

MUNICIPIUM IASORUM (AQUAE BALISSAE)

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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 toponymy of the Daruvar basin, as well as the documented general characteristics of the archaeological landscape of north-western 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 funeral monuments. However, their name is also found inscribed in other Iasian settlement and spa, *Aquae Iasae*.¹ 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 repression 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.² 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–Straviana–Incerum–Aquae Balissae–Variana–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–Savus 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 (*Aquas Balizas*).

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.

² Mócsy 1968; see also *ILJug*, vol. 2, p. 187.

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 1699 up to the mid 19th century. Even at this early date, some of them noticed that the slab with the inscription *Divo Commodo Res Publica Iasorum* found in Daruvar (*CIL* 3.4000) might have belonged to the Roman settlement of Aquae Balissae.³ I. KUKULJEVIĆ who studied the topography of Pannonia,⁴ was the first who located that Aquae Balissae in the area of Daruvar, i.e. at Podborje or the town of Lipik, and he defined the territory of the Iasi tribe as extending in the Drava River valley from Varaždinske Toplice and its vicinity all the way 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,⁵ and by HOFFILLER and SARIA.⁶

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.⁷ SZABO additionally left behind a sketch, the earliest known plan of the urban topography of the settlement of Aquae Balissae.⁸ At almost the same time, A. MAYER published a philological and linguistic study about the Iasi.^{8a} A new synthesis of archaeological finds from the Daruvar basin was written by D. PINTEROVIĆ.⁹ The poor extent of archaeological investigation, 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 Balissae in foreign literature are often not firmly defined.¹⁰ Croatian and foreign scholars often refer to various aspects concerning Aquae Balissae/ Municipium Iasorum.¹¹ The worship of Silvanus and his possible epichoric roots was analysed by D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ.¹²

The first study of the Roman archaeological landscape of the Daruvar basin and the surrounding region was produced in 1994.¹³ Original source material never previously used was utilized to acquire a topographic urban image of Aquae Balissae, 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,¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ 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 Iuppiter 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 Balissae 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 Ilova, 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. SCHEJBAL, 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.¹⁶

The early Christian finds from the site of Crijepci in the village of Veliki Bastaji near Daruvar were discussed by B. MIGOTTI.¹⁷ The cults of Iuppiter and Silvanus in Aquae Balissae were presented in a recent review of religion and cults in Pannonia.¹⁸

As systematic and documented archaeological excavations were not performed in Daruvar until 1994, an analysis is lacking 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.

³ TAUBE 1777, 37–45; PILLER – MITTEPACHER 1783, 112–116; BLAŠKOVIC 1794, *Diss.* 5, 14; *Diss.* 7, 25–26; CSAPLOVICS 1819, 59–61; KATANČIĆ 1824, 467–468; PAVIĆ 1852, 340–341; ORIOVČANIN 1856.

⁴ KUKULJEVIĆ 1873, 92, 102.

⁵ BRUNŠMID 1911, 124–144; 1914.

⁶ *AIJ* 583–588.

⁷ SZABO 1934.

⁸ SZABO 1927.

^{8a} MAYER 1935.

⁹ PINTEROVIĆ 1975.

¹⁰ FITZ 1980, 141, 145, 146; FITZ, *Verwaltung*, 118, 416; PÓCZY 1980, 241, 242, 262.

¹¹ MÖCSY, *Bevölkerung*, 26–28; 1962, 601, 605; ALFÖLDY 1964; 1965; PETRU 1968, 359, 360; SAŠEL KOS 1997, 39, 40; PINTEROVIĆ 1978, 35; BOJANOVSKI 1993, 60; BULAT 1993, 174.

¹² RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980; 1992. On Silvanus, see also DORCEY 1992; cf. SCHEJBAL 2003a, 403–404, notes 42–50.

¹³ SCHEJBAL 1994.

¹⁴ *Izujestaj* 1960; *Izujestaj* 1961–1968; *Popis* 1961.

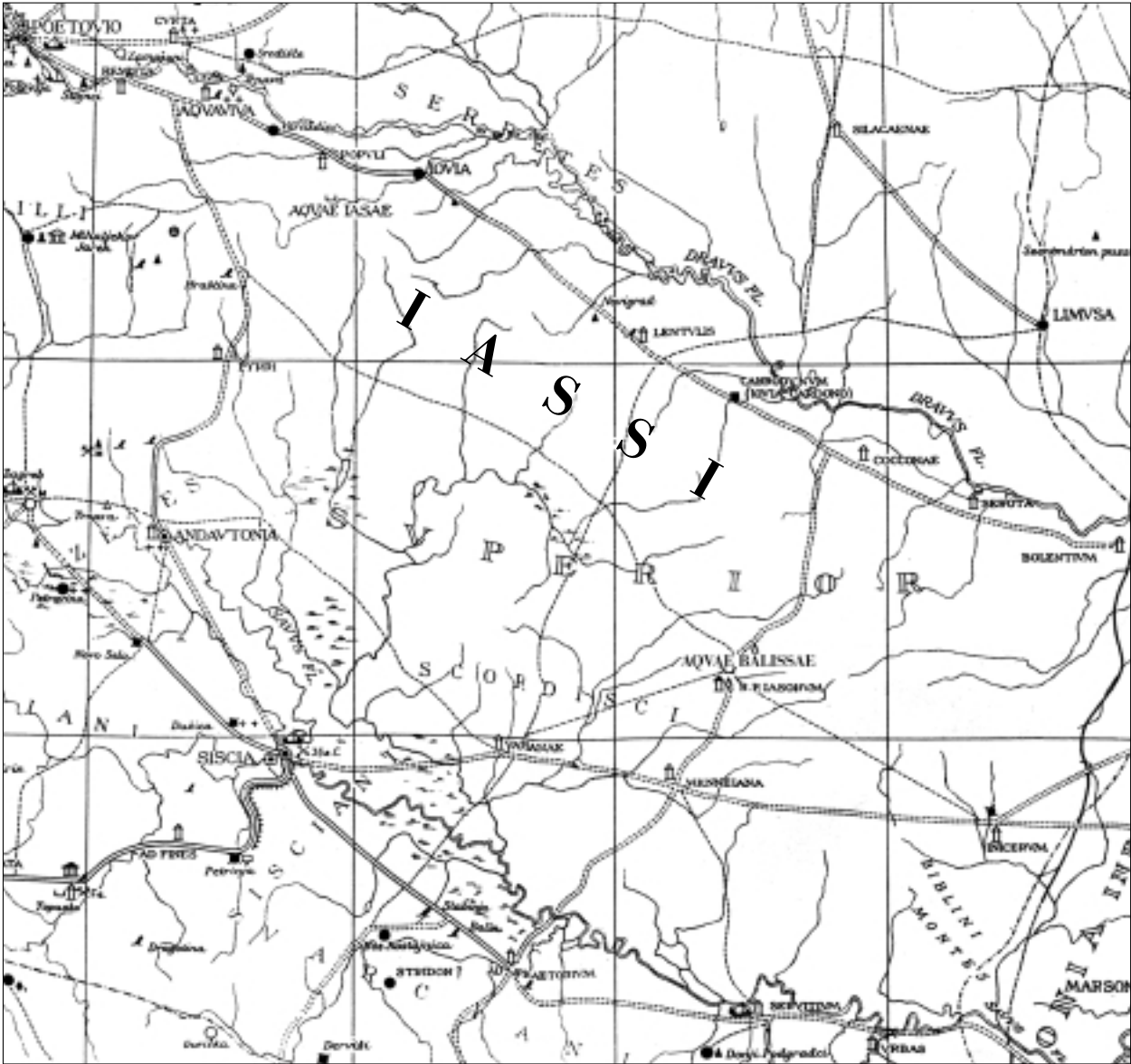
¹⁵ Field diary, correspondence with other conservators, drawings, sketches, and topographic maps that were not published, letters sent to the National Museum in Zagreb (today the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb) between 1905 and 1909, Archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, Daruvar Register. See the list of source material.

