

The votive relief to Pluto from Nicopolis ad Nestum

Svetla PETROVA¹

Abstract. *Although found more than 130 years ago and thought to be lost in the Bulgarian science, this votive monument from Nicopolis ad Nestum was “re-discovered” by the author in the exposition of the museum in Drama, Greece. The votive with the represented on it gods from the Graeco-Roman Pantheon is devoted to Pluto. The iconography of the monument is of the type Pluto on the throne. According to the inscription, Pluto is not only a chthonic deity of the Underworld, but also as “Πλούτος” – “Plutos” is the god of fertility, abundance and richness. Hermes is also depicted as “Ploutodotes” / “Κερδῶος”, while Asclepius is represented as healer, giving strength and restoring, also of possibility of abundance and richness. The dedicators of the votive descent from a rich Thracian family and probably are part of the elite of Nicopolis ad Nestum. Their names reveal that these people have received Roman citizenship with the Constitutio Antoniniana after 212. The votive relief is made of a local marble, and is a work of the local masters, knowing well the iconography of the Graeco-Roman deities and the one of the imperial portraits of Julia Domna and Caracalla from the Severan dynasty.*

Rezumat. *Deși descoperit mai bine cu 130 ani în urmă și considerat a fi dispărut în arheologia bulgară, acest monument votiv din Nicopolis ad Nestum a fost „re-descoperit” de autoare în expoziția muzeului din Drama, Grecia. Monumentul cu reprezentările unor zei din panteonul greco-roman este dedicat lui Pluto. Pluto e reprezentat pe tron; potrivit textului inscripției, Pluto nu este doar o divinitate chthoniană, cu și un zeu al fertilității, abundenței și bogăției. Hermes este reprezentat ca „Ploutodotes” / “Κερδῶος”, în vreme ce Asclepius este reprezentat ca vindecător. Dedicantii descind dintr-o familie bogată de origine tracică și probabil fac parte din elita orașului. Numele lor arată că au primit cetățenia romană o dată cu Constitutio Antoniniana după 212. Relieful votiv este realizat din marmură locală, de către meșteri locali, care cunoșteau bine iconografia divinităților greco-romane și pe cea a portretelor imperiale reprezentându-i pe Julia Domna și Caracalla.*

Keywords: votive, Pluto, Persephone, Hermes, Asclepius, local production.

Nicopolis ad Nestum is situated in the Middle reaches of the River Mesta (Nestos) in the most southwestern part of the province of Thrace (Figure 1). The epigraphic monuments from the city and its district reveal the predominant Thracian origin of its population. The votives are in Greek² and show the worship of different Greek deities. The only exception so

¹ National Archaeological Institute with Museum, Sofia; svetlapetrova57@gmail.com.

² The only monument at that time from the ancient city is a fragment of a Roman milestone (*Miliarium*) with Latin inscription (PERDRIZET 1900, 547; Геров 1961, 349 (197), № 66).

far is the votive monument studied here. It is devoted 'to the lord Pluto', a deity from the Roman Pantheon, while the iconography of the other deities on the votive may be referred to the Greek religion. The very interesting fate of the votive and the deities represented on it caused my interest to study it from iconographic, stylistic and cult aspect. According to the inscription on the lower frame, both dedicators are persons of Thracian origin³; probably descending from rich and outstanding families who have received the Roman citizenship by the edict of Caracalla.

The votive relief has been discovered in Nicopolis ad Nestum more than 130 years ago, but for some reasons the original monument remained almost unknown for science. Till recently its inscription and representations were known only from the drawing of S. S. de Fonseca (Figure 2). It is known that in 1889 the relief was taken from Nevrokop (now Gotse Delchev) and brought to Serres to the house of the English vice-consul Mr. K. Kapetis and that its first publisher was Petros Papageorgiou on the 7 of March 1893 in the Athenian newspaper 'Εστία Εικονογραφημένη.⁴ According to M. Dimitzas, P. Papageorgiou has copied the inscription and made the drawing of the plate at the moment it was brought to Serres.⁵ After that Paul Perdrizet has commented the votive, again on the base of the drawing of de Fonseca, without dating it.⁶ In Bulgarian scientific literature till recently it was considered that the monument has been lost and known only by the drawing of de Fonseca. Prof. B. Gerov dated it between the second half of the 2nd-first half of the 3rd century.⁷ When publishing the votive in his volume IV of *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, prof. Georgi Michailov still has not seen the original monument⁸. He does not date it and the representations are interpreted by him as Jupiter, Juno, Aesculapius and Mercury.⁹ Near to

³ After my re-discovery of the monument considered being lost long ago, I was the first in this century to publish it twice: with the necessary photo and description (Περποβα 2015a, 68–70) and with a report on the International symposium in Strumitsa in 2016. In the same year I showed the monument in situ in the museum of Drama to N. Sharankov, who in his next publication corrected the name of the female dedicator on the relief (SHARANKOV 2016, 345, No 2343=5929). In his turn, he has showed the monument to D. Boteva, who cites only him as a discoverer of the monument (БОТЕВА 2018, 128–131; 136–141).

⁴ Παπαγεωργίου 1893, τομ. Α', Νο 10, σελ. 158–159; see also Νίγγελης 2001, 150 and note 5.

⁵ Δημίτσας 1896, 669.

⁶ PERDRIZET 1906, 230–232.

⁷ Геров 1961, 348 (196), № 61.

⁸ There is certain confusion about the origin of the monuments from Nicopolis ad Nestum and Nevrokop/Gotse Delchev. In the scientific literature, especially from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the ruins of Nicopolis were usually identified with Nevrokop. For example while G. Michailov states that the relief to Pluto comes from Nicopolis, P. Papageorgiou was of the opinion that it has been found in Nevrokop, and finally P. Perdrizet considered that it has happened in Hissarlik. The latter name in the Ottoman period was used for the suburb Zagrade, now a quarter of the village of Garmen, situated next to Nicopolis ad Nestum.

⁹ IGBulg IV, 2345, with reference.

