

FIGURAL STONE DECORATION FROM *HORREUM MARGI* (ĆUPRIJA)

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Archaeological exploration of the Roman town of *Horreum Margi* began in 1861, when Felix Kanitz saw and made sketches of the Roman fort of Ćuprija, at the mouth of the river Ravanica into Morava¹. (Map) In his work Краљевина Србија from 1904, he enthusiastically repeats the description of the multi-layer Ćuprija fort².

For decades after Kanitz's description of the Roman fort in Ćuprija, according to historical sources identified as *Horreum Margi*³, there was no interest in this archaeological site. One of the reasons is surely its position in the very centre of the modern settlement of Ćuprija, under the modern military base and arsenal, and later military equestrian school. *Horreum Margi* is only mentioned as a finding place of different epigraphic monuments in the papers written by M. Valtrović, N. Vulić and others⁴.

In 1963, during the building of different objects within the military base «Miodrag Novaković – Džudža», part of a Roman cemetery was discovered. The Institute for Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Serbia from Belgrade conducted protection excavation and during these, twenty graves were discovered – with tegulae, dated into the 4th century according to grave-goods⁵.

From 1962 to 1964, during three campaigns, the first systematic excavation of the archaeological site of *Horreum Margi* within the military base of Ćuprija was conducted. It was directed by D. Piletić, one of the museum's custodians⁶. During this excavation, the northern wall and the north-eastern corner of the fort were examined with trenches, as well as two buildings within the fort. Still, the methodology and interpretation of

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¹ Kanitz 1892, 68 ff.

² Kanitz 1904, 227.

³ For historical sources about the Roman fort and the town *Horreum Margi* see Petrović 1979, 57–58.

⁴ Petrović 1979, 58, ref. 9.

⁵ Jordović 1963, 90–93, T. XXII–XXIV.

⁶ Piletić 1989, 86–101.

archaeological finds applied at that time, lead to inappropriate conclusions by Piletić, concerning size, shape and chronology of the Roman fort of *Horreum Margi*⁷.

In 1978–1979, M. Vasić conducted trench excavations on smaller scale of the northern wall on the left Ravanica bank, in the yard of a house in 6, Kursulina street and around bank pillars of the Roman bridge at the right Morava bank, to the north-west from the fort, actually from the modern military base⁸.

At the beginning of 1986, during the works on the facade along both sides of the entrance of the command building, a hoard of Roman coins from the 4th and 5th century, walls of a Roman building, most likely *thermae*, and two late Antique graves were discovered⁹.

After more than a century from the moment F. Kanitz made his initial notes about *Horreum Margi*, in 1987, the Institute of Archaeology and the Military Museum from Belgrade initiated systematic archaeological research of the Late Antique fort and mediaeval settlement at the site of *Horreum Margi* – Ravno – Čuprija¹⁰. The excavations were focused on examining the size and shape of the Roman fort, as well as stratigraphy of cultural layers of this multi-layer site. According to this, between 1987 and 1990, the site was examined with six trenches, placed along the northern and the eastern fortification-walls and within the fort.

According to the results of the research, it can be concluded that the settlement of *Horreum Margi* was established at the beginning of the 2nd century and surrounded with walls at the beginning of the 3rd century. At the beginning of the 4th century, the older fortification was extended towards the west, attested with demolition of the older western wall and military barracks placed along it. The new fortification possessed a polygonal ground plan, measuring 270 m (east-west) by 200 m (north-south)¹¹. This fort was destroyed in the middle of the 4th century, shown with layers of soot and destruction. The destruction of the fort in the 4th century probably occurred later, during Gothic raids and after the battle of Hadrianopolis in 378, when the province Moesia Prima was plundered, including *Horreum Margi*¹². The next demolition and leveling within the fort took place during the first half of the 5th century, most likely during the Hunnic raids in 441–443¹³. In this period, the Roman town of *Horreum*

⁷ See the critics by M. Vasić in: Vasić, Kavajin–Mundrić, Popović 1989, 8; Васић *et alii* 2009, 137.

⁸ Vasić, Kavajin–Mundrić, Popović 1989, 10–12.

⁹ Vasić, Kavajin–Mundrić, Popović 1989, 15–18; Vasić 1990.

¹⁰ The excavation was conducted by Miloje Vasić, Ph.D., in front of the Institute of Archaeology, Jadranka Kavajin–Mundrić in front of the Military Museum and Sofija Petković (former Popović), as a conductor assistant. The team members were Vesna Manojlović–Nikolić, assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad, Milica Križanec and Mihailo Đorić, archaeologists, Ivana Bodulić, Snežana Topić, Snežana Černač, Milica Tapavički and Danica Jović, students of archaeology, Darko Zarin, architect and Katarina Ilić, architecture student.

¹¹ The length of the northern wall of the older fort was about 190 m. (Васић *et alii* 2009, 139; Васић, Петковић 2010, 10–11, Pl. 5)

¹² Vasić, Kavajin–Mundrić, Popović 1989, 32–35; Васић *et alii* 2009, 135–136; Васић, Петковић 2010, 21–22.

¹³ It was best attested with two coin hoards: Vasić 1988, 63 ff.; Vasić 1990, 55–56.

