

# Aquae lasae: nova otkrića iz rimskog razdoblja na području Varaždinskih Toplica

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AQUAE  
LISÆ

# AQUAE IASÆ

NOVA OTKRIĆA IZ RIMSKOG RAZDOBLJA  
NA PODRUČJU VARAŽDINSKIH TOPLICA

RECENT DISCOVERIES OF ROMAN REMAINS  
IN THE REGION OF VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu  
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Nina Pirnat Spahić

## PREDGOVOR

Organizirajući čitav niz kulturnih događanja u sklopu zajedničkog projekta nazvanog EMONA 2000, Ljubljana slavi svoju antičku prošlost. Ova posebna obljetnica važna je ne samo u smislu prihvaćanja, očuvanja i predstavljanja našeg bogatoga kulturnog nasljedstva široj javnosti već i u smislu osvješćivanja i prepoznavanja civilizacijskih dostignuća iz vremena rimske antike kao kolijevke europske kulture. U vrijeme Rimskog Carstva, čiji utjecaj i moć i danas izazivaju divljenje – uređeno društvo s visokim moralnim vrijednostima uspostavljeno je na području s kojeg je počelo širenje bez konkurencije u ljudskoj povijesti, osvajajući teritorije od Britanije i Iberijskog poluotoka do Irana, i od sjevernoafričke obale do Rajne i Dunava. Mnogi povjesničari smatraju kako tajna uspjeha moćne rimske civilizacije leži u stapanju kultura naroda Istoka i Zapada u vlastiti kulturni model izgradnje gradova.

U svojim je izložbenim programima Cankarjev dom u proteklih 20 godina posvetio veliku pozornost arheološkim projektima te je s oduševljenjem prihvatio mogućnost aktivnog sudjelovanja u proslavi dvije tisućite obljetnice antičkoga grada Emone. Cankarjev dom i Gradski muzej Ljubljana zajedno su 1996. godine postavili opsežnu izložbu pod stručnim vodstvom Ljudmile Plesničar, dr. sc., obilježavajući na taj način 800 godina od prvog spomena grada Ljubljane, a čiji je najistaknutiji i tematski najzanimljiviji dio bila baština rimskoga grada Emone.

Još tijekom prvih priprema za proslavu obljetnice, dok su Gradski muzej Ljubljana i Narodni muzej Slovenije izrađivali konceptualne planove o nadolazećim izložbama, kao i o brojnim ostalim aktivnostima posvećenim našem gradu i Sloveniji u doba rimske antike, odlučeno je kako će se ugostiti izložba iz susjedne Hrvatske, zemlje s kojom održavamo dugogodišnje partnerske odnose u organizaciji zajedničkih izložbi, među kojima i onih arheoloških. Uzevši u obzir opseg i značaj hrvatske antičke baštine, postavilo se pitanje kako smjestiti takvu izložbu u prilično ograničen prostor Galerije CD. Nadalje, trebalo je uzeti u obzir činjenicu kako je slovenska javnost, a posebice onaj dio zainteresiran za kulturu, već više ili manje upoznata s najboljim primjercima rimske ostavštine u Hrvatskoj, kao na primjer s antičkom kolonijom Polom (*Polia*, Pula) i pripadajućom Arenom, kao i s kasnoantičkim odnosno ranokršćanskim Parentijem (*Parentium*, Poreč) u Istri, zatim s Dioklecijanovom palačom u Splitu i, u njegovoj neposrednoj blizini, sa Salonom (*Salona*, Solin), antičkom metropolom rimske provincije Dalmacije – ukratko, s ostacima iz rimskog doba koji svjedoče o visokom stupnju urbanizacije i umjetničkog stvaralaštva u ovom dijelu Rimskog Carstva.

Iz tog razloga, u potrazi za najprikladnijim konceptom, usredotočili smo se na sjever, odnosno rimsku provinciju Panoniju, u blizini rimskih gradova Petovij (*Poetovio*, Ptuj) i Celeja (*Celeia*, Celje) u današnjoj Sloveniji.

To je područje kojim prolazi najkraći kopneni put između Italije i Istoka, što su ga Rimljani trasirali u okviru razvijene prometne mreže, uzduž rijeka Save i Drave i dalje uz Dunav, od središnjeg dijela Carstva sve do udaljenih istočnih provincija. Na tom su prostoru tijekom prošlog desetljeća arheolozi iskopavali ili nastavljali istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama (*Aquae lasae*), Sisku (*Siscia*), Ščitarjevu (*Andautonia*) i drugdje. Stoga je odlučeno da se

premijerno predstave najnovija otkrića iz Varaždinskih Toplica – antičkog naselja *Aquae lasae*, arheološkog nalazišta otkrivenog još u prošlom stoljeću. Naselje obuhvaća rimsko lječilište i svetište, a razvijalo se u više faza od 1. do 4. stoljeća naše ere.

Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja, provedenih u posljednjih nekoliko godina na ovom nalazištu, pronađena je golema količina statua, kamenih natpisa, reljefa i zavjetnih predmeta. Provedeno je temeljito istraživanje načina gradnje u području oko izvora termalne vode i foruma s hramovima. Osim što predstavljaju nepresušan izvor za daljnja arheološka i povijesna istraživanja, tehnološka proučavanja i konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove, vrijedni nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica i ostaci rimskog naselja danas pružaju mogućnost novih kulturno-antropoloških sinteza. Ovaj izuzetan urbanističko-građevinski kompleks foruma s hramovima i kolonadama, te monumentalnog kupališta s bazilikom, otkriva jasno oblikovan odnos prema prirodnoj okolini. Harmonično spajajući sakralnu i svjetovnu arhitekturu kojom se izražavaju simboličke i funkcionalne dimenzije poimanja prostora, arhitektonskih jedinica i interijera, pritom predstavljajući maštovitu upotrebu različitih materijala u izgradnji te izradi predmeta, kompleks istovremeno stavlja u prvi plan neprocjenjiv doprinos i nevjerojatnu vještinu Rimljana u izgradnji javnih zgrada i kompleksne komunalne infrastrukture.

Nova materijalna otkrića omogućila su arheolozima detaljan uvid u duhovni život naselja *Aquae lasae* i otkrivanje brojnih božanstava štovanih u svetištu te s njima povezanih rituala, a što je pružilo nove dokaze o asimilaciji autohtonih i orijentalnih kultova u službenu rimsku religiju. Iz sadržaja nađenih epigrafskih spomenika saznajemo da su zbog ljekovitog svojstva termalne vode dolazili pripadnici viših slojeva iz svih dijelova Carstva. Stoga ne čudi da su ugledni stanovnici susjednih gradova također često posjećivali ovo lječilište. Izloženi epigrafski spomenici i skulpture iz Varaždinskih Toplica dodatan su dokaz o uskoj povezanosti s gradovima *Poetovio* i *Celeia*: nove analize korištenog materijala, posebice pohorskog mramora, način njihove uporabe i stilska obilježja reljefa i skulptura otkrivaju da pripadaju istom krugu klesarstva kao i spomenici iz Šempetra i predstavljaju vrhunska umjetnička dostignuća noričko-panonskog klesarstva.

S velikim zadovoljstvom najavljujemo prvo javno predstavljanje najnovijih otkrića iz rimskog lječilišta i svetišta *Aquae lasae* ostvareno u suradnji s Arheološkim muzejom u Zagrebu, čija je vrijedna arheološka zbirka već predstavljena 2002. godine u sklopu izložbe *Oživiljene kulture: Arheološka otkrića na Gorjancima/Žumberku od prapovijesti do ranog srednjeg vijeka*, i njegovih egipatskih artefakata koji su bili sastavnim dijelom izložbe *Faraonska renesansa* 2008. Budući da su arheološka iskanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama od samog početka vodili stručnjaci središnjeg arheološkoga muzeja u Hrvatskoj, željela bih izraziti najdublju zahvalnost ravnateljici muzeja, Jacqueline Balen, na nesebičnoj potpori i suradnji. Posebno zahvaljujem autorici izložbe Dori Kušan Špalj, muzejskoj savjetnici Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i voditeljici nedavnih arheoloških istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama, te njezinim suradnicima koji su uložili mnogo vremena i truda u pripremu izložbe. Također, najiskrenije zahvaljujem svojim mnogobrojnim odanim suradnicima bez čije pomoći zahtjevna finalizacija ove očaravajuće arheološke izložbe ne bi bila moguća i s kojima dijelim uvjerenje da su novi arheološki nalazi antičke rimske civilizacije i kulture uistinu vrijedni predstavljanja – jer istražujući i tumačeći prošlost, naše poimanje se mijenja i preoblikuje svakom novootkrivenom činjenicom.



Nina Pirnat Spahić

## FOREWORD

In organising a broad array of cultural programmes within the scope of a common project entitled EMONA 2000, Ljubljana is celebrating its ancient history: a special anniversary significant not only in terms of embracing, preserving and widely presenting our rich cultural heritage, but also with regard to enhancing awareness and recognition of the civilisational achievements of the Roman Antiquity as the cradle of European culture. During the Roman Empire, whose impact and power have continued to inspire reverence, an orderly society with a high set of values was established in an area whose expanse has been unparalleled in the history of mankind, encompassing territories stretching from Britain and Iberian Peninsula to Iran and from the northern African coast to the banks of the Rhine and Danube Rivers. According to a great number of historians, the secret of the success of this powerful civilisation is to be found in the Roman capability of incorporating the eastern and western nations into its (city-building) cultural model.

In its exhibitions programming Cankarjev dom has over the last twenty years devoted a fair amount of attention to archaeological projects, and has heartily welcomed the possibility to actively participate in the celebration of the two thousand years of the ancient city of *Emona*. After all, in 1996 Cankarjev dom and the City Museum of Ljubljana jointly staged an extensive exhibition curated by Ljudmila Plesničar, PhD, in commemoration of the eight hundred years since the first mention of the city of Ljubljana, whose most prominent and thematically most compelling segment was the heritage of the Roman city of *Emona*.

Already during the first preparations for the anniversary, when the City Museum of Ljubljana and the National Museum of Slovenia were devising the conceptual plans for their forthcoming exhibitions as well as the numerous other activities dedicated to our city and Slovenia during Roman Antiquity, the decision was made to host an exhibition from the neighbouring Croatia, a country with which we have enjoyed a longstanding partnership in organising joint exhibitions, also archaeological ones. Given the extension and significance of the Croatian ancient heritage the issue arose of how to accommodate the exhibition to the fairly limited space of the CD Gallery. We furthermore had to consider the fact that the Slovenian public, especially the people interested in culture, was more or less acquainted with the finest Roman remains in Croatia, to mention only the ancient Roman colony of *Pola* and its arena as well as the *Parentium* in Istria, originating from the Late Antiquity or Early Christianity, or the Diocletian's Palace in Split and, in its immediate vicinity, *Salona*, the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia; in short, the vestiges of the Roman era bearing testimony to the high level of town planning and artistic development in this part of the Roman Empire.

That was why in seeking for the most suitable concept we have directed our attention to the north, i.e. the Roman province of Pannonia, located in geographic proximity to the Roman cities of the present-day Slovenia, especially the colony of *Poetovio* and the municipality of *Celeia*. It is a wider area traversed by the shortest mainland route that the Romans had paved in line with their highly developed imperial transport network, leading along the Sava and Drava Rivers as well as further down the Danube River, from the central part of the Empire towards the distant eastern provinces. Within the last decade the Croatian archaeologists have excavated or resumed their explorations at Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae lasae*), Sisak (*Siscia*), Ščitarjevo (*Andautonia*) and elsewhere. Thus, the decision has been reached for a premiere presentation of the latest discoveries at Varaždinske Toplice – the antique settlement of *Aquae lasae*, an archaeological site discovered already in the previous century. Comprising a Roman health resort and a sanctuary, the settlement had developed in various phases between AD 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the archaeological explorations conducted within the last few years at this site, an incredible

number of statues, stone inscriptions, reliefs featuring figurative scenes and votive objects has been found. Furthermore, an in-depth investigation of the building methods in the area around the thermal spring and the forum with temples has been undertaken. Apart from providing an inexhaustible source of further archaeological and historical explorations, technological research, restoration and conservation works, the valuable findings about the Roman *Aquae lasae* and its remains today open up possibilities of new cultural and anthropological syntheses. Encompassing the forum and temples with colonnades as well as the monumental thermae with a basilica, this outstanding town-planning/architectural complex indisputably discloses the well-formulated Roman approach to the natural environment. Harmonically blending the sacred and secular architecture, which conveys the symbolic and functional dimensions of the understanding of space, architectural units and interiors, and ultimately also demonstrating the imaginative employment of diverse materials in designing architecture and objects, the complex at the same time foregrounds the invaluable contribution and the extreme skilfulness of the Romans in constructing public buildings and the complex communal infrastructure.

Based on new material discoveries, the archaeologists were able to draw a more detailed picture of the spiritual life at the *Aquae lasae* settlement and to identify the numerous deities venerated as well as the related rituals observed there, which has furnished new proof of the pliability of the Roman religious practice in assimilating the indigenous cults as well as those oriental into the official Roman state religion.

The Latin written sources have further revealed that the remarkable healing properties of the thermal water had attracted representatives of higher classes from all parts of the Empire to the *Aquae lasae*, and thus the especially notable fact that respectable citizens of the nearby *Poetovio* and *Celeia* had likewise frequented the thermae is far from surprising. The exhibited epigraphic and sculptural monuments from *Aquae lasae* additionally testify to the close association among the said places: new analyses of the utilised materials, especially the Pohorje marble, the method of their treatment and the stylistic features of figural reliefs and sculptures have revealed that these pinnacles of the Noric-Pannonian sculpturing endeavours belong to the same circle of stonecutting workshops as the monuments from the Slovenian Šempeter site.

It is with great pleasure that we announce the first public presentation of the latest discoveries made at the *Aquae lasae* Roman health resort and sanctuary, mounted in co-production with the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, whose valuable archaeological collection was already featured in 2002 within the scope of the *Revived Cultures: Archaeological Excavations in the Gorjanci Hills from Prehistory to the Early Middle Ages*, and its Egyptian artefacts included in the 2008 *Pharaonic Renaissance* exhibition. Since the experts of the central Croatian archaeological museum have conducted the archaeological excavations at Varaždinske Toplice since the very beginning, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to its Director, Jacqueline Balen, for her generous support and cooperation. Special thanks goes to Dora Kušan Špalj, curator at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the head of the recent archaeological explorations at Varaždinske Toplice who devised the current exhibition, and her close colleagues who spent considerable time and effort in making this exhibition happen. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude also to a number of my dedicated co-workers without whom the extensive final realisation of this compelling archaeological show would not have been possible and with whom I share the belief that new archaeological findings about the Ancient Roman civilisation and culture are well worth presenting – because in exploring and interpreting the past one's perception might be altered and reshaped with each newly discovered fact.

Jacqueline Balen

## PREDGOVOR

Sustavnim arheološkim istraživanjima u Varaždinskim Toplicama, koja se provode od 1953. godine, otkriven je javni dio rimskog naselja *Aquae lasae*, u raznim fazama izgradnje od 1. do 4. stoljeća.

Antički kompleks sastoji se od kupališnog dijela (zgrade kupališta s bazenima i kupališne bazilike, koja je kasnije prenamijenjena za kršćanski obred) foruma s hramovima i trjemovima, na kojem se od rimskog vremena sve do danas nalazi nadaleko poznati izvor termalne ljevakovite vode. Brojni nalazi kamenih spomenika – reljefa, natpisa i skulptura, ali i ostalih nalaza, potvrđuju iznimni značaj koje je ovo rimsko naselje imalo kao lječilišno središte u razdoblju od 1. do 4. stoljeća.

Izložbom prikazujemo krajnje rezultate jednoga dugog, inspirativnog puta tijekom kojeg je arheologija iz kampanje u kampanju bila obogaćena novim saznanjima o životu jednoga rimskog lječilišta. Svojim značajem i bogatstvom nalaza, Varaždinske Toplice privlače brojne znanstvenike kojima je otvoren put učenju o organizaciji arhitekture rimskog kupališta, religiji, kako rimskoj tako i kršćanskoj, umjetnosti, kamenoklesarstvu, epigrafiji te ostalim aspektima rimskog života. Izložbom *Aquae lasae, nova otkrića iz rimskog razdoblja na području Varaždinskih Toplica* postajemo svjedocima raznih zbivanja tijekom četiri stoljeća rimskog boravka u Panoniji.

Turbulentni povijesni događaji imali su različite utjecaje na stanovništvo, vojnike, državne službenike, trgovce i sve ostale koji su dolazili u lječilište u nadi da će im ljevakovitost izvora, nimfe, ili neko drugo božanstvo, pomoći. Iscjeliteljska moć termalnog izvora, u koju stanovnici Varaždinskih Toplica vjeruju i danas i od koje žive, potaknula je osnivanje lječilišta i rimskog kupališta. Sasvim sigurno poneki je stanovnik *Emone* stigao u *Aquae lasae* radi izlječenja te predstavljanje ove izložbe u Cankarjevom domu u čast 2000 godina *Emone* na neki način čini zatvoreni krug.

Da bismo razumjeli ulogu lokaliteta u strukturi jedne provincije, važno je istražiti i razumjeti njegovu ulogu u kulturno-povijesnom kontekstu, a to se može jedino kvalitetno provedenim arheološkim istraživanjima. Od 1953. godine pa do danas svjedocima smo rastućeg stvaranja baze podataka o jednom iznimno važnom lokalitetu provincije Panonije i svjesni smo da će se ta baza nastaviti dalje svakim novim istraživanjem. Jednostavno, Varaždinske su Toplice izazov koji traje.

Varaždinske Toplice nisu fizički sastavni dio Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, ali od 1953. godine do danas djelatnici AMZ-a u Toplice su uložili neizmjeran trud, znanje i ljubav. Riječ je o lokalitetu za koji je potrebno upotrijebiti svu snagu, i intelektualnu i emocionalnu, da bi ga se istražilo, dokumentiralo, konzerviralo, zaštitilo i prezentiralo.

O arheološkim istraživanjima, kako i priliči, više mogu reći istraživači, a meni je pripala čast zahvaliti pojedincima i ustanovama, koji su na različite načine omogućili istraživanje i prezentaciju ovoga antičkog kompleksa. Prije svega, to je Ministarstvo kulture RH, bez čije financijske pomoći ne bi bilo moguće provoditi vrlo složena istraživanja i zahtjevne poslove na restauraciji otkrivene građe. Istraživanja ne bi bila moguća ni bez dugogodišnje suradnje i



pomoći Specijalne bolnice za medicinsku rehabilitaciju u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a posebno zahvaljujemo i Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice na posudbi dijela građe za izložbu.

U velikom mnoštvu arheologa, studenata arheologije i kolega različitih struka, koji su sudjelovali na istraživanjima, posebno zahvaljujemo dragim kolegama koji su svojim radom i savjetima sudjelovali u rješavanju mnogih specifičnih problema lokaliteta: Marijanu Kadiju, Božici Marić, Želimiru Babiću, Petru Kušanu, Emilu Pohlu i Dagmar Dammann.

Najveće zahvale kustosima Antičkoga odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, koji su svoj radni vijek proveli neumorno istražujući i prezentirajući ovo iznimno nalazište, posebice prvim istraživačima, prof. Marcelu Gorencu, Branki Vikić, dr. sc. i Valeriji Damevski, ali i ravnateljima muzeja u razdoblju od 1953. godine – kada su i počela istraživanja na lokalitetu – sve do današnjih dana, među kojima ističem najdugovječnije, Duju Rendića-Miočevića, dr. sc., i Antu Rendića-Miočevića.

Veliko hvala dugogodišnjoj voditeljici arheoloških istraživanja Dorici Nemeth Ehrlich, koja je uspješno nastavila rad svojih prethodnika, ali i napravila lavovski dio posla u prezentaciji lokaliteta, kao i njezinim nasljednicama u istraživačkom radu i daljnjoj prezentaciji, Dori Kušan Špalj i Nikoleti Perok.

Izložba *Aquae lasae – nova otkrića iz rimskog razdoblja na području Varaždinskih Toplica* ne bi bila moguća bez velikog angažmana Nine Pirnat-Spačić, voditeljice izložbenog programa i pomoćnice direktora kulturno-umjetničkog programa Cankarjevog doma.

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, zahvaljujući upravi Cankarjevog doma, imao je veliku čast biti dijelom kulturnog programa obilježavanja 2000. obljetnice Emone te na taj način prezentirati specifičan dio arheološkog naslijeđa s tla Hrvatske, koji je ujedno i dio naše zajedničke rimske, pa tako i europske kulturne baštine. Nakon predstavljanja u Ljubljani, izložba se prikazuje u prostoru Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu te se tako zaokružuje uspješna suradnja na ovom izložbenom projektu.



Jacqueline Balen

## PREFACE

Conducted since 1953, the systematic archaeological excavations at Varaždinske Toplice have uncovered the public area of the Roman settlement of *Aquae lasae* in different phases of its construction between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Roman complex comprises the bathing premises (the baths themselves with pools and the basilica that was subsequently converted to serve the purpose of Christian ritual), a forum with temples surrounded by colonnades where the widely known medicinal spring has existed since Roman times and is still active to this very day. The numerous stone monuments – reliefs, inscriptions and sculptures as well as other finds, supply evidence of the profound significance enjoyed by this Roman settlement as a health resort between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The exhibition set up in Cankarjev dom showcases the final results of a long, inspirational journey in the course of which archaeology has, from one campaign to the next, been enriched with new findings testifying to the life at the Roman health resort. The importance of Varaždinske Toplice as well as the wealth of finds at this site, has attracted countless researches eager to enhance their knowledge of the architectural organisation of a Roman spa, of the Roman and Christian religions, art, stonemasonry, epigraphy, and other aspects of Roman life. The *Aquae lasae – Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains in the Region of Varaždinske Toplice* exhibition provides illuminating insight into various events unfolding over the four centuries of Roman presence in Pannonia.

The turbulent historical events differently influenced the population, soldiers, state officials, merchants and other visitors arriving at the health resort in the hope of benefiting from the curative properties of the well, the nymphs, or some other deity. The healing powers of the thermal spring, which the inhabitants of Varaždinske Toplice still believe in and which are the source of their livelihood, had given rise to the erection of the health resort and Roman baths. There is no doubt in my mind that certain inhabitants of Emona must have also sought treatment at *Aquae lasae*, and thus the Cankarjev dom exhibition staged in commemoration of the 2000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Emona, in some way, forms a complete circle.

In order to understand the role of a site in the framework of a province, one needs to examine and understand its function within the cultural and historical contexts. This is only possible by means of a detailed and exhaustive archaeological exploration. Since 1953, we have witnessed the compiling of an ever increasing database on this Pannonian site. One remains confident that this collection of data will augment with each new excavation. The Varaždinske Toplice site is quite simply a lasting challenge.

Although the *Aquae lasae* site does not completely fall under the jurisdiction of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the Museum's curators have since 1953 invested intensive efforts, expertise and love in the Toplice project. It is a site whose exploration, documentation, conservation, protection and presentation demand the utmost intellectual and emotional efforts.

As is customary, researchers will share the details about their archaeological explorations, while I have the honour of expressing our acknowledgement to individuals and institutions that have in one way or another enabled the explorations and presentations of this Roman complex. The foremost mention goes to the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, without whose financial support the highly complex exploration and restoration of the discovered site would not have been possible. Also indispensable to our endeavours was our longstanding cooperation with and the support from the Special Hospital for Medicinal Rehabilitation at Varaždinske Toplice, as well as from Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum, to whom we owe special thanks for lending us the exhibition materials.

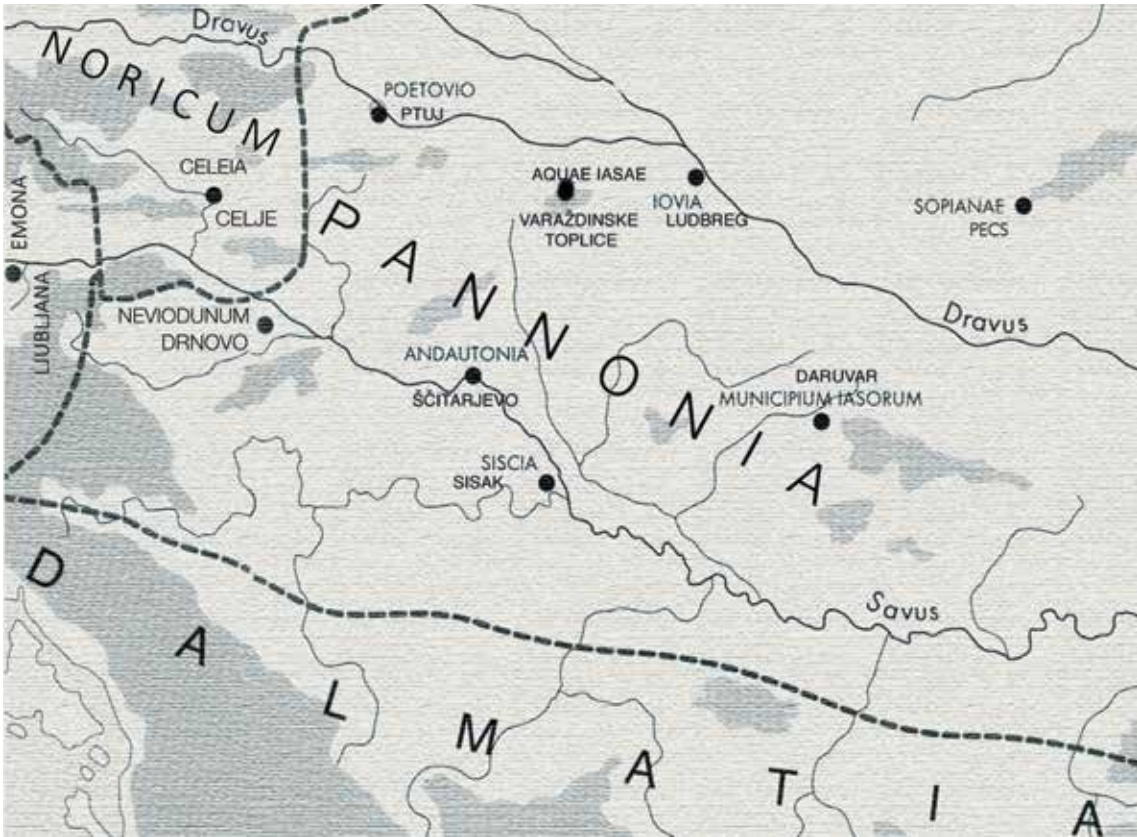
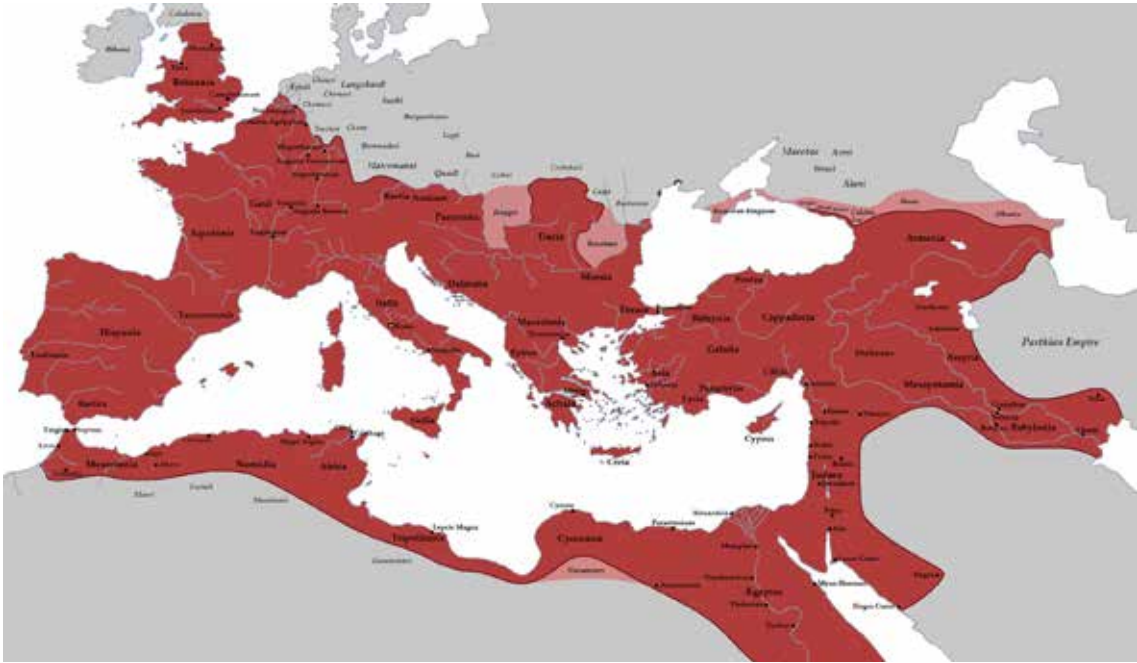
Apart from the host of archaeologists, archaeology students and professionals in various disciplines who took part in the explorations, we would especially like to acknowledge the contributions of our dear colleagues whose expertise and counsel helped to resolve many specific problems encountered in the course of our research: Marijan Kadi, Božica Marić, Želimir Babić, Peter Kušan, Emil Pohl and Dagmar Dammann.

Our most heartfelt thanks goes to the curators at the Antiquity Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, who devoted their years of professional service to the indefatigable exploration and presentation of this remarkable site, especially the pioneers Prof. Marcel Gorenc, Branka Vikić, PhD, and Valerija Damevski, as well as the directors who managed the Museum between 1953, when works at this location were initiated, and today. Two of the last named, and with the longest tenure, deserve special mention – Duje Rendić-Miočević, PhD, and Ante Rendić-Miočević.

We would like to express our warm thanks to the longstanding head of archaeological excavations, Dorica Nemeth Ehrlich, who successfully resumed the work of her predecessors and took upon herself the Herculean task of publicly presenting the site, as well as her successors, Dora Kušan Špalj and Nikoleta Perok, for their research work and further presentation of *Aquae lasae*.

The *Aquae lasae – the Latest Archaeological Discoveries at Varaždinske Toplice* exhibition would not have been possible without the passionate engagement of Nina Pirnat-Spahić, Head of the Exhibitions Programme and Culture and the Arts Deputy Director at Cankarjev dom.

Thanks to the management of Cankarjev dom, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb had the tremendous honour of being part of this Centre's cultural programme marking 2000 years of Emona, and thus presenting one specific segment of Croatian archaeological heritage which, at the same time, also forms part of our common Roman and therefore also European cultural heritage. Following its presentation in Ljubljana, the exhibition is displayed at the premises of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, thus complementing a successful cooperation on this exhibition project.





Dora Kušan Špalj

## UVOD

Prošlo je 60 godina od prvih istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama, kada su arheolozi Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, na poziv Josipa Čabriana, osnivača Zavičajnog muzeja, počeli s radovima u parteru gradskog parka. Na tome se mjestu nalazi jedini prirodni izvor termalne vode u Varaždinskim Toplicama, za koji se već tada pretpostavljalo da je bio korišten i u rimsko vrijeme. Premda su slučajni nalazi mramornih reljefa i natpisa još iz 18. i 19. stoljeća ukazivali na rimsko naselje s luksuzno opremljenim objektima, nitko nije mogao pretpostaviti koje sve tajne krije taj lokalitet. Upornost arheologa i njihov dugogodišnji rad pokazali su kako se u parteru parka ispod debelih naslaga travertina, za koje su u to vrijeme geolozi smatrali kako su stari milijune godina, nalazio jedan od najznačajnijih rimskih nalaza u ovim krajevima.

Od 1953. do 1981. godine, veći dio svoga radnog vijeka, stručnjaci Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu – prof. Marcel Gorenc, Branka Vikić, dr. sc., i Valerija Damevski proveli su istražujući javni dio rimskog naselja u gradskom parku, otkrivajući svake godine dijelove javne arhitekture koja je stoljećima bila sakrivena ispod naslaga travertina nastalog prelijevanjem termalne vode. Danas možemo samo naslućivati koje je uzbuđenje i znanstveno zadovoljstvo bilo otkrivati nevjerojatno dobro sačuvane prostorije kupališta, bazilike, hramova, freske na zidovima, stupove, kapitule, mnoštvo natpisa... Međutim, otkriće koje se dogodilo 1967., kada je pronađena skulptura božice Minerve u njezinu hramu, bilo je vrhunac tadašnjih radova. O značaju tog nalaza kao iznimnoga umjetničkog djela, najbolje govori dio teksta koji je napisao prof. Marcel Gorenc: „Pred nama stoji veliko kiparsko djelo umjetnika, koje neobičnom iskrenošću, otvorenošću i originalitetom govori o težini napora i dometu svoga stvaraoca. Uspješnoj se kompoziciji (likovnoj) i dosljednoj primjeni superiornog statuarnog postupka možemo jednostavno diviti.“<sup>1</sup>

Potaknuti iznimnim nalazima i očuvanošću arhitekture, istraživači su od samog početka imali ideju o muzeološkoj prezentaciji lokaliteta. Zbog toga su se na sve načine zalagali da se, prema tadašnjim financijskim i tehničkim mogućnostima, usporedno s istraživanjima provode i konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi. Nažalost, 1982. godine u potpunosti je prekinuto financiranje lokaliteta, što je izazvalo nemjerljive štete na istraženoj arhitekturi. Štete bi bile i veće da u to vrijeme, skoro 10 godina, bez ikakvih financijski sredstava, o lokalitetu sustavno nije brinuo tadašnji ravnatelj Zavičajnog muzeja u Varaždinskim Toplicama, Stjepan Hajduk. Kada je početkom 90-ih 20. stoljeća ponovno počelo financiranje radova na lokalitetu, a prvi istraživači već završili svoj radni vijek, jedino je Dorica Nemeth Ehrlich, s Antičkog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, bila spremna prihvatiti se toga vrlo zahtjevnog i tada neatraktivnog posla. Zahvaljujući njezinoj upornosti, svijesti o vrijednosti nalaza i jasnoj viziji konačne muzeološke prezentacije lokaliteta, nastavljeni su radovi koji traju još i danas. Interdisciplinarnim pristupom, koji je uključivao suradnju hidrogeologa, geostatičara, konzervatora, restauratora, arhitekata i drugih stručnjaka, uspjeli su se riješiti mnogi specifični problemi ovog lokaliteta. Prvih su nekoliko godina provedeni neophodni radovi na sanaciji rimske arhitekture i okolnog prostora (padine iza hramova), sistema drenaže te je postavljena trajna nadstrešnica iznad kupališta

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<sup>1</sup> Gorenc, M.: Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njen majstor, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. vol. XVI-XVII, Zagreb 1984, 101.

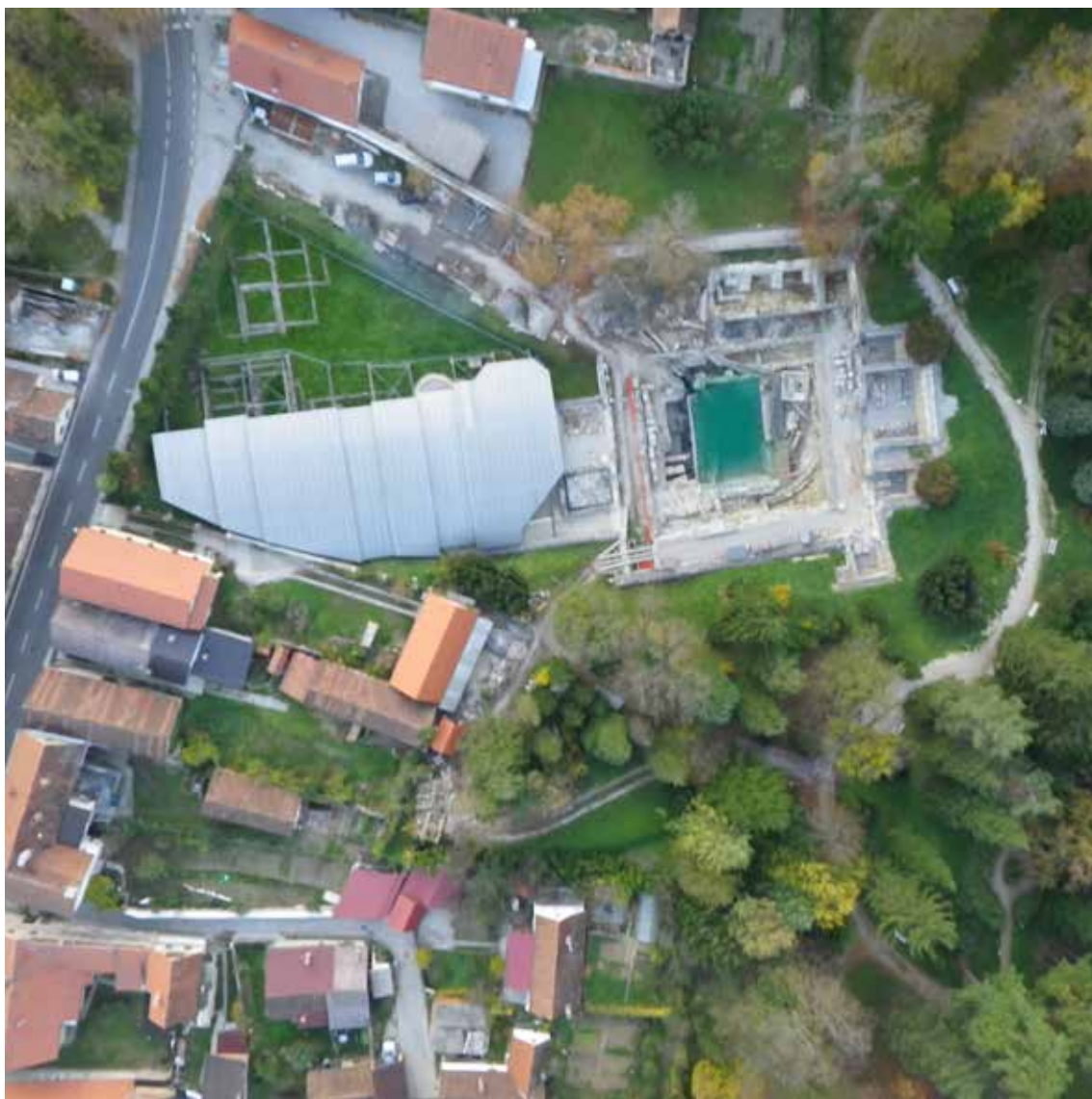
i bazilike. Zatim je uslijedilo rješavanje prostora oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode koje je, zbog suvremenih instalacija za potrebe lječilišta i bušotina za vađenje vode, ostalo neistraženo. Zahvaljujući dobroj suradnji sa Specijalnom bolnicom Varaždinske Toplice i tadašnjom ravnateljicom dr. Silvom Potrebicom, uspio se postići dogovor o premještanju svih cjevovoda s prostora rimskog foruma i početi istraživanja. Tada su odstranjeni i „austroугarski“ kanali i bunar (u upotrebi do 1962. godine) te instalacije kojima je termalna voda nakon 1962., od kada se voda crpi pomoću bušotina iz dubljih slojeva, odvođena u lječilište. Prije istraživanja 1998. godine postojale su samo pretpostavke o izgledu rimskog izvorišta pa je veliko iznenađenje bilo kada su se počeli nazirati zidovi izvorišnog bazena veličine oko 13 x 8 m. Istraživanja su 2006. godine potvrdila da je riječ o rimskoj konstrukciji izgrađenoj oko prirodnog izvorišta termalne vode. Nakon što su izvađeni slojevi blata te ugašene pumpe korištene u vrijeme istraživanja, prvi put nakon rimskog vremena termalna je voda ispunila izvorišni bazen. Isparavanje vruće termalne vode, njezin miris i boja te stalno izviranje unutar velikoga izvorišnog bazena površine oko 100 m<sup>2</sup> dali su potpuno novu dimenziju arheološkim istraživanjima, ali i cijelom arheološkom kompleksu u kojem je kulturni karakter prostora postao potpuno razumljiv.

Pronalaskom izvorišnog bazena smatralo se da su otkrivene sve tajne ovog lokaliteta, međutim, istraživanja što su uslijedila 2011., 2012. i 2013. godine donijela su otkrića kojima se nitko nije nadao. Pokazalo se da su za popravke izvorišnog bazena u 4. stoljeću korišteni stariji natpisi, reljefi, pa čak i skulpture koje su, kao običan građevinski materijal, poslužile za gradnju i zatrpavanje. Pronađeno je više od 50 žrtvenika, natpisa i reljefa, ali i oko 17 000 rimskih kovanica što su kao zavjetni darovi bili bačeni u izvorište. Ovi su nalazi nepregledni izvor novih informacija o razvoju svetišta uz termalni izvor, o božanstvima koja su štovana, popratnim ritualima, ali i o ljudima koji su posjećivali ovo lječilište i nadali se ozdravljenju. Sačuvani natpisi daju podatke o imenima i porijeklu posjetioca, njihovu statusu i službama koje su obavljali, a ponekad se spominju i već poznate osobe iz tog vremena te se tako nadopunjuju saznanja o njihovim životima. O sudbinama drugih posjetioca ovog lječilišta, a čija imena nisu zabilježena, možemo samo nagađati, o barem njih 17 000 koji su bacili kovanicu u izvorište sa željom da ozdrave. Kameni spomenici svjedočanstvo su i razvijene obrtničke djelatnosti, ali i umjetničkih ostvarenja, većinom nastalih u obližnjim radionicama tzv. noričko-panonskoga umjetničkog kruga.

Nažalost, većina kamenih spomenika, kao i nalaza od metala pronađenih u blizini termalnog izvora, u vrlo je lošem stanju zbog djelovanja sumporne vode, a što zahtijeva provođenje vrlo složenih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova. Zbog toga su i svi daljnji planovi vezani uz ovaj lokalitet, osim dovršetka arheoloških istraživanja i konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na prostoru oko izvorišnog bazena, usmjereni na radove kojima će se ovi iznimni nalazi sačuvati, ali i omogućiti njihovo izlaganje neposredno uz mjesto nalaza.

Istraženi kompleks rimske arhitekture u gradskom parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, brojnim nalazima i sačuvanom arhitekturom svjedoči o važnosti rimskog naselja u razdoblju od 1. do 4. stoljeća, koje je zbog svoje ljekovite vode bio vrlo popularno lječilište i svetište, poznato i među najvišim društvenim krugovima Rimskog Carstva. Rezultati najnovijih istraživanja na prostoru oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode, doprinijeli su i novim spoznajama o građevinskim fazama, izgledu i namjeni pojedinih objekata u svetištu, ali i o nekim ritualima i kultovima za koje se prije

nije znalo. Međutim, o samoj atmosferi i mističnosti prostora rimskog svetišta najbolje svjedoči termalna voda koja, na isti način kao i u rimsko vrijeme, ispunjava prostor mirisom sumpora i parom iz izvorišta, mijenja svoju boju i izgled, ovisno o vremenskim uvjetima, odražava sliku neba ili se na njoj stvaraju valovi u smjeru vjetra. Neprestano izviranje termalne vode ovome arheološkom lokalitetu daje autentičan kontekst vremena u kojem je nastao, a posjetiocima, koji u ovom prostoru uspiju osjetiti atmosferu rimskog svetišta, neće se činiti čudno ubaciti kovanicu sa željom za ozdravljenjem.



KOMPLEKS RIMSKE ARHITEKTURE U GRADSKOM PARKU (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE)  
ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX IN THE MUNICIPAL PARK (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE)

Dora Kušan Špalj

## INTRODUCTION

Sixty years have passed since the first explorations were conducted at Varaždinske Toplice, when the archaeologists of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, at the request of Josip Čabrian, founder of the Provincial Museum, initiated works in the parterre of the municipal park. The only natural thermal spring at Varaždinske Toplice is situated on this site. It was immediately assumed that the thermal spring had already been used in the Roman era. Although accidental finds of marble reliefs and inscriptions in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries had suggested the presence of a Roman settlement with lavishly furnished buildings, no one could have imagined the secrets this area would unlock. During endeavours lasting many years, assiduous archaeologists were able to demonstrate that one of the most significant Roman finds in this area lies in the parterre of the park, under a thick layer of travertine, which at the time geologists believed to be several million years old.

Between 1953 and 1981, Prof. Marcel Gorenc, Branka Vikić, PhD, and Valerija Damevski, all experts at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, devoted almost all of their professional attention to the excavation of the public area of the Roman settlement in the municipal park. Each year they would uncover fragments of architecture which for centuries had remained hidden under travertine sediments deposited by flowing thermal waters. One can only guess at the sense of exhilaration and scientific satisfaction that accompanied the uncovering of incredibly well-preserved baths, the basilica, temples, wall paintings, columns, capitals, numerous inscriptions, etc. Yet it was the discovery made in 1967 of the sculpture of the goddess Minerva in her temple that marked the culmination of explorations conducted in that time. The importance of the find as a premium work of art is best described by an excerpt from a text by Prof. Marcel Gorenc: “Unveiled before us is a great sculpting achievement whose unusual honesty, openness and originality speak of the vigorous exertion and artistic quality of its creator. One cannot but admire the effective (artistic) composition as well as the consistently superior sculpting procedure.”<sup>1</sup>

Encouraged by the outstanding and well-preserved architectural finds, researchers have from the very beginning harboured the desire to create a museological presentation of the site. That is why they have expended enormous efforts, in accordance with their financial and technical capacities, to conduct conservation/restoration works in parallel with the excavations. Regretfully, in 1982 the financing of this field of activity was completely revoked, causing severe damage to the already explored architecture. The damage would have been even greater had it not been for the then Director of the Varaždinske Toplice Provincial History Museum, Stjepan Hajduk, who systematically provided for the maintenance of this site for almost ten years in the absence of any financial support. When the financing of excavations at this site was repeatedly ensured in the early 1990's and its initial researchers had completed their years of service, it was only Dorica Nemeth Ehrlich, a curator at the Antiquity Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, who was willing to undertake this extremely onerous task, which was not particularly inviting at the time. It was thanks to her persistence, awareness of the value of the

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<sup>1</sup> Gorenc, M.: Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njen majstor, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. vol. XVI-XVII, Zagreb 1984, 101.



discovery, and her clear vision of the ultimate museological presentation of this site that the works were resumed and have continued to this very day.

The employed interdisciplinary approach, with the participation of hydrogeologists, geostatics experts, conservators, restorers, architects and other specialists, contributed to solving countless specific problems at the site. For the first few years, only urgently needed works were carried out, i.e. the restoration of Roman architecture and the surrounding area (steep slopes behind the temples), as well as the drainage system; a permanent roof was also mounted above the *thermae* and the basilica. There followed the work on the area around the natural thermal spring, which had remained unexplored due to contemporary installations and boreholes for the supply of water to the health resort. Owing to excellent cooperation with the Varaždinske Toplice Special Hospital for rehabilitation and its then Director, Silva Potrebica, successful arrangements were made for the removal of pipelines from the Roman forum to facilitate the initiation of explorations. Consequently, the “Austro-Hungarian” channels and the well (in use until 1962) were also removed, as was the installation used to supply thermal water to the health resort after 1962, the year when water began to be pumped from deeper layers using bores.

Since one could only speculate as to the appearance of the Roman spring prior to the 1998 explorations, the discovery of the walls of the spring pool in a size of approx. 13 x 8 metres caused great surprise. It was only the 2006 explorations that confirmed the hypothesis that a Roman structure had been built around the natural thermal spring. After layers of mud had been removed and the pumps used during excavation extinguished, thermal water once again poured into the spring pool for the first time since the Roman era. The evaporation of hot thermal water, its odour and colour, as well as the constant welling within the large spring pool of approximately one hundred square metres in size, added an entirely new dimension to the archaeological excavation as well as to the entire archaeological complex, whose cultic character then became wholly understandable.

Having discovered the spring pool, all the secrets of the area were believed to have been revealed. Far from it! The explorations throughout 2011, 2012 and 2013 brought new, utterly unexpected revelations. It was disclosed that during the fourth-century renovation of the spring pool, earlier inscriptions, reliefs and even sculptures had been used as ordinary building and backfilling materials. More than fifty altars, inscriptions and reliefs were discovered, including around 17,000 Roman coins dropped as votive offerings into the spring. These finds represent an inexhaustible source of new information about the sanctuary by the thermal spring, about divine veneration and rituals, and about the people who frequented this health resort in the hope of recovery. The numerous names preserved on inscriptions provide insight into the descent of the visitors, their status and profession. Occasionally, the names of then famous personalities appeared, furnishing additional information on their lives. One can only speculate as to the destinies of those health resort visitors whose names had not been inscribed, at least of the seventeen thousand who, hoping for recovery, had thrown a coin into the spring. The

stone monuments testify to superb local craftsmanship as well as works of art made mostly in the neighbouring workshops of the so-called Noric-Pannonian artistic circle.

Unfortunately, most of the stone monuments and metal finds uncovered in the vicinity of the thermal spring were in very bad condition because of the detrimental effects of sulphur water, which calls for rather complex conservation/restoration approach. That is why all further efforts in relation to this site, apart from concluding archaeological excavation and conservation/restoration works in the area of the spring pool, have been focused on preserving these outstanding finds and exhibiting them on the location of their discovery.

The numerous finds and preserved architectural monuments of the explored Roman complex at the Varaždinske Toplice Municipal Park furnish evidence of the significance of the Roman settlement in the period between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, whose medicinal water rendered it an extremely popular health resort and sanctuary that was widely appreciated even among the highest social circles of the Roman Empire. The latest excavations in the area around the natural thermal spring have brought new findings on the building phases, appearance and purposes of individual sanctuary buildings, as well as some heretofore unrevealed rituals and cults. Nonetheless, it is the thermal water that best revives the atmosphere and mystic character of the Roman sanctuary: the water which fills the space with the odour of sulphur and clouds of steam like in Roman times, the water whose surface changes colour and appearance in line with meteorological conditions, either reflecting the sky or rippling, agitated by a breeze. As the relentless welling of thermal water endows this archaeological site with an authentic historical context, its present-day visitors hoping for recovery and sensing the mood of the Roman sanctuary perceive throwing a coin into the spring as something quite natural.



TERMALNA VODA  
THERMAL WATER

Dorica Nemeth Ehrlich, Dora Kušan Špalj

## RIMSKO NASELJE AQUAE IASAE - REZULTATI ARHEOLOŠKIH ISTRAŽIVANJA NA PROSTORU GRADSKOG PARKA U VARAŽDINSKIM TOPLICAMA

### RIMSKO NASELJE AQUAE IASAE

Na prostoru današnjeg grada Varaždinske Toplice (sjeverozapadna Hrvatska) u rimsko vrijeme nalazilo se naselje *Aquae lasae*, poznato lječilišno, kulturno i trgovačko središte. Naselje je nastalo na iznimno povoljnom položaju, s blagom klimom, ali glavni razlog kontinuiranog naseljavanja ovog prostora tijekom više tisućljeća bila je ljekovita termalna sumporna voda. S obzirom na pojedinačne arheološke nalaze s ovog područja iz pretpovijesnih razdoblja, može se zaključiti da su se ljudi već i tada zadržavali u blizini termalnog izvora, privučeni izviranjem ljekovite vode.<sup>1</sup> Tako i sam naziv rimskog naselja – *Aquae lasae* – sadrži podatak da je voda korištena i prije dolaska Rimljana, kada je ovaj prostor bio nastanjen panonskim plemenom Jasa.

Oko izvora termalne vode, koji se nalazi u današnjem parku, Rimljani su izgradili javni dio naselja, a na nižim terasama bio je smješten stambeni dio, dok su u podnožju Topličkog brežuljka bili objekti vezani uz promet, trgovinu i sajmište.<sup>2</sup> To pokazuje da je izgled, ali i razvoj rimskog naselja bio u potpunosti prilagođen prirodnim uvjetima – položajem izvora i reljefom s prirodnim terasama. Zanimljivo je da se isti izvor koristi još i danas za potrebe lječilišta, pa je tako termalna voda, kao i u rimsko vrijeme, okosnica razvoja cijele regije.

Slučajni nalazi iz 18. i 19. stoljeća, kao što su natpis cara Konstantina (kat. 1), reljef s prikazom 3 nimfe (kat. 2) ili reljefi tzv. nimfeja (kat. 3) već su i prije početka sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja ukazivali da se na prostoru današnjih Varaždinskih Toplica u rimsko vrijeme nalazilo značajno i luksuzno opremljeno naselje *Aquae lasae*.



NATPIS CARA KONSTANTINA, 321. – 326. god. (kat. 1)  
INSCRIPTION OF EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, AD 321–326 (Cat. 1)

- 1 Malez, M.: Nalazišta paleolitskog i mezolitskog doba u Hrvatskoj, *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja I*, Sarajevo 1979, 261-262; Čabrian, J., Gorenc, M., Vikić, B.: *Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica*, Varaždinske Toplice 1973, 4-6.
- 2 Vikić-Belančić, B.: Prilog istraživanju naseobinskog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. VI-VII, Zagreb 1973, 75 – 132.



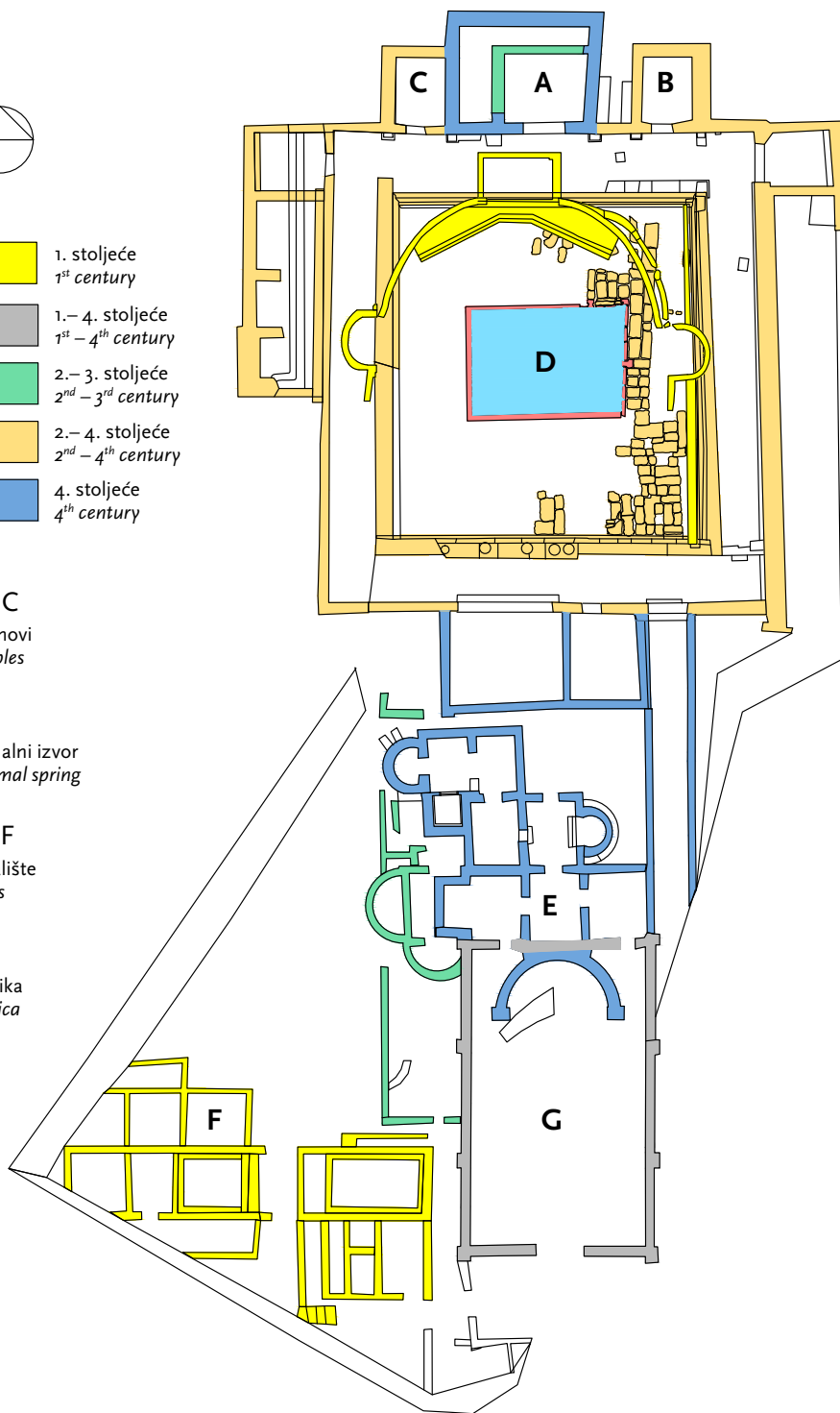
- 1. stoljeće  
1<sup>st</sup> century
- 1.- 4. stoljeće  
1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century
- 2.- 3. stoljeće  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century
- 2.- 4. stoljeće  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century
- 4. stoljeće  
4<sup>th</sup> century

A – C  
Hramovi  
*Temples*

D  
Termalni izvor  
*Thermal spring*

E – F  
Kupalište  
*Baths*

G  
Bazilika  
*Basilica*





3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA KOMPLEKSA RIMSKE ARHITEKTURE U GRADSKOM PARKU (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE)  
3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX IN THE MUNICIPAL PARK (VARAŽDINSKE  
TOPLICE)



## KOMPLEKS RIMSKE ARHITEKTURE U GRADSKOM PARKU

Zahvaljujući dugogodišnjim arheološkim istraživanjima u gradskom parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, koja od 1953. godine vodi Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, otkriven je kompleks rimske javne arhitekture na površini od 6000 m<sup>2</sup>.

Od 1. do 4. stoljeća izgradnja na ovom prostoru uvijek je bila prilagođena položaju i značaju prirodnog izvorišta tako što je građevinskim rješenjima postignuto optimalno korištenje termalne vode, a istovremeno je arhitektonskim oblikovanjem naglašen i njegov mistični i kulturni karakter. Najbolje su sačuvani objekti iz doba cara Konstantina, ponegdje s visinom zidova i do 3 m te zidnim slikarijama i podovima, sačuvanim ispod slojeva travertina koji su se nataložili kao posljedica nekontroliranog razlijevanja termalne vode iz izvorišta u razdoblju nakon rimskog vremena.

Kompleks se sastoji od dvije cjeline, građevinski međusobno povezane. Na najgornjoj terasi Topličkog brežuljka nalazi se kupališni dio (zgrade kupališta i kupališna bazilika). Sjevernije, na nekoliko metara višoj razini, na relativno skućenom prostoru omeđenom trima strmim padinama, nalazi se prostor svetišta – hramovi i trjemovi izgrađeni oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode. Povišeni je položaj izvorišta omogućavao da se termalna voda slobodnim padom kanalima dovodila u zgrade kupališta.



