



MLADEN ZAGARČANIN

O NEKIM PITANJIMA
RANOHRISĆANSKOG I
SREDNJOVJEKOVNOG
GRADITELJSTVA U DOKLEJI I
BARU, SA POSEBNIM OSVRTOM
PREMA PAGANSKIM KULTNIM
PREDSTAVAMA

ON SOME ISSUES OF EARLY
CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL
CONSTRUCTION IN DOCLEA AND
BAR, WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
PAGAN CULT SCENES

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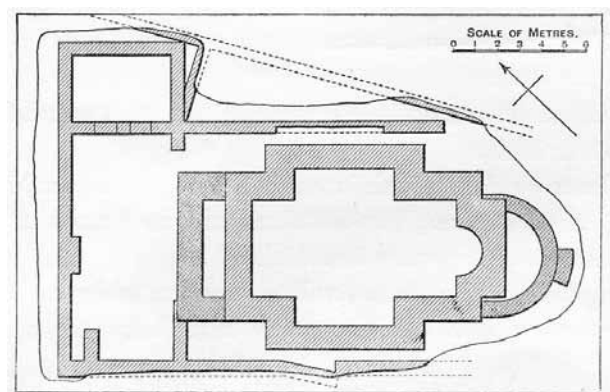
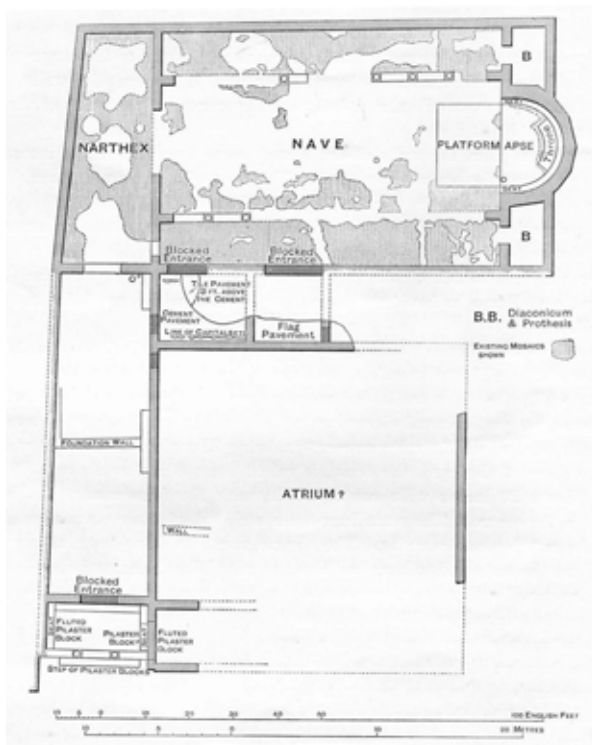
ON SOME ISSUES OF EARLY
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Jedine hrišćanske crkve u Dokleji otkrivene su krajem 19. stoljeća od strane engleske ekipe koju je predvodio J.A.R. Munro (Munro *et al.* 1896: 55-60). Tada su jugozapadno od foruma, na udaljenosti od oko stotinak metara otkopane dvije ranohrišćanske bazilike, kasnije označene kao bazilika A i bazilika B, kao i manja krstoobrzna kapela koja je kod više naučnika datovana u period 9. stoljeća (sl.1 i 2).

Episkopska bazilika (A) je imala klasičnu bazilikalnu koncepciju, sa kolonadama od po 7 stubova između kojih je postojao razmak od oko 2.7 metara. Apsida, u kojoj su pronađeni sintronos i subselijum bila poligonalnog oblika, dok su uz nju, sa strana, flankirane pastoforije, đakonikon i pro-

The only Christian churches in Doclea were discovered at the end of 19th Century by the English team led by J.A.R. Munro (Munro *et al.* 1896: 55-60). During that occasion, on the southwest of the forum, one hundred meters away, two early Christian basilicas were excavated, later on marked as basilica A and basilica B, as well as smaller cross-shaped chapel which was dated by a great number of scientists into the period of 9th Century (Fig.1 and 2).

Episcopal basilica (A) used to have classical basilica look like conception, with the colonnades of 7 poles between which there was a distance of about 2.7 meters. The apse, where the sintronos and subselium were of a polygonal shape, while along them, from sides, was flanked pastophorion, diaconicon and prothesis. It used to have narthex on the west side, with irregular trapezoidal base, which was added to a very narrow passage (propyleus), about 45 m length, positioned between the edge of the eastern wall of the quadrant yard (the atrium) and western fence wall of the complex. In the beginning of the propyleus, there was a small



Sl. 1a, 1b - Episkopski kompleks, plan po Munrou
Fig. 1a, 1b - Episcopal complex, plan according to Munro

tezis. Na zapadnoj strani imala je narteks, nepravilne trapezoidne osnove, koji se nadovezuje na prilično uski prolaz (propileje), dužine od oko 45 metra, smješten između ivice istočnog zida kvadratnog dvorišta (atrijuma) i zapadnog ogradnog zida kompleksa. Na početku propileja postojalo je malo predvorje, sa dva stuba na samom ulazu (sudeći po očuvanim bazama), a zatim i portal ulaznog dijela propileja koji je vodio prema crkvi, a koji je pronađen zazidan. Dvorište (atrijum) je od crkve odvojeno odajama nepoznate namjene, i sa južne i sa sjeverne strane. Dvije male odaje sa južne strane imale su naknadno zatvorene ulaze u jugozapadni dio crkve, dok je njihov pod u jednoj fazi bio pavimentisan malterom, a u drugoj je postojao i još jedan paviment, rađen od opeka. Uzanim odajama između crkve i dvorišta komunikacija je vodila prema istočnoj strani, gdje je na oko 4 metra sjeveroistočno konstaovan ostatak mozaičnog poda. Prema izvještaju Munroa njegovih saradnika (Munro *et al.* 1896: 23-28), iskopana visina zidova iznosila je od 1 do 1.5 metra. Pod cijele crkve je bio prekriven mozaicima, a konstatovano je 6 baza za stubove: četiri na sjevernoj i dvije na južnoj strani. Između ovih baza stubova nađenu su veliki blokovi (debljine 15.30 cm) donešeni sa civilne bazilike, na kojima su vjerovatno postavljeni stilobati. Konstaovano je dosta fragmenata stubova, a na osnovu dva najbolje očuvana mogla se odrediti njihova približna visina, koja je iznosila oko 3 metra dok je njihov obim iznosio oko 34 cm. Najbolje očuvani stub je nađen na sloju polomljenih opeka, što svjedoči o tome da je krov pao prije nego su se srušili stubovi. Pronađen je određen broj kapitela od kojih su dva "rimsko korintskog stila" identični sa kapitelima iz civilne bazilike na forumu, dok su drugi uprošćenog rimsko jonskog ili grubog ranovizantijskog stila. Ostali kapiteli su bili oblika "presječene piramide" tj. primitivnog impost tipa. U zapadnom uglu južnog broda pronađen je određen broj rimskih nadgrobni spomenika. Svi su bili polomljeni i pronađeni su u položaju gdje je ornamentisana strana bila okrenuta prema zemlji, što govori da su u jednoj fazi vjerovatno korišteni kao improvizovani pod. Neki nadgrobni spomenici su položeni na mozaik pa se može pretpostaviti da su odvaljeni sa zida ili da su bili dio neke nepoznate konstrukcije. Tokom revizionog iskopavanja 1960, otkriveni su djelovi stubova i dva velika korintska

antechapel, with two poles at the entrance (according to the bases preserved), and then a portal of the entrance part of the propileus which led toward the church, and which was found walled up. The yard (atrium) is separated from church with the chambers of unknown purpose, both from the southern and western side. Two small chambers from the southern side used to have closed entrances into the southwest part of the church afterwards, while their floor in one phase was pavement with plaster and in the other phase there was another pavement, made of bricks. Along the narrow chambers between the church and the yard, the communication led toward eastern side, where at the distance of 4 metres toward the northeast, the remains of the mosaic floor were found. According to the report of Munro and his associates (Munro *et al.* 1896: 23-28), the excavated walls height was from 1 to 1.5 metres. The floor of the whole church was covered with mosaics, and 6 pole bases were confirmed: for in the northern side, and two in the southern side. Big blocks were found between those pole bases (15.30 cm of thickness) brought from the civil basilica, on which the stylobates were probably set up. A large number of pole fragments were found, and on the base of two the best preserved, the approximate height could be determined, which was about 3 metres while their volume was about 34 cm. The best preserved pole was found on the layer of the broken bricks, which was a proof that the roof fell down before the poles. The certain number of capitols were found, of which two are of "Roman-Corinthian style" and they are identical with the capitols from the civil basilica in the forum, while the others are of simplified roman ionic or rough early Byzantium style. Other capitols were "cut pyramid" shaped i.e. primitive impost type. In the western corner of the southern nave the certain number of roman tombstones was found. They were all broken and they were found in the position where the ornament side was faced toward earth, which tells us that during one phase it was probably used as an improvised floor. Some tombstones were laid to the mosaic so one can assume that they were separated from the wall or they were part of some unknown construction. During the revision excavations 1960, parts of the poles were discovered and two big Corinth capitol (Srejić 1960: 245).

kapitela (Srejović 1960: 245)

Krstoobraznu crkvu je engleska ekipa iskopavala istovremeno sa episkopskom bazilikom Osim spolija, arhitava i vijenaca prenešenih sa civilne bazilike, engleski arheolozi navode da je nađeno više malih stubova u dvorištu, tj u nartekstu bazilike B (Munro *et al.* 1896: 60-61). Ovu baziliku, koju su do kraja otkrila kontrolna iskopavanja pedesetih, smatramo najstarijim hrišćanskim objektom u Dokleji (Vukčević, Todorović, Stričević 1958: 409-410; Nikolajević-Stojković 1957: 64-66; Srejović 1960: 245-246; Korać 1959: 378) Ona je po koncepciji unutrašnjeg prostora nešto drugačija od bazilike A. Naime, pastoforije su sa sjeverne i južne strane flankirane uz narteks, dok je apsida na istoku polukružna, za razliku od episkopske bazilike čija je apsida poligonalnog oblika. Rađena je od pritesanog kamena, utopljenog u krečni malter a za popunjavanje rupa i izravnjavanje redova korištena je opeka. Interesantno je da Munro obavještava kako nije pronađena niti jedna spolija tokom otkopavanja temeljne zone zidova ove bazilike (Munro *et al.* 1896: 61).

Kada govorimo starija i mlađa, misleći na bazilike B i A, onda njihovo hronološko opredjeljenje izvodimo na osnovu ranog razvoja liturgije oko sredine 6. stoljeća. Naime u u početku đakonikon se nalazio na zapadnoj strani nartekusa i imao je funkciju

The cross-shaped church was being excavated by the English team at the same time as the episcopal basilica. Beside the spolia, architrave and wreaths transferred from the civic basilica, the English archaeologists quote that much smaller poles were found in the yard, i.e. in the narthex of the basilica B (Munro *et al.* 1896: 60-61). This basilica, which was completely revealed by control excavations in the fifties, is considered as the oldest Christian object in Doclea (Vukčević, D., Todorović, D. Stričević 1958: 409-410; Nikolajević-Stojković 1957: 64-66; Srejović 1960: 245-246; Korać 1959: 378). It is regarding conception of inner space a little bit different in comparison to basilica A. Speaking about that, pastophoria are flanked beside the narthex from the southern and northern sides, while the apse in the east is semi-circular, in comparison to episcopal basilica which apse is of polygonal shape. It was made of processed stone, immersed in a lime mortar and bricks, and was used for filling the holes and levelling of the lines. It was very interesting that Munro reports that no spolia was found during the excavation the basic foundation zone of this basilica (Munro *et al.* 1896: 61).

When we use expressions “older“ and “younger“, regarding basilica B and A, we make their chronological order on the base of an early development of liturgy in the middle of the 6th Century. Namely,



1. Ulaz u episkopski kompleks sa zapada.
Entrance in episcopal complex
2. Zid dvorišta kompleksa.
West wall of courtyard of complex.
3. Bazilika B
Basilica B
4. Krstoobrazna crkva, 6/7 v.
Cruciform church, 6/7 cent.

Sl. 2 - Jugozapadni dio episkopskog kompleksa
Fig 2 - South west area of the episcopal complex

i protezisa. U ovoj maloj prostoriji nalazili su se stolovi (protheze) gdje su stariji članovi stavljali darove za siromašnije. Postepeno je ova druga funkcija protezisa postala glavna u vezi sa promjenama u liturgiji početkom VI stoljeća. Tada se protezisa dijeli od đakonikona i stavlja pored centralne apside, a karitativni značaj dijeljenja hrane siromašnima izdvaja se iz liturgije uopšte (Stričević 1958-1959: 60-65). Zbog ovakvih promjena u liturgici komponuje se novije rješenje kao kod bazilike A, koja je prema takvim sagrađena najvjerovatnije u drugoj polovini 6 stoljeća. Oslanjajući se na podatke o liturgiskim promjenama, raniji naučnici, prvenstveno Kovačević, zaključuju da je bazilika B starija (Kovačević 1967: 271). To znači da bi ona vjerovatno trebala da potiče iz kraja 5. ili, najkasnije sa početka 6. stoljeća, a ako se uzme u obzir razornost zemljotrsa 518 (premda svako stradanje u ovom periodu ne treba vezivati za seizmička dešavanja) onda je ova crkva po svemu sudeći završila svoj vijek negdje početkom 6. stoljeća, kada počinje da se gradi kompleks velike episkopske bazilike sa propilejima i atrijumom, a paralelno sa tim ili nešto kasnije i krstoobrazna crkva kao grobna kapela sa dubokom kriptom, koja se po pravilu datuje u IX stoljeće, iako je hronološka atribucija ovog arhitektonskog zdanja prilično neosjetljiva i mogla bi da pripada i starijem periodu, ne ranije od početka 7. stoljeća¹.

