

OBJEKAT IX U DOKLEJI (DIOKLEJA) - DIOKLECIJANOVO PREUREĐIVANJE KOMPLEKSA

OBJECT IX IN DOCLEA (DIOCLEA) - DIOCLETIAN'S REARRANGEMENT OF THE COMPLEX

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Apstrakt

U radu se preispituje opšta pretpostavka da je Dokleanski (Dioklejski) tzv. Objekat IX nekada služio kao „kapitolni“ hram. Težište je stavljeno na 3. fazu (njena 1. etapa) obnove svetišta, koja se dešavala negdje krajem 3. ili početkom 4. stoljeća. Ispitivanjem konkretnih nalaza, njihovom kontekstualizacijom unutar Dioklecijanovog, više nego vjerovatno, opsežnog projekta obnove u njegovom rodnom gradu Dokleji (Doclea), kao i oblikom unutar Dioklecijanovog karakterističnog okvira „religijske ideologije“ i njegovih „estetičkih preferencija“, u radu se dolazi do zaključka da je hram i čitav kompleks preuređen i redizajniran kao dio Dioklecijanove intervencije u urbano tkivo, te se predlaže vjerovatnija posveta – boginji Minervi, posveta zasnovana na Dokleji (nalazi sa Diokleje), kao i po analogiji sa Dioklecijanovim obožavanjem Minerve, dobro posvjedočenim u „Dioklecijanovom logoru“ u Palmiri.

Ključne riječi: kasnoantička Dokleja (Diokleja), provincija Praevalitana, car Dioklecijan, kasnoantička arhitektura, centralni hram.

Abstrakt

The paper re-examines the general assumption that the Doclean (Dioclean) so-called Object IX once served as a “capitoline” temple. The focus has been put on the 3rd phase (its 1st stage) of the rebuilding of the sanctuary, which happened sometimes by the end of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century. By examining of the specific finds, contextualising them inside of the Diocletian's, more than likely, extensive rebuilding project in his hometown of Doclea (Doclea), as well as form inside of Diocletian's distinctive framework of “religious ideology” and his “aesthetic preferences”, paper reaches the conclusion that the temple and the whole complex was re-embellished and redesigned as a part of Diocletian's intervention in the urban tissue, and proposes a more likely dedication - the one to the Goddess Minerva, a dedication based on Doclean (Dioclean finds), as well on analogy with Diocletian's worship of Minerva, well attested in “Diocletian's camp” in Palmyra.

Key words: Late Antique Doclea (Dioclea), province of Praevalitana, Emperor Diocletian, Late Antique architecture, central temple.

Uvod

U dva naša prethodno objavljena rada, oslanjajući se na zapažanja Pijera Sticottija i sve druge uporedne informacije najranijeg istraživanja u Dokleji (Diokleji),¹ već smo sugerisali da su najmanje dva objekta u centru prevalitanskog grada Dokleje (Diokleje) izgrađena od strane, kako bi se moglo nazvati, „Dioklecijanove arhitektonske škole“.² Ova dva objekta su bila kompleks Dokleanski (Dioklejski) „forum“ i hram Dijane Agrotere i Apolona Delfinija (inače nazvan „Dijanin hram“). Međutim, u svjetlu arhitektonskih nalaza, razasutih po centru antičke/kasnoantičke Dokleje (Diokleje), već smo postavili pitanje kolika je intervencija cara Dioklecijana u strukturu urbanog centra njegovog matičnog kraja.³ Dakle, da zadatak ne bi ostao nedovršen, odlučili smo da malo pažnje posvetimo takozvanom „kapitolskom hramu“ u Dokleji (Diokleji), koji se naziva i *Objekat IX*. Kako je već napomenula Tatjana M. Koprivica, pitanje da li je ovo zaista bio kapitolski hram ostaje bez odgovora, jer hramu i njegovom prostoru nedostaju mnoge od osobina „pravog“ kapitola.⁴ Njegova cela očito nikada nije bila namijenjena obožavanju zvanične kapitolske trijade, jer nije bilo podjele unutrašnjeg prostora cele. Međutim, postoje neke druge karakteristike ove građevine koje dovode u pitanje njenu definiciju kao kapitolski hram.

1 Piero Sticotti, *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankomision, Wien, 1913; John Arthur Ruskin Munro et al., *The Roman Town of Doclea, in Montenegro*, Westminster, 1896; Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Cernogorija v jejo prošlom i nastojašem*, Geografija.-Istorija.-Etnografija.-Arheologija, tom II, cast 4, S. Peterburg, 1909. Oslonili smo se na nedavno objavljene informacije, posebno one u *Nova antička Duklja*, u *Archeologia e Calcolatori* objavljeni u Firenci, kao i svi drugi izvještaji i naučni radovi objavljeni između njih. Takođe, u ovom slučaju treba napomenuti da dosljedno govorimo o gradu sa oba imena – antičkim i kasnoantičkim. Posljednja, kasnoantička, osvjedočena je u *Liber de Caesaribus* od Sextus Aurelius Victor. Vidi Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, Fr. Pichlmayr (ed.), Lipsiae, 1966, cap. 38.

2 Tin Turković, *Diocletian's 'Imperial Court' in Doclea*, *Ars Adriatica* 11, 2021, str. 9-34; Tin Turković, Nikolina Maraković, *Reconsideration of the So-Called „Diana's Temple“ in Ancient Doclea*, *Peristil* 64, 2021, str. 9-21. Kao suprotnost „Galerijevoj arhitektonskoj radionici“ čiji je modus operandi i arhitektonski vokabular najbolje posvjedočen u Gamzigradu, ili kako mi...

3 T. Turković, 2021, op. cit.

4 Tatjana M. Koprivica, *Arhitektura kasnoantičke Duklje. Mogućnost rekonstrukcije*, doktorska disertacija, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2015, str. 94.

Introduction

In two of our previously published papers, relying on Piero Sticotti's observations and all other collated information in the earliest time of research in Doclea (Dioclea),¹ we have already suggested that at least two structures in the centre of Praevalitan town of Doclea (Dioclea) were built by, what might be called, "Diocletian's architectural school".² These two were the complexe of Doclean (Dioclean) "forum" and the temple precinct of Diana Agrotera and Apollo Delphinus (otherwise called "Temple of Diana"). However, in the light of the architectural finds scattered all around the centre of ancient/late antique Doclea (Dioclea) we have already posed the question of the extent of Emperor Diocletian's intervention into the structure of the urban centre of his home region.³ So, in order not to leave the task unfinished, we have decided to pay some attention to the so-called "Capitolian temple" in Doclea (Dioclea), also referred to as *Object IX*. As Tatjana M. Koprivica already noted, the question if this indeed was a Capitolian temple remains unanswered, as the temple and its precinct lack many of the traits of a "proper" capitolium.⁴ Its cella was obviously never intended for worshiping the official Capitolian triad, as there was no subdivision of

1 Piero Sticotti, *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankomision, Wien, 1913; John Arthur Ruskin Munro et al., *The Roman Town of Doclea, in Montenegro*, Westminster, 1896; Pavel Apolonovič Rovinski, *Cernogorija v jejo prošlom i nastojašem*, Geografija.-Istorija.-Etnografija.-Arheologija, tom II, cast 4, S. Peterburg, 1909. We also relied on the information published recently, especially those in *Nova antička Duklja*, in *Archeologia e Calcolatori* published in Firenze, as well as all other reports and scientific papers published in between those. Also, it should be noted at this instance that we are consistently referring to the town with both its names - ancient and late antique. The last one, late antique one, being attested in *Liber de Caesaribus* by Sextus Aurelius Victor. See Sextus Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, Fr. Pichlmayr (ed.), Lipsiae, 1966, cap. 38.

2 Tin Turković, *Diocletian's 'Imperial Court' in Doclea*, *Ars Adriatica* 11, 2021, pp. 9-34; Tin Turković, Nikolina Maraković, *Reconsideration of the So-Called "Diana's Temple" in Ancient Doclea*, *Peristil* 64, 2021, pp. 9-21. As an opposite of "Galerius' architectural workshop" whose modus operandi and architectural vocabulary is best attested in Gamzigrad, or as we,

3 T. Turković, 2021, op. cit.

4 Tatjana M. Koprivica, *Arhitektura kasnoantičke Duklje. Mogućnost rekonstrukcije*, doctoral dissertation, University of Belgrade, 2015, p. 94.

Naime, treba početi od činjenice da hram i njegovo područje nisu bili dio kompleksa „forum“, jer su se nalazili istočno od „forum“, a od njega ih je dijelila ulica širine 7,35 m (Sl. 1). Štaviše, i pored toga što je zauzimao nešto uzvišeniji položaj u svojoj okolini, hram je, u stvari, imao tek neznatno dominantniji položaj od ostalih hramova poređanih duž decumanus makimus-a Dokleje (Diokleje).

the inner space of the cella. However, there are some other features of this structure which put in question its definition as a Capitolian temple.

Namely, we should start with the fact that the temple and its precinct were not part of the “forum” complex, as they were situated just east of the “forum”, and separated from it by a 7.35 m wide street (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 - Plan zapadnog dijela Duklje (Diokleje) (Živanović, Stamenković, 2012, T. 5)

Sl. 1 - Plan of the western part of Doclea (Dioclea) (Živanović, Stamenković, 2012, T. 5)

Međutim, njegova dispozicija je samo pratila opšte obrise područja.⁵ Svakako, na prvi pogled može izgledati da je cijeli prostor imao neke od vitruvijanskih obilježja, ali one su prilično površne.⁶ Razumljivo je da je svaki istraživač antičke arhitekture i urbanizma, koji se oslanja na stariju i, na žalost, znatno zastarelu naučnu

Furthermore, in spite of occupying a bit more elevated position in its surrounding, the temple, as matter of fact, had only a more slightly dominating position than other temples lined along the decumanus maximus of Doclea (Dioclea).

However, its disposition only followed the general outlines of the area.⁵ Certainly, at first

5 A, kao što će se pokazati na narednim stranicama, postoje i drugi razlozi za takvu situaciju (vidi ispod).

6 Opet, za argumentaciju vidjeti napomenu 7.

5 And, as it will be demonstrated in following pages, there are other reasons for such a situation. (see below)

literaturu, mogao očekivati da je grad, ako je imao i druge monumentalne javne građevine, trebao imati „Kapitolijum“, arhaično kultno središte zajednice.⁷ U ovom slučaju, čini se da

⁷ U ovom trenutku važno je napomenuti da je u literaturi relativno jaka tendencija da se oslanja na statične slike „idealnog rimskog urbanog pejzaža“, kao i „idealnog ruralnog rimskog pejzaža“. Međutim, realnost je očigledno bila sasvim drugačija u skoro svakom dijelu Carstva, a to je posebno tačno kada je riječ o koncepciji da je svaki grad sa višim građanskim statusom imao *capitolium*, posvećen Trijadi. Da bismo pokazali koliko su takva očekivanja uzaludna, po našem mišljenju, najbolje je podsjetiti čitaoca na zaključke J. C. Quinn-a i A. Wilson-a o kapitoliji iz 2013. Oni su napisali: „Kapitolija, hramovi trijade božanstvenog Jupitera Optimus Makimusa, Junone, Minerve Augusta, često se smatraju delom standardnog urbanog „kompleta“ rimskih kolonija... Pouzdano potvrđena Kapitolija je, međutim, ređa u provincijama nego što ovo široko rasprostranjeno gledište pretpostavlja i izgleda da nema nikakve veze između građanskog statusa i podizanja kapitola...Kapitolija u provincijama je regionalno neujednačen fenomen, čija je popularnost bila lokalno vođena i postepeno se razvijala tokom vremena; i da možda nisu bili naročito uobičajeni u Italiji i Severnoj Africi.“Podjednako poučne su i njihova rekonstrukcija „mita“ o kapitoliji, na žalost i danas prisutna u naučnoj literaturi, i revizija kriterijuma I. M. Bartona iz 1982. za definisanje određenih sakralnih objekata kao *capitolia*. Naime, Quinn i Wilson predlažu revidirane i čvršće kriterijume za definisanje strukture kao kapitola, a to su: „ (1) jasan opis kao Kapitolija u natpisu na građevini, ili (2) natpis na građevini sa posvetom najmanje dvojici Jupitera Optimus Makimusa, Junone ili Minerve (sa trećim koji se može obnoviti u praznini), ili (3) ostaci kulturnih statua koje vjerovatno predstavljaju najmanje dva od onih božanstava povezanih sa strukturom hrama.“ U slučaju Doklejskog (Dioklijskog) hrama nijedan od ovih uslova nije ispunjen, iako je u unutrašnjosti cele pronađen fragment natpisa, ali se teško može tačno protumačiti i dovesti u vezu sa bilo kojim od tri božanstva, kao i fragmentom stopala koji je pronađen u objektu. Kao što je očigledno, nijedno od ova dva nije dovoljno da se utvrdi da je ovaj hram zaista bio kapitolni. Stoga smatramo da je razumno odbaciti stare ideje i neke relativno moderne kriterijume koje je Barton postavio, a koji se oslanjaju na sliku idealnog Vitruvijevog grada i idealnu poziciju i strukturu kapitolijskog hrama. Kao što su Quinn i Wilson istakli, trebalo bi da bude očigledno da je Vitruvije pisao o idealnoj slici i da je komentar Aula Gellija da „izgleda da su kolonije kao male replike i u izvesnom smislu sličnosti rimskog naroda (...populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacrae esse quaedam videntur)“. Tako, posmatrajući pojedinačne primjere provincijskih gradova (osim Afrike), zaista postaje očigledno da su gradovi izuzetno rijetko bili *simulacrum* Rima. Ovdje bismo mogli navesti i zaključak Luke Lavana u njegovom najupečatljivijem magnum opus-u gdje je, pišući o pozicioniranju i značaju sakralnih objekata kao žarišnih tačaka gradova, napisao: „Zaker je to istakao u Pompejima, gde su posle zemljotresa od 62. godine prioritet za popravke imale građanske političke zgrade, a ne hramovi foruma. Takođe je vrijedno napomenuti da je forum u Sarmizegetuzi, koji je osnovao Trajan, kao i oni u mnogim britanskim gradovima, sada predstavlja dvorišnu zgradu, sa porticima i civilnom bazilikom, u kojoj su se nalazila svetišta, ali nisu bila glavni fokus arhitektonske pažnje. Do početka kasne antike, dominantan položaj hramova na forumima mnogih gradova bio je nasleđe navike, rezultat inercije, možda

glance it might seem that the whole precinct had some of the Vitruvian features, but they are quite superficial.⁶ It is understandable that any researcher of ancient architecture and urbanism relying on older and, unfortunately, considerably outdated scientific literature, could expect that a town, if it had other monumental public buildings, should have had a “Capitolium”, an archaic cultic centrepiece of the community.⁷ In

⁶ Again, for argumentation see below note 7.