KOMPLEKS RIMSKE ARHITEKTURE U GRADSKOM PARKU (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE)  
ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX IN THE MUNICIPAL PARK (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE)

## KUPALIŠTE I BAZILIKA

U južnom dijelu istraženog kompleksa rimske arhitekture, u današnjem gradskom parku, nalaze se zgrade kupališta i bazilika, a sustavna arheološka istraživanja od 1953. do 1982. godine otkrila su objekte iz različitih faza izgradnje od 1. do 4. stoljeća.<sup>3</sup>

Najstariji dio kupališta iz 1. stoljeća nalazi se u jugozapadnom dijelu kompleksa, a sastoji se od pravokutnih prostorija i bazena u koje je voda jednostavnim kanalom dovođena iz izvorišta. U ovim prostorima nije bilo sustava za grijanje, ali su sačuvani bazeni sa slojevima nepropusne žbuke i stepenicama za sjedenje pa se može pretpostaviti da je stalno dovođenje vruće termalne vode iz izvorišta omogućavalo ugodno kupanje. Iz ovoga vremena datira i prva faza kupališne bazilike koja je u ovoj fazi s kupalištem bila povezana zapadnim bočnim vratima. Zavjetni natpisi iz toga razdoblja uglavnom su vojnog karaktera te se pretpostavlja da je kupalište u ovoj najstarijoj fazi služilo za liječenje vojnika.<sup>4</sup>

U 2. stoljeću izgrađeno je novo i bolje opremljeno kupalište, od kojeg su sačuvani samo pojedini dijelovi, a veći dio nalazi se ispod kupališta iz 4. stoljeća. Pravokutne prostorije i polukružni bazeni iz ovoga razdoblja imaju podove od žbuke i sačuvane dijelove sustava za grijanje (hipokausta), a nađeni su i brojni ulomci zidnih slikarija. Kupališna je bazilika u to vrijeme također bila opremljena sustavom za grijanje. Za razliku od jednostavnih, pravokutnih prostorija kupališta iz 1. stoljeća, u ovoj fazi gradi se tlocrtno razvedeniji te monumentalniji objekt sa složenijim krovijem koji je zajedno s bazilikom i svetištem bio povezan u jedinstvenu građevinsku cjelinu oko zajedničke osi sjever – jug.

Natpis na tzv. ploči cara Konstantina<sup>5</sup> (kat. 1) spominje obnovu građevina uništenih u požaru, a građevinske zahvate na cijelom kompleksu tijekom 4. stoljeća potvrdila su i arheološka istraživanja. Prostorije kupališta iz 4. stoljeća iznimno su dobro sačuvane, a izgrađene su većim dijelom na mjestu ranijeg objekta. Sačuvani su zidovi i do 2 m visine, a na više mjesta i veće površine zidne žbuke sa slikarijama, dok je u urušnju nađeno i mnogo fragmenata otpalih sa stropova i zidova. Kao najčešći motivi, javljaju se vitice vinove loze, različiti geometrijski motivi te imitacije mramornih ploča. U svim su prostorijama otkriveni i žbukani podovi te gotovo svi kameni pragovi i dovratnici.<sup>6</sup> U prostorijama koje su bile zagrijavane sačuvani su dijelovi sustava za grijanje – vanjska ložišta i stupići od opeke ispod podova, odakle je topli zrak strujao kroz šuplje opeke na zidovima, koje su i danas vidljive u mnogim prostorijama.



DIO HIPOKAUSTA-TUBULI, 4. st. (kat. 5)  
PART OF A HYPOCAUST – TUBULI, 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cat. 5)

3 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Arheološka istraživanja antiknog kupališta u u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 1953.-1955. godine, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. vol. I. Zagreb 1958, 75-127; Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: *Varaždinske Toplice-Aquae lasae u antičko doba*, Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice, Varaždinske Toplice 1980.

4 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

5 CIL III 4121.

6 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Istraživanja antiknog kupališta u u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 1956.-1959. godine, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. vol. II. Zagreb 1961, 181-223.

Tijekom 4. stoljeća došlo je do promjena i na bazilici, kada je ugradnjom apside zatvoren središnji portal, koji je u ranijoj fazi povezivao baziliku s kupalištem te je zamijenjen bočnim prolazima, a iz toga razdoblja potječe i reprezentativni ulaz sa stepenicama i stupovima s južne strane. Arheološka istraživanja provedena 2004. godine pokazala su da je istočni zid sačuvan u visini oko 2,5 m, s još uvijek vidljiva tri velika prozora.<sup>7</sup> Na zidovima bazilike sačuvane su i zidne slikarije u donjem dijelu zida, a nađen je i veliki broj ulomaka koji su otpali sa stropa i zidova, na temelju kojih se može pretpostaviti da je svod bio ukrašen poligonalnim kasetama i rombovima s biljnim ornamentima (kat. 21, 22). Nije moguće točno precizirati kada je kupališna bazilika pretvorena u sakralni prostor, ali to se vjerojatno dogodilo ipak nešto kasnije tijekom 4. stoljeća, na što ukazuje ulomak zidne slikarije s prikazom glave sveca s aureolom (kat. 23), kao i prigradnja s južne strane koja je vjerojatno služila kao krstionica, do koje je vodila olovna vodovodna cijev. Na sjevernoj strani južnog zida ove prigradnje pronađen je i dio freske koji je najvjerojatnije dio prikaza ograde rajskog vrta izveden crvenom bojom.<sup>8</sup>

S obzirom na sačuvane elemente, u 3D kompjuterskom modelu bilo je moguće rekonstruirati vanjski i unutarnji izgled bazilike.<sup>9</sup> Dimenzije i odnosi sačuvanih struktura upućuju na to da je bazilika mogla imati ravan strop i krov na dvije vode, ali i da je u jednoj fazi mogla biti natkrivena križno-bačvastim svodom i razvedenim krovijem. Svodovi, stupovi te apsida s trijumfalnim lukom, za koji se može pretpostaviti da je u tjemenu bio visok oko osam metara, naglašavali su monumentalnost simetrično i skladno oblikovanog prostora, čiji su zidovi i svodovi bili ukrašeni zidnim slikarijama.

## PROSTOR SVETIŠTA

### ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA PROSTORA OKO PRIRODNOG IZVORA TERMALNE VODE

Prva faza arheoloških istraživanja na prostoru oko prirodnog izvora provedena je u razdoblju od 1962. do 1982. godine,<sup>10</sup> ali samo u njegovim rubnim dijelovima jer su se u središnjem dijelu nalazile tada još aktivne izvorske instalacije kojima je termalna voda odvođena u lječilište. Prvom fazom arheoloških istraživanja otkriveni su trjemovi, hramovi, dio opločenja foruma, a u južnom dijelu foruma istražena je i površina ispod opločenja, gdje su pronađeni dobro sačuvani, kamenom zidani kanali za odvodnju termalne vode od izvora u prostorije kupališta. U rubnim dijelovima foruma i na trjemovima pronađeni su mnogobrojni urušeni elementi arhitekture (dijelovi stupova, kapitela, baza, konzola) i krovne konstrukcije te cjeloviti i djelomično sačuvani natpisi i žrtvenici. Tijekom 1967. i 1968. godine u zapadnom je hramu pronađena skulptura božice Minerve s postamentom, koja predstavlja jedan od najljepših primjera kiparstva noričko-panonskoga umjetničkog kruga.<sup>11</sup>

7 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan-Špalj, D.: Varaždinske Toplice, *Hrvatski Arheološki godišnjak* 1/2004, Ministarstvo kulture RH, Zagreb 2005, 83-86.

8 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

9 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan, D., Kušan, I.: *Aquae lasae-Varaždinske Toplice, vizualizacija rimske arhitekture* (katalog izložbe), Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb 1997.

10 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: *Varaždinske Toplice-Aquae lasae u antičko doba*, Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice, Varaždinske Toplice 1980.

11 Gorenc, M.: Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njen majstor, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. vol. XVI-XVII, Zagreb 1984, 95-108.



Radovi na prostoru oko izvorišta nastavili su se tek 1997., a 1998. godine istražen je cijeli prostor foruma do razine opločenja.<sup>12</sup> Nađeni su dijelovi opločenja te mnogo fragmenata stupova urušenih sa sjevernog, zapadnog i istočnog trijema, građeni od različitih elemenata, vjerojatno korišteni u raznim fazama obnavljanja trjemova. Osim od većih kamenih segmenata, neki su stupovi bili izgrađeni od manjih kružnih isječaka slaganih u redove (od opeke, kamenih ploča, a poneki i od dijelova natpisa) (kat. 56, 57). No, ipak, najveće iznenađenje istraživanja bio je nalaz dijela konstrukcije kojim su Rimljani ogradili prirodno izvorište termalne vode, a što je dalo odgovor na pitanje o rimskoj kaptaži za koju su prije postojale samo pretpostavke.<sup>13</sup> Daljnja istraživanja ovog prostora uslijedila su tek 2006. godine nakon što su suvremene instalacije premještene izvan prostora foruma (2002. godine) te je bilo moguće provesti istraživanje dubljih slojeva. Tada se i potvrdilo da je rimski izvorišni bazen bio veličine 8 x 13,5 m.

Istraživanja, koja su uslijedila od 2011. do 2013. godine, pokazala su da je postojala i ranija faza tijekom koje je prirodni izvor bio samo ograđen na širem prostoru, a brojni kameni spomenici, pronađeni u urušenju konstrukcije kasnijeg izvorišnog bazena, i votivni darovi, pronađeni u samom izvorištu, dali su potpuno novu dimenziju značaju koje je ovo lječilište imalo kao kulturni centar u rimskom svijetu. Nastavak radova, sasvim sigurno nadopunit će sliku o ovom prostoru u razdoblju od 1. do 4. stoljeća, a konzervatorsko-restauratorskim radovima i muzeološkom prezentacijom ovaj će lokalitet, kao nezaobilazna kulturno-turistička destinacija, postati svjedočanstvo života, običaja te građevinskih i umjetničkih dostignuća rimskog razdoblja.



3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA BAZILIKE (VARIJANTA 1)  
3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BASILICA (VARIETY 1)



3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA BAZILIKE (VARIJANTA 2)  
3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BASILICA (VARIETY 2)

<sup>12</sup> Kušan Špalj, D.: Forum rimskog naselja Aquae lasae – njegov razvoj i značaj tijekom stoljeća. *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula 1999, 111-113.

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, M.: Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aquae lasae) – arhitektonsko-skulptorsko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja, *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad 1981, 197-202.

## ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA RIMSKOGA IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA (2. – 4. STOLJEĆE)

Arheološkim istraživanjima 2006. godine, kada je istražen izvorišni bazen do dna zidova,<sup>14</sup> izvađeno je blato što je ispunjavalo taj prostor i prvi put nakon rimskog razdoblja bazen je ispunjen termalnom vodom. Zbog prirodnog izviranja termalne vode (temperature 58°C) brzinom do 20 l/s, već su tijekom istraživanja 2006. godine cijelo vrijeme trajanja radova bile uključene dvije, a ponekad i četiri muljne pumpe. Na sličan su način provedeni i radovi 2011. i 2012. godine, kada su istraživani dublji slojevi unutar izvorišnog bazena. Osim toga, pojavili su se i problemi sa štetnim plinovima<sup>15</sup> te su radovi izvođeni uz stalno mjerenje količine plinova u zraku, a korišteni su i ventilatori. Bazen je bio ispunjen ljekovitim blatom, vrlo masnim crnim slojem u kojem je bilo teško uočavati nalaze. Zbog toga je i metodologija istraživanja prilagođena ovoj specifičnoj situaciji. Blato je nakon vađenja iz bazena detaljno pregledavano i ispirano, a u tu su svrhu izrađene platforme s dizalicom te konstrukcije za ispiranje. Pregledano blato predano je Specijalnoj bolnici za medicinsku rehabilitaciju radi daljnjeg korištenja budući da je riječ o iznimno ljekovitom materijalu što se koristi u balneoterapiji za liječenje različitih reumatskih, ortopedskih i drugih bolesti. Tijekom istraživanja izvađeno je stotinjak komada velikih kamenih blokova (više od 50 natpisa i reljefa) pronađenih u urušenju zidova i opločenja foruma. Budući da su neki od blokova težili i više od tone, a na nekim je mjestima dubina iskopa bila i do 5 m, način vađenja kamenja prilagođavao se svakoj pojedinačnoj situaciji. Postavljane su skele i platforme po kojima se kamen izvlačio pomoću manjeg bagera, a kod posebno osjetljivog i oštećenog kamena izrađivale su se zaštitne kutije prije samog podizanja.



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN - ZAPADNI ZID (2. – 4. st.)  
SPRING POOL - WEST WALL (2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> cent.)

U izvorišnom je bazenu pronađena i velika količina sitnog materijala, koja se počela pojavljivati u slojevima u visini dna zidova. Prva veća skupina brončanog novca (94 komada) pronađena je 2006. godine na temeljnom proširenju zida u istočnom dijelu bazena.<sup>16</sup> Tijekom 2011. i 2012. godine našlo se ukupno oko 17 000 uglavnom brončanih te nešto srebrnih i zlatnih primjeraka rimskog novca, brončanog i srebrnog nakita, nešto stakla i keramike. Riječ je o votivnim darovima koji su od 1. do 4. stoljeća bacani u izvorište.

Gradnja je izvorišnog bazena predstavljala iznimno složen građevinski zahvat kojem je prethodilo preusmjeravanje termalne vode kako bi se moglo graditi na suhom. U istraživanjima 2013. godine južno od izvorišnog bazena pronađen je vrlo dubok zidani kanal, koji je vjerojatno služio u tu svrhu. Za razliku od velikoga izvorišnog bazena iz prve faze (1. stoljeće), kojim je samo ograđen prostor izviranja,

14 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice, u Lazar, I. (ur.): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, 211-232.

15 Utvrđeno je prisustvo ugljičnog monoksida (CO) i sumporovodika (H<sub>2</sub>S).

16 Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Ehrlich, D.: Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice – arheološka istraživanja rimskog izvorišnog bazena i okolnog prostora, u Balen, J., Širnek, M. (ur.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja*, Izdanja HAD-a 28, Zagreb 2012, 108.

ovdje je proveden vrlo kompliciran zahvat učvršćenja terena kako bi se stvorilo stabilno tlo za gradnju zidova. Zbog toga su drveni hrastovi piloti zabijeni ispod zidova prije gradnje temelja, a naknadno je učvršćen i teren ispred zidova, vrlo gusto postavljenim pilotima u sistemu s drvenim daskama. Radi učvršćenja cijele konstrukcije, drveni piloti s daskama bili su postavljeni i prema središtu bazena, prateći prirodni pad gline prema mjestu izviranja. To pokazuje da nije bilo čvrstog dna bazena, nego se radilo o prirodnom terenu iz kojeg je nesmetano, na prirodan način, izvirala termalna voda. Zbog toga je došlo i do „ispiranja“ slojeva u prostoru izviranja (u središnjem dijelu bazena) te su slojevi u kojima su se nalazili zavjetni darovi mjestimično propali i do dubine veće od 5 m od razine foruma.

Istraživanja su pokazala kako su istočni i zapadni zid građeni u 2. stoljeću, a na sjevernom i južnom zidu izvršeni su popravci tijekom obnove kompleksa, najvjerojatnije početkom 4. stoljeća. Zapadni i istočni zid ostali su dobro sačuvani budući da su izgrađeni na vrlo čvrstom terenu, na padini prirodne gline koja se strmo spušta prema sredini bazena, gdje je prirodni izvor termalne vode. Međutim, južni i sjeverni zid nisu imali tako čvrstu podlogu i pronađeni su oštećeni, što pokazuje kako je došlo do pomicanja terena i nakon njihove obnove u 4. stoljeću.

Svi zidovi izvorišnog bazena (2. – 4. stoljeće) građeni su od velikih kamenih blokova, većinom u tehnici *opus quadratum*.<sup>17</sup> O gradnji u 2. stoljeću svjedoče istočni i zapadni zid, koji mjestimično imaju i sačuvanu ogradu. Za gradnju je bio upotrijebljen lokalni kamen – litotamnijski vapnenac raznih struktura, koji je ovisno o karakteristikama korišten za razne dijelove zida. Temelj je

bio građen od većih grubo obrađenih blokova, a zid se sastojao od tri reda pravokutnih kamenih blokova u tehnici *opus quadratum* (bez veziva). Samo je na nekoliko mjesta na strani lica bilo vidljivo zapunjenje vanjskih fuga žbukom. Kameni su blokovi slagani na način da su neki bili postavljeni uzdužno, a neki poprečno te je tako postignuto dodatno učvršćenje i sidrenje u okolni teren. Za taj je dio zida upotrijebljen vrlo mekani, ali gusti sitnozrnati vapnenac, kojeg je bilo moguće vrlo precizno obraditi kako bi



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN – SJEVERNI ZID  
SPRING POOL – NORTH WALL

blokovi potpuno prijanjali jedan uz drugi, dok je gustoća kamena osigurala nepropusnost zida. Tijekom istraživanja 2013. godine bila je vidljiva konstrukcija sa stražnje strane zapadnog zida, a sastojala se od rastera greda i dasaka, ispunjenog kamenjem, te velikih kamenih blokova koji

17 Adam, J-P.: *Roman building, Materials and Techniques*, Routledge, London 1999, 206.

su učvršćivali poprečno postavljene blokove zida. Cijeli je prostor iza zida bio čvrsto nabijen glinom, a što je spriječilo razlijevanje vode na širem prostoru.

Iznad dijela zida u tehnici *opus quadratum*, postavljen je završni red kamenih blokova od gušćeg vapnenca, visine 25 cm i širine 70 cm, s utorom (dubine 5 – 10 cm), a služio je kao ležište za kamene grede ograde. Za grede, od kojih je bila izrađena ograda (visine 70 cm), upotrijebljen je krupnozrnati vapnenac, otporan na vanjske uvjete. Dodatnu čvrstoću ovoj konstrukciji davalo je kutno i vezno kamenje kojim su kamene grede bile međusobno povezane, kao i kameni blokovi koji su povezivali ogradu s opločenjem foruma.

Sjeverni i južni zid pronađeni su znatno oštećeni, vjerojatno zbog pomicanja terena oko mjesta izviranja, gdje je došlo do ispiranja i urušavanja slojeva. Zbog toga se veći dio sjevernog zida urušio, a ostao je sačuvan samo u rubnim dijelovima. U urušenju, ali i u sačuvanoj konstrukciji zida, pronađeni su brojni sekundarno upotrijebljeni natpisi, žrtvenici i reljefi. Južni je zid sačuvan u cijelosti, zajedno s ogradom, ali je zbog pomicanja terena potonuo prema sredini. Prema načinu gradnje ovih zidova, jasno je kako je riječ o kasnijem popravku. Naime, njihovom konstrukcijom nastojalo se oponašati gradnju iz 2. stoljeća, ali se nije u potpunosti pratilo visine redova kamena. Očito je kako su ova odstupanja nastala zbog izbora materijala jer je za gradnju upotrijebljen dostupan, gotov materijal – elementi ranijih građevina, žrtvenici i sl. To je kamenje, uz manje dorade, složeno u sličnoj tehnici kao i zidovi iz 2. stoljeća, s poprečno i uzdužno postavljenim blokovima. Osim nekoliko mramornih žrtvenika, većina sekundarno upotrijebljenih spomenika bila je izrađena od litotamnijskog vapnenca, istog materijala kao i raniji zidovi izvorišnog bazena. Graditelji su dakle u 4. stoljeću iskoristili dostupan



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN – SJEVEROISTOČNI UGAO  
SPRING POOL – NORTH-EAST CORNER



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN – JUŽNI ZID S OGRADOM  
SPRING POOL – SOUTH WALL WITH FENCE



materijal koji se već nalazio u svetištu, a koji je, bez obzira na umjetnički i kulturni značaj u ranijem razdoblju, upotrijebljen kao običan građevinski materijal jer je prema karakteristikama i dimenzijama bio je pogodan za popravak zidova.

U urušenju i konstrukciji sjevernog zida pronađeno je i više dijelova tanjih mramornih ploča – uglavnom fragmenata reljefa i natpisa. Zahvaljujući sačuvanoj situaciji oko istočnog dijela sjevernog zida tijekom istraživanja njegove stražnje strane, pronađeni su fragmenti reljefa korišteni kao klinovi ispod većih blokova, npr. natpis posvećen Izidi i Serapisu (kat. 73 ) bio je podložen dijelovima reljefa s prikazom 3 nimfe (kat. 82). Očito je da su graditelji razlomili manje mramorne ploče s reljefima i dijelove koristili za podlaganje većih kamenih blokova u konstrukciji zidova. Tako je objašnjeno i zašto je u urušenju zida među velikim kamenim blokovima bilo i mnogo fragmenata manjih reljefa. Zanimljivo je i da su neki dijelovi istih ploča pronađeni na raznim mjestima, npr. dijelovi istog reljefa (kat. 74) pronađeni su u konstrukciji sjevernog i južnog zida, što potvrđuje i istovremenost gradnje tih zidova.

Istraživanje prostora iza sjevernog zida pokazalo je i način gradnje tijekom obnove, najvjerojatnije početkom 4. stoljeća. Tada je izvedena rekonstrukcija zida od temelja, osim u samim uglovima, gdje je još vidljiv izgled zida iz 2. stoljeća. Usporedno s gradnjom zida zatrpavan je teren manjim i većim kamenjem te nabijena čvrsta glina. U tome sloju naboja pronađeni su i dijelovi skulptura Apolona i Dijane koji su, kao i mnogi drugi natpisi, reljefi te dijelovi arhitekture, odbačeni i iskorišteni kao običan građevinski materijal za zatrpavanje ili popravak zidova. Svi spomenici pronađeni u ovoj konstrukciji mogu se datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, kao i novac pronađen u slojevima zatrpavanja (kat. 48).

Južni je zid sačuvan u cijelosti, ali je zbog ispiranja dubljih slojeva terena unutar izvorišta njegov središnji dio propao prema unutrašnjosti bazena. Na ovom je zidu sačuvana i kamena ograda, a na jednome njezinu konstruktivnom elementu vidljiva je gornja, reljefno ukrašena površina. U bazenu je pronađen i jedan ukrasni vezni kamen koji se prema svojoj dimenziji točno uklapa u ogradu južnog zida, kao spoj dviju kamenih greda (kat. 63), a sličan je pronađen i urušenju sjevernog zida. Istraživanja provedena 2013. godine pokazala su vrlo složenu konstrukciju južnog zida: veliki kameni blokovi postavljeni su naizmjenice, poprečno i uzdužno te dodatno pojačani sa stražnje strane velikim kamenim blokovima. Za gradnju ovog zida također je iskorišteno nekoliko žrtvenika, a pronađeno je i više dijelova manjih reljefa i natpisa korištenih kao podloge ispod većih blokova. Cijeli je teren južno od izvorišta bio učvršćen sustavom pilota i greda, a međuprostor ispunjen većim i manjim kamenom lomljenjakom i čvrsto nabijenom glinom. Ovaj je raster drvenih pilota i greda učvršćivao teren za postavljanje ploča foruma budući da je u tome dijelu teren vrlo nestabilan, a čvrsta glina nalazi se tek na oko 3 m ispod dna temelja.



VEZNI – UKRASNI KAMEN OGRADE IZVORIŠNOG  
BAZENA, 4. st. (kat. 63)  
DECORATIVE BINDER STONES OF THE SPRING  
POOL FENCE, 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cat. 63)

Usporedno s radovima na izvorišnom bazenu u 2. i 4. stoljeću odvijali su se radovi i na opločenju foruma. Opločenje postavljeno u 2. stoljeću vidljivo je u istočnom dijelu foruma i ono je konstruktivno, veznim kamenom povezano s okvirom bazena. Obnova sjevernog i južnog zida izvorišnog bazena uvjetovala je i popravak opločenja kako bi se mogla provesti rekonstrukcija zidova od visine temelja. Kao i u konstrukciji zidova, kod opločenja su sekundarno korišteni razni reljefi i natpisi. Južni zid, koji se pomaknuo prema sredini izvorišta, za sobom je povukao i ploče opločenja, među kojima su pronađena i dva reljefa (kat. 69, 78). U sjevernom dijelu foruma, gdje se urušio središnji dio sjevernog zida izvorišta, također je skliznulo opločenje s brojnim sekundarno upotrijebljenim natpisima i reljefima. Popravci su vidljivi i u jugoistočnom dijelu foruma, gdje se nalaze kanali za odvod termalne vode, a gdje su već u ranijim istraživanjima pronađeni brojni natpisi sekundarno upotrijebljeni kao ploče foruma.

## PROSTOR SVETIŠTA – IZGRADNJA OKO PRIRODNOG IZVORA TERMALNE VODE (1. DO 4. STOLJEĆE)

Arheološka istraživanja provedena na prostoru oko izvora termalne vode u posljednjih nekoliko godina dala su iznimno mnogo podataka za rekonstrukciju izgleda ovog prostora u raznim fazama izgradnje od 1. do 4. stoljeća.

Prirodni je izvor termalne vode zbog svoje ljekovitosti privlačio posjetitelje još od pretpovijesnih razdoblja, ali kako je taj prostor izgledao u vrijeme dolaska Rimljana, može se samo nagađati. Nalazi pretpovijesnih sjekira (kat. 24, 25) uz izvorište svakako upućuju na to da su se ljudi okupljali oko termalne vode, ali s obzirom na građevinske zahvate iz rimskog vremena, nije vjerojatno da će se i u budućnosti pronaći neki konkretni tragovi predrimskog korištenja izvora. Rimljani su vjerojatno zatekli relativno prirodan izgled terena, u kojem je dominirao usjek, odnosno prirodna jama, iz kojeg je izvirala termalna voda. Prema razinama prirodne sterilne žute gline, uočene tijekom istraživanja, moguće je u većoj mjeri rekonstruirati oblik jame koja je bila s tri strane okružena strmim padinama (sjever, zapad i istok), a što je bio relativno skučen prostor za izgradnju. Istraživanje ovog prostora 2012. i 2013. pokazalo je kako su u najranijoj fazi (1. stoljeće) Rimljani samo ogradili prostor izviranja i tako omogućili pristup vodi. Izgradnja se u to vrijeme ograničila na slobodni prostor oko izvorišta koji je bio ograđen sa zapadne i istočne strane zidovima s polukružnim nišama, a u sjevernom dijelu polukružnim zidovima koji se spajaju s jednim pravokutnim objektom na sjevernoj strani. Riječ je najvjerojatnije o hramu, čiji su zidovi sačuvani ispod kasnijega sjevernog stepeništa, a s obzirom na natpise datirane u ovu najraniju fazu<sup>18</sup>, može se pretpostaviti kako se radi o svetištu posvećenom nimfama. Možda je ovom hramu pripadala i baza stupa pronađena u urušenju izvorišnog bazena (kat. 61). Ispred hrama se nalazila ožbukana stepenasta kamena konstrukcija, koja je imala najdonju stepenicu od drva te je bila dio poligonalnog okvira oko izvora. Zanimljiv je nalaz srebrnog novca cara Augusta, pronađen u žbuci stepenice ispred ulaza u hram, datiran u 29. – 27. pr. Kr. (kat. 46), koji je i najraniji nalaz na ovom lokalitetu. No s obzirom da je taj novac bio u upotrebi još tijekom 1. stoljeća te s obzirom na opću povijesnu situaciju, samu izgradnju ipak nije moguće datirati prije početka 1. stoljeća. Budući da istraživanja prostora južno od izvorišta nisu dovršena, nije moguće dati potpunu rekonstrukciju izgleda ovih objekata. Međutim, jasno je kako se već u ovoj, najranijoj fazi radilo

<sup>18</sup> Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

o vrlo promišljenoj izgradnji, koja je omogućila pristup termalnoj vodi, njezino korištenje, ali ujedno je i cijelom prostoru dala kulturni karakter. Iz ove faze sačuvane su kupališne prostorije u jugozapadnom dijelu kompleksa te odvodni kanali, a posebno je zanimljiv drveni preljevni kanal<sup>19</sup> jugoistočno od izvorišta kojim je višak vode iz izvorišnog bazena odvođen u kanalizaciju.

Cijeli kompleks uvelike se promijenio u 1. polovici 2. stoljeća, kada je javni prostor velikim građevinskim zahvatima dobio potpuno novi izgled. Očito se pojavila potreba za većim i bolje opremljenim svetištem u kojem se, osim nimfa, štiju i druga božanstva vezana uz liječenje i ozdravljenje. Sve ove promjene vjerojatno su nastale i kao posljedica nove administrativne reorganizacije u doba cara Trajana kada Petovij (*Poetovio*, današnji Ptuj) dobiva status kolonije, a naselje *Aquae lasae* najvjerojatnije postaje dio njezina teritorija. U toj je fazi potpuno preuređen prostor oko prirodnog izvorišta, a kako bi se dobilo što više prostora, izgradnja se širi u okolno brdo. Grade se povišeni trjemovi, a izgradnjom triju hramova sa sjeverne strane i dvjema bočnim prostorijama zasijeca se padina koja se masivnim potpornim zidovima pojačanim kontraforima dodatno učvršćuje s istočne i zapadne strane. Pritom se vodilo računa o oborinskim vodama i vlazi pa je izgrađen sustav obodne drenaže u padini iza zidova, što je bilo podjednako važno za sprečavanje vlaženja zidova, kao i za stabilnost padine. Sustav kanala skupljao je oborinsku vodu s padine i krovova te se protezao iza zidova hramova i nastavljao iza trjemova. Na zapadu se povezivao s kanalom za odvod viška termalne vode iz izvorišnog bazena u zajedničku kanalizaciju. U ovoj fazi dogodila se i velika promjena u načinu kaptiranja izvorišta. Kako bi se dobio slobodni prostor oko izvorišnog bazena, rubni dijelovi prirodne jame su zatrpani, a izvor je ograđen unutar manjeg izvorišnog bazena, veličine 8 x 13,5 m, dok je okolni prostor opločen velikim kamenim pločama.

Arhitektonskim oblikovanjem i građevinskim zahvatima stvoren je iznimno luksuzan i svečan javni prostor u kojem su sve dimenzije podređene veličini prirodnog izvorišta, skladno uklopljene u prostor okružen strmim padinama. Zbog toga ova cjelina, koja je u osnovi oblikovana prema standardima klasičnoga rimskog graditeljstva, kao forum s kapitolijem, ovdje dobiva jedinstven



KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM ŽENSKE GLAVE (menada?), 2. st. (kat. 51)  
CONSOLE DEPICTING A FEMALE HEAD (maenad?), 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cat. 51)



DIO KAPITELA, 2. – 4. st. (kat. 59)  
PART OF A CAPITAL, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cat. 59)



KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM MUŠKE GLAVE (satir?), 2. st. (kat. 53)  
CONSOLE DEPICTING A MALE HEAD (satyr?), 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cat. 53)

19 Drvo je datirano metodom C14 (Lab. Broj- Beta 290813) kalibrirani datum 200 BC- 50 AD (Cal BP 2150-2000).

oblik kojim je prirodnom fenomenu, ljekovitom izvorištu, dana dimenzija nadnaravnog, a istovremeno je vještinom rimskih graditelja ostvarena i njegova kontrolirana eksploatacija.

Upravo je u ovoj fazi izgradnje vidljivo kako je vješto i planski izgrađen prostor oko prirodnog izvorišta, a da su pritom uzeti u obzir i svi zadani prirodni uvjeti te su pronađena različita tehnička rješenja koja su omogućila gradnju. Tu treba spomenuti i način temeljenja zidova hramova, gdje je vidljivo kako su u obzir uzeta i opažanja o karakteristikama terena prije gradnje. Naime, kako su Rimljani za gradnju hramova trebali „učiti“ u prirodnu padinu i u slojeve prirodne gline, bilo im je očito da je riječ o vrlo čvrstom terenu stoga nije bilo potrebe za dubljim kopanjem do tvrdog sloja (*lat. solidum*), kao što to preporučuje rimski pisac i arhitekt Vitruvije.<sup>20</sup> Zbog toga su hramovi sagrađeni gotovo bez temelja, odnosno samo s jednim redom kamena ispod razine podova.

Konstruktivna povezanost okvira bazena s oploćenjem te preljevnog kanala i kanala za oborinsku vodu ukazuje da je riječ o istoj građevinskoj fazi i jedinstvenom projektu prema kojem su izgrađeni povišeni trjemovi s hramovima i bočnim prostorijama te izvorišni bazen i oploćenje. Drveni preljevni kanal<sup>21</sup> iz ove faze nalazi se neposredno iznad kanala ranije sagrađenog jugoistočno od izvorišnog bazena (1. st.), a apsolutni datum dobiven metodom C14 ukazuje na datiranje izgradnje u 2. stoljeće. Zajedno s opsežnim građevinskim radovima oko izvorišta, u ovoj fazi izgrađeno je i novo kupalište čiji su tragovi pronađeni ispod kupališnih prostorija iz 4. stoljeća, dok je prostor ranijeg kupališta izniveliran i na tome mjestu nije bilo kasnije gradnje.

Na temelju nekih epigrafskih spomenika, a prije svega dijela jednoga građevinskog natpisa koji se može datirati u vrijeme dinastije Severa (kat. 62), trebalo bi pretpostaviti i građevinske zahvate u svetištu krajem 2. ili početkom 3. stoljeća, koje su se vjerojatno odnosile na manje intervencije u hramovima i njihovo opremanje.

Obnova naselja nakon požara, koja se spominje na ploči cara Konstantina (kat.1), potvrđena je i u arheološkim istraživanjima te se u to razdoblje može smjestiti 3. faza velikih građevinskih radova na ovom kompleksu. Osim izgradnje novog kupališta, dogodile su se i promjene u izgledu hramova. Središnji je hram proširen, a svi hramovi natkriveni su zajedničkim krovom. Najkasnije u ovu fazu trebalo bi smjestiti i popravke izvedene na izvorišnom bazenu i okolnom oploćenju, kada su sekundarno iskorišteni brojni stariji spomenici. Istovremenost svih ovih zahvata potvrđuje i nalaz reljefa s natpisom (kat. 80), čiji su dijelovi pronađeni u konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišta, gdje su upotrijebljeni kao klinovi za podlaganje velikih kamenih blokova, a dva fragmenta pronađena su još 1965. godine u zidu Junonina hrama (u dijelu zida kojim je smanjen raniji otvor za vrata).

Na temelju istraženih dijelova rimske arhitekture iz 2. stoljeća, kao i vrlo dobro sačuvanih objekata obnovljenih i sagrađenih u 4. stoljeću, bilo je moguće izraditi računalnu rekonstrukciju – 3D-modele prostora oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode. U rekonstrukciju su uključeni i pojedini elementi arhitekture pronađeni tijekom istraživanja (stupovi, kapiteli, baze, kamene konzole i dr), a što je doprinijelo potpunijoj vizualizaciji prostora svetišta u kojem su oko izvorišnog bazena bili izgrađeni monumentalni hramovi i trjemovi sa stupovima visine oko 6 m.

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<sup>20</sup> Vitruv. I.5.

<sup>21</sup> Drvo je datirano metodom C14 – (Lab. Broj-Beta 290812) kalibrirani datum 50-140 cal AD (Cal BP 1900-1810).





IZVORIŠNI BAZEN (ISTRAŽIVANJA 2006. god.)  
SPRING POOL (EXCAVATIONS 2006)



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN – JUŽNI ZID (ISTRAŽIVANJA 2012. god.)  
SPRING POOL – SOUTH WALL (EXCAVATIONS 2012)



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN – SJEVERNI ZID (ISTRAŽIVANJA 2011. god.)  
SPRING POOL – NORTH WALL (EXCAVATIONS 2011)

Dorica Nemeth Ehrlich, Dora Kušan Špalj

## THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AQUAE IASAE – FINDINGS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE MUNICIPAL PARK

### THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AQUAE IASAE

During the Roman period, the area of the present-day town of Varaždinske Toplice (north-western Croatia) was the site of the *Aquae lasae* settlement, a famous health resort, as well as religious and trade centre. The settlement was established in an extremely advantageous location with a mild climate, while the main reason for the continued settlement of this area within a period of several millennia was the healing properties of its thermal sulphur water. With respect to the separate archaeological findings from the prehistoric period discovered in this area, one may conclude that in those times people tended to stay in the vicinity of a thermal spring because of its water's healing powers.<sup>1</sup> That is why the name of the Roman settlement – *Aquae lasae* – reveals that water had already been used before the arrival of the Romans, when the area was inhabited by the Pannonian tribe of Iasi.

Around the thermal spring, today situated in a park on the highest terrace of the Toplice hillock, the Romans built the settlement's public area. The residential area was located on the lower terraces, and buildings associated with transport, trade and marketplace at its foothill.<sup>2</sup> This shows that the design of the Roman settlement, as well as its overall development, adapted entirely to natural conditions – the position of the hot spring and the relief of natural terraces. It is interesting to note that this very spring is still being used for the purposes of a health resort, so that thermal water, like in Roman times, is the backbone of development of the entire region.

The coincidental findings from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as the Emperor Constantine inscription (Cat. 1), a relief representing three nymphs (Cat. 2) or the reliefs of the so-called nymphaeum (Cat. 3) indicated, already before systematic archaeological explorations, that in the Roman period an important and luxuriously furnished settlement, *Aquae lasae*, had been located in the area of present-day Varaždinske Toplice.

### ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX IN THE MUNICIPAL PARK

During the longstanding archaeological explorations being carried out in the municipal park of Varaždinske Toplice by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb since 1953, a Roman public architectural complex extending across an area of 6000 m<sup>2</sup> has been discovered.

Between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, construction works in this area were invariably adapted to the position and significance of the natural spring in order for the thermal water to be optimally

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1 Malez, M.: Nalazišta paleolitskog i mezolitskog doba u Hrvatskoj, *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja I*, Sarajevo 1979, 261-262; Čabrian, J., Gorenc, M., Vikić, B.: *Pregled povijesti Varaždinskih Toplica*, Varaždinske Toplice 1973, 4-6.

2 Vikić-Belančić, B.: Prilog istraživanju naseobinskog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. VI-VII, Zagreb 1973, 75 – 132.

exploited through construction solutions, while the spring's mystical and cult character accentuated by means of architectural design. The best preserved buildings, dating from the reign of Emperor Constantine have walls up to three metres high, with mural paintings and floors that were preserved under layers of travertine that had formed as a result of the uncontrolled overflowing of thermal water from the spring after the Roman period had ended.

The complex is composed of two architecturally connected units. The baths area (spa buildings and basilica) is located on the upper terrace of the Toplice hillock. The northern, slightly raised level, situated on a relatively narrow area enclosed by three steep slopes, is the site of the sanctuary – the temples and colonnades built around the thermal spring. The elevated position of the spring and the water's resulting free-fall allowed for the thermal water to flow into the baths through channels.



3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA SVETIŠTA, 4. st.  
3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SANCTUARY, 4<sup>th</sup> century



## PUBLIC BATHS AND THE BASILICA

The public baths and a basilica are located in the southern part of the explored Roman architectural complex in the present-day municipal park. Systematic archaeological excavations carried out between 1953 and 1982 revealed buildings from different construction phases dating from between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The oldest part of the baths, built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century and comprising rectangular rooms and pools to which water was conducted by means of a simple channel leading from the spring, is situated in the south-western part of the complex. Although there was no heating in these rooms, pools with layers of tight plaster and steps designed for sitting have been preserved, from which one can conclude that the constant inflow of hot thermal water from the spring afforded enjoyable bathing. The first phase of the baths' basilica, connected with the baths via a western side door, dates from this period. The votive inscriptions from this period were of predominantly military character, so it is assumed that in their earliest stage, the baths served as a health resort for soldiers.<sup>4</sup>



POGLED NA KUPALIŠTE I BAZILIKU  
VIEW OF THE BATHS AND BASILICA

- 3 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Arheološka istraživanja antiknog kupališta u u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 1953.-1955. godine, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. vol. I. Zagreb 1958, 75-127; Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: *Varaždinske Toplice-Aquae Iasae u antičko doba*, Varaždinske Toplice Regional Museum, Varaždinske Toplice 1980.
- 4 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

Preserved are only some parts of the new and more elaborately furnished baths built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, whose larger part is situated beneath the fourth-century baths. The rectangular rooms and semicircular pools from this period feature floors made of plaster and preserved parts of a heating system (Cat. 5), whereas numerous fragments of mural paintings have also been uncovered. At the time, the baths' basilica was furnished with a hypocaust heating system. Unlike the simple rectangular rooms of the first-century baths, in this phase a more monumental building was erected with a more complex ground plan and intricate roofing which, together with the basilica and the sanctuary, formed an integral building complex situated around a common north/south axis.

The inscription on the so-called Emperor Constantine's Plaque<sup>5</sup> reveals that the buildings from this period were reconstructed after having been destroyed in a fire, and further evidence of construction works throughout the entire fourth-century complex was also obtained during archaeological excavations. The fourth-century baths are well preserved and were erected predominantly on the site of the previous building. The walls have been preserved up to a height of two metres, large surfaces of wall plaster with paintings are visible in several places, and several fragments that broke off the ceilings and walls were found among the ruins. The most common motifs were twining vines, diverse geometric designs and imitations of marble plates. Plastered floors, as well as nearly all the stone thresholds and doorposts, were found in all the rooms.<sup>6</sup> Parts of the hypocaust heating system have been preserved in some rooms – an external furnace and brick columns under the floor, from which hot air circulated through hollow wall bricks, which are still visible in numerous rooms.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, some changes were also made to the basilica. By building in an apse, the middle portal of the basilica, which in the earlier phase connected it with the baths, was walled in and replaced with side passages. A representational south-side entrance with stairs and columns also originates from this period. The eastern wall, preserved in a height of 2.5 metres and whose three large windows can still be discerned, was uncovered during the 2004 archaeological excavations.<sup>7</sup> Mural paintings have been preserved on the lower part of the basilica walls, while the discovery of a fair amount of shards that had broken off the walls and ceiling allows for a speculation that the vault had been decorated with polygonal coffers and rhombuses with floral ornaments (Cat. 21, 22). It was impossible to specify the exact time of the basilica's conversion into a sacred place. That the sacralisation most



FRESKE S BILJNIM I GEOMETRIJSKIM  
MOTIVIMA, 4. st. (kat. 21, 22)  
FRESCOS WITH FLORAL AND  
GEOMETRIC MOTIF, 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cat. 21, 22)

5 CIL III 4121.

6 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Istraživanja antičkog kupališta u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 1956.-1959. godine, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. vol. II. Zagreb 1961, 181-223.

7 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan-Špalj, D.: Varaždinske Toplice, *Croatian Archaeological Yearbook* 1/2004, Ministarstvo kulture RH, Zagreb 2005, 83-86.

probably occurred later in the 4<sup>th</sup> century is indicated by a fragment of a mural painting representing a saint's head with an aureole (Cat. 23), as well as a southern extension, in all likelihood serving as a baptistery, to which a lead conduit pipe ran. A fragment of a fresco made in red, which most probably represents a part of the fence enclosing the Garden of Eden, has also been found on the northern side of the extension's southern wall.<sup>8</sup>

The preserved elements afforded a 3-D computer-model reconstruction of the basilica's interior and exterior design.<sup>9</sup> The dimensions and proportions of the preserved structures point to the fact that the basilica probably had a flat ceiling and a double-eaved roof. Alternatively, in one phase it might have been covered with a cross-barrel vault and detached roofing. The vaults, columns and the apse with a triumphal arch, whose apex was presumably up to eight metres high, emphasized the monumentality of the symmetrically and harmoniously designed space, whose walls and vaults were decorated with mural paintings.

## THE SANCTUARY

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS OF THE AREA SURROUNDING THE NATURAL THERMAL SPRING

The first phase of the archaeological excavation of the area surrounding the natural spring was carried out between 1962 and 1982,<sup>10</sup> but only on its periphery, because in that time the main part included the then still active spring installations that supplied the health resort with thermal water. Arcades, temples and parts of the forum's paved floor were discovered in the first phase of the archaeological excavation. The surface under the tiles was explored in the southern area, where well-preserved stone channels that supplied the baths with thermal water were found. The peripheral area of the forum and the colonnades contained numerous fragments of architectural structures (pieces of columns, capitals, bases, or consoles) and roof structures, as well as wholly or partly preserved inscriptions and altars. A statue of the goddess Minerva with a pedestal, one of the most exquisite examples of the Noricum-Pannonia sculpting achievements, was found between 1967 and 1968 in the western temple.<sup>11</sup>

Further works in the area surrounding the spring did not continue until 1997, and by 1998 the entire forum had been explored as deep as the level of the floor paving.<sup>12</sup> Other findings included pieces of paving as well as numerous fragments of collapsed columns of the northern, western and eastern colonnades, made of diverse elements and most likely used during various phases of colonnade renovation. Apart from the columns made of bigger cylindrical stone segments,

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8 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

9 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan, D., Kušan, I.: *Aquae Iasae-Varaždinske Toplice, vizualizacija rimske arhitekture* (exhibition catalogue), Archaeological museum, Zagreb 1997.

10 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: *Varaždinske Toplice-Aquae Iasae u antičko doba*, Varaždinske Toplice Regional Museum, Varaždinske Toplice 1980.

11 Gorenc, M.: Minerva iz Varaždinskih Toplica i njen majstor, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. vol. XVI-XVII, Zagreb 1984, 95-108.

12 Kušan Špalj, D.: Forum rimskog naselja Aquae Iasae – njegov razvoj i značaj tijekom stoljeća. *Histria Antiqua* 5, Pula 1999, 111-113.

some columns were also made of small circular sectors stacked in rows (made of brick, stone plates, and some out of pieces of inscriptions) (Cat. 56, 57). The most surprising find discovered during the exploration was a piece of the structure used by the Romans to “enclose” the natural thermal spring. The find resolved the issue of the Roman spring capture, which until then had only been the subject of various hypotheses.<sup>13</sup> Further explorations of this area did not follow until 2006, after contemporary installations had been removed from the forum (in 2002), thus permitting the exploration of deeper layers. It was then that the size of the Roman spring pool was ascertained to be 8 x 13.5 m.

The explorations that followed in the period between 2011 and 2013 revealed that there had also existed an earlier phase during which the natural spring had merely been “enclosed” within a wider area.

The numerous stone monuments found among the ruins of the subsequent spring pool construction and the votive offerings discovered inside the spring itself added an entirely new dimension to the significance of the thermal resort as a place of worship in the Roman world. Additional explorations will doubtlessly add new pieces to the puzzle in the endeavours to obtain a comprehensive picture of this area in the period between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Through conservation/restoration activities and a museological presentation, this site – as an indispensable cultural/tourist destination – shall bear testimony to the Roman way of life, customs, building techniques, and artistic achievements.



ŽRTVENIK, POSVEĆEN IZIDI I SERAPISU (kat. 73), U KONSTRUKCIJI SJEVERNOG ZIDA IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA, PODLOŽEN S DIJELOVIMA RELJEFA (kat. 82)  
 ALTAR DEDICATED TO ISIS AND SERAPIS (Cat. 73), IN THE SPRING POOL'S NORTH WALL STRUCTURE, UNDERLAID BY FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF (Cat. 82)

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, M.: Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aquae Iasae) – arhitektonsko-skulptorsko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja, *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad 1981, 197-202.



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF THE ROMAN SPRING POOL (2<sup>ND</sup> – 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

During the 2006 archaeological excavations, when the spring pool was explored as far as the bottom of the walls,<sup>14</sup> the mud that covered this space was removed, thus allowing the pool to be filled with thermal water for the first time after the Roman period. Due to the natural flow of thermal water having a temperature of 58°C and a speed of up to 20 L/s, two pumps or occasionally even four were activated throughout the 2006 exploration. The explorations conducted between 2011 and 2012 employed a similar approach involving the examination of deeper layers inside the spring pool. The presence of toxic gases being detected,<sup>15</sup> the volume of gas emissions had to be continually measured and ventilators employed throughout the exploration works. Filled with medicinal mud, the pool was covered with an extremely greasy black layer that hindered the detection of objects. Thus, the methodology of exploration was adapted to this specific situation. After being removed from the pool, the mud was inspected and copiously rinsed; to this end, platforms holding lifts for hoisting the rinsing construction were mounted. Found to be an extremely curative substance utilized in balneotherapy for the treatment of various rheumatic, orthopaedic and other illnesses, the examined mud was offered to a Special hospital for medicinal rehabilitation. Hundreds of stone slabs (over 50 inscriptions and reliefs) discovered amongst the collapsed walls and in the paved forum were excavated during the explorations. In view of the fact that the mass of some slabs exceeded a ton, and that in some places the digging reached a depth of up to five metres, the method of excavation was adapted to each specific situation. Chutes and platforms were erected, along which the stones were hauled by means of a smaller dredging machine, and protective cases were used for the especially sensitive and damaged stones.

A large amount of small items detected in the layers on the bottom level of the walls was uncovered in the spring pool. The first large amount of 94 bronze coins was found in 2006 along the wall's base widening in the eastern part of the pool.<sup>16</sup> Between 2011 and 2012, approximately 17,000 predominantly bronze, and some silver and gold Roman coins, bronze and silver jewellery, as well as some pieces of glass and pottery, were jointly discovered. These were votive offerings dropped into the spring between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

As the thermal water had to be preliminarily redirected so as not to interfere with the building of the spring pool, it represented an extremely complex construction intervention. An extremely deep stone-built channel, which probably served this purpose, was uncovered southwards of the spring pool in the course of the 2013 excavations. Unlike the large spring pool from the first phase (1<sup>st</sup> century), which only enclosed the area of the spring, an extremely complex procedure of terrain fortification aimed at stabilizing the ground prior to constructing the walls was implemented here. To this end, oak stilts were driven under the walls prior to constructing the foundation, while the terrain in front of the walls was subsequently fortified by densely placed stilts in combination with wooden boards. To strengthen the entire construction, wooden stilts and boards were also erected around the middle of the pool following the natural downward

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14 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice, in Lazar, I. (ed.): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, 211-232.

15 The presence of carbon monoxide (CO) and hydrogen sulphide (H<sub>2</sub>S) was ascertained.

16 Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Ehrlich, D.: Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice – arheološka istraživanja rimskog izvorišnog bazena i okolnog prostora, in Balen, J., Šimek, M. (eds.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja*, Izdanja HAD-a 28, Zagreb 2012, 108.



slide of clay towards the location of the spring. This indicates that, rather than a solid floor, the bottom of the pool was a natural terrain from which thermal water flowed out uninterrupted, following its natural course. Due to the erosion of layers at the site of the spring (middle part of the pool), the layers that contained the votive offerings were in some parts sunken as far as five metres below the level of the forum.

Explorations have shown that the east and west walls were built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, while the north and south walls were renovated during reconstruction of the complex in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Built on very solid ground, on a slope of natural clay descending steeply towards the centre of the pool where water naturally wells forth, the west and east walls are extremely well preserved. The ground of the south and north walls was less firm; they were found damaged, which points to the fact that the terrain must have shifted even after the walls had been renovated in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

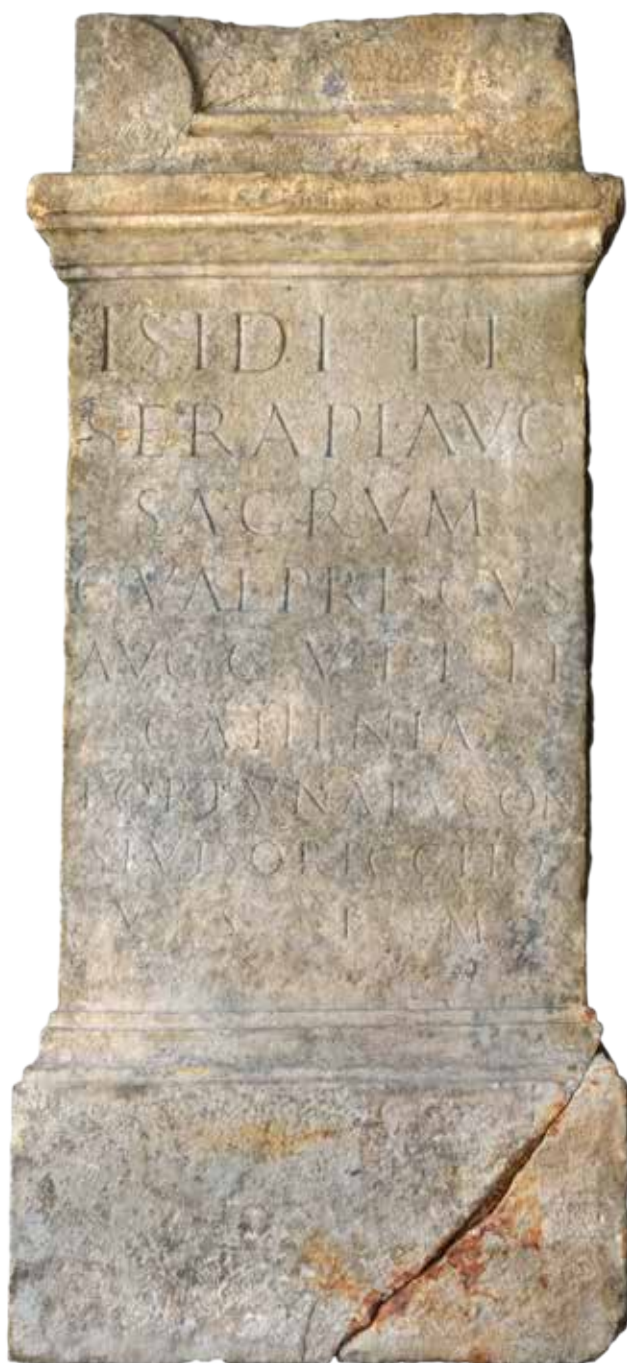
All the walls of the spring pool (2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century) were built of large stone slabs, predominantly employing the *opus quadratum* technique.<sup>17</sup> The east and west walls, whose fence has in some places been preserved, bear testimony to their second-century construction. Local stone of diverse structures – lithothamnion limestone – was used for various parts of the wall in accordance with its characteristics. The foundation was built of bigger, roughly treated blocs, and the upper part of the wall was composed of three rows of rectangular stone slabs installed using the *opus quadratum* technique (without binder), and a top row with a groove for the fence. Only in some frontal side parts can one detect that the external fissures were filled with a binder. Some of the stone slabs were erected longitudinally, and some transversally. Thereby, additional solidification and “anchoring” within the surrounding terrain was achieved. For this part of the wall, very soft, but dense, fine-grained limestone was employed, whose pliability afforded extremely precise treatment, so that the slabs fit tightly one against the other, while the stone density provided for the wall’s impermeability. During the 2013 explorations, the structure on the rear side of the west wall was visible, composed of a raster of beams and boards filled with stones as well as large stone slabs that strengthened the longitudinally placed wall blocks. The entire space behind the wall was firmly filled with clay, which prevented overflow of water across a wider area.

An uppermost row of 25-cm high and 70-cm wide stone slabs from denser limestone and with a 5–10-centimetre groove, serving as beds for the fence’s stone beams, was placed above a part of the wall done in the *opus quadratum* technique. A course-grained limestone resistant to adverse weather conditions was utilized for the beams, from which a 70-cm fence was fashioned. Corner and linking stones that served to interconnect the stone beams, as well as the stone slabs connecting the fence with the forum’s paving, additionally enhanced the solidity of the structure.

The north and south walls were found in a rather damaged state, in all probability caused by the sliding terrain around the spring, where layers had been crumbling and eroding. That is why the greater part of the north wall collapsed, with only its edges being preserved. Numerous secondarily utilized inscriptions, altars and reliefs were uncovered in the ruins, as well as in the preserved wall structure. The south wall was preserved in its entirety, together with the fence, but it nonetheless sank towards the middle on account of the shifting terrain. The utilized building method leads to the conclusion that these walls underwent subsequent repairs. Namely, in constructing them, endeavours were made to employ the methods used in the

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17 Adam, J-P.: *Roman Building, Materials and Techniques*, Routledge, London 1999, p. 206.



ŽRTVENIK POSVEČEN IZIDI I SERAPISU, 2./3. st. (kat. 73)  
ALTAR DEDICATED TO ISIS AND SERAPIS, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 73)

second-century building, but the height of the stone stacks was not entirely maintained. It is obvious that these digressions resulted from the selection of materials, as available and finished materials were used in construction – pieces of previous buildings, altars and the like. After slight additional treatment, these stones were arranged using a technique similar to the one used for the second-century walls with transversally and longitudinally placed slabs. Apart from some marble altars, most of the secondarily used monuments were made of lithothamnion limestone, the material also employed for earlier walls. This allows for the speculation that the fourth-century builders made use of the material already at their disposal in the sanctuary, employing it regardless of its earlier artistic and religious significance as an ordinary building material whose characteristics and dimensions matched the requirements of wall repairs.

Several pieces of thin marble plates – mostly fragments of reliefs utilized as “wedges” under large blocks – were uncovered in the ruins and the north wall structure. For example, a piece of relief representing three nymphs (Cat. 82) was placed under the altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis (Cat. 73). It is obvious that the builders had broken smaller marble plates with reliefs into pieces, which they then placed under the larger stone slabs of the wall structure. This explains why many fragments of smaller reliefs were found amongst the large stone slabs of the collapsed wall. It is interesting to note that some pieces of those very plates were discovered in diverse places, e.g. parts of relief were uncovered in the south and north wall structures, which testifies to both walls being built concurrently (Cat. 74).

The exploration of the area beyond the north wall also shed light on the building method employed during fourth-century renovations. At that time, an extensive reconstruction of the wall had taken place, except for the corners, which have retained the wall's second-century appearance. Simultaneously with the construction of the wall, the terrain was covered with small and large stones, and filled up with dense clay. In this argillaceous layer, pieces of sculptures of Apollo and Diane were discovered which, similarly to numerous other reliefs and architectural elements, had been discarded and utilized as ordinary building material for filling up or repairing the walls. All the monuments in this structure, as well as the coins discovered in the filling layers, date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century. (Cat. 48).

The south wall has been preserved in its entirety, but its middle part collapsed towards the interior of the pool on account of the erosion of deeper terrain layers within the spring. One of the construction elements of a stone fence, which has been preserved on this wall, displays an upper surface with a relief decoration. A decorative linking stone, an element whose dimensions perfectly fit into the south wall fence, which had served as a joint for two stone beams has been uncovered in the pool (Cat. 63.). A similar stone has also been found amongst the north wall ruins. The 2013 explorations revealed a very complex south wall structure. Arranged alternatively transversely and longitudinally, massive stone slabs were additionally strengthened at the back with large stone slabs. Some altars were used in the construction of this wall, while several pieces of small reliefs and inscriptions that served as a base for larger slabs were also found. The entire terrain to the south of the spring was solidified with a system of stilts and beams, and the interspace was filled with bigger and smaller crushed stones and firmly compacted clay. This raster of wooden stilts and beams solidified the terrain so that paving could be laid in the forum, as this part of the terrain is quite unstable and dense clay is found only as deep as approx. three metres below the bottom of the foundations.

