

# AQUAE IASAE – NOVI SPOMENICI POSVEĆENI NIMFAMA IZ RIMSKOG SVETIŠTA – I. DIO

## AQUAE IASAE – NEW MONUMENTS, DEDICATED TO NYMPHS, FROM THE ROMAN SANCTUARY – PART I

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Članak obrađuje deset kamenih spomenika sa zavjetnim natpisima posvećenih nimfama, a koji su pronađeni tijekom istraživanja prostora rimskog izvorišta i svetišta 2011. i 2012. godine na lokaciji u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Svi su spomenici bili sekundarno iskorišteni u obnovi kaptaže izvorišta, vjerojatno početkom 4. stoljeća. Istraživanja su pokazala da je na taj način iskorišteno oko 50 kamenih spomenika koji su ugrađeni u sjeverni i južni zid izvorišta tijekom njihove obnove. Od deset spomenika, koji se obrađuju u ovom radu, devet ih je pronađeno u urušenju i sačuvanoj konstrukciji sjevernog zida, a jedan u južnom zidu izvorišta. Dva spomenika sadrže dedikaciju nimfama bez epiteta, četiri su s epitetom augustae, a jedan je posvećen ozdravljujućim nimfama (salutares). Na dva natpisa nimfama se dodaje epitet iasae, od kojih na jednom zajedno s epitetom salutares, a jedan natpis ima zanimljivu posvetu s kombinacijom više epiteta: peonis augustis salutaribus. Na većini su spomenika sačuvana i imena dedikanata i njihove funkcije pa se može zaključiti da se radilo podjednako o pripadnicima rimske vojske i onima koji su obavljali razne civilne i svećeničke službe. S obzirom na to da su svi natpisi nastali u 2. i 3. stoljeću, značajan su doprinos u sagledavanju strukture posjetitelja u tom periodu, njihovom porijeklu i službama koje su obavljali te svjedoče o izrazitoj popularnosti nimfi kao zaštitnica „svetog“ izvora po kojem je ovo naselje sasvim sigurno bilo poznato na širem prostoru.

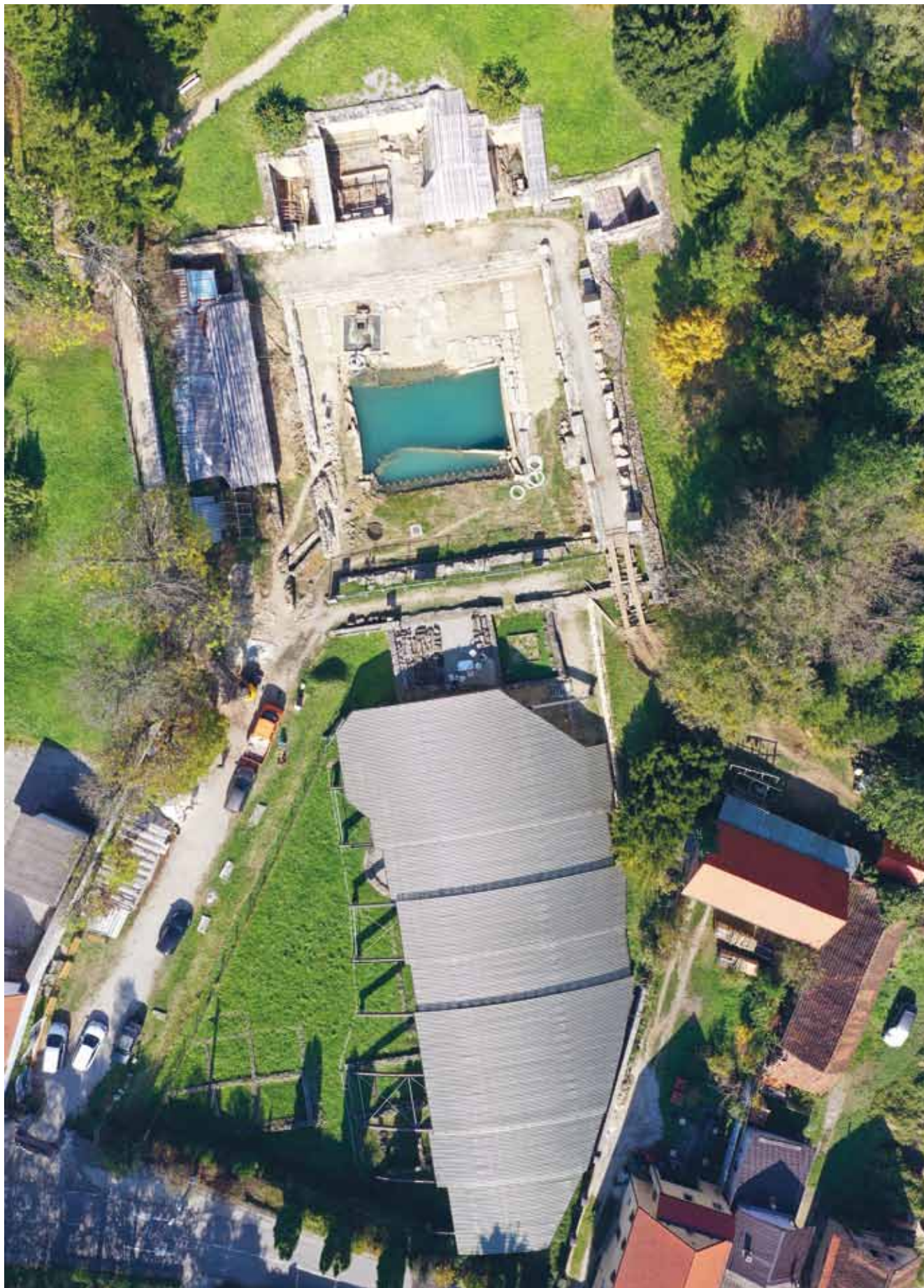
#### Ključne riječi:

natpisi, Varaždinske Toplice, nimfe, termalni izvor, svetište

The article deals with ten stone monuments with votive inscriptions dedicated to nymphs, which were found in 2011 and 2012 during research on the Roman spring reservoir and sanctuary in the park at Varaždinske Toplice. All the monuments had been secondarily used in the restoration of the spring's catchment, probably at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Research has shown that about 50 stone monuments were built into the north and south walls of the spring reservoir during their renovation. Among the ten monuments discussed in this paper, nine were found in the rubble and preserved structure of the north wall, and one in the south wall. Two monuments contain dedications to nymphs without epithets, four have the epithet augustae, and one is dedicated to healing nymphs (salutares). The epithet iasae is added to nymphs on two inscriptions, one of them alongside the epithet salutares. There is one inscription with an interesting dedication that consists of a combination of several epithets: peonis augustis salutaribus. The names of the dedicants and their functions have been preserved on most of the monuments, so it can be concluded that they were members of the Roman army and those who performed various civil and priestly services. Since all the inscriptions were made in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, they make a significant contribution to our perception of the structure of visitors in that period, their origin and the services they performed. That all testifies to the extreme popularity of nymphs as protectors of the 'sacred spring', for which the settlement was certainly known in the wider area.

#### Key words:

inscriptions, Varaždinske Toplice, nymphs, thermal spring, sanctuary



SLIKA 1. Kompleks rimske arhitekture u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, tijekom radova 2019. godine (snimio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 1. Complex of Roman architecture in the park in Varaždinske Toplice, during the 2019 works on the site (photo by M. Vuković).



**SLIKA 2.** Rimski izvorišni bazen u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, tijekom radova 2019. godine (snimio M. Vuković).

**FIGURE 2.** Roman spring pool in the park in Varaždinske Toplice, during the 2019 works on the site (photo by M. Vuković).

### Okolnosti nalaza kamenih spomenika tijekom istraživanja prostora rimskog svetišta

Dugogodišnja istraživanja Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu na prostoru Varaždinskih Toplica dala su niz podataka o rimskom naselju *Aquae Iasae* koje se od 1. do 4. stoljeća razvijalo prije svega zahvaljujući izvoru termalne vode. Poznato je da su Rimljani iznimno cijenili ljekovitost vrućih izvora, čiju su čudotvornu moć pripisivali raznim božanstvima, pa su tako „sveti“ izvori bili mjesta gdje se s njima ostvarivao osobni kontakt. Zbog toga su hramovi, ali i kupališni kompleksi u kojima se ljekovita voda i koristila, često bili građeni uz izvore.<sup>1</sup> Takva je situacija bila i u naselju *Aquae Iasae*, gdje je oko termalnog izvora izgrađeno svetište, a u neposrednoj blizini i kupališni kompleks (sl. 1).<sup>2</sup>

Arheološka istraživanja provedena posljednjih desetak godina na prostoru rimskog svetišta u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama dala su iznimno mnogo novih informacija o izgledu tog prostora, ali i o brojnim kultovima vezanim uz liječenje i ozdravljenje.<sup>3</sup> Na temelju sačuvanih građevinskih struktura može se pratiti razvoj i izgled rimskog svetišta od 1. pa sve do 4. stoljeća, kao

### Circumstances of finds of stone monuments during research on the Roman sanctuary area

Long-term research conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in the area of Varaždinske Toplice has provided a quantity of data on the Roman settlement of *Aquae Iasae*, which developed from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 4<sup>th</sup>, primarily due to the spring of thermal water. It is known that the Romans highly valued the healing properties of hot springs, whose miraculous power was attributed to various deities, so the ‘sacred’ springs were places where personal contact was made with them. Therefore, temples were very often built next to the springs,<sup>1</sup> and also bathing complexes in which the healing water was used. This was also the situation in the settlement of *Aquae Iasae*, where the sanctuary was built around the thermal spring, and a bathing complex lay in the immediate vicinity (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup>

Archaeological research conducted in the last ten years in the area of the Roman sanctuary in the park in Varaždinske Toplice has provided a lot of new information not only about the appearance of the area, but also about many cults relating to health

1 Vitr. *De arch.* I, 2.

2 Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75–127; 1961, 181–223; 1970, 121–157; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111–117; 1975, 32–50; 1980; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan, Kušan 1997; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 24–27, 36–41; 2014b, 133–140; 2015, 24–27, 36–41.

3 Kušan Špalj 2014; 2015; 2017a.

1 Vitr. *De arch.* I, 2.

2 Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75–127; 1961, 181–223; 1970, 121–157; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111–117; 1975, 32–50; 1980; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan, Kušan 1997; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 24–27, 36–41; 2014b, 133–140; 2015, 24–27, 36–41.

i način kaptaže izvora i korištenja termalne vode.<sup>4</sup> Posebno su zanimljivi rezultati dobiveni 2006. te 2011. i 2012. godine, kada je istražena konstrukcija kojom su Rimljani kaptirali izvor u 2. stoljeću, odnosno ogradili ga unutar „bazena“ 8 x 13,5 m, sa zidovima visine 2 m (i ogradom oko 70 cm) (sl. 2). Istraživanja su pokazala kako su istočni i zapadni zid ostali sačuvani iz faze gradnje u 2. stoljeću, dok su na sjevernom i južnom zidu izvršeni popravci tijekom obnove kompleksa, najvjerojatnije početkom 4. stoljeća.<sup>5</sup> Zapadni i istočni zid bili su izgrađeni na vrlo čvrstom terenu, na padini prirodne gline, za razliku od južnog i sjevernog zida, koji nisu imali tako čvrstu podlogu i pronađeni su oštećeni jer je u tom dijelu 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 izvorišta. Tako se veći dio sjevernog zida urušio, a ostao je sačuvan samo u rubnim dijelovima, dok je južni zid sačuvan u cijelosti, zajedno s ogradom, ali se pomaknuo i „potonuo“ prema sredini izvorišnog bazena. Premda su Rimljani bili svjesni nestabilnosti terena i sustavom drvenih pilona nastojali učvrstiti teren prilikom gradnje u 2. stoljeću, vrlo je vjerojatno krajem 3. ili početkom 4. stoljeća došlo do spomenutog pomicanja tla i oštećenja zidova, a o čemu svjedoče popravci sjevernog i južnog zida. Za gradnju zidova u 2. stoljeću upotrijebljen je lokalni kamen – vapnenac raznih struktura 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 u tehnici *opus quadratum*, dok se iznad nalazio završni red kamenih blokova s utorom (dubine 5–10 cm) koji je služio kao ležište za kamene grede ograde (visine 70 cm).<sup>6</sup> U obnovi sjevernog i južnog zida početkom 4. stoljeća nastojalo se imitirati gradnju iz 2. stoljeća, pri čemu su sekundarno upotrijebljeni i razni natpisi, žrtvenici i reljefi, kao i drugo obrađeno kamenje, koji su se svojim dimenzijama uklapali u redove zida. Većinom se već obrađeno kamenje samo slagalo, dok je neko dodatno obrađivano kako bi se uklopilo u konstrukciju. Zanimljivo je da su mramorni spomenici ugrađivani uglavnom bez „dodatne“ obrade, vjerojatno zbog tvrdoće materijala, dok su oni od vapnenca u većini slučajeva bili „prilagođeni“ neposredno prije ugradnje u zid. Većina je spomenika pronađena u urušanju sjevernog zida, ali i u sačuvanoj konstrukciji sjevernog i južnog zida.

Ukupno se radi o 50-ak kamenih spomenika (reljefa, skulptura, žrtvenika) od kojih je dio potpuno sačuvan, a od nekih su pronađeni samo dijelovi, te je bilo i dosta oštećenih jer su im dijelovi oklesani kako bi se prilagodili ugradnji u zid. Zbog uvjeta u kojima su se nalazili, većina spomenika pronađena je u vrlo lošem stanju, s oštećenjima površine pod utjecajem sumporne vode i raznih soli pa je na njima bilo potrebno provesti slože-

and healing.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the preserved building structures, the development and appearance of the Roman sanctuary from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 4<sup>th</sup> can be traced, as well as the method for the spring's catchment and the way the thermal water was used.<sup>4</sup> Particularly interesting are the results of the excavation (in 2006, 2011 and 2012) of the construction by which the Romans captured the spring in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, namely enclosed it within a 'pool', 8 x 13.5 m, with walls 2 m high (and a fence about 70 cm) (Fig. 2). Research has shown that the east and west walls have been preserved from the construction phase in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, while the north and south walls were repaired during the reconstruction of the complex, most likely in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The western and eastern walls were built on very solid terrain, on a slope of natural clay, unlike the southern and northern walls, which did not have such a solid base and were found damaged because the terrain had shifted in that part, even after their restoration in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is probable that the soil in the area of the spring had been washed away and shifted, which caused the walls and layers with Roman finds to 'collapse' towards the middle of the spring. Thus, most of the north wall collapsed, and remained preserved only at the edges, while the south wall was preserved in its entirety, along with the fence, but had moved and 'sunk' towards the middle of the spring reservoir. Although the Romans were aware of the instability of the terrain and tried to strengthen it with a system of wooden pylons during construction in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, it is very likely that, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup>, the abovementioned movement of the ground and damage to the walls occurred, as evidenced by the repairs to the north and south walls. For the construction of the walls in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, local stone was used: limestone of various structures, which, depending on strength and other properties, was used for certain parts of the wall. The foundation was built of larger, rough-hewn blocks, and the wall consisted of three rows of rectangular stone blocks in the *opus quadratum* technique, while above was a final row of stone blocks with a groove (5–10 cm deep) that served as a bearing for stone fence beams (height 70 cm).<sup>6</sup> In the restoration of the north and south walls at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, an attempt was made to imitate the 2<sup>nd</sup>-century method of building, using various inscriptions, altars and reliefs, as well as other processed stone that fitted into the walls. Most of the stones that had already been processed were just stacked, while some were further processed to fit into the structure. Interestingly, marble monuments were installed mostly without 'additional' processing, probably due to the hardness of the material, while those made of limestone were in most cases 'adapted' just before installation in the wall. Most of the monuments were found in the collapse of the north wall, but some also in the preserved construction of the north and south walls.

4 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 26–35, 40–49; 2015, 26–35, 40–49.

5 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 259–264; 2017b, 167–171; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019.

6 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 26–35, 40–49; 2015, 26–35, 40–49.

3 Kušan Špalj 2014; 2015; 2017a.

4 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 26–35, 40–49; 2015, 26–35, 40–49.

5 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 259–264; 2017b, 167–171; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019.

6 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 26–35, 40–49; 2015, 26–35, 40–49.



**SLIKA 3.** Zapadni dio sjevernog zida izvorišta, iskopavanje 2006. godine, kada je zid istražen do visine sokla, s označenim položajem sekundarno upotrebljenih spomenika: a) kat. br. 1; b) kat. br. 2 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 3.** Western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, during the 2006 excavation when the wall was excavated to the height of the plinth, with marked positions of secondarily-used monuments: a) cat. no. 1; b) cat. no. 2 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



**SLIKA 4.** Stražnja strana zapadnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta (istraživanje 2011. godine) s označenim položajem sekundarno upotrebljenih spomenika: a) kat. br. 1; b) kat. br. 2; c) kat. br. 3; d) kamen s profilacijom (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 4.** Back of the western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (2011 excavation) with marked positions of secondarily-used monuments: a) cat. no. 1; b) cat. no. 2; c) cat. no. 3; d) moulded stone (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

ne konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove.<sup>7</sup> Do sada su radovi provedeni na svim nađenim skulpturama i reljefima,<sup>8</sup> i na dijelu natpisa, a s obzirom na to da se radi o vrlo zahtjevnim radovima u stručnom, ali i financijskom smislu, trebat će još neko vrijeme da se svi zavjetni natpisi primjereno restauriraju. Zbog toga se tijekom 2018. i 2019. godine provelo snimanje i izrada 3D modela svih natpisa kako bi se dokumentiralo njihovo stanje.<sup>9</sup> 3D modeli ujedno su omogućili i jasnije sagledavanje sačuvanih dijelova natpisa koji su „golim okom“ na većini netretiranih spomenika bili nečitki. Za sada je na oko 35 natpisa moguće, u većoj mjeri interpretirati sadržaj teksta,<sup>10</sup> čak je 29 natpisa posvećeno nimfama,<sup>11</sup> a od kojih je 7 posvećeno nimfama zajedno s drugim božanstvima (Apolonu, Dijani, Minervi, Junoni, Serapisu, Fortuni).<sup>12</sup> U novijim istraživanjima pronađeno je i 6 reljefa s prikazom 3 nimfe od kojih 3 sadrže i natpise<sup>13</sup> te jedan manji fragment reljefa s dijelom natpisa.<sup>14</sup> Ako se novim nalazima pri-

In total, there are about 50 stone monuments (reliefs, sculptures and altars), some of which are completely preserved and some found only in fragments, and there were many damaged because their parts were carved to fit into the wall. Most of the monuments were found in very poor condition, with surface damage caused by the influence of sulphur water and various salts, which is why very complex conservation and restoration work had to be carried out.<sup>7</sup> So far, work has finished on all sculptures and reliefs,<sup>8</sup> and on some of the altars; and, since this is very demanding work in professional and financial terms, it will take some time for all the votive inscriptions to be restored adequately. Therefore, during 2018 and 2019, photogrammetric 3D models of all the inscriptions were made, in order to document their condition.<sup>9</sup> 3D models also enabled a clearer view of the preserved parts of the inscriptions, which were illegible to the 'naked eye on most of the untreated monuments. Among the 35 or so inscriptions of which it is possible to interpret the content of the text,<sup>10</sup> as many as 29 inscriptions are dedicated to nymphs,<sup>11</sup> seven of which are dedicated to nymphs along with

7 Radove je provela J. Pfeiffruck i tvrtka Zottmann GmbH.

8 Kušan Špalj 2014, 56–106; 2015, 56–106.

9 Snimanje je proveo M. Vuković te su izrađeni fotogrametrijski 3D modeli s naglašenim mikroreljefom u Meshlab softveru.

10 Radi se o natpisima na kojima su provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi i dio onih koje je bilo moguće interpretirati na temelju 3D skena.

11 Ovdje se navode podaci samo za one natpise za koje se sa sigurnošću može interpretirati sadržaj, dok ih još ima desetak koji su jako oštećeni i vjerojatno će nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorski radova biti moguća njihova cjelovitija interpretacija. Zbog toga se u ovom radu još ne daje konačna statistika novonadenih spomenika.

12 Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2015, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2017a, 285–289, 293–294 te dva još neobjavljena natpisa VTks 89, VTks 53 i kat. br. 8.

13 Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110; Kušan Špalj 2014, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83; 2015, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83.

14 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 88; 2015, kat. br. 88.

7 The work was carried out by J. Pfeiffruck and Zottmann GmbH.

8 Kušan Špalj 2014, 56–106; 2015, 56–106.

9 3D scans were done by M. Vuković, and photogrammetric 3D models with accentuated microrelief were created in Meshlab software.

10 These are inscriptions on which conservation and restoration work has been carried out, and some of them that could be interpreted on the basis of 3D scans.

11 Data are given here only for those inscriptions of which the content can be interpreted with certainty, while there are still a dozen that are severely damaged, and it is likely that, after the conservation and restoration work, it will be possible to interpret them more fully. Therefore, the final statistics of newly-discovered monuments are not yet given in this paper.

broje i svi dosad objavljeni reljefi i natpisi iz starijih istraživanja (i oni slučajno pronađeni u 18. i 19. stoljeću),<sup>15</sup> može se govoriti o ukupno 46 natpisa posvećenih nimfama i 8 reljefa (uz još 5 fragmenata manjih ploča s prikazom dijelova nimfi).<sup>16</sup> Nakon dovršetka konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na svim novopronađenim spomenicima, vrlo će se vjerojatno i među onima jače oštećenim "pronaći" još nekolicina postavljenih u njihovu čast.