⁷ It should be mentioned at this moment that there is a relatively strong tendency in literature to rely on static images of “ideal Roman urban landscape”, as well as of “ideal rural Roman landscape”. However, reality was obviously quite different in almost every part of the Empire, and this is especially true when it comes to the conception that any and every town with a higher civic status had a *capitolium*, dedicated to the Triad. To demonstrate how futile are such expectations it is, in our opinion, best to remind the reader of the J. C. Quinn’s and A. Wilson’s conclusions about *capitolia* from 2013. They wrote: “*Capitolia*, temples to the triad of divinities Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuno, Minerva Augusta, are often considered part of the standard urban “kit” of Roman colonies...Reliably attested *Capitolia* are, however, rarer in the provinces than this widespread view assumes and there seems to be no relationship between civic status and the erection of a *Capitolium*...*Capitolia* in the provinces are a regionally patchy phenomenon, whose popularity was locally driven and developed gradually over time; and that they may not in fact have been especially common Italy and North Africa.” Equally instructive are their reconstruction of the “myth” of *capitolia*, unfortunately present still up to these times in scientific literature, and a revision of I. M. Barton’s criteria from 1982 for definition of certain sacral edifices as *capitolia*. Namely, Quinn and Wilson propose revised and sounder criteria for defining a structure as *capitolium*, and these are: “(1) a clear the description as a *Capitolium* in a building inscription, or (2) a building inscription with a dedication to at least two of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno or Minerva (with the third restorable in a lacuna), or (3) the remains of the cult statues likely to represent at least two of those divinities associated with a temple structure.” In the case of Doclean (Dioclean) temple none of these requirements are met, although a fragment of an inscription was found inside of cella, but it can hardly be accurately interpreted and related to any of the three divinities, and a fragment of the foot was found in the object. As it is obvious, none of these two are sufficient to ascertain that this temple was indeed a *capitolium*. Thus, we think that it is reasonable to discard the age old ideas and some relatively modern criteria established by Barton which rely on an image of the Vitruvius’ ideal town and an ideal position and structure of the *capitolium* temple. As Quinn and Wilson pointed out, it should be obvious that Vitruvius was writing about the ideal image and that Aulus Gellius’ comment that “colonies seem to be as it were small replicas and in a sense likenesses” of the Roman people (“...populi Romani, cuius istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacrae esse quaedam videntur”). Thus, examining the individual examples of the provincial towns (except Africa), it really becomes obvious that the towns were extremely rarely simulacra of the Rome. We could also cite here Luke Lavan’s conclusion in his most impressive magnum opus where he, writing about the positioning and

to nije bio slučaj i da se „kapitolijske“ paralele, u suštini, ne mogu pozitivno utvrditi ni u jednom od većih dalmatinskih ili istarskih gradova.⁸ Dakle, predložimo da razmotrimo sljedeća pitanja: ako ovo nije bila centralna kapitolijska građevina grada, već samo jedan od sakralnih objekata, među najmanje tri druga sakralna objekta podignuta u isto vrijeme kada je grad preuređen, šta je onda predstavljao?⁹ Kom božanstvu ili božanstvima je bila posvećena? Treba istaći da naučnici koji istražuju Dioklecijanovu palatu u Splitu dijele iste dileme oko objekata u sakralnoj zoni palate.¹⁰

čak i anahronizma. Nije iznenađujuće što su vremenom izgubili ovu eminentnu poziciju, čak i ako se to nije dogodilo odmah.” I pored ideje da bi ovaj konkretni Doklejski (Diokleanski) hram mogao biti ili bi trebao biti kapitolijski hram, treba napomenuti da se već Pijero Stikoti suzdržao od takvih pretpostavki, i jednostavno označio strukturu brojem IX. Odatle, obično će i biti oslovljavana kao „Objekat IX”, i ako će se njegova navodna priroda kapitola održati i tokom vjekova koji dolaze. U svjetlu onoga što je ovdje argumentovano, zaključak da ovu kasniju koncepciju treba odbaciti se nameće prirodno. Vidi Josephine Crawly Quinn, Andrew Wilson, *Capitolia, The Journal of Roman Studies*, Tom. 103, 2013, str. 117-173, Ian M. Barton, *Capitoline Temples in Italy and the Provinces (especially Africa), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW), De Gruyter*, 1982, str. 259-342; Aulus Gellius, *The complete Works of Aulus Gellius (The Attic Nights, knjiga 16, 13, 9)*, Delphi Classics, 2016, str. 1192-1193; Luke Lavan, *Public Space in the Late Antique City, Volume 1, Streets, Processions, Fora, Agorai, Nacella, Shops, Brill, Leiden-Boston*, 2020, 444; Pietro Sticotti, op. cit., p. 66; Mate Suić, *Antički grad na istočnoj obali Jadrana, Golden marketing, Zagreb*, 2003, str. 230-243; Mile Baković, *Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Duklja 2009. godina, Objekat IX, Nova antička Duklja I, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice*, 2010, str. 73-75; Mile Baković, *Prelimarni rezultati istraživanja na prostoru kapitolnog hrama lokaliteta Doclea / Nova antička Duklja II, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice*, 2011, str. 19.

8 Marko Sinobad je to maestralno demonstrirao po kriterijumima Iana M. Bartona (vidi takođe napomena 6). Zaista, čak i ako se ažurira sa Kvinovim i Vilsonovim kriterijumima, upitno je da li su bilo koja od dalmatinskih ili istarskih takozvanih „Kapitolija” zapravo bila mjesta nedvosmislenog obožavanja Kapitolske Trijade. Iako neki, zaista, ispunjavaju pojedine kriterijume, kroz temeljno ispitivanje lokaliteta Sinobad je ispravno zaključio: „Ne može se sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je bilo koji od hramova u Dalmaciji i Istri bio posvećen Kapitolijskoj Trijadi, dok u Panoniji postoji potvrda u Savariji (Szombathely) i Scarabantia (Sopron)...”. Ipak, treba istaći da iako ovi hramovi možda nisu bili posvećeni Kapitolskoj Trijadi, oni su bili sakralna žarišta grada kome god da su bili posvećeni. Poenta je da to nisu bile replike hrama u Rimu, niti bi to od njih trebalo očekivati. Za argumentaciju i sveobuhvatan pregled literature vidi Marko Sinobad, *Kapitolijski hramovi u Hrvatskoj, Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, No. 1, Zagreb, 2007, str. 221-264.

9 Tri druga su: „Dijanin hram”, takozvani „Hram boginje Rome”, poznat i kao „Prvi hram”, i mala (po svoj prilici) sakralna zgrada u dvorištu zapadno od „bazilike”.

10 Uprkos Bulićevim pomalo ishitrenim zaključcima o

this instance, it seems that it was not the case, and that the “capitoline” parallels, essentially, cannot be positively ascertained in none of the major Dalmatian or Istrian towns.⁸ Thus, we

importance of sacral buildings as focal points of the towns, wrote: “Zancker has pointed out as much at Pompeii, where after the earthquake of 62, it was civic political buildings, not the temples of the forum, which took precedence for repairs. It is also worth noting that the forum at Sarmizegetusa, founded by Trajan, like those of many British cities, was now a courtyard building, of porticoes and a civil basilica, in which shrines could be found but were not the main focus of architectural attention. By the start of Late Antiquity, the dominant position of temples on the fora of many cities was a legacy of habit, the result of inertia, perhaps even an anachronism. It is not really surprising that they lost this pre-eminent position over time, even if it did not happen immediately.” And although the idea that this particular Doclean (Dioclean) temple could be or should be a capitolium temple, it should be noted that already Pietro Sticotti restrained himself from such assumptions, and simply labeled the structure with a number IX. Thence, it will be also usually referred as “Object IX”, although its supposed nature of capitolium will still remain to linger for a century to come. In the light of what has been argued here, the conclusion that this later conception should be discarded asserts itself naturally. See Josephine Crawly Quinn, Andrew Wilson, *Capitolia, The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 103, 2013, pp. 117-173, Ian M. Barton, *Capitoline Temples in Italy and the Provinces (especially Africa), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW), De Gruyter*, 1982, pp. 259-342; Aulus Gellius, *The complete Works of Aulus Gellius (The Attic Nights, book 16, 13, 9)*, Delphi Classics, 2016, pp. 1192-1193; Luke Lavan, *Public Space in the Late Antique City, Volume 1, Streets, Processions, Fora, Agorai, Nacella, Shops, Brill, Leiden-Boston*, 2020, 444; Pietro Sticotti, op. cit., p. 66; Mate Suić, *Antički grad na istočnoj obali Jadrana, Golden marketing, Zagreb*, 2003, pp. 230-243; Mile Baković, *Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Duklja 2009. godina, objekat IX / Archaeological Research on the Locality of Doclea in 2009 Building No 9, Nova antička Duklja I, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice*, 2010, pp. 73-75; Mile Baković, *Prelimarni rezultati istraživanja na prostoru kapitolnog hrama lokaliteta Doclea / Preliminary results of the research into the area of the capitol temple of the Doclea site, Nova antička Duklja II, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice*, 2011, p. 19.

8 Marko Sinobad has masterfully demonstrated this following the Ian M. Barton’s criteria (see also note 6). Indeed, even if updated with Quinn and Wilson’s criteria, it is questionable if any of the Dalmatian or Istrian so-called “Capitolia” were actually places of unambiguous worship of Capitoline Triad. And although some do, in fact, stand up to some criteria, through thorough examination of sites Sinobad had correctly concluded: “One cannot state with certainty that any of the temples in Dalmatia and Istria was dedicated to the Capitoline Triad, while in Pannonia there is confirmation in Savaria (Szombathely) and Scarabantia (Sopron)...”. Still, it should be pointed out that although these temples might have not been dedicated to Capitoline Triad, they were sacral focal points of the town to whomever they were dedicated to. Point is that they were no replicas of temple in Rome, nor it should be expected of them to be that. For argumentation and comprehensive overview of the literature see Marko Sinobad, *Kapitolijski hramovi u Hrvatskoj / Capitoline Temples in Croatia, Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, No. 1, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 221-264.

Arheološka istraživanja lokaliteta i posebnosti kompleksa

Postojanje kompleksa, naravno, nije novo za širu naučnu javnost, kao što su već primijetili Munro i Stikoti. Međutim, novije decenije donijele su nova iskopavanja i stečen je značajan broj novih uvida u opšte obrise i stratigrafiju lokaliteta. Treba napomenuti da su sva savremena iskopavanja obavljena na najprofesionalniji način, a rezultati su gotovo odmah objavljeni. Posebno, zalaganjem naučnika poput Mileta Bakovića, Miloša Živanovića, Dejana Draškovića, Ivane Grujić, specifičnosti kompleksa su došle do izražaja i relativno jasno je identifikovana stratigrafija lokaliteta i njegovih djelova.¹¹ U ovom posljednjem pogledu, Živanovićev rad o jugoistočnom dijelu kompleksa (označen kao 3/IX, Sl. 2) jasno predstavlja faze njegovog razvoja. Dopunjen studijama drugih kolega, predstavlja metodički ispravnu i pažljivo sastavljenu sliku razvoja lokaliteta (kompleksa) između 1. i 5. vijeka nove ere. Sa arheološke tačke gledišta, svi nalazi uredno dolaze na svoje mjesto, a ispostavlja se da je lokalitet zaista prošao kroz pet faza. Kao što je predstavljeno u izvještajima, on je vjerovatno prošao kroz dvije faze tokom principata. Prva faza, podizanje objekta nedefinisane namjene, svakako se desila tokom 1. vijeka nove ere. Datovanje prve dvije faze je očigledno još uvijek otvoreno za diskusiju, mada izgleda da je Ivana Grujić iznijela ubjedljive argumente za njeno preciznije datovanje. Njeni

posvetama sakralnih objekata, posvete ostaju nerazjašnjene, posebno u slučajevima malih monopteroi, zapadno od peristila. Bilo je toliko mišljenja, sugestija, tumačenja da je sve to objektivno nejasna perspektiva. O ovom pitanju vidi Radoslav Bužančić, Svetište Dioklecijanove palače, ИСТОРИЈСКИ ЗАПИСИ, Година LXXXVII, бр. 1-2, 2014, стр. 107-124.

11 Leonie Pett, Doclea, Geophysical Survey Report, October 2007, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja I, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2010, str. 7-44; Mile Baković, Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Duklja 2009. godina, Objekat IX, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja I, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2010, str. 67-77; Mile Baković, Preliminarni rezultati istraživanja na prostoru kapitolnog hrama lokaliteta Doclea, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja II, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2011, str. 11-26; Miloš Živanović, Arheološka istraživanja prostorije 3/IX, preliminarna zapažanja, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja II, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2011, str. 29-56; Dejan Drašković, Miloš Živanović, Keramika prostorije 3/IX, prilog poznavanju svakodnevnog života antičke Duklje, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja II, JU Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2011, str. 59-98; Ivana Grujić, Keramika II veka na Dokleji, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja IV, Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2013, str. 21-53.

propose to consider the following questions: if this was not the central capitoline edifice of the town, but just one of the sacral structures, among of at least three other sacral buildings erected at the same time when the town was rearranged, what was it then?⁹ To which deity or deities was it dedicated? We should point out that scholars researching Diocletian's palace in Spalato share the same dilemmas about the buildings in the sacral zone of the palace.¹⁰

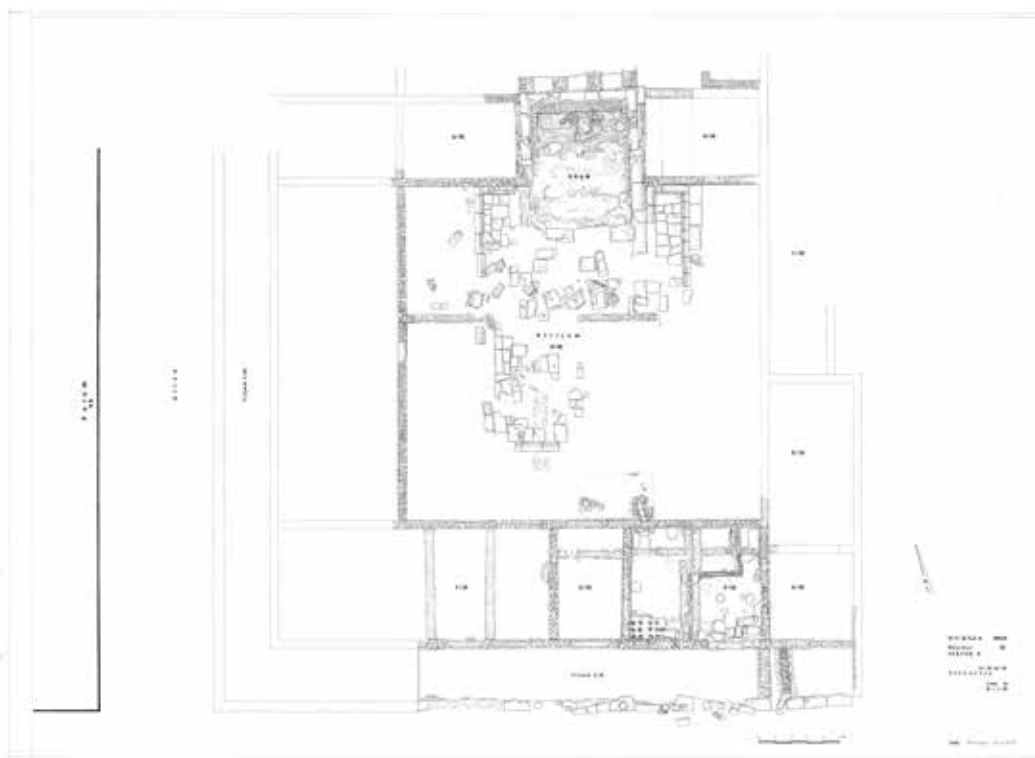
Archaeological research of the site and the particularities of the complex

The existence of the complex is not, of course, new to the general scientific public, as it was already noted by Munro and Sticotti. However, more recent decades have yielded new excavations and a significant number of new insights into the general outlines and stratigraphy of the site have been acquired. It should be noted that all of the modern excavations have been conducted in most professional way, and results were almost immediately published. Especially, due to the efforts of scholars like Mile Baković, Miloš Živanović, Dejan Drašković, Ivana Grujić, specific features of the complex came into light and the stratigraphy of the site and its parts has been relatively clearly identified.¹¹ In this last respect, Živanović's

9 Three other being: "Temple of Diana", so-called "Temple of Dea Roma", also known as "The First Temple", and the small (in all probability) sacral building in the courtyard west of the "basilica".

10 In spite of Bulić's somewhat hasty conclusions about the dedications of the sacral buildings, dedications remain unresolved, especially in the cases of small monopteroi, west of the peristyle. There has been so many opinion, suggestions, interpretations that all of the certainly obscure objective perspective. About this issue see Radoslav Bužančić, Svetište Dioklecijanove palače, ИСТОРИЈСКИ ЗАПИСИ, Година LXXXVII, бр. 1-2, 2014, pp. 107-124.

