

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum, III, and IV.* Communicated by ARTHUR
JOHN EVANS, F.S.A.

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III.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINE FROM SALONÆ TO
SCUPI, AND ON THE MUNICIPAL SITES AND MINING
CENTRES IN THE OLD DALMATIAN AND DARDANIAN
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ZLATIBOR

STOLOVI PL.

S E R B I A
JASTREBAC R
PLANINA

PRIBOJ
R UVAC
Ivanjica
Nova Varos
ZLATAR PLANINA
Miloševa

GOLJA PLANINA

PLEVLJE
PRIJEPOLJE
Podpeći

S I J E N I C A

RAŠKA
Banya
NOVI PAZAR
TRGOVIŠTE
BOZUR PLANINA
ROBOSNA PL

(MONTAGNA D'ARGENTO)
APPROXIMATE OF MUNICIPALITY

JEZERA
JAK ŠARANZI
RAČKA
D A

B I H O R

KRUSEVICA PL
R IBAR
ROZAJ
MOKRA GORA

ANCIENT BRIDGE

APPROXIMATE OF MUNICIPALITY

KOLASIN
VASOJEVICI
KUČKI KOM
KUCI BRATKOZIĆI

SMILJEVICA PL
MOKRA PLANINA

STUDENICA
SILVER MINES

OLD SILVER MINES

PERI
DREKALOVICI
KLEменти

VALBONA
MT TROCHIR

PEK OR PEĆ

CICAVICA PLANINA

NOCLEA
Dukle MEDIONE
Medun

BIESKAMALA
NIKAI

DECANI
DECANSKA BISTRICA

DEČANCI

SWASTRATI
SKRIJELE
MT BASKASTI

TOPLANA
R DRIN DRILON FL.

SHIHANI

SHIHANI

POSRIPA
SCUTARI D ALBANIA
S. SINGI

MT BASTRIK
WHITE DRIN R

MT KORITNIK

MT KORITNIK

LISSVS
ALESSIO

MT GUALICE

MT GUALICE

MT GUALICE

BARBANI
TO DIVI

MIRIDITIA

MIRIDITIA

MIRIDITIA

TETOVO
KALKANDELEN
R. TRESKA
UNEXPLORED

MT LUBITRN
HODŽA BALKAN
PRIZREN

VIDINO
KACANIK

GRANARICA
BATHS
TRACES OF ANCIENT MINES
JANJEVO
LIPYAN

PRISTINA

PODUJEVO
DUBOVICA

MURSUMLJE
BANJSKA R
PETROVA GORA

LEPENAC PL.

KRUŠEVAC

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

III.—AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES FROM SALONÆ TO SCUPI, AND OF THE MUNICIPAL SITES AND MINING CENTRES IN THE OLD DALMATIAN AND DARDANIAN RANGES.

HITHERTO we have been concerned with the Dalmatian coast-cities and the great parallel lines of road that traversed the length of the Province from the borders of Pannonia and Italy to those of Epirus. From Salonæ there were, in addition to these highways to the North and South, at least two main-lines of Roman Way that traversed the interior ranges of the Dinaric Alps and led to the Mœsian and Dardanian^a borders that lay to the East and South-East. Military columns have been found at Salonæ, one^b recording the completion by Tiberius' Legate Dolabella of a line of road leading from the Colony of Salonæ to a mountain stronghold of the Ditiones—an Illyrian clan probably inhabiting what is now the North-East region of Bosnia; another, also of Tiberius' time,^c referring to the construction of a line, 156 miles in extent, from Salonæ to a *Castellum* of the Dæsitiates, an Illyrian clan belonging to the *Conventus* or administrative district of Narona, and whose stronghold, according to the mileage given, must be sought somewhere on the Upper Drina, towards the Moesian and Dalmatian confines. This latter line may very well be that represented in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as leading from Salonæ to Argentaria, a name which seems to connect itself with the silver-bearing ranges lying on the uncertain boundary of the ancient Dalmatia and Dardania, and which, from its mineral riches, was still known in the Middle Ages as *Monte Argentaro*.

^a Dardania, under the earlier Empire a part of Upper Mœsia, forms from the end of the third century a separate Province.

^b C. I. L. iii. 3198 (and cf. 3199).

^c C. I. L. iii. 3201.

I shall have occasion to describe a succession of important Roman sites along this route, coupled with other traces, which tend to show that an avenue of communication was opened out on this side by Roman engineering between the Dalmatian cities and the central Dardanian plains, and which finally, through the pass of Kačanik, brought them into connexion with the Macedonian road-system. Meanwhile it may be well to point out the great economic importance of the high-road connecting the Dalmatian capital with the chief mineral centres of the interior, not only to Salonæ itself but to the Roman World.

The Illyrian highlanders, and notably the Southern tribe of the Pirustæ, had shown themselves skilful miners in their own Alps before the Roman Conquest. Augustus, on the reduction of the Dalmatæ, the race whose valour finally transferred their name to a large part of the original Illyrian area, "compelled," we are told, "this savage race to dig mines and extract gold from the veins of the rock."^a But it was only the comprehensive scheme of road-making carried into effect by Tiberius' enterprising Legate that could have paved the way for the vast development of gold production that took place in the succeeding Age, and which for a time made Dalmatia the Eldorado of the Empire. By Nero's time Pliny informs us that fifty pounds weight of gold was daily extracted from the Dalmatian mines, representing an annual sum of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds of our money. From Pliny's statement it would appear that this Dalmatian gold was in his day largely obtained from the surface of the ground,^b and the cost of collection was no doubt diminished, as in Dacia^c and elsewhere, by the large employment of slave labour. It is probable, moreover, that a good deal was gathered by independent gold-washers, or *auri leguli*, who afterwards handed in the proceeds of their toil to the local officers of mines, and were remunerated on a regulation scale: an arrangement still in force in Transylvania, where the gipsies pursue this ancient industry on the sites of the Daco-Roman gold-works. Modern

^a Florus, iv. 12.

^b Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 21. "Aurum invenitur aliquando in summa tellure protinus, rara felicitate: ut nuper in Dalmatia, principatu Neronis, singulis diebus etiam quinquagenas libras fundens."

^c Dr. Julius Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 34 *seqq.* has collected the existing records of the Roman administration of Mines in Dacia, from which we may supplement our knowledge of the same administration in Dalmatia. The chief control was in the hands of a *Procurator Aurariarum*. Under him were various officers, such as *tabularii*, or treasurers, *dispensatores*, paymasters, and others. The exploitation was conducted by slaves condemned *ad metalla*, of whom there may have been 20,000, and by independent *leguli aurariarum*. Cf. Karl Gooss, *Innerverhältnisse des Trajanischen Daciens, Excurs. I.—Die Goldbergwerke*.

critics, indeed, have accused Pliny of exaggerating the amount obtained from these Dalmatian gold-fields.^a But it is probable that writers who appeal to the short-comings of ancient mechanical skill, have neither taken into adequate account the cheapness of such labour as was supplied, for instance, by the forty thousand slaves in the mines of Carthagera, nor realised the resources of Roman enterprise, which, as we know in Spain and elsewhere, undermined whole mountain sides^b in order to expose the auriferous strata, and conducted streams by artificial channels a hundred miles in length for the purpose of washing the gold ore. It would appear that in Dalmatia, besides the surface workings alluded to, the other gold-mining processes described by Pliny of digging shafts^c and excavating vast underground galleries were largely resorted to. The poet Statius, writing in Domitian's time, deplures the long tarrying of his friend Junius Maximus among the Dalmatian mountains, where the miner penetrates to the Nether World, "and with visions of Dis upon him returns as pale and jaundiced as the gold he has dragged forth."^d Nothing indeed in the experience of modern pitmen can approach the horrors of those ancient gold mines,^e where, by the

^a To Petter, for instance (*Dalmazien*, B. i. p. 24 note), it is incomprehensible that the annual gold production of Roman Dalmatia should have been six times as great as that of modern Hungary, and that it should have rivalled in amount that of the South American goldfields. "Bedenkt man ferner dass der Bergbau zu den Römerzeiten noch auf den untersten Stufen stand, da den Römern alle Hilfsmittel der Jetztzeit wie z. B. Schiesspulver, hydraulische Maschinen, Dampfmaschinen, u. s. w. unbekannt waren."

^b "Mons fractus cadit ab sese longe, fragore qui concipi humana mente non possit. . . . Spectant victores ruinam naturæ Alius par labor, ac vel majoris impendii, flumina ad lavandam hanc ruinam jugis montium ducere obiter a centesimo plerumque lapide. Corrugos vocant, a corrivatione credo." (Pliny, xxxiii. 21.) The word *ruina*, in the sense of "landslip" or "talus," has been preserved in the form *Rüfein* among the Germanized "Ladine" population of the ancient Rætia. The local names *Runović*, *Runić*, associated in several cases with Roman sites in Slavonic Illyria, may suggest a comparison.

^c *Loc. cit.* "Alio modo puteorum scrobibus effoditur . . . vagantur venarum canales per latera puteorum; tellusque ligneis columnis suspenditur."

^d *Silvarum*, l. iv. c. 7. *Ad Maximum Junium* :

"Quando te dulci Latio remittent
Dalmatæ montes, ubi, Dite viso,
Pallidus fossor redit, erutoque
Concolor auro?"

The idea has been borrowed by Silius Italicus (l. i. 231) and by Claudian, who applies the epithet "Pallentes" to the Bessian miners.

^e "Cuniculis per magna spatia actis cavantur montes ad Incernarum lumina. Eadem mensura vigiliarum est, multisque mensibus non cernitur dies." Pliny, *loc. cit.* who proceeds to describe the

light of open iron lamps (the Roman shape, material, and name of which are still preserved in the Dalmatian Alps),^a the slave-gangs worked for months at a time without seeing the light of day. Even were there not preserved to us the definite statements of ancient writers as to the magnitude of the Roman gold-mining operations in the ancient Dalmatia, the fact might be sufficiently inferred by the existing traces of some of the works, and by the ruins of flourishing cities in the wild Bosnian interior, which, like those that sprung up amidst the most sterile Sierras of Roman Spain, must have owed their rise and fortunes in a great degree to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the province.

Of this golden harvest Salonæ now became the principal garner. It was not without reason that Martial congratulates his friend Macer, transferred as Governor from Spain to Dalmatia, on his approaching arrival at “long-shored Salonæ” and the Land of Gold.

“ Ibis litoreas Macer Salonas.

* * * * *

Felix auriferæ colone terræ.”^b

To this City the proceeds of the gold-fields of the Dalmatian interior were transported by the newly-opened roads. It was here that the imperial officers resided whose function it was to direct the working of the provincial gold mines, and amongst whom a *Commentariensis Aurariarum Dalmatarum* and *Dispensator* or paymaster are mentioned in an inscription from this site.^c At the time when the *Notitia Dignitatum* was drawn up Salonæ appears as the seat of an Imperial Treasury,^d and the abundant supply of the “Dalmatian ore” seems to have

risks which the miners ran from falls of rock and explosions of fire-damp. The ore was passed on from one gang to another, whole days and nights being consumed in the mere process of transmission: only the last lot of workmen saw the light.

^a In the mountains of Montenegro and the adjoining Herzegovinian and South Dalmatian highlands I have observed iron lamps known as *Lukijernar* (= *lucernarius*) of a form precisely similar to that found in Roman mines. The shape has survived in other European countries, but the remarkable thing here is that both shape and name should have been preserved amongst a Slav-speaking population. In the Ragusan dialect the name *Lukijernar* has also survived, but the lamps have lost the characteristic form preserved by the highlanders. I have already alluded to the significance of the survival of the “k” sound in “*Lukijernar*” and other similar fragments of the Dalmato-Roman provincial dialect among the present inhabitants.

^b Martial, *Ep.* lib. x. 78.

^c C. I. L. iii. 1997.

^d *Not. Occidentis*, c. x. “*Præpositus Thesaurorum Salonitarum Dalmatiæ.*” Cf. C. I. L. 1992, 1993, 1994.

favoured the growth of a native artistic industry, the traditions of which may, indeed, be said never to have passed away from the East Adriatic shores. Gold ornaments found at Salonæ and other Illyrian sites rank among the treasures of the *Antiken Kabinet* at Vienna, some of which are executed in a peculiar style of filigree work, which, when, compared with other specimens from this site (one of which I have been enabled to lay before this Society), indicate the existence of a Salonitan speciality of gold filigree-work. In their prevailing features, the conventional *amorini* and filigree rosettes, these Salonitan jewels greatly resemble many similar ornaments from Southern Italy and elsewhere; but, from the frequency of their occurrence on the site of the great Dalmatian city, and from certain barbaresque *nuances* of style, and, notably, a tendency to diverge from natural forms into ornamental developments, we may be allowed to claim for them a local origin.

Stattius uses the "Dalmatian ore" as a poetic equivalent for gold itself,^a but the mineral exploitation of the province was not by any means confined to the gold workings. The Station *Argentaria* on the *Tabula* speaks for itself as regards silver mines, and the iron ore, which occurs in great abundance in the Dinaric ranges of the interior, formed another fertile source of Dalmatian prosperity. A late Roman geographer mentions the large export of iron from Dalmatia;^b and in the sixth century we find the Ostrogothic King Theodoric entrusting a fiscal official in Dalmatia with a special commission to inspect the iron mines of the province and develop their working.^c It was, perhaps, to pay the *auri leguli* and that part of the workmen who were not slaves, and generally to facilitate the petty traffic amongst the large mining population which this manifold exploitation of mineral wealth in Dalmatia and its borderlands called into being, that, under Trajan and Hadrian, and apparently Marcus Aurelius, an issue of small bronze

^a Stattius, *Sylvarum*, l. 2; *Epithalamium Stelle et Violantillæ*, v. 154 (referring to the Chamber of Venus):—

"Robora Dalmatico lucent satiata metallo."

^b *Expositio totius mundi*. (*Geog. Lat. Min.* ed. Riese, p. 119.)

"Dalmatia . . . ferrum habundans emittit."

^c Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, lib. iii. Ep. 25; *Simeoni V. I. Comiti, Theodoricus Rex*. . . . "Præterea ferrarias venas prædictæ Dalmatiæ cuniculo te veritatis jubemus inquirere, ubi rigorem ferri parturit terrena mollicies, et igni decoquitur, ut in duritiem transferatur. Hinc, auxiliante Deo, defensio patriæ venit: hinc agrorum utilitas procuratur, et in usus humanæ vitæ multiplici commoditate porrigitur. Auro ipsi imperat et servire cogit locupletes constanter armatis. Convenit itaque hanc speciem diligenti indagatione rimari, per quam et nobis lucra generantur et hostibus procurantur exitia." Cf. Ep. 26. *Osuni, V. I. Comiti, Theodoricus Rex*.

pieces was struck with legends referring to the mines of this and the adjoining Illyrian provinces.^a These pieces, if not, as has been sometimes advanced, struck in the provincial mines themselves,^b were at least coined of metal derived from the sources indicated, and their material may be taken as proof that the Dinaric ranges were as productive in Roman hands of the elements of bronze as of iron, gold, and silver. Those of Trajan—struck between the years 104-110—present on their reverse a figure of Equity and the legend METALLI VLPIANI DELMATICI.^c Those of Hadrian read METAL. DELM,^d sometimes accompanied with a stag, emblematic of the Dalmatian forest-mountain, and of the patron divinity of the last of the native dynasts,^e sometimes by a breastplate, an apparent allusion to the skill of provincial armourers. That this branch of native industry flourished in Roman Dalmatia there is other conclusive evidence. At Salonæ, as in the more northern Illyrian cities that owed their principal industry to the Noric iron mines,^f was established an imperial Arsenal, the existence of which is attested by the *Notitia Dignitatum*,^g and by a monument of fourth-century date, referring to one of the armourers.^h

Connected with the abundance of the precious, as well as the useful, metals at Salonæ is the prominence among its epigraphic records of a guild of artificers,

^a Eckhel, D. N. vi. p. 445, remarks of these coins: "Sunt omnes ænei, III. formæ, etsi certum sit fodinas in his numis memoratas nobiliora etiam metalla fudisse. Ex quo argui potest istud monetæ genus in eorum stipendium qui ad opus in metallis faciundum destinati fuere percussum esse."

^b Cf. Neumann, *Populorum Numismata*, ii. 152. Rasche, *Lex. Rei Numariæ*, s. v. MET. NOR.

^c Cohen, *Médailles Impériales* (2^me édition). Trajan, No. 183. There are other similar coins of Trajan with the legend METALLI VLPIANI, METALLI VLPIANI PANN., and METALLI PANNONICI. Another, representing on the reverse a female figure raising her robe and holding ears of corn, reads DARDANICI.

^d Cohen, *op. cit. Hadrian*, Nos. 1516, 1517. That with a stag is engraved in the *Pembroke Catalogue*, p. iii. t. 91. Another, reading DARDANICI, and with the reverse similar to the coin of Trajan, has on its obverse the head of Rome and the legend ROMA (Coh. No. 1514). Cohen omits to mention another type of this Emperor, of which I have a specimen, with MET. NOR. in an oak-wreath on the reverse, for METALLI NORICI. (Cf. Rasche, *loc. cit.* and *Pembroke Catalogue*, p. iii. t. 91.) Other coins of uncertain attribution read METAL. AVRELIANIS. These, like some of those reading METAL. DELM. present on the obverse a youthful head, perhaps of M. Aurelius, but without legend.

^e Artemis is represented on the coins of the Illyrian Prince Ballæos and his successors struck at Pharia and Rhizon.

^f Laureacum, where was a *fabrica Scutaria*; Carnuntum, which, though within the Pannonian border, must have depended on Noric mines for the same industry, and Sirmium the seat of a "Fabrica Scutorum *Scordisorum* et armorum."

^g *Not. Dign. Occidentis*, c. 8. *Fabrica Salonitana* "Armorum."

^h C. I. L. iii. 2043. The tomb of a certain Maurentius FABRICENSIS.

the *Collegium Fabrum Veneris*. A whole series of inscriptions illustrates the important part played by this worshipful company in the Roman city.^a On these we find mention of its noble Patrons and benefactors, amongst whom the Emperor Constans figures,^b its Præfects and Decurions, and the corporation seems to have claimed a special jurisdiction in what concerned its members.^c One inscription commemorates the erection of a bronze statue by the *Collegium* to T. Flavius Agricola, Præfect and Patron of the guild, who combined the highest municipal dignities of Salonæ itself and the two cities of Æquum^d and of Riditæ,^e with the more fiscal office of Curator of the Republic of Splonistæ.^f The city of Splonum, which lay in the heart of the Dinaric Alps, appears to have been one of the great mining centres of the interior; and from a Dacian inscription we learn that a Dalmatian Prince of this Municipium received an imperial commission to direct the gold mines of Alburnus.^g This record of the fiscal functions performed by the Præfect of the Salonitan *Collegium* at Splonum supplies an interesting connecting link between that flourishing guild and the mining, in all probability the gold-working industry of the interior of the province. When it is further remembered that at Apulum and Sarmizegetusa—official centres of the Dacian gold-fields—monumental records have been preserved of similar *Collegia fabrum* of equal local prominence with that of Salonæ, we may be allowed to connect the guild in a special manner with the craft of the *fabri Aurarii*, to whose handiwork attention has been already called. The dedication of the guild to Venus, the lady of the golden necklace, the natural patroness of the jewellers'

^a Cf. C. I. L. iii. 1981, 2026, 2087, 2107, 2108.

^b FL . CONSTAN || TI . NOBILISSI || MO . AC BEATIS || SIMO CAESARI || COLL . FABRVM || VENERIS . C. I. L. iii. 1981. (A.D. 333-7.)

^c An inscription on the tomb of a *Decurio Collegii Fabrum* found at Salonæ (C. I. L. iii. 2107) concludes: SI QVIS AEAM ARCAM APERIRE VO(LV)ERIT INFERET DECVRIAE MEAE*XXV. Here the *Decuria* is evidently that of the Guild. In other instances we find a similar fine claimed by the *Respublica Salonitana*; at a later period by the *Ecclesia Salonitana*.

^d Near Sinj. We are almost tempted to connect the figure of Equity on the Dalmatian Mine-Coinage with this COLONIA AEQVITATIS. *Vide infra*.

^e Near Sebenico.

^f T . FLAVIO || T . FIL . TROMENTINA || AGRICOLÆ || DECURIO . COLONICÆ . SALONITANÆ || AEDILI HVIRO . IVRE || DICUNDO . DECURIO . COLONICÆ . AEQVI || TATIS . HVIRO . QVINQUENNALI . DISPENSATORI . || MVNICIPI . RIDITARVM . || PRAEFECTO . ET . PATRONO . COLLEGI || FABRUM . OB MERITA EIVS COLLEGIUM || FABRVM . EX AERE CONLATO || CVRATORI REIPVBLICÆ . SPLONIS || STARVM . TRIBVNVS . LEGIONIS X . GEMINÆ . PIE FIDELIS . . . (C. I. L. iii. 2026.)

^g C. I. L. iii. 1322: and cf. Mommsen's observations (p. 305), *s. v.* ALBURNUS MAJOR. The inscription itself was found at Zalatna in Transylvania, the ancient Ampelum.

art, certainly points to this connexion, nor do we need the constantly recurring *amorini* of the Salonitan goldwork to remind us how intimately this craft was associated with that of the “*Mater sæva Cupidinum.*” It is, however, only reasonable to suppose that various classes of Salonitan artificers were enrolled in the *Collegium*; and how, indeed, in the later days of the Western Empire was it possible to separate the callings of armourer and goldsmith? The connexion between Venus and Vulcan was of old standing; and “*Venus Victrix,*” the special personality under which the Goddess was worshipped from the second century onwards, was certainly as well qualified to preside over forgers of weapons as over moulders of ornaments. The frequent appearance of the Goddess under this aspect on Salonitan monuments is not without significance in its connexion with the *Collegium Veneris*. In the museum at Spalato is to be seen a marble statue of the Goddess in this character, of some merit; and gems—notably green plasmas and red jaspers—representing the Armed Venus, are of specially plentiful occurrence on the prolific site of the ancient Salonæ.

The mining-town of Splonum referred to in the above inscriptions has been identified with the Dalmatian stronghold of Splaunum, mentioned as a strongly fortified and populous city by Dion,^a in his account of Germanicus’ campaign against the North Dalmatian tribe of the Mazæi. It appears to have been situated in what is at present the Bosnian Kraina, probably in the neighbourhood of Stari Maidan^b (“the Old Mine”), where iron is still worked. The surrounding district is known at the present day to be rich in minerals, including gold and silver, though the precious metals are found in inconsiderable quantities.^c In the ranges of more central Bosnia the engineer Conrad^d has recently discovered some remarkable traces of ancient mining operations. On Mount Rosinj, the limestone steeps of which overlay veins of quartz and greenstone, are numerous heaps of washings, the largest 80 feet high, 150 broad, and 400 long, containing tailings of quartz and

^a *Hist. Rom.* lib. lvi. c. 11: Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικά εἶλε καὶ Σπλαῦνον, καίπερ τῇ τε φύσει ἰσχυρὸν ὄν, καὶ τοῖς τέχεσιν εὖ πεφραγμένον, τοὺς τε ἀμνημονέουσ παμπληθεῖς ἔχον. Germanicus, starting from Siscia, as a base, took Splaunum on his way to Rætinium, the position of which is probably to be identified with the site of the newly-discovered Municipium near Bihać.

^b Cf. Tomaschek, *Die vorlawische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 12.

^c It appears from two Bosnian documents of the years 1339 and 1422, that gold was exported from the country in the Middle Ages; and the Venetian geographer Negri, writing at the end of the fifteenth century, mentions the *auri ramenta* of the river Verbas. Gold-washings existed on the upper Lašva near Travnik in the sixteenth century. Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*. Prag, 1879, p. 42.

^d *Bosnien in Bezug auf seine Mineralschätze* (Mitth. d. k. k. geogr. Ges. in Wien, 1870, p. 214 seqq.)

iron-ore, mixed with red earth,^a which gives to this heap the name of Crvena Zemlja, or “the bloody plot.” Another of these is still more appropriately known as “Zlatna Guvna,” or “the golden threshing-floor.” The position of these artificial mounds shows the direction of the quartz-veins, and indicates a prodigious gold-digging activity in past times.^b It is remarkable, however, that no epigraphic or other remains indicating the former existence of a Roman Municipium have been found near these ancient works.

The chief centre of the gold-working activity in ancient Dalmatia appears, however, to have been the country of the Pirustæ, a branch of the great Dassaretian clan who inhabited the inaccessible Alpine extremities of the province towards the Dardanian and Epirote confines, and who appear to have had the Dæsidiatæ as their northern borderers.^c The mining aptitudes of this race were utilized by the Romans at a later date in developing the resources of their Dacian gold-fields; and the waxen tablets discovered in the Transylvanian mines have revealed the existence of a Dalmatian settlement near the Dacian city of Alburnus Major, known as the *Vicus Pirustarum*.^d These Dacian tablets are indeed a striking witness of

^a “Aus den Ueberresten dieses Bergbaues ersieht man deutlich dass das gediegene Gold in den Zersetzungs-produkten, nämlich aus dem Schwefelkies entstandenen Brauneisenstein (Brauneisenerz) und in den Ablagerungen enthalten war, welche aus den zerstrümmerten und durch die Flut weggeschwemmten Gebirgsmassen gebildet haben.” (*Op. cit.* p. 221).

^b The present inhabitants have a superstition against continuing the search for gold, though the tradition of its existence is preserved by the local proverb :

“Vol se čese o zlatni stog a ljudi ne vide.”

(The ox rubs himself against the golden sheaf but folks see it not.)

^c Ptolemy, *Geog.* lib. ii. c. 16, places the Pirustæ after the Dokleates (whose territory roughly answered to the modern Montenegro), and before the Skirtones, described by him as πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. From Livy’s notice (lib. xlv. c. 26) we may infer that they lay inland from the Rhizonic Gulf. Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. c. 115) speaks of their inaccessible position. Although, as their names show, Illyrian among the Illyrians, they are placed by Strabo (lib. vii. c. 5) in a Pannonian connexion along with their Dæsidiatæ kinsmen : and it is to be observed that Bato, the Dæsidiatæ chief, took the lead in the great Dalmato-Pannonian outbreak. We may therefore infer that there was some avenue of communication between the Dæsidiatæ and Pirustæ of South-East Dalmatia and the Pannonian lands of the Save : an avenue naturally supplied by the Drina Valley. From the fact that the Salona milestone places the Castellum of the Dæsidiatæ 156 miles distant we should be led to look for it on the Upper Drina. The Pirustæ, who as borderers of the Dokleates lay beyond the Dæsidiatæ, must therefore be sought in the mountain district beyond the Upper Drina. (See p. 38 *seqq.*)

^d Cf. the deed of sale to “Andveia Batonis,” of half a house, “que est Alburno Majori Vico Pirustarum.” (*Tabellæ Ceratæ*, viii. ; C. I. L. iii. p. 944.) Another deed records the purchase by Maximus, the son of Bato, of a female slave from Dasius, the son of Verso,—“Pirusta ex Kavieretio.” (*Tab. Cer.* vi. ; C. I. L. iii. p. 936.)

the extent to which the gold-mining industry in that province had fallen into Dalmatian hands. They supply a whole treasury of Dalmatian names,^a amongst which that of the national hero, Bato, occurs repeatedly. The military indebtedness of Rome to these mountaineers is sufficiently attested by the imperial name of Nerva.^b

Thus it will be seen, that the Roman highway leading into the Dalmatian interior from Salonæ to the Castellum of the Dæsidiates referred to on the military column, and that marked on the *Tabula* as leading from the same place in the same south-easterly direction, towards "Argentaria" and the silver-bearing ranges of the old Dalmatian-Dardanian border country, have a peculiar interest in their connexion with the ancient centres of mining activity in the Province. It is probable, as we have said, that, in the main, both routes are one and the same: the prolongation to "Argentaria," marked on the *Tabula*, being a continuation of the more ancient road, which originally extended, as the Salonitan inscription indicates, only 156 miles, to the Dæsidiate borders.

From Salonæ the road marked in the *Tabula* runs to Tilurio (Gardun near Trilj) on the Cettina, by the route already described as forming a part of the line Salonæ-Narona. At this point the road branches off from the Dalmatian-Epirote line and pursues a more inland course, across the Prolog range. This part of the road is still clearly traceable, and has been followed by the engineer Moiza along the northern margin of the plain of Livno, where, at the village of Vidoši,^c ancient fragments and an inscription have been found, to Grad Bužanin, where are some uncertain remains. This site has been identified, on the strength of the name,^d with the station in Monte Bulsinio, placed on the *Tabula* thirty miles distant from "Tilurio."

^a *E. g.*, Anduenna Batonis (cf. Andveia above), Andesis Andunocnetis, Bato Annæi, &c., Bradua Beusantis, Cerdo Dasas Loni, Dasius (or Dassius) Breuci, Epicadus Plarentis qui et Mico, Liccaius Epicadi Marciniusus (cf. the Pæonian King, Lycecius), Lupus Carentis (from Cares), Masurius Messi, Planus Verzonis Sclaies, Plares (Plarentis), Plator Venetus, Veranes, Verzo (cf. the Dalmatian chief "Versus").

^b There is an extant diploma of Vespasian (C. I. L. iii. p. 849), NERVAE . LAIDI . F . DESIDIATI. The name occurs on a Salonitan inscription (2390) and may be compared with other Dalmatian forms in -erva, such as *Derva*, *Anderva*.

^c Here was probably the station Ad Libros marked on the *Tabula* as 22 miles distant from Tilurio. There was an alternative way into the plain of Livno from Salonæ viâ Æquum (near Sinj). While making the road from Sinj to Livno, Moiza found traces of the Roman way, and, cut on a rock at the top of the pass over Mount Prolog, the inscription "FLAVIVS MAXIMVS FECIT."

^d Tomaschek, *Vorlawische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 22. The greatest caution, however, is

From this spot the course of the road is uncertain.^a On the one hand it is possible that it made a northern bend, so as to approach the ancient ore-washing basins already described on the flanks of Mount Rosinj; while, on the other hand, the arduousness of the country to be traversed rather suggests the alternative route, by one of the lateral valleys, into the defile of the Narenta, and thence by the pass that leads from Konjica to the plain of Serajevo. This has been, in all historic ages, the main avenue of communication between the inland districts of what is now Bosnia and the Adriatic coastlands, and the frequent discovery of Roman coins at Konjica, as well as the existence of a Roman monument in the pass itself, are certainly indications that the road followed this route.

We are now on more certain ground. The "Serajevsko Polje," or plain of Serajevo, is the natural, we may say the inevitable, crossing-point of all the main-lines of communication through the interior of the country. It is here that the river Bosna, which has given its name to the whole country, wells in full volume from the rock. Here, in the Middle Ages, was the Slavonic stronghold and market of Vrchbosna,^b chosen by the Turks, on the conquest of Bosnia, as the seat of their

necessary in accepting identifications of sites based on merely verbal coincidences. Prof. Tomaschek's ingenuity in this regard at times outruns his discretion. Thus, for example, he observes of Torine, a village near Travnik, "*Der nahe Ort Torine ist unslawisch und entspricht einem alten Tarona.*" So far from being "un-Slavonic" the word *Torine* is of universal use in Bosnia, and simply means a "sheep-fold"; a slender foundation on which to construct an ancient city. Again, heedless of the fact that "Bystrica" is the universal Slavonic name for clear streams (Old Sl. *Bystrŭ*, Serb. *Bistar*, cf. Miklosich, *Die Slavischen Ortsnamen*, s. v.), the same writer goes out of his way to seek for the Pannonian river *Bustricius*, mentioned by Ravennas, an Albanian-Illyrian origin from Buštre = bitch (Hündin).

^a The stations and mileage given by the *Tabula* after "in Monte Bulsinio" are—"vi Bistue Vetus—xxv Ad Matricem—xx Bistue Nova—xxiiii Stanecli"; after which follows "Argentaria" without any numerical indication. From evidence supplied by an inscription found at Rogatica (see p. 18), Bistue Nova appears to have been in the neighbourhood of that town, and Ad Matricem near the source of the Bosna. Hence we must seek for the position of Bistue Vetus about Konjica on the Upper Narenta, and it becomes evident that a deficiency must be supplied either in the names or mileage of the earlier stations of the *Tabula*.

One of the Bistues, probably Bistue Vetus as being nearer to the maritime tract, seems to have been still flourishing in the sixth century. An "Andreas, Episcopus Ecclesiæ Bestoensis" is mentioned in the Act of the Provincial Council of Salona of 530 and 532 (Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173).

^b Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters* (Prag, 1879), p. 85. The plain of Serajevo was known as the Župa Vrchbosna, but the stronghold was on the site of the present citadel of Serajevo, not at the actual source of the Bosna as has sometimes been asserted. As early as 1436 we find a Turkish Voivode placed here to control the tributary Christian dynasts of Bosnia.

provincial governor, and better known under its later name of Bosna Seraj, or Serajevo. A position which has given birth to the modern capital of the province was not neglected by the Romans, and during my journey through Bosnia in 1875 I was so fortunate as to come upon the first trace of the Roman predecessor of Serajevo.^a At Blažui, in the western angle of the Sarajevsko Polje, I found a Roman bas-relief of Eros or the Genius of Death, leaning on an extinguished torch; and, near it, numerous other antique fragments built into the remains of a stone fountain, and a Turkish "Han." Dr. Hoernes, on subsequently visiting the spot,^b discovered a bas-relief of a good style, representing a Mænad, or Bacchante, the panther skin flung round her shoulders, but otherwise nude; a *thyrsus* leaning against her left arm, her right stretched forward, and her head thrown back in orgiastic rapture. Walled into the neighbouring bridge over the Bosna he observed a

Genius with reversed torch, somewhat similar to the first, but which, from its Phrygian cap, had probably, a Mithraic signification.

In 1880 I had the opportunity of renewing my explorations about this site. I was able to copy a small fragment from Blažui,^c representing the lower part of a figure of Diana standing before her doe, beneath which was an inscription, showing that it was part of a votive monument erected to the goddess by a votary of the appropriate name of Silvia. Another inscription from Blažui has since been communicated by the Pravoslav Metropolitan to the Serajevo Gazette, but, unfortunately, in an unsatisfactory shape.



Fig. 1.

On the left bank of the small stream that flows past Blažui rises the brush-wood-covered height of Crkvica,^d whilst examining which I came upon remains

^a *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, &c. 1876, p. 237 (2nd ed. p. 237).

^b *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Osterr.* iv. 44.

^c For this I am indebted to the kindness of M. Moreau, the French Consul at Serajevo, in whose hands the fragment now is. It is six inches in height. From Vitina, near Ljubuški, in Herzegovina (cf. C. I. L. iii. 6365, 6368; Hoernes, *op. cit.* p. 41), the same gentleman had obtained a finger of a colossal marble statue, and a tile with the inscription LEG VIII AVG.

^d The name is equivalent to "church-land." A part of it is still used as a cemetery, and several mediæval tombs of the usual kind are to be seen, indicating the former existence of a church (crkva).

that seem to indicate that here was the Acropolis of the ancient town; perhaps the original Illyrian stronghold that became the nucleus of the Roman Municipium. Here I found a part of a cornice with antique mouldings, and two Roman sepulchral slabs, the inscription of which, however, had been utterly obliterated by atmospheric agencies. On one of these, above the sunken field which formerly contained the epitaph, are two full-face busts of the rudest workmanship, accompanied with equally rude degenerations of the rose and acanthus ornament. The monument, however, has a peculiar interest in the resemblance it bears to the Illyro-Roman sepulchral slabs on the height of Sveti Ilija above Plevlje, which I shall have occasion to describe,^a and confirms the hypothesis that here was the original Illyrian quarter.^b

Besides the general suitableness of the position already indicated, the Romans in selecting this site were doubtless influenced by local advantages of a more special kind. Situated at the western extremity of the plain, the Roman town commanded the entrance to the pass which was most indispensable to it as forming its avenue of communication with maritime Dalmatia; just as the present city of Serajevo, lying at the eastern extremity of the plain, derived much of its importance in Turkish eyes from its holding the key to the defile that secured its communications with Stamboul. The abundant source of the Bosna, hard by, supplied the first essential of Roman municipal requirements; while the hardly less abundant hot springs of Illidže on the neighbouring banks of the Želesnica, known here as elsewhere in the Illyrian wilds by the name of *Banja*, a corruption as we have seen^c of the Roman *Balnea*, must have given the situation a peculiar value in the eyes of colonists and soldiers from the warmer Mediterranean climes doomed to adapt themselves to Illyrian Alpine winters.

^a See p. 31 seqq.

^b More recently Herr Dumičić has discovered in the same neighbourhood, on the left bank of the Lepenica near Kisseljak, and not far from the confluence of the Fojnička Rjeka, the following inscription:

C. MANLIVS
C L
HONESIMVS
ANN|I ||

The cippus on which this was inscribed lay amongst hewn stones and other ancient fragments on a steep rock called Crkvice, to the north of which is a sloping terrace. (*Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 130.) A fragmentary sepulchral inscription has also been discovered by Captain Von Handel at Divjak in the Lašva valley south of Travnik.

^c See *Archæologia* XLVIII. p. 66.

There is moreover the strongest presumption that the fortunes of the Roman city on this site were intimately bound up with the copious existence of ore-bearing strata in the surrounding ranges. The neighbouring defiles of Foinica and Kreševo are still reckoned the principal centres of the mineral wealth of modern Bosnia; and both these places in the Middle Ages were frequented by a mining colony of Saxons and Ragusans.^a Besides iron, copper, lead, and quicksilver in abundance, the more precious metals are not wanting. The silver mines of Foinica^b are repeatedly referred to in the Ragusan archives. Gold is known to occur in the same neighbourhood; it is to be detected in small quantities in the sand of the Foinica stream,^c and there can be little doubt that here as in the not distant ranges about Vareš it was also exploited. I have myself observed on the flanks of the mountains about Foinica huge scars and traces of ancient excavations,^d and have found the surface in places covered with fragments of quartz containing various ores, and accompanied, as in the case of the tailings described by the engineer Conrad on the northern side of the same range, with hæmatitic iron ore and ochreous earth. It is to be observed that Blažui stands at the point where these metalliferous defiles open out into the broad and fertile Serajevsko Polje. The neighbouring village of Rudnik owes its name to mining industry,^e and it appears to me highly probable that the name of the Roman city, the site of which we have been exploring, was derived from the same source.

From an inscription existing at Rogatica referring to a Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Bis(tuensis),^f it appears that there, or rather perhaps on the neighbouring site of Gorazda, stood the Bistue Nova of the *Tabula* and *Itineraries*. From this we may

^a Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 49. Foinica or Chvojnica is frequently mentioned in the Ragusan archives of the fifteenth century as the seat of a mining colony of the Republic which numbered amongst its members scions of the patrician houses of Bonda, Bucchia, and Gozze.

^b Herr Dumičić of Kisseljak showed me specimens of ore from this neighbourhood containing as much as thirty per cent. of silver.

^c Accompanied by grains of silver, cinnabar, and globules of quicksilver.

^d *Through Bosnia*, &c. p. 210, 227, *seqq.*

^e *Rudnik* is derived from the Old Slavonic *Ruda* = *Metallum*. Cf. Miklosich, *Die Slavischen Ortsnamen aus Appellativen*, s. v.

^f The first describers of this inscription, Dr. Blau and M. de Ste Marie, differed as to their reading. Dr. Blau reading DEC . C . RIS completed by Mommsen (*C. I. L.* iii. 2766 b) *Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Ris(ini)*: (*Itinéraires de l'Herzégovine*); M. de Ste Marie reading DEC . C . BIS to be completed *Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Bis(tuae)* or *Bistuensis*. Dr. Hoernes on first examining the stone accepted Dr. Blau's version, though with the remark that "das unten beschädigte R einem B ähnlich sieht" (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iv. p. 45); but on a second examination of the stone in 1880 he convinced

infer that the important station that precedes it on the road from Salonæ, Ad Matricem, marked in the *Tabula* with lofty towers and a central pinnacle,—more prominently indeed than any other Dalmatian city,—is to be identified with the Municipium that formerly existed at Blažui, and which was in fact the Roman predecessor of Serajevo. Dr. Hoernes, who accepts this view, sees in the name an allusion to the source of the Bosna,^a but I should prefer to trace in it rather an allusion to the sources of mineral wealth. In both the Dacian and Mœsian mining districts have been found frequent Roman dedications, TERRAE MATRI,^b to Mother Earth, who was naturally invoked in such districts as the goddess from whose *matrîæ* all mineral treasures were brought forth. At Rudnik, in the centre of the old silver mining country, of what is at present the kingdom of Serbia, there were discovered the remains of a temple of TERRA MATER, with an inscription recording its restoration by the Emperor Septimius Severus,^c and from an altar found at Karlsburg in Transylvania, the ancient Apulum, it would appear that this goddess was regarded as the peculiar patroness of the Dacian *Eldorado*.^d In this case *Ad Matricem* would simply mean the town near the *matrîæ*, or load, of mineral deposits, and would correspond to the present name of the neighbouring village of *Rudnik*.

From the neighbourhood of the small mud craters, formed by an old source of the hot springs on the right bank of the Železnica stream, an ancient paved way, which in part of its course appears to me to represent a Roman road line, leads in the direction of Serajevo. This road traversed the Dobrinja stream by a bridge the lower part of which is apparently composed of Roman blocks; and a portion of a rounded column imbedded at one point in the pavement of the road itself bore a suspicious resemblance to a fragment of a Roman mile-stone. It leads towards the village of Svrakinsko Selo, where was found a votive altar dedicated to Jupiter

himself that the true reading was BIS. Identifying the “Mun(icipium) S.” on the site of Plevlje with the Staneclæ of the *Tabula*, he observes that it must be the Bistue Nova, which is to be sought at Rogatica or Gorazda, and adds the obvious corollary, “Dann ist aber auch die Lage von ad Matricem bestimmt und wir müssen diese wichtige Station in das Quellbecken der Bosna verlegen” (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 139.)

^a Tomaschek compares the Pannonian and Galatian “*Matrica*” and the “*Mediomatrici*” of Metz and seeks a Celtic origin. It is always possible that the Latin name was due to some adaptation of an earlier indigenous form.

^b Cf. C. I. L. iii. 996, 1152, 1284, 1285, 1364, 1555, 1599, 6313.

^c C. I. L. iii. 6313. The remains of the temple and the inscription were discovered in 1865 by Dr. Janko Šafarik, and are described in *Glasnik*, 31, 217—236.

^d C. I. L. iii. 996.

Tonitrator,^a at present existing in the garden of the French Consulate at Serajevo. In this village I noticed the cornice of another Roman monument.

On the northern margin of the plain, near the village of Hreljevo, is a bridge over the Bosna, the stone piers of which appear to be formed of Roman blocks. Great caution, however, is requisite in this country before deciding too confidently on the Roman origin of bridges such as this. In general the Turkish masons^b show a tendency to cut their building stone into smaller and more cubical blocks than was usual with the Romans; but in this part of Bosnia, owing doubtless to some peculiarity in the strata, the blocks are larger and of more oblong shape. This is, to a certain extent, the case with the bridges over the Miljaška at Serajevo, known from the inscriptions they bear to date from Turkish times; so that, in the absence of other evidence, the shape of the blocks cannot be taken to decide their origin. Nor can their colossal size in the case of the Hreljevo piers and some other examples be regarded as by itself conclusive of Roman handiwork, when we remember the prevalent old Bosnian and Serbian custom of cutting huge monolithic blocks for sepulchral monuments. The purely Roman character of so many modern arts and buildings is continually striking antiquarian eyes in the Balkan peninsula. From this point of view the Turkish conquest of Bosnia and other parts of Western Illyria may almost be regarded as a re-conquest of old Rome. While the influence of Roman arts in the West is often less superficially visible, simply because they have transformed themselves by a living continuity of developement, the Turks have preserved and fossilized what Byzantine conservatism handed on to the Arabs or to themselves. The hamams still visibly recall the ancient baths; the woodwork of the bridges might be copied from Trajan's column; the mosques, with their colonnades and porches, approach nearer to Justinian's churches than their Christian descendants; the arrangement of tiles and bricks in the walls of buildings, with their broad interstices of mortar or cement, transport us to Constantinople and Thessalonica; and, to take one instance out of the many, a low stone archway of the Turkish Bezestan at Serajevo, with its blocks dovetailed into one another, is almost an exact representation of a flat arch of the *Porta Aurea* of Diocletian's Palace-Castle at Spalato.

Among minor monuments of antiquity from this central Bosnian district I have obtained some engraved gems of considerable interest. One from Serajevo

^a C. I. L. iii. 2766a.

^b We may include in the same category the Ragusan and Italian architects, known in several instances to have been employed by the Turkish Pashas in Bosnia, &c. to build bridges. Cf. p. 24.

itself is a very beautiful late-Greek engraving on a sard, representing a Faun pouring wine from an amphora which he holds on his shoulders. Another, of dull-brown chalcedony, displays characteristics of a truly remarkable kind. It represents a rude image of a boar accompanied by a legend, the first line of which, as seen in the impression, reads from right to left, the remaining two lines from left to right. The letters are Roman, but the legend, to be read apparently *WIC IO FVLLIS*, forms a combination which is as decidedly un-Roman. It is to be observed that the first part of the inscription presents some analogy to the name *voccio*, which appears on the Celtic coins found in Noricum and Pannonia; and this analogy is supported by the style of the intaglio itself. The character of the boar itself, and notably the conventional representation of the bristles on its hind quarters by a line of pellets, as well as the three pellets introduced under the hind legs of the animal, and again at the end of the inscription, are familiar features on the Celtic coinage from Britain to the Lower Danube. That the Græco-Roman art of gem-engraving was occasionally imitated by Celtic hands can, I think, be shown by examples from our own island; and notably by a carnelian intaglio, found on the Roman Wall, representing a man on horseback, which might almost have been copied from an ancient British coin. The relations between the Dalmatian tribes of the interior and their Celtic neighbours to the North were of the most intimate kind, as is shown by their combined revolt against Rome under the Batos. It is, moreover, certain that at one period there was a considerable Celtic extension in the interior of the Illyrian peninsula, and I have myself obtained Celtic coins very similar to those of Pannonia and Noricum in the central plateau of Dardania. The interior Dalmatian tribes, including the *Mazæi* and *Dæsitiates* of Northern and Central Bosnia, are reckoned by Strabo as Pannonians;^a nor is it possible to lay down any rigid ethnographic line between the Celtic and Illyrian area on this side. Considering the extraordinary spread of Roman arts and culture among the Pannonian tribes in the age of Augustus, it need not surprise us that the Roman fashion of wearing engraved stones on signet-rings was already making its way among these people before the days of their final subjugation. Vellejus Paternulus informs us that when the indigenous races between the Middle Danube and the Adriatic rose in their final effort to shake off the Roman yoke, a knowledge not only of the drill but of the



Fig. 2.
(Enlarged 2 diams.)

^a Strabo, *Geogr.* lib. vii.

language of Rome was general throughout these regions, whilst many were familiar with letters, and themselves devoted to literary pursuits.^a

Another engraved gem in my collection from the Serajevo district is of the highest interest, as supplying a record of the Ostrogothic dominion in the Alpine interior of Roman Dalmatia. It is a small carbuncle or garnet with bevelled circumference, presenting a monogram which appears to have belonged to an official of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric. There are several slightly variant forms of Theodoric's monogram on his coins, and the general agreement of these with the monogram on the present gem is so close^b that there can, I think, be no doubt as to its identity. It must be remembered, as accounting for the absence of the small *s* usual (but not universal) on Theodoric's coins, that on an official signet we should expect

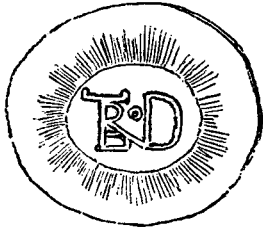


Fig. 3.
(Enlarged 3 diams.)



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

the form D. N. THEODORICI,^c while the natural style on coins is in the nominative, D. N. THEODORICVS. What is conclusive as to the *royal* or *imperial* character of the commission held by the possessor of the present signet is the presence of the D. N. in ligature, standing for the supreme late-Roman title DOMINVS NOSTER, and adopted under the same monogrammatic form on the coins of the Ostrogoths, of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Emperors Justin and Justinian. The signet with the royal monogram may have been entrusted to high officials in the provinces for purposes of state, and the discovery of this gem in the old

^a *Vell. Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 110. "In omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinæ tantummodo sed linguæ quoque notitia Romanæ: plerisque etiam literarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio."

^b The only discrepancy that suggests itself is the non-prolongation of the cross-line of the *H* to the perpendicular line of the *D*. A parallel instance however may be found on coins of Athalaric, and it appears that in both cases the *H* was an approach to the so-called "Lombardic" *h*. We should thus read DN T^hEO·D·RICI.

^c On the King's own seal, doubtless, THEODORICI REGIS. The signet ring of Childeric had the inscription CHILDIRICI REGIS (Chifflet, *Anastasis Childerici Regis*, p. 97, Antwerp, 1655). The insertion of the D.N. shows that the present gem belonged to an *official* and not to the king himself.

Dalmatian interior serves to remind us of the importance attached by Theodoric to the iron-mines of the province, and his special despatch of a commissioner of mines to inquire into their working.^a The present signet gem, by showing the character of Theodoric's official signature, may help to confute, whilst at the same time explaining, the vulgar calumny of the *Anonymus Valesianus* that the Gothic king, whose perpetual aim was to preserve Roman civilization, and who had himself received his education in New Rome, was not sufficiently acquainted with letters to write his own name. This Catholic, and therefore hostile, chronicler informs us that Theodoric for this reason had recourse to a stencil-plate of gold, in which he traced the first letters of his name, THEOD.^b When, however, we find that on his official signets, as so often on his coins, Theodoric had recourse to this complicated monogram, we can well understand that for his own convenience he made use of a stencil-plate to affix his signature.

From the Eastern angle of the plain where Serajevo now stands, the Roman road in its course towards the Drina must have followed much the same route as that taken by the present road to Gorazda. Ascending the river pass, past the old Bosnian stronghold of Starigrad, overlooked by the "Eagle Crags" of the Romanja Planina—a name which seems to mark this table-headed range as a former promontory of Byzantine dominions,—the way descends into the fertile valley of Prača, in the Middle Ages one of the principal commercial staples of the country and the seat of a Ragusan colony. This neighbourhood abounds in mediæval sepulchral blocks and the ruins of legendary castles, but I searched in vain for Roman monuments. From Prača there diverge two ancient routes across the forest-mountain, one to Rogatica and the other to Gorazda on the Drina, at both of which places Roman remains are forthcoming.

At Gorazda I discovered, besides other relics of antiquity, the two inscriptions already mentioned^o in my previous paper; one of them referring to the *Andarvani*, and indicating, as has been pointed out, that there was a point of junction with a Southern road-line bringing the Upper Valley of the Drina into communication with the Plain of Nikšić and the South Dalmatian coast-cities, Epitaurum and Risinium. The Roman predecessor of Gorazda (not improbably

^a Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, lib. iii. Ep. 25. See p. 9.

^b *Anon. Valesianus*, c. 79. "Igitur rex Theodoricus illiteratus erat, et sic obruto sensu, ut in decem annos regni sui quatuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream jussit interrasilem fieri quatuor litteras regis habentem THEOD. ut, si scribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eam penna duceret, et subscriptio ejus tantum videretur."

