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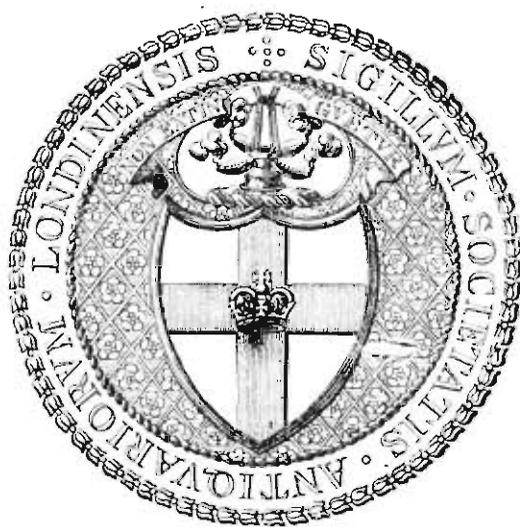
THE ROMAN TOWN OF DOCLEA,  
IN MONTENEGRO.

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COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

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*On the Roman town of Doclea, in Montenegro.* By J. A. R. MUNRO, *Esq.*,  
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THE following pages present the results of an expedition organised in the autumn of 1893 for the purpose of investigating the antiquities of the Roman town of Doclea, in Montenegro, the reputed birthplace of Diocletian. Excavations had already been carried on there during three seasons by H.H. the Prince of Montenegro, to whom the explorers desire to record their grateful acknowledgments, not only for his gracious permission to continue the work so auspiciously begun, but also for the kind reception and many facilities accorded to them. To M. Paul Rovinski also, the skilful director of the former excavations, they owe the warmest thanks. His generous co-operation and his local experience were simply invaluable, and his genial friendship can never be forgotten.

The account of the work is distributed as follows :

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## PART I.

## § 1. THE ENVIRONS OF DOCLEA.

At the innermost nook of the great plain that lies to the north of the Lake of Scutari two rivers emerge from the hills, the Morača flowing from the north-east, and the Zeta from the north-west. The rivers unite, and their joint stream, which keeps the name Morača, passes along the foot of the low bare ridge that bounds this corner of the plain on the west, down to the town of Podgorica about two miles below the junction, and so onwards to the distant lake. Between the two rivers, forming the base of a triangle to their apex, the naked limestone hills of the Piperi highlands rise abruptly from the flat. From them descends a torrent, dry in the summer time save during heavy rains, and after following on a smaller curve a course roughly parallel to the Morača, issues into the Zeta a few hundred yards above the confluence of the rivers.

The traveller from Podgorica towards Nikšić by the high road up the right bank of the Zeta can hardly fail to notice on the opposite side between the Morača and the mouth of the torrent a tract of rough level ground encumbered with heaps of stones and shimmering white ruins. It is the site of the Roman Doclea. The name survives in the modern Dukle, but there is not even a village to claim it, only a few scattered cottages on or about the site, and a large house and mill by the roadside. Should our traveller wish to visit the ancient town, he must proceed past it as far as the mill-house, and cross the fine new bridge over the Zeta. Turning back along the other bank, he will come first upon an ancient cemetery, which has been partially excavated. A group of little round stone urns, each with its circular lid, stands ranged on a large block like pots on a stove. Half a dozen epitaphs inscribed on small panelled stones may be found by searching, and a few paces further down the path lies a broken sarcophagus of the big-eared type so common at Salona. The path turns to the left away from the Zeta, and descends to a recently constructed bridge over the torrent-bed. The bridge is built almost entirely of ancient fragments, columns, bases, bits of cornice, and carved stones. Up the opposite slope a line of inscribed blocks, forming a parapet to the roadway, extends from the bridge to a gap in the town walls. These blocks and many of the fragments in the bridge were derived from the wreck of a great gate, which once occupied the gap. The gate itself seems to have been built of material collected from all quarters of the site, perhaps hastily put together to meet a barbarian invasion in the last days of Doclea.

The ancient town (see plan, Plate IV.) is of irregular shape, lying east and west, with a length very much greater than its breadth. The situation is a strong one, in spite of the level ground. The south side is defended by the Morača, the west by the Zeta, and the north by the gully of the torrent. All three streams flow in deep rocky beds between overhanging walls of conglomerate strata. In very few places is the water accessible from above, and although the torrent is an uncertain defence, the rivers are broad, swift, and deep. There is only one ford, at a point on the Morača near the middle of the south side of the town, and it is quite impassable except when the river is low. The best proof of the natural strength of the river faces of the site is that there is no trace of fortification along them. The massive wall which covers the north and east sides ends at the one extremity on the Zeta, at the other on the Morača. The east face is the weakest, but it is also the shortest, and has been most carefully fortified. The wall here runs across to the cañon of the Morača from an elbow in the torrent's course, where, having spent the impetus of its descent from the hills, it turns westward to join the Zeta. Between these two points a broad ditch or moat has been dug outside the wall, completing the isolation of the peninsula.

Large portions of the walls are still standing, especially the east wall and eastern half of the north wall. They are solidly built of a thick rubble core with a facing of small square blocks laid in regular courses. At rare intervals are traces of projecting rectangular towers. Besides the west gate there must have been a gate near the north-east corner, but its existence has rather to be inferred from the roads inside and outside the walls than demonstrated by actual remains. There is, it is true, a gap in the north wall at the right place, but it is so ruinous and jagged that by itself it would prove nothing. From this gap a narrow but direct and unimpeded lane leads through the ruins of the ancient town down to the ford on the Morača. The lane may well represent an ancient street narrowed by the *débris* of the buildings on each side. Outside the walls a track runs eastwards between the roots of the hills and the river. It has quite the character of a Roman road, and is lined with fragments from sepulchral monuments. About half a mile out of Doclea in particular there is an old grave-yard just under the hill, where among innumerable ancient fragments of all kinds is a large collection of sarcophagus lids. But the best evidence is a Roman bridge on the Morača, about a mile above the ancient town. It was once a fine structure of six arches, and is still impressive although nothing is standing but the piers and abutments. The river is here hemmed by high rocks, and flows in one concentrated sweep under the right bank. The northernmost arch had a span of not less than fifty feet. This bridge must have been the main means of communication between

Doclea and the country to the south and east, and we cannot suppose that all the traffic was sent round to the west gate, even were it possible to carry a road along between the north wall of the town and the torrent. We are compelled therefore to regard the gap near the north-east corner as a second gate, although it cannot have been a very large one.

The bridge and gate have some bearing on the problem of the Roman road from Scodra to Naronā. Mr. Arthur Evans has fully discussed the course of this road in his *Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*.<sup>a</sup> I have not the necessary local knowledge to carry that discussion any farther. All that I know of the country is in favour of Mr. Evans' general hypothesis, and it may be added that the assignment of the Docleates to the *conventus* of Naronā<sup>b</sup> seems to postulate some fairly direct communication. Only, on the one hand, I find it difficult to believe that, if there was already a Roman bridge over the Morača just above Doclea, the road crossed the river just below at Podgorica; and on the other hand, if the road crossed by that bridge and passed through the town, it becomes more than ever inexplicable that Doclea is not mentioned in the Itinerary and Tabula. Is it possible that the Roman road crossed the Morača several miles below Podgorica, and followed the valley of the Sitnica, so as to strike the Zeta at Spuž and cut off the bend by Dukle?

From Dukle up to Spuž the Zeta is closely hemmed by the hills, but at Spuž the valley opens out into the level plain of Bjelopavlic; a broad fertile flat, broken only by a row of rocky crests which rise at intervals in the middle. The old fortress of Spuž crowns the southernmost of these crests, and commands at once the passage of the river by the quaint narrow bridge at the base of the rock, and the defile towards Dukle. In the side of one of the crests above Spuž are the quarries which supplied Doclea with its best building stone.

The Morača valley is for the most part a mere rift in the mountains, too narrow even for a road. A hasty ride down the lower part of it failed to reveal any ancient traces.

In the great plain it is otherwise. Right across it, from the Ribnica about due east of Podgorica nearly up to Doclea, an attentive eye can follow the line of a subterranean aqueduct. The Ribnica, a tributary of the Morača, springs full grown from the mountain side. The aqueduct crossed it near its source on a bridge, of which the rubble core of the abutments on each bank is still standing. The water was drawn, M. Rovinski informed me, from the Cijevna, some distance beyond. The reason why the Roman engineers could not utilize the water of the

<sup>a</sup> Pt. ii. pp. 79 *sq.*

<sup>b</sup> Pliny, N. II. iii. 143.

Ribnica is plain enough. The bed of the stream lies below the level of the undulations of the plain. To get a flow of water, a source higher up the hillside had to be tapped, and this made it necessary to go beyond the Ribnica to the Cijevna. We had a section of the aqueduct cleared at a point in the plain where the vault had collapsed. It is an arched channel about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet high by about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  wide, built of rubble and lined with fine cement. The earth thrown out when the trench was cut still shows as a faint ripple on the surface of the ground. The popular story says that the aqueduct was carried over the Morača to Doclea on the Roman bridge above the town. It is doubtless this tradition which has led to the myth of "massive remains of an aqueduct"<sup>a</sup> at Doclea. But the story cannot be accepted; for firstly, the aqueduct does not make for the bridge, but rather for the ford; secondly, the Morača is itself an aqueduct for Doclea, and its water is highly esteemed by the natives; thirdly, were water wanted for Doclea, it could be brought by a shorter route and with less trouble from the Piperi hills on the same side of the river. The aqueduct does not reach so far as the Morača, and its destination must be sought on the south bank.

Opposite to the ancient town there is a small tumulus, and tombs are sometimes discovered. A low ridge in the ground, possibly an ancient road, runs from near the ford towards the hamlet of Zlatica at the foot of the eastern hills. Here there are remains of two churches, one standing in skeleton, the other beside it almost obliterated. Among the *débris* of the latter is some Roman brickwork, a couple of large slabs with ornamental carving, like those found in the Christian basilica at Doclea, and several inscriptions.<sup>b</sup>

Zlatica lies close under the mountains, at the foot of the steep pass that leads from the Podgorica plain directly into the eastern corner of Montenegro. The top of the pass is commanded by the ruined fortress of Medun. Whatever the date of the present castle, there was an Illyrian hill-fort here before the Roman conquest. Medun is Livy's *Medeon*,<sup>c</sup> where the family of King Gentius surrendered to the legate Perperna. On a lower ridge under the castled crag are some remains of a large fortified enclosure of polygonal masonry. Similar walls exist, I believe, at Scutari, Alessio, and elsewhere, samples of which are figured in Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122. I bought from a villager of Medun, who

<sup>a</sup> Quoted by Mr. Evans from Kovalevski, *Antiquarian Researches*, p. 85, note.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Milne did a day's experimental digging on this site after the close of our work at Doclea. He reports that there are about 2 yards of earth above the floor. Probably the church could be cleared for £50, and several more inscriptions recovered. The materials seem to have been brought from Doclea, which is only an hour's walk distant.

<sup>c</sup> Livy, xliv. 23, 32. Polybius, xxix. 2.

had found them in his field, two copper coins of Scodra, which Professor Gardner has deciphered as follows :

- (1)<sup>a</sup> Obv. Head of Zeus. Rev. ΔΠΙ . Galley : below it, dolphin.  
 (2)<sup>b</sup> Obv. Head of Zeus. Rev. ΑΛΛΑ | ΣΚΟΔΡΕΙ | ΝΩΝ. Galley ?

## § 2. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TOWN.

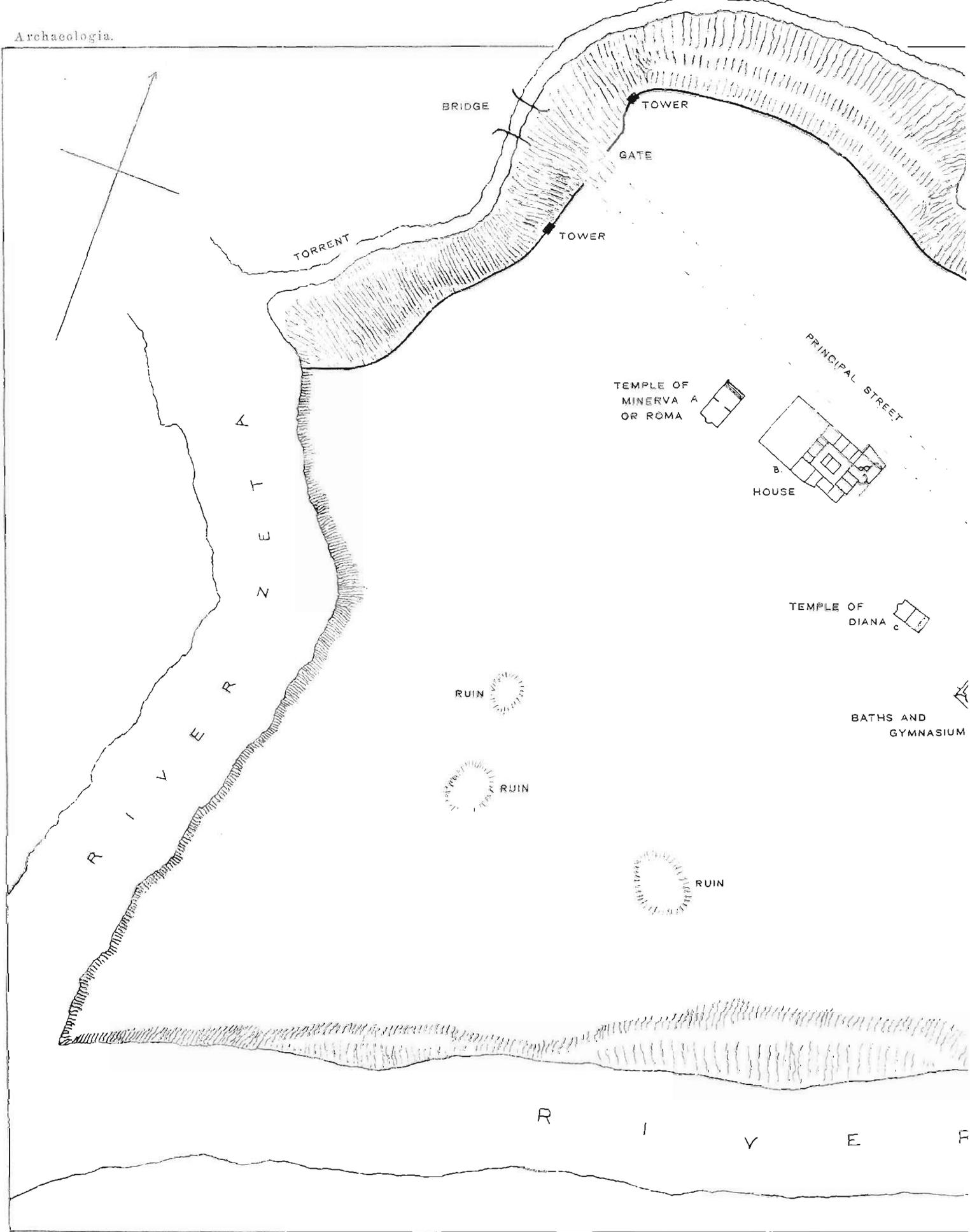
The internal topography of Doclea will be best described if we start from the west gate and follow the broad grassy way which runs eastwards from this point until it meets the cross lane from the north-east gate at right angles. The broad way has been cleared and levelled by M. Rovinski during his three seasons of work on the site, but there can be little doubt that it fairly represents the course of the main street of the town. Along it extends on each side a line of important buildings.