11 Leonie Pett, Doclea, Geophysical Survey Report, October 2007, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja I, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2010, pp. 7-44; Mile Baković, Arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu Duklja 2009. godina Objekat IX/ Archaeological Research on the Locality of Doclea in 2009 Builiding No 9, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja I, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2010, pp. 67-77; Mile Baković, Preliminarni rezultati istraživanja na prostoru kapitolnog hrama lokaliteta Doclea/Preliminary results of the research into the area of the capitol temple of the Doclea site, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja II, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2011, pp. 11-26; Miloš Živanović, Arheološka istraživanja prostorije 3/ix, preliminarna zapažanja/Archaeological research into room 3/ix preliminary bservations, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja II, JU muzeji i galerije



Sl. 2 - Plan Objekta IX (Grujić, 2013, sl. 1)

Fig. 2 - Plan of the Object IX (Grujić, 2013, sl. 1)

zaključci o stratigrafiji i eventualnoj rekonstrukciji prostora označenog kao 8/IX, uz celu hrama sa istoka, doveli su u pitanje Bakovićevu prvobitnu tvrdnju o datovanju hrama i okoline, zasnovanu na osnovu sondiranja u dvorištu objekta. Baković je kao vjerovatan datum popločavanja dvorišta predložio Domicijanovo vrijeme, pod pretpostavkom da je hram podignut istovremeno. Kao potvrda njegovog zaključka uzet je novac sa likom cara Domicijana, kovan 87. godine nove ere, pronađen ispod pločnika dvorišta.¹² Međutim, kako je Grujić predstavila, izgradnja istočnog zida cele hrama bila je savremena sa pregradnjom susjednog prostora 8/IX, koji bi, prema nalazu novca iz vremena Antonina Pija, trebalo da bude datovan u 2. vijek n.e. To bi značilo da je prvi hram podignut u drugom, a ne u prvom vijeku.¹³ To bi, takođe, impliciralo da plitki ostaci ranijih zidova ispod pločnika dvorišta, koje

paper on the south-eastern part of the complex (labelled as 3/IX, Fig. 2) clearly presents the phases of its development. Complemented by the studies of other colleagues, it represents a methodically correct and carefully assembled picture of the development of the site (complex) between the 1st and the 5th century AD. From the archaeological point of view, all of the findings fall neatly into the place, and it turns out that the site indeed went through five phases. As presented through the reports, it arguably went through two phases during the Principate. The first phase, the erection of a structure of undefined function, certainly happened during the 1st century AD. Dating of the first two phases is evidently still open for discussion, though it seems that Ivana Grujić presented compelling

12 Baković, 2011, nav. cit., napomena 11, str. 20-21.

13 Mada Grujić pažljivo zaključuje: „Može se pretpostaviti nekoliko etapa u izgradnji hrama, od kojih je jedna svakako ona kada je podignut istočni zid cele iz sredine II vijeka”. Grujić. op. cit., bilješka 11, str. 40.

Podgorice, 2011, pp. 29-56; Dejan Drašković, Miloš Živanović, Keramika prostorije 3/ix, prilog poznavanju svakodnevnog života antičke Duklje/Room 3/ix pottery, a contribution to the introduction to everyday life in Doclea, Zbornik Nova Antička Duklja II, JU muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2011, pp. 59-98; Ivana Grujić, Keramika II veka na Dokleji/The II century pottery in Doclea, Zbornik Nova antička Duklja IV, Muzeji i galerije Podgorice, 2013, pp. 21-53.

je identifikovao Baković, vjerovatno pripadaju približno istom vremenu kao i zidovi prvog objekta na mjestu prostora 8/IX. Zanimljivo je da je Grujić iznijela i da pregradnja prostora 8/IX nije promijenila orijentaciju zidova te prostorije. Ista je opšta orijentacija zidova, posebno sjevernog, koji se proteže i postaje sjeverni zid cele hrama.¹⁴ Čini se da je u vrijeme Antonina Pija u postojeći kompleks okolnog prostora umetnuta konstrukcija hrama. Zanimljivo je i to što je u ovom pred kasnoantičkom sloju Grujić pronašla značajan broj fragmenata keramike koji su vezani isključivo za kuvanje, ručavanje i skladištenje hrane. Kako je prostor 8/IX u to vrijeme bio vratima direktno povezan sa dvorištem (5/IX), ovi nalazi nameću pitanje o namjeni kuhinje/ostave, koja se nalazi u tolikoj blizini hrama. Nekako, možemo se zapitati da li je moguće zamisliti da je ovaj trg sa novopodignutim hramom u to vrijeme funkcionisao kao mali forum Dokleje iz II vijeka, sa dvorištem okruženim tavernama. Naime, ova pretpostavka bi mogla biti dodatno ojačana činjenicom da je konstrukcija, očigledno od vremena kada je dobila reprezentativni oblik, imala ulaze na tri svoje strane, južnoj, zapadnoj i istočnoj, što bi podrazumijevalo slobodan pristup i fluktuaciju posjetilaca trga. Baković je konstatovao zaziđivanje pojedinih ulaza u određenim fazama, i periodične promjene njihovih gabarita, što bi sugerisalo da su sva tri prvobitno građena, ali da su se postepeno mijenjala.¹⁵ Dakle, u početku je namjera vjerovatno bila da se mjesto učini veoma pristupačnim, upravo suprotno od onoga kako je Vitruvije zamislio i preporučio da bi trebalo da izgleda lijep ulaz u okružni hram.¹⁶ Kako god bilo, jedna stvar se mora istaći sa najvećim stepenom pažnje, a to je činjenica da tokom

arguments for its more precise dating. Her conclusions about the stratigraphy and eventual rebuilding of the space labelled as 8/IX (Fig. 2), adjacent to the cella of the temple from the east, have put in question Baković's initial proposition for dating of the temple and its surroundings, based on the probing in the courtyard of the structure. Baković has proposed Domitian's time as the probable date when the courtyard was paved, assuming that the temple was built at the same time. The coin with an image of Emperor Domitian, minted in 87 AD, found beneath the pavement of the courtyard, was taken as confirmation of his conclusion.¹² However, as Grujić demonstrated, building of the eastern wall of the cella of the temple was contemporary with the rebuilding of the adjacent space 8/IX, which, according to the find of the coin from the time of Antoninus Pius, should be dated to the 2nd century AD. This would imply that the first temple was built in the second, and not in the first century.¹³ It would also imply that the shallow remains of the earlier walls beneath the pavement of the courtyard, identified by Baković, probably belong to approximately the same time as the walls of the first structure on the place of the space 8/IX. It is interesting to note that Grujić also demonstrated that rebuilding of the space 8/IX did not change the orientation of the walls of that room. General orientation of the walls, especially the northern one, which extends to become the northern wall of the cella of the temple, is the same.¹⁴ It seems that at the time of the Antoninus Pius a temple structure was inserted into the existing complex of surrounding spaces. It is also interesting what Grujić found in this pre-late antique layer - a significant number of pieces of ceramics, all related with cooking, dining and storage. As the space 8/IX was at that time directly connected with the courtyard by a door (5/IX), these findings raise the question about the purpose that the kitchen/storage, being in such vicinity to the temple. Somehow, we might wonder if it could be imagined that this square with a newly erected temple, at that

14 Grujić. op. cit., bilješka 11, str. 21.

15 Na žalost, Baković nije sasvim jasan u vezi sa konkretnim promjenama veličina ulaza, niti vremenom kada su neki od njih bili zaziđani. Baković, 2011, nav. cit., bilješka 11, str. 16.

16 Vitruvije je preporučio da se hramovi podižu sa najboljim mogućim pogledom na grad, ili da budu usklađeni sa ulicama i rijekama kako bi impresionirali prolaznike, čime bi se pojačao utisak njihovog autoriteta. U ovom slučaju, tri ulaza i portik koji je zaklanjao pogled na hram sa ulaza, svakako nisu dozvoljavali impresivne perspektive hrama. Dakle, sasvim je jasno da su Vitruviusove preporuke zanemarene u ovom slučaju. Vidi Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura*, Book IV, prev. Morris Hickey Morgan, Harvard University Press, 1914, 5.2; Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Roman Cult Sites, Pragmatičnipristup, A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, str. 205-221.

12 Baković, 2011, op. cit., note 11, pp. 20-21.

13 Though Grujić, carefully, concludes: "One can assume several stages in the building of the temple, one of which is certainly one when it has been raised the eastern wall cella of the mid-second century." Grujić. op. cit., note 11, p. 40.

14 Grujić. op. cit., note 11, p. 21.

antike nije bilo intervencija u opštoj dispoziciji i orijentaciji kompleksa, iako je kompleks u pojedinim djelovima preuređivan i dograđivan kroz vrijeme.

I imajući u vidu ovu posljednju činjenicu, pristupamo glavnom pitanju ovog rada, a to je: Šta se dogodilo sa kompleksom u kasnoj antici? Već smo se potrudili da argumentujemo da je car Konstantin Porfirogenit morao imati dobar razlog da izjavi: „Diokleja je dobila ime po gradu u ovoj zemlji koji je osnovao car Dioklecijan, ali sada je to napušten grad, iako se još uvijek zove Diokleja”.¹⁷ Kao što smo raspravljali u nekim od naših novijih radova, ovu Porfirogenitovu izjavu treba shvatiti ozbiljno i sa značenjem „Imperator Dioklecijan je dobio ime po gradu u svojoj zemlji, sada napuštenom gradu, iako se i dalje zove Diokleja, koji je ponovo sagradio („osnovao“) od temelja”.¹⁸ I zaista, kao što je Stikoti već primijetio „bazilika“ na „forumu“, arhitektonska rješenja, dizajn i korišćeni arhitektonski rječnik upućuju na „Dioklecijanovu arhitektonsku radionicu“, koja očigledno razvija svoj stil kroz različite careve građevinske poduhvate preduzete tokom njegove vladavine.¹⁹ Nedavno smo uporedili i ispitali prisustvo istih posebnih i veoma karakterističnih arhitektonskih šema na kojima su se zasnivali drugi glavni Dokleanski (Dioklejski) javni spomenici i ispitali stepen proliferacije istog arhitektonskog rečnika. Ovo je dovelo do zaključka koji samo podržava Porfirogenitovu tvrdnju. Zaista, izgleda kao da je Dioklecijan obnovio centar svog rodnog grada od nule, uljepšavši ga novim javnim zgradama i javnim prostorima, čineći tako Dokleju (Diokleju) vjerovatno svojim najvećim graditeljskim poduhvatom. Sigurno je rečnik i poseban arhitektonski stil, prisutan u Splitu i Rimu, prisutani u Dokleji (Diokleji), na „forumu“, Dijaninom (i Apolonovom) hramu, tzv. „Hramu Boginje Rome“ i velikim termama južno od „forumu“. Njegovo ime se vezuje i za vodovode,

time, functioned as a small forum of the 2nd century Doclea, with a courtyard surrounded by tabernae. As a matter of fact, this assumption could be further strengthened by the fact that the structure, obviously from the time when it got its representative shape, had entrances on three of its sides, south, west and east, which would imply free excess and free fluctuation of the visitors to the square. Baković noted walling-up of some of the entrances in certain phases, and periodical changes of their dimensions, what would suggest that all three were built initially, but were then gradually changed.¹⁵ So, initially the intent was probably to make the place highly accessible, directly opposite of how Vitruvius imagined and recommended the temple's precinct scenic entrance should look like.¹⁶ Be it as it may, one thing has to be noted with the highest degree of attention, and that is the fact that no interventions in general disposition and orientation of the complex happened throughout Antiquity, although the complex was rearranged and augmented in certain parts through time. And with this last fact in mind we approach the central issue of this paper, and that is the question: what happened with the complex in Late Antiquity? We have already put an effort to argument that Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus must have had a good reason to state: “Diocleia gets its name from the city in this country that the emperor Diocletian founded, but now it is a deserted city, though still called Diocleia.”¹⁷ As we discussed in some of our

15 Unfortunately, Baković is not quite clear about the particular changes of the size of the entrances or about the time when some of them were walled-up. Baković, 2011, op. cit., note 11, p. 16.

16 Vitruvius recommended that temples should be erected with the best possible view of the city in mind, or be aligned with streets and rivers to impress the passer-by, thus enhancing the impression of their auctoritas. In this case, three entrances and a portico which obscured the view of the temple from the entrance certainly did not allow impressive perspectives on the temple. So, it is quite clear that Vitruvius' prescriptions were disregarded in this case. See Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura*, Book IV, trans. Morris Hickey Morgan, Harvard University Press, 1914, 5.2; Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser, *Roman Cult Sites. A Pragmatic Approach, A Companion to Roman Religion*, ed. Jörg Rüpke, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, pp. 205-221.

17 See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. GY. Moravcsik, Dumberton Oaks Texts I (1967), cap. 35.10. Also, it should be noted that Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls the town Diocleia, while Sextus Aurelius calls it Dioclea. A indicative testimony that the name Doclea was by late antique times replaced with Dioclea. See note 1.

17 Vidi Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. GY. Moravcsik, Dumberton Oaks Texts I (1967), cap. 35.10. Takođe, treba napomenuti da Konstantin Porfirogenit grad naziva Diokleja, dok ga Sekst Aurelije naziva Dokleja. Indikativno svjedočanstvo da je ime Dokleja u kasnoantičko doba zamijenjeno Diokleja. Vidi napomenu 1.

18 Turković, 2021, nav. cit., napomena 2; Turković, Maraković, 2021, nav. cit., bilješka 2.

19 Sticoti, op. cit., napomena 1, str. 124.

tj. akvadukte, od kojih je jedan snabdijevao vodom Dokleju (Diokleju); docent Gimnazije u Podgorici Ivan Novicki zabilježio je apelativ „Dukljanov vodovod“, odnosno akvadukt cara Dioklecijana. I čini se da je apelativ zaista ispravan, jer je njegova struktura i poseban način gradnje gotovo identičan akvaduktu u Splitu.²⁰ Uzimajući sve ovo u obzir, prirodno se nameće zaključak da je Dioklecijan obnovio ili preuredio cio centar grada.

Ako pogledamo rezultate magnetometrije Leonie Pett u oba sektora A i B, čini se da je konzistentan sistem ostrva uspostavljen najmanje u dva nivoa sjeverno od decumanus makimus i tri južno od decumanus makimus.²¹

Na isto su ukazivali Marilena Cazzolino i Vincenzo Gentile, dok u isto vrijeme njihovi rezultati i tumačenja pokazuju da su anomalije otkrivene u dubljim slojevima imale različitu orijentaciju i da nisu bile u skladu sa kasnijom regularnom mrežom.²² Mreža je fino uspostavljena prospekcijama F. Kolosija, P. Merole i P. Moskatija, a podjednako poučno vizuelizovana od strane Antonio D'Eredita (Sl. 3).²³ Da zaključimo, ako treba da sudimo, ne samo na osnovu GPR prospekcija, već i na osnovu prisustva određenih arhitektonskih koncepcija, korišćenog arhitektonskog rečnika očigledno istočne provenijencije i očiglednih morfoloških odnosa arhitektonskih šema korišćenih u restrukturiranju i rekonstrukciji Dokleje (Diokleje) sa drugim Dioklecijanovim arhitektonskim poduhvatima i stepen nagle obnove relativno malog provincijskog grada, svakako od prvorazrednog značaja za jednog starosedioca kao što je bio Dioklecijan, ali inače od velikog značaja za „velike“ investiture.

recent papers, this Porphyrogenitus' statement should be understood seriously and with the meaning "The emperor Diocletian gets its name from the city in his country, now a deserted city, though still called Diocleia which he had rebuilt ("founded") from the scratch".¹⁸ And indeed, as Sticotti already noticed that the "basilica" on the "forum", architectural solutions, design, and architectural vocabulary used, all point to "Diocletian's architectural workshop", obviously developing its style through the Emperor's various building endeavours undertaken during his reign.¹⁹

We have recently compared and examined the presence of the same particular and highly distinctive architectural schemes on which other major Doclean (Dioclean) public monuments were based on, and inspected the extent of proliferation of the same architectural vocabulary. This yielded with a conclusion that only supports Porphyrogenitus' claim. It, indeed, looks as if Diocletian rebuilt the centre of his hometown from a scratch, embellishing it with new public buildings and public spaces, thus making Doclea (Dioclea) probably his biggest undertaking as a builder. Surely, the vocabulary and particular architectural style, present in Spalato and Rome, is present in Doclea (Dioclea), on the "forum", Diana's (and Apollo's) temple, so-called "Temple of Dea Roma" and great baths south of the "forum". His name is also associated with waterworks, i. e. aqueducts, of which one was supplying Doclea (Dioclea) with water; assistant professor of the gymnasium in Podgorica, Ivan Novicki noted the appellative "Dukljanov vodovod" [Aqueduct of Dukljanin], or in other words, the aqueduct of the Emperor Diocletian. And it seems that the appellative is indeed correct, as its structure and the particular method of construction is almost identical to that of the aqueduct in Spalato.²⁰ Taking all of this into account, the conclusion that Diocletian rebuilt or rearranged the whole centre of the town naturally asserts itself. It seems that he imprinted on the town the regular street-grid, monumentalised it, and

20 „Politika“, dnevna štampa, štampano 18. marta 1930. (br. 7856)

21 Pett, op. cit., sl. 6., napomena 11

22 Marilena Cazzolino i Vincenzo Gentile, Ground penetrating radar survey, The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017). *Archeologia e Calcolatori Supplemento* 11, ed. L. Alberti, Firenze, 2019, str.

