

LENČE JOVANOVA
Museum of the city of Skopje,
Skopje, Macedonia

UDC: 930.2:003.071(381)
904:726.825(381)

A MONUMENT DEDICATED TO ZBELSURDOS BY A GEROUSIAST (MEMBER OF A GEROUSIA)

Abstract: This paper presents a sculptural composition dedicated to the Thracian god *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*. The place of discovery of this monument is unknown, however there is a great probability that it came from the territory of the contemporary Republic of Macedonia. This text provides an iconographic analysis of the monument, as well as an overview of the cult of *Zeus Zbelsurdos* through the epigraphic monuments, relief and sculptural representations, which come from the areas of its distribution: *Thrace, Moesia Inferior* and *Dacia*, with an emphasis on the findings from *Moesia Superior*. Particular attention is given to exploring the origin of the monument's dedicator Γάιος Ἀθυσος, as well as his affiliation with the *gerousia* (γερουσία) institution. An attempt was made to identify the place of the discovery of the monument, but also the name of the city from which the dedicator originated (the name of this city is not mentioned in the monument) and in which he executed the function of a *gerusiast* (γερουσιαστής), i.e. was a member of the institution *gerousia* (γερουσία).

Key words: sculptural composition, Zbelsurdos, *gerousia*, *gerusiast*, Scupi, Pautalia.

The text presents a sculptural composition with a dedication to the Thracian god *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*, which attracts special attention with its iconographic depiction and epigraphic inscription. The time and place of discovery of this artefact are unknown, because it was found among the items impounded by the police in 2009 in the home of a private individual in the village of Zlokukjani-Skopje.¹

Description of the monument. A segment of a sculptural composition placed onto an irregular rectangular base with a simple profile. Almost the entire right edge of the sculpture is damaged, as well as

¹ The item was transferred into the care of the Museum of the City of Skopje, after the police impoundment in the home of I. T. from the village of Zlokukjani – Skopje (court decision of District Court Skopje 1, Skopje, no. 987/01 from 16.06.2006). A larger number of archaeological artefacts purchased from unauthorized diggers and antiquity thieves from archaeological sites in R. Macedonia were impounded on that occasion. Most of the artefacts originated from the archaeological site Scupi, but some of them, including the sculptural composition presented here, are lacking records of provenance or place of discovery.

the left and the rear side of the base. The topside base surface has a preserved pair of parted bare feet, belonging to a male figure in standing position. To the right there is a pedestal that had a vertically climbing snake, which is distinguishable only by its lower tail end. The monument is made of fine-grain white marble of high quality. The monument is preserved with a height of 24 cm, while the dimensions of the pedestal are: 17 cm. long x 7 cm. wide x 6 cm. high. The front side of the base is segmented into two zones with a single shallow strap indentation placed lengthwise, breaking the monotony of the flat surface in a visual and aesthetic manner, and at the same time dividing the text of the inscription into two parts. The text is a dedication to the Thracian god *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos* inscribed in two regular lines, providing the name and epithet of the deity in the upper line right under the sculptural composition, and the name and function of the donor in the lower zone of the pedestal. The inscription is made in shallowly engraved Greek letters, with a varying height of 0.7–0.8 cm. in the top line, to 1 cm. in the bottom line. Only one ligature was used in the second line between the letters 'T' and 'N' in the word 'Γερουσιαστής'. The dedication reads:

Text: Κυ[ρί]ω Ζβελσούρδω | Γάϊος Ἄθυος Γερουσιαστής ἐχ[ήν].

Translation: To master *Zbelsurdos*, *Gaius Athius*, *gerousiast*, (member of the *gerousia*), makes a dedication.

The minimal state of preservation of the sculptural composition inhibits the certain identification of its iconography, which in this case was facilitated with the contents of the epigraphic text that represents a votive dedication to the Thracian god *Zbelsurdos*. This allows to recognize the preserved fragment of the sculpture (a pair of feet and the rear tail end of a snake crawling up the pedestal) as a segment of the usual iconographic image of *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*, one of the most enigmatic Thracian cults worshiped during the Roman period. The depictions of *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos* have a typified iconography with insignificant variations. *Zbelsurdos* is usually represented unadorned in a standing position *en face*, with beard, moustache and curly hair, wearing a drape around the shoulders, standing with parted legs, insignificantly bent at the knees, in a leftward movement, i.e. in an attack stance.² He holds a thunder in his raised right hand, and an eagle in erect position on his left extended hand. There is usually a crawling snake behind deity's feet, however in some of the monuments the snake is coiled around the pedestal or an altar placed in front of the deity. It is considered that the iconography of the Thracian, i.e. Dentheletaeon supreme deity *Zeus / Jupiter Zbelsurdos* follows the model of the *Greek Zeus Keraunos Aetophoros* (Κεραυνός / Κεραύνιος, Αετοφόρος), i.e. the Roman god *Jupiter Fulminator*, with his standard attributes (a thunder

² A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, Zeus god of the dark sky (thunder and lightning), Cambridge 1925, p. 819



1. The front side of the sculpture
2. The topside base surface with a pair of feet, belonging to Zbelsurdos

and an eagle) and similar competences.³ Unlike the Greco-Roman supreme god *Zeus/Jupiter*, whose attributes, the thunder and the eagle, are typical for a solar/sky god, his Thracian counterpart, in addition to his celestial functions, also has chthonic functions, which is expressed with the presence of the snake.⁴ There are certain opinions that snake depiction should be recognized as *Zeus Ktesios* (Κτήσιος), who has a theriomorphic representation in the Greek art, while the Thracians transformed the snake into an attribute/companion of the god.⁵ In the iconography of *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*, his companions, the snake and the eagle, are not confronted but they are in harmony, symbolizing the complementarity of the solar and chthonic principles/competences of the same deity. Hence, *Zbelsurdos* is a god of the entire world of the skies and celestial phenomena (the light, the thunder and the rain), but also of the earth, the fertility and the underground.⁶

The name of the 'Thracian sky god', as *Zeus Zbelsurdos* is most frequently termed in the literature, can be found in different variants: Ζβελθουρδος, Ζβελθουρδος, Ζβελσουρδος, Ζβερθουρδος, *Zbel-tiurdos*, *Zberturdos*, *Zbelthiurdos*, *Zvelsurdus*.⁷ With the exception of

³ H. Üsener, *Keraunos*, Rhienisches Museums für philologie, LX, Frankfurt am Main, 1905, pp. 1-30; G. Seure, *Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos : ΖΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΔΟΣ, ΓΕΒΕΛΕΙΖΙΣ, ΖΑΛΜΟΞΙΣ*. In: *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 26, fascicule 117, Paris, 1913, pp. 240-242; A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, pp. 11-13, 806-824, figs 782-784; А. Тенчова, *Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия (в земите на Р. България, I-III в. сл. хр. Образ и култ в Древна Тракия, Аспекти на формирането на тракийския образен език (съставител: Д. Ботева-Боянова), София, 2006, pp. 136-137, 148-150, with the refereed literature; И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, Епохи*, кн. 1-2, 2004, Университетско издателство „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“, Велико Търново, 2006, pp. 41, 46-47, with the refereed literature (M. Tiverios, *Zeus Keraunios*, *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC), VIII-1, 2. Zürich-Düsseldorf, 1997, No 27-31, 62-71; F. Canciani, *Iuppiter combattente*. LIMC VIII, 1. 2, No 124-129).*

⁴ A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, pp. 817-823; И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, р. 41, with the refereed literature; А. Тенчова, *Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия*, pp. 137, 148-149, with the refereed literature.