¹ Đurić je u članku o crkvama 9-11 vijeka na prostoru Duklje potvrdio neke ranije iznesene stavove o datovanju krstoobrazne crkve (Đurić 1986: 59), prvenstveno Jovana Kovačevića (Kovačević 1967: 271). Po Đuriću to je jednobrodno zdanje sa pripratom i apsidom, iznutra polukružnom, spolja pravougaonom koja je sa sjeverne i južne strane proširena dvema pravougaonim prostorijama, možda transeptima, tako da u osnovi djeluje krstoobrazno i da je, ako su bočni pokrivači bili jednoslivni, spolja mogla izgledati kao trobrodna bazilika. Za ovu crkvu kaže da je sagrađena u 9. stoljeću poistovjećujući je sa crkvom posvećenoj Svetoj Mariji, za koju koju Pop Dukljanin tvrdi da je bila krunidbena crkva dukljanskih kraljeva, iako je ona po svim sakralnim konceptima mala krstoobrazna kapela koja nije mogla ispoštovati krunidbeni protokol (episkopa, sveštenstvo plemstvo, kralja, njegove najbliže...) .. Nastavljajući razmatranje o crkvama krstoobraznog tipa on razmatra i crkvu Svetog Petra i Pavla kod Trebinja koju poistovjećuje sa manastirom Svetog Petra in Campo iz druge polovine u 11. stoljeća. Na osnovu novih arheoloških podataka konstatovanim tokom revizionog istraživanja iste, u sredini ove krstoobrazne crkve pronađena piscina za krštavanje, i nedvosmisleno je datovana kasnoantički period (Janković 2004: 113). Po arhitektonskom konceptu krstoobraznoj crkvi slična je crkva Svetog Tome u Prčanju, koja bi se morala da

the diaconicon was in the beginning at the west side of the nartex and it used to have the function of prothesis. In this small room, there were tables (protheze) where older members put present for poor ones. Gradually, this function of the prothesis became the most important regarding changes in liturgy in the beginning of the 6th century. The prothesis was separated then from the diaconicon and was put beside the central apse, and charity significance of food sharing to the poor was stood out from the liturgy in general (Stričević 1958-1959, 60-65). Because of these changes in liturgy, a new solution was made as the solution regarding the basilica A, and which was most probably built in the second half of the 6th Century. Using the facts of liturgy changes, the early scientists, Kovačević at the first place, concluded that basilica B was older (Kovačević 1967: 271). That means that probably dates from the end of the 5th century, or at the latest from the beginning of the 6th Century, and if we take into the consideration the big consequences of the earthquake in 518 (although all suffering in this period shouldn't be connected with the ismic events), then this church probably ended its life in the beginning of the 6th Century, when the big complex of Episcopalian basilica started to be built with the propylea and atrium, and at the same time or a little bit later, a cross-shaped church was built as a tomb chapel with the deep crypt, which has been dated regularly into the 9th Century, although the chronological attribution of this architectural building is rather insensitive, and it could belong even some older period, not earlier than the beginning of 7th Century¹.

¹ Đurić confirmed some early mentioned opinions in the article about churches during 9-11 Centuries in Doclea area about dating of cross-shaped church (Đurić: 1986, 59), Jovan Kovačević's opinion at the first place (Kovačević 1967: 271). According to Đurić, it is single-nave building with the porch and apse, halfcircled inside, and rectangled outside which was spreaded with two rectangle rooms from the northern and southern sides, probably with transepts, so basically, it looks like cross-shaped and, if the side covers were single sloping, it could look like triple-nave basilica from outside. It is said for this church that it was built in the 9th Century, identifying it with the church which was devoted to St Maria, for which Priest Dukljanin claimed that it was coronation church of Doclea kings, although it was, according to all sacral concepts, a small cross-shaped church which could not fulfill the coronation protocol (bishops, the clergy, nobility, king, his relatives...) Continuing discussion about the churches of cross-shaped type, he talks about the St. Peter

Krstoobrzna kapela, koja je danas očuvana u visini kripte, rađena je pažljivo od velikih kamenih blokova koji su donešeni sa civilne bazilike (Sicotti 1913: 142). Stikoti pretpostavlja da su i gronji djelovi crkve bili rađeni isto tako masivno, kao i temelji, mada kako kaže nije ništa očuvano od fragmenata sokla, dodajući i mišljenje kako bi zidovi superstrukcije bili bolje očuvani da su bili rađeni od običnog lomljenog kamena, s obzirom na njihovu veliku debljinu. Osim sokla na svjetlost dana pojavile su se i baze stubova uskog predvorja ili nartekse u kojem se nalazi duboka grobnica ili osarijum, koja je prema Stikotijevoj rekonstrukciji bila pokrivena krovom na jednu vodu (Sticotti 1913: 144, sl. 84). Od ranosrednjovjekovnih komada plastike ovdje je pronađen izuzetno lijep kapitel sa jednom zaobljenom pločom ukrašen „školjkama“ (Sticotti 1913: 143, sl.80) i natpis na kome se pominje đakonisa Ausonija (Sticotti 1913: 144, sl.85).

U ovakvoj hronološkoj konstelaciji, u kojoj istina nemamo dovoljno materijalnih dokaza za uže datovanje, mi imamo tri sukcesivno građena objekta na mjestu postojanja bazilike B. Prvi je profani objekat, koji je stradao možda u 4. ili prvoj polovini 5. stoljeća, i čiji se zidovi vide u disrelaciji sa pravcem crkava B i krstoobarzne crkve. Nakon toga, u 5. stoljeću, podiže se bazilika (B) sa pastoforijama na zapadnoj strani, što omogućava da je hronološki svrstamo kao stariju u odnosu na baziliku A. Treći graditeljski koncept, na istom mjestu, rađa se nakon rušenja bazilike B. To bi po svemu sudeći bila gradnja krstoobrazne kapele koju datujemo najkasnije početkom 7. stoljeća, a koja je sagrađena u okviru novog arhitektonskog ansambla episkopske crkve sa dvorom a možda i manastirom.

Bazilici A odgovara koncept sličan je velikoj bazilici u Herakleji Linkestis koja takođe sadrži svečani tovari ne kasnije od početka 7. stoljeća (Janković 2008: 108). Na zapadu krstoobrazne crkve u Dokleji se nalazi sasvim kratka prizidana priprata čija dužina u temelju, po osi crkve, je jedva 1 metar. To bi ukazivalo na to da od broda nije bila odvojena zidom sa vratima već sa dva stuba, čime bi se dobio trodjelni prolaz. To je osobenost crkvi i martirijuma 4-6. stoljeća (Janković 2008: 124). Što se tiče prostornog rješenja, doklejski ansambl (bazilika A i krstoobrazna kapela sa kriptom) je slična ranohrišćanskom kompleksu u Puli, gdje su otkriveni ostaci bazilike sa pastoforijama flankiranim uz poligonalnu apsidu i očuvana kapela Santa Marija Formose iz VI vijeka (Suić 1976: 231)

The cross-shaped chapel, which is preserved today in the height of crypt, was made very carefully of big stone blocks which were brought from the civil basilica (Sicotti 1913: 142). Sticottipresumes that even upper parts of the church were made at the same massive way, as well as foundations, although he says that nothing had been preserved of socle fragments, adding his opinion that the superstruction walls would be better preserved if they had been made of simple broken stones, taking into account their thickness. Beside the socle, the pole bases of the narrow corridor showed on the daylight, or narthex in which there is deep tomb or osarium, which was, according to Sticotti's reconstruction, covered with a roof on a ladder (Sticotti 1913: 144, pic. 84). Out of early middle-aged pieces of plastics, an extremely beautiful capitol had been found here with one rounded plate and decorated with "shells" (Sticotti 1913: 143, pic. 80) and an inscription where deacon Ausoni was mentioned (Sticotti 1913: 144, pic. 85).

In this chronological constellation, where we don't have enough material evidences for specific dating, we have three successive built object at the place of existing of basilica B: the first one is profane object, which was destroyed in the 4th or in the first half of the 5th Century, and which walls are visible in disrelation with the direction of the church B and cross-shaped church. After that, during the 5th Century, basilica (B) was built with pastophoria at the west side, which enables to be chronologi- and Paul Church near Trebinje, which were identified with the St Petar Monastery in Campo from the second half of 11th Century. On the base of a new archaeological data found during revised research, in the middle of this cross-shaped church the piscina for baptism was revealed, and it was dated directly to the late antique period (Janković 2004: 113). The closest analogies to the cross-shaped church of Doclea is St. Toma in Pranj, which must be dated not later than the beginning of the 7th Century (Janković 2008: 108). In the west of the cross-shaped church in Doclea, there is a completely short built porch, which length in the foundation, across the church centerline, is barely 1 meter. That fact would point out that it wasn't separated of nave with the wall and doors, but with two poles, and three part passage would be get with that. It is a characteristics of churches and martirium of 4-6th Centuries. (Janković 2008:). Very similar to basilica A and chapel with crypt are the churches in Pula, in the frame of an early christian complex with polygonal apse and pastophoria flanked beside it, and cross-shaped chapel of Santa Maria Formose (Suić 1976: 231)

prilaz (propileje), prilagođene liturgijskim procesijama Malog i Velikog Vhoda. Uz narteks velike bazilike u Herakleji Linkestis, sa njene zapadne strane, otkriven je, umjesto očekivanog istočnog trijema atrijuma, eksonarteks u obliku trijema a zapadno od njega jedno uzano i dugačko dvorište. Na uzvišenju, na dva metra višoj ravni podignuti su episkopski dvor i manastir, čije su prostorije raspoređene oko unutrašnjeg dvorišta (Cvetković-Tomašević 2001: 512).

Kod većine carigradskih crkava 5. i 6. stoljeća, istočni kraj crkve, gdje je svetište, jednostavan je i nerazuđen dok je zapadni, ulazni dio bogato razuđen. Tu je atrijum sa porticima i česmom ili vodoskokom u svom unutrašnjem dvorištu, ili dvorište samo. Zatim narteks, na kome je glavni ulaz u crkvu, i reprezentativni zapadni propileji. Narteks je katkad udvojen, tako što se sa njegove zapadne strane podiže eksonarteks u kom slučaju su propileji na eskonarteksu (Cvetković-Tomašević 2003: 45-46).

Metjus smatra da su sve carigradske crkve 5. i 6. stoljeća predviđene za podužno kretanje stazom koja vodi do narteksa ili eksonarteksa kroz carske dveri, što je staza kojom se kreću povorke zvane Prvi i Veliki ulazak ili Mali ili Veliki Vhod. Te ceremonije su odlika prvobitne carigradske liturgije, one su prodrlle arhitekturu carigradskih crkava 5. i 6. vijeka (Mathews 1971/1977: 107-108, 145). Unutrašnje dvorište u okviru kompleksa, zapadno od bazilike u Herakleji okruženo je sa tri strane prostorijama, a sa četvrte zapadne strane dvorišnim tremom, a južno od ovog hodinka, uz sam bedem, niz od pet prostorija (bez ugaonih), na južnoj strani, duž dvorišnog trema (možda prvobitno takođe trem, koji je kasnije zazidan). Ovaj ansabal je identifikovan kao episkopski dvor (Cvetković-Tomašević 2003: 45-46).

Kompleks oko bazilike A sa zapadne strane je manje razuđen, ali pokazuje neke osnovne sličnosti sa velikim episkopskim kompleksom Herakleje. Dispozicija ulaznog dijela sa dvorištem, koja je vjerovatno prilagođena spoljnim komunikacijama i prethodno porušanim rimskim građevinama na kojima je nastao episkopski ansambl, ponavlja neke opšte karakteristike koje susrećemo na velikom broju lokaliteta. One su, u zavisnosti od porstorne koncepcije sa manje ili više sadržaja. Po pravilu se

cally mentioned as the older one. The third construction concept, at the same place, had started after demolition of basilica B. It was obviously the construction of the chapel which we date in the beginning of the 7th Century, and which was built in the frame of the new architectonic ensemble of the Episcopal Church with the palace and perhaps with the monastery, too.

In that way, basilica A has a similar concept as the basilica in Heraclea Linkestis, which has ceremonious entrance (propileus) and which is also adjusted to the liturgy processes of the Little and Great Entrance. Beside the narthex of the big basilica in Heraclea Linkestis, from its west side, the exonarthex was revealed in the shape of porch, instead of the expected eastern atrium porch, and on its western side one narrow and long yard was also revealed. A little bit upper, two metres higher, the episcopal monastery was built, which rooms are assigned around the inner yard (Tomašević 2001: 512). At most Constantinople churches of the 5th and 6th Centuries, the eastern part of the church, where is the sanctuary, is very simple, while the western part, which is an entrance, is very rich. There is an atrium with portico and a fountain or water fountain in its inner yard, or the yard itself. Then a narthex, in which is the main church entrance situated, and the representative western propileus. The narthex is sometimes surrounded by the exonarthex from its western side, and in that case the propileus are on the exonarthex (Cvetković-Tomašević 2003: 45-46).