The paving of the forum was carried out concurrently with the works conducted in the spring pool in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century. The second-century stone paving, visible in the eastern part of the forum, is connected structurally, with linking stones, to the frame of the pool. In order for the walls to be reconstructed from the base, the renovation of the spring pool's north and south walls also conditioned repairs to the paving. Various reliefs and inscriptions, as in the construction of walls, were also used in the paving. The south wall's shift towards the centre of the spring involved the sliding of pavement plates, among which two reliefs (Cat. 69, 78) were discovered. The north part of the forum, where the middle part of the spring's north wall had collapsed, likewise revealed a sliding of the paving that included numerous secondarily employed inscriptions and reliefs. Repairs have also been ascertained in the south-east part of the forum, where channels were constructed for the outflow of thermal water and where prior explorations detected numerous inscriptions that had been secondarily employed in paving the forum.

## THE SANCTUARY – CONSTRUCTION AROUND THE NATURAL THERMAL WATER SPRING (1<sup>ST</sup> – 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

On the basis of extensive data collected during archaeological explorations around the thermal water spring within the last few years, a reconstruction of the appearance of the area could be done, in various phases of construction between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The healing properties of the natural thermal water spring have attracted people since prehistoric times. Only speculations can be made as to the appearance of this area at the time of the arrival of the Romans. The finds of prehistoric axes (Cat. 24, 25) at the spring undoubtedly invite a conclusion that people had been gathering around the thermal water, though the construction works conducted in the Roman era reduce the possibility that any discoveries of concrete traces of pre-Roman use of the spring might be made in future. In all probability, the Romans came upon a relatively natural terrain, dominated by a chasm, that is, a natural cavity from which thermal water sprang. Based on the layers of natural, sterile yellow clay found throughout the course of excavations, it is possible to reconstruct, to a great extent, the shape of the pit surrounded by steep slopes on three sides (north, west, east), which made for a fairly constricted building space. The excavations of this area between 2012 and 2013 revealed that during the earliest phase (1<sup>st</sup> century), the Romans merely enclosed the spring area in order to facilitate access to water. During this period, building was limited to the area around the spring, enclosed by walls with semicircular niches on the western and eastern sides, and on the northern side by semicircular walls linked to a rectangular building on the northern side. In all probability, this is a temple whose walls have been preserved under the subsequent northern staircase. Taking into consideration the inscriptions, which date back to the earliest phase<sup>18</sup>, we can presume that the sanctuary had been consecrated to the nymphs. Perhaps the temple



BAZA STUPA (kat. 61)  
COLUMN BASE (Cat. 61)



NOVAC CARA AUGUSTA, oko 29 – 27. pr. Kr. (kat. 46)  
COIN OF EMPEROR AUGUSTUS, c. 29–27 BC (Cat. 46)

<sup>18</sup> Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.



also included the base of the column found in the ruins of the spring pool (Cat. 61). There was a plastered, stepped stone structure in front of the temple, whose lowest step was wooden, and which formed part of the polygonal frame surrounding the spring. A most compelling discovery was the silver coin of Emperor Augustus (Cat. 46), found in the plaster of a step leading to the temple. Dating from 29 to 27 BC, this is the oldest find on this site. Given the fact that this coin was still being used as late as in the 1<sup>st</sup> century and in view of the general historical situation, the origin of the very building cannot be ascertained earlier than the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Because the exploration of the area to the south of the spring is still not concluded, a complete archaeological reconstruction of these buildings cannot be made as yet. What is clear, though, is that in this earliest phase the building was already extremely elaborate, enabling access to and exploitation of the thermal water, and at the same time bestowing a sacred character upon the entire area. Also dating back to this phase, the bath premises in the south-western part of the complex and the drainage channels have been preserved. Particularly compelling is the wooden flow channel<sup>19</sup> running to the south-east of the spring, which served to convey excess water from the spring into the sewage system.

Considerable changes in the overall structure of the complex were made in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when, following major building interventions, this area was extensively renovated. Apparently the need for a bigger and more elaborately furnished sanctuary arose, so that other deities associated with healing and recovery might be worshipped apart from the nymphs. All these alterations most probably proceeded from the new administrative reorganisation, the establishment of the *Poetovio* colony, and the consecutive annexation of *Aquae Iasae*. The area around the natural spring was completely restored during this phase, and with the purpose of acquiring as much space as possible the building works spread towards the neighbouring hill. Raised colonnades were built; and during construction of the three temples on the north side and the two side rooms, the slope was “cut across” and further stabilised on the eastern and western sides with massive retaining walls reinforced by supporting pillars. Since rainfall and moisture had to be taken into consideration, a drainage system was constructed on the slope behind the walls, which proved equally significant for the prevention of wall dampening as well as the enhancement of slope stability. A system of channels, collecting the precipitated water from the slope and the roofs, extended behind the temple walls and continued beyond the colonnades. In the west, it merged with the channel that served to drain surplus thermal water from the spring pool into a common sewage system. During this phase, a marked change was made in the spring-water capture. In order to gain more available space around the spring pool, the shallower peripheral parts of the natural pit were covered in, thus enclosing the spring within a smaller spring pool sized 8 x 13,5m, while the surrounding area was paved with large stone tiles.

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<sup>19</sup> Dated using the method C14 Lab. No. – Beta 290813, calibrated date 200 BC–AD 50 (Cal BP 2150–2000).



The exquisite architectural design and construction works resulted in an extremely luxurious and solemn public space, in which all dimensions were subjected to the size of the natural spring and harmoniously blended in with the area surrounded by steep slopes. That is why this whole, whose design of a forum with a capitol essentially followed the standards of classical Roman architecture, here assumed a unique form that invested the natural phenomenon – a medicinal spring – with a supernatural quality, which was at the same time, owing to the skilfulness of the Roman builders, controllably utilized.

It is precisely in this phase that the elaborate planning and masterful construction of the area surrounding the natural spring are manifest, during the course of which all given natural conditions were taken into consideration and diverse technical solutions enabling the building used. At this point, mention should be made of the building method of the temple walls' base, whereby the terrain characteristics were manifestly considered prior to the construction. Namely, as the Romans in building the temples had to dig into a natural slope, thus uncovering the natural clay layers, they came to the realisation that the terrain was extremely solid and thus eliminated the requirement to dig as deep as the hard layer (*solidum*), as recommended by a Roman author and architect, Vitruvius.<sup>20</sup> That is why the temples were constructed with virtually no foundations, that is, with only one stone layer under the ground level.

The structural connection of the pool's frame with the paving and of the flow channel with the rainwater channel testifies to the fact that they originate from the same construction phase, built within the scope of a comprehensive project which included the raised colonnades, temples with side rooms, as well as the spring pool and paving. The wooden flow channel from this phase is located directly above the former channel (1<sup>st</sup> century), to the south-east of the spring pool, whereas the absolute date ascertained by using the C-14 method furnishes evidence for the assertion that this was a second-century construction.<sup>21</sup> Concurrently with the extensive construction works around the spring, the new baths were built, whose remains were found under the fourth-century baths, while no further construction was conducted in the area of the preceding baths where the ground was levelled.

On the basis of some epigraphic monuments and predominantly of a piece of a construction inscription dating from the Severan Dynasty (Cat. 62), one can presume that construction works were carried out in the sanctuary also in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, which most probably included smaller interventions in the temples and their furnishings.

Further evidence uncovered during archaeological explorations confirmed that the settlement was renovated after the fire referred to by the plaque of Emperor Constantine. It is possible to date the third phase of massive construction works in this part of the complex to this period. Apart from the new baths, the temples also underwent several changes. While the middle temple was extended, all of them were covered with a common roofing. It is not later than to this phase that the repairs to the spring pool and the surrounding paving, when numerous older monuments were put to secondary use, should be dated. That all these interventions occurred simultaneously is further proven by a relief with an inscription (Cat. 80). Pieces of this relief have

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<sup>20</sup> Vitruv. I. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Lab. No. – Beta 290812, calibrated date 50–140 cal AD (Cal BP 1900–1810).

been found in the northern spring structure, where they were used as “wedges” for the bases of large stone slabs. Already in 1965, two fragments were discovered in the wall of the Temple of Juno (in the walled-in part of a former door-opening).

Based on the exploration of sections of the second-century Roman architecture as well as the extremely well-preserved buildings renovated or built in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, a 3-D computer reconstruction was made of the area around the natural thermal water spring. The reconstruction also included various architectural elements uncovered during the explorations (columns, capitals, bases, stone consoles, etc.), which allowed for a complete visualisation of the sanctuary area that featured a spring pool around which monumental temples and colonnades with approximately six-metre high columns were built.



KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM ŽENSKÉ GLAVE (menada?), 2. st. (kat. 50)  
CONSOLE DEPICTING A FEMALE HEAD (maenad?), 2nd century (Cat. 50)



KONZOLA S AKANTOVIM LISTOM, 2. st. (kat. 52)  
CONSOLE WITH AN ACANTHUS LEAF, 2nd century (Cat. 52)

Dora Kušan Špalj

## POVIJEST RIMSKOG NASELJA AQUAE IASAE

Rimsko naselje *Aquae Iasae* nastalo je na prostoru koji je naseljavalo autohtono pleme Jasi,<sup>1</sup> a o čemu svjedoči i samo ime naselja. Naziv plemena (*Iasi*) poznat je iz antičkih literarnih izvora gdje su svrstani u panonska plemena na prostoru između Save i Drave,<sup>2</sup> a brojni epigrafski spomenici iz rimskog vremena pokazuju kako su naseljavali područje bogato termalnim izvorima na prostoru koji se protezao otprilike od Varaždinskih Toplica na zapadu do Daruvara (*Aquae Balissae*) na istoku. Vjerojatno prvi kontakti Jasi i Rimljana bili su još u 2. stoljeću pr. Kr, kada počinju sukobi s panonskim plemenima, a sigurno u vrijeme Oktavijanovih vojnih pohoda (35. – 33. pr. Kr), kada su zauzeta područja oko Save, a vjerojatno i sjevernije prema Dravi. Konačna okupacija prostora, koji su nastanjivali Jasi, najvjerojatnije se dogodila tijekom Tiberijeva rata u Panoniji (12. – 9. pr. Kr), kada je teritorij proširen do Drave, kao provincija Ilirik (*Illyricum*). Nezadovoljstvo domaćeg stanovništva uvođenjem poreza smatra se glavnim razlogom ustanka 6. godine, ali nakon što je 9. godine ugušen Batonov ustanak, definitivno se uvodi rimska administracija, a sjeverni dio Ilirika naziva se i Panonija (*Pannonia*).<sup>3</sup> Provincija je bila podijeljena na više administrativnih jedinica tzv. *civitates peregrinae*, koje su dobile nazive prema domaćem stanovništvu, premda vjerojatno nisu obuhvaćale točno isti teritorij koji su plemena naseljavala u predrimsko vrijeme. Kako bi se uspostavio red i mir u provinciji, uvedena je vojna uprava, odnosno pokorenim su zajednicama upravljali prefekti koji su ujedno bili i visoki vojni službenici. Nalaz počasnog natpisa – postamenta za kip jednog prefekta – pronađen je u istraživanjima u Varaždinskim Toplicama 2011. godine (kat. 64). Na tome se natpisu spominje *Quintus Gavius Fronto*, koji je bio primipil XIII. legije (*primus pilus legionis XIII Geminae*) i prefekt zajednica Skordiska, Breuka i Jasi (*praefectus civitatum Scordiscorum et Breucorum et Iasorum*).

S obzirom na to da je riječ o visokom vojnom časniku XIII. legije, koja je bila stacionirana u Petoviju, od 45. (ili 46. godine) do početka 2. stoljeća,<sup>4</sup> vjerojatno je ondje bila i uprava cijelog područja spomenutog na natpisu. Za dataciju natpisa važan je i spomen legije IV. makedonske, iz koje je Fronto prenio stečena napredovanja, vjerojatno odmah nakon što je car Vespazijan ukinuo legiju 70. godine. U svakom slučaju, natpis je vjerojatno nastao oko 80-ih godina 1. stoljeća te sadrži iznimno važne povijesne podatke o administrativnom uređenju Panonije u vrijeme kada su na osvojenim područjima upravljali visoki vojni dužnosnici iz uglednih obitelji italskog porijekla. Poznati su natpisi koji spominju prefekte zajednica Kolapijana, Mezeja i Dezitijata,<sup>5</sup> a koje su vjerojatno graničile sa spomenutim zajednicama Skordiska, Breuka i Jasi, na zapadu, odnosno jugu, te je tako dobivena cjelovitija slika o administrativnoj podjeli Panonije u 1. stoljeću. Prema ovom je natpisu vidljivo da je prefekt *Quintus Gavius Fronto* upravljao vrlo velikim područjem uz Savu te većim dijelom prostora između Save i Drave, sve do istočne

1 Grč. *ιασις* – liječenje, poboljšanje, a prema Mayeru, etnonim Iasi „Topličani“, dolazi od indoeuropskoga korijena *ies* – „kipjeti, pjeniti se“ (Mayer, A.: Iasi, *VHAD* 16, Split 1935, 70) ili prema Schejbalu – „iscjeljitelji“ (Schejbal, B., *Municipium Iasorum*, u Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer, P. (ur.) *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 99).

2 Plin. *NH* III.25, 147-148; Ptol. II. 13, 2.

3 Domic Kunić, A.: *Literary Sources Before the Marcomannic Wars*, *BAR International Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, 41-42.

4 Horvat, J. et al.: Poetovio, u Šašel Kos, M. et al. (ur.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia I*, Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, 156.

5 CIL III 14387; CIL IX 2564.

granice južne Panonije. Pretpostavlja se da je vojna uprava nad domaćim zajednicama bila na snazi do pretkraj 1. stoljeća, kada *civitates* dobivaju autonomiju pod Flavijevcima, a najkasnije u vrijeme cara Trajana. Tada su vojne prefekture zamijenjene lokalnim vodstvom izabranim među domaćom aristokracijom. Primjer je *Titus Flavius Proculus*, koji je dobio građansko pravo za Flavijevaca i postao *princeps praefectus Scordischorum*.<sup>6</sup> To sve pokazuje kako je veliko područje vojne prefekture (Skordiska, Breuka i Jasa) podijeljeno na manje jedinice, a što se vremenski podudara i s novom granicom provincije koja prolazi ovim prostorom kada je u vrijeme Trajana došlo do podjele na Gornju (zapadnu) i Donju (istočnu) Panoniju. Smatra se kako je napuštanje vojne kontrole nad domaćim zajednicama u južnoj i zapadnoj Panoniji povezano s osnivanjem gradova za vrijeme Flavijevaca te su njihovi teritoriji bili uključeni u područja kolonija i municipija.<sup>7</sup> Vjerojatno je tada naselje *Aquae lasae* pripalo teritoriju grada Petovija, koji status kolonije dobiva u vrijeme cara Trajana, a preostali dio zajednice Jasa, do doba Hadrijana, imalo je na čelu princepsa iz redova domaće aristokracije, a zatim bilo organizirano kao *Municipium lasorum* s centrom u današnjem Daruvaru. *Municipium lasorum* kasnije se spominje kao *Aquae Balizae (Aquae Balissae)*, a od kraja 2. stoljeća i kao *res publica lasorum*.<sup>8</sup>

Da je naselje *Aquae lasae* od 2.st. bilo povezano s teritorijem petovijske kolonije naslućuje se i iz epigrafskih spomenika, a veliki građevinski zahvati na istraženom kompleksu u gradskom parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama datiraju upravo iz toga razdoblja. Također, i nalazi reljefa i skulptura povezuju ovo naselje s obližnjim gradovima Petovij i Celeja u srodan umjetnički krug.

Podjela prostora zajednice Jasa između dvaju gradova (*Poetovio* na zapadu i *Aquae Balisae* na istoku) u skladu je s rimskom organizacijom prostora i uobičajenim veličinama teritorija gradova.

Do ponovnih promjena u organizaciji prostora dolazi kada je Dioklecijanovom reformom grad Petovij uključen u provinciju Norik, a naselje *Aquae lasae* ostaje u Gornjoj Panoniji,<sup>9</sup> te možda tada postaje dio teritorija grada koji se nalazio na mjestu današnjeg Ludbrega (*civitas Iovia*), koji civilni status dobiva vjerojatno tek u kasnijem rimskom razdoblju.<sup>10</sup>

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6 Mócsy, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 134.

7 Mócsy, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 135.

8 Mócsy, A.: *Municipium lasorum*, *RE Suppl. XI*, 1968, 1003-1004.; Schejbal, B.: *Municipium lasorum*, u Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer, P. (ur.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 108.

9 Horvat, J. et al.: *Poetovio*, u Šašel Kos, M. et al. (ur.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia I*, Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, 160.

10 Gregl, Z., Migotti, B.: *Civitas Iovia (Botivo)*, u Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer (ur.): *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 131-143.



POSTAMENT ZA KIP S POČASNIM NATPISOM, 2. pol. 1. st. (kat. 64)

POSTAMENT FOR A STATUE WITH AN HONORARY INSCRIPTION, the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century (Cat. 64)



## HISTORY OF THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AQUAE IASAE

The Roman settlement *Aquae Iasae* was established in an area inhabited by the indigenous tribe of Iasi<sup>1</sup>, to which its name already bears testimony. The name of the *Iasi* tribe is known from antique literary sources, which placed it among the Pannonian tribes inhabiting the area between the Sava and Drava rivers<sup>2</sup>, while numerous epigraphic monuments from Roman times indicate that the tribe settled in an area rich in thermal springs, extending approximately between *Aquae Iasae* (Varaždinske Toplice) to the west and *Aquae Balissae* (Daruvar) to the east. In all probability, the Iasi tribe first came into contact with the Romans in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, at the time of the first battles with the Pannonian tribes, and indisputably during the Octavian war campaigns (35–33 BC), when the Romans penetrated and occupied the area around the Sava River, and perhaps even more northwards in the direction of the Drava River. The final conquest of the region inhabited by Iasi most probably occurred during the Pannonian War waged by Tiberius (12–9 BC), when the entire territory was extended to the banks of the Drava River and became the Province of Illyricum. The cause of the revolt in AD 6 was the local population's opposition to the introduction of taxation. After the suppression of the so-called Bato revolt in AD 9, a Roman administration was irrevocably introduced and the northern part of Illyricum was renamed Pannonia.<sup>3</sup> The province was divided into several administrative units known as *civitates peregrinae*, named after the native inhabitants, though in all probability they did not extend over the actual territory inhabited by the tribes during the pre-Roman period. In order to establish peace and order, the province introduced the military administration, which means that prefects, also high-ranking military officials, governed the subjugated communities. An honorary inscription/postament for the sculpture of a prefect was found during the excavations at Varaždinske Toplice in 2011. The inscription mentions *Quintus Gavius Fronto*, who was *primus pilus* of the Legio XIII Gemina and prefect of the Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi communities (*praefectus civitatum Scordischorum et Breucorum et Iasorum*) (Cat. 64). Given the fact that this was a high-ranking military officer of the Legio XIII Gemina, which was stationed in *Poetovio* from AD 45 (or 46) until the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>4</sup>, one may conclude that this was probably also the location of the administration of the entire area mentioned in the inscription. In specifying the date of the inscription, it is also important not to overlook the mention of the Legio IV Macedonica, from which Fronto brought all his gained promotions, in all likelihood immediately after the Emperor Vespasian disbanded the legion in AD 70. Whatever the matter may be, the inscription was carved not later than in the 80's and provides us with crucial historical data on the administrative regulation of Pannonia at the time when high-ranking military officials from respectable families of Italic descent were governors of the conquered regions. Several inscriptions are known which mention the prefects of communities of the Colapiani, Maezaei and Daesitiates tribes<sup>5</sup> that probably

1 Greek *iasis*, ἰασίς – healing, improvement, after Mayer, ethnonym Iasi “spa people”, originates from the Indo-European root *ies* –to seethe, bubble (Mayer, A.: Iasi, *VHAD* 16, Split 1935,70), or, after Schejbal – “healers” (Schejbal, B., *Municipium Iasorum*, in Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer, P. (eds.) *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 99).

2 Plin. *NH* III.25, 147-148; Ptol. II. 13, 2.

3 Domić Kunić, A.: *Literary Sources Before the Marcomannic Wars*, *BAR International Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, 41-42.

4 Horvat, J. et al.: *Poetovio*, in Šašel Kos, M. et al. (eds.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia I*, Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, 156.

5 CIL III 14387; CIL IX 2564.

bordered on the above-mentioned Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi communities to the west or south, thus providing more comprehensive insight into the administrative division of Pannonia in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. This inscription reveals that prefect *Quintus Gavius Fronto* administered a very large area along the Sava River, as well as a major part of the area between the Sava and Drava rivers extending as far as the eastern border of southern Pannonia. It is presumed that the military administration in local communities was in force until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, when *civitates* gained autonomy under the Flavian Dynasty, or during the reign of Emperor Trajan at the latest. At that time the governors, selected among the local aristocracy, replaced the war prefects. One such example is *Titus Flavius Proculus*, who was in charge of the civil administration under the Flavian Dynasty and became *princeps praefectus Scordischorum*.<sup>6</sup> All of the above-mentioned points to the fact that a large area of the military prefecture (Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi) was divided into smaller units, which is also temporally in accordance with the establishment of a new border of the province that crossed this territory when a division into Upper (western) and Lower (eastern) Pannonia took place during the reign of Emperor Trajan. It is believed that the discontinuation of military supervision over the local communities in southern and western Pannonia was related to the establishment of cities during the Flavian Dynasty, so that their territories fell under the regions of colonies and municipalities<sup>7</sup>. It was probably at that time that the *Aquae lasae* settlement was annexed to the colony of *Poetovio*, which had been outlined during the reign of Trajan, while the rest of the Iasi community was until the reign of Hadrian governed by a *princeps* from the ranks of the local aristocracy, and was later organised as the *Municipium lasorum* whose centre was the present-day Daruvar. There are subsequent mentions of the *Municipium lasorum* as *Aquae Balizae* (*Aquae Balissae*), and since the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century also as *res publica lasorum*.<sup>8</sup>

The separation of the *Aquae lasae* settlement from the rest of the Iasi territory and its annexation to the *Poetovio* colony could be presumed from content of epigraphic monuments while the major construction achievements relating to the explored complex in the municipal park date precisely from that period. Similarly, the findings of reliefs and sculptures link *Aquae lasae* with the municipal areas of *Poetovio* and *Celeia* into an integrated artistic circle. The division of the area of the Iasi community into two municipalities (the *Poetovio* colony and the municipality of *Aquae Balissae*) was in accordance with the Roman organisation of space and the usual sizes of municipal territories. New changes in spatial organisation took place when, during Diocletian's reforms, *Poetovio* was annexed to the Noricum province, while *Aquae lasae* remained part of the Pannonia Superior province.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that *Aquae lasae* was then integrated into the municipal territory located at the site of the present-day Ludbreg – *Civitas Iovia*, which most probably did not acquire civil status until the late Roman period.<sup>10</sup>

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6 Mócsy, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 134.

7 A. Mócsy, cited work, pp. 135.

8 Mócsy, A.: *Municipium lasorum*, *RE Suppl. XI*, 1968, 1003-1004. ; Schejbal, B.: *Municipium lasorum*, in Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer, P. (eds.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 108.

9 Horvat, J. et al.: *Poetovio*, in Šašel Kos, M. et al. (eds.), *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia I*, Situla 41, Ljubljana 2003, 160.

10 Gregl, Z., Migotti, B.: *Civitas Iovia* (Botivo), in Šašel Kos, M., Scherrer (eds.): *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Pannonia II*, Situla 42, Ljubljana 2004, 131-143.



HRAMOVI, 2.- 4. st.  
TEMPLES, 2<sup>nd</sup>- 4<sup>th</sup> century



Dora Kušan Špalj

## AQUAE IASAE – LJEČILIŠNI, KULTNI I PROROČKI CENTAR

### KULTOVI U SVETIŠTU OD 1. DO 4. STOLJEĆA

Spoznaja o ljekovitosti termalnih voda, njihovo povezivanje s božanskim svojstvima te identifikacija izvora kao svetih mjesta može se pratiti već nekoliko tisuća godina. Posebno je to bilo prisutno kod Kelta, Grka i Rimljana koji su izvore ljekovite vode poistovjećivali s raznim božanstvima kojima je pripisivana magična moć ozdravljenja.

Rimski je filozof Seneka<sup>1</sup> opisao vruće izvore kao mjesta na kojima se štuju bogovi, a arhitekt i pisac Vitruvije u 1. stoljeću pr. Kr. piše o osobitostima termalnih izvora<sup>2</sup> i o gradnji hramova uz izvore: *“Primjeran oblik dobit će se od prirode, na primjer da se za sve hramove odabiru najzdraviji krajevi i pogodna vrela s vodom na mjestima gdje se dižu svetišta, napose Eskulapu i Saluti, tj. bogovima čijim se ljekovima, izgleda, liječi najviše bolesnika.”*<sup>3</sup>

Rezultati provedenih istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama od 2011. do 2013. godine u mnogim aspektima razjasnili su razvoj prostora svetišta oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode, odnosno njegov izgled u pojedinim fazama. Iz sačuvanih dijelova arhitekture mogu se pratiti kompleksni arhitektonski projekti, a epigrafski spomenici pružaju informacije za rekonstrukciju njihove namjene, odnosno sadržaja radi kojeg su oblikovani. Tako je cijelo svetište u 1. stoljeću bilo posvećeno nimfama, o čemu svjedoče i zavjetni natpisi, a u 2. stoljeću, velikim građevinskim zahvatima, prostor oko izvorišta oblikovan je kao forum s hramovima. Tada se uvode novi kultovi i time se u velikoj mjeri mijenja raniji karakter prostora. Pronađeni su brojni zavjetni natpisi, žrtvenici i reljefi posvećeni raznim božanstvima kojima se pripisivala moć ozdravljenja.<sup>4</sup> Uz već poznate dedikacije nimfama, Dijani, Fortuni, Poluksu, Minervi, Junoni i dr., u novijim istraživanjima pronađeni su i natpisi posvećeni Asklepiju i Higiji, Izidi, Serapisu i Apolonu. Izgradnjom prostora oko izvorišta u obliku klasičnog foruma s kapitolijem stvoren je jedinstven prostor kojim je istaknut kulturni karakter „svetog izvora“. Premda svojim izgledom hramovi u obliku kapitolija sugeriraju vrhovnu trijadu, a na to su upućivali i nalazi Minervine statue u zapadnom hramu te natpis posvećen Junoni (i Fortuni)<sup>5</sup> pronađen ispred istočnog hrama, čini se da to pitanje i dalje ostaje otvoreno jer niti među novim nalazima nema posveta vrhovnom božanstvu Jupiteru. Sagledavajući cjelokupnu situaciju svetišta oko izvorišta termalne vode i kontekst njegove ljekovitosti te na temelju spoznaja dobivenih iz brojnih, u novije vrijeme pronađenih epigrafskih spomenika, potvrđuje se kako je kulturni karakter ovog prostora razvijan na štovanju raznih božanstava vezanih uz liječenje i ozdravljenje. Karakter takvog prostora može se iščitati iz opisa svetišta uz izvor vode koji u jednom od svojih pisama daje Plinije Mlađi:<sup>6</sup>

1 Sen. *Epist.* 41, 3.

2 Vitruv. VIII, 3. (*Vitruvius: De architectura libri decem / Vitruvije: Deset knjiga o arhitekturi*, prev. /prijevod: M. Lopac, izdanje: Institut građevinarstva Hrvatske, Zagreb 1997).

3 Vitruv. I, 2.

4 Rendić Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV/1991, Zagreb 1992, 67-76.

5 *Iljug-02* 1168.

6 Plin. *Epist.* VIII, 8.

„... raspršeno u krug stoji nekoliko malih kapela, a u svakoj kip drugog božanstva... .naći ćeš i mnogo za proučavanje u brojnim natpisima koji stoje po stupovima i zidovima, postavljeni u čast izvora i svih božanstava.“

Različita božanstva, koja se spominju na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, naravno ne podrazumijevaju da su svima bili posvećeni i hramovi, ali treba uzeti u obzir da se uz tri hrama nalaze i dvije bočne prostorije koje su također mogle biti u toj funkciji. Nalaz jednog zavjetnog natpisa, koji je bio ugrađen u sjeverni zid izvorišta, daje vrlo zanimljive podatke koji se mogu odnositi na atribuciju pojedinih hramova. Natpis je posvećen Minervi, Junoni, Apolonu i nimfama:

IVNONI R(eginae) ET  
MINERVA[e]  
APOLLINI  
ET NYMPHI[s] [---

Prisustvo Apolona, kao boga liječenja, potpuno je logično u ovoj vrsti svetišta, dok nalaz njegove skulpture pokazuje da je štovan i kao bog Sunca te proroštva. Mogućnost da je ovo svetište bilo i proročki centar zapravo i ne začuđuje s obzirom na plinove i pare što su se izdizale iz vrućeg izvora. U tom kontekstu mogao bi se protumačiti i monumentalni metrički natpis<sup>7</sup> pronađen u istraživanjima južnog trijema 1977. godine, a koji bi mogao predstavljati dijelove proročkih tekstova.



NATPIS POSVEĆEN JUNONI, MINERVI, APOLONU I NIMFAMA (istraživanja 2012. god.)  
INSCRIPTION DEDICATED TO JUNO, MINERVA, APOLLO AND NYMPHS (excavation 2012)

Intenzivni religijski život u ovom naselju treba promatrati kao dinamičan proces tijekom kojeg su se događale promjene u svetištu kroz četiri stoljeća, ovisno o značaju pojedinih božanstava, ponekad usko vezano i uz promjene u službenoj carskoj religiji. Vjerojatno u tom procesu, povezanom i sa sinkretizmom prisutnom u rimskoj religiji, treba tražiti i odgovor na pitanje o štovanju božanstava u glavnim hramovima ovog svetišta.

7 Kuntić Makvić, B., Rendić-Miočević, A., Šegvić, M., Krajcar, I.; Intergracija i vizualna prezentacija ulomaka monumentalnog metričkog natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica, u Balen, J., Šimek, M. (ur.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja*. Izdanja HAD-a 28, Varaždin 2010, 285-295.



## NIMFE

Od samih početaka istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeni su brojni zavjetni natpisi koji su ukazivali na kulturni značaj termalnog izvora, a koji je prije svega bio povezan sa štovanjem nimfi<sup>8</sup>, kao zaštitnica i personifikacija izvora i ljekovite vode. Vežano uz ljekovitost termalne vode pripisivala im se moć ozdravljenja, a na natpisima se spominju s epitetima – *salutares*<sup>9</sup> – (one koje donose zdravlje) – *augustae*<sup>10</sup> (uzvišene), ali i kao lokalne nimfe – *iasae*<sup>11</sup>. Najraniji natpisi posvećeni nimfama potječu iz 1. stoljeća<sup>12</sup>, kada je najvjerojatnije i cijelo svetište bilo njima posvećeno, dok se od 2. stoljeća zahvale za ozdravljene upućuju i drugim božanstvima, ali vrlo često uključuju i nimfe.

Pronađeni su i brojni reljefi na kojima su ove božice prikazane kao najade (nimfe izvora), tj. kao mlade razgolićene djevojke s raznim atributima vezanim uz vodu.

Prvi takvi reljefi pronađeni su još u 19. stoljeću, a posebno se ističe reljef s prikazom tri stojeće nimfe, od kojih srednja u rukama drži školjku, a ostale dvije rukama cijede pramenove kose, dok je voda simbolički prikazana kako se izlijeva iz posuda (kat. 2). Sličnom tipu prikaza (nimfa



RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRI NIMFE, 2.st. (kat.2)  
RELIEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS, 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cat. 2)

8 Nimfe (grč. Νύμφαι, lat. *Nymphae*) su božice voda, šuma i gora kod Grka i Rimljana.

9 CIL III 108931, 10893; Rendić-Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV, 1991, Zagreb 1992, 69- 70.

10 CIL III 4119.

11 AE 1985.,00714; ILJug-02 1170.

12 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

koja cijedi kosu) pripada i dio reljefa koji je još u 19. stoljeću ugrađen u portal Gradskog parka u Varaždinskim Toplicama.<sup>13</sup> U oba slučaja riječ je o ikonografiji koja uzore nalazi u helenističkoj umjetnosti, vezano uz božicu Afroditu.<sup>14</sup> To potvrđuje i reljef s prikazom “krunjenja” nimfe, pronađen 2012. godine. Na njemu su tri nimfe prikazane kao razgoličene mlade djevojke koje stoje, srednja drži školjku ispred sebe, dok dvije drže vijenac iznad njezine glave (kat. 82). Riječ je o kvalitetnom umjetničkom ostvarenju, što se vidi i po vješto izrađenoj draperiji, ali zbog djelovanja sumporne vode površina je oštećena pa se izgubila prava izražajnost detalja. Posebnost ovog reljefa čine tragovi boje kojima su izvedeni detalji trske.<sup>15</sup>



RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRI NIMFE, 2. – 3. st. (kat. 82)  
RELIEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 82)

- 13 Donji dio tog reljefa najvjerojatnije je fragment s prikazom donjeg dijela tijela nimfe (kat. 4) koji se čuva još od kraja 19.st. u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.
- 14 Maršić, D.: Ikonografski tip nimfa sa školjkama, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3.s, XXX-XXXI, Zagreb 1998, 112-122.
- 15 Tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (Zotmann GmbH) provedena je i analiza sastava ostataka boje kojom su ustanovljeni tragovi pigmenta bakra (vjerojatno malahit) što pokazuje da se originalno radilo najvjerojatnije o zelenoj boji.

Osim ovih primjera relativno statičnog prikaza stojećih nimfi, koje možemo uklopiti u ikonografski tip nimfa sa školjkama, već je u istraživanjima kupališta i prostora foruma od 1953. do 1982. godine pronađeno i nekoliko dijelova manjih reljefa, vrlo kvalitetne izrade, a koji su upućivali na kompoziciju sjedećih nimfi (kat. 85, 86).

To se potvrdilo i nalazom mramornog reljefa 2006. godine<sup>16</sup> na kojem su nimfe prikazane u polusjedećem položaju, naslonjene su na posude iz kojih se izlijeva voda (kat. 77). Vrlo sličan primjer prikaza triju nimfi koje sjede, samo nešto drugačijeg rasporeda, ali i s vrlo sličnim frizurama i atributima, potječu iz Bretzfeld-Unterheimbacha (Baden Wurtemberg, Njemačka)<sup>17</sup> i datirane su u 2/3 stoljeće. Riječ je očito o istome ikonografskom tipu prikaza, vjerojatno nastalom prema istom uzoru, a koji su različiti umjetnici interpretirali i oblikovali prema svojim mogućnostima i vještini u okviru karakteristika radioničkog kruga u kojem su djelovali.

U Varaždinskim Toplicama 2011. godine pronađen je još jedan reljef s tri nimfe u sjedećem položaju (kat. 78). Riječ je o mramornoj ploči koja je zaobljena u gornjem dijelu te podijeljena u dva polja – polje s reljefnim prikazom i polje s natpisom. Na reljefu, koji je s tri strane uokviren vijencem od lišća, prikazane su tri nimfe u gotovo poluležećem položaju. Sve tri u lijevoj ruci drže vjenčić, a u desnoj trsku te na lijevoj i desnoj nadlaktici imaju narukvice, kao i na lijevom zapešću. Mnogi detalji prikazani na ovom reljefu vrlo su slični detaljima na reljefu nađenom 2006. g. (kat. 77), pa tako i troredni ukras od lišća koji se pojavljuje u funkciji okvira. Premda naizgled frizure nisu identične, čini se kako je riječ o istom tipu frizure jer je na oba reljefa vidljivo da je kosa na vrhu glave ispletana poput dijadema te pada niz vrat prema ramenima, samo što je na reljefu nađenom 2011. godine (kat. 78), više kose ostavljeno uz lice. Osobitost tog reljefa je i natpisno polje uokvireno na bočnim stranama noričko-panonskim volutama. Natpis je u gornjem dijelu oštećen tako da nije moguće u potpunosti rekonstruirati cijeli tekst. Riječ je o popisu imena, od kojih je vidljivo 30-ak, raspoređenih u 4 stupca. Nažalost, nečitka su i slova u prvom redu u kojem se vjerojatno krije podatak koji bi otkrio o kakvom se popisu radi. No može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o članovima nekog kolegija, odnosno udruženja koja su ponekad bila građanskog, ali vrlo češće vjerskog karaktera. Prva dva stupca ispisana su pravilnim slovima, u redovima, a u 3. i 4. stupcu gubi se ta pravilnost te djeluje kao da su slova naknadno upisana. Moguće je da je riječ o članovima koji su naknadno upisali svoja imena, kao što je slučaj na brončanoj ploči posvećenoj Mitri iz Virunuma (*Virunum*, Zollfeld, Austrija), gdje su u dva navrata obnavljali, odnosno gradili hram posvećen Mitri i potpisali se članovi udruženja.<sup>18</sup> No budući da na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica nema sličnih podataka, ostaje i mogućnost kako su sva imena istovremeno uklesana, ali da su ih radila dva majstora ili da je zbog obima teksta i kratkog roka drugi dio natpisa izveden nemarno.

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16 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice, u Lazar I. (ur.): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, 229.

17 Unruh, F.: *Medicus curat, natura sanat. Heilkunde und Heilkulte am römischen Limes. Begleitheft zur Dokumentation der römischen Vergangenheit beim und im Kreiskrankenhaus Öhringen*. WLM Stuttgart - Archäologische Sammlungen, Stuttgart 1993, 14.

18 Piccottini, G.: Virunum, u Šašel Kos M., Scherrer, P. (ur): *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Noricum*, Situla 40, Ljubljana 2002, 112-114.



PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI I NATPISOM, 2/3. st. (kat. 78)  
 RELIEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS, AND AN INSCRIPTION, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 78)

U grupu reljefa sa sjedećim nimfama uklapa se i jedan manji reljef s natpisom (kat. 80), vrlo slične kompozicije, kao ranije spomenuti reljef, ali znatno kvalitetnije izrade i veće umjetničke zrelosti. Riječ je o mramornoj ploči nešto manjih dimenzija (visine 62 cm, širine 43,5 cm) koja je također podijeljena na dva jednaka dijela: polje s reljefnim prikazom i natpisno polje. Reljef je djelomično sačuvan, ali je jasno da prikazuje tri nimfe koje sjede na stijenama. Natpisno polje uokvireno je na bočnim stranama noričko-panonskim volutama, a natpis se nalazi i izvan natpisnog polja, na gornjem i donjem okviru. Posebno je zanimljiv dio natpisa koji se nalazi na donjem okviru, a sadrži ime majstora – *Messius* ili *Messor* (romanizirano keltsko ili ilirsko ime).<sup>19</sup> Između imena i glagola *fecit* (napravio, izradio) uklesana su dva shematizirana prikaza uha i list bršljana. Moguće je da je riječ o oznakama klesara ili možda o simbolu koji predstavlja „uši koje čuju“ (*hearing ears*). Shematizirane uši simboliziraju uši bogova koji slušaju molitvu, odnosno omogućuju individualni pristup božanstvu bez posredništva svećenika. Porijeklo tog simbola može se naći na votivnim stelama u Egiptu, a tradicija se prati i u doba helenizma u Grčkoj, ali ima primjera i iz rimskog razdoblja, npr. iz Dakije<sup>20</sup>. Iz samog natpisa, posvećenog uzvišenim

19 Radman Livaja, I., Ivezić, H.: A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy, u Migotti, B. (ur): *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia: the state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, BAR International Series 2393, Oxford 2012, 142,155.

20 *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane*, Vol III, Dacia Superior 2, nr.162.



nimfama, doznaje se da je od vlastitih sredstava zavjet ispunio rob *Verus*, a njegov vlasnik *Titus Iulius Ianuarius* bio je konduktor središnjeg ureda carinskog sustava Ilirika. *Publicum portorii Illyrici* bio je carinski sustav koji je pokrivao cijeli Podunavski prostor (Dalmaciju, Retiju, Norik, Panoniju, Daciju i Meziju), a od kraja 1. stoljeća na čelu toga carinskog sustava bili su zakupnici poreza, tzv. konduktori (*conductores*). Od 2. stoljeća u Petoviju je bilo sjedište središnjeg ureda carinskog sustava Ilirika, a ondje se nalazila i carinska postaja. Službenici ovih ureda, među kojima je bilo mnogo robova i oslobođenika, bili su poklonici istočnih božanstava, prije svega Mitre, ali i Izide i Serapisa.<sup>21</sup> S obzirom na to da su bili dobro plaćeni za svoj posao, vrlo često se pojavljuju kao dedikanti raznih zavjetnih natpisa i svetišta, posebno u 2. stoljeću. Zbog toga ne iznenađuje i da je donator natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica bio rob jednog konduktora, a prema čijem se imenu natpis može datirati u početak vladavine Marka Aurelija, od 161. do 168. godine. Naime, poznato je da su u tom razdoblju funkciju konduktora vršili spomenuti *Titus Iulius Ianuarius* te *Titus Iulius Capito* i *Caius Iulius Epaphroditus*.<sup>22</sup> Zanimljivo je da se *Titus Iulius Ianuarius* pojavljuje na još jednom natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica, s istom posvetom nimfama (*nymphis augustis*).<sup>23</sup> Premda se na tom natpisu ne navodi funkcija donatora, moguće je da je riječ o istoj osobi koja je vjerojatno u privatnom posjetu lječilištu posvetila žrtvenik i ispunila zavjet za svoje zdravlje i zdravlje svog sina. O posjeti carinskih službenika svjedoči i još jedan, također ranije pronađen natpis, gdje se kao donator pojavljuje inspektor carinske uprave (*circitor vectigalis Illyrici*), a natpis je posvećen jazejskim nimfama (*nymphis iasis*).<sup>24</sup> Svi ovi natpisi potvrđuju da su i carinski službenici bili česti posjetioci ovog svetišta i da su tu dolazili na liječenje, a činjenica da su njihovi natpisi posvećeni isključivo nimfama možda nije slučajna ako se uzme u obzir značaj vode i prisustvo nimfa u kultu Mitre, čiji su oni bili glavni poklonici.

U istraživanjima 2012. godine, u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena, pronađen je još jedan žrtvenik posvećen nimfama koji pokazuje da su ovo lječilište posjećivali pripadnici raznih društvenih staleža (kat. 79). Žrtvenik je uzvišenim nimfama (*nymphis augustis*) posvetio *Gaius Valerius Posphorus*, augustal u gradu Petoviju. Augustali su bili neka vrsta svećenika, zaduženi za carski kult, a najčešće je riječ o bogatim oslobođencima koji su se na taj način približili utjecajnim krugovima društva i vrlo često na svoj trošak podizali kipove i žrtvenike raznim božanstvima.<sup>25</sup> *Gaius Valerius Posphorus*, augustal iz Petovija, najvjerojatnije je također bio oslobođenik (istočnog porijekla) ili potomak oslobođenika elitne obitelji *Valerius*.<sup>26</sup>

Sadržaj reljefa, žrtvenika i zavjetnih natpisa posvećenih nimfama iz Varaždinskih Toplica ukazuje na ukus i bogatstvo naručioca, njihovo porijeklo i položaj, dok kvaliteta i karakter izrade svjedoče o umijeću majstora koji su djelovali u okviru noričko-panonskog umjetničkog kruga.<sup>27</sup> Većina reljefnih prikaza, bez obzira na različite umjetničke kvalitete, uklapa se u već poznate antičke prikaze tih božica. U načinu prikaza zastupljena su dva osnovna tipa – stojeće nimfe, kompozicijski prikazane kao Gracije, a ikonografski po uzoru na Afroditu (ikonografski

21 Selem, P.: Mitraizam Dalmacije i Panonije u svjetlu novih istraživanja, *Historijski zbornik*, XXXIX (1), Zagreb 1986, 173-204.

22 Beskow, P.: The Portorium and the Mysteries of Mithras, *Journal of Mithraic Studies*, vol. III, 1980.

23 CIL III 4119.

24 AE 1985., 00714; ILJug-02 1170.

25 Selem, P.: Mitrin kult u Panoniji, *Radovi* 8, Zagreb 1976, 7.

26 Alföldy, G.: Die Valerii in Poetovio, *Arheološki Vestnik*, XV-XVI, Ljubljana 1964-65, 137-144.

27 Gorenc, M.: Antičko kiparstvo Štajerske i rimska umjetnost Norika i Panonije, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. vol. V., Zagreb 1971, 15-46.



tip sa školjkom i tip krunjenja) i sjedeće (tj. polusjedeće ili poluležeće) nimfe. Nimfe su na svim reljefima prikazane s razgolićenim gornjim dijelom tijela i plaštom koji klizi niz bokove, kao Afrodita koja izlazi iz vode, s atributima koji ih obilježavaju kao nimfe izvora, dok je voda vrlo često simbolički prikazana kako se izljuje iz posuda. Kod tipa sjedećih nimfi uvijek se pojavljuju isti atributi – u lijevoj ruci vjenčić, a u desnoj trska, te životinje koje simboliziraju vodu (delfini, ribe), dok se kod stojećih nimfi pojavljuje školjka, vjenčić i trska. Vrlo često se ističe i naglašava središnja nimfa, bilo da se radi o samo neznatno drukčijem položaju tijela (npr., kat. 78 ) ili držanju školjke, krunjenju, dok su bočne gotovo uvijek u međusobno sličnom položaju.



PLOČA S RELJEFOM I NATPISOM U POVODU RELIGIJSKE SVEČANOSTI 192. GODINE, lipanj 192. god. (kat. 74)  
 SLAB WITH A RELIEF AND AN INSCRIPTION REGARDING THE RELIGIOUS FESTIVITY IN 192, June, AD 192 (Cat. 74)

Očito je da svi ovi prikazi vuku korijenje iz helenističkog razdoblja, od kada se nimfe prikazuju po uzoru na božicu Afroditu. Zanimljiv je jedan novi nalaz reljefa iz Varaždinskih Toplica na kojem je vidljivo kako su u načinu prikaza nimfe poistovječene s Afroditom – Venerom (kat. 74). Na reljefu su prikazana vrlo slična četiri ženska lika, u sjedećem položaju, s tkaninom koja im prekriva samo donji dio tijela. Uz jedan lik nalazi se Amor s palminom granom pa je vjerojatno riječ o Veneri, dok preostala tri lika prikazuju nimfe.

Prikazivanje nimfi po uzoru na Afroditu može se pratiti u rimskoj umjetnosti od 1. stoljeća pr. Kr, a istovremeno se pojavljuju oba tipa – sjedeće i stojeće nimfe. To potvrđuje i freska u kući Romula i Rema u Pompejima, gdje se pojavljuju dvije stojeće nimfe razgolićenoga gornjeg tijela s plaštom koji klizi niz bokove, dok je središnja u poluležećem položaju.<sup>28</sup> Stojeće nimfe sa školjkama pojavljuju se u raznim dijelovima Carstva, uz izvore ili fontane, ali česte su i

28 Bieber, M.: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, Columbia University Press, New York 1955, sl.636.

nimfe u sjedećem ili poluležećem položaju, oslonjene na posude s vodom, bilo na reljefima ili pojedinačno kao skulpture.<sup>29</sup>

Reljefi pronađeni u Varaždinskim Toplicama mogu se uklopiti u ikonografske tipove prikaza nimfi što se pojavljuju na širem području Rimskog Carstva, a koje su majstori interpretirali prema vlastitim umjetničkim i zanatskim mogućnostima u okvirima pravila ikonografije tog vremena i stilskih karakteristika radionica u kojima su djelovali.

Na temelju stilskih karakteristika i datiranja prema natpisima, svi se reljefi s prikazom nimfi, nađeni u Varaždinskim Toplicama, mogu smjestiti u 2. i početak 3. stoljeća. Točnu pripadnost pojedinim radionicama, naravno, nije moguće odrediti, ali se prema upotrebljenom materijalu (alpski mramor) i osnovnim karakteristikama, uklapaju u tzv. noričko-panonski umjetnički krug. Također, pojedini elementi na reljefima, kao što je vijenac s tri reda lišća, ali i kompozicija ploče s natpisnim poljem (s noričko-panonskom volutom) i poljem za reljef jednake veličine, ukazuju na standardizaciju prikaza u okviru repertoara uzoraka jedne radionice ili cijeloga radioničkog kruga. Može se pretpostaviti da su, osim u radionicama obližnjih gradova, zbog velike potražnje vrsni majstori djelovali i na akvejazejskom prostoru, ali isto tako i domaći koji su nastojali pratiti uobičajena ikonografska pravila, a interpretirali su ih i na svoj način.

Djelovanje lokalnog majstora vidljivo je na djelomično sačuvanoj mramornoj ploči na kojoj su u reljefu prikazana tri ženska lika (kat. 83). U donjem dijelu ploče nalazi se natpis (mjestimično sačuvane crvene boje), posvećen uzvišenim „nifejama“ – (*nifeis augustis*) kojima je zavjetnu ploču postavila *Ulpia Iustina*. Vjerojatno se radi o božicama koje se mogu povezati s nimfama, a čije bi ime u nominativu množine glasilo *nifae*. Sličan oblik imena javlja se i na jednom fragmentu reljefa (kat. 88) iz Varaždinskih Toplica (pronađen još 1967. godine) s prikazom žrtvenika na kojem je jedva vidljiv natpis *nyf/eis* (ili *nyff/ris?*). Malo je vjerojatno da je riječ samo o pogrešci i nepoznavanju latinskog jer je očita razlika u riječima – *nymphis* – *nifeis*, a nije prihvatljivo niti da se radi o slučajnosti jer se sličan oblik pojavljuje na dva reljefa. Moguće da je latinski naziv *nymphae* preoblikovan u duhu autohtonoga govora ili je riječ o lokalnim božicama čije je ime sličnog oblika u oba jezika, prevedeno na latinski. Poznato je da se, kao posljedica romanizacije, autohtona božanstva na epigrafskim spomenicima često pojavljuju s rimskim nazivima i ikonografijom. To je slučaj i na prostorima gdje se može pratiti autohtoni element u sklopu keltske tradicije kod koje je bio razvijen kult vezan uz vodu i izvore. Tako je na više mjesta keltska božica *Coventina* prikazivana kao jedna nimfa,<sup>30</sup> a ista ikonografija prisutna je kod prikaza triju nimfi pa je moguće da se pod utjecajem rimske religije lokalno božanstvo umnogostručilo. Moguće da je i oko termalnog izvora u Varaždinskim Toplicama štovano lokalno, predrimsko žensko božanstvo vezano uz vodu te da se njezin naziv krije u latiziranom obliku *nifea* (mn. *nifae*).

U svakom slučaju, na odstupanje od spomenutih klasičnih ikonografskih shema ukazuje i prikaz božica na ovom reljefu. Na lijevoj je strani prikazan potpuno goli ženski lik, samo s narukvicom

29 Giunio, K.: Skulpture nimfi iz Jadera, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 11, Zadar 2008, 151-160.; Seitz, G.: *Badewesen und Hygiene, Imperium Romanum: Roms Provinzen an Neckar, Rhein und Donau*, Stuttgart 2005, sl. 481.

30 Symonds, M., Mason, D.: *Frontiers of Knowledge, A Research Framework for Hadrian's Wall, Part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*, Volume 1 1 Resource Assessment, 157., [https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/research/Vol\\_1\\_Resource\\_Assessment.pdf](https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/research/Vol_1_Resource_Assessment.pdf) / (14.10.2015).

na nadlaktici, dok je s desne strane ženski lik odjeven u odjeću s naborima, koji su prikazani nizom kosih linija u obliku geometrijskih motiva. U sredini se nazire bok još jednog ženskoga golog lika, a što pokazuje netipičnu kompoziciju što odudara od uobičajene sheme u kojoj je središnja nimfa dominantna. Gotovo identičan prikaz glave, kao na lijevom liku, nalazi se i na jednom reljefu pronađenom u ranijim istraživanjima (kat. 84), a na kojem je samo jedan ženski lik, s oblim predmetom koji podsjeća na školjku. Moguće je da se ovdje radi o autohtonom božanstvu koje je pod utjecajem rimske religije umnogostručeno i poistovječeno s nimfama.

Bez obzira na to je li riječ o lokalnim ili o rimskim božanstvima prikazanim u tradiciji autohtonog umjetničkog izraza, reljefi svjedoče o djelovanju lokalnih radionica u kojima se stvaralo i izvan okvira strogih pravila i smjernica službene umjetnosti. Vezano uz to treba istaknuti i prikaze narukvica na nadlakticama, koje možda ukazuju na helenističke uzore, ali bi mogle biti i odraz autohtone mode i utjecaja keltske tradicije.

Na svim do sada pronađenim reljefima na prostoru oko izvorišta termalne vode nimfe su prikazane kao najade – nimfe izvora, s atributima koji simboliziraju vodu, a što je i potpuno logično jer su štovane kao personifikacije termalne vode. Zbog toga se reljef s prikazom Europe na biku i Amfitrite na hipokampu (kat. 3), koji se u starijoj literaturi navodi kao dio tzv. nimfeja, ne uklapa u cjelokupnu sliku o ikonografiji vezanoj uz kult izvora.

Riječ je o slučajnom nalazu s prostora Varaždinskih Toplica koji je u 19. stoljeću, zajedno s još nekoliko reljefa, postavljen kao ukras na bunaru iznad prirodnog izvora, a nakon toga preseljen u Zavičajni muzej u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Osim mramornih ploča s prikazima Europe i Amfitrite te Erosa na hipokampu, sačuvani su i drugi kameni elementi s mitološkim scenama,<sup>31</sup> a koji bi svi zajedno mogli biti dijelovi jedne edikule, vrlo slične pogrebnim edikulama iz Šempetra kod Celja. Prema prikazima na reljefima, ali i vrsti materijala te načinu oblikovanja, nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica i Šempetra očito su nastali u okviru istog kiparskoga kruga i predstavljaju vrhunski domet noričko-panonskoga kiparstva.

Nakon arheoloških istraživanja na prostoru foruma i spoznaje o načinu kaptaže prirodnog izvora te nalaza velikog broja reljefa s uvijek tipičnim ikonografskim prikazom nimfi izvora, postaje jasnije da za edikulu u funkciji nimfeja nema mjesta uz izvorište. Nadalje, čini se da reljefi tzv. nimfeja iz Varaždinskih Toplica ipak pripadaju u pogrebnu sferu, kao i oni u Šempetru, a čiji su dijelovi u nekom od prošlih stoljeća doneseni zbog svoje atraktivnosti u blizinu termalnog izvora kako bi ukrašavali tada aktivni izvorišni bunar.

Nalazi 17 000 rimskih kovanica i drugih sitnih predmeta pronađenih u izvorištu predstavljaju zavjetne darove koji su najvjerojatnije bili posvećeni nimfama. O darovima za troškove hramova ili za žrtve nimfama svjedoči jedan nalaz kamenog predmeta (kat. 81) na kojem je natpis–*nymphis sacrum* (posvećeno nimfama). Riječ je o kamenom poklopcu s prorezom za ubacivanje kovanica, a što predstavlja gornji dio spremnika za novac („škrabica“) poznat iz antičkih izvora pod nazivom *thesaurus*. *Thesaurus* se postavljao u svetišta i u njega su hodočasnici ubacivali kovanice, a tako prikupljen novac koristio se za potrebe svetišta. Postojali su razni oblici, a u načelu riječ je o šupljoj kamenoj konstrukciji s prorezom kroz koji se ubacuju kovanice, s

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<sup>31</sup> Gorenc, M.: Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aquae Iasae) – arhitektonsko-skulptorsko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja, *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad, 197-202.

mogućnošću otvaranja i pražnjenja. U uporabi su od 5. stoljeća pr. Kr u Grčkoj pa sve do 3. stoljeća na području Rimskog Carstva, a najčešće su bili postavljene uz glavne žrtvenike, u hramovima, ili na nekom drugome mjestu u blizini svetišta.<sup>32</sup>

Primjer iz Varaždinskih Toplica može se uvrstiti u grupu dvodjelnih konstrukcija s polukuglasto izrađenim gornjim dijelom za ubacivanje kovanica koji je bio pomičan i služio kao poklopac. Donji dio, koji nije sačuvan, bio je vjerojatno od većeg izdubljenoga kamenog bloka, a možda se u daljnjim istraživanjima pronađe i taj dio *in situ*. Postojala su razna konstrukcijska rješenja koja su pružala sigurnost od krađe, a na ovom primjeru iz Varaždinskih Toplica vjerojatno je težina mramornog poklopca sprječavala jednostavno podizanje. Utori na donjem rubu, s tragovima olova, ukazuju da su se za podizanje poklopca umetale metalne šipke kao drške. Postojalo je i svojevrsno magijsko osiguranje u obliku zmije koja je reljefno izvedena oko ovog polukuglastog poklopca koji oblikom podsjeća na *omphalos*<sup>33</sup>, što se može dovesti i u vezu s proročkim karakterom svetišta.

## OSTALI KULTOVI



3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA KIPA MINERVE U NJENOM HRAMU  
3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MINERVA STATUE IN HER  
TEMPLE

Među kultovima koji su bili prisutni u akvejazejskom svetištu od 2. stoljeća posebno se ističe Minerva koja je u ovom lječilištu štovana prije svega kao božica liječenja i zdravlja. Minervu su Rimljani povezivali i s ljekovitim izvorima, što potvrđuje i rimsko lječilište *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, Engleska) u kojem je na vrlo sličan način kao u Varaždinskim Toplicama bio kaptiran prirodni izvor, a uz njega se nalazio hram također posvećen Minervi.<sup>34</sup>

Kip božice Minerve (kat. 65), pronađen krajem 60-ih godina prošlog stoljeća u Varaždinskim Toplicama, pokazao je da su hramovi bili opremljeni vrhunskim umjetničkim djelima, a novi nalazi žrtvenika potvrđuju njezino štovanje među različitim slojevima društva. O kontinuitetu kulta Minerve u ovom svetištu govore i okolnosti nalaza njezina kipa i postamenta, a čiji se nastanak može smjestiti u polovicu 2. stoljeća. Dijelovi kipa i postamenta

32 Kaminski, G. : Thesaurus. Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, Bd 106, Berlin 1991, 63-181.

33 *Omphalos* – „sveti kamen“, (grč. ὀμφαλός, „pupak“), a među najpoznatijima je onaj iz Apolonova proročišta u Delfima.

34 Cunliffe, B., Davenport, P.: The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Volume (1) the site, *Monograph 7*, Oxford 1985.



KIP BOŽICE MINERVE S POSTAMENTOM, 2. st. (kat. 65)  
STATUE OF THE GODDESS MINERVA WITH A POSTAMENT,  
2nd century (Cat. 65)



pronađeni su u zapadnom hramu i ispred njega, što bi značilo da su stajali u svetištu do samog kraja te da je kult Minerve vezan uz ljekoviti izvor bio prisutan i u vrijeme kršćanstva. Na postamentu je natpis koji spominje kako je kip postavio *Lucius Claudius Moderatus*, vrlo ugledna osoba, među ostalim i vijećnik kolonije Savarije (*Savaria*, Szombathely) i municipija Sale (*Salla*, Zalalövő). Jedan novi nalaz pokazuje da mu to nije bio jedini posjet ovom lječilištu jer se njegovo ime pojavljuje i na jednome manjem žrtveniku, pronađenom 2011. godine (kat. 66). Žrtvenik je također posvećen Minervi i premda se uz ime ne navode službene funkcije, vrlo je vjerojatno riječ o istoj osobi. Moguće da se *Lucius Claudius Moderatus* nakon uspješnog liječenja, za koje je bio zahvalan Minervi, ponovno vratio u ovo lječilište i dao izraditi i postaviti kip za njezin hram.