S obzirom na to da se radi o većem broju natpisa, u ovom će se radu obraditi prvih 10 natpisa posvećenih nimfama, a koji su pronađeni u urušenoj ili samoj konstrukciji sjevernog, odnosno južnog zida izvorišta tijekom istraživanja 2011. – 2012. godine.<sup>17</sup>

### Novi nalazi kamenih spomenika posvećenih nimfama (bez epiteta) i uzvišenim nimfama

U zapadnom je dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena pronađeno više natpisa<sup>18</sup> među kojima su i tri mramorna žrtvenika posvećena nimfama. Postavljeni su bili u zidu, učvršćeni hrastovim pilonima, u funkciji završnog reda temelja zida (sokla), na način da je u licu zida bila vidljiva donja površina baze spomenika (sl. 3). Dva natpisa su pronađena *in situ*, na mjestu gdje su „ugrađena“ u zid izvorišnog bazena (kat. br. 1, 2), dok je treći (kat. br. 3) bio malo pomaknut s originalnog položaja budući da je u tom dijelu zida kamen već „skliznuo“ zbog pomicanja tla. U stražnjem dijelu konstrukcije toga zida pronađen je još jedan fragment kamena s profilacijom, ali bez natpisa.<sup>19</sup> (sl. 4)

Jedan od spomenika pronađen *in situ* u temelju sjevernog zida mramorni je žrtvenik s dedikacijom nimfama, bez epiteta (kat. br. 1). Žrtvenik je bio ugrađen s natpisom prema gore, a u licu je zida bila vidljiva donja površina njegove baze. (sl. 3). Riječ je o trodijelnom monolitnom žrtveniku koji se sastoji od gornjeg dijela (kruništa s rozetama), baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela s natpisom (sl. 5, 6). Baza ima profilaciju koja se proteže i na dvije bočne strane, kao i profilaciju kruništa. Natpis je dobro sačuvan i sadrži 6 redaka teksta. U prvom retku u riječi *Nymphis* slova MPH stoje u ligaturi, a u četvrtom redu predzadnje slovo (V) u imenu *Verulanus* dvostruko je manje od ostalih. Natpisno je polje bez okvira i sadrži sljedeći natpis:

*Nymphis / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Laber(i)us / Verulanus / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) / V Lucens(ium)*

Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi, ali, srećom, površina nije jako oštećena tako da su dobro vidljiva sva slova te je jasno da je dedikant bio Lucije Laberije Verulan.<sup>20</sup> Premda se gentilicij na natpisu navodi kao *Laberus*,

other deities (Apollo, Diana, Minerva, Juno, Serapis, Fortuna).<sup>12</sup> Also found in recent research were 6 reliefs depicting 3 nymphs, 3 of which contain inscriptions,<sup>13</sup> and one smaller fragment of a relief with part of an inscription.<sup>14</sup> If we add, to the new finds, all published reliefs and inscriptions from older excavations (and those found by chance in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>15</sup> we can talk about a total of 46 inscriptions dedicated to nymphs and 8 reliefs (with 5 fragments of smaller tablets depicting parts of nymphs).<sup>16</sup> After the completion of conservation and restoration work on all recently-discovered monuments, it is very likely that, among those more severely damaged, a few more will be found to have been erected in their honour.

Since there is a large number of inscriptions, this paper will deal with the first 10 inscriptions, dedicated to nymphs, which were found in the wall rubble or the construction of the north and south walls of the spring during the research of 2011–2012.<sup>17</sup>

### New finds of stone monuments dedicated to nymphs (without epithets) and to the nymphs augustae

Several inscriptions were found in the western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir,<sup>18</sup> including three marble altars dedicated to nymphs. They were placed in the wall, fastened with oak pylons, functioning as the final row of the foundation of the wall, in such a way that the lower surface of the base of each monument was visible in the face of the wall (Fig. 3). Two inscriptions were found *in situ*, at the place where they were 'built' into the wall of the spring reservoir (cat. nos 1, 2), while the third (cat. no. 3) was slightly removed from the original position, since the stone wall, in that part, had already shifted due to the movement of the ground. Another fragment of stone with profiling, but without an inscription, was found in the back of the structure of that wall<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 4).

One of the monuments found *in situ* in the foundation of the north wall is a marble altar with a dedication to nymphs without epithets (cat. no. 1). The altar was built in with the inscription facing up, and the lower surface of its base was visible in the face of the wall (Fig. 3). It is a tripartite monolithic altar consisting of an upper part (capital with rosettes), a moulded base and a central part (body) with an inscription (Figs 5, 6). The base moulding extends laterally to both sides, as well as the capital moulding. The inscription is well-preserved and contains 6 lines

15 Gorenc 1971, 30; Rendić-Miočević 1992; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998; Cambi 2002, 113; Lučić 2013.

16 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 2, 4, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82–88; 2015, kat. br. 2, 4, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82–88.

17 Neki od spomenika bili su već vidljivi u strukturi zida tijekom istraživanja 2006. godine, ali su izvađeni tijekom radova 2011. i 2012. godine.

18 U tom je dijelu zida pronađen i natpis posvećen Apolonu, Dijani i nimfama (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286) te reljef s prikazom 3 nimfe (Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110, sl. 22, 23).

19 Kamen se vodi pod oznakom k-166.

20 Kognomen *Verulanus* poznat je iz srednje i južne Italije, a pojavljuje se i u provinciji Dalmaciji i Hispaniji (Alföldy 1969, 135; Lőrincz et al. 2002, 160).

12 Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2015, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2017a, 285–289, 293–294 and two more unpublished inscriptions VTks 89, VTks 53 and cat. no. 8.

13 Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110; Kušan Špalj 2014, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83; 2015, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83.

14 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 88; 2015, kat. br. 88.

15 Gorenc 1971, 30; Rendić-Miočević 1992; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998; Cambi 2002, 113; Lučić 2013.

16 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 2, 4, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82–88; 2015, kat. br. 2, 4, 74, 77, 78, 80, 82–88.

17 Some of the monuments were already visible in the structure of the wall during the 2006 excavation, but were removed from the wall during work in 2011 and 2012.

18 An inscription dedicated to Apollo, Diana and the nymphs (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286) and a relief depicting 3 nymphs (Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110, figs. 22, 23) were also found in this part of the wall.

19 The stone is marked as k-166.

moguće je pretpostaviti da se odnosi na često prisutni oblik *Laberius*,<sup>21</sup> pogotovo ako se pretpostavi da su slova R i I u ligaturi. Na natpisu se navodi i služba dedikanta kao zapovjednika, odnosno prefekta V. kohorte *Lucensium*. Oblik imena kohorte *V Lucensium* može se identificirati kao kohorta *V Callaecorum Lucensium civium Romanorum*, koja je najkasnije od sredine 1. stoljeća pripadala panonskoj vojsci.<sup>22</sup> Nije poznato gdje je bila stacionirana tijekom 1. stoljeća, ali nakon podjele Panonije 106 godine pripala je Gornjoj Panoniji. Pretpostavlja se da je od 2. stoljeća smještena u logoru Krumerumu (Nyergesújfalu, *Crumerum*)<sup>23</sup> premda se to epigrafski može potvrditi od kraja 2. stoljeća.<sup>24</sup> Na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica pojavljuje se naziv kohorte u obliku – *cohors V Lucensium*, a takav je oblik zabilježen i na oltaru posvećenom Neptunu i nimfama u Krumerumu.<sup>25</sup> Isti oblik imena kohorte je i na natpisu posvećenom Jupiteru iz Suvodola kod – Guberevca (Srbija),<sup>26</sup> a na temelju kojeg postoje pretpostavke da je kohorta u doba Trajana boravila na toj lokaciji u vrijeme Dačkih ratova, za zaštitu rudarskog područja u Gornjoj Meziji.<sup>27</sup> Prisustvo pripadnika kohorte *V Lucensium* u svetištu *Aquae Iasae*, vjerojatno nije posljedica zadržavanja ove kohorte u tom naselju, već se najvjerojatnije radi o privatnom posjetu pojedinca za vrijeme boravka kohorte u nekom obližnjem gradu (npr. Petovioni) tijekom nekog pomicanja vojnih jedinica u 2. ili prvoj polovici 3. stoljeća.

Nešto manji žrtvenik (kat. br. 2), također posvećen nimfama (bez dodatnih epiteta), pronađen je neposredno uz već spomenuti, u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena. U konstrukciji je zida postavljen kao završni red temelja te je dvjema stranama bio učvršćen drvenim pilonima, s natpisom okrenutim prema dolje, dok je dno baze bilo vidljivo u licu zida (sl. 5). Riječ je također o mramornom trodijelnom monolitnom žrtveniku koji se sastoji od gornjeg dijela s profilacijom, baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela s natpisom (sl. 7). Profilacije se protežu i na bočne strane, dok je stražnja strana grublje obrađena. Veći dio kruništa iznad profilacije nedostaje, kao i lijevi dio baze. Površina je kamena dosta oštećena pod utjecajem termalne vode, a pogotovo na lijevoj strani natpisnog polja. Slova su pravilno izvedena, kvadratnom kapitalom, raspoređena u pet redaka. Zahvaljujući 3D skenu, vidljiva su i slova na početku 2. i 3. retka, gdje je došlo do jačeg oštećenja površine (sl. 8). Znakovi interpunkcije imaju oblik trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*) i vidljivi su između kratice legije i u zadnjem retku između slova V i S. Natpisno je polje bez okvira i sadrži sljedeći natpis:

*Nymphis / M(arcus) Laelius / Clemens / hast(atus) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) / v(otum) s(olvit)*

of text. In the first line, in the word *Nymphis*, the letters MPH stand as a ligature, and in the fourth line the penultimate letter (V) in the name *Verulanus* is twice smaller than the others. The inscription field is without moulding and contains the following inscription:

*Nymphis / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Laber(i)us / Verulanus / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) / V Lucens(ium)*

Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument, but fortunately the surface has not been severely damaged, so that all the letters are visible and it is clear that the dedicant was *Lucius Laberius Verulanus*.<sup>28</sup> Although the gentilicium appears on the inscription in the form *Laberus*, it is possible to assume that it refers to the often-present form *Laberius*,<sup>23</sup> especially if we assume the possibility of ligature of the letters R and I. The inscription also mentions the service of the dedicant as commander, i.e. prefect, of the V Cohort *Lucensium*. The form of the name of the cohort, *V Lucensium*, allows it to be identified as *cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium civium Romanorum*, which belonged to the Pannonian army from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century at the latest.<sup>22</sup> It is not known where it was stationed during the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but after the division of Pannonia in 106 it belonged to Upper Pannonia. It is assumed that it had been located in the *Crumerum* camp (Nyergesújfalu)<sup>23</sup> since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, although this can be confirmed epigraphically from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>24</sup> The name of the cohort appears in the form *cohors V Lucensium* on the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, and such a form is also recorded on the altar dedicated to Neptune and the nymphs in *Crumerum*.<sup>25</sup> The same form of the cohort's name is on the inscription dedicated to Jupiter from Suvodol, near Guberevci (Serbia),<sup>26</sup> based on which there are assumptions that the cohort stayed in that location during the Trajan era, to protect the mining area in Upper Moesia.<sup>27</sup> The presence of members of the V Cohort *Lucensium* in the sanctuary of *Aquae Iasae* is probably the result of a private visit by an individual during the cohort's stay in one of the nearby towns (e.g. *Petovio*) during some movement of military units in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

A slightly smaller altar (cat. no. 2), also dedicated to nymphs (without additional epithets), was found next to the one mentioned above, in the north wall of the spring reservoir. In the construction of the wall it was placed as the final row of the foundation and was fastened on two sides with wooden pylons, with the inscription facing downwards, while the bottom of the

21 Alföldy 1969, 91; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 15.

22 Lőrincz 2001, 33.

23 Lőrincz 2001, 33.

24 CIL III, 3664.

25 CIL III, 3662.

26 CIL III, 14542.

27 Ferjančić 2014, 29.

20 The cognomen *Verulanus* is known from central and southern Italy, and also occurs in the provinces of Dalmatia and Spain (Alföldy 1969, 135; Lőrincz et al. 2002, 160).

21 Alföldy 1969, 91; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 15.

22 Lőrincz 2001, 33.

23 Lőrincz 2001, 33.

24 CIL III, 3664.

25 CIL III, 3662.

26 CIL III, 14542.

27 Ferjančić 2014, 29.



SLIKA 5. Zavjetni natpisi posvećeni nimfama *in situ*, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine na mjestu nalaza u zapadnom dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišta: a) kat. br. 1; b) kat. br. 2 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 5. Votive inscriptions dedicated to nymphs *in situ*, during the 2011 excavations at the site of the find in the western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir: a) cat. no. 1; b) cat. no. 2 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 6. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog nimfama – kat. br. 1 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 6. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to nymphs: cat. no. 1 (made by M. Vuković).

Dedikant ovog natpisa je Marko Lelije<sup>28</sup> Klement<sup>29</sup>. Na natpisu se navodi da je dedikant bio *hastatus* u legiji X. *Gemini*, što se vjerojatno odnosi na jednu od pozicija među centurionima kohorte (*hastatus posterior*, *hastatus prior*), a mogao je biti i u višem rangu centuriona (*primi ordines*) koji su služili u Prvoj hohorti legije (*hastatus posterior*, *hastatus*, *princeps posterior*, *princeps i primus pilus*) i uživali visok ugled.<sup>30</sup> Za dataciju natpisa, osim troimenske sheme (*tria nomina*), mogao bi doprinijeti i naziv legije, koja se spominje samo kao *pia fidelis*. Počasni naziv *pia fidelis* X. legija dobiva 89. godine, odnosno *pia fidelis Domitiana*, ali nakon smrti cara Domicijana odbacuje (počasni) pridjev *Domitiana*.<sup>31</sup> U svakom slučaju natpis se vjerojatno može datirati u 2., odnosno najkasnije početak 3. stoljeća, prije vladavine cara Karakale, kada legija dobiva i naziv *Antoniniana*, kao što je to navedeno i na mramornoj ploči s reljefom i natpisom iz Varaždinskih Toplica, koji je u čast cara Karakale dao podignuti oko 214. godine legat te legije (*L. Alfenus Avitianus*).<sup>32</sup> Naravno, postoji mogućnost da je u vrijeme kada je Marko Lelije Klement postavio natpis legija nosila i dulji naziv, ali nije naveden na natpisu, pa bi se u tom slučaju datacija natpisa mogla pretpostaviti od 2. do sredine 3. stoljeća.

base was visible in the face of the wall (Fig. 5). It is also a tripartite monolithic marble altar consisting of an upper part and a base, both with moulding, and a central part with an inscription (Fig. 7). The moulding extends laterally to both sides, while the back is rougher. Most of the crowning above the moulding is missing, as is the left part of the base. The surface of the stone has been damaged somewhat under the influence of thermal water, especially on the left side of the inscription field. The letters are skilfully rendered in square capitals, arranged in five lines. Thanks to the 3D scan, the letters at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> lines are also visible, despite severe surface damage (Fig. 8). Triangular dividing signs (*triangula distinguentia*) can be seen between the abbreviations of the legion and, in the last line, between the letters V and S. The inscription field is without a frame and contains the following inscription:

*Nymphis / M(arcus) Laelius / Clemens / hast(atus) leg(ionis) X  
G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) / v(otum) s(olvit)*

The dedicant of this inscription is *Marcus Laelius*<sup>28</sup> *Clemens*.<sup>29</sup> The inscription states that the dedicant was a *hastatus* of the *legio X Gemina*, which probably refers to one of the positions among the centurions of the cohort (*hastatus posterior*, *hastatus*

28 Gentilicij *Laelius* je bio vrlo rasprostranjen diljem Carstva, karakterističan je za Italike, čest je i u Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969, 91–92), a ima i primjera iz Panonije i Norika (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 16).

29 Kognomen *Clemens* rasprostranjen je najviše na području srednje i sjeverne Italije, u Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969, 178), a također je dosta čest u Panoniji i Noriku (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 63).

30 Goldsworthy 1998, 14.

31 Farnum 2005, 21.

32 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 279–280.

28 The gentilicium *Laelius* was very widespread throughout the Empire, characteristic of the Italians, common in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 91–92), and there are examples from Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 16).

29 The cognomen *Clemens* is most widespread in central and northern Italy, and in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 178), and is also quite common in Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 63).





SLIKA 7. Zavjetni natpis posvećen nimfama – kat. br. 2, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 7. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs: cat. no. 2, during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 8. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog nimfama – kat. br. 2 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 8. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to nymphs: cat. no. 2 (made by M. Vuković).

Za sada su ova dva natpisa i jedini primjeri spomena pripadnika X. legije među nalazima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, koja je u vrijeme njihova postavljanja bila stacionirana u Vindoboni (od 2. do 4. stoljeća).<sup>33</sup> Za razliku od „službenog“ posjeta svetištu Avicijana, koji je vjerojatno i u pratnji samog cara Karakale ili kao dio izaslanstva koje je posjetilo svetište s omiljenim carevim božanstvima (Apolonom, Eskulapom, Serapisom) i postavilo natpis za njegovo zdravlje i pobjede, natpis koji je postavio Klement upućuje na to da se radilo o posjetu iz osobnih, zdravstvenih razloga.

Neposredno uz opisane žrtvenike, u urušenom je dijelu zida pronađen još jedan natpis s posvetom, i to uzvišenim nimfama (kat. br. 3) (sl. 9, 10). Kao što je već spomenuto, taj je spomenik „skliznuo“ sa svog položaja, ali se može pretpostaviti da je originalno bio postavljen neposredno uz prethodno opisane spomenike (kat. br. 1, 2) te je tako bio također dio sokla sjevernog zida (sl. 3, 4). Prema položaju u kojem je pronađen, vrlo vjerojatno je natpis bio okrenut prema dolje, a donja površina baze vidljiva u licu zida. Radi se o zavjetnom natpisu na monolitnom kameonom bloku (vapnenac), na kojem je plitkim urezima naznačeno krunište (s akroterijima), dok baza nije posebno naglašena (natpisno je polje samo odvojeno linijom od donjeg dijela koje se razlikuje po grubljoj obradi). Prema tragovima obrade u gornjem i donjem dijelu bloka može se zaključiti da je kamen „obrađen“

*tus prior*), and could have been in the higher rank of the centurions (*primi ordines*) who served in the first cohort of the legion (*hastatus posterior, hastatus, princeps posterior, princeps and primus pilus*) and enjoyed a great reputation.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the three-part name (*tria nomina*), the name of the legion, which is mentioned only as *pia fidelis*, is important for the dating of the inscription. The X Legion received the honorary title of *pia fidelis* in 89 (*pia fidelis Domitiana*), but after the death of Emperor Domitian discarded the (honorary) adjective *Domitiana*.<sup>31</sup> In any case, this inscription can probably be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, before the reign of Emperor Caracalla, when the legion was named *Antoniniana*, as stated on the marble slab with relief and inscription from Varaždinske Toplice which the legate of that legion (L. Alfenus Avitianus) had erected around 214 in honour of the Emperor Caracalla.<sup>32</sup> Of course, there is a possibility that, at the time when Marcus Laelius Clemens placed the inscription, the legion had a longer name, but it is not mentioned on the inscription, so in that case the dating of the inscription could be assumed to be from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

For now, these two inscriptions are the only examples of members of the X Legion among the finds at Varaždinske Toplice, which at the time of their installation was stationed in Vindobona (2<sup>nd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries).<sup>33</sup> On the occasion of the ‘official’

33 Mócsy 1974, 99; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Farnum 2005, 21–22.

30 Goldsworthy 1998, 14.

31 Farnum 2005, 21.

32 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 279–280.

33 Mócsy 1974, 99; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Farnum 2005, 21–22.



SLIKA 9. Zavjetni natpis posvećen „uzvišenim“ nimfama - kat. br. 3, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 9. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 3, during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 10. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog „uzvišenim“ nimfama –kat. br. 3 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 10. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 3 (made by M. Vuković).

prilikom ugradnje u zid izvorišta te da je vjerojatno originalno imao izraženiju bazu i krunište. Da se radi o naknadnoj obradi vidljivo je u gornjem dijelu natpisnog polja gdje tragovi alata prelaze i na prvi red teksta (slova N Y). Zanimljiv je utor na gornjoj strani, koji je vjerojatno služio za postavljanje neke ploče, moguće i s reljefom (sl. 11). Pronađen je još jedan spomenik u Varaždinskim Toplicama posvećen nimfama<sup>34</sup>, koji također ima utor na gornjoj površini, pa se može pretpostaviti da je takav oblik zavjetnih spomenika bio uobičajen u ovom svetištu.

Natpis se sastoji od 6 redaka, međusobno odvojenih urezanim linijama, sa slovima visine 6 cm. Nažalost, površina je kamena jače oštećena u lijevom dijelu natpisa (u 5. retku), tako da se taj dio teksta ne može sa sigurnošću restituirati:

*Nymphis / Augustis / Aur(elius) Fla(v)us / dec(urio) mun(icipii) / B[.]gensium / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

34 Radi se o još neobjavljenom natpisu (s dedikacijom *Nymphis Salutaribus*), također pronađenom u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena (VTks 56), koji na gornjoj plohi ima uzdužni utor širine 8 cm.

visit to *Aquae Iasae* of Avitianus, he possibly accompanied the emperor Caracalla himself, or was a member of a delegation that visited the sanctuary with the emperor's favourite deities (Apollo, Aesculapius, Serapis) and placed an inscription for his health and victories. In contrast, the inscription placed by Clemens suggests that his was a visit for personal reasons of health.

Next to the altars described above, there is another altar found in the collapsed part of the wall, with an inscription dedicated to nymphs honoured with the epithet *augustae* (cat. no. 3) (Figs 9, 10). As already mentioned, this monument shifted from its position, but it can be assumed that it was originally placed next to the altars described above (cat. nos 1, 2) and was also part of the foundation of the north wall (Figs 3, 4). According to the position where it was found, it is very probable that the inscription was facing downwards, and the lower surface of the base was visible in the face of the wall. It is a votive inscription on a monolithic stone block (limestone), on which the shallow incisions indicate the capital (with acroteria), while the base is not particularly emphasized (the inscription field being separated only by a line from the lower part, which differs in



SLIKA 11. Zavjetni natpis posvećen „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 3, s utorom za ploču na gornjoj plohi (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 11. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 3, with a groove for the plate on the upper surface (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

*Aurelius Flavus* bio je dekurion municipija jednoga grada, čije ime nije u potpunosti čitko zbog jačeg oštećenja u tom dijelu kamena. Vidljivo je zadnjih šest slova – *ensium*, što ukazuje na pridjev u genitivu množine.<sup>35</sup> Na 3D skenu nazire se prvo slovo, možda E, ali vjerojatnije se radi o slovu B. Drugo je slovo jako oštećeno, nazire se samo neka okomita linija (možda I). Treće slovo moglo bi biti C, a vjerojatnije se radi o G s obzirom na sličnost sa slovom G u drugom redu natpisa, te bi prema tome riječ glasila – *Bigensium*. Vjerojatno se radi i o obliku *Bingensium* (ako je na drugome mjestu N i I u ligaturi), pa bi naziv grada mogao biti *Bingum* ili *Bingium*. Jedan *Bingium* spominje se u antičkim izvorima uz rijeku Rajnu,<sup>36</sup> a radi se vojnom logoru i kasnije civilnom naselju (Bingen am Rhein, Njemačka), dok se u obliku *Bingensium* (kao pridjev u genitivu množine) pojavljuje na epigrafskim spomenicima.<sup>37</sup> Vjerojatno se radi i o riječi *Brigensium* (ako su R i I u ligaturu), što bi upućivalo na keltski korijen – *briga* (brdo, povišeno mjesto), što je vrlo često u imenima gradova na Iberskom poluotoku: *Augustobriga*, *Flaviobriga*, *Iuliobriga* (*Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium*), *Mirobriga* i dr.<sup>38</sup> a koji se na natpisima također spominju u obliku s nastavkom – *ensium*.<sup>39</sup> Za sada, čini se upravo najvjerojatnije da ime grada treba tražiti u keltskoj riječi *briga* te da se dio teksta natpisa može interpretirati kao – *decurio municipii Brigensium*, odnosno da se radi o nekom gradu pod nazivom *Briga* ili *Brigae*.<sup>40</sup>

roughness). According to the traces of processing in the upper and lower parts of the block, it can be concluded that the stone was ‘processed’ during installation in the spring wall, and that it probably originally had a moulded base and capital. That this is post-processing is well visible in the upper part of the inscription field, where the traces of the tool pass to the first line of text (letters N Y). It is interesting that, on the upper surface, there is a groove, which was probably used to place a plate, possibly with relief (Fig. 11). Another monument was found in Varaždinske Toplice, dedicated to nymphs,<sup>34</sup> which also has a groove on the upper surface, so it can be assumed that such a form of votive monuments was common in this sanctuary.

