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***Balnea metallicorum* of ancient Domavia**

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Abstract

The bathing complex in Domavia (near modern Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina), drew our attention as one of the most interesting and yet still unexplored bathing complexes at the territory of the ancient Roman province of Dalmatia. It was discovered more than a hundred years ago by Ljudevit Pogatschnig during the excavation of the site called Gradina, unearthed to a significant extent, and rather well documented by Vaclav Radimský in his reports from 1892 and 1894. Unfortunately, although this monumental and lavishly decorated bathing complex differs in many respects from the majority of ancient baths around the Roman world, and is a superb testament to the social conditions, wealth and overall culture of Domavia, an official mining centre from the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius, its remains (except

for the mosaics) never spurred further academic interest. This paper deals with the unusual arrangement and structure of the complex, its way of functioning, its rich decoration and quite substantial epigraphic material. All these contribute not only to the better understanding of life in ancient Domavia and northern part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, but also to the general knowledge and understanding of Roman baths, their types and distinctive features. For their unique structure and character, we labelled Domavia baths – balnea metallicorum, arguing that they were designed for specific purposes and specific needs of their customers. We are also convinced that they were not an isolated example of this kind of baths at the territory of the Roman province.

Key words: *Domavia, Argentaria, Roman province of Dalmatia, Roman baths, balnea*

At the beginning, we would like to stress that this paper is a continuation of our efforts to present to the academic community an aspect of architecture, as well as of daily life in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Our already published papers were primarily concerned with the coastal region of the Roman province,¹ but it seems that the logical next step would be broadening of the geographical scope to the exceptionally interesting architecture in Dalmatian deep hinterland. The motivation for writing this paper is primarily the fact that almost nothing of Dalmatian bathing architecture is known to the wider audience. In the well-known catalogue of Roman baths written by Inge Nielsen, only four examples of Roman baths from Dalmatia are listed, what, in the light of documented remains of private and public baths on the territory of

the province, seems to be completely inadequate presentation.² However, it is no wonder that the wider international audience, including Inge Nielsen and Garrett Fagan,³ were never introduced to numerous examples of Roman baths in Dalmatia, since the excavations of the majority of them have never been published in English, French or German. So, from Nielsen's list and the accompanying map, one could be misled to conclude that Roman bathing practices never got a firm foothold in the province of Dalmatia. However, the truth is quite the opposite – dozens of bathing complexes have been excavated all around the territory of the former Roman province, and most of them manifest quite specific traits.⁴ Actually, these specific features were the main reason why the majority of them have never been recognized and interpreted as *thermae* or *balnea*.⁵

There are no imperial baths in Dalmatia, at least considering their shape and structure. Smallish, custom-made baths in Diocletian's palace in Split are imperial only by their name, not by their arrangement. But still, there are some quite original and unique complexes which were built in quite specific circumstances in the deep Dalmatian hinterland – the territory of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina, once part of the Roman province. During the first three centuries, this area of the imperial province functioned quite differently from the surrounding areas and went through almost unique transformative processes. The whole Dalmatia was of extreme economic value for the Empire; the coastal region had its own economy and sources of income, while hinterland was especially interesting for the Empire for its rich deposits of valuable ores and metals. Thus, as Ante Škegro noted: “The exploitation of metals, especially precious ones, was strictly controlled. Security and successful economy were dependent on the provision of a dense road network, military camps, fortifications, piers, ports etc. Within the interior of Dalmatia urbanization was promoted in accordance with Roman economic interests”.⁶ So, from many perspectives, we could speak of “two Dalmatias” in one and the same province – the coastal Dalmatia, which was highly urbanized and subject to the processes of Romanization from an early date, and the inland Dalmatia, which was initially just an economic resource. Leased estates in coastal region were filling imperial coffers, and various industries and trade were “name of the game”. The hinterland was something completely different – mostly rural, intersected with roads and secondary routes and, of course, *mansionibus*,⁷ some of which through time became settlements and *municipia*.⁸ That was not an agricultural or animal-farming territory, but a mountainous hillside region rich in almost every kind of ore, and also in mineral springs.⁹ In northern Dalmatia there was no need for larger towns, although some urban centres arose during the 2nd century. As for the roads, they all led to mining cross-provincial districts, or, at a later stage, to just a single mining district.¹⁰ It would take a long explanatory note to outline the processes that defined its organisation and reorganisation, so we are complementing this introductory note with a table illustrating the main events that shaped the ancient history of northern Dalmatia (see Table below the text).

On this occasion we have chosen to turn our attention to one of the earliest recognised baths in the province, which were situated in an important, if not the most important centre, of the northern part of Roman Dalmatia – the town of Domavia (it is found today near the village Sase, situated beside the river Saska, north of the most unfortunate modern town Srebrenica).¹¹ Though the excavations were conducted at the end of the 19th century, and the majority of finds were published at the time, what interests us here, and has yet not been explained, is how these unusual baths originally functioned – during the 3rd century, possibly to the middle of the 4th century. Vaclav Radimský unearthed this bathing complex in just three campaigns, made a relatively good sketch of the complex, documented all of his finds, and published his research in 1894, trying to interpret various spaces and rooms that he found.¹² However, due to the limited general

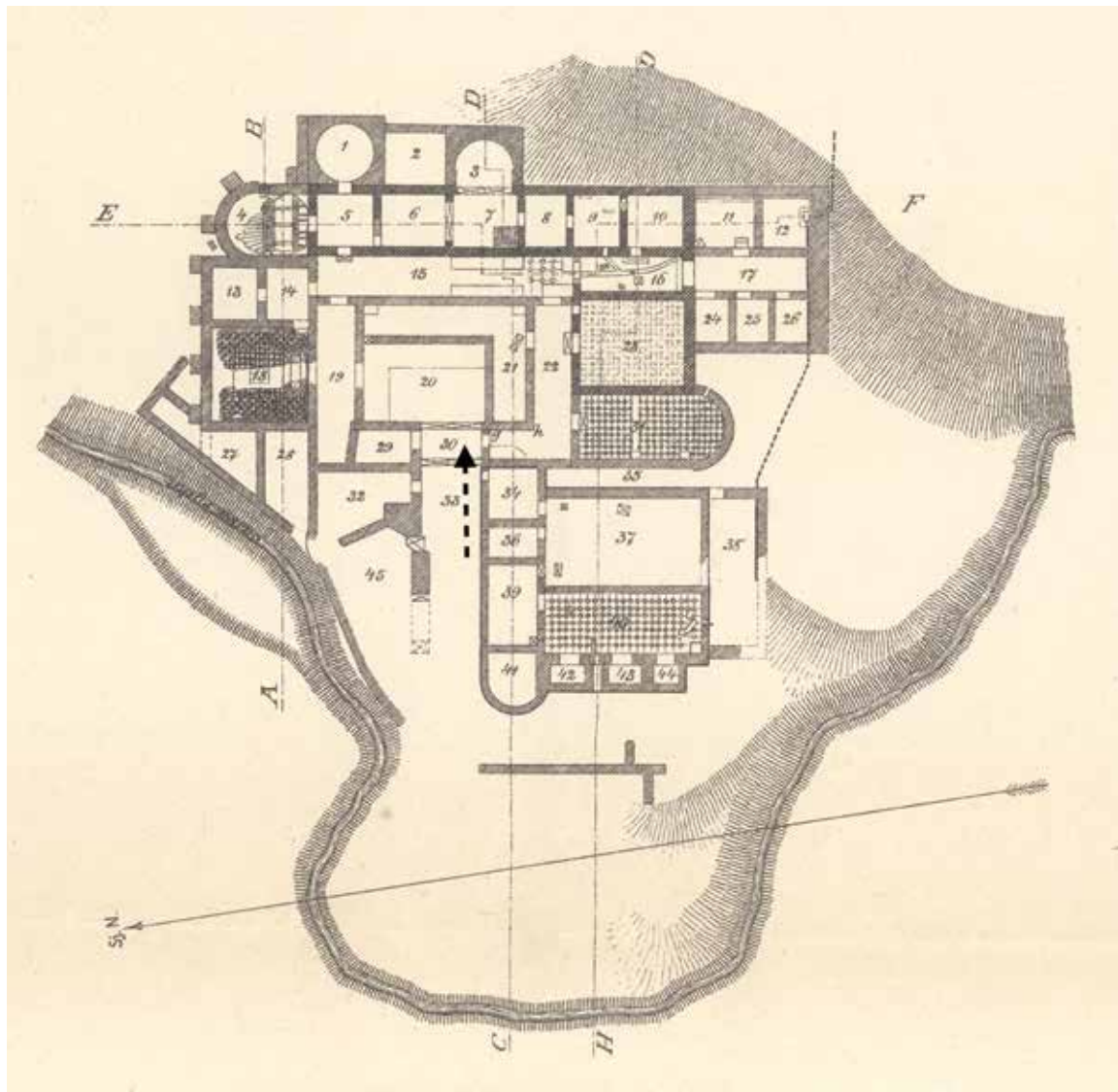
knowledge about Roman bathing architecture and Roman bathing culture at his time, he did not quite succeed in the interpretation of the complex, so we are left with a vast corpus of excavation finds and data, but also with a complicated and yet unexplained maze of 45 rooms and spaces.

The interlinked rooms of Domavia baths are arranged in a logical and clearly discernible order; nevertheless, they can hardly be compared to any of the Roman baths presented in Nielsen's catalogue – some common elements are lacking, and some other seem redundant. Soon it becomes clear that this complex consists of at least three separate bathing units and then also something that we find as a common feature in Dalmatian baths (even in Salona) – an attached heated dining-room.¹³ It also seems that the complex had at least three building phases, although only two of them are confirmed by inbuilt inscriptions.¹⁴ It was lavishly decorated, in a way that surpasses even the so-called Great Baths in Salona – with expensive mosaics, wall paintings, stucco decoration, imperial sculptures, inscriptions and altars. The material remains imply that these were not just one of the numerous “ordinary” baths, but were built as a part of imperially financed infrastructure – so it seems that our curiosity about their building phases, way of functioning and decoration is clearly justified. For that same reason, it is our intention to examine all of the archaeological remains that Radimský documented and interpreted in an obvious hurry. Although we will constantly refer to Radimský's numeration of the rooms and spaces, as they are clearly visible on the published plan, we would like to take a different approach, offering an imaginary walk through the complex and experience of an ancient visitor. Except for the architectonic remains, which point to a specific function of different parts of the complex, we will also examine the fragments of decoration, some of which have never been contextualized, and seem to be of key importance for overall interpretation of the complex.

Entering the complex

The description and numeration of rooms and spaces published by Vaclav Radimský starts in the north-eastern corner of the complex.¹⁵ We, however, believe that the description of the complex should logically start at the entrance, found at its western side (fig. 1). The entrance corridor was marked as no. 33 by Radimský, who also held that this space was some sort of uncovered *porticus*. It is clearly the main corridor leading into the *atrium* area in the centre of the complex (no. 20), and most probably the lateral *fauces* of the original building that was later transformed into baths.

In his report published in 1894 Radimský noted only sparse movable finds, mostly various jars, and such. However, in his previous report on the archaeological excavations from 1891 (published in 1892) he gave sufficient information about the mentioned space, as well as about the whole complex.¹⁶ Let us first mention the inscription found in the corridor in 1891, which seems to be crucial for explaining the establishment of the baths. The inscription says: *IMP(ERATORE) CAES(ARE) M(ARCO) AVRELIO ANTONIO PIO FEL(ICE) AVG(VSTO)*



