

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

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

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Članak obrađuje trinaest, do sada neobjavljenih kamenih spomenika sa zavjetnim natpisima posvećenih nimfama te jedan već ranije objavljeni natpis na mramornoj ploči s reljefom. Svi spomenici pronađeni su tijekom istraživanja prostora rimskog svetišta 2011. i 2012. godine u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Od 2006. do 2016. godine pronađeno je više od 50 kamenih spomenika koji su bili sekundarno iskorišteni u opločenju, odnosno ugrađeni u sjeverni i južni zid izvorišnog bazena tijekom obnove prostora svetišta, najvjerojatnije početkom 4. stoljeća. Spomenici, koji se obrađuju u ovom radu, podijeljeni su prema oblicima posvete u tri grupe: natpisi posvećeni uzvišenim nimfama (Augustae), ozdravljujućim nimfama (salutares) te oni postavljeni u čast nimfi s posvetom u obliku – numini nympharum. Zasad, svi se kamene spomenici posvećeni nimfama, pronađeni u novijim istraživanjima, mogu datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, što potvrđuje da je to bilo razdoblje procvata i velike popularnosti lječilišta i svetišta naselja Aquae lasae, gdje su se u nadi za ozdravljenje posjetitelji najčešće obraćali nimfama, zaštitnicama termalnog izvora.

Ključne riječi:

nimfe, natpisi, Varaždinske Toplice, termalni izvor, svetište

The article deals with thirteen so-far unpublished stone monuments with votive inscriptions dedicated to nymphs, and one previously published inscription on a marble slab with a relief. All the monuments were found during research on the area of the Roman sanctuary in 2011 and 2012 in the park in Varaždinske Toplice. Between 2006 and 2016, more than 50 stone monuments were found that had been re-used in the paving and built into the northern and southern walls of the spring reservoir during the renovation of the sanctuary area, most likely at the beginning of the 4th century. The inscriptions mentioned in this paper are divided, according to the forms of dedication, into three groups: inscriptions dedicated to nymphs Augustae, then with epithet salutares, and inscriptions with a dedication in the form of numini nympharum. For now, all the stone monuments dedicated to nymphs, found in the recent research, can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, which confirms that it was a period of prosperity and great popularity of the spa and sanctuary of the settlement of Aquae lasae, where visitors, in the hope of healing, most often addressed their vows to the nymphs, protectors of the thermal spring.

Key words:

nymphs, inscriptions, Varaždinske Toplice, thermal spring, sanctuary

Arheološka istraživanja rimskoga izvorišnog bazena i sekundarna upotreba kamenih spomenika u obnovi svetišta

Arheološka istraživanja, provedena u posljednjih 20-ak godina na prostoru rimskog svetišta naselja *Aquae Iasae*,¹ dala su iznimno mnogo zanimljivih podataka o načinu gradnje, ali i o religijskom životu od 1. do 4. stoljeća.² Razvoj svetišta, odnosno građevinske faze i epigrafski spomenici, pružaju uvid u povezanost rituala i prostora, odnosno pokazuju kako su dinamične promjene u ritualima i uvođenje novih kultova, ali i društveni i politički faktori usko vezani uz arhitektonsko oblikovanje i građevinske zahvate u prostoru.³ Izgled svetišta u 1. stoljeću, kada je izvor kaptiran jednostavnim „ograđivanjem“ prirodne jame te je bio okružen trijemovima s pravokutnim, odnosno polukružnim nišama⁴ i jednim hramom na sjevernoj strani,⁵ a natpisi su bili posvećeni nimfama,⁶ odraz je religijskog života na tom prostoru u počecima funkcioniranja rimskog svetišta. Najveći zahvat proveden u tom razdoblju sigurno je bilo kaptiranje samog izvorišta, a glavni je preduvjet bilo učvršćivanje terena, odnosno „izgradnja brane“, kako bi se spriječilo njegovo razlijevanje na širem prostoru (što je vjerojatno bila situacija u predrimskom razdoblju).⁷ Svi spomenuti zahvati, kao i sustav kanala, doprinijeli su da se već u 1. stoljeću uspostavi potpuna „kontrola“ prirodnog izvora. Može se pretpostaviti da je štovanje nimfi povezano s čudotvornim djelovanjem termalne vode, svojevrsni kontinuitet štovanja „svetog izvora“ još od predrimskog razdoblja, premda za to nema konkretnih arheoloških dokaza.⁸ Velika promjena, koja se događa u svetištu tijekom 2. stoljeća, kada se grade novi hramovi, kaptira izvor pravokutnim izvorišnim bazenom (sl. 1), a epigrafski spomenici ukazuju na štovanje raznih božanstava vezanih uz liječenje i ozdravljenje svakako su odraz dinamike religijskog ži-

Archaeological research on the Roman spring reservoir and the secondary use of stone monuments in the sanctuary's renovation

Archaeological research conducted over the past 20 years in the area of the Roman sanctuary of *Aquae Iasae*¹ has provided interesting information not only about the method of construction, but also about religious life from the 1st century to the 4th.² The development of the sanctuary, i.e. its construction phases and epigraphic monuments, provides insight into the connection between ritual and space. It shows how dynamic changes in rituals and the introduction of new cults, and also social and political factors, are closely related to architectural design and construction interventions.³ The appearance of the sanctuary in the 1st century – when the spring was captured simply by ‘fencing off’ a natural pit and was surrounded by porticoes with rectangular or semicircular niches⁴ and a temple on the northern side,⁵ and the inscriptions were dedicated to nymphs⁶ – is a reflection of the religious life in that area in the early days of the Roman sanctuary. The largest building activity at that time was certainly the capture of the spring itself, and the main precondition was the strengthening of the ground, and putting up a ‘dam’. In this way, spilling of water over a wider area was prevented (which was probably the situation in the pre-Roman period).⁷ All those interventions, as well as a canal system, helped to establish complete ‘control’ of the natural spring as early as the 1st century. It can be assumed that the worship of nymphs, connected with the miraculous effect of thermal water, represents continuity of the worship of the ‘sacred spring’ since the pre-Roman period, although there is no archaeological evidence that can confirm it.⁸ The great change that took place in the sanctuary during the second century – when new temples

1 Sustavna arheološka istraživanja u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama provodi Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (istraživanja svetišta provedena su od 1997. do 2012. godine pod vodstvom D. Nemeth Ehrlich, a od 2013. godine radove vode D. Kušan Špalj i N. Perok).

2 Kušan Špalj 2014; 2015.

3 Mylonopoulos 2008, 49–79.

4 Prema pronađenim zidovima, moguće je razlikovati dvije faze izgradnje u 1. stoljeću – faza 1a, kada se datira pravokutna niša na zapadu i dio zidova vidljivih ispod faze 1b, odnosno faze u koju se mogu smjestiti polukružne niše na istoku i zapadu svetišta. (Kušan Špalj 2017b, 165–166.)

5 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 32 – 33, 46; 2015, 32 – 33, 46; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 265–267; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019, 97; Kušan Špalj 2020a, 303–304; 2020b, 174–175.

6 CIL III 4118; CIL III 10893.

7 Termalna voda izvire na području koje je s tri strane okruženo prirodnim padinama, bez prirodne barijere na jugu. Ostaci „brane“ kojom je voda ograđena u ranom 1. stoljeću, na prostoru predviđenom za svetište, pronađeni su južno od izvorišta (ispod opločenja i južnog trijema), a sastojala se od hrastovih pilota povezanih drvenim daskama, između kojih je dobro nabijena glina i kamen. Konstrukcija brane bila je vrlo čvrsta, tako da je voda bila zatvorena u vodonepropusnom prostoru, što je omogućilo da razina pada kupališta u svim fazama bude niža od razine vode u izvorišnom bazenu. To je bilo je važno kako bi se termalna voda odvodila kanalima u slobodnom padu u kupalište (Kušan Špalj 2017b, 165–166; 2022b, 56).

8 Jedini nalazi iz predrimskog vremena pronađeni uz sam izvor dvije su sje-kire iz razdoblja eneolita i neolita (Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110. sl. 25).

1 Systematic archaeological research in the park in Varaždinske Toplice has been carried out by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Research at the sanctuary was carried out from 1997 to 2012 under the leadership of D. Nemeth-Ehrlich, and since 2013 the work has been conducted by D. Kušan Špalj and N. Perok).

2 Kušan Špalj 2014; 2015.

3 Mylonopoulos 2008, 49–79.

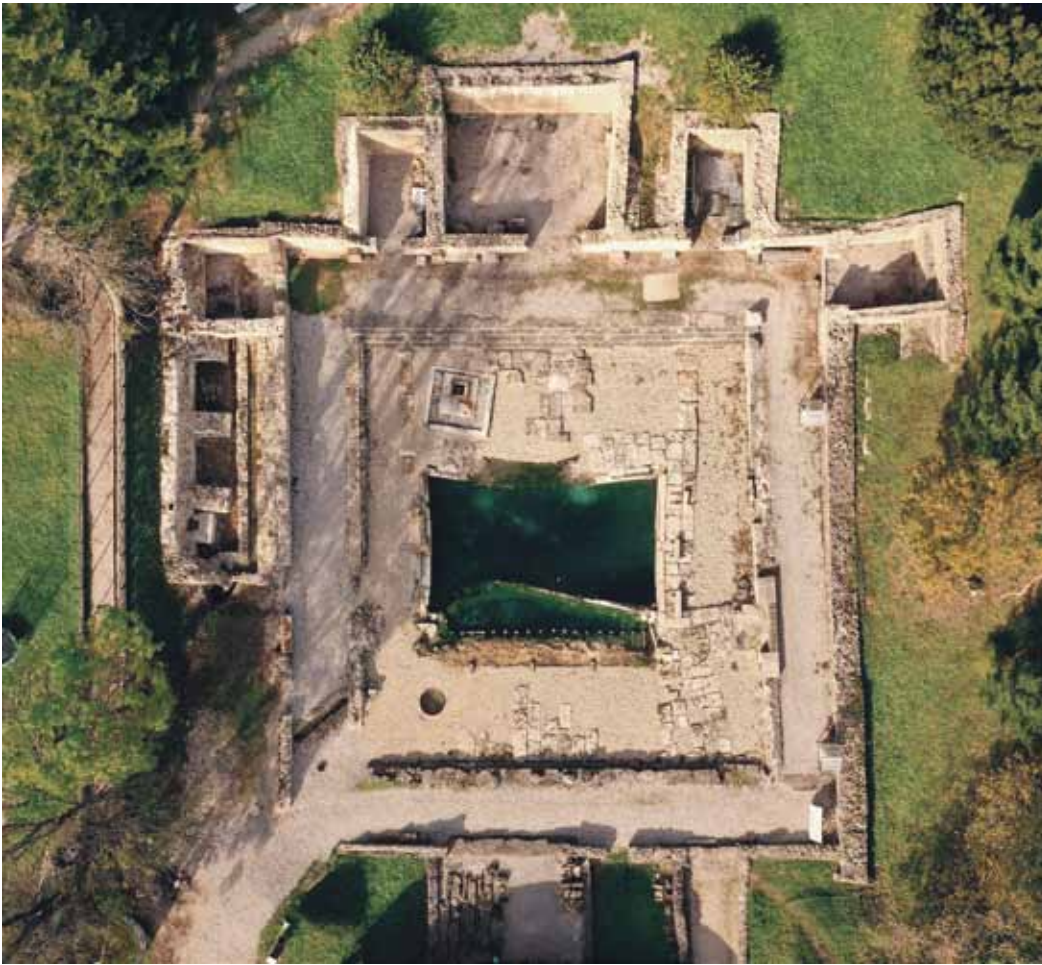
4 According to the finds of the walls, it is possible to distinguish two phases of construction in the 1st century: phase 1a, when the rectangular niche in the west is dated, as well as parts of the walls that lie below or next to the walls of the later 1st century (phase 1b) (Kušan Špalj 2017b, 165–166).

5 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 32–33, 46; 2015, 32–33, 46; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 265–267; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019, 97; Kušan Špalj 2020a, 303–304; 2020b, 174–175.

6 CIL III, 4118; CIL III 10893.

7 The thermal water rises in an area that is surrounded on three sides by natural slopes, with no natural barrier to the south. Remains of the ‘dam’ that enclosed the water in the early 1st century, in the area designated for the sanctuary, were found south of the spring (under the paving and the southern porch), and consisted of oak piles connected by wooden planks, between which clay and stone were well packed. The construction of the dam was very solid, so that the water was enclosed in a watertight space, which allowed the floor level of the baths to be lower than the water level in the spring reservoir in all phases. This was important in order to drain the thermal water through channels in free fall into the bathing area (Kušan Špalj 2017b, 165–166; 2022b, 56).

8 The only finds from pre-Roman times made near the spring are of two axes from the Aeneolithic and Neolithic periods (Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110. Fig. 25).



SLIKA 1. Kompleks rimske arhitekture u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, prostor svetišta nakon radova 2022. godine (snimio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 1. Complex of Roman architecture in the park in Varaždinske Toplice, area of the sanctuary after the work in 2022 (photo by M. Vuković).

vota i njezine povezanosti s građevinskim zahvatima u prostoru.⁹ Osim toga, te se promjene mogu povezati s političkim i društvenim zbivanjima prve polovice 2. stoljeće, kada dolazi do osnivanja kolonije Petovione, a ovaj prostor najvjerojatnije postaje dio njezinog teritorija.¹⁰ Da se radilo o glavnom lječilištu na području agera Petovione, svjedoče brojni zavjetni spomenici koje su postavili stanovnici toga grada.¹¹ Ta se povezanost sigurno odražavala i na ulaganja u izgradnju i opremu svetišta i kupališta, ali i u utjecaju na razvoj religijskog života, uvođenjem novih kultova i rituala u akvejaškom svetištu. Obnova svetišta početkom 4. stoljeća, na koju se vjerojatno odnosi i natpis cara Konstantina,¹² a povezuje se s gradnjom novog kupališta¹³ i popravcima na prostoru svetišta, potvrđena je i istraživanjem izvorišnog bazena.¹⁴

were built, the spring was captured by a rectangular reservoir (Fig. 1), and epigraphic monuments indicate the worship of various deities relating to healing and recovering – certainly is a reflection of the dynamics of religious life and its connection with building interventions in the space.⁹ Moreover, these changes can be related to the political and social events of the first half of the 2nd century, when the colony of Poetovio was founded, and the area of *Aquae Iasae* most likely became part of its territory.¹⁰ That it was the main health resort in the Poetovio ager is suggested by the numerous votive monuments erected by the inhabitants of that city.¹¹ This connection was certainly reflected not only in the investment in the construction and equipping of the sanctuary and baths, but also in the influence on the development of religious life, with the introduction of new cults and rituals into the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary.

9 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 33, 47; 2015, 33, 47; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 267–269; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019, 98; Kušan Špalj 2020a, 304; Kušan Špalj 2020b, 175.

10 Horvat *et al.* 2003, 160; Ragolić 2014, 335–336; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 130, 134.

11 CIL III 4117; ILJug 1168 etc.

12 CIL III 4121.

13 Vikić-Belančić 1996, 16.

14 Istraživanja su provedena 2006, te od 2011. do 2016. godine. Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 28–32, 42–45; 2015, 28–32, 42–45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014b; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 259–264; 2017b, 172–175.

9 Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 33, 47; 2015, 33, 47; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 267–269; Kušan Špalj, Perok, Karavidović 2019, 98; Kušan Špalj 2020a, 304; 2020b, 175.

10 Horvat *et al.* 2003, 160; Ragolić 2014, 335–336; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 130, 134.

11 CIL III, 4117; ILJug 1168 etc.

U tom su razdoblju izvršeni popravci na sjevernom i južnom zidu, koji su vjerojatno zbog promjena u terenu oko samog mjesta izvi-
ranja, bili značajno oštećeni. Za popravke su tada iskorišteni i ra-
zni spomenici koji su ugrađeni u zidove i okolno opločenje kao
obični građevinski materijal. Istraživanja tih struktura pokazala
su da je na taj način iskorišteno više od 50 različitih spomenika
– reljefa, skulptura, kao i arhitektonskih elemenata, ali najviše za-
vjetnih natpisa koji su bili posvećeni prvenstveno nimfama, ali
i drugim božanstvima vezanim uz liječenje i ozdravljenje (Apo-
lonu, Dijani, Minervi, Asklepiju, Izidi, Serapisu, Junoni i dr.).¹⁵ Ve-
ćina je spomenika pronađena u urušenju sjevernog zida, ali i u
sačuvanoj konstrukciji sjevernog i južnog zida izvorišnog bazena
(sl. 2, 5, 8). Spomenici su uglavnom samo slagani u pojedine redo-
ve zidova, dok su neki dodatno obrađivani kako bi se uklopili u
konstrukciju. Zanimljivo je da su oni od mramora znatno bolje sa-
čuvani, dok na većini spomenika od lokalnog kamena nedostaju
profilacije i istaknutija obilježja baza i kruništa, a često su ugra-
đivani i samo dijelovi spomenika. Sasvim sigurno je razlog tome
karakteristika i tvrdoća kamena, odnosno mekaniji je kamen
bilo znatno lakše obraditi i tako prilagoditi pojedini spomenik
za ugradnju u zidove. Zbog toga i većina votivnih natpisa od va-
pnenca ima oblik kvadra, ali se prema tragovima alata u gornjem
i donjem dijelu spomenika, može pretpostaviti da su u tom dijelu
bile originalno profilacije i istaknuti dijelovi baze i kruništa, od-
nosno da se u većini slučajeva radilo o arama s natpisom. Zani-
mljivi su tragovi alata (dlijeta ravnog i nazubljenog brida, širine
oko 2 – 3 cm) vidljivi na većini spomenika od vapnenca u predjelu
gdje su se nalazila kruništa i baze, a koji su vrlo slični tragovima
alata na kamenim blokovima korištenim za gradnju zidova izvo-
rišnog bazena. Svakako, to pokazuje da se u oba slučaja koristio
alat za nešto grublju obradu, a koja se je provodila vrlo blizu sa-
mom mjestu ugradnje spomenika. Dokazuju to i nalazi sitnijih
odbitaka kamena na slojevima gline sa stražnje strane istočnog
zida, građenog od mekanog, sitno zrnatog vapnenca u 2. stoljeću.
Usporedo s gradnjom zida nabijana je glina sa stražnje strane,
npr. nakon što je postavljen prvi red kamena, nabijena je glina
do visine tog reda, i na licu mjesta je prilagođen kamen za sljede-
ći red. Tragovi te obrade, odnosno odbici kamena, bili su vidljivi
na vrhu sloja gline, a gradnjom sljedećeg reda taj se postupak
ponavljao. Na taj je način postignuta vrlo solidna gradnja samog
zida, s kamenom koji dobro prijanja jedan uz drugi, a istovremeno
je postignut čvrsto nabijen sloj gline kako bi se spriječilo razlije-
vanje vode iz izvorišta. Može se pretpostaviti da su takvim po-
stupkom građeni svi zidovi izvorišta, pa čak i sjeverni i južni u 4.
stoljeću, kada su se na mjestu ugradnje obrađivali i sekundarno
upotrebljavali razni spomenici. U konstrukciji južnog zida bilo je
nešto manje natpisa nego u sjevernom zidu, ali budući da je zid
sačuvan u cijelosti, samo pomaknut prema sredini bazena, svi su
spomenici pronađeni u svom originalnom položaju u zidu (građe-
nom u 4. stoljeću). Spomenici su većinom ugrađivani s vidljivim
dnom baze, odnosno sa stražnjom ili bočnom stranom u licu zida,

The restoration of the sanctuary in the early fourth century – to
which the inscription of Emperor Constantine most probably
refers,¹² and which is connected with the construction of new
baths¹³ and repairs in the sanctuary area – is also confirmed by
research on the spring reservoir itself.¹⁴ During that period, the
northern and southern walls of the spring reservoir were reno-
vated, as they had been significantly damaged, probably due to
the changes in the terrain around the spring. In the reconstruc-
tion that followed, various stone monuments were used and
built into the walls and surrounding pavement as ordinary
building materials. Research on these structures has shown
that more than 50 different monuments – reliefs and sculptures,
as well as architectural elements – were used, but mostly vo-
tive inscriptions that were dedicated primarily to nymphs, but
also to other deities relating to health and healing (Apollo, Di-
ana, Minerva, Asclepius, Isis, Serapis, Juno etc.).¹⁵ Most of the
monuments were found in the collapse of the northern wall,
but some in the preserved construction of the northern and
southern walls of the spring reservoir (Figs 2, 5, 8). The monu-
ments were mostly just arranged in individual rows of walls,
while some were additionally processed in order to fit into the
construction. It is interesting that those made of marble are
much better preserved, while most monuments made of local
stone lack moulding and parts of the bases and capitals, and
often only parts of the monuments are used. The reason for this
is certainly the characteristics and hardness of the stone, i.e. a
softer stone was much easier to process and thus adapt the in-
dividual monument for installation in the walls. This is why
most of the votive inscriptions made of limestone have the
shape of a cube; but, according to the traces of tools in the up-
per and lower parts of the monument, it can be assumed that
there were originally moulded bases and capitals, i.e. that in
most cases they were votive altars with inscriptions. Interest-
ing tool marks (made with chisels with flat and jagged edges
about 2–3 cm wide) are visible on most of the limestone monu-
ments in the areas of capitals and bases, very similar to the tool
marks on the stone blocks used for the construction of the
spring reservoir. This certainly shows that, in both cases, tools
for rougher processing were used, and the process itself was
carried out very close to the place where the monument was
installed. This is evidenced by the findings of relatively small
stone chips in the clay layers on the back of the eastern wall,
built of fine-grained soft limestone in the 2nd century. Parallel
to the construction of the wall, the clay was compacted from the
back; for example, after the first row of stones was laid, the clay
was compacted to the height of that row. Another stone was
prepared for the next row, processed and adjusted on site. The
traces of this processing, namely stone chips, were visible
above the clay layer, and this procedure was repeated when the
next row was built. In this way, a very solid construction of the
wall itself was achieved, with blocks that fit together. Layers of

15 Kušan Špalj 2014, 2015, 2017a, 2022a.

12 CIL III, 4121.

13 Vikić-Belančić 1996, 16.

14 Research was conducted in 2006, and from 2011 to 2016. Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2014a, 28–32, 42–45; 2015, 28–32, 42–45; 2014b; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 259–264; 2017b, 172–175.

15 Kušan Špalj 2014, 2015, 2017a, 2022a.

a samo u jednom slučaju bio je vidljiv natpis (kat. br. 11). Prema tragovima nazubljenog dljetja, vidljivih na oštećenom dijelu tog natpisa, i istom načinu obrade kamena neposredno iznad njega može se zaključiti da se završna obrada lica zida izvodila i nakon same ugradnje (sl. 29).

Među kamenim spomenicima, pronađenim u istraživanjima izvorišnog bazena i okolnog opločenja, natpisi se pojavljuju na kamenim pločama s reljefima i na spomenicima koji imaju oblik žrtvenika ili su u funkciji postamenta (za skulpture i reljefe). Pri tom treba uzeti u obzir da većina žrtvenika vjerojatno nije imala svoju izvornu funkciju, već da je njihov oblik simboličan i prvenstveno u funkciji votivnog natpisa.¹⁶ To je najbolje vidljivo na spomenicima izrađenim od lokalnog kamena, gdje je krunište s akroterijima samo naznačeno urezanim linijama i time spomenik dobiva simbolični oblik žrtvenika. Premda je velik broj žrtvenika oštećen prilikom ugradnje u zidove, prema tragovima na kamenu može se pretpostaviti da su originalno, isto kao i oni bolje sačuvani, imali uobičajeni oblik žrtvenika s istaknutim donjim dijelom, tj. bazom spomenika, središnjim dijelom s natpisom u formi kvadra (bez okvira ili s profiliranim okvirom natpisnog polja) te gornjim dijelom u obliku kruništa. U znatno manjem broju zastupljeni su zavjetni natpisi na postamentima koji na gornjoj plohi imaju utore za postavljanje skulptura, odnosno uzdužne utore u koje se mogu postaviti ploče, tj. reljefi. Zanimljiv je oblik jednog većeg postamenta s uokvirenim natpisnim poljem u gornjoj trećini spomenika i s utorima za 3 kipa (nimfi) na gornjoj površini (kat. br. 5, sl. 15-17). Spomenik je pronađen u istraživanju urušenja sjeverno od izvorišta 2011. godine, gdje je sekundarno bio iskorišten u opločenju, zajedno s još jednim postamentom s natpisom (u čast Kvinta Gavija Frontona, prefekta zajednica Skordiska, Breuka i Jasa),¹⁷ koji je na gornjoj plohi imao jedan utor (vjerojatno za montažu kipa) (sl. 2). U grupu zavjetnih natpisa na postamentima mogu se uvrstiti i dva spomenika s uzdužnim utorima na gornjoj plohi, od kojih jedan (mramorni) ima profilirani gornji i donji dio spomenika (kat. br. 7, sl. 24-26), dok drugi (od vapnenca) ima naznačene akroterije kao kod žrtvenika.¹⁸ Utori su najvjerojatnije imali funkciju da se u njih postave neke ploče, vjerojatno reljefi, a budući da su oba natpisa posvećena nimfama, vrlo vjerojatno se radilo o reljefima s prikazom triju nimfi. Budući da neki od pronađenih reljefa na stražnjoj površini i gornjem i donjem rubu imaju utore, vjerojatno su bili pričvršćeni na neku vertikalnu površinu,¹⁹ ali ima i primjera s glatkom površinom za koje se može pretpostaviti da su postavljeni u utore na postamentima s natpisima.²⁰

U ovom radu donosi se interpretacija 13 do sada neobjavljenih natpisa s posvetom nimfama (i jednog već ranije objavljenog natpisa na mramornoj ploči s reljefom), a riječ je o spomenicima pronađenima u urušenju ili samoj konstrukciji sjevernog i južnog

clay behind the walls were added so that it was a watertight structure. It can be assumed that all walls of the spring reservoir were built in that manner, even the northern and southern ones in the 4th century, when various monuments were processed at the site of installation and used in the walls. There were fewer inscriptions built into the structure of the southern wall than of the northern one; but, since the wall was preserved in its entirety, and only moved towards the centre of the reservoir, all monuments were found in their original position (built in the 4th century). They were mostly installed in such a way that the lower part of the base or back and side of each monument was visible in the wall's face, and in only one case was the monument placed with a visible inscription (cat. no. 11). On the basis of the chisel marks visible on the damaged part of that inscription and the same method of processing the stone immediately above, it can be concluded that the finishing of the wall face was also done after installation (Fig. 29). Among the stone monuments found in the research on the spring reservoir and the surrounding paving, inscriptions appear on stone slabs with reliefs and on monuments that have the form of altars or serve as pedestals (for sculptures and reliefs). At the same time, it should be taken into account that most of the altars probably did not have their original function, but that their form is symbolic and they serve primarily as votive inscriptions.¹⁶ This is best evidenced by the monuments made of local stone, where the capital with acroteria is only indicated by incised lines, and thus the monument takes on the symbolic form of an altar. Although a large number of altars were damaged during installation in the walls, it can be assumed that they all had the usual form of altars, with a moulded lower part (the base of the monument), the central part with an inscription, in the form of a cube (without a frame or with a moulded frame of the inscription field), and the upper part as the capital. A significantly smaller number of votive inscriptions are represented on the pedestals, which on the upper surface have grooves for placing sculptures, that is, longitudinal grooves in which plates or reliefs can be placed. The shape of a larger pedestal with a framed inscription field in the upper third of the monument, and with slots for three statues (nymphs) on the upper surface, is interesting (cat. no. 5, Figs 15-17). The monument was found in the collapse north of the spring reservoir in 2011, where it was re-used in the pavement along with another pedestal with an inscription (in honour of Quintus Gavius Fronto, prefect of the communities of Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi),¹⁷ which had one slot on the upper surface (probably for mounting the statue) (Fig. 2). Two monuments with longitudinal grooves on the upper surface can be included in the group of votive inscriptions on pedestals, one of which (made of marble) has moulded upper and lower parts of the monument (cat. no. 7, Figs 24-26), while the other (made of limestone) has acroteria as an altar.¹⁸ The grooves most likely had

16 Coulton 2005, 127-157.

17 HD075016; Kušan Špalj 2022b, 60-61.

18 Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br. 3.

19 Utori na stražnjoj površini, odnosno gornjem i donjem rubu ploče, vidljivi su npr. na reljefu s prikazom ženskih božanstava (i 3 nimfe) (Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 74; 2015, kat. br. 74) i na većim reljefima s prikazom triju nimfi (Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 77, 78; 2015, kat. br. 77, 78).

20 Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 80; 2015, kat. br. 80.

16 Coulton 2005, 127-157.

17 HD075016; Kušan Špalj 2022b, 60-61.

18 Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. no. 3.

zida izvorišta, a u jednom slučaju spomenik je pronađen u urušanju opločenja (kat. br. 5). Prema obliku posveta, natpisi su ovdje podijeljeni u tri grupe: natpisi posvećeni uzvišenim nimfama (kat. br. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), ozdravljajućim nimfama (kat. br. 7, 8, 9, 10) i oni postavljeni u čast nimfi u obliku *numini nympharum* (kat. br. 11, 12, 13, 14).

Na većini ovdje obrađenih spomenika potrebno je još provesti konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove budući da je većina njih, zbog štetnog djelovanja sumporne vode na kamen, u lošem stanju, a neki su bili i znatno oštećeni prilikom ugradnje u zidove izvorišnog bazena. Kako se radi o vrlo zahtjevnim radovima, u stručnom i financijskom smislu, zasigurno će proći još dosta vremena dok se provede postupak na svim spomenicima. S obzirom na vidljivu vrstu oštećenja, vjerojatno ni nakon dovršetka konzervatorskog restauratorskih radova na većini spomenika neće biti moguće u potpunosti restituirati oštećene dijelove teksta pa je odlučeno da se spomenici objave u postojećem stanju. Zbog toga (kao i zbog dokumentacije postojećeg stanja) izrađeni su 3D fotogrametrijski modeli,²¹ a što je u mnogim slučajevima znatno olakšalo čitanje pojedinih dijelova natpisa.²²

Novi nalazi kamenih spomenika posvećenih uzvišenim nimfama

U sačuvanoj konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta (sl. 2) pronađen je jedan žrtvenik s natpisom posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (kat. br. 1.). Žrtvenik je izrađen od mramora, sastoji se od gornjeg dijela (kruništa s ravnim završetkom) s profilacijom (koja prelazi i na bočne strane, ali s oštećenjem na uglovima) i akroterijima u plitkom reljefu (sl. 3). Baza također ima profilaciju koja prelazi i na bočne strane i dobro je očuvana. Natpisno polje u potpunosti je ispunjeno tekstom, raspoređenim u 12 redaka. Slova su pravilno izvedena i dobro su sačuvana, a vidljivi su i ra-

the function of placing some plates in them, probably reliefs; and, since both inscriptions are dedicated to nymphs, it is very likely that they were reliefs depicting three nymphs. Since some of the reliefs found so far have grooves on the back surface or upper and lower edges, they were probably attached to some vertical surface,¹⁹ but there are also examples with a smooth surface that can be assumed to have been placed in grooves on pedestals with inscriptions.²⁰

This paper presents the interpretation of 13 hitherto unpublished inscriptions dedicated to nymphs (and one previously published inscription on a marble slab with a relief) that were all found in the collapse or construction of the northern and southern walls of the spring reservoir, and there is one monument found in the collapse of the paving (cat. no. 5). According to the form of the dedication, the inscriptions here are divided into three groups: inscriptions dedicated to nymphs *Augustae* (cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) and *salutares* (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9, 10), and in the form of *numini nympharum* (cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 14). Most of the monuments mentioned here still need conservation treatment, since, due to the harmful effects of sulphurous water on the stone, most of them are in very bad condition, but also some of them were significantly damaged when they were installed in the walls of the spring reservoir. Since this is very demanding work, in professional and financial terms, it will certainly take some time until the conservation work is carried out on all the monuments. Considering the visible type of damage, it is very likely that, even after the completion of the conservation work on most of the monuments, it will not be possible to fully interpret the damaged parts of the text. That is why it was decided to publish the monuments in their current state. Thanks to the 3D photogrammetric models²¹ (which were made also in order to document the current state of the monuments), it has been possible to read some damaged parts of the inscriptions.²²

New finds of stone monuments dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*

In the preserved construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (Fig. 2), an altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae* was found (cat. no. 1). The altar is made of marble; it consists of an upper part (a capital with a flat end) with moulding (which extends to the sides as well, but with damage at the corners) and acroteria in shallow relief (Fig. 3). The base moulding extends laterally to both sides and is well preserved. The inscription field is completely filled with text, arranged in 12 lines. The letters are quite skil-

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

22 Za interpretaciju natpisa bili su vrlo korisni 3D modeli koje je u Meshlab softveru moguće pregledavati pod raznim kutovima, s različitim rasvjetom, a također su korištene i fotografije prije i nakon površinskog čišćenja nalaza te fotografije snimljene s bočnim osvjetljenjem i u različitim uvjetima (dnevno i umjetno svjetlo).

19 Grooves on the back surface, as well on the upper and lower edges, of the plate are visible, for example, on the relief depicting female deities (and 3 nymphs) (Kušan Špalj *et al.* 2014, cat. no. 74; 2015, cat. no. 74) and on larger reliefs depicting 3 nymphs (Kušan Špalj *et al.* 2014, cat. nos. 77, 78; 2015, cat. nos. 77, 78).