Margi was ultimately destroyed, although upon its ruins, life went on for several years. This chronology completely corresponds to the stratigraphy gained with archaeological research from 1987–1990¹⁴. During this excavation, the early Byzantine layer of the 6th century was not discovered¹⁵.

In 1991, the excavation of the multi-layer site of *Horreum Margi* – Ravno – Čuprija was interrupted due to the Civil War in former Yugoslavia.

During the excavation in 1990, in pit 5, a fragment of a marble icon was found, dedicated to Mithras (inv. nr. 614, *Horreum Margi* Museum, Fig. 1)¹⁶. Its maximal preserved width is 57 cm, its maximal preserved height is 35 cm, while its breadth varies between 10 cm near the base and 9 cm close to the top of the monument. The relief depicts the bull-slaying scene. Mithras's head is missing, the head and part of the body of the left torch-bearer, as well as a part of dog's body (Fig. 1)¹⁷. The central scene is framed with a profiled ribbon and a bunch of leaves, all together forming either a triangle or a trapeze. Fields on both sides of the central scene were also framed. All the details from this scene and their interpretation are given in the above-mentioned article by M. Vasić¹⁸.

The left torch-bearer is positioned diagonally to Mithras. In his right arm, he bears a torch facing downwards. He is wearing a chyton, there is a Phrygian cap on his head and there is long, curly hair, falling over his shoulders.

The central relief part depicts Mithras himself, stepping with his right foot on bull's back legs, while with his left he kneels on bull's back. With his left hand, he lifts the bull's head and holding his jaw, while he is stabbing it with his right hand. Mithras is also wearing a chyton and a swaying chlamida, while he wears boots on his feet. With his front legs, the bull is kneeling on the ground, while its back legs are stretched. Under the bull, there is a snake, lifting its upper body part towards the bull's wound. From the right, there is a dog jumping towards the wound.

The image of the right torch-bearer is partly missing, but it can be presumed that he was dressed similar to the left one. In his right hand, he held an upturned torch.

Under the bull-slaying scene, there is a two-lined inscription. The field with the inscription is partly damaged on its right side. The inscription was also described in detail by M. Vasić¹⁹. The inscription reads: *SOLI INVICTO AVR(elius) AQUIL[a ±12 letters] | GORDIANAE V(otum) [s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]*. As usually, after the name

¹⁴ Vasić, Kavajin-Mundrić, Popović 1989, 13–23; Vasić *et alii* 2009, 133–139; Vasić, Petković 2010, 9 ff.

¹⁵ Pot and amphorae fragments with combed ornament, typical for the early Byzantine pottery, sporadically appear in different parts of the site, probably indicating the existence of a smaller settlement of the 6th century in one of the fortification parts. The houses of the older mediaeval settlement Ravno, from the 9th and the 10th century, were dug-in, therefore possibly destroying the early Byzantine settlement layer (Vasić *et alii* 2009, 139–141).

¹⁶ Vasić, Petković 2010, 17, Fig. 7; Vasić 1992.

¹⁷ Vasić 1992, 379, Fig. 1.

¹⁸ Vasić 1992.

¹⁹ Vasić 1992, 383–384.

of the deity to which the monument is dedicated, there is the name of the dedicant, in this case Aurelius Aquila. For the rest of the first line (which is missing), it can be presumed that it contained the military status of Aurelius Aquila, as well as the unit in which he served. The epithet *GORDIANA* probably refers to the name of the military unit from the first line. In Upper Moesia, this honorary epithet was given to two units: *Legio IV Flavia* and *Cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum*²⁰. The presence of the inscription makes it possible to date it quite precisely, actually in the fourth or the fifth decade of the 3rd century²¹.

What distinguishes this relief from other known reliefs is the treatment of its left and right sides. On no other Mithras's relief is the bull-slaying scene depicted in a triangle or a trapeze, but within a more or less stylized cave or in a medallion. Still, floral elements surrounding the scene also appear on other monuments with similar depictions²². Vasić offers several explanations on why this scene was placed within a triangle: one hypothesis could be that the stone-cutter did not really understand the bull-slaying scene and therefore placed it within an imaginary scenery rather than into a cave²³. The other hypothesis would be that with this depiction, tendency arose to put accent on the symbolic meaning of triangle as heaven (roof), as well as the meeting point of the realm of heavenly gods with the realm of mortals²⁴.

The closest geographical and chronological parallel to this Mithras's relief is the relief from Tekija, kept at the National Museum in Belgrade²⁵. It is possible that both monuments were made in the same artistic circle or even in the same stone-cutting workshop²⁶.

The next example of stone plastic is inv. nr. 615 from the *Horreum Margi* Museum. It was made of greyish limestone, preserved measures 45 (height) X 54 (width) X 13 (breadth) cm. (Fig. 2). It is presumed that it was originally rectangular and that it was a tombstone. Most damages are in the upper part of the monument. The remaining part of the monument shows that it was divided into at least two parts, with a ribbon of semi-circles resembling a shell. In the left monument part, there is one figure and in the right part, there are three figures. Such a tombstone would belong to the medallion type of monuments, shell-shaped and flanked with lying lions and with an image of a huge pinecone in the middle²⁷.

