I/2: 386–388; CASTILLO 1982: 66), nego je možda bio iz Barcina. To bi značilo da su oba konzula za 102. god. po Kr., *Licinius Sura* i *Julius Ursus Servianus*, imala slične geografske izvore.

Ipak, iako je vrlo privlačan novi prijedlog čitanja teksta, on ne nalazi potpore u postojanju portreta iz Barcina, koji E. Albertini u svome zborniku (1911–1912: 434, br. 200, sl. 228; RODÁ 1975: 245–246, sl. V) prepoznaje kao Julija Ursa Servijana. Riječ je o glavi koja je pripadala zbirci Barberà, danas u Arheološkome muzeju Katalonije u Barceloni. Iako su neki od kipova te zbirke novovjekci, onaj koji nas ovdje zanima mogao bi biti antički, premda njegov stil ne odgovara stilu početka 2. st. po Kr., nego nekom ranijem razdoblju (KOPPEL – CLAVERIA 2008: slika), usprkos činjenici da ima određenu fizionomsku sličnost s poprsjem u Stratfield Saye House, koje nosi posvetu *L. Ursum.cos III/Crescens lib* (RODÁ 1975: 246, sl. VI; OPPER 2008: 45, 219, 235, no. 155).

Ono što jest sigurno jest to da dokazi i hipoteze počinju potvrđivati da su se u Barcinu koncentrirale najvažnije ličnosti političke moći Trajanova carstva.

Ako to temeljimo na cijelom navedenom povijesnom okviru, vjerujemo da hispanskog Suru sa sisačke defiksije možemo dovesti u vezu s Trajanovim Surom, koji je igrao važnu ulogu u drugome dijelu dačkih ratova i koji je bio bliski suradnik i uživao potpuno povjerenje Trajana. On također umalo što nije postao kandidatom za carski prijestol, nakon što je bio odlučujući čimbenik kad je Nerva odabrao Trajana za svoga nasljednika. Kako god bilo siscijanska *defixio* sadrži vrlo zanimljive podatke o čaranju od strane nekih, možda domaćih *defigentes*, koji u jednoj autentičnoj *consecratio*, uključuju važne strane ličnosti kako bi istjerali nesigurnost i strah izazvane bitnim promjenama – ne samo u gospodarskom polju – nego i u shvaćanju svijeta, kakvu je rimska nazočnost donijela u provinciju *Pannonia Superior*.

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