⁵ А. Тенчова, *Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия*, pp. 149-150 (Д. Дечев, *Една семейна триада в религията на траките*, *Известия на археологическия институт* 18, София, 1952, р. 22).

⁶ А. Тенчова А. *Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия*, pp. 148-157; И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, pp. 52-53.

⁷ W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker I-II (1893-1894)*, Eine ethnologische Untersuchung, Wien (reprint), 1975, pp. 190-192, equates Zblesurdos, according to etymology of his name, with Gebeleizis - the god of thunder and lights worshiped by the Dacians and the Getae, which has been accepted by almost all future researchers; G. Seure, *Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos*, pp. 247-255, 258-260; A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, p. 822; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, 1957, pp. 177-178; И. Дуриданов, *Езикът на траките*, София, 1976, р. 70; D. Dana, *Le dossier Gébéléizis. Une page de l'interprétation de Zalmoxis*, *Ephemeris Napocensis* XIII, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, pp. 117-136.



3. The front side and the right side of the sculpture

4. The top side and the backside of the sculpture

the altars, the name of the god is rarely found on the relief votive tablets, because most of them are not epigraphic.⁸ In most of the votive inscriptions the name of the god is accompanied by the epithets: Δί, Κυρίῳ, Θεῷ, *Deo*, giving rise to the opinion that the different variants are not actually a name, but epithets of the deity who was denoted with the name of the Greco-Roman god *Zeus/Jupiter*, as opposed to the claims that they are different variations of the original name of the Thracian deity.⁹

The linguists studying the etymology of the god's name Ζβελ-σουρδος/Ζβελθουρδος treat it as consisting of two parts, identifying a separate word in its initial part: “Ζβελ-“, “Ζβερ-“ whose meaning is identified as a thunder, fire, light, shine, while the remaining part of the name (‘-θουρδος’, ‘-σουρδος’) is interpreted with the meaning: to bear, to throw. Hence, the definitive interpretation of the full name is determined as: ‘thunder-bearer’ which is identical with the Greek κραύ-νιος.¹⁰

The first mention of the *Zbelsurdos* cult is found in Cicero (Cicero, *In Pisonem*, XXXV, 85) in his letters against *Lucius Calpurnius Piso* from 55 B.C.E., accusing him that in the war against the Dentheletae during his term as a governor of the province of Macedonia (57–56 B.C.E.), he demolished the shrine of *Jupiter (Svels)uri?*, one of the oldest and most respected shrines in the land of the Dentheletae.¹¹ Based on the epigraphic finds, many scholars have concluded that this

⁸ Votive monuments (altars or relief tablets) with the name of the god were found at the territory of Moesia Inferior and Thrace: Philippopolis (IGBulg III/1 1317, Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος); Augusta Traiana (IGBulg III/2 1773, Ζεὺς Ζβελθουρδος, IGBulg V 5612, Κύριος Ζεὺς Ζβελθουρδος); Pautalia (IGBulg IV 2216, Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος Κύριος; IGBulg IV 2217, Κύριος Θεὸς προγονικὸς Ζβελσουρδος; IGBulg IV 2218, Κύριος Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος; Κύριος Ζβελσουρδος); Cabyle (SEG XLII 649, [Ζεὺς? Ζβ]ελθουρδος); Perinthos (I Perinthos 44, Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος); In the Aegean part of Thrace: (IThrAeg 384, Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος θεὸς ἐπήκοος); In Moesia Superior they originate from the broader municipal territory of Scupi and from the region of Kumanovo (IMS VI 18, Deus Zbeltiurdus; IMS VI 214, Deus Zbelsurdus; ILIug III 1428, Zbeltiurdus); Moesia Inferior orientale (IGBulg II 762, Κύριος Ζεὺς Ζβελσουρδος); In Dacia: Drobeta (CIL III 14261, 1=IDR II 20, IOM Zb[elsurdus]); Esquiline Hill in Rome (IG XIV 981=IGVR I 132, foto p. 116, θεῷ Ζβερθούρδω καὶ Ταμβαδούλῃ).

⁹ И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, p. 52 with the refereed literature; А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, p. 148, with the refereed literature.

¹⁰ А. В. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, p. 283; Р. Марић Антички култови у нашој земљи, Београд, 1933, pp. 17–20; W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker* II, 1, p. 61; D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*, pp. 177–178; Вл. Георгиев, Тракийският език, София, 1957, p. 78; Д. Дуриданов, Езикът на траките, p. 70.

¹¹ Cicero, *In Pisonem*, XXXV, 85 (...a te Iovis Urii fanum antiquissimum barbarorum sanctissimum direptum est); G. Seure, *Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos*, pp. 243–246, lists the different variations of interpreting Cicero's text: Jovis <vels> Uri[i], Jovis [S]velsuri; А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, p. 147, with the refereed literature regarding the analysis and modifications of Cicero's text.

temple was located at the site Caričina near the village of Golemo Selo, Kyustendil (Dupnica) region, where numerous monuments linked with the *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult have been found.¹² There are also claims that a similar temple was located near the village of Kapitan Dimitriev, Pazardžik region.¹³

The *Zeus / Jupiter Zbelsurdos* cult has been confirmed on votive epigraphic monuments, on relief and sculptural representations, as well as on coins, mainly from the region of *Thrace*, but also from the surrounding regions. The monuments of the *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos* cult are the most numerous in the regions of the provinces of *Thrace* and *Moesia Inferior*, especially in the regions of *Pautalia* (Kyustendil), *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (Veliko Trnovo), and *Philippopolis* (Plovdiv).¹⁴ Several monuments have been discovered in the southeast part of *Moesia Superior*, i.e. its bordering zone with *Thrace*,¹⁵ two items

¹² G. Kazarov, Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au dieu thrace Zbelsurdos, *Revue Archéologique*, XXI, 1913, pp. 340-346, figs 1-5; Г. Кацаров, Светилище на Зевс и Хера при Копиловци, *Известия на Българското археологическо дружество* IV, София, 1914, p. 82; Б. Геров, Проучвания въху Западнотрайите земи през римско време, *Годишник на Софийския университет, Филологически факултет*, LIV, 3, 1959/60. С., София, 1961, pp. 313-314; Я. Младенова, Към култа на Зевс и Хера в нашите земи, *Археология* 1966/3, София 1966, pp. 35-36; *IGBulg* IV, No 2216, 2217, 2218; Б. Борисов, Археологически проучвания в м. Царичина край Големо село, Кюстендилско, *Известия на Исторически Музей- Кюстендил*, IV, С., Кюстендил, 1992, p. 253; В. Бешевлиев, *Збелсурд*, Кратка енциклопедия, Тракийска древност, (редактор Попов Д.), София, 1993, p. 244; И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, p. 41; А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, p. 147; В. Кацарова, Пауталия и нейната територия през I-VI век, Велико Търново 2005, pp. 170-172; И. Вълчев, Бележки към светилището на Зевс Збелсурд при с. Големо Село, Дупнишко. In *Stephanos Archaeologicos in honorem Professoris Stephcae Angelova*, *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Serdicensis*, Suppl. V (2010), Sofia 2010, pp. 199-206; И. Вълчев, Извънградските светилища в римската провинция Тракия (I-IV век), София 2015, pp. 120, 254-255.