Of the gate itself little now remains. To the left, as one enters, there is a strong wall, built, not of rubble with a facing of small stones, but of large squared blocks. On the right, between the roadway and a flanking tower, are scanty remains of a thick wall, which seems to have been chiefly composed of fragments of worked stones loosely put together with a little mortar. Two or three large blocks projecting at the roadside indicate the position of the gate. We did a little digging on both sides in the hope of finding some more inscriptions, but only unearthed one fragment.

A few paces inside the gate stands a low isolated block of concrete, which from its shape and size may have been the base of an equestrian statue. Hard by, but probably not *in situ*, lie some carved cornice blocks from a large building. A little farther in to the south is the groundwork of a small temple (A on plan, plate IV), probably a temple of Roma, and beside it stands one of its gleaming white columns, a conspicuous object from all parts of the site. East of the temple follows a complex of chambers more or less closely connected with one another, which can scarcely be anything but a magnificent private dwelling (B on plan). The area covered is a large one. Near the centre is a small ornamental garden, round which the rooms of the house are ranged on three sides. The other half of the space is occupied by an open court, or pleasure ground, at one

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Thessaly, Pl. xxxi. 14.

<sup>b</sup> Compare *Nomismatic Chronicle*, 1880, Pl. xii. 2.



end of which is the foundation of a grotto or fountain. Still east of this palatial residence is a second small temple (C on plan) of which there are sufficient remains to afford material for a fairly complete restoration. Interesting fragments are the bust of Diana, sculptured in high relief on the east pediment, and the pair of large flat dolphins which formed the balustrade on each side of the front steps.

Beyond this temple on the same side of the street lies an extensive group of connected buildings, in which we may recognise the public baths of the town (E on plan). There are not only hot and cold rooms, a plunge bath, and other conveniences for which one would now look in vain throughout the land, but gymnasia, open courts, covered walks, and suites of chambers, large and small; in fact, a complete palace of luxury. Opposite to the baths, on the north side of the way, is a large quadrangle fenced from the street by a simple wall, in the middle of which is the main entrance. The west side of the enclosure is occupied by the most important building in Doclea, the great civil basilica (D on plan). The north and east sides are formed by rows of shops opening on to the central square. In the centre of the north side facing the gateway in the south wall is a raised podium with a mosaic floor, perhaps an exedra. There can be little doubt that this square represents the forum of the ancient town, but it must be noted that the rows of shops along the north and east sides are, at least as we now see them, of very late date. The shops are in fact largely constructed of fragments from the ruins of the basilica, and it is not difficult to identify pieces of the cornice and architrave converted into door-posts and thresholds. The basilica is better preserved than might have been expected, and there are ample materials for a complete reconstruction. We understand that Dr. Jelić, who devoted a fortnight to the study of the building, will shortly publish a full account of it with detailed plans and drawings.<sup>a</sup> Here, therefore, the briefest notice will suffice. The building lies north and south, with its apse to the north. The principal front faces eastwards to the forum. It was adorned with a fine colonnade constructed entirely of the beautiful white Spuž stone. None of the columns are now left, but a number of large fluted fragments, some standing in front of the palace of Krušna Glavica, near Podgorica, others built into the bridge over the torrent, may be confidently referred to this basilica. The pilaster bases are still *in situ*, engaged in a back wall of excellent brickwork. The south end of the building looking on to the street is of the usual small blocks of local stone, with a moulded sill course of white stone for a row of windows about five feet from the

<sup>a</sup> See also M. A. Gérard in the *Revue archéologique*, 1890, pp. 434-7.

ground. The west and north walls are of similar plain construction. The apse is the only feature in the latter, and the former is broken only by two doors and a line of pilaster buttresses for the support of the roof. The street entrance is at the south-east corner in a line with the colonnade. Immediately to the left a door opens on to the narthex, and there were three more doors in the east wall. The internal plan is interesting; the general form is basilican, but there seem to have been no aisles. We could see no stylobate for any columns but the two enormous pairs which divided the north and south ends from the main body of the nave. There may, however, have been arcades of engaged arches along the side walls. The northern end is a separate chamber, connected with the nave by a broad central doorway, and lighted by windows in the east wall. The excellent style and execution of the basilica, and the inscriptions on the architrave, alike point to an early date. It is natural to refer the building to the first years of the municipal existence of Doclea under the Flavian emperors.

Between the basilica and the west gate there is little to notice on the north side of the road. Faint traces of building, and a semicircular foundation about midway between the two, may suggest a long portico, but they may be deceptive, and nothing can be said to be certain without excavation. It is otherwise to the east of the Forum. Between the south-east corner of the quadrangle and the cross lane lies what may once have been a considerable building (E on plan). It seems to have had a portico front on the street, with many small chambers behind. A well-made cemented water-channel passes along the front, and at a short distance to the back is a ruinous platform with a bit of mosaic floor. The front part was laid bare by us, but the whole building proved to be in such poor preservation, that it did not seem worth while to complete the excavation.

Opposite to this portico, in the gap between the lane and the baths, there is a small grassy patch rising to a mound at its southern end. The mound was the site of another of our experiments which, had time permitted, might have been carried farther. It covered a curious group of short, thick, parallel walls, one set arranged north and south, another set at right angles to these, east and west. The walls are divided by deep, narrow passages. (G on plan.) Between them were found large pieces of a thick rubble and cement floor paved with flagstones, which must have overlain the whole basement. On the brink of the northern slope is a large corner fragment with remnants of marble lining still projecting from its edges. The fragment might suggest, what is quite possible, that the building is related to the neighbouring baths. A maize field which intervenes is said to have been paved with stone slabs, dug out and removed within living memory.

A little to the south, between the mound and the Morača, stands an isolated building in the middle of a field. It was here that we began our operations. Before it was excavated the site looked promising enough, a well-defined heap of *débris* from which protruded three biggish columns, but the building proved to be more singular than interesting. Only the eastern half was excavated. It is an oblong divided into two nearly equal chambers with a door between them. (H on plan.) The walls are standing to a height of about three feet, except for one higher fragment in the west side. There is no entrance. Rude steps lead down into each room at its south-east corner. The columns are merely stumps set on end on the ground, perhaps to support a roof or floor.

The north-western quarter of the site presents few interesting features. It is comparatively clear and level ground, mapped out into patches of maize-field and pasture. There is also a stretch of fairly open ground on the south side of the main street along the bank of the Zeta; but for the most part the south-western region is one complicated tract of ruins, a wilderness of walls and heaps of stones, piled confusedly together and thickly overgrown with brambles. Large blocks are rare, and it is scarcely possible to trace the outlines of the buildings. The stones have been piled up into dykes and mounds to make room for scanty plots of cultivation or of hay. The most attractive site lies near the Morača, about midway between the ford and the confluence of the rivers. It is marked by a slight rise, some fragments of wall, and several large blocks of cornice, etc. For the rest one heap of stones looks about as good as another.

There remains the eastern part of the site beyond the cross lane. This quarter has a character between those of the two regions just described. It is neither so featureless as the north-west, nor so hopelessly encumbered as the south-west. The most prominent object is a high piece of ivy-covered wall, which shelters a cottage and little kitchen garden. A few yards to the west of this wall was a piece of rough hummocky ground, where lay a carved capital and several fragments of columns. M. Rovinski remembered the tradition of a mosaic pavement having been discovered hereabouts. We started digging, and laid bare the large Christian basilica. (K on plan) My attention had been attracted by some large blocks peeping through a clump of undergrowth a little to the south of the church. As soon as men could be spared, we extended our operations to this site, and discovered the massively built little church. (I on plan.)

Although Doclea was an episcopal see, the Christian antiquities of the site were hitherto limited to the famous Podgorica vase, a glass vessel engraved with scenes from the Bible and highly interesting explanatory inscriptions in the local

dialect of Latin. We can now point to two early churches, the larger of which must surely have been the cathedral church of the bishopric.

The rest of the eastern half of the site has never been touched by excavation, and calls for no special notice.

A few remarks may be made on the character of the site in general. The type of construction is very constant, and varies little in the earliest and the latest buildings. The civil basilica, a great public building of the prosperous Flavian period, is naturally better built than the Christian basilica of about the sixth century. The masonry of the city walls is more regular and better laid than the courses of a private house. But the materials and methods are the same throughout. The walls are built of small, roughly squared blocks of the local limestone, laid in courses with mortar. They were no doubt plastered in most cases, or covered with fine stucco and decorated with colour. The stone is a good hard material, and may be had for the lifting close up to the gates of the town. Brickwork is rare. There are some excellent pieces in the east wall of the civil basilica, and brick is used for arching the stoke-holes of the furnaces in the baths and elsewhere. But evidently stone was cheaper and more popular. There are a few slight remnants of thin marble facing, especially in the temple of Diana and in the plunge bath. Marble must have been a costly material, which had to be brought from a distance. For decorative purposes, such as the east front of the basilica, carved work, inscribed bases, and the like, and for thresholds, door-posts, lintels, paving, and steps, the favourite material was a very fine white limestone, derived from the quarries beyond Spuž. This is a magnificent building stone, which withstands the weather well, and tones to a rich golden hue. In general effect it resembles a finer kind of travertine, but has a more compact crystalline structure, coming very near to marble in the best specimens. If many of the inscriptions of Doclea are hard to read, it is not by fault of the material, but because they have been purposely defaced. The roofs were of tiles, a layer of which is always to be found between the wreck of the outer walls and the floor.

From the archaeologist's point of view Doclea has two great drawbacks. In the first place the town has been ruthlessly rebuilt. Probably some destructive catastrophe befell it a century or two before its end. Few of the buildings have escaped a more or less complete reconstruction. Those which, like the great basilica, were too solidly constructed to be destroyed, and too expensive to be restored, served as quarries to the impoverished inhabitants. The small church and the later erections in the forum were built largely out of the materials of the

basilica. Inscribed bases were freely used for building. They must have formed a large proportion of the stones of the western gateway, and occur sporadically in other buildings, probably far removed from their original position. Everywhere doors have been opened or blocked up, and walls have been patched or pulled about. The reconstruction of the forum is especially to be regretted, but we may be thankful that the basilica and temples were not seriously tampered with. It is, I think, much more likely that the destruction of the public buildings was wrought by earthquake than by a barbarian raid, and the great earthquake of A.D. 518 offers an extremely probable occasion. The site is to the present day exploited by the population of the neighbourhood for large stones. The block on which were recorded the honours held by M. Flavius Fronto in the chief cities of southern Dalmatia, the most important inscription hitherto discovered at Doclea, has disappeared. I myself found a pious person carving a cross for a tombstone out of one of the blocks from the temple of Roma. The eastern cemetery is full of architectural pieces from the site, and I have no doubt that many more would be discovered in the ruins of the large church at Zlatica.

Secondly, beyond the "fixtures" of the ancient town, buildings and inscriptions, antiquities are scarcely to be found. Sculpture is represented only by the busts of Diana and Roma carved in high relief on the tympana of their temples, and by one small fragment. One terracotta figure, now in the possession of His Highness the Prince, was discovered in the baths. Copper coins are plentiful, engraved gems are sometimes picked up by the peasants in the maize fields, and a certain number of small objects of bronze, iron, lead, bone, etc. turn up in the diggings. The pottery and glass are fragmentary and of no interest. The famous Podgorica vase must have come out of a tomb. We found nothing which calls for any special notice. It would seem that the inhabitants must have fled before the invaders and taken most of their property with them. At all events the barbarians and later scratchers have picked the bones of Doclea very clean.

Against these drawbacks must be set certain advantages. The site is not deeply buried and is practically uninhabited. Excavation is consequently easy and rapid. The walls of the houses are often visible on the surface, and there is no great accumulation of earth above the floors. The buildings, although mostly cut off at a height of from 3 to 6 feet from the ground, are unusually complete, and remain much as they were left. The site therefore, so far as it has been cleared, presents a picture to which it would not be easy to find a parallel of the ground work of a provincial town in the time of Justinian.

This picture then is the first claim of Doclea to our interest. A second is the

information to be derived from the numerous inscriptions as to the history of the Roman province, the condition of the country, and the great Diocletian myth. A third claim is the addition made by the two churches to our knowledge of the Christian antiquities, and the light thrown by the traditions of the see of Doclea on the ecclesiastical history, of Southern Dalmatia.

### § 3. THE HISTORY OF DOCLEA.

Doclea was in ancient times the urban centre of an Illyrian tribe, the Docleates. They first appear in history among the peoples reduced by Augustus in his Illyrian War in B.C. 35, and compelled to pay arrears of tribute.<sup>a</sup> It is probable that they came under the Roman power in B.C. 168, after the war with Gentius, and that the tribute was that half of the old royal tribute, which the Romans continued to exact.<sup>b</sup>

The Docleates, Pliny tells us,<sup>c</sup> were one of the tribes who resorted to the *conventus* of Naronæ. They were divided into thirty-three *decuriæ*. The nature of these *decuriæ* is obscure. They appear to be a division common to all the Illyrian tribes, but their number varies enormously. The Delmatae, for example, have 342 *decuriæ*, and the Mazaei 269, whereas the Duersi have only 17, and the Deretini 14. We may infer from an inscription of Salonæ<sup>d</sup> that the *decuriæ* had a regular organisation, and each a common chest or treasury. Mr. W. W. Fowler<sup>e</sup> conjectures that they may have been an artificial expedient invented by the Roman Government to meet the necessities of a backward people. I am rather inclined to believe that they represent a native gentile division adopted by the Romans for administrative purposes, in default of a better. The number of *decuriæ* seems casual and unsymmetrical, and is not, so far as one can see, proportionate to the strength and importance of the tribes. Moreover, all analogies from their methods in similar cases would lead us to suppose that the Romans adapted an existing institution rather than inaugurated a new system. Probably the old Illyrian organisation was not unlike the present Slavonic one in the same region. The Docleates would be analagous to the Kuči or the Vasojevici, the *decuriæ* to some such smaller unit as the modern *plemen*.

