

STUDIA EPIGRAPHICA IN MEMORIAM GÉZA ALFÖLDY

# ANTIQUITAS

Reihe 1

## ABHANDLUNGEN ZUR ALTEN GESCHICHTE

begründet von Andreas Alföldi

herausgegeben von

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DR. RUDOLF HABELT GMBH · BONN

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STUDIA EPIGRAPHICA  
IN MEMORIAM GÉZA ALFÖLDY

herausgegeben von  
WERNER ECK, BENCE FEHÉR UND  
PÉTER KOVÁCS



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Géza Alföldy in Tarragona 2011



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# ANANCA: GREEK ANANKE WORSHIPPED AT DOCLEA (DALMATIA)

MARJETA ŠAŠEL KOS

## An enigmatic dedication

A dedication to Ananca is carved on an altar of limestone (48 x 30 x 31 cm), now probably lost, whose moulded base was entirely preserved, while the moulded crown was partly damaged. The inscription field was not framed; triangular punctuation marks were visible between the words (*fig. 1*). It was seen by the first editor D. Vaglieri near the city walls of Roman Doclea, present-day Duklja near Podgorica in Montenegro.<sup>1</sup> According to P. Sticotti, the altar had long been in the house of Novak Perov, but afterwards, at least from the time of Vaglieri's travels in Montenegro in 1902 and his autopsy, it was immured in the northern town wall, not far from the northeastern corner of the walls. Sticotti republished it in 1913 with a drawing, made after an original copy and/or impression that had been done on the spot. He published the drawing of the left side of the altar at the scale of 1:10 of its actual size, and the drawing of the inscription at the scale of 1:6;<sup>2</sup> both drawings are reproduced here.

According to J. J. Martinović, who has recently made a revision of all Roman inscribed monuments from Montenegro and republished them, the altar could no longer be recovered.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription reads:

*Anancae / pro sal(ute) / Val(eri) Lici/niani / fili / L. Coe(lius) Val(erius?) / pater / l(aetus) l(ibens).*

*Translation:* To Ananca. For the health of (his) son Val(erius) Licinianus, (his) father Lucius Coe(lius) Val(erius?) (fulfilled his vow) gladly and willingly.

A few remarks concerning the transcription: It seems that Vaglieri did not reproduce the punctuation marks correctly; at least they differ from those drawn by Sticotti, particularly in line 1, where they are shown after the first *A*, after *NAN* and at the end of the line. In the 6<sup>th</sup> line Vaglieri read *Val.....*, not supplementing the father's cognomen, and H. Dessau (*ILS*) did the same. Sticotti read *Val(erius)* and so did J.

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<sup>1</sup> Vaglieri 1904, 284 no. 1 (Piccolo cippo esistente presso le mura di Doclea); AE 1905, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Sticotti 1913, 155–156 no. 1; ILJug 1819 = ILS 9256 = HD 030165.

<sup>3</sup> Martinović 2011, no. 167, with Sticotti's drawing.

Šašel (*ILJug*). In the Heidelberg epigraphic data base (*HD*) the name has been supplemented as *Val(erianus?)*. In the last line Vaglieri read *l(oco) c(oncesso)*; according to Sticotti's drawing, the last *L* – which in his opinion is indisputable – is indeed different from the first one, which was probably the cause for Vaglieri's wrong reading.

The father's name may be problematic, since *Valerius* – seemingly a *gentilicium* – would have been his cognomen; however to have a *gentilicium* for the *cognomen* is not particularly rare, especially from the second century onwards, but *Val(erianus?)* would also not be at all implausible. In any case, the son's *nomen gentile* is different from that of his father, which is not exceptional, particularly not from the late Principate onwards. He could have been an illegitimate, or adopted, child or he could have borne a different *gentilicium* for some other reason.<sup>4</sup> Other *Valerii* are known at Doclea, thus one M. *Valerius Quintianus*, a husband of *Flavia Pinnia*,<sup>5</sup> as well as *Valerius Marcianus* and *Epidia Tatta*; their son was T. *Cassius Valerius Epidianus*, whose first *gentilicium* is also different from those of his parents.<sup>6</sup>