^c See *Archæologia* XLVIII. p. 90, 91.

the Bistue Nova of the *Tabula*),^a must, like its modern representative, have been an important bridge-station. The existing bridge which here spans the Drina (when I saw it in 1881 in course of restoration by the Austrians) was constructed in 1568 by Ragusan architects and masons at the expense of Mustapha Pasha, of Buda, whose almsgiving took this practical form.^b Previous to this, in Slavonic times, there had only been a ferry, but the relief of a Roman eagle and other ancient fragments which I observed on the Drina bank not far from the present bridge may be taken as indications that the Drina had been already spanned at this point in Roman times.

From Gorazda the road, after crossing the Drina and traversing the glen of Čajnica, ascends the steeps of Mount Kovač, still covered with a primæval forest growth of gigantic firs and beeches. On this range I came upon one of the most striking ethnological phenomena anywhere to be found in the Balkan lands. The peasant women, whose attire through this and the adjoining Serbian provinces is as exclusively Slavonic as their language, have here preserved a distinctively Illyrian element in their dress. They wear, in fact, over and above the Slavonic apron, an Albanian fustanella;^c and, though their language is pure Serb, their longer and more finely-cut faces and the expression of their eyes, as much as their characteristic skirts, proclaim their kinship with the aboriginal people of Illyricum. We are reminded that this Kovač range lies on the borders of a central Alpine region known as Stari Vlah or “Old Wallachia,” a name which by itself affords sufficient indication that these inaccessible highlands continued to be a stronghold of the Romanized indigenous element long after the Slavs had ousted them from the more open-lying parts of the country. In these fustanella’d peasants we may venture to see the actual descendants of Illyrian clansmen.

^a See p. 18.

^b A letter of the Ragusan Government to their ambassador at Constantinople, dated Sept. 19, 1568 (given by Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 86), refers to the construction of this bridge. “Dovete sapere che nelli mesi passati fummo ricercati dall Ill. Signor Mustaffa Bassa di Buda che li dovesse mandare marangoni, muratori, fabri et molte cose necessarie perche sua Signoria dovea fabricare per fare elemosina un ponte in Ghorasda al quale habbiamo servito volentieri.” This Ragusan bridge was of five arches of woodwork, resting on piers of deftly-hewn stone blocks, oblong in shape but not so thick as Roman blocks. The woodwork was so constructed that the middle of the bridge was greatly elevated.

^c The male peasants—less conservative in dress than their womankind—(except in Albania, an almost universal rule in the Ottoman dominions in Europe) have adopted the Oriental and Slavonic attire of the surrounding populations. In parts of North Albania the *fustanella* is common to both sexes.

Beyond Mount Kovač opens the plain of Plevlje, the Turkish Tashlidja, containing relics of antiquity which mark it as a principal centre of Illyro-Roman civic life. This plain is the only large open space to be found in the mountains for two days' journey on either side, and at the same time is the natural crossing-point of the highways of communication between the Adriatic coastland and the Mœsian and Dardanian staples, of which Scupi (Skopia) and Naissus, the modern Nish, may be taken as representatives. On these accounts the site on which Plevlje stands has never ceased to play a leading part in the internal economy of this part of the ancient Illyricum. The mediæval importance of Plevlje (formerly known as Breznice,^a from the little river that flows through its midst) is still attested by the Orthodox monastery in a neighbouring gorge, with its ancient church, resplendent with frescoes in Byzantine style, representing old Serbian Kings and Czars. Its military value was also considerable; and it was here that, in 1463, the Turks gained the victory over Stephen, Duke of St. Sava, which placed Herzegovina at their mercy. The Ragusan and Venetian caravans passed through Plevlje on their way to Nish and Constantinople; and the Venetian traveller Ramberti, writing in 1541, describes the town as "large and well-favoured, according to the country," though the surrounding mountains were at that time the haunt of robbers, who, a few years previously, had plundered a Venetian caravan of about a hundred horses, and slain two nobles of the Serene Republic, a Nani and a Capello.^b The trade connexion with Ragusa has never been entirely lost, and the traveller^c is still astonished, on inquiring the direction of the southern road, to hear the name of the old commercial Republic of the eastern Adriatic shore when he expected merely to be told the name of some neighbouring village or insignificant Turkish town.

To this abiding connexion between Plevlje and the Dalmatian civic Republic, which in the Middle Ages succeeded to the place of Salonæ as the maritime emporium of these Illyrian midlands, was due the first discovery at this spot of the remains of a considerable Roman city. In 1792 the Ragusan ambassadors, passing through Plevlje on their way to Constantinople observed there numerous Roman antiquities, the base of a statue, marble columns, and inscriptions; and, in answer to their inquiries, were informed that about an hour distant were to be seen other

^a Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 73.

^b *Delle Cose de Turchi*, p. 6. (In Vinegia, 1541.) Ramberti groups "Plevie" with Prijepolje as "secondo il paese assai grandi e buoni."

^c Cf. Blau, *Monatsbericht d. k. Preuss. Akad.* 1866, p. 840. He adds, "Noch jetzt wird von Plevlje über Gatzko und Trebinje ein namhafter Handel mit Ragusa getrieben."

splendid monuments.^a One of the two inscriptions copied by them on this occasion referred to an *Eques Romanus*, who was a decurion of the local municipium; but, unfortunately, of the name itself only the initial letter S is given. The notice of the Roman antiquities at Plevlje, contained in the journal of the Ragusan envoys, has been in recent years much augmented by Dr. Blau, formerly Prussian consul at Serajevo, who, at the request of Professor Mommsen, paid a visit to this spot, and copied a whole series of fresh inscriptions.^b Fresh contributions have recently been made to our knowledge by Herr Müller, the Austrian consul at Plevlje, and by Dr. Hoernes, who visited this locality in 1880.^c My own investigations on this interesting site may serve to supplement, and in part perhaps to rectify, these observations of fellow-explorers.

The existing remains are distributed over three principal sites—the modern town of Plevlje; a side valley about two miles distant, still known as Old Plevlje; and the hill of Sveti Ilija, lying about half an hour distant on the south-western margin of the plain. Plevlje itself, at present in mixed Turkish and Austrian occupation, is a busy market-town containing a population of about 8,000 Serbs, Mahometan and Orthodox. It enjoys the luxury of fine mountain air and innumerable springs of the purest water; but, excepting one or two stately mosques, there is little to remark in the present town beyond the ancient remains transported hither from the older site. These remains lie mostly on the western side of the town. In the bazaar street are two fountains built entirely of Roman blocks, amongst which is still to be seen the elegant sepulchral monument which arrested the attention of the Ragusan ambassadors. The inscription is interesting, as presenting, in a peculiar style of lettering and abbreviation, the neo-Latin name-forms *Amavilis* for *Amabilis* and *Masimile* for *Maximilla*.

The foundations of several of the Plevlje mosques are built almost entirely of ancient blocks. The Podstražica Mosque contains four inscriptions walled, face

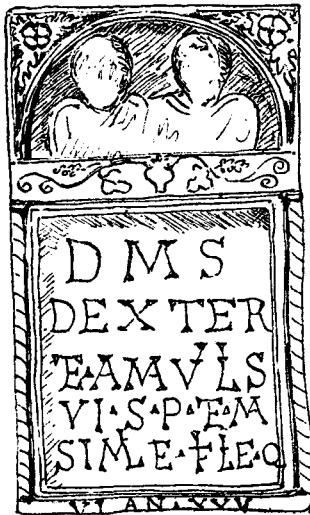


Fig. 7.

^a *Giornale del Viaggio a Constantinopoli fatto dagli Ambasciatori della Repubblica di Ragusa alla Sublime Porta l'Anno 1792.* (In Engel. *Geschichte des Freystaates Ragusa*, Wien, 1807, p. 312, *seqq.*)

^b *Monatsbericht der k. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1866, p. 838, *seqq.* The inscriptions copied by Dr. Blau are given in C. I. L. iii. 6339-6357.

^c *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1880.

outwards, into its minaret, and seven more, some however no longer legible, in its basement.^a One of these commemorates a *Duumvir Quinquennalis* and a sacral functionary;^b another records a decree of the local Senate giving a site for a monument to some deceased municipal worthy.^c In the yard opposite the mosque was an altar turned upside down and half buried in the earth, upon which Dr. Hoernes^d thought that letters could be detected. I had it dug out, but satisfied myself that no trace of an inscription was now visible. Outside the Musluk mosque was another similar altar, with the remarkable inscription :

I. O. N.^e

The omission of the title of M(aximus) after O(ptimus) is rare, but not altogether unexampled,^f on monuments of Jove; and we may perhaps assume that the altar was dedicated to Jupiter Nundinarius, the patron of markets, a dedication eminently appropriate to the commercial position of the town. Amongst all the inscriptions existing at Plevlje itself that referring to the Municipium S. must command the highest interest. It is still to be seen on an imposing block opposite the Hussein Pasha mosque, as the Ragusans found it; but for presuming to copy it I narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the Mahometan rabble of the place, who seemed to imagine that the stone contained secrets only to be revealed to true believers. The inscription is of clear-cut letters of a good period. It records the erection of a monument to T. Aurelius Sextianus, "Eques Romanus, Decurio Municipii S. . . .," by his father, and the public gift of the ground to erect it on by a decree of the Decurions.^g

The two examples, of which representations are given below (figs. 8 and 9),^h may afford an idea of the prevalent style of sepulchral monument at this locality:—

^a The inscriptions in the Podstražica Mosque are given by Dr. Blau (cf. C. I. L. iii. 6344, &c.)

^b C. I. L. iii. 6344.

^c C. I. L. iii. 6345.

^d *Op. cit.* p. 7. "Im Hof derselben Moschee ist eine etwa Mannshöhe Stele bis an den Fuss in die Erde vergraben. Ich konnte sie nur ein paar Fuss tief blosslegen und ueberzeugte mich, dass die Vorderseite eine römische Inschrift trägt, deren letzte Zeile die Buchstaben (M)ONVM(entum) enthält."

^e Not, as erroneously given by Blau (C. I. L. iii. 6339), I . O . M. The N is perfectly clear, and cannot be regarded as an imperfect m.

^f Cf. I . O . BESSVMARVS. C. I. L. iii. 1053.

^g It is given in C. I. L. iii. 6343. The punctuation, line 2, is however . E . Q . R.

^h Fig. 8 is from the Podstražica mosque. Fig. 9 from the konak of Sali Beg. The inscriptions are incorrectly given by Dr. Blau (C. I. L. iii. 6346, 6349). My copies agree with Dr. Hoernes' collations.

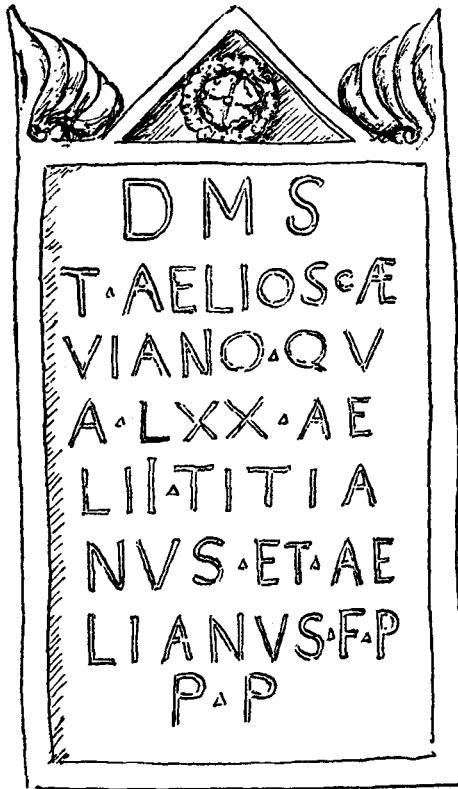


Fig. 8.

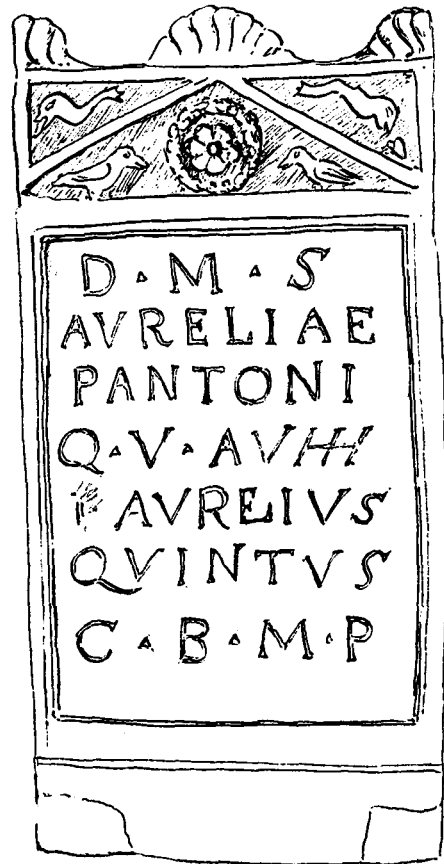


Fig. 9.

The way from the modern town of Plevlje to the actual site of the Roman Municipium runs across the Čehotina stream by the Avdovina bridge, opposite which, on the left bank, is another fountain composed of ancient fragments, where I noticed part of an unpublished inscription (fig. 11).

Following the left bank of the stream, about a mile and a-half further, more monuments and two inscriptions will be found in a cottage^a near the confluence of

^a The place is called Radosavac. The inscriptions are accurately described by Dr. Hoernes and need not be repeated here.

the Čehotina and Vežeznica. At this point opens a beautiful undulating glen watered by the Vežeznica stream, where unquestionably the ancient city lay.^a

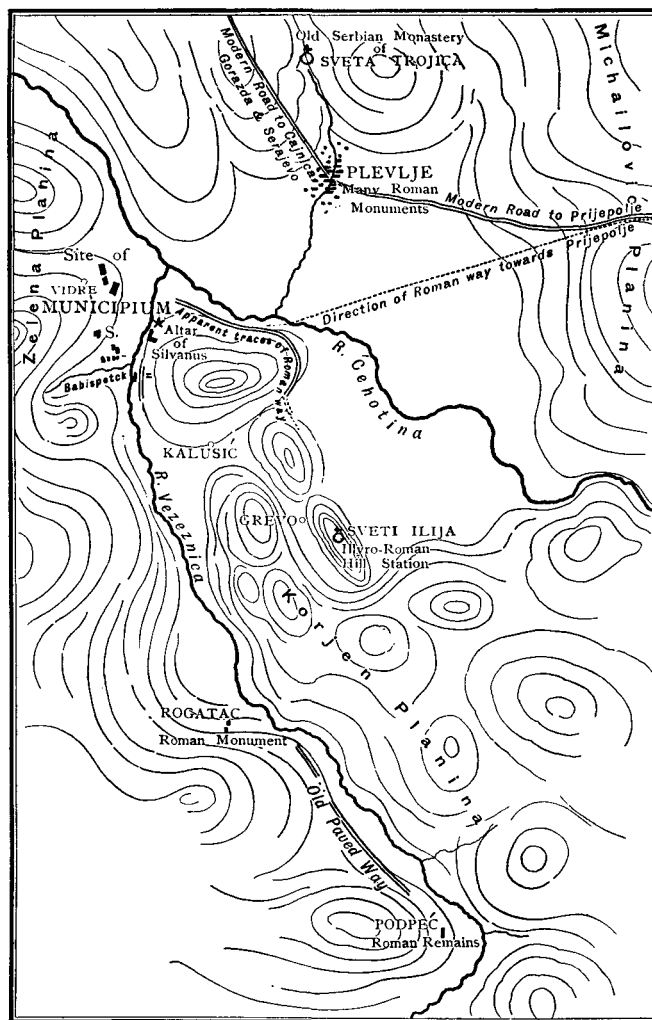


Fig. 10.

Sketch plan of Plevlje and neighbourhood, app. scale $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to mile.

Ancient remains and foundations occur all along the slopes that overhang the Vežeznica to the West. By the hamlet of Vidre and up the little torrent called the

^a My own impressions regarding the site will be found to agree generally with those of Herr Müller and Dr. Hoernes as given by the latter in *Arch. Ep. Mittheilungen, loc. cit.* I differ, however, from my fellow-explorers in considering that the ancient site extended also to the right bank of the Vežeznica. I may take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Herr Müller for his valuable advice, although he was unfortunately absent from Plevlje at the time of my visit.

Babiš Potok^a the foundations of walls and buildings are specially distinguishable. Here, in the country-house of a Selmanović Beg, is an altar to Jove,^b and a sepulchral monument representing two heads in relief; and at Koruga in the same neighbourhood, a house almost entirely composed of fine Roman blocks and monuments, and with a hopelessly effaced inscription in the stall below. Many of the blocks and monuments here and elsewhere on this site are of a peculiar black and

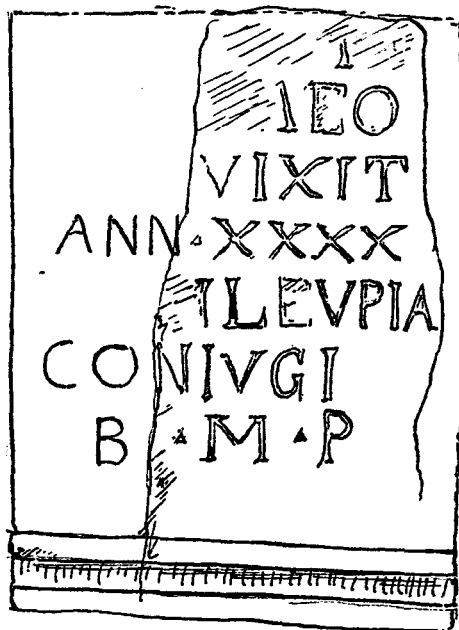


Fig. 11.

white marble; others of a red marble, the same material as that of the Eagle relief described at Gorazda. The remains extend to the left bank of the Vežeznica, where are to be seen traces of what was apparently a Roman fountain, the sockets for the clamps of the stone-work being cut out of the solid rock above an abundant source. Near here, in the mud at the bottom of the stream itself, was observable the well-cut cornice of a large squared block, which with the aid of four men and with considerable difficulty I succeeded in dredging from the depths. It proved to be an altar to Silvanus (fig. 12) raised by a certain M. Æmilius Antonius, apparently the Duumvir of that name, who dedicated an altar to Jupiter Fulgurator at present existing opposite the Čurkovac mosque in Plevlje itself.^c

The third principal site besides Plevlje itself and the glen of the Vežeznica, where the ancient remains occur, is that of the hill of Sveti Ilija, lying about a mile and a half to the South-East of the last-named locality. A consideration of these remains brings us to a very curious part of our subject. The monuments at the spot already described are of characteristic Roman execution. The letters are often elegantly and boldly cut, and the ornamentation, if conventional, comes up to the usual municipal standard. The inscriptions refer to the civic officers, priests,

^a Near here Dr. Hoernes found a fragment of an inscription reading L || CAMBRIANVS || L . P.; apparently *in situ* — "Wahrscheinlich noch unverrückt an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle."

^b This reads I . O . M . || STATVS || VICTOR . BRI||ZIDIA . V . L . P . A . The last line is not quite correctly given by Dr. Hoernes, who gives V . L . P .

^c It reads I . O . M . F || M . AEMIL || ANTONIVS || II . VIR || L . P .

legionaries, citizens, for the most part with Roman names. A frequency of Ælius and Aurelius inclines us to believe that the *Municipium* was founded in Hadrian's time, and enlarged by a fresh settlement of veterans in the age of the Antonines.

The remains on the height of Sveti Ilija are generally speaking of a very different character. The inscriptions are less boldly cut and the most important of them refers to the *Populus* and not the *Decuriones*. The monuments are of a decidedly ruder and more barbaric style, and a strikingly large proportion of the names are native Illyrian. There is in fact just that contrast which we have already noted in the case of the remains at Blažui between the hill site and the valley site. The names, the style of the monuments, the position itself, proclaim this to have been the original Illyrian centre, and the discovery at this site of silver coins of Dyrrhachium, one or two examples of which I saw, dating from about the year 200 B.C. affords by itself sufficient indication that an Illyrian staple existed here long before the Roman conquest of this remote part of the interior.

The present nucleus of these remains is the little Orthodox church of Sveti Ilija or St. Elias, which gives its name to the steep isolated height on which it stands. This is a small Byzantine building, dating from the days of the old Serbian kingdom. Like the church of Mileševo, built by King Vladislav about the year 1225, it had two stone lions with plaited manes on either side of the tympanum of the inner of its two portals; ^a and there were remains of frescoes within, strongly resembling those in a ruined church near Trebinje, in Herzegovina. ^b This Old

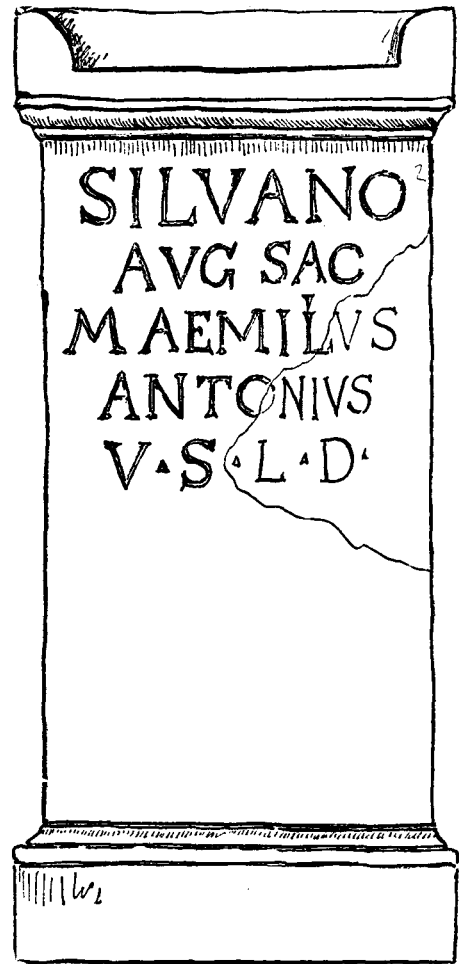


Fig. 12.

^a One of these had been knocked away by the Turks, who recently gutted the church and burned the priest's house. I found it in the yard of a cottage at Grevo, below the hill of St. Ilija, with some other ancient fragments.

^b At the village of Gomiljani the treatment of the drapery was curiously similar.

Serbian church appears to have been a successor of a still earlier foundation, as I noticed, built into its western façade, an open-work carving of the Christian monogram of the same form and style as those to be seen in the Eski Dzamia at Salonica, a church dating from the time of Justinian. The continuous habitation of the spot in Byzantine times is shown by the not unfrequent occurrence here of coins of the Eastern Empire; amongst those that I have seen was a silver *miliaresion* of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (A.D. 613—641), with the legend **DEVS ADIUTA ROMANIS**,^a and a besant of Manuel Comnenos (1143—1180). Considering, indeed, the survival already noted of the indigenious Illyrian population, blended with the Slavonic, in the surrounding ranges, it is not improbable that the sanctity of the spot has been handed down from prehistoric times. “Saint Elijah,” Sveti Ilija, to whom the church was dedicated in the Old Serbian days, is well known to have taken over most of his fiery attributes from Perun, the Thunder-God of the pagan Slavs. Within the church, by an almost startling coincidence, an altar of Jove has been converted to the purposes of Christian sacrifice, and, on a spot so early hallowed, Jupiter himself must not improbably yield precedence of worship to a ruder Illyrian forerunner, the coeval of the Dodonæan Zeus.^b

That the spot had been used for purposes of interment from pre-historic times, appears from the remains in its neighbourhood of *gomilas* or stone barrows, of a kind common throughout these regions, and dating, as their contents show, from the Illyrian bronze age. From one of these lately destroyed in building a house near Gorazda was found a remarkable bronze “kettle-wagon,” a probable indication of an old commercial connexion between the aboriginal staples of this part of the Illyrian interior and the Illyrian Colonies beyond the Adriatic. The sepulture thus early begun was continued at this spot after the Roman conquest. The southern end of the hill of St. Ilija is literally undermined with graves, and the recurrence of native names on the sepulchral slabs of Roman date that have been discovered shows that those who under the Empire continued to bury their dead here were essentially of the same indigenious race as the barrow-builders who had gone before them. The remains were for the most part originally encased in pinewood coffins, traces of which are still to be seen; and

^a Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines*, i. 276, No. 59.

^b A head of Zeus appears on some autonomous Illyrian coins of Scodra and Rhizon.

these again were enclosed in rude stone cists, the direct descendants of the more massive cists to be found inside the "gomilas." In some cases the skeletons actually occur in a contracted posture, a primitive usage characteristic of the earliest Stone-Age interments, and representing the natural attitude of sleep among savages.^a I obtained from one of these Illyro-Roman graves sufficient portions of a skull to establish the fact that it was brachycephalic, and with a rather narrow face, characteristics shared by modern Albanian heads. A plot to the South-East of the little church of Sveti Ilija is still used for burial by the Serbian rayahs of the neighbourhood, and some of the graves of these Slavonized indigenes date back to mediæval times.

The walls and pavement of the little church itself are largely composed of ancient monuments, amongst which Illyro-Roman sepulchral slabs predominate. Amongst these the style of workmanship and decoration is rude almost to grotesqueness, of which the annexed specimen (fig. 13) may give some idea. The upper part of the stone containing the busts is bedded into the pavement of the atrium; the lower part with the inscription, which owing to its abraded state has been hitherto imperfectly decyphered,^b is bedded into the pavement of the church itself.

In this and other examples I was struck with the extraordinary way in which the characteristic ornamentation corresponds to that reproduced in the Middle Ages by the later inhabitants of these Alps for the same sepulchral purposes. There can be no doubt whatever that they simply took on the traditional style from their Illyro-Roman predecessors. The arch and spiral columns, the rose, the vine and tendril border of the above monument,—the trefoil, the zigzag and rope moulding, and the wreaths characteristic of the ancient monuments of this site,—are all alike the stock-in-trade of the sculptors of the later "Old Serbian" monoliths, of which so many are to be found scattered throughout these regions.

It is to be observed that these Old Serbian monuments do not present nearly the same resemblance in characteristic decoration to the more artistic monuments of the cities of the Dalmatian littoral, or even to the better class of Roman monuments to be seen at Plevlje itself, as they do to the barbaric modifications of Roman forms existing on this old Illyrian hill-site. It would almost seem as if an unbroken continuity of indigenous sepulchral art had been preserved here through

^a This explanation of the practice of depositing the body in a contracted position has been suggested by my father in his *Ancient Stone Implements &c., of Great Britain*, p. 135.

^b In C. I. L. iii. 6347, Dr. Hoernes read · ADIL · A, and considered that it contained the name FADILLA.

the days of Slavonic conquest and dominion, to receive a new development in the palmy days of the Serbian kingdom and czardom. It may, at least, be safely said

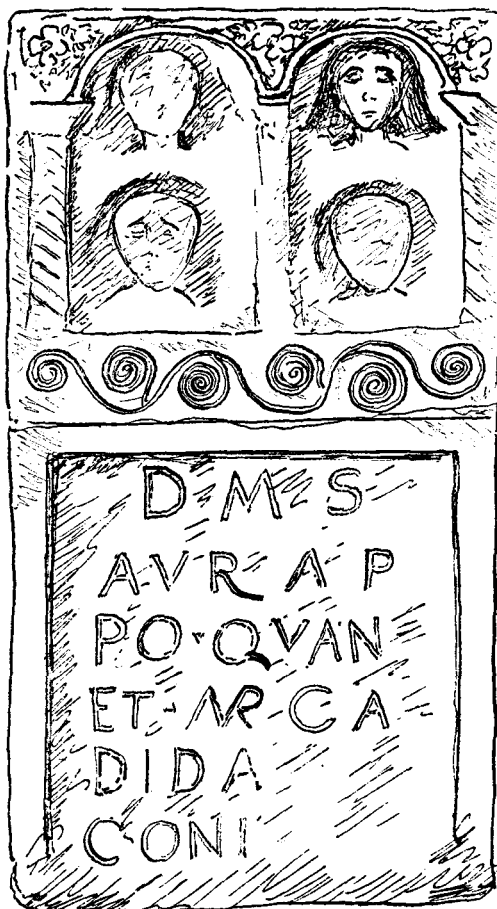


Fig. 13.

that the monuments of the Illyro-Roman cemetery at Svéti Ilija throw as much light on the later monuments of the country as the classic models of a more famous *Campo Santo* do on mediæval Tuscan art.

Opposite the west door of the church stands a huge sepulchral block of cubical form with a gabled top (fig. 14), which, in bulk at least, is the apt precursor of some of the later mediæval monoliths of the country, and which, from an inscription on one side in Cyrillian characters, appears to have been actually adopted for sepulchral purposes by one of the later inhabitants of the land. Its front face contains the half-length figures of a man and his wife, of barbarous execution and of late character; while on the sides are carved two *Genii*, one with a raised, the

other with a lowered torch, and wearing Phrygian caps like the same torch-bearing *Genii* which so constantly appear on Mithraic reliefs. It is probable that here, too,



Fig. 14.

they are to be taken in a Mithraic connexion as representing the ascending and descending soul, rather than as merely symbolical of grief or the extinction of life.

The inscriptions are of considerable interest as presenting a variety of indigenuous Illyrian names, both male and female, with the characteristic ending in —o, as *Vendo*, *Panto*, *Apo* or *Appo*, *Tritano*, *Titto*. It would appear that, in some cases at least, these forms are diminutives of longer names; thus from *Panes*, gen. *Panentis* (of which the Pinnes of history, the son of Queen Teuta, represents only another form), is derived *Panto*; from *Aples*, apparently, *Apo*. To any one acquainted with the modern inhabitants of the country a parallel must at once suggest itself in the Serbian diminutive name-forms of a precisely similar kind.^a Thus, Panteleon becomes “Panto”; Gjuragj (George), “Gjuro”; Nikola, “Niko”; Simeon, “Simo”; and so forth: of female names, Maria becomes “Maro,” and Fatima, “Fato.” That this peculiarity was taken over by the Slav occupants of

^a This parallel has been pointed out by Dr. Otto Blau (*Reisen in Bosnien*, p. 64), who gives many examples.

Illyricum from the native elements absorbed by them appears probable from its reappearance amongst the Albanians,^a the true modern representatives of the Illyrians.

Below the church, on the southern slope of the hill, are the remains of the pope's house, recently burnt by the Turks, in the foundation of which are several ancient monuments. One of the stone posts of the stable-door contains a dedication to the Cæsar, Diadumenian, A.D. 217—218, the shallow lettering of which is at present so weatherworn as to be almost invisible to the eye, except in a very advantageous light (fig. 15).^b It is possible that this monument, though not of

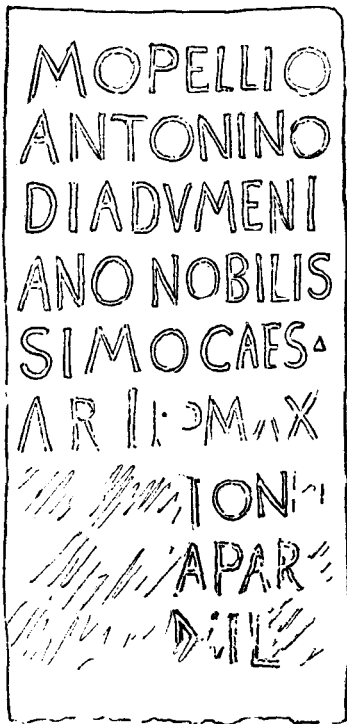


Fig. 15.

the usual rounded form, is of a miliary character; and that it would, if complete, record the restoration of roads and bridges in Dalmatia by Macrinus and his son. In the neighbouring provinces of Pannonia and Noricum several milestones have been discovered with the titles of these Emperors.^c

The monuments and inscriptions on the hill of Sveti Ilija are for the most part of late date. While among the remains at Plevlje and Old Plevlje, from the actual site of the Municipium S. there are many inscriptions of a good period, some dating, probably, from the beginning of the second century of our era, it would be difficult to single out an inscription on the hill-site of earlier than third-century date. Yet, as we have seen, there are various indications that the site itself was in native occupation in times anterior to the Roman conquest. We may infer that Roman arts and letters, which had reached the indigenous populations of the Save-lands by the time of Augustus, and those of the Adriatic coast at a still earlier date, were of much slower infiltration into these remote

Alpine centres. On the hill-site of Sveti Ilija, the first monuments of this influence date, apparently, from the age of Severus. Yet the very memorials that indicate the

^a Blau (*loc. cit.*) cites among female Albanian names of this kind, *Laljo, Liljo, Kondo, Drano, &c.*

^b Not in C. I. L. The inscription is given by Dr. Hoernes, *loc. cit.* p. 9. My own copy is somewhat fuller.

^c C. I. L. iii. 3720, 3724, 3725, 3726, 5708, 5736, 5737, 6467.

operation of this Romanizing process show us how much of the aboriginal element remained. This survival of the indigenous names in a Latin guise, the semi-barbarous renderings of Roman sculpture and ornament, represent alike, in language and art, the beginnings of a rude Illyrian "Romance" and Romanesque. The mediæval monuments of the country are direct descendants of these Illyro-Roman slabs. The names of "Stari Vlah," or "Old Wallachia," still applied to the bordering mountain districts, show us that the descendants of the Romanized natives, who buried their dead on the hill of Sveti Ilija, lived on in their ancient homes under Slavonic and Turkish as under Roman dominion. Though the numerous Rouman tribes and communities of these inland regions which we learn to know from the Old Serbian chrysobulls and the archives of Ragusa, have long since, for the most part, become merged in the Slav-speaking populations around them, a scattered Rouman population still lives on within the old Dalmatian limits in the valley of the Spreca. The great value of the monuments of the hill-site of Sveti Ilija is that they present to us the meeting-point of the Roman and the indigenous element, and supply us with the first records of the Illyro-Roman race, substantially the same as that of the Roumans or Wallachians of the *western* parts of the peninsula,—predominantly Illyrian in pedigree, but speaking with national modifications the language of their Roman conqueror.

One of the most interesting of the Sveti Ilija monuments has yet to be mentioned. This is a votive altar (fig. 16) dedicated to Jupiter, apparently for the health of a *Procurator Augustorum*, by the local *Populus*. Since it was first observed, the right-hand portion has been broken off, but the important part was happily preserved when I saw it. Dr. Hoernes, in his endeavour to identify the Municipium S. with the Stanecle of the Itineraries, believed that he detected on the lowest line traces of an inscription s/A///o///, which he would naturally complete STANECLORVM; he admits, however, that only an uncertain trace of the S is to be found on his squeeze. After a searching and repeated examination of the stone, the result of several visits to

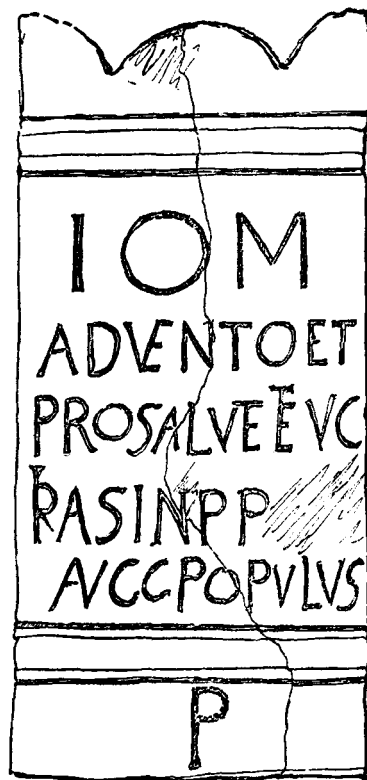


Fig. 16.

the spot in all lights, I have absolutely satisfied myself that the only letter is a well defined p in the middle of the pedestal. It is certain that no results obtained from a squeeze can weigh against the impression immediately produced by the monument on the human eye, and I am convinced that the appearances on which Dr. Hoernes based his reading were due to some slight natural irregularities which exist on the surface of the stone.

The natural inference that we must draw is that the p standing by itself at the end of the dedication means simply "POSVIT."

The great predominance of native Illyrian names on the hillside of Sveti Ilija and the generally barbaric style of the monuments show that the *MUNICIPIVM* s lay on the borders of a district still peopled by the indigenous race. To what Illyrian tribe did this Alpine region behind Montenegro belong in Roman Imperial times? The tribe inhabiting the central valley of Montenegro itself was unquestionably that of the Dokleates, who at a later date passed on their name to the Serbian Dukljani. From Ptolemy's list of Illyrian tribes it appears that the northern borderers of the Dokleates were the Pirustæ, beyond whom again were the Skirtones, whose name seems to connect itself with the Scordus or Scardus range.^a The famous Illyrian mining race of the Pirustæ was originally a branch of the Dassaretæ,^b who inhabited the valley of the Black Drin and the region of which Lychnidus on the present Lake of Ochrida was a centre, and may thus have early exercised their mining industry in the neighbouring silver-mining district of Damastion and Pelagia.^c From Livy's account of Anicius's campaign

^a Ptol. *Geog.* lib. ii. c. 16.

^b Cf. Livy, lib. xlv. c. 25. For their connexion with Lychnidus, see lib. xliii. c. 9. "(Appius Claudius) ad Lychnidum Dassaretiorum consedit." Lychnidus was a central station of the Egnatian Way, and Pylon, a little beyond it to the East, was reckoned the boundary of Illyricum and Macedonia (Strabo, *Geog.* lib. vii.)

^c The silver coins of Damastion throw an interesting light on ancient Illyrian and Epirote mining industry. On the reverse of some of them are represented hammers, picks, the symbol of fire, and an object which Professor Gardiner, with great probability, considers to be bellows. The exact site of Damastion remains to be identified, but Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in his interesting account of some of the coins in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (B. i. p. 99, *seqq.*), calls attention to the village name of *Damesi*, near Tepelen, where silver mines appear to have anciently existed. Closely allied to these coins of Damastion are those of Pelagia and others with the legend ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ. The attempt of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to identify the name Pelagia with Belagrita, an older form of the Albanian Berat, cannot be accepted, it being simply an Albanian corruption of a Slavonic Belgrad; Tomaschek's comparison with Pljage is more hopeful. With regard to the attribution of both these places, however, I shall venture some new suggestions. (See p. 89.)

against the Illyrian King Genthios^a we may infer that the territory of the Pirustæ lay to the north of that of the Dassaretæ proper and bordered on the lake-lands of Skodra. We are told that they seized the occasion of the Roman invasion to throw off their allegiance to King Genthios, and, from the context, it is highly probable that they played an important part in the native revolt, to suppress which the King's brother was called off at the critical juncture into the mountainous region to the East of the Lake. All this, coupled with the indication supplied by Ptolemy, points to their occupying the Alpine tract between the united Drin and the upper valley of the Lim,^b where lay the rich silver veins that in the Middle Ages gave birth to the Serbian mining town and prolific mint of Brskovo,^c the counterfeit Venetian *grossi* of which brought down the anathema of Dante on the Rascian king. The evidence of Strabo, again, strongly corroborates the view that the race of the Pirustæ extended into the valley of the Lim. He expressly classes this Illyrian clan along with the Mazæi and Dæsitiates^d—tribes well within the modern Bosnian limits—as of Pannonian kin, and the appearance of the Pirustæ as mining colonists in Dacia might by itself be taken to show a certain geographical inclination towards the Danubian system.

The names, again, on the wax tablets from the Dacian Vicus Pirustarum^e seem to be characteristic of a race which formed a kind of connecting link between the northern and southern Illyrian clans; some, like Liccaius and Epicadus, pointing rather to Pæonian and Epirote kinship; others, like that of Verzo and the oft-recurring name of Bato, being as distinctively Dalmato-Pannonian. The territory of the Dæsitiates, with whom the Pirustæ are associated by Strabo, lay in Southern Bosnia, and from the milestone already referred to,^f which places the *Castellum Dæsitiatum* 156 miles from Salonæ, we should be led to seek for the stronghold of the tribe at least no further to the South-East than Rogatica or

^a *Hist.* xlv. c. 31, and xlv. c. 43. *Polybios*, xxx. 19.

^b The scene of the campaign of King Genthios' brother against the native rebels is indicated by his subsequent capture by the Roman general at Medeon to be identified with the hill-fortress of Medun, in Montenegro. This district was then occupied by the tribe of the Dokleates, whose civic centre Doklea still survives in the modern Montenegrin village of Dukle. See *Archæologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 84.

^c Prof. Stojan Novaković (*Rad.* xxxvii. (1876), 1-18) believes to have identified the site of this important old Serbian staple with the site of Plava, in the vale of Gusinje, where according to Hecquard are remains of a more ancient city. It is certain that Brskovo, the Brescova of the Ragusans, lay somewhere on the Upper Lim. (See Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 69.)

^d *Geogr.* lib. vii. *Ἐθνη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Παννονίων . . . Πειροῦσαι καὶ Μαζαῖοι καὶ Δαισιτῆραι.

^e See p. 14.

^f P.

Gorazda. It is possible that the Drina acted as a southern boundary between them and the Pirustæ; in any case, in view of Strabo's statement as to the Pannonian kinship of the latter, it is difficult to believe that in the age of Augustus the Pirustan border was far removed from the river which opens a natural avenue of communication between the ore-bearing ranges of the central Illyrian district and the Pannonian lands of the Save basin. In considering the obscure question of the boundaries of the Illyrian tribes considerable shifting and variations of area^a at various epochs, due to wars and migrations, must always be taken into account; and, although from the Dassaretian connexion of the Pirustæ we should be inclined to seek their more ancient homes nearer the Epirote border, the discovery and exploitation of new sources of mineral wealth in Dalmatia, consequent on the Roman conquest, may itself have tempted this race of miners to extend their field of operations further to the North-West of their original area. That this should have occurred will appear all the more probable when it is remembered that the three important tribes of the Autariatæ, Dæsitiates, and Daorsi, or Daversi, who once held an extensive dominion in this part of Illyricum, had been reduced to very straitened circumstances by the Roman invader.^b

It is, perhaps, not an accidental incident that Livy,^c in describing the settlement of Illyricum after King Genthios' defeat, in his list of peoples who had earned immunity from tribute by their timely defection from the native dynast, mentions the Pirustæ immediately before the inhabitants of Rhizon, an Illyrian maritime emporium connected, as we have seen, with the ancient sites of this part of the interior by a line of Roman road, which, in all probability, followed the course of an earlier native line of intercourse. The name of the modern town of

^a Strabo, for example (lib. vii.), mentions that the Romans had driven the once piratic race of the Ardiæi away from the sea to a sterile tract of the interior where in the impossibility of obtaining sustenance the whole race had almost died out. He adds as similar examples the case of the Autariatæ and Dardanii, the Gallic Boii and Scordisci, and the Thracian Boii.

^b *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 115. "Quippe Daorisi et Dæsitiates Dalmatæ, situ locorum ac montium, ingeniorum ferocia, mira etiam pugnandi scientia et præcipue angustiis saltuum pœne inexpugnabiles, non jam ductu, sed manibus atque armis ipsius Cæsaris, tum demum pacati sunt cum pœne funditus eversi forent." The Daorisi, Daorsi, or Daversi had, like the Ardiæi, been a maritime people, and, as is proved by their coins representing a galley with the legend ΔΑΟΡΣΩΝ, had shown themselves receptive of Greek culture. Their original area lay to the South of the Narenta mouth. For the Autariatæ see Strabo, *loc. cit.*

^c *Hist.* lib. xlv. c. 26.

Perasto, near the site of Rhizon or Risinium, might by itself suggest a suspicion that its origin was not unconnected with the famous mining race of the interior,^a and that in the vicinity of Rhizon, as in that of the Dacian city of Alburnus Major, there had sprung up a *Vicus Pirustarum*. In the neighbourhood of Plevlje scope could be found for the mining industry of the race. I have myself seen specimens of silver and iron ore from the neighbouring mountains, and in making the new road there was discovered below the present surface the stumps of a mighty oak forest, which had been felled at a remote period, a circumstance thoroughly consistent with the former existence of extensive smelting-works. Here again the name *Rudnice* shows conclusively that mining operations were carried on in this vicinity in Slavonic times.

At Sveti Ilija I noticed two Roman tiles with the following stamps.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

At Rogatac, a small hamlet in the Vežeznica valley, about an hour's distance to the North of the Municipium S., Herr Müller had observed a sepulchral slab without inscription, but containing a relief of a Genius leaning on an extinguished torch. Hearing of other ancient monuments at Podpeč, about an hour further up the valley in the same northerly direction, I resolved to visit the spot. As a sample of the difficulties which the explorer has at present to contend with in this part of the Ottoman dominions, I may mention that on my applying to the Pasha at Plevlje for an escort to this village he refused point blank, on the ground that no escort he could give me would be sufficient to guarantee my safety,—and that in a village distant less than three hours from his seat of government! I had, there-

^a I observe that the same etymology has occurred independently to Dr. Simo Rutar, *Starine Bokokotorske* ("Antiquities of the Bocche di Cattaro," in *Program c. k. realnog i velikog Gimnazija u Kotoru*, 1880). "Pri brojenju ovih slobodnih občina spominje Livij Pirustas odmah prije Risna. I dandanašnji imamo grad odmah pred Risnom, kojega ime, skoro do slova, jednako glasi kao *Pirustæ*, t. j. *Perast*. . . . od koga znamo da je prestari grad i da narod izvadja njegov izvor već iz doba rimskih carevâ." ("In enumerating these free communities Livy mentions the *Pirustæ* immediately before Rhizon (Risano). At the present day too we have a town in the immediate neighbourhood of Risano the name of which corresponds almost to a letter with that of the *Pirustæ*, namely *Perasto*, . . . of which we know that it is a town of great antiquity, the origin of which is traced back by the people to the time of the Roman Emperors.")

fore, to trust entirely to my own resources, but by adopting the disguise and character of an *Effendi* from Stamboul, and in company of a trustworthy native Mahometan, I succeeded in visiting Podpeć without let or hindrance from the fanatics on the spot. The hamlet itself lies in a beautiful undulating valley, endowed with a singularly rich soil, and overlooked by the forest-covered ranges of Kolašine. On a height above were some mediæval Serbian monuments; a little below were the charred remains of the Orthodox church recently burnt by the Turks (who murdered the last priest), and around it a rayah cemetery, where I found the annexed portion of an Illyro-Roman monument, made to serve the purpose of a Christian tombstone (fig. 19). Like so many of the Sveti Ilija monuments, it formed a record of piety towards female members of the family—in this case an *Aurelia Panto*, and another, *Aurelia Testo* (or perhaps *Titto*)—monumental records which sufficiently attest (what indeed we may partly gather from historic sources) the prominence of women in the primitive Illyrian communities.

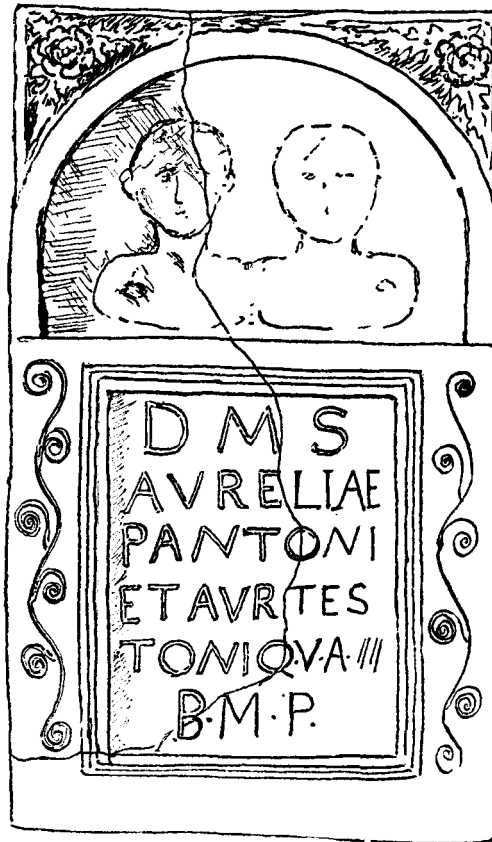


Fig. 19.

On the same slope of the hill I observed the remains of an ancient fountain constructed of Roman blocks; and it seems to me to be by no means improbable, considering the beauty and fertility of the valley, that a Roman station existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Podpeč. It is to be observed, moreover, that the village lies on an old line of communication between the plain on which Plevlje stands and Jezero on the Upper Tara, a place abounding in monuments of at least mediæval antiquity. The remains of an old *kalderyn* or paved way are to be traced leading up to Vežeznica Valley and past Podpeč in that direction; and the occurrence of Roman remains along this road at Rogatac, and again at Podpeč, gives us some grounds for supposing that in this, as in so many other cases, the mediæval paved-way follows the course of a Roman predecessor.

It would appear that from the Municipium that existed on the site of Old Plevlje two main lines of Roman Way conducted to the East and South-East. From the discovery of an uninscribed monument and some other Roman fragments in the highland glen of Obavde, lying between Plevlje and Brdarevo on the Lim, Herr Müller was inclined to believe that the Roman road which brought the Municipium S. into communication with the important Roman site near Prijepolje took a bend to the South, instead of following the more direct course of the existing road between Plevlje and Prijepolje. The remains at Obavde, however, may very well represent a direct line of communication between the Roman predecessor of Plevlje and the upper valley of the Lim, eventually bringing it into connexion with the ancient city, which, as we have seen, appears to have existed in the vale of Plava and the district where, in mediæval days, rose the Serbian mint-town of Brskovo. That, on the other hand, the ancient road from the site of Plevlje to that of Prijepolje followed the same direct course as that actually existing, appears to me to be established by the discovery which I made on the Cičia Polje, at the top of the pass between these two places and near the present road, of a Roman milestone (fig. 20). The stone, which presents the usual oval section, was unfortunately much mutilated and weather-worn, so that only a few of the letters can at present be decyphered.



Fig. 20.

From this point the road descends somewhat abruptly to the fertile gorge of

the Seljačnica stream, at the confluence of which with the Lim, at a hamlet called Kolovrat, about half an hour's distance from Prijepolje, I came upon a highly-interesting Roman site, recently discovered by Vice-Consul Müller. A little above the road to the left of the stream was a brushwood-covered bank, consisting entirely of ancient fragments. Cornices and bases, altars, sarcophagi, sepulchral slabs, and lesser fragments innumerable lay about in wild confusion, and in the middle a broken column, and the base of another stood apparently *in situ*.

Two of the blocks bear inscriptions. The first, an altar dedicated to Diana by T. Aur. Saturninus, *Eques Romanus*, has been correctly given by Dr. Hoernes from Herr Müller's drawings. It contains a votive address to the Goddess, of three lines, and in a metre that recalls a Prudentian hymn :—

DEA VIRAGO DELIA
 VOTVM FAVENTI NVMINE
 QVOD [DEBEO] FELIX AGO.

The second stone, a large square slab, is of considerable interest as containing a reference to an Illyrian Clan and City.

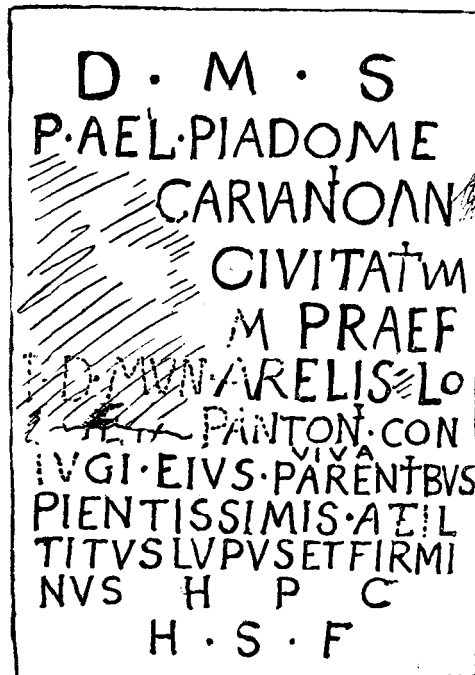


Fig. 21.

