In the region of the city of Daruvar, once the site of the Roman settlement of Aquae Balissae, the administrative center of the tribe of the Iasi, known in the sources as res publica Iasorum and municipium Iasorum, no systematic archaeological excavation has been performed to the present. The little that can be stated about Aquae Balissae has resulted from the compilation and comparison of scientific interpretations of various source material: scanty literary sources, chance finds of epigraphic and sculptural monuments, archaeological finds from test trenches and rescue excavations of limited extent, above-ground traces of ancient fortifications, the topography and toponomy of the Daruvar basin, as well as the documented general characteristics of the archaeological landscape of northwestern Croatia and western Slavonia between the Sava and Drava Rivers.

**HISTORICAL REVIEW**

The first written sources that could refer to these areas of southern Pannonia offer information about the Pannonian-Celtic tribe of the Iasi. The prehistoric name of the tribe may have derived from the large number of natural thermal springs suitable for bathing and healing with balneorehabilitative – cult tradition in their autochthonous territory. The ethnonym of Iasi is preserved in their center Aquae Balissae as res publica Iasorum and municipium Iasorum in public and funerary monuments. However, their name is also found inscribed in other Iasian settlement and spa, Aquae Iasae. However, their main center was at Aquae Balissae. The first contacts of the Iasi with the Romans should be attributed to the period of the latter’s penetration to Segestica in 159 or 156 BC. During Octavian’s conquest of Segestica (35–34 BC), the Iasi were not named in the sources. After the represssion of the major rebellion headed by Bato (6–9 AD), the Romans founded a military camp in the Daruvar basin, at the site previously occupied by the Iasian oppidum. Through the process of Romanization, the tribal civitas acquired the status of res publica Iasorum. With the partition of Pannonia at the beginning of the 2nd century, it belonged to Upper Pannonia. During the reign of Hadrian, Italic immigrants, veterans and other foreign bearers of the rights of Roman citizenship organized themselves, together with the local inhabitants, into municipium Iasorum at the site of the ancient oppidum in the Daruvar basin. Literary and epigraphic sources have been assessed by A. Mócsy. The city was the administrative center of the Iasi tribe, on whose extensive territory other prominent settlements were formed, such as Aquae Iasae and civitas Iovia (Botivo). The territory of the Municipium Iasorum extended from the Sava to the Drava; it was located on the road that diagonally cut across the area between the Sava and Drava Rivers, and connected Mursa and Siscia in an NE–SW direction: Mursa–Stravianae–Incerum–Aquae Balissae–Varianae–Siscia, as well as in an important transverse S–N line that connected the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia via Aquae Balissae; Salona–Castra–Servitium–Savan fl., Menneiana–Aquae Balissae–Cocconae / Serota–Bolentium–Dravus fl. Aquae Balissae is noted in the Itin. Ant. 265 (Aquis Balissis), and on CIL 6.3297 (Aqua Balissae).

The configuration of the terrain caused the settlement to develop on two levels. The luxurious public areas were in the lower section. The temple of Jupiter, the forum, the temple of Silvanus, and the baths have been confirmed by finds. The public area was decorated with imperial bronze statues. The upper, residential part of the Roman settlement on a natural elevation above the public area utilized the position of the previous Pannonian-Celtic fortification and settlement. It appears that the first military camp had been built here, at the position which was to become the main defensive point of refuge in the late Roman period. Urban life was most probably extinguished in the mid 5th century by the incursions, conquests, and arrival of barbarian peoples.

---

1 The ethnonym could be translated as “Spa Tribe”, Mayer 1935, or in my opinion as “Healers”, Schejbal 2003a.

The History of Research

The first descriptions of remains of Roman architecture and epigraphic monuments were recorded by educated public servants, priests and officials of the Habsburg monarchy who travelled and were active throughout Slavonia from the expulsion of the Ottomans in 1669 up to the mid 19th century. Even at this early date, some of them noticed that the slabs with the inscription Divus Commodus Res Publica Iasorum found in Daruvar (CIL 3.4000) might have belonged to the Roman settlement of Aquae Balisae.1 I. Kukličević who studied the topography of Pannonia,2 was the first who located that Aquae Balisae in the area of Daruvar, i.e. at Podgorje or the town of Lipik, and he defined the territory of the Iasi tribe as extending in the Drava River valley from Varazdište Toplice and its vicinity up to Daruvar. The monuments from Daruvar that were discovered and documented until that point were published together with several later finds in CIL. Later epigraphic finds as well as bronze artifacts were published by Brunšmid,3 and by Hoffmiller and Saria.4 G. Szabo published the results of his study of published, unpublished sources and field survey of Roman Daruvar on the basis of a more extensive, unpublished text kept in the Archives of the Museum of the Požega Basin.5 Szabo additionally left behind a sketch, the earliest known plan of the urban topography of the settlement of Aquae Balisae.6 At almost the same time, A. Mayer published a philological and linguistic study about the Iasi.7 A new synthesis of archaeological finds from the Daruvar basin was written by D. Pintorović.8 The poor extent of archaeological investigations, and the even poorer citation of more recent Croatian publications are the reasons that the outlines of the territory of the Iasi and the urban structure of the settlement of Aquae Balisae in foreign literature are often not firmly defined.9 Croatian and foreign scholars often refer to various aspects concerning Aquae Balisae/Municipium Iasorum.10 The worship of Silvanus and his possible epichoric roots was analysed by D. Rendić-Močević.11

The first study of the Roman archaeological landscape of the Daruvar basin and the surrounding region was produced in 1994.12 Original source material never previously used was utilized to acquire a topographic urban image of Aquae Balisae, primarily consisting of the letters and correspondence of the local trustees of the National Museum in Zagreb, and of the Conservation Office in Zagreb, as well as the reports of the state officials for the protection of the cultural heritage,13 aerial and field photographs, as well as archaeological field survey in the area of the city of Daruvar. Most important for understanding the archaeological situation in the field, and especially the Roman topography of the Daruvar basin, was the source material of G. Szabo,14 which enabled, with the help of records from the 18th and 19th centuries, toponyms in the Daruvar basin, and the general rules of Roman urban planning, the reconstruction of the urban topography of the Roman settlement. The positions have been determined of the forum, the temples of Jupiter and Silvanus, the thermae, the decumanus, the castrum from the period of the Principate, and the refugium from the period of late Antiquity. Along with data offered by the epigraphic monuments and other archaeological sites and finds from Daruvar and its broader area in a radius of 50 km, earlier hypotheses were irrefutably proven that the administrative center of the Pannonian-Celtic tribe of the Iasi and the settlement of Aquae Balisae were located in the area of Daruvar. These results were supplemented by data from rescue and test excavations during which a stone base of a monument to the emperor Commodus was discovered, this being the fourth inscription mentioning res publica Iasorum. Along with field survey of the landscape of the area between the Ilava, Toplica, and Bijela Rivers, a detailed study was also performed of the medieval topography of the Daruvar region with particular emphasis on the continuity of settlement from the Roman period, as well as a topographic reconstruction of the extent of the Roman road network in the Iasian municipal territory. This research, conducted by B. Schiebal, was supplemented by his study of the autochthonous cults in the Iasian territory, which indicates possible roots in the neo/eneolithic practice of balneorehabilitative healing.15

The early Christian finds from the site of Gripejci near Daruvar were discussed by B. Miočić.16 The cults of Jupiter and Silvanus in Aquae Balisae were presented in a recent review of religion and cults in Pannonia.17 As systematic and documented archaeological excavations were not performed in Daruvar until 1994, an analysis of small archaeological material: jewellery, pottery, weapons, tools, and other objects of everyday use. The only material preserved, or at least recorded, are Roman coins, today in the numismatic collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.
**Geographic position**

The broad geographic region of the Daruvar basin and the present city of Daruvar is a contact region between the southern part of the great Pannonian plain, the “island heights” of the Papuk Mountains, and the Sava River valley region. This area abounded in favorable conditions for the development of settlements in the past. The Daruvar basin is located exactly in the middle of the area between the Sava and the Drava Rivers, with equal distances of ca. 50 km in a straight line from their courses (Map I). The basin is located in the center between the western border of the Republic of Croatia, the Sutla River, and the eastern border, which is marked by the Danube River. The broader region of the Daruvar basin belongs to the easternmost part of northwestern Croatia. It is both larger and drier than neighboring swamp and wetland areas along the Sava and the Drava, which feature unhealthy conditions.

The city of Daruvar is located on the northeastern edge of a basin with an irregular diameter of 3 km, with an average height above sea level of 150 m, at the point where hilly forested regions (east) and cultivated land (west, northwest) meet. The large plateau of Stari Slavik (“Hill of the Early Slavs”) arises here, ca. 400 × 500 m, slanted towards the west and ranging from 175 to 226 m above sea level. From this strategic point one can overlook the Daruvar basin and the broader area. Archaeological remains at the site of the hill of Stari Slavik or Rimski tabor (Roman Camp) are attested by the preserved toponyms of Rimski Izuor (Roman Spring), Rimski Suma (Roman Wood), Kamenolom (Quarry). The basin is cut by water courses, and the soil is suitable for all agricultural crops and grazing. Such natural factors, along with the existence of a north–south route between the Sava and Drava, caused the creation of a settlement in prehistory and enabled a continuity of inhabitation throughout all historical periods.

---

19 The city of Daruvar is traditionally described as the far point of western Slavonia, but in fact it is located geographically on the eastern rim of northwestern Croatia. Kupel 1985.

20 Lukačić 1906; Šabić 1927, 1–5, 1934, 80, 84, 86.
The foundation of a Roman settlement at the site of the tribal center of the Iasi in the Daruvar basin was caused by its macro-geographic position and natural characteristics. On a geographic map of the southernmost part of the Roman Province of Pannonia one can immediately note the isolated and strategic position of Aquae Balissae in the middle of the area between the Sava and Drava Rivers, in the middle of what was then the impenetrable forested mountain of Papuk and its northern foothills, cut through by the swampy river valleys. A special trait of the Daruvar basin that particularly spurred economic development and urbanization are the thermal springs (temp. 45–49 °C) with a balneo-rehabilitative prehistoric tradition. From the middle of the 3rd century AD, in the time of battles for the imperial throne and the civil wars that took place while the inscription can be dated to the reign of Septimius Severus, it is known that the ancestors of the Iasi in the Daruvar basin were granted Roman citizenship during the reign of Trajan, and that the tribe of the Iasi was recognized in the center of the inter-riverine area could have played a major role in the transportation and transfer of legions.


A tombstone of Ulpius Cocceius from Rome (CIL 6.3297) shows how the territory of Aquae Balissae was organized into pægi and vicii, parishes and villages: he was born at Aquae Balissae, pago Iovista, vic(e) CoceioNetibus. All three toponyms are confirmed in Roman itineraries. Mutatio Cocconae is identified as the present-day village of Spišč Bukovica in the Virovita area, while pægus Iovista is in fact mutatio Iovia (Cardona, located in the vicinity of the villages of Otrovanov / Prugovec / Sedlarica), distant from Cocconae 12 m.p. (18 km) to the west on the Poetovio–Mursa road.