¹⁶ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000; 1994, 1996a, 1996b; 1999; 2003; 2003a. The author was the first to undertake systematic field survey of Daruvar area in 1993–1994 for a B.A. thesis in the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Arts in Zagreb. Research from 1995 to 2000 was carried out as part of the field activities of the Daruvar Office for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage, and as preparation for studies leading to an M.A. at the Central European University in Budapest, Department of Medieval Studies. The results of these investigations have been recorded and are cited as SCHEJBAL 1993–2000; 1994; 1999. The further newest interdisciplinary research from 2000 onwards are published as SCHEJBAL 2003 and SCHEJBAL 2003a.

¹⁷ MIGOTTI 1994, 53–54, 112–113, 121–122; 1996.

¹⁸ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – ŠEČVIĆ 1998, 7–13.

Map I: Part of Roman Pannonia (Slavonian part); after TIR 33.



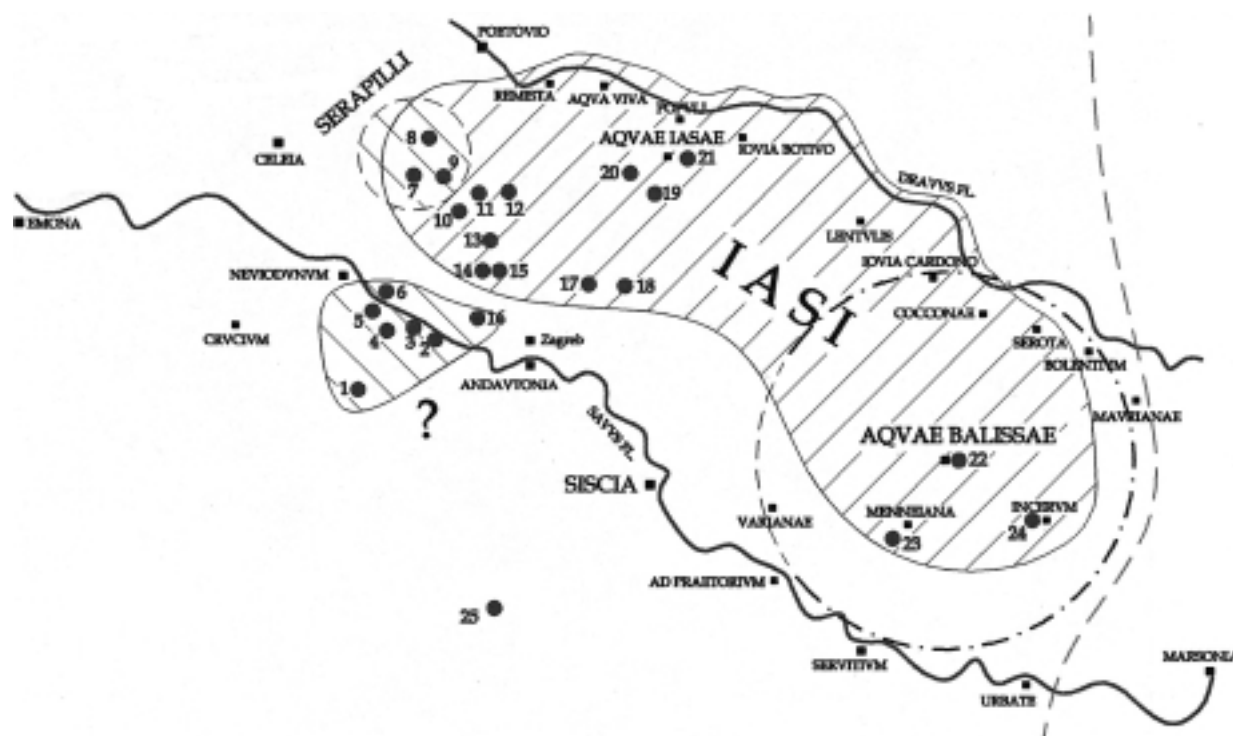
GEOGRAPHIC POSITION

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.¹⁹ It is both larger and drier than neighboring swamp and wetland areas along the Sava and the Drava, which feature unhealthy conditions.

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

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 Izvor (Roman Spring), Rimska Šuma (Roman Wood), Kamenolom (Quarry).²⁰ 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.²¹

rim of northwestern Croatia, KUZLE 1985.
²⁰ LATKOVIĆ 1906; SZABO 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 in Pannonia, the strategic position of Aquae Balissae in the center of the inter-riverine area could have played a major role in the transportation and transfer of legions.

THE TERRITORY OF THE *MUNICIPIUM* AND THE TERRITORY OF THE *IASI*

A tombstone of *Ulpus Cocceius*²² from Rome (*CIL* 6.3297)²³ shows how the territory of Aquae Balissae was organized into *pagi* and *vici*, parishes and villages: he was born at *Aquae Balissae, pago Iovista, vic(o) Coc[ol]netibus*. All three toponyms are confirmed in Roman itineraries. *Mutatio Cocconae* is identified as

the present-day village of Špišić Bukovica in the Virovitica area, while *pagus Iovista* is in fact *mutatio Iovia* (Cardono, located in the vicinity of the villages of Otrovanec / Prugovec / Sedlarica),²⁴ distant from *Cocconae* 12 m.p. (18 km) to the west on the *Poetovio-Mursa* road.²⁵

It is generally considered that the size of the territory of a given *municipium* did not exceed a distance from the center 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* (Cardono) would be located ca. 50 km in a straight line to the northwest of Aquae Balissae, bordering with the territory of *civitas Iovia* (Botivo, 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 (Taborište–Borova) and Bolentium (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* (*intras Pannoniam Superiorem: 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

Map II: The tribal territory of the Iasi, the municipal territory of *Aquae Balissae*, and the geographical distribution of thermal springs
Supposed provincial border -----
Municipal radius of 50 km
1. Sv. Jana (HR)
2. Sv. Helena (Šmidhen, HR)
3. Terme Čatež (SLO)
4. Bušča Vas (SLO)
5. Kostanjevica (SLO)
6. Klevež (SLO)
7. Podčetrtek (SLO)
8. Rogaska Slatina (SLO)
9. Harina Zlaka (HR)
10. Tuheljske toplice (HR)
11. Krapinske toplice (HR)
12. Sutinske toplice (HR)
13. Šemnicke toplice (HR)
14. Stubičke toplice (HR)
15. Jezerčica (HR)
16. Sutinska vrela (HR)
17. Topličica Sv. Ivan Zelina (HR)
18. Sv. Ivan Zelina (HR)
19. Topličica Madarevo (HR)
20. Topličica Gotalovac (HR)
21. Varaždinske toplice (HR)
22. Daruvarske toplice (HR)
23. Lipik (HR)
24. Velika (HR)
25. Topusko (HR)

