

DORA KUŠAN ŠPALJ
Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
/ Archaeological Museum in Zagreb
Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog 19
HR – 10000 Zagreb
dkusan@amz.hr

***Aquae Iasae* – nova otkrića u rimskom svetištu – s posebnim osvrtom na kultove Apolona, Eskulapa i Serapisa**

***Aquae Iasae* – new discoveries in the Roman sanctuary – with special regard to the cults of Apollo, Aesculapius and Serapis**

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Članak obrađuje rezultate novih istraživanja u Varaždinskim Toplicama, koja su provedena od 2011. do 2015. godine na prostoru rimskog svetišta, oko prirodnog izvora termalne vode. Istraživanjima je ustanovljeno da je u 1. stoljeću izvor bio ograđen na širem prostoru, a u 2. stoljeću oko njega se gradi pravokutna konstrukcija – izvorišni bazen veličine 8 x 13,5 m, iz kojeg se sustavom kanala termalna voda odvodila u kupališta. Pokazalo se da su za popravke izvorišnog bazena u 4. stoljeću korišteni stariji natpisi, reljefi, pa čak i skulpture koje su, kao običan građevinski materijal, poslužile za gradnju i zatrpavanje. Pronađeno je više od 50 žrtvenika, natpisa i reljefa, a u samome izvorištu oko 17.000 rimskih kovanica. U članku se pozornost posebno obratila na dio nalaza koji svjedoči o prisutnosti kultova Apolona (Apolona – Sola),

The paper presents the results of the new archaeological excavations in Varaždinske Toplice, conducted from 2011 to 2015 in the area of the Roman sanctuary built around the natural hot spring. The excavations have shown that a wide area around the spring was enclosed during the 1st century AD, while a rectangular structure was built around it in the 2nd century AD; a spring reservoir 8 x 13.5 meters in size, from which thermal water was then lead to the baths through a system of canals. It was discovered that the spring reservoir was repaired in the 4th century AD using older inscriptions, reliefs, and even sculptures, which were used as regular construction material for masonry and backfill. More than 50 sacrificial altars, inscriptions, and reliefs were found, while the spring itself contained 17,000 Roman coins. Special attention is given in the paper to the finds that confirm the existence of

Eskulapa i Serapisa u razdoblju s 2. na 3. stoljeće, a koji govore o popularnosti ovoga svetišta i među najvišim državnim službenicima toga vremena. Novi nalazi ukazuju i na mogućnost da je oko termalnog izvora bilo i proročište, a prema nalazu jednog reljefa s natpisom može se pretpostaviti točan datum održavanja svečanosti u čast ženskih božanstava – Izide Fortune, Venere i nimfa.

Ključne riječi: *Varaždinske Toplice, termalna sumporna voda, izvorišni bazen, Apolon, Eskulap, Serapis, proročište*

cults dedicated to Apollo (Apollo/Sol), Aesculapius, and Serapis at the baths during the 2nd and 3rd century AD, which also testify to the popularity of this sanctuary among the highest government officials of the time. New finds also indicate the possibility of an oracle around the spring, and a relief with an inscription could allow us to infer the exact date of the festivities held in honour of female deities: Isis/Fortuna, Venus, and the nymphs.

Key words: *Varaždinske Toplice, thermal sulphur water, spring reservoir, Apollo, Aesculapius, Serapis, oracle*



Slika / Figure 1: Kompleks rimske arhitekture u gradskom parku u Varaždinkim Toplicama (avionski snimak: Vektra, Varaždin). / Roman architectural complex in the town park in Varaždinske Toplice (aerial photo by Vektra, Varaždin).

KOMPLEKS RIMSKE ARHITEKTURE U GRADSKOM PARKU

Od 1953. godine Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu provodi istraživanja na prostoru gradskog parka u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Na toj je lokaciji, na površini od 6000 m², otkriven kompleks rimske javne arhitekture, a sastoji se od dvije cjeline – kupališnog dijela (kupalište i bazilika) i svetišta izgrađenog oko prirodnog izvora termalne sumporne vode (sl. 1, 2).¹

¹ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 24-27, 36-41; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 133-140; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2015, 24-27, 36-41.

ROMAN ARCHITECTURAL COMPLEX IN THE TOWN PARK

Since 1953, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb has conducted excavations at the town park in Varaždinske Toplice. A public Roman architectural complex was discovered at the site, covering an area of 6000 m² and comprised of two separate sections: the *thermae* section (the baths and basilica) and the sanctuary built around the natural spring of thermal sulphur water (Fig. 1, 2).¹

¹ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 24-27, 36-41; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 133-140; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2015, 24-27, 36-41;

Od 1. do 4. stoljeća izgradnja na ovome prostoru uglavnom je bila prilagođena položaju i značaju prirodnog izvorišta tako što je građevinskim rješenjima postignuto optimalno korištenje termalne vode, a istovremeno je arhitektonskim oblikovanjem naglašen i njegov mistični te kulturni karakter. Sva dosadašnja istraživanja, brojni nalazi i sačuvana arhitektura svjedoče o važnosti rimskog naselja u razdoblju od 1. do 4. stoljeća, koje je zbog svoje ljekovite vode bilo vrlo popularno lječilište i svetište, poznato i među najvišim društvenim krugovima Rimskoga Carstva.

From the 1st to the 4th century, construction in this area was in accordance with the position and significance of the natural spring in the regard that optimal use of the thermal water was achieved through structural solutions, while at the same time using architectural interventions to emphasize the mystical and cult nature of the hot spring. The previous excavations, numerous finds, and preserved architectural remains testify to the importance of the Roman settlement from the 1st to the 4th century, which was a popular health resort and sanctuary due to its curative water, known even amongst the highest social circles of the Roman Empire.



Slika / Figure 2: 3D virtualna rekonstrukcija kompleksa rimske arhitekture u Varaždinskim Toplicama, 4. st. (izradio: Studio Kušan, Zagreb). / 3D virtual reconstruction of the Roman architectural complex in Varaždinske Toplice, 4th c. (made by Studio Kušan, Zagreb).

ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA NA PROSTORU RIMSKOG SVETIŠTA

U prvoj fazi radova na ovome lokalitetu, od 1953. do 1982. godine, koja su vodili prof. M. Gorenc, dr. sc. B. Vikić i V. Damevski, istražen je kupališni dio kompleksa i veći dio svetišta.² Naime, tada još nije bilo moguće istraživanje prostora oko prirodnog izvora jer su se u tome dijelu nalazile aktivne izvorske instalacije kojima je ter-

² Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75-127; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 181-223; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 121-157; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111-117; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-50; Gorenc, Vikić 1980; Nemeth-Ehrlich et al. 1997.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS OF THE ROMAN SANCTUARY

In the first phase of excavations at this site from 1953 to 1982, which was headed by Prof. M. Gorenc, B. Vikić, PhD, and V. Damevski, the bath section of the complex was excavated, along with a larger portion of the sanctuary.² Namely, the excavation of the area around the natural hot spring was not possible at the time because active spring installations that lead

² Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75-127; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 181-223; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 121-157; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111-117; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-50; Gorenc, Vikić 1980; Nemeth-Ehrlich et al. 1997.



Slika / Figure 3: Pogled na izvorišni bazen, nakon istraživanja 2006.god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Spring reservoir after the 2006 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

malna voda odvođena u lječilište.³ Premda su radovi na ovome lokalitetu nastavljeni početkom 90-ih godina,⁴ istraživanja u samom svetištu nastavljena su tek 1997, odnosno 1998. godine⁵, kada se zahvaljujući dobroj suradnji sa Specijalnom bolnicom Varaždinske Toplice uspio postići dogovor o premještanju cjevovoda i postavljanju nove bušotine izvan rimskog svetišta. Tako se 1998. godine provelo istraživanje do nivoa opločenja svetišta, a u središnjem dijelu pojavili su se zidovi jedne pravokutne konstrukcije (vel. 13,5 x 8 m). Već se tada pretpostavilo da je riječ o izvorišnom bazenu kojim je bio „ograđen“ prirodni izvor, odnosno o kaptaži prirodnog izvora,⁶ na način kako je poznato i iz rimskog naselja

the thermal water to the health resort were located in that section of the site.³ Even though excavations were continued at the site in the early 1990s,⁴ the excavations of the sanctuary itself were continued as late as 1997 and 1998,⁵ when a compromise was reached thanks to good cooperation with the Special hospital for rehabilitation in Varaždinske Toplice, resulting in the relocation of the pipeline and drilling of a new well outside the parameters of the Roman sanctuary. In 1998, the sanctuary was excavated to the level of its paving, and a rectangular structure (13.5 x 8 m) was discovered in the central area. Even then the researchers speculated that the rectangular structure was a reservoir “enclosing” the natural spring, i.e. a reservoir used for catchment,⁶ in the same

³ Na tom se prostoru nalazila bušotina kojom se voda od 1962. godine crpila iz dubljih slojeva te cjevovod za odvođenje termalne vode u Specijalne bolnice za medicinsku rehabilitaciju.

⁴ Zahvaljujući sredstvima Ministarstva kulture RH, radove ponovno pokreće Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu pod vodstvom D. Nemeth-Ehrlich. Od 1992. do 1996. godine radovi su usmjereni na sanaciju rimske arhitekture, okolne padine, izradu drenaže i pripremu potrebne projektne i konzervatorske dokumentacije; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73-79.

⁵ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 68-74.

⁶ Kušan Špalj 1999, 111-113.

³ There was a well in this place through which thermal water was pumped up and lead by a pipeline to the Special hospital for rehabilitation since 1962.

⁴ Thanks to the funds provided by Croatia's Ministry of Culture, the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb continued the excavations, headed by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich. Between 1992 and 1996, the work focused on conserving the Roman architecture, stabilizing the surrounding slope, laying down drainage, and preparing the necessary project and conservation documentation; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73-79;

⁵ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 68-74;

⁶ Kušan Špalj 1999, 111-113.



Slika / Figure 4: Pogled na izvorišni bazen, nakon istraživanja 2006. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Spring reservoir after the 2006 excavation (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

Aquae Sulis (Bath).⁷ To je potvrđeno 2006. godine, kada je izvorišni bazen istražen do dna zidova,⁸ a nakon što su ugašene pumpe kojima je termalna voda ispumpavana tijekom radova,⁹ prvi put nakon rimskog vremena bazen se ispunio termalnom vodom (sl. 3, 4).

Istraživanja koja su uslijedila od 2011. do 2013. godine donijela su iznimno važna otkrića jer se pokazalo da su za popravke izvorišnog bazena, najvjerojatnije u 4. stoljeću, korišteni stariji natpisi, reljefi, pa čak i skulpture koje su, kao običan građevinski materijal, poslužile za gradnju i zatrpavanje (sl. 5).¹⁰ Pronađeno je više od 50 žrtvenika, natpisa, reljefa i dijelova skulptura, a

manner as in the Roman settlement of *Aquae Sulis* (Bath).⁷ The hypothesis was confirmed in 2006, when the reservoir was excavated to the bottom of its walls.⁸ After the pumps that pumped out the thermal water during excavations were turned off,⁹ the reservoir filled up with thermal water for the first time since antiquity (Fig. 3, 4).

The excavations conducted from 2011 to 2013 resulted in extremely important discoveries regarding the repairs of the spring reservoir, probably conducted during the 4th century. Older inscriptions, reliefs, and even sculptures were used as common building material, used for construction and backfill (Fig. 5).¹⁰ More than 50 sacrificial altars, inscriptions, reliefs, and parts of sculptures were discovered, while

⁷ Cunliffe, B., Davenport 1985, 37-45.

⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007,150-153; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2011, 211-232; Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich, 2012, 107 -112.

⁹ Zbog prirodnog izviranja termalne vode (temperature 58 °C) brzinom do 20 l/s, cijelo su vrijeme trajanja radova bile uključene dvije, ponekad i četiri muljne pumpe, a zbog pojave štetnih plinova – ugljičnog monoksida (CO) i sumporovodika (H₂S), korišteni su ventilatori i ograničavan je boravak radnika u iskopu.

¹⁰ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2014, 28-32, 42-45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2015, 28-32, 42-45.

⁷ Cunliffe, B., Davenport 1985, 37-45

⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007,150-153; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2011, 211-232; Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich, 2012, 107 -112;

⁹ Because the thermal water (58 °C) emerges naturally at 20 l/s, two, and sometimes four, sludge pumps were used during excavations, while fans were used to disperse the harmful gasses carbon monoxide (CO) and hydrogen sulphide (H₂S), and the time the workers spent in the dig was limited

¹⁰ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2014, 28-32, 42-45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj, 2015, 28-32,42-45;



Slika / Figure 5: Pogled na prostor svetišta i izvorišni bazen, tijekom istraživanja 2011. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Sanctuary and spring reservoir during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

u ispiranju blata, koje je ispunjavalo izvorišni bazen, pronađeno je oko 17.000 rimskih kovаница¹¹ i nešto nakita (perle, prstenje, narukvice)¹², što su kao zavjetni darovi ubacivani u vodu, najvjerojatnije u čast nimfama, zaštitnicama termalnog izvora. Ti su nalazi nepregledni izvor novih informacija o razvoju svetišta uz termalni izvor, o božanstvima koja su štovana, popratnim ritualima i običajima, ali i ljudima koji su posjećivali ovo lječilište.

Sama gradnja izvorišnog bazena predstavljala je iznimno složen građevinski zahvat kojem je prethodilo preusmjeravanje termalne vode kako bi se moglo graditi na suhome. Drveni kanal, pronađen južno od izvorišnog bazena, vjerojatno je korišten u tu svrhu tijekom gradnje u 2. stoljeću,¹³ a duboki zidani kanal u jugoistočnom dijelu

the mud that filled the spring reservoir yielded approximately 17,000 Roman coins¹¹ and several pieces of jewellery (beads, rings, bracelets)¹² that were dropped into the water as votive offerings, most likely to the nymphs who were the guardians of the hot spring. The finds are a vast source of information about the evolution of the sanctuary around the hot spring, the deities worshiped there, accompanying rituals and customs, as well as the people who visited the health resort.

The construction of the spring reservoir itself was a complex feat because the thermal water had to be redirected so the construction site would be dry. A wooden canal, discovered south of the spring reservoir, was probably used to redirect the water during construction in the 2nd century,¹³ while a deep stone-built canal in

¹¹ Bilić, 2014, 120-126; Bilić, 2015, 120-126.

¹² Perok 2014, kat. br. 90-114.

¹³ Kanal je istražen 2014. godine.

¹¹ Bilić, 2014, 120-126; Bilić, 2015, 120-126.

¹² Perok 2014, Cat. no. 90-114.

¹³ The canal was excavated in 2014



Slika / Figure 6: Zidani kanal, južno od izvorišnog bazena, koji je vjerojatno služio za pražnjenje vode (snimila D. Kušan Špalj). / Stone-built canal to the south of the spring reservoir, probably used for drainage (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).



Slika / Figure 7: Sjeveroistočni ugao izvorišnog bazena sa sustavom učvršćenja terena, tijekom istraživanja 2012. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / North-eastern corner of the spring reservoir with a system for terrain stabilisation during the 2012 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

vjerojatno tijekom velike obnove u 4. stoljeću (sl. 6).¹⁴ Prije gradnje zidova proveden je vrlo kompliciran zahvat učvršćenja terena, kako bi se stvorilo stabilno tlo za gradnju. Zbog toga su drveni hrastovi piloti zabijeni ispod zidova prije gradnje temelja, a učvršćen je teren unutar i izvan bazena (sl. 7). Istočni i zapadni zid izravno su izgrađeni na padini prirodne gline koja se strmo spušta prema sredini bazena, dok je tlo ispod sjevernog i južnog zida bilo znatno nestabilnije, kao i prostor južno od bazena. To je bio i razlog zbog čega su sjeverni i južni zid popravljani u 4. stoljeću, dok o gradnji u 2. stoljeću svjedoče istočni i zapadni zid, koji mjestimično imaju i sačuvanu ogradu. Za gradnju zidova u 2. stoljeću upotrijebljen je lokalni kamen – litotamnijski vapnenac

¹⁴ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 28, 42; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 28, 42.

the south-eastern section was probably used during repairs in the 4th century (Fig. 6).¹⁴ Before the walls could be erected, there was the complex task of stabilizing the terrain in order to make the ground suitable for construction. Oak piles were driven in below the walls before the foundations were laid down, while the terrain in and around the reservoir was stabilized as well (Fig. 7). The eastern and western walls were built directly on a steep natural clay deposit that slopes toward the centre of the reservoir, while the soil beneath the northern and southern walls was significantly more unstable, as was the terrain south of the reservoir. The northern and southern walls were repaired in the 4th century for exactly that reason, while the eastern and western walls remained intact in their original form from the 2nd century, with sections of their fence still intact. The

¹⁴ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 28, 42; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 28,42;



Slika / Figure 8: Pogled na urušeni sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena, tijekom istraživanja 2011. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / A collapsed northern wall of the spring reservoir during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

raznih struktura¹⁵ koji je, ovisno o čvrstoći i drugim svojstvima, korišten za pojedine dijelove zida. Temelj je bio građen od većih, grubo obrađenih blokova, a zid se sastojao od tri reda pravokutnih kamenih blokova

¹⁵ Aljinović 2014, 126-129; Aljinović 2015, 126-129.

original walls from the 2nd century were constructed from local stone; lithothamnium limestone of different textures,¹⁵ which was used for different parts of the walls depending on its hardness and other properties. The founda-

¹⁵ Aljinović 2014, 126-129; Aljinović 2015, 126-129



Slika / Figure 9: Pogled na južni zid izvorišnog bazena s vidljivom konstrukcijom zida sa sekundarno upotrebljenim spomenicima, tijekom istraživanja prostora južno od izvorišta 2011. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Southern wall of the spring reservoir with a wall constructed of reused monuments during the 2011 excavations of the area to the south of the spring (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

u tehnici *opus quadratum*.¹⁶ Za taj je dio zida upotrijebljen vrlo mekani, ali gusti sitnozrnati vapnenac, kojeg je bilo moguće vrlo precizno obraditi kako bi blokovi potpuno prijanjali jedan uz drugi, dok je gustoća kamena osigurala nepropusnost zida. Kameni su blokovi slagani na način da su neki bili postavljeni uzdužno, a neki poprečno, te je tako postignuto dodatno učvršćenje i sidrenje u okolni teren. Iznad dijela zida, u tehnici *opus quadratum*, postavljen je završni red kamenih blokova od gušćeg vapnenca, visine 25 cm i širine 70 cm, s utorom (dubine 5 – 10 cm), a služio je kao ležište za kamene grede ograde. Za grede, od kojih je bila izrađena ograda (visine 70 cm), upotrijebljen je krupnozrnati vapnenac, otporan na vanjske uvjete. Dodatnu čvrstoću ovoj konstrukciji davalo je kutno i vezno kamenje kojim su bile međusobno povezane kamene grede, kao i

tion was made out of large rough-hewn blocks, while the walls were built out of three lines of rectangular stone blocks in the technique of *opus quadratum*.¹⁶ This section of the wall was built from a very soft, but dense fine-grained limestone, which could be finely cut to adhere to one another completely, while the density of the stone ensured the walls would be watertight. Some of the stone blocks were laid down longitudinally, while others were laid down transversely, making the wall stronger and anchoring it to the surrounding terrain. Above the section of the wall built in the technique of *opus quadratum*, there was a final line of stone blocks made out of a more dense type of limestone, 25 cm in height and 70 cm in width, with slots (5-10 cm in depth), serving as the base for the fence's stone beams. A course-grained limestone resistant to adverse weather conditions was utilized for the beams and slabs, from which a 70 cm high fence was made. The fence

¹⁶ Adam 1999, 206.

¹⁶ Adam 1999, 206.

kameni blokovi koji su povezivali ogradu s opločenjem foruma. Prema načinu gradnje i upotrijebljenom materijalu, očito je da su na većem dijelu sjevernog i južnog zida izvršeni popravci tijekom obnove kompleksa, najvjerojatnije početkom 4. stoljeća. Ti su zidovi zatečeni u vrlo oštećenom stanju, što pokazuje kako je došlo do pomicanja terena i nakon njihove obnove u 4. stoljeću. Vjerojatno je došlo do ispiranja i pomicanja tla u području izviranja vode, zbog čega su zidovi i slojevi s rimskim nalazima propali prema sredini bazena. Zbog toga se i veći dio sjevernog zida urušio, a ostao je sačuvan samo u rubnim dijelovima (sl. 8), dok je južni zid sačuvan u cijelosti, zajedno s ogradom, ali se pomaknuo i potonuo prema sredini izvorišnog bazena (sl. 9). U urušenju sjevernog zida, ali i u njegovim sačuvanim dijelovima, te u južnom zidu, pronađeni su brojni sekundarno upotrijebljeni natpisi, žrtvenici i reljefi. To je kamenje, uz manje dorade, korišteno za gradnju i slagano u sličnoj tehnici, kao i zidovi iz 2. stoljeća. U urušenju i konstrukciji ovih zidova pronađeno je i više dijelova tanjih mramornih ploča – uglavnom fragmenata reljefa i natpisa, a koji su korišteni za podlaganje većih kamenih blokova u konstrukciji zidova. Zanimljivo je i da su neki dijelovi istih ploča pronađeni na raznim mjestima; npr. dijelovi istih reljefa pronađeni su u konstrukciji sjevernog i južnog zida, a jedan je reljef s prikazom 3 nimfe,¹⁷ čiji su dijelovi nađeni uz sjeverni zid izvorišta, nadopunjen fragmentima pronađenim još 60-ih godina u zidu istočnog hrama i jednom zidu kupališta, što potvrđuje i istovremenost obnove tih objekata.