¹³ В. Бешевлиев, Кратка енциклопедия, Тракийска древност, p. 244; И. Вълчев, Извънградските светилища в римската провинция Тракия, pp. 269-270.

¹⁴ А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, pp. 137, 158-162, figs. 1-15, provides a list of sites in Thrace and Moesia Inferior with discovered relief votive tablets featuring a *Zeus Zbelsurdos* representation (*Zeus Zbelsurdos* alone, accompanied only by Hera, or by Hera and other deities); И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, pp. 41-50, обр. 1-18, provides a list of sites in Thrace and Moesia Superior with discovered relief votive tablets, epigraphic monuments, bronze figurines and coins featuring representations of *Zeus Zbelsurdos* (*Zeus Zbelsurdos* alone, accompanied only by Hera, or by Hera and other deities).

¹⁵ *IMS* VI, 18 (Ljubanci village - Skopje region), 214 (Dovezence - Kumanovo region); Вулић Н., 1931, *Споменик LXXI*, no 179=ILug III 1428 (Качаник-Косово); Н. Вулић, *Споменик СКА ХCVIII*, Београд, 1941-1948, p. 306/72, village of Sukovo near Pirot (relief votive tablet); П. Петровић, Ниш у античко доба, Ниш 1999, pp. 153-154, note 105; S. Černač-Ratković, Thracian elements on the territory of Moesia, Тракия и околният свят, Научна конференция – Шумен 2006, МИФ 14, 2008, София, 2008, p. 384, note 23, fig. 5 (besides the Sukovo near Pirot tablet, she indicates fragments of relief tablets from Kalna, and Trgovište or Ravna near Knjaževac); А.

come from *Dacia*,¹⁶ and one monument is from the Esquiline Hill in Rome.¹⁷ The monuments have the greatest prevalence of relief tablets, which are systemized into several groups in terms of their iconographic features, i.e. whether the deity is represented alone or accompanied by other deities. There is a dominance of relief tablets that represent *Zeus Zbelsurdos* alone (wearing a himation or only a chlamys over the shoulders), in the so-called attack stance, in a leftward movement, in the manner of the traditional iconographic representation of *Zeus Keraunos Aetophoros*, i.e. *Jupiter Fulminator*.¹⁸ There are fewer relief tablets where *Zeus Zbelsurdos* is accompanied by Hera (Demeter/Cora?), where the two deities are regularly represented in a two-wheeled or four-wheeled chariot, which is interpreted as a representation of the hierogamy of the two supreme deities.¹⁹ On the relief tablet from the Esquiline Hill in Rome, *Zeus Zbelsurdos* (Θεὸς Ζβερθουρδος) is represented in the company of an enigmatic deity riding a horse known as *Jambadule* (Ιαμβαδουλης), whose gender and competences have been variously interpreted.²⁰ On one of the reliefs (Bela

Јовановић, Трачко светилиште на Белави код Пирота, Зборник Народног музеја Ниш, XVI-XVII, Ниш, 2009, pp. 55-70, кат. бр. 6-7 (possibly including No 8, 11, 12 and 13 ?), figs. 6-7, fragments of 14 relief votive tablets were discovered at Belavi near Pirot, and according to their iconography, most of them are dedicated to the cult of Zeus and Hera, which is why it is assumed that a temple to these two deities existed there. According to their iconography, two of these reliefs can be classified as representations of *Zeus Zbelsurdos* in a four-wheeled chariot.

¹⁶ *CIL* III 142611=IDR II 20 (II-III^p). D. Tudor, Deux Sabazios și Zbelsurdos la Drobeta, Pontica 10, Constanza, 1977, pp. 117-126; Al. Popa, V. Popa, Un intéressant monument représentant Jupiter-Zbelsurdos, Latomus, T. 41, Fasc. 2, Bruxelles, 1982, pp. 353-355.

¹⁷ IG XIV 981=IGVR I 132, foto p. 116; G. Seure, Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos, pp. 236-240, fig. 7; A. B. Cook, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion, II, 1, pp. 820-821, fig. 786, note 3. On this monument Zeus Zbelsurdos is represented in the company of an enigmatic deity named Jambadule, whose identification has been variously interpreted.

¹⁸ A. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, pp. 137, 148-149; И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, pp. 42-45, обр./figs. 1-8, with the refereed literature. With the exception of one relief (village of Bozadzii, Sliven province), where *Zeus Zbelsurdos* is depicted wearing a chlamys, and the snake is not present (обр./Fig. 1), on all of the remaining votive reliefs of this type *Zbelsurdos* is depicted naked, wearing a chlamys over the shoulders. On one Plovdiv relief, included among the votive tablets of this group, the deity is mirroring the leftward movement, which is why the position of the attributes is changed (обр./Fig. 8).

¹⁹ И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, pp. 48-50, обр. 13-17, with the refereed literature. On these reliefs, Zeus is represented with the usual attributes (a thunder and an eagle), while Hera, who is wearing an overfold chiton and a himation, wearing a sceptre in the left hand, and usually a phiale in the right hand. Frontally, there is a depiction of a crawling snake in front of the chariot.

²⁰ G. Seure, Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos, pp. 236-240, fig. 7; A. B. Cook, Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion, II, 1, pp. 820-821, fig. 786, note 3; И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, pp. 49-52, обр. 18, with the

Crkva – Veliko Trnovo) there is a representation of an unidentified female figure with smaller dimensions standing behind Zbelsurdos's figure, which is interpreted with her lower rank than the god.²¹ Only on one relief (Laskar, Pleven region), *Zeus Zbelsurdos* and *Hera* are represented in the company of three nymphs, which is explained with the involvement of the nymphs in the natural forces and the vegetative regeneration.²²



5. Inscription on the front side of the base with a dedication to Zbelsurdos

As opposed to the reliefs, the statuary representations of *Zbelsurdos* are extremely rare. No stone/marble statuary compositions are known to come from the core region (*Thrace, Moesia Inferior*), except for the several small bronze statuettes made according to the iconography of *Zeus Keraunos Aetophoros*, i.e. *Jupiter Fulminator*.²³ The depictions of *Zeus* in the manner of *Zeus Keraunos* on the reverse of the *Serdica, Pautalia* and *Augusta Traiana* coins minted during the reigns of emperors Caracalla and Geta are identified as *Zeus Zbelsurdos*.²⁴

For now, the only analogy for the monument presented here is one sculptural composition of *Jupiter Zbelsurdos* from Dacia, originating from *Apulum* or *Ulpia Traiana*, and kept in the National Museum of the Union in Alba Iulia (Musée de l'Union d'Alba Iulii), Romania.²⁵ In this context we should also mention the fragment of a sculptural composition found on the site Scupi (the complex *Thermae - Atrium*

refereed literature regarding the various opinions regarding the identification of the deity with the name *Jambadule*.

