

## Rimske stele iz Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum-a i njegove teritorije

## Roman tombstones from Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum and it's territory

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### **Apstrakt:**

Do sada je poznato šest nadgrob-  
nih spomenika iz regiona Nicopolisa. Jed-  
na stela se čuva u Atini, četiri se nalaze  
u Nacionalnom arheološkom Muzeju u  
Sofiji a jedna je u privatnom vlasništvu.  
Četiri imaju grčki natpis. Stele imaju, ug-  
lavnom, pravougaoni oblik. Do sada nije  
pronađen ni jedan medaljon ali njihova up-  
otreba nije isključena. Polja za prezentaci-  
ju su ukrašena bistama, figurama u punoj  
veličinii i scenom Tračkog konjanika. Sve  
stele su izrađene od lokalnog mermera i  
ilustruju pogrebnu reljefnu skulpturu iz  
Nicopolisa i njegove okoline tokom rimsk-  
og perioda. Istraživanjem je ustanovljen  
standard u pogledu dimenzija, oblika, stila  
i ikonografije. To ukazuje na postojanje na-  
jmanje dva centra sa dvije radionice. Prvi  
je bio u Nicopolisu a drugi je bio smješten  
između sela Kribul, Furgovo i Vulkosel.  
Spomenici pokazuju da je prvi centar bio  
aktivan u prvim decenijama II vijeka dok  
je samo jedna radionica aktivno funkcion-  
isala između II i III vijeka. Ikonografska  
analiza determiniše stele u hronološke  
okvire od prvih decenija II vijeka do prve  
polovine-sredine III vijeka. Za sada nema  
podataka o spomenicima iz I vijeka naše  
ere.

### **Abstract:**

Six tombstones are known from the  
region of Nicopolis till now. One stela is  
preserved in Athens; four are in NAM, So-  
fia, and one is private property. Four of the  
plates have Greek inscriptions. The stelae  
have mainly rectangular form. No medal-  
lion has been found so far, but its usage  
is not excluded. The field for representa-  
tions is decorated with portrait images:  
busts, full-length figures, Thracian horse-  
man. All of the plates are made of local  
marble and illustrate the burial sculpture  
relief in Nicopolis and its region during the  
Roman period. The research has estab-  
lished a standard in their dimensions and  
form, style and iconography. That points  
to the existence of at least of two centres  
with two workshops. The first one was in  
Nicopolis and the other one was located  
between the villages of Kribul, Furgovo  
and Vulkosel. The monuments show that  
the activity of the first one appeared in  
the first decades of the 2nd century, while  
only one workshop was functioning active-  
ly in the 2nd- the 3rd century. The icono-  
graphic analysis determines the steles in  
the chronological boundaries from the first  
decades of the 2nd till the first half-middle  
of the 3rd century; as for now there is no

*Ključne riječi:* Nikopolis ad Nestum, nadgrobnje ploče, ikonografska analiza, radionice.

data for earlier monuments from the first century AD.

*Keywords:* Nicopolis ad Nestum, tombstone stelae, iconographic analysis, quarries, workshops.



Sl. 1. Karta Bugarske. Geografski položaj Nicopolisa ad Nestum  
 Fig. 1. Map of Bulgaria. Geographical location of Nicopolis ad Nestum.

Rimski i rano vizantijski grad Nicopolis ad Nestum (ad Mestum) se nalazi na najjužozapadnijem dijelu rimske provincije Trakije. Njegova gradska teritorija se graniči sa teritorijom Partikopolisa (današnji grad Sandanski) u rimskoj provinciji Makedoniji (Sl. 1). Epigrafski i arheološki spomenici iz perioda nakon prvog vijeka n.e., ukazuju da je Nicopolis bio plemenski i religijski centar, rezidencija Stratega, a nakon toga, u rimskom periodu, grad koji se ubrzano razvija i važan episkopski centar u rano Vizantijskom periodu. Epigrafski spomenici ukazuju na činjenicu da u gradu dominira helenizirano Trakijsko stanovništvo koje je zadržalo svoje pogrebne običaje.<sup>11</sup>

Tradicionalno nekropole u antičkim gradovima započinju od gradskih kapija i prostiru se sa obje strane putava koji vode do sledećih naselja. Nekropole iz Nikopolisa kao i nekropole većine naselja na ovom području, do sada nisu bile otkrivene u toku istraživanja iz više razloga. Na njihove lokacije sporadično ukazuju pronađeni tragovi sahranjivanja i brojene pogrebne humke. Do sada smo ustanovili da se veliki broj pojedinačnih humki kao i nekropole humki nalaze u okolini Nikopolisa u selima Baldevo, Skrebatno, Ognjanovo i Debren.<sup>22</sup> Pojedinačne, ravne grobnice otkrivene su u neposrednoj blizini drevnog grada u selima Ognjanovo, Debren, Oreše, Pletena, Kočan i dr. U oblasti Nikopolisa je otkriveno samo nekoliko stela. U odnosu na brojene nadgrobne spomenike iz doline Srednje Strume<sup>3</sup>, oni iz Nikopolisa su skoro nepoznati i publikovani veoma kratko i jako davno. Za razliku od svog ograničenog

The Roman and Early Byzantine city Nicopolis ad Nestum (ad Mestum) is located in the most southwestern part of the Roman province of Thrace. Its urban territory borders with the territory of Parthiopolis (today's city of Sandanski), in the Roman province of Macedonia (fig. 1). The epigraphic and archaeological monuments after the first century AD reveal Nicopolis ad Nestum as a tribal and religious center, the residence of the Strategos, and after that a growing city in the Roman and important episcopal center in the Early Byzantine period. The epigraphic monuments show that in the city the hellenized Thracian population was dominating, which preserved their traditions in the burial practice<sup>1</sup>.

Traditionally the necropolises in the ancient cities begin after the city gates and occupy the area on both sides of the roads, leading to the next settlements. The necropolises of Nicopolis as well as the necropolises of the majority of the settlements of its area have not been localized during regular excavations till now for a number of reasons. Their locations are shown by sporadically discovered burials and the numerous burial mounds. We have established that the big single mounds and mound necropolises are situated further, in the surrounding area of Nicopolis: in the villages Baldevo, Skrebatno, Ognyanovo and Debren<sup>2</sup>. The single flat graves have been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the ancient city, in the villages Ognyanovo, Debren, Oreshe, Pletena, Kochan etc. In the area of Nicopolis only few stelae have been discovered. In comparison to the numerous sepulchral monuments from the Middle Styron valley<sup>3</sup>, the ones from

1 Petrova S., 2012: 351-352, fig. 17, fig. 56; Петрова С., 2012: 353-366.

2 Petrova S., 2012 : 290.

3 Za spomenike iz doline Strume, osim citirane literature vidi još: Димитров Д.П., 1942: 348-385; Alexandrescu-Vianu M., 1975: 183-200; Герасимова-Томова В., 1989: 160-173; Milcheva R., Z. Bonias 2013: 747-761; Petrova S., 2016: 101-122; Petrova S., 2017: 152-169; Milcheva R., 2017: 191-218.

1 Petrova S., 2012: 351-352, fig. 17, fig. 56; Петрова С., 2012: 353-366.

2 Petrova S., 2012 : 290.

3 For the monuments alongside the valley of Strymon, except the cited literature see also: Димитров Д.П., 1942: 348-385; Alexandrescu-Vianu M., 1975: 183-200; Герасимова-Томова В., 1989: 160-173; Milcheva R., Z. Bonias 2013: 747-

broja, nadgrobnji spomenici iz ove oblasti, pokazuju bogatstvo ikonografskih varijanti, stilova i ljudi kojima su posvećeni. Proučavanje ovih spomenika kao grupe, daje nam priliku da, i pored određenih sličnosti, uočimo razlike u odnosu na susjedne regione kao i različite umjetničke uticaje. Zato je utvrđivanje porijekla spomenika iz regiona Nikopolisa, važno za definisanje lokalnih karakteristika.

Trenutna istraživanja se bave proučavanjem šest nadgrobnih spomenika (Sl. 2-7). Pet njih je već publikovano<sup>4</sup>. Šesta stela, koju analiziramo u ovom tekstu, potiče iz sela Kribul (Sl. 7). U navedenim publikacijama jedna od stela je povezivana sa Nikopolisom (Sl. 2); jedna je pronađena na terenu koji pripada selu Vukosel ali je publikovano da je pronađena u selu Furgovo (Sl. 3); za dvije nadgrobnje ploče je utvrđeno da potiču sa teritorije Nevrokopa (Sl. 4, 6) a jedna je publikovana kao nadgrobnja ploča iz Nevrokopa<sup>5</sup> (Sl. 5). Četiri nadgrobnje ploče imaju grčki natpis (Sl. 2 i 4-6). Dvije stele (Sl. 4, 6) su obrađene u studiji D.P. Dimitrova koja se bavi portretom<sup>6</sup>. Jedan od nadgrobnih spomenika se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Atini (Br. 3319). Četiri su u Nacionalnom arheološkom muzeju u Sofiji (Inv. Br. 6795, 6041, 6811, 6618). Šesti nadgrobnji spomenik je u privatnom vlasništvu.

Do sada nijedan nadgrobnji spomenik nije pronađen sa postamentom. Ipak, pojedinačno proučavanje nam omogućava da rekonstruišemo ovu vrstu nadgrobnih spomenika. Četrdesetih godina prošlog vijeka u selu Kovačevica je pronađen blok-postament sa natpisom koji je

Nicopolis and its vicinity are unpopular and published too briefly long time ago. In contrast to their limited number, the tombstones from the area demonstrate a great variety of iconographic types, style and dedicators. Observing and studying them as a whole group, this gives the opportunity to highlight the difference with the neighboring regions, although having some similarities with them, and the different artistic influences. That is why the establishing of the correct origin of the monuments from the region of Nicopolis is important for defining the local features.

The current research examines six funerary monuments (Fig. 2-7). Five of them have been published<sup>4</sup>. The sixth stela, analyzed in our article, is unpublished and originates from the village of Kribul (Fig. 7). In the cited publications one of the stela was related to Nicopolis (Fig. 2); one was found in the lands of the village Vukosel, but published as coming from Furgovo (Fig. 3); two of the plates were determined with origin from the lands of Nevrokop (Fig. 4, 6) and one was published as a plate from Nevrokop<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 5). Four of the plates have Greek inscriptions (Fig. 1 and 4-6). Two of the monuments (Fig. 4, 6) have been discussed in the study by D. P. Dimitrov dedicated to the portrait<sup>6</sup>. One of the tombstone is being stored in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (№ 3319). Four are in the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia (Инв. №№ 6795, 6041, 6811, 6618). The sixth gravestone is owned privately.

4 Велков И., 1921-2: 250, обр. 150=IGBulg 1966: № 2347 i cit. lit.; Кацаров Г., 1934: 58-59, обр. 43=IGBulg 1966, № 2346 i cit. lit.; Данов Хр., 1937: 309-310, обр. 241; Дечев Д., 1938: 285-286, обр. 90=IGBulg 1966, № 2348 i cit. lit.; Νίγδελης Π.Μ., 2001: 149-155, Είκ. 1.

5 Do 1951 Nevrokop je ime današnjeg grada Goce Delčev.

6 Димитров Д.П.1939: 18, обр. 15 i 28, обр. 34.

761; Petrova S., 2016: 101-122; Petrova S., 2017: 152-169; Milcheva R., 2017: 191-218.

4 Велков И., 1921-2: 250, обр. 150=IGBulg 1966: № 2347 and the cited lit.; Кацаров Г., 1934: 58-59, обр. 43=IGBulg 1966, № 2346 and the cited lit.; Данов Хр., 1937: 309-310, обр. 241; Дечев Д., 1938: 285-286, обр. 90=IGBulg 1966, № 2348 and the cited lit.; Νίγδελης Π.Μ., 2001: 149-155, Είк. 1. 5 Till 1951 Nevrokop was the old name of today's town of Gotse Delchev.

6 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 18, обр. 15 and 28, обр. 34.



Sl. 2. Nadgrobná stela „Aristobule“ iz Nicopolis ad Nestum. Arheološki muzej Atina. Inv. br.3319.

Fig. 2. Tombstone of Aristoboula from Nicopolis ad Nestum. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. № 3319.

služio kao postolje. On je 1940. godine premešten u nacionalni arheološki muzej (NAM) u Sofiji. Tokom Drugog svjetskog rata spomenik je izgubljen a nama su danas poznate samo dimenzije slova – 0,025-0,03m<sup>7</sup>. Iz teksta koji nam je poznat se vidi jedno rimsko muško ime (Sextius Lucius) dok su ostala imena trakijska (Γεζο....τειζις; Μουκασηους). Analogno drugim spomenicima treba istaći da su postamenti najčešće pravougaoni blokovi, koji na gornjoj površini imaju rupu u koju je montiran klin za stelu. Često je u jednoj od vertikalnih strana uklesan natpis koji je povezan sa prikazom pokojnika na spomeniku. Do sada se nam sa teritorije između rijeka Strume i Mestosa (u njihovom toku koji prolazi kroz Bugarsku) poznata i publikovana tri postamenta: već pomenuti postament iz Kovačevice koji je datovan u II vijek<sup>8</sup>; postament iz Katunice datovan u 146. godinu i postament iz Širbanovo/Muletarovo danas selo Rupite<sup>9</sup>.

Nadgrobní spomenici koji su pronađeni u Nikopolisu i njegovoj okolini, imaju pretežno pravougaoni oblik i često očuvan klin za umetanje stele u postament

So far no gravestone has been found together with its postament. However, their separate study allows us to reconstruct this type of gravestone monuments. In the 40es of the past century in the village of Kovachevitsa a block-postament with an inscription was found, serving as a postament. It was moved in 1940 to the National Archaeological Museum (NAM) in Sofia. During World War II, the monument was lost and only the height of the letters is witnessed<sup>7</sup>. From the text it is known that the name of the man is Roman (Sextius Lucius) and the other ones are Thracian (Γεζο....τειζις; Μουκασηους). By analogy with the other monuments it should be noted that usually the postaments are rectangular blocks, with a hole on the upper surface, in which the wedge of the stela was installed. Often on one of the vertical sides of the postament the inscription was carved, associated with the depicted on the installed gravestone deceased. So far between Strymon and Mestos (in their parts passing through the territory of Bulgaria) are known and published three postaments: the mentioned already from Kovachevitsa, dated in the 2nd century<sup>8</sup>; from Katuntsi, dated in 146 and from Shirbanovo/Muletarovo, today's village of Rupite<sup>9</sup>.