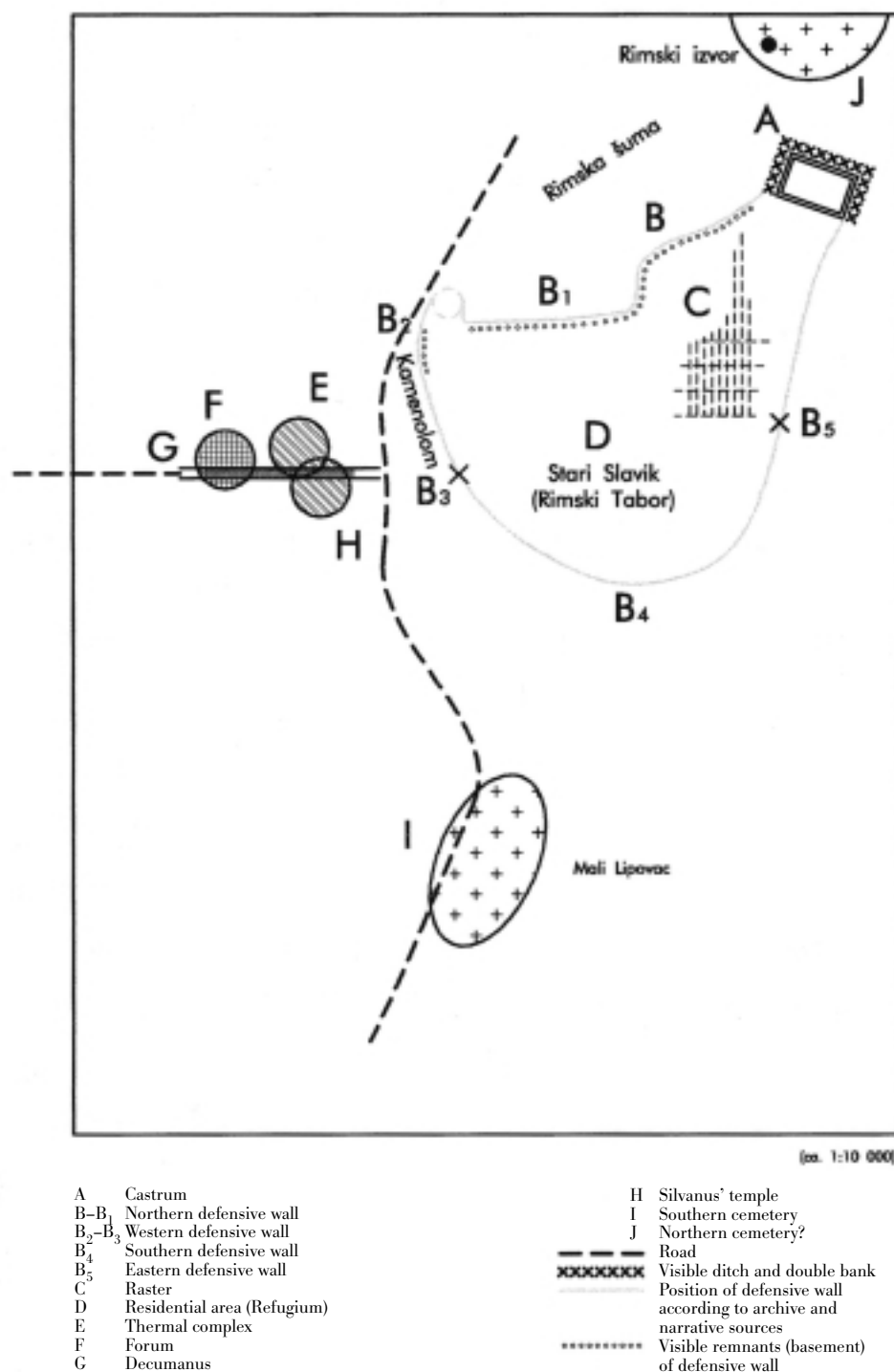
²¹ SCHEJBAL 1996a.

²² The imperial gentilicium Ulpus 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, PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 135–137.

²³ SPEIDEL 1994, no. 657; see also BRUNŠMID 1911, 125; MAYER 1935, 73–74; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 138.

²⁴ BEGOVIĆ 1986, 148; MAYER (1957, 180; 1959, 59) has it s. v. *Carrodunum* (*Ptol. Geo.* 2, 14, 5; 2, 15, 1; *Itin. Hier.* 562): *tribunus cohortis primae Herculaeae Raetorum, Carroduno* (*Not. dign. occ.* 35. 28).

²⁵ MAYER 1935, 74–79; *CIL* 3, p. 507.



Map III: Topographic plan of Aquae Balissae

²⁶ Velika is an archaeological site with continuity from prehistory. The station *Incerum* – *sed mansio Augusti in praetorio est* (Itin. Ant. 265) was a resting point for Roman functionaries. The location of *Incerum* at Velika is proven by the mathematical formula of the length of a radial section. The values taken were the distance Aquae Balissae–*Incerum* 25 m.p. (37 km), the distance Menneiana (Pakrac)–*Incerum* 28 m.p. (42 km) and the approximately pointed angle of 27 degrees that close the mentioned directions (Darugar–Velika, Pakrac–Velika). The result is a distance of 19 km between Aquae Balissae and Menneiana. The present distance along the main road from Darugar to Pakrac is 21 km. The Aquae Balissae–*Incerum* route mostly passed through the mountainous region of Papuk along the Pakra River, where in the second half of the 19th century was built a small-gauge forest railroad, today a macadam road and forest path, SCHEJBAL 2003, 104–105.

²⁷ Not. dign. occ. 32, 55 notes: *praefectus classis I Pannonicae Serviti* as the seat of the prefect of the navy. This was an important Roman centre in present day western Bosnia, see BOJANOVSKI 1988, 67; ZANINOVIC 1991, 57.

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–Marsonia = 80 km) near the station of *Incerum* and the geothermal springs, today the settlement of Velika (distance: *mansio Incerum* – Aquae Balissae = 25 m. p. or 37 km).²⁶ In the south, the municipal territory could extend to the Sava, and the naval port and road station of *Servitium*, today Bosanska Gradiška (distance: Aquae Balissae–*Servitium* = 50 km),²⁷ or to Castra, today Banja Luka in Bosnia and Herzegovina (distance: Castra–*Servitium*/Savus = 45 km).²⁸ To the southwest, the territory of *Municipium Iasorum* must have bordered with the territory of *Siscia* (distance: *Siscia*–Aquae Balissae = 55 m.p. or 81.5 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 *Serota*, *Bolentium*, *Varianae*, *Iovia Cardono*, *Incerum*, *Maurianae*, *Ad Praetorium* and *Servitium* (Map II; cf. Map I).²⁹

Pliny (NH 3.147) stated that the river Dravus flowed through the regions of the tribes of the Serretes, Serapilli, Iasi, and Andizetes, while Ptolemaeus noted that the tribe of the *Iassioi* 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 **ies-*, 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 a “very powerful/forceful spring”.³⁰ A note is preserved in Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. *Iás* (Ἰάς, Ἰαλυσίας μέρος. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἰάται. λέγεται καὶ Ἰωνικοί.), which may or may not be related to the Iasi.³¹

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,³² extending from the broader area of Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*) and the Sutla River in the far northwest, along the Drava

²⁸ On the basis of epigraphic monuments it is presumed that the Roman station and settlement of *Castra* was a municipium in the province of Upper Pannonia, see BOJANOVSKI 1974, 95 with lit.

²⁹ SCHEJBAL 2003; cf. ZANINOVIC 1986, 64.

³⁰ MAYER 1935, 69–75; 1957, 74, 162; 1959, 17, 52, 59.

³¹ The data in Stephanus is unfortunately neither located geographically nor did he cite the sources he used. There may have been a possibility that it would refer to the Iasi. Their name, which is most probably related to the healing thermal springs, as has been pointed out, could have had additional connotations, related to the Greek *iaōmai*, to heal, and its derivatives (cf. FRISK, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960, 704–705), particularly as there were many healing thermal springs in the territory of the Iasi. For the discussion of the problem, see SCHEJBAL 2003a.