Minervi je posvećen i jedan vrlo mali žrtvenik (visine 17 cm), izrađen od sitnozrnatoga litotamnijskog vapnenca, lokalnog kamena od kojeg su bili izgrađeni i zidovi izvorišnog bazena (kat. 67). Pronađen je 2011. godine u izvorištu, gdje je vjerojatno bio ubačen kao zavjetni dar.



ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN IZIDI I SERAPISU, 2./3. st.- bočna strana (kat. 73)  
 ALTAR DEDICATED TO ISIS AND SERAPIS, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century – lateral side (Cat. 73)

Posljednjih nekoliko godina u istraživanjima rimskoga izvorišnog bazena pronađeno je i nekoliko kamenih spomenika koji svjedoče o štovanju egipatskih kultova – Izide i Serapisa. Razlog prisustva ovih kultova u lječilištu treba prije svega tražiti u njihovoj ulozi božanstava od kojih se traži ozdravljenje i pomoć. Izida, kao izvorno egipatsko božanstvo, potpuno je preoblikovana u helenizmu kada joj je kao suprug dodan i Serapis. Helenistička ikonografija ovih božanstava preuzeta je i u rimskom svijetu, kao i povezanost s misterijima, višim oblikom duhovnosti, ali najčešće se vjerovanje ipak zadržavalo na vrlo praktičnoj razini i bilo je zavjetnog karaktera.

Širenje Izidina kulta može se pratiti od 1. stoljeća, iz Akvileje preko Emone u Panoniju, te se postupno prihvaćalo u svim slojevima društva, ali prije svega u okviru privatne religije. No potpuni procvat egipatskih kultova događa se u doba Severa, krajem 2. stoljeća te posebno početkom 3. stoljeća, kada i Serapis dobiva posebnu ulogu, a zajedno s Izidom uklapa se u državni kult. U to se vrijeme mogu datirati i nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica, a njihovu pojavu svakako treba povezati sa štovanjem ovih božanstava u obližnjem Petoviju, kao jednom od najznačajnijih središta istočnih kultova u ovom dijelu Carstva. Kao što je već spomenuto, Petovij je bio središte

carinskih službi za cijeli Ilirik, a carinski službenici bili su glavni štovatelji kulta Mitre i egipatskih božanstava. Međutim, štovatelji Izide i Serapisa bili su i pripadnici drugih, vrlo često i visokih društvenih krugova, a pogotovo krajem 2. i početkom 3. stoljeća. To dokazuje i žrtvenik posvećen Izidi i Serapisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica (kat. 73), pronađen u konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišta, gdje je bio sekundarno upotrijebljen kao kameni blok u zidu. Riječ je o većem mramornom žrtveniku, vrlo kvalitetne izrade, s natpisnim poljima na dvije suprotne strane, na kojima se nalazi potpuno identičan natpis. Na bočnim, užim stranama u reljefu je prikazan kantar s granama vinove loze. Žrtvenik je uzvišenim božanstvima Izidi i Serapisu (*Isidi et Serapi augusti*) posvetio i zavjet ispunio *Gaius Valerius Priscus*, augustal petovijske kolonije, zajedno sa suprugom. Gentilno ime donatora ukazuje da je riječ o pripadniku obitelji *Valerius* koja je još tijekom 2. stoljeća predstavljala viši društveni sloj u gradu Petoviju, a kognomen *Priscus* pripada vrlo čestim imenima još od ranocarskog razdoblja, posebno na prostoru sjeverne Italije.<sup>35</sup> Sama izrada žrtvenika i natpisa te reljefi na bočnim stranama smještaju ga u noričko-panonski radionički krug, blizak grobnicama iz Šempetra, te bi se vrijeme njegova nastanka moglo smjestiti u kraj 2. stoljeća. Izgled ovog žrtvenika, s natpisom na dvije strane, sugerira da se nalazio slobodno u prostoru i očito je bilo važno da natpis bude vidljiv s više strana.

Prema nalazu jednog kapitela (kat. 75), koji svojim izgledom podsjeća na kapitele egipatskih hramova, a s obzirom na običaj ukrašavanja Izidinih svetišta u egipatskom stilu, postoji mogućnost da se u Varaždinskim Toplicama nalazilo takvo svetište. Moguće je i da je Izida štovana u nekom od hramova zajedno s drugim rimskim božanstvima, kao što je već poznato na nekim lokalitetima.<sup>36</sup> Također, može se pretpostaviti da su se u ovom kompleksu odvijali i obredi vezani uz Izidine misterije ili neke svečanosti u njezinu čast. Možda je upravo scena iz takvih obreda, prikazana na mramornom reljefu s natpisom, pronađenom 2011. godine (kat.74). Na desnoj strani reljefa nalazi se božica, ili vjerojatnije njezina svećenica, u prepoznatljivoj haljini s tzv. Izidininim čvorom (znakom mističnog spleta energija), s karakterističnim naglavkom (rogovi i sunčana ploča). U desnoj ruci drži plitku posudu (pateru) i izlijeva žrtvu iznad manjeg plamtećeg žrtvenika. Rog obilja, koji drži u lijevoj ruci, ukazuje da se radi o Izidi - Fortuni (ili o njezinoj svećenici), o sinkretističkoj figuri vrlo omiljenoj u rimskoj religiji. Uz nju su prikazana još četiri razgoličena ženska lika, od kojih je jedna vjerojatno Venera budući da je uz nju prikazan Amor, a preostale tri su nimfe. Prema natpisu iz vremena cara Komoda (čije je ime naknadno uklonjeno, što je očit primjer zatiranja uspomene – *damnatio memoriae*), a na kojem se spominje i konzul *Helvius Pertinax*, moguće je datirati ploču u 192. godinu. Nažalost, drugi red natpisa vrlo je oštećen, ali se ipak naziru slova (*iunis*) prema kojima se može rekonstruirati da se radi o nekom datumu u mjesecu lipnju. Premda natpis ne omogućava točno utvrđivanje datuma, vrlo je vjerojatno kako je ova ploča izrađena u povodu svečanosti koja je održana u čast božice Izide – Fortune u lipnju 192. godine u akvejazejskom svetištu. Ujedno ovaj reljef oslikava i svu kompleksnost kultova i duhovnosti koji je u ovom svetištu oblikovan na specifičan način, usko povezan s prirodnim fenomenom ljekovitosti termalne vode. Glavno božanstvo Izida – Fortuna, kojoj se prinosi žrtva, povezuje se s personifikacijama termalne vode – nimfama, a Venera, koja se često pojavljuje s Izidom u helenističko-rimskim hramovima, vjerojatno je u

35 Mócsy, A.: *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannem Kriegen*, Budapest 1959, str. 185; Cajanto, L.: *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, str. 288.

36 Selem, P.: *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split 1977, 177.

funkciji božice plodnosti i života.<sup>37</sup> To bi sve ukazivalo na izraženu prisutnost žena u svečanosti posvećenoj Izidi – Fortuni, a što je i inače poznata karakteristika Izidina kulta.

Kult Fortune poznat je u ovom svetištu i u drugim oblicima koji se mogu pratiti prema sačuvanim natpisima na kojima se pojavljuje zajedno s Junonom<sup>38</sup>, ili samostalno, s atributom „uzvišena“ (*augusta*)<sup>39</sup>, a na jednom žrtveniku pronađenom 2011. godine spominje se i kao *Fortuna lasoniana* (kat. 76). Za razliku od atributa „jazejske“ (*iasae*), koji se pojavljuje na nekoliko natpisa posvećenih nimfama (*nymphis iasis*), u obliku *lasoniana*, toponim je poslužio za oblikovanje imena s funkcijom određenja pripadnosti mjestu, a čime se istaknuo značaj božice Fortune u ovom svetištu.

Razna božanstva, štovana u akvejazejskom svetištu, bila su uklopljena u specifičan, lokalni kult vezan uz termalnu vodu, a koji su simbolizirale nimfe. Tako i o prisustvu egipatskog kulta uklopljenog u postojeći kult izvora svjedoči i jedan natpis posvećen Serapisu i nimfama (pronađen 2011. godine u urušenju sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena). Riječ je o djelomično sačuvanom natpisu, koji je uklesan u mekani litotamnijski vapnenac, ali je nažalost pod utjecajem sumpora vrlo oštećen. Natpis je svetom Serapisu i ozdravljujućim nimfama postavio *Cecilius Saturninus*. Tekst je vidljiv u gornjem dijelu žrtvenika, a u donjem dijelu slova su oštećena.



NATPIS POSVEĆEN SERAPISU I NIMFAMA (istraživanja 2011. god.)  
INSCRIPTION DEDICATED TO SERAPIS AND THE NYMPHS  
(excavation 2011)

SERAPHI  
SANCTO ET  
NYMPHIS  
SALUTARIBUS  
CAECILIUS  
SATURNINUS [---]

Gentilno ime *Caecilius* vrlo je često, pa čak i među italjskim stanovništvom,<sup>40</sup> a kognomen *Saturninus*, osim u Africi, pojavljuje se i u zapadnoj Panoniji.<sup>41</sup> Više osoba s tim imenom poznato je s prostora Panonije, a ovdje je vjerojatno riječ o jednom rimskom građaninu koji je postao sljedbenikom kulta Serapisa početkom 3. stoljeća, koji u vrijeme vladavine cara Karakale dobiva status službenog carskog božanstva. Dataciju potvrđuje u to vrijeme uobičajeno izostavljanje oblika *tria nomina*, odnosno ime sadrži samo gentilno ime i kognomen.

37 Selem, P.: *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split 1977, 174.

38 Iljug-02 1168.

39 AE 1976, 00540, Rendić-Miočević, D.: Jedan novi legionarski spomenik iz Varaždinskih Toplica, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. s., IX, Zagreb 1975, 37-46.

40 Alföldy, G.: *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 69.

41 Mócsy, A.: *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannem Kriegen*, Budapest 1959, 189.



U novijim istraživanjima u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeni su i spomenici koji potvrđuju prisustvo kulta u kojem su zajedno štovani bog liječništva i zdravlja *Aesculapius* (grč. *Asklepios*) i njegova kći *Salus-Hygiea* (grč. *Hygieia*), božica zdravlja. Djelomično sačuvan žrtvenik posvećen ovim božanstvima pronađen je 2001. godine u urušenju kod zapadnog trijema foruma i vjerojatno je bio upotrijebljen kao građevinski materijal u jednom od zidova. Zanimljivo je da



PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM BOŽANSTAVA ZDRAVLJA I S NATPISOM ZA ZDRAVLJE I POBJEDE CARA KARAKALE, 213. (214.)  
god. (kat. 69)  
SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTING THE GODS OF HEALTH, AND WITH AN INSCRIPTION FOR THE HEALTH AND VICTORY OF  
THE EMPEROR CARACALLA, AD 213 (214) (Cat. 69)

se na njemu pojavljuje latinizirani oblik grčkih imena božanstva (*Asclepius, Hygia*), kao što je to slučaj i na nekim drugim natpisima iz Panonije i Dacije<sup>42</sup>. Radi se o jednostavnom žrtveniku, relativno malih dimenzija izrađenom od gustog, sitnozrnatog vapnenca, a sačuvan je samo gornji dio s imenima božanstava, prema kojima se može odrediti da se radilo o posveti Asklepiju i Higiji – ASCLEPI/O ET HY/GIAE .<sup>43</sup>

U istraživanjima 2011. godine, pronađena je i jedna mramorna ploča s reljefnim prikazom ovih božanstava, koja pokazuje da su štovatelji ovog kulta bili i iz najviših krugova državnih službenika te da su u ovom svetištu postavljali vrlo vrijedne zavjetne natpise vrhunske umjetničke kvalitete (kat. 69). Mramorna ploča pronađena je na prostoru južno od izvorišta, gdje je bila upotrijebljena kao ploča u opločenju foruma u 4. stoljeću. Njezin je nastanak i postavljanje u svetištu prema natpisu moguće datirati u vrijeme vladavine cara Karakale. Na reljefu su prikazani Eskulap (*Aesculapius*), njegova kći Salus (*Salus-Hygia*), a između njih i njegov sin Telesfor (*Telesphorus*), za kojeg se vjerovalo da donosi oporavak od bolesti.

Ovaj je reljef iznimne kvalitete i pokazuje da je riječ o djelu vrhunskog majstora, a njegova vještina prepoznaje se u mekoći i preciznosti kojom su izvedeni likovi, arhitektonski elementi i pojedini detalji. Kompozicijom spomenika raščlanjenog u tri dijela postignuta je ravnoteža plošnih površina s natpisima i središnjeg relativno dinamičkoga figuralnog prikaza. Premda postavljeni u arhitektonski okvir unutar dvije polukružne niše, na postamentu u obliku stepenica hrama, likovi božanstava vizualno su odvojeni od pozadine. Položajem Eskulapove desne ruke ispred središnjeg pilastra, postignuta je dinamičnost pokreta i osjećaj dubine prostora. Prostornost je naglašena i postavljanjem lika patuljka Telesfora ispred središnjeg pilastra, čime se dodatno pojačava doživljaj prostora ispred arhitektonskog okvira.



DETALJ RELJEFA (kat. 69) – 3D model (3D lasersko skeniranje)  
DETAIL OF THE RELIEF (Cat. 69) – 3D model (3D laser scanning)

Već se na prvi pogled ističe posebnost u načinu na koji je prikazan Eskulap, prije svega u njegovoj odjeći i mladenačkom izrazu, za razliku od uobičajenog lika starijeg, zrelog muškarca kakav se može pratiti na reljefima i skulpturama grčko-helenističkog i rimskog razdoblja. Također, detalji šireg lica s naglašenim jagodicama i naborom na čelu odudaraju od standardnog prikaza tog božanstva. Čini se vrlo vjerojatnim da je na ovom reljefu prikazan sam car Karakala. Usporedba s njegovim portretima (tzv. tip Farnese), s početka samostalne vladavine (212. godine), s vrlo naglašenim emocijama karakterističnim za portrete tog razdoblja, pokazuje vrlo slične crte lica i izraz koje ima Eskulap na reljefu iz Varaždinskih Toplica. To posebno potvrđuju bore iznad nosa koje licu daju

42 AE 1982, 00805; CIL III, 07740 etc.

43 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in *Aquae Iasae* – Varaždinske Toplice, u Lazar I. (ur.): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, sl. 31.



dramatičan izraz i snagu. Očite su i sličnosti s prikazima Aleksandra Velikog (356. – 323. pr. Kr), poznatog Karakalina uzora, ne samo prema uvojcima kose već i u prikazu mladenačkog tijela karakterističnog i za rimski idealizam, kojim se u ovom slučaju željela prikazati snaga i moć cara.

Iznad i ispod reljefa nalazi se natpis koji otkriva da je riječ o vrlo službenom karakteru posvete za carevo zdravlje i pobjede (*pro salute et victoriis*), a donator je bio *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*, upravitelj (*praeses*) provincije Arabije i legat X. legije, važna osoba u službi države i samog cara, vjerojatno iz njegova užeg kruga ljudi od povjerenja. Za dataciju natpisa važan je podatak da je posvećen samo caru Karakali, što pokazuje da je iz razdoblja njegove samostalne vladavine (212. – 217. godine), dok je za precizniju dataciju važna funkcija donatora. *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus* pojavljuje se na više natpisa prema kojima se mogu rekonstruirati funkcije koje je obavljao. Poznato je kako je bio i donator natpisa posvećenog Serapisu, također za Karakalino zdravlje i pobjedu koji je pronađen u Piliscévu (Mađarska),<sup>44</sup> a koji se uklapa u grupu sličnih natpisa iz sjeveroistočne Panonije.<sup>45</sup> Na svima je vrlo slična službena formula natpisa za zdravlje i pobjedu cara, a donatori su redom visoki državni službenici te su vjerojatno svi natpisi postavljeni tijekom careva posjeta Panoniji 214. godine. Posvete Serapisu na tim natpisima svjedoče i o službenoj religiji u koju su u tome razdoblju uključeni i istočni kultovi. Poznato je da je Karakala još od mladosti bio oduševljen egipatskim kultovima, kada je s obitelji proveo dulje vrijeme u Egiptu, a u vrijeme njegove samostalne vladavine kultovi Izide i Serapisa postale su službene carske religije. Serapis postaje vrhovno božanstvo i poistovjećuje se s Jupiterom, ali i s Eskulapom vezano uz moć ozdravljenja. Karakalinu je vladavinu obilježila i njegova opčinjenost Aleksandrom Velikim, kojeg je oponašao ne samo prihvaćanjem istočnih kultova već i izgledom, načinom ratovanja, a i njegov veliki pohod prema istoku bio je potaknut njegovim uzorom.<sup>46</sup>

Donator reljefa *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus* bio je porijeklom iz Španjolske te je tijekom svoje karijere obavljao vrlo visoke državne službe.<sup>47</sup> Prema spomenutom natpisu iz Piliscéva pretpostavlja se da je od sredine 214. godine bio prvi upravitelj reorganizirane provincije Panonije, odnosno da ga je Karakala postavio za prvog konzularnoga upravitelja Donje Panonije. Natpis iz Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan) spominje ga kao upravitelja provincije Arabije, a s obzirom na druge za sada poznate upravitelje te provincije, postoji mogućnost da je vršio tu dužnost od 209. do 211 godine ili od 212. do 213. godine.<sup>48</sup> S obzirom da natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica, sigurno nije nastao prije kraja 212. godine, kada nakon ubojstva Gete počinje Karakalina samostalna vladavina, postoji mogućnost da *Avitianus* ostaje upravitelj Arabije još i dio 213. godine jer se pretpostavlja da je tada funkciju preuzeo novi upravitelj Furnius Iulianus.<sup>49</sup> Međutim, ipak je vjerojatnije da je funkciju upravitelja Arabije obavljao ranije, a nakon toga vršio dužnost legata X. legije. Moguće je da do sredine 214. godine vrši i funkciju konzula, nakon čega preuzima upravu nad Donjom Panonijom kao prvi konzularni upravitelj. Naravno, nije isključeno da je kao blizak Karakalin suradnik postao upravitelj Panonije a da prije toga nije bio konzul. Zanimljivo

44 CIL III 3637.

45 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 80-83.

46 Boteva, D.: Following in Alexander's Footsteps; The Case of Caracalla. *Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia*. Thessaloniki 1999, 181-188.

47 Fitz, J.: Alfenus Avitianus. *Bulletin du Musée Roi Saint Étienne*. A. Nr. 10, Székesfehérvár 1960.

48 Fitz, J.: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II, *Enciklopedia*, Budapest 1993.1025-1027.

49 Fitz, J.: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II, *Enciklopedia*, Budapest 1993.1026.

je da se *Avitianus*, na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica, pojavljuje i kao legat X. legije koja je u to vrijeme bila stacionirana u Vindoboni (Beč, Austrija), gdje se nalazila od 114. godine do 5. stoljeća.<sup>50</sup> Legija X. *Gemina* počasni naziv *pia fidelis* dobiva 89. godine<sup>51</sup>, a natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica potvrđuje da je zbog svoje lojalnosti caru Karakali već u njegovo vrijeme nosila i naziv *antoniniana*. Najvjerojatnije je *Avitianus* u vrijeme postavljanja ovog natpisa vršio dužnost legata X. legije, a spomen funkcije upravitelja Arabije ukazuje na poseban status koji je imao u pripremi legija za pohod na istok jer je vjerojatno tu funkciju obavljao neposredno prije preuzimanja legije i predstavlja važan dio njegove karijere (*cursus honorum*). Prema tome bi se mramorna ploča iz Varaždinskih Toplica mogla datirati od prve polovine 213. godine, najkasnije do sredine 214., a što se može uklopiti u pretpostavljene događaje tih godina vezane uz cara Karakalu. Naime, pretpostavlja se da je Karakala u proljeće 213. godine krenuo iz Rima preko Galije i Germanije Superior u kaznenu ekspediciju protiv Alamana. Kasije Dion (*Cassius Dio*, rimski povjesničar) opisuje da se Karakala nakon ubojstva svoga brata Gete razbolio i očajnički tražio pomoć od Apolona, Asklepija i Serapisa te da je tijekom putovanja preko svojih izaslanika slao zavjetne darove tim božanstvima u razna svetišta, gdje je i osobno odlazio u nadi da će svojim prisustvom ozdraviti.<sup>52</sup> Na putovanju se zaustavio u lječilištu *Aquae* (Baden-Baden) i u lječilištu *Phoebiana* (Faimingen), gdje je bilo Apolonovo svetište (*Apollo Granus*).<sup>53</sup> Bolesnom caru, kao vrlo važan dio puta, bio je posjet svetišta njegovih omiljenih bogova pa je moguće kako je na povratku posjetio i naselje *Aquae lasae*. Tako bi i novi nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica što potvrđuju štovanje Eskulapa mogli ukazati da se među spomenutim svetištima posvećenim Asklepiju (Eskulapu), Apolonu i Serapisu kod Kasija Diona možda misli i na akvejazejsko svetište. Bez obzira na to je li car Karakala osobno posjetio ovo lječilište ili je to učinio njegov izaslanik *Avitianus*, karakter mramorne ploče, kvaliteta reljefa i tip natpisa ukazuje na to da je riječ o službenoj molbi za carevo ozdravljenje, najvjerojatnije poslano (ili postavljeno) na carevu osobnu inicijativu. Oblik formule *pro victoriis* najvjerojatnije ima značenje molbe za neke buduće pobjede i, za razliku od grupe sličnih natpisa iz Sjeveroistočne Panonije datiranih u 214. godinu, ovdje je „pobjeda“ izražena u množini. Moguće je da se radilo o nekim određenim događajima, a ako se prihvati datacija natpisa u prvu polovicu 213. godine, onda bi to bila molba za careve pobjede u ratu s Alamanima, u kojem je možda sudjelovao i *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*.

Podatak da je *Avitianus* obavljao funkciju legata X. legije, omogućuje interpretaciju i nekih već ranije poznatih podataka o njegovu životu, kao npr. da je njegov zet, *L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus* započeo svoju karijeru u toj legiji kao *tribunus laticlavius*,<sup>54</sup> a što je bila funkcija prvog zamjenika legata. Pretpostavljalo se da je obavljao tu dužnost između 210. i 215. godine, a prema natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica vrlo vjerojatno je to bilo istovremeno kad je *Avitianus* bio legat pa je kao njegov prvi pomoćnik upravljao X. legijom.

S obzirom na povezanost dinastije Severa s Panonijom, sigurno je da je Karakala, koji je i inače obilazio razna svetišta svojih omiljenih bogova (npr. 214. godine hram Apolona u Pergamu, 215. godine hram Serapisa u Aleksandriji) dobro znao za akvejazejsko svetište i lječilište. S obzirom

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50 Mócsy, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 99.

51 89. godine dobiva naziva *pia fidelis Domitiana*, ali nakon smrti cara Domicijana odbacuje *Domitiana*

52 Cass. Dio 78, 5-7.

53 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Communicationes, Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 86.

54 Fitz, J.: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II, *Enciklopedia*, Budapest 1993, 1026.

i na poznate građevinske zahvate u Panoniji, koje su provodili carevi iz dinastije Severa, vrlo su vjerojatno na njihovu inicijativu izvršeni neki radovi i u ovom svetištu. To potvrđuje i dio građevinskog natpisa, pronađenog 2011. godine, sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (kat. 62). Na ploči od mekanog litotamnijskog vapnenca prikazana je Viktorija s palminom granom koja pridržava natpis. Nažalost, od natpisa je sačuvano samo nekoliko slova, tako da nije moguće rekonstruirati sadržaj. Prikazi božice Viktorije, kao ukrasni elementi uz natpise, tipični su za razdoblje dinastije Severa, a iz Panonije poznato je više sličnih građevinskih natpisa na kojima se spominju donacije građevina Septimija Severa i njegovih sinova.<sup>55</sup> O kakvoj je građevini riječ u Varaždinskim Toplicama, nije moguće utvrditi, no vjerojatno se radilo o manjim intervencijama i opremanju nekih hramova jer veći građevinski zahvati iz tog vremena nisu potvrđeni arheološkim istraživanjima.

S razdobljem dinastije Severa treba povezati i dijelove kipova Apolona – Sola (grč. *Helios*) i Dijane – Lune (grč. *Artemis –Selene*), pronađene u istraživanjima 2011. godine (kat. 71,72). *Helios*, u grčkoj mitologiji bog Sunca, bio je posebno omiljeno božanstvo Aleksandra Velikog, a poistovjećivanje s Apolonom može se pratiti još od 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. te tijekom helenizma, kada se i njegova sestra Artemida izjednačuje sa Selenom, božicom Mjeseca. Rimljani preuzimaju ove kultove te povezuju Apolona s bogom Sunca Solom i Dijanu s božicom Mjeseca Lunom, često prikazivanom i kao *Diana Lucifera* (nositeljica svjetla). Ti kultovi postaju popularni u vrijeme dinastije Severa, krajem 2. i početkom 3. stoljeća, što se može pratiti i na raznim emisijama novca tog vremena, a glavni razlog treba potražiti u oponašanju Aleksandra Velikog (*imitatio Alexandri*), ali i čestom boravku careva u istočnim provincijama.

Rimski pisac *Oppian* (iz Apameje, Sirija)<sup>56</sup> u svojem djelu posvećenom Karakali, uspoređuje samog cara s bogom Sunca, a njegovu majku s božicom Mjeseca, što vjerojatno predstavlja i odraz službene politike toga vremena. Također, zanimljiv je podatak sadržan u opisu Karakalina ubojstva 217. godine,<sup>57</sup> gdje se spominje da je ubijen tijekom putovanja prema poznatom svetištu božanstva Mjeseca koji se nalazio u blizini Carrhae (Harran, Turska).

Razni aspekti solarnog kulta i sinkretizam značajne su karakteristike službene carske religije toga vremena, pa se i tada vrhovno božanstvo Serapis pojavljuje kao bog Sunca, poistovjećujući se i s Mitrom, a i sam car Karakala prikazuje se sa solarnom (zrakastom) krunom.<sup>58</sup> Ovi složeni sinkretistički procesi, karakteristični za vladavinu cara Karakale, imali su odraza i na rituale u akvejasejskom svetištu, pa i nove nalaze kipova treba promatrati u kontekstu toga vremena. Međutim, štovanje Apolona i Dijane može se ovdje pratiti i izvan okvira službene religije s početka 3. stoljeća, a što dokazuju i natpisi posvećeni samoj božici Dijani, ponekad i zajedno s nimfama.<sup>59</sup> Međutim, novi nalaz vrlo oštećenog natpisa koji je bio ugrađen u sjeverni zid izvorišta, spominje Apolona, Dijanu i nimfe, kao specifičan oblik kulta, prilagođen karakteru

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55 Mráv, Z.: Building Minificensces of Septimius Severus in the cities of the Pannonia Provinces: Epigraphic evidence, *BAR International Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, 251-278.

56 Opp. *Kyneg.* I.

57 Cass. Dio 79.5.4-5.

58 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und ˘der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Comunicationes, Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 85.

59 Rendić Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kultnih dedikacija, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV1991, Zagreb 1992, 71.



ovog svetišta (natpis je postavio *Lucius Aerus Florentinus*, spekulator legije XII. (ili XIII):

APO[[lini]  
DIAN[ae et?]  
NYMPH[is]  
L(ucius) AERIV[s]  
FLORENT[inus]  
SPEC[ulator]  
LEG(ionis) XII[I?] [-----

Atributi prikazani na djelomično sačuvanom kipu Apolona – Sola pružaju i mogućnosti za razmatranje namjene ovog svetišta u potpuno novom kontekstu (kat. 71). Kip je oslonjen na tronožac – tripod oko kojeg je omotana zmija, što ga određuje kao boga proricanja (Apolon Pitijski), te se može pretpostaviti da su se u ovom svetišću oko izvora termalne vode odvijali rituali vezani uz proricanje budućnosti. Poznati su brojni hramovi posvećeni Apolonu, vezani uz razne geološke aktivnosti ili svete izvore, a koji su vrlo često bili i mjesta proricanja, među kojima su najslavniji bili Delfi (Grčka).

KIP BOGA APOLONA – SOLA, poč. 3. st.  
(kat. 71)  
STATUE OF THE GOD APOLLO SOL,  
the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 71)

Kip Apolona – Sola iz Varaždinskih Toplica prikazuje mladog boga, sa zrakastom krunom na glavi, koji se oslanja na tronožac obavijen zmijom. U utoru na vrhu tronošca možda je bila uglavljena lira na koju se Apolon oslanjao savijenom rukom u laktu, kao što je to slučaj na kipovima Apolona tipa Mantova. Desna ruka vjerojatno je bila spuštena, tek lagano odmaknuta od tijela. Apolon je prikazan u kontrapostu, karakterističnom položaju klasične grčke umjetnosti koju je uveo kipar Poliklet u 5. stoljeću pr. Kr., kod koje je težina na jednom stopalu, dok drugo jedva dotiče tlo. Kod kipa Apolona – Sola iz Varaždinskih Toplica težina tijela prebačena je na lijevu nogu i, premda nije sačuvan gležanj i stopalo desne noge, naslućuje se prema prstima na postamentu da je desna noga bila oslonjena samo vrhovima prstiju na podlogu. Položaj tijela s osloncem na lijevu nogu, omogućio je lagani pokret desne noge te blago uvijanje osi figure, odnosno zdjelice i ramena, čime je postignut dojam prirodnog položaja u stanju između laganog pokreta i mirovanja. Položajem tijela postignut je i dojam odvažnog držanja, naglašen i izrazom lica emotivno distanciranog božanstva svjesnog svoje ljepote. Elegantnost skulpture postignuta je skladnim odnosom veličine glave u odnosu na tijelo, gotovo u omjeru 1:7, što se i u klasičnom grčkom kiparstvu smatralo idealnom proporcijom. Frizura s velikim pramenovima kose odražava karakteristike skulpture s početka 3. stoljeća u kojem je često prisutna igra svjetla i sjene. Radi se o tipu frizure koja se pojavljuje na portretima Aleksandra Velikog, pa je možda uzor bio i portret koji je izradio njegov suvremenik kipar Lizip.

Nažalost, od skulpture božice Dijane – Lune sačuvana je samo glava i vrlo oštećeni gornji dio tijela (kat. 72), ali postoji mogućnost da se u daljnjim istraživanjima oko prostora izvorišta pronađu i neki preostali dijelovi. U građevinskoj rekonstrukciji kompleksa početkom 4. stoljeća dijelovi kipova Apolona i Dijane bili su „ubačeni“ na razna mjesta u prostor iza sjevernog zida izvorišta, zajedno s ostalim obrađenim i neobrađenim kamenjem koji su poslužili za zatrpavanje. Jesu li ovi kipovi stradali u zbivanjima što su prethodila obnovi u 4. stoljeću, a koje spominje i natpis cara Konstantina (kat.1.), ili su oni namjerno odstranjeni iz svetišta tijekom njegove rekonstrukcije, teško je sa sigurnošću odrediti. Dobro sačuvana glava božice Dijane pokazuje karakteristike koje su prisutne i kod glave Apolona, od plastične obrade lica do izvedbe pojedinih detalja izvedenih u tradiciji grčkog kiparstva. Također, sačuvan dio tobolca pokazuje da je božica prikazana u tradiciji grčke ikonografije kao Artemida, božica lova, kojoj je pridodan polumjesec – atribut Selene – Lune.

Na kraju, treba još istaknuti i očite sličnosti u izvedbi skulptura Apolona – Sola i Dijane – Lune te likova Eskulapa i Salus (Higije) na reljefu s natpisom (kat. 69). Prije svega je to vidljivo u položaju i oblikovanju tijela, Apolona i Eskulapa, ali i u načinu modelacije njihovih frizura. Postoji i sličnost u oblikovanju lica božica, izvedbi detalja lica, ali i frizurama, koje nisu potpuno istog tipa, ali su modelirane na sličan način, dubljim i plićim utorama. Za razliku od lica Eskulapa, koji ima karakteristike portreta, s naglašenim jagodicama i izražajnim obrvama, lica Apolona, Dijane i Salus (Higije) izvedena su idealizirano, s mekano oblikovanim linijama lica, s karakterističnim, jako izraženim lukom iznad očiju. U svakom slučaju, i reljef i skulpture odaju karakteristike koje ih smještaju u isto vremensko razdoblje, a vrlo vjerojatno su nastale u istoj radionici, moguće i od ruke istog majstora. Vjerojatno se ne radi o kopijama određenih grčkih kipova, već su izrađeni prema načelima grčkog kiparstva i ikonografije, a u skladu sa službenom carskom religijom. Likovi božanstava Eskulapa i Apolona, omiljenih kultova cara Karakale i njihov prikaz koji u mnogim elementima podsjeća na prikazivanje Aleksandra Velikog odraz su službene carske



politike i ikonografije. Očito je da su vješti rimski majstori proizvodili kombinirajući principe i elemente klasičnoga grčkog kiparstva i helenizma, sa zahtjevima svog vremena. S obzirom na to da je mramor od kojeg su izrađene skulpture i reljef alpskog porijekla<sup>60</sup>, treba isključiti da se radi o spomenicima dovezenim iz nekih udaljenijih centara ili samog Rima, već su to proizvodi neke od obližnjih radionica, a u kojima su mogli raditi i vrhunski majstori i iz drugih krajeva Carstva. Plasičnost modelacije mišića na skulpturi Apolona, ali i reljefu Eskulapa pokazuje vrhunsko poznavanje anatomije tijela te činjenicu da se ovdje ne radi o običnom serijskom proizvodu već o djelu vrlo vještog majstora i njegovom umjetničkom ostvarenju. Prema natpisu na reljefu, jasno je kako je riječ o narudžbi osobe vrlo bliske caru (možda i samog cara), a moguće je da su i skulpture bile poklon svetištu istom prilikom, što očito pokazuje da je izradu narudžbe preuzela radionica s vrhunskim majstorima, a čiji rad se vjerojatno i vrlo skupo naplaćivao.

Po svemu se može zaključiti da je akvejezjsko lječilište i svetište s kultovima omiljenih Karakalinih božanstava – Serapisom, Eskulapom i Apolonom, sasvim sigurno privlačilo pažnju samog cara, a koliko je bio njegov utjecaj u opremanju i razvijanju svetišta, možemo samo nagađati. Vjerojatno je car, koji je bio opsjednut bolestima, tražio ozdravljenje i u ovome panonskom svetištu i lječilištu, ali i savjete proročišta, obilazeći ga, prinoseći žrtve i darove, osobno ili preko izaslanika.

## KAMENOKLESARSKA PROIZVODNJA, ZANATSKA I UMJETNIČKA OBRADA KAMENA

Novi nalazi raznih kamenih spomenika pronađeni u arheološkim istraživanjima posljednjih nekoliko godina u Varaždinskim Toplicama nadopunjuju dosadašnje spoznaje o karakteristikama zanatske i umjetničke obrade kamena koji se nalazio u svetištu oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode.

Nalazi vrlo jednostavnih natpisa, urezanih u kamene blokove mekanog i gustog litotamnijskog vapnenca, potvrđuju proizvodnju u samom naselju ili njegovoj neposrednoj blizini. Radi se o vrsti lokalnog kamena, vrlo lakog za obradu, koji je zbog svojih karakteristika korišten za gradnju zidova izvorišnog bazena, ali isto tako i za izradu jednostavnih, vjerojatno i jeftinijih natpisa. Prema tragovima obrade, još i danas vidljivih na mnogim ploham ovoga kamena, moguće je rekonstruirati alate koji su korišteni, dljeteta raznih širina. Natpisi su se nalazili na relativno grubo obrađenim pravokutnim kamenim blokovima, bez posebnih ukrasa, osim ponekad urezanih jednostavnih linija, te nisu vjerojatno imali funkciju žrtvenika već samo zavjetnih natpisa. Slični zavjetni natpisi, ali i žrtvenici rađeni su i od nešto tvrđeg i šupljikavijeg, također lokalnog litotamnijskog vapnenca, koji je korišten i za ogradu izvorišnog bazena. Mnogi od tih natpisa iskorišteni su kao građevni materijal u zidovima izvorišnog bazena, tijekom popravaka u 4. stoljeća i tom su prilikom neki i dodatno obrađeni ili prelomljeni u manje dijelove. Zbog toga su dijelovi istih natpisa pronađeni u raznim dijelovima zidova. Zanimljivo je da je od gustog litotamnijskog vapnenca izrađen i građevinski natpis, s reljefnim prikazom Viktorije (kat. 62). To pokazuje da su u lokalnim radionicama radili i majstori koji su bili vrlo vješti u obradi mekanog kamena, kao i drugih vapnenca korištenih za razne građevinske elemente (baze, kapitele, konzole i dr.).

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<sup>60</sup> Ovom prilikom srdačno se zahvaljujem prof. Rohatschu (TU Wien) i tvrtki Zotmann GmbH za korisne podatke o porijeklu mramora.



DIO GRAĐEVINSKOG NATPISA S PRIKAZOM VIKTORIJE, 2/3. st. (kat. 62)  
PART OF A CONSTRUCTION INSCRIPTION DEPICTING VICTORIA, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 62)

Uz izrazito zanatsku proizvodnju natpisa i ponekih žrtvenika izrađenih od lokalnog vapnenca, nalazi mramornih reljefa i žrtvenika također svjedoče o radioničkoj produkciji tipičnoj za rimsko razdoblje, dok pojedini primjerci reljefa i skulptura predstavljaju umjetnička ostvarenja vrlo vještih majstora. Svi ovi spomenici izrađeni su od alpskog mramora, što pokazuje da su proizvod obližnjih radionica, a prema stilskim karakteristikama većina se uklapa u u tzv. noričko-panonski umjetnički krug u kojem su glavni radionički centri bili obližnjim gradovima (npr. *Poetovio*, *Celeia*), ali vrlo vjerojatno i na akvejazejskom području. Različita kvaliteta izrade, rezultat je vještine majstora, dok brojni vrlo slični elementi ukazuju na standardne uzorke korištene u pojedinim radionicama. Tako, npr. kantar s vinovom lozom na žrtveniku, koji je posvećen Izidi i Serapisu iznimno je sličan prikazima na nadgrobnim edikulama iz Šempetra, te se vjerojatno radi o standardnim motivima odabranim u katalogu uzoraka neke radionice na tom području.

Do sada se među nalazima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, na samo jednom reljefu (kat. 80) pojavljuje ime majstora – *Messius* (ili *Messor*), a kvaliteta izrade pokazuje da je bio prilično vješt u svom poslu. Osim brojnih primjera reljefa, koji se bez obzira na kvalitetu izrade uklapaju u običajena ikonografska pravila prisutna širom Rimskog Carstva, ima i primjera koji svjedoče o djelovanju domaćih radionica koje su stvarale u duhu autohtone umjetnosti (npr. kat. 83, 84.). No nalazi kipova Apolona – Sola i Dijane – Lune, te reljefa s prikazom Eskulapa i Salus potvrđuju postojanje radionica u kojima su radili iznimno vješti majstori, stvarajući vrhunska umjetnička ostvarenja, kao što je bio slučaj i s autorom skulpture Minerve.



PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI I NATPISOM, 161. – 168. god. (kat. 8o)  
 SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTION OF THREE NYMPHS,  
 AND AN INSCRIPTION, AD 161–168 (Cat. 8o)

Prema izgledu nekih spomenika može se dobiti uvid i u sam proces proizvodnje, ali i u način njihova korištenja u svetištu. Tako se prema pločama, na kojima se u gornjem dijelu nalaze reljefi s prikazom polusjedećih nimfi, a u donjem dijelu polje za natpis, može zaključiti da se radilo o standardnom tipu ploča koje su se proizvodile u raznim veličinama, a kupac je mogao odabrati već gotov reljef i prema njegovoj narudžbi upisivao se tekst. Da se radilo o poluproizvodima, koji su se dovršavali tek kad su kupci odredili sadržaj natpisa, jasno je i prema žrtvenicima gdje su se, zbog prevelike količine teksta, slova upisivala i na ukrasnim okvirima.

Samostojeći žrtvenici i zavjetni natpisi postavljali su se u prostoru svetišta, vjerojatno u njegovim trjemovima, dok su reljefi najvjerojatnije bili pričvršćeni na zidovima. To potvrđuju i manji utori, vidljivi na većini reljefa, na gornjim i donjim stranama. Da su reljefi mogli biti postavljeni i na drukčiji način, upućuje i nalaz jednog postamenta s natpisom koji ima utor cijelom širinom gornje površine u koji je umetana neka tanja ploča, vrlo vjerojatno neki reljef.

Na kraju, treba spomenuti još jedan reljef s natpisom koji je, kao i mnogi drugi manji reljefi, bio razlomljen i iskorišten za podlaganje većih blokova u konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (kat. 146). Prema karakteristikama lica prikazanih na reljefu, očito je riječ o portretima. Obrada kamena, kao i način modelacije ploha, izveden je u tehnici koja podsjeća na obradu drva, a što vjerojatno ima porijeklo u lokalnoj tradiciji. Na reljefu je prikazan bračni par, u tipičnom položaju kakav se može pratiti na rimskim stelama. Međutim, veličina reljefa, a i sam natpis gdje se imena osoba pojavljuju u nominativu, bez ikakvog teksta koji bi uključivao posvetu ili zavjet, smještaju ovaj reljef u tip privatnih ili polujavnih portreta, svjetovnog karaktera. Prema gentilnom carskom imenu *Aurelius*, može se zaključiti da se radi o slobodnim građanima koji su stekli rimsko građansko pravo u vrijeme cara Karakale, nakon što je car ediktom iz 212. godine (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) svim slobodnim građanima dodijelio rimsko građansko pravo. Moguće da je i svitak, koji muškarac drži, u ovom slučaju simbol stjecanja građanskih prava. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje zašto se portret bračnog para pojavljuje oko izvorišnog bazena, radi li se o donatorima nekog objekta u svetištu ili su iz nekoga drugog razloga obilježili svoj boravak u ovom lječilištu.





PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM BRAČNOG PARA I NATPISOM, 3. st. (kat. 146)  
SLAB WITH AN INSCRIPTION AND A RELIEF DEPICTING A MARRIED COUPLE, 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 146)

Dora Kušan Špalj

## AQUAE IASAE – A CENTRE OF HEALTH, CULT AND ORACLE

### CULTS AT THE SANCTUARY IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 1<sup>ST</sup> AND 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

An awareness of the healing properties of thermal water, its connection with the realm of the divine, and establishment of the spring as a sacred site can be traced back for several millennia. The spring cult was especially prominent with the Celts, Greeks and Romans, who associated the medicinal springs with various deities, attributing to them the magical powers of recovery.

The Roman philosopher Seneca<sup>1</sup> described the hot springs as sites of divine worship, while in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, *Marcus Vitruvius Pollio*, an architect and author, discussed the particularities of thermal springs<sup>2</sup> and the building of sanctuaries on the location of such springs<sup>3</sup>: “An appropriate form is supplied by nature, for example, in the case of all sacred precincts we select very healthy neighbourhoods with suitable springs of water in the places where the fanes are to be built, particularly in the case of those of *Asclepius* and *Salus*, gods by whose healing powers great numbers of the sick are apparently cured.”

The results of excavations conducted at Varaždinske Toplice between 2011 and 2013 shed light on many aspects of the development of the sanctuary around the natural thermal spring, that is, its layout and design throughout the various phases. The preserved architectural structures provide insight into the demanding architectonic interventions, while the information revealed by the epigraphic monuments render possible the reconstruction of their purpose, i.e. the reason for their design. Thus, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century the entire sanctuary was consecrated to the nymphs, a fact to which the inscriptions themselves also provide evidence. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the area around the sanctuary was designed as a forum with temples, and new cults were being introduced, which markedly reshaped the previous nature of the area.

The excavations have revealed numerous votive inscriptions, altars and reliefs dedicated to various deities accredited with powers of healing.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the already known dedications to nymphs, to *Diane*, *Fortuna*, *Pollux*, *Minerva*, *Juno* and others, the most recent excavations also uncovered inscriptions addressed to *Asclepius* and *Hygeia*, *Isis*, *Serapis* and *Apollo*. In designing the area around the spring as a classical forum with a *capitolium*, a unified place was created that accentuated the cultic nature of the “sacred spring”. Although the design of the temples in the shape of a *capitolium* suggest the supreme divine triad, an indication additionally proposed by the finds of the statue of *Minerva* in the western temple and an inscription dedicated to *Juno* (and *Fortuna*)<sup>5</sup> in front of the eastern temple, this issue still seems unresolved, as the new finds have failed to produce a dedication to the supreme deity of *Jupiter*.

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1 Sen. *Epist.* 41, 3.

2 Vitruv. VIII, 3. (*Vitruvius: De architectura libri decem / Vitruvij: Deset knjiga o arhitekturi* /trans.: Matija Lopac, Published by: Institut građevinarstva Hrvatske, Zagreb 1997).

3 Vitruv. I, 2.

4 Rendić Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV/1991, Zagreb 1992, 67-76.

5 ILJug-02 1168;



In comprehensively considering the situation of the sanctuary on the location of the thermal spring, and paying due regard to the context of the water's healing properties, as well as on the basis of information collected from numerous, recently discovered epigraphic monuments, it is possible to ascertain that the cultic character of this area developed as a result of the veneration of diverse deities associated with healing and recovery. The character of such an area can be discerned from the description of a sanctuary next to one spring, as offered by Pliny the Younger in one of his letters<sup>6</sup>: "...some small chapels stand dispersed in a circle, each housing a statue of another god...you shall find a lot of studying material in the numerous inscriptions on columns and walls, erected in worship of the water spring and all the gods..."

That the inscriptions at Varaždinske Toplice refer to diverse deities does not necessarily imply that the temples were dedicated to all of them. Nonetheless, the fact must also be considered that two side rooms were situated next to the main three temples, which most probably served this function. The find of a votive inscription, built into the spring's northern wall, has supplied very compelling data that may refer to the consecration of the temples. The inscription is dedicated to Juno, Minerva, Apollo and the nymphs:

IVNONI R(eginae) ET  
MINERVA[e]  
APOLLINI  
ET NYMPHI[s] [---

The presence of Apollo as the god of healing in this type of temple is entirely logical, while the discovery of his statue bears testimony to the fact that he was worshipped also as god of the sun and prophecy. Considering the gases and steam vapours rising from the hot spring, the possibility that this sanctuary was also a site of oracle is far from surprising. Within this context, the issue of the monumental metric inscription might be clarified<sup>7</sup>; uncovered in 1977 during the excavation of the southern arcades, the inscription could be ascertained to represent parts of prophetic texts. The intensive religious practice at *Aquae lasae* must be understood as a dynamic process during which, through four centuries, changes occurred at the sanctuary with respect to the meaning of individual deities, occasionally in close relation to the changes in the official imperial religion. It is most probably this process, related to the syncretism of the Roman religion, that might solve the enigma of divine worship in the main temples of this sanctuary.

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6 Plin. *Epist.* VIII, 8.

7 Kuntić Makvić, B., Rendić-Miočević, A., Šegvić, M., Krajcar, I.; Intergracija i vizualna prezentacija ulomaka monumentalnog metričkog natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica, in Balen, J., Šimek, M. (eds.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja*, Publication of CAA 28, Varaždin 2010, 285-295.

## THE NYMPHS

Already during the first excavations in the area of Varaždinske Toplice, numerous inscriptions were found that indicated the cultic significance of the thermal spring, originally associated with the veneration of nymphs<sup>8</sup> as patronesses and personifications of the spring and medicinal water. Given the medicinal properties of thermal water, the nymphs, referred to on inscriptions as *salutares*<sup>9</sup> (the healing ones), *augustae* (the exalted ones)<sup>10</sup>, or as local nymphs – *lasae*<sup>11</sup>, were accredited with powers of healing. The earliest inscriptions dedicated to the nymphs originate from the 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>12</sup>, when in all probability the entire sanctuary was consecrated to them. As of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, expressions of gratitude for recovery were also addressed to other deities, though often in association with the nymphs.

Numerous reliefs have been uncovered, on which these deities are represented as naiads (nymphs presiding over springs), i.e. as young, denuded girls having diverse attributes connected with water.

The first reliefs of this kind were uncovered already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Especially noteworthy is the relief representing three upright nymphs, of whom the central one is holding a shell and the other two are wringing out their wet hair, the water being symbolically represented by spilling out of a vessel (Cat. 2). A similar type of representation (a nymph wringing the water out of her hair) is a part of a relief, that was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century built into the portal of the Varaždinske Toplice Municipal Park (Cat. 4)<sup>13</sup>. Both cases involve iconography that follows the models of Hellenistic art related to the goddess Aphrodite<sup>14</sup>, which is evidenced by a relief found in 2012, representing the “coronation” of a nymph (Cat. 82). Three nymphs are depicted as half naked, standing girls; the central one is holding a shell in front of her, while the other two are raising a wreath above her head. That this is a quality artistic masterpiece is evident in the exquisitely treated drapery, whose surface has regretfully been extensively damaged by sulphur water, which has effaced its details. The traces of paint used to depict the details of reed make for a particularity of this relief<sup>15</sup>.

Apart from these relatively static examples of upright nymphs, which can be classified as the iconographic type of nymphs with shells, the explorations of the thermae and forum in the period between 1953 and 1982 also yielded some pieces of smaller, exquisitely fashioned reliefs that hint at a composition of seated nymphs (Cat. 85, 86).

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8 Ancient Greeks and Romans believed nymphs (Greek Νύμφαι, Lat. *Nymphae*) to be the divine spirits of water, forests and mountains.

9 CIL III 108931, 10893; Rendić-Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV, 1991, Zagreb 1992, 69- 70.

10 CIL III 4119.

11 AE 1985, 00714; ILJug-02 1170.

12 Vikić-Belančić, B., Gorenc, M.: Završna istraživanja antičkog kupališnog kompleksa u Varaždinskim Toplicama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. IV, Zagreb 1970, 151.

13 The lower section of that relief is in all likelihood a fragment depicting the lower body of a nymph (Cat. 4) which has been stored in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

14 Maršić, D.: Ikonografski tip nimfa sa školjkama, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3.s. XXX-XXXI, Zagreb 1998, 112-122.

15 During conservation work on the relief (Zotmann GmbH), a compositional analysis of remnants determined the traces of copper pigment (probably malachite) which indicates that the original colour was most likely green.

This was ascertained by the find of a marble relief in 2006<sup>16</sup>, representing nymphs in a semi-seated posture, reclining against vessels from which water is pouring (Cat. 77). A similar representation of three seated nymphs in a somewhat different composition, but with similar headdresses and attributes, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, was found in Bretzfeld-Unterheimbach (Baden Württemberg, Germany).<sup>17</sup> It is obvious that this is the same iconographic type of representation, in all probability made following the same model, yet interpreted and designed by diverse artisans in line with their abilities and artisanal prowess, in accordance with the characteristics of their respective workshop circles.



RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI, 2/3. st. (kat.77)  
RELIEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 77)

In 2011, another relief with three nymphs in a seated posture was found at Varaždinske Toplice (Cat. 78). The find is a marble plate whose upper part is rounded off and divided into two sections – a relief section and an inscription section. Encircled on three sides with a leaf garland, the relief represents three reclining nymphs. All three are holding a small wreath in their left hand, and a reed stalk in their right. They are wearing bracelets on their left and right upper arms, and on their left wrists. Having many similar details (Cat. 77, 78), the reliefs also share the three-lined leaf ornament serving as a frame. Although the headdresses are not identical

<sup>16</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice, in Lazar I. (ed): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, 229.

<sup>17</sup> Unruh, F.: *Medicus curat, natura sanat. Heilkunde und Heilkulte am römischen Limes. Begleitheft zur Dokumentation der römischen Vergangenheit beim und im Kreiskrankenhaus Öhringen*. WLM Stuttgart - Archäologische Sammlungen, Stuttgart 1993, 14.

in appearance, the type of hairstyling nevertheless appears to be the same. Both reliefs display hair plaited at the crown of the head into a diadem and flowing along the neck towards the shoulders, with the difference that in one relief (Cat. 78), more hair is arranged loosely around the face.

The inscription section was laterally framed with Noric-Pannonian volutes (Cat. 78). The upper side of the inscription, whose wording cannot be reconstructed in its entirety, has been severely damaged. It comprises a list of names, of which only about thirty are visible, arranged into four columns. Regretfully, the letters in the first column, which would most probably reveal insightful information about the list, are also illegible. It can nevertheless be surmised that the list refers to members of a *collegium* or association that tended to be of a civic, but more often of a religious, nature. The first two columns are written in rows using regular letters, this regularity being gradually lost in the third and fourth columns, giving the impression of being a later-date inscription. It is possible that these had been members who inscribed their names subsequently, similarly as in the case of a bronze plate dedicated to Mithras of Virunum (Zollfeld, Austria) where a sanctuary consecrated to Mithras was renovated, that is, built on two occasions, and the members of the society signed their names in two phases.<sup>18</sup> In view of the fact that the inscription at Varaždinske Toplice does not contain information of a similar nature, it is possible that two different artisans carved all the names simultaneously, or that, owing to extensive wording or a tight deadline, the second part was carried out quite negligently. The series of reliefs of seated nymphs also includes a smaller one with an inscription, whose composition is very similar to the above-mentioned relief (Cat. 80), though more delicately fashioned and demonstrating fuller artistic maturity. It is a marble plate of somewhat smaller dimensions (h. 62 cm, w. 43.5 cm), also separated into two sections: a relief representation section and an inscription section. Although only partially preserved, the relief clearly portrays three nymphs sitting on rocks. While the inscription section is laterally framed with Noric-Pannonian volutes, the inscription itself spreads outside of the inscription section onto the lower and upper frames.

Of particular interest is a part of the inscription on the bottom side of the frame, referring to the name of the artisan – *Messius* or *Messor* (Romanised Celtic or Illyrian name).<sup>19</sup> Two schematized representations of an ear and an ivy leaf were carved between the name and the verb *fecit* (he made). It is possible that this is the sign of the stonemason or possibly a symbol representing “hearing ears”. The schematised ears symbolise a god’s ears that listen to prayers or enable individual address of the deity without priestly intervention. While the symbol originates from the votive stelae in Egypt, its tradition can be traced to the Hellenistic Age in Greece but there are also examples dated in Roman period eg. inscription from Dacia<sup>20</sup>.

The inscription (Cat. 80) dedicated to the exalted nymphs discloses that a vow had been fulfilled by the slave *Verus* using his own resources. His owner, *Titus Iulius Ianuarius*, was a conductor of the central office of the Illyrian customs system. The *Publicum portorii Illyrici* was a customs duty system that covered the whole region (Dalmatia, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia and

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18 Piccotti, G.: Virunum, in Šašel Kos M., Scherrer, P. (eds.): *The autonomous towns of Noricum and Pannonia, Noricum*, Situla 40, Ljubljana 2002, 112-114.

19 Radman Livaja, I., Ivezić, H.: A Review of South-Pannonian Indigenous Anthroponymy, in Migotti, B. (ed.): *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia: the state of research and selected problems in the Croatian part of the Roman province of Pannonia*, BAR International Series 2393, Oxford 2012, 142, 155.

20 *Inscriptiile Daciae Romanae*, Vol III, Dacia Superior 2, nr.162.

Moesia). As of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century, the customs system was headed by the persons who imposed duties, the so-called conductors (*conductores*). Beginning in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the town of *Poetovio* became the centre of the Illyrian customs administration, and also had a customs station. The officials in these offices, encompassing a great many slaves and freedmen, worshipped eastern deities, especially Mithras, Isis and Serapis.<sup>21</sup> Receiving a handsome pay, the officials very often appeared as dedicators of various votive inscriptions and sanctuaries, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It is thus far from surprising that the donator of an inscription at Varaždinske Toplice was a slave to one of the conductors whose name implies that the inscription originates from the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, i.e. between 161 and 168. Namely, it is a known fact that in that period the function of conductors was performed by the mentioned *Titus Iulius Ianuarius*, as well as by *Titus Iulius Capito* and *Caius Iulius Epaphroditus*.<sup>22</sup>

It is interesting to note that the name *Titus Iulius Ianuarius* appears on yet another Varaždinske Toplice inscription bearing the same dedication to the nymphs (*nymphis augustis*). Although this inscription does not refer to the function of the donator, it may very well be the same person who, during a private visit to the health resort, dedicated the altar and fulfilled a vow for his son's and his own health.<sup>23</sup> Another inscription, uncovered previously, testifies to the visits of the customs officials, mentioning as donator the inspector of the customs administration (*circitor vectigalis Illyrici*), while the inscription is dedicated to the Iasi nymphs (*nymphis Iasis*).<sup>24</sup> All these inscriptions confirm that it was also the customs officials who regularly frequented the sanctuaries at *Aquae Iasae*, seeking medical treatment. Considering the significance of water and the presence of nymphs in the cult of Mithras, whom they predominantly worshipped, it is perhaps no coincidence that their inscriptions were dedicated exclusively to the nymphs.

Within the scope of the 2012 excavations, another altar dedicated to the nymphs was discovered on the north wall of the spring pool, which



ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN NIMFAMA, 2/3. st. (kat. 79)  
ALTAR DEDICATED TO NYMPHS 2nd/3rd century (Cat. 79)

21 Selem, P.: Mitraizam Dalmacije i Panonije u svjetlu novih istraživanja, *Historijski zbornik*, XXXIX (1), Zagreb 1986, 173-204.

22 Beskow, P.: The Portorium and the Mysteries of Mithras, *Journal of Mithraic Studies*, vol.III, 1980.

23 CIL III 4119.

24 AE 1985., 00714; ILJug-02 1170.



suggests that the sanctuary was frequented by representatives of diverse social strata (Cat. 79). *Gaius Valerius Posphorus*, an Augustalis of the *Poetovio* colony, dedicated the altar to the exalted nymphs (*nymphis augustis*), thus fulfilling his vow. The members of the collegium of *Augustales* were an order of Roman priests instituted to attend to the maintenance of the cult of the Emperor and most frequently, affluent freed slaves who had thus moved up the ladder of influential social circles and often financed the erection of sculptures and altars of various deities.<sup>25</sup> *Gaius Valerius Posphorus*, an Augustalis of the *Poetovio* colony, was in all probability a freedman (of eastern descent) or a descendant of a freedman from the elite family of *Valerius*.<sup>26</sup>

The contents of reliefs, altars and votive inscriptions dedicated to the nymphs at the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary disclose the tastes and affluence of the clients, their descent and status, while the quality and method of manufacture testify to the skills of the artisans active within the Noric-Pannonian artistic circle.<sup>27</sup> Regardless of the different levels of artistry, most of the relief representations can be classified among the familiar antique representations of these goddesses. Namely, there are two basic types of representation: the upright nymphs, compositionally depicted as the Three Graces and iconographically based on Aphrodite (iconographic type with shells and the type with a coronation), and the seated nymphs (i.e. semi-sitting or reclining posture). In all the reliefs, the nymphs are depicted with a denuded upper body and a cloak sliding down their hips, like Aphrodite emerging from water, with attributes that identify them as spring nymphs, whereas water is frequently represented symbolically, flowing from a vessel. The representations of a seated nymph invariably include the same attributes – a wreath in her left hand and a reed in her right one, as well as animals that symbolise water (dolphin, fish), while the depictions of upright nymphs feature a shell and a wreath. The central nymph is often prominent, accentuated either by having a different posture (e.g. Cat. 78) or holding a shell, while those along her side share an equivalent position.