It is generally considered that the size of the territory of a given municipium did not exceed a distance of more than 50–60 km. Mutatio Cocconae is 31 km distant in a straight line to the northwest from the center of the Iasi. Mutatio Iovia (Cardona) would be located ca. 50 km in a straight line to the northwest of Aquae Balissae, bordering with the territory of civitas Iovia (Botovo, present-day Ludbreg). Accordingly, the municipium of the Iasi must have bordered on the northeast with the territory of Sopianae (Pécs) somewhere in the vicinity of the road stations Serota (Taborite–Borova) and Bolentum (Orešac), or in the vicinity of Dravus fl., and on the east with the territory of the colony of Mursa. The distance as the crow flies between Aquae Balissae in Upper Pannonia and the colony of Mursa (Osijek) in Lower Pannonia is ca. 110 km. The borders of the municipal territories must have been located approximately at the halfway point of this distance. Indeed, since today mansio Maurianis (intrus Pan- noniam Superiorum: Itin. Hier. 562) is considered to be located in the vicinity of Podravska Slatina, halfway between Daruvar and Osijek, this would at the same time represent the border of the municipal territories of Aquae Balissae and Mursa, as well as between Upper and Lower Pannonia. The border between the municipium of the Iasi, the municipal territory of Aquae Balissae, and the geographical distribution of thermal springs (Supposed provincial border: Municipal radius of 50 km.)

Map II: The tribal territory of the Iasi, the municipal territory of Aquae Balissae, and the geographical distribution of thermal springs.

21 See in 1996a.
22 The imperial gentilicium Ulpius indicates that one of the guard’s ancestors had received Roman citizenship during the reign of Trajan, while the inscription can be dated to the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), when Pannonians gained the right to join elite imperial troops, Pinterová 1975, 135–137.
23 Speidel 1994, no. 657; see also Brunico 1911, 125; Mayer 1935, 73–74; Pinterová 1975, 138.
provinces in this area would thus have an approximate "S" form (Map II; cf. Map I). The border of the territory and provinces towards the southeast could be somewhere in the Požega basin (territory (?) of Marsonia (Slavonski Brod); distance: Aquae Balissae–Varianae = 31 m.p. or 46 km), and the border could have been at the station of Varianae (distance: Aquae Balissae–Varianae = 31 m.p. or 46 km), which should also be the area of the western border of the municipium with the territory of Andautonia (distance: Aquae Balissae–Andautonia = 100 km). The distribution of Roman stations in the area between the Sava and Drava Rivers in relation to the central position of the Aquae Balissae indicates that the territory of Municipium Iasorum was approximately bounded by the stations of Servitium, Bolenium, Varianae, Iovia Cardona, Incerum, Maurianae, Ad Praetorium and Servitium (Map II; cf. Map I).  

Pliny (NH 3.147) stated that the river Dravus flows through the regions of the tribes of the Serretes, Serapilli, Iasi, and Andizetes, while Ptolemaeus noted that the tribe of the Iassii inhabited the center of Upper Pannonia towards the east (2, 13, 2). According to A. Mayer, the ethnonym Iasi (Iassii, Iassi) is derived from the Indo-European root *H₂- and *H₂- respectively meaning "to boil, to foam up", and the toponym Aquae Iasae would denote a "hot springs" or "thermal spa", and Aquae Balissae would mean "very strong waters" or "very powerful forceful spring". A note is preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Iás (Taś, Ἰάλληριας μέρος, οἱ οὐκούντες Ἰάττα, λέγεται καὶ Ιάσινη), which may or may not be related to the Iasi.  

25 thermal springs are located in the region of the Iasi and in the neighbouring southern regions, eighteen in western and northwestern Croatia (8 hypothermal: 20–34°C, 5 homeothermal: 34–38°C, and 5 hyperthermal: more than 38°C), and six in the eastern part of the Republic of Slovenia, extending from the broader area of Varazdinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae) and the Sutla River in the far northwest, along the Drava region.
The Autonomous Towns of Pannonia / Die autonomen Städte in Pannonien

River in the north, approximately to present-day Virovitica (i.e. Taborišt - *mansiô Serôî*) and Orešac (*mutatio Bolentium*) or the border between Upper and Lower Pannonia in the east somewhere around Podravskke Čifte (*mansio Mauritane*). The easternmost region that could be encompassed by the Iasi would be the western part of Požega basin with the settlement of Velika (*mansio Incerum*) with thermal springs. On the south, the limit of the territory of the Iasi probably ran through the middle of the Sava-Drava basin. Possibly, they could in places have reached areas south of the Sava, such as in the area of the Samobor Heights with its thermal springs or in the region of Topusko (Map II; Map I). The thermal springs in Daruvar, Lipik, and Velika belong to the Pannonian area, which was the last to be urbanized by the Romans (Map II; Map I).

PREHISTORY

Few archaeological finds from the earliest periods have been found in the Daruvar basin. Stone axes from the Neolithic and pottery urns have been found at three sites (Daruvar – center, Daruvar – east, Daruvar – south). The present location of this material is unknown. In the village of Pecelje, 26 km northeast of Daruvar, the only preserved fragment in northern Croatia was found of an altar that would correspond to the type with a statue of the Mother Goddess from the Neolithic Starčevo Culture. Another exceptional find is an unusual clay altar from the Korenovo Culture (ca. 4700/4600–4200/4100 BC; which findings have also been discovered in Adriatic region, Danilo culture – Hvar/Smilčić, Dalmatia) without real analogies in other Linear Band Pottery cultures. It was discovered in the village of Tomašica, 15 km west of Daruvar. It has not been noted to date that some motifs from clay altar could actually be compared to the Old European Script, which appears only on the cult artifacts in the Neolithic period cultural sphere of Old Europe in the 6th millennium BC to the late Bronze Age.

It can be stated in general that the Pannonian tribal community in northwestern Croatia, to which the Iasi belonged, was created on a substratum of the late Neolithic and pottery urns have been found at the settlement of Kaptol (5 km east of Velika – south). The present location of this material is unknown. In the village of Podsara, 26 km northeast of Daruvar, the only preserved fragment in northern Croatia was found of an altar that would correspond to the type with a statue of the Mother Goddess from the Neolithic Starčevo Culture. Another exceptional find is an unusual clay altar from the Korenovo Culture (ca. 4700/4600–4200/4100 BC; which findings have also been discovered in Adriatic region, Danilo culture – Hvar/Smilčić, Dalmatia) without real analogies in other Linear Band Pottery cultures. It was discovered in the village of Tomašica, 15 km west of Daruvar. It has not been noted to date that some motifs from clay altar could actually be compared to the Old European Script, which appears only on the cult artifacts in the Neolithic period cultural sphere of Old Europe in the 6th millennium BC to the late Bronze Age.

It can be stated in general that the Pannonian tribal community in northwestern Croatia, to which the Iasi belonged, was created on a substratum of the late Neolithic and pottery urns have been found at the settlement of Kaptol (5 km east of Velika – south). The present location of this material is unknown. In the village of Podsara, 26 km northeast of Daruvar, the only preserved fragment in northern Croatia was found of an altar that would correspond to the type with a statue of the Mother Goddess from the Neolithic Starčevo Culture. Another exceptional find is an unusual clay altar from the Korenovo Culture (ca. 4700/4600–4200/4100 BC; which findings have also been discovered in Adriatic region, Danilo culture – Hvar/Smilčić, Dalmatia) without real analogies in other Linear Band Pottery cultures. It was discovered in the village of Tomašica, 15 km west of Daruvar. It has not been noted to date that some motifs from clay altar could actually be compared to the Old European Script, which appears only on the cult artifacts in the Neolithic period cultural sphere of Old Europe in the 6th millennium BC to the late Bronze Age.

It can be stated in general that the Pannonian tribal community in northwestern Croatia, to which the Iasi belonged, was created on a substratum of the late Neolithic and pottery urns have been found at the settlement of Kaptol (5 km east of Velika – south). The present location of this material is unknown. In the village of Podsara, 26 km northeast of Daruvar, the only preserved fragment in northern Croatia was found of an altar that would correspond to the type with a statue of the Mother Goddess from the Neolithic Starčevo Culture. Another exceptional find is an unusual clay altar from the Korenovo Culture (ca. 4700/4600–4200/4100 BC; which findings have also been discovered in Adriatic region, Danilo culture – Hvar/Smilčić, Dalmatia) without real analogies in other Linear Band Pottery cultures. It was discovered in the village of Tomašica, 15 km west of Daruvar. It has not been noted to date that some motifs from clay altar could actually be compared to the Old European Script, which appears only on the cult artifacts in the Neolithic period cultural sphere of Old Europe in the 6th millennium BC to the late Bronze Age.

1. Inscription dedicated to the emperor Commodus
2. Inscriptions of the emperor Gordian III and of empress
3. Inscribed base for a statue of the emperor Commodus
4. Silvanus’ altars, statue of Jupiter, columns, capitals
5. Jupiter’s altars, fragments of a bronze equestrian statue
6. Crown of a funerary stele
7. Funerary stele and inscribed stele
8. Statue of Icarus
9. Three grave vaults with mosaic and luxurious grave goods
10. Sarcophagus and funerary stele
11. Sarcophagus
12. Brick graves
13. Child’s skeleton grave
14. Woman’s skeleton grave
15. Two skeleton graves
16. House foundations, pavements, remnants of frescoes and mosaics, tegulae, coins, iron objects of everyday use, clay lamps etc.
17. Foundations of roman rectangular building (courtyard?)
Martijane-Kaptol group extended is currently missing archaeological material that would fill out the period from the mid 6th to the 3rd c. BC. In the 3rd century BC, the expansion of the Celtic Taurisci encompassed part of the eastern Alps and the area of Krapina and Sutla Rivers. Possibly, Iasi found themselves in a tribal alliance under the leadership of the Taurisci. According to archaeological finds, the La Tène transformation of the Iasian territory occurred in four phases from the mid 3rd c. BC to the beginning of Romanization. The region of northwestern Croatia between Varazdinske Toplice and Daruvar must have been densely settled even before the arrival of the Celts. The personal names on the Roman monuments from the Iasian territory are pre-Celtic, while finds from the early phases of the La Tène Culture, Mokronog I (300–250 BC) and Mokronog IIa (250–180 BC), are relatively rare, leading to the conclusion that the inhabitants of this region may well have accepted Celtic material goods and culture, but they preserved their names, and perhaps even their language.