The lion figure on the left monument side (the figure at the left end, Fig. 3) has its head and the part of its body preserved²⁸. The head is disproportionately big compared

²⁰ Васић 1992, 384.

²¹ Васић 1992, 385.

²² Васић 1992, 381.

²³ Васић 1992, 382.

²⁴ Васић 1992, 382.

²⁵ Зотовић 1973, 100–105.

²⁶ Васић 1992, 381, 384–385.

²⁷ Protase 1960, 323–333; Băluță 1975, 133–139; Dautova-Ruševljan 1988, 6465, T. 7, 2–3; Țeposu-Marinescu 1982, 33, 188–194, Pl. XXX-XXXIII.

²⁸ Petković and Ilijić 2013, 63, Fig. 10.

to the body. The eyes are extremely big, while its left eye is slightly damaged. The nose is triangular and the whole face is oval. Its jaw is opened, showing huge eyeteeth and protruding tongue, while its mane was depicted with zig-zag lines. Part between the head and the body is not well made and the neck is missing. The lion's torso shows the front left paw, which is bent, while its right paw is hidden under its body. The lion holds an animal in its paws, possibly a bird or a rabbit²⁹, representing soul of the deceased in the claws of death. Due to the damages of the monument, it is not possible to determine what kind of animal is held by the lion. It shall be mentioned that the entire image of the lion bears features of a human portrait³⁰.

The above mentioned disproportion is best shown on this figure, while it is much less shown on the figures depicted in the right part of the monument. It is possible that because of some reason, it was important to highlight the head and the portrait of this individual, while the depiction of its body, as less important, ended up summarized. The rest of the body and the back legs are imagined as being covered with the medallion, actually shell. A similar image is shown at the monument with a horseman as a central figure from Gamzigrad. On this monument, lion's body is hidden behind a semi-circular aedícula³¹. If one would presume that the monument was symmetrical and that on the other side, outside the semi-circular shell-shaped line, there was another image, one would then be allowed to think about depictions of Sol and Luna, the eternal symbols of day and night, the beginning and the end. Still, since the upper head part is missing, it is not possible to determine whether there was once a ray-shaped or a lunular crown.

To the right of the dividing line, there are three figures. The first one, the one closest to the dividing line, is the best preserved one (Fig. 4). It is a woman depicted in a long tunic reaching down to her ankles, with a gown over her left side, hiding her left arm and buttoned with a round (discus-shaped) fibula on her right shoulder. The woman's image is dominated by a huge head, rounded body and small feet. Also in this case, the head is disproportionately big compared to the body and the feet, in semi-profile facing right. The face is oval, rough and summarized, with big eyes, triangular nose, partially damaged, and a big damaged mouth. On the sides, there are locks reaching her ears. The neck is not shown. The right arm is visible, slightly bent, with her hand placed upon her hip. In her hand, she is holding an arrybalos and performing libation.

The next figure, cut to the right from the previous one, is bigger than it (Fig. 5). Its face is completely destroyed and unrecognizable, while the body is long and dressed in a *sagum* reaching the ground. It is certain that a male figure is depicted here, with his right arm shown in a relief. It is bent, his hand placed on his stomach. In his right hand he holds a conical beaker or a scroll, indicating that he was "literate", actually belonged to the members of imperial or municipal administration. Nevertheless, the most interesting detail is the cross-shaped fibula on his right shoulder. Since it is

²⁹ Јовановић 2007, 111, 125–134.

³⁰ Petković and Ilijić 2013, 63, Footnote 45.

³¹ Срејовић 1983, 94, cat. nr. 42.

disproportionally big, it is clear that it represented the highlight of the whole image and the wish to underline the high rank of the here depicted person.

Finally, just a silhouette of the damaged head and the right shoulder remained preserved from the right figure. On the shoulder, folded toga was made in bass relief. This detail reveals that one is probably dealing with the deceased as a *togatus*, actually a member of the municipal *decuria*, like *duumvir* or a carrier of a similar title. This one was the biggest of all of the depicted figures, so that was probably the one representing the deceased to whom this tombstone was dedicated.

In the Regional Museum of Jagodina, under the inv. nr. A47_11, a fragment of a similar monument is kept, depicted on Fig. 6. Its dimensions are 38 (height) X 28 (width) X 13 (breadth) cm. On the left side of this monument, one can clearly recognize the image of a shell. To the right of it, there is an image of a lion, its face partly damaged. Compared to the previous presentation, the here presented lion's figure shows a better proportion between the head and the body. The eyes are big, one eye is damaged, with just a small part still preserved. The jaw is opened, while the mane is depicted with zig-zag lines. The part between the head and the body is not well made and the neck is missing here as well. The front right paw is bent, while the left one is hidden beneath the animal's body. Just the same as the parallel mentioned above, this lion also holds an animal in its paws: a bird, a rabbit or even a snake.

Of utmost importance for dating both of the monuments is depiction of a cross-shaped fibula on the right shoulder of one of the men. Cross-shaped fibulae are generally dated into the period of the late 3rd and into the entire 4th century AD³². They were mostly made of bronze, although among the finds from Serbia, there are often gold-covered examples³³. Artistic images from the Late Antiquity show the highest ranking officers of the Empire and even emperors themselves wearing cloaks with cross-shaped fibulae on their right shoulders, just like on this monument³⁴. Depictions of cross-shaped fibulae are also known from frescos and tombstones from the 4th century AD, worn by the Roman military commanders, their foot turned upwards, just like on the monument from Ćuprija. It is certain that such fibulas were marks of military and later on also officers' honors and that they were given by the emperor himself, in times of imperial feasts or anniversaries³⁵. Briefly, it is certain that the person represented on the Ćuprija monument was a man, most likely a high-ranking military officer or an imperial officer.