¹⁷ Kušan Špalj, 2014, 61-62, 86-87. kat. br. 80: Kušan Špalj, 2015, 61-62, 86-87. kat. br. 80.

was additionally strengthened by the corner and binding stones by which the stone beams were connected, as well as the stone slabs connecting the fence to the forum paving. According to the manner of construction and the used material, it is apparent that larger sections of the northern and southern walls were repaired when the complex was being renovated, probably at the beginning of the 4th century. There was probably significant erosion and soil shift in the vicinity of the spring so the walls and archaeological layers with Roman finds shifted along toward the centre of the reservoir. A larger section of the northern wall collapsed because of this as well (Fig. 8), and only the corner sections remained intact. The southern wall was preserved in its entirety, along with its fence, but did shift and sink toward the centre of the spring reservoir (Fig. 9). In the rubble of the northern wall, but also in its preserved sections, and incorporated into the southern wall, numerous reused inscriptions, sacrificial altars, and reliefs were found. The material was reworked used for construction using a similar technique as the one used for the walls from the 2nd century. In the rubble and structure of these walls, several thin slabs of marble were found; mostly fragments of reliefs and inscriptions, which were used as chocks for fixing larger blocks of stone into place. It is interesting to note that different pieces of the same slabs were found in different places, e.g. pieces of the same relief were found in both the northern and southern wall. One relief depicting three nymphs¹⁷ was found along the northern wall of the spring and matched fragments found in the structure of the wall of the eastern temple and one wall of the baths during the excavations conducted in 1960's, which confirms that the different structures were repaired and renovated at the same time.

¹⁷ Kušan Špalj, 2014, 61-62, 86-87. Cat.no. 80: Kušan Špalj, 2015, 61-62, 86-87. Cat.no. 80:



Slika / Figure 10: Pogled na zidove kojima je bilo ograđeno izvorište u 1. st., istraživanje 2013. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Walls surrounding the spring in the 1st c., the 2013 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

PROSTOR SVETIŠTA: FAZE IZGRADNJE I OBNOVE OD 1. DO 4. STOLJEĆA

Prostor oko prirodnog izvora već je u 1. stoljeću imao karakter svetišta, a što su potvrdila istraživanja provedena od 2012. do 2015. godine. Nalaz kamenih zidova i drvenih konstrukcija ukazuju na to kako su u 1. stoljeću Rimljani samo „ogradili” veliku prirodnu jamu, gdje je bilo prirodno izvorište, i tako omogućili pristup vodi. Sa zapadne i istočne strane bili su zidovi s polukružnim nišama, a u sjevernom dijelu stepenasta, ožbukana konstrukcija ispred jednoga pravokutnog objekta (sl. 10).¹⁸ Riječ je najvjerojatnije o hramu, čiji su zidovi sačuvani ispod kasnijega sjevernog stepeništa, a s obzirom na natpise datirane u ovu najraniju fazu,¹⁹ vjerojatno je posrijedi

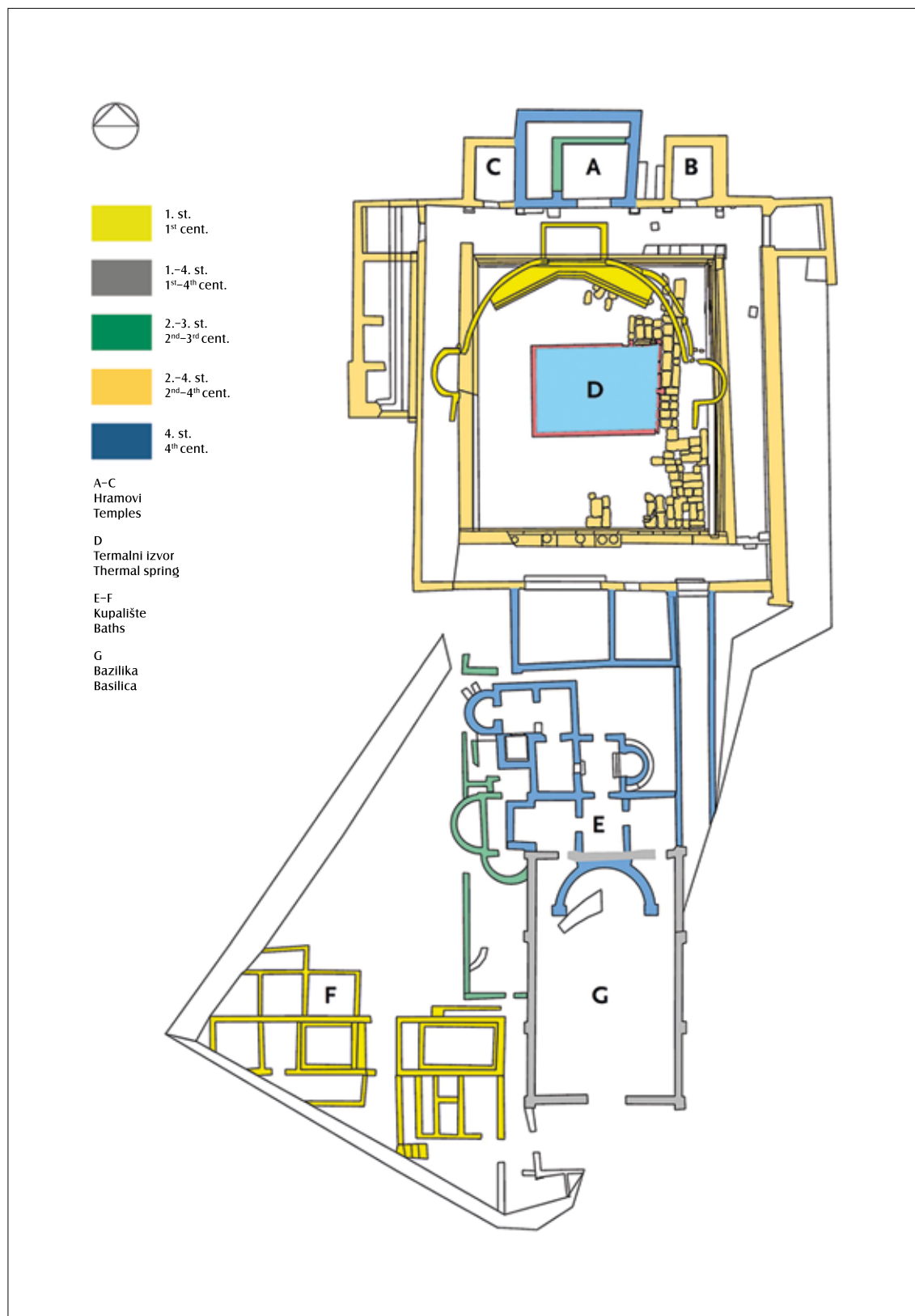
THE SANCTUARY: PHASES OF CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIRS FROM THE 1st TO THE 4th CENTURY

The space around the natural spring was a sanctuary as early as the 1st century, which was confirmed by the archaeological excavations conducted from 2012 to 2015. The stone walls and remains of wooden structures discovered show that the Romans simply “fenced off” the large natural spring pit in the 1st century, enabling access to the thermal water. There were walls with semi-circular niches on the western and eastern sides, while a stair-like plastered structure was located on the northern section in front of another rectangular structure (Fig. 10).¹⁸ The rectangular structure was most likely a temple, the walls of which were preserved below the later northern stairs. Taking into consideration the inscriptions, which date

¹⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 32, 46; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 32, 46.

¹⁹ Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151; CIL 4118; CIL III 10893.

¹⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 32, 46; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 32, 46.



Tlocrt / Layout 1: Kompleks rimske arhitekture u gradskom parku, 1– 4. st. (geodetsko snimanje: ing. M. Kadi, Vektra -Varaždin, obrada: Vektra -Varaždin, Studio Kušan, S. Škrinjarić). / Roman architectural complex in the town park, 1st-4th c. (land survey: ing. M. Kadi, Vektra -Varaždin, Studio Kušan, S. Škrinjarić).

svetište posvećeno nimfama. Najnoviji nalazi iz 2015. godine upućuju i na jednu još raniju fazu u kojoj je prostor izviranja bio ograđen samo jednostavnim zidovima bez apsida.

Budući da je u ovim najranijim fazama termalna voda bila „ograđena” na relativno velikom prostoru, istovremeno se i hladila te je od 58 °C, koliko je njezina temperatura kod izviranja, postala ugodne temperature 30 – 35 °C.²⁰ Stepnasti okvir sugerira da je bio moguć ulazak u vodu, ili sjedenje na samome rubu, tako da se liječenje vjerojatno odvijalo i kao dio rituala u svetištu.²¹ Voda je kanalom odvođena u kupalište, i danas vidljivo u jugozapadnom dijelu kompleksa, a koje se sastojalo od niza pravokutnih prostorija i većih stepenastih bazena, pa se može pretpostaviti da je bilo namijenjeno većim grupama ljudi, odnosno najvjerojatnije su u ovoj fazi glavni korisnici bili vojnici.²²

U 2. stoljeću dogodile su se velike promjene na cijelome kompleksu, vjerojatno kao posljedica sve većeg broja posjetitelja i novih zahtjeva u samome kultu, ali i zbog nove administrativne reorganizacije kada naselje *Aquae lasae*, vjerojatno, kao dio teritorija kolonije Petovione,²³ postaje glavno lječilište na tome području. U toj je fazi potpuno preuređen prostor oko prirodnog izvorišta, a kako bi se dobila što veća površina, izgradnja se širi u okolno brdo. Radi se o pomno planiranoj izgradnji, s vješto izvedenim građevinskim rješenjima, prilagođenima zadanim prirodnim uvjetima. Kako bi se maksimalno iskoristio prostor za gradnju, zidovima hramova (i bočnih prostorija) „zasijeca” se padina, a sve se dodatno učvršćuje masivnim potpornim zidovima s istočne i zapadne strane. U padini iza zidova izrađen je sustav obodne drenaže kojom se skupljala oborinska voda, a što je bilo važno za spre-

back to the earliest phase, we can presume that the temple was dedicated to the nymphs.¹⁹ The most recent finds from 2015 indicate an even earlier phase, during which the spring was enclosed by simple walls with no apsides.

Since the thermal water was “enclosed” in a relatively large space in the earliest phases, it cooled from 58 °C, which is the temperature of the water when it emerges from the ground, to a pleasant temperature between 30 and 35 °C.²⁰ The stairs indicate that it was possible to enter the water or sit at the very edge of the spring, and healing was probably a part of the rituals conducted in the sanctuary.²¹ The water was lead through a canal to the *thermae*, which can still be seen in the south-western section of the complex, and consisted of rectangular rooms and large stair-like pools, so they were probably intended for larger groups of people, i.e. the main users of the *thermae* in this phase were soldiers.²²

The 2nd century brought about significant changes for the entire complex, probably as a result of more numerous visitors and new demands regarding cult worship, but also as a result of administrative reorganization. The settlement of *Aquae lasae*, belonging to the territory of the Poetovio colony,²³ probably became the main health facility of the region at that time. In this phase, the space around the natural spring was completely renovated, and construction expanded to the nearby hill in order to gain as much space as possible. The construction was carefully planned, and the architectural solutions were skilfully adapted to the challenges of the natural landscape. In order to fully make use of the area for construction, the walls of the temples (and side rooms) “cut” into the slope, additionally strengthened by massive supporting walls from the east and west. On the slope behind the walls, a system of drainage was laid down aimed at collecting rainwater, which was important for preventing the walls from getting

²⁰ To je potvrđeno i mjerenjem temperature vode, kada je nakon istraživanja 2013. godine termalna voda ispunila istraženi prostor ograđenog izvorišta iz 1. stoljeća.

²¹ Kušan Špalj 2014 a, 107-108, 114-115; Kušan Špalj 2015a, 107-108, 114-115.

²² Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151.

²³ Klemenc, Saria 1936, 93; Horvat 2003, 160.

¹⁹ Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151; CIL 4118; CIL III 10893

²⁰ In 2013, this was confirmed by temperature measurements when water filled the already excavated enclosed spring from the 1st century;

²¹ Kušan Špalj 2014 a, 107-108, 114-115; Kušan Špalj 2015a, 107-108, 114-115.

²² Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151.

²³ Klemenc, Saria 1936, 93; Horvat 2003, 160;

čavanje vlaženja zidova, kao i za stabilnost padine. U ovoj fazi prirodni izvor ograđuje se na manjoj površini, odnosno oko njega se gradi pravokutni bazen veličine 8 x 13,5 m, sa zidovima visine cca 2 m i ogradom. Novim načinom kaptaze izvora mijenja se i njegova funkcija u svetištu jer se voda u manjem prostoru više ne uspijeva dovoljno ohladiti za direktno korištenje. U ovoj fazi liječenje se provodi isključivo u kupalištu u koje se termalna voda dovodi sustavom zidanih kanala, a prirodno izvorište dobiva izrazito kulturni karakter, dodatno naglašen izgradnjom okolnog prostora svetišta. Radilo se o relativno zatvorenom prostoru, ograđenom visokim trjemovima, u kojem je dominirao „sveti izvor“, a isparavanje vruće termalne vode posve je sigurno pojačavalo vrlo mističnu atmosferu svetišta. Oblik svetišta, kao foruma s kapitolijem, u funkciji je naglašavanja kulturnog karaktera izvorišta te je ovdje riječ o jedinstvenoj arhitektonskoj cjelini, u kojoj je prirodnom fenomenu, lje-

wet, as well as for the stability of the slope. In this phase, a smaller space around the natural spring was enclosed, by building a rectangular 8 x 13.5 m reservoir around it, with walls approximately 2 m high and a fence. The new method of catchment changed the role of the spring within the sanctuary, because the water was not able to cool enough in the smaller space and direct use was not possible. In this phase, healing is reserved for the *thermae*, to which thermal water was led by a system of canals, and the natural spring is used exclusively for cult worship, highlighted by the construction of the surrounding sanctuary. It was a relatively closed space enclosed by high porticos, dominated by “the sacred spring”, and the steam coming from the thermal spring most likely emphasized the mystical atmosphere of the sanctuary. The sanctuary was built as a forum with a capitolium to emphasize the cult character of the spring. A complex architectural structure on top of a natural phenomenon, a healing spring, was imbued by the supernatural, while enabling con-



Slika / Figure 11: 3 D model izgleda svetišta u 4. st., s detaljima ograde izvorišnog bazena (izrađeni na temelju nađenih elemenata), (izradio Studio Kušan, Zagreb). / 3D model of the the 4th c. sanctuary, with a detailed view of the spring reservoir enclosure (made on the basis of existing elements) (made by Studio Kušan, Zagreb).

kovitom izvorištu, dana dimenzija nadnadravnog, a istovremeno je vještinom rimskih graditelja ostvarena i njegova kontrolirana eksploatacija (sl. 11). Poznato je da se cijeli kompleks obnavlja početkom 4. stoljeća,²⁴ gradi se novo kupalište,²⁵ ali u izgledu svetišta nije došlo do većih promijena. Građevinski radovi uglavnom su se odnosili na obnovu i popravke pojedinih objekata (krovišta, stupova i sl.) te je proširen središnji hram, nakon čega su svi hramovi natkriveni zajedničkim krovištem. U ovu fazu najvjerojatnije treba smjestiti i popravke izvedene na izvorišnom bazenu i okolnom opločenju, kada su sekundarno iskorišteni brojni kameni spomenici.²⁶

KULTOVI U SVETIŠTU OD 1. DO 4. STOLJEĆA

Ljekovita voda²⁷ je bila glavni razlog popularnosti ovog lječilišta i svetišta, ali i štovanja raznih božanstava kojima se pripisivalo njezino čudotvorno djelovanje.

Prema do sada pronađenim zavjetnim natpisima može se pretpostaviti da je u 1. stoljeću svetište bilo posvećeno nimfama²⁸ i da je tada cijeli prostor bio u funkciji nimfeja.²⁹ U 2. stoljeću, velikim građevinskim zahvatima i izgradnjom više hramova, uvode se i nova božanstva, a sasvim sigurno uvode se i nove svečanosti te rituali. O vrlo dinamičnom religijskom životu u ovome svetištu svjedoče mnogobrojni novi nalazi reljefa i natpisa³⁰ koji se uglavnom mogu datirati u razdoblje s 2. na 3. stoljeće. Već su u ranijim istraživanjima pronađeni brojni natpisi³¹ s

trolled exploitation of the spring through the skill of Roman engineers (Fig. 11). The whole complex was renovated during the 4th century,²⁴ and new baths were added,²⁵ but there were no major changes to the layout of the sanctuary. Construction work was mostly limited to the repairs of certain elements (roofs, pillars etc.), and the central temple was expanded, after which all the temples were covered with a common roof. The repairs done to the spring reservoir and the surrounding paving should probably also be dated to this phase, when numerous stone monuments were reused.²⁶

CULTS IN THE SANCTUARY FROM THE 1ST TO THE 4TH CENTURY

The healing properties of the water²⁷ was the main reason for the popularity of this health resort and its sanctuary, but also for the worship of deities considered responsible for the water's miraculous effects.

According to discovered votive inscriptions, it can be inferred that the sanctuary was dedicated to the nymphs during the 1st century²⁸ and that it served as a nymphaeum.²⁹ In the 2nd century, construction work and new temples brought about new deities, as well as new festivities and rituals. Numerous recent finds of reliefs and inscriptions testify to the dynamic religious activities within the sanctuary,³⁰ which can mostly be dated to the period from the 2nd to the 3rd century. Earlier excavations also yielded numerous inscriptions³¹ dedicated to

²⁴ Natpis na tzv. ploči cara Konstantina (CIL III 4121.) spominje obnovu građevina uništenih u požaru, a arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su građevinske zahvate na cijelome kompleksu tijekom 4. stoljeća.

²⁵ Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 181-223.

²⁶ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 34, 48-49; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 34, 48-49.

²⁷ Hajduk, Luetić 1981, 59-82; Šimunić, Avanić 2008, 205-218.

²⁸ CIL 4118; CIL III 10893.

²⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014a, 108,115; Kušan Špalj 2015a, 108,115.

³⁰ Nalazi nađeni u istraživanjima prostora rimskog svetišta od 2011. do 2015. godine.

³¹ Rendić-Miočević, 1992, 67-76; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7-16; Lučić 2013, 185-255.

²⁴ An inscription on the so-called tablet of Emperor Constantine (CIL III 4121.) mentions repairs on structures destroyed in a fire, and construction across the whole complex in the 4th century was confirmed by archaeological excavations as well.

²⁵ Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 181-223.

²⁶ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 34, 48-49; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 34, 48-49.

²⁷ Hajduk, Luetić 1981, 59-82; Šimunić, Avanić 2008, 205-218.

²⁸ CIL 4118; CIL III 10893

²⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014a, 108,115; Kušan Špalj 2015a, 108,115;

³⁰ Finds discovered during the excavations at the Roman sanctuary between 2011 and 2015.

³¹ Rendić-Miočević, 1992, 67-76; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7-16; Lučić 2013, 185-255.

posvetama nimfama³², ali i natpisi posvećeni Dijani³³, Fortuni³⁴, Poluksu³⁵, Minervi³⁶, Junoni³⁷, Silvanama³⁸, Herkulu³⁹ i Solu⁴⁰. U posljednjih su nekoliko godina pronađeni i natpisi na kojima se spominju Asklepije i Higija, Izida, Serapis i Apolon, a novi nalazi reljefa i skulptura pokazuju da su u svetištu štovane i božice Izida – Fortuna i Venera te Apolon – Sol i Dijana – Luna.⁴¹ Daleko su najbrojniji reljefi i natpisi posvećeni nimfama koje su, kao zaštitnice vode i personifikacije izvora, predstavljale svojevrsni lokalni kult te se često i spominju kao lokalne nimfe – *iasae*.⁴² Zanimljivo je da se na mnogim natpisima pojavljuju i zajedno s drugim božanstvima (npr. s Fortunom, Apolonom, Dijanom, Serapisom, Minervom, Junonom),⁴³ što svakako ukazuje na specifičnost ovog svetišta u kojem je dominirao kult izvora.

Dosadašnja su istraživanja pokazala da je religijski život ovoga svetišta razvijan na štovanju božanstava vezanih uz liječenje i ozdravljenje, a novi nalazi koji otkrivaju štovanje Apolona, Eskulapa i Serapisa ukazuju i na službenu (državnu) religiju⁴⁴ koju su „širili“ državni službenici za dinastije Severa, kao i na prisustvo carskog kulta,⁴⁵ prije svega vidljivog u isticanju božanskog karaktera cara Karakale.