The inscription consists of 6 rows, separated by incised lines, with letters 6 cm high. Unfortunately, the surface of the stone is more damaged in the left part of the inscription (in the fifth line), so that part of the text cannot be restituted with certainty:

*Nymphis / Augustis / Aur(eli)us Fla(v)us / dec(urio) mun(icipii) / B[.]gensium / v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito)*

*Aurelius Flavus* was decurion of one municipium, but the name of the city is not entirely legible due to the severer damage in that part of the stone. The last six letters *-ensium* are visible, which indicates an adjective in the genitive plural.<sup>35</sup> On the 3D scan, the first letter can be seen: perhaps E, but more likely the letter B. The second letter is very damaged: only a vertical line (perhaps I) can be seen. The third letter could be C, but it is

35 Sufiks – *ensis* karakterističan je za tvorbu pridjeva nastalih od toponima (prvenstveno gradova) npr. Aquincum – Aquincensis (CIL III, 10521), Aquincensium (AE 2009, 1139).

36 Dotzauer 2001, 29–30.

37 AE 1920, 0050.

38 Luján 2013, 103.

39 AE 2001, 1248; 2005, 0853.

40 Pretpostavlja se postojanje grada pod nazivom *Briga* na teritoriju današnje Velike Britanije (spomenuto na pločicama iz Vindolande br.190 i 292 (<http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets/index.shtml>) i kao *Brige* u Antoninovom itineraru (*It. Ant.* 1.15).

34 This is an as-yet unpublished inscription (with the dedication *Nymphis Salutaribus*) also found in the northern wall of the spring reservoir (VTKs-56), which has a longitudinal groove 8 cm wide on the upper surface.

35 The suffix *-ensis* is characteristic of the formation of adjectives derived from toponyms (primarily cities), e.g. Aquincum – Aquincensis (CIL III, 10521), Aquincensium (AE 2009, 1139).



SLIKA 12. Zavjetni natpis posvećen „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 4, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 12. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 4, during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 13. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 4 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 13. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 4 (made by M. Vuković).

Za dataciju natpisa najviše podataka daje samo ime dedikanta, *Aurelius Flavius*. Prema obliku imena u kojem nedostaje predime, ali i prema gentiliciju *Aurelius*, vrlo vjerojatno se ovaj spomenik može datirati u 3. stoljeće, najranije u vrijeme vladavine cara Karakale. Prema gentilnom carskom imenu *Aurelius*, može se zaključiti da se radi o slobodnom građaninu koji je stekao rimsko građansko pravo u vrijeme cara Karakale, nakon što je car ediktom iz 212. godine (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) svim slobodnim građanima dodijelio rimsko građansko pravo. Premda se na natpisu nalazi oblik kognomena *Flaus*,<sup>41</sup> vjerojatno se ipak radi o ispuštanju četvrtog slova (V) zbog manjka prostora pa je riječ o kognomenu *Flavius*, vrlo čestom u Španjolskoj, ali i na germanskom području,<sup>42</sup> što bi moglo ukazivati i na moguću lokaciju municipija čiji je dekuriom.

more likely to be G, due to a similarity with the letter G in the second line of the inscription, and therefore the word can be read as *Bigensium*. Also, the form of the word as *Bingensium* can be presumed (if, in the second place, N and I form a ligature), so the name of the city could be *Bingum* or *Bingium*. One *Bingium* is mentioned in ancient sources along the Rhine,<sup>36</sup> and is a military camp and later a civilian settlement (Bingen am Rhein, Germany), and in the form *Bingensium* (as an adjective in the genitive plural) appears on epigraphic monuments.<sup>37</sup> It is possible also that it is the word *Brigensium* (if R and I are in ligature), which would indicate the Celtic root *-briga* (hill, elevated place), which is very common in the names of cities on the Iberian Peninsula: Augustobriga, Flaviobriga, Iuliobriga (Portus Victoriae Iuliobrigensium), Mirobriga etc.,<sup>38</sup> which are also mentioned in inscriptions in the form with the suffix *-ensium*.<sup>39</sup> For

41 Oblik kognomena Flaus poznat je na više natpisa u Dalmaciji i Panoniji (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 147).

42 Alföldy 1969, 205; Kajanto 1965, 227.

36 Dotzauer 2001, 29–30.

37 AE 1920, 0050.

38 Luján 2013, 103.

39 AE 2001, 1248; 2005, 0853.



SLIKA 14. Zavjetni natpis posvećen „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 5, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 14. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 5, during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 15. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 5 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 15. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 5 (made by M. Vuković).

U sjevernom dijelu izvorišnog bazena, u donjim slojevima urušnja zapadnog dijela sjevernog zida, pronađen je još jedan natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (kat. br. 4). Riječ je o trodijelnom monolitnome mramornom žrtveniku, a sastoji se od gornjeg dijela (kruništa) s profilacijom i naznačenim zabatom i akroterijima, baze s profilacijom te središnjeg dijela s natpisom raspoređenim u 6 redaka (sl. 12,13). Površina mramora dosta je oštećena, pa tako i dio slova, ali su, na sreću, ipak dovoljno vidljiva za interpretaciju teksta u cijelosti:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Iulius / Nepos / commentar(iensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Dedikant je ovog žrtvenika bio Gaj Julije<sup>43</sup> Nepot<sup>44</sup> komentarijenz (*commentariensis*) vjerojatno u uredu namjesnika neke provincije. A *commentariis* ili *commentariensis* bio je naziv za

now, it seems most likely that the name of the city should be sought in the Celtic word *briga*, and that part of the text of the inscription can be interpreted as *decurio municipii Brigensium*, or that it is a city called *Briga* or *Brigae*.<sup>40</sup>

For the dating of the inscription, the name of the dedicant, Aurelius Flavus, gives the most information. According to the form of the name, in which the praenomen is missing, and also according to the gentilicium *Aurelius*, it is very likely that this monument can be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, at the earliest during the reign of Emperor Caracalla. According to the imperial nomen gentile *Aurelius*, it can be concluded that he was a free citizen who acquired Roman civil rights during the reign of Emperor Caracalla, after the emperor granted Roman civil right to all free citizens by an edict of 212 (Constitutio Antoniniana).

43 *Iulius* je bio vrlo rasprostranjen gentilicij diljem Rimskog Carstva, a što je posljedica dodjele tog carskog gentilicija tijekom vladavine Julijevaca (Alföldy 1969, 31–36).

44 *Nepos* je bio vrlo rasprostranjen kognomen, posebno u Italiji, ali i u Dalmaciji kod starosjedioca (Alföldy 1969, 251; Kajanto 1965, 304.), a ima ga i u Panoniji i Noriku (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 98).

40 It is assumed that there is a city called *Briga* on the territory of today's Great Britain (mentioned on the tablets from Vindolanda nos 190 and 292 (<http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets/index.shtml>) and as *Brige* in Antonin's itinerary (*It. Ant.* 1.15).



SLIKA 16. Zavjetni natpis posvećen „uzvišenim“ nimfama – kat. br. 6, nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio Zottmann GmbH).

FIGURE 16. Votive inscription dedicated to nymphs augustae: cat. no. 6, after conservation and restoration work (photo by Zottmann GmbH).

osobu koja se bavila dokumentima (tzv. *commentarii*) u namjesnikovu uredu (zakonske odluke i pisma provincijskih upravitelja) i najčešće se radilo o carskim oslobođenicima. Bili su odgovorni za čuvanje originalnih dokumenata i potvrdu njihove autentičnosti.<sup>45</sup> U uredu namjesnika bili su i kornikulariji (*cornicularius*), koji su bili na čelu vojnog osoblja, a bili su po rangu iznad komentarijenza.<sup>46</sup> Zanimljivo je da se jedan Gaj Julije Nepot spominje na natpisu iz Kostolca (2. stoljeće) i njegova funkcija kao prefektovog kornikularija u Saloni.<sup>47</sup> Vjerojatno se na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica i onom iz Kostolca radi o istoj osobi, koja je možda napredovala u službi u periodu nakon boravka u akvejaškom lječilištu. U tom bi se slučaju radilo o osobi koja je stigla iz Salone, no, naravno, to ostaje samo pretpostavka budući da je moguće da je Nepot s natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica bio i u uredu nekog bližega namjesnikova ureda (npr. Panonije). Datacija natpisa vjerojatna je u 2. ili prvu pol 3. stoljeća.

45 Weaver 1972, 241.

46 Breeze 1969, 87.

47 CIL III, 14507.

On the inscription the cognomen takes the form *Flaus*,<sup>41</sup> but in this case it is probably an omission of the fourth letter (V) due to lack of space, so it should be the cognomen *Flavus*, very common in Spain and Germany,<sup>42</sup> which could indicate a possible location for the municipium whose decurion he might be.

In the northern part of the spring reservoir, in the lower layers of the collapse of the western part of the northern wall, another inscription dedicated to nymphs was found (cat. no. 4). This is a tripartite monolithic marble altar that consists of a moulded capital with stylized gable and acroteria, a moulded base and a central part with an inscription arranged in 6 lines (Figs 12, 13). The surface of the marble is quite damaged, as well as some of the letters, but fortunately they are still visible enough to interpret the whole text:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Iulius / Nepos / commentar(iensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

The dedicant of this altar was Caius Julius<sup>43</sup> Nepos<sup>44</sup> *commentariensis*, probably in the office of the governor of one of the provinces. A *commentarius* or *commentariensis* was the person who dealt with documents (so-called *commentarii*) in the governor's office (legal decisions and letters of provincial governors), and most often they were the Emperor's freedmen. They were responsible for the safe custody of original documents and certification of their authenticity.<sup>45</sup> There was also *cornicularius* in the governor's office, who was at the head of the military staff, and was above the rank of *commentariensis*.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting that one *Caius Julius Nepos* is mentioned in an inscription from Kostolac (2<sup>nd</sup> century), and his function was *cornicularius praefecti Salonis*.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice and the one from Kostolac were erected by the same person, who may have progressed in the service in the period after his stay in Aquae Iasae. In that case, it would be a person who arrived from Salona, but of course this remains only a guess, since it is possible that the Nepos who erected the altar in Aquae Iasae was in the nearby governor's office (e.g. Pannonia). The dating of the inscription is probably to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Another marble altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *augustae* was found in the rubble of the north wall of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 5). According to the position in which it was found, it can be assumed that it was built into the central part of that wall, in one of the lower rows. The altar has a base with moulding that extends laterally to both sides, as well as the moulding of the capital, on which the acroteria are

41 The form of the cognomen *Flaus* is known from several inscriptions in Dalmatia and Pannonia (Lórinčz *et al.* 2000, 147).

42 Alföldy 1969, 205; Kajanto 1965, 227.

43 *Iulius* was a very widespread gentilicium throughout the Roman Empire, as a result of the granting of this imperial gentilicium during the reign of the Juliani (Alföldy 1969, 31–36).

44 *Nepos* was a very widespread cognomen, especially in Italy, but also in Dalmatia among the natives (Alföldy 1969, 251; Kajanto 1965, 304), and it is also found in Pannonia and Noricum (Lórinčz *et al.* 2000, 98).

45 Weaver 1972, 241.

46 Breeze 1969, 87.

47 CIL III, 14507.



**SLIKA 17.** Pogled na stražnju stranu istočnog dijela sjevernog zida sa sekundarno iskorištenim spomenicima u strukturi zida: a) kat. br. 7; b) zavjetni natpis posvećen Izidi i Serapisu (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 290–292; snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 17.** View of the back of the eastern part of the north wall with secondarily-used monuments in the wall structure: a) cat. no. 7; b) a votive inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 290–292; photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

Još jedan mramorni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama pronađen je u urušanju sjevernog zida izvorišta (kat. br. 5), a za koji se, prema položaju u urušanju, može pretpostaviti da je bio ugrađen u središnji dio tog zida, u donjim redovima. Žrtvenik ima bazu s profilacijom koja se proteže i na bočne strane, kao i profilaciju kruništa na kojem su i reljefno prikazani akroteriji (sl. 14, 15). Slova su pravilno klesana kvadratnom kapitalom, raspoređena u 6 redaka. Rastavni znakovi u obliku točki vidljivi su između predimena i gentilicija u 3. te u 5. i 6. retku između svih kratica. Tekst glasi:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / T(itus) Flavius / Florentinus / dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Na natpisu se spominje ime Tita Flavija<sup>48</sup> Florentina<sup>49</sup>, dekurijska članica općinskog vijeća) petovionske kolonije Ulpije Trajane. Radi se o pripadniku vladajućeg sloja Petovione (najvjerojatnije tijekom 2. stoljeća ili prve polovice 3. stoljeća), čije ime do sada nije bilo poznato među upraviteljima toga grada.<sup>50</sup> Zbog toga ovaj žrtvenik doprinosi sagledavanju strukture posjetitelja koji su dolazili u akvejaško svetište, a istovremeno daje značajan podatak za povijest grada Petovione. Do sada je već poznato više natpisa koji među posjetiteljima akvejaškog svetišta otkrivaju imena stanovnika toga grada,<sup>51</sup> za koje se može pretpostaviti da su većinom bili oni bogatiji iz viših slojeva, koji su ostavljali skuplje zavjetne darove. To potvrđuje i dobro sačuva-

depicted in relief (Figs 14, 15). The letters are properly carved in square capital, arranged in 6 lines. Dots, as separation marks, are visible between praenomen and gentilicium and, on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> lines, between all abbreviations. The text reads:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / T(itus) Flavius / Florentinus / dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

The inscription mentions the name of Titus Flavius<sup>48</sup> Florentinus,<sup>49</sup> decurion (member of the municipal council) of the colony *Ulpia Traiana Poetoviensis*. He was a member of the ruling class of Poetovio (most likely during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century), whose name has not been known among the governors of that city.<sup>50</sup> Therefore, this altar contributes to an understanding of the structure of the visitors who came to *Aquae Iasae*, and at the same time provides important information for the history of the city of Poetovio. So far, several inscriptions are known that reveal the names of visitors who came to *Aquae Iasae* from Poetovio.<sup>51</sup> It can be assumed that they were mostly well-off and from the upper classes, as they left more expensive votive gifts in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary. This is also confirmed by a well-preserved altar dedicated to the nymphs *augustae* (cat. no. 6), found in the north wall, erected by Gaius Valerius Posphorus, *augustalis* of the Poetovio colony (Fig. 16).<sup>52</sup> The *augustales* were a kind of priests, in charge of the imperial cult, and most often they were rich freedmen who

48 Gentilno carsko ime *Flavius* bilo je prisutno diljem Carstva, a značajno se proširilo tijekom vladavine careva Flavijejske dinastije (Alföldy 1969, 38–41).

49 Kognomen *Florentinus* bio je poznat diljem Carstva (Alföldy 1969, 205; Kajanto 1965, 189), a čest je i u Panoniji i Noriku (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 148).

50 Šašel Kos 1993; Šašel Kos 2014, 153–154.

51 CIL III, 4117; ILJug-02, 1168; Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 73; 2015, kat. br. 73.

48 The imperial gentile name *Flavius* was present throughout the Empire, spreading significantly during the reign of the emperors of the Flavian dynasty (Alföldy 1969, 38–41).

49 The cognomen *Florentinus* was known throughout the Empire (Alföldy 1969, 205; Kajanto 1965, 189) and is common in Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 148).

50 Šašel Kos 1993; Šašel Kos 2014, 153–154.

51 CIL III, 4117; ILJug-02, 1168; Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 73; 2015, kat. br. 73.

52 HD075024; Kušan Špalj 2014, 62, 88, kat. br. 79; 2015, 62, 88, kat. br. 79.

**SLIKA 18.** Pogled na istočni dio sjevernog zida izvorišta s označenim položajem sekundarno iskorištenih spomenika: a) kat. br. 6; b) kat. br. 7; c) kat. br. 8; d) kat. br. 9; e) natpis posvećen Izidi i Serapisu (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 290–292.); f) natpis posvećen Junoni, Minervi, Apolonu i nimfama (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 287–288); g - k) ostali spomenici (s natpisima; snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 18.** View of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir with marked positions of secondarily-used monuments: a) cat. no. 6; b) cat. no. 7; c) cat. no. 8; e) cat. no. 9; e) an inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 290–292); f) an inscription dedicated to Juno, Minerva, Apollo and the nymphs (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 287–288); g–k) other monuments (with inscriptions; photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



ni žrtvenik s posvetom uzvišenim nimfama (kat. br. 6), pronađen u sjevernom zidu, koji je podignuo Gaj Valerije Posfor, augustal petovionske kolonije (sl. 16).<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> Spomenik je pronađen u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, a donja strana njegove baze (s vidljivim olovnom okruglim klinom u sredini baze)<sup>54</sup> bila je iskorištena za „lice“ zida (sl. 17, 18). Radi se o trodijelnom monolitnome žrtveniku koji se sastoji od gornjeg dijela (krunište), baze s profilacijom (koja prelazi i na bočne strane) te natpisnog polja uokvirenog profilacijom. Tekst je raspoređen u 8 redaka, s jačim oštećenjima površine u donjim redovima, ali je natpis moguće u potpunosti interpretirati:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius / Posphorus / Aug(ustalis) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raiana) P(oetoviensis) / pro salute sua / et suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Zanimljiv je oblik imena *Posphorus*, prisutan u tom obliku na više natpisa iz raznih dijelova Carstva,<sup>55</sup> a smatra se varijacijom čestog imena *Phosphorus*.<sup>56</sup>

*Caius Valerius Posphorus*, augustal iz Petovione, najvjerojatnije je bio oslobođenik elitne obitelji *Valerius*, koja je još tijekom 2. stoljeća predstavljala viši društveni sloj u gradu Petovioni.<sup>57</sup> Za-

thus approached the influential circles of society and, very often at their own expense, erected statues and altars to various deities.<sup>53</sup> The monument was found in the construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, and the underside of its base (with a visible round lead wedge in the middle of the base)<sup>54</sup> was used for the ‘face’ of the wall (Figs 17, 18). It is a tripartite monolithic altar consisting of an upper part, a base with moulding (which extends laterally to the sides) and a moulded inscription field. The text is arranged in 8 lines, with more severe surface damage in the lower lines, but the inscription can be fully interpreted:

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius / Posphorus / Aug(ustalis) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raiana) P(oetoviensis) / pro salute sua / et suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

The form of the name *Posphorus* is interesting, present in this form on several inscriptions from various parts of the Empire,<sup>55</sup> and considered a variation of the common name *Phosphorus*.<sup>56</sup>

*Caius Valerius Posphorus*, augustalis of Poetovio, was most likely a freedman of the elite *Valerius* family, which represented, as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a higher social class in the city of Poetovio.<sup>57</sup> It is interesting that another inscription from Varaždinske Toplice is known, the dedicant of which was an augustalis of Poetovio, *Caius Valerius Priscus*, also probably a freedman of the *Valerius* family, and who placed an altar in

52 HD075024; Kušan Špalj 2014, 62, 88, kat. br. 79; 2015, 62, 88, kat. br. 79.

53 Selem 1976, 7.

54 Olovo na dnu baze vjerojatno je bio način učvršćenja spomenika na neku podlogu, a riječ je o za sada jedinom takvome nalazu iz Varaždinskih Toplica.

55 Lőrincz et al. 2000, 140.

56 Alföldy 1969, 269; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 140.

57 Alföldy 1964–1965.

53 Selem 1976, 7.

54 Lead at the bottom of the monument was probably a way of fixing the monument on a base, and for now it is the only such find at Varaždinske Toplice.

55 Lőrincz et al. 2000, 140.

56 Alföldy 1969, 269; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 140.

57 Alföldy 1964–1965.



nimljivo je da je iz Varaždinskih Toplica poznat još jedan natpis čiji je dedikant bio agustal iz Petovione, *Caius Valerius Priscus*, također vjerojatno oslobođenih obitelji *Valerius*, a koji je podignuo žrtvenik u čast Izide i Serapisa.<sup>58</sup> Slučajnost je da su oba spomenika pronađena u istom dijelu sjevernog zida, neposredno jedan iznad drugoga (sl. 17, 18).

### Kameni spomenici posvećeni nimfama s epitetima vezanim uz zdravlje i termalni izvor

Tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova, na sačuvanom istočnome dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišta (sl. 18),<sup>59</sup> pronađen je jedan kameni blok (vapnenac) s posvetom ozdravljajućim nimfama (kat. br. 7). Osim natpisnog polja, na prednjoj su strani vidljivi ostaci ukrasa u obliku tordiranog užeta na gornjem dijelu, što vjerojatno predstavlja ostatak ukrasa na kruništu (sl. 19). S obzirom na jasno vidljive tragove obrade iznad i ispod natpisnog polja, vrlo je vjerojatno na tome dijelu postojala profilacija baze, odnosno kruništa, a koja je odstranjena kako bi se blok uklopio u strukturu zida prilikom njegove ugradnje tijekom obnove izvorišta. Površina je kamena dosta oštećena od sumporne vode (s vidljivim tragovima pirita), ali slova su većinom čitka, osim najdonjeg reda koji je bolje vidljiv na 3D skenu (sl. 20). Natpis je raspoređen u devet redaka, a u prvom redu, u riječi *Nymphis*, slova MPH su u ligaturi, kao i slova N V u imenu *Valerianus* u 4. retku te V E u 5. retku u imenu legije. Znakovi interpunkcije imaju uglavnom oblik trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*), a ponegdje se više čini da se radi o točkama.