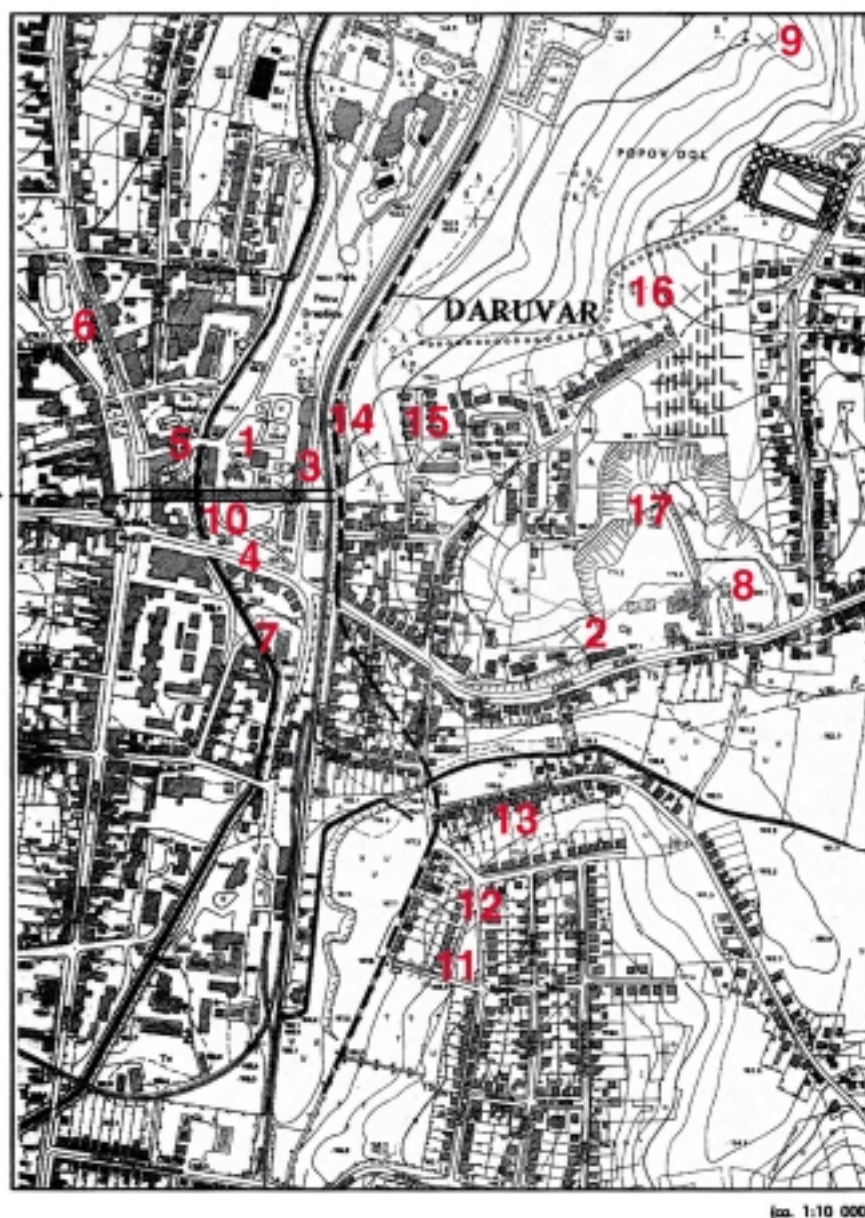
³² For geographical distribution of thermal springs in continental Croatia and eastern Slovenia see: KOVAČIĆ – PERICA 1998; NOSAN 1973, fig. 1. A. MAYER (1935, 73) states that in the surroundings of Rogaska Slatina, west of the Iasi, lived a small tribe of *Serapilli*, deriving their name from the term for an acid, salty water (slatina).

River in the north, approximately to present-day Virovitica (i.e. Taborište – *mansio Serota*) and Orešac (*mutatio Bolentium*) or the border between Upper and Lower Pannonia in the east somewhere around Podravska Slatina (*mansio Maurianae*). 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).³³ 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).³⁴

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 Pepelane, 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.³⁵ 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 region from the Danube basin to the Aegean.³⁶ From a later period, finds from the village of Kloštar Ivanić are noteworthy, amber beads of the Tyrins type and a fragment of half-worked bronze (*Keftiu ingot*).^{36a} from the 12th or 11th c. Several dozen archaeological sites confirm the inhabitation of the wide Daruvar Region from the 6th millennium BC to the late Bronze Age.³⁷

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 Bronze Age southeastern Hallstatt culture, specifically the Martijanec-Kaptol group (750–550 BC), which extended from the Drava River valley, and the Mura River valley, to central Slavonia, i.e. the Požega basin. Exceptional archaeological finds in the Pannonian



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| 1. Inscription dedicated to the emperor Commodus | 10. Sarcophagus and funerary stele |
| 2. Inscriptions of the emperor Gordian III and of empress Tranquillina | 11. Sarcophagus |
| 3. Inscribed base for a statue of the emperor Commodus | 12. Brick graves |
| 4. Silvanus' altars, statue of Jupiter, columns, capitals | 13. Child's skeleton grave |
| 5. Jupiter's altars, fragments of a bronze equestrian statue | 14. Woman's skeleton grave |
| 6. Crown of a funerary stele | 15. Two skeleton graves |
| 7. Funerary relief and inscribed stele | 16. House foundations, pavements, remnants of frescoes and mosaics, tegulae, coins, iron objects of everyday use, clay lamps etc. |
| 8. Statue of Icarus | 17. Foundations of roman rectangular building (courtyard?) |
| 9. Three grave vaults with mosaic and luxurious grave goods | |

region from this period came from the princely tumuli at the settlement of Kaptol (5 km to the east of Velika – *Incerum*), with finds of Greco-Illyrian helmets and pieces of warrior armor.³⁸ The area over which the

Map IV: Map of archaeological finds

³³ SCHEJBAL 2003, 95; SCHEJBAL 2003a, 394–395, cf. GRAF 1936, 65; MÓCSY 1962, 607.

³⁴ For the process of the urbanization of the Sava-Drava section of the province of Pannonia, PINTEROVIĆ 1978, 35; ZANINOVIĆ 1996, 62. Cf. MÓCSY, *Bevölkerung*, 107–115; MÓCSY, 1962, 597, 604–610; MÓCSY, *Pannonia*, 143–145; PÓCZY 1980, 241–242; ŠASEL KOŠ 1997, 21 ff.

³⁵ SCHEJBAL 2003a, 398; see MINICHREITER 1992, 12–13, Pl. 4-1, 2 and cit. lit.

³⁶ See IVEKOVIĆ 1968, 263–265, Pl. 22, fig. 64; DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1978, 99, fig. 2; MARKOVIĆ 1986, 9, fig. 3; MARKOVIĆ 1994, 75–76; TEŽAK-GREGL

1993, 25, Pl. I, fig. 18-1; 1998, 91, fig. 19; for an interpretation of motifs, see SCHEJBAL 2003a; cf. GIMBUTAS 1991, 307–321, and cited bibliography.

^{36a} MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998, 201–202.

³⁷ SCHEJBAL 2003a, 400–402; see KATIČIĆ 1970, 74, 81–85, 96, 110–112 with lit.; Throughout the area of northwestern Croatia, which can be considered as badly under-investigated, 31 Neolithic, 65 Enolithic, 18 early Bronze Age, 67 late Bronze Age, and 47 early Iron Age sites have been discovered, *Registar* 1997, 1 ff., 333–334.