In spite of a lacuna on the stone I was able to trace the first letters of the word AVRELI in monogram, an epithet which sufficiently declares that the Municipium with whose name it is coupled looked back with gratitude for civic benefits to the age of the Antonines. Herr Von Domaszewski^a would complete the title "PRAEFECTUS [IURE DICUNDO MVNICIPII] AVRELI S(A)LO(NIANI)." "*Saloniana*" is mentioned by Ptolemy amongst the inland cities of Dalmatia, as lying in the same degree of latitude as Æquum, near Sinj, a district far removed from the valley of the Lim. Indeed, if we are to seek the site of the city here referred to as far away as Northern Dalmatia, it seems to me preferable to trace a reference to the better-known Dalmatian city of Splonum or Splaunum. This city, as we have seen, was one of the principal mining centres of the province, and a native *Princeps* belonging to it was of service to the Romans in exploiting the Dacian gold-fields. In this case the reading would be: PRAEFECTUS IURE DICUNDO MVNICIPII AVRELI S(P)LO(NISTARUM). Could it indeed be established that the Municipium of the mining community of the Splonistæ was otherwise known as the *Municipium Aurelium*, we might obtain a valuable clue to the hitherto unexplained legend METAL . AVRELIANI upon a small brass issue, resembling in every particular the coins referring to the *Metalla Dalmatica*.

Whether the title in the third and fourth line of the inscription should be completed PRAEFECTUS CIVITATIVM (MELCO)M, and be taken to conceal a reference to the *Melcomani*, mentioned by Pliny among the Illyrian clans represented in the *Conventus* of Naronæ, must, in the absence of further evidence, remain uncertain. The further suggestion, however, of Dr. Domaszewski, that the "PIADOME" of the first line contains the elements of two cognomina PIADO ME and that CARVANIO stands for the place of origin, can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. PIADOME I should prefer to complete PIADOMENO, and see in it a slight variation of the well-known Illyrian name PLADOMENVS,^b while CARVANIO as closely resembles the name of King Genthios' brother, who was captured by the Romans at Medeon, in the present limits of Montenegro, and who appears in Livy as *Caravantius*. The wife's name on line 7 is "*Panto*," and not "*Testo*."

I was able to trace a succession of ancient fragments and remains for about a quarter of a mile's distance to the south, along the left bank of the Lim. In places

^a *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* 1880, p. 14.

^b Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2787, "PLADOMENVS . SERA . TVRI . F"; 2797, "VENDO TVDANIA PLADOMENI F"; 6410, "(I) . O . M APLV . DV//// MEVERTENS . PLADOMENI . FILIV||." All from *Municipium Reditarum*. The termination *domenus* has a Celtic sound, e. g. Dumno-vellaunus, Dumno-Rix, Cogi-dubnus, &c.

were heaps of Roman masonry, showing that the Roman city which here existed must have covered a considerable area. At one spot I found a cornice and piece of the field of an inscription, but learnt that the inscription itself had been broken into fragments by the Turkish landowner in hopes of discovering gold or treasure inside the stone; a superstition unfortunately widespread in these regions.

At Prijepolje the present road to the South-East crosses the Lim by a wooden bridge built in 1550, supported on pillars, also of wood, and prowed so as to look like a row of vessels breasting the current. To complete the illusion of antiquity the bridge-head of this old-world construction is defended by a wooden tower. From this point the track leads up the valley of the Mileševa stream to the monastery of that name and the famous shrine of St. Sava, the Serbo-Byzantine frescoes of which are of the highest interest and considerable beauty. About an hour beyond the ruined peak castle of Mileševac,^a a stronghold of Serbian Kings and Emperors which protected the minster below and completely commands the defile, I found another Roman mile-stone. The stone was, unluckily, even more weather-worn than the last, insomuch that of the inscription hardly a letter was to be decyphered, but there could be no doubt as to the milliary character of the monument, and its existence may be taken to demonstrate that the Roman road from the Municipium in the Lim valley to the south-east took substantially the same direction as the present track from Prijepolje towards Sijenica and Novipazar.

The forest-covered range between Mileševa and Sijenica over which this ancient highway runs was known to early Venetian travellers as the Mountain of Morlachia and forms a part of the larger district already referred to, which still bears the name of "Stari Vlah," or "Old Wallachia." Both names afford interesting evidence of the survival of the Romance-speaking Illyro-Roman stock in this central Alpine region on the old Dalmatian and Dardanian borders. The *Morlachs* were not, as has been sometimes supposed, "dwellers on the sea" (in Serb *Morjaci*), but *Μαυρόβλαχοι*, or Black Vlachs, an etymology borne out by the early Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who, after identifying them with the descendants of the Roman Provincials, translates their name into *Nigri Latini*.^c

^a By the Turks called Hissardjik.

^b Ramberti, *Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli* (In Vinegia, 1541), p. 6, "Passammo il castello di Millesevatz ed il Monte Molatscidi, che è come a dire Montagna di Morlacco."

^c *Presbyteri Diocleatis Regnum Slavorum* (In *Lucius de Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ* (Frankfort, 1666, p. 288): "Vulgari (sc. Bulgari) post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore

In the upper valley of the Uvac, which washes the eastern flanks of this "Morlach" mountain, the village of Ursula still preserves the well-known Rouman personal name of *Ursulŭ* = "*Ursus ille*," "*il orso*," finding its counterpart in another village near Vranja, further to the south-east Surdule, from a kindred Rouman name *Surdulŭ*.^a It is noteworthy in this connexion that the earliest treasury of Romance as opposed to classical Latin names in the Illyrian peninsula, relates largely to the Dardanian province on the confines of which we have now arrived. In the highly interesting list which Procopius gives us of Illyrian fortresses built or restored by the Emperor Justinian,^b we find (side by side with names which attest the vitality of the old Thracian race and language in the eastern and central parts of the peninsula, and with others that connect themselves as conclusively with the Illyrian aborigines and the Slavonic new-comers) a whole catalogue of local names presenting Romance, and, it may be added, distinctively Rouman characteristics.^c There is no mistaking the significance of names like

Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi hoc est Nigri Latini vocantur." Opposed to these *Crni Vlahi*, or black "Vlachs" as they were also known, were the *Bijeli Vlahi*, or white "Vlachs," but on what the distinction was founded is uncertain. At a later period *Mavrovlachia* appears as the equivalent of Moldavia. It is to be observed that Lucius of Traŭ supplies the right derivation of the word Morlach; and to him is really due the credit of having in his masterly chapter *de Vlahis* exploded the fallacy of their Transdanubian origin. The chief arguments adopted by Sulzer, Roesler, and other writers of recent times, will be found clearly and succinctly stated by the seventeenth-century Dalmatian antiquary.

^a Both *Surdulŭ* and *Ursulŭ* occur among the Rouman personal names in the foundation charter of the church of the Archangel at Prisren, issued by the Serbian Emperor Dušan in 1348.

^b *Procopius de Œdificiis*, lib. iv.

^c These names are of peculiar value, as giving us an insight into the nomenclature of the country districts of Illyricum in the sixth century of our era, a subject on which historians and geographers are for the most part silent. The *φρούρια* of Justinian were mostly small castles, or even mere block-houses, like the later Turkish *karaulas*, for the protection of the country-side. The age of castle-building on peaks has begun, and the sixth-century *Castellum* was doubtless in many cases the local predecessor of the "*Grad*," or central stronghold of the Slavonic "*Župa*." The Roman or Romance names have frequent reference to mineral and other natural sources of revenue which it was desirable to protect, as *Æraria*, *Ferraria*, *Argentarias*, *Lapidarias*; in many cases they contain an honorary tribute to Emperors and Empresses, who reigned in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, *e. g.* *Constantiana*, *Justiniana*, *Pulchra Theodora*, *Placidiana*, &c. Names like *Castelona*, *Braiola*, *Vindemiola*, *Lutzolo*, *Casyella* have a decidedly Italian ring: others such as *Ducepratium* (? *Doucepré*), *Lupofontana*, *Lucernarioburgus* show us that the neo-Latin language of Illyricum had attained a Teutonic facility for forming compounds. In some instances, as "*Sabini-bries*" and "*Prisco-pera*," Latin and Thracian elements are blended. The Thracian, Illyrian, Slavonic, and Gothic name-forms are of the highest interest, but can only be referred to here.

“Sceptecasas,”^a “Lupofontana,”^b “Marmorata,” “Capomalva,” “Tugurias,” “Stramentias,” and other kindred forms. In “Burgualtu” and “Gemellomuntres” we detect already the Illyro-Roman preference for U in place of O. In “Maurovalle,” the dark valley, we find the characteristic mixture of Greek and Latin; and the pass of “Klisura,” another instance of the same, shows us the most typical of all Rouman name-forms already existing in sixth-century Illyricum.^c In “Erculente,” again, we have the earliest example of the Rouman local suffix “-ente,” of which we have already noticed an example in the Herzegovinian *Turmente*, parallels to which may be found in the Cici districts of Istria. Not in Dardania alone, but from the Adriatic to the Lower Danube, from the southern borders of Thessaly to the northern limits of Aurelian’s Dacia, there existed already, in Justinian’s days, an Illyrian form of Romance which, for better and for worse, had parted company from its western sisters, and which, rendered precocious by its very misfortunes, displayed already features which we recognise as specifically Wallachian. When in the succeeding century the Danubian *Limes* was finally broken down, and the Dalmatian, Moesian, and New Dacian provinces were overwhelmed with a Slavonic and Bulgarian deluge, we may well imagine that these central Dardanian fastnesses became a principal refuge and rallying point of the remnants of the Romance-speaking peasantry. It is not only in “Stari Vlah” and the mountain of Morlacchia that they have left abiding traces. In the ranges of the Shar mountains that overlook the Dardanian lowlands to the West these traces, as I shall show, are not less apparent.

Beyond the watershed of the “Montagna di Morlacco” the pine-forest gives way to bare downs of a schistose formation, rich in iron ore, from which the road descends into the grassy plateau of Sijenica, the next night-quarters for caravans after leaving Prijepolje. Here I was unable to discover any remains of Roman antiquity, but the square walls of the “Starigrad,” or old town, have a curiously old-world aspect, and much recall those of Nikšić.^d From this place the road to Novipazar (ten hours distant) leads over the pass of Dugopoljana into the fertile and wooded valley of the Ljudska, an upper branch of the Raška. In this glen, still known by the old Rouman term of Klissura, about two and a half hours distant from Novipazar, I observed the remains of an ancient paved road on a

^a Cf. Wallachian, *septe* = 7. Accepting Tomaschek’s emendation of another name in Procopius’ Catalogue, “tredecitiliās” gives us already the Wallachian *tredeci* = 30.

^b This compound reminds us of the common Slavo-Rouman local name *Lupoglava* = wolf’s head.

^c This pass led from Illyricum into Greece.

^d See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 86.

stone embankment which crosses the former bed of the river, through which the stream has long ceased to run, by an arch of well-hewn masonry, known as Suhi Most, or "the dry bridge." It is difficult to resist the impression that this bridge (the character of which will be seen from the annexed cut), as well as the roadway it supports, are of Roman origin. In that case we have here the continuation of the Roman Way which brought the Municipia already described on the Gorazda, Plevlje, and Prijepolje sites into communication with the Dardanian and Moesian cities to the South-East.

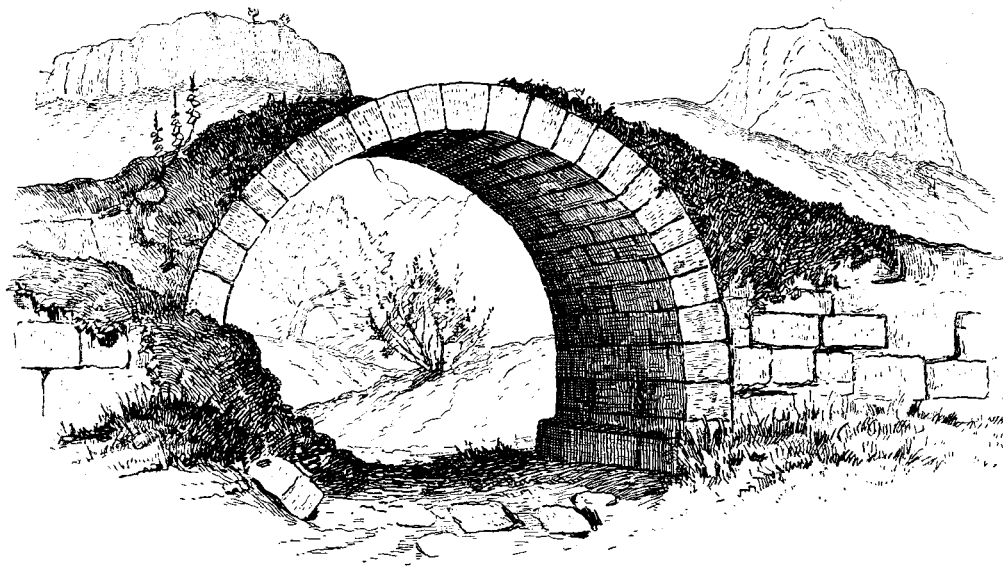


Fig. 22.

About three hours further down the valley, and three miles below Novipazar, on the banks of a tributary brook to the right of the Raška, is a domed, octagonal bath-chamber, built over a thermal source of the highest antiquarian interest.

Undoubtedly the greatest caution is necessary in determining the age of buildings in these Turkish regions, however Roman, or at least Byzantine, may be their general appearance. In the case of the buildings, and notably the aqueduct of Skopia, I shall have occasion to illustrate the necessity of such caution; and in the present instance it is right to observe that the ground plan and general form of this bath-chamber do not essentially differ from those of bath-buildings of Turkish date, specimens of which may still be seen at Skopia and in the neighbourhood of Prisren. On the other hand, in all these parallel instances, so far as I am aware, there are to be seen distinctly Oriental features in the form of the arches and the decoration of the interior, features which are here conspicuous by

their absence. It may, therefore be preferable to regard the Turkish buildings which approach this form as imitations or restorations of pre-existing Byzantine models.

The bath-buildings of Banja consist of two domed chambers, the first of which, whether built on ancient foundations or not, is obviously of Turkish construction. This chamber is surrounded by eight semi-circular niches, and on either side is a raised wooden platform, or divan, on which the Slavonic Mahometans and Albanians, of whom the bath-guests are composed, lull themselves to their "siesta" to the somnolent purring of their narghilehs, or partake of a light refectation of coffee, sherbet, and melons, to the more inspiriting strains of Albanian lays, sung to the wild accompaniment of the national *tambûra*. In the centre is a vase-shaped marble fountain of cold water, surrounded by an octagonal basin, and the whole apartment serves at once as a *frigidarium* and an *apodyterium*.

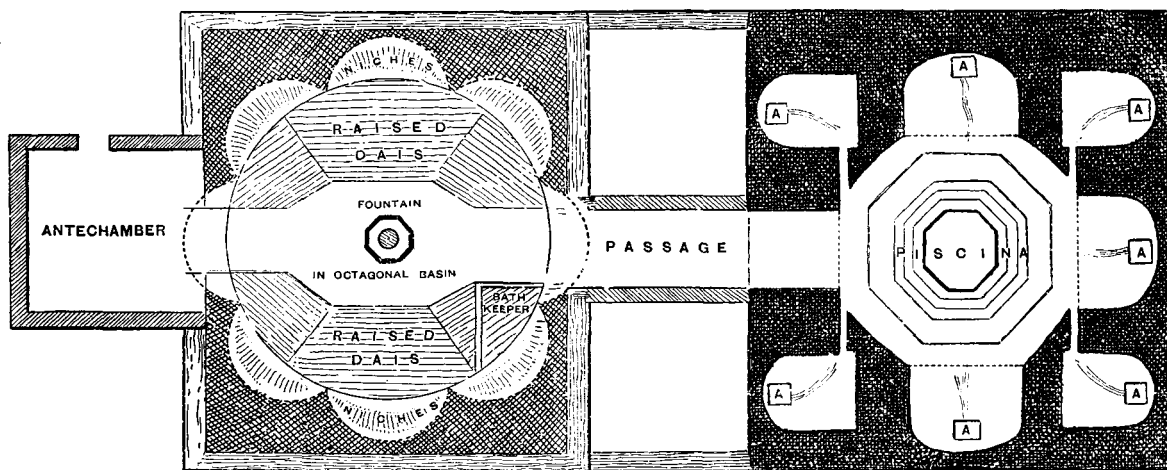


Fig. 23.

From this, the more modern part of the establishment, a vaulted passage leads to another domed chamber, the site of which cannot fail to impress the spectator with an idea of its great antiquity. In the centre is a large octagonal basin, into which the hot sulphur-springs flow, and where, when I saw it, a shaven crew of true-believers were disporting themselves. This central bath is tempered to tepid warmth by cold-water jets issuing from three somewhat altar-shaped fountains, set in three apse-like recesses behind it and on either side. These side-niches or apses give the interior a cruciform outline, and, taken together with the monumental

fountains and the domed vault above, call up a reminiscence of Galla Placidia's mausoleum at Ravenna. The level of their pavement is raised a step above that of the central octagonal space of the bath-chamber, and in this, as well as the fountain or *milliarium*, in the innermost recess of each, we may trace an interesting analogy to the raised side-niche originally containing a fountain, of apparently similar form, in the Roman bath-chamber already described^a at Epitaurum.

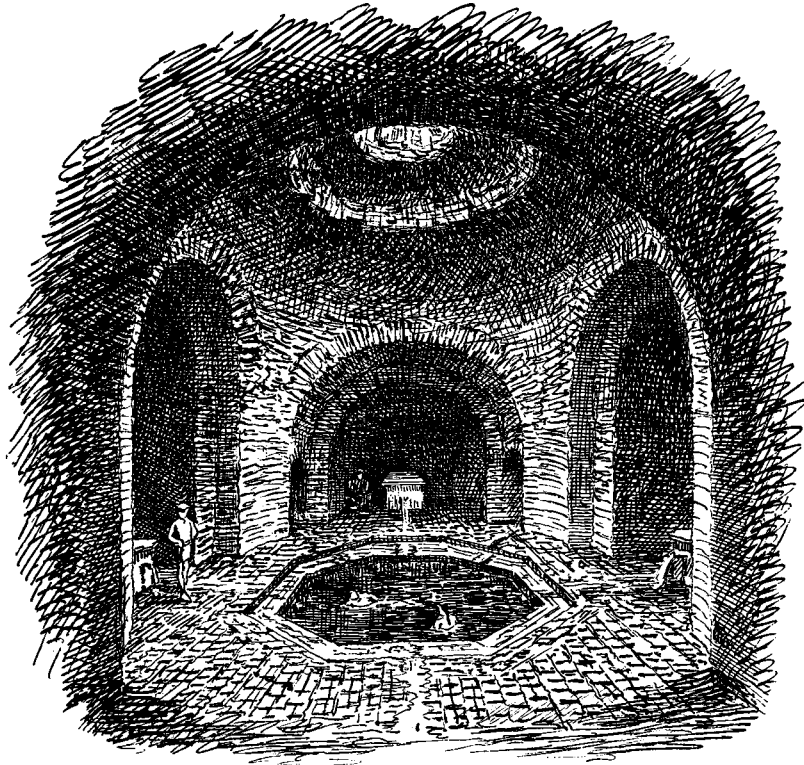


Fig. 24.

The central *piscina* itself descends in steps constructed, like the walls, of long narrow bricks. The domed vault above has evidently at some period fallen into a ruinous condition, and has been somewhat rudely restored, the upper part being eked out with wood-work. At the top of the vault is a round opening, canopied above, out of which the sulphurous and steamy exhalations that fill the whole chamber gradually find their way. The interior walls are coated with a sulphurous

^a *Archaeologia*, xlvi. p. 11.

incrustation, but, where this has broken away, narrow brickwork of Roman character is distinctly perceptible.

In the four angles of the building (the exterior outline of which is square), between the recesses formed by the entrance arch and the three apselike niches, are four small chambers set apart for the "Sudatio" and "Calda Lavatio." Each is provided with a square marble fountain, from which issues a jet of thermal water, the temperature of which is so high that I could hardly bear my hand in it; for the purposes of the douche it has, consequently, to be tempered with water from the cold source.

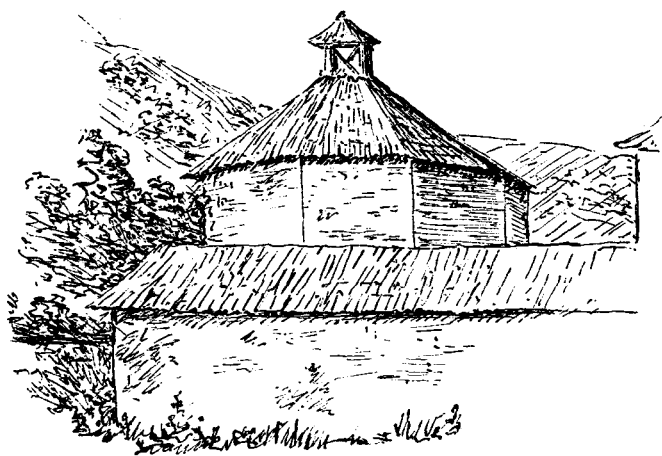


Fig. 25.

The domed vault above the *piscina* of the central chamber is externally contained in a low octagonal tower rising above the roof of the lower quadrangular part of the building, and covered itself with a sloping roof which conceals its interior dome. This octagonal character of the central part of the building, as well as the octagonal bath, the side niches, and the dome externally concealed, cannot fail to recall the characteristic features of early-Christian baptisteries of fourth, fifth, and sixth-century date, such as are still to be seen at Novara, Ravenna, Aquileja and elsewhere. The octagonal *fons baptisterii* of these early-Christian buildings is well known to be identical in shape, as well as name, with the *baptisterion* of Greco-Roman baths; and the steps, by which the interior of the present bath descends, afford an interesting point of comparison with the font of the old baptistery at Aquileja. It is a natural inference that the Christian baptisteries of the later Roman Empire represented in their general form a then prevalent style

of bath-building. Of this, indeed, we get little evidence in Vitruvius, or in existing Roman remains in Western Europe. The small sudatory chamber known as the "Laconicum,"^a though hemispherical at the top, can hardly have been the prototype of these spacious Christian vaults. On the other hand, we learn from Timarchos that the Athenian baths were domed and circular inside,^b and we should be naturally inclined to seek the Christian models in the eastern half of the Empire. The striking points of resemblance between this Dardanian bath-chamber and the early-Christian baptistery go far to show that the *Thermæ* under notice present to us an example of the late-Roman type of bath-building, the existence of which may be inferred from its ecclesiastical adaptation.

I learnt that two "Latin" inscriptions had been in recent times removed from the neighbourhood of the baths to the *konak* at Novipazar; one had since been broken up and the other was lost. There are, however, other remains of at least late-Roman antiquity with which the *Thermæ* seem to stand in a special connexion. On a height that rises on the opposite bank of the Raška stands an ancient church known as the *Petrova Crkva*, the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. This building has been considerably restored and rebuilt at various times, and in so piecemeal a fashion that its present ground-plan is one of the most irregular that it is possible to conceive. Enough, however, of the original church remains to show that it was once of circular form with a low octagonal tower in the centre, which still exists, concealing a cupola under its low tiled roof, and supported below by massive columns.^c It was in fact an example of the circular mausoleal churches, dating from Constantine's time onwards, as a specimen of which on Illyrian soil we may take the church of St. Donato at Zara. The natives have a tradition that it was originally a temple converted to Christian uses; an antiquity as great as Justinian's time may however be claimed for it with more reason. At present it is used as a Turkish magazine.

It is indeed by no means improbable that both the bath-buildings and the church owe their existence to the architectural activity of Justinian in his native Dardanian province to which Procopius bears such ample testimony. The archi-

^a The *Laconicum*, being merely a steam-bath, had no *piscina*, as will be seen from the representation of the chamber supposed to be a *Laconicum* discovered at Pisa, and given by Robortelli (in *Scribonius Largus*, ed. Rhodius. Patavii, 1655). This Pisan example is a domed circular chamber with niches, small square windows round the vault, and an opening at the top.

^b In *Athen.* xi. p. 561, quoted by Marquardt, *Römische Alterthümer*, part v. p. 299.

^c The jealous precautions of the Turks prevented me from examining the interior.

tectural activity of Justinian in Illyricum is the counterpart to that of Theodoric in Italy, and the restoration of bath buildings connected with thermal springs as

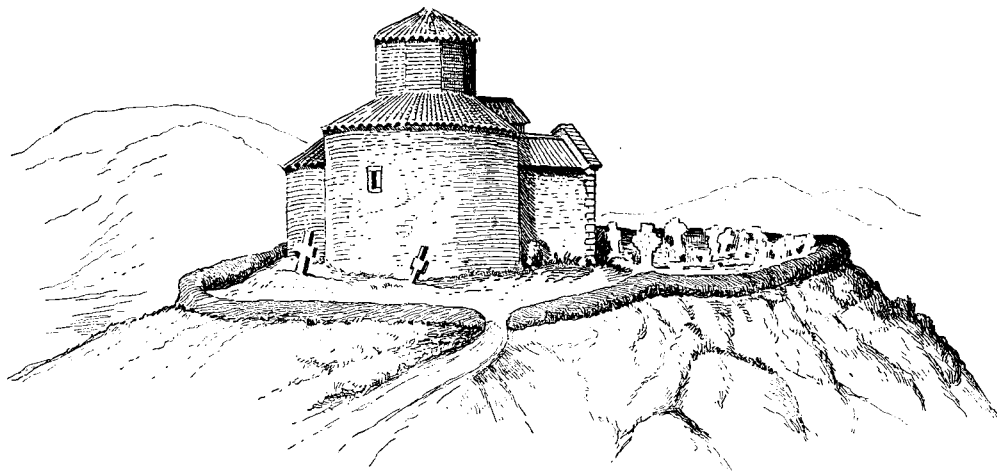


Fig. 26.

well as the erection of Christian temples and baptisteries formed part of the pious work alike of Gothic King ^a and Roman Emperor. But there is, I venture to believe, in the present instance direct evidence connecting the name of Justinian in his capacity of builder with this immediate vicinity. It was here that in the early Middle Ages stood the old Serbian town and royal residence of Raša, on the river of the same name (now generally known as the Raška), which gave its name to the kingdom of Raska or Rascia. Now, remembering that the *Arsia* on the Iстриan confines has been Slavonized into *Rasa*, we have, conversely, *à priori* grounds for assuming that here too the original form of this Serbian *Rasa* was also *Arsia* or *Arsa* in Roman times. When, therefore, we find the Castellum of *Arsa* mentioned among the Dardanian strongholds restored by Justinian,^b we can have little difficulty in identifying it with the later Raša.

From Constantine Porphyrogenitus^c it appears that in the tenth century *Rasa* was a frontier stronghold on the then Bulgarian and Serbian confines.

^a It would be interesting to know how far the bath-buildings restored by Theodoric over the famous hot springs of Aponus, near Patavium (*Cassiodorus*, var. ii. Ep. 39), were the counterpart of S. Giovanni in Fonte.

^b Procopius, *De Ædificiis*.

^c *De Adm. Imp.* c. 32. The Bulgar Prince Blastimer, captured by the Serbs, is on his release safely re-conducted μέχρι τῶν συνόρων ἕως τῆς Ῥάσης.

Captured, lost, recaptured, and lost again by the Byzantines,^a it early became an important Serbian centre, giving its name to the Župa as later to the kingdom of "Rascia" itself. The bishopric of which the church of St. Peter and St. Paul was the cathedral church is mentioned as early as 1020, and in its neighbourhood^b rose the royal castle and the grander foundations of the Nemanjas, the church of Gjurgjevi Stupovi, the ruins of which are to be seen on the height above,^c and the monastery of Sopoćani.

The commercial importance of this part of the Raška Valley is evidenced by the rise of the mediæval Serbian staple of Trgovište^d (literally "Market-place"), later known as Novipazar. It was at this point that the caravan route from Ragusa and Bosnia bifurcated into two lines, one towards the plain of Kossovo, Skopia, and ultimately Salonica; the other, the direct line to Constantinople, taking a more easterly route *viâ* the Toplica Valley, and thence to Nish, the ancient Naissus, where it struck what has always been the main highway of communication between Central and Western Europe and Eastern Rome. In view of the evidence that I have already adduced, all tending to show that the mediæval Ragusan trade-route to the South-East followed substantially the line of a more ancient Roman highway, we are led to conclude that in Roman as in mediæval times the branching point of important lines of way leading from Dalmatia to the Dardanian Plains, Scupi and Thessalonica on the one hand, and to Naissus, ultimately to Byzantium, on the other, lay in the neighbourhood of these Rascian *Thermæ*.

The more southerly of these routes, that conducting to the plain of Kossovo, has, after leaving the valley in which Novipazar and the baths of Banja lie, to traverse the ranges of Mount Rogozna. The present highway first emerges on the level country near the town of Mitrovica and the historic ruins of the castle of Svećani, the Byzantine Sphentzanion. About three hours before reaching this the route passes through a well-watered gorge, in which rise the hot-springs of Banjska, where ancient monuments^e exist, showing that it, like the baths of the

^a Τὸ Πάσιον φρούριον in Kinnamos (*Hist.* lib. ii.) taken by the Serbs from the Byzantines (*Hist.* lib. iii.); retaken by the Emperor Manuel. Kinnamos reckons it a *Dalmatian* stronghold.

^b The castle of the Župans and later Kings is, as Jireček points out (*Die Handelsstrassen*, &c. p. 77), to be sought in the neighbourhood of the episcopal church.

^c A description of the remains of Gjurgjevi Stupovi will be found in *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 273.

^d Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 77.

^e Captain Sterneck of the Austrian Survey has given a very imperfect copy of a Roman sepulchral inscription from Banjska in his *Geographische Verhältnisse, Communicationen, und das Reisen in Bosnien, der Herzegovina, und Nord Montenegro*, Pl. IV. (Vienna, 1877).

Raška Valley, was a Roman thermal station. At Kadiački Han, about an hour to the north-west of this, I came upon a monument which indicates the existence of a Roman civic foundation on a site of the highest economic interest.

At Kadiački Han Miss A. P. Irby had observed a drinking-trough believed by her to be a Roman sarcophagus, and she and her companion were informed, in answer to their inquiries, that it had been originally transported hither from the village of Sočanica, about two hours' distant, in the Ibar valley.^a The stone-trough had, in fact, been observed in its present position by the Ragusan ambassadors, who passed this way in 1792, and it was recognised by them to be of Roman workmanship.^b I found it to be, as these travellers had stated, a Roman *sarcophagus*, and was able to decypher upon it the following inscription, showing that the village in which it originally existed had been formerly the site of a Roman Municipium.

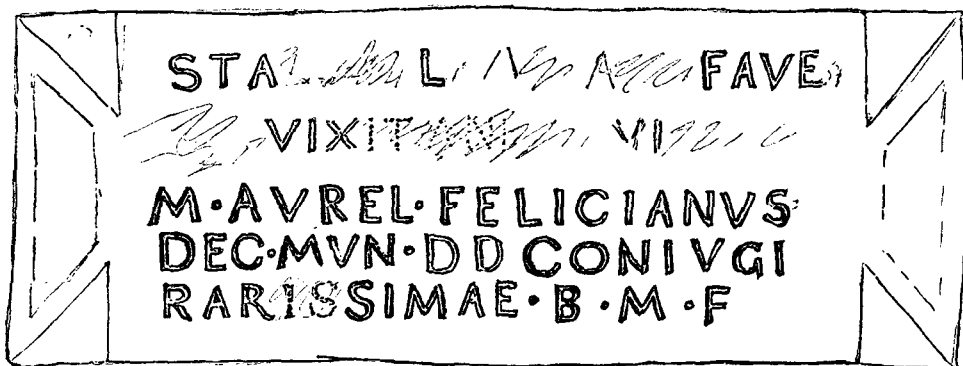


Fig. 27.

It is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to give the full name of the *MUNICIPIVM D.D.*, of which this Felicianus was *DECVRIO*. The village of Sočanica, where the monument originally stood, contains a variety of ancient remains, including, I was informed, several "written stones." Near it are the ruins of an old Serbian church, dedicated to St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the Apostles to the Slavs. What makes the former existence of a Roman civic Commonwealth in this neighbourhood of peculiar significance is the character of the mountain mass which here overlooks the Ibar valley. This range is known to its present Serbian

^a *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, vol. i. p. 262 (2nd ed.)

^b *Giornale del Viaggio a Constantinopoli fatto dagli Ambasciatori della Repubblica di Ragusa alla Sublime Porta l'Anno 1792*. "In distanza di un' ora del seguente alloggio (Banjska) trovarono una fonte che scorreva in un' urna antica ben lavorata, ma molto patita, coll' izcrizione latina che per troppo fretta non ebber comodo di leggere." (In Engel. p. 320.)

inhabitants as Kopaonik, or the "Mountain of Mines." To the mediæval Ragusan and Italian travellers^a it was known as the *Montagna dell' Argento*, or *Monte Argentaro*, names which it is difficult not to bring into connexion with the "Argentaria" of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, already mentioned as the extreme south-eastern goal of a main-line of Dalmatian roadway leading inland from Salonæ. The successful exploitation of the rich silver veins of this range by the Ragusan and Saxon miners gave birth in the early Middle Ages to the important mining town of Trepče, only a few miles distant from this Roman site, and, somewhat further to the South, the still more famous city of Novobrdó—the Nyeuberge or Newburgh of the Saxon colonists—of which Dr. Jireček justly remarks, that from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century it was the most important civic foundation in the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula.^b Fabulous reports of its mineral wealth reached foreign countries, and a Byzantine writer goes so far as to assert that gold and silver were literally ploughed out of the soil. When the Burgundian traveller, La Brocquière, passed through Serbia in 1433, he learnt "from well-informed persons" that the Despot obtained from the mine here over 200,000 ducats annually.^c

The mineral wealth of this district, and its economic importance in mediæval times, makes it all the more desirable that the site of the Roman Municipium, proved by the present inscription to have existed on or near the slopes of the "Silver Mountain," should be thoroughly explored. Unfortunately this European *terra incognita* is still in Asiatic possession, and I was prevented by the Turkish authorities from following up my investigation on the site of Sočanica itself.

^a *E. g.* Ramberti, *Delle Cose de Turchi*, p. 7 (In Vinegia, 1541): "Passamo la Montagna dell' Argento . . . si chiama dell' Argento perchio che continuamente vi stanno huomini in essa che cavano argento."

^b *Die Handelsstrassen Serbiens*, &c. p. 55. "Novo Brdo (Novaberda, Novabarda, in Lat. Urk.) Novus Mons, Novomonte der Italiener, Nyeuberge der sächsischen Bergleute, Νοβοπύργον, Νοβοπόροδον der Byzantiner, war, 1350-1450, die grösste und berühmteste städtische Ansiedelung des ganzen Innern der Halbinsel. Von ihren Schätzen erzählte man sich im Auslande ganz fabelhafte Geschichten; der Byzantiner Kritobulos schreibt Gold und Silber werde hier förmlich aus dem Boden hervorgeackert."

^c Bertrandon La Brocquière, Counsellor and First Esquire-Carver to Philip-le-Bon, Duke of Burgundy, *Travels to Palestine and return from Jerusalem overland to France during the years 1432-1433*. Translated by T. Johnes at the Hafod Press, 1807, p. 274. "The Despot of Servia possesses towards the common confines of Bulgaria, Sclavonia, Albania, and Bosnia, a town called Nyeuberge, which had a mine producing both gold and silver at the same time. Each year it pays him more than two hundred thousand ducats, as well-informed persons assured me; without this he would be soon driven out of his dominions."

From Sočanica the Ibar valley forms a natural avenue of approach to the historic plain known as the Kossovo Polje, or "Field of Thrushes," and in ancient times, as at present, two lines of road, the Ibar valley line and that which leads more directly from Novipazar, past the Roman thermal station at Banjska must have converged about the actual site of Mitrovica. On the Kossovo Polje itself^a was found a Roman sepulchral slab, described by the Serbian traveller, Milojević.^b In the centre of the southern part of this plain lies the village of Lipljan, which, as Dr. Jireček has pointed out, is simply the Slavonized form of the important Dardanian city of Ulpiana.^c

The old Byzantine church at Lipljan, to which I will return, as well as a neighbouring cistern, is largely composed of Roman fragments. Outside the church I

^a Since this paper was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a copy of the following interesting inscription found at Batus, in the Kossovo Polje, has been sent by Signor Paolo Orsi to the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* (1883, heft 1. p. 146), the ligatures here omitted :

I . O . M . V / PP
 D . D . ET . GEN//
 STATIONIS
 PRO S . DN . IMP .
 [SEVERI . ALE
 XANDRI] AVG
 VALERIANVS
 SPECVL . LEG . IIII
 /L . S . A . V . S . L . M . AVG .
 SEVERO . ALEXAND . AVG.
 //ET AVFID . MARCELLO

Which is there read :

J(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) d(omni) d(ivinæ) et Gen(io) Stationis pro s(alute) d(omini) n(ostri) Severi Alexandri Aug(usti) Valerianus specul(ator) Leg(ionis) IIII (F)l(aviæ) S(everianæ) A(lexandrianæ) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) Aug(usta) (sic) Severo Alexand(ro) [II] et Aufid(io) Marcello [II Co(n)s(ulibus)]. The D.D. in the second line seems to connect itself with the Municipium D.D. the existence of which I have now established in this neighbourhood. Perhaps the preceding letters should be read R.P., *i. e.* Rei Publicæ D.D. The inscription is of 226 A.D.

^b *Putopis Stare Srbije*, pl. i. (since published by Engelhardt, *Révue Archéologique*, 26 (1863), 141; *Eph. Ep.* ii. 500). It reads: VLP IONICE HAVE BENE VALEAS QVI ME / SALVTAS / D . M / CLAVDIA RVFINA / VIXIT . ANNIS . XXX / VLPIVS . IONICIANVS / VIXIT ANNIS XXV / VLPIVS RVFINVS / VIXIT ANNIS V . H . S . S / M . VLP . IONICVS CO/IVGI ET FILIS B . M / ET SIBI VIVVS / F . G.

^c *Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien, &c.* pp. 2, 68.

observed a fragmentary inscription (fig. 28), and the altar within was a Roman sepulchral monument turned upside down (fig. 29).^a



Fig. 28.

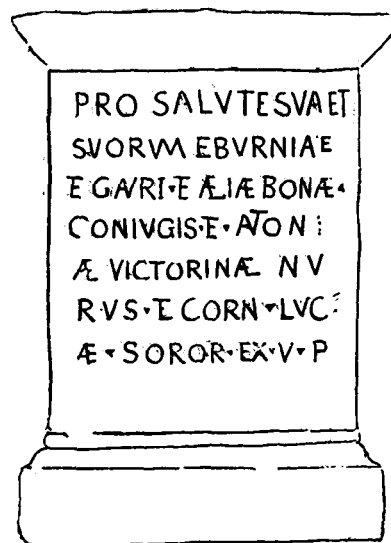


Fig. 29.

About a third of a mile to the North-East of the church is a knoll covered with ancient elms, from which quantities of Roman blocks, including three containing inscriptions, had been recently excavated. According to the engineer, who informed me of this fact, the inscriptions had been sent to Constantinople. Near this spot is a mill entirely composed of the same blocks. The knoll is known as Gradina, and was evidently a part of the Roman city. The clump of trees which covers it—the Lipljanski Dubovi, as they are called, is a landmark throughout the whole length of the Kossovo Polje, and is visible from Mitrovica at the far end of it. The Roman town appears to have extended some distance to the West of this spot, and to have covered the low hilly spur below which lies the village of Gustarica. According to the peasants, the whole of this hill is underlain with foundations of houses, while the fields are strewn with broken tiles and pottery. In the Serbian church at Lower Gustarica I found an altar of Jupiter, considerably obliterated (fig. 30), and by the roadside, a little above the village, was a fragment of another altar to the same God (fig. 31).

Further up the valley lies the little town of Janjevo, near the Latin church, of

^a The inscription has been published by Hilferding (*Bosnia, Herzegovina i Stareja Serbia*) (*Eph. Ep.* iv. 215) in an incorrect form.

which is an inscription already described by Von Hahn;^a while, outside the mosque, lies a fine piece of a Roman cornice. To the North-West of this, on the

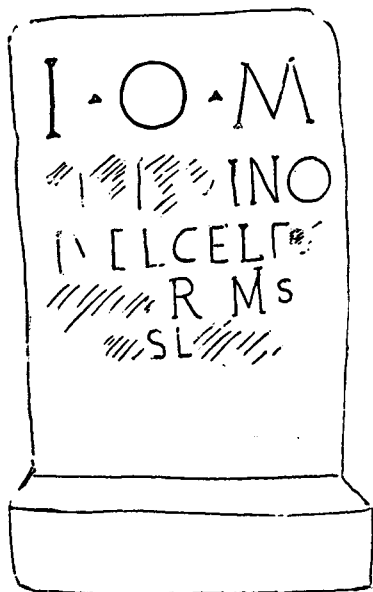


Fig. 30.



Fig. 31.

other side of a mountain spur, lies the old Serbian monastery of Gračanica, with its noble church, the foundation of King Miljutin and his wife Simonida Paleologa. It is obvious that the Serbian architect of this church has laid the neighbouring ruins of Ulpiana largely under contribution. Many Roman fragments are to be seen, both within and without the building, and in the Proavlion lies a large sepulchral block with an inscription.^b An intervening range of hills separates Gračanica Minster from the considerable Turkish town of Priština, the seat of the Vali of Kossovo and the true representative of Ulpiana in the modern economy of these regions. Here, opposite the mosque of Sultan Murad, I noticed an altar-like monument (fig. 32), which, as I learned from a native Mahometan, had been brought, about fifty years back, from Lipljan, and placed in its present position. Every letter of the inscription had been purposely defaced by the Turks. From

^a *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 240. C. I. L. iii. 1691. I was informed by the monks that this inscription had originally been found on Mount Veljetin above the town, where there are said to be other remains.

^b C. I. L. iii. 1695. I could no longer see 1694.

the few words, however, still decypherable, it appears to have been an epitaph in verse.

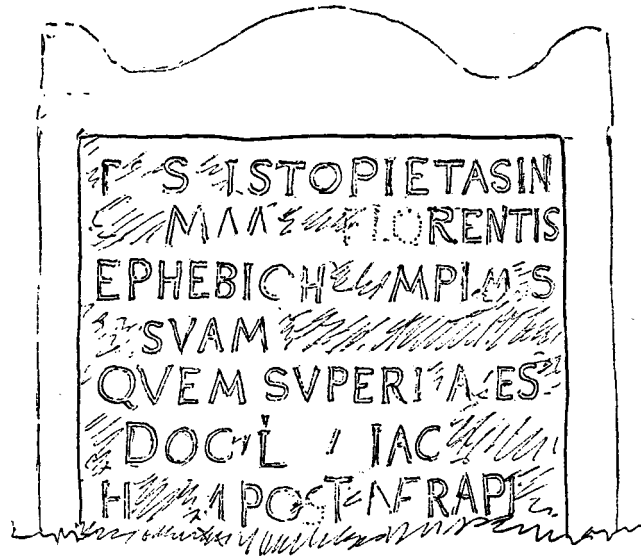


Fig. 32.

Near to the same mosque was a fountain, the trough of which had been formed out of a Roman sarcophagus, containing the lower part of an inscription (fig. 33).



Fig. 33.

A noteworthy feature of the monuments from the site of Ulpiana is their material, in many cases a very beautiful kind of rose-veined marble. It is the same stone of which the exquisite old Serbian church of Dečani is constructed, and was not improbably derived from the same inexhaustible quarries in the eastern gorges of the Shar. In other ways the immediate neighbourhood afforded a natural supply of building material, as I noticed clay-pits within a hundred yards of the knoll of Gradina, where brick-making of a rough kind was being carried on by the modern inhabitants of Lipljan.

The glen which leads from the site of Ulpiana to the little town of Janjevo

affords interesting evidence as to the industry of the ancient city. In places it is literally strewn with iron ore, and at one spot was pointed out to me an opening in the mountain side, said to be an old mine, with a passage leading an untold distance into the earth. At Janjevo itself there is a chalybeate spring and the whole district abounds in mines. Situated in one of the southernmost recesses of the *Montagna d'Argento*, not far from Novobrdo, it was already in the Middle Ages a centre of mining industry and the seat of a Ragusan colony,^a and the present occupation of the inhabitants, as well as the predominance of Latin Christianity among them, is an inheritance from præ-Turkish times. They enjoy a special reputation in the Peninsula as metal-workers, and, with their Vlach^b instinct for itinerant commerce, sell their cheap jewelry and church ornaments through all the countries between the Black Sea, the Ægean, and the Adriatic. The amount of ancient coins, to a great extent from this neighbourhood, in the possession of these Janjevo silversmiths, was truly astonishing, and shows the early commercial importance of this metalliferous region. Exclusive of the Roman and Byzantine coins, including a find of three or four thousand small brass pieces of the age of Valens and Valentinian, and another smaller find in which coins of Claudius Gothicus predominated, I observed Macedonian tetradrachms of Philip III. and Alexander, with Celtic imitations of a class which extends to Pannonia and the Lower Danube, and silver coins of Pæonia and Thasos.

Standing on the knoll of Gradina at Lipljan it is not difficult to realize the importance of the ancient Ulpiana in Illyrian geography. A watch-tower built at this spot would command the whole of the Kossovo plain. To the South the Pass of Kačanik affords an easy access to Macedonia, while the ranges to East and West dip down on either side and open into convenient passes towards the valleys of the Morava and Drin. It appears, in fact, from the *Tabula* and the Geographer of Ravenna^c that Ulpiana lay on a line of Roman road bringing Naissus (Nish) into connexion with the Adriatic port of Lissus (Alessio). That this high-road was not always an unmixed advantage to Ulpiana appears from a passage of the Gothic historian Jordanes, who informs us that Theodemir the Amalung (the father of Theodoric), having possessed himself of Naissus, sent forward some of his "Comites" by this route, who, passing through the intermediate station, Castrum

^a See Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, &c. p. 57.

^b Some of the inhabitants here are recognised to be Roumans; most understand the Rouman language. Their wanderings sometimes extend beyond the Russian frontier.

^c In Ravennas the name appears under the form *Ulciano*.

Herculis, captured Ulpiana and took considerable booty.^a It is probable that Ulpiana suffered from the great barbarian incursion of 517 and from the terrific earthquake described by the Illyrian chronicler, the Comes Marcellinus, which in the succeeding year destroyed twenty-four Dardanian strongholds.^b When Justinian set about his work of restoration in his native province the walls of Ulpiana were in a ruinous condition.^c The Emperor, not content with rebuilding the walls and generally embellishing the town, gave it the new and honorary name of *Justiniana Secunda*, raising it thus to the second dignity among Illyrian cities after his more famous metropolis *Justiniana Prima*.

The ecclesiastical importance of Ulpiana is shown by the mention of a bishop from this place at the Council of Serdica in 347 and again in the Œcumenic Synod that met at Constantinople in 553; and it is to be observed, as showing the persistence of the earlier name, that, although the city is officially referred to in the Acts of this Synod as *Justiniana Secunda*, the bishop, Paulus, signs himself *Episcopus Ecclesiæ Ulpianensis*. In the early Martyrologies and the *Acta Sanctorum* the two martyrs, Laurus and Florus, are associated with this ancient City. According to the legend,^d which is common to both the Eastern and Western Churches, Florus and Laurus, like so many other Illyrian saints, were stonemasons by profession,^e a fact not without interest in connection with the quarries of the neighbouring ranges of the Shar, the exquisite marble from which forms such an ornamental feature amongst the existing monuments of the Roman city. The two masons, then engaged in practising their craft in “the city of Ulpiana in Dardania,” were employed by the Emperor Licinius to build a temple.

^a Jordanes, *De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine*, c. lvi.: “in villam comites per Castrum Herculis transmittit Ulpiana.” The name is used in both its singular and plural form, Ulpianum, Ulpiana. Cf. *Schol. ad Ptolem.* iii. 9, 6; “τὸ Οὐλπιανόν, Οὐλπιάνια καλούμενον παρὰ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις.” (*Gloss. ad loc.*) The mention of *Castrum Herculis*, the *Ad Herculem* of the *Tabula*, the first station on the line Naissus-Ulpiana, fixes the route followed.

^b Marcellinus Comes, *Chron. sub anno*, 518. See p. 89.

^c Procopius, *De Œd.* iv. 1.: “ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Δαρδάνοις ἐκ παλαιῶ πόλις ἤπερ Οὐλπιάνια ὠνόμαστο; ταύτης τὸν περίβολον καθελὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπλεῖστον (ἦν γὰρ σφαλερὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ὄλως ἀχρεῖος) ἄλλα τε ἀντὶ παραπληθῆ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα ποιησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν νῦν μεταθήμενος εὐκοσμίαν, σεκοῦνδαν αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὴν ἐπωνόμασεν. σεκοῦνδαν γὰρ τὴν δευτέραν Λατῖνοι λέγουσι. He built another city near it which he named Justinopolis, in honour of his uncle Justinus, an indirect piece of evidence that Procopius is right in making Justinian's fatherland Dardania. (See p. 137.)

^d *Acta SS.* t. 35, p. 522. The Martyrium chiefly followed in the *Acta SS.* is headed: “Auctore Laurentio Monacho Rutiensi in Calabria,” and is written in Greek. The chronology is obscure, the account being divided between the reigns of Hadrian and Licinius!

^e τὴν λιθοξόων ἐκπαιδεύονται τέχνην. They had been originally in Constantinople but afterwards practised their craft at Ulpiana.

Having built it, however, the Saints one night collected a great number of poor people, to whom they were in the habit of giving alms, and in their presence pulled down the idols with which Licinius had filled the building, whereupon the Governor^a ordered them to be cast down a deep well.

In Justinian's time, the peace of the city seems to have been disturbed by ecclesiastical factions. Procopius informs us that a force that was being despatched by Justinian's orders to aid the Lombards against the Gepidæ, was detained at Ulpiana by the Emperor's orders, "by reason of an outbreak amongst the inhabitants, due," as he somewhat ironically expresses it, "to such questions as Christians are wont to dispute about."

The old Byzantine church of Lipljan is a very interesting memorial of the former ecclesiastical importance of the place, which was still a bishop's seat in the days of the Bulgarian empire and recovered Byzantine dominion.^b Internally

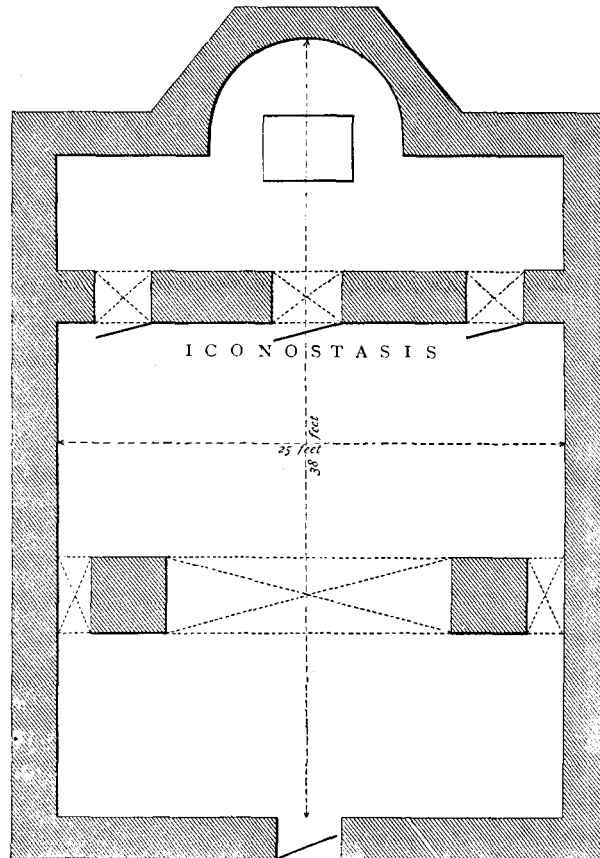


Fig. 34.