It is evident that all these representations stem from the Hellenistic Age, an era in which nymphs were depicted following the model of the goddess Aphrodite. Another compelling new find at Varaždinske Toplice is a relief which reveals that, by the manner of their representation, the nymphs were identified with Aphrodite/Venus (Cat. 74). The relief displays four very similar female figures in a seated position, a piece of cloth covering only the lower parts of their bodies. There is Amor with a palm branch standing next to one of the figures, who in all likelihood represents Venus, while the other three figures represent nymphs. The depiction of nymphs following the model of Aphrodite can in Roman art be traced back as far as the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, with both types of representation appearing simultaneously the entire time – the seated and the upright nymphs. This is evidenced by a fresco painting in the house of Romulus and Remus in Pompeii, which shows two erect nymphs, denuded above the waist and with a cloak veiling their hips, while the central nymph is in a reclining position.<sup>28</sup> The upright nymphs with shells appear throughout the Empire alongside fountains or springs, whereas the seated nymphs, or those reclining or leaning against vessels filled with water, can also often be found on reliefs or individually, as sculptures.<sup>29</sup>

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25 Selem, P.: Mitrin kult u Panoniji, *Radovi* 8, Zagreb 1976, 7.

26 Alföldy, G.: Die Valerii in Poetovio, *Arheološki Vestnik*, XV-XVI, Ljubljana 1964-65, 137-144.

27 Gorenc, M.: Antičko kiparstvo Štajerske i rimska umjetnost Norika i Panonije, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3, vol. V., Zagreb 1971, 15-46.

28 Bieber, M.: *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, Columbia University Press, New York 1955, sl. 636.

29 Junio, K.: Skulpture nirmfi iz Jadera, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 11, Zadar 2008, 151-160.; Seitz, G.: Badewesen und Hygiene, *Imperium Romanum: Roms Provinzen an Neckar, Rhein und Donau*, Stuttgart 2005, sl. 481.

The reliefs discovered at Varaždinske Toplice can be classified among the iconographic types of nymph representation embraced throughout the Roman Empire, which the then artisans interpreted and designed in line with their artistic abilities and artisanal prowess, within the scope of the iconographic principles of the time, and in accordance with the stylistic characteristics of their respective workshops.

Based on the inscriptions' dating and stylistic particularities, all the uncovered reliefs representing nymphs can be ascertained to originate from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. Although it is impossible to determine the precise workshop of provenance, the utilized material (Alpine marbles) and the reliefs' basic characteristics permit us to ascribe them to the by now familiar Noric-Pannonian artistic circle. Individual relief elements, such as the three-lined leaf garland or the composition of a plate with an inscription section (with a Noric-Pannonian volute) and a same-sized relief section, point to the standardisation of representations within the scope of a repertoire of patterns by one workshop or the entire circle of workshops. One may assume that, owing to the great demand, apart from the workshops of nearby towns (*Poetovio*, *Celeia*), it was also at *Aquae lasae* that foremost artisans were engaged, as well as local craftsmen who aimed at adhering to the established iconographic principles, but nevertheless interpreted them subjectively.

The work of a local artisan is manifest on a partly preserved marble plate featuring a relief representation of three female figures (Cat. 83). The bottom part of the plate bears an inscription (with red paint partially preserved) dedicated to *nifeis augustis*, to whom the votive plate was erected by *Ulpia Iustina*. These are most probably goddesses who can be associated with the nymphs and whose name in the nominative case would read *nifaeae*. Similar wording appears on a fragment of a relief (Cat. 88) from Varaždinske Toplice (uncovered already in 1967) representing an altar, which displays a barely noticeable inscription, *nyf/eis* (or *nyf/ris?*). Since the difference between the words *nymphis* and *nifeis* is distinct, it is very unlikely that this could be a case of error or illiteracy in Latin. Nonetheless, one cannot claim it to be coincidental, since similar wording appears on two reliefs. It is possible that the Latin name *nymphae* was transliterated in the spirit of indigenous language, or that these were local goddesses whose name, of similar form in both languages, was translated into Latin. It is a known fact that local deities, in line with the general Romanisation, often appeared on epigraphic monuments bearing Roman names and iconography. Similar is the case in areas where the indigenous elements can be discerned within the scope of the Celtic tradition, which developed the cult associated with water and springs. The Celtic goddess Coventina was thus repeatedly depicted as one nymph,<sup>30</sup> but as the same iconography also appears in the representations of three nymphs, it seems probable that the local deity multiplied under the influence of Roman religion. It is thereby possible that a female deity associated with water had already existed at *Aquae lasae* before the Roman conquest, and that the secret of her name is inherent in the Latinised form *nifaea* (pl. *nifaeae*). Whatever the case may be, the very depiction of the goddess in this relief implies a departure from the previously mentioned classical iconographic designs. The left side of the relief shows a completely nude female figure wearing only a bracelet on her upper arm, while the female figure on the right is wearing a

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<sup>30</sup> Symonds, M., Mason, D.: *Frontiers of Knowledge, A Research Framework for Hadrian's Wall, Part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*, Volume 1 | Resource Assessment, 157., [https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/research/Vol\\_1\\_Resource\\_Assessment.pdf](https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/archaeology/pdfs/research/Vol_1_Resource_Assessment.pdf) / (14.10.2015).



DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM NIMFE, 2. st. (kat. 84)  
PART OF A RELIEF DEPICTING A NYMPH, 2nd century (Cat. 84)

garment with pleats, fashioned by repeated slanting lines in the shape of geometric motifs. In the middle, there is a hint of the presence of a hip of another nude female figure, which implies an atypical composition and deviates from the usual scheme where the central nymph is the most prominent. A representation of the head that is almost identical to that of the left figure can be found in a relief uncovered during earlier excavations (Cat. 84), which depicts a single female figure with a round object resembling a shell. This could have been an indigenous deity that was multiplied and identified with the nymphs under the strong influence of the Roman religion.

Be they representations of local or Roman deities, the reliefs fashioned in the tradition of indigenous artistic expression bear testimony to the existence of local workshops where artisans also dared to challenge the rigid rules and orientations of official artistic conventions. In this context, attention should be drawn to the depictions of bracelets on the nymphs' upper arms, which might point to Hellenistic models. Or, then again, might reflect the indigenous fashion and influences of the Celtic tradition.

All of the reliefs heretofore discovered in the area around the thermal spring depict nymphs as naiads – spring nymphs bearing attributes that symbolise water, which is logical, as they were venerated as personifications of thermal water. That is why the relief representing Europa on a bull and Amphitrite on a hippocampus (Cat. 3), in older literature mentioned as part of the so-called nymphaeum, does not fit into the comprehensive picture of the iconography related to the spring cult.

This coincidental find, discovered in the area of Varaždinske Toplice, was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century mounted together with some other reliefs as a decoration on a fountain situated above the natural spring, and then moved to the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Apart from the marble plates representing Europa and Amphitrite as well as Eros on a hippocampus, other stone elements displaying mythological scenes<sup>31</sup> have been preserved, which could together form part of one aedicule, very similar to the funerary aedicules from Šempeter near Celje. Given the relief representations, as well as the type of material and method of design, the stone monuments from Varaždinske Toplice and Šempeter were evidently created within one circle of sculptors, and stand for the pinnacle of Noric-Pannonian sculpting endeavours.

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31 Gorenc, M.: Nimfej iz Varaždinskih Toplica (Aquae lasae) – arhitektonsko-skulptorsko ostvarenje obrednog prikazanja, *Antički teatar na tlu Jugoslavije*, Novi Sad, 197-202.



RELJEF S PRIKAZOM EUROPE I AMFITRITE, 2. st. (kat. 3)  
RELIEF DEPICTING EUROPA AND AMPHITRITE, 2nd century (Cat. 3)

Having conducted archaeological excavations at the forum and gained knowledge about the method of natural spring capture, as well as having examined a fair number of reliefs with an invariably typical iconographic representation of the spring nymphs, it has become clearer that there was no room for an aedicule with reliefs in the function of a nymphaeum by the spring. It thereby appears that the reliefs on the so-called nymphaeum at Varaždinske Toplice, as well as those in Šempeter, nevertheless belong to the funerary sphere, and that throughout the previous centuries, pieces of these reliefs had been brought into the vicinity of the thermal spring on account of their attractiveness, to adorn the then active fountain.

The finds of 17,000 Roman coins and other small objects discovered in the spring pool represent votive offerings, most probably dedicated to the nymphs. The find of a stone object bearing the inscription *sacrum nymphis*, consecrated to the nymphs, bears testimony to offerings made in the form of money for the purpose of the temples' operating expenses or sacrificial offerings to the nymphs (Cat. 81). It is a stone lid with a slot for coins, the upper part of a money receptacle ("a money box"), a practice known from antique written sources under the name of *thesaurus*.<sup>32</sup> At sanctuaries, pilgrims would drop their offerings into a *thesaurus*, and the money thus collected would be used to address the needs of the sanctuary. While a variety of forms existed, all types were a hollow stone structure with a slot into which coins were thrown, and which could be opened and emptied. Erected most frequently alongside the main altars, in the temples themselves, or in some other place in the vicinity of the sanctuary, thesauri were used

<sup>32</sup> Kaminski, G. : Thesaurus. Untersuchungen zum antiken Opferstock, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, Bd 106, Berlin 1991, 63-181.

from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in Greece, and all until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century throughout the Roman Empire. The Varaždinske Toplice model falls into the group of the two-part types with a movable semicircular upper part containing a slot for dropping coins that was used as a lid. In all probability, the unpreserved bottom part had been made of a larger, hollowed out stone slab; there is still hope of finding it *in situ* in the course of further excavations. Various construction solutions had been devised with the aim of preventing potential theft, but in the case of the Varaždinske Toplice thesaurus, it was the very weight of the marble lid that most likely rendered its lifting extremely difficult. The grooves on the bottom edge revealing traces of lead suggest that metal rods had been utilized as handles in removing the lid. To ensure magical protection, a snake was depicted in the relief, coiling around the semicircular lid shaped like an *omphalos*<sup>33</sup>, which can possibly be associated with the sanctuary's prophetic character.

## OTHER CULTS

Especially prominent among the cults practised at *Aquae lasae* from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century onwards was the one dedicated to Minerva, who was worshipped at the health resort predominantly as the goddess of healing and health. The Romans associated Minerva with medicinal springs, of which further evidence is furnished by the Roman health resort of *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, England), where the



MANJI „ŽRTVENIK“ POSVEČEN MINERVI, poč. 3. st. (kat. 67)  
SMALLER „ALTAR“ DEDICATED TO MINERVA, the beginning of the 3rd century (Cat. 67)

natural spring was captured in a manner very similar to the spring in *Aquae lasae*, and the main temple likewise consecrated to Minerva.<sup>34</sup> The statue of the goddess Minerva (Cat. 65), found towards the end of the 1960's at Varaždinske Toplice, testifies to the temples being furnished with works of art of premium quality, while the new finds of altars attest to her being worshipped by different social classes. The circumstances of the find of her statue and pedestal, whose origins date back to the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century, bear witness to the continuity of the cult of Minerva at this sanctuary. Parts of her statue and of the postament were uncovered inside and in front of the western temple, which could signify that they had remained mounted at the sanctuary until the very end, and that the cult of Minerva had been connected to the medicinal spring also during Christianity. The pedestal carries an inscription which says that the statue had been erected by *Lucius Claudius Moderatus*, a very reputable personality, among others also a member of the city council of the colonia *Savaria* (Szombathely) and municipium *Salla* (Zalalövő). The most recent discovery, made in 2011, revealed that this had not been his only

33 Omphalos – sacred stone (Greek ὀμφαλός, navel), the most famous was the Omphalos in Apollo's Temple at Delphi.

34 Cunliffe, B., Davenport, P.: The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath, Volume (1) the site, *Monograph 7*, Oxford 1985.



visit to this sanctuary, as his name appears on another, smaller altar also consecrated to Minerva (Cat. 66). As his official function is not indicated next to his name, one can assume that this was one and the same person. It is possible that, after having undergone successful treatment, for which Minerva deserved his gratitude, *Lucius Claudius Moderatus* returned to *Aquae lasae* and had a statue for her temple fashioned and erected. Another, very small altar (h. 17cm) was also dedicated to Minerva (Cat. 67). It was carved from fine-grained lithothamnium limestone, a local stone from which the walls of the spring pool had also been made. Most probably a votive offering, it was discovered in the spring pool, within the scope of the 2011 excavations.

Within the past few years, some stone monuments have been found during excavations of the Roman spring pool that supply evidence of the veneration of Egyptian cults – the cults of Isis and Serapis. The reason for the practice of these cults at the health resort is to be found predominantly in the function of the deities to whom requests for recovery and help are addressed.

An original Egyptian deity, Isis, was utterly transformed in the Hellenistic Age when associated with Serapis as her legitimate husband. The Hellenistic iconography of these deities, as well as their connection with mysteries, a higher form of spirituality, was also adopted by the Romans, whereas veneration most frequently remained on a very practical level and of a votive nature.

The spread of the cult of Isis can be traced back to the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, geographically from Aquileia through Emona and to Pannonia. Gradually, it was embraced by members of all social strata, initially only as a private religion. The Egyptian cults thrived most prosperously during the Severan Dynasty towards the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and predominantly in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the time when Serapis also assumed a predominant role and became part of the state cult together with Isis. The origin of the finds at *Aquae lasae* can also be traced to that period, while their emergence should by all means be linked to the worship of these deities in the nearby *Poetovio* colony, one of the most prominent centres of eastern cults in this part of the Empire. As it has already been mentioned, *Poetovio* was the centre of customs services for the entire Illyricum, and customs officials were the main venerators of the cults of Mithras and the Egyptian deities. Nevertheless, the worshipers of Isis and Serapis also came from other walks of



ŽRTVENIK POSVEČEN BOŽICI MINERVI, 2. st. (kat. 66)  
 ALTAR DEDICATED TO THE GODDESS MINERVA,  
 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cat. 66)

life, most often from higher social circles, especially towards the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, which is attested by an altar at Varaždinske Toplice dedicated to Isis and Serapis (Cat. 73), found in the spring's north wall structure, where it was secondarily utilised as a stone slab. It is a larger, exquisitely fashioned marble altar bearing an identical inscription on both opposite sides. The lateral, narrower sides feature reliefs of kantharoi and twining vines. An Augustalis of the *Poetovio* colony, *Gaius Valerius Priscus*, with his spouse, dedicated this altar and fulfilled a vow to the exalted deities Isis and Serapis (*Isidi et Serapi augusti*). The nomen gentile of the donor reveals that *Gaius* belonged to the *Valerius* family, which in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century pertained to the higher social stratum in the *Poetovio* colony, while the cognomen *Priscus* was one of the most frequent names of the Early Roman Empire, especially in northern Italy.<sup>35</sup> The manufacture of the altar and its inscriptions, as well as the reliefs on the lateral sides, attribute its provenance to the Noric-Pannonian workshop circle, related to the Roman vaults in Šempeter, and thus permit for its origin to be dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The form of this altar with an inscription on both sides suggests its detached position and the importance of the inscriptions being visible from several sides.



KAPITEL S DVA REDA LIŠĆA, 2/3. st. (kat. 75)  
CAPITEL WITH TWO ROWS OF LEAFS, 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 75)

ceremonies in her veneration were performed at this complex. It is perhaps a scene from such rituals that is represented in a marble relief with an inscription, found in 2011. The goddess, or more likely her priestess, is represented on the right side, in a distinguishing dress with the so-called Knot of Isis (symbol of the mystical binding of energies) and characteristic headgear (horns and Sun disk). She is holding a patera in her right hand and pouring an offering above a smaller brazier altar (*focus*). The cornucopia that she holds in her left hand implies that this is Isis-Fortuna (or her priestess), a very popular syncretistic figure of the Roman religion. Four denuded female figures are depicted by her side, of whom one is most probably Venus, in view of the fact that Amor is represented alongside her, while the other three are nymphs. As the inscription mentions Emperor Commodus (whose name was subsequently removed – *damnatio memoriae*) and *Helvius Pertinax*, who at the time was consul, it can thus be surmised that the plaque originates from 192. Regretfully, the second line of the inscription is badly damaged,

In view of the custom of adorning the sanctuaries of Isis in Egyptian style and considering the find of a capital (Cat. 75) that exhibits similarity to the capitals of Egyptian temples, the possibility exists that in *Aquae lasae* was one such sanctuary. It is also possible that Isis was venerated at one of the temples together with other Roman deities, a practice also known from some other locations.<sup>36</sup> It can likewise be surmised that rituals related to the mysteries of Isis or other

35 Mócsy, A.: *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannem Kriegen*, Budapest 1959, str. 185; Cajanto, L.: *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, str. 288.

36 Selem, P.: *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split 1977, 177.

but the remaining letters allow for the ascertainment that it is a date in June (*iunis*). Although a precise date cannot be determined from this inscription, it is very probable that the plaque had been made for the purpose of a celebration held in veneration of the goddess Isis-Fortuna in June 192 at the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary. At the same time, this relief also reflects the entire complexity of the cults and spirituality which at this sanctuary developed very specifically and in close relation to the natural phenomenon of the healing powers of thermal water. The main deity Isis-Fortuna, to whom sacrifices were offered, was associated with the personifications of thermal water – the nymphs, while Venus, in the Hellenistic/Roman temples frequently appearing together with Isis, probably embodied the goddess of fertility and life.<sup>37</sup> All of this points to the express presence of women in the festivities dedicated to Isis-Fortuna, which is a distinctive characteristic of the cult of Isis.

That the cult of Fortuna was also present in other forms at this sanctuary can be deciphered from the preserved inscriptions that mention her alongside Juno<sup>38</sup> or individually, with the epithet *augusta* (exalted)<sup>39</sup>. One of the altars, uncovered in 2011, refers to the goddess also as *Fortuna lasoniana* (Cat. 76). Unlike the epithet *lasae*, appearing on several inscriptions alongside the nymphs (*nymphis lasis*), the term *lasoniana* was used as a toponym to express affiliation to a place, thus also stressing the significance of the goddess Fortuna at this sanctuary.

The diverse deities venerated at the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary were embraced into the specific local cult associated with thermal water and symbolised by the nymphs. An inscription (uncovered in 2011 in the ruins of the northern wall of the spring pool) dedicated to Serapis and the nymphs thus testifies to the presence of the Egyptian cult that was incorporated into the existing spring cult. It is a partially preserved inscription carved into soft lithothamnium limestone severely damaged by sulphur and erected by *Cecilius Saturninus* in veneration of Serapis and the nymphs who possessed the powers of healing. The lettering is still visible in the upper section of the altar, while the wording on the bottom part was heavily damaged.

SERAPHI  
SANCTO ET  
NYMPHIS  
SALUTARIBUS  
CAECILIUS  
SATURNINUS [---



SALUS, DETALJ RELJEFA, kat. 69  
SALUS, DETAIL OF THE RELIEF, Cat. 69

37 P. Selem, cited work, p. 174.

38 Iljug-02 1168.

39 AE 1976, 00540, Rendić-Miočević, D.: Jedan novi legionarski spomenik iz Varaždinskih Toplica, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. s., IX, Zagreb 1975, 37-46.

*Caecilius* is a very frequent nomen gentile, even amongst Italic peoples,<sup>40</sup> so is the cognomen *Saturninus*, apart from in Africa also frequently appearing in western Pannonia.<sup>41</sup> While several persons bearing this name are known from Pannonia, this is in all probability a Roman citizen who embraced the cult of Serapis in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when, during the reign of Emperor Caracalla, Serapis assumed the status of an official imperial deity. The dating can be further attested by the omittance of the *tria nomina* form (a 3-names name), a common practice at the time, consequently stating only the nomen gentile and the cognomen.

The most recent excavations at Varaždinske Toplice have also yielded monuments that furnish evidence of the practice of the cult of Aesculapius, god of medicine and healing (Gr. *Asklepios*), and his daughter Salus (Gr. *Hygieia*), goddess of health. A partially preserved altar dedicated to these two deities was found in 2011 in the collapsed architectural remains by the western colonnade of the forum. It is highly probable that it had been used as a building material for one of the walls. It is interesting to note that the Latinised form of the gods' Greek names (*Asclepius*, *Hygia*) appears here, similarly to some other inscriptions in Pannonia and Dacia<sup>42</sup>. Of relatively small dimensions and made of dense, fine-grained limestone, the simple altar's upper section has been preserved, revealing the names ASCLEPI/O ET HY/GIAE.<sup>43</sup>



TELESFOR, DETALJ RELJEFA, kat. 69  
TELESPHORUS, DETAIL OF THE RELIEF, Cat. 69

In 2011, a marble plaque bearing a relief representation of these two deities was uncovered, demonstrating that adherents of this cult had been members of the highest strata of civil servants who had had very valuable votive inscriptions of preeminent artistic quality erected at the sanctuary (Cat. 69). Found to the south of the spring, where it was used as a plate during paving of the forum in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the plaque's inscription affords its origin and erection at the sanctuary to be traced back to the reign of Emperor Caracalla. The relief features *Aesculapius*, his daughter *Salus* (*Hygia*), and between them *Aesculapius*' son *Telesphorus*, who was believed to possess the powers of convalescence.

The outstanding quality of the relief demonstrates the work of a highly accomplished artisan, who created figures, architectonic elements and separate details with exquisite refinement and precision. By creating a three-part composition of the monument, an equilibrium between the flat surfaces with inscriptions and the central, rather dynamic figurative representation was achieved. Although set within an architectonic frame in

40 Alföldy, G.: *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Heidelberg 1969, 69.

41 Mócsy, A.: *Die Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannem Kriegen*, Budapest 1959, 189.

42 AE 1982, 00805; CIL III, 07740 etc.

43 Nemeth-Ehrlich, D., Kušan Špalj, D.: The results of the latest excavations at the Roman forum in *Aquae Iasae* – Varaždinske Toplice, in Lazar I. (ed.): *Religion in public and private sphere, Acta of the 4th International Colloquium, The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia*, Koper 2011, ill. 31.

two semicircular niches, on a postament in the shape of a temple staircase, the figures of deities are visually detached from the background. The position of Aesculapius' right hand in front of the central pilaster suggests dynamism of movement and conveys a sense of spatial depth. Furthermore, the position of the dwarf Telesphorus in front of the central pilaster accentuates an impression of space within the architectonic frame.

The difference in Aesculapius' representation is instantly apparent, especially the rendering of his attire and youthful mien, quite dissimilar from the established depiction of an older, mature man known from Greek-Hellenistic and Roman reliefs and sculptures. It is also the details of the broad face with protruding cheekbones and furrowed forehead that deviated from the standardised portrayal of this deity. It is most likely that the relief represents the Emperor Caracalla himself. A comparison with his portraits (the so-called Farnese type) from the beginning of his autonomous reign (in 212), featuring an accentuated emotionality typical of the portrayals of that time, unveils many a similarity in facial features and countenance with that of Aesculapius in the relief from Varaždinske Toplice. This is especially attested by the wrinkles above the bridge of the nose that lend an air of drama and power to his visage. Also evident is the resemblance with the portrayals of Alexander the Great (356–323 BC), known as Caracalla's idol, not only on account of the curly hair, but also in the depiction of a youthful constitution characteristic of Roman idealisation, in this case designed to emphasize the emperor's vigour and strength.

There is an inscription above and below the relief that unveils the official character of the dedication to the emperor's health and victory (*pro salute et victoriis*), donated by *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*, governor (*praeses*) of the province of Arabia and legate of the Legio X, therefore a prominent personality in the service of the state and the emperor himself, most probably from the close circle of his most trusted men. In order to date the inscription, it is important to note that it was dedicated exclusively to the Emperor Caracalla, which means that it originates from the period of his independent reign (between 212 and 217), while the donor's function is important in determining the date more precisely. As *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus* appears on several inscriptions, it is possible to identify all the functions he served. It has also been established that he donated the inscription dedicated to Serapis, and to Caracalla's health and victory uncovered in Piliscsév (Hungary)<sup>44</sup>, which pertains to the group of similar inscriptions in northeastern Pannonia<sup>45</sup>, all of them featuring a very similar official formula for the health and victory of the emperor, and whose donors were all, without exception, state officials who had been ordained as such during the emperor's visit to Pannonia in 214. Similarly, the dedications to Serapis in these inscriptions testify to the official religion in this period embracing also the eastern cults. Caracalla was known to have been an enthusiastic follower of the Egyptian cults from a young age, when he and his family had spent a prolonged period of time in Egypt, whereas during his independent reign, the cults of Isis and Serapis were adopted into the official imperial religion. Serapis became the supreme deity and was identified with Jupiter, as well as with Aesculapius, when the powers of healing were in question. Caracalla's reign was also deeply marked by his obsession with Alexander the Great, not only seeking to imitate his adoption of eastern cults,

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44 CIL III 3637.

45 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Comunicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 80-83.



but also copying his appearance and method of warfare, as well as taking his idol's cue to launch an eastern war campaign.<sup>46</sup>

The donor of the relief, *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*, was of Spanish descent and attended to the highest political office.<sup>47</sup> In view of the mentioned inscription from Piliscsév, it is reasonable to presume that from mid 214 onwards, he performed the service of first governor of the reorganised province of Pannonia, or that Caracalla appointed him as first consular governor of Pannonia Inferior. The inscription from Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan) refers to him as governor of the province of Arabia, and given the rest of the heretofore known governors of this province, it is possible to ascertain that he served his tenure between 209 and 211 or between 212 and 213.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, which refers to him as the *praeses* of the province of Arabia, could not have been fashioned before 212, the commencing year of Caracalla's independent rule after Geta had been murdered. It is possible that *Avitianus* retained his position for some time into the year 213, when this function is believed to have been assumed by a new governor, *Furnius Iulianus*<sup>49</sup> but it is also possible that he was *praeses* in earlier period, before performing the duties of the legate of the X legion. *Avitianus* thus could have occupied the position of consul until mid 214 and then assumed the administration of Pannonia Inferior as its first consular governor. It is, of course, possible that as a close associate of Caracalla's, he became the governor of Pannonia without being a consul beforehand. It is interesting to note that *Avitianus* is referred to by the *Aquae lasae* inscription also as legate of Legio X Gemina, which was stationed at *Vindobona* (Vienna, Austria) between 114 and the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>50</sup> The Legio X Gemina was conferred the honorary cognomen of *Pia Fidelis* in 89<sup>51</sup>, while the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice ascertains that the Legio had already borne the title *Antoniniana* for its loyalty to Caracalla. It is reasonable to presume that *Avitianus* performed the function of the legate of Legio X at the time when the inscription was erected at *Aquae lasae*, while the mention of the position of governor of Arabia possibly implies the special status he enjoyed in preparing the Legio for the eastern campaign. He probably performed that function immediately before taking command of the legion and it represents an important segment of his career (*cursus honorum*). In view of the aforesaid, the marble plaque from Varaždinske Toplice might be ascertained to originate from the first half of 213 or mid 214 at the latest, which corresponds to the supposed events connected with Emperor Caracalla throughout this time.

In the spring of 213, Caracalla in all probability ventured from Rome through Gaul and Germania Superior on a punitive expedition against Alemanni. A Roman historian, *Cassius Dio*, writes that Caracalla was taken ill after having had his brother Geta murdered, and in his despair appealed to Apollo, Asclepius and Serapis for help. During the expedition he would send, through his delegates, votive offerings to these deities at various sanctuaries and would also visit them in person in the hope of recovery.<sup>52</sup> During his journey, he stopped at the health resorts *Aquae*

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46 Boteva, D.: Following in Alexander's Footsteps; The Case of Caracalla. *Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia*. Thessaloniki 1999, 181-188.

47 Fitz, J.: Alfenus Avitianus. *Bulletin du Musée Roi Saint Étienne*. A. Nr. 10, Székesfehérvár 1960.

48 Fitz, J.: cited work, 1025-1027

49 Fitz, J.: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II, *Encyklopedia*, Budapest 1993, 1026.

50 Mócsy, A.: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London-Boston 1974, 99.

51 In 89, it was granted the titles *Pia Fidelis Domitiana*, but *Domitiana* was omitted after the death of Emperor Domitian.

52 Cass. Dio 78, 5-7.

(Baden-Baden) as well as *Phoebiana* (Faimingen), which housed a temple of Apollo (*Apollo Granus*).<sup>53</sup> For an ailing emperor, it was imperative to travel to the sanctuaries of his favourite gods on his journey, and it is thus very likely that on his return, he also visited *Aquae lasae*. The new finds serving as evidence to the veneration of Aesculapius at this health resort might thus imply that the *Aquae lasae* spa could also have been one of the sanctuaries consecrated to Asclepius (Aesculapius), Apollo and Serapis, referred to by *Cassius Dio*. Regardless of whether Emperor Caracalla had visited *Aquae lasae* in person or through his delegate *Avitianus*, the air of the marble plaque, the quality of the relief and the type of inscription serve to testify that it is an official supplication for the emperor's convalescence made (or erected) on the emperor's own initiative. The *pro victoriis* formulation most probably stands for a plea for future victories since, unlike a group of similar north-east Pannonian inscriptions from the year 214, the "victory" is here expressed in the plural. It is reasonable to surmise that these were quite definite, historical events and, acknowledging the date of the inscription as the first half of the year 213, this could have been an appeal for the emperor's victories in warfare against the Alemanni, in which *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus* had quite possibly taken part..

The information that *Avitianus* performed the function of legate of Legio X Gemina allows for the interpretation of some previously known data about his life, for example, that his son-in-law, *L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus*, embarked on his professional career at Legio X Gemina as *tribunus laticlavius*<sup>54</sup>, i.e., the position of first deputy of the legate. While it can be surmised that he discharged this duty between 210 and 215, the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice allows for the most reasonable assumption that this took place concurrently with *Avitianus* being the legate and *L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus* taking charge of the Legio as his second-in-command.

Given the association of the Severan Dynasty with Pannonia, the Emperor Caracalla, who frequented various sanctuaries of his favourite gods (e.g. the Temple of Apollo in Pergamon in 214 or the Temple of Serapis in Alexandria in 215), must have been well acquainted with the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary and health resort. Taking into consideration some known building achievements in Pannonia carried out by the emperors of the Severan Dynasty, it is highly probable that certain building works at *Aquae lasae* were conducted also on their initiative. That this hypothesis is plausible is attested by a fragment of a building inscription recovered in 2011 that was found north of the spring pool (Cat. 62). The plaque, made of soft lithothamnium limestone, depicts Victoria with a palm branch holding the inscription. Since only a few inscription letters have been preserved, a reconstruction of the wording has been rendered impossible. Representations of the goddess Victoria as decorative elements adorning inscriptions are characteristic for the Severan Dynasty, whereas several similar building inscriptions have been known throughout Pannonia, mentioning that the buildings had been donated by Septimius Severus and his sons.<sup>55</sup> However, it is impossible to ascertain the nature of the building at *Aquae lasae*; most probably these were smaller interventions into some of the temples and their furnishings, as archaeological excavations did not confirm large-scale building works at that time.

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53 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Comunicationes, Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 86.

54 Fitz, J.: Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit II, *Enciklopedia*, Budapest 1993, 1026.

55 Mráv, Z.: Building Minificensces of Septimius Severus in the cities of the Pannonia Provinces: Epigraphic evidence, *BAR International Series* 2393, Oxford 2012, 251-278.

The era of the Severan Dynasty should also be associated with fragments of the sculptures of Apollo-Sol (Gr. *Helios*) and Diana-Luna (Gr. *Artemis-Selene*), uncovered in the course of the 2011 excavations (Cat. 71, 72). Helios, a personification of the sun in Greek mythology, was the favourite god of Alexander the Great. His identification with Apollo can be traced back to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, as well as to the Hellenistic Era, when his sister Artemis was equated with Selene, a personification of the moon. The Romans adopted these cults and associated Apollo with Sol, the solar deity, and Diana with the goddess of the moon, Luna, who is often depicted as *Diana Lucifera* (Bringer of Light). These cults grew especially popular in the era of the Severan Dynasty in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, which is also reflected in the diverse coinage issues of that time, while the main reason for their widespread appreciation can be found in the imitation of Alexander the Great (*imitatio Alexandri*), as well as the emperors' frequent visits to the eastern provinces. In his work dedicated to Caracalla, a Roman author, *Oppian* (from Apameia, Syria)<sup>56</sup>, compares the emperor to the solar deity, and his mother to the moon goddess, which most probably reflects the current official policy. Equally interesting is the information given in the description of Caracalla's assassination in 217<sup>57</sup>, indicating that he had been murdered on his way to a famous sanctuary of the moon deity in the vicinity of Carrhae (Harran, Turkey). The diverse aspects of the solar cult and the syncretism are important characteristics of the imperial religion practised at the time, which is why the then supreme deity Serapis was perceived as the sun god and identified with Mithras, and Emperor Caracalla was represented wearing a radiate crown.<sup>58</sup> As these complex syncretistic processes, characteristic of the reign of Emperor Caracalla, also found expression in the rituals of the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary, the new finds of statues should be studied within the context of that period. That the veneration of Apollo and Diana at this sanctuary can also be followed outside the scope of the official religion of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, is evidenced by the inscriptions dedicated to goddess Diana, occasionally jointly with the nymphs.<sup>59</sup> The new find of a severely damaged inscription, built into the northern spring wall, refers to Apollo, Diana and the nymphs as a specific type of cult adapted to the character of the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary (inscription erected by *Lucius Aerius Florentinus, speculator of the Legio XII (or XIII)*):

APO[llini]  
 DIAN[ae et?]  
 NYMPH[is]  
 L(ucius) AERIV[s]  
 FLORENT[inus]  
 SPEC[ulator]  
 LEG(ionis) XII[I?] [-----]



conjointly with the nymphs.<sup>59</sup> The new find of a severely damaged inscription, built into the northern spring wall, refers to Apollo, Diana and the nymphs as a specific type of cult adapted to the character of the *lasae* sanctuary (inscription erected by *Florentinus, speculator of the*

NATPIS POSVEĆEN APOLONU,  
 DIJANI I NIMFAMA (istraživanja  
 2011. god.)  
 INSCRIPTION DEDICATED TO  
 APOLLO, DIANA AND THE  
 NYMPHS (excavation 2011)

56 Opp. *Kyneg.* I.

57 Cass. Dio 79,5. 4–5.

58 Mráv, Z.: Der Besuch Caracallas und der Deus Invictus Serapis-Kult in Pannonien, *Communicationes, Archaeologicae Hungariae*, Budapest 2000, 85.

59 Rendić Miočević, D.: O akvejasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija, *Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum*, 3. ser. sv. XXIV-XXV 1991, Zagreb 1992, 71.

The attributes represented in the partially preserved statue of Apollo-Sol nonetheless allow for the possibility of examining the purpose of this sanctuary in an entirely new light (Cat. 71). As the statue is leaning against a tripod around which a snake is coiled, which determines him as the god of prophecy (Pythian Apollo), one can surmise that rituals connected with prophecy were enacted at the sanctuary by the thermal spring. Among the numerous temples consecrated to Apollo and connected with various geological activities or sacred springs, several were sites of prophecy, the most famous being the oracle of Delphi (Greece).

The statue of Apollo-Sol from Varaždinske Toplice represents a young god wearing a radiate crown and reclining against a tripod around which a snake is coiled. A lyre, on which Apollo was leaning with a bent arm, such as in the case of other Apollo of Mantua statue types, was possibly wedged into the groove on the top of the tripod. His right arm was most probably extended, slightly apart from the body. Apollo is represented in counterpose (*contrapposto*), the characteristic position of classical Greek art introduced by sculptor Polykleitus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, where a human figure is standing with most of its weight on one foot while the other is barely touching the floor. Most of the weight of the Apollo-Sol from Varaždinske Toplice rests on its left foot. Although the right-leg ankle and foot have not been preserved, the toes on the pedestal suggest that the statue's right leg was touching the ground only with the tips of its toes. The position of the body leaning on the left foot afforded a slight move of the right leg so that its shoulders twisted off-axis from the hips and legs, thus giving the impression of a natural position in between a slight movement and standing still. Similarly, the position of the body creates an air of a supercilious mien, accentuated by the countenance of an emotionally aloof deity aware of its beauty. The elegance of the statue was achieved by harmonious congruity of the size of the head and of the body, of proportion nearly 1 : 7, which was considered ideal in classical Greek sculpture. The hairstyle with thick strands of hair reflects the characteristics of the art of sculpture in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when the play of light and shade was commonly utilised. This type of hairstyle appears in the portraits of Alexander the Great, which allows for the possibility that the sculptor's model was the portrait fashioned by his contemporary, Lysippus.

Regretfully, only the head and severely damaged upper body of the statue of goddess Diana-Luna have been preserved (Cat. 72). Nevertheless, it is possible that future explorations of the spring area might yield some new fragments. During the reconstruction of the complex in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century, fragments of the statues of Apollo and Diana were inserted into various places behind the spring's north wall, together with other treated and untreated stones utilised for backfilling. It is impossible to establish with certainty whether these sculptures had been destroyed during the events occurring prior to the fourth-century renovation and also referred to by the inscription of Emperor Constantine, or if they were purposely removed from the sanctuary during its reconstruction. The beautifully preserved head of goddess Diana displays similar characteristics to those exhibited by the head of Apollo, from the plastic treatment of the face to the execution of minute details in the style of traditional Greek sculpture. The preserved fragment of Diana's sheath also implies that the goddess was represented in traditional Greek iconography as Artemis, goddess of the hunt, to whom a supplementary element of crescent moon was added – the attribute of Selene-Luna.

Attention should be directed to the obvious similarities in the manufacture of the statues of Apollo-Sol and Diana-Luna, as well as the relief representations of Aesculapius and Salus (Hygeia). The resemblances are manifest especially in the contrapposto position of the figures of Apollo and Aesculapius, as well as the method of shaping their bodies and the hairstyle. There are also similarities in the design of the goddesses, the execution of their facial details and hairstyles, which are not of exactly the same type, but formed similarly, with deeper and shallower furrows. Unlike Aesculapius' face, bearing the characteristics of a portrait with protruding cheekbones and accentuated eyebrows, the visages of Apollo, Diana and Salus (Hygeia) are idealised, with softly shaped facial features and characteristic, heavily emphasized eyebrow ridges. In any event, the characteristics of the relief as well as the statues reveal that they originate from the same period, most probably from one workshop, possibly even the same artisan. In all probability, these are not copies of certain Greek statues, but figures shaped in line with the principles of Greek sculpture and iconography, and in accordance with the official imperial religion. The deities Aesculapius and Apollo, the favourite cults of Emperor Caracalla, and their representations that resemble the portrayals of Alexander the Great in numerous elements, were a reflection of the official imperial policy and iconography. It is obvious that, in their artistic pursuit, proficient Roman artisans combined the principles and elements of classical Greek sculpture and Hellenistic art with the requirements of their time. Given the fact that the marble from which the statues and the relief were fashioned is of Alpine extraction<sup>60</sup>, the hypothesis that these are monuments brought from some remote centres or Rome itself must be rejected. To the contrary, these works of art were manufactured in one of the nearby workshops, which could have engaged highly accomplished artisans from other parts of the empire. The plasticity of the muscle modelling in the statue of Apollo, as well as in the relief of Asclepius, suggests that the artist was profoundly knowledgeable in human anatomy, as well as the fact that this is not a usual serial product, but a work of art by a talented creator. The relief inscription clearly manifests that it was commissioned by an emperor's entrusted person (perhaps even the emperor himself). It is also possible that the statues were presented to the sanctuary on the same occasion, which conclusively shows that the commission had been accepted by a workshop of consummate artisans who were handsomely paid for their artistry.

Let us conclude by saying that *Aquae lasae*, practising the cults of Serapis, Aesculapius and Apollo, the deities dear to Emperor Caracalla, must have compelled the attention of the sovereign himself, yet one cannot but imagine his influence on the furnishing and development of the sanctuary. It is likely that the emperor, overly anxious about the state of his health, also sought remedy in this Pannonian sanctuary and health resort, as well as advice from the oracle that he visited and, personally or through delegates, offered donations or sacrifices to.

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<sup>60</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to Prof. Rohatsch (TU Wien) and Zotmann GmbH, for providing extremely useful information about origin of the marble





DIO KIPA BOŽICE DIJANE – LUNE, poč. 3. st. (kat. 72)  
PART OF THE STATUE OF THE GODDESS DIANA LUNA,  
the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 72)

## STONEMASONRY, ARTISANAL AND ARTISTIC TREATMENT OF STONE

The new finds of various stone monuments discovered in the course of archaeological excavations over the past few years at Varaždinske Toplice inform the thus far recorded findings about the characteristics of the artisanal and artistic treatment of stone in the sanctuary by the natural thermal spring.

The finds of very simple inscriptions carved into stone slabs of soft and dense lithothamnium limestone furnish proof of their production in the very settlement of *Aquae lasae* or its immediate vicinity. It is a local stone whose characteristics afford facility of treatment, which had been utilised in building the walls of the spring pool as well as for simple, in all probability more reasonably priced, inscriptions. Based on the traces of treatment still visible on several surfaces of these stones, the tools that had been employed can be reconstructed (various-sized chisels). Carved into roughly treated rectangular stone slabs, the inscriptions exhibited no special



PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM TRIJU BOŽICA I NATPISOM, 2. st. (kat. 83)  
SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTION OF THREE GODDESSES, AND AN  
INSCRIPTION, 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Cat. 83)

decoration apart from the sparse, simple, carved lines, and thus did not serve the function of altars, but of votive inscriptions. Similar votive inscriptions and altars were also fashioned from somewhat harder and porous local lithothamnium limestone that was used to wall in the spring pool. Many of these inscriptions were employed as building material for the spring walls during the fourth-century reconstruction, when some of them were additionally treated or broken into smaller pieces, which is why fragments of the same inscriptions have been found in various parts of walls. It is interesting to note that a building inscription with a relief representation of Victoria (Cat. 62) was also made from dense lithothamnium limestone, which suggests that the local workshops had also engaged artisans skilled in treating soft stone as well as other types of limestone utilised for designing various building elements (bases, capitals, consoles, etc.).

Besides the distinctively artisanal manufacture of inscriptions and some altars made from local limestone, it is the finds of marble reliefs and altars that testify to workshop production typical of the Roman Era, while some specimens of reliefs and statues constitute artistic creations by extremely proficient artisans. The fact that all these monuments were fashioned from Alpine marble proves their local provenance. As concerns their stylistic characteristics, most of these stem from the so-called Noric-Pannonian artistic circle, whose main workshop centres were in the towns of *Poetovio* (Ptuj) and *Celeia* (Celje), probably also at *Aquae lasae*. The difference in the quality of the products results from the degree of proficiency of an artisan, while the numerous inter-resembling elements imply standardised patterns adopted by a particular workshop. For example, the *kantharos* with vine foliage carved into the altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis (Cat. 73) is extremely similar to the motifs in the funerary aediculae in Šempeter. All of the above allows for the conclusion that these are most probably standardised motifs selected from a catalogue of patterns by a regional workshop.

Among the finds thus far located at Varaždinske Toplice, only one relief bore the name of its maker – *Messius* (or *Messor*), whose great artisanal expertise is proven by the quality of the creation (Cat. 80). Apart from the numerous examples of reliefs which, regardless of the quality of their design, can be categorised as customary iconographic types established throughout the Roman Empire, the *Aquae lasae* site offers examples from local workshops operating in the spirit of indigenous art (Cat. 83, 84). However, the finds of the statues of Apollo-Sol and Diana-Luna, as well as the relief representation of Aesculapius and Salus, furnish proof of the existence of workshops that engaged exceptionally skilled artisans who created outstanding works of art, such as the statue of Minerva.

The outward form of several of the monuments yields some insight into the process of their production as well as utilisation at the sanctuary. Therefore, given the plaques whose composition features an upper part with reliefs depicting semi-sitting nymphs and a bottom part with a square for the inscription, it is reasonable to assume that this is a standard type of plaque manufactured in diverse sizes: a client could select among the pre-fashioned reliefs, in which only the inscription was carved to order. That the semi-finished products were completed after the client had decided on the contents of the inscription is also evident from the altars, where any excessive wording resulted in letters also being carved into the decorative frames (Cat. 78, 80).

Free-standing altars and votive inscriptions were erected on the premises of the sanctuary, most probably in the colonnades, while the reliefs were most likely mounted on the walls. This assumption is supported by the small grooves that are visible on the frontal and back sides of most of the reliefs. That the reliefs could also have been erected in a different manner is suggested by the find of a postament with an inscription whose groove runs along the entire width of its frontal side and served as a wedge for a thinner plate, in all likelihood another relief.

In conclusion, mention must be made of another relief with an inscription which, like numerous other, smaller reliefs, was broken into pieces and utilised for the underlaying of larger slabs in the spring pool's north wall structure (Cat. 146). The characteristics of the faces delineated in the relief make it safe to assume that these are portraits. The treatment of stone and the method of surface modelling resemble the technique implemented in wood processing, which probably originated from the local tradition. The relief portrays a married couple in a characteristic posture known from the Roman stelae. The size of the relief and the inscription, which features names in the nominative case, in the absence of any kind of wording that would include a dedication or a vow, classify the relief as the type of private or semi-public portrait of a secular nature. The nomen gentile *Aurelius* allows for the speculation that these were free people who acquired Roman citizenship during the reign of Emperor Caracalla after the sovereign had granted, in 212, Roman citizenship to all free men in the Roman Empire by means of an official edict (*Constitutio Antoniniana*). Should this be the case, it is possible that the scroll which the husband is holding in his hand symbolises the acquisition of citizenship. However, another issue has remained unresolved, and that is the married couple's portrait turning up by the spring pool: were the pair donors of a sanctuary building, or was this, for some other reason, their way of marking their visit to the health resort?



PORTAL GRADSKOG PARKA- GORNJI DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM NIMFE (DONJI DIO: kat. 4)  
CITY PARK PORTAL - UPPER PART OF THE RELIEF DEPICTING NYMPH (LOWER PART: Cat. 4)



Dora Kušan Špalj

## REKONSTRUKCIJA PROSTORA OKO PRIRODNOG IZVORA TERMALNE VODE – RITUALI I NAMJENA

Arheološka istraživanja provedena u posljednjih nekoliko godina dala su znatan doprinos u razumijevanju namjene i koncepcije prostora oko prirodnog izvorišta termalne vode, u različitim fazama izgradnje. Građevinska rješenja i arhitektonsko oblikovanje objekata pružaju značajne informacije o izgledu kompleksa, ali istovremeno doprinose i razumijevanju rituala koji su se izvodili u tome svetištu te značaja koje je termalna voda imala u pojedinoj fazi.

Rimska religija prakticirala se izvođenjem točno određenih rituala, što je bila osnova u odnosu prema božanstvu, od kojeg se očekivala milost i spasenje. Rutina religijskih obreda odvijala se na raznim razinama – od zavjeta, žrtvovanja, sudjelovanja u svečanostima i procesijama, ali postojali su i viši oblici duhovnosti, kao npr. misteriji u kojima su vjernici dolazili u bliskiji odnos s božanstvima.<sup>1</sup> Može se pretpostaviti da većina nije poznavala porijeklo i razloge izvođenja rituala, već je religiju prakticirala ponavljajući obred i naučeno ponašanje kako treba obavljati određene radnje u pojedinim situacijama.<sup>2</sup> U tom kontekstu trebalo bi promatrati i uključivanje autohtonog stanovništva u službenu rimsku religiju.

Intepretacija materijalnih pokretnih i nepokretnih nalaza u Varaždinskim Toplicama daje kontekst za rekonstrukciju vrlo dinamičnog „života“ ovog svetišta u raznim fazama, koji u velikoj mjeri pokazuje sličnosti s drugim svetištima rimskog vremena, ali odaje i individualni karakter. Detaljnom analizom istražene arhitekture moguće je rekonstruirati kako su se posjetioци svetišta kretali tim prostorom, što su mogli vidjeti, gdje pristupiti, dok pokretni nalazi, kao što su npr. žrtvenici ili kovanice ubačene u izvorišni bazen, ukazuju na običaj ritualnih radnji koje su se neprestano ponavljale u ovom prostoru.

Za potpunu rekonstrukciju izgleda prostora iz 1. stoljeća nema još dovoljno podataka, ali će sigurno tome doprinijeti buduća arheološka istraživanja. Prostor oko prirodnog izvora već je u 1. stoljeću imao karakter svetišta, najvjerojatnije posvećenog nimfama. Prostorom je dominirao prirodni izvor termalne vode koji je zauzimao gotovo cijeli prirodni plato, okružen strmim padinama s tri strane. U toj su fazi Rimljani samo ogradili prirodni izvor, odnosno prirodnu „jamu“ u kojoj je izviralala voda te su izgradnjom obodnog zida s apsidama, gdje su se vjerojatno nalazile neke skulpture, istaknuli njegov kulturni karakter. Možemo pretpostaviti da je prostor ostavljao snažan dojam na posjetitelje koji su dolaskom u ovo svetište osjetili miris sumpora te ugledali veliku površinu termalne vode koja se, ovisno o snazi vjetra, mreškala ili odražavala sliku neba. Mističnost je bila naglašena i parom koja se uzdizala iz izvorišta, kao i kulturnim prikazima koji su sigurno ukrašavali cijeli prostor, a koji su u toj fazi najvjerojatnije bili vezani uz nimfe – zaštitnice i personifikacije termalne vode. Pristup je bio moguć s južne strane, odakle se pružao pogled na cijelo svetište, odnosno na „sveti izvor“ i hram na sjevernoj strani te bočne apside, a strme padine su „ograđivale“ i odvajale svetište od ostalog prostora.

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<sup>1</sup> Selem, P.: *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split 1997, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Revell, L.: *Religion and ritual in the Western Provinces, Greece and Rome*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Cambridge 2007, 213.



Sve građevinske intervencije u ovoj fazi izvedene su u skladu s prirodnim reljefom, prateći zadane forme terena. Na taj je način postignuto oblikovanje svetišta u potpunosti podređeno termalnoj vodi te je cijeli prostor bio u funkciji nimfeja – svetišta posvećenog nimfama.

Nalazi rimskog novca iz 1. stoljeća pokazuju da su rituali bili vezani uz bacanje votivnih darova u izvorište dok natpisi iz tog vremena svjedoče da su posjetitelji bili uglavnom vojnici koji su posvećivali žrtvenike nimfama.

U ovoj je fazi voda bila ograđena na velikoj površini, a što je omogućavalo da se dovoljno ohladi te da od 58 °C, koliko je njezina temperatura kod izviranja, postane ugodne temperature 30 – 35 °C.<sup>3</sup> Stepenasti okvir sugerira da je bio moguć ulazak u vodu ili sjedenje na samom rubu tako da se liječenje vjerojatno odvijalo i kao dio rituala u svetištu. Slična je bila i koncepcija kupališta 1. stoljeća s većim stepenastim bazenima, također namijenjenima za zajednička korištenja.

U 2. stoljeću dogodile su se velike promjene na cijelom kompleksu, vjerojatno kao posljedica sve većeg broja posjetitelja i novih zahtjeva u samom kultu, ali i zbog nove administrativne reorganizacije kada naselje *Aquae lasae* vjerojatno, kao dio teritorija kolonije Petovij, postaje glavno lječilište tog prostora. Velikim građevinskim zahvatima oko izvorišta termalne vode, koje dobiva oblik foruma s kapitolijem, stvoren je relativno zatvoren prostor, ograđen visokim trjemovima, u kojem je isparavanje vruće termalne vode djelovalo još mističnije. Izgradnjom više hramova, uvode se nova božanstva, a mijenjaju se i ranije uobičajeni rituali u svetištu. Zatvaranjem izvorišta u manji bazen, veličine 8 x 13,5 m, sprječava se jako hlađenje vode i ona postaje prevruća za direktno korištenje, a gradnjom izvorišnog bazena s visokim zidovima i ogradom onemogućava se ulazak u vodu. Na taj se način u potpunosti mijenja karakter i značaj ovog prostora, u kojem voda više nije namijenjena direktnom korištenju, već se ovdje samo odaje počast njezinoj ljekovitosti, odnosno zahvaljuje se raznim božanstvima kojima se pripisivala moć ozdravljenja.

Kupalište izgrađeno u ovoj fazi više nema velike bazene za veću grupu ljudi, već se u njegovu oblikovanju očituje težnja za luksuznim prostorom, što ne znači da negdje dalje od „svetog izvora“ nije postojalo kupalište drugačije koncepcije.

Prostor svetišta bio je izdvojen od ostalih dijelova naselja, a moglo mu se pristupiti s juga ili sa zapada. Kroz povišene bočne trjemove, odakle se pružao pogled na termalnu vodu u izvorišnom bazenu, prolazili su posjetitelji, a možda i procesije u nekom ritualnom obilasku svetišta. Silaskom na forum, našli su se u relativno zatvorenom prostoru, „ograđenom“ visokim trjemovima u kojem je dominirao izvorišni bazen, iz kojeg se isparavala termalna voda, te povišeni hramovi na sjevernoj strani s velikim kipovima raznih božanstva, dok su se u trjemovima vjerojatno nalazili brojni žrtvenici, reljefi i razni zavjetni natpisi. Nenatkriveni prostor foruma omogućavao je da i u ovoj fazi vanjski vremenski uvjeti (vjetar, temperatura, kiša, oblaci i dr.) utječu na izgled termalne vode u izvorišnom bazenu, ali je izgradnjom visokih bočnih trjemova i hramova stvoren potpuno izdvojeni kulturni prostor koji više nije imao neposrednog kontakta s okolnim pejzažom, kao u ranijoj fazi. O mogućem izgledu vode možda najbolje

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<sup>3</sup> To je potvrđeno i mjerenjem temperature vode kada je nakon istraživanja 2013. godine termalna voda ispunila istraženi prostor ograđenog izvorišta iz 1. stoljeća.

govori i opis jednog izvorišta kod Plinija Mlađeg <sup>4</sup>: “... čisto i kristalno bistro, tako da se ubačene kovanice i sjajni kamenčići mogu izbrojati“.



IZVORIŠNI BAZEN - ZAPADNI ZID (2. – 4. st.)  
SPRING POOL - WEST WALL (2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries)

U rimskim svetištima postojali su različiti načini obraćanja božanstvima, koji su najčešće bili individualni, ali vrlo često i kolektivni. U tom je smislu u ovoj fazi moguće pratiti različite rituale, od ubacivanja votivnih darova u izvorište do postavljanja žrtvenika, zavjetnih natpisa i reljefa. Vjerojatno su se održavali i zajednički obredi koje su predvodili svećenici kao što su žrtvovanja (na žrtvenicima ispred hramova) te svečanosti u čast bogova.

Votivni darovi (*lat. votum* – zavjet) imali su značenje pogodbe s određenim božanstvom kojem se prinosi dar s nadom da će ono uzvratiti ispunjenjem želje. Želje su u ovom lječilištu vjerojatno sve bile vezane uz zdravlje pa su zavjetni darovi posvećivani božanstvima za koje se vjerovalo da imaju moć ozdravljenja. Darovi ubačeni u termalnu vodu bili su vjerojatno zavjetni darovi nimfama – personifikacijama izvora. Najčešće se radilo o novcu, što dokazuje i 17 000 brončanih kovanica pronađenih u izvorištu, ali i drugih predmeta, prije svega nakita. Moguće je da su bili ubacivani i vrjedniji predmeti, ali su vjerojatno izvađeni iz izvorišta i korišteni za potrebe troškova hramova. To potvrđuje i činjenica da se većina nađenog nakita može datirati

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4 Plin. *Epist.* VIII, 8

u 4. stoljeće te da je među nalazima vrlo malo zlatnog i srebrnog novca. Vjerojatno je izvorišni bazen povremeno trebalo čistiti, a sigurno su predmeti vađeni u vrijeme popravka bazena početkom 4. stoljeća, kada je voda odstranjena kako bi se mogli izvoditi radovi na zidovima.

U svakom slučaju, darovi u obliku kovanica, koji su ubacivani u termalnu vodu, predstavljaju najčešći oblik votivnih darova u ovom svetištu koji je bio pristupačan svim posjetiteljima. Bogatiji su sigurno prinoseći i skuplje zavjetne darove, veće količine novca i razne luksuzne predmete, kao što je npr. srebrni pladanj koji se spominje kao zavjetni dar na jednom natpisu<sup>5</sup>, te su za ispunjenje zavjeta raznim božanstvima posvećivali žrtvenike, reljefe i skulpture ili sudjelovali u gradnji i opremanju svetišta. Učestalost zavjetnih natpisa, posvećenih pojedinim božanstvima, pokazuje da su se ljudi najčešće obraćali nimfama, a mnogo rjeđe službenim carskim božanstvima, kao što su npr. Eskulap (*Aesculapius*) i Salus – Higija (*Hygia*).



THESAURUS, 1.–3. st. (kat. 81)  
THESAURUS, 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 81)

Kameni *thesaurus* (kat. 81) posvećen nimfama potvrđuje da je prikupljan i novac za potrebe svetišta, a možda je bilo i drugih načina, kao što je bio slučaj u jednom svetištu posvećenom nimfama na izvoru Halykos u Grčkoj (današnji Pigádi toû Alykoû), gdje je prodavana voda za podmirenje troškova prinošenja žrtava.<sup>6</sup>

Novi nalazi skulptura i žrtvenika u Varaždinskim Toplicama ukazali su i na mogućnost da je oko izvora termalne vode bio i proročki centar. Ta se pretpostavka čini vjerojatnom i s obzirom na isparavanje plinova i pare iz izvorišta, ali i štovanje boga Apolona. Nalaz skulpture Apolona s tronošcem, kao simbolom proroštva, predstavlja dobar dokaz da je barem u jednom razdoblju ovo svetišće bilo i mjesto proricanja.

Jesu li postojali Izidini misteriji i je li štovanje Asklepija bilo do te mjere razvijeno da su se održavali rituali poznati iz nekih njegovih hramova (spavanje u svetištu i tumačenje snova), danas možemo samo nagađati.