Mathews thinks that all Constantinople churches of the 5th and 6th Century predicted for moving the path leading to the narthex or exonarthex through the emperor door, which is the path where the processions move called The First and The Big Entry or The Little and The Great Entrance. Those ceremonies are the characteristics of the original Constantinople liturgy, they entered the architecture of Constantinople's churches of the 5th and 6th Centuries (Mathews T.F., 1971/1977: 107-108, 145). The inner yard in the complex, on the western side of basilica in Heraclea is surrounded by three rooms, and from the fourth side with the yard porch, and on the southern side from this corridor, strict to the wall, there is a line of 5 rooms (without angular ones), on the southern side, along the yard porch (maybe originally the porch as well,

dvorišta bazilika 5. i 6. stoljeća, sa flankiranim odajama različitog karaktera, postavljaju naspram crkve kako što je slučaj na brojnim ranohrišćanskim lokalitetima, od kojih su nareprezentativniji bazilika u Epidauros, Argosu, bazilika Demetrius A, Nea Anchialos A i B, i na mnogim drugim mjestima (u obližnim ranohrišćanskim lokalitetima atrijum sa zapada ima doljanski trikonhos, kao i trikonhos u Baru, gdje je postojao također atrijum). Ali primjer bazilike A u Dokleji ima prilaznu devijaciju, kao što je to slučaj sa episkopskom bazilikom u Stobima, gdje staza prema crkvi prati putanju zapadnog ogradnog zida duž kojeg se kreće ka narteksu. Prateće dvorske odaje u okviru kompleksa episkopske bazilike, a možda i monaške ćelije, treba zamisliti na spratu, iznad odaja koje okružuju dvorište, kao i na neistraženoj jugoistočnoj i južnoj strani tj. prostoru između dvije bazilike. Kao i kod kompleksa u Caričinom grad (Justinijana Prima) i ovdje je bi mogao da se očekuje baptisterijum kao prateći, ponekad neodvojivi dio episkopske crkve. Episkopski kompleks odvojen sa zapadne strane velikim zidom od koga su se očuvali temelji rađeni od velikih podužnih blokova. Ovaj zid počinje ispred bazilike B, ali ne obuhvata njenu južnu pastoforiju. Takođe, temelji su identični temeljima krstoobrazne crkve, a pružaju se cijelom zapadnom dužinom. Na taj način obarzuje se zatvorna episkopska cjelina, koja je vjerovatno stradala avarskim pustošenjem oko 614 godine, ali je možda obnovljena u 8-9. stoljeću kada je bazilika poslužila za krunisanje zabilježeno u Ljetopisu Popa Dukljanina.

Gore opisana situacija Munroovih iskopavanja episkopske bazilike pokazuje da je bila sagrađena od velikog broja spolija, za koje kaže da su uzete sa civilne bazilike (Munro *et al.* 1896, 55-56), a mi pretpostavljamo da je materijal donešen i sa skoro istraženog kapitolijskog hrama (Nova antička Duklja 2011). Sa ovog mjesta mogli su biti odnešeni kapiteli rimsko-korinskog stila, stubovi, neke masivne ploče i dr. Sa nekropole je uzet izvjestan broj nadgrobničkih spomenika koji su u episkopskoj bazilici bili postavljeni naopačke. Ne treba sumnjati da i u zidovima ove bazilike, koji su raznošeni vijekovima, nisu postojale mnoge spolije koje se danas nalaze ili u kubiciranom kemenju koji leži oko hršćanskog hrama ili su još uvijek zatrpani pod zemljom.

which was built and closed later on). This ensemble was identified as an Episcopalian castle (Cvetković-Tomašević 2003: 45-46).

The complex around the basilica A from the west is less scattered, but it shows same basic similarities with the big Episcopalian complex of Doclea. The disposition of the entrance with the yard, which was probably adjusted to the outer communications and previously destroyed Roman buildings, on which the Episcopalian ensemble was set up, repeats some general characteristics which we meet at the great number of archaeological sites. They are, depending of the space conception, with more or less contents. The yards of the basilicas of 5th and 6th centuries are set up in front of the church by some rules, with the flanked rooms of different characteristics, and that is the case on numerous early-Christian sites, of which the most representative are the basilica in Epidaurus, Argos, the basilica Demetrius A, Nea Anchialos A and B, and in many other places (it is similar with the trefoil/trikonhos in Doljane near here, while a little further, at the coast, there is a trefoil/trikonhos in Bardok where one can see the atrium). But, we have an example of the basilica A in Doclea, which has an approaching deviation, as it is in case with the Episcopalian basilica in Stobi, where the path toward the church follows the direction of the western fence wall along which one can move toward the nartex. The following palace chambers in the frame of the Episcopalian basilica complex, and perhaps even a monk cell, we should imagine on the upper floor, above the chambers which surround the yard, as well as on the not searched south-eastern and the southern side, i.e. the space between two basilicas. As we can see at complex at Empress town (Justinian Prima), we can also expect here the baptistery as the following, sometimes inseparable part of the Episcopalian church. The complex of the basilica A is separated with the western wall made of big blocks, starting in from of the basilica B. Those foundations are identical with the foundations of the cross-shaped church, and they are situated along the whole western part. In that way, the closed Episcopalian unit has been created, which was probably destroyed by the Avar demolition in 614 AD.

The above described situation during Munro's ex-

Na prostoru ostataka bazilike B leže komadi kaneliranih stubova i stubova sa glatkim površinama. Djelovi pragova i fragmenti kamene plastike rasuti su posvuda. Velikim dijelom arhitektonski elementi leže između zapadnog zida bazilike B i niskog zida rađenog od masivnih blokova, koji se pruža sve do narteksa bazilike A, čineći dio zatvorenog kompleksa sa zapadne strane. U unutrašnjosti krstobrazne crkve još i danas postoji fragment kamene plastike koji je bio ugrađen u temelje kriptne crkve. On je poznat od ranije, i već ga je objavio Munro (Munro *et al.* 1896: 52, br.55) a zatim ponovio Sticotti (Sticotti 1913: 173, br.35) s tim što danas nedostaje donji dio. Radi se o odlomljenom komadu baze spomenika sa ostatkom natpisa oko koga se nazire vidno oštećeni vijenac. Natpis na osnovu Sticotijevog čitanja glasi:

CN(AEO) SERTO/RIO/ (CAI) F(ILIO) BROCC/HO/

/AQUILIO / AGRICOLA/E/ PEDANIO FU/SCO/

Drugi dio izgubljenog natpisa SALINA/TORI/IVLIO SERVIA/NO/

Prema navodima engleskog arheologa baza je pronađena u „*maloj crkvi gdje je gornji dio sa natpisom bio uzidan u južnom zidu, dok je donji dio ležao na sredini građevine. Pravougaoni blok je isklesan iz spuškog kamena visine 87.3 cm, i širine 57 cm. Površina je klesana sa obje strane ali je natpis samo na lijevoj. Slova su visine 3.1 cm (C.I. L 13 635). Natpis pripada po svemu sudeći jednom čovjeku, kao što je Hirchfeld prdložio, po rođenju Sertoriju Brokusu, adoptiranom sinu Cn. Pedaniusa Fuscusa Salinatora, zeta L. Julijusa Ursusa Servianusa. Ovakva brojnost imena nije tako neuobičajna, naročito u drugom vijeku. A C Sertorius Brocchus was pro-consul u Aziji u nepoznatom vremenu*“ (Munro *et al.* 1896: str. 52)

Što se tiče ostalih spolija u ovom prostoru nabrojaćemo neke, koje su i danas vidljive. Prva spolija, koja najprije upada u oči je dio natpisa ugrađenog u temelje kriptne krstobrazne crkve, sa jasno uočljivim slovima /RI/ MTR. Tu su još i dio ploče natpisa koji je danas nečitak, sa plitko profilisanim okvirom koji se nalazi na rubu zapadnog unutrašnjeg zida male priprate. Zatim dio jonskog kapitela od koga je očuvana jedna voluta, kao i preklasani

cavation of the Episcopalian basilica shows that it was built of large number of spolia, for which he assumes that they were taken from a civil basilica, and we assume that the material was brought from the capitol temple as well, which was excavated in the campaigns during 2009 and 2010 (New Antique Doclea 2011). From this place, some capitols of Roman-Corinth style, poles and some massive plates could be taken away. A certain number of tombstones were taken from the necropolis, which are in the Episcopalian basilica in the upside down position. We should have no doubts that even in the walls of this basilica, which were put away for centuries, there were many spolia which are today among the stones situated around the Christian temple, or they are still underground.

In the area of basilica B remains, there are pieces of cannelured poles and poles with smooth surfaces. Parts of the thresholds and fragments of the broken parts of stones were scattered everywhere between western wall of the basilica B and low wall made of massive blocks, which goes to the basilica A narthex, making the part of the closed complex from the western side. Inside of the cross-shaped church, there is a fragment of the stone plastic which was installed into the foundations crypt of the cross-shaped church. It was known before, already published by Munro (Munro *et al.* 1896: 52, no.55) and then Sticotti again (Sticotti 1913: 173, no.35), with the fact that lower part is missing today. It is about the broken piece of the monument base, with the remains of the inscription surrounded by the visible damaged wreath. The inscription on the base of Sticotti's reading says:

CN(AEO) SERTO/RIO/ (CAI) F(ILIO) BROCC/HO/

/AQUILIO / AGRICOLA/E/ PEDANIO FU/SCO/

The second part of the lost inscription SALINA/TORI/IVLIO SERVIA/NO/

According to the quotation of an English archaeologist, the base was found in “*the small church where the upper part with the inscription was installed in the southern wall, while lower wall was situated in the middle of the building. A rectangular block was processed out of Spuz stone, with 87.3 cm height, and 57 cm wide, and the surface was processed from the*

komad arhitravne grede koji je poslužio kao impost kapitel. Oba komada je objavila Ivanka Nikolajević-Stojković (Nikolajević 1957: 64-66, sl. 59,136). Kao stanac u temelju krstoobrzne crkve, u njenom južnom, unutrašnjem zidu, postavljena je još jedna spolija masivnog kvadratnog oblika, sa obijenim profilovanim vijencima, a u sjevernom zidu vidljiv je i jedan još jedan komad kamene plastike.

Tokom obilaska terena istočno od foruma grada Dokleje slučajno je pronađen fragment sekundarno upotrebljenog komada kamene plastike sa oštećenom antropomorfnom predstavom, za koju pretpostavljamo da prikazuje Herakla (sl. 3 i 4). Fragment je ležao na travi pored sjeverne pastofrije bazilike B, odvaljen iz njenog zapadnog zida vjerovatno tokom raščišćavanja terena od strane vlasnika, na čijem se privatnom imanju nalazi ovaj dio slavnog rimskog grada. Mermerna figura, glatke gornje površine, bila je prislonjena uz bočni red tesanika. Na mjestu njenog primarnog položaja ostao

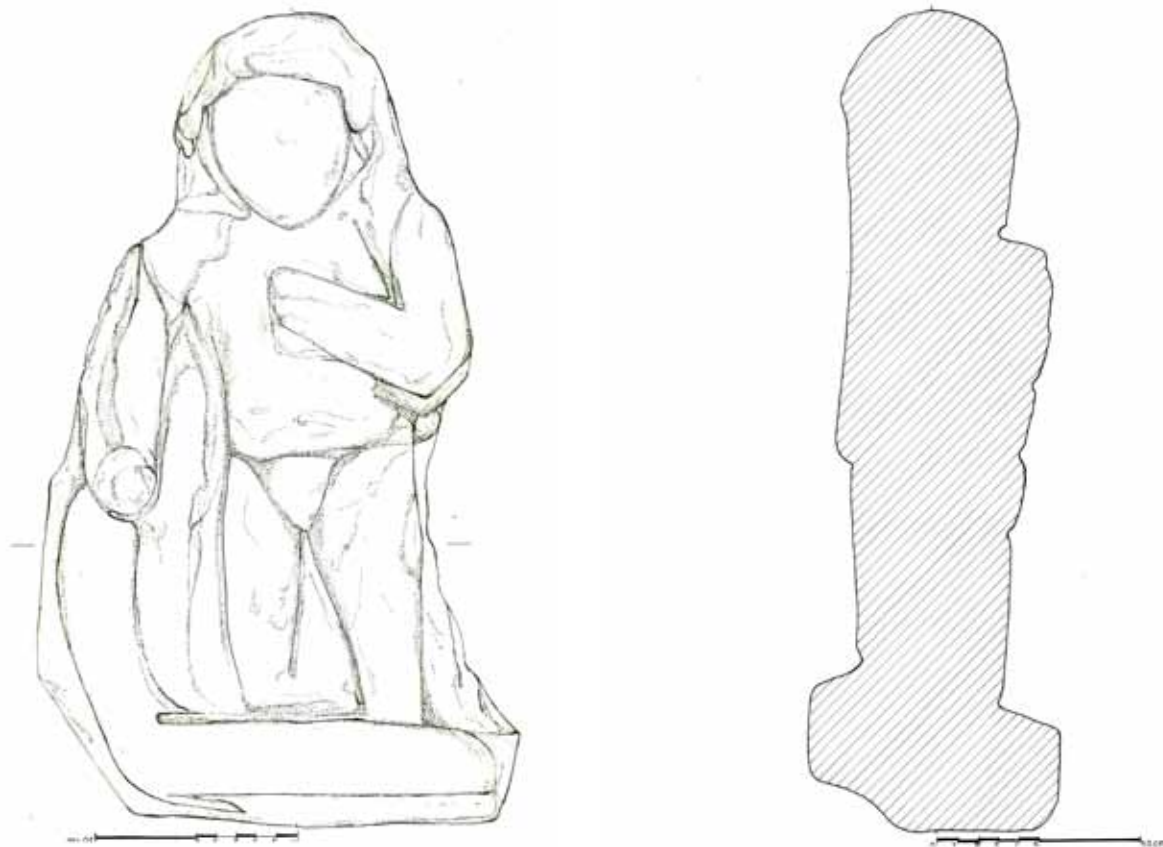


Sl. 3 - Fragment sarkofaga sa predstavom Herakla?
Fig. 3 - Fragment of sarcophagus with scenes showing Heracles?

