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## Diocletian's "imperial court" in Doclea

### Dioklecijanov "carski dvor" u Duklji

### ABSTRACT

The aim of the paper is the re-examination of the "forum" of late antique Doclea (Dioclea), the interpretation of which has never been finished, although so information been collated during the past 131 years. Through re-examination of the complex with its distinctive features this paper offers answers on some of the still unresolved issues. A primary issue was to resolve who was responsible for its arrangement. After an onomastic analysis only one conclusion asserted itself – the "forum complex" could only have been erected by the Emperor Diocletian, who was obviously responsible for the rearrangement of the whole town of Doclea (Dioclea), his hometown. Further analysis of the concept, architectural arrangement and vocabulary used in the "forum" and adjoining "basilica" only corroborate that it was precisely Diocletian and his "architectural school". Without a doubt, the Doclean (Dioclean) "forum complex" was innovative and original in many ways, along with its importance as an "imperial forum", the "Diocletian's imperial court", will remain in the collective memory of the Montenegrins for centuries to come. The paper also represents an effort to clarify Diocletian's background and the "modus operandi" of his "architectural school" whose presence in Doclea (Dioclea) has already been noticed.

**Keywords:** Diocletian, Doclea (Dioclea), Late Antique Imperial Architecture

### SAŽETAK

Cilj je rada preispitivanje kasnoantičkog "forum" u Duklji, čija interpretacija, unatoč mnoštvu podataka prikupljenih tijekom proteklih 131 godinu, nikada nije dogotovljena. Rad nudi odgovore na pojedina neriješena pitanja proizašla upravo iz njegova preispitivanja. Prvenstveno pitanje bilo je vezano za naručitelja te gradnje. Po onomastičkoj analizi zaključak se sam nametnuo – "forumski sklop" mogao je dati podići isključivo sam car Dioklecijan, koji je, po svemu sudeći, bio zaslužan za uređenje i pregradnju svojega rodnoga grada. Analiza koncepta, specifičnog arhitektonskog rješenja i upotrijebljenog vokabulara samo je potvrdila prethodni zaključak. "Forumski kompleks" je nesumnjivo bio inovativan i originalan, a sjećanje na njega kao na "carski forum", "Dioklecijanov carski dvor", zadržao se u kolektivnom pamćenju Crnogoraca kroz dugi slijed stoljeća. Rad ujedno predstavlja nastojanje da se razjasni Dioklecijanovo podrijetlo i "modus operandi" njegove "arhitektonske škole" čija je prisutnost u Duklji već jasno zamijećena.

**Ključne riječi:** Dioklecijan, Duklja, kasnoantička carska arhitektura

*The collective consciousness is the highest form of psychic life, since it is the **consciousness of the consciousnesses**.*

*Emile Durkheim, 1965, 492<sup>1</sup>*

*Society is not a mere sum of individuals. Rather, the system formed by their association represents a specific reality which has its own characteristics. Of course, nothing collective can be produced if individual consciousnesses are not assumed; but this necessary condition is by itself insufficient. These consciousnesses must be combined in a certain way; social life results from this combination and is, consequently, explained by it. Individual minds, forming groups by mingling and fusing, give birth to a being, psychological if you will, but constituting a psychic individuality of a new sort.*

*Emile Durkheim, 1964, 103<sup>2</sup>*

*Gerade dem Thermeneingange gegenüber befindet sich der Hauptzugang zu einem weiten, auf allen Seiten von Gebäuden umschlossenen Platze. Dieser großartige Ruinenkomplex heißt bei den Einwohnern Carski dvor, das ist Kaiserpalast. In der Tat befinden wir uns hier in dem vornehmsten Stadtteile, wo einst das Forum und die Basilika von Doclea standen. Doch bezieht sich jener Name speziell auf das letztere Gebäude, dessen ansehnliche Reste die Phantasie des Volkes besonders anregen mußten. Und wenn man die Montenegriner befragt, welchem Fürsten dieser Platz gehört habe, so nennen sie den Car Dukljanin, den Kaiser von Doclea, das heißt Diocletian.*

*Piero Sticotti, 1913, 105<sup>3</sup>*

## INTRODUCTION

This last quotation from Piero Sticotti's fascinating work on the ruins of ancient Doclea (Dioclea) offers just a glimpse into the oral tradition surrounding the birthplace, tribal/ethnic background of one of the most important Roman Emperors in the whole history of the Roman Empire – Emperor Diocletian. "Tsar Dukljanin", as he is called by Sticotti, is an ongoing subject of the dispute, and especially his provenance, as well as his death. These two issues apparently seem to be unresolved, so he is most often claimed by both the Montenegrins, as well as the Dalmatians. However, it seems that there is no individual historical note, from any era, that could resolve these issues. Individual notes could be mere transcriptions, true or false, of yet another transcription, and so on. However, collective, or common memory, as Durkheim has demonstrated in his works, has much stronger power because it contains long-lasting oral narrative embedded in the "consciousness of the consciousnesses". In the Balkan region, and especially in some parts which have spent centuries in the sphere of collective consciousness (and some are still living in it), collective memory is an even more potent source for establishing the "truth" behind a "tale", more potent than any written source. Here we have to stress that the nature of collective consciousness that has pervaded through the ages, varied from part to part of the great Balkan region, depending on the circumstances that dictated the cohesion of the populace of a certain micro-region. Returning back to the issues related to the collective memory concerning Emperor Diocletian, we have to stress that there are two claims, and two lines of oral tradition which have to be taken into account.

On the one hand, an attempt was made by don Frane Bulić to collate "tales" about the Emperor at the places surrounding ancient Salona and connect them in a single version, in order to locate Diokles' birthplace (Libovac), extrapolate possible conclusions about the background of his parents, and so on.<sup>4</sup> His motivation for doing that was obvious, and his logic in the background pretty sound – the Em-

peror must have chosen the peninsula of Split as his retirement place, as would any other (relatively) old man. His choice of that place for his retirement is quite clear, but could that be enough to suppose that it was also his birthplace, or that he was a suburban Salonitan by birth? We have to stress that most of the stories and tales about Diocletian's presence around Salona that Bulić managed to collect actually sound more like children's fairy tales than real or deeply rooted memories about the Emperor.<sup>5</sup> Some of them do sound true, especially those related to the Emperor's last days, but what about the rest? A few Roman tiles found on a pile of stones are enough to stir up the imagination of an ignorant peasant at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but cannot be taken as a serious argument. The tales are, however, exploited until today, and sometimes for cheap commercial (touristic) purposes.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, we have one of Sticotti's remarks which actually presents just the tip of the iceberg of the collective memory of "Tsar Dukljanin", preserved deeply and consistently up to the verge of modern times in Montenegro. Before Sticotti, the Russian army officer Egor Kovalevsky arrived in Montenegro on a diplomatic mission in 1838, and heard the same story about the "Court of Tsar Dukljanin", so he made a note about it in his work *Montenegro and the Slavic Lands*.<sup>7</sup> Now, as with Sticotti, every Montenegrin knew where that "court" was, and most of them knew a lot more about that place. As B. Novaković pointed out in his excellent paper from 2016,<sup>8</sup> apart from knowing the exact place of the "court", and being aware that the "Tsar" was in fact Diocletian himself, the Montenegrins were aware of the legends related to the "Tsar", as well as his background and final fate. As Novaković pointed out, in chapter 35 of *De Administrando Imperio*, Emperor Constantine VII reports: "The name of Dioclea comes from the fortress in this country, which was erected by Basileus Diocletian. Now it is an empty fortress, still called Dioclea".<sup>9</sup>

