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RIMSKI NATPISI  
IZ VARAŽDINSKIH TOPLICA

**UDK:** 930.271  
(497.5 Varaždinske Toplice)''652''

**Stručni rad**

*Članak obrađuje rimske natpise na spomenicima i tegulama pronađenim na području Varaždinskih Toplica, a koji su do danas objavljeni. Ima ih trideset i šest, a najčešće su ih postavljali vojnici i građani, uglavnom kao zahvalu bogovima za zdravlje. Na natpisima se spominju različiti bogovi, a postavili su ih dedikanti koji pripadaju različitim slojevima društva - vojnici različitih službi te građani. Također je obrađen i jedan carski natpis, jedini takav pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Pozornost se obratila i na legije koje su spomenute na natpisima te na njihovo kretanje i boravak u vrijeme podizanja natpisa. Članak obuhvaća i pečate na tegulama te podatke o ciglarima koji su ih izradili. Natpisi uglavnom prate različite faze gradnje koje je imalo naselje, a kroz iste se može pratiti i kako se kroz vrijeme mijenjao karakter posjetitelja.*

*Ključne riječi: Varaždinske Toplice, rimski natpisi, rimski bogovi, dedikanti, legije, carski natpis, pečati na tegulama, faze gradnje*

THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS  
FROM VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE

**UDC:** 930.271  
(497.5 Varaždinske Toplice)''652''

**Professional paper**

*The article deals with Roman inscriptions on monuments and tegulae found in the area of Varaždinske Toplice that have been published to date. There are a total of thirty-six, and most often they were commissioned by soldiers and citizens, generally to express gratitude to the gods for good health. Various gods are mentioned in the inscriptions, and they were installed by dedicants of different social classes: soldiers from various branches and citizens. An imperial inscription, the only one of its kind found in Varaždinske Toplice, is also considered. Attention is also accorded to the legions mentioned in the inscriptions and their movements and stay at the time when the inscriptions were made. The article also covers stamps on tegulae and information on the brick makers who manufactured them. The inscriptions generally follow the different architectural phases that proceeded in the settlement, and through them the changing character of visitors over time can be observed.*

*Key words: Varaždinske Toplice, Roman inscriptions, Roman gods, dedicants, legions, imperial inscription, stamps on tegulae, architectural phases*

## 1. Današnje spoznaje o *Aquae Iasae*

U Hrvatskom zagorju, na 230 metara nadmorske visine, između terasa Topličke gore i doline Bednje, smjestio se manji grad Varaždinske Toplice. Grad je bio naseljen još od vremena paleolitika, a najveći procvat doživio je u antičko vrijeme.<sup>1</sup> Razlog ovako dugome kontinuiranom naseljavanju možemo naći u činjenici da grad posjeduje dva termalna izvora ljekovite sumporne vode. U predrimsko vrijeme ovaj prostor naseljavali su Iasi<sup>2</sup> (panonsko-ilirsko pleme čije se ime proteže od graničnog područja Republike Hrvatske i Republike Slovenije, preko područja Varaždinskih Toplica i rijeke Sutle, rijekom Dravom do Virovitice, na istok do mjesta Velika, a jug do sredine međuriječja Save i Drave<sup>3</sup>) za koje se smatra da su se već služili izvorima, a arheološkim istraživanjima potvrdila su neprekidnu uporabu istih od rimskog doba.<sup>4</sup> Rimljani, koji su od 13. g. pr. Kr. do 9. g. osvojili prostor nekadašnje provincije Panonije, osnovali su ovo naselje te mu nadjenuli ime *Aquae Iasae*, povezujući izvore s imenom plemena koje je tada tamo obitavalo. Mjesto je administrativno pripadalo općini grada Petovija (*res publica Poetoviensis*),<sup>5</sup> koji je pod Trajanom postao

<sup>1</sup> Kušan Špalj 1999, 109-119; Sanader 2001, 17; Tkalčić 1869, 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 122; Gorenc, Vikić 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111; Mócsy 1959, 26-28; Radman-Livaja, Ivezić 2012, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Schejbal 2003, 394, 395.

<sup>4</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Mócsy 1959, 26-28.

<sup>5</sup> Petovij je, nakon rimske okupacije, uključen u teritorij Ilirika, a kasnije pripojen Panoniji. U to su vrijeme Akve Jaze bile pod upravom Petovija, a tada su nastala i dva natpisa koji podupiru ovu teoriju: KAT. BR. 12. i KAT. BR. 23. Dioklecijanovom podjelom Panonije (297. g.) Petovij je pripao Noriku, dok su Akve Jaze ostale u Panoniji Superior (Horvat 2003, 160; Klemenc, Saria 1936, 92, 93; Šimek 2001, 42), što nam potvrđuje natpis u KAT. BR. 30.

## 1. Current knowledge on *Aquae Iasae*

The town of Varaždinske Toplice is situated in the Croatian region called Hrvatsko Zagorje, at an elevation of 230 meters, between the terraces on the hill called Toplička gora and the Bednja River Valley. The town has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic, and experienced its greatest bloom in Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this long continuous inhabitation is due to the fact that the town possesses two thermal springs of medicinal sulphurous water. During the pre-Roman era this area was inhabited by the Jasi<sup>2</sup> (a Pannonian-Illyrian tribe whose range extended along the border zone between the present-day Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, through the area of Varaždinske Toplice and the Sutla River, along the Drava River to Virovitica, and eastward to Velika, and southward to the middle of the Sava-Drava interfluvium<sup>3</sup>) who were believed to have already made use of these springs, while archaeological research has confirmed their uninterrupted use since Roman times.<sup>4</sup> The Romans, who conquered the territory of the former province of Pannonia from 13 BC to 9 AD, established this settlement and named it *Aquae Iasae*, linking the springs to the name of the tribe which resided there at the time. Administratively the settlement was a part of the municipium of Poetovio (*res publica Poetoviensis*),<sup>5</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Kušan Špalj 1999, 109-119; Sanader 2001, 17; Tkalčić 1869, 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 122; Gorenc, Vikić 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111; Mócsy 1959, 26-28; Radman-Livaja, Ivezić, 2012, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Schejbal 2003, 394, 395.

<sup>4</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Mócsy 1959, 26-28.

<sup>5</sup> Poetovio was, after Roman occupation, incorporated into the territory of Illyricum, and later annexed to Pannonia. At that time *Aquae Iasae* were under Poetovio's administration, and it was then that two inscriptions appeared which back this theory: CAT. NO. 12 and CAT. NO. 23. After Diocletian's division of Pannonia (297 AD), Poetovio became a part of Noricum, while *Aqua Iasae* remained in Pannonia Superior (Horvat 2003, 160; Klemenc-Saria 1936, 92, 93; Šimek 2001, 42), which is confirmed by the inscription in CAT. NO. 30.

kolonija.<sup>6</sup> Kako su u Petoviju bile smještene legije (*legio VIII Augusta, legio XIII Gemina, legio XIII Gemina, legio XXI Rapax*<sup>7</sup>), a nakon njih u gradu naseljeni veterani, Toplice su njima predstavljale važno mjesto okrjepe od teške službe te su bile vrlo posjećeno mjesto, što je i potvrđeno brojnim natpisima pronađenima tijekom arheoloških istraživanja.<sup>8</sup> Tijekom vladavine Marka Aurelija, Petovijska je općina, iznad izvora, dala podići nimfej ukrašen mramornim reljefnim pločama,<sup>9</sup> o kojemu će biti riječi kasnije. Budući da se kolonija Petovij nalazila na strateški izvanrednom položaju, a zbog očite povezanosti naselja, od toga su profitirala i obližnje *Aquae Iasae*,<sup>10</sup> o čemu nam svjedoče i brojni pronađeni natpisi (KAT. BR. 12, 23).

Sustavna istraživanja Varaždinskih Toplica započela su 1953. godine kada je u gradskom parku otkriven kompleks rimske arhitekture, koji se prostirao na površini od 6000 m<sup>2</sup>. Pronađeni nalazi datiraju od 1. do 4. stoljeća. Otkriveni kompleks obuhvaća kupališnu zgradu s bazilikom, forum okružen trjemovima, u čijem centru se nalazi termalni izvor, te kapitolij s hramovima koji su najvjerojatnije posvećeni Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi.<sup>11</sup> Godine 1982. prekinu-

became a colony under Trajan.<sup>6</sup> Since legions were posted in Poetovio (*legio VIII Augusta, legio XIII Gemina, legio XIII Gemina, legio XXI Rapax*<sup>7</sup>), and after them veterans lived in the town, Toplice became an important place for them to recover from their arduous service and it was highly-frequented, which has been confirmed by numerous inscriptions found during the course of archaeological research.<sup>8</sup> During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the municipium of Poetovio commissioned the construction of a nymphaeum above the springs, adorned with marble relief slabs,<sup>9</sup> which will be discussed below. Since the colony of Poetovio was at a strategically vital point, and due to the obvious links between settlements, nearby *Aquae Iasae* also profited from this,<sup>10</sup> to which numerous inscriptions testify (CAT. NO. 12, 23).

Systematic research into Varaždinske Toplice began in 1953, when a Roman architectural complex was discovered in the town park that extended over a surface of 6,000 m<sup>2</sup>. These finds were dated from the first to fourth centuries. The discovered complex encompassed a bath building with basilica, a forum surrounded by porticos with a thermal spring in the middle, and a Capitolium with temples most likely dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.<sup>11</sup> In 1982, financing was cut off, also ending all works.

<sup>6</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975; Horvat 2003, 156; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić 1961, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Farnum 2005, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 43-44; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Šimek 2001, 42; Vikić-Belančić 1996, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Horvat 2003, 160; Šimek 2001, 42, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Sanader 2001, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-33; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Migotti 1999, 59; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-84; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-222; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38. Naime, kako u Varaždinskim Toplicama do danas nije pronađen niti jedan nalaz koji bi potvrdio postojanje Jupiterova kulta u tom mjestu, iako je to vjerojatno posljedica nedovoljne istraženosti, posvećenost središnjeg hrama Jupiteru ostaje samo pretpostavka.

<sup>6</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975; Horvat 2003, 156; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić 1961, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Farnum 2005, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 43-44; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Šimek 2001, 42; Vikić-Belančić 1996, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Horvat 2003, 160; Šimek 2001, 42, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Sanader 2001, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-33; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Migotti 1999, 59; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-84; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-222; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38. Since nothing has yet been found in Varaždinske Toplice that would confirm the existence of Jupiter's cult there – although this may be due to insufficient research – the central temple's dedication to Jupiter is still only a hypothesis.

to je financiranje pa samim time i radovi. Devet godina poslije nastavljeno je s istraživanjima, ali je naglasak stavljen na zaštitne i konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove te sanaciju okoliša (npr. padine iznad hramova te izvorišta).<sup>12</sup>

Spomenuti kompleks bio je smješten na najjačem termalnom izvoru, jer je neposredno koristio njegovu vodu radi kupališta i u kultne svrhe. No u sklopu naselja nalazio se i stambeni dio, smješten na terasama koje se spuštaju prema podnožju brijega, te obrtničko-trgovački i sajamski dio, koji se smjestio u samom podnožju brda.<sup>13</sup>

Budući da je termalna voda puna sumpora, njezinim taloženjem nastale su sedre koje su sačuvale veliki dio arhitekture. Zahvaljujući tom procesu, možemo pratiti nekoliko faza gradnje naselja: ranocarska, elijejsko-antoninijanska, konstantinova te postkonstantinova faza.<sup>14</sup>

Najraniji dio kupališta potječe iz 1. st., a otkriven je u južnom i zapadnom dijelu parka. Prostirao se u smjeru istok-zapad, a sastojao od prostorija i bazena pravokutnog tlocrta, te kupališne bazilike, koja je s ostalim prostorijama kupališta bila povezana zapadnim portalom. Bio je odvojen od glavnog termalnog izvora, koji se nalazi u sjeverozapadnom dijelu parka, te se topla voda morala dovesti dugim kanalom. Prostorije iz te faze nisu bile grijane. Ova je faza trajala duže vrijeme, što se očituje u vidljivim popravcima (žbukanje, popravci zidova, temelja...).

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 77-78; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 91; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-85; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137, 461-463; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006, 150-152; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 101; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-223.

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 18-19; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 5.

Research resumed nine years later, but the emphasis was placed on protective and conservationist/restorationist works and rehabilitation of the surrounding terrain (e.g. the slopes above the temples and springs).<sup>12</sup>

This complex was located at the strongest thermal spring, because its waters were used directly to supply baths and for ritual use. However, this complex also had a residential section, situated on terraces which descend toward the foot of a hill, and an artisan/mercantile section, which was at the very foot of the hill.<sup>13</sup>

Since the thermal waters have a high sulphur content, its sedimentation created tufa which preserved much of the architecture. Thanks to this process, several phases of the settlement's development can be observed: early imperial, Aelian-Antonine, Constantinian and post-Constantinian.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest part of the baths originated in the first century, and it was discovered in the southern and western parts of the park. It has an east-west orientation, and it consisted of rooms and a rectangular pool, and the bath basilica, which was connected to the remaining rooms of the baths by a western portal. It was separated from the main thermal spring, which is located in the north-west part of the park, and warm water had to be conveyed by a long canal. The rooms dating to this phase were not heated. This phase lasted for an extended period, which is indicated by visible repairs (plastering, repairs to the walls and foundations). This spring, in the north-west part of the park, stood alone in the beginning,

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 77-78; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 91; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-85; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137, 461-463; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006, 150-152; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 101; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-223.

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 18-19; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 5.

Spomenuti je izvor, u sjeverozapadnom dijelu parka, u početku bio samostalan, bez popratnog kompleksa. Izgled tadašnjeg izvora-bunara danas je nepoznat. Na padini iznad njega pronađeno je najranije svetište, pravokutnog tlocrta. Tijekom 1. st. uz njega su izgrađena dva manja hrama. U toj prvoj fazi, nepoznato je kojem božanstvu su bili posvećeni.<sup>15</sup>

U vrijeme cara Hadrijana i Antonina Pija izgradilo se novo kupalište, orijentacije sjever-jug. Novo je kupalište obuhvaćalo već postojeću kupališnu baziliku, ali se više primaklo glavnom izvoru. Došlo je i do promjene u tlocrtu. Uvedeni su polukružni prostori s nadsvođenim prostorijama,<sup>16</sup> a kupališnoj je bazilici izgrađen sjeverni portal, koji ju je povezao s prostorijama kupališta, dok je zapadni portal zazidan.<sup>17</sup> U kupališni kompleks uvedeno je podno grijanje, pod je prekriven žbukom, a zidovi oslikani slikarijama s arhitektonsko-iluzionističkim elementima karakterističnim za antoninski period.<sup>18</sup> U to je vrijeme već bio formiran forum te istočni i zapadni trijem s monumentalnim stubištem, koje je povezivalo hramove i forum. U središtu foruma nalazio se izvor oko kojega je u 2. st. podignut nimfej.<sup>19</sup> Nimfej je imao stepeničasto podnožje koje su ukrašavali pilastri s likovima heroiziranih mladića s ratničkim atributima.<sup>20</sup> Između pilastra nalazile su se reljefne ploče s mitološkim scenama i

without an accompanying complex. The appearance of the spring/well at the time is not known. The earliest shrine, with a rectangular layout, was located on the slope above it. During the first century, two smaller temples were built adjacent to it. The deity to which they were dedicated in the first phase is not known.<sup>15</sup>

During the reign of Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, new baths were constructed, with a north-south orientation. The new baths encompassed the already existing bath basilica, but it moved closer to the main spring. The ground layout also changed. Semi-circular facilities with vaulted rooms were introduced,<sup>16</sup> while a northern portal was added to the basilica, which connected the rooms of the baths, and a western portal was built.<sup>17</sup> Under-floor heating was introduced to the bath complex, the floor was covered with plaster, while the walls were decorated with paintings that had architectural-illusion elements typical of the Antonine period.<sup>18</sup> At that time the forum had already been formed, as well as a western portico with a monumental staircase which linked to the temples and the forum. In the second century, a nymphaeum was erected around the spring in the middle of the forum.<sup>19</sup> The nymphaeum had a staired foot which was adorned by pilasters featuring the images of heroized youths with warrior attributes.<sup>20</sup> Between the pilasters there were relief slabs with mythical scenes and symbols of water. The front of the nymphaeum fea-

<sup>15</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 10; Kušan Špalj 1999, 114; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 73; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 35; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>17</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 37; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 212; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>15</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 10; Kušan Špalj 1999, 114; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 73 Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 35; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>17</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 37; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 212; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

simbolima vode. Na prednjoj strani nimfeja nalazio se reljefni prikaz tri nimfe.<sup>21</sup>

U ovo vrijeme nastupila je druga faza hramova. Građevine su povišene, zidovi su im pojačani, napravljen je novi sustav za odvodnju atmosferilija te su dobile zajedničku fasadu. Razlog ovih promjena pronalazi se u novoj namjeni hramova.<sup>22</sup> Središnji je hram bio najveći te najvjerojatnije posvećen Jupiteru, istočni Junoni, a zapadni Minervi. Da je istočni hram bio posvećen Junoni, potvrđuje postament za Junoninu statuu (KAT. BR. 23) pronađen u sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma. Pred ulazom u Minervin hram pronađena je njezina statua s postamentom koji sadrži natpis (KAT. BR. 24).<sup>23</sup> Iako Jupiterova statua nije pronađena, ipak se pretpostavlja da je središnji hram bio posvećen upravo vrhovnom bogu, pa se, na temelju toga, može govoriti o postojanju kapitolija.

U 2. st. izgrađeni su ispred hramova istočni i zapadni trijem, koji su s hramom, ali i međusobno, bili povezani stubištem. U ovo doba smanjen je kupališni prostor, koji je podijeljen na više manjih prostorića, sjeverni portal bazilike je zazidan, odnosno postao je dijelom polukružne ekседre, a na sjevernom zidu izgrađena su dva nova bočna portala. S istočne strane bazilike izgrađen je trijem koji ju je povezivao s forumom. Zidovi su ukrašeni nizovima ornamenta. Iz ovih preinaka može se zaključiti kako je kupalište ove faze imalo naglasak na društvenom faktoru, više nego higijensko-balneološkom.<sup>24</sup> Dio kupališnog kompleksa iz ovog vremena (dio polukružnog bazena, izduženi

tured a relief image of three nymphs.<sup>21</sup>

The second phase of the temples emerged at this time. The buildings were elevated, their walls were reinforced, a new precipitation drainage system was made and they acquired a common façade. The reason for these changes can be found in the new purpose of the temples.<sup>22</sup> The middle temple was the largest, and probably dedicated to Jupiter; the eastern one was dedicated to Juno, and the western one to Minerva. That the eastern temple was dedicated to Juno is confirmed by a pedestal of a statue of Juno (CAT. NO. 23) found in the north-east corner of the forum. A statue of Minerva with pedestal including an inscription (CAT. NO. 24) was found in front of the entrance to her temple.<sup>23</sup> Even though a statue of Jupiter was not found, it is nonetheless assumed that the middle temple was dedicated precisely to this supreme deity, so that on this basis one may speak of the existence of a Capitolium.

The eastern and western porticos were built in front of the temples in the second century; they were connected to the temple, and each other, by the staircase. During this time, the bath area was reduced and divided into several smaller rooms; a northern portal to the basilica was built, and it became a partially semi-circular exedra, while two new lateral portals were built on the northern wall. A portico was built on the eastern side of the basilica which connected it to the forum. The walls were decorated with a series of ornaments. Based on these modifications, one may conclude that in this phase the social factor, more than the hygienic-balneological, was emphasized in the baths.<sup>24</sup> A part of the

<sup>21</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 114; Sanader 2001, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Gorenc 1984, 95-105; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40-41; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 8; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>21</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 114; Sanader 2001, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Gorenc 1984, 95-105; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40-41; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 8; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

uglati bazen, dovratnici itd.) uklopljen je u Konstantinovsko kupalište te je sačuvao smjer pružanja i vanjsku konturu Antoninijanskog kupališta, a razlika je vidljiva i u teksturi i kvaliteti kamena, vezivnoj žbuci te nivou.<sup>25</sup>

U drugoj polovini 3. st. kapitolij i forum pretrpjeli su oštećenja za koja se pretpostavlja da su nastala provalom Gota.<sup>26</sup> Obnovom su produljeni bočni trjemovi, popločen je forum te promijenjen nivo kupališta.<sup>27</sup>

U 4. st. nastupila je najveća obnova naselja, o čemu nam svjedoči natpis koji spominje da je Konstantin dao obnoviti sve trjemove i ukrase (KAT. BR. 30).<sup>28</sup> Građevine iz ove faze simetrično su izgrađene duž osi sjever-jug, čineći tako jedinstvenu arhitektonsko-urbanističku cjelinu.<sup>29</sup> U ovom razdoblju naglasak je u potpunosti stavljen na društveno-representativnu ulogu foruma i obrednih prostora kapitolija. Forumu su dodana još dva trijema, a nimfej je uklonjen.<sup>30</sup> Forum je u ovo doba popločen za što su upotrijebljeni i spomenici iz ranijeg vremena.<sup>31</sup> Tih devet spomenika, koji su bili ugrađeni kao *spolia*, obuhvaćali su dva cijela postamenta, dio vijenca s profilacijom, te dva dijela žrtvenika koji nose natpis posvećen nimfama,<sup>32</sup> o kojemu će biti riječi kasnije. Treća faza hramova, koja se događa u ovo vrijeme, obuhvatila je prošir-

bath complex from this period (part of the semi-circular pool, an oblong angular pool, lintels, etc.) was incorporated into the Constantinian baths, and the orientation and external contours of the Antoninian baths was preserved, while a difference is nonetheless visible in the texture and quality of the stone, the binding mortar and the level.<sup>25</sup>

In the latter half of the third century, the Capitolium and forum sustained damage, caused – it is assumed – by a Goth incursion.<sup>26</sup> During renovations, the lateral porticos were extended, the forum was lined with tiles and the level of the baths was changed.<sup>27</sup>

The settlement underwent its most extensive reconstruction in the fourth century, as indicated by an inscription which mentions that Constantine commissioned the restoration of all porticos and decorations (CAT. NO. 30).<sup>28</sup> The buildings from this phase were symmetrically built along the north-south axis, thus forming a consolidated architectural/urban unit.<sup>29</sup> During this period, emphasis was placed squarely on the social and representational role of the forum and the ritual facilities of the Capitolium. Two more porticos were added to the forum, while the nymphaeum was removed.<sup>30</sup> At this time, the forum's surface was paved with stone, for which monuments from earlier periods were used.<sup>31</sup> These nine monuments, which were incorporated as *spolia*, encompassed two whole pedestals, a part of a cornice with articulation, and two components of an altar bearing

<sup>25</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 213.