both side but the inscription is only on the left side. The letters are 3.1 cm of height (C.I. L 13 635). The inscription obviously belongs to one man, as Hirschfeld proposed, by the birth of Sertorius Brokus, adopted son of Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, the son on low of L. Julius Ursus Servianus. These numerous names were not so unusual, especially in the 2nd Century. A C Sertorius Brocchus was pro-consul in Asia, during unknown time“ (Munro et al. 1896: 52)

Regarding other spolia in this space, we can mention some, which are visible even today. The first spolia, which is the most visible, is the part of the inscription installed into the crypt foundation of the cross-shaped church, with clearly visible letters /RI/ MTR. We can see also a part of the inscription plate which is not readable today, with a shallow profiled frame which is on the edge of the western inner wall of the small porch. Then, one can see a part of the Ionic capitol of which one volute was preserved, as well as a processed piece of architrave beam which served as an impost capital. Both of the pieces were published by Ivanka Nikolajević-Stojković (Nikolajević 1957: 64-66, pic. 59,136). As living rock in the foundation of the cross-shaped church, in its southern, inner wall, one more massive, square shaped spolia was set up, with the profiled wreath, and in the northern wall, one more fragment of stoneworks.

During the visit of the terrain, eastern of the Doclea city forum, one used fragment of the stone plastic was found by accident, with much damaged anthropomorphic appearance, for which we assume that it represents Heracles (Figg. 3 and 4). The fragment was situated on the grass beside the northern pastophoria of basilica B, broken off from its western wall, probably during cleaning of the terrain by the owner of the field, on which private property this part of the famous roman town is situated. The marble figure, with smooth surface at the bottom, was put against the side line of the free stone, which points to the height of the threshold of the deaconicon. At the place of its primary position, there was a trail of the negative in the plaster, so it was possible to check if the marble is suitable to the dimension and to the print which appeared after breaking off.



Sl. 4 - Fragment sarkofaga sa predstavom Herakla? (crtež Tanja Mijović)
 Fig. 4 - Fragment of sarcophagus with scenes showing Heracles? (drawing Tanja Mijović)

je trag negativa u malteru, tako da je bilo moguće provjeriti da li mermer odgovara dimenzijama i otisku koji je ostao nakon odvaljivanja.

Na ovom komadu spuškog mermera uočljiva je skulptovana ljudska predstava, za koju smo kazali da pretpostavljamo da prikazuje nalog Herakla. Figura je veoma loše očuvana, mada je moguće razaznati neke attribute koji idu u prilog konstataciji da se radi o ovom mitskom heroju. Korpus je sažet, prilično zdepast i svakako odaje rad provincijskog klesara koji nije mnogo vodio računa o proporcijama. Sam prikaz je postavljen tako da se nogama oslanja na donju, pravougaono profilisanu ivicu sarkofaga (?) sa opterećenjem na lijevoj nozi, što naslućuje pokušaj stvaranja kontraposta. Detalji stopala se nisu očuvali, pa se dobija utisak kao da korpus izrasta iz osnove. Lijeva ruka je ispružena i na njoj je moguće uočiti oštećeni prikaz obavijene kože nemesijskog lava, dok se ispod grubo oštećene amorfne mase, pod rukom, naslućuje kao da je naslonjen na toljagu, što je jedan od primarnih atributa na prikazima ovog božanstva. Desna ruka je savijena u laktu pritiskajući uz tijelo neki pred-

On this piece of the Spuz marble, the figure of the human appearance was visible, for which we said that we assume that it shows naked Heracles. The figure is badly preserved, although it is possible to detect some attributes which support the general thinking that this is about this myth hero. The Corps is short, pretty chunky and it reflex for sure the work of a province stonecutter who didn't pay much attention to proportion. The appearance itself was set up in a way that it relies with the legs on lower, rectangle profiled edge of the sarcophagus (?) with the ballast on left leg, which senses the attempt of contra post creation. The foot details were not preserved, so we got an impression that a corpus rises from the base. The left hand is stretched out and we can notice on it the damaged part of rolled leather of the nemes lion, while beneath the roughly damaged amorphous mass, with the nad touch, we can assume that it is leaned to bludgeon, which is one of the primary attributes in the appearances of this deity. The right arm is bent in elbow, pressing some item with the body, a little bit bigger than hand, which was situated on the chest.

met-jabuku?, malo veću od širine šake i prislonjenu na grudima. Glava je sada bez primarnih detalja (oči, nos, usta, uši) i vrlo je loše očuvana. Razaznaje se samo forma, bez mogućnosti uvida u prelaze između lica i brade (mada nije neohodno da sve Herakleove statue imaju bradu). Tako derfomisana predstava samo odaje opšte karakteristike heroja, isklesanog u okviru veće kompozicije na pročelju nekog funeralnog ili votivnog spomenika².

Kako je primarna struktura djela poremećena (uništena ili nedovršena?) mi sa sigurnošću ne možemo kazati kakvom elementu je pripadao ovaj komad plastike. Međutim, jasno se uočava da je unutrašnja strana elementa dubljena, sa očuvanom donjom ivicom osnove koja pokazuje završetak spomenika, dok se na osnovu vertikalno klesane, bočne ivice, zaključuje da je korpus heroja bio isklesan na samom kraju frontalnog prikaza. Oštri i dublji ubodi špicastim dlijetom i obijačem sa unutrašnje strane, pokazuju da ne postoji lice što indicira na to da može biti riječi o sanduku, odnosno sarkofagu.

Postoji malo vjerovatna mogućnost da je figura dio reljefa spomenika na kome je prikazano dvanaest rimskih božanstava – Δωδεκάθεοι, u slavu praznika koje je uveden u Rim 217 g. prije Hrista, i za čije uvođenje je bio potreban obred božanskog obroka (lectisternium), o čemu svjedoči Livije. Ova božanstva (Jupiter, Junona, Neptun, Minerva, Mars, Venera, Apolon, Diana Vulkan, Vesta, Merkur i Cerera) bila su klesana na ravnoj ploči, kao što je komad reljefa koji se čuva u Splitskom muzeju gdje se među bogovima pojavljuje i Herakle (Sanader 2009: 368, sl.1).

Što se tiče tehničkih karakteristika veoma je vjerovatna i mogućnost da je rad nezavršen, tj da je iz kelsarske radionice izašao ili kao škart ili kao nedovršeno djelo lošeg provincijskog klesara koji je slabo poznao proporcije. Na to ukazuje niz prethodno iznesenih činjenica o tome da ne postoji niti jedan jasno izraženi detalj na njegovom tijelu ili u okviru njegovih ustaljenih atributa, koji se kao što smo kazali naslućuju i samo primarnim utiskom upućuju na Herakla.

2 Postoji mogućnost da da je klesani prikaz geniji, koji se po pravilu kleše sa strana trodjelno podjeljene čeonu strane sarkofaga. GENiji su veoma česti ali se najčešće predstavljaju sa podignutom ili spuštenom bakljom, imaju krila i natpisno polje u rukama (Dautova - Ruševljan 1983:98)

The head is without primary details (eyes, nose, mouth, ears) and it is preserved badly. Only the form can be visible, without the possibility of seeing the passages between face and chin (although it is not necessary that all Heracles' statues have chins). Such deformed appearance reflexes general characteristics of the hero, processed in the frame of bigger composition, in the beginning of some funeral or votive monument².

As the primary structure was disordered (destroyed or unfinished?), we cannot claim for sure to what it belongs actually. However, it is noticeable that the inner side of the element was hollowed out, with the preserved lower edge of the base which shows the monument ending, while we can conclude on the base of the vertically processed edge, that the corpus of the hero was processed at the very end of the frontal appearance. The sharp and deeper stabs with the sharp chisel from the inner side show that there is no face which points out that it can be a box, i.e. sarcophagus.

There is a small possibility that the figure was a part of the monument relief on which twelve Roman Gods were shown – Δωδεκάθεοι, in the glory of the holiday which was introduced in Rome 217 BC, and for which introduction, there was a need for ceremony of divine meal (lectisternium), and Livie testified about that. These Gods (Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Minerva, Mars, Venus, Apollo, Diana Volcano, Vesta, Mercury and Cerera) were processed on the flat plate, as it was the piece of the relief, kept in the Split Museum, where Heracles is among the Gods (Sanader 2009: 368, pic.1).

Regarding the technical characteristics, it is possible that the work is unfinished, i.e. that it was taken out from the processing workshop as garbage or as an unfinished work. Many facts previously mentioned point out to the fact that there is no even one detail appearing on his body or in the frame of his usual attributes, which, as we said, with only primary expression we can know that it was Heracles.

2 There is a possibility that the carved scene of Genius, which are typically carved on the sides of the front side of the sarcophagus. The Genii are very common and usually presented with torch up or down, with wings and the inscription field in their hands (Dautova - Ruševljan 1983:98)

Reljef Herakla je veoma čest u antičkoj ikonografiji. Rimski vojnici i administrativno osoblje su bili glavni poštovaoci i nosioci njegovog kulta. Na prostoru Dalmacije, Panonije i Gornje Mezije ima veliki broj svjedočanstava o poštovanju njegovog kulta (Sanader 1995: 87). Poznato je da je Herakle, kao i Salus, bio božanstvo iscjeliteljske moći povezano, između ostalog, s izvorima i kupalištima. Herkul se ponekad prizivao uz izričiti epitet Salutiferus (Starac 2009: 311), a takođe Rimljani ga poštuju i kao zaštitnika trgovaca, uspjeha i dobitka (Sanader 1995: 90)

Brojnost žrtvenika i zavjetnih natpisa na ostalim prostorima svjedoči o jakom uticaju Herakla na život antičkog čovjeka, a to se odnosi na Južni dio provincije Dalmacije, a kasnije i na provinciju Prevalis. Neizvjesno je samo u kojoj mjeri je njegov kult moguće povezati za izvjesne rimske interpretacije nekog starog ilirskog božanstva (Garašanin 1967: 188). Sa teritorije današnje Crne Gore podatke o postojanju ovoga kulta imamo na nekoliko votivnih natpisa i to iz oblasti Municipijuma S., a zatim iz Bijelog Polja, pri čemu se natpisi posvećuju Heraklu, ili on nosi epitet Augustus, što vjerovatno upućuje na carski kult. Municipijum S u Komini kod Pljevalja je urbanizovan od sredine II stoljeća, pa se pretpostavlja da je Heraklov kult rimski, a ne primarno vezan za izvjesno domorodačko stanovništvo, bio prnjet u ove krajeve (Garašanin 1967: 188).

U daljoj razradi ovog teksta, pokušaćemo da prikazemo na još jedan primjer upotrebe antičkog reljefa koji se sekundarno ugrađuje u portal jedne srednjovjekovne crkve, što će pokazati sličan vid „sakrivanja“ antičkih reljefa u elemente hrišćanskog sakralnog objekta, ovoga puta u podmaklom stadijumu hrišćanstva. Djelovi ovog sarkofaga sa prikazom mitske scene lova a možda i čitav sarkofag najvjerovatnije su donešeni sa razrušene Dokleje u Bar, gdje su i pronađeni među ruševinama starog grada.