Vjerojatno ni detalje o svečanostima, koje su održavane u ovom svetištu, nikada nećemo saznati, ali možemo pretpostaviti da ih je bilo jer je riječ o uobičajenom obliku religijskih obreda iz toga vremena. Na to upućuje i nalaz reljefa (kat. 74) na kojem je možda prikazana i sama svečanost u čast Izide – Fortune, a koja se prema djelomično sačuvanom natpisu može smjestiti u lipanj 192. godine. Spomen božice Fortune i na drugim natpisima, ali i s nazivom *Iasoniana* (kat.76), svakako pokazuje da se ovdje radilo o razvijenom kultu ove božice. Njezino pojavljivanje zajedno s Junonom, na postamentu nađenom ispred istočnog hrama,<sup>7</sup> možda daje naslutiti njihovo zajedničko štovanje u hramu, a sinkretistički proces, odnosno povezivanje s Izidom, pokazuje svu složenost rimske religije krajem 2. i početka 3. stoljeća te bi se u tom kontekstu trebala promatrati zastupljenost pojedinih kultova u svetištu. Na isti bi se način mogao pokušati pronaći

5 AE 1985, 00714.

6 Meyer, G.: Le prix de l'eau et le tarif du sanctuaire des Nymphes: IG, I<sup>3</sup>, 256. *Revue des Études Grecques* 117, Pariz 2004, 321-325.

7 IJug-02 1168

odgovor o božanstvima kojima su bili posvećeni ostali hramovi, prije svega središnji. Možda, s obzirom na karakter lječilišta, upravo u liku Apolona treba tražiti jedno od glavnih božanstava ovog svetišta, a nalaz skulptura i natpisa, koji ga povezuju s Dijanom, upućuju na njihovu važnost u okviru kultura ovog naselja. Ovdje svakako treba uzeti u obzir da su, osim tri hrama, na sjevernoj strani foruma bile i dvije bočne prostorije koje su također mogle biti u toj funkciji te da je bilo uobičajeno štovanje nekoliko božanstava u zajedničkim hramovima. Premda ni na jednom natpisu nema spomena vrhovnog božanstva Jupitera, ipak nije potpuno isključeno da je možda u jednoj fazi i on bio štovan u ovom svetištu. Treba uzeti u obzir i promjene koje su se događale u okviru carske religije, kao npr. kada Serapis u doba cara Karakale dobiva status vrhovnog božanstva i poistovjećuje se s Jupiterom i Asklepijem. U svakom slučaju, nalaz mramorne šake (kat. 70), koja je bila dio jedne velike skulpture, vjerojatno krije odgovor o kipu koji se nalazio



ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN BOŽICI FORTUNI, 2. - 3. st. (kat. 76)  
 ALTAR DEDICATED TO THE GODDESS FORTUNA, 2<sup>nd</sup>- 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 76)

u središnjem hramu. Sve to upućuje na kompleksan i dinamičan religijski život koji je bio odraz razvoja rimske religije u 2. i 3. stoljeću te su se sigurno, ovisno o službenom državnom kultu i prodoru istočnih kultura, mijenjali i rituali u ovom svetištu. Zbog toga se nikada sa sigurnošću neće moći tvrditi kojim su božanstvima u kojoj fazi hramovi bili posvećeni, osim kod zapadnog hrama u kojem je cijelo vrijeme stajao Minervin kip, od 2. stoljeća, otkad se datira njegova izrada.



Dokazana ljekovitost vode bila je glavni razlog popularnosti ovog lječilišta i svetišta, ali i štovanja raznih božanstava kojima se pripisivalo njezino čudotvorno djelovanje. Poznato je kako je voda iznimno ljekovita za razne bolesti i ozljede kosti i zglobova, te kožne i ginekološke bolesti. Zastupljenost određenih kultova, ali i podaci o donatorima zavjetnih natpisa, pokazuju da su Rimljani dobro poznavali karakteristike vode pa ne čudi prisustvo brojnih vojnika koji su ovdje vjerojatno liječili svoje ozljede ili zastupljenost ženskih kultova vezanih uz plodnost i život.

U mnogim elementima ovo svetište ima sličnosti sa „svetim izvorima“ diljem Rimskog Carstva, kao što su npr. vrlo slična građevinska rješenja kaptaže izvora i štovanja božice Minerve u udaljenom rimskom lječilištu *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, Engleska) ili votivni darovi u izvorištima u raznim svetištima, ali izostaju i neki uobičajeni oblici, kao npr. anatomski zavjetni darovi ili pločice s kletvama (*defixiones*). U svakom slučaju, brojnost različitih božanstava i pretpostavljeni popratni rituali ovom svetištu daju jedinstven i vrlo specifičan karakter lječilišno-kulturnog i proročkog središta tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća.

U 4. stoljeću, u doba cara Konstantina, dolazi do velike obnove, koja je bila potrebna kako se i na samom natpisu spominje, zbog stradanja objekata u požaru. Ponovnom izgradnjom ne mijenja se mnogo izgled oko izvorišta, već se promjene više odnose na kupališni dio, gdje su izgrađeni novi objekti. Zbog nedostatka epigrafskih spomenika iz ove faze teško je pretpostaviti koja su sve božanstva štovana u svetištu, pogotovo u središnjem hramu koji je tada i proširen. Moguće da su početkom 4. stoljeća još bili prisutni proročki obredi vezani uz Apolona, ili možda Eskulapa, jer je poznato kako je i sam car Konstantin obilazio proročka mjesta.<sup>8</sup>

Pojavom kršćanstva, u drugoj polovici 4. stoljeća, kada je bazilika preuređena za kršćanski obred, vjerojatno je većina kultova ugašena, a skulpture i druga oprema odstranjeni. Međutim, nalaz skulpture božice Minerve u njezinu hramu ipak svjedoči da je kult izvora i magija zdravlja ostala prisutna i u tome razdoblju. To potvrđuje i nakit pronađen u izvorišnom bazenu koji se može datirati u 4. stoljeće. Prstenje s motivom kristograma, ubačenih kao votivni darovi u izvorišni bazen, dokaz su suživota kršćanske religije i rimskog kulta izvora.

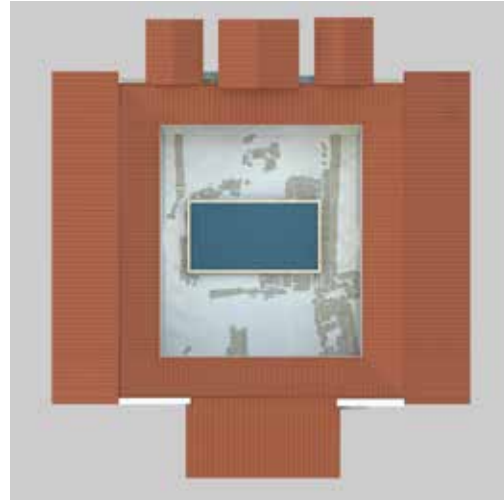


PRSTEN, 4. st. (kat. 108)  
RING, 4<sup>th</sup> century (Cat. 108)

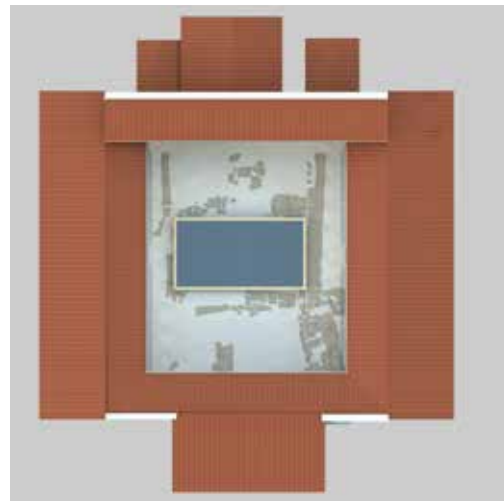
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8 Sommer, M.; *Grannus and the emperor enchanted*, [http://www.academia.edu/288221/Apollo\\_Grannus](http://www.academia.edu/288221/Apollo_Grannus) (14.10.2015.)





3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA SVETIŠTA, pogled i tlocrt, 2. – 3.st.  
 3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SANCTUARY, view and groundplan, 2nd – 3rd centuries



3D VIRTUALNA REKONSTRUKCIJA SVETIŠTA, pogled i tlocrt, 4. st.  
 3D VIRTUAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SANCTUARY, view and groundplan 4<sup>th</sup> century

## RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AREA AROUND THE NATURAL THERMAL SPRING – RITUALS AND UTILIZATION

The archaeological excavations conducted within the past few years have greatly informed our understanding of the design concept and purpose of the area around the natural thermal spring in *Aquae lasae* throughout the different construction phases. The buildings' construction solutions and architectonic design have significantly contributed to forming a detailed picture of the entire complex, at the same time elucidating the rituals enacted in this sanctuary as well as the significance of the thermal water in various periods.

In Roman times, religious rituals were precisely specified with reference to a particular deity of whom mercy and salvation were requested. The practice of the religious rituals took place on several levels – from vows and sacrifices to participation in ceremonies and processions, while higher forms of spirituality also existed, such as mysteries in which the worshippers developed a more intimate relationship with the deities<sup>1</sup>. One can conclude that most of the people were aware neither of the origin nor of the reasons for the observation of rituals, but practised religion by repeating the rites and learning how to perform a certain religious act in particular situations<sup>2</sup>. In this regard, the adoption of the official Roman religion by the indigenous inhabitants should be examined.

The interpretation of the material, movable and immovable finds in Varaždinske Toplice provides us with a foundation for the reconstruction of the extremely dynamic “life” of this sanctuary through its different phases, to a great extent revealing similarities with other sanctuaries of the Roman era, while also exuding individual character. In conducting a detailed analysis of the explored architecture, a reconstruction can be made as to how the visitors to the sanctuary proceeded through its area, what they could see and where access was granted, while the movable finds, such as altars and coins dropped into the spring pool, disclose the custom of ritual acts that regularly recurred in this area.

Not enough data have been collected to make a complete visual reconstruction of the area in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Future archaeological excavations will doubtlessly add further pieces to the missing puzzle. It was already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century that the area around the natural spring formed the character of a sanctuary, in all likelihood consecrated to the nymphs. The area was dominated by a natural thermal spring that occupied almost the entire natural plateau, surrounded by steep slopes on three sides. In this phase, the Romans merely enclosed the natural spring, that is, the natural “cavity” from which water welled forth, while later on only its religious nature was emphasized by building a circumferential wall with apses, where several sculptures were probably placed. One can only imagine what a profound impression this place must have made on its visitors, who on entering the sanctuary smelled the odour of sulphur and beheld the large surface of thermal water that, depending on the strength of the wind, rippled or glassily reflected the sky. The mystical vision was further accentuated by the steam rising from the spring, as well as the cult images that must have adorned the entire area and were in that phase

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1 Selem, P.: *Izidin trag*, Književni krug, Split 1997, 29.

2 Revell, L.: Religion and ritual in the Western Provinces, *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 54, No. 2, Cambridge 2007, 213.

most probably associated with the nymphs – patronesses and personifications of thermal water. Access was available from the south side, which afforded a view across the entire sanctuary, that is, the “sacred spring”, the temple on the north side, with lateral apses, whereas the steep slopes “enclosed” and separated the sanctuary from the rest of the area.

In this phase, all construction works were undertaken in paying regard to the natural relief and taking into consideration the given particularities of the terrain. Thereby, the architectural design of the sanctuary was entirely subordinated to the thermal water, while the area served the function of the *nymphaeum* – a sanctuary consecrated to the nymphs.

The finds of first-century Roman coins furnish proof for the assumption that the rituals involved the casting of votive offerings into the spring, while the inscriptions from that period testify to the fact that visitors were predominantly soldiers who dedicated the altars to the nymphs.

At that time the water was enclosed in a vast area, which allowed for it to cool down, that is, to drop from 58 degrees Celsius, its temperature within the spring, to a more enjoyable 30–35 degrees.<sup>3</sup> The stepped frame suggests that it was possible to approach the water or sit by the side of the pool, so that curative treatment was most probably administered also within the scope of a ritual at the sanctuary. Of similar structure were the first-century baths with larger stepped pools that were likewise intended for common use.

Marked changes were introduced throughout the entire complex in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, most probably brought about by the increasing number of visitors and new requirements of the cult practice, as well as the new administrative reorganisation, when *Aquae lasae*, in all probability as part of the *Poetovio* territory, became the main health resort of this region. By means of extensive building interventions around the thermal spring, whose structure followed the shape of a forum with a *capitolium*, a relatively enclosed area was devised, surrounded by high, covered colonnades, where the evaporation of hot thermal water created an even more mystical atmosphere. In building additional temples, new deities were introduced and the theretofore customary sanctuary rituals were adapted accordingly. The spring was enclosed within a smaller, 8 x 13,5m sized pool, thus preventing the rapid cooling of water, which consequently grew too hot for direct utilization, while the building of a pool with high walls and a fence rendered immersion into the water impossible. Thereby, the nature and significance of this area altered fundamentally; rather than intending it for direct use, the water’s curative properties were worshipped and gratitude expressed to various deities attributed with healing powers.

The baths built in this phase no longer included big pools for larger groups of people; their design reveals a tendency towards spatial luxuriousness, which does not imply that baths with a different concept did not exist, somewhat removed from the “sacred spring”.

Accessible from the southern and western sides, the area of the sanctuary was separated from other parts of the settlement. The visitors, perhaps even processions doing a ritual round of the sanctuary, made their way through the raised lateral colonnades, which afforded a view across the thermal water in the spring pool. Descending into the forum, they found themselves in a

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<sup>3</sup> This was attested by measurements of the water temperature, when, following the 2013 excavations, thermal water poured into the explored area of the enclosed, first-century spring.

place that was relatively enclosed, “confined” by high colonnades, and dominated by the spring pool, from which thermal water emitted vapours, as well as raised temples on the northern side that housed monumental statues of diverse deities, while the colonnades in all probability contained numerous altars, reliefs and various votive inscriptions. Owing to the absence of a cover above the forum area, the exterior weather conditions (wind, temperature, rain, clouds, etc.) affected the condition and surface of the thermal water in the spring pool in this phase as well. In building high lateral colonnades and temples, an entirely separate religious space was formed, without direct contact with the surrounding landscape as in the earlier period. Perhaps it is Pliny the Younger’s description of one spring that best applies to the possible appearance of the water<sup>4</sup>: “...*pure and crystal clear, so that all the dropped in coins and glittering stones can be counted.*”

Different practices of divine veneration existed in Roman sanctuaries, observed most often individually, and frequently also collectively. In this respect, various rituals were enacted throughout this phase, from the casting of votive offerings into the spring to the erection of altars, votive inscriptions and reliefs. In all probability, this was also the site of group rituals conducted by priests, such as sacrifices (on altars in front of the temples) and ceremonies performed in honour of the gods.

The votive offerings (Lat. *votum* – vow) represented an arrangement with a certain deity, to whom one made an offering in the hope that their request would be granted. Most probably, all requests at this health resort were associated with health, which is why votive offerings were made to the gods who were believed to possess the powers of healing. The offerings dropped into the thermal water were most probably also made in religious worship of the nymphs – personifications of the spring. That the most common votive items were money is proven by the find of 17,000 bronze coins discovered in the spring, as well as other objects, predominantly pieces of jewellery. It is possible that more valuable objects were also offered, which were subsequently collected from the spring to meet the costs of temple maintenance. This hypothesis is proven by the fact that most of the uncovered jewellery dates from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. In all likelihood, the spring pool had to be occasionally cleansed, to which end it was emptied by opening deep channels. The objects were undoubtedly removed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, when repairs were done to the pool and the water was drained so that wall maintenance works could be carried out.

The coins dropped into the thermal water indubitably represent the most common form of votive offerings at this sanctuary and one available to all visitors. The more affluent worshippers doubtlessly made more valuable offerings, including large amounts of money and various luxurious objects, such as a silver tray referred to as a votive offering by one of the inscriptions<sup>5</sup>. Similarly, in fulfilment of the vows made to diverse deities, they consecrated altars, reliefs and statues or took part in the sanctuary’s building and furnishing. The number of votive inscriptions dedicated to particular deities implies that worshippers most frequently accorded devotion to the nymphs and only rarely to the official imperial deities, such as Aesculapius and Hygia (Salus).

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4 Plin. *Epist.* VIII, 8.

5 AE 1985, 00714.

The stone *thesaurus* (Cat. 81) consecrated to the nymphs supports the assumption that even money was collected to satisfy the requirements of the sanctuary, while other means of securing funds were also possible, if citing the example of a sanctuary consecrated to the nymphs by the Halykos spring in Greece (present-day Pigádi toû Alykoû), where water was sold in order to meet the costs of sacrificial offerings<sup>6</sup>.



DIO SKULPTURE APOLONA, NAĐEN U SLOJU KOJIM JE ZATRPAN PROSTOR SJEVERNO OD IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA  
FRAGMENT OF THE STATUE OF APOLLO, UNCOVERED IN THE BACKFILLING LAYER BEHIND THE SPRING POOL'S NORTH WALL.



DIJELOVI SKULPTURA APOLONA I DIJANE, NAĐENI U SLOJU KOJIM JE ZATRPAN PROSTOR SJEVERNO OD IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA  
FRAGMENTS OF THE STATUES OF APOLLO AND DIANA, UNCOVERED IN THE BACKFILLING LAYER BEHIND THE SPRING POOL'S NORTH WALL.

New finds of statues and altars imply the possibility that the area around the *Aquae lasae* thermal spring was also the site of an oracle. This speculation seems plausible also in view of the gas and steam evaporating from the spring, as well as the veneration of the god Apollo. The find of the statue of Apollo with a tripod stool as the symbol of prophetic powers furnishes telling proof that *Aquae lasae* was the site of an oracle at least over a particular period. Today, only speculations can be made as to the existence of the Isis mysteries and whether the veneration of Asclepius developed to the extent of rituals known from some of his temples (sleeping at the sanctuary and dream interpretation).

6 Meyer, G.: Le prix de l'eau et le tarif du sanctuaire des Nymphes: IG, I<sup>3</sup>, 256. *Revue des Études Grecques* 117, Pariz 2004, 321-325.



Although all the details of the ceremonies performed at this sanctuary might never be uncovered, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that they did take place, given that this was an established form of religious practice in that time. This assumption is also supported by the find of a relief (Cat. 74) in all probability representing a ceremony dedicated to the goddess Isis – Fortuna, a rite whose date, in view of the partially preserved inscription, can be ascertained as June 192. That other inscriptions also refer to the goddess Fortuna, also by the name of *lasoniana* (Cat. 76), indubitably suggests that the cult of this goddess developed here. Her appearance in company with Juno on a pedestal in front of the eastern temple allows one to surmise that they were jointly worshipped at the temple, while the syncretistic process, that is, an association with Isis, reveals the immense complexity of the Roman religion towards the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. In this respect, the presence of individual cults at the sanctuary should be closely examined. This method could also help elucidate the role of the deities to whom the other temples, predominantly the central ones, were consecrated.

It is possible, in view of the nature of the health resort, that it is Apollo who should be regarded as one of the main gods of this sanctuary. The find of statues and inscriptions, associating him with Diane, implies these gods' significance in respect of the *Aquae lasae* settlement's cults. In this context, the fact should be considered that, apart from the three temples on the northern side of the forum, the two side rooms could have served this function, as well as that it was customary to jointly worship several deities in common temples.



DIO SKULPTURE – ŠAKA, 2. – 3. st. (kat. 70)  
PART OF A SCULPTURE – FIST, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Cat. 70)

Although none of the inscriptions mentions the supreme god Jupiter, one can still not entirely exclude the possibility that within a certain period, this god was also worshipped at the sanctuary. Apart from this, one must pay regard to the changes that occurred in the imperial religion, one example being Serapis who, during the reign of Emperor Caracalla, acquired the status of a supreme deity and came to be identified with Jupiter and Asclepius. At all events, the find of a marble fist (Cat. 70) that belonged to a large statue most probably hides the secret of the sculpture erected in the central temple. All of the above points to the complex and dynamic nature of religious practices at the *Aquae lasae* sanctuary, at the same time reflecting the development of the Roman religion in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. It was also the rituals observed at this sanctuary that indubitably transformed in

response to the official state cult and with the onset of eastern cults. That is why we will probably never be able to ascertain, with absolute conviction, to which deities and in which phase the temples were consecrated, except the western one where, in all likelihood, Minerva's statue had stood all along, starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, when it had been created.

The unquestioned healing properties of the water were the main reason for the popularity of this health resort and sanctuary, as well as for the veneration of various deities credited with the water's miraculous powers. It is common knowledge that sulphur water possesses outstanding healing properties in treating various disorders, such as bone and articular damage, as well as skin and gynaecological diseases. The presence of certain cults as well as data on the donors of votive inscriptions suggest that the Romans were well informed about the qualities of this water, and it is thus not unusual that the site was frequented by numerous soldiers in treating their injuries. It also comes as no surprise that the female cults associated with fertility and life have also been detected.

This sanctuary shares many analogies with the "sacred springs" known throughout the entire Roman Empire, such as the extremely similar construction solutions of the spring-water capture and veneration of the goddess Minerva in the faraway Roman health resort *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, England), or the votive offerings in the springs of various sanctuaries. Nonetheless, the presence of some established forms, such as anatomical votive offerings or curse tablets (*defixiones*), has not been detected. In any events, the numerous different deities and the supposed accompanying rituals endow this sanctuary with the unique and quite specific atmosphere of a health/cult centre and oracle throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Emperor Constantine, a major renovation, also referred to by the inscription (Cat.1), of the buildings damaged in the fire was carried out. In the restoration, the area around the spring did not undergo much change; instead, substantial alterations were made to the baths area, where new buildings were erected. The lack of epigraphic monuments from this phase prevents one from ascertaining which deities were worshipped at the sanctuary, especially the central temple, which was enlarged at the time. It is very likely that in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, prophetic rituals relating to Apollo or perhaps Asclepius were still being practised, as it has been established that the Emperor Constantine himself frequented sites of oracle.<sup>7</sup>

With the spread of Christianity in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the basilica was remodelled to serve the purposes of Christian rituals. Presumably, most of the cults had died away by the time, so that the sculptures and other furnishings had been removed. Nevertheless, the statue of the goddess Minerva found in her temple testifies to the fact that the spring cult and the magic of health continued also in this period. Further proof is furnished by the jewellery uncovered in the spring pool and dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Bearing a Christogram motif, the rings dropped into the spring pool as votive offerings at the same time provide evidence of the coexistence of Christianity and the Roman spring cult.

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7 Sommer, M.; *Grannus and the emperor enchanted*, [http://www.academia.edu/288221/Apollo\\_Grannus](http://www.academia.edu/288221/Apollo_Grannus) (14.10.2015.)

Tomislav Bilić

## NUMIZMATIČKI NALAZI IZ IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA U VARAŽDINSKIM TOPLICAMA

Ukupno je u termalnom izvorištu u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeno oko 17 000 primjeraka rimskog novca,<sup>1</sup> što nadmašuje najviši pretpostavljeni broj kovanica pronađen u glavnom termalnom izvoru Puisard Roman u Bourbonne-les-Bains (10 000),<sup>2</sup> u glavnom termalnom izvoru u svetištu Sulis-Minerve u Bathu (više od 12 000, ali ovdje treba uzeti u obzir da je dio kovanica u antici ispran kroz odvod)<sup>3</sup> te u izvorišnom bazenu Coventina's Well kod Hadrijanova zida (barem 13 487 primjeraka).<sup>4</sup>

Zbog specifičnog utjecaja sumporne termalne vode, veći dio kovanica u prilično je lošem stanju te očekuje daljnju konzervaciju i stručnu obradu. Također, određena količina novca sačuvana je u konglomeratima na kojima su ponekad vidljivi otisci nekih od raspadnutih ili jako korodiranih primjeraka. Slična je situacija poznata i iz Bourbonne-les-Bainsa, gdje se velik broj primjeraka raspao u vodi bogatoj solima, a nemali broj tih primjeraka ostavio je otiske u konglomeratu.<sup>5</sup> Do ove prigode bilo je poznato samo 94 primjerka brončanog novca iz izvorišnog bazena u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Taj je novac pronađen na dubini od oko 180 cm na temeljnom proširenju uza zid bazena, a samo 11 kovanica bilo je moguće okvirno datirati u 4. stoljeće.<sup>6</sup>

Ovom je prigodom ukupno obrađeno 27 primjeraka novca pronađenog u izvorištu, a sve kovanice bile su ispod razine temeljnog proširenja. Sedam primjeraka je iz 1. stoljeća, preciznije, iz vremena vladavine Nerona (2), Tita (1) i Domicijana (4) (6 od orihalka, 1 bakreni; 4 sestercija, 1 dupondij i 2 asa; jedan Domicijanov novac je provincijalni sestercij od orihalka kovan u Trakiji), 9 iz vremena vladavine Trajana (3) i Hadrijana (6) (1 od orihalka, 6 bakrenih; 3 sestercija, 6 asa), 1 iz razdoblja suvladarstva Marka Aurelija i Lucija Vera (sestercij od orihalka), 2 iz razdoblja Severa (2 dupondija od orihalka), tri zlatnika kovana između 241. i 269. godine te pet primjeraka brončanog novca iz 4. stoljeća (Licinije, Konstantin (3), Konstans). Odmah se ističe nedostatak srebrnog novca te velik broj primjeraka načinjenih od orihalka (10), kao i čak tri zlatnika. Novac od orihalka izgleda nalik zlatnome pa to može objasniti njegovu prisutnost u relativno velikom broju u izvorištu. Iako je analizirani uzorak iz izvorišta u Varaždinskim Toplicama iznimno malen

1 Ovom prigodom želio bih se najsrdačnije zahvaliti voditeljici istraživanja D. Kušan Špalj na nesebično ustupljenom materijalu i informacijama vezano uz tijek istraživanja, kao i N. Perok na izuzetno korisnim podacima kojima mi je približila i razjasnila situaciju prilikom uistinu složenog istraživanja izvorišta.

2 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999, 147; Sauer, E.: *Coins, cult and cultural identity: Augustan coins, hot springs and the early Roman baths at Bourbonne-les-Bains*. Leicester, 2005.

3 Sellwood, L.: The Celtic Coins, u Cunliffe, B. (ur.): *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. 2. *The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. Oxford, 1988: 279-280.; Walker, D.: The Roman Coins, u Cunliffe, B. (ur.): *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. 2. *The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. Oxford, 1988: 281-358.; O povremenom čišćenju i pražnjenju izvorišnog bazena u Varaždinskim Toplicama vidi Kušan Špalj D.: Rekonstrukcija prostora oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode – rituali i namjena, str. 110 (u ovoj publikaciji).

4 Allason-Jones, L., McKay, B.: *Coventina's Well*. Oxford, 1985.

5 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: 147.

6 Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Ehrlich, D.: *Aquae lasae – Varaždinske Toplice, arheološka istraživanja rimskog izvorišnog bazena i okolnog prostora*, u Balen, J., Šimek, M. (ur.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja*. Izdanja HAD-a 28/2012: 109, 114, bilj. 5.

i odabran prema kriteriju sačuvanosti, ili pak obične slučajnosti te samim time i gotovo sigurno nereprezentativan, prisustvo zlatnika donekle je znakovito. Ipak, uzevši u obzir da generalno u rimskim kupalištima/svetištima i/ili termalnim izvorima kao votivni prilozima dominiraju kovanice od neplemenitih metala, a među njima one niže vrijednosti (Bourbonne-les-Bains, Vicarello),<sup>7</sup> slično treba očekivati i u Varaždinskim Toplicama. U kontekstu termalnog izvora, zanimljiva su i četiri Hadrijanova bakrena asa (tri identičnog tipa) s prikazom boginje ili personifikacije Salus, zaštitnice zdravlja.<sup>8</sup>

Oba Neronova sestercija pronađena su bušenjem svrdlom dubljih slojeva gline, kao i Domicijanovi as i sestercij, te vjerojatno predstavljaju najraniji novac u samom izvorištu. Valja napomenuti da se skupni nalazi novca iz izvorišta teško mogu stratigrafski analizirati.<sup>9</sup> Iako malen, uzorak depozitiranog novca iz izvorišta sugerira njegovu upotrebu tijekom razdoblja između druge polovice 1. i sredine 4. stoljeća.

Među dosad obrađenim nalazima novca iz izvorišta osobito vrijedi istaknuti aurej Klaudija II Gotskog. Zlatnik je kovan u Sisciji žigom (kalupom) korištenim za izradu srebrnih antoninijana tijekom kasne 268. ili rane 269. godine. Vrlo je lagan u usporedbi sa standardnijim aurejima, a ovo je tek drugi poznati primjerak ovog tipa uopće. Dosad jedini poznati primjerak, težine 1, 66 g, bio je onaj iz velike ostave zlatnog novca pronađene u zaljevu Lava na Korzici, koja je izvorno možda sadržavala između 1200 i 1400 zlatnika (njih 450 je dokumentirano) iskovanih između 262. i 272. godine.<sup>10</sup>

Što se tiče nalaza izvan samog izvorišta (ovdje ih je obrađeno četiri), oni su također vrlo zanimljivi. Riječ je o ranom augustovskom denaru kovanom početkom 20-ih godina pr. Kr. Nalazi srebrnog novca kovanog prije Neronove reforme novca 64. godine, kojom je smanjena težina zlatnog i srebrnog novca, vrlo su rijetki. Iz analize ostava rimskog novca iz 2. stoljeća s područja južne Panonije jasno je vidljivo da je u to vrijeme, uz carski novac kovan nakon Neronove reforme, kolao i raniji, rimski republikanski novac, ali ne i novac julijevsko-klaudijevskih vladara. To bi značilo da je već do vladavine Trajana i Hadrijana on na ovaj ili onaj način povučen iz optičaja. Razlog tomu je činjenica da je vrijednost u metalu ranih carskih denara bila viša u usporedbi s vrijednošću u metalu ranijih republikanskih denara, osobito onih Marka Antonija, kao i kasnijih denara izdanih za vrijeme Neronove (poslije reforme) i Vespazijanove vladavine. Zbog toga je lošiji novac jednostavno istisnuo iz upotrebe bolji, tj. vrjedniji, do trenutka kada su ostave iz 2. stoljeća formirane. S druge strane, postoji mogućnost da je krajem Domicijanove vladavine

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7 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: 176.

8 O kultu Salus-Higeje u Varaždinskim Toplicama vidi Kušan Špalj, D.: AQUAE IASAE – lječilišni, kulturni i proročki centar, str. 70-72, kat.69 (u ovoj publikaciji).

9 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: 151.

10 Estiot, S.. Le trésor d'or romain de Lava, Corse (terminus 272/273 de notre ère), *Trésors monétaires* 24/2011: 110, 140, br. 129.

novac julijevsko-klaudijevskih vladara povučen iz opticaja te je ponovno korišten za kovanje manje vrijednog novca, što je svakako bilo profitabilno vladaru.<sup>11</sup> U ovom svjetlu valja promatrati i nalaz ranoga augustovskog denara u Varaždinskim Toplicama, koji je vrlo vjerojatno izgubljen u razdoblju što je prethodilo Neronovoj monetarnoj reformi.

Drugi primjerak novca pronađen izvan samog izvorišta koji bi valjalo istaknuti je veliki brončani provincijalni novac kovan u Tarzu (Kilikija) za vladavine Septimija Severa. Na naličju ovog novca prikazana je kruna koja se dobivala za pobjedu na natjecanju. Niz natpisa, što se pojavljuju na reversu, opisuju grad Tarz kao metropolu Kilikije, ističu njegovu povezanost s carevima Hadrijanom i Septimijem Severom te spominju održavanje igara, tj. svetkovine, po uzoru na olimpijske (otuda pridjev *Olympia* na samoj kruni), možda u povodu pobjede Septimija Severa nad Pescenijem Nigerom 194. godine.<sup>12</sup> Igre su održane, kako nam to dugački natpis na novcu priopćava, na granici Kilikije, možda kod lokacije nazvane Jonini Stupovi kod Aleksandrije kod Isa.<sup>13</sup> Odobrenje za naziv igara/svetkovine „olimpijskim“ morao je dati sam car, a to je jasno i iz samog naziva igara/svetkovine, *Severeia*, koji se također pojavljuje na reversu.<sup>14</sup> U svakom slučaju, provincijalni je novac (osim relativno rijetkih iznimaka) uobičajeno kolao na ograničenom prostoru pa je nalaz jednoga takvog primjerka u Varaždinskim Toplicama vjerojatno posljedica neke konkretne veze njegova vlasnika s udaljenom Kilikijom.



NOVAC CARA GORDIJANA III, zlato, 241-243 (kat. 138)  
COIN OF EMPEROR GORDIAN III, gold, AD 241-243 (Cat. 138)

11 Bilić, T.: Coin Circulation 3rd Century BC – AD 193, u Migotti, B. (ur.): *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, BAR IS 2393. Oxford, 2012: 383.

12 Kubitschek, J. W.: 'Εν Κοδρείῳ αἰς ὄροις Κιλίκων, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 27/1895: 88.

13 Kubitschek, J. W.: 'Εν Κοδρείῳ αἰς ὄροις Κιλίκων, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 27/1895: 98-100.

14 Klose, D.: Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire, u Howgego, C., Heuchert, V., Burnett, A. (ur.): *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford, 2005: 126-127.



Tomislav Bilić

## NUMISMATIC FINDS IN THE SPRING POOL AT VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE

Some 17,000 Roman coins were altogether found in the thermal spring at Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>1</sup> which exceeds the heretofore found deposits of coins discovered in the main thermal spring of the Puisard Romain at Bourbonne-les-Bains (10,000),<sup>2</sup> the main thermal spring by the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (more than 12,000, though it must be considered that during Antiquity a certain amount of coins had been washed through the drain)<sup>3</sup>, as well as the Coventina's Well spring pool by Hadrian's Wall (at least 13,487 pieces).<sup>4</sup>

Due to the specific influence of the sulphur thermal water, the greater portion of the coins are in rather poor condition, urgently requiring further conservation and adequate treatment. A certain amount of coinage has also been preserved in conglomerates, which in places display imprints of some of the disintegrated or much corroded specimens. A similar situation is known from Bourbonne-les-Bains, where a large portion of the coins disintegrated in salt water, while a fair amount of these coins left traces on the conglomerate.<sup>5</sup> Only 94 pieces of bronze coinage from the Varaždinske Toplice spring pool had been heretofore discovered. These coins were uncovered approximately 180-cm deep along the pool wall's broadened base, while only 11 coins could be estimated to date from the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup>

On this occasion altogether 27 pieces of the currency recovered from the spring were processed, and all the coins had been found beneath the level of the broadened base. Seven pieces originate from the 1<sup>st</sup> century, more precisely, from the reigns of Nero (2), Titus (1) and Domitian (4). Of those, six are of orichalcum, and one of copper: four sestertii, a dupondius and two ases. One coin of Domitian is a provincial orichalcum sestertius, minted in Thrace. Nine coins derive from the reigns of Emperors Trajan (3) and Hadrian (6) (one of orichalcum, six of copper; three sestertii and six ases), one from the period of the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (an orichalcum sestertius), two from the period of the Severan Dynasty (two orichalcum dupondii), three gold coins were minted between 241 and 269, and five pieces of bronze coins in the 4<sup>th</sup> century (reigns of Emperors Licinius, Constantine I (3), and Constans). One cannot fail but notice the absence of silver denominations and, in the same time, a fair amount of

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1 I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to the head of excavations, D. Kušan Špalj, for generously furnishing me with materials and information pertaining to the research, as well as to N. Perok for providing extremely useful information that served to clarify the circumstances surrounding the highly demanding spring excavation project.

2 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: p. 147; Sauer, E.: *Coins, cult and cultural identity: Augustan coins, hot springs and the early Roman baths at Bourbonne-les-Bains*. Leicester, 2005.

3 Sellwood, L.: The Celtic Coins, u Cunliffe, B. (ur.): *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. 2. *The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. Oxford, 1988: 279-280.; Walker, D.: The Roman Coins, u Cunliffe, B. (ur.): *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, Vol. 2. *The Finds from the Sacred Spring*. Oxford, 1988: 281-358.; On occasional cleansing and emptying of the spring pool at Varaždinske Toplice see Kušan Špalj, D.: Reconstruction of the Area Around the Natural Thermal Spring – Rituals and Utilization, pp. 116 (in this catalogue)

4 Allason-Jones, L., McKay, B.: *Coventina's Well*. Oxford, 1985.

5 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: p. 147.

6 Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Ehrlich, D.: Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice, arheološka istraživanja rimskog izvorišnog bazena i okolnog prostora, In: Balen, J., Šimek, M. (Ed.): *Arheologija varaždinskog kraja i srednjeg Podravlja. Publication of the CAA* 28/2012: pp. 109, 114 n. 5.

orichalcum amount of orichalcum coinage (10), and even three gold coins. The orichalcum coins resemble gold ones, which can offer some explanation for their relatively large presence in the spring. Although the analysed sample of coins from the Varaždinske Toplice spring is extremely small, selected according to the criterion of preservation or pure randomness, and thus all but representational, the presence of gold coins is nevertheless significant. Given the fact that at Roman baths/sanctuaries and/or thermal springs, the coins made from base metal predominated as votive offerings, among which those of smaller value (Bourbonne-les-Bains, Vicarello),<sup>7</sup> one can also expect a similar situation at Varaždinske Toplice. Of especial interest within the context of the thermal spring are four bronze asses (three of identical type) representing the goddess Salus, protectress of health, or its personification<sup>8</sup>.

Most likely representing the earliest coin finds in the spring, both sestertii of Nero, as well as the as and sestertius of Domitian, were uncovered by drilling into the deeper layers of clay at the bottom of the spring. It has to be pointed out that the stratigraphic analysis of coin assemblage from a spring is quite challenging.<sup>9</sup> Although small, the sample of coins deposited in the spring at Varaždinske Toplice suggests its use within the period between the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century.

Among the presently processed coin finds from the spring, particular attention should be devoted to the aureus of Claudius Gothicus. The gold coin was minted in Siscia with a die that had been utilized to struck silver antoniniani towards the end of 268 or early 269. It is very light in comparison with the standard aurei, and is only the second known specimen of this type ever recovered. The only thus far discovered specimen, weighing 1.66 g, comes from the large hoard of gold coins found in the Bay of Lava on Corsica, which possibly had originally comprised from 1200 to 1400 gold coins (of which 450 were documented) minted between 262 and 272.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, the finds uncovered outside the spring itself (four of which are processed here) have also proven to be quite compelling. One of these is an early Augustan denarius, minted in the early 20's BC. Finds of silver coinage struck before Emperor Nero's monetary reform in 64, which introduced the weight reduction of gold and silver coinage, are very rare. The analysis of the second-century Roman coin hoards recovered in the area of southern Pannonia has clearly shown that apart from the Imperial currency minted after the monetary reform of Nero, earlier Roman Republican currency had also been in circulation. Not so the currency of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty, which probably means that it had been removed from circulation, in one way or another, even before the rule of emperors Trajan and Hadrian. The reason is to be found in the fact that the intrinsic value of early imperial coinage was higher than that of the earlier Republican coins, especially those of Mark Anthony, as well as of later coinage issued during the reigns of Nero (after his reform) and Vespasian. Thus, the coinage of inferior quality simply drove the superior, i.e. more valuable currency, out of circulation, up to the time of the burying of

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7 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: p. 176.

8 For the actual cult of Salus-Hygeia in Aquae Iasae see Kušan Špalj, D.: AQUAE IASAE – a Centre of Health, Cult and Oracle, pp. 96, Cat.69 (in this catalogue)

9 Sauer, E.: The Augustan Coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne). A Mathematical Approach to Dating a Coin Assemblage, *Revue numismatique* 154/1999: p. 151.

10 Estiot, S. Le trésor d'or romain de Lava, Corse (terminus 272/273 de notre ère), *Trésors monétaires* 24/2011: pp. 110, 140 no. 129.

the hoards in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. On the other hand, it is possible that towards the end of the reign of Emperor Domitian, the currency of the Julio-Claudian rulers was removed from circulation, only to be reused in the coining of currency of less intrinsic value, which undoubtedly proved to be cost-efficient to the ruler.<sup>11</sup> From this perspective one should also examine the coin from the early Augustan Era found at Varaždinske Toplice that had been lost, in all probability, in the period before Nero's monetary reform.

Mention should also be made of another coin recovered outside the spring itself, i.e. the large provincial bronze coin struck at Tarsus (Cilicia) during the reign of Septimius Severus. On the obverse side, the coin displays a crown such as was awarded to the winner of a competition. On the reverse side, there are inscriptions describing the city of Tarsus as the metropolis of Cilicia and emphasizing its association with emperors Hadrian and Septimius Severus, as well as mentioning games, i.e. a festival, modelled after the Olympic Games (therefore the adjective *Olympia* on the very crown), possibly in commemoration of the victory of Septimius Severus over Pescennius Niger in 194.<sup>12</sup> The long inscription on the coin reveals that the games took place along the border of Cilicia, possibly at the site known as the Pillars of Jonah in the vicinity of Alexandria near Issus.<sup>13</sup> It had to be the emperor himself who could proclaim the games/festival "Olympic", which is clearly manifest from the very title of the games/festival, *Severeia*, likewise inscribed on the reverse side of the coin.<sup>14</sup> Whatever the case may be, provincial currency (apart for some relatively rare exceptions) generally circulated within a limited area, thus rendering the find of one such specimen at Varaždinske Toplice most probably as the consequence of a concrete association between its owner and the distant Cilicia.



NOVAC CARA FILIPA I, zlato, 244-247 (kat.139)  
COIN OF EMPEROR PHILIP I, gold, AD 244-247 (Cat. 139)

- 11 Bilić, T.: Coin Circulation 3rd Century BC – AD 193, In: Migotti, B. (Ed.): *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia*, BAR IS 2393. Oxford, 2012: p. 383.
- 12 Kubitschek, J. W.: Ἐν Κοδρείῃ αἰς ὄροις Κιλικίων, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 27/1895: p. 88.
- 13 Kubitschek, J. W.: Ἐν Κοδρείῃ αἰς ὄροις Κιλικίων, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 27/1895: pp. 98–100.
- 14 Klose, D.: Festivals and Games in the Cities of the East during the Roman Empire, In: Howgego, C., Heuchert, V., Burnett, A. (Ed.): *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford, 2005: pp. 126–127.

Dunja Aljinović

## GEOLOŠKA SITUACIJA OKO TERMALNOG IZVORA I PORIJEKLO GRAĐEVINSKOG MATERIJALA

Termalni izvor u Varaždinskim Toplicama jedan je od najizdašnijih i najduže korištenih na prostoru Hrvatske, s visokom prosječnom temperaturom vode (cca 58 °C). Glavni termalni izvor Klokot nalazi se u gradskom parku, a oko njega su izgrađeni rimski objekti. U geološkom smislu izvor Klokot smješten je u tjemenu antiklinalne strukture, a za postanak termalnog izvora važno je da se vrlo plitko (oko 20 m) ispod klastičnih naslaga miocenske starosti nalaze dolomiti trijasa koji su glavni nosioci termalne vode. Prema kemijskom sastavu, termalna voda iz vrela Klokot je najjače mineralizirana voda u Hrvatskom zagorju i spada na granicu termalnih i termomineralnih voda.<sup>1</sup>

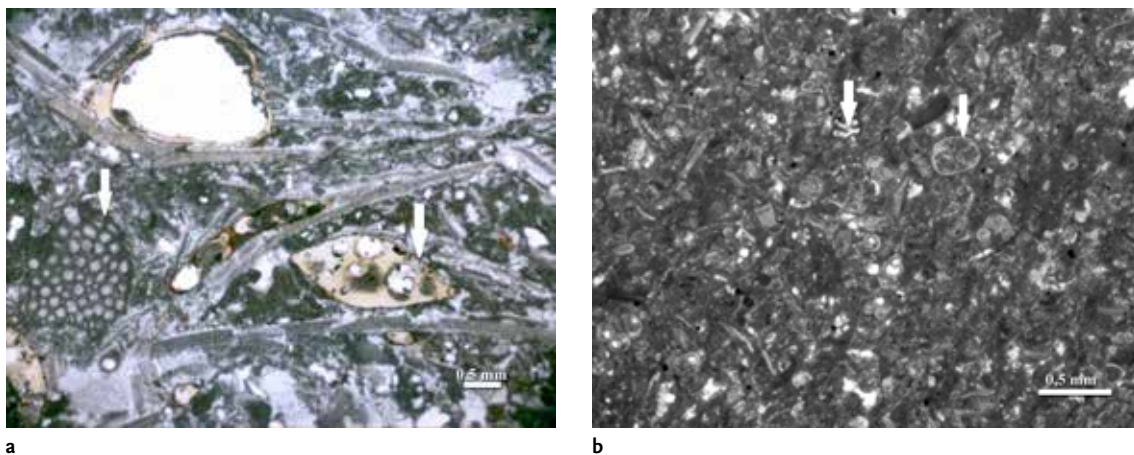
Arheološkim istraživanjem lokaliteta u gradskom parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, odnosno prostora južno od prirodnog izvorišta, ustanovljeno je da su rimski objekti kupališta i bazilike bili prekriveni debelim naslagama sedimenta travertina koji predstavlja taloge termalne vode. Travertin je termin koji se upotrebljava za kontinentalne (nemarinske) vapnence, nastale izlučivanjem kalcijeva karbonata ( $\text{CaCO}_3$ ) – kalcita ili aragonita iz slatkih voda kemijskim ili biokemijskim procesima. U ovom je slučaju nastao taloženjem oko izvora termalne vode. *Travertino* je talijanska riječ koja dolazi iz latinskog naziva *Lapis Tiburtinus*, a označava građevni kamen koji se već u rimsko doba eksploatirao kod mjesta Tivoli, udaljenog 26 km istočno od Rima. Travertini se lako razlikuju od marinskih vapnenaca po visokoj poroznosti i relativno velikoj tvrdoći. Često se vidi nepravilna laminacija ili okrugle tvorevine – onkoidi i pizoidi. Minerali kalcit, odnosno aragonit, u travertinu su anorganskog porijekla, ali kristalizaciju mogu potpomoći i biogeni procesi vezani uz aktivnost mikroorganizama koji žive u toploj vodi.

Arheološka istraživanja provedena 2004. godine na prostoru bazilike pokazala su da je iznad rimskog poda nataložen slijed travertina debljine oko 3 m. Taloženje se događalo nakon što je naselje napušteno, tj. nakon 4. stoljeća, iz čega se može zaključiti da su 3 m debele naslage travertina nastale u vremenskom razdoblju ne većem od 1600 godina.<sup>2</sup> Na arheološkom zasjeku uočena je izmjena nekoliko nepravilnih slojeva različite boje i bitno različitog poroziteta. Tako je, npr. na taloženje litotipa (L-2) značajnu ulogu odigralo prisustvo bilja. Šupljikavi talozi predstavljaju stabljike inkrustirane kalcitom u vrijeme rasta. Na mjestima stabljika ostale su izdužene, kalupne šupljine. Vertikalna izmjena različitih litotipova ukazuje na uvjete taloženja koji su se mijenjali od taloženja na više ili manje suhim, biljem obraslim zaravnima do taloženja u plitkim depresijama prekrivenim stajaćom vodom. Prezasićenost vode termalnog izvora karbonatom uzrokovala je neobično brzo izlučivanje kalcita, moguće i aragonita (oko 3 m travertina nataloženo u 1600 godina predstavlja neobično veliku ratu sedimentacije). Slični procesi brzog izlučivanja kalcijeva karbonata i obavijanje (inkrustacija) biljaka kalcitom intenzivno se događa i danas na prostoru oko termalnog izvora.

<sup>1</sup> Šimunić, An., Avanić, R.: Varaždinske toplice, u Šimunić, An. (ur.): *Geotermalne i mineralne vode Republike Hrvatske*, Hrvatski geološki institut; Zagreb 2008, 205-218.

<sup>2</sup> Aljinović, D., Barudžija, U., Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Erlich, D.: Mixed thermal and ambient water travertines of Ancient Roman Spa-Aquae Iasae-Varaždinske Toplice, u Ozkul, M., Yagiz, S., Jones, B. (ur): *Proceedings of 1st International Symposium on Travertine – Denizli*, Kozan Ofset Matbaacilik San. ve Tic. Ltd. Sti. Ankara 2004, 71-74.

U izgradnji rimskog naselja, kao građevinski materijal, najčešće su bili korišteni varijeteti vapnenaca u čijem sastavu dominiraju krupni fragmenti fosila miocenske starosti (baden) – (slika 1 a). U gradnji izvorišnog bazena na forumu korišten je najčešće varijetet sa sitnijim fosilnim fragmentima, koji je gušći (slika 1 b).<sup>3</sup> Spomenuti varijeteti građevinskog kamena poznati su u literaturi kao litotamnijski vapnenci, odnosno „litavci“. Prema svojim osobinama litotamnijski vapnenac predstavlja relativno lagan, dovoljno tvrd kamen, koji je relativno lako obraditi te je zbog toga često korišten kao građevni materijal.<sup>4</sup> Takvi vapnenci prisutni su u neposrednoj okolini Varaždinskih Toplica, gdje se izmjenjuju kao dvije različite litološke jedinice. Rimljani su koristili spomenuti materijal vjerojatno zbog njegove dostupnosti i podatnosti pri obrađivanju.



Sl. 1 a, b Mikropetrografske karakteristike vapnenaca miocenske starosti s krupnim – a ili sitnim fragmentima fosila – b (strelice) najčešće korištenima kao građevinski materijal rimskog naselja – a i izvorišnog bazena na forumu – b.

III. 1 a, b Micropetrographic characteristics of Miocene limestone with rough – a or fine fossil fragments – b (arrows), the most frequently used building materials of the Roman settlement – a and the thermal pool in the forum – b.

3 Horvat, V.: Petrološke karakteristike građevnog materijala i travertina iz podloge arheološkog nalazišta Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice. – *Završni rad*, Rudarsko-geološko-naftni fakultet, Zagreb 2011, 35.

4 Tišljar, J.: *Sedimentologija karbonata i evaporita*. Institut za geološka istraživanja -Zagreb, Zagreb 2001, 375.; Basso, D., Vrsaljko D., Grgasović, T., The coralline flora of a Miocene maërl: the Croatian "Litavac". -*Geologia Croatica* 61/2–3, Zagreb 2008, 333–340.



Dunja Aljinović

## GEOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE AREA AROUND THE THERMAL SPRING AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BUILDING MATERIALS

The Varaždinske Toplice thermal spring is one of Croatia's most bounteous and longest exploited springs, with a high average water temperature (ca. 58°C). The main thermal spring, Klokot, is situated in the Municipal Park and is surrounded by Roman buildings. Geologically speaking, the Klokot spring is located in the apex of an anticline structure, yet as regards the thermal spring itself, it is important to note that Triassic dolomites, the main carriers of thermal water, are located very shallowly (20 m) under clastic Miocene layers. In terms of its chemical composition, the thermal water from the Klokot spring is the most heavily mineralised water of the Hrvatsko Zagorje region and can be classified to verge on thermal-mineral water.<sup>1</sup>

The archaeological explorations of the Varaždinske Toplice Municipal Park, conducted in the area to the south of the natural spring, have revealed that the Roman spa and basilica buildings were covered with thick layers of travertine sediments naturally deposited by thermal water. Travertine is a term used for continental (non-marine) limestone resulting from chemical or biochemical processes of calcium carbonate CaCO<sub>3</sub> excretion – of calcite or aragonite from fresh water. In the current case, it formed through excretion in the area of the thermal spring. Travertine is an Italian word derived from the Latin expression *Lapis Tiburtinus* and denoting building material exploited as early as in the Roman Era in the vicinity of the town of Tivoli, located 26 km eastwards from Rome. Travertine is easily distinguished from marine limestone by its high porosity and relatively strong hardness. It often features irregular lamination or round formations – oncoids and pisoids. The calcite or aragonite minerals found in travertine are of inorganic extraction, while biogenic processes related to the activity of microorganisms inhabiting warm waters can stimulate crystallisation.

The archaeological explorations conducted in the basilica in 2004 revealed that an approximately 3-metre thick layer of travertine had formed above the Roman floor. The depositing took place after the settlement had been abandoned, that is, after the 4<sup>th</sup> century, which allows for the assumption that the 3-metre thick layers of travertine formed within a period of not longer than 1600 years.<sup>2</sup> The archaeological section has revealed the alternation of some irregular layers of diverse colours and relatively varied porosity. Thus, the presence of vegetation had an instrumental role in the sedimentation of lithotype L-2. The porous sediments are stalks incrustated with calcite during growth. Elongated, molded pores were found in the places where the plant stalks had once been. The vertical intercalation of various lithotypes point to sedimentation processes, which range from deposits on more or less dry flats overgrown by vegetation to deposits in shallow depressions covered with stagnant water. The supersaturation of the thermal spring water with carbonate caused the unusually rapid extraction of calcite,

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<sup>1</sup> Šimunić, A., Avanić, R.; Varaždinske toplice, *Geotermalne i mineralne vode Republike Hrvatske*, A.Šimunić (Ed.) / Croatian Geological Institute, Zagreb 2008, pp. 205–218.

<sup>2</sup> Aljinović, D., Barudžija, U., Kušan Špalj, D., Nemeth-Erlich, D., :Mixed thermal and ambient water travertines of Ancient Roman Spa-Aquae Iasae-Varaždinske Toplice, *Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium on Travertine - Denizli ;Ozkul, M., Yagiz, S., Jones, B. (Ed.)*; Kozan Ofset Matbaacilik San. ve Tic. Ltd. Sti. Ankara 2004, pp. 71-74.

possibly also of aragonite (the approx. 3 metres of travertine deposited within 1600 years represent an unusually large amount of sedimentation). Even today, similar processes of rapid excretion of calcium carbonate and incrustation of vegetation with calcite are intensively taking place in the area around the thermal spring.

In building the Roman settlement, the most frequent building materials used were types of limestone which predominantly contain rough fragments of Miocene fossils (Ill. a). The denser type with finer fossil fragments was most frequently utilised for the spring pool in the forum<sup>3</sup> (Ill. b). In literature, the mentioned building materials are referred to as lithothamnium limestones or “Litavci”. In terms of its characteristics, lithothamnium limestone is a rather light, but firm enough material, relatively easy to treat, and thus often used as a building material.<sup>4</sup> Such limestones are present in the immediate vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice, where they alternate as two different lithologic units. The Romans most probably used the said material due to its availability and facility of treatment.



Proces brzog izlučivanja kalcijevog karbonata i obavijanje (inkrustacija) biljaka kalcitom intenzivno se zbiva i danas na prostoru oko termalnog izvora.  
*Rapid excretion of calcium carbonate and incrustation of vegetation with calcite are intensively taking place in the area around the thermal spring.*



Sloj travertina (L-2) s izduženim, kalupnim šupljinama, koje su nastale kao posljedica obavijanja (inkrustacije) biljaka kalcitom u vrijeme rasta.  
*Layer of travertine (L-2) with elongated, moulded pores that resulted from stalks being incrustated with calcite during growth.*

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- 3 V. Horvat, Petrološke karakteristike građevnog materijala i travertina iz podloge arheološkog nalazišta Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice. *Završni rad*, Faculty of Mining, Geology and Petroleum Engineering, Zagreb 2011, p. 35.
- 4 Tišljar, J. : *Sedimentologija karbonata i evaporita*. Institut za geološka istraživanja -Zagreb, Zagreb 2001, p. 375; Basso, D., Vrsaljko D. & Grgasović, T.: The coralline flora of a Miocene maërl: the Croatian “Litavac”. *Geologia Croatica* 61/2–3, Zagreb 2008, pp. 333–340.



# KATALOG IZLOŽENIH PREDMETA CATALOGUE OF EXHIBITED ITEMS

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## Pohrana izloženih predmeta Storage of Exhibited Items

- ZMVT Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice/Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum  
AMZ Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu/Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

**1.**  
**NATPIS CARA KONSTANTINA,**  
 mramor  
 321. – 326. godina  
 Slučajni nalaz, 18. st.  
 Vis. 59 cm, šir. 172 cm, deblj. 12  
 cm, vis. slova 6 – 6,5 cm  
 Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-309  
 Literatura: CIL III 04121; AIJ 469;  
 VIKIĆ-GORENC 1966: 8; Od  
 nepobjedivog sunca 1994: 139.



Natpisno polje nalazi se  
 unutar (djelomično oštećenog)  
 profiliranog okvira.

IMP(erator) CAES(ar) FL(avius)  
 VAL(erius) CONSTANTINVS PIVS  
 FELIX MAXIMVS AVG(ustus) /  
 AQVAS IASAS OLIM VI IGNIS  
 CONSVMP(T)AS CVM PORTICIBVS  
 / ET OMNIB(us) ORNAMENTIS  
 AD PRISTINAM FACIEM  
 RESTITVIT / PROVISIONE  
 ETIAM PIETATIS SVE NVNDINAS  
 / DIE SOLIS PERPETI ANNO  
 CONSTITVIT / CVRANTE  
 VAL(erio) CATVLLINO V(iro)  
 P(erfectissimo) P(raeside)  
 P(rovinciae) P(annoniae)  
 P(rimae) SVPER(ioris)

Flavije Valerije Konstantin,  
 pobožni, sretni, najveći, uzvišeni  
 car, Akve Jaze jednom snagom  
 vatre uništene, obnovio je do  
 prijašnjeg izgleda s porticima i  
 svim ukrasima i brigom (iz) svoje  
 pobožnosti odredio je tjedni  
 sajam na nedjelju tijekom cijele  
 godine. Brigom Valerija Katulina,  
 najodličnijeg muža, predstojnika  
 provincije Panonije Prve Gornje.  
 D. K. Š.

**1.**  
**INSCRIPTION OF EMPEROR  
 CONSTANTINE,** marble  
 AD 321–326  
 Accidental discovery in the 18<sup>th</sup>  
 century  
 Height: 59 cm, width: 172 cm,  
 thickness: 12 cm, height of letters:  
 6–6.5 cm  
 Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-309  
 Bibliography: CIL 03, 04121; AIJ Nr.  
 469; VIKIĆ-GORENC, 1966: 8; Od  
 nepobjedivog sunca 1994: 139  
 Inscription field is inside the  
 (partially damaged) moulded  
 frame.

IMP(erator) CAES(ar) FL(avius)  
 VAL(erius) CONSTANTINVS PIVS  
 FELIX MAXIMVS AVG(ustus) /  
 AQUAS IASAS OLIM VI IGNIS  
 CONSVMP(T)AS CVM PORTICIBVS  
 / ET OMNIB(us) ORNAMENTIS  
 AD PRISTINAM FACIEM  
 RESTITVIT / PROVISIONE  
 ETIAM PIETATIS SVE NVNDINAS  
 / DIE SOLIS PERPETI ANNO  
 CONSTITVIT / CVRANTE  
 VAL(erio) CATVLLINOR V(iro)  
 P(erfectissimo) P(raeside)  
 P(rovinciae) P(annoniae)  
 P(rimae) SVPER(ioris)

Flavius Valerius Constantinus,  
 pious, happy, the greatest,  
 venerable emperor, restored the  
 Aquae lasae, which had been  
 ruined by the strenght of fire,  
 to its previous appearance with  
 porticos and all decorations,  
 and proclaimed, with provision  
 because of his piety, the weekly  
 fair on Sunday during the whole  
 year. Under the care by Valerius  
 Catullinus, the most excellent  
 man, the governor of the provincia  
 of Pannonia Prima Superior.  
 D.K.Š.