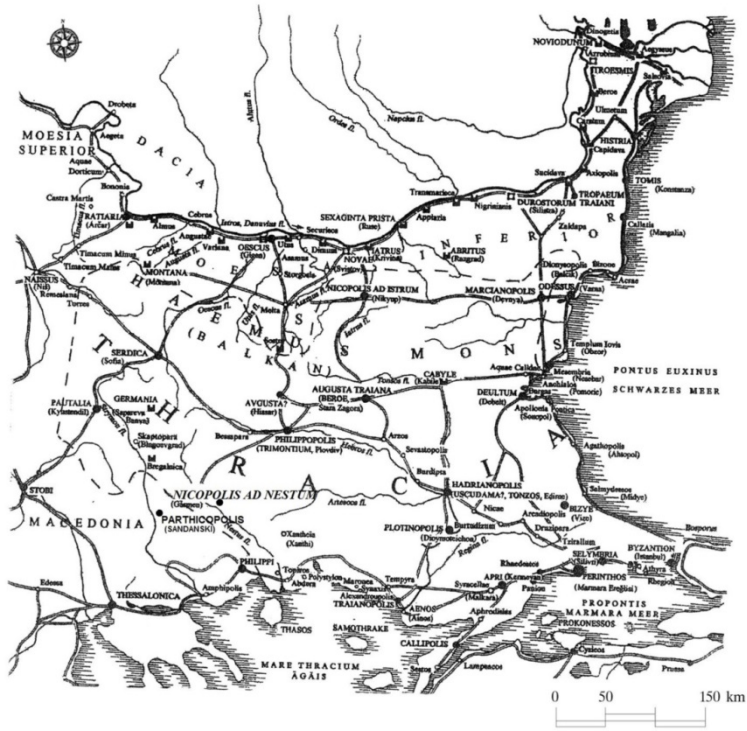


Figure 1. Map of the Roman provinces of Lower Moesia, Thrace and the Eastern part of Macedonia during the Principate (according to R. Ivanov, with additions and corrections of S. Petrova)



Figure 2. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum, drawing by S. S. de Fonseca (by P. Perdrizet 1906, 230)

our time¹⁰ the monument is discussed also by Kaftantzis¹¹ and P. Pilhofer.¹² The first one is describing the monument, while the latter is considering that the nimbus of Pluto is an Early Christian feature. We shall stop our attention on this problem below.

During one of my visits to the Archaeological museum of Drama in 2012, I had the chance to 're-discover' the plate from Nicopolis considered to be lost till that moment (Figure 3), arranged in the newly opened exposition.¹³ It is made of grey, almost coarse-grained and sparkling marble, although according to P. Perdrizet the marble is white, which proves that he has not seen the relief in original.¹⁴ Its dimensions are¹⁵: height 53 cm, width 84 cm and thickness from 6.5 to 9 cm.

The plate has a frame wider in its lower part¹⁶. At both ends of its upper part two differently modelled eight-pointed stars are incised in shallow circles. Two frontally represented busts are placed in the space between them. The bust of Sol is on the left and that of Luna to the right, typical for the Greco-Roman iconography, influenced and descending from the East and often connected with the cult relief of Mithra.¹⁷ Similar images of Helios (Sol) and Selena (Luna), also framed by stars, which are interpreted as the dew of Eos (Aurora), can be found on the votive relief devoted to the healing deities from Parthicopolis, province of Macedonia.¹⁸ In the field inside the plate¹⁹, also represented frontally, are sculpted Asclepius, Hermes, Pluto (Hades) and Persephone.

A two-line inscription in Greek is made on the frame between the representation of Sol and Luna: "ΚΥΡΙΩ ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΙ". A second inscription, also in Greek²⁰, is chiselled on the lower

¹⁰ In 1967, the year of the short comment of G. Kaftantzis on the votive and its inscription, the monument was kept in the gymnasium of Serres. On his turn, G. Michailov, citing the just mentioned publication, corrects the place also to the gymnasium in Serres in his Addenda volume V (IGBulg V 1997, 5927=2343).

¹¹ Καφταντζής 1967, 284–288, No 480.

¹² PILHOFER 2009, 632.

¹³ Inventory No A 27. ΠΕΤΡΟΒΑ 2015a, 68–70.

¹⁴ PERDRIZET 1906, 230.

¹⁵ These dimensions are taken by me and N. Sharankov, but in the publication of D. Kaftantzis (Καφταντζής 1967, 284) they are slightly different (height 0.53, width 0.53 and thick 0.12 m). According to D. Kaftantzis, the representation to the right of Hermes belongs to a deceased, whom Hermes in the role of Psychopompos is guiding to the kingdom of death (Καφταντζής 1967, 284). This affirmation denies the votive character of the relief and in such a case considers it as sepulchral. But this is confuted by the votive inscription in which the dedicators devote the represented deities to Pluto. The same fact should also reject the idea for a votive connected with the beliefs on the fate of the deceased. The latter the Thracians were identifying and deifying with Heros, not with Asclepius, and the votive is erected namely by Thracians.

¹⁶ The frame has different width: to the left (next to Asclepius) – 8 cm, up – 9 cm, to the right (next to Persephone) – 10 cm and down – 15 cm.

¹⁷ WILL 1955, 272 ff., fig. 50, 296 ff.

¹⁸ ΠΕΤΚΟΒ, ΚΟΒΑЧЕВ 2005, 234–238.

¹⁹ With our measuring the central field for representations is 29 cm high and 65 cm wide, while with Kaftantzis the dimensions are 28x65 cm (Καφταντζής 1967, 284).

²⁰ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μεστικεντος κὲ Αὐρ(ήλία) Επεπευρις Εζβενης | γυνή Μουκιανού τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέθηκαν.

part of the frame with the names of the dedicators. The translation of the inscriptions says: "To the lord Pluto. Avrelios Mestikenthos and Avrelia Gepepyris²¹/Επτεπυρις,²² daughter of Ezbeneos, wife of Moukianos, devoted these deities". According to N. Sharankov, the votive is only to Pluto, while the other deities are the object of the devotion, e.i. their representations are devoted to Pluto (Figure 3). The same phrase "τοὺς θεοὺς" concerning some represented deities, is established by N. Sharankov also "in two more reliefs from the area of Augusta Traiana, as well as in other places".²³ Although the votive is in Greek, the god of the Underworld is called not Hades, but Pluto, with his Roman name. It should be expected that the other deities also bear Roman names (Proserpina, Mercury and Asclepius). But the further analysis of their iconography will show a syncretism between the Greek and Roman iconography and the naming.

The presence of nimbus (halo) around the head of Pluto as a part of his iconography is commented by D. Boteva, without interpreting the whole relief. This scholar is inclined to accept the monument rather as a tomb one than as votive. She supports the opinion of G. Kaftantzis, who in the figure of Asclepius sees the figure of a deceased man, "who arrives in the kingdom of the dead, led by Hermes Psychopompos. It looks like this relief was thought to represent plot, connected with the beliefs the faith of the dead".²⁴ Having in mind the appearance of the nimbus in Antiquity and very often later in the Middle and Late Roman imperial pagan cult representations²⁵, we should consider that this nimbus of Pluto was sculpted from the very beginning. But in the Early Christian period it was accepted as Christian.

²¹ M. Dimitzas reads Γησέπυρις (Δημίτσιας 1896, p. 670), while P. Papageorgiou, G. Michailov and P. Pilhofer accept the name as Γηπεπυρις (Παπαγεωργίου 1893; Mihailov=IGBulg IV 1966, 2343; PILHOFER 2009, 632). According to N. Sharankov, who studied already the original, not the drawing, there is a mistake in the readings, that's why he gives a new name, Επτεπυρις, different from the already commented authors. In l. 3, he reads Επτεπυρις (ligatureTE)" (SHARANKOV 2016, 345. "2343=5929).

²² The name Επτεπυρις is witnessed in one more epigraphic monument-catalogue found in Nicopolis ad Nestum (IGBulg IV 1966, № 2337).