20 Kušan Špalj *et al.* 2014, cat. no. 80; 2015, cat. no. 80.

21 3D scans were done by M. Vuković, and photogrammetric 3D models with accentuated microrelief were created in Meshlab software.

22 For the interpretation of the inscriptions, 3D models were very useful, which can be viewed in the Meshlab software from various angles, with different lighting. Photos before and after the surface cleaning were also used, as well as photos taken with side lighting and in different conditions (daylight and artificial light).



SLIKA 2. Rimski izvorišni bazen u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 2011. godine, spomenici u konstrukciji i urušenju sjevernog zida i urušenju opločenja: A) postament s natpisom u čast Kvinta Gavija Frontona, prefekta zajednica Skordiska, Breuka i Jasa (HD075016); B) postament s natpisom, kat. br. 5; C) žrtvenik kat. br. 1; D) žrtvenik kat. br. 7; E) žrtvenik kat. br. 8 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 2. Roman spring reservoir in the park in Varaždinske Toplice, during archaeological excavations in 2011, monuments in the structure and collapse of the northern wall and the collapse of the paving: A) pedestal with an inscription in honour of Quintus Gavius Fronto, prefect of the communities of Scordisci, Breuci and Iasi (HD075016); B) pedestal with an inscription, cat. no. 5; C) altar cat. no. 1; D) altar cat. no. 7; E) altar cat. no. 8 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

stavni znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*) između pojedinih riječi i kratica, a koji se ponekad pojavljuju i unutar slova (npr. 1. redak slovo G). Sve to pokazuje kako se nastojalo opsežni tekst smjestiti na zadanu površinu kamenog spomenika. Ligature su u 1. retku (M i P, zatim H i I, te A i U), 3. retku (N i T, zatim M i I, te D i I), 4. (T i I, te A i L), 9. retku (E, T) i 10. retku (N, T) i trostruka ligatura (V, A, L). Zanimljiva je trostruka ligatura u 3. retku – M i dva I, koji su izvedeni kao produžeci okomitih hasta slova M. Natpis je dobro sačuvan u gornjem dijelu, a zbog oštećenja površine kamena dosta je slova oštećeno u posljednja 3 retka (sl. 4).

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / salvis dd(ominis) nn(ostris) in/
dulgentissimis div(is) / libenter pro salute / et adventu L(lucii)
Eg(nat(i) Victoris leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)
P(annoniae) S(uperioris) suorum q(ue) omnium vi/ros salvos et
incolum(es) / pr[ae]stent Val(erius) Mar/ci[an]us lib(ertus) eius
ex / vo[t]o posuit l(ibens) l(aetus)*

fully rendered and well preserved. There are triangular dividing signs (*triangula distinguentia*) visible between individual words and abbreviations, sometimes even appearing within letters (e.g. the letter G in the 1st line). All this shows how an effort was made to place the extensive text on the given surface of the stone monument. There are ligatures in the 1st line (M and P, H and I, A and U), the 3rd line (N, T and D, I), the 4th line (T, E and A, L), the 9th line (E, T) and the 10th line (N and T). In the 10th line there is also a triple ligature (V, A, L) as there is in the 3rd line: an M and two I's, which are made as extensions of the vertical hasta of the letter M. The inscription is well preserved in the upper part; but, due to the surface damage of the stone, a lot of the letters are badly preserved in the last three lines (Fig. 4).

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / salvis dd(ominis) nn(ostris) in/
dulgentissimis div(is) / libenter pro salute / et adventu L(lucii)
Eg(nat(i) Victoris leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore)
P(annoniae) S(uperioris) suorum q(ue) omnium vi/ros salvos et
incolum(es) / pr[ae]stent Val(erius) Mar/ci[an]us lib(ertus) eius
ex / vo[t]o posuit l(ibens) l(aetus)*



SLIKA 3. Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 1; tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 3. Votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 1, during excavations in 2011 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 4. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 1 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 4. 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 1 (made by M. Vuković).

Natpis je posvećen uzvišenim nimfama, za spas careva i za zdravlje Lucija Egnacija Viktora, Augustova legata s propretorskim ovlastima Gornje Panonije. Spomenik je postavio njegov oslobođenik, Valerije Marcijan. Ime Egnacija Viktora²³ već je otprije poznato, a kao namjesnik Gornje Panonije spomenut je i na jednom natpisu posvećenom Viktoriji, koji je datiran po konzulima u 207. godine (*Arrabona*, Győr).²⁴ Zbog tog natpisa, pretpostavlja se da je upravljao Gornjom Panonijom od 207. do 209. godine,²⁵ a prije tog razdoblja da je bio *consul suffectus*.²⁶ U svakom slučaju, riječ je o značajnoj osobi koja je pripadala senatorskoj eliti u vrijeme Septimija Severa pa je tako njegova karijera odraz osobne politike cara,²⁷ a kao njegov bliski suradnik bio je uključen u vojne pohode²⁸ i upravljanje na prostoru Panonije. Prema interpretaciji nekoliko sačuvanih slova, pretpostavlja se da je ime Egnacija

The inscription is dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, for the salvation of the emperors and for the health of Lucius Egnatius Victor, who was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Upper Pannonia. The monument was erected by his freedman, Valerius Marcianus. The name of Egnatius Victor is already known;²³ and, as governor of Upper Pannonia, he was also mentioned on an inscription dedicated to Victoria, which was dated according to the consuls in 207 (*Arrabona*, Győr).²⁴ Because of that inscription, it is assumed that he governed in Upper Pannonia from 207 to 209,²⁵ and before that period he was *consul suffectus*.²⁶ In any case, he was a significant person who belonged to the senatorial elite at the time of Septimius Severus, so his career is a reflection of the emperor's personal policy;²⁷ and, as his close associate, he was involved in military campaigns²⁸ and governance in

23 Mennen 2011, 71, 72, 100.

24 CIL III 04364; CIL III 11082.

25 Fitz 1993, 514; Leunissen 1989, 259; Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 343; etc.

26 Mennen 2011, 72, 100.

27 Okoń 2012, 10.

28 Okoń 2012, 37; Fitz 1993, 514.

23 Mennen 2011, 71, 72, 100.

24 CIL III, 04364; CIL III, 11082.

25 Fitz 1993, 514; Leunissen 1989, 259; Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 343; etc.

26 Mennen 2011, 72, 100.

27 Okoń 2012, 10.

28 Okoń 2012, 37; Fitz 1993, 514.

Viktora spomenuto i na jednom natpisu posvećenom nimfama iz Brigecone,²⁹ a postojale su i neke teorije, na temelju jedne djelomično sačuvane diplome iz Akvinka, da je upravljao i Donjom Panonijom (202. – 205. godine), ali to među stručnjacima nije u potpunosti prihvaćeno.³⁰ Slična je pretpostavka izvedena i na temelju novijeg nalaza, također djelomično sačuvanog imena na diplomi iz Viminacija, datiranoj u 202. godinu.³¹ Budući da je na oba nalaza restitucija imena dosta upitna, ne može se sa sigurnošću potvrditi taj dio njegove karijere.

Smatra se da je porijeklo roda Egnacija bila Etrurija (premda ima teorija i o azijskom i afričkom porijeklu),³² a pojavljuju se u konzularnim fastima krajem 2. i početkom 3. stoljeća. Pretpostavlja se da je Egnacije Viktor bio rođen oko 160. godine³³ i da je umro oko 218. Vrlo vjerojatno su *Egnatius Victor Lollianus*³⁴ (konzul *suffectus* oko 225/230., upravitelj Donje Panonije) i *Egnatius Victor Marianus*³⁵ (konzul oko 230., upravitelj u Arabiji i Gornjoj Meziji) bili njegovi sinovi, a njegova kći *Egnatia Mariniana* bila je udana za cara Licinija Valerijana.³⁶

Funkcija, koju je Egnacije Viktor obavljao, a koja se spominje i na natpisu iz Aragone – *Legatus Augusti pro praetore*, bila je službena funkcija namjesnika carske provincije, odnosno car ga je direktno imenovao, pa je morao biti konzularnog statusa iz senatorskog staleža. Budući da se funkcija ovdje spominje kao *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, jasno je da se odnosi na razdoblje kada su vladala dvojica careva, što bi u ovom slučaju bili Karakala i njegov otac Septimije Sever, od 198. do 211. godine (kao i na natpisu iz Arabone, datiranom u 207. godinu). Ovaj nalaz iz Varaždinskih Toplica potvrđuje funkciju Egnacija Viktora kao upravitelja Gornje Panonije, ali to je i prvi spomenik na kojem je jasno spomenuto njegovo predime – Lucije, što se prije samo pretpostavljalo.³⁷ Upravo spomen Egnacija Viktora, odnosno dosadašnje spoznaje o njegovoj karijeri, određuje dataciju spomenika u vrijeme kada se pretpostavlja da je obavljao funkciju namjesnika Gornje Panonije, u razdoblje od 207. do 209. godine. Datacija ovog spomenika u početak 3. stoljeća zanimljiva je i s obzirom na formulu vezanu uz posvetu carevima (*salvis ddominis nnostris indulgentissimis divis*) u drugom retku natpisa. Radi se o obliku formule (*salvo/salvis* + ablativ) koja je česta na posvetnim natpisima i javnim spomenicima, posebno tijekom 4. i 5. stoljeća (od doba cara Konstantina),³⁸ premda ima primjera i iz 3. stoljeća,³⁹ a ovaj natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica predstavlja jedan od najranijih poznatih primjera tog oblika posvete. Ideologija da je vladar garancija za spas svojih podanika, u smislu da

Pannonia. According to the interpretation of several preserved letters, it is assumed that the name Egnatius Victor was also mentioned on an inscription dedicated to the nymphs from Brigetio,²⁹ and there were also some theories, based on a partially preserved diploma from Aquincum, that he also governed Lower Pannonia (202–205), but this is not fully accepted among experts.³⁰ A similar assumption was made on the basis of a more recent find, also a partially preserved name on a diploma from Viminacium, dated to 202.³¹ Since the restitution of the name on both finds is quite questionable, that part of his career cannot be confirmed with certainty.

It is believed that the origin of the Egnatius family was Etruria (although there are theories about Asian and African origin as well),³² and they appear in the Consular Fasti at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century. It is assumed that Egnatius Victor was born c. 160³³ and that he died c. 218. It is very likely that Egnatius Victor Lollianus³⁴ (*consul suffectus* c. 225/230, governor of Lower Pannonia) and Egnatius Victor Marianus³⁵ (*consul* c. 230, governor in Arabia and Upper Moesia), were his sons, and his daughter, Egnatia Mariniana, was married to the emperor, Licinius Valerianus.³⁶

Egnatius Victor was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, as also stated in the Arrabona inscription, so he was the governor of the imperial province – that is, he was appointed directly by the emperor, and he was supposed to be of consular rank from the senatorial class. Since the office is mentioned here as *legatus Augustorum pro praetore*, it is clear that it refers to the period when two emperors ruled, which here would be Caracalla and his father Septimius Severus, from 198 to 211 (as in the *Arrabona* inscription, dated 207). This find from Varaždinske Toplice confirms the function of Egnatius Victor as the governor of Upper Pannonia, but it is also the first monument on which his first name, *Lucius*, is clearly mentioned, which was previously only assumed.³⁷ It is the mention of Egnatius Victor, and the insights gained so far about his career, that determines the dating of the monument to the time when he is presumed to have been governor of Upper Pannonia – that is, in the period between 207 and 209. The dating of this monument to the beginning of the 3rd century is also interesting considering the formula relating to the dedication to the emperors (*salvis ddominis nnostris indulgentissimis divis*) in the second line of the inscription. It is a form (*salvo/salvis* + ablativ) that is quite common on dedication inscriptions and public monuments, especially during the

29 CIL III 10961.

30 Fitz 1993, 544.

31 Dušanić 1998, 219–228; Thomasson 2009, 43.

32 Okoń 2012, 37; Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 345–346.

33 Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 343.

34 Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003; Mennen 2011, 101; Leunissen 1989, 360.

35 Mennen 2011, 102; Leunissen 1989, 186.

36 Mennen 2011, 103.

37 Thomasson 2009, 40.

38 Orlandi 1997, 31.

39 npr. CIL VI 1070.

29 CIL III, 10961.

30 Fitz 1993, 544.

31 Dušanić 1998, 219–228; Thomasson 2009, 43.

32 Okoń 2012, 37; Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 345–346.

33 Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003, 343.

34 Christol, Drew-Bear, Taşlıalan 2003; Mennen 2011, 101; Leunissen 1989, 360.

35 Mennen 2011, 102; Leunissen 1989, 186.

36 Mennen 2011, 103.

37 Thomasson 2009, 40.



SLIKA 5. Južni zid izvorišnog bazena (stražnja strana) sa spomenicima *in situ*, pogled s juga: A) kat. br. 12; B) kat. br. 2; C) kat. br. 11; D) kat. br. 4, tijekom istraživanja 2012. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 5. South wall of the spring reservoir (back face) with monuments *in situ*, view from the south: A) cat. no. 12; B) cat. no. 2; C) cat. no. 11; D) cat. no. 4, during excavations in 2012 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 6. Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (*in situ* u južnom zidu izvorišnog bazena), kat. br. 2; tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 6. Votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae* (*in situ* in the southern wall of the spring reservoir), cat. no. 2, during excavations in 2011 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

4th and 5th centuries (from the time of Emperor Constantine),³⁸ although there are examples from the 3rd century.³⁹ So this inscription from Varaždinske Toplice represents one of the earliest known examples of this form of dedication. The ideology that the ruler is a guarantee for the safety of his subordinates, in the sense that the empire and its inhabitants depend on the emperor's well-being, first appears as early as the framework of official propaganda in the time of Tiberius.⁴⁰ However, it can be noted that, in dedications on epigraphic monuments, it is more strongly represented only from the 3rd century, probably when, in unstable conditions and the beginnings of the crisis, the fear for one's own safety grows.⁴¹ Votive inscriptions with various formulas relating to the welfare of the emperors were placed by representatives of various social strata, but still somewhat more often among the higher circles of society, which could also be connected with the expression of personal attachment to a particular emperor.⁴²

38 Orlandi 1997, 31.

39 e.g. CIL VI, 1070.

40 Scheithauer 1996, 213.

41 Scheithauer 1996, 223.

42 Scheithauer 1996, 216.



SLIKA 7. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 2 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 7. 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 2 (made by M. Vuković).

Carstvo i njegovi stanovnici ovise o dobrobiti cara, prvi put se pojavljuje već u okviru službene propagande u doba Tiberija.⁴⁰ Međutim, može se primijetiti da je u posvetama na epigrafskim spomenicima jače zastupljena tek od 3. stoljeća, vjerojatno kada u nestabilnim uvjetima i počecima krize raste i strah za vlastitu sigurnost.⁴¹ Zavjetni natpisi s raznim formulama vezanim uz dobrobit careva postavljani su od predstavnika raznih društvenih slojeva, ali ipak nešto češće među višim krugovima društva, što bi se moglo i povezati s izražavanjem osobne privrženosti pojedinom caru.⁴²

Osim sigurnosti (dobrobiti) careva, na ovom se spomeniku spominje i sigurnost i zdravlje (dobrobit) drugova. S tim u vezi zanimljiv je i oblik dosta oštećene riječi u 8. retku, koja se na 3D skenu može sa sigurnošću utvrditi kao *praestent*. Radilo bi se o 3. l. množine konjunktiva prezenta aktivnog od glagola *praestō*, *praestāre* koje bi se u ovom slučaju moglo odnositi na nimfe (da



SLIKA 8. Zapadni dio sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena, označen položaj (A) zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 3 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 8. Western part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, marked position (A) of the votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 3 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

In addition to the safety (well-being) of the emperors, this monument also mentions the safety and health (well-being) of comrades. Also interesting in this regard is the shape of the rather damaged word in the eighth line, which on the 3D scan can be determined with considerable certainty as *praestent*. It would be the third-person plural present active subjunctive of the verb *praestō*, *praestāre*, which in this case could refer to nymphs (to guard...), and therefore the object would be words in the accusative case: *viros salvos incolumitates*. It indicates that the dedicant of the inscription, freedman Valerius Marcianus,⁴³ who was in the service of the provincial administrator, was probably referring here to comrades from the same service or office of the provincial administration.

The votive formula at the end of the inscription, in which there are two letters L, can most likely be restituted as *libens laetus* (*ex voto posuit libens laetus* / fulfilled the vow gladly and happily), which would be the first such form recorded among the monuments in Varaždinske Toplice.

Another votive inscription dedicated to nymphs *Augustae* was found during research in 2011. It is a monolithic marble altar that consists of a capital (with a flat end) with moulding (which extends to the sides) and acroteria executed in shallow relief (cat. no. 2). The monument was found *in situ*, embedded in the central part of the southern wall of the spring, and laid on its narrow side, so that the lower surface of the base was visible in the face of the wall⁴⁴ (Figs 5, 6). Due to the installation in the wall, the base of the monument was damaged, so only the moulding

40 Scheithauer 1996, 213.

41 Scheithauer 1996, 223.

42 Scheithauer 1996, 216.

43 *Marcianus* is a very common cognomen, so there are several examples in Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz *et al.* 2000, 55).

44 In the same row of the southern wall, a marble altar (cat. no. 10) was placed in the same way, and an unfinished altar without an inscription was placed lengthwise between them. During the conservation work in 2016, the altars with inscriptions (cat. nos. 2, 10) were removed from the structure and replaced with other stone blocks of similar shape.

čuvaju...), a prema tome bi objekt bile riječi u akuzativu – *viros salvos incolumitates*. To, među ostalim, daje i podatak da je dedikant natpisa, oslobođenik Valerije Marcijan⁴³, koji je bio u službi upravitelja provincije, ovdje vjerojatno mislio na drugove iz iste službe ili ureda provincijske uprave.

Zavjetna formula na kraju natpisa u kojoj su dva slova L, najvjerojatnije se može restituirati kao *libens laetus (ex voto posuit libens laetus/* ispunio zavjet rado i sretno), a što bi bio prvi takav oblik zabilježen među spomenicima u Varaždinskim Toplicama.

Još jedan zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama pronađen je u istraživanjima 2011. godine. Riječ je o monolitnom mramornom žrtveniku, koji se sastoji od kruništa (s ravnim završetkom) s profilacijom (koja prelazi i na bočne strane) i akroterijima izvedenim u plitkom reljefu (kat. br. 2). Spomenik je pronađen *in situ*, tj. bio je ugrađen u središnjem dijelu južnog zida izvorišta, a položen na užu, bočnu stranu, tako da je donja površina baze bila vidljiva u licu zida⁴⁴ (sl. 5, 6). Zbog ugradnje u zid, baza spomenika je oštećena pa je sačuvana samo profilacija na prednjoj strani, dok su bočne strane odstranjene pa su vidljivi tragovi grublje alatke. Slova su pravilno izvedena i dobro su sačuvana, a vidljivi su i rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta. Slova su raspoređena u 6 redaka, a u 5. retku slovo I je veće od ostalih slova (sl. 7, 8).

Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / T(itus) Aurelius / Brincalus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / rat(ionis) voluptitem(!) / Duarum / Pannoniar(um)

Dedikant je bio carski oslobođenik Tit Aurelije Brinkal. Kognomen Brinkal mogao bi biti varijanta kognomena *Brincaius*⁴⁵ poznatog na jednom natpisu iz Gornje Panonije (Kövagoörs; Mađarska) datiranom u prvu polovicu 3. stoljeća.⁴⁶ Međutim, budući da je taj spomenik prilično oštećen, pogotovo na početku drugog retka gdje se čini da se radi o slovu I, moguće je da se ipak tu nalazilo L pa bi se moglo također raditi o obliku imena *Brincalus*, kao što je jasno vidljivo na spomeniku iz Varaždinskih Toplica.

Tit Aurelije Brinkal bio je carski oslobođenik, što je vrlo značajan podatak za dataciju spomenika. U većini slučajeva imena carskih oslobođenika, tj. njihov *nomen* i *praenomen* dolaze od cara,⁴⁷ a što omogućuje u većini slučajeva i vremensku odrednicu. Tako bi se Tit Aurelije, spomenut na ovom natpisu, mogao smatrati oslobođenikom Antonina Pija koji je prije adopcije od Hadrijana 138. godine bio *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antonius*, a više je poznatih primjera njegovih oslobođenika.⁴⁸ To ukazuje da bi se ovaj spomenik mogao datirati u 1. polovicu 2. stoljeća, ali i nakon

on the front side was preserved, while the sides were removed and traces of rougher tools are visible. The letters are skilfully rendered and well preserved, and dividing marks in the form of triangles are also visible. The letters are arranged in 6 lines, and in the 5th line the letter I is larger than the other letters (Figs 7, 8).

Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sacr(um) / T(itus) Aurelius / Brincalus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / rat(ionis) voluptitem(!) / Duarum / Pannoniar(um)

The dedicant was the imperial freedman *Titus Aurelius Brincalus*. The cognomen *Brincalus* could be a variant of the cognomen *Brincaius*,⁴⁵ known on an inscription from Upper Pannonia (Kövagoörs, Hungary) dated to the first half of the 3rd century.⁴⁶ However, since that monument is quite damaged, especially at the beginning of the second line, where there seems to be a letter I, it is possible that it is actually an L, so it could also be a form of the name *Brincalus*, as is clearly visible on the monument from Varaždinske Toplice.

Titus Aurelius Brincalus was an imperial freedman, which is very important information for the dating of the monument. In most cases, the names of imperial freedmen, their *nomen* and *praenomen*, come from the emperor's name,⁴⁷ giving in most cases important information for a time reference. Thus *Titus Aurelius*, mentioned on this inscription, could be considered a freedman of *Antoninus Pius*, who, before his adoption by Hadrian in 138, was *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antonius*. There are many other examples confirming the existence of his freedmen.⁴⁸ This indicates that this monument could be dated to the first half of the 2nd century, but also after 138, since it could have been installed several years after the dedicant became an imperial freedman.

The letters PROC are preserved in the fifth line, and RAT in the sixth, which can most likely be interpreted as *proc(urator) rat(ionis)*, followed by the unusual word *voluptitem*. The service of *procurator a voluptatibus (voluptatum)* is well-known and is associated with the person in charge of organizing imperial parties (*spectacula*).⁴⁹

According to Suetonius, the emperor Tiberius introduced a new office called *officium a voluptatibus*,⁵⁰ and the Roman knight *T. Caesonius Priscus* is mentioned as the first *praepositus a voluptatibus*, as master of the imperial pleasures.⁵¹ From the end of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2nd, the term *procurator a voluptatibus*,⁵² or *procurator voluptatum*,⁵³ appears, as evi-

43 *Marcianus* je vrlo čest kognomen, pa tako ima i više primjera u Panoniji i Noriku (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 55).

44 U istom redu južnog zida, na isti je način bio položen i mramorni žrtvenik (kat. br. 10), a između njih uzdužno bio je postavljen i jedan nedovršen žrtvenik bez natpisa. Tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova 2016. godine žrtvenici s natpisima (kat. br. 2, 10) izvađeni su iz konstrukcije i zamijenjeni drugim kamenim blokovima sličnog oblika.

45 Lőrincz et al. 2005, 129.

46 CIL III 04147; *lupa* 12642.

47 Weaver 1972, 3, 21.

48 Weaver 1972, 26.

45 Lőrincz et al. 2005, 129.

46 CIL III, 04147; *lupa* 12642.

47 Weaver 1972, 3, 21.

48 Weaver 1972, 26.

49 Champlin 2006, 26.

50 It is believed that the expression *a voluptatibus* was created, or gained a new meaning, precisely during the time of Emperor Tiberius (Champlin 2006, 26).

51 Suet. *Tib.* 42.

52 Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 136; Champlin 2006, 26.



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

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



SLIKA 10. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 3 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 10. 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 3 (made by M. Vuković).

138. godine, budući da je mogao biti postavljen i više godina nakon što je dedikant postao carski oslobođenik.

U petom retku sačuvana su slova PROC, a u šestom RAT, što se najvjerojatnije može interpretirati kao *proc(urator) rat(ionis)*, a nakon čega slijedi neobična riječ *voluptitem*. Poznata je služba *procurator a voluptatibus (voluptatum)* i povezuje se s osobom zaduženom za organizaciju carskih zabava (*spectacula*).⁴⁹

denced by several inscriptions, and it is mainly about imperial freedmen,⁵⁴ while the *officium a voluptatibus* disappears during the first third of the 3rd century.⁵⁵ In a later period (probably not before the beginning of the 5th century),⁵⁶ the function of *tribunus voluptatum* was introduced, i.e. the office of tribune, which had authority over public entertainment, especially theatrical performances.⁵⁷

49 Champlin 2006, 26.

53 Some authors believe that, for example, the inscription from Praeneste (ILS 1569), where the imperial freedman Paeon is mentioned with the function PROC VOLUPT, should be restored as *proc(urator) voluptat(is)* (e.g. Kłodziński 2019, 128), or as *proc(urator) voluptat(um)* (e.g. Beutler 2007, 232; Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 137), while there is also the opinion that it is a function of *proc(urator)(a) volupt(atibus)* (e.g. Lim 1996, 163).

54 AE 1982, 0862, CIL XIV, 2932, CIL VI, 8619; Champlin 2006, 25.

55 Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 140.

56 Lim 1996, 163; CIL VI 8565.

57 Cassiod. *Var.* VII.10.

Prema Svetoniju, car Tiberije je uveo novu službu pod nazivom *officium a voluptatibus*,⁵⁰ sa zadatkom da se organiziraju zabave za cara, a rimski vitez *T. Caesonijs Priscus* spominje se kao prvi *praepositus a voluptatibus*.⁵¹ Od kraja 1. ili početka 2. stoljeća pojavljuje se naziv *procurator a voluptatibus*,⁵² odnosno *procurator voluptatum*⁵³, o čemu svjedoči više natpisa i radi se uglavnom o carskim oslobođenima⁵⁴, dok kao ured *officium a voluptatibus* nestaje tijekom prve trećine 3. stoljeća.⁵⁵ U kasnijem razdoblju (vjerojatno ne prije početka 5. stoljeća)⁵⁶ uvedena je funkcija *tribunus voluptatum*, odnosno ured tribuna koji je imao ovlasti nad javnom zabavom, posebno kazališnim izvedbama.⁵⁷

Oblik koji se pojavljuje na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica, *procurator rationis voluptitem*, u svakom slučaju može se tumačiti kao neki oblik funkcije poznate kao *procurator a voluptatibus*, odnosno *procurator voluptatum*, a nepravilan oblik riječi *voluptitem* umjesto *voluptatum* vjerojatno je posljedica nepoznavanja latinskog jezika ili se jednostavno radilo o klesarskoj pogrešci.

Odnos između carskog oslobođenika (*Augusti libertus*) i cara bio je u smislu klijentele, s pravima i obvezama između oslobođenika i patrona. *Familia Caesaris* imala je glavnu podjelu na privatno osoblje cara i oni koji su obavljali administrativne dužnosti. Karijere oslobođenika i robova mogli su obuhvatiti obje vrste službe.⁵⁸ Među administrativnim dužnostima bile su i službe u provincijama pa bi se u tom smislu mogao tretirati i ovdje spomenuti carski oslobođenik. Naime, funkcija, koja se navodi na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica, trebala bi se povezati s funkcijom prokuratora „zabave“ koji je obavljao tu dužnost za obje Panonije, odnosno služba koju je Brinkal obavljao na području Gornje i Donje Panonije.

U sačuvanom je dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišta (zapadni dio) pronađen i jedan spomenik (od vapnenca) s vrlo oštećenim natpisom, prelomljen u tri dijela (kat. br. 3). Cijela je površina spomenika jako oštećena pod utjecajem sumporne vode, a prema vidljivim tragovima alatke, vjerojatno su prilikom ugradnje u zid odstranjeni dijelovi baze i kruništa (sl. 9, 10). Većina je natpisa vrlo oštećena tako da nije moguće interpretirati cijeli sadržaj teksta. Slova su izvedena vrlo nepravilno, a čini se da je natpis imao devet redaka. Najbolje su sačuvana prva dva retka koja sadrže posvetu uzvišenim nimfama i Apolonu (na kraju prvog retka A, V su u ligaturi). U 3. i 4. retku možda se nalazilo ime dedikanta, ali taj je dio natpisa gotovo potpuno uništen (osim slova A u 4.

The form that appears in the Varaždinske Toplice inscription, *procurator rationis voluptitem*, can in any case be interpreted as a form of the function known as *procurator a voluptatibus*, or *procurator voluptatum*, and the irregular form of the word *voluptitem* instead of *voluptatum* is possibly the result of ignorance of the Latin language, or simply a mistake made by the mason.

There was a client-patron relationship between the imperial freedman (*Augusti libertus*) and the emperor, with rights and duties between them. The *Familia Caesaris* was mainly divided into the emperor's private staff and those who performed administrative duties. The careers of freedmen and slaves could encompass both types of service.⁵⁸ Administrative duties included offices in the provinces, so the position of imperial freedman mentioned here could be understood in this sense. In particular, the function mentioned in the Varaždinske Toplice inscription should be related to that of a procurator of 'entertainments' who performed this task for both Pannonias, that is, the service that *Brincalus* performed in the area of Upper and Lower Pannonia.

In the preserved part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (western part), a monument (made of limestone) with a very damaged inscription, broken into three parts, was also found (cat. no. 3). The entire surface of the monument is badly damaged by the influence of sulphurous water; and, according to the visible traces of tools, it is very likely that parts of the base and capital were removed during installation in the wall (Figs 9, 10). Most of the inscription is badly damaged, so it is not possible to interpret the entire content of the text. The letters are rendered very irregularly, and it seems that the inscription had nine lines. The best-preserved are the first two lines, containing the dedication to the nymphs *Augustae* and *Apollo*. (At the end of the first line, A and V are in ligature.) In the 3rd and 4th lines there may have been the name of the dedicant, but that part of the inscription is almost completely destroyed. (There is only one letter, A, in the 4th line.) The text in the 5th line is also quite damaged, so its content is not clear. Thus, at the beginning of the line, the letter E is visible (probably ET), then there is the letter V followed by a damaged letter (perhaps E), and then L, O, which are visible on the 3D scan. At the end of the line, probably N, A, I, V and V (and probably a smaller letter O). In lines 6 and 7, it is mentioned that the dedicant was a soldier of

50 Smatra se da je izraz – *a voluptatibus* – nastao ili dobio novo značenje upravo u vrijeme cara Tiberija (Champlin 2006, 26).

51 Suet. *Tib.* 4,7.

52 Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 136; Champlin 2006, 26.

53 Neki autori smatraju da se, npr. natpis iz *Praeneste* (ILS 1569), gdje se carski oslobođenik *Paeon* spominje s funkcijom PROC VOLUPT, treba restituirati kao *proc(urator) voluptat(is)* (npr. Klodziński 2019, 128), odnosno kao *proc(urator) voluptat(um)* (npr. Beutler 2007, 232; Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 137), dok postoji i mišljenje da je riječ o funkciji *proc(urator)(a) volupt(atibus)* (npr. Lim 1996, 163).

54 AE 1982, 0862; CIL XIV 2932; CIL VI 8619; Champlin 2006, 25.

55 Jiménez Sánchez 2006, 140.

56 Lim 1996, 163; CIL VI 8565.

57 Cassiod. *Var.* VII.10.

58 Weaver 1972, 5.

58 Weaver 1972, 5.

retku). Tekst u 5. retku također je oštećen pa nije jasan njegov sadržaj. Tako je na početku retka vidljivo slovo E (vjerojatno ET), zatim je slovo V, nakon kojeg je oštećeno slovo (možda E), a zatim su na 3D skenu vidljivi L, O. Na kraju retka, vjerojatno N, A, I, V te V (i vjerojatno malo slovo O). U 6. i 7. retku spominje se da je riječ o vojniku legije X. *Gemina Severiana*. Na kraju 7. retka vidljiva su i slova B, F, a što s prva tri slova u 8. retku (COS) pokazuje da se radilo o konzularnom beneficijariju. Središnji dio 8. retka je oštećen, a na desnoj strani može se pročitati M PRO, što je povezano s tekstom na početku 9. retka – *se et sui(s)*. Središnji dio 9. retka je oštećen, a vidljiva su zadnja tri slova C I T pa je vjerojatno to dio riječi *fecit*. Ispod devetog retka, u kojem su slova manja od ostalih, vidljiva je vodoravna urezana linija, što ukazuje na to da je tim redom završavao i natpis, odnosno da je tu bila donja granica natpisnog polja.