It seems that, in the imagination of medieval Montenegrins, Diocletian showed two different aspects. Medieval legends, told and retold around Doclea (Dioclea) and in the wider region, speak of Diocletian's great exploits as a local "hero Tsar", hence the legend of hero Diocletian (Dukljanin) was so persistent and deeply rooted. As Vera St. Erlich pointed out, Montenegro was always a mountainous, rocky, water depleted region with few possibilities for economic survival. However, this same fact made the Montenegrins a closely knit tribal society since ancient times.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the rugged terrain of Montenegro offered excellent opportunities for defence. In a certain way, the terrain itself and the circumstances to arise made the Montenegrins kind of "Illyrian Spartans", always ready to leap into battle, and their tradition of bravery and ability to endure hardship made many of them heroes even in the modern age, especially during the two World Wars. And that is, again, in Durkheim's words, consciousness of the consciousnesses – pervasive tradition which extends itself as the oldest nerve string among the Montenegrins, one that cannot be easily broken or changed whatever the circumstances might be – to borrow a metaphor from Erich Fromm (*Man for Himself*). For the same reasons, as Erlich emphasised, they always needed "a story" to galvanise and inspire themselves to leap into battle. This kind of story was one about the famous hero, "Tsar Diocletian", whose abode everybody was aware of.

However, the question remains, why was the town empty at the time of Emperor Constantine VII. Christianity certainly never looked with due respect and kindness on the famous "king of Duklyan" and thus the second legend sprung up, one that depicts the "King" as a demon, being of supernatural power and, above all, God's opponent. Legend says that the king allegedly erected the city (Doclea) and named it after himself. Finally, he succumbed to Elijah the Prophet and was chained to the rock at the spring of the Morača river. However, he was left alive and had strength to chew his chains until they were thinned to the thickness of human hair. Therefore,

there was a custom according to which blacksmiths hit the anvil several times with a hammer to strengthen them on Christmas Eve. The general populace considered his city to be cursed and they feared all the places where he ate, slept and from which he ruled.<sup>11</sup> Sounds familiar? Sounds convincing? Sounds like the stories that are actually referring to Emperor Diocletian – actually two of them – one of a great inspiring (pagan) warrior, and the other of a cursed persecutor of Lactantius.<sup>12</sup>

I believe that the differences between the Bulić collection and the Montenegrin stories are apparent. As I stated, the “tales” collected by Bulić sound as if they were based on general misunderstanding by local peasantry, schoolchildren or half-educated priests of ancient heritage of the Salona area; however the long-lasting Montenegrin stories really depict two aspects of Diocletian. In the case of the Montenegrin stories there is also a certain consistency, despite their differences – and this is real collective memory. Real to a degree that nobody dared to wander into the “Tsar’s court”, or, God forbid, take something from it. And that was the situation when Russian historian, slavist, ethnologist and geographer *Pavel Apollonovič Rovinski* started explorations of Doclea at the beginning of the 1890s. That is why *Rovinski*, although slobbish in his research, in Sticotti’s opinion, found many of the most representative buildings in Doclea almost intact and providing fascinating information about the luxury of the main structures in the city. That is also the reason why almost anybody could explain Sticotti’s opinion, as the place once belonged to him.

But, if “king Duklyanin” had a “court” in Doclea, and that “King” was Diocletian, why was the “court”, so meticulously analysed by Sticotti, and placed in a town which was not even the capital of the newly founded province of Praevalitana? The fact is that the buildings indicate not just a simple court, but a grand complex, which in some aspects and features exceeded even the most grandiose and lavish imperial buildings of the time in Rome. What was so important about this particular town, situated on an ordinary plain in a rugged smallish province? I believe that the answer is imposed by itself. There could only have been just one possible reason – because it was the Emperor’s home town.

How do we know that? We know that from the Emperor’s name itself. Again, B. Novaković offered an explanation that surpasses the previous ones. Even in ancient times, in *Epitome de Caesaribus*, it was apostrophised that Diocletian was born under the name *Diocles* (not *Valerius Diocles*), as a Dalmatian, and came from a city called Doclea.<sup>13</sup> Not under the name *Gaius Valerius Diocles*, but, just as Bulić concluded, simply – *Diocles*.<sup>14</sup> As to his imperial name, *Gaius Valerius Aurelius Diocletianus*, dilemmas concerned the Emperor’s cognomen, which is indeed unique. It refers primarily to the suffix *-(i)anus*, which was added to his birth name. As has been pointed out, this suffix somewhat puzzled the researchers, since it was customarily used as an indication of belonging to a certain *gens*, thus “such names were primarily formed from *nomina gentilia*, but also from *cognomina*”.<sup>15</sup> The suffix *-ianus* also signified belonging in a broader sense, so many freedmen or newly promoted Roman citizens had such a suffix in their name, as for example all the freed slaves of wealthy Salonitan *Publius Coelius Balbinus*, all of whom became - *Balbinianus*. However, the former connotation is entirely correct in relation to names ending with *-ianus*. And it is correct that the reduction of the name, without a suffix, should be *Diocletus* or, less likely, *Diocletius*. However, let us remember one thing: Diocletian’s “gens” could have been, and most probably was, his *tribus*. And it was the first instance in Roman imperial history that an emperor had been a poor child with a tribal affiliation. In this case it was obviously the *tribus* of *Diocletes*, not *Docleates*, as the tribe was called in earlier times, for example by Pliny the Second or *Appianus*. As Novaković pointed out: “under the influence of Greek and Latin, since the fourth century, the name *Doclea* has been deformed, and as a result the forms *Dioclea* and

*Dioclia* appear.”<sup>16</sup> Thus, the proper name for the tribe to which Diocles belonged was the *tribus* of Docleates. Now, if we add the suffix that signifies belonging to a certain *gens* to the name of the tribe of Diocletes, we get *Dioclet-ianus*, i.e. *Diocletianus*. And there it is, erroneous premises and preconceptions lead to misconclusions, but if all the premises are arranged in a correct order and without preconceptions, the solution becomes obvious. And yes, the Emperor's cognomen is indeed unique, because he is a unique Emperor, one with a tribal dependence, with no family pedigree, but rather some imagined master *Anulinus*. He was just a regular warrior of extreme bravery, cleverness and cunningness – a self-made man, a self-made Diocleta doing what he is best at: fighting.