^a **Ἀρχων, ἡγεμών.*

^b See the chrysobull of Basil II. reorganising the Bulgarian Church (1020). Jireček, *Gesch. d. Bulgaren*, p. 202.

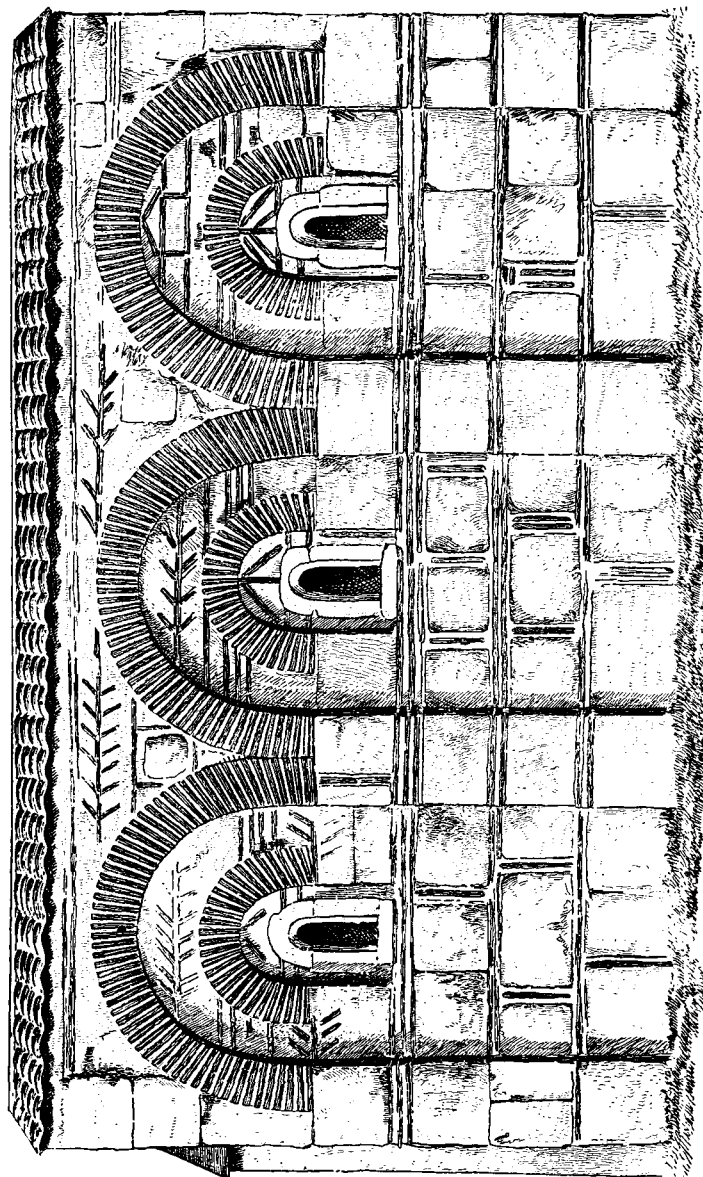


Fig. 35.

the church shows a regular Orthodox arrangement, the roof being supported by two massive piers and the *iconostasis* wall, the *Proavlion*, however, being a later addition. In external form it resembles a small basilica, terminating in a trilateral apse, a feature which it shares with many early Byzantine churches at Thessalonica and elsewhere, but which also reappears as a characteristic of the mediæval Slavonic foundations of the Skopia district. In one important respect, however, the church of Lipljan differs from all the Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian churches of the interior of the Peninsula with which I am acquainted. It is entirely devoid of cupola or dome. Moreover, in the construction of its walls, it combines to an extraordinary degree the characteristics of late-Roman work. The alternating layers of stones and narrow bricks, the herring-bone arrangement of the latter and the exterior arches, inclosing the small round-headed windows, make upon one the impression of extreme antiquity; and, although these features are reproduced to a greater or less extent in the mediæval churches of this region, it may safely be said that not one of them so completely transports the spectator to præ-Slavonic times as the church which marks the site and perpetuates the name and traditions of Roman Ulpiana.

The regions that lie to the West of Lipljan, and which the Roman road from Ulpiana had to traverse on its way to the Adriatic port of Lissus, are amongst the wildest and most inaccessible of the Balkan Peninsula, and are peopled for the most part by savage and fanatical Albanian mountaineers, amongst whom the work of exploration is often one of considerable risk. Hitherto the course of the Roman Way from Lipljan to Alessio, and the site of the Roman settlements in the intervening region, have not far advanced beyond the stage of pure conjecture. The accepted view, however, is that the road followed much the same route as that at present followed to Prisren, and thence proceeded along the existing track to the neighbourhood of Spas below Mount Krabi, identified with the *Crevenum* of the *Tabula*, and thence to Puka, identified with *Picaria*.^a Nothing, however, so far as I am aware, beyond a certain *à priori* probability and a questionable similarity of names, has been brought forward in favour of this hypothesis. No portion of the Roman road itself has been described.

On the other hand, I have now obtained a certain amount of positive evidence which tends to show that the original Roman road-line across the North Albanian Alps ran considerably to the North of the route hitherto connected with it. My friend the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans at Scutari has informed me of a fine piece of Roman road running broad and straight, though now grass-grown,

^a Cf. Jireček, *Die Heertrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel*, p. 23.

along stretches of the mountain from Dusmani on the northern bank of the Drin, a few hours to the north of Puka, thence to Toplana in the Shalla Valley, and so on to Brizza in the district of Merturi, and the neighbourhood of Nikai, from which it can be traced into the district of Krasnichi.^a It is known to the Albanians as Drumi Kaurit, or “Giaour’s Way.”^b There can be little doubt that this fine stretch of Roman road represents a section of the line from Lissus to Ulpiana, and the fact that it traverses the Krasnichi country prepares us to find it emerging in the neighbourhood rather of Djakova than of Prisren.

The broad open country in which Prisren, Djakova, and Ipek lie, and which is known by the general name of Metochia, has in all mediæval times played an important part in the history of the Peninsula. Prisren itself was the Czarigrad or Imperial City of Czar Dušan. At Dečani, not far from Djakova, rose the royal Serbian church of Stephen Uroš III., the noblest ecclesiastical foundation of the interior of the Peninsula, while at the north-eastern extremity of the plain Ipek or Peć became the seat of the Serbian Patriarchs. The physical conditions which favoured this mediæval civic and ecclesiastical development must have been equally operative in Roman times, and we must therefore be prepared to find that considerable Roman *municipia* existed in Metochia. The abundance of ancient coins discovered throughout this district is at least noteworthy; they include Pæonian and Macedonian pieces, coins of the Illyrian mining-cities Damastion and Pelagia, Celtic imitations of the coins of Philip of Macedon, coins of Thasos, and quantities of the silver pieces from Dyrrhachion and Apollonia, all tending to prove that already in præ-Roman times Metochia was traversed by trade-routes connecting it with the Adriatic and Ægean and intervening countries. Coins of Roman date are equally abundant.

At Prisren itself the only Roman monuments that I was able to discover after a long investigation were on the extreme outskirts of the town on the Djakova

^a In Krasnichi is a ruin known as Giutet (Rouman, Civtat, Civetate = Latin, *Civitas*), but the Latin word is used in North Albania to signify any ruined castle.

^b Drumi = Sl. Drum = Byz. *δρόμος*.

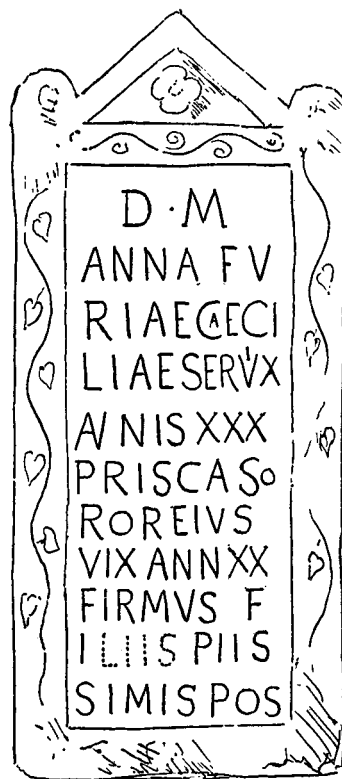


Fig. 36.

side, and consisted of two sepulchral blocks outside the little mosque in the Jeni Mahala. One of these was hopelessly obliterated, the other I was able to copy (fig. 36). The Roman traces in the Djakova district are more frequent, but the difficulties in the way of exploration, owing to the fanatical temper of the population, are at present almost insuperable. M. Jastrebov,^a the Russian consul at Prisren, who has occupied himself with the Slavonic antiquities of the district,

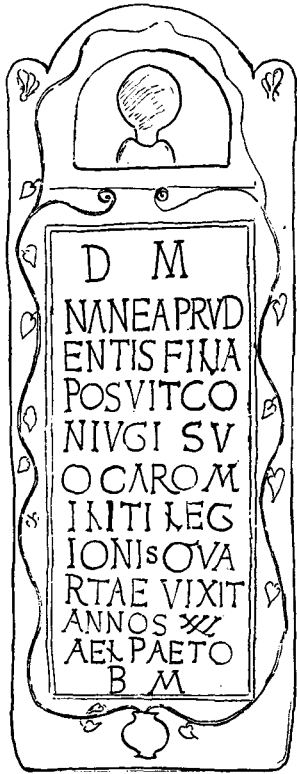


Fig. 37.

and to whose assistance I was much indebted, had already discovered two Roman inscriptions in the village of Orahovac, interesting as supplying Illyrian name-forms, and one of them affording a suggestive indication that the predatory habits of the indigenes are of no modern growth. M. Jastrebov further informed me that a Roman inscription existed at Skifiani, between Djakovo and Dečani,^b but the circumstances of the times did not admit of its being copied. About an hour's distance from Orahovac is the fine old Turkish bridge^c of Svajan across the White Drin, immediately below a hill known as Gradiš or Gradić, from the bastion-like rocks with which it is girt. The present bridge, traditionally known as King Milutin's work, may be the successor of an earlier fabric. The blue waters of the Drin emerge at this point from a narrow rocky defile cut by them through an island-like range of low limestone hills, and the point is one which an engineer would naturally seize on for the construction of a bridge. I was at least successful in connecting it with Roman remains. In the neighbouring village of Džeržan I observed, and was able to copy, an interesting Roman sepulchral slab with an inscription of a naive and

informal character referring to a soldier of the Fourth Legion (fig. 37), which the inhabitants informed me had been taken out of the Drin by the bridge of Svajan.

^a *Podatci za istoriju Srpske Crkve* (Contributions to the History of the Serbian Church), Belgrade, 1879, p. 65. M. Jastrebov informed me that he believed Roman remains to exist at Suharjeka, on the present route from Prisren to Lipljan. He had not, however, discovered any traces of a Roman line of way taking this route.

^b At Dečani itself I could find no Roman monuments.

^c Absurdly described as "Roman" by Isambert.

The peculiar interest of the stone is that it is to my knowledge the only monument from this region referring to the Fourth Legion; while, on the other hand, monuments referring to the *Legio VII. Claudia* abound (as will be seen ^a) in the neighbouring Dardanian basins of the Lepenac and Vardar. The headquarters of the Fourth Legion were at Singidunum (Belgrade), and the occurrence of a detachment in the plain of Metochia suggests some old line of road communication across Western Serbia.^b

At Peć (Ipek) itself I heard of a Roman sepulchral monument with an inscription, which had been recently found on the hill of Jarina, or Jerina, the old "Grad" or castle named after Irênê Branković, that rises above the town, but I was not able to copy it. About three hours to the North of this are the ruins of the Old Serbian church and monastery of Studenica; and here, a few years since, the Serbian traveller, Milojević,^c found several^d Roman inscriptions. Milojević, who appears to have had his head full of "Czaritza Militza" and "Kral Vlkašin," has supplied, it is true, a very distorted version of two of the three inscriptions that he copied. I append them here, however, as his discovery seems to have been entirely overlooked by antiquaries.^e The ruined monastery, where these remains exist, was formerly the seat of the Old Serbian bishopric of Chvostno.

At the village of Crnaluga, a little to the South of this, at the point where the road from Ipek to Mitrovica crosses the White Drin, about an hour from its source, is an old Turkish cemetery overlying some more ancient remains. The earth here had recently fallen in near one of the graves, and revealed an underground vault communicating with another; and the Arnaouts, who naturally came here to look for treasure, broke into another not far from the first discovered. Descending into the first by a hole in the vaulting, I found myself in a low, barrel-vaulted, rectangular chamber, constructed of small roughly-hewn blocks, and with an aperture opening into another apparently similar chamber. In the first of these, which was half filled with rubble, I found a large piece of a Roman cornice, the

^a See succeeding paper.

^b The discovery of an inscription on the Kossovo Polje referring to this same legion (see p. 58 note ^a), now adds additional probability to this conclusion.

^c *Putopis Stare Srbije* (Travels in Old Serbia), p. 166.

^d Milojević only copied the three that appeared to him most perfect.

^e 1. D . M/VELS SADRAGI/TA MAG . DOM . VIX /AN XXXII ET SV /FIL BLAZZIZA V . / . . . PROCVL . VIX
2. MARCVS FLAV/ET IVLIVS SER/G . VIX ANN XXII. 3. MERCVL . HAVE . BENEV/ALEA . . . /SALVTAS /D . M /MILIZZA BOSSINA /VIXIT ANNIS XXII YIPI/S . . . CIA VIX ANNIS XXV /VLPVVS VVLCASSINVS /VIX . ANN . XXX /FLISB MER . . . VIVOS /F . C. For the formula with which No. 3 begins compare that on the inscription from the Kossovo Polje (p. 58), VLP IONICE HAVE BENE VALEAS QVI ME SALVTAS.

underside of which had been hollowed out apparently to form a mediæval sarcophagus. The other vault into which I descended was of a more original kind, oval in shape, and with a flattish vaulting of rough unhewn stones. It was, however, almost choked with earth and rubble. Whatever the date of these subterranean chambers—the purpose of which was probably sepulchral—the Roman cornice affords certain proof of the vicinity of a Roman settlement; a fact which is further explained by the existence of the copious hot springs of Illidži, about half-an-hour above this spot. At Banja again, a few hours distant among the hills to the North-East of this, is another thermal source,^a used as a bath, and believed to have great healing powers, where I observed broad steps, apparently of ancient date, cut in the rock.

The traces of the former existence of a Roman civic settlement in the neighbourhood of Studenica and Crnaluga derive additional interest from the existence of ancient silver mines in the neighbouring range of the Mokra Gora. The village where these mines formerly existed is known as Suhogrlo, or Srmogrbovo; and lies at the opening of a pass called Klissura, which leads into the upper valley of the Ibar. Two neighbouring villages, Maidan and Rudnik, derive their names respectively from the Turkish and Serbian word for mines, and traces of the ancient workings can still be seen on the flanks of the mountain. Ipek, itself, is still celebrated throughout the Peninsula for its silver filigree work, and I saw a silver cross of elaborately Byzantine workmanship, that had been recently made here for the Prince of Montenegro. Once more we find the Roman remains of this part of Illyricum connecting themselves with its mineral treasures.

I was further informed by the Franciscan priest at Ipek, that at Glina, a village about five hours distant to the South-East, were stones with obliterated inscriptions, that appeared to him to be Roman. The traces of the former existence of a Romance-speaking population are nowhere more apparent than in the southern part of this Metochia district, where, as the famous Prisren chryso-bull of Czar Dušan^b shows, a Rouman population still existed in the Middle Ages. Of this population there are still isolated relics and it is remarkable that, at Ipek, a tradition prevails among the inhabitants that they were formerly “Vlachs.” Several of the village names, like *Sermiani*, *Skifiani*, *Nepote*, *Piran*, *Larena*, seemed to me to deserve investigation. In the neighbouring ranges of Dukagine,

^a The temperature is only 76° Fahr.

^b See Hajdeu, *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la anul 1348, emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan*, &c. (in *Archiva istorica a Romaniei*, Bucuresci, 1867).

amongst, at present, Albanian-speaking clans, there is some equally remarkable evidence of the former existence of Romance-speaking tribes, and, although, taken as a whole, the Latin elements in Albania seem to represent rather a Romance dialect once spoken in the maritime district included in the Byzantine Theme of Durazzo, more East Rouman influences, due to contact with the Vlachs of Dardania, cannot be excluded. The word *giutet*, the Macedo-Rouman *civtat*, or *civitate*, is frequently used in North Albania in its derivative sense of a castle rather than a city; and I found the most inaccessible glen to which I penetrated in these Alps known by the purely Romance name of *Valbona*.^a At Ipek itself, I heard the word *copili* (which is simply the Rouman *copillii*^b = children) applied by my Albanian guards as a term of reproach for the street Arabs. The deep impress left by these Romance-speaking provincials on the Eastern Albanian tribes of the Shar ranges goes far to show that the bordering Dardanian regions formed part of the original *Provincia Latinorum*, the “Mavrovlachia” of which the earliest Dalmatian chronicler speaks.^c Here, we may venture to believe, a portion of the migratory Rouman race existed more nearly *in situ*, if the expression is allowable, than in most of the regions to which it has successively spread. The Patriarchate of Ipek was known to the Serbs as “*Stara Vlaška*,” and thus fits on to that “Old Wallachia” of which I have already spoken.^d We are here within the area of continuous Roman and Rouman habitation, to be distinguished from that far wider region in which the appearance of this East Latin element may, as in Istria, for example, and Galicia, be fairly ascribed to later immigration.^e

^a I have given some account of Valbona and the Rouman traces to be found in that part of the North Albanian Alps in a letter to the Pall Mall Gazette, “From the North Albanian Alps” (Sept. 14, 1880). In the map appended to this communication the upper Valley of the Valbona is for the first time given with approximate accuracy. In the last edition of the Austrian Stabskarte its place is occupied by a huge mountain mass.

^b *Copillu* is said to be derived from the Latin *pupillus*, on the analogy of *poturnichia* from *coturnicula*.

^c Presbyter Diocleas., *Regnum Slavorum* (Lucius, p. 288.)

^d See p. 24.

^e These local traces of Albanian and Rouman juxtaposition, and the deductions at which I had quite independently arrived on linguistic grounds, entirely agree with the general results arrived at by Cihac in his analysis of the Rouman language. (*Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-romane*, préf. p. xiii.): “Le point capital et le plus important qui nous permet de juger des relations entre Roumains et Albanais dans le passé,—relations qui doivent avoir été des plus intimes,—sont les éléments concernant la langue que l'albanais possède de commun avec le roumain. Dans mes éléments latins de la langue roumaine et dans l'ouvrage présent, j'ai indiqué environ 500 mots latins, 1,000 mots slaves, 300 mots turcs, 280 mots grecs-moderne et 20 à 25 mots magyars pour l'albanais qui sont identiques

From the evidence at our disposal we are justified in concluding that at least two Roman Municipia existed in the spacious plain of Metochia; one in the neighbourhood of Ipek, and the other of Djakova. It is probable that this latter settlement answered to the Theranda of the *Tabula*, the last station on the road from Lissus to Ulpiana, although in default of further local evidence the course of the road across the range which separates the plain of Metochia from the Kossovo Polje can only be approximately fixed. The further course of this line of Way from Ulpiana to Naissus must be left to a future investigation. I may, however, here call attention to the fact that a line drawn from Lipljan to Nish passes through the very important ruins of a Roman Castrum and Prætorium existing at Zlato, and which, probably, answers to the station called Acmeon in Ravennas and Hammeo in the *Tabula* of Peutinger.^a We are at present, however, more especially concerned with the great southern line of communication connecting Ulpiana, and, in a more remote degree, the Dalmatian and Pannonian cities, with Scupi, and eventually Thessalonica,—a line not mentioned, at least in its later stages, by the ancient Itineraries, but of the existence of which I have already, I trust, adduced sufficient evidence.

From Ulpiana this Macedonian highway runs through the pass of Kačanik, which forms the natural avenue of communication between the Kossovo Polje and the more southern Dardanian plain, on which stood the metropolitan city of Scupi, the present Skopia.

At Old Kačanik, which lies at the northern opening of the pass, there is abundant evidence of the former existence of a Roman settlement. Many ancient fragments are here visible; one of these (fig. 38) is the square base and pedestal of a votive column, of the purest white marble, dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for the health of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and of the Empress Julia Domna, who here receives her favourite title, *Mater Castrorum*. It was found at a spot in the district of Runjevo, about two

avec les vocables correspondants roumains. Cette circonstance, assurément très-remarquable, ne peut être nullement fortuite, surtout en ce qui concerne les éléments latins qui ont subi dans les deux langues un changement d'acception presque analogue." It is precisely this last circumstance that excludes Hajdeu's hypothesis that the community between the two languages is to be referred to an original relationship between the Illyrian and old Dacian languages.

^a See p. 160.

kilometers above Kačanik.^a The Consulship of Pompeianus and Avitus, in which this column was erected, took place in the year 209 A.D.

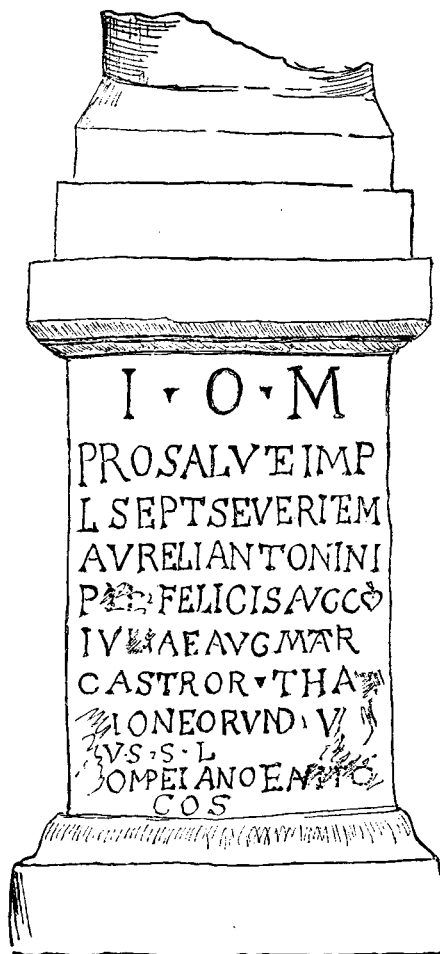


Fig. 38.

*Iovi Optimo Maximo PRO SALVTE IMP. L. SEPTIMI SEVERI
ET M. AVRELI ANTONINI P(II) FELICIS AVGVSTORVM . IVLIAE AVGVSTAE
MATRI CASTRORVM TH . . . ION EORVND(EM) VET(ERANVS) VOTVM S(USCEPTVM)
S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) . (P)OMPEIANO ET AV(ITO) CONS(ULIBUS).*

^a This monument has been described by Henzen in *Eph. Ep.* ii. p. 330, "ad ectypon quod misit Morten Noe." My copy, however, which I made and very carefully collated on the spot, differs in line 9 and in other details. This monument, as well as the milestone (fig. 40), has been lately removed to the garden of the railway engineer at Kačanik; this place lying on the new line from Salonica to Mitrovica.

Another monument (fig. 39), a small altar, 21 inches high by 12 broad, proved to be of the highest interest, as containing a dedication to a hitherto unknown, probably Illyrian, God. The inscription informs us that it was consecrated by a Beneficiarius Consularis of the VIIth Claudian Legion to the God "Andinus." It is to be observed that what is apparently the same word, under slightly variant forms, is to be found in the feminine names *Andena*, *Anduenna*, and the compound *Andunocnes*, amongst the Illyrian personal names (belonging mostly to the mining race of the Pirustæ) found on the Dacian monuments and wax tablets. The similarity between these name-forms and the *Deus Andinus* of the present monument gives us ground for assuming that we have here the name of an Illyrian divinity which also entered into the composition of some native proper names. It is probable that the Legionary who raised the altar (to whatever rationality he himself may have belonged) was desirous of conciliating the indigenous Dardanian god of the place where he was stationed, just as in Britain we find Roman soldiers raising monuments to local gods like Belatucader or Antinociticus.

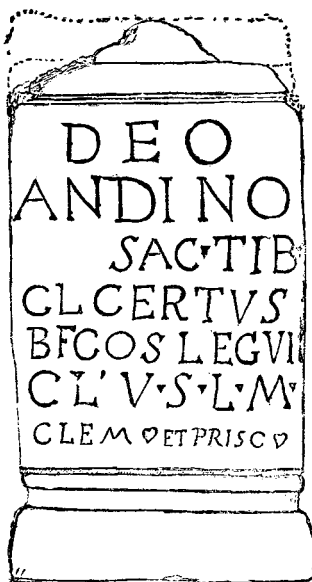


Fig. 39.

DEO ANDINO SACRUM. TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS CERTVS
 BENEFICIARIVS CONSULARIS LEGIONIS VII CLAVDIAE, VOTVM
 SOLVIT LIBENS MERITO. CLEMENTE ET PRISCO (CONSULIBUS).^a

^a Clemens and Priscus do not appear together in the *Fasti Consulares*. In 195 A.D. we find Tertullus and *Clemens* Consuls; in 196 Dexter and *Priscus*; it is probable, therefore, that the

Considering that Dardania, the region with which we are at present concerned, was included during the first centuries of the Empire within the limits of Mœsia Superior, and that the chief Mœsian City, Viminacium (the modern Kostolac on the Danube) was the headquarters of the *Legio VII. Claudia*, it is natural enough

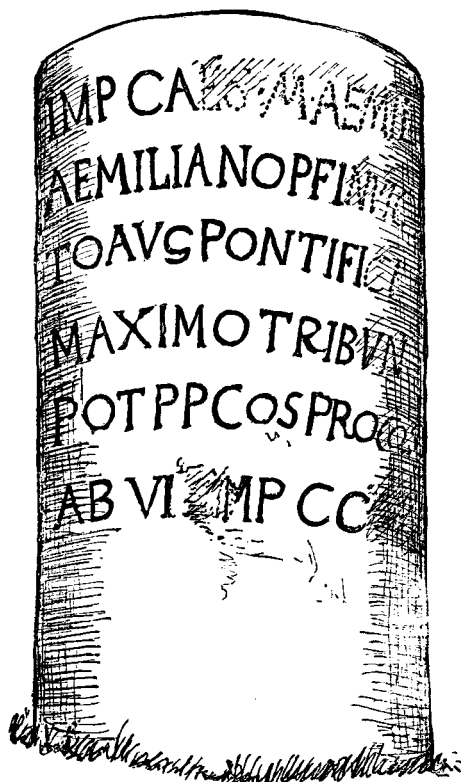


Fig. 40.

IMPERatori CAES. M. AEMILIO | AEMILIANO P. FELICI INVICTO | AVGVSTO PONTIFICI
 MAXIMO TRIBVNICIA | POTestate Pater Patriae CONSUL PROCONSUL AB VIMINACIO M.P. CC . .

inscription belongs to one or the other of these years. Since this paper was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a copy of this and the milestone on p. 74 has appeared in the *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, part i. p. 145, on the strength of somewhat imperfect paper-casts sent by Signor Paolo Orsi of Rovereto. The name is there wrongly given ANDENVVS and COS is added after PRISCO, which I did not see on the stone. With regard to the date Dr. Otto Hirschfeld remarks: "Vielleicht von J. 73? Der Name des Collegen im ersten Consulat des M. Arrecinus Clemens ist nicht bekannt." But from the character of the letters the inscription cannot be of earlier date than the end of the second century of our æra. Sig. Orsi's copy of the milestone of Æmilian is still more imperfect, the important part being omitted.

that we should find a reference to this Legion among the Kačanik monuments. I am able to describe another monument, a milestone lately discovered in the bed of the Lepenac about two miles above Kačanik, which supplies another and important link of connexion with the great Danubian city. The milestone itself is about three feet high, and is remarkable as presenting the name of the Emperor Æmilian, whose reign extended over less than four months, and of whom very few monuments have been hitherto discovered. Æmilian, we are informed, was chosen Emperor in Mœsia,^a and the present inscription affords interesting evidence that, short as was his dominion, he was able to confer some lasting engineering benefit on his Mœsian province.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the VI . . of the last line of the inscription is to be completed VI(M). for VIMINACIO.^b Viminacium,^c itself, being the meeting-point of the great roads leading in one direction to Singidunum, Sirmium and Italy, in the other to Naissus and Constantinople, and in others again to the cities of Trajan's Dacia, and of the lower Danube, would be the natural *terminus a quo* of any Mœsian road-line. From Scupi itself there was probably, as I shall show,^d a shorter route to Naissus and Viminacium by the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, which answers to that described in the *Tabula*; but from a Municipium at or near Kačanik the natural route would be *viâ* Ulpiana. The present milestone may therefore be taken as lying on a road which in one sense was a line of communication between Scupi, Ulpiana, and the Dalmatian borders, but which also served as an alternative route to the Danubian place of arms, and on which the mileage was naturally reckoned from Viminacium. The distance given, as far as can at present be decyphered—two hundred and odd Roman miles—tallies very well with the actual distance to Viminacium. From Kačanik, where this *milliarium* was found, to Lipljan, the site of Ulpiana, is about twenty-two Roman miles. From.

^a Aur. Victor, *Epitome*, c. xxxi; Eutropius, ix. 5; Zozimus, lib. i. speaks of Æmilian as Παιωνικῶν ἡγούμενος τάξεων = *Dux Pannonicorum ordinum*, and mentions a great victory gained by him over the barbarians who were then overrunning Illyricum.

^b Forms like ABVERTO show the possibility of AB before V which was pronounced as W. AB VLCINIO is a possible but not probable alternative.

^c Some account of the antiquities of Viminacium has been given by Kanitz, *Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde der Serbischen Donau*, in *Mitth. d. k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 28 *seqq.* It was Trajan's chief base of operations in his Dacian campaigns, and was one of the principal stations of the Danubian fleet, as well as the headquarters of the Seventh Legion. The *Leg. VII. Claudia* is referred to on its autonomous coins and monuments, and tiles are found here with its stamp.

^d See p. 153 *seqq.*

Ulpiana onwards the *Tabula Peutingeriana* supplies us with the total distance by road to Naissus of seventy-nine miles; and the same authority gives one hundred and thirteen miles as the distance from Naissus by road to Viminacium.^a This gives us altogether two hundred and fourteen miles.

It is probable that the road to which this milestone belonged crossed the Lepenac near the spot where it was found. Between Kačanik and Eles Han the Roman Way itself is very clearly perceptible, coasting the mountain side above the right bank of the stream. In places a regular terrace is cut out of the rocky steep at a mean elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet above the Lepenac. At times the road descends at a considerable gradient, though still straight and even as a hand-rule, and in parts showing its original pavement. Near Eles Han it appears to have crossed the river by a bridge now destroyed; and here, on the left bank of the stream, and near the modern road which henceforth follows the Roman track through the pass, is still to be seen a remarkable milliary column. The copy which I append is the result of repeated visits to the stone, which, it

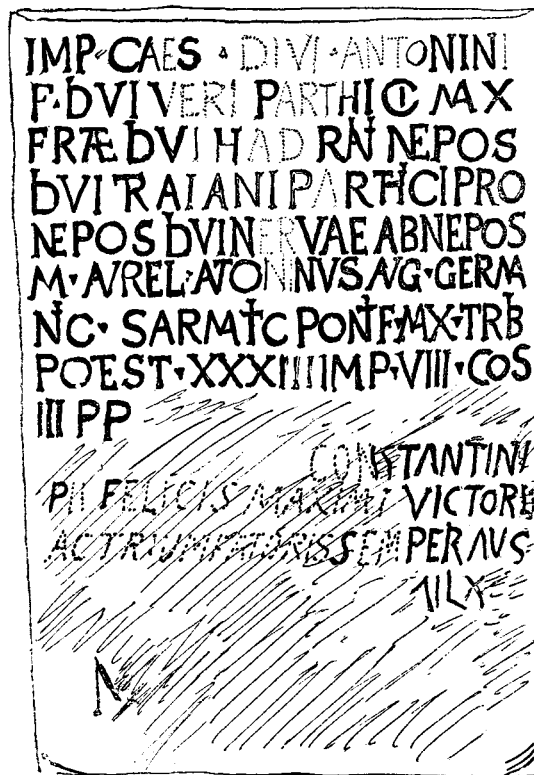


Fig. 41.

^a In the *Itinerary of Antonine*, 118, m.p.

will be seen, bears inscriptions of two periods, one in honour of Marcus Aurelius, and the other, apparently, of Constantine.^a

A few miles beyond Eles Han the pass opens into the broad plain of the Upper Vardar, across which the Roman Way pursued its course to the site of Scupi, the old Dardanian Metropolis, while the modern road, leaving the old line to the right, leads past the arches of an ancient aqueduct to the modern city of Skopia, or Üsküp.

^a A copy of this inscription has been given by Henzen in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, from a paper-cast that had been sent him by an engineer.

IV.—SCUPI, SKOPIA,
AND
THE BIRTHPLACE OF JUSTINIAN,
WITH NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINE SCUPI—NAISSUS
—REMESIANA.

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NOTES ON THE ROAD-LINE

SCUPI—NAISSUS—REMESIANA.

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SCUPI, SKOPIA, AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF JUSTINIAN.

On emerging from the pass of Kačanik to the South the traveller finds himself in the spacious plain of Skopia, the Turkish Üsküp, and the modern and mediæval successor of Scupi, the Dardanian metropolis. Whether regarded from the point of view of strategy or commerce the position is splendid, and the town forms the natural key to a large part of Western Illyricum. To the North the Lepenac cleaves a passage between the Easternmost promontories of the Shar and the Karadagh of Skopia—a passage threaded as we have seen by a Roman road which brought the Dardanian capital into connexion with the Dalmatian ports on one side, and on the other with Singidunum and the great Pannonian cities. To the West the Vardar and its tributaries open a way through what is now the plain of Tetovo, to little-explored Illyrian regions, once probably the scene of extensive mining industry. To the East the forest-covered ranges of the Karadagh dip down to form an easy avenue of communication,—through what was once erroneously supposed to be the central chain of the Balkans,—with the Upper Valley of the Bulgarian Morava, and thence *viâ* Nish, the ancient Naissus, with the great staple and stronghold of the Middle Danube in Roman times, Viminacium. To the South the Iron Gates of the Vardar, the Axios of classic times, bring the Dardanian city into connexion with the Pæonian emporium of Stobi, the Macedonian plains, and ultimately, Thessalonica. Thus, it will be seen, that the site of Scupi lies at the crossing-point of great natural routes across the Western part of the Illyrian Peninsula. To those approaching the Ægean port from the Middle Danube it occupied a position almost precisely analogous to that held by Serdica on the military road to Constantinople. In making, as I hope to show, the Dardanian Metropolis the seat of government for his new-constituted Illyrian præfecture, Justinian displayed a true appreciation of the important function which the land of his birth and the city of his affection were destined by nature to play in the economy of the Western half of the Peninsula. Eight centuries later we find the Serbian Kral Dušan, placing on his brow the imperial crown of all the Illyrian lands, within the walls of Skopia.

The first account of the antiquities of Skopia was due to the English traveller, Dr. Edward Brown, son of Sir Thomas, who published a relation of his travels in

the Balkan lands in 1673,^a and who gives as a reason for describing this place somewhat at length that earlier geographers had "passed it over in few words." "And I could never," he adds, "meet with any who had been at it." Brown identified Skopia with the Scupi of Ptolemy, and after recounting the beauties of the existing town proceeds to describe some of its antiquities. He mentions an arch "which seemeth to be ancient, and a rivulet running under it"; also, "a large stone which seemeth to be part of a pillar with the inscription SHIANC." "A little way out of the city," he continues, "there is a noble aqueduct of stone with about 200 arches, made from one hill to another over the lower ground or valley." The arch is gone, and the aqueduct hardly answers to Brown's dimensions, but the inscribed pillar, a part of a Roman milestone, to which I shall have occasion to refer,^b is still a conspicuous object in the streets of Skopia.

From Dr. Edward Brown's time to a quite recent date, the antiquities of Skopia received no further illustration. Ami Boué, who visited this place, described a fragment of an inscription, referring to the Emperor Severus, walled into the aqueduct.^c One or two inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Skopia have since been communicated to the *Révue Archéologique*, by M. Engelhardt, French Consul-General at Belgrade, on the authority of a Serbian Professor of the Belgrade Lyceum; only one of these however has any claim to be regarded as an accurate reproduction of the text.^d Add to this, one inscription communicated by the Austrian Consul, Herr Lippich,^e and two from a village near the confluence of the Pčinja and Vardar, with two fragments of milestones, and I believe I shall have exhausted the catalogue of the known epigraphic materials from Skopia and the whole region round it.

Of the scantiness indeed of the hitherto known materials no better proof could be given than the fact that Professor Tomaschek, of Gratz, has recently written a learned dissertation to prove that the site of the ancient Scupi was neither at Skopia nor in its vicinity, but that it ought rather to be sought somewhere in the

^a *A brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, &c.* by Edward Brown, M.D. of the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty. London 1673.

^b See p. 102. The SHIANC of Dr. Edward Brown is evidently derived from the TRAIANO of the stone.

^c *Turquie d'Europe*, T. 2, p. 354.

^d *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. ii. 498.

^e Dr. Kenner *Inscripfen aus der Vardarschlucht*, Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1875, p. 276.

valley of the Bulgarian Morava.^a The materials that I have at present collected will supply, I trust, the final solution of this problem in ancient geography, and will sufficiently establish the historic connexion between Skopia and the ancient Scupi. But it does not therefore follow that the sites of the present city and of its original Roman predecessor are absolutely identical. The fine position of the akropolis hill of Skopia, the noble stone bridge across the Vardar, the ancient walls and buildings, the general air of antiquity that pervades the place, had all indeed combined to induce earlier and later travellers to identify the actual site of Scupi with the Turkish Üsküp, and I must confess that I was at first inclined to do the same. It was not till after a prolonged exploration of the town and neighbourhood that I gradually acquired the proofs that the site of the original Roman Colony must be sought outside the limits of the modern city. There are, in fact, in Skopia itself no remains of classical antiquity that can fairly be regarded as *in situ*. The oldest of the buildings are at most Byzantine. The vast majority of the existing architectural monuments are Turkish, and the bridge itself, which has been described as Roman, dates no farther back than the great days of Turkish dominion, when, with the aid of Italian and Dalmatian architects, Ottoman Beglerbegs and Pashas were raising such engineering monuments in the Peninsula as had not been seen there since the days of Trajan and Diocletian.

Thanks to the friendly protection of the Mutessarif of Üsküp, Féik Pasha, I was able to devote two months in the course of last year to the systematic exploration of the plain of Üsküp, and the surrounding mountain ranges. The archæological results of this exploration have been not inconsiderable and relate to more than one epoch. The number of ancient churches and monasteries dating from early Serb, Bulgarian, and Byzantine times still preserved in the glens of the Karadagh and the southern offshoots of the Shar Planina is truly surprising, and hardly less so the fact that these interesting monuments should so long have been overlooked by European travellers. In mediæval frescoes representing Serbian and Byzantine princes the churches are peculiarly rich. At Liubiten is a ruined church containing full-length representations of the Emperor Stefan Dušan, his Empress, and his young son Uroš in their robes of state. At Markov Manastir, or Marko's Monastery, King Vukašin and his son, the hero of South Slavonic Epic, are both represented, and the epitaph of "King's Son Marko," may still be

^a *Zur Kunde der Hämus Halbinsel.* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1881. H. 2, p. 437-499.) Prof. Tomaschek proposed to seek the site of Scupi near Leskovac in Serbia. Skopia he places in Pæonia.

decyphered. In the ruinous Minster Church of Matejci I came upon a genealogical tree containing full-length fresco portraits of the imperial race of the Comneni, the counterpart of the Nemanid tree in the royal Serbian foundation of Dečani. At Naresi in the Karsjak range above Skopia, is another fine Byzantine Church containing a Comnenian inscription to which I shall return.

It is, however, with the Roman remains of earlier date that we are at present more immediately concerned. Of these remains the whole region that surrounds the site of the ancient Scupi turned out to be equally prolific, and I found that in not a few cases the mediæval Serb and Byzantine builders had profited by the relics of Roman civilization with which the neighbourhood of their later foundations abounded. In investigating the Roman monuments and inscriptions in this district I had often indeed to contend with the jealous and secretive spirit of the peasants, who, having been for centuries exploited by an alien and despotic government, are apt to regard inquiries concerning their ancient monuments as a prelude to further exactions or forced labour. There is, besides, a widespread belief that all ancient inscriptions are in some way connected with the concealment of treasure, and the peasants are naturally anxious to reserve for themselves whatever "unearned increment" is to be derived from such sources. In the wilder Albanian regions North of the Shar range the prevalence of such ideas is a source of real danger to the too inquisitive traveller. In the Skopia district, however, where the population is mainly Slavonic, the chief obstacle with which I had to contend was the reticence observed by the peasants regarding their ancient monuments. Thus, on more than one occasion I had to undertake rides of eight or nine hours' duration two or three times over, in order to visit villages where I knew that ancient inscriptions existed, before I was successful in discovering what I sought. That in the end I was able to collect so many was largely owing to the good humoured tact and inexhaustible local knowledge of my Zaptieh, Osman Ombashi, an Albanian by birth, who soon acquired a truly antiquarian zest in tracking out Roman monuments.

The spacious plain of Skopia and the Alpine slopes that overlook it on every side go to form a well-defined geographical district, which as the monuments to be described sufficiently declare, formed once the Ager of the Roman city. The remains from this whole district may therefore be fitly grouped with those existing on the actual site of the ancient Scupi, and those within its modern representative the present town of Skopia or Usküp. On the other hand, the Roman remains that I have discovered beyond the water-shed of Mount Karsjak, to the West of Skopia, and in the valley of the Markova Rjeka, may be better perhaps regarded

separately as being possibly, though hardly probably, comprised in the territory of some other Dardanian Municipium.

The hill on which the Akropolis or "Grad" of Skopia lies is an offshoot of a low range, to the left of the Vardar, which juts out to the North into the middle of the plain. A little rivulet divides this range from a more isolated hill beyond, the Western slope of which overlooks the confluence of the Lepenac and Vardar. The point is important, as being the natural meeting point of two lines of road over the passes of the Shar. That to the West gives access to Kalkandelen and Prisen on one side, and the Dibra district of Albania on the other. The route to the North is that already described, which threads the pass of Kačanik and secures communication with the ancient Dardanian city of Ulpiana in a more remote degree with the Dalmatian littoral and the Save basin. From this hill, known as the hill of Zlokučani, both avenues could be watched with even greater facility than from Skopia itself. The site was therefore admirably adapted for a watch station and bulwark against the wild Illyrian regions to the North and West.

Immediately beneath this hill, at the confluence of the Lepenica and Vardar, lies the village of Zlokučani, where I had the satisfaction of first coming upon remains which fix beyond reasonable doubt the original site of the ancient Scupi. The abundance of Roman fragments about this village was truly astonishing. To the North of the modern road the foundations of a considerable public building, perhaps a temple, were clearly visible, including several of the bases of a double row of columns. A little to the East of this was a corner portion apparently of a city gate. In the immediate vicinity were to be seen broken shafts of columns, pedestals, a piece of a stone pavement, and innumerable other blocks, and the tiles and pottery that strewed the neighbouring fields bore still more unmistakeable witness to the existence of an ancient city. That so much of the Roman foundations should have been visible was due to some recent excavations of the surface soil conducted by an engineer in the Turkish service with the object of procuring building material for a new bridge over the Lepenica hard by. The number of inscriptions thus unearthed about this spot was, by all accounts, very considerable; they were however, without exception, walled up into the foundations of the bridge, and are probably lost for ever to archæology. More than this, the chief Turkish proprietor of the village, who has a fanatical detestation of inscriptions, had given orders to the peasants to throw all "written stones" such as they are continually finding in their fields, into the river, "all such being works of the Devil and the cursed Giaour." In the bed of the river several large Roman sarcophagi, uninscribed as far as I could observe, lay about pell mell, but they owed their present position to the gradual excavation of the river-bank by the stream.

The smaller remains extended from the village to the hill above already described, which is locally known as the Zlokučan Kalesi. On the Western flank of this was a Bulgarian Cemetery, and here again were many fragments of Roman monuments, amongst them of some fluted columns. Above this the whole hill-side was covered with *débris* of Roman tiles and stone-work, while at one point there rose a fragment of an old wall of conglomerate masonry. Above this again a well defined ridge, concealing apparently the course of a wall of circumvallation and covered with stones and tiles, ran round the whole hill-top, while within it rose another similar stone and tile-covered bank. The summit of what was evidently the Akropolis of the original Skupi, perhaps representing the original Illyrian hill-stronghold, is of small area, but the position is most commanding, and, save for the fact that the Vardar actually washes the foot of the akropolis-hill of the later Skopia, is, from a military point of view, superior to the latter. This akropolis-hill is connected by a narrow neck with another portion of the same range, the upper surface of which is as thickly strewn with the remains of the Roman city as the more fortified part. While examining this I found a Roman sepulchral monument of perhaps third-century date, erected by her husband to a certain Claudia Ingenua (fig. 72), and near this lay a tile containing an interesting fragment of another inscription (fig. 88), dating from the Christian period of Roman Scupi.

A crossway leads through the fields—here everywhere strewn with tiles and pottery—from Zlokučani to the neighbouring village of Bardovce, before reaching which it passes a low hill which must have been an important quarter of the ancient Scupi. Along the side of this some recent excavations, made in order to obtain material for building purposes, had revealed a variety of ancient blocks, and amongst them some huge fragments of a cornice and a base evidently belonging to an important building. In the neighbourhood of this were two Roman tombs, which I excavated. The first proved to be a large cist, consisting of six ponderous slabs, and lined with square tiles in two parallel rows; it contained nothing but a few bones, and must have been rifled in ancient times. The second, equally unproductive so far as relics were concerned, was of the same general construction, but made up of the remains of earlier monuments, as was proved by the fact that it contained within it an inscribed slab with a dedication of a local priest of Augustus to the “Gods and Goddesses” (fig. 56). This part of the Roman site forms as useful a quarry to the present inhabitants as that near Zlokučani, and many monuments have been quite recently disinterred to be broken up or lost in modern buildings. Two sepulchral slabs, however, from the spot had been preserved in the neighbouring Konak of Hakif

Méched Pasha at Bardovce, where I was permitted to see them in the inner court of this fine Turkish country house. Both of them apparently owed their preservation to the fact that they contained reliefs, in the one case of a husband, wife, and child (fig. 75), in the other of a *Miles Frumentarius* of the Seventh Legion (fig. 60).

The sources of Méched Pasha's fortune are interesting in the light which they throw on the local industry of the ancient inhabitants of Scupi. These I learnt to be an old iron mine near Kisela Voda, a chalybeate spring which rises on the Southern flank of the range dominating the right bank of the Lepenica, and, in the same neighbourhood, a quarry of excellent white marble. This marble is in high repute throughout the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, and is largely used for tombstones, both Mahometan and Christian. Quantities of it are exported to a considerable distance and as far away as Nish (the ancient Naissus), in Serbia, I saw marble monuments, the material of which had been ordered from the Pasha's quarries near the ancient site of Scupi. Once more we find the site of a Dardanian city connecting itself with ancient mines and quarries.

The virtues of the mineral spring of Kisela Voda^a were probably not unknown to the Roman citizens of Scupi. The spring itself spurts up with fountain-like force in the centre of a ruinous octagonal basin. The hill to the East of it seems to have been formerly the scene of a similar fountain, as it was covered with iron-stained fragments and a white deposit in all respects resembling the deposit formed by the existing source. On the rocks at the top here were observable artificial grooves and channels, evidently belonging to an ancient bath, but broken up and tossed about in chaotic disorder by some vast natural convulsion. Lower down, near the village of Vučidol were traces of another mineral source,—a curious line of undermined rocks, the cavities of which were filled with the same chalybeate deposit. On examining their upper surface I found an *impluvium* of angular form and sockets for small columns cut out of the rock, showing that here, too, must have existed an ancient building.; but in this case, as the former, the natural floor of rock had been ploughed up by cataclysmic agencies. In the wooded glen above, a little below the village of Kučkova, had been recently found a small image, a sight of which I obtained with difficulty from the Bulgar peasants. It proved to be a rude Roman bas-relief of Hercules clad in the Nemean lion's-skin; and I have since heard that a "written stone" has been discovered, together with an ancient fountain, near the same village. Somewhat further, in a gorge opening on to Lepenica valley, is the Albanian village of

^a Literally "Bitter Water," a common name for mineral sources throughout the South-Slavonic countries. The temperature was 75° Fahr.

Nekistan, where, amongst the ruins of a mediæval church, lay a large fragment of a Roman tombstone (fig. 53) referring to the COLONIA of Scupi.

The traces of the ancient buildings near the mineral springs, destroyed by some great natural catastrophe, afford a highly interesting commentary on the passage of the sixth century Illyrian chronicler Comes Marcellinus, who records the overthrow of Scupi itself, and other cities of Dardania by a terrific earthquake in the year 518. The writer describes the catastrophe with the vividness of an eye-witness. "In the province of Dardania," he writes, "twenty-four *Castella* were ruined in a single moment by repeated shocks of earthquake. Two of these were overwhelmed, with all their habitations; four with half their buildings and inhabitants; eleven were overthrown with a loss of a third of their citizens and houses; seven more lost a quarter of their houses and population and were left deserted through fear of the neighbourhood of the ruins. Moreover, the Metropolitan City of Scupi was ruined to its foundations, though without any destruction of its citizens, for they were at the time in the act of fleeing from the enemy. In one castle, in the district of Canisa, called Sarnunto, there took place an eruption, and the earth vomited forth from its inner cavities a continual burning shower on every side, like the blast from a fiery furnace." Many mountains, we are told, throughout the province were rent asunder; rocks and forest trees were torn from their sockets; and a yawning chasm "twelve feet in breadth and thirty miles in extent" intercepted and entombed many of the fugitive citizens.^a In the volcanic

^a Comes Marcellinus (Ad. Ann. 518). "In Provincia Dardania assiduo terræmotu xxiv. Castella uno momento collapsa sunt. Quorum duo suis cum habitatoribus demersa, quatuor dimidia ædificiorum suorum hominumque amissa parte destructa, undecim tertia domorum totidemque populi clade dejecta, septem quarta tectorum suorum tantaque plebis parte depressa, vicina vero (al. "vicinarum") metu ruinarum despecta sunt. Scopus namque Metropolis, licet sine civium suorum hostem fugientium clade, funditus tamen corruit. Uno in Castello, regionis Canisæ, quod Sarnunto dicitur, ruptis tunc terra venis et ad instar torridæ fornacis exæstuans diutinum altrinsecus ferventemque imbrem evomit. Plurimæ totius Provinciæ montes hoc terræmotu scissi sunt, saxa que suis evulsa compagibus, devolutaque arborum (? devolutæque arbores) crepido per xxx. passuum millia patens et in xii. pedum latitudinem dehiscens profundum aliquantis voraginem civibus castellorum saxorumque ruinas vel adhuc hostium incursiones fugientibus jussa* paravit." The last paragraph is evidently corrupt, but the general sense is clear. *Crepido* here = *fissura* (Cf. Du Cange, s. v.). With this Dardanian "Sarnunto" I will venture to connect the Sarnoates, referred to on the Illyrian coins reading ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ, and the Σαρνοῦς of Stephanus of Byzantium and Polyænus. I will even go further and suggest the emendation of the unknown (Βαρνοῦς) "*Βαρνοῦντρα*" of Strabo (7, 7, 4), mentioned as lying on or near the Egnatian Way between Lychnidus (Ochrida) and Heraclea Lyncestis, into *Σαρνοῦντρα*, and its identification in turn with the Σαρνοῦς of the coins, and the "Sarnunto" of Marcellinus. This attribution would bring down a corner of sixth century Dardania to the neighbourhood of Monastir, but it is not at least inconsistent with Procopius' description of

rocks that strew the neighbourhood of the Roman thermal station of Banjska, above Mitrovica, we may see, perhaps, another landmark of the same catastrophe.