³⁸ SCHEJBAL 2003a, 402; see TRUHELKA 1914, 85, 89–91, 116–117; STIPČEVIĆ 1984, 216; MARKOVIĆ 1984; 1992, 3–10; VINSKI-GASPARIĆ 1987,

Fig. 1: "Medallion of the tribe of Iasi"
 1 a: Color fotocopy, Municipal Museum Samobor
 1 b: Drawing – watercolor, Hrčić 1953



Fig. 2: Inscription of the emperor Gordian III (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

Martijanec-Kaptol group extended is currently missing archaeological material that would fill out the period from the mid 6th to the 3rd c. BC.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ The region of northwestern Croatia between Varaždinske 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.⁴²

Pliny (NH 3.148) mentioned *mons Claudius*, *cuius 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. Psunj and the surrounding heights.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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 *Scenus* and *Tato*.⁴⁶ Literary and epigraphic sources contain the place names *Aquae Balissae*, *Menneiana*, *Incerum*, *Aquae Iasae*, *Aqua Viva*, *Populos*, *Pyrri*, *Sunista*, *Iovia* (*Botivo*), *Peritur*, *Lentulis*, *Iovia* (*Cardono* = *Carrodunum*), *Cocconae*, *Serota*, *Bolentium*, *Maurianae*, the hydronym *Dravus*, and the oronym *Mons Claudius*.⁴⁷

The earliest preserved inscription from the Iasi region can be found on coins from a hoard from the village of Ribnjačka 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.⁴⁸ D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ analyzed the so-called "medallion of the Illyrian tribe of the Iasi" (Fig. 1 a, b).⁴⁹ Some of the earliest

183; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998, 221 ff.; SCHEJBAL 2003, 102, notes 23, 76.

³⁹ VINSKI-GASPARINI 1987, 230–231. The Daruvar region is approximately midway between the two archaeological sites that gave their names to the Martijanec-Kaptol group of the Hallstatt Culture: Martijanec in the Podravina region and Kaptol near Požega in central Slavonia, cf. VINSKI-GASPARINI 1987, 182, 183, and lit.; MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ 1998, 221–231, map 5, and lit. This also represents the possible area inhabited by the Iasi. SCHEJBAL 2003a, 395–396.

⁴⁰ PETRU 1968, 364.

⁴¹ MARKOVIĆ 1984, 300; 1992, 7.

⁴² ŠAŠEL – ŠAŠEL 1980, 422.

⁴³ Cf. ŠAŠEL Kos 1986, 185–187; SCHEJBAL 1996b; POPOVIĆ 1992, 15–16; POTREBICA – DIZDAR 2001, 21–22. For different interpretations of Pliny see GRAF 1936, 13–19; MÓCSY 1962, 524, 526–527, 530; PETRU

1968, 364 and lit.; PINTEROVIĆ 1978, 24–25.

⁴⁴ *Registar* 1997, 333–334; SCHEJBAL 1996b.

⁴⁵ POTREBICA – DIZDAR 2001.

⁴⁶ KATIČIĆ 1968, 147–148; 1976, 18–19.

⁴⁷ *Itin. Ant.* 130, 260, 265; *Itin. Hier.* 561–562; *Plin. NH* 3.147–148; *Not. dign. occ.* 35, 28; 33, 64; *Tab. Peut.*; *Rav.* 4, 19; *Ptol.* II, 14, 4; *CIL* 3.4117 (*Aquae Iasae*, dedication to the Nymphs by the *res publica Poetovionensium*); *CIL* 6.3297; cf. *CIL* 3 p. 507; MAYER 1935, 69–82; 1957, 74, 162, 180, 194, 220, 226, 301, 353; 1959, 17, 52, 59, 67; GRAF 1936, 17–19, 50–53, 62, 63, 65; MÓCSY 1962, 524–527, 530; *TIR* 33.

⁴⁸ Kos – MIRNIK 1999, with earlier references; SCHEJBAL 2003a, 402.

⁴⁹ The bronze medallion with a Celtic iconography of a rider and the legend IASORVM (?), 3 cm in diameter, discovered in the Samobor Heights at Sv. Marija near Okić was published by S. HRČIĆ (1953, 11–12).



Fig. 3: Inscribed base for a statue of the empress Tranquillina
(Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

finds of Celtic coins in this area come from Križovljani near Varaždin (109 coins), Đurdevac (400), Narta near Bjelovar (300), Samobor (1300), Kozarevac near Đurdevac, and Kraljevac near Bjelovar.⁵⁰ 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

RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ (1965, 89–91) transcribed the legend as [-]EIAS[-]VSE[-] ASCI[SORV]DEIMIO. Archives of the Samobor Museum, inv. no. 241.

⁵⁰ LIŠIČIĆ 1957, 3; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1967, 90; Inventory Record AMZ.

⁵¹ SCHEJBAL 1994, 1.

⁵² *App. Illyr.* 45.

⁵³ SCHEJBAL 1994, 14. SZABO 1905 noted that on the hill of Stari

camp could have been built in the very interior of the peregrine fortified complex of the *oppidum*, as was the case with Segestica after it was captured by Octavian,⁵² 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 Beleg, 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; BRUNSMID 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 Barascska in Hungary⁵⁶ could have

Slavik – Kuneševa njiva it was possible to find “bricks with legionary marks and letters” next to the foundations of Roman buildings and walls.

⁵⁴ SCHEJBAL 1994, 6.

⁵⁵ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 137.

⁵⁶ Cf. MAYER 1935, 70–71; 1957, 162; FITZ 1980, 149.

Fig. 4: Inscribed base
for a statue of the emperor
Commodus (Palace of the
Counts Janković, Daruvar)



Fig. 5 a-c:
Funerary stele of
Aelius Aelianus
(Archaeological
Museum in Zagreb)
5 d: Transcription
according to ALFÖLDY
1964



a



c



b

· D · M ·
P·AEL·P·FIL·
AELIANO·SCRI
BAE·DEC·III·VR·
M·IASORVM·
AN·XLV·AEL·
LAELIANVS·
PATRI·PIISS·MO·
F · C

d



Fig. 6: Half-capital of the temple of Silvanus (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

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

⁵⁷ See Mócsy et al. 1983, 149. DOMASZEWSKI (1904, 14) probably erroneously restored *cives Iasi* in an inscription from Aquincum referring to the veterans of AD 156; cf. Mócsy, *Bevölkerung*, 27–28.

⁵⁸ Cf. TAUBE 1777, 41; PAVIĆ 1852, 341. An inscription was also located here of an uncertain reading: *THERMAE IASORV(ENSES?)*; TAUBE 1777, 41–42; PILLER – MITTEPACHER 1783, 112; CSAPLOVICS 1819, 59–60; KATANČIĆ 1824, 467; PAVIĆ 1852, 340–341.

⁵⁹ BRUNŠMID 1911, 124.

⁶⁰ SZABO 1927, 1; SCHEJBAL 1994, 8, 24; 1999, 256–257.



Fig. 7: Altar to Silvanus and two Silvanae (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

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 Kućište or Kantari in 1918 (*ILJug* 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-

⁶¹ BRUNŠMID 1911, 124.

⁶² BRUNŠMID 1911, 124.

⁶³ BRUNŠMID 1911, 125–126.

⁶⁴ SCHEJBAL 1996, 28.

⁶⁵ MAYERSKY 1918; ALFÖLDY 1964a; SZABO 1934, 81; Mócsy 1962, 602; ALFÖLDY 1964, 218; 1965, 107; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 140; SCHEJBAL 1994, 8–9.

⁶⁶ Mócsy, *Bevölkerung*, 134, 162, 177; Mócsy, 1962, 602–605; Mócsy,

Fig. 8: Altar to Silvanus
(Palace of the Counts
Janković, Daruvar)



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

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



Fig. 11: Statue of Jupiter (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)



Fig. 12: Altar to Jupiter Dolichenus (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)



Fig. 13: Altar to Jupiter Dolichenus (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

ural features of the landscape (forests and thermal springs – Silvanus and Silvana), analogous to the thermal springs at Topusko (*Vidassus* and *Thana*) and Varaždinske Toplice (Diana and Nymphs).⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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, w. 47, rad. base 17 cm). In the amateur excavations that followed in 1968, trenches near the first discovery resulted in a statue of Iuppiter, one fragment of a funerary stele, five stone blocks, one threshold (53 × 130 × 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.⁶⁹

A greyish sandstone altar (Fig. 7; 50 × 26 × 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

SY, *Pannonia*, 137–139, 143; ALFÖLDY 1964, 218–221; 1965, 107–108; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 139–140; 1978, 35; FITZ 1980, 143–147; PÓCZY 1980, 242. Cf. also BOATWRIGHT 2000, 172 ff.