Nymphis Aug(ustis) / et Apollini / [---] / [---]A[---] / e[t?] V[-]LO(?) [-]NAIV(?)VO(?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / S[e]veriana(e) b(ene)f(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [---]M(?) pro / se et sui[s---] [f]e[c]it

Premda restitucija većeg dijela natpisa nije moguća, sačuvani dio teksta daje neke zanimljive detalje, a prvenstveno to se odnosi na posvetu natpisa uzvišenim nimfama i Apolonu (moguće i još nekom božanstvu u nastavku oštećenog natpisa). Štovanje boga Apolona u akvejaškom svetištu već je potvrđeno na više natpisa, a posebno značajna skulptura pronađena je i u novijim istraživanjima, koja ga prikazuje kao Apolona-Sola te ukazuje na službenu carsku religiju početka 3. stoljeća.⁵⁹ Svi žrtvenici s natpisima i posvetom Apolonu (i Solu) izrađeni su od lokalnog, a time i jeftinijeg kamena, i na većini su posvete zajedno s nimfama,⁶⁰ odnosno s nimfama i Dijanom⁶¹ te s nimfama, Minervom i Junonom.⁶² To svakako pokazuje da se u akvejaškom svetištu štovalo boga liječenja Apolona, vezano i uz lokalni kult izvora i izvan službene religije, pa se može pretpostaviti njegova popularnost među raznim slojevima društva. Osim posvete, na spomeniku je sačuvana funkcija dedikanta, a iako nije poznato njegovo ime, prema tekstu u 6. i 7. retku, vidljivo je da je bio konzularni beneficijar, pripadnik X. legije *Gemina Severiana*. Budući da naziv *Severiana* legija dobiva u vrijeme Aleksandra Severa,⁶³ ovaj se spomenik najvjerojatnije može datirati u razdoblje 222. – 235. godine.

Dosta oštećen zavjetni natpis, koji se također može uvrstiti u grupu spomenika posvećenih uzvišenim nimfama, pronađen je južno od južnog zida izvorišnog bazena (sl. 11). Budući da je južni zid pronađen kompletno sačuvan, spomenici i veći blokovi, nađeni neposredno (južno) uz zid, vjerojatno su bili postavljeni kako bi učvrstili konstrukciju. Način gradnje zida postao je vidljiv kada je istražena njegova stražnja strana, a što je pokazalo da su kameni blokovi postavljeni uzdužno i poprečno, odnosno

the legion X *Gemina Severiana*. At the end of line 7, the letters B, F are also visible, and together with the first three letters in the 8th line (COS), this indicates that the dedicant was a *consular beneficiarius*. The central part of line 8 is damaged, and on the right-hand side M PRO is visible, which is connected with the text at the beginning of line 9: *se et sui(s)*. The central part of the 9th line is damaged, and the last three letters C I T are visible, so it is probably part of the word *fecit*. Below the ninth line, in which the letters are smaller than the others, a horizontal incised line is visible, so this indicates that the inscription ended with that line – that is, that the lower border of the inscription field was there.

Nymphis Aug(ustis) / et Apollini / [---] / [---]A[---] / e[t?] V[-]LO(?) [-]NAIV(?)VO(?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / S[e]veriana(e) b(ene)f(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [---]M(?) pro / se et sui[s---] [f]e[c]it

Although the restitution of most of the inscription is not possible, the preserved part of the text provides some interesting details, mainly relating to the dedication of the inscription to nymphs *Augustae* and Apollo (and perhaps also to some other deity in the continuation of the damaged inscription). The worship of the god Apollo in the sanctuary has already been confirmed on several inscriptions, and a particularly significant sculpture was also found in recent research, which depicts him as Apollo/Sol and points to the official imperial religion of the beginning of the 3rd century.⁵⁹ All altars with inscriptions dedicated to Apollo (and Sol) are made of local, and thus cheaper, stone, and most of them have dedications together with nymphs,⁶⁰ or with nymphs and Diana,⁶¹ and with nymphs, Minerva and Juno.⁶² This certainly shows that the god of healing, Apollo, was worshiped in the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary in connection with the local spring cult and outside the official religion, so one can assume his popularity among various social strata.

In addition to the dedication, the function of the dedicant has been preserved on the monument; so, although his name is not known, according to the text in lines 6 and 7, it is evident that he was a consular *beneficiarius*, a member of the legion X *Gemina Severiana*. Since the name *Severiana* was given to the legion in the time of Alexander Severus,⁶³ this monument can most probably be dated to the period 222–235.

A rather damaged votive inscription, which can also be included in the group of monuments dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, was found south of the southern wall of the spring reservoir (Fig. 11). Since the southern wall was found completely preserved, the monuments and larger blocks found immediately (to the south) next to the wall were probably placed to strengthen the

59 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 280–285.

60 Osim ovdje spomenutog natpisa, Apolonu (Solu) i nimfama posvećen je još jedan natpis iz novijih istraživanja (Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br.8), a samo Solu jedan raniji natpis iz oploćenja svetišta (AE 2013, 1207; HD049105).

61 HD075031.

62 HD075033.

63 CIL III 05460; CIL III 14539; CIL III 03899 (B); etc.

59 Kušan Špalj 2017a, 280–285.

60 In addition to the inscription mentioned here, another inscription from recent research is dedicated to Apollo (Sol) and nymphs (Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. no. 8), and an earlier inscription, only to Sol, from the pavement of the sanctuary (AE 2013, 1207; HD049105).

61 HD075031.

62 HD075033.

63 CIL III 05460; CIL III 14539; CIL III 03899 (B); etc.



SLIKA 11. Južni zid izvorišnog bazena (stražnja strana), tijekom istraživanja 2012. godine, sa spomenicima *in situ*, pogled sa zapada: A) kat. br. 10; B) kat. br. 2; D) kat. br. 4 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 11. South wall of the spring reservoir (back face), during excavations in 2012, with monuments *in situ*, view from the west: A) cat. no. 10; B) cat no. 2; D) cat. no. 4 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

da je dio imao svrhu „sidrenja“ u teren. Postavljanje dodatnih blokova u tom stražnjem dijelu dalo je čvrstoću zidu, ali prilikom pomicanja cijele konstrukcije prema sjeveru, odnosno središtu izvorišta, većina tog kamenja pomaknuta je sa svog originalnog položaja, pa tako i ovdje spomenuti natpis (kat. br. 4). Riječ je o zavjetnom natpisu na vrlo mekanom, sitno zrnatom tipu vapnenca (biomikrit),⁶⁴ s vrlo oštećenom površinom tako da je veći dio teksta uništen (sl. 12, 13). U gornjem dijelu vidljivo je krunište s plitko urezanim linijama kojima su naznačeni ugaoni akroteriji i rub natpisnog polja, a na isti je način natpis obrubljen u donjem dijelu (sve se linije nastavljaju i na bočnim stranama spomenika). U donjem dijelu natpisnog polja, neposredno ispod natpisa, vidljiv je plitko urezani motiv grančica. Zanimljivo je da taj ukras prelazi preko vidljivih tragova alatke (s nazubljenim bridom) koji dakle nisu nastali prilikom ugradnje spomenika, nego se radi o

structure. The way the wall was built became visible when its back surface was explored, which showed that the stone blocks were placed longitudinally and transversely – that is, that part had the purpose of ‘anchoring’ the wall into the terrain. Placing additional blocks in that rear part gave strength to the wall, but when the entire structure was moved to the north, that is to the centre of the spring reservoir, most of those stones were moved from their original position, and so was the inscription mentioned here (cat. no. 4). It is a votive inscription on a very soft, fine-grained type of limestone (biomicrite),⁶⁴ with a very damaged surface, so that most of the text has been destroyed (Figs 12, 13). In the upper part, a capital is visible with shallowly incised lines indicating the corner acroteria and the edge of the inscription field, and the inscription is bordered in the same way in the lower part (all lines extending to the sides of the

⁶⁴ Analize kamena provedene su na Rudarsko-geološko-naftnom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Zavod za mineralogiju, petrologiju i mineralne sirovine).

⁶⁴ The analysis of the stone was carried out at the Faculty of Mining, Geology and Petroleum Engineering of the University of Zagreb (Department of Mineralogy, Petrology and Mineral Resources).



SLIKA 12. Zavjetni natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 4, tijekom istraživanja 2012. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 12. Votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 4, during excavations in 2012 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 13. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 4 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 13. 3D model of votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 4 (made by M. Vuković).

originalnoj obradi površine kamena za natpisno polje (sl. 14). U području baze i kruništa vidljivi su drugačiji, nešto dublji i širi tragovi alatke, očito nastali kada je odstranjena profilacija prilikom prilagodbe za ugradnju u zid izvorišta. Najbolje su sačuvana slova u prvom redu, gdje je vidljivo da je natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (ligatura slova AV vidljiva je na 3D skenu na kraju retka). Većina slova u 2. retku je nečitka, osim prvog L nakon kojeg slijedi jedna okomita hasta te ET u sredini retka. U 3. retku, gdje je jasno vidljiva ligatura E i T na početku, a vjerojatno se nakon toga nalazilo slovo A. U četvrtom su retku slova XIM, što bi mogao biti dio imena dedikanta (*Maximus, Maximinus* i sl.), a na kraju je vidljivo RO, što bi se s početkom 5. retka moglo restituirati kao *pro salute* (A i L u ligaturi) te dosta oštećena slova u nastavku (vjerojatno U, T, E). U nastavku retka jasno je vidljivo L (možda dio predimena) i vrlo oštećena slova O i P (ili R) te RIS na kraju retka, što bi mogao biti zadnji dio nekoga gentilicija u genitivu. U 6. retku vidljiv je cijeli kognomen u genitivu *Iunioris*, dok su ostala slova oštećena. Na početku 7. retka je ligatura M, I, L (slovo I uklesano je iznad spoja M, L), što bi moglo upućivati na vojnika (*miles*). U nastavku retka slijedi E (nakon jednoga oštećenog slova) i vjerojatno G (*legionis*), a pri kraju retka O, dok su ostala slova nečitka. U 8. retku pojavljuje EXCEPI SVO nakon čega je nekoliko oštećenih slova, a u 9. retku PPS, pa zatim EX VOTO. Moguće da PPS predstavlja kra-

monument). In the lower part of the inscription field, directly below the inscription, a shallowly-carved twig motif is visible. It is interesting that this ornament passes over the visible traces of a tool (with a jagged edge), which were created not during the installation of the monument, but rather in the original processing of the stone surface for the inscription field (Fig. 14). In the area of the base and the capital, there are different tool marks, slightly deeper and wider, apparently created when the moulding was removed during adaptation for installation in the wall of the spring reservoir. The best-preserved letters are in the first line, where it is clearly visible that the inscription is dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae* (the ligature of the letters A and V is visible on the 3D scan at the end of the line). Most of the letters in the 2nd line are illegible, except for the first L, followed by one vertical hasta and ET in the middle of the line. At the beginning of the 3rd line there is a letter E, probably followed by an A. In the fourth line are the letters XIM, which could be part of the dedicant's name (*Maximus, Maximinus* etc.); and, at the end of the line, RO is visible, which could be restituted with the beginning of the 5th line as *pro salute* (A and L in ligature) and quite damaged letters below (probably U, T, E). In the continuation of the line, there is a letter (perhaps part of the praenomen) and the very damaged letters O and P (or R) and RIS at the end



SLIKA 14. Detalj s prikazom grančice ispod natpisa posvećenog uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 4 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 14. Detail showing a branch under the inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 4 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 16. Mramorni postament sa zavjetnim natpisom posvećenim nimfama, kat. br. 5, gornja površina s utorima za kipove (snimila D. Kušan Špalj).

FIGURE 16. Marble pedestal with votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs, cat. no. 5, upper surface with slots for statues (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).



SLIKA 15. Mramorni postament sa zavjetnim natpisom posvećenim nimfama, kat. br. 5, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Kušan Špalj).

FIGURE 15. Marble pedestal with votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs, cat. no. 5, during excavations in 2011 (photo by D. Kušan Špalj).

of the line, which could be the last part of one gentilicium in the genitive case. In the 6th line, the entire cognomen in the genitive – *junioris* – is visible, while the other letters are damaged. At the beginning of the 7th line there is the ligature M, I, L (the letter I carved above the joint M, L) which could refer to a soldier (*miles*). It is followed by an E (after one damaged letter) and probably G (*legionis*) and there is an O at the end of the line, while the other letters are illegible. In the 8th line, EXCEPI SVO appears, followed by several damaged letters; and, in the 9th line, PPS, and then EX VOTO. It is possible that PPS is an abbreviation of the word *ipsarum*, which could refer to nymphs, as is known on several inscriptions where most often Matronae are associated with a formula in the form of *ex imperio ipsarum*⁶⁵ or *iussu ipsarum*.⁶⁶

65 CIL XIII, 7904, 7905, 7906, 7925.

66 CIL XIII, 8003a.

ticu riječi *ipsarum*, što bi se moglo odnositi na nimfe, kao što je poznato na više natpisa gdje se najčešće *Matronae* povezuju s formulom u obliku *ex imperio ipsarum*⁶⁵ ili *iussu ipsarum*.⁶⁶ Vjerojatno se i na ovom natpisu nalazila slična formula pa je možda na kraju 8. retka bila kratica *ius* (*iussu*). Zajedno s kraticom PPS od riječi *ipsarum* vidljivom na početku 9. retka, moglo bi se radi ti o obliku *iussu ipsarum* (prema njihovoj naredbi), ali to ostaje samo kao pretpostavka. Zanimljivo je da su sva slova O i G (npr. u 1. retku u kratlici AVG) izvedena kao pravilne kružnice (s točkom u sredini), što ukazuje na korištenje posebnog alata (šestara), a što je već uočeno i kod nekih drugih natpisa koji su izvedeni na ovoj vrsti mekanog kamena. Zbog toga za neka slova, s jakim oštećenjima, nije moguće sa sigurnošću reći radi li se o slovu O ili G (npr. u 2. retku).

Nymph[is] Aug(ustis) / L[---] et [---] / et[---] / xim [---] [p]ro / sal[ute] L(ucii?) Op(?)[-]ris / Iunioris [-] / mil(es)[l]eg(ionis)[---] O(?)[---] / excepi(t) suo (ex?) [ius](su)? / <i--P>ps(arum?) ex voto

Premda je u većem dijelu ovaj natpis vrlo oštećen i ima mnogo nedoumica uz interpretaciju pojedinih dijelova, sretna je okolnost da su slova bolje očuvana u prvom retku pa ga se sa sigurnošću može ubrojiti u natpise posvećene uzvišenim nimfama.⁶⁷ Sačuvan je i podatak da je postavljen za zdravlje neke osobe, čiji je kognomen bio *Iunior*, dok se ime dedikanta može pretpostaviti kao *Maximus* (ili *Maximinus*).

Među nalazima iz 2011. godine posebno se ističe veći mramorni postament s natpisom posvećen nimfama, koji je vjerojatno također bio posvećen uzvišenim nimfama, a pronađen je u urušenu sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena (kat. br. 5)⁶⁸(sl. 2).

Riječ je o većem bloku mramora, koji na gornjoj i donjoj površini ima utore za pričvršćenje skulptura (sl. 16), odnosno za učvršćenje na podlogu. U gornjem je dijelu spomenika natpisno polje, dok su dvije trećine prednje plohe bez ukrasa (sl. 15).

S obzirom na mjesto nalaza, može se pretpostaviti da je ovaj spomenik bio sekundarno iskorišten u opločenju sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena, na način da je natpis bio okrenut prema dolje, a stražnja strana iskorištena kao površina opločenja (sl. 2). Vjerojatno je kod urušavanja cijele konstrukcije skliznuo sa svoga originalnog položaja, za koji se prema mjestu nalaza može pretpostaviti da je bio u opločenju neposredno uz sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena. Spomenik je dosta oštećen, i to upravo u gornjem dijelu, u predjelu natpisa, koji je pronađen razlomljen u tri komada. Vjerojatno su oštećenja nastala prilikom urušavanja budući da su svi dijelovi pronađeni vrlo blizu jedan drugome, na padini prema središtu izvorišta. Natpisno je polje obrubljeno profilacijom, a tekst je smješten u 6 redaka (sl. 17). Slova natpisa su pravilno uklesana, a vidljivi su rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta između

It is possible that there was a similar formula on this inscription, so the abbreviation *ius* (*iussu*) may have been at the end of the 8th line. Together with the abbreviation PPS of the word *ipsarum* visible at the beginning of line 9, it could be a form of *iussu ipsarum* (*according to their order*), but this remains only a guess. It is interesting that all the letters O and G (e.g. in the 1st line in the abbreviation AVG) are made as regular circles (with a dot in the middle), which indicates the use of a special tool (compass), which has already been observed in some other inscriptions which were executed on this type of soft stone. For this reason, it cannot be determined with certainty, for some badly damaged letters, whether they are O or G (e.g. in the 2nd line).

Nymph[is] Aug(ustis) / L[---] et [---] / et[---] / xim [---] [p]ro / sal[ute] L(ucii?) Op(?)[-]ris / Iunioris [-] / mil(es)[l]eg(ionis)[---] O(?)[---] / excepi(t) suo (ex?) [ius](su)? / <i--P>ps(arum?) ex voto

Although the inscription is very damaged, and there are many doubts regarding the interpretation of certain parts, it is a fortunate circumstance that the letters are better preserved in the first line, and it can be counted among the inscriptions dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*.⁶⁷ The name of the person to whom the monument was erected was *Iunior*, while the name of the dedicant can be assumed to be *Maximus* (or *Maximinus*).

Among the finds from 2011, a large marble pedestal with an inscription dedicated to nymphs, which was most likely also dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, was found in the collapse north of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 5)⁶⁸ (Fig. 2). It is a large block of marble that has grooves on the upper surface for attaching sculptures (Fig. 16) and on the lower part for fastening to the ground. In the upper part of the monument there is an inscription field, while two-thirds of the front surface is without decoration (Fig. 15).

Considering the location of the find, it can be assumed that this monument was used secondarily in the paving north of the spring reservoir, in such a way that the inscription was facing downwards, and the back was used as a paving surface (Fig. 2). It is likely that, during the collapse of the entire structure, it slipped from its original position, which, according to the location of the find, can be assumed to have been in the paving immediately next to the northern wall of the spring reservoir. The monument is quite damaged, especially in the upper part, in the area of the inscription, which was found broken into three pieces. It is likely that the damage occurred during the collapse, since all the parts were found very close to each other, on the slope towards the centre of the reservoir. The inscription field has a moulded bordure, and the text is placed in 6 lines (Fig. 17). The letters are skilfully rendered, and there are triangular dividing marks between some words and abbreviations. The inscrip-

65 CIL XIII 7904, 7905, 7906, 7925.

66 CIL XIII 8003a.

67 Zbog vrste oštećenja na izuzetno mekanom kamenu, vrlo vjerojatno niti nakon provedbe konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova neće biti vidljivije više slova niti će se sa sigurnošću moći interpretirati cijeli natpis.

68 Kušan Špalj 2022b, 62–63.

67 Because of the type of damage to the extremely soft stone, it is very likely that, even after conservation work, no other letters will be visible, nor will it be possible to interpret the entire inscription with certainty.

68 Kušan Špalj 2022b, 62–63.

SLIKA 17. 3D model gornjeg dijela mramornog postamenta sa zavjetnim natpisom posvećenim nimfama, kat. br. 5 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 17. 3D model of the upper part of the marble pedestal with a votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs, cat. no. 5 (made by M. Vuković).



pojedinih riječi i kratica. Natpis je jako oštećen uz gornji rub, u sredini 1. retka, tako da nedostaje dio slova, pa se može pretpostaviti da se tu nalazio i neki epitet vezan uz nimfe, vjerojatno *Augustae*, prema vidljivom ostatku zadnjeg slova, najvjerojatnije slovo G. Slova su oštećena i uz lomove kamena koji idu od sredine prema donjim rubovima, a pogotovo u sredini 2. retka. Ligatura slova T i I na kraju trećeg retka ima oblik križa, dok su neka slova veća od ostalih (na početku drugog retka slovo I u imenu Iulia te slovo N u kognomenu njenog oca).

Nymph[is] [Au]g[ustis] sacrum / Iulia C(ai) lu[l]ii(ii) Fi[r]mini fil(ia) Procilla / Mursensis signa III ex argenti / libris XXX ex voto et ex visu / donum dedit / ex quib(us) amissa(m) una(m) res p(ublica) Poet(ovionensis) rest(ituit)

Dedikantica natpisa, odnosno osoba koja je postavila kipove nimfi, bila je *Iulia Procilla Mursensis*, kći Gaja Julija, čiji je kognomen najvjerojatnije bio *Firminus*,⁶⁹ budući da je prvo slovo vrlo vjerojatno F, a nakon toga se usporedbom fotografije i 3D skena može pretpostaviti da se radi o slovu I (čini se da je vodoravna hasta u srednjem dijelu oštećenje kamena, a ne dio slova). S obzirom na to da su zadnja četiri slova MINI (ligatura N, I), vjerojatno se ispred nalazilo R, pa se može zaključiti da je kognomen *Firmini* uklesan u nepokraćenom obliku.⁷⁰ U svakom slučaju, filijacija obuhvaća sva tri očeva imena i vjerojatno glasi: *Cai Iulii Firmini filia*.

Ime *Iulia* izvedeno je iz gentilicija oca, a uz to se navodi kognomen *Procilla*. Ženski kognomen *Procilla* bio je čest, pogotovo u Italiji, a i u Dalmaciji na desetak natpisa.⁷¹ Budući da je i genti-

tion is badly damaged along the upper edge, in the middle of the 1st line, where some letters are missing; most likely it was an epithet relating to nymphs. According to the visible remains of the last letter, most likely the letter G, it can be assumed that the epithet was *Augustae*. The letters are also damaged along the stone breaks that go from the central upper part to the lower edges (especially in the middle of the 2nd line). The ligature T and I at the end of the third line has the shape of a cross, while some letters are larger than others (at the beginning of the second line, the letter I in Iulia's name, and the letter N in her father's cognomen).

Nymph[is] [Au]g[ustis] sacrum / Iulia C(ai) lu[l]ii(ii) Fi[r]mini fil(ia) Procilla / Mursensis signa III ex argenti / libris XXX ex voto et ex visu / donum dedit / ex quib(us) amissa(m) una(m) res p(ublica) Poet(ovionensis) rest(ituit)

The dedicant of the inscription, that is the person who placed the statues of the nymphs, was *Iulia Procilla Mursensis*, the daughter of *Caius Iulius*. His cognomen was probably *Firminus*,⁶⁹ given that the first letter is most likely F, and after that it can be assumed, by comparing the photograph and the 3D scan, that there is a letter I. (The horizontal hasta in the middle part seems to be stone damage, not part of the letter.) Given that the last four letters are MINI (ligature N and I), and most likely there was an R in front,⁷⁰ it can be concluded that the cognomen *Firmini* was recorded in its full form. In any case, the filiation includes all three of her father's names and is probably *Cai Iulii Firmini filia*.

69 *Firminus* je vrlo rasprostranjen kognomen, pogotovo u sjevernoj Italiji i Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969, 204), kao i u Panoniji i Noriku (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 142), pa čak i u Petovionu (AE 1934, 0221).

70 Postoji i mogućnost da se radi o kognomenu *Filominus*, ali zbog širine prostora između vidljivih slova, vjerojatnije je da se na tome mjestu nalazilo jedno slovo R, a ne slovo O (u tom bi slučaju i I i L bili u ligaturi).

71 Alföldy 1969, 274; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 164.

69 *Firminus* is a very widespread cognomen, especially in northern Italy and Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969, 204), as well as in Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz et al. 1999, 142), and even in Poetovio (AE 1934, 0221).

70 There is also the possibility that it is the cognomen *Filominus*; but, due to the width of the space between the visible letters, it is more likely that there was a single letter R, and not the letter O (in which case I and L would be in ligature).



SLIKA 18. Mramorni reljef s prikazom tri ženska lika i natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama, kat. br. 6 (snimio: Zottmann, GmbH).

FIGURE 18. Marble relief depicting 3 female figures and an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, cat. no. 6 (photo by Zottmann, GmbH).

licij *Iulius* svuda prisutan, oblik imena *Iulia Procilla* više je puta dokumentiran, pa tako i dva puta u Dalmaciji,⁷² a ima i primjer u Noriku.⁷³ Nakon imena *Iulia Procilla*, slijedi riječ *Mursensis*, koja izgleda kao dio imena dedikantice, ali vjerojatnije se pojavljuje kao pridjev u funkciji obilježavanja porijekla dedikantice, iz grada Murse (*origo*).⁷⁴ U svakom slučaju, oblik imena, a i sam karakter spomenika ukazuje na to da se radi o osobi iz bogatijeg sloja društva, koja je uložila znatna sredstva prilikom posjeta akvejaškom svetištu i lječilištu.

Nakon imena dedikantice, navodi se zavjetni dar koji je postavila, a radi se o tri statue. Naime, upotrijebljen je oblik *signum* (pl. *signa*) što je jedna od najčešćih riječi koja se koristila za statuu ili reljef koji predstavlja božanstvo.⁷⁵ Premda je oštećena gornja površina spomenika, vidljivi su utori (3 veće rupe i nekoliko manjih) pa se može pretpostaviti da su na gornjoj površini postamenta bili postavljeni kipovi triju nimfi, a o čemu svjedoči i sam

The name *Iulia* derives from the gentilicium of the father, and the cognomen *Procilla* is also mentioned. The female cognomen *Procilla* was very common, especially in Italy, and also in Dalmatia on a dozen inscriptions.⁷² Since the gentilicium *Iulius* is present everywhere, the form of the name *Iulia Procilla* has been documented several times, including twice in Dalmatia,⁷² and there is also an example in Noricum.⁷³ The name of *Iulia Procilla* is followed by the word *Mursensis*, which looks like part of the dedicant's name, but more likely appears as an adjective in the function of marking the origin of the dedicant, from the city of Mursa (*origo*).⁷⁴ In any case, the form of the name and the very character of the monument indicate that it is a person from a wealthier stratum of society, who invested considerable funds when visiting the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary and health resort.

After the dedicant's name, the votive gift she set up, which is three statues, is mentioned. The form *signum* (pl. *signa*) was used, which is one of the most common words used for a statue or relief representing a deity.⁷⁵ Although the upper surface of the monument is damaged, grooves are visible (3 larger holes and several smaller ones), so it can be assumed that statues of three nymphs were placed on the upper surface of the pedestal, as evidenced by the inscription itself. A weight of silver of 30 *libris*,⁷⁶ as stated on the inscription, is 9823.5 g, so each statue would therefore weigh about 3 kg. This is certainly interesting information about the monuments that decorated the sanctuary, and it can be assumed that there were more of them made of silver or some other metals, but unfortunately only those

72 CIL III 2398 = 8629; 2495. Pretpostavlja se da je kognomen *Procilla* korišten u imenovanju žena iz vodećih liburnskih porodica (Glavičić 2013, 529).

73 CIL III 5545.

74 Ovdje se čini da je najvjerojatnije riječ o obilježavanju porijekla dedikantice premda bi se moglo raditi i o drugom kognomenu (*Mursensis* kao kognomen poznat je samo u jednom primjeru (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 91) i pripada grupi kognomena koji ima porijeklo u geografskom imenu, odnosno izvedeni su iz imena grada (Kajanto 1965, 204).

75 Roth 2012.

71 Alföldy 1969, 274; Lőrincz et al. 2000, 164.

72 CIL III 2398 = 8629; 2495. It is assumed that the cognomen *Procilla* was used to designate women from prominent Liburnian families (Glavičić 2013, 529).

73 CIL III 5545.

74 Here it seems that it is most likely a matter of marking the origin of the dedicant, although the issue could also be about another cognomen. (*Mursensis* as a cognomen is known only in one example (Lőrincz et al. 2000, 91) and belongs to the group of cognomina that has its origin in a geographical name: that is, they are derived from the name of the city (Kajanto 1965, 204).

75 Roth 2012.

76 1 libra = 327.5g

natpis. Težina srebra od 30 libri,⁷⁶ koliko je navedeno na natpisu, iznosi 9823,5 g, pa bi prema tome svaki kip bio težak oko 3 kg. To su, svakako, zanimljivi podaci o spomenicima koji su ukrašavali svetište i može se pretpostaviti da ih je bilo i više od izrađenih srebra ili nekih drugih metala, ali, nažalost, sačuvani su samo oni od kamena, materijala koji je recikliran kao građevinski materijal.

Tekst u zadnjem retku daje podatke o sudbini spomenika, odnosno da je došlo do oštećenja ili gubitka jednog od kipova nimfi, što je nadomjestila općina petovionska.⁷⁷ Da se radi o naknadno izvedenom dijelu natpisa, pokazuje i nešto drugačiji oblik i veličina slova, a na 3D skenu čini se i da je neki raniji dio natpisa na tome mjestu odstranjen. Poznato je više natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica na kojima se spominju stanovnici Petovione,⁷⁸ a ovo je drugi primjer da se spominje *res publica Poetovionensis*,⁷⁹ a što je i potpuno logično s obzirom na blizinu toga grada i činjenicu da se naselje *Aquae Iasae* nalazilo najvjerojatnije na njenom teritoriju.

I na kraju, u grupi spomenika posvećenih nimfama s epitetom *Augustae* treba spomenuti i jedan vrlo zanimljivi nalaz djelomično sačuvanog manjega reljefa s prikazom triju ženskih likova i natpisom⁸⁰ (kat. br. 6, sl. 18). Fragmenti ovog spomenika pronađeni su u sekundarnoj upotrebi na raznim mjestima u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena, gdje su poslužili za podlaganje većih blokova u konstrukciji zida. Radi se o relativno manjoj mramornoj ploči (38 x cca 50 cm), s natpisnim poljem u donjem dijelu (s tekstem raspoređenim u 3 retka), sa sačuvanom crvenom bojom u slovi- ma na jednom fragmentu natpisa.⁸¹

Ni(m)ffis (!) Aug(ustis) Ul/pia Iustina / ex voto posuit I(ibenter)

Ulpia Iustina posvetila je ovaj spomenik nimfama premda je ime božica napisano u neobičnom obliku – *niffis*,⁸² vjerojatno zbog nepoznavanja latinskog jezika. Isti je oblik riječi vidljiv i na fragmentu manjeg reljefa s natpisom, pronađenim još 1967. godine u zidu zapadnog hrama.⁸³ Nije neuobičajeno da u lokalnim radionicama dolazi do pogrešaka u pisanju, ali u ovom slučaju radi se o dosta neobičnom primjeru vulgarnog latiniteta jer uz uobičajenu zamjenu slova Y u I te ispuštanje slova M ispred suglasnika, pojavljuje se i zamjena PH s dva slova F. Na taj je način interpretiran i isti oblik riječi (*niffis*)⁸⁴ na djelomično sačuvanom reljefu (dvije nimfe) s natpisom, pronađenom u špiljskom lokalitetu Vod-

made of stone, a material that was recycled as a building material, have been preserved.

The text in the last line gives information about the fate of the monument, namely that there was damage or loss of one of the statues of nymphs, and it was replaced by the *res publica Poetovionensis*.⁷⁷ The slightly different shapes and size of the letters show that this is a later part of the inscription, and on the 3D scan it seems that some earlier part of the inscription has been removed in that place. There are several inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice that mention the inhabitants of Poetovio,⁷⁸ and this is the second example of the *res publica Poetovionensis* being mentioned,⁷⁹ which is quite logical considering the proximity of that city, and the fact that the settlement of *Aquae Iasae* was most likely located in its territory.

And, finally, in the group of monuments dedicated to nymphs with the epithet *Augustae*, we should also mention a very interesting find of a partially preserved smaller relief depicting three female figures and an inscription⁸⁰ (cat. no. 6, Fig. 18). Fragments of this monument were found in secondary use in various places in the northern wall of the spring reservoir, where they were used to support larger blocks in the construction of the wall. It is a relatively small marble slab (38 × approx. 50 cm), with an inscription field in the lower part (with the text arranged in 3 lines), with preserved red colour in the letters on one fragment of the inscription.⁸¹

Ni(m)ffis (!) Aug(ustis) Ul/pia Iustina / ex voto posuit I(ibenter)

Ulpia Iustina dedicated this monument to the nymphs, although the name of the goddess is written in an unusual form: *niffis*,⁸² probably due to lack of knowledge of the Latin language. The same word form is also visible on a fragment of a smaller relief with an inscription, found as early as 1967 in the wall of the western temple.⁸³ It is not unusual for local workshops to make mistakes in writing, but in this case it is a rather unusual example of vulgar Latinity, because – in addition to the usual substitution of the letter Y for I and the dropping of the letter M before a consonant – there is also a substitution of PH with two letters F. The same form of the word (*niffis*)⁸⁴ was interpreted in this way on a partially preserved relief (with two nymphs) with an inscription, found in the Vodna Jama cave site on the

76 1libra = 327,5g

77 Oblik *amissa una* (u ženskom rodu) vjerojatno se odnosi na nimfu, ali se pod tim najvjerojatnije podrazumijevala statua nimfe (upotrijebljena riječ za statu *signum* je u srednjem rodu).

78 CIL III 4117; Iljug 1168; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 73, 79; 2015, kat. br. 73, 79; Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br. 5, 6.

79 CIL III 4117.

80 HD075027; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 83; 2015, kat. br. 83.

81 Radi se o dijelu natpisa koji je pronađen 2006. godine u urušenoj sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena.

82 Zahvaljujem dr. sc. D. Demicheliu na sugestiji oko čitanja ovog natpisa budući da sam neposredno nakon nalaza (zbog loma kamena kod drugog slova F) prvotno riječ interpretirala kao *Nifeis* (Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 64, 68, kat. br. 88; 2015, 64, 68, kat. br. 88).

83 Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 88; 2015, kat. br. 88.

84 Demicheli 2010, 179, 180.

77 The form *amissa una* (feminine gender) probably refers to a nymph, but it more likely meant a statue of a nymph. (The word used for a statue is *signum*, in the neuter gender.)