The tombstones found in Nicopolis and its vicinity have predominantly rectangular form and sometimes the wedge is preserved too for inserting the stela into the postament (Fig. 5 and 6). Their visual field is decorated with portrait images: busts and full-length figures and the Thracian horseman. This field has a predominant rectangular shape. Only the plate from Furgovo/Vulkosel has a field with almost square shape (Fig. 2-4, 7) and the plates with the Thracian horseman have an arched upper part of the visual field (Fig.

7 IGBulg 1966, № 2349 and the cited lit.

8 Геров Б., 1961: 349, № 66 and cit.lit.

9 Дечев Д., 1938: 282-283, обр. 85.

7 IGBulg 1966, № 2349 and the cited lit.

8 Геров Б., 1961: 349, № 66 and cit.lit.

9 Дечев Д., 1938: 282-283, обр. 85.

(Sl. 5, 6). Njihovo frontalno polje je dekori-  
sano portretom: bistom ili figurom u punoj  
veličini a nekada i Tračkim konjanikom.  
Ovo polje ima dominantno pravougaoni  
oblik. Samo stela iz Furgovo/Vulkosel ima  
polje skoro kvadratnog oblika (Sl. 2-4, 7)  
dok stele sa Trakijskim konjanikom imaju  
lučno savijen gornji dio frontalnog polja  
(Sl. 5, 6). Neke stele se, najvjerovatnije,  
iznad frontalnog polja završavaju trouga-  
onim formom, formiranom kao timpanon  
što vidimo kao praksu dož toka Srednje  
i Donje Strume. Stela koja se čuva u Ati-  
ni, iako fragmentovana, pokazuje završe-  
tak sličan trougaonom timpanonu. Najbolje  
očuvana pravougaona stela sa arhitekton-  
skim rasporedom, iako oštećena u donjem  
dijelu, je stela iz Kribula (Sl. 7). Ona ima  
oblik pravougaonika koji se u gornjem di-  
jelu završava kao trougoni timpanon, sa  
oformljenim okvirom u čijoj je sredini pri-  
kazana floralna rozeta/štit? U uglovima sa  
obje strane baze timpanona su urezane  
akroterije.

Hronološki najstariji nadgrobnni  
spomenik je onaj posvećen sjećanju na  
Aristobulu, koji je podigla njena majka  
Momos. Od šest do sada poznatih nad-  
grobnih spomenika ovaj je pronađen prvi  
negdje krajem XIX vijeka, vjerovatno za-  
jedno sa još dva nadgrobnna spomenika iz  
Nikopolisa<sup>10</sup>. Spomenik je bio zapušten,  
sa pogrešno zabilježenim porijeklom i  
kao takav gotovo nepoznat za nauku. Ali  
kao što smo mi otkrili on potiče iz Nicop-  
olisa (Sl. 2). Ne tako davno, prateći sud-  
binu drugog spomenika iz Nicopolis ad  
Nestum<sup>11</sup> za koji se smatralo da je izgu-  
bljen za nauku, naišli smo na članak grčk-  
og epigrafičara prof. P. M. Nigdelisa<sup>12</sup>. U  
njemu je analiziran natpis sa nadgrobnog  
spomenika iz fonda Arheološkog muzeja  
u Atini koji je pogrešno identifikovan kao  
spomenik iz Istočne Makedonije. Tekst je

5 and 6). Some stelae probably have over  
this field triangular shaped ends – pedi-  
ment, similarly to the observed practice  
along the river bed of Middle and Lower  
Strymon. Although fragmented, the stela  
stored in Athens reveals similar ends of the  
triangular pediment. The fully preserved  
rectangular plate with architectonic layout,  
although broken in the lower part, is the  
stela from Kribul (Fig. 7). It has a rectan-  
gular shape and its upper part ends with a  
triangular pediment, which is formed by a  
frame, in the center of which is depicted a  
rosette/shield (?). Acroteria are carved on  
the edges on both sides of the foundation  
of the pediment.

Chronologically the earliest tom-  
stone is the one in memory of Aristobou-  
la, made by her mother Momos. From the  
known till now tombstones it is the first one  
to be found at the end of the 19th century,  
probably with two other monuments from  
Nicopolis<sup>10</sup>. The monument is neglected,  
with incorrectly marked origin, thus almost  
unknown for science. But as we have  
found out, it originates from Nicopolis (Fig.  
2). Not long ago, tracing the fate of another  
also thought to be lost for science monu-  
ment from Nicopolis ad Nestum<sup>11</sup> we came  
upon an article of the Greek epigraphist  
prof. P. M. Nigdelis<sup>12</sup>. In it the inscription  
of a grave monument was analyzed, as-  
signed to the fund of the Archaeological  
Museum in Athens, incorrectly identified as  
a monument from the Eastern Macedonia.  
Its first publisher was Petros N. Papageor-  
giu, who published it in the Thessaloniki  
newspaper Αλήθεια, № 450 from the 4th of  
July 1906 under the title “Third inscription  
from Nevrokop” (Νευροκοπου επιγραφή  
Τρίτη), based on a drawing sent to him  
by the bishop of Nevrokop Theodorit. The  
traces of the monument are almost imme-  
diately lost after its first publication. Its fate

10 IGBulg 1966: 2342, 2343.

11 Петрова С., 2015а: 68-70.

12 Νίγδελης Π.Μ., 2001, 149-155.

10 IGBulg 1966: 2342, 2343.

11 Петрова С., 2015а: 68-70.

12 Νίγδελης Π.Μ., 2001, 149-155.

prvi objavio Petros S. Papageorgiu, u Solunu u časopisu *Αληθεια*, br. 450 od 04. jula 1906, pod naslovom „Treći natpis iz Nevrokopa“ (Νευροκοππου επιγραφή Τριτη). Tekst je nastao na osnovu crteža koji mu je poslao Nevrokopski mitropolit Teodorit. Spomeniku se gubi svaki trag gotovo odmah nakon prvog objavljivanja. Njegova sudbina je nepoznata sve do 1912. godine kada se pojavljuje u Seresu kao ratni trofej definisan kao spomenik iz istočne Makedonije. Godinu dana nakon mirovnog sporazuma u Bukureštu 1914. godine stela je prebačena u Atinu gdje je inventarisana pod brojem 3319 u zbirci skulptura Nacionalnog arheološkog muzeja. 1940. godine J. Kirchner je objavljuje u IG II/III2 pod br. 10770, definišuće je kao spomenik iz provincije Istočne Makedonije iz doline rijeke Strume. U svojoj publikaciji prof Nigdelis dokazuje da je to davno zaboravljeni nadgrobni spomenik iz Nicopolis ad Nestum.

Činjenica je da je od stele sačuvan samo gornji dio ploče koja se, najvjerojatnije, završavala trougaonim zabatom. Napravljena je od lokalnog sivo-bijelog mermera, srednje granulacije a njene dimenzije su nam nepoznate. Fragment je slabo očuvan sa oštećenjima i ogrebotinama preko lika i okvira dekorisanog polja. Naknadno je polirana cijelom površinom osim u lijevom dijelu lijeve ženske figure, kao što se može vidjeti preko tragova dljeteta. Natpis u šest redova, koji se nalazi u uglačanom prostoru između dva lika, je urezan nakon što su uklesane figure. Postavljanje teksta u polje za dekoraciju a ne u polje ispod, nameće pitanje dali je postojalo drugo polje namijenjeno za tekst. Zbog stepena oštećenja stele nije moguće dati precizan odgovor na ovo pitanje. Moguće je da takvo polje nije ni postojalo, što je primoralo majstora da postavi tekst između figura. Natpis pokazuje da je majstor dobro poznavao grčki jezik i urezivanje slova jer su slova svuda iste visine a redovi pravilno

is unknown until 1912 when it appears in Serres as a war trophy defined as a monument from the Eastern Macedonia. One year after the Bucharest peace treaty in 1914, the stela was transported to Athens and logged under № 3319 in the Sculpture Department of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. In 1940 J. Kirchner has published it in IG II/III2 under № 10770, defining it as a monument from the province of Eastern Macedonia, from the riverbed of Strymon. In his publication Prof. Nigdelis proves that this is the same long forgotten gravestone, which originates namely from Nicopolis ad Nestum.

In fact from the stela only the upper part of the rectangular plate is preserved, probably ending with a triangular pediment. It was made of a grey-whitish medium-grained local marble. Its dimensions are unknown. The fragment is poorly preserved, with chips and scuffs on the faces and the framework of the pictorial field. The latter is polished everywhere, except the left part of the left female figure, as can be seen from the traces of the chisel. Six-lined inscription, located in the smooth area between the images, is carved after sculpturing the two figures. Placing it within the field for representations and not in the field below, it raises the question whether there was a second field intended for text. Because of the fragmentation of the stela a precise answer cannot be given. Maybe such a field does not exist, which forced the artist to put the text within, between the images. The inscription shows that the stonemason knew well the Greek language and its letters, keeping everywhere their equal height and straight line order. He has evenly distributed the text in such a way that there is no interception between the text and the images. The translation of the inscription reads: “Here is buried Aristoboula, daughter of Arimnest, 15 years old. Momos, daughter of Mukasos (erected) in memory of her daughter and her-

poređani. Tekst je ravnomjerno rasporedio tako da ne postoji preklapanje teksta i likova. Prevod teksta glasi: „Ovdje je sahranjena Aristoboula, ćerka Arimnesta, stara 15 godina. Momos, ćerka Mukasosa (podiže) u znak sjećanja na ćerku i sebe“<sup>13</sup>. Majka je Trakijka, sudeći po njenom imenu i imenu njenog oca. Njen suprug i ćerka imaju grčka imena. Vjerovatno je to bio mešoviti brak između Grka i Trakijke.

U dekorisanom polju su prikazane dvije ženske figure izrađene u visokom reljefu, postavljene u  $\frac{3}{4}$  pozi okrenute jedna prema drugoj. Lijeva figura je očuvana kao bista. Prikazana je udata žena sa pokrivenom glavom. U lijevoj ruci ona drži veo/kraj himationa. Njeno držanje pokazuje standardnu sliku sa gestom tuge i žaljenja – *Pudicitia*<sup>14</sup>. Kosa žene je postavljena u pravilne linije naprijed i pozadi, vjerovatno u punđi prekrivenoj velom. Majka je prikazana u pozi  $\frac{3}{4}$ , najvjerovatnije sjedi i gleda u svoju ćerku. Figura pravo, ćerka, je prikazana u visočijem polju. Ona, takođe stoji predstavljena u  $\frac{3}{4}$  pozi. Ona je okrenuta prema majci ali gleda u daljinu, u prostor jer ona je mrtva, ona je u drugom svijetu i ne može da uspostavi kontakt sa živima. Figura je očuvana do malo ispod grudi. Nepokrivena glava i frizura prikazuju ikonografiju djevojke koja sudeći prema opisu ima 15 godina. Njena frizura je uređena u tzv. Melonenfrisur i završava se sa visokom punđom, dobijenom od visoko uvijenih pletenica oko pericraniuma. Krajevi ovih platenica su vidljivi i završavaju se kao dvije male lokne. Dekolte na hitonu je oštar i nizak, sa dva ruba koji se ponavljaju. Oko vrata su vidljive dvije horizontalne linije sa medaljonom ili ornamentom u sredini. Iako su lica jako oštećena vidi se da su imala glatke očne jabučice sa prikaza-

<sup>13</sup> Natpis je preveo N. Šarankov na čemu mu ovdje najsrdačnije zahvaljujemo

<sup>14</sup> Bieber M., 1959: 379, 386, 388 ff., figs. 15, 16-17, 20-21, ff.; от Дуросторум: Popova-Moroz V., I. Bachvarov, 1992: 16-17, fig. 7; Langlands R., 2006: 37-77, 192 ff.; Dixon S., 2011: 248 ff.

self“<sup>13</sup>. The mother is Thracian according to her name and that of her father. Both her husband and daughter have Greek names. Probably this was a mixed marriage between a Greek man and a Thracian woman.

In the pictorial field two female figures made in high relief are presented in a pose  $\frac{3}{4}$  facing each other, the left one preserved to the bust. A married woman is shown with her head covered. With her left hand she holds her veil/end of the himation. Her gesture shows the standard image with a gesture of mourning and grief of the *Pudicitia*<sup>14</sup>. The hair of the woman is combed in a staright line in the middle and back, probably in a bun, covered by the veil. The mother is depicted in a pose of  $\frac{3}{4}$ , most possibly sitting and looking toward her daughter. The right figure, the daughter is depicted higher in the field. She is standing, also represented in the pose of  $\frac{3}{4}$ . She is facing towards the mother, but rather looking into the space because as being dead she is in another world and can not establish contact with the living. The image is preserved till a bit under the chest. The uncovered head and the hairstyle, show the iconography of a girl, according to the inscription, 15 years old. Her hair is arranged in the so-called Melonenfrisur and ends with a high bun, obtained from highly screwed braids across the pericranium. The ends of these locks are visible and end with two little curls. The neckline of the chiton is sharp and lower, with twice repeated outlines. Around the neck two horizontal outlines are visible, with a medallion or ornamental item in the middle. Although the faces are too battered, it can

<sup>13</sup> The translation of the inscription was made by N. Sharankov to whom we express our deepest gratitude.

<sup>14</sup> For the type see Bieber M., 1959: 379, 386, 388 ff., figs. 15, 16-17, 20-21 ff.; for a monument from Durostorum see: Popova-Moroz V., I. Bachvarov 1992: 16-17, fig. 7; Langlands R., 2006: 37-77, 192 ff.; Dixon S., 2011: 248 ff.



nim gornjim kapcima.