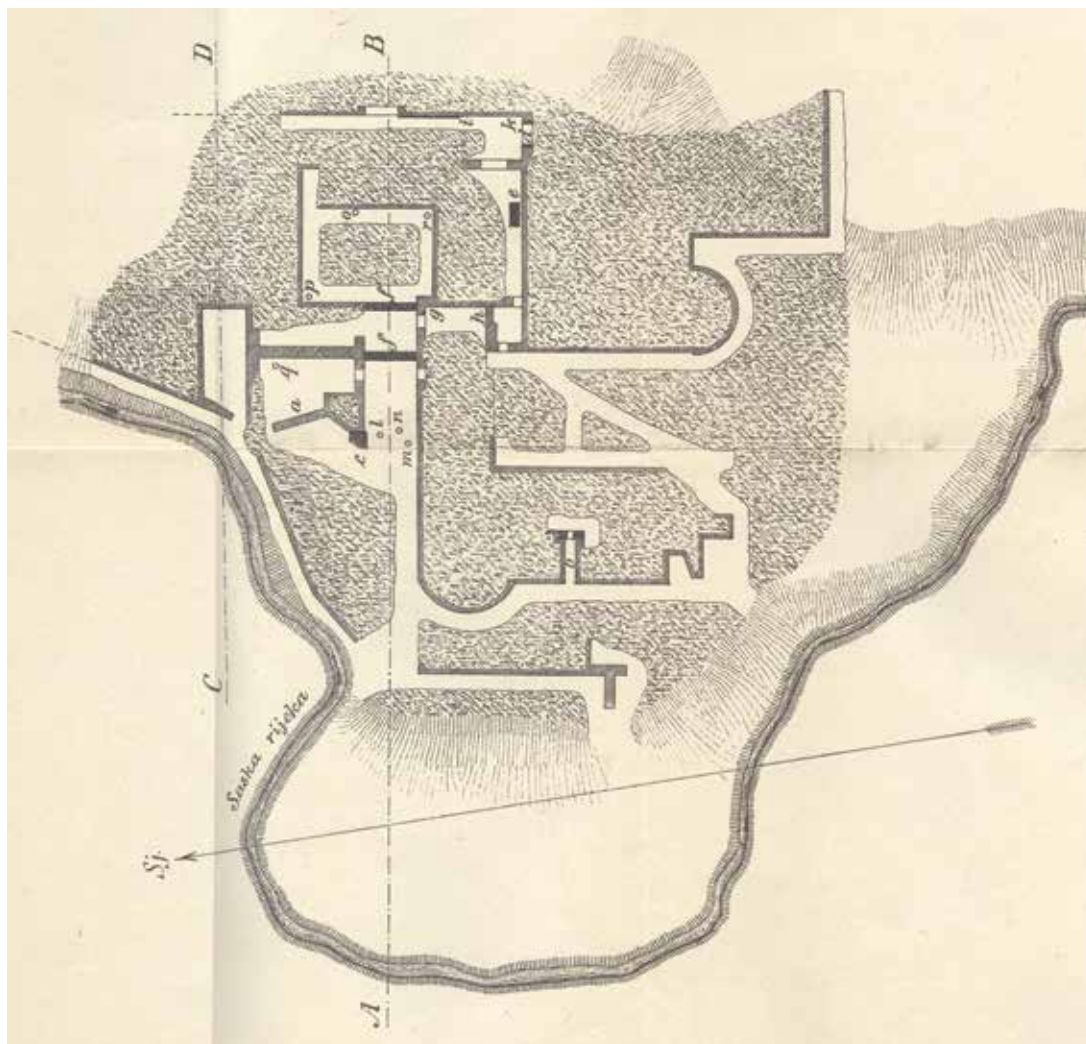
1. Plan of the complex in Domavia (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, Pl. II); the main entrance is indicated with an arrow

Tlocrt kompleksa u Domaviji (izvor: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /bilj. 12, 1894./, VI, T. II); glavni ulaz je označen strelicom

III ET COMAZONTE CONSVLIBVS VAL(ERIVS) SVPER V(IR) E(GREGIVS) PROC(VRATOR) ARGENTARIVM BALNEO PVBLICO AQVAM SVFFICIENTEM INDVXIT (CIL 3.12734, location of the find is indicated by the letter l on the plan from 1892, fig. 2, 3). Thus, luckily, we have an inscription that dates the arrangement of these public baths – as Alfred von Domaszewsky already correctly concluded – that was done in 220 A.D., when Emperor Elagabalus and P. Valerius Comezon shared consulship.¹⁷ Again at the same spot (marked as l, fig. 2), another inscription was found in 1891. This one says: *IMP(ERATORE) CAES(ARE) L(VCIO) DOM(ITIO) AVRELIANO AVG(VSTO) II ET CAPITOLINO CO(N)S(VLIBVS) AVR(ELIVS) VERECVNDVS V(IR) E(GREGIVS) PROC(VRATOR) ARGENTARIARVM BALNEVM VETVSTATE CONLAPSVM AD PRISTINAM FACIEM REFORM(A)RE CVRAVIT* (fig. 4), thus commemorating the act of restoration of the *balneum vetustate conlapsus* by the last imperial procurator with the seat in Argentaria (Domavia),

Aurelius Verecundus, after whom the seat was transferred to Stojnik.¹⁸ Aurelius Verecundus was the procurator of the mining district at the time of Emperor Aurelianus (270–275), and the inscription can be dated to the year 274 A.D. – the year of Aurelian's second consulship.¹⁹

There have been certain speculations that the mentioned restoration of the *balneum* was the consequence of its destruction by the Gothic raid in 254 A.D.,²⁰ but it seems that Gothic raids did not actually reach Domavia, though fear from them must have spread across the Upper Moesia and some parts of northern Dalmatia. As Kalin Stoev noted, Gothic raid south of the Danube in 253 A.D. had only a limited success and was aimed at Thessalonica. And although Zosimus credited Goths with a raid in 254, which reached even Italy, Stoev rightfully doubts that such a raid could have ever happened and concludes that the before mentioned raid actually happened in western parts of Dacia.²¹ After all, the inscription



2. Plan of the complex in Domavia (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, Pl. II)
 Tlocrt kompleksa u Domaviji (izvor: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /bilj. 16/, T. II)



3. The inscription from the entrance corridor /no. 33/ dating the arrangement of the baths (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, fig. 20)
 Natpis iz ulaznog hodnika /br. 33/ koji datira uređenje kupelji



4. The inscription from the entrance corridor /no. 33/ dating the restoration of the baths (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 16)
 Natpis iz ulaznog hodnika /br. 33/ koji datira restauraciju kupelji

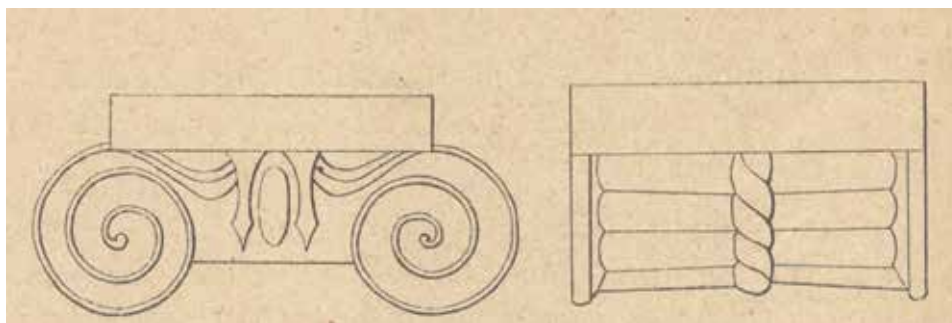


5. Head of a sculpture found in the entrance corridor /no. 33/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 17)
Glava skulpture pronađena u ulaznom hodniku /br. 33/



6. Fragment of an inscription found in the entrance corridor /no. 33/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 16)

Ulomak natpisa pronađen u ulaznom hodniku /br. 33/



7. Ionic capital found in the entrance corridor /no. 33/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 16)
Jonski kapitel pronađen u ulaznom hodniku /br. 33/

from Domavia mentions restoration of the *balneum*, which collapsed *vetustate*, i.e., because of its age, and not because of some kind of intentional devastation.

Be as it may, these two inscriptions were placed at the very beginning of the entrance corridor to the public baths, thus retelling their 3rd century story. Judging by the inscriptions, these were not baths made to be leased or rented to some local entrepreneur, but a gift of imperial procurators to the population of Domavia, the centre of a mining district. And let us not forget that waters of imperial province were an imperial possession, obviously handled by imperial procurators, in an imperial mining district.

The corridor was also embellished by statues, or at least one statue, of which a smallish (18 cm high) trachyte head has survived (fig. 5). It was found just opposite the two mentioned inscriptions (on the plan from 1892 the finding is

marked as n, fig. 2.). Although the head is damaged, namely its nose and the upper lip, we can still recognize the head of a laureled dignitary (benefactor?).²² The serious and stern look with *fulgor oculorum*, gazing right ahead at the passer-by, the shortish hair and a rugged short beard betrays a kind of military look, so typical of plastic depictions of itinerant warrior emperors of the 3rd century. Unfortunately, the overall design seems rather rustic and generic, so it seems impossible to find any likeness with a particular Emperor.

A few additional interesting finds were documented in the corridor: two fragments of an inscription found right beside the before-mentioned inscription and the head (fig. 6, marked as m on the plan, fig. 2), and a small limestone Ionic capital (fig. 7). The letters of the inscription could be recognized as MIND, and Radimský suggested its reading as (NV)MINI D(EVOTISSIMVS) or DEVOTISSIMA.

We could conclude that all the mentioned finds suggest official connotations, and that the entrance corridor must have



8. Fragment of an altar found in the room no. 29
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/ 29, fig. 48)
Ulomak oltara pronađen u prostoriji br. 29



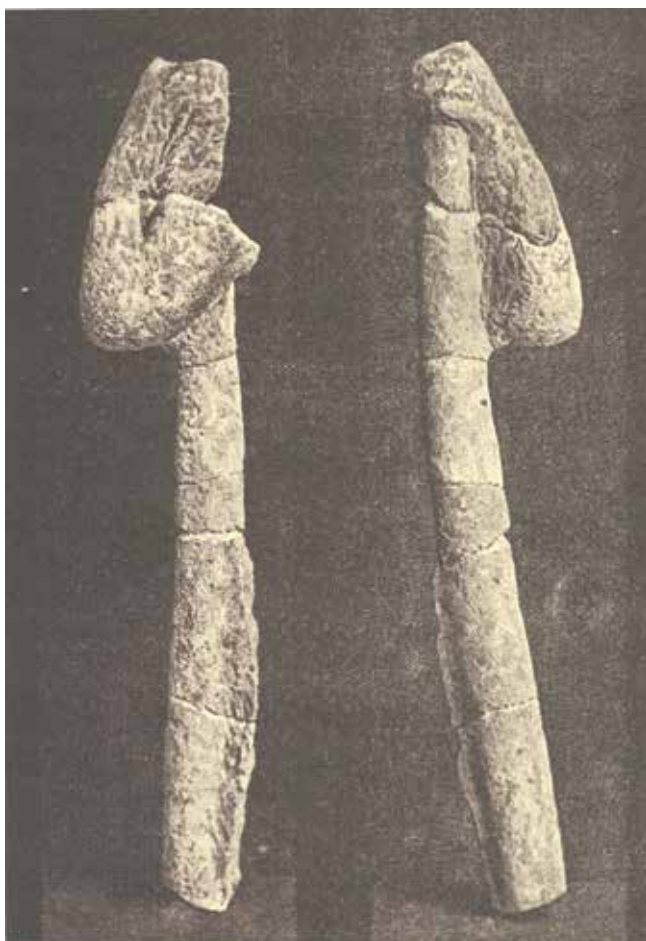
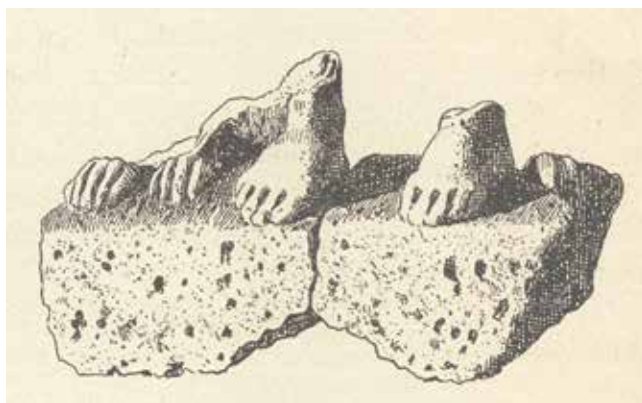
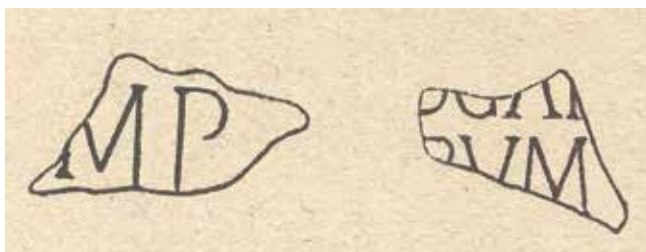
9. Fragment of the base of a sculpture of Jupiter (?) from the atrium
/no. 20/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 19)
Ulomak baze skulpture Jupitera (?) iz atrija /br. 20/

functioned as a representational space, providing the visitor with the information to whom he owes the privilege of using the bathing complex. In the context of bathing architecture of the Roman province of Dalmatia this presents a rare example of such a display of patronage of imperial officials. Though, as it will be shown, after entering the complex the visitor was repeatedly reminded of the same patronage.

Leaving the corridor behind, one would pass through a small antechamber, marked by Radimský as room no. 30. The small room opened with almost full width towards both the corridor and the following space, no. 20, thus probably functioning as a part of the *porticus* of the *atrium* of the original *domus*. Axially positioned large room no. 20 appears to be the *atrium*, and a clear view opened towards it from the main gate. We shall demonstrate that this open vista towards the *atrium* and its decoration was used for further elaboration of the message already displayed in the entrance corridor.