78 CIL III, 4117; Iljug 1168; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. nos. 73, 79; 2015, cat. nos. 73, 79; Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. nos. 5, 6.

79 CIL III 4117.

80 HD075027; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. no. 83; 2015, cat. no. 83.

81 It is part of the inscription that was found in 2006 in the collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir.

82 I would like to thank PhD D. Demicheli for the suggestion regarding the reading of this inscription, since immediately after the discovery (due to the stone's breaking near the second letter F) I initially interpreted the word as *Nifeis* (Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 64, 68, cat. no. 88; 2015, 64, 68, cat. no. 88).

83 Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. no. 88; 2015, cat. no. 88.

84 Demicheli 2010, 179, 180.

na jama na otoku Braču.⁸⁵ U tom je slučaju za neobično pisanje dva slova F, uz interpretaciju da se radi o mogućoj pogrešci klesara, D. Demicheli predložio i mogućnost čitanja riječi *niffis* kao dvije kratice, odnosno kao *Ni(m)f(is) f(ontan)is*.⁸⁶ Radi li se o slučajnoj pogrešci klesara zbog nepoznavanja latinske gramatike, koja se u slučaju *Aquae Iasae* (s obzirom na dva natpisa) vjerojatno dalje “prepisivala” u lokalnim radionicama, ili se radi o epitetu *fontanae*, tj. posveti *Ni(m)f(is) f(ontan)is*, ostaje otvoreno pitanje, ali zanimljiva je pojava istoga neobičnog oblika vulgarnog latiniteta u lokalnim radionicama dva međusobno udaljena područja.

Na primjeru iz Varaždinskih Toplica, iznad natpisa je uokvireno polje s djelomično sačuvanim reljefnim prikazom. Bolje su sačuvane bočne figure (lijevoj nedostaje donji dio nogu, a desnoj veći dio glave), dok se od središnje figure nazire samo gornji dio njezne lijeve noge. Bočna, lijeva figura prikazuje potpuno goli ženski lik u stojećem položaju, s desnom rukom ispred tijela, dok je od lijeve ruke sačuvan samo gornji dio i vjerojatno je bila iza leđa (ili spuštena uz tijelo). Obje nadlaktice bile su ukrašene narukvicama, a na glavi je prikazana frizura s kosom koja seže do ramena. Zbog prikaza “frkane” kose, vjerojatno nije riječ o raspuštenoj kosi (kao kod tipa “nimfi koje cijede kosu”), već o svojevrsnoj pojednostavljenoj interpretaciji frizure prisutne i na drugim reljefima, gdje se radi o tipu punde oblikovane uz lice kao dijadema, s uvojcima koji sežu do ramena.⁸⁷ Vrlo sličan, gotovo identičan prikaz lica i frizure pojavljuje se i na dijelu jednog manjeg reljefa (s prikazom jedne nimfe sa školjkom, pronađen još u ranijim istraživanjima kupališta)⁸⁸ pa je moguće da se radi o proizvodima iste radionice ili čak istog majstora. Premda je od središnje figure ostao sačuvan samo dio lijevog (golog) boka, vrlo vjerojatno se radilo o sličnom prikazu božice kao i kod lijeve figure. Budući da uz bedro nije vidljiva lijeva ruka, vjerojatno je bila u višem položaju ispred tijela ili sakrivena iza leđa. Na desnoj strani reljefa prikazan je ženski lik, odjeven u dugu haljinu koja je prekrivala samo ramena (na lijevoj nadlaktici vidljiva je narukvica), s neravnim rubom do ispod koljena. Čini se da dvije trake s kosim linijama, koje se spuštaju niz haljinu, prikazuju neku vrstu plašta koji je bio prebačen preko desnog ramena (ispod desne ruke) te se spuštao na prednjoj strani. Lijeva je ruka prikazana sa zatvorenim prstima, kao da drži spomenuti plašt koji nije vidljiv na lijevom ramenu, pa se čini da se koso spušta od desnog ramena. Očito je namjera majstora bila da prikaže neku određenu vrstu haljine, tj. nošnje, jer premda stilizirano, ovdje je ipak pokušao prikazati njemu važne detalje. Glava ove figure nije sačuvana, ali je vidljiv dio kose iznad desnog ramena, vrlo sličan prikazu frizure kod lijeve figure. Ipak, čini se da ovdje kosa pada i iza ramena, a tanka obrubna linija možda prikazuje neki veo. Za razliku od ostalih reljefa pronađenih na prostoru Varaždinskih Toplica, na kojima su nimfe uvijek prikazane kao tri mlade djevojke (s razgolićenim gornjim dijelom tijela i plaštom koji klizi niz bokove, po uzoru na prikaz Afrodite/Venere), u skladu s poznatim prikazima nimfi iz rimskog razdoblja u raznim dijelovima Carstva,⁸⁹ na

island of Brač.⁸⁵ In that case, for the unusual writing of two letters F, besides the interpretation that it is a possible stonemason’s mistake, D. Demicheli suggested the possibility of reading the word *niffis* as two abbreviations, as *Ni(m)f(is) f(ontan)is*.⁸⁶ Whether it is an accidental mistake of the stonemason due to lack of knowledge of Latin grammar, which in the case of *Aquae Iasae* (considering the two inscriptions) was probably further ‘transcribed’ in local workshops, or it is a matter of the epithet *fontanae*, i.e. dedicated to *Ni(m)f(is) f(ontan)is*, remains an open question, but the appearance of the same unusual form of Vulgar Latin in the local workshops of two distant areas is interesting.

On the example from Varaždinske Toplice, above the inscription is a framed field with a partially preserved relief representing three female figures. The side figures are better preserved (the lower part of the legs is missing on the left, and most of the head is missing on the right), while only the upper part of her left leg can be seen of the central figure. The side, left figure shows a completely naked female figure in a standing position, with the right arm in front of the body, while only the upper part of the left arm is preserved, which was probably behind the back (or lowered to the body). Both upper arms were decorated with bracelets, and the head featured a hairstyle with shoulder-length hair. Due to the depiction of ‘coiled’ hair, it is probably not loose hair (as in the case of the ‘hair-wringing nymphs’), but rather a kind of simplified interpretation of the hairstyle also present on other reliefs, where it is a type of bun with hair shaped around the face like a diadem, with curls reaching to the shoulder.⁸⁷ A very similar, almost identical representation of the face and hairstyle also appears on part of a smaller relief (with the representation of a nymph with a shell, found in earlier research on the baths),⁸⁸ so it is possible that these are products of the same workshop, or even of the same master. Although only part of the left (bare) side of the central figure has been preserved, it is very likely a similar depiction of the goddess as in the left figure. Since the left hand is not visible next to the thigh, it was probably in a higher position in front of the body, or hidden behind the back. On the right side of the relief, a female figure is shown dressed in a long dress that covered only the shoulders (a bracelet is visible on the left upper arm), with an uneven hem below the knee. The two slashed bands running down the dress appear to show some sort of cloak that was slung over the right shoulder (under the right arm) and came down the front. The left hand is shown with closed fingers, as if holding the cloak, which is not visible on the left shoulder, so it seems to descend diagonally from the right shoulder. Obviously, the master’s intention was to show a certain type of dress, i.e. a costume, because, although it is stylized, here he still tried to show the details that were important to him. The head of this figure has not been preserved, but part of the hair above the right shoulder is visible, very similar to the presentation of the

85 Demicheli 2010.

86 Demicheli 2010, 180.

87 Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, kat. br. 78; 2015, kat. br. 78.

88 Gorenc, Vikić 1980, sl. 17.

89 Kušan Špalj 2022a, 100–103.

85 Demicheli 2010.

86 Demicheli 2010, 180.

87 Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. no. 78; 2015, cat. no. 78.

88 Gorenc, Vikić 1980, Fig. 17.



SLIKA 19. Zavjetni natpis posvećen ozdravljujućim nimfama, kat. br. 7, tijekom istraživanja 2012. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 19. Votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, cat. no. 7, during excavations in 2012 (recorded by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

SLIKA 20. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog ozdravljujućim nimfama, kat. br. 7 (izradio M. Vuković).

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



ovom su reljefu božice prikazane na nešto drugačiji način. Naime, svi spomenuti detalji, kao i cijela kompozicija reljefa koji je dala napraviti *Ulpia Iustina*, jasno pokazuju da se radi o netipičnom prikazu triju nimfi, a nedostaju i uobičajeni atributi koji se na drugim reljefima prikazuju vezano uz vodu (amfore, ribe, trska i dr.). Vjerojatno su ovdje prikazane dvije božice, dok odjeveni, desni bočni lik prikazuje i samu dedikanticu (vjerojatno u lokalnoj nošnji). Nepravilnosti u natpisu, kao i i izvedba prikaza, odaju da se radi o proizvodu neke lokalne radionice koja je djelovala izvan uobičajenih ikonografskih pravila, možda još i u tradiciji predrimске umjetnosti.

Zavjetni natpisi posvećeni ozdravljujućim nimfama

Među novim natpisima u Varaždinskim Toplicama više je onih s posvetom ozdravljujućim nimfama,⁹⁰ a u tu se grupu mogu ubrojiti i četiri spomenika opisana u daljnjem tekstu.

Tako je jedan kameni blok, od mekanog sitno zrnatog vapnenca (biomikrita) s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljujućim nimfama, pronađen u sjevernom zidu izvorišnog bazena (kat. br. 7). Spomenik je pronađen na samom rubu očuvane konstrukcije istočnog dijela zida, gdje je bio postavljen s donjom stranom baze u licu zida (sl. 2). Na kruništu su vidljive urezane dvostruke linije (izme-

hairstyle as in the left figure. However, here the hair also seems to fall behind the shoulders, and the thin hemline may show some kind of veil. In contrast to the other reliefs found in the area of Varaždinske Toplice, where the nymphs are always depicted as three young girls (with the upper part of the body naked and the cloak sliding down the hips, modelled after the depiction of Aphrodite/Venus, in accordance with the well-known depictions of nymphs from the Roman period in various parts of the Empire),⁸⁹ on this relief the goddesses are depicted in a slightly different way.

All the details mentioned, as well as the entire composition of the relief ordered by *Ulpia Iustina*, clearly show that it is an atypical representation of three nymphs, which also lacks the usual attributes shown on other reliefs relating to water (amphorae, fishes, reeds etc.). It is possible that two goddesses are depicted here, while the dressed, right-hand figure shows the dedicant herself (probably in local costume). Irregularities in the inscription, as well as the composition of the relief, indicate that it is the product of a local workshop that worked outside the usual iconographic rules, perhaps even in the tradition of pre-Roman art.

Votive inscriptions dedicated to the healing nymphs

Among the new inscriptions in Varaždinske Toplice, there are more examples with dedications to the healing nymphs,⁹⁰ and four monuments described below can also be included in this group.

90 Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br. 7, 8, 10.

89 Kušan Špalj 2022a, 100–103.

90 Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. nos. 7, 8, 10.



SLIKA 21. Zavjetni natpis posvećen ozdravljujućim nimfama – kat. br. 7, detalj natpisa (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 21. Votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, cat. no. 7, detail of inscription (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

đu kojih je prostor ispunjen cik-cak motivom, odnosno nizom trokuta) kojima su naznačeni i akroteriji, a na isti je način vjerojatno bilo uokvireno i natpisno polje, na što ukazuju sačuvane linije na gornjem rubu (sl. 19, 20). Površina iznad i ispod natpisa dosta je grubo obrađena i može se pretpostaviti da je u tom dijelu bila profilacija kruništa, odnosno baza spomenika. Natpis je bio raspoređen u 4 retka, a vidljive su linije unutar kojih su upisivana slova. Oblik je slova izveden s tanjim i deblje urezanim linijama, a u prvom i drugom retku pojavljuje se slovo I i U znatno manje od ostalih (sl. 21). Neka slova izvedena su vjerojatno uz pomoć neke vrste šestara, kao što je slovo B u 2. retku ili O u 4. retku. Tekst na više mjesta ima ligature, u 2. retku je trostruka ligatura slova A, U, L, a u trećem retku slova V, A, L. Zanimljivo je slovo L, koje se pojavljuje s izvijenom nožicom, što podsjeća na tzv. natpis cara Konstantina,⁹¹ pa je moguće da se natpis datira na kraj 3. ili početak 4. stoljeća. Premda se u izvedbi slova naslućuje želja za pravilnosti, izvedba ukrasnih motiva i, primjerice linija iznad i ispod natpisnog polja, koja nije paralelna s linijama teksta, daje naslutiti da se radi o proizvodu nekog lokalnog, ne baš vještog majstora. Također, to pokazuje i da su na spomeniku vjerojatno radila dva majstora, tj. da je vjerojatno obrada samog kamenog bloka izvedena u jednoj radionici (moguće uz sam kamenolom), a natpis je djelo drugog majstora, koji je pokušao paralelnim linijama uspostaviti određenu pravilnost na natpisnom polju. Međutim, i u toj je izvedbi vidljiva nesigurnost pa se tako u 3. retku pojavljuju dvije gornje linije koje nisu međusobno paralelne, što je rezultiralo da su donja dva reda „pobjegla“ iz pravilnosti i nisu paralelna s gornjim redovima. U 3. retku, između imena, te u zadnjem redu, između kratica, vidljivi su znakovi razdvajanja trokutastog oblika. Sačuvan je kognomen *Valens*, dok je lijeva strana

Thus, a stone block, made of soft fine-grained limestone (biomicrite) with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, was found in the northern wall of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 7). The monument was found at the very edge of the preserved construction of the eastern part of the wall, where it was placed with the lower side of its base in the face of the wall (Fig. 2). There are incised double lines visible on the capital (between which the space is filled with a zigzag motif, or a series of triangles), also outlining the acroteria. The inscription field was probably framed in the same way, as indicated by the preserved lines on the upper edge (Figs 19, 20). The surface above and below the inscription is quite rough, and it can be assumed that in these parts was the base and capital moulding. The inscription was arranged in four lines, and incised lines, inside which the letters were written, are visible. The letters are rendered with thinner and thicker incised lines. In the first and second lines the letters I and U appear much smaller than the others (Fig. 21). Some letters were probably made with the help of some kind of compass, such as the letter B in the second line or O in the 4th line. The text has ligatures in several places; in the 2nd line there is a triple ligature of the letters A, U, L, and in the third line the letters V, A, L. The letter L is interesting, which appears with a bent leg that resembles the so-called inscription of Emperor Constantine, so it is possible that the inscription dates to the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century.⁹¹

Although the way the letters are rendered suggests a desire for regularity, the execution of decorative motifs – and, for example, lines above and below the inscription field that are not parallel to the lines of the text – suggests that it is the product

tog retka vrlo oštećena pa se ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi o kojem se gentiliciju radi. Prvo sačuvano slovo čini se da je slovo T (vodoravna gornja hasta vidljiva je dobro na fotografiji prije čišćenja spomenika), a moguće da je, s obzirom na slobodni prostor, i ispred bilo još jedno slovo. Od trećeg slova vidljiva je samo jedna kosa linija (najvjerojatnije slovo A), dok je četvrto slovo L, a nakon njega je sačuvan dio manjeg slova V (nakon kojeg slijedi rastavni znak prije kognomena Valens). Slova u 4. retku bolje su sačuvana tako da je nakon slova B ligatura C O, koja je izvedena kao dva koncentrična kruga, odnosno kao jedno slovo unutar drugog (*litterae insertae*), pri čemu je lijeva strana vanjskog kruga jače naglašena (slovo C). U nastavku je vidljivo slovo S pa bi se radilo o kratici B C O S, odnosno o funkciji dedikanta – *beneficiarius consularis*. Preostali dio teksta u 4. retku sadrži posvetnu formulu *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)*.

Nymphis / Salutaribus / [-]talu(?) Valens / b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)

Dedikant ovog natpisa Valens⁹² bio je konzularni beneficijarij, što bi značilo da je bio zaposlenik nekog od ureda namjesnika provincije. Konzularni beneficijariji bili su vojni službenici, većinomiskusni legionari koji su iz svoje matične postrojbe raspoređeni u urede namjesnika, gdje su obavljali razne administrativne, sudske i vojne poslove. Ti su se uredi nalazili u glavnim gradovima, kao i u postajama uz ceste i granice.⁹³

Među novim nalazima u Varaždinskim Toplicama još je jedan natpis koji je postavio konzularni beneficijarij i posvetio ga ozdravljujućim nimfama, a kao i prethodni, pronađen je u sačuvanoj konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta (kat. br. 8) (sl. 2). Spomenik je izvađen iz zida tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova, a ugrađen je bio samo gornji dio žrtvenika pa nedostaje donji dio natpisa. Riječ je o kamenom bloku, od mekanog, sitno zrnatog vapnenca (biomikrita), na kojem je u gornjem dijelu urezanim linijama naznačeno krunište s dva akroterija. Profilacija kruništa najvjerojatnije je bila odstranjena tijekom ugradnje u zid, što se može naslutiti na temelju tragova alatke. Sačuvano je 5 redaka natpisa (i gornji dio 6. retka), a slova su izvedena unutar horizontalnih, tankih, urezanih linija, vidljivih u svim redovima (sl. 22, 23).

Nymphis / Salut(aribus) / Aur(elius) Secun/dianus be(necifiarius) / co(n)s(ularis) qu[i] et Itr(ius) / [-]v i r?{---

Dedikant ovog natpisa bio je Aurelije Sekundijan,⁹⁴ konzularni beneficijarij. Iza službe dedikanta, u 5. retku, nalazi se oštećeni dio teksta, a dobro su vidljiva slova QV te se nazire I (*qui*), pa zatim ligatura E i T, te slova I, T i vjerojatno R. Tako bi se zadnji dio teksta u 5. retku mogao restituirati kao dio imena – *qui et Itrius*. U 6. retku prvo slovo nije sačuvano, a od sljedeća tri su vidljivi

of a local craftsman, not very skilled. This also shows that two craftsmen probably worked on the monument, i.e. that the processing of the stone block itself was probably carried out in one workshop (possibly next to the quarry itself), and the inscription is the work of another person that tried to make a certain regularity in the inscription field with parallel lines. However, uncertainty is also visible in that work, so in the 3rd line there are two incised upper lines that are not parallel to each other, which resulted in the ‘escaping’ from regularity of the last two rows, which were not parallel to the upper rows. In the 3rd line between the names, and in the last line between the abbreviations, there are triangular interpuncts. The cognomen Valens has been preserved, while the left side of this line is badly damaged, so it is not possible to determine with certainty which gentilicium it is about. The first letter preserved appears to be the letter T (the upper horizontal hasta is clearly visible in the photograph before the monument was cleaned), and it is possible that, given the free space, there was another letter in front. From the third letter, only one oblique slash is visible (probably the letter A), while the fourth letter is L, and after that a part of the smaller letter V is preserved (followed by a dividing sign before the cognomen Valens). The letters in the 4th line are better preserved, so that after the letter B there is the ligature C and O, which is executed as two concentric circles, i.e. as one letter inside the other (*litterae insertae*), where the left side of the outer circle is more emphasized (letter C). The letter S is visible below, so it would be the abbreviation B C O S, that is, the function of the dedicant: *beneficiarius consularis*. The remaining part of the text in the 4th line contains the dedicatory formula *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)*.

Nymphis / Salutaribus / [-]talu(?) Valens / b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)

The dedicant of this inscription, Valens,⁹² was a *beneficiarius consularis*, which would mean that he was an employee of one of the offices of the governor of the province. The *beneficarii consularis* were military officers, mostly experienced legionnaires who were assigned from their home unit to the governor’s offices, where they performed various administrative, judicial and military tasks. These offices were located in the main cities, as well as in stations along the roads and borders.⁹³

Among the new finds in Varaždinske Toplice there is another inscription that was placed by a *beneficiarius consularis* and dedicated to the healing nymphs, also found in the preserved structure of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 8) (Fig. 2). Only the upper part of the altar was installed in the wall, so the lower part of the inscription is missing. The monument was removed from the wall during the conservation work. It is a stone block, made of soft, fine-grained

92 Valens je kognomen vrlo rasprostranjen pa tako i u Panoniji (Lőrincz et al. 2002, 139).

93 Rankov 1987, 1.

94 *Secundianus* je karakteristični kognomen za Panoniju i Norik (Lőrincz et al. 2002, 58).

92 Valens is a very widespread cognomen, including in Pannonia (Lőrincz et al. 2002, 139).

93 Rankov 1987, 1.



SLIKA 22. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog ozdravljjućim nimfama, kat. br. 8 (izradio M. Vuković).

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



SLIKA 23. Urušenje sjevernog zida, istraživanja 2011. godine, pogled s jugoistoka. Označen položaj zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog ozdravljjućim nimfama, kat. br. 9 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 23. Collapse of the northern wall, excavations in 2011, view from the southeast. Marked position of votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, cat. no. 9 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

samo gornji dijelovi, vjerojatno V, te dio slova od kojeg je vidljiva okomita hasta i jedno koje ima zaobljeni gornji dio (B, P ili R), možda *vir*.

Zanimljivo je da je dedikant istog imena Aurelije Sekundijan, također s funkcijom konzularnog beneficijarija (iz X. legije *Gemina*), poznat na natpisu iz Trebnja (*Praetorium Latobiorum*) datiranom u 3. stoljeće.⁹⁵ Na tom se natpisu pojavljuje *supernomen Itriu*, (restituirano kao *Itrius*)⁹⁶, a što se smatra keltskim oblikom imena⁹⁷ te se, kao i na natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica, pojavljuje u obliku *qui et Itrius*. Pretpostavlja se da je Aurelije Sekundijan na natpisima svom imenu dodao spomenuti nadimak jer ga je ko-

limestone (biomicrite), on which a capital with two acroteria is outlined by incised lines in the upper part. The moulding of the capital was most likely removed during installation in the wall, which can be guessed on the basis of the traces of the tool. Five lines of the inscription have been preserved (and the upper part of the 6th line), and the letters are executed within thin horizontal incised lines (Figs 22, 23).

Nymphis / Salut(aribus) / Aur(elius) Secun(dianus) be(necifiarius) / co(n)s(ularis) qu[i] et Itr(ius) / [-]v i r?[-]--

The dedicant of this inscription was *Aurelius Secundianus*,⁹⁴ *beneficiarius consularis*. Behind the citing of the service of the dedicant, in the 5th line, there is a damaged part of the text, and the letters QV are clearly visible, and I can be seen (*qui*), then a

95 AE 1995, 1238.; CIL III 03904.(B); Šašel Kos 1997, Nr. 162; Lovenjak 1998, Nr. 125.

96 Šašel Kos 1997, Nr. 162.

97 Kajanto 1966, 27. Sličan oblik imena zabilježen je jedino na natpisu iz Virunuma – *Itria Achillis filia*), CIL III 11576.

94 *Secundianus* is a cognomen characteristic of Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz et al. 2002, 58).

ristio u svakodnevnom životu i po njemu je vjerojatno bio poznat i među svojim drugovima beneficijarijima.⁹⁸ M. Šašel Kos spomenuti natpis iz Trebnja ubraja u kasnu grupu natpisa konzularnih beneficijarija (datiranih u 3. stoljeće)⁹⁹ za koje je karakteristično da sadrže datum, naziv legije, kraticu B F povezanu horizontalnom hastom te su posvećeni gotovo uvijek vrhovnom božanstvu Jupiteru.¹⁰⁰ Vjerojatno se naziv legije – koji, kao i datum, nedostaje – nalazio i na donjem dijelu spomenika iz Varaždinskih Toplica, a s obzirom na oštećeni dio površine natpisa između slova B i F, možda je i ovdje postojala horizontalna hasta. Budući da sama posveta ozdravljajućim nimfama pokazuje da se radilo o posveti više privatnog karaktera, vjerojatno povezanoj s nekim zdravstvenim problemima dedikanta, moguće da su na ovom spomeniku i izostali podaci karakteristični za navedenu grupu natpisa konzularnih beneficijarija povezanih s uobičajenim službenim vojničkim kultovima. U svakom slučaju, s obzirom na isti oblik imena *Aurelius Secundianus qui et Itrius*, može se zaključiti da se na oba natpisa radi o istoj osobi, konzularnom beneficijariju koji je, prema natpisu iz Slovenije, tu funkciju obavljao kao pripadnik X. legije *Gemina*. Možda je iz iste postaje došao i već ranije spomenuti konzularni beneficijarij (kat. br. 3), koji je spomenik posvetio nimfama i Apolonu, također pripadnik X. legije *Gemina*, pa su tako među novim nalazima ukupno tri natpisa konzularnih beneficijarija (kat. br. 3, 7, 8). Prije ovih nalaza, a na temelju dva natpisa pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama u 19. i 20. stoljeću, pretpostavljalo se da se i u *Aquae Iasae* nalazila postaja.¹⁰¹ Riječ je o natpisu koji je uzvišenim nimfama posvetio Elije Viktorin (zajedno sa suprugom)¹⁰², pronađenom 1962. godine u istraživanjima istočnog dijela svetišta¹⁰³, te o natpisu beneficijarija Marka Aurelija Kasija postavljenom u čast Herkulu,¹⁰⁴ slučajni nalaz iz 19. stoljeću.¹⁰⁵ Brojni natpisi pronađeni diljem Rimskog Carstva pokazuju da su konzularni beneficijariji u postajama, gdje su obavljali dužnost, redovito postavljali zavjetne natpise vezane uz službene vojničke kultove, prvenstveno u čast Jupiteru. Međutim, poznati su i slučajevi kad su posvete bile intimnijeg i osobnog karaktera, povezane s neslužbenim kultovima, često vezane uz porijeklo, lokalni utjecaj ili jednostavno kao rezultat osobnog izbora.¹⁰⁶ Tako su i posvete beneficijarija iz Varaždinskih Toplica upućene božanstvima vezanim uz termalni izvor i zdravlje (u tri slučaja nimfama, u jednom nimfama i Apolonu te u jednom Herkulu¹⁰⁷) sasvim sigurno postavljene iz osobnih, zdravstvenih razloga.¹⁰⁸ Premda je uobičajeno da nalazi više natpisa konzular-

ligature of E and T, and the letters I, T and probably R. Thus, the last part of the text in the 5th line could be restored as part of the name: *qui et Itrius*. In the 6th line the first letter is not preserved, and of the next three letters only the upper parts are visible, probably V and part of the letter from which a vertical hasta is visible and one that has a rounded upper part (B, P or R), perhaps *vir*.

It is interesting that the dedicant of the same name, *Aurelius Secundianus*, also with the function of *beneficiarius consularis* (of the legion X *Gemina*), is known on an inscription from Trebnje (*Praetorium Latobiorum*), dated to the 3rd century.⁹⁵ On that inscription, the supernomen *Itriu* appears, (restituted as *Itrius*),⁹⁶ which is considered a Celtic form of the name;⁹⁷ and, as on the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, it appears in the form *qui et Itrius*. It is assumed that *Aurelius Secundianus* added this nickname to his name on the inscriptions because he used it in his daily life and was probably known by it among his fellow beneficiarii.⁹⁸ The above-mentioned inscription from Trebnje has been enrolled by M. Šašel Kos in the late group of inscriptions erected by *beneficarii consularis* (dated to the 3rd century),⁹⁹ which are characterized by the fact that they contain the date, the name of the legion, and the abbreviation B F connected by a horizontal hasta, and are almost always dedicated to the supreme deity, Jupiter.¹⁰⁰ As the lower part of the altar from Varaždinske Toplice is missing, it is possible that there was also part of the text with the name of the legion, or even the date. Considering the damaged part of the surface of the inscription between the letters B and F, there may have been a horizontal hasta here, as well. The dedication to the healing nymphs shows that the dedicant's vows were of a more private nature and related to some health problems, so it is possible that this monument lacks information characteristic of the aforementioned group of inscriptions of *beneficarii consularis* associated with the usual official military cults. In any case, considering the same form of the name *Aurelius Secundianus qui et Itrius*, it can be concluded that both inscriptions refer to the same person, a *beneficiarius consularis* who, according to the Slovenian inscription, performed this function as a member of the X Legion *Gemina*.

It is possible that, also from the same station, came the *beneficiarius consularis* mentioned above (cat. no. 3), who dedicated the monument to the nymphs and to Apollo, and who was also a member of the legion X *Gemina*. So, there are three inscriptions among the new finds that were erected by *beneficarii consularis* (cat. nos. 3, 7, 8). Before these discoveries, and on the basis of two inscriptions found in Varaždinske Toplice in the 19th and 20th centuries, it was assumed that there was

98 Kovács 2014, 310.

99 Šašel Kos 1997, 435.

100 Jupiteru zajedno s Genius loci ili drugim božanstvima.

101 Brunšmid 1907, 105, br.196; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137.

102 AE 2013, 01208; HD074545; Iupa 5322.

103 Spomenik je pronađen zapadno od istočnog trijema svetišta (sonda 3/1962) 14.6.1962. i izložen je u lapidariju Zavičajnog muzeja u Varaždinskim Toplicama.

104 CIL III 10890; AIJ 458; AE 2013, 1207; HD056619.

105 Spomenik je pronađen prilikom iskopa u dvorištu Piplek (k.br. 59) 1878. godine i čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu (KS196).

106 Nelis-Clément 2000, 36–39.

107 Herkul je bio božanstvo iscjeliteljske naravi pa se smatrao zaštitnikom toplih izvora i lječilišta (Dvorjetski 2007, 93).

108 Rijetko se među poznatim spomenicima povezanim s konzularnim beneficijarima pojavljuju posvete nimfama i Herkulu (Nelis-Clément 2000, 55, 137,

95 AE 1995, 1238.; CIL III, 03904.(B); Šašel Kos 1997, Nr. 162; Lovenjak 1998, Nr 125.

96 Šašel Kos 1997, Nr. 162.

97 Kajanto 1966, 27. A similar form of the name is recorded only on an inscription from Virunum: *Itria Achillis filia*) CIL III, 11576.

98 Kovács 2014, 310.

99 Šašel Kos 1997, 435.

100 To Jupiter along with Genius loci or other deities.

nih beneficijarija ukazuju na lokaciju postaje, u slučaju nalaza iz Aquae Iasae to se ipak mora promatrati u kontekstu značaja naselja, kao svetišta i lječilišta. Zbog toga je vjerojatno da su konzularni beneficijariji iz obližnjih središta i postaja, vjerojatno najčešće s područja Petovione¹⁰⁹, dolazili u svetište *Aquae Iasae* potaknuti nadom za ozdravljenje, kao što je to slučaj i kod brojnih drugih pripadnika raznih civilnih, vojnih i svećeničkih službi. U tom bi slučaju natpis, koji je nimfama posvetio Aurelije Sekundijan, ukazivao na to da se radilo o posjeti zbog zdravstvenih problema u vrijeme dok je obavljao službu u nekoj obližnjoj postaji, najvjerojatnije u postaji *Praetorium Latobitorum*. Naravno, ostaje i dalje otvorena mogućnost da je i u *Aquae Iasae* u 3. stoljeću bila postaja u kojoj su službu obavljali spomenuti beneficijariji, a što bi u slučaju Aurelija Sekundijana značilo da je iz postaje *Praetorium Latobitorum* dobio premještaj u *Aquae Iasae* (ili obrnuto) jer, prema natpisima iz raznih dijelova Carstva, to i nije bila rijetkost. Pretpostavlja se da su se beneficijariji zadržavali u pojedinoj postaji oko 6 mjeseci do godinu dana, ne dulje od dvije godine, a često su dobivali premještaj u drugu postaju, na što upućuju natpisi koje su pojedinci postavljali na više lokacija.¹¹⁰

Ozdravljajućim nimfama posvećen je i jedan mramorni spomenik pronađen u urušenju sjevernog zida (kat. br. 9). Spomenik je pronađen gotovo 2 metra dublje od temelja zida izvorišta (sl. 23). To pokazuje koliki je bio pomak u tlu oko mjesta izviranja, a zbog kojeg je došlo do oštećenja sjevernog i južnog zida izvorišta, najvjerojatnije nakon što je kompleks napušten. Radi se o postamentu s natpisom, koji ima bazu i krunište s profilacijom i natpisno polje u središnjem dijelu (sl. 24, 25). Krunište je bez ukrasa s ravnim završetkom i s utorom širine 8 cm cijelom širinom gornje plohe (na sredini je još jedan kvadratni utor vel. 5 x 5 cm), a što je najvjerojatnije služilo kao bi se postavila neka ploča, tj. reljef (sl. 26). Tekst je raspoređen u 8 redaka unutar natpisnog polja uokvireno s dvostrukom profilacijom. Nažalost, površina natpisa je dosta oštećena pa je za restituciju natpisa iznimno koristan bio 3D sken, ali je još uvijek dosta slova ostalo upitno. Na dijelu natpisa, koji je ostao sačuvan, vidljivo je više ligatura: na kraju 3. retka A i P (ili R), u 5. retku T i E (u riječi *salute*) i E i T (prije *Iulia*) pri čemu su slova T veća od ostalih, a na kraju retka je i ligatura A, E (*Iuliae*). Veća slova T vidljiva su i u 1. retku (*salutaribus*), kao i slovo E na kraju 6. retka. Ime dedikanta vidljivo je djelomično u 2. retku – *M(arcus)* te dio slova A i V, što je vjerojatno dio gentilicija *Aurelius* (kao i kod njegova sina u 7. retku). Nakon toga je natpis jako oštećen i sačuvana su samo zadnja tri slova LIB. Vjerojatno je ispred toga bilo ime njegovog patrona, za kojeg se može također pretpostaviti da je bio *Marcus*, ali zbog širine reda, moguće je, ili da je to ime pisalo u punom obliku, ili se spominju njegov *praenomen* i gentilicij *M(arcus) Aurelius*, ako se pretpostavi da je oslobođenik naslijedio imena od svog patrona. U 3. retku vidljiv je kognomen dedikanta – *Bellicianus*, nakon čega je tekst jako oštećen te su vidljiva samo zadnja tri slova: L i ligatura A i P (ili R).¹¹¹ Može se pretpostaviti da tu počinje navođenje službe

also a station in *Aquae Iasae*.¹⁰¹ These are the inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae* by beneficiarius consularis *Elius Victorinus* (together with his wife),¹⁰² found in 1962 during the excavations of the eastern part of the sanctuary,¹⁰³ and one that *Marcus Aurelius Cassius* placed in honour of Hercules,¹⁰⁴ a chance find from the 19th century.¹⁰⁵ Numerous inscriptions found throughout the Roman Empire show that votive inscriptions relating to official military cults, mainly in honour of Jupiter, were regularly placed at the stations where the beneficiarii consularis performed their duties. However, cases are also known where dedications were of a more intimate and personal nature, linked to unofficial cults, often related to origin or local influence, or simply as a result of personal choice.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the dedications of the beneficiarii from Varaždinske Toplice, addressed to deities relating to the hot spring and health (in three cases to nymphs, in one to nymphs and Apollo, and in one case to Hercules¹⁰⁷), were definitely placed for personal and health reasons.¹⁰⁸ Although it is common that more inscriptions of beneficiarii consularis indicate the location of a station, in the case of the *Aquae Iasae* findings, this should still be seen in the context of the settlement's significance as a sanctuary and health resort. For this reason, it is very likely that they came to *Aquae Iasae* from nearby centres and stations, probably most often from the Poetovio area,¹⁰⁹ motivated by the hope of healing, as is the case with numerous other members of various civil, military and priestly services. In that case, the inscription dedicated to the nymphs by *Aurelius Secundianus* would indicate that it was a visit due to health problems while he was serving at a nearby station, most likely at the *Praetorium Latobitorum* station. Of course, the possibility remains open that *Aquae Iasae*, in the 3rd century, also had a station where the aforementioned beneficiarii served, which, in the case of *Aurelius Secundianus*, would mean that he was transferred from the *Praetorium Latobitorum* station to *Aquae Iasae* (or vice versa); and, according to inscriptions from various parts of the Empire, this was not a rarity. It is assumed that the beneficiarii stayed in a particular station for about 6 months to a year, no longer than two years, and they were often transferred to another station, as indicated by inscriptions placed by individuals in several locations.¹¹⁰

There is another marble monument, found in the collapse of the northern wall, also dedicated to the healing nymphs (cat. no.