Regarding the name of his tribal brethren - their name survived for centuries after his lifetime, until the time of Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, in chapter 29, calls them *διοκλητιανοί*; not because of Diocletian himself, but probably because it was a reversal of the tribal name from Latin (*Diocletes*) to Greek again.<sup>17</sup> The statement that Diocletian had a specific predilection to the names ending in *-ianus*, although it seems he really did, is of little importance here.<sup>18</sup> More important is the fact that his imperial cognomen stemmed from the name of his tribe, Doclean, thus functioning as his *gens*. So, from both of his names, his given name and his imperial name, we get the information about his ethnicity. He was not a Salonitan, but a Doclean (Dioclean), and we can conclude with the highest degree of certainty that he was born somewhere in modern Montenegro. Where Diocletian spent his retirement and where he died, is a completely different story.<sup>19</sup>

As to the other parts of his imperial name, again we can recognise one feature of his Doclean-Montenegrin character. He was obviously quite familiar with the fact that by this time certain so-called “*Status-Nomina*”, like *Aurelius* in the first place, *Flavius*, and to a certain extent *Valerius*, had become a standard. As B. Salway, J. G. Keenan and K. A. Worp noticed, in a century after *Constitutio Antoniniana*, “New Romans” formed a new onomastic order, which would be based on “*status-nomen*”, not on *gentilicium*.<sup>20</sup> Diocles had a few opportunities to get acquainted with how that system worked, especially in Egypt, where his and Maximianus' names were recorded in several different fashions.<sup>21</sup> First, spending time in Egypt, fighting the potential usurper Ulpian Firmus for Emperor Aurelian, and then afterwards, in 297/298, crushing the usurpation of Lucius Domitius Domitianus, and later Aurelius Achilleus.<sup>22</sup> Consequently, to the name Diocletianus he added *Aurelius*, to legitimise himself as one of the *honestiores*. *Valerius* was most probably his own invention, as he could not name himself Flavius Aurelius at that same time. The *Valeria gens* belonged to one of the most ancient patrician families in Rome, and maybe he also knew who Publius Valerius Poplicola was, as well as other numerous distinguished members of this gens. *Valerius* certainly has some “panache” about it, and it was certainly selected as a nomen by Diocletian for that very reason. As to his praenomen nothing could be deduced, though Diocles may have had Gaius Iulius Caesar on his mind. So, his imperial name should be read as a formula in the entirety of its meaning: most distinguished (*Aurelius*) Doclean warrior-general (*Diocletianus*), properly romanised and respectable (*Valerius*) with the will and determination, audacity, political and military cunning of the famous Caesar (*Gaius*). As ever, *nomen est omen*.

## DIOCLETIAN AND HIS DOCLEA

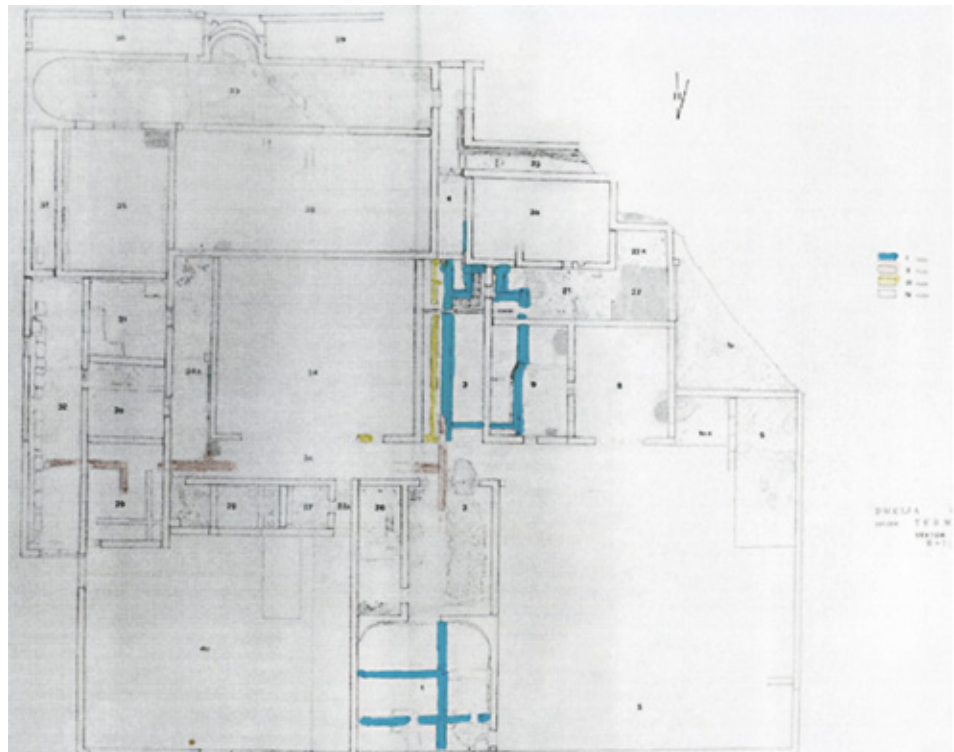
So, now that we have established that Diocletian's homeland was Doclea, it becomes clearer why he transformed a rugged piece of southern Dalmatia into a separate province, for which there was otherwise no need, except for collecting additional *portorium* between provinces.<sup>23</sup> There in Praevalitana, this “King Dukulja-

nin" came to do something very strange and highly indicative. He did exactly what Porphyrogenitus said he had done, erected κάστρον Διοκλεία, or in other words, intervened in the arrangement of his hometown, or at least the urban centre of his tribe. Of course, Doclea itself has a long history from before Diocletian's intervention in its urban fabric. A number of inscriptions testify that Doclea was subject to romanisation, peaking at the time of Flavians, with M. Flavius Fronto as the most distinguished of Doclean *honestiores*. However, most of the names mentioned in the inscriptions are not local, like L(ucius) Flavius Quir(ina) Epidianus, also one of the *honestiores* from the Flavian age, Marcus Flavius Balbinus, Marcus Antonius Euticho, etc. It is supposed that Doclea gained a municipal status at the time of Emperor Vespasian, judging by the number of inscriptions dated to that period.<sup>24</sup> The town certainly had an urban outlook from the beginning, but the orthogonal regularity of its plan, noted by a number of contemporary researchers, cannot easily be attributed to the early phases of the town's development. The GPR survey shows that the final outlines of the town's structure were regular, arranged in an orthogonal order.

However, there remains a question regarding when the town was submitted to this order, because there are anomalies in the path of certain streets and houses that are off grid. That is especially apparent in the section around the so-called "forum", where the streets are either interrupted by the forum itself or are laid in a weird angle between the "forum" and the northern part of the city walls.<sup>25</sup> And this is not the only instance. It seems that the town might have had quite a different, more irregular structure before it was turned into the "model" Roman town based on the strict orthogonal grid of its public communications. In all the recent prospections, starting with the "heroic" effort of prospection made by Leonie Pett in 2007,<sup>26</sup> the regularity of the town's structure was treated as something that was the basis for all its future development.<sup>27</sup> However, as we said, we should not jump to conclusions. Namely because it was already documented by Montenegrin experts that some of the structures, treated by Italian experts as part of the regular grid, have at least three

1.  
Plan of the Doclean (Dioclean)  
baths with its stratigraphy  
(Administration for the Protection  
of Cultural Properties, Cetinje,  
1999)

Tlocrt dukljanskih kupelji sa  
stratigrafijom



layers beneath those buildings that fit into the regular grid. Let us just mention the "thermae" south of the "forum", both subject to revision in 1999 by the Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje, where three layers were found (dated from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century) beneath the final building-phase of the baths (Fig. 1).<sup>28</sup> Precisely because of such instances one has to be careful with conclusions and not make haste like F. Colosi, P. Merola and P. Moscati. What GPR, as well as the naked eye can see, is just an end result of a long process of development of the town, and not its entire history.