⁶⁷ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980; 1992.

⁶⁸ At the locality of the Roman baths at Aquae Balissae a medieval church of the Virgin Mary was built. Within 15 km of Daruvar there are

another 13 medieval churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which may have been related to the thermal waters healing female sterility and other female diseases. SCHEJBAL 2003a, 406, note 59; cf. 1999. See BAČIĆ-ROLINC 1987; 1991; BAČIĆ 1998;

⁶⁹ SCHEJBAL 1994, 17; 1993–2000. First published by PINTEROVIĆ 1975, who did not cite the circumstances and exact location of the finds.

Fig. 14: Altar to
Nemesis (Archaeological
Museum in Zagreb)



inspired by Latin models in the traditions of Hellenistic art.⁷⁰ 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(o)m(estico)*.⁷¹ It was erected by the *beneficiarius consularis Seius Ianuarius Gen(e)tius* between 198 and 208. The third sandstone altar (Fig. 9; 34 × 30 × 17; letters: 4 cm) bore a dedication to *Silvanus* from a slave or peregrine inhabitant named *Cupitus*. The inscription can be dated to the 3rd or 4th century AD.⁷² On the fourth sandstone altar (Fig. 10; 54 × 29 × 22; letters: 3–3.5 cm) with a braided wreath on top of the hollow for libations, the dedication to *Sil[va]no M(agno)* is clear, while the name of the dedicator could have been *H[er]cul[anus]?*.⁷³

Together with the altars to *Silvanus*, a fairly damaged, locally produced statue of *Iuppiter* was found,

made of brown-gray porous limestone (Fig. 11; 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.⁷⁴ Parts of the temple of *Iuppiter* (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 *Iuppiter* were found. Two altars have been preserved, the third was badly damaged and was immediately reburied, and the fourth was lost.⁷⁵

Two altars were dedicated to *Iuppiter 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 *Iuppiter Dolichenus* in Pannonia, the inscription can be dated to the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd.⁷⁶

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.⁷⁷ Considering that *Nemesis* was the patroness of games in amphitheatres, it can be suggested that *Aquae Balissae* may have contained a small amphitheatre.^{77a}

FUNERARY MONUMENTS

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 A[...]* to her sons *Flavius Valerius*, a soldier of the praetorian cohort, and *Valerius Dign(us?)*, probably a veteran, and accompanied by a gable with three figures in a rectangular niche, today lost (Fig. 16).⁷⁸ The stele was found 2 km southwest from the center of

⁷⁰ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 146–147; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980, 110–111; 114–116; SCHEJBAL 1994, 18; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – ŠEĆVIĆ 1998, 8–9.

⁷¹ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1980, 114–119; *Silvano M(agno)*; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 144–145. It has been established that part of the inscription of the altar to *Silvanus* was deliberately struck off (*damnatio memoriae*), SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

⁷² PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 145; SCHEJBAL 1994, 18–19.

⁷³ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 146.

⁷⁴ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 149.

⁷⁵ The inscription on the buried altar of *Iuppiter* found in 1853 was recorded by the pharmacist KUŠEVIĆ. Mommsen classified it among *falsae* (*CIL* 3.205). The inscription found in 1825 with an dedication to

Iuppiter Dolichenus was placed as *CIL* 3.3998. LUKA ILIĆ ORIOVČANIN (1856; 1856a, 115) published another two inscriptions, one from Daruvar – the village of *Dobra Kuća* and one from the settlement of *Banova Jaruga*, both classified as *falsae* in *CIL* 3 (203 and 204), cf. SZABO 1934, 82–83. KUKULJEVIĆ 1873, 127–128 published another three suspicious inscriptions from the broader vicinity of Daruvar.

⁷⁶ MÖCSY, *Bevölkerung*, 613–616; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 141; SCHEJBAL 1994, 11–12. On the worship of *Iuppiter Dolichenus* in the Roman army see SPEIDEL 1994.

⁷⁷ HOFFILLER 1912; LATKOVIĆ 1912; SCHEJBAL 1994, 16.

^{77a} Cf. THOMAS 1980, 180.

⁷⁸ SZABO 1927, 7; 1934, 83–84.



Fig. 15: A funerary stele with a relief of *lupa Capitolina* (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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 *stelae* 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 SCHEJBAL 1999, 246.

⁸⁰ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

⁸¹ HOFFILLER 1947; SCHEJBAL 1994, 21.

⁸² DEGMEDŽIĆ 1952; SCHEJBAL 1994, 16.



Fig. 16: A funerary stele with rectangular niche from site of Podborje and a sarcophagus from Veliki Bastaji. Drawing G. SZABO



Fig. 17: Crown of a funerary stele with a relief of lions (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

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 *vas 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: *balsamaria*, 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 *vas diatretum* glass was discovered at the end of the 18th century, and it was sent from a private collection to the Viennese court

⁸³ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 149–150

⁸⁴ CSAPLOVICS 1819, 60.

⁸⁵ SCHEJBAL 1994, 23.

⁸⁶ PAVIĆ 1852, 341.

Fig. 18: Statue of Icarus
(Palace of the Counts
Janković, Daruvar)

Fig. 19: A fragment of a
funerary stele (Palace of the
Counts Janković, Daruvar)



museum in 1804. It was published in Croatia for the first time by SZABO.⁸⁷ 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 diatre-*

tum 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.⁸⁸

The Daruvar *vas diatre-* 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 1819.⁸⁹ The cage cups known to date have mostly been found in grave vaults with wealthy grave goods.⁹⁰

A sarcophagus (219 × 118 × 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

⁸⁷ SZABO 1934, 86.

⁸⁸ PINTEROVIĆ 1975a, 221–225; cf. DOPPELFELD 1960.

⁸⁹ SCHEJBAL 1994, 22–23; CSAPLOVICS (1819, 60) wrote that the Ro-

man grave vaults were “found 30–40 years ago”, which corresponds to the date of the discovery of the cup, i.e. between 1785 and 1795.

⁹⁰ Cf. RISTOW 1988.



Fig. 20: Cage cup – *Diatretum* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien)

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.

⁹¹ Cf. SRČIĆ 1921; SZABO 1933; 1934, 87; HOFFILLER 1947; SCHEJBAL 1994, 19–22; 1993–2000.

⁹² BRUNSMID 1914, 257–258.



Fig. 21: Fragments of a bronze equestrian statue of larger-than-life-size (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

21 a: The hoof

21 b: Fragment of the belly



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

⁹³ SCHEJBAL 1994, 13.

⁹⁴ SZABO 1906; SCHEJBAL 2003, 106.



Fig. 22: Aerial photograph of the center of Daruvar:

- A: Spa Park,
- B: Roman Camp / Stari Slavik,
- C: Roman Woods

the urban spread of the modern settlement (Map III; cf. Figs. 22; 23).⁹⁵

The main indicators for locating the forum of Aquae Balissae are finds from the furnishings of the temple of Iuppiter and pieces of a monumental bronze imperial monument (Map III, 5). It can be suggested that parts of monumental architecture, utilized together with inscriptions of Gordian III and Tranquillina for construction of the late Roman fortifications, originally belonged to the area of the forum.⁹⁶ The hypothesized area of the forum contained stone blocks,

remains of a Roman aqueduct and drainage, fragments of brick, tile, pottery and glass, as well as several inhumation graves.⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ 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 Iasian *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, C).⁹⁹ 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 spring(s) with cistern(s), and the *thermae* (Map III, E; III, H).¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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).¹⁰² 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

⁹⁵ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

⁹⁶ SZABO 1907; 1927, 4; SCHEJBAL 1994, 17.