²³ My collegial gratitude to N. Sharankov for the corrections of the previous readings and for the new one; also for the parallels and the data of similar practice from Augusta Traiana and other sites.

²⁴ BOTEBA 2018, 130.

²⁵ See MCGINTY 2013, 26ff. See also the nimbus of a god from Stobi (PERDRIZET 1906, 231); and a relief from Heraclea Lyncestis (Bitola, Macedonia) (LIMC VI, 1992, 1054, Taf. 707, Nr. 492 (Heros Equitas) and another reliefs/votives from Moesia and Thrace (see: from the village Manastir near Varna – LIMC IV, 1988, 720–721, Nr. 13, Taf. 438; from Plovdiv: ЦОИЧЕВ 1938, 104–105, обр. 111; from Ribnovo, territory of Nicopolis on Mesta. The nimbus here is not commented. It probably has been outlined with gold, whose reddish colour survived to the present day (ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146). See more IVANOV 2009, 325–336. See images from the Greek Classical period (LIMC III, 1986, Taf. 216, Fig. 67; LIMC V, 1990, Taf. 639, Fig. 120); from the Hellenistic period (LIMC II, 1984, Taf. 200, Fig. 475; LIMC III, 1986, Taf. 457, Fig. 17); also from the wall paintings in Pompei (LIMC II, 1984, Taf. 317, Fig. 274, Taf. 334–335, Fig. 420, 421, Taf. 691, Fig. 36; LIMC III, 1986, Taf. 134, Fig. 3; LIMC V, 1990, Taf. 555, Fig. 5).



Figure 3. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum (photo S. Petrova)



Figure 4. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum, drawing by S.S. de Fonseca, with corrections of N. Sharankov

Moreover, the relief was additionally reworked in Early Christian times. During our visit with N. Sharankov to the Archaeological museum in Drama and the careful investigation of the relief, we found on the lower frame at the beginning of the text a secondary incised cross having equal arms. The nimbus and secondarily incised added cross denoted the votive as a Christian monument in the Early Christian Era (Figure 4).

Although the relief is not high, all the representations and the inscriptions are in a good state, except some erasing, especially of the faces. The sitting on thrones deities are frontal and in relatively high relief in the lower part of their bodies – in the thighs, the knees and the legs up to the feet. These parts are as if “parting” from the surface of the relief, and protruding almost in three-dimensional form.

Except in the inscription, the syncretism between the Greek and the Roman iconography is very clear in the other details. The sitting on the throne Pluto is wearing a toga, while the other deities are represented in Greek dresses. That’s why it is more correct to call them with their Greek names as Asclepius and Hermes, represented to the right of Pluto, and Persephone on his left side. The practice of combining the iconographies of the Roman and Greek deities is also known from the other Roman monuments to Pluto found in Northern and Northeastern Macedonia, geographically the most closely situated area to Nicopolis ad Nestum in Southwestern Thrace. The healing god Asclepius is standing, with an almost frontally represented head with long hair-do, slightly turned to the right. The hairstyle is presented like a nimbus, outlined with a carved line along its outer contour. The end of his mantle is thrown over his right shoulder (Figure 5). He is leaning the right hand on his stick with a coiled around it snake²⁶, while the left one is covered with the mantle.

The cult of Asclepius is widely spread in Thessaly²⁷, alongside the Aegean shore, in the provinces of Macedonia and Thrace in the reaches of the rivers of Strymon and Nestos in Parthicopolis, Pautalia and Nicopolis ad Nestum²⁸. The functions of Asclepius as a healer and as chthonic god should be studied separately. The water (the mineral thermal water) is of main significance for the healing, at one and the same time healing, giving strength and recreating; supplying with fruitfulness and wealth.²⁹ This is what we see in Dion, also in Macedonia, in the sanctuary of Demeter and in the connected together with her cult that of Asclepius.³⁰ Asclepius had a great significance for Nicopolis ad Nestum and its citizens,

²⁶ Similarly to the faces of the other figures, the representation of the snake is quite erased, although the traces of its coiling around the stick can still be traced (see fig. 5 – detail).

²⁷ According to the legend, the most ancient sanctuary to Asclepius was in Τρίκη in Thessaly (Strabo 9.5.17).

²⁸ KERÉNYI 1956, VIII; MARTIN, METZGER 1976, 74 ff.; BURKERT 1977, 447; PETROVA, PETKOV 2015, 371 ff., with references.; ИВАНОВ 1919–20, 67–88; КАЦАРОВА 2005, 126–130, with references; ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146f.

²⁹ MARTIN, METZGER 1976, 82 ff.

³⁰ Πινγιάτογλου 2005, 430; Πινγιάτογλου 1999, 911–919.



Figure 5. Votive relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum, detail (photo T. Uzunov)

judging by its coins struck in the period of Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna; by the found inscription-catalogue, witnessing for his cult and the existence of his cult society in the city,³¹ as well as by the numerous found here votives to him.

Hermes is represented next to Asclepius on the votive to Pluto, also standing, naked, with the mantle thrown over the shoulders, whose end covers his left hand, slightly turned to the left. The winged hat (petasus, πέτασος) is represented on his head³². In his left hand he holds high the straight and leaned to his shoulder caduceus, while in his stretched forward right hand he holds the parcel. An altar is placed between Asclepius and Hermes. The image of Hermes on the votive also should not be understood as a guide of the souls of the dead persons (Psychopompos/Ψυχοπομπός), and only as the god bringing Persephone to Demeter.³³ Since he has all the attributes of a merchant, he should be defined as the god

³¹ Petrova 2012, 327; IGBulg IV, 2336.

³² Because of the strong erasing it can't be established surely if there are winged sandals on his legs (talara, πετρόεντα πέδιλα). Although with difficulty, it is possible to trace the remnants of the crossed in diagonal straps over the sandals.

³³ Hermes is one of the deities of the Eleusinian mysteries. He brings Persephone back to the earth in springtime and takes her to the Underworld in autumn.

supplying with wealth, abundance and gain. This is the type Ερμής Κερδῶος³⁴ or Hermes Ploutodotes, i.e. giving gain and wealth.³⁵

After Hermes, the god of the Underworld Pluto and his wife Persephone are sculpted, sitting on thrones with complexly lathed legs and high solid backs ending with balls. A round nimbus in low relief is shown around the head of the god. He has curly hair-do and curly short beard, with a regular oval of the face. The arranged curls, one next to the other, are plastically modelled, similar to the portraits of the emperor Caracalla. The dress under the toga is with short sleeves and high under the neck. A strip with embroidery³⁶ can be observed on the lower part of the toga, over the legs there. The end of the toga is passing over the back and from the right side of his waist is clasped over the chest and the left shoulder. The sceptre is in his left hand, three of the fingers horizontally placed, the other ones coiled around the sceptre, the forefinger pointing to its top. In his slightly protruded right hand he holds a phiale. The three-headed Cerberus is shown, sitting on the hinder paws, with stranding fore-paws³⁷ at the right side beside the throne's legs.