Doclea probably grew up gradually. The site is equally well adapted for traffic and for defence, and would naturally become at once the refuge and the market of the district. The position of the town is strong, and yet the ground is

<sup>a</sup> *Appian, Illyr.* 16.

<sup>c</sup> *Nat. Hist.* iii. 143.

<sup>d</sup> C. I. L. III. 2107.

<sup>b</sup> *Livy*, xlv. 26.

<sup>e</sup> *Classical Review*, viii. 11.

perfectly level and easy. Here the shepherds of the hills could conveniently meet the tillers of the plain, and exchange their stock and dairy produce for grain and fruit, just as they do now at Podgorica. The evidence of the coins seems to show that there was little external trade. Mr. Milne informs me that almost all the coins of the lower empire are of the Siscia mint. But the Docleate cheese was famous, even at Rome.<sup>a</sup>

Doclea is first mentioned in literature by Ptolemy,<sup>b</sup> among the inland cities of Dalmatia, but the inscriptions prove that the town received municipal rights half a century earlier. The tribe Quirina, and the prevalence of the name Flavius in the earliest no less than the latest inscriptions (about one in three of the persons mentioned is a Flavius or Flavia), indicate, as M. Cagnat<sup>c</sup> has already pointed out, that the town acquired its privileges from one of the Flavian emperors. It is, I think, possible to go a step farther in defining the date. No less than six of the inscriptions of Doclea refer to one M. Flavius Fronto and his family. These inscriptions are the most pretentious hitherto discovered on the site. From their style and lettering they cannot be dated later than the end of the first century or early years of the second. Three of them are engraved on the architrave of the basilica in the forum, the most important building in Doclea. Two were discovered in the pavement of the same building, inscribed on slabs which may have formed the front face of a statue-base. The sixth was on a large block, probably a base, which has disappeared from the site. The family was evidently the most influential in Doclea, and the great basilica seems to have been little else than a monument to its glory. We gather the following facts from the inscriptions. Marcus Flavius Fronto was the son of Titus Flavius. He had a long list of distinctions: he was *sacerdos* in the colonies of Narona and Epidaurus, *duovir jure dicundo* of Julium Risinium, *duovir quinquennalis* and *pontifex* in the colony of Scodra, *duovir jure dicundo quinquennalis*, *pontifex*, and *flamen* of a deceased emperor<sup>d</sup> in Doclea, and a *praefectus* of some sort, possibly *praefectus fabrum*. His wife's name was Flavia Tertulla. Their son, Marcus Flavius Balbinus, died at the age of fifteen. The *ordo Docleatum* decreed him a public funeral, all the municipal *honores*, and an equestrian statue, which his parents had gilded at their own expense.

Now it is probable that Titus Flavius, the father of Flavius Fronto, assumed

<sup>a</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi. 240.

<sup>b</sup> *Geogr.* ii. 16, 7.

<sup>c</sup> *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1890. *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1893.

<sup>d</sup> Probably Titus, see Part III. note on No. 26.

his imperial Roman name at the time when Doclea acquired its privileges, and he was enrolled in the *tribus Quirina*. Similarly the name Flavia Tertulla is directly borrowed from the imperial family. The grandmother of Vespasian and the first wife of Titus both bore the name Tertulla. But if the parents of Flavius Fronto and Flavia Tertulla had already adopted Roman names, we should expect the enfranchisement of Doclea to fall in the earlier years of the Flavian dynasty, in the reign of Vespasian rather than of Domitian. This inference is confirmed by the earliest dateable inscription of Doclea, which records a dedication *Divo Tito*, by one Lucius Flavius Epidianus, *quattuorvir jure dicundo quinquennalis, ob honorem*. Doclea, therefore, received its rights before the death of Titus. If we could argue from the silence of Pliny that it had not received them at the time of the publication of the Natural History, the date would be narrowed down to the four years 77 to 81 B.C. But it is not safe to assume that Pliny's information was brought up to date, especially in reference to Dalmatia.

The promotion of Doclea marks, as M. Cagnat points out, a stage in the progress of Roman civilisation in Illyria. The coast towns owed their privileges to Julius, Augustus, or Claudius. Vespasian withdrew the legions from the province, and it is natural to find that Doclea and Scodra, which lie in the first great valley parallel to the coast, received the one municipal rights, the other the dignity of a colony, at about the same time. The remoter inland towns, such as the municipium of Splonum (?), did not attain to Roman organisation until the time of Hadrian and the Antonines.

In the institutions of Doclea the only interesting feature is the occurrence of both *quattuorviri* and *duoviri*. L. Flavius Epidianus is *quattuorvir jure dicundo quinquennalis*. M. Flavius Fronto is *duovir jure dicundo quinquennalis*, and one T. Flavius Verecundus Thamarianus, on another inscription of about the same date, is *duovir jure dicundo*. There is no hint that Doclea became a colony. On the contrary, the official designation of the community is always simply *respublica Docleatium*. It is not very rare to find both titles, even in towns which never rose above municipal rank. Marquardt quotes a number of cases from Italy, and it would not be difficult to collect a long list from the provinces. Possibly the *quattuorvirate* did not last long at Doclea. Possibly, as in Spain at about the same date, the change to *duoviri* was coincident with the bestowal of Latin rights. In any case, the tendency towards uniformity of organisation would tell in favour of the change. Although *quattuorviri* are found at the colonies Aequum, Naronae, and Salonae, there is no parallel to their existence in a Dalmatian municipium. As M. Cagnat observes, *duoviri* are there the universal rule.

But although Doclea never attained to the dignity of a Roman colony, the town has a probable title to another distinction no less illustrious. An inscription found in the large church (No. 64) records a dedication by one of the decurions who was *sacerdos ad aram Caesaris*. Nowhere else in Dalmatia proper has any mention of an *ara Caesaris* yet been discovered. Liburnia had its own altar and priesthood of Augustus at Scardona.<sup>a</sup> These facts, taken together with the large number of dedications to emperors among the inscriptions, make it extremely probable that, as Dr. Hirschfeld has suggested, Doclea was the seat of the imperial worship for southern Dalmatia.

It is as the reputed birthplace of the emperor Diocletian that Doclea claims some small share in historical interest. What little we know of the history of the town may be appropriately grouped round that central point. It is universally admitted that Diocletian was a Dalmatian, but we should naturally infer from the language of most of our authorities, and from the fact that he retired thither on laying down his power, that he was born near Salonae. His supposed connection with Doclea rests upon a statement in the Epitome of Aurelius Victor (xxxix.) that Diocletian was "*matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea*" and until he became emperor was called Diocles, but then changed his name to the Roman model. The story sounds improbable in itself. The name Diocletianus suggests adoption or emancipation, and one is tempted to suspect that some confusion, in which the word *metropolis* played its part, may underlie the "*matre pariter atque oppido*." It is a far cry from Doclea to Diocletianus, and Gibbon's rhetoric does not render the derivation any more plausible. "The town," he says, "seems to have been properly called Doclea, . . . and the original name of the fortunate slave was probably Docles: he first lengthened it to the Grecian harmony of Diocles, and at length to the Roman majesty of Diocletianus." Here it will be observed that the change from Docles to Diocles blunts the point of the story, that Doclea gives the adjective Docleas not Docles, and that the poor mother Dioclea is entirely ignored! But there is a more specious line of argument than Gibbon's. It is incontestable that to the medieval writers from Constantine Porphyrogenitus<sup>b</sup> onwards, Doclea has become Dioclea. An exact parallel to the change may be found in Phrygia,<sup>c</sup> where a town, Dokela, which still keeps its name as Doghla or Dola, had become Graecised into Dioclea,

<sup>a</sup> C. I. L. iii. 2810.

<sup>b</sup> *De admin. imp.* cc. 29, 30, 35.

<sup>c</sup> Ramsay, "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. 422-3.

and issued coins so inscribed, in the third century. Farlati<sup>a</sup> produces a bishop of Doclea in the province of Praevalitana, that is to say a bishop of Doclea, who signs at the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451. And Aurelius Victor carries us back to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>b</sup> May not Doclea, like Dokela, have become Dioclea in the third century?

None of these arguments will stand scrutiny. Let us work back over them.

(1) There is positive evidence that Doclea had not become Dioclea before Diocletian. Not a single inscription ever gives any other form than Doclea, and it so happens that the evidence is most abundant just at the time we want it. The *respublica Docleatinum* dedicates inscribed bases in the third century to Severus Alexander, between the years 226 and 235, to the Philippi and Otacilia Severa, A.D. 244, to Gallus, A.D. 252, to Volusianus, A.D. 253, to Valerian, A.D. 254, and to Gallienus, between the years 257 and 270. Of these inscriptions one falls in the year preceding Diocletian's birth, and four others within the next fifteen years. No form but *Docleates* appears on any of them. Clearly Diocletian cannot have got his name from Doclea without a free use of the "Grecian harmony."

(2) Whatever be the date of Aurelius Victor, nothing can be said of the Epitome except that it is later than the accession of Arcadius and Honorius, and that the compiler supplements the "De Caesaribus" from other sources. The passage about the birthplace of Diocletian is a supplement. The first mention of Dioclea that can be dated is in Constantine Porphyrogenitus. On the other hand Doclea is still implied in two letters from Gregory the Great in the year 602 to the bishops of Justiniana Prima and of Scodra about the misconduct of Paulus, bishop of the *Civitas Docleatina*.<sup>c</sup>

(3) Gregory's letters raise a presumption against Farlati's bishop of Dioclea in 451. In spite of the marginal note "Praevalitana" in the Venetian Codex of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, I believe that Dioclea in Phrygia is meant. In the first place very few western bishops attended the Council, and it would be strange if the distant Dalmatian town were represented, and the neighbouring Phrygian bishop absent. Secondly, the bishop bears the thoroughly Greek name of Εὐανδρος. Thirdly he signs among a number of other Phrygian bishops.

(4) The analogy of the change of name in the Phrygian town is misleading.

<sup>a</sup> *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. vii.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Evans, *Antiquarian Researches*, 84, note b.

<sup>c</sup> See Mansi, *Concil.* x. 329-30.

It is natural enough that Dokela should be Graecised into Dioclea in Phrygia. It is not so natural that Doclea should become Dioclea in the Latin Dalmatia. The extent of the Greek culture of Doclea may be estimated by the fact that out of about seventy inscriptions only one, an insignificant tombstone, is in Greek, and by the epitaph set up by Q. Flavius Helenus over his incomparable friend Gordius Maximianus, "*artis grammaticae Graecae peritissimus*," in which Helenus, in spite of his Greek name and the learned instruction of his friend, spells "*grammaticae*" with only one *m*.

There is thus no evidence or probability in favour of the name Dioclea before the tenth century. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing in the year 949, is the first dateable authority for the form. But at the same time he tells us that the town no longer existed. To Constantine Dioclea means a district inland of Cattaro and Antivari, in which there is a "waste chester" (*ἐρημόκαστρον*) founded long ago by Diocletian, whence the district derives its name and the inhabitants are called Diocletiani. Here we have got round to the opposite version. Instead of Diocletian being derived from Dioclea, Dioclea is derived from Diocletian. Instead of being the scion of the town, the emperor has become its parent. The one version has probably no more foundation than the other, both rest simply on a confusion of similar names. The intermediate step would be the rise of the form of Dioclea when Doclea was no longer alive to resist it; and Constantine's version, however absurd in fact, has a certain logical superiority over its rival, for it was, no doubt, mainly the contaminating influence of the name Diocletian that produced the form Dioclea. In stubborn protest against both alike the old Doclea remains to the present day Dukle, and the inhabitants of its "ager" call themselves Dukljani.

But we have not yet quite done with the Diocletian myth. If I read the Dalmatian historians aright, it had curious and far-reaching consequences in the middle ages. The confusion seems to me to have extended beyond names to places and facts. What really belonged to Spalato, the true birthplace and foundation of Diocletian, was transferred with the name Dioclea to Doclea. Thus it was that the archbishopric of Salonae or Spalato was confronted with a shadowy double of itself at Doclea, which plays an important part in the ecclesiastical squabbles of the time. It is in vain that the Spalatines profess themselves the one and only metropolitans of Dalmatia; they are always rebutted by the spectral archbishopric of Dioclea. The mythical rights of Dioclea are claimed on the one part by the church of Antivari, on the other by that of Ragusa. Antivari, as the capital of the district, arrogates to herself the title of the *civitas Diocletana*, her

church becomes the *ecclesia Diocletana*, and she pretends, as may be read in the pages of the anonymous Presbyter,<sup>a</sup> to be actually the old Doclea or Dioclea, rebuilt and re-established as the metropolis of southern Dalmatia by King Suetopelek at the fabulous synod of Delma on the conversion of the Slavs! To the writers of the twelfth and subsequent centuries, such as the Presbyter and John Cinnamus,<sup>b</sup> Dioclea is no longer, as it was to Constantine, a homeless name of a ruined site, but has found a local habitation, not at Doclea, but at the living city of Antivari. There is some evidence that Antivari attained to ecclesiastical independence and archiepiscopal rank soon after the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>c</sup> It was doubtless then that the claim received final sanction and authority. But there is no sound evidence that Doclea was ever an archbishopric. The archbishopric is that of Spalato transplanted by the confusion of names to Doclea, and thence on to Antivari. Similarly the Presbyter maintains that the kings of Dalmatia were crowned, not in the cathedral church of St. Mary at Spalato, but at the unimportant church of St. Mary outside the walls of Antivari.