Naime, tokom zaštitnih istraživanja i raščavanja ruševina 1985. godine, u prostoru 150. ispred franjevačkog manastira i crkve sv. Nikole u Baru, pronađena su četiri fragmenta prklesanog mermernog sarkofaga iz 3. stoljeća. Sarkofag je prilikom izgradnje crkve u 13. vijeku pretvoren u lučne, fino

The Relief of Heracles is very often in the ancient iconography. Roman soldiers and administrative workers were his main admirers and holders of his cult. In Dalmatia, Pannonia and Upper Mesia areas, there are many testimonies regarding respect of his cult (Sanader 1995: 87). It is known that Heracles, as well as Salus, was the deity of healing ability, connected, among other things, with the springs and watering places. Hercules was sometimes called off with the explicit epithet of Salutiferus (Starac 2009: 311), and Romans also has a great respect for him as a protector of traders, success and gains (Sanader 1995: 90)

The number of altars and vow inscriptions in other areas testify about strong influence of Heracles on the life of an ancient man, and that is related to southern part of Dalmatia Province, and later on to Prevalis Province, too. It is uncertainly in what degree we can connect his cult to certain Roman interpretations of some old Illyrian Gods (Garašanin 1967: 188). From the territory of Montenegro, there are some data regarding the existing of this cult which we can find on several votive inscriptions, in the Municipium S area, Bijelo Polje as well, devoted to Heracles, or it carries the epithet Augustus, which probably direct us to the emperor's cult. The Municipium S in Komini, near Pljevlja was urbanized since the middle of the 2nd century, so it is assumed that Heracles' cult is roman cult, and not primarily related for certain native inhabitants, and it was brought to this area (Garašanin 1967: 188).

In further elaboration of this text, we will try to present one more example of the antique relief use, installed into the portal of one middle age church, which will show similar way of "hiding" of the ancient sculptures into the corpus of the Christian sacral object, and this time, it is in the late stage of Christianity. The parts of this sarcophagus, or the whole sarcophagus were brought most probably from the destroyed Doclea in Bar, where they were found among the ruins of the old town.

Namely, during preservation researches and cleaning of the ruins 1985, in the area 150, in front of the Franciscan monastery and St Nicola Church in Bar, four fragments of processed marble sarcophagus were found from the 3rd century. During the

klesane komade, koji su se spajali u lunetu glavnog portala. Kako je ovaj veliki sakralni objekat stradao u razornoj eksploziji municije 1912. godine, razbacani blokovi uništene romano-gotičke crkve našli su u ruševinama odakle su nalazi i prikupljeni tokom 80-tih godina (Zagračanin 2005: 119; Zagarčanin 2008: 4).

Antičke figuralne predstave sačuvane su na tri doručena mermerna komada sarkofaga, dok se na četvrtom razaznaju samo tragovi za koje se ne bi moglo reći šta predstavljaju. Klesanje je izvedeno u veoma kvalitetnom umjetničkom maniru, i svakako bi se moglo pretpostaviti da sarkofag potiče iz neke od radionica većih centara (Eleuzina, Salona...) koje su rutinski odrađivale narudžbe za imućnije stanovništvo Dokađe, odakle je po mišljenju autora ovih redaka po svemu sudeći donešeno.

Prema kompoziciji sačuvanih figura moguće je dati idealnu rekonstrukciju frontalnog izgleda reljefa kasnoantičkog sarkofaga, koji pripada grupi sa mitološkim scenama „Lova na kalidonskog vepra“ ili „Meleagra“. Ovaj prikaz veoma je raširen kod antičkih spomenika sredine 3. stoljeća i često se sreće kao motiv na antičkim bareljefima. Budući da se radi o ponavljanju uvijek istih tipova i o serijskoj produkciji, isti se tipovi antičkih sarkofaga, u nizu varijanti mogu naći na teritoriji čitavog Rimskog carstva i u tom smislu je nevažno koji primjer, po sličnosti najbliži, citiramo kao komparaciju ili moguću uzor.

Na fragmentu broj 1 (sl. 5), dimenzija, 0.30 x 0.28 m, širina ploče 0.20 m, raspoznaju se dva učesnika u mitološkoj sceni. Na prvoj figuri (I) glava je skoro sasvim odlomljena. Ruka je najvjerojatnije savijena u laktu u stavu spremnim za napad i najvjerojatnije drži hladno oružje (mač?). Mitski junak je obučene u hlמידu (clamidis) koja mu pada preko lijevog ramena. Ispod ove predstave je drugi heroj (II), sa kapuljačom na glavi na kojoj se dobro razaznaju detalji očiju, dok je donji dio lica odlomljen ali je očuvan ostatak brade. Ako se sagleda njegova pozicija u odnosu na figuru koja je izviše, i uporedimo je sa analogijama sarkofaga u Eleuzini, mogli bi doći do zaključka da se radi o ranjenom lovcu u okviru velike scene lova.

Na komadu br.2 (sl. 6) dimenzija, 0.31 x 0.28, širina ploče 0.20 m, raspoznaju se dvije muške figure

building of the church in the 13th century, the sarcophagus was converted into arcuated, smoothly processed pieces, which were joined into the lunette of the main portal. As this big sacral object was destroyed in huge munitions blast 1912, the scattered blocks of destroyed roman-gothic church were in ruins, from where the findings were collected during the 80's. (Zagarčanin 2005: 119.; Zagarčanin 2008: 4).

The ancient figural representation was preserved on three processed marble sarcophagus pieces, while some traces are visible on the fourth piece, and we cannot tell what they present. The procession was done in a very qualitative and artistic way, and it can be assumed for sure that the origin of the sarcophagus was from one of the workshops of bigger towns (Eleuzina, Salona...) where orders of the rich Doclea inhabitants were fulfilled, from where they were brought, according to the opinion of the author of these lines.

According to the composition of the preserved figures, it is possible to present an ideal reconstruction of the frontal relief look of the late-ancient sarcophagus, which belong to the group with mythological scenes, such as "The Hunting on Caledonian boar" or "Meleagra". This appearance is very spread at ancient monuments in the middle of the 3rd centuries, and one can see it very often as a detail on the ancient bareliefs. Regarding the fact that it is about repeating of the same types and about serial production, the same types of the ancient sarcophagus can be found, as different variants, in the whole territory of the Roman Empire, and in that way, it is not important which example, the most similar, we can quote for a comparison or possible example.

On the fragment no.1 (Fig. 5), dimension, 0.30 x 0.28 m, plate width 0.20 m, two participants in the mythological scene are visible. On the first figure (I) the head is almost broken off. The hand is bent in its elbow, most probably with the cold arm in a ready for attack position. It is dressed in clamidis which covers his left shoulder. Another hero is under of this appearance (II), with the hood on his head where the eyes details are well visible, and the lower part of the face is broken. The part of beard on the face was preserved. If his position is taken



Sl. 5 - Fragment sarkofaga sa predstavom mitološke scene "Lova na Kalidonskog vepra ili Meleagra"

Fig. 5 - Fragment of sarcophagus with scenes depicting mythological scene «The Calydonian Boar Hunt or Meleagris»

sa podignutim rukama. Figura lijevo (III) ima ruke iza leđa, dok je glava podignuta blago prema gore. Oko vrata se raspoznaju nabori ogrtača, koji pada niz leđa. Slično je i sa dugom figurom (IV), mada je torzo nešto napetiji i odaje utisak neposredne pripreme za borbu.

Na komadu sarkofaga br.3 (sl. 7 i 8) dimenzija 0.23 x 0.30, širine 0.14m) ljudska predstava (V) se nalazi sasvim ispod gornje, dvostruko profilisane ivice sarkofaga, a na krajnje lijevoj strani kompozicije. Ovdje je isklesana glava muškarca u profilu sa šlemom na glavi, suprotno okrenuta od centralne predstave. Lice ove glave je takođe oštećeno. Razaznaju se: oblik brade, obraza, lijeve očne duplje i uši. Sudeći po tome kako vrh brade pripijen na odlomljenu masu, za koju se može pretpostaviti da je otkinuti dio ramena figure, može se zaključiti da je desna ruka bila podignuta. Na ovo ukazuje i vratni mišić, koji nam sugerira da je glava blago zabačena unazad. Sa desne strane istog fragmenta je glava konja finih talasasto povijenih pramenova grive. Figura je najvjerovatnije bila isklesana u propetom stavu, što zaključujemo po blizini sa ljudskim prikazom, ali i na osnovu nekih već postojećih sarkofaga sa ovom temom, provenstveno onog iz Eleuzine ili iz Salone koji se čuva u Splitskom muzeju. Prema

into account related to the figure which is above, and if we compare it with the analogy of the sarcophagus in Eleusinian, we can conclude that it is about the wounded hunter.

On the piece no.2 (Fig. 6) dimension, 0.31 x 0.28, the plate width 0.20 m, two male figures are visible with their hands up. The figure on the left (III) has its hands behind the back, while the head is raised slightly. The folds of the overcoat around the neck are noticeable, and it goes down its back. The similar situation is with another figure (IV), although the torso is more tensed and it gives an impression of direct battle preparation.

On the piece of the sarcophagus no.3 (Fig. 7 and 8), dimension 0.23 x 0.30, width 0.14m), the human appearance (V) is situated completely under upper, double profiled edge of the sarcophagus, and on the extreme left side of the composition. One can see here processed male helmeted head in the profile, on the opposite side of the central appearance. The face of this head is also damaged. The beard shape, cheek, the left eye hole and ears are noticeable. According to the fact how the top of the beard is tightened to the broken part, for which we can assume that it is torn part of the shoulder, it can be concluded that right arm was up. The neck muscle points out to this fact, and suggests us that



Sl. 6 - Fragment sarkofaga sa predstavom mitološke scene "Lova na Kalidonskog vepra ili Meleagra"

Fig. 6 - Fragment of sarcophagus with scenes depicting mythological scene «The Calydonian Boar Hunt or Meleagris»

postavci ovih kompozicija realno je pretpostaviti da je konjanik jedan od dva Dioskura čije su figure po pravilu klesane na konjima sa desne strane (Kortboijian 1995: 35-36).

Interesantno je zapaziti još i da se na licu figure V raspoznaju tragovi ureza dlijetom koji su uništili ljudski lik. Ovi tragovi se na sredini lica ukrštaju pod pravim uglom i obarzuju pravilno usječen krst pa se postavlja pitanje nije li ovo namjerno učinjeno od strane hrišćanina klesara, koji je htio da uništi pagansku predstavu lika. Ako ovome dodamo činjenicu da niti jedan ljudski lik nije očuvan, a da prilikom sekundarnog uzidičivanja nije bilo potrebe da se odlome ljudska lica, onda možemo pretpostaviti da je to urađeno sa namjerom.

Motiv Meleagra je veoma čest, jer se pokojnik koji leži u sarkofagu identifikuje sa tragičnim junakom ovog mita. Ovaj prikaz je bio vrlo popularan na antičkim sarkofazima 3 stoljeća i na njima je gotovo uvijek prikazana tema lova na Kalidonskog vepra koja se prema rasporedu figura pojavljuje se u pet grupa prikaza (Cambi 1988: 100).

Prva grupa prikazuje lov sa malo lovaca u širem ras-

the head is gently forced back. On the right side of the same piece, one can see the horse head with two lines of short curved strands of mane. The horse figure was probably in the rampant position, which can be concluded because it was close to the human appearance, but also according to the analogies on eleusinic and on salonitanic sarcophagus. According to the position of these compositions, it is real to assume that the rider is one of two Dioskours which figures were processed by the rule on the horses by the right side.

It is interesting to notice that there are traces of processing tool which damaged human figure. These traces are crossed under the right angle creating a regular cross, so we wonder if it was done on purpose by the Christian craftsman, who wanted to destroy pagan appearance of the figure. If we add to this the fact that no human face was preserved, and during the secondary installing there was no need for human faces to be broken off, then we can assume that it was done on purpose.

The Meleagre motive is very clean, because the



Sl. 7 - Fragment sarkofaga sa predstavom mitološke scene "Lova na Kalidonskog vepra ili Meleagra"
Fig. 7 - Fragment of sarcophagus with scenes depicting mythological scene «The Calydonian Boar Hunt or Meleagris»



*Sl. 8 - Detalj sa sarkofaga ("Meleagra"), uklesani krst na licu
Fig. 8 - Detail on the sarcophagus («Meleagris»), carved cross
on the face*

poredu na pozadini reljefa, a vepar dolazi sa desna. Primjeri takvog sarkofaga su oni u Ateni i Pireju, a među njima je fragment sa Raba koji se čuva u Zadru. Jedinstveni primjer je onaj iz Delfa, koji jedini na prednjoj strani prikazuje scenu nakon lova (Cambi 1988: 100-101). Druga grupa je mnogo heterogenija i znatno gušće ispunjena likovima od prethodne. Tu ima više lovaca a figure su pokretljivije; iza vepra je prikazan pejzaž, Meleagar sa obje ruke probada vepra, Atlanta slični tipu Artemide iz Laterana. Treća grupa pokazuje još gušće raspoređene likove. Meleagar je na konju i baca koplje, a Atlanta trči pred njim. Četvrtoj grupi pripada sarkofag iz Splita.

Splitski primjerak na kojem se javlja prikaz dosta specifičnoga prizora Meleagrova lova najbliži je barskom, tj. doklejskom sarkofagu, sa grupama po dvije figure na svakom, a veoma je sličan sarkofagu iz Eleuzune. Osim glavnog sudionika mita ovdje se zapažaju još dva konjanika, najvjerojatnije dva Dioskura. Osim njih ima i drugih lovaca-junaka koji su predstavljeni na sarkofazima sa ovom tematikom. Oni obavljaju svoj dio posla u lovu, služeći se raznim predmetima (toljagom, sjekirom itd.). Na prednjoj strani se nalazi ukupno devet figura. Lijeva strana je naglašena, tu se najvjerojatnije nalaze: Meleagar je u sredini a na desnoj strani su bila prikazana dva Testijeva sina koji se opraštaju od Atlante (Cambi 1988: 103). Pravac odvijanja radnje je očigledno bio s lijeva na desno, jednako kao što je to slučaj kod svih drugih prikaza Meleagrova lova,

decedent who lies in the sarcophagus is identified with the tragic hero of this myth. The Meleagre Myth was very popular on the ancient sarcophagi of the 3rd century, and the hunting Caledonian boar theme was always presented on them, and according to the figures order, we can see them as five appearances groups (Cambi 1988: 100).