At the entrance, one had to pay the admission fee. A small and simple room no. 29, which does not communicate with any other room except for the antechamber no. 30, was probably the place to do it. Strangely enough, an unexpected fragment of an altar with an inscription was found on the spot: *PRO(CVRATOR?) AVG(VSTI?) PRO SAL(VTE SVO) ET SVORV(M) V(OTVM) L(IBENS) S(OLVIT)* (fig. 8). This small altar must have been brought there at some later age, possibly from the *atrium*. After paying the fee, the visitor could either proceed through the atrium to the southern part of the baths, passing through the door leading into the room no. 22, or he could enter the atrium and head up northwards to the northern wing, passing through the door in the northern side of the atrium (fig. 1).

However, before proceeding to the baths we have to stay for a moment in the central space no. 20. Although not very large, it looks like an *atrium* of a Roman house, connected with previously described spaces by an entrance 4.75 m wide. Putting aside for a moment some peculiarities of its structure, one has to turn attention to the documented finds – parts of two statues. Of the first one, which was found in the north-western part of no. 20 (fig. 9; marked p on the map, fig. 2), only the base with two feet and partly visible eagle's claws remained. Because of the claws, Radimský suggested that it may have been an imperial statue. In our opinion, it is more likely that it was a sculpture of Jupiter, whose presence would be expected in a public *balneum* sponsored by imperial procurator. Right beside, there were four fragments of yet another statue, consisting of: a) two fragments of an inscription which belonged to the base of the sculpture; b) a fragment of a trachyte hand holding something that looks like a club (Radimský refers to it as “a stick”, or “a spear”, although it does not resemble a spear); c) a two-partite base with two human feet beside which there are two animal claws. Radimský identified the claws as lion's, and if we accept his interpretation, the sculpture may have depicted either Magna Mater (the goddess is represented in this way on the coins from the time of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus),²³ or Hercules leaning on his club (fig. 10). That the sculpture was in some way related to the patronship of imperial procurators can be deduced from the fragments of the inscription on the base of the sculpture, which mention *(I)MP(ERATOR)* and *(PR)OC(VRATOR) AR(GENTARIA) RVM*. So, once again, the visitor of the baths was reminded of the procurators' benefaction, as well as of the fact that the



10. Fragments of a sculpture of Magna Mater (or Hercules?) found in the *atrium* /no. 20/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1892/, IV, fig. 25–27, 30; /note 12, 1894/, VI, fig. 41)

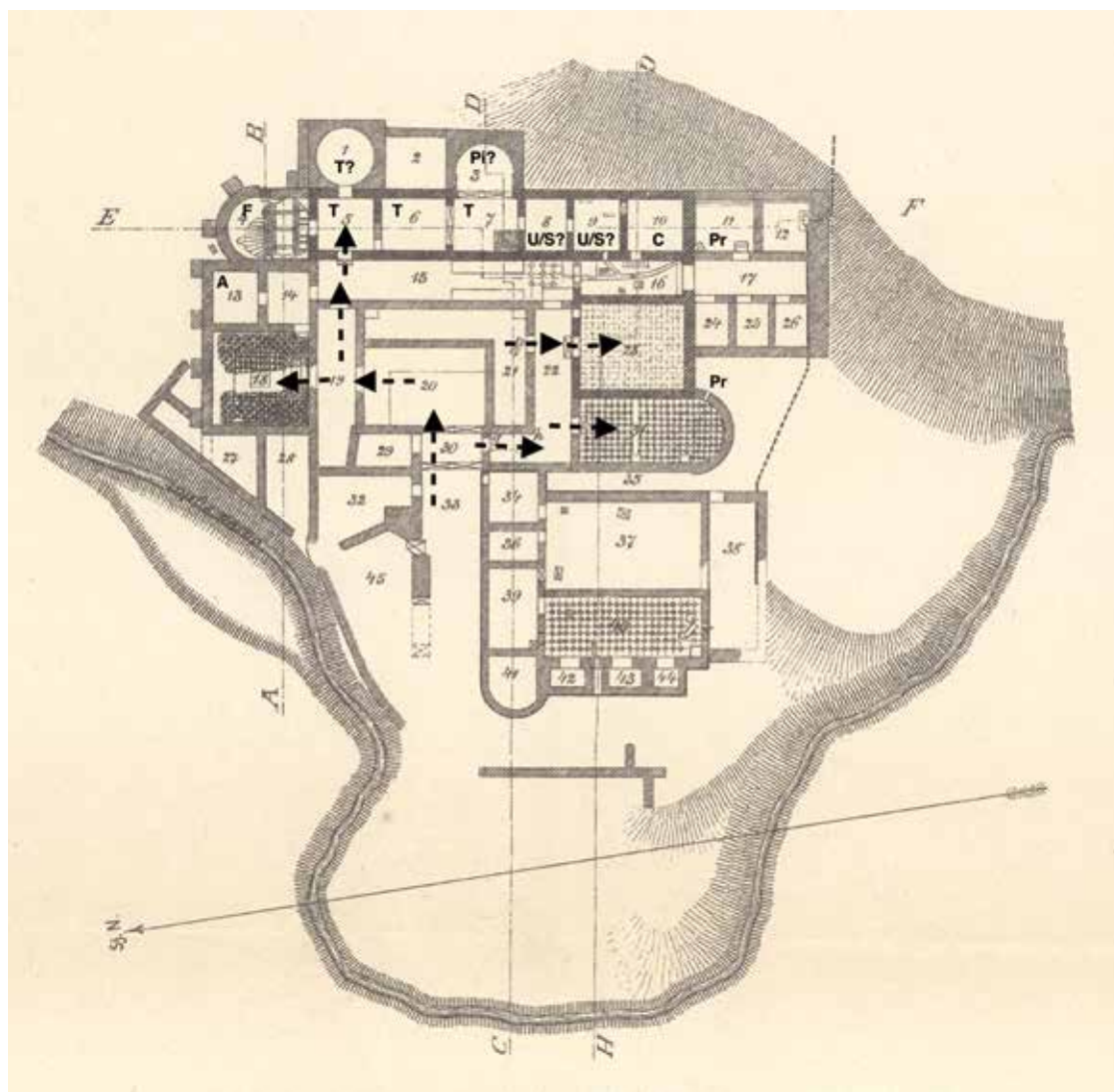
Ulomci skulpture Magnae Mater (ili Herkula?) pronađeni u atriju /br. 20/

establishment was built and arranged by imperial funds. The exact position of the statue must have been at the same spot where it was found, because some 40 fragments of trachyte, all belonging to the same sculpture, were scattered around.

Socializing and leisure in the northern wing

The northern wing was entered through a door in the north-eastern part of the *atrium*, into the space no. 19 (fig. 11). Radimský already noted its elongated irregular shape, and resemblance to a *porticus* (13 × 2.7/2.27 m). The only interesting finds were the remains of a column made of nine

bricks, for which Radimský speculated that, together with its pair, once flanked the door to the lavishly decorated room no. 18. Some smaller finds were metal door hinges, nails, and a bunch of various pottery fragments, which do not concern us at the moment. It communicated with the room no. 18 to the north, as well as with yet another corridor, no. 15, to the east. It seems that it provided the entrance to a cluster of interconnected rooms arranged around the spacious room no. 18, including rooms no. 13 and no. 14, and also to the eastern wing of the complex with its row of interconnected spaces. It is important to emphasize that the floor-level of the room no. 19 is the lowest in the complex (V0), which will prove significant when we come to the analysis of the eastern and the southern wing.²⁴



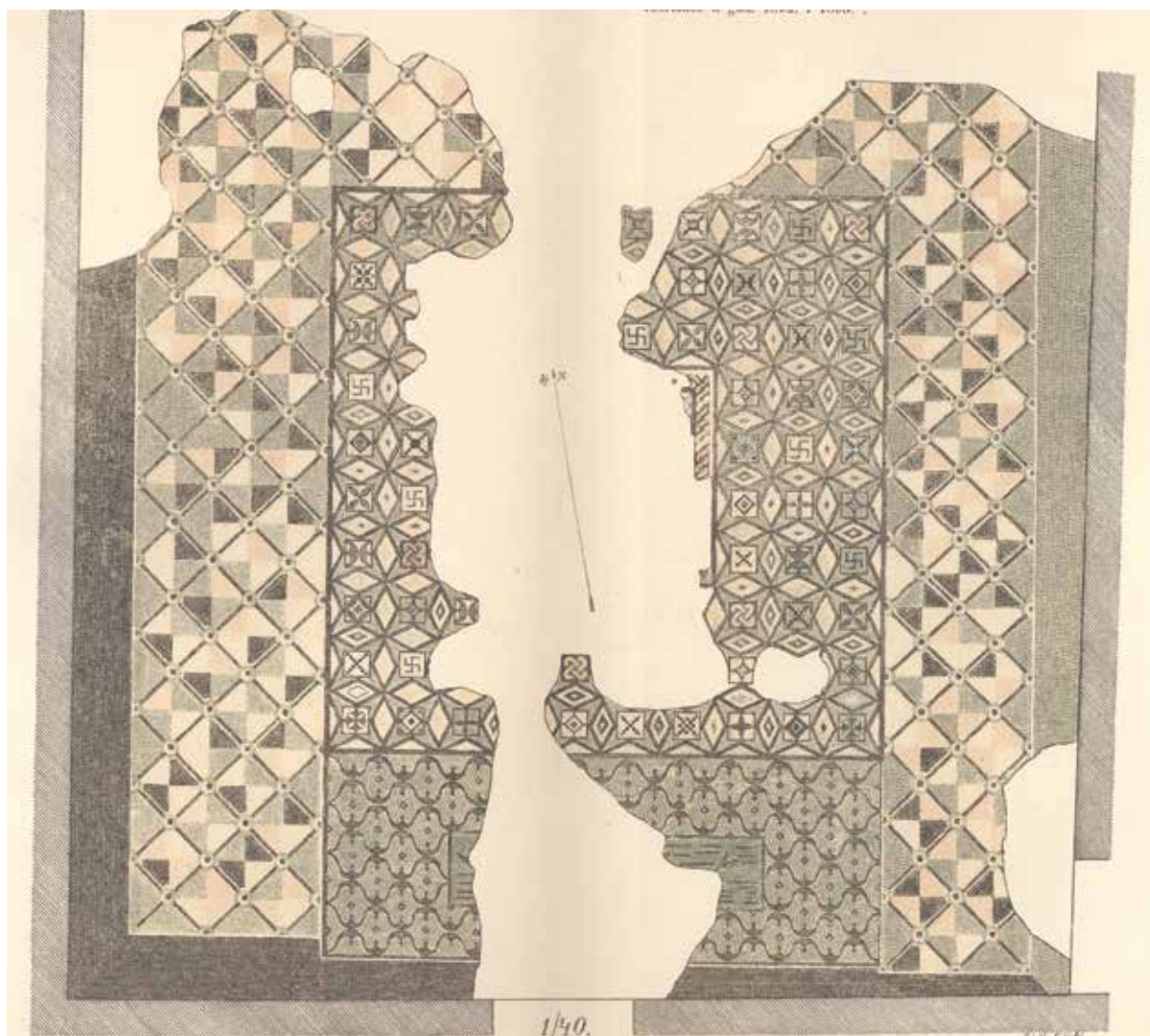
11. The eastern, northern and southern wing of the complex (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, Pl. II); arrows and letters indicate directions of the movement of visitors and functions of the rooms

Istočno, sjeverno i južno krilo sklopa; strelice i slova pokazuju smjer kretanja posjetitelja i funkcije prostorija

Following Radimský's descriptions we can conclude that the floor levels in the rooms no. 19, no. 13, 14 and 18 were pretty much the same, although *tubuli* were found only in rooms no. 13 and 18 (some of them still attached to the wall), implying that they were heated. According to Radimský, the room no. 14 was not heated. Radimský does not mention any stairs between the rooms, so it seems that hypocaust heating was buried below the floors in no. 18 and 13.

The room no. 18 is indeed the most extraordinary part of the complex. It has a rectangular shape, and its floor was completely covered with a wonderful multicoloured mosaic pavement. Radimský published an excellent drawing of its remains (fig. 12) – it consisted of geometric motifs and a small rectangular *emblema* in the centre. Unfortunately, the *emblema*, which possibly had some figural representation, was found fully destroyed, as the whole floor cracked and crumbled down right through the middle and along the northern wall. It may have happened simply because of the pressure on the hypocaust substructure.