After the revival of learning this new Dioclea caused a contrary confusion. Ludovicus Tubero for instance, narrating how the sailors of Antivari rendered a service to the Ragusans in their wars with the Slavs, makes them sail out from the lake of Scutari, which he calls the *lacus Lygnistris*, by the river Bojana, which he identifies with the Drilo.<sup>d</sup>

The claim of Antivari to the ghostly rights of Dioclea was not undisputed. The Spalatine Archdeacon Thomas has a much less romantic version of the origin of the archbishopric.<sup>e</sup> According to his account it was instituted simply to save the southern bishops the risks of the voyage to Spalato. The Ragusans contested the pretensions of both Antivari and Spalato. They claimed that on the destruction of Dioclea the archbishop fled to Ragusa and carried all his rights with him. This version is to be explained, I think, by the statement of Constantine, that when Salonae fell into the hands of the barbarians, many of the inhabitants, among them apparently the most eminent ecclesiastics, took refuge at Ragusa. Probably the so-called archbishop of Dioclea was really the metropolitan of Salonae, and the old confusion lies at the root of the story.

The theory here suggested seems to me to furnish some sort of rational explanation of the statements of the later Dalmatian writers. It would also help

<sup>a</sup> The Presbyter of Dioclea, *Regnum Slavorum*, printed in Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, 1666.

<sup>b</sup> V. 17.

<sup>c</sup> See Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vii. 17.

<sup>d</sup> *De Temp. suis*. bk. v. p. 109.

<sup>e</sup> *Hist. Salom.* c. xv.

us to understand how Constantine makes Diocletian the founder of Doclea, and the Epitomist, who puts his birth at Doclea, yet lets him spend his last years at Spalato *in propriis agris*. It is even possible that the Epitomist means by Doclea nothing else than Spalato. I have already noticed that his *matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea* suggests some misunderstanding of the word *μητρόπολις*. Thomas the Archdeacon has a curious story which points in the same direction. He tells us that Diocletian assigned the temple of Jupiter, afterwards the cathedral church of St. Mary in Spalato, to his mother to live in, and made the whole province subject to her. We are reminded at once of the mother Dioclea and of the supreme mother-church of Dalmatia.

It is not easy to fix the date of the destruction of Doclea. The letters of Gregory already mentioned show that so late as the year 602 there was still a bishop of the *civitas Docleatina*, and the ecclesiastical organisation of the province was unimpaired. In 639, however, the land was occupied by the pagan Slavs, the Roman population was driven to the coast towns, and the interior was lost to the Church. It is scarcely credible that Doclea can have escaped the fate that overwhelmed her neighbours. There is nothing on the site that need be as late as the seventh century, and we hear no more of Doclea until Constantine mentions it as an *ἐρημόκαστρον* three hundred years afterwards. The Presbyter's story of its restoration at the time of the conversion of the Slavs, a quite uncertain date, has no authority. It is merely intended to justify the claims of Antivari. The year 639 may therefore be taken as a downward limit. But it may be doubted whether the town existed so long. The coins stop abruptly at Honorius, a fact which plainly points to the devastating march of Alaric at the beginning of the fifth century. Yet the small church, with the inscription of Ausonia which pertains to it, can hardly be earlier than the time of Justinian, and the wholesale rebuilding, of which so many traces remain, seems to imply a restoration. Moreover, it appears more probable that the great civil basilica, which furnished so much of the materials for reconstruction, was ruined by an earthquake such as we know to have visited the region in the year 518, than by a barbarian raid. On the whole I am inclined to believe that Doclea was destroyed by Alaric, but revived to some extent, and maintained a precarious existence down to the year 639. The restoration may probably be ascribed to the revival of prosperity under Justinian, and Gregory's *civitas Docleatina* is more than a mere survival of an ecclesiastical title.

## NOTE.

LIST OF COINS FROM DOCLEA, INCLUDING THE COLLECTION IN THE  
CETINJE MUSEUM.

Greek . . . . .	3	Maximian . . . . .	3
Tiberius . . . . .	1	Maximinus . . . . .	1
Claudius . . . . . pierced	1	Constantine . . . . .	14
Titus . . . . .	1	Roma . . . . .	5
Domitian . . . . .	1	Constantinopolis . . . . .	2
Trajan . . . . .	3	Helena . . . . .	1
Hadrian . . . . .	3	Fausta . . . . .	1
Antoninus . . . . .	4	Licinius . . . . .	2
Faustina . . . . .	2	Crispus . . . . .	2
Commodus . . . . .	1	Constantine Caesar . . . . .	5
Indecipherable, of the period of Antonines.	8	Delmatius . . . . .	1
Geta . . . . .	1	Constantius . . . . .	7
Alexander . . . . .	3	Constans . . . . .	5
Gordianus III. . . . .	1	Indecipherable, of the Constantinian family.	61
Philip . . . . .	1	Julian . . . . .	1
Gallienus . . . . .	15	Jovian . . . . .	1
Quintillus . . . . .	1	Theodosius . . . . .	11
Claudius Gothicus . . . . .	10	Gratian . . . . .	2
Aurelianus . . . . .	5	Valentinian . . . . .	4
Severina . . . . .	1	Honorius . . . . .	1
Probus . . . . .	3	Indecipherable, of the Theodosian family . . . . .	15
Carinus . . . . .	1		224
Numerian . . . . .	1	Totally defaced . . . . .	77
Indecipherable, of the latter part of the third century . . . . .	4		301
Diocletian . . . . .	2		

All the above I have examined. I hear that there is a gold coin of Honorius in the possession of His Highness the Prince.

J. G. MILNE.

## PART II.

## § 1.—THE TEMPLES.

The ruins of two temples are the most easily identified buildings on the site. The podium of each stands almost entire, stripped of its coating of slabs of Spuž stone, and surrounded by fragments of capitals, columns, and cornices discovered during the Montenegrin excavations. From these fragments a fairly complete reconstruction is possible.

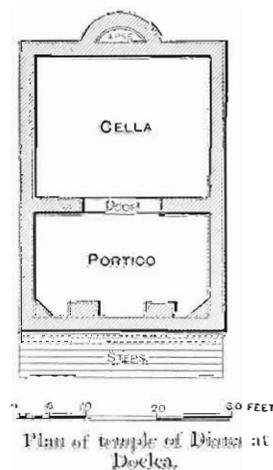
In the centre of the pediment of each temple was a bust in relief, in the more easterly of Diana, in the western of Minerva or Roma. The latter has been removed to the terrace of the new palace near Podgorica. Both temples are of the Roman Ionic order, and prostyle tetrastyle with an apse. They are almost identical in plan, structure, and size, the proportions of the *cella* being the chief difference; the temple of Diana having a *cella* 30 by 25 Roman feet, while that of Minerva is 30 by 30 feet.

Taking the temple of Diana first, as the remains are somewhat more varied, there are four rows of steps still *in situ*, each with a height of three Roman *palmi* (22 centimetres). Near these steps lie the fragments of two stone dolphins. They formed a balustrade on each side of the steps, as is shown by a series of steps, like the teeth of a saw, in their lower edge, which correspond exactly with the temple steps.

Of the temple front, the foundations, with the piers for the four columns, still remain in the podium. A base of one of the columns, part of one of the shafts, and fragments of several capitals, lie scattered at the sides. The base is 49 centimetres in diameter, the column 39 at the top, showing that the columns tapered slightly.

Fragments of the entablature show that it was identical with that of the temple of Minerva. It was surmounted by a band of floral pattern as a frieze. The cornice above the architrave had a plain moulding, whereas the pediment had a cornice with *cymatium* ornamented with a band of palmettes, consoles alternating with rosettes, an egg and dart band, and a leaf pattern. In the centre of the pediment was a bust of Diana carved in relief. The slab which bears it lies in front of the temple steps.

There is nothing to show the character of the inside of the portico. A wide doorway, from which the side posts have been removed, leads into the *cella*. The

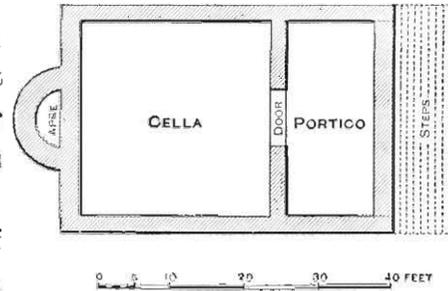


floor of the *cella* is of stamped brick, but a vast number of small fragments shows that it was originally covered with slabs of marble and Spuž stone. The walls were also incrustated with marble, red, green, and blue-grey, and there are fragments of a moulded cornice.

The apse seems to be part of the original structure, not a later addition. Neither in it nor elsewhere are there any traces of a cult statue or its base.

The podium wall is of coarse local stone, built in courses of irregular depth. It is two Roman feet (59 centimetres) thick throughout. The floor of the *cella* stood 4 feet above the outside level, the space between the walls being filled up to that height with broken concrete.

The temple of Roma or Minerva is still surrounded by a course of squared blocks of Spuž stone (26 centimetres thick), firmly clamped together with iron. These blocks served as a foundation for the slabs which coated it (9 thick). The walls (3 Roman feet) are thicker than those in the temple of Diana. The steps are of identically the same size (22 high with 26 tread). There are, however, no traces of dolphins having been on the balustrades, which seem to have been formed of plain slabs. Owing, no doubt, to the greater thickness of the walls, there are no piers for the columns in the front wall of the podium. The diameter of the top of a column which has been placed upright near the temple is 515 millimetres, considerably larger than the columns of the temple of Diana. There is a large slab almost uninjured from the architrave, with the entablature and floral frieze mentioned above. Two of the corner pieces and several fragments of the cornice show that it had a plain moulding. The *cella* threshold has been removed, but the bed in which it was laid and part of both side posts are *in situ*. The door was 1.72 metres, almost 6 feet, wide.



Plan of the temple of Minerva, Doclea.

A torso of a figure, considerably less than life size, clad in a *toga* and bearing a cornucopiæ in his left hand, was found near the temple. It is the only piece of sculpture in the round, except a small fragment of a foot, discovered on the site.

On the terrace at the new palace near Podgorica is the central slab of the pediment, with the head of Minerva or Roma in relief, now much defaced. If the *togatus* is the genius of an emperor, or a deified emperor, and belongs to the temple, we may regard it as dedicated to Roma.

§ 2. THE LARGE CHURCH.

Mounds of stone overgrown with thorn marked the site of the larger church. The neighbouring farmers had cleared away most of the smaller walls around to make room for maize plots, and had piled the stones on the ruins of the main building.

After excavation the walls of the church were found standing intact some 3 to 5 feet above the central pavement. They are of rough local stone, built in the same careless fashion as those on the rest of the site.

The church is oriented nearly south-east and north-west, but for convenience we shall speak of it as though it were due east and west.

The plan is basilican, and only differs from the type represented by St. Clement's at Rome in having the court or *atrium* on the south instead of the west side.

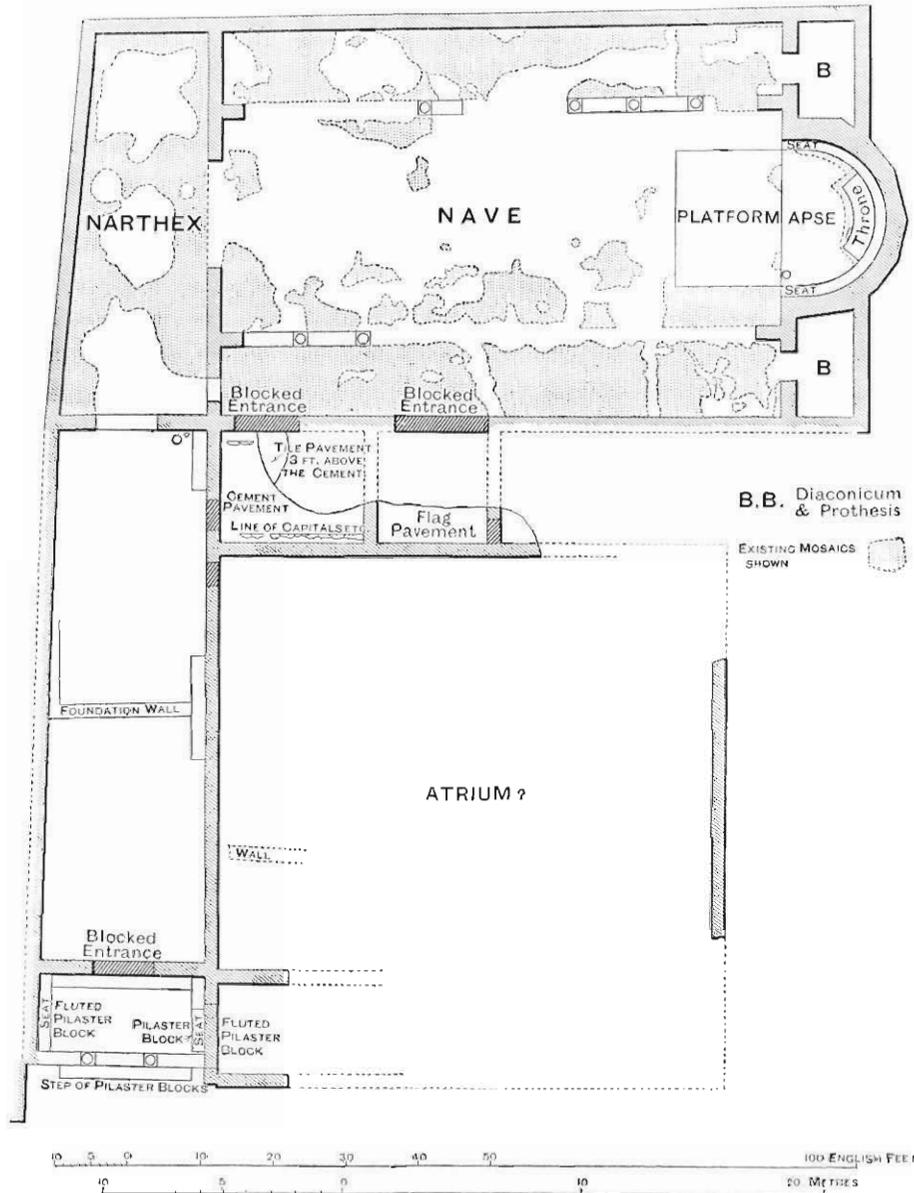
The nave is 80 Roman feet long by 30 wide; the apse 22 feet wide, 15 deep, with a semi-circle 11 feet in radius, the chord being set back 4 feet from the line of the east wall; the aisles are 10 feet wide and open at the east end into two small chambers (the *prothesis* and *diaconicum*); the porch or *narthex* is not symmetrical, the south side, where the main entrance is, being 7 feet longer than the north.