183–184).

109 Nelis-Clément 2000, 183–184.

110 Dise 1997, 286.

111 Moguće da se ovdje radi o funkciji dedikanta – *magister Larum* (*Augustorum*), odnosno članu svećeničkog kolegija koji brine o carskim Larima.

101 Brunšmid 1907, 105, br.196; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137.

102 AE 2013, 01208; HD074545; lupa 5322.

103 The monument was found west of the eastern portico of the sanctuary (position 3/1962) on 14/6/1962 and is exhibited in the lapidarium of Varaždinske Toplice Local Museum.

104 CIL III, 10890; AIJ 458; AE 2013, 1207; HD056619.

105 The monument was found during excavations in the courtyard close to the park (Piplek-house no. 59) in 1878 and is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (KS196).

106 Nelis-Clément 2000, 36–39.

107 Hercules was a deity of healing nature and was considered the patron of hot springs and spas (Dvorjetski 2007, 93).

108 Dedications to nymphs and Hercules rarely occur among the known monuments associated with beneficiarii consularis (Nelis-Clément 2000, 55, 137, 183–184).

109 Nelis-Clément 2000, 183–184.

110 Dise 1997, 286.



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

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



SLIKA 25. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa posvećenog ozdravljajućim nimfama, kat. br. 9 (izradio M. Vuković).

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

dedikanta, koje se nastavlja u 4. retku, gdje se raspoznaju slova ACENS (vjerojatno *agens*).¹¹² U nastavku retka vidljiva je okomita hasta, moguće I, nakon koje se čini da slijede slova R (možda i ligatura T i R) premda uvid u fotografiju daje i druge mogućnosti (L ili B).¹¹³ Zadnja tri slova u 5. retku bila bi slova PPS, što bi se moglo restituirati kao *Provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*, pa bi se tako tako tekst u ovom retku odnosio na funkciju dedikanta koji je obavljao poslove vezane uz upravljanje provincijom.

Drugi dio natpisa, premda je dosta oštećen, moguće je s dosta vjerojatnosti restituirati, a spominje da je Marko Aurelije postavio spomenik za svoje zdravlje i zdravlje supruge Kleopatre i sina Marka Aurelija Belicijana.

[Ny]mphis Salutarib(us) / M(arcus) A[ur(elius)] [M](arci) [Aur(elii)]
lib(ertus) / Bellicianu[s] [---]lar / acens(!) it(e)r(um?) P(rovinciae)
P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / pro salute sua et Iuliae / Cleopatra(e)
[coni]jug(is) e(t) / M(arcus) Aur(elii) Belli[ci]a[ni] fili(i) / v(otum) s(olvit)
l(ibens) m(erito)

112 Mala je vjerojatnost da se radi o riječi *ac(c)ens(us)*. *Accensi* su imali različite funkcije, razlikovali su se *accensi velati* koji su pomagali magistratima i bili iz redova vitezova, za razliku od ostalih, koji su bili većinom oslobođenici, te su bili pomoćno osoblje, npr. konzulima, patronima, ali i kao pomoćno osoblje samog cara ili upravitelja provincija (Manzella 2000, 226, 228–238). Postoje primjeri natpisa gdje se pojavljuje samo oblik *accensus* + ime provincije (AE 1975, 0251; HD009336).

113 Možda će nakon provođenja konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova biti moguća potpunija interpretacija ovog dijela natpisa.

9). The monument was found almost 2 metres deeper than the foundation of the spring reservoir wall (Fig. 23). This shows the amount of movement in the ground around the spring, which caused damage to the northern and southern walls of the spring reservoir, most likely after the complex had already been abandoned. It is a pedestal with an inscription and a moulded base and capital (Figs 24, 25). The capital is undecorated, with a flat end and a groove 8 cm wide across the entire width of the upper surface. (In the middle there is another square groove, size 5×5 cm.) This most likely served as a place for a plate, i.e. a relief (Fig. 26). The text is arranged in 8 lines within an inscription field framed by moulding. Unfortunately, the surface of the inscription is quite damaged, so a 3D scan was extremely useful for the restitution of the inscription, but there are still a lot of letters left questionable. Several ligatures are visible on the part of the inscription that has been preserved: at the end of the 3rd line A and P (or R), in the 5th line T and E (in the word *salute*) and E and T (before *Iulia*), where the letters T are larger than the others, and the ligature A, E (*Iuliae*) at the end of the line. The larger letters T are also visible in the 1st line (*salutaribus*), as well as the letter E at the end of the 6th line. The dedicant's name is partially visible in the 2nd line: *M(arcus)* and part of the letters A and V, which is probably part of the gentilicium *Aurelius* (as well as his sons in the 7th line). After that, the inscription was badly damaged and only the last three letters LIB were preserved. Probably in front of it was the name of his patron, who can also be assumed to have been Marcus, but due to the width of the line, it is possi-



SLIKA 26. Zavjetni natpis posvećen ozdravljjućim nimfama, kat. br. 9, gornja površina s utorom (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 26. Votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, cat. no. 9, upper surface with groove (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

Kognomen *Bellicianus* – dosta je čest u Panoniji i Noriku¹¹⁴ Radi se o grupi kognomina nastalih dodavanjem sufiksa *-anus*, (ili *ianus*), na osobna imena, prvenstveno gentilicij, ali i kognomen. Prema tome, *Bellicianus* bi nastao od *Bellicus*¹¹⁵, imena keltskog porijekla.¹¹⁶ Predime i gentilicij preuzeti su od patrona, nekog Marka Aurelija, dok je kognomen nastao iz imena dedikanta prije nego je postao oslobođenik. Isti kognomen dan je i sinu, a koji također ima predime i gentilicij po očevom patronu. Prema istom imenu oca i sina vidljivo je da je sin rođen nakon što je otac postao oslobođenik,¹¹⁷ odnosno prema navedenim imenima može se zaključiti da su oslobođenik Marko Aurelije Belicijan i Julija Kleopatra¹¹⁸ (također s građanskim pravom) bili u legalnom braku pa je i sin Marko Aurelije Belicijan bio legitiman i rođen slobodan.¹¹⁹

U urušanju sjevernog zida izvorišta pronađen je još jedan, dosta oštećen gornji dio žrtvenika s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljjućim nimfama. Žrtvenik je od vapnenca, s djelomično sačuvanim natpisom (kat. br. 10), ali, nažalost, donji dio spomenika nije pronađen. Zbog prilagodbe za ugradnju u zid, uglavnom su otklesani i ukrasni elementi na kruništu, a ostala je samo profilacija na desnoj bočnoj strani te se naziru dva akroterija u plitkom reljefu.

114 Lórinč et al. 1999, 117.

115 Kajanto 1965, 107.

116 Mócsy 1959, 166.

117 Weaver 1972, 148, 152.

118 Ime *Cleopatra* pojavljuje se na više natpisa (Lórinč et al. 2000, 64), a dosta je često u Italiji (AE 1978, 0232; AE 1969/70, 0023; AE 1964, 0082 etc.).

119 Krawczyk 2017, 20; Rawson 1986, 23.

ble that either that name was written in full or that his praenomen and gentilicium *M(arcus) Aurelius* are mentioned, if it is assumed that the freedman inherited the names from his patron. In the 3rd line, the dedicant's cognomen is visible – *Bellicianus* – after which the text is badly damaged and only the last three letters are visible: L and then A and P (or R) in ligature.¹¹¹ It can be assumed that this is where the mention of the service of the dedicant begins, which continues in the 4th line, where there are the letters *ACENS* (very likely *agens*)¹¹². In the continuation of the line, a vertical *hasta* is visible, possibly I, after which the letter R (perhaps a ligature of T and R) appears to follow, although a look at the photo gives other possibilities (L or B).¹¹³ The last three letters in line 5 would be the letters *PPS*, which could be restituted as *Provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*, so the text in this line would refer to the function of the dedicant, which he performed in connection with the administration of the province. The second part of the inscription, although rather damaged, can be restituted and mentions that *Marcus Aurelius* erected a monument for his health and that of his wife *Cleopatra* and his son *Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus*.

[*Ny*]mphis Salutarib(us) / *M(arcus) A[ur(elius)] [M](arci) [Aur(elii)] lib(ertus) / Bellicianu[s] [---]lar / acens(!) it(e)r(um?) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / pro salute sua et Iuliae / Cleopatra(e) [con]iug(is) e(t) / *M(arcus) Aur(elii) Belli[cia]ni fili(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)**

The cognomen *Bellicianus* is quite common in Pannonia and Noricum.¹¹⁴ It is a group of cognomina created by adding the suffix *-anus*, (or *ianus*) to personal names: not only gentilicium, but also cognomen. Accordingly, *Bellicianus* would be derived from the name *Bellicus*,¹¹⁵ of Celtic origin.¹¹⁶ The first name and gentilicium were taken from the patron, one *Marcus Aurelius*, while the cognomen was derived from the name of the dedicant before he became a freedman. The same cognomen was given to the son, who also has a first name and gentilicium after his father's patron. According to the same name of the father and son, it is evident that the son was born after the father became a freedman¹¹⁷ – that is, from the given names, it can be concluded that the freedman *Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus* and *Iulia Cleopatra*¹¹⁸ (also with civil rights) were in a legal marriage, so the son *Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus* was legitimate and born free.¹¹⁹

111 It is possible that this refers to the function of the dedicant: *magister Larum (Augustorum)* – that is, a member of the priestly college who takes care of the imperial Laris.

112 There is a small possibility that it is the word *ac(c)ens(us)*. The *accensi* had various functions: there were *accensi velati*, who helped the magistrates and were from the ranks of knights, unlike the others, who were mostly freedmen and were auxiliary staff – to consuls and patrons, for example, but also as auxiliary staff of the emperor himself or governors of provinces (Manzella 2000, 226, 228–238). There are examples of inscriptions where only the form *accensus* + the name of the province appears (AE 1975, 0251; HD009336).

113 Perhaps, after carrying out conservation work, a more complete interpretation of this part of the inscription will be possible.

114 Lórinč et al. 1999, 117.

115 Kajanto 1965, 107.

116 Mócsy 1959, 166.

117 Weaver 1972, 148, 152.

118 The name *Cleopatra* appears on several inscriptions (Lórinč et al. 2000, 64) and is quite common in Italy (AE 1978, 0232; AE 1969/70, 0023; AE 1964, 0082 etc.).

119 Krawczyk 2017, 20; Rawson 1986, 23.

SLIKA 27. Zavjetni natpis posvećen ozdravljujućim nimfama, kat. br. 10, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 27. Votive inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs, cat. no. 10, during excavations in 2011 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



Na svim ostalim površinama vidljivi su tragovi alata. Sačuvana su sva slova u prva dva retka teksta (ligatura A i L u prvom retku) i pet slova u trećem te dva slova u četvrtom retku (sl. 27).

Nymphis salu/taribus pro / salut(e)---] / ç ş [---

Premda ovaj natpis zbog oštećenja ne sadrži ime dedikanta i neke druge informacije, sačuvana posveta (ozdravljujućim nimfama) doprinosi sagledavanju ukupne zastupljenosti ovog tipa natpisa među spomenicima u Varaždinskim Toplicama.

In the collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, one quite damaged upper part of an altar with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs was found. The altar is made of limestone, with a partially preserved inscription (cat. no. 10), but unfortunately the lower part of the monument was not found. Due to the adaptation for installation in the wall, the decorative elements on the capital were mostly carved away, and only the moulding on the right side has remained, and two acroteria in shallow relief can be seen. Tool marks are visible on all other surfaces. All letters in the first two lines of the text have been preserved (ligature A, L in the first line), as well as five letters in the third line and two letters in the fourth (Fig. 27).

Nymphis salu/taribus pro / salut(e)---] / ç ş [---

Although this inscription does not contain the name of the dedicant and some other information due to damage, the preserved dedication (to the healing nymphs) contributes to an overview of the overall representation of this type of inscription among the monuments in Varaždinske Toplice.

Zavjetni natpisi s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*

Među novim nalazima posebno je zanimljiva grupa natpisa na kojima se pojavljuje posveta nimfama u obliku – *numini nympharum*. Pojam *numen* vezan je uz rimsku religiju i pojavljuje se od 2. st. pr. Kr. pa sve do kraja 5. stoljeća, a prisutan je u rimskoj literaturi, kao i na epigrafskim spomenicima. Tijekom tog razdoblja njegovo značenje nije bilo uvijek potpuno jasno, a i mijenjalo se, pa se i istovremeno koristio s različitim značenjem.¹²⁰ Prvenstveno se pod pojmom *numen* označavala božanska moć, ali je korišten i u smislu vrhovnog božanstva, kao *deus* u politeističkoj te kao vrhovni bog u monoteističkoj koncepciji.¹²¹ Upotreba riječi *numen* često se pojavljuje u smislu označavanja kvalitete nekoga ili nečega pa se javlja uz ime nekog boga (u genitivu) kao kvaliteta boga npr. – *numen Iovis*, a na tom se principu povezuje i uz ime cara, dodjeljivanjem božanske časti – *numen Augusti*. Pojam *numen* pojavljuje se i uz neke prirodne fenomene – rijeke, izvore, drveća, planine te općenito u smislu uzdizanja određenih živih bića na razinu božanskog.¹²²

Za tumačenje pojma *numen* vezano uz nimfe na spomenicima iz Varaždinskih Toplica čini se najlogičnija poveznica s koncepcijom „*numen* jednako božanstvo“ u smislu božanske moći, a što podrazumijeva kvalitetu moći, tj. nešto nadljudsko.¹²³ U tom smislu može se razmatrati da je sam prirodni fenomen (izvor) božanstvo, tj. *numen*, odnosno da božanstva (*numina*) stanuju u njemu. Upravo se čini da je za interpretaciju i razumijevanje oblika posvete na spomenicima iz Varaždinskih Toplica podjednako važan kontekst svetosti izvora (*numen fontis*)¹²⁴ kao i božanske moći nimfi.¹²⁵

Poznato je nekoliko epigrafskih spomenika na kojima se pojavljuje oblik posvete *numini nympharum*,¹²⁶ a posebno je zanimljiv jedan natpis sa Sardinije (*Forum Traiani*, Fordongianus-Oristano) datiran u 3. – 4. stoljeće koji ima posvetu u množini, odnosno *numinibus / nympharu(m)*.¹²⁷ Zanimljiva je slična okolnost nalaza kao i kod spomenika iz Varaždinskih Toplica, naime, taj je žrtvenik pronađen u sekundarnoj upotrebi, tj. ugrađen u stepenice jednog bazena termi (zajedno s još dva spomenika posvećena nimfama) i tom su prilikom odstranjeni ukrasni elementi, odnosno baze i kruništa. Osim toga, na tom se natpisu prvi put izričito navodi riječ *numen* u množini vezano uz nimfe (*numinibus nympharum*).¹²⁸

Do novijih istraživanja oblik posvete *numini nympharum* nije bio poznat među spomenicima u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a istraživanjem izvorišnog bazena pronađena su čak četiri natpisa, od

Votive inscriptions with dedication in the form of *numini nympharum*

Among the new finds, a particularly interesting group of inscriptions are those with a dedication to the nymphs in the form of *numini nympharum*. The term *numen* relates to the Roman religion and appears from the 2nd century BC until the end of the 5th century, and is present in Roman literature as well as on epigraphic monuments. During this period, its meaning was not always completely clear, and it changed, so it was used with different meanings at the same time.¹²⁰ Primarily, the term *numen* denoted divine power, but it was also used in the sense of the supreme deity, as *deus* in the polytheistic conception and as the supreme god in the monotheistic conception.¹²¹ The use of the word *numen* often occurs in the sense of indicating the quality of someone or something, so it appears next to the name of a god (in the genitive case) as a quality of the god – for example, *numen Iovis* – and on this principle it is also connected to the name of the emperor, by assigning divine honour: *numen Augusti*. The term *numen* also appears with some natural phenomena – rivers, springs, trees, mountains – and generally in the sense of elevating certain living beings to the level of the divine.¹²²

For the interpretation of the term *numen* as related to the nymphs on the monuments from Varaždinske Toplice, the most logical connection seems to be with the concept of *numen* equal to divinity in the sense of divine power, which implies the quality of power, i.e. something superhuman.¹²³ In this sense, it can be considered that the natural phenomenon (spring) itself is a deity, i.e. *numen*, that is, that deities (*numina*) reside in it. It seems that the context of the sanctity of the spring (*numen fontis*)¹²⁴ as well as the divine power of the nymphs¹²⁵ is equally important for the interpretation and understanding of the form of dedication on the monuments from Varaždinske Toplice. Several epigraphic monuments are known on which the form of dedication *numini nympharum* appears,¹²⁶ and an inscription from Sardinia (*Forum Traiani*, Fordongianus-Oristano) dated to the 3rd–4th century has the dedication in the plural, i.e. *numinibus / nympharu(m)*.¹²⁷ There is an interesting similarity between the circumstances of this find and that of the monument from Varaždinske Toplice, namely that the altar was found in secondary use – that is, embedded in the steps of a pool (together with two other monuments dedicated to nymphs) – and on that occasion the decorative elements, i.e. the base and capital, had been removed. In addition, on that inscription the word *numen* is explicitly stated for the first time in connection with nymphs (*numinibus nympharum*).¹²⁸ Until recent research, the form

120 Novaković 1991, 17.

121 Novaković 1991, 151.

122 Novaković 1991, 57–61.

123 Novaković 1991, 71, 79.

124 Ov. Her. XV, 158.

125 AE 1991, 00909; CIL VI 00547; CIL VI 30791.

126 CIL VI 00547; CIL VIII 17722.

127 AE 1991, 0909 (2).

128 Sotgiu 1991, 728.

120 Novaković 1991, 17.

121 Novaković 1991, 151.

122 Novaković 1991, 57–61.

123 Novaković 1991, 71, 79.

124 Ov. Her. XV, 158.

125 AE 1991, 00909; CIL VI, 00547; CIL VI, 30791.

126 CIL VI, 00547; CIL VIII, 17722.

127 AE 1991, 0909 (2).

128 Sotgiu 1991, 728.

SLIKA 28. Južni zid izvorišta sa sekundarno upotrebljenim spomenicima: B) kat. br. 2; C) kat. br. 11 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 28. South wall of the spring reservoir with secondary used monuments: B) cat. no. 2; C) cat. no. 11 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



kojih su tri bila u južnom zidu, a jedan u sjevernom. Je li se i kod natpisa pronađenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama podrazumijevao oblik riječi u dativu množine (*numinibus*)¹²⁹, ostaje otvoreno pitanje budući da se u sva četiri slučaja riječ *numen* izričito navodi u obliku *numini* (dativu jednine), što se može smatrati i logičnim ako se uzme da se nimfe, premda ih je više, sagledavaju kao jedinstveno biće.

Jedan je natpis pronađen u središnjem dijelu južnog zida, ugrađen na način da je natpis vidljiv u licu zida (sl. 28), što je jedini takav primjer u cijeloj konstrukciji izvorišnog bazena (kat. br. 11).¹³⁰ Kao što je već spomenuto, južni zid sačuvan u cijelosti, odnosno samo je pomaknut prema sredini izvorišta, pa su tako svi spomenici pronađeni na položaju gdje su i ugrađeni tijekom popravaka početkom 4. stoljeća. Riječ je o kamenom bloku od vapnenca na kojem je sačuvana lijeva strana natpisa (šest redaka teksta), dok je desna strana odstranjena (kao i dijelovi kruništa i baze) prilikom ugradnje u zid (sl. 29). Između predimena i gentilicija vidljiv je rastavni znak u obliku trokuta, kao i nakon kratice za legiju (LEG). Horizontalna hasta, koja povezuje rimski broj, vidljiva je na samom kraju sačuvanog teksta, a budući da je na tome mjestu oštećenje, ne može se sa sigurnošću utvrditi radi li se o broju XIII ili XIII, odnosno točno o kojoj je legiji riječ.

of dedication *numini nympharum* was not known among the monuments in Varaždinske Toplice; and, during the research on the spring reservoir, no fewer than four inscriptions were found, three of which were in the southern wall, and one in the northern. Whether the form of the word in the dative plural (*numinibus*)¹²⁹ was also implied in the inscriptions found in Varaždinske Toplice remains an open question, since in all four cases the word *numen* is explicitly stated in the form *numini* (dative singular). This can be considered logical if it is taken that the nymphs, although there are more than one of them, are seen as a single entity.

There is one inscription that was found in the central part of the southern wall of the spring reservoir, embedded in such a way that the inscription is visible in the face of the wall (Fig. 28), which is the only such example in the entire construction of the spring reservoir (cat. no. 11).¹³⁰ As already mentioned, the southern wall was preserved in its entirety – that is, it was only moved towards the centre of the spring reservoir – so all the monuments were found in the position where they were installed during the renovation in the 4th century.

129 Često se i uz jedno božanstvo veže više numena, npr. *Iovis numina, Dianae numina* (Novaković 1991, 24).

130 Ovaj spomenik tijekom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova nije izvađen iz zida kako se ne bi narušila, prvenstveno statika, ali i izvornost konstrukcije.

129 Several *numina* are often associated with one deity, e.g. *Iovis numina, Dianae numina* (Novaković 1991, 24).

130 This monument was not removed from the wall during the conservation work, so as not to damage the statics, primarily, but also the originality of the construction.



SLIKA 29. Zavjetni natpis s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*, *in situ* u južnom zidu izvorišnog bazena, kat. br. 11 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 29. Votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini nympharum*, *in situ* in the southern wall of the spring reservoir, cat. no. 11 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

Numi[ni] / Nymph[arum] / M(arcus) Vib[ius] / [V]ibianu[s] [ex sua?] / pecun(ia) [---] / [l]eg(ionis) XIII(?) [---]

Premda je natpis jako oštećen, moguće je pretpostaviti da je dedikant bio Marko Vibije¹³¹ Vibijan¹³² i da je bio pripadnik XIII. legije *Gemina* (ili XIV. legije *Gemina*). S obzirom na dosadašnje nalaze, vrlo je vjerojatno da su pripadnici obje legije često posjećivali *Aquae Iasae*. Tako su poznata tri natpisa koja spominju komandni kadar XIII. legije *Gemina* još u 1. stoljeću¹³³, kada legija boravi u Petovionu.¹³⁴ Na četiri se natpisa pronađenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama spominje i XIV. legija *Gemina*,¹³⁵ a svi se datiraju u 2. i 3. stoljeće, u vrijeme kada legija boravi u Karnuntu.¹³⁶

U istom redu južnog zida, nalazio se i mramorni zavjetni natpis s posvetom nimfama u obliku *numini maiestatique numfarum* (kat. br. 12) (sl. 5, 28). Riječ je vrlo dobro sačuvanom spomeniku, monolitnom mramornom žrtveniku, koji se sastoji od gornjeg dijela (kruništa) s profilacijom i reljefno izvedenim ugaonim akroterijima. Plinta baze na prednjoj strani ukrašena je floralnim motivima (tri stilizirana cvijeta) iznad kojih je profilacija, ali bočne strane su oštećene. Natpisno je polje uokvireno na bočnim

It is a limestone block on which the left side of the inscription (six lines of text) is preserved, while the right side was removed (as well as parts of the capital and base) during installation in the wall (Fig. 29). Between the praenomen and gentilicium, a dividing sign in the shape of a triangle is visible, as well as after the abbreviation for legion (LEG). The horizontal hasta connecting the Roman numeral is visible at the very end of the preserved text; and, since there is damage there, it cannot be determined with certainty whether it is the number XIII or XIIIII – that is, exactly which legion is at issue.

Numi[ni] / Nymph[arum] / M(arcus) Vib[ius] / [V]ibianu[s] [ex sua?] / pecun(ia) [---] / [l]eg(ionis) XIII(?) [---]

Although the inscription is badly damaged, it is possible to assume that the dedicant was Marcus Vibius¹³¹ Vibianus,¹³² and that he was a member of the XIII Legion *Gemina* (or XIV Legion *Gemina*). Considering the findings so far, it is very likely that members of both legions often visited *Aquae Iasae*. Thus, three inscriptions are known that mention the command staff of XIII Legion *Gemina* in the 1st century,¹³³ when the legion resides in

131 *Vibius* je čest gentilicij Rimskog Carstva. Čest je u istočnim provincijama, a u Dalmaciji pripadnici tog gentilicija najčešće su Italici (Alföldy 1969, 136), a čest je i u Noriku i Panoniji (Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 165).

132 Kognomen *Vibianus* sličan je gentiliciju *Vibius* i vrlo rasprostranjen (Kajanto 1965, 158; Alföldy 1969, 326; Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 165).

133 CIL III 4118; CIL III 10893: *HD075016*. U 2 – 3. st. može se datirati još jedan natpis (Tabla 1, br. 2) koji je postavio pripadnik XIII. legije *Gemina* (djelomično objavljeni -ILJug 1172).

134 Farnum, 2005, 29.

135 AE 1976, 00540; Kušan Špalj *et al.* 2014, kat. br. 60c; 2015, kat. br. 60c; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286; Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br. 7.

136 Farnum, 2005, 23.

131 *Vibius* is a common gentilicium of the Roman Empire. It is common in the eastern provinces, and in Dalmatia the members of this gentilicium are mostly Italics (Alföldy 1969, 136), and it is also common in Noricum and Pannonia (Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 165).

132 The cognomen *Vibianus* is similar to the gentilicium *Vibius* and very widespread (Kajanto 1965, 158; Alföldy 1969, 326; Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 165).

133 CIL III 4118; CIL III 10893: *HD075016*. Another inscription (Table 1, no. 2) placed by a member of the legion XIII *Gemina* can be dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries (partially published -ILJug 1172).



SLIKA 30. Zavjetni natpis s posvetom u obliku *numini maiestatique numfarum*, kat. br. 12, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 30. Votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini maiestatique numfarum*, cat. no. 12, during excavations in 2011 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 31. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa s posvetom u obliku *numini maiestatique numfarum*, kat. br. 12 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 31. 3D model of votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini maiestatique numfarum*, cat. no. 12 (made by M. Vuković).

stranama profilacijom, a na gornjoj je strani vrlo lijepo u reljefu izvedena panonska voluta. Slova su pravilno izvedena i dobro sačuvana, raspoređena u 8 redaka unutar natpisnog polja, a na kraju 2. retka malo slovo Q smješteno je na površini rubne S profilacije. Ligatura je u 7. retku u riječi ET, a vidljivi su rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta između pojedinih riječi i kratica (sl. 30, 31).

Numini / maiestatiq(ue) / Numfarum(!) / C(aius) Sextius / Ursus pro / salute sua / et Veri fili(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Dedikant je bio Gaj Sekstije Urs, a spomenik je posvetio za svoje zdravlje i zdravlje sina Vera. Samo ime dedikanta ne otkriva njegovo porijeklo budući da je gentilicij *Ursus* vrlo rasprostranjen,¹³⁷ kao i kognomen *Sextius*.¹³⁸ Zanimljiva je posveta s oblikom riječi –

Poetovio.¹³⁴ On four inscriptions found in Varaždinske Toplice, the XIV Legion *Gemina* is mentioned,¹³⁵ and all are dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, at the time when the legion was stationed in Carnuntum.¹³⁶

In the same row of the southern wall, there was also a marble votive inscription with dedication in the form *numini maiestatique numfarum* (cat. no. 12) (Figs 5, 28). It is a very well-preserved monument, a monolithic marble altar, which consists of the upper part (capital) with moulding and angular acroteria in relief. The plinth of the base on the front side is decorated with floral motifs (three stylized flowers) and with moulding above, but the sides are damaged. The inscription field is framed on the sides (with moulding), and on the upper side there is a very

137 Gentilicij *Ursus* čest je u Panoniji i Noriku, kao i u Dalmaciji (Lőrincz et al. 2002, 187), posebno u kasnijem razdoblju (Alföldy 1969, 318).

138 Kognomen *Sextius* čest je u Italiji, a ima primjera i u Panoniji i Noriku (Alföldy 1969, 121; Lőrincz et al. 2002, 79).

134 Farnum, 2005, 29.

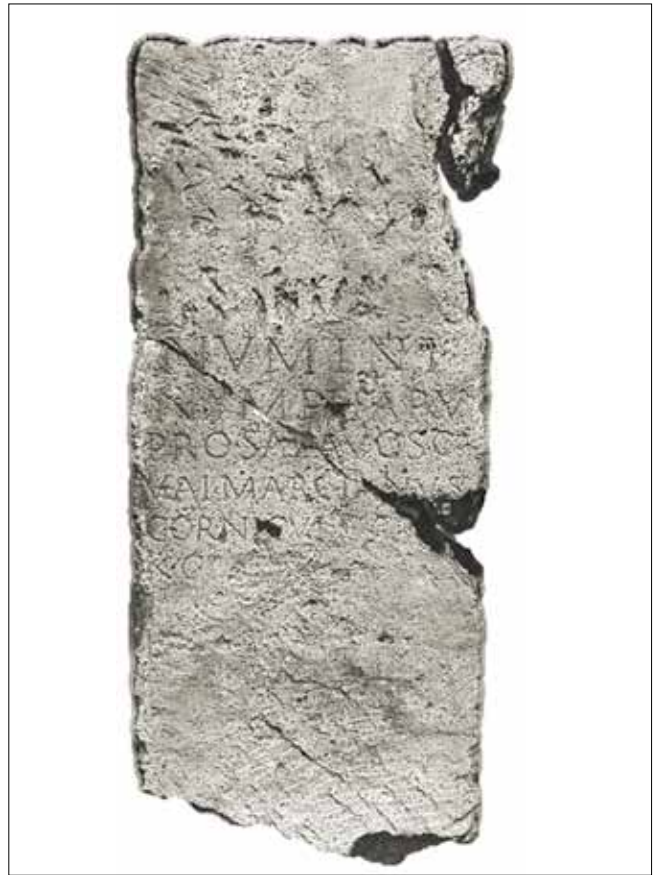
135 AE 1976, 00540; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. no. 60c; 2015, cat. no. 60c; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 285–286; 2022a, cat. no. 7.

136 Farnum, 2005, 23.



SLIKA 32. Zavjetni natpis s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*, kat. br. 13 (snimila D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).

FIGURE 32. Votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini nympharum*, cat. no. 13 (photo by D. Nemeth-Ehrlich).