## Doclea

Doclea was a settlement of the Illyrian *Docleates*, who were mentioned by Appian in his *Illyrian History*,<sup>7</sup> by Pliny the Elder,<sup>8</sup> and by Ptolemy,<sup>9</sup> as well as in an inscription on a sarcophagus from the late second century AD, in which one *Caius Epicadi filius, princeps civitatis Docleatium* was commemorated.<sup>10</sup> Doclea, the main settlement of the *Docleates*, was situated in the interior of Crna Gora (Montenegro), at the confluence of the rivers Zeta and Morača in the region of Podgorica (the capital of Crna Gora, formerly Titograd), which was part of the Roman province of Dalmatia (*fig. 2*). During the reign of the Flavian emperors, most probably under Vespasian who decisively contributed towards the further urbanization of provinces, the town very likely became the Flavian *municipium Docleatium*.<sup>11</sup> Vespasian founded many Flavian colonies in order to meet the expectations of soldiers who had fought on his side,<sup>12</sup> but several Flavian *municipia*, too, are attested, thus in

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<sup>4</sup> My grateful thanks are due to Olli Salomies, who kindly discussed these two names with me.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* III 13836 = Sticotti 1913, 181 no. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Sticotti 1913, 175–176 no. 45.

<sup>7</sup> App. *Illyr.* 16.46.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. *N. h.* 3.143.

<sup>9</sup> Ptol. 2.16.8.

<sup>10</sup> *ILJug* 1853.

<sup>11</sup> Sticotti 1913, 185 ff., particularly 188; Wilkes 1969, 252–254; cf. *TIR K 34 Naissus*, Ljubljana 1976, 44; Pavan 1958, 85–87; Alföldy 1965, 144–145; Suić 2003, 65; 224; ground plan of the town *fig. 78* on p. 214; cf. 420–421. See, however, Šašel 1983, 81 n. 13 (1992, 334 n. 13), who expressed some doubts about it.

<sup>12</sup> Mrozewicz 2012; Šašel 1983 (1992).

Dalmatia also Scardona (Skradin) and Fulfinum (Omišalj). The Flavii are numerous in the province and it is noteworthy that at Doclea a *flamen divi Titi* is documented.<sup>13</sup> As an autonomous city, Doclea is mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>14</sup> and is attested on several inscriptions,<sup>15</sup> also as *res p(ublica) Docleatium*.

It was an important site of the imperial cult, where the worship of *dea Roma* has also been attested; on a fragmentarily preserved gable, perhaps a part of a niche, the goddess Roma is depicted in a medallion, wearing a helmet with a tuft of feathers and displaying the head of Medusa on the chest part of her dress.<sup>16</sup> Two inscriptions have also been discovered: one is a tombstone, erected for a *sodalis Romae*,<sup>17</sup> while in the other inscription the above mentioned *flamen divi Titi* was honoured. Several bases have been found with honorific inscriptions commemorating emperors from the deified Titus onwards.

Excavations revealed numerous remains of Roman construction from aqueduct to forum and early Christian basilica, as well as cemeteries.<sup>18</sup> Doclea was the birthplace of the emperor Diocletian, also spelled as Dioclea,<sup>19</sup> perhaps due to a pseudo-Greek popular etymology of the name of the town, seemingly related to Jupiter and κλέω, to celebrate. After Diocletian's reforms, the southern part of the province Dalmatia, including Doclea, became an independent province of Praevalitana; the economy of the town declined, but a revived prosperity could be noted after 536 when Justinian's authority extended over the province. However, no coins after Honorius have been discovered in the city. In the sixth century AD, a bishopric is attested at Doclea.

In addition to the imperial cult, mentioned *supra*, other divinities were worshipped in Doclea, such as Diana Candaviensis,<sup>20</sup> whose epithet was derived from the settlement of Candavia/Candabia, a road station (*mutatio*) on the Egnatian Road in the neighbourhood of the Candavian Mountains, between the towns of Skampis (Elbasan in Albania) and Lychnidus (Ohrid in Macedonia); this region was part of Macedonia. It is interesting that the settlement was 9 miles distant from a place called Ad Dianam (near Spathari in Albania), also situated along the *Via Egnatia*; presumably it was named after an important sanctuary of Diana.<sup>21</sup> The Doclea dedication was set up by one T. Flavius Dionysius, whose Greek name could possibly indicate his Greek-speaking, perhaps Macedonian origin, unless he was a freedman. Diana also had a sanctuary at Doclea.<sup>22</sup> Other divinities include *Dei*

<sup>13</sup> *CIL* III 12695; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 105–106.

<sup>14</sup> Ptol. 2.16.12.