²¹ G. Seure, *Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos*, p. 231; И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, pp. 45-46, обр. 5.

²² И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, p. 49, обр. 17, with the refereed literature

²³ И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, p. 46, со наведена литература (bronze statuettes resembling *Zeus Zbelsurdos* were discovered in Priboj-Radomir, Golemo Selo-Kyustendil, Opaka-Popovo, Skutare-Plovdiv and Radin-grad-Razgrad.

²⁴ И. Дончева, *За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия*, p. 46, обр. 9-11, with the refereed literature.

²⁵ Al. Popa, V. Popa, *Un intéressant monument représentant Jupiter-Zbelsurdos*, pp. 353-355.

basilica), which has a preserved section of a similar scene (left foot of an adult male in standing position, and a vertically positioned spirally coiled snake). The lack of an inscription and the poor state of preservation inhibit its positive identification as *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*.²⁶

Two epigraphic monuments of the *Zbelsurdos* cult are known from the territory of contemporary Macedonia, one from the Skopje region (village of Ljubanci) and one from Kumanovo region (village of Dovezence), both territorially included in the province of Moesia Superior.²⁷ Here we can also group the monument from Kačanik, Kosovo, found in the boundary zone of the Scupi municipal territory.²⁸ The names of the dedicators suggest romanized natives or settlers, but the lack of data regarding their social status, profession and origin, do not allow making any conclusions about the reasons or the manner of arrival of this cult at our territory. The dedicator of the monument from the village of Ljubanci in the Skopje region, *Sextus Flavius Fluminalis*, has a Roman tria nomina,²⁹ which indicates a well romanized settler, while the dedicator of the monument from the village of Dovezence (Kumanovo), *Catulus Munatianus* has a romanized epichoric name.³⁰ The monuments from *Moesia Superior* region are dated in the 2nd and the early 3rd century, while most of the monuments from Thrace and Moesia Inferior are dated in the 2nd–3rd century.

Γάϊος Ἀθυός, the dedicator of the monument presented here, has a Roman name consisting of two parts, combining the Roman praenomen Γάϊος with the Thracian patronymic Ἀθυός, suggesting a Thracian origin.³¹

²⁶ L. Jovanova, M. Ončevska Todorovska, Scupi, Sector southeastern defensive wall and the Thermae – Atrium Basilica Complex, Skopje 2017, 349–350, cat. no. 144, besides *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos*, the representation also suggest possible identification with *Asclepius* or *Apollo Citharoedus*.

²⁷ A. Evans, *Antiquarian Reserches in Illuricum*, Parts III–IV, Scupi, Skopia and Birthplace of Justinian, *Archaeologia* vol. 49, Westminster, 1885, p. 92, 120, fig. 58; P. Марић., *Антички култови у нашој земљи*, Београд, 1933, pp. 17–20; IMS VI, 18, 214.

²⁸ Н. Вулић, *Споменик LXXI*, Београд, 1931, no 179=CIL III 8191; P. Марић, *Антички култови*, pp. 17–20; Z. Mirdita, *Antroponimia e Dardanisë në kohë Romake*, Prishtinë, 1981, pp. 88, 249, no 221(20).

²⁹ IMS VI, 18.

³⁰ IMS VI, 214.

³¹ И. Дуриданов, *Езикът на траките*, p. 31: Athos (Hom., Steph. Byz.), Athos (Ovid.), Athon (Hdt., Strab.), Atho (Plin.), планина на полуостровот Akte на Халкидики; A. P. Dimitrov, *Thracian Language and Greek and Thracian Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 37; D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (OnomThrac). Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie, *Μελετήματα* 70, Athènes 2014, p. 11 (Athys, Athus, Atys, Αθυσ), Thracia: Batkun, terr. Philippopolis (IGB III. 1 1204, Αθυσ Σπαρτ[ο]κου); Augusta Traiana (ΑΕ, 2008, 1214 = SEG LVIII 678), Αύρ(ήλιον) Ἀσια[τικόν] Αθυός (ca.220–240p); Pizus, terr. Augusta Traiana (IGB III.2 1690 col. b18), Μουκατραλῖς Αθυός (202p); Viden, terr. Augusta Traiana, (IGB III.2 1735), [—]ατραλῖς Αθυός (II–III); Dolna Koznica, terr. Pautalia: «Σουρις Αθυός»; Moesia Inf: Glava Panega (sanct.), (IGB II 560), Διζας Αθυο[ς] (II–

Especially important is the data that the dedicator is a *gerousiast* (γερουσιαστής), i.e. a member of the institution *gerousia* (γερουσία) in a city with an unidentified name in the text.

The *gerousia* (council of elders) is a characteristic institution for the social life in the eastern cities of the Greek-speaking sphere in the Hellenistic and the Roman period. During the Roman period, these councils had first appeared in the 1st century, and functioned until the mid-3rd century. Members of the *gerousia* were the older/experienced individuals of the municipal elite after the completion of their function, but they also accepted wealthier individuals from the lower social classes who had no opportunity to be elected as magistrates, and in a way the *gerousia* provided an opportunity for a social progress. There is not enough data regarding the nature, status and competences of the *gerousiae* in terms of whether they functioned as social institutions with religious and administrative competences, or they were voluntary associations without any social role. The *gerousiae* were sponsored by the Roman administration, closely linked with the functions of the gymnasia, the worship of certain cults important to the city, and with the affirmation of the Imperial cult, which is why their role is often compared to that of the Augustales. They had their own treasury and real-estates, but also a burial ground for their members. They had an internal organization and hierarchy with managers, treasurers, lawyers and other competences. The *gerousia* funds were used for placing statues of the Emperor and his family, and of respected citizens, for organizing different festivities or religious festivals mostly connected with the Imperial cult.³² The Roman emperors, especially the ones after Hadrian's reign, stimulated the establishment of *gerousiae* in the eastern provinces, while in some of the cities the establishment of this institution is linked to the visit of some Emperor.³³ In some of the cities, Argos and Ephesus for example, the *gerousiae* have older roots in the antiquity, but in most of the eastern cities they were a novelty Roman period institution. The name of the *gerousia* is often preceded by the epithet ἡ ἱερὰ γερουσία = sacred *gerousia*, which is linked with the

IIP); Arkovna, terr. Marcianopolis, (IGB II 845) [- και Επτ?]ηπορις οι Αθυος και Αυλου[.....πο?]ρεος ιερείς (II-IIP); D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum, Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie, Supplém.* (OnomThracSuppl), <http://www.anhima.fr/IMG/pdf/onomthracsuppl.pdf>, 2017, p. 11 (Kozí Gramadi (terr. de Philippopolis), épit. (Hristov, *Kozí Gramadi*, 2014, pp. 149 et 183, n° 192) (imp.): Χιόνη Αθυ[ος?]); IGBulg. III, 2, 1690 (Μουκατραλις Αθυος/ Augusta Traiana).