The floor of the apse, the *bema*, is raised some 8 inches above that of the nave. Seats 20 inches wide run round it, with the foundations of a bishop's throne in the centre. The seats have been stripped of their covering slabs and only the rough stone remains. The throne seems to have been at least twice as high as the seats and to have had three steps. Like the rest of the church the *bema* was paved with mosaic, fragments of which remain at the foot of the throne (showing its original breadth) and below the seats on the north side.

Unfortunately there is nothing to show how the apse was separated from the nave, as the edge of the *bema* is broken away. A solitary base of small size at the south angle of the apse may possibly have served as part of the foundation for a screen. That there was a screen seems to be proved by the variety of slabs and uprights found through the church, which as we shall see below belong to three if not four different structures. Of the altar there are no traces, though the fact that the semi-circle of the apse is set back 4 feet from the wall suggests that it stood, as one would expect, in front of the bishop's throne.

In the nave there is a platform about 19 feet wide by 15 feet deep set in front of the *bema*.

This *solea*, to use a convenient term, stands some 2 inches above the floor,



Plan of a Large Church at Doclea.

and from the roughness of its edges may be assumed to have been enclosed by a screen.

On the *solea* there are no traces of an *ambo*, nor of seats. Like the rest of the church it was paved with mosaic, fragments of which still remain.

The aisles were separated from the nave by a row of columns on each side. Six bases, four on the north, two on the south side, remain *in situ*. Between these bases are heavy blocks, some 6 inches thick, placed on the floor between, giving the appearance of a *stylobate*. There were seven columns on each side, placed about 9 feet apart, the intervals between those *in situ* varying several inches from each other.

The intervals between the three central bases on each side must obviously have been larger than those remaining, as there is not sufficient room for two in the central gap on the north side. The bases differ in size from  $17\frac{1}{2}$  to  $19\frac{1}{2}$  inches and also in style. There are many fragments of the columns, and among these, two are so little injured that their length can be determined approximately. The best preserved lies as it fell, near the base at the east end of the north aisle. It is 9 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and cannot have been more than a few inches longer originally. Like the bases, the columns vary in size, *e.g.* the diameter of the top, in three cases, is  $13\frac{1}{3}$ , 14, and  $14\frac{1}{3}$  inches.

The rubbish which filled the floor of the aisles was largely broken clay tiles, presumably from the roof. The column in the north aisle, mentioned above, lay on a stratum of tiles, showing that the roof had fallen in before it was overthrown. There are no signs of either brick or stone arches in the rubbish, nor were any blocks of a size sufficient to span the space between the columns found, so that one may conclude that the roof was supported on timber.

A number of capitals were found scattered over the church. Two of these were of the Romano-Corinthian order, and apparently identical with the capitals from the Pagan Basilica which now stand on the terrace of the new palace near Podgorica. Another is Romano-Ionic. Some are of a very debased Ionic type, of a rude Byzantine style. One of them has a cross inserted between the volutes. Others are square truncated pyramids of the rudimentary "impost" type, described by Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson.<sup>a</sup>

The pavement was of mosaic throughout the nave, that in the south aisle remaining almost intact.

In the west corner of the south aisle a number of large blocks lay scattered. These are gravestones of a late Roman type, one of them has the cippus of Ursus, with sculptured ornament and inscription, the others with rosette and central

<sup>a</sup> *S. Sophia*, p. 251, fig. 53.

flower ornaments. All have been cut down, the parallelogram of the original stone being made almost square, and all were found with the ornamental face downwards. Some of them lay on the mosaic pavement without any rubbish between, the mosaic beneath being absolutely fresh. One is inclined to suppose that they fell from the wall above, or were part of some structure standing near the blocked entrances in the south wall which was overthrown before the rest of the church.

Many gravestone slabs of the same type, a parallelogram panel, with a circular rosette, flower, or diamond ornament in the centre, are to be seen in the old Turkish cemetery outside the city wall, and near the ruined church at Zlatica.

A central door, the threshold of which still remains, though the sideposts are missing, leads from the nave to the narthex. A small door in the south aisle also communicates with it.

The central doorway, as it now stands, is 14 feet 7 inches wide, and the original door if placed symmetrically in the centre, was probably 10 feet wide, allowance being made for the side posts.

The main entrance to the church is in the south wall of the narthex. Its threshold 21 inches wide, 8 feet 5 inches long, and two blocks forming the sidepost of one side still remain. The grooves in the threshold, in which the folding doors slid, show that it was originally 6 feet 6 inches wide. The threshold is similar to many in the pagan buildings of the town, and was no doubt taken from one of them.

Behind the west wall of the narthex are three chambers which have no doors connecting them with any building. A rude stair of three steps leads to the central one, and is obviously of later date than the main building; as also the chambers themselves seem to be. Owing to the mass of stones we were unable to excavate the west front, but judging from the inside, it seems to have been a plain blank wall.

Of the various fragments found scattered throughout the church, the crosses, the ornamented slabs, and the uprights which supported them, the smaller columns and capitals, and the remains of at least three window gratings are all that deserve special mention.

The crosses are roughly cut in local stone, and though all of the same form differ slightly in size. Two are complete. One measures 2 feet by 18 inches.

The several fragments of the broken crosses were found so widely scattered that it would seem that they were purposely destroyed.

The slabs belong to four different sets, distinguished from one another by ornament, thickness, and quality of stone.

The most notable is a fragmentary marble slab with a central six-armed cross surrounded by a circle formed of five cords, with two other interlacing cords above, which spread as tendrils on either side of the cross, and end in ivy leaves. The back of the slab is ornamented with a plain cross, showing that it was intended to be seen from both sides. Its likeness to the slabs in the screen of St. Clement's, Rome, suggests that it was part of the screen of the *solea*.

There are fragments of at least three of these slabs. They were 2 feet 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, and probably nearly 6 feet wide, so that two of them with an entrance space between would, as at St. Clement's, fit the front of the *solea* (18 feet).

Several of the marble uprights which supported the screen were found. They are 2 feet 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, and the slabs fit exactly into the slots at the side. Their only ornament is a longitudinal countersunk panel on front and back.

The remains of the other three sets of slabs are too fragmentary to admit of any certain restoration. One set ornamented with ivy leaves is thicker than those mentioned above. Uprights with slots of the same thickness were found.

Others have ivy tendrils, a cross inside a circle of rope, and a diaper pattern with crosses in alternate lozenges. Another small fragment has a flower and leaf ornament in vertical panels.

A small column, the same height as the uprights, and several fragments of similar columns obviously belong to one of the screens, possibly the screen of the *bema*, in front of the altar.

Some fragments of columns of the same size, but with spiral fluting, may have belonged to the altar itself.

A solitary column, which is uninjured, and 7 feet 3 inches high, may possibly have been part of a *ciborium*, but as there are no traces of its base or the foundations of the altar this is very doubtful.

Some small capitals, with debased volute surmounted by a truncated pyramid, which is ornamented with a cross, seem to have belonged to something of the kind.

A window grating 4 feet 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches by 2 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, 5 inches thick, with a diagonal lattice of six bars each way, was found in widely scattered fragments. Fragments of a similar window, and part of a scale-pattern grating (the latter found near the main entrance) also turned up.

It is not difficult to find many analogies at Ravenna and elsewhere for the different floral ornaments, but there seems to be no clue in any of them to suggest

an exact date for the structure, nor is there any marked characteristic in them to show that they are due to western rather than eastern influence. Uprights, capitals, and ornaments of the same style are to be seen built into the walls of mosques in Bithynia.

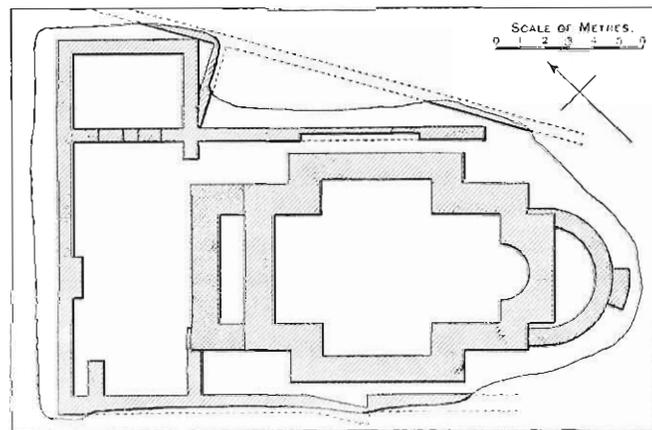
So that for the date one must turn rather to the small church, with its dedicatory inscription, and to the general history of the site as recorded by Mr. Munro.

### § 3. THE SMALL CHURCH.

The small church, as it has been called for want of a better name, lies to the west of the basilica, separated from it and its buildings by a narrow road. Whatever the particular ecclesiastical function of this church may have been, its plan and position seem to separate it from the basilica, and so it may conveniently be treated by itself.

The existing remains are little more than foundations. These, however, are complete, and enable the ground plan of the church and its immediate surroundings to be traced without much doubt.

The original building was in the shape of a Greek cross, with a small apse,



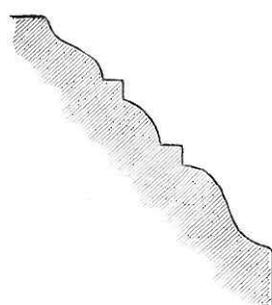
Plan of a Small Church at Doclea.

the extreme internal measurements being: length, 9·4 metres, exclusive of the apse, and 10·5 metres inclusive; breadth, 7·35 metres. It was lengthened by a porch at the west end; the foundation walls of which were carried 3·35 metres further forward. A new and larger external apse was subsequently built unsym-

metrically on to the east end, its centre being 4 metres south of the main axis of the church. On the north and south the building is enclosed by boundary walls, 55 metres away from the foundations, and these are carried on at the west end to form a court, 10·7 by 5 metres. To the north of this court lies a second smaller enclosure, 5 by 3·3 metres, which abuts at its north-east angle on the boundary of the road.

The walls of the main building are solidly constructed, 1 to 1·2 metres in thickness, of blocks of limestone, with a core of rough cement. The workmen utilized largely in the foundations the remains of earlier buildings, particularly the great civil basilica; fragments from the architrave and cornice of which are numerous. The north wall is the only one where anything remains which was originally visible above ground. Here the facing is of well-laid limestone blocks, above which comes a second course constructed out of the door and window mouldings of the civil basilica, as shown in the annexed sketch, and used as a base course.

Of the interior nothing is left above the floor level.



Window moulding.  
Civil Basilica.



Base-course.  
Small Church.

The porch at the west end appears to have been part of the original building. There is a break in the lower foundation course, but the character of the construction and materials used are the same as in the main body of the building.

The external apse at the east end shows a distinct difference. Not only is it unsymmetrically added, but the foundation walls are built of small rough stones, with none of the fragments of earlier buildings found elsewhere in the church, and are laid, without any attempt at joints, in a rough mortar much inferior to that of the other work.

The court in front is surrounded by roughly-built walls which show traces of having been plastered with a fine cement, and is floored with the same material.

The only entrance is in the middle of the front wall, where two steps are preserved, leading down into the court. In the north wall the threshold of the entrance into the second court remains, with a column-base in the middle. This court is similar to the first in respect of walls and floor.

The materials for the restoration of the building are practically none, beyond the foundations. Several small columns were found in the court with a number of capitals and a dedicatory inscription (No. 28). These probably had their place in the west porch.

The approach to the church from the court must have been up a flight of steps. The internal lining of the walls has been removed, but the cement backing shows the level at which the stones began to be laid in regular courses, and it would seem that the floor was not less than 1·2 metres above the level of the court. The flooring of the court ends at a line ·6 metres in front of the existing foundations, and the remains of mortar adhering to these foundations show that there was a course of stones laid against them ·2 metres in height. The church was therefore probably entered by a flight of six steps of ·2 metres.

The court must have been open; there are no traces of any kind to show that it was anything more than an enclosure surrounded by low walls. The smaller enclosure, however, may have been roofed, this is suggested by the column-base on the threshold with which is probably to be connected a broken column found close by, originally about 2 metres in height.

The date of the church can only be roughly conjectured. It must be earlier than 639, and the fragments from the civil basilica built into it may give an anterior date, if, as seems likely, the basilica was overthrown by the earthquake of 518. Between these two dates the building of the church may be placed nearer to the later than the earlier limit.

PART III.

INSCRIPTIONS.

The following pages contain all the Roman inscriptions and the solitary Greek inscription found at Dukle and placed on record. The reader is thus provided with a conspectus of the somewhat scanty epigraphic material yielded by the site, which seemed worth giving, because that material is nowhere, not even in the *Corpus*, to be found in one collected whole. A few inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Berane, in the valley of the Lim, have also been incorporated.

The inscriptions have been found at various dates. Three only (Nos. 16, 40, and 42) were known when Mommsen published the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* in 1873; the rest have been added since by the researches of Mr. Rovinski and by the visits of foreign scholars whose names are mentioned below, where their results are quoted. The excavations recorded in the preceding pages added twenty-three more or less perfect inscriptions, besides correcting the readings of previous investigators in some important points.

In the following list the inscriptions are arranged in the same order, speaking generally, as they would be in the *Corpus*. After the dedications to gods (1—3) follow those to emperors (4—18), the inscriptions of the basilica and statues erected in honour of Flavius Balbinus (19—24) and some similar stones, the tombstones (29—62), and some miscellaneous inscriptions and fragments of less certain character, one of which (No. 64) is of some value. The readings are those of Mr. Munro's copies, unless otherwise stated. The present editors have added some expansions and brief explanations. Where, as in Nos. 52, 53, 64, and elsewhere, these are borrowed from other scholars, acknowledgment is made; the remainder are either obviously common property or original. The numbers of the inscriptions in the third volume of the *Corpus* are quoted throughout; the numbers from 13626 onwards are taken from proof sheets which Professor Hirschfeld has very kindly sent to us. Where more than one reference is given, the inscription has been treated more than once in the *Corpus*.