<sup>15</sup> Collected by Sticotti 1913 and Martinović 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Sticotti 1913, fig. 35 on p. 74; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 105, fig. 10 on p. 104.

<sup>17</sup> Jadrić-Kučan 2011, 105–106; Sticotti 1914, 172 no. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Cermanović-Kuzmanović – Srejšević – Velimirović-Žižić 1975.

<sup>19</sup> See *Epit. de Caes.* 39.1; cf. Sticotti 1913, 3 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *ILJug* 1820; Diana's epithet was spelled *Candaviesis* in the inscription.

<sup>21</sup> For all these settlements, see *TIR K 34*, s.v.

<sup>22</sup> Sticotti 1913, 85 ff.

*omnes*,<sup>23</sup> *Dii deaeque omnes*,<sup>24</sup> Jupiter with an elsewhere unknown, fragmentary, epithet,<sup>25</sup> *Iuppiter Cortalis Augustus*,<sup>26</sup> as well as Jupiter Best and Greatest, Epona, and *Genius loci*. These last three divinities were commemorated together on an altar, erected, interestingly, by a *beneficiarius consularis* of the legion I Adiutrix (from Brigetio in Pannonia), C. Ocratius Lacon (*sic!*),<sup>27</sup> as well as on an altar set up by P. Bennius Egreus, a soldier of the *Cohors voluntariorum*, who was also a commander's assistant (*adiutor principis*) and *beneficiarius consularis*.<sup>28</sup> Further deities worshipped in Doclea included *Venus Augusta*, *Liber pater Augustus*, *Domnus* and *Domna*, as well as Neptune, the averter of dangers.<sup>29</sup>

## Ananca

Martinović supposed that Ananca was a local health-bringing deity.<sup>30</sup> Local gods are indeed often uniquely attested, and often no parallels can be found to explain their name and/or sphere of action; however, the case of this goddess is different. Ananca seems to be the rarely worshipped Greek divinity Ananke, personified ἀνάγκη, the Latin equivalent for which is *necessitas*, signifying inevitability, necessity, natural urgency, force, constraint, or want, that is, Divine Necessity, Constraint or Inevitability (*fig. 3*).<sup>31</sup>

She embodied a primordial force that acted behind all natural phenomena, a divinized fundamental principle embodying inevitable urgency that forcefully influenced behaviour of the gods, heroes, and people. At a lower, everyday, level, Ananke may be imagined as forcing people to do something that normally they would have avoided, had it not been necessary and urgent for them. They may have strived for something lost, which for them was vital, but was not necessarily attainable in an easy way, as, for example, their well-being in the broad sense of the word. Or else they were forced to act in a way that was at the limits of acceptable or even sinful behaviour, but was inevitable in a given situation. Moreover, the ultimate result of their action may not have been certain, it may or may not have proved a good choice leading to the desired goal. Ananke stood behind an action that was unavoidable and involuntary, something that people did with reluctance because it may have hurt or frightened someone.

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<sup>23</sup> *ILJug* 1821; an unpublished inscription reads *Diabus*, Martinović 2011, 131 no. 110.

<sup>24</sup> *ILJug* 1822.

<sup>25</sup> *ILJug* 1823 (*Antra[.]ris*).

<sup>26</sup> *ILJug* 1824.

<sup>27</sup> *ILJug* 1825 = *CBFIR* 461.

<sup>28</sup> *CIL* III 12679 = Sticotti 1913, 157-158 no. 4 = *CBFIR* 488 = Martinović 2011, 130 no. 108.

<sup>29</sup> *CIL* III 8284; Sticotti 1913, 158 no. 7 (*Venus*); *ILJug* 1826 (*Liber pater*); *ILJug* 1827 (*Domnus* and *Domna*); Martinović 2011, 130-131 no. 109 (*Neptune*).

<sup>30</sup> Martinović 2011, p. 162. Due to the not easily accessible journal in which Vaglieri published the altar, all subsequent editors (who did not comment on the divinity) overlooked his remark that Ananca was the Latin equivalent of Ananke, which I also discovered only after I had already written the article.

<sup>31</sup> Wernicke 1894; Schreckenbergr 1964; Rüter 1979; Dräger 1996.