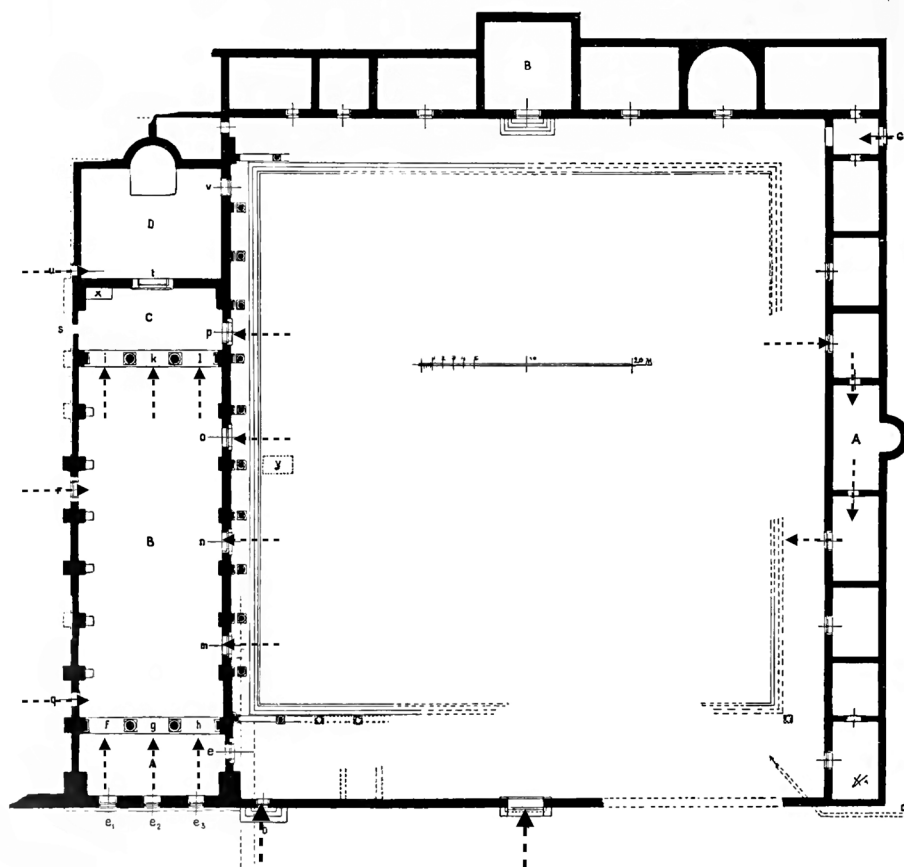
But let us return to Diocletian and his contribution mentioned by Porphyrogenitus. If the town was so neatly organised in the "proper Roman style" from the beginning, what then was Diocletian's contribution? Well, Sticotti already knew, or at least supposed what it was. He deduced that from architectural forms of the so-called "basilica", otherwise known among local residents as the "*Carski dvor*", i. e. the cursed structure stretching along the western perimeter of the so-called "forum", which was anything but a typical Roman forum. At one instance, analysing the so-called "basilica", or "*Carski dvor*", Sticotti exclaimed the following: "It can be concluded that the building development of this city was uniform and that its heyday lasted a relatively short time."<sup>29</sup> It has to be admitted that he could not have been more correct. In yet another instance, writing about the basilica, he said: "Dementsprechend mufite auch das Gebälksiöck über den Säulen entfallen und es entstand auf diese Art ein ganz neues Architektur motiv, das später in Spalato glänzend verwertet und konsequent durchgeführt wurde. Wenn man das Peristyl des diocletianischen Palastes und diesen Basilika-Raum miteinander vergleicht, so fallen in der Tat so viele. Ähnlichkeiten auf, daß man wubl fragen darf, ob nicht der Schöpfer des kaiserlichen Palastes von Spalato in Doclea in die Schule gegangen ist."<sup>30</sup> As a matter of fact, when writing about the "basilica" and its ornamentation, he insisted on parallels with Spalato.<sup>31</sup>

We will return to his other observations about the similarities between Diocletian's palace in Spalato and the architecture of the Doclean "forum" and "basilica", but for now, it suffices to point out that Sticotti saw more than obvious connections between the architecture of the Emperors' retirement palace and the place which he recognised as the town's "forum". It is also important to note that the so-called "basilica" and the so-called "forum" were organically and aesthetically connected and were built just as Sticotti said, in a short period of time. Taking into consideration all that was said in the paper, we may conclude that the whole complex of "forum" was in fact the work of a local man of imperial wealth – *Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus*. Architectural forms, the conception of the complex, dimensions and lavishness of materials used for embellishment – all point to the imperial munificence. Doclea, with its economy, could not even dream of such a structure, nor are there any other possible imperial candidates who would invest in such a complex there, in a town which was not even the capital of the small province. So it was that, although the conclusion may seem rather daring, we think this was the "Tsar's court", i.e. Diocletian's court in his hometown. He rebuilt and monumentalised the town just because he could, and most probably, also on an urge to present himself, and his success, to his *διοκλητιανοί*! Is there a better way to do it?

In order to substantiate the hypothesis, let us take a closer look at this unique complex which in every way reflects Diocletian's taste and character. Everything we need is already documented by Rovinski and Sticotti, but primarily Rovinski, who first reached the site of Doclea.<sup>32</sup> However, Sticotti's thoroughness and possibility of deeper insight into the material made his observations much more important. Let us first examine the "forum". The first thing one notices is lack of a forum temple. The structure B on Sticotti's plan (Fig. 2) could not have been a temple.<sup>33</sup> It is a structure of only 8

2.  
Sticotti's plan of the Doclean  
(Dioclean) "forum" with the  
indicated directions of movement  
(alterations made by T. Turković)

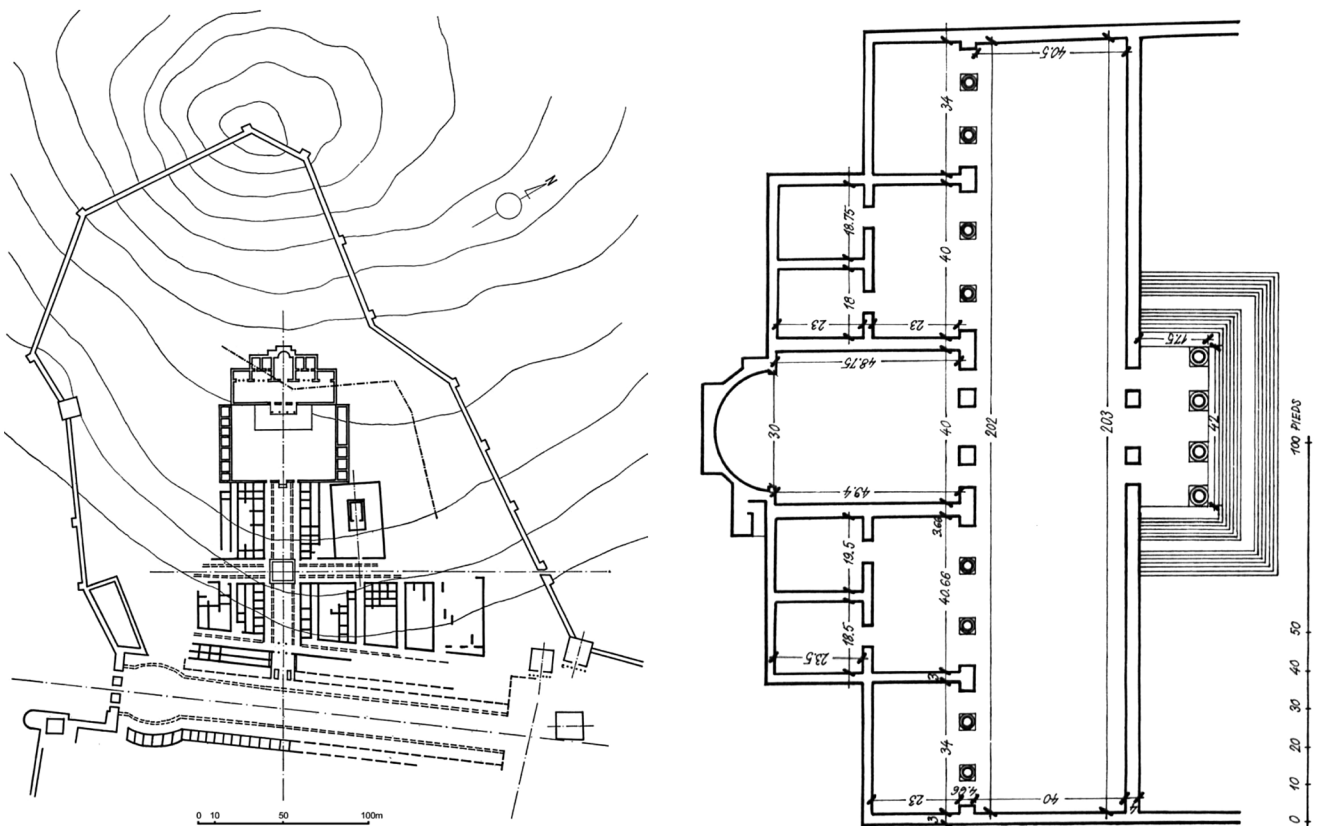
Sticottijev plan dukljanskog "foruma"  
s naznačenim pravcima kretanja  
(izmjene T. Turković)