Osim brojnih nalaza o karakteru svetišta i ambijentu u kojem su se odvijali rituali i svečanosti, najbolje svjedoči „sveti izvor“ s ljekovitom vodom koja neprestano izvire i

the nymphs³², but also inscriptions dedicated to Diana³³, Fortuna³⁴, Pollux³⁵, Minerva³⁶, Juno³⁷, Silvanae³⁸, Hercules,³⁹ and Sol⁴⁰. In recent years, inscriptions were discovered mentioning Asclepius and Hygia, Isis, Serapis, and Apollo, while new finds of sculptures also show that Isis/Fortuna, Venus, Apollo/Sol, and Diana/Luna were worshiped in the sanctuary.⁴¹ The most numerous are the reliefs and inscriptions dedicated to the nymphs, who were the guardians of the water, personifications of the spring, reflected a local cult, and were often referred to as local nymphs, *iasae*.⁴² It is interesting to note that they appear on inscriptions dedicated to other deities as well (e.g. Fortuna, Apollo, Diana, Serapis, Minerva, and Juno),⁴³ which indicates the specific character of this sanctuary, where the cult of the spring was the dominant cult.

Excavations have so far shown that religious worship in this sanctuary revolved around the worship of deities connected with healing and recovery, and new finds show the worship of Apollo, Aesculapius, and Serapis, which indicates the presence of the official (state) religion,⁴⁴ “spread” by officials during the rule of the Severan dynasty. The new finds also indicate the presence of the Imperial cult,⁴⁵ primarily apparent in the emphasis of the divine nature of Emperor Caracalla.

In addition to the numerous finds, the nature and ambiance of the sanctuary that housed rituals and festivities is best seen in the “sacred spring”, providing a constant supply of mystical

³² CIL III 4117, 4118, 4119, 10891, 10893 itd.

³³ AE 1938 0516, Iljug 0356, Iljug-02 1166, Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114 itd.

³⁴ AE 1976, 0540.

³⁵ CIL III 4120; AIJ 466.

³⁶ ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Redő 2003, 204.

³⁷ ILJug 1168.

³⁸ AIJ 467; AIJ 468 a, b.

³⁹ AIJ 458.

⁴⁰ Demo 1994, 72; Migotti 1999, 56.

⁴¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 56-119; Kušan Špalj 2015, 56-119.

⁴² AE 1985, 00714; ILJug-02 1170.

⁴³ Kušan Špalj 2014, 50, 70, 76 83, 95, 100. 161 (kat. br.76); Kušan Špalj 2015, 50, 70, 76 83, 95, 100. 161 (kat. br. 76.);

⁴⁴ Ando 2007, 444.

⁴⁵ Fishwick 1991; Weddle 2014.

³² CIL III 4117, 4118, 4119, 10891, 10893 etc.

³³ AE 1938 0516, Iljug 0356, Iljug-02 1166, Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114 etc.

³⁴ AE 1976, 0540

³⁵ CIL III 4120; AIJ 466

³⁶ ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Redő 2003, 204.

³⁷ ILJug 1168

³⁸ AIJ 467; AIJ 468 a, b;

³⁹ AIJ 458

⁴⁰ Demo 1994, 72; Migotti 1999, 56

⁴¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 56-119; Kušan Špalj 2015, 56-119;

⁴² AE 1985. 00714; ILJug-02 1170.

⁴³ Kušan Špalj 2014, 50, 70, 76 83, 95, 100. 161 (Cat.no.76); Kušan Špalj 2015, 50, 70, 76 83, 95, 100. 161 (Cat. no.76.);

⁴⁴ Ando 2007, 444.

⁴⁵ Fishwick 1991; Weddle 2014.

dočarava mističnost prostora te tako doprinosi razumijevanju specifičnoga religijskog života naselja *Aquae Iasae*.

KULTOVI ESKULAPA, APOLONA I SERAPISA

Eskulap

U novijim su istraživanjima u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeni spomenici koji potvrđuju prisustvo kulta u kojem su zajedno štovani bog liječništva i zdravlja *Aesculapius* (grč. *Asklepios*) i njegova kći Salus – Hygia (grč. *Hygieia*), božica zdravlja. Djelomično sačuvan žrtvenik, posvećen ovim božanstvima, pronađen je 2001. godine u urušenu kod zapadnog trijema svetišta i vjerojatno je bio sekundarno upotrijebljen u jednom od zidova. Riječ je o jednostavnom žrtveniku, relativno malih dimenzija, izrađenom od gustoga sitnozrnatog vapnenca, a sačuvan je samo gornji dio s imenima božanstava, prema kojima se može odrediti da se radilo o posveti Asklepiju i Higiji – *Asclepi/o et Hy/giae*.⁴⁶ Oblik imena božanstava (*Asclepius, Hygia*) predstavlja latinizirani oblik grčkih imena, kao što je to slučaj i na nekim drugim natpisima iz Panonije i Dacije.⁴⁷

U istraživanjima 2011. godine pronađena je i jedna mramorna ploča s reljefnim prikazom božanstava zdravlja,⁴⁸ a prema natpisu moguće je datirati njezin nastanak i postavljanje u svetište za vladavine cara Karakale.⁴⁹ Pronađena je na prostoru južno od izvorišta, gdje je bila sekundarno upotrijebljena u opločenju, vjerojatno početkom 4. stoljeća (sl. 12). Na reljefu su prikazani Eskulap (*Aesculapius*), njegova kći Salus (*Salus – Hygia*), a između njih i njegov sin Telesfor (*Telesphorus*), za kojeg se vjerovalo da donosi oporavak od bolesti (sl. 13).

⁴⁶ Dimenzije žrtvenika: visina 27 cm, širina 21 cm, debljina 10 cm; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2012, 112, sl. 31; Kušan Špalj 2014, 72, 96; Kušan Špalj 2015, 72, 96.

⁴⁷ CIL III, 15137; CIL III, 03413; AE 1982, 00805; CIL III, 07740 itd.

⁴⁸ Kušan Špalj 2014, 73- 75, 96-99, (kat. br. 69); Kušan Špalj 2015, 73- 75, 96-99, (kat. br. 69).

⁴⁹ Ploča je visine 128 cm, širine 121 cm i debljine od 18 do 24 cm. Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-17.

healing water and makes easier to understand the specific nature of the religious worship in the settlement of *Aquae Iasae*.

THE CULTS OF AESCULAPIUS, APOLLO AND SERAPIS

Aesculapius

During recent excavations in Varaždinske Toplice, monuments were discovered that confirm the existence of a cult dedicated to the god of medicine *Aesculapius* (from the Greek *Asklepios*) and his daughter Salus/Hygia (from the Greek *Hygieia*), the goddess of health. A partially preserved sacrificial altar dedicated to these deities was discovered in 2001, in the rubble of the western portico of the sanctuary, probably reused for one of the walls. The sacrificial altar is relatively simple, small in size, and made out of dense, fine-grained limestone. Only the upper part of the altar was preserved, containing the names of the deities, from which it was inferred that it was dedicated to Asclepius and Hygia – *Asclepi/o et Hy/giae*.⁴⁶ The names of the deities (*Asclepius, Hygia*) are in the Latinized form of their Greek names, as is the case with other inscriptions from Pannonia and Roman Dacia.⁴⁷

During the excavations in 2011, a marble slab was discovered with a relief depicting deities connected with healing.⁴⁸ According to the inscription on the slab, the relief was made and incorporated into the sanctuary during the rule of Emperor Caracalla.⁴⁹ It was discovered in the area south of the spring, where it was reused in the paving, probably at the beginning of the 4th century (Fig. 12). The relief depicts Aesculapius and his daughter Salus (*Hygia*), with his son Telesphorus between them, believed to grant recovery from illness (Fig. 13).

⁴⁶ Dimensions of the sacrificial altar: height 27 cm, width 21 cm, thickness 10 cm.; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2012, 112, Fig. 31.; Kušan Špalj 2014, 72, 96; Kušan Špalj 2015, 72, 96;

⁴⁷ CIL III, 15137; CIL III, 03413; AE 1982, 00805; CIL III, 07740 etc.

⁴⁸ Kušan Špalj 2014, 73- 75, 96-99, (Cat. no. 69); Kušan Špalj 2015, 73- 75, 96-99, (Cat. no. 69);

⁴⁹ The slab is 128 cm in height, 121 cm in width and is from 18 to 24 cm thick. Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-17.



Slika / Figure 12: Mjesto nalaza ploče s reljefom i natpisom za zdravlje i pobjede cara Karakale, istraživanje 2011. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / Find spot of the slab with a relief and inscription for the emperor Caracalla, the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



Slika / Figure 13: Ploča s prikazom božanstava zdravlja i natpisom za zdravlje i pobjede cara Karakale (snimio: Zottmann GmbH, Austrija). / The slab with a depiction of the gods of medicine and an inscription for health and victories of the emperor Caracalla (photo by Zottmann GmbH, Austria).

Prikaz na mramornoj ploči kompozicijski je horizontalno podijeljen u tri dijela. Iznad dvije polukružne niše nalazi se *tabula ansata* s natpisom, smještena između dvije Viktorije koje u rukama drže vjenčiće i palmine grane. Natpis unutar *tabule ansate* otkriva da se radi o molbi za zdravlje i pobjede cara Karakale.⁵⁰

PRO SALVTE ET VICTORIIS
IMPERATORIS CAESARIS
M(arci) AVRELLI(i) ANTONINI
PII FELICIS AVGVSTI

Za zdravlje i pobjede cara i cezara Marka Aurelija Antonina, pobožnog, sretnog, uzvišenog.

Zanimljiv je oblik gentilicija *Aurellius* (s dva slova „L“), koji se pojavljuje na natpisima od kraja 2. stoljeća,⁵¹ vezano uz Karakalu i njegove nasljednike Elagabala i Aleksandra Severa.⁵² Pretpostavlja se da je takav oblik

⁵⁰ Visina slova – 1. – 3. red: 2, 2 cm, 4. red: 2 cm.

⁵¹ AE 1904, 75.

⁵² CIL VI 570, CIL XVI 143, CIL III, 05750, CIL III 05746 itd.

The depiction on the marble slab is horizontally separated into three parts. Above two semi-circular niches, there is a *tabula ansata* with an inscription, positioned between two Victorias with wreaths and palm branches in their hands. The inscription within the *tabula ansata* shows that the donor asked the deities to bring good health and many victories to Emperor Caracalla.⁵⁰

PRO SALVTE ET VICTORIIS
IMPERATORIS CAESARIS
M(arci) AVRELLI(i) ANTONINI
PII FELICIS AVGVSTI

For the health and victories of Emperor and Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the pious, the lucky, the exalted

The form of the *nomen gentilicium Aurellius* (with two Ls) is interesting to note, which appears on inscriptions from the end of the 2nd century,⁵¹ regarding Caracalla and his followers Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.⁵² It is as-

⁵⁰ Letter height- lines 1-3: 2.2 cm, line 4: 2 cm.

⁵¹ AE 1904, 75

⁵² CIL VI 570, CIL XVI 143, CIL III, 05750, CIL III 05746 etc.



Slika / Figure 14: Model dobiven 3D skeniranjem (izradila Vektra, Varaždin). / 3D scanning model (made by Vektra, Varaždin).

bio korišten s namjerom da se članovi carske obitelji razlikuju od ostalih koji su nosili to ime.⁵³

Ispod natpisa je prikazana školjka i dva manja delfina. Centralni dio prikaza čine dvije polukružne niše, s korintskim stupovima, u kojima na povišenoj stepenici stoje bogovi Eskulap i Salus (Higija), a između njih mali Telesfor. Eskulap je prikazan kao snažan muškarac, omotan samo u plašt od kojeg je jedan kraj prebačen preko lijevog ramena i pada niz tijelo, dok drugi kraj, koji pridržava lijevom rukom, prekriva desno bedro. Prikazan je u kontrapostu, oslonjen na desnu nogu, a u desnoj ruci drži štap oko kojeg je omotana zmija. Salus (Higija) je odjevena u hiton koji seže do poda, s prebačenim ogrtačem preko lijevog ramena. U desnoj ruci drži zmiiju, a u lijevoj jaje. Telesfor je smješten ispred središnjeg stupa, omotan u ogrtač sa šiljastom kapuljačom na glavi

⁵³ Degrassi 1921, 293-299; Gordon 1983, 28, 33.

sumed that this form was used with the intent of differentiating members of the imperial family from others with the same name.⁵³

Below the inscription, there is a shell with two small dolphins. In the central piece of the image, there are two semi-circular niches with Corinthian pillars, in which Aesculapius and Salus (Hygia) are standing on an elevated stair, a dwarf Telesphorus between them. Aesculapius is depicted as a strong man, wearing nothing but his cloak over his left shoulder, flowing freely down his body. He is holding the other end of the cloak with his left hand, covering his right thigh. He is depicted in contrapposto, leaning against his right leg, holding his snake-entwined staff. Salus (Hygia) is wearing a chiton which reaches the ground, with a cloak over her left shoulder. In her right hand, she holds a snake, while holding an egg in the left. Telesphorus is in front of the central pillar, wrapped in a cloak with a pointed hood (*cucul-*

⁵³ Degrassi 1921, 293-299; Gordon 1983, 28, 33.

(*cucullus*). Ispod reljefa, na donjem okviru ploče, nalazi se natpis s imenom dedikanta i posvetom⁵⁴:

L(ucius) ALFENVVS AVITIANVS LEG(atus)
LEG(ionis) X GEMIN(ae)
ANTONINIANA P(iae)F(idelis) PRAES(es)
PROV(inciae) ARAB(iae)
DEVOTVS NVMINI MAIESTATI QVE EIVS

Lucije Alfen Avitijan, legat X. legije gemine antoninijanske pobožne i odane, upravitelj provincije Arabije. Posvećeno božanstvu i veličanstvu njegovom.

Ovaj je reljef iznimne kvalitete i pokazuje da je riječ o djelu vrhunskog majstora, a njegova vještina prepoznaje se u mekoći i preciznosti kojom su izvedeni likovi, arhitektonski elementi, i pojedini detalji. Kompozicijom spomenika, raščlanjenog u tri dijela, postignuta je ravnoteža plošnih površina s natpisima i središnjeg, relativno dinamičkoga figuralnog prikaza. Smještajem glavnih likova u arhitektonske okvire, unutar dvije polukružne niše, na postamentu u obliku stepenica hrama, uspostavljena je strukturalna povezanost reljefnog polja i elemenata arhitekture. Položajem Eskulapove desne ruke ispred središnjeg pilastra postignuta je dinamičnost pokreta i osjećaj dubine prostora. Prostornost je naglašena i postavljanjem lika patuljka Telesfora ispred središnjeg pilastra, čime se dodatno pojačava doživljaj prostora ispred arhitektonskog okvira i dojam odvajanja likova od pozadine. Položajem tijela Eskulapa, s osloncem na desnu nogu, te tijela Salus, s osloncem na lijevu nogu, omogućeno je blago zaokretanje njihovih tijela i glava prema središnjoj osi reljefa, a što je doprinijelo ukupnom skladu i uravnoteženosti kompozicije.

Dok su božica Salus i mali Telesfor prikazani u skladu s uobičajenom ikonografijom, lik Eskulapa pokazuje znatna odstupanja od standardnih prikaza na reljefima i skulpturama grčko-helenističkog i rimskog razdoblja. Za razliku od uobičajenog prikaza starijeg muškarca s ogrtačem, koji mu prekriva donji dio tijela, lik Eskulapa na relje-

⁵⁴ Visina slova 1. – 3. red: 2,8 – 3,1 cm.

lus). Below the relief, on the lower frame of the slab, there is an inscription with the name of the dedicator and a dedication⁵⁴:

L(ucius) ALFENVVS AVITIANVS LEG(atus)
LEG(ionis) X GEMIN(ae)
ANTONINIANA P(iae)F(idelis) PRAES(es)
PROV(inciae) ARAB(iae)
DEVOTVS NVMINI MAIESTATI QVE EIVS

Lucius Alfenus Avitianus, legate of the legio X Gemina Antoniniana pia fidelis, governor of the province of Arabia. Dedicated to his divinity and majesty.

The relief is of exquisite quality and it is obviously the work of a master craftsman, whose skill is apparent in the softness and precision with which the figures, architectural elements, and certain details were done. By separating the monument into three sections, a balance of surfaces with inscriptions was achieved with the relatively dynamic central figural image. By placing the key figures inside architectural elements, inside two semi-circular niches, on a pedestal in the form of a temple stair, a structural connection between the relief and the architectural elements was achieved. Dynamic movement and a feeling of depth were achieved by placing Aesculapius' hand in front of the central pilaster. Space is also emphasized by placing Telesphorus in front of the central pilaster, additionally enhancing the feeling of space in front of the architectural framework and the feeling of the characters coming out of the background. By Aesculapius leaning on his right leg and Salus leaning on her left, their bodies could be slightly turned toward the central axis of the relief, contributing to the general harmony and balance of the composition.

While the goddess Salus and little Telesphorus are depicted in accordance with the usual iconography, the depiction of Aesculapius shows significant deviation from the standard depictions on reliefs and sculptures from the Greek and Roman periods. As opposed to being depicted as an older man with a cloak covering the lower part of his body, Aesculapius from Varaždinske Toplice is a young, strong, scantily clad man. Especially interesting is the way

⁵⁴ Letter height: lines 1-3: 2.8-3.1 cm.

fu iz Varaždinskih Toplica predstavljen je kao snažan, mlađi muškarac, vrlo oskudno odjeven. Posebno je zanimljiv način na koji je prikazano lice, s vrlo izraženim portretnim karakteristikama. Detalji šireg lica s naglašenim jagodičnim kostima, kao i nabori na čelu, ukazuju da je na ovome reljefu vjerojatno prikazan car Karakala (sl. 14).⁵⁵ Usporedba s Karakalinim portretima, s vrlo naglašenim emocijama karakterističnima za početak njegove samostalne vladavine,⁵⁶ pokazuje slične crte lica i izraz koje ima Eskulap na reljefu iz Varaždinskih Toplica. To posebno potvrđuju bore iznad nosa koje licu daju dramatičan izraz i snagu. Oblikovanje frizure s naglašenim uvojcima ukazuje na sličnost s prikazima Aleksandra Velikog,⁵⁷ dok je prikazom idealiziranoga mladenačkog tijela, naglašen herojski i vojnički karakter cara, odnosno njegova snaga i moć.

Natpis otkriva da je riječ o vrlo službenom karakteru posvete za carevo zdravlje i pobjede (*pro salute et victoriis*), a donator je bio *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*, legat X. legije i upravitelj (*praeses*) provincije Arabije, važna osoba u službi države i samog cara, vjerojatno iz njegova užeg kruga ljudi od povjerenja. Za dataciju je natpisa važan podatak da je posvećen samo caru Karakali, što pokazuje da je iz razdoblja njegove samostalne vladavine (211. – 217. godine), dok je za precizniju dataciju važna funkcija donatora.

Lucius Alfenus Avitianus bio je porijeklom iz Hispanije pa je tijekom svoje karijere obavljao vrlo visoke državne službe,⁵⁸ a što je moguće rekonstruirati prema natpisima na kojima se pojavljuje njegovo ime i funkcije koje je obavljao. Tako se na natpisu iz Piliscéva (Mađarska), koji je posvetio Jupiteru (Neptunu, Serapisu),⁵⁹ također za Karakalino zdravlje i pobjedu, nalazi podatak da je bio upravitelj Donje Panonije. Zanimljivo je

the face was depicted, with highlighted portrait characteristics. The details of the wide face with prominent cheekbones and folds on the forehead indicate that the relief probably depicts Emperor Caracalla as Aesculapius (Fig. 14).⁵⁵ A comparison of Caracalla's portraits with emphasized facial expressions characteristic for the beginning of his independent rule⁵⁶ shows very similar facial lines and the same expression Aesculapius has on the relief from Varaždinske Toplice. This is especially confirmed by the folds above the nose, giving the face a dramatic strength. The emphasized curls in the styling of the hair resemble the portraits of Alexander the Great.⁵⁷ The idealistic depiction of a young, strong body is used to highlight the heroic military nature of the emperor, i.e. his strength and power.

The inscription reveals that the nature of the dedication for the health and victories of the emperor is very formal (*pro salute et victoriis*), and that the donator was *Lucius Alfenus Avitianus*, the legate of the *legio X Gemina* and governor (*praeses*) of the province of Arabia, an important person in the service of the empire and the emperor, probably belonging to the most trusted of advisors. Regarding the date of the inscription, it is important to note that it was dedicated only to Emperor Caracalla, which indicates that it is from the period of his independent rule, (AD 211 – AD 217), while the position of the donator is important for precisely dating the inscription.