<sup>29</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 278.

<sup>30</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>31</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1982, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 213.

<sup>29</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 278.

<sup>30</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>31</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11.

renje i produljenje središnjeg hrama. Sjeverni trijem postao je prednjom stranom kapitolija,<sup>33</sup> a na njegovoj sjeveroistočnoj te sjeverozapadnoj strani izgrađena je po jedna manja pravokutna prostorija. Pretpostavlja se da je zapadna prostorija služila za carski kult, a da je u istočnoj bio smješten nimfej.<sup>34</sup>

U posljednjoj fazi, kupalište u potpunosti prestaje obnašati lječilišno-balneološku funkciju što je najočitije iz promjene funkcije same bazilike. Ona je u ovom razdoblju postala sakralni objekt.<sup>35</sup> Pridodan joj je oslikani narteks na južnoj strani, a glavna prostorija oslikana je kršćanskim freskama. Ipak, postoji pretpostavka da je kršćanstvo na ovo područje došlo već u vrijeme Konstantina, jer je tad već bazilika bila preuređena za potrebe kršćanskih obreda. Ako je ovo točna tvrdnja, tada je ranokršćanska crkva u Varaždinskim Toplicama najraniji primjerak dvoranske građevine s unutrašnjom apsidom na hrvatskim prostorima.<sup>36</sup> Stambeni dio naselja, smješten na padinama brežuljka, nije poštovao pravilan raster, već je bio raspoređen sukladno terenu. Današnje naselje nalazi se točno iznad antičkog pa su podaci o stambenoj arhitekturi vrlo oskudni te samim time nedovoljni za rekonstrukciju samog naselja. Ipak, mogu se prepoznati dvije faze gradnje. Prva, drvena faza, potječe iz 1. i 2. st. Ona je slijedila starosjedilačku tradiciju u načinu gradnje. Prostorije su pravokutnog oblika, izdužene, s podovima od gline ili dasaka.<sup>37</sup> Krovovi su bili izrađeni od šindre ili slame. Pronađena je keramika, domaća, ali i uvezena, metalni, stakleni, koštani i drveni predmeti.

<sup>33</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40.

<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1999, 51, 73.

<sup>37</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

an inscription to the nymphs,<sup>32</sup> which will be further discussed below. The third phase of the temples, which transpired during this period, encompassed an expansion and deepening of the middle temple. The northern portico became the front of the Capitolium,<sup>33</sup> while small rectangular rooms were built on the north-eastern and north-western sides. It is assumed that the western room served the imperial cult, while the nymphaeum was accommodated in its eastern counterpart.<sup>34</sup>

In the last phase, the baths ceased performing their medicinal-balneological function, which was best reflected in the change in the function of the basilica itself. During this period it became a sacral building.<sup>35</sup> A painted narthex was added on the southern side, while the main chamber was painted over with Christian frescoes. Even so, according to one hypothesis, Christianity had already arrived in this area already during the reign of Constantine, for already at that time the basilica was remodelled for use in Christian rites. If this hypothesis proves correct, then the Early Christian church in Varaždinske Toplice would be the earliest example in the Croatian lands of a hall structure with internal apse.<sup>36</sup>

The residential portion of the settlement, situated on the slopes of a hill, did not adhere to an orderly layout, rather it was adapted to the terrain. The present-day settlement is situated just above the Roman-era one, so data on the latter's residential architecture are very meagre and thereby insufficient to ideally reconstruct the settlement itself. Even so, two architectural phases can be discerned. The first, wooden phase, dates to the first and second centuries. It adhered to the traditions of the original inhabitants in terms of construction

<sup>32</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1982, 70.

<sup>33</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40.

<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1999, 51, 73.



Pronađeni su i ostaci hrane. Po nalazima novca zaključuje se da je taj dio naselja uništen u doba Markomanskih ratova.<sup>38</sup> U 3. i 4. stoljeću drvenu gradnju zamijenila je kamena gradnja, o čemu svjedoči nalaz kamenih zidova. Nalazi keramike iz ovog sloja su vrlo brojni, ali pretežno domaće proizvodnje. Raznovrsnost i količina nađenog sitnog arheološkog materijala ukazuje na trgovišno-sajmeni karakter ovog dijela naselja.<sup>39</sup> Ovo naselje vjerojatno je uništeno u Teodosijevom ratničkom pohodu na Maksima u Petoviju.<sup>40</sup>

Ostaci otkriveni u parku lijepo su se uklopili u prirodni ambijent te imaju izvrstan potencijal za uređenje arheološkog parka. Iznad kupališta i bazilike postavljena je nadstrešnica, radi očuvanja i prezentacije,<sup>41</sup> a nakon arheološke i arhitektonske analize te, uz pomoć analognih primjera iz literature,<sup>42</sup> godine 1997. izrađene su i trodimenzionalne računalne rekonstrukcije tri funkcionalne cjeline kompleksa iz kasnocarskog razdoblja: forum s kapitolijem, kompleks kupališta te kupališna bazilika.<sup>43</sup> Upravo te rekonstrukcije daju uvid u to kako su nekoć izgledali, odnosno mogli izgledati, dijelovi naselja *Aquae Iasae*.

## 2. Epigrafska baština

U prethodnom poglavlju izneseni su objavljeni nalazi ovog poznatog termal-

techniques. The rooms were rectangular, oblong, with flooring made of clay or wooden boards.<sup>37</sup> The roofs were made of shingles or straw. Pottery, both locally made and imported, as well as metal, glass, bone and wooden articles were found. Remains of food were also discovered. Based on the coin finds, it has been concluded that this part of the settlement was destroyed during the Marcomanic Wars.<sup>38</sup> In the third and fourth centuries, wooden architecture was replaced with stone structures, to which the discovery of stone walls has testified. The pottery finds from this layer are quite numerous, but they are mostly locally made. The diversity and quantity of the tiny archaeological materials point to the market/fair character of this part of the settlement.<sup>39</sup> This settlement was probably destroyed during military campaign staged by Theodosius against Maximus in Poetovio.<sup>40</sup>

The remains discovered in the park fit nicely into the environment and display outstanding potential for the development of an archaeological park. An awning was installed above the baths and basilica for their preservation and presentation,<sup>41</sup> while after archaeological and architectural analysis and, with the help of analogous examples from the relevant literature,<sup>42</sup> a three-dimensional reconstruction of the three functional units of the complex from the early imperial period was made in 1997: the forum with Capitolium, and the bath complex with bath basilica.<sup>43</sup> It is pre-

<sup>37</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>38</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 45; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 20; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 216.

<sup>39</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić 1961, 48-49; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 279; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2005, 136; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 107.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. the work by Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*.

<sup>43</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 23; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 94-95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 109.

<sup>38</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 45; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 20; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 216.

<sup>39</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić 1961, 48-49; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 279; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2005, 136; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 107.

<sup>42</sup> Npr. Vitruvijevog djela *De architectura libri decem*.

<sup>43</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 23; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 94-95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 109.

no-lječilišnog i rekreativnog centra. Ti nalazi vrlo dobro pokazuju kakvu je vrijednost imao ovaj kompleks u rimsko vrijeme. Potvrdu njegove vrijednosti nalazimo i u brojnim epigrafskim, posvetnim spomenicima pronađenim u Varaždinskim Toplicama.<sup>44</sup> Kako ondje nije pronađen niti jedan nadgrobni spomenik, nedostaju dokazi koji bi nam pružili uvid u društveni, gospodarski i kulturni život stanovnika Varaždinskih Toplica.<sup>45</sup> Ipak, važnost ovoga kompleksa naglašavaju kulturni spomenici koje su dali podići brojni, čak i vrlo ugledni, pripadnici rimskoga društva, kako bi, putem raznih božanstava, iznijeli zahvalu za svoje ozdravljenje. Iako *Aquae Iasae* nikada nisu dobile status municipija<sup>46</sup>, niti imale autonomnu urbanu strukturu, već su pripadale petovijskoj općini, zahvaljujući vlastitim prihodima uspjele su se razviti u prilično organiziranu urbanu cjelinu s forumom, kapitolijским hramom te velikim termalnim kompleksom s bazilikom (koja je kasnije prenamijenjena u kršćansku baziliku).<sup>47</sup>

## 2.1. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama, Dijani i silvanama

Najviše spomenika pronađenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama posvećeno je lokalnim zaštitnicama, ali i općenito zaštitnicama termalnih izvora - nimfama (KAT. BR. 1-14).<sup>48</sup> Na natpisima nimfe se javljaju bez atributa (KAT. BR. 1-5), s attri-

<sup>44</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173.

<sup>45</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>46</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68; Ovoj tvrdnji D. Rendića-Miočevića (Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68) suprotna je ona Š. Ljubića koji tvrdi da se na temelju natpisa navedenog u KAT. BR. 8 može pretpostaviti da su *Aquae Iasae* imale status municipija (Ljubić 1879, 41). No ja bih se ipak priklonila mišljenju Rendića-Miočevića, jer ne postoje dokazi koji bi potvrdili Ljubićevu pretpostavku.

<sup>47</sup> Migotti 1999, 61; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>48</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69.

cisely this reconstruction which provides some insight into the former appearance, or rather assumed appearance, of parts of the settlement of *Aquae Iasae*.

## 2. Epigraphic heritage

In the preceding section, the published finds from this well-known thermal/medical and recreational centre were presented. These finds demonstrate quite nicely the value accorded to this complex during the Roman era. A confirmation of this value can also be found in numerous epigraphic dedicatory monuments found in Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>44</sup> Since not a single gravestone has been found there, evidence is lacking which would provide some insight into the social, economic and cultural life of the residents of Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, the importance of this complex is underscored by the cult monuments which were commissioned by numerous, and even quite reputable, members of Roman society, in order to express gratitude for their good health via various deities. Even though *Aquae Iasae* was never granted the status of municipium,<sup>46</sup> nor did it have an autonomous urban structure, rather it was a component of the Poetovio municipium, thanks to its own revenues it did manage to grow into an organized urban unit with a forum, Capitoline temple and a large thermal complex with basilica (which was later repurposed into a Christian basilica).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173.

<sup>45</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>46</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68. This assertion by D. Rendić-Miočević (Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68) contradicts that of Š. Ljubić, who claimed that based on the inscription cited under CAT. NO. 8 it may be assumed that *Aquae Iasae* had the status of municipium (Ljubić 1879, 41). I prefer, however, the view of Rendić-Miočević, because there is no evidence that would back Ljubić's hypothesis.

<sup>47</sup> Migotti 1999, 61; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

butom *iasae* (KAT. BR. 6, 7), s atributom *salutares* (KAT. BR. 8, 9), uz atribut *augustae* (KAT. BR. 10-13) te kao *salutares augustae* (KAT. BR. 14). Atribut jazejski spominje Duje Rendić-Miočević u svom članku objavljenom u Vjesniku Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu<sup>49</sup> te ga interpretira kao posvetu lokalnom božanstvu - nimfama, a ne u smislu nekog etničko-teritorijalnog značenja.<sup>50</sup> Atribut *salutares* ukazuje na primarnu funkciju nimfi, dakle, one donose zdravlje<sup>51</sup>, u čemu se očituje i funkcija ovih sumpornih izvora, odnosno Toplica. Atribut *augustae* često se susreće i uz druga božanstva<sup>52</sup>, jer predstavlja opću oznaku za božanska bića.<sup>53</sup> Najvažniji spomenik posvećen nimfama slavni je *Nymphaeum* pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama, s natpisom (KAT. BR. 12), koji svjedoči da je petovijska općina podigla nimfej *Nymhis Augustis* u 2. st.<sup>54</sup> Nimfej su krasile različite mitološke scene kao što su: Amfitrita na morskom grifonu, Europa jaše bika, Erot na hipokampu itd. Osim u Varaždinskim Toplicama, nimfe su bile štovane i u *Aquae Balissae*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Giunio 2009, 157; Maršić 1998, 122; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 108.

<sup>52</sup> Za usporedbu zastupljenosti atributa *augustus*, tri na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica i onih pronađenih na području Italije, pogledati članak: Gregori 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70; zanimljivo je primijetiti da se atribut *augustae* uz božanstva nimfe, na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, javlja čak pet puta, dok na području Rima nije pronađen niti jedan takav natpis. S druge strane, na području cijele Italije pronađeno je pet spomenika sa spomenom nimfi uz atribut *augustae* (Gregori 2009, 318)

<sup>54</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Šimek 2001, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; općenito o Nimfama u: Kossatz-Deissman 1992, 939.

## 2.1. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs, Diana and the Silvanae

Most monuments found in Varaždinske Toplice are dedicated to local patron deities, but also to the patron deities of thermal springs in general – the Nymphs (CAT. NO. 1-14).<sup>48</sup> In these inscriptions, the Nymphs appear without attributes (CAT. NO. 1-5), with the attributes *iasae* (CAT. NO. 6, 7), *salutares* (CAT. NO. 8, 9), *augustae* (CAT. NO. 10-13) and *salutares augustae* (CAT. NO. 14). The attribute *iasae* was mentioned by Duje Rendić-Miočević in his article published in journal of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (*Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*)<sup>49</sup> and interpreted it as a dedication to a local deity/the Nymphs and not in the sense of ethnic-territorial significance.<sup>50</sup> The attribute *salutares* indicates the primary function of Nymphs, i.e., they bring good health,<sup>51</sup> in which the function of these sulphur springs, the Toplice (which in Croatian means warm springs) is also reflected. The attribute *augustae* is often encountered together with other deities,<sup>52</sup> because it constitutes a general designation for divine beings.<sup>53</sup> The most important monument dedicated to Nymphs is the renowned *Nymphaeum* discovered in Varaždinske Toplice, bearing

<sup>48</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69.

<sup>49</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Giunio 2009, 157; Maršić 1998, 122; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 108.

<sup>52</sup> For a comparison of the share of the attribute *augustus*, three on inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice and those found in Italian territory, see: Gregori 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70; it is interesting to note that the attribute *augustae* accompanying the Nymph deities in the inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice appears five times, while in the territory of Rome not one such inscription was found. On the other hand, five monuments which mention nymphs accompanied by the attribute *augustae* were found in the entire territory of Italy (Gregori 2009, 318).

U Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je jedinstven natpis na kojem se nimfe spominju uz božicu Dijanu (KAT. BR. 17).<sup>56</sup> Na nekolicini natpisa spominju se silvane (*Silvanae*) (KAT. BR. 18-20). Silvan je, pak, najštovanije domaće božanstvo, duh ili genij u južnoj Panoniji i ostalim južno-ilirskim predjelima. On je jedino rimsko božanstvo koje ima dvojni karakter: božanstvo šuma i kultiviranih krajolika.<sup>57</sup> U Mursi je pronađeno pet Silvanovih žrtvenika na jednom mjestu, što nam ukazuje na moguće postojanje svetišta,<sup>58</sup> no najviše pronađenih oltara posvećenih Silvanu pronađeno je u Daruvaru, čime je potvrđeno da je mjesto bilo važno središte Silvanova kulta.<sup>59</sup> Silvan je štovan i u Topuskom, gdje se nalazio njegov hram i gdje je pronađeno dvanaestak oltara posvećenih tom božanstvu,<sup>60</sup> te u Sisku.<sup>61</sup> Najnoviji objavljeni nalaz zavjetni je natpis posvećen Silvanu Domestiku, pronađen u Vinkovcima 2007. godine, što je bio najpopularniji vid Silvana u Panoniji.<sup>62</sup> Prema dostupnim dokazima, Silvanu je posvećeno 257 natpisnih i 36 reljefnih spomenika pronađenih na tlu Panonije<sup>63</sup> (polovica njih potječe iz Akvinkuma i Karnuntuma, a veliki broj pronađen je u Brigeciju, Skarbanciji, Savariji i Vindoboni)<sup>64</sup> te je zanimljivo primijetiti da u Varaždinskim Toplicama nije pronađen niti jedan. Ipak, susreću se posvete silvanama, uz atribut *augustae*, koje

an inscription (CAT. NO. 12), which shows that the Poetovio municipium erected the nymphaeum *Nymhis Augustis* in the second century.<sup>54</sup> The nymphaeum was decorated by various mythical scenes, such as: Amfitrite on a griffin, Europa riding the bull, Eros on a hippocampus, etc. Besides Varaždinske Toplice, the Nymphs were also worshipped in Aquae Balissae.<sup>55</sup>

A unique inscription was found in Varaždinske Toplice in which the Nymphs are mentioned together with the goddess Diana (CAT. NO. 17).<sup>56</sup> The *Silvanae* are mentioned in several inscriptions (CAT. NO. 18-20). *Silvanus* was the most revered local deity, the spirit and genius in southern Pannonia and other southern Illyrian regions. He is the only Roman deity with a dual character: a god of the forests and of cultivated landscapes.<sup>57</sup> Five altars dedicated to *Silvanus* were found in one site in Mursa, which points to the possible existence of a shrine,<sup>58</sup> but the most altars dedicated to *Silvanus* were found in Daruvar, which confirms that this site was an important centre of the cult of *Silvanus*.<sup>59</sup> *Silvanus* was venerated in Topusko as well, where his temple was located and where about a dozen altars dedicated to him were discovered,<sup>60</sup> and in Sisak.<sup>61</sup> The most recent published find is a votive inscription dedicated to *Silvanus Domesticus*, discovered in Vinkovci in 2007, which

<sup>54</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Šimek 2001, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; on Nymphs in general, see: Kossatz-Deissman 1992, 939.

<sup>56</sup> Fitz 1980, 165; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>57</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 166; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 119; Thomas 1980, 179, 180; for more on *Silvanus*, see: Nagy 1994, 763-773.

<sup>58</sup> Sanader 2008, 182.

<sup>59</sup> Pinterović 1975, 70; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>60</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>56</sup> Fitz 1980, 165; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>57</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 166; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 119; Thomas 1980, 179, 180; više o *Silvanu* u: Nagy 1994, 763-773.

<sup>58</sup> Sanader 2008, 182.

<sup>59</sup> Pinterović 1975, 70; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>60</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>62</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 165.

<sup>63</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 169.

<sup>64</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178.

predstavljaju *numina* srodna nimfama, vrlo bliska iliričko-panonskom božanstvu Silvanu<sup>65</sup>, a koje su bile božice prirode i šuma, te čuvarice i darovateljice zdravlja, stoga ih se povezuje i s termalnim izvorima.<sup>66</sup> Silvanama su zahvale iznijele dvije žene, Kornelija i Pompeja (KAT. BR. 18, 19), po čijim se gentilicijima daje zaključiti da su pripadale višem sloju društva.<sup>67</sup> Posvete silvanama također su pronađene u susjednim sredinama, poput Daruvara, gdje nalazimo posvete Silvanu i silvanama te njihove reljefne prikaze.<sup>68</sup>

Dijana, često štovana u Panoniji, božica je lova, šuma te zaštitnica divljih životinja.<sup>69</sup> Posveta italskoj božici Dijani, osim uz nimfe, susreće se na dva spomenika (KAT. BR. 15, 16). KAT. BR. 16 predstavlja posvetu Dijani,<sup>70</sup> uz atribut *augusta*, a u KAT. BR. 15 Dijanino se ime spominje uz epitete *domina et dea*.

## 2.2. Natpisi posvećeni Fortuni i kapitoljskoj trijadi

KAT. BR. 21 predstavlja natpis posvećen Fortuni Augusti. Postavio ga je centurion XIII. legije koji je podrijetlom iz mezijuskog grada Oeska u kojem se nalazilo Fortunino svetište. Moguće je da je taj grad bio izvor Fortunina kulta i u ovom središtu.<sup>71</sup> KAT. BR. 22 nepotpun je natpis na kojemu je sačuvana samo posveta Fortuni. U južnoj Panoniji ukupno je pronađeno najmanje pet oltara posvećenih ovoj božici, dok Ante Rendić-Miočević i Marina Šegvić pretpo-

was the most popular aspect of Silvanus in Pannonia.<sup>62</sup> According to available evidence, 257 inscriptions and 36 relief monuments found in Pannonian territory are dedicated to Silvanus<sup>63</sup> (half of them are from Aquincum and Carnuntum, while a high number was found in Brigetio, Scarbantia, Savaria and Vindobona)<sup>64</sup> and it is interesting to note that not one was found in Varaždinske Toplice. Nonetheless, there are dedications to the Silvanae, accompanied by the attribute *augustae*, which constituted a *numina* similar to Nymphs, very close to the Illyrian-Pannonian deity Silvanus,<sup>65</sup> and who were goddesses of nature and forests, and protectors and givers of good health, and thus also associated with thermal springs.<sup>66</sup> Two women expressed thanks to the Silvanae, Cornelia and Pompeia (CAT. NO. 18, 19), whose gentilicia point to the conclusion that they belonged to a higher social class.<sup>67</sup> Dedications to the Silvanae were also discovered in neighbouring areas, such as Daruvar, where dedications to Silvanus and the Silvanae and their relief images can be found.<sup>68</sup>

Diana, often venerated in Pannonia, is the goddess of the hunt, forests and the protector of wild animals.<sup>69</sup> Dedications to the Italic goddess Diana, in addition to being accompanied by Nymphs, can also be seen on two monuments (CAT. NO. 15, 16). CAT. NO. 16 is a dedication to Diana,<sup>70</sup> with the attribute *augusta*, while in CAT. NO. 15 Diana's name is mentioned with the epithet *domina et dea*.