³² J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, *Hesperia Supplement* 6. Princeton, 1941, pp. 3-8, 21-50; J. H. Oliver, *Gerusiae and Augustales*, *Historia* VII, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 472-479, 494-496; Н. Шаранков, *Свещената герусия във Филипопол*, *Годишник на департамент на "Средиземноморски и източни изследвания-Нов български университет"* том 2, София, 2004, pp. 198-209.

³³ J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, pp. 4-7, 21-22, 28-29, 34-36; J. H. Oliver, *Gerusiae and Augustales*, pp. 475-476, 494.

religious character of this institution. *Gerousiae* with the epithet 'sacred' are known in *Ephesus*, *Athens*, *Stratonicea*, *Philippopolis*, *Pautalia*.³⁴

In Scupi, as a Roman colony with a western model of social administration and provenance in the Latin-speaking sphere, the existence and functioning of an institution *gerousia* where the dedicator Γάϊος Ἄθυος could have been a member is highly unlikely. Hence, the origin of the dedicator Γάϊος Ἄθυος should probably be linked to some of the nearby urban centres with a functional *gerousia* and a worship of *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult. In the nearby provinces included in the Greek-speaking sphere: *Macedonia*, *Thrace* and *Moesia Inferior*, there is a considerable number of epigraphic testimonies for the work of the *gerousiae* in the cities: *Thessalonica*,³⁵ *Heraklea Sintica*,³⁶ *Pautalia*,³⁷ *Philippopolis*,³⁸ *Serdica*,³⁹ *Augusta Traiana*⁴⁰ and *Nicopolis ad Istrum*.⁴¹ On the other hand the monuments of the *Zeus/Jupiter Zbelsurdos* cult are especially frequent in the regions of *Pautalia* (Kyustendil), *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (Veliko Trnovo), and *Philippopolis* (Plovdiv).⁴² We think that *Pautalia* is the most serious candidate for the possible domicile of Γάϊος Ἄθυος, because it meets the conditions for worshiping the *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult and the existence of a *gerousia*, and at the same time is the westernmost urban centre of the province of *Thrace*, whose administrative territory bordered the Skopje-Kumanovo region, territorially included in the province of *Moesia Superior*, with which it maintained good communications.

Final considerations

The place of discovery of the presented monument is unknown, however there is a great probability that it came from the territory of contemporary Macedonia.⁴³ Although it is difficult to answer this question, the contents of the inscription can provide some help in the attempt for resolving this unknown issue. The *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult is

³⁴ J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, pp. 6, 37, 40–41.

³⁵ J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, pp. 36–38, 165–168, nos. 54–59 = *IG X* .2.1 154, 177, 195, 196, 200, 207.

³⁶ *IGBulg.* V, no 5925; N. Sharankov, *Heraclea Sintica in Second Century AD: New Evidence from Old Inscriptions*, *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, XX/2, Sofia, 2016, pp. 61–74.

³⁷ *IGBulg.* V, no 5773, 5776, 5924.

³⁸ Н. Шаранков, *Свещената герусия във Филипопол*, pp. 198–209 = *IGBulg.* III, 1, no 885, 992, 995, 1046+1047, 5439, 5433, 1150+1151.

³⁹ *IGBulg.* IV, 1906, 1916, 2010; *IGBulg.* III, 2, 1592.

⁴⁰ *IGBulg.* III 1592; Н. Шаранков 2004, *Свещената герусия във Филипопол*, p. 204 with listed literature regarding the monuments from *Augusta Traiana*.

⁴¹ *IGBulg.* II, no 692, *IGBulg.* V, no 5217.

⁴² Refer to notes 14 and 15.

⁴³ Refer to note 1.

confirmed only in the Skopje-Kumanovo region, i.e. in that part of contemporary Macedonia which was once a part of the province of *Moesia Superior*, and this could indicate a possible provenance of the monument from this region. No monuments of the *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult were discovered on the territory included in the province of Macedonia, while in the urban centres: *Lychnidos*, *Heraclea Lyncestis*, *Stobi*, *Styberra* and the city on the Isar Marvinci, there are no epigraphic records for active *gerousiae*. Hence, on the basis of elimination, the possible place of discovery of the monument is narrowed down to the Skopje-Kumanovo region and the territory of contemporary Macedonia (the region of Kratovo – Kriva Palanka), which was a part of the Roman province of Thrace. We have already mentioned that it is highly unlikely that the institution *gerousia* could have functioned in Scupi, as it was a Roman colony of the western Latin-speaking sphere, suggesting that the origin of the dedicator is almost certainly not from this region. Still, the possibility that the monument was found on some site in the Skopje-Kumanovo region should not be dismissed, but in that case there must be some logical explanation for its presence. In that respect, it is possible that the dedicator Γάιος Ἀθυσος, during his transit or temporary stay in Scupi, or in the Skopje-Kumanovo region, for some reason (official, private?) has made a dedication to *Zeus Zbelsurdos*, whose cult was already worshiped in this region that could also had its temple. The reasons for that could have been his personal respect for the deity, and the acceptance of the cult in his region (city) of origin, which had an active *gerousia* where he was a member, and whose competences probably covered the worship of the cult of the supreme Dentheletaean epichoric god (*Zbelsurdos*). However, should this assumption be accepted, the omission of the city of origin and the *gerousia* of the dedicator Γάιος Ἀθυσος would be illogical, because the monument was placed on a location within the administrative territory of another city, i.e. province.⁴⁴ After all, he was a wealthy man of a high civil position, who made his dedication far away from the place

⁴⁴ In that respect we can also mention the example of the votive monument dedicated to *Hera Sonketene* (Ἥρα Σονκητηνῆ) from the reign of Claudius (41-56), found in the Svrljig Valley (R. Serbia), near Timacium Maius in the province of *Moesia Superior*. She was a goddess (local variant of Hera), which was worshiped only in the Thracian strategia 'Field Denthelctica/Δενθελητικὴ Πεδίασις'. The presence of a votive monument of Hera Sonketene outside the core area of worship is explained with the need of the dedicator, the strategos *Tiberius Claudius Teopompus* to make a dedication of the local goddess, worshiped in his strategia Field Denthelctica, during his private or official stay/travel in the bordering zone of the province of *Moesia Superior* with Thrace (Р. Марић, Антички култови, p. 20; Б. Геров, Проучвания върху Западнотракийските земи през римско време, Годишник на Софийския университет, Филологически факултет (ГСУ, ФФ), LIV, 3, 1959/60. С., София 1961, pp. 245-246, note 1, 325; IMS III/2, 128-129, n 101; V. Petrović, Locating the *Timacum Maius* Station on the Roman Road *Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria*: New Archaeological Research, *Balkanica XXXIX* (2008), Belgrade, 2009, p. 56; V. Petrović, V. Filipović, Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence Contributing to Identifying the Location and Character of *Timacum Maius*, *Balkanica XLIV*, Belgrade, 2013, pp. 35-42, 46-47.).