Pliny (NH 3.148) mentioned mons Claudius, caesus in fronte Scordisci, in tergo Taurisci, as a border, probably between the military influence of Taurisci and Scordisci. Mons Claudius could be identified with Mt. Papuk or Mt. Pountain and the surrounding heights. This could mean that the northwestern part of the Iasian territory up to middle flow of the Drava River was under the Tauriscan rule. In the area between the Drava and Sava Rivers, i.e. in the eastern part of Iasian territory, the La Tène finds are not so numerous. The literary and epigraphical sources, as well as the analysis of archaeological finds, suggest that the Požega Valley was inhabited by the Celtic tribe of the Scordisci, and probably by the Pannonian tribe of Breuci, who were influenced by the La Tène cultural group. This leads to a conclusion that the eastern interior part of Iasian territory, with an important Iasian settlement in the Daruvar basin, was the contact area between the territories of the Taurisci and Scordisci.

The autochthonous linguistic remnants from the territory of the Iasi include the names Sercus and Tato. Literary and epigraphic sources contain the place names Aquae Balissae, Menneiana, Incerum, Aqauae Iasae, Aqua Viva, Populau, Pyrri, Sunista, Iovia (Botico), Petitet, Lentulis, Iovia (Cardona = Corradu-num), Cocconsae, Seroeta, Bolentiunum, Mauriana, the hydronym Dravus, and the onom mons Claudius.

The earliest preserved inscription from the Iasi region can be found on coins from a hoard from the village of Ribnjak near Bjelovar (33 km NW of Daruvar); 102 silver tetradrachmas with a “tournament rider” from the 2nd century BC bear a legend that has been variously read and interpreted. D. Rendić–Miočević analyzed the so-called “medallion of the Illyrian tribe of the Iasi” (Fig. 1 a, b). Some of the earliest

33. 64; MARIĆ 1984, 300; 1992, 7.
42 ŠAŠEL–ŠAŠEL 1980, 422.
47 Kos – MIRNIK 1999, with earlier references; SCHEJBAL 2003a, 402.
finds of Celtic coins in this area come from Kržňovlani near Varaždin (109 coins), Đurđevac (400), Narta near Bjelovar (300), Samobor (1300), Kozarevac near Đurđevac, and Kraljevac near Bjelovar. All of these sites may be located in the tribal territory of the Iasi.

**The Roman Period Settlement and Self-Government**

The settlement of the Iasi in the Daruvar basin must have been located on the hill of Stari Slavik in the form of a Pannonian-Celtic *oppidum*, a fortified elevated site, whose strategic position dominated the basin through which the Toplica River runs.

Only with the arrival of the Romans in the region between the Drava and Sava Rivers can settlement in the Daruvar basin be traced in continuity.**51** A military camp was built on the hill of Stari Slavik, next to the *oppidum* of the Iasi. The distribution of archaeological finds and fortification remains at this spot indicate that the camp had been located on the highest point of the hill, leaning against the *oppidum* of the earlier inhabitants, which was situated somewhat further below, on a slope that gently inclined towards the east and the geothermal sources at the bottom. Nonetheless, the possibility still cannot be excluded that the camp could have been built in the very interior of the peregrine fortified complex of the *oppidum*, as was the case with Segoetica after it was captured by Octavian, or that it utilized an already existing peregrine acropolis. According to available testimony, it can be supposed that Roman military units had participated in the construction of the camp or other structures at the site of Stari Slavik, and this was also when the construction of the first thermal pools for the army could have begun.**53** When the larger units were transferred towards the Danubian *limes*, during the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian, veterans and colonists supposedly settled in the abandoned camp and were granted land by the state. A particular role in Romanization was played by demobilized members of the Iasi tribe.**54** A military diploma from the reign of Vespasian found at Belegh, Hungary, noted that on the 5th of May in the year 85, *Fronto Sceni f. Iasus*, a member of the first Lusitanian cohort in Pannonia, had been dismissed from military service (CIL 16.31; BRUNŠMID 1911, 25). It can thus be hypothesized that in the 1st century recruitment of auxiliary troops had taken place in Iasian territory.**55** The honorable discharge of the veteran *M. Sentilius Iasus* on the 4th of October 148 was noted on a diploma found in the village of Aszar in Hungary (CIL 16.96). The station of *Iasulones* (Itin. Ant. 264), today Barascka in Hungary**56** could have

---

50 LISIČIĆ 1957, 3; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1967, 90; Inventory Record AMZ.
51 SCHEJBAL 1994, 1.
52 App. Illyr. 45.
54 SCHEJBAL 1994, 14. Szabo 1905 noted that on the hill of Stari Slavik - Kuniceva, njiva it was possible to find “bricks with legionario marks and letters” next to the foundations of Roman buildings and walls.
55 SCHEJBAL 1994, 6.
56 PFENDER 1975, 137.
57 Cf. MAYER 1935, 70–71; 1957, 162; FITZ 1980, 149.
Fig. 5 a–c:
Funerary stele of Aelius Aelianus
(Archaological Museum in Zagreb)
5 d: Transcription according to ALFÖLDY 1964
received its name from a military garrison of Iasi deployed there. The Iasi are mentioned in several other military inscriptions outside their territory (CIL 3.10317, CIL 3.12014, CIL 6.2697).\(^{57}\)

Res publica Iasorum was recorded in four inscriptions in honour of the Roman emperors and the members of their families. The first, now lost (Map IV, 1),\(^{58}\) is dedicated to divus Commodus (CIL 3.4000).\(^{59}\) Two inscriptions discovered in 1907 were secondarily used as building material in the late Roman-mediaeval wall (Map IV, 2).\(^{60}\) The first was carved on a large tablet of yellow sandstone (Fig. 2; 80×147×21 cm).\(^{61}\) The res publica Iasorum had it erected in honor of the emperor Gordian III (AIJ 586). The tablet was perhaps placed on the front of the large stone base for an imperial bronze equestrian statue whose remains were found in Daruvar at the site of the old county courthouse in 1877.\(^{62}\) The second inscription found at the same spot was carved into a base of sandstone (Fig. 3; 23×48×58 cm), which was damaged on the left side. The base bore a statue that the res publica Iasorum had erected to Gordian’s wife Tranquillina (AIJ 587).\(^{63}\) A suitable original spot for both of them would have been the forum of Aquae Balissae, in the center of present-day Daruvar, where the remains of a bronze equestrian statue and four altars to Iuppiter have been discovered (Map III, F). The fourth inscription on a limestone base for a statue (Fig. 4; 120×40×40 cm; letters: 7 cm) was discovered during rescue excavation in the Spa Park, built into the foundations of a spa structure dating from 1812 (Map IV, 3). It had nine lines, the first four of which had been deliberately removed (damnatio memoriae); it may have been dedicated to Commodus.\(^{64}\)

The most important inscription from Daruvar that offers data about the municipal government and the city officials in Aquae Balissae was found ca. 2.5 km west of the center of Daruvar in the fields called Kukiće or Kantari in 1918 (AIJ 1132; Fig. 5 a–d).\(^{65}\) It was erected to P. Aelius Aelianus, who was scriba, decurio and quattuorvir of the Municipium Iasorum. The quattuorvirate occurred in the Pannonian municipia only in the age of Hadrian. In the year 124, the emperor visited Pannonia, and it is considered that on that occasion entire series of settlements received municipal status or advancement.\(^{66}\)

**Cults**

The archaeological evidence of cults from Aquae Balissae shows that they were partly related to the nat-
Fig. 8: Altar to Silvanus (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

Fig. 9: Altar to Silvanus (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

Fig. 10: Altar to Silvanus (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

Fig. 11: Statue of Jupiter (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)
ural features of the landscape (forests and thermal springs – Silvanus and Silvana), analogous to the thermal springs at Topusko (Vidassus and Thana) and Varazdinske Toplice (Diana and Nymphs). In Aquae Balissae the autochthonous Romanized divinity Silvanus was particularly important. No doubt a female divinity must have also been worshipped at Aquae Balissae (on account of the balneorehabilitative thermal waters and mud, which have medicinal properties for healing female diseases) although there is no evidence for such a cult. During construction work in 1967 in the area of the bath and thermal complex in the Daruvar Spa Park, parts of the architectural and religious inventory of the temple of Silvanus were found. In a trench of ca. 30 m², the stone foundations of the temple were found at a depth of 80 cm (Map IV, 4), with two damaged stone columns (gray limestone: the large column h. 272 cm, dia. 42 cm; the damaged column h. 145 cm and dia. 54 cm), one damaged Corinthian capital with acanthus leaves (limestone: h. 43 cm, base dia. 42 cm, crown dia. 60 cm), and one Corinthian half-capital with acanthus leaves (Fig. 6; limestone: h. 56 cm, w. 47 cm, rad. base 17 cm). In the amateur excavations that followed in 1968, trenches near the first discovery resulted in a statue of Jupiter, one fragment of a funerary stele, five stone blocks, one threshold (53 x 130 x 17.5 cm), Roman bricks and tiles. The most important finds were four altars dedicated to Silvanus, one of them with a relief and the remaining three inscribed. A greyish sandstone altar (Fig. 7; 50 x 26 x 24 cm) has a hollow for libations on the upper side surrounded by a wreath of woven (laurel?) leaves. The relief shows Silvanus with two female attendants. Silvanus holds a curved knife or sickle in his right hand, and in the left an upright branch with leaves in the upper section and may be interpreted as Silvanus Domesticus, the guardian of property, gardens, and houses. The female figures may have been health-bringing personifications of the therapeutic waters at Aquae Balissae. A similar relief of Silvanus from the 2nd century is in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The carver was probably another 13 medieval churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which may have been related to the thermal water-healing female sterility and other female diseases. Schuba: 1994, 17, 1993–2000. First published by Pinterošić in 1975, who did not cite the circumstances and exact location of the finds.
The finds of Roman funerary monuments in Daruvar are not scarce merely because of insufficient archaeological research, but also because the Roman stone remains have continually been used as a construction material, throughout all periods from the late Antiquity to the 19th century.

The earliest recorded find was a fragment of a limestone funerary stele dated to the 2nd century (Fig. 15; CIL 3.4001; AIJ 588), with a relief depiction of a she-wolf with twins. The stele was erected by the mother Adatilia Af...Inia to her sons Flavius Valerius, a soldier of the praetorian cohort, and Valerius Dignus(9?), probably a veteran, and accompanied by a gable with three figures in a rectangular niche, today lost (Fig. 16). The stele was found 2 km southwest from the center of Jupiter Dolichenus was placed as CIL 3.3998. Leja Ilie Orfanić (1856; 1856a, 115) published another two inscriptions, one from Daruvar – the village of Dobra Kukta and one from the settlement of Banova Juraga, both classified as falsae in CIL 3 (203 and 204), cf. Šaro 1934, 82–83. Čudina 1893, 127–128 published another three suspicious inscriptions from the broader vicinity of Daruvar.

The inscription on the buried altar of Jupiter found in 1853 was recorded by the pharmacist Krunoslav Momčuvić. Momčuvić classified it among falsae (CIL 3.295). The inscription found in 1825 with an dedication to made of brown-gray porous limestone (Fig. 1; 74 × 38 × 22 cm), probably for a temple or shrine of the supreme god. The god is seated on a throne, holding a lightning rod in his right hand. The left hand and the top of a massive scepter are missing. An eagle sits at his left foot, but only the silhouette has remained of its head. Parts of the temple of Jupiter (which in Aquae Balissae was related to the imperial cult) were uncovered in 1825 and 1853 at the site of the “courtyard of the pharmacist Kušević” or the “courtyard of the building of the former county courthouse”, today in the center of Daruvar (Map IV, 5). Stone blocks and four altars dedicated to Jupiter were found. Two altars have been preserved, the third was badly damaged and was immediately reburied, and the fourth was lost.