Lucius Alfenus Avitianus hailed from Hispania and held prominent state positions as an official during his career,⁵⁸ inferred from the inscriptions mentioning his name and functions. An inscription found in Piliscév (Hungary), dedicated to Jupiter (Neptune, Serapis),⁵⁹ also asking good health and victory for Emperor Caracalla, contains the additional information that he was the governor of Pannonia Inferior at the time. It is interesting to note that several similar inscriptions dedicated to Serapis were found in north-eastern Pannonia, all containing official

⁵⁵ Mennen 2006, 258.

⁵⁶ Kleiner 1992, 324.

⁵⁷ Furthwängler, Ulrich 1912, 194-196; Kilerich 1993, 85-92.

⁵⁸ Fitz 1960; Fitz 1993, 1026.

⁵⁹ CIL III 3637.

⁵⁵ Mennen 2006, 258.

⁵⁶ Kleiner 1992, 324.

⁵⁷ Furthwängler, Ulrich 1912, 194-196; Kilerich 1993, 85-92.

⁵⁸ Fitz 1960; Fitz 1993, 1026.

⁵⁹ CIL III 3637.

da je više sličnih natpisa posvećenih Serapisu pronađeno na prostoru sjeveroistočne Panonije, a svi sadrže službene formule – *pro salute et victoria* – za zdravlje i pobjedu cara Karakale te su ih postavili visoki državni službenici.⁶⁰ Postoje pretpostavke da se grupa ovih spomenika povezuje s carevom posjetom Panoniji 214. godine i da su postavljeni u povodu rata koji je Karakala vodio protiv Kvada, polovinom 214. godine.⁶¹ Posvete Serapisu na tim natpisima svjedoče i o službenoj religiji u koju su tijekom toga razdoblja uključeni i istočni kultovi. Poznato je da je Karakala još od mladosti bio oduševljen egipatskim kultovima, kada je s obitelji proveo dulje vrijeme u Egiptu.⁶² U vrijeme su njegove samostalne vladavine kultovi Izide i Serapisa postali dijelom službene religije te su uvedeni i u sam Rim,⁶³ a na Kvirinalu je vjerojatno bio podignut hram Serapisu.⁶⁴ Veliku važnost, koju je Serapis imao za Karakalu, treba tražiti upravo u njegovoj brizi za vlastito zdravlje, a natpisi koje su tome božanstvu posvećivali visoki vojni i državni službenici pokazuju njihovu privrženost caru.⁶⁵ Serapis postaje vrhovno božanstvo i poistovjećuje se s Jupiterom, ali povezan je i s Eskulapom kroz moć ozdravljenja. Karakalinu je vladavinu obilježila i njegova opčinjenost Aleksandrom Velikim, kojeg je oponašao ne samo prihvaćanjem istočnih kultova već i izgledom, načinom ratovanja, a i veliki pohod prema istoku bio je potaknut njegovim uzorom.⁶⁶

Prema spomenutom natpisu iz Piliscéva pretpostavlja se da je Avitijan od sredine 214. godine bio prvi upravitelj reorganizirane provincije Panonije, odnosno da ga je Karakala postavio za prvog konzularnoga upravitelja Donje Panonije.⁶⁷ Njegovo ime

⁶⁰ RIU 3 753; RIU 3 645; Mrav 2000, 81-83.

⁶¹ Mrav 2000, 88; postoji i mišljenje da su ti natpisi vezani uz pobjedu Karakale protiv Alamana, u jesen 213. godine (Kovacs 2012, 390-391).

⁶² Cass. Dio 75, 13, 1; SHA 17, 3-4; Mrav 2000, 83.

⁶³ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 21, 4.

⁶⁴ CIL VI 570; Mrav 2000, 84; Rowan 2012, 143.

⁶⁵ Bricault, Versluys 2014, 12-15.

⁶⁶ Boteva 1999, 181-188.

⁶⁷ Fitz 1993, 1026.

formulae *-pro salute et victoria-* for the health and victory of Emperor Caracalla, and all erected by high government officials.⁶⁰ Some believe that these monuments are connected with the emperor's visit to Pannonia in AD 214, and that they were commissioned in regard to Caracalla's war against the Quadi, in the middle of AD 214.⁶¹ The inscriptions dedicated to Serapis also indicate the presence of the official religion incorporating Eastern cults. It is known that Caracalla was fascinated by Egyptian cults in his youth, when he spent a significant amount of time in Egypt with his family.⁶² During his independent rule, the cults of Isis and Serapis were included into the official religion, and were introduced to Rome itself;⁶³ there was probably a temple dedicated to Serapis erected on Quirinal.⁶⁴ The reason why Serapis was so important to Caracalla probably lies in his concern for his own health, while inscriptions dedicated to Serapis by high military and government officials show their allegiance to the emperor.⁶⁵ Serapis became the supreme god and was equated with Jupiter, but was also connected with Aesculapius through his power of healing. Caracalla's rule was also marked by his fascination with Alexander the Great, whom he imitated not only by accepting Eastern cults, but also in appearance, style of warfare, and marching to the East with his armies.⁶⁶

According to the aforementioned inscription from Piliscév, it is assumed that Avitianus was the first governor of the reorganized province of Pannonia from the middle of AD 214, i.e. that Caracalla appointed him as the proconsul of Pannonia Inferior.⁶⁷ His name also appears on an inscription from Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan), where he is mentioned as the governor of the province of Arabia.⁶⁸ With regard to other known governors

⁶⁰ RIU 3 753; RIU 3 645; Mrav 2000, 81-83.

⁶¹ Mrav 2000, 88; There is also the opinion that the inscriptions are connected with Caracalla's victory against the Alemanni, in the fall of AD 213 (Kovacs 2012, 390-391)

⁶² Cass. Dio 75, 13, 1; SHA 17, 3-4; Mrav 2000, 83

⁶³ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 21, 4

⁶⁴ CIL VI 570; Mrav 2000, 84; Rowan 2012, 143.

⁶⁵ Bricault, Versluys 2014, 12-15.

⁶⁶ Boteva 1999, 181-188.

⁶⁷ Fitz 1993, 1026

⁶⁸ IGR, III, 1371

pojavljuje se i na natpisu iz Gerasa (Jerash, Jordan), gdje se spominje kao upravitelj provincije Arabije.⁶⁸ S obzirom na druge, za sada poznate upravitelje te provincije, postoji mogućnost da je na dužnosti bio od 209. do 211. godine ili od 212. do 213. godine.⁶⁹ Moguće je da do sredine 214. godine vrši i funkciju konzula, nakon čega preuzima upravu nad Donjom Panonijom, ali nije isključeno da je, kao bliski Karakalin suradnik, postao upravitelj Panonije, a da prije toga nije bio konzul. Natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica, koji sigurno nije nastao prije početka 212. godine, kada nakon ubojstva Gete (u prosincu 211.) počinje Karakalina samostalna vladavina, ostavlja mogućnost da je bio upravitelj Arabije do 213., ali daje i nove podatke o njegovoj karijeri neposredno prije preuzimanja funkcije upravitelja Donje Panonije. Naime, na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica spominje se da je Avitijan bio i legat X. legije gemine. Legija X. gemina bila je stacionirana u Vindoboni (Beč, Austrija), od 114. godine do 5. stoljeća,⁷⁰ a natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica potvrđuje da je, zbog svoje lojalnosti caru Karakali, već u njegovo vrijeme nosila i naziv *antoniniana*.⁷¹ Ako su Avitijanove funkcije na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica spomenute kronološki i u vrijeme postavljanja spomenika je vršio dužnost upravitelja Arabije, onda bi se datacija mogla precizirati od početka samostalne Karakaline vladavine (kraj 211., početak 212.), do početka 213. godine, kada se pretpostavlja da je funkciju upravitelja Arabije preuzeo Furnius Iulianus.⁷²

Međutim, ako je u vrijeme postavljanja ovog natpisa vršio dužnost legata X. legije, a funkciju upravitelja Arabije obavljao neposredno prije preuzimanja legije te se ona spominje na natpisu kao važan dio njegove karijere (*cursus honorum*), postoji mogućnost da se natpis datira na početak 212. pa

of that province, there is a possibility of him performing this duty between AD 209 and AD 211 or between AD 212 and AD 213.⁶⁹ It is possible that he performed the duty of consul until the middle of AD 214, after which he assumed government over Pannonia Inferior, but it is also possible that he was named governor of Pannonia as a close associate of Caracalla, without being a consul prior to becoming a proconsul. The inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, which could not have been made before beginning of AD 212, when Caracalla started ruling independently after the murder of Geta in December of AD 211, presents the possibility of Avitianus being the governor of Arabia until AD 213, but also presents new information about his career prior to his government over Pannonia Inferior. The inscription mentions that Avitianus was the legate of the *legio X Gemina*, stationed in Vindobona (Vienna, Austria) from AD 114 until the 5th century,⁷⁰ and also confirms that it carried the title *antoniniana* already during the rule of Caracalla due to its allegiance to the emperor.⁷¹ If Avitianus' functions are ordered chronologically on the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice and he was still the governor of Arabia at the time the monument was put into place, that could mean that the date for the monument can be narrowed down to the time from the start of Caracalla's independent rule (end of AD 211/beginning of AD 212) to the beginning of AD 213, when Furnius Iulianus assumed government over the province of Arabia.⁷²

However, if Avitianus was the legate of the *legio X Gemina* at the time the monument was put into place, and was the governor of Arabia prior to taking over command of the legion and it is mentioned as an important part of his career (*cursus honorum*), there is a possibility that the inscription should be dated from the beginning of AD 212 to the middle of AD 214, when it is assumed he became the governor of Pannonia Inferior.⁷³ If one takes into account the context

⁶⁸ IGR, III, 1371.

⁶⁹ Fitz 1993, 1025-1027.

⁷⁰ Mócsy 1974, 99.

⁷¹ Počasni naziv *pia fidelis* dobiva 89. godine, odnosno *pia fidelis Domitiana*, ali nakon smrti cara Domicijana odbacuje *Domitiana*.

⁷² Fitz 1993, 1026.

⁶⁹ Fitz 1993, 1025-1027.

⁷⁰ Mócsy 1974, 99.

⁷¹ It gained the honorary title of *pia fidelis* in AD 89, or rather *pia fidelis Domitiana*, but the attribute *Domitiana* was dropped after the death of Emperor Domitian.

⁷² Fitz 1993, 1026

⁷³ Fitz 1993, 1026

do sredine 214. godine, kada se pretpostavlja da je postao upravitelj Donje Panonije.⁷³ Ako se uzme u obzir kontekst tadašnje carske politike, očito se radi o osobi vrlo bliskoj caru Karakali, koja je vjerojatno imala važnu ulogu u pripremama za poznati pohod na istok, protiv Parta, a u kojem je sudjelovala i legija X. gemina. Avitijan je vjerojatno bio u najužem krugu carevih osoba od povjerenja koje su ga pratile na njegovim putovanjima i pohodima te su za svoju vjernost bile nagrađene promaknućima u službi. Tako je poznato da su npr. *Caius Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus* i *Caius Iulius Avitus Alexianus*, nakon vojnih i drugih funkcija, završili karijeru kao upravitelji provincija.⁷⁴

Pretpostavlja se da je Karakala u proljeće 213. godine krenuo iz Rima preko Galije i Gornje Germanije u kaznenu ekspediciju protiv Alamana, a što spominje i Dion Kasije,⁷⁵ dok se na epigrafskim spomenicima taj pohod naziva – *expeditio Germanica*.⁷⁶ Poznato je da se tijekom putovanja zaustavio u lječilištu *Aquae* (Baden-Baden) i u lječilištu *Phoebiana* (Faimingen), gdje je bilo Apolonovo svetište (*Apollo Granus*).⁷⁷ Kasije Dion opisuje da se Karakala nakon ubojstva svoga brata Geta razbolio i očajnički tražio pomoć Apolona, Asklepija i Serapisa te da je tijekom putovanja preko svojih izaslanika slao zavjetne darove tim božanstvima u razna svetišta, gdje je i osobno odlazio u nadi da će svojim prisustvom ozdraviti.⁷⁸ Upravo se u taj opis može uklopiti akvejazejsko svetište i nalaz koji je za zdravlje i pobjede cara Karakale postavio njegov izaslanik Avitijan. Naravno, postoji mogućnost da je bolesni car i osobno posjetio akvejazejsko svetište u kojem su štovana njegova omiljena božanstva Asklepije, Apolon i Serapis, a to bi moglo biti u vrijeme nakon rata s Alamanima (rujan 213.)⁷⁹, ako se prije odlaska na istok

of imperial politics at the time, it becomes obvious that he was a person who was close to Emperor Caracalla, playing an important role in the emperor's famous march to the East against the Parts, in which the *legio X Gemina* also took part. Avitianus was probably a member of the emperor's circle of most trusted advisors, who accompanied him in his travels and military campaigns, and were rewarded for their loyalty by advancing in rank. It is known that e.g. *Caius Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus* and *Caius Iulius Avitus Alexianus* were appointed governors of provinces after performing various military and state functions.⁷⁴

It is assumed that Caracalla marched from Rome across Roman Gaul and Germania Superior in the spring of AD 213 to punish the Alemanni, also referenced by Cassius Dio,⁷⁵ while epigraphic monuments reference it as *expeditio Germanica*.⁷⁶ The emperor stopped in *Aquae* (Baden-Baden) and *Phoebiana* (Faimingen), where a sanctuary of Apollo was located (*Apollo Granus*).⁷⁷ Cassius Dio writes that Caracalla grew ill after the murder of his brother Geta and desperately sought help from Apollo, Asclepius, and Serapis. During his travels, he would send votive offerings to the deities through his emissaries to various sanctuaries, and went there personally in the hope that he would be healed.⁷⁸ This description is in accordance with the inscription found in the sanctuary of Varaždinske Toplice, commissioned by Caracalla's servant Avitianus for the emperor's health and victories. Naturally, there is a possibility that the ill emperor himself visited the sanctuary in *Aquae Iasae*, dedicated to his favourite deities Asclepius, Apollo, and Serapis after his war against the Alemanni in September of AD 213⁷⁹ if he was on his way to Rome before heading east, as well as if he was staying in Pannonia.⁸⁰ In any case, the quality of the relief and the type of the inscription show that it is an official dedication asking for the em-

⁷³ Fitz 1993, 1026.

⁷⁴ Królczyk 2011, 211-213.

⁷⁵ Cass. Dio, 73.13.6

⁷⁶ CIL, VI, 41194; CIL, X, 5178; CIL X, 5398 itd.

⁷⁷ Mráv 2000, 86.

⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 78, 5-7.

⁷⁹ Królczyk 2011, 215.

⁷⁴ Królczyk 2011, 211-213.

⁷⁵ Cass. Dio, 73.13.6

⁷⁶ CIL, VI, 41194; CIL, X, 5178; CIL X, 5398 etc.

⁷⁷ Mráv 2000, 86.

⁷⁸ Cass. Dio 78, 5-7.

⁷⁹ Królczyk 2011, 215.

⁸⁰ Kovacs 2012, 381-393.

vraćao u Rim, ali i ako je nastavio boravak u Panoniji.⁸⁰ U svakom slučaju, kvaliteta re-ljefa i tip natpisa ukazuje na to da je riječ o službenoj molbi za carevo ozdravljenje, naj-vjerojatnije postavljeno na carevu osobnu inicijativu.

Oblik formule *pro salute et victoriis*, na ko-jem je "pobjeda" izražena u množini, razli-kuje se od poznatih natpisa u Panoniji po-svećenih caru *pro salute et victoria*⁸¹, i *pro salute et Victoria Germanica*⁸², koji su tuma-čeni kao pobjede u ratu protiv Alamana (u jesen 213. godine)⁸³, odnosno neke od njih dio autora povezuje s ratom protiv Kvada 214. godine.⁸⁴ Također, i zbog funkcija Avi-tijana koje se spominju na ploči iz Varaž-dinskih Toplica, taj se natpis ne može niti vremenski smjestiti u grupu sličnih natpisa iz sjeverne Panonije, među kojima je natpis iz Piliscéva, gdje se Avitijan spominje kao upravitelj Panonije. Ako se prihvati datacija tih natpisa u 214. godinu, natpis iz Varaž-dinskih Toplica mogao bi biti u vezi s ratom protiv Alamana (u jesen 213. god.), ali mo-guće je da se odnosi i na neke druge doga-đaje.⁸⁵ Možda se odgovor na to krije upravo u spomenutim funkcijama donatora, kao upravitelja Arabije i legata X. legije. Budući da je caru Karakali bio iznimno važan po-hod protiv Parta, u kojem je sudjelovala i legija X. gemina, vrlo je vjerojatno u pripre-mama za taj rat uloga Avitijana bila važna, pa je molba za careve pobjede vezana uz te događaje. S obzirom na neke nove spozna-je, koje upućuju na to da je Karakala već u prosincu 213. godine bio u Nikomediji,⁸⁶ što bi značilo da se nakon rata s Alamani-ma nije vraćao u Rim, postoji mogućnost da se natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica veže uz taj pohod na istok. U svakom slučaju, precizna

peror's good health, probably put in place by the emperor's own orders.

The formula *pro salute et victoriis*, in which "victory" is in the plural, differs from the known inscriptions from Pannonia dedicated to the emperor *pro salute et victoria*⁸¹, and *pro salute et Victoria Germanica*,⁸² interpreted as victories against the Alemanni in the fall of AD 213,⁸³ while others connect them with the war against the Quadi in AD 214.⁸⁴ The functions of Avitianus listed on the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice also make it impossible to assign the in-scription to the same time frame as the similar inscriptions from northern Pannonia, including the inscription from Piliscév referencing Avitianus as the governor of Pannonia. If we accept the inscriptions as being from AD 214, the in-scription from Varaždinske Toplice could be refer-encing the war against the Alemanni in the fall of AD 213, but it is also possible that it is refer-encing some other events.⁸⁵ The answer may lie in the aforementioned functions of the donator being the governor of the province of Arabia and the legate of the *legio X Gemina*. Since the cam-paign against the Parths was of extreme impor-tance to Caracalla, in which the *legio X Gemina* also took part, it is probable that Avitianus was crucial in the preparations for the war, and that the victories asked for on the monument pertain to those events. New findings indicate that Cara-calla was in Nicomedia as early as December AD 213,⁸⁶ which would mean that he did not return to Rome after his war against the Alemanni and that the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice may be referencing his march to the east. In any case, the precise date for the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice is linked to the dates for similar inscriptions, as well as the military cam-paigns of Emperor Caracalla, for which there is

⁸⁰ Kovacs 2012, 381-393.

⁸¹ CIL III 3637; RIU 3 753; RIU 3 645.

⁸² RIU 1139.

⁸³ Kovacs 2012, 387; Królczyk 2011, 218.

⁸⁴ Mrav 2000, 88; Fitz 1960.

⁸⁵ Sintagma *pro salute et victoriis* pojavljuje se i na natpi-sima posvećenim Karakali u Siriji (CIL III 138; 138a; 138b; 14385b), ali zbog mjesta nalaza, kao i njihove datacije od 211. do 217. godine, teško je utvrditi odnosi li se na iste do-gađaje kao natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica.

⁸⁶ Opreanu 2015, 16-23, Kovacs 2012, 387.

⁸¹ CIL III 3637; RIU 3 753; RIU 3 645;

⁸² RIU 1139;

⁸³ Kovacs 2012, 387; Królczyk 2011, 218.

⁸⁴ Mrav 2000, 88; Fitz 1960.

⁸⁵ The phrase *pro salute et victoriis* also appears on inscrip-tions dedicated to Caracalla from Syria (CIL III 138; 138a; 138b; 14385b), but the location of the inscriptions and the dates ranging from AD 211 to AD 217 makes it difficult to determine whether they reference the same events as the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice.

⁸⁶ Opreanu 2015, 16-23, Kovacs 2012, 387.

datacija natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica povezana je s datacijom ostalih sličnih natpisa, kao i pohodima cara Karakale, o čemu u stručnoj literaturi nema jedinstvenog mišljenja.⁸⁷ Zbog toga se jedino sa sigurnošću može reći da nije nastao prije samog kraja 211. godine, odnosno početka 212. godine, kada započinje samostalna vladavina cara Karakale, a ostaje otvorena mogućnost njegove datacije u 213. i eventualno dio 214. godine.

Apolon

Prije istraživanja provedenih 2011. godine, kada su u konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena pronađeni dijelovi skulpture i dva natpisa, nije se mnogo znalo o kultu boga Apolona u akvejazejskom svetištu. Najvjerojatnije je taj materijal sekundarno iskorišten početkom 4. stoljeća, kada je izvedena rekonstrukcija zida i kada su brojni kameni spomenici iskorišteni kao obični građevinski materijal. Usporedno s gradnjom zida, zatrpavan je teren s njegove stražnje strane i u tome su sloju, uz razne dijelove arhitekture, reljefa i drugoga obrađenog kamenja pronađeni i dijelovi skulpture boga Apolona, ali i nekoliko dijelova skulpture božice Dijane (sl. 15, 17). Svi spomenici pronađeni u ovoj konstrukciji mogu se datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, kao i novac pronađen u slojevima zatrpavanja.⁸⁸

Prisustvo Apolona, kao boga liječenja, potpuno je logično u ovoj vrsti svetišta, dok nalaz njegove skulpture pokazuje da je štovani i kao bog Sunca te proroštva. Skulptura prikazuje Apolona – Sola, mladog boga, sa zrakastom krunom na glavi, koji se oslanja na tronožac obavijen zmijom (sl. 16).⁸⁹ U utoru na vrhu tronošca možda je bila uglavljena lira na koju se Apolon oslanjao savijenom rukom u laktu, pa bi se radilo o varijanti tipa

⁸⁷ Królczyk 2011; Kovacs 2012; Mrav 2000; Fitz 1960.