m<sup>2</sup> which is why Sticotti never actually considered it might have been a sacral space, and even made it clear that it was too small to be a *curia*.<sup>34</sup> However, this small edifice dominating the northern side of the "forum" and the whole "forum" must have cost a fortune.<sup>35</sup> Its floor was decorated with the finest mosaic, its walls dressed in *marmor carystium*, better known as *cipollino* marble, quarried primarily, but not exclusively for imperial purposes.<sup>36</sup> Its entrance was also decorated in an interesting and innovative way. It was flanked by half-columns in front of which stood full columns with luscious floral capitals.<sup>37</sup> And finally, according to Rovinski, the outside of the structure was painted.<sup>38</sup> In all, this structure had a quite specific symbolic value, and its interior was also intended to be seen. Though no sculpture was found in or around it, it seems possible that it was a profane shrine to the imperial builder and the town's biggest benefactor. The large entrance, monumental frame around the entrance, alignment with the entrance to "forum", and the elevated position, could all point to such a function.<sup>39</sup> This central structure of the northern wing was surrounded on both sides with rooms with separate entrances. All these rooms were paved with *opus sectile* and their walls were painted. In these rooms Sticotti recognised *scholae* and *tabernae*. We suppose that he was correct in his assumption that these were *scholae*, but these were certainly not *tabernae*. Could we even imagine *tabernae* flanking a structure like the one just described? Not likely. Looking at the arrangement of the northern wing one cannot but recall Palmyra and the arrangement of *scholae* around the "Temple of Standards" in Diocletian's camp (Fig 3.).<sup>40</sup> Though, in this case, these were probably *scholae* of local *collegia*, not military *scholae*.<sup>41</sup>

The structure of the northern side points to a fact that was left unnoticed by all, from Sticotti's time on. And the fact is, that this forum with all its structures is based on a strict geometrical logic, clear, for example, in Diocletian's palace in Spalato, or





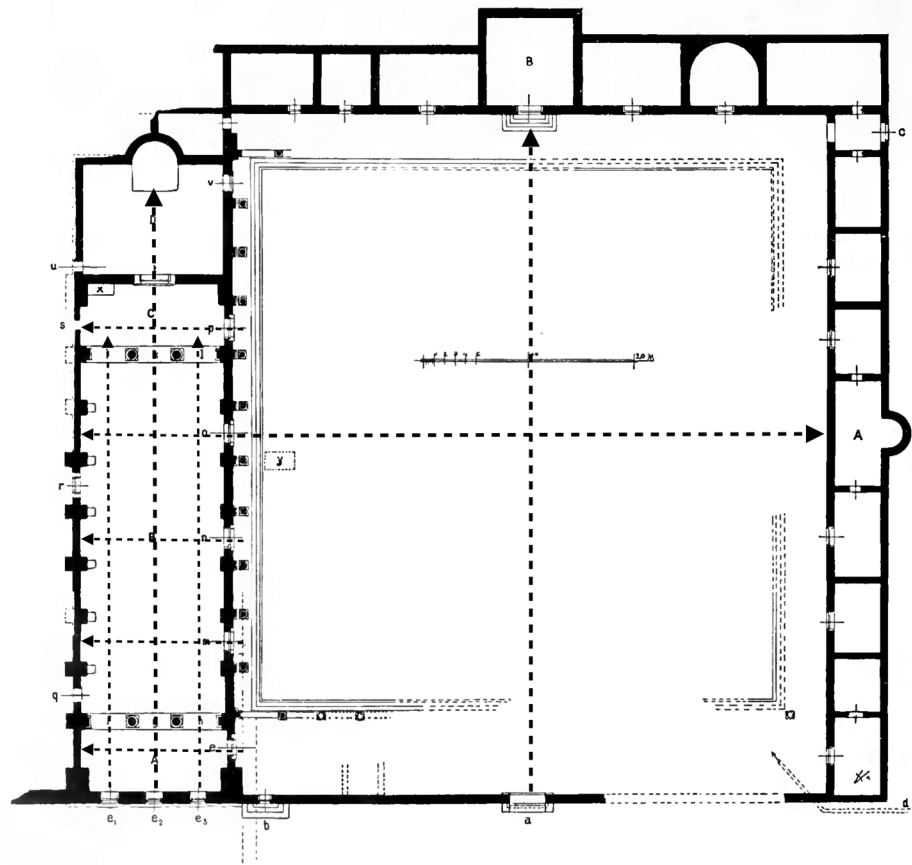
3.  
Plan of Diocletian's Camp in  
Palmyra (after Gawlikowski /note  
40, 1984; 1985/)

Tlocrt "Dioklecijanovog logora" u  
Palmyri

the one in Antioch or in Luxor.<sup>42</sup> As can be seen from Fig. 4, the distance from door *o* of the "basilica", which is basically the main and middle entrance to the "basilica", accentuated with a base for possible equestrian statue(s) (point *y*), to the front wall of chamber A, on the opposite side of the square, equals roughly 59 m. Both points, entrance *o*, with its decorative cycle, and chamber A, which was obviously a tomb of someone important who was awarded *funus publicum*, were clearly on the same axis.<sup>43</sup> This imaginary line connecting important points on the eastern and western side of the "forum" intersected with another imaginary straight line connecting two other focal points of the "forum" – the entrance to the northern, in all probability, the small imperial shrine, and the portal of the main entrance *a*, which consisted of four columns resting on a three-step pedestal, traces of which were still visible in Sticotti's time. The columns carried Corinthian capitals, probably with a gable above them.<sup>44</sup> Distance between the two was almost exactly 80 m. When intersected at the west-east axis this longer axis was also divided into two equal parts (40 m each). Thus, the whole "forum" was based on the cross-shaped plan with four major points aligned with almost surgical precision. They were connected visually, but obviously symbolically as well. So, when we recognise that geometrical logic of the "forum", it becomes obvious that this is not an "ordinary Roman forum", but a carefully designed project based on a clearly defined and unique concept. It seems that the concept was based on the idea of an imperial forum which, in this case, had a late antique form and a "touch" of that specific military planning, which is obviously present in most of Diocletian's architectural undertakings. To conclude, this "forum" was not a product of gradual development, but a complex based on a precise and unified plan, and a precise idea of what it should represent. Finally, Sticotti was correct, the "forum" was conceived as a unified whole.