A close iconographic parallel in the sculpture for this type, Pluto on throne³⁸, can be found in his statue from Villa Borghese, with the same attributes in the hand and Cerberus next to the throne.³⁹ Another analogy is in Copenhagen (Ancient Art and Architecture Collection, Kobenabn B10PDE-1) and the third example comes from Hierapolis.⁴⁰

Persephone is shown also frontally on the left of her spouse and again sitting on a throne. She is dressed in short-sleeved to the elbow chiton. The other dress (peplos?) seen under it at the legs is longer. It is made of a milder textile and naturally pleated. Because of the pose, the pleats are treated as opened. The head is covered with a veil (?) falling to the shoulders and to her back. The face is oval, with correct features and a sharp chin. The hair is parted in the middle of the forehead forming of a pelta together with the eyebrows. It is likely that such hair-style with hairs drawn back is similar to that of Julia Domna. A two-lined jewel is hanging on the neck as if a high complex collar (?). The chiton under the breast is tied with a belt with the Hercules' knot, the end of the belt falling down to her lap⁴¹. Through that knot Persephone is represented not only as giving fruitfulness, but as the protector of the marriage

³⁴ „Gain/ κερδῶος“. For Apollo Kerdoos in the cities in northern Thessaly and his connection with Hermes see MILI 2011, 41–44. According to this author, the cult of Apollo Kerdoos is more spread than that of Hermes, but the epithet is more frequent namely with the cult of Hermes. See MILI 2015, 137, note 220.

³⁵ See FISKE 1885, 67.

³⁶ Probably he is represented with shoes, but the representation is very much erased.

³⁷ The frontal head of Cerberus is broken, but its place is very clear. Now are preserved the two other side heads.

³⁸ LIMC IV, 1990, 403 (Pluto Thronended).

³⁹ MEYERS 1888, 140.

⁴⁰ D'ANDRIA 2013a, 157–217; D'ANDRIA 2013b.

⁴¹ This knot in the ancient Greek and Roman mythology is protecting and preserving from magic, also used for attaining might and strength. The bride in the Roman rituals is also shown with this knot and her husband is the first and the only one to 'unfasten' it.

and the family; as a woman, with dominating matrimonial status, having in mind the fact that it is quite rare she to be shown on the throne as a girl or young woman. The goddess also has in her left hand a sceptre similarly to Pluto. In her right hand, also slightly protruded as in the case of Pluto, she holds a mirror⁴².

The myth of Hades/Pluto is developing in two directions⁴³. In the first one the god is raping Kore/Persephone for making her his spouse and co-ruler of the Underworld.⁴⁴ In the second one the name of the god is Pluto (Ploutos, in the sense of “wealth”)⁴⁵, having in mind the subterranean ores and minerals. Here Pluto as chthonic god is ruling deeply under the earth, keeping the sown seeds, which will bring rich crops.⁴⁶ Hades/Pluto is the ruler of the dead souls, but as a spouse of Persephone he is connected also with fruitfulness.⁴⁷ In the mythology of the Underworld Hades is connected mainly with the cult to the dead. The reception of death and the Underworld connected with Hades and the rape of Persephone are tied and belong to the cycle of Demeter, to which also affiliates Heracles.⁴⁸ In the ancient Greek mythology Hades is a brother of Zeus⁴⁹ and considered as a merciless god, believed to have no sanctuaries (see Iliad, scholia 158). Being a too early cult, it is connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, with existing tie with Demeter and Kore; also revealing the connection between Life and Death in all mysteries.⁵⁰ Strabo (9, 2, 29) says that the statue of Itonian Athena has been devoted to the temple of Hades for some mystic reason. When Pausanias (9, 34, 5) speaks of Hades, he means the place the dead are going to, namely “to Hades”. But when he speaks of Pluto, he calls him “richness” connecting him with peace and wealth (Pausanias 9, 16, 1–2).⁵¹ The god is also venerated as chthonic in the Roman period, when he is more

⁴² According to P. Perdrizet the image looks like a snare („on dirait un nœud coulant“, PERDRIZET 1906, 230–231).

⁴³ Hades and Pluto have different characters, but they are not two different figures, because they share two dominating myths.

⁴⁴ HANSEN 2005, 180–182.

⁴⁵ Pluto together with Cerera=Hades plus Kore/Demeter; he is the god of revival and from there – of the fruitfulness, wealth etc. The Romans called Pluto with the Greek epithet „πλούτος“ – wealth, wellness. Pluto is the latinized form of the Greek Plouto.

⁴⁶ HANSEN 2005, 182.

⁴⁷ ATHANASSAKIS 2004, 56.

⁴⁸ GRIMAL 1991, 36–37, Hades.

⁴⁹ In the inscription from Nicopolis ad Nestum the epithet of Pluto is “Κυρίω”. The same epithet is used in the inscriptions of this for Zeus (see: IGBulg IV, 2340 and 2341). This epithet is used only for the supreme deities.

⁵⁰ In the classical times the cult to Hades as chthonic god can be found everywhere in Hellas: in Peloponnesian Elis (Pausanias 6, 25.2), Triphylia (Strabo, 8, 344), Eleusin (Faure 1958, 800 ff.), Attica (Vanderpool 1970, 47), Boeotia (Strabo. 9, 411; Pausanias 9,34.1; Παπαχατζής 1987, 116–117), Larissa in Thessaly and in the village of Fallanna, also in Larissa district (IG IX.2 No 1229 (Φαλλάννα); MCDEVIT 1970, 364 (Larissa), Epirus (Τζουβάρα-Σούλη 1979, 99 ff.). See also BURKERT 1987, 95.

⁵¹ 16.After the sanctuary of Ammon in Thebes it follows the so-called “oinoscopion” of Tiresias (place for prediction of the future by birds), and near to it is located the sanctuary of Tyche (Fate), holding the child Pluto (wealth); 2. In the opinion of the Thebenians, the hands and the face of the statue were sculpted by the Athenian

often named with his Roman name Pluto, from the Greek epithet “πλούτο”, standing for “richness”. That’s the reason Pluto to be associated also with abundance.⁵²

The mixture of iconographies of representations from the Greek and Hellenistic religion with that of the Roman Pantheon on the votives with Greek texts is not exceptional for the area of Southwestern Thrace and Macedonia. A relief from the village of Aiani (Αϊανή) in Kozani district, dated in the 2nd century, is devoted to Pluto, named Θεῶ Δεσπότη Πλούτωνι⁵³. In another votive from Larissa in Thessaly, Pluto himself is defined as Δεσπότη: Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ Δεσπότη.⁵⁴ Devotions to Pluto are to be found also in the peninsula of Attica⁵⁵.