⁸⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 31, 45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 31, 45.

⁸⁹ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 71; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, kat. br. 71; Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-2. Visina skulpture cca 170 cm.

no consensus within the scientific community.⁸⁷

In conclusion, it can be said with certainty that the inscription was not made before the end of AD 211, i.e. the beginning of AD 212, when Caracalla became the only emperor, and that there is a possibility that it was made in AD 213 or possibly at the beginning of AD 214.

Apollo

Not much was known about the cult of Apollo in the Aquae Iasae sanctuary before the excavations in 2011, when the pieces of a sculpture and two inscriptions were found inside the structure of the north wall of the spring reservoir. The material was most likely reused at the beginning of the 4th century when the wall was reconstructed and many of the stone monuments were used as regular building material. At the same time as the wall was being built, the terrain behind it was filled in, and in that layer, along with some architectural parts, reliefs and other cut stones, pieces of a statue of the god Apollo were found, as were several pieces of a statue of the goddess Diana (Fig. 15, 17). All of the monuments found inside the structure can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd century, as can the coins found within the layers of soil.⁸⁸

The presence of Apollo, the god of healing, is completely logical in this type of sanctuary, while the discovery of his statue indicates that he was also worshipped as the god of the Sun and of prophecy. The statue depicts Apollo/Sol, a young god, with a crown of sunbeams, leaning on a tripod around which a snake has wrapped itself (Fig. 16).⁸⁹ The indentation on the top of the tripod might have held a lyre on which Apollo leaned, his arm bent at the elbow,

⁸⁷ Królczyk 2011; Kovacs 2012; Mrav 2000; Fitz 1960

⁸⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 31, 45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, 31, 45;

⁸⁹ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, Cat. no. 71; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2015, Cat. no. 71.; Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-2. Height of the statue: c. 170 cm



Slika / Figure 15: Dio skulpture boga Apolona-Sola, tijekom istraživanja 2011. god. (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / A segment of a sculpture of Apollo-Sol, the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



Slika / Figure 16: Skulptura boga Apolona-Sola, poč. 3. st., na izložbi, 2014. u Cankarjevom domu, Ljubljana (snimio Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana). / A sculpture of Apollo-Sol, early 3rd c., on an exhibition in the Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana, 2014 (photo by Cankarjev dom, Ljubljana).

Apolona Kitaroda.⁹⁰ Desna je ruka vjerojatno bila spuštena, tek lagano odmaknuta od tijela. Apolon je prikazan u kontrapostu, s osloncem na lijevoj nozi i, premda nije sačuvan gležanj i stopalo desne noge, naslućuje se, prema prstima na postamentu, da je desna noga bila oslonjena samo vrhovima prstiju na podlogu. Položaj tijela, s osloncem na lijevu nogu, omogućio je lagani pokret desne noge i blago uvijanje osi figure, odnosno zdjelice i ramena, čime je postignut dojam prirodnog položaja u stanju između laganog pokreta i mirovanja. Takvim položajem tijela postignut je i dojam odvažnog držanja, naglašen i izrazom lica emotivno distanciranog božanstva, svjesnog svoje

⁹⁰ Bieber 1955, 160.

which would make this a variant of the Apollo Citharoedus type.⁹⁰ The right arm was most likely lowered, and moved slightly away from the body. Apollo is shown in contrapposto, leaning on his left foot and, although the right foot and ankle have not been preserved, the toes on the pedestal indicate that the right foot leaned onto the surface only with the toes. The position of the body, with its weight on the left leg, allowed for the light movement of the right leg and the slight twist in the figure's axis, i.e. the pelvis and the shoulders, which creates the impression of a natural posture, in a state between light movement and standing still. This kind of posture also creates the impression of a bold demeanour, which is accentuated by the

⁹⁰ Bieber 1955, 160.



Slika / Figure 17: Dijelovi skulptura Apolona-Sola i Dijane-Lune, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich) / Fragments of the sculptures of Apollo-Sol and Diana-Luna, the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

ljepote. Elegancija je skulpture postignuta skladnim odnosom veličine glave u odnosu na tijelo, u tradiciji klasičnoga grčkog kiparstva, gotovo u omjeru 1:7. Frizura s velikim pramenovima kose odražava karakteristike skulpture s početka 3. stoljeća u kojem je često prisutna igra svjetla i sjene. Radi se o tipu frizure koja se pojavljuje na Lizipovim portretima Aleksandra Velikog. Uz Apolonovu lijevu nogu prikazan je tronožac – tripod s omotanom zmijom, a što upućuje da ga se željelo prikazati i kao boga proricanja (Apolon Pitijski). To svakako ukazuje na mogućnost da su se u ovome svetištu oko izvora termalne vode odvijali rituali vezani uz proricanje budućnosti, a što i ne čudi s obzirom na specifičnu geološku situaciju, razne plinove i neprestano isparavanje vrućeg izvora.

Vežano uz skulpturu Apolona – Sola treba promatrati i dijelove skulpture božice Dijane, od koje je sačuvana glava i oštećeni gornji dio tijela (sl. 17a), a vjerojatno joj pripada



Slika / Figure 17a: Dio skulpture božice Dijane Lune, početak 3. st., nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio Zottmann GmbH, Austrija). / Fragment of a figure of Diana Luna, early 3rd c., after conservation-restoration work (photo by Zottmann GmbH, Austria).

facial expression of an emotionally distant god aware of his beauty. The elegance of the statue is achieved through the harmonious proportion of the size of the head to the body, in the tradition of classical Greek sculpture, in a ratio of almost 1:7. The hair with the large locks reflects the characteristics of early-third-century sculpture, which makes prominent use of light and shadow. This type of hairstyle can also be seen in Lysippos' portrait of Alexander the Great. A tripod with a snake wrapped around it is shown next to Apollo's left leg, which indicates the wish to also depict him as the god of prophecy (Pythian Apollo). This certainly points to the possibility that divination rituals were performed in this sanctuary, around the thermal spring, which is not surprising considering the specific geological structure, the various gases present, and the constant vapours rising from the hot spring.

In relation to the statue of Apollo/Sol, it is also important to consider the pieces of the statue of the goddess Diana, of which the head and damaged torso have been preserved (Fig. 17a),

i lijevo stopalo pronađeno također u sloju zatrpavanja sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena.⁹¹

Dobro sačuvana glava božice Dijane, kao i glava Apolona, s mekano oblikovanim linijama lica i s jako izraženim lukom iznad očiju, pokazuju karakteristike idealizma u prikazivanju božanskih lica, u tradiciji grčkog kiparstva. Prema sačuvanom dijelu tobolca vidljivo je da je božica prikazana u skladu s grčkom ikonografijom, kao Artemida, božica lova, kojoj je pridodan polumjesec – atribut Selene – Lune. Očito je riječ o skulpturama koje su izrađene istovremeno, s vrlo sličnom izvedbom detalja u obradi lica te prikazuju božanski par – blizance, Apolona – Sola i Dijanu – Lunu.

Helije, u grčkoj mitologiji bog Sunca, poistovjećivan je s Apolonom,⁹² a njegova sestra blizanka Artemida sa Selenom, božicom Mjeseca,⁹³ a ti složeni sinkretistički procesi nastavljaju se u rimskom periodu, povezujući Apolona sa solarnim božanstvom, Solom i Dijanu s božicom Mjeseca Lunom, u smislu kompleksnih identifikacija božanstava.⁹⁴ Ti su kultovi vrlo popularni u doba Carstva, a što se može pratiti i na raznim emisijama novca tog vremena.⁹⁵ Rimski pisac Opijan iz Apameje, u svojem djelu posvećenom Karakali,⁹⁶ uspoređuje cara s bogom Sunca, a njegovu majku s božicom Mjeseca, što vjerojatno predstavlja i odraz službene politike toga vremena. Razni aspekti solarnog kulta i sinkretizam značajne su karakteristike službene religije toga vremena, pa se tako vrhovno božanstvo Serapis, na temelju solarnog karaktera, poistovjećuje s Jupiterom⁹⁷, pretpostavlja se i s Mitrom⁹⁸, a i sam car Karakala prikazuje se sa solarnom (zrakastom) krunom.⁹⁹ Ovi složeni sinkretistički procesi, karakteristični za vladavinu cara Karakale, imali su odra-

along with, most likely, the left foot found also in the soil north of the spring reservoir.⁹¹

The well-preserved Diana's head, as well as Apollo's head, with the soft-shaped facial features and strongly arched brow, exhibits the characteristics of idealism in the depiction of the faces of the gods in the tradition of Greek sculpture. From the preserved piece of the quiver, it is obvious that the goddess was depicted in accordance with Greek iconography, as Artemis, the goddess of the hunt, to whom a crescent moon has been added, which is an attribute of Selene/Luna. It is obvious that these statues were made at the same time, with similar details in the shape of the face, and depict the divine pair of twins, Apollo/Sol and Diana/Luna.

Helios, the god of the Sun in Greek mythology, was identified with Apollo,⁹² while his twin sister Artemis was identified with Selene, the goddess of the moon,⁹³ and these complex syncretic processes continued into the Roman period, connecting Apollo with the sun god Sol and Diana with the moon goddess Luna, in the complex identification of deities.⁹⁴ These cults were very popular in the Roman Empire, which can be traced through the various iterations of coins during that period.⁹⁵ The Roman poet Oppian of Apamea, in his work dedicated to the sanctified Caracalla,⁹⁶ compares the emperor himself with the god of the Sun, and his mother to the goddess of the Moon, which likely reflects the official policy of the time. The various aspects of the sun cult and syncretism are prominent characteristics of the official religion of the time, so that the supreme deity Serapis is identified with Jupiter,⁹⁷ and presumably with Mithra,⁹⁸ while the emperor Caracalla himself was depicted with a crown of sunbeams.⁹⁹ These complex syncretic processes, characteristic of the reign of emperor Caracalla, were also reflected in the rituals in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary; the newly

⁹¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 77,101 (kat. br. 72); Kušan Špalj 2015, 77, 101 (kat. br. 72). Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks- 3, 4.

⁹² Ps.-Eratosth. *Cat.* 24.

⁹³ Soph. OT 207.

⁹⁴ Ando 2005, 49

⁹⁵ Bilić 2011, 45-64.

⁹⁶ Opp. *Kyneg.* I.

⁹⁷ CIL III, 3637

⁹⁸ Malaise 1972, 465.

⁹⁹ Mráv 2000, 85.

⁹¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 77,101 (Cat. no. 72); Kušan Špalj 2015, 77,101 (Cat. no. 72). Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks- 3,4.

⁹² Ps.-Eratosth. *Cat.* 24

⁹³ Soph. OT 207.

⁹⁴ Ando 2005, 49

⁹⁵ Bilić 2011, 45-64.

⁹⁶ Opp. *Kyneg.* I.

⁹⁷ CIL III, 3637

⁹⁸ Malaise 1972, 465.

⁹⁹ Mráv 2000, 85.

za i na rituale u akvejazejskom svetištu, pa i nove nalaze skulptura Apolona – Sola i Dijane – Lune treba promatrati u kontekstu toga vremena. Precizniju dataciju olakšava usporedba skulptura Apolona – Sola i Dijane – Lune s reljefnim prikazom Eskulapa i Salus (Higije) jer se uočavaju mnoge sličnosti. Prije svega to je vidljivo u oblikovanju frizura Apolona i Eskulapa, po uzoru na Aleksandra Velikog. Postoji i sličnost u oblikovanju lica božica, izvedbi detalja lica, ali i frizurama, koje nisu potpuno istog tipa, ali su modelirane na sličan način, dubljim i plićim utorima. Za razliku od lica Eskulapa, koji ima karakteristike portreta, s naglašenim jagodicama i izražajnim obrvama, lica Apolona, Dijane i Salus (Higije) izvedena su u skladu s idealizmom u prikazu božanstava. U svakom slučaju, i reljef i skulpture odaju karakteristike koje ih smještaju u isto vremensko razdoblje, a vjerojatno su nastale i u istoj radionici. Vjerojatno nije riječ o kopijama određenih grčkih kipova, već su izrađeni prema načelima grčkog kiparstva i ikonografije, a u skladu sa službenom religijom. Likovi božanstava Eskulapa i Apolona, omiljenih kultova cara Karakale, i njihov prikaz, koji u mnogim elementima podsjeća na prikazivanje Aleksandra Velikog, odraz su službene politike i ikonografije. Očito je da su vješti rimski majstori proizvodili kombinirajući načela i elemente klasičnoga grčkog kiparstva i helenizma, sa zahtjevima svog vremena. Plasičnost modelacije mišića na skulpturi Apolona, ali i reljefu Eskulapa, pokazuje vrhunsko poznavanje anatomije tijela te činjenicu da se ovdje ne radi o običnom serijskom proizvodu, već o djelu vrlo vještog majstora i njegovu umjetničkom ostvarenju. S obzirom na to da je mramor od kojeg su izrađene skulpture i reljef alpskog porijekla¹⁰⁰, treba isključiti da se radi o spomenicima dovezenim iz nekih udaljenijih centara ili samog Rima. Očito je riječ o djelima nastalim u nekoj od obližnjih radionica gdje su djelovali vrsni, ali i dobro plaćeni majstori koji su mogli prihvatiti

¹⁰⁰ Analizu je proveo prof. Rohatschu (TU Wien) u suradnji s tvrtkom Zottmann GmbH, koja je izvela konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove na spomenicima.

discovered statues of Apollo/Sol and Diana/Luna have to, therefore, be considered within the context of that period. The finds can be more precisely dated by comparing the statues of Apollo/Sol and Diana/Luna with the relief depiction of Aesculapius and Salus/Hygia, seeing as many similarities can be observed. It is visible, first and foremost, in the shape of the hair of Apollo and Aesculapius, which is modelled after Alexander the Great. There are also similarities in the shapes of the goddess' faces, the details, and also the hairstyles, which are not of the exact same type, but are similarly modelled, with deep and shallow indentations. As opposed to Aesculapius' face, which has the characteristics of a portrait, with prominent cheekbones and expressive eyebrows, the faces of Apollo, Diana and Salus/Hygia were made in accordance with an idealistic depiction of deities. In any case, both the relief and the statues exhibit characteristics which place them in the same time period, and perhaps they were even made in the same workshop. They are most likely not copies of specific Greek statues, but were made according to the principles of Greek sculpture and iconography, and in accordance with the official religion. The figures of Aesculapius and Apollo, the favourite cults of the emperor Caracalla, and their depiction, which in many of its elements calls to mind the depiction of Alexander the Great, reflect the official policy and iconography. It is obvious that skilled Roman master craftsmen approached sculpting by combining the principles and elements of classical Greek sculpture and Hellenism with the demands of the period. The life-like shape of the muscles on the statue of Apollo and the relief of Aesculapius points to a masterful knowledge of human anatomy, as well as the fact that this is not merely a serialized product, but the artwork of a very skilled master craftsman. The fact that the marble from which the statues and relief were made came from the Alps¹⁰⁰ rules out the possibility that the monuments were imported from some more remote place, or even Rome itself. It is obvious that these works were made in some of the nearby workshops, which were run by excellent

¹⁰⁰ The analysis was carried out by Prof. Rohatschu (TU Wien) in collaboration with the company Zottmann GmbH, which carried out the conservation and restoration work on the monuments.

narudžbu osoba vrlo bliskih caru (možda i samog cara).

Da je postojalo štovanje Apolona i Dijane i izvan okvira službenoga državnog kulta, pokazuju natpisi posvećeni samoj božici Dijani,¹⁰¹ ponekad i zajedno s nimfama,¹⁰² te novi nalazi s posvetama Apolonu i Dijani, zajedno s drugim božanstvima. Tako je 2011. godine u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena pronađen jedan vrlo oštećen natpis posvećen Apolonu, Dijani i nimfama (sl. 18, 19), a što svjedoči o vrlo specifičnom obliku kulta karakterističnom za ovo svetište.¹⁰³ Natpis je izrađen od lokalnog kamena, gustoga sitnozrnatoga litotamniskog vapenca, ali je zbog utjecaja sumporne vode i težine gornjih redova zida, u koji je bio ugrađen, pronađen oštećen i u više dijelova. Radi se o monolitnom bloku na kojem je u gornjem dijelu urezanim linijama oblikovano krunište. Nedostaje gornji desni ugao, a donji dio (s dijelom natpisa) bio je otklesan zbog prilagodbe za ugradnju u zid.¹⁰⁴ Najveća su oštećenja bila upravo na samom natpisu tako da je tek nakon spajanja svih dijelova i konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova provedenih 2015. godine bilo moguće cjelovitije interpretirati natpis. Nakon što je provedeno detaljno čišćenje površine, pokazalo se da je u slovima sačuvana crna boja.

APOLLI[ni]
 DIANA[E[et?]]
 NYMPH[is]
 L(ucius) ARRIVS
 FLORENTIN[u]S
 SPECULATOR
 LEG(ionis) XIII GEMI(nae)

Natpis je Apolonu, Dijani i nimfama posvetio Lucije Arije Florentin, spekulador u legiji XIII. gemini. Funkcija je spekuladora obuhvaćala razna zaduženja, od neke vrsta

and well-paid master craftsmen, who could accept an order from persons very close to the emperor (and perhaps even the emperor himself).

That Apollo and Diana were also worshipped outside the official state cult is evidenced by the inscriptions dedicated to Diana,¹⁰¹ sometimes together with nymphs,¹⁰² as well as the new finds with dedications to Apollo, Diana, and other deities. Thus, in 2011, a badly damaged inscription dedicated to Apollo, Diana, and the nymphs was discovered in the north wall of the spring reservoir (Fig. 18,19), which points to a very specific form of the cult, characteristic of this sanctuary.¹⁰³ The inscription was made from locally mined stone, a dense, small-grained lithothamnium limestone, but because of the effects of sulphur water, as well as the weight of the upper rows of the wall into which it was built, it was found badly damaged and broken into several pieces. It is a monolithic block whose upper part has been shaped by carving. The right corner is missing, and the bottom part (with the part of the inscription) was chipped off to make it fit into the wall.¹⁰⁴ The stone was most heavily damaged on the inscription itself, so that only after connecting all the pieces and the conservation and restoration work done in 2015 was it possible to more fully interpret the inscription. After a detailed cleaning of the surface, it was discovered that black paint had been preserved inside the letters.

APOLLI[ni]
 DIANA[E[et?]]
 NYMPH[is]
 L(ucius) ARRIVS
 FLORENTIN[u]S
 SPECULATOR
 LEG(ionis) XIII GEMI(nae)

The inscription was dedicated to Apollo, Diana, and the nymphs by Lucius Arrius Florentinus, a speculator from the *legio XIV Gemina*. The speculator's title encompassed various

¹⁰¹ Iljug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, fig. 62; AIJ 459.

¹⁰² AIJ 460; Rendić Miočević 1992, 71.

¹⁰³ Kušan Špalj 2014, 76, 100; Kušan Špalj 2015, 76, 100.

¹⁰⁴ Najviši sačuvani dio je 94 cm, širina je 52,5 cm, a debljina 37 cm. Visina slova: 1. red – 7,5 cm, 2., 3., 6., 7. red – 5,2 cm, 4. red – 4,8 – 5,2 cm, 5. red – 5,0 cm; Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-8.

¹⁰¹ Iljug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, Fig. 62; AIJ 459

¹⁰² AIJ 460; Rendić Miočević 1992, 71.

¹⁰³ Kušan Špalj 2014, 76,100; Kušan Špalj 2015, 76,100;

¹⁰⁴ The largest preserved piece is 94 cm, the width is 52.5 cm, and thickness is 37 cm. Height of the letters: first row 7.5 cm, second, third, sixth and seventh row 5.2 cm, fourth row 4.8-5.2 cm, fifth row 5.0 cm; Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-8.



Slika / Figure 18: Dio natpisa posvećenog Apolonu, Dijani i nimfama, istraživanja 2011. god. (snimila D. Kušan Špalj) / A segment of an inscription dedicated to Apollo, Diana and nymphs, the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).



Slika / Figure 19: Natpis posvećen Apolonu, Dijani i nimfama, 2. st, nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio I. Krajcar). / An inscription dedicated to Apollo, Diana and nymphs, 2nd c., after conservation-restoration work (photo by I. Krajcar).

izviđača i špijuna pa do raznih službi u legiji i u uredu provincijskih namjesnika.¹⁰⁵ Gentilicij *Arrius* vrlo je čest i rasprostranjen, ponekad među italskim, a kasnije i orijentalnim stanovništvom.¹⁰⁶ Kognomen *Florentinus* također je bio poznat diljem Carstva, a posebno u keltskim provincijama.¹⁰⁷ S obzirom na to da se na ovom natpisu spominje i prediva, Lucije, odnosno imenska shema *tria nomina*, vjerojatna je datacija natpisa u 2. stoljeće.