Two altars were dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, the first for the health of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and the emperor Geta whose name was later removed, by a centurio of legio VII Gemina (Fig. 12; CIL 3.3398; AIJ 583). The second was erected by a centurio of legio X Gemina Secundius Restitutus (Fig. 13; CIL 3.3999; AIJ 584). Considering the movement of his unit and the spread of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Pannonia, the inscription can be dated to the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd.

An altar of yellow sandstone dedicated to the goddess Nemesis by two soldiers of legio I Adiutrix (Fig. 14; AIJ 585) was found in 1912 in a late Roman – medieval rampart at the hill of Stari Slavik in secondary use as construction material. The letters were colored with red paint. Considering that Nemesis was the patroness of games in amphitheaters, it can be suggested that Aquae Balissae may have contained a small amphitheatre.

**Funerary monuments**

Together with the altars to Silvanus, a fairly damaged, locally produced statue of Jupiter Dolichenus was found, inspired by Latin models in the traditions of Hellenistic art. The second sandstone altar (Fig. 8; 62.5 × 28.5 × 20 cm; letters: 3 cm) has a shallow depression on the top for libations, and a decoration (wreath and palmettos). The dedication, somewhat damaged, can be explained as Silvan(o) D(omino)estic(o). It was erected by the beneficiarius consularis Seius Ianuarius Gen(e)tius between 198 and 208. The third sandstone altar (Fig. 9; 34 × 30 × 30 cm; letters: 4 cm) bore a dedication to Silvanus from a slave or peregrine inhabitant named Capitius. The inscription can be dated to the 3rd or 4th century AD. On the fourth sandstone altar (Fig. 10; 34 × 29 × 29 cm; letters: 3–3.5 cm) with a braided wreath on top of the hollow for libations, the dedication to Silvanus M(anno) Dom(estico) is clear, while the name of the dedicator could have been H[e]ricul[anus]?

Two altars were dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, the first for the health of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and the emperor Geta whose name was later removed, by a centurio of legio VII Gemina (Fig. 12; CIL 3.3398; AIJ 583). The second was erected by a centurio of legio X Gemina Secundius Restitutus (Fig. 13; CIL 3.3999; AIJ 584). Considering the movement of his unit and the spread of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Pannonia, the inscription can be dated to the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd.

An altar of yellow sandstone dedicated to the goddess Nemesis by two soldiers of legio I Adiutrix (Fig. 14; AIJ 585) was found in 1912 in a late Roman – medieval rampart at the hill of Stari Slavik in secondary use as construction material. The letters were colored with red paint. Considering that Nemesis was the patroness of games in amphitheaters, it can be suggested that Aquae Balissae may have contained a small amphitheatre.
Daruvar at the site of Podborje or Brdo Gradina, at the site of the church and the fortified medieval Franciscan monastery of St. King Ladislav of Podborje.79 The upper part of a stele of yellow sandstone (38 × 93 × 35 cm; end of the 2nd/beginning of the 3rd century), was found during construction work in the center of Daruvar in 1966 (Map IV, 6),80 consisting of two lions (Fig. 17). A fragment of a late Roman relief showing a married couple with a child in a rectangular niche was found in the bed of the Toplica River in 1947 (Map IV, 7). The inscription has not been preserved.81

A statue of Icarus of grey-white sandstone (50 × 28 × 17 cm together with the base) was discovered in a late Roman – medieval wall in 1952 in secondary use as construction material (Map IV, 8)82. It is startlingly similar to a statue of Icarus found in 1892 in Vugrovec in northwestern Croatia, which is considered part of a funerary monument. In terms of the quality of the manufacture and material, the statue may have been a local product of the 2nd century or the beginning of the 3rd, referring to the premature death of the deceased (Fig. 18).83 During the amateur excavations of the temple of Silvanus, a fragment was also found of a funerary stele of gray sandstone with a relief image of a woman (Fig. 19; 34 × 28 × 10 cm). Such grave steleae with a semicircular niche were characteristic in Noricum and Pannonia. The stele is dated to the transition from the 2nd to the 3rd century.

79 SCHEIBAL 1999, 246.
82 DEGMEDŽIĆ 1952; SCHEIBAL 1994, 16.
83 PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 149–150
84 CSAPLOVICS 1819, 60.
85 SCHEIBAL 1994, 23.
86 PAVIĆ 1852, 341.

GRAVES, GRAVE ARCHITECTURE AND GRAVE GOODS

The earliest description of the remains of grave architecture found in Daruvar comes from 1819 and refers to the discovery of Roman grave vaults in what is now known as Roman Woods near the Roman Spring (Map IV, 9). According to the records, there were three walled grave vaults with mosaics and luxurious gold grave goods, which were sent to Budapest at the end of the 18th century.84 Most probably the Daruvar raus diatretum cage cup, today in Vienna, was found in one of these grave vaults (Fig. 20)85. Archaeological material was found in the vicinity of the Roman Spring: bal-samaris, oil lamps, pottery vessels, and mosaic remains.86 With the exception of the cup, the present location of this material is unknown.

The bell-shaped cage cup of raus diatretum glass was discovered at the end of the 18th century, and it was sent from a private collection to the Viennese court
It was published in Croatia for the first time by S. Zaboj. It is composed of several fragments, and between a third and a half of the body of the vessel has been preserved (h. 9.5 cm; dia. 8.9 cm; h. letters 1.4 cm; thickness of the openwork 0.6–0.8 cm; thickness of the walls 0.1–0.15 cm). The cup has three rows of openwork, and bears the legend FAVENT, probably FAVENTIBVS DIIS or FAVENTIBVS AMICIS. On the basis of the standard typology, today it is possible to classify its degree of rarity in more accurate fashion. The cup is of the bell-shaped type with an inscription and openwork, but without a collar (like the Nero cup from Milan, and the cups from Strassburg and Cologne). It appears that production centers for such cups were in Cologne at the end of the 3rd century and in the first half of the 4th century. The Daruvar example of this first-rate glass craftsmanship is almost at the level of the currently most complete and luxurious cup found in 1960. The distribution map of the cage cups shows that bell-shaped cups of all types were found in the Western Roman Empire along the central Danube and Rhine, and in the line from the Thames to upper Italy, which was the area inhabited by the young Constantine in the period of the flowering of such glass production skills. The circumstances and site of discovery of the vas diatretum cup are unknown, but it can be related to a rich burial of some wealthy individual on the grounds of his villa or with some imperial visit to the administrative center of the Pannonian tribe of the Iasi.

The Daruvar vas diatretum cup could be connected to the trip of the emperor Constantine from Sirmium to Poetovio in 315. The emperor may have visited Aquae Iasae at this time, where his renovation of the baths was marked by an inscription (CIL 3.4121 = AIJ 469). The Roman itineraries and the well-known Roman road system allow for the possibility that during his travel from Sirmium (and possible visit specifically to the territory of the Iasi?), the emperor Constantine might also have passed through the municipal center of the Iasi in Aquae Balissae, and on that occasion have given the cup to some local dignitary. The cup was probably found near what is today known as the Roman Spring, above which were found three grave vaults with mosaics and rich grave goods, as is recorded in the report from 1819. The cage cups known to date have mostly been found in grave vaults with wealthy grave goods. A sarcophagus (219 x 118 x 45) with some bones was found in 1921 at the present-day municipal cemetery. Several graves of rectangular bricks were found in the vicinity in the seventies (Map IV, 11; IV, 12). In the same area, but somewhat to the north, a child inhumation grave of rectangular bricks oriented NE–SW was discovered in 1958 (Map IV, 13). The grave goods consisted of a glass chalice with a bronze Roman coin (today missing). While dredging a new course for the Toplica River in 1933, a fragment of a relief funerary stele with two figures was discovered, along with a column fragment (dia. 47, h. 57 cm), and one large Roman stone sarcophagus, which was broken up and walled into the western bank of the Toplica River (Map
IV, 10). Several inhumation burials with coins of the emperor Constantine were found on the hill of Stari Slavik in 1947 in a brick grave vault covered with tiles (Map IV, 15). A female inhumation grave in the form of a brick casket oriented NE–SW was found in 1968 on the western slope of the hill of Stari Slavik (Map IV, 14). These finds have not been preserved.91

OTHER IMPORTANT FINDS

Along with an altar of Iuppiter (Map IV, 5), four fragments of a bronze equestrian statue were found in 1877 (Fig. 21 a, b), 2 pieces of the tail – the larger is the hollow “base” of the tail (h. 38 cm), the hoof of the right hind leg (h. 17.5); a large piece of the belly (longest length 53.8 cm) with the sexual organ of a stallion. Casting mistakes on the fragments of the equestrian statue were repaired by welding bronze plates 0.15 cm thick. The remains of the bronze monument perhaps belonged to a greater than life sized equestrian statue of Gordian III, to which the inscription with a dedication was found in 1907.92 The remains of the bronze equestrian as well as the altar to Iuppiter and the stone blocks indicate that the forum and the temple of Iuppiter were located at this site.93

A fragment of a Roman milestone was noted and recorded in 1906 in the vicinity of the Jewish cemetery, but with no more detailed description.94 The milestone was probably used secondarily for the fortification of the late Roman refuge of Aquae Balissae or the medieval castle of Kamengrad.

THE URBAN TOPOGRAPHY

The basic characteristics of the urban topography can be reconstructed with considerable security on the basis of old records, as well as chance discoveries of stone monuments and remnants of Roman architecture from five present-day sites: King Tomislav Square, between the center of Daruvar and the west bank of the Toplica River (forum, Map III, F); from the Spa Park (thermae, Map III, E); from the Stari Slavik hill / Roman Camp (early imperial castrum, the residential part of the Roman settlement, and the late Roman fortified refugium (Map III, A, D); from the Roman Woods and the Roman Spring (cemetery, Map III, J); and from the municipal cemetery (cemetery, Map III, I). Almost the entire area of the above sites, except for the Spa Park and the Roman Wood, has been encompassed by

92 Brunn 1914, 257–258.
93 Scherba 1994, 13.
94 Szabo 1906; Scherba, 2003, 106.
remains of a Roman aqueduct and drainage, fragments of brick, tile, pottery and glass, as well as several inhumation graves. The forum was separated by the Toplica River from the bath complex some fifty-meters to the east, which utilized the same hot springs that are in use today (Map III, E). Records made between 1777 and 1819 show that remains of the architecture of the Roman *thermae* structures were still visible then. The earliest spa, the Antun’s, was built in 1762 on Roman foundations. The remains of the temple of Silvanus were discovered some fifty meters northeast of the Antun’s spa (Map III, H; IV, 4). The Roman public area devoted to bathing and religious purposes encompassed the original autochthonous Illyrian *area sacra* where the indigenous gods of the forest, the springs, healing and fertility were worshipped. The *decumanus maximus* probably connected the residential part of the Roman settlement on the hill of Stari Slavik, the temple of Silvanus, and the baths via a bridge across the Toplica River with the forum (Map III, G). A base for a statue of the emperor Commodus was found in 1995 next to the temple of Silvanus just on this hypothesized line of the *decumanus*. The monument to Commodus must have been placed in the complex that encompassed the temple of Silvanus, the holy springs(s) with cistern(s), and the *thermae* (Map III, E; III, III, H). It is possible to hypothesize that the complex at Aquae Balissae, with a temple, *thermae*, holy spring, and cistern was similar to the situation at the complex of the Roman baths at Aquae Sulis, present-day Bath, where the Romans at the site of a sacred thermal springs of the Celtic tribe of the Dobunii created in the late 1st century a huge religious complex with similar components. Finds of inscriptions that mention the emperors Commodus, Septimius Severus, Geta, and Caracalla may indicate possible construction or renovation during their reigns. According to current knowledge, it appears that the public areas of Aquae Balissae were never encompassed by the fortifications that enclosed merely the hill of Roman Camp / Stari Slavik.