*Nymphis Salu / taribus T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) / Papiria (domo) Oesci / Dom(itius) Valerian(us) / centurio leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Sever(ianae) / et Ulpia Pudencil / la coniux pro / se et suis vv(ota) ss(solverunt) / Il(ibentes) mm(erito)*

Centurion XIII. legije – Tit Flavije Domicije Valerijan, podrijetlom iz mezijskog grada Eska, posvetio je natpis ozdravljajućim nimfama. Radi se vrlo vjerojatno o istoj osobi koja je postavila zavjetni natpis božici Fortuni, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama 1962. godine,<sup>60</sup> datiran u 231. godinu, a što je vrlo detaljno obradio D. Rendić-Miočević.<sup>61</sup> Zanimljivo je da se na oba natpisa pojavljuje isti oblik imena (s dva kognomena) te je na isti način istaknuto porijeklo dedikanta, odnosno njegova pripadnost u *tribus Papiria* iz mezijskoga grada Eska. Da se radi o vrlo specifičnoj onomastičkoj formuli, pogotovo za 3. stoljeće, ukazao je i D. Rendić-Miočević u interpretaciji natpisa posvećenog Fortuni. Istaknuo je da imena Tita Flavija asociraju na tradiciju

honour of Isis and Serapis.<sup>58</sup> It is a coincidence that both monuments were found in the same part of the north wall, one directly above the other (Figs 17, 18).

### Stone monuments dedicated to nymphs with epithets relating to health and the thermal spring

During conservation and restoration work on the preserved eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (Fig. 18),<sup>59</sup> a stone block (limestone) with a dedication to healing nymphs was found (cat. no. 7). In addition to the inscription field, on its front there are visible remains of ornaments in the form of a twisted rope on the upper part, which probably represents the rest of the ornaments on the capital (Fig. 19). Given the clearly visible traces of processing above and below the inscription field, it is very likely that there was a moulded base and capital, but it was removed to fit the block into the wall structure during the restoration of the spring reservoir. The surface of the stone has suffered damage from sulphur water (with visible traces of pyrite), but the letters are mostly legible, except for the bottom row, which is better visible on the 3D scan (Fig. 20). The inscription is arranged in nine lines; and, in the word *Nymphis* on the first line, the letters MPH are in ligature, as well as the letters N V in the name of Valerianus on the 4<sup>th</sup> line, and V E in the name of the legion on the 5<sup>th</sup> line. The punctuation marks are mostly triangular (*triangula distinguentia*), and in some places they seem to be dots.

*Nymphis Salu / taribus T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) / Papiria (domo) Oesci / Dom(itius) Valerian(us) / centurio leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Sever(ianae) / et Ulpia Pudencil / la coniux pro / se et suis vv(ota) ss(solverunt) / Il(ibentes) mm(erito)*

The inscription is dedicated to the healing nymphs by a centurion of the XIII Legion *Gemina Severiana*, Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus, originally from the Moesian city of Oescus. Very likely it is the same person that placed the votive inscription to the goddess Fortuna, found in Varaždinske Toplice in 1962,<sup>60</sup> dated to 231, elaborated in detail by D. Rendić-Miočević.<sup>61</sup> It is interesting that the same form of the name (with two cognomena) appears on both inscriptions, and in the same way the origin of the dedicant is emphasized, i.e. his affiliation to the *tribus Papiria* of the Moesian city of Oescus. In his interpretation of the inscription dedicated to Fortuna, Rendić-Miočević points out that this is a very specific onomastic formula, especially for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. He notes that the name 'Titus Flavius' is associ-

58 HD074972; Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 73; 2015, kat. br. 73; 2017a, 290–292.

59 Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi provedeni su 2012. godine (Zottmann, GmbH) te su obuhvatili učvršćenje zida i pojedinih blokova, što je zahtijevalo djelomičnu razgradnju zida. Tada je uočeno da neki od blokova sadrže natpise, a što nije bilo vidljivo prije razgradnje budući da su u licu zida bile vidljive samo donje površine spomenika. Odlučeno je da se svi spomenici trajno izvade iz zida i zamijene drugim kamenim blokovima sličnih dimenzija (bez natpisa i ukrasa), a koji su bili pronađeni u urušavanju središnjeg dijela sjevernog zida.

60 Spomenik je pronađen u prigradnji južno od bazilike (Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130).

61 Rendić-Miočević 1975.

58 HD074972; Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 73; 2015, kat. br. 73; 2017a, 290–292.

59 Conservation and restoration work was carried out in 2012 (Zottmann GmbH) and included the reinforcement of the wall and individual blocks, which required partial dismantling of the wall. It was then noticed that some of the blocks contained inscriptions, which was not visible before the demolition, as only the lower surfaces of the monuments were visible in the face of the wall. It was decided to remove all monuments from the wall and replace them with other stone blocks of similar dimensions (without inscriptions and decorations) which were found in the collapse of the central part of the north wall.

60 The altar was found in an annex south of the basilica (Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130).

61 Rendić-Miočević 1975.

flavijevske dinastije i da su dva navedena kognomena (Domicije i Valerijan) gentilicijskog karaktera te možda pokazuju neke ranije adoptivne procese u životu dedikanta koji je možda upravo adopcijom ušao u *gens Flavia*. To potkrepljuje i činjenicom da se ime oca na spomeniku posvećenom Fortuni pojavljuje u punom obliku (*Titi*).<sup>62</sup> Premda se na novom natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica ime oca pojavljuje u uobičajenom skraćenom obliku (*T. f.*), ta teza svakako ostaje otvorena.

Tit Flavije se na oba spomenika iz Varaždinskih Toplica pojavljuje kao centurion XIII. legije, koja se na natpisu posvećenom Fortuni navodi u obliku *XIII Gemina Martia victrix Severiana*, dok je na novijem spomeniku naziv legije u nešto kraćem obliku – *XIII Gemina Severiana*. S obzirom na to da je natpis Fortuni precizno datiran prema navedenim konzulima u 231. godinu, prema nazivu legije *Severiana* niti natpis posvećen nimfama nije mogao nastati mnogo ranije budući da taj naziv legija dobiva u vrijeme Aleksandra Severa (222. – 235. godine). Da su oba natpisa nastala u kratkom vremenskom razmaku, ili možda čak istovremeno, potvrđuje i velika sličnost u izgledu natpisa pa se čak može pretpostaviti da su izrađeni u istoj radionici.

Vrlo sličan oblik slova na oba spomenika ukazuje na gotovo isti „rukopis“, možda i od istog majstora. Zanimljivo je da se na oba spomenika pojavljuje i isti ukrasni motiv – tordiranog užeta. Na natpisu posvećenom nimfama taj je ukras sačuvan samo u prednjem dijelu kruništa, ali se vjerojatno nalazio i na drugim dijelovima spomenika, odakle je zajedno s profilacijom baze i kruništa odstranjen prilikom ugradnje u zid izvorišta, kako bi se dobio pravilan kameni blok. Na to ukazuju i tragovi alata vidljivi na prednjoj plohi spomenika iznad i ispod natpisa. Materijal (lokalni kamen, vapnenac) od kojeg su izrađena oba spomenika, kao i cjelokupna izvedba, ukazuju na to da se vjerojatno radi o proizvodima jedne lokalne radionice.

Ovi natpisi daju naslutiti i moguće razloge zbog kojih se dolazilo u *Aquae Iasae*. Tako je jedan žrtvenik Tit Flavije posvetio nimfama, i to je učinio zajedno sa suprugom Ulpijom Pudencijom (za sebe i svoje), pa su možda i zajedno posjetili *Aquae Iasae* te se nadali ozdravljenju. Zanimljivo je i oblik formule *vv(ota) ss(solverunt) ll(ibentes) mm(erito)* na kraju natpisa kojom se ističe zajednički zavjet, koji do sada nije bio poznat na nađenim spomenicima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, ali je poznat, na primjer na jednome natpisu iz Siska (datiran u 227. godinu).<sup>63</sup> Za razliku od ovog natpisa, koji je Tit Flavije posvetio nimfama i koji odaje privatni razlog i karakter posjeta, prvenstveno iz zdravstvenih razloga, za drugi natpis posvećen Fortuni, može se zaključiti da je postavljen u znak zahvalnosti božici Fortuni za napredovanje u legiji.<sup>64</sup> Naime, na tom se spomeniku Tit Flavije predstavlja kao legijski centurion (*centurio legionarius*), a posebno je istaknuto da je to napredovanje postigao glasovanjem (*ad suffragium*). Premda čin legijskog centuriona nije bila visoka funkcija, način napredovanja, koji nije bio uobičajen kao imenovanje, očito je bio iznimno značajan za samog dedikanta i posebno ga je ista-



SLIKA 19. Zavjetni natpis posvećen nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 7, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 19. Votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs: cat. no. 7, during a 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

ated with the tradition of the Flavian dynasty and that the two cognomina (Domitius and Valerianus) are of a gentilic character, which may show some earlier adoptive processes in the life of the dedicant, who may have entered Flavius's gens by adoption. This is supported by the fact that the father's name appears in full on the monument dedicated to Fortuna (*Titi*).<sup>62</sup> Although, on the inscription more recently found at Varaždinske Toplice, the father's name appears in the usual abbreviated form (*T. f.*), this thesis certainly remains open.

Titus Flavius appears on both monuments from Varaždinske Toplice as a centurion of the XIII Legion, which is stated on the inscription dedicated to Fortuna in the form *XIII Gemina Martia victrix Severiana*, while on the recently-found monument the name of the legion is in a slightly shorter form: *XIII Gemina Severiana*. Since the inscription dedicated to Fortuna

62 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 38, 40.

63 CIL III, 10843.

64 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 41.

62 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 38, 40.



SLIKA 20. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 7 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 20. Photogrammetric 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs: cat. no. 7 (made by M. Vuković).

knuo. Zbog toga se može zaključiti da u ovom slučaju posjet svetištu nije bio vezan isključivo uz zdravlje i ozdravljenje već i uz „sreću“ u vojničkoj službi pa je upravo iz tog razloga posveta bila božici sreće – Fortuni.<sup>65</sup> Novi nalazi vezani uz božicu Fortunu u Varaždinskim Toplicama,<sup>66</sup> a pogotovo jedan natpis na kojem se Fortuna spominje kao *Iasoniana*,<sup>67</sup> ukazuju na izuzetnu popularnost njezina kulta u 2. i 3. stoljeću. Vjerojatno je to bio i glavni razlog posjeta Tita Flavija, koji dolazi iz grada Eska, gdje je bilo poznato svetište božici Fortuni.<sup>68</sup> Na kraju, može se pretpostaviti da je da je Tit Flavije, ili tijekom jednog boravka u akvejaškom svetištu postavio oba spomenika, jedan više privatni, za zdravlje obitelji, a drugi vezan uz napredovanje u službi, ili da je dolazio dva puta u relativno kratkom periodu. U tom je slučaju vjerojatno privatni posjet bio kasniji budući da se na spomeni-

has been dated precisely to 231, in accordance with the aforementioned consuls, the inscription dedicated to the nymphs could also not have been created much earlier, since the name of the legion, *Severiana*, was given to the legion in the time of Alexander Severus (222–235). That both inscriptions were created in a short period of time, or perhaps even at the same time, is confirmed by the great similarity in the appearance of the inscriptions, so it can even be assumed that they were made in the same workshop. The very similar shapes of the letters on both monuments indicates almost the same ‘handwriting’, perhaps from the same craftsman. It is interesting that the same decorative motif appears on both monuments: twisted rope. On the inscription dedicated to the nymphs, this decoration is preserved only in the front part of the capital, but it probably also existed on other parts of the monument, from where it was removed along with the moulding of the base and capital when it was installed in the spring reservoir’s wall. This is also confirmed by the traces of tools visible on the front surface of the monument above and below the inscription. The material (local stone, limestone) from which both monuments are made, as well as the overall mode of execution, indicate that these are probably the products of one local workshop.

These inscriptions also point to the possible reasons why people came to Aquae Iasae. So one altar was dedicated to the nymphs by Titus Flavius, together with his wife Ulpia Pudentilla (for themselves and their own), so perhaps they visited Aquae Iasae together, hoping for health and healing. It is interesting to note the form of the formula at the end of the inscription, emphasizing the joint vow: *vv(ota) ss(solverunt) ll(ibentes) mm(erito)*. This variant of the formula has not been seen on the monuments found in Varaždinske Toplice so far, but is known, for example, on an inscription from Sisak (dated to 227).<sup>63</sup> This inscription, dedicated by Titus Flavius to the nymphs, reveals the private reason and character of the visit, primarily for health reasons. In contrast, of another inscription, dedicated to Fortuna, it can be concluded that it was placed in gratitude to the goddess for advancement in the legion.<sup>64</sup> On this monument Titus Flavius presents himself as a legionary centurion (*centurio legionarius*), and it is especially emphasized that he achieved this progress through voting (*ad suffragium*). Although the rank of legionary centurion was not a high position in the army, the manner of the promotion, which was not common as an appointment, was evidently extremely important to the dedicant himself, and he especially emphasized it. Therefore, it can be concluded that, in this case, the visit to the sanctuary did not relate exclusively to health and healing, but also to ‘fortune’ in military service, so for that reason the dedication was to the goddess of happiness: Fortuna.<sup>65</sup> New finds relating to the goddess Fortuna in Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>66</sup> and especially an inscription mentioning Fortuna as *Iasoniana*,<sup>67</sup> indicate the exceptional popularity of her cult in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. It is possible that this was

65 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 41.

66 Kušan Špalj 2014, 69–70, 94–95, kat. br. 75–76; 2015, 69–70, 94–95, kat. br. 75–76.

67 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 76; 2015, kat. br. 76.

68 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 45.

63 CIL III, 10843.

64 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 41.

65 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 41.

66 Kušan Špalj 2014, 69–70, 94–95, kat. br. 75–76; 2015, 69–70, 94–95, kat. br. 75–76.

67 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 76; 2015, kat. br. 76.



SLIKA 21. Zavjetni natpis posvećen ljekovitim, uzvišenim i nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 8, nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio Zottmann GmbH).

FIGURE 21. Votive inscription dedicated to the curative, augustae and healing nymphs: cat. no. 8, after conservation and restoration work (photo by Zottmann GmbH).

ku posvećenom nimfama funkcija centuriona, koju je obnašao u legiji, spominje na „uobičajeniji“ način (*centurio legionis*), pa se čini da se već priviknuo na tu funkciju i nije ju posebno isticao.

Mogućnost da su pojedinci više puta posjećivali *Aquae Iasae* pokazuju i neki drugi spomenici, na primjer, oni vezani uz Lucija Klaudija Moderata. On je postavio manji žrtvenik s natpisom u čast božice Minerve,<sup>69</sup> a vjerojatno potaknut čudotvornim djelovanjem termalne vode uložio i veća sredstva te postavio natpis i skulpturu božice u njezinu hramu.<sup>70</sup>

Novi natpis Tita Flavija za sada je peti primjer na kojem se spominje legija *XIII Gemina* pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Na tom se natpisu, kao i na onome koji je posvetio Fortuni, legija spominje u punom nazivu, dok su ostali spomenici više oštećeni i sadrže samo oblik *XIII Gemina*. Tako je i na natpisu, pronađenom u sjevernom zidu izvorišta 2011. godine, spekulatora Lucija Arija Florentina, sačuvan vjerojatno samo dio naziva legi-

the main reason for the visit of Titus Flavius, who comes from the city of Oescus, where a sanctuary of the goddess Fortuna is known.<sup>68</sup> In the end, it can be assumed that Titus Flavius either erected both monuments during his stay in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary – one more private, for the health of the family, and the other relating to promotion – or that he came twice in a relatively short period. In that case, the private visit was probably later, since the monument dedicated to the nymphs mentions the function of centurion in the legion in a ‘more common’ way (*centurio legionis*), so it seems that he had already got used to this function and did not emphasize it.

The possibility that individuals have visited *Aquae Iasae* several times is shown by some other monuments, such as those relating to Lucius Claudius Moderatus. He erected a modest altar with an inscription in honour of the goddess Minerva,<sup>69</sup> and – probably encouraged by the miraculous effects of thermal water – he invested grander funds and placed an inscription and sculpture of the goddess in her temple.<sup>70</sup>

For now, the new inscription of Titus Flavius is the fifth example mentioning the XIII Legion *Gemina* found in Varaždinske Toplice. On this inscription, as well as on the one dedicated to Fortuna, the legion’s name is given in full, while other monuments are more damaged and contain only the form *XIII Gemina*. Thus, on the inscription found in the north wall of the spring reservoir in 2011, dedicated by the speculator Lucius Arius Florentinus, probably only part of the name of the legion (*XIII Gemina*) is preserved, since the lower part of the inscription is missing.<sup>71</sup> The same form of the name of the legion appears on one altar found earlier, dedicated by the primipilus Lucius Larius Celer.<sup>72</sup> Another fragment of an inscription, found recently in the construction of the wall of the western porch of the sanctuary,<sup>73</sup> has also only *XIII Gemina* as the preserved form. All inscriptions found so far mentioning members of the XIII Legion are dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century, that is, the time when this legion was stationed at Carnuntum.<sup>74</sup> Considering the relatively large number of inscriptions dedicated by members of the XIII Legion in Varaždinske Toplice, and also in neighbouring areas,<sup>75</sup> it could be concluded that at least some auxiliary units resided in these areas in the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Another severely damaged inscription was found in the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 8)<sup>76</sup>, and that it is an inscription was only noticed during conservation and restoration work on that wall (Fig. 18). Traces of moulding are visible in the upper part of the stone block (limestone),

69 Kušan Špalj 2014, 68, 92–93, kat. br. 66; 2015, 68, 92–93, kat. br. 66.

70 ILJug-02, 01169; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1983–1984.

68 Rendić-Miočević 1975, 45.

69 Kušan Špalj 2014, 68, 92–93, kat. br. 66; 2015, 68, 92–93, kat. br. 66.

70 ILJug-02, 1169; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1983–1984.

71 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286.

72 ILJug-02, 1172.

73 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 60c; 2015, kat. br. 60c.

74 Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–170.

75 AE 1934, 0078; 1986, 0570; CIL III, 3918.

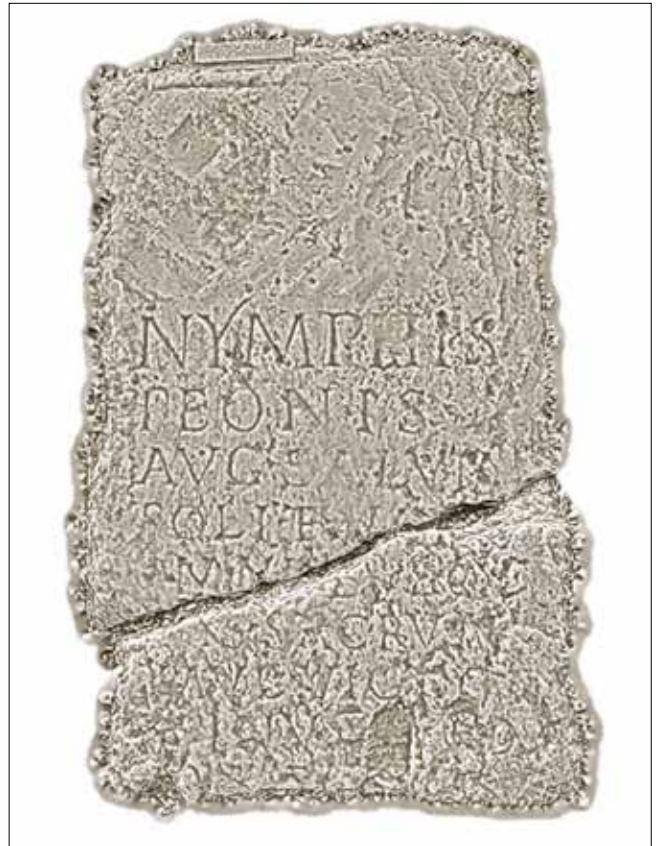
je (*XVIII Gemina*) jer donji dio natpisa nedostaje,<sup>71</sup> a u tom obliku ime legije pojavljuje se i na jednom ranije pronađenom natpisu koji je postavio primipil te legije Lucije Larije Celer.<sup>72</sup> U novijim je istraživanjima pronađen i jedan fragment natpisa iskorišten kod gradnje zida zapadnog trijema svetišta,<sup>73</sup> također samo sa spomenom – *XVIII Gemina*. Svi do sada pronađeni natpisi, koji spominju pripadnike XVIII. legije, datirani su u 2. i 2/3. stoljeće, odnosno u vrijeme kada je ta legija bila stacionirana u Karnuntu.<sup>74</sup> S obzirom na relativno mnogo natpisa pripadnika XVIII. legije u Varaždinskim Toplicama, ali i na susjednim područjima,<sup>75</sup> moglo bi se zaključiti da su barem neke pomoćne jedinice boravile u tim krajevima u periodu 2. – 3. stoljeća.

Još jedan vrlo oštećeni natpis pronađen je u istočnom dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišta (kat. br. 8)<sup>76</sup>, a da je riječ o natpisu, ustanovljeno je također tek tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na tom zidu (sl. 18). Tragovi profilacije vidljivi su u gornjem dijelu kamenog bloka (vapnenac) koji je vjerojatno, kao i mnogi drugi, „obrađen“ za ugradnju u zid te tako nije sačuvan u izvornom obliku. Zbog utjecaja sumporne vode, površina je jako oštećena, pogotovo u donjem dijelu natpisa, a niti nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova nije bila moguća potpuna restitucija (sl. 21, 22). Od velike pomoći za prepoznavanje nekih slova svakako je i 3D model, a od 8 redaka, sa sigurnošću mogu se interpretirati samo prva tri:

*Nymphis / Peonis / Aug(ustis) Saluta[r](ibus)*

Ovo je prvi natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica na kojem se nimfama uz uobičajene epitete (*augustae, salutaris*) dodaje i posveta u obliku *peonis*. Vrlo vjerojatno radi se o dativu množine pridjeva *paeonia* (ljekovita) koji je, umjesto oblika *paeoniis*, na ovom natpisu korišten u pojednostavljenom obliku *peonis*.<sup>77</sup> Riječ dolazi od grčke riječi *παίων*,<sup>78</sup> a bog s imenom *Paeon* (ili *Paeon*) pojavljuje se već u *Ilijadi*, kao liječnik bogova (biljkama liječi rane Aresa i Hada).<sup>79</sup> Kasnije se poistovjećuje s Apolonom, a *Paeon* postaje i epitet za Asklepija.<sup>80</sup> U svakom slučaju, epitete *paeonae* (*peonae*) na natpisu pridodan je nimfama u smislu njihove ljekovitosti povezane s termalnom vodom.

Za ostali dio teksta, zbog jake oštećenosti površine kamena, ne može se sa sigurnošću odrediti sadržaj. Naime, prvo slovo, od kojeg je sačuvan samo gornji dio, čini se da bi moglo biti „P“, ali moguće je da se radi i o slovu „S“. U tom slučaju radilo bi se o spomenu Sola budući da je sljedećih pet slova dobro vidljivo (OLI ET). U nastavku je moguće i jedno slovo „M“, što je vjerojat-



SLIKA 22. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog ljekovitim, uzvišenim i nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 8 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 22. 3D model of a votive inscription dedicated to the curative, augustae and healing nymphs: cat. no. 8 (made by M. Vuković).

which, like many others, was probably ‘processed’ for installation in the wall and thus not preserved in its original form. Due to the influence of sulphur water, the surface was severely damaged, especially in the lower part of the inscription, and complete restitution was not possible even after conservation and restoration work (Figs 21, 22). The 3D model is certainly of great help for recognizing some of the letters, and only the first three of the eight lines can be interpreted with certainty:

*Nymphis / Peonis / Aug(ustis) Saluta[r](ibus)*

This is the first example of an inscription from Varaždinske Toplice dedicated to nymphs where, in addition to the usual

71 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286.