Pripadnici legije XIII. gemine spominju se na još dva, već ranije nađena natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica,¹⁰⁸ a dio jednog natpisa sa spomenom te legije pronađen je kao građevni materijal u zidu zapadnog hrama u istraživanjima 2010. godine.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Breeze 1969, 1; Demicheli 2015, 64-65.

¹⁰⁶ Alföldy 1969, 61.

¹⁰⁷ Alföldy 1969, 205; Cajanto 1965, 189.

¹⁰⁸ Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37; ILJug 1172.

¹⁰⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, (kat. br. 60 c); Kušan Špalj 2015, (kat. br. 60 c).

duties, from being a type of scout and spy, to various services in the legion and the office of a provincial governor.¹⁰⁵ The *nomen gentilicium* *Arrius* is very common and widespread, sometimes among Italic, and later among Oriental citizens.¹⁰⁶ The *cognomen* *Florentinus* was also familiar throughout the Empire, and especially in the Celtic provinces.¹⁰⁷ Seeing as the inscription also mentions a *praenomen*, *Lucius*, i.e. the *tria nomina* naming convention, the inscription most likely dates back to the 2nd century.

The members of the *legio XIV Gemina* are mentioned in two other inscriptions previously discovered in Varaždinske Toplice,¹⁰⁸ and part of an inscription mentioning the legion was discovered as building material in the wall of the west temple during the 2010 excavations.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Breeze 1969, 1; Demicheli 2015, 64-65.

¹⁰⁶ Alföldy 1969, 61

¹⁰⁷ Alföldy 1969, 205; Cajanto 1965, 189

¹⁰⁸ Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37; ILJug 1172;

¹⁰⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, (Cat. no. 60 c); Kušan Špalj 2015, (Cat. no. 60 c);



Slika / Figure 20: Natpis posvećen Junoni, Minervi, Apolonu i nimfama, istraživanja 2012. god. (snimila D. Kušan Špalj) / An inscription dedicated to Juno, Minerva, Apollo and nymphs, the 2012 excavations (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).



Slika / Figure 21: Natpis posvećen Junoni, Minervi, Apolonu i nimfama, 2. st., nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio I. Krajcar). / An inscription dedicated to Juno, Minerva, Apollo and nymphs, 2nd c., after conservation-restoration work (photo by I. Krajcar).

Svi do sada pronađeni natpisi, koji spominju pripadnike legije XIII. gemine, datirani su u 2. i 2/3. stoljeće, odnosno u vrijeme kada je ta legija bila stacionirana u Karnuntu.¹¹⁰

Još jedan natpis na kojem se spominje Apolon pronađen je u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena (u njegovu istočnom dijelu), a također je bio izrađen od lokalnog kamena – litotamnijskog vapnenca i površina mu je jako oštećena. Radi se također o monolitnom kamenom bloku (od kojeg je sačuvan samo gornji dio), bez profilacija, s djelomično sačuvanim kruništem (desni dio je oštećen) koje je bilo prikazano plitkim urezima (sl. 20, 21).¹¹¹ Radi ugradnje u zid, donji je dio natpisa otklesan i nije pronađen. Natpis je posvećen Junoni (kraljici), Minervi, Apo-

All of the inscriptions mentioning the members of the *legio XIV Gemina* discovered thus far have been dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when the legion was stationed in Carnuntum.¹¹⁰

Another inscription that mentions Apollo was discovered in the north wall of the spring reservoir (in its eastern part), and was also made from locally mined stone (lithothamnium limestone), whose surface was badly damaged. It is also a monolithic stone block (of which only the upper half has been preserved), with no mouldings, and a partially preserved top piece (the right side is damaged) into which shallow decorative details were carved (Fig. 20, 21).¹¹¹ In order to be fitted into the wall, the bottom part of the inscription was chiselled off and has not

¹¹⁰ Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170.

¹¹¹ Najveća sačuvana visina je 87 cm, širina u gornjem dijelu 41 cm (u donjem dijelu 42 cm), debljina 25 cm. Natpis je sačuvan ukupne visine 48 cm. Visina slova: 1. – 3. red: 5 cm, 4., 5. red: 5,5 cm, 6. red: 6 cm, 7. red: sačuvan je dio slova, visina cca 5,5 cm. Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks- 82.

¹¹⁰ Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170;

¹¹¹ The largest preserved height is 87 cm, width in the upper part 41 cm (in the lower part 42 cm), thickness 25 cm. The inscription has been preserved with a total height of 48 cm. Height of the letters: first, second, and third row 5 cm, fourth and fifth row 5.5 cm, sixth row 6 cm, in the seventh row only a part of the letters have been preserved, with an approximate height of 5.5 cm. Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks- 82.

lonu i nimfama, i možda se u njemu krije i odgovor kojim su božanstvima, barem u jednom razdoblju, bili posvećeni hramovi.

IVNONI R(eginae) ET
MINERVA[e]
APOLLINI
ET NYMPHI[s]
C(aius) PETR[onius?]
OPTA [tus?]
BE(?) [-----]

Ime dedikanta vrlo je oštećeno te osim sačuvanog predimena, *Caius*, ne može se sa sigurnošću utvrditi kako je glasilo cijelo ime, no s obzirom na trodjelni oblik imena, vjerojatna je datacija u 2. stoljeće. Prema sačuvanim slovima PETR, vjerojatno je riječ o gentiliciju *Petronius*, koji je bio poznat diljem Carstva, čest je i u Dalmaciji među italjskim stanovništvom i oslobođenima.¹¹² U 6. redu vidljiva su slova OPT, iza kojih vjerojatno slijedi A (vidljiv je gornji dio slova) pa je moguće da se radi o kognomenu *Optatus*, koji je također bio vrlo rasprostranjen, posebno u keltskim provincijama.¹¹³ Naravno, postoji mogućnost i nekih drugih oblika kognomena, među kojima su vjerojatnija ona kraćeg oblika zbog širine natpisnog polja (*Optatius*, *Optandus*, *Optanus*, *Optatianus* itd).¹¹⁴ U 7. redu djelomično su sačuvana samo dva slova (BE (ili RE), možda BF,¹¹⁵ što ostavlja razne mogućnosti za preostali sadržaj teksta.

Svi ovi nalazi, koji govore o prisutnosti kulta boga Apolona u akvejazejskom svetištu, a pogotovo skulptura koja ga prikazuje kao boga Sunca, bacaju i novo svjetlo na jedan već ranije pronađeni natpis kojeg je u kontekstu novih nalaza moguće interpretirati u okviru kulta Apolona – Sola.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Alföldy 1969, 108.

¹¹³ Alföldy 1969, 256; Kajanto 1965, 189.

¹¹⁴ Lőrincz 2000, 114-115.

¹¹⁵ *B(ene)F(iciarius)* (?)

¹¹⁶ Demo 1994, 72, no. 1; Migotti 1999, 56.; Lučić 2013, 234.

been found. The inscription is dedicated to Juno (the queen), Minerva, Apollo, and the nymphs, and perhaps it can answer the question to which deities, at least during a certain period, the temples were dedicated.

IVNONI R(eginae) ET
MINERVA[e]
APOLLINI
ET NYMPHI[s]
C(aius) PETR[onius?]
OPTA [tus?]
BE(?) [-----]

The name of the dedicator is badly damaged and except for the preserved *praenomen*, Caius, we cannot with certainty say what the full name was, but considering the tripartite form of the name, it can most likely be dated to the 2nd century. Considering the preserved letters PETR, it is possible that the *nomen gentilicium* was *Petronius*, a name that was familiar throughout the Empire, and was common in Dalmatia among Italic citizens and freedmen.¹¹² The letters OPT are visible in the sixth row, most likely followed by A (the top part of the letter is visible); it is, therefore, possible that the *cognomen* is *Optatus*, a name which was also very widespread, especially in the Celtic provinces.¹¹³ Of course, some other forms of the *cognomen* are also possible, among which the shorter forms are more probable, due to the width of the writing area (*Optatius*, *Optandus*, *Optanus*, *Optatianus*, etc.).¹¹⁴ In the seventh row, only two letters have been partially preserved (BE, or RE, or perhaps BF),¹¹⁵ and so there are many open possibilities for the rest of the text.

All of these inscriptions which speak of the presence of the cult of Apollo in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary, and especially the statue depicting him as the god of the Sun, shed new light onto a previously discovered inscription, which can, in the context of the new finds, be interpreted from the vantage point of the cult of Apollo/Sol.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Alföldy 1969, 108.

¹¹³ Alföldy 1969, 256; Kajanto 1965, 189.

¹¹⁴ Lőrincz 2000, 114-115.

¹¹⁵ *B(ene)F(iciarius)* (?)

¹¹⁶ Demo 1994, 72, no. 1; Migotti 1999, 56.; Lučić 2013, 234.

Serapis

Novi nalazi potvrđuju da su u svetištu *Aquae Iasae* u razdoblju s 2. na 3. stoljeće, među božanstvima od kojih se tražilo ozdravljenje i pomoć, štovana i egipatska božanstva Izida i Serapis. Izida, kao izvorno egipatsko božanstvo, potpuno je preoblikovana u helenizmu, kada joj je kao suprug dodan Serapis. Preobrazba Izide nije se očitovala samo u ikonografiji već i u novim božanskim funkcijama koje joj se pripisuju, kao sveopćem božanstvu,¹¹⁷ među kojima se posebno ističu one vezane uz liječenje.¹¹⁸ Helenistička je ikonografija Izide i Serapisa preuzeta i u rimskom svijetu, kao i povezanost s misterijima, višim oblikom duhovnosti, ali najčešće se vjerovanje ipak zadržavalo na vrlo praktičnoj razini i bilo je zavjetnog karaktera. Širenje Izidina kulta može se pratiti od 1. stoljeća, iz Akvileje preko Emone u Panoniju, te se postupno prihvaćalo u svim slojevima društva, ali prije svega u okviru privatne religije. No potpuni procvat egipatskih kultura događa se u doba Severa, krajem 2. stoljeća, te posebno početkom 3. stoljeća, kada i Serapis dobiva posebnu ulogu, a zajedno s Izidom uklapa se u državni kult.¹¹⁹ U to se vrijeme mogu datirati i nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica, a njihovu pojavu svakako treba povezati sa štovanjem ovih božanstava u obližnjoj Petovion, kao jednome od najznačajnijih središta istočnih kultura u ovome dijelu Carstva.¹²⁰ Petoviona je bila središte carinskih službi za cijeli Ilirik, a carinski su službenici bili glavni štovatelji kulta Mitre i egipatskih božanstava.¹²¹ Međutim, štovatelji Izide i Serapisa bili su i pripadnici drugih, vrlo često i visokih društvenih krugova, a pogotovo krajem 2. i početkom 3. stoljeća.

¹¹⁷ Witt 1997, 23; Meza 2006, 161-166; Malaise 2007, 19-39.

¹¹⁸ Bricault 2014, 105.

¹¹⁹ Selem 1997, 17-43.

¹²⁰ Jerala 2011, 75-86.

¹²¹ Selem 1997, 127.

Serapis

The new finds confirm that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries in the sanctuary of *Aquae Iasae*, among the deities which were called upon for aid and healing, the Egyptian deities Isis and Serapis were also worshipped. Isis, as an authentic Egyptian deity, was completely refashioned in the Hellenistic period, when Serapis was added as her husband. The transformation of Isis did not manifest itself only in the iconography, but also in the new divine functions attributed to her, as a supreme deity,¹¹⁷ among which those associated with healing stand out.¹¹⁸ The Hellenistic iconography of Isis and Serapis was adopted in the Roman world, as was the connection with mysteries, a higher form of spirituality, but worship mostly remained on a very practical level and was votive in nature. The spreading of the cult of Isis can be traced from the 1st century, from Aquileia, across Emona, to Pannonia, and gradually came to be accepted in all strata of society, but first and foremost in the context of a private religion. However, the Egyptian cults did not fully thrive until the time of Severus, at the end of the 2nd century and especially the beginning of the 3rd century, when Serapis gains a special role, and is included in the state cult together with Isis.¹¹⁹ The finds from Varaždinske Toplice can also be dated to that period, and their presence should certainly be linked to the worship of these deities in the nearby Poetovio, as one of the most important centres of eastern cults in this part of the Empire.¹²⁰ Poetovio was the centre for customs services for the whole of Illyricum, and customs officials were the primary followers of the cult of Mithra and the Egyptian deities.¹²¹ However, the worshippers of Isis and Serapis were also members of other, very often high social circles, especially at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century.

¹¹⁷ Witt 1997, 23; Meza 2006, 161-166; Malaise 2007, 19-39.

¹¹⁸ Bricault 2014, 105.

¹¹⁹ Selem 1997, 17-43.

¹²⁰ Jerala 2011, 75-86.

¹²¹ Selem 1997, 127.



Slika / Figure 22: Natpis posvećen Izidi i Serapisu, druga pol. 2. st. (lijevo: snimio Zottmann GmbH, Austrija, desno: snimio Cankarjev dom, Slovenija). / An inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis, second half of the 2nd c. (on the left: photo by Zottmann GmbH, Austria, on the right: photo by Cankarjev dom, Slovenia).

To potvrđuje i nalaz žrtvenika posvećenog Izidi i Serapisu koji je pronađen 2012. godine u konstrukciji sjevernog zida izvorišta, gdje je bio sekundarno upotrijebljen kao kameni blok u zidu (sl. 22).¹²² Riječ je o trodijelnom monolitnom žrtveniku koji se sastoji od gornjeg dijela (kruništa), baze s profila-cijom te središnjeg dijela, koji na bočnim stranama ima prikaze kantara s granama vinove loze, a na prednjoj i stražnjoj strani potpuno isti natpis:¹²³

¹²² Visina 156 cm, širina baze 70 cm, debljina baze 44 cm; Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks- 78.

¹²³ Visina slova: 1. red: 6,5 – 7,9 cm, 2. red: 6 – 6,3 cm, 3. red: 5,5 – 6 cm 4. red: 5 – 5,2 cm, 5. red: 4,7 cm, 6. red: 4,3 – 5,4 cm, 7. red: 3,7 – 4 cm.

This is evidenced by the discovery of the sacrificial altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis, which was found in 2012 in the structure of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, where it was re-used as a stone block within the wall (Fig. 22).¹²² It is a tripartite monolithic altar, which consists of the upper part, the base with moulding, and a central part, which has images of a cantharus with vine branches on its sides, and has the exact same inscription on its front and back:¹²³

¹²² Height 156 cm, base width 70 cm, base thickness 44 cm. Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks- 78.

¹²³ Height of the letters: first row 6.5-7.9 cm, second row 6-6.3 cm, third row 5.5-6 cm, fourth row 5-5.2 cm, fifth row 4.7 cm, sixth row: 4.3-5.4 cm, seventh row 3.7-4 cm.

ISIDI ET
 SERAPI AVG(usti)
 SACRVM
 C(aius) VAL(erius) PRISCVS
 AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae)
 P(oetoviensis) ET
 CATIENIA
 FORTVNATA CON(iux)
 SIVE ORICCLIO
 V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Posvećeno uzvišenim bogovima Izidi i Serapisu. Zavjet je rado i po zaslugi ispunio Caius Valerije Prisk, augustal petovionske kolonije Ulpije Trajane i supruga Katijenija Fortunata, (ili) Oriklion (a?)

Žrtvenik je posvetio *Caius Valerius Priscus*, augustal u gradu Petovioni. Augustali su bili neka vrsta svećenika, zaduženi za carski kult, a najčešće je riječ o bogatim oslobođenim koji su se na taj način približili utjecajnim krugovima društva i vrlo često na svoj trošak podizali kipove i žrtvenike raznim božanstvima.¹²⁴ Dedikant ovog žrtvenika, najvjerojatnije je također bio oslobođenik elitne obitelji *Valerius*, koja je još tijekom 2. stoljeća predstavljala viši društveni sloj u gradu Petovioni.¹²⁵ Kognomen *Priscus* pripada vrlo čestim imenima još od ranocarskog razdoblja, posebno na prostoru Italije.¹²⁶ Na kraju natpisa spominje se i nadimak (*agnomen*) – *sive Oricclio*, a što je dosta često prisutno kod navođenja imena oslobođenika.¹²⁷ *Agnomen* je bio u funkciji drugog kognomena, radi točnije identifikacije osobe, a uobičajeno je bilo da se ispred imena pojavljuju formule *idem, sive, qui et* i sl.,¹²⁸ kao što je to slučaj i na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica. Antički pisani izvori spominju da su *agnomina* oblikovani na karakteristikama fizičkog izgleda i osobnosti ili dostignuća.¹²⁹ Slični oblici imena (*Oriclius, Oriclio, Oriculo, Oriclio*) pojavljuju se kao kognomen na nekim natpisima,¹³⁰ kao i obli-

ISIDI ET
 SERAPI AVG(usti)
 SACRVM
 C(aius) VAL(erius) PRISCVS
 AVG(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae)
 P(oetoviensis) ET
 CATIENIA
 FORTVNATA CON(iux)
 SIVE ORICCLIO
 V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Dedicated to the exalted deities Isis and Serapis. The vow was gladly and by merit fulfilled by Caius Valerius Priscus, the augustalis of the colony Ulpia Traiana Poetoviensis, and by wife Catienia Fortunata, (or) Oricclius (Oriccliona?)

The altar was dedicated by *Caius Valerius Priscus*, an augustalis in Poetovio. Augustales were a type of priest, in charge of the Imperial cult, and were most often wealthy freedmen, who, in this manner, approached the more influential social circles, and very often erected statues and sacrificial altars dedicated to various deities at their own expense.¹²⁴ The dedicant of this altar was most likely also a freedman from the elite family *Valerius*, who were in the 2nd century still part of the higher social stratum in Poetovio.¹²⁵ The *cognomen* *Priscus* numbers among very common names since the early Empire, especially on the territory of Italy.¹²⁶ The end of the inscription also contains the nickname (*agnomen*) *sive Oricclio*, which is often present when writing down the names of freedmen.¹²⁷ The *agnomen* had the function of a second *cognomen*, with the purpose of more accurately identifying the person, and it was usual for the formulae *idem, sive, qui et*, etc., to appear before the name,¹²⁸ as is the case with the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice. Ancient written sources mention that *agnomina* were based on physical features, as well as personality or accomplishments.¹²⁹ Similar forms of the name (*Oriclius, Oriclio, Oriculo, Oriclio*) appear as a *cognomen* on certain inscriptions,¹³⁰ as

¹²⁴ Selem 1976, 7.

¹²⁵ Alföldy 1964-65, 137-144; Cajanto 1965, 30, 288.

¹²⁶ Mócsy 1959, 185; Cajanto 1965, 288.

¹²⁷ Cajanto 1967, 25.

¹²⁸ Cajanto 1967, 6, 10.

¹²⁹ Luhtala 2005, 48.

¹³⁰ Lőrincz 2000, 116; Solin 2007, 99-100; O etimološkoj povezanosti *agnomina* i kognomina: Kajanto 1967, 57.

¹²⁴ Selem 1976, 7.

¹²⁵ Alföldy 1964-65, 137-144; Cajanto 1965, 30, 288.

¹²⁶ Mócsy 1959, 185; Cajanto 1965, 288.

¹²⁷ Cajanto 1967, 25

¹²⁸ Cajanto 1967, 6, 10

¹²⁹ Luhtala 2005, 48.

¹³⁰ Lőrincz 2000, 116; Solin 2007, 99-100; On the etymological connection between *agnomina* and *cognomina*, see: Kajanto 1967, 57.

ci *Auricula /Oric(u)la* koji se ubrajaju u grupu kognomena nastalih prema nazivima za dijelove tijela (*auricula, auriculae /oricula, oriculae* – ušna resica).¹³¹ Značenje nadimka spomenutog na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica možda se može tražiti u sličnom korijenu latinske riječi premda se razlikuje od navedenih imena jer sadrži dva slova C. Nadimak se nalazi iza ženskog imena pa to sugerira da se radi o obliku ženskog nadimka (Orikliona), mada prema obliku imena (*Oriclio*) ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da se nadimak odnosi na dedikanta (Oriklion).

Sama izrada žrtvenika, a pogotovo reljefi na bočnim stranama smještaju ga u noričko-panonski radionički krug. Prikazi kantara s vinovom lozom na bočnim stranama žrtvenika pokazuju izrazitu sličnost s prikazima na nadgrobnim edikulama iz Šempetra¹³² te se vjerojatno radi o standardnim motivima odabranim u katalogu uzoraka neke radionice na tom području. Izgled ovog žrtvenika, s natpisom na dvije strane, sugerira da se nalazio slobodno u prostoru i očito je bilo važno da natpis bude vidljiv s više strana. Prema stilskim karakteristikama reljefa, kao i obliku imena, nastanak ovog žrtvenika mogao bi se smjestiti u drugu polovicu 2. stoljeća.