23 Francesca Colosi, Pasquale Merola, Paola Moscati, The Urban Planning of Doclea: Remote Sensing and Topographical Survey, The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017), *Archeologia e Calcolatori Supplemento* 11, ed. Lucia Alberti, Firenze, 2019, str. 59-75 (sl. 6); Antonio D'Eredita, Il rilievo fotogrammetrico di Doclea, *Archeologia e Calcolatori* 31.1, 2020, str. 213-230 (sl. 3 i 10)

18 Turković, 2021, op. cit., note 2; Turković, Maraković, 2021, op. cit., note 2.

19 Sticotti, op. cit., note 1, p. 124.

20 daily press "Politika", printed on the 18 March, 1930 (issue 7856)



Sl. 3 - Satelitski snimak Dokleje sa naznačenom mrežom gradskih komunikacija (Colosi, Merola, Moscati, 2019, fig. 6)

Fig. 3 – Satellite image of Doclea with indicated grid of the town's communications (Colosi, Merola, Moscati, 2019, sl. 6)

Prema našem mišljenju sve ukazuje u pravcu Dioklecijana kao „osnivača” kasnoantičke Diokleje.

I sa ovim zaključkom nameću se neka dalja pitanja vezana za takozvani „Kapitolski hram”. Prije svega, kako je demonstrirano, ovaj kompleks nije promijenio svoju orijentaciju i odnos prema urbanim komunikacijama, pa se postavlja pitanje: da li je ova struktura bila polazna tačka, neka vrsta referentne tačke, za definisanje i razvoj cijelokupne pravilne ortogonalne mreže Dioklecijanove Diokleje? U kom smislu se onda kompleks promijenio obnovom Dokleje (Diokleje), u formi ili funkciji? Da li je posveta ostala ista, ili je očigledno popravljani redizajniran hram promijenio svoju posvetu prema Dioklecijanovom carskom vjerskom sistemu, koji je bio prilično poseban u

put in order all of the structures, even private ones, in its western part. If we look at the results of the magnetometry of Leonie Pett in both sectors A and B, it seems that consistent insular system was established at least in two tiers north of decumanus maximus, and three south of decumanus maximus.²¹ The same was indicated by Marilena Cazzolino and Vincenzo Gentile, while at the same time their results and interpretations show that anomalies detected in the deeper levels had different orientation, and did not conform with the later regular grid.²² The grid was finely established by prospectings of F. Colosi, P. Merola and P. Moscati, and equally

²¹ Pett, op. cit., fig. 6., note 11.

²² Marilena Cazzolino and Vincenzo Gentile, Ground penetrating radar survey, The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017). *Archeologia e Calcolatori* Supplemento 11, ed. L. Alberti, Firenze, 2019, pp. 77–84 (fig. 4c and 4d). The same is evident from Pett's prospection.

rimskoj istoriji?²⁴ Svakako, kao što ćemo vidjeti, postoje indicije da su hram i kompleks dalje razvijali svoj kulturni sadržaj do kraja III vijeka. Da li je kompleks izgubio funkciju otvorenog trga (forum), sa zgradom susjednog foruma kao centralnog javnog prostora kasnoantičke Diokleje? Na koji način je njegova posveta mogla biti povezana sa posvetama druga tri hrama u Diokleji?²⁵ Ova, ali i niz drugih pitanja padaju na pamet kada se posmatra treća faza razvoja kompleksa, koju je Miloš Živanović predstavio kroz svoju studiju prostora 3/IX; onaj koji se nalazi na prednjoj jugoistočnoj strani kompleksa (Sl. 4). Odlično je to opisao i zbunio auditorijum činjenicom da je unutar kompleksa, negdje na prelazu iz 4. vijeka, osnovano veliko postrojenje za topljenje i kovanje metala.²⁶ I moramo biti svjesni da je položaj postrojenja za topljenje i kovanje metala unutar ovakvog kompleksa svakako bio neprikladan, s obzirom na količinu toksičnog otpada i isparenja koje ova postrojenja proizvode tokom procesa.

Zatim, tu je i pitanje temperature koje takvi objekti proizvode. Naime, topljenje zahtijeva veoma visoke temperature da bi se metalne rude redukovale u čist metal i rafinisale metale i legure.²⁷ Nema mnogo slučajeva gdje možemo naći takvu topionicu unutar kompleksa svetišta.²⁸ Dakle, sve ukazuje na činjenicu da je uključivanje ovih objekata u kompleks imalo prilično specifične razloge, te da su bili u direktnoj vezi sa samim svetilištem. Vjerujemo da možemo isključiti opciju da je ovaj objekat proizvodio nešto za širu javnost, ili da je funkcionisao kao obična gvoždara za stanovnike grada. Za takav objekat u gradu je svakako bilo prikladnijih mjesta od ovog u javnom sakralnom kompleksu, očigledno obnovljenom i saniranom direktnom carskom intervencijom. Ako je tako, to bi moglo ukazivati trag o prirodi i posvećenosti kompleksa na prelazu iz 4. vijeka. Kada se stavi

24 Vidi ispod o ovom konkretnom pitanju.

25 Opet, čini se da je ovo pitanje vezano za pitanje „imperijalnog teološkog sistema“. O ovom pitanju pogledajte u nastavku.

26 Živanović, op. cit., bilješka 11, str. 36-43, 52-53.

27 Janick F. Artiola, Jim L. Walworth, S. A. Musil, M. A. Crimmins, Soil and Land Pollution, Environmental and Pollution Science (Third Edition), Academic Press, 2019, str. 219-235.

28 Mada, kao što će biti pokazano u ovom radu, postoji jedna sasvim posebna veza između topioničkog i kovačkog mjesta i svetišta. Vidi dolje.

instructively visualised by Antonio D'Eredita (Fig. 3).²³ To conclude, if we have to judge, not only on the basis of GPR prospections, but as well on the presence of particular architectural conceptions, employed architectural vocabulary of obviously eastern provenance, and obvious morphological relationships of architectural schemes employed in restructuring and rebuilding of Doclea (Dioclea) with other Diocletian's architectural undertakings, and the sheer extent of the rebuilding of an relatively smallish provincial town, certainly of prime importance for one native such was Diocletian, but otherwise doubtably of great importance for "great" investors, our opinion is that everything points in the direction of Diocletian as a "founder" of Late Antique Dioclea.

And with this conclusion, some further questions related to the so-called "Capitolian Temple" arise. First of all, as demonstrated, this complex did not change its orientation and its relations to the urban communications, so the question is: was this structure the starting point, a kind of reference point, for definition and development of the whole regular orthogonal grid of Diocletian's Dioclea? Then, in which respect did the complex change, in form and function, with the rebuilding of Doclea (Dioclea)? Did the dedication remain the same, or did the obviously repaired and redesigned temple change its dedication according to Diocletian's imperial religious system, which was quite particular in Roman history?²⁴ Certainly, as we shall see, there are some indications that the temple and complex further developed their cultic content by the end of the 3rd century. Did the complex lose its function as an open square (forum), with the building of the adjacent forum as the focal public space of late antique Dioclea? In which way its dedication might have been related to the dedications of other three temples in Dioclea?²⁵ These, and a number of other questions come to mind when looking at the third phase of

23 Francesca Colosi, Pasquale Merola, Paola Moscati, The Urban Planning of Doclea: Remote Sensing and Topographical Survey, The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017), Archeologia e Calcolatori Supplemento 11, ed. Lucia Alberti, Firenze, 2019, pp. 59-75 (fig. 6); Antonio D'Eredita, Il rilievo fotogrammetrico di Doclea, Archeologia e Calcolatori 31.1, 2020, pp. 213-230 (fig. 3 and 10)

24 See below about this particular issue.

25 Again, this seems to be a question related to the issue of "imperial theological system". About this issue see below.



Sl. 4 - Prostorija 3/IX - Plan sa naznačenim fazama (Živanović, 2011, crtež T. Mijović)

Fig. 4 - Room 3/IX - Plan with indicated phases (Živanović, 2011, drawing T. Mijović)

u kontekst drugih Dioklecijanovih intervencija u Dokleji (Diokleji) i drugdje, mogla bi se rasvijetliti uloga koju je ovaj kompleks zapravo imao u Dioklecijanovim planovima za obnovu njegovog rodnog grada.

Dioklecijan - Diokleanski ratnik -Car sa "istočnjačkim umom"

Da bismo razumjeli intervencije izvršene na ovom konkretnom Doklejskom (Dioklejskom) kompleksu, treba uzeti u obzir da ih je po svoj prilici izvršio car koji je posjetio Rim samo jednom u životu. Koji je veći dio svog odraslog doba proveo živjeći vojnički život na Bliskom istoku ili Egiptu, prateći careve Aurelijana i Numerijana, ili sam vladao kao car iz tog istog istočnog dijela Carstva. Dakle, jasno je da su Mala Azija, a još više Bliski istok, skoro postali njegova druga domovina i na neki način jedini dio svijeta osim Dokleje (Diokleje) koji mu je zaista bio poznat. Tamo, na istoku, bio je okružen posebnim tumačenjima rimskih kultova i grčko-

the development of the complex, which Miloš Živanović presented through his study of the space 3/IX; the one located on the front south-eastern side of the complex (Fig. 4).

He described it excellently and left the audience to be puzzled about the fact that a large smelting and metal forging facility was established inside the complex, sometime around the turn of the 4th century.²⁶ And we have to be aware that the position of the smelting and metal forging facility inside of this kind of complex was certainly inappropriate, considering the amount of toxic waste and fumes that such facilities produce during the process. Then, there is the issue of temperatures that such facilities produce. Namely, smelting requires very high temperatures to reduce metal ores into pure metal and to refine metals and alloys.²⁷ There are no many instances where we can find such

26 Živanović, op. cit., note 11, pp. 36-43, 52-53.

27 Janick F. Artiola, Jim L. Walworth, S. A. Musil, M. A. Crimmins, Soil and Land Pollution, Environmental and Pollution Science (Third Edition), Academic Press, 2019, pp. 219-235.

rimske arhitekture, vjerovanjima koja su bila semitskog porijekla, ali su bila sinkretizovana prvo sa grčkim, a potom i rimskim panteonom, mnogo prije nego što je on došao u region. Dakle, sa sigurnošću se može pretpostaviti da su tri bitna faktora oblikovala njegov opšti ukus i karakter: 1) njegovo porijeklo kao prekaljeni Dokleat (Diokleat), 2) vojna sklonost ka redu i jasnom strukturiranju (ponavljanje, ali i stalno nadgrađivanje istih strogih koncepcija, od Sirmijuma, preko Luksora, Palmire i Antiohije, do Rima i Splita) 3) kulturno-estetičko uvažavanje kulture Bliskog istoka i Egipta. Sve ovo je dobro posvjedočeno u Dokleji (Diokleji), kao i na drugim njegovim poduhvatima kao maitred'œuvre, skoro od samog početka. U stvari, većina arhitektonskog rječnika koji su koristili njegovi graditelji je u osnovi sirijskog, ili bliskoistočnog, i djelimično egipatskog porijekla.²⁹ Hrvatski naučnici vode dobre rasprave o egipatskim uticajima na Dioklecijanovu palatu u Splitu.³⁰

Dakle, da bi se razumjele Dioklecijanove intervencije u Dokleji (Diokleji) ili negdje drugdje, neophodno je razumjeti njegove estetske i vjerske sklonosti, kao i carevo prisvajanje slike o sebi kao „dijete Istoka“, više naviknut na vjerovanja, kultne prakse i estetike Istoka nego samog Rima. U arhitektonskom smislu, strogi red, umnožavanje slojeva entablature, sirijski zabati, rekombinacija arhitektonskih elemenata, radoznali, ali prepoznatljivi planovi zgrada, ekstenzivna upotreba korintskih kapitela, hijerarhizacija prostora i arhitektonskih detalja, bili su dio, u simboličnom, kao i u praktičnom

²⁹ Ovo je očigledno iz pregleda, barem, Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire* (2nd ed.), Routledge, 2016, ali još više iz pojedinačnih studija bliskoistočnih spomenika, čija je lista preopširna da bi se ovdje citirala.

³⁰ Ivo Babić, *Egipatski utjecaji u Dioklecijanovoj palači*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* Tom 96, br. 1, 2004, str. 719-744; Vladimir Rismondo, *Sfinge u Dioklecijanovoj palači*, *Književni Jadran* 24, Split, 1953, Josip Belamarić, *Egyptian mementoes in Diocletian's palace. Most (The Bridge)* 1999, 1/4, str. 209-216; Josip Belamarić, *Dioklecijanova palača. Razmatranja o okolnostima utemeljenja i izvornoj funkciji*, doktorska disertacija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2009, i još mnogo radova Frane Bulića, Branimira Gabričevića, Petra Selema, Josipa Belamarića, kao i onih koje su napisali najraniji istraživači palate u Splitu. Međutim, posebno bismo željeli da istaknemo koherentne i veoma razrađene zaključke Josipa Belamarića kao, po našem mišljenju, najrelevantnije za razumijevanje Dioklecijanove intimne veze prema egipatskoj kulturi i umjetnosti.

a smelting factory inside a sanctuary complex.²⁸ Thus, all points to the fact that the inclusion of these facilities into the complex had some rather specific reasons, and that they were in direct connection with the sanctuary itself. We believe we can exclude the option that this facility produced something for general public, or that it functioned as a mere hardware store for residents of the town. There were certainly more appropriate places in the town for such a facility than the one in the communal sacral complex, obviously restored and repaired through direct imperial intervention. If so, it might present a clue about the nature and dedication of the complex around the turn of the 4th century. When put in the context of other Diocletian's interventions in Doclea (Dioclea) and elsewhere, it might shed some light on the role this complex actually had in Diocletian's plans of rebuilding of his hometown.