An attempt of dating the mosaic to the end of the 3rd or 4th century by Irma Čremošnik in 1984 became widely accepted, also by Adnan Busuladžić in 2008.²⁵ However, her conclusion was based on some loose comparisons with mosaics found in the wider region, of similarly uncertain dating, and when analysing the technique and some of the motifs Čremošnik in fact proposes a wider chronological span, from the 3rd to the 5th century. When it comes to establishing precise chronology of Roman mosaic on the basis of stylistic analysis, we should refer to the study by Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, who states: "The study of mosaics is beset by serious problems of chronology. Comparatively few mosaics are dated at all closely on external grounds. In Christian churches, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, it was a fairly common practice to write the date of construction on the mosaic itself; but outside this specific category such absolute dates are very rare. Even where such apparently incontrovertible evidence is present the matter is not always straightforward... Mosaics



12. Mosaic floor of the dining-room /no. 18/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, Pl. IV)
Mozaički pod blagovaonice /br. 18/

from controlled excavations may be dated by the evidence of stratigraphy; but even where it has been possible to excavate beneath the level of the mosaic, the material recovered surprisingly seldom offers more than approximate upper and lower limits, termini *post* and *ante quo*.”²⁶ So, as Dunbabin concludes, the historical context, the information about a particular settlement or its life span, destruction and decay etc., is crucial. As she stresses, dating a mosaic on stylistic grounds exclusively can be misleading, and can result in inaccuracies of a century or even more. So, her conclusion must be taken into consideration when dating the mosaic in question. Historical data says the following – Aurelius Verecundus was the last imperial procurator stationed in Domavia, in the mid-270s, and he restored the *balneum*. The mosaic in question evidently precedes that restoration, and it is also earlier than the mosaic found in the room no. 4 (see below, fig. 14), as even Čremošnik noted. This second mosaic must have been made during a restoration, probably

the one that was done on the orders of Verecundus. Thus, the mosaic in the room no. 18 should be earlier. Taking into consideration that it was made on the floor above the hypocaust substructures, it should probably be dated to the original arrangement of the baths, e.g. to times of Valerius Super, in 220s. In addition to that, it would be hardly possible that such a lavish investment would be made during the increasingly dangerous circumstances of the 4th century, especially having in mind that there was no procurator in Domavia after 275.

What remains to be explained is the function of this monumental hall with mosaic pavement. No remains of bath tubs or anything resembling bathing installations was ever found there, just as it was not found in the adjacent heated room no. 13, which was connected with no. 18 by an opening at the level of *suspensurae*. Though some bathing installations could be imagined in the room no. 13., they can hardly be imagined in the hall with an expensive mosaic with a focus

on the central *emblema*, meant to be seen from any direction. In this context one should remember the finds from the adjacent rooms no. 27 and 28 – the remains of chicken bones, wild boar teeth, cooking utensils, fragments of pots and pans – which lead Radimský to conclusion that these small premises served as kitchens. So, a logical conclusion would be that the room 18 was a dining room, where the visitors could enjoy a meal in each other's company. The rooms no. 13 and 14 must have served as a kind of subsidiary spaces, and their function may also be explained in the context of the eastern, bathing wing, as we will propose further down in the text.

To conclude: the northern part of the complex was not in fact used for bathing but for dining and socialization, most probably after having taken a bath. As Garrett G. Fagan says: "One of the salient social functions of baths in Martial's writings and elsewhere is that they act as meeting places for dinner guests. Given the shape of the Roman day, this function is not surprising. The working day usually ended about noon, and the main meal of the day was not taken until late afternoon or early evening. The baths were therefore an excellent way to fill in the intervening period, and in any case, bathing conditions were best in the early or middle parts of the afternoon." So, bathing could be concluded with a dinner in a private home or dinner hall in the bathing premises; in our opinion, room no. 18 fulfilled that function. Unfortunately, Radimský never finished the excavations of the site, so the *praeefurnium* which heated these rooms was not found, although its logical place would be in the space attached to the kitchen.

Bathing in the eastern wing – axial baths

The eastern wing of the complex consists of a series of small rooms arranged in a row, preceded by a long corridor-like space no. 15, running along (fig. 11). It could be entered either from the elongated space no. 19, or from the room no. 14, which is actually a kind of transitional space, connecting the bathing wing with the socializing area. So, the room no. 13, placed in the corner between the two parts of the complex, might have easily been a heated *apodyterium*, where the bathers would undress before entering the bathing space, and dress again before going into the dining space.

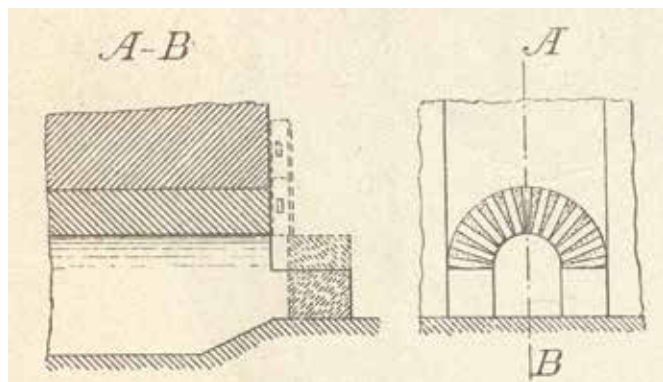
The door leading from no. 14 to no. 15 was restored at the time of Emperor Aurelian, probably by the above mentioned Verecundus,²⁷ since a coin from that time was found in the southern wall of the room no. 14. The eastern wing of the complex holds a few surprises, and some uncommon features, so Radimský made certain mistakes trying to explain the way it had functioned.²⁸ However, we have to take into consideration that the general knowledge of Roman baths and general understanding of their heating system was limited at his time. With our present knowledge of their technical arrangement and functioning, we can quite easily reconstruct the bathing sequence of the eastern wing.²⁹

Let us begin with the floor levels, which are of key importance in this respect. The only entrance to the array of rooms of the eastern wing is the door from the corridor no. 15 to the room no. 5.³⁰ To enter this small room one had to climb two stairs, each 30 cm high, meaning that the floor-level in the room no. 5. was 60 cm higher than the one in the corridor (no. 15). At the same level, 60 cm higher from the corridor, were all the southern rooms from no. 5 to no. 9. To the following one, no. 10, lead the steps 93 cm high, made of brick; so, the floor of this one was obviously some 153 cm above the floor in the corridor (no. 15). In the following rooms, no. 11 and no. 12, the floor was significantly lower, and there was a quite specific vaulted opening connected to the hypocaust system.

From the floor-levels in the rooms no. 5 to no. 11 we can quite easily reconstruct the bathing sequence, which follows the logic of the technical arrangement of the baths. Hot air is lighter than the cooled air, so the height of *suspensurae* varies accordingly – it should be the highest under the floor of *caldarium*, in order to accumulate the hottest air. As the air becomes cooler it gains weight, and it has to be pushed by pressure (*lambda*) to the lower *suspensurae*. So, it is easy to conclude that the room no. 10 was the hottest one, the *caldarium*, while the rooms no. 9 and no. 8 were still hot, but less than no. 10. Our conclusion can be further substantiated by the small size of the openings that were found between them, thus keeping the heat. The floor was made of hydraulic concrete, the walls painted and repainted red in the lower zone. So, these heated rooms may have been *unctoria* or *sudatoria* – however, due to the lack of data on any additional bathing installations, their exact purposes can be only guessed. There is also an interesting detail in the room no. 8 – the door in its western wall, just opposite a strange installation in the southern part of the corridor no. 15, was walled up at some point.

Further away from the *caldarium* – rooms no. 7 and no. 6, with their adjoining rooms, possibly basins (no. 3 and no. 2) – were *tepidaria*. Our conclusion can be additionally substantiated by the fact that the two rooms were connected by a wide opening, as here there was no more need for preserving the heat. The entrance room, no. 5, was thus quite moderately warm, and suitable as the starting point of the bathing sequence. The northernmost room of the wing, no. 4, was the coldest one in line. The level of the floor in the room no. 4 was one step (presumably 30 cm) lower than the one in the room no. 5, and 18 cm underneath its mosaic floor yet another level was discovered.³¹ Radimský's writing about the finds beneath the floor are a little bit messy, and he does not mention any *tubuli* around the walls, so it is hard to say whether there was a very low *suspensura* underneath the mosaic floor or not. However, there is no doubt that this was the coldest room in the row, the *frigidarium*.

It is quite surprising that all the rooms of this bathing sequence were heated, possibly even the *frigidarium*. As I. Nielsen noted, in Eastern provinces the baths usually consisted of a greater number of unheated than heated rooms, and here in Domavia we find the exact opposite. Climate



13. Drawing of the furnace-opening of the *prae-furnium* /no. 11/ (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 16/, 19)

Crtež otvora peći *prae-furnija* /br. 11/

in the region of modern Srebrenica is moderate and continental, and is characterized by long and hot summers, and cold winters, with an average annual temperature of 16 C.³² So, in this kind of continental climate it would be quite easy to imagine the so-called *balnea hiemales*, or winter baths, in which cold spaces and refreshing cold water were of secondary, if of any importance at all.³³

On Radimský's plan it is visible that the corridor no. 15, which precedes the axial baths, was interrupted by an installation in its southern part (the total length of the corridor is 20.66 m). Because of this unusual installation the floor was raised. Low walls on both sides in the southern part of the corridor made it significantly narrower, and nine *pillae* were covered by slabs making the level of the floor 63 cm higher. The whole installation reminds of *suspensurae* of *hypocaust* heating system. But to explain the arrangement of this corridor we first have to turn our attention to the southernmost rooms in the row.

Radimský hypothesized that the room no. 11 was a *frigidarium*. However, following the already described logic of the heating system and the bathing sequence, this would be completely impossible. In the first place, *frigidarium* would have not been attached to *caldarium*, which we already identified in the room no. 10. What else do we learn from the excavation data? Room no. 11 communicated only with the corridor no. 17. The floor of this corridor was at the same level as the floor in the southern part of the corridor no. 15 and the floor in the small corridor no. 16 between them, closed towards no. 15 with heavy bolted doors. The floor-level of the room no. 11 was two steps (60 cm) lower than in no. 17, thus corresponding to the floor-level in the northern part of the corridor no. 15.³⁴ No *tubuli* were found in no. 11, but there was a vaulted shaft full of residue from burning (fig. 13), and a small bench against the eastern wall.³⁵ The room must have functioned as a *prae-furnium*, with a bench for the *fornacator*. Our hypothesis can be further substantiated by the plan and the finds from the room no. 12 – it was equipped with a waterproof reservoir for water and also with lead pipes leading to the room no. 26.³⁶ So, the room no. 12 must have contained a closed reservoir, water tank, heated from the

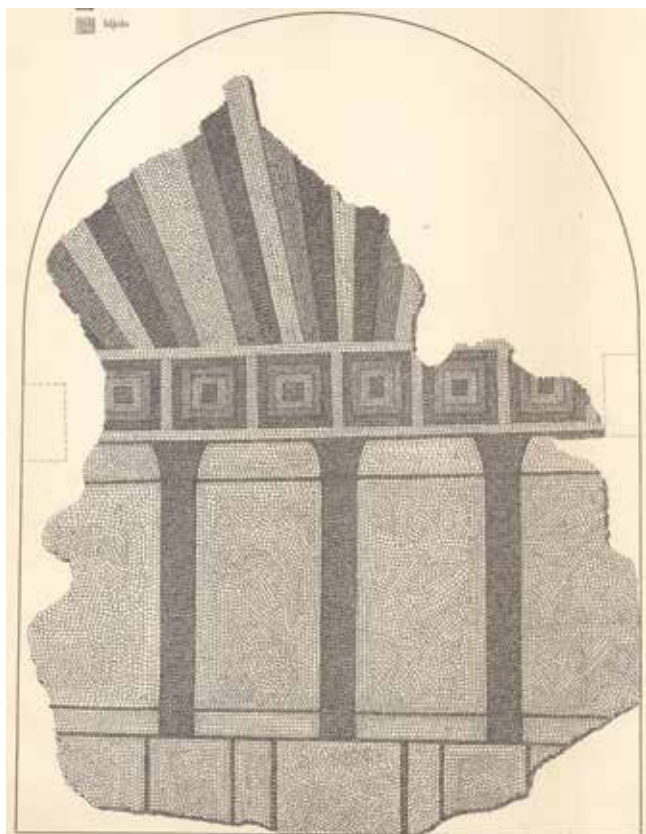
furnace in no. 11. Radimský even found and drew the line of the main pipe carrying fresh water to rooms no. 12, 26 and 38 (in the southern wing), but his description is lacking some essential information for any further conclusions. The small rooms no. 24, 25 and 26, adjacent to the corridor no. 17, must have served as storage, according to the finds – materials for polishing, lamps, boilers, etc. To conclude, the south-eastern part of the complex, comprising the rooms no. 11, 12, 24, 25, 26, and the corridor no. 17, was, in our opinion, completely utilitarian, and not accessible to the visitors. And the whole eastern wing, consisting of a series of rooms arranged in a line, was heated from one and the same source, placed in the southernmost part of the complex.

Having resolved the function of the rooms and the bathing sequence, we can now turn our attention to the installation in the southern part of the corridor no. 15. The whole space was not a heated *porticus*, as Radimský proposed, and its elevated part just formed a transitional space for the rooms of the southernmost part of the complex.