(city) of residence. That is why it would be expected the name of the city to be mentioned beside his function (member of a *gerousia*). The fact that the name of the city is omitted suggests that there was no need for including it, because the monument was probably placed on a location within the administrative territory of the city in which the mentioned *gerousia* was active, i.e. the domicile city of Γάιος Ἀθυσος. According to this analysis it is unlikely that this monument originates from the municipal territory of Scupi, i.e. the Skopje-Kumanovo region. Consequently, the only remaining option is the territory of contemporary Macedonia which was a part of the province of Thrace, where we should seek the place of discovery of the presented *Zeus Zbelsurdos* sculpture.⁴⁵ The scholars' opinions regarding the sections of north-east Macedonia which were included in the province of Thrace after its establishment in 45-46 C.E., and regarding the routes of the borderlines between the provinces of Moesia Thrace and Macedonia are divided. The prevailing opinion is that the Kratovo-Kriva Palanka area (Kratovo, Zletovo, Kriva Palanka), was included in the territory of Thrace,⁴⁶ however it is questionable to which municipal administrative

⁴⁵ Although the administrative status of the Kumanovo region is unknown, there are numerous opinions that range from it being a part of the Scupi ager to the existence of an independent urban centre that could have had a status of a municipium or an imperial domain with an autonomous jurisdiction. The epigraphic testimonies indicate that two customs stations functioned in this region, stationed near the village of Lopate (*statio Lamud*) and Klečovce (*statio Vizianus*), and that there was probably a larger settlement near the village of Biljanovce. The largest of them, and probably the one with the highest administrative status, was the settlement near the village of Lopate (*statio Lamud*), which functioned as a *mutatio* or *mansio*, although there are claims that it reached the status of a municipium. The settlement was located on an important road transversal, i.e. a crossroad that branched into two roads, one to Pautalia, the other one to Naissus. (Н. Вулић, Територија римског Скопља, Гласник Скопског научног друштва 1, Скопље, 1925, pp. 1-4; А. Mócsy, Gesellschaft und Romanisation der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior, Budapest, 1970, pp. 44, 62; I. Mikulčić Teritorija Skupa, Živa Antika XXI/2, Skopje, 1971, pp. 469-472; IMS VI 1982, pp. 19-20, 29-30, 41-45, notes 15-29, nos. 209, 212; С. Душанић, Организација римског рударства у Норику, Панонији, Далмацији и Горњој Мезији, Историско гласник 1-2, Београд, 1980, pp. 27, 30; 3. Николовски, Антика во североисточниот дел на Македонија, населби, утврдувања, патни комуникации, Куманово, 2013, pp. 19-20, 27-43, 49-50, 70-83).

⁴⁶ Ф. Папазоглу, Македонски градови у римско доба, Жива Антика (поседна издања, књ. 1). Скопје, 1957, pp. 76-79, 83-87, 93-95; И. Микулчиќ, Антички градови во Македонија, Скопје, 1999, pp. 212-215, 229-232; И. Микулчиќ, Античките градови на Брегалница, Скопје, 2009, p. 18; А. Керамичиев, Новооткриени епиграфски споменици во кратовско, Жива Антика XXIII Скопје, 1973, pp. 147-154, the author claims that the Kratovo region might have belonged to Moesia Superior; Н. Проева, Студии за античките Македонци, Historia Antiqua Macedonica, kn. 5, Скопје, 1997, pp. 246-248, claims that the whole region along the Bregalnica valley remained within the boundaries of the province of Macedonia; Б. Геров, Проучвания вху Западнотракийските земи, pp. 245-249, 325-330-331, 365-367; В. Кацарова, Пауталия и нейната територия през I-VI век, Велико Търново, 2005, pp. 40-47, with the refereed literature.

territory this region belonged. The northwest bordering zone of the newly established province of Thrace included the *strategia Dentheletica*, named after one of the largest Thracian tribes.⁴⁷ It is considered that later, after the establishment of the city of *Pautalia* at the beginning the 2nd century, its administrative territory gradually took over the whole territory of *strategia Dentheletica*. There are different opinions regarding the boundaries of *strategia Dentheletica* and the region covered by the municipal territory of *Pautalia*, but the prevailing opinion is that the western border of the municipal administrative territory of *Pautalia* coincided with the western border of *strategia Dentheletica*, i.e. the province of Thrace, whose western border is traced in the southwest foot of the Osogovo mountains, where the tripoint of the provinces of *Thrace*, *Moesia Superior* and *Macedonia* was located.⁴⁸ Consequently the prevailing opinion is idea that it is highly probable that the monument was found on some site in the Kratovo-Kriva Palanka region, which was a part of the jurisdiction of the province of Thrace, and probably to the administrative territory of the city of *Pautalia*, and that the dedicator Γάιος Ἀθύος was a member of the *gerousia* functioning in this city. *Pautalia* fits this analysis not only as a city with a functional institution *gerousia*, but also as one of the centres where the *Zeus Zbelsurdos* cult was worshiped, and it is also assumed that the main temple of this god in Thrace was located nearby.⁴⁹ The place of discovery of this monument should probably be sought on some location near the antiquity road (uncharted on *Tabula Peutingeriana*), which connected *Scupi* with *Pautalia*.⁵⁰ In that respect we should

⁴⁷ The issue regarding the organization and administrative division of Thrace into *strategiae* during the Imperial period is an extensively elaborated subject which still remains open (М. Тачева, История на българските земи в древността през елинистическата и римската епоха (второ допълнено издание), София, 1987, pp. 163-175, with the listed older literature regarding this topic.

⁴⁸ Б. Геров, Проучвания въху Западнотракийските земи, pp. 245-249, 325-330-331, 365-367; В. Кацарова, Пауталия и нейната територия, pp. 19-47, with the refereed literature.

⁴⁹ G. Kazarov, Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au dieu thrace Zbelsourdous, *Revue Archéologique*, XXI, 1913, pp. 340-346, figs 1-5; Г. Кацаров, Светилище на Зевс и Хера при Копиловци, Известия на Българското археологическо дружество (ИБАД IV), София, 1914, p. 82; Б. Геров, Проучвания въху Западнотракийските земи, pp. 313-314; Я. Младенова, Към култа на Зевс и Хера в нашите земи, *Археология* 1966/3, София, 1966, pp. 35-36; *IGBulg IV*, No 2216, 2217, 2218; Б. Борисов, Археологически проучвания в м. Царичина край Големо село, Кюстендилско, Известия на Исторически Музей (ИИМ)-Кюстендил, IV, С., 1996, Кюстендил, 1992, p. 253; В. Бешевлиев, Сбелсурд, Кратка енциклопедия, p. 244; И. Дончева За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, p. 41; А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия, p. 147; В. Кацарова, Пауталия и нейната територия, pp. 170-172.