The monuments to Pluto from Thrace and Moesia are only reliefs so far, votives or sepulchral ones. The representation of the god on the relief from the village of Choba near Plovdiv in Thrace is iconographically identical to the one from Nicopolis: the god is sitting on the throne, with sceptre in the left hand and in the broken now right hand probably with a phiale.⁵⁶ The inscription from the village of Svoboda, municipality of Chirpan (district of Stara Zagora), also in Thrace, is Πλούτωνι ἑπηκόω. The plate was kept in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia; devoted by Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος.⁵⁷ Another relief with Pluto, this time with Demeter and Kore, was found in Odessos, where he has been worshipped as a supreme god.⁵⁸ The devotions are met more often on postaments (arae) or on plates⁵⁹, in Greek to Pluto or to Proserpina in Latin in Moesia Inferior.

We consider that in the case with the relief from Nicopolis ad Nestum the referring to the deities of the Underworld and their chthonic essence should relate Pluto to the god gifting

Xenophon, while the rest parts were made by Kalistos, a local citizen. It was suitable for these artists to put Pluto in the hands of Tyche by that to suggest that she is his mother or suckling-mother. Also suitable is the notion of Kephisodotos who has made the statue of Eirene (Peace) for the Athenians with Pluto in her hands.

⁵² For this see also Παπαχατζής 1987, 130; GERNET, BOULANGER 1970, 85.

⁵³ According to the researchers, the monument belongs to a temple to Pluto. See Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1985, p. 31, No 15 and cit.lit.; CHATZINIKOLAOU 2010, 193–222, No 8 Pluto.

⁵⁴ Αρβανιτόπουλος 1910, 377.

⁵⁵ In Eleusin (KERÉNYI 1962; BURKERT 1977, 584; SIMON 1969, 105–109, SIMON 1998, 373ff.; GRUBEN 2000, 242–245 fig. 178.33); on a relief with Pluto with a Greek inscription, devoted to Pluto, Demeter and Kore (IG II 3, 1933 [= Syll. 3, 1022 ff.]) See: FAURE 1958, 800 ff.).

⁵⁶ КАЦАРОВ 1932–33, 381–382, обр. 130.

⁵⁷ KALINKA 1906, 132, No 142.

⁵⁸ КАЦАРОВ 1932–33, 382, with references.

⁵⁹ One was found in Ivanyane-Bankya (Thrace), devoted to θεῶ Πλούτωνι (IGBulg IV, 2010). An altar is descending from Nikopol kale in Moesia Inferior with a Latin inscription to Pluto and Proserpina (Бешевлиев 1952, № 57), but according to Shkorpil it has been taken from Ulpia Oescus/the village of Ghigen (ИРАИК 1910, 460). Also the general devotion “to the deities of the Underworld” can be met in Ratiaria/ the village of Archar in Moesia Superior (Бешевлиев 1952, №№ 56, 64) and in Oescus in Moesia Inferior, and in the village of Geren near Plovdiv in Thrace (БЕШЕВЛИЕВ 1952, №63). A relief, from the Vidin Museum, was defined as Hades and Proserpina (Persephone) on throne (АТАНАСОВА-ГЕОРГИЕВА, МИТОВА-ДЖОНОВА 1985, 59–60). But V. Popova corrects the interpretation of the pair in high relief not as Hades and Persephone, but as Isis and Osiris because of the babe which she is nursing, does not exist in the representations of Persephone (ПОПОВА 2016, 238–239).

wealth and abundance. It derives from the location of the city in the reaches of Middle Nestos, from the abundance of farming, forests, quarries, ores and minerals and mineral waters. That's why Pluto described as Wealth is also connected with Asclepius.⁶⁰

The worship of Pluto is unique according to the investigations for Macedonia.⁶¹ According to the inscription from Aiane⁶² and the plate from Larissa,⁶³ the representation and the name of Pluto are connected with the fruitfulness⁶⁴. A tomb epigram from the 2nd century AD is known from Veria devoted to Pluto in the role of “giving wealth”.⁶⁵ Similar tomb epigrams with the same function are also known from the Roman imperial period in Thessaloniki.⁶⁶ The worship of this chthonic deity alongside the Aegean shore, in Northern and Northeastern Macedonia with the same function, similarly to the valley of Middle Strymon (Struma), reveals a specifics, probably imported from the cult in the ancient Hellas — in Peloponnesos and Attica, where temples of Hades-Pluto were existing and he has been worshipped predominantly in the Roman imperial period as “giving wealth”.

The spread of this cult in the valley of Middle Nestos (Mesta) can be established comparatively late, under the influence of his wide spread in the close lands — the Aegean shore of Thrace and in the province of Macedonia. That's the reason to consider that in the votive from Nicopolis Pluto and Persephone are not only chthonic deities of Death. Being represented together with Hermes and Asclepius with the functions of healing gods, of fruitfulness, profit and “wealth”, the pair of Pluto and Persephone should be accepted with the same functions. The entire relief is magnifying the role and the functions of all deities represented on it as supplying with wealth, but these deities being devoted to the god and sovereign Pluto, who “preserves and gives/gifts with fruitfulness and wealth”.

⁶⁰ HEUZEY 1868, 24; RE XXI, 1 (1951), col. 1027 – Plutonion (J. Schmidt).

⁶¹ HEUZEY 1868, 18–25; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1880, 376; DÜLL 1977, 118; Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1985, 32; Ριζάκης, Τουράτσογλου 1999, 952, note 13.

⁶² BAEGE 1913, 141–142.

⁶³ Αρβανιτόπουλος 1910, 377.

⁶⁴ Except these monuments, at the Aegean shore of Thrace and the province of Macedonia, there existed also tomb epigrams, connected with the name of Hades. Such an epigram is found in Maroneia in North Greece, now in the museum of Komotini (Inv. No ΑΓΚ 456; see Λουκοπούλου, Ζουρντζή, Παρισάκη, Ψωμά 2005, 396, No E 215, πίν. 54) and in Dubia (Δουμπιά) on Chalkidiki, where are located the most famous mineral sources of Greece, the epigram from there now in the Archaeological museum of Thessaloniki (Inv. No 2216, see Μισσηλίδου-Δεσποτίδου 1997, No 69). Also sepulchral is the function of the wall painting-scene with Hades, Persephone, Hermes and Cerberus in the recently found tomb in Alexandria, Egypt (necropolis of *Kom al-Shugafa*, Tomb 2). Here Hermes is without the bag and in the role of Pchyhopompos, the Cerberus at the entrance of the Underworld (GUIMIER-SORBETS 2018, 90–93, figs. 6–9).

⁶⁵ Γουναροπούλου, Χατζόπουλος 1998, 357–359, No 404, πίν. 629.

⁶⁶ IG X 2.1, p. 132–133, No 368, 217–218, 148, No 447, 150–151, No 454; Λουκοπούλου, Ζουρντζή, Παρισάκη, Ψωμά 2005, A, B, 248–249.