This natural urgency or constraint appeared for the first time personified as a divinity in the Orphic literature discussing the origin of gods; in the so-called *Orphic Rhapsodies* Aither is born out of Chronos, who fashions an egg in him, out of which Phanes, the first-born of the gods and the creator of all, springs forth. He is assisted by his daughter and partner, Night, who was the next to rule the universe and possessed the gift of prophecy, giving oracles from a cave. At its entrance sat the abstract Orphic goddess Adrasteia (whose power cannot be resisted), who was equivalent to Ananke and who made laws for the gods.<sup>32</sup> Like other personifications that appear in theogonies, she is partly a conception and partly a divinity, and differently combined with other personified conceptions related to fate, fortune, and destiny in the Orphic and Neoplatonist writings, such as Heimarmene, the personified inescapable fate, as opposed to Moira, whose power could have been passed over. In any case, Ananke was a powerful primordial deity, hence the proverbial saying that “not even the gods dare fight against Ananke”.<sup>33</sup>

In Homer, however, Ananke does not figure yet as a deity and neither is she understood as such in Hesiod. Nonetheless, Plato refers to Hesiod and Parmenides in his statement that all ancient things that they narrated about the gods happened on account of her and not Eros; indeed she, not yet perceived as a deity, reigned at the very beginning of things.<sup>34</sup> In the poems of Hesiod, the word *ananke* actually occurs rarely, e.g. in the *Theogony* (v. 615), in connection with Prometheus, of whom it is said that he is fettered to the rock by an unavoidable force or fate (ὕπ' ἀνάγκης), since no one could escape Zeus' intention. The word also appears in the *Works and Days* (v. 15), where Hesiod argued that there were two kinds of Strife (*Eris*), a good one and a bad and harmful one, who was only worshipped by the mortals on account of an unavoidable constraint (ὕπ' ἀνάγκης), since such was the will of the gods.

In his *Republic*, Plato has more to say about Ananke: the world turned around an elaborate diamond spindle that she held on her knees.<sup>35</sup> On each of its eight rings, a Siren was standing, turning around and letting off a sound, the unison of eight sounds of eight Sirens producing a harmony. Around Ananke, three women clad in white each sat on a throne, her three daughters the Moirai, divinities of fate; the first was Lachesis, who was responsible for what had happened, the second, Klotho, was in charge of current events, while Atropos was the mistress of the future.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Guthrie 1993, 80; 138; 233.

<sup>33</sup> Ἀνάγκη οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται, Suda, s.v.; the proverb recommends that people should be satisfied with what is available.

<sup>34</sup> Plato, *Symp.* 195c and 197b. In the *Theogony*, however, Hesiodus does not mention Ananke, but says that at the very beginning there were Chaos and Earth, Tartaros, and Eros, the most beautiful of all gods, *Theog.*, 115 ff. In his *Theogony*, Night gave birth to several divinities, among others Fate and the Moirai, 217 ff., while elsewhere they were the daughters of Themis and Zeus, 901 ff. Parmenides' teachings of the origin of the gods are not known.

<sup>35</sup> Plato, *Rep.* X 616c ff.

<sup>36</sup> Plato, *Rep.* X 617b-617d.

Ananke is referred to several times in Aeschylus' tragedy *Prometheus Bound*, notably in connection with Prometheus himself, who, even if immortal, knew that he could not escape the might of Necessity (Ananke), since she permitted no resistance.<sup>37</sup> But Aeschylus also reminded his audience of Ananke in his *Agamemnon*; the king, driven by Necessity, agreed to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis before sailing for Troy.<sup>38</sup> In Euripides' *Alcestis*, too, the Chorus is made to say that despite much reflection nothing stronger than Ananke could be found, nor any cure to avoid her power that would have been written down in Orpheus' Thracian tablets. There is no sense to pray at her altars or wooden images.<sup>39</sup> In Horace, she is called a cruel goddess, "saeva Necessitas".<sup>40</sup>

Ananke is also mentioned by Herodotus, in a passage in which he recounted the negotiations between the Athenian politician Themistocles and the inhabitants of the island of Andros. Themistocles emphasized that the Athenians obeyed two great divinities, Peitho, the goddess of Persuasion, and Anankaie (Necessity), while the Andrians, who should have given them money, pointed out that they had no land and two unserviceable goddesses, Penia (Poverty) and Amechania (Helplessness), hence they could not give money to the Athenians.<sup>41</sup>