What can we conclude about the three easternmost rooms? The room no. 1, circular from the inside and rectangular from the outside, had a *suspensura* of 60 cm, so it was certainly heated. To the height of 60 cm above the floor level, its walls were painted red, which means that it was a wet room. Above that, the walls were simply painted white. No bathing installations were found, so the exact function of this heated room cannot be deduced. The rooms no. 7 and no. 3, which formed a unified space, were both heated – Radimský drew a part of *hypocaustum* with *pillae* in southwestern part of the room no. 7. The exedra no. 3 was paved by 70 cm wide stone slabs joined by a hydraulic concrete, while no. 7 was covered only with reddish hydraulic concrete. The two spaces were supposedly divided by three columns. Two columns made of tiles flanked the wide entrance and stood on a limestone base on a protruding step, and a fragment of the third column, 36 cm in diameter, was found in the room no. 7 – it may be a part of the middle column. Unfortunately, Radimský did not note down either the height of the step, or the way it connected the two spaces. If he had done so, we would be able to conclude whether the exedra functioned as a shallow *piscina*.

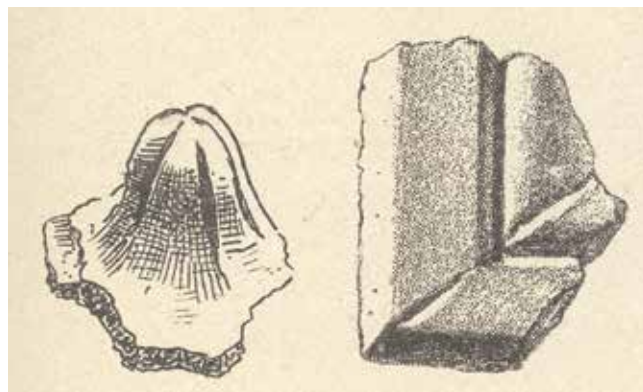
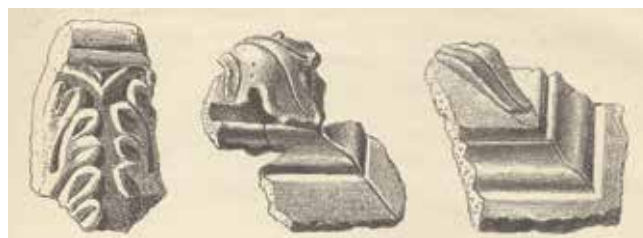
As Radimský did not finish his excavations, we have no data concerning the drainage system, which would be of great importance for further conclusions about specific functions of particular rooms. As we have shown, the information about the intake of fresh water into the complex is quite scarce, but the information about the drainage system is non-existent.

What remains to be analysed is the decoration of the eastern bathing wing, starting from the *frigidarium*, no. 4. Radimský recorded various finds that indicate that *frigidarium* was the highlight of the whole eastern wing.³⁷ Its floor was covered with polychrome mosaic with semi-geometric, symbolically-architectural motifs, which are rare, if not unique, at the territory of the province (fig. 14).³⁸ It was made of white, red, green, yellow and deep blue *tesserae*,³⁹ inlaid into the cement, and although the decoration appears completely geometric at first glance, Radimský noticed that it could be interpreted as the lateral side of an ancient temple, with



14. Mosaic floor of the *frigidarium* /no. 4/
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, Pl. III)
Mozaički pod frigidarija /br. 4/

a colonnade, architrave, and distorted roofing. Radimský noticed that this mosaic, especially when compared to some finer mosaics of the complex, is quite coarse in its design, and concluded that it was because of its later date, and that it was made during some rearrangement of the baths, “when Roman mosaic production was already in decline”. The fact that beneath the mosaic he found a couple of brick-made pillars, as well as some smaller finds, like a bone sawing needle and some metal objects, seemed to back up his conclusion. Although some of his conclusions considering archaeological stratigraphy were probably correct,⁴⁰ it is hard to accept his conclusion that the coarseness of the mosaic should indicate a later date and decline in mosaic production. There is certain coarseness in the shapes of the *tesserae* used, but the overall design of the mosaic pavement is unique in the province and the execution is clearly precise, though maybe not as minute as in the case of the mosaic mentioned in the previous chapter (room no. 18, fig.12). A subtle visual allusion to the lateral front of a Doric temple reveals a mosaicist of a considerable artistic expertise and quite vivid artistic imagination.⁴¹ Furthermore, we should not forget the general context – although the complex was situated in a prosperous mining district, it was still far away from any significant artistic centre – and yet we find here such an imaginative and rich, finely executed floor decoration. So, in our opinion, the mosaic must have been created at the most prosperous times

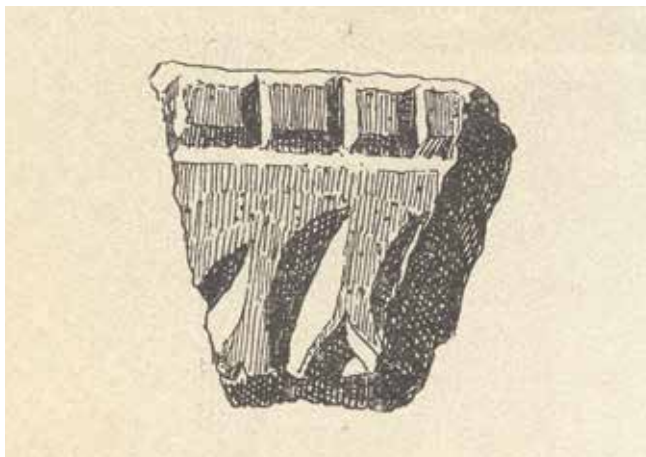


15. Fragments of decoration of the *frigidarium* /no. 4/
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, IV, fig. 14–18)
Ulomci dekoracije frigidarija /br. 4/

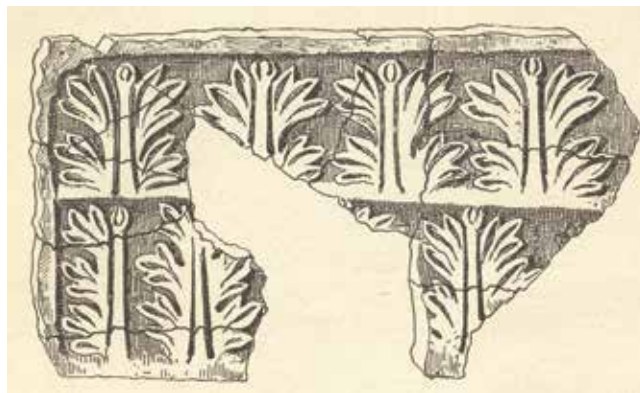
for Domavia, but, as we learn from Dunbabin’s research, not earlier than the 3rd century. The noticed coarseness of execution is expected, taking into consideration the function of the room – *frigidarium*. Although no monumental *piscina* was found, there certainly existed some other kind of bathing installation, and water must have been spread all over the floor. Hence, the mosaic could not have been polished as the one covering the dining-room floor in the northern wing of the complex (no. 18), but had to be intentionally left coarse, not to be slippery. The absence of certain motifs does not determine its date. As we have already said, dating mosaics on stylistic grounds is problematic due to the long duration of certain motifs, and their dependence on regional and local preferences, abilities, and choices of particular workshops etc. One thing is certain – such an original mosaic decoration must have been rather expensive.

Some other remains also indicate that *frigidarium* was lavishly decorated. As Radimský already noted, several fragments of wall and ceiling decoration were found on the floor, with motifs of ivy leaves, laurel leaves and blossoms. Judging by other remains, they were framed by neatly profiled bordures (fig. 15). All of that becomes even more interesting if compared to bathing complexes around the Roman world, which rarely display such a rich decoration.

Some small fragments of limestone decoration that were found in the room no. 5 probably also belonged to the richly ornamented *frigidarium* (fig. 16). Judging by other remains, the walls of the room no. 5 were covered with limestone slabs. A few coins were also found there, indicating the possible date of the arrangement of the eastern wing. The most important is a bronze coin that was built in the doorstep



16. Fragments of decoration of the *frigidarium* /no. 4/ found in the room no. 5
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1984/, VI, fig. 21, 22)
Ulomci dekoracije frigidarija /br. 4/ pronađeni u prostoriji br. 5



17. Fragments of decoration from the rooms no. 3 and no. 7
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, fig. 12, 8)
Ulomci dekoracije iz prostorija br. 3 i br. 7

18. Corinthian capital found in the corridor no. 17
(source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, fig. 37, 23)
Korintski kapitel pronađen u hodniku br. 17

between the room no. 5 and the corridor no. 15, dated to the time of Severus Alexander.⁴² The walls of the two rooms separated by columns, no. 3 and no. 7, were decorated with finely executed marble slabs with acanthus leaves (fig. 17), and the finely executed Corinthian capital found in the corridor no. 17 (fig. 18) might have belonged to their original arrangement.

In conclusion: the eastern wing of the complex should be defined as an axial type of baths, with a possibility for moving in two directions, and would fit in “type V” baths defined by Daniel Krencker,⁴³ given that neither of the rooms can be identified with certainty as *apodyterium*. However, as we have already indicated, the room no. 13 in the northern part of the complex could have easily served that purpose – and its position between the bathing wing and the dining space would make it appropriate for a place where bathers get undressed before bathing and dressed again before dining. After bathing and dining, the complex was exited at the same place where it was entered. As for the dating of the baths, it is more or less certain that they were arranged shortly after 220, maybe a few years later, and were restored, just as the inscription says, at the time of Aurelian. There are no indications of any subsequent restorations.

Communal bathing in the southern wing

The southern wing of the complex consisted of only two large rooms – no. 23 and no. 31, with an access from a heated corridor (no. 22; fig. 11). The visitor could reach the corridor either directly through the entrance-room of the complex (no. 30), or through the *porticus* of the central *atrium* (no. 21). The floor of the heated L-shaped corridor no. 22 was at the same level as the floor in the southern part of the corridor no. 15 of the eastern wing. Two doors on the southern side led into spacious heated rooms, no. 23 and 31. What is particularly surprising is that there is no communication between the two rooms, neither through door, nor through heating openings in *suspensurae*. If Radimský noted down the finds correctly, the two rooms originally had separate heating-sources.⁴⁴ Room no. 23 was originally heated by the *praefurnium* located in the room no. 11, but the opening for the hot air was walled up at a certain point, as well as the 125 cm wide door leading into the corridor no. 16.⁴⁵ The rearrangement may have happened when a new *praefurnium* was installed, attached to the adjacent room no. 31, which then may have also heated the room no. 23. The room no. 31 was about 60 sq. m large, had a wide exedra, and 45 cm high

suspensurae, but no bathing installations were found in it.⁴⁶ However, as it was heated directly from its own *praefurnium*, it must have been very hot, probably a *caldarium*. Why were the two hot rooms separated, why there is no *apodyterium* or *frigidarium*, still remains to be answered.

It seems that this part of the complex functioned separately from the bathing-sequence of the eastern wing; at least it had its own entrance, thus it might have been used as an additional large warm space, directly accessible for all those who did not have time, opportunity, or money, to enjoy the luxury of sequential bathing in the eastern wing. According to the finds, which do not include any fragments of decoration, it seems that this part of the complex was more modestly furnished and equipped than the others.

Balnea metallicorum?

Taking all data into consideration, we have to notice that all the rooms of the complex, even some of the corridors, were heated. Warmth in these baths was obviously appreciated to the extent that even the *frigidarium* (no. 4) was mildly heated. The question can be posed whether these baths belonged to the category of *balnea hiemales*, the winter baths, or the need for such a number of warm spaces, even large warm rooms that could receive many visitors at the same time, could be explained in some other way.