Special attention should be paid to the image of arrybalos – alabastron in the hand of the woman from this monument. Such vessels are understood as impressions of feministic principle³⁶. At the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century, alabastroi sporadically appear as grave-goods, mostly in men's graves all over Greece. It can be presumed that their presence is a symbolic expression of complementarity and

³² Петковић 2010, 257.

³³ Петковић, 259.

³⁴ Петковић, 259.

³⁵ Петковић, 261.

³⁶ Јовановић 2007, 114.

post-mortal harmony. Alabastroi are depicted on white lekythoi with extreme funerary features, always in women's hands carrying them to the graves of the deceased³⁷. In this sense, a parallel can be drawn with the monument from Tilva roš, also with an image of a woman with an alabastron in her hand³⁸. It is possible that in both cases the protagonists are people who moved in from the south, indirectly indicated with the manner of depicting the deceased as whole figures, which is generally understood as a Greek model³⁹.

According to the data stated above, the monument can be dated at the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 4th century, actually into the period of tetrarchy⁴⁰. It belongs to the later medallion types, shell-shaped and flanked with lions. This dating is also supported with rustic features of the standing figures depicted here⁴¹.

The example of stone plastic shown on Fig. 7 (inv. nr. 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) measures 30 (height) X 27 (length) X 13 (width) cm. It was made of yellowish limestone. Its upper, lower and left sides are damaged. The monument possessed a simple ribbon-shaped frame and with a simple horizontal ribbon, it was divided into at least two friezes. In the upper frieze, depictions of the lower *lorica* parts can be recognized, from the lower parts of two figures. On both of the figures, the loricae were tied with belts, especially well recognizable on the right figure (a simple belt). The person depicted to the right was placed slightly forward compared to the figure depicted to the left and it can be presumed that the whole image shows two soldiers (emperors) hugging each other.

In the lower frieze, two portraits remained preserved. The face on the right side of the monument is better preserved – it is oval, with short hair, big hazel-eyes, triangular nose and a small mouth (Fig. 8). The hair reaches down to the ears, also shown in relief. In the middle of the forehead, there is a horizontal wrinkle. The face depicted left is damaged – only one ear and hair, depicted with shallow diagonal carvings, remained preserved, all of the features typical for the reliefs from the second half and the end of the 3rd century AD (Fig. 9).

The whole scene, with all of the four persons, resembles the images of tetrarchs. If one should be actually dealing with such a scene, then in the upper frieze, two younger emperors (*caesares*) would be depicted, while in the lower part, the two older ones (*augusti*) would have their images presented. A similar scene is known from a pilaster discovered in Gamzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*), on which the tetrarchs are shown within medallions on military *insignia*⁴². An even closer parallel is the relief with two portraits.⁴³ On the monument from Gamzigrad, the older emperors – *augusti*, are depicted in the lower part, while the younger emperors, *caesares*, were depicted above

³⁷ Јовановић 2007, 115.

³⁸ Јовановић 2007, 112; Petković 2010a, 131, Fig. 26.

³⁹ Јовановић 2007, 115.

⁴⁰ Petković and Ilijić 2013, 63.

⁴¹ Petković and Ilijić 2013, 63.

⁴² Живић 2010, 114–115, Fig. 70.

⁴³ Живић 2010, Fig. 67 and Živić 2011, 109, Fig. 11.

them. Also, when speaking about pairs, the person depicted on the left, honorary side, incorporates the higher level compared to the one depicted on the right side. In the same manner, on the monument from Ćuprija, the person in the upper case depicted right is slightly in front of the one depicted on the left, but the left person is positioned slightly above the right one, thus indicating his higher rank.

Monument depicting a lion is made of light yellow sandstone (Fig. 10). Traces of red color can be recognized on it. Its dimensions are 20 (width) X 40 (height) X 45 (length) cm⁴⁴. It was discovered in 1987, in trench V (C no. 79), in a recently dug pit which damaged the western fort wall. The lion's figure is depicted *en face*, with a highlighted head and voluminous mane in full plastic. The lion's face is round, with small eyes and small ears. The nose is roughly represented, the mouth wide open. At the place of the tongue, there is a pipe, indicating that this figure once was a part of a fountain or an architectural decorative element for water supplying. It is even possible that it was a part of a figural composition. Around the neck of the animal there is a cymatium-shaped necklace.

The body, actually its front paws and chest, are depicted in a rough relief. The figures 11 and 12 show lateral sides of this monument. Figure 11 is showing the lion's body in its left bas-profile, rough and clumsy. A question arises whether the stone-cutter ever saw a lion or he made this figure relying on some other models of this animal. The head and the mane are separated from the rest of the lion's body with a double zig-zag line, its fur being represented as semi-circular lines, like a drapery. Lion's right profile (Fig. 12) is identical to the left one, it only remained unfinished. Part of the figure closer to the head only bears several carved lines: The rest of it remained untouched. The rest of the figure shows shallow carving traces and therefore, it is regarded as semi-product. If this is correct, then it would be possible to post a hypothesis about a stone-cutters workshop at the territory of the ancient *Horreum Margi*, probably not employing the best of the stone-cutters, but surely covering needs of the local population.