According to Macrobius, the Egyptians believed that four deities were present at the birth of a human being, one of them having been Ananke. His text, interesting for the study of (late) Roman period beliefs, is set in the context of his description of sun worship among the Egyptians, where the sun appeared in Mercury's guise. Mercury's wand (*caduceus*) was shaped as two intertwined serpents, male and female, bound at the middle by the knot of Hercules, and joined in a kiss. "*The Egyptians also use the caduceus's significance to explain people's horoscope ('genesis' it is called), saying that four gods attend a human being as it is born, Deity [Daimon], Chance [Tyche], Love [Eros], and Necessity [Ananke]: the first two they mean to be regarded as the sun and the moon, because the sun, as the source of breath, warmth, and light, is the begetter and guardian of human life and so is believed to be the Daimon, or deity, of the one being born; whereas the moon is Tyche, because she is in charge of our bodies, which are buffeted by various chance circumstances. Love is signified by a kiss, Necessity by a knot.*"<sup>42</sup>

The cult of Ananke is actually attested during the Roman period. Pausanias, when describing the buildings and monuments of Corinth, noted that she was worshipped together with Bia<sup>43</sup> in a sanctuary at the beginning of the path leading up to Acrocorinth, next to a raised platform with altars dedicated to Helios on the one

<sup>37</sup> Aesch. *Prometheus Bound*, 103-105; see also 511-517; 1050-1053.

<sup>38</sup> Aesch. *Agamemnon*, 217 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Eur. *Alcestis*, 962 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Hor. *Od.*, 1.35.17.

<sup>41</sup> 8.111.

<sup>42</sup> Macr. *Sat.*, 1.19.17 (edited and translated by Kaster 2011, 266-269).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. also a Pisidian inscription, *CIG* III 4379o, in which it bears the epithet ἐντελής, complete, faultless.

side, and a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods on the other. He also added that it was not customary to enter into this sanctuary (obviously it was regarded as ‘*abaton*’).<sup>44</sup> In the western part of the Roman Empire, however, the testimony of the cult of Ananke/Ananca at Doclea seems to be unique.

### Greek influence in southern Dalmatia

Southern Dalmatia, including Doclea, was not far from the border region between the Greek and Latin speaking parts of the Empire. Other traces of Greek presence and Greek language could be identified in the town. A sarcophagus was discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century in the small village of Zagorič near Duklja, now in the museum at Cetinje. It reads: *D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / P. Cornelio / Iulio, qui vixit / an(nis) LV Iulia et / Irene, filias / patri pientis/simo*.<sup>45</sup> Instead of *filiae*, *filias* has been written, betraying poor knowledge of Latin grammar. The second daughter, Irene, not only bears a Greek name, the nominative, too, is Greek, ending in *-ē*. Proximity to the Greek-speaking regions could account for choosing Greek names, thus one Iulia Domitia gave her daughter, who only lived six years, the name Phoebe.<sup>46</sup> The *collegium fabrum* erected the tombstone to one M. Antonius Eutiches,<sup>47</sup> who may or may not have been a freedman; if not, his Greek name would indicate the presence of Greek elements in the town. The same could be said of the tombstone of T. Oclatius Severus and Laetilia Threpte,<sup>48</sup> as well as the names from some other tombstones, such as Octavia Acantis,<sup>49</sup> Harmonia,<sup>50</sup> and M. Iulius Laco.<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, a tombstone in Greek has been discovered at Doclea,<sup>52</sup> and some Greek inscriptions, mainly on funerary, but also on votive monuments, have been found to date in nearby towns, such as a fragmentary marble votive slab, discovered at Risinium (present-day Risan), at the site called Carine, dedicated to the local god Medaurus.<sup>53</sup> Near the town of Kotor, at the site of Dobrota, a Greek tombstone was found *in situ*, erected by a physician Loukios Louskos Eukarpos, who styled himself as ἀρχιατρὸς κλεινικός, meaning that he was an official community practitioner who was visiting his patients at home.<sup>54</sup> A fragmentary Greek tombstone was also

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<sup>44</sup> Paus. 2.4.7.

<sup>45</sup> *ILJug* 597.

<sup>46</sup> *ILJug* 1833.

<sup>47</sup> *ILJug* 1829.

<sup>48</sup> *ILJug* 1836; her name is erroneously spelled as *Trhepte*.

<sup>49</sup> *ILJug* 1839.

<sup>50</sup> *ILJug* 1849.

<sup>51</sup> *CIL* III 12710; Sticotti 1913, 182 no. 62.

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* III 12708, cf. p. 2253; Sticotti 1913, 178 no. 49.