Outside the actual site of ancient Scupi and its immediate vicinity the most abundant traces of Roman settlement are to be found on the slopes and amongst the shady glens of the Dardanian Tzernagora, or Karadagh, to the North of the plain of Usküp. Fertile, well-watered, and cool in summer, this upland region seems to have been a favourite *villeggiatura* of the citizens of Scupi, and, as numerous mediæval churches and monasteries attest, the Orthodox of a later period found its sites not less adapted for their monastic retreats. Several small tributaries of the Lepenica and Vardar here take their rise, and from one of these sources the town of Skopia has from time immemorial derived its water supply by an Aqueduct of Byzantine construction, to which we shall have occasion to return. It is noteworthy, that in this district vine culture is carried to greater perfection than elsewhere among the South Dardanian peasantry, and the wine of Kučevište, especially, enjoys a deserved reputation in Skopia. This village, lying on a neck of land between two streams, has a fine Serbo-Byzantine church, founded, according to local tradition, by one of the Nemanjas, where, behind the door of the Proavlion, I found the most interesting existing record of the municipal government of Roman Scupi (fig. 54, see p. 114). In the churchyard, amongst the other slabs lay a Roman sepulchral monument (fig. 51) to a Veteran of the 7th Legion, remarkable for the artistic finish of its execution. This monument had been removed, not many years since, to its present position from a field about half an hour's walk below the village, which was by all accounts a Roman cemetery. I learned that the whole ground, at a depth of two or three feet below the present surface, was occupied by ancient graves, and that many slabs had at different times come to light presenting inscriptions. On visiting the spot I found it, unfortunately, covered with growing vines, and was thus prevented from making excavations; I saw, however, a place from which large blocks had been recently taken, to be used in the restoration of the neighbouring church of St. Athanasius. At a farm-house at the village of Mirkovce, a little lower down, were two large fragments of another Legionary tomb (fig. 61), and a portion of a third inscrip-

the "European Dardanians" as living above Dyrrhachium. The town and region of Monastir itself (at or near the site of the ancient Heraclea Lyncestis) was known in Byzantine times as *Pelagonia*, and we have here, I venture to think, a clue to the whereabouts of the PELAGIA of a series of Illyrian coins that in all respects are companion pieces to those reading ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ. On the other hand, the superior workmanship and Zacynthian affinities of the kindred Damastian coins would lead us to seek for the site of Damastion nearer the Epirote littoral. See p. 38.

tion, besides a part of a monument displaying a cross, and perhaps of Byzantine date. In the neighbouring village of Brazda I observed another Roman sepulchral slab (fig. 52), also belonging to a Veteran of the 7th Legion, built into a fountain. This, however, according to an old inhabitant of the place, had been removed from a spot called Dančov Bres on the plain below, and not far distant from Bardovce. The transfer from that place was no doubt facilitated by a curiously straight piece of road across the plain, which had all the appearance of having been of Roman origin. At Dančov Bres itself I could only find fragments of stone in a clump of brushwood; but several monuments have been, at different times, unearthed there.

In a leafy gorge above Kučevište is the Monastery of the Archangels, with a fine old Serbian church, said to have been built by the Emperor Dušan. Crossing the watershed to the West, and passing a source with the time-honoured name of Banja, to which attention has been already called, the traveller reaches the rich valley of the Banjanska Rjeka, and the Minster Church of St. Nikita, another well-preserved old Serbian monument, rising on a vine-clad height above the village of Banjani. Near this, again, is a ruined church of the Theotokos, or Bogorodica, where was another fine Legionary slab (fig. 62); and in the threshold and before the door of a small church^a hard by, two smaller Roman sepulchral monuments (figs. 78, 85). Further up the same gorge, in the very heart of the Karadagh, is the orthodox Monastery of St. Ilija. The church here is very small, but is built into a cavern, which points, perhaps, to a local cult of greater than Christian antiquity. In all likelihood, here, as in the case of St. Ilija above Plevlje, the mantle of the Thunder-God Perun has fallen on to the shoulders of the Slavonic St. Elias. Nor, considering the continuity of religious tradition in these remote regions, to which I shall again have occasion to return, is it by any means improbable that this sacred cave of the Karadagh may have been devoted to a Thunderer of still earlier date. In the court-yard of the Monastery below I observed a Roman altar; but, unfortunately, the inscription, if it ever had any, was hopelessly defaced.

A mountain-path leads from the gorge of Banjani past the village of Čucera, where, in the bone-house of the church, I saw another Roman sepulchral inscription (fig. 76), and thence over the watershed into the valley of the Lepenica at the Southern end of the Kačanik Pass. At this point a peninsular peak overhangs the left bank of the stream. On the *col* connecting this promontory with the main range

^a *Gornjanska Crkva.*

of the Karadagh, and reaching thence to the summit of the peak, were very extensive remains. The ruins were of the most thorough-going kind. Nothing beyond the foundation of walls, and heaps of stones and tiles, is at present to be seen, but these cover a considerable area, including the whole hill-top, as well as the connecting neck of land. They show that a peak stronghold and surrounding walled town must in former times have existed here. There is at present no human habitation in the immediate neighbourhood, but the inhabitants of Banjani call the place "Davina," and have a tradition that it belonged to a lady of that name, who was slain by the Turks when they conquered the country. They also call it Stari Bazar, or the "Old Market," and the remains of the peak castle are known, like so many other Old Slavonic "grads" hereabouts, as Markova Kula, the "tower," that is, of King's Son Marko. Amongst the remains I discovered a few fragments of Roman sarcophagi, and an ornament of apparently Serbo-Byzantine style, from which, as well as from the local tradition, we may conclude that the ruins are those of a mediæval Serbian town and stronghold, which formerly guarded the Southern end of the pass, as Kačanik the Northern. The chief object of my search was a Roman stone, of the existence of which near these ruins I had been assured by more than one peasant. After more than one fruitless visit to the spot, I was at last successful in finding it in pieces amongst the brushwood on the southern steep of the hill. It proved to be a monument erected by the local Republic to the Emperor Gallienus, the most interesting historic relic of Roman Scupi (fig. 55).

Eastwards of Kučevište, a path leads over another mountain spur to the village of Ljubanze, inhabited by a Bulgar population. On the way here I found a "Crkvište" or ruined site of a church, on which were one or two Roman fragments. A little to the West of the village was another similar ruin to a great extent composed of Roman blocks and monuments. Amongst these, firmly bedded for the most part in the walls and foundations were shafts, capitals, and bases of columns, an altar, part of which however had been defaced, and five slabs containing inscriptions, four of them sepulchral (figs. 69, 70, 84, 87), but one containing a dedication to an apparently local God (fig. 58). A little lower down the stream on which Ljubanze lies is the village of Radusan, where a large sepulchral slab had been recently found by an Albanian whilst working in his garden; it was divided into two compartments, but on one alone was the inscription legible (fig. 77). Above this village again, on a peninsular height, commanding far and wide the plain of Skopia, is the noble church of Ljubiten, roofless, alas! and doomed to inevitable decay, but still preserving when I saw it some of the most remarkable illustrations of the most remarkable period of old

Serbian history. No traveller has described, and, as far as I am aware, no traveller has hitherto visited this highly interesting shrine, which has long since fallen into the alien and infidel hands of Albanian Mahometans; and, although the present communication relates rather to the remains of an earlier period, a cursory description may not be out of place. The ground plan of the body of the church is square, terminating externally in a five-sided apse. The cupola, at present in a ruinous state, was supported by four massive columns. Of the capitals one has disappeared entirely, two, perhaps of later date, are merely painted with a chevron ornament, the fourth has its four corners carved into the shape of a scallop, an eagle, a foliated coil, and a ram's head, and it may be remarked that all these ornaments recur in the capitals of the Comnenian Minster church at Matejéi, on the other side of the Karadagh. The walls are of stone alternating with tiles, and over the Western doorway is a Serbian inscription in Cyrillian characters recording the erection of the church to the honour of St. Nicholas in the year 1337, and under the rule of King Stephen Dušan. But the chief glory of the church are the frescoes within, which were evidently completed after the date when the Serbian monarch assumed the insignia of Empire. On the North wall of the church Czar Dušan himself is to be seen depicted with the Imperial crown upon his head, and the Imperial mantle on his shoulders, holding a three-limbed cross. At his side, crowned like himself, stand his Empress Helena and his young son Uroš, while on either side of the chief entrance rise the Emperor's angelic and saintly protectors; on the right the "Archistratégi" Michael and Gabriel, and on the left Saints Cosmas and Damian. Both the Czar and his Consort appear as they are represented on their contemporary coinage. No record of this crowning achievement of Dušan's ambition could be better placed than in this church, overlooking afar the domes and towers of his residential City of Skopia, where he first assumed the crown and title of Emperor of the Greeks and Serbs, and of "all Romania." A less questionable monument of *Roman* rule is to be seen at the East end of the church, where lay a sepulchral slab with a finely wrought cornice, but the inscription on which was wholly obliterated. It appeared to have formed part of the altar.

The remains hitherto described lie amongst the Southern and Western offshoots of the Dardanian Karadagh, which bounds the plain of Skopia to the North-East. To the West of the site of Scupi, and on the further side of the the Vardar, rises the elongated limestone-mass of Karšjak, which is detached from the outlying ranges of the Shar to the North by the stupendous cleft of the Treška. Mount Karšjak itself forms the watershed between the Skopia expanse and the basin of the Markova Rjeka, the Roman remains of which I shall treat separately as

possibly to be referred to another Municipium. The monuments however of Roman date existing on the Eastern slopes of Karšjak come fairly within the antiquarian domains of Scupi itself, and the same may be said of the rugged promontory of the Shar that separates the confluent waters of the Treška and Vardar.

At a village at the south-eastern foot of Karšjak, which, like the old bath already described, is called Kiselavoda from a slightly bitter spring there, had apparently been a Roman cemetery; I saw one large uninscribed sarcophagus *in situ*, and, according to the Bulgar inhabitants, many others had been dug up at the same spot. Hearing of an inscription graven on a rock on the very summit of the mountain, I started from Skopia with local guides, to investigate it. On a headland, about an hour above Skopia, I observed the ruins of an ancient castle, terminating in a polygonal tower, and with chambers excavated in the ground, from which it derives its name, *Markova Magazija*—"Marko's storehouse." It certainly dates from old Serbian time. About an hour from the summit I came upon an ancient road, which follows with much evenness the eastern contour of the mountain; according to the local account it leads in one direction to Prilip and Ochrida, and in the other over the Shar to Prisen. That it was useful in the days of the old Serbian dominion as a means of communication with the numerous monasteries scattered about this Alpine region there can be no doubt; it is always possible however that, in part at least, it represents a Roman line of communication between Scupi and Heraclea or Lychnidus. It seems to me not improbable that this road answers to that described by the Arabian geographer, Edrisi,^a as leading from Skopia,^b through a place called Bolghoura, or Bolghar, to Ochrida, and thence through "Teberle" (? Debra) to Durazzo.^c Near the gorge of the Treška I observed on another occasion a branch or continuation of this running Westward along the Northernmost terrace of Karšjak, which, from its linear directness, appeared to me to be of Roman origin. An hour above this ancient road we reached the summit of the mountain, only to find that the inscription had been recently destroyed by some fanatic. The panorama, however, was magnificent; to East and North Skopia, its plain and intersecting rivers; to South and West

^a *Géographie d'Edrisi*, traduite d'Arabe en Français par P. Amédée Jaubert, t. ii. p. 289, 290.

^b Edrisi describes Skopia itself as "a considerable town surrounded by many vineyards and cultivated fields." From Skopia onwards he mentions a route to Kratova (Kortos), where two lines of communication branched, one to Nish, the other to Seres, Drama, and Christopolis.

^c There is an apparent discrepancy in Edrisi's account. On p. 289 "Bolghoura" is mentioned as "a pretty town on the top of a high mountain," four days from Scopia: on p. 290 "Boulghar" is mentioned as one day distant from Skopia.

the broad undulating glen drained by the Markova Rjeka and its tributaries; while the snowy line of the Shardagh fringed the North-Western horizon.

From the rocky knoll that forms the highest summit of Karšjak we descended to the North-East through woods of Spanish chestnut (locally known as *Kustanje*—a near approach to *Castanea*) to some remarkable ruins. The first we visited was known as Timpanica, and proved to be the remains of a very substantial stone building; the walls were strongly cemented of roughly-shaped stones, and may have belonged to a Roman *Castellum*, but their ground-plan could no longer be restored with any certainty. About a quarter of an hour below this was a much more extensive ruin. On one side a wall, about six feet broad, of uncemented blocks of the local micaceous rock descended along the side of a ravine; and, about one hundred yards below, took a turn at right-angles and ran along the face of the slope till it ended in what had been, apparently, a tower. Beyond this point the traces were obscure. The massiveness of the wall points to early times for its construction; but the rudeness of the blocks and the absence of mortar forbids us to regard it as Roman; It is not impossible that here, on the North-Western declivity of Mount Karšjak we have the remains of an early Dardanian stronghold that existed before the Roman Conquest. The natives call it Sofce, or Sofia; there was, however, no trace of a church, nor of any work which could be referred to mediæval times.

To the North of this, perched on a peninsular spur of the same mountain, and shaded by magnificent walnut-woods, is the village of Neresi, or Naresi, tenanted by an Albanian population. An ice-cool fountain here bursts from the rock, and it is difficult not to connect the name of the village with the primitive word for water lurking in Nereus, and revived in the modern Greek νερό, and to recall the Illyrian clan of the Naresii, who, in Pliny's time, inhabited the upper valley of the Narenta, still known as the Neretva.^a On the opposite side of the ravine rises a

^a It is remarkable that in 409 A.D. we find Pope Innocent addressing a letter "*Martiano Episcopo Naresitano*" in which he refers to the "*Clerici Naresienses*" as having been nominated by the heretic bishop Bonosus (of Serdica). *Farlato, Illyricum Sacrum*, remarks on this, "*Naresitanam ecclesiam nusquam invenies in ecclesiastica geographia*," and would read "*Naissitanam*": but the parallel form "*Naresienses*" and the high improbability of such a corruption of a well-known name like that of Naissus militate against the suggestion. Here at least we have an "*Ecclesia Naresitana* or *Naresiensis* of Byzantine date and within a territorial sphere over which a heretic bishop of the Metropolis of Dacia Mediterranea may have usurped authority. Dardania, it must be remembered, was at this time one of the "Five Dacias"; and, though the Metropolitan of Scupi seems to have claimed precedence over the Metropolitan of Serdica (see p. 138), Bonosus may have succeeded for a while in turning the tables.

Byzantine church, which proved to be of considerable interest. It forms part of a small Bulgar monastery, but I noticed that it differed from the prevailing Old Serbian type of this district in having four turrets at its angles, over and above the central cupola. Inside were some curious early Byzantine fragments, notably a flat marble plaque, on which birds and animals were carved in coilwork medallions, of a style which carried one back to the noble tenth-century foundation of the Emperor Romanos, at Styri, in Greece. The *proavlion* had been destroyed and rebuilt at a later period, but over the door leading from this into the body of the church was a long slab with the following Byzantine inscription, recording the erection and embellishment of the Church "of the great and glorious Martyr Panteleêmôn," by an "Alexios Comnênos, son of the imperial-born Theodora, in the year 1165, in the 3rd Indiction, Joannikios being Hegûmen":

† ΕΚΑΛΙΕΡΓΗΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΝ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ
 ΤΚΟΜΗΝΟΥ ΨΥ ΤΩ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΣ ΜΗΝ ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ ΜΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΞΧΟΓ ΗΣ ΜΗΝΟ Η ΤΩΑΝΝΙΚΙΟΥ

Fig. 42.

† ΕΚΑΛΙΕΡΓΗΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ
 ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΕΛΗΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ
 ΚΥΡΟΥ (sic) ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ / Τ(ΟΥ) ΚΟΜΗΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤ(ΙΚΗΣ)
 ΚΥΡΑΣ (sic) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΣ ΜΗΝ(Ι) ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΩ ΙΝ(ΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) Γ
 ΕΤΟΥΣ ΞΧΟΓ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΚΙΟΥ.

Theodora Comnena *Porphyrogenita* was the youngest daughter of the Emperor Alexios Comnenos (†1118), and married Constantine Angelos, a noble of Philadelphia, by whom she became the mother of the imperial race of Angelos.^a Her son Alexios, the founder, or possibly restorer, of this church, is not mentioned by Ducange in his *Familia Byzantinae*, but one of her sons, who appears in history as Constantine, distinguished himself in Manuel's campaigns against the Serbians, and after the re-capture of Ras,^b about the year 1150, was left in command of the Byzantine troops in Dalmatia.^c The present inscription affords new evidence of the important position held at this time by the house of Angelos and Theodora in this part of the peninsula.

^a Ducange *Familia Augustae Byzantinae*, p. 178, and 202. (Paris, 1680).

^b Near Novipazar. (See p. 54.)

^c *Kinnamos Hist. Lib. III.*

The wall paintings round the church differed slightly in style from the usual old Serbian frescoes of this part, and the scrolls in the Saints' hands were, so far as I observed, in Greek instead of Cyrillian characters. On the massive square pier to the right of the ikonostasis (one of the four supporting the cupola) was a well-executed fresco of St. Panteleêmôn. The painting was canopied by a remarkable baldacchino, suggestive of Italian parallels, and forming a trefoil arch over which peacocks linked in Byzantine knotwork were carved within a palmetto border. In the porch was a large Roman gravestone (fig. 63), interesting as giving a Thracian name and its Latin alternative.

From Naresi I descended to the level of the Vardar and made my way along a road which follows first its right bank and then the right bank of the Treška to the village of Sisova, which lies at the Eastern opening of the Treška ravine. Walled into the little church here were several Roman fragments, including two Ionic capitals. My exploration of the iron-gates of the Treška above may be passed over here^a as the interest attaching to the churches of St. Nikola and St. Andrea that lie in that almost inaccessible region belongs to the days of the Old Serbian kings; nor did I anywhere notice Roman monuments. The trace of an ancient road running along the terrace of Mount Karšjak, that breasts this Treška ravine has been already noticed; it is probable that the mediæval road which, according to tradition, eventually brought this mountain district into connexion with the Czarigrad, Prisren, crossed the Treška near the village of Sisova, as there are still traces of an ancient bridge. Here, on the left bank of the stream, which at present has to be forded, rises the Monastery of Matkovo, with a fine Serbo-Byzantine church. Walled into the church was a Roman sepulchral slab (fig. 71), a Byzantine relief of birds in interlaced medallions, a column, and many other ancient fragments; and from a spot a little below the monastery I was brought a portion of another Roman monument reading—

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The old road-line that skirts the heights above, to the left of the river, would have afforded a means of access from the basin in which Scupi anciently stood to

^a It is well, however, to mention that the upper course of the Treška as depicted on the Austrian Stabs-karte is entirely erroneous. No tributary runs into it near St. Nikola, and the river itself takes a long straight turn to the West above that monastery, instead of running, as represented, from the North. On my sketch-map I have corrected the geography of this district so far as my explorations enabled me.

the undulating glens of the Markova Rjeka, separated from the Skopia plain by the intervening mass of Mount Karšjak, the antiquities of which, as possibly belonging to the Ager of another Roman Municipium, it may be well to present in a collective form. This region is of the greatest fertility, and is covered with cherry orchards, the fruit of which is the finest in the country; but a still more important feature, as explaining the presence of Roman settlements, is an old gold mine on the right bank of the Markova Rjeka, a little below the village of Sušica, which, according to my local informant, was still worked by the Turks only a dozen years back. A little above Sušica is the interesting Monastery, Markov Manastir, where the tomb of the legendary hero of Serbian Epic is still to be seen,



Fig. 43.

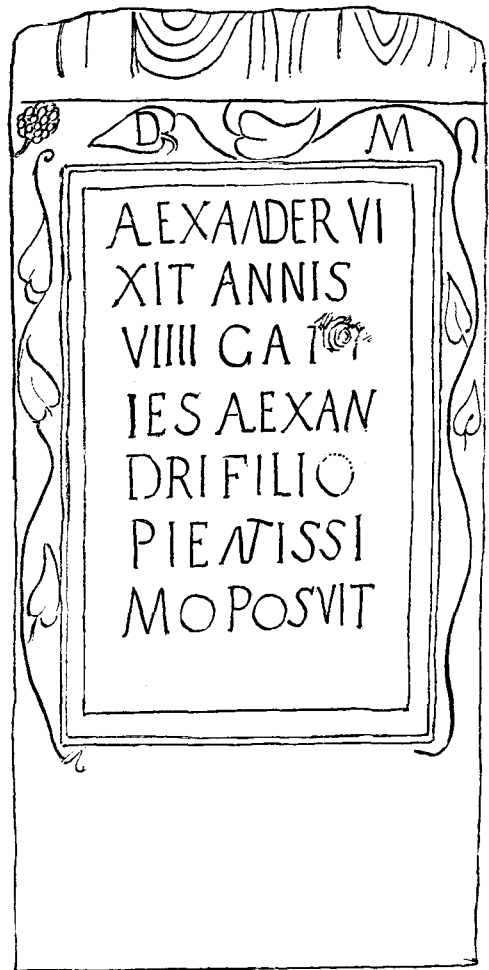


Fig. 44.

together with other old Slavonic frescoes and inscriptions of great importance for the mediæval history of these countries. Here I observed, walled into the church, a monument to a Veteran of the Seventh, Claudian, Legion^a (fig. 43). On the Western slope of Mount Karšjak, in the village of Dolnji Sulna, the fountain was adorned with a sepulchral slab containing the Illyrian name-form "Gatties," the son of Alexander (fig. 44).

ALEXANDER VIXIT ANNIS VIII GATTIES ALEXANDRI FILIO PIENTISSIMO POSVIT.

In the upper church of the same village were two *akroteria* of Roman tombs, a portion of a cornice or pedestal, and other fragments. Near this, at Govarljevo, were several more ancient fragments, including an altar with a defaced inscription,



Fig. 45.

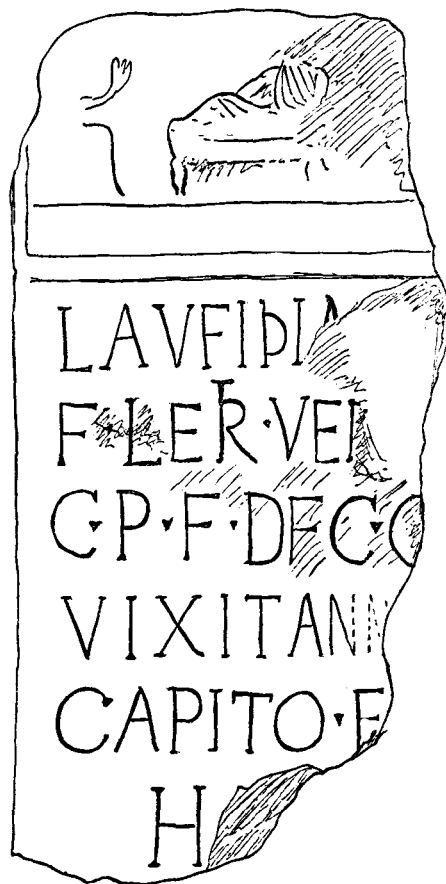


Fig. 46.

^a Incompletely given by Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*

and at Barova opposite, were three Roman inscriptions. Two of these of sepulchral character (figs. 45 and 46) were walled into the precincts of the church. One of them (fig. 46), apparently referred to a VETERANUS LEGIONIS VII. CLAUDIÆ PIÆ FELICIS, who was also DECURIO of a Colony,^a in all probability of Scupi. The third inscription in a neighbouring cottage wall, though in an imperfect condition, is of considerable interest. It is part of an altar to Fortuna, apparently erected by a local *Res Publica*, but whether the name on the penultimate line refers to the city, or is an indigenous epitaph of Fortuna, it is not easy to determine—



Fig. 47.

FORTVNÆ

SACRVM

BETVAN . . . ?

RES *Publica* *faciendum curavit.*

In this valley and on the heights of Mount Karšjak above, as in other places in the Skopia district were patches of the wild pear-tree—the Albanian *Darda*—with which Von Hahn connects the ancient name of Dardania.^b

^a It must be observed, however, that the stone appears to read DEC . C and not DEC . c.

^b In the accusative form *Darde-ne*. Von Hahn *Albanesische Studien*, p. 236, compares the ancient derivation of the kindred Mysian race from a tree called in their language *Μυσός* = the Old Greek ὄξινη, and instances Hesiod's account of Zeus creating the third or brazen race of men from ash trees (ἐκ μελιᾶν).

Having briefly surveyed the Roman remains of the Markova Rjeka and the ranges that skirt the Vardar basin on either side of the site of Scupi, I may turn to those existing in the modern town of Skopia and its immediate neighbourhood. It will be convenient to confine our present attention to the earlier relics to be seen in Skopia, and to defer the description of those of Byzantine dates till we come to treat of the later foundation of Justinian. It is noteworthy that none of the Roman monuments in the town itself have any claim to be considered *in situ*. The fine stone bridge which here spans the Vardar has, as already observed, no title to be considered Roman, and belongs to the category described in the preceding paper, of great bridges built by Italian and Dalmatian architects for Turkish governors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which the old bridges over the Drina at Gorazda and Višegrad are conspicuous examples. Neither in the bridge itself, nor in the walls of the Akropolis that rises above it on the left bank of the Vardar, is there any trace of Roman construction. In the outer wall of the Akropolis there are however one or two fragments of inscriptions (figs. 81 and 82) that have been walled in at a later period. According to Hahn another existed near the entrance gate, but at present all traces of it have disappeared. In the lower town the Roman remains are mostly scattered about the Easternmost quarter, and in the old Hamam "of the Two Sisters" I saw several slabs presenting more or less fragmentary inscriptions (figs. 73, 74, 79). In the pavement of a neighbouring street was a large part of another containing the concluding lines of an elegiac epitaph to a local Nestor (fig. 68). In the wall of a ruined Mosque was also a sepulchral tablet (fig. 80), and the troughs of the drinking fountains in this part of Skopia are to a great extent made of Roman sarcophagi. A little below the Musta Pasha Dzamia I observed an altar to Silvanus, while another altar with a Greek inscription and apparently dedicated to Zeus had recently been found by a Turkish Sheik in his garden in the Balaban Mahala, where he courteously invited me to inspect it (fig. 57).

A point to be noted about the distribution of the Roman remains in Skopia itself is, that they approximately indicate the course of what was undoubtedly, in Roman times, the main line of communication between Scupi and the Macedonian towns to the South. The present direct route to Vesele and the Lower Vardar runs nearer that river, but the older way takes an Eastward turn, along a low line of hills, in order to avoid the swamps of this part of the Vardar level. This older way, as the remains along it show, represents the course of the Roman road. At Skopia itself are two fragments of Roman milestones. No. 1 is embedded in a narrow lane near the clock-tower; No. 2, which is in a still more mutilated

condition, supports a wooden column of the verandah in front of a Turkish house, near the Orthodox school.

1

IM . CAESARI . . .
 DIVI TRAIANI PART . F .
 DIVI NERVAE NEPOTI
 TRAIANO HADRIANO
 AVG . P . M . TRIB . POTEST .
 . . . O P

2

. . . *pontifici* MAXIMO
Tribunicia POTESTATE . .
 COS III

The first of these milestones belongs to Hadrian's time.^a

The remains in the Southern part of the plain of Skopia, to the left of the Vardar, may be all conveniently considered in their relation to the Roman Way the course of which is marked by their occurrence. About a mile out of Skopia, to the South-East, the old road, which I venture to identify with the Roman Way, passes near a melon garden, in which I saw a Roman sepulchral inscription (fig. 83). To the East again of this lies the village of Hassanbeg, where, in making the new road to Kumanovo, the workmen had recently come upon a large "written stone." The stone proved to be a heavy block, submerged in a deep trench by mud and water from recent heavy rains. It was only, after an hour's struggle, and with the aid of eight peasants, that the stone was raised to such a position that, standing up to my waist in liquid mud and water, I was able to copy it. It proved to be of great interest, as referring to an Augustal "of the Colony of Scupi" (fig. 50).

To the South-East of this is the village of Belombeg, with a Mahometan and mediæval cemetery, where, according to the local tradition of the Bulgar peasants, had once been a Monastery dedicated to St. Peter. By the cistern here was the lid of a huge Roman sarcophagus, overturned and used as a trough for cattle, on the underside of which was a sepulchral inscription in well-cut letters (fig. 86).^b

^a It was undoubtedly from this stone that Edward Brown derived his inscription SHIANC. See p. 83. No. 1 has been given by Dr. Kenner in a but slightly variant form on Herr Lippich's authority. See *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.* v. 80, p. 274; *Eph. Ep.* vol. iv. p. 82.

^b This block was so heavy that it took six men to lever it sufficiently for me to read the inscription. The Hassanbeg stone has since been removed to the Konak at Skopia.

Beyond Belombeg the road, which is here a broad grassy track, forks into two branches,—each in all probability representing a Roman road-line,—that to the left leading to Istib, the ancient Astabus, that to the right being the main line of communication with Stobi and Thessalonica. Following the latter—still a grassy track—for about twenty minutes in the direction of the village of Ibrahimovce, I came upon the most satisfactory evidence of its Roman origin. On a grassy slope above the road lay the massive base of a Roman milestone, but the upper part of the column, containing the inscription, had unfortunately been broken off. Near this lay a large Roman slab with a cornice, and several other ancient blocks. There is at present no human habitation in the immediate neighbourhood of these remains, but I found that the spot was known to the peasants as “Rusalinsko,” a name which seems to me to be of the highest interest. The Roman *Rosalia*, the spring-feast of the departed, as opposed to the *Brumalia*, or winter-feast, answering, as it did, to a widespread vernal celebration, not by any means confined to Aryan peoples, took a firm hold on the provincials, notably in the old Thracian part of the Empire, where in the gardens of Midas bloomed, it was said, the hundred-petalled rose. The practice of strewing the graves with flowers, though at first stoutly opposed by the Christian Church, had finally to be accepted by them, and in the Eastern Empire at least the pagan spring-feast of the Manes appears to have long retained its ancient name. Whether Slavonic tribes early acquired the name from actual contact with the Empire in Dacia, or whether they absorbed it, in the process of assimilating East Roman populations after their occupation of the Peninsula, it is certain that the Roman name for the feast—and that, originally, at least, in no derived Christian sense—has spread, not only to the Illyrian Slavs, but beyond the limits of the Roman Empire to the Russians, and even the Lithuanians.^a The Russian Nestor (sub anno 1087) mentions the Rusalije amongst unholy merrymakings; and “Rusalka,” a derivative of this, has come to mean a Russian fairy. In the twelfth century, the Byzantine, Theodore Balsamon, in his Commentary on the 62nd Canon of the sixth Council of Trullo, which took

^a Some interesting remarks on the Slavonic *Rusalije*, *Rusalije*, &c., and their connexion with the Roman *Rosalia* will be found in Miklosich, *Die Rusalien* (*Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. d. Wissensch* vol. xlvi. p. 386 *seqq.*), and W. Tomaschek, *Über Brumalia und Rosalia* (*Sitzungsberichte, &c.* vol. v. p. 351 *seqq.*). For the Roman *Rosalia*, see especially F. M. Avellino, *Oposcoli* (t. iii. p. 247 *seqq.*). Amongst the Lithuanians there is a June feast called *Rasos Švente*, which Miklosich shows to be the same celebration and derived from *Rosas*. Several inscriptions recording the celebration of the *Rosalia* on old Thracian soil have been discovered by Heuzey (*Le Panthéon des rochers de Philippes*, in *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 152 *seqq.*). The Roman *Rosalia*, at least in later times, seem to have been specially associated with the cult of Flora (Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, lib. v.)

place in the seventh century, explains the ungodly assemblies there condemned as the "Rusalia," still celebrated, he tells us, in out-of-the-way districts. Amongst the Bulgars, who to a not inconsiderable extent represent a Slavonized Rouman population, this name for the old Parentalia, the spring-feast of departed spirits, has transferred itself to the Christian feast of the Holy Spirit, without, however, losing some of its heathen associations. The Bulgarian writer Zachariev mentions a spot near some ancient ruins, in the Tatar Bazardžik district, whither at the time of the "Rusalje" the sick are brought to be cured by laying them on a bed of rose-like flowers, sacred to the Elves, or "*Samodivas*."^a It is probable enough that this or similar practices have attached the name to the ruin-field of "Rusalinsko." As to the actual practice of crowning tombs with roses and other flowers at the season of the Rusalje, it prevails throughout all this region, and in village after village I found the gravestones decorated with bunches of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers, amongst which roses were conspicuous.

Beyond "Rusalinsko," approaching the village of Ibrahimovce, the terrace of the Roman road was clearly traceable, running along a low slope which overlooks an old bed of the Vardar, filled in places with dead water. This ancient bed of the river, and the swamps in which its course is ultimately lost, amply account for the easterly curve taken by the old Thessalonican highway at this point. The modern road runs straight from Ibrahimovce to Usküp, but in rainy seasons it is often impassable, and travellers have to make their way by the older track. Ibrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Ædile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with co . . . , who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the "cloud-compeller" is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown

^a See Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 56.

to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the

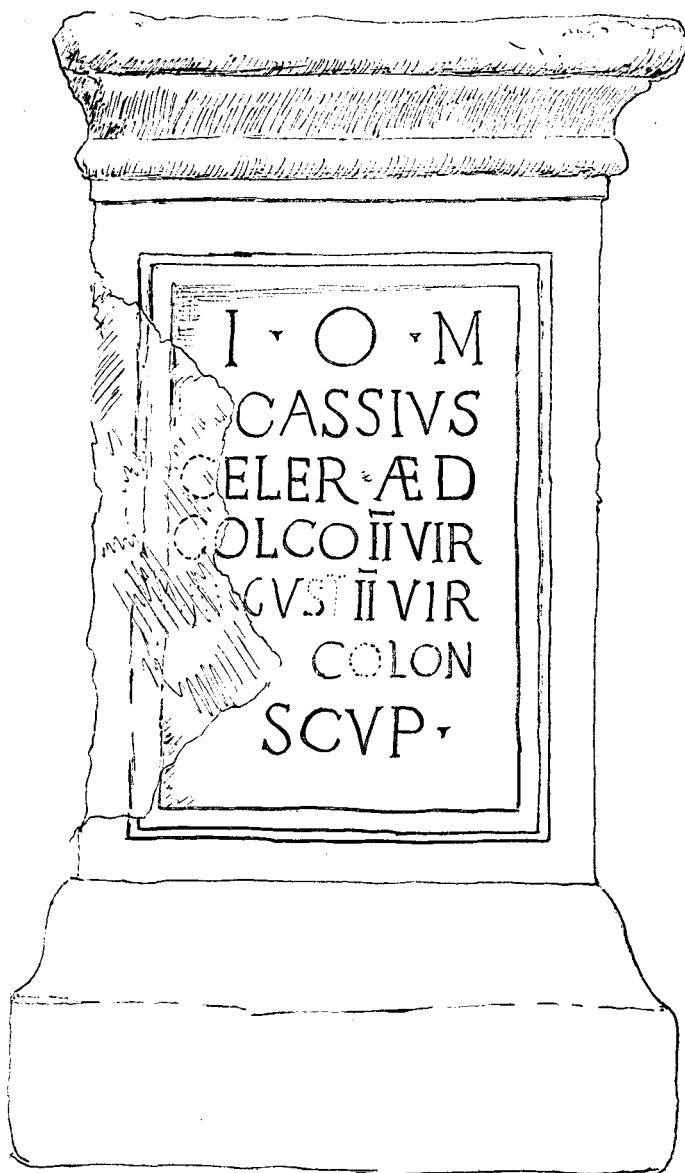


Fig. 48.

cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes. The ceremonial procedure essentially differs from the time-honoured Slavonic method of procuring rain. In Serbia, where the practice chiefly flourishes, a girl known as a Dodola,

after being first stripped almost to a state of nature, and then dressed up with garlands and green branches, is led from house to house, singing what is called a Dodola song, in return for which she is well soused with water by the inmates.^a Among the Bulgars the Dodola reappears as the "Preperuga;" and the prevalence of this practice among the old Slovene settlers in the Balkan lands is shown by its transmission from them to the Romaic Greeks^b and the Wallachians. But libations, and libations of wine, poured on an altar, and that an altar of Jupiter, introduce us to an altogether different cult. The solemn assembly of the villagers led by the local Bey, or Mahometan landowner, irresistibly reminds us of the Roman rain-procession, as described by Petronius, when the women, "clad in stoles, made their way barefoot—chaste of mind and with dishevelled hair—to the sacred hill, and won rain from Jupiter by their prayers, so that then or never it rained bucketsfull, and all laughed to find themselves as wet as rats." Petronius speaks of the disuse of this practice at Rome itself as a symptom of the irreligious spirit of the Age, but it was precisely one of those homely rites that would most naturally survive in country places. The Emperor Antoninus, in his *Meditations*, cites the Athenian prayer, "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, on the ploughed fields and plains of the Athenians," as the very model of simple and noble prayer. To the *paganus* it was certainly the most necessary, and in a country where both the new year's feast of the Kalendæ and the summer feast of the Rosalia are still known by derivatives of their Roman names, the possibility of a survival of the Roman rain-procession and of the calling down of rain by votive offerings and prayer cannot be absolutely excluded.

The fact that the present inhabitants of the district are Slavonic-speaking cannot weigh against this possibility. In the old Dalmatian regions I have already, more than once, had occasion to insist on the survival of the Romanized indigenous population in a Slavonic guise. In Dardania the evidence of this is at least as strong,^c and in the neighbouring Thracian districts the old tribal names have in some cases been preserved by populations who would, so far as speech is concerned, at present be classed as Bulgarians or Serbs. Thus the

^a Cf. Vuk Stepanović, *Lexicon*, s. v. *Dodola*. A Dodola song is translated by Mr. Ralston in his *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 228. The derivation is obscure.

^b The modern Greeks have the Dodola in the form of *Πορπηρούνα* which is simply derived from the nasalized old Slovene form of *Preperuga*. The Wallachian name is *Papeluga*. Compare also *Prporuše* and *Prpac*, alternative male forms of the "Dodola" among the Serbs of Dalmatia (Vuk Stepanović *Lexicon* s. v.). *Prpa* is a Serbian word for ashes mixed with water.

^c See p. 47.

Noropes, who inhabited this very region of the Upper Axios, re-appear as the Neropch or Meropch of the early Serbian laws ; the Mijatzi of the Dibra district have been compared with their Mœsian predecessors ; the Pijanci, who still inhabit a tract in Northern Macedonia, with the old Pæonians ; the Šopi of the Sofia basin recall the Thracian Sapæi, and the Timaci of Ptolemy find their continuity on the banks of the same river as the Slavonic Timočiani. Amongst the Albanian tribes the evidence of the absorption of Romanized elements is still more striking, nor is this anywhere more evident than amongst those members of the Albanian race who inhabit the Dardanian ranges.^a That these North-Easternmost representatives of Skipetaria should have become thus saturated with Latin linguistic elements—Rouman rather than Roman in character—shows the long survival in the old Dardanian province of Vlach successors of the Latin-speaking provincials, a survival amply attested by Old Serbian Chrysobulls like the Dečani grant of Stephen Dušan. There is evidence that in the early Middle Ages there was a Rouman population in the neighbourhood of Skopia.^b Nor is the disappearance of this element from the Upper Vardar basin necessarily to be accounted for by wholesale emigration. We are justified in inferring that the same phenomenon that we have been enabled to ascertain in the case of parts of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina and Montenegro, has repeated itself in these Dardanian valleys ; and that here, too, a Romance population, after long existing side by side with elements Slavonic and Albanian, has finally, and after first passing through a bi-lingual stage, adopted the language of one or other of its political superiors, though more often, it must be admitted, of the Albanians. If there is one thing that my present explorations have placed beyond the region of controversy, it is that the native Dardanian population of this whole region, whether on the plains of the Vardar or in the gorges of the Karadagh and neighbouring ranges, had by the third and fourth centuries of our era become thoroughly Romanized. Roman inscriptions, as we have seen, and as I shall yet have to show, are scattered throughout the remotest glens of the country, and the proportion on them of indigenous names is distinctly less than on the monuments existing on the Roman sites in the back parts of *Dalmatia Montana*.

The present Slavonic speech of the inhabitants of Ibrahimovce is, therefore, by no means an insuperable bar to the possible survival among them of Roman traditions. The rite itself, moreover, is, as we had shown, foreign to the pre-

^a See p. 71.

^b Vlachs near Skopia are mentioned under the Bulgarian Czar Constantine (1258-1277). See Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 218.

valent Slavonic usage, whether amongst Serbs or Bulgars. The cult of certain stones and rocks is, indeed, widely spread amongst the Albanians; ^a but I am not aware of any rain-compelling ceremony amongst them at all answering to that performed over this altar of Jupiter. Equally impossible is it to regard the present rite as of Oriental origin, though the Turks and Mahometans generally have undoubtedly taken over from the primitive Chaldæan religion the cult of innumerable local "betuli," besides the Caaba. On the other hand, it is well to remember that, apart from the utilization of an altar of Jove for the purpose (which may, after all, be the result of extraordinary coincidence), the practice of obtaining rain by means of libations poured on a holy stone re-appears in the most remote quarters of the globe. Thus, among the Kol tribes of Bengal the women climb the hill which is supposed to be the Rain-God himself, and place offerings of milk on the flat rock at the top, after which the wives of the Pahans, with loosened tresses, pray the Mountain God to give seasonable rain.^b The libation on a rock for such a purpose has also Celtic parallels. In the *Roman de Rou*, the Breton hunters go to the spring of Berenton, fill their horns with water, and pour it on the fountain-stone to produce a copious rainfall.^c

The COL . Co of the inscription on the altar is not impossibly connected with the site of a considerable Roman settlement that I discovered on the hills about half-an-hour to the East of Ibrahimovce. My attention had been originally

^a An extraordinary instance of such a cult at the village of Selci belonging to the Clementi tribe is given in *Dečanski Prvenac*, Novisad (Neusatz), 1852, p. 81.

^b Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 260, 2nd ed.), who cites Dalton, *Kols in Tr. Ethn. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 35.

^c *Roman de Rou*, ii. 6399. (*Ed. Andresen* ii. 283).

“ La fontaine de Berenton
Sort d'une part lez un perron ;
Aler soleient ueneor
A Berenton par grant cholor,
E a lor cors l'eue espuisier
E le perron desus moillier,
Por co soleient pluie aueir ;
Issi soleit iadis ploueir
En la forest e enuirun
Mais io ne sai par quel raison.”

Cf. Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th Ed.) vol. iii. p. 494. At Kulen Vakup in Bosnia I came upon the reverse of this method. There, sacred stones are let down in a net into the spring to produce rain. If the stones were to drop out of the net a great flood would ensue. See my *Illyrian Letters*, p. 109. For another Breton parallel see Crestien de Troies, *Li romans dou Chevalier au Lyon*, v. 387, seqq.

attracted to the spot by the sight of two round barrows which crown two opposite headlands about 250 feet above the level of the plain. The nearer of these I undertook to excavate, Féik Pasha kindly supplying me with workmen for the purpose. The greater part of the barrow, which was fourteen feet in height, consisted of a concretion of clay and calcareous particles very difficult to dig into, so that it took fifteen men two days and a-half to cut a trench as deep as the base of the mound to its centre. The results were disappointing; besides a surface interment, probably of the Roman period, consisting of two skeletons, a fragment of iron, and a couple of bronze rings, I found nothing, except some horse-bones at a depth of twelve feet. The mound would therefore not be of sepulchral origin, and both it and its fellow about a mile distant may possibly, as in the case of the mounds to be seen at intervals both on the Egnatian Way and the Agger Publicus that traversed Central Illyricum, have stood in some relation to a Roman road.

The excavation of the mound, though otherwise unfruitful, gave me leisure to explore the neighbouring country. In the valley, between the two mounds, I found the surface of the ground literally strewn with Roman tiles and pottery. The natives universally recognise the fact that an ancient town once existed here, and call the site "Selište," which literally means "the site of a settlement," the mound itself being known by the presumably Rouman name of *Tumba*. To the East of the *Tumba* the remains extended to the village of Hadžalar, in which direction the peasants assured me there had formerly been considerable blocks of masonry (since removed to build the Bey's Konak in two neighbouring villages), and the remains of a conduit constructed of tiles. Here also had been lately discovered a bronze figurine answering to the description of one that I subsequently saw in the possession of a merchant at Usküp. It represented a very late Roman type of Mercury with wings on his heels, and apparently growing out of his head. In his left arm he held an infant Faun with long pointed ears, and in his right hand a broken caduceus. In the Turkish graveyard, outside Hadžalar, I observed a large block which proved to be an altar dedicated to

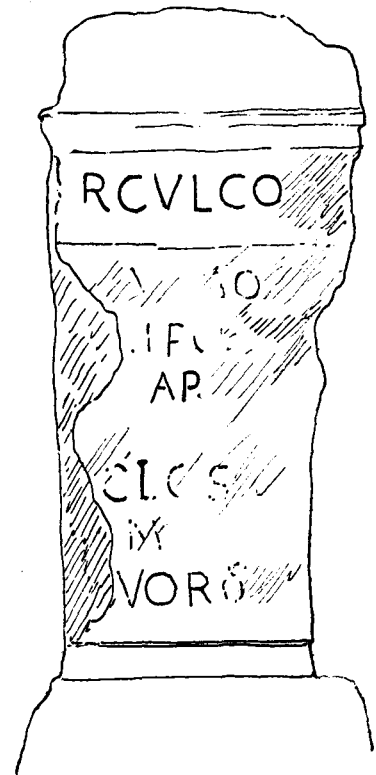


Fig. 49.

Hercules Conservator, much defaced however, as the annexed illustration will show (fig. 49).

Above Hadžalar opens a glen leading to the village of Tekinoselo, where is a Teke or shrine kept by a Dervish, containing a stone pillar which is the object of a singular cult. I will reserve, however, an account of the mysteries at which I here assisted for another occasion, as they have not the same classic associations as those of Ibrahimovce.

From Ibrahimovce the course of the Roman road answers approximately to that of the present highway to Kaplan Khan. To the left, the road skirts a long sedgy pool known as Jezero or the Lake, more anciently the lake of Jelatno, the haunt of innumerable pelicans and wild ducks, and thence crosses a low neck of land, where the terrace of the Roman Way is distinctly visible, to the valley of the Pčinja. On the right bank of the stream, about half-an-hour above, is a spot called Ilidže or Banja, where are some hot sulphur baths much frequented by the natives. The bath-house is a rude shelter surrounding a square open basin well-formed of four gradations of stone steps descending to a flat bottom, and thus resembling on a smaller scale the newly-discovered Roman bath at Bath. Above this bath-house, on the top of a rocky eminence largely composed of a sulphurous deposit, is a smaller square pool cut out of the rock and fed by a channel from a square cistern also cut out of the rock, presenting every appearance of Roman antiquity. The temperature of the water is here 105° Fahr. Above this again is another covered Turkish bath of more tepid water, and near it the remains of an ancient quarry with the ends of shafts of columns still *in situ*, showing that they were cut out of the rock into their round form before being detached from the stone matrix. Below were some modern quarries which had been worked, at the time the Macedonian railway was made, by Italian workmen, but which were wholly distinct from the ancient cuttings. Along the top of the ridge on which the baths and quarry lie was the very distinct track of an old road leading in the direction of Kaplan, with the wheel marks furrowed into the rock, reminding one of a street of Pompeii. There is thus distinct evidence that both the stone-quarries and thermal springs of Banja were known to the Romans, and I have no doubt that its site answers to the Bath Station marked on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the first after Scupi on the Thessalonica road.

It will be convenient to reserve my observations on the highland angle between the Pčinja and the Vardar and the ancient remains associated with the suggestive names of Taor and Bader till I come to discuss the birth-place of

Justinian and the sites of Tauresium and Bederiana. I will therefore proceed at once to pass in brief review the inscriptions that I have been able to collect on the actual site of the ancient Scupi and the surrounding district, included as we may legitimately infer in the municipal *Ager*.

Of inscriptions referring to the constitution, magistrates, and hierarchy of the Roman colony I have collected nine in all, including the altar already described referring to a local Duumvir, apparently an Augustal, and giving Scupi the title of COLONIA. This title and the name of the city reappear on the inscription (fig. 50) discovered near Hassanbeg.^a

From the name *Ulpus* occurring on this monument, coupled with the fact that an *Ulpia Marcia* appears on another stone from the neighbourhood, we might be tempted to suppose that the Colony itself dated back to Trajan's time. From the title AELIA however applied to Scupi on an inscription at Rome,^b it would appear that the town was first made a Roman Colony in the time of his successor, Hadrian. It is to Hadrian's reign therefore, or shortly after that time, that we must refer the following remarkable inscription (fig. 51, see p. 90) from Kučevićšte, erected to the memory of a Veteran of the Seventh Legion, who appears to have been one of the original colonists.

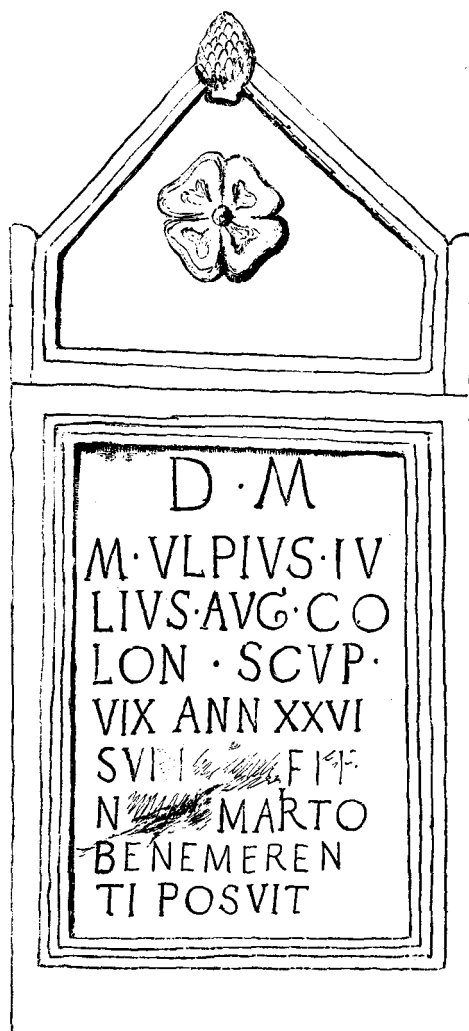


Fig. 50.