Prezentovana scena, koja prikazuje majku koja se oprašta od svoje preminule ćerke, vodi porijeklo od klasičnih grčkih i helenističkih nadgrobni reljefa. Prikazani ikonografski tip je standard za udatu ženu i djevojku. Majka je prikazana u gestu oplakivanja (drži veo do ispod brade) što je takođe standard u grčkoj, helenističkoj a samim tim i u rimskoj umjetnosti. Ćerka je iznenada i neočekivano preminula i u takvim okolnostima majka je prinuđena da podiže spomenik ad hoc. Ona je odlučila da, za života, postavi svoj lik na steli, kako bi zauvijek bila sa svojom voljenom ćerkom. U sceni nedostaje muški lik – otac grčkog porijekla. Vjerovatno je bio mrtav prije nego što je njegova ćerka preminula i imao je spomenik prije nje. Dvije figure u pozi  $\frac{3}{4}$  izrađene i izuzetno visokom reljefu, za sada su jedinstveni nalazi u Srednjem Nestosu ili preciznije u Nicopolisu. Visoki reljef i visok nivo plastičnosti likova ukazuju na rad grčkog majstora ili na rad lokalne radionice sa učešćem majstora sa strane. Moguće je da su vajari došli iz Grčke ili sa Grčkog istoka, o čijem radu postoje epigrafski dokazi<sup>15</sup>. Moguće je da su to majstori školovani u najboljim radionicama na Egejskoj obali (na primer na ostrvu Tasos) ili negdje na Grčkom istoku. Ikonografski, spomenik se dosta razlikuje od susjedne Makedonske oblasti i pokazuje tradiciju grčko-helenističkih nadgrobni stela. Poze u  $\frac{3}{4}$  kao i prikazi figure rijetke su u regionu Srednje Strume i Srednjeg Mesta<sup>16</sup>. Nedostatak prikazanih irisa, stil i visina reljefa, omogućavaju nam da stela datiramo u prve decenije II vijeka, u vrijeme dinastije Trajana – ranih Antoninija.

Drugi nadgrobni spomenik je otkriven u selu Vukosel, iako se u literaturi pominje kao nalaz iz sela Furgovo.

15 Naprimjer kamenorezac/skulptor (λιθοργός) Теодот. Vidi IGBulg, 1966: № 2342; Petrova 2012: 328, 332.

16 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 1-128; Milcheva R., 2015: 292-303; Petrova S., 2016: 102 ff.

be seen that they have smooth eyeballs with depicted upper eyelids.

The presented scene shows the parting of the mother with her dead daughter, with a genesis from the classical Greek and Hellenistic funerary relief. The iconographic types are standard for a married woman and a girl. The mother is depicted with the gesture of mourning (holding the veil at her chin), also a standard in the Greek and Hellenistic and hence in the Roman art. The daughter has died unexpectedly and in such circumstances her mother had to make the tombstone ad hoc. She has chosen, while still alive, to place her representation on the stele as well, thus to be forever with her beloved daughter. In the scene is missing a male figure – that of the father with the Greek origin. Probably he was already dead at the time of his daughter's passing and the first to receive a tombstone. The poses of the two figures in  $\frac{3}{4}$ , made in a high relief are so far the only ones in the sepulchral relief along the Middle Nestos, in particular from Nicopolis. The high relief of the images and the good plastic treatment show the work of Greek master or the work of a local workshop with the participation of masters outside the region. It is possible that these are sculptors from Greece or the Greek East, for whose work we have epigraphic data<sup>15</sup>. It is possible that the masters have received their training in the best schools for sculptors on the Aegean coast (for instance on the island of Thassos) or in the Greek East. As iconography the monument is very different from the neighboring Macedonian region and demonstrates the tradition of the Greco-Hellenistic sepulchral stelae. The pose  $\frac{3}{4}$ , as well as the image of the figures is rare for the region of Middle Strymon and Middle Nestos<sup>16</sup>. The

15 For example the stonemason/sculptor (λιθοργός) Теодот. See IGBulg 1966: № 234; Petrova 2012: 328, 332.

16 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 1-128; Milcheva R., 2015: 292-303; Petrova S., 2016: 102 ff.

Njegova visina je 0,67 m, širina 0,60 m a debljina 0,15 m. Napravljen je od grubog, lokalnog mermera svijetlo sive boje. Stanovnici Furgova su ga pronašli na Gaurskom groblju u oblasti sela Vukosel. Oni su ga poslali na poklon kralju Borisu III koji ga je kasnije poklonio Arheološkom muzeju u Sofiji (inv.br. 6795). Stela predstavlja novu, relativno rijetku kompoziciju (Sl. 3). Polje sa reljefom ima skoro kvadratni oblik, kao i četiri figure sa savijenom lijevom nogom koje su prikazane u punoj veličini an face. Prema, do sada, jedinom autoru koji je objavio stelu, dvije figure koje se nalaze lijevo od ženske figure su muškarci<sup>17</sup>. Ali po nama, na krajevima se nalaze dvije ženske figure i jedan muški lik između njih. Između druge i treće figure, u donjem dijelu, je predstavljena mala figura, najvjerojatnije djeteta. Žene su obučene u hiton i dugački himation. Likovi su jako oštećeni tako da je teško opisati karakteristike lica. Ipak, evidentno je da je lice na figuri lijevo napravljeno u prilično visokom reljefu sa okrenutom glavom u  $\frac{3}{4}$  na desnu stranu. Ona predstavlja udatu ženu, obučenu u hiton sa visoko zaobljenim dekolteom, sa himationom prebačenim preko glave koji se sa divnim naborima sušta prema zemlji. Jedini vidljivi dijelovi su njeni prsti na lijevoj nozi i početak njenog stopala. Kraj himationa je prebačen preko desne ruke koja je položena na grudi. Lijeva ruka visi duž njenog tijela i dodiruje sredinu bedra na lijevoj nozi držeći donji kraj himationa.

Druga ženska figura na desnoj strani predstavlja ženu obučenu na isti način i u istom položaju kao lijeva figura ali njena lijeva ruka je podignuta visočije. Njen himation je dugačak ali joj glava nije pokrivena. Kosa je glatko začesljana unazad i vjerovatno se završava visokom i širokom punđom sličnoj kapi. Slične frizure su nam poznate sa nadgrobnih spomenika

lack of depicted irises, the style and the high relief allows us to match the stele in the first decades of the 2nd century, in the time of the the period of Trajan - the early Antonines.

The second gravestone was discovered in the land of the village Vukosel, but was published as coming from Furgovo. It has the following dimensions: height 0.67 m, width 0.60 m, thickness 0.15 m. It is made of coarse local marble with a light grey colour. The inhabitants of Furgovo have found it in the area of the Gyaurskite cemetery in the land of Vukosel. They have sent the monument as a gift to king Boris III, who in his turn donated it to the Archaeological Museum in Sofia (ИНВ. № 6795). The stela represents a new, relatively rare composition (Fig. 3). The relief field has almost a square form, as the four figures are depicted in full length en face, with relieved left legs. According to the only publisher of the slab so far the two consecutive figures after the female figure to the left are male<sup>17</sup>. But according to us, two female figures can be seen at the ends of the composition and one male figure in the middle. Between the second and the third figures, on the lower part, a fourth little figure is depicted, probably the representation of a child. The women are dressed in chitons and long himations. The images are quite battered, so it's hard to describe the characteristics of the faces. However, it is evident that the face of the figure on the left was made in fairly high relief by turning the head in  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the right. It represents a married woman, dressed in chiton with a high rounded neckline, with thrown over her head himation, which descends in beautiful folds to the ground. The only visible parts are the fingertips of the left leg and the beginning of her foot. The end of the himation is thrown over her right hand, which is placed on her chest. Her left arm is hanging along her body and

<sup>17</sup> Данов Хр., 1937: обр. 241.

<sup>17</sup> Данов Хр., 1937: обр. 241.

iz Orehovca<sup>18</sup>, Prilepa i Đevđelije<sup>19</sup>. One se takođe mogu vidjeti na stelama/medaljonima iz Istočne Makedonije, posebno iz Laskareva<sup>20</sup> i Debrena<sup>21</sup>, iako je kod njih visina punđe znatno niža. Likovi sa visokim punđama su prikazani na nadgrobnom spomeniku koji se čuva u crkvi Sv. Nikole u Solunu. Prva figura predstavlja boginju kojoj glava nije pokrivena a druga udatu ženu sa velom iznad visoke punđe. Međutim u slučaju stele iz Furgovo/Vulkosel slika visoke punđe je toliko velika da ulazi u okvir dekorisanog polja podsećajući više na visoku kapu ili sveštenu krunu. Ali pošto žena nije dobila posebno istaknuto mjesto u kompoziciji, što bi joj kao sveštenici pripadalo, mislimo da je to visoka punđa od upletene kose, postavljena visoko iznad tjemena. Skoro na vrhu glave kao što su nosile dame u drugoj i trećoj četvrtini 2og vijeka. Moda koju je nametnula Faustina Starija, žena Antonija Pija<sup>22</sup>. Takva frizura je na portretnoj bisti koja je otkrivena u blizini Foruma u Ostiji, koja je identifikovana kao portret *Domitia Lucilla Minor*, majke Marka Aurelija datovane u sredinu II vijeka<sup>23</sup>. Slična je i frizura *Avidia Plautia*, majke Lucija Vera; kao i drugih portreta datovanih u vrijeme dinastije Antonina: bista mlade žene datovane u 125-135 god.; glava žene datovana između 140-150 god.; portret žene tzv. „Sirijka“ (inv.br. A 583) iz Ermitaža, St. Peterburg, iz 160 god<sup>24</sup>.

Muškarac prikazan između dvije žene ima relativno kratku kosu začušljanu unazad. Iako je oštećeno, njegovo lice pokazuje ne previše dugu bradu poravnanu u donjem dijelu. Njegov stav sa savijenom



Sl. 3. Nadgrobnna stela iz Furgovo/Vukosel, Nacionalni arheološki Muzej Sofija. Inv. br. 6795.

Fig. 3. Tombstone from Furgovo/Vulkosel. National Archaeological Museum Sofia, Inv. № 6795.

touches the middle of her hips of the left leg, holding the lower end of the himation.

The other female figure at the right represents a woman dressed in the same way and in the same position as the left figure, but her left hand is lifted higher. The himation is long but the head is not covered. The hair is smoothly combed back and probably ends with a high and wide bun, similar to a hat. Similar haircuts are known to us from the tombstones from Orehovets, Prilepsko in Macedonia<sup>18</sup> and from Gevgelija<sup>19</sup>. They are also seen on stele/medallions from Eastern Macedonia, especially from Laskarevo<sup>20</sup> and Debrena<sup>21</sup>, although the height of the bun is considerably lower. The images of a high bun are shown on two figures on the

18 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 26, обр. 31

19 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 64, обр. 87.

20 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 16 обр.13; на istom mjestu, 40, обр. 56.

21 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 18, обр. 16.

22 Vidi Fittschen K., P. Zanker, 1983: Bd. III, NN 13-18, 13-20, Taff. 15-23 i tamo preporučene analogije.

23 Vatican Museum, Sala a Croce Greca, Inv. 570.

24 Бритова,Н.Н., Н.М. Лосева, Н.А. Сидорова 1975: 65-66, илл. 109.

18 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 26, обр. 31

19 Димитров Д.П.,1939: 64, обр. 87.

20 Димитров Д.П.,1939: 16 обр.13; 40, обр. 56.

21 Димитров Д.П.,1939: 18, обр. 16.

nogom je identičan ženskim pozama. Himation mu pada lagano dolje i ne pokriva noge koje se mogu jasno vidjeti. Njegova desna ruka se podiže ka lijevom ramenu, držeći gornji kraj odjeće, dok lijeva ruka na kuku drži drugi kraj. Između muške i druge dvije ženske figure, vidi se figura dječaka, čija poza, odjeća, položaj ruku i nogu ponavlja sliku muške figure. Obje muške figure predstavljaju tip *Palliatu*<sup>25</sup>. Sve četiri figure su plastično modelirane sa lijepim naborima odjeće koji lagano padaju. Predstavljena kompoziciona šema sa dvije ženske figure poznata je kao Velika i Mala Herkulanka koja iz trodimenzionalne skulpture prelazi u reljef<sup>26</sup>. Nadgrobnji spomenik iz Furgovo/Vulkosel predstavlja realistično prikazane figure (vjerovatno porodicu) sa dobrim poznavanjem tehnika obrade kamena i izrade skulptura. Pretpostavljamo da je stela imala natpis koji je bio uklesan u njenom postamentu. Za razliku od donjeg dijela tijela, glave, ramena i lica skoro do grudi su isklesani u visokom reljefu. Formiranje i prezentovanje cijele kompozicije,  $\frac{3}{4}$  položaj glave, analogije frizura, poze i visoki reljef u cjelini ukazuju na to da je nadgrobnji spomenik napravljen u vrijeme ranih Antoninija, između 138 i 150 god.

Stela sa dva isklesana polja (Sl. 4), u prvim je tekstovima publikovana kao stela iz Nevrokopa<sup>27</sup> da bi kasnije ta teza bila zmijenjena i utvrđeno je da otiče iz Nicopolis ad Nestum. Prof. B. Gerov smatra da je iz „okoline Goce Delčev/Nevrokop“<sup>28</sup>. G. Mihailov definiše njeno porijeklo iz okoline Nikopolisa<sup>29</sup>. Mi vjerujemo da za stele koje su publikovane kao nalazi iz Nevrokopa ili

gravestone, stored in the church St. Nicholas in Thessaloniki. The first figure is of a goddess, whose head is uncovered and the other image is a married woman with the highly raised over the bun veil. However in the case of the the slab from Furgovo/Valkosel, the image of the high bun is so large that enters and takes place of a part of the frame of the pictorial field, looking more like a high hat or a crown of a priestess. But since the woman has not received a particularly prominent place in the composition, which would defy her as a priestess, we think that this was a high bun from braided hair, set high above the pericranium, almost on the top of the head, as worn by the ladies in the second and third quarters of the 2nd century. The fashion is imposed by Faustina the Elder, wife of Antoninus Pius<sup>22</sup>. Such is also the hairstyle of the portrait bust discovered near the Forum of Ostia identified as a portrait of Domitia Lucilla Minor, the mother of Marcus Aurelius and dated in the mid 2nd century<sup>23</sup>. Similar is the hairstyle of Avidia Plautia, mother of Lucius Verus; as well as other portraits dated in Antonine dynasty: the bust of a young woman, dated between 125-135; the head of a woman, dated between 140-150; portrait of a woman, the so called „Syrian“ (ИНВ. № А 583) from the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, dated in 160<sup>24</sup>.