It is quite possible that the relief was placed in a sanctuary of Pluto.⁶⁷ Such sanctuaries of Pluto/Hades and Persephone should be located in places with existing deep holes and caves, connected with the legend of this pair. One of the well-known sanctuary is the Plutonion in Hierapolis (Strabo 13, 4, 14), supposedly existing already in the Hellenistic period.⁶⁸

At the end of the '60s–the beginning of the '70s of the 1st century, the “strategos” Flavios Dizalas from Nicopolis ad Nestum has founded the sanctuary of Artemis, which was located at or in the settlement Κειρπαρα.⁶⁹ Although B. Gerov considers that it was restored at that time,⁷⁰ N. Sharankov thinks that it was founded namely then. A cave Κειρις is known to exist in Moesia (Dio Cass. LI, 26, 3). If we accept the proposal of B. Gerov that Κειρις could be connected with the name of the settlement Κειρπαρα,⁷¹ there in a close proximity should be located also the sanctuary of Pluto, most probably at the cave, which has given its name to the sanctuary (?).

The fact that the relief with Pluto was found in the ruins of the ancient city provokes several questions. The first one is if there existed a sanctuary to Pluto in it or it was *extra muros* and even more remote, why not in the modern village of Gospodintsi. B. Gerov connects the settlement Κειρπαρα with the town Κερειοπόργος, mentioned by Hierocles (635, 2), and with the modern village Gospodintsi (previously Tsiropol), situated about 5 Roman miles west of Nicopolis ad Nestum. In this ancient settlement I have localized old Roman quarries for marble, also remnants of underground iron-ore mines. One of the quarries for marble is in the locality Peshterata (the Cave), southwestern from Gospodintsi.⁷² Near it there are mineral sources rich in hydrogen sulphide. The second question is was it possible that the monument has been taken from the sanctuary and brought to the city and how it could be re-used in the new Early Christian situation having in mind the additionally incised cross on it? We have many examples of similar secondary re-usage, the latest one being a pagan altar with devotion to many deities, included in the Episcopal basilica of Philippopolis.⁷³ For the moment there are no sure answers to these questions.

⁶⁷ The only sanctuary so far from the territory of Bulgaria, devoted to Demeter and Kore/Persephone, is found on the cape Scamni, at the ancient Apollonia on the Black Sea. It has been actively functioning in the period between the 6th and the 3rd century BC, with parallels on Mitilini and in the Tasmophorion on the island of Thassos (ПАНАЙОТОВА, СТОЯНОВА, ЧАЧЕВА, ДАМЯНОВ 2012, 243).

⁶⁸ Except the sanctuary, the religious complex includes a pool with mineral water and a cave, the entrance to the Underworld. The end of this complex is considered to happen in the 4th century, being destroyed by the Christians. See PICCADRI 2007, 98–99, fig 3b; D'ANDRIA 2013a, 157–217.

⁶⁹ ШАПАНКОВ 2015, с. 70.

⁷⁰ ГЕРОВ 1961, с. 215 и цит.лит.

⁷¹ ГЕРОВ 1961, 220.

⁷² This quarry was discovered by the author in 2013.

⁷³ See the paper of N. Sharankov (in print) in the conference „The Episcopal basilica of Philippopolis, research and results (2015–2018)“, held from the 9th to 12th of May 2018 in Plovdiv. Also: ШАПАНКОВ 2018, 731, обр. 1.

Nevertheless there are some hints for the further research. The dedicators come from significant families with high status in the hierarchy, with big possibilities to order a monument of high artistic value. That's the reason to think that it was possible the relief to be installed in a sanctuary or at a temple, situated on the agora or next to it, and not in the environments of it, for instance in the locality Peshterata (the Cave). Having in mind the dimensions of the relief and its high artistic quality, it is difficult to suppose its installation somewhere in the periphery and not in some central place of the city.

The composition of the relief to Pluto with its three more deities show them as the ones protecting the health, the trade, the trip and the richness, also of the family, because of the obvious functions of Asclepius, the Ploutodotes/Kerdoos, and of the pair of the Underworld Pluto-Persephone. This is a new iconography, unknown so far in the region of Nicopolis ad Nestum. The devotion itself is also a novelty, because the other deities are devoted in the inscription to Pluto, with his function of bestowing richness.

The iconography of the representations, their hair-dresses and vestments reveal the knowledge and the skillfulness of the sculptor in the period of the Severans. The manner of treatment and the local marble is much higher than the numerous votive and sepulchral reliefs and statuettes from Nicopolis ad Nestum and its area,⁷⁴ but nevertheless local. The relief of Pluto is made of the local marble extracted in the ancient quarries, located around 10 Roman miles southeastern of the ancient city, near the modern village of Koprivlen. These quarries belonged to the Roman and Early Byzantine Nicopolis ad Nestum.⁷⁵ Some of the monuments are also made of the same kind of marble as colour and quality, demonstrating the same provenance of the marble and most probably made in one and the same workshop. It should be noted that this grey marble, from middle- to coarse-grained, can be met in the votive and sepulchral monuments,⁷⁶ as well as in architectonic ones — the Roman Dorian capitals type II, variant B, according to the typology⁷⁷ at the very end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century. This duration hints on the exploitation of new stone deposits alongside Middle Nestos or near to this river, starting in the same period end of the 2nd–beginning of the 3rd century. One can also propose, that this practice in preparing cult and architectonic sculpture has been also continuing for a longer period till Late Antiquity, having in mind the Early Christian capitals and cancel plates made of the grey marble from the same quarries⁷⁸. The often appearing of products of this marble after the end of the 2nd century in Nicopolis and its region reveals not only the exploitation of these new quarries/deposits. It also questions why the monuments made of white marble were diminishing and was this white

⁷⁴ ПАСКОВА, ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006, 146–151.

⁷⁵ ПЕТРОВА 2015В, 75–85.

⁷⁶ PETROVA 2017, 119–121.

⁷⁷ ПЕТРОВА 1990, 8–16.

⁷⁸ ПЕТРОВА 2017, 233–252.

marble import or was extracted from more distant places/quarries, more unprofitable for the citizens of Nicopolis and the settlements around. It is also possible that at the end of the 2nd century the ownership of the quarries for white to white-grey marble has been changed and the cheaper grey one became more preferable. It is also possible that all these circumstances were combined in the usage of the grey marble.

The relief to Pluto supplies with rare data for the cults and the cult sculpture of Nicopolis ad Nestum, probably including the most worshipped deities of Nicopolis — Asclepius, Hermes, Pluto and Persephone in their function of giving richness and prosperity. The Thracian names of the unknown to that moment persons from the city are more probably belonging to the local elite. They have acquired the Roman citizenship after 212 by *Constitutio Antoniniana* in the period of Caracalla. This is also witnessed by the representations of Hermes and Asclepius with identical iconography on the reverse of coins of Caracalla and Geta, struck in Nicopolis in 210–211.⁷⁹ In the same coin emission there are parallels for the type of Hades–Pluto⁸⁰ and Hades–Serapis.⁸¹ The votive relief demonstrates the skilfulness of the sculptors, the knowledge of the iconography of the represented deities and of the imperial portraits of several members of the Severan dynasty—of Julia Domna and Caracalla—repeated in sculpturing the hair-dresses, the beards and the poses. The complex analysis of the local marble from the quarries, properties of Nicopolis, the treatment by local masters of a local atelier, belonging probably to the quarries themselves or to an atelier in close proximity to the city, the iconography of the representations as well as the affiliation of the dedicators to the Roman citizens after 212 — all these facts are supplying with the arguments to relate the monument generally after 212, and no later than the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century.