The residential part of the Roman settlement of Aquae Balissae was located on the plateau of the hill of Roman Camp – Stari Slavik on an elevated position east of the hot springs and the later Roman public area with baths, temples, and forum (Map III, D; cf. Figs. 22; 23). The remains of earthen fortifications, ramparts, and ditches, and the partial perimeter of the walls of the main Roman fortress were documented on the hill and can still be discerned (Map III; cf. Fig. 23). The foundations of the northern line of the walls have been preserved in a length of ca. 460 m (Map III, B). A defensive tower could have been located in the northwestern position. Only rudimentary foundations appear of the western segment of the walls (Map III, B2), and a dry-stone structure ca. 2 meters in width was established in a length of ca. 10 m along the same line (Map III, B3). The southern and southwestern segments of the walls (Map III, B4–B5) no longer

Fig. 22. Aerial photograph of the center of Daruvar:
A: Spa Park,
B: Roman Camp / Stari Slavik,
C: Roman Woods

96 SCHEJBAI 1994, 17.
100 A bathing-religious-public complex was proven to have existed by archaeological excavations at Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice), but with the holy spring at the forum and a temple of the Capitoline triad (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva), as well as bath structures, *Aquae Iasae* 1997, with M; RENKO-MOLOŠE – RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1998, 6–9, 11; cf. PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 147–148; RENKO-MOLOŠE 1980, 106–113. The site of the Roman bathing-religious-public complex of Aquae Balissae has been protected for the last 250 years by the existence of Spa Park, and a systematic excavation is possible there.
102 SCHEJBAI 1995, 1907, 1911, 6–7, 1927, 1–4, 1934, 81–85; LATKOVIĆ 1906; 1912; HOFFER 1912, 1947; DUGMADŽIĆ 1952; SCHEJBAI
exist, while rudimentary foundations of the eastern line of the walls with a width of ca. 2 meters were discovered in 1996 (Map III, B5).

The dimensions of the castrum located on almost the highest point of the hill, 216 m above sea level, would measure ca. 85 × 55 m (ca. 4675 m²; Map III, A). The reconstruction of the plan of the walls shows that with a total length of ca. 1600 m, they mostly followed the configuration of the land, enclosing the castrum (Fig. 24 a, b) and the plateau in the form of a tear-drop with a surface area of ca. 460 m (Map III, B–B1; Fig. 24 a, b). The fortification of Aquae Balissae was carried out in two phases. The first would be dated to the early Empire, when a Roman fortress was built at the highest point of the plateau. Its walls in the lower segment were made with two stone facades and a mortar of great strength, while the space between was filled with stone material. The second phase would be dated to the late Roman period, when the perimeter wall in the lower section, built in a dry-stone technique and ca. 2 m wide, encompassed almost the entire plateau of the hill. Records bear witness to the great number of Roman spolia in it (stone blocks of various dimensions, imperial bases with inscriptions, altars, statues, and columns). It can be concluded on the basis of analogies with other Pannonian cities that the construction of the perimeter wall began at the earliest at the end of the 2nd century (the Marcomannic Wars), when the security of a deep hinterland of the Danubian limes had been lost, or in the middle of the 3rd century, when a period of general insecurity began. The monuments that were found in situ, parts of the temples of Iuppiter and Silvanus, were not built into the walls, and it should be suggested that the walls were erected at a period when the public and religious area continued to serve the cult practices of the Roman and Romanized population. The area of Stari Slavik then began to be used as a refugium. It is possible that the fortifications were strengthened after the fall of the Western Empire, when the Ostrogoths and Lombards settled in Pannonia. Some stone finds might well indicate the presence of Lombards in Daruvar (cf. Fig. 25 a/b; Fig. 26). Refortification also occurred in the medieval period, when the castle of Kamengrad (hung. Kuwar) was built on the highest point of Roman Camp/Stari Slavik. During the process of the urban development of Stari Slavik hill from the 1970s onwards, varied archaeological material has been discovered that can be attributed to the Roman period, particularly coins, glass, and jewellery. Rescue excavations during construction of apartment buildings in 1983 resulted in house foundations, remains of paving, walls with remains of frescoes and mosaics, tegulae, Roman glass, pottery, jewellery, clay lamps, Roman coins, and iron objects of everyday use that can be generally dated to the 3rd–4th centuries (Map IV, 16). Analysis of the photographic plan of the Daruvar basin that was made in 1981 using the aerophotogrammetric method (1 : 5000) led to the discovery on part of the plateau of Stari Slavik of the outlines of a rectangular, certainly the remains of the rectangular layout of the streets and quarters of the Roman settlement. At least a part of the residential section of Aquae Balissae had regular insulae (Map III, C). The dimensions of


103 Ibid.


105 A corresponding suburbium, the market center of Toplica, was located next to it on the plateau. The position of the fortress at the highest point of the hill was used in the second half of the 19th century for isolated residences and the organization of the Jewish cemetery of Daruvar; SCHIEB 1999, 278, 299, 1933–2000.


108 SCHEIB 1996b.
one unit of the layout correspond entirely to the dimensions of the foundations of a dwelling structure discovered and documented in 1973 (Map IV, 17). According to BULAT,\(^{109}\) the rectangular building (30 × 9 m) had 70 cm wide foundations. Two shallow pits were found with fragments of pottery and bones, and two Roman coins, of Constantine and Constantius II.

Roman coins are currently the only type of small archaeological finds that have been documented for the area of Aquae Balissae. They were mostly found on the plateau of the hill of Stari Slavik but also in the bed of the Toplica River.\(^{110}\) So far, the earliest recorded was a coin of the emperor Vespasian. Also found were a silver denarius of Domitian, an aureus of Hadrian minted in the Roman mint 119–122, a consecratory denarius of Antoninus Pius minted by Marcus Aure-

\(^{109}\) BULAT 1973.

\(^{110}\) TUCK 1777, 42; SIARO (1934, 79–80); mention a gold coin of Commodus and a hoard of Roman silver coins.
lius, and one coin of Faustina the Younger. Other finds included a sestertius of Gordian III, one coin of Alexander Severus minted in Nicea, three antoninians of Gallienus and Claudius II Gothicus, two of which were commemorative, one barbarized antoninianus of Tetricus, and one of Aurelianus. Other antoninians from the 3rd century were the coins of the emperors Probus, Carus, Diocletian, and Maximianus Herculis. The Tetrarchy was represented by a series of folles, of Constantius Chlorus from the mint of Cyzicus, two examples of Galerianus, one from Ticinum and the other from Serdica, and one of Licinius from Siscia. The most numerous are the coins of Constantine I and his heirs Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius II, which include examples of emissions from the city of Rome and the new capital of Constantinople. They were minted in various mints: Alexandria, Ticinum, Rome and the new capital of Constantinople. They could be marked by the Roman archaeological site of Kantari or Kuciste, where the above mentioned funerary stele of Aelius Aelius was found (II,Fug 1132). Medieval sources from 1468 and 1527 mention the via magna, which extended from the present center of Daruvar towards the west, where it approached the strategic position of the fortified Franciscan monastery at the site of Brdo or Gradina (CIL 3.4001 = 10865; AJ 588), and somewhat more to the northwest, it left the Daruvar basin. It can be hypothesized that at the site of Brdo/Gradina, from the first half of the 1st century or from the period of danger from the Marcomanni, a Roman lookout point or small castrum existed that controlled the eastern, southeastern, and southern entrances to the basin.\(^{119}\)

Cemeteries and Roads

The finds of graves and funerary monuments in the Daruvar basin are scattered and can only hypothetically be related to the roads whose remains have not been preserved. A dozen funerary finds have been recorded, within the Roman settlement, along the exterior side of the perimeter of the walls, and on the periphery of the settlement. Documented finds include graves of brick, grave vaults walled with tiles, walled grave vaults with mosaics, luxurious grave vaults of stone blocks, sarcophagi, and funerary stelae. The position of one cemetery was indicated by the discovery of three grave vaults with mosaics in the area of the present-day Roman Woods, near the Roman Spring, as is attested by Csaplović\(^{112}\) (Map III, J), while another cemetery of Aquae Balissae was located on the hill of Mali Lipovac (Map III, 11\(^{113}\)), and is presently overlain by the municipal cemetery of Daruvar and modern dwelling structures in Lučka Botić Street. The natural configuration of the terrain beneath Mali Lipovac marks one part of the eastern edge of the Daruvar basin, and enables north-south traffic communication above the valley of the Toplica River. The earliest data about Roman grave finds from the sites of Mali Lipovac and the municipal cemetery of Daruvar come from 1921, when a Roman sarcophagus (Map III, 11) was found at a spot where an underground vaulted grave crypt had earlier been discovered, as well as remains of Roman bricks and foundations.\(^ {114}\) Ettlinger mentions a subterranean grave vault in the near vicinity of the municipal cemetery with red painted floors made of sand and lime.\(^ {115}\) The inhabitants of Mali Lipovac note that robbed graves made of large rectangular bricks had been found there with tiny fragments of bones. During agricultural cultivation, a Roman coin had been found, and in the foundations of the current dwelling structure immediately adjacent to the municipal cemetery, large and small stone blocks were preserved, some of them profiled, that belonged to Roman stone vaults.\(^ {116}\)