SLIKA 33. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*, kat. br. 13 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 33. 3D model of votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini nympharum*, cat. no. 13 (made by M. Vuković).

numfarum, a koja se vjerojatno može poistovjetiti s riječju *nympharum*, u kojoj je *ph* pretvoreno u *f* te zbog sličnog izgovaranja, zamijenjen je vokal „y“ s „u“. Obje ove promjene karakteristične su za riječi koje su originalno pripadale grčkom vokabularu (*nympha* – grč. *νύμφη*).¹³⁹

Oblik posvete, u kojem se *numen* pojavljuje zajedno s *maiestas* u obraćanju nekom božanstvu, do ovog natpisa nije bio poznat među nalazima iz Varaždinskih Toplica. Uobičajeno je da se spoj ovih riječi pojavljuje na natpisima vezanim uz careve i carev *numen* pa je takav primjer i natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica (s reljefnim prikazom božanstava zdravlja) posvećen caru Karakali nađen 2011. godine.¹⁴⁰ Postoje primjeri iz drugih krajeva Carstva da se kombinacija riječi *numen* i *maiestas* veže uz božanstva, kao npr. uz Minervu Sulis (*numini tuo maiestati*)¹⁴¹ na jednoj olovnoj

nice Pannonian volute in relief. The letters are skillfully rendered and well preserved, arranged in 8 lines within the inscription field. At the end of the 2nd line, a small letter Q is located on the surface of the moulding. There is a ligature in the 7th line in the word ET, and there are visible dividing marks in the form of triangles between individual words and abbreviations (Figs 30, 31).

Numini / maiestatiq(ue) / Numfarum(!) / C(aius) Sextius / Ursus pro / salute sua / et Veri filii / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

The dedicant was *Caius Sextius Ursus*, and he dedicated the monument for his health and that of his son *Verus*. The dedicant's name does not reveal his origin, since the gentilicium *Ursus* is very widespread,¹³⁷ as is the cognomen *Sextius*.¹³⁸ There

139 Zović 2015, 172–173, 179–180.

140 HD075019, *Iupa* 30105.

141 Tomlin 1988, 150 (32).

137 The gentilicium *Ursus* is common in Pannonia and Noricum as well as in Dalmatia (Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 187), especially in the later period (Alföldy 1969, 318).

138 The cognomen *Sextius* is very common in Italy, and there are also examples in Pannonia and Noricum (Alföldy 1969, 121; Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 79).

pločici iz *Aquae Sulis* (Bath), kao i Izidi na olovnoj pločici iz rimskoga grada *Baelo Claudia* (Bologna, Španjolska).¹⁴²

Prema obliku imena dedikanta *Caius Sextius Ursus* (*tria nomina*), ovaj bi se natpis mogao datirati do sredine 3. stoljeća, a u što se uklapa (premda nije element precizne datacije) i oblik noričko-panonske volute na gornjoj strani natpisnog polja, sličan npr. volutama na reljefima iz Priscijanove grobnice iz Šempetra, koja se datira u 2. polovicu 2. i početak 3. stoljeća.¹⁴³

Dedikant ovog natpisa vjerojatno je bio pripadnik bogatijeg sloja društva, na što ukazuje sam proizvod koji se može ubrojiti u luksuznije, a time i skuplje votivne spomenike. S druge strane, oblik posvete u kojem se primjećuje nepoznavanje latinskog jezika pokazuje da je riječ o proizvodu neke lokalne radionice. Vrlo vjerojatno se i za samog dedikanta može pretpostaviti da nije pripadao krugovima koji su dobro poznavali latinski jezik pa se vjerojatno radi o pripadniku domaćeg, bogatijeg sloja društva. Budući da nije naveo svoje dužnosti, vjerojatno se ne radi o pripadniku političke elite, nego o osobi iz kruga bogatijih obrtnika, trgovaca ili npr. zemljoposjednika.

Još je jedan natpis s posvetom *numini nympharum* pronađen u južnom zidu izvorišta, u najgornjem redu (kat. br. 13).¹⁴⁴ Žrtvenik je izrađen od vapnenca, ali je, nažalost, dosta oštećen od sumporne vode te je pronađen razlomljen u tri dijela (sl. 32, 33). Budući da na njemu još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi, za interpretaciju natpisa od velike je pomoći bio 3D sken. Nažalost, kao i kod brojnih drugih spomenika iskorištenih u obnovi zidova, krunište i baza spomenika su odstranjeni, a što je vidljivo i prema tragovima alata na površini. Sačuvano je 6 redaka natpisa, a slova su jako oštećena u 5. i 6. retku (pogotovo desna strana), kao i uz lom koji dijagonalno dijeli natpis od 1. do 6. retka. Bez obzira na oštećenja, natpis je moguće djelomično interpretirati:

Numini / Nympharu(m) / pro sal(ute) Aug(usti) s(a)c(rum) / Val(erius) Marcianus / cornicu(larius) leg[ionis] / X G(eminae) A(ntoniniana?) [---]

U prva dva reda čitka su sva slova i jasno je da je natpis posvećen božanstvu nimfi. U 3. retku, prema djelomično sačuvanom tekstu, može se pretpostaviti da je natpis posvećen zdravlju cara. U 4. retku, premda su slova oštećena oko linije loma kamena, vidljiv je gentilicij i kognomen *Valerius Marcianus*. Nakon imena u 5. i 6. retku, navodi se njegova funkcija pa se nakon vidljivih slova CORNICV, na 3 D skenu naziru još tri slova (L i vjerojatno E i G). S obzirom na to da do kraja retka ima još dovoljno mjesta, moguće je da se tu nalazila i cijela riječ (*legionis*) jer sljedeći redak počinje oznakom legije (slova X i G – *X. Gemina*). No postoji i mogućnost da se prvo radilo o kratici od *legati* budući da još ima prostora u

is an interesting dedication in which the form of the word *numfarum* appears, which can most likely be identified with *nympharum*, in which *ph* has been turned into *f*, and, due to similar pronunciation, the vowel ‘y’ has been replaced with ‘u’. Both of these changes are characteristic of words that originally belonged to the Greek vocabulary (*nympha*: Greek *νύμφη*).¹³⁹

The form of dedication in which *numen* appears together with *maiestas* in an address to a deity was, until this inscription, not known among the finds from Varaždinske Toplice.

It is common for the combination of these words to appear on inscriptions relating to emperors and the emperor’s *numen*, as on the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice (with a relief depiction of health deities) dedicated to Emperor Caracalla, found in 2011.¹⁴⁰ There are examples from other parts of the Empire that the combination of the words *numen* and *maiestas* are associated with deities, such as *Minerva Sulis* (*numini tuo maiestati*)¹⁴¹ on a lead tablet from *Aquae Sulis* (Bath), as well as *Isis* on a lead tablet from the Roman city of *Baelo Claudia* (Bologna, Spain).¹⁴²

According to the form of the name of the dedicant, *Caius Sextius Ursus* (*tria nomina*), the inscription could be dated up to the middle of the 3rd century, and the shape of the Noric Pannonian volute on the upper side of the inscription field – similar, for example, to the volutes on the reliefs from the Priscian tomb at Šempeter – fits into this (although it is not an element of precise dating), which dates back to the second half of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century.¹⁴³

The dedicant of this inscription was very likely a member of a richer class of society, as indicated by the product itself, which can be counted among the more luxurious, and thus more expensive, votive monuments. On the other hand, the form of the dedication, in which the lack of knowledge of the Latin language is noticeable, shows that it is the product of a local workshop. It is very likely that the dedicant did not belong to circles that knew the Latin language well, so it is likely that he was a member of the local, wealthier strata of society. Since he did not specify his service, he was probably not a member of the political elite, but a person from the circle of richer craftsmen, merchants or, perhaps, landowners.

Another inscription with a dedication to *numini nympharum* was found in the southern wall of the spring reservoir, in the uppermost row (cat. no. 13).¹⁴⁴ The altar is made of limestone, but unfortunately it has been badly damaged by sulphurous water and was found broken into three parts (Figs 32, 33). Since conservation work has not yet been carried out, a 3D scan was very helpful for the interpretation of the inscription. Unfortunately, as with many other monuments used in the reconstruction of

142 Tomlin 2010, 258–260.

143 Klemenc, Kolšek, Petru 1972, 52, nr. 214, 215; *Iupa* r.13265.

144 Prilikom konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na južnom zidu 2016. godine spomenik je izvađen i zamijenjen drugim kamenim blokom.

139 Zović 2015, 172–173, 179–180.

140 HD075019, *Iupa* 30105.

141 Tomlin 1988, 150 (32).

142 Tomlin 2010, 258–260.

143 Klemenc, Kolšek, Petru 1972, 52, nr. 214, 215; *Iupa* r.13265.

144 During the conservation work on the southern wall in 2016, the monument was removed and replaced with another stone block.

5. retku, gdje bi stala i kratica za *legionis*. U 6. retku, nakon X i G, vidljiva je jedna kosa hasta, vjerojatno dio slova A, pa bi se radilo o nazivu legije – *Antoniniana*. Naziv *Antoniniana* legija nosi od vladavine cara Karakale, što je potvrdio i natpis na reljefu s prikazom božanstava zdravlja iz Varaždinskih Toplica¹⁴⁵ pa bi se natpis mogao datirati od 2. desetljeća 3. stoljeća.

Bez obzira na neke nedoumice u interpretaciji oštećenih dijelova natpisa, sigurno je da je Valerije Marcijan bio kornikularij, vjerojatno i *cornicularius legati*. Pojam *cornicularius* u ranom Carstvu povezuje se s funkcijom tajnika, a kasnije ta je služba bila povezana s civilnim uredima pa se radilo o vojnicima koji su često bili raspoređeni u uredima provincijskih namjesnika.¹⁴⁶ Položaj kornikularija bio je i važna stepenica u vojničkoj karijeri, odakle su mogli napredovati za centurija.¹⁴⁷ To su uglavnom bili stariji vojnici, koji su prošli aktivnu karijeru i određeni su za razne administrativne poslove. Imali su status, ovisno o uredu, odnosno upravitelju ureda gdje su služili. Tako je *cornicularius legati* ili *cornicularius tribuni* zapovijedao osobljem vezanim uz legate i starije tribune, a najviši je bio položaj kod provincijskog namjesnika.¹⁴⁸

Valerije Marcijan bio je kornikularij X. legije *Gemina*, što bi bio četvrti primjer spomena te legije među novim nalazima,¹⁴⁹ a vjerojatno pripadnik te legije bio je i *Aurelius Secundianus qui et Itrius* (kat. br. 6.) ako se uzme u obzir podatak sa spomenika koji je postavio u postaji *Praetorium Latobicorum*.

Oblik posvete *numini nympharum* pojavljuje se na još jednom kamenom bloku od vapnenca, žrtveniku s natpisom, pronađenom u urušenju središnjeg dijela sjevernog zida (kat. br. 14) (sl. 34, 35). U gornjem dijelu naziru se ostaci kruništa, odnosno dva akroterija u plitkom reljefu, dok je površina iznad i ispod natpisnog polja, na kojem je vrlo vjerojatno bila profilacija, odstranjena prilikom ugradnje spomenika u strukturu zida. Tekst je raspoređen u 8 redaka, a veličina slova smanjuje se od 1. reda prema zadnjem. Slova su relativno pravilno izvedena, a između riječi i kratica vidljivi su rastavni znakovi, uglavnom u obliku točaka. Ligatura je vidljiva u 2. retku – slova P i H, te u 5., gdje su u riječi *pontifex* povezana tri slova N, T, F, odnosno četiri ako se uključi i slovo I. Tekst je dobro čitljiv, osim u 6. retku, gdje je spomenik prelomljen u dva dijela pa su slova oštećena.

Numini / Nymphar(um) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) / Papir(ia) Vibius / pont(i)ff(ex) dec(urio) col(oniae) Cib(alensium) / [-p?][r(inceps?) praef(ectus) c(ivitatum) C(ornacatium?) vale/tudine liberatus / libens posui

the walls, the capital and the base of the monument have been removed, as can be seen by the traces of tools on the surface. Six lines of the inscription have been preserved, and the letters are badly damaged in the 5th and 6th lines (especially the right-hand side), as well as along a break that cuts the inscription in half diagonally from the 1st to the 6th line. Regardless of the damage, the inscription can be partially interpreted:

Numini / Nymphar(um) / pro sal(ute) Aug(usti) s(a)c(rum) / Val(erius) Marcianus / cornicu(larius) leg[ionis] / X G(eminae) A(ntoniniana?) [----

In the first two lines all the letters are legible, and it is clear that the inscription is dedicated to nymphs. In the 3rd line, according to the partially preserved text, it can be assumed that the inscription is dedicated to the emperor's health. In the 4th line, although the letters are damaged around the break line of the stone, the gentilicium and cognomen *Valerius Marcianus* are visible. After the name in the 5th and 6th lines, his function is stated, so after the visible letters CORNICV, three more letters can be seen on the 3D scan (L and probably E and G). Since there is still enough space to the end of the line, it is possible that there was the whole word (*legionis*), and the next line starts with the symbols of the legion (letters X and G: X *Gemina*). There is also the possibility that it was originally an abbreviation of *legati*, given that there is still space in the 5th line where the abbreviation for *legionis* could fit. In the 6th line, after X and G, one oblique hasta is visible, probably part of the letter A, so it would be the name of the legion: *Antoniniana*. The name of the Legion, *Antoniniana*, dates back to the reign of Emperor Caracalla, as confirmed by the inscription on the relief depicting the deities of health from Varaždinske Toplice,¹⁴⁵ so the inscription could date from the second decade of the 3rd century.

Regardless of some doubts in the interpretation of the damaged parts of the inscription, it is certain that *Valerius Marcianus* was a *cornicularius*, possibly a *cornicularius legati*. In the early Empire, the term *cornicularius* is associated with the function of secretary, and later this service was associated with civil offices, and it related to soldiers who were often assigned to the offices of provincial governors.¹⁴⁶ The position of *cornicularius* was also an important step in the military career from where they could advance as centurions.¹⁴⁷ These were mostly older soldiers who had finished their active careers and were assigned to various administrative jobs. They had a status depending on the office or office manager where they served. Thus, the *cornicularius legati* or *cornicularius tribuni* commanded the staff attached to the legates and senior tribunes, and the highest position was with the provincial governor.¹⁴⁸

145 HD075019; *Iupa* 30105; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 271–280.

146 Gawroński 2014, 8,9.

147 Breeze 1969, T. 5.

148 Webster 1998, 118.

149 Poznat je natpis koji je postavio *M. Laelius Clemens*, hastat u legiji (Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br. 2), reljef s natpisom koji je postavio legat X. legije *Gemina*, *L. Alfenus Avitianus* (HD075019, *Iupa* 30105) te ovdje spomenuti natpis (kat. br. 3), koji je neki konzularni beneficijarij, pripadnik X legije *Gemina Severiana*, posvetio nimfama i Apolonu.

145 HD075019; *Iupa* 30105; Kušan Špalj 2017a, 271–280.

146 Gawroński 2014, 8, 9.

147 Breeze 1969, T. 5.

148 Webster 1998, 118.



SLIKA 35. 3D model zavjetnog natpisa s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*, kat. br. 14 (izradio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 35. 3D model of votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini nympharum*, cat. no. 14 (made by M. Vuković).



SLIKA 34. Zavjetni natpis s posvetom u obliku *numini nympharum*, kat. br. 14, tijekom istraživanja 2011. godine (snimila D. Kušan Špalj).

FIGURE 34. Votive inscription with a dedication in the form *numini nympharum*, cat. no. 14, during excavations in 2011 (recorded by D. Kušan Špalj).

Valerius Marcianus was a *cornicularius* of the X Legion *Gemina*, which would be the fourth example of the mention of that legion among the new finds,¹⁴⁹ and it is very likely that *Aurelius Secundianus qui et Itrius* (cat. no. 6) was also a member of that legion, if we take into account the information from the monument erected in the *Praetorium Latobicorum*.

The form of the *numini nympharum* dedication appears on another limestone block, an altar with an inscription, found in the collapse of the central part of the northern wall (cat. no. 14, Figs 34, 35). In the upper part, the remains of the capital can be seen, with two acroteria in shallow relief, while the surface above and below the inscription field, on which there was probably moulding, was removed during the installation of the monument in the wall structure. The text is arranged in 8 lines, and the size of the letters decreases from the first line to the last. The letters are rendered relative nicely, and between words and abbreviations there are visible dividing marks, mostly in the form of dots. A ligature is visible in the 2nd line – the letters P, H – and in the 5th, where in the word *pontifex* three letters are connected – N, T, F – or even four, if the letter I is included. The text is well readable, except in the 6th line, where the monument was broken into two parts, so the letters were damaged.

Numini / Nymphar(um) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) / Papir(ia) Vibius / pont(i)f(ex) dec(urio) col(oniae) Cib(alensium) / [-p?]r(inceps?) praef(ectus) c(ivitatum) C(ornacatum?) vale/tudine liberatus / libens posui

The dedicant of this inscription was *Marcus Aurelius Vibius*,¹⁵⁰ son of Marcus, enrolled in the tribe of Papiria, who was a *pontifex* and a member of the city council (decurion) in the colony of Cibalae. Cibalae became a municipium in the time of Hadrian, and the colonia Aurelia Cibalae was established in the time of Emperor Caracalla¹⁵¹ or, at the earliest, in the time of Septimius Severus.¹⁵² Therefore, this inscription must have been erected after that period – that is, its dating can be placed in the 1st half of the 3rd century. There is an interesting part of the text in the 6th and 7th lines, *valetudine liberatus / freed from illness*, a form that was not known on the inscriptions from Varaždinske

149 An inscription erected by M. Laelius Clemens, hastatus in the legion (Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. no. 2), a relief with an inscription erected by the legate of the X Legion *Gemina*, L. Alfenus Avitianus (HD075019, lupa 30105), and here the aforementioned inscription (cat. no. 3), which was dedicated to the nymphs and Apollo by beneficiarius consularis, a member of the X legion *Gemina Severiana*.

150 *Vibius* is a very widespread cognomen, especially in Italy, and it is also common in Pannonia and Noricum (Lőrincz *et al.* 2002, 165).

151 Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 192.

152 Rapan Papeša 2011, 190; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 59.

Dedikant ovog natpisa bio je Marko Aurelije Vibije¹⁵⁰, sin Marka, upisan u *tribus Papiria*, koji je obavljao svećeničku funkciju (*pontifex*) i bio član gradskog vijeća (dekurion) u koloniji Cibale. Cibale postaju municipij u doba Hadrijana, a *colonia Aurelia Cibalae* uspostavljena je u vrijeme cara Karakale¹⁵¹ ili najranije u vrijeme Septimija Severa.¹⁵² Prema tome, ovaj natpis morao je nastati nakon tog razdoblja, odnosno njegova se datacija može smjestiti u 1. polovicu 3. st. vijeka. Zanimljiv je dio teksta u 6. i 7. retku, *valetudine liberatus /oslobođen bolesti*, koji do sada nije bio poznat na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica,¹⁵³ koji se ovdje povezuje sa zavjetnom formulom na kraju natpisa – *valetudine liberatus libens posui /oslobođen bolesti rado sam postavio*.¹⁵⁴

Nedoumice oko interpretacije teksta odnose se na sadržaj u 6. retku, koji je znatno oštećen, budući da je u tom dijelu spomenik razlomljen. Na početku retka slova su nečitka, nazire se dio drugog slova (možda P) i donji dio trećeg slova (vjerojatno R). Nakon toga jasno je vidljivo (na 3D skenu) da slijede PRAEF i dva slova C. Moguće da se taj dio teksta odnosi na funkciju *praefectus cohortis*,¹⁵⁵ ali kako se radi o dva slova C, vjerojatnije je riječ o funkciji *praef(ectus) civitatum*, pa bi drugo slovo C označavalo ime zajednice, moguće Kornakata (*civitas Cornacatium*). U tom bi se slučaju i slovo R na početku retka moglo interpretirati kao dio riječi *princeps* pa bi funkcija dedikanta glasila *princeps praefectus civitatum Cornacatium*. Smatra se da su *civitates peregrinae* dobile autonomiju pod Flavijevcima, najkasnije za vrijeme Trajana, tj. Hadrijana, kada se osnivaju gradovi, odnosno da je tada vojna uprava nad zajednicama zamijenjena civilnom (iz redova lokalne aristokracije).¹⁵⁶ Tako npr. počasni natpis pronađen u istraživanjima izvorišta u Varaždinskim Toplicama sadrži podatak da je centurion legije XIII gemine *Quintus Gavius Fronto* bio i *praefectus civitatum Scordischorum et Breucorum et Iasorum*,¹⁵⁷ a najvjerojatnije najkasnije 71. godine, to je veliko područje podijeljeno na manje jedinice pod upravom predstavnika domaće aristokracije. Potvrđuje to i vojnička diploma, datirana u 71. godinu,¹⁵⁸ na kojoj se među svjedocima spominju *principes* više peregrinskih zajednica – Iasa, Breuka, Andizeta i Boja, dok se u početak 2. stoljeća datira natpis na kojem se *T. Flavius Proculus* spominje kao *princeps praefectus Scordischorum*.¹⁵⁹ Koliko je dugo trajala uprava princepsa, nije poznato, niti da li su *civita-*

Toplice before now,¹⁵³ and which is connected here with the votive formula at the end of the inscription: *valetudine liberatus libens posui / freed from illness I gladly set up*.¹⁵⁴

Doubts about the interpretation of the text refer to the content in the 6th line, which is significantly damaged, since the monument is broken in that area. At the beginning of the line, the letters are illegible; part of the second letter (perhaps P) and the lower part of the third letter (probably R) can be seen. After that, it is quite clearly visible (on the 3D scan) that PRAEF and two letters C follow. It is possible that this part of the text refers to the function of *praefectus cohortis*,¹⁵⁵ but, since there are two letters C, it seems more likely that it is the function of *praef(ectus) civitatum*, so the second letter C would indicate the name of the community, possibly Cornacatium (*civitas Cornacatium*). In that case, the letter R at the beginning of the line could also be interpreted as part of the word *princeps*, so the function of the dedicant would read *princeps praefectus civitatum Cornacatium*. It is considered that the *civitates peregrinae* gained autonomy under the Flavians, at the latest during the time of Trajan or Hadrian, when cities were founded, i.e. when the military administration over the communities was replaced by a civilian one (among the local aristocracy).¹⁵⁶ Thus, for example, the honorary inscription found during the research on the spring reservoir in Varaždinske Toplice contains the information that the centurion of the XIII Legion *Gemina*, *Quintus Gavius Fronto*, was also the *praefectus civitatum Scordischorum et Breucorum et Iasorum*,¹⁵⁷ and, most likely no later than the year 71, that large area was divided into smaller units under an administration representative of the domestic aristocracy. This is confirmed by a military diploma, dated to the year 71,¹⁵⁸ on which, among the witnesses, the principes of several peregrine communities are mentioned – *Iasi, Breuci, Andizeti* and *Boii* – while an inscription dated to the beginning of the 2nd century mentions *T. Flavius Proculus* as *princeps praefectus Scordischorum*.¹⁵⁹ It is not known how long the administration of the principes lasted, nor whether the *civitates* continued functioning as separate administrative units parallel to the municipium, or were completely integrated into its territory.¹⁶⁰ The only exception seems to be the *civitas Eraviscorum*, which maintained

150 Vibius je vrlo rasprostranjen kognomen, pogotovo u Italiji, a čest je i u Panoniji i Noriku (Lórinč *et al.* 2002, 165).

151 Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 192.

152 Rapan Papeša 2011, 190; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 59.

153 Poznat je natpis jednog roba iz postaje *Dimum* (Pleven, Bugarska) na kojem se pojavljuje oblik *gravi valetudine liberatus*: CIL III 12399.

154 Moguća je i interpretacija teksta u trećem licu – *valetudine liberatus libens posuit / oslobođen bolesti rado postavio*.

155 Ima primjera gdje je navedena samo funkcija *praefectus cohortis* (bez naznake imena kohorte), npr. CIL III 01482.

156 Mócsy 1974, 134–135.

157 Spomenik je pronađen u urušjenju opločenja, sjeverno od izvorišnog bazena 2011. godine (Kušan Špalj 2014, 50–54, kat. 64; 2015, 50–54, kat. 64; Kušan Špalj 2022a, 60–61.); HD075016.

158 AE 2002, 1771 = AE 2004, 89 = AE 2007, 93; Grbić 2014, 252–253. kat. 170; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 226, 237.

159 Mócsy 1974, 135.

153 There is an inscription of a slave from the *Dimum* (Pleven, Bulgaria), on which appears the form *gravi valetudine liberatus*: CIL III, 12399.

154 It is also possible to interpret the text in the third person: *valetudine liberatus libens posuit* – freed from illness, he gladly set.

155 There are examples where only the function of *praefectus cohortis* is specified (without indicating the name of the cohort) e.g. CIL III, 01482.

156 Mócsy 1974, 134–135.

157 The monument was found in the collapse of the pavement north of the spring reservoir in 2011 (Kušan Špalj, 2014, 50–54, cat. no. 64; 2015, 50–54, cat. no. 64; Kušan Špalj 2022a, 60–61); HD075016.

158 AE 2002, 1771 = AE 2004, 89 = AE 2007, 93; Grbić 2014, 252–253 cat. no. 170; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 226, 237.

159 Mócsy 1974, 135.

160 Donev 2018, 260.

tes nastavile funkcionirati kao zasebne administrativne jedinice paralelno s municipijem, ili su u potpunosti uklopljene u gradski prostor.¹⁶⁰ Jedina iznimka čini se da je zajednica Eraviska koja je zadržala neki oblik samostalnosti kroz cijelo 2. i 3. stoljeće,¹⁶¹ a prema jednom natpisu datiranom u sam kraj 3. stoljeća¹⁶², pretpostavlja se da je postojalo zajedničko upravljanje municipijem i zajednicom Eraviska.¹⁶³ S obzirom na navedene podatke, postoje razne teorije, od pretpostavke da se radi o nazivu nekog sjedišta zajednice, o nazivu za teritorij pa do mogućnosti da je nakon osnivanja gradova uključen samo dio zajednice, a preostali dio da je sačuvao samostalnost kao *civitas*.¹⁶⁴ U većini slučajeva *civitates* se, kao zasebne administrativne jedinice, ne spominju na epigrafskim spomenicima nakon doba Hadrijana, odnosno procesa municipalizacije, ali vjerojatno je dio zajednice u nekim perifernim područjima ipak ostao izvan tog područja i kao manja administrativna jedinica.¹⁶⁵

Ako se na ovdje spomenutom natpisu iz Varaždinskih Toplica zaista radi o spomenu zajednice Kornakata još u prvoj polovici 3. stoljeća, to bi bila potvrda da je dio autohtonih zajednica zadržao svoju samostalnost barem do kraja 2. stoljeća. Prema Kornakate spominje već Plinije,¹⁶⁶ a naziv se pojavljuje i u epigrafskim izvorima¹⁶⁷, zastupljeno je mišljenje da se ne radi o zasebnoj etničkoj cjelini budući da bi njihov teritorij bio vrlo mali (između Vukovara i Iloka), već da radi se o stanovnicima Kornaka (*Cornacum-Sotin*), odnosno da se radi zapravo o Breucima,¹⁶⁸ čiji je teritorij podijeljen na manje cjeline među kojima je bila i kornakatska.¹⁶⁹ Prema tome, naziv je *civitas Cornacatum* nastao tek u rimsko vrijeme, vjerojatno izveden iz toponima *Cornacum*, gdje se nalazio i administrativni centar zajednice.¹⁷⁰ Je li se stvarno radilo o zasebnoj etničkoj grupi ili se naziv odnosi samo na stanovnike koji su naseljavali relativno mali prostor između današnjeg Vukovara i Iloka¹⁷¹, odnosno jesu li to bili samo stanovnici Kornaka¹⁷², teško je sa sigurnošću utvrditi, i to pitanje još uvijek ostaje otvoreno. U nekim slučajevima, kao što je to primjer Kornakata i Kornakuma, naziv zajednice proizlazi iz imena utvrde, ili obrnuto, što se smatra argumentom za pretpostavku da su neke *civitates* nastavile funkcionirati kao zasebne administrativne jedinice pod nekim oblikom vojne uprave i u kasnijem razdoblju.¹⁷³

some form of independence throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries;¹⁶¹ and, according to an inscription dated to the very end of the 3rd century,¹⁶² it is assumed that there was joint governance of the municipium and the civitates.¹⁶³ With regard to the above data, there are various theories, from the assumption that *civitas Eraviscorum* was the name of a seat of the community, the name of the territory, to the possibility that, after the founding of the cities, only part of the community was included, and the remaining part preserved its independence as a *civitas*.¹⁶⁴ In most cases, civitates are not mentioned as separate administrative units on epigraphic monuments after the era of Hadrian, i.e. the municipalization process, but it is possible that part of the community in some peripheral areas still remained outside that area and as a smaller administrative unit.¹⁶⁵

If the inscription from Varaždinske Toplice mentioned here really refers to the *civitas Cornacatum* in the first half of the 3rd century, this would be confirmation that some of the autochthonous communities maintained their independence at least until the end of the 2nd century. Although the Cornacati are already mentioned by Pliny,¹⁶⁶ and the name also appears in epigraphic sources,¹⁶⁷ the opinion is that they are not a separate ethnic entity, since their territory would be very small (between Vukovar and Ilok), but that they are the inhabitants of Cornacum (Sotin) – that is, that this is in fact about the Breuci,¹⁶⁸ whose territory was divided into smaller entities, among which was the Cornacatian one.¹⁶⁹ Therefore, the name *civitas Cornacatum* was created only in Roman times, probably derived from the toponym *Cornacum*, where the administrative centre of the community was located.¹⁷⁰ Whether they were a separate ethnic group or whether the name referred only to the inhabitants of a relatively small area between today's Vukovar and Ilok,¹⁷¹ or even whether they were just the inhabitants of Cornacum,¹⁷² is difficult to determine with certainty, and the question remains open. In some cases, such as the example of *Cornacati* and *Cornacum*, the name of the community derives from the name of the fort or vice versa, which is considered an argument for the assumption that some civitates continued to function as separate administrative units under some form of military administration in a later period.¹⁷³

160 Donev 2018, 260.

161 Donev 2018, 266.

162 AE 1971, 0327; RIU 1066.

163 Kovács 2013, 141.

164 Kovács 2013, 141–142; Fitz 1993, 420.

165 Donev 2018, 266.

166 *Nat. hist.*, 3.25, 148.

167 CIL XVI 2; CIL V 6985+6986(?); AE 1962, 255=AE 1967, 390; AE 1990, 799; Grbić 2014, kat. nos. 128–130.

168 Zastupljena su i mišljenja da se radi o Amantima ili Skordiscima (Grbić 2014, 232).

169 Domić Kunić 2006, 79; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 50–51.

170 Grbić 2014, 229.

171 Postoji mišljenje i da se teritorij prostirao do Save na jugu (Grbić 2014, 230).

172 Domić Kunić 2006, 79; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 50–51.

161 Donev 2018, 266.

162 AE 1971, 0327; RIU 1066.

163 Kovács 2013, 141.

164 Kovács 2013, 141–142; Fitz 1993, 420.

165 Donev 2018, 266.

166 *Nat. hist.*, 3.25, 148.