The man, depicted between the two women has relatively short hair combed backwards. Although bruised, his face indicates having not too long beard, lined up at the bottom. His stance is identical with the pose of the women with relieved left leg. The himation falls smoothly down and doesn't cover the legs, which can be seen clearly. His right arm is lifted toward the

25 Bieber M., 1959: 380 ff.; Harrison E.B., 1960: 25, fig. 31; Bieber M., 1977: 129-147; Trimble J., 2011: 76 ff., 321 ff.

26 Bieber M., 1977: 148 ff.; Daehner J., 2007: 85-112 и cit. lit; Kousser R.M., 2008: 142 ff; Trimble J., 2011: 20 ff.

27 Велков И., 1921-22: 250, обр. 150.

28 Геров Б., 1961: 348, № 64.

29 IGBulg 1966: № 2347.

22 See Fittschen K., P. Zanker, 1983: Bd. III, NN 13-18, 13-20, Taff. 15-23 and the analogies pointed there.

23 Vatican Museum, Sala a Croce Greca, Inv. 570.

24 Бритова, Н.Н., Н.М. Лосева, Н.А. Сидорова, 1975: 65-66, Fig. 109.



Sl. 4. Nadgrobná stela „Damariona“ iz Nicopolis ad Nestum, Nacionalni arheološki Muzej Sofija. Inv. br. 6041

Fig. 4. Tombstone of Damarion from Nicopolis ad Nestum. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. № 6041.

regiona Nevrokopa (Sl. 4-6), treba smatrati da je njihovo porijeklo iz Nicopolisa. Od kraja XIX vijeka pa sve do 30tih godina XX vijeka, mnogo epigrafskih i arheoloških spomenika iz Nikopolisa je bilo poznato nauci kao nalazi iz Nevrokopa koji je poistovećivan sa antičkim gradom Nicopolis ad Nestum. Zbog toga su mnogi artefakti, čak i oni otkriveni u ruševinama antičkog grada, identifikovani i uvedeni u naučne izvještaje kao spomenici iz Nevrokopa ili oblasti Nevrokopa.

Nadgrobní spomenik je visine 0,64m, širine 0,44m, debljine 0,07m, visine slova 0,02m. Čuva se u Nacionalnom arheološkom Muzeju u Sofiji (inv.

left shoulder, holding the end of the upper clothing and the left arm – the other end of the garment, close to the hip. Between the male and the second female figure can be seen the depicted figure of a boy, whose pose, clothing, position of the hands and feet repeats the image of the male figure. Both male figures represent the statuary type Palliatus<sup>25</sup>. All four figures are plastically modeled with beautiful and smooth falling folds of their clothes. The compositional scheme which presented the figures of the two women is known as the Large and the Small Herculanean women and from the round sculpture passes in the relief<sup>26</sup>. The tombstone from Furgovo/Vulkosel represents realistically treated like volumes figures (probably a family), with good command of stone processing and sculpture technique. We assume that the stela had an inscription which was probably carved on its postament. The heads, the shoulders and the image almost to the bust are carved in high relief, in contrast to the lower half of the body. The arrangement and the presentation of the whole composition; the  $\frac{3}{4}$  posture of the head; the analogies of the hairstyles, poses and the high relief as a whole show that the tombstone has been made at the time of the early Antonines, between 138 and 150.

Published as coming from the lands of Nevrokop, then clarified as originating from the vicinity of Nicopolis ad Nestum and discussed repeatedly is the gravestone with two visual fields (Fig. 4). According to its first publisher the monument is from the region of Nevrokop<sup>27</sup>. Gerov considers that it is from “the vicinity of Gotse Delchev/Nevrokop”<sup>28</sup>. G. Mihailov defines

25 Bieber M., 1959: 380 ff.; Harrison E.B., 1960: 25, fig. 31; Bieber M., 1977: 129-147; Trimble J., 2011: 76 ff., 321 ff.

26 Bieber M., 1977: 148 ff.; Daehner J., 2007: 85-112 and cit.lit.; Kousser R.M., 2008: 142 ff; Trimble J., 2011: 20 ff.

27 Велков И., 1921-22: 250, обр. 150.

28 Геров Б., 1961: 348, № 64.

br. 6041). Ploča, najvjerojatnije, potiče iz istočne nekropole Nicopolisa. Razlog za ovu hipotezu daje nam izjava objavljena u istom tekstu u kojem je po prvi put objavljena ploča. U tekstu se saopštava da je na imanju Ivana Mileva iz sela Hisarlik (sada u blizini Zagrade kod sela Grumen) pronađena grobnica pokrivena sa tri mermerne ploče sa grčkim natpisom<sup>30</sup>. Kuća i imanje porodice Ivana Mileva i danas je oko 100 metara istočno od zidina grada. Stela je napravljena od svijetlo sivog, srednjeznastog lokalnog mermera. Predstavlja pravougaonu ploču čija se donja strana, sada oštećena, vjerovatno završavala klinom. Cijela ploča je uokvirena ramom u kome je počevši sa desna na lijevo, uklesan grčki natpis koji u prevodu glasi:

„Piros, sin Brasesov (podiže) u znak sjećanja na Damariona i Akuta i na svoju suprugu“. Prema G. Mihailovu nešto nije u redu sa natpisom ili nešto nedostaje – možda su Damarion i Akuta Pirosova djeca a ime njegove supruge nije pomenuto ili je Akuta žena<sup>31</sup>. Onaj koji posvećuje i njegov otac imaju Trakijska imena. Prema B. Gerovu njegova supruga ima rimsko ime Akuta<sup>32</sup>, a sin ima grčko ime. Ako pretpostavimo da je Piros spomenik posvetio sebi, svojoj supruzi Akuti i njihovom sinu Damarionu, onda bi trebalo da nadgrobni spomenik bude posvećen preminulom sinu od strane živih roditelja. Pošto sin hvali u polju sa portretima on bi trebalo da bude obogotvoreni Heros u stavu Tračkog konjanika.

Horizontalna linija okvira, prolazeći kroz sredinu ploče, dijeli je na dva pravougaona polja jednake veličine. Gornje polje je ispunjeno predstavom Tračkog konjanika u skoku na lijevo. Vidi se da je njegova glava, iako je oštećena, plastično modelo-

its origin from the vicinity of Nicopolis<sup>29</sup>. We believe that the stelae, published as found in Nevrokop or Nevrokop region (Fig. 4-6) should be considered as originating from Nicopolis. By the end of the 19th right up to the 30es of the 20th century, when many epigraphic and archaeological monuments from Nicopolis became known for science, were defined as originating from Nevrokop which was identified with the ancient city of Nicopolis ad Nestum. Because of that the artifacts, even those discovered in the ruins of the ancient city, were identified, reported and introduced in the scientific reports as monuments from Nevrokop or the area of Nevrokop. The tombstone has the following dimensions: height 0.64 m, width 0.44 m, thickness 0.07 m, height of the letters 0.02 m. It is stored in the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, Inv. № 6041. Most probably the slab originates from the eastern necropol of Nicopolis. The grounds for this hypothesis is the statement, published in the same rubric, in which this slab was published for the first time. In the same release of the publication we are informed that in the farm grounds of Ivan Milev from the village of Hisarluk (now district Zagrade of Gurmen) a grave has been found covered with three marble slabs with a Greek inscription<sup>30</sup>. The house and the estates of the family and the heirs of Ivan Milev even today are about 100 meters east of the eastern wall of the city. The stele is made of light grey, medium-grained local marble. A rectangular plate whose lower part is now evenly broken off, likely ended with a wedge. The entire plate is designed with a frame on which, starting from right to left, an inscription in Greek is carved, whose translation reads: „Pyrros, son of Brases, (erected) in memory of Damarion and Akuta and his wife“. According to G. Mihailov there is

30 Велков И., 1921-22: 250.

31 Prevod natpisa I kratak komentar o njemu je uradio N. Šarankov na čemu mu izražava našu zahvalnost.

32 Геров Б., 1961: 349, № 67.

29 IGBulg 1966: № 2347.

30 Велков И., 1921-22: 250

vana. Konjanik nosi kratku tuniku, pantalone i kratke čizme. Polovina od plastično izrađene i radijalno postavljene hlamide se leluja na vjetru. Desna ruka konjanika je podignuta u gestu *benedictio latina*. Lijeva ruka se spušta u pravcu konjske grive, koja je predstavljena kao niz trakastih ureza. Na konju je postavljeno ovalno platno koje imitira sedlo a ispod njega veliko pravougaono lagano platno sa zaobljenim krajevima. Konj, plastično izrađen u relativno visokom reljefu, je predstavljen sa podignutim prednjim nogama prema oltaru i drvetu. Plastično prikazan konjski rep, lagano se uzdiže nagore a onda se naglo spušta dolje. Ispred glave konja je prikazano drvo sa širokom krošnjom sa lišćem i stablom oko kojeg se uvija zmija. Lišće na drvetu je oblikovano i raspoređeno skoro vertikalno i posjeća na lovorov vijenac. Predstava krošnje drveta sa ovakvom kompozicijom (sa konjanikom i portretima), ima paralele sa stelama iz Piperica, od kojih je jedna datovana u kraj II vijeka<sup>33</sup>. Ispod konja može da se vidi predstava kučeta koje trči prema drvetu. Ispod drveta je prikaz vepra okrenutog prema kučetu a ispred stabla oltar. Tijelo vepra je sakriveno iza trenutno jako oštećenog prikaza oltara.

U donjem polju su predstavljena poprsja an face, udate žene i njenog muža. Žena je prikazana sa visokim dekolteom na haljini i sa himationom pokrivenom glavom. Njen veo prolazi sa lijeve na desnu stranu, prebačen unazad preko njenog lijevog ramena. Kosa sa razdeljkom na sredini je pokupljena a čelo je glatko i trougaono. Lice joj je ovalno, blago izduženo, obrve su date plastično, elipsoidne oči sa izraženim gornjim kapkom imaju kružnu dužicu a zenica je prikazana sa blagim udubljenjem. Nos koji je vjerovatno bio normalan je jako oštećen. Brada je plastično oblikovana sa rupicom ispod sredine donje usne. Muškarac je prikazan sa kratkom kosom, začesli-

something wrong or missing in the inscription – perhaps either Damarion and Akuta are the children of Pyrros and the name of his wife is not mentioned, or Akuta is the wife<sup>31</sup>. The dedicator and his father have Thracian names. According to B. Gerov, the wife has the Roman name Akuta<sup>32</sup>, and the son – a Greek one. Assuming that the monument is dedicated by Pyrros to himself, his wife Akuta and their son Damarion, then the tombstone should have been devoted to the deceased son by his parents in their lifetime. Because the son is missing in the field with the portraits, he should be the deified Heros in the stance of the Thracian Horseman.

A horizontal frame, passing through the middle of the plate, divides it into two equal-sized rectangular fields. The upper one is filled with the representation of the Thracian Horseman in a jump to the left. His head, though battered, is plastically modeled. The horseman is wearing a short tunic, pants and short boots. Half of the plastically made and radially presented chlamys flutters almost fan-like. The right hand of the Rider is raised in the gesture of *benedictio latina*. The left arm is lowered in direction of the horse's mane, which is represented by cord-like cuts. On the horse is placed an oval and from a dense matter saddle, and below it, another large rectangular lightweight fabric, with rounded ends. The horse, plastically made in relatively high relief, is with raised his forelegs towards the altar and a tree. The plastically transmitted horse tail, which is slightly raised up and then descends wave like. In front of the horse's head a tree is shown with a wide crown with leaves, along the stem around which a snake is coiled. The leaves of the tree are shaped and arranged almost vertically, resembling unfolded lau-

33 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 39, обр. 54; Божинова Ю., В. Русинов, 1987, 25, обр. 3.

31 The translation of the inscription with the short comment after it was made by N. Sharankov to whom we express our gratitude.

32 Геров Б., 1961: 349, № 67.

janom nagore i u nazad, u obliku talasastih snopova. Za njega se paralela može naći sa bustom iz Sandanskog<sup>34</sup> kao i sa stelom sa portretnom bustom iz Prosočana<sup>35</sup> u regionu Drama. Njegova brada je takođe u obliku snopova razdijeljenih na sredini brade. Ovaj poslednji ima bradu sličnu ženskoj figuri – sa rupicom na sredini ispod donje usne. Slično izrađene brade imaju muški i ženski portreti sa već pomenutih nadgrobnih spomenika iz Posočana koji se sada čuvaju u Nacionalnom arheološkom Muzeju u Sofiji kao i nadgrobnna stela iz Rupotine (sada Solin), koja se nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu a koja se datuje u sedmu-osmu deceniju II vijeka<sup>36</sup>. Oči Pira su oblikovane kao i kod njegove supruge. Nos mu je ravan a usne plastično oblikovane sa blagim udubljenjima na krajevima. Uši su priliježljene uz glavu, takođe plastično oblikovane i naglašene. Muškarac nosi hiton sa trougaonim izrezom, odozgo je ogrnut himationom koji pada sa ramena a čiji nabori su formirani urezima dljetom dubljim od onih na hitonu.