72 ILJug-02, 1172.

73 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 60c; 2015, kat. br. 60c.

74 Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–170.

75 AE 1934, 0078; 1986, 0570; CIL III, 3918.

76 Kušan Špalj 2020b, 177, sl. 5.

77 Primjer monoftongizacije, odnosno prelaska diftonga ae u monoftong e i ispadanje vokala i – p(a)eoni(i)s.

78 Smatra se da korijen riječi treba čak tražiti u mikenskom linear B pismu, gdje je riječ *pa-ja-wo* korištena za boga liječenja (Schofield 2007, 160).

79 Il. V, 363; Il. V, 899 itd.

80 *Paeon* as an anthem is mentioned as early as the *Iliad* (Il X, 391), and later it was a song in honour of Apollo, performed both before and after campaigns of war.

76 Kušan Špalj 2020b, 177, sl. 5.

77 An example of monophthongization, i.e. the transition of the diphthong ae to the monophthong e and the loss of the vowel i: p(a)eoni(i)s.

78 It is believed that the root of the word should even be sought in the Mycenaean linear B script, where the word *pa-ja-wo* was used for the god of healing (Schofield 2007, 160).

79 Il. V, 363; Il. V, 899 etc.

80 *Paeon* as an anthem is mentioned as early as the *Iliad* (Il X, 391), and later it was a song in honour of Apollo, performed both before and after campaigns of war.

**SLIKA 23.** Urušenje sjevernog zida izvorišta (istočni dio) s označenim položajem nalaza zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog jaškim nimfama – kat. br. 9 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 23.** Collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (eastern part) with marked position of the find of the votive inscription dedicated to the Iasae nymphs, cat. no. 9 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



no dio imena još nekog božanstva (možda Minerva). U 5. retku nakon oštećenja na lijevoj strani čitljiva su dva slova „VO“ te se naziru dvije okomite haste (možda „TI“). U istom retku, vidljivo je još nekoliko slova: „SUSCE“ pa bi čitanje ovog retka moglo biti *voti suscepti*. U 6. retku lijeva strana je oštećena te je moguće raspoznati slova S SACRU (i oštećeno slovo M). U 7. retku čini se da je spomenuto ime dedikanta – lijevi dio je jako oštećen (vjerojatno je prvo slovo „C“, a zatim „AV“, dok je sljedeće slovo jako oštećeno i dolaze u obzir i „R“, „C“, „G“ ili sl.). U tom su redu još vidljiva slova VICTO na desnoj strani. Ako se pretpostavi da se radi o imenu dedikanta, onda se s dosta vjerojatnosti može reći da je njegov kognomen *Victor*. Prvi dio retka vjerojatno sadrži predime (možda *Caius*) i gentilicij (možda *Aurelius*), a možda se radi samo o nekom gentiliciju, na primjer *Gavius* i sl. Još se naziru slova u dva zadnja retka (L V), ali nedovoljno za pretpostavke o njihovoj interpretaciji. Moguća restitucija drugog dijela natpisa:

*S(?)oli et M(?)[----] / [----]vo(ti?)susce(pte?) / [----]s sacrum / C(aius?) Aure(lius?) Victor / [-l-v----] / [----]*

Iako ovaj natpis niti nakon konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova niti analizom 3D skena nije moguće sa sigurnošću interpretirati, zahvaljujući sačuvanim slovima u prva 3 retka, dao je značajni doprinos za sagledavanje raznolikosti posvetnih formula vezano uz obraćanje nimfama. Također, mogućnost da je u četvrtom retku spomen Sola, potvrđuje značaj kulta vezanog uz boga Apolona u ovome svetištu. Osim nekoliko natpisa posvećenih Apolonu<sup>81</sup> (zajedno i s drugim božanstvima-nimfama, Dijanom, Minervom, Junonom), posebno je značajan nalaz skul-

epithets (*augustae, salutare*), there is a dedication in the form *peonis*. It is very likely a plural dative of the adjective *paenonia* (medicinal, curative), which on this inscription, instead of the form *paenoniis*, is given in the simplified form *peonis*.<sup>77</sup> The word comes from the Greek word *παίων*,<sup>78</sup> and there is a god named Paeon (or Paeon) that appears as early as the Iliad, as a doctor of the gods (healing the wounds of Ares and Hades with plants).<sup>79</sup> He later identifies with Apollo, and *Paeon* also becomes an epithet for Asclepius.<sup>80</sup> In any case, the epithet *paenoniae* (*peoniae*) on the inscription is attached to the nymphs in terms of their healing properties associated with thermal water.

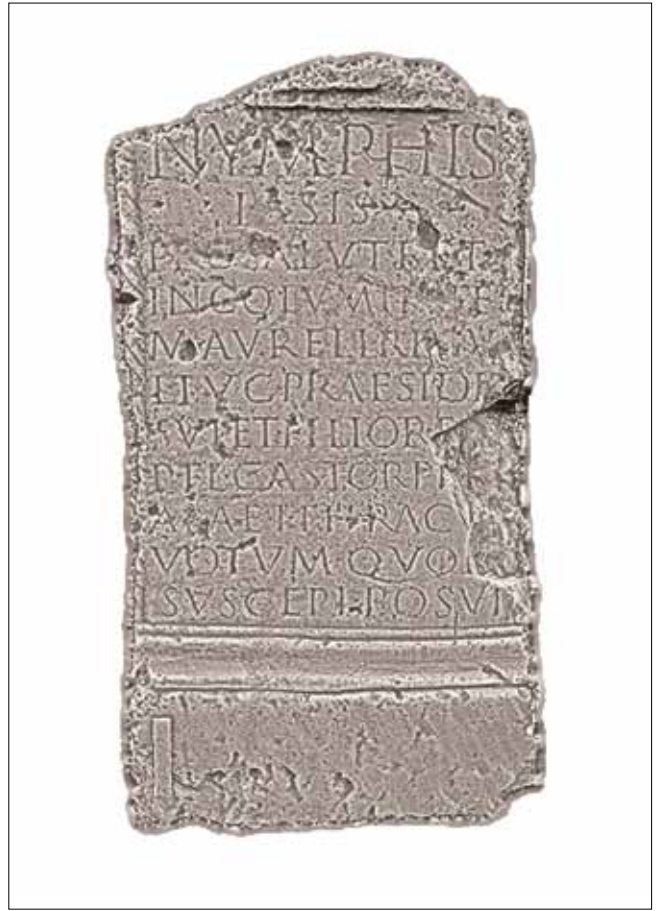
Of the rest of the text, due to severe damage of the stone surface, the content cannot be determined with certainty. The first letter, of which only the upper part is preserved, seems to be P, but it is also possible that it is the letter S. In that case it would be a mention of Sol, since the next five letters are clearly visible (OLI ET). Then follows one letter that is possibly M, which is probably part of the name of another deity (perhaps Minerva). In the fifth line, after the damage on the left side, two letters VO are legible and two vertical hastae (perhaps TI) can be seen. In the same line, a few more letters are visible: SUSCE; so this line could be read as *voti suscepti*. On the sixth line, the left side is damaged, and it is possible to recognize the letters S SACRU (and a damaged letter M). The seventh line seems to mention the name of the dedicant; the left part is very damaged (it is possible that the first letter is C, then AV, while the next letter is very damaged and R, C, G or similar are also possible). The letters VICTO on the right are still visible in this line. If we assume that it is the name of the dedicant, then it can be said with high probability that his cognomen is *Victor*. The first part of the line probably contains his *praenomen* (perhaps *Caius*) and gentilicium (perhaps *Aurelius*), but it is also possible that it is one word, only a gentilicium, eg *Gavius* etc. The letters in the last two lines (L V) are poorly visible, insufficient for assumptions about their

<sup>81</sup> U istraživanjima su izvorišta pronađena tri natpisa na kojima se spominje Apolon: VTks-8, VTks-82 (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–288), VTks-89 (neobjavljen). U ranijim je istraživanjima pronađen i jedan natpis posvećen Solu /Apolonu (AE 1998, 1044; 2013, 1207).



SLIKA 24. Zavjetni natpis posvećen jaškim nimfama – kat. br. 9 tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 24. Votive inscription dedicated to the lasae nymphs, cat. no. 9, during the 2011 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 25. Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog jaškim nimfama - kat. br. 9 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 25. Photogrammetric 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the lasae nymphs, cat. no. 9 (made by M. Vuković).

pture Apolona Sola,<sup>82</sup> koja pokazuje da je štovan kao bog Sunca, ali i proroštva. Spomenuti nalazi pokazuju da je tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća bilo značajno štovanje Apolona u svetištu *Aquae lasae* pa bi i vjerojatnu posvetu Solu, nimfama i Minervi (?) na ovdje spomenutom natpisu trebalo promatrati u tome kontekstu.

I na kraju, treba spomenuti dva natpisa na kojima se uz nimfe veže epitet *lasae* – odnosno naglašava se njihova uloga kao zaštitnica upravo izvora u naselju *Aquae lasae*, a što je do ovih novih istraživanja bilo poznato samo na jednom natpisu.<sup>83</sup>

Prvo je riječ o jednom mramornom žrtveniku (kat. br. 9), pronađenom u urušenju sjevernog zida, odnosno u drugom redu iznad temelja, odakle se pomaknuo zbog pomicanja tla (sl. 23). Spomenik je bio okrenut s natpisom prema dolje i djelomično oštećen, pogotovo u gornjem dijelu, gdje nedostaje veći dio kruništa. Baza ima sačuvanu profilaciju na prednjoj strani, dok su bočne strane vjerojatno uklonjene tijekom ugradnje spo-

interpretation. Possible restitution of the second part of the inscription:

*S(?)oli et M(?)[---] / [---]vo(ti?)susce(pte?) / [---]s sacrum / C(aius?) Aure(lius?) Victor / [--l-v---] / [---]*

This inscription cannot be interpreted with certainty after either conservation and restoration work or analysis of 3D scans. However, thanks to the preserved letters in the first 3 lines, it has made a significant contribution to understanding the diversity of epithets relating to the addressing of nymphs. Also, the possibility of the mention of Sol in the fourth line confirms the importance of the cult associated with the god Apollo in this sanctuary. Apart from several inscriptions dedicated to Apollo<sup>81</sup> (along with other deity-nymphs, Diana, Minerva, Juno), the discovery of the sculpture of Apollo Sol is especially significant, showing that he was worshipped as the god not only of the sun, but also of prophecy.<sup>82</sup> These findings show that there was significant worship of the god Apollo during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centu-

82 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 280–285.

83 AE 1985, 714; ILJug-02, 1171. Premda se u literaturi pojavljuje spomen još jednog natpisa s posvetom *lasis nymphis* (ILJug-02, 1170; Lučić 2013, kat. 7), radi se uvijek o istom spomeniku koji je spomenut u više objava nakon istraživanja, npr. Vikić, Gorenc 1966.

81 Three inscriptions mentioning Apollo were found in the excavation of the spring reservoir: VTks-8, VTks-82 (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–288) and VTks-89 (unpublished). In earlier research, an inscription dedicated to Sol/Apollo was found (AE 1998, 1044; 2013, 1207).

82 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 280–285.

**SLIKA 26.** Pogled na južni zid izvorišta s označenim položajem zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog jaškim nimfama koje donose zdravlje (kat. br. 10), tijekom istraživanja 2006. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

**FIGURE 26.** View of the south wall of the spring reservoir with marked position of the votive inscription dedicated to the Iasae and healing nymphs, cat. no. 10, during the 2006 excavations (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



menika u zid. Tom su prilikom oštećeni, tj. odstranjeni i rubni dijelovi natpisnog polja, pa su sačuvani samo tragovi ukrasa u obliku tordiranog užeta koje je vjerojatno uokvirivalo središnji dio spomenika (sl. 24, 25). Natpisno polje ima i veće oštećenje na desnoj strani, gdje nedostaje i dio slova, a tekst je raspoređen u 11 redaka. Na natpisu još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi, ali kombinacijom rezultata dobivenih 3D skeniranjem (sl. 25) i fotografijom natpisa u vrijeme pronalaska spomenika (sl. 24) bilo je moguće interpretirati veći dio teksta. Tako su neka slova bolje vidljiva na fotografijama (npr. slovo „G“ u kognomenu *Regulus* u 3. retku), dok su neka čitka na 3D skenu (npr. slova „TH“ u 9. retku).

*Nymphis / Iasis / pro salute et / incolumit[a]te / M(arci) Aureli Regu / li v(i)c(e) praesidi[s] / sui et filior(um) e[ius] / P(ublius) Fl(avius) Castor pr[ae]f(ectus) / a[[]Iae I Thracu[m] / votum quo[d] / suscepi(t) posui(t)*

Natpis je postavio Publije Flavije<sup>84</sup> Kastor<sup>85</sup>, koji je bio pripadnik 1. ale Tračana, a prema sačuvanim slovima „P“ (i vjerojatno „R“) može se pretpostaviti da se radilo o prefektu. Natpis je oštećen i u retku gdje se spominje naziv *ale*, a sačuvano je prvih pet slova (*Thrac*), i dio slova „V“ pa se može pretpostaviti da je u tom retku bilo i „M“ te da se radi o riječi *Thracum*. Postoji mogućnost da je slovo „V“ nakon *Thrac* bilo dio riječi *victrix* ili *veterana*. Naime, u prvom slučaju bi se radilo o nazivu *ale - ala I Thracum victrix*, za koju se smatra da je već od 1. stoljeća bila u smještena u okolici Karnunta, a epigrafski spomenici potvrđuju da je još i u

ries in the sanctuary of *Aquae Iasae*, so the probable dedication to Sol, nymphs and Minerva (?) on the inscription mentioned here should be viewed in this context.

Finally, we should mention two inscriptions with the epithet *Iasae* attached to nymphs; that is, their role as the guardians of the spring in the settlement of *Aquae Iasae* is emphasized, which, until this new research, was known only on one inscription.<sup>83</sup>

The first is a marble altar (cat. no. 9), found in the collapse of the north wall of the spring reservoir, in the second row above the foundation, from where it moved due to the movement of the ground (Fig. 23). The monument was turned with the inscription down and was partially damaged, especially in the upper part, where most of the capital is missing. The moulding has been preserved on the front of the base, but was probably removed from its sides during the installation of the monument in the wall. On that occasion, the edges of the inscription field were damaged, i.e. only traces of ornaments in the form of a twisted rope were preserved, which probably framed the central part of the monument (Figs 24, 25). The inscription field also has major damage on the right-hand side, where parts of the letters are missing. The text is arranged in 11 lines. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the inscription, but a combination of the results obtained by 3D scanning (Fig. 25) and a photograph of the inscription at the time of the

84 Carsko gentilno ime dedikanta, *Flavius*, upućuje na građansko pravo iz doba flavijevaca, često zabilježeno u dunavskim provincijama i u Africi (Alföldy 1969, 38–39).

85 Kognomen *Castor* uobičajen je diljem Carstva (Alföldy 1969, 172), a u Pannoniji na 3 natpisa (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 42).

83 AE 1985, 714; ILJug-02, 1171. Although the mention of another inscription with the dedication *Iasis nymphis* appears in the literature (ILJug-02, 1170; Lučić 2013, cat. 7), it is always the same monument that is mentioned in several publications after the research, e.g. Vikić, Gorenc 1966.



3. stoljeću bila smještena u Gornjoj Panoniji.<sup>86</sup> U drugom slučaju, to bi bila *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria*, koja je od početka 2. stoljeća smještena u Gornjoj Panoniji, u doba Trajana se zadržala oko Karnunta, a smatra se da je od 118. u Donjoj Panoniji, u Intercizi (Dunaújváros), a potom od 138. u Kamponi (Tétény), gdje je još potvrđena i u 3. stoljeću,<sup>87</sup> Prisustvo pripadnika te *ale* u Petovionu potvrđuje jedan žrtvenik posvećen Jupiteru (datiran oko 200. godine), a na kojem se također pojavljuje oblik *ala I. Thracum*.<sup>88</sup>

Dedikant je podignuo spomenik za zdravlje (i sigurnost) Marka Aurelija Regula koji je vjerojatno bio upravitelj (*vice praesidis*), ali zbog oštećenja natpisa nije vidljivo je li bio spomenut i naziv nekog područja. *Agentes vice praesidis* bili su upravitelji imenovani iz redova vitezova koji su od razdoblja Severa sve češće postavljeni umjesto senatorskih upravitelja. Premda je takvih pojedinačnih slučajeva bilo još od ranog Carstva, smatra se da su to bila samo privremena i kraća rješenja u slučajevima kad je upravitelj umro ili je smijenjen.<sup>89</sup> Od vremena Aleksandra Severa *agens vice praesidis* iz redova vitezova vladao je Dacijom, dok su od vremena cara Galijena (nakon 260. godine) senatori sve više gubili ulogu i u vojnom vodstvu, koju preuzimaju vitezovi. Taj proces nastavlja se i sve je više *agentes vice praesidis* (Arabija, Makedonija, Numidija), ali i dalje se zadržava dio upravitelja iz redova senatora, pogotovo u konzularnim provincijama koje nisu tako jako zahvaćene krizom. Nakon 270. godine takvi upravitelji nazivaju se samo *praeses* i vjerojatno su se bavili i civilnom administracijom i sudstvom.<sup>90</sup>

U svakom slučaju, ovaj je natpis vrlo zanimljiv ne samo što daje dodatnu potvrdu o značaju lokalnih, jaških nimfi među posjetiteljima svetišta, već se radi o već poznatom obliku zavjetnih natpisa u kojima niže rangirani službenici postavljaju spomenike za zdravlje onih iz viših ili iz upraviteljskih redova. Vjerojatna je datacija spomenika u 3. stoljeće.

Na kraju, treba spomenuti i jedan natpis pronađen u južnom zidu izvorišta, odnosno mramornu ploču s posvetom jaškim nimfama (kat. br. 10). Riječ je o relativno tanjoj mramornoj ploči, odnosno prednjoj strani jednog žrtvenika kojem je najvjerojatnije zbog ugradnje u zid otklesana stražnja strana, ali i većina profilacije u donjem i gornjem dijelu. Tako je dobivena ploča iskorištena u gradnji zida kao podloga ispod velikog bloka kamena s utorom (za kamene grede ograde) te pronađena razlomljena u više manjih komada (sl. 26).<sup>91</sup> Veći dio fragmenata pronađen je *in situ* – u zidu, a nekoliko manjih fragmenata u urušenoj sa stražnje strane zida. Na spomeniku su provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi 2019. godine i tom su prilikom

monument's discovery (Fig. 24) have made it possible to interpret most of the text. Thus, some letters are better visible in photographs (e.g. the letter G in the cognomen *Regulus* on the third line), while some are legible on the 3D scan (e.g. the letters TH on the ninth line).

*Nymphis / Iasis / pro salute et / incolumit[a]te / M(arci) Aureli Regu / li v(i)c(e) praesidi[s] / sui et filior(um) e[ius] / P(ublius) Fl(avius) Castor pr[ae]f[ectus] / a[l]Iae I Thracu[m] / votum quo[d] / suscepi(t) posui(t)*

The inscription was placed by Publius Flavius<sup>84</sup> Castor,<sup>85</sup> who was a member of the first ala of Thracians; and, according to the preserved letter P (and probably R), it can be assumed that he was a prefect. The inscription is also damaged on the line where the name of the ala is given: the first five letters (*Thrac*) and part of the letter V are preserved, so perhaps there was M in that line, so that it is the word *Thracum*. There is a possibility that the letter V after *Thrac* was part of the word *victrix* or *veterana*. This could be the name of the ala – *ala I Thracum victrix* – which is believed to have been located in the vicinity of Carnuntum since the 1<sup>st</sup> century, and epigraphic monuments confirm that it was located in Upper Pannonia in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> There is also a possibility that it could be *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria*, which, from the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, was located in Upper Pannonia; in the time of Trajan it remained around Carnuntum, and is considered to have been in Intercisa (Dunaújváros), in Lower Pannonia, from 118, and then from 138 in Campona (Tétény), where it is still confirmed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>87</sup> The presence of members of this ala in Poetovio is confirmed by an altar dedicated to Jupiter (dated around 200), on which the form *ala I. Thracum* also appears.<sup>88</sup>

The dedicant erected a monument to the health (and safety) of Marcus Aurelius Regulus, who was probably the governor (*vice praesidis*); but, due to the damage to the inscription, it is not clear whether the name of an area was given. *Agentes vice praesidis* were governors appointed from the equestrian order, who, from the time of Severus, were increasingly appointed instead of senatorial governors. Although such individual cases have existed since the early Empire, they are considered to be only temporary and shorter-term solutions in cases where the governor had died or been dismissed.<sup>89</sup> From the time of Alexander Severus, the *agens vice praesidis* from the equestrian order ruled Dacia, while from the time of Emperor Gallienus (after 260), senators increasingly lost their role in the military leadership, which was taken over by *equites*. This process continued, and there were more and more *agentes vice praesidis* (Arabia, Macedonia, Numidia), but some senatorial governors remained,

86 Lőrincz 2001, 25; CIL VI, 3308.

87 Lőrincz 2001, 24–25.

88 Lőrincz 2001, 24–25.

89 Mennen 2011, 137–140.

90 Fitz 1980, 127.

91 Neki dijelovi mramora pronađeni su okrenuti natpisom prema gore, a neki su bili okrenuti na drugu stranu, pa se može zaključiti da je cijeli spomenik bio razlomljen prije ugradnje u zid te su pojedini dijelovi zasebno ugrađivani. Zbog toga vjerojatno i nedostaju dijelovi natpisa, kao i cijela stražnja strana spomenika.

84 The imperial gentile name of the dedicant, *Flavius*, refers to civil right from the time of the Flavians, often recorded in the Danube provinces and in Africa (Alföldy 1969, 38–39).

85 The cognomen *Castor* is common throughout the Empire (Alföldy 1969, 172), and in Pannonia on three inscriptions (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 42).