The town of Domavia was situated in a mining district, and miners and smiths used to suffer from many chronic diseases. Arsenic, lead or silver poisoning were aftereffects of the prolonged exposure to the processes of mining or smelting lead, silver, gold or copper. Exposure to silver particles could cause diseases such as *argyria*, either on the skin or on the internal organs,⁴⁷ and copper, lead, or gold deposits were frequently mixed with a significant amount of arsenic. Toxic fumes, it has been estimated, killed millions in ancient times, and not just miners and smiths, but leather workers, also by way of orpiment (As_2S_3). Lead poisoning, just as arsenic poisoning, frequently causes polyneuritis, muscular atrophy in limbs, joint swelling, or joint pains, lameness, etc.⁴⁸

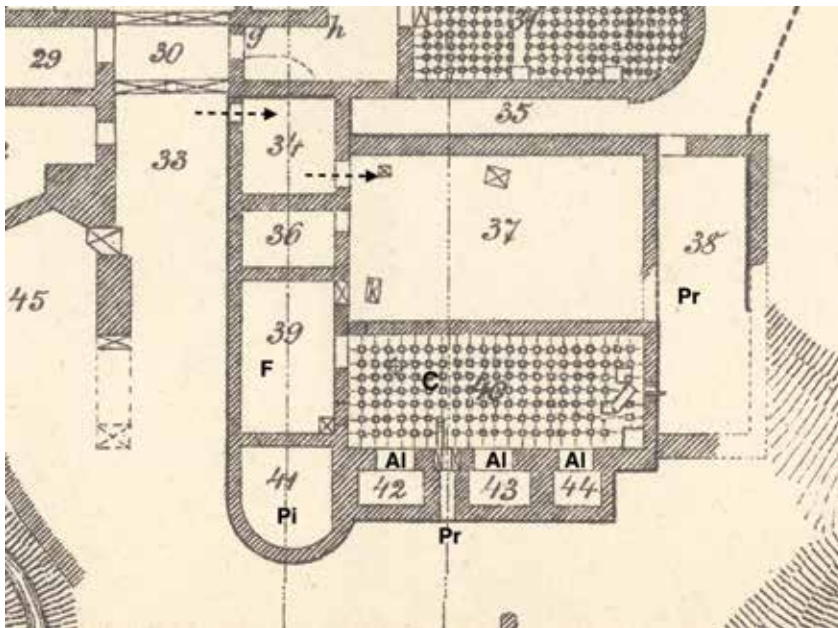
Further exploration of miners' and smiths' diseases and illnesses should be left to the experts, as well as the different ways of their treatment. However, most of the effects of toxic fumes were already known in Roman times, and both Pliny and Vitruvius were writing about the dangers of working in lead and silver mines. In chapter 31 of the 33rd book of his *Historia Naturalis* Pliny writes about silver: "After starting these facts, we come to speak of silver ore, the next folly of the mankind. Silver is never found but in shafts sunk deep in the ground, there being no indication to raise hopes of its existence, no shining sparkles, as in the case of gold. The earth in which it is found is sometimes red, sometimes of an ashy hue. It is impossible, too, to melt it, except in combination with lead or with galena (lead sulfide),⁴⁹ this last being the name given to the vein of lead that is mostly found running near the veins of the silver ore... The exhalations from the silver mines are dangerous to all animals, but to

dogs more particularly."⁴⁹ Vitruvius is even more elaborate on the subject.⁵⁰

One of the cures that the ancient times could offer to ease or slow down the mentioned illnesses were mineral (mostly sulphurous) or thermal baths. Baths in Crni Guber, some 15 km from Srebrenica, had perfect mineral water for treatment of such patients. However, it seems that in Domavia, miners and smiths had to settle with the next best thing, hot baths accompanied by a massage with various kinds of remedies.⁵¹ Could we, instead of seeing our complex as *balnea hiemales* interpret them as miners' and smiths' medical baths, not intended as a fancy commodity of urban population accustomed to *otium*, but for hard working men suffering from a number of physical ailments? Could we thus explain all the noticed deviations from the customary organization, arrangement, and equipment of baths?⁵² If our assumption is correct, what we have in Domavia would be a type of baths not yet recognized or acknowledged – *balnea metallicorum*. And surprisingly, it seems that these were not the only of the kind in northern Dalmatia.

South-western baths

The baths in the south-western corner of the complex functioned as a closed unit (fig. 19). They had their separate entrance from the corridor no. 33, and their structure was much unlike the rest of the complex. Radimský held that this part of complex was used as "women's baths", but such an assumption may be farfetched.⁵³ At the time when this part of the complex was built or rebuilt, and that was the time of Emperor Gallienus (a coin from his time was built in one of the walls of no. 44),⁵⁴ the custom of sexual segregation in Roman baths was long gone. The only known exception, which again introduced temporal, and not physical, segregation, comes from the Iberian Peninsula (*Lusitania*), and is dated to the time of Emperor Hadrian – *Lex Metallii Vipsacensis*. And, as several authors have already pointed out, these tablets should be understood in the local context, and not be taken for granted for all imperial mining districts.⁵⁵ Secondly, separation of sexes in the baths built in mining districts, as G. Fagan noted, was not introduced for moral reasons, but because of necessity, dictated by working shifts of miners.⁵⁶ As R. Bowen Ward concluded – reminding us that I. Nielsen and J. Carcopino have already pretty much explained the phenomenon of mixed bathing – the architecture of baths after the first century does not support the assumption that there was a physical segregation in bathing. And imagining that some of the emperors shared Hadrian's "morality" seems completely misleading when *Historia Augusta* says that Commodus bathed with three hundred women, both "decent" women and prostitutes, and that Elagabalus always bathed with women, as well as Severus Alexander and Gallienus.⁵⁷ There were no double baths – one for men and one for women – in imperial times. Thus, the situation could not have been different in Domavia. Sexes could have been separated by time of bathing, but not physically in the form of two separate sets of baths.⁵⁸



19. South-western baths (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, Pl. II); arrows and letters indicate directions of the movement of visitors and functions of the rooms
Jugozapadne kupelji; strelice i slova pokazuju smjer kretanja posjetitelja i funkcije prostorija

However, the analysis shows that this part of the complex differs considerably from those previously described. First of all, most of the rooms were unheated. Again, Radimský made some crucial mistakes in interpreting the way of their functioning, but he nevertheless noted down some of the most relevant archaeological data for explaining their technical arrangement.

From the small room no. 34, a kind of antechamber, the bather entered the large room no. 37. That there was water in the room no. 37 is evident from hydraulic cement floor, although its exact purpose is hard to guess since no bathing installations were found in it. However, it could not have been a *tepidarium*, as Radimský supposed, because it was not heated.⁵⁹ The door led from the room no. 37 to the room no. 39, once connected with the room no. 41. Radimský noticed that at certain time the room no. 37 also communicated with the room no. 40, but the door in the northern part of the western wall was then walled-up.⁶⁰

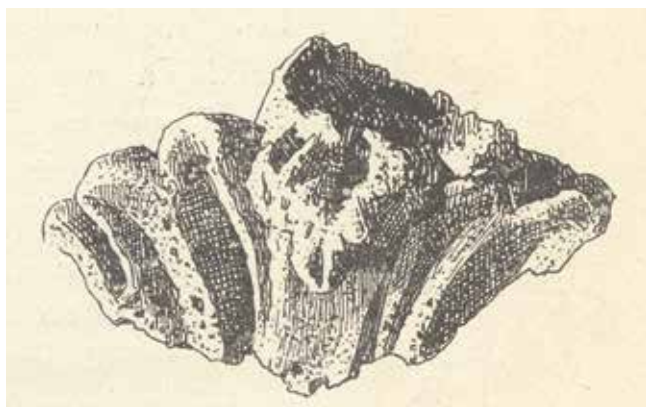
The floor-level of the room no. 39 was one step higher than the floor-level of the room no. 37, and the floor-level of no. 41 was 82 cm lower than the one in no. 39.⁶¹ Neither no. 39, nor no. 41 were heated, and the room no. 41 had an exedra plastered all around with hydraulic cement. This is actually the first identifiable *piscina* in the whole complex.⁶²

From the room no. 39 (+ no. 41), the *frigidarium*, the visitor would go directly into the heavily heated room no. 40, the *caldarium*. It is about 60.6 sq. m in size and it had three hot tubs, or *alvei* (no. 42, 43 and 44), arranged on its western side. The bathing-sequence is very strange and completely uncommon in Roman bathing architecture, as there was no actual transition between the unheated part of the bath and

the one that was heated directly from two furnaces. That the temperature in the room no. 40 was very high, confirm the remains of two *praefurnia*, one on the western side, between the *alvei* no. 42 and no. 43, and the other on its southern side, in the room no. 38. The height of *suspensurae* was 81 cm (1 m with the floor above). Judging by the already mentioned walled-up door that once connected the room no. 40 with the room no. 37, and by the floor-level of room no. 39, it seems that the hypocaust system in the *caldarium* was arranged by digging it into the terrain, and not by elevating the level of the floor. And because of the walled-up door, the bathers could exit the *caldarium* only the same way they entered it, through the *frigidarium* (no. 39 + no. 41).⁶³ Except for the three hot tubs in the western wall of *caldarium*, other bathing facilities may have existed there, but no remains were found inside the room. Radimský was possibly right to suppose that a brick slab in the southwestern part of the room may have served as a base for a *labrum*.⁶⁴

Finally, the finds included a coin from the time of the Emperor Gallienus, walled into the small cell no. 44, which helps dating the arrangement of these baths. As in the already mentioned cases, we think the coin should be seen as a token of builders' rites.⁶⁵ If we are right, the room no. 40 was arranged into *caldarium* by the 250s or 260s, and the overall picture shows that the bathing complex grew and was being restored constantly between the 220s and 270s.⁶⁶ So, there were more restorations and interventions in the structure of the complex than it was indicated by the earliest researchers.

The decoration of these south-western baths was found in bits and pieces, but some of them, although very fragmentary, should be mentioned. For example, in the room no. 34 Radimský found a trachyte fragment of a capital decorated



20. Fragment of a capital with palmette decoration found in the room no. 34 (source: VACLAV RADIMSKÝ /note 12, 1894/, VI, fig. 48, 31)
Ulomak kapitela s palmetnom dekoracijom pronađen u prostoriji br. 34

with a palmette (fig. 20), which might have belonged to the entrance door from the corridor no. 33.⁶⁷ In the same room, by the door, a limestone fragment similar to the base of a sculpture was found, and a fragment of 35 cm wide column with a half-finished capital, which, in its shape end measures, corresponds to the capital found in the room no. 17. Their likeness leads us to the conclusion that they were made to be parts of an ensemble of a columnar parapet, but we cannot be sure about its exact position.

Yet another part of a large fragment of finely polished limestone slab was found beside the door of the room no. 39. Radimský speculated that this was a part of a slab with an inscription, and it would make sense. In the southwestern corner of same room, no. 39, a base in the form of a cube was found. It had a hole in the middle, possibly to fix a sculpture. So, although only some modest fragments of decoration were found in this part of the complex, there are certain indications that it was decorated on the same basic principle as the other parts of the complex – with reminders and allusions to the benefactor and the imperial surrounding of the public baths.

Much more would be known about the complex if the excavations had been continued. As it is clearly visible on the plan, there are some structures to the west of the complex that have not been excavated, but indicate that the whole perimeter was much broader (figs. 1, 2). We may only speculate about the purpose of these structures. What is fairly certain, is that a number of installations from the complex were taken away, and the whole complex finally collapsed after a time of disrepair.

Conclusion

Finishing our walk through the bathing complex of Domavia we have to stress certain points which are important for understanding the historical context in which it was erected and used, its surroundings, and bathing architecture in general.

First of all, let us turn our attention to the complex itself. Already at first glance it is obvious that these baths had a complicated structure, unlike most of the others in the wider area. They actually had three separately functioning bathing parts, what is completely unusual. Secondly, one has to notice that these baths had certain things in common with at least some baths on the Balkans, and that their layout reminds of the baths like the so-called Large Salonitan Baths – their plan, actually their core, stripped off all the later additions, recalls a lavish 2nd century *domus* – with a lateral *fauces* (room no. 33), central courtyard (spaces no. 21 and 22) surrounded with porticos (rooms no. 30, 29, 19, 15 and 22), a sizeable *tablinum* (no. 18) and *cubicula* whose shape was preserved, at least on the eastern side. It may be presumptuous on our behalf, but we believe that the original structure, in fact, really was a Roman *domus*. It would take us another paper of the same length to present all the arguments in favour of this hypothesis, but at the moment we can only indicate that such a rearrangement of private *domus* into baths would not be an isolated case in the province of Dalmatia.⁶⁸

Considering the baths themselves, we do not believe that they were put in function before Valerius Super, although the inscription says: *AQVAM SVFFICIENTEM INDVXIT*. That the baths had been previously arranged and then later supplied with water, is hardly possible. Rearranging of the former edifice may had begun somewhat earlier, but water was clearly provided by a known person, at a definite time. Do we know what was the course of rearrangement? The core of the building must have been rearranged first, the corridors walled up, the hypocaust system built-in, the space of the *atrium* shortened to add the covered part of the central space since there were no porticos anymore. It is apparent that the northern, eastern and southern part of the complex were arranged at the same time, and that the southern *prae-furnium* and a water tank had to be installed so that the eastern and a part of the southern wing could function properly. The rearrangement of *domus* into baths was probably finished by the time of Emperor Severus Alexander.

At a certain point, during the reign of the emperor Aurelianus, the north-eastern corner and the south-eastern corner of the complex were rearranged in order to become more user-friendly. At the time of emperor Gallienus the southwestern baths were added, with a separate entrance. Probably there were even more alterations and rearrangements, but these seem to be the discernible ones. And thus, the population of Domavia got their baths, although there is no doubt that other baths existed around the “town”.

It gives us an immense satisfaction that we can complement Inge Niensens’s catalogue, and other relevant studies of Roman baths, with something which falls into a category of its own. I. Nielsen gave some attention to Dalmatian bathing architecture, but her conclusions seem to be different from the ones that can be drawn from the example of Domavia. In fact, the baths in Domavia appear to be unlike any of the known baths from the time of the Principate. These are not gymnasium-baths, like those in ancient Doclea and around the Greek provinces,⁶⁹ neither legionary baths, nor private

balnea, etc. Domavia baths seem to be adjusted for specific kind of visitors, with specific needs, in a mining region – we propose they should be seen as miners' baths, or *balnea metallicorum*. And although their execution may appear like an improvisation, we think that, in a certain sense, they must have been custom-made.