<sup>65</sup> Dzino 2013, 263.

<sup>66</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Schejbal 2003, 404.

<sup>67</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Sanader 2008, 182; *Silvano M(agno)/ et Silvanae*

<sup>69</sup> Thomas 1980, 180.

<sup>70</sup> Općenito o Dijani u: Simon, Bauchhenss 1984, 792-854.

<sup>71</sup> Sanader 2008, 72.

<sup>62</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 165.

<sup>63</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 169.

<sup>64</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178.

<sup>65</sup> Dzino 2013, 263.

<sup>66</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Schejbal 2003, 404.

<sup>67</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Sanader 2008, 182; *Silvano M(agno)/ et Silvanae*.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas 1980, 180.

<sup>70</sup> On Diana in general: Simon, Bauchhenss 1984, 792-854.

stavljaju da ih ima mnogo više. Brončana statua iz Vinkovaca te dvije pronađene u Ščitarjevu dokazuju važnost njezina kulta u južnoj Panoniji.<sup>72</sup>

Na jednom spomeniku (KAT. BR. 23) Fortuna se spominje u zajednici s Junonom<sup>73</sup>, koju prati epitet *regina*. Zanimljivo je da samoj Junoni, kraljici bogova i zaštitnici braka,<sup>74</sup> nije posvećen niti jedan natpis pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama.<sup>75</sup> No Junonino se ime ne javlja često niti u ostalim dijelovima Panonije. Dosad su, uz natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica, zabilježena još tri natpisa s njezinim imenom, koje prati epitet *Regina* ili *Augusta*.<sup>76</sup>

Još jedno važno rimsko božanstvo predstavlja Minerva, božica rata i mudrosti,<sup>77</sup> koja je imala svoj hram u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a koja je također zastupljena u akvejzejskim epigrafskim spomenicima. Statua Minerve i njezina baza (KAT. BR. 24), izrađene od pohorskog mramora, potječu iz kiparskog kruga koji pripada općem kompleksu noričko-panonske umjetnosti. Središta ovog kruga su Celje, Šempeter, Ptuj, Maribor te Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>78</sup> U samom natpisu Minervu prati atribut *augusta*. Ipak, postoje interpretacije da se uz njezino ime nalazi još i atribut *medica*, tumačenje kratice *M*, u skladu s termalnim kompleksom unutar kojeg je pronađena. Iako *M* na kraju riječi *Minerva* postoji, ja bih ipak bila sklona tumačenju D. Rendića-Miočevića da je riječ o formuli kojom se dedikacija izražava u akuzativu (*Minervam augustam*).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; općenito o Fortuni u: Rausa 1997, 125-141.

<sup>73</sup> Općenito o Junoni u: La Rocca 1990, 814-856.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>75</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Fitz 1980, 164; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>78</sup> Gorenc 1971, 18; Gorenc 1984, 96.

<sup>79</sup> Ista formula javlja se i u KAT. BR. 9.

## 2.2. Inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna and the Capitoline Triad

CAT. NO. 21 is an inscription is dedicated to Fortuna Augusta. It was commissioned by a centurion of *legio XIII* who was originally from the Moesian town of Oescus in which there was a shrine to Fortuna. It is possible that this town was the source of Fortuna's cult in this area as well.<sup>71</sup> CAT. NO. 22 is an incomplete inscription in which only the dedication to Fortuna was preserved. In southern Pannonia a total of five altars dedicated to this goddess were found, while Ante Rendić-Miočević and Marina Šegvić speculated that there may be many more. The bronze statue from Vinkovci and two found in Ščitarjevo demonstrate the importance of her cult in southern Pannonia.<sup>72</sup>

On one monument (CAT. NO. 23), Fortuna is mentioned together with Juno,<sup>73</sup> who is accompanied by the epithet *regina*. It is interesting that Juno herself, the queen of the gods and protector of marriage,<sup>74</sup> has not a single inscription dedicated to her in Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>75</sup> But neither does Juno's name appear frequently in other parts of Pannonia. Thus far, besides the inscription of Varaždinske Toplice, three more inscriptions bearing her name have been recorded which are accompanied by the epithet *Regina* or *Augusta*.<sup>76</sup>

Another important Roman deity is Minerva, the goddess of war and wisdom,<sup>77</sup> who had her temple in Varaždinske Toplice, and who is also present in the Aquae Iasae epigraphic monuments. The statue of Minerva and its base (CAT. NO. 24), made of Pohorje marble, originated in the sculptural circle which be-

<sup>71</sup> Sanader 2008, 72.

<sup>72</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; on Fortuna in general: Rausa 1997, 125-141.

<sup>73</sup> On Juno in general: La Rocca 1990, 814-856.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>75</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Fitz 1980, 164; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

Osim toga, taj se epitet na ostalim pronađenim spomenicima (zabilježeno na jednom placentinskom natpisu (CIL XI 1306), te na rimskom (CIL VI 10155)), uz njezino ime, javlja u cijelosti (*Medica*), a ne u kratici, tako da se teško može prihvatiti ova interpretacija.<sup>80</sup> U Panoniji je zabilježeno ukupno osam njezinih spomenika, češće u obliku skulpture nego na samim natpisima. Pored statue i natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica važno mjesto među brončanom figuralnom plastikom zauzima statua Minerve iz Grbavca, blizu Grubišnog polja.<sup>81</sup>

Zanimljivo je, pak, primijetiti kako u Varaždinskim Toplicama nije pronađen niti jedan natpis s posvetom vrhovnom bogu Jupiteru,<sup>82</sup> a s obzirom na to da je njegov hram središnji od tri pronađena hrama, kao što tvrde Gorenc i Vikić.<sup>83</sup> Jupiterov kult bio je vrlo raširen u Panoniji, a najveća je koncentracija natpisa posvećenih Jupiteru u gradovima i mjestima duž važnijih rimskih prometnica u kojima su bila središta rimskog upravnog sustava. Najviše natpisa pronađeno je na području Murse i njezinog agera (22) te na području Siscije (20). Brojni natpisi pronađeni su u okolici Varaždina i Krapine, na području Metuluma, u *Aquis Balissis*, na području Cibala te u Andautoniji.<sup>84</sup> Ipak, moguće je da je razlog nepostojanja natpisa posvećenog Jupiteru u Varaždinskim Toplicama još uvijek nedovoljna istražnost.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73.

<sup>81</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7, 8.; općenito o Minervi u: Canciani 1984, 1074-1110.

<sup>82</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Thomas 1980, 183.

<sup>83</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>84</sup> Sinobad 2010, 149.

<sup>85</sup> Općenito o Jupiteru i kapitoljskoj trijadi u: Canciani 1997, 421-470.

longs to the general complex of Noric-Pannonian art. The hub of this circle was in Celje, Šempeter, Ptuj, Maribor and Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>78</sup> In the inscription itself, Minerva is accompanied by the attribute *augusta*. Nonetheless, according to one interpretation the attribute *medica*, based on the letter *M*, also accompanies her name, in compliance with the thermal complex within which it was discovered. Even though there is an *M* at the end of the word *Minerva*, I prefer the interpretation of D. Rendić-Miočević, according to which this is a formula in which the dedication is expressed in the accusative case (*Minervam augustam*).<sup>79</sup> Additionally, this epithet on the remaining discovered monuments (recorded on a Placentine inscription (CIL XI 1306), and on a Roman one (CIL VI 10155)), appears next to her name in its entirety (*Medica*), and not abbreviated, making it difficult to accept this interpretation.<sup>80</sup> In Pannonia a total of eight of her monuments have been recorded, more often as sculptures than in actual inscriptions. Besides the statue and inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, the statue of Minerva from Grbavac, near Grubišno Polje, has an important place among bronze figural sculpture.<sup>81</sup>

It is, however, interesting to note that not a single inscription with a dedication to the supreme deity Jupiter has been found in Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>82</sup> particularly given that his was the middle temple of the three found, as Gorenc and Vikić assert.<sup>83</sup> Jupiter's cult was very widespread in Pannonia, and the highest concentration of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter was found in the cities and other settlements all along the major Roman thoroughfares which served as the centres of

<sup>78</sup> Gorenc 1971, 18; Gorenc 1984, 96.

<sup>79</sup> The same formula also appears in CAT. NO. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73.

<sup>81</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7, 8; on Minerva in general: Canciani 1984, 1074-1110.

<sup>82</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Thomas 1980, 183.

<sup>83</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

### 2.3. Natpisi posvećeni Poluksu, Herkulu i Solu

Božanstvo kojega se moli za ozdravljenje je i Poluks<sup>86</sup> (KAT. BR. 25) od kojega oslobođenik Menander traži zdravlje za Lucija Kasija Cilona, njegova patrona.

U Toplicama se javljaju posvete i Herkulu (KAT. BR. 26) te Solu (KAT. BR. 27). Herkul<sup>87</sup> je štovan u južnim dijelovima Panonije još od ranog Carstva te je služio kako bi promovirao kult cara među vojnicima. Na natpisu se spominje uz atribut *augustus*. Njegov kult ima brojne potvrde, šest natpisa i trinaest figuralnih prikaza (dva reljefa i trinaest skulptura, kamenih i brončanih). Najpoznatije statue su one iz Siska te iz Murščaka, nedaleko od Čakovca.<sup>88</sup> D. Rendić-Miočević smatra da su oba božanstva bila prikazana kao heroizirani mladići-ratnici na topličkom nimfeju, koji je dala podići petovijska općina (kao i pojedine posvete), pod čijom su se jurisdikcijom nalazile Varaždinske Toplice. Posvete Solu vrlo su rijetke. Na žrtveniku reljefa pronađenom u Ptuj u nalazi se dedikacija ovom božanstvu,<sup>89</sup> a nekolicina posveta Solu pronađena je i u Sisku, iako uvijek u zajednici s drugim bogovima.<sup>90</sup> Pronalazak natpisa s imenom boga Sola u Varaždinskim Toplicama ukazuje na štovanje Sola kao boga zdravlja, a za vrijeme cara Aurelijana Sol je proglašen vrhovnim državnim bogom te je postao zaštitnikom vojske, čiji su članovi bili najčešći posjetitelji Toplica.<sup>91</sup>

Mnoštvo božanstava i numina koje se susreću na posvetnim oltarima u Varaždinskim Toplicama daje uvid u kulturni, druš-

the Roman administrative system. The most inscriptions were found in the territory of Mursa and its ager (22) and in the area of Siscia (20). Numerous inscriptions found in the vicinity of Varaždin and Krapina, in the area of Metulum, in Aquis Balissis, in Cibalae and in Andautonia.<sup>84</sup> Nonetheless, it is possible that the reason for the absence of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter in Varaždinske Toplice is simply due to insufficient research.<sup>85</sup>

### 2.3. Inscriptions dedicated to Pollux, Hercules and Sol

Pollux<sup>86</sup> is another deity to whom prayers for healing were also conveyed (CAT. NO. 25) by the freedman Menander for the health of Lucius Fabius Cilon, his patron.

Dedications to Hercules (CAT. NO. 26) and Sol (CAT. NO. 27) were also found in Toplice. Hercules<sup>87</sup> was revered in the southern parts of Pannonia since the early Empire, and he served to promote the cult of the emperor among soldiers. In the inscription he is mentioned with the attribute *augustus*. His cult has numerous confirmations, six inscriptions and thirteen figural portrayals (two relief images and thirteen sculptures, both stone and bronze). The best known statues are those from Sisak and Murščak, not far from Čakovec.<sup>88</sup> D. Rendić-Miočević believes that both deities were shown as heroic warrior-youths in the Toplice Nymphaeum, which was raised by the Poetovio municipium (as well as individual dedications), which had jurisdiction over Varaždinske Toplice. Dedications to Sol are very rare. The altar on a relief found in Ptuj features a dedication to

<sup>84</sup> Sinobad 2010, 149.

<sup>85</sup> On Jupiter and the Capitoline Triad in general: Canciani 1997, 421-470.

<sup>86</sup> On Pollux in general: Gury 1986, 608-635.

<sup>87</sup> On Hercules in general: Boardman, Palagia, Woodford, 1988, 728-838; Balmaseda 1990, 5-262.

<sup>88</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8.

<sup>86</sup> Općenito o Poluksu u: Gury 1986, 608-635.

<sup>87</sup> Općenito o Herkulu u: Boardman, Palagia, Woodford, 1988, 728-838; Balmaseda 1990, 5-262.

<sup>88</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8.

<sup>89</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73; općenito o Solu u: Letta 1988, 592-625.

<sup>90</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.



tveni i kulturni aspekt mjesta, ali i okolice s kojom je lječilište bilo vrlo usko povezano. Raznolikost bogova koji su čuvali i štitali ovo mjesto te ozdravljali ljude koji su ga pohodili iz određenih razloga, pruža uvid u kulturni aspekt mjesta, dok same posvete različitim božanstvima daju uvid u mnoštvo ljudi koji su pohodili ovo mjesto i samim time govore o društvenom aspektu mjesta. Raznolikost oltara, skulptura i hramova, koji su krasili mjesto i činili ga ljepšim i atraktivnijim posjetiocima, svjedoči o kulturnom aspektu Varaždinskih Toplica.

#### 2.4. Dedicanti

Osim božanstava kojima su bili posvećeni oltari, važno mjesto u životu naselja i lječilišta imaju i sami dedikanti. U Varaždinskim su Toplicama najčešći dedikanti pripadnici rimske vojske, od običnih vojnika do onih koji su obnašali važne vojne funkcije. Ovi vojnici pripadali su legijama koje su boravile u susjednim gradovima i naseljima, a koji su se u Toplicama zatekli službeno ili privatno. Najčešće su služili u XIII. legiji Gemini (KAT. BR. 5, 9), XIII. legiji Gemini (KAT. BR. 21, 28) te u XXII. legiji (KAT. BR. 9). No posjetioци Toplica ipak nisu bili samo vojnici već i građani.<sup>92</sup>

KAT. BR. 5 donosi natpis koji je Marko Fabije Fabul posvetio nimfama. Uz Fabulovo ime stoji više magistratura. Prva je navedena *tribunus militum*.<sup>93</sup> Vojni su tribuni u vrijeme Carstva bili postavljani iz senatorskih redova, jer su, prije početka političke karijere bili primorani odslužiti godinu dana kao časnici, ili iz redova vitezova, otkuda su izabirani oni koji su već ispunili godinu službe.<sup>94</sup> Biraio ih je

<sup>92</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 128; Fitz 1993, 90; Holder 1980, 75-77, 82; Keppie 2005, 150; Matijašić 2002, 118; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 359.

<sup>94</sup> Allen 1908, 8.

this deity,<sup>89</sup> and a few dedications to Sol were also found in Sisak, although always in concert with other gods.<sup>90</sup> The discovery of an inscription containing the name of the god Sol in Varaždinske Toplice indicates worship of Sol as a god of health, while during the reign of Emperor Aurelian, Sol was proclaimed a supreme state god and he became a protector of the army, whose members often visited Toplice.<sup>91</sup>

The multitude of deities and *numina* seen on the dedicatory altars in Varaždinske Toplice provide an insight into the cultic, social, and cultural aspect of the site, as well as the milieu to which the spa was closely tied. The diversity of gods who watched over and protected this place and healed the people who visited it for specific reasons provide insight into the cultic aspect of the location, while the actual dedications to the deities provide insight into the multitude of people who came here and thereby indicate the social aspect of this place. The diversity of altars, sculptures and temples which adorned the place and made it more beautiful and attractive to visitors testifies to the cultural aspect of Varaždinske Toplice.

#### 2.4. Dedicants

Besides the deities to whom altars were dedicated, the dedicants themselves also played an important role in the life of the settlement and spa. In Varaždinske Toplice, the most common dedicants were members of the Roman army, from ordinary soldiers to those who performed important military functions. These soldiers belonged to the legions that were stationed in neighbouring towns and settlements, and who visited Toplice either officially or privately. They most often served in *legio XIII Gemina* (CAT. NO. 5, 9), *legio XIII Gemina* (CAT. NO. 21, 28) and *legio*

<sup>89</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73; on Sol in general: Letta 1988, 592-625.

<sup>90</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

car, a bili su vođe legije pod upravljanjem legijskog legata. U vojsci je bilo vojnih tribuna bez ikakvog zapovjedništva. Kao znak službe nosili su zlatni prsten.<sup>95</sup> Prvim senatorskim dužnostima, vojni tribuni, kao najniži pripremni stupanj u vojnoj hijerarhiji, imali su pristup tek poslije dvadeset i pete godine života.<sup>96</sup> Sljedeća navedena titula *legatus Augusti provinciae Africae pro praetore* koja nam kazuje da je bio upravitelj provincije Afrike. Naime, upravo su *legati Augusti pro praetore* upravljali carskim provincijama, car ih je imenovao na neodređeno vrijeme, a ovisno o značaju provincije. Bili su ili nekadašnji konzuli ili pretori odgovorni za civilno upravljanje i obranu provincije, a mogli su biti na čelu i do četiri legije te upravljati nekolicinom pomoćnih postrojbi.<sup>97</sup> *Legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* nam još jednom dokazuje da je bio na čelu legije i to *XIII Gemine*.

Flavije Hermadion<sup>98</sup>, čije ime spominje natpis u KAT. BR. 6, uz svoje ime navodi da je on *circitor vectigalis Illyrici*, funkcija koja nam do danas nije u potpunosti jasna. Nagadanja su da je ova funkcija mogla biti vezana uz nadzorne poslove te poreze, odnosno da su bili svojevrsni podružni inspektori.<sup>99</sup> Pretpostavka je da se u Ptuj u nalazila njihova postaja.<sup>100</sup>

Julije Maksim dao je podići oltar nimfama (KAT. BR. 8) na kojem je navedeno da je on *decurio municipii*, no budući da natpis nije sačuvan u cjelini, nije nam sa-

*XXII* (CAT. NO. 9). But the visitors to Toplice were not only soldiers but also citizens.<sup>92</sup>

CAT. NO. 5 is an inscription dedicated to the nymphs by Marcus Fabius Fabullus. His named is accompanied by several magistratures. The first specified is *tribunus militum*.<sup>93</sup> Military tribunes at the time of the Empire were appointed from among the ranks of senators – because prior to the commencement of their political careers they were required to serve one year as officers – or from among the ranks of knights, whence those who had already fulfilled a year of service were selected.<sup>94</sup> They were selected by the emperor, and they were leaders of the legions administered by a legionary legate. There were military tribunes in the army without any manner of command. They wore a golden ring as an insignia of their service.<sup>95</sup> Military tribunes, as the lowest preparatory stage in the military hierarchy, only had access to genuine senatorial duties after reaching the age of twenty-five.<sup>96</sup> The next title cited on the inscription is *legatus Augusti provinciae Africae pro praetore*, which shows that he was the administrator of the province of Africa. For it was in fact the *legati Augusti pro praetore* who administered the imperial provinces; the emperor appointed them for an indefinite period, which depended on the importance of the province. They were either former consuls or praetorians responsible for civil administration and defence of a province, and they could have stood at the head of as many as four legions and also administer several auxiliary units.<sup>97</sup> *Legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* once more proves that he was at the head of a le-

<sup>92</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 128; Fitz 1993, 90; Holder 1980, 75-77, 82; Keppie 2005, 150; Matijašić 2002, 118; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 359.

<sup>94</sup> Allen 1908, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>96</sup> Matijašić 2002, 118.

<sup>97</sup> Fitz 1980a, 134; Fitz 1993, 126; Keppie 2005, 160; Levick 2001, 10; Lintott 1993, 121-122; Musić 1942, 126; Pinterović 1978, 34; Southern 2006, 59, 331.

<sup>95</sup> Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>96</sup> Matijašić 2002, 118.

<sup>97</sup> Fitz 1980a, 134; Fitz 1993, 126; Keppie 2005, 160; Levick 2001, 10; Lintott 1993, 121-122; Musić 1942, 126; Pinterović 1978, 34; Southern 2006, 59, 331.

<sup>98</sup> Ime Flavija Hermadiona posvjedočeno je na još dva natpisa: *ILJug* 1145 (Ptuj) te *CIL* VI731 (Rim)

<sup>99</sup> Aubert 1994, 330; France 1993, 914; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Walser 1994, 85.

<sup>100</sup> Cagnat 1882, 38.

čuvano kojeg je municipija bio dekurion. Šime Ljubić smatra da taj natpis dokazuje kako su *Aquae Iasae* uživale prava municipija,<sup>101</sup> ali s obzirom na nepotpunost natpisa i nedostatak drugih dokaza, ova pretpostavka se ne može potvrditi. Dekurioni su bili članovi općinskog vijeća u provincijskim gradovima, koje je bilo odgovorno Senatu u Rimu.<sup>102</sup> Bili su bivši magistrati te vrlo utjecajni građani. Kako su bili skupljači poreza (u vrijeme Carstva) od njih se očekivala velikodušnost te su sami financirali brojne obnove i gradnje u gradovima.<sup>103</sup> Po tome možemo zaključiti da je Julije Maksim bio važan član rimskog društva.

Marko Rutilije Lup (KAT. BR. 9) bio je *tribunus militum* XXII. legije, *legatus Augusti* XIII. Gemine te *quaestor* i *tribunus plebis*. Kvestori su bili magistrati koji su, kao pomoćnici konzula, imali nadzor nad sudstvom (zločinima - *quaestores paricidii*) te financijama (*quaestores aeraarii*), a bili su odgovorni konzulu.<sup>104</sup> Pučki tribuni su u carsko vrijeme bili ovisni o carevima te su im služili da ojačaju svoju carsku moć. Bilo ih je deset, birali su se na godinu dana, a imali su vlast nad zakonodavstvom i sudstvom.<sup>105</sup> U svojoj vojnoj karijeri bio je i na čelu XIII. legije Gemine.