Suprug je prikazan sa ženine lijeve strane. Tako postavljeni ženski likovi sa desne strane, mogu se naći i na drugim nadgrobnim stelama iz doline Strume. Primjer iste kompozicije je nadgrobnna stela otkrivena u selu Topolnica<sup>37</sup> koja je datovana u period Antonina. Ovdje je pozicija žene povezana sa, prema autoru, činjenicom da su prikazani preminuli majka i sin. Zato je majka prikazana na centralnom mjestu a sin pored nje. Prema istom autoru „kod stela iz doline Strume, kod poprsja bračnih parova lijeva strana obično pripada mužu“. Kada su muž i žena predstavljeni u kompoziciji u jednom polju, onda je predstava žene češće na lijevoj strani od muža. To se može objasniti činjenicom da

rel garlands. The image of the tree crown finds parallels in such composition (with the rider and portraits) as the stelae from Piperitsa, one of which dates at the end of 2nd century<sup>33</sup>. Under the horse, an image of a dog, running towards the tree can be seen. There is depicted also a boar under the tree in direction against the dog and altar in front of the tree stem. The body of the boar is hidden behind the currently highly fragmented image of the altar.

In the lower field there are represented en face the portrait busts of a married woman and her husband. The woman is shown with a high neckline of the garment and with covered by the himation head. Her veil passes from the left to the right, draped over backwards over her left shoulder. The hair is gathered, parted in the middle, with smooth triangular forehead. The face is oval, slightly elongated, the eyebrows are represented plastically, the elliptical eyes with a cut upper eyelid possess dented round iris and the pupil is shown as a slight dent. The nose, probably normal, is currently battered. The chin is shaped plastically with a dimple below the middle of the lower lip. The man is depicted with a short hair, combed backwards and up, shaped like large wavy bundles, whose parallels are found in a bust from Sandanski<sup>34</sup> and in a stela with portrait busts from Prosochani, Drama region<sup>35</sup>. His beard is also shaped in bundles and divided to both sides from the middle of the chin. The last one is similar to the chin of the female figure - with a round dimple in the middle below the lower lip. Of similar design are the male and female portraits of the already cited above tombstone from Prosochani, stored now in the NAM in Sofia; also the funeral stela from Rupotina (near Solin),

34 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 52, обр. 76; Манов М., 2008, 97, № 73 и cit. lit

35 Димитров Д.П., 1939: обр. 77

36 Cambi N., 1987: № 149.

37 Milcheva R., 2015: 295, fig. 4.

33 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 39 обр. 54; Божинова Ю., В. Русинов, 1987: 25, обр. 3.

34 Димитров Д.П., 1939, 52, обр. 76; Манов М., 2008, 97, № 73 and the cit. lit.

35 Димитров Д.П., 1939, обр. 77.



je u antičko doba to bila ženska strana, manje važna od desne, muške strane (vidi freske iz grobnice u Kazanluku kao jedan od najranijih primjera). Ali u doba Rima, žena, posebno supruga, stiče imovinu kao i naslijeđena i stečena građanska prava i položaj u društvu, čime se mijenja njen položaj i pozicija na reljefnom prikazu. S druge strane za neke lokalne majstore ova činjenica nije imala veliku važnost tako da često taj princip nije ispoštovan. Tako da mi ne vjerujemo da je položaj supruge koja je predstavljena sa lijeve strane svog muža, uvijek bio poštovan kao postulat od strane rimskih provincijskih skulptora u tom dijelu Trakije.

Nabori na odjeći obje figure, sa ne mnogo širokim i relativno plitkim urezima, pokazuju lagano padanje tkanine na dolje. Paralele za kompoziciju sastavljenu od dva polja (u prvom konjanika a u drugom portretna poprsja) mogu se naći na stelama u dolini Strume - u Vranju, Piperici i Laskarevu<sup>38</sup>. Spomenike koji imaju prikaz konjanika u gornjem polju i poprsja u donjem možemo identifikovati kao „*monumenta familiaria*”<sup>39</sup>, u našem slučaju znamo ko je u stvari heroizirani lik – to je preminili sin.

B. Gerov datira ploču u kraj II i početak III vijeka, na osnovu formule sa kojom se završava tekst „*μνήμης χάριν*“, on smatra, kao i neki epigrafičari prije njega, da je karakteristična i uobičajena za taj period<sup>40</sup>. Prema M. Ivanovu stelu treba datovati u posljednju četvrtinu II i prvu polovinu III vijeka, vjerovatno takođe na osnovu formule „*μνήμης χάριν*”<sup>41</sup>. Druga njegova tvrdnja se bazira na osnovu slike Tračkog konjanika u punoj ikonografiji (zmija, drvo, pas, oltar, očigledni simboli heroizma) kao i sa podignutom desnom rukom u *benedictio latina*<sup>42</sup>.

38 Димитров Д.П., 1939: обр. 53-55; Божинова Ю., В.Русинов, 1987: с. 26, обр. 3

39 Vidi Иванов М., 2006: 106.

40 Vidi Геров Б., 1961: 187 i cit. lit. в бел. 3

41 Иванов М., 2006: 83 сл.

42 Иванов М., 2006: 92, схема IV-2,2.

stored in the Archaeological Museum in Split and dated in the seventh-eighth decade of the 2nd century<sup>36</sup>. Pyrros' eyes are shaped like those of his wife. The nose is straight and the lips plastically formed, with a slight dent in the corners. The ears are stuck to the head, also made plastically and outlined. The man is wearing a chiton with a triangular neckline, and on the top is covered with himation falling down from the shoulders, with folds formed by a deeper cut of the chisel in comparison to those of the coat.

The husband is depicted on the left side of the wife. Such placement of the woman on the right side can also be found in other tombstones from the Valley of Middle Strymon. An example of the same arrangement is the gravestone, discovered in the village of Topolnitsa and dated in the middle of the Antonines<sup>37</sup>. Here the wife's position is connected by the publisher with the fact that the deceased mother and her son are depicted. That is why the place of the mother is the main one and of her son – on the second place. According to the same author “With the stelae alongside Strymon with the busts of a married couple as a rule the left side position is usually for the husband”. When being represented in a tombstone with a single field, then the representations of the wife is more often on the left side of the husband. It can be explained by the fact that in Antiquity this is the feminine side, less important than the right male side (see the wall paintings from the tomb in Kazanluk as one of the earliest examples in this case). But as in Roman times the woman, especially the wife gradually acquired property and inheritance, and definite although limited civil rights and position in society, things have been changed and the result could be expressed also in the placement of the wife in another position. On the other hand,

36 Cambi N., 1987, № 149.

37 Milcheva R., 2015: 295, 301, fig. 4.

Istražujući kompleksnost spomenika (stil i ikonografiju), takođe upoređujući ga sa drugim spomenicima iz doline Strume i istočne Makedonije, ustanovili smo hronološko neslaganje između datiranja spomenika i formule „*μνήμης χάρις*“. Treba prihvatiti činjenicu da nije prikladno i relevantno koristiti formulu „*μνήμης χάρις*“ za datovanje spomenika iz doline srednjeg toka Strume i doline srednjeg toka Mesta<sup>43</sup>. Umesto toga, spomenike treba proučavati primjenjujući kompleksne metode u cilju utvrđivanja korektno hronologije. U tom slučaju oba polja moraju biti uzeta u razmatranje – ono sa konjanikom i ono sa portretnim likovima. Činjenica je da je Trački konjanik predstavljen u klasičnoj ikonografiji u relativno visokom reljefu i sa preciznošću do detalja. Portretni likovi u donjem polju su takođe izrađeni sa preciznošću do nasitnijih detalja u prikazivanju očiju, kose i brade. Brada je kratko pošišana, očešljana i uredna, što ukazuje da je muškarac pratio modu iz vremena Hadrijana i ranih Antonina. Dobra izrada, plastičnost i relativno visok reljef u oba polja takođe ukazuju na period iz vremena Antonia Pia, možda najznačajnijeg za razvoj Rimske provincijalne umjetnosti na Balkanu. Osim toga, sa ikonografse tačke gledišta, portreti sa nadgrobni spomenika imaju paralelu sa portretima iz perioda sredine sedme i osme decenije II vijeka,

43 Zbog hronoloških razlika koje su se pojavile nakon naše kompleksne analize spomenika (stil, ikonografija, tip kamne itd) u pogledu datovanja izraženog u formuli „*μνήμης χάρις*“, obratila sam se za konsultaciju kolegi N. Šarankovu kome izražavam zahvalnost za ukazanu podršku i pomoć. On me upoznao sa primjerima iz Makedonije gdje postoje natpisi sa tom formulom još od 30tih godina 2og vijeka. Ovdje dajemo neke od njih: U Solunu IG X.2.1 № 369, от 162 Авг. = 131 сл. Хр.; № 462, от 166 Авг./ 282 Мак. = 135 сл. Хр.; U Beria - Epigraphes Beroias № 326, от 164 Авг. = 133 сл. Хр.; Серес - Бешевлиев/Михайлов, Белом. прегл. № 2, 168 Авг./ 284 Мак. = 137 сл. Хр. В IG-Bulg najranijih primjera iz Neine – IGBulg 1997, № 5885, 183 Авг. = 152 сл. Хр.; U Debrene - IGBulg 1966, № 2287, 190 Авг. = 159 сл. Хр.

for some provincial masters this essential position was not as important to them, so sometimes this principle was not respected. So we do not believe that the position of a wife represented on the left side of a husband was always mandatory as a postulate to be followed by the Roman provincial sculptors in that part of Thracia.

The folds of the clothing in both figures are formed by a not very wide, relatively shallow incisions and show the gradual falling of the fabric downwards. The parallels for the composition consisting of two fields (in the first one the horseman and in the second one the portrait busts) are to be found on the tombstones from the Valley of Strymon: from Vrania, Piperitsa and Laskarevo<sup>38</sup>. As identification the monuments with the horse depiction in the upper field and the busts in the lower one are considered to be part of the so-called „*monumenta familiaria*“<sup>39</sup>, as for us in this case is known who is actually the heros – namely the deceased son of the family.

B. Gerov dates the plate at the end of the 2nd – the beginning of the 3rd century, following the formula with which the text ends with „*μνήμης χάρις*“, considered by him and some other epigraphs before him for a typical namely for that time<sup>40</sup>. According to M. Ivanov, the stele should be related to the last quarter of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century, probably also following the formula „*μνήμης χάρις*“<sup>41</sup>. His other ground is based on the image of the Thracian Horseman with full iconography (snake, tree, dog, altar, obvious signs of heroisation), as well as with his raised right arm in *benedictio latina*<sup>42</sup>.

Researching complexly the monument (style and iconography), also com-

38 Димитров Д.П., 1939: обр. 53-55; Божинова Ю., В. Русинов, 1987: с. 26, обр. 3; Milcheva R., 2017: 191-217.

39 See Иванов М., 2006: 106.

40 See Геров Б., 1961: 187 and the cit. lit. in note 3.

41 Иванов М., 2006: 83 сл.

42 Иванов М., 2006: 92, scheme IV-2,2.

što upućuje na datovanje stele upravo u taj period.

Četvrta stela se takođe čuva u Nacionalnom arheološkom Muzeju u Sofiji - inv.br. 6811 (Sl. 5). Ona je dimenzija: visina 0,69m, širina 0,44m, debljina 0,10m i visina slova 0,02m. Prema autoru koji je prvi objavio pronađena je u okolini Nevrokopa<sup>44</sup>. Prof. G. Mihailov je utvrdio da stela potiče iz okoline Nicopolisa ad Nestum<sup>45</sup>. Stela je izrađena od srednje zrnastog lokalnog mermera sivo-bjeličaste boje. Pravougaonog je oblika sa zaobljenim gornjim dijelom i očuvanim klinom za montiranje na postament u donjem dijelu. Gornji desni ugao stele je odlomljen. Polje sa reljefom ima pravougaoni oblik takođe zasveden u gornjem dijelu. Ispod njega je ostavljeno veliko polje sa grčkim natpisom u tri reda koji se završava predstavom lista bršljena. Tekst u natpisu glasi "Apolodor sin Pirov (podiže) herosu Salosu, sa kojim je odrastao zajedno"<sup>46</sup>. Prema natpisu čovjek koji podiže spomenik, sa grčkim imenom Apolodor, sin trakijca Pira, posvećuje spomenik svom, preminulom i obožavanom, drugu iz djetinjstva sa trakijskim imenom Salos<sup>47</sup>. Na reljefu je predstavljen Trački konjanik obučen u hiton, sa hlamidom koja se vijori unazad. Konj je propet u skok a konjanik koji ima podignutu desnu ruku, vjerovatno je držao koplje<sup>48</sup> ili je, prema M. Ivanovu, prikazan u gestu *benedictio latina*<sup>49</sup>. Ispred konja je prikazano drvo ispod čijeg stabla je predstavljen vepar okrenut u pravcu konja. Ispod konja je prikazan pas koji trči u pravcu vepara i stabla. Iza konjanika je prikazan čovjek u punoj velličini, koji gleda naprijed, takođe ubučen u hiton i hlamidu. Druga figura

44 Дечев Д., 1937: 285-286, обр. 90.