**2.**  
**RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI**, mramor

2. st.  
Slučajni nalaz (kod iskopa bunara), 1820. godine  
Vis. 85,5 cm, šir. 71 cm, deblj. 9 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-335  
Literatura: GORENC 1971: 30 ; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 1998: 64, kat. 33; CAMBI 2002: 113, sl. 158; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2004: 281, br. 75.

Reljef s prikazom triju nimfi u stojećem položaju, razgolićenih gornjih dijelova tijela i s plaštevima koji klize niz bokove. Središnja nimfa objema rukama ispred tijela drži veliku školjku, a bočne nimfe podignutim rukama cijede kosu. Uz središnju nimfu, s lijeve i desne strane prikazani su čupovi s vodom. Prikaz je uokviren na bočnim stranama jednostavnim letvicama, a dvostruke valovite linije na gornjoj strani sugeriraju tri niše. Reljef je oštećen na rubovima, a najviše u desnom gornjem uglu.

D. K. Š.

**3.**  
**RELJEF S PRIKAZOM EUROPE I AMFITRITE**, mramor

2. st.  
Slučajni nalaz (u gradskom parku), 1842. godine  
Vis. 90 cm, šir. 150 cm, deblj. 12 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-328  
Literatura: GORENC, 1971: 30-31, T-XVI; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2004: 283, br. 77

Reljef s prikazom fantastičnoga vodenog bika, s Europom na leđima, i grifona s Amfitritom. Valovitim je linijama prikazano more s malim delfinom.

D. K. Š.

**2.**  
**RELJEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century  
accidental discovery (while digging a well) in 1820  
Height: 85.5 cm, width: 71 cm, thickness: 9 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-335  
Bibliography: GORENC 1971:30; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 1998: 64, cat. 33; CAMBI 2002: 113, fig. 158; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2004:281, no. 75

A relief depicting three nymphs standing, with nude upper part of their bodies and with capes which slide along their hips. The middle one is holding a large seashell in front of her, and the lateral ones are wringing their hair with raised arms. Jugs with water are depicted on both sides of the central nymphs. The depiction is framed using simple slats on lateral sides, and duplicate wavy lines on the upper side suggest three niches. The relief is damaged on the edges, at the most in the upper right corner.

D.K.Š.

**3.**  
**RELJEF DEPICTING EUROPA AND AMPHITRITE**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Accidental discovery 1842 (in the city park)  
Height: 90 cm, width: 150 cm, thickness: 12 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-328  
Bibliography: GORENC 1971:30-31, T-XVI, RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 2004:283, no.77

A relief depicting a fantastic water bull with Europa on his back and a griffin carrying Amphitrite. The sea with a small dolphin is depicted using wavy lines.

D.K.Š.





**4. DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM DONJEG DIJELA TIJELA NIMFE,** mramor

2. st.

Slučajni nalaz, 19. st.

Vis. 78 cm, šir. 53 cm, deblj. 22 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. KS-126

Literatura: BRUNŠMID 1904-1911: br. 126

Djelomično sačuvan reljef s prikazom donjeg dijela ženskog tijela, prekrivenog tkaninom, ispred zavezanom u čvor, ispod kojeg je vidljivo lijevo stopalo sa sandalom. Sačuvan je desni rub, s okvirom od šiljastih listova i plodova. Vjerojatno je riječ o dijelu reljefa nimfe, od kojeg je gornji dio (s prikazom nimfe koja cijedi kosu) uzidan u portal gradskog parka (1865. godine).

D. K. Š.

**4. PART OF A RELIEF DEPICTING THE LOWER PART OF A NYMPH'S BODY,** marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Accidental discovery in 19<sup>th</sup> century

Height: 78 cm, width: 53 cm,

thickness: 22 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. KS-126

Bibliography: BRUNŠMID 1904-1911: no. 126

A partially preserved relief depicting the lower part of a female body covered with fabric, tied into a knot in the front, under which one can see the left foot in a sandal. The right edge is preserved, with a frame consisting of jagged leaves and fruits. It is probably a part of a relief of a nymph, of which the upper part (depicting a nymph who is wringing her hair) is walled into the city park portal (1865).

D.K.Š.



**5. DIO HIPOKAUSTA – TUBULI,** opeka, žbuka

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks (istraživanja 1953. – 1962. godine)

Vis. 32 cm, šir. 60 cm, deblj. 20 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18451

Neobjavljeno

D. K. Š.

**5. PART OF A HYPOCAUST – TUBULI,** brick, plaster

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: bathing complex

(exploration from 1953 to 1962)

Height: 32 cm, width: 60 cm,

thickness: 20 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18451

Unpublished

D.K.Š.



**6. DIO MANJE SKULPTURE,** mramor

2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1968. godine)

Vis. 15 cm, šir. 13 cm, deblj. 3,5 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18422

Neobjavljeno

Dio manje skulpture – ruka s prebačenom tkaninom.

D. K. Š.

**6. PART OF A SMALLER SCULPTURE,** marble

2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1968)

Height: 15 cm, width: 13 cm,

thickness: 3,5 cm

Unpublished

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18422

A part of a smaller sculpture – an arm with a cloth over it.

D.K.Š.

**7.**  
**VOLUTNA SVJETILJKA**, keramika  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanje 1959. godine)  
Duž. 7,0 cm, šir. 5,7 cm, vis. 2,5 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-8910,  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ 1976:  
kat. 88, T VII, 3  
Volutna svjetiljka ugrlatog nosa s  
prikazom psa u skoku.  
Tip: Ivanyi I, varijanta 3.  
S. H.

**8.**  
**SVJETILJKA U OBLIKU ZDJELICE**,  
keramika  
3. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanje 1953. godine)  
Ø diska 7,2 cm, Ø dna 4,1 cm, vis.  
3,9 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-10133  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T XVII, 52  
Fragmentirana kasnoantička  
svjetiljka, plitkastog tipa s  
caklinom smečkasto-zelenkaste  
boje. Tip: Ivanyi XXII, varijanta I  
S. H.

**9.**  
**TANJUR**, terra sigillata  
Druga polovica 2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanje 1954. godine)  
Ø 21 cm, vis. 4,5 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-10099  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XIV, sl. 45; VIKIĆ  
1956-1957: 142-145  
Tanjur prstenastog dna, šireg  
oboda, svinutog prema dolje, oblik  
Dragendorff 36. Na donjoj strani  
dna žig SECVNDVS.  
N. P.

**7.**  
**VOLUTE LAMP**, ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration in 1959)  
Length: 7.0 cm, width: 5.7 cm,  
height: 2.5 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-8910  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ  
1976: cat. 88, T VII, 3  
A volute lamp with an angular  
nozzle depicting a jumping dog.  
Type: Ivanyi I, variant 3.  
S.H.

**8.**  
**BOWL-SHAPED LAMP**, ceramics  
3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration in 1953)  
Ø of the disk: 7.2 cm, Ø of the  
bottom: 4.1 cm, height: 3.9 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-10133  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T XVII, 52  
A fragmented late antique lamp  
of a cup-shaped type, with a  
brownish and greenish enamel.  
Type: Ivanyi XXII, variant I.  
S.H.

**9.**  
**PLATE**, terra sigillata  
the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration in 1954)  
Ø: 21 cm, height: 4.5 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-10099  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XIV, fig. 45;  
VIKIĆ 1956-1957: 142-145  
A plate with annular bottom of a  
wider rim bent downward. Form:  
Dragendorff 36. On the lower side  
of the bottom there is a stamp  
SECVNDVS.  
N.P.





**10.**  
**ZDJELA**, keramika  
2. – 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanja 1953. – 1955. godine)  
Ø ruba 22 cm, vis. 11 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18432  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XV, sl. 48  
Zdjela malo zadebljanog ruba,  
izvijenog prema van, sa širim i  
tanjim kanelurama.  
N. P.

**10.**  
**BOWL**, ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration from 1953 to 1955)  
Ø of the rim: 22 cm, height: 11 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18432  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XV, fig. 48  
A bowl with a slightly thickened  
drawn out rim, with wider and  
thinner cannelures.  
N.P.



**11.**  
**ČAŠA**, keramika  
1. – 2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: bazilika  
(istraživanje 1958. godine)  
Vis. 8,5 cm, Ø 7 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18430  
Neobjavljeno  
Čaša trbušastog oblika i  
prema sredini uvučenog dna,  
ukrašena dvjema horizontalnim  
kanelurama.  
N. P.

**11.**  
**CUP**, ceramics  
1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: basilica (exploration  
in 1958)  
Height: 8,5, Ø: 7 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18430  
Unpublished  
A belly-shaped cup with an inverted  
bottom towards the middle, decorated  
with two horizontal cannelures.  
N.P.



**12.**  
**FIBULA U OBLIKU SLOVA "S"**,  
bronca  
3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanja 1953. – 1955. godine)  
Vis. 3,2 cm, šir. 2 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-10250  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XIX, sl. 56/4  
N. P.

**12.**  
**S-SHAPED FIBULA**, bronze  
3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration from 1953 to 1955)  
Height: 3.2 cm, width: 2 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-10250  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,  
GORENC 1958, T. XIX, fig. 56/4  
N.P.



**13.**  
**PERLA**, zlato  
2. – 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja  
bazilike (istraživanje 1962. godine)  
Vis. 0,9 cm, šir. 2,3 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-9156  
Neobjavljeno  
Perla u obliku profiliranog valjka,  
središnji je dio ukrašen plitkim  
kosim kanelurama.  
N. P.

**13.**  
**BEAD**, gold  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: southern annex of the  
basilica (exploration in 1962)  
Height: 0.9 cm, width: 2.3 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-9156  
Unpublished  
A bead shaped as a well-defined  
cylinder, the central part is decorated  
with shallow slanting cannelures.  
N.P.

**14.**

**KUTIJICA ZA PEČAĆENJE**, bronca

1. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks (istraživanje 1953. godine)

Vis. 0,5 cm, Ø 1,9 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-10245

Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ, GORENC 1958, T. XIX, sl. 56/6

Kutijica za pečaćenje plitičastog oblika, ukrašena žutim i crnim emajlom.

N. P.

**14.**

**SEAL BOX**, bronze

1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: bath complex (exploration in 1953)

Height: 0,5 cm, Ø: 1.9 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-10245

Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ, GORENC 1958, T. XIX, fig. 56/6

A seal box, cup-shaped, decorated with yellow and black enamel.

N.P.



**15.**

**DIO ZDJELICE**, staklo

1. – 2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1962. godine)

Vis. 5,9 cm, Ø ruba 11,6 cm, Ø dna 10,4 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11811

Neobjavljeno

Zdjelica šireg cilindričnog tijela, ravnog dna i oštro završenog ruba. Vanjska je površina ukrašena tanko brušenim horizontalnim linijama.

N. P.

**15.**

**PART OF A BOWL**, glass

1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1962)

Height: 5.9 cm, Ø of the rim: 11.6 cm, Ø of the bottom: 10.4 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11811

Unpublished

A bowl with a wider cylindrical body, with a flat bottom and a sharp rim. The outer surface is decorated using slim-cut horizontal lines.

N.P.



**16.**

**DIO ČAŠE**, staklo

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks (istraživanje 1953. godine)

Vis. 5 cm, šir. 3,6 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11761

Neobjavljeno

Donji dio čaše sa suženim, na sredini uvučenim dnom.

N. P.

**16.**

**PART OF A GLASS**, glass

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: bath complex (exploration in 1953)

Height: 5 cm, width: 3.6 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11761

Unpublished

The lower part of a glass with narrowed bottom, inverted towards the middle.

N.P.







**17.**  
**DIO BOČICE**, staklo  
 2. – 4. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1962. godine)  
 Ø ruba 2,3 – 3 cm, deblj. stakla 0,5 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11804  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Gornji dio tijela bočice s cilindričnim vratom i prstenasto zaobljenim obodom.  
 N. P.

**17.**  
**PART OF A BOTTLE**, glass  
 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
 Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1962)  
 Ø of the rim: 2.3–3 cm, glass thickness: 0.5 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11804  
 Unpublished  
 The upper part of the body of bottle, with a cylindrical neck and an annular rim.  
 N.P.



**18.**  
**RAZNI ULOMCI PROZORSKOG STAKLA**  
 1. – 4. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks (istraživanje 1953. godine)  
 Deblj. 0,5 mm – 2 mm.  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11768  
 Neobjavljeno  
 N. P.

**18.**  
**VARIOUS FRAGMENTS OF WINDOW GLASS**  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
 Finding site: bath complex (exploration in 1953)  
 Thickness: 0.5–2 mm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11768  
 Unpublished  
 N.P.



**19.**  
**NARUKVICA**, staklo  
 3. – 4. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1962. godine)  
 Ø 6,6 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11802  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Narukvica glatke površine, polukružnog presjeka od stakla crne boje i zelenkastog odsjaja.  
 N. P.

**19.**  
**BRACELET**, glass  
 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
 Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1962)  
 Ø: 6.6 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11802  
 Unpublished  
 A bracelet with a smooth surface, semicircular in cross section, made of black glass with a greenish glint.  
 N.P.

**20.**

**POJASNA GARNITURA UTERE FELIX**, bronca

Druga polovica 2. - prva polovica 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1962. godine)

Duž. 30 cm, šir. 2 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18434

Literatura: GALIĆ-RADMAN-LIVAJA, 2006

Kopča i okovi pojasa u obliku slova VTERE FELIX (nedostaju dva slova: R i E) te dva dvodijelna zglobna privjeska.

N. P.

**20.**

**BELT SET UTERE FELIX**, bronze the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century – the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1962)  
Length: 30 cm, width: 2 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18434  
Bibliography: GALIĆ-RADMAN-LIVAJA, 2006

A belt buckle and buckle mounts shaped like letters VTERE FELIX (two letters, R and E, are missing), and two two-piece hinged pendants.

N.P.



**21.**

**FRESKE S BILJNIM I GEOMETRIJSKIM MOTIVIMA**

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: bazilika (istraživanja 1956. – 1959. godine)

Vis. 20 – 30 cm, šir. 20 – 37 cm, deblj. 4 – 6 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18445

Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC, 1961: 193, T VII; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1980: sl. 6  
D. K. Š.

**21.**

**FRESCOS WITH FLORAL AND GEOMETRIC MOTIF**

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: basilica (exploration from 1956 to 1959)

Height: 20–30 cm, width: 20–37 cm, thickness: 4–6 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18445

Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC, 1961:193, T VII; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1980: fig. 6  
D.K.Š.



**22.**

**FRESKE S BILJNIM I GEOMETRIJSKIM MOTIVIMA**

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: bazilika (istraživanja 1956. – 1959. godine)

Vis. 20 – 30 cm, šir. 20 – 37 cm, deblj. 4 – 6 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18446

Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC 1961: 193, T VII; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1980: sl. 6  
D. K. Š.

**22.**

**FRESCOS WITH FLORAL AND GEOMETRIC MOTIF**

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: basilica (exploration from 1956 to 1959)

Height: 20–30 cm, width: 20–37 cm, thickness: 4–6 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18446

Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC, 1961:193, T VII; GORENC-VIKIĆ 1980: fig. 6  
D.K.Š.





**23.**  
**FRESKA S PRIKAZOM GLAVE**  
**SVECA**

Druga polovica 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: bazilika  
(istraživanje 1956. godine)  
Vis. 43 cm, šir. 26 cm, deblj. 4 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ inv. br. A-18014  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-  
GORENC 1961: 193; Od  
nepobjedivog sunca 1994: str. 110  
D. K. Š.

**23.**  
**FRESCO DEPICTING THE HEAD**  
**OF A SAINT**

the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: basilica (exploration  
in 1956)  
Height: 43 cm, width: 26 cm,  
thickness: 4 cm  
Storage: AMZ inv. no. A-18014  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-  
GORENC, 1961:193, Od  
nepobjedivog sunca (*From the*  
*Invincible Sun*) 1994: p. 110  
D.K.Š.



**24.**  
**SJEKIRA S RUPOM ZA NASAD,**  
**kamen**

Neolitik/eneolitik, 5. – 3. tisućljeća  
pr. Kr.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2006. godine)  
Duž. 9,2 cm, šir. 6,2 cm, deblj. 3,5  
cm, pr. perforacije 2,8 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2/06  
Literatura: KUŠAN ŠPALJ,  
NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110,  
sl. 25  
J. B.

**24.**  
**AXE WITH AN OPENING FOR A**  
**HANDLE, stone**

Neolithic/ eneolithic, 5<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup>  
millennium BC  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2006)  
Length: 9.2 cm, width: 6.2 cm,  
thickness: 3.5 cm, perforation  
diameter: 2.8 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 2/06  
Bibliography: KUŠAN ŠPALJ,  
NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110,  
fig. 25.  
J.B.



**25.**  
**PLOSNATA SJEKIRA, kamen**

Neolitik, 5. – 4. tisućljeća pr. Kr.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2006. godine)  
Duž. 4,7 cm, šir. sječiva 3,5 cm,  
deblj. 1,2 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
38/06  
Literatura: KUŠAN ŠPALJ,  
NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110,  
sl. 25  
J. B.

**25.**  
**FLAT AXE, stone**

Neolithic, 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2006)  
Length: 4.7 cm, width of the blade:  
3.5 cm, thickness: 1.2 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
38/06  
Bibliography: KUŠAN ŠPALJ,  
NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110,  
fig. 25.  
J.B.

**26.**

**GORNJI DIO MALOG  
ŽRTVENIKA**, vapnenac

1. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2001. godine)

Vis. 5 cm, šir. 5,7 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

11/62

Neobjavljeno

N. P.

**26.**

**UPPER PART OF A SMALL ALTAR,**  
limestone

1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century BC

Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2001)

Height: 5 cm, width: 5.7 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

11/62

Unpublished

N.P.



**27.**

**PRIVJESAK U OBLIKU FALUSA,**  
bronca

2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)

Duž. 3,4 cm, šir. 2,2 cm, vis. 1,8 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

27/62

Neobjavljeno

N. P.

**27.**

**PHALLUS-SHAPED PENDANT,**  
bronze

2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)

Length: 3.4 cm, width: 2.2 cm,

height: 1.8 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

27/62

Unpublished

N.P.



**28.**

**LUČNA FIBULA**, bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)

Vis. 3 cm, duž. 6,5 cm, šir. 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

6/62

Neobjavljeno

Lučna fibula s jednom lukovicom  
na luku (Bügelknopffibel).

N. P.

**28.**

**BOW FIBULA**, bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)

Height: 3 cm, length: 6.5 cm,

width: 2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 6/62

Unpublished

A bow fibula with one bulb-shaped  
knob on the bow (Bügelknopffibel).

N.P.



**29.**

**FIBULA LUKOVIČASTOG TIPA,**  
bronca

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2001. godine)

Vis. 2 cm, šir. 3,2 cm, duž 5,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

2/53

Neobjavljeno

N. P.

**29.**

**CROSSBOW FIBULA**, bronze

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2001)

Height: 2 cm, width: 3.2 cm,

length: 5.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 2/53

Unpublished

N.P.





**30.**  
**FIBULA**, bronca  
Druga polovica 1. – poč. 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2001. godine)  
Duž. 6,8 cm, šir. 1 cm, vis. 2,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
21/62  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**30.**  
**FIBULA**, bronze  
the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century –  
the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2001)  
Length: 6.8 cm, width: 1 cm,  
height: 2.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
21/62  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**31.**  
**FIBULA SNAŽNO  
PROFILIRANOG TIP**, bronca  
1. – 2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2001. godine)  
Duž. 6 cm, šir. 1,8 cm, vis. 2,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
3/34  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**31.**  
**STRONGLY PROFILED FIBULA**,  
bronze  
1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2001)  
Length: 6 cm, width: 1.8 cm,  
height: 2.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 3/34  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**32.**  
**FIBULA AUCISSA TIP**, bronca  
1. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2013. godine)  
Duž. 6 cm, šir. 1,2 cm, vis. 3 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
180/13  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**32.**  
**AUCISSA FIBULA**, bronze  
1<sup>st</sup> century  
Length: 6 cm, width: 1.2 cm,  
height: 3 cm  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2013)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
180/13  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**33.**  
**PISALJKA (stilus)**, bronca  
1. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
2001. godine)  
Vis. 10 cm, šir. 0,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
8/32  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**33.**  
**STYLUS (stilus)**, bronze  
1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 2001)  
Length: 10 cm, width: 0.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 8/32  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**34-**  
**DIO KADIONICE**, keramika  
2. – 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)  
Vis. 7 cm, šir. 8 cm, Ø dna 4,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
1/98  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**35-**  
**DIO ZDJELICE**, staklo  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1981. godine)  
Vis. 5,8 cm, Ø 11,3 cm, deblj. stakla  
0,5 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-11917  
Neobjavljeno  
Dio zdjelice s ovalnim plitkim  
udubljenjima (Isings tip 117) od  
blijedo maslinasto zelenog stakla.  
Tijelo se sužuje prema dnu, a rub  
je blago izvučen, ravnog oboda.  
N. P.

**36.**  
**FIRMA SVJETILJKA**, keramika  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1976. godine)  
Duž. 8,0 cm, šir. 6,5 cm, vis. 2,5 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18433  
Neobjavljeno  
Firma svjetiljka s pečatom VRSIO.  
Tip: Ivanyi XVII.  
S. H.

**37.**  
**FIRMA SVJETILJKA**, keramika  
2. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)  
Duž. 7,5 cm, šir. 5 cm, vis. 2,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
30/98  
Neobjavljeno  
Tip: Ivanyi XVII  
S. H.

**34-**  
**PART OF A CENSER**, ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)  
Length: 7 cm, width: 8 cm, Ø of  
the bottom: 4.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1/98  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**35-**  
**PART OF A BOWL**, glass  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1981)  
Length: 5.8 cm, Ø: 11.3 cm, glass  
thickness: 0.5 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-11917  
Unpublished  
A part of a bowl with oval shallow  
depressions (Isings form 117)  
made of pale olive green glass.  
The body narrows towards the  
bottom, and the edge is slightly  
drawn out with a straight rim.  
N.P.



**36.**  
**FIRMA LAMP**, ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1976)  
Length: 8.0 cm, width: 6.5 cm,  
height: 2.5 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18433  
Unpublished  
Firma lamp with a stamp VRSIO.  
Type: Ivanyi XVII.  
S.H.



**37.**  
**FIRMA LAMP**, ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)  
Length: 7.5 cm, width: 5 cm,  
height: 2.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 30/98  
Unpublished  
Type: Ivanyi XVII.  
S.H.





**38.**  
**SVJETILJKA S DVA NOSA,**  
keramika  
Kraj 2. – početak 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum – zapadni  
trijem (istraživanje 2001. godine)  
Duž. 8,0 cm, šir. 6,0 cm, vis. 3,0  
cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
19/62-2001  
Neobjavljeno  
Svjetiljka s dva nosa s pečatom  
OCEANUS.  
Tip: Ivanyi IV.  
S. H.

**38.**  
**LAMP WITH TWO NOZZLES,**  
ceramics  
the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century – the  
beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum – western  
portico (exploration in 2001)  
Length: 8.0 cm, width: 6.0 cm,  
height: 3.0 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
19/62-2001  
Unpublished  
A lamp with two nozzles with a  
stamp OCEANUS.  
Type: Ivanyi IV.  
S.H.



**39.**  
**VOLUTNA SVJETILJKA,** keramika  
1. – 2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum – zapadni  
trijem (istraživanje 2010. godine)  
Duž. 7 cm, šir. 6 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
33/2010  
Neobjavljeno  
Volutna svjetiljka, disk s prikazom  
ljudskog lika u trku.  
Tip: Ivanyi I.  
S. H.

**39.**  
**VOLUTE LAMP,** ceramics  
1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum – western  
portico (exploration in 2010)  
Length: 7 cm, width: 6 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
33/2010  
Unpublished  
A volute lamp, a disk depicting a  
running man.  
Type: Ivanyi I.  
S.H.



**40.**  
**VOTIVNA FIRMA SVJETILJKA,**  
keramika  
2. – 4. st.  
Duž. 4,0 cm, Ø dna 1,1 cm, vis.  
1,1 cm  
Mjesto nalaza: forum – zapadni  
trijem (istraživanje 2010. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
43/53  
Neobjavljeno  
Fragmentirana firma-svjetiljka,  
vrlo malih dimenzija; vjerojatno je  
služila u votivne svrhe.  
Tip: Ivanyi XV, XVI ili XVII.  
S. H.

**40.**  
**VOTIVE FIRMA LAMP,** ceramics  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Length: 4.0 cm, Ø of the bottom:  
1.1 cm, height: 1.1 cm  
Finding site: forum – western  
portico (exploration in 2010)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
43/53  
Unpublished  
A fragmented *firma* lamp of very  
small dimensions, probably used  
for votive purposes.  
Type: Ivanyi XV, XVI or XVII.  
S.H.

**41.**  
**VOLUTNA SVJETILJKA**, keramika  
 1. – 2. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum – zapadni trijem (istraživanje 2010. godine)  
 Ø dna 3,6 cm, Ø diska 6,2 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 29/2010  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Volutna svjetiljka s prikazom ciste s kaducejem (caduceus; kerykeion) i palminom granom.  
 Tip: Ivanyi I.  
 S. H.

**41.**  
**VOLUTE LAMP**, ceramics  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum – western portico (exploration in 2010)  
 Ø of the bottom: 3.6 cm, Ø of the disk: 6.2 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 29/2010  
 Unpublished  
 A volute lamp depicting a cyst with a crossed caduceus and a palm branch.  
 Type: Ivanyi I.  
 S.H.



**42.**  
**PRSTEN**, zlato  
 1. – 2. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje 1963. godine)  
 Vis. 0,7 cm, šir. 1,7 cm, duž. 2 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-9155  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Prsten s ovalnim proširenjem, koje čini ukrasnu glavu u kojoj je bio umetnut kamen ili gema.  
 N. P.

**42.**  
**RING**, gold  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum (exploration in 1963)  
 Height: 0.7 cm, width: 1.7 cm, length: 2 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-9155  
 Unpublished  
 A ring with oval widening which forms an adorned bezel in which a stone or an engraved gem had been inserted.  
 N.P.



**43.**  
**FIBULA KOLJENASTOG TIP**, bronca  
 2. – 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje 1980. godine)  
 Duž. 4 cm, šir. 2,2 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18426  
 Neobjavljeno  
 N. P.

**43.**  
**KNEE FIBULA**, bronze  
 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum (exploration in 1980)  
 Length: 4 cm, width: 2.2 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18426  
 Unpublished  
 N.P.



**44.**  
**KUTIJICA ZA PEČAĆENJE**, bronca  
 1. – 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje 1967. godine)  
 Vis. 0,5 cm, Ø 2 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18431  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Kutijica za pečaćenje plitičastog oblika, ukrašena plavim emajlom i sa šest granula.  
 N. P.

**44.**  
**SEAL BOX**, bronze  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum (exploration in 1967)  
 Height: 0.5 cm, diameter: 2 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18431  
 Unpublished  
 A seal box, cup-shaped, enamel coated, with 6 granules, bronze.  
 N.P.





**45.**  
**NARUKVICA**, srebro  
 4. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
 1963. godine)  
 Deblj. 0,3 – 0,5 cm, šir. 7,1 x 5,2 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18411  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Srebrna narukvica otvorenih i  
 stanjenih krajeva.  
 N. P.

**45.**  
**BRACELET**, silver  
 4<sup>th</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum (exploration  
 in 1963)  
 Thickness: 0.3–0.5 cm, width: 7.1  
 x 5.2 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18411  
 Unpublished  
 A silver bracelet with open and  
 thinned ends.  
 N.P.



**46.**  
**NOVAC CARA AUGUSTA**, srebro  
 Denar, Rim  
 Oko 29 – 27. pr. Kr.  
 AR, 3,31g, 19x20 mm, 03 h  
 RIC 265a  
 Mjesto nalaza: forum, stepenica  
 hrama 1. st. (istraživanje 2013.  
 godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
 145/13  
 Neobjavljeno  
 T. B.

**46.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR AUGUSTUS**,  
 silver  
 denarius, Rome  
 c. 29–27 BC  
 AR, 3.31 g, 19 x 20 mm, 03 h  
 RIC 265a  
 Finding site: forum, temple  
 staircase, 1<sup>st</sup> century (exploration  
 in 2013)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
 145/13  
 Unpublished  
 T.B.



**47.**  
**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA**,  
 bronca  
 (Kovan za Tita), as, Rim  
 80 – 81. godine  
 AE, 7,42 g, 24x25 mm, 05 h  
 RIC 311 ili 343 (nečitko AVG na  
 aversu)  
 Mjesto nalaza: sjeverni dio foruma  
 (istraživanje 2012. godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
 12/47  
 Neobjavljeno  
 T. B.

**47.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN**,  
 bronze  
 (minted under Titus), as, Rome  
 AD 80–81  
 AE, 7.42 g, 24 x 25 mm, 05 h  
 RIC 311 or 343 (uncertain AVG on  
 the obverse)  
 Finding site: northern area of  
 forum (exploration in 2012)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
 12/47  
 Unpublished  
 T.B.

**48.**

**NOVAC CARA MARKA AURELIJA,**  
bronca

Dupondij, Rim

Kraj 176. – 177. godine (RIC), 177.

godine (MIR)

AE, 8,71 g, 23x24 mm, 10 h

RIC 1181 ili 1188 = MIR 369 ili 372

(nečitko u egzergu GERM ili SARM)

Mjesto nalaza: sjeverni zid

izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje

2012. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 1/47

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**48.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR MARCUS  
AURELIUS,** bronze

dupondius, Rome

the end of AD 176–177 (RIC), 177

(MIR)

AE, 8,71 g, 23 x 24 mm, 10 h

RIC 1181 or 1188 = MIR 369 or 372

(GERM or SARM in the exergue)

Finding site: northern wall of the

thermal water spring (exploration

in 2012)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1/47

Unpublished

T.B.



**49.**

**NOVAC CARA SEPTIMIJA  
SEVERA,** bronca

Provincijalni, Tarsus u Kilikiji

193. – 211. godine

AE, 36 mm, 28,3 g, 12 h

Av.: AVT KAI A CЄΠ CЄVHPOC

ΠЄP Π–Π

Rv.: iznad: ЄN KOΔPIΓЄC

CЄVHPЄIA; u sredini: OΛYMPPIA

ispod: ЄΠINЄIKIA OPOIC

KIΛIKΩN naokolo: AΔPI

CЄVHPIANHC TAPCOV

MHTPOΠOΛЄΩC; Γ–B

SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia

1025, Suppl. 261; SNG France

BN 1477; The Severan Database

Project, Severan Provincial

Coinage (J. Langbord) 2257

([http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/](http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/other/severan/spc/2257/)

[other/severan/spc/2257/](http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/other/severan/spc/2257/))

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje

2012. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

6/47

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**49.**

**COIN OF THE EMPEROR  
SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS,** bronze

provincial, Tarsus in Cilicia

AD 193–211

AE, 36 mm, 28,3 g, 12 h

Obverse: AVT KAI A CЄΠ

CЄVHPOC ΠЄP Π–Π

Reverse: above: ЄN KOΔPIΓЄC

CЄVHPЄIA ; in the middle:

OΛYMPPIA; below: ЄΠINЄIKIA

OPOIC KIΛIKΩN; around:

AΔPI CЄVHPIANHC TAPCOV

MHTPOΠOΛЄΩC; Γ–B

SNG Switzerland I, Levante-Cilicia

1025, Suppl. 261; SNG France

BN 14277; The Severan Database

Project, Severan Provincial

Coinage (J. Langbord) 2257

([http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/](http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/other/severan/spc/2257/)

[other/severan/spc/2257/](http://web3.forest.usf.edu/main/other/severan/spc/2257/))

Finding site: forum (exploration

in 2012)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 6/47

Unpublished

T.B.







**50.**  
**KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM ŽENSKE  
GLAVE (menada?), vapnenac**  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1967. godine)  
Vis. 23, šir. 20, deblj. 25 – 36 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-1122  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**50.**  
**CONSOLE DEPICTING A FEMALE  
HEAD (maenad?), limestone**  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1967)  
Height: 23 cm, width: 20 cm,  
thickness: 25–36 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-1122  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**51.**  
**KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM ŽENSKE  
GLAVE (menada?), vapnenac**  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanje 1961. godine)  
Vis. 26 cm, šir. 20, deblj. 25 – 36 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A- 339  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**51.**  
**CONSOLE DEPICTING A FEMALE  
HEAD (maenad?), limestone**  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: bath complex  
(exploration in 1961)  
Height: 26 cm, width: 20 cm,  
thickness: 25–36 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-339  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**52.**  
**KONZOLA S AKANTOVIM  
LISTOM, vapnenac**  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1967. godine)  
Vis. 20 cm, šir. 18 cm, deblj. 35 –  
40 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-11289  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**52.**  
**CONSOLE WITH AN ACANTHUS  
LEAF, limestone**  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1967)  
Height: 20 cm, width: 18 cm,  
thickness: 35–40 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-11289  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**53.**  
**KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM MUŠKE  
GLAVE (satir?), vapnenac**  
2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1966. godine)  
Vis. 27 cm, šir. 20, deblj. 32 – 47 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A-1129  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**53.**  
**CONSOLE DEPICTING A MALE  
HEAD (satyr?), limestone**  
2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1966)  
Height: 27 cm, width: 20,  
thickness: 32–47 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-1129  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.

**54-  
KONZOLA S PRIKAZOM MUŠKE  
GLAVE, vapnenac**

2. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: prostor zapadno  
od foruma (istraživanje 2001.  
godine)  
Vis. 25 cm, šir. 20, deblj. 35 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, Pn. B-53/01  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**54-  
CONSOLE DEPICTING A MALE  
HEAD, limestone**

2<sup>nd</sup> century  
Finding site: area west of the  
forum (exploration in 2001)  
Height: 25 cm, width: 20,  
thickness: 35 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, Pn. B-53/01  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**55-  
DIO GREDE, vapnenac**

2.-4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum  
Vis. 27 cm, šir. 40 cm, deblj. 40 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, bb  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**55-  
PART OF A BEAM, limestone**

2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum  
Height: 27 cm, width: 40 cm,  
thickness: 40 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, unnumbered  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**56-  
DIJELOVI STUPOVA, opeka**

2. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)  
Ø 50 cm, vis. 4 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, bb  
Literatura: NEMETH-EHRLICH,  
KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011: sl. 6  
Opeka u obliku kružnih isječaka,  
korištena za gradnju stupova.  
D. K. Š.

**56-  
PARTS OF COLUMNS, brick**

2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)  
Ø: 50 cm, height: 4 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, unnumbered  
Bibliography: NEMETH-EHRLICH,  
KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011: fig. 6.  
A brick shaped like a circular  
sector, used for building columns.  
D.K.Š.



**57-  
DIJELOVI STUPOVA, vapnenac**

4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1998. godine)  
Ø 50 cm, vis. cca 10 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, bb  
Literatura: NEMETH-EHRLICH,  
KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011: sl. 6.  
Fragmenti kamena u obliku  
kružnih isječaka (izrađeni od  
raznih kamenih ploča i natpisa 2. i  
3. st.) korišteni za gradnju stupova  
u 4. st.  
D. K. Š.

**57-  
PARTS OF COLUMNS, limestone**

4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1998)  
Ø: 50 cm, height: c. 10 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, unnumbered  
Bibliography: NEMETH-EHRLICH,  
KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011: fig. 6.  
Stone fragments shaped like  
circular sectors (made from various  
stone tiles and inscriptions used  
in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century), used for  
building columns in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.  
D.K.Š.





**58.**  
**DIO STUPA**, vapnenac  
2. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje 1963. godine)  
Vis. 26 cm, deblj. 20 cm, Ø 50 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18450  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**58.**  
**PART OF A COLUMN**, limestone  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: forum (exploration in 1963)  
Height: 26 cm, thickness: 20 cm, Ø: 50 cm  
Storage: AMZ, A-18450  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**59.**  
**DIO KAPITELA**, vapnenac  
2. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: prostor zapadno od foruma (istraživanje 2001. godine)  
Vis. 50 cm, šir. 32 – 39 cm, deblj. 32 cm  
Pohrana: ZMVT, bb  
Neobjavljeno  
D. K. Š.

**59.**  
**PART OF A CAPITAL**, limestone  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: area west of the forum (exploration in 2001)  
Height: 50 cm, width: 32–39 cm, thickness: 32 cm  
Storage: ZMVT, unnumbered  
Unpublished  
D.K.Š.



**60.**  
**DIJELOVI SKULPTURA I NATPISA KORIŠTENI U GRADNJI ZIDOVA**, vapnenac, mramor  
2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: zidovi kupališta i zapadnog trijema foruma (istraživanja 1955. – 2010. godine)  
a) dio glave – vis. 17 cm, šir. 13 cm, deblj. 8 cm; b) dio stopala – vis. 9 cm, šir. 15 cm, deblj. 9 cm; c) natpis – vis. 21 cm, šir. 32 cm, deblj. 14 cm  
Pohrana: a) AMZ, inv. br. A-18429; b) AMZ, inv. br. A-18451 c) VTks 1/2010  
Literatura: a) VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC 1958:115, T XXI; b) i c) neobjavljeno  
dio natpisa: [---]LEG XIII G(emina) [---]/[---]M[---]  
D. K. Š.

**60.**  
**PARTS OF SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS USED IN BUILDING WALLS**, limestone, marble  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 3rd century  
Finding site: the walls of the bath complex and the western portico of the forum (exploration from 1955 to 2010)  
a) a part of the head – height: 17 cm, width: 13 cm, thickness: 8 cm; b) a part of the foot – height: 9 cm, width: 15 cm, thickness: 9 cm c) inscription – height: 21 cm, width: 32 cm, thickness: 14 cm  
Storage: a) AMZ, inv. no. A-18429 b) AMZ, inv. no. A-18451 c) VTks 1/2010  
Bibliography: a) VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ-GORENC 1958:115, T XXI; b) and c) unpublished.  
A part of the inscription: [---]LEG XIII G(emina) [---]/[---]M[---]  
D.K.Š.



**61.**

**BAZA STUPA**, vapnenac

1. – 2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: urušenje sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2006. godine)

Vis. 25 cm, Ø 69 cm, deblj. 44 cm  
Privremena pohrana: ZMVT, VTks 2/06

Literatura: KUŠAN ŠPALJ, NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110, sl. 20

D. K. Š.

**61.**

**COLUMN BASE**, limestone

1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: the ruins of the northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2006)

Height: 25 cm, Ø: 69 cm, thickness: 44 cm

Temporary storage: ZMVT, VTks 2/06

Bibliography: KUŠAN ŠPALJ, NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110, fig. 20.

D.K.Š.



**62.**

**DIO GRAĐEVINSKOG NATPISA S PRIKAZOM VIKTORIJE**, vapnenac

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 55 cm, šir. 100 cm, deblj. 15 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-19

Neobjavljeno

Dio većega građevinskog natpisa, od kojeg je sačuvana samo desna strana. Prikazana je Viktorija s palminom granom u lijevoj ruci, a desnom „pridržava“ natpis, od kojeg je sačuvano samo nekoliko slova, u dva reda:

----

[---] I

[---] BIVS

D. K. Š.

**62.**

**PART OF A CONSTRUCTION INSCRIPTION DEPICTING VICTORIA**, limestone

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: north of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)

Height: 55 cm, width: 100 cm, thickness: 15 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-19  
Unpublished

A part of a larger construction inscription, of which only the right side has been preserved. Victoria is depicted with a palm branch in her left hand, and she is “supporting” the inscription using her right hand, of which only a few letters in two rows have been preserved:

----

[---] I

[---] BIVS

D.K.Š.



**63.**

**VEZNO-UKRASNO KAMENJE OGRADE IZVORIŠNOG BAZENA**, vapnenac

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorišni bazen (istraživanja 2011. i 2012. godine)

Vis. 56 cm, šir. 44 cm, deblj. 35 cm;  
vis. 53 cm, šir. 48 cm, deblj. 35 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-67

Neobjavljeno

D. K. Š.

**63.**

**DECORATIVE BINDER STONES OF THE SPRING POOL FENCE**, limestone

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool (exploration in 2011 and 2012)

Height: 56 cm, width: 44 cm, thickness: 35 cm;  
width: 48 cm, thickness: 35 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-67  
Unpublished

D.K.Š.





**64.**  
**POSTAMENT ZA KIP S**  
**POČASNIM NATPISOM**, mramor

2. polovica 1. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: opločenje foruma sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)  
 Vis. 118 cm, šir. 74 cm, deblj. 42 cm, vis. slova 4–7 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-16  
 Neobjavljeno

Mramorni postament izrađen je od monolitnoga mramornog bloka, bez ukrasa, s natpisnim poljem koje zauzima 2/3 prednje plohe. Na gornjoj je površini vidljiv utor koji je vjerojatno služio za konstrukcijsko povezivanje s plintom statue. Prvi je red natpisa djelomično oštećen, ali ostali dijelovi teksta su čitljivi. Ime osobe, kojoj se podiže spomenik je u nominativu, a što je ponekad slučaj kod baza za kipove.

Q(uintus) GA[uius] Q(uinti) F(ilius)  
 PVB(lilia) (tribu) /  
 FRONTO PR(imus pilus) LEG  
 (ionis) XIII /  
 GEM(inae) PRAEF(ectus)  
 CIVITATIVM /  
 SCORDISC(orum) ET  
 BREVCO(rum) /  
 ET IASORVM BENEFICIO /  
 IMPERATORIS TRASLATVS /  
 SVCCESIONIBVS IN LEG(ione) IIII /  
 MACEDONIC(a) DEDICAVIT /  
 BACHYLVS LIB(ertus) EIVS

Kvint Gavije Fronto upisan u tribus Publilija, Kvintov sin, primipil legije XIII. gemine, prefekt zajednica Skordiska, Breuka i Jasa, carskom voljom premješten sa sukcesijama (dobivenim napredovanjem u službi) u legiji IV. makedonskoj. Posvetio je njegov oslobođenik Bahil  
 D. K. Š.

**64.**  
**POSTAMENT FOR A STATUE**  
**WITH AN HONORARY**  
**INSCRIPTION**, marble

the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century  
 Finding site: forum paving north of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)  
 Height: 118 cm, width: 74 cm, thickness: 42 cm, height of letters: 4–7 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-16  
 Unpublished

A marble postament is made from a monolithic marble slab, without decorations, with an inscription area which occupies 2/3 of the front surface. A slot is visible on the upper surface, which had probably been used in construction to link it with the plinth of the statue. The first row of the inscription is partially damaged, but the rest is legible. The name of the person to whom the statue is dedicated is in nominative, which is sometimes the case regarding statue bases:

Q(uintus) GA[uius] Q(uinti)  
 F(ilius) PVB(lilia) (tribu) /  
 FRONTO PR(imus pilus) LEG  
 (ionis) XIII /  
 GEM(inae) PRAEF(ectus)  
 CIVITATIVM /  
 SCORDISC(orum) ET  
 BREVCO(rum) /  
 ET IASORVM BENEFICIO /  
 IMPERATORIS TRASLATVS /  
 SVCCESIONIBVS IN LEG(ione) IIII /  
 MACEDONIC(a) DEDICAVIT /  
 BACHYLVS LIB(ertus) EIVS

Quintus Gavius Fronto, a member of Publilia tribus, the son of Quintus, the primus pilus of the Legio XIII Gemina (Thirteenth Twin Legion), the prefect of the communities of Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi, had been transferred, by the will of the emperor, with succession (with given advancement in his service) in the Legio IV Macedonica (Fourth Macedonian Legion). Dedicated by his freedman Bachylus.  
 D.K.Š.



**65.****KIP BOŽICE MINERVE S  
POSTAMENTOM**, mramor

2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: zapadni hram i trijem ispred hrama (istraživanja 1967. i 1968. godine)

Kip: vis. 183 cm; postament: vis. 136 cm, šir. 84 cm, deblj. 45 cm

Pohrana: ZMVT, inv. br. A- 1130

Literatura – GORENC, VIKIĆ 1980: 14; GORENC 1983-1984; KADI 1983-1984; ILJug 01169; MOCSY 1982: 309; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 1998: 7, fig 2., cat 31.; REDŐ 2003: 205

Kip božice Minerve i postament pronađeni su u dijelovima (nedostaju dijelovi ruku, štita i manji dijelovi natpisa). Kip prikazuje božicu Minervu, u prirodnoj veličini, ikonografski po uzoru na grčke kipove božice Atene. Na postamentu je natpis unutar profiliranog okvira:

MINERVAM /  
AVG(ustam) /  
L(ucius) CL(audius) Ti(berii)  
F(ilius) QVIRINA (tribu) /  
MODERATVS /  
DEC(urio) C(oloniae) C(laudiae)  
SAVARIA(e) /  
DEC(urio) MVNICIPI(i) /  
AE(lii) SALLAE SACERDOS /  
ARAE AVG(usti) E[x]Q(uin)Q(ue)  
DECVR(iis) /  
POSVIT

Lucije Klaudije Moderat, sin Tiberija, upisan u tribus Quirina, dekursion klaudivijske kolonije Savarije i vijećnik elijejskog municipija Sale, svećenik Augustova žrtvenika, (sudac) iz pet dekurija, podignuo je (kip) uzvišene Minerve.

D. K. Š.

**65.****STATUE OF THE GODDESS  
MINERVA WITH A POSTAMENT**,

marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: western temple and the portico in front of the temple (exploration in 1967, 1968)

Statue – height: 183 cm; postament – height: 136 cm, width: 84 cm, thickness: 45 cm

Storage: ZMVT, inv. no. A-1130

Bibliography: GORENC, VIKIĆ 1980: 14; GORENC 1983-1984; KADI 1983-1984; ILJug 01169; MOCSY 1982: 309; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, ŠEGVIĆ 1998: 7, fig. 2, cat. 31; REDŐ 2003:205.

A statue of the goddess Minerva and the postament are found in fragments (parts of arms, shield and smaller parts of the inscription are missing). The statue shows the goddess Minerva in natural size, iconographically modeled on the statues of the Greek goddess Athena. There is an inscription on the postament inside the moulded frame:

MINERVAM /  
AVG(ustam) /  
L(ucius) CL(audius) Ti(berii)  
F(ilius) QVIRINA (tribu) /  
MODERATVS /  
DEC(urio) C(oloniae) C(laudiae)  
SAVARIA(e) /  
DEC(urio) MVNICIPI(i) /  
AE(lii) SALLAE SACERDOS /  
ARAE AVG(usti) E[x]Q(uin)Q(ue)  
DECVR(iis) /  
POSVIT

Lucius Claudius Moderatus, the son of Tiberius, a member of the tribus Quirina, the decurion of the Claudian *colonia* Savaria and the decurion of the Aelian *municipium* Salla, (a judge) from five decuries, had erected (the statue) of the venerable Minerva.

D.K.Š.





**66.**  
**ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN BOŽICI MINERVI**, mramor  
 2. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji sjevernog zida i u sloju kojim je zatrpan prostor sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)  
 Vis. 78 cm, šir. baze 46 cm, deblj. baze 28 cm, vis. slova 3 – 4,2 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-20  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Trodijelni monolitni žrtvenik, sastoji se od gornjeg dijela (kruništa), baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela s natpisom:  
 MINERVAE  
 AVG(ustae)  
 SAC(rum) L(ucius) CL(audius)  
 MODERATVS  
 Posvećeno uzvišenoj Minervi. Lucije Klaudije Moderat  
 D. K. Š.

**66.**  
**ALTAR DEDICATED TO THE GODDESS MINERVA**, marble  
 2<sup>nd</sup> century  
 Finding site: in the structure of the northern wall and in the layer of ruins north of spring pool (exploration in 2011)  
 Height: 78 cm, width of the base: 46 cm, thickness of the base: 28 cm, height of letters: 3–4.2 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-20  
 Unpublished  
 A tripartite monolithic altar, which consists of the upper part (the crown), the base with moulding, and the central part carrying the inscription:  
 MINERVAE  
 AVG(ustae)  
 SAC(rum) L(ucius) CL(audius)  
 MODERATVS  
 Dedicated to the venerable Minerva. Lucius Claudius Moderatus.  
 D.K.Š.



**67.**  
**MANJI „ŽRTVENIK“ POSVEĆEN BOŽICI MINERVI**, vapnenac  
 Početak 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: sjeverozapadni ugao izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)  
 Vis. 17 cm, šir. 11,5 cm, deblj. 7 cm, vis. slova 1,3 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-11  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Zavjetni predmet u obliku žrtvenika, s natpisom. Sastoji se od gornjeg dijela tzv. kruništa (iznad profilacije je zabatno polje s centralnom rozetom, a sa svake je strane po jedan pulvin s akroterijem, na gornjoj površini reljefna izbočina u obliku recepienta za žrtve), baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela (s prikazom vrča na lijevoj bočnoj strani) s natpisom na prednjoj strani:

**67.**  
**SMALLER “ALTAR” DEDICATED TO THE GODDESS MINERVA**, limestone  
 the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: northwest corner of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)  
 Height: 17 cm, width: 11.5 cm, thickness: 7 cm, height of letters: 1.3 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-11  
 Unpublished  
 A votive artefact shaped like an altar, with an inscription. It consists of the upper part – the so-called crown (above the moulding there is a gable area with a central rosette, and on each side a pulvin with acroterion, while on the upper surface there is a relief recipient for offerings), the base with moulding and the central part (depicting a jug on the left lateral side) with an inscription on the front:

MINERVE  
AVG(ustae) SACR  
VM DEXT(er)  
QVINTVS  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)  
Posvećeno uzvišenoj Minervi.  
Zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio  
Dekster Kvint  
(U natpisu je umjesto dvoglasa ae  
- Minervae, korišteno e -Minerve).  
D. K. Š.

MINERVE  
AVG(ustae) SACR  
VM DEXT(er)  
QVINTVS  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)  
Dedicated to the venerable  
Minerva. The vow was gladly  
and by merit fulfilled by Dexter  
Quintus.  
There is an *e* instead of the  
diphthong *ae* in the inscription  
(*Minerve* instead of *Minervae*).  
D.K.Š.

**68.**

MALO VOTIVNO OGLEDALO S  
PRIKAZOM MINERVE(?), olovo  
2. – 3. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: Bakarićeva ulica  
(istraživanje 1960. godine)  
Vis. 5,2 cm, Ø 2,9 cm  
Pohrana: AMZ, inv.br. A-18183  
Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ  
1972: T. XIX, 4; BALEN-LETUNIĆ,  
RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1982: sl.  
90; BALEN-LETUNIĆ, RENDIĆ-  
MIOČEVIĆ 2012: str. 59, kat. 123  
Malo votivno ogledalo s drškom,  
na jednoj je strani ukrašeno  
reljefom koji prikazuje ženski lik  
(božica Minerva?) s kopljem u  
desnoj ruci i štitom (?) u lijevoj.  
N. P.

**68.**

**SMALL VOTIVE MIRROR  
DEPICTING MINERVA (?)**, lead  
2nd – 3rd century  
Finding site: Bakarić street  
(exploration in 1960)  
Height: 5.2 cm, Ø: 2.9 cm  
Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18183  
Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ  
1972: T. XIX,4, BALEN-LETUNIĆ,  
RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1982: fig.  
90; BALEN-LETUNIĆ, RENDIĆ-  
MIOČEVIĆ 2012: p. 59, cat. 123.  
A small votive mirror with a  
handle, adorned on one side of  
it with a relief depicting a female  
(goddess Minerva?) holding a  
spear in her right hand and a  
shield (?) in her left hand.  
N.P.





**69.**  
**PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM**  
**BOŽANSTAVA ZDRAVLJA I S**  
**NATPISOM ZA ZDRAVLJE I**  
**POBJEDE CARA KARAKALE,**

mramor

213. (214.) godina

Mjesto nalaza: opločenje foruma  
 južno od izvorišnog bazena  
 (istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 128 cm, šir. 121 cm, deblj. 25  
 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-  
 17

Neobjavljeno

Prikaz na mramornoj ploči kompozicijski je horizontalno podijeljen u tri dijela. Iznad dvije polukružne niše nalazi se *tabula ansata* s natpisom („molba“ za zdravlje i pobjedu cara Karakale), smještena između dvije Viktorije koje u rukama drže vjenčiče i palmine grane. Ispod natpisa prikazana je školjka i dva manja delfina. Centralni dio prikaza čine dvije polukružne niše, s korintskim stupovima, u kojima na povišenoj stepenici stoje bogovi Eskulap i Salus (Higija), a između njih mali Telesfor. Eskulap je prikazan kao snažan muškarac, plašt mu je prebačen preko lijevog ramena i pokriva donji dio tijela, do koljena. Prikazan je u kontrapostu s lijevom nogom naprijed, desnom rukom drži štap oko kojeg je omotana zmija. Salus (Higija) stoji u kontrapostu, odjevena u hiton koji doseže do poda i s prebačenim ogrtačem preko lijevog ramena. U desnoj ruci drži zmiju, a u lijevoj jaje. Telesfor je prikazan ispred središnjeg stupa, omotan u ogrtač sa šiljastom kapuljačom na glavi (*cucullus*). Ispod reljefa, na donjem okviru ploče, smješteno je natpisno polje s imenom donatora i posvetom.

**69.**  
**SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTING**  
**THE GODS OF HEALTH, AND**  
**WITH AN INSCRIPTION FOR THE**  
**HEALTH AND VICTORY OF THE**  
**EMPEROR CARACALLA,** marble

AD 213 (214)

Finding site: forum paving south  
 of the spring pool (exploration in  
 2011)

Height: 128 cm, width: 121 cm,  
 thickness: 25 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-17  
 Unpublished

The depiction on the marble slab is horizontally divided into three parts by its composition. Above the two semicircular niches there is a *tabula ansata* with an inscription (a “plea” for the health and victory of the emperor Caracalla), positioned in between two Victorias, who are carrying wreaths and palm branches. A seashell and two smaller dolphins are depicted under the inscription. The central part of the depiction consists of two semicircular niches, with Corinthian columns, in which are Aesculapius and Salus (Hygia) on an elevated stair, with small Telesphorus in between. Aesculapius is depicted as a strong man, his mantle is draped over his left shoulder and it covers the lower part of his body, up to his knees. He is depicted in counterpose with his left leg in the front, and he is holding a staff entwined by a snake. Salus (Hygia) is standing in counterpose, dressed in *chiton* which reaches the floor, and with a mantle *himation* draped over her, and she is carrying a snake in her right hand, and an egg in her left one. Telesphorus is depicted under the central column, on the lower frame of the slab, wrapped in a cloak (*cucullus*).

Under the relief, on the lower frame of the slab, there is an

PRO SALVTE ET VICTORIIS /  
IMPERATORIS CAESARIS /  
M(arci) AVRELLI(i)ANTONINI /  
PII FELICIS AVGVSTI /  
L(ucius) ALFENV AVITIANVS  
LEG(atus) LEG(ionis) X  
GEMIN(ae) /  
ANTONINIANAE P(iae)F(idelis)  
PRAES(es) PROV(inciae)  
ARAB(iae) /  
DEVOTVS NVMINI  
MAIESTATI QVE EIVS

Za zdravlje i pobjedu cara i  
cezara Marka Aurelija Antonina,  
pobožnog, sretnog, uzvišenog.

Lucije Alfen Avitijan, legat X. legije  
gemine antoninijanske pobožne  
i odane, upravitelj provincije  
Arabije. Posvećeno božanstvu i  
veličanstvu njegovom.  
D. K. Š.

#### 70.

##### DIO SKULPTURE – ŠAKA,

mramor

2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u sloju kojim  
je zatrpan prostor sjeverno od  
izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje  
2011. godine)

Vis. 8 cm, šir. 14 cm, duž. 20 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-  
26

Neobjavljeno

Lijeva je šaka prikazana u  
polustisnutom položaju, kao da  
drži neki uski predmet (štap ili  
munju?) te je vjerojatno bila dio  
veće skulpture boga Eskulapa ili  
Jupitera.

D. K. Š.

inscription field with the name of  
the donor and with the dedication.

PRO SALVTE ET VICTORIIS /  
IMPERATORIS CAESARIS /  
M(arci) AVRELLI(i) ANTONINI /  
PII FELICIS AVGVSTI /  
L(ucius) ALFENV AVITIANVS  
LEG(atus) LEG(ionis) X  
GEMIN(ae) /  
ANTONINIANAE P(iae) F(idelis)  
PRAES(es) PROV(inciae)  
ARAB(iae) /  
DEVOTVS NVMINI  
MAIESTATI QVE EIVS

For the health and victory of  
the emperor and cesar Marcus  
Aurelius Antoninus, pious, happy,  
venerable.

Lucius Alfenus Avitianus, legate of  
the Legio X *Gemina Antoniniana*  
*pia fidelis*, the governor of the  
provincia of Arabia. Dedicated to  
his divinity and majesty.

D.K.Š.

#### 70.

##### PART OF A SCULPTURE – FIST,

marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: in the layer of  
ruins north of the spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Height: 8 cm, width: 14 cm,  
length: 20 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-26  
Unpublished

The left fist is depicted as  
semiclenched, as if it is holding a  
certain narrow object (a staff or a  
lighting bolt) and it had probably  
been a part of a larger sculpture of  
the god Aesculapius or Jupiter.

D.K.Š.







**71.**  
**KIP BOGA APOLONA – SOLA,**  
 mramor  
 Početak 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: u sloju kojim  
 je zatrpan prostor sjeverno od  
 izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje  
 2011. godine)  
 Vis. cca 170 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-2  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Djelomično sačuvan mramorni  
 kip (nedostaju dijelovi ruku,  
 potkoljenica i stopala) prikazuje  
 Apolona – Sola, sa zrakastom  
 krunom na glavi. Prikazan je u  
 kontrapostu, s težinom oslonje-  
 nom na lijevu nogu, oslonjen na  
 tronožac oko kojeg se ovija zmija.  
 Remen tobolca spušta se s desnog  
 ramena i ispod lijeve ruke.  
 D. K. Š.

**71.**  
**STATUE OF THE GOD APOLLO  
 SOL,** marble  
 the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: in the layer of  
 ruins north of the spring pool  
 (exploration in 2011)  
 Height of the statue: c. 170 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-2  
 Unpublished  
 A partially preserved marble statue  
 (parts of arms, lower legs and feet  
 are missing) depicts Apollo Sol,  
 with a radiant crown on his head.  
 He is displayed in counterpose,  
 with the weight transferred to  
 his left foot, leaning on a tripod  
 entwined by a snake. The belt  
 pouch goes from his left shoulder  
 under his left arm.  
 D.K.Š.