The monument in Fig. 13 (inv. no. 632, *Horreum Margi* Museum) measures 23 (height) X 32 (length) X 27 (width) cm. It is almost rectangular, possibly representing part of an architrave of a public building (a temple?). It was framed with a plastic ribbon and a gutter. The images are represented in bass-relief. In the middle, there is Triton or a Satyr facing left. His big eye and a highlighted triangular nose bear features of the portraits from the 3rd and 4th century. He is crowned, his hair reaching down to his shoulders. It is possible that, instead of a crown there is a cap with an animal mask. In his right hand he is holding a torch, while his left hand is lifted in front of the body, the palm facing left, in a saluting gesture. The upper part of the torso and the head are shown in bass-relief, while the figure is damaged from the waist downwards. On his right side, there is a net or parts of a tail, if one considers that his lower body part is snake or fish-shaped. In front of Triton, actually at the right part of the monument, there

⁴⁴ After the discovery in 1987, this piece of stone plastic was placed within the premises of the Community for Science and Culture in Ćuprija, where it was kept until 1993, when the *Horreum Margi* Museum was opened. It was stolen along with other museum artefacts, remaining without an inventory number and data in the inventory book.

is either a picture of a wave or a severely damaged figure. At the utmost left part of the monument, there is a depicted shell. It should be mentioned that the upper monument frame and its part in front of Triton show traces of faded red color. Summarizing the facts stated above, it can be presumed that this was a scene of the “Maritime Triasos”, with the images of Amphitrite and Thetis, or even both of the goddesses.

Part of a marble tombstone with an inscription on Fig. 14 also dates into the 3rd or the 4th century (inv. no. 617, *Horreum Margi* Museum), measuring 16 (height) X 35 (length) X 6 (width) cm. The inscription was encircled with a grapevine wreath. Only three lines of the inscription remained preserved. The preserved text is as follows:

D(is Manibus) | AVR ·IV(lius) | (L)XXV

This monument was previously published by Petrović⁴⁵.

Another fragment of a monument with an inscription, made of limestone, is depicted on Fig. 15 (inv. no. 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum), measuring 23 (height) X 26 (length) X 25 (width) cm. The front side with the inscription and one of the lateral sides remained preserved (right on the picture). It is dated into the 3rd or the 4th century.

On the preserved front part there are five lines with letters. The first one is almost completely missing, while the letters from the fifth line are visible, but illegible, due to the damages of the monument. In other words, three lines are legible:

[Hor(revm)MARG(i) | [...] L ·Valen | [tinian]vs Do(minvs)]

It is also of interest to mention that this monument bears a relief image on its lateral side (Fig. 16 with detail), which can be understood in two different ways. As the first one, capitel of a column is shown here in low relief, defining an aedicula on which there could be the second part of the inscription, a relief or even a statue of an emperor or a deity. According to the second opinion, a single-handled jug with a finger-stopper is depicted here, identical to the jug type VII/3b from the same site. This kind of jugs was often glazed and it belongs to luxurious types of vessels. According to this, the inscription and the monument as a whole can be understood in two different ways. First, the inscription can be understood as an honorary or even imperial, since emperor Valentinian is mentioned here, with the title *Dominvs Noster*. It is possible that this inscription was made in honor of the trespassing of the emperors Valentinian and Valens through *Horreum Margi* in the middle of June 364, while travelling from *Naissus* to *Sirmium*⁴⁶. On the other hand, this could be a tombstone inscription, with an image of a vessel from which libation was performed, shown in relief at the lateral side of the monument.

Petrović's reading of this monument is slightly different⁴⁷. He considers it a tombstone of a *centurio* from a legion, possibly the *VII Claudia*.

⁴⁵ Petrović 1979, 113, insc. 92.

⁴⁶ Vasić 2008, 19–20.

⁴⁷ Petrović 1979, 109, insc. 82.

A stone monument of trapezoid shape is depicted on Fig. 17 (inv. no. 616, *Horreum Margi* Museum), measuring 47 (height) X 30 (length) X 14 (width) cm. Out of four sides of the monument, three are well preserved, while the fourth one is damaged. On the three preserved sides, there is a frame made in low relief, its width measuring 2 cm. The dominating image on the monument is a floral scene with four heart-shaped grapevine leaves, tied into a knot around a stick/branch, dividing the whole image into halves. Close to the bottom of the preserved monument part there are images of two birds, most likely ducks. They are facing each other, actually the stick/branch between them. The birds have long necks and rounded bodies. Their heads and legs are depicted realistically. It is possible that the whole image can be interpreted as the tree of life (*arbor vitae*).

Fragment of the monument shown on Fig. 18 (inv. no. 619, *Horreum Margi* Museum) measures 44 (height) X 35 (length) X 8 (width) cm and has a roughly trapezoid shape. The image is depicted in low relief, placed along the widest preserved side. It represents a heart-shaped leaf and a twisting grapevine, as well as some grapes. The grapevine and grapes are depicted realistically. The monument dates back into the 3rd or the 4th century.