86 Lőrincz 2001, 25; CIL VI, 3308.

87 Lőrincz 2001, 24–25.

88 Lőrincz 2001, 24–25.

89 Mennen 2011, 137–140.

spojeni svi dijelovi, a oštećenja su rekonstruirana s umjetnim kamenom (sl. 27).<sup>92</sup> Natpis je uklesan u 13 redova, a slova popunjavaju cijelu širinu mramorne ploče. Slova su natpisa pravilno uklesana, a vidljivi su rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*) između pojedinih riječi i kratica. Natpis je jako oštećen u predjelu 3. retka, gdje nedostaju sva slova osim djelomično sačuvanog „S“ na početku reda, a oštećenja su vidljiva i u 2., 11., i 12. retku, gdje nedostaju dijelovi nekoliko slova. U šestom retku „UL“ su u ligaturi, kao i „ET“ u osmom retku. U 12. retku u skraćenici „COS“, slovo „O“ je znatno manje od ostalih slova, kao i slovo „I“ u 9. retku u riječi *solvit*.

*Nymphis Iasis / Salutaribus / s[acrum] / Ianuari[us] / Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) ex / adiutor(e) tabul(arius) / Prov(inciae) Pann(oniae) Inf(erioris) / pro se et suis / votum solvit / imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) [[Philippo]] / Aug(usto) et Titiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VII(?) Idus / Novembres*

Dedikant je ovog žrtvenika Januarije koji je bio oslobođenik (dva cara).<sup>93</sup> Ime *Ianuarius* je vrlo često, pa tako i u Panoniji i Noriku, a vrlo često je i u Dalmaciji.<sup>94</sup> Januarije se na ovom natpisu „pohvalio“ i službom pomoćnika tabularija provincije Donje Panonije koju je obavljao. *Tabularium provinciae* bila je vrsta arhiva u kojem su se nalazili službeni dokumenti upravno-financijske prirode (zemljišni registri, porezni dokumenti i sl.) za cijelu provinciju, a pod kontrolom prokuratora.<sup>95</sup> Sačuvani su brojni epigrafski spomenici na kojima se spominju službenici tabularija u raznim provincijama, odnosno tabulariji (*tabularii*), i njihovi pomoćnici (*adiutores tabulariorum*). Kada se radi o titularu *tabularius provinciae*, uvijek je riječ o carskim oslobođenim, odnosno o carskim robovima ili oslobođenim, kada su to *adiutores tabulariorum provinciae*.<sup>96</sup> Petoviona je bila financijsko središte Gornje Panonije i sjedište provincijskih prokuratora,<sup>97</sup> a više je natpisa iz Ptuja koji spominju službenike tabularija<sup>98</sup> pa se pretpostavlja i da je tabularij Gornje Panonije bio u tom gradu.<sup>99</sup> Za Donju Panoniju taj podatak nije poznat, a pretpostavlja se da je sjedište prokuratora bilo u Akvinku ili Mursi.<sup>100</sup> Premda Januarij u vrijeme dolaska u *Aquae Iasae* više nije bio u aktivnoj službi i sam natpis ne otkriva gdje se u 3. stoljeću nalazio tabularij Donje Panonije, izuzetno je zanimljiv jer do sada nema zabilježenog spomena službenika tabularija s tog područja.

especially in the consular provinces that had not been hit so hard by the crisis. After 270, such governors were called only *praeses* and probably dealt with both the civil administration and the judiciary.<sup>90</sup>

In any case, this inscription is very interesting, not only because it confirms the importance of local *Iasae* nymphs among the visitors of the sanctuary, but it is an already-known form of votive inscription in which lower-ranking officials erect monuments to the health of those in higher and ruling ranks. A dating of the monument to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is probable.

Finally, we should mention one inscription found in the south wall of the spring, on a marble plaque dedicated to the *Iasae* nymphs (cat. no. 10). This is a relatively thin marble slab, the front face of an altar of which the back has probably been cut off due to wall mounting, as also most of the moulding in the lower and upper parts. The slab thus obtained was used in the construction of the wall as a base under a large block of stone with a groove (for stone fence beams) and was found broken into several smaller pieces (Fig. 26).<sup>91</sup> Most of the fragments were found *in situ*, in the wall, and several smaller fragments in the collapse behind the wall. Conservation and restoration work was carried out on the monument in 2019, and on that occasion all parts were joined, and the damaged parts were reconstructed with artificial stone (Fig. 27).<sup>92</sup> The inscription is carved in 13 rows, and the letters fill the entire width of the marble slab. The letters of the inscription are correctly engraved, and dividing signs in the shape of a triangle (*triangula distinguentia*) between the words and abbreviations are visible. The inscription is severely damaged in the area of the 3<sup>rd</sup> line, where all the letters are missing except the partially-preserved S at the beginning of the line, and damage is also visible in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> lines, where parts of several letters are missing. In the sixth line the letters UL are in ligature, as well as ET in the eighth line. In the 12<sup>th</sup> line, in the abbreviation COS, the letter O is significantly smaller than the other letters, as well as the letter I in the word *solvit*, in the ninth line.

*Nymphis Iasis / Salutaribus / s[acrum] / Ianuari[us] / Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) ex / adiutor(e) tabul(arius) / Prov(inciae) Pann(oniae) Inf(erioris) / pro se et suis / votum solvit / imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) [[Philippo]] / Aug(usto) et Titiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VII(?) Idus / Novembres*

92 Konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove provela je tvrtka Zottmann GmbH (Austrija).

93 Moguće je da se radi o dva cara Gordijana (otac i sin), koji vladaju 238. godine, ili Balbina i Pupijena, dva cara koji su vladali iste godine nakon njihove smrti, premda se moglo odnositi i na ranije careve, npr. Karakala i Geta (211).

94 Lőrincz *et al.* 1999, 189; Alföldy 1969, 220; Mócsy 1959, 176.

95 Fitz 1993, 129; Fertl 2015, 89–91.

96 Fertl 2015, 95.

97 Mócsy 1962, 593; Fitz 1993, 129.

98 CIL III, 4023, 4043, 4062, 4066 *itd.*

99 Mócsy 1962, 594; Šašel Kos 2014, 147.

100 Mócsy 1962, 594.

90 Fitz 1980, 127.

91 Some parts of the marble were found facing with the inscription upwards, and some were facing the other way, so it can be concluded that the entire monument was broken before installation in the wall, and some parts were installed separately. This is probably why some parts of the inscription are missing, as well as the entire back of the monument.

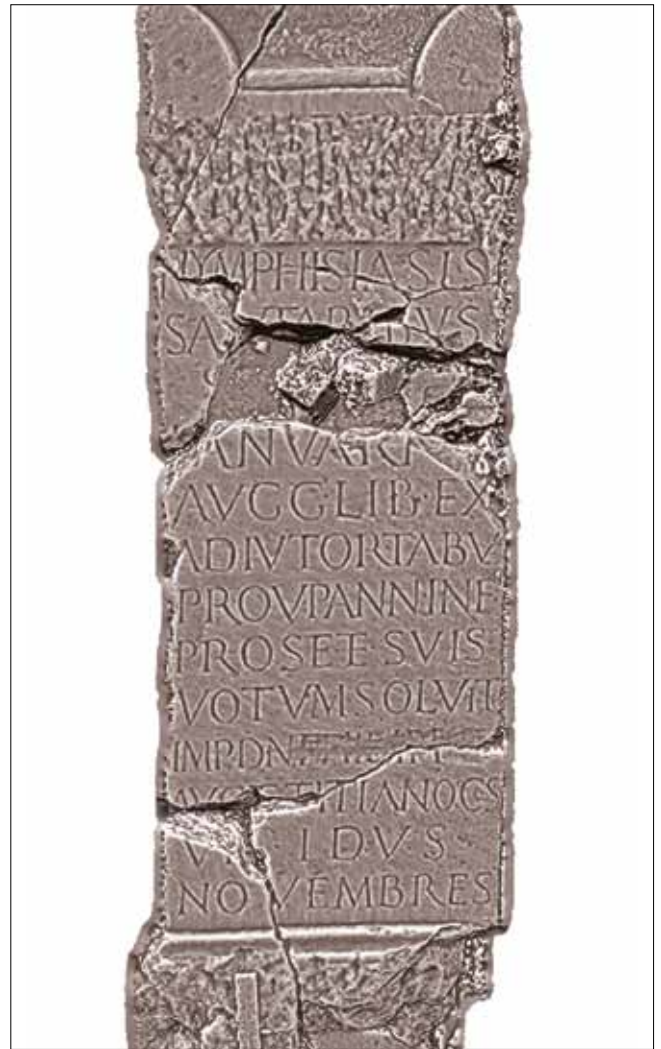
92 Conservation and restoration work was carried out by Zottmann GmbH (Austria).

93 It is possible that these were the two Emperors Gordian (father and son), who ruled in 238, or two emperors who ruled the same year after their deaths – Balbinus and Pupienus – although it may have referred to earlier emperors, e.g. Caracalla and Geta (211).



**SLIKA 27.** Zavjetni natpis posvećen jaškim nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 10 tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (snimio Zottmann GmbH).

**FIGURE 27.** Votive inscription dedicated to the lasae and healing nymphs, cat. no. 10, during conservation and restoration work (photo by Zottmann GmbH).



**SLIKA 28.** Fotogrametrijski 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog jaškim nimfama koje donose zdravlje – kat. br. 10, snimljeno prije konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova (izradio M. Vuković).

**FIGURE 28.** Photogrammetric 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the lasae and healing nymphs, cat. no. 10, before conservation and restoration work (made by M. Vuković).

Posljednja četiri retka natpisa omogućuju preciznu dataciju spomenika budući da se spominje konzul *Titianus* i car Filip. Ime cara je naknadno uklonjeno (primjer zatiranja uspomene – *damnatio memoriae*), ali se naziru oštećena slova – *Philippo*. Tako se može odrediti da se radi o 245. godini, a u 12. i 13. retku spomenut je i točan datum. Nažalost, zbog oštećenja natpisa ne može se sa sigurnošću reći radi li se o broju VI ili VII, odnosno (*ante diem*) VI (*sextum*) *Idus Novembres* (8. dan mjeseca studenoga) ili (*ante diem*) VII (*septimum*) *Idus Novembres* (7. dan mjeseca studenoga). S obzirom na širinu razmaka između pojedinih slova, vjerojatnije je da se radi o broju „VI“, pa bi to značilo da je datum bio 8. novembra 245. godine.

The dedicant of this altar is *Ianuarius*, who was a freedman (of two emperors).<sup>94</sup> The name *Ianuarius* is very common, including in Pannonia and Noricum, and very common in Dalmatia.<sup>94</sup> On this inscription *Ianuarius* also ‘boasts’ that he was *adiutor* (assistant) in the *tabularium* of the province of Lower Pannonia. *Tabularium provinciae* was a type of archive containing official documents of an administrative and financial nature (land registers, tax documents, etc.) for the entire province, and under the control of the procurator.<sup>95</sup> Numerous epigraphic monuments have been preserved, mentioning *tabularium* officials in various provinces, that is *tabularii* and their assistants (*adiutores tabulariorum*). *Tabularii provinciae* were always imperial freed-

94 Lőrincz et al. 1999, 189; Alföldy 1969, 220; Mocsy 1959, 176.

95 Fitz 1993, 129; Fertl 2015, 89–91.

96 Fertl 2015, 95.

## Zaključak

Nimfe se još od grčkog vremena povezuju s izvorima<sup>101</sup>, odnosno smatralo se da one osiguravaju i brinu za vodu u izvorima, pa su im upućivane molitve, zavjeti i prinosele su im se žrtve.<sup>102</sup> Takav je pristup sigurno bio i u akvejaškom svetištu, nastalom oko izvora ljekovite termalne vode, stoga se velika zastupljenost nalaza vezanih uz nimfe može upravo pripisati značaju koje je voda imala za ovo naselje. Na to su upućivali još i slučajni nalazi tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća,<sup>103</sup> kao i zavjetni natpisi posvećeni nimfama pronađeni tijekom prve faze sustavnih istraživanja kompleksa u parku (1953. –1982.).<sup>104</sup> Nakon istraživanja provedenih na prostoru samog termalnog izvora i pronalaska brojnih spomenika korištenih za obnovu zidova rimske kaptaže i okolnog opločenja (2006. – 2013.), dodatno je potvrđen značaj štovanja nimfi uz “sveti izvor”.<sup>105</sup>

Najraniji natpisi posvećeni nimfama potječu iz 1. stoljeća,<sup>106</sup> kada je najvjerojatnije i cijelo svetište bilo njima posvećeno, dok se od 2. stoljeća zahvale za ozdravljene upućuju i drugim božanstvima vezanim uz zdravlje i ozdravljenje.<sup>107</sup> Pronađeno je i nekoliko natpisa koji su posvećeni nimfama zajedno s raznim božanstvima (npr. Apolonom i Dijanom, Apolonom, Minervom i Junonom, kao i s Fortunom i Serapisom),<sup>108</sup> a što svakako ukazuje na suživot raznih kultova u ovom svetištu, kao i njihovu „uklapanju“ u lokalni kult izvora. Najviše se nalaza posvećenih nimfama može datirati upravo u 2. i 3. stoljeće premda je vjerojatno kult vezan uz izvor bio prisutan do samog kraja funkcioniranja ovog kompleksa. Na to upućuju i pojedinačni nalazi prstenja s kristogramom<sup>109</sup> pronađeni u izvorišnom bazenu koji svjedoče o uključivanju pripadnika kršćanske zajednice u višestoljetne rituale poganskog svetišta. Zanimljiv je i jedan slučajni nalaz dijela natpisa,<sup>110</sup> koji najvjerojatnije spominje nimfe, a prema obliku slova mogao bi se datirati u 4. stoljeće, u vrijeme Konstantina Velikog.<sup>111</sup>

Osim brojnih natpisa, u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeno je i više reljefa koji daju uvid u figuralnu interpretaciju nimfi, većinom u skladu s poznatim ikonografskim prikazima iz rimskog razdoblja, na tragu helenističkih modela povezanih s božicom Afroditom. Nimfe su na svim reljefima prikazane s razgolićenim gornjim dijelom tijela i plaštom koji klizi niz bokove, kao Afrodit koja izlazi iz vode, s atributima koji ih obilježavaju kao nimfe izvora, dok je voda često simbolički prikazana kako se izliva iz posuda.<sup>112</sup> Među 8 cjelovito sačuvanih reljefa (i 5 fragmenata)

men, and *adiutores tabulariorum provinciae* were Emperors' slaves or freedmen.<sup>96</sup> Poetovio was the financial centre of Upper Pannonia and the seat of the provincial procurators,<sup>97</sup> and there are several inscriptions from Ptuj that mention tabularium officials,<sup>98</sup> so it is most probable that the tabularium of Upper Pannonia was in that city.<sup>99</sup> This information is not known for Lower Pannonia, and it is assumed that the seat of the procurator was in Aquincum or Mursa.<sup>100</sup> Although Ianuarius was no longer in active service at the time of his arrival in Aquae Iasae, and the inscription itself does not reveal the location of the Lower Pannonian tabularium in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, it is extremely interesting, because there is no previous recorded mention of tabularium officials from that area.

The last four lines of the inscription allow a precise dating of the monument, as Consul Titianus and Emperor Philip are mentioned. The name of the emperor was subsequently removed (example of the erasure of memory: *damnatio memoriae*), but the damaged letters can be recognized as *Philippo*. Thus, it can be determined that it is the year 245, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> lines the exact date is mentioned. Unfortunately, due to inscription damage, it cannot be said with certainty whether it is number VI or VII that is (*ante diem*) VI (*sextum*) *Idus Novembres* (8<sup>th</sup> day of November) or (*ante diem*) VII (*septimum*) *Idus Novembres* (7<sup>th</sup> day of November). Given the width of the space between the individual letters, it is more likely that it is the number VI, so that would mean that the date was 8<sup>th</sup> November 245.

## Conclusion

Nymphs have been associated with springs since Greek times;<sup>101</sup> they were considered to provide and take care of the water in springs, so prayers, vows and sacrifices were offered to them.<sup>102</sup> There was certainly such an approach in the Aquae Iasae sanctuary, created around the spring of healing thermal water, so the large number of finds relating to nymphs can be attributed to the importance that water had for this settlement. This was also indicated by chance finds during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>103</sup> as well as votive inscriptions dedicated to nymphs found during the first phase of systematic research of the complex in the park (1953–1982).<sup>104</sup> After research conducted in the area of the thermal spring and the discovery of numerous stone monuments used to restore the walls of the Roman spring catchment and the surrounding paving (2006–2013), the importance of worshipping nymphs at the ‘sacred spring’ was further confirmed.<sup>105</sup>

101 Nimfe više puta spominje Homer u Odiseji (*Od.13, 109: 17, 205–211*).

102 Ballentine 1904, 77–109.

103 CIL III 4118, 4119, 10891, itd.

104 Vikić, Gorenc 1966; Rendić-Miočević 1992; Lučić 2013; etc.

105 Kušan Špalj 2014, 58–66, 84–92; 2015, 58–66, 84–92.

106 CIL III, 4118, 10893.

107 Kušan Špalj 2014, 56, 82; 2015, 56, 82; 2017b, 166–177.

108 Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2015, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2017a, 285–289, 293–294.

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

110 AlJ 470.

111 Kušan Špalj 2020a, 313.

97 Mócsy 1962, 593; Fitz 1993, 129.

98 CIL III, 4023, 4043, 4062, 4066, etc.

99 Mócsy 1962, 594; Šašel Kos 2014, 147.

100 Mócsy 1962, 594.

101 Nymphs are repeatedly mentioned by Homer in the Odyssey (*Od.13, 109; 17, 205–211*).

102 Ballentine 1904, 77–109.

103 CIL III 4118, 4119, 10891, etc.

104 Vikić, Gorenc 1966; Rendić-Miočević 1992; Lučić 2013; etc.

105 Kušan Špalj 2014, 58–66, 84–92; 2015, 58–66, 84–92.



**SLIKA 29.** Mramorni reljef s prikazom 3 nimfe (Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 82; 2015, kat. br. 82; snimio Zottmann GmbH).

**FIGURE 29.** Marble relief depicting 3 nymphs (Kušan Špalj 2014, cat. no. 82; 2015, cat. no. 82; photo by Zottmann GmbH).

može se uočiti dva osnovna tipa prikaza. U prvu grupu mogu se uvrstiti primjeri relativno statičnog prikaza stojećih nimfi, kompozicijski prikazane kao Gracije, a ikonografski po uzoru na Afroditu (ikonografski tip sa školjkom i tip krunjenja)<sup>113</sup> (sl. 29) i sjedeće (tj. polusjedeće ili poluležeće)<sup>114</sup> nimfe (sl. 30). Kod tipa sjedećih nimfi uvijek se pojavljuju isti atributi – u lijevoj ruci vjenčić, a u desnoj trska, te životinje koje simboliziraju vodu (delfini, ribe), dok se kod stojećih nimfi pojavljuje školjka, vjenčić i trska. Često se ističe i naglašava središnja nimfa, bilo da se radi o samo neznatno drukčijem položaju tijela ili držanju školjke, krunjenju, dok su bočne gotovo uvijek u međusobno sličnom položaju (sl. 29). 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.<sup>115</sup> Reljefi pronađeni u Varaždinskim Toplicama mogu se uklopiti u ikonografske tipove prikaza nimfi što se pojavljuju na širem području Rimskog Carstva, a koje su majstori interpretirali prema vlastitim umjetničkim i zanatskim mogućnostima u okvirima pravila ikonografije toga vremena i stilskih karakteristika radionica u kojima su djelovali. Neki nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica ukazuju i

The earliest inscriptions dedicated to nymphs date from the 1<sup>st</sup> century,<sup>106</sup> when the whole sanctuary was probably dedicated to them, while from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century thanks for the healing are extended to other deities connected with health and healing.<sup>107</sup> Several inscriptions have been found with dedications to nymphs along with various other deities (such as Apollo and Diana, or Apollo, Minerva and Juno, as well as Fortuna or Serapis)<sup>108</sup>, which certainly indicate the coexistence of various cults in this sanctuary, as well as their ‘fitting’ into the local cult of the spring. Most of the finds dedicated to nymphs can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, although the spring-related cult was probably present until the very end of the functioning of this complex. This is also indicated by the individual finds of rings with a Christogram<sup>109</sup> found in the spring reservoir, which testify to the inclusion of members of the Christian community in the centuries-old rituals of the pagan sanctuary. Another interesting find is a part of an inscription<sup>110</sup> which most probably mentions nymphs, and according to the shape of the letters it could be dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in the time of Constantine the Great.<sup>111</sup>

112 Kušan Špalj 2014, 58–66, 84–92; 2015, 58–66, 84–92.

113 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 2, 4, 82–85, 87, 88; 2015, kat. br. 2, 4, 82–85, 87, 88.

114 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 86; 2015, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 86.

115 U kući Romula i Rema u Pompejima, na jednoj su freski prikazane dvije nimfe koje stoje, a između njih jedna u poluležećem položaju (Bieber 1955, sl. 636).

106 CIL III, 4118, 10893.

107 Kušan Špalj 2014, 56, 82; 2015, 56, 82; 2017b, 166–177.

108 Kušan Špalj 2014, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2015, 70, 95, kat. br. 76; 2017a, 285–289, 293–294.

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

110 AJJ 470.

111 Kušan Špalj 2020a, 313.

**SLIKA 30.** Mramorni reljef s prikazom 3 nimfe i natpisom, detalj (Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 78; 2015, kat. br. 78; snimila D. Kušan Špalj).

**FIGURE 30.** Marble relief depicting 3 nymphs and an inscription, detail (Kušan Špalj 2014, cat. no. 78; 2015, cat. no. 78; photo by D. Kušan Špalj).



na odstupanja od uobičajene ikonografije, kao na primjer manji reljefi na kojima su božice prikazane vjerojatno više u duhu lokalne, a možda čak i predrimske tradicije.<sup>116</sup> Zbog toga je logično i pretpostaviti postojanje kulta vezanog uz izvor i prije dolaska Rimljana, vjerojatno u obliku nekoga ženskog božanstva, čije se štovanje moglo nastaviti kroz kult izvora i nimfi.

Dok pronađeni reljefi daju uvid na koji način su Rimljani “zamisljali” nimfe, brojni natpisi na kojima se one spominju s raznim epitetima pružaju i informaciju o načinu na kojem su im se ljudi obračali, što su od njih očekivali, ali i o njihovoj jakoj povezanosti sa “svetim” izvorom naselja *Aquae Iasae*. Kao Grci, tako su i Rimljani smatrali da su upravo nimfe zaslužne za vodu iz izvora, a time i njezino djelovanje, pa je logična i njihova povezanost sa samim mjestom izviranja. To se potvrđuje i na primjeru akvejaškoga svetišta, gdje se na natpisima nimfe spominju kao lokalne nimfe – *Iasae*,<sup>117</sup> a pojava tog epiteta na još dva nova nalaza (kat. br. 9, 10) svakako ukazuje na to da se radilo o uobičajenom poimanju božica kao zaštitnica upravo izvora u tome svetištu. Vezano uz ljekovitost termalne vode, nimfama se pripisivala i moć ozdravljenja pa se često na natpisima spominju s epitetom – *salutares*<sup>118</sup> (kat. br. 7), a među novijim natpisima ističe se i nalaz na kojem se prvi put pojavljuju kao – *peone* (*paeonae*) – ljekovite (kat. br. 8). Također, često se na natpisima nimfe spominju i kao uzvišene (*augustae*)<sup>119</sup>, što je među ovdje spomenutim nalazima zastupljeno četiri puta (kat. br. 3, 4, 5, 6), a ima i posveta bez epiteta<sup>120</sup> (kat. br. 1, 2). Ponekad se pojavljuje i kombinacija više epiteta,<sup>121</sup> pa tako i na novim nalazima, na primjer *iasis salutaribus* (kat. br. 10), *peonis augustis salutaribus* (kat. br. 8).