167 CIL XVI 2; CIL V 6985+6986(?); AE 1962, 255=AE 1967, 390; AE 1990, 799; Grbić 2014, kat. nos. 128–130.

168 There are also opinions that this is about the Amantini or Scordisci (Grbić 2014, 232).

169 Domić Kunić 2006, 79; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 50–51.

170 Grbić 2014, 229.

171 There are opinions that the territory extended to the Sava in the south (Grbić 2014, 230).

172 Domić Kunić 2006, 79; Iskra-Janošić 2001, 50–51.

173 Donev 2018, 260.

Ako ovdje spomenuti natpis u dijelu oštećenog teksta stvarno spominje upravitelja zajednice Kornakata, radilo bi se o vrlo zanimljivom primjeru suživota grada i okolnog prostora. Moguće da se ovdje radi o upravi nad utvrdom *Cornacum*, ali i da se radi o dijelu zajednice koja nije bila uključena u područje kolonije Cibala. Također, to otvara mogućnost da je Marko Aurelije Vibije tu funkciju obavljao istovremeno s funkcijom dekuriona kolonije ili neposredno prije, što bi moglo biti i krajem 2. stoljeća. Već se i ranije pretpostavljalo da je zajednica Kornakata opstala barem do druge polovice 2. stoljeća s obzirom na jednu vojničku diplomu datiranu u 154. godinu.¹⁷⁴ U tom se kontekstu upravo regrutacija Kornakata u Panonskoj floti smatra jednim od glavnih razloga za opstanak zajednice i tijekom 2. stoljeća.¹⁷⁵

Zaključak

Zavjetni natpisi obrađeni u ovom radu nadopunjuju dosadašnje spoznaje o značaju nimfi kao zaštitnica svetog izvora, kojima su se posjetitelji svetišta *Aquae Iasae* najčešće obraćali u nadi za ozdravljenje. Među četrnaest spomenutih natpisa, šest je s posvetom uzvišenim nimfama (*Augustae*) (kat. br. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), četiri ozdravljajućim nimfama (*salutares*) (kat. br. 7, 8, 9, 10), dok se na četiri natpisa pojavljuje posveta u obliku *numini nympharum* (kat. br. 11, 12, 13, 14). Među dedikantima, koji se spominju na ovim natpisima, najčešće su civilni i vojni službenici koji su većinom bili zaposlenici u raznim uredima upravitelja provincije ili postajama (kat. br. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13), a u jednom se slučaju radi o svećeniku i članu gradskog vijeća (kat. br. 14). U dva slučaja to su bili pripadnici X. legije *Gemina* (kat. br. 3, 8), a u jednom slučaju radilo se vjerojatno o pripadniku XIII. (ili XIV.) legije *Gemina* (kat. br. 11), dok na tri spomenika, zbog oštećenosti kamena, nedostaju podaci o dedikantu (kat. br. 3, 4, 10). Zanimljiva su i dva luksuznija spomenika od mramora (kat. br. 5, 12) koja su sigurno postavili pripadnici viših društvenih krugova, a u jednom slučaju riječ je i o ženskoj osobi (kat. br. 5). Neki od spomenika sadrže i podatke o porijeklu dedikanata, odnosno mjesta gdje su obavljali svoje funkcije (kat. br. 5, 14), a zanimljiv je i natpis na kojem se spominje *Res Publica Poetovionensis* (kat. br. 5), što je do sada drugi primjer među spomenicima iz Varaždinskih Toplica. Na dva se natpisa pojavljuje isto ime osobe – *Valerius Marcianus* (kat. br. 1, 13), a u čak četiri slučaja dedikanti imaju gentilicij *Aurelius* (kat. br. 2, 8, 9, 14), što je i najčešći gentilicij u Rimskom Carstvu, pa tako i u Dalmaciji i Panoniji.¹⁷⁶ Najčešće se radi o domaćem stanovništvu koje je dobilo rimsko građansko pravo u vrijeme cara Karakale, nakon što je car ediktom iz 212. godine (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) svim slobodnim građanima dodijelio građansko pravo, pa se tako može i zaključiti da su spomenuti natpisi nastali u 3. stoljeću. Zasad, svi se kameni spomenici pronađeni u novijim istraživanjima mogu datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, što potvrđuje da je to bilo razdoblje procvata i velike popularnosti ovog kompleksa u kojem su se

If the inscription mentioned here, in the damaged part of the text, really refers to the princeps of the *civitas Cornacatum*, it would be a very interesting example of the coexistence between the city and the surrounding area. It is possible that this relates to the governance of the Cornacum fort, but also that it is about part of the community that was not included in the area of the Cibalae colony. It also opens up the possibility that *Marcus Aurelius Vibius* performed this function simultaneously with the function of decurion of the colony or immediately before, which could be at the end of the 2nd century. It was already assumed earlier that the *civitas Cornacatum* survived at least until the second half of the 2nd century with regard to a military diploma dated in 154.¹⁷⁴ In this context, the recruitment of Cornacati into the Pannonian fleet is considered one of the main reasons for the community's survival during the second century.¹⁷⁵

Conclusion

The votive inscriptions discussed in this paper complement previous knowledge about the importance of nymphs as protectors of the sacred spring, to which visitors to the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary most often turned in the hope of healing. Among the fourteen inscriptions mentioned, six are dedicated to nymphs *Augustae* (cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6) and four to healing nymphs (*salutares*) (cat. nos. 7, 8, 9, 10), while on four inscriptions there is a dedication in the form *numini nympharum* (cat. nos. 11, 12, 13, 14). Among the dedicants mentioned on these inscriptions are most often civil and military officials who were mostly employed in various offices of the province's governor or stations (cat. nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 13), while one case concerns a priest and a member of the city council (cat. no. 14). In two cases, they were members of the X Legion *Gemina* (cat. nos. 3, 8) and in one case probably a member of the XIII (or XIV) Legion *Gemina* (cat. no. 11), while three monuments lack information about the dedicants due to stone damage (cat. nos. 3, 4, 10). Also of interest are two more luxurious marble monuments (cat. nos. 5, 12) which were certainly erected by members of higher social circles, and in one case it was a woman (cat. no. 5). Some monuments also contain information about the origin of the dedicants, or the places where they performed their functions (cat. nos. 5, 14), and an interesting inscription mentioning *Res Publica Poetovionensis* (cat. no. 5), which so far is the second example among the monuments in Varaždinske Toplice. The same person's name appears on two inscriptions – *Valerius Marcianus* – (cat. nos. 1, 13) and, in no fewer than four cases, the dedicants have the gentilicium *Aurelius* (cat. nos. 2, 8, 9, 14), which is the most common gentilicium in the Roman Empire, and also in Dalmatia and Pannonia.¹⁷⁶ Most often it is the local population that received Roman civil rights at the time of Emperor Caracalla, after the emperor granted civil rights to all free citizens by an edict of 212 (*Constitutio Antoniniana*), so it can be concluded that the inscriptions mentioned were made in the 3rd century. For now,

173 Donev 2018, 260.

174 RMD 169 = AE 1990, 799; Grbić 2014, 234, cat. no. 132.

175 Grbić 2014, 231.

176 Alföldy 1969, 46–47; Lőrincz et al. 2005, 99.

174 AE 1990, 799; Grbić 2014, 234, cat. no. 132.

175 Grbić 2014, 231.

176 Alföldy 1969, 46–47; Lőrincz et al. 2005, 99.

u nadi za ozdravljenje posjetitelji obraćali raznim božanstvima vezanim uz liječenje i ozdravljenje, ali najčešće nimfama.

Među brojnim različitim kamenim spomenicima (reljefi, skulpture, žrtvenici, arhitektonski elementi) pronađenim od 2006. do 2016. godine, od kojih su mnogi vrlo oštećeni uslijed djelovanja termalne vode i prilagodbe za sekundarnu upotrebu, oko 40 je natpisa (cijelih i djelomično sačuvanih). Do sada se uspio interpretirati sadržaj na 35 spomenika s natpisom, od kojih je čak 30 posvećeno nimfama,¹⁷⁷ uključujući 7 posvećenih nimfama zajedno s drugim božanstvima. Tako su pronađena dva natpisa koja su uz nimfe posvećena i Apolonu, tj. Solu,¹⁷⁸ jedan natpis Apolonu i Dijani¹⁷⁹, a u jednom slučaju nimfama zajedno s Minervom, Junonom i Apolonom¹⁸⁰, dok je na jednom natpisu posveta nimfama i Serapisu¹⁸¹ te Minervi i Serapisu.¹⁸² Spomenuti natpisi pokazuju kako su božanstva iz sfere državne, odnosno službene religije vezana uz liječenje „uklopljena“ u lokalni kult svetišta. Posebno je zanimljiv natpis na kojem se zajedno s nimfama spominje i božica Fortuna kao *Iasoniana*,¹⁸³ odnosno kao lokalno božanstvo povezano s akvejaškim svetištem i svetim izvorom. Nije isključeno da su i neka druga božanstva imala lokalna obilježja, ali sasvim sigurno je da se specifičnost svetišta s više hramova i mistična atmosfera prostora morala odraziti na sve kultove i rituale povezujući ih u specifični kult svetog izvora i zdravlja, karakterističan za akvejaško svetište.

U novijim istraživanjima pronađeno je i 6 reljefa s prikazom 3 nimfe, od kojih 4 sadrže i natpise, te jedan manji s dijelom natpisa.¹⁸⁴ Ako se novim nalazima dodaju i već ranije objavljeni spomenici, slučajni nalazi i oni iz istraživanja od 1953. do 1982. godine¹⁸⁵, može se govoriti o ukupno 47 votivna natpisa i 8 reljefa (te 5 manjih dijelova reljefa) s prikazom nimfi, odnosno ukupno o 61 spomeniku postavljenom u njihovu čast (T.-1).¹⁸⁶ Sve to govori u prilog da je štovanje nimfi, kao zaštitnica svetog izvora, bilo glavno obilježje ovog svetišta. Osim natpisa i reljefa, to potvrđuje i nalaz 18000 kovanica¹⁸⁷ koje su posjetitelji od 1. do 4. stoljeća ubacivali kao votivne darove u termalnu vodu, vrlo vjerojatno nadajući se pomoći upravo od nimfi, zaštitnica izvora.

all the stone monuments found in recent research can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, which confirms that it was a period of prosperity and great popularity of this complex, in which, in the hope of healing, visitors addressed various deities relating to health and healing, but most often to nymphs.

Among the various stone monuments (reliefs, sculptures, altars, architectural elements) found from 2006 to 2016, many of which have been badly damaged by the influence of thermal water and by the fact that they have been adapted for secondary use, there are around 40 inscriptions (whole and partially preserved). So far it has been possible to interpret the contents of 35 monuments with inscriptions, of which as many as 30 are dedicated to nymphs,¹⁷⁷ including seven dedicated to nymphs together with other deities. Thus, two inscriptions were found that were dedicated not only to nymphs but also to Apollo, i.e. Sol,¹⁷⁸ one inscription to Apollo and Diana,¹⁷⁹ and in one case to nymphs together with Minerva, Juno and Apollo,¹⁸⁰ while one inscription has a dedication to nymphs and Serapis¹⁸¹ and to Minerva and Serapis.¹⁸² The inscriptions mentioned above show that deities from the sphere of the state or official religion relating to healing were 'incorporated' into the local cult of the spring. Particularly interesting is the inscription on which the goddess Fortuna is mentioned together with the nymphs as *Iasoniana*¹⁸³ – that is, as a local deity associated with the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary and the sacred spring. It is not excluded that some other deities also had local characteristics, but it is certain that the specificity of the sanctuary, with several temples and the mystical atmosphere of the space, must have been reflected in all cults and rituals, linking them to the specific cult of the sacred spring and health characteristic of the *Aquae Iasae* sanctuary.

In recent research, 6 reliefs were found depicting 3 nymphs, 4 of which also contain inscriptions, and a smaller one with part of an inscription.¹⁸⁴ If the new finds are added to the previously published monuments, chance finds and those from research between 1953 and 1982,¹⁸⁵ we can speak of a total of 47 votive inscriptions and 8 reliefs (and 5 smaller parts of the relief) depicting nymphs – that is, a total of 61 monuments erected in their

177 Osim ovdje obrađenih 13 spomenika, 14 spomenika je već ranije objavljeno (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 2022a), a preostala su još tri, također posvećena nimfama. No veći dio teksta u vrlo lošem stanju (nečitak i na 3D modelima) pa će se pokušati interpretirati njihov sadržaj nakon što se provedu konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

178 Kušan Špalj 2022a, kat. br.8.

179 HD075031, *Iupa* 30108.

180 HD075033.

181 AE 2014, 1049; HD074973.

182 Riječ je o jednom još neobjavljenom natpisu koji je u vrlo lošem stanju pa će biti objavljen nakon što se provedu konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

183 HD075021; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 70,95, kat. br. 76; 2015, 70,95, kat. br. 76.

184 Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 88; 2015, 56–66, 82–92, kat. br. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 88.

185 To se odnosi na 20 objavljenih natpisa posvećenih nimfama pronađenih do 1982. (Rendić-Miočević 1992; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998; Lučić 2013; Cvetko 2022).

186 Među spomenute je spomenike uključen i *thesaurus* s natpisom *sacrum nymphis* (T. I- 61).

187 Bilić 2014, 2015.

177 In addition to the 13 inscriptions (on altars and postaments) discussed here, 14 have already been published earlier (Kušan Špalj 2017a, 2022a). There are three more altars dedicated to nymphs that are in very bad condition (illegible even on 3D models), and their interpretation will be attempted after the conservation work.

178 Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. no. 8.

179 HD075031, *Iupa* 30108.

180 HD075033.

181 AE 2014, 1049; HD074973.

182 This is about an unpublished inscription that is in very bad condition, so it will be published after the conservation work has been carried out.

183 HD075021; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 70, 95, cat. no. 76; 2015, 70, 95, cat. no. 76.

184 Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012, 110; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, 56–66, 82–92, cat. nos. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 88; 2015, 56–66, 82–92, cat. nos. 74, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 88.

185 This refers to 20 published inscriptions found up until 1982 (Rendić-Miočević 1992; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998; Lučić 2013; Cvetko 2022).



SLIKA 36. Kompleks rimske arhitekture u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama, prostor svetišta nakon radova 2022. godine (snimio M. Vuković).

FIGURE 36. Complex of Roman architecture in the park in Varaždinske Toplice, area of the sanctuary after the work in 2022 (photo by M. Vuković).

Prema posvetnim formulama na natpisima, može se uočiti kontinuitet korištenja nekoliko standardnih epiteta povezanih s nimfama, često i kombinacija više njih, premda ima i primjera gdje oni izostaju (T-1). Najčešći epiteta su *salutares* (već od 1. st.) i *Augustae*, česti na spomenicima 2. i 3. stoljeća. Na tri spomenika nimfe se spominju kao lokalne, jaške nimfe *-lasae*, a četiri su primjera gdje im se dedikatni obračaju u obliku *numini nympharum*. Primjeri epiteta kao što su *-peone (paeonae)* – ljekovite ili npr. *sanctae*, koji se pojavljuju samo u izoliranim slučajevima, možda su rezultat posebnog zahtjeva pojedinog posjetitelja, a možda je riječ samo o slučajnosti da više sličnih primjera nije sačuvano.

Arheološkim istraživanjima provedenim na prostoru svetišta i samog izvorišnog bazena, osim brojnih nalaza kamenih spomenika, dobiveni su i vrijedni podaci o fazama izgradnje, načinu kaptaze izvora i raznim konstrukcijskim rješenjima koje su graditelji primjenjivali kako bi se prilagodili prirodnom terenu i na najbolji način iskoristili prostor za izgradnju. Sačuvana arhitektura,¹⁸⁸ kao i karakter epigrafskih spomenika, ukazuju na razvoj naselja i značaj koje je *Aquae Iasae* imalo u pojedinom razdoblju. Tako se može zaključiti da je u 1. stoljeću važnost naselja kao lječilišta i svetišta bio više lokalnog karaktera, odnosno da su posjetitelji bili uglavnom stanovnici s obližnjeg prostora ili vojnici koji su ondje privremeno boravili. U prilog tome govore i sačuvani natpisi iz 1. stoljeća, oni pripadnika zapovjednog kadra XIII. legije *Gemina*, tada smještene u Petovionu,¹⁸⁹ postavljeni u čast nimfama kojima je u toj fazi najvjerojatnije bilo posvećeno i cijelo svetište. Velika promjena događa se tijekom 2. stoljeća, kada se grade novi hramovi, kaptira izvor pravokutnim izvorišnim, a epigrafski spomenici svjedoče da se, osim nimfama, posjetitelji obračaju i drugim božanstvima vezanim uz liječenje i ozdravljenje. To je sigurno bio rezultat sve veće popularnosti lječilišta i svetišta, potrebe

honour (T-1).¹⁸⁶ All this suggests that the worship of nymphs, as protectors of the sacred spring, was the main feature of this sanctuary. In addition to inscriptions and reliefs, this is also confirmed by the discovery of 18,000 coins¹⁸⁷ that visitors from the 1st to the 4th centuries threw into the thermal water as votive gifts, most likely hoping for help from the nymphs, the protectors of the springs.

From the dedicatory formulas on the inscriptions, one can observe the continuity of the use of several standard epithets associated with nymphs, often a combination of several of them, although there are also examples where they are absent (Table-1). The most common epithets are *salutares* (since the 1st century) and *Augustae*, very common on monuments of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. On three monuments, the nymphs are mentioned as *lasae* – local nymphs of the Iasi – and there are four examples where the dedicants address them in the form of *numini nympharum*. Examples of epithets such as *peone (paeonae)* – medicinal – or, for example, *sanctae*, which appear only in isolated cases, may be the result of a special request by an individual visitor, or it may just be a coincidence that more similar examples have not been preserved.

In addition to numerous finds of stone monuments, archaeological research conducted in the area of the sanctuary and the spring reservoir itself has yielded valuable information about the construction phases, the method of capturing the spring, and the various construction solutions that the builders applied in order to adapt to the natural terrain and make the best use of the space for construction. The preserved architecture,¹⁸⁸ as well as the character of the epigraphic monuments, indicates the development of the settlement and the impor-

188 Gorenc, Vikić 1963; 1975; Vikić, Gorenc 1966; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958; 1961.

189 CIL III 4118; CIL III 10893; HD075016; Kušan Špalj 2022b, 61–62.

186 In the monuments mentioned is also included a *thesaurus* with the inscription *sacrum nymphis* (T. I- 61.).

187 Bilić 2014, 2015.

188 Gorenc, Vikić 1963; 1975; Vikić, Gorenc 1966; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958; 1961.

za novim objektima, ali i nove teritorijalne organizacije u prvoj polovici 2. stoljeća, kada dolazi do osnivanja kolonije u Petovionu pa ovaj prostor postaje dio njenog teritorija.¹⁹⁰ Brojni epigrafski spomenici potvrđuju procvat naselja u 2. i 3. stoljeća, kada dolaze posjetitelji iz raznih dijelova Carstva (među njima vjerojatno i sami carevi), privučeni ljekovitošću termalne vode, ali i mističnosti „svetog izvora“ oko kojeg je vjerojatno bilo proročište.¹⁹¹ Ipak, treba pretpostaviti da su i u ovom razdoblju najčešće posjetitelji dolazili s obližnjeg teritorija, a uz civilno stanovništvo, to su bili i pripadnici raznih ureda i postaja, odnosno vojnih postrojbi, koje su boravile na tom području. Pritom treba istaknuti da se prvenstveno radilo o privatnom karakteru religijske prakse, pa čak i u slučajevima kada su dedikanti bili visoki vojni ili civilni službenici, koji su najčešće posjećivali ovo lječilište i svetište iz osobnih razloga, zbog bolesti i nade u ozdravljenje.

Premda o posjetiteljima, koji su obilazili ovo naselje u 4. stoljeću, nema mnogo podataka jer je vrlo malo epigrafskih nalaza, o njegovom značaju i u tom razdoblju svakako svjedoči obnova i izgradnja potvrđena u arheološkim istraživanjima, ali i tzv. natpis cara Konstantina prema kojemu je sam car dao obnoviti objekte uništene požarom. Vjerojatno se krajem 4. stoljeća, zbog opće nesigurnosti i drugih promjena koje su nastupile u Carstvu, ipak smanjio broj posjetitelja, a naselje je zadržalo svoj značaj prije svega u lokalnim okvirima. Prema dosadašnjim nalazima vezanim uz pojavu kršćanstva, kao što je npr. prstenje s kristogramom pronađeno u izvorištu, može se zaključiti da je u tom razdoblju i dalje bio štovan kult izvora te da je postojao određeni suživot religija.¹⁹² Tako je do samog kraja funkcioniranja ovog kompleksa termalna voda, njezina ljekovitost i mističnost privlačila ljude koji su se nadali ozdravljenju i s tom željom ubacivali votivne darove u izvor, vjerojatno i tada očekujući pomoć od njegovih zaštitnica – nimfi.

tance that *Aquae Iasae* had in a particular period. Thus, it can be concluded that, in the 1st century, the importance of the settlement as a health resort and sanctuary had more of a local character – i.e. that the visitors were mainly residents of the nearby area, or soldiers who stayed there temporarily. This is supported by the preserved inscriptions from the 1st century: those of the commanding staff of the XIII Legion *Gemina*, then stationed in Poetovio,¹⁸⁹ erected in honour of the nymphs to whom the entire sanctuary was most probably dedicated at that phase. A major change occurred during the 2nd century, when new temples were built, the spring was captured by a rectangular construction, and epigraphic monuments testify that, in addition to nymphs, visitors also addressed other deities relating to health and healing. This was certainly the result of the increasing popularity of health resorts and the sanctuary, the need for new facilities, and also a new territorial organization in the first half of the 2nd century, when the colony in Poetovio was founded and this area became part of its territory.¹⁹⁰ Numerous epigraphic monuments confirm the flourishing of the settlement in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when visitors come from various parts of the Empire (among them probably the emperors themselves), attracted not only by the healing properties of the thermal water, but also by the mystique of the ‘sacred spring’, around which there may have been an oracle.¹⁹¹ However, it should be assumed that, even in this period, most visitors came from the nearby territory; and, in addition to the civilian population, they were also members of various offices and stations, or military units that stayed in the area. At the same time, it should be emphasized that it was primarily the private nature of religious practice, even in cases where the dedicants were high-ranking military or civil officials, who most often visited these baths and their sanctuary for personal reasons, due to illness and hope of recovery.

Although there is not much information about the visitors who visited this settlement in the 4th century, because epigraphic findings are very scarce, its importance in that period is certainly evidenced by the renovation and construction confirmed not only by archaeological research, but also by the so-called inscription of Emperor Constantine, according to which the emperor himself had those buildings rebuilt that had been destroyed by fire. Probably at the end of the 4th century, due to general insecurity and other changes that took place in the Empire, the number of visitors decreased, and the settlement retained its significance primarily in local contexts. According to the findings so far related to the emergence of Christianity, such as rings with the Christogram found in the spring, it can be concluded that in that period the cult of the spring was still worshiped and that there was a certain coexistence of religions.¹⁹² Thus, until the very end of the functioning of this complex, the thermal water, its medicinal properties and mysticism attracted people who hoped for healing and, with that desire, threw votive gifts into the spring, probably even then expecting help from its protectors: the nymphs.

190 Horvat *et al.* 2003, p. 160; Ragolić 2014, 335–336; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 130, 134.

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

192 Kušan Špalj 2020a.

189 CIL III 4118; CIL III 10893; HD075016; Kušan Špalj 2022b, 61–62.

190 Horvat *et al.* 2003, p. 160; Ragolić 2014, 335–336; Migotti *et al.* 2018, 130, 134.

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

192 Kušan Špalj 2020a.

Br. / No.	Inv. br. / Inv. No.	Tip spomenika / Type of monument	Dedikacija / Dedication	Dedikant / Dedicator	Funkcija dedikanta / Dedicator function	Datacija / Date	Literatura / Literature	Vrijeme i okolnosti nalaza / Date and find circumstances
1	ZMVT-304	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	Sacrum nymphis	Marcus Fabius Fabullus	tribunus militum legionis XIII Geminae, legatus Augusti provinciae Africae pro praetore...	54 – 68.	Alj 463, Cl. III 4118; AE 2013, 1207; Lučić 2013 cat.5; Cvetko 2022, nr.758; Iupa 5338; HD069304; EDCS-26600399; TM 407714.	Slučajni nalaz 18. st. / accidental find 18 th century.
2	ZMVT	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	Nymphis	Lucius Lartius Celer	primus pilus legionis XIII Geminae	2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Samo dio natpisa je objavljen / only part of the inscription is published: Iljug 1172; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151; Lučić 2013, cat. 11.	Istraživanje svetišta 1963. g. (istočni trijem) / 1963 excavation of the sanctuary (eastern portico).
3	VTks-50	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	Nymphis sacrum	Lucius Laberius Verulanus	praefectus cohortis V Lucensium	2. st. – 1. pol. 3. st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 1.	Istraživanje 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
4	VTks-51	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	Nymphis	Marcus Laelius Clemens	has status legionis X Geminae piae fidei	2. st. – 1. pol. 3. st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 2.	Istraživanje 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
5	AMZ-KS-243	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus Augustis	Iulius Maximus	decurio municipii (?)	2. st. / 2 nd c.	Alj 464; Cl. III 10891; Ljubić 1879, 41, no 4; Brunšmid 1907, no.243; Lučić 2013, cat. 8; Cvetko 2022, nr.755; Iupa 11589; EDCS-29000457; HD069306; TM 408621.	Slučajni nalaz 1876. g. / accidental find 1876.
6	ZMVT-310	Natpis (mramor) / Inscription (marble)	Nymphas salutare	Marcus Rutilius Lupus	tribunus militum legionis XXII, questor, tribunus plebis, legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae	69 – 84.	Alj 462; Cl. III 10893; AE 2013, 1207; Lučić 2013, 9; Iupa 5330; HD069303; EDCS29000458; TM 408623.	Slučajni nalaz 1880. g. u ulici B. Radčić 7 / accidental find in 1880 in B. Radčić Street 7.
7	VTks 1/22	Dio žtvenika (vapnenac) / Fragment of an altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus			2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Iupa 25463; EDCS-68100094	Istraživanje 2000. g. (zapadni dio svetišta) / 2000 excavations (western part of the sanctuary).
8	VTks 1/2002	Dio žtvenika (vapnenac) / Fragment of an altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus			2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Iupa 25464; Cvetko 2022, 754; EDCS-68100095.	Istraživanje 2002. g. (svetište) / 2002 excavations (sanctuary).
9	ZMVT	Dio žtvenika (vapnenac) / Fragment of an altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus Augustis	Quintus Caesius		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Samo dio natpisa je objavljen / only part of the inscription is published: Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113; Iljug 1171b; Lučić 2013, cat. 3.	Istraživanja 1963. g. – jugoistočni dio svetišta (u oploćenju) / 1963 excavation of the sanctuary, southern eastern part (in the pavement).
10	ZMVT	Dio žtvenika (vapnenac) / Fragment of an altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus Augustis	Avitus	miles legionis (?)	2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Samo dio natpisa je objavljen / only part of the inscription is published: Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113; Iljug 1171a; Lučić 2013, cat. 2.	Istraživanja 1963. g. – jugoistočni dio svetišta (u oploćenju) / 1963 excavation of the sanctuary, southern eastern part (in the pavement).
11	ZMVT	Dio žtvenika (vapnenac) / Fragment of an altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus	Aurelius Avitus		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Samo dio natpisa je objavljen / only part of the inscription is published: Iljug 1171c; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113; Lučić 2013, cat. 4.	Istraživanja 1963. g. – jugoistočni dio svetišta (u oploćenju) / 1963 excavation of the sanctuary, southern eastern part (in the pavement).
12	VTks-75	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus	Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus et Ulpia Pudentilla	centurio legionis XIII Geminae Severianae	Oko 230. g. / around 230.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 7.	Istraživanje 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
13	VTks-72	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus	(?) Valens	beneficiarius consularis	Kraj 3. st. / end of 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 7 / cat. no. 7.	Istraživanje 2006. – 2012. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006 – 2012 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
14	VTks-79	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	Nymphis salutaribus	Aurelius Secundianus qui et Itrius	beneficiarius consularis	3. st. / 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 8 / cat. no. 8.	Istraživanje 2006. – 2012. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006 – 2012 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).

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15	VTks-56	Postament - žrtvenik (mramor) / pedestal - altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis salutaribus</i>	Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus	<i>agens (?) Provinciae Pannoniae Superioris</i>	1. pol. 3. st. / 1 st half of 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 9 / cat. no. 9.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
16	VTks-35	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis salutaribus</i>			2. - 3. st. / 2 nd - 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 10 / cat. no. 10.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
17	ZMVT-1422	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis salutaribus</i>	Collatores (popis imena / list of names)		6. oktobar 239 / 6 th October 239.	AE 2013, 01209; Lučić 2013, cat. 14, 29; Cvetko 2022, nr. 756; Iupa 5325+5326; EDCS-6920045; HD074547; TM 706106	Istraživanje 1981. g. (svetište) / excavation 1981 (sanctuary).
18	VTks-86a	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis plaleonis Augustis salutaribus (S?oli et M?)</i>	Caius? Aurelius? Victor		1. - 3. st. / 1 st - 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 8.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
19	ZMVT-303	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Titus Iulius Ianuarus		3. st. / 3 rd c.	Alj 465; Cl. III 4119; AE 2013, 01207; Lučić 2013, 10; Cvetko 2022, nr. 750; HD071771; Iupa 5327; EDCS-26600400; TM 407715.	Slučajni nalaz 18/19 st. / accidental find 18 th /19 th c.
20	ZMVT	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Aelius Victorinus (et Lucilia coniunx)	<i>beneficiarius consularis</i>	2. st. / 2 nd c.	AE 2013, 01208; Lučić 2013, cat. 11; Cvetko 2022, nr. 752; Iupa 5322; HD074545.	Istraživanja 1962. g. - istočni dio svetišta (iznad pločenia) / 1962 excavation of the sanctuary, eastern part (above the pavement).
21	ZMVT-311	Natpis (mramor) / Inscription (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Res publica Poetovionensis		162 - 166.	Alj 461; Cl. III 4117; IlJug 357; Iupa 5346; HD069301; EDCS-26600398; TM 407713.	Slučajni nalaz 18/43. ulazni dio parka / accidental find 18/43. at the park entrance.
22	Izgubljeno / lost	Natpis / Inscription	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Flavius Valentinus		2. st. / 2 nd c.	Tkalčić 1869, 23; Ljubčić 4.1. 5; Lučić 2013, cat. 13.	Istraživanje 1867. g. / 1867 excavations.
23	ZMVT-1147+1151	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nimfis Augustis</i>	Lucius Antonius Ursinus		2. - 3. st. / 2 nd - 3 rd c.	Iupa 25465; Cvetko 2022, nr. 753; EDCS-68100096.	Istraživanje 1967. g. (zapadni hram) / 1967 excavation (western temple).
24	VTks-52	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Aurelius Flavius	<i>decurio municipii B[e]gensium</i>	3. st. / 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 3.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
25	VTks-54	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Caius Iulius Nepos	<i>commentariensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. - 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 4.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
26	VTks-36	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Titus Flavius Florentinus	<i>decurio coloniae Ulpiae Traiane Poetovionensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. - 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 5.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
27	VTks-77	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Caius Valerius Posphorus	<i>Augustalis coloniae Ulpiae Traiane Poetovionensis</i>	2. st. - 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. - 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2014, cat. 79; Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 6; Cvetko 2022, no 753; Iupa 30296; HD075024; EDCS-68200021	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
28	VTks-76	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Valerius Marcianus (libertus)		1. pol. 3. st. / 1 st half of 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 1 / cat. no. 1.	Istraživanje 2006. g. - 2012. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006 - 2012 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).
29	VTks-83	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Titus Aurelius Brincaulus (Augusti libertus)	<i>Procurator rationes voluptitem(i) Duarum Pannoniarum</i>	2. st. / 2 nd c.	Kat. br. 2 / cat. no. 2.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - 2016. g. - izvorište (južni zid) / 2011 - 2016 excavation - spring reservoir (south wall).
30	VTks-89	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis Augustis et Apollini</i>		<i>miles legionis X Geminae Severianae beneficiarius consularis</i>	222 - 235.	Kat. br. 3 / cat. no. 3.	Istraživanje 2006. g. - 2011. g. - izvorište (južni zid) / 2006 - 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (south wall).
31	VTks-71	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	Maximus (?)		2. - 3. st. / 2 nd - 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 4 / cat. no. 4.	Istraživanje 2012. g., južno od izvorišta / 2012 excavation, south of the spring reservoir.
32	VTks-15	Mramorni postament s natpisom / Marble postament with inscription	<i>Nymphis Augustis(?)</i>	Iulia Proclilla Mursensis Res publica Poetovionensis		2. - 3. st. / 2 nd - 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 5 / cat. no. 5.	Istraživanje 2011. g. (opločenje sjeverno od izvorišta) / 2011 excavation (pavement north of the spring reservoir).
33	ZMVT-422	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Iasis</i>	Flavius Hermadion	<i>circitor vectigalis Ilyrici</i>	2. - 3. st. / 2 nd - 3 rd c.	IlJug 1171; AE 1985, 00714; Lučić 2013, 6; Cvetko 2022, nr. 757; HD002222; Iupa 5323; EDCS-08300492; TM 195547.	Istraživanja 1962. g. - istočni dio svetišta (iznad pločenia) / 1962 excavation of the sanctuary, eastern part (above the pavement).
34	VTks-14	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Iasis</i>	Publius Flavius Castor	<i>praefectus alae I Thracum</i>	3. st. / 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 9.	Istraživanje 2011. g. - izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation - spring reservoir (north wall).