Tombstone with the inv. no. 613 (*Horreum Margi* Museum, Fig. 19 to 22) consists of two parts. The smaller one measures 24 (height) X 23 (width) X 6 (breadth) cm and it is roughly square. The bigger one measures 72 (height) X 21 (width) X 6 (breadth) cm and it is roughly in the shape of a long rectangle. Both fragments bear images in low relief. Both fragments, especially the bigger one, show traces of red color.

When observed together, the fragments are placed into a framed rectangular decorative field (Fig. 19). The smaller fragment was placed at the left side, since it bears the upper left corner of the frame. It is clear that it was a tombstone on which several people were depicted.

Apart from the massive frame, on the smaller fragment there is an image of a man's head (Fig. 20). It is rather worn out and damaged, but a rectangular face can be recognized, with big eyes and the beginning of his nose, marked with a carving. His right ear is also marked with a carving. On his head, he wears a cap, *pileus pannonicae*, shown as a rectangle. Such caps were worn by the tetrarchs, for example on a porphyre group from Venice or on a fragmented porphyre head from Niš, but also by high-ranking people, like the deceased depicted on the tombstone from Tilva rož⁴⁸.

On the bigger fragment, there is an almost fully preserved image of a horseman (Fig. 21 and 22). His face resembles a lot the face of a man shown in the upper left corner of the monument (Fig. 20). The face is oval, the eyes are big with emphasised eye-brows. The nose is long and rectangular, wide at the beginning and even wider at the end (Fig. 22). Around the rather big mouth there is a moustache. On his head there is a rectangular *pileus pannonicae*. On his forehead there are bangs, reaching out from the cap. His neck is emphasised.

The torso of the man depicted here is shown with many details. He wears a short

⁴⁸ Јовановић 2007, 112; Petković 2010a, 131, Fig. 26.

horsemen's gown (*paludamentum*), fastened with a cross-shaped fibula on his right shoulder, just like the figure depicted on Fig. 2 and 5. His right arm is visible, actually shown in low relief. It is bent in the elbow, with a precisely shown hand holding the reins. Around his waist there is a military belt (*cingulum militae*), from which there is a strap with a tongue hanging. The monument is quite damaged, so there are no parts of horse's image that remained preserved. Just like on Fig. 2 and 5, the most interesting detail is the cross-shaped fibula on man's right shoulder. Here also, it is shown as a rather big one, so here again, one can conclude that it was highlighted, intending to indicate high rank of the here depicted person. His high rank is also indicated with other status symbols, like the Pannonic cap and the military belt, indicating most likely a cavalry officer (*praepositus, decurio*).

Here again, the image of a cross-shaped fibula is of utmost importance for dating of the entire monument – its usage connected to the period of the late 3rd and the entire 4th century⁴⁹. The man depicted on this monument from Ćuprija was most likely a high ranking military or imperial officer (*praepositus, decurio*).

A chronological parallel for this tombstone would be a tomb in which the grave-goods consisted of a full set of military equipment and a golden cross-shaped fibula, excavated in 2005, to the south from the western gate of the younger fort in Romuliana⁵⁰. It is interesting to notice that among the grave-goods there were also horse-bits, definitely indicating a horseman. It is considered that this burial was also conducted at the very end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 4th century⁵¹.

According to the finding place, two tombstones are connected to this burial from Romuliana. The first one consists of a pediment and an inscription field. On the pediment there is an image of a horseman, while to the right of it, three other figures are depicted⁵². The second monument was discovered in the vicinity of the first one, also bearing very interesting iconography. Within the pediment, flanked with figures of lying lions, there is an image of a horseman with a low cap on his head, dressed in a tunic and wearing a chlamida. The chlamida is fastened with a cross-shaped fibula on his right shoulder, just like on the image of the horseman from Ćuprija. Resemblance of this monument to the one from Ćuprija is even greater since behind the horseman, there is an image of a legionary⁵³, which could correspond to the image of a man in the upper left corner of the monument from Ćuprija.

On figures 23 to 25 there is a man's torso (inv. no. 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum), its preserved part measuring 48 (height) X 22 (width) X 17 (breadth) cm. The torso is preserved from the shoulders to the thighs. It is dressed in a gown. On its front part, the musculature of the chest and stomach is shown realistically, as well as his belly-button (Fig. 23). Over his right shoulder, there is a belt. The pubic part is covered with a drapery. The drapery goes from the left hip (Fig. 24) and over his back (Fig. 25), ending

⁴⁹ Петковић 2010, 257.

⁵⁰ Живић 2010, 119, Fig. 76 and 77.

⁵¹ Живић 2010, 119.

⁵² Живић, 121, Fig. 79.

⁵³ Живић, 120.

most likely on his right shoulder. If one regards this image as a deity, it could be Apollo, possibly with a bow over his right shoulder. According to B. Đurić, it is a torso of Icarus⁵⁴.

* * *

The here presented stone material from *Horreum Margi* (Ćuprija) mostly includes single finds, actually finds which do not come from excavations. The only exception is Mithras's relief. Further on, they include votive monuments, tombstones and possibly parts of architectural decoration. All of the monuments fit into a rather limited time span, basically the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century.