1. Dukle: copied by Saski. [C. I. L. 8283.]

DIS DE  
ABVSQ

2. Dukle : built side upwards into the north abutment of the Roman bridge on the Morača about a mile above the ancient town. Block of hard limestone, 2 feet 2 inches high, 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches broad, with letters about 2 inches. [C. I. L. 12679.]

I · O · M	J(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo),
EPONE · REGIN	Epon(a)e regin(ae),
GENIO · LOCI	Genio loci,
P · BENNIUS · EC	P. Bennius E[g]-
REGIVS · MIL ·	regius, mil(es)
COH · VOL · ADIV	coh(ortis) Vol(untariorum), adju(tor)
RINC · BF · COS · V · S	[p]rinc(ipis), b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis), v(otum) s(olvit).

*Adiutores principis* are mentioned in C. I. L. VIII 4332 and Ephem. v. 709, but in both these cases the men served in legions. They appear to have been under-officers attached to the centurions, who were *principes*, and performing much the same clerky duties as the *librarii*.

3. Dukle : near the junction of the Zeta and Morača. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 2 feet 6 inches high, 1 foot 11 inches broad, 1 foot 10 inches thick. Letters,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. Split in two and lacking the upper right-hand corner. Surface much weathered ; Mr. Munro observes that the stone seems to have been shot at from across the Zeta. When copied before in 1875 and 1882, the inscription was perfect, except for the *i* of *Veneri*. [C. I. L. 8284.]

VENERI	Veneri
AVC	Aug(ustae)
S · CRVM	S[a]erum.
F · BASSILLA	F[il](avia) Bassilla.

4—18. These inscriptions are all or almost all dedications to Emperors. It is possible, as Hirschfeld has suggested, that we should connect them with the mention of a *sacerdos ad aram Caesaris* below (No. 64), and should suppose that a centre of Caesar worship for southern Dalmatia was at Doclea itself.

4. Dukle : from the west gate, now in the parapet of the bridge. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 2 feet  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, 2 feet  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, 2 feet 1 inch thick. Right lower corner cut away. Letters in first two lines, 3 inches, the rest,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inches. The inscription has been purposely defaced, and is hard to read.

Sticotti read practically nothing in the first line; in line 5 Borman read Q I I D on a squeeze sent by Sticotti. [C. I. L. 12680.]

DIVOTITO	Divo Tito
AVC.	Aug(usto)
LFLAVIVSQVIR	L. Flavius Quir(ina)
EPIDIANVS	Epidianus
IIIVIRIDQVIA	IIIVir j(ure) d(icundo) qui(n)q(uennalis)
	[not inscribed.]
OB·HONOR	ob hon[orem].

The occurrence of a *quattuorvir iure dicundo quinquennalis* is notable. In general, we find *duoviri* in colonies, *quattuorviri in municipia*, but the rule is not universally kept, and in Dalmatian municipalities, as M. Cagnat has observed, *quattuorviri* hardly occur.

This is the earliest datable inscription from Doclea. It proves that the town received municipal rights before the death of Titus, and perhaps from him (see note on No. 26). From other evidence, it is probable that the town received its rights from one of the Flavian emperors, who did a great deal for the Romanisation of Dalmatia.

5. Podgorica, old town: block of Spuž stone, cut away on all sides, built into the door-post of a stable in the yard of a Turkish house. [C. I. L. 12681.]

imp. ca	ES VA IA NT O ̄ II	ri
divi ner		e f.
nercae tr		no aug
germ. p		mae
trib. p		cos ii

Erected in honour of Trajan in the autumn of A.D. 98.

6. At the palace of Krušna Glavica, opposite Podgorica. Block of Spuž stone, 3 feet 1½ inch high, 2 feet broad, 2 feet thick, finely cut letters 2¼ inches high. [C. I. L. 12682.]

DIVO  
TRAIAN  
D D

On the right side of the same stone a stonecutter's mark, roughly cut in 2¼ inch letters.

CON

7. Dukle: from the west gate, outside which it lies. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 4 feet 1 inch high, 2 feet broad, 1 foot 10 inches thick. Letters, 2 inches

to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. The inscription is purposely defaced, as the inscriptions of this emperor often are. [C. I. L. 12683.]

I	M	P	Imp(eratori)
C	A	E	Caes(ari) M.
A	V	R	Aurel(io)
S	E	V	Severo
A	L	E	Alexan-
D	R	O	-dro Pio
F	E	L	Fel(ici) Aug(usto)
P	O	N	pont(ifici) m-
A	X	T	-ax(imo) trib(uniciae)
P	O	T	pot(estatis) p(atr) p(atr)iae)
C	O	S	co(n)s(uli) II
·	R	·	r(os)p(ublica)
D	O	C	Docl[e].
A	T	I	-atium.

8. Planinica near Povje: copied by Novaković. [C. I. L. 8285.]

IMP · CAES  
M · IVLIO  
PHILIPPO  
PIO · FELICI  
AVG

9. Dukle, built into the bridge by the west gate; copied by Sticotti. Purposely erased throughout. [C. I. L. 12684.]

IMP CAES  
" " " " " "  
.....  
.....  
..... AV<sup>G</sup>  
= =  
.....  
..... OT  
P · P · COS · II  
RESPUBLICA  
DOCLEATI  
VM

Possibly dedicated, as Sticotti suggests, to Philip; more probably identical with No. 15, and belonging to Valerian.

10. Dukle: from the west gate, outside which it lies. Block of Spuž stone, panelled on three sides, 4 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 1 inch broad, 1 foot 11 inches thick. The upper left corner is cut away. Letters  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, rather rudely inscribed. Surface a good deal chipped. [C. I. L. 12685.]

FACILIAE  
 VERAE  
 AVG  
 ONIVGI  
 PHILIPPI  
 AVG  
 MATRIV  
 PHILPPI (sic)  
 NOBILISSIMI  
 CAES  
 RESP·DOC  
 D·D

11. Now at the palace of Krušna Glavica, opposite Podgorica. Panelled block of Spuž stone from Dukle, 4 feet 7 inches high, 2 feet  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch broad, 2 feet thick. Letters,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, a good deal defaced. [C. I. L. 12686.]

M·IVLIO  
 PHILIPPO  
 IMP·M·IVLI  
 PHILIPPI  
 AVG·FILIO  
 NOBILISSI  
 MO·CAES·  
 RESP·D·  
 D·D·

Dedicated to the younger Philip.

12. Planinica near Povje, copied by Novaković. [C. I. L. 8286.]

*Imp. Caesar*  
*C. Messius Quintus*  
 DEC  
 TRAIANVS  
 PIVS FELIX  
 AVG

Decius Trajanus reigned A.D. 249-251. The fact that his name appears here

in the nominative seems to separate this inscription from the imperial dedications which precede and follow it.

13. Dukle : from the west gate, outside which it lies. Block of Spuž stone, panelled on three sides, 4 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet broad, 1 foot  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. Letters  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, much worn. [C. I. L. 12687.]

I M P  
 C A E S ·  
 C V I P O  
 G A L L O  
 P I O F E L  
 A V G  
 P O N M A X  
 P P T R P O  
 C O S · I I R P  
 D O C L ·  
 · D · D ·

Dedicated to the Emperor Vibius Gallus in A.D. 252. In line 3 Sticotti read VIBIO.

14. Dukle : from the west gate, outside which it lies. Block of Spuž stone, panelled on three sides, 4 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 2 feet  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, 1 foot 11 inches thick. Letters  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches. Surface much weathered. [C. I. L. 12688.]

I · M · P  
 C A E S  
 C V I B I O  
 V O L V S I  
 A N O · P I  
 O F E L ·  
 A V G ·  
 P O N · M A X ·  
 P P T R P O T  
 C O S · I I · R · P ·  
 R D O C L ·  
 · D · D ·

Dedicated to the colleague of the preceding, in A.D. 253. The first letter of line 11 is unintelligible, and may be a stonecutter's error.

15. Dukle : from the west gate, outside which it lies. Block of Spuž stone,

panelled on three sides, 4 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 2 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, and 1 foot 9 inches thick. Letters about  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches. The stone seems to have been inscribed three times over, and finally the writing has been purposely obliterated. [C. I. L. 13632. See No. 9.]

IMPCAES	Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)
I ICINIO	[P. L.]icinio
VALERIAN	Valerian(o)
PIOFELAVG G	Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto) < G >
PONT MAX	pont(ifici) max(imo)
TRIB · POT	trib(uniciac) pot(estatis)
P P COS II	p(atri)p(atriac) co(n)s(uli) II
RESPUBLICA	respublica
DOCLEATI	Docleati-
VM	-um.

The date is A.D. 254: as often on imperial inscriptions of this period the years of the *tribunicia potestas* are not stated. In line 4 the final G is inscribed on the moulding, and seems to be a survival from an erased inscription.

16. Found in *porta urbis Docleae juxta lacum Labeatem*. Now lost: a copy is preserved in an anonymous MS. collection of Dalmatian inscriptions made in or before the sixteenth century. [C. I. L. 1705.]

IMP · CAES · P · LICINIO · GALIENO  
 PIO · FELICI · AVG · PONT · MAX  
 TRIB · POT · P · P · CONS · III · RES  
 P V B L · D O C L E A T I V M

Inscription in honour of the emperor Gallienus, erected A.D. 257—260.

17. Dukle: built (side upwards) into the north wall of the small church, inside. Fragment of a block of Spuz̃ stone, about 11 inches square. Letters, first line, about 4 inches; second line, 3 inches. [C. I. L. 13633.]

Caesa  pot.

18. Dukle: found outside the north-east corner of the small church. Frag-

ment of a panelled block of Spuž stone, 1 foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches high, complete only to right. Letters 3 inches, in bad condition. [C. I. L. 13634]



. . . . . nob(ilissimo)

[Caesari res publica] d(edit) d(edicavit).

19-22. The following eleven fragments belong to inscriptions which occupied the epistyle of the civil basilica. As seen by Sticotti, they lay in four groups in front of the façade, facing the forum, in the following order, except that IIIb was found first by Munro :

Façade			
IV	IIIb	II	I
		<i>a b</i>	<i>a b</i>
		<i>c d</i>	<i>c d</i>

Jelić, who also saw the inscriptions, observes that they stood over the four entrances from the forum into the basilica. They are all in honour of the same boy, M. Flavius Balbinus, whose parents were obviously important persons at the time when the basilica was erected.

19. Dukle : four fragments of the architrave of the civil basilica, lying together before the east front of the building, near the north end. Lengths : block (*a*), 4 feet 7 inches ; block (*b*), 2 feet 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches ; block (*c*), 2 feet 10 inches ; block (*d*), 4 feet 3 inches. The architrave consists of travertine blocks, 2 feet 6 inches high, and 1 foot 6 inches thick. The inscribed surface is 11 inches broad, and occupies the top of the block. The inscription is placed for a point of view from below, near the top of the blocks. Letters, in the upper line, about 3 inches, in the lower about 2 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches, finely cut and picked out with red. Measured by the following inscription, the space between the left edge of the O in *Balbino* and the left edge of the C in *defuncto* must have been 3 feet 1 inch. The total length of the inscribed blocks would therefore amount to from 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 16 feet [C. I. L. 8287 = 12692 I.]

<sup>(a)</sup> M·FL·M·F·QVIR·BALBINO <sup>(b)</sup> CORDO <sup>(c)</sup> DOCL·HONORĒS <sup>(d)</sup> OMNES ET STATVAM  
 EQVETR· DECREVIT FL·TERTVLLA· PARENTES· INAVRAVERVNT

M. Fl(avius), M(arci) f(ilio), Quir(ina), Balbino : [huic defun]c(to) ordo Docl(eatium) honores omnes  
 et statvam

equestr(em) decrev(it). [Fl(avius) Fronto et] Fl(avia) Tertulla parentes inauraverunt.

20. Dukle: four fragments of the architrave of the civil basilica, lying together before the east front of the building, about 25 feet south of the preceding group. Lengths: block (a), 2 feet 10 inches; block (b), 5 feet  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch; block (c), 4 feet 1 inch. Other dimensions as in the preceding inscription. There is lost between the right edge of the Q in *Quirina* and the left edge of the second B in *Balbino* 1 foot  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches; between the left edge of the D in *ordo* and the middle of the M in *omnes*, 4 feet 1 inch. The total length of the stones was therefore about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet. One fragment, roughly the same as (c) in No. 19, was not seen by Munro, but was copied by Sticotti and Rovinski. [C. I. L. 8287=12692 II.]

The inscription is *verbatim* and *litteratim* the same as 12,992 i, except that in place of PARENTES INAVRAVERVNT the word FL occurs after TERTVLLA and under the M of OMNES.

21. Dukle: fragment of the architrave of the civil basilica, lying before the east front of the building, about twelve paces south of the preceding group. Length, 6 feet 4 inches, to which must be added about 6 inches of broken stone on the left of the inscription. This stone has been long exposed to the weather, but is quite legible. [C. I. L. 8287=12692 IV.]

FL·T·F·QVIR·FRONTONI·PRAEF·  
PONTIF· FLAM· DIVI·

{ *abrum* or *frum. dand.*

For the name of the emperor see the note on No. 26.

22. Dukle: two fragments from the architrave of the civil basilica. The right hand piece lies before the east front of the building near the south end, about 14 paces south of the preceding block. It is 5 feet  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, otherwise similar to the other architrave blocks. The left hand piece was found in the middle of the small church about a quarter of a mile distant from the basilica; it is 2 feet 9 inches long, 10 inches high, and 1 foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch thick. Letters, the first line about 3 inches; the second about  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches. [C. I. L. 8287=12692 III.]

I·HONORES·OMNES·ET·STATVAM·EQVESTR·  
INAVRAVERVNT·

..... ordo Doc]l(catium) honores omnes et statuam equestr(em) [decrevit ... parentes]  
inauraverunt.