Although the complex was lavishly decorated with fine mosaics and wall decoration, embellished with various sculptures of benefactors, the imperial *procuratores* who invested in their installation and restoration, we are inclined to apply the term *balnea* for them, instead of *thermae*. In the opinion

of G. G. Fagan, the terms *balneum* and *thermae* should be applied depending on the luxury of a certain bathing complex.⁷⁰ Actually, these Domavian baths would fall somewhere in between of the two terms. Although they do not belong to the category of big city baths like those north of the forum in Saloniae, or the baths in Narona or Doclea, one has to interpret them in the context of their surrounding and the specific character of the place – a mining centre, in a far inland, but nevertheless, considerably rich region of the Empire. They certainly must have been the best Domavia could have offered at the time.

Table I

| Time | Event |
|----------------------|---|
| 1 c. B.C. | Illyrian, Pannonian and Celtic activity in the mines around Srebrenica (with an engagement of Roman entrepreneurs) |
| 9 A.D. | End of <i>Bellum Batonianum</i> |
| 14 – 20 A.D. | Building of a road system by P. Cornelius Dolabella, including the road Salona – Argentaria (– Sirmium) |
| 1 c A.D. | Gold exploitation period (central Bosnia) |
| around 70 A.D. | Intensification of silver-mining around Srebrenica |
| 68 A.D. – 69/70 A.D. | Transfer of exportation of silver from State's treasury to imperial <i>fiscus</i> by Galba and Vespasian; in charge of silver mining districts were <i>procuratores Augusti</i> (freedmen or <i>equites</i>) |
| 161 – 169 A.D. | Unification of mining districts into <i>metalla Pannonicorum and Delmaticorum</i> in charge of the <i>imperial procurator</i> with Domavia as the centre (the reason was economizing due to war expenses, devaluation of denarius on less than 77% of silver), mines are secured by <i>cohors I milliaria Delmatarum and cohors II milliaria Delmatarum</i> |
| end of the 2 c. A.D. | Separation of <i>argentariae Pannoniarum and Dalmatarum</i> with a seat in Domavia from <i>ferrariae</i> which were given for lease under Commodus (due to state of treasury, exhausted by wars) |
| 202 A.D. | Visit of Emperor Septimius Severus to Domavia (as in the time of Commodus <i>procuratores Augusti</i> were distinguished career officials, otherwise called <i>procuratores argentariarum</i>) |
| 218 – 222 A.D. | <i>Procurator argentariarum</i> in Domavia is Valerius Super, Macrinus' confidant who continued to serve under Elagabalus |
| 251 – 254 A.D. | Inscription with the mention of Trebonionus Gallus and his son Volusinus and the word <i>Col(onia) MD</i> . Some considered that at that time Domavia was elevated at the status of colony. |
| 254 A.D. | Hypothetical Zosimus' Gothic raid of the mines |
| 260 – 275 A.D. | Possible impact of the Cyprian's plague in the whole mining and densely populated mining centres, disruption of communications |
| 271 – 275 A.D. | Abandonment of Dacia, loss of gold mines |
| 274 A.D. | Last <i>procurator argentariarum</i> in Domavia Aurelius Verecundus. Intensification of the production around Domavia |
| 275 A.D. on | Title of <i>procurator argentariarum</i> survived, but the <i>procuratores</i> were relocated first to Avala than to <i>castrum</i> in Stojnić |

Notes

* This paper is an extended and elaborated version of work presented at the conference *The Power of Media. Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, June 13–15, 2018).

- 1 See NIKOLINA MARAKOVIĆ – TIN TURKOVIĆ, “Velike salonitanske terme” – nova razmatranja prostorne organizacije kupališnog sklopa, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 37 (2013), 7–22; TIN TURKOVIĆ – NIKOLINA MARAKOVIĆ, “Velike salonitanske terme” – od antičke kuće do biskupskih kupelji, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 38 (2014), 25–40; TIN TURKOVIĆ – ŽELJKO BOGDAN – MILJENKO JURKOVIĆ, Heating system in the ancient world: the example of the south-western *balneum* in Diocletian’s Palace in Split, in: *HEFAT 2011 – 8th International Conference on Heat Transfer, Fluid Mechanics and Thermodynamics*, 11 – 13 July 2011, Pointe Aux Piments, Mauritius, 2011, 423–431.
- 2 INGE NIELSEN, *Thermae et balnea. The Architecture and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths*, Aarhus, 1993.
- 3 GARRET G. FAGAN, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, Ann Arbor, 2002.
- 4 Our estimate is that over a hundred Roman baths were found on the territory of Dalmatia, but most of them were never recognized as baths, and were mixed up with other architectonic structures.
- 5 It is a regional curiosity that many bathing complexes were identified as *villae*, due to the lack of understanding of the differences between baths and residential architecture. However, the fact is that the majority of private medium sized or small baths were indeed arranged in former *domibus* or other residential structures.
- 6 ANTE ŠKEGRO, The economy of Roman Dalmatia, in: David Davison – Vincent Gaffney – Emilio Marin (eds.), *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970–2001. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes*, Oxford, 2006, 149–173.
- 7 Most of them equipped with baths.
- 8 See IVO BOJANOVSKI, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Sarajevo, 1988.
- 9 See ESAD PAŠALIĆ, *Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1960, 99–108. As the most prominent mineral springs Pašalić singles those in Ilidža near Sarajevo, Laktaši and Donji Šeher near modern Banja Luka and Gata near modern Bihać; all of them were exploited in ancient times. However, as Pašalić stresses, these were just some of the most prominent bathing centers, and he goes on listing many of them that certainly functioned as baths with mineral water (p. 100). Of course, investigations of the development of urban landscape in Dalmatian hinterland, dominated by “rural towns/urban villages” or “scattered city model”, as Danijel Džino quite correctly named them, are still in progress, and it might be concluded that the issue needs a lot of further examination. Džino’s observations point to the right direction, but a more detailed elaboration of certain aspects of formation and transformation of the particular landscape is still needed. See DANIJEL DŽINO, *From Justinian to Branimir. The Making of the Middle Ages in Dalmatia*, London – New York, 2021, 24.
- 10 MERSIHA IMAMOVIĆ – BEGO OMERČEVIĆ, Rimska putna komunikacija Salona – Argentaria, *Historijska misao*, 4 (2018), 11–40.
- 11 For the history of the area around Srebrenica see especially ENVER IMAMOVIĆ, Srebrenica i okolica u rimsko doba, *Monumenta Srebrenica*, 1 (2012), 99–124. For the historical survey of the ubication of Domavia and its ancient history see IVO BOJANOVSKI (note 8), 193–203.
- 12 VACLAV RADIMSKÝ, Izvještaj o iskopinama u Domaviji kod Srebrenice u godinama 1892. i 1893., *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 6,1 (1894), 1–48; WENZEL [i.e. VACLAV] RADIMSKÝ, Generalbericht über die bisherigen Ausgrabungen der römischen Stadt Domavia in Gradina bei Srebrenica, *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, 1 (1893), 218–253; WENZEL [i.e. VACLAV] RADIMSKÝ, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Domavia bei Srebrenica in den Jahren 1892 und 1893, *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, 4 (1896), 202–242.
- 13 Frequently mentioned as a part of baths by ESAD PAŠALIĆ (note 9).
- 14 For the inscriptions see below.
- 15 Radimský actually started his description with the dead-end room in the north-eastern corner of the complex, which is just one of the rooms in the eastern bathing sequence, and then numerated the rooms from left to right, from the top to the bottom of the plan. This kind of approach unfortunately confuses the reader, because the entrance corridor happened to be no. 34, and the central courtyard, the junction point of the whole complex, no. 20. See VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894).
- 16 VACLAV RADIMSKÝ, Prekopavanje u Domaviji kod Srebrenice godine 1891, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1 (1892), 1–24.
- 17 ALFRED VON DOMASZEVSKEY, Inschriften aus Bosnien, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, 8 (1884), 243–246. See also ANDREW G. SCOTT, *Emperors and Usurpers: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio’s Roman History Books 79 (78) – 80 (80) (A.D. 217 – 229)*, Oxford, 2018, 125; as to imperial formula see MASON HAMMOND, Imperial elements in the formula of Roman Emperors during the first two and half centuries of the Empire, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 25 (1957), 19–64.
- 18 About the transfer of the seat see ANTE ŠKEGRO (note 6), 153.
- 19 It was also the first consulship of an obviously high-ranking person named Capitolinus, about whom, unfortunately, we know

almost nothing. See ALARIC WATSON, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, London – New York, 1999, 163.

20

MIROSLAVA MIRKOVIĆ, Eine Barbareneinfälle in Obermösien und das nordöstliche Dalmatien im Jahre 254, in: *Akten des XI Internationalen Limeskongresses 1976*, Budapest, 1978, 249–258; GORDAN MARIČIĆ – ŽELJKA ŠAJIN, Domavian Public Bath in View of the Mining Legislation of the Roman Empire, *Filolog*, 20 (2019), 602.

21

KALIN STOEV, Gothic Wars in the Balkans, 3rd–4th Centuries, 16 (<https://labalkans.org/en/labedia/history/political-history/gothic-wars-in-the-balkans,-3rd-%E2%80%93-4th-centuries>).

22

G. G. Fagan has given a lot of consideration to the motivation of benefactors according to their social status. It appears that motivation between various benefactors differed. As to the motivation of imperial officials, it lied in the representation of central authority at a certain place. As Fagan's statistics has shown, imperial benefactors were more prone to reconstruction and embellishment of existing baths, thus making their presence obvious to a certain community. This would certainly imply self-presentation as a kind of presentation of central authority in the community. See GARRETT G. FAGAN (note 3), 136–142. There are several sculptural fragments in Domavia baths which may have represented imperial benefactors.

23

On this subject see MARGARITA TACHEVA-HITOVA, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia (5th Century BC – 4th Century AD)*, Leiden, 1983, p. 143.

24

In certain cases, Radimský did not pay much attention to the level of the floors, especially to the height of *suspensurae*, and sometimes he even did not excavate underneath the floor of the room to reach the lower level of *suspensurae*. However, some conclusions can be drawn from the general information about the floor-levels.

25

IRMA ČREMOŠNIK, *Mozaici i zidno slikarstvo rimskog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1984, 101; ADNAN BUSULADŽIĆ, *Ancient Mosaics in the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, 2008, 24.

26

KATHERINE M. D. DUNBABIN, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge, 1999, 3.

27

For Verecundus' inscription from 274 A.D. see above.

28

Radimský thought that rooms no. 5 to no. 7 were some kind of waiting rooms or "entertainment-rooms", whatever he imagined that to be, and he recognized *frigidaria* in the rooms no. 8 and no. 9, although he concluded that that both rooms were heated. He identified the room no. 10 as an *apodyterium*, what would be completely impossible. See VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 39.

29

Our understanding of the functioning of hypocaust system has significantly improved during the last century, and was even researched through practical experiments. See, for example: FRITZ KRETZSCHMER, *Hypokausten, Saalburg Jahrbuch*, 12 (1953), 8–41; TONY ROOK, *The Development and Operation*

of Roman Hypocaust Baths, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 5 (1978), 269–282; TAHSIN BASARAN, The Heating System of the Roman Baths, *ASHRAE Transactions* 113/1 (2007), 199–205; TIN TURKOVIĆ – ŽELJKO BOGDAN – MILJENKO JURKOVIĆ (note 1).

30

The only two entrances to the corridor no. 15 were either from no. 19 (antechamber to the hall no. 18), or the room no. 14 (see fig. 11).

31

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 11.

32

See *Strategija razvoja opštine Srebrenica za period 2018.–2022. godine*, Srebrenica, 2017, (<http://www.srebrenica.gov.ba/images/dokumenti/2017/ou/Strategija%202018-2022.pdf>), 64. The climate in the area is not Mediterranean, but neither the climate of the northernmost Roman provinces.

33

This would not be surprising, as Emperor Aurelian ordered building winter baths in Transtiburtine region. One complex of winter baths was even built in Umbria, in *Ocriculum*. See GARRETT G. FAGAN, The Reliability of the Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 64 (1996), 91; GARRETT G. FAGAN (note 3), 117. In both cases, the climate would not suggest that such edifices were needed. So, it is not impossible that winter baths were built in mountainous region in north-eastern Dalmatia. We may add that the baths in Diocletian's palace in Split, although custom-made for the Emperor, had all the rooms heated and could thus be considered a kind of *thermae hiemales*, although built in Mediterranean climate.

34

Compare to the floor-levels analysed in previous paragraphs.

35

Even Radimský noticed that this was not a heated room, but he interpreted it as a room with *piscina*. He also noted residue from burning and made a sketch of the opening of the *praefurnium*. See VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 15–16, 22.

36

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 16–19.

37

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 9–11.