Stylistically and thematically, they fit into the already known repertoire of stone monuments from Upper Moesia (*Moesia Superior*). Parallels for some of the finds are known from the famous site Gamzigrad (*Felix Romuliana*), one of the closest ones to *Horreum Margi*. Further parallels are also known from the neighboring provinces, like Dacia or Pannonia.

Finally, few finds of semi-products could indicate the existence of a local stone-cutting workshop, not employing top stone-cutters of the time, but still very useful for covering local needs.

This paper represents part of a monograph that shall soon be printed and become available for the public.

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⁵⁴ This monument was described within the lecture „Figural Stone Decoration from *Horreum Margi* – Џуприја” by Milica Tapavički-Ilić, presented during the international symposium „Drobeta. Archaeology and History”, held in November 2014 in Turnu Severin, Romania and organized by the Iron Gates Regional Museum. The suggestion that this might be an image of Icarus was given by Professor B. Đurić during the discussion after the lecture.

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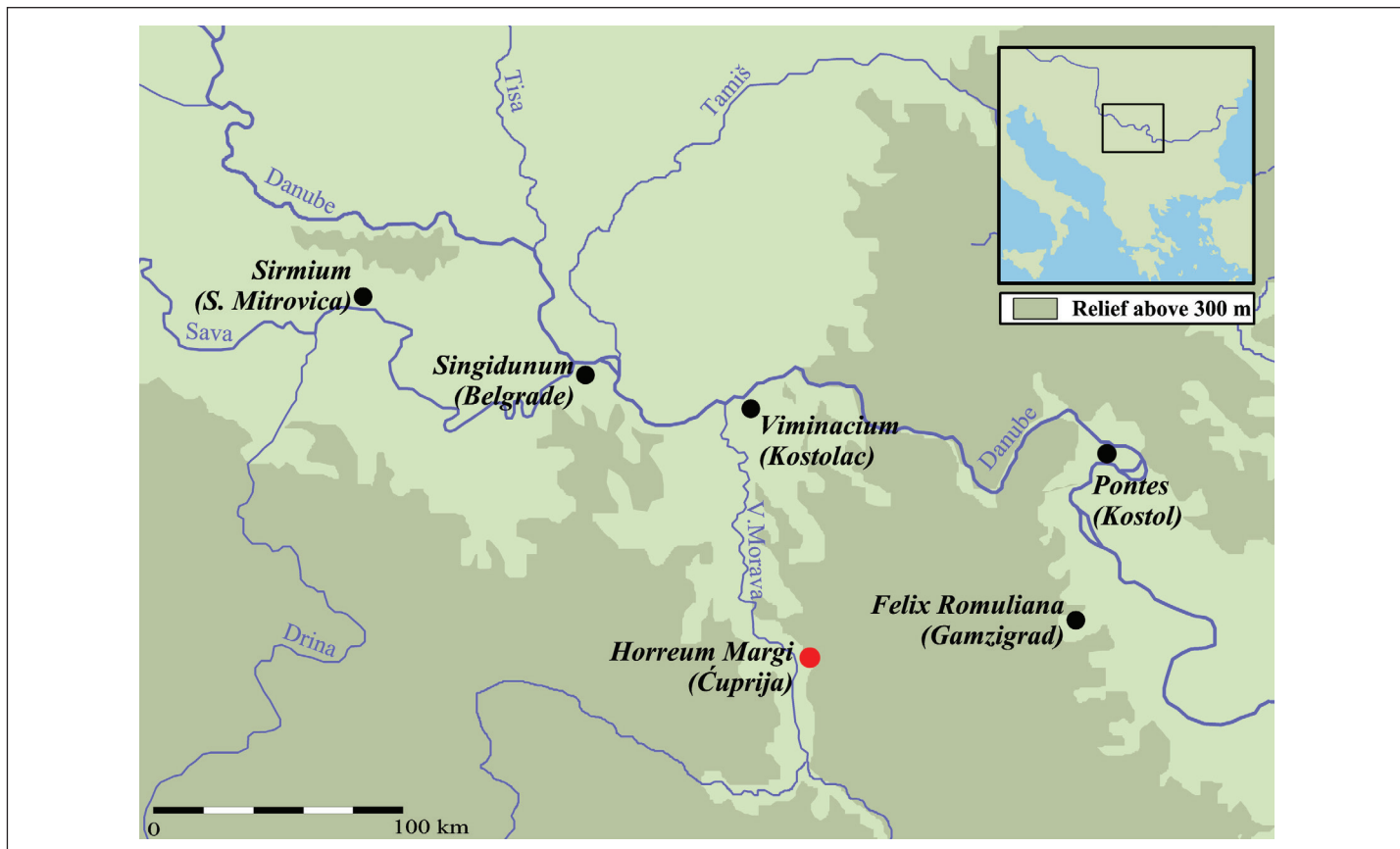
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DECORAȚIUNE FIGURATIVĂ ÎN PIATRĂ DE LA HORREUM MARGI (ĆUPRIJA)