4.  
General concept of the "forum"  
and "basilica" in Doclea (Dioclea)  
(after Sticotti /note 3/, with  
alterations made by T. Turković)

Načelni koncept trga i "bazilike" u  
Duklji



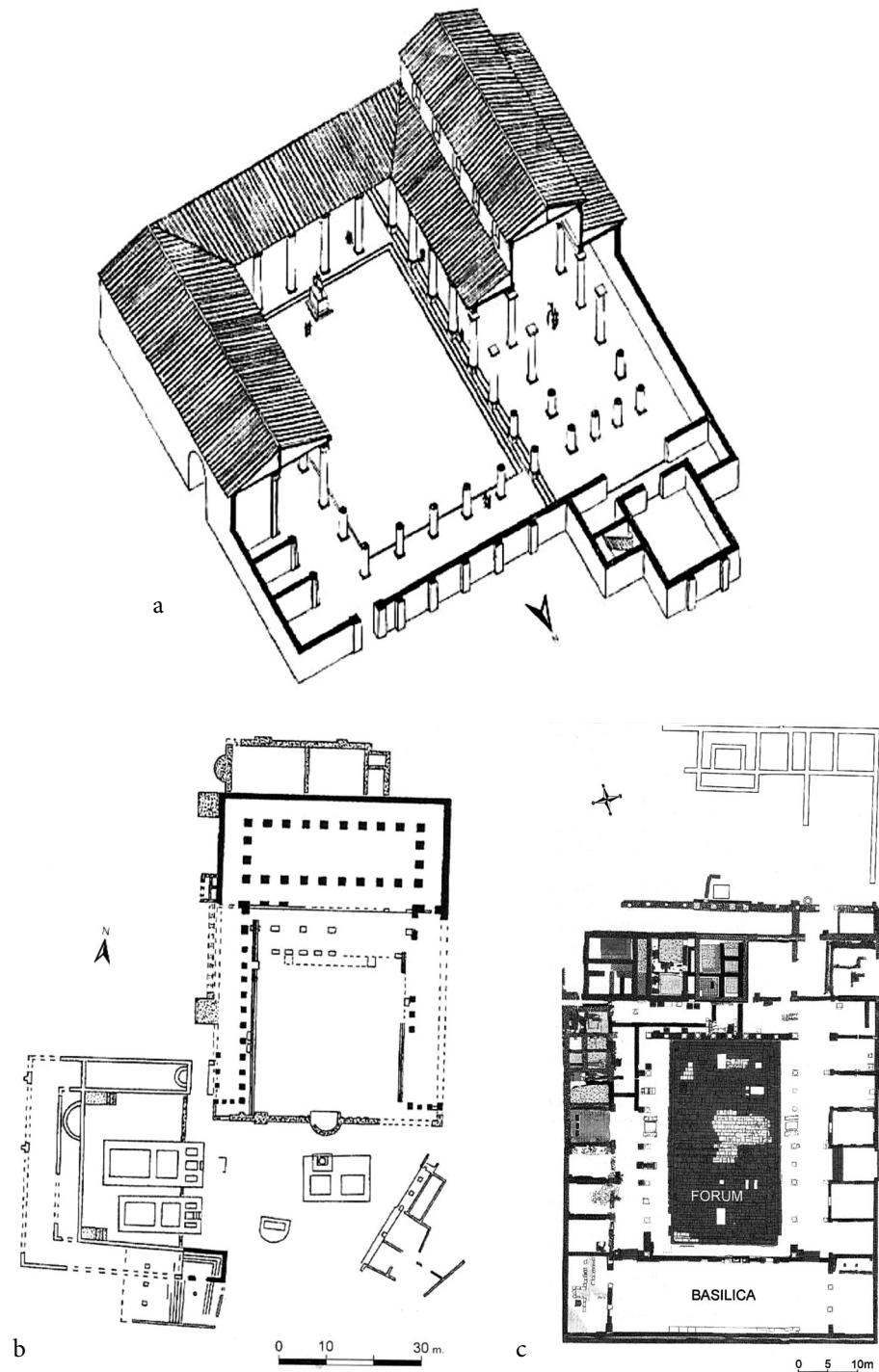
Some of the secrets of the "forum" will never be revealed. One of these is the mystery of the apsed chamber A on its eastern side (Fig. 2), in which remains of burned bones were found. Opinions vary about the tomb, but one thing is sure: apsed chamber A had a specific importance, though there is no indication whose tomb this was. Considering its surrounding, all options remain open. The importance of this room is further accentuated by the fact that it was not accessible from the "forum" but from two lateral rooms, which implies ambulation through chamber A (Fig. 2). Furthermore, there is the issue of the equestrian statue on the western side of the "forum" (point *y*), which the majority of scholars thought represented young *Marcus Flavius Balbinus*. As we mentioned, just south of the middle entrance *o* to the so-called "basilica", stood an elongated pedestal. Rovinski quickly concluded that the pedestal might have been related to the scant remains of the equestrian statue. The only equestrian statue that we know of in Doclea (Dioclea) is the one that the parents, *Marcus Flavius Fronto* and his wife, erected to commemorate the premature death of their fifteen-year-old son. Fragments of four inscriptions which stood over the four entrances on the eastern facade of the "basilica" (CIL 8287=12692 I., CIL 8287=12692 II., CIL 8287=12692 III, CIL 8287=12692 IV), and yet more inscriptions commemorating and mourning the death of the boy, one even built into the pavement of the "basilica" (point *x*, CIL 12693=13629),<sup>45</sup> were found all around the "basilica" and around Doclea (Dioclea), most of them mentioning the equestrian statue erected by his parents in honour of the boy.<sup>46</sup> And indeed, some bronze fragments were found by Rovinski, two bronze plates, two gilded pieces of a horse blanket and bronze sceptre-like rod with a "splendidly gilded top", a gilded 10 cm high pommel, etc.<sup>47</sup> Now, we have just one question. If the equestrian sculpture on the pedestal was one of the young *Flavius Balbinus*, what were this sceptre and pommel

doing among the finds? Could we imagine this young boy, an otherwise insignificant young man, with *regalia* in his hands? The fact that his equestrian statue is documented does not mean that it was transferred onto the pedestal. So, we cannot know for whom the sculpture or the pedestal was erected, but it could have been a person holding the sceptre and the globe in his hands, although this assumption could be a subject of different interpretations. So much about the unresolvable issues and mysteries, but, let us now examine the biggest mystery of all for researchers – the so-called “basilica” itself.