The Roman road that led from Aquae Balissae to the south was probably located along present-day Botić Street and the tree-lined lane of the municipal cemetery. Passing along the edge of the basin, it avoided the lowest section of the Daruvar basin which could often be flooded by the Toplica River (Map III).\(^ {117}\) The continuation of the decumanus to the west (Map III, 6), could be marked by the Roman archaeological site of Kantari or Kuciste, where the above mentioned funerary stele of Aelius Aelius was found (II,Fug 1132). Medieval sources from 1468 and 1527 mention the via magna, which extended from the present center of Daruvar towards the west, where it approached the strategic position of the fortified Franciscan monastery at the site of Brdo or Gradina (CIL 3.4001 = 10865; AJ 588),\(^ {118}\) and somewhat more to the northwest, it left the Daruvar basin.\(^ {119}\) It can be hypothesized that at the site of Brdo/Gradina, from the first half of the 1st century or from the period of danger from the Marcomanni, a Roman lookout point or small castrum existed that controlled the eastern, southeastern, and southern entrances to the basin.\(^ {120}\)

Early Christian finds

Two stone monuments from Daruvar are attributed to the early Christian period. A recipient (font?) with early Christian motifs (Fig. 25 a; h. 40 cm, dia. 50 cm, dia. opening 38.5 cm) was decorated on the exterior surface with four separable figurative compositions. Doves were shown twice, perched opposite each other on the edge of a wide bowl decorated with a stylized floral motif (acanthus?), drinking from the vessel. The next motif was a pair of peacocks drinking from a chalice. The fourth image had a knobby tree with a reduced crown (tree of life?) with an upright facing rabbit on each side. The second early Christian find was a four part rounded limestone column decorated with floral motifs (h. base 8 cm; h. 71.5 cm; w. 20 cm; Fig. 26). The unclear circumstances of the find mean that the font and column are dated approximately to the 6th–7th centuries.\(^ {121}\) Both finds are kept in the Bjelovar Museum. It is possible that they were found in the Spa Park, i.e. in the public religious-thermal complex of Aquae Balissae, The medieval parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the market town of Toplica (“Hot Water Springs”/ “Bath”) was later located adjacent to the thermal spring.

\(^{111}\) The analysis of the Roman coins found in Daruvar was performed specially for this text by Zdenka Dukat, senior curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

\(^{112}\) Csaplović 1819, 60.

\(^{113}\) Schejbal 1996a, 21.


\(^{116}\) Schejb 1999, 141, 242, 251.

\(^{117}\) Schejb 1999, 141, 242, 251.

\(^{118}\) Schejb 1994, 112–113.
ECONOMY AND TRADE

In the period of the foundation of the military camp at Aquae Balissae, craftsmen and workshops of various professions saw to the needs of the army as well as trade and exchange with the indigenous inhabitants. It can be presumed that at the transition from the 1st to the 2nd centuries, many local workshops existed for the production of pottery, metal goods (horseshoes, nails, knives, spikes, mounts, agricultural tools, etc.), shoes, ropes, furniture, and many other goods. G. Szabo\(^{122}\) cites “bricks with legionary marks and letters”, which could indicate that bricks had been produced in Aquae Balissae. Stone monuments from local sandstone and limestone, sometimes very rustic in execution, bear witness to local stone carving and sculpture workshops. In these areas, the traditional exploitation of limestone to make quicklime also indicates the production of lime for construction, and its distribution throughout the broader municipal territory. Surface deposits of quartz sand and anthracite existed in the near vicinity, and in the broader area were deposits of oil, iron ore, and surface finds of graphite.

Luxuriously made objects, judging from analogies to other Pannonian settlements, came from Poetovio, Siscia, Cibalae, Sirmium, or Mursa, and from further away in Italy, Gaul, and Germany. Pannonia was important for transit transportation of goods from neighboring provinces to the barbarian regions. Aquae Balissae was located on the route used to send salt from the Adriatic coast to the Danube basin. The “salt routes” were inherited from prehistory, and were also used in the medieval period.\(^{123}\) It is hypothesized that Aquae Balissae was an important center for the salt trade in this part of Upper Pannonia and a transit center for salt towards Pannonia beyond the Drava River and further to the barbarian regions. In addition to its strategic and transportation importance, its economic advantages acquired it the status of a religious center for the broader area. The therapeutical thermal springs determined the basic function of the settlement as a treatment center and spa (Thermae Iasorum), both for a Pannonian specificity – the treatment of female infertility, as well as for the traditional balneo-rehabilitation of various damages to bones, joints, and spines characteristic for a military population, and also for rest and recreation. The prosperity of the town is shown by the erection of monumental bronze monuments to emperors and members of their families, some in the mid 3rd century, when the economic crisis had already become apparent, while the wealth of individuals is shown by the vas diatretum cage cup, the monumental funerary stele of a quattuorvir of the municipium, graves decorated with mosaics, and a Roman villa with a luxuriously decorated early Christian grave vault from Veliki Bastaji.\(^{124}\)

FINDS FROM SITES ON THE MUNICIPAL TERRITORY OF AQUAE BALISSAE

An important early Christian archaeological site called “Crijepci” or “Zidina”, extends over an area of 15 hectares next to the village of Veliki Bastaji, 10 km NE of Daruvar. It is located on the southern side of the village on a slope that descends towards the first northern foothills of Papuk Mountain. A subterranean grave vault was found here in 1842 and destroyed. According to the records from that time,\(^{125}\) it had several rooms decorated with mosaics. A somewhat later document mentions it as a large vaulted grave crypt of Roman brick.\(^{126}\) It certainly contained a marble sarcophagus,\(^{127}\) and one large slab and four fragments with Latin inscriptions, two of which have disappeared today. The sarcophagus and inscriptions were then taken to Daruvar, while in the following years other inscriptions were found that have not been preserved.

\(^{122}\) Szabo 1905, Scheibl 1994, 26.
\(^{123}\) Zaninovic 1991.
\(^{124}\) Scheibl 1994, 26, 33.
\(^{125}\) Zdelar 1842.
\(^{126}\) Pavic 1852, 340.
\(^{127}\) The Bastaji sarcophagus was first placed in the gardens of the Jankovic Manor in Daruvar, along with another sarcophagus lid, later destroyed, which according to Szabo (1927, 8; 1934, 83–84) did not belong to the same sarcophagus, but rather to a similar one.
The sarcophagus has been dated to the early Christian period, was published several times, and is currently in the Lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 27a, b). It is considered that the combination of images on it must have been created during a period of co-existence of pagan cults and Christian religion; the monument would come from the Norican-Pannonian workshops, specifically from Poetovio.129

The four inscriptions originally discovered in 1842130 were seen by I. Kukuljević in 1858, when he visited the manor of Daruvar and the vicinity. He first published the large slab, interpreting it as a medieval inscription,131 while he had sent copies of the two fragments at an earlier date to Mommsen, who published them as CIL 3.206a and CIL 3.206b among the falsae.132 The entire group of inscriptions (the large slab and four smaller fragments) was first described by Szabo (Figs. 28, 29).133 The last (i.e. the fifth) broken fragment with the same characteristics (Fig. 31), was discovered in 1968 in amateur excavations at the same site.134 The most important find is an early Christian inscription in hexameters (Fig. 30), one of the rare Pannonian examples of early Christian epigraphic metrics, presenting a dogma about original sin and the salvation due to Christ’s sacrifice.135 The types of stone from which the sarcophagus and the inscriptions were made do not exist in the Daruvar region, and it should be assumed that the monuments were brought to the area as finished or semi-finished products.136

The site of “Griječi” at Veliki Bastaji received its name from the large quantity of tiles and bricks dug up there throughout the course of 200 years. The amateur archaeological excavations in 1968 resulted, in addition to the inscription fragment, in an abundance of mosaic cubes of glass and glass paste, fragments of polychromatic wall painting, glazed clay water pipes and pottery, clumps of bronze and iron slag.137 Despite intensive agricultural cultivation, even in 1995 it was possible to spot a circular outline on the surface – the hollow of a grave vault ca. 10 m in diameter, where fragments of human bones could be found (a female pelvis), and parts of brick, tiles, and plaster, as well as mosaic cubes.138 It is hypothesized that this location in Veliki Bastaji was the site of the country estates of Roman magistrates from Aquae Balissae. In the vicinity are the archaeological sites of Vignjevac and Kovačevac (both toponyms referring to a smithy), where remains of metal slag have been found on the surface, and it can be conjectured that along with continual inhabitation, metallurgical activities were developed here.139 The material would indicate the existence of a villa rustica with the possible production of metal objects of varied purpose that would have been based on surface deposits of lignite in the vicinity of Veliki Bastaji. Connections should also be considered with deposits of iron ore at Medurić (28 km SW of Daruvar as the crow flies) and with intensive trade connections with northwestern Bosnia, where metallurgical activities were developed, with exploitation of copper, lead, and silver.140

129 Matioli 1996.
130 Cl. Zsold 1042; Kukuljević 1891, 32.
131 Kukuljević 1891, 32.
132 The question arises as to whether Mommsen had ever received information from Kukuljević about the large slab and the further two fragments as parts of the same complex. The evaluation of the material as a whole would probably have been different in that case.
133 Szabo 1927, 8–9; 1934, 84–85.
135 Cl. Zsold 1042; Kukuljević 1891, 32; Matioli 1996, 131–133.
136 At the village of Badljevina (10 km south of Daruvar), at the archaeological site of Gradina-Likvič, the “lower part of a sarcophagus that resembled the base of the Daruvar sarcophagus” was found at the beginning of the 20th century. Source: Liber Memorabilium of the parish of Badljevina; Scheibel 1993–2000; 1994, 29–30; 1999, 215.
138 Gorenc 1968.
139 Gorenc 1968.
140 Scheibel 1999, 94.
A bronze statuette of Minerva (h. 20 cm; base h. 26.5 cm) from the early Imperial period was found in unknown circumstances in the village of Grbavac near Grubišno Polje (15 km NW of Daruvar) in 1905.141

A damaged slab of yellowish sandstone (66 × 49.5 × 11 cm) was dug up in 1962 during construction of the very center of the town of Pakrac (18 km S of Daruvar). It bore a depiction of Hercules with his club.142

At Novo Naselje, 2 km north of the center of Pakrac (16 km S of Daruvar), on the slope of Polica hill, an elevated position that marks the northwestern side of the Roman road from Menneiana to Incerum, a large funerary stele (117 × 65 × 34 cm) of Cassius Sextus, a soldier of cohors quingenaria Maurorum equitata was found in 1990.144

At the settlement of Velika (37 km NE of Daruvar) with thermal springs in the Požega basin, archaeological excavations resulted in prehistoric pottery, a Bronze Age hoard (13th–8th c. BC), weapons of the early Iron Age (5th century), a La Tène grave (4th c.), and architecture from a Roman villa (2 hectares). A bronze cauldron with a handle was found, and Roman graves, pottery, glass, and coins.150 The Roman Station of Incerum has been located at Velika.151