Diocletian -Dioclean warrior - Emperor with an "Easterner's mind"

To understand the interventions made on this particular Doclean (Dioclean) complex it has to be taken into account that they were in all probability made by an Emperor who visited Rome just once in his lifetime, who spent most of his adulthood living a military life in the Near East or Egypt, accompanying emperors Aurelian and Numerian, or ruling himself as an Emperor from that same eastern part of the Empire. Thus, it is clear that Asia Minor, and even more the Near East, have almost become his second homeland and in a way, the only part of the world except for Doclea (Dioclea) he was really familiar with. There, in the East, he was surrounded by particular interpretations of Roman cults and Graeco-Roman architecture, by beliefs which had been Semitic in origin, but were syncretised first with Greek and, afterwards, Roman pantheon, long before he came into the region. Thus, it is safe to assume that three important factors shaped his general taste and character: 1) his ancestral background as a hardened Docleat (Dioclet), 2) a military inclination towards order and clear structuring (repeating, but constantly

²⁸ Though, as it will be demonstrated in this paper, there is one quite particular connection between smelting and smithing faculty and sanctuary. See below.

smislu, arhitektonskog jezika uobičajenog na Istoku, ali ne toliko na Zapadu. U pogledu „imperijalne teologije“, Dioklecijan je takođe bio prilično inovativan, iako se njegov sistem oslanjao na proširenja Avgustove „teologije“, koju su već utemeljili Klaudije, Domicijan Trajan i Hadrijan, od kojih su posljednja dva snažno afirmisala poziciju „Herkulovog“ i „Jupiterovog“ elementa unutar „imperijalnog teološkog sistema“. ³¹ Štaviše, Trajan je dopunio jezgro „carskog teološkog sistema“, dodajući mu razna druga božanstva, otvarajući tako prostor za dalju inkluzivnost „carskog teološkog sistema“. Dioklecijan je samo dodatno unaprijedio sistem, poštujući Avgustovo jezgro, iskorišćavajući Trajanove i Hadrijanove glavne inovacije, kao i Domicijanove i Aurelijanove, prilagođavajući sistem svojim potrebama i preferencijama. ³²

31 O borbi da se „Avgustovo teološko jezgro“ dopuni „Jupiterovim“ i „Herkulovim“ obožavanjem tokom 1. i 2. vijeka. Vidi Daniel N. Schowalter, *The Emperor and the Gods. Images from the Time of Trajan*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, Fortress Press, 1993, str. 16-22, 106.

32 Kao što je Anne Hunnell Chen ispravno istakla i pokazala u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji: „Tetrarhijska ideološka strategija u odnosu na Jupitera i Herkula nije bila monolitna, već fleksibilno skrojena...“ i da bi bilo pogrešno njegovu ideologiju svesti na „herkulovski“ i „jupiterovski“ element. Kako je istakla, i druga božanstva su očigledno bila jednako vrednovana kao ona dva, u zavisnosti od prilike i okolnosti. Među njima je prva i najpoštovanija bila Minerva, očigledno zbog njenih konotacija vezanih za rat i pobjedu. Od ostalih, Sol/Apoloni Mars su takođe bili istaknuti, ali dalje nalazimo sličnosti sa drugim božanstvima na važnim tetrarhijskim spomenicima, kao što su Saturn, Merkur, Neptun, Vulkan, Dioskuri i Dionis. Chenn to ilustruje prikazom bogova i posvetama mnogih njihovih spomenika, uključujući palatu u Splitu. Istovremeno, slika novog Romula je uvijek bila prisutna u njihovim slikama, zadržavajući se u zavisnosti od prilike. Sve u svemu, čini se da je Dioklecijanov vjerska politika u suštini bila inkluzivnija od politike prije njega, ali raspoređena oko inovativnog jezgra, iako je i dalje poštovala Avgustovu politiku. Nažalost, Chenn je zaboravio na Mitru, koja je bila veoma visoko rangirano božanstvo u Dioklecijanovim kasnijim godinama, što je vidljivo iz njegove posvećenosti dok je prisustvovao čuvenoj konferenciji u Karnuntumu 308. Bilo je i pokušaja da se prepoznaju tragovi kulta u palati u Splitu. Ovo samo pokazuje njegove „istočne“ sklonosti i otvorenost njegovog „teološkog sistema“. U svakom slučaju, ona čak demonstrira istaknutost Minerve kroz analizu Olivijea Hekstera o novcu koji je kovan za vrijeme Galerija. Vidi Anne Hunnell Chen, *Seed of the Gods: Art, Ideology, and Cultural Exchange with the Persian Court under the Roman Tetrarchs 284-324 CE*, doktorska disertacija, Kolumbija univerzitet, 2014, str. 116-147. Vidi takođe Sextus Aurelius Viktor, op. cit., bilješka 1, 39.6; A. J. Brothers, *Diocletian's Palace at Split, Greece & Rome* Tom. 19, br. 2, 1972, str. 175-186, Duje Rendić Miočević, *O uništenom središnjem motivu friza Dioklecijanovog mauzoleja u Splitu*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Tom 32, br. 1, 1992. str. 99-115. O širenju solarnih i misterijskih kultova oko

upgrading the same strict conceptions, from Sirmium, across Luxor, Palmyra and Antioch, to Rome and Spalato) 3) cultural and aesthetic appreciation of the culture of the Near East and Egypt. All these are well attested in Doclea (Dioclea), as well as on his other undertakings as a maître d'œuvre, almost from the start. As a matter of fact, the majority of the architectural vocabulary used by his builders is basically Syrian, or Middle Eastern, and partially Egyptian in origin. ²⁹ Egyptian influences on Diocletian's palace in Spalato are well discussed by Croatian scholars. ³⁰

Thus, in order to understand Diocletian's interventions in Doclea (Dioclea) or elsewhere, it is imperative to understand his aesthetic and religious preferences, as well as the Emperor's appropriation of the image of himself as a "child of the East", more accustomed to the beliefs, cult practices and aesthetics of the East, then Rome itself. In architectural sense, strict order, multiplication of layers of entablature, Syrian gables, recombination of architectural elements, curious, but distinctive, plans of the buildings, extensive use of Corinthian capitals, hierarchisation of the spaces and architectural details, were all part, in symbolical, as well as practical sense, of the architectural language common in the East, but not so much in the West. In terms of "imperial theology", Diocletian was also quite innovative, although his system relied on extensions of the Augustan "theology", already made by Claudius, Domitian Trajan and Hadrian, of whom the last two strongly affirmed

29 This is evident from browsing, at least, Warwick Ball, *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire* (2nd ed.), Routledge, 2016, but even more from individual studies of Middle Eastern monuments, whose list is by far too extensive to be quoted here.

30 Ivo Babić, *Egipatski utjecaji u Dioklecijanovoj palači*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* Vol. 96 No. 1, 2004, pp. 719-744; Vladimir Rismondo, *Sfinge u Dioklecijanovoj palači*, *Književni Jadran* 24, Split, 1953, Josip Belamarić, *Egyptian mementoes in Diocletian's palace. Most (The Bridge)* 1999, 1/4, pp. 209-216; Josip Belamarić, *Dioklecijanov palača. Razmatranja o okolnostima utemeljenja i izvornoj funkciji*, doctoral dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2009, and many more works by Frane Bulić, Branimir Gabričević, Petar Selem, Josip Belamarić, as well as those written by the earliest researchers of the palace in Spalato. However, we would especially like to stress the coherent and highly elaborated conclusions of Josip Belamarić as the most relevant ones, in our opinion, for understanding Diocletian's intimate relation to the Egyptian culture and art.

Kako je on vidio svoju poziciju u tom sistemu, vidi se iz pozicioniranja njegovog štaba u Luksoru ili Palmiri, ili palate u Splitu. Čini se da je on u svom „carskom teološkom sistemu“ dao istaknuto mjesto božanstvima sa kojima su on i njegovi vojnici bili dobro upoznati kroz njihovo „istočnjačko iskustvo“. Ovdje nam nije namjera da detaljno raspravljamo o strukturi Dioklecijanovog „carskog teološkog sistema“, već da ukažemo na činjenicu da je ovaj Dioklejski „car ratnik“ razvio poseban i složen teološki sistem, prožet božanstvima čiji su kultovi bili nadaleko poznati na cijelom Istoku, i koji se lako mogao poistovjetiti sa bogovima koji su bili u srži „carskog teološkog sistema“, koji je uspostavljen prije njegovog vremena. Štaviše, mnogi njegovi vojnici koji su služili sa njim na Istoku, a posebno njegovi ilirski srodnici koji su služili u dalmatinskoj konjici i Legio I Illyricorum (formiranoj prije poraza Zenobije, stacioniranoj od 273. godine u Qasarel-Azraq-u u Jordanu, a nakon toga, od 293. godine u „Dioklecijanovom logoru“ u Palmiri) bili upoznati sa tim božanstvima, i njima istovjetnim u Rimu.³³

Za razumijevanje Dioklecijanovog „imperijalnog teološkog sistema“ veoma je poučno pogledati šta je radio u Palmiri sa hramovima i kultovima. Stacionirani u Palmiri, većina njegovih ljudi je svakako dobro razumjela ko je bila Alat i zašto je izjednačena sa Atenom, ili Minervom, boginjom ratnicom, ili zašto je Jarhibol izjednačen sa Suncem (Sol), Aglibol sa Mjesecom, Arsu sa Marsom, Aštarte sa Venerom, a ko je bio Herakle-Nergal. Gotovo sva ova pomenuta božanstva bila su predstavljena na nekoliko zavjetnih spomenika u društvu Bela, vladara Univerzuma.³⁴ Muškarci sigurno nijesu mogli propustiti dva božanstva - Balšamini Alat, izjednačeni sa Jupiterom i Minervom; Minerva je primarna boginja vojnika, čiji je hram u Palmiri

palate i u palati u Splitu, vidi Nenad Cambi, Nova svjedočanstva solarnih i mističkih kultova u Dalmaciji, Tusculum, Časopis za solinske teme, 10/2, Solin, 2017, str. 23-36.

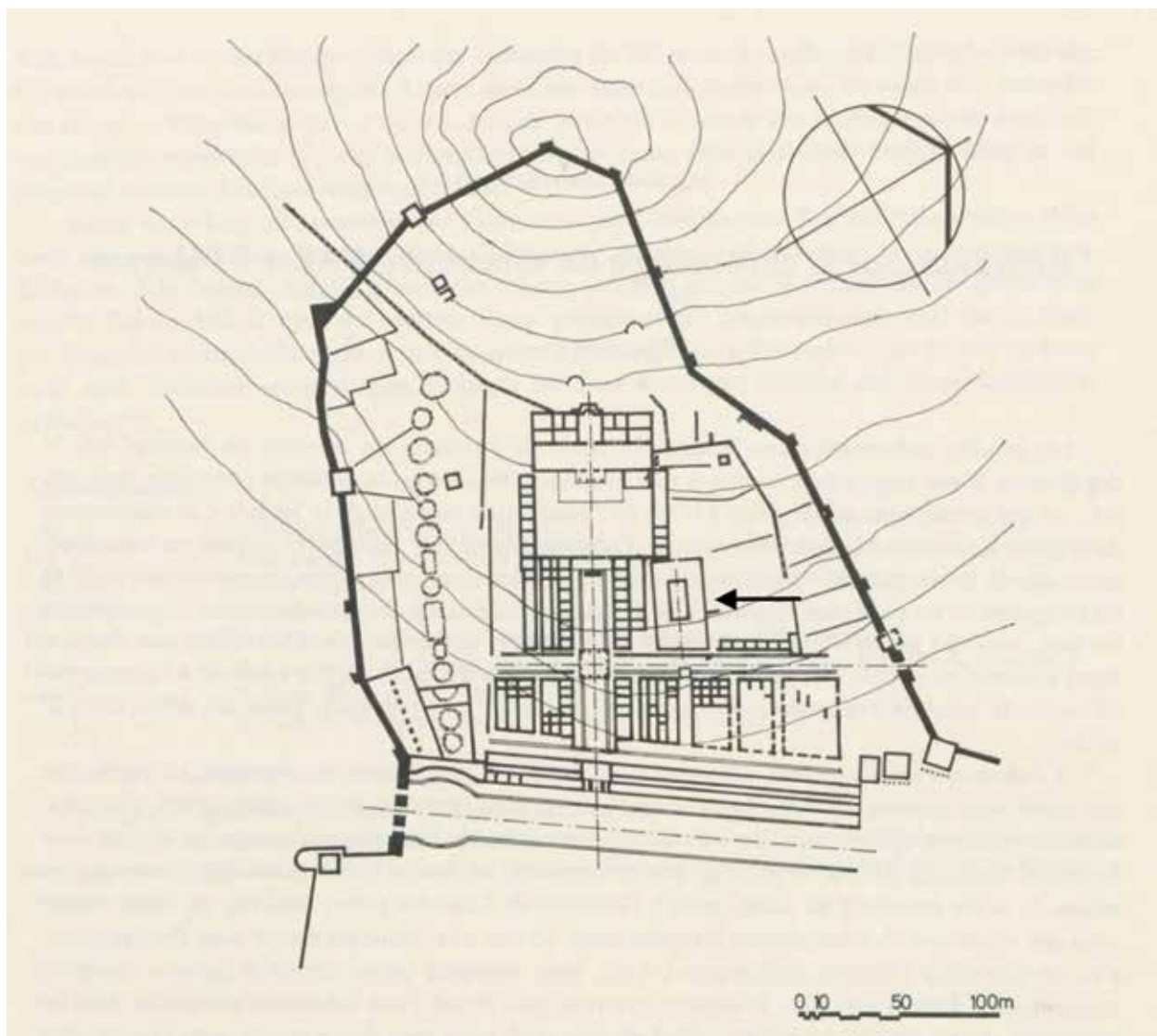
33 Nigel Pollard, Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria, The University of Michigan Press, 2000, p. 134.

34 Michał Gawlikowski, Gods and temples of Palmyra, *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 15/3, 2014, str. 76-91; Michał Gawlikowski, Heracles au desert. Auteldédié a Heracles-Nergal, Agathos daimon. Mythes et Cultes, *Études d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kahil* (Bulletin de correspondance hellénique: Supplément 38), Athènes 2000, 155-160. Takođe, sva ova božanstva u rimskoj verziji su već bila prisutna u Trajanovom carskom imaginariju. Vidi Schwalter, op. cit., bilješka 31, str. 118-119.

the position of “Herculean” and “Jovian” element inside the “imperial theological system”.³¹ Furthermore, Trajan complemented the core of the “imperial theological system”, adding to it various other deities, thus opening the space for further inclusiveness of the “imperial theological system”. Diocletian only further upgraded the system, respecting the Augustan core, exploiting Trajan’s and Hadrian’s main innovations, as well as Domitian’s and Aurelian’s, adjusting the system to his needs and preferences.³² How he saw his position in that system is obvious from positioning of his headquarters in Luxor or Palmyra, or the palace in Spalato. It seems that, in his “imperial theological system”, he

31 About the struggle to complement “Augustan theological core” with the “Jovian” and “Herculean” worship during the 1st and 2nd ct. see Daniel N. Schwalter, *The Emperor and the Gods. Images from the Time of Trajan*, Harvard Dissertations in Religion, Fortress Press, 1993, pp 16-22, 106.

32 As Anne Hunnell Chen correctly pointed out and demonstrated in her doctoral dissertation: “Tetrarchic ideological strategy with regard to Jupiter and Hercules was not monolithic, but instead flexibly tailored...” and that it would be wrong to reduce its ideology on “Herculean” and “Jovian” element. As she pointed out, other deities obviously figured as highly as those two, depending on the occasion and on the circumstances. Among them, the first and most venerated was Minerva, obviously because of her connotations related to war and victory. Of others, Sol/Apollo and Mars were also prominent, but we further find likenesses of other deities on important Tetrarchic monuments, such were Saturn, Mercury, Neptune, Vulcanus, Dioskouroi and Dionysus. Chen illustrates this with depiction of gods and dedications of many of their monuments, including the palace in Spalato. At the same time, an image of new Romulus was always present in their imagery, lingering from occasion to occasion. In all, it appears that Diocletian’s religious policy was essentially more inclusive than the policy before him, but arranged around an innovative core, although still respecting Augustan policy. It is unfortunate that Chen forgot about Mithras, who figured very high as a deity in Diocletian’s later years, as is evident from his dedication while attending the famous conference at Carnuntum in 308. There have been also some attempts to recognise the traces of the cult in the palace in Spalato. This only demonstrates his “eastern” inclinations and openness of his “theological system”. In any case, she even demonstrates the prominence of Minerva through Olivier Hekster’s analysis of the coins minted under Galerius. See Anne Hunnell Chen, *Seed of the Gods: Art, Ideology, and Cultural Exchange with the Persian Court under the Roman Tetrarchs 284-324 CE*, doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2014, pp. 116-147. See also Sextus Aurelius Victor, op. cit., note 1, 39.6; A. J. Brothers, *Diocletian’s Palace at Split, Greece & Rome Vol. 19, No. 2, 1972*, pp. 175-186, Duje Rendić Miočević, O uništenom središnjem motivu friza Dioklecijanova mauzoleja u Splitu, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji Vol. 32 No. 1, 1992*, pp. 99-115. About the proliferation of the solar and mystery cults around the palace and in the palace in Spalato see Nenad Cambi, *Nova svjedočanstva solarnih i mističkih kultova u Dalmaciji, Tusculum, Časopis za solinske teme 10/2, Solin, 2017*, pp. 23-36.