Elije Viktorin bio je *beneficiarius consularis* (KAT. BR. 11). Konzularni beneficiari su pripadali nižim časnici. Naime, bili su izuzeti od svakodnevnih dužnosti u legiji te stavljeni na raspolaganje provincijskom namjesniku, koji ih je radi javne sigurnosti razmještao po važnim točkama i raskrižjima glavnih cesta, te u gospodarska i trgovačka središta. Bili su zaduženi

gion, XIII *Gemina*.

Flavius Hermadion,<sup>98</sup> whose name is mentioned in the inscription in CAT. NO. 6, specified that he was *circitor vectigalis Illyrici*, a function that is not entirely clear to this day. There is speculation that this function may have been tied to inspectorial duties and taxes, or they were some type of regional inspectors.<sup>99</sup> It is assumed that they had a station in Ptuj.<sup>100</sup>

Julius Maximus commissioned an altar to the nymphs (CAT. NO. 8) on which it states that he was a *decurio municipii*, but since the inscription has not been fully preserved, the name of the municipium in which he was decurion cannot be seen. Šime Ljubić believed that this inscription showed that *Aquae Iasae* enjoyed the status of a genuine municipium,<sup>101</sup> but given the incomplete nature of the inscription and the lack of other evidence, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed. Decurions were the members of municipal councils in provincial cities who were accountable to the Senate in Rome.<sup>102</sup> They were former magistrates and very influential citizens. Since they were tax collectors (at the time of the Empire), munificence was expected of them and they personally financed a great deal of construction and renovation in the cities.<sup>103</sup> It may therefore be concluded that Julius Maximus was an important member of Roman society.

Marcus Rutilius Lupus (CAT. NO. 9) was *tribunus militum* of *legio XXII*, *legatus Augusti* of XIII *Gemina* and *quaestor* and *tribunus plebis*. Quaestors were magistrates who, as assistants to a consul, they oversaw the courts (investigating capital crimes – *quae-*

<sup>101</sup> Ljubić 1879, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Matijašić 2002, 120.

<sup>103</sup> Grimal 1968, 431; Lintott 1993, 134.

<sup>104</sup> Cagnat 1914, 94; Grimal 1968, 457; Keppie 2005, 189; Lintott 1993, 145; Richardson 2001, 29, 37, 62, 86; Southern 2006, 332, 340.

<sup>105</sup> Keppie 2005, 188; Musić 1942, 120.

<sup>98</sup> Flavius Hermadion's name appeared in two other inscriptions: *ILJug* 1145 (Ptuj) te *CIL* VI731 (Rome).

<sup>99</sup> Aubert 1994, 330; France 1993, 914; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Walser 1994, 85.

<sup>100</sup> Cagnat 1882, 38.

<sup>101</sup> Ljubić 1879, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Matijašić 2002, 120.

<sup>103</sup> Grimal 1968, 431; Lintott 1993, 134.

za sigurnost i zaštitu prometa, transport robe i rude te za nadzor sigurnosti carinskih postaja.<sup>106</sup> Po završetku službe, običavali su na mjestu službe podizati zavjetne žrtvenike, u čast raznih božanstava.<sup>107</sup>

KAT. BR. 12 prikazuje spomenik koji je petovijska općina podigla u čast nimfama, a po nalogu Lucija Tulija Tuska koji je bio *legatus Auggustorum pro praetore*, odnosno propretorski legat kojeg je car, odnosno, u ovom slučaju, carevi, postavio za upravitelja provincije.<sup>108</sup> Ovaj kataloški broj spominje i Tita Geminija Rufina koji je bio *procurator Auggustorum* (carski prokurator), odnosno skupljač poreza.<sup>109</sup> Titule *legatus Auggustorum* te *procurator Auggustorum* nam ukazuju da su u to vrijeme vladala dva cara. Iz djela Ivana Krstića Tkalčića saznajemo da je to bila vladavina Marka Aurelija Antonina Filozofa i Lucija Aurelija Vera Komoda te nam to pomaže datirati ovaj natpis između 161. i 170. godine.

Tit Flavije Domicije Valerijan, kojeg spominje natpis u KAT. BR. 21, bio je *centurio legionarius*, odnosno legijski centurion u XIII. legiji Gemini, a taj je čin postigao *ad suffragium*, odnosno glasanjem, a ne imenovanjem od višeg časnika, što je češći način stjecanja čina. Centurioni su bili zapovjednici centurija.<sup>110</sup>

Lucije Klaudije Moderat, KAT. BR. 24, bio je *decurio coloniae Claudiae Savaariae* te *decurio municipii Aeli Sallae*

<sup>106</sup> Aubert 1994, 384; Dobruna-Salih 2013, 219, 220; Domaszewski 1908, 32; Fitz 1980a, 128; Nélis-Clément 2000, 78, 80; Ott 1995, 30-32; Perinić Muratović 2004, 101; Southern 2006, 335.

<sup>107</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86.

<sup>108</sup> Lintott 1993, 121-122; Matijašić 2002, 119; Musić 1942, 126.

<sup>109</sup> Cagnat 1914, 113; Demougin 1988, 722; Lintott 1993, 122; Matijašić 2002, 120; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 323, 389; Musić 1942, 126; Richardson 2001, 62, 85; Slootjes 2006, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 80-112; Musić 1942, 133.

*stores parricidii*) and finances (*quaestores aerarii*), and they were accountable to the consul.<sup>104</sup> Plebeian tribunes were dependent on the emperor in the imperial era, and they were used by the emperor to reinforce his authority. There were of ten of them, they were appointed for a term of one year, and they had authority over legislation and the judiciary.<sup>105</sup> In his military career he was at the head of *legio XIII Gemina*.

Aelius Victorinus was a *beneficiarius consularis* (CAT. NO. 11). Consular *beneficarii* were among the lower-ranking officers. They were exempted from everyday duties in a legion and placed at the disposal of the provincial consul, who in the interest of public safety posted them at important points and intersections of major roads, and in hubs of the economy and commerce. They were charged with the safety and protection of traffic, transportation of goods and ores and supervision of the security of customs stations.<sup>106</sup> Upon the end of their service, they customarily raised votive altars at the site of their service in honour of various deities.<sup>107</sup>

CAT. NO. 12 shows a monument raised to the nymphs by the Poetovio municipium at the behest of Lucius Tullius Tuscus, who was *legatus Auggustorum pro praetore*, or propraetorian legate appointed by the emperor or, in this case, emperors, to administer a province.<sup>108</sup> This catalogue number also mentions Titus Geminus Rufinus, who was *procurator Auggustorum* (imperial procurator),

<sup>104</sup> Cagnat 1914, 94; Grimal 1968, 457; Keppie 2005, 189; Lintott 1993, 145; Richardson 2001, 29, 37, 62, 86; Southern 2006, 332, 340.

<sup>105</sup> Keppie 2005, 188; Musić 1942, 120.

<sup>106</sup> Aubert 1994, 384; Dobruna-Salih 2013, 219, 220; Domaszewski 1908, 32; Fitz 1980a, 128; Nélis-Clément 2000, 78, 80; Ott 1995, 30-32; Perinić Muratović 2004, 101; Southern 2006, 335.

<sup>107</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86.

<sup>108</sup> Lintott 1993, 121-122; Matijašić 2002, 119; Musić 1942, 126.

*sacerdotalis arae Augusti*, odnosno dekurion kolonije Savarije i dekurion municipija *Aelii Sallae*<sup>111</sup> (*Savaria* je današnji Szombathely, a *Aelium Salla* današnje Zalalövö<sup>112</sup>).

KAT. BR. 26 donosi natpis koji je Marko Aurelije Kasije posvetio Herkulu. Marko Aurelije Kasije bio je *beneficiarius consularis*. Na temelju tog natpisa Brunšmid zaključuje da se u Varaždinskim Toplicama nalazila postaja konzularnih beneficijara,<sup>113</sup> a natpis iz KAT. BR. 11, koji je podigao Elije Viktorin, također konzularni beneficijar, ovu tvrdnju još učvršćuje.

Ara Lucija Larija Celera (KAT. BR. 28) spominje ga kao primipila XIII. legije Gemine (*primus pilus legionis XIII Geminae*). Primipil je bio centurion najvišeg položaja. Svaka legija imala je jednog primipila, a isti je na toj dužnosti mogao biti godinu dana.<sup>114</sup>

## 2.5. Legije

Na natpisima pronađenim u Varaždinskim Toplicama spominju se tri legije: *legio XIII Gemina*, *legio XIII Gemina* te *legio XXII Primigenia*. U vrijeme Augusta u Panoniji su boravile tri legije: *VIII Augusta*, *VIII Hispana* i *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>115</sup> Osmo je legija bila smještena u Petoviju, deveta se legija nalazila u Sisciji (iako ostaci logora nisu još pronađeni), a petnaesta u Emoni.<sup>116</sup> Nije sigurno gdje

or tax collector.<sup>109</sup> The title *legatus Auggustorum* and *procurator Auggustorum* indicate that two emperors reigned at that time. From the work of Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić we learn that this was the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus the Philosopher and Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus, and that helps date this inscription between 161 and 170.

Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus, who is mentioned in the inscription in CAT. NO. 21, was a *centurio legionarius*, a legionary centurion in *legio XIII Gemina*, and he achieved this rank *ad suffragium*, i.e., by vote, and not by appointment by a superior officer, which was the more common way to achieve rank. Centurions were the commanders of centuries.<sup>110</sup>

Lucius Claudius Moderatus, CAT. NO. 24, was *decurio coloniae Claudiae Savariae* and *decurio municipii Aeli Sallae sacerdotalis arae Augusti*, i.e., he was decurion of the colony of Savaria and decurion of the *Aelium Salla municipium*<sup>111</sup> (*Savaria* is present-day Szombathely, while *Aelium Salla* is present-day Zalalövö.)<sup>112</sup>

CAT. NO. 26 contains an inscription which Marcus Aurelius Cassius dedicated to Hercules. Marcus Aurelius Cassius was a *beneficiarius consularis*. Based on this inscription, Brunšmid concluded that there was a station of the *beneficarii consulari* in Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>113</sup> while the inscription under CAT. NO. 11, raised by Aelius Victorinus, also a *beneficiarius consularis*, reinforces this assertion.

The altar of Lucius Larius Celer (CAT. NO. 28) mentions him as *primipilaris* of *legio XIII Gemina* (*primus pilus legionis XIII*

<sup>111</sup> Fitz 1993a, 427; Ørsted 1985, 180.

<sup>112</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Redő 2003, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86; Fitz 1993a, 385, 386; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137, 183-184; Southern 2006, 101, 129, 130.

<sup>114</sup> Cheesman 1914, 91; Domaszewski 1908, 112-119; Fitz 1993, 289; Holder 1980, 82-83; Keppie 2005, 151, 188; Southern 2006, 130.

<sup>115</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>116</sup> Farnum 2005, 23, 29; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612.

<sup>109</sup> Cagnat 1914, 113; Demougin 1988, 722; Lintott 1993, 122; Matijašić 2002, 120; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 323, 389; Musić 1942, 126; Richardson 2001, 62, 85; Sloopjes 2006, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 80-112; Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>111</sup> Fitz 1993a, 427; Ørsted 1985, 180.

<sup>112</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Redő 2003, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86; Fitz 1993a, 385, 386; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137, 183-184; Southern 2006, 101, 129, 130.

su se legije nalazile u vrijeme legijskog ustanka 14. godine, ali se pretpostavlja da su bile smještene u blizini Petovija ili Siscije.<sup>117</sup> Deveta je legija dvadesetih godina premještena u Afriku,<sup>118</sup> a nakon toga u Panoniju, vjerojatno u Sisciju, gdje je boravila do oko 43. godine, kada je premještena u Britaniju, gdje je trajno ostala.<sup>119</sup> Osmu je legiju, oko 45. godine,<sup>120</sup> u Petoviju zamijenila *XIII Gemina*,<sup>121</sup> koja je početkom drugog stoljeća premještena u Vindobonu.<sup>122</sup> Petnaesta je legija, oko 15. godine, premještena na sjever, moguće u Vindobonu, a pedesetih godina u Karnunt.<sup>123</sup> Naposljetku je, oko 62. godine, otišla na istok,<sup>124</sup> a u Karnuntu ju je zamijenila *X Gemina*.<sup>125</sup> Devedesetih godina prvog stoljeća, *legio XIII Gemina* prebačena je iz Germanije Superior u Panoniju, gdje je zamijenila dvadeset i prvu legiju (*legio XXI Rapax*), koja je uništena u ratu sa Sarmaćanima.<sup>126</sup> Točna linija kretanja ove legije, kao ni sva mjesta njezina boravka, nisu poznati. Nepoznata su nam i mjesta gdje su se povremeno nalazile njezine *vexillationes*. Ipak nam je poznata nekolicina mjesta gdje se zadržavala kroz dulje vrijeme. Logor u Vindoboni mjesto

*Geminae*). A *primipilaris* was a centurion of the highest rank. Each legion had one *primipilaris*, and he could remain at this post for a year.<sup>114</sup>

## 2.5. Legions

Three legions are mentioned in the inscriptions found in Varaždinske Toplice: *legio XIII Gemina*, *legio XIII Gemina* and *legio XXII Primigenia*. During the time of Augustus, three legions were stationed in Pannonia: *VIII Augusta*, *VIII Hispana* and *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>115</sup> The eighth legion was posted in Poetovio, the ninth legion was in Siscia (even though the remains of its camp have yet to be found), and the fifteenth in Emona.<sup>116</sup> The whereabouts of the legions during the legionary uprising in the year 14 AD is not known, but it is assumed that they were posted near Poetovio or Siscia.<sup>117</sup> The ninth legion was transferred to Africa in the twenties,<sup>118</sup> and after this to Pannonia, probably in Siscia, where it remained until about the year 43, when it was transferred to Britannia, where it then remained permanently.<sup>119</sup> At around the year 45, the eighth legion<sup>120</sup> replaced *XIII Gemina* in Poetovio,<sup>121</sup> which was transferred to Vindabona at the beginning of the second century.<sup>122</sup> The fifteenth legion was trans-

<sup>117</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169.

<sup>118</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1665; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Ritterling 1925, 1666; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>120</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>121</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 28; Mócsy 1962, 613; Wissowa 1925, 1710-1724.

<sup>122</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Fitz 2003, 50; Mócsy 1959, 83; Vikić 1961, 49; Wissowa 1925, 1710.

<sup>123</sup> Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>124</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>125</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>126</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Lőrincz 2003, 25; Mócsy 1959, 49; Mócsy 1962, 613; Ritterling 1925, 1736.

<sup>114</sup> Cheesman 1914, 91; Domaszewski 1908, 112-119; Fitz 1993, 289; Holder 1980, 82-83; Keppie 2005, 151, 188; Southern 2006, 130.

<sup>115</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>116</sup> Farnum 2005, 23, 29; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612.

<sup>117</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169.

<sup>118</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1665; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Ritterling 1925, 1666; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>120</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>121</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 28; Mócsy 1962, 613; Wissowa 1925, 1710-1724.

<sup>122</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Fitz 2003, 50; Mócsy 1959, 83; Vikić 1961, 49; Wissowa 1925, 1710.

je gdje se legija nalazila prije dačkih ratova, a nakon istih legija bila je smještena u Karnunt, gdje je ostala gotovo dva stoljeća kao važan dio obrambenog sustava dunavsko-panonskog limesa.<sup>127</sup> *Legio XXII Primigenia* bila je kratko vrijeme, sedamdesetih godina prvog stoljeća, smještena u Karnuntu, nakon čega je premještena u Germaniju, gdje je i ostala.<sup>128</sup>

## 2.6. Carski natpis

U Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je i jedan carski natpis naveden u KAT. BR. 30. Taj nam natpis daje informaciju da je car Konstantin dao obnoviti, odnosno ponovo izgraditi Toplice, koje su stradale u požaru.<sup>129</sup> I. K. Tkalčić ovaj požar ne pripisuje nikakvom neprijateljskom napadu, već smatra da je bio slučajan. U vrijeme Konstantina (306.-335.), Panonija Superior, kao i ostale rimske provincije, bila je uzdrmana unutarnjim i vanjskim ratovima, te su joj bili nametnuti brojni porezi čime je ona postupno siromašila. Takva situacija utjecala je i na Toplice, koje nisu više bile toliko posjećene te su zbog nedovoljnih prihoda počele propadati. U tom se trenutku iskazao car Konstantin. Poznato je da je Konstantin često pohađio Panoniju.<sup>130</sup> I. K. Tkalčić pretpostavlja da je na tom svom putovanju posjetio Toplice i uvidio njihovo siromaštvo, te, spoznajući njihovu prijašnju slavu, ljekovitost i veliku korist za ranjene vojnike, naložio Valeriju Katulinu, koji je u to vrijeme bio zapovjednik Panonije Superior,

<sup>127</sup> Farnum 2005, 29, 30; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 42; Wissowa 1925, 1727-1746.

<sup>128</sup> Farnum 2005, 25, 29; Gugl 2003, 57; Mócsy 1959, 84; Wissowa 1925, 1797-1819.

<sup>129</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 122.

<sup>130</sup> Migotti 1999, 52.

ferred north at around the year 15, possibly to Vindobona, while in the fifties it was moved to Carnuntum.<sup>123</sup> Finally, at around the year 62, it departed for the east,<sup>124</sup> and it was replaced in Carnuntum by *X Gemina*.<sup>125</sup> In the nineties, *legio XIII Gemina* was transferred from Germania Superior to Pannonia, where it replaced the twenty-first legion (*legio XXI Rapax*), which was annihilated in the war against the Sarmatians.<sup>126</sup> The exact route on which this legion moved, as well as the places where it stayed, are not known. Even the places where its *vexillationes* temporarily stayed are not known. Nonetheless, a few of the places where it stayed for longer periods are known. The camp in Vindobona is where the legion was located before the Dacian wars, and thereafter this same legion was posted in Carnuntum, where it remained almost two centuries as an important component of the defensive system along the Danubian-Pannonian limes.<sup>127</sup> For brief time in the seventies, *legio XXII Primigenia* was accommodated in Carnuntum, after which it was transferred to Germania, where it remained.<sup>128</sup>

## 2.6. Imperial inscription

An imperial inscription, cited under CAT. NO. 30, was also found in Varaždinske Toplice. This inscription provides the information that Emperor Constantine commissioned the restoration, in fact the reconstruc-

<sup>123</sup> Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>124</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>125</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>126</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Lőrincz 2003, 25; Mócsy 1959, 49; Mócsy 1962, 613; Ritterling 1925, 1736.

<sup>127</sup> Farnum 2005, 29, 30; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 42; Wissowa 1925, 1727-1746.

<sup>128</sup> Farnum 2005, 25, 29; Gugl 2003, 57; Mócsy 1959, 84; Wissowa 1925, 1797-1819.

da ih obnovi o državnom trošku.<sup>131</sup> Na natpisu je navedeno da je Valerije Katulin bio vlasnik perfektisimata te zapovjednik Panonije Superior.

Naime, u Konstantinovo vrijeme Carstvo je bilo podijeljeno u četiri prefektore (Galija, Orijent, Ilirik i Italija), a na čelu svake nalazio se *praefectus praetorio*. Prefektore su bile podijeljene na mali broj dijeceza. Svakom dijecezom upravljao je *vicarius praefecti*, kojega je izabirao car.<sup>132</sup> Panonija je u to vrijeme pripadala italskoj prefekturi, a ilirskoj dijecezi, a bila je podijeljena na Panoniju Primu (ili Panoniju Superior), Panoniju Saviju, Panoniju Sekundu (ili Panoniju Inferior) te Panoniju Valeriju.<sup>133</sup> Na čelu civilne administracije bio je *praeses*, viteškog staleža, koji se nazivao *vir perfectissimus*, a vojnu je administraciju vodio *dux*, također *vir perfectissimus*.<sup>134</sup> U natpisu stoji da je Valerije Katulin bio *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(rae)p(ositus) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*. Ipak, postoji i drugo razrješavanje kratica: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raes) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) <p> Super(ioris)*.<sup>135</sup> S takvim razrješanjem možemo zaključiti da je Valerije Katulin bio *vir perfectissimus*, upravitelj Panonije Superior, te da je bio na čelu civilne administracije.

Na natpisu je zabilježeno da je Konstantin naložio da se svake nedjelje u Toplicama održe sajmovi, no moguće je da su se sajmovi održavali i prije, jer su Varaždinske Toplice zasigurno i ranije imale potrebu za većim opticajem robe, kako bi se zadovoljile potrebe gostiju i pacije-

tion, of Toplice, which was damaged by a fire.<sup>129</sup> I. K. Tkalčić did not ascribe this fire to any sort of enemy attack, rather he deemed it an accident. During the reign of Constantine (306-335), Pannonia Superior, like other Roman provinces, was shaken by internal and external wars, and numerous taxes were imposed upon it which gradually impoverished it. This situation had an impact on Toplice, which no longer received as many visitors, and began to deteriorate due to dwindling revenues. At this point Constantine took action. It is known that Constantine frequently toured Pannonia.<sup>130</sup> Tkalčić assumed that on such a tour he visited Toplice and observed its impoverishment and, aware of its previous fame and the medicinal properties and great benefits for wounded soldiers, ordered Valerius Catullinus, who was the commander of Pannonia Superior at the time, to carry out reconstruction at the state's expense.<sup>131</sup> The inscription specifies that Valerius Catullinus was a *vir perfectissimus* and the commander of Pannonia Superior.