A funerary stele of a veteran of the 32nd cohort of Roman citizens, M. Nunnidius Successus (CIL 3.4006) from the village of Orešac (40 km NE of Daruvar) is lost today.153 The station of mutatio Bolentio on the Poetovio–Mursa road can be placed in Orešac. Traces of the ancient road were noted here, as well as walls of large extent and construction material; finds included glass, coins (1st–4th c.), mounts for a Roman vehicle, and a sandstone statue of Hercules.154 The residential
section and the cemetery have been located through test excavations and field survey.\textsuperscript{155} During repairs to the parish church of St. Theresa of Aquila in the city of Bjelovar (50 km N of Đakovo), on the reverse of a marble inscription of the patroness and donor to the church, the empress Maria Theresa, a Roman relief was discovered (ca. 70 × 60 cm) with a scene interpreted as Medea’s arrival on the Argo. No other Roman finds are known from Bjelovar, so it is likely that this relief had been brought here from another site because of the quality of the stone.\textsuperscript{156}

**Final Considerations about Aquae Balissae and the tribe of the Iasi:**

**Cults – Water – Landscape – Etymology – Continuity**

The discovery of a temple to Silvanus next to the geothermal springs at Aquae Balissae, in the complex of the Thermae Iasorum (“Baths of the Healers”), as well as a relief and several altars dedicated to the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae, indicates the union of several basic elements in the metaphorical and anthropomorphic development of the ambient of the Iasi in which they appear. These are forests and medicinal geothermal waters as the Romanized version of the earlier local conceptions of spiritual life and the natural surroundings, and the symbolism of utilizing “holy fertile water” as the original, primordial divine element of “healing”. Here Silvanus may be the emancipated part of a divine pair that has its genesis in the prehistoric Great Mother Goddess from whom the “healing” waters were believed to have derived. Her attributions are preserved in epichoric male and female gods as Vidianus (Silvanus) and Thana (Diana-Artemides), and the Nymphs who are also related to female fertility. In fact, the springs i.e. healing mud of Aquae Balissae (“forceful holy water”) with its balneo-rehabilitative characteristics are most well known for therapy to reduce pain and to heal diseases of the female sexual organs that cause sterility.

Archaeological finds and sites from this region indicate prehistoric connections in the framework of various cultures from the Aegean region from the sixth millennium onwards, i.e. from the Neolithic to the La Tène. Nothing is known of the genesis of the Iasi, but it may be hypothesized that it took shape some time after the spread of the Urnfield Culture and phenomena, traditionally called the expansion of the Sea People; however, the etymology may be earlier and related to the rituals of healing by the tribal medicine men. Their name may have been first (re?)identified when it was written, along with other ethnonyms of the western Balkans, in the works of the first logographis and historians after the Greek “Dark Ages”.

The symbol of immersion in holy divine waters and baths is multilayered. This represents cleansing and dedication, in fact identification with the supernatural force and the imbuing and acceptance of the fertilizing virtues of the waters. Immersion in a bath symbolizes a return to the original placenta and evokes immersion in the maternal womb (cf. the Hebrew Men). Holy water in the Old Testament is the symbol of life, and in the New Testament it is the symbol of the Spirit; baptism washes away sins, and is thus a symbol of renewal and rebirth.

With the appearance of early Christianity and its spread in Pannonia in the 3rd century AD, the prehistoric-Roman holy precinct and the Roman structure(s) next to the geothermal springs were probably taken over by the followers of Christ for their ceremonies. In the period between the 7th and the beginning of the 11th c., a continuity of cult and balneorehabilitative tradition may be hypothesized (the adjacent toponym of Stari Slavik = “Hill of the Early Slavs”), in terms of other, notably Slavic pagan traditions. According to Byzantine (6th c.) and German (12th c.) sources, Slavic tribes worshipped trees, stones, springs, and Nymphs. Medieval sources and sources from the 17th century prove a continuity in use of this area, namely the position of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the geo-thermal springs of the settlement of Toplica as the suburbium of the Kamengrad castle (ecclesia beate Virginis de Toplicia; oppidum Thoplica, capella de subKw). It is possible that the Blessed Virgin Mary corresponds to prehistoric religious traditions (the cult of the Great Mother Goddess) and Roman religious traditions, primarily worshipped as a healer of female infertility and the protectress of motherhood, in a broader context as Our Lady of Health. The continuity of religious heritage was interrupted by the Turkish invasions and conquest and the departure and expulsion of the local Christian population (1545). In the following 150 years, this area became an abandoned frontier region between the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires, sparsely settled by the new, Slavic orthodox population (Vlasi/Walachos). Church writings report about elements of pagan cult and folklore customs for that period, relics of old ones, mixed with certain recent customs. In 1745, this area was colonized anew by inhabitants from other parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Central Europe.\textsuperscript{158}

The author would like to thank the following individuals without whose help the text Municipium Iasorum would not have acquired its present extent and form: Bruna Kunčić-Makvić, History Department, Faculty of Arts, University of Zagreb; Nenad Širojna, DAP [Architectural Planning Bureau] – Đakovo, production of maps; Ante Rendić-Miočević, director, Archaeological Museum in Đakovo; Dubravka Sokač-Stimac, director, Museum of the Požeega Basin; Marjeta Sasiel Kos, Institute of Archaeology, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana; Silvija Salajči, Municipal Museum of Virovitica; Ana Bobovec, Museum of Moslavina, Kutina; Mladen Medar, Gradski Muzej Bjelovar; Alfred Bernhard-Walcher, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien; Zrinka Kallatić, Museum of Samobor; Samobor; Miron Kovačić, Institute for Geological Research, Zagreb.

There is a surprising parallel between the find of the Hercules from Oršić (Rudinčev) and the votive tablet of Hercules from Pakrac (Mevnik) considering the definition of the sites as road stations.\textsuperscript{154} 2003, 106, note 134.

\textsuperscript{155} Kukuljević 1873, 108; Nemeth-Ederichi 1986, 103–105; Salajić 1995, 1.


\textsuperscript{157} Clermont – Mitter 1959, 41–42.

\textsuperscript{158} This conclusion is a summary of the author’s scientific work: Neue Consideration about Aquae Balissae and the tribe of the Iasi Water – Etymology – Landscape – Mythology – Cults, Question of Attribution and Continuity (Schejbalo 2003a).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations
ADUZKB KZG
Archiv Državne uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Zagreb, Konzervatorski odjel Zagreb /Archives of the State Office for Preservation of Cultural Heritage, Conservation Department Zagreb/

ADUZKB KOS
Archiv Državne uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Konzervatorski odjel Osijek /Archives of the State Office for Preservation of Cultural Heritage, Conservation Department Osijek/

AMZ RD
Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Registr Daruvar /Archives of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, File Daruvar/

Neven
Neven – Zabavni i poučni list, /Neven – A Magazine for Entertainment and Education/, Narodna tiskara Lj. Gaja, Zagreb

Sources
Blaskovic 1794
A. Blaskovic, Historia Universalis Hlyrici ab ultima gentis et omnium memoria T. I (Dissertationes VIII), Zagrabiae 1794

Caspovics 1819
J. Caspovics, Slavonian und zum Theil Croatien 1–2, Pesth 1819

Demidovich 1952
I. Demidovich, Izvesťaj AMZa o putu u Daruvar, 4. 4. 1952 /A Report to the AMZ on a Field Survey in Daruvar, 4. 4. 1952/, AMZ RD

Gorenc 1968
M. Gorenc, Izvesťaj o Velikim Bastaqima i užem području Daravara 9. 4. 1968 /A Report on the Site of Veliki Bastaq from the Site and the narrower Area of Daruvar, 9. 4. 1968/, AMZ RD

Hoffillier 1912
V. Hoffillier, Izvesťaj AMZa o putu u Daruvar, 6. 3. 1912 /A Report to the AMZ on a Field Survey in Daruvar, 6. 3. 1912/, AMZ RD

Hoffillier 1947
V. Hoffillier, Izvesťaj Konzervatorskom zavodu o putu u Daruvar, 30. 6. 1947 /A Report to the Conservation Department on a Field Survey in Daruvar, 30. 6. 1947/, AMZ RD

Izvesťaj 1960

Izvesťaj 1961–1968

Katar 1924
M. P. Katnovic, Orbis antiquus ex tabula Itineraria quae Theodosii Imperatoris et Peutingeri audit ad systema geographiae redactus et commentariis illustratus, 1, Budae 1824

Middle 1779
J. Middle, Descriptio geographica comitatus Posegania anno 1779 (Ms in Archives of HAZU, Zagreb)

Latomjak 1906
Pismo Matka Latovnikova iz 1906 /A Letter of Matko Latovnik from 1906/, AMZ RD

Latomjak 1912
M. Latovnik, Pismo Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu, 1. 3. 1912 /A Letter to the National Museum in Zagreb, 1. 3. 1912/, AMZ RD

Mayersky 1918
J. Mayersky, Pismo Gjuri Szabou, 1. 2. 1918 /A Letter to Gyuro Szabo, 1. 2. 1918/, AMZ RD

Orozcanin 1856
I. I. Orozcanin, Slavonske starine – Daruvar, Preistampano iz Starozitnosti (rukopis u NSB Zagreb) /Slavonian Antiquities – Daruvar, Reprinted from the Starozitosti (A manuscript in the National and University Library in Zagreb)/, Neven 3, 1856, 81–82

Orozcanin 1856a
I. I. Orozcanin, Slavonske starine – Dobri grad, Preistampano iz Starozitnosti (rukopis u NSB Zagreb) /Slavonian Antiquities – Daruvar, Reprinted from the Starozitosti (A manuscript in the National and University Library in Zagreb)/, Neven 4, 1856, 115–116

Orozcanin 1874
I. I. Orozcanin, Lovaorski Građanski narodnog graničarskog puka /Hymns of the Borderers of the Gradiska Area/, Zagreb 1874 (= reprinted 1990), Nova Gradiška

Piller – Mitteicher 1783
M. Piller, L. Mitteicher, Iter per Posseganam Selavoniam provinciam, Buda 1783 /Reprint Matice Hrvatske u Zagrebu, 1955

Pilov 1969

Popo 1961
Papis spomenika kulture i arheoloških nalaza kotara Daruvara prema evidenciji do 1961 /The Inventory of the Cultural Heritage Monuments and Archaeological Findings in the Daruvar County registered until 1961/, ADUZKB KZG

Povl 1748
Claudius Pontemaeus, Quinta Europae Tabula, 23, A. Brockne, Rome 1478

Sad 1849
V. Sik, Izvesťaj o arheološkim iskopavanju na lokalitetu Stari Slavik 1849 /A Report on the Archaeological Excavation at the Site of Stari Slavik in 1849/, AMZ RD

Sakar 1906
S. Sakarić, Terenski dnevnik – Muzej grada Virovitice /Fieldwork Survey Diary – Town Museum of Virovitica/

Scheibler 1993–2000

Sico 1921
S. Sico, Pismo od 2. 3. 1921 /A Letter, 2. 3. 1921/, AMZ RD

Stephanus Byzantius 1849
Stephanus Byzantius, Etichorum quae supersunt ex recensione Angusti Meinckerti, Berolini: impensis G. Reimeri, 1849

Szabo 1905
G. Szabo, Pismo s topografskim skicom starih zidova na Starom Slaviku u Daruvaru, 30. 4. 1905 /A Letter with a Topographical Sketch of the Ancient Walls on the Hill Stari Slavik in Daruvar, 30. 4. 1905/, AMZ RD