⁵⁰ Ф. Папазоглу, Македонски градови у римско доба, pp. 80-87; *IMS VI*, pp. 41-42; I. Mikulčić, *Teritorija Skupa*, pp. 469-472; И. Микулчиќ, Антички градови во Македонија, pp. 229-232; В. Лилчиќ, Античка патна мрежа, Археолошка карта на Република Македонија, том I., Скопје, 1994, p. 116; З. Николовски, Антика во

draw a parallel to the altar dedicated to *Zbelsurdos* (IMS VI, 214) found on the site 'Stara Crkva' in the village of Dovezence – Kumanovo region, which was near the route of the mentioned antiquity road. This site is located in the southeast boundary zone of the province of *Moesia Superior*, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of the border with the province of Thrace, and the tripoint between the provinces of *Moesia Superior*, *Macedonia* and *Thrace*.⁵¹

Hence, it is possible that the dedicator Γάιος Ἄθως, in some of his journeys, transits or stays in the northwest zone of contemporary Macedonia (the Kratovo-Kriva Palanka region?), which a part of the province of Thrace, and probably to the municipal administrative territory of *Pautalia*, placed a dedication to *Zeus Zbelsurdos* in some of the local temples near the border of *Thrace* and *Moesia Superior*, whose precise location cannot be determined with certainty.⁵²

We think that at the current level of knowledge all the assumption regarding the possible place of discovery of the presented sculptural group have been exhausted, and that any future elaboration of this issue would be unfounded. Because of that, we hope that the future finds, connected to the cult of the Dentheletaeon epichoric deity *Zeus Zbelsurdos*, i.e. the institution *gerousia*, will allow the resolution of this problem.

североисточниот дел на Македонија, pp. 33, 36, 42-43, 60-62. It is considered that the main road Scupi - Pautalia (uncharted on Tabula Peutingeriana), went from Scupi passing by the eastern foot of Skopska Crna Gora, and near the village of Nikuštak, from here it continued to the village of Lopate (*statio Lamud*), where it branched into a road that went towards Kriva Reka, passing through Klečkovice, Dovezence and Beljakovce to reach Golemo Gradište near the village of Konjuh, where it turned eastwards, and passed near Šopsko Rudare, Kuklica, Trnovac, Sekulica, Filipovci, Opila, Psača, Gradec, reaching the Deve Bair mountain passage, and continuing to Pautalia.

⁵¹ IMS VI, pp. 41-42; I. Mikulčić, *Teritorija Skupa*, p. 469; И., Микулчиќ, *Антички градови во Македонија*, pp. 210-215; З. Николовски, *Антика во североисточниот дел на Македонија*, p. 35.

⁵² Sharankov N., 2016, pp. 67-70, fig. 11, we can draw a parallel with the example of an altar (IGBulg V 5924) found at the site Poleto near Simitli, which was a part of the broader municipal administrative territory of Pautalia. The altar was placed by a member of a *gerousia* of an unidentified city. Until recently, this monument was connected with *gerousia* of the city located near Rupite/Muletarovo (*Heraclea Sintica*) in the province of Macedonia, because of the wrong identification of its place of discovery.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CIL III = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, I–XVII (et suppléments); Vol. 3, Parts 1–2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*. 2 vols. Berlin 1873.
- IDR II = D. M. Pippidi, I. I. Russu (éds.), *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiile Daciei romane*, Bucarest (en cours); Gr. Florescu, C. C. Petolescu, II. Pars meridionalis, inter Danuvium et Carpatos montes, 1977.
- IG X 2, 1 = *Inscriptiones Graecae* X 2, 1, *Inscriptiones Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae*. Pars II, fasc. 1: *Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, (edidit Edson Ch.), Berlin 1972.
- IG XIV = *Inscriptiones Graecae, XIV. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, additis Galliae, Hispaniae, Britanniae, Germaniae inscriptionibus*, ed. Georg Kaibel. Berlin 1890.
- IGVR I = L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, I–IV, Rome, 1968–1990.
- IGBulg I–V = *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, ed. G. Mihailov. Vol. I² – V. Serdicae, 1958–1997.
- IMS III/2 = Petrović P., 1995, *Inscriptions de Mésie Supérieure*, vol. III/2, Timacum Minus et la Vallée du Timok, Beograd.
- IMS VI = Dragojević Josifovska B., 1982, *Inscriptions de Mésie Supérieure*, vol. VI, Scupi et la région de Kumanovo, Beograd.
- ILug III = A. et J. Sasel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963 (Situla 5) [I]; (inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX), 1978 (Situla 19) [II]; (inter annos MCMII et MCMXL), 1986 (Situla 25) [III].
- I. Perinthos = M. H. Sayar, *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, Vienne, 1998 (DenkschrWien 269).
- IThrAeg = L. D. Loukopoulou, M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma, A. Zournatzi, *Ἐπιγραφες τῆς Θράκης τοῦ Αἰγαίου μεταξύ των ποταμῶν Νέστου καὶ Ἑβρου (Νομοὶ Ξάνθης, Ροδόπης καὶ Ἑβρου)*. *Inscriptiones antiquae partis Thraciae quae ad ora maris Aegaei sita est (praefecturae Xanthes, Rhodopes et Hebri)*, Athènes, 2005.
- SEG XLII = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Vols. 42–44, eds. Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1995–1997.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Б. Борисов, Археологически проучвания в м. Царичина край Големо село, Кюстендилско, Известия на Исторически Музей (ИИМ) - Кюстендил, IV, С., 1996, Кюстендил, 1992, 253–261.
- В. Бешевлиев, Сбелсурд, Кратка енциклопедия, Тракийска древност, (ред. Д. Попов), София 1993, 244.
- F. Canciani, Iuppiter combattente. *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (=LIMC)*, VIII-1, 2. Zürich-Düsseldorf, 1997.
- A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, II, 1, Zeus god of the dark sky (thunder and lightning), Cambridge, 1925.
- D. Dana, Le dossier Gébélēzīs. Une page de l'interprétation de Zalmoxis, *Ephemeris Napocensis* XIII, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, 117–141.
- D. Dana, C. Ricci, *Divinità provinciali nel cuore dell'Impero. Le dediche dei militari traci nella Roma imperiale*. *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome-Antiquité*, Ecole française de Rome, Roma 2014, pp. 511–529 <10.4000/mefra.2569>. <halshs-01408393>