In Constantine's time, the Empire was divided into four prefectures (Gallia, Oriens, Illyricum and Italia), and each was headed by a *praefectus praetorio*. The prefectures were divided into a small number of dioceses. Each diocese was administered by a *vicarius praefecti*, who was selected by the emperor.<sup>132</sup> At that time, Pannonia was a part of the Italian prefecture, but in the Illyrian diocese, and divided into Pannonia Prima (or Pannonia Superior), Pannonia Savia, Pannonia Secunda (or Pannonia Inferior) and Pannonia Valeria.<sup>133</sup> Civilian administration was headed by the *praeses*, of the knightly class, who was called *vir perfectissimus*, while mil-

<sup>131</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>133</sup> Barkóczi 1980, 109; Buckland 2007, 52; Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>134</sup> Barkóczi 1980, 109; Fitz 1980a, 127; Kelly 2004, 146; Pinterović 1978, 87; Tkalčić 1869, 20, 21.

<sup>135</sup> CIL III 4121; PLRE 1971, 188.

<sup>129</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 122.

<sup>130</sup> Migotti 1999, 52.

<sup>131</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>133</sup> Barkóczi 1980, 109; Buckland 2007, 52; Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.



nata.<sup>136</sup> Sama činjenica da su se sajmovi održavali cijelu godinu pokazuje da Toplice nisu bile samo kupalište, koje je bilo otvoreno od svibnja do listopada, već i važno trgovačko središte. Tim činom car je »unaprijedio standard domaćeg stanovništva i znatno doprinjeo razvoju trgovine i obrta.«<sup>137</sup>

## 2.7. Pečati na tegulama

U Varaždinskim Toplicama, osim natpisa na spomenicima, pronađene su i tegule s pečatima. Šime Ljubić daje podatak da je nekolicina tegula s pečatima pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama (KAT. BR. 31-33), kao i u blizini Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca (KAT. BR. 34-36).<sup>138</sup> I. K. Tkalčić također spominje tegule s pečatima (KAT. BR. 33-36).<sup>139</sup> Na tegule s pečatom Q. Sp. osvrnula se i B. Vikić koja spominje da su iste pronađene u jednom kanalu koji je odvodio vodu iz bazena.<sup>140</sup> O tegulama s pečatom Junija Firma (KAT. BR. 31, 32) ipak detaljnije pišu B. Vikić-Belančić i M. Gorenc te kažu da su u Ptuj u pronađene tri ciglarske peći i zaključuju da je Junije Firm ciglar iz Ptuj, koji je djelovao u 2., odnosno 3. stoljeću, kada je bio veliki priljev keramičara u Ptuj.<sup>141</sup>

## 2.8. Faze gradnje

Zanimljivo je primijetiti da rasprostiranje kupališta prati njegovu namjenu, ali i karakter posjetitelja. U ranocarском razdoblju kupalište je bilo velikih dimenzija, što se vjerojatno može opravdati velikom frekventnošću vojske, koja je tada bila

itary administration was led by the *dux*, also called *vir perfectissimus*.<sup>134</sup> The inscription specifies that Valerius Catullinus was *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(rae)p(ositus) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*. However, there is another interpretation of the abbreviation: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raes) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) <p> Super(ioris)*.<sup>135</sup> With such a solution it may be concluded that Valerius Catullinus was *vir perfectissimus*, the administrator of Pannonia Superior, and that he was in charge of civilian administration.

The inscription records that Constantine ordered the holding of fairs every Sunday in Toplice, but it is possible that fairs were also held earlier, because Varaždinske Toplice certainly had the need for greater circulation of goods even earlier in order to meet the needs of guests and patients.<sup>136</sup> The very fact that fairs were held all year indicates that Toplice was not just a spa, which was opened from May to October, but also an important market centre. By this act, the emperor “advanced the standard of the domestic population and significantly contributed to the development of commerce and trades.”<sup>137</sup>

## 2.7. Stamps on tegulae

Besides inscriptions on stone monuments, tegulae with stamps were also found in Varaždinske Toplice. Šime Ljubić reported that several tegulae with stamps were discovered in Varaždinske Toplice (CAT. NO. 31-33), and also in its immediate vicinity, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec (CAT. NO. 34-36).<sup>138</sup> I. K. Tkalčić also mentioned stamped tegulae (CAT. NO. 33-36).<sup>139</sup> B. Vikić also examined tegulae bearing the stamp Q. Sp., mentioning that they were found in a canal

<sup>136</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123.

<sup>137</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Ljubić 1879, 43.

<sup>139</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 24.

<sup>140</sup> Vikić 1962, 172.

<sup>141</sup> Istenič 2001, 29; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 138.

<sup>134</sup> Barkóczi 1980, 109; Fitz 1980a, 127; Kelly 2004, 146; Pinterović 1978, 87; Tkalčić 1869, 20, 21.

<sup>135</sup> CIL III 4121; PLRE 1971, 188.

<sup>136</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123.

<sup>137</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Ljubić 1879, 43.

<sup>139</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 24.

jedan od najčešćih posjetitelja.<sup>142</sup> Ova tvrđnja može se potkrijepiti ranocarskim natpisima koje su postavili vojnici XIII., XIII. i XXII. legije (KAT. BR. 5, 9, 28). Ovom vremenu mogao bi se pripisati i natpis kataloškog broja 6.

U drugoj građevinskoj fazi kupališta jasno je da se kupalištem služe, uz vojnike, i građani, o čemu nam svjedoče natpisi KAT. BR. 12, KAT. BR. 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 29.

U Konstantinovo doba zadržan je dvojni karakter Toplica, iako sam Konstantin, osnivanjem sajmišnih dana, stavlja naglasak na ekonomiju, odnosno trgovinu, koja je važna djelatnost građanskog staleža (KAT. BR. 30).<sup>143</sup> Ovom dobu pripada i natpis naveden u KAT. BR. 10.

M. Gorenc i B. Vikić smatraju da su ovakve česte promjene u namjeni i posjećenosti kupališta u kasnocarsko doba bile razlog sužavanja kupališnog prostora, te, na koncu, i prestanka njegova javnog funkcioniranja.<sup>144</sup>

### 3. Statistički podaci

Ponajviše obrađenih natpisa posvećeno je božicama i nimfama. Njih četrnaest posvećeno je isključivo nimfama (KAT. BR. 1-14), dok je jedan posvećen nimfama i božici Dijani (KAT. BR. 17). Ova činjenica je u potpunosti razumljiva, jer su nimfe bile božice izvora, kojih u Varaždinskim Toplicama ima čak dva. Samojoj božici Dijani posvećena su dva natpisa (KAT. BR. 15, 16), što je također razumljivo jer je Dijana zaštitnica prirode. Šumskim silvanama, družicama boga Silvana, posvećena su također tri natpisa (KAT. BR. 18,

that drained water from a pool.<sup>140</sup> B. Vikić-Belančić and M. Gorenc wrote in greater detail about tegulae bearing the stamp of Junius Firmus (CAT. NO. 31, 32), noting that three brick kilns were found in Ptuj, and thus concluding that Junius Firmus was a brick maker from Ptuj who operated in the second and third centuries, when a high number of potters came into Ptuj.<sup>141</sup>

### 2.8. Architectural phases

It is interesting to notice that the layout of the baths adhered to their use, as well as the character of the visitors. In the early imperial period the baths had large dimensions, which may be explained by the high presence of the military, as soldiers were then among the most frequent visitors.<sup>142</sup> This assertion may be backed by early imperial inscriptions placed by the soldiers from the eighth, fourteenth and twenty-second legions (CAT. NO. 5, 9, 28). The inscription under catalogue number 6 may also be ascribed to this period.

In the second architectural phase at the baths, it is clear that the baths were used by citizens as well as soldiers, to which the following inscriptions testify: CAT. NO. 12, CAT. NOS. 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 29.

This dual character of Toplice was retained in the Constantinian era, although Constantine himself, by establishing fair days, placed the emphasis on the economy, i.e., commerce, which was a vital activity for the citizen class (CAT. NO. 30).<sup>143</sup> The inscription under CAT. NO. 10 also dates to this period.

Gorenc and Vikić believed that such frequent changes in the purpose and visitation rate of the baths during the imperial era were the rea-

<sup>140</sup> Vikić 1962, 172.

<sup>141</sup> Istenič 2001, 29; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 138.

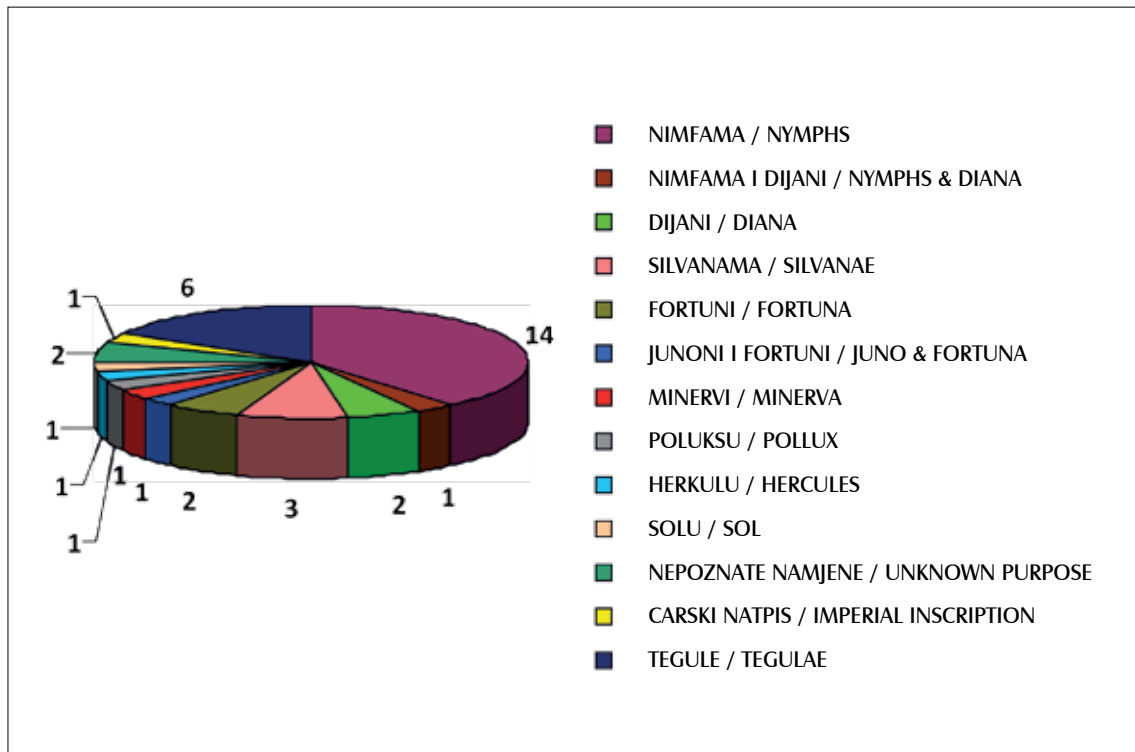
<sup>142</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>143</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>142</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>143</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>144</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.



Dijagram / Diagram 1: Posvete natpisa / Dedications on inscriptions (Lovorka Lučić, 2012)

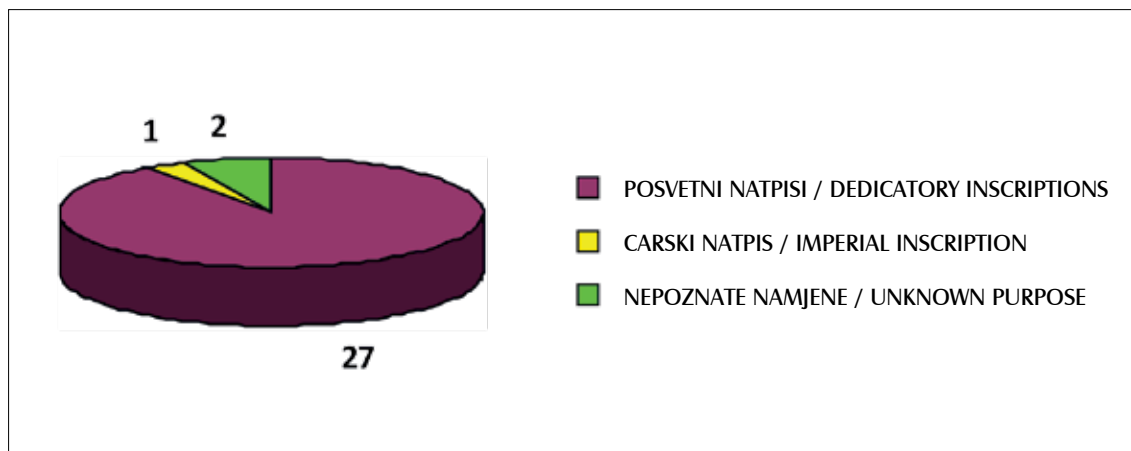
19, 20). Fortuni su posvećena dva natpisa (KAT. BR. 21, 22), a na jednom je spomenuta uz Junonu (KAT. BR. 23). Samo Junoni nije posvećen niti jedan natpis. Minervi, božici koja ozdravlja, posvećen je jedan natpis na bazi njezine statue (KAT. BR. 24). Poluksu (KAT. BR. 25) i Herkulu (KAT. BR. 26) posvećen je po jedan spomenik. Iako je Sol rijetko spominjano božanstvo, u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je jedan natpis posvećen tom božanstvu (KAT. BR. 27). Dva natpisa pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama nepoznate su namjene, ali su im poznati dedikanti (KAT. BR. 28, 29). KAT. BR. 30 predstavlja jedinstveni natpis koji spominje da je car Konstantin dao obnoviti Varaždinske Toplice i tako im povratio sjaj koji je bio uništen »vatrom i ognjem«, što je podatak vrlo bitan za razumijevanje povijesti Toplica.

son for the narrowing of the actual bath area and, ultimately, the cessation of their operation.<sup>144</sup>

### 3. Statistical data

Most of the analyzed inscriptions are dedicated to goddesses and nymphs. Fourteen of them are dedicated exclusively to the Nymphs (CAT. NO. 1-14), while one is dedicated to the nymphs and the goddess Diana (CAT. NO. 17). This fact is entirely understandable, because the Nymphs were the goddesses of springs, of which there are two in Varaždinske Toplice. Two inscriptions are dedicated to the goddess Diana exclusively (CAT. NO. 15, 16), which is also understandable because Diana was the guardian of nature. The forest Silvanae, the companions of the god Silvanus, also have three inscriptions dedicated to them (CAT. NO. 18, 19, 20). Two inscriptions are dedicated Fortuna (CAT. NO.

<sup>144</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.



Dijagram / Diagram 2: Vrste natpisa / Types of inscriptions (Lovorka Lučić, 2012)

Iz navedenog možemo iščitati da je u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeno dvadeset i sedam posvetnih natpisa te jedan carski. Za dva natpisa nemoguće je odrediti jesu li bili posvetni ili nadgrobni spomenici.

21, 22), while on another she is mentioned together with Juno (CAT. NO. 23). Not a single inscription is dedicated solely to Juno. One inscription is dedicated to Minerva – it is on the base of a statue of her (CAT. NO. 24). One monument each is dedicated to Pol-lux (CAT. NO. 25) and Hercules (CAT. NO. 26). Even though Sol is a rarely mentioned deity, one inscription dedicated to this deity was found in Varaždinske Toplice (CAT. NO. 27). Two inscriptions with unknown purpose were found in Varaždinske Toplice, although the names of their dedicants are known (CAT. NO. 28, 29). CAT. NO. 30 is a unique inscription which relates that Emperor Constantine arranged for the restoration of Varaždinske Toplice and thereby return their shine destroyed by “fire and conflagration”, which is information quite vital to an understanding of Toplice’s history.

Based on the above data, it may be stated that twenty-seven dedicatory inscriptions and one imperial inscription were found in Varaždinske Toplice. In case of two inscriptions, it is impossible to determine whether they are dedicatory or gravestone inscriptions.

## 5. Katalog

### 1. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama (Tituli sacri Nymphis)

#### 1.1. Nimfama bez atributa (Nymphis sine attributo)

##### 1. Natpis sa spomenom nimfe (Titulus cum mentione Nymphae)

OPIS: Mramorni ulomak natpisa (v. 0,46 m; š. 0,58 m; deb. 0,10 m; visina slova 0,028 m) sa spomenom nimfe vrlo je loše očuvan, a predstavlja trećinu cijelog natpisa. Teško je čitljiv. Na ulomku su vidljivi ostaci gornjeg i desnog ruba. Natpis je pronađen u kući Šoštaković 1937. godine. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Fragmentum tituli, ex lapide calcario, tertia pars omnis tabulae est (0,46x0,58x10). Titulus lectu difficilis est. In superiore et dextra parte margo antiquus conservatus est. Aquis Iasis anno 1937 in domo Šoštaković repertum, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservatum.)

##### NATPIS:

[ - - - ] *cursu perpeti*  
 [ - - - v ] *olatu similis*  
 [ - - - famam ] *secutus nobilem*  
 [ - - - qua ] *m credebam repperi*  
 [ dis ] *cordant ignea*  
 [ - - - ] *flamma persona*  
 [ - - - ] *morbo luitur*  
 [ - - - ] *u corpus est*  
 [ - - - ] *viscera*  
 [ - - - N ] *ympa est*  
 [ - - - ] *mo uri* [ - - - ]

##### PRIJEVOD:

... neprekidnim trkom  
 ... poput vjetra ...  
 ... slijedivši slavnu glasinu ...  
 ... za koju vjerovah da se otkriva ...  
 ... razbuktavaju se vatrene ...  
 ... vatrom osoba ...  
 ... bolešću je kažnjena ...  
 ... tijelo je ...  
 ... utroba ...  
 ... Nimfa je ...

## 5. Catalogue

### 1. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs (Tituli sacri Nymphis)

#### 1.1. Nymphs without attributes (Nymphis sine attributo)

##### 1. Inscription mentioning Nymphs (Titulus cum mentione Nymphae)

DESCRIPTION: Marble fragment of inscription (ht. 0.46 m; wd. 0.58 m; thk. 0.10 m; height of letters 0.028 m) mentioning Nymphs is very poorly preserved, and constitutes a third of the entire inscription. Scarcely legible. Remains of upper and right edge visible on fragment. Inscription found in the Šoštaković house in 1937. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Fragmentum tituli, ex lapide calcario, tertia pars omnis tabulae est (0.46 x 0.58 x 10). Titulus lectu difficilis est. In superiore et dextra parte margo antiquus conservatus est. Aquis Iasis anno 1937 in domo Šoštaković repertum, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservatum.)

##### INSCRIPTION:

[ - - - ] *cursu perpeti*  
 [ - - - v ] *olatu similis*  
 [ - - - famam ] *secutus nobilem*  
 [ - - - qua ] *m credebam repperi*  
 [ dis ] *cordant ignea*  
 [ - - - ] *flamma persona*  
 [ - - - ] *morbo luitur*  
 [ - - - ] *u corpus est*  
 [ - - - ] *viscera*  
 [ - - - N ] *ympa est*  
 [ - - - ] *mo uri* [ - - - ]

##### TRANSLATION:

... uninterrupted pace  
 ... like the wind ...  
 ... having followed the widely-known rumour ...  
 ... for which I believed uncovered ...  
 ... inciting the flaming ...  
 ... the fire of persons ...  
 ... punished by illness ...  
 ... the body is ...  
 ... abdomen ...  
 ... Nymph is ...

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 470

## 2. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Avitus*

PRIJEVOD: Avit nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171a; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 3. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Caesius*

PRIJEVOD: Cezije nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171b; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 4. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Aurelius*

PRIJEVOD: Nimfama Aurelije

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171c; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 470

## 2. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Avitus*

TRANSLATION: Avitus to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171a; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 3. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Caesius*

TRANSLATION: Caesius to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171b; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 4. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Aurelius*

TRANSLATION: Aurelius to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171c; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

### 5. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama (Ara Nymphis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar (š. 0,44 m; v. 0,85 m; deb. 0,27 m; visina slova 0,052-0,035 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište je oltara oštećeno, stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Baza spomenika nije sačuvana. (Ara Nymphis sacra (0,44x0,85x0,27), cum corona detrimento affecta, quae gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*M(arcus) Fabius*

*Fabullus*

*trib(unus) militum*

*leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) provinc(iae)*

*Africae pr(o) pr(aetore)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII*

*Gem(inae)*

*sacr(um) Nymph(his)*

PRIJEVOD: Marko Fabije Fabul, vojni tribun XIII. legije Gemine, Augustov legat s propretorskim ovlastima u provinciji Africi, Augustov legat XIII. legije Gemine, posvetio nimfama.

DATAČIJA: Neronovo doba (između 54. i 68. g.)

LITERATURA: AIJ 463; CIL III 4118; Tkalčić 1869, 3; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 6; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 7; Fitz 1993, 187, no. 78; Šimek 2001, 47, sl. 5.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5338> (25.5. 2013.).

### 5. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar (wid. 0.44 m; v. 0.85 m; thk. 0.27 m; height of letters 0.052-0.035 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Today held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown damaged, narrows stair-like to inscription field, which is not framed. Base of monument not preserved. (Ara Nymphis sacra (0,44x0,85x0,27), cum corona detrimento affecta, quae gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*M(arcus) Fabius*

*Fabullus*

*trib(unus) militum*

*leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) provinc(iae)*

*Africae pr(o) pr(aetore)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*sacr(um) Nymph(his)*

TRANSLATION: Marcus Fabius Fabullus, military tribune of *legio XIII Gemina*, legate of Augustus with propraetorian authority in the province of Africa, legate of Augustus in *legio XIII Gemina*, dedicated to the Nymphs.

DATING: Neronian era (between 54 and 68 AD)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 463; CIL III 4118; Tkalčić 1869, 3; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 6; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 7; Fitz 1993, 187, no. 78; Šimek 2001, 47, Fig. 5.

ONLINE BIBLIOGRAPHY: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5338> (25.5.2013.)