Szabo 1905a
G. Szabo, Pismo Josipu Brunšmid, 14. 5. 1905 /A Letter to Josip Brunšmid, 14. 5. 1905/, AMZ RD

Szabo 1906
G. Szabo, Pismo Josipu Brunšmid, 8. 6. 1906 /A Letter to Josip Brunšmid, 8. 6. 1906/, AMZ RD

Szabo 1906a
G. Szabo, Crtice fragmenta rimskog miljokaza nedaleko Židovskog groblja, 14. 4. 1906 /A Drawing of a Fragment of a Roman Milestone from the vicinity of the Jewish Cemetery, 14. 4. 1906/, AMZ RD

Szabo 1906b
G. Szabo, Terezinzi zapisni 1906–1907 /Fieldwork Survey Notices 1906–1907/, ADUZKB KZG

123

Karlovačko i isakom područje 1986
Arheološka istraživanja na karlovačkom i isakom po-
drju /Archäologische Forschungen im Gebiet von Karlo-
vac und Sisak/, ed. N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ (Izdanja HAD 10/1985), Zagreb 1986

KATIĆ 1968

KATIĆ 1970

KATIĆ 1976

KEMP 1910
J. KEMP, Oko Psunj i Papuka /Around Psunj and Papuk Mountains/, Zagreb 1910

KISA 1908
A. KISA, Das Glass im Altertume II, Leipzig 1908

KLEBEN 1961
J. KLEBEN, Limes u Donjoj Panoniji /Limes in Pannonia Inferior/, Lat 1961, 5–34

KOŠ 1999

KOSTER – WHITEHOUSE 1989

KUZAČ 1968

KUZLE 1965
M. KUZLE, Rezultati sondažnih arheoloških istraživanja na Denezima u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj /Results of Trial Excavations in the Region of Slavonia/, Zbornik Moslavine 1968, 107–128

KUZLE 1985

LISIĆ 1955
V. LISIĆ, Nalaz barbara kod Bjelovar /Zusammenfassung: Ein Find der Barbaren bei Bjelovar/, Numizmatičke vijesti 5/II, 1955, 15–16

LISIĆ 1957
The Autonomous Towns of Pannonia / Die autonomen Städte in Pannonien

MAYER 1959
A. MAYER, Die Sprache der alten Illyrier, Bd. 2, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Illyrischen; Grammatik der illyrischen Sprache (Schriften der Balkankommission 16), Wien 1959

MEDAR 1983
M. MEDAR, Još jedan primjerek keltskog novca iz ostave u Ribničkoj /Another Example of a Celtic Coin from the Hoard in Ribničak/, Obavijesti HAD, XV/2, 1983, 28–29

MEDAR 1985
M. MEDAR, Izpravak Brunizidove lokacije jednog rimskog numizmatičkog nalaza /A Correction of Brunizid’s Location of one Roman Numismatic Find/, Obol 37, Zagreb 1985, 14–15

MEDAR 1986
M. MEDAR, O otkriću antičkog reljefa nad portalom bjelovarske župne crkve /About a Discovery of Roman Relief Above the Portal of the Bjelovar Parish Church/, MF 9, 1986, 11–13

MINICHREITER 1987

MINICHREITER 1992

MIRNIK 1981
I. MIRNIK, Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia, BAR International Series 95, Oxford 1981

MOSGY 1962
A. MOSGY, Pannonia, RE Suppl. IX, 1962, 516–776

MOSGY 1967

MOSGY 1968
A. MOSGY, Municipium Iasorum, RE Suppl. XI, 1968, 1003–1004

MOSGY et al. 1983
A. MOSGY, R. FELDMAN, M. MÉSZÁROSI-SZÉMACZI, Nomencalorum provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galilaeae Cisalpinae cum indice verso (DissPann, Sec. III, Fasc. 1) Budapest 1983

MOßEI-ERBEIUCH 1986
D. MOßEI-ERBEIUCH, Arheološka istraživanja u Orešcu kod Virovite /Summary: Archaeological Explorations at Orešac near Virovita/, in: Virovitica 1986, 103–112

126
NEMETH-EHRICH – KUSAN 1997

NOVI 1974

NOSAN 1973
A. NOSAN, Termalni i mineralni vredni u Sloveniji /Thermal and Mineral Springs in Slovenia/, Geologij 16, Ljubljana 1973, 5–81

Pakrac 1977
Pakrac 1945–1975, ed. Z. KNEC, Pakrac 1977

POČEK 1852
A. POČEK, Odgovor na pitanja stavljena po družtvu /The Answer to the Questions asked by the Association/, Arhiv za povijest Jugoslavenska 2, 1852, 339–343

PETRI 1968

POČEK 1978
D. POČEK, Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba /Zusammenfassung: Mursa und sein Raum in der Zeit der Antike/, Osijek 1978

POČEK 1980

Podravina 1990
Arheološka istraživanja u Podravini i Kalničko-bilogorskoj oblasti /Archäologische Forschungen in der Podravina und der Region Kalnik – Bilograd/, ed. N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ (Izdanja HAD 14), Zagreb 1990

POŽIC 1993

POŠA 1988
G. POSA, Tudósítás a Daruvar és Lipódi Földörkő, Bécs 1988

POŠTERBA – DIZIJA 2001
H. POŠTERBA, M. DIZIJA, Kelti u Požeškoj kotini /The La Tène Culture in the Požega Valley/, Zlatna dolina 7, 2001, 9–37

PROPONTIS 1998

POŽEGA 1977

Religious and Cults in Pannonia

RISTOW 1988
R. RISTOW, Die Ausgrabung der Stadt Mursa i njeno područje u antičko doba, Diplomski rad (nepublicirano) /Aquae Balissae and its Area in the Period of Antiquity – BA (unpublished thesis)/, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, Odjek za arheologiju, 1988

RISTOW 1996

RISTOV 1999

SCHOFFER 1955
A. SCHOFFER, Die Römische in Österreich, Wien 1955

Sjeverozapadna Hrvatska 1976
Arheološka istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj /Archäologische Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kroatien/, ed. Ž. RAPIN (Znanstveno društvo za arheologiju u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb 1976

Sjeverozapadna Hrvatska 1986
40 godina arheoloških istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj, Katalog izložbe /40 Years of archaeological Investigations on the Gebiet des nordwestlichen Kroa-
Sokacić-Štimac 1997
D. Sokacić-Štimac, Najstarića prošlost Pakrac a okolice /The earliest History of Pakrac and the Surrounding Area/, in: Pakrac 1977, 27–41
Sokacić-Štimac 1993
Soproni 1980
S. Soproni, Roads, ARP 1980, 207–217
Spidel 1980
M. P. Spidel, Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter – Equites singulares Augusti, BJH Beih. 50, Köln-Bonn 1994
Stipčević 1911
A. Stipčević, Hiri, Zagreb 1993
Sarbi 1911
G. Sarbi, Prilozi za povijesnu topografiju požeške županije /Contributions to a Historical Topography of the Požega County/, VHAID 11, 1911, 40–60
Sarbi 1920
G. Sarbi, Srednjovjekovni gradovi u Slavoniji /Medieval Towns in Croatia/, Zagreb 1920
Sarbi 1934
Saužel 1986
Saužel 1995
M. Saužel, Zgodovinska podoba prosto med Acitlejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu, Ljubljana 1986
Saužel 1997
M. Saužel, Kos, Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Acitlejo, Jadranom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu, Ljubljana 1986
Saužel 1998
T. Težak-Gregr, Kultura linearnostoječi kerameike v srednjem Hrvaškom /The Linear Pottery Culture in central Croatia: The Kornovo Culture/, (Dox-Mon 2), Zagreb 1993
Težak-Gregr 1998
T. Težak-Gregr, Neolitik i eneolitik /Summary: Neolithic and Eneolithic/, in: Propovijest 1998, 57–158
Thomas 1980
E. B. Thomas, Religion, ARP 1980, 177–206
Tomčić 1995
Vidić-Belanc 1978
Vinski-Gasparini 1987
Virovitica 1986
Wilkerson 1992
Zagreb i zagrebačka regija 1996
Zavrhovnic 1986
Zavrhovnic 1991
Zavrhovnic 1993
M. Zavrhovnic, Classis Flavia Pannonica /Summary/, in: Zagreb i zagrebačka regija 1993, 53–58
Zavrhovnic 1996
M. Zavrhovnic, Andautonia i Siscia u odrazu flaških politike /Summary: Andautonia and Siscia in the Light of Flavian Politics/, in: Zagreb i zagrebačka regija 1996, 59–64
Maps
Hrvatska na tajnim zemljovidima 18. i 19. stoljeća – Groduškapakovanja (ed. A. Budzinski et al.), Zagreb 1999
KK Daruvar 1989: Katastarska karta /Cadastre Map/: Daruvar (1:2009), 14, 1:5 000; Geozavod Zagreb – Za- vod za kartografiju Geodetskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
KK Daruvar 1960: Katastarska karta /Cadastre Map/: Daru- var (1:1000), 14, 1:10 Sek. ce.
OK Daruvar 1980: Osnovna državna karta /Ordinance Survey Map/: Daruvar 14 (1: 5 000); Geozavod Zagreb – Za- vod za kartografiju Geodetskog fakulteta u Zagrebu
SK Daruvar 1914: Special Karten, Daruvar ZONE 23 COL. XVI, (1: 75 000), Militärisches Geographisches Institut, Wienna
SK Bjelovar 1897: Special Karten, Bjelovar und Gedevac Veli- ki, ZONE 22 COL. XVI, (1: 75 000), Militärisches Geographisches Institut, Wienna
SK Virovitica 1879: Special Karten, Bjelovar und Gedevac Veli- ki, ZONE 22 COL. XVI, (1: 75 000), Militärisches Geographisches Institut, Wienna
SK Pakrac 1991: Special Karten, Pakrac und Jasenovac, ZONE 24 COL. XVI, (1: 75 000), Militärisches Geographisches Institut, Wienna
SK Barsc 1914: Special Karten, Barsc und Virovita, ZONE 22 COL. XVI, (1: 75 000), Militärisches Geographisches Institut, Wienna

128
TIR 33: Tabula imperii Romani, foglio 33 (Tergeste): Roma 1961


TK 100 Nova Gradiska 1971: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Nova Gradiska 324 (1 : 100 000), Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd

TK 100 Podravska Slatina 1971: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Podravska Slatina 324 (1 : 100 000), Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd

TK 100 Slavonska Požega 1971: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Slavonska Požega 374 (1 : 100 000), Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd

TK 100 Virovitica 1971: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Virovitica 323 (1 : 100 000), Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd

TK 50 Bjelovar 1954: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Bjelovar, 1–4 (1 : 50 000; reambulacija 1930); Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd

TK 50 Nova Gradiska 1983: Topografska karta /Topographical Map/ Nova Gradiska 373, 1–4 (1 : 50 000), Vojnogeografski institut /Military Geografic Institute/, Beograd