Rezumat

Orașul Ćuprija este situat în Serbia de sud, la vărsarea râului Ravanica în Morava. Cercetarea arheologică a orașului roman *Horreum Margi* (modernul Ćuprija) a început în 1861 și a fost continuată până în 1991. Rezultatele cercetării indică faptul că așezarea *Horreum Margi* datează de la începutul secolului al II-lea și a fost încojorată cu ziduri la începutul secolului al III-lea. Cel mai probabil, orașul roman *Horreum Margi* a fost distrus în cele din urmă în timpul raidurilor hunilor, în 441–443. Materialul de la *Horreum Margi* prezentat aici include descoperiri singulare, descoperiri care, în fapt, nu provin din excavații. Singura excepție este relieful zeului Mithra. Acestea sunt variate, de la monumente votive, pietre tombale, la monumente decorative și, de asemenea, inscripții. Cu toate acestea, ele arată că acest sit nu este diferit de alte câteva aflate în vecinătate, de vreme ce monumente similare au fost descoperite în toate zonele învecinate. Lucrarea de față este o parte a monografiei ce va fi tipărită curând și va ajunge la dispoziția publicului.



Map – The position of *Horreum Margi* (Ćuprija) and other Roman centers in modern Serbia (map by V. Ilić) /
 Hartă – *Horreum Margi* (Ćuprija) și alte centre romane în Serbia modernă (hartă realizată de V. Ilić)



Fig. 1 – Marble icon of Mithras (inv. nr. 614, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Efigie în marmură reprezentându-l pe Mithras (Inv. N° 614, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 2 – Tombstone with a lion and three human figures (inv. nr. 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Piatra de mormânt cu leu și trei figuri umane (Inv. N° 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 3 – Lion figure on the tombstone
(inv. nr. 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum) /
Reprezentarea leului pe piatra de mormânt
(Inv. N° 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 4 – Female figure on the tombstone
(inv. nr. 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum)
/ Reprezentarea figurii feminine
pe piatra de mormânt (Inv. N° 615,
Horreum Margi Museum)



Fig. 5 – Male figure on the tombstone
(inv. nr. 615, *Horreum Margi* Museum)
/ Reprezentarea figurii masculine
pe piatra de mormânt (Inv. N° 615,
Horreum Margi Museum)



Fig. 6 – Lion figure on a tombstone (inv.
nr. A47_11, Regional Museum of Jagodina)
/ Leu pe o piatră de mormânt (Inv. N°
A47_11, Regional Museum of Jagodina)



Fig. 7 – Monument with a possible image of tetrarchs (inv. nr. 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monument cu o efigie probabilă a tetrarhilor (Inv. N° 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 8 – Detail of the monument with a possible image of tetrarchs (inv. nr. 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monumentul cu efigia probabilă a tetrarhilor (Inv. N° 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) – detaliu



Fig. 9 – Detail of the monument with a possible image of tetrarchs (inv. nr. 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monumentul cu efigia probabilă a tetrarhilor (Inv. N° 611, *Horreum Margi* Museum) – detaliu



Fig. 10 – Figure of a lion (C no. 79)
/ Imaginea unui leu (C no. 79)



Fig. 11 – Detail of the lion (C no. 79) /
Detaliu din imaginea leului (C no. 79)



Fig. 12 – Detail of the lion (C no. 79) /
Detaliu din imaginea leului (C no. 79)



Fig. 13 – Monument with Triton or Satyr (inv. nr. 632, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monument cu triton sau satir (inv. N° 632, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 14 – Marble tombstone with inscription (inv. nr. 617, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Piatră de mormânt din marmură, inscripționată (inv. N° 617, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 15 – Monument with inscription (inv. nr. 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monument cu inscripție (inv. N° 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 16 – Lateral side of the monument with inscription (inv. nr. 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Fațeta laterală a monumentului cu inscripție (inv. N° 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 16 – Detail of the lateral side of the monument with inscription (inv. nr. 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Fațeta laterală a monumentului inscripționat (inv. N° 635, *Horreum Margi* Museum) – detaliu



Fig. 17 – Monument with floral scene and birds (inv. nr. 616, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monument cu imagine florală și păsări (inv. N° 616, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 18 – Monument with grapes (inv. nr. 619, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Monument cu struguri (inv. N° 619, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 19 – Tombstone with human figures (inv. nr. 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Piatră de mormânt cu figuri umane (inv. N° 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 20 – Image of a man's head from the tombstone with human figures (inv. nr. 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Cap de bărbat de pe piatra de mormânt cu figuri umane (inv. N° 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 21 – Image of a man's portrait from the tombstone with human figures (inv. nr. 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Portret de bărbat de pe piatra de mormânt cu figuri umane (inv. N° 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 22 – Detail of the man's portrait from the tombstone with human figures (inv. nr. 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum) / Portretul bărbatului de pe piatra de mormânt cu figuri umane (inv. N° 613, *Horreum Margi* Museum) – detaliu



Fig. 23 – Man's torso (inv. nr. 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum) /
Tors de bărbat (inv. N° 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 24 – Lateral side of man's torso (inv. nr. 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum) /
Torsul de bărbat văzut din lateral (inv. N° 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum)



Fig. 25 – Back side of man's torso (inv. nr. 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum) /
Torsul de bărbat văzut din spate (inv. N° 606, *Horreum Margi* Museum)