45 IGBulg 1966: № 2348 i cit.lit.

46 Izražavamo zahvalnost N. Šarankovu za prevod teksta.

47 D. Dečev i B. Gerov čitaju ime Salos kao Alos (Дечев Д., 1938: 285; Геров Б., 1961: 348).

48 Prema prvom izdavaču; vidi Дечев Д., 1937: 285-286, обр. 90.

49 Иванов М., 2006: 94.

paring it with other monuments along the riverbed of the Middle Strymon and Eastern Macedonia, we established chronological conflict in the dating of the monuments and the formula „μνήμης χάριν“. It should be accepted that it is not appropriate and reliable to use the formula „μνήμης χάριν“ in dating the monuments from the Valleys of Middle Strymon and Middle Nestos<sup>43</sup>. Instead, the monument should be studied using all the data in a complex way in order its chronology to be defined correctly. In our case both fields should be taken under consideration – the one with the horseman and the other one with the portrait busts. It is a fact that the Thracian Horseman is represented in its complete classic iconography in the relatively high relief and with precision to the details. The busts in the lower field are also crafted with precision to detail, such as the eyes, the hairstyle and the beard. The beard was cut short, well-combed and arranged which indicates that the man is following the fashion at Hadrian and the Early Antonines. The good execution, flexibility and relatively high relief in both fields also

43 Because of the chronological discrepancies, established after our complex analysis (iconographic, stylistic, type of the stone, etc.) and the use of the expression 'μνήμης χάριν', I asked for consultation our colleague N. Sharankov, to whom I express my deepest gratitude for the help and support. He supplied me with examples from Macedonia, where sepulchral inscriptions with this formula exist already since the 30s of the 2nd century. Here there are several of them: from Thessaloniki - IG X.2.1 № 369, from 162 according to the Augustus era = 131 AC; № 462, from 166 according to the Augustus era = 282 according to the Macedonian era = 135 AC; from Beroia - Epigraphes Beroias № 326, from 164 according to the Augustus era = 133 AC; from Serres - Бешевлиев/Михайлов, Беломорски преглед № 2, from 168 according to the Augustus era = 284 according to the Macedonian era = 137 AC. In IGBulg the earliest examples are from Neine: IGBulg 1997, № 5885, from 183 according to the Augustus era = 152 AC; from Debrene - IGBulg 1966, № 2287, from 190 according to the Augustus era = 159 AC.

ima značenje *calo*, tj, u lijevoj ruci drži rep konja a koplje/traku(?) u desnoj. Takva kompoziciona shema predstavlja shemu IV-3,1 iz poslednje četvrtine II vijeka. Njeni ikonografski prototipovi se mogu naći u grčkim kolonijama duž Egejske obale: u Abderi i severozapadnoj Maloj Aziji, i to u Kiziku i Miletupolisu<sup>50</sup>. Trački konjanik se ikonografski može identifikovati kao heros, što se i pominje u natpisu na steli. Stela može da se svrsta u spomenike podignute mladićima koji još nisu bili stupili u brak. Ove stele mogu da se povežu sa sličnim socijalnim kategorijama preminulih mladih iz Perinta, Filipopolisa i Tasosa, centrima sa jakim helenističkim uticajima i prisustvom grčkih doseljenika iz Male Azije<sup>51</sup>.

Obije predstave, konjanika i *calo*, kao i njihova odjeća, oblikovani su plastično i sa detaljima. Draperija je jako gusta i urezana sa dubokim i pravim vertikalnim linijama. Nasuprot njima, figura psa je samo naznačena linijom kao i figura vepa i lijevo stopalo konjanika koje je prikazano ispod trbuha konja. Jasno je da je donji desni dio stele ostao nedovršen, samo sa iscrtanim stopalom, psom i veprom. Moguće je da je razlog tome potreba da se spomenik brzo isporuči i da nije bilo dovoljno vremena da se završi. To može biti i posledica nemogućnosti majstora-kamenoresca da obradi i plastično formira ove likove kao i da ukomponuje u okvir velike i male detalje tako da se dobro uklope (?), Ikonografske i stilske karakteristike, oblikovanje odjeće kao i cijela kompozicija opredjeljuju izradu i postavljanje stele u drugu polovinu II vijeka, u vrijeme kasnih Antonina – ranih Severa.

Nadgrobnji spomenik sa predstavom *coena funebris* takođe potiče iz Nicopolisa. Polomljen je i izbrisan na nekoliko mjesta. Izrađen je od sivog srednje zrnastog lokalnog mermera. Dimenzije spomenika su: sačuvana visina 0,50m, širina 0,44m,

50 Иванов М., 2006: 87, 94-95

51 Иванов М., 2006: 102.

points to the period of Antoninus Pius, one of the best one in the development of the Roman provincial art in the Balkans. Furthermore, from iconographic point of view the portraits of the tombstone find parallels in the portraits from the mid-70es/80es of 2nd century, suggesting the chronological determination of the monument precisely at that time.

The fourth stele is also stored in NAM in Sofia, Inv. № 6811 (Fig. 5). It has dimensions: height: 0,69 m, width: 0,44 m, thickness: 0,10 m, height of the letter 0,02 m. According to the publisher it has been found in the vicinity of Nevrokop<sup>44</sup>. Prof. G. Mihailov determines its origin from the vicinity of Nicopolis ad Nestum<sup>45</sup>. The tomb stela was made of relatively middle-grained local marbe with grey-whitish colour. The monument has a rectangular form, with a curve in its upper part, like an ark, and a preserved wedge in its lower part for mounting to the postament. The upper right corner of the stele is chipped. The pictorial field has a rectangular form, also arc-shaped in its upper part. Below it was left a wide basis, there is an inscription carved in Greek in three rows, which ends with the image of ivy leaf. The inscription states: 'Apollodoros, son of Pyrros, (erected) to the heros Salos, with whom they were raised together'<sup>46</sup>. According to the inscription, the dedicator of the monument with the Greek theophoric name Apollodoros, son of the Thracian Pyrros, dedicates the tombstone to his childhood friend with the Thracian name Salos<sup>47</sup>, deceased and deified. An image of the Thracian horseman is represented, dressed in a girded chiton and with waving back chlamys. The horse is in a jumping pose, the horseman has a raised

44 Дечев Д., 1937: 285-286, обр. 90

45 IGBulg 1966: № 2348 and the cit. lit.

46 The translation was made by N. Sharankov, to whom I am very grateful.

47 D. Dechev and B. Gerov have read the name of Salos as Alos (Дечев Д., 1938: 285; Геров Б., 1961: 348).



Sl. 5. Nadgrobna stela „Herosa Salosa“ iz Nicopolis ad Nestum, Nacionalni arheološki Muzej Sofija. Inv. br. 6811.

Fig. 5. Tombstone of the Heros Salos from Nicopolis ad Nestum. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. № 6811.

debljina 0,08m visina slova 0,02-0,025m. Čuva se u Nacionalnom arheološkom Muzeju u Sofiji, inv. br. 6618. Autor koji je prvi objavio, definisao je kao stelu iz oblasti Nevrokopa<sup>52</sup>. Prema B. Gerovu stela potiče iz “oblasti Nevrokopa (tačna lokacija nepoznata)” a datuje se u kraj II i početak III vijeka<sup>53</sup>. G. Mihailov smatra da je sa područja Nicopolis ad Nestum<sup>54</sup>. Predstavljena je popularna scena pogrebne gozbe, iz

52 Кацаров Г., 1934: 58-59, обр. 43.

53 Геров Б., 1961, 349, № 67

54 IGBulg 1966, № 2346

right hand holding probably a spear<sup>48</sup> or in the gesture of benedictio latina according to M. Ivanov<sup>49</sup>. In front of the horse a tree is represented, in front its stem there is a boar facing the horse. Under the horseman, a running dog towards the boar and the tree is sculpted. Behind the horseman there is a standing man in full-length, also dressed in a chiton and chlamys, looking forward, with a similar stance. The second figure has the meaning of calo, with his left hand holding the tail of the horse and in his right holding a spear/ribbon (?). The composition and the scheme represent the scheme IV-3, 1 from the last quarter of the 2nd century. Its iconographic prototypes can be found in the Greek colonies alongside the Aegean coast line: in Abdera and Northwestern Asia Minor, namely from Cyzikus and Miletupolis<sup>50</sup>. The Thracian Horseman is identified iconographically as Heros, mentioned also in the inscription of the stela. It may be related to the sepulchral monuments to youths who have died before wedlock. They may be connected with similar social category of deceased youths from Perinthos, Philippopolis and Thassos, centres with a strong Hellenization and presence of Greeks, settlers from Asia Minor<sup>51</sup>.

Both representations of the horseman and of the calo as well as their garments are sculpted plastically and in detail. The drapery is very dense, carved with deep and straight vertical lines. In contrast, the dog is only outlined, like the figure of the boar and of the left foot of the horseman, depicted under the horse's belly. It is clear that the lower right part of the monument stands as unfinished, only with the outlines of the foot, the dog and the boar. This might have been due to the

48 According to its first publisher; see Дечев Д., 1938: 285-286, обр. 90.

49 Иванов М., 2006: 94.

50 Иванов М., 2006: 87, 94-95.

51 Иванов М., 2006: 102.

grčko-helenističke epohe (Sl. 6). U donjem dijelu stele je uklesan natpis na grčkom u tri reda koji se završava predstavom lista bršljena, čiji prevod glasi: "Sevt sin Bitusov (podize) u znak sjećanja na svog sina Piroulasa, svoju ženu Kalpe i sebe"<sup>55</sup>. Natpis se završava frazom „μνήμης χάριν“. Sva imena su trakijaska. Muškarac je prikazan u poluležećem položaju opružen na krevetu sa tri oštre ivice i niskim naslonom (u grčkom stilu). On se oslanja na lijevi lakat, grudima i licem okrenut prema naprijed i sa savijenim nogama koje se na vide ispod koljena. Obučen je u hiton i himation koji je prebalen preko lijevog ramena. Zbog oštećenja na spomeniku, ne možemo sa sigurnošću utvrditi dali je i šta držao u lijevoj ruci. Njegova desna ruka počiva na krevetu.

Na lijevoj strani stele, uz ivicu kreveta, prikazana je stojeća muška figura an face. Lice je oštećeno, ali i pored toga može da se utvrdi da je imao i bradu i da mu kosa pada naprijed sa nejednakim šiškama. Čovjek je težinu prebacio na desnu nogu dok mu je lijeva blago povučena unazad. Obučen je u palium koji je rimski ekvivalent grčkom himatonu, sa bogatim i gustim naborima. Preostali elementi i detalji pripadaju tipu *Palliatu*<sup>56</sup>. Lijeva ruka je opuštana uz tijelo a desna zajedno sa himationom koji je omotan oko nje je podignuta na grudima. Na desnoj strani stele, desno od kreveta, je prikazana sjedeća ženska figura. Njena glava i desna strana tijela nedostaju. Vidi se da ona sjedi na visokoj stolici, lako bi trebalo da je postavljena u pozi  $\frac{3}{4}$  okrenuta ka mužu koji leži na krevetu, ili barem njena glava da bude u profilu, cijela njena poza pokazuje da je prikazana an face. Obučena je u hiton sa rukavima, koji, opasan vi

need for a quick delivery of the tombstone and a lack of enough time for its completion. It could be due also to the inability of the master - stonemason to process and present in plastic form these images (?) as well as to compose in a defined framework the big and small details so that they fit well. The iconographic and stylistic features, the shaping of the garment as well as the entire composition relate the design and erection of the plate in the second half of 2nd century, in the time of the Late Antonines - the Early Severus.

The tombstone with the image of *coena funebris* also originates from Nicopolis. It was chipped off and erased in several places. It is made of grey medium-grained local marble. Its dimensions are: preserved height 0.50 m, width 0.44 m, thickness 0.08 m, height of the letters 0.02-0.025 m. It is kept in the NAM in Sofia, Inv. № 6618. Its first publisher defines it as a plate from Nevrokop area<sup>52</sup>. According to B. Gerov the stele originates from "Nevrokop area (exact location unknown)" and dated it in the end of the 2nd – beginning of 3rd century<sup>53</sup>. G. Mihailov considers that it is from the area of Nicopolis ad Nestum<sup>54</sup>. It is representing the popular from the Greco-Hellenistic period scene of the funeral feast (Fig. 6). On the lower part of the tombstone, there is carved an inscription in Greek in three rows, ending with an ivy leaf, whose translation reads: „Seutes, son of Bitus, (erected) in memory of his son Pyroulas, of his wife Kalpe and of himself „<sup>55</sup>. The inscription ends with the phrase „μνήμης χάριν“. All of the names are Thracian. The man is half-laying on a laid with three sharp edges bed with a low backrest (in the Greek style). He is resting on his left elbow, facing forward with his chest

55 Preveo N. Šarankov na čemu mu se zahvaljujemo

56 Zanker P., 1995, 279-282; Trimble J., 2011, p. 76 ff – varijante *Palliatu*, figs. 1.5, 4.14, 228, fig. 5.9

52 Кацаров Г., 1934: 58-59, обр. 43.

53 Геров Б., 1961: 349, № 67.

54 IGBulg 1966: № 2346.

55 The translation of the inscription was made by N. Sharankov to whom I express my deep gratitude.

soko iznad struka, pada do njenih nogu, od kojih je jedna izbačena malo naprijed. Preko hitona je prebačen himation koji pokriva tijelo samo od struka nadalje. Granica između dva odjevna predmeta je prikazana sa jasno naglašenim trouglom na njenom krilu. Na veoma neobičan način je vrh haljine podijeljen na dva dijela, lijevi i desni, tako da svaki od njih pokriva unutrašnji dio odgovarajuće noge. Lijeva ruka joj počiva na lijevom koljenu. Figura izgleda skoro kao da stoji a ne sjedi, jer je poza nevjesto prikazana an face (a ne u profilu ili  $\frac{3}{4}$ ) u niskom reljefu i neplastično. Desna ruka je pokrivena rukavom koji se završava manžetnom. Ruka je savijena u laktu i podignuta sa prstima blago razmaknutim na sredini. Najvjerovatnije na taj način pridržava veo – gest karakterističan za tzv. tip *Pudicitia*<sup>57</sup>. On je identičan sa stelom sa *coena funebris*, koja vjerovatno potiče sa istog dijela Balkanskog poluostrva a koja se danas čuva u Kolekciji Pol Geti pod Br. 102520072.

Ispred kreveta i u centru kompozicije je prikazan sto na tri noge, postavljen na podijumu. Njegovi nogari su prikazani u plitkom reljefu (više u crtežu nego plastično) i podsećaju na oblik šape lava. Na stolu se vide pogrebni hleb, grožđe i dr. Sagledavajući kompletnu kompoziciju, možemo zaključiti da čovjeka iz natpisa, Sevta, možemo poistovjetiti sa muškarcem koji leži na krevetu. Njegova žena Kalpe, sjedi pored njegove glave a čovjek koji stoji na lijevoj strani bi trebalo da je njegov sin Pirulas. Za razliku od grčko-helenističkog prototipa, kao i mnogih stela iz rimskog perioda, sa lijeve strane nisu predstavljeni sluga ili sluškinja, ali ipak se vidi da je to čovjek visokog društvenog položaja, što pokazuje njegova odjeća u obliku Palliuma a što ga svrstava u staleški tip *Palliatus*<sup>58</sup>.

Nabori na odjeći likova su gusti,

and face, with bent leg, which cannot be observed after the knees. He is dressed with a chiton and himation, thrown over his left shoulder. Because of the braking of the tombstone, we cannot determine whether and what namely he was holding or not in his left hand. His right hand is resting on the bed.