**72.**  
**DIJELOVI KIPA BOŽICE DIJANE –  
 LUNE,** mramor  
 Poč. 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: u sloju kojim  
 je zatrpan prostor sjeverno od  
 izvorišnog bazena  
 (istraživanja 2001. i 2011. godine)  
 Tijelo s glavom: vis. 59 cm, šir. 35  
 cm; stopalo: vis. 16 cm, šir. 8 cm,  
 duž. 20 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-  
 3, VTks-4  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Mramorna skulptura, od koje  
 je sačuvan gornji dio tijela,  
 prikazuje božicu Dijanu – Lunu (s  
 polumjesecom na glavi). Tijelo je  
 jako oštećeno na prednjoj strani,  
 ali prema sačuvanim naborima  
 i tobolcu na leđima, vidljivo je  
 da je prikazana kao božica lova.  
 Skulpturi vjerojatno pripada  
 i fragment ženskoga desnog  
 stopala (oslonjeno na prste),  
 koje pokazuje da je kip stajao u  
 kontrapostu, s osloncem na lijevu  
 nogu.  
 D. K. Š.

**72.**  
**PARTS OF THE STATUE OF THE  
 GODDESS DIANA LUNA,** marble  
 the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: in the layer of  
 ruins north of the spring pool  
 (exploration in 2001 and 2011)  
 Body with the head – height: 59  
 cm, width: 35 cm; foot – height: 16  
 cm, width: 8 cm, length: 20 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-3,  
 VTks-4  
 Unpublished  
 A marble sculpture, with preserved  
 upper part of the body, displays  
 the goddess Diana Luna (with a  
 crescent moon on her head). The  
 body is highly damaged on the  
 front, but it is quite clear that it  
 had to show her as the goddess  
 of hunt, judging by the preserved  
 creases and the quiver on her back.  
 The fragment of a female right  
 foot (leaning onto her fingers)  
 probably belongs to this statue as  
 well, which shows that the statue  
 had been in counterpose, with the  
 weight transferred to its left leg.  
 D.K.Š.

**73.**

**ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN IZIDI I  
SERAPISU, mramor**

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji  
sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Vis. 156 cm, šir. baze 70 cm, deblj.  
baze 44 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-  
78

Neobjavljeno

Trodijelni monolitni žrtvenik,  
sastoji se od gornjeg dijela  
(kruništa), baze s profilacijom te  
središnjeg dijela koji na bočnim  
stranama ima prikaze kantara s  
granama vinove loze, a na prednjoj  
i stražnjoj strani potpuno isti  
natpis:

ISIDI ET /  
SERAPI AVG(usti) /  
SACRVM /  
C(aius) VAL(erius) PRISCVS /  
AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae)  
T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) ET /  
CATIENIA /  
FORTVNATA CON(iux) /  
SIVE ORICCLIO /  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Posvećeno uzvišenim bogovima  
Izidi i Serapisu.

Zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio  
Gaj Valerije Prisk Oriklije, augustal  
petovijske kolonije Ulpije Trajane i  
supruga Katijenija Fortunata.

D. K. Š.

**73.**

**ALTAR DEDICATED TO ISIS AND  
SERAPIS, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: in the structure of the  
northern wall of the spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Height: 156 cm, width of the base:  
70 cm, thickness of the base: 44  
cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-78  
Unpublished

A tripartite monolithic altar,  
consists of the upper part (the  
crown), the base with moulding,  
and the central part, which carries  
the depictions of cantharus with  
vine branches on lateral sides, and  
on the front and the back there is a  
duplicate inscription:

ISIDI ET /  
SERAPI AVG(usti) /  
SACRVM /  
C(aius) VAL(erius) PRISCVS /  
AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae)  
T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) ET /  
CATIENIA /  
FORTVNATA CON(iux) /  
SIVE ORICCLIO /  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Dedicated to the venerable gods  
Isis and Serapis.

The vow had been gladly and by  
merit fulfilled by Caius Valerius  
Priscus Oriclius, the augustalis  
of the colony *Ulpia Traiana*  
*Poetoviensis*, and by wife Catienia  
Fortunata.

D.K.Š.





**74-  
PLOČA S RELJEFOM I NATPISOM  
U POVODU RELIGIJSKE  
SVEČANOSTI 192. GODINE,**

mramor

Lipanj 192. godine

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji  
južnog zida i u urušenoj  
sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena  
(istraživanja 2011. i 2012. godine)

Vis. 52 cm, šir. 90 cm, deblj. 6 – 10  
cm, vis. slova 1,3 – 2,3 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-  
69

Neobjavljeno

Reljef s prikazom četiri polugola  
ženska lika u sjedećem položaju,  
od kojih su tri vjerojatno nimfe, a  
četvrta Venera (desno od Amora).  
Ženski lik u stojećem položaju  
prikazuje Izidu-Fortunu (ili njezinu  
svećenicu) s rogom obilja u lijevoj  
ruci, dok u desnoj drži pateru  
iznad gorućeg žrtvenika (*focus*).  
Iznad prikaza je natpis kojim je  
vjerojatno datirana svečanost u  
čast Izide-Fortune i drugih božica:

IMP (eratore) [[Commodo ]] VII ET  
HELVIO PERTENACI /  
II CO(n)S(ulibus) P[-]I[VE(?)] IVNIS

U godini sedmog konzulata cara  
Komoda i drugog konzulata  
Helvija Pertinaksa, dana (?)  
mjeseca lipnja.

D. K. Š.

**74-  
SLAB WITH A RELIEF AND AN  
INSCRIPTION REGARDING THE  
RELIGIOUS FESTIVITY IN 192,**

marble

June, AD 192

Finding site: in the structure of  
the southern wall and in the ruins  
of the northern wall of the spring  
pool (exploration in 2011 and 2012)

Height: 52 cm, width: 90 cm,  
thickness: 6–10 cm, height of  
letters: 1.3–2.3 cm,

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-69

Unpublished

A relief depicting three half-naked  
females in a sitting position,  
of which the three are probably  
nymphs, and the fourth one Venus  
(on the right side next to Amor).  
The standing female depicts Isis  
Fortuna (or her priestess) with  
a horn of abundance in her left  
hand, and a patera above the  
burning altar (*focus*) in her right  
hand. Above the depiction there  
is an inscription which probably  
dates the festivity in honor of Isis  
Fortuna and other goddesses:

IMP (eratore) [[Commodo ]] VII ET  
HELVIO PERTENACI /  
II CO(n)S(ulibus) P[-]I[VE(?)] IVNIS

In the year of the seventh consulate  
of the emperor Commodus and  
the second consulate of Helvius  
Pertinax, day (?) of the month June.  
D.K.Š.



**75-  
KAPITEL S DVA REDA LIŠĆA,**

mramor

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u sloju kojim  
je zatrpan prostor sjeverno od  
izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje  
2011. godine)

Vis. 24 cm, šir. 40 cm, deblj. 40  
cm, Ø stupa 26 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-60

Neobjavljeno

D. K. Š.

**75-  
CAPITEL WITH TWO ROWS OF  
LEAFS, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: in the layer of  
ruins north of the spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Height: 24 cm, width: 40 cm,  
thickness: 40 cm, Ø of the  
column: 26 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-60

Unpublished

D.K.Š.

**76.**

**ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN BOŽICI FORTUNI, vapnenac**

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 78 cm, šir. 45 cm, deblj. 22 cm, vis. slova 4,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-34 Neobjavljeno

Trodijelni monolitni žrtvenik sastoji se od gornjeg dijela (kruništa), baze i polja s natpisom (dio natpisa nalazi se i na kruništu). Sačuvana je crvena boja u slovima.

FORTVNAE /  
IASONIANAE /  
NYMPHIS SALV(taribus) /  
CETERISQ(ue)DISDEA /  
BVSQ(ue) QUOR[i---?] /  
TVTELLA EST /  
C(aius) IVL(ius)VICTORINVS /  
DEC(urio) M(unicipii) VIIIVIR  
Fl(amen)VOT(o) /  
SVSC(e)PT(o)PRO CIV(itatibus)  
VA(rciani?) ET N(?) /  
ES PECV(nia) P(rivata?) P(ro)  
S(alute)FRATR(i) /  
SVO[ suo] RVMQVE /  
[---] DEDIDIT

Fortuni Jasoniani, ozdravljujućim nimfama i ostalim bogovima i božicama, od kojih (?) je zaštita. Gaj Julije Viktorin, dekurion municipija, septemvir flamen, ispunivši zavjet za zajednice Varcijana(?) i N(?), na vlastiti trošak za zdravlje svojeg brata i svojih, posvetio je...(?).  
D. K. Š.

**76.**

**ALTAR DEDICATED TO THE GODDESS FORTUNA, limestone**

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)

Height: 78 cm, width: 45 cm, thickness: 22 cm, height of letters: 4.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-34 Unpublished

A tripartite monolithic altar consists of the upper part (the crown), the base and the inscription field, and a part of the inscription is on the crown as well. The red letter paint is preserved.

FORTVNAE /  
IASONIANAE /  
NYMPHIS SALV(taribus) /  
CETERISQ(ue)DISDEA /  
BUSQ(ue) QUOR[i---?] /  
TVTELLA EST /  
C(aius) IVL(ius)VICTORINVS /  
DEC(urio) M(unicipii) VIIIVIR  
Fl(amen)VOT(o) /  
SVSC(e)PT(o)PRO CIV(itatibus)  
VA(rciani?) ET N(?) /  
ES PECV(nia) P(rivata?) P(ro)  
S(alute)FRATR(i) /  
SVO[ suo] RVMQVE /  
[---] DEDIDIT

To Fortuna Iasoniana, to healing nymphs, and to other gods and goddesses, of which (?) there is protection. Gaius Iulius Victorinus, the decurion of the municipality, septemvir flamen, has fulfilled the vow for the communities of Varciani (?) and N(?), on his own cost, for the health of his brother and his family, has dedicated...(?)  
D.K.Š.



**77.**  
**RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRIJU**

**NIMFI**, mramor

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena (istraživanja 2006. i 2011. godine)

Vis. 60 cm, šir. 90 cm

Pohrana: ZMVT, bb

Literatura: NEMETH-EHRLICH, KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2007: 152; NEMETH-EHRLICH, KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011: 229-230, sl. 16; KUŠAN ŠPALJ, NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110, sl. 22, 23

Reljef s prikazom triju nimfi u polusjedećem položaju, uokviren tordiranim letvicama na bočnim stranama, a na gornjoj strani vijencem od lišća. Dvije nimfe okrenute su gornjim dijelom tijela prema naprijed, a nogama u stranu, dok je treća prikazana s leđa, oslonjena na lijevu nogu, a glava joj je na neprirodan način okrenuta nalijevo. Sve tri u desnoj ruci drže trsku, a lijevom rukom, u kojoj drže vjenčice, naslonjene su na posude iz kojih se izliva voda. Ogrnute su tkaninom koja im pokriva samo koljena, a prebačena je preko lijeve ruke. U gornjim uglovima nalaze se dva delfina, dok je u vodi prikazano nekoliko manjih riba.

D. K. Š.

**77.**  
**RELIEF DEPICTING THREE**

**NYMPHS**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2006 and 2011)

Height: 60 cm, width: 90 cm

Storage: ZMVT, unnumbered

Bibliography: NEMETH-EHRLICH, KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2007: 152; NEMETH-EHRLICH, KUŠAN ŠPALJ 2011:229-230, fig. 16; KUŠAN ŠPALJ, NEMETH-EHRLICH 2012: 110, fig. 22, 23

A relief depicting three nymphs in a half-sitting position, framed laterally with twisted elements, and on the upper side by a wreath of leaves. Two nymphs are turned forward with the upper parts of their bodies, and their legs are turned sideways, while the third one is shown from behind, leaned on her left foot, and her head is unnaturally turned to the left. All three of them are carrying a reed in their right hands, and they are leaned to the vessels from which the water is pouring, using their left hands which are carrying wreaths. They are dressed in fabric which covers only their knees, and it is draped over their left arms. There are two dolphins in the upper corners, and some smaller fish are depicted in the water.

D.K.Š.





**78.**

**PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM  
TRIJU NIMFI I NATPISOM,**

mramor

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u opločenju foruma  
južno od izvorišnog bazena  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 89 cm, šir. 120 cm, deblj. 16 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-7  
Neobjavljeno

Mramorna ploča, zaobljena u gornjem dijelu te podijeljena u dva polja – polje s reljefnim prikazom i polje s natpisom. Na reljefu, koji je s tri strane uokviren vijencem od lišća, prikazane su tri nimfe u poluležećem položaju. U lijevoj ruci drže vjenčiće, u desnoj trsku, a na lijevoj i desnoj nadlaktici imaju narukvice, kao i na lijevom zapešću. Ogrnute su tkaninom koja im pokriva samo koljena, a prebačena je preko lijeve ruke. Na lijevoj je strani prikazan manji delfin, a nimfe su oslonjene na posude iz kojih se izliva voda. Natpisno je polje uokvireno na bočnim stranama noričko-panonskim volutama. Natpis sadrži popis imena, vjerojatno članova nekog udruženja (kolegija), ali je potpuno oštećen u gornjem dijelu.  
D. K. Š.

**78.**

**RELIEF DEPICTING  
THREE NYMPHS, AND AN  
INSCRIPTION, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: forum paving south  
of the spring pool (exploration in  
2011)

Height: 89 cm, width: 120 cm,  
thickness: 16 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-7  
Unpublished

A marble slab, rounded in the upper part and divided into two fields: relief depiction and inscription field. The relief, framed by a wreath of leaves, depicts three nymphs in a half-lying position. They are carrying small wreaths in their left hands, reeds in their right hands, and bracelets on their left and right upper arms and wrists as well. They are dressed in fabric which covers only their knees, and it is draped over their left arms. There is a small dolphin on the left side, and the nymphs are leaned to the vessels from which the water is pouring. The inscription field is framed laterally by Noric-Pannonian volutes. The inscription consists of a list of names, probably members of a certain affiliation (*collegium*), but it is completely damaged in the upper part.  
D.K.Š.





**79.**  
**ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN**  
**NIMFAMA**, mramor

2/3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 108 cm, šir. 51 cm, deb. 30 cm, vis. slova 2 – 4 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-77

Neobjavljeno

Trodijelni monolitni žrtvenik sastoji se od gornjeg dijela (krunište), baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela s natpisom unutar profiliranog okvira:

NYMPHIS /  
AVG(ustis) SACR(um) /  
C(aius) VALERIVS /  
POSPHORVS /  
AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae)  
T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) /  
PRO SALVTE SVA /  
ET SVORVM  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama. Zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio Gaj Valerije Posfor augustal petovijske kolonije Ulpije Trajane za svoje zdravlje i zdravlje svojih. D. K. Š.

**79.**  
**ALTAR DEDICATED TO NYMPHS,**  
**marble**

2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: in the structure of the northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)

Height: 108 cm, width: 51 cm, thickness: 30 cm, height of letters: 2–4 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-77  
Unpublished

A tripartite monolithic altar, which consists of the upper part (the crown), the base with moulding, and the central part with an inscription inside the moulded frame:

NYMPHIS /  
AVG(ustis) SACR(um) /  
C(aius) VALERIVS /  
POSPHORVS /  
AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae)  
T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) /  
PRO SALVTE SVA /  
ET SVORVM  
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Dedicated to the venerable nymphs. The vow was gladly and by merit fulfilled by Gaius Valerius Posphorus, the augustalis of the colony *Ulpia Traiana Poetoviensis*, for his health and the health of his family. D.K.Š.

**8o.****PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI I NATPISOM,**

mramor

161. – 168. godine

Mjesto nalaza: dva fragmenta u zidu istočnog hrama (istraživanje 1967. godine), ostali fragmenti u urušenju sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanje 2011. godine).

Vis. 62 cm, šir. 43,5 cm, deblj. 4 – 8 cm, vis. slova 1,8 – 2,0 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks 6  
Neobjavljeno

Zavjetna ploča podijeljena je na polje s reljefnim prikazom i natpisno polje. Reljef je djelomično sačuvan te prikazuje tri nimfe koje sjede na stijenama. Najbolje je sačuvana lijeva nimfa, u polusjedećem položaju s nogama ustranu, oslonjena na lijevi lakat preko kojeg je prebačena tkanina što pokriva i noge. U desnoj ruci drži trsku. U istom su položaju vjerojatno bile prikazane i preostale dvije nimfe. Od središnje je sačuvana glava te desna ruka s trskom i stopala, dok je od desne sačuvana glava, dio trske, i njoj vjerojatno pripada jedno stopalo oslonjeno na stijene prikazane u donjem dijelu reljefa. Natpisno polje uokvireno je na bočnim stranama noričko-panonskim volutama. Natpis se nalazi i izvan natpisnog polja, na gornjem te na donjem okviru (gdje su između natpisa prikazana dva stilizirana uha i list bršljana).

NYMPHIS AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) /  
VERVS T(iti) IVLI(i) /  
IANVARI(i) COND(uctoris) /  
P(ortorii) P(ublici) ILLYR(ici)  
SERVOS /  
EX PRIVATIS /  
VOT(um) SOL(vit) /  
MESS (ius?) FECIT

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama, Ver, rob Tita Julija Januarija konduktora iliričkog portorija, iz vlastitih sredstava ispunio zavjet. Izradio je Messius (ili Messor?).  
D. K. Š.

**8o.****SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTION OF THREE NYMPHS, AND AN INSCRIPTION, marble**

AD 161–168

Finding site: two fragments in the wall of the eastern temple (exploration in 1967), the rest of the fragments in the ruins of the northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2011)

Height: 62 cm, width: 43.5 cm, thickness: 4–8 cm, height of letters: 1.8–2.0 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks 6  
Unpublished

A votive slab is divided by a relief depiction and an inscription field. The relief is partially preserved and it shows three nymphs sitting on the rocks. The left nymph is preserved the best, she is half-sitting with her legs on the side, leaned onto her elbow, over which a cloth is draped, which also covers her legs. She is holding a reed in her right hand. The other two nymphs had been probably depicted the same way. The head, the right hand with a reed and feet of the middle nymph are preserved, and of the right one the head, a part of a reed, and probably one foot leaned onto the rocks, depicted on the lower part of the relief. The inscription field is laterally framed by Noric-Pannonian volutes. The inscription is also outside of the inscription field, on the upper and lower frame, with two stylized ears and an ivy leaf in between the two inscriptions:

NYMPHIS AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) /  
VERVS T(iti) IVLI(i) /  
IANVARI(i) COND(uctoris) /  
P(ortorii) P(ublici) ILLYR(ici)  
SERVOS /  
EX PRIVATIS /  
VOT(um) SOL(vit) /  
MESS (ius?) FECIT

Dedicated to the venerable nymphs, Verus, the slave of Titus Iulius Ianuaris, the conductor of the Illyrian portorium, had fulfilled the vow using his own resources. Made by Messius (or Messor?).  
D.K.Š.





**81.**  
**THESAURUS**, mramor  
 1. – 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: urušenje sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanja 2006. i 2011. godine)  
 Ø 45 cm, vis. 25 cm, vis. slova 4 – 4,5 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-25  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Poklopac kamene posude koja je služila za prikupljanje darova u novcu. Na gornjoj strani prerez za ubacivanje kovanica veličine 5 cm, uz koji se nalazi reljefno izvedena glava zmije čije je tijelo „omotano“ oko vanjske površine poklopca. Na bočnim su stranama (uz donji rub) utori za drške (s tragovima olova). Na gornjoj površini natpis:  
 SAC(rum) NYMP(his)  
 Posvećeno nimfama  
 D. K. Š.

**81.**  
**THESAURUS**, marble  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: the ruins of the southern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2006 and 2011)  
 Ø: 45 cm, height: 25 cm, height of letters: 4–4.5 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-25  
 Unpublished  
 A lid of a stone container, which had been used to collect money as gifts. On the upper side there is a 5 cm slot for inserting coins, with a relief of the head of a snake next to it, whose body entwines the outer surface of the lid. The lateral sides (next to the lower edge) are openings for handles (with traces of lead). There is an inscription on the upper surface:  
 SAC(rum) NYMP(his)  
 Dedicated to the nymphs.  
 D.K.Š.



**82.**  
**RELJEF S PRIKAZOM TRIJU NIMFI**, mramor  
 2. – 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: u urušenju i konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanja 2011. i 2012. godine)  
 Vis. 56 cm, šir. 60 cm, deblj. 2,5 – 6 cm  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-23  
 Neobjavljeno  
 Reljef s prikazom triju nimfi u stojećem položaju, s razgolićenim gornjim dijelom tijela i plaštom koji klizi niz bokove. Srednja drži školjku ispred sebe, dok dvije bočne drže vijenac iznad njezine glave, a u drugoj ruci trsku. Vidljivi su tragovi boje kojom su bili oslikani dijelovi trske i biljaka u donjem dijelu reljefa (vjerojatno se originalno radilo o zelenoj boji).  
 D. K. Š.

**82.**  
**RELJEF DEPICTING THREE NYMPHS**, marble  
 2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: in the ruins and the structure of the northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2011 and 2012)  
 Height: 56 cm, width: 60 cm  
 thickness: 2.5–6 cm  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-23  
 Unpublished  
 A relief depicting three nymphs standing, with nude upper part of their bodies and with capes which slide along their hips. The middle one is holding a seashell in front of her, and the lateral ones are holding a wreath above her head. Also visible are the traces of colour used to paint the parts of reeds and plants in the lower section of the relief (the original colour was probably green).  
 D.K.Š.

**83.**  
**PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM**  
**TRIJU BOŽICA I NATPISOM,**

mramor

2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: jedan fragment u urušenu sjevernog zida (istraživanje 2006. godine), a preostali dijelovi u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida (istraživanja 2012. godine).  
Vis. 50 cm (?), šir. 38 cm, deblj. 1,5 – 4 cm, vis. slova 2,7 – 3,7 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-81

Neobjavljeno

Djelomično sačuvan reljef s prikazom triju ženskih likova u stojećem položaju. Najbolje je sačuvan goli ženski lik na lijevoj strani reljefa, s kosom koja pada do ramena i obručima na lijevoj i desnoj nadlaktici. Od središnjeg ženskog lika sačuvan je samo lijevi (goli) bok. Ženski lik na desnoj strani reljefa odjeven u haljinu, koja pada do ispod koljena i pokriva desno rame, dok je lijeva ruka gola, s obručem na nadlaktici i u njoj drži neki duguljasti predmet. U donjem dijelu ploče nalazi se polje s natpisom, s mjestimično sačuvanom crvenom bojom u slovima:

NIFEIS AVG(ustis) VL

PIA IVSTINA

EX VOTO POSVIT L(ibenter)

Uzvišenim Nifejama. Prema zavjetu je rado postavila Ulpija Justina.

D. K. Š.

**83.**  
**SLAB WITH A RELIEF DEPICTION**  
**OF THREE GODDESSES, AND**  
**AN INSCRIPTION, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: one fragment in the ruins of the northern wall (exploration in 2006), and the rest in the structure of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring pool (exploration in 2012).  
Height: 50 cm (?), width: 38 cm, thickness: 1.5–4 cm, height of letters: 2.7–3.7 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-81  
Unpublished

A partially preserved relief depicting three females (probably nymphs) in a standing position. The naked female on the left side of the relief is preserved the best, with shoulder-length hair and bands on the left and right upper arm. There is only a left (naked) hip preserved from the central female character. The right-side female is dressed in a knee-length dress which covers her right shoulder, while her left arm is bare, with a band on her upper arm, and in it she is holding a certain oblong object. In the lower part of the slab there is an inscription field, with sporadically preserved red letter paint:

NIFEIS AVG(ustis) VL

PIA IVSTINA

EX VOTO POSVIT L(ibenter)

To the venerable Nifae. Set gladly by Ulpia Iustina according to her vow.

D.K.Š.







**84.**  
**DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM  
NIMFE**, mramor

2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks

Vis. 16 cm, šir. 21 cm, deblj. 4 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18425

Literatura: GORENC, VIKIĆ 1980:

sl. 17

Dio reljefa s prikazom gornjeg dijela tijela nimfe koja sa strane drži ovalni predmet (školjka?).

D. K. Š.

**84.**  
**PART OF A RELIEF DEPICTING A  
NYMPH**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: bath complex

Height: 16 cm, width: 21 cm,

thickness: 4 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18425

Bibliography: GORENC, VIKIĆ

1980: fig. 17

A part of a relief depicting the upper part of a nymph's body, who is holding an oval object on the side (seashell?).

D.K.Š.



**85.**  
**DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM  
GLAVE NIMFE**, mramor

2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: kupališni kompleks  
(istraživanje 1959. godine)

Vis. 16 cm, šir. 15 cm, deblj. 6 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18423

Literatura: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,

GORENC 1970: 136, T.XV

Dio desnoga gornjeg ugla reljefa na kojem su vjerojatno bile prikazane tri nimfe u sjedećem položaju. Sačuvana je glava jedne nimfe i dio trske koji je vjerojatno držala u desnoj ruci.

D. K. Š.

**85.**  
**PART OF A RELIEF DEPICTING  
THE HEAD OF A NYMPH**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: bath complex

(exploration in 1959)

Height: 16 cm, width: 15 cm,

thickness: 6 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18423

Bibliography: VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ,

GORENC 1970:136, T. XV

A part of the right upper corner of the relief, which probably had depicted three nymphs sitting. The head of one nymph is preserved, and the part of a reed, which she had been probably holding in her right hand.

D.K.Š.



**86.**  
**DIO RELJEFA S PRIKAZOM LEĐA  
NIMFE**, mramor

2. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje  
1964. godine)

Vis. 22 cm, šir. 17 cm, deblj. 4 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18424

Neobjavljeno

D. K. Š.

**86.**  
**PART OF A RELIEF DEPICTING  
THE NYMPH'S BACK**, marble

2<sup>nd</sup> century

Finding site: forum (exploration  
in 1964)

Height: 22 cm, width: 17 cm,

thickness: 4 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18424

Unpublished

D.K.Š.

**87.**

**DIO RELJEFA S NATPISOM,**

mramor

2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: forum (istraživanje 2013. godine)

Vis. 13 cm, šir. 15 cm, deblj. 4 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-86

Neobjavljeno

Dio reljefa s prikazom donjeg dijela tijela (vjerojatno nimfe) i s natpisom na donjem okviru ploče:

[nymphis] AVG(stis) AEL(ius?)[---]  
[---] PRO SALVT[e][---]  
[v](otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Uzvišenim nimfama. Elije(?)[---]

[---] za zdravlje[---]

Zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio  
D. K. Š.

**87.**

**PART OF A RELIEF WITH AN INSCRIPTION, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: forum (exploration in 2013)

Height: 13 cm, width: 15 cm, thickness: 4 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-86  
Unpublished

A part of a relief depicting the lower part of the body (probably nymph), and with an inscription in the lower frame of the slab:

[nymphis] AVG(stis) AEL(ius?)[---]  
[---] PRO SALVT[e][---]  
[v](otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

To the venerable nymphs.

Aelius(?)[---]

[---] for the health[---]

The vow was gladly and by merit fulfilled.

D.K.Š.



**88.**

**DIO RELJEFA S NATPISOM,**

mramor

2. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u zidu zapadnog hrama (istraživanje 1967. godine)

Vis. 17 cm, šir. 18 cm, deblj. 4 cm

Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18421

Neobjavljeno

Dio reljefa s prikazom donjeg dijela tijela (vjerojatno nimfe) i žrtvenika, na kojem je natpis (NYF/RIS ili NYF/EIS), te s natpisom na donjem okviru sa sačuvanim imenom (Dillius):

[---] DILLIVS [---]

[---] P[---]

D. K. Š.

**88.**

**PART OF A RELIEF WITH AN INSCRIPTION, marble**

2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: in the wall of the western temple (exploration in 1967)

Height: 17 cm, width: 18 cm, thickness: 4 cm

Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18421  
Unpublished

A part of a relief depicting the lower part of bodies (probably of nymphs) and an altar on which there is an inscription (NYF/RIS ili NYF/EIS), and the inscription on the lower frame (with the name *Dillius*)

[---] DILLIVS [---]

[---] P[---]

D.K.Š.





**89.**  
**VOTIVNI PREDMET – STATUETE**  
**TRI GRACIJE, olovo**

2. – 3. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: južna prigradnja bazilike (istraživanje 1957. godine)  
 Vis. 4,2 cm, šir. 3,7 cm  
 Pohrana: AMZ, inv. br. A-18183  
 Neobjavljeno

Votivni predmet s prikazom triju golih ženskih likova (tri Gracije) koje stoje unutar stiliziranog arhitektonskog okvira. Središnja je okrenuta leđima, a bočne *en face*. S donje strane otvor za nasad.  
 D. K. Š.

**89.**  
**VOTIVE ARTEFACT –**  
**STATUETTES OF THE THREE**  
**GRACES, lead**

2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century  
 Finding site: southern annex of the basilica (exploration in 1957)  
 Height: 4.2 cm, width: 3.7 cm  
 Storage: AMZ, inv. no. A-18183  
 Unpublished

A votive artefact depicting three naked females (three Graces) standing inside the stylized architectural frame. The middle figure has her back turned, and the lateral ones are depicted *en face*. There is an opening for the handle on the lower side.  
 D.K.Š.



**90.**  
**PERLE RAZLIČITIH OBLIKA,**

jantar  
 1. – 4. st.  
 Mjesto nalaza: izvorište (istraživanja 2006., 2011., 2012. godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 254/13

a) perle cilindričnog oblika, kružnog presjeka i perforirane duž glavne osi (2 kom.) duž. 1,3 – 3 cm  
 b) okrugle plosnate perle, zaobljenog ili ravnog ruba perforirane duž vertikalne osi (35 kom.) Ø 0,8 – 2,6 cm  
 c) dvostruke perle, gornji uži dio horizontalno je perforiran i jednostavnim urezom odvojen od donjeg šireg dijela (3 kom.) vis. 2 – 2,4 cm  
 Neobjavljeno  
 N. P.

**90.**  
**BEADS OF DIFFERENT SHAPES,**

amber  
 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
 Finding site: spring pool (exploration in 2006, 2011, 2012)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 254/13

a) beads of a cylindrical shape, circular in cross section, perforated along the main axis (2 pieces), length: 1.3–3 cm  
 b) round flat beads, with rounded or flat rim, perforated along the vertical axis (35 pieces), Ø: 0.8–2.6 cm  
 c) duplicate beads, the upper narrower part is horizontally perforated and separated from the wider part by a simple cut (3 pieces) height: 2–2.4 cm  
 Unpublished  
 N.P.

**91.**  
**PERLA ZVJEZDASTOG OBLIKA,**  
zeleno staklo  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 1,8 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
431/12  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**92.**  
**PERLE, ahat**  
1. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanja 2011., 2012. godine)  
a) duž. 2,7 cm; b) Ø 1,8 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
638/11, Pn. 2914/12  
Neobjavljeno  
Dvije perle od bijelog ahata  
okruglog i valjkastog oblika.  
N. P.

**93.**  
**PREĐICA POJASNE KOPČE,**  
bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Vis. 4 cm, šir. 1,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
62/13  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**94.**  
**PREĐICE POJASNE KOPČE,**  
bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanja 2011., 2012. godine)  
Vis. 4 cm, šir. 1 cm i 1,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
82/11, Pn. 2079/12  
Neobjavljeno  
Pređice s trnom, na sredini  
sedlasto povijene.  
N. P.

**91.**  
**STAR-SHAPED BEAD,** green glass  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 1.8 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
431/12  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**92.**  
**BEADS, agate**  
1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011, 2012)  
a) length: 2.7 cm b) Ø: 1.8 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
638/11, Pn. 2914/12  
Unpublished  
Two perls of rounded and  
cylindrical shape made of white  
agate.  
N.P.



**93.**  
**BUCKLE RING OF A BELT**  
**BUCKLE, bronze**  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Height: 4 cm, width: 1.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 62/13  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**94.**  
**BUCKLE RING OF A BELT**  
**BUCKLE, bronze**  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011, 2012)  
Height: 4 cm, width: 1 cm and 1.5  
cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
82/11, Pn. 2079/12  
Unpublished  
Buckle rings with pins, curved like  
a saddle.  
N.P.





**95. PREDICA POJASNE KOPČE,**

bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 4 cm, šir. 2,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
83/11

Neobjavljeno

Predica pojasne kopče sa  
zoomorfno oblikovanim okvirom u  
obliku para životinjskih glava.

N. P.

**95. BUCKLE RING OF A BELT  
BUCKLE,** bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Height: 4 cm, width: 2.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
83/11

Unpublished

A buckle ring of a belt buckle, with  
zoomorphically shaped frame  
depicting a pair of animal heads.

N.P.



**96. POJASNI OKOV,** bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Vis. 5,5 cm, šir. 3,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
284/11

Neobjavljeno

Četvrtasti okov vojničkog pojasa  
sa središnjim dijelom tzv.  
propelerskog oblika.

N. P.

**96. BELT FITTING,** bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Height: 5.5 cm, width: 3.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
284/11

Unpublished

A quadrangular belt fitting of  
a military belt with a central  
propeller-shaped part.

N.P.



**97. FIBULA LUKOVIČASTOG TIPA,**

bronca

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Duž. 7 cm, šir. 4 cm, vis. 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
179/13

Neobjavljeno

N. P.

**97. CROSSBOW FIBULA,** bronze

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Length: 7 cm, width: 4 cm, height:  
2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
179/13

Unpublished

N.P.



**98.**

**PRSTEN**, bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Ø 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

1451/11

Neobjavljeno

Prsten u obliku jednostavnoga zatvorenog obruča trakastog presjeka s urezanim ukrasima s vanjske strane.

N. P.

**98.**

**RING**, bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Ø: 2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

1451/11

Unpublished

A ring shaped like a simple closed hoop, strap-shaped in cross section, and with carved decorations on the outer side.

N.P.



**99.**

**PRSTEN**, srebro

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Ø 1,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

1600/11

Neobjavljeno

Prsten trakastog presjeka, jednostavnoga zatvorenog obruča s vanjske strane, ukrašen točkastim ornamentom.

N. P.

**99.**

**RING**, silver

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Ø: 1.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

1600/11

Unpublished

A ring, strap-shaped in cross section, with a simple closed hoop, adorned with dotted ornament on the outer side.

N.P.



**100.**

**PRSTEN**, srebro

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Ø 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

2969/11

Neobjavljeno

Prsten trakastog presjeka sa stanjenim krajevima koji se preklapaju.

N. P.

**100.**

**RING**, silver

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011 )

Ø: 2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

2969/11

Unpublished

A ring, strap-shaped in cross section, with thinned overlapping ends.

N.P.





**101.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 1,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2899/12  
Neobjavljeno

Prsten u obliku jednostavnoga zatvorenog obruča s ukrasnom glavom od dvije tanke žice koje tvore ležište za kamen.  
N. P.

**101.**  
**RING**, bronzes  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 1.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
2899/12  
Unpublished

A ring shaped like a simple closed hoop, with an ornamental head made of two thin wires which form a bezel setting for a stone.  
N.P.



**102.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 2 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ,  
Pn.728/12  
Neobjavljeno

Prsten trakastog presjeka s otvorenim stanjenim krajevima koji se spajaju.  
N. P.

**102.**  
**RING**, bronzes  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 2 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ,  
Pn.728/12  
Unpublished

A ring, strap-shaped in cross section, with open, thinned, and connected ends.  
N.P.



**103.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 2 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
740/12  
Neobjavljeno

Prsten jednostavnoga zatvorenog obruča od žice okruglog presjeka.  
N. P.

**103.**  
**RING**, bronzes  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 2 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
740/12  
Unpublished

A ring with a simple closed hoop made of wire, circular in cross section.  
N.P.

**104.**

**PRSTEN**, srebro

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Vis. 2,6 cm, šir. 2,3 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

169/13

Neobjavljeno

Prsten od tanke žice kružnog presjeka i ovalnog ležišta u kojem je bila gema ili kamen.

N. P.

**104.**

**RING**, silver

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring (exploration in 2012)

Height: 2.6 cm, width: 2.3 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

169/13

Unpublished

A ring made of thin wire, circular in cross section, with oval bezel setting, in which an engraved gem or a stone had been inserted.

N.P.



**105.**

**PRSTEN**, bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Ø 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

76/13

Neobjavljeno

Prsten jednostavnoga zatvorenog obruča od tanke žice okruglog presjeka.

N. P.

**105.**

**RING**, bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Ø: 2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

76/13

Unpublished

Ring with a simple closed hoop made of thin wire, circular in cross section.

N.P.



**106.**

**PRSTEN**, bronca

4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Ø 1,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

48/13

Neobjavljeno

Prsten od tanke žice trakastog presjeka, stanjenih i preklopljenih krajeva, s vanjske strane ukrašen trokutastim urezima.

N. P.

**106.**

**RING**, bronze

4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Ø: 1.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

48/13

Unpublished

A ring made of thin wire, strap-shaped in cross section, with thinned and overlapped ends, adorned with triangular cuts on the outer side.

N.P.





**107.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 1,8 cm, Ø glave 6 mm, vis. 2 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
19/13  
Neobjavljeno  
Prsten od tanke žice trakastog presjeka, na kojoj je kružno oblikovana ukrasna pločica s kristogramom, s vanjske strane ukrašen urezima.  
N. P.

**107.**  
**RING**, bronze  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 1.8 cm, Ø of the head: 6 mm,  
height: 2 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
19/13  
Unpublished  
A ring made of thin wire, strap-shaped in cross section, on which there is a circular decorative plate with a christogram, adorned with cuts on the outer side.  
N.P.



**108.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine )  
Šir. 2,2 cm, dim. glave 0,9x1 cm,  
ukupna vis. 2,1 cm,  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
27/13  
Neobjavljeno  
Prsten od žice trakastog presjeka na kojoj je kvadratno oblikovana ukrasna pločica s urezanim motivom kristograma.  
N. P.

**108.**  
**RING**, bronze  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012 )  
Width: 2.2 cm, head dimensions:  
0,9 x 1 cm, overall height: 2.1 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
27/13  
Unpublished  
A ring made of wire, triangular in cross section, on which there is a quadrangular decorative plate with a carved christogram motif.  
N.P.



**109.**  
**PRSTEN**, bronca  
3. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Ø 2,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2974/12  
Neobjavljeno  
Prsten od tanke žice na kojoj je ovalno oblikovana ukrasna glava.  
N. P.

**109.**  
**RING**, bronze  
3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Ø: 2.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
2974/12  
Unpublished  
A ring made of thin wire, on which there is an oval-shaped decorative head.  
N.P.

**110.**

**PRSTEN**, bronca

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Ø 2 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

3011/12

Neobjavljeno

Prsten od tanke žice trakastog presjeka na kojoj je okruglo oblikovana ukrasna glava.

N. P.

**110.**

**RING**, bronz

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Ø: 2 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

3011/12

Unpublished

A ring made of thin wire, strap-shaped in cross section, on which there is a round decorative head.

N.P.



**111.**

**PRSTENJE**, bronca

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Ø 2,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

84/11, Pn. 264/11

Neobjavljeno

Prstenje od tanke žice trakastog presjeka, i kvadratno oblikovanih ukrasnih glava. Jedan oštećen.

N. P.

**111.**

**RINGS**, bronz

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Ø: 2.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

84/11, Pn. 264/11

Unpublished

Rings made of thin wire, strap-shaped in cross section, with quadrangular decorative heads. One is damaged.

N.P.



**112.**

**PRSTEN**, bronca

3. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Ø 2,5 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

286/11

Neobjavljeno

Prsten od tanke žice s ovalno oblikovanim ležištem u kojem je bila gema ili kamen.

N. P.

**112.**

**RING**, bronz

3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Ø: 2.5 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

286/11

Unpublished

A ring made of thin wire, with oval-shaped bezel setting, in which an engraved gem or a stone had been inserted.

N.P.







**113.**  
**NARUKVICA**, bronca  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Ø 7,1 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 81/11  
Neobjavljeno

Narukvica od deblje žice otvorenih i blago stanjenih krajeva koji su s gornje strane ukrašeni paralelnim urezima.

N. P.

**113.**  
**BRACELET**, bronze  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Ø: 7.1 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 81/11  
Unpublished

A bracelet made of thick wire, with opened and slightly thinned ends, adorned with parallel cuts on the upper side.

N.P.



**114.**  
**NARUKVICA**, kost  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Šir. 1 cm, deblj. 0,1 cm, duž. 6,5 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ,  
Pn.733/12  
Neobjavljeno

Dio koštane narukvice trakastog presjeka, ukrašene motivom koncentričnih kružnica s točkom u sredini.

N. P.

**114.**  
**BRACELET**, bone  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Width: 1 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm,  
length: 6.5 cm  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.733 /12  
Unpublished

A part of a bone bracelet, strap-shaped in cross section, adorned with concentric circles with a dot in the middle.

N.P.



**115.**  
**RUBOVI I DNA RAZLIČITIH POSUDA**, staklo  
2. – 4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanja 2011. i 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
1578/11, 1601/11, 430/12, 729/12,  
2342/12, 645/11  
Neobjavljeno  
N. P.

**115.**  
**RIMS AND BOTTOMS OF VARIOUS VESSELS**, glass  
2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011, 2012)  
Temporary storage : AMZ, Pn.  
1578/11, 1601/11, 430/12, 729/12,  
2342/12, 645/11  
Unpublished  
N.P.



**116.**  
**DIO TANJURA**, staklo  
4. st.  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Ø 26 cm  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 565/11  
Neobjavljeno  
Dijelovi tanjura s ukrasom koncentričnih krugova na dnu.  
N. P.

**116.**  
**PART OF A PLATE**, glass  
4<sup>th</sup> century  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Ø: 26 cm  
Temporary storage : AMZ, Pn. 565/11  
Unpublished

Parts of a plate decorated with concentric circles at the bottom.

N.P.

**117.**

**VOTIVNA PLOČICA**, vapnenac

1. – 4. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Vis. 9,5 cm, šir. 5,1 – 7,1 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

273/12

Neobjavljeno

Votivna pločica u obliku žrtvenika s jednostavnim urezima kojima su označeni rubovi, zabat i rozeta. N. P.

**117.**

**VOTIVE PLATE**, limestone

1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Height: 9.5 cm, width: 5.1–7.1 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

273/12

Unpublished

A votive tile, altar-shaped, with simple cuts that mark the edges, gable and rosette.

N.P.



**118.**

**POKLOPAC KUTIJE ZA PEČAČENJE**, bronca

1. – 3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Vis. 2 cm, šir. 1,8 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

3014/12

Neobjavljeno

N. P.

**118.**

**LID OF A SEAL BOX**, bronze

1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Height: 2 cm, width: 1.8 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

3014/12

Unpublished

N.P.



**119.**

**NOVAC CARA NERONA**, orihalk

sestercij, Lugdunum

Oko 65. godine

AE, 27,08 g, 34x37 mm, o6 h

RIC 442 var (IMP P umjesto PP)

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište

(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

2995/12

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**119.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR NERO**,

bronze (orichalcum)

sestertius, Lugdunum

c. AD 65

AE, 27.08 g, 34 x 37 mm, o6 h

RIC 442 var (IMP P instead of PP)

Finding site: spring pool

(exploration in 2012)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn

2995/12

Unpublished

T.B.



**120.**

**NOVAC CARA NERONA**, orihalk

sestercij, Lugdunum

Oko 65. godine

AE (orihalk), 25,79 g, 34x35 mm,

o7 h

RIC 439 var (GERM umjesto GER)

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište

(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.

2996/12

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**120.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR NERO**,

orichalcum

sestertius, Lugdunum

AD 65

AE (orichalcum), 25.79 g, 34 x 35

mm, o7 h

RIC 439 var (GERM instead of GER)

Finding site: spring pool

(exploration in 2012)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.

2996/12

Unpublished

T.B.





**121.**  
**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA,**  
bronca  
(kovan za Tita), as, Rim  
80. – 81. godine  
AE, 7,81 g, 25 mm, 05 h  
RIC 343  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 856  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**121.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN,**  
bronze  
(minted under Titus), as, Rome  
AD 80–81  
AE, 7.81 g, 25 mm, 05 h  
RIC 343  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 856  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**122.**  
**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA,**  
orihalk  
as, Rim  
Kraj 81. godine  
AE (orihalk), 13,48 g, 28x29 mm,  
05 h  
RIC 89  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2998/12  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**122.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN,**  
orichalcum  
as, Rome  
the end of AD 81  
AE (orichalcum), 13.48 g, 28 x 29  
mm, 05 h  
RIC 89  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
2998/12  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**123.**  
**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA,**  
orihalk  
provincijalni sestercij, Trakija  
81. ili 82. godine  
AE (orihalk), 16,36 g, 33x35 mm,  
06 h  
RIC 831 ili 837; RPC 526 ili 530  
(COS VII ili VIII)  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 636  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**123.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN,**  
orichalcum  
provincial sestertius, Thrace  
AD 81 or 82  
AE (orichalcum), 16.36 g, 33 x 35  
mm, 06 h  
RIC 831 or 837; RPC 526 or 530  
(COS VII or VIII)  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 636  
Unpublished  
T.B.

**124.**

**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA,**

orihalk

sestercij, Rim

88. – 89. godine

AE (orihalk), 25,12 g, 35x36 mm,  
06 h

Vjerojatno RIC 633 dif (Nika drži  
palminu granu u lijevoj ruci);  
natpis na aversu nečitak.

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2997/12

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**124.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN,**

orichalcum

sestertius, Rome

AD 88–89

AE (orichalcum), 25,12 g, 35 x 36  
mm, 06 h

Probably RIC 633 dif (Nike is  
holding a palm branch in left  
hand); the obverse contains an  
illegible inscription

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
2997/12

Unpublished

T.B.



**125.**

**NOVAC CARA DOMICIJANA,**

orihalk

dupondij, Rim

85. – 96. godine

AE (orihalk), 7,14 g, 26x28 mm, 06 h  
RIC 374, 484, 540-541, 644-645,

706, 754, 805

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
956

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**125.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR DOMITIAN,**

orichalcum

dupondius, Rome

AD 85–96

AE (orichalcum), 7,14 g, 26 x 28  
mm, 06 h

RIC 374, 484, 540–541, 644–645,  
706, 754, 805

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 956  
Unpublished

T.B.



**126.**

**NOVAC CARA TRAJANA,** bronca

as, Rim

103. – 111. godine (RIC), c. 2/II 107.  
– 108. godine (MIR)

AE, 11,31 g, 28 mm, 05 h

RIC 588 = MIR 295b

Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
847

Neobjavljeno

T. B.

**126.**

**COIN OF EMPEROR TRAJAN,**

bronze

as, Rome

AD 103–111 (RIC), c. 2/II AD  
107–108 (MIR)

AE, 11,31 g, 28 mm, 05 h

RIC 588 = MIR 295b

Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)

Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 847  
Unpublished

T.B.





**127.**  
**NOVAC CARA TRAJANA**, bronca  
 as, Rim  
 103. – 111. godine (RIC), c. 2/II 107.  
 – 108. godine (MIR)  
 AE, 8,51 g, 27x28 mm, 06 h  
 RIC 575 = MIR 304b  
 Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
 (istraživanje 2011. godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
 1048  
 Neobjavljeno  
 T. B.

**127.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR TRAJAN**,  
 bronze  
 as, Rome  
 AD 103–111 (RIC), c. 2/II AD  
 107–108 (MIR)  
 AE, 8.51 g, 27 x 28 mm, 06 h  
 RIC 575 = MIR 304b  
 Finding site: spring pool  
 (exploration in 2011)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1048  
 Unpublished  
 T.B.



**128.**  
**NOVAC CARA TRAJANA**, orihalk  
 sestercij, Rim  
 103. – 111. godine (RIC), 108. –  
 109/110. godine (MIR)  
 AE (orihalk), 23,58 g, 34 mm, 06 h  
 RIC 500 = MIR 329bD  
 Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
 (istraživanje 2011. godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
 979  
 Neobjavljeno  
 T. B.

**128.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR TRAJAN**,  
 orichalcum  
 sestertius, Rome  
 AD 103–111 (RIC), AD 108–109/110  
 (MIR)  
 AE (orichalcum), 23.58 g, 34 mm,  
 06 h  
 RIC 500 = MIR 329bD  
 Finding site: spring (exploration  
 in 2011)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 979  
 Unpublished  
 T.B.



**129.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA**,  
 bronca  
 sestercij, Rim  
 119. godine  
 AE, 26,29 g, 33x34 mm, 05 h  
 RIC 563b  
 Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
 (istraživanje 2012. godine)  
 Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
 236/13  
 Neobjavljeno  
 T. B.

**129.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN**,  
 bronze  
 sestertius, Rome  
 AD 119  
 AE, 26.29 g, 33 x 34 mm, 05 h  
 RIC 563b  
 Finding site: spring pool  
 (exploration in 2012)  
 Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
 236/13  
 Unpublished  
 T.B.



**130.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA,**  
bronca  
sestercij, Rim  
121. godine  
AE, 24,69 g, 33x34 mm, o6 h  
RIC 611b  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**130.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN,**  
bronze  
sestertius, Rome  
AD 121  
AE, 24.69 g, 33 x 34 mm, o6 h  
RIC 611b  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**131.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA,**  
bronca  
as, Rim  
125. – 128. godine  
AE, 10,13 g, 26 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 841  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**131.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN,**  
bronze  
as, Rome  
AD 125–128  
AE, 10.13 g, 26 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 841  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**132.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA,**  
bronca  
as, Rim  
125. – 128. godine  
AE, 9,29 g, 25 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 1072  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**132.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN.**  
bronze  
as, Rome  
AD 125–128  
AE, 9.29 g, 25 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1072  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**133.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA,**  
bronca  
as, Rim  
125. – 128. godine  
AE, 10,27 g, 25x26 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 845  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**133.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN,**  
bronze  
as, Rome bronze  
AD 125–128  
AE, 10.7 g, 25 x 26 mm, o6 h  
RIC 678  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 845  
Unpublished  
T.B.





**134.**  
**NOVAC CARA HADRIJANA,**  
bronca  
as, Rim  
125. – 128. godine (?)  
AE, 9,56 g, 26x29 mm, 06 h  
RIC 669 ili 975 (nečitko PP na  
aversu)  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn. 1121  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**134.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR HADRIAN,**  
bronze  
as, Rome  
AD 125–128 (?)  
AE, 9.56 g, 26 x 29 mm, 06 h  
RIC 669 or 975 (illegible PP on the  
obverse)  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1121  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**135.**  
**NOVAC CARICE LUCILE,** orihalk  
sestercij, Rim  
164. – 168/9. godine (RIC), 164. –  
166/167. godine (MIR str. 232-233)  
AE (orihalk), 21,53 g, 29x31 mm, 06 h  
RIC 1736 = MIR Lu 29  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
1627  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**135.**  
**COIN OF EMPRESS LUCILLA,**  
orichalcum  
sestertius, Rome  
AD 164–168/9 (RIC), AD 164–  
166/167 (MIR p. 232–233)  
AE (orichalcum), 21.53 g, 29 x 31  
mm, 06 h  
RIC 1736 = MIR Lu 29  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 1627  
Unpublished  
T.B.



**136.**  
**NOVAC CARICE JULIJE DOMNE,**  
orihalk  
dupondij, Rim  
196. – 211. godine  
AE (orihalk), 8,29 g, 25 mm, 06 h  
RIC 890  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2011. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
205  
Neobjavljeno  
T. B.

**136.**  
**COIN OF EMPRESS JULIA  
DOMNA,** orichalcum  
dupondius, Rome  
AD 196–211  
AE (orichalcum), 8.29 g, 25 mm,  
06 h  
RIC 890  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2011)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn. 205  
Unpublished  
T.B.

**137.**  
**NOVAC CARA SEPTIMIJA SEVERA**, orihalk  
dupondij, Rim  
210. godine  
AE (orihalk), 26,5 x 26,5 mm, 13,66 g, 10 h  
RIC 802  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
73/13  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**137.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS**, orichalcum  
dupondius, Rome  
AD 210  
AE (orichalcum), 26,5 x 26,5 mm, 13.66 g, 10 h  
RIC 802  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
73/13  
Unpublished  
M.N.



**138.**  
**NOVAC CARA GORDIJANA III**, zlato  
aureus, Rim  
241. – 243. godine  
AV, 21 mm, 5,29 g, 01 h  
RIC 105  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
3/2013  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**138.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR GORDIAN III**, gold  
aureus, Rome  
AD 241–243  
AV, 21 mm, 5.29 g, 01 h  
RIC 105  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
3/2013  
Unpublished  
M.N.



**139.**  
**NOVAC CARA FILIPA I**, zlato  
aureus, Rim  
244. – 247. godine  
AV, 20x19,5 mm, 4,68 g, 12 h  
RIC 28a  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
2/2013  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**139.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR PHILIP I**, gold  
aureus, Rome  
AD 244–247  
AV, 20 x 19.5 mm, 4.68 g, 12 h  
RIC 28a  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
2/2013  
Unpublished  
M.N.





**140.**  
**NOVAC CARA KLAUDIJA II.**  
**GOTSKOG,** zlato  
aureus, Siscija  
Kraj 268., početak 269. godine  
AV 16 x 17,5 mm, 1,32 g, 12 h  
RIC temp. 586 (<http://www.ric.mom.fr/en/coin/586>) (S. Estiot),  
RIC 178 dif (AR), Šipuš 4 dif (AR)  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
196/13  
Neobjavljeno  
T.B. i M. N.

**140.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR CLAUDIUS II**  
**(CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS),** gold  
aureus, Siscia  
the end of AD 268 – the beginning  
of AD 269  
AV 16 x 17,5 mm, 1.32 g, 12 h  
RIC temp. 586 (<http://www.ric.mom.fr/en/coin/586>) (S. Estiot),  
RIC 178 dif (AR), Šipuš 4 dif (AR)  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
196/13  
Unpublished  
T.B., M.N.



**141.**  
**NOVAC CARA LICINIJA I,** bronca  
num, Siscija  
313. – 315. godine  
AE, 20,5 mm, 3,54 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 8  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**141.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR LICINIUS I,**  
bronze  
nummus, Siscia  
AD 313–315  
AE, 20.5 mm, 3.54 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 8  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Unpublished  
M.N.



**142.**  
**NOVAC CARA KONSTANTINA I,**  
bronca  
num, Ticinum  
314. – 315. godine  
AE, 19x20 mm, 3,35 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 20  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
32/13  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**142.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR**  
**CONSTANTINE I,** bronze  
nummus, Ticinum  
AD 314–315  
AE, 19 x 20 mm, 3.35 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 20  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
32/13  
Unpublished  
M.N.

**143.**  
**NOVAC CARA KONSTANTINA I,**  
bronca  
AE3, Ticinum  
322. – 325. godine  
AE, 18 mm, 2,87 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 167  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**144.**  
**NOVAC CARA KONSTANTINA I,**  
bronca  
AE3, Siscija  
328. – 329. godine  
AE 18,5 x 19, 2,95 g, 01 h  
RIC VII 214  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
21/2013  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**145.**  
**NOVAC CARA KONSTANTA,**  
bronca  
AE3, Siscija  
340. – 348. godine  
AE, 16,5x16, 1,68 g, 04 h.  
RIC 182  
Mjesto nalaza: izvorište  
(istraživanje 2012. godine)  
Privremena pohrana: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Neobjavljeno  
M. N.

**143.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR**  
**CONSTANTINE I,** bronze  
AE3, Ticinum  
AD 322–325  
AE, 18 mm, 2.87 g, 12 h  
RIC VII 167  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Unpublished  
M.N.

**144.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR**  
**CONSTANTINE I,** bronze  
AE3, Siscia  
AD 328–329  
AE 18.5 x 19, 2.95 g, 01 h  
RIC VII 214  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
21/2013  
Unpublished  
M.N.

**145.**  
**COIN OF EMPEROR CONSTANS,**  
bronze  
AE3, Siscia  
AD 340–348  
AE, 16.5 x 16, 1.68 g, 4 h  
RIC 182  
Finding site: spring pool  
(exploration in 2012)  
Temporary storage: AMZ, Pn.  
24/13  
Unpublished  
M.N.







**146.**  
**PLOČA S RELJEFNIM PRIKAZOM**  
**BRAČNOG PARA I NATPISOM,**

mramor

3. st.

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji i urušenju sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (istraživanja 2011. i 2012. godine)

Vis. 54 cm, šir. 40,5 cm, deblj. 6 – 7, vis. slova 2,7 – 3 cm

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-30

Neobjavljeno

Mramorna ploča podijeljena je u dva polja – polje s reljefnim prikazom i polje s natpisom.

U reljefnom su polju prikazani muškarac i žena, a način na koji su izvedeni detalji lica upućuju da je riječ o portretima. Muškarac je odjeven u tuniku širokih rukava iznad kojeg ima ogrtač (*sagum*) koji na lijevoj strani pokriva dio ruke. U lijevoj ruci drži svitak na koji pokazuje desnom rukom (ispruženim kažiprstom i srednjim prstom). Žena je također odjevena u tuniku preko koje je prebačen plašt. Lijevu ruku drži na muškarčevu ramenu, a desna je u istom položaju kao kod muškarca.

Na vrhu glave ima kapu (s ukrasom, vjerojatno dio noričko-panonske nošnje), a kosa je razdijeljena na sredini, povezana na stražnjem dijelu glave, a dio se spušta do ispod ušiju. Na ušima su prikazane naušnice (s kvadratnim ležištem za kamen s bisernim privjeskom), a oko vrata ogrlica s nizom pravilnih perli koja čini komplet s narukvicom na desnoj ruci.

Natpisno polje sadrži imena osoba prikazanih na reljefu (djelomično sačuvana crvena boja u slovima).

AVR(elius) AQUILINVS  
DEC(urio?) DVM(?) ET AVRELIA  
MAXIMILLA

Aurelije Akvilin dekurion (?) i  
Aurelija Maksimila  
D. K. Š.

**146.**  
**SLAB WITH AN INSCRIPTION**  
**AND A RELIEF DEPICTING A**  
**MARRIED COUPLE,** marble

3rd century

Finding site: in the structure and the ruins of the northern wall of the spring pool (excavation in 2011 and 2012)

Height: 54 cm, width: 40.5 cm, thickness: 6–7, height of letters: 2.7–3 cm

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-30  
Unpublished

A marble slab is divided into two fields: one with a relief depiction and one with an inscription.

The first one shows a man and a woman, and the peculiarity of facial detail suggests that these are portraits. A man is dressed in a wide-sleeved tunic, with a mantle (*sagum*) on top of it, which covers a part of his arm on the left side. He is holding a scroll in his left hand, to which he points with his right hand (using his index and middle finger). A woman is also dressed in a tunic with a cloak over it. She is holding her right hand on the man's shoulder, and her right one is positioned the same way as his. On top of her head there is a cap (with an ornament, probably a part of the Noric-Pannonian dress), and her hair is parted in the middle, tied up at the back of her head, and a part of it goes under her ears. Earrings are depicted on her ears (with a quadrangular bezel for a stone with a silver pendant). The inscription field consists of the names of people depicted on the relief (there is some partially preserved red letter paint):

AVR(elius) AQUILINVS  
DEC(urio?) DVM(?) ET AVRELIA  
MAXIMILLA

Aurelius Aquilinus, decurion (?)  
and Aurelia Maximilla.  
D.K.Š.



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HAG	Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak (Croatian Archaeological Yearbook), Zagreb
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (Journal of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Zagreb)
AE	L'Année épigraphique

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Recent discoveries of Roman Remains in the Region of Varaždinske Toplice

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