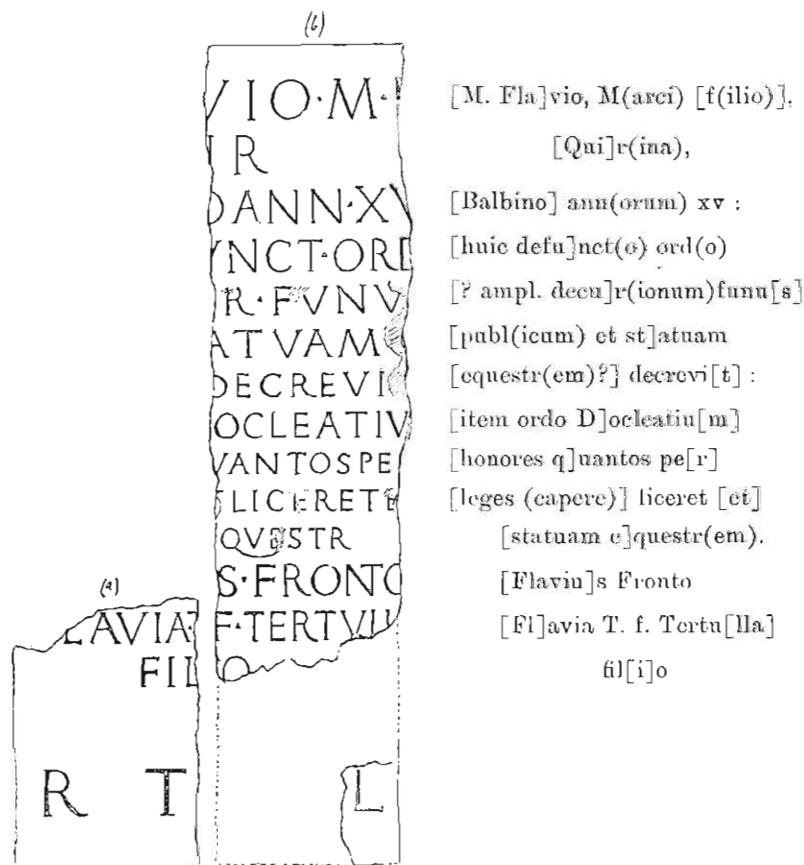
This inscription is distinguished from all the others on the architrave of the basilica by the larger size of the letters in the second line. It may be conjectured, therefore, that it belongs, not to the east front like the rest, but to the south.

23. Dukle: in the pavement of the civil basilica. Slab of Spuž stone, 4 feet  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, 1 foot  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Letters  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, elaborately cut and in good style. The left side is much worn, and has been smashed into pieces by the fall of the building; the right side, protected by a wall, is in good condition. [C. I. L. 12693=13629.]

M·FLAVIOM·F  
 QVIR  
 BALBINO AN·XV  
 IN·DEFUNCTO·ORD  
 CD·C·NVS  
 STATVAM  
 R·ITEM  
 HONORES  
 SPE·ICESAPER  
 EQVEST  
 QVIR  
 STATVAM  
 T·P·I  
 FLAVIVSFRONTO  
 ETFLAVIATERTVLLA  
 PARENTE·IMPENSADIECT  
 PAVERVNT  
 VIVS·FF

M. Flavio, M(arci) f(ilio),  
 Quir(ina),  
 Balb[i]no ann(oram) xv :  
 hu[i]e defunct(o) ord(o)  
 m[uni]c(ip.) D[o]c[le]a(eatium) funus  
 [publicum et] statuam  
 [equestr(em) ? dec]r(evit) : item  
 [decevit] honores  
 q[ua]nto]s pe[r leg]es eaper[e]  
 [liceret et stat(uam)] equest(rem)  
 [M. Flavius. M. f ? ] Quir(ina)  
 . . . . . statuam  
 t(estamento) p(oni) j(ussit)  
 M. Flavius Fronto  
 et Flavia Tertulla  
 parente[s i]mpens(a) adject(a)  
 inauraverunt.  
 [M Flav]ius Fr[onto] . . . . .

24. Dukle: in the civil basilica. Two fragments of a slab of Spuž stone similar to the preceding, but possibly an inch or two broader. (a) was found lying loose in the building. (b) was discovered by Mr. Miluc face downwards in the pavement. It has been roughly hewn to its present shape, and is broken into many pieces. The lower part was completely rotten and crumbled to dust on being touched. Letters 3 inches to  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch. [C. I. L. 12694=13630.]



Possibly this slab and the preceding are from the base of equestrian statues. The last line R T . . . L (*Tertullia*) may continue the last line of the preceding. The supplement to line 5 was suggested by Hirschfeld.

25. Dukle: not far from the junction of the Zeta and Morača. A block of Spuž stone from an architrave, 2 feet 3 inches long, 1 foot 9 inches high, 1 foot 4½ inches thick, broken to right. Letters 4 inches. [C. I. L. 13640.]

*fac. cu*  
*? inaurave* R · PECVNIA Sua

26. Dukle : copied by Rovinski, sought in vain by Munro. [C. I. L. 12695.]

M · FLAVIO · T · F · QVIR  
FRONTONI SACERD  
IN COLONIS · NARON  
ET EPIDAVRO IIVIR · I · D  
5 IV IIO RISINO IIVIR  
CVI INQ ION] IN COI  
SCCDR IIVIR IDQVIM  
IIAM //// PRAEF ////  
PLEPS  
EX AERE CONLA[C

M. Cagnat suggests: *M. Flavio T. f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Frontoni, sacerd(oti) in coloni(i)s Naron(a) et Epidavro, ii vir(o) i(iure) d(icundo) In[I]io Risino, ii vir(o) [g]uing(uennali), [p]on[ti(fici)] in co[l] Sc[o]dr(a) ii vir(o) i. d. qui[ng.], [fl]amini [diui Aug.] praef. [fabrum], pleps ex aere conla[to].*

The lost emperor's name in line 8 cannot have been a long one, and as Flavius Fronto may well have been the father of the boy mentioned in No. 19, we may perhaps suggest Titus and refer the inscription to the origin of Doclea (see No. 4).

The references to Risinium and Scodra are important; as M. Cagnat has pointed out, they show that Risinium received city rights from Augustus, while Scodra seems to have been raised from the rank of *Municipium* to that of *Colonia* by the Flavian emperors.

27. Dukle : found just outside the door of the large church. Morsel of a slab of Spuz̃ stone, 6 inches high, 5 inches broad, 3 inches thick, broken on all sides. Letters 1 inch, poorly cut. [C. I. L. 13639.]



Possibly part of the dedication of the church (cf. No. 28).

28. Dukle : found beside the gateway facing the west front of the small church. Lintel block of Spuz̃ stone, 7 feet 6 inches long, 10 inches high, 1 foot 3½

inches thick. Letters 4 inches, plainly and deeply cut on a concave moulding in the middle of the lintel. [C. I. L. 13654.]

† MSONIADIACsROVOTOSVETFILIORASVORAFc†

Ausonia diae(onissa) pro voto suo et filiorum suorum f(aciendum) c(uravit).

29. At Berane, in the valley of the Lim, Albania, but said to have been brought from the neighbouring village of Budimlje, built upside down into the south wall of the church of Gjurjevo Stupovi: panelled block of coarse bluish marble. Above the inscription is a relief of three busts with clasped hands, over two garlands. The letters are picked out with red. [C. I. L. 13641.]

D M S	D M S
AR·VERZANO	Aur(elio) Verzano ?
LIBERTOQ	liberto q(ui)
VIXIT·AN	vixit an-
N·IS LXXXV	-nis LXXXV.

In line 3 a Greek Λ seems to be used for L.

30. Zlatica, about two miles east of Dukle: dug up in the old church. Block of Spuz̃ stone, much broken; apparently a capital split in half vertically, 1 foot 3 inches high, 1 foot broad. Letters 1 inch to 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  inch. Copy and squeeze by Mr. Milne. [C. I. L. 13642.]

BΛFBIOS  
OPIENI  
ORETRA  
MEM  
IVIX

31. Dukle: in a house by the north wall. Small panelled slab, 1 foot 1 inch square, 5 inches thick. Letters from 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  inch to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch. [C. I. L. 8288a.]

C·CANINIO  
VALENTI  
CANINI IV  
LIANVSET  
PROCVLVS·  
PATRIPISSIMO  
FEC

32. Dukle, at the meeting of the Zeta and Morāča. Now at Ragusa; copied by Hirschfeld. [C. I. L. 8287.]

Q · CASSIO · AQVILAE  
 DECVRION · I EPIDIA · CE  
 LERINA · VXOR · ET · CASIA  
 AQVLINA · FILIA · PATRi  
 PIISSIMO · ET · SIBI · ETSVI  
 S · VIVAE · FECERVNT

“To Q. Cassius Aquila, a decurion [of Doclea], erected by his wife Epidia Celerina and his daughter Cassia Aqu(i)lina, to him, themselves, and their household, in their lifetime.”

33. Podgorica, in the Serbian cemetery; copied by Bogišić and Sticotti. Bad lettering. [C. I. L. 8289.]

D · M · S  
 C L A N I C E T O  
 MARITO PIENTISSIMO  
 CL OLYMPIA · VXOR ·  
 MEMORIAM POSVIT  
 QVI · VIXIT · AN · LVIII  
 M · VIII · DIES · V · HAS  
 PRO MERITIS SEDES  
 CARISSIMO CONIVGI  
 MEMORIAM POSVIT

Erected to Claudius Anicetus, aged 59 years 9 months 5 days, by his wife Cl. Olympia.

34. Dukle: lying in the ravine close under the bridge, no doubt from the west gate. The upper part of a block of Spuz̃ stone panelled on three sides, 1 foot 8 inches high, 1 foot 11 inches broad, 11½ inches thick, with 2¼-inch letters. The inscription is complete. [C. I. L. 12707.]

CL · Q · FIL  
 PROBILLA<sup>AE</sup>

Cl(audiae) Q(uinti) fil(iae) Probillae.

35. At the palace of Krušna Glavica opposite Podgorica. Block of Spuz̃ stone

from Dukle, 2 feet 8 inches high, 1 foot 11 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, 1 foot 8 inches thick. Letters 2 inches to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. About a third of the face is broken away on the left, but the inscription seems to be complete. [C. I. L. 12691.]

M·EPIDIO  
P·FIL·QVR  
LATINO·DEC  
D

*i.e.* M · Epidio P(ubli) fil(io) Quir(ina) Latino, dcc(urioni) D(ocleati).

36. Dukle: in the western cemetery. Small block of Spuž stone, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 10 inches broad, 6 inches thick. Letters about 1 inch.; much worn to left. [C. I. I. L. 12708.]

ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΦ	ἐποίησε Φ -
ΛΚΙΔΙΟΣΧ	- λακίδιος Χ -
ΑΡΙΤΩΝ	- ἀρίτων
ΑΠΠΙΑΝΩ	'Αππιανῶ
ΗΤΗΜ	· · · · ητη μ -
ΧΑΡΙΝ	[- νήμης] χάριν
	· · · · ·

This is the only Greek inscription yet found at Doclea.

37. Zlatica, dug up in the old church. Limestone slab, 2 feet 2 inches high; broken at both sides. Letters 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. On the back is carved a cross. Surface much worn. Copy and squeeze by Mr. Milne. [C. I. L. 13643.]

· · · · ·  
· · · F · · · · ·  
I · FL · CREscenti  
p ATR · · · · ·  
5 Q · V · ANNIS L  
FL · CRESCens  
B · M

38. Dukle: found in the large church, near the south-west corner. Block of Spuž stone, cut away at the top and bottom, 2 feet 1 inch square. An ornamental border runs down each side. The top of the stone was occupied by relief of three half-figures facing to right, each holding an object. Beneath the relief is a band of ornament and the panel containing the inscription. In the middle of the

second and third lines of the inscription is an upright hole, which must have been there before the stone was inscribed, for it has been carefully avoided by the cutter. [C. I. L. 13638.]

	<p>D(is) M(anibus) Fl(avio) Urso d(e)c(urioni) Agr(uvino ?) qui v - - ixit a(nnos) p(lus) m(inus) xxxviii Val(erius) Marcelli - [nus] . . .</p>
--	---

Agruvium was a small Dalmatian town close to the modern Cattaro.

39. Dukle: in the civil basilica. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 2 feet 9 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches broad, broken on the right. The border of the panel is chiselled away on the left, but the inscription is complete on that side. Letters  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches to  $1\frac{7}{8}$  inch, well cut in good style. M. Cagnat, judging from a squeeze, assigns it to the end of the first or beginning of the second century, to which date he also ascribes Nos. 19 to 22. [C. I. L. 8287 = 12678.]

T·FLAVI} <sub>s</sub>  
 VERECWDV} <sub>s</sub>  
 THAMARIA  
 TIVIRID  
 PRAEF·FAB } <sub>r(nm)</sub>  
 T·F·I·

Thamaria may be a Dalmatian place-name.

40. Dukle: now at Ragusa. Copied by Mommsen. [C. I. L. 1707 = 8282.]

D M S  
 FL EVTIAE  
 PIEAITISIM  
 EQVAE VIXIT  
 AN PLVS MINVS  
 XXX EPIDIVS  
 F'LIPVS MARI  
 TVS POSVIT

To the memory of Flavia Eutia, aged about xxx; erected by her husband, Epidius Filipus (Philippus).

41. Dukle: in the western cemetery. Small panelled block of Spuž stone, 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch high,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Letters about 1 inch. [C. I. L. 13644.]

D·M·S·  
FL·IANVARI  
AEQVAEVI  
XITAN·XIVIII  
GRATVSCON  
IVGIINCOMP  
ARABIIPO  
SVIT

*i.e.* D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Fl(aviae) Januariae quae vixit an(nos) XLVIII. (Gratus conjugii incomparabili posuit.

42. Dukle, at the north-east gate: copied by Neigebauer and Bogišić. [C. I. L. 1706=8281 ]

F//AVIA  
C · FILIA  
si B · POS  
L · D · D · D

Probably the conclusion of a memorial stone. *Flavia C. filia* reappears on Nos. 45, 56.

43. Dukle: copied by Rovinski. [C. I. L. 12696.]

· · AVIA  
PINNIA  
TFI  
FL · EPDA/S  
F · C ·  
L · D · D · D

[Fl]avia Pinnia t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit): Fl. Ep[i]d[i]a[n]us f(aciendum c(uravit): l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). The emendation of line 4 is due to M. Cagnat.

44. Dukle: in the western cemetery. Small panelled block of Spuž stone, 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Letters  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch. [C. I. L. 13645.]

D · M  
F·PINNIAE  
Q·VI·ANXXX  
M·VALERIVS  
QVINTIAN  
VS·VX·ET·F·  
QVINTINAE  
F·Q·VI·AI·X

For *F(lavia) Pinnia*, cf. No. 43.