Sl. 5 - Plan "Dioklecijanovog logora" u Palmiri sa naznačenim položajem Alatovog hrama, situacija 1980. godine (Gawlikowski, 1983, sl. 1)

Fig. 5 – Plan of the „Diocletian’s camp” in Palmyra with indicated position of the temple of Allat, situation in 1980. (Gawlikowski, 1983, fig. 1)

Dioklecijan obnovio na prvobitnom mjestu, očigledno sa posebnom pažnjom, dok je car gradio svoj susjedni vojni štab (Sl. 5). Ovo je bila četvrta faza hrama, obnovljena nakon razaranja uzrokovanih Aurelijanovim gušenjem Zenobijinog ustanka. Takozvana faza IV, prema riječima Michał Gawlikowski (koji je naslijedio Kazimierz Michalowski u Palmiri), bila je savremena sa izgradnjom Dioklecijanovog štaba. On je mnogo pažnje usmjerio na ovaj hram u svojim kampanjama između 1974. i 1979. godine.³⁵

³⁵ Michał Gawlikowski, *La Sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre. Aperçu préliminaire*, *Les annales archéologiques syriennes* 33, 1, 1983, str. 179-198.; Michał Gawlikowski, *Allat et Baalshamin*, Pierre Ducrey, Claude

gave a prominent place to the deities with which he and his soldiers were well acquainted through their "eastern experience". It is not our intention here to discuss in detail the structure of Diocletian's "imperial theological system", but to point to the fact that this Dioclean "warrior emperor" developed particular and complex theological system, imbued with deities whose cults were widely known throughout the East, and which could have been easily equated with gods which were in the core of the "imperial theological system", as established before his time. Furthermore, many of his soldiers who served with him in the East, and especially his Illyrian kinsmen serving in Dalmatian cavalry

Interesantno je da su mnogobrojni natpisi sa posvetom (ukupno 22), pronađeni ugrađeni u objekte Dioklecijanovog logora i svi su ranijeg datuma. Dakle, znamo da je, prije izgradnje „Dioklecijanovog logora“, područje bilo išarano hramovima i oltarima posvećenim Šamšu, Jarhibolu, Balšaminu, Aglibolu i Malakabelu, kao i hammanâ podignutim u čast drugih božanstava.³⁶ Čini se da je ista faza u Alatov hram donijela samo određene izmjene. Na primjer, podignut je tabernakul iznad kultne statue sa likom Atine, ostaci starijeg hrama su preuređeni i ponovo sastavljeni, a glavna, istočna fasada je značajno preuređena.³⁷ Ostavljajući prepravke po strani, treba napomenuti da je hram preuređen, donekle izmijenjen, ali u osnovi restauriran, dok su u isto vrijeme ostala okolna svetišta prepuštena zaboravu. Da nije bilo natpisa, ne bismo ni znali za njih. Dakle, zašto je upravo Alatov hram bio toliko važan da ga Dioklecijan poštedi i rekonstruiše? Jedini odgovor je – uklapao se u kontekst njegovog vojnog logora i u kontekst Dioklecijanovog „carskog teološkog sistema“, kao i u njegov lični sistem vjerovanja. Alat je bila izjednačena sa Atenom ili Minervom, što je i potvrđeno kultnom skulpturom pronađenom 1975. godine; i, na kraju krajeva, Minerva je bila, između ostalog, boginja rata, boginja rimske flote i oružanih snaga, odnosno Jupiterova namesnica. Svakako, njeno svetište je bilo sasvim prikladno u ambijentu vojnog logora za koji je bilo pripojeno. Dalje, jedan od natpisa sa temenosa Alatovog hrama u Palmiri govori nam nešto više i izuzetno zanimljivo o načinu poštovanja Alat-Atine-Minerve na istoku. Natpis kaže:

and Legio I Illyricorum, created prior to the defeat of Zenobia, stationed from 273 in Qasar el-Azraq in Jordan, and afterwards, from 293 in “Diocletian’s camp” in Palmyra, were familiar with those deities, and their Roman equations.³³ For understanding Diocletian’s “imperial theological system” it is highly instructive to take look at what he did in Palmyra with the temples and cults. Stationed in Palmyra, most of his men certainly understood very well who Allat was, and why she was equated with Athena, or Minerva, the warrior goddess, or why Yarhibol was equated with Sun (Sol), Aglibol with Moon, Arsu with Mars, Ashtarte with Venus, and who was Heracles-Nergal. Almost all of these mentioned deities were represented on several votive monuments in the company of Bel, the ruler of the Universe.³⁴ The men certainly could have not missed two of the deities - Baalshamin and Allat, equated with Jupiter and Minerva; Minerva being the primary military goddess, whose temple in Palmyra was restored by Diocletian at its original place, obviously with special care, whilst the Emperor was building his adjacent military headquarters (Fig. 5). This was the fourth phase of the temple, restored after the destructions caused by Aurelian’s suppression of Zenobia’s uprising. The so-called Phase IV, according to Michał Gawlikowski (who succeeded Kazimierz Michalowski in Palmyra), who directed a lot of his attention to this temple in his campaigns between 1974 and 1979, the phase was contemporary with the building of Diocletian’s headquarters.³⁵ It is interesting to notice that many dedicatory inscriptions (22 in all) were found built into the structures of

33 Nigel Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria*, The University of Michigan Press, 2000, p. 134.

34 Michał Gawlikowski, *Gods and temples of Palmyra*, *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* 15/3, 2014, pp. 76-91; Michał Gawlikowski, *Heracles au desert. Autel dédié a Heracles-Nergal, Agathos daimon. Mythes et Cultes, Études d’iconographie en l’honneur de Lilly Kahil* (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique: Supplément* 38), Athènes 2000, 155-160. Also, all of these deities in Roman version were already present in Trajan’s imperial imaginary. See Schowalter, *op. cit.*, note 31, pp. 118-119.

35 Michał Gawlikowski, *La Sanctuaire d’Allat à Palmyre. Aperçu préliminaire*, *Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 33, 1, 1983, pp. 179-198.; Michał Gawlikowski, *Allat et Baalshamin*, Pierre Ducrey, Claude Bérard, Christiane Dunant, François Paschoud (Hrsg.), *Mélanges d’histoire ancienne et d’archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (*Cahiers d’archéologie romande* 5), Lausanne 1976, pp. 197-203.

Bérard, Christiane Dunant, François Paschoud (Hrsg.), *Mélanges d’histoire ancienne et d’archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (*Cahiers d’archéologie romande* 5), Lausanne 1976, str. 197-203.

36 Michał Gawlikowski, *Le Camp de Dioclétien; Bilan préliminaire, Palmyra, bilan et perspectives*, *Colloque* (18-20 octobre 1973) (*Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce Antique* 3), Strasbourg, 1976, str. 153-163.

37 Kao što će biti pokazano u narednim pasusima, obim ove intervencije je u suštini veoma sličan onom urađenom na takozvanom Objektu IX u Dokleji (Diokleji). Vidi ispod.

„Ovo je statua -----
 -----sina od
 Aaki koji su mu Allati Bene Nurbel podigli
 u njegovu čast, jer ih je zadovoljio,
 u mjesecu Adaru 448. godine (= mart 137.
 godine)
 I 428. godine (= 126/27. n.e.) napravio je
 Iz sopstvenog imetka za boginju Allat, njegovu
 boginju,
 Jamu od zlata i srebra, i napravio je
 za Bela i Jarhibola, i Aglibola i Astartu,
 dobra i nagrađujuća božanstva, posudu u
 potpunosti od zlata.
 I takođe je ponudio Balšaminu i Durahlunu,
 I boginji Belti posudu od srebra
 za (bacanje) žreba dvanaestog dana (mjeseca)
 Sivana (po cijeni) šesthiljada (denara).
 I dao je Bene PLYNW(S)
 zauvek, da trebaju da prinose darove devici
 Allat devetog dana -----
 sedmog dana (meseca) Elula u Tihe (Nurbel?).
 I takođe je dao Bene Aaki, članovima porodice
 Svojih predaka (da treba da prinose darove)
 povremeno svake godine (za)
 Njegove sinove i njegove unuke zauvijek.”³⁸

Međutim, najzanimljivije riječi u natpisu su mhd'ilhlq, koje nas, začudo, vode pravo do Dokleanskog (Doklejskog) hrama. Kako Drijvers objašnjava: „Mhd' koji je dat trima svetištima, vjerovatno su bile činije ili posude od plemenitih metala korišćene za izvlačenje žrijeba (lhlk). “Dakle, kako se bacao žrijeb na Istoku i zašto bi za bacanje žrijeba bila potrebna srebrna zdjela, neka vrsta kleromantije i proricanja? Možda bi se najbolje objašnjenje moglo naći kod Ibn Hišama (islamskog pisca), koji govori o izvlačenju žrijeba ispred idola Hubala, obožavanog u Havranu i sirijskoj pustinji i kaže da se žrijeb odigravao

38 Za tumačenje cijelog natpisa vidi Han J. W. Drijvers, *Inscriptions from Allat's Sanctuary*, ARAM 7, 1995, str. 109-119.

Diocletian's camp, all of them having an earlier date. So, we know that, before the building of "Diocletian's camp", the area was dotted with temples and altars dedicated to Šamš, Yarhibol, Balshamin, Aglibol and Malakabel, along with hammanâ erected in honour of other deities.³⁶ It seems that the same phase brought to Allat's temple only certain alterations. For example, a tabernacle above the cult statue with the likeness of Athena was erected, remains of the older temple were rearranged and reassembled, and the main, eastern facade was significantly rearranged.³⁷ Putting the alterations aside, it should be noted the temple was redecorated, somewhat altered, but basically restored, while at the same time the other surrounding sanctuaries faded into history. If there were no inscriptions, we would not even know of them. So, why precisely was Allat's temple so important to be spared and reconstructed by Diocletian? The only answer is - it fitted into the context of his military camp and in the context of Diocletian's "imperial theological system", as well as in his personal system of beliefs. Allat was equated with Athena, even attested by the cult sculpture found in 1975, or Minerva; and after all, Minerva was, among others, the goddess of war, the goddess of the Roman fleet and armed forces, and Jupiter's vicegerent respectively. Certainly, her sanctuary was quite appropriate in the setting of the military camp to which it was attached. Further on, one of the inscriptions from temenos of Allat's temple in Palmyra tells us something more and extremely interesting about the way the Allat-Athena-Minerva was venerated in the East. The inscription says:

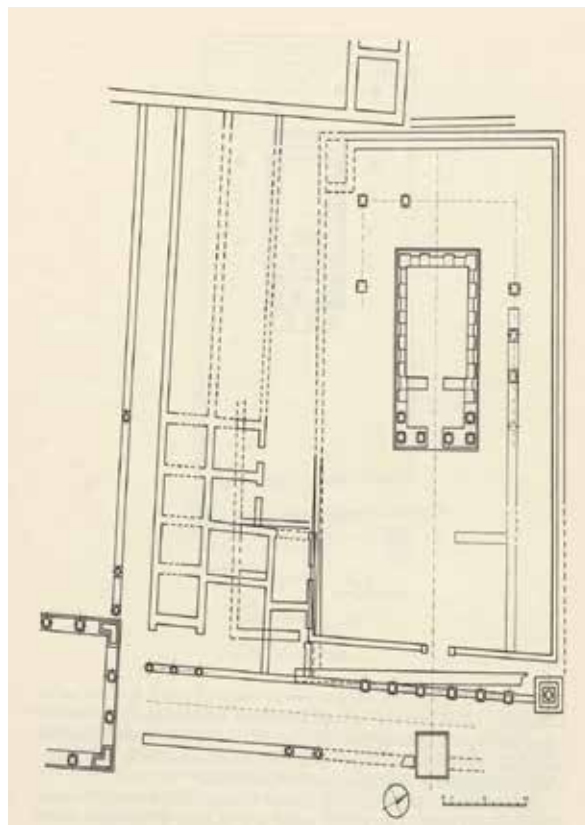
36 Michał Gawlikowski, *Le Camp de Dioclétien; Bilan préliminaire, Palmyra, bilan et perspectives*, Colloque (18-20 octobre 1973) (Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce Antique 3), Strasbourg, 1976, pp. 153-163.

37 As it will be demonstrated in further passages, extent of this intervention is essentially very similar to the one made on the so-called Object IX in Doclea (Dioclea). See below.

ispaljivanjem strijela sa simboličnim natpisima koji bi onda riješili svaku moguću nedoumicu. Sada se čini očiglednim da su za takvu vrstu „žrijeba“ bile potrebne strijele, najvjerovatnije od metala. Tako dolazimo do razumijevanja zašto su jame od plemenitih metala postavljene u palmirskim svetištima, što implicira postojanje topioničarskih i kovačkih objekata u ili oko svetišta u Palmiri (u susjednim prostorima, Sl. 6). Zanimljivo je da je topionica pre poznata kao dio kompleksa u Dokleji (Diokleji).