38

See IRMA ČREMOŠNIK (note 25); ADNAN BUSULADŽIĆ (note 25); JAGODA MEDER, *Podni mozaici u Hrvatskoj od 1. do 6. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 2003. When citing these works, one has to stress again that dating of Roman mosaics on stylistic grounds is problematic. Then, in many cases, some of the most outstanding mosaics have been used as reference material, although their dating of is questionable. Generalizations about the dominant style in ancient mosaic art can result in problematic conclusions, like in (an otherwise excellent book) MILUN GARČEVIĆ, *Mozaik. Povijesni pregled, stilske oznake i tehnike izrade*, Zagreb, 2006. He recognizes "the fourth or polychrome phase", associated with the mosaics in Piazza Armerina or Aquileia of the early 4th century, as opposed to the monochrome phase that preceded it (p. 38–41). His conclusion is obviously wrong, and is based in the first place on the mosaics from Ostia from the age of Hadrian, while the situation differs from region to region, and from workshop to workshop. Rich polychromy was not abandoned in various parts of the Roman world during the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd c. A.D., so there was no reason for a grand "comeback" of polychromy in the 4th century. It is best illustrated in KATHERINE M. D. DUNBABIN (note 26).

After all, relying on comparisons with mosaics from Rome and its surroundings is quite inappropriate since mosaic art in Rome had its own development during the 2nd and the 3rd century. The majority of mosaics were indeed black and white, and made of coarser *tesserae*, and some of the kind even embellished imperial edifices. *Domus Severiana* and House of *Lateranus* had such mosaics, and even Diocletian's baths in Rome had monochrome mosaics. However, at the same time, during the whole reign of Antonines polychrome mosaics was being produced, although somewhat coarser in execution. Thus, one really has to be careful about what he chooses as a reference point. See MARION ELISABETH BLAKE, *Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 17 (1940), 81–130.

39

Nota bene, deep blue limestone is actually a sort of granite, and could be found only at certain locations in Europe. Closest to Domavia is the mine in Ljubija in western Bosnia (second closest is in Belgium!). Blue limestone has similar characteristics to granite, it is hard to cut, it is dug from significant depths (70–80 m below sea level), it has to be polished with quartz, and is very expensive.

40

In our opinion, his assumption that the mosaic was a later addition and that the remains under it belong to an earlier phase, is correct. But, we believe that the earlier phase was not an earlier bathing structure, destroyed and in need of restoration, but something completely different (see the following paragraphs).

41

Nothing similar can be found among the mosaics listed in KATHERINE M. D. DUNBABIN (note 26), ALEXIS BELLIS, *Roman Mosaics in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Los Angeles, 2018; UMBERTO PAPPALARDO – ROSARIA CIARDELLO, *Greek and Roman Mosaics*, New York, 2019.

42

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 12. This is actually just one of the coins built-in the doorsteps and walls of the complex. Let us remember that one Aurelian's coin was built in the wall separating rooms no. 14 and 15. These cannot be randomly lost coins. Especially not the one beneath the doorstep. As Michael Donderer has demonstrated, the tradition of foundation coins, commemorating successful completion or restoration of a certain edifice or part of an edifice, was quite frequent in Roman times; in domestic, public, sacral or other architecture. Though we do not share Donderer's conclusions to the full extent, one has to admit that he has convincingly demonstrated the persistence of this builders' rite. Taking that into consideration, it should be concluded that a builder's deposit indicates the time at which a certain structure was built or restored. In the case of the room no. 5, it was at the time of Severus Alexander. See MICHAEL DONDERER, *Münzen als Bauopfer im römischen Privathausern, Bonner Jahrbücher*, 184 (1984), 177–187.

43

DANIEL KRENCKER, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen*, Augsburg, 1929.

44

Radimský identified a channel heating the room.

45

This is not indicated on the plan, but only mentioned in Radimský's text. He held that no. 23 and 16 belong to some earlier stage in functioning of the baths, but he also thought that the corridor no. 16 functioned as *caldarium*. That there were some changes made in this part of the baths is evident. However, no. 16 could not have been a *caldarium*, and no. 23 was always heated indirectly,

so neither that room could have been a *caldarium*. See VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 39.

46

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 29–30.

47

Because of prolonged exposure to silver particles, patients suffer from cardiac arrests, bronchopneumonia, as well as failure in liver function, etc. See R. J. PRESCOTT – S. WELLS, Systematic argyria, *Journal of Clinical Pathology*, 47 (1994), 556–557.

48

JEROME O. NRIAGU, Arsenic Poisoning Through Ages, in: William T. Frankenberger (ed.), *Environmental Chemistry of Arsenic*, New York, 2002, 2–3.

49

One of 9 nine most toxic minerals (PbS) on the world if inhaled or ingested. See ALESSIA CAROCCI et al., Lead Toxicity, Antioxidant Defendant and Environment, *Reviews of Environmental Contamination and Toxicology*, 238 (2016), 45–67.

50

See H. A. WALDRON, Lead Poisoning in the Ancient World, *Medical History*, 17/4 (1973), 391–399.

51

Such treatments would certainly explain the function of some rooms in the eastern wing (*unctoria*?). For the medical purpose of Roman baths see GARRET G. FAGAN (note 3), 85–103.

52

As can be concluded in the comparison with baths catalogued by Nielsen. See INGE NIELSEN (note 2), Vol. 2.

53

Radimský insisted on comparisons with Pompeian baths, which is essentially wrong. Domavia is neither Republican nor Early Imperial town but a center of a provincial mining district, so its baths should not be compared to Stabian baths or Forum Baths in Pompeii. Furthermore, it has already been established that by the time of Augustus, and certainly by the time of Emperor Claudius, bathing architecture changed and there was no more segregation of sexes. There are plenty of written sources which show very clearly that from then on, baths were mixed, and men and women bathed together. For further reading see ROY BOWEN WARD, Women in Roman Baths, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 85/2 (1992), 125–147.

54

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 35.

55

H. D. H. ELKINGTON, The development, of the mining, of lead in the Iberian Peninsula and Britain under the Roman Empire until the end of the Second Century A. D., MA Thesis, Durham University, 1968 <<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/10260/>>.

56

GARRET G. FAGAN (note 3), 326.

57

ROY BOWEN WARD (note 53); *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Vol. 1* (ed. by Christa Samberger – Wolfgang Seyfarth – Ernst Hohl), Leipzig, 1965.

58

Various authors explained that *Lex Metallii Vipascensis* had no reference to the life of Domavia in the 3rd century, contrary to what has been implied in GORDAN MARIČIĆ – ŽELJKA ŠAJIN (note 20), 597–610.

59

Radimský tried to detect the function of the rooms, but again missed the logic of the structure of Roman baths. He recognized the entrance room no. 34 as a kind of waiting room for ladies in bather's company. In the room no. 37 he recognized the *tepidarium*, what is completely impossible since this spacious room (around 90 sq. m) without *piscina* had no heating. VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 40. Radimský is also equating *tepidarium* and *unctorium*.

60

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 31.

61

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 34.

62

Even Radimský supposed that 41 was a *piscina*, although he most probably made a mistake identifying no. 39 as *apodyterium* because of the hooks for fixing the roof tiles found among the remains, which he saw as the hooks for hanging the clothes. The conclusion seems farfetched and contradictory because he already identified something like an *apodyterium* in no. 34. See VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 40.

63

We are intentionally treating these two rooms as one, because they functioned as one.

64

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 41.

65

See above.

66

This should not be a huge surprise since almost the whole Mediterranean shook from the earthquakes in 242, and especially in 262 A.D. This last one was the so-called world-quake and the whole Mediterranean suffered from it. See LUKAS DE BLOIS, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus*, Leiden, 1976, 10.

67

VACLAV RADIMSKÝ (note 12, 1894), 31.

68

The most prominent examples are from far away Višići and from nearby Skelani (*Municipium Malvesiatium*). See IRMA

ČREMOŠNIK, Rimska vila u Višićima – Die römische Villa in Višići, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, n. s. 20 (1965) 147–260; NADEŽDA GAVRILOVIĆ VITAS – BOJAN POPOVIĆ, Kasnoantički *domus* u Skelanima (*MVNICIPIVM MALVESIATIVM*), *Starinar*, 65 (2015), 197–220. As one can see from the titles of just these two papers, a confusion about the function of this kind of structures still exists, although Vitas and Popović have raised a question about the character of the structure they excavated – *statio* with *thermae*, *mansio*, *villa urbana* or *villa suburbana*? Raising such a question is commendable because the literature is overcrowded with simplistic interpretations of excavated structures, that every one of them must have been a *domus*. Some of the structures were most probably built as *domus*, but that does not mean that they did not change their function through the ages as is best visible on the example of the complex in Višići. Does it result from the lack of knowledge or from the lack of openness to examine and re-examine one's own conclusions in the light of new actually does not matter. But critical reconsideration is always welcome. The dispute opened by Vitas and Popović is a bold step forward in this respect.

69

INGE NIELSEN (note 2), Vol. 1, 95–118, catalogue no. 333; PIERO STICOTTI, *Die römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Wien, 1913, 99–104.

70

Thermae (a term which came into use at about 1st c. A.D.) would imply more lavishly decorated baths such as imperial baths or baths for the wealthy, as opposed to private and more modest baths – *balnea*. An analogy would be the distinction between *spectaculum* and amphitheater. However, this rule for distinction was not universal. In the case of Valerius Super, taking into consideration the surroundings of the provincial mining capital, these baths could have been easily called *thermae* due to their decoration, size and patronage. Although the size is not a decisive factor, it should be noted that the baths of Domavia covered some 2112 sq. m (and are only partly excavated), while the average size of *thermae* in the eastern provinces was about 1500 sq. m, and *balnea* about 500 sq. m (including Dalmatia, Moesia Inferior, Achaia, Macedonia, Cyprus, etc.). Judging by the size, decoration, etc. it seems quite odd that Valerius Super called this complex a *balneum*, and not *thermae*. For terminology see GARRET G. FAGAN (note 3), 17–18. For the estimates of size of baths in the eastern provinces see INGE NIELSEN (note 2), 111–114.

Sažetak

Tin Turković – Nikolina Maraković

Balnea metallicorum antičke Domavije

Sklop kupelji koje je pronašao Ljudevit Pogatschnig tijekom geodezijske prospekcije istočne Bosne, a potom u nekoliko kampanja otkapao Vaclav Radimský na lokalitetu Gradina kraj Srebrenice, na mjestu antičkoga rudarskog središta Domavije, predstavlja kuriozitet u okvirima rimske provincije Dalmacije, ali i izvan njenih granica. Kompleks je iznimno

svjedočanstvo društvene organizacije i života toga rudarskog središta, ali i izvrstan pokazatelj da je duboko zaleđe rimske Dalmacije uistinu bilo sposobno iznjedrili inovativna arhitektonska rješenja koja su nosila obilježja rimske kulture, ali su istovremeno bila posve prilagođena određenoj sredini i njenim stanovnicima. Struktura kupelji, a još i više njihova

dekoracija, govori da su one doista bile najreprezentativniji pokazatelj spona između imperijalnog posjeda i imperijalnih upravitelja te lokalne sredine i njenih specifičnih potreba. U svakom slučaju, kupelji Domavije dosad nisu pronašle svoje mjesto u međunarodnim pregledima antičke kupališne arhitekture, a njihova struktura nikada nije do kraja analizirana i objašnjena. Međutim, već je na prvi pogled posve jasna njihova važnost za potpunije razumijevanje antičke kupališne arhitekture, ponajprije zbog toga što njihova elaborirana struktura predstavlja znakovitu iznimku u tome korpusu.

Riječ je o sklopu koji je tijekom 3. stoljeće n. e. postupno evoluirao djelovanjem imperijalnih prokuratora, kako bi u konačnici organski izrastao u arhitektonski kompleks koji nije nastao prema jedinstvenom predlošku, nego kao odgovor na rastuće kupališne potrebe sredine. Dekoracija sklopa, unatoč tomu što je on bio izgrađen daleko od značajnih kulturnih središta, zapanjuje težnjom rafiniranomu

umjetničkom izričaju, posebno u izradi mozaičkih podova s unikatnim motivima kojima je zasad vrlo teško pronaći adekvatne komparacije. Značaj ovih kupelji nesumnjivo nadilazi granice provincije jer one otvaraju pitanje postojanje jednoga dosad neidentificiranog tipa – rudarskih kupelji (*balnea metallicorum*), “skrojenih” prema specifičnim potrebama radnika u rudnicima, zbog čega i ne čudi iznimna brojnost grijanih prostorija. Utoliko se u radu predlaže i novi način sagledavanja kupališnih struktura u carskim rudarskim oblastima koje su se ravnale vlastitom realnošću i vlastitim potrebama, pa stoga i odudaraju od arhitekture kupelji dobro poznate znanstvenoj javnosti. Naposljetku, držimo i da neizmjeran trud koje je u njihovo istraživanje prije više od stotinu godina uložio Vaclav Radimský ovom studijom dobiva svoj logičan epilog.

Ključne riječi: Domavia, Argentaria, Rimsko Carstvo, provincija Dalmacija, rimske kupelji, *balnea*