Like the “forum”, the “basilica” is indeed unique and without direct parallels, no matter how hard many scholars have tried to find them. At the same moment, precisely because of the lack of analogous material, all the theories about the “basilica” as a repaired building, initially built during the earlier Principate, should be discarded. Even Ivan Stevović, who acknowledged Sticotti's comparisons with the architecture of Diocletian's palace in Spalato, taking everything into consideration, consequently concluded that the original edifice might have been subjected to repairs at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> or the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Such a reasoning is based on the same fact that we mentioned before, one related to the established stratigraphy of the baths south of the “forum”, which had at least three phases prior to the ones that Sticotti found on the site (Fig. 1). Following that reasoning, the “basilica” might have had a similar complex stratigraphy.<sup>48</sup> However, there have been many attempts to find comparisons to the “basilica”, and the “forum” itself. All of them seem extremely feeble and unconvincing, made in vain. While Sticotti or Munro may be excused, considering that they did not have such a large array of examples for comparison, contemporary or almost contemporary scholars may not be excused. Let's just consider some of them. For example, one of the most frequently repeated is the one with the basilica on the forum of ancient *Veleia*.<sup>49</sup> It is true that the Veleian basilica was integrated into the Veleian forum, there are resemblances in the symmetrical division of the inner space into three parts, but that's where all common features with Doclea (Dioclea) end. What is more, in the case of *Veleia*, the basilica does not have a longitudinal plan like the one in Doclea (Dioclea), but rather a Julio-Claudian north Italian plan with symmetrical endings, constructed according to the means of a small town. As a matter of fact, The Doclean (Dioclean) “basilica” is anything but like the Julio-Claudian *basilicae*, including *basilicae* in *Veleia*, *Augusta Bagiennorum* (Benevagienna in Piemonte) and all their other derivatives (*Glanum*, *Ruscino*, etc.; Fig. 5).<sup>50</sup> The same can be said of the comparisons with the Traianic *basilicae* using Ulpia as a model, and all those which are set transversely to the space of the forum.<sup>51</sup> At this point, it is important to remind the reader that the Doclean (Dioclean) basilica had a much more complex relation to the space of the Doclean (Dioclean) “forum”, and much more complex distribution of inner space than the Traianic *basilicae* had. The Doclean (Dioclean) “basilica” was at the same time a longitudinal building, and a forum oriented building. Thus, we can exclude all the comparisons with Traianic *basilicae*, including the basilica on the forum in *Augusta Raurica*.<sup>52</sup> Nor can we compare the Doclean (Dioclean) “basilica” with the basilica in Worxeter, Empúries, or the “Apuleius’ basilica” in Sabratha, because neither of these *basilicae* share the same duality of axis as are attested in Doclea (Dioclea).<sup>53</sup> They do not even share common traits among each other. So, we can eliminate almost all Julio-Claudian and Traianic comparisons. Finally, closest to deciphering the true nature of the Doclean (Dioclean) plan came Dragutin Srežović and Ivan Stevović. Thus, Srežović acknowledged that the “basilica” was just a part of a larger ensemble of the *Kaisarion*, the architectural ensemble dedicated to the worship of imperial cult, as well as used for dispensing justice. He recognised the resemblance with the forum in Cyrene, and it seems that he was correct.<sup>54</sup> Stevović went a step further, and has taken into account other

5.  
 Iulio-Claudian *fora*: (a)  
 Planimetric view of the forum in  
 Ruscino (after Cavalieri /note 50/);  
 (b) Glanum (after Cavalieri /note  
 50/); (c) Veleia (after Cavalieri  
 /note 50/)

Julijevsko-Klaudijevski trgovi: (a)  
 Planimetrijski pogled na forum u  
 Ruscinu; (b) Glanum; (c) Veleia



such complexes, like the ones in Pergamon, Miletus and especially Ephesus. He too acknowledged that the "basilica" was just a part of the complex of the *Kaisarion*.<sup>55</sup> The clearest description of the meaning and form of the *Kaisarion* is given by Glanville Downey, who pointed out that the first *Kaisarion* was the one built in Antioch in the time of Julius Caesar and is considered to be the first such basilica built in the East.<sup>56</sup> It is mentioned in several passages in the Malalas' *Chronographia*. Malalas says that the structure, which he calls both the *Kaisarion* and the *basilica* at the same

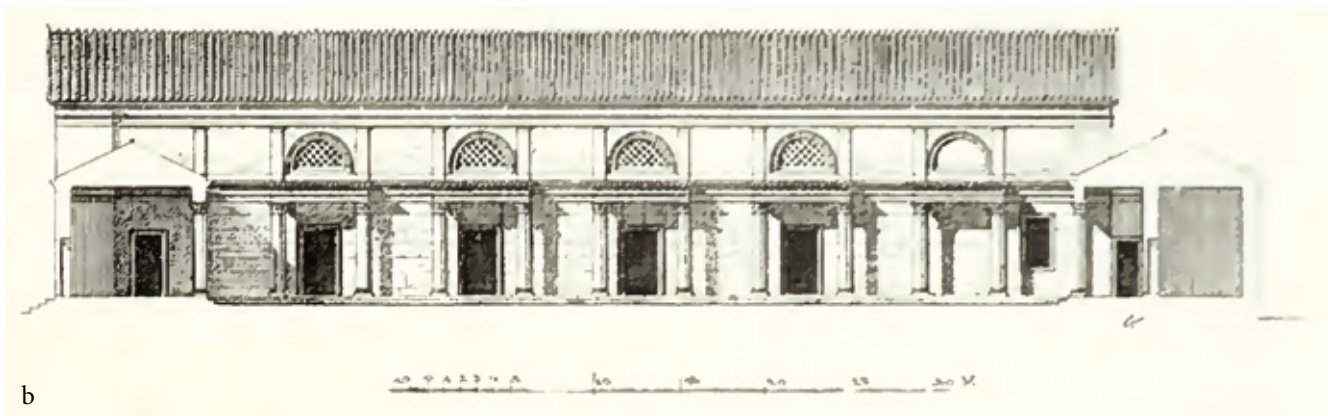
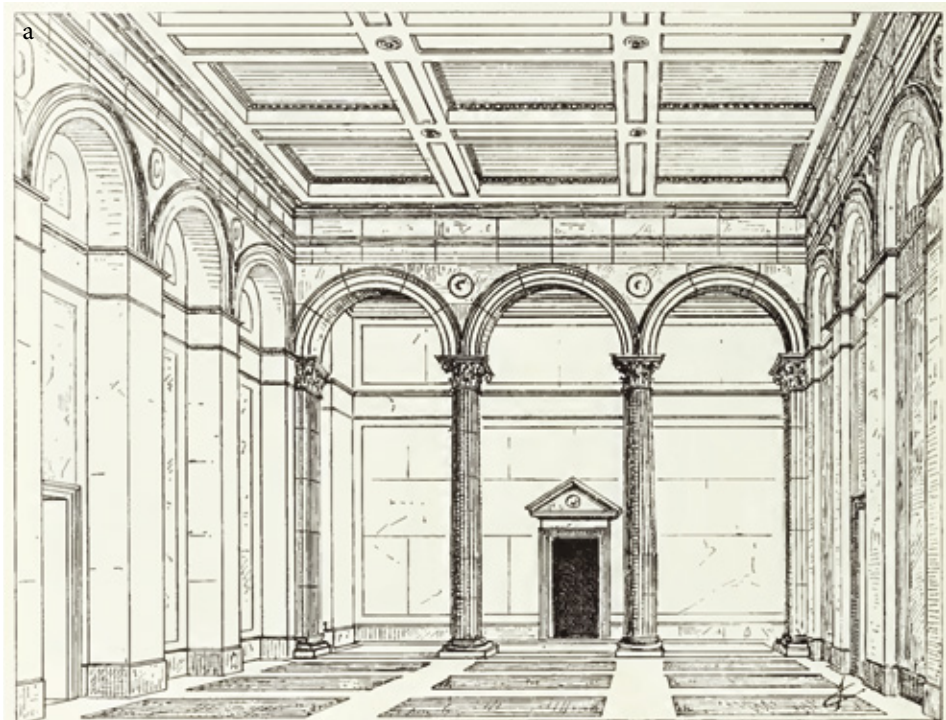
time, had a vaulted apse, in front of which stood, before the demolition of the building, a statue of Caesar.<sup>57</sup> As Downey explains, Malalas calls the apse the *Senatos*, apparently with a reference to its use for legal or legislative purposes. Downey further explains the term *exaeron*, which could have been inside the basilica or a court in front of the basilica, but in Downey's opinion, it was outside the basilica and clearly distinguished from the basilica itself. Although Emperor Valens demolished the complex, with Downey's reconstruction of Malalas' description of the *Kaisarion* with its apse, Caesar's sculpture, *Senatos* and *exaeron*, we are coming nearer to the understanding of the "basilica" and "forum" in Doclea (Dioclea). Unfortunately, Malalas does not specify what the spatial relationship between *Kaisarion* and *exaeron* was, but it is clear that the *Kaisarion* must have been a building with a longitudinal plan, considering that it ended with an "imperial apse". There is a possibility that *exaeron* was on the lateral side of the building, which would make it almost identical in conception with the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica" and "forum" - in that case, the *Kaisarion* in Antioch would also be a basilica with double cross-shaped axes.