Sada se trebamo vratiti Dokleji (Diokleji) i hramu koji je stajao odmah pored, sa desne strane „Dioklecijanovog „carskog foruma“: planiran je i izveden sa vojnom preciznošću, na osnovu strogog ortogonalnog plana, izveden karakterističnim „dioklecijanovskim“ arhitektonskim rječnikom, sa karakteristikama koje odgovaraju svim ostalim Dioklecijanovim građevinskim poduhvatima širom Carstva i možemo pretpostaviti kome je to moglo biti posvećeno. To nije bila, kako smo već utvrdili, kapitolska trijada. Sudeći prema gore navedenim faktorima, najvjerovatnije je da je ona zaista bila posvećena Minervi, a postoji i niz dodatnih razloga za takav zaključak. Čini se da je Dioklecijan donio neke od sirijskih običaja sa sobom u svoj rodni grad Dokleju (Diokleju), nešto što su veterani Legije I Ilirikum mogli odmah da prepoznaju iz vremena svoje službe.³⁹

³⁹ Nije samo to donio iz Sirije i Istoka. Odatle je donio mnogo. Arhitektonski stil, kao i tradicija podizanja hammana, koje su, kako su dokazali Gavlikovski i Starcki, bile male kapele sa likom boga. Pronašli su svjedočanstvo o natpisima iz Palme, onima posvećenim Šamšu, Šadrafi i Du'Anatu. Štaviše, hammana je bila prilično uobičajena u Siriji, kako je istakao Gavlikovski. Tako nas ove male kapele sa korintskim stubovima zaista podsjećaju na dva mala monopterosa iz Dioklecijanove palate u Splitu – „les chapelles avec autels a encens“. Dakle, iako očigledno nije upoznat sa sirijskom tradicijom podizanja hammana, Noël Duval je bio u pravu kada je postavio pitanje funkcije ova dva mala zdanja u sakralnom dijelu palate, koja svaka konisu bile „nimfeumi“ od „trofeja“. U stvari, najvjerovatnije su to bili hammana, iako možemo samo da nagađamo kome su bili posvećeni. Ali, još važnije je istaći da je ova vrsta poštovanja u vidu kapela sirijskog porijekla. I to je bio još jedan sirijski element koji su u Dalmaciju donijeli Dioklecijan i njegovi graditelji. Za pregled predloženih posveta u hramovima palate u Splitu vidi Tomislav Marasović, O hramovima Dioklecijanove palače, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Tom. 35, br. 1, 1995, str. 89-101; Noël Duval, Le «palais» de Diocétien à Spalato à la lumière des récentes découvertes, Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1961, 1963, str. 76-117; About hammanâ see Gawlikowski, 1976, op. cit. Bilješka 35, str.198-199; Jean



Sl. 6 - Plan hrama Alat (4. faza) sa susjednim strukturama (Gawlikowski, 1983, sl. 4)

Fig. 6 - Plan of the temple of Allat (4th phase) with the adjacent structures (Gawlikowski, 1983, fig. 4)

“This is the statue of -----
-----son of
Aaki which Allât and the Benê Nurbel erected
for him
in his honour, because he pleased them,
in the month of Adar of the year 448 (= March
AD 137)
And in the year 428 (= AD 126/27) he made
from his own disposition of property for the
goddess Allât, his goddess,
a basin of gold and silver, and he also made
for Bel, and Yarhibôl, and Aglibôl, and Astarte,
the good and rewarding deities, a basin
entirely of gold.
And he also offered to Baalshamin, and
Durahlun,
and the goddess Belti a basin of silver
for (casting) lots on the twelfth day in
(the month of) Siwan (for the price of) six
thousand (denarii). And he gave to the Benê
PLYNW(S)

Dakle, izgleda da se Dioklecijan zapravo obraćao svojim saborcima uvodeći istočnjačke prakse vezane za Allat-Athena-Minervu u Dokleji (Diokleji). Opet, boginja o kojoj je riječ bila je Minerva, Jupiterov namjesnik, a Dioklecijan je bio proglašen Jupiterov cometatus.⁴⁰ Zaista, Minervin položaj pored „carskog foruma“ je sasvim logičan. Da li je „istočni način“ „izvlačenja žrijeba“ uveden i ovdje u Dokleji (Diokleji)? Vjerovatno. U svakom slučaju, kovačnica je, očigledno, proizvodila nešto za svetište. I nemamo nikakvih naznaka o takvim objektima vezanim za Minervu u cijeloj provinciji Dalmaciji, u kojoj inače ne nedostaju mjesta Minervnog kulta.⁴¹ Kao što smo ranije istakli, Dioklecijan je možda po rođenju bio Doklejac (Dioklecijac), ali je vremenom postao pravi „istočnjak“.

Minervin hram – neki dodatni tragovi

Prvo, počnimo od sličnosti pozicioniranja dva hrama tik uz središnji dio carskog kompleksa („forum“ u Dokleji (Diokleji) i „logor“ u Palmiri), iako su oba bila odvojena od njega. I u Palmiri i u Dokleji (Diokleji) vidimo istu situaciju. Analogije između „Dioklecijanovog logora“ u Palmiri i Dioklecijanovog poduhvata u Dokleji (Diokleji) ne završavaju se ovdje. U oba slučaja, kao što smo istakli, svetište u Dokleji (Diokleji) i ono u Alatu, imale su pridodatu topionicu koja je

Starcky. *Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Sadrafa et à Du'anat. Syria, Tome 26, fascicule 1-2, 1949, str. 43-85*; Michał Gawlikowski, *Palmyra. Preliminary Report on the Forty-fifth Season of Excavations, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XIX, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2010, str. 517-526*. I dalje, Dioklecijan je svakako donio sa Istoka ideologiju sasanidske vladavine i neke od sasanidskih dvorskih običaja, zajedno sa elementima njihove uobičajene kraljevske ikonografije kako bi je koristio za svoju propagandu. Ovo je najlakše uočljivo u tetrahijskom insistiranju na bližoj vezi između bogova i vladara – elementu koji je već prisutan u rimskoj ideologiji, ali je sada nadograđen da bi odgovarao imidžu sasanidskih kraljeva. Ovo je još jedan pokazatelj koliko je Dioklecijan bio duboko uronjen u ideologije Istoka i u kojoj mjeri je bio otvoren za istočnjačke uticaje. Vidi Chen, op. cit., bilješka 32, str. 346-356.

40 O carskoj propagandi Dioklecijana i Prve tetrahije pogledajte odličan rad Jurgena K. Zangenberg, *Scelerum inventor et malorum machinator. Dioklecijan i tetrahija kod Laktancija, De mortibus persecutorum, Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire, Diederik W. P. Burgersdijk i Alan J. Ross (eds.), Brill, 2018, str. 39-62*.

41 Vidi Zrinka Buljević, *On the Monumental Minerva from Salona, Studia honoraria archaeologica. Zbornik radova u prigodi 65. rođendana prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader, Domogoj Tončinić, Iva Kaić, Vonka Matijević, Mirna Vukov (eds.), FF štampa, 2019, str. 71-80*.

for ever, that they should bring offerings to the virgin

Allât the ninth day of -----
the seventh day in (the month of) Elul to the Tyche (of Nurbel?).

And he also gave to the Benê Aaki, members of the family of their forefathers (that they should bring offerings) occasionally every year (for) his sons and his grandsons for ever.”³⁸

However, the most interesting words in the inscription are mhd' and lhlq, and, curiously enough, lead us straight to the Doclean (Dioclean) temple. As Drijvers explains: “The mhd' that were given to the three sanctuaries, were probably bowls or basins of precious metals used for casting lots (lhlq).” So, how were the lots casted in the East and why would one need a basin of silver for casting of lots, a kind of cleromancy and divination? Maybe, the best explanation could be found at Ibn Hisham (Islamic writer), who is telling about casting of lots in front of the idol Hubal, worshiped in Hawran and Syrian desert, and says that the lots were being cast by shooting arrows with symbolical inscriptions which would then sort any possible affair. Now, it seems obvious that, for that kind of “casting of lots”, one needed arrows, most probably made of metal. So we come to understand why basins (pits) made of precious metals were installed in Palmyrian sanctuaries, implying the existence of smelting and smiting facilities in, or around the sanctuaries in Palmyra (in adjacent spaces, Fig. 6). Curiously enough, a smelting facility was recognised as a part of the complex in Doclea (Dioclea). We should now return to Doclea (Dioclea) and the temple which stood right beside, on the right of the “Diocletian's “imperial forum”: it was planned and executed with military precision, based on strict orthogonal plan, executed in distinctive “Diocletianic” architectural vocabulary, with characteristics matching all other Diocletian's building undertakings around the Empire; and we can get some idea to whom it might have been dedicated. That was not, as we already established, the Capitolian triad. Judging by

38 For the interpretation of the whole inscription see Han J. W. Drijvers, *Inscriptions from Allat's Sanctuary, ARAM 7, 1995, pp. 109-119*.



Sl. 7a - Dio vijenca sa Objekta IX sa karakterističnom ornamentikom palmeta (Koprivica, 2014)

Fig. 7a – Part of the cornice from Object IX with distinctive ornamentation of palmettes (Koprivica, 2014)



Sl. 7b - Dio vijenca sa Objekta IX sa karakterističnom kasnoantičkom ornamentikom (Koprivica, 2014)

Fig. 7b – Part of the cornice from Object IX with distinctive late antique ornamentation (Koprivica, 2014)

several factors mentioned above, it is much more likely that it was indeed dedicated to Minerva, and there are a number of additional reasons for such a conclusion. It seems that Diocletian brought some of the Syrian customs back with him to his hometown of Doclea (Dioclea), something that the veterans of the Legio Illlyricorum could immediately recognise from the time of their service.³⁹

So, it seems that Diocletian was actually addressing his comrades by introducing the eastern practices related to Allat-Athena-Minerva in Doclea (Dioclea). Again, the goddess in question was Minerva, Jupiter's vicegerent, Jupiter whose proclaimed comitatus was Diocletian himself.⁴⁰ Indeed, Minerva's position

³⁹ He did not bring just that from Syria and the East. He brought a lot from there. Architectural style, as well as the tradition of erecting of hammanâ, which were, as Gawlikowski and Starcky have proved, small chapels with an image of a god. They found evidences on inscriptions from Palmyra, the ones dedicated to the Šamš, Šadrafa and Du'Anat. Furthermore, hammanâ were quite common in Syria, as Gawlikowski pointed out. Thus, these small chapels with Corinthian columns really do remind us of the two small monopteroi from the Diocletian's palace in Spalato - "les chapelles avec autels à encens". Thus, although obviously not acquainted with the Syrian tradition of erection of hammanâ, Noël Duval was right in posing the question of the function of these two small edifices in the sacral area of the palace, which were certainly not "nymphées" of "trophées". In fact, they were most probably hammanâ, although we may only guess to whom they were dedicated. But, even more important is to acknowledge that this kind of veneration in the form of chapels was of Syrian origin. And it was yet another Syrian element brought to Dalmatia by Diocletian and his builders. For an overview of suggested dedications of temples in palace in Spalato see Tomislav Marasović, O hramovima Dioklecijanove palače, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1995, pp. 89-101; Noël Duval, Le «palais» de Diocétien à Spalato à la lumière des récentes découvertes, Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1961, 1963, pp. 76-117; About hammanâ see Gawlikowski, 1976, op. cit. note 35, pp.198-199; Jean Starcky. Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Sadrafa et à Du'anat. Syria, Tome 26 fascicule 1-2, 1949, pp. 43-85; Michał Gawlikowski, Palmyra. Preliminary Report on the Forty-fifth Season of Excavations, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XIX, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2010, pp. 517-526. And further still, Diocletian certainly brought from the East Sassanian regal ideology and some of the Sassanian courtly customs, along with elements of their usual regal iconography to be used for his propaganda. This is most easily noticeable in Tetrarchic insistence on a closer relation between gods and sovereigns - an element already present in Roman ideology, but now upgraded to match the image of Sassanian kings. This is yet another clue how deeply Diocletian was immersed into the ideologies of the East, and to what degree he was open to the eastern influences. See Chen, op. cit., note 32, pp. 346-356.

⁴⁰ On the imperial propaganda of Diocletian and the First Tetrarchy see the excellent paper by Jürgen K. Zangenberg,



Sl. 7c - Akroterijum hrama sa karakterističnom dioklecijanovskom ornamentikom od listova akantusa i voluta sa rozetama (Koprivica, 2015)

Fig. 7c – An acroterium of the temple with distinctive Diocletianic ornamentation of acanthus leaves and volutes with rosettes (Koprivica, 2015)



Sl. 8 - Fragment zabata sa likom boginje Minerve (Koprivica, 2015)

Fig. 8 - Fragment of the pediment with image of goddess Minerva (Koprivica, 2015)

next to the “imperial forum” makes all the logic. Was the “eastern way” of “casting of lots” introduced here in Doclea (Dioclea)? Probably. In any case, smithery was, evidently, producing something for the sanctuary. And we do not have any indications of such facilities related to Minerva in the whole province of Dalmatia, otherwise not lacking places of Minerva’s worship.⁴¹ As we pointed out earlier, Diocletian might have been Doclean (Dioclean) by birth, but through time he became a proper “Easterner”.

Minerva’s temple – some additional clues

First, let us start with the similarity of positioning of the two temples just next to the centrepiece of the imperial complex (“forum” in Doclea (Dioclea) and “camp” in Palmyra), although both were separated from it. Both in Palmyra and in Doclea (Dioclea) we see the same situation. Although analogies between “Diocletian’s camp” in Palmyra and Diocletian’s enterprise in Doclea (Dioclea) do not end there. In both cases, as we have pointed out, the sanctuary in Doclea (Dioclea) and the one of Allat, had a smelting facility attached to it, which was used for the production of sacred arrows. The practice of casting divination arrows, as we have seen, was a common divination method in Arabia, and well attested in her temple. An honorific inscription mentions “a basin of silver for [casting] lots (Ihlq).⁴² One also has to be reminded that Minerva’s festival was held on 30th of November, and, as Jean-Maria Ragon explains, this festival was held at the time of Sagittarius. Ragon reminds us: “The Latin word sagittarius comes from the root Sagitta, arrow...Anciently, this was depicted by an arrow to symbolise rapidity of decrees

Scelerum inventor et malorum machinator. Diocletian and the Tetrarchy in Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, Imagining Emperors in the Later Roman Empire, Diederik W. P. Burgersdijk and Alan J. Ross (eds.), Brill, 2018, pp. 39-62.

⁴¹ See Zrinka Buljević, *On the Monumental Minerva from Salona*, *Studia honoraria archaeologica*. Zbornik radova u prigodi 65. rođendana prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader, Domogoj Tončinić, Iva Kaić, Vonka Matijević, Mirna Vukov (eds.), FF press, 2019, pp. 71-80.

⁴² Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and Arabs. From the Bronze Age to the coming of Islam*, Routledge, 2001, pp. 47, 110-111; Arthur Jackson Ellis, *The Divining Rod: A History of Water Witching, with a Bibliography*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938, pp. 8-12;



Sl. 9a - Boginja Roma iz hrama Avgusta i Rome u Ostiji (Joyce, 2014/2015, sl. 11)

Fig. 9a – Goddess Roma from the temple of Augustus and Roma in Ostia (Džojcs, 2014/2015, fig. 11)



Sl. 9b - Atina/Minerva iz hrama u Palmiri (Gawlikowski, 1983, str. 9)

Fig. 9b – Athena/Minerva from the temple in Palmyra (Gawlikowski, 1983, pl. 9)

služila za proizvodnju svetih strijela. Praksa bacanja strijela za proricanje, kao što smo vidjeli, bila je uobičajena metoda proricanja u Arabiji dobro je potvrđena u njenim hramovima. Počasni natpis pominje „posudu od srebra za (bacanje) žrijeba (IhIk).⁴² Podsjetimo se i da je Minervin festival održavan 30. novembra, a kako objašnjava Jean-Maria Ragon, ovaj festival se održavao u vrijeme Strelca. Ragonnas podsjeća: „Latinska riječ sagittarius dolazi od korijena

42 Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and Arabs. From the Bronze Age to the coming of Islam*, Routledge, 2001, str. 47, 110-111; Arthur Jackson Ellis, *The Divining Rod: A History of Water Witching, with a Bibliography*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938, str. 8-12;

of the days in autumn, and the archer was represented as a Centaur launching an arrow.”⁴³ Furthermore, rebuilding and rearrangement of both sanctuaries are dated to Diocletian’s time, i. e. the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century AD. Judging by the remains of decoration of the Dioclean (Dioclean) temple – Corinthian capitals, acroteria decorated in the form of a central rosette with acanthus leaves, conspicuously Diocletianic (clearly corresponding with the fragments found on Dioclean “forum”, fig. 7a-c) – we are led to the conclusion that Diocletian had something to do

43 Jean-Maria Ragon, *The Mass and its Mysteries Compared to the Ancient Mysteries*, John Lenoir (transl.), 2011, p. 137.

Sagitta, strijela... U drevnim vremenima, ovo je bilo prikazano strijelom koja je simbolizovala brzinu skraćanja dana tokom jeseni, a strijelac je bio predstavljen kao Kentaur koji lansira strijelu".⁴³ Dalje, obnova i preuređenje oba svetišta datuju se u Dioklecijanovo vrijeme, tj. kraj 3. ili početak 4. vijeka nove ere. Sudeći po ostacima dekoracije doklejskog (Dioklejskog) hrama – korintski kapiteli, akroterije ukrašene u vidu centralne rozete sa listovima akantusa, upadljivo dioklecijanovske (jasno korespondiraju sa fragmentima pronađenim na doklejskom „forumu“, sl. 7a-c) – dolazimo do zaključka da je Dioklecijan imao veze sa obnovom ili ponovnim uljepšavanjem hrama. Gledajući dalje, čudna je koincidencija da oba hrama imaju isti proporcionalni odnos 1:2, odnosno u slučaju dokleanskog (dioklejskog) hrama 7 x 14,5 m, a u slučaju palmirskog 18,40 x 9,20 m. Konačno, u oba slučaja, hramovi sa svojom okolinom imaju raniju istoriju i u oba slučaja integritet njihove dispozicije unutar mreže gradova nije izmijenjen. Štaviše, njihova dispozicija je poštovana koliko je to bilo moguće. Opet, to bismo mogli smatrati osobinom „Dioklecijanovog pristupa“.