## 1.2. Jazejskim nimfama (Nymphis Iasis)

### 6. Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni votivni oltar (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,64 m; deb. 0,14 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište je oltara oštećeno, ali je vidljivo da je plitko te da se iznad njega nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih lijevi nije sačuvan. Primjećuje se da je krunište izvedeno u istoj ravnini kao natpisno polje, a od kojeg je odijeljen stepenastom profilacijom. Natpisno polje nema okvira. Od baze je odvojeno polukružnom profilacijom. Baza oltara je očuvana u prilično lošem stanju te nije moguće vidjeti je li bila profilirana ili sadržavala kakav ukras. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra (0,20x0,64x0,14), ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona detrimento affecta. Corona duo acroteria habet, sed sinistrum non conservatum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars a basis separata lineamentis semicircularibus. Basis male conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis*

*Iasis*

*Fl(avius) Herm*

*adion cir(citor)*

*vec(tigalis) Illy(rici) et*

*Ul(pia) Piste ei(us?)*

*cum Avito*

*et Suriaco*

*f(iliis) phialam*

*arg(enteam) p(ondo) II d(ono) d(ederunt)*

PRIJEVOD: Jazejskim nimfama Flavije Hermadion carinik u Iliriku i njegova Ulpija Piste, sa sinovima Avitom i Suriakom dali su kao dar srebrnu čašu, tešku dvije libre.

DATAČIJA: 151.-250. g.

## 1.2. Nymphs of Iasae (Nymphis Iasis)

### 6. Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble votive altar (wid. 0.20 m; ht. 0.64 m; thk. 0.14 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown damaged, but visibly shallow with two acroteria above it, of which the left-hand one is not preserved. Notable that the crown is rendered at the same level as the inscription field, and separated from it by stair-like articulation. Inscription field has no frame. Separated from frame by semi-circular moulding. Base of altar preserved in rather poor condition and impossible to ascertain whether it contains any manner of ornamentation. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra (0,20x0,64x0,14), ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona detrimento affecta. Corona duo acroteria habet, sed sinistrum non conservatum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars a basis separata lineamentis semicircularibus. Basis male conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis*

*Iasis*

*Fl(avius) Herm*

*adion cir(citor)*

*vec(tigalis) Illy(rici) et*

*Ul(pia) Piste ei(us?)*

*cum Avito*

*et Suriaco*

*f(iliis) phialam*

*arg(enteam) p(ondo) II d(ono) d(ederunt)*

TRANSLATION: Flavius Hermadion, a customs official in Illyricum, and his Ulpia Pisteius, with their sons Avitus and Suriacus, bequeath as a gift to the Nymphs of Iasae a silver cup, weighing two libras.

DATING: 151-250 AD



LITERATURA: ILJug 1171; Vikić 1962, 173 (AE 1985, 00714); Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, sl. 20; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 47, Abb. 14; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD002222, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD002222?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5323> (25.5.2013.).

### **7. Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:  
*Nymphis Iasis*

PRIJEVOD: Jazejskim nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1170.

### **1.3. Nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Nymphis Salutaribus)**

#### **8. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar (š. 0,475 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,26 m; visina slova 0,05 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Oltar je prilično oštećen te je nemoguće govoriti o kruništu i bazi. Ni natpisno polje nije sačuvano u cijelosti. (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra (0,475x0,67x0,26), detrimento affecta sine corona et basi. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata et fragmentaria. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171; Vikić 1962, 173 (AE 1985, 00714); Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, Fig. 20; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 47, Abb. 14; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD002222, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD002222?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5323> (25.5.2013.).

### **7. Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Nymphis Iasis*

TRANSLATION: To the Iasae Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1170.

### **1.3. Nymphs bringing good health (Nymphis Salutaribus)**

#### **8. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs who bring good health (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar (w. 0.475 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.26 m; height of letters 0.05 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Altar is rather damaged and it is impossible to say anything about the crown and base. Even the inscription field has not been entirely preserved. (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra (0,475x0,67x0,26), detrimento affecta sine corona et basi. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata et fragmentaria. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Nymphis  
salutarib(us)  
Aug(ustis) sac(rum)  
Iul(ius) Maximu[s]  
dec(urio) muni[c(ipii)]  
[- - -]*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje posvećeno, Julije Maksim dekurion municipija [- - -]

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 464; CIL III 10891; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 4; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243.

### 9. Votivni natpis posvećen nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Titulus Nymphis Salutaribus sacer)

OPIS: Mramorna ploča (š. 1,45 m; v. 0,67 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Pravokutnog je oblika, s posvetnim natpisom. Uzidana. (Tabula (1,45x0,67), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis Salutaribus sacro. Inaedificata. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Nymphas salutare M(arcus) Rutilius Lupus tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

PRIJEVOD: Nimfe koje donose zdravlje, Marko Rutilije Lup vojni tribun XXII. legije, kvestor, pučki tribun, legat Augustove XIII. legije Gemine

DATACIJA: 69.-84. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 462; CIL III 10893; Fitz 1993, 186, no. 77.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5330> (25.5.2013.).

## INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis  
salutarib(us)  
Aug(ustis) sac(rum)  
Iul(ius) Maximu[s]  
dec(urio) muni[c(ipii)]  
[- - -]*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs who bring health, Julius Maximus municipal decurion [- - -]

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 464; CIL III 10891; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 4; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243.

### 9. Votive inscription dedicated to the Nymphs who bring good health (Titulus Nymphis Salutaribus sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab (w. 1.45 m; ht. 0.67 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice, and currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Rectangular shape, with dedicatory field. Elevated. (Tabula (1.45 x 0.67), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis Salutaribus sacro. Inaedificata. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphas salutare M(arcus) Rutilius Lupus tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

TRANSLATION: To the Nymphs who bring health, Marcus Rutilius Lupus, military tribune of *legio XXII*, quaestor, plebeian tribune, legate of *legio XIII Gemina* of Augustus

DATING: 69-84

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 462; CIL III 10893; Fitz 1993, 186, no. 77.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5330> (25.5.2013.).

#### 1.4. Uzvišenim nimfama (Nymphis augustis)

##### 10. Votivni oltar posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,25 m; v. 0,60 m; visina slova 0,023-0,014 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Oltar je heksagonalnog oblika. Plitko oblikovano krunište stepenasto se sužava u jednostavno oblikovano natpisno polje. Ostale stranice ukrašene su profilacijom. Tijelo se trostrukom profilacijom širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,25x0,60), ex lapide marmoreo, sexangula. Tenuis corona se gradatim in media parte contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Cetera latera cum lineamentis ornata. Media pars a basis separata triplicibus lineamentis. Basis simplex. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nym*

*phis*

*Aug(ustis)*

*sacr(um)*

*T(itus) Iul(ius)*

*Ianu*

*arius*

*pro ♠ T(ito) ♠ Iul(io)*

*Secundo*

*Fil(io)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama posvećeno. Tit Julije Januarij za sina Tita Julija Sekunda rado je učinio zavjet

DATACIJA: 306.-337. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 465; CIL III 4119; Tkalčić 1869, 5; Ljubić 1879, 40, Nr. 3; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić, 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5327> (25.5.2013.).

#### 1.4. To the revered Nymphs (Nymphis augustis)

##### 10. Votive altar dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.25 m; ht. 0.60 m; height of letters 0.023-0.014 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar is hexagonal. Shallowly formed crown narrows stair-like into a simply formed inscription field. Other sides adorned by moulding. Body expands by triple moulding into simply formed base. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,25 x 0,60), ex lapide marmoreo, sexangula. Tenuis corona se gradatim in media parte contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Cetera latera cum lineamentis ornata. Media pars a basis separata triplicibus lineamentis. Basis simplex. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nym*

*phis*

*Aug(ustis)*

*sacr(um)*

*T(itus) Iul(ius)*

*Ianu*

*arius*

*pro ♠ T(ito) ♠ Iul(io)*

*Secundo*

*Fil(io)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs. Titus Julius Januarius sincerely offered this prayer for his son Titus Julius Secundus

DATING: 306-337

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 465; CIL III 4119; Tkalčić 1869, 5; Ljubić 1879, 40, Nr. 3; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić, 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5327> (25.5.2013.).

### 11. Votivni oltar posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

OPIS: Oltar izrađen od vapnenca (š. 0,34 m; v. 1,00 m; deb. 0,21 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Ima jednostavno oblikovano plitko krunište iznad kojeg se nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih je desni oštećen. Stepnasti prijelaz povezuje ga s natpisnim poljem, koje se opet stepenasto širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. Pukotina razdvaja gornju trećinu natpisnog polja od donjeg dijela. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,34x1,00x0,21), ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona duo acroteria habet, dexterum detrimento affectum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Rima tertiam partem superiorem et inferiorem partem separat. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius)  
Victorinus  
b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et  
Lucilia  
coniunx  
v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama, Elije Viktorin konzularni beneficijar i žena Lucilia rado su zavjetovali.

DATACIJA: 2. st.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5322> (25.5.2013.).

### 12. Natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacrum)

OPIS: Mramorna ploča (š. 2,90 m; v. 0,62

### 11. Votive altar dedicated revered Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Limestone altar (w. 0.34 m; ht. 1.0 m; thk. 0.21 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. It has a simply formed shallow crown above which there are two acroteria, of which the right one is damaged. The stair-like transition connects it to the inscription field, which again expands stair-like into a simply formed base. A fissure separates the upper third of the inscription field from the lower portion. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,34x1,00x0,21), ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona duo acroteria habet, dexterum detrimento affectum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Rima tertiam partem superiorem et inferiorem partem separat. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius)  
Victorinus  
b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et  
Lucilia  
coniunx  
v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: To the revered Nymphs, Aelius Victorinus, beneficiarius consularis and his wife Lucilia sincerely offered this prayer.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5322> (25.5.2013.).

### 12. Inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacrum)

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab (w. 2.9 m;

m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi uzidana u vrata u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Natpis na ploči uokviren je trostruko profiliranim okvirom. Ploča je oštećena na nekoliko mjesta. (Tabula (2,90x0,62), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro. Area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata triplicibus lineamentis. Tabula detrimento affecta in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in porta hortorum inaedificata.)

**NATPIS:**

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um)  
res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante  
L(ucio) Tvllio Tvsco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)  
pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio  
Rufino proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*

**PRIJEVOD:** Uzvišenim nimfama posvećeno, općina Petovijanaca po zapovijedi Lucija Tulija Tuska Augustova legata s propretorskim ovlastima, a uz brigu Tita Geminija Rufina Augustovog prokuratora.

**DATACIJA:** 162.-166. g. (prema Fitzu)

**LITERATURA:** AIJ 461; CIL III 4117; ILJug 357; Tkalčić 1869, 7; Ljubić 1879, 38, no. 2; Dobronić 1952, 147; Vikić 1961, 49; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, n. 5, 7.; Fitz 1993a, 487, no. 289, 727, no. 404.

**ONLINE LITERATURA:** <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5346> (25.5.2013.).

**13. Natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacer)**

**OPIS:** Ploča s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tabula cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro, in Varaždinske toplice reperta.)

**NATPIS:**

*N(ympHis)*

ht. 0.62 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently built into a gate in a park in Varaždinske Toplice. The inscription on the slab is framed by triply-moulded frame. Slab is damaged at several places. (Tabula (2,90x0,62), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro. Area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata triplicibus lineamentis. Tabula detrimento affecta in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in porta hortorum inaedificata.)

**INSCRIPTION:**

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um)  
res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante  
L(ucio) Tvllio Tvsco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)  
pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio  
Rufino proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*

**TRANSLATION:** Dedicated to the revered Nymphs, by the municipium of Poetovio at the behest of Lucius Tullius Tuscus, the legate of Augustus with propraetorian authority, with the care of Titus Geminus Rufinus, the procurator of Augustus.

**DATING:** 162-166 (according to Fitz)

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** AIJ 461; CIL III 4117; ILJug 357; Tkalčić 1869, 7; Ljubić 1879, 38, no. 2; Dobronić 1952, 147; Vikić 1961, 49; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, n. 5, 7; Fitz 1993a, 487, no. 289, 727, no. 404.

**ONLINE SOURCES:** <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5346> (25.5.2013.).

**13. Inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacer)**

**DESCRIPTION:** Slab with inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tabula cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro, in Varaždinske toplice reperta.)

**INSCRIPTION:**

*N(ympHis)*

*Aug(ustis) s(acrum)*  
*Fl(avius) Valentinus*  
 [- - -]e[- - -]  
 [- - - -]stilli[- - -]  
 [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

PRIJEVOD: Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama. Flavije Valentin [- - -] rado je učinio zavjet.

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 23; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 5.

### 1.5. Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Nymphis augustis salutaribus)

#### 14. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,26 m; deb. 0,20 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Plitko krunište oltara jednostavno je oblikovano, iznad njega nalazi se plinta s natpisom. Stepenasto se sužava u jednostavno natpisno polje. Baza nije sačuvana. (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra (0,26x0,20), ex lapide marmoreo. Super simplicem coronam plinthis cum titulo inscribendo. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*Nymp(his)*  
*Aug(ustis)*  
*Salutarib(us)*  
*collatores*  
*pec(unia) sua fec(erunt)*  
*imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)*  
*Gordiano*  
*Aug(usto)*

*Aug(ustis) s(acrum)*  
*Fl(avius) Valentinus*  
 [- - -]e[- - -]  
 [- - - -]stilli[- - -]  
 [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs. Flavius Valentinus [- - -] sincerely offered this prayer.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 23; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 5.

### 1.5. To the revered Nymphs who bring good health (Nymphis augustis salutaribus)

#### 14. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.26 m; thk. 0.20 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Shallow altar crown is simply formed, above which there is a plinth with the inscription. Narrows stair-like into a simple inscription field. Base not preserved. (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra (0,26x0,20), ex lapide marmoreo. Super simplicem coronam plinthis cum titulo inscribendo. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Nymp(his)*  
*Aug(ustis)*  
*Salutarib(us)*  
*collatores*  
*pec(unia) sua fec(erunt)*  
*imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)*  
*Gordiano*  
*Aug(usto)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje, prinositelji su učinili (zavjet) o svom trošku u vrijeme cara, našeg gospodara, uzvišenog Gordijana.

DATACIJA: 239.-244. g.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5325> (25.5.2013.).

## 2. Natpisi posvećeni Dijani (Tituli Dianae sacri)

### 15. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (Ara Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar od pješčenjaka (š. 0,33 m; v. 0,78 m; deb. 0,34 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Oltar je loše sačuvan. Krunište je jednostavno, plitko izvedeno, a iznad njega se nalaze dva akroterija. Krunište je od natpisnog polja odijeljeno stepenastom profilacijom. Natpisno polje nije uokvireno te se spušta u jednostavno profiliranu bazu. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,33x0,78x0,34), ex petra arenaria, detrimento affecta. Simplex corona cum duo acroteria gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi transit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Dom(inae) at  
d(eae) [Di]anae  
m(onitu) v(otum) s(olvit)  
Epuria  
Ur[s]ula Re  
[- - -*

PRIJEVOD: Gospodarici i božici Dijani Epurija Ursula rado je prinijela žrtvu...

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

TRANSLATION: To the revered Nymphs who bring health, (prayer) offered by the contributors at their own expense at the time of the emperor, our lord, the exalted Gordianus.

DATING: 239-244

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5325> (25.5.2013.).

## 2. Inscriptions dedicated to Diana (Tituli Dianae sacri)

### 15. Votive altar dedicated to Diana (Ara Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Sandstone votive altar (w. 0.33 m; ht. 0.78 m; thk. 0.34 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar poorly preserved. Crown is simply, shallowly rendered, with two acroteria above it. Crown divided from the inscription field by stair-like moulding. Inscription field is framed and descends to a simply moulded base. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,33x0,78x0,34), ex petra arenaria, detrimento affecta. Simplex corona cum duo acroteria gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi transit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Dom(inae) at  
d(eae) [Di]anae  
m(onitu) v(otum) s(olvit)  
Epuria  
Ur[s]ula Re  
[- - -*

TRANSLATION: Epuria Ursula sincerely made this offering to the mistress and goddess Diana ...

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

LITERATURA: AIJ 459.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5341> (25.5.2013.).

### 16. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (Ara Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (š. 0,16 m; v. 0,47 m; deb. 0,135 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,16x0,47x0,135), ex petra arenaria, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta).

NATPIS:

*Dian[ae]*

*Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*

*Ve[- -]*

*v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenoj Dijani posvećeno. Ve... je rado zavjetovao

DATACIJA: 201.-300. g.

LITERATURA: ILJug 356b; ILJug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, tab. 21, 62.

### 3. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama i Dijani (Tituli Nymphis et Dianae sacri)

#### 17. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani i nimfama (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Oltar posvećen Dijani i nimfama (š. 0,44 m; v. 0,95 m; deb. 0,25 m; visina slova 0,05-0,025 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka. Krunište oltara ukrašeno je rozetama, a na vrhu se nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih jedan, onaj desni, nije sačuvan. Sačuvani akroterij je također ukrašen rozetom. Stepeničasta profilacija povezuje krunište s natpisnim poljem, koje nema okvir. Natpis je pomalo izlizan. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra (0,44x0,95x0,25) ex pe-

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 459.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5341> (25.5.2013.).

### 16. Votive altar dedicated to Diana (Ara Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Diana (w. 0.16 m; ht. 0.47 m; thk. 0.135 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Made of sandstone. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,16x0,47x0,135), ex petra arenaria, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta).

INSCRIPTION:

*Dian[ae]*

*Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*

*Ve[- -]*

*v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the exalted Diana. Ve... sincerely offered this prayer

DATING: 201-300

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 356b; ILJug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, pl. 21, 62.

### 3. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs and Diana (Tituli Nymphis et Dianae sacri)

#### 17. Votive altar dedicated to Diana and the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Altar dedicated to Diana and the Nymphs (w. 0.44 m; ht. 0.95 m; thk. 0.25 m; height of letters 0.05-0.025 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of sandstone. Crown of altar adorned by rosettes, with two acroteria on top, of which one, on the right side, has not been preserved. The preserved acroterion is also adorned by a rosette. Stair-like moulding links the crown to the inscription field, which has no frame. Inscription is slightly worn. Inscription field expands into a simply formed base. (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra (0,44x0,95x0,25) ex petra arenaria. Corona



tra arenaria. Corona rosetis ordinata cum duobus acroteriis, dexterum non conservatum. Sinistrum acroterium etiam rosetis ordinatum. Gradalia lineamenta coronam cum mediam partem ligat. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Titulus detritus. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Dianae et  
Nymphis  
sacr(um)  
collegium  
iuventutis  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Dijani i nimfama kolegij mladeži rado je zavjetovao

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 460.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD022299, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022299?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5340> (25.5.2013.).

#### 4. Natpisi posvećeni silvanama (Tituli Silvanis sacri)

##### 18. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,21 m; v. 0,58 m; deb. 0,15 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,21x0,58x0,15) ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona cum simplici plinthide

rosetis ordinata cum duobus acroteriis, dexterum non conservatum. Sinistrum acroterium etiam rosetis ordinatum. Gradalia lineamenta coronam cum mediam partem ligat. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Titulus detritus. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Dianae et  
Nymphis  
sacr(um)  
collegium  
iuventutis  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Sincerely offered to Diana and the Nymphs by the collegium of youth

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 460

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD022299, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022299?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5340> (25.5.2013.).

#### 4. Inscriptions dedicated to the Silvanae (Tituli Silvanis sacri)

##### 18. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.21 m; ht. 0.58 m; thk. 0.15 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Altar crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Narrows stair-like into the inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into a simply formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,21x0,58x0,15) ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona cum simplici plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media

gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Silvanis*

*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*

*Cornel*

*ia Restu*

*ta pro se et su(is)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno. Kornelija Restuta u svoje ime te u ime svojih rado je zavjetovala.

DATAČIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 467.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5343> (25.5.2013.).

### 19. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,57 m; deb. 0,17 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Djelomično oštećeno krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Krunište se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*

*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*

*Cornel*

*ia Restu*

*ta pro se et su(is)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae. Prayer offered sincerely by Cornelia Restuta on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 467.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5343> (25.5.2013.).

### 19. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.57 m; thk. 0.17 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Partially damaged crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Crown narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into simply formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno, Pompeja Florentina je rado, u svoje ime i u ime svojih, zavjetovala.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 468.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 20. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,57 m; deb. 0,17 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Djelomično oštećeno krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Krunište se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

## INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae, offered sincerely by Pompeia Florentina, on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 468.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 20. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.57 m; thk. 0.17 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Partially damaged altar crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Crown narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into simple formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno, Pompeja Florentina je rado, u svoje ime i u ime svojih, zavjetovala.

DATAČIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 468.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 5. Natpisi posvećeni Fortuni (Tituli Fortunae sacri)

### 21. Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (Ara Fortunae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (š. 0,45 m; v. 1,28 m; deb. 0,22 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Oltar je većim dijelom sačuvan, okrhnut mu je desni rub kruništa te prednji dio baze. Krunište je plitko i jednostavno izvedeno. Iznad njega nalaze se neukrašeni akroteriji između kojih se nalazi ukras u obliku tordirane vrpce. Stepenamom profilacijom sužava se u natpisno polje. Natpisno polje uokvireno je s lijeve i desne strane tordiranim vrpčama. Natpisno polje stepenasto se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu oltara. (Ara Fortunae sacra (0,45x1,28x0,22), ex lapide calcario, cum corona et basi detrimento affectae. Simplex tenuis corona cum duobus acroteriis et taenia in cochleam retorta inter ea. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata dextro et sinistro in latere taeniis in cochleam retortis. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Fortunae Aug(ustae)*

*T(itus) Fl(avius) Titi fil(ius) Papiria Oesci Domi*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae, offered sincerely by Pompeia Florentina, on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 468.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 5. Inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna (Tituli Fortunae sacri)

### 21. Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (Ara Fortunae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (w. 0.45 m; ht. 1.28 m; thk. 0.22 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Altar mostly preserved, right edge of crown broken off, as is front part of base. Crown is shallowly and simply rendered. Above it there are unadorned acroteria between which there is an ornament shaped like twisted ribbons. Narrows stair-like into inscription field. Inscription field framed by twisted ribbons to left and right. Inscription field expands stair-like into simply formed altar base. (Ara Fortunae sacra (0,45x1,28x0,22), ex lapide calcario, cum corona et basi detrimento affectae. Simplex tenuis corona cum duobus acroteriis et taenia in cochleam retorta inter ea. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata dextro et sinistro in latere taeniis in cochleam retortis. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Fortunae Aug(ustae)*

*T(itus) Fl(avius) Titi fil(ius) Papiria Oesci Domi*

*tius Valerian  
us |(centurio) legion  
arius factus at  
suffragium leg(ionis)  
XIII Gem(inae) M(artiae) V(ictricis)  
Seve(rianae)  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)  
Po[m]peiano et [Paelignia]no co(n)s(ulibus)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenoj Fortuni, Tit Flavije, sin Tita, upisan u tribus Papirije, grada Oeska, Domicij Valerijan učinjen legionarskim centurionom na temelju glasovanja XIII. legije Gemine Marcije Pobjednice Severijane, rado je zavjetovao, u vrijeme konzula Pompejana i Pelnigijana.

DATACIJA: oko 231. g.

LITERATURA: Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37 (AE 1976, 00540); Fitz 1993b, 1145, no. 807.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD012321, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012321?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5321> (25.5.2013.).

## 22. Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (Ara Fortunae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Fortunae sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:  
*Fortunae*

PRIJEVOD: Fortuni

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug-02, 1167; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130.

## 6. Natpis posvećen Junoni i Fortuni (Titulus Iunoni et Fortunae sacer)

*tius Valerian  
us |(centurio) legion  
arius factus at  
suffragium leg(ionis)  
XIII Gem(inae) M(artiae) V(ictricis)  
Seve(rianae)  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)  
Po[m]peiano et [Paelignia]no co(n)s(ulibus)*

TRANSLATION: To revered Fortuna, done by Titus Flavius, his son Titus, enrolled in the Papiria tribe, city of Oescus, Domitian Valerianus with the legionary centurion pursuant to the votes of *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix Severiana*, sincerely offered, at the time of the consuls Pompeianus and Paelignianus.

DATING: ca. 231

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37 (AE 1976, 00540); Fitz 1993b, 1145, no. 807.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD012321, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012321?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5321> (25.5.2013.).

## 22. Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (Ara Fortunae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Fortunae sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Fortunae*

TRANSLATION: To Fortuna

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug-02, 1167; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130.

## 6. Inscription dedicated to Juno and Fortuna (Titulus Iunoni et Fortunae sacer)

### 23. Baza Junoninog kipa (Basis statuae Iunonis)

OPIS: Mramorna baza Junoninog kipa pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi uz kapitolinski hram. Višestruko profilirano krunište, s plintom iznad, stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno, a koje se opet stepenasto širi u jednostavno profiliranu bazu. (Basis, ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona multipliciter delineata, quae plinthidem habet. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici delineata se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie ad templum Capitolinum.)

NATPIS:

*Iunoni  
reginae  
adq(ue)  
Fortunae  
d(onum) d(ederunt)  
Poet(ovionenses) pub(lice)*

PRIJEVOD: Kraljici Junoni i Fortuni Petovljani su javno dali dar.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1168; Gorenc, Vikić 1967, 103; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 7; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 8; Šimek 2001, 47, sl. 6.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD034992, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034992?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5324> (25.5.2013.).

### 7. Natpis posvećen Minervi (Titulus Minervae sacer)

### 24. Baza Minervinog kipa (Basis statuae Minervae)

OPIS: Mramorna baza Minervinog kipa

### 23. Base of a statue of Juno (Basis statuae Iunonis)

DESCRIPTION: Marble base of statue of Juno found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently located next to the Capitoline temple. Multiply moulded crown, with plinth above, narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed, and which expands stair-like into simply moulded base. (Basis, ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona multipliciter delineata, quae plinthidem habet. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici delineata se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie ad templum Capitolinum.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iunoni  
reginae  
adq(ue)  
Fortunae  
d(onum) d(ederunt)  
Poet(ovionenses) pub(lice)*

TRANSLATION: The people of Poetovio publicly gave this gift to Queen Juno and Fortuna.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1168; Gorenc, Vikić 1967, 103; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 7; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 8; Šimek 2001, 47, Fig. 6.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD034992, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034992?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5324> (25.5.2013.).

### 7. Inscription dedicated to Minerva (Titulus Minervae sacer)

### 24. Base of a statue of Minerva (Basis statuae Minervae)

DESCRIPTION: Marble base of a statue of

(š. 0,85 m; v. 1,36 m; deb. 0,50 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Baza Minervinog kipa pronađena je u više fragmenata. Krunište je plitko, jednostavno profilirano s plintom iznad te se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje. Natpisno polje je uokvireno te na taj način višestruko profilirano, a stepenasto se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Basis (0,85x1,36x0,50), ex lapide marmoreo, in fragmentis. Simplex tenuis corona cum plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars, circumdata lineamentis, gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Minervam**Aug(ustam)**L(ucius) Cl(audius) Ti(beri) f(ilius) Quirina**Moderatus**dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae)**Savaria(e)**dec(urio) municipi(i)**Ae(li) Sallae sacerdot(alis)**arae Aug(usti) e q(uingue) decur(iis)**posuit*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenu Minervu, Lucije Klaudije Moderat, sin Tiberija upisan u tribus Quirina, dekurion kolonije Klaudije Savarije, dekurion kolonije Savarije i dekurion municipija Eli Sale, svećenik Augustova žrtvenika iz pet dekurija je postavio...?

DATACIJA: 151.-200. g.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 8. (AE 1979, 00468; AE 1983, 00774); Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 9, 32, Abb. 19, 20; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1984, 95; Redő 2003, 204.

Minerva (w. 0.85 m; ht. 1.36 m; thk. 0.50 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. The base of Minerva's statue was found in several fragments. Crown is shallow, with a simply moulded with plinth above and narrows stair-like into inscription field. Inscription field is framed by multiple moulding, and expands stair-like into a simply formed base. (Basis (0,85x1,36x0,50), ex lapide marmoreo, in fragmentis. Simplex tenuis corona cum plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars, circumdata lineamentis, gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Minervam**Aug(ustam)**L(ucius) Cl(audius) Ti(beri) f(ilius) Quirina**Moderatus**dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) Savaria(e)**dec(urio) municipi(i)**Ae(li) Sallae sacerdot(alis)**arae Aug(usti) e q(uingue) decur(iis)**posuit*

TRANSLATION: To revered Minerva, Lucius Claudius Moderatus, son of Tiberius, enrolled in the Quirina tribe, decurion of the colony of Claudia Savaria, and decurion of the municipium of Aelae Sallae, priest of the altar of Augustus from five decuria installed by ...?

DATING: 151-200

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 8. (AE 1979, 00468; AE 1983, 00774); Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 9, 32, Abb. 19, 20; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1984, 95; Redő 2003, 204.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD000496, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg>.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD000496, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/000496> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5388> (25.5.2013.).

### 8. Natpis posvećen Poluksu (Titulus Polluci sacer)

#### 25. Votivni oltar posvećen Poluksu (Ara Polluci sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar posvećen Poluksu (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,60 m; deb. 0,19 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište oltara jednostavno je oblikovano sa dva neukrašena akroterija. Stepenasto prelazi u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno, a koje se stepenasto širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Polluci sacra (0,20x0,60x0,19), ex lapide marmoreo, cum simplici corona, quae duo acroteria habet. Corona gradatim in media parte transit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Polluci  
pro salute  
L(uci) F(abi) Cilonis  
c(larissimi) v(iri) et fili(i)  
nep(o)tesq(u)e eiu[s]  
Menande[r]  
liber(tus)*

PRIJEVOD: Poluksu, za zdravlje Lucija Fabija Ciona, vrlo važnog muža i sina i unuka, Menandar, njegov oslobođenik, (je zavjetovao).

DATAČIJA: 197.-202. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 466; CIL III 4120; Tkalčić 1869, 6.; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 8; Ochsenschlager, Premk 1991, 88, no. 1; Fitz 1993, 507, no. 299.

de/EDH/inschrift/000496 (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5388> (25.5.2013.).

### 8. Inscription dedicated to Pollux (Titulus Polluci sacer)

#### 25. Votive altar dedicated to Pollux (Ara Polluci sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar dedicated to Pollux (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.60 m; thk. 0.19 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown is simply formed with two unadorned acroteria. Transitions stair-like to inscription field, which is framed, and which expands stair-like into simply formed base. (Ara Polluci sacra (0,20x0,60x0,19), ex lapide marmoreo, cum simplici corona, quae duo acroteria habet. Corona gradatim in media parte transit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Polluci  
pro salute  
L(uci) F(abi) Cilonis  
c(larissimi) v(iri) et fili(i)  
nep(o)tesq(u)e eiu[s]  
Menande[r]  
liber(tus)*

TRANSLATION: To Pollux, for the health of Lucius Fabius Cilonus, a very important man and son and grandson, (offered by) Menandar, his freedman.

DATING: 197-202

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 466; CIL III 4120; Tkalčić 1869, 6; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 8; Ochsenschlager, Premk 1991, 88, no. 1; Fitz 1993, 507, no. 299.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD053171, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/000496>



ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD053171, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/053171> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342> (25.5.2013.).

### 9. Natpis posvećen Herkulu (Titulus Herculi sacer)

#### 26. Votivni oltar posvećen Herkulu (Ara Herculi sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Herkulu (š. 0,66 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,19 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Krunište oltara je uništeno. Sačuvano je samo tijelo s početnim dijelom natpisa. Baza oltara nedostaje. (Ara Herculi sacra (0,66x0,67x0,19), deletae coronae et basis. Corpus arae, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata, partim conservatum. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Herculi*

*Aug(usto) Sac(rum)*

*M(arcus) Au[r]el(ius)*

*Cassivs*

*b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*

[ - - -

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenom Herkulu, posvetio Marko Aurelije Kasije konzularni beneficijar.

DATAČIJA: prva polovina 3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 458; Foto; CBI 357; CIL III 10890; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 7; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243; Sanader 1994, 107, no. 39, Foto.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD056619, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/056619> (25.5.2013.).

[de/EDH/inschrift/053171](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342) (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342> (25.5.2013.).

### 9. Inscription dedicated to Hercules (Titulus Herculi sacer)

#### 26. Votive altar dedicated to Hercules (Ara Herculi sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Hercules (w. 0.66 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.19 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently located in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Altar crown destroyed. Only body with initial part of inscription preserved. Altar base missing. (Ara Herculi sacra (0,66x0,67x0,19), deletae coronae et basis. Corpus arae, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata, partim conservatum. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Herculi*

*Aug(usto) Sac(rum)*

*M(arcus) Au[r]el(ius)*

*Cassivs*

*b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*

[ - - -

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to revered Hercules by Marcus Aurelius Cassius, beneficiarius consularis.

DATING: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 458; Photo; CBI 357; CIL III 10890; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 7; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243; Sanader 1994, 107, no. 39, Foto.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD056619, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/056619> (25.5.2013.).

**10. Natpis posvećen Solu (Titulus Soli sacer)****27. Natpis posvećen Solu (Titulus Soli sacer)**

OPIS: Ploča s natpisom posvećenim Solu (š. 0,585 m; v. 0,675 m; deb. 0,22 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađena je od pješčenjaka. (Tabula (0,585x0,675x0,22), ex petra arenaria, cum titulo Soli sacro, in Varaždinske Toplice repertus. Hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservatus.)

NATPIS:

*Soli*

*[- - -]ra[- -]niis*

*simo*

*[A]polli[ni]*

*[- - -*

PRIJEVOD: Suncu Apolonu, koje najviše sja...

DATACIJA: prva četvrtina 3. stoljeća

LITERATURA: Demo 1994, 72, no. 1 (AE 1994, 1386; AE 1998, 01044); Migotti 1999, 56.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD049105, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/049105> (25.5.2013.).

**11. Natpisi nepoznate posvete (Tituli ignotae dedicationis)****28. Votivni oltar L. Larija Celera (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar Lucija Larija Celera pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

**10. Inscription dedicated to Sol (Titulus Soli sacer)****27. Inscription dedicated to Sol (Titulus Soli sacer)**

DESCRIPTION: Slab with inscription dedicated to Sol (w. 0.585 m; v. 0.675 m; thk. 0.22 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of sandstone. (Tabula (0,585x0,675x0,22), ex petra arenaria, cum titulo Soli sacro, in Varaždinske Toplice repertus. Hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservatus.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Soli*

*[- - -]ra[- -]niis*

*simo*

*[A]polli[ni]*

*[- - -*

TRANSLATION: To the Sun Apollo, which shines most brightly ...

DATING: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Demo 1994, 72, no. 1 (AE 1994, 1386; AE 1998, 01044); Migotti 1999, 56.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD049105, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/049105> (25.5.2013.).

**11. Inscriptions with unknown dedications (Tituli ignotae dedicationis)****28. Votive altar of L. Larius Celer (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar of Lucius Larius Celer found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

PRIJEVOD: Lucije Larije Celer primipil legije XIII. Gemine

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1172; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151, nota 13.

**29. Oltar podignut za vrijeme konzulovanja Gordijana i Avijole (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita)**

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,26 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,21 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište oltara nije sačuvano. Natpisno polje nije uokvireno, a gornji dio je uništen. Baza je višestruko profilirana i dosta oštećena. (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita (0,26x0,67x0,21), ex lapide marmoreo. Corona deleta, superior pars mediae partis detrimento affecta. Basis, detrimento affecta, multipliciter delineata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice repertus, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

[ - - Gordiano Aug(usto)]  
 et Aviola  
 co(n)s(ulibus)  
 pr(idie) nonas  
 octobres  
 Val(erius) Vitalinus  
 Val(erius) Crispinianus

PRIJEVOD: Valerije Vitalin i Valerije Krispinian, dok su uzvišeni Gordijan i Aviola bili konzuli, 6. listopada.....

DATACIJA: 239. g.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5326> (25.5.2013.).

TRANSLATION: Lucius Larius Celer, primipilaris of legion XIII Gemina

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1172; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970., 151, note 13.

**29. Altar raised during the consulship of Gordianus and Aviola (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita)**

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.26 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.21 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown not preserved. Inscription field not framed, upper portion destroyed. Base multiply moulded and considerably damaged. (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita (0,26x0,67x0,21), ex lapide marmoreo. Corona deleta, superior pars mediae partis detrimento affecta. Basis, detrimento affecta, multipliciter delineata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice repertus, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

[ - - Gordiano Aug(usto)]  
 et Aviola  
 co(n)s(ulibus)  
 pr(idie) nonas  
 octobres  
 Val(erius) Vitalinus  
 Val(erius) Crispinianus

TRANSLATION: Valerius Vitalinus and Valerius Crispinianus, while the revered Gordianus and Aviola were consuls, 6 October...

DATING: 239

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5326> (25.5.2013.).

**12. Carski natpis (Titulus imperialis)****30. Natpis cara Konstantina (Titulus imperatoris Constantini)**

OPIS: Mramorna ploča s natpisom cara Konstantina (š. 1,61 m; v. 0,70 m; deb. 0,06 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Ploča s natpisom, uokvirena trostruko profiliranim okvirom. Ploča je puknula na dva dijela, koja su spojena. Uzidana. (Tabula (1,61x0,51), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo, triplicibus lineamentis circumdata. Duo fragmenta in totum connexa. Tabula in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius)  
Val(erius) Constantinus Pius Felix  
Maximus Aug(ustus)  
Aguas Iasas olim vi ignis consumptas  
cum porticibus  
et omnib(us) ornamentis ad pristinam  
faciem restituit  
provisione etiam pietatis su(a)e nundinas  
die Solis perpeti anno constituit  
curante Val(erio) Catullino v(iro)  
p(erfectissimo) p(rae)p(osito)  
p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*

PRIJEVOD: Car Cezar Flavije Valerije Konstantin Pobožni Sretni Najveći Uzvišeni, Jazejske Toplice, nekoć snagom ognja uništene s trijemovima i svim ukrasima, povratio je u nekadašnji izgled te je zbog vlastite pobožnosti ustanovio nedjeljne sajmove tijekom cijele godine, uz pomoć Valerija Katulina, vrlo izvrsnog muža, koji je na čelu provincije Panonije Superior

DATAČIJA: 321.-326. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 469; CIL III 4121; Tkalčić 1869, 16; Ljubić 1879, 34, no. 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 121;

**12. Imperial inscription (Titulus imperialis)****30. Inscription of Emperor Constantine (Titulus imperatoris Constantini)**

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab bearing inscription of Emperor Constantine (w. 1.61 m; ht. 0.70 m; thk. 0.06 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Slab with inscription, frame triply moulded. Slab broken into two parts, which have been connected. Built into wall. (Tabula (1,61x0,51), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo, triplicibus lineamentis circumdata. Duo fragmenta in totum connexa. Tabula in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius) Val(erius)  
Constantinus Pius Felix Maximus  
Aug(ustus)  
Aguas Iasas olim vi ignis consumptas cum  
porticibus  
et omnib(us) ornamentis ad pristinam faciem  
restituit  
provisione etiam pietatis su(a)e nundinas  
die Solis perpeti anno constituit  
curante Val(erio) Catullino v(iro)  
p(erfectissimo) p(rae)p(osito) p(rovinciae)  
P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*

TRANSLATION: Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus the Pious, Fortunate and Greatest Augustus, who restored Aquae Iasae, formerly destroyed by the force of fire with its porticos and all adornments, to its former appearance and due to his own piety established Sunday fairs during the entire year, with the aid of Valerius Catullinus, *vir perfectissimus*, who heads the province of Pannonia Superior

DATING: 321-326

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 469; CIL III 4121; Tkalčić 1869, 16; Ljubić 1879, 34, no. 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 121; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 112; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, Fig. 20; Demo 1994, 110.

Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 112; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, sl. 20; Demo 1994, 110.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5339> (25.5.2013.).

### 13. Pečati na tegulama (Signa in tegulis)

#### 31. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Iun(i) Firm(ini)*

PRIJEVOD: Junija Firmina

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4679; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(1); Szilágyi 1933, 109, no. 56.

#### 32. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Iun f̄un*

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4680; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(2).

#### 33. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Q(uintus) Sp(urius)*

PRIJEVOD: Kvint Spurije

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5339> (25.5.2013.).

### 13. Stamps on tegulae (Signa in tegulis)

#### 31. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iun(i) Firm(ini)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Junius Firminus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4679; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (1); Szilágyi 1933, 109, no. 56.

#### 32. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iun f̄un*

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4680; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (2).

#### 33. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Q(uintus) Sp(urius)*

TRANSLATION: Quintus Spurius

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4684; CIL III 11466; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4684; CIL III 11466; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(3); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 68; Vikić 1962, 172; Šimek 2001, 49, T. 1.6.

**34. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*LX C Flor*

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(4); Szilágyi 1933, 60, no. 169.

**35. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*Cas(siae) Cri(spinae)*

PRIJEVOD: Kasije Krispine

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 11461; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(5); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 58.

9 (3); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 68; Vikić 1962, 172; Šimek 2001, 49, P. 1.6.

**34. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*LX C Flor*

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (4); Szilágyi 1933, 60, no. 169.

**35. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found near Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Cas(siae) Cri(spinae)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Cassius Crispinus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 11461; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (5); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 58.

**36. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found near Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near

### 36. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Cri(spi)*

PRIJEVOD: Krispija

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 24.

#### 4. Appendix

U ovom članku prikupljeni su svi objavljeni natpisi iz Varaždinskih Toplica te poredani po kataloškim brojevima. Samih natpisa u užem smislu ima trideset i jedan, uz šest pečata na tegulama. Natpisi su razvrstani po adresatima (nimfe, silvane, Fortuna, Junona, Minerva, Poluks, Herkul Sol te nepoznati adresati), a uključen je i jedan carski natpis (car kao autoritet), kao i već spomenuti pečati. Tako skupljen katalog natpisa znanstveno je vrijedan ukoliko ga učinimo dostupnim javnosti. Postavlja se, međutim, pitanje: kako to učiniti?

U Hrvatskoj je trenutno najzastupljeniji tradicionalni način objavljivanja putem knjiga i časopisa (katalozi izložbi, izvješća s iskopavanja...), a mnogi su naši natpisi uvršteni i u velike međunarodne zbirke kao što su CIL, AIJ, *Ubi erat lupa*. Nažalost, ovaj način objavljivanja ne znači da će natpisi biti lako dostupni široj javnosti. Za početak, tiskanje knjige ili časopisa predstavlja dugotrajan proces, a često prođe i nekoliko godina dok neki nalaz bude objavljen. Uz to, problem

Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Cri(spi)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Crispus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 24.

#### 4. Appendix

All published inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice are gathered in this article and listed under catalogue numbers. There are thirty-one inscriptions themselves in the narrower sense, as well as six stamped tegulae. The inscriptions are classified on the basis of those to whom they are addressed (Nymphs, Silvanae, Fortuna, Juno, Minerva, Pollux, Hercules, Sol and unknown addressees), and one imperial inscription was also included (the emperor as an authority), as well as the aforementioned stamps. A catalogue compiled in this manner has scholarly value insofar as it is made available to the public. A question that arises, however, is how to do so.

In Croatia, the most common manner currently is the traditional method of publication by means of a books and journals (exhibition catalogues, excavation reports...), and many local inscriptions are incorporated into major international collections such as CIL, AIJ, *Ubi erat lupa*. Unfortunately, this publication method does not mean that the inscriptions will be easily accessible to the wider public. First and foremost, printing of a book or journal is a long-term process, and often several years pass before a given find is published. Another problem is a small print run, as well as expensive editions, thereby limiting distribution and limiting the availability of data. Many overcome these obstacles by publishing on the internet.

predstavljaju i male naklade, kao i skupa izdanja, a samim time i ograničena distribucija, čime se smanjuje dostupnost podataka. Mnogima se od ovih zapreka može doskočiti objavljivanjem putem Interneta.