45. Dukle: copied by Rovinski. [C. I. L. 12697.]

III D · II  
FLAVIA  
C · F  
RVFINA  
FILIO  
POSVIT  
L D D D

The first remaining line contained probably an official title like *iivir. id. ii.*, belonging to the man in whose memory the stone was erected. Flavia C. f. Rufina may be connected with the persons mentioned in Nos. 42, 56.

46. Dukle: found in the basilica and copied by Petričević and Rovinski. Munro saw only a fragment  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with 1-inch letters, belonging to the lower left side. [C. I. L. 12709.]

D M  
M I S E R I M E  
INFELICISSIME  
FE VRSILLAE  
5 QVE VIXIT AN  
VI MII DXXV  
FL VRSVS ET FL  
BAEBIA PAREN  
TES FILIAE  
10 CE

*D. m. mise(r)rim(a)e infelicissim(a)e F[l]. Ursillae qu(a)e vixit an(nos) vi m(enses) ii d(ies) x.v.  
Fl. Ursus et Fl. Baebia parentes filiae [inno]ce[ntissimae] . . ]*

In 6 Munro read ME, in 8 BA, in 9 IES.

47. Dukle: now at the hut in the western cemetery. Small panelled slab, 1 foot 7 inches high, 1 foot 6 inches broad, 4 inches thick. Letters from 1½ to 1 inch, well cut. [C. I. L. 12702.]

D	♁	M	♁	C	<i>i.e.</i> D(is) M(anibus) C.			
G	O	R	D	M	A	X	I	Gord(io) Maxi-
M	I	A	N	O	A	R	T	-miano art-
I	S	G	R	A	M	A	T	-is gram(m)atic-
Æ	G	R	Æ	C	Æ	P	E	-ae Græcæ peri-
T	I	S	S	I	M	O	♁	-tissimo. Q. Fl(avius)
Q	♁	F	L					
H	E	L	E	N	S	A	M	Helenu <i>s</i> ami-
C	O	I	N	C	O	N	P	co inconpa-
R	A	B	I	L	I			ribili.

48. Dukle: now in the Ragusa Museum. Copied by Hirschfeld. [C. I. L. 8291.]

D · M · S  
I ADESTINVS  
BAEBIOR · SER  
SIB · E · S · V · F ·

*D. M. s., Iadestinus Baebior(um) ser(vus) sib(i) e(t) s(uis) v(ivus) f(ecit).*

The slave's name is formed from the town name Iadera. For the Baebii cf. No. 31.

49. Podgorica: outside the reading-room. Small column-base of Spuž stone, brought from Zlatica. The inscription occupies the square under-face of the base. Letters about 1½ inch, rudely inscribed and carelessly picked out with black. When seen by Petrićević the initial letters of 4, 5, were extant. [C. I. L. 12711.]

VIIIIMILLIVIIETIN  
NOCENTISSIMO  
PVSINOIENVARI  
FINOEVSVIXAN  
5 IIMIIIXVII·SECVN  
DIANVSETJANVA  
RIAPARENT·BLIAI  
ETNEPOTI·EEC

Tombstone to a daughter and grandson: the daughter's name was given with

the beginning of the inscription on another stone. The whole ran probably somewhat thus: [D. M. . . . . quae vixit annos] VIII m(enses) II d(ies) VII, et innocentissimo Pusino J[a]nuario [f]ilio ejus, vix(it) an(nos) [I]I m[enses] III d(ies) XVII, Secundianus et Januaria parent(es) filia[e] et nepoti [f]ec(erunt).

In all probability the word *Pusino* is equivalent to *Pupo*, which is commonly used as the *praenomen* of children too young to have legal *praenomina* of their own; it does not seem to occur elsewhere in literature or epigraphy. In line 7, P is formed like a Greek koppa, as happens occasionally on rudely cut inscriptions (*e.g.* Eph. vii. 1025).

50. Dukle: in the western cemetery. Small block of Spuž stone, 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch high, 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick, with letters about 1 inch. The upper right hand corner is broken away, but the inscription is complete. [C. I. L. 12710.]

D            M  
M · IVL · LACONI  
QVI VIXIT · A · XLV  
HVIC · DEE · BAEB  
TAMODERATA ·  
MAITO · B · N  
E ·

*i.e.* D(is) M(anibus) M. Jul(io) Laconi, qui vixit a(nnos) XLV: huic def(uncto) Baeb[ia] Moderata ma[r]ito b(ene) m(erenti) [f]ecit].

51. Dukle: copied by Sticotti. [C. I. L. 12699.]

M · LICINIO · PROBō  
DEC  
QVI · VIXIT · ANN · L  
M · LICINIUS · SEVERVS.  
PATR] · OPTIM

52. Dukle, found 1890: copied from a squeeze by Hirschfeld. [C. I. L. 12690.]

M MA/////

A M B A C T I

C O R N E L I

DOM BRYXIA

P SCRASIUS

NAEOLVS ÆQ

P SCRIBA Q

A M I C O I N

C O N P A R A B I

Probably, much as Hirschfeld suggests, *M. Ma[rui?] Ambacti Corneli[ani?], dom(o) Br(i)xia, P. Scrasius Naeolus aeq(no) p(ublico), scriba q(uaestorius) amico incomparabi(li). Bryxia, Naeolus, aequo* are variants for *Brixia, Naeolus, equo*, for which many parallels occur.

53. Now, at the palace of Krušna Glavica, opposite Podgorica: panclled block of Spuž stone from Dukle, 2 feet 7 inches high, 1 foot 10½ inches broad, 1 foot 8 inches thick. Letters 2¼ inches to 1¾ inch. [C. I. L. 12700.]

M·NOVI°	M. Novio
QI·IVSTO	Qui(rina tribu) Justo
DEC·EXTES·TA	dec(urioni), ex testa-
MENTO·EIVS·	-mento ejus
T·NOVIVS·M	T. Novius Ma-
XIMVS·FRA	-ximus fra-
TER·PONENDVM	-ter ponendum
CVRAVT·	curav[it]
·L·D·D·D	l(oro) d(ato) d(ecurionum) d(creto).

54. Dukle: in the western cemetery. Small panclled block of Spuž stone, 9¾ inches high, 1 foot ¾ inches broad. Letters from 1 inch to ¾ inch. [C. I. L. 12712.]

Q V A R T I O N

C · F L A · I V S T I

S E R V O · P L A

I A C O N V B E R

N A L I S

*i.e.* Quartioni C. Fla(vii) Justi servo Pla [- ?]-ia (Flavia ?) contubernalis.

55. Dukle: found in the small church, the upper part built into the south wall, the lower part lying in the middle of the building. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 2 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 1 foot  $10\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad, 1 foot 9 inches thick, broken across. The surface is chipped away at both sides, but the inscription is complete on the left. Letters  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, somewhat worn. [C. I. L. 13635.]

C N S E R T O  
 C F B R O C C  
 A Q V I L I O  
 A G R I C O L A  
 P E D A N I O F  
 S A L I N A T O R I  
 I V L I O S E R V I A N O

*i.e.* [C]n. Serto[rio] C. f. Brocc[ho] Aquilio Agricola[e] Ped[an]io F[usco ?]  
 Salina[tori] Julio Servia[no] . . . .

All the names probably belong to one man, who may have been, as Hirschfeld suggests, by birth Sertorius Brocchus, by adoption son of Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator (cos. A.D. 118), the son-in-law of L. Julius Ursus Servianus (cos. before 98 and in 102). Such accumulation of names was not uncommon, especially in the second century. A C. Sertorius Brocchus was pro-consul of Asia at an unknown time.

56. At the palace of Krušna Glavica, opposite Podgorica. Block of Spuž stone from Dukle, 3 feet 7 inches high, 1 foot 10 inches broad, 1 foot 11 inches thick. Letters  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches. [C. I. L. 8287=12701.]

S E R V I A E  
 M A R C E L A E  
 M A T R I  
 O P T I M A E  
 F L C F I L  
 P R I S C A  
 L D D D

57. Dukle: dug up near the surface between the two churches. Two frag-

ments of a small marble slab, broken below. Total breadth, 11 inches, height 8 inches, thickness  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. Letters  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inch. [C. I. L. 13648.]



58. Dukle: found on the surface about mid-way between the west gate and the civil basilica. Fragment of rough block, complete only to left, 1 foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch high, 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches thick. Letters about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, scratched rather than cut and much worn. [C. I. L. 13650.]



For *Mi[se]rimo*, in line 2, compare No. 46.

59. Zlatica: extracted from the wall of a house near the old church. Limestone slab, broken to left, 1 foot  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 1 foot  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch. Copy and squeeze by Mr. Milne. [C. I. L. 13652.]

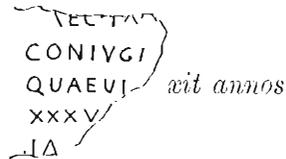


60. Dukle: copied by Hirschfeld from a squeeze. The text is uncertain, especially in 2, 4, 5. [C. I. L. 12704.]

D M  
 ////VIo NO///  
 /Vo SoDALI  
 R o M I // // C D  
 //NVS ET FL·CI////  
 IMVS · COLLEGE  
 B · M · PoS

*D(is) M(anibus) [? No]vio No[ . . . ]uo sodabi Rom[ . ; . ] nus et Fl(avius) Ci[ . . . ]imus  
 Colleg(a)e b(ene m(erenti) pos(uerunt).*

61. Now at Podgorica, outside the reading-room. Small fragment of Spuž stone, broken on all sides except the left. Very rudely inscribed. Letters about 1 inch. The stone is said to have been brought from Zlatica, where Sticotti saw it. [C. I. L. 12703.]



TECTA  
CONIVGI  
QUAEVI vit annos  
XXXV  
Δ

62. Dukle: (a) copied by Saski; (b) dug out of a rubble wall on the south side of the west gate, a fragment of panelled Spuž stone 9 × 14 inches with two-inch letters. [C. I. L. 8288=13626.]



MII  
(a) PRO  
MA tri  
PISSIMÆ (b)  
L D · D · D ·

63. Dukle: outside the west gate. Lower left corner of a panelled block of Spuž stone, 1 foot 1 inch high, 9½ inches broad. Letters, about 2 inches, poor late style. [C. I. L. 13653.]



ET  
PAIR

64. Dukle: found lying in front of the apse in the large church. Panelled block of Spuž stone, 2 feet 7¼ inches high, 1 foot 9½ inches broad, 11 inches thick, broken below, especially at the corners, also at the upper left hand corner, and

elsewhere on the left side. Letters,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inch to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch, fairly well cut, but badly weathered. [C. I. L. 13636.]

/// // // // // IVS	. . . ius
QVIR	Quir(ina tribu)
GENIALIS	Genialis
COSET	[viator?] co[n]s(ulum) et
P SACRD	p[raet(orum)] sac[e]rd(os)
ATAPMCAESARS	at a[ra]m Caesar[i]s
DECL	dec(urio)
AMEN	test]amen[to poni
IVSSII	iussi[t]
D	[L. d. d.] d

Hirschfeld, from a squeeze, reads ER (in ligature) for R in 5, AA for M in 6, TE in 8 init. and TO PO in 8 fin. The suggestion of *viator consulum et praetorum* is due to him, and he also points out that this mention of an *ara Caesaris* is the first yet found in Dalmatia proper, and that, combining this inscription with the many imperial dedications (Nos. 4 foll.), we may fix the site of the altar at Doclea itself.

65. Dukle, copied by Rovinski. [C. I. L. 12689.]

PRAEF	. . praef(ectus)
DAND	frumenti] dand[i . .
OSROV	pro]os [p]rov
ALEC	. . . . le[g

The conjectures are due first to M. Cagnat.

66. Dukle, found in the torrent bed just below the bridge. Fragment of a block of Spuz stone, 1 foot 5 inches high, 1 foot broad, broken all round. Letters, 2 inches, in poor late style. [C. I. L. 13637.]

	<p>Rufina piissim . .</p>
---	-------------------------------

67. Podgorica, old town: block, built into the wall of a house, high up, upside down, broken right and left. Letters in first line about 6 inches. [C. I. L. S2901=2698.]

. . . G]emelli[nus?] . . . A]ug(usti) ob h[onorem],

68. Dukle: outside the west gate. Lower part of a panelled block of Spuž stone, 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, 1 foot  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad. Letters  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, in good style.

[p(onendum)] c(uravit) l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

69. Dukle: found outside the south wall of the large church. Fragment of a panelled slab of Spuž stone, 9 inches high, 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch broad,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. The slab is broken at the top and bottom, and the border to left, but the inscription is complete on both sides. Letters  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch, picked out with red. [C. I. L. 13651.]

*Long(a)evo* seems plain; the rest is unintelligible.

70. Podgorica: copied by Petričević. [C. I. L. 12705.]

In line 2, Hirschfeld suggests *pro]misit*.

71. Budimlje (about a mile north-east of Berane, in the valley of the Lim):

in the old churchyard. Stone about 7 feet long and 3 feet broad. Surface much worn. [C. I. L. 13646.]

Along the upper edge : . . IS . . . M . . . . .

Along the lower edge : . . . . . ANNAI//AX//IIASCCI . . . . .

Possibly . . Anna [M]ax[im]ia Sc[odrina ?]

72. *Ibid.* Similar stone. [C. I. L. 13647.]

About the middle : T . . . . . VM MAXIMVS

Along the lower edge : MAXI . . . . . IVSII

The last word may be *Iusti*.

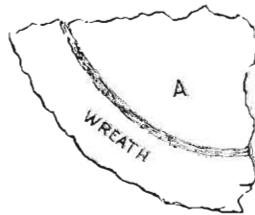
73. Berane : built into the south wall of the church of Gjurgjevo Stupovi. Coarse bluish marble. [C. I. L. 13649.]

VALE

74. Dukle : copied by Roviński. [C. I. L. 12713.]

IL  
AE  
CE  
FI

75. Dukle : in the civil basilica. Fragment of Spuž stone, broken on all sides, 11½ inches high, 9 inches broad. Letter, 2¼ inches. [C. I. L. 12714.]



76. Cetinje, in the museum : on a tile from Dukle. Copy and squeeze by Mr. Milne.

QLOBM

[Q] Clodi Am[brōsi]

Cf. C. I. L. iii. 3214, 2; Cagnat, No. 17, gives it imperfectly.

77. Dukle : on a fragment of tile found in the large church.

A/

h

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