A standing male figure en face is depicted on the left side of the stele at the end of the bed. The face is chipped, but despite that it can be determined that he had a beard and his hair was let down forwards with uneven bangs, arranged in locks. The figure has transferred its weight on his right leg while the left leg is relieved and presented slightly backwards. The man is also dressed in pallium, the Roman equivalent of the Greek himation, with rich and dense folds. The rest of the elements and details belong also to the type Palliatus<sup>56</sup>. The left arm is hanging alongside the body and the right one with the wrapped around it himation is raised to the chest. A sitting female figure is depicted in the right end of the stela, right from the bed. Her head and her left side of the body are missing. It can be seen that she is sitting on a high chair, generally presented. Although she should be turned in pose  $\frac{3}{4}$  towards her husband, who is laying on the bed, or at least her head to be in profile, her entire pose shows that she is depicted en face. She is dressed with a sleeved chiton, wrapped high above the waist, hanging low by her legs, one of which is slightly forwards. Over the chiton it is represented a himation, covering her body only from the waist down. The boundary between the two clothings is shown with a sharply outlined triangle over her lap. In a very irregular way the top clothing is divided into two parts, left and right, each one individually covers the inner part of the re-

57 Bieber M., 1959: 379-388, figs. 15, 16-17, 20-21 ff; Langlands R., 2006: 37-77.

58 Za više detalja vidi: Bieber M., 1959: 388-393 ff.

56 Zanker P., 1995: 279-282; Trimble J., 2011: 76 ff, with variants of the type, figs. 1.5, 4.14, 228, fig. 5.9.

duboko urezani. Majstor prikazuje draperiju usovno, kao niz paralelnih linija. Zato odjeća liči na kaneliranu flautu – manir tipičan za provincijalnu umjentnost, naročito sa kraja II i početka III vijeka. Stilske i ikonografske paralele za gest *Pudicitia*, kao i za interpretaciju odjeće, mogu se naći kod stela iz Sušice, Vranja, Piperice i Laskareva<sup>59</sup> koje su datovane u period između 125. godine i prve polovine 3eg vijeka. Najranije predstave pogrebne gozbe, *coena funebris*, mogu se vidjeti na stelama sa zapadne obale Crnog Mora<sup>60</sup>. Ona je široko rasprostranjena i u Maloj Aziji tokom helenističkog perioda<sup>61</sup>. Tokom rimskog perioda može se vidjeti u Meziji<sup>62</sup>, u dolini rijeke Strume, kao i kod pomenutih stela iz Sušice, Vranja, Piperice i Laskareva<sup>63</sup>. Na osnovu tako predstavljene scene, tumačenja odjeće, likova, relativno plitkog reljefa, kao i prisustva brade i grupe, stela se može datovati u poslednju četvrtinu II i početak III vijeka tj. u period kasnih Antonina – ranih Severa.

Šesti nadgrobnji spomenik, koji do sada nije objavljen, se nalazi u privatnom vlasništvu. Pronađen je u selu Kribul, na teritoriji Nicopolis ad Nestum (Sl. 7). Stela je izrađena od sivog grubog lokalnog mermera. Pravougaonog je oblika a arhitekstonski je formirana sa dimenzijama: visina 1,30m do vrha timpanona, širina 0,60m, debljina 0,15m. U gornjem dijelu pravougaonog polja prikazane su dvije figure an face i u punoj veličini. Ploča je poluzavršena (prerađena), likovi su naznačeni ali nisu završeni. I pored velikog slobodnog polja, stela nema natpis, timpanon nije završen, akroterije su ukrašene polupalmetama (od kojih je lijeva jasnije definisana), a rozeta/štit je samo naznačena (pri-

spective leg. Her left hand is resting on her left knee. The figure looks more like standing rather than sitting because the pose is unskillfully presented en face (not in profile or  $\frac{3}{4}$ ), in a low relief and not plastically. The right arm is covered by the sleeve, which ends with a cuff. The same arm is bent in the elbow and raised in front of the veil with the fingers in front, slightly divided. Probably in such a way she is holding the veil, a gesture typical for the so-called type *Pudicitia*<sup>57</sup>. It is identical to the the tombstone with the *coena funebris*, probably originating from the same part of the Balkans, curenly preserved in the Collection Paul Getty, with № 102520072.

A three-legged table, placed on a podium, is depicted in front of the bed and in the center of the composition. Its legs are made in a relatively shallow relief (generally presented rather than plastically) and resemble the shape of lions' paws. On the table are arranged the burial bread, grapes etc. Looking at the images and the whole composition, we see that the man from the inscription Seutes should be identified with the man on the bed. His wife Kalpe is sitting next to his head and the standing man on his left side should be his son Pyroulas. In contrast to the Greco-Hellenistic prototype, as well as many stelae from the Roman age, on the left are not represented a servant or a maid, but a man of a high social status, shown by his clothing in the form of palium, relating him to the statuary type *Palliatus*<sup>58</sup>.

The folds of the clothes of all the figures are dense, deeply cut. The master transmits conditionally the drapery as dense parallel lines. That is why the clothes are more like flutes – a manner, typical for the provincial art, especially from the end of the 2nd – the beginning and all the 3rd

59 Димитров Д.П., 1939: обр. 2, 4, 6, 13.

60 Vidi Тончева Г., 1961: 18 i sl. i cit. lit.; Петрова А., 2005: 9 сл.

61 Zanker P., 1994: 212-230.

62 Severna Bugarska – vidi Conrad S., 2004: 39 ff.

63 Димитров Д.П., 1939: sl. 2, 4, 6; Божинова Ю., В. Русинов, 1987: sl. 1

57 Bieber M., 1959: 379-388, figs. 15, 16-17, 20-21 ff; Langlands R., 2006: 37-77, 192 ff.

58 For more details see also Bieber M., 1959: 388-393 ff.



premljena kao crtež). Likovi, arhitektonski detalji, timpanon i polja nisu polirani.

Osim toga, prilikom formiranja okvira dekorisanog polja, prave linije nisu dobro urezane, na uštrb linija timpanona. Isklesani likovi nisu proporcionalni, imaju velike glave i kratke noge, dok je tijelo prikazano previše plošno. Jasno je da je stela djelo lokalnog klesara, vjerovatno sa više iskustva u arhitektonskom oblikovanju nego u skulpturalnom. Nedostaje mu osjećaj za volumen ljudskog lika – nedostaju proporcije likova, koje su prikazane plitko iako je stela završena. Rad majstora-klesara je zanatski, grub i primitivan u izradi figura. Dobar majstor bi pokazao mnogo bolji rad prilikom izrade pravih linija u dekorisanom polju a posebno u polju namijenjenom za tekst. I pored toga, nadgrobní spomenik predstavlja dragocjen primjer za postojanje lokalne radionice na ovom manje poznatom regionu na teritoriji Nicopolisa. Predstavljene su dvije figure ali primitivna izrada i nedostatak detalja ne dozvoljavaju da se precizno odredi ko je na njima prikazan. To mogu biti dvije žene ili djevojka (sudeći po kraćoj odjeći na lijevoj figuri) i njena majka. Lijeva figura može biti muška, jer u ruci drži vijenac, odjeća mu je kraća i vide mu se noge. Nabori na odjeći, od gore do dna, međutim u suprotnosti su sa predstavama muških figura, tako da to nije sigurno. Odjeća nije detaljnije prikazana što otežava mogućnost da se sa sigurnošću kaže dali je figura muška ili ženska. Lica imaju veoma zaobljen oblik. Kosa na desnoj figuri je predstavljena razdijeljena na sredini. Isto se ali sa manje sigurnosti, može reći i za lijevu figuru. Desna, ženska figura je prikazana veoma šematizovano. Odjeća je grubo oblikovana bez prikazane draperije. U desnoj ruci ona drži vijenac. Ispod dekorisanog polja sa figurama, vidi se da je pripremljeno još jedno polje sa loše oformljenim i iskrivljenim ovrom. – vjerovatno za urezivanje teksta ili za izradu druge figure ili figura. Uzimajući

century. Stylistic and iconographic parallels for the gesture of Pudicitia, as well as the interpretation of the clothing can be found in stelae from Sushitsa, Vrania, Piperitsa and Laskarevo<sup>59</sup>, dated between 125 and the first half of the 3rd century. The earliest images of coena funebris in Bulgaria can be seen on stelae from the Western Black Sea coast<sup>60</sup>. It is widely spread in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period<sup>61</sup>; during the Roman age it can be seen in Moesia<sup>62</sup>, as well as to the South along the valley of Middle Strymon in the mentioned above stelae from Sushitsa, Vrania, Piperitsa and Laskarevo<sup>63</sup>. The represented scene, due to the interpretation of the clothing (almost like fluting), the characters, the relatively shallow relief (although the images are presented in detail) and the presence of a beard and band refer the plate to the last quarter of the 2nd – the beginning of the 3rd century, meaning towards the Late Antonines – the Early Severs.

The sixth tombstone, which is not published till now, is a private property. It was discovered in the village of Kribul, in the territory of Nicopolis ad Nestum (Fig. 7). It is made by grey coarse-grained local marble, with a rectangular shape, architectonically formed, with dimensions: height: 1.30 m till the top of the pediment, width 0.60 m, thickness 0.15 m. In the upper part of the rectangular field two figures are depicted en face and in full length. The plate is half-finished (prefabricated): the images are marked but not finished. There is no inscription, in spite of the big free space from the figures under the pictorial field; the pediment is not finished; the acroterion, decorated with half-palmettes (from which the left one is more clearly formed)

59 Димитров Д.П., 1939: обр. 2, 4, 6, 13; Mllcheva R., 2017: 191-218.

60 See Тончева Г., 1961: 18f and the cited lit.; Петрова А., 2005: 9 сл.

61 Zanker P., 1994: 212-230.

62 North Bulgaria, see Conrad S., 2004: 39 ff.

63 See also Божинова Ю., В. Русинов, 1987: обр. 1.



Sl. 6. Nadgrobnja stela sa scenom coena funebris iz Nicopolis ad Nestum, Nacionalni arheološki muzej Sofija. Inv. br. 6618.

Fig. 6. Tombstone with coena funebris from Nicopolis ad Nestum. Sofia, National Archaeological Museum, Inv. № 6618.

u obzir relativno uglačanu površinu unutar okvira, pretpostavljamo da je pripremljena za tekst.

Stela pokazuje klasičnu podjelu kod nadgrobnih spomenika – na polje za dekoraciju i ispod njega polje za tekst, koji su skoro istih dimenzija. Gornji dio stele je arhitektonski formiran od timpanona i akroterija sa obje strane. Ovo je do sada jedini poznati, u cjelosti arhitektonski formiran, nadgrobnji spomenik sa prostora Nicopolis ad Nestum. Njegov oblik i akroterija, mogu se vidjeti kod spomenika iz istočne Makedonije – Orehovec, Prilep<sup>64</sup> i Marvinci<sup>65</sup>. Tipologija spomenika je analogna tipu “T IV-a”<sup>66</sup> ili takozvanim “Tikveškim nadgrobnim spomenicima”<sup>67</sup>.

64 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 26, обр. 31.

65 Петковски Р., 2010: 87, сл. 13.

66 Т(иквеš) IV. Види: Проева Н., 2010: 93-94, сл. 1.

67 Петковски Р., 2010: 84 i sl., Проева Н., 2010: с. 93 i sl.; Proeva N., 2013: 679-708

and the rosette/shield (?) are only marked (prepared like images). The image, the architectural details, the pediment, the fields and the figures are not polished.

Besides that the straight lines are not well drawn during the modeling of the frame of the pictural field, at the expense of the lines of the pediment. The depicted figures are not proportional, with big heads and little legs and the presentation of the bodies is too flat. It is clear that this is a stela made by a local stonemason, probably more experienced in shaping architectural sculpture, rather than in figurative one. He is missing the feeling for volume in the human images – not proportional figures and flat bodies, even if the stela was finished. The work of the stonemason is handicraft, rough and primitive in the figural part. Although prefabricated, a good master would show a better form of the straight lines in the field and especially in the part, intended for the inscription. In spite of that, the tombstone is a valuable proof for the existence of a local workshop in this little known so far region in the territory of Nicopolis. Two figures are represented, but the primitive outlining and lacks of details do not allow determining who namely is represented. They could be two women or a girl (judging by the shorter clothing of the left figure) and her mother. The left figure might be a male figure because in the right hand he is holding a wreath, the garment is shorter and the legs are visible. The folds of the garment from top to bottom however, contradicts the male image, so it is not certain. The clothing is not depicted in detail at the bust, to be certain whether the figure is male or female. The faces have a very rounded shape. The hair of the right figure is presented with a line in the middle. The same, although more difficult can be suggested for the left figure. The right figure of a woman is represented very schematically. Only the clothing is roughly shaped, without the drapery to



Sl. 7. Prefabrikovana stela iz sela Kribul, Privatno vlasništvo.

Fig. 7. Prefabricated tombstone from the village of Kribul, Gotse Delchev region. Private ownership.

Ova tipologija je definisana kao tipična za jugoistočne djelove današnje Makedonije i dolinu Srednje Strume, i datira se u period od početka II do početka IV vijeka. Ista tipologija se definiše kao "T IV-c" za spomenike tzv. Gornje Makedonije<sup>68</sup>. Iz doline rijeke Strume potiču mnogi spome

68 Proeva N., 1997: 144, Pl. I.

be shown. In her right hand she is holding a garland. Under the visual field with the figures can be seen that another field has been prepared in a badly formed and distorted frame – probably for carving of a text or for another image/images. Considering the relative leveling of the surface inside the framework, we suppose that it was left some space for a text.