In addition to numerous inscriptions, several reliefs have been found in Varaždinske Toplice that provide insight into the figurative interpretation of nymphs, mostly in accordance with well-known iconographic depictions from the Roman period, following Hellenistic models associated with the goddess Aphrodite. Nymphs are depicted in all reliefs with a bare upper body and a cloak sliding down the hips, like Aphrodite emerging from the water, with attributes marking them as spring nymphs, while water is very often symbolically depicted pouring out of vessels.<sup>112</sup> Among the 8 completely preserved reliefs (and 5 fragments), two basic types of representations can be observed. The first group includes examples of relatively static representation of standing nymphs, compositionally represented as Grace, and iconographically modelled on Aphrodite (iconographic type with shell and type of coronation)<sup>113</sup> (Fig. 29) and sedentary (i.e. semi-sitting or semi-lying)<sup>114</sup> nymphs (Fig. 30). With the type of sedentary nymphs, the same attributes always appear – a wreath in the left hand and a reed in the right, and animals that symbolize water (dolphins, fish) – while standing nymphs have a shell, a wreath and a reed. Very often the central nymph stands out and is emphasized, whether in a slightly different body position, or whether crowned or holding a shell, while the lateral nymphs are almost always in a similar position (Fig. 29). The depiction of nymphs modelled on Aphrodite can be traced in Roman art from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and both types of nymph (sedentary and standing) appear at the same time.<sup>115</sup> Reliefs found in Varaždinske Toplice can fit into iconographic types of nymphs that appear in the wider Roman Empire, which the masters interpreted according to their own artistic and craft possibilities within the rules of iconography of that time

116 Kušan Špalj 2014, 64, 89, kat. br. 83, 84; 2015, 64, 89, kat. br. 83, 84.

117 AE 1985, 00714; ILJug-02, 1171.

118 CIL III, 108931, 10893, itd.; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69–70; Lučić 2013, 195.

119 CIL III, 4117, 4119, itd.; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69–70; Lučić 2013, 195.

120 CIL III, 4118; ILJug-02, 1171c, itd.

121 CIL III, 10891, itd.

112 Kušan Špalj 2014, 58–66, 84–92; 2015, 58–66, 84–92.

113 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 2, 4, 82–85, 87, 88; 2015, kat. br. 2, 4, 82–85, 87, 88.

114 Kušan Špalj 2014, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 86; 2015, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 86.

115 In the house of Romulus and Remus in Pompeii, one fresco depicts two nymphs standing, and between them one in a semi-lying position (Bieber 1955, Fig. 636).



SLIKA 31. Thesaurus (poklopac kamene posude koja je služila za prikupljanje darova u novcu; snimio Zottmann GmbH).

FIGURE 31. Thesaurus (lid of a stone vessel used to collect gifts of money; photo by Zottmann GmbH).

Novi nalazi natpisa posvećenih nimfama iz Varaždinskih Toplica potvrdili su iznimni značaj tog kulta u svetištu rimskog naselja, usko povezanog s ljekovitom termalnom vodom i „svetim izvorom“. Spomenici svjedoče o posjetu viših slojeva društva i nešto bogatijih posjetitelja, a do sada pronađenih 18 000 kovanica i ostalih votivnih darova u izvorištu<sup>122</sup> govore o brojnim pojedincima koji su dolazili u *Aquae Iasae*, nadajući se ozdravljenju i oporavku, najčešće obraćajući se upravo nimfama. Među deset spomenika obrađenih u ovom članku, četiri su postavila dedikanti pripadnici rimske vojske, iz redova komandnog kadra (kat. br. 1, 2, 7, 9), a pet spomenika dedikanti koji su bili u službi civilne uprave (kat. br. 3, 4, 5, 10) i na svećeničkim dužnostima (kat. br. 6).<sup>123</sup> Može se pretpostaviti da je to otprilike i prosječna struktura (bogatijih) posjetitelja tog svetišta u 2. i 3. stoljeću, odnosno da u tom razdoblju podjednako dolaze pripadnici civilnih i vojnih službi. Vjerojatno su pripadnici vojske najčešće pojedinačno obilazili ovo lječilište, prvenstveno iz zdravstvenih razloga. Za većinu se može pretpostaviti da su posjetili *Aquae Iasae* dok su njihove vojne jedinice privremeno boravile na obližnjem teritoriju budući da ni za jednu od spomenutih postrojbi nema dokaza o trajnom boravku u obližnjim gradovima. Više je nalaza iz Varaždinskih Toplica koji potvrđuju da su među posjetiteljima često bili stanovnici Petovione,<sup>124</sup> pa tako i dva dedikanta ovdje spomenutih spomenika (kat. br. 5, 6), vladajućeg i bogatijeg sloja toga grada.

122 Bilić 2014, 120–125; 2015, 120–125; Perok 2014; 2015. U istraživanjima 2011.–2013. godine pronađeno je ukupno oko 17 000 kovanica, a daljnjim radovima i ispiranjem zemlje iz izvorišta (do 2017. godine) još oko 1000 primjeraka.

123 Na jednom spomeniku (kat. br. 8) nije sačuvan dio natpisa koji bi dao podatke o dedikantu.

124 CIL III, 4117; ILJug-02, 1168.

and the stylistic characteristics of the workshops in which they worked. Some finds at Varaždinske Toplice also indicate deviations from the usual iconography, such as smaller reliefs in which the goddesses are depicted probably more in the spirit of local, and perhaps even pre-Roman, tradition.<sup>116</sup> Therefore, it is logical to assume the existence of a cult relating to the spring even before the arrival of the Romans, probably in the form of a female deity, whose worship could continue through the cult of the spring and nymphs.

While the reliefs found provide insight into how the Romans ‘imagined’ nymphs, numerous inscriptions mentioning them with various epithets also provide information on how people addressed them, what they expected from them, and also on their strong connection to the ‘sacred spring’ in *Aquae Iasae*. Like the Greeks, the Romans believed that nymphs were responsible for the water from the spring, and thus its action, so their connection with the place where the water springs is logical. This is confirmed by the example of the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary, where the nymphs are mentioned as local nymphs, *Iasae*,<sup>117</sup> and the appearance of this epithet on two other new finds (cat. nos 9, 10) certainly indicates that it was a common understanding of the goddesses as protectors of the spring precisely in that sanctuary. In connection with the healing properties of thermal water, nymphs were also credited with the power of healing, so they are often mentioned on inscriptions with the epithet *salutares*<sup>118</sup> (cat. no. 7), and among the recently-found inscriptions there is an interesting find where, for the first time, they appear as *peone* (*paenone*), curative (cat. no. 8). Very often in the inscriptions the nymphs are mentioned as *augustae*,<sup>119</sup> which is represented four times among the finds mentioned here (cat. nos 3, 4, 5, 6), and there are inscription dedications without epithets<sup>120</sup> (cat. nos 1, 2). Sometimes a combination of several epithets appears,<sup>121</sup> including new findings, such as *iasis salutaribus* (cat. no. 10) and *peonis augustis salutaribus* (cat. no. 8).

New finds of inscriptions dedicated to nymphs at Varaždinske Toplice have confirmed the exceptional importance of this cult in the sanctuary of the Roman settlement, closely connected with the healing thermal water and the ‘sacred spring’. Stone monuments testify to visitors from higher social strata and richer individuals. On the other hand, the 18,000 coins found so far, and other votive gifts in the spring,<sup>122</sup> give evidence of numerous other visitors who came to *Aquae Iasae* hoping for healing and recovery, most often addressing their hopes and vows to the nymphs. Among the ten monuments mentioned

116 Kušan Špalj 2014, 64, 89, kat. br. 83, 84; 2015, 64, 89, kat. br. 83, 84.

117 AE 1985, 00714; ILJug-02, 1171.

118 CIL III, 108931, 10893, etc.; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69–70; Lučić 2013, 195.

119 CIL III, 4117, 4119, etc.; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69–70; Lučić 2013, 195.

120 CIL III, 4118; ILJug-02, 1171c, etc.

121 CIL III, 10891, etc.

122 Bilić 2014, 120–125; 2015, 120–125; Perok 2014; 2015. In the research of 2011–2013, a total of about 17,000 coins were found and another 1,000 coins were found as a result of further work and leaching of soil from the spring (until 2017).

Na većini ovdje spomenutih natpisa, dedikacije su upućene nimfama u osobno ime dedikanta, na jednom primjeru to je za zdravlje više rangiranog službenika (kat. br. 9), na jednome zajedno sa suprugom (kat. br. 7), a u dva primjera u obliku „*pro se et suis*“ (kat. br. 7, 10).

Na temelju pronađenih zavjetnih predmeta i brojnih natpisa svakako je moguće pretpostaviti i razne obrede i rituale, ali posebno je zanimljiv jedan nalaz koji daje informacije o načinu funkcioniranja svetišta, odnosno o darovima za troškove hrana ili za žrtve nimfama.

Riječ je o kamenom poklopcu s prorezom za novac,<sup>125</sup> odnosno gornjem dijelu spremnika za novac („škrabici“) poznatom iz antičkih izvora pod nazivom *thesaurus*.<sup>126</sup> (sl. 31.) *Thesaurus* se postavljao u svetišta i u njega su hodočasnici ubacivali kovanice, a tako prikupljen novac koristio se za potrebe svetišta. Postojali su razni oblici, a u načelu riječ je o šupljom kamenom konstrukciji s prorezom kroz koji se ubacuju kovanice, s mogućnošću otvaranja i pražnjenja. U uporabi su od 5. stoljeća pr. Kr. u Grčkoj pa sve do 3. stoljeća na području Rimskog Carstva, a najčešće su bili postavljeni uz glavne žrtvenike, u hramovima, ili na nekom drugome mjestu u blizini svetišta.<sup>127</sup> Primjer iz Varaždinskih Toplica može se uvrstiti u grupu dvodijelnih konstrukcija s polukuglasto izrađenim gornjim dijelom za ubacivanje kovanica, koji je bio pomičan i služio kao poklopac. Na gornjoj strani je prorez za ubacivanje kovanica veličine 5 cm, uz koji se nalazi reljefno izvedena glava zmije, čije je tijelo „omotano“ oko vanjske površine poklopca. Na gornjoj površini je natpis: SAC(rum) NYMP(his) – posvećen nimfama.<sup>128</sup> Donji dio, koji nije sačuvan, bio je vjerojatno od većeg izdubljenoga kamenog bloka, u funkciji spremnika. Postojala su razna konstrukcijska rješenja koja su pružala sigurnost od krađe, a na ovom primjeru iz Varaždinskih Toplica vjerojatno je težina mramornog poklopca sprečavala jednostavno podizanje, a vjerojatno je i prikazana zmija bila svojevrсна „čuvarica od krađe“. Utori na donjem rubu, s tragovima olova, ukazuju na to da su se za podizanje poklopca umetale metalne šipke kao drške.

Nalazi iz Varaždinskih Toplica daju važan doprinos u sagledavanju različitih kultova štovanih na području Panonije, ali i razumijevanju religijskog života u svetištima povezanim sa „svetim“ izvorima, kao svetište s najbrojnijim nalazima posvećenim nimfama. Takve spoznaje čine se i važnije ako se uzme u obzir da literarni izvori iz rimskog razdoblja ne otkrivaju mnogo o samoj prirodi religijskih aktivnosti i vjerovanja vezanih uz ljekovite izvore. Zbog toga je i vrlo zanimljivo pismo Seneke Luciju<sup>129</sup> u kojem je opisao vruće izvore kao mjesta božanskog štovanja.

in this article, four dedicants are members of the Roman army, from the ranks of the command staff (cat. nos 1, 2, 7, 9), and five monuments were erected by dedicants who were in the service of the civil administration (cat. nos 3, 4, 5, 10) and one on priestly duties (cat. no. 6).<sup>123</sup> It can be assumed that this is approximately the average structure of (richer) visitors to the sanctuary in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, i.e. that members of the civil and military services came equally in that period. It is probable that members of the army most often visited this health resort individually, primarily for health reasons. It can be assumed that they visited Aquae Iasae while their military units were temporarily staying in the nearby territory, as there is no evidence of the permanent residence in nearby cities of any of the units mentioned. There are several finds from Varaždinske Toplice that confirm that the inhabitants of Poetovio were often among the visitors,<sup>124</sup> including the two dedicants of monuments mentioned here (cat. nos 5, 6), from the ruling, wealthier stratum of the city.

In most of the inscriptions mentioned here, dedications are addressed to nymphs on behalf of the dedicant; in one example it is for the health of a higher-ranking official (cat. no. 9), and in one together with his wife (cat. no. 7), and on two inscriptions in the form of “*pro se et suis*” (cat. nos 7, 10).

On the basis of the votive objects and numerous inscriptions found, it is certainly possible to assume various rites and rituals, but one find that provides information on the functioning of the sanctuary and gifts for the cost of temples or sacrifices to nymphs is particularly interesting. It is a stone lid with a slot for money,<sup>125</sup> i.e. the upper part of a money container (a ‘money box’) known from ancient sources as a *thesaurus* (Fig. 31)<sup>126</sup>. The *thesaurus* was placed in the sanctuary, and pilgrims inserted coins into it, and the money thus collected was used for the needs of the sanctuary. There were various shapes, and in principle it is a hollow stone structure with a slot through which coins are inserted, with the capability of being opened and emptied. They were in use from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in Greece until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in the area of the Roman Empire, and were most often placed next to the main altars, in temples, or elsewhere near the sanctuary.<sup>127</sup> The example from Varaždinske Toplice can be included in the group of two-part constructions with a hemispherical upper part for inserting coins that was movable and served as a cover. On the upper side there is a 5-cm slot for inserting coins, next to which there is an embossed snake’s head whose body is ‘wrapped’ around the outer surface of the lid. On the upper surface is the inscription SAC(rum) NYMP(his), ‘dedicated to nymphs’.<sup>128</sup> The lower part, which has not been

125 Kušan Špalj 2014, 65–66, kat. br. 81; 2015, 65–66, kat. br. 81.

126 Dijelovi tezaura pronađeni su 2006. i 2011. godine u urušanju sjevernog zida izvorišta. Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi provedeni su 2014. godine (Zottmann GmbH).

127 Kaminski 1991.

128 Dimenzije predmeta: promjer 45 cm, visina 21 cm, visina slova 4–4,5 cm.

129 Sen. Ep. 41.3.

123 On one of the monuments (cat. no. 8) the part of the inscription that would give information about the dedicant is not preserved.

124 CIL III, 4117; ILJug-02, 1168.

125 Kušan Špalj 2014, 65–66, kat. br. 81; 2015, 65–66, kat. br. 81.

126 Parts of the *thesaurus* were found in 2006 and 2011 in the collapse of the north wall of the spring reservoir. Conservation and restoration work was carried out in 2014 (Zottmann GmbH).

127 Kaminski 1991.

128 Dimensions of the object: diameter 45 cm, height 21 cm, letter height 4–4.5 cm.



Iako se može zaključiti na temelju većine nalaza iz Varaždinskih Toplica, ali i drugih antičkih lječilišta, da su Rimljani sve učinke ljekovite vode pripisivali isključivo bogovima, postoje neki aspekti medicinskog znanja koje treba uzeti također u obzir. Korištenje termalnih izvora u ljekovite svrhe potječe iz učenja Hipokrata (oko 460 – 370. pr. Kr.), a njegove ideje razvijao je i Galen (129. – 199. pr. Kr.) koji je također savjetovao ljekovitu upotrebu termalnih izvora.<sup>130</sup> Također, drugi antički liječnici (Celzo, Soran iz Efeza, Oribazije) preporučivali su termalnu vodu za liječenje različitih bolesti (kožne probleme, različite mišićne probleme, ženske poremećaje i dr.),<sup>131</sup> a Plinije Stariji preporučuje sumporne izvore za liječenje rana i žila.<sup>132</sup> Premda su Rimljani uglavnom bili naviknuti na medicinsku praksu, koja je bila zasnovana na religiji i magijskim obredima te su često bili nepovjerljivi prema medicinskoj teoriji koju su donijeli Grci, može se pretpostaviti da su itekako bili svjesni ljekovitih učinaka termalne vode za različite bolesti i da su imali protokole za njezino korištenje. Na nekim lokalitetima postoje podaci o aktivnostima liječnika<sup>133</sup>, što ukazuje na to da je u rimskim lječilištima postojala mogućnost paralelnog postojanja racionalne medicine i štovanja bogova. Možda je bila slična situacija s funkcioniranjem svetišta i kupališta u naselju *Aquae Iasae*, sa svećenicima koji su u svetištu organizirali obrede, dok su liječnici posjetitelje usmjeravali kako koristiti termalnu vodu vezano uz razna oboljenja. Može se pretpostaviti i da su tretmani s termalnom vodom u ovom lječilištu uglavnom uključivali kupanje, ali vjerojatno su se neke unutarnje ozljede liječile ispijanjem vode ili se čak i ljekovito blato nanosilo na bolna područja tijela. Da su sva ova tri oblika upotrebe sumporne vode prakticirana u rimskim lječilištima, potvrđuje i Plinije Stariji te daje informacije i o atmosferi u rimskim lječilištima, gdje posjetitelji u velikoj želji za izlječenjem često pretjeruju u konzumaciji tretmana sumpornom vodom, pogotovo u njezinu ispijanju.<sup>134</sup>

Zbog nedostatka nalaza koji bi potvrdili prisustvo liječnika u naselju *Aquae Iasae*, može se samo pretpostaviti da se u okviru praktične primjene termalne vode slijedilo upute racionalne medicine, ali brojni nalazi, prije svega kamenih spomenika, ukazuju na to da se učinak i čudotvorna ljekovitost termalne vode sasvim sigurno pripisivala božanskom djelovanju, najčešće upravo nimfama, zaštitnicama svetog izvora. Novi su nalazi dali brojne podatke i o posjetiteljima, tj. dedikantima zavjetnih natpisa, njihovim zanimanjima i funkcijama, od kojih su neki vjerojatno dolazili i više puta, potaknuti čudotvornim, ljekovitim učincima termalne vode. Dok kameni spomenici i žrtvenici otkrivaju imena onih bogatijih, imena onih koji su samo ubacili kovanicu u „sveti“ izvor ostat će nepoznata, ali s obzirom na količinu nalaza, može se zaključiti da su dolazili u velikom broju i da su se u nadi za ozdravljenjem najčešće obraćali nimfama.

preserved, was probably in the form of a hollowed stone block, which served as the container. There were various construction solutions that provided security against theft, and in this example from Varaždinske Toplice, the weight of the marble cover probably prevented easy lifting, and it is possible that the snake shown was a kind of ‘guard against theft’. The grooves on the lower edge, with traces of lead, indicate that metal rods were inserted as handles to lift the lid.

Finds from Varaždinske Toplice make an important contribution to understanding the various cults worshipped in Pannonia, and also to understanding religious life in sanctuaries associated with ‘sacred springs’, as it is the sanctuary with the most numerous finds dedicated to nymphs. Such insights seem even more important if we take into account that literary sources from the Roman period do not reveal much about the very nature of religious activities and beliefs relating to medicinal springs. That is why Seneca’s letter to Lucius<sup>129</sup> is very interesting, in which he describes hot springs as places of divine worship. Although it can be concluded, on the basis of most findings from Varaždinske Toplice, and also from other ancient spas, that the Romans attributed all the effects of healing water exclusively to the gods, there are some aspects of medical knowledge that should also be considered. The use of thermal springs for medicinal purposes originates from the teachings of Hippocrates (c. 460–370 BC), and his ideas were developed by Galen (129–199 BC), who also advised the medicinal use of thermal springs.<sup>130</sup> Other ancient physicians (e.g. Celsus, Soranus of Ephesus, and Oribasius) also recommended thermal water for the treatment of various diseases (skin problems, various muscle problems, female disorders, etc.),<sup>131</sup> and Pliny the Elder recommended sulphur springs for the treatment of wounds and veins.<sup>132</sup> Although the Romans were mostly accustomed to medical practices based on religion, magical rites, and were often distrustful of the medical theory adopted by the Greeks, it can be assumed that they were well aware of the healing effects of thermal water for various diseases and had protocols for its use. On some sites there are data on the activities of physicians,<sup>133</sup> which indicates that in Roman spas there was a possibility of the parallel existence of rational medicine and worship of the gods. Perhaps the situation was similar with the functioning of the sanctuary and baths in the settlement of *Aquae Iasae*, with priests organizing rituals in the sanctuary, while physicians guided visitors on how to use thermal water in connection with various diseases. It can also be assumed that the thermal water treatments at this spa mostly involved bathing, but it is likely that some internal injuries were treated by drinking the water, or that healing mud was even applied to painful areas of the body. That all three forms of sulphur-water use were practised in Roman spas is confirmed by Pliny the Elder, and he gives in-

130 Dvorjetski 2007, 84.

131 Dvorjetski 2007, 84.

132 Plin. *HN*, 31.6; 31.32.

133 Dvorjetski 2007, 109.

134 Plin. *HN*, 31.32.

129 Sen. *Ep.* 41.3.

130 Dvorjetski 2007, 84.

131 Dvorjetski 2007, 84.

132 Plin. *HN*, 31.6; 31.32.

133 Dvorjetski 2007, 109.



**SLIKA 32.** Rimski izvorišni bezen, isparavanje termalne vode u zimskim mjesecima (snimila N. Perok).

**FIGURE 32.** Roman spring reservoir, evaporation of thermal water in winter season (photo by N. Perok).



**SLIKA 33.** 3D rekonstrukcija rimskog svetišta *Aquae Iasae*, 4. st. (izradio Studio Kušan).

**FIGURE 33.** 3D reconstruction of *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary, 4<sup>th</sup> century (made by Studio Kušan).

Dugogodišnja arheološka istraživanja, koja Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu provodi na prostoru Varaždinskih Toplica, a pogotovo rezultati dobiveni posljednjih desetak godina, potvrđuju da je naselje *Aquae Iasae* tijekom četiri stoljeća bilo iznimno popularno lječilište (i svetište) koje su posjećivali pripadnici različitih društvenih slojeva, iz obližnjih, ali i udaljenijih krajeva. Mističnost i atmosfera oko „svetog izvora“, koje je vjerojatno bilo i proročište,<sup>335</sup> s mirisom i parom termalne vode i danas prisutnom u prostoru, doprinosilo je jedinstvenom doživljaju svih onih koji su dolazili s nadom u ozdravljenje.