Možemo otići i korak dalje da ustanovimo posvećenost hrama ili, bolje reći, potvrdimo njegovu posvećenost boginji Minervi. Da bismo to uradili, moramo da napravimo korak unazad u istoriji istraživanja Dokleje (Diokleje). Naime, Munro je 1896. godine u kraljevskoj rezidenciji u Kruševcu pronašao clypeus sa likom boginje (Sl. 8). Clypeus je pripisao takozvanom „Prvom hramu“, inače poznatom kao „Hram Boginje Rome“. Po Munrovom mišljenju, to je mogao biti prikaz boginje Rome ili Minerve.⁴⁴ Prema Sticottijevom mišljenju, Munro je tu interpretaciju mogao da preuzme od Rovinskog, u čijem društvu je i posjetio rezidenciju u Kruševcu.⁴⁵ Sticotti se nije raspravljao sa Munrom oko tumačenja slike, ali mi hoćemo. Više je nego očigledno da slikana clypeus-u nije boginja Roma. Čini se da je Munro propustio jedan značajan „detalj“. Generička ikonografija boginje Rome bila je kombinacija ikonografije Amazonke i boginje Atene sa

with rebuilding or re-embellishing of the temple. Further still, it is a strange coincidence that both temples have the same proportional ratio 1:2, i.e. in the case of Doclean (Diocleian) temple 7 x 14,5 m, and in the case of Palmyrian 18.40 x 9.20 m. Finally, in both cases, the temples with their precincts have an earlier history, and in both cases the integrity of their disposition inside the grid of the towns was not altered. Moreover, their dispositions were respected as much as possible. Again, we might consider that a trait of a “Diocletianic approach”.

We can go even a step further to establish the dedication of the temple, or, better to say, confirm its dedication to goddess Minerva. To do that, we have to take a step back in the history of the research of Doclea (Dioclea). Namely, in 1896 Munro found a clipeus with an image of a goddess in the royal residence in Kruševac (Fig. 8). He attributed the clipeus to the so-called “First Temple”, otherwise known as the “Temple of Dea Roma”. In Munro’s opinion, it could have been a depiction of either Dea Roma or Minerva.⁴⁴ In Sticotti’s opinion, Munro could have overtaken that interpretation from Rovinski, in whose company he visited the residence in Kruševac.⁴⁵ Sticotti did not argue with Munro about the interpretation of the image, but we will. It is more than obvious that the image on the clipeus is not Dea Roma. It appears that Munro missed one significant “detail”. Generic iconography of Dea Roma was a combination of the iconography of an Amazon and the goddess Athena with its Ionic helmet. However, unlike the representations of Athena, and, consequently, Minerva, derived from the iconography of Athena, Roma or, afterwards, Dea Roma, was always represented with bare right chest (fig. 9a), as an Amazon. It is attested on numerous examples, as has been demonstrated by Lillian Joyce in her recent study. Athena was never depicted bear chested (Fig. 9b).⁴⁶ Although pretty roughed up through the ages, the Doclean (Dioclean) figure on the clipeus did not have one bare breast – the detail that would identify her as Dea Roma. Although it might appear bare-breasted at first glance, wearing a skirt over

43 Jean-Maria Ragon, *The Mass and its Mysteries Compared to the Ancient Mysteries*, John Lenoir (transl.), 2011, str. 137.

44 Munro et al., op. cit., napomena 1, str. 25-26.

45 Sticotti, op. cit., napomena 1, str. 73.

44 Munro et als., op. cit., note 1, pp. 25-26.

45 Sticotti, op. cit., note 1, p. 73.

46 Lillian Joyce, *Roma and the Virtuous Breast*, MAAR 59/60, 2014/2015, pp. 1-49.

njenim jonskim šlemom. Međutim, za razliku od predstava Atene, a samim tim i Minerve, izvedenih iz ikonografije Atene, Rome ili, kasnije, boginje Rome, uvijek je bila predstavljena sa golom desnom dojkom (Sl. 9a), kao Amazonka. To je potvrđeno na brojnim primjerima, kao što je pokazala Lillian Joyce u svojoj nedavnoj studiji. Atena nikada nije bila prikazana sa golim grudima (Sl. 9b).⁴⁶ Iako prilično oštećena kroz vjekove, figura na dokleanskom (Dioklejskom) clipeusu nije imala jednu голу dojku – detalj koji bi je identifikovao kao boginju Romu. Iako bi na prvi pogled moglo izgledati da ima gole grudi, da nosi haljinu preko jednog ramena i dršku zategnutog tobolca preko drugog poput Rome, pažljivijim pogledom otkriva se haljina koja joj unakrsno prelazi preko grudi. Dakle, ovo je potvrđeno prikaz boginje Minerve sa vrha zabata hrama, ali ne i onaj sa takozvanog „Prvog hrama“. Kao što smo rekli, Munro je zamislio da clipeus treba povezati sa takozvanim „Prvim hramom“, najzapadnijim hramom južno od decumanus maximus, iako nije bilo razloga za takvu pretpostavku s obzirom da je fragment clipeus-a odnijet sa lokaliteta u Kruševac. Konačno, još jedan argument snažno demantuje Munroa, a to je činjenica da je mnogo verovatnije da je fasada „Prvog hrama“ bila ukrašena sirijskim zabatom, zbog konveksnog arhitrava koji je na lokalitetu zabilježio Sticotti; tako da nije mogla biti ukrašena takvom skulpturom.⁴⁷ Što se tiče konveksnih vijenaca, slični ostaci nisu pronađeni oko nijednog drugog hrama u Dokleji (Diokleji). Dakle, zaista izgleda da je „Prvi hram“ imao „sirijski zabat“, a ako je tako, na zabatu nije ostalo mjesta za clipeus. Dakle, clipeus mora da je donešen odnekud. Predlažemo da potiče iz Minervinog hrama, do sada nazivanog „kapitolskim“ hramom, ili Objekat IX, koji je po svoj prilici bio nadvišen pravilnim trouglastim zabatom, koji su podržavali korintski stubovi.

46 Lillian Joyce, *Roma and the Virtuous Breast*, MAAR 59/60, 2014/2015, str. 1-49.

47 Sticotti, op. cit., note 1, str. 68. I zato je Đuro Basler ponudio svoju hipotetičku rekonstrukciju obrisa spomenika, iako, začudo, nije uključio sirijski zabat, već samo lučni otvor. Po svojoj prilici to nije učinio jer se u tom slučaju zabatna skulptura sa likom Minerve ne bi uklapala. U stvari, on je napravio sličnu grešku u rekonstrukciji „Dijaninog hrama“. Vidi Đuro Basler, *Problem rekonstrukcije prvobitnog izgleda antičkih hramova u Duklji*, *Starine Crne Gore I*, 1963, str. 139-145; Turković, Maraković, 2021, op. cit., napomena 2.

one shoulder and the strain of a quiver on the other like Roma, a closer inspection discovers a dress that criss-crosses her chest. Thus, this is positively a depiction of Goddess Minerva from the top of the pediment of a temple, but not the one of the so-called “First Temple”. As we said, Munro imagined that the clipeus should be associated with the so-called “First Temple”, the westernmost temple south of decumanus maximus, although there was no reason for such an assumption considering that the fragment with clipeus was taken away from the site to Kruševac. Finally, yet another argument strongly disclaims Munro, and that is the fact that it is much more likely that the facade of the “First Temple” was decorated with a Syrian gable, due to a convex architrave noted on the site by Sticotti; so it could not have been decorated with such a sculpture.⁴⁷ As to the convex cornices, no similar remains were found around any other temple in Doclea (Dioclea). So, indeed, it seems that the “First temple” had a “Syrian gable”, and if it was so, there was no space left on the pediment for the clipeus. So, clipeus must have come from elsewhere. We suggest that it came from the Minerva’s temple, until now called “Capitolian” temple, or Object IX, which in all likelihood was topped by a regular triangular pediment, supported by Corinthian columns.

Concerning the builders of this temple, we can again add some parallels which point to the Diocletian’s builders, which were extremely precise in measurements and arrangements, “almost as if they were trained in the army”.⁴⁸ A particular feature which testifies that these builders were the same that worked in Spalato and, especially Palmyra, is their concept of the

47 Sticotti, op. cit., note 1, p. 68. And that is why Đuro Basler offered his hypothetical reconstruction of the outlines of the monument, although, strangely enough, he did not include a Syrian gable, but only an arched opening. In all probability he did not do that because, in that case the pedimental sculpture with the image of Minerva would not fit in. Actually, he made a similar mistake in his reconstruction of “Diana’s Temple”. See Đuro Basler, *Problem rekonstrukcije prvobitnog izgleda antičkih hramova u Duklji*, *Starine Crne Gore I*, 1963, pp. 139-145; Turković, Maraković, 2021, op. cit., note 2.

48 Because they were, in all probability, trained as military builders, and thus their discipline is attested on all of the monuments in Doclea, as well as on other Diocletian’s complexes. Author’s note.

Što se tiče graditelja ovog hrama, opet možemo dodati neke paralele koje upućuju na Dioklecijanove graditelje, koji su bili izuzetno precizni u mjerama i rasporedu „gotovo kao da su bili u vojsci”.⁴⁸ Posebnost koja svjedoči da su ovi graditelji bili isti oni koji su radili u Splitu, a naročito u Palmiri, predstavlja njihov koncept čitavog svetišta. Temenos su tretirali kao istinski sveti prostor, kao haram, u arapskom smislu te riječi. Kako je Gawlikowski objasnio: „Kao što je dobro poznato, pojam harama u predislamskoj tradiciji podrazumijeva dio zemlje omeđen vidljivim oznakama zemlje (ansab') i izdvojen od bilo kakve profane upotrebe”.⁴⁹ Tako su sve profane strukture izmjestili van ansab'; takva je bila, na primjer, topionica, iako je radila samo za potrebe svetinje. U stvari, oni su uradili istu stvar sa svim pomoćnim prostorijama oko svih doklejskih (dioklejskih) hramova.

Zaključak

Brojni argumenti idu u prilog tezi da je hram u Dokleji (Diokleji) zaista bio posvećen boginji Minervi, čije su vjerske obrede upotpunjavali rituali donijeti sa Istoka. Jedini vjerovatni kandidat koji je to mogao učiniti je car Dioklecijan, obnovitelj ili „osnivač”, kako ga je nazvao Porfirogenit, sopstvenog rodnog grada. Ipak, u isto vrijeme iz ovog zaključka proizilazi niz pitanja. Jedna od njih je svakako dugovječnost posvete. Da li je car posvetio već postojeći hram Minervi ili je već bio posvećen njoj? Kao što je pokazano u uvodnim napomenama, hram nikada nije bio posvećen kapitolskoj trijadi, a postoje neke indicije, koliko god bile nejasne, da je car Domicijan imao neke veze sa kompleksom. Naravno, to bi bilo i očekivano s obzirom na to da Dokleja svoj opštinski status duguje upravo vremenu njegove vladavine, a znamo da je Domicijanovo titularno božanstvo bila Minerva. Stoga bi bilo razumno pretpostaviti da posveta hrama Minervi seže još u 1. vijek. Ako jeste, mogli bismo da se zapitamo – da li je car Dioklecijan donio na istok nešto karakteristično

whole sanctuary. They treated temenos as a truly sacred space, as a haram, in Arabic sense of the word. As Gawlikowski explained: “As it is well known, the notion of haram in the pre-Islamic tradition implies a tract of land delimited by visible land marks (ansab') and secluded from any profane use.”⁴⁹ Thus, they dislocated all of the profane structures outside of the ansab'; such was, for example, smelting facility, although it operated just for the purposes of the sanctuary. As a matter of fact, they have done the same thing with all of the subsidiary premises around all of the Doclean (Dioclean) temples.

Conclusion

A number of arguments support the thesis that the temple in Doclea (Dioclea) was indeed dedicated to goddess Minerva, whose religious observances were complemented by the rituals brought from the East. The only likely candidate who might have done this is Emperor Diocletian, the rebuildler, or the “founder”, as Porphyrogenitus called him, of his hometown. Still, at the same time a number of questions arise from this conclusion. One of them is certainly longevity of the dedication. Did the Emperor rededicate the existing temple to Minerva, or had it already been dedicated to her? As demonstrated in the introductory notes, the temple had never been dedicated to Capitolian triad, and there are some indications, however vague, that Emperor Domitian had something to do with the complex. Of course, this would be expected considering that Doclea owes its municipal status precisely to the time of his reign, and we know that Domitian's titular deity was Minerva. Thus, it would be reasonable to suppose that the dedication of the temple to Minerva goes way back to the 1st century. If so, we might ask ourselves – did Emperor Diocletian bring to the East something characteristically Doclean (Dioclean) (assuming that this was the central temple of his hometown even before his rebuilding), or was it the other way around? He certainly brought something new from the

48 Zato što su, po svoj prilici, školovani kao vojni graditelji, pa je njihova disciplina posvjedočena na svim spomenicima u Dokleji, kao i na drugim Dioklecijanovim kompleksima. Bilješka autora.

49 Michał Gawlikowski, *The Sacred Space in Ancient Arab Religions, Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan* 1, 1982, str. 301.

49 Michał Gawlikowski, *The Sacred Space in Ancient Arab Religions, Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan* 1, 1982, p. 301.

doklejsko (dioklejsko) (pod pretpostavkom da je ovo bio centralni hram njegovog rodnog grada i prije njegove obnove), ili je bilo obrnuto? On je svakako donio nešto novo sa Istoka, u vidu istočnjačkih obreda i rituala, ali ne vjerujemo da je promijenio postojeću posvetu hrama u Dokleji (Diokliji). Naime, ne miješajući se u orijentaciju i dispoziciju kompleksa, čini se da je duboko cijenio svetište boginje čiji je hram stajao usred njegovog rodnog grada. Štaviše, to je kompleks učinilo organizacionom referentnom tačkom za njegovu potpunu rekonstrukciju grada.

Kao što smo raspravljali u našim prethodnim radovima o Dokleji (Diokleji) i Dioklecijanu, takvo ponašanje konkretno ovog Dioklejskog cara, bilo bi u potpunosti u skladu sa njegovim opštim načinom razmišljanja i posledičnim ponašanjem. Uostalom, i takva posvećenost centralnog hrama Dokleje (Diokleje) bila bi u savršenom skladu sa ponosnim i ratnički prekaljenim mentalitetom njegovih srodnika, koje je u izvjesnom obliku, ma koliko to strancu izgledalo nevjerovatno, i dalje prisutno u savremenim vremenima. Evaluacija i preispitivanje narednih faza kompleksa (4. i 5. faza) ostaje da se prouči u budućnosti.

East, in the form of eastern observances and rituals, but we do not believe that he changed the existing dedication of the temple in Doclea (Dioclea). As a matter of fact, by not intervening into the orientation and disposition of the complex, it seems that he deeply appreciated the sanctuary of the goddess whose temple stood in the middle of his hometown. Furthermore, it made the complex an organisational reference point for his total reconstruction of the town.

As we discussed in our previous papers about Doclea (Dioclea) and Diocletian, such a conduct of this particular Dioclean Emperor would be in complete accordance with his general mindset and consequential behaviour. After all, such a dedication of the central temple of Doclea (Dioclea) would also be in perfect accordance with the proud and battle-hardened warrior-like mentality of his kinsmen, which in a certain form, incredible as it might seem to a foreigner, still persists in modern days. Evaluation and reconsideration of the following phases of the complex (4th and 5th phase) remains to be studied in the future.

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