References

- АТАНАСОВА-ГЕОРГИЕВА, Й., Д. МИТОВА-ДЖОНОВА 1985. *Антична пластика от Видинския музей*. София.
- БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, В. 1952. *Епиграфски приноси*. София.
- БОТЕВА, Д. 2018. Нимбът в езическата вотивна иконография засвидетелствана в римските провинции Долна Мизия и Тракия. In *Од паганство до християнство. Од езичество към християнство*, 123–155. Скопје–София.
- ГЕРОВ, Б. 1961. Проучвания върху западнотракийските земи през римско време, *Годишник на Софийския Университет Филологически Факултет*, 54, 3, 1959/69, 155(3)–406(254).

⁷⁹ ХРИСТОВА, ЖЕКОВ 2007, 22, 24, 34.

⁸⁰ МУШМОВ 1912, 230, № 4070.

⁸¹ ХРИСТОВА, ЖЕКОВ 2007, 33. Coins with Pluto and Persephone are struck during the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla in Stobi, where inscriptions to Hades are also found (DÜLL 1977, 258, 118–119).

- ИВАНОВ, Й. 1919-20. Кюстендилският Хисарлък и неговите старини, *Известия на Българското археологическо дружество VII*, с. 66–123.
- КАЦАРОВ, Г. 1932-33. Нови антични паметници от България, *Известия на българския археологически институт VII*, с. 379–383.
- КАЦАРОВА, В. 2005. *Пауталия и нейната територия през I-VI век*. Велико Търново.
- МУШМОВ, Н. 1912. *Античните монети на Балканския полуостров и монетите на българските царе*. София.
- ПАНАЙОТОВА К., Д. СТОЯНОВА, М. ЧАЧЕВА, М. ДАМЯНОВ. 2012. Археологическо проучване на нос Скамни, гр. Созопол. In: *Археологически открития и разкопки през 2011 г.*, 242–245. София.
- ПАСКОВА, С., И. ВЪЛЧЕВ 2006. Култова пластика от фонда на Исторически музей – Гоце Делчев. *Археология* 1-4, 146–151.
- ПЕТКОВ, В., А. КОВАЧЕВ 2005. Оброчна плоча на Асклепий от античния град под дн. Сандански. *Асклепий XVIII*, 234–238.
- ПЕТРОВА, С. 1990. Типология и особености на римско-дорийския капител в Мизия и Тракия. *Археология* 3, 8–16.
- ПЕТРОВА, С. 2015а. От Неврокоп през Серес, Драма и чак до Атина. За съдбата на три римски надписа от Никополис ад Нестум/Местумл – Будител, юли-септември, 68–70.
- ПЕТРОВА, С. 2015b. Екозона „Белите скали“ – социализация на една антична кариера. *Паметници Реставрация Музеи* 1-2, 75–85.
- ПЕТРОВА, С. 2017. Архитектурната украса на раннохристиянските базилики в околностите на Никопол на Места. *сб. Добруджа* 32, р. 233–252.
- ПОПОВА, В. 2016. Култът към Изида и Серапис в римската пластика от България. Addendum. In: *Studia Classica Serdicensia, VI. Monuments and Text in Antiquity and Beyond. Essay for the Centenary of Georgi Mihailov (1915–1991)*, 208–250. Sofia.
- ХРИСТОВА, Н., Г. ЖЕКОВ 2007. *Монетосеченето на Тракия I–III в. Никополис ад Нестум*. Благоевград.
- ЦОНЧЕВ, Д. 1938. *Приноси към старата история на Пловдив*. София.
- ШАРАНКОВ, Н. 2015. Нови данни за тракийските стратегии, *Археология* 1-2, 62–78.
- ШАРАНКОВ, Н. 2018. Епиграфски открития. In: *Археологически открития и разкопки през 2017*, 731–734. София.
- ШКОРПИЛ, К. В. 1905. Некоторые из дорог восточной Болгарии. *Известия Русского археологического института в Константинополе X*, 443–502.
- ATHANASSAKIS, A. 2004. *Hesiod. Theogony, Works and Days*. Shield.
- BAEGE, W. 1913. *De Macedonum sacris. Dissertationes philologicae Hallenses, XXII 1, (Hallis Saxorum)*. Halle.
- BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, A. 1880. *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité. Les sacerdoces divinatoires. Devins, chresmologues, sybilles. Oracles des dieux*. II. Paris.
- BURKERT, W. 1977. *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*. Stuttgart.
- BURKERT, W. 1987. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Harvard.
- CHATZINIKOLAOU K. G. 2010. Locating Sanctuaries in Upper Macedonia According to Archaeological Data (Actes du XII^e colloque du CIERGA). *Kernos* 23, 193–222.
- D'ANDRIA, F. 2013a. Il Plutonion a Hierapolis di Frigia. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 63, 157–217 (with “Appendice 2, by T. Ismaelli, La tholos ed i materiali architetttonici ellenistici, 199–202).
- D'ANDRIA, F. 2013b. *Gate to Hell Found in Turkey*. *Discovery News*, 29 March 2013.