^a See p. 102.

^b NEMESI / SANCTAE / CAMPESTRI . PRO SA / LVTE . DOMINORVM . / NN . AVGG . P . AEL . P . F /
AELIA PACATVS . / SCVPIS . QVOD . COH DOC / TOR . VOVERAT . NVNC / CAMPI .
DOCTOR . COH . I . / PR . PV . SOMNIO . ADMO / NITVS . POSVIT . L . L .



Fig. 51.

Q. PETRONIUS . *marci filius* SCAPTIA (sc. tribu) RVFVS VETERANUS LEGIONIS VII
claudiae piae felicis DEDVCTICIVS TITULUM FIERI IUSSIT.

The stone would be remarkable if only from the fine execution of the inscription and from the arabesque design of the frieze which almost savours of Italian Renaissance. The epithet DEDVCTICIVS applied to this Veteran is new to the Latin vocabulary, but on the analogy of similar forms like *dediticius*=one belonging to

the class of *dediti*, *missicius*=of the *missi*, *translaticius*=belonging to the *translati*, can only be taken as meaning that he was one of the *deducti* or of the Veterans originally "deduced" to form the Colonia. On another monument (fig. 52) from Brazda, there appears mention of a *Miles deductus* of the same legion, and both this and the preceding are of value as revealing the name of the tribe to which the Colony belonged, namely, the Scaptian.

Fig. 53 from Nekistan, also appears to contain the word [C]OLONIA.



Fig. 52.

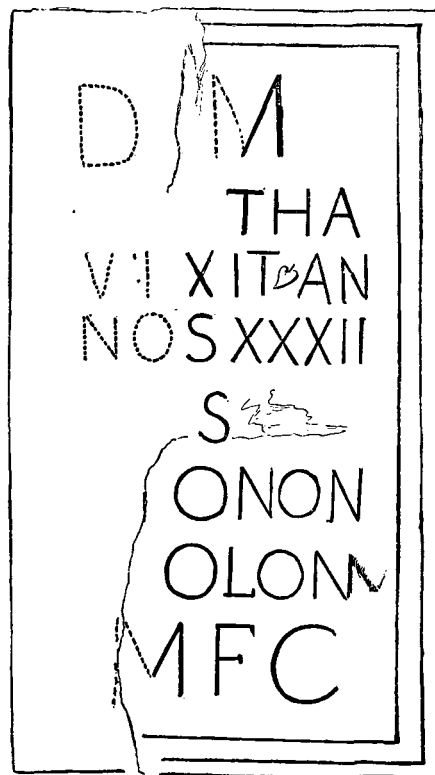


Fig. 53.

Of the highest civic interest is the following inscription (fig. 54) from the church at Kučevište^a (see p. 90), which from the style of the letters and general execution can not well be later than the second century of our era.

^a A mutilated and blundered version of this inscription was communicated by "a Belgrade professor" to M. Engelhardt and published by him in the *Révue Archéologique*, vol. xxvi. p. 137, from which it has been copied into the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. ii. p. 497. It is strange that there should have been any difficulty about this clear and beautifully-cut inscription.

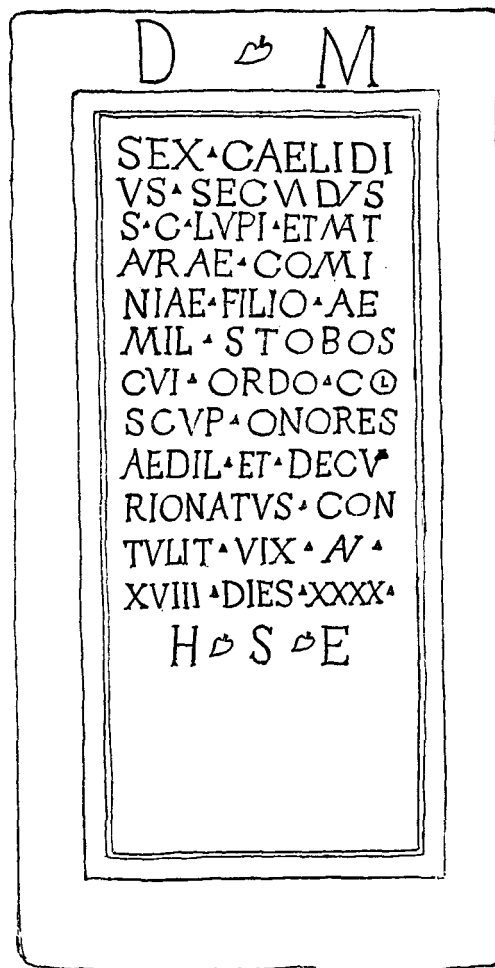


Fig. 54.

D . M.

SEXTUS CAELIDIVS SECVNDVS (*sc.* SEXTO CAELIDIO SECVNDO)S . C . LVPI . ET MATRIS AVRAE COMINIAE FILIO AEMILIA (*sc.* Tribu) STOBOS,

CVI ORDO COLONIAE SCVPENSIS ONORES AEDILITATIS ET DECVRIONATUS

CONTVLIT . VIXIT ANNOS XVIII DIES XXXX . HIC SEPULTUS EST.

Here, there can be no doubt, that by an error not uncommon on sepulchral tituli the name of the Sextus Caelidius Secundus to whom the monument was erected is placed in the nominative instead of the dative case. The female form of the name, *Caelidia Secunda*, occurs in another Scupese inscription discovered at

Zlokučani,^a the name of AVRA or AVRHA is found on three Italian tombs.^b This inscription is not only interesting as bringing Scupi into intimate and amicable connexion with the great Macedonian staple of the lower Axios, the Colony of Stobi, but as informing us for the first time that it was to the Æmilian tribe that Stobi belonged. The most remarkable feature however in this monument is the decree it records of the *Ordo Coloniae Scupensis*, conferring the honorary distinction of the Ædileship and membership in the local Senate on a youth who died at the premature age of eighteen. It appears probable that in this case^c the titles belonged to the "*sepulchri supervacuos honores*" of a kind specially frequent, it would seem, in the Macedonian province. On monuments found at Drama, near Philippi,^d the "ornamenta decurionalia" are found conferred on mere children of five and six years of age. The mention of the name of Scupi on this and two of the preceding inscriptions (figs. 48 and 50) will sufficiently refute those geographers who, like Professor Tomaschek, would transport the ancient Scupi from the banks of the Vardar and the vicinity of Üsküp to some as yet undiscovered Roman site in the valley of the Bulgarian Morava.

The most interesting historic monument however of Roman Scupi (fig. 55) remains to

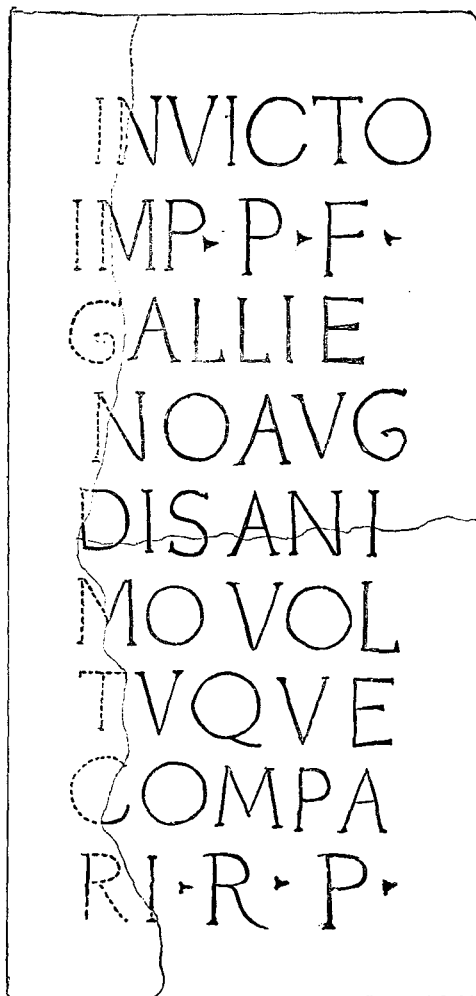


Fig. 55.

^a D. M. / CAELIDIA . SE / CVNDA . VIX . AN L / H . S . E . CL / HERCVLANVS MA / RITVS B . M . P . . Given in *Eph. Ep.* vol. ii. 498.

^b C. I. L. v. 5963, NVMMIA AVRHA, of Canusium; ix. 395, ATILIA AVRA, at Milan; x. 2438, MARCIA AVRA, at Naples.

^c See Mommsen, *Eph. Ep. loc. cit.*; and cf. C. I. L. v. 1892, where in the case of the *ornamenta duoviralia* he observes: "Ornamenta duoviralia cum non soleant concedi vivo nisi ei qui per legem duovir fieri non possit, crediderim et hic et in aliis similibus (ut Henzen 7172), ubi ingenuis ea tribuuntur, significari ornamenta post mortem decreta, sepulturæ causa."

^d C. I. L. iii. 649, 659.

be described. This is the broken slab found by me on the steep of Davina (see p. 92) containing the following remarkable dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the local Commonwealth.

INVICTO IMPERATORI Pio Felici GALLIENO AVGUSTO,
DIS ANIMO VOLTVQVE COMPARI
Res Publica.

From the form of the slab (which is about five feet high), it may be assumed that it formed part of the basis of a statue of the Emperor himself,^a and a historical record has been preserved to us which supplies at least a probable occasion for the erection of such a monument by the citizens of Scupi. The reign of Gallienus was one of the darkest periods in the history of the Illyrian provinces under the Roman Empire. It was at this time that Trajan's Dacia was virtually lost,^b though a formal recognition of the fact was postponed to the time of Aurelian. Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, and Epirus were over-run by the Goths, while the Sarmatian hordes, after devastating the Pannonias in conjunction with the Quadi in, or shortly after, 258 A.D.^c extended their ravages to the neighbouring Mœsian province. From a letter of Claudius, afterwards of Gothic fame, to Regalian, then "Dux Illyrici," it appears that Gallienus' lieutenant had gained a victory, or rather a series of victories in a single day, over the Sarmatians under the walls of Scupi. "I have learnt," says Claudius in this epistle, "what you have shown yourself to be in the fight at Scupi, of the number of your conflicts in a single day, and of the speed with which you brought them to a successful issue." Claudius begs him to send him of the spoil some Sarmatian bows and a couple of cloaks with their fibulas attached, the Sarmatian fibula being then highly prized in the Roman Empire. He warns Regalian however, in cautious language, to be careful with his victories as more likely under such a prince to lead to the scaffold than to a triumph.^d

^a Compare for the abbreviated character of the lines the almost contemporary inscription on a six-sided base of a statue of Marsyas erected PRO SA / LVTE / ET IN / COLV / MITA / TE D D / N N VA / LERIA / NIET / GALLI / ENI / AVGG &c. at Verecunda in the Province of Numidia (C. I. L. viii. 4219). The whole inscription in this latter case extended over three sides of the base containing severally twelve, fourteen, and eight lines.

^b Sextus Rufus, in *Brev.* "Dacia Gallieno imperatore amissa est." For Aurelian's Dacia cf. *Fl. Vopiscus*, 39, from whom Eutropius (ix. 15) copies. Mœsia is described as "deperdita" at this time.

^c "Fusco (*lege Tusco*) et Basso Consulibus" the date of Ingenuus' revolt (*Treb. Poll.* xxx *Tyranni*. 8), which was caused by the imminence of this Sarmatian invasion.

^d *Treb. Pollio. Triginta Tyranni* ix. "Claudius Regilliano (*sic*) multam salutem. Felicem

This victory, as gained under the auspices of Gallienus, would in official acts be ascribed to his name, and in the triumph which he celebrated at Rome, on the occasion of his *decennalia* in 263, we find Sarmatian captives, real or pretended, led amongst the others. There were, moreover, special reasons why the citizens of Scupi, then with the other Dardanian cities included in Upper Mœsia, should seek to court Gallienus' favour. The inhabitants of Mœsia had just received a fearful lesson of the Emperor's ferocity in the massacres and executions consequent on the abortive elevation of Ingenuus to the purple by the provincial legionaries. Gallienus, roused on this occasion from his habitual apathy, had fallen with fury on Ingenuus' supporters, and, having defeated the usurper, "wreaked a savage vengeance not only on the Mœsian soldiers but on the citizens at large." In some cities, we are told,^a the whole male population was exterminated, and it was on this occasion that Gallienus addressed to his lieutenant Verianus a letter unsurpassed in any age for bloodthirsty ferocity.^b The outcome of these cruelties was that the Mœsians in despair proclaimed Regalianus, whose victory over the Sarmatians had proved his capacity, and whose Dacian parentage and alleged descent from Decebalus himself^c apparently appealed to some still not wholly unextinguished feeling of Dacian nationality in the Illyrian Provinces, a feeling to which Galerius^d seems to have had recourse at a later date. Such, however, had been the impression produced by Gallienus' savagery, that on the initiative of the Roxalanian allies, but with the consent of the soldiers and provincials who feared

Rempublicam quæ te talem virum habere rei castrensis bellis his meruit, felicem Gallienum, etiamsi ei vera nemo nec de bonis, nec de malis nuntiat. Pertulerunt ad me Bonitus et Celsus stipatores Principis nostri qualis apud Scupos in pugnando fueris quot uno die prælia et qua celeritate confeceris. Dignus eras triumpho si antiqua tempora exstarent. Sed quid multa? Memor cujusdam ominis cautius velim vincas. Arcus Sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fibulatoria, cum ipse miserim de nostris." The "omen" referred to was no doubt the fate of Ingenuus.

^a *Treb. Pollio. Triginta Tyranni*, viii. "In omnes Mœsiacos, tam milites quam cives, asperrime sæviit, nec quemquam suæ crudelitatis exsortem reliquit: usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret."

^b *Ib.* "Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicumque male voluit, occidendus est quicumque male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem et fratrem. Ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, occide, concide."

^c *Treb. Poll. Triginta Tyranni*, ix. "Gentis Daciæ, Decebali ipsius ut fertur affinis."

^d Cf. *Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum* C. xxvii. "Olim quidem ille, ut nomen Imperatoris acceperat, hostem se Romani nominis erat professus, cujus titulum immutari volebat ut non Romanum imperium sed Daciscum cognominaretur."

new scenes of sanguinary vengeance, the usurper was slain by his own supporters. It will be seen that there were sufficient reasons why the inhabitants of Scupi should erect an adulatory monument to Gallienus, and it seems natural to connect this inscription with the historic victory achieved by Gallienus' lieutenant under the walls of their city and with the civil troubles of which this barbarian repulse was the prelude. In 267, after his residence in Greece, we find Gallienus himself gaining a victory over the Goths in Illyricum, but the scene of the combat is not given, nor have we any historic ground for connecting it with Scupi, though it is always possible that the Emperor in returning to the West may have passed through this city.

The elaborate and superlative adulation of the inscription before us reminds us somewhat of that on the Arch of Gallienus at Rome :^b

GALLIENO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI . CVIVS . INVICTA .
VIRTUS . SOLA . PIETATE . SVPERATA . EST.

where the strangely misplaced compliments to a prince whose inert and unfilial conduct was notorious read like a satire. In the present case the comparison of Gallienus with the Gods "both in soul and countenance" is quite in harmony with the numismatic records of this reign, where the Emperor appears with the alternate attributes of Mars, Hercules, and Mercury.^c He seems, however, to have regarded himself as in some special way under the protection of Apollo, whether under the refined Hellenic aspect of the God as patron of the arts in which Gallienus himself, even on his detractors' showing,^d was allowed to excel, or in a more mysterious Oriental character as the Unconquered Mithra or the

^a The revolt of Regalianus appears to have taken place about the date of Gallienus' *Decennalia*, A.D. 263. Cf. Clinton *Fasti Romani; ad annum*.

^b C. I. L. vi. 1106.

^c The language of the present inscription recalls the lines of Calpurnius (Ecl. IV.)

"In uno

Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse notatur."

The flattering comparison of Calpurnius is, however, addressed, as Moriz Haupt has conclusively shown (*De Carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani*), to Nero and not, as earlier commentators supposed, to Carinus or Gallienus himself.

^d Treb. Pollio. *Duo Gallieni*. "Fuit enim Gallienus (quod negari non potest) oratione, poemate, atque omnibus artibus clarus. Hujus est illud epithalamium quod inter centum poetas præcipuum fuit."

Edessan God Azizus,^a the warlike slayer of the Python. The colossal and never to be completed statue which Gallienus had designed to erect to himself on the summit of the Esquiline^b represented the Emperor in the guise of the Sun-god, nor shall we be thought hypercritical if we find in the dedication before us, beginning as it does INVICTO, a hint as to the character of the divinity with whose attributes the Emperor would be invested in the statue which probably surmounted the inscribed base. On the reverse of coins of Gallienus the inscription INVICTVS, INVICTO AVG. surrounds the image of the radiated Sun-god; on a coin of Carausius^c the Emperor's head is conjugated with the rayed head of Mithra, and with the inscription INVICTO ET CARAVSIO AVG. and according to the usage of the times this epithet had acquired a too specialized religious meaning, as associated with the Persian cult, to be without at least an allusive significance when added to the title

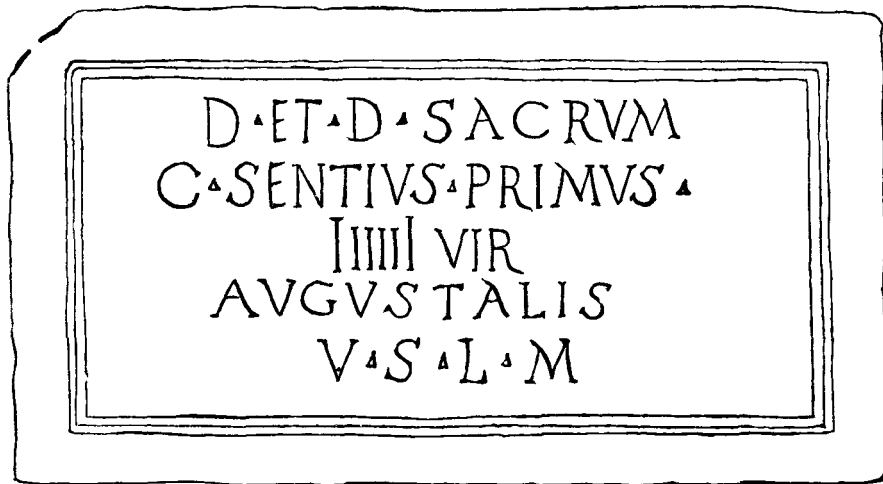


Fig. 56.

^a Thus we find the Præfectus of the 5th Macedonian Legion at Potaissa in Dacia erecting a votive altar to Azizus "Bonus Puer Conservator" for the health of Valerian and Gallienus. C. I. L. III. 875. Julian Or. IV. mentions the worship of Azizus at Edessa in conjunction with that of the Sun, and notices that Jamblichus identifies this god with Ares. From inscriptions found at Apulum, however, as Mommsen has pointed out, Azizus is seen to be the equivalent of Apollo Pythius. See C. I. L. III. 1133.

^b Treb. Pollio. *Gallieni Duo*: "Statuam sibi majorem colosso fieri præcepit, Solis habitu, sed ea imperfecta periit . . . Poni autem illam voluerat in summo Esquiliarum monte, ita ut hastam teneret, per cujus caput infans ad summum posset ascendere. Sed et Claudio et Aureliano deinceps stulta res visa est, &c."

^c In my father's cabinet: unpublished.

of an Emperor who reigned in the latter half of the third century and who had himself in a special way assumed the Sun-god's attributes.

From the monument erected by the *Respublica Scupensis* to this imperial "compeer of the Gods" we may pass to those which illustrate the local cult of the Gods themselves. To the two inscriptions (figs. 48, 50) already given referring to the College of the Augustales I may add the following (fig. 56) excavated by me on the actual site of Scupi (see p. 87).

Besides this altar, dedicated DIS ET DEABUS, votive monuments to Jove and Hercules, as well as a bronze statuette of Mercury, have been already mentioned. The fragment (fig. 57) presenting part of the Greek inscription, with letters of a form not uncommon on Macedonian monuments, found in modern Üsküp (see p. 101), probably formed part of an altar of Zeus, as may be gathered from its having an eagle relief on its side.

The fragmentary dedication (fig. 58) found by me in the ruined Church of Ljubanze is of a more enigmatic character.

That the abbreviated FLL in the third line stands for *Flamines* may be gathered from other examples. The God whose name begins with ZE however is not so clear. The initial letter is rather suggestive of a Thracian connexion. There exists a Thracian Asclepius Zimidrenus.^a

To these may be added the altar of Silvanus (fig. 59) near the Musta Mosque in Üsküp itself (see p. 101).

Of imperial records, with the exception of the monument to Gallienus and the two fragmentary milestones already given, I found nothing more than the imperfect votive dedication to Septimius Severus and Caracalla which still exists where Ami Boué first observed it, walled into the Byzantine Aqueduct.^b Of military inscriptions referring to the LEGIO VII CLAVDIA PIA FIDELIS there was an abundance. Four have been already given,^c two of these being of considerable interest as showing that the veterans to whom they severally referred as "deductus" or "deducticius" had been amongst those led hither to form the original colony. A monument of a Miles Frumentarius of this legion from Bardovce (see p. 88), is interesting from the well-preserved relief which it presents of a soldier standing between a veiled and seated female figure and a boy

^a Cf. C. I. L. vi. 2385.

^b Ami Boué, *Turquie d'Europe*, 2, 354; C. I. L. iii. 1696; PRO SALVTE imp. caes. L. septimi severi pertinacis Aug. Arab. / ADIAB. Pont. Max. . . . / M. AVRELI ANTONINI Caes. . . . The A of ADIABENICI is clear.

^c Two from the neighbouring Markova Rjeka district (Figs. 43, 46).



Fig. 57.

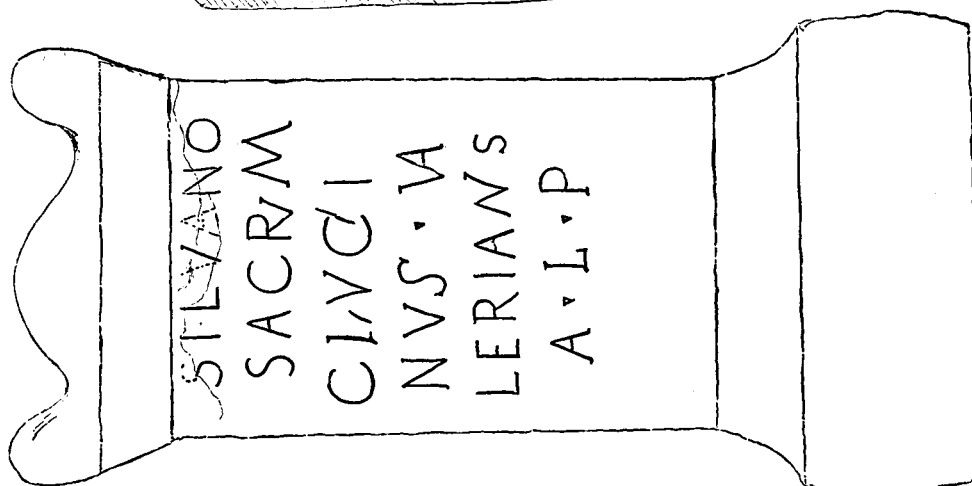


Fig. 59.

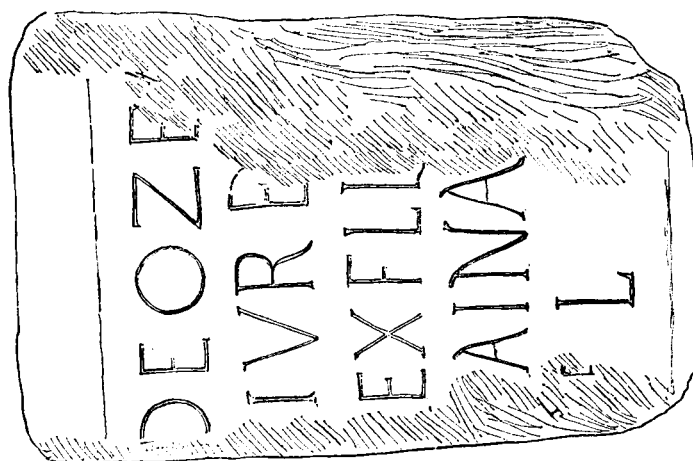


Fig. 58.

or Genius carrying in his right hand a kind of chest, such as not infrequently occurs on tombs, and in the left what appears to be a conventional representation

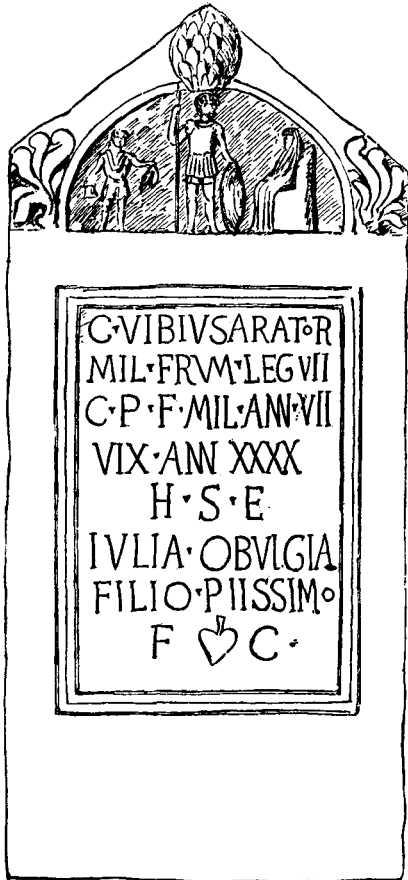


Fig. 60.

of ears of corn, doubtless in allusion to the soldier's office.^a The *Milites Frumentarii* were enrolled amongst the *Peregrini*, who had their *Castra* on the Cœlian, at Rome, and who were a kind of imperial gendarmerie.^b The *Frumentarii* themselves, from being originally connected with the collection of the *Annona*, were found useful by the Emperors for obtaining secret information regarding provincial affairs, and hence grew into a kind of spy service. Though abolished by Diocletian their hateful functions continued to be fulfilled by the *Agentes in rebus* of his successors.^c

The next military titulus, which I observed at Mirkovce in two pieces is, unfortunately, too fragmentary to admit of complete restitution. It is evident, however, that it refers to a certain C. Julius Longinus, a veteran of the same (seventh) legion, who had received his *missio honesta*. It may be suggested that DARD in the fifth line of the second fragment refers to an *Ala Dardanorum*. An *Ala Vespasiana Dardanorum* is referred to in three military diplomas^d relating to Lower Mœsia. From the imposing character of the letters and the size of the monument it may be inferred that the officer commemorated was of some distinction. The inscription belonged to a good period.

The last legionary monument to which I have to call attention from this

^a A copy of the inscription sent by the Austrian Consul Lippich was published by Dr. Friedrich Kenner (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissensch.* vol. 80, p. 275, and see *Eph. Ep.* vol. iv.), but the relief is inaccurately described. In Dr. Kenner's version, line 6, OVLGIA.

^b See Henzen, *Sui militi peregrini e frumentarii*, in *Bullettino dell' istituto di Corr. Archeologica*, 1851, p. 113 *seqq.*

^c Aurelius Victor, *De Cass.* 39, speaking of Diocletian, says: *remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere quorum nunc agentes in rebus simillimi sunt.*

^d C. I. L. iii. D. xx. xxii. xxxiv.

district relates to a *Cornicularius* of the same seventh legion and records a testamentary disposition of the deceased.



Fig. 61.

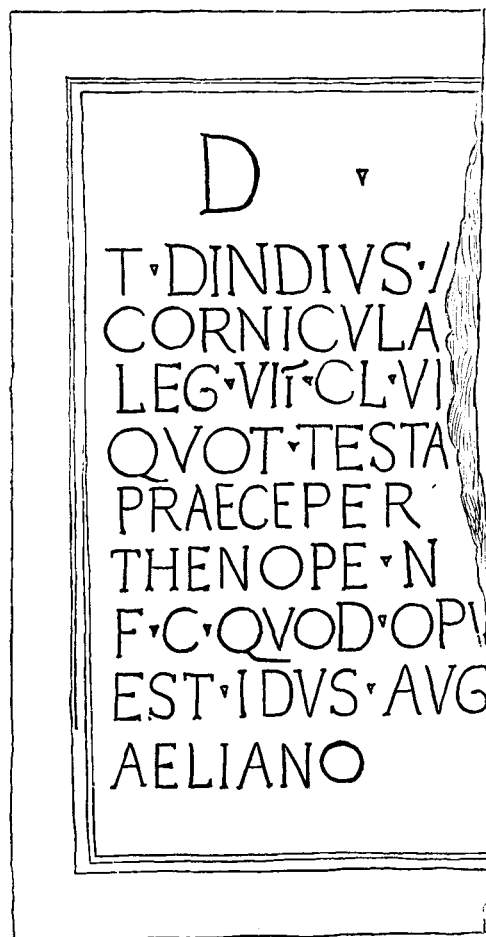
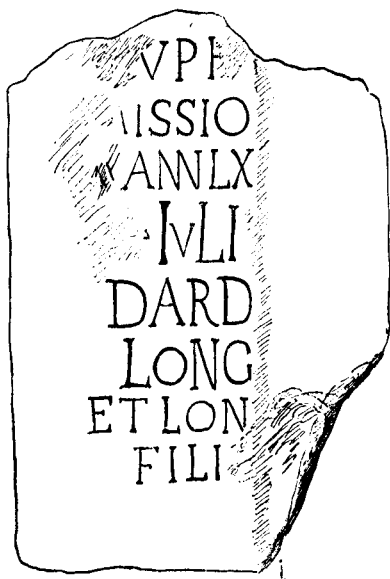


Fig. 62.

D. M

T. DINDIVS. A // // // // CORNICVLARIVS LEGATI
 LEG. VII. CL. VIXIT ANNOS // // // QVOT. TESTAMENTO HEREDES
 PRAECEPERVNT. ARAM. PARTHENOPE. NEPTIS // // // F. C. QVOD OPVS
 CONFECTVM EST. IDVS. AVG. CRISPINO ET AELIANO COS.

“*Praecipere testamento*” is a well-known law-term signifying, of legatees, “to

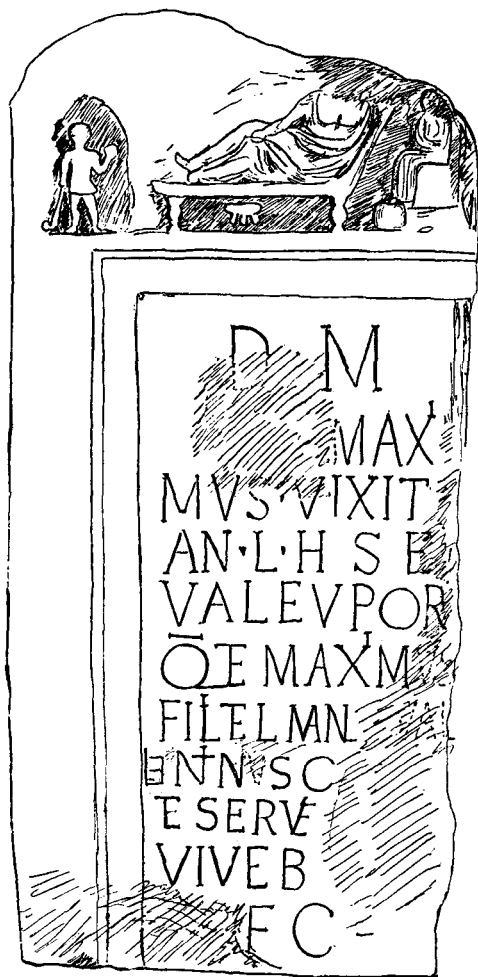


Fig. 63.

receive in advance," before the rest of the property bequeathed is divided.^a In the present case this advance seems to have been conditional on the execution of some pious work, of which however, owing to an unfortunate lacuna in the stone, we only learn that it was completed on the Ides of August, in the consulship of Crispinus^b and Ælianus (A.D. 187), under the rule therefore of Commodus.

The head-quarters of the *Legio VII. Claudia Pia Fidelis* were at Viminacium (Kostolac on the Danube), and on the coins and monuments^c of this Mœsian city the local Genius is associated with the bull, which was the symbol of the seventh legion. From the inscriptions, figs. 51, 52, it appears that the original colony of Scupi was formed of veterans of this legion. At the beginning of the third century Dion Cassius^d mentions "the seventh, generally called the Claudian," in Upper Mœsia, and their *Præfectura* was still at Viminacium at the time when the *Notitia* was drawn up.^e

This legion was stationed in Dalmatia previous to Vespasian's withdrawal of the legions from that province.^f On an inscription at

^a Cf. *Forcellini Lexicon* (Ed. De Vit), s. v. *Præceptio*. "Per præceptionem dare, legare, relinquere, est ita dare ut percipiatur ante quam tota hereditas dividatur et partes aliis coheredibus distribuantur." Julian, *Dig.* 30, 122, "Si heres centum præcipere jussus sit."

^b In 184 Ælianus had been consul in conjunction with Marullus. The name of Crispinus however squares better with the letter-space at our disposal, which has been very accurately observed throughout this inscription.

^c Cf. especially a bas-relief of the Genius of Viminacium represented as a stoled female figure with her right hand on the bull of the 7th, Claudian, Legion, and her left on the lion, which here stands for the 4th Legion (figured by Kanitz, *Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde der serbischen Donau*, in *Mitth. d. Central. Comm.* 1867, 28 seqq.) The same device is common on the coins of this city.

^d Lib. iv. c. 23: "Και ἑβδομοὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὀνομάζονται."

^e "Præfecturæ Leg. vii. Claudiæ Viminacio."

^f Mommsen, *C. I. L.* iii. 272. Cf. *Inscriptions at Narona* (1813, 1814, 1818), *Salona* (2014,

Naissus^a (Nish) this Claudian legion receives the additional title *Severiana*, a title also born by the fourth Claudian legion stationed at Singidunum.

Of the private inscriptions, of which I have collected a considerable number (see Pl. I. II. III.) the following (fig. 63) from Neresi (see p. 97) is specially interesting, as presenting us with a Thracian name-form with its Roman equivalent:

dis - manibus / /// MAXI / MVS - VIXIT / AN - L - hic
 Sepultus est / VALERIUS EVPOR / QUI ET MAXIMVS
 FILIUS ET L / MANLIVS VAL / ENTINVS C / /// /
 ET SERVENA ? /// / VIVE B
 Faciendum Curaverunt.

The name EVPOR which presents obvious analogies with other Thracian names such as Mucapor, Sempor, Dindiporis,^b and Bithoporus King of the Costoboci, occurs as a widely diffused Thracian name.^c The present formula VAL . EVPOR QVI ET MAXIMVS is interesting as giving the Roman name "Maximus" as an alternative form for the more barbaric "Eupor." This formula answers to that of other inscriptions in which indigenous Thracian and Illyrian names occur, and notably to the case of the remarkable Thracian inscription found by Heuzey^d at Drama, near Philippi, beginning: BITHVS . TAVZIGIS . FILIUS . QVI . ET MACER . AN . LX . TAVZIES . BITHI . QVI ET RVFVS.

The name Eupor under the Hellenized form Eupōros, to be distinguished from the not infrequent Hellenic name Eupōros, occurs on the annexed inscription which I observed at Salonica, where it had been recently discovered, together with figs. 65 and 66, which, as also unpublished, I here place beside it.

In this connexion I may mention that I also noticed at Salonica, in the court of the Konak, the following inscription (fig. 67), interesting both from the reliefs it

2019, 2040, 2033, 2048, 2071), at Tilurium (Gardun), (2709, 2710, 2714, 2716, 2717), where Mommsen fixes their Prætorium, at Nedinum (2882), and at Jader (2908, 2913). Detachments of this Legion are found serving in Syria and Asia.

^a C. I. L. iii. 1676.

^b Bithynian, C. I. G. 3795; cf. Tomaschek, *Brumalia*, &c. p. 386, for this and other instances. Tomaschek also compares names like Rascupolis, Abrupolis.

^c The name occurs in Dalmatia, Italy, and other parts of the Empire.

^d *Revue Archéologique*, VI. Année (1865), p. 451. Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 392, cites other instances, I. R. N. 513, EVTICHIA QAE ET BVTIN; 2810, C . RAVONIUS . CELER . QVI . ET . BATO . SCENOBARBI . NATIONE . MAEZEIUS (Dalmatian), &c.

represents and the Thracian names it contains, and which was not improbably brought to that city along with other inscriptions^a from the Thracian borders.

D ♡ M
 SPENIS·VIXIT·ANN·
 VI·M·VIII·D·XXIX·DOMI
 NI·ET·PARENTES·PRIMITI
 VVS·ET·SOTIRA·DOLENTES
 FECERVNT
 ΘΕΟΙΣ·ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ
 ΣΠΗΝΙΣ·ΕΖΗΣΕΝ·ΕΤΗ·
 Γ·ΜΗΝ·Θ·ΗΜ·ΚΗ·ΟΙΚΥΡΙ
 ΟΙ·ΚΑΙ·ΓΟΝΕΙΣ·ΠΡΕΙΜΙΤΕΙ
 ΒΟΣ·ΚΑΙ·ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ·ΠΟΝΟΥ
 ΤΕΣ·ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ

Fig. 65.

ΜΒΚΑΓΕΙΟΣ
 ΕΥΠΩΡΟΣ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ·ΚΑΙ
 ΕΡΜΗ·ΤΟΙΣ·ΓΟ
 ΝΕΙΣΙ·ΜΗΜΕ
 ΧΑΡΙΝ·
 ΒΑΣΙΟΣ·ΚΑΙ·ΕΡ
 ΜΟΔΩΡΟΣ·ΚΑΙ
 ΙΟΥΛΙΑ·ΚΑΙ·ΚΛΑΥ
 ΒΗ·ΖΩΝΕΣ.

Fig. 64.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΣ
 ΖΟΙΔΕΤΗΔΙΑ
 ΣΥΜΒΙΩΜΗΜ
 ΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΜΗΤΗΡΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΥΦΡΩΝΗ
 ΖΟΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΤΙΣΠΟΤΕΙ

Fig. 66.

^a I was informed that some had been lately thus transported to Salonica from Zlokucani. Others have in the same way been removed by the Turkish authorities from Bardovec. Monuments with sculpture are more especially sought for by the Turkish authorities as they are thought to have a monetary value. No pains are taken in such cases to preserve a record of the locality where the monuments were found.

The occurrence in the epigraphic records of the district of Thracian name-forms on the one hand, and Illyrian—such as the form *Gatties* already mentioned (p. 99), and perhaps also the God *Andinus* (p. 74)—on the other, is quite consistent with what we gather from other sources as to the ethnography of the ancient Dardania. That the European Dardani were originally one and the same people as their Trojan namesakes, agrees with what we learn from ancient writers as to the Thracian descent of so many Asianic tribes. On the other hand the early names of the Dardanian princes in Europe, such as Monunios, Longaros, and Bato,^a present unquestionable Illyrian affinities. The same intermixture of the Illyrian and Thracian elements, of which the births of Justin the Thracian and Justinian on Dardanian soil are conspicuous examples, results from a comparison of the local names of Justinian's castles in Dardania supplied by Procopius. On the whole, however, on comparing the names^b supplied by the inscriptions from this district, we are struck with the evidence they supply of its thoroughgoing Romanization. Of Greek inscriptions from Scupi and its vicinity I am able to supply but two (figs. 57, 79),^c though names of Greek origin are not infrequent.

Amongst other private inscriptions of interest may be mentioned the concluding part of an elegiac epitaph to a local Nestor.



Fig. 67.

^a Cf. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hæmus-Halbinsel* (Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. d. W. 1881. H. 2, p. 446.)

^b A Dardanian with the Illyrian name *Epicadus* is mentioned on an inscription at Rome C. I. L. VI. 2845.

^c Cf. also the uncertain fragment from Taor (p. 145) and the later Byzantine inscription on the walls of Skopia.

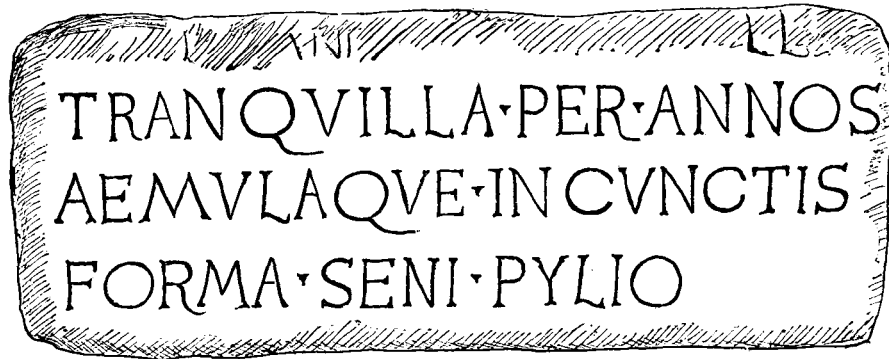


Fig. 68.

..... TRANQVILLA PER ANNOS
AEMVLA QVE IN CVNCTIS FORMA SENI PYLIO

In another case (fig. 69) a citizen of Methymna in Lesbos is mentioned, who died at Scupi at the mature age of eighty. Of unquestionably Christian inscriptions I am only able to describe one (fig. 88). It is engraved in a late and quasi cursive style on a tile which my wife picked up on the actual Acropolis of Scupi.

There is, indeed, ample evidence that under the Christian Emperors Scupi retained its importance. When, in accordance with the new division of the Empire, Dardania^a had again been detached from Upper Mœsia, Scupi became the chief civil and ecclesiastical *Metropolis* of the newly constituted Dardanian Province. A Bishop of Scupi^b is the first-mentioned of the two Dardanian Bishops who attended the Council of Serdica in 347 A.D. In 379, the year in which Theodosius expelled the Goths from Thrace, we find him dating a law from this city,^c and again in 388.^d Ten years later, St. Paulinus of Nola, mentions Scupi among the important Illyrian cities that St. Nicetas, of Remesiana, would visit on his return from Italy to his Dacian See.^e On the Tabula Peutingeriana Scupi is

^a Less the part which was now incorporated in *Dacia Mediterranea*. Naissus itself had been included in the older and more extensive *Dardania* by Ptolemy.

^b "Paregorius a Dardania de Scupis": the other Dardanian Bishop who attended this council was Macedonius of Ulpiana. Mansi, *Conc.*

^c Cod. Theod. *De Palatinis* l. 2, dated "Scopis."

^d Cod. Theod. *De Decurionibus* l. 119, dated "Scupis."

^e S. Paulini Nolensis C. xxx: *De reditu Nicetæ Episcopi in Daciam*: see p. 163 *seqq.*

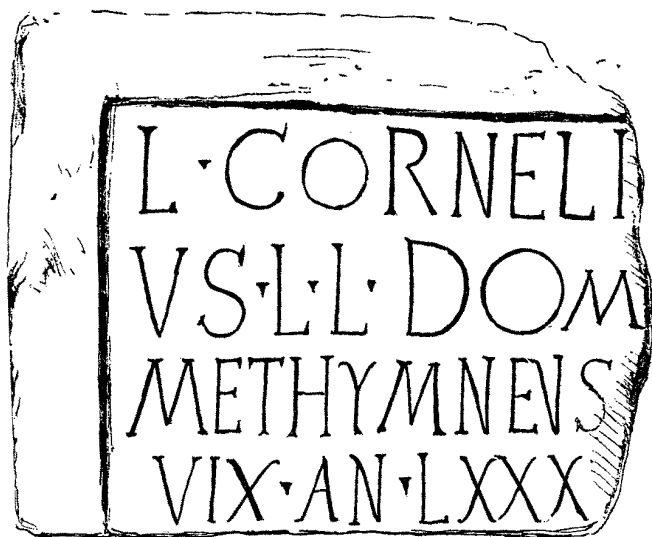


Fig. 69.

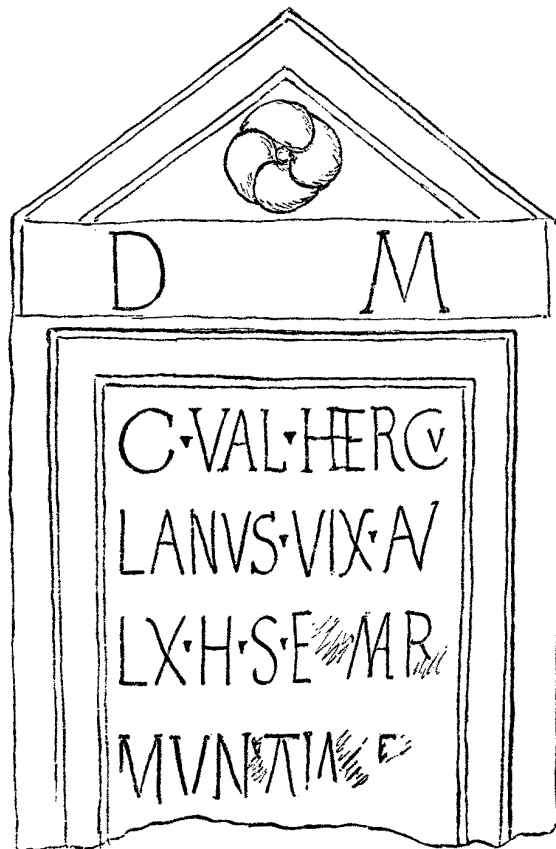


Fig. 70.

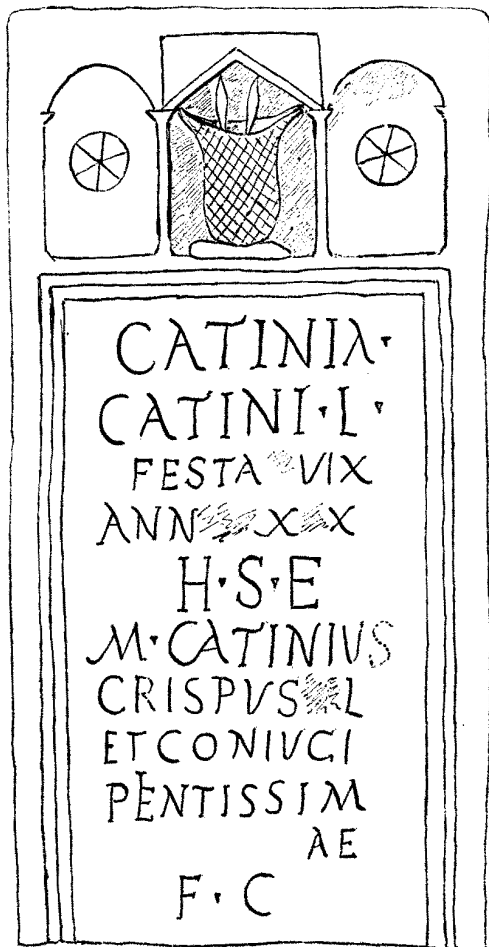


Fig. 71.

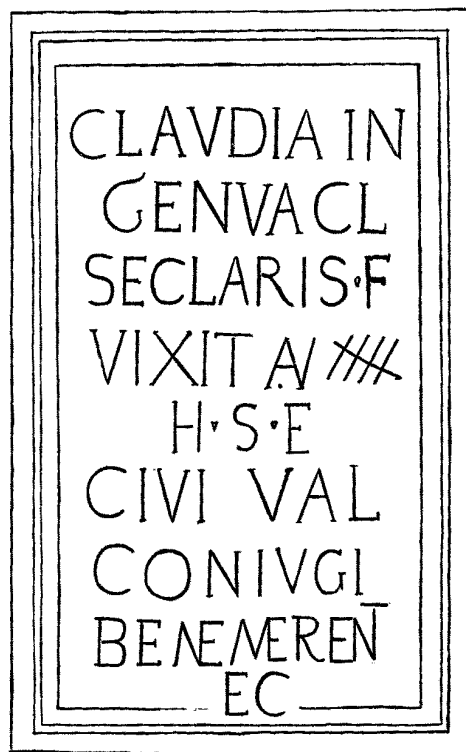


Fig. 72.

ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SITE OF SCUPI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—I.

ANNIS
H·S·E
IARE
FILIA

Fig. 73.

VIL
VERA
IMILLA
ANNXI
ENERIA
STOK

Fig. 74.

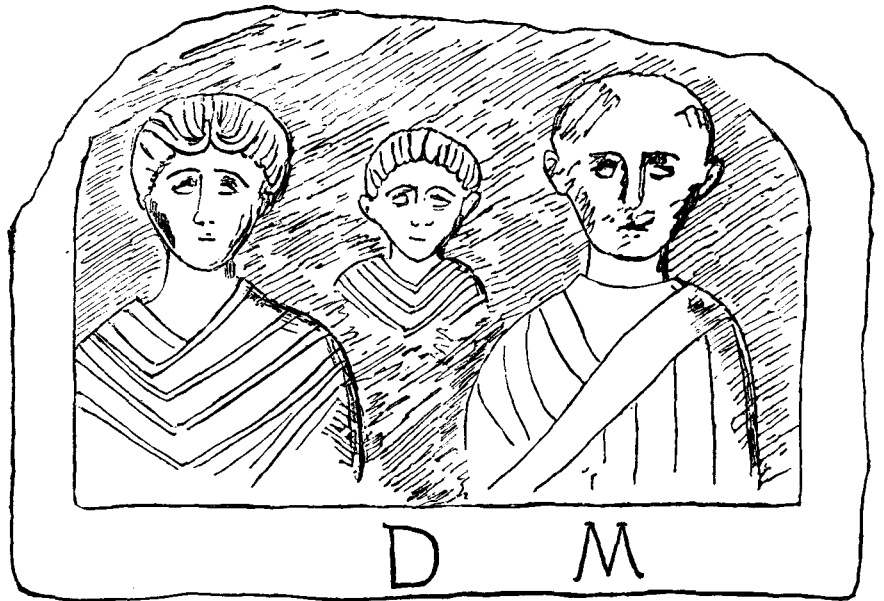


Fig. 75.

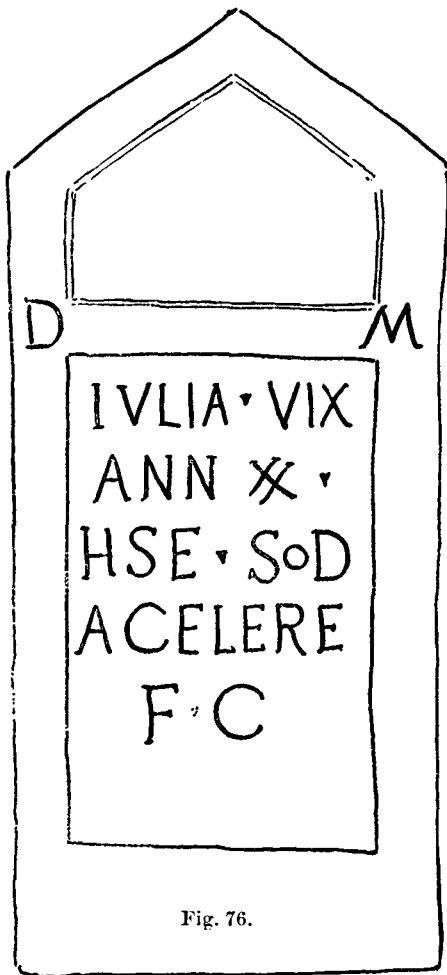


Fig. 76.