The first group shows hunting with few hunters in a wider order at the back of the relief, and the boar comes from the right. The examples of such sarcophagus are those in Athens and Piraeus, and the fragment from Rab island, preserved in Zadar, is among them. The unique example is one from Delf, which is the only one presenting on the front side the scene after hunting (Cambi 1988: 100-101). The second group is much more heterogeneous and much denser fulfilled with the figures than the previous one. We can see more hunters, and the figures are more movable; the landscape is presented behind the boar, Meleagar stabs the boar with both hands, Atlanta is similar to Artemida type from Lateran. The third group shows even denser ordered figures. Meleagar is on the horse back, throwing the spear, and Atlanta is running in front of him. The sarcophagus from Split belongs to the fourth group.

The example from Split, on which the appearance of the specific picture of Meleagro's hunting has been shown, is the most similar to the example from Bar, i.e. Doclea sarcophagus, with the groups consisting of two figures on each, and it is very similar to the Eleusinian sarcophagus. Except the main myth participant, we can notice here two horsemen, the most probably two Dioscurs. There are many other hunters beside them, which are also on other sarcophagi with this myth, and who do their part of the job in the battle with the boar, using different types of items as weapons (cudgel, axe...). There are 9 figures in total on the front side. The left side is stressed, where the most probably are situated: Meleagar in the middle, and on the right side two Testi sons are shown departing from Atlanta (Cambi 1988: 103). The obvious direction was from the left to the right, as well as it was the case with all other appearances of Meleagre's hunting, on the front sides of the case. However, you can notice the change of the movements even on this example (from left to right) on the sides, simi-

na prednjim stranama sanduka. Međutim i kod ovog primjera zapaža se promjena smjera radnje (sa lijeva na desno) na bočnim stranama, kao što je to na primjeru iz Solina.

Tema mitološkog lova (između 220. i 250. naše ere) sa tragičnim ishodom, doživljava u III vijeku intenzivno pojačavanje (Hipolit, Adonis, Meleagar). Mitski junaci smrti u sredini ovakvih kompozicija nose sada portretne crte pokojnika što svakako leži u činjenici da II vijek donosi preokret u shvatanju mita. On daje prednost mitovima u kojima se može prikazati smrt pojedinca, a strašni trenutak smrti se stavlja na istaknuto mjesto, on pretvara tragičnog junaka u sliku umrlog koga porodica i u smrti zadržava u sjećanju. Na taj način se još više naglašava izraz bola u neumitnosti smrti (Keller 1970: 12).

Ovaj motiv takođe služi kao primjer-virtus (Koortbojian 199: 35). Scene lova nisu samo mitološki repertoar, nego sadržavaju i narativnu komponentu i mogu biti izolovane. Tako lov može služiti u različitim predstavljajima i kao exemplum odnosno paradeigmata; npr. tradicionalna uloga Meleagra kao exemplum pojavljuje se već kod Homera kada on citira mit kao exemplum za Ahila (Koortbojian 1995: 35). Do arhajskog perioda lov je predstavljen kao sposobnost, vježba u kojoj se manifestuje kapacitet i energija muškaraca. To je jasna aluzija na opasnost i poteškoće koje čovjek mora da prevaziđe da bi pokazao svoje vrline-virtus odiguravajući besmrtnost. U funeralnom kontekstu moglo bi se interpretirati tako da cijela predstava ne prikazuje samo sposobnost lovca, koliko i sudbinu moćne životinje koja ne može pobjeći od smrti (Bianchi 1985: 122).

Problemu postojanja antičkog sarkofaga u Starom gradu Baru može da se priđe sa dva aspekta. Prvi bi mogao da se potraži u okviru pretpostavke o mogućnosti postojanja rimskog lokaliteta in situ, ali, do sada nije otkrivena niti jedna značajnija naznaka o egzistenciji rimskog mjesta u 3 vijeku (Mijović 1963: 4). Sporadični nalazi, kao nalaz fibule ili fragmenti kasnoantičkog stakla i keramike (Zagarčanin 2004: 4) svjedoče o rimskom prisustvu (najvjerovatnije u okviru manjeg kastruma u periodu 4-6 stoljeća), ali ne o permanentnom naselju koje nije potvrđeno makar i minimalnom količinom rezidualnog materijala tokom poslednjih istraživanja

lar to the Solin example.

The subject of the mythological hunting (between 220-250 A.D.) with tragically epilogue was stressed intensively during the 3rd Century (Hippolyt Adonis, Meleagar). The Myth heroes of death in these compositions are recognized now by the portrait presentation of the decedent, because during the 2nd Century brought an upturn regarding the myth understanding. It gives an advantage to the myths where the death of an individual can be presented, and the terrible moment of a death is put on the highlighted place, it transforms the tragic hero into the picture of the dead, whom his family keeps in their memory, and in that way the pain of death inevitability expression is even more stressed (Keller 1970:).

This motive serves also as example-virtus (Koortbojian 199: 35). The hunting scenes are not only mythological repertoire, but they also have a narrative component and they can be isolated. In that way, the hunting can serve in different presentations, and as an exemplum i.e. paradeigmata; eg. the traditional role of Meleagre as an exemplum appears already at Homer when he quotes myth as an exemplum for Achilles (Koortbojian 1995: 35). Until the archaic period, hunting is presented as a capability, the practice where the capacity and male energy is presented. It is clear allusion to danger and difficulties that man must overcome, to show his virtues-virtus ensuring immortality. In the frame of funeral context, it could be presented that the whole show don't present only the hunter's capability, but also the destiny of the mighty animal that cannot escape death (Bianchi 1985: 122).

The problem of existing of the ancient sarcophagus in Old Town in Bar can be approached from two aspects. The first one could be found in the frame of the assumption regarding the possibility of existing of Roman site, but, until now, no significant mark about the existence of Romans in the 3rd century was discovered. The sporadic findings, as the finding of fibula or fragments of late ancient glass and ceramics (Zagarčanin 2004: 4) testify about Roman presence (the most probably in the frame of a smaller castrum during 4th – 6th centuries), but it didn't testify about the permanent settlement which was confirmed even with the

2004-2011 godine. U okolini starog grada postoji izvjestan broj svjedočanstava rimskog perioda, ali niti jedan se ne može za sada vezati za latifundijski posjed, a kamo li za naselje (ukoliko ono nije stradalo u bujičnim poplavama Rikavca o čemu bi možda mogao da svjedoči davnašnji nalaz mozaika na mjestu današnje Luke Bar (Bošković 1960: 150).

Drugo, mnogo realnije i svakako prihvatljivije rješenje jeste taj da je sarkofag donešen sa razrušene Duklje. Sa jedne strane ne treba zanemariti potrebu da se pronađe visoko kvalitetni mermer za izradu portala nove crkve, kada je kraljica Jelena Anžuska krajem 13. stoljeća odlučila da Maloj Braći podigne adekvatnu crkvu i manastir, a materijal je mogao biti pronađen među razvalinama drenog grada. Na taj način se pokazuje i jaka vertikala između Bara i Duklje, kao mjesta odakle se tokom ranog srednjeg vijeka nasljeđuju episkopska prava, koja će tokom 11. stoljeća biti presudna u uzdizanju grada na arhiepiskopski nivo. U istom periodu, 13-14. stoljeća srednjovjekovni gradovi na primorju, kao Ulcinj i Budva, a koji imaju antičku tradiciju su urbanizovani, i u njima se vrlo intenzivno živi tako da je mogućnost da sarkofag potiče iz ovih mjesta je skoro isključena.

Postojanje spolija u crkvama svakako se prvo mora povezati sa utilitarnim potrebama (nedostatak materijala, pojedninjavanje gradnje upotrebom spolija) a tek onda sa apotropejskim znacima i reminiscencijama na poštovanje ostataka paganskih kultova. Veliki broj prvostepene plastike upotrebljen prilikom gradnji bazilika na Duklji ukazuje prvo na upotrebu već gotovih elemenata, a tek onda i na građu u duhu epohe. Neki kapiteli, žrtvenici, natpisi itd., potiču sa starijih zdanja, jer se antički grad prepoznatljivog urbanog sistema (forum, ulice, bazilika urbana, terme, paganski hramovi) počinje transformisati već oko sredine 4. vijeka po ustrojstvu episkopa. Tada se, zamiranjem antičkog života, centar pomjera ka jugoistočnom uglu Duklje, na prostoru gdje su otkrivene bazilike A i B. Najslikovitiji primjer ovih dešavanja potiče sa iskopavanja grada tokom 2009 i 2011. Tada su pronađeni neposredni dokazi zamiranja antičkog svijeta u Dokleji i radnja novog, koji bez svake sumnje označava početak procesa ranog srednjeg vijeka na ovim prostorima.

smallest quantity of residential material during 8 years of researches. Near the old town, there are a certain number of testimonies from the Roman period, but not even one cannot be connected to latifundia property, let alone to a settlement (unless it wasn't destroyed in Rikavac floods, about the old mosaic finding in today's Bar Port could testify of. (Bošković 1960: 150, Zagarčanin 2006: 16).

The second, more real and acceptable solution, is that the sarcophagus was brought from the destroyed Doclea. From one side, the need for finding of high quality marble for building of new church portal shouldn't be neglected, when the queen Jelena of Anjou decided to build church and the monastery to "Little Brothers" at the end of the 13th century, and the material could be found among the ruins of the ancient city. In that way, the strong connection is shown between Bar and Doclea, as places from where the episcopal rights are inherited during early middle age, which will be crucial regarding developing of the town to the archbishop level during the 11th century. At the same period, during 13th and 14th centuries, the middle age towns at the coast, as Ulcinj and Budva, and which have ancient tradition were urbanized, and the life was very intensive there, so the possibility that the sarcophagus is from those places is almost excluded.

The existing of spolia in churches must be connected to utility needs (lack of materials, use of spolia makes constructing cheaper) and then to apotropaic signs and reminiscences on respecting of pagan cults remains. The great part of the material which was used during the construction of basilicas in Doclea, shows the use of already processed plastic parts, and then the original parts which were processed for these occasions. Some capitols and parts of first degree plastic: altars, inscriptions etc., have their origins from older buildings, because an ancient town, with the characteristics of the classical Roman urban system: the forum, streets, urban basilica, terms, pagan temples, starts to be transformed during the middle of the 4th century, by the organization of bishops, during the period when the ancient life was dying and the centre was moved to the southeast of Doclea, in the area where basilica A and B were discovered. The most picturesque examples of these changings are from

Tokom poslednjih istraživanja na Dokleje, otkopani su ostaci kapitolijskog hrama koji se nalazi sa sjeverne strane foruma, uz sjevernu stranu decumanusa. Hram je orjentisan sjever-jug sa pročeljem prema jugu, tj decumanusu. Pročelje hrama i stubišta nisu očuvani. Pronađena je veća količina ulomaka kamene arhitektonske plastike, polomljene arhitravne grede i zabata hrama. Tokom istraživanja 2009. pronadjen je dio korintskog kapitela. Novci pronadjeni sa zapadne strane hrama pokazuju da se „probijanje, pljačkanje ili uništavanje“ dešava nakon ili u vrijeme vladavine Konstantina. Tako da se pretpostavlja da je hram u to doba bio napušten (Baković 2011: 9-21). Interesantan je i podatak da nema očuvanih tragova stubova hrama. Takođe, vidljivo je da nisu pronadjeni veći komadi skulptura, koji su svakako morali postojati u okviru centralne sakralne građevine hrama-svetilišta, kao i žrtvenici i djelovi statue božanstva (ili trijade) kome je hram bio posvećen. O tome što se zapravo desilo, kako je hram nastradao nemamo konkretnih arheoloških podataka. Kao što smo već naveli, prema stratigrafskim podacima hram ne postoji već od 4. vijeka, o čemu svjedoči i pokojnik sa nožem pronadjen uz istočnu stranu bazisa cele, koji se datuje nakon zamiranja svetilišta. Pokojnik po svemu sudeći nije sahranjen; ne postoji jasno definisan ukop ili konstrukcija pa dolazimo do mogućnosti da je ovdje ostavio život (Baković 2011: 20), odnosno da je bio možda nasilno ubijen i zatrpan.

O tome da je u uništenju paganskog hrama u Duklji odlučujuću ulogu imao ljudski, Hrišćanski faktor, možda mogu da govore neke posredne činjenice, koje, u ovom trenutku, balansiraju između pretpostavke i realnog sagledavanja istorijskih događaja, a koji su se dešavale nešto prije ili nakon uvođenja zabrane ispovjedanja politeističkih vjerovanja Teodosijevim ediktom 380. godine. Tada Hrišćanstvo postaje jednina dozvoljena religija, čime je ukinuta vjerska tolerancija koja je postojala od Konstantinovog doba. Dolazi do novog socijalno-političko okruženja, punog sukoba, koje eskaliraju u četvrtom i petom stoljeću duž cijelog Mediterana, kada se dešava uspon i trijumf Hrišćanstva (Haas 1997). To doba se najbolje odslikava događajima vezanim za uništenje Serapeuma u Aleksandriji 392. godine, pri čemu su paganske statue odigrale naročito važnu ulogu u zatvaranju ovoga svetilišta. Odnos

the town excavations during 2009 and 2011. On that occasion, the direct evidences of the dying ancient world in Doclea were found, and birth of the new one, which, with no doubts, mark the start of the early middle age process in this area.