- DÜLL, S. 1977. *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit*. Paderborn.
- FAURE, P. 1958. Eleusis, Ploutonion. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 82, 800–802.
- FISKE, J. 1885. *Myths and Mith-makers: Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology*. Boston.
- GERNET, L., A. BOULANGER 1970. *Le génie grec dans la religion*. Paris.
- GRIMAL, P. 1991. *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. London.
- GRUBEN, G. 2000. *Ιερά και ναοί των αρχαίων Ελλήνων* (Μετάφραση Δ. Ακτσελή). Αθήνα.
- GUIMIER-SORBETS, A.-M. 2018. Believing in afterlife in Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria. A Study of some funerary paintings. In: Chr. S. Zerefos and M. V. Vardinoyanis (eds.), *Hellenistic Alexandria. Celebrating 24 Centuries. Papers presented at the conference held on December 13–15 2017 at Acropolis Museum, Athens*, 87–94. Oxford.
- HANSEN, W. 2005 *Classical Mythology: A Guide to the Mythical World of the Greeks and Romans*. Oxford.
- HEUZEY, L. 1868. La ville d'Éané en Macédoine et son Sanctuaire de Pluton. *RA* 18, 18–28.
- IGBulg IV = G. Mihailov. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, vol. IV. Serdicae.
- IGBulg V = G. Mihailov. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, vol. V. Serdicae.
- IVANOV, M. 2009. The Nimbus at Some Images of the Thracian Rider within the Context of Ancient Art. In: *Thracia, XVIII: In Memoriam Alexandri Fol*, 325–334. Sofia.
- KALINKA, E. 1906. Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien. In: *Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung IV*. Wien.
- KERÉNYI, K. 1956. *Der göttliche Arzt: Studien über Asklepios und seine Kultstätten*. Darmstadt.
- KERÉNYI, K. 1962. *Die Mysterien von Eleusis*. Zürich.
- LIMC II (1984), III (1986), IV (1988), V (1990), VI (1992) = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich und München.
- MARTIN, R., H. METZGER 1976. *La religion grecque*. Paris.
- MCDEVIT, A. 1970. *Inscriptions from Thessaly. An analytical handlist and bibliography*. New York.
- MCGINTY K. C. 2013. *Circles of Framing and Light: Analyzing the Nimbus in the Mediterranean*. Honors Thesis. Department of Classics. Dartmouth College.
- MEYERS, J. 1888. *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. 4 Auflage, Bd. XIII. Leipzig.
- MILI, M. 2011. Apollo Kerdoos. A conniving Apollo in Thessaly? In: M. Haysom and J. Wallensten (eds.), *Current approaches to religion in ancient Greece*, 41–55. Stockholm.
- MILI, M. 2015. *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly*. Oxford.
- Pausanias. *Description of Greece*, trans. W. H. S. Jones. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918.
- PERDRIZET, P. 1900. Trois inscriptions latines de Roumélie, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 24, 542–552.
- PERDRIZET, P. 1906. ΟΥΛΠ. ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΣΤΩ. In: *Corolla Numismatica in Honour of B. Head*, 217–233. Oxford.
- PETROVA, P. 2012. Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum. In: *Roman cities in Bulgaria*, vol. I, Sofia 2012, 289–361.
- PETROVA, S., V. PETKOV 2015. ΠΑΡΟΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ/ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ. (Paroicopolis /Parthicopolis – Ancient and Early Byzantine City). In: R. Ivanov (ed.) *Thracian, Greek, Roman and Medieval cities, residences and fortresses in Bulgaria*, 341–492. Sofia.
- PETROVA, S. 2017. Roman tombstones from Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum and its territory/ Rimske stele iz Nicopolis ad Nestum/Mestum-a i njegove teritorije (bilingual). *Nova antička Duklja* VIII, 91–124.

- PICCARDI, L. 2007. The AD 60 Denizli Basin earthquake and the apparition of Archangel Michael at Colossae (Aegean Turkey). In: L. Piccardi, W. B. Masse (eds), *Myth and Geology. Special Publication 273. Geological Society of London*. 95–104. London
- PILHOFER, P. 2009. *Philippi. Band II. Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*. Tübingen.
- SHARANKOV N. 2016. Notes on Greek Inscriptions from Bulgaria, 306–363. In: *Studia classica Serdicensia*, vol. V. *Monuments and texts in Antiquity and beyond. Essays for the Centenary of Georgi Mihailov (1915–1991)*. 305–361. Sofia.
- SIMON, E. 1969. *Die Götter der Griechen*. München.
- SIMON, E. 1998. Neues zum großen Relief von Eleusis. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 3, 373–387.
- Strabo. ed. HL Jones 1924. *The Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge, Mass.–London.
- VANDERPOOL, E. 1970. A Lex Sacra of the Attic Deme Phrearrhoi. *Hesperia* 39, 47–53.
- Will, E. 1955. *Le relief cultuel gréco-roman. Contribution a l'histoire de l'art de l'Empire romain*. Paris.
- Αρβανιτόπουλος, Α. 1910. Ανασκαφαί και έρευναι εν Θεσσαλία. In: *Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*. Αθήνα.
- Γουναροπούλου, Λ., Μ. Χατζόπουλος 1998. Επιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας, τεύχ. Α': Επιγραφές Βεροίας. (= Inscriptiones Macedoniae inferioris: inter Bermium montem et Axium flumen repertae: fasciculus primus Inscriptiones Beroeae). Εθνικόν Ίδρυμα Ερευνών). Αθήνα.
- Δημίτσας, Μ. 1896. Ἡ Μακεδονία ἐν λίθοις φθεγγομένοις καὶ μνημείοις σωζομένοις, Τ. 2, 669–670, Νο 822–823.
- Λουκοπούλου Α.Δ., Α. Ζουρντζή, Μ.Γ. Παρισάκη, Σ. Ψωμά 2005. *Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου. Μεταξύ των ποταμών Νέστου και Έβρου (Νομοί Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης και Έβρου)*. Αθήνα.
- Καρταντζής, Γ. Β. 1967. *Ιστορία τῆς πόλεως Σερρών καὶ τῆς περιφερείας της (ἀπὸ τοὺς προϊστορικοὺς χρόνους μέχρι σήμερα)*. Τόμος Α': μῦθοι, ἐπιγραφές, νομίσματα. Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Μισαηλίδου – Δεσποτίδου, Β. 1997. *Επιγραφές Αρχαίας Μακεδονίας. Από τη συλλογή της ΙΣΤ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων. Κατάλογος της Έκθεσης, Οκτώβριος – Δεκέμβριος 1997. Κρυπτή στοά της Αρχαίας Αγοράς*. Θεσσαλονίκη.
- Νίγδελης, Π. Μ. 2001. Ἀπὸ τὸ Νευροκόπι στὴν Ἀθήνα. In: Ἡ ἐπιτύμβια ἐπιγραφή IG II/III (2) 10770 καὶ ἡ προέλευσή της, *Τεκμήρια* 6, 149–155.
- Παπαγεωργίου, Π. 1893. *Νευροκοπον ἐπιγραφαί, Εφημερίδα Ἑστία Ἀθηνῶν*, 1893, τομ. Α', ἀρ.10, σελ. 158–159.
- Παπαχατζής, Ν.Δ. 1987. *Η θρησκεία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*. Αθήνα.
- Πινγιάτογλου, Σ. 1999. Η λατρεία της θεάς Δήμητρας στην αρχαία Μακεδονία. Αρχαία Μακεδονία. Έκτο διεθνές συμπόσιο, τομ. 2, Θεσσαλονίκη, IMXA, 911–919.
- Πινγιάτογλου, Σ. 2005. Το ιερό της Δήμητρας στο Δίον. 2002–2003. *AEMΘ*, 17.
- Ριζάκης Θ., Γ. Τουράτσογλου 1985. *Επιγραφές Ἀνω Μακεδονίας: Ελίμεια, Εορδαία, Νότια Λυγκηστis, Ὀρεστis*, Τόμος Α', Αθήνα.
- Ριζάκης, Α., Ι. Τουράτσογλου 1999. Λατρείες στην Ἀνω Μακεδονία, Παράδοση και νεωτερισμοί. In: *Αρχαία Μακεδονία VI*, 2, 949–965.
- Τζουβάρα-Σούλη, Χρ. 1979. *Η λατρεία των γυναικείων θεοτήτων εις την Αρχαία Ἠπειρον*. Ιωάννινα.