Neki poticaji za takvo objavljivanje već postoje. Odsjek klasične filologije Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu na Internetu je objavio grčke natpise s područja Hrvatske pod naslovom *Inscriptiones Graecae in Croatia repertae*. Odsjek za arheologiju istog fakulteta, koji ima važnu ulogu u prikupljanju natpisa s našeg područja za CIL, radi na objavi latinskih natpisa (CIL je također počeo s objavljivanjem natpisa putem Interneta). Upravo želja, ali i potreba, za objedinjavanjem natpisa te želja da budu dostupniji i lakši za pretraživanje i analiziranje, a samim time i uspoređivanje, predstavlja važan poticaj ovakvom načinu objavljivanja.

Natpisi obrađeni unutar ovog rada lako bi se mogli uključiti u neku već postojeću zbirku, ali mogu i sami tvoriti cjelinu. Neki natpisi iz kataloga ovoga rada objavljeni su unutar manjeg broja mrežnih zbirki (kao što su *Ubi erat lupa*, *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*), ali niti jedna od njih ne sadrži sve natpise obuhvaćene ovim radom. Stoga sam smatrala potrebnim okupiti ih na jednom mjestu i na taj način učiniti dostupnima.

Kako bi digitalno priređeni natpisi mogli biti prikazani u jednakom obliku na različitim računalima, te kako bi bila omogućena distribucija specijalističkog znanja koje stoji iza kritičkog izdanja jednog natpisa, bilo je potrebno uvesti standardni računalni format. Tako što već postoji u knjižnom objavljivanju, uz dodatnu prednost - radi se o formatu koji je čitljiv i ljudima i računalima.

Radi se o računalnom označiteljskom jeziku XML, razvijenom devedesetih godi-

Some drives for such publication already exist. The Classical Philology Department of the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities in Zagreb has posted online Greek inscriptions from Croatia's territory under the title *Inscriptiones Graecae in Croatia repertae*. The same faculty's Archaeology Department, which plays a major role in gathering inscriptions from Croatia's territory for CIL, is working on the publication of Latin inscriptions (CIL has also begun to post inscriptions online). It is precisely the desire, but also the need, to make inscriptions public and the desire for them to be more accessible and easier to examine and analyze, and thereby also compare, which constitutes an important impetus for this type of publication.

The inscriptions considered in this work may easily be incorporated into an already existing collection, but they may also form their own unit. Some inscriptions from the catalogue herein were published in a smaller number of networked collections (such as *Ubi erat lupa*, *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*), but not one of them contains all of the inscriptions encompassed by this work. I therefore deemed it necessary to bring them together in one place and thereby make them available.

In order to facilitate the display of digitally prepared inscriptions in the same form on different computers, and in order to facilitate distribution of specialist knowledge that underlies the critical publication of a single inscription, it will be necessary to introduce a standard computer format. Something like this already exists in print publications, with an additional advantage: this is a format readable by both people and computers.

This involves the computer markup language XML, developed in the 1990s. The basic principle of XML is to frame the relevant components of any given content with the appropriate signifying designations, i.e. "marking up". The use of such abstract marking allows for the separation of presentation, which



na dvadesetog stoljeća. Osnovno je načelo XML-a uokviriti relevantne dijelove sadržaja odgovarajućim oznakama značenja (*markup*). Upotreba ovakvog apstraktnog označavanja dopušta odvajanje prezentacije, koje obuhvaća tipografsko oblikovanje teksta pomoću kurziva, feta itd., od semantike, pri čemu kurziv znači *naglašeno*, odnosno *nesigurno* u epigrafiji.

Budući da je XML vrlo općenit sustav označavanja, za epigrafiju je bilo nužno specificirati oznake, odnosno urediti konkretan skup oznaka za opisivanje elemenata natpisa na predmetima. Takav standardni podskup XML oznaka namijenjenih epigrafskim opisima i izdanjima naziva se EpiDoc. Oblikovali su ga znanstvenici s University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Tom Elliott, Hugh Cayless i Amy Hawkins početkom 21. stoljeća, kako bi omogućili epigrafičarima da se njihovo znanje prenese u formalni sustav.<sup>145</sup>

Prvi veliki projekt EpiDoc udruge bilo je prevođenje u ovaj format korpusa natpisa iz Afrodizijade, kojima se bavio King's College London. U tom projektu objavljeno je više od 1500 natpisa. Naknadnom obradom EpiDoc formata natpisi su za prezentaciju numerirani prema mjestu pronalaska, a izvedene su podjele i prema tipu spomenika, datumu, vrsti teksta, ukrasima... Također je priređen i indeks, kako bi olakšao pretraživanje, te bibliografija.

Možda će netko prigovoriti: zašto objavljivati natpise u EpiDoc formatu, a ne jednostavno priređene u nekakvom programu za obradu teksta? Iako je dokument nastao programom za obradu teksta jednostavnije izraditi, on nije idealan za

encompasses the typographic formation of a text with the help of italics, feta, etc., from semantics, wherein italics indicate *emphasis*, or *uncertainty* in epigraphy.

Since XML is a very general markup system, it was necessary to specify the marks for epigraphy, i.e., set up a concrete set of marks to describe the elements of inscriptions on physical objects. This standard sub-set of XML marks geared toward epigraphic descriptions and editions is called EpiDoc. It was formed in 2000 by scholars from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Tom Elliott, Hugh Cayless and Amy Hawkins, in order to help epigraphers to convey their knowledge into a formal system.<sup>145</sup>

The first major EpiDoc project was the translation of the Aphrodisias inscriptions into this format, done by King's College in London. Over 1,500 inscriptions were published in this project. By means of subsequent processing in the EpiDoc format, the inscriptions were numbered for presentation based on find sites, and divisions were made according to the type of monument, the date, type of text, ornamentation... An index, to simplify searches, and a bibliography were also compiled.

An objection that may arise is: why publish inscriptions in EpiDoc format instead of a simply edited format using word processing software? Even though a document made by word processing software is simple to make, it is not ideal for network publication. One of the principal reasons for the impracticability is the rapid change of computer formats: often, due to incompatibility, it happens that someone who has an older version of the word processing software cannot read a newer document. Another frequent problem is that when the same document is opened on different computers the presentation appears different.

<sup>145</sup> Detaljniji podaci o EpiDocu mogu se pronaći na internetskoj adresi: <http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/index.shtml> (25.5.2013.).

<sup>145</sup> More detailed data on EpiDoc can be found at <http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/index.shtml> (25.5.2013.).

mrežne objave. Jedan od glavnih razloga nepraktičnosti predstavlja brza promjena računalnih formata: često se, zbog nekompatibilnosti, događa da netko tko ima stariju verziju programa za obradu teksta ne može čitati noviji dokument. Čest je problem i da, kad isti dokument otvorimo na više računala, dobivamo različite prezentacije.

Dokumenti izrađeni u EpiDoc formatu predstavljaju građu koja može biti oblikovana u različite formate - od iste osnove možemo doći do različitih prezentacija - kao što su PDF za tisak, HTML za mrežu te sam XML ili tekst za baze podataka. PDF format nije idealan za istraživački rad na natpisima jer nam ne pruža dovoljno mogućnosti, odnosno omogućava nam pretraživanje samo po slovnim znakovima, što epigrafičarima svakako nije dovoljno. EpiDoc format može se oblikovati i u format samostalne objave na Internetu, odnosno HTML. I kod ovog formata nailazimo na isti problem kao i kod PDF-a.

EpiDoc format sadrži eksplicitne iskaze o značenju pojedinog (epigrafičkog) podatka. To se ostvaruje semantičkim označavanjem. Semantički označen epigrafički tekst možemo pretraživati po slovnim znakovima, ali i po oznakama, te po raznim njihovim kombinacijama. To znači da je moguće pretraživanje lakuna, novih redaka - mnogo toga što je u uobičajenom tiskanom dokumentu izvedivo tek uz ogroman utrošak vremena i energije. Brzim i jednostavnim pretraživanjem XML dokumenata dobivamo odjednom sve rezultate za skup koji pretražujemo, čime su nam olakšani uspoređivanje i »eksperimentiranje«. Dakako, što je kodiranje detaljnije, to pojedinac ima više mogućnosti.

Na principu obrade Natpisa iz Afrodizijade, upotrebljavajući XML, odnosno se-

Documents created in EpiDoc format constitute a material which may be formed in different formats – from the same base one can obtain different presentations – such as PDF for printing, HTML for online viewing and XML itself or text for a database. PDF is not ideal for research work on inscriptions because it does not offer sufficient opportunities, i.e., allow for searches only by individual letters, which is certainly not adequate for epigraphers. EpiDoc format may also be formed in a format for independent online publication, i.e., HTML. But this format also presents the same problem as PDF.

EpiDoc format contains explicit registers on the meaning of individual (epigraphic) data. This is achieved by semantic markers. A semantically marked epigraphic text may be searched by letters, but also by symbols, and various combinations thereof. This means that it is possible to search lacunae, new lines – much of which is feasible in a customarily printed document only with great expenditure of time and energy. Quick and simple searching of XML documents leads to instant results for the set being searched, thus facilitating comparison and “experimentation”. To be sure, the more detailed the coding, the more possibilities available to an individual.

I processed the Roman-era inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice based on the principles employed in processing the Inscriptions of Aphrodisias by using XML, or rather the semantic markers in EpiDoc. I added semantic markers for the title, editor and data on publication, encompassing the publication place and date, to the inscriptions. I designated each inscription with a number which corresponds to its catalogue unit, and specified the type of inscription (dedicatory, imperial). I then described the inscription (appearance, dimensions, find site, current whereabouts), followed by the inscription itself, in which I marked all names (of people, gods, legions, municipia, cities...). The inscription is then translated and a bibliography is provided

mantičke oznake unutar EpiDoca, obradila sam antičke natpise iz Varaždinskih Toplica. Natpisima sam dodala semantičke oznake za naslov, urednika te podatke o publikaciji koji obuhvaćaju mjesto izdanja i godinu. Svaki sam natpis označila brojem koji odgovara njegovoj kataloškoj jedinici te navela o kojoj je vrsti natpisa riječ (posvetni, carski). Zatim sam natpis opisala (izgled, mjere, mjesto pronalaska, mjesto gdje se trenutno nalazi), nakon čega slijedi sam natpis u kojemu sam označila sva imena (imena ljudi, bogova, legija, općina, gradova...). Nakon toga natpis je preveden i navedena je bibliografija gdje se pojedini natpis može pronaći.

Kako funkcionira označavanje prema EpiDoc XML shemi možda je najjednostavnije objasniti na primjeru kratica. Kada se natpis nalazi na kamenu, uglavnom sadrži mnoge kratice (skraćena imena, titule, formule...). Epigrafičarima su te kratice uglavnom poznate te ih u pisanom izdanju često nalazimo razriješene. Dio kratice koji je priređivač razriješio naznačen je oblim zagrada. U EpiDoc formatu to ćemo prikazati kako slijedi.

Kataloški broj 28 sadrži natpis koji spominje Lucija Larija Celera primipila XII-II. legije Gemine. Natpis sadrži kratice, a u izdanjima je razriješen ovako:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

Kratice L u EpiDoc formatu bila bi razriješena ovako:

```
<expan>
L
<supplied reason="abbreviation"
cert="high">ucius</supplied>
</expan>
```

Mnemotehnički naziv *Expan* u prvoj

which shows where a given inscription may be found.

How the EpiDoc XML marking scheme functions is perhaps most easily explained by the example of abbreviations. When an inscription is carved in stone, it generally contains many abbreviations (abbreviated names, titles, formulas...). Epigraphers are generally familiar with these abbreviations and when the inscription is written out the abbreviation is solved. The part of the abbreviation for which the editor provides the solution is marked in parentheses. In EpiDoc format this will be shown as follows.

Catalogue number 28 contains an inscription mentioning Lucius Larius Celer, the *primipilaris* of *legio XIII Gemina*. The inscription includes abbreviations, resolved as follows in publications:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

The abbreviation L would be resolved as follows in EpiDoc:

```
<expan>
L
<supplied reason="abbreviation"
cert="high">ucius</supplied>
</expan>
```

The mnemotechnical term *Expan* in the first angled brackets signals both us and computers that an abbreviation is beginning. The next angled brackets containing the marker *supplied* with the attribute *reason* specifies why we supplemented something, in this case why we know that this is an abbreviation. The attribute *cert* indicates our certainty in this solution. In our case, the certainty was marked with the value *high*, because the abbreviation L is quite frequent and it is known that in such a context it regularly designates the masculine name *Lucius*. Possible options

izlomljenoj zagradi daje i nama i računali signal da počinje kratica. U idućoj izlomljenoj zagradi oznakom *supplied* s atributom *reason* navedeno nam je zašto smo nešto nadopunjavali, u ovom slučaju zato što znamo da je riječ o kratlici. Atribut *cert* označava našu sigurnost u ovo rješenje. U našem slučaju sigurnost smo označili vrijednošću *high*, jer je kratica L vrlo česta i poznato je da ona u ovakvom kontekstu redovno označava muško ime *Lucius*. Moguće opcije su *medium*, kada nismo potpuno sigurni, te *low*, koji više upućuje na to da nismo uopće sigurni, već da samo nagađamo. Navedeni atributi najčešće su opcionalni, odnosno ne moramo ih koristiti ako to ne želimo.

Identične oznake upotrijebili bismo i kod rješavanja kratice *leg*.

U EpiDoc formatu i imena se mogu, ako tako odluči priređivač, posebno označavati. Tipologija u korpusu natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica uključuje osobna imena, imena legija, bogova, naroda, gradova, provincija. Primjer njihova označavanja pokazat ću na imenu istog Lucija Larija Celera.

Njegovo se osobno ime u EpiDoc formatu označava ovako:

```
<persName type="homo">L(ucius) Larius Celer</persName>
```

Dakle, riječ *homo* nam objašnjava da je riječ o imenu osobe (a ne mjesta ili stvari), ljudskog bića (a ne boga ili životinje). Možemo označavati i organizacije - npr. legiju:

```
<persName type="legio">XIII Geminae</persName>
```

Na sličan način, samo s drukčijom vrijednošću (*deus*, *urbs*, *populus*, *provincia*...) označavaju se i druga imena iz natpisa.

are *medium*, when we are not entirely certain, and *low*, which indicates that we are not at all certain, rather we are speculating. These attributes are most often optional, meaning that they need not be used if we do not want to.

We would use identical markers to solve the abbreviation *leg*.

In EpiDoc names may, if the editor so decides, be specially marked. The typology of the inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice incorporates personal names, the names of legions, gods, peoples, cities and provinces. I shall demonstrate their marking again using the example of the name Lucius Larius Celer.

His personal name in EpiDoc is marked as follows:

```
<persName type="homo">L(ucius) Larius Celer</persName>
```

Thus, the word *homo* here explains that this is the name of a person (and not a place or thing), a human being (not a god or animal). We may also mark organizations, e.g. a legion:

```
<persName type="legio">XIII Geminae</persName>
```

Other names from an inscription are marked in similar fashion, only with different assigned values (*deus*, *urbs*, *populus*, *provincia*...). We choose the attribute's value ourselves, and noteworthy that the names of markers and attributes, and their values, need not be in the English language.

Already here it may be noted that each "section" begins and ends with an angled bracket, although the ending is specially marked with a slash (/).

Such marking is important because once the inscriptions are published online, it offers users additional search possibilities. Thus, for example, if we are interested in which

Vrijednost atributa odabiremo sami, a važno je napomenuti da nazivi oznaka i atributa, kao i njihove vrijednosti, ne moraju nužno biti na engleskom jeziku.

Već se ovdje može uočiti kako svaki »odjeljak« počinja i završava oznakom unutar izlomljenih zagrada, s tim da je završetak posebno označen kosom crtom (/).

Ovakvo označavanje važno je jer će, jednom kad se natpisi objave na Internetu, korisnicima ponuditi dodatne mogućnosti pretraživanja. Dakle, ako nas, na primjer, bude zanimalo u kojim se sve natpisima i kojem kontekstu spominje određeno božanstvo, računalo će lako pretražiti natpise te nam prikazati sve rezultate, koje onda možemo lako analizirati i interpretirati.

Nakon što smo demonstrirali osnove označavanja u EpiDoc formatu, pređimo na analizu kataloga izrađenog pomoću odabranih oznaka. Katalog koji sam priredila sadrži neke bitne informacije: broj kataloške jedinice, naslov, mjesto pronalaska, mjesto gdje se predmet sada čuva, dimenzije, opis, natpis, prijevod, dataciju te literaturu. Kako to izgleda u EpiDoc formatu, prikazat ću na jednostavnijem primjeru kataloške jedinice 2. Prvo je naveden broj kataloške jedinice te tip natpisa. To se označava ovako:

```
<text xml:id="VZT002"
type="votivumNymphis">
```

Nakon naslova slijedi opis natpisa:

```
<body>
  <div type="description">
    <p>Titulus Nymphis sacer, reper-
tus in Varaždinske Toplice.</p>
  </div>
```

Kad je natpis opisan, slijedi tekst:

inscriptions and in which context a certain deity is mentioned, the computer can easily search the inscriptions and show us all of the results, which can then be easily analyzed and interpreted.

Having demonstrated the basic EpiDoc markers, I shall now turn to an analysis of the catalogue made using selected markers. The catalogue I compiled contains several essential pieces of information: the number of the catalogue unit, the title, find site, the site where the object is currently held, the dimensions, description, translation, dating and sources. I will show how this looks in EpiDoc format using the simple example of catalogue unit 2. First the catalogue unit and inscription type are specified. This is marked thusly:

```
<text xml:id="VZT002"
type="votivumNymphis">
```

After the title, a description of the inscription follows:

```
<body>
  <div type="description">
    <p>Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus
in Varaždinske Toplice.</p>
  </div>
```

When the inscription is described, the text follows:

```
<div type="edition">
  <p><persName
type="deus">Nymphis</persName> <pers-
Name type="homo">Avitus</persName></
p>
</div>
```

In this example we can once more see the marking of names.

After this the translation is cited:

```

<div type="edition">
  <p><persName
type="deus">Nymphis</persName>
<persName type="homo">Avitus</per-
sName></p>
</div>

```

Na ovom primjeru možemo ponovno vidjeti označavanje imena.

Poslije je naveden i prijevod:

```

<div type="translation">
  <p>Avit Nimfama</p>
</div>

```

Kad je taj paragraf zatvoren, slijedi literatura:

```

<div type="bibliography">
  <bibl>ILJug 1171a</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Va-
raždinske Toplice-naselje. Arheološki
pregled 4, 1962, 172</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Va-
raždinske Toplice-rimsko kupalište. Ar-
heološki pregled 5, 1963, 113</bibl>

```

A posebno su označene (*ref target*) internetske stranice na kojima je objavljen natpis:

```

<bibl><ref target="http://
oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/
epigr">Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss /
Slaby</ref></bibl>
</div>
</body>
</text>

```

Na ovim primjerima uočava se kako se u XML-u eksplicitno primjenjuju oznake koje su u tipografiji implicitne.

Uvođenjem EpiDoca omogućeno je znanstvenicima da u digitalnom obliku predstave materijale koje istražuju, ali i da međusobno dijele rezultate koristeći

```

<div type="translation">
  <p>Avit Nimfama</p>
</div>

```

When this paragraph closes, the bibliography follows:

```

<div type="bibliography">
  <bibl>ILJug 1171a</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić,
Varaždinske Toplice-naselje. Arheološki
pregled 4, 1962, 172</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Varaždinske
Toplice-rimsko kupalište. Arheološki pregled
5, 1963, 113</bibl>

```

The web pages on which the inscription is posted are separately marked (*ref target*):

```

<bibl><ref target="http://oracle-vm.
ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr">Epigraphik-
Datenbank Clauss / Slaby</ref></bibl>
</div>
</body>
</text>

```

These examples show that in XML markers are applied explicitly which in typography are implicit.

The introduction of EpiDoc allows scholars to present the materials they are researching in digital format, and also to share results by using this common language. The program's high value lies in the fact that larger documents compiled in this manner and published electronically are usable together, even if they were prepared separately. Even though the body of materials covered in this article is rather small, all of the *Inscriptiones Latinae in Croatia repertae* could be marked in the same way, and then the advantages of EpiDoc and its high value would be most apparent, for the advantages of computer processing are best observed in a larger body of materials.

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/aquae.form.html> (25.5.2013.).

ovaj zajednički jezik. Velika vrijednost programa leži u tome da će veći dokumenti priređeni na ovaj način i objavljeni elektronički biti iskoristivi zajedno, čak i ako su pripremljeni odvojeno. Iako je korpus obrađen u ovom članku prilično malen, na isti način bi se mogle označiti sve *Inscriptiones Latinae in Croatia re-pertae* i tada bi se najviše vidjele prednosti EpiDoca i njegova velika vrijednost, jer se na većem korpusu najbolje uočavaju prednosti računalne obrade.

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/aquae.form.html> (25.5.2013.).

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**Popis kratica / List of abbreviations**

AE – L'Année Epigraphique  
AIJ – Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien  
CBI – Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches  
CIL – Corpus inscriptionum latinarum  
HD – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg  
ILJug – Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt  
PLRE – The prosopography of the Later Roman Empire  
RIU – Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns



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<sup>146</sup> Zahvaljujem dr. sc. Ivanu Radmanu-Livaji, višem kustosu Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, na ustupanju literature te pomoći oko iste. / I would like to extend my gratitude to Ivan Radman-Livaja, Ph.D., the senior curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, for making the relevant literature available and for assisting me therewith.

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