Fig. 77.

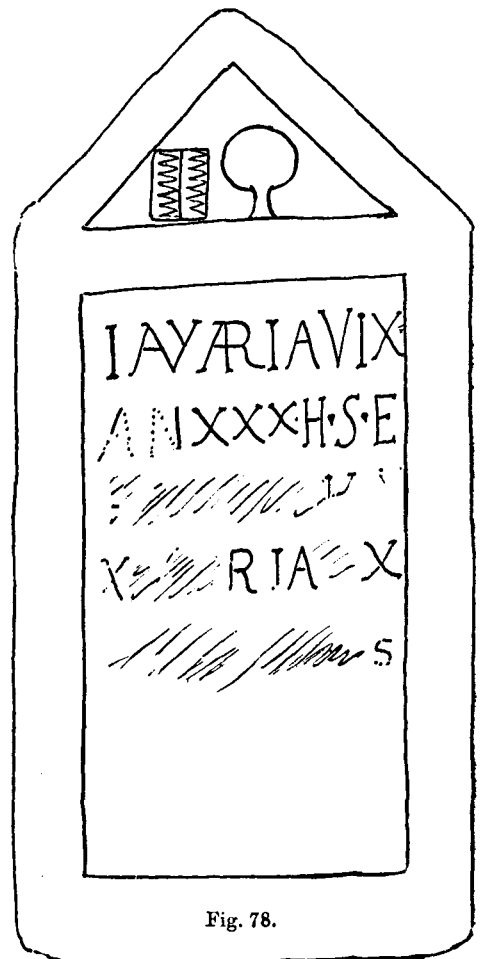


Fig. 78.

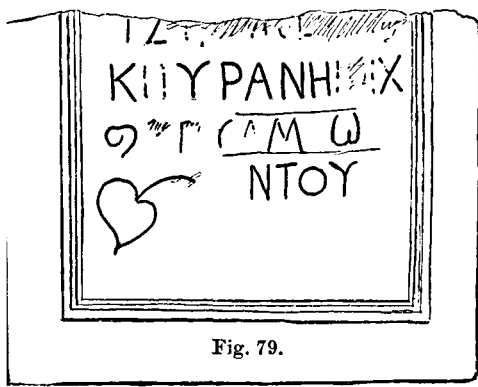


Fig. 79.

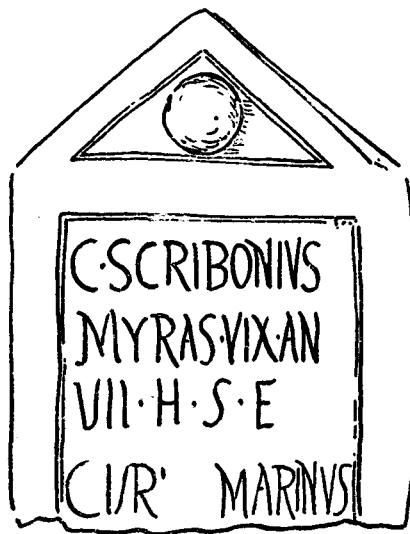


Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.

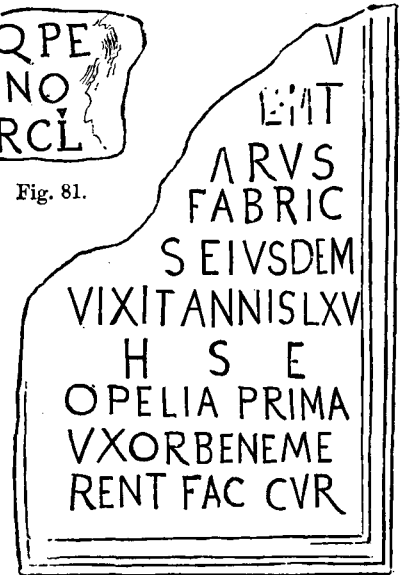


Fig. 82.

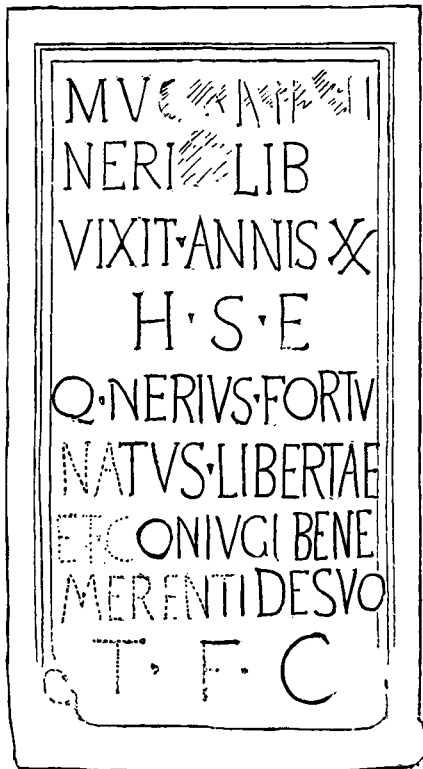


Fig. 83.

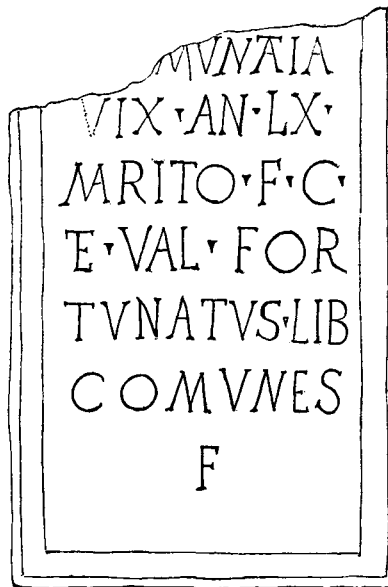


Fig. 84.

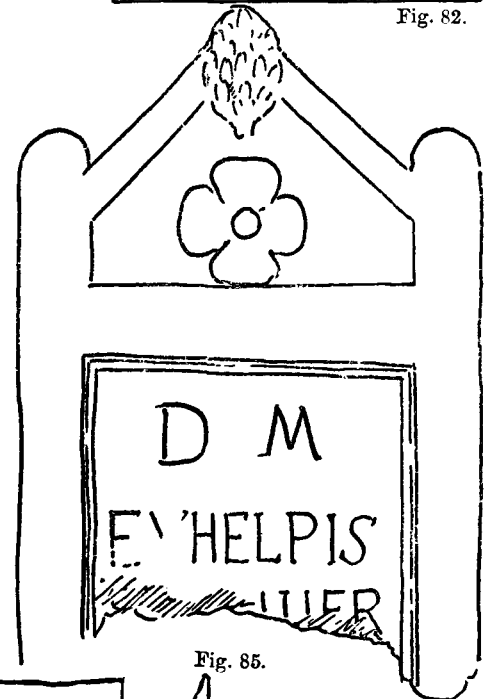


Fig. 85.

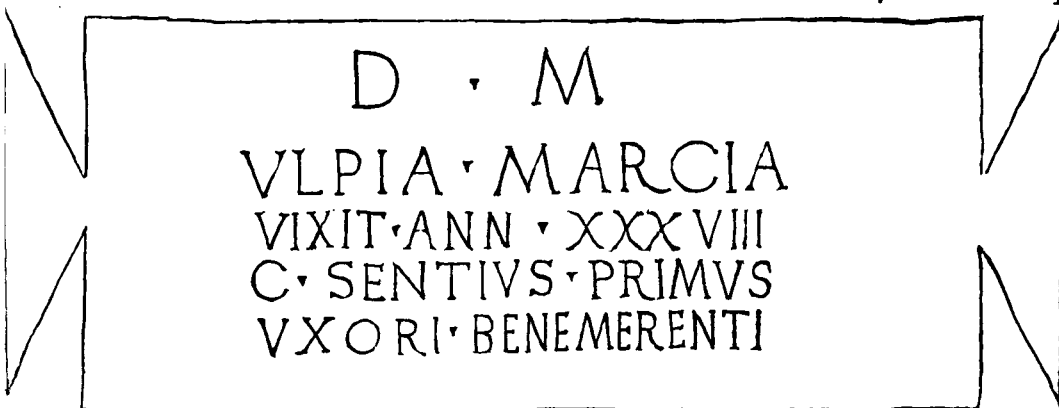


Fig. 86.



Fig. 87.

indicated by the two towers of a Prætorian gate, and the continued importance of this city as a place of arms appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, when the “Comi-



Fig. 88.

tatenses Scupenses” are mentioned among the *Legiones Pseudocomitatenses* under the command of the *Magister Militum per Illyricum*.^a

It was natural that Scupi along with the other cities of this Illyrian region should have suffered from the barbarian ravages so eloquently described by Saint Jerome, and which culminated in the days of Attila. About the year 480 we find Zeno’s lieutenant, Adamantius, exhorting Theodoric to forego his claims on Epirus, as it was intolerable that the inhabitants of its large cities should be turned out to make room for the Gothic host, but “to turn rather to Dardania where there was

^a Not. Orientis IX. The *Ulpianenses* and *Mer(i)enses* are also mentioned; the names of which connect them with the Dardanian towns of Ulpiana and Merion.

land in plenty besides that already inhabited, both fair and fertile, but lacking both inhabitants and cultivation.”^a The Ostrogoths turned towards Italy and the Dardanian wastes were left awhile without barbarian tillers. To the last, however, the old Dardanian capital maintained its supremacy both lay and spiritual, and the Church of Scupi continued with other Dardanian Churches to play its part in the ecclesiastical disputes of the time. The Roman element in Dardania seems at this time to have headed the conservative reaction of the Latin-speaking parts of the Illyrian peninsula against the semi-Greek administration of Byzantium, and the Dardanian Bishops on more than one occasion won praise from the representatives of St. Peter for their loyal adherence to Western orthodoxy and the See of Rome. In 492 the “Catholic” Dardanian Bishops, and at their head Johannes, “Bishop of the most sacred Metropolitan Church of Scupi,”^b addressed a letter in this sense to Pope Gelasius, and were complimented by the Pope in return;^c while in 516 Pope Hormisdas in his letter to Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, expresses his joy that the Dardanian and other Illyrian churches sought bishops of his nomination.^d The “Illyrician” soldiers took the same side, and in the revolt of the Mœsian rebel Vitalianus, against the Emperor Anastasius, the “Catholic soldiery” of Serdica and Pautalia were conspicuous for their fidelity to the Latin cause.^e Meanwhile, however, though barbarian colonists had not yet settled down *en masse* to till the waste-lands of Dardania, barbarian marauders continued the work of devastation, and a more awful natural catastrophe was impending over the devoted land. The Illyrian chronicler, Marcellinus Comes,^f writing of the earthquake which in 518 destroyed so many Dardanian cities and strongholds,^g mentions that the inhabitants of Scupi owed their escape from entombment in the ruins to the fact that they were then in the act of flying from their city owing to the scare of some barbarian invasion. The walls of Scupi, as we see from this last incident, had already ceased to be a protection to the citizens; the whole town was now reduced by the earthquake to a heap of ruins.

^a *Excerpta e Malchi Historia.* (Ed. Bonn, p. 255).

^b “Johannes Episcopus Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Scopinæ, Metropolitanæ.” Mansi. viii. 13.

^c “Gelasius Episcopus per Dardanium sive per Illyricum constitutis Audientes orthodoxam vestræ dilectionis in Christo constantiam.” Mansi viii. 46.

^d Mansi viii. 408.

^e Marcellinus Comes, *in Chron*: Anastasius was constrained to send back the Bishops of Naissus and Pautalia, *ob metum Illyriciani Catholicici militis*. Prof. Tomaschek rightly, I think, connects the Roman and Italian sympathies of the Illyrian church and army with the prevalence of the Latin tongue in the interior of the peninsula.

^f *In Chron. sub anno.*

^g See p. 89.

The old Scupi was thus destroyed, but the historic continuity of the Dardanian Metropolis lived on, and it is to this period that we must refer its migration from the old site to the new. The old position of Scupi with its broad plain and the undulating hill of the upper city answered to the possibilities of a civilised age. The original Illyrian watch-station on the height of Zlokučani had been merged in the ampler city of the plain below by a race whose engineering capacities had enabled them to trust to artificial bulwarks. But the character of the times had changed once more. Throughout Illyricum the age of castle building had begun, and strong natural positions, the peak and the promontory, were sought once more for civic foundations. It was natural that those who, about Justinian's time, rebuilt the ancient city—and we have historic evidence that it was at this period that the need for its complete reconstruction first arose—should give the preference to a loftier and more defensible position than was the original site of the Roman town. And such a position was supplied in the actual vicinity of the ancient site by the more craggy height rising sheer above the Vardar, the height still capped by the Byzantine Akropolis of the modern Skopia.

There are strong grounds, I say, for assuming that this municipal migration should be referred to the period succeeding the great overthrow of 518. Nine years after that event Justinian succeeded to the Empire, and there is thus an overwhelming *a priori* presumption that the rebuilding of Scupi, at least as a military bulwark, must connect itself with the general reconstruction and restoration of his provincial towns and fortresses by the great Illyrian Emperor. We thus approach the question—Was this the chosen City of the Emperor himself? Was this the City of the land of his birth which Justinian not only restored and embellished, but made the capital, both civil and ecclesiastical, of his reconstituted Illyricum, and named after himself *Justiniana Prima*?

As the whole question has lately been reopened it will be well to review the literary sources at our disposal. Procopius tells us that, “amongst the Dardanians who dwell beyond the borders of the Epidamnians, very near the castle called Bederiane, is the district named Tauresium, from which the Emperor Justinian, the re-founder of the Roman world, drew his origin. Here the Emperor erected a small quadrangular castle with a tower at each angle, from which it was called “Tetrapyrgia,” and near it he built a most glorious City, which he called Justiniana Prima (“Prima” means “first” in the Latin language), thus offering maintenance to his nursing mother.^a” Procopius further tells us that he made an

^a *De Æd.* iv. 1. “ἐν Δαρδάνοις που τοῖς Ἐπιδάμνιοις, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδάμνιων ὕρους ᾤκηται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἀρχιστα ἄπερ Βεδεριανὰ ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον Ταυρήσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἐνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστῆς

aqueduct there to supply the town with a perennial stream, and that he wrought many things that reflect glory and renown upon its founder. "It would not be easy," he continues, "to enumerate the the temples of the Gods, the palaces of the magistrates, the size of the porticoes, the beauty of the market-places, the fountains, streets, baths, and bazaars. In a word it is a great and populous City, in every respect prosperous and worthy to be the Metropolis of all that region. And such a dignity it has in fact attained. It is, moreover, the seat of the Archbishop of the Illyrians, and has precedence of the other cities in this as well as its size."

Procopius, it will be seen, places Justiniana Prima in Dardania, and had we only his authority to deal with, there could be no reasonable ground for refusing to accept the identification of Skopia with Justinian's new foundation. In his own "Novella" of 535 A.D., however, defining the jurisdiction of the new Illyrian Archbishop,^a Justinian himself distinctly indicates that *Justiniana Prima* lay within the limits of Dacia Mediterranea, and as clearly shows that he regarded himself to be of Dacian origin. On the other hand, it might be urged that Procopius, whose antiquarian phraseology is noteworthy in this passage,^b would have the authority of Ptolemy for including Naissus, itself one of the principal cities of the later Dacia Mediterranea, within the Dardanian limits.^c This connexion of Justiniana Prima with Dacia Mediterranea suggests a real difficulty, and the claims of Skopia have recently received another blow. Professor Tomaschek, of Gratz, to whose painstaking researches into the ancient topography of the peninsula all students,

ᾠρηται. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεῖ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνία ἐκάστη πύργον ἐνθέμενος Τετραπυργίαν εἶναι τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποιήκε. Παρ' αὐτὸ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἐδείματο, ἢ ἡπερ Ἰουστινιανὴν ὠνόμασε πρῶταν (πρώτη δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται) ταῦτα τῇ θρεψαμένη τροφείᾳ ἐκτίων."

^a *Novella Constit.* ii. "Multis et variis modis nostram patriam augere cupientes, in qua primo Deus præstitit nobis ad hunc mundum, quem ipse condidit, venire, et circa Sacerdotalem censuram eam volumus maximis incrementis ampliare, ut Primæ Justinianæ patriæ nostræ pro tempore sacrosanctus Antistes non solum Metropolitanus sed etiam Archiepiscopus fiat, et cæteræ provinciæ sub ejus sint auctoritate, id est tam *ipsa Dacia Mediterranea* quam Dacia ripensis necnon Mysia Secunda, Dardania et Prævalitana Provincia et secunda Macedonia et pars secundæ etiam Pannoniæ quæ in Bacensi est civitate" necessarium duximus ipsam gloriosissimam Præfecturam, quæ in Pannonia erat, *in nostra felicissima patria* collocare cum nihil quidem magni distat a *Dacia Mediterranea* Secunda Pannonia." So too in *Nov.* 131 Dacia is placed first amongst the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Justinian's father-land.

^b As for example, when he speaks of the "European" Dardanians, and of their living above the "Epidamnians." The name of Epidamnos had long given way to that of Dyrrhachium.

^c Ptol. *Geogr.*

however much they may differ from his conclusions, must acknowledge their indebtedness, has pointed out^a that in the fragment of *John of Antioch*, published by Mommsen, in 1872,^b Justinus, the future Emperor, is mentioned as coming from Bederianon, a ‘phrourion,’ or castle, in the neighbourhood of Naissus.^c

This passage Prof. Tomaschek regards as conclusive^d; but unfortunately it settles nothing. The difficulties which must suggest themselves to all who regard the matter from a large historical standpoint are rather increased than diminished. Justinian’s new capital of Illyricum could have been no mushroom growth. Its populousness, its commerce, its administrative importance, all point to the fact that Procopius is only disguising the truth when he makes it an entirely new creation of the Emperor. If Skopia is not to be identified with Justiniana Prima, Mannert’s demands still remain unanswered. “How otherwise,” he asks,^e “is it possible that Procopius, or anyone else, while describing the Emperor’s restorations in the smallest and most unknown Dardanian towns, should have passed over in obstinate silence the City which up to this moment had been the capital of the country?” The old identification of Justiniana Prima with Ochrida, the ancient Lychnidus, dates no further back than the thirteenth century, and was due to the desire of the auto-kephalous Bulgarian Archbishops of that See to profit by Justinian’s *Novella*. Moreover, as will be seen, the early Byzantine and Bulgarian official style of these Archbishops, though it couples the two names of Justiniana Prima and Ochrida expressly refrains from asserting their identity.^f The attempt, followed by Gibbon, to identify Justinian’s City with Küstendil, or Gjustendil, simply arose out of a false etymology. The name of Küstendil, in fact, only originated in the fifteenth century, from the name of a local despot, Constantine.^g

^a W. Tomaschek, *Miscellen aus der alten Geographie in Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien* 1874, p. 659.

^b *Hermes*, B. vi. p. 323 *seqq.*

^c “Ἰουστίνος ἐκ Βεδεριανοῦ φρουρίου πλησιάζοντος Νάισσῳ” *op. cit.* p. 339. Justin was assisting the Emperor Anastasius against the Isaurian rebels in the capacity of *Hypostratêgos*.

^d “Die Sache ist entschieden.” As to the opinion—supported by weighty arguments by Mannert, Hahn, and Tozer—that Scupi and Justiniana Prima were identical, Prof. Tomaschek thinks it not worth the trouble of refuting. “Diese Meinung zu wiederlegen verlohnt sich nicht der Mühe.” *Miscellen. &c.* p. 658.

^e *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, vii. p. 105 (Landshut). Mannert, however, had not observed the difficulty raised by Justinian’s attribution of this city to Dacia Mediterranea.

^f See p. 143.

^g “Gospodin” Konstantin, Lord of Northern Macedonia († 1394), well-known in Serbian epic as the friend of Marko Kraljević. In 1500 the territory formerly held by him was still known as

Its mediæval name was Velebužd, and it occupies the site of the ancient Pautalia, which, as a bishopric, is expressly distinguished from Justiniana Prima. Nor can we see in Justiniana Prima another name for Naissus, since the restoration of Naissus, or, as he calls it, Naissopolis, is specially mentioned by Procopius, after his account of the creation of Justiniana Prima and as a separate act of the Emperor, and the bishopric of Naissus is found under the supremacy of the Bishop of Justinian's City.

On the other hand, it seems to me that there is traceable in Procopius' account certain internal evidence of probability. According to Procopius, Justinian coupled his foundation of his new Illyrian capital with the restoration of Ulpiana, another ancient Dardanian city, to the remains of which I have already alluded in the preceding paper,^a which he called Justiniana Secunda. Now the relation of Justiniana Prima to Justiniana Secunda, to a great extent, reproduces the relation already existing between Scupi and Ulpiana. If Scupi, as we have seen, was the old Dardanian Metropolis, Ulpiana appears to have ranked nearest to it amongst the provincial cities. But Procopius informs us of a further fact. In the neighbourhood of Ulpiana—or, as it was now called, Justiniana Secunda—the Emperor built another city, which he called Justinopolis, in honour of his uncle Justinus. Now, if Justinus had not been born in a Dardanian district,^b it is hard to see why his nephew should build a town in his honour in that province, as is proved from its vicinity to Ulpiana. But Justinus, as we learn from the fragment of John of Antioch, was connected with Bederiana. Hence it appears that the words *πλησιάζοντος τῷ Ναϊσσῷ* must, after all, be taken in a vague, general sense, and as not excluding the possibility that this “phrourion” was situate on Dardanian soil in the narrower sense of the word.

The permanence of the name of Scupi, Scopi, or in its Byzantine form Skopia, in spite of its official substitute, again receives an illustration from the case of Ulpiana. Even during the reign of Justinian himself we find, as I have already shown, the names Justiniana Secunda and Ulpiana used indifferently in official acts relating to the same bishop. On the other hand, the fact that no Bishop of Scupi is mentioned at this time, while the title of Bishop of Justiniana

Zemlja Konstantinova. In 1559 his City of Velebužd or Banja (this latter name derived from its hot-baths) appears in an Italian *Itinerario* as “Constantin-bagno.” Küstendil is simply the Turkish form of Konstantin. See Jireček, *Gesch. d. Bulgaren.* p. 333.

^a See p. 58.

^b He was of course of *Thracian* descent.

Prima appears on more than one occasion towards the end of the sixth century, may show that for awhile at least the more imperial name eclipsed the older, and what was doubtless still the popular form. In the fifth century we find a special connexion between the Bishops of Dardania and the Bishop of the South-Eastern-most Dalmatian (Prævalitane), diocese of Doclea or Doclitia. The Bishop of this Dalmatian town signs among the Dardanian Catholic Bishops in the letter addressed by them in 451 to the Emperor Leo. It is at least a noteworthy coincidence that the last mention of the Bishop of Justiniana Prima should occur in a letter addressed in 602 by Gregory the Great to Johannes, Bishop of Justinian's city, to be forwarded to him, should circumstances require his intervention, through the Bishop of Scodra, and relating to charges brought against a Bishop of Doclea.^a

There remains however a still more conclusive argument which has been curiously overlooked by all those who have treated of this *vexata quæstio*, and which goes far to neutralise and explain the statement contained in Justinian's *Novella*, that Justiniana Prima lay in Dacia Mediterranea. It appears, namely, from the letter addressed in 492 by John, Metropolitan of Scupi, to Pope Gelasius, that in his quality of Bishop of the metropolitan city of Scopi, "*Episcopus*," as he styles himself, "*Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Scopinæ, Metropolitanæ Civitatis*," he claimed a supremacy not only over the Bishops of Dardania in its contemporary official sense but over other Bishops who sign beneath him, one of whom was Bonosus, Bishop of no less a place than Serdica, the capital of Dacia Mediterranea.^b In view of this fact the letter addressed by Gregory the Great in 595 to Felix, Bishop of Serdica, enjoining him to obey his superior, and the Pope's vicar, Johannes, Bishop of Justiniana Prima, acquires a fresh significance. In 553 we find from the Acts of the Fifth Synod of Constantinople^c that the Bishops of Naissus and Ulpiana had refused to attend and sided with Pope Vigilius, and when appealed to on the subject refer the synod to their Archbishop Benenatus. Both Farlato^d and Le Quien^e

^a Mansi, x. 329. "De Paulo Docleatinæ Civitatis episcopo lapsio." Justiniana Prima seems to be thus brought into a certain geographical connexion with Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), from which place as we have seen a line of Roman road led to the Dardanian City of Ulpiana (Justiniana II.), and thence to Scupi.

^b Marius Mercator, in *Appendice ad Contradictionem 12 Anathetismi Nestoriani*, "Sardicensis Bonosus qui a Damaso urbis Romæ episcopo prædamnatus fuit:" Le Quien; *Oriens. Christianus*, t. ii. p. 302. Farlato *Ill. Sac.*, t. viii. p. 34, endeavours to make Bonosus Bishop of Naissus, but on no valid grounds. His statement would anyhow not affect the present argument, as Naissus was also in Dacia Mediterranea.

^c Mansi, ix. p. 199.

^d *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. viii. p. 17.

^e *Oriens. Christianus*, t. ii. p. 310.

are agreed that this Benenatus must have been bishop of Scupi, but they have both failed to grasp the logical deduction that the Archbishop of "the Most Holy Metropolitan City" of Scupi, as it appears before Justinian's time, has now become the Archbishop of his special city. The Primacy, then, of Illyricum was not an altogether new creation, but in part represented earlier claims of precedence exercised by the Bishops of Scupi. The language of Procopius and the language of the *Novellæ* are thus reconciled, and the special tie of allegiance which bound the Bishop of Justinian's city to the Bishop of Rome is seen to be in fact the direct inheritance from an earlier time when the Metropolitans of Scupi stood forth as the principal champions of Western orthodoxy in Illyricum.

When we find the Bishop of the Dardanian Metropolis taking precedence of Dacian Bishops at a time when, politically, Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea were separate provinces we are tempted to suspect that the ecclesiastical supremacy represents, as is so often the case, a survival of an earlier political distribution.

There is, in fact, clear historic evidence that, according to the original arrangement of Aurelian, Dardania was tacked on to Dacia Mediterranea, insomuch that in the early lists of the provinces of the Mœsian diocese, as given by the MS. of Verona, Rufus, and Polemius Silvius, Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea are given indifferently as the names of one and the same province. At some time after the completion of the list of Polemius Silvius and before that of the *Notitia*^a the province which bore the double name of Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea was divided into the two provinces of Dardania, as we find it in Hierocles, with Scupi as its Metropolis, and Dacia Mediterranea under Serdica. But it is obvious from this that there may have been a time when, as the later ecclesiastical arrangement indicates, Scupi was the political Metropolis of a Dacia Mediterranea which included the later Dardania.

In the *Notitia*^b itself, indeed, Dardania continues to be reckoned along with Dacia Mediterranea and Ripensis, Moesia Prima, Prævalitana, and a part of Macedonia Salutaris as one of the "Five Dacias" which had now replaced the "Three Dacias" of the original Trans-Danubian province. There is, indeed, evidence that in Justinian's time the name of Dacia could still be extended to the furthest limit of the provinces originally included in the "Five Dacias." Procopius on two separate occasions attributes to Dacia Singidunum, a city which according to

^a See Mommsen, *Révue Archéologique*, N. S. xiv. p. 387. The words of Rufus in describing the formation of Aurelian's Dacia are: "*Per Aurelianum, translatis exinde Romanis, duæ Daciæ in regionibus Moesiæ et Dardaniæ factæ sunt.*"

^b Not. Or. iii. 14.

Hierocles' list was included in Upper Mœsia, and what in this respect is true of Upper Mœsian cities, applies equally to the cities of the once "Dacian" Dardania. Dacia was the more renowned name, and there was always a tendency to use it, the more so as at this period the actual provincial divisions were becoming vague and undefined.^a

It must be allowed that the language of the *Novellæ* is inconsistent, yet it will be seen that, in placing Scupi in Dacia Mediterranea, Justinian was but reverting to an earlier arrangement, still apparently kept up by the existing ecclesiastical organisation. And the prestige of the Dacian name was still such that in raising what was now in strict official phraseology a Dardanian city to the chief place in his newly constituted Illyricum, it was convenient to revert to this earlier usage which attributed Scupi to Dacia Mediterranea. The Dacian hegemony could not be ignored in an Illyrian government, the geographical limits of which almost precisely answered to what was still known as the "Five Dacias." In Justinian's ecclesiastical arrangement indeed no change in official language was required, for Scupi, as we have seen, was still the recognised Metropolis of the whole of that original Mediterranean Dacia that had once politically embraced Dardania.

In the case of Justiniana Secunda we have seen that the old name of the city continued to be used concurrently with the official title, and finally in an altered form survived it. The same process undoubtedly occurred in the case of Justiniana Prima. Towards the end of the sixth century the name of Scupi, or "Scopis," as it is written in the language of the times^b reappears in history, and Theophylact mentions that the town was plundered and many of its citizens taken captive by a Slavonic band.^c It is probable that the town passed definitely into Slavonic hands about 695, in which year we find numerous refugees from the Dardanian cities taking refuge within the walls of Thessalonica.^d Under the Bulgarian princes "Skopje,"

^a D. B. Goth. ii. pp. 80, 418 (Bonn ed.).

^b Compare Jornandes' *Sirmis*, &c. In Ravennas the form *Scupis* occurs, cf. *Londinis*, &c.

^c *Hist.* vii. 2 (Bonn ed. p. 272). *Τὰ γὰρ Ζαλδαπὰ καὶ Ἄκυς καὶ Σκόπις καταπρονομιέσαντες, &c.*

^d *Acta S. Demetrii*, c. ii. It is there mentioned as a chief cause of the second Slavonic onslaught on Thessalonica that that city sheltered escaped "mancipia" from the interior of Illyricum. One city only ought not to be allowed to hold out when all the other cities and provinces round had been made void of Roman habitation; "hæc autem" (to quote the Latin version) "sola superesset omnesque e Danubii partibus Paunoniaque et Dacia et Dardania reliquisque provinciis et urbibus transfugas reciperet atque in sinu suo foveret." The citizens of Naissus and Serdica are specially mentioned.

as its name was known in its Slavonic form,^a continued to be an important civil and ecclesiastical centre. The eleventh century Byzantine chroniclers^b call it even the "Metropolis of Bulgaria," a title which conveys a hint as to the source whence the later auto-kephalous Bishops of Ochrida drew their style of "Bishops of Justiniana Prima."

Apart from this ecclesiastical and other evidence as to the identity of Scupi and Justiniana Prima, I have already called attention to two facts, arrived at by researches on the spot, which ought to weigh on the same side, against the confident assertions of Professor Tomaschek. I have shown, from a series of monuments, that the site of the Roman colony and later metropolitan city of Scupi is to be found in the immediate neighbourhood of the important Byzantine, Slavonic, and Turkish emporium of Skopia, or Usküp, with which its name is, in fact, identical,^c and that to hunt for it in the Morava Valley would, therefore, be superfluous. I have further shown, that a direct line of Roman way through the pass of Kačanik brought Scupi into peculiarly intimate relation with the Dardanian sister-town of Ulpiana; in other words, with Justiniana Secunda. It remains to consider the existing Byzantine monuments of Skopia itself, and some important evidence connected with local names and sites in the neighbourhood.

Previous to his journey undertaken from Belgrade to Salonica, the attention of Von Hahn had been called by the Austrian Consul-General Mihanovich to the striking similarity of the names of Taor and Bader, two villages near Skopia, to the Tauresium and Bederiana mentioned by Procopius as native places of Justinian.^d Owing to unfavourable weather, the snow lying then on the ground, Von Hahn had been unable during the course of his journey to follow up the inquiry

^a Nikephoros Bryennios, iv. 18 (Bonn ed. p. 148), in the eleventh century still calls Skopia by its ancient name of Σκουποι and places it correctly on the Vardar as he tells us the Axios was then called.

^b Skylitzes and his copyist Kedrenos (Bonn ed. ii. 527). The revolted Bulgarian Prince, Peter Deljan, marches "διὰ τε Ναισσοῦ καὶ τῶν Σκουπίων τῆς Μητροπόλεως Βουλγαρίας" (A.D. 1040). When Basil organised the Bulgarian Church in 1020 the Bishop of Skopia was assigned 40 Kleriki and 40 Πάροικοι, putting it on a level with the largest Bulgarian Sees (see Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 202).

^c By the neighbouring Albanian tribes, the best local representatives of the Roman provincials, the town is still called "Scup."

^d *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 156. Tauresium might easily represent a *Vicus Taurensium*, pointing to some form with which Taor would connect itself. Neither Taor nor Bader appears to be of Slavonic origin. As a set-off to this, Prof. Tomaschek, who seeks his Justiniana Prima near Kuršumlje, has sought to connect the name of Tauresium with that of the village of Tovrljan in the Toplica district.

with any definite results, but he had heard of some old foundations in the neighbourhood of Taor,^a had been shown in the village a stone "postament," with what appeared to him to be a Slavonic inscription,^b and had seen a copy of another Slavonic inscription from a neighbouring monastery, which, he was led to believe, contained a reference to Justinian as its founder.^c On the strength of these observations of Von Hahn, and this striking similarity of names, I made it my special business to explore Bader, Taor, and the surrounding region. Both villages lie on the skirts of a mountainous triangle that lies between the Vardar and its tributary the Pčinja, near the confluence of the two rivers, and partially shut in by the sedgy lake of Jelatno. The starting-point of my explorations was Banja, in the Pčinja valley, the hot baths and ancient quarries of which I have already described, which, apparently, formed the thermal station marked on the Tabula of Peutinger as the first station on the Thessalonican road, twenty-one miles distant from Scupi.^d The Roman way itself, in its southward course, must have proceeded from the neighbourhood of Banja, along the left bank of the Pčinja, which it would here cross, and the heights above it would be the natural position for a castle commanding the pass. At this point, in fact, are the ruins of a Turkish watch-tower, known as the Badersko Kaleh, which formerly commanded the road through the gorge; a road which certainly represents the Roman line. The name of this Kaleh is interesting, as showing that the name of Bader still clings to both banks of the river, and its function at least supplies a *raison d'être* for the former existence of a Byzantine "phourion," such as was Bederiana, in its vicinity. Bader itself lies on the right bank of the stream, which is here easily fordable. The village is nothing more than a wretched group of Bulgar hovels enclosed in mud walls; indeed, its sole redeeming feature was a fountain erected by a pious Moslem dame, Fatima by name; its position, however, hanging on a steep above the "iron gates" of the stream, was certainly lovely. I was unable to observe any remains here of Roman date, though there was a Christian cemetery near it of some antiquity and considerable extent scattered about in an oak

^a *Op. cit.* p. 157. "Hier war kein Platz für Prokop's Tetrapyrgion, doch erzählten die Bauern, dass sie beim Beackern der auf der Platte oberhalb der Dorfes gelegenen Felder auf Cementsubstructionen stiessen, und bejahten unsere Frage, ob diese ein Viereck bildeten, doch möchten wir durch diese Bejahung die Frage noch nicht als unwiderrufflich entschieden betrachten. Die auf der Platte lagernde Schneedecke machte die Untersuchung derselben durch den Augenschein unmöglich." The peasants also spoke of a quadrangular tile conduit leading to these remains.

^b *Op. cit.* p. 158.

^c *Op. cit.* p. 162.

^d See p. 110.

wilderness. About an hour's walk higher up the lateral valley, at the opening of which Bader lies, is the village of Blače, where two Roman inscriptions were found by engineers engaged in quarrying operations in this neighbourhood, connected with the construction of the Macedonian line. In the little church here, I found one of these monuments, an altar with the comprehensive dedication: "To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva Sancta, and all the other Gods and Goddesses:"^a erected by Aur. Titianus, a *Beneficiarius Consularis* of the 7th, Claudian, Legion, to which we have so often had occasion to refer, in the Consulship of Victorinus and Proculus, that is in the year 200 A.D. The other inscription was no longer to be found; but it is interesting, as referring to the serpent-worship introduced by Alexander, the prophet of Abonotichos, of whom Lucian has left us an account; and whose authority was, apparently, popular amongst the Dacians. I noticed one or two other fragments in the neighbourhood of the church of Blače, which seemed to be of Roman origin. From this village, which occupies a central and commanding position in this hilly tract, between the Pčinja and Vardar, a straight line of road, embanked in places, runs along the watershed almost due South, towards the village of Koslje, and the confluence of the two rivers. To this road I am certainly inclined to attribute a Roman origin.

In the Bulgarian monastery of St. John, which lies on the left steep of the Pčinja, near its confluence, I saw a Slavonic inscription, a copy of which Von Hahn had been shown at Velese, and which he supposed to contain a reference to Justinian. It is painted in black letters in the inside of the little Byzantine church, above the doorway; but it did not by any means answer to Von Hahn's description. A few words were indecipherable, but the inscription, as a whole, is clear enough, and runs as follows:—

"This church was built from the foundation and painted within by the present labour and expense of the God-loving Bishop Kirioseph from the Monastery of Zographu. In the time of the Patriarchate of the blessed and Lord and Bishop of the First Justiniana or Ochrida, the Lord Zozimos, and of the Sultan Mechmet. At that time Crete was taken. And the founders (Ktêtors) were from Rudnik,^b Jovo, Neda, Nera, . . . ica, Prodanj, Stepanj, Vaso, Damčeta. In the year (1669)."

The mention of the capture of Crete enables us to supply the date, which was obliterated in the original.

^a I . O . M . / IVNONI . REG . MIN / SANC . CETERIS QVE / DIIS DEABVSQVE / OMNIBVS . SACR M / AVR .
TITIANVS . BF . / COS . LEG . VII . CL . / V . S . L . M

^b A neighbouring village.

It will be seen that this inscription does no more than record the official title of the auto-kephalous Bulgarian Bishops "of Justiniana and Ochrida," and does not, as Von Hahn was given to suppose, in any way connect the founding of the monastery with the Emperor Justinian.^a

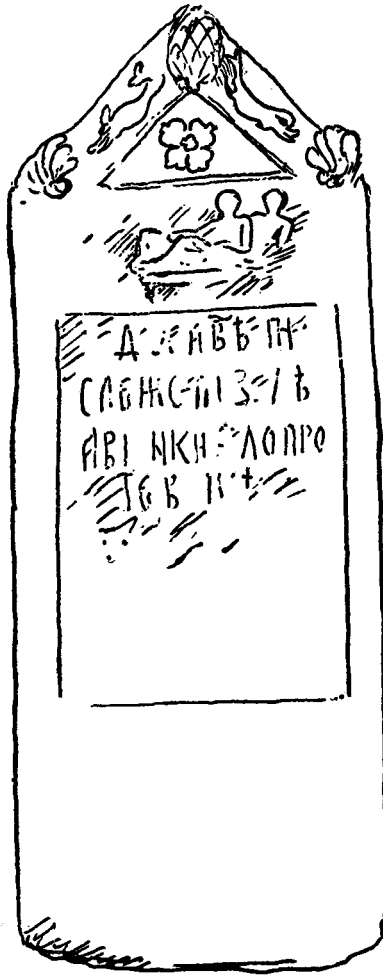


Fig. 89.

It is remarkable that the village of Taor stands, to the Vardar River Pass at its opening on the Plain of Üsküp, in much the same relation as Bader and the Badersko Kaleh stand to that of the Pčinja. The village itself lies in a beautiful wooded glen by the banks of the river, and a little above it is an old ferry across the stream to the village of Orezan. A few hundred yards to the north of Taor, at the foot of the undulating heights that here dominate the level expanse on which Skopia stands, is the little church of St. Ilija, about which were many Roman fragments, including shafts of columns, broken cornices, and a sepulchral slab with dolphins and a banqueting scene in the apex, but in the field below a Slav inscription, which has supplanted the original Roman *titulus* (fig. 89). Much might, no doubt, be made of this by the champions of Justinian's Slavonic origin were not the letters of mediæval form, certainly not earlier than the fourteenth century.

Within the church, and serving as an altar, is a block which is probably the "postament" described by Hahn.^b It is simply an altar of Roman Imperial date turned upside down. The inscription in small letters was exceedingly illegible, but the letters that I was able to make out seemed to be rather Greek than Cyrillian (fig. 90).

^a The translation of the inscription as given to Hahn (p. 162) was of a curious kind: "die Inschrift, . . . wenn mann sie uns richtig übersetzt hat, den Arzt eines türkischen Pascha's, welcher dessen Gattin von der Unfruchtbarkeit heilte, als den Wiederhersteller des von Justinian gegründeten Klosters nennt"(!)

^b *Op. cit.* p. 158: "Leider stand das Postament auf dem Kopfe und ist die Inschrift so verwischt dass wir nur mit grosser Mühe einige roh gearbeitete slavische Charaktere erkennen konnten."

I explored the neighbouring downs above the village for any ancient foundations in vain, till at last a Bulgar guided me to a terrace above the church of St. Ilija, which was literally strewn with Roman tiles and fragments of masonry, and surrounded by foundations of ancient walls of brick and rubble masonry. That this was a "phrourion" or "castellum" of late Roman date I cannot doubt. It had obviously more than four angles, but if, as I am inclined to suppose, the points A B C and D in the annexed plan (fig. 91)^a were occupied

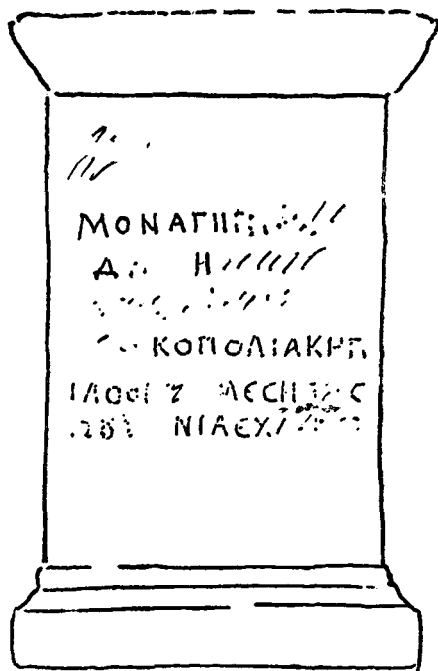


Fig. 90.

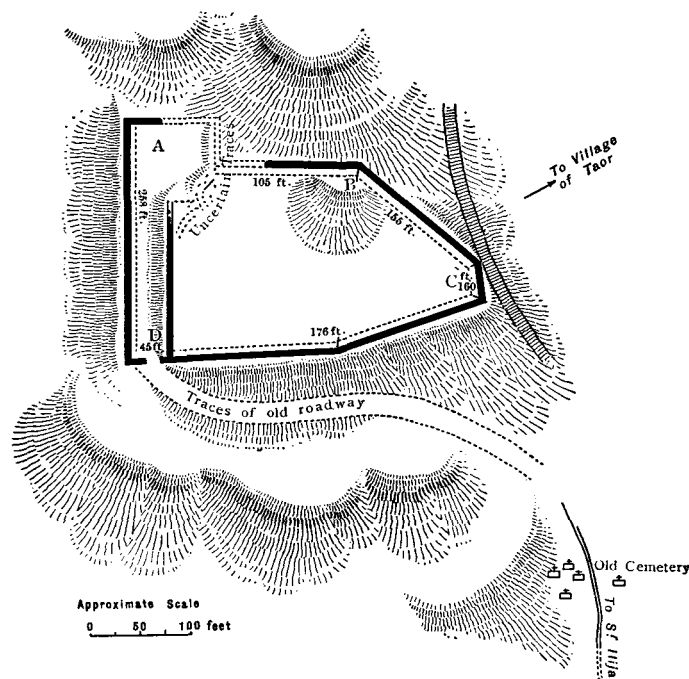


Fig. 91.

with towers, we should have before us a Tetrapyrgia not inconsistent with Procopius' description of the castle of Tauresium. In any case, the occurrence of such a castle on the spot where *ex hypothesi* we were led to look for Justinian's "phrourion" must be regarded as a remarkable coincidence.

Of the antiquity of this ruin there appears, indeed, to be one remarkable piece of documentary evidence. In a grant of the Bulgarian Czar, Constantine Asên

^a The foundations about the corner A were very indistinct, and in order to ascertain the outline of this part of the *castellum* excavations would be necessary. The measurements given are approximate.

(1258-1277) to the monastery of St. George, near Skopia, is mentioned the "Gradište," or ruined site of a castle, by the village of Tavor,^a the later Taor, and the lake of Jelatno. "Gradište" is a term frequently applied by the Slaves to sites once occupied by Roman constructions.

Nor has the local saga forgotten this ruined site. From an intelligent Bulgarian schoolmaster at Kučevište, in the Karadagh, I learnt one or two interesting popular traditions which bear upon the question at issue. He told me that old men of this district say that "Three Emperors were born at Skopia," and that there was a tradition that "Czar Kostadin" was born at Taor, and reigned afterwards at Skopia. It seems to me by no means impossible that the Emperor Constantine, as an ecclesiastical as well as political celebrity, has usurped Justinian's place in the folk-lore of the country.

We may now turn to an examination of the Byzantine antiquities of Skopia itself. That the original walls of the Akropolis are of Byzantine date appears from an inscription in large tilework letters on the upper part of the inner wall to the left of the main entrance. This inscription in its present state is extremely difficult to decipher. I was able, however, to make out a few fragments, sufficient to show its Byzantine origin—

ΚΑΗC

[H ΝΕΑΝ///ΜΗ | ἌΝΘΡΩΠΙC////] [ΑC ΗΓΕΙC ΔΕ ΤΙC ἸΓΕ]

The impression given by these fragments is that they formed part of a Byzantine inscription of the usual bombastic style, examples of which are to be seen in the inscription recording the erection of a tower at Durazzo by Theodore Ducas Comnēnos,^b and in another, written in large characters of the same ceramic construction on the outside of the old cathedral-church of Hagia Sophia, at Ochrida.^c The walls themselves of the Akropolis are in their older portion formed of large square stones, framed, as it were, with tiles; a Byzantine form of construc-

^a "Selo Tavor, gradište . . . s jezerom Jelatnim." (Šafařík. *Památky* 25; quoted in Jireček *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 79.

^b Given in Hahn: *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122. When I saw this inscription, it was broken into two fragments and used as a support for the wooden post of a verandah in the Turkish Governor's Konak.

^c Hahn. *Drin und Vardar-Reise*, p. 115. The name of the prelate in whose honour the inscription (of colossal size) was put up has disappeared, but we are told:

"σκηνὴν ἐγείρας τὸν θεόφανον νόμον
ἔθνη τὰ Μυσῶν ἐκδιδάσκει πανσόφως."

tion, of which a good example may be seen in the great tenth century church of St. Luke's, at Styri, in Greece, and of which there are many later examples amongst the Slavonic buildings of Skopia and the surrounding regions.^a

The first impression which the town of Skopia makes upon the stranger, is that he has before him in an almost perfect state of preservation a Byzantine city. In wandering amongst the moss-grown domes of the hamams, the ancient brick and stone-work bazaars, the noble caravanserais of which the famous Kurshumli Han^b or Lead Han is the type (fig. 92), one is tempted to recognise the very baths

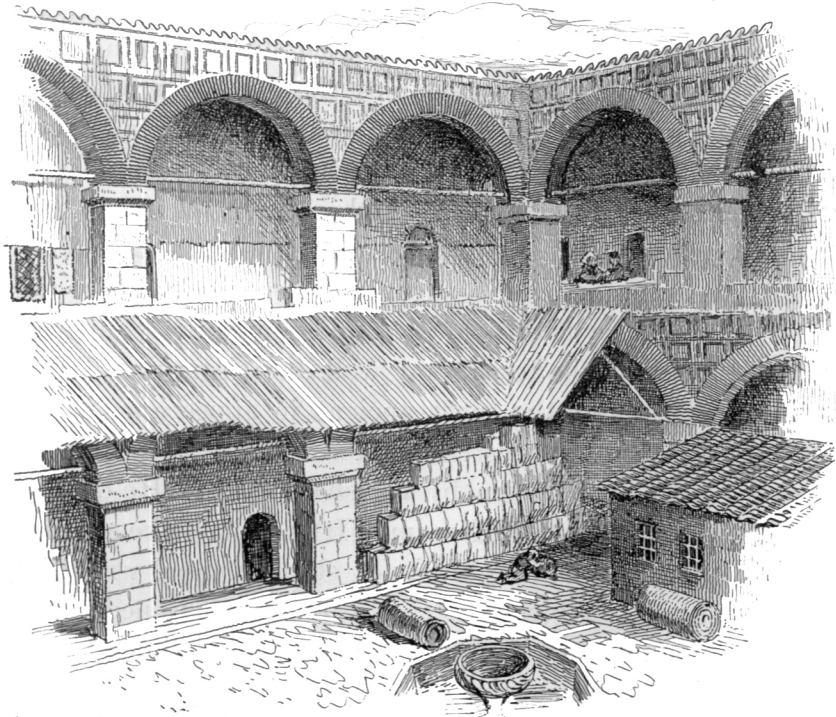


Fig. 92. Kurshumli Han, Skopia.

and market-halls with which Justinian embellished his favoured city. A more detailed study, however, shows that many of these antique edifices, Byzantine as is their style and appearance, are really of Turkish origin, and date from the first

^a The beginnings of this form of construction may be traced in the walls of the Imperial Palace at Trier.

^b This Han has been well-described by Mr. Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 367. The Sulei Han is another edifice of considerable antiquity. In the Fererli Han are said to be concealed inscriptions. These buildings at present afford lodgings and warehouses for merchants. On the piers of the Kurshumli Han many names of old Ragusan merchants are to be seen painted in red letters, e. g. "ANNO DOMINI 1777 MARINVS ZAMAGNA POST BREVEM MORAM" I also noticed the names of Lucich and Radegla. On the outside wall of the Han is a Turkish inscription.

days of the conquest, when a large Osmanli colony was planted in the town, and Moslem Üsküp arose to be the "bride of Rumili."

The mosques supply a standpoint for comparison. Thus, after a prolonged study of the Kurshumli Han, I was inclined to ascribe to it a Byzantine origin, till a minute examination of a small mosque opposite it assured me that both were the work of the same hands.^a The pillars of the arcade in the Han, and the abacus surmounting them, exactly answer to those of the porch of this mosque. In the same way baths, which externally look as ancient as that described near Novipazar, contain Arabic features in their interior construction and ornament. Thus, the great Hamam of Üsküp, which, with its low octagon capped with a roofed cupola, externally much resembles the old octagonal thermal chamber near Novipazar, presents internally an entirely Oriental appearance, with ogival arches and corner niches or alcoves, with rows of angular excrescences, which, when sufficiently projecting, give them somewhat the appearance of stalactitic grottoes. On the other hand, the mere insertion of a Turkish inscription into the outside wall of a building does not necessarily prove that it was the work of the Turkish dignitary thus honoured, and some of the buildings, especially in the North-East quarter of the town, may well date from præ-Turkish and even præ-Slavonic times. Of these, the most ancient in appearance is unquestionably the ruined Hamam of "the two Sisters." Two sisters, according to local tradition, daughters of a king, were taken by a pasha to wife. He died, leaving them childless, and the widows built the Hamam. It is built—like so many Byzantine buildings of this district—of square blocks of stone encased with tiles, but in the present instance, many of the blocks are, as already mentioned,^b wrought out of Roman sepulchral monuments. Nothing seems more difficult than to determine the age of buildings built in the same Byzantine style before and after the Turkish conquest. But the existence of so many ancient buildings in the same style at Skopia itself, and amongst the monasteries of the surrounding ranges, is itself sufficient proof of the strength of the local Byzantine tradition. In no other town in the central districts of the Balkan Peninsula is the living impress of New Rome so strong as here. Indirectly, if not directly, the hand of Justinian is still felt in what I, for my part, shall not scruple to call his native city. The numismatic evidence as to the importance of Skopia in the fifth, sixth, and succeeding centuries is not less striking. In the bazars of the town, in addition to coins of Macedonian, consular, and early imperial date—and amongst them

^a The Turks attribute the construction of the Kuršumli Han to a certain Mahmoud Pasha.