<sup>53</sup> *ILJug* 1854; on Medaurus, see Rendić-Miočević 1980 (1989).

<sup>54</sup> *ILJug* 1855 A.

found at Epidaurum (present-day Cavtat);<sup>55</sup> obviously a Greek-speaking minority was living in the towns and settlements in southern Dalmatia.

Various explanations offer themselves to account for a Greek-speaking population in the southeastern regions of the Adriatic. These people could have been descendants of the early Greek colonists who had settled the islands in the Illyrian waters north of Corcyra, notably Issa,<sup>56</sup> Black Corcyra, and Pharos,<sup>57</sup> as well as the nearby coast, most of all at Apollonia and Epidamnos,<sup>58</sup> from where they would have spread to the north. Indeed, the inhabitants from Issa colonized at a later date at least Tragurion and Epetion on the coast opposite the island,<sup>59</sup> but in the coastal regions to the south of these Issaeian settlements there were also towns with Greek names, for example Epidaurum<sup>60</sup> and Buthoe, and towns further south in the Boka Kotorska bay, such as Rhizon<sup>61</sup> and Acruvium, down to Scodra and Lissos, where some Greek settlers could equally be expected. Greek cities must have been more numerous than is usually supposed, both on the islands<sup>62</sup> and on the mainland; this is confirmed by the remark of Pliny the Elder that by his time “*the memory of many Greek cities faded*”.<sup>63</sup> The impact of Greek civilization in the eastern Adriatic regions, which influenced early urbanization, crafts, art, coinage, and script, spreading rapidly with trade, was not at all negligible.<sup>64</sup> Greek-speaking people could also have come to southern Dalmatia during the Roman dominion, either as soldiers from the East who had served in the units that were active in Dalmatia,<sup>65</sup> and who later perhaps married and settled in the province, or as merchants, or else as other immigrants from the Greek-speaking part of the Empire.

Lucius Coelius Val(erius?), who was acquainted with the worship of Greek Ananke, had made a vow to the goddess for the well-being of his son and erected an altar to her upon having been granted his prayer. Presumably he may have been constrained to do something that he would have normally been reluctant to do had it not been the only way to help his son. However, there could be other explanations to account for the erection of the altar to Ananca at Doclea.

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<sup>55</sup> *ILJug* 1849; ὁ κλιτικός, physician who visits his patients in their beds.

<sup>56</sup> Kirigin 1996; Sanader 2002.

<sup>57</sup> Kirigin 2006.

<sup>58</sup> Beaumont 1936; Wilkes 2004; Kirigin 1999; Zaninović 2004.

<sup>59</sup> Kovačić 2002 (Tragurion); Faber 1983 (Epetion).

<sup>60</sup> Glavičić 2008.

<sup>61</sup> Dyczek 2011, 39 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Gaffney – Čače – Hayes – Kirigin – Leach – Vujnović 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Plin. *N. h.* 3.144; Rendić-Miočević 1988.

<sup>64</sup> Cambi 2003; cf. also Gorini 2003.

<sup>65</sup> M. Sanader – D. Tončinić 2010; Miletić 2010.



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*Abbreviations*

AE = L'Année épigraphique.

CBFIR = E. Schallmayer – K. Eibl – J. Ott – G. Preuss – E. Wittkopf, Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden-Württemberg 40 (Stuttgart 1990).

CIL = Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.

HD = Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.

ILJug = A. et J. Šašel, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt, Situla 5 (Ljubljana 1963); iidem, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt, Situla 19 (1978); iidem, Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt, Situla 25 (1986).

ILS = H. Dessau (ed.), Inscriptiones Latinae selectae (Berlin 1892–1916).

LIMC = Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, München.

RE = Pauly – Wissowa – Kroll – Mittelhaus – Ziegler, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

TIR Sofia, 1976 = Tabula Imperii Romani. Naissus, Dyrrhachion, Scupi, Serdica, Thessalonike. K 34 Sofia, ed. J. Šašel (Ljubljana 1976).

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*Fig. 1: Dedication to Ananca. From Sticotti 1913, 155, fig. 97.*



Fig. 2: Map of southern Dalmatia. Computer graphics: Mateja Belak.



Fig. 3: An Apulian volute krater from Altamura (Naples National Archaeological Museum), depicting Ananke, who spurs Sisyphos with a whip to roll a large boulder up a hill. From Simon 1981, p. 612 (vol. I/2, no. 2, Ananke).