During the recent researches in Doclea, the remains of capitol temple which is on the northern side of the forum were excavated, near the northern side of decumanus. The temple was in the direction North-East, with the place of honour towards east, i.e. decumanus. The place of honour of the temple and stairways were not preserved. A bigger amount of broken architectural stone plastic was found, as well as broken architrave beams and gable of the temple. During the researches in 2009, the part of the Corinthian capitol was found. The coins found on the western side of the temple show that breaking through or “robbery or destroying“ of the temple occurred after or during the reign of Constantine. So, it is assumed that the temple was abandoned in that period (Baković 2011: 9-21). It is very interesting that there are no preserved trails regarding the beams of the temple. Also, it was obvious that bigger sculpture pieces were not found, for which there was an opinion that they had to be there in the frame of the central sacral building, temple-sanctuary, as well as smaller altars and parts of the god sculpture, that the temple was devoted. We don't have any specific archaeological data about what really happened. As we mentioned before, according to the stratigraphic data, the temple hadn't existed since the 4th century, and the proof for that is the decedent with the knife found by the eastern side of the cela basis, which is dated after the sanctuary dying. The decedent wasn't buried obviously, there is no clearly defined tomb or construction so we can conclude that he died here (Baković 2011: 20), i.e. that he was murdered and cluttered.

Some direct facts can tell us about if the human, or Christian factor had a main role regarding destroying of the pagan temple in Doclea, and those facts, at this moment, are balancing between the assumption and a real reviewing of the historical events, and which occurred before or after introduction of confession prohibition of polytheistic beliefs by Theodosius edict in 380. Christianity became the only allowed religion, by which the religious toler-

prema klasičnim statuama, koje su bile veoma česta i značajna komponenta civilnog, religijskog i umjetničkog života u svim urbanim centrima rimskog carstva, uključujući i Aleksandriju, počinje da se mijenja snažnom hrišćanskom reakcijom prema paganskim kipovima. To pokazuje promjenu u odnosu prema statuama, idolima i paganskim kulturnim mjestima uopšte, pri čemu je događaj oko aleksandrijskog Serapeuma jedan od najrječitijih primjera (Beard & Henderson 2001: 83) nakon čega je u cijelom tadašnjem rimskom svijetu „škrinja uništavanja paganskih idola počela da se otvara“ (Theodoret, Hist. Essl. Trans. Schaff & Wace). Međutim, Teodosijeva politika malo se bavi statuama i idolima, i suprotna je teološkim raspravama koje pozivaju na permanentno ukidanje idolatrije. Čak šta više, paganske scene se inkorporiraju u hrišćansko tkivo, što jasno pokazuje hrišćanska umjetnost na samom početku njenog punog djelovanja. Ova činjenica je svakako suprotna glasnom dogmatskom propovjedanju o potrebi za uništenjem idola, koje se najjače ispoljavalo tokom 2. i 3. stoljeća (Stirling 2005: 156-163). Tako je, na primjer, novi glavni grad rimskog svijeta, Konstantinopolj, ukrašen velikim brojem statua iz paganskih hramova, donešenih iz cijelog Mediterana (Mango 1963). Međutim, uprkos ovim slučajevima, moguće je argumentovati da je hrišćanska netrpeljivost prema paganskim statuama potvrđena mnogim slučajevima. Literarna i arheološka svjedočanstva govore o tome da su hrišćanske grupacije ali i individualne pojave bile izuzetno neprijateljske u 4. i 5. stoljeću, i da su svoju netrpeljivost prema paganskim vjerovanjima ispoljavali u rušilačkim pohodima. Zato pretpostavljamo da je kapitolijski hram, nasilno razoren (možda i u sukobu o čemu svjedoči skelet pored istočne strane), a da je hramovske odaje, koje su vrlo brzo poslužile kao radionice, prvo kao kovačnica a zatim kao staklara (Živanović 2011: 50-53), nakon uništenja kapitolnog kompleksa pretvorne u zanatski dio koji je kontrolisao episkop (izrađivanje kandila, čaša itd). Stubovi, kapiteli, razni djelovi hrama su iskorišteni kao spolije ili su raznešeni kao građevinski materijal po privatnim kućama u okolini.

Hrišćanstvo je svakako tražilo kulturni modalitet da se pagansko uništi ili probarazi, ističući da onamo gdje su postojali jaki kultovi mora postojati i snažna reakcija koja će omogućiti da se taj kult prilagodi

ance was abolished which has existed since the reign of Constantine. New socio-political environment is established, full of clashes, which was spread in the 4th and 5th centuries along the Mediterranean, when the rise and the triumph of the Christianity occurs (Hass 1997). That period is the best reflected with the events related to Serapeum ruins in Alexandria in 392., during which the pagan statues had a very important role regarding closing of this sanctuary. The relation towards the classical statues, which were very often and significant component of the civil, religious and artistic life in all urban centres of the roman empire, including Alexandria, starts to change with strong Christian reaction toward pagan statues. That shows the change in relation toward the sculptures, idols and pagan cult places in general, and the best example for that is Alexandria Serapeum event (Beard & Henderson 2001, 83) after which in the whole Roman world of that time “the chest of pagan idols destroying started to be opened“ (Theodoret, Hist. Essl. Trans. Schaff & Wace). However, the politics of Theodosius wasn't occupied with statues and idols, and it is opposite to theological discussions which are for permanent abolition of idolatry. Moreover, the pagan scenes are incorporated into the Christian tissue, which the Christian art clearly shows at the very beginning of its work. This fact is definitely opposite to the dogmatic preaching about the need for idols destroying, which was strongly manifested during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Stirling 2005, 156-163). So, for example, the new capital of the Roman world, Constantinople, was decorated with the great number of statues, brought from the whole of Mediterranean (Mango 1963). However, despite to these cases, it is possible to prove that the Christian intolerance to pagan statues was confirmed with many cases. Literary and archaeological testimonies tell us that Christian groups, but individual cases as well, were extremely hostile in the 4th and 5th centuries, and they expressed their hostility against the pagan beliefs with destructive marches. So we assume that the capitol temple was destroyed violently (perhaps in some conflict, and the skeleton by the eastern side can testify about that), and the temple chambers, used as workshops originally, as a blacksmith shop in the beginning and then as a glasshouse (Živanović 2011: 50-53),

hrišćanskom. Na drugim mjestima snaga prethodnih kultova se i dalje upotrebljava. Na taj način se prisustvo tradicije u svijesti kasnoantičkog čovjeka sa složenom simbolikom i vjekovima održanim kultovima odražava i u hrišćaskom graditeljstvu. Na nekim mjestima spolije se sakrivaju, ali na onim mjestima koja imaju posebnu ulogu u graditeljskoj koncepciji kultog objekta. Iz tog razloga je prklesani reljef sa prikazom Herakla ugrađen u prag crkve, što dobija drugo značenje iako je nevidljiv, posebno na ulazu, kao što i komad baze sa natpisom dobija svoje mjesto u zidu temelja krstoobrazne crkve podignute na ostacima bazilike. Taj proces traje, a kao što smo vidjeli nastavlja se i u periodu zrelog srednjeg vijeka kada se sarkofag donosi sa Duklje i od njega pravi portal za novu crkvu u Baru. Takvih primjera ima nebrojeno puno. Najbliže analogije naknadno ugrađenih djelova sarkofaga na istočnojadranskoj obali nalazimo u najvećem Hrišćanskom centru provincije Dalmacije, Saloni. Nakon što je Salona postala episkopsko sjedište u 4. stoljeću, počeli su da se grade veliki sakralni kompleksi. U ogromnoj građevinskoj djelatnosti sakupljena je i donešena velika količina spolija upotrebljena kao građevinski materijal. Tako je u pločniku na zapadu bazilike iz Konstantinovog vremena pronađen ulomak prednjeg dijela sarkofaga dug preko jednog metra. U sredini je ansata sa natpisom, dok je na kraju reljef sa prikazom žena zauzetih radom. Natpis je bio vidljiv. U blizini, na zapadu ranije bazilike urbane, u pločniku jedne prostorije, pronađen je drugi ulomak prednje strane sarkofaga. Još jedan dio paganskog sarkofaga nalazi se u pločniku jedne prostorije Konstantinove bazilike i pripadao je grobu bivšeg rimskog centuriona (Piplović 2005: 6,7).

Spolija je imala apotropejsko stimulativnu vrijednost i iako je moderna literatura nepravedno pominje i veže za srdnjovjekovne periode ona ipak ima opšte univerzalni značaj u ukupnoj istoriji umjetnosti i arheologiji i ne postoji period u ljudskoj civilizaciji u kojoj se spolijacija ne pojavljuje. Ona generalno balasnira između ideološkog i pragmatškog. Ideološki čitano to se može opisati kao ponovna upotreba umjetnosti i arhitektonskih elemenata (vidljive spolijacije) koje se postavljaju kao trofej ili kao preporod-proklamovanje renovacije prethodno moćne imperijalne snage, ali u ruhu novog vremena i shvatanja. Pragmatično govoreći na-

after the destroying of the capitol complex, they became the craftsmen part controlled by a bishop (making of lights, glasses and so on). Beams, capitols, different parts of the temple were used as spolia or they were used as a constructing material in private houses in surroundings.

The Christianity searched for cult modality to destroy paganism, or to change it, stressing the idea that in those areas where strong cults were in operation, a strong reaction should happen which would enable adjustment of such cults to Christianity. On some other places, the strength of the previous cults is still in use. In that way, the presence of tradition in the consciousness of the late-ancient man with the complex symbolism and long lasting cults reflects its presence in the Christian building constructions. In some places, the spolia are hidden, but only in those places which have special role in the construction conception of the cult object. From that reason, the processed relief with Heracles image was installed into the door-sill of the church, getting another meaning although it is invisible, especially at the entrance, as well as the piece of the inscription gets its place in the foundation wall of the cross-shaped church built at the basilica remains. That process had been in progress, and as we saw, it was continued during the middle age period when the sarcophagus was brought from Doclea and the port for a new church was made of it. There are a lot of similar examples.

The closest analogies of the afterwards installed sarcophagus parts in the East Adriatic Coast can be found in the biggest Christian centre of the Dalmatia province, Salona. After Salona became the episcopal centre in 4th of Century, big sacral complexes started to be built. During this huge constructing work, a big quantity of spolia was used as a constructing material. So, a front broken sarcophagus part over one meter long was found in the pavement in Constantine time basilica's west side. The ansata with an inscription is in the middle of it, while the relief with the picture of the working women is at the end. The inscription was visible. Near there, on the urban basilica west side, inside the room pavement, another broken front sarcophagus part was found. One more part of the pagan sarcophagus is in the pavement of Constantine basilica's room and it belonged to the tomb of

glasak na važnost upotrijebljenog materijala na onim mjestima gdje takvog materijala ima u izobilju i gdje on počinje da služi novom duhu graditeljskih projekata: jer čemu raditi novo?

U mnogim slučajevima paganske statue su bile uništavane, najvjerojatnije u cilju umanjenja njihovog magijskog dejstva, a po pravilu su bile ostavljane in situ. Od velikog broja slučajeva u evropskim gradovima, navešćemo primjer svetišta u Mont Martru blizu Avalona, na mjestu galo-rimskog hrama, gdje je pronađeno na desetine slomljenih statua uništenih lica, ali koje nisu bile odnešene na drugo mjesto, zakopane ili pretvorne u kreč nego je cilj bio da novi vjernici vide polomljene paganske idole na licu mjesta. Mitreum u Skreburgu (Scerrebouurg) je bio nasilno razoren u posljednjoj dekadi 4 vijeka, kao i mnogi drugi na čijim se mjestima podižu hrišćanski hramovi ili tako ostavljeni služe kao opomena vjernicima u slučaju idolopoklonstva. (Greenhalgh 1989: pogl. 10, 8). Van Evrope jedan od najpoznatijih primjera obračunavanja sa antičkim nasljeđem je uništenje kolosalne statua Zeusa iz Kirene, za koju se smatralo da je po umjetničkim kvalitetima na istoj razini kao i Fidijini radovi. Kolosalna statua je uništena jednim dijelom u velikom požaru, ali nam nije dovoljno podataka ostalo da bi mogli sa sigurnošću mogli kazati šta se zapravo dogodilo sa grandioznim kipom.