135 Kušan Špalj 2014, 72, 83; 2015, 72, 83.

formation about the atmosphere in Roman spas, where visitors in great desire for healing often go too far in taking treatment by sulphur water, especially in drinking it.<sup>334</sup>

Due to a lack of finds that would confirm the presence of physicians in *Aquae Iasae*, it can only be assumed that the practical application of thermal water followed the instructions of rational medicine, but numerous findings, primarily stone monuments, indicate that the effect and miraculous healing properties of thermal water was certainly attributed to divine action, most often the nymphs as protectors of the sacred spring. The new finds have also provided numerous data on visitors, i.e. dedicants of votive inscriptions, their occupations and functions, some of whom probably came more than once, encouraged by the miraculous, healing effects of thermal water. While stone monuments and altars reveal the names of the richer people, the names of those who just tossed a coin into the ‘sacred’ spring will remain unknown; but, given the quantity of finds, it can be concluded that they came in large numbers and their hopes for healing were addressed to the nymphs.

Many years of archaeological research in Varaždinske Toplice conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and especially the results obtained in the last ten years, confirm that the settlement of *Aquae Iasae* was, for four centuries, an extremely popular spa (and sanctuary) visited by members of various social strata, not only from nearby, but also from more distant areas. The mysticism and atmosphere around the ‘sacred spring’, which was probably a place of prophecy,<sup>335</sup> with the scent and steam of thermal water still present in the space today, contributed to a unique experience for all those who came in the hope of healing.

134 Plin. *HN*, 31.32.

135 Kušan Špalj 2014, 72, 83; 2015, 72, 83.

Kat. br/ inv. br Cat. no/ inv. no	Dedikacija / Dedication	Ime dedikanta / Name of the dedicator	Funkcija dedikanta / Dedicator function	Datacija /Date
1 / VTks 50	<i>Nymphis</i>	<i>Lucius Laberius Verulanus</i>	<i>praefectus cohortis V Lucensium</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3. st. 2 <sup>nd</sup> century - 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
2 / VTks 51	<i>Nymphis</i>	<i>Marcus Laelius Clemens</i>	<i>hastatus legionis X Geminae Piaae Fidelis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3. st. 2 <sup>nd</sup> century - 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
3 / VTks 52	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Aurelius Flavius</i>	<i>decurio municipii B(?)gensium</i>	3. st. 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
4 / VTks 54	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Caius Iulius Nepos</i>	<i>commentariensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3. st. 2 <sup>nd</sup> century - 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
5 / VTks 36	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Titus Flavius Florentinus</i>	<i>decurio coloniae Ulpiae Traiane Poetoviensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3. st. 2 <sup>nd</sup> century - 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
6 / VTks 77	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Caius Valerius Posphorus</i>	<i>Augustalis coloniae Ulpiae Traiane Poetoviensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3. st. 2 <sup>nd</sup> century - 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
7 / VTks 75	<i>Nymphis Salutaribus</i>	<i>Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus Ulpia Pudentilla</i>	<i>centurio legionis XIII Geminae Severianae</i>	Oko 230 g. around 230
8 / VT ks 86a	<i>Nymphis Peonis Augustis Salutaribus S(?)oli et M(?)</i>	? Victor	?	1. - 3. st. 1 <sup>st</sup> - 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
9 / VTks 14	<i>Nymphis Iasis</i>	<i>Publius Flavius Castor</i>	<i>Praefectus alae I Thracum</i>	3. st. 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
10 / VTks 5	<i>Nymphis Iasis Salutaribus</i>	<i>Ianuarius (auggustorum libertus)</i>	<i>ex adiutore tabularius Provinciae Pannoniae Inferioris</i>	8. ili 7. novembra 245. g. 8 <sup>th</sup> (or 7 <sup>th</sup> ) November 245

**TABLICA 1.** Popis natpisa obrađenih u ovom radu.

**TABLE 1.** List of the inscriptions discussed in this paper.

## KATALOG NATPISA

### KAT. BR. 1. (SLIKA 5, 6)

#### Zavjetni natpis posvećen nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-50

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji zapadnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta (najdonji red zida), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 98 cm, šir. baze 46 cm, deblj. baze 28 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 55,5 cm, šir. 38 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 6 cm, 2., 5. – 6. redak: 5 cm, 3. – 4. redak: 5,5 cm

Stanje: Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Laber(i)us / Verulanus / preaef(ectus) coh(ortis) / V Lucens(ium)*

Prijevod:

Posvećeno nimfama. Lucije Laberije Verulan, prefekt V. Lucenske kohorte.

## CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

### CAT. NO. 1 (FIGS 5, 6)

#### A votive inscription dedicated to nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-50

Find site: in the preserved construction of the western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (lowest row of the wall), excavation in 2011.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 98 cm; base w 46 cm; base th 28 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 55,5 cm; w 38 cm

Letter size: line 1, 6 cm; lines 2 & 5 – 6, 5 cm; lines 3 – 4, 5,5 cm

Condition: surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century – 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / sacr(um) / L(ucius) Laber(i)us / Verulanus / preaef(ectus) coh(ortis) / V Lucens(ium)*

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs. Lucius Laberius Verulanus, prefect of the Cohort V Lucensium.

**KAT. BR. 2.**  
(SLIKA 7,8)**Zavjetni natpis posvećen nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-51

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji zapadnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta (najdonji red zida), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 77 cm, šir. baze 41 cm, deblj. baze 29 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 40 cm, šir. 34 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 5 cm, 2. redak: 4 cm, 3. redak: 3,5 cm, 4. redak: 3 cm, 5. redak: 3,5 cm

Stanje: Jače oštećenje baze i kruništa, natpis oštećen na lijevoj strani, oštećenje površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / M(arcus) Laelius / Clemens / hast(atus) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) / v(otum) s(olvit)*

Prijevod:

Nimfama, Marko Lelije Klement, hastat legije X. Gemine, pobožne i odane, zavjet ispunio

**KAT. BR. 3.**  
(SLIKA 9, 10)**Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-52

Mjesto nalaza: zapadni dio sjevernog zida izvorišta (urušenje), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 122 cm, šir. baze 36 cm, deblj. baze 30,5 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 48 cm, šir. 36 cm

Visina slova: 1. – 6. redak: 6 cm

Stanje: Oštećenja baze, kruništa, jače oštećenje površine u predjelu donjeg dijela natpisnog polja. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / Augustis / Aur(elius) Fla(v)us / dec(urio) mun(icipii) / B[.]gensium / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Prijevod:

Uzvišenim nimfama, zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio, Aurelije Flav, dekurion municipija B(?)gensium.

**CAT. NO. 2**  
(FIGS 7, 8)**A votive inscription dedicated to nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-51

Find site: in the preserved construction of the western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (lowest row of the wall), excavation in 2011.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 77 cm; base w 41 cm; base th 29 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 40 cm; w 34 cm

Letter size: line 1, 5 cm; line 2, 4 cm; line 3, 3.5 cm; line 4, 3 cm; line 5, 3.5 cm

Condition: severe damage to base and capital, inscription is damaged on left side, surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century – 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / M(arcus) Laelius / Clemens / hast(atus) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae) f(idelis) / v(otum) s(olvit)*

Translation:

To the nymphs, the vow was fulfilled by Marcus Laelius Clemens, hastatus of the *legio X Gemina pia fidelis*.**CAT. NO. 3**  
(FIGS 9, 10)**A votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs augustae**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-52

Find site: western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (collapse), excavations in 2011.

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 122 cm; base w 36 cm; base th 30.5 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 48 cm; w 36 cm

Letter size: lines 1 – 6, 6 cm

Condition: damage to the base and capital, severe damage to the surface in the lower part of the inscription field. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / Augustis / Aur(elius) Fla(v)us / dec(urio) mun(icipii) / B[.]gensium / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Translation:

To the nymphs augustae, the vow was gladly, and by merit, fulfilled by Aurelius Flavius, decurion of the municipium of B(?)gensium.

**KAT. BR. 4.**  
(SLIKA 12,13)**Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-54

Mjesto nalaza: zapadni dio sjevernog zida izvorišta (urušenje), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 87 cm, šir. baze 41 cm, deblj. baze 26 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 36 cm, šir. 31 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 3,5 cm; 2. – 4. redak: 3 cm, 5. redak: 2,5 cm, 6. redak: 2 cm.

Stanje: Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Iulius / Nepos / commentar(iensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Prijevod:

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama, Gaj Julije Nepot, *commentariensis*, zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio.**KAT. BR. 5.**  
(SLIKA 14, 15)**Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-36

Mjesto nalaza: urušenje sjevernog zida izvorišta (središnji dio zida), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 86 cm, šir. baze 44 cm, deblj. baze 33 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 41,5 cm, šir. 37 cm.

Visina slova: 1. – 2. redak: 5 cm, 3. redak: 3,5 cm, 4. – 6. redak: 3 cm

Stanje: Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / T(itus) Flavius / Florentinus / dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raiana) P(oetoviensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Prijevod:

Uzvišenim nimfama, zavjet je rado i po zasluži ispunio Tit Flavius Florentin, dekurion petovionske kolonije Ulpije Trajane.

**CAT. NO. 4**  
(FIGS 12, 13)**A votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs augustae**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-54

Find site: western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (collapse), excavations in 2011.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 87 cm; base w 41 cm; base th 26 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 36 cm; w 31 cm

Letter size: line 1, 3,5 cm; lines 2 – 4, 3 cm; line 5, 2,5 cm; line 6, 2 cm

Condition: surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century – 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Iulius / Nepos / commentar(iensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs augustae, the vow gladly, and by merit, fulfilled by Caius Iulius Nepos, *commentariensis*.**CAT. NO. 5**  
(FIGS 14, 15)**A votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs augustae**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-36

Find site: collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (central part of the wall), excavations in 2011.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 86 cm; base w 44 cm; base th 33 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 41,5 cm; w 37 cm

Letter size: lines 1 – 2, 5 cm; line 3, 3,5 cm; lines 4 – 6, 3 cm

Condition: surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century – 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) / T(itus) Flavius / Florentinus / dec(urio) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raiana) P(oetoviensis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Translation:

To the nymphs augustae, the vow was gladly, and by merit, fulfilled by Titus Flavius Florentinus, decurion of the colony of *Ulpia Traiana Poetoviensis*

**KAT. BR. 6.**  
**(SLIKA 16)****Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-77

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine, izvađeno iz zida tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova 2012. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 108 cm, šir. baze 51 cm, deblj. baze 30 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 41 cm, šir. 34 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 4 cm, 2. redak: 3,5 cm, 3. – 4. redak: 3 cm, 5. redak: 2,8 cm, 6. – 8. redak: 2 – 2,5 cm.

Stanje: Dosta oštećena površina mramora. Na spomeniku su provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi 2014. godine (Zottmann GmbH), a spomenik je bio izložen na izložbi „Aquae lasae, nova otkrića iz rimskog razdoblja na području Varaždinskih Toplica“ (u Ljubljani 2014. i u Zagrebu 2015. godine).

Datacija: 2. – 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Objavljeno: HD075024; Kušan Špalj 2014, 62, 88, kat. br. 79; 2015, 62, 88, kat. br. 79.

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius / Posphorus / Aug(ustalis) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) / pro salute sua / et suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Prijevod:

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama. Zavjet je rado i po zaslugi ispunio Gaj Valerije Posfor augustal petovionske kolonije Ulpije Trajane za svoje zdravlje i zdravlje svojih.

**KAT. BR. 7**  
**(SLIKA 19,20)****Zavjetni natpis posvećen ozdravljujućim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-75

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine, izvađeno iz zida tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova 2012. godine.

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 105 cm, šir. baze 44 cm, deblj. baze 31 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 59 cm, šir. 40 cm.

Visina slova: 1. – 7. redak: 5 cm, 8. redak: 4,5 cm, 9. redak: 3,5 cm  
Stanje: Oštećenja baze i kruništa. Površina kamena dosta je oštećena od sumporne vode (s vidljivim tragovima pirita). Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: oko 230. godine

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis Salu / taribus T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) / Papiria (domo) Oesci / Dom(itius) Valerian(u)s / centurio leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Sever(ianae) / et Ulpia Pudentil / la coniux pro / se et suis vv(ota) ss(solverunt) / l(ibentes) mm(erito)***CAT. NO. 6**  
**(FIG. 16)****A votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs augustae**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-77

Find site: in the construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011, removed from the wall during conservation and restoration work in 2012.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 108 cm; base w 51 cm; base th 30 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 41 cm; w 34 cm

Letter size: line 1, 4 cm; line 2, 3.5 cm; lines 3 – 4, 3 cm; line 5, 2.8 cm; lines 6 – 8, 2–2.5 cm

Condition: somewhat damaged marble surface. Conservation and restoration work was carried out on the monument in 2014 (Zottmann GmbH), and the monument was exhibited at the exhibition 'Aquae lasae, New Discoveries of Roman Remains in the Region of Varaždinske Toplice' (in Ljubljana, 2014, and in Zagreb, 2015).

Date: 2<sup>nd</sup> century – 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Published: HD075024; Kušan Špalj 2014, 62, 88, cat. no. 79; 2015, 62, 88, cat. no. 79.

*Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / C(aius) Valerius / Posphorus / Aug(ustalis) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) / pro salute sua / et suorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs augustae. The vow was gladly, and by merit, fulfilled by Gaius Valerius Posphorus, augustalis of the colony of *Ulpia Traiana Poetoviensis*, for his health and the health of his own.**CAT. NO. 7**  
**(FIGS 19, 20)****A votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-75

Find site: in the construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011, removed from the wall during conservation and restoration work in 2012.

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 105 cm; base w 44 cm; base th 31 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 59 cm; w 40 cm.

Letter size: lines 1 – 7, 5 cm; line 8, 4.5 cm; line 9, 3.5 cm

Condition: base and capital damage. The surface of the stone has been damaged somewhat by sulphur water (with visible traces of pyrite). Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: around 230 AD

Unpublished

*Nymphis Salu / taribus T(itus) Fl(avius) T(iti) f(ilius) / Papiria (domo) Oesci / Dom(itius) Valerian(u)s / centurio leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) Sever(ianae) / et Ulpia Pudentil / la coniux pro / se et suis vv(ota) ss(solverunt) / l(ibentes) mm(erito)*

## Prijevod:

Ozdravljujućim nimfama, Tit Flavije, sin Tita, upisan u *tribus* Papirija, grada *Eska*, Domicij Valerijan centurion u legiji *XIII Gemina Severiana*, i supruga Ulpija Pudentila, za sebe i svoje zavjete su rado i po zaslugi ispunili

## Translation:

To the healing nymphs, Titus Flavius, son of Titus, inscribed in the tribe of Papiria, city of Oescus, Domitius Valerianus, centurion of the XIII Legion *Gemina Severiana*, and wife Ulpia Pudentilla, vows gladly, and by merit, fulfilled for themselves and their own.

## KAT. BR. 8.

(SLIKA 21, 22)

### Zavjetni natpis posvećen ljekovitim, uzvišenim i ozdravljujućim nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-86a

Mjesto nalaza: u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine, izvađeno iz zida tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova 2012. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 75 cm, šir 45 cm, deblj. 29 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 69 cm, šir. 45 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 5 cm, 2. redak: 4 cm, 3. – 4. redak: 3,5 cm, 5. – 6. redak: 3 – 3,5 cm

Stanje: 2019. godine konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove provela je tvrtka Zottmann GmbH. Natpis je bio razlomljen u 2 dijela, jako oštećena površina kamena, natpis jako oštećen.

Datacija: 1. – 3. stoljeće

Objavljeno: Kušan Špalj 2020b, 177, sl. 5.

## Prijedlog restitucije:

*Nymphis / Peonis / Aug(ustis) Salutar(ibus) / S(?)oli et M(?)[----] / [----] vo(ti?)susce(pte?) / [----]s sacrum / C(aius?) Aure(lius?) Victor / [--l-v----] / [----*

## CAT. NO. 8

(FIGS 21, 22)

### A votive inscription dedicated to the healing, *augustae* and curative nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-86a

Find site: in the construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011, removed from the wall during conservation and restoration work in 2012.

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 75 cm; w 45 cm; th 29 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 69 cm; w 45 cm

Letter size: line 1, 5 cm; line 2, 4 cm; lines 3 – 4, 3.5 cm; lines 5 – 6, 3 – 3.5 cm

Condition: conservation and restoration work was carried out by Zottmann GmbH in 2019. The inscription was broken into two parts; the surface of the stone was badly damaged, as well as the inscription.

Date: 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries

Published: Kušan Špalj 2020b, 177, Fig. 5.

## Restitution proposed:

*Nymphis / Peonis / Aug(ustis) Saluta[r](ibus) / S(?)oli et M(?)[----] / [----]vo(ti?)susce(pte?) / [----]s sacrum / C(aius?) Aure(lius?) Victor / [--l-v----] / [----*

## KAT. 9.

(SLIKA 24, 25)

### Zavjetni natpis posvećen jaškim nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-14

Mjesto nalaza: urušenje sjevernog zida, istraživanje 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 90 cm, šir. baze 48 cm, deblj. baze 30 cm.

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 61 cm, šir. 44 cm.

Visina slova: 1. redak: 6 cm, 2. – 11. redak: 3,5 cm.

Stanje: Oštećenja bočnih strana, nedostaje i veći dio kruništa, oštećenja natpisa na desnoj strani. Na površini kamena tamni tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis / lasis / pro salute et / incolumit[a]te / M(arci) Aureli Regu / li v(i)c(e) preaesidi[s] / sui et filior(um) e[ius] / P(ublius) Fl(avius) Castor pr[ae]f[ectus] / a[l]l[ae] I Thracu[m] / votum quo[d] / suscepi(t) posui(t)*

## CAT. NO. 9

(FIGS 24, 25)

### A votive inscription dedicated to the *lasae* nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-14

Find site: collapse of the north spring-reservoir wall, excavation in 2011.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 90 cm; base w 48 cm; base th 30 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 61 cm; w 44 cm

Letter size: line 1, 6 cm; lines 2 – 11, 3.5 cm

Condition: damage to the lateral sides, most of the capital is missing, damage on the right side of the inscription. Dark traces of pyrite on the stone surface. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument.

Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> century

Unpublished

*Nymphis / lasis / pro salute et / incolumit[a]te / M(arci) Aureli Regu / li v(i)c(e) preaesidi[s] / sui et filior(um) e[ius] / P(ublius) Fl(avius) Castor pr[ae]f[ectus] / a[l]l[ae] I Thracu[m] / votum quo[d] / suscepi(t) posui(t)*

## Prijevod:

Jaškim nimfama, za zdravlje i sigurnost Marka Aurelija Regula, upravitelja (*vice praesidis*) svojeg i sinova njegovih, Publije Flavije Kastor prefekt I. ale Tračana, ispunio je zavjet koji je dao.

## KAT. 10

(SLIKA 27, 28)

**Zavjetni natpis posvećen jaškim i ozdravljujućim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-5

Mjesto nalaza: u zapadnom dijelu južnog zida izvorišta (ispod kamenog bloka s utorom za ogradu), istraživanja 2006., 2011., 2012. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 116 cm, šir. baze 44 cm, šir. krun. 34 cm, deblj. baze 13 cm, deblj. krun. 6 cm.

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 58 cm, šir. 30 cm.

Visina slova: 1. – 5. redak: 3,5 cm, 6. – 9. redak: 3 cm, 10. – 11. i 13. redak: 2,7 cm, 12. redak: 3 cm.

Stanje: 2019. godine konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove provela je tvrtka Zottmann GmbH. Spomenik pronađen razlomljen u više dijelova, nedostaje stražnji dio, veći dio baze i kruništa, oštećenja natpisa.

Datacija: 8. (ili 7.) studenoga 245. godine

Neobjavljeno

*Nymphis Iasis / Salutaribus / s[acrum] / Ianuari[us] / Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) ex / adiutor(e) tabul(arius) / Prov(inciae) Pann(oniae) Inf(erioris) / pro se et suis / votum solvit / imp(erator) d(omino) n(ostro) [[Philippo]] / Aug(usto) et Titiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VII(?) Idus / Novembres*

## Prijevod:

Posvećeno jaškim i ozdravljujućim nimfama, Januarij, oslobođenik dva cara, bivši pomoćnik u tabulariju provincije Donje Panonije, za sebe i svoje, ispunio zavjet, u godini konzulata cara Filipa i Ticijana (245. godine), 8. (ili 7.) studenoga (šesti ili sedmi dan prije studenskih ida).

## Translation:

To the Iasae nymphs, for the health and safety of Marcus Aurelius Regulus, his governor (*vice praesidis*) and his sons, Publius Flavius Castor, prefect of the *Ala I Thracum*, fulfilled the vow he made.

## CAT. NO. 10

(FIGS 27, 28)

**A votive inscription dedicated to the Iasae and healing nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-5

Find site: in the western part of the southern wall of the spring reservoir (below a stone block with a groove for the fence), excavations in 2006, 2011, 2012.

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 116 cm; base w 44 cm; capital w 34 cm; base th 13 cm; capital th 6 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 58 cm; w 30 cm

Letter size: lines 1 – 5, 3.5 cm; lines 6 – 9, 3 cm; lines 10 – 11 & 13, 2.7 cm; line 12, 3 cm

Condition: conservation and restoration work was carried out by Zottmann GmbH in 2019. The monument was found broken into several parts, missing its back and most of the base and capital, damage to the inscription.

Date: 8<sup>th</sup> (or 7<sup>th</sup>) November 245 AD

Unpublished

*Nymphis Iasis / Salutaribus / s[acrum] / Ianuari[us] / Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus) ex / adiutor(e) tabul(arius) / Prov(inciae) Pann(oniae) Inf(erioris) / pro se et suis / votum solvit / imp(erator) d(omino) n(ostro) [[Philippo]] / Aug(usto) et Titiano co(n)s(ulibus) / VII(?) Idus / Novembres*

## Translation:

Dedicated to the Iasae and healing nymphs, Ianuarius, freedman of two emperors, former assistant in the tabularium of the province of Lower Pannonia, for himself and his own, fulfilled his vow in the year of the consulates of emperors Philippus and Titianus (245 AD), November 8 (or 7) (the sixth or seventh day before the Ides of November).

## KRATICE

## ABBREVIATIONS

AIJ – V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1, Noricum und Pannonia Superior*, 1938.

HD – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, <https://edh.uni-heidelberg.de>, (17<sup>th</sup> May 2022).

ILJug-02 – Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt, Situla 19, 1978.



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