^b P. 101.

autonomous pieces of Thessalonica, Stobi, Pautalia, and Viminacium, illustrating the old commercial connexion with those places—I observed an abundance of coins of Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian, besides others dating from later Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian times. Curiously enough, the parting keepsake given me by my host at Üsküp was a large brass coin of Justinian himself.

The Aqueduct of Skopia is visible about an hour distant from the city to the North. There are fifty-four brickwork arches, supported on piers of alternating stone and brick, spanning a small valley connecting one of the lower undulations which roll across the plain from the foot of the Karadagh with the range of hills on which the akropolis of Skopia stands. From this spot it runs, as an underground channel, in a North-Easterly direction to the village of Gluha, which lies in a wooded and well-watered glen of the Karadagh range. The source is covered and preserved from possible contamination by a low, square, stone-tiled building of rubble masonry, which cannot pretend to any vast antiquity. The spring itself is known to the villagers as “Lavovac.” In the Skopia direction the channel is again lost beneath the surface, and comes out finally near the noble Mustafa Mosque (which rises above the town not far from the entrance to the fortress), where its first function is to supply the fountain that embellishes the court of the mosque. In surveying the arches of this Aqueduct as they span the valley—so Byzantine in their general effect—the traveller is again tempted to imagine that he sees before him the actual handiwork of Justinian, and that this is the very Aqueduct by which the Emperor, according to Procopius, conducted a perennial stream to his native city. In this case again, however, a closer study has led me to modify this opinion. Though several ancient fragments,—including, besides that containing a part of the titles of Severus, a portion of a Roman sarcophagus and an Ionic capital, not improbably of Byzantine date,—have been walled into the fabric, the general appearance of the work and the character of its preservation is not such as to warrant the belief that in its present state at least it dates from Justinian’s time. There is no single feature in the construction which is not reproduced in mosques, hamams, and hans of Turkish date in Skopia, while the ogival character of many of the arches, which may be gathered from my sketch (fig. 93), is certainly not inconsistent with a late origin; though not, perhaps, conclusive, as such pointed arches do occasionally occur in undoubtedly Roman aqueducts.^a On the whole, therefore, I am reduced to suppose that the upper part, at least, of the Aqueduct in its present state represents the recon-

^a For pointed arches in the Aqueduct of Segovia, built in Trajan’s time, see *Archaeologia*, vol. iv. page 410, note.

struction in Turkish times of a pre-existing Byzantine work. The local traditions that I am able to gather thoroughly support this view. The prevalent tradition

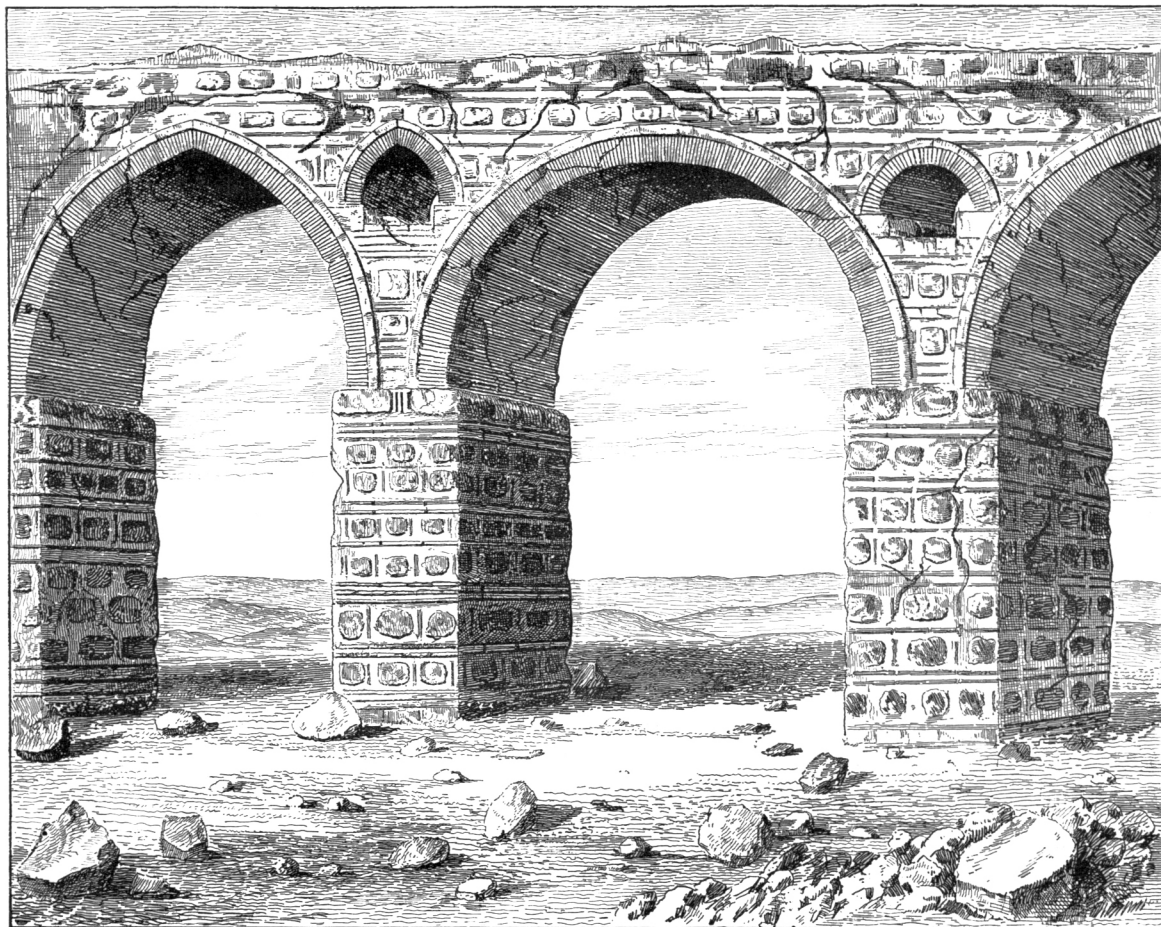


Fig. 93. The Aqueduct of Skopia.

amongst Christians, as well as Turks, is, that the Aqueduct was a pious work of the same Musta or Mustafa Pasha who built the mosque, which, as we have seen, was its first goal, in Skopia.^a On the other hand, I also came upon traces, and

^a An older Christian tradition regarding the aqueduct is, however, mentioned in the relation of the Ragusan ambassadors who passed through Ūsküp in 1792. “Nella vicinanza di Usechiup videro un antico acquedotto mezzo rovinato volgarmente detto Gerina Ciupria, cioè Ponte di Jerina moglie di Giorgio Despot, per che da lei fabricato acquedotto fatto a forza di archi molto simile a quello di Pisa.” Jerina or Irene, wife of the Serbian despot George Brankovich, is popularly credited with many buildings throughout those countries. The description “mezzo rovinato” is interesting as showing that some restoration of the work must have taken place since the end of the last century.

that from an unexpected quarter, of a saga, which points to the existence of the Aqueduct in some form in much more remote times. Whilst examining the

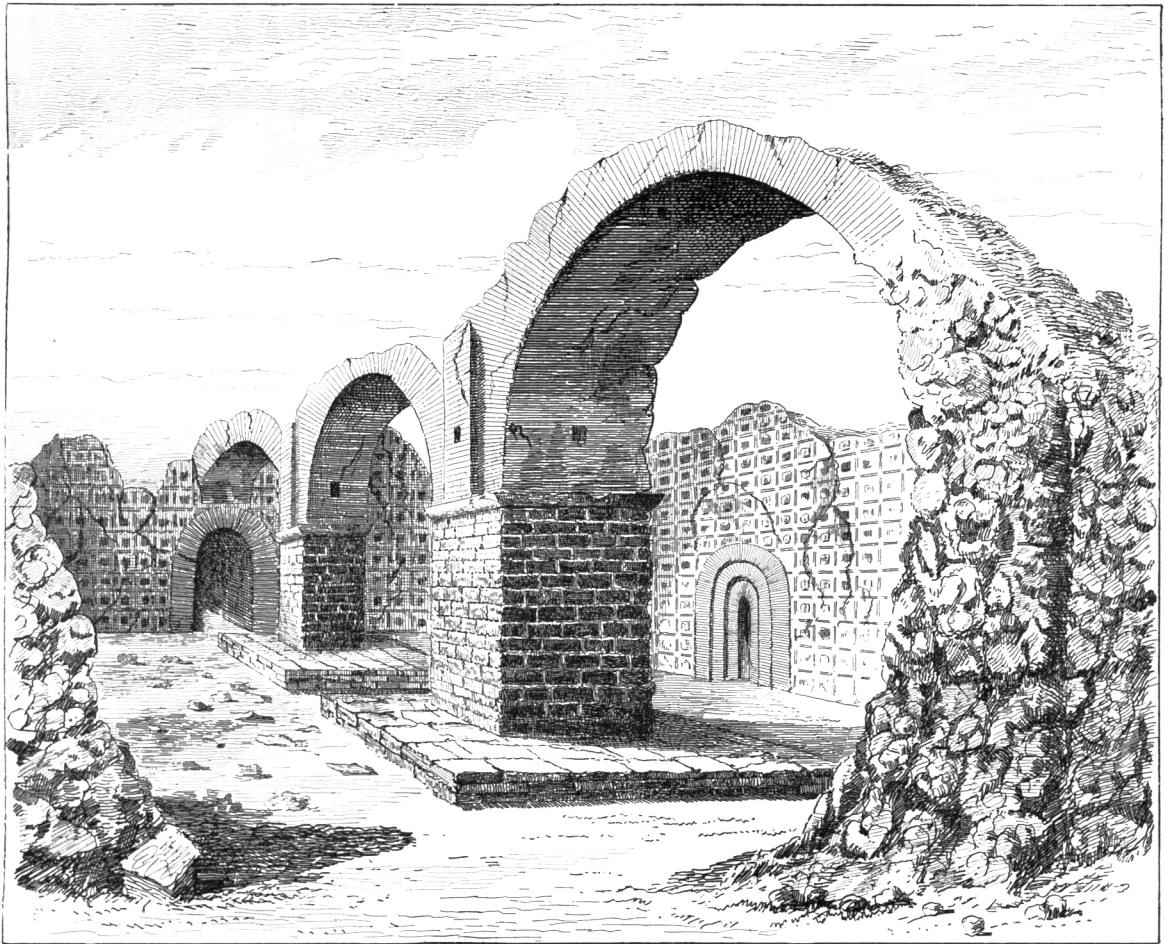


Fig. 54. Arches in the old Bezestan, Skopia.

military column which exists in a street of Skopia, I read out the name of Trajan to a group of enquiring Turks who were collected round me whereupon one of the most venerable of the number, old Abderrahman Aga, at once exclaimed, "Trojan,—Kapetan Trojan! Why, he it was who built the Aqueduct." The name of the great engineering Emperor, who bridled the Danube and conquered Dacia, still lives in the folk-lore of the Peninsula; and in this instance "Kapetan Trojan" appears to have appropriated Justinian's work, in the same way as we have seen "Czar" Constantine usurp his birthplace.

I was fortunate enough to discover in Skopia itself something like a proof

that the Aqueduct had once existed throughout its extent in an earlier form. Hearing of an old "Bezestan" or "cloth hall," at present closed (partly, indeed, in a state of demolition), and hidden from view by the surrounding booths of the bazar, with some difficulty I obtained access to it. What was my surprise to find the central court traversed by three large brickwork arches, supported by stone piers of well-cut masonry, surmounted by a well-executed cornice or abacus, and evidently representing a section of that part of the aqueduct which supplied the lower town of Skopia. The court itself had obviously been altered in later times, and holes for beams, supporting some later flooring or roof, had been knocked out of the sides of the central line of arches. That parts of the building, however, belonged to the same date as the fragment of the aqueduct which it included was obvious, from the fact that the arches coalesced with the structure of the walls at the two extremities of the court.

The construction of the piers and arches seemed to me in this case to be not earlier than late Roman times, and distinctly superior to that of the Aqueduct outside the city, one obvious defect of which is that the piers are too large for the brick arches they support. The old Bezestan itself, which forms in part at least an organic whole with this early work, is a good example of the style of blended stone and brick-work which at Skopia, as we have seen, survived Byzantine times. The walls of its central court contain small chambers, access to which is obtained by small round arched doors, and in the middle of each side of the court is an entrance arch of larger dimensions. The interior is at present cumbered with *débris* of brickwork, and the whole is threatened with speedy demolition. If we may be allowed to regard the central arches as a surviving relic of the actual fabric of Justinian's Aqueduct, we may venture to see in the ruined building which it traverses one of the very market halls with which, according to Procopius, the Emperor adorned his native City.

NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD LINES FROM SCUPI TO NAISSUS
AND REMESIANA.

In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Geographer of Ravenna*, there appears a line of road bringing Scupi into direct connexion with the historically better known city of Naissus, the birthplace of Constantine, and thus with the great central highway of Illyricum, the "*Agger Publicus*" that ran from Singidunum, the present Belgrade, past Serdica (Sophia) to Philippopolis, and eventually to Byzantium. Grave difficulties are suggested by the mileage and stations of this route, which itself falls into two parts :

1. A cross-line from Scupi to Hammeo, the Acmeon of Ravennas, a station twenty miles distant from Naissus on the military road already referred to,^a which brought Naissus into communication with Ulpiana, and eventually with the Adriatic port of Lissus.

2. The section from Hammeo (or Acmeon) to Naissus common to the route Naissus-Ulpiana, and Naissus-Scupi.

In Ravennas we have nothing more than a confused list of cities. In the *Tabula* there is no intermediate station given between Scupi and Hammeo (Acmeon), which at the lowest computation must have been three days distant. It was this omission that led Professor Tomaschek, wrongly, as we have seen, to look for the site of Scupi itself in the valley of the Bulgarian Morava. We may be allowed to suspect that stations on the line Scupi-Hammeo have been erroneously transferred on the *Tabula* to the line Scupi-Stobi, where the chain of stations is too long. But the whole question is obscure and I shall here content myself with a few antiquarian observations made during a journey from Skopia to Nish (the ancient Naissus) some of which throw a certain amount of light on the course of the Roman road-line and the position of two at least of the principal stations.

The modern road that traverses the low Southern offshoots of the Karadagh to Kumanovo affords a certain guide to the earlier part of the Roman route from Scupi, in the Naissus direction. The physical configuration of the country and the interposition of the Karadagh ranges admit in fact of no alternative line in that part of the route.

^a See p. 65 *seqq.*

At Kumanovo, outside the orthodox church, was an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus D(olichenus) erected by a certain Achilleus for the health of Caracalla and Julia Domna in the consulship of Sabinus and Anulinus,^a A.D. 216.

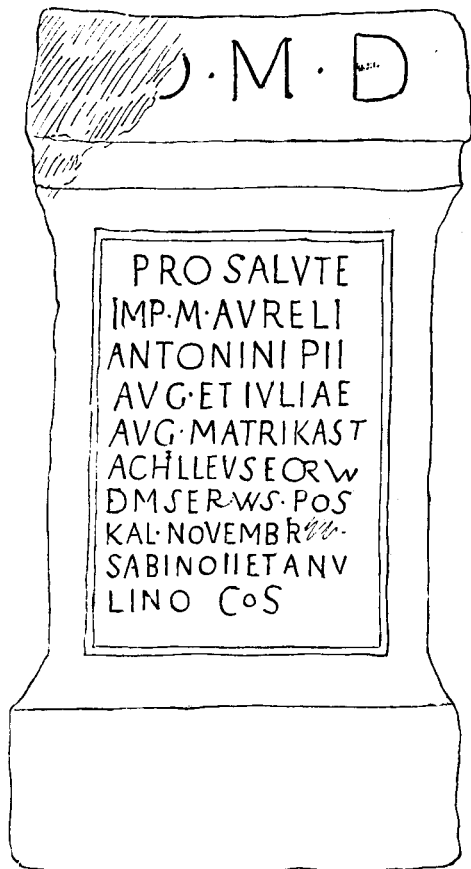


Fig. 95

I was informed that this stone had been brought from the village of Lopod about an hour and a-half to the West of Kumanovo, where another inscription is said to exist near the mosque. At this place, therefore, rather than at Kumanovo itself, should be sought the first station on the Roman road from Scupi to Naissus. Above this village, on an eastern spur of the Karadagh, rises the noble Byzantine church of Matejci, near which I observed a Roman sepulchral slab with an illegible inscription.

The church itself, with its brickwork central tower, its four surrounding cupolas, and its triple apse, stands like some peak-castle of the Middle Ages on the summit of one of the beech-wood-covered spurs of the Black Mountain. Its position at an elevation of about 3,000 feet looking forth over the broad Kumanovo plain, and the distant Serbian and Bulgarian ranges is most commanding and may vie with that of the temple of Ægina. I found the monastery, such as it is, tenanted by a few Bulgar peasants, and the church itself, one of the noblest monu-

Iovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno

PRO SALVTE IMP. M. AVRELI / ANTONINI PII / AVG . ET IVLIAE /
AVG MATRI KASTrorum / ACHILLEVS EORVN/DEM SERVVS POSUIT /
KAL . NOVEMBRIS / SABINO II ET ANV/LINO CONSulibus.

^a This stone had been previously observed by Von Hahn (*Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 239. C. I. L. iii. 1697). His observations were conducted, however, under most unfavourable climatic conditions, and his copy is inaccurate in every single line. He made out the dedication to be one to Mithra.

ments of Eastern Rome in this region, far advanced on the road to total ruin. The great central cupola had fallen in, and the two massive columns on either side of the entrance were overthrown. Their capitals were very remarkable and recalled those of the church containing the Emperor Dušan's effigy at Ljubiten. The four angles of one were adorned with scallop foliage, two heads of bulls, and one of a ram; of the other with the same foliation, a ram's head, an eagle, and a kind of Ionic volute. In its ground plan, with its two side apses, and indeed in its spacious dimensions, twenty-eight paces long by seventeen broad, it differs from most of the churches hereabouts.

The inscriptions on the frescoes, with which the whole interior of the church had been covered, were in Greek. Of the wall-paintings themselves, which, in spite of the ruinous condition of the church, are in some places brilliantly preserved, the full-length image of the Theotokos and Child (to whom, according to the local tradition, the church was dedicated) to the East of the blocked-up southern entrance is amongst the most graceful. Over the door is a large representation of the Pantokratôr. To the left, entering the church, the whole of the second bay of the western wall is filled with a sacred genealogical tree, on the central stem of which I could read the names of David and Solomon; on either side of this the coiling foliage enclosed rows of prophets and patriarchs. To the right of the entrance the sacred tree is balanced by another, Imperial and Orthodox. Unfortunately, this is much effaced; but enough remained to show that it was a Byzantine counterpart of the tree of the Nemanjids in the royal Serbian church of Dečani:^a the figures here were smaller and inferior to the Serbian, but, in other respects, much resembled them. One legend still remains, attached to a figure in the highest row but one of the tree,

ICAAKIOC BACIAEYC ΠΩΜΕΩΝ,

to show that this was intended to represent the genealogical tree of the imperial house of the Komneni. In the South-East corner of the church are three more imperial full-length portraits: an Emperor, holding a roll in Byzantine fashion; an Empress, whose robes are elaborately ornamented with a fleur-de-lys pattern; and a younger Emperor; in this case again the style much recalling the representations of Dušan and his son and consort. In the centre of what is now the ruined body of

^a About two hours distant from Kumanovo to the East, at Nagurić, is a splendid example of an old Serbian church, with an inscription recording its erection by King Miljutin, and frescoes within of the King and his consort Simonida. Like Dečani, it is evidently the work of a Dalmatian architect, and represents a compromise between Italian and Byzantine styles. I must however reserve its description for another occasion.

the church, a later chapel has been erected for purposes of worship, and about one hundred yards below are ruins of another of smaller dimensions, with frescoes of a later date.

At Kumanovo itself I obtained several coins^a and other antiquities, the bulk of which were said to have been found at Pršovo, a small town some three hours distant; and I had previously met an engineer who had been recently occupied with the construction of a road near this place, who informed me that, to his knowledge, three Roman inscriptions had been found there. To Pršovo I accordingly proceeded, following the western edge of the plain that skirts this side of the Karadagh. The little town itself consists of five or six hundred houses, of which only ten are Christian, and lies at the point where a tributary of the Morava issues from a winding gorge of the Black Mountain, and where, to the North-West, a pass leads across the range to Gilan, five hours distant. The inscriptions had, unfortunately, vanished; their disappearance but too probably connecting itself with the needs of road paving; but traces of Roman occupation were not wanting. The Kaimakam informed me that some children, playing in a field by the stream, had recently found several coins, one of which was brought me as a specimen. It proved to be a *denarius* of the Empress Faustina. From an intelligent Albanian guide, Mustafa by name, I learnt that on the height above the village there had formerly been a stone with a wolf, as he thought, sculptured on it, and an inscription. In the upper part of the glen he showed me a spot where ancient foundations and Roman tiles abounded; and informed me that many graves had been dug up here, ornaments being sometimes found with the remains. Above this spot were some curious niches with remains of frescoes, but these of mediæval Byzantine or Slavonic date, cut in the face of the cliff. The present population is Albanian, belonging to three "Fises" — "Plahač," "Sopā," and "Kilment" ("Clementi," as pronounced by my guide). From what I learned from him as to the local dialect, Roman or *Rouman* influence on the language must be here very marked, and I was much struck with his remark: "Albanian, Italian,^b

^a The coins included silver pieces of the Pæonian princes, Patraos and Audoleon, Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine. Pæonian coins seem more abundant in this district East of the Karadagh than in the immediate environs of Skopia. They are also abundant about Vranja in the upper valley of the Bulgarian Morava.

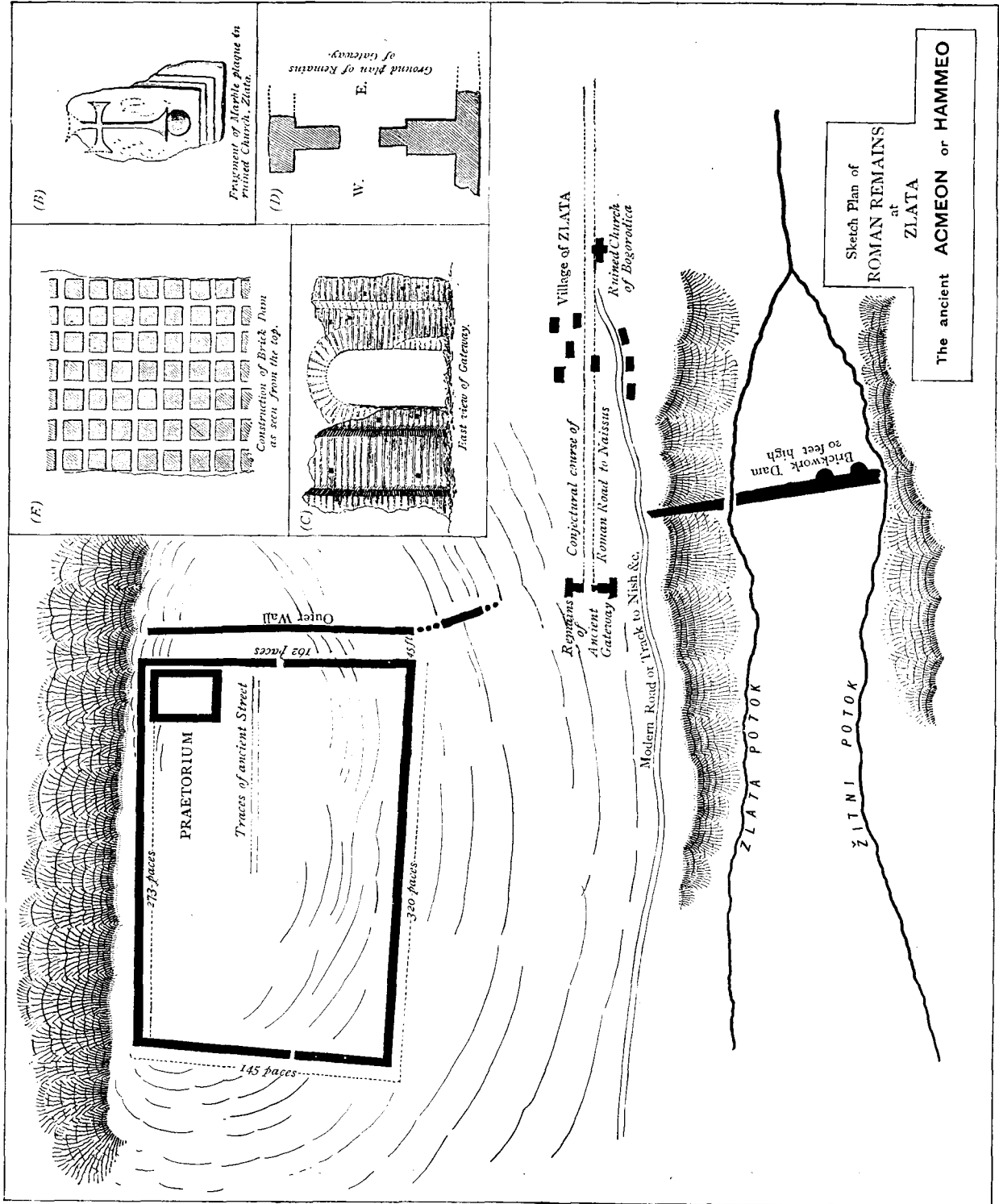
^b Mustafa had picked up a little Italian from some workmen engaged on the new Serbian line. Amongst words in the local dialect which struck him as like Italian he instanced Szavle=Sand. (Cf. Ital. *Sabbia*, Rouman, *Sablu*), Plop or Plep=poplar (Ital. *Pioppo*, Macedo-Rouman Plop), Sielce=willow (Italian *Salice*, Macedo-Rouman *Salice* or *Salce*), Supra=above (It. *Sopra*, Rouman *Supra*, ordinary Albanian *Siper*), Ca'olli also Cavolli, horse (It. *Cavallo*, Rouman, *Callu*, ordinary Albanian *Colli* or *Calli*), &c.

and Vlach are all the same." On the opposite side of the Golema is a village with the purely Rouman name, Pratosielce=Willow-mead, and Končul on the other side of the Morava has an equally Rouman sound.

The Roman remains at Pršovo—and, according to my guide, several inscriptions had been recently broken up here—seem to mark it as a considerable Station on the Roman road-line between Scupi and Naissus. Of the further course of the Way into the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, approached from this place by an easy descent, I could find no direct evidence. That the hot-baths of Vranja were known to the Romans is highly probable. In the neighbourhood of this town Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and, from the coins of Pæonia and Damastion that I obtained here, it would certainly appear that this, the natural avenue of approach from the Ægean to the Danubian basin was frequented by traders in præ-Roman times.

At Leskovac, the only trace of Roman habitation that I observed was a large tile with part of a stamp beginning with E . . . but broken off, and some fragmentary capitals, on the site of an old church of St. Elias, now in course of restoration.

Whilst exploring the wild country that lies to the North of Leskovac—a part of the former Arnaontluk—till the Serbian occupation, almost inaccessible to strangers—I came upon some more important remains. I had learnt, from some of the natives, that at a spot called "Zlata," beyond the valley of the Pusta Rjeka, or Desert River, and about four hours ride from Leskovac, was an ancient bridge, or dam, by which, according to the local tradition, the waters of a stream had been diverted from the Turkish besiegers of a stronghold that rose beside it. The village of Zlata itself turned out to be a wretched group of straw-thatched hovels, near which however were the remains of an old church, dedicated, according to tradition, to the Bogorodica (Theotokos), amongst the ruins of which I found part of a marble slab, containing a relief of a cross on a globe of singularly Ravennate aspect (see sketch-plan B). At the West end of the village, on the slope of a hill which here rises above the stream, there were visible two high blocks of brickwork, which, on nearer inspection, proved to be parts of a Roman gateway (see sketch-plan C), a part of the spring of the arch, of narrow bricks, being visible on one side. It was, in fact, the city gate, on the Naissus side—the *Porta Naissitana*, of a considerable Roman Castrum, the plan of which can be best understood from the annexed sketch-plan. The outer wall of this Castrum climbs the hill above to the brink of a precipitous ravine to the North. This outer wall, the massive brickwork of which was still visible in places, stood in direct relation with the gateway. Beyond it, however, was what had been, in all probability, the original castrum, a



ruined rectangle of the same brickwork, the approximate dimensions of which are given in my sketch-plan, the upper wall of which overlooked the Northern ravine. In the North-East corner of this were the remains of the oblong *Prætorium*,—colossal masses of brickwork and cement in boulder-like confusion. The *Prætorium* occupied what was the most level, and at the same time the most commanding, part of the area of circumvallation.

The most remarkable part, however, of this Roman civic settlement remains to be described. This was a huge brick wall running across a hollow watercourse a little below the remains of the gateway. This watercourse, which runs parallel to the lower or Southern wall of the *Castrum*, is formed by two brooks, known as the *Zlata Potok* and *Žitni Potok*, which flow into one another a little lower down the gully. The cross-wall itself is of extraordinary dimensions, gradually increasing from six to as nearly as possible twelve feet in thickness, and rising twenty feet above the bottom of the ravine. At one point it has been breached by the *Zlata Potok*, and it is not traceable beyond the second stream. It is composed of square flat bricks and cement, its upper surface presenting the appearance shown in fig. c.—a method of construction which recalls Trajan's bridge-head at Turn Severin and the walls of *Serdica*. On the Eastern face are visible two semi-circular turret-like projections, which evidently served as buttresses, one of which is entered by a round arch and contains a small domed chamber. On the other side, almost choked with rubbish and just above the present level of the soil, is seen the top of a small arch communicating with a hollow space, too full of fragments to admit of my entering it. It is here that an *Arnaout* is said to have found a heap of gold, which, however, the genius of the spot would not permit him to remove; and from this tale of treasure-trove this place is called "*Zlata*,"—the plural form of "*Gold*."

That this huge work, the colossal strength of which still impresses the spectator, was originally constructed to dam up the waters of the streams there can be no reasonable doubt. The natives called it "*Stari Most*" or the Old Bridge; but the tradition already referred to, that it was built to divert the water from below, contains a real kernel of truth. That it may have also served as a bridge is probable enough, but the primary purpose of its massive construction was to form a dam; and this fact accounts for its great thickness in the centre of the gully, where the pressure of the pent up waters would naturally be greatest. The *Zlata* brook has in fact only succeeded in breaching it by attacking its wing, where the thickness of the wall is diminished by three or four feet, and where the support of the turret-buttresses is wanting. The practical object attained by this

huge dam was also obvious enough. Its effect would be to secure a capacious reservoir of fresh water at a spot where, in summer, water is apt to be deficient. Both brooks were dry when I saw their channels in the month of July. A further proof of the connexion of the work with the water supply of the Roman town is to be found in a subterranean channel, now covered with earth and *débris*, leading from the Southern slope of the gully in the direction of the Castrum.

The Castrum itself lies on a promontory of a low range of hills, tending directly in the direction of Nish, and exactly on the line formerly taken by the Roman road from Naissus to Ulpiana, and eventually to Lissus. Its distance from the site of Naissus squares almost to a mile with that of the second station on this road, the HAMMEO, of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, set down there as twenty miles distant from Naissus and six from the intermediate station, AD HERCVLEM, the Castrum Herculis of Jordanes. Theodemir the Amalung, the father of Theodoric, must therefore have passed through this station on his way to Ulpiana, at the same time as he passed through the preceding station. The name of Hammeo appears in the Geographer of Ravenna, the only other authority who mentions it, as ACMEON, which must probably be taken as the preferable form, and the identification of its site is especially pertinent to our present subject, since it was at this point that the junction took place between the two Roman road-lines Scupi-Naissus and Ulpiana-Naissus.

The view from the Prætorium height is most commanding, and well brings out the relation of this Roman stronghold to the geography of the district. To the West rise the mountain mass of the Petrova Gora, dipping down to the left as if to indicate the pass formerly followed by the continuation of the Roman road to Ulpiana. On the other side of the same range runs an old road which still brings Zlata into connexion with Kuršumlje and the Toplica valley. The general impression of the scene, the oblong well-marked Castrum on the height, overlooking to the North a precipitous ravine, and looking forth on the wild highlands beyond, strangely recalled one of the Wall Chesters of Britain; and, considering the remains still extant above ground, an excavation would assuredly yield results not inferior to those obtained at Borcovicus or Cilurnum.^a

^a Since this account was written, I see that the ruins of Zlata are alluded to by Von Hahn (*Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 55). On his way from Žitni Potok to Leskovac, he passed the ruins of "Slata"—the Albanian form of the Serb Zlata. He saw upon the hill the remains of an "Umfassungs-mauer" of hard burnt brick and firm cement, and speaks of the remains of a bridge on both sides of the brook, by which he certainly refers to the dam. Hahn apparently had no opportunity to explore the remains further, but he noticed their Roman appearance and rightly

The antiquities of Naissus itself would deserve a separate investigation, and I must here content myself with a few passing observations. In his work on Danubian Bulgaria and the Balkan, Herr Kanitz has endeavoured to show that the actual site of Naissus was not to be sought, as had been hitherto believed, at Nish, the city which certainly preserves its name, but at the village of Brzibrod, three-quarters of a hour distant from Nish.^a Here, on the left bank of the Nišava, Herr Kanitz discovered the remains of an ancient wall of circumvallation, and near it the foundations of an octagonal building, which was possibly a Christian baptistery. The identification of these remains with the ancient Naissus was however quite inconsistent with the position of that town on the right bank of the river as described in the recently discovered fragment of Priscus' history,^b and the clearest evidence of the accuracy of Priscus' account is now to be seen in the

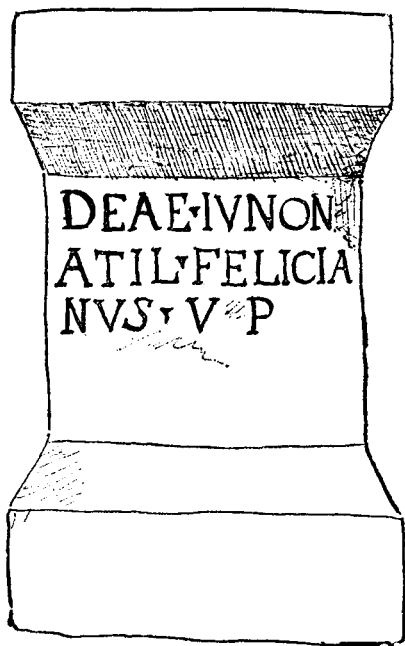


Fig. 96.

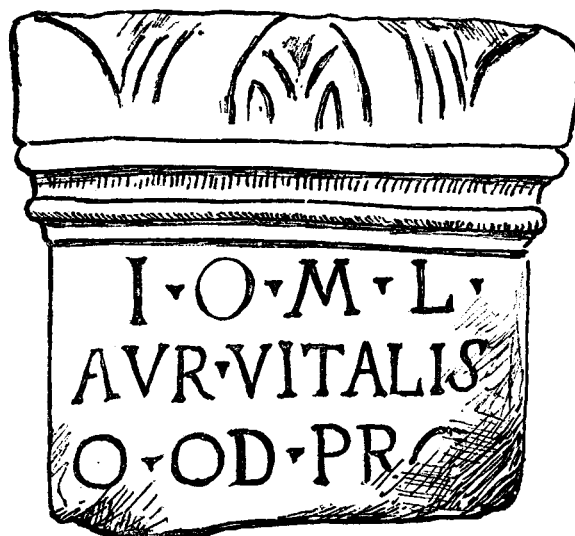


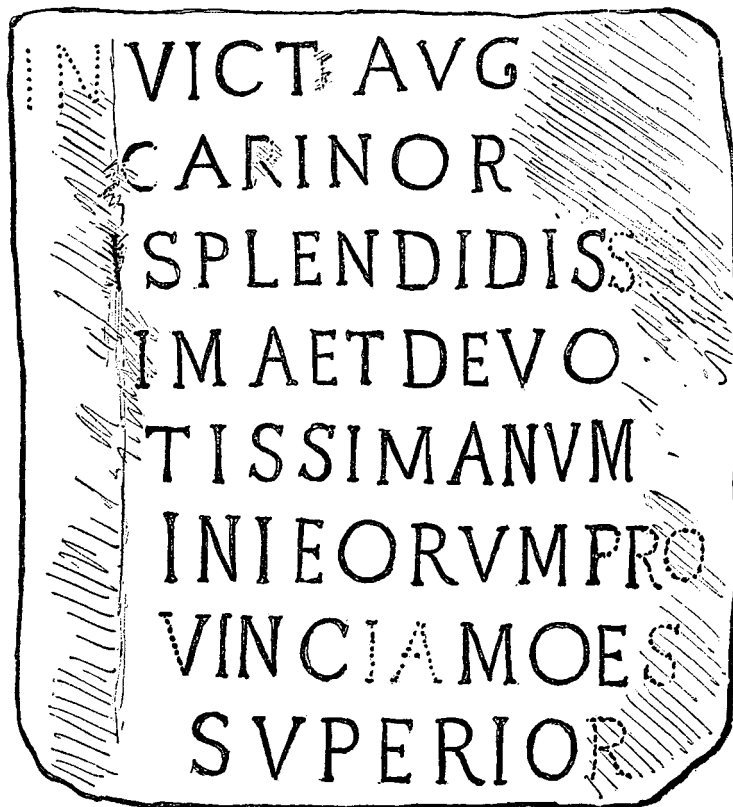
Fig. 97.

brought them into connection with the Roman road from Naissus to Ulpiana. He learnt from an Arnaout Aga a local tradition that Sultan Murad had taken the stronghold from a certain "Kralica" (Queen).

^a *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, Bd. 1, p. 157 seqq. (1875).

^b See *Fragments inédits de l'historien grec Priscus recueillis et publiés par C. Wescher* in *Revue Archéologique* N.S. vol. xviii. (1868), p. 86 seqq. Cf. Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 21. Priscus, however, erroneously calls the river "the Danube."

“Grad” or fortress of Nish itself, where, as we know from William of Tyre, the Mediæval city stood. The result of the work of clearance effected within the older “Grad”, which stands on the Northern bank of the river opposite to the newer town on the Southern bank, has been to reveal large parts of the foundations of the Roman walls as well as the Southern or river gate of the ancient Naissus, the gate, namely, which seems to have been the chief object of Attila’s attack. The foundations of this gate, flanked by two square towers, are to be seen about a hundred yards further from the river than the Turkish gate on this side. Many monuments and architectural fragments had also been unearthed during these military works, and by the kindness of the Serbian Commandant, General Benitsky, I was able to copy the two following hitherto unpublished inscriptions (figs. 96 and 97). The first is a votive altar to Juno, the other an altar of the same



..... INVICTO AVGVSTO CARINORVM SPLENDIDISSIMO ET DEVOTISSIMO NVMINI EORVM
 PROVINCIÆ MOESIAE SVPERIORIS.

Fig. 98.

description dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Labrandeus, or perhaps Liberator, by a certain Aur. Vitalis, who seems to have been a member of the O(rdo) Od(essitanus) the local Senate of Odessus on the Pontic shore.

It is impossible to close this account without some reference to the neighbouring Municipium of Remesiana, the next station South-East of Naissus on the great Military Way that traversed the centre of the Peninsula, the site of which is at present occupied by the village of Béla Palanka.^a Here, walled into a house opposite the old Turkish Palanka, was an inscription (fig. 98) apparently recording the erection of a votive altar for the health of the Emperors Carus^b and Carinus (in the year 283 therefore) by the province of Upper Mœsia.

Remesiana derives its chief historical interest from its bishop, St. Nicetas, who at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century completed in the remotest glens of Hæmus and Rhodope that missionary work in the Illyrian Peninsula which St. Paul had begun. His labours of conversion, alike amongst the barbarian settlers in the new Cis-Danubian Dacia in which this city lay, and amongst the wild Bessian gold-miners of the Thracian highlands, are recorded in the Ode^c of his friend and contemporary St. Paullinus of Nola:

“ O vices rerum, bene versa forma!
 Invii montes prius et cruenti
 Nunc tegunt versos monachis latrones
 Pacis alumnos

Te patrem dicit plaga tota Borræ,
 Ad tuos fatus Scytha mitigatur,
 Et sibi discors fera te magistro
 Pectora ponit.

Et Getæ currunt et uterque Dacus,
 Qui colit terræ medio vel ille
 Divitis multo bove pileatus
 Accola ripæ^d

^a The Turkish *Mustafa Pasha Palanka*.

^b The part of the stone containing the name of Carus is broken off: the R . . I (the last letter doubtful) after CARINO is enigmatical. To restore REGI would be too bold, though we recall Vopiscus' curious statement with regard to this Emperor “Regem denique illum Illyrici plerique vocitarunt” (Vop. *Carinus*).

^c *S. Paulini Nolensis*, c. xxx, *De Nicetæ reditu in Daciam*, written about the year 398.

^d *i. e.* the Provincials of *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dacia Ripensis*. Remesiana itself was in *Dacia Mediterranea*.

Callidos auri legulos in aurum
 Vertis, et Bessos imitaris ipse,
 E quibus vivum, fodiente verbo,
 Eruis aurum."

Of the position of Remesiana, lying on the Via Militaris, twenty-four miles distant from Naissus, there can be no doubt, though it is remarkable that two monuments discovered on this site tend to show that, under the earlier Empire at least, the official name assumed by this Roman city, which, like so many others of this region, seems to have looked to Trajan as its founder, was *Respublica Ulpianorum*.^a

Several traces are still visible of St. Nicetas' city. The old Turkish "palanka," an oblong *castrum* with a Northern and Southern gate and bastion towers at the angles, has—like those already described at Nikšić,^b Sijenica, and elsewhere—a singularly Roman aspect. The walls themselves are largely composed of squared blocks and tiles from the ancient city, and are certainly partly built on older foundations, which are also traceable in a case of ruined wall, which forms a continuation of the Western side of the "palanka." I further learnt that some workmen in recently building a house outside the North-Eastern tower had come upon extensive foundations of an ancient building, then unfortunately no longer exposed to view. I was shown, however, a marble fragment

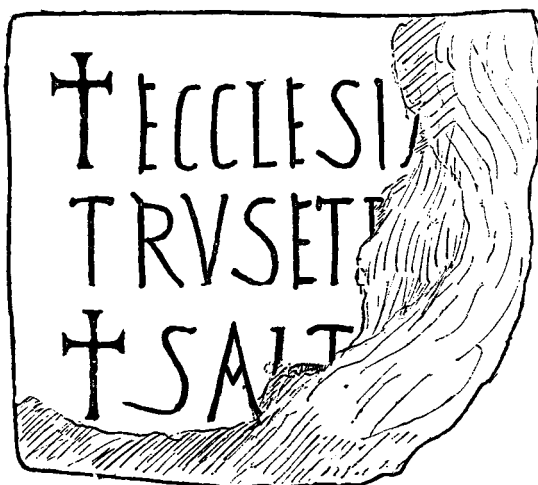


Fig. 99.

^a C. I. L. III. p. 268 (No. 1685, 1686). This site, as Mommsen justly observes, must not be confounded with that of the Dardanian *Ulpiana*.

^b See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 86-7.

discovered amongst these foundations, which proved to be of the highest interest in connexion with the Christian traditions of Ramesiana. It contained part of a Roman inscription—judging from the characters—of fourth or fifth century date, and evidently relating to the dedication of a church, which may well have been the actual church of St. Nicetas.

The inscription in its present state is too imperfect to admit of confidence in its completion. That it contained the names of St. Peter and St. Paul may however be regarded as certain, and from their names appearing in the nominative case, we may look for some kind of invocation. It is to be observed that, in the case of the recently-discovered dedication slab above the door of the Christian basilica of Salonæ—the only Illyrian parallel that I can recall—we find an invocation of divine protection on the Roman Commonwealth, then synonymous with Christendom;^a and it may, perhaps, be inferred that this was an invocation of the same kind, in which St. Peter and St. Paul were called on to protect the Church of Christ in general and the Church of Remesiana in particular. I would, therefore, venture to suggest some such restoration as the following :

† ECCLESIA[M PROTEGANT PE]
TRVS ET P[AVLVVS APOSTOLI]
† SANT[I QVE OMNES]

The dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul has a special interest in relation to the close ecclesiastical connexion subsisting between Illyricum and the Apostolic See. The Illyrian Bishops, through their metropolitan, continued to acknowledge the authority of the Bishops of Rome to the very moment of the Slavonic conquest, and Justinian himself, in his new civil and ecclesiastical settlement of Illyricum, ratified this arrangement. In the controversies of the Age we find the Bishops of the Roman cities of Dacia Mediterranea, to which Remesiana belonged, fighting the battles of Western orthodoxy against the Byzantine East; and the personal relations of St. Nicetas himself with Italy are only another symptom of the solidarity of Latin-speaking Illyricum with the cities of Latin Christianity. The coupling of the two apostolic names in early dedications is repeated in the case of the Church of St. Peter in the Aliscamps at Arles,^b of Loja in Spain,^c of

^a DEVS NOSTER  PROPITIVS ESTO
REI PVBLICAE ROMANAE.

^b De Rossi:—(*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1874, p. 145), *seqq.*, where see also the dedication of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

^c *Op. cit.* 1878, p. 37.

the basilica built by Justinian, before his accession, at Constantinople,^a and in that of the Roman basilica of *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, on which its founder, “Xystus,”—in other words, Pope Sixtus III. (432—440 A.D.) inscribed the dedicatory lines :

HAEC PETRI PAULIQUE SIMVL NVNC NOMINE SIGNO
 XYSTVS APOSTOLICAE SEDIS HONORE FRVENS
 VNVM QVAESO PARES VNVM DVO SVMITE MVNVS
 VNVS HONOR CELEBRAT QVOS HABET VNA FIDES.

At Pirot, a few hours further on the Roman *Via Militaris*, the course of which—a raised causeway, often overgrown with brushwood, and flanked by two latera

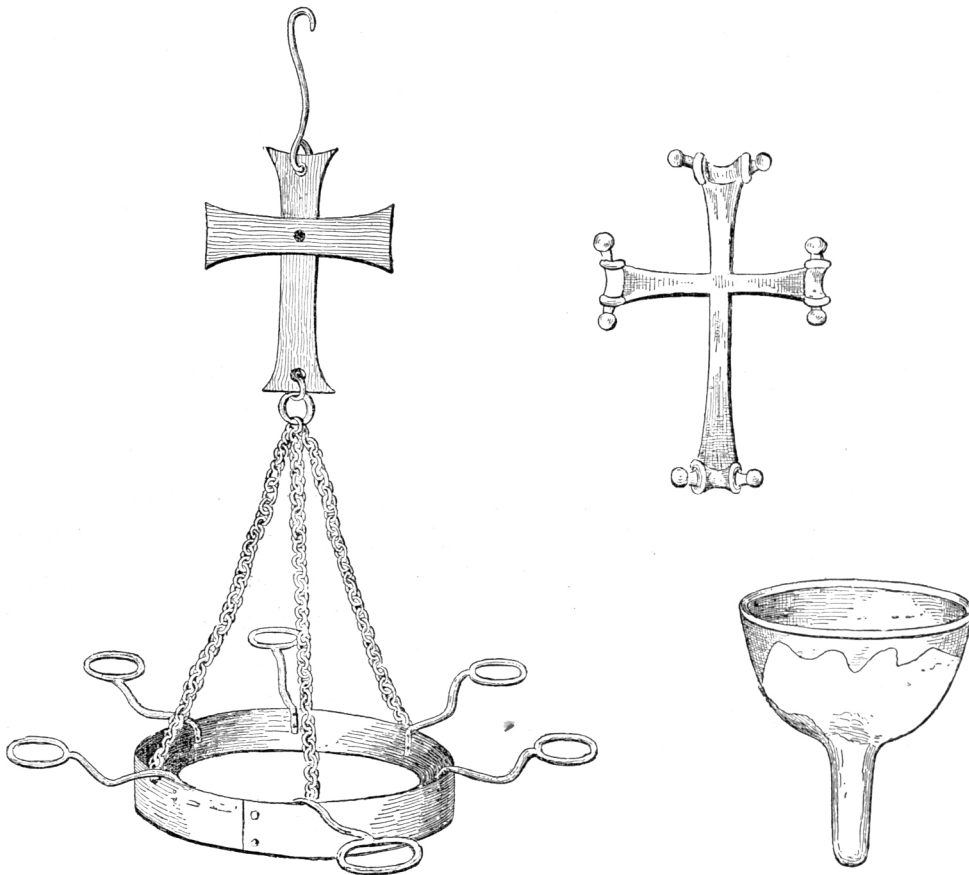


Fig. 100.

^a *Op. cit.* 1872, p. 14. The Legates of the Apostolic See in the East wrote to Pope Hormisdas in 519, that Justinian, then Comes,—“*basilicam Sanctorum Apostolorum (Petri et Pauli) constituit, in qua desiderat et beati Laurentii Martyris reliquias esse,*” &c.

ditches—is clearly visible, crossing, recrossing, and at times coalescing, with the modern road that traverses the pass above the site of Remesiana, I was so fortunate as to come upon some further relics of Roman Christianity. In the suburbs of this town, beneath the floor of the small, half-ruinous Church of St. John the Divine, the foundations of what had evidently been a far earlier church had recently been uncovered. Visiting the spot, I observed some Roman tilework, of much the same character as that of Zlata, and was shown a curious relic of the early præ-Slavonic Christianity of the spot,—a bronze *Corona* suspended from a cross, fragments of the glass, bell-shaped lamps, which it had once supported, and another small detached cross, also of bronze. The shape of the crosses bears an obvious resemblance to those on the dedicatory slab from Remesiana, and both may be safely referred to the same period.

With the mention of these Christian relics from the scenes of St. Nicetas' labours, I may conclude my present investigation into the antiquities of a region the Roman highways of which were trodden by the pilgrim feet of this last of the Illyrian Apostles. St. Paulinus of Nola, in his Ode, already quoted, on St. Nicetas' return from Italy to his New Dacian home at Remesiana, distinctly traces his journey to Thessalonica by sea, thence by the highroad up the Axios Valley to Stobi, and thus to Scupi, the cross-line from which city to Naissus gave him easy access to his own See.

“ Ibis Arctoos procul usque Dacos,
 Ibis Epiro gemina videndus,
 Et per Ægeos penetrabis æstus
 Thessalonicen
 Tu Philippæos ^a Macetum per agros
 Tu Stobitanam ^b gradieris urbem
 Ibis et Scupos patriæ propinquos,
 Dardanus hospes.”

^a Here *Philippæos* is to be taken not as referring to *Philippi*, but as an *epitheton ornans* for Macedonia in general. Thessalonica was the special city referred to.

^b Accepting Pagius' admirable emendation, “Stobitanam” for “Tomitanam.” Tomi lay far away from any possible line of route that St. Nicetas could have taken.