⁹⁷ SCHEJBAL 1994, 13; 1993–2000.

⁹⁸ SCHEJBAL 203a, 406–407; see TAUBE 1777, 41; PILLER – MITTEPACHER 1789, 12; CSAPLOVICS 1819, 59–60.

⁹⁹ SCHEJBAL 1994, 24; 1996b.

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 (Iup-

pter, Juno, Minerva), as well as bath structures, *Aquae Iasae* 1997, with lit.; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – ŠEVIĆ 1998, 8–9, 11; cf. PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 147–148; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 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.

¹⁰¹ CUNLIFFE – DAVENPORT 1985; CUNLIFFE 1993.

¹⁰² SZABO, 1905; 1907; 1911, 6–7; 1927, 1–4; 1934, 81–85; LATKOVIĆ 1906; 1912; HOFFILLER 1912; 1947; DEČMEĐIĆ 1952; SCHEJBAL

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).¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴ 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. Kuvar) was built on the highest point of Roman Camp/ Stari Slavik.¹⁰⁵ 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.¹⁰⁶ 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).¹⁰⁷

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 rectan-

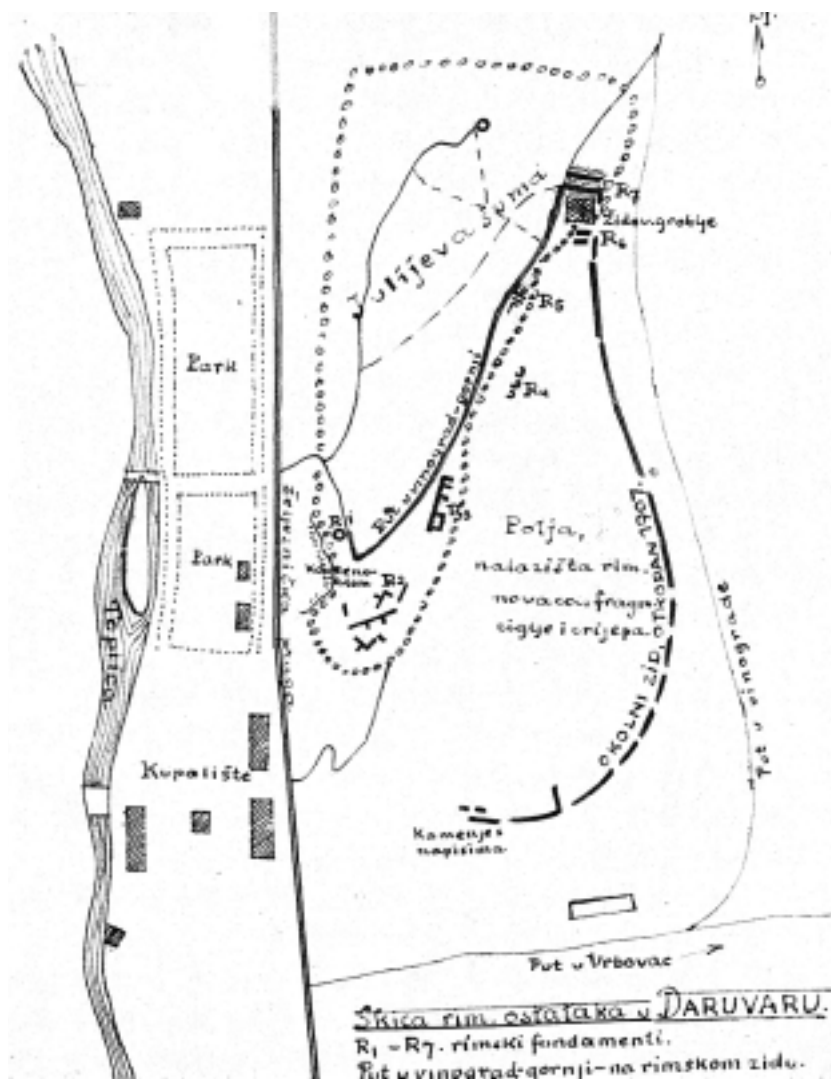


Fig. 23: Topographic Sketch of the Roman remains in Daruvar in 1927; Drawing G. SZABO

Fig. 24 a: The location of the northern part of Jewish Cemetery (right), and the foundation level of the perimeter walls, Map III A

gular, 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).¹⁰⁸ The dimensions of

1993-2000, 1994: 14-17, 24; 1999, 255-260.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ SCHEJBAL 1994, 24; 1999, 255-258.

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 isolat-

ed residences and the organization of the Jewish cemetery of Daruvar; SCHEJBAL 1999, 259, 299; 1933-2000.

¹⁰⁶ SCHEJBAL 1993-2000.

¹⁰⁷ MINICHREITER 1987; SAKAR 1983; SCHEJBAL 1994, 15-16.

¹⁰⁸ SCHEJBAL 1996b.

24 b: The foundation level of the perimetral walls, Map IV B₁



Fig. 25 b



Fig. 25 a (above) – b (left): A receptacle with early Christian motifs (Municipal Museum of Bjelovar)



Fig. 26: A four-labeled column (Municipal Museum of Bjelovar)

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 TAUBE 1777, 42; SZABO (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 antoniniani of Gallienus and Claudius II Gothicus, two of which were commemorative, one barbarized antoninianus of Tetricus, and one of Aurelianus. Other antoniniani from the 3rd century were coins of the emperors Probus, Carus, Diocletian, and Maximianus Herculus. 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, Constantinople, Aquileia, Lugdunum, and Siscia. The only hoard came from this period, which contained a hundred bronze coins. Not a single specimen from this hoard found in Daruvar in 1905 has been preserved. The last known coin is a golden solidus of the emperor Arcadius (395–408).¹¹¹

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 ČSAPLOVICS¹¹² (Map III, J), while another cemetery of Aquae Balissae was located on the hill of Mali Lipovac (Map III, I)¹¹³, and is presently overlain by the municipal cemetery of Daruvar and modern dwelling structures in Luka 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 ETTINGER 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 grave 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, G), could be marked by the Roman archaeological site of Kantari or Kućiste, where the above mentioned funerary stele of *Aelius Aelianus* was found (*ILJug* 1132). Mediaeval 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; *AIJ* 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 separate figural 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 ČSAPLOVICS 1819, 60.

¹¹³ SCHEJBAL 1996a, 21.

¹¹⁴ SRČIĆ 1921; SCHEJBAL 1994, 21.

¹¹⁵ ETTINGER 1922, 3.

¹¹⁶ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

¹¹⁷ The course of the Roman road was determined, as is the case to-

day, by another natural factor, the Kalvarija Pass that leads to the south, cutting across the mountainous regions of Papuk and Psunj, enabling contact with the Sava River basin.

¹¹⁸ SZABO 1934, 84, noted that at the site of Brdo-Gradina he found several fragments of Roman marble in medieval walls.

¹¹⁹ Cf. SCHEJBAL 1999, 141, 242, 261.

¹²⁰ SCHEJBAL 2003, 105, note 102; 1993–2000.

¹²¹ MICOTTI 1994, 112–113.



Fig. 27 a–b: A sarcophagus from Veliki Bastaji (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb)

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. SZABO¹²² 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 Germania. 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 therapeutic 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 “Židina”, 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; SCHEJBAL 1994, 26.

¹²³ ZANINović 1991.

¹²⁴ SCHEJBAL 1994, 26, 33.

¹²⁵ ZDELAR 1842.