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35	VTks-5	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Nymphis Iasis salutaribus</i>	<i>Ianuarus (auggustorum libertus)</i>	<i>ex adiutore tabularius Provinciae Pannoniae inferioris</i>	8. (7?) novembra 245. / 8 th (or 7 th) November 245 AD.	Kušan Špalj 2022a, cat. 10.	Istraživanje 2006. – 2012. g. – izvorište (južni zid) / 2006 – 2012 excavation – spring reservoir (south wall).
36	ZMVT-1152	Žrtvenik mramor (gornji dio) / Marble altar (upper part)	<i>Nymphis sanctis</i>			2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	<i>Iupa</i> 25462; Cvetko 2022, 759; EDCS-68100093	Istraživanje 1967. g. (zapadni hram, okvir) / 1967 excavation (western temple, door frame).
37	VTks-85	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Numini nympharum</i>	<i>Marcus Vibius Vibianus</i>	? <i>legionis XIII(?)</i>	2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 11 / cat. no. 11.	Istraživanje 2011. – 2012. g. (natpis ostavljen u južnom zidu izvorišta) / 2011 – 2012 excavation (inscription remained in the spring reservoir south wall).
38	VTks-84	Žrtvenik (mramor) / Altar (marble)	<i>Numini maiestati (bus) que numiarum</i>	<i>Caius Sextius Ursus</i>		2. st. – 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 12 / cat. no. 12.	Istraživanje 2011. – 2016. g. – izvorište (južni zid) / 2011 – 2016 excavation – spring reservoir (south wall).
39	VTks-87	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Numini nympharum</i>	<i>Valerius Marcianus</i>	<i>cornicularius legionis X Geminae Antoniniana(?)</i>	3. st. / 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 13 / cat. no. 13.	Istraživanje 2011. – 2016. g. – izvorište (južni zid) / 2011 – 2016 excavation – spring reservoir (south wall).
40	VTks-18	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Numini nympharum</i>	<i>Marcus Aurelius Vibius</i>	<i>pontifex, decurio coloniae Cibalensium, princeps praefectus civitatum Carnacatum (?)</i>	3. st. / 3 rd c.	Kat. br. 14 / cat. no. 14.	Istraživanje 2011 – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
41	VTks-8	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Apollini Dianae et nymphis</i>	<i>Lucius Arrius Florentinus</i>	<i>speculator XIII (?)</i>	2. – 1. pol. 3. st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2014, 76, 100; 2015, 76, 100; Kušan Špalj 2017, 285–286; Cvetko 2022, nr. 77.1; <i>Iupa</i> 30108; HD075031; EDCS-72400241	Istraživanje 2006, 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006, 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
42	VTks-82	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Iunoni Reginae et Minervae Apollini et nymphis</i>	<i>Caius Petronius Optatus</i>		2. st. – 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2017a, 287, 288; Cvetko 2022, nr. 77.2.	Istraživanje 2006, 2011 – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006, 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
43	VTks-9	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Seraphi sancto et nymphis salutaribus</i>	<i>Caius Caecilius Saturninus</i>		2. st. – 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj 2017a, 292, 293; Cvetko 2022, nr. 77.5.	Istraživanje 2006, 2011 – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006, 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
44	ZMVT-301	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Dianae et nymphis</i>	<i>Collegium Iuventutis</i>		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Alj 460; Lučić 2013, cat. 17; Cvetko 2022, nr. 76.3; <i>Iupa</i> 5340; HD022299; EDCS-15900308; TM 195971.	Slučajni nalaz 1931. g. u parku / accidental find in the park in 1931.
45	VTks-34	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone)	<i>Fortunae Iasoniae nymphis salutaribus ceterisque disdeabus quae</i>	<i>Caius Iulius Victorinus</i>	<i>decurio municipii</i>	2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 76; 2015, cat. 76; Cvetko 2022, nr. 76.8; EDSC-68 200020.	Istraživanje 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
46	AMZ	Natpis (mramor) / Inscription (marble)	<i>Nympha est(?)</i>			4. st. / 4 th c.	Alj 470; Lučić 2013, Cat. 1; <i>Iupa</i> 22687; EDCS-11301106; HD071775; TM 407285.	Slučajni nalaz 1921./22. g. / accidental find 1921/22
47	ZMVT-1169	Žrtvenik (vapnenac) / Altar (limestone) upper part	<i>[N]ymphis / Θεαῖς; Αἰών / [–] loc. / [–]</i>			2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	<i>Iupa</i> 25461; Cvetko 2022, nr. 760	Istraživanja 1962. g. – istočni dio svetišta (iznad pločena) / 1962 excavation of the sanctuary, eastern part (above the pavement).
48	VTks-81	Mramorni reljef (3 ženske figure) i natpis / Marble relief (3 female figures) with an inscription	<i>Ni(m)ffis (l) Augustis</i>	<i>Ulpia Iustina</i>		2. st. – 1. pol. 3 st. / 2 nd c. – 1 st half of the 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014; 2015, cat. 83; cat. 6.	Istraživanje 2006, 2012. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2006, 2012 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
49	VTks-6	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe) i natpis / Marble relief (3 nymphs) with an inscription	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Verus (servus)</i>		161 – 168.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 80; 2015, cat. 80.	Istraživanja 1967. g. (istočni hram) 2011. g. (sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena) / excavations 1967 (eastern temple) and 2011 (south spring reservoir wall).
50	VTks-69	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe, Venera, Izida / Fortuna) i natpis / Marble relief (3 nymphs, Venus, Isis / Fortuna) and inscription				1. juni 192. / 1 st June 192.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 74; 2015, cat. 74.	Istraživanje 2011., 2012. g. (u južnom sjevernom zidu izvorišta) / 2011, 2012 excavations (in the spring reservoir south and north walls).
51	ZMVT	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe) / Marble relief (3 nymphs)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj, Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 77; 2015, cat. 77; <i>Iupa</i> 16735;	Istraživanje 2006. g. – sjeverni zid izvorišnog bazena (zapadni dio) / excavation in 2006, spring reservoir north wall (western part).

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52	VTks-7	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe) i natpis / Marble relief (3 nymphs) with an inscription		<i>Collegium (popis imena / list of names)</i>		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 78; 2015, cat. 78.	Istraživanje 2011. g. (opločenje južno od izvorišta) / excavation in 2011 (pavement south of the spring reservoir).
53	VTks-23	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe) / Marble relief (3 nymphs)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 82; 2015, cat. 82.	Istraživanje 2011., 2012. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011, 2012 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).
54	ZMVT-335	Mramorni reljef (3 nimfe) / Marble relief (3 nymphs)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Staindl 1822, 21–22; Kunitsch 1828, Gorenc 1971, 30; Iupa 5329.	Slučajni nalaz 1820. g. / accidental find in 1820.
55	AMZ A-38425	Mramorni reljef (nimfa) / Marble relief (nymph)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Gorenc, Vikić 1980, Fig. 17; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 84; 2015, cat. 84.	Kupalište / baths.
56	AMZ A-38423	Dio mramornog reljefa (glava nimfe) / Part of the relief (head of a nymph)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Vikić-Belanić, Gorenc 1970, 136; Kušan Špalj 2014, cat. 85; 2015, cat. 85.	Istraživanje kupališta 1958. g. / baths, excavation 1959.
57	AMZ A-38424	Dio mramornog reljefa (leđa nimfe) / Part of the relief (nymph's back)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 86; 2015, cat. 86.	Istraživanje svetišta 1964. g. / 1964 excavation of the sanctuary.
58	VTks-86	Dio mramornog reljefa (noge nimfe) i dio natpisa / Part of the relief (legs of a nymph) and part of an inscription	<i>Nymphis Augustis</i>	<i>Aelius</i>		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 87; 2015, cat. 87.	Istraživanje svetišta 2013. g. / 2013 excavation of the sanctuary.
59	AMZ A-38421	Dio mramornog reljefa s natpisom / Part of a marble relief with inscription	<i>Nimifis</i>	<i>Dillius</i>		2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 88; 2015, cat. 88.	Istraživanja 1967. g. (u zidu zapadnog hrama) / excavation in 1967 (in western temple wall).
60	Portal+ AMZ ks126	Reljef nimfe (gornji dio ugrađen u portal parka, donji dio u AMZ-u) / Marble relief – depicting nymph (upper part built in the park gate, lower part in AMZ)				2. – 3. st. / 2 nd – 3 rd c.	Brunšmid 1905, nr. 126; Gorenc 1971, T. XX; Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 4; 2015, cat. 4; Rendić-Miočević 2015; Solter 2016, 28; Iupa 5390 +22795.	Slučajni nalaz 1843. g. ulazni dio parka / accidental find 1843 at the park entrance.
61	VTks-25	<i>Thesaurus</i> – mramor / marble	<i>Sacrum nymphis</i>				Kušan Špalj et al. 2014, cat. 81; 2015, cat. 81.	Istraživanje 2011. g. – izvorište (sjeverni zid) / 2011 excavation – spring reservoir (north wall).

TABLE 1. Popis spomenika iz Varaždinskih Toplica postavljenih u čast nimfi.

TABLE 1. List of monuments from Varaždinske Toplice erected in honour of nymphs.

KRATICE ABBREVIATIONS

ZMVT – Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice / The Regional Museum Varaždinske Toplice

AMZ – Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu / Archaeological Museum in Zagreb

VTks – broj dodijeljen tijekom arheoloških istraživanja (predmeti se čuvaju u AMZ, ZMVT) / number assigned during archaeological excavations (objects are kept in the AMZ, ZMVT)

KATALOG NATPISA

Kat. br. 1 (slike 3, 4)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-76

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2012.)

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 94 cm, šir. baze 62 cm, deblj. baze 34 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 55 cm, šir. 44,5 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 4,5 cm, 2. redak: 4 cm, 3. – 4. redak: 3,5 cm, 5. redak: 4 cm, 6. – 8. redak: 3, 5 cm, 9. redak: 3 cm

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

Datacija: 1. polovica 3. stoljeća (nakon 207. godine)

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / salvis dd(ominis) nn(ostris) in/dulgentissimis div(is) / libenter pro salute / et adventu L(ucii) Eg(nat(i) Victoris leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) suorum q(ue) omnium vi/ros salvos et incolum(es) / pr[ae]stent Val(erius) Mar/ci[an]us lib(ertus) eius ex / vo[t]jo posuit l(ibens) l(aetus)

Prijevod:

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama, za spas naših gospodara milostivih bogova, rado za zdravlje i dolazak Lucija Egnacija Viktora, carskog namjesnika Gornje Panonije i svih svojih da (nimfe) čuvaju drugove, zdrave i sigurne, Valerije Marcijan njegov oslobođenik, ispunio zavjet rado i sretno

Kat. br. 2 (slike 6, 7)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-83

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji južnog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2016. g.)

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 114 cm, šir. baze 43 cm, deblj. baze 28 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 63 cm, šir. 44 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 3,5 cm, 2. – 6. redak: 3 cm, 7., 8. redak: 2,5 cm

Stanje: Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Dio baze je naknadno otklesan. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / T(itus) Aurelius / Brincalus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / rat(ionis) voluptitem (!) / Duarum / Pannoniar(um)

CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

Cat. No. 1 (Figs 3, 4)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-76

Find site: in the preserved structure of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2012)

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 94 cm; base w 62 cm; base th 34 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 55 cm; w 44.5 cm

Letter size: line 1, 4.5 cm; line 2, 4 cm; lines 3–4, 3.5 cm; line 5, 4 cm; lines 6–8, 3.5 cm; line 9, 3 cm

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

Date: first half of the 3rd century (after 207 AD)

Unpublished

Nymphis Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / salvis dd(ominis) nn(ostris) in/dulgentissimis div(is) / libenter pro salute / et adventu L(ucii) Eg(nat(i) Victoris leg(ato) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) suorum q(ue) omnium vi/ros salvos et incolum(es) / pr[ae]stent Val(erius) Mar/ci[an]us lib(ertus) eius ex / vo[t]jo posuit l(ibens) l(aetus)

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, for the salvation of our lords, the merciful gods, happy for the health and arrival of Lucius Egnatius Victor, the imperial governor of Upper Pannonia, and all his and that (nymphs) guard the comrades, healthy and safe, Valerius Marcianus his freedman, fulfilled the vow gladly and happily

Cat. no. 2 (Figs 6, 7)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-83

Find site: in the preserved construction of the southern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2016)

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 114 cm; base w 43 cm; base th 28 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 63 cm; w 44 cm

Letter size: line 1, 3.5 cm; lines 2–6, 3 cm; lines 7–8, 2.5 cm

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

Date: 2nd century

Unpublished

Nymphis / Aug(ustis) sac(rum) / T(itus) Aurelius / Brincalus / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) proc(urator) / rat(ionis) voluptitem (!) / Duarum / Pannoniar(um)

Prijevod:

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama, Tit Aurelije Brinkal, carski oslobođenik, prokurator zabave Dvojne Panonije

Kat. br. 3 (slike 9, 10)**Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-89

Mjesto nalaza: u zapadnom dijelu sjevernog zida izvorišnog bazena (u konstrukciji zida), istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 115, šir. baze 50 cm, deblj. baze 25 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 47 cm, šir. 43 cm

Visina slova: 1. – 2. redak: 4 cm, 3. redak: ?; 4. – 5. redak: 4 cm; 6. – 8. redak 3,5 cm; 9. redak: 2,5 cm

Stanje: Spomenik je razlomljen u tri dijela, oštećeni (otklesani) baza i krunište. Jako oštećena površina, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 222. – 235. godine

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis Aug(ustis) / et Apollini / [---] / [--]A[---] / e[t?] V[-]LO(?) [-]NAIV(?)VO(?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / S[e]veriana(e) b(ene)f(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [---]M(?) pro / se et sui[s---] [fe]cit

Prijevod:

Uzvišenim nimfama i Apolonu... vojnik legije X. *Gemina Severiana*, konzularni beneficijarij ... za sebe i svoje... napravio

Kat. br. 4. (slike 12, 13)**Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-71

Mjesto nalaza: južno od južnog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2012. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis 144 cm, šir. baze 50 cm, deblj. 18 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 80 cm, šir. 47 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 4,7 cm, 2. redak: 4,5 cm, 3. redak: 4,3 cm, 4. i 5. redak: 4 cm, 6. – 8. redak: 3,8 cm, 9. redak: 3 cm

Stanje: Oštećeni (otklesani) dijelovi baze i kruništa. Jako oštećene površine. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Nymph[is] Aug(ustis) / L[---] et [---] / et[---] / xim [---] [p]ro / sal[ute] L(ucii?) Op(?)[-]ris / Iunioris [-] / mil(es) [I]leg(ionis)[---] O(?) [---] / excepi(t) suo (ex?) [ius](su)? / <i=--P>ps(arum?) ex voto

Prijevod:

Uzvišenim nimfama... Maksim... za zdravlje Lucija (?) Juniora, ...vojnik legije... prihvatio svoje prema njihovoj naredbi (?), iz zavjeta.

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, Titus Aurelius Brincalus, imperial freedman, procurator of the entertainment of Dual Pannonia

Cat. no. 3 (Figs 9, 10)**A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae***

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-89

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

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 115 cm; base w 50 cm; base th 25 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 47 cm; w 43 cm

Letter size: lines 1–2, 4 cm; line 3, ?; lines 4–5, 4 cm; lines 6–8, 3.5 cm; line 9, 2.5 cm

Condition: The monument is broken into three parts, the base and the capital are damaged (carved out). Severely damaged surface, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 222–235.

Unpublished

Nymphis Aug(ustis) / et Apollini / [---] / [--]A[---] / e[t?] V[-]LO(?) [-]NAIV(?)VO(?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / S[e]veriana(e) b(ene)f(iciarius) / co(n)s(ularis) [---]M(?) pro / se et sui[s---] [fe]cit

Translation:

To the nymphs *Augustae*.... soldier of the legion X *Gemina Severiana*, beneficiarius consularisfor himself and his own...he made

Cat. no. 4. (Figs 12, 13)**A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae***

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-71

Find site: south of the southern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2012

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 144 cm; base w 50 cm; base th 18 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 80 cm; w 47 cm

Letter size: line 1, 4.7 cm; line 2, 4.5 cm; line 3, 4.3 cm; lines 4 and 5, 4 cm; lines 6–8, 3.8 cm; line 9, 3 cm

Condition: damaged (chiselled) parts of the base and capital. Severe surface damage. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 2nd–3rd century.

Unpublished

Nymph[is] Aug(ustis) / L[---] et [---] / et[---] / xim [---] [p]ro / sal[ute] L(ucii?) Op(?)[-]ris / Iunioris [-] / mil(es) [I]leg(ionis)[---] O(?) [---] / excepi(t) suo (ex?) [ius](su)? / <i=--P>ps(arum?) ex voto

Translation:

To the nymphs *Augustae*... Maximus... for the health of Lucius (?) Junior, ...soldier of the legion....accepted his according to their order (?), from the vow

Kat. br. 5 (slike 15, 16, 17)**Postament sa zavjetnim natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-15

Mjesto nalaza: u urušenju opločenja iza sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 104 cm, šir. 121 cm, deblj. 30 cm. Na gornjoj površini više utora pravokutnog oblika: vel. 2 x 2 cm, 5 x 5 cm te jedan nepravilni (vjerojatno oštećenje) 12 x 12 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja (unutar okvira): vis. 36 cm, šir. 92 cm (okvir: bočna profilacija 3,5 cm, gornja i donja profilacija 4 cm)

Visina slova: 1. redak: 4 cm, 2. redak 3,5 cm (slova I, N – 4,5 cm), 3. – 5. redak: 3,5 cm, 6. redak: 3 cm

Stanje: Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita, spomenik razlomljen u tri komada, oštećenje na gornjem dijelu. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. – 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Nymph[is] [Au]g(ustis) sacrum / Iulia C(ai) Lu[l](ii) Fi[r]mini fil(ia) Procilla / Mursensis signa III ex argenti / libris XXX ex voto et ex visu / donum dedit / ex quib(us) amissa(m) una(m) res p(ublica) Poet(ovionensis) rest(ituit)

Prijevod:

Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama, Julija Procila, iz Murse, kći Gaja Julija Firmina, iz zavjeta i ukazanja darovala tri statue od srebra težine 30 libri, od kojih je jednu izgubljenu petovionska općina ponovno postavila.

Kat. br. 6 (slika 18)**Reljef s prikazom tri ženska lika i natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-81

Mjesto nalaza: jedan fragment nađen 2006. godine u urušenju sjevernog zida izvorišta, a ostali dijelovi u konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida (istraživanje 2012. godine)

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 50 cm (?), šir. 38 cm, deblj. 1,5 – 4 cm

Visina slova: 2,7 – 3,7 cm

Stanje: Spomenik je djelomično sačuvan, pronađeno je 8 fragmenata. Dio središnjeg dijela natpisa ima sačuvanu crvenu boju u slovima (fragment koji je nađen 2006.). Na spomeniku su provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi 2014. godine.

Datacija: 2. – 3. stoljeće

Objava: Kušan Špalj et al. 2014; 2015, kat. br. 83.

Ni(m)ffis (!) Aug(ustis) Ul/pia Iustina / ex voto posuit l(ibenter)

Prijevod:

Uzvišenim nimfama. Prema zavjetu je rado postavila Ulpia Justina.

Cat. no. 5 (Figs. 15, 16, 17)**A pedestal with a votive inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae***

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-15

Find site: in the collapse of paving behind the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 104 cm; w 121 cm; th 30 cm. On the upper surface there are several rectangular grooves: size 2x2 cm, 5x5 cm, and one irregular (probably damaged) size 12x12 cm
Dimensions of inscription field (within the frame): h 36 cm; w 92 cm (frame: side moulding 3.5 cm, top and bottom moulding 4 cm).

Letter size: line 1, 4 cm; line 2, 3.5 cm (letters I, N, 4.5 cm); lines 3–5, 3.5 cm; line 6, 3 cm

Condition: surface damage, traces of pyrite, monument broken into three pieces, damage on the upper part. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 2nd–3rd century

Unpublished

Nymph[is] [Au]g(ustis) sacrum / Iulia C(ai) Lu[l](ii) Fi[r]mini fil(ia) Procilla / Mursensis signa III ex argenti / libris XXX ex voto et ex visu / donum dedit / ex quib(us) amissa(m) una(m) res p(ublica) Poet(ovionensis) rest(ituit)

Translation:

Dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae*, Iulia Procilla, from Mursa, daughter of Caius Iulius Firminus, by vow and apparition donated three silver statues weighing 30 libri, one of which, which was lost, has been set up by the *res publica Poetovionensis*

Cat. no. 6 (Fig 18)**A relief depicting three female figures and an inscription dedicated to the nymphs *Augustae***

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-81

Find site: one fragment found in 2006 in the collapse of the northern wall, and the other parts in the construction of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir (excavations in 2012)

Material: marble

Dimensions of the monument: h 50 cm (?); w 38 cm; th 1.5–4 cm.

Letter size: 2.7–3.7 cm

Condition: The monument is partially preserved, 8 fragments were found. Fragment of the central part of the inscription has red colour in the letters (a fragment found in 2006). Conservation and restoration work was carried out on the monument in 2014

Date: 2nd–3rd century.

Publication: Kušan Špalj et al. 2014; 2015, cat. no. 83.

Ni(m)ffis (!) Aug(ustis) Ul/pia Iustina / ex voto posuit l(ibenter)

Translation:

To the nymphs *Augustae*. Pursuant to the vow, gladly set up by Ulpia Iustina

Kat. br. 7 (slike 19, 20, 21)**Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljujućim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-72

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida (najgornji red zida) izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2012.)

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 108 cm, šir. 30 cm (donji rub), 36 cm (gornji rub), deblj. 26 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 36 cm, šir. 30 cm

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

Stanje: Oštećena (otklesana) baza i dio kruništa. Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: kraj 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis / Salutaribus / [-]talu(?) Valens / b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)

Prijevod:

Ozdravljujućim nimfama, (?) Valent, konzularni beneficijar, rado ispunio zavjet.

Kat. br. 8 (slike 22, 23)**Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljujućim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-79

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji istočnog dijela sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2012.)

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 76 cm, šir. 44 cm, deblj. 30 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 39 cm, šir. 43 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 7 cm, 2. redak: 5,5 cm, 3. – 4. redak: 5 cm, 5. redak: 4,5 cm

Stanje: Nedostaje donji dio spomenika, otklesan dio kruništa. Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis / Salut(aribus) / Aur(elius) Secun/dianus be(necifiarius) / co(n)s(ularis) qu[i] et Itr(ius) / [-]y i r?[-]

Prijevod:

Ozdravljujućim nimfama, Aurelije Sekundijan poznat i kao Itrius, konzularni beneficijar...

Kat. br. 9 (slike 24, 25, 26)**Postament u obliku zavjetnog žrtvenika s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljujućim nimfama**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-56

Mjesto nalaza: u urušenju sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanje 2011. godine

Cat. no. 7 (Figs 19, 20, 21)**A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-72

Find site: in the preserved structure of the eastern part of the northern wall (top row of the wall) of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2012)

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 108 cm; w 30 cm (bottom edge), 36 cm (top edge); th 26 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 36 cm; w 30 cm

Letter size: line 1, 5.5 cm; line 2, 5.3 cm; line 3, 5 cm; line 4, 4.8 cm

Condition: Damaged (chiselled) base and part of the capital. Surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: end of the 3rd century

Unpublished

Nymphis / Salutaribus / [-]talu(?) Valens / b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)

Translation:

To the healing nymphs, (?) Valens, the *beneficiarius consularis*, gladly fulfilled the vow**Cat. no. 8** (Figs 22, 23)**A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-79

Find site: in the preserved structure of the eastern part of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2012)

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 76 cm; w 44 cm; th 30 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 39 cm; w 43 cm

Letter size: line 1, 7 cm; line 2, 5.5 cm; lines 3–4, 5 cm; line 5, 4.5 cm

Condition: The lower part of the monument is missing, the capital is carved out. Surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 3rd century

Unpublished

Nymphis / Salut(aribus) / Aur(elius) Secun/dianus be(necifiarius) / co(n)s(ularis) qu[i] et Itr(ius) / [-]y i r?[-]

Translation:

To the healing nymphs, Aurelius Secundianus also known as Itrius, *beneficiarius consularis*...**Cat. no. 9** (Figs 24, 25, 26)**A pedestal in the form of a votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-56

Find site: in the collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 112 cm, šir. baze 72 cm, deblj. baze 45 cm; gornja ploha: šir. 72 cm, deblj. 34,5 cm, utor na gornjoj plohi: šir. 8 cm (i jedan manji utor 5 x 5 cm)

Dimenzije natpisnog polja (unutar okvira): vis. 53,5 cm, šir. 42,5 cm

Visina slova: 1. – 2. redak: 5 cm, 3. redak: 4,3 cm, 4. redak: 4 cm, 5. redak: 5 cm, 6., 7. redak: 4 cm, 8. redak: 4,3 cm

Stanje: Jako oštećena površina natpisnog polja, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 1. polovica 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

[Ny]mphis Salutarib(us) / M(arcus)A(ur(elius)) [M](arci) [Aur(elii)] lib(ertus) / Bellicianu[s] [---]lar / acens(!) it(e)r(um?) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / pro salute sua et Iuliae / Cleopatra(e) [con]jug(is) e(t) / M(arcus) Aur(elii) Belli[cia]ni fili(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Prijevod:

Ozdravljujućim nimfama, Marko Aurelije Belicijan, oslobođenik Marka Aurelija, agent(?) (dva puta?) u provinciji Gornjoj Panoniji, za svoje zdravlje i supruge Julije Kleopatre i sina Marka Aurelija Belicijana, zavjet rado ispunio.

Kat. br. 10 (slika 27)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim ozdravljujućim nimfama

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-35

Mjesto nalaza: u urušenju iza sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 54 cm, šir. 54 cm, deblj. 33 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 54 cm, šir. 54 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 4,8 cm, 2. redak: 4,3 cm, 3. redak: 4,3 cm, 4. redak: (oštećen)

Stanje: Sačuvan samo gornji dio spomenika. Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 1. – 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Nymphis salu/taribus pro / salut(e)[---] / ç ç [---

Prijevod:

Ozdravljujućim nimfama, za zdravlje...

Kat. br. 11 (slika 29)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim numenu nimfi

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-85

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji južnog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine; spomenik je ostavljen u zidu

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 80 cm, šir. 45 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 55 cm, šir. 45 cm

Visina slova: 1. – 6. redak: 6 cm

Stanje: Spomenik jako oštećen, otklesani dio baze i kruništa i de-

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 112 cm; base w 72 cm; base th 45 cm; upper surface: w 72 cm, th 34.5 cm; groove on the upper surface: w 8 cm (and one smaller groove, 5x5 cm in size)

Dimensions of inscription field (within the frame): h 53.5 cm; w 42.5 cm

Letter size: lines 1–2, 5 cm; line 3, 4.3 cm; line 4, 4 cm; line 5, 5 cm; lines 6–7, 4 cm; line 8, 4.3 cm

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

Date: first half of the 3rd century

Unpublished

[Ny]mphis Salutarib(us) / M(arcus)A(ur(elius)) [M](arci) [Aur(elii)] lib(ertus) / Bellicianu[s] [---]lar / acens(!) it(e)r(um?) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / pro salute sua et Iuliae / Cleopatra(e) [con]jug(is) e(t) / M(arcus) Aur(elii) Belli[cia]ni fili(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Translation:

To the healing nymphs, Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus, freedman of Marcus Aurelius, agent(?) (twice?) in the province of Upper Panonia, for his health and the health of his wife Iulia Cleopatra and son Marcus Aurelius Bellicianus, gladly fulfilled the vow.

Cat. no. 10 (Fig 27)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the healing nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-35

Find site: in the collapse behind the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 54 cm; w 54 cm; th 33 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 54 cm; w 54 cm

Letter size: line 1, 4.8 cm; line 2, 4.3 cm; line 3, 4.3 cm; line 4 (damaged)

Condition: Only the upper part of the monument has been preserved. Surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 1st–3rd century

Unpublished

Nymphis salu/taribus pro / salut(e)[---] / ç ç [---

Translation:

To the healing nymphs, for health..

Cat. no. 11 (Fig 29)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the numen of nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-85

Find site: in the preserved structure of the southern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011. The monument remained in the wall

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 80 cm; w 45 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 55 cm; w 45 cm

Letter size: lines 1–6, 6 cm

sna strana natpisnog polja. Spomenik nije izvađen iz konstrukcije južnog zida.

Datacija: 2. – 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Numi[ni] / Nymph[arum] / M(arcus) Vib[ius] / [V]ibianu[s] [ex sua?] / pecun(ia) [---] / [l]eg(ionis) XIII(?) [---]

Prijevod:

Numenu (božanskoj moći) nimfi, Marko Vibije Vibijan, (iz svog?) troška, ...legije XIII (?)...

Kat. br. 12 (slike 30, 31)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim numenu nimfi

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-84

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji južnog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2016.)

Materijal: mramor

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 143 cm, šir. baze 42 cm, deblj. baze 32 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 82 cm, šir. 34 cm

Visina slova: 1. – 8. redak: 5 cm (3. redak slovo Q: 3 cm)

Stanje: Manja oštećenja površine u donjem dijelu natpisnog polja i profilacije, oštećenje profilacije baze. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 2. polovica 2. – početak 3. stoljeća

Neobjavljeno

Numini / maiestatiq(ue) / Numfarum(!) / C(aius) Sextius / Ursus pro / salute sua / et Veri filii(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Prijevod:

Numenu (božanskoj moći) i veličanstvu nimfi, zavjet je rado i po zaslugi ispunio Gaj Sekstije Urs za svoje zdravlje i sina Vera.

Kat. br. 13 (slike 32, 33)

Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim numenu nimfi

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-87

Mjesto nalaza: u sačuvanoj konstrukciji južnog zida (gornji red zida) izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine (izvađeno iz zida 2016.)

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 133 cm, šir. baze 46 cm, deblj. baze 32 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 36 cm, šir. 44 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 5 cm, 2. redak: 4,5 cm, 3. – 7 redak: 3,5 cm

Stanje: Spomenik jako oštećen, prelomljen u dva dijela, otklesani baza i krunište. Jako oštećena površina natpisnog polja, tragovi piritita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Numini / Nympharu(m) / pro sal(ute) Aug(usti) s(a)c(rum) / Val(erius) Marcianus / cornicu(larius) leg[ionis] / X G(eminae) A(ntoniniana?) [---]

Condition: The monument is badly damaged, the base and the capital and the right side of the inscription field are carved out.

The monument remains in the south wall

Date: 2nd–3rd century.

Unpublished

Numi[ni] / Nymph[arum] / M(arcus) Vib[ius] / [V]ibianu[s] [ex sua?] / pecun(ia) [---] / [l]eg(ionis) XIII(?) [---]

Translation:

To the numen (divine power) of the nymphs, Marcus Vibius Vibianus, (from his?) expense, ...legion XIII (?)...

Cat. no. 12 (Figs 30, 31)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the numen of nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-84

Find site: in the preserved structure of the southern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2016)

Material: marble

Dimensions of monument: h 143 cm; base w 42 cm; base th 32 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 82; w 34 cm

Letter size: lines 1–8, 5 cm (in line 3: letter Q, 3 cm)

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

Date: second half of the 2nd century – beginning of the 3rd century

Numini / maiestatiq(ue) / Numfarum(!) / C(aius) Sextius / Ursus pro / salute sua / et Veri filii(i) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Translation:

To the numen (divine power) and the majesty of the nymphs, the vow was gladly and deservedly fulfilled by Caius Sextius Ursus for his health and son Verus.

Cat. no. 13 (Figs 32, 33)

A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the numen of the nymphs

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-87

Find site: in the preserved structure of the southern wall (upper row of the wall) of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011 (removed from the wall in 2016)

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 133 cm; base w 46 cm; base th 32 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 36 cm; w 44 cm

Letter size: line 1, 5 cm; line 2, 4.5 cm; lines 3–7, 3.5 cm

Condition: the monument is badly damaged, broken into two parts, the base and the capital have been carved out. Heavily damaged surface of the inscription field, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 3rd century

Unpublished

Numini / Nympharu(m) / pro sal(ute) Aug(usti) s(a)c(rum) / Val(erius) Marcianus / cornicu(larius) leg[ionis] / X G(eminae) A(ntoniniana?) [---]

Prijevod:

Numenu (božanskoj moći) nimfi, za zdravlje cara posvetio Valerije Marcijan, kornikularij X. legije *Gemina Antoniniana* (?)

Kat. br. 14 (slika 34, 35)**Zavjetni žrtvenik s natpisom posvećenim numenu nimfi**

Privremena pohrana: AMZ, VTks-18

Mjesto nalaza: u urušanju sjevernog zida izvorišta, istraživanja 2011. godine

Materijal: vapnenac

Dimenzije spomenika: vis. 98 cm, šir. baze 31 cm, deblj. baze 21 cm

Dimenzije natpisnog polja: vis. 40 cm, šir. 28 cm

Visina slova: 1. redak: 5 cm, 2. – 6. redak: 4 cm, 7. redak: 3 cm

Stanje: Spomenik jako oštećen, prelomljen u dva dijela, otklesani baza i krunište. Oštećenja površine, tragovi pirita. Na spomeniku još nisu provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi.

Datacija: 3. stoljeće

Neobjavljeno

Numini / Nymphar(um) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) / Papir(ia) Vibius / pont(i)f(ex) dec(urio) col(oniae) Cib(alensium) / [-p?]r((inceps?) praef(ectus) c(ivitatum) C(ornacatium?) vale/tudine liberatus / libens posui

Prijevod:

Numenu (božanskoj moći) nimfi, Marko Aurelije Vibije, sin Marka, upisan u tribus Papirija, pontifeks, dekurion cibalske kolonije, *princeps praefectus* zajednice Kornakata, oslobođen bolesti, rado sam postavio

Translation:

To the numen (divine power) of the nymphs, dedicated for the emperor's health by Valerius Marcianus, cornicularius of the legion X Gemina Antoniniana (?)

Cat. no. 14 (Figs 34, 35)**A votive altar with an inscription dedicated to the numen of nymphs**

Temporary storage: AMZ, VTks-18

Find site: in the collapse of the northern wall of the spring reservoir, excavations in 2011

Material: limestone

Dimensions of monument: h 98 cm; base w 31 cm; base th 21 cm

Dimensions of inscription field: h 40 cm; w 28 cm

Letter size: line 1, 5 cm; lines 2–6, 4 cm; line 7, 3 cm

Condition: the monument is badly damaged, broken into two parts, the base and capital have been carved. Surface damage, traces of pyrite. Conservation and restoration work has not yet been carried out on the monument

Date: 3rd century

Unpublished

Numini / Nymphar(um) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) / Papir(ia) Vibius / pont(i)f(ex) dec(urio) col(oniae) Cib(alensium) / [-p?]r((inceps?) praef(ectus) c(ivitatum) C(ornacatium?) vale/tudine liberatus / libens posui

Translation:

To the numen (divine power) of the nymphs, Marcus Aurelius Vibius, son of Marcus, enrolled in the tribus of Papiria, pontifex, decurion of the Cibalae colony, *princeps praefectus* of the *civitas Cornacatium*, freed from illness, I gladly set up

KRATICE

ABBREVIATIONS

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

HD *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*

ILJug *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLXII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt, Situla 25*, 1986.

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