- D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (OnomThrac). Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie, *Μελετήματα* 70, Athènes, 2014.
- D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum*, Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie, Supplementum (Onom Thrac Suppl). <http://www.anhima.fr/IMG/pdf/onomthracsuppl.pdf> (janvier 2017).
- Д. Дечев, Една семейна триада в религията на траките, *Известия на археологическия институт (ИАИ)* 18, София, 1952, 7-49
- D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste*. Wien, 1957
- A. P. Dimitrov, *Thracian Language and Greek and Thracian Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 2009.
- И. Дончева, За култа и паметниците на Зевс Збелсурд в Тракия, Епохи, кн. 1-2, 2004, Университетско издателство „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“, Велико Търново, 2006, 41-56.
- Д. Дуриданов, *Езикът на траките*, София, 1976.
- С. Душанић, Организация римског рударства у Норик, Панонији, Далмацији и Горњој Мезији, *Историско гласник* 1-2, Београд, 1980, 8-55.
- Вл. Георгиев, *Тракийският език*, София, 1957.
- Б. Геров, Проучвания въвху Западнотракийските земи през римско време, *Годишник на Софийския университет, Филологически факултет (ГСУ, ФФ)*, LIV, 3, 1959/60. С., София, 1961.
- B. Gerov, Zum problem der strategien in römischen Thrakien, *Klio Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 52, Berlin, 1970, 123-132.
- A. Evans, *Antiquarian Reserches in Illuricum*, Parts III-IV, Scupi, Skopia and Birthplace of Justinian, *Archaeologia* vol. 49, Westminster, 1885, 79-167.
- L. Jovanova, M. Ončevska Todorovska, Scupi, Sector southeastern defensive wall and the Thermae - Atrium Basilica Complex, Skopje 2017.
- A. Јовановић, Трачко светилиште на Белави код Пирота, *Зборник Народног музеја Ниш*, XVI-XVII, Ниш, 2009, 55-70.
- G. Kazarov, Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au dieu thrace Zbelsourdous, *Revue Archéologique*, XXI, Paris, 1913, 340-346.
- Г. Кацаров, Светилище на Зевс и Хера при Копиловци, *Известия на Българското археологическо дружество (ИБАД)* IV, София, 1914, 80-112.
- В. Кацарова, Пауталия и нейната територия през I-VI век, 2005, Велико Търново.
- В. Лилчиќ, Античка патна мрежа, *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија*, том I., Скопје, 1994, 112-118.
- A. Керамтитчиев, Новооткриени епиграфски споменици во кратовско, *Жива Антика* XXIII Скопје, 1973, 147-157.
- Р. Марић, Антички култови у нашој земљи, Београд, 1933.
- I. Mikulčić, Teritorija Skupa, *Živa Antika* XXI/2, Skopje, 1971, 463-482.
- И. Микулчиќ, Старо Скопје со околните тврдини, Скопје 1982.
- М. Микулчиќ, Антички градови во Македонија, Скопје 1999.
- И. Микулчиќ, Античките градови на Брегалница, Скопје, 2009.
- Z. Mirdita, Antroponimia e Dardanisë në kohë Romake, Prishtinë, 1981.
- Я. Младенова, Към култа на Зевс и Хера в нашите земи, *Археология* 1966/3, София, 1966, 34-38.
- A. Mócsy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest, 1970.
- З. Николовски, Антика во североисточниот дел на Македонија, населби, утврдувања, патни комуникации, Куманово, 2013.
- J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia*, *Hesperia Supplement* 6. Princeton, 1941.
- J. H. Oliver, *Gerusiae and Augustales*, *Historia* VII, Wiesbaden, 1958, 472-496.
- Ф. Папазоглу, Македонски градови у римско доба, *Жива Антика*, посебна издања, књ. I. Скопје, 1957.

- П. Петровић, Ниш у античко доба (друго допуњено издање, приредио А. Јовановић), Ниш, 1999.
- V. Petrović, Locating the *Timacum Maius* Station on the Roman Road *Lissus–Naissus–Ratiaria*: New Archaeological Research, *Balkanica* XXXIX(2008), Belgrade, 2009, 47-58.
- V. Petrović, V. Filipović, Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence Contributing to Identifying the Location and Character of Timacum Maius, *Balkanica* XLIV, Belgrade, 2013, 35-47.
- Al. Popa, V. Popa, Un intéressant monument représentant Jupiter-Zbelsurdos, *Latomus*, T. 41, Fasc. 2, Bruxelles, 1982, 353-355.
- Н. Проєва, Студии за античките Македонци, *Historia Antiqua Macedonica*, kn. 5, Скопје, 1997.
- G. Seure, Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos: ΖΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΑΟΣ, ΓΕΒΕΛΕΙΖΙΣ, ΖΑΛΜΟΞΙΣ. In: *Revue des Études Grecques*, tome 26, fascicule 117, Paris, 1913, 225-261.
- М. Тачева, История на българските земи в древността през елинистическата и римската епоха (второ допълнено издание), София, 1997.
- А. Тенчова, Оброчни плочки с изображение на Зевс от Долна Мизия и Тракия (в земите на Р. България, I-III в. сл. хр. Образ и култ в Древна Тракия, Аспекти на формирането на тракийския образен език (съставител: Д. Ботева-Боянова), София, 2006, 136-170.
- M. Tiverios, Zeus Keraunos. *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (=LIMC), VIII-1, 2. Zürich-Düsseldorf, 1997.
- W. Tomaschek, Die alten Thraker I-II (1893-1894), Eine ethnologische Untersuchung, Wien 1975 (reprint).
- D. Tudor, Deux Sabazios și Zbelsurdos la Drobeta, *Pontica* 10, Constanza, 1977, 117-126.
- S. Černač-Ratković, Thracian elements on the territory of Moesia, Тракия и околният свят, Научна конференция - Шумен 2006, МИФ 14, София, 2008, 378-392.
- H. Üsener, Keraunos, *Rhienisches Museums für philologie*, LX, Frankfurt am Main, 1905, 1-30.
- И. Вълчев, Бележки към светилището на Зевс Збелсурд при с. Големо Село, Дупнишко. In: *Stephanos Archaeologicos in honorem Professoris Stephae Angelova*, *Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Serdicensis*, Suppl. V, Sofia 2010, 199-206.
- И. Вълчев, Извънградските светилища в римската провинция Тракия (I-IV век), София 2015.
- Н. Вулић, Територија римског Скопља, *Гласник Скопског научног друштва* 1, Скопље, 1925, 1-5.
- Н. Вулић, Антички споменици наше земље, *Споменик Српске краљевске академије* LXXI, Београд, 1931.
- Н. Вулић, Антички споменици наше земље, *Споменик Српске академије наука и уметности* XCVIII, Београд, 1941/1948.
- Н. Шаранков, Свещената герусия във Филипопол, *Годишник на департамент на "Средиземноморски и източни изследвания-Нов български университет"* том 2, София, 2004, 198-208.
- Н. Шаранков, Надписът на филопополския герусиаст Аврелий Сострат и проблемът за елинизацията на тракийското население, *TEXNE GRAMMATIKE*, Сборник изследвания в чест на Стойна Пороманска (Съставител и редактор К. Павликианов), София, 2005, 278-28
- N. Sharankov, *Heraclea Sintica in Second Century AD: New Evidence from Old Inscriptions*, *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, XX/2, Sofia, 2016, 57-74.

АПСТРАКТ

Во текстот е презентирана скулптурална композиција посветена на тракискиот бог Зевс/Јупитер Збелсурд. Местото на наод на овде презентираниот споменик е непознато, но голема е веројатноста дека станува збор за просторот на современа Македонија. Направена е иконографска анализа на споменикот, како и приказ на култот кон Зевс Збелсурд преку познатите епиграфски завети, релјефни или скулптурални претстави од просторите на негова распространетост: Тракија, Долна Мезија и Дакија, со акцент на наодите од Мезија Супериор. Особено внимание е посветено на потеклото на дедикантот Γάιος Ἀθυσ, како и неговата припадност кон институцијата герузија *gerousia* (γερουσία). Направен е обид за идентификација на местото на наод на споменикот, но и градот од кој потекнувал дедикантот, чие име не е спомнато на споменикот, а каде тој ја извршувал функцијата на *gerusiast* (γερουσιαστής), односно бил член на институцијата *gerousia* (γερουσία).

Клучни зборови: скулптурална композиција, Збелсурд, герузија, герузијаст, Скупи, Пауталија.