¹²⁶ PAVIĆ 1852, 340.

¹²⁷ The Bastaji sarcophagus was first placed in the gardens of the Janković 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. 27 a, b).¹²⁸ 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 "Crijepci" 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 Međurić (28 km SW of Daruvar



Fig. 28: A fragment of an inscription from Veliki Bastaji (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

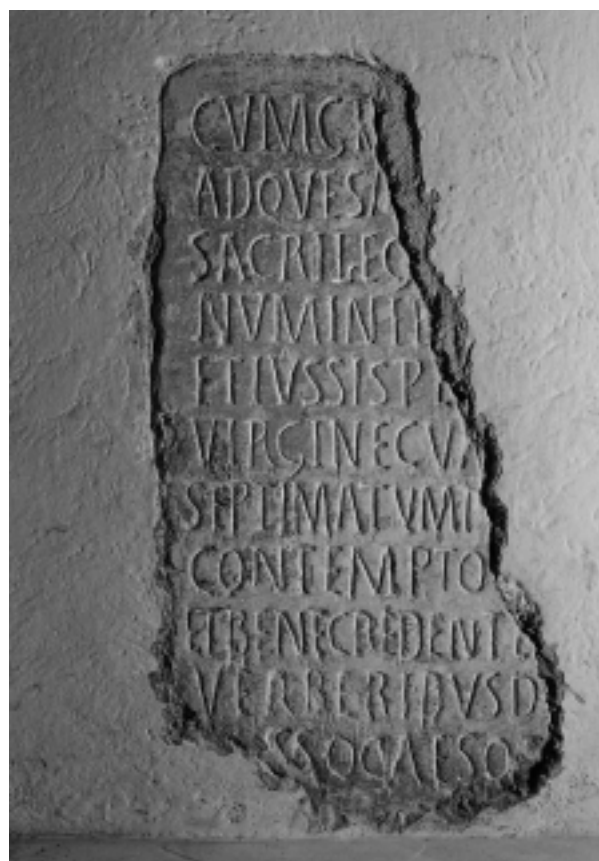


Fig. 29: A fragment of an inscription from Veliki Bastaji (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

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

¹²⁸ SZABO 1927, 8–9; 1934, 83–84; *AIJ* 589; CERMANOVIĆ 1965, 94–95; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 142–144; VIKIĆ-BELANČIĆ 1978, 597–598; MIGOTTI 1994, 121–122; 1996.

¹²⁹ MIGOTTI 1996.

¹³⁰ Cf. ZDELAR 1842.

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.

¹³⁴ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000; 1994, 28.

¹³⁵ Cf. ZDELAR 1842; KUKULJEVIĆ 1891, 32; MIGOTTI 1996, 131–133.

¹³⁶ At the village of Badlješina (10 km south of Daruvar), at the archaeological site of Gradina-Crkvište, 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 Badlješina; SCHEJBAL 1993–2000; 1994, 29–30; 1999, 215.

¹³⁷ GORENC 1968; SCHEJBAL 1994, 28.

¹³⁸ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

¹³⁹ GORENC 1968.

¹⁴⁰ SCHEJBAL 1999, 94.



Fig. 30: A large inscription slab from Veliki Bastaji (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)



Fig. 31: A broken fragment of an inscription from Veliki Bastaji (Palace of the Counts Janković, Daruvar)

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 in the very center of the town of Pakrac (18 km S of Daruvar). It bore a depiction of Hercules with his club.¹⁴² The monument could be related to the station of *Menneiana* (*Itin. Ant.* 260), which was located in Pakrac.¹⁴³

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

The village of Brusnik is located at an elevated position 3.5 km E of Pakrac, 17 km S of Daruvar, marking the eastern side of the main road from Pakrac to the Požega basin (*Menneiana* – *Incerum*) and it is in visual contact with the sites in the center of Pakrac and at Novo Naselje.¹⁴⁵ A large luxurious *villa rustica* was located in Brusnik at the site of Selište,¹⁴⁶ where a funerary stele of *Aurelius Naso*, a soldier of *Legio IV Flavia Antoniniana* was found in 1913 (*AIJ* 590).¹⁴⁷

A relief votive tablet of white marble (18 × 17 × 3.5 cm) was found in unknown circumstances near the village of Bačindol in the position of the medieval castle of Gračanica (36 km SE of Daruvar). It bears witness to followers of an Oriental mystery cult from the 3rd century.¹⁴⁸

At the site of Rudina or Crkvište near the village of Čečavac (32 km SE of Daruvar), at the medieval Benedictine monastery of St. Michael, fragments of Roman funerary monuments and inscriptions were discovered by chance, while the archaeological excavations uncovered hypocaust bricks, glass, a bronze coin of the emperor Claudius I, and a grave vault in the shape of a coffer made of large stone blocks with a male skeleton. The finds are dated to the 3rd–4th centuries.¹⁴⁹

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 with the busts of a man and woman was found at the settlement of Vetovo (48 km NE of Daruvar) nearby Treštanovac in the Požega basin. The inscription bears the formula D.M. and the name of the deceased *Grecus* (sic! *CIL* 3.3997).¹⁵²

The 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

¹⁴¹ BRUNŠMID 1914, 212–213; SCHEJBAL 1994, 32; see RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ – ŠEGVIĆ 1998, 8.

¹⁴² SOKAČ-ŠTIMAC 1977, 37.

¹⁴³ SCHEJBAL 2003, 102–103.

¹⁴⁴ BULAT 2001; cf. LÓRINCZ 2001, 273; SCHEJBAL 2003, 103.

¹⁴⁵ SCHEJBAL 1993–2000.

¹⁴⁶ SOKAČ-ŠTIMAC 1977, 25.

¹⁴⁷ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 128.

¹⁴⁸ PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 131–132.

¹⁴⁹ MIGOTTI 1994, 125; SOKAČ-ŠTIMAC 1997, 17.

¹⁵⁰ SOKAČ-ŠTIMAC 1995, 174–175; 1999, 1–3; cf. MARKOVIĆ 1984, 300.

¹⁵¹ SCHEJBAL 2003, 104–105.

¹⁵² PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 123.

¹⁵³ BRUNŠMID 1909, 154–155; KLEMENC 1961, 28; PINTEROVIĆ 1975, 125.

¹⁵⁴ SALAJIĆ, Excavation Diary; Inventory Book of the Municipal Museum of Virovitica, inv. n. 777. The find from 1990 is to be published soon.

section and the cemetery have been located through test excavations and field survey.¹⁵⁵

During repairs to the parish church of St. Theresa of Aquila in the city of Bjelovar (50 km N of Daruvar), 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.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 *Vidasus* (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 holy¹⁵⁷ 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 logographs and historians after the Greek "Dark Ages".

The symbolism 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 geo-thermal 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"), but 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 Thoplica; 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, relicts 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.¹⁵⁸

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There is a surprising parallel between the find of the Hercules from Orešac (*Bolentium*) and the votive tablet of Hercules from Pakrac (*Menneiana*) considering the definition of the sites as road stations, SCHEJBAL 2003, 106, note 134.

¹⁵⁵ KUKULJEVIĆ 1873, 108; NEMETH-EHRlich 1986, 103–105; SALAJČIĆ 1995, 1.

¹⁵⁶ BRUNŠMID 1901, 125–127; MEDAR 1986; 1996; cf. CAMBI 2002, 154–155.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. ERNOUT – MEILLET 1959, 41–42.

¹⁵⁸ This conclusion is a summary of the author's scientific work: New Consideration about *Aquae Balissae* and the tribe of the Iasi: Water – Etymology – Landscape – Mythology – Cults, Question of Attribution and Continuity (SCHEJBAL 2003a).

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Arhiv 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, Registar Daruvar /Archives of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb, File Daruvar/

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