O kultu Serapisa u akvejazejskom svetištu svjedoči još jedan natpis pronađen 2011. godine (sl. 23), koji pokazuje i da su službeni kultovi bili uklopljeni u lokalni kult vezan uz termalnu vodu, a simbolizirale su ga nimfe. Natpis je uklesan na monolitnom bloku litotamnijskog vapnenca, bez profilacija, dok je samo u gornjem dijelu, plitko urezano krunište s bočnim akroterijima. Tekst je raspoređen u 10 redova, ali je zbog utjecaja sumporne vode površina jako oštećena, tako da neka slova u potpunosti nedostaju, a neka su sačuvana samo djelomično pa nije moguće u cjelosti interpretirati tekst.¹³³

¹³¹ Cajanto 1965, 224.

¹³² Klemenc et al. 1972, 47, 53.

¹³³ Dimenzije: visina 115 cm (dno: širina 49 cm, debljina 26 cm, gornji dio: širina 43 cm, debljina 20 cm). Natpisno polje: visina 51 cm. Veličina slova: 1. red: 4,8 cm, 2. – 8. red: 4 – 4,5 cm, 9. red: 3 cm, 10. red: 1,7 cm; Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-9.

well as the forms *Auricula/Oric(u)la*, which are part of a group of *cognomina* formed out of the names of body parts (*auricula, auriculae/oricula, oriculae*, meaning *earlobe*).¹³¹ The meaning of the nickname mentioned in the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice could perhaps be found in the similar root of the Latin word, although it differs from the listed names in that it contains two letters C. The nickname is written after the female name, which would suggest that it is a type of female nickname (Oriclion?), but judging from the shape of the name (Oriclio), we should not rule out the possibility that the nickname refers to the dedicator (Oriclius).

The craftsmanship of the altar, and especially the reliefs on its sides, place it in the Noricum-Pannonia circle of workshops. The depictions of a cantharus with vine branches on the sides of the altar display a remarkable similarity to the funerary aediculae from Šempeter,¹³² so that these are likely standard motifs chosen from a catalogue of patterns of a certain workshop in the area. The appearance of the altar, with an inscription on two sides, suggests that it was placed in an open space and that it was important for the inscription to be visible from multiple sides. Considering the stylistic characteristics of the relief, as well as the form of the name, the creation of this altar might be dated to the second half of the 2nd century.

The cult of Serapis in the sanctuary of *Aquae Iasae* is evidenced by another inscription, discovered in 2011 (Fig. 23), which shows that official cults were also integrated into the local cult, connected to the thermal water and symbolized by the nymphs. The inscription is carved into a monolithic block of lithothamnium limestone, with no mouldings, and only the upper part has shallow carvings with lateral acroteria. The text is divided into ten rows, but the surface was badly damaged by sulphur water, and certain letters are thus missing entirely, while some have been only partially preserved; it is, therefore, not possible to fully interpret the text.¹³³

¹³¹ Cajanto 1965, 224.

¹³² Klemenc et al. 1972, 47, 53.

¹³³ Dimensions: height 115 cm (bottom: width 49 cm, thickness 26 cm, upper part: width 43 cm, thickness 20). Inscription plate: height 51 cm. Height of the letters: first row 4.8 cm, second through eighth row 4–4.5 cm, ninth row 3 cm, tenth row 1.7 cm. Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-9.



Slika / Figure 23: Natpis posvećen Serapisu i nimfama, druga pol. 2. st., pronađen u urušanju sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich). / An inscription dedicated to Serapis and nymphs, second half of the 2nd c., found in the rubble of the spring reservoir's northern wall (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

SERAPHI
SANCTO ET
NYMPHIS
SALUTARIBUS
C(aius) CAECILIUS
SATURNINUS
[-]EX[--L(?)---]
STINA CVM
CL[--E---]
SABIN(?)[----

Natpis je svetom Serapisu (Serafisu) i ozdravljujućim nimfama postavio Gaj Cecilije Saturnin.

Zanimljiv je neobičan oblik imena božanstva Serapisa na ovom natpisu – *Seraphis* (Serafis), nastao vjerojatno zbog nepoznavanja latinskog jezika. Ubacivanje nepotrebnoga glasa H (tzv. hiperkorektizam) na mjestu gdje nije potrebno, posljedica je nastojanja da se “prekrije” neznanje i nesigurnost u pisanju.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Zović 2015, 192, 193.

SERAPHI
SANCTO ET
NYMPHIS
SALUTARIBUS
C(aius) CAECILIUS
SATURNINUS
[-]EX[--L(?)---]
STINA CVM
CL[--E---]
SABIN(?)[----

The inscription was dedicated to the holy Serapis (Seraphis) and the healing nymphs by Caius Caecilius Saturninus.

What is interesting is the unusual form of the name of the god Serapis on this inscription: *Seraphis*, which most likely stems from poor knowledge of the Latin language. The insertion of the unnecessary H sound (so-called hypercorrection) where it is not necessary is a consequence of an effort to conceal poor knowledge and uncertainty in writing.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Zović 2015, 192, 193

Nakon što su 2015. godine provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi i spajanje svih sačuvanih dijelova ovog spomenika,¹³⁵ te usporedbom sa 3D modelom dobivenim skeniranjem,¹³⁶ postao je vidljiv dio slova (najvjerojatnije C) ispred gentilicija, tako da se ovdje ipak radi o obliku *tria nomina*. Gentilno ime donatora bilo je *Caecilius*, vrlo česti oblik, naročito među italiskim stanovništvom,¹³⁷ a kognomen *Saturninus*, osim u Africi, pojavljuje se i u zapadnoj Pannoniji.¹³⁸ U 7. redu vidljiva su samo slova EX (moguće je da se radi i o LX), dok je preostali dio natpisa u tome redu jako oštećen i samo se nazire jedno slovo koje bi moglo biti L ili E. U 8. redu vjerojatno se radi o završetku nekoga ženskog imena -STINA i vezniku CVM, što pretpostavlja da se i u 9. redu možda nalazilo neko ime ili naziv člana obitelji, dok su u zadnjem redu sačuvana 4 vrlo sitna i loše očuvana slova (SABIN?). Moguće je da se radi o nekom imenu (možda konzula), ali budući da su preostala slova u tom redu potpuno uništena, to nije moguće utvrditi. Natpis je vjerojatno sadržavao i uobičajenu formulu VSLM koja je možda bila u nastavku 10. reda koji je, prema gruboj obradi kamena u donjem dijelu bloka, vjerojatno bio zadnji red natpisnog polja. S obzirom na oblik imena, koje sadržava i predime, ovaj bi se natpis mogao datirati u 2. polovicu 2. stoljeća.

Štovanje egipatskih božanstava u svetištu *Aquae Iasae*, pogotovo božice Izide, ukazuje na to da su se možda odvijali i neki obredi vezani uz Izidine misterije ili neke svečanosti u njezinu čast. Možda je upravo scena iz takvih obreda prikazana na mramornom reljefu s natpisom, pronađenom 2011. godine (sl. 24).¹³⁹ Dijelovi su ovog reljefa pronađeni u konstrukciji južnog i sjevernog zida izvo-

After the conservation and restoration work and putting together all of the preserved pieces of this monument in 2015,¹³⁵ as well as a comparison with a 3D model formed through scanning,¹³⁶ a part of a letter (most likely C) before the *nomen gentilicium* became visible, so that this is, after all, the naming convention of *tria nomina*. The gentile name of the donor was Caecilius, a very common form, especially among Italic citizens,¹³⁷ while the *cognomen* Saturninus, can, besides in Africa, be found in western Pannonia.¹³⁸ Only the letters EX (or possibly LX) are visible in the seventh row, while the rest of the inscription in that row is badly damaged, with only one barely discernible letter, possibly an L or an E. The eighth row most likely contains the ending of a female name, -STINA, and the conjunction CVM, which suggests that the ninth row might have contained the name of a family member, while only four very small and poorly preserved letters (SABIN?) have been retained in the last row. It is possible that this is some sort of name (perhaps of a consul), but seeing as the rest of the letters in that row have been completely destroyed, it is not possible to ascertain that. The inscription most likely also contained the usual formula VSLM, perhaps in the rest of the tenth row, which was, judging from the rough finish on the stone in the lower part of the block, most likely the last row of the inscription. Considering the form of the name, which contains a *praenomen*, the inscription could be dated to the second half of the 2nd century.

The worship of Egyptian deities in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary, especially of the goddess Isis, suggests that certain rituals connected to Isis' mysteries might have been performed or that certain festivities in her honour might have been held. Perhaps the depiction on the marble relief with an inscription, discovered in 2011 (Fig. 24), is a scene from those same rituals.¹³⁹

¹³⁵ Radove je izvela Jenny Pfeiffuck i tvrtka Zotmann GmbH (Graz, Austrija).

¹³⁶ Skeniranje i model – Vektra, Varaždin.

¹³⁷ Alföldy, 1969, 69.

¹³⁸ Mócsy 1959, 189.

¹³⁹ Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-69; dimenzije mramorne ploče: visina 52 cm, širina 90 cm, debljina 6 – 10 cm; Kušan Špalj 2014, 69, 94-95, kat. br. 74; Kušan Špalj 2015, 69, 94-95, kat. br. 74.

¹³⁵ The work was done by Jenny Pfeiffuck and the company Zotmann GmbH (Graz, Austria).

¹³⁶ The scanning and model by Vektra (Varaždin, Croatia).

¹³⁷ Alföldy, 1969, 69.

¹³⁸ Mócsy 1959, 189.

¹³⁹ Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-69; Dimensions of the marble tablet: height 52 cm, width 90 cm, thickness 6-10 cm; Kušan Špalj 2014, 69, 94-95, Cat. no. 74; Kušan Špalj 2015, 69, 94-95, Cat. no. 74;



Slika / Figure 24: Reljef s prikazom ženskih božanstava (Izide Fortuna, Venere i tri nimfe) i natpisom s datumom, postavljen povodom svečanosti 1. lipnja 192. god. (snimio Zottmann GmbH, Austrija). / A relief with a depiction of female divinities (Isis Fortuna, Venus and three nymphs) and an inscription with a date, erected on the occasion of a festival on 6th June, 192 (photo by Zottmann GmbH, Austria).

rišnog bazena, u kojima su korišteni kao „kajle“ ispod većih blokova, a što pokazuje da su, poput mnogih drugih spomenika, i ovaj reljef iskoristili kao običan građevinski materijal tijekom obnove početkom 4. stoljeća. Na desnoj je strani reljefa prikazana božica Izida Fortuna (ili njezina svećenica), s rogom obilja u lijevoj ruci, u haljini s tzv. Izidinim čvorom i s karakterističnim naglavkom (rogovi i sunčana ploča). U desnoj ruci drži plitku posudu (pateru) i izlijeva žrtvu iznad manjeg plamtećega žrtvenika. Uz nju su prikazana još četiri polugola ženska lika u sjedećem položaju, u odjeći i s frizurama karakterističnim za dosad poznate prikaze nimfi na reljefima iz 2/3. stoljeće pronađenim u Varaždinskim Toplicama.¹⁴⁰ Sva četiri lika imaju prekriveni donji dio tijela – s tkaninom vezanom u čvor na prednjoj strani i obavijenom oko jedne ruke te s obručima na nadlakticama. Međutim, uz

¹⁴⁰ Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 77,78,80; Kušan Špalj 2015, kat. br. 77,78, 80.

The pieces of this relief were discovered in the structure of the southern and northern wall of the spring reservoir, in which they were used as wedges under the larger blocks, which shows that, as with many other monuments, this relief was used during renovation, at the beginning of the 4th century, as regular building material. The right side of the relief shows the goddess Isis/Fortuna (or her priestess) with a cornucopia in her left hand, in a dress with the Knot of Isis and the characteristic headdress (horns and sun halo). In her right hand she is holding a patera and is pouring the offering over a small burning altar. Four other semi-nude female figures are depicted next to her, in a sitting position, with dresses and hairstyles characteristic of known depictions of nymphs on reliefs from the 2nd and 3rd centuries found in Varaždinske Toplice.¹⁴⁰ All four figures have their bottom half covered, with cloth tied into a knot at the front and draped over one arm, and with rings on the

¹⁴⁰ Kušan Špalj 2014, Cat. no. 77,78,80; Kušan Špalj 2015, Cat. no. 77,78, 80.

jednu od prikazanih figura nalazi se Amor s palminom granom pa je vjerojatno riječ o Veneri, dok preostala tri lika prikazuju nimfe. Venera u desnoj ruci drži trsku, kao i jedna od nimfa, dok u lijevoj ruci vjerojatno ima jabuku, koja je vjerojatno i u lijevoj ruci središnje nimfe.

Način na koji su prikazane nimfe na ovom reljefu može se uklopiti u ikonografske tipove prikaza tih božica poznatih i s drugih reljefa pronađenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama.¹⁴¹ Naime, nimfe su uvijek prikazane kao najade – nimfe izvora, s atributima koji simboliziraju vodu, a razlikuju se dva osnovna tipa kompozicije – stojeće nimfe, kompozicijski prikazane kao Gracije, ikonografski po uzoru na Afroditu (ikonografski tip sa školjkom i tip krunjenja)¹⁴² i sjedeće (tj. polusjedeće ili poluležeće) nimfe, u koje se može uklopiti i ovdje spomenuti reljef.

Prikazivanje nimfi po uzoru na Afroditu može se pratiti u rimskoj umjetnosti od 1. stoljeća pr. Kr, a istovremeno se pojavljuju oba tipa – sjedeće i stojeće nimfe. To potvrđuje i freska u kući Romula i Rema u Pompejima, gdje se pojavljuju dvije stojeće nimfe razgolićena gornjeg tijela s plaštom koji klizi niz bokove, dok je središnja u poluležećem položaju.¹⁴³ Stojeće nimfe sa školjkama pojavljuju se u raznim dijelovima Carstva, uz izvore ili fontane, ali česte su i nimfe u sjedećem ili poluležećem položaju, oslonjene na posude s vodom, bilo na reljefima ili pojedinačno kao skulpture.¹⁴⁴

Ovdje spomenuti reljef svakako potvrđuje usku povezanost ikonografskog prikaza nimfi i Venere, dok kompozicija prikaza i način izrade otkriva da se radi o proizvodu neke domaće radionice u kojoj su majstori nastojali pratiti uobičajena ikonografska pravila, interpretirajući ih na svoj način i u okviru svojih mogućnosti. Zanimljivi su i

forearms. However, one of the figures has Amor with a palm branch next to her, which most likely makes her Venus, while the remaining three figures represent nymphs. Venus is holding a cane in her right hand, as is one of the nymphs, while in her left hand she is most likely holding an apple, as is the nymph in the middle.

The depiction of nymphs on this relief fits into the iconographic types of the depictions of these goddesses known from other reliefs discovered in Varaždinske Toplice.¹⁴¹ That is to say, the nymphs are always depicted as naiads, nymphs of the spring, with attributes symbolizing water, and we can determine two basic types of composition: the standing nymphs, compositionally depicted as Gratiae, and, in terms of iconography, following the example of Aphrodite (the iconographic type with a shell and the crowning type),¹⁴² and the sitting (that is, half-sitting or half-prone) nymphs, which this relief can be said to belong to.

The depiction of nymphs in the manner of Aphrodite can be traced in Roman art from the 1st century BC, and both types (the sitting and the standing nymphs) appear at the same time. This is confirmed by the fresco in House of Romulus and Remus in Pompeii, where we can find two standing nymphs, with their torsos bared and with a cloak down their hips, while the middle nymph is in a half-prone position.¹⁴³ The standing nymphs with shells appear in various parts of the Empire, next to springs or fountains, but sitting or half-prone nymphs are also common, leaning on vessels containing water, both on reliefs and individually as statues.¹⁴⁴

This relief definitely confirms the close link between the iconographic depictions of nymphs and Venus, while the composition and the craftsmanship reveal that it is a product of a local workshop, in which master craftsmen tried to follow the usual iconographic rules, interpreting them in their own way and to the best of their ability. Also of interest are the traces of

¹⁴¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 58-66, 84-92, kat. br.2, 77, 78,80, 82; Kušan Špalj 2015, 69, 94-95, kat. br. 2, 77, 78, 80, 82.

¹⁴² Maršić 1998, 112-121.

¹⁴³ Bieber 1955, sl. 636.

¹⁴⁴ Giunio 2008, 151-160; Seitz 2005, sl. 481.

¹⁴¹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 58-66, 84-92, Cat. no.2, 77, 78,80, 82; Kušan Špalj 2015, 69, 94-95, Cat. no. 2, 77, 78, 80, 82;

¹⁴² Maršić 1998, 112-121.

¹⁴³ Bieber 1955, Fig. 636.

¹⁴⁴ Giunio 2008, 151-160; Seitz 2005, Fig. 481.

tragovi klinova i utora koji pokazuju da je ploča bila pričvršćena na neku vertikalnu plohu, vjerojatno u nekom od hramova ili trjemova svetišta.

Iznad reljefnog prikaza je natpis, koji u stvari predstavlja datum i omogućuje preciznu dataciju ove ploče – 1. lipnja 192. godine, odnosno u vrijeme vladavine cara Komoda (čije ime je naknadno uklonjeno – očit primjer zatiranja uspomene – *damnatio memoriae*).¹⁴⁵

IMP (eratore) [[Commodo]] VII ET HELVIO PERTENACI

II CO(n)S(ulibus) KAL(endis) IVNIS

U godini sedmog konzulata cara Komoda i drugog konzulata Helvija Pertinaksa, 1. dana mjeseca lipnja (junijske kalende)

Na temelju sačuvanog natpisa i prikaza na reljefu može se pretpostaviti da je ploča postavljena u svetištu povodom neke svečanosti (ili možda misterija) u čast božice Izide Fortune (i drugih ženskih božanstava) te ukazuje na kompleksnost kultova koji su u ovome svetištu oblikovani na specifičan način, usko povezani s prirodnim fenomenom ljekovitosti termalne vode. Glavno božanstvo Izida – Fortuna tako se povezuje s personifikacijama termalne vode – nimfama, a Venera, koja se često pojavljuje s Izidom u helenističko-rimskim hramovima, vjerojatno je u funkciji božice plodnosti i života.¹⁴⁶ Među dosadašnjim nalazima nije bilo spomena ni prikaza božice Venere, tako da reljef u svakom pogledu nadopunjuje dosadašnje spoznaje o prisutnosti žena i ženskih kultova u religijskom životu akvejazejskog svetišta, a što je sigurno bilo usko povezano s ljekovitim svojstvima termalne vode kod ženskih bolesti i plodnosti. Datum svečanosti – junijske kalende, otkriva i povezanost s božicom Junonom, kojoj su kalende bile i posvećene, a čiji je kult tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća potvrđen i dosadašnjim nalazima u Varaždinskim Toplicama.

¹⁴⁵ Visina slova: 1,3 – 2,3 cm.

¹⁴⁶ Selem 1977, 174.

wedges and grooves, which show that the plate had been fastened to a vertical plane, most likely in one of the temples or on one of the sanctuary's porticos.

Above the relief is an inscription, which actually represents a date and allows for an accurate dating of the plate to June 1st, 192, that is, to the reign of the emperor Commodus (whose name was subsequently removed, and obvious example of a condemnation of memory, or *damnatio memoriae*).¹⁴⁵

IMP (eratore) [[Commodo]] VII ET HELVIO PERTENACI

II CO(n)S(ulibus) KAL(endis) IVNIS

In the year of the seventh consulate of the emperor Commodus and the second consulate of Helvius Pertinax, on the first day of the month of June (the Kalends of June).

On the basis of the preserved inscription and the depiction on the relief, we can assume that the plate was placed in the sanctuary on the occasion of a festivity (or perhaps a mystery) in honour of the goddess Isis/Fortuna (and other female deities), and points to the complexity of the cults which were, in this sanctuary, formed in a very specific manner, closely linked to the natural phenomenon of the healing powers of thermal water. The supreme deity, Isis/Fortuna, is thus connected to the personifications of thermal water, the nymphs, while Venus, which often appears in Hellenistic-Roman temples together with Isis, is most likely here in the function of the goddess of fertility and life.¹⁴⁶ There was no mention or depiction of Venus in previous finds; this relief, therefore, fills in the gaps in previous findings on the presence of women and female cults in the religious life of the Aquae Iasae sanctuary, which was surely closely linked to the healing properties of thermal water for women's illnesses and fertility. The date of the festivity, the Kalends of June, also reveal a connection to the goddess Juno, to whom the Kalends were dedicated, and whose cult in the 2nd and 3rd centuries has been confirmed in previous findings from Varaždinske Toplice.

¹⁴⁵ Height of the letters: 1.3-2.3 cm.

¹⁴⁶ Selem 1977, 174.