Ponekad su paganske statue bile pažljivo sakrivane-zakopavane, naravno u nadi da paganski kult neće „vaskrsnuti“ u vrijeme kada je hrišćanska energija uništavanja i razaranja paganskih idola bila umnogome umanjena. Kult statue Atine i Asklepija bile su uklonjene iz Atenskih hramova prije 485. godine, ali šta se desilo sa njima nije poznato je su po svemu sudeći sakriveni. Tokom iskapanja Herkleje Linkestis neke cijele mermerne statue su pronađene okrenute naopačke, a preko njih su ozidani temelji građevine crkvenog objekta (Tomašević 1987/88: sl.7). U 14. vijeku Avinjonski papa Urban V naredio je da se recentno pronađena statua Herakla zakopa, odnosno sahrani, najvjerojatnije zbog straha od iste, dok je Arhiepiskop grada Arla, našavši grob cara Maksimiana 1047, sa veoma bogatim prilozima naredio da se sve baci u more. Borba protiv paganizma jasno je definisala stavove prema reljefima, statuama i idolima za koje se smatralo da imaju magične i đavolske moći. I statue i reljefi su izaziva-

ex Roman centurion (Pipilović 2005: 6,7).

Spolia has apotropaic stimulation value and although the modern literature mentions it unfairly and puts it into the middle-age period, it still has universal significance in all art history and archaeology, and there is no period in human civilization where use of spolia doesn't appear. Generally speaking, it balances between ideological and pragmatically things. Ideologically speaking, it can be described as repeated use of art and architectonic elements (visible use of spolia) which are set as a trophy or as revival proclaimed renovation of previously mighty imperial power, but used in a new age and understanding. Pragmatically speaking, the stress is on the importance of used material on those places where there are plenty of such material, and where it starts to serve to new spirit of constructing projects: what is the reason of building new ones?

In many cases, the pagan statues were destroyed, most probably having for its goal decreasing of their magic power, and they were regularly left in situ. Out of many cases in the European towns, we can mention the example of the sanctuaries in Montmartre near Avalon, where the galo-roman temple is situated, and where dozens of broken statues were found with faces destroyed, but which were not taken to some other place, buried or converted into the lime, but the goal was that new believers see broken pagan idols at the spot. The Mitreum in Scerrebouurg was violently destroyed in the last decade of the 4th century, as well as many others and where many Christian temples were built instead or just left to serve for believers in the case of idolatry. (Greenhalgh 1989: chapter 10, 8). Out of Europe, one of the best known examples of clashes with the ancient inheritance is destroying of the colossal statue of Zeus from Kirena, considered by the artistic qualities, on the same level as the Fidia works. The colossal statue was destroyed partly in a big fire, but we have enough data left to describe what actually happened with the grandiose sculpture. Regarding the examples from the region, we can mention destroying of the statues in the Šarkamen site, where hundreds pieces of Egyptian porphyry were found, which belonged to the sitting figure of Galerie (Janković 1995: Šarkamen).

li strah i na osnovu podsjećanja na snažne paganske mitove, kao što je mit o Prometeju, u kome se kaže da je čovjek u početku bio statua kome je udahnut život (Greenhalgh 1989: pogl. 10, 9).

Sama golotinja koja se po pravilu ispoljava na skultovanim prikazima (kao što je to slučaj i na našim primjerima) uzrokovala je zgražavanje i definiciju grijeha u Srednjem vijeku, zbog čega su idoli prtvareni u „prah i pepeo“ ili kreč (nerjetko su zakopavani). Prikazi su izazivali po mišljenju srednjovjekovnog čovjeka demonsku opasnost. Kampanja uništavanja idola uzela je maha u cijelom hrišćanstvu (Mango 1963: 55). Tako Grigorije Veliki u pismu Militusu traži da se hramovi sami po sebi ne uništavaju, već samo njihovi idoli koji su se nalazili u njima, i da se Sveta vodica koristi za očišćenje „opoganjenih“ mjesta. U istom kontekstu su velike paganske svetkovine transformisane u hrišćanske praznike (Greenhalgh 1989: pogl. 10, 10).

Dokleja je u svom vijekovnom bitisanju prošla kroz osnovne društvo-političke faze koje su odredile sudbinu rimskog svijeta. Tako je i ovdje proces municipalne dekadencije u kasnoj antici tekao veoma brzo kao i u ostalim djelovima carstva, kako se ekonomska kriza zaoštravala a opasnost spolja bila sve bliža. U rimsko doba službeni kult je bio ili kult kapitolijske trijade, ili nekog drugog božanstva ili carske osobe. Taj kult je imao etičku i političku smisao, jer je predstavljao spoljašnju manifestaciju državotvornosti i građanske lojalnosti. Sada tu ulogu pružima hrišćanstvo, nastalo kao gradska raligija, koja je bila u opoziciji sa paganstvom (paganus-stanovnik sela). Ono će ući u sve pore društvenog života grada, pa će se i njegova hijerarhija formirati kao paralela civilnoj. Kada ova poslednja bude u krizi gradski episkop će predstavljati vrhovni autoritet kasnoantičke civitas. Kao ravnopravan ali i dominantan faktor, hrišćanstvo će uticati na mijenjanje starih i na stvaranje novih urbanih i urbanističkih vrijedosti. U gradu kasne antike izrast će nove gradske četvrti oprdjeljene za smještaj objekata hrišćanskog kulta. (Suić 1976: 229, 231) i episkopskog centra. Kapitolij je sada u svijesti ranih hrišćana mjesto zlih demona, mjesto stradanja hiljade vjernika koji nisu htjeli pogaziti svoje uvjerenje plativši to svojim životom, kao Mučenici u

Sometimes the pagan statues were carefully hidden-buried, hoping that pagan cult wouldn't "resurrect" in time when the Christian energy of destroying and demolishing of pagan idols was decreased a lot. The cult of Athens and Asclepius statues were removed from the Athens temples before 485, but what happened to them is not known because they were obviously hidden. During the excavations of Heraclea Linkestis, some marble statues were found upside-down, and the foundations of the church were built above them. (Tomašević 1987/88: pic.7). During the 14th century, the Avignon Pope Urban V ordered that recently found statue of Heracles must be buried, because he felt a kind of a fear, while the archbishop of City of Arl, when he found the tomb of the Maximilian Emperor 1047, with very rich contributions, ordered that everything must be thrown to the sea. The battle against paganism defined clearly the attitudes regarding reliefs, statues and idols which were considered to have magic and devil power. Both statues and reliefs caused fear, and they reminded on strong pagan myths, as the myth of Prometheus was, where it was said that a man was a statue in the beginning to which a life was given later on.

The nudity itself expressed on cult appearances (as it was the case in our examples) caused outrage and a definition of a sin in the Middle Age, and because of that, the idols were converted to "dust and ashes" or lime (they were often buried). These appearances caused demon danger by the opinion of a middle age man. The campaign of idol destroying became a common thing in whole Christianity (Mango 1963: 55). So, Gregory the Great sent a letter to Mellitus, asking that temples shouldn't be destroyed, but only the idols which were in the temples, and to use Holy Water for cleaning of "dirty" places. At the same context, great pagan celebrations were transformed into the Christian holidays. Such cases are numerous in our regions after the Slavs arrival (Greenhalgh 1989: pogl. 10, 10).

Doclea passed through basic socio-political phases which determined the destiny of the Roman world. So, the process of municipal decadency in the late ancient period ran very fast, as well as in other parts

vrijeme progona. U Dokleji dominantni prostor smješten uz decumanus prstaje da živi u 4 vijeku, kada kapitolijski hram najvjerojatnije strada a velike prostorije svetišta se probažavaju u radionice i stambene objekte. Hrišćanki kompleks se gradi na jugoistoku i ovdje je situacija veoma slična Saloni (Suić 1976: 246).

Ranohrišćanska civilizacija je izrazit primjer prelazno-kontinuiranog razdoblja u kojem nastaje, te srednjovjekovnog koji je preslojava. Odnos antičke sakralne arhitekture prema ranijoj antičkoj drugačiji je utoliko što ranohrišćanske crkve nastaju pruredjenjem ili na temeljima namjenski raznorodnih antičkih ambijenata kao što bazilika B (vjerojatno i A) nastaje na temeljima starije profane građevine. I ovdje je sakralni kontinuitet prisutan u znatnoj mjeri jer supstratni antički prostori veoma često sadržavaju ranohrišćanska kulturna obilježja. Uočava se da u cjelini razaranje posvuda relativno-hronološki prethodi preurđenju, učestalijem od 5 vijeka (B. Migotti 2005: 16). Kao što smo vidjeli jaka reminiscencija na moćno antičko nasljeđe dovodi do redefinisanja njihovog magijsko-apotropijskog statusa u hrišćanstvu, koje u srednjem vijeku ima nebrojeno primjera u kome se zapažaju različiti odnosi u pristupu prema paganskom. Od straha, strahopoštovanja, energične doslednosti o uklanjanju svega što pogani Hristovu vjeru do upotrebe antičkih monumenata u izgradnji hrišćanskih bogomolja. Zbog toga upotreba spolija varira od utilitarnog prema magičnom uvjerenju da će se moć paganskog prikaza ili izbrisati u snazi nove religije ili da će se ojačati aporopejska snaga, jer djela velikih mitoloških događaja nikada do kraja nisu izbljedjela u svijesti Hrišćanina koji se suštinski oslanja na antičku tradiciju. Osim statua i reljefa sa mitološkim scenama upotrebaljava se antička arhitektonska plastika kao: kapiteli, bazisi, stubovi, grede itd, što dobija sličan efekat. To se odnosi i na magijsko-kulturna preslojavanja i eshatološke odnose između paganskih vjerovanja i hrišćanstva. Sa jedne strane nemoguće je uništiti neposredan odnos i uticaje grčko-rimskih kultova na buduće hrišćanske ceremonije. Upotreba spolija, vidljivih i skrivenih, odražava odnos prema samom ishodištu, prema gradu, velikoj moći i strahopoštovanju koje osjeća ranohrišćanski čovjek na pragu nove epohe. Statua pronađena u zidu bazilike ima opšta

of the Empire, as the economic crisis was deeper, and the danger from the outside closer. During the Roman age, the official cult was either the capitol triadic cult, or some other Gods or imperial person. That cult used to have an ethical or political importance, because it represented the manifestation of statehood and citizens' loyalty. That role was taken over by the Christianity, developed as a city religion, which was in opposition to paganism (pagan - village inhabitants). It will enter into all segments of city social life, so its hierarchy will be formed as a parallel to the civil hierarchy. When the civil one would be in crisis, the city archbishop would present the supreme authority of the late ancient civitas. As an equal, but also a dominate factor, Christianity will influence on changing of old and on creation of new urban values. In the late ancient town, new town districts will raise planned for Christian cult buildings. (Suić 1976: 229, 231) and Episcopalian centre. Now, in the consciousness of young Christians, the capitol is now the place of evil demons, the place where thousands of believers suffered who didn't want to change their beliefs, and who died because of that, as martyrs during the persecution. In Doclea, the dominate space near the decumanus disappears during the 4th century, when the capitol temple was destroyed the most probably, and large sanctuary premises were transformed to workshops and apartments. The Christian complex IZ built on the southeast, the situation here is very similar to Salona (Suić 1976: 246).

The early Christian civilization is a typical example of intermediate-continuous period in which it appears, and middle-age period during which it transforms itself. The attitude of the ancient sacral architecture towards the early ancient architecture is different because the early-Christian churches were founded by the reorganizations or on the foundations of different ancient buildings as the basilica B was (probably basilica A as well), which appears on the foundations of an older secular building. The sacral continuity is present here also, because the substrate ancient spaces very often are full of early-Christian cult marks. It is noticeable that the destruction is preceded chronologically to reorganization, which has been more often since the 5th of century (B. Migotti 2005: 16.). As we noticed before, the strong reminiscence on the mighty an-

figuralna oblježja mitske ličnosti, ali, umjesto da je prepolovljena ili skroz isklesana „hrišćanski“ zidar zadržava njen oblik i sakriva je u zidu đakonikona i portalu crkve, ili je smješta na vidno mjesto kao arhitekotnski elemenat ili dio natpisa. Na taj način spolija živi u podvjesnom i imaginarnom psihološkom konceptu, koji spaja dvije epohe, staru i nadolazeću.

cient inheritance brings to redefining of the magic-apotropaic status in Christianity, which has a lot of examples in the middle age, where different relations are noticeable in their approach toward pagan status. From fear, awe, energy consistency regarding removing of everything which Christ faith make dirty, to use of the ancient monuments for building of Christian worship places. Because of that the spolia use goes from utilitarian to the magic belief theta the power of the pagan appearance will be erased by the power of a new religion or the apotropaic strength will be strengthened, because the deeds of the great mythological events had never faded out in the Christian consciousness which relies on the ancient tradition. Except the statues and reliefs with the mythological scenes, the ancient architectural plastic is used as: capitols, basis, poles, beams etc., with the same effect. It is also related to magic-cult changings and eschatological relations between pagan beliefs and Christianity. It is impossible to destroy the direct relationship and influences of Greek-roman cults on future Christian ceremonies. The use of spolia, both visible and hidden ones, reflects its attitude toward the starting point, the town itself, great power and awe which the early-Christian man feels in the beginning of new era. The statue found in the basilica wall has general characteristics of a myth person, but, instead it is halved, or completely destroyed, the “Christian“ bricklayer keeps its shape and hides it in the wall of deaconicon and church portal, or puts it on visible place as an architectural element or part of an inscription. In that way, the spolia lives in subconscious and imaginary psychological concept, which connects two eras, the old one and the coming one.

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