The plate shows the classical division of the tombstone – the field for representations and below it the field for the text, both are almost equal. The stele's top is architecturally formed with pediment and acroteria from both sides. This is the only known, till now, fully formed architectonic monument in the territory of Nicopolis ad Nestum. Its form and acroteria can be found in the monuments from Eastern Macedonia – Orehovets, Prilep<sup>64</sup> and Marvintsi<sup>65</sup>. The articulation of the tombstone is analogical to type "T IV-a"<sup>66</sup> of the so called "sepulchral monuments from Tikvesh"<sup>67</sup>. This articulation is defined as typical for the southeastern parts of today's Macedonia and the Middle Strymon valley and dating back to the beginning of the 2nd till the beginning of the 4th century. The same articulation is defined as type "T IV-c" for the monuments from Upper Macedonia<sup>68</sup>. From the valley of Strymon originate many monuments with architectonic articulation (pediment and acroteria). Their field, however, is only one, decorated with garlands, held by pillars, on which animal heads are hanging<sup>69</sup>. The type is widely spread to the East in the Asia Minor provinces. The discovered, similar in composition, monuments are mainly in the region of Bursa (Marmara region), ancient Prusa, in northwestern Anatolia and the

64 Димитров Д.П., 1939: 26, обр. 31.

65 Петковски Р., 2010: 87, сл. 13.

66 Т(иквеш) IV. See Проева Н., 2010: 93-94, сл. 1.

67 Петковски 2010: 84 f; Проева 2010: с. 93 f.; Proeva N., 2013: 679-708.

68 Proeva N., 1997: 144, Pl. I

69 Петрова С., 2007: 305, обр. 5.

nici sa arhitektonskom podjelom (timpanon i akroterija). Oni, međutim imaju samo jedno dekorisano polje, ukrašeno vijencima a drže ih stubovi ukrašeni životinjskim glavama<sup>69</sup>. Ovaj tip je široko rasprostranjen na Istoku i u provincijama Male Azije. Spomenici slične kompozicije su otkriveni, uglavnom, u regionu Burse (oblast Marmara), u antičkoj Prusi, u sjeverozapadnoj Anadoliji i u rimskoj provinciji Vitiniji<sup>70</sup>. Oni su uopšteno datovani u period od 1og do sredine II vijeka pa do kraja III vijeka. Slična, arhitektonski podijeljena, stela, sa predstavom Tračkog konjanika, je otkrivena u Efesu, datovana u period od kraja I do početka II vijeka<sup>71</sup>. Spomenik iz Kribula, iako prerađen, pokazuje stilske i ikonografske osobine karakteristične za prvu polovinu – sredinu III vijeka. Rad majstora je grub i primitivan i prije pokazuje rad nekvalifikovanog zidara nego klesara.

Razmatranje ovih šest stela ilustruje nadgrobnu dekorativnu plastiku iz Nicopolis ad Nestum i njegove teritorije, tokom rimskog perioda. U tekstovima čitamo grčka imena tipična za prostor sa Tračkim stanovništvom, kao i laganu helenizaciju i romanizaciju nekih od njih. Imena ljudi sa vjerovatnim grčkim i rimskim porijeklom nalazimo na ploči iz Aristobula i na postamentu iz Kovačice. Bez obzira na etničko porijeklo osobe koja posvećuje spomenik, stele imaju neke zajedničke karakteristike sa nadgrobnim spomenicima iz susjednih oblasti Makedonije. To je uobičajena shema, sa pogrebnom gozdom, kod stela sa arhitektonskom podjelom na timpanon, akroteriju i sa stojećim figurama u punoj veličini, kao i kod stela sa dva polja, gornjim u kojem je prikazan Trački konjanik i donjem u kojem su portretne biste. S druge strane, u toku rimskog perioda, u Nicopolisu i

Roman province Bithynia<sup>70</sup>. They are generally dated from the 1st – middle of the 2nd – till the end of the 3rd century. Similar architectonically articulated stela was discovered in Ephesos, with the representation of the Thracian horseman in the field, dated at the end of the 1st – beginning of the second century<sup>71</sup>. The monument from Kribul, although prefabricated show stylistic and iconographic signs, which allows its relating to the first half-middle of the 3rd century. The work of the master is rough and primitive and shows a work of unqualified stonemason rather than of a sculptor.

The reviewed six stelae illustrate the sepulchral relief of Nicopolis ad Nestum and its territory during the Roman period. From the inscriptions we can see Greek names, the typical for the region Thracian inhabitants and the slight Hellenization and Romanization of some them. The names of people with probable Greek and Roman origin are demonstrated on the plate of Aristoboula and the postament from Kovachevtsa. Regardless of the ethnic origin of the dedicators on one hand, the stelae have some common features with the burial sculpture from the neighboring lands of Macedonia. These is the scheme with the coena funebris, the one with the architectonic articulation with pediment, actoteria and standing figures in full length as well as the tombstones with two fields, in the upper field with the Thracian horseman and in the lower field the portrait busts. On the other hand it can be observed that in Nicopolis and its territory the influence of the traditional Greek workshops from Thrace, Greece and Asia Minor is stronger during the Roman age. This is expressed in different from the Macedonian stelae iconographic schemes. The schemes were established and preserved

69 Петрова С.. 2007: 305, обр. 5.

70 Vidi: Pfuhl E., H. Möbius., 1979: 283, № 1142; 284, № 1147; 287, № 1169 (Berlin, Pergamonmuzeum Inv. № Sk 790); 405, 1654; 473, №1972.

71 Pfuhl E., H. Möbius., 1979: 326-327, № 1358.

70 See Pfuhl E., H. Möbius 1979: 283, № 1142; 284, № 1147; 287, № 1169 (Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, Inv. № Sk 790); 405, 1654; 473, №1972.

71 Pfuhl E., H. Möbius., 1979: 326-327, № 1358

njegovoj okolini mogu se uočiti uticaji tradicionalnih grčkih radionica iz Trakije, Grčke i Male Azije. To je izraženo u ikonografskoj shemi različitoj od Makedonskih stela. Ova shema je ustanovljena i korištena tokom kasnog Klasičnog i Helenističkog perioda, tokom perioda romanizacije najčešće kao tip Palliatus i Palliata, kao i kod dijela muških frizura i brada. Ženske frizure su ili kontinuitet iz klasičnog i helenističkog perioda ili su sakrivene ispod himationa, otkrivajući samo mali dio iznad čela.

Ono što, za sada, nedostaje kod nadgrobničkih spomenika iz Nicopolis ad Nestum, za razliku od onih iz doline Strume<sup>72</sup>, su medaljoni. Do sada nisu otkriveni u regionu Srednjeg Mesta. S obzirom na, do sada, otkriven mali broj takvih spomenika, ta činjenica ne isključuje njihovo korišćenje na teritoriji Nicopolis ad Nestum i njegove okoline. Medaljone sa nadgrobničkih spomenika uobičajeno srećemo u toku rijeke Meste, posebno na jugu, u Dramskom polju i Filipi-u, zbog čega pretpostavljamo njihovo prisustvo i u dolini srednjeg Nestosa a posebno u najvećem gradu Nicopolis ad Nestum.

Sve pomenute stele su napravljene od lokalnog mermera, izvađenog iz kamezoloma u okolini Nicopolisa koji se nalaze južno od grada<sup>73</sup>. Ovi spomenici ilustruju razvoj klesarskog zanata u gradu i njegovoj okolini i pokazuju vještinu vajara i klesara u izradi nadgrobničkih spomenika. Nadgrobne ploče iz Nicopolisa su iste širine i debljeine (Sl. 4-6). Razlike, iako minimalne, mogu se vidjeti u njihovoj visini. Kod svih, do sada otkrivenih spomenika, može se odrediti prosečna visina i ona iznosi 0,70 – 0,75m. Gotovo identične dimenzije svjedoče o prihvaćenom standardu u izradi nadgrobničkih spomenika. Takođe je očuvana i ista visina slova u tekstovima – 0,02m. Mermer od

since the late Classical and Hellenistic period, though with a superficial Romanization, mainly in the type of the Palliatus and Palliata, as well as in a part of the male hairstyles and beards. The female hairstyles are either a continuation from the Classical and Hellenistic ones, or are hidden under the himation, revealing only a small part of the forehead.

What is missing so far in the burial sculpture from Nicopolis ad Nestum as opposed to the valley of Struma<sup>72</sup>, are the medallions. Until now in the region of Middle Mesta they have not been discovered. That fact does not exclude their use, considering the few only discovered till now monuments from Nicopolis and its territory. Tombstone-medallions however are common along the river Mesta, specifically to the South, in the fields of Drama and Philippi, thus considering that theoretically their presence is also probable in the valley of Middle Nestos and especially in its biggest city Nicopolis ad Nestum.

All of the mentioned stelae are made of local marble, extracted from the quarries around Nicopolis, situated south of the city<sup>73</sup>. These monuments illustrate the development of the stonemasonry in the city and its vicinity and show the skill of the sculptors and stonemasons in crafting burial monuments. The dimensions of the plates from Nicopolis (Fig. 4-6) are the same in width and thickness. The differences, although minimal, can be distinguished in their height. From all the monuments discovered till now the standard height of the monuments can be determined, which is around 0.70-0.75 m. The equality in the size testifies to the accepted standard in the tombstones. The same height of the letters in the text is also preserved – 0.02 m; the marble, from which

<sup>72</sup> Димитров Д.П., 1940: 62-81.

<sup>73</sup> Such a quarry from Nicopolis, together with the settlement of the stone extractors and stone masons is localized to the south-southeast of the ancient city: Петрова С., 2015: 75-85.

<sup>72</sup> Димитров Д.П., 1940: 62-81

<sup>73</sup> Jedan takav kamenolom iz Nikopolisa, zajedno sa naseljem rudara je lociran na jugu-jugoistoku od antičkog grada (Петрова С., 2015, 75-85).

kojeg su stele izrađene je iste boje i teksture, što ukazuje da potiču iz istog kamenoloma. Kompleksna analiza podataka ukazuje na postojanje radionice ili grupe radionica koje se nalaze u neposrednoj blizini Nicopolisa, koje su specijalizovane za izradu nadgrobnih spomenika. Analiza nadgrobnih spomenika iz Nicopolisa pokazuje da je ta radionica ili škola postojala od početka II vijeka kada naselje dobija status grada. Tako statut grada određuje raznolikost u izradi skulptura, uključujući i onu sepulkralnu, tako što kopiraju modele iz umjetnički razvijenijih gradova na jugu i istoku u Trakiji, Grčkoj i Maloj Aziji.

Druga radionica, koju smo locirali, nalazi se oko 15km jugoistočno od antičkog grada između sela Kribul, Vukosel i Furgovo. Proizvodnja u ovoj radionici je bila veoma intenzivna, sudeći po dvije stele koje iz nje potiču. Sumirajući karakteristike stela iz Kribula, gdje su arhitektonski detalji bolje izrađeni od onih skulpturalnih, može se zaključiti da ova radionica, vjerovatno, nije služila samo za izradu nadgrobnih spomenika. Dvije poznate stele iz tog regiona (Sl. 3 i 7), takođe imaju istu širinu i debljinu. Razlike u dimenzijama su ponovo u vsini. Stela iz Furgovo/Vukosel je duplo manja od prerađene stele iz Kribula. Ako prihvatimo postojanje druge radionice onda iz naših istraživanja možemo zaključiti da je radionica, po ugledu na Nicopolis, imala sopstvene standarde za izradu nadgrobnih spomenika u pogledu forme i dimenzija. Struktura mermerna kao i njegova boja, upućuju nas na postojanje drugog kamenoloma iz kojeg se radionica snadbijevala (koja je tamo postojala od prvih decenija II vijeka) kao i radionice iz III vijeka. Svi ti podaci ukazuju na činjenicu da su obrada kamena i vađenje kamena bili jedni od najstarijih zanata u regionu doline Srednje Meste, čime su doprinosili ekonomskom napretku i razvoju antičkog grada. Iako nam, do sada, nedostaju spomenici iz I vijeka, obrađene stele se

the plates are made, has the same colour and texture, which shows that it comes from a single deposit/quarry. Complexly analyzed, the data suggests the existence of a workshop or a group of workshops, located in the immediate vicinity of Nicopolis, specialized in crafting tombstones. The analyzed gravestones from Nicopolis show, that those workshops/schools existed from the beginning of the 2nd century, when the settlement received a city status. The latter predermines the diversity of sculptures, including the sepulchral one, copying of the models from the artistic centres to the South and East in Thrace, Greece and Asia Minor.

The second workshop, defined by us, is located about 15km southeast of the ancient city between the village of Kribul, Vukosel and Furgovo. This workshop was extremely active in its production judging by the two stelae, which originated from there. Summarizing the characteristics of the plate from Kribul, where the architec-tonic details are better crafted than the sculptural ones, it can be concluded that the workshop probably served these settlements not only with burial monuments. The two known stelae from that region (Fig. 3 and 7) also have the same width and thickness. The difference in their dimensions is again in their heights. The slab from Furgovo/Vukosel is two times lower than the prefabricated one from Kribul. If we accept the existence of a second workshop, then from our observations we can assume that the workshop had its own standarts for a burial monument as well as for the form and dimensions, similar to that of Nicopolis. The structure of the marble as well as its colour points us to the existence of a second quarry, supplying with marble the workshop (which existed there from the first decades of the 2nd century) and the next workshops in the 3rd century. All that data demonstrates that the stone masonry and stone extraction was one of the old-

odnose na produkciju lokalnih radionica ili zidara koji su došli iz Grčke i sa Istoka da rade u antičkom gradu i njegovoj okolini, uglavnom kroz period II vijeka (Sl. 2-6). Samo jedan spomenik je iz perioda prve polovine – sredine III vijeka (Sl. 7). Situacija se može promijeniti u budućnosti ukoliko budu pronađeni novi artefakti sa novom ikonografskom shemom i ukoliko se njihov broj poveća, čime će se obogatiti slika sepulkralne skulpture u Nicopolis ad Nestum i njegovoj okolini.

est crafts in the region of Middle Mesta, contributing to the economic progress and development of the ancient city. Although early monument from the 1st century BC are missing so far, the reviewed stelaes refer to the production of the local workshops or to those stonemasons, that have come from Greece and the East and stayed working in the ancient city and its vicinity, mainly during the 2nd century (Fig. 2-6). Only one of the tombstones is from the first half – the middle of the 3rd century (Fig. 7). In the future the situation may change when new artifacts will be found and their number will increase significantly, also with new iconographic schemes, which can enrich the picture of the sepulchral sculpture in Nicopolis ad Nestum and its vicinity.

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