AKVEJAZEJSKO SVETIŠTE U VRIJEME DINASTIJE SEVERA

Novi nalazi kamenih spomenika, koji otkrivaju pristustvo kultova Apolona, Serapisa i Eskulapa u akvejazejskom svetištu, ukazuju na značaj koje je naselje imalo i među najvišim državnim službenicima Rimskog Carstva, a pogotovo s 2. na 3. stoljeće, odnosno u razdoblju vladavine dinastije Severa, i to početkom 3. stoljeća, za vrijeme vladavine cara Karakale. S obzirom na povezanost dinastije Severa s Panonijom, vrlo je vjero-

THE AQUAE IASAE SANCTUARY IN THE TIME OF THE SEVERAN DYNASTY

The new finds of stone monuments which reveal the presence of the cults of Apollo, Serapis and Aesculapius in the Aquae Iasae sanctuary point to the significance of this settlement among the highest officials of the Roman Empire, especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, i.e. in the time of the Severan dynasty, and especially at the beginning of the 3rd century, during the reign of the emperor Caracalla. Considering the connection between the Severan dynasty and Pannonia, it



Slika / Figure 25: Građevinski natpis s prikazom Viktorije, 2/3.st. (snimio Zottmann Gmbh, Austrija). / Construction inscription with a depiction of Victoria, 2nd/3rd c. (photo by Zottmann Gmbh, Austria).

jatno i car Karakala, koji je inače obilazio razna svetišta svojih omiljenih bogova – Apolona, Eskulapa i Serapisa u raznim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva (npr. hram Apolona u Pergamu,¹⁴⁷ hram Serapisa u Aleksandriji¹⁴⁸), dobro znao i za akvejazejsko svetište i lječilište te ga možda i obilazio.

¹⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 78, 15,6

¹⁴⁸ Cass. Dio 18,23,2

is highly likely that emperor Caracalla himself, who was in the habit of visiting various temples dedicated to his favourite deities, Apollo, Asclepius and Serapis, in various parts of the Roman Empire (e.g. the temple of Apollo in Pergamon,¹⁴⁷ and the temple of Serapis in Alexandria¹⁴⁸), was well-acquainted with the Aquae Iasae sanctuary and baths, and might have frequented it.

¹⁴⁷ Cass. Dio 78, 15,6

¹⁴⁸ Cass. Dio 18,23,2

S obzirom i na poznate građevinske zahvate u Panoniji, koje su provodili carevi iz dinastije Severa, moguće je da su na njihovu inicijativu izvršeni neki radovi i u ovome svetištu. O tome možda svjedoči dio građevinskog natpisa, pronađenog 2011. godine, sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (sl. 25).¹⁴⁹ Ploča je izrađena od mekanoga litotamnjskog vapnenca, lokalnog kamena koji je korišten i za gradnju izvorišnog bazena, a prikazana je Viktorija s palminom granom koja pridržava natpis.

Od natpisa je sačuvano samo nekoliko slova tako da nije moguće rekonstruirati njegov sadržaj.¹⁵⁰ Prikazi božice Viktorije, kao ukrasni elementi uz natpise, tipični su za razdoblje dinastije Severa, a iz Panonije je poznato više sličnih građevinskih natpisa na kojima se spominju donacije građevina Septimija Severa i njegovih sinova.¹⁵¹ O kakvoj je građevini riječ u Varaždinskim Toplicama, nije moguće utvrditi, no vjerojatno se radilo o manjim intervencijama i opremanju nekih hramova jer veći građevinski zahvati iz tog vremena nisu potvrđeni arheološkim istraživanjima.

ZAKLJUČAK

Svetište *Aquae Iasae* do sada je jedino poznato svetište u Panoniji u kojem su štovana sva tri omiljena božanstva cara Karakale – Apolon, Eskulap i Serapis, pa je možda i car ondje tražio ozdravljenje ili savjete proročišta. Moguće da je to bilo upravo u razdoblju od 212. do 214. godine, kada je vjerojatno bio postavljen reljef s prikazom božanstava zdravlja, a možda su tom prigodom doneseni i neki drugi zavjetni darovi u svetište (npr. skulpture Apolona – Sola i Dijane – Lune). U svakom slučaju, nalazi vezani uz Apolona, Eskulapa i Serapisa pokazuju da su

Considering, also, the known building projects in Pannonia, undertaken by the emperors of the Severan dynasty, it is possible that certain work was done in this sanctuary on their order, as well. A piece of a construction inscription, discovered north of the spring reservoir in 2011, might speak to this fact (Fig. 25).¹⁴⁹ The plate was made from a soft lithothamnium limestone, a locally mined stone, which was also used for the construction of the spring reservoir, and it depicts Victoria with a palm branch, holding up the inscription.

Only a few letters of the inscription have been preserved, and it is, therefore, not possible to reconstruct its contents.¹⁵⁰ Depictions of the goddess Victoria, as ornamental elements on inscriptions, are typical of the Severan dynasty, and several similar construction inscriptions from Pannonia are extant, mentioning the donation of the buildings by Septimius Severus and his sons.¹⁵¹ It is not possible to determine what kind of construction work was done in Varaždinske Toplice, but it was most likely some smaller interventions and the furnishing of certain temples, because major construction projects from the time have not been confirmed by archaeological excavations.

CONCLUSION

The *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary is, thus far, the only sanctuary in Pannonia where all three of emperor Caracalla's favourite deities (Apollo, Asclepius, and Serapis) were worshipped, so it is possible that the emperor himself came here seeking healing or the oracle's advice. It is possible that this occurred in the period from 212 to 214, when the relief with the depiction of the healing deities was most likely installed, and perhaps some other votive offerings were also brought to the sanctuary on this occasion (e.g. the sculptures of Apollo/Sol and Diana/Luna). In any case, the finds connected to Apollo, Aes-

¹⁴⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 62; Kušan Špalj 2015, kat. br. 62

¹⁵⁰ Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-19; Dimenzije ploče: visina 55 cm, širina 100 cm, debljina 15 cm; tekst je bio raspoređen u tri reda, a sačuvano je završno slovo u 2. redu – I, te završetak 3. reda – BIVS.

¹⁵¹ Mráv 2012, 251-278.

¹⁴⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, Cat. no. 62; Kušan Špalj 2015, Cat. no. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-19; Plate dimensions: height 55 cm, width 100 cm, thickness 15 cm; The text was divided into three rows, and the final letter in the second row, -I, as well as the end of the third row, -BIVS, have been preserved.

¹⁵¹ Mráv 2012, 251-278.

njihovi dedikanti uglavnom državni službenici, koji su štovanjem carevima omiljenih kultova pokazivali svoju odanost i odraz su službene religije u vrijeme dinastije Severa. Istovremeno, reljef na kojem je car Karakala prikazan kao Eskulap, s posvetom u kojoj mu se pridodaju božanske karakteristike (carski „*numen*“), odraz je štovanja carskog kulta,¹⁵² u ovom slučaju među državnim službenicima vrlo bliskih caru. Ipak, većina drugih nalaza iz svetišta pokazuje iznimni značaj lokalnog kulta – „svetog izvora“ i nimfi, koji je vrlo vjerojatno bio usko povezan i s individualnom, odnosno privatnom religijom pojedinaca, prepoznatljivom prije svega kroz votivne darove iz izvorišta. Spoznaje o kultovima u akvejazejskom svetištu doprinose razumijevanju religijskog života u rimskim provincijama, povezanosti i odnosu službene (državne) religije, koja je stizala preko aristokratske elite, te lokalne i individualne religijske prakse. To svakako ne znači da je država nametala kultove i rituale, već su se oni „uklapali“ u okvire specifičnih lokalnih kultova, u skladu s karakterom mjesta, u ovome slučaju vezano uz liječenje i ozdravljenje te su tako postajali sastavni dio religijskog života svetišta.¹⁵³

Spoznaja o prisustvu kultova Apolona, Eskulapa i Serapisa otvara i pitanje o hramovima u svetištu. Premda svojim izgledom hramovi u obliku kapitolija sugeriraju vrhovnu trijadu,¹⁵⁴ a na što su upućivali i nalazi Minervine statue s postamentom¹⁵⁵ u zapadnom hramu te natpis posvećen Junoni (i Fortuni)¹⁵⁶ pronađen ispred istočnog hrama, nedostatak posveta Jupiteru te novi nalazi i rezultati arheoloških istraživanja ukazuju na to da se radilo o specifičnom svetištu u kojem su štovana isključivo božanstva vezana uz liječenje i ozdravljenje. Svakako, to ne znači da treba potpuno odbaciti mogućnost štovanja Jupitera, pogotovo ako se uzmu u obzir i promjene koje su se događale u okviru službene religije, kao npr. kada

culapius, and Serapis show that their dedicators were mostly Imperial officials, who demonstrated their loyalty through the worship of the emperor's favourite cults and are a reflection of the official religion during the Severan dynasty. At the same time, the relief on which emperor Caracalla is depicted as Aesculapius, with a dedication which attributes him divine characteristics (the emperor's *numen*), is a reflection of the worship of the cult of the emperor,¹⁵² in this case among the Imperial officials very close to the emperor himself. On the other hand, most of the other finds from the sanctuary exhibit a strong connection to the local cult of the “sacred spring” and the nymphs, which were most likely closely linked to the individual or private religion of certain individuals, recognizable first and foremost through the votive offerings at the spring reservoir. The findings about the cults at the Aquae Iasae sanctuary contribute to a better understanding of religious life in the Roman provinces, of the connection and relationship between the official (state) religion, which followed the aristocratic elite, and the local and individual religious practice. This definitely does not mean that the Empire imposed cults and rituals, but that they were “integrated” into the contexts of specific local cults, in accordance with the specific character of the place (in this case, with healing), and so became a constituent part of the religious life of the sanctuary.¹⁵³

The discovery of the presence of the cults of Apollo, Aesculapius, and Serapis also brings up the question of the temples in the sanctuary. Although the temples by their appearance, in the shape of the Capitolium, suggest the supreme triad,¹⁵⁴ which is also suggested by Minerva's statue with the pedestal¹⁵⁵ in the western temple and the inscription dedicated to Juno (and Fortuna)¹⁵⁶ discovered in front of the eastern temple, the lack of dedications to Jupiter, as well as the new finds and results of archaeological excavations, suggest that this was a specific sanctuary, in which only deities connected to healing were worshipped. This definitely does

¹⁵² Fishwick 1991, 375-387.

¹⁵³ Ando 2007, 444-445.

¹⁵⁴ Sinobad 2010, 251-252.

¹⁵⁵ ILJug 1169; Gorenc 1984, 95-108.

¹⁵⁶ Iljug-02 1168.

¹⁵² Fishwick 1991, 375-387.

¹⁵³ Ando 2007, 444-445.

¹⁵⁴ Sinobad 2010, 251-252.

¹⁵⁵ ILJug 1169; Gorenc 1984, 95-108.

¹⁵⁶ Iljug-02 1168.



Slika / Figure 26: Mramorna šaka, dio skulpture (snimio I. Krajcar). / Marble fist, fragment of a sculpture (photo by I. Krajcar).

Serapis u doba cara Karakale dobiva status vrhovnog božanstva i poistovjećuje se s Jupiterom i Asklepijem. Možda upravo nalaz mramorne šake (sl. 26),¹⁵⁷ koja je bila dio jedne velike skulpture, krije odgovor o kipu koji se nalazio u središnjem hramu.

No treba istaknuti da su novija arheološka istraživanja pokazala kako je izgradnjom u 2. stoljeću oblikovano svetišće koje je, osim tri hrama, na sjevernoj strani imalo i dvije bočne prostorije.¹⁵⁸ To pokazuje da se radilo o prostoru u kojem je predviđeno štovanje više božanstava, a s obzirom na izrazitu kompleksnost religijskog života u ovome svetištu, vjerojatno je štovano i nekoliko božanstava u zajedničkim hramovima. Već dugo je poznato kako je jedno od glavnih božanstava u svetištu bila božica Minerva, a to su potvrdili i novi nalazi,¹⁵⁹ među kojima je posebno zanimljiv natpis na kojem se ona spominje zajedno s Junonom, Apolonom i nimfama (sl. 20), što svakako ukazuje da su možda upravo njima bili posvećeni neki od hramova. No već ranije nađeni natpis ispred istočnog hrama, na kojem se također spominje Junona, ali zajedno s Fortunom,¹⁶⁰

not mean that we should completely exclude the possibility of the worship of Jupiter, especially if we take into consideration the changes that occurred within the official religion, e.g. when Serapis, during the reign of emperor Caracalla, is given the statues of a supreme deity, and is equated with Jupiter and Asclepius. Perhaps the discovered marble hand (Fig. 26),¹⁵⁷ which was a part of a large sculpture, contains the truth of the statue situated in the central temple.

We should, however, point out that recent excavations have shown that the sanctuary was formed through construction in the 2nd century, and that, besides the three temples, it had two side rooms on the northern side.¹⁵⁸ This shows that it was a space formed for the worship of multiple deities, and considering the extreme complexity of religious life in this sanctuary, it is possible that several deities were worshipped in a single temple. It has long been known that one of the main deities in the sanctuary was the goddess Minerva, and this has been confirmed by the new discoveries,¹⁵⁹ among which an inscription mentioning her together with Juno, Apollo, and the nymphs is especially interesting (Fig. 20), which certainly suggests that perhaps some of the temples were dedicated to them. However, the previously discovered inscription, in front of the eastern temple, which also mentions Juno, but together with Fortuna,¹⁶⁰ might be a confirmation of the possibility that multiple deities were worshipped in a single temple. The known inscriptions confirm that the cult of Fortuna was quite developed in the sanctuary,¹⁶¹ and the syncretic process, i.e. the connection to Isis, show all of the complexity of the Roman religion at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century. The new finds have also contributed interesting data about the presence of Egyptian cults in the second half of the 2nd century, which were obviously quite significant in this sanctuary even outside the official religion, which is evidenced by their connection to the local cult

¹⁵⁷ Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br 70; Kušan Špalj 2015, kat. br 70.

¹⁵⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 33-34, 47-48; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 33-34, 47-48.

¹⁵⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 57, 66-68, 83, 92- 93, kat. br. 65, 66, 67; Kušan Špalj 2015, 57, 66-68, 83, 92- 93, kat. br. 65, 66, 67.

¹⁶⁰ ILJug 1168.

¹⁵⁷ Kušan Špalj 2014, Cat. no. 70; Kušan Špalj 2015, Cat. no. 70.

¹⁵⁸ Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 33-34, 47-48; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014, 33-34, 47-48.

¹⁵⁹ Kušan Špalj 2014, 57, 66-68, 83, 92- 93, Cat. no. 65, 66, 67; Kušan Špalj 2015, 57, 66-68, 83, 92- 93, Cat. no. 65, 66, 67.

¹⁶⁰ ILJug 1168

¹⁶¹ AE 1976,0540; Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95. Cat. no. 76; Kušan Špalj 2015, 70, 95. Cat. no. 76;

možda upravo potvrđuje mogućnost da je u pojedinom hramu štovano više božanstava. Dosad poznati natpisi potvrđuju da je u svetištu bio razvijen kult božice Fortune,¹⁶¹ a sinkretistički proces, odnosno povezivanje s Izidom, pokazuje svu složenost rimske religije krajem 2. i početka 3. stoljeća. Novi su nalazi dali i zanimljive podatke o pristustvu egipatskih kultova u 2. polovici 2. stoljeća, koji su očito u ovom svetištu imali velik značaj i izvan službene religije, a o čemu govori i njihovo povezivanje s lokalnim kultom nimfa, kao i svečanosti koje su prisutne već krajem 2. stoljeća (192. godine). Mogućnost da je ovo svetište bilo i proročki centar zapravo i ne čudi s obzirom na plinove i pare što su se izdizale iz vrućeg izvora, a možemo samo pretpostaviti da su se ovdje odvijali i rituali vezani uz Eskulapa (spavanje u hramovima i proricanje snova) ili neki viši oblici duhovnosti vezani uz egipatska božanstva (Izidine misterije).

Prema dosadašnjim nalazima, može se zaključiti da su Rimljani dobro poznavali karakteristike i ljekovitost sumporne vode, a što je vidljivo prema sadržaju zavjetnih natpisa koji otkrivaju da su ovdje dolazili vojnici, vjerojatno kako bi liječili svoje ozljede, a prisustvo žena i ženskih kultova ukazuje na to da se voda koristila i za probleme vezane uz ženske bolesti i plodnost.

U mnogim elementima ovo svetište ima sličnosti sa „svetim izvorima“ diljem Rimskog Carstva, prije svega po brojnim votivnim darovima, osobito u novcu, ali zanimljiva su i neka vrlo slična građevinska rješenja kaptaze izvora i štovanja božice Minerve u udaljenome rimskom lječilištu *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, Engleska). No glavna je specifičnost ovoga svetišta jako izražen kult nimfi vezan uz ljekovitu termalnu vodu već od 1. stoljeća te brojnost različitih božanstava vezanih uz zdravlje koji su štovani od 2. do 3. stoljeća. U 4. stoljeću, u doba cara Konstantina, dolazi do velike obnove, koja je bila potrebna, kako se i na samom natpisu spominje,¹⁶² zbog stradanja objekata u požaru. Ponov-

of the nymphs, as well as the festivities which were already held at the end of the 2nd century (in AD 192). The possibility that this sanctuary was also an oracle is not surprising, considering the gases and fumes that rose from the hot spring, and we can only assume that rituals connected to Aesculapius were performed here (sleeping in temples and prophetic dreams), or some higher forms of spirituality connected to Egyptian deities (Isis' mysteries).

Judging from the finds thus far, we can conclude that Romans were well-acquainted with the characteristics and healing power of sulphur water, which is visible from the contents of votive inscriptions, which reveals that soldiers came here, most likely to heal their wounds, while the presence of women and female cults suggests that the water was also used in relation to women's illnesses and fertility.

In many of its elements, this sanctuary is similar to the "sacred springs" from across the Roman Empire, first and foremost in the numerous votive offerings, especially coins, but certain similar construction techniques related to the catchment of thermal water and the worship of the goddess Minerva in the far-away Roman city *Aquae Sulis* (Bath, England) are also interesting. But the main unique feature of *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary is the very strong cult of the nymphs connected to the thermal water, from the 1st century, as well as the many different deities related to health that were worshipped in the sanctuary from the 2nd to the 3rd century. In the 4th century, during the reign of emperor Constantine, large-scale renovations took place, which were necessary, as the inscription itself says,¹⁶² due to the buildings being damaged in a fire. The new construction work did not significantly alter the appearance of the sanctuary, so we can assume that there were no significant changes in the religious life. Due to the lack of epigraphic monuments from this period, it is difficult to know all of the deities that were worshipped in the sanctuary. It is possible that prophetic rituals connected to Apollo, or perhaps Asclepius, were still present at the beginning of the 4th century, because it is known that emperor Constantine

¹⁶¹ AE 1976,0540; Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95. kat. br 76; Kušan Špalj 2015, 70, 95. kat. br 76.

¹⁶² CIL III 4121

¹⁶² CIL III 4121



Slika / Figure 27: Termalna voda u izvorišnom bazenu (snimila D. Kušan Špalj). / Thermal water in the spring reservoir (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).

nom izgradnjom ne mijenja se izgled svetišta pa se može pretpostaviti da nije došlo ni do većih promjena u religijskom životu. No zbog nedostatka epigrafskih spomenika iz ove faze, teško je pretpostaviti koja su sve božanstva štovana u svetištu. Moguće da su početkom 4. stoljeća još bili prisutni proročki obredi vezani uz Apolona, ili možda Eskulapa, jer je poznato kako je i car Konstantin obilazio proročka mjesta. Vjerojatno se većina kultova u svetištu gasi u drugoj polovici 4. stoljeća, kada je bazilika preuređena za kršćanski obred¹⁶³. Ipak, neki nalazi pokazuju da je upravo specifična situacija oko termalne vode i njezine ljekovitosti bila razlogom suživota dviju religija. Tako nalaz skulpture božice Minerve u njezinu hramu pokazuje da je stajala u svetištu do samog kraja pa je vjerojatno njezin kult vezan uz ljekoviti izvor bio prisutan i tijekom kršćanstva. Najbolji je dokaz suživota kršćanstva i rimskog kulta izvora prstenje s motivom kristograma, pronađeno zajedno s drugim votivnim darovima u izvorišnom bazenu.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51.

¹⁶⁴ Perok 2014, kat. br. 107, 108; Perok 2015, kat. br. 107, 108.

himself visited the sites of oracles. However, most likely in the second half of the 4th century, when the basilica was reconstructed for Christian worship,¹⁶³ most of the cults in the sanctuary vanished. Nevertheless, some finds show that it was the specific situation surrounding the thermal water and its healing properties that was the reason for the coexistence of the two religions. The discovery statue of the goddess Minerva in her temple thus shows that she stood in the sanctuary until the very end, and that the cult of Minerva connected to the healing spring was most likely also present after the arrival of Christianity. The best proof of the coexistence of Christianity and the Roman cult of the spring are the rings with the motif of the Christogram that were, along with other votive offerings, discovered in the spring reservoir.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51;

¹⁶⁴ Perok 2014, Cat. no. 107, 108; Perok 2015, Cat. no. 107, 108.

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