Let us again remind the reader that the combination of two axes in one basilica is extremely rare. The Doclean (Dioclean) basilica could be compared only with the end result of Maxentius/Constantine's basilica, though in that particular case the end result was a product of Constantine's rearrangements, and an addition of the side entrance on the initially longitudinal plan of Maxentius' *Kaisarion* in Rome. As can be seen from the plan of the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica", or, as we can now freely call it, the Doclean (Dioclean) *Kaisarion* or "Tsar's court" (as it was remembered until the verge of modern times), it consisted of basically four separate spaces - A, B, C and D (Figs. 2 and 4). It had no entrance on the shorter, southern side. Spaces A, B and C were separated by two pairs of columns with arches, which followed the spatial rhythm already established by three arched window openings on the southern wall of the "basilica" (windows c1, c2, c3). As Sticotti pointed out, these received light from *via triumphalis* and corresponded to the two sets of three arches of the interior of the "basilica": c1, c2 and c3 corresponded with arches f, g and h, and these with arches i, k and l.<sup>58</sup> What follows along the same axis, is apsed chamber D, separated from the rest of the building by a solid wall. However, with its rhythm, established by the lighting on the southern side, its abbreviated three aisled plan, and the apsed ending, the building definitely gained a longitudinal axis. On the other hand, this axis was crossed with an axis going through the main entrance from the "forum" (or should we say *exaeron*) side, the entrance designated as o, which was a monumentalised side entrance. By the way, the longitudinal axis was also interrupted by the other three side entrances m, n and p. We hope that we have clearly demonstrated the underlying concept of the building's plan (Fig. 4). Precisely because of such a plan, none of the comparisons made by scholars were successful. Although similar examples might have existed, as we have seen from the example of the *Kaisarion* in Antioch, the Doclean (Dioclean) example has no distinguishable parallels. We can explain its concept only by relying on Valentin Müller's typology of Roman *basilicae*.<sup>59</sup> Müller adopted the distinction between two main types of *basilicae* - Greek type and Oriental type - from Gabriel Leroux,<sup>60</sup> but with a tendency to see Roman *basilicae* as filtered versions of both of the main types. The main difference between the two is the orientation of the main axis; while the Greek type had a dominant longitudinal axis,<sup>61</sup> the Oriental type had a dominant transversal axis. The examples of the latter are the *Basilica Julia*, the *Basilica Ulpia* and basilica in the *Praetorium* at *Vetera*. The oriental style, with a side entrance and colonnade, even borrowed the inner arrangement from the Orient, in the shape of a hypostyle hall, adopted by Persians, as well as Greeks. However, as Müller explains, Greek architects made a single adjustment to the plan - they accentuated the main side entrance by a

wider *intercolumnium* and the throne was positioned right across from the entrance on the opposite longer side.<sup>62</sup> In that shape, the plan was appropriated by Romans as the "Ulpia-Vetera type", with two additions. The Romans wanted to adjust the space of the basilica for the spectator, i.e. make more room for the spectator in front of the *Tribunal*. The second alteration was the addition of apses of both types, Oriental and Greek. Thus, actually, with the addition of the apses to the "Ulpia-Vetera type", a cross-axes plan was created. In a broader sense, Müller recognised the same cross shaped plan in the *basilicae* in Timgad, Doclea (Dioclea) and Alesia, although they are different in specific arrangement. In the same category falls the already mentioned Maxentius/Constantine's basilica in its final arrangement. As a consequence of his analysis based on Leroux's two main types, Müller came to distinguish four main types, with Doclea (Dioclea) being somewhere between the apsidal type with one direction and Oriental-Graeco-Roman type with the entrance on the longer side.<sup>63</sup> So, after examining all the types one can only conclude that the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica" was indeed unique, a mix of at least two main Müller types. The

6.  
Sticotti's reconstruction of the  
"basilica": (a) "Imperial hall";  
(b) eastern facade (after Sticotti  
/note 3/)

Sticottijeva rekonstrukcija "bazilike":  
(a) "Carska dvorana"; (b) istočno  
pročelje



Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica" certainly stemmed from the tradition of imperial halls like the one in Antioch, but its overall plan cannot be easily categorised, as it was custom-made for Doclea (Dioclea), an interesting innovative cross shaped basilica with an abbreviated three aisled plan, which defies any categorisation. Precisely because of that, we hold the opinion that it was a product of masterful architects and designers, who were making something completely new by mixing the existing elements present in the basilical architecture of all the past ages. And yes, that is a kind of innovativeness with which Diocletian's palace in Spalato was built as well.

Now that we have established the character, the general concept of the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica", and found its closest parallels in Maxentius's basilica in Rome and the *Kaisarion* in Antioch, we have to turn our attention to the individual components of the edifice. Let us start with the space designated as *B*. Its inner sides of the walls were articulated by pillars interconnected by blind arches, again enhancing and supporting the rhythm of movement along the longitudinal axis. Thus, the western wall in space *B* was divided via six pillars (Fig. 6a). In front of these pillars stood the bases for statues - statues of Emperors and one imperial wife. Sticotti thought that these bases carried sculptures of *Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander* (CIL 12683), *Marcus Julius Severus Philippus*, known as "Philip the Younger" (CIL 12686) and his mother *Marcia Otacilia Severa* (CIL 12685), *Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus* (CIL 12687), his son *Gaius Vibius Volusianus* (CIL 12688) and *Publius Licinius Valerianus* (CIL 12684).<sup>64</sup> He made this judgement by comparing the size of the inscriptions that might have best fitted the size of the bases,<sup>65</sup> but actually, twelve imperial inscriptions were found and each one could be generally attributed to the bases.<sup>66</sup> Another six inscriptions mention various Emperors in the same form as the ones mentioned before. For example, an inscription to *Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus* (CIL 1705) has the same form as other inscriptions, such as the ones dedicated to *Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius* (CIL 8286), Philip "The Arab" (CIL 8285), and finally, one to Emperor Trajan (CIL 12682). Any of these could have been embedded into any of the bases. In any case, it seems that the "basilica" had more sculptural decoration (most probably in space *B*) than Sticotti assumed and there is no doubt that the same space was actually a kind of *Kaisersaal*.<sup>67</sup> We say "kind of", because space *B* lacks a place for an altar for a specific ruler, and its sculptural repertoire is a kind of didactic display of continuity of the rule of Roman Emperors, probably from Trajan to Gallienus times. Coming into the room through the main entrance *o* from the "forum", or through entrances *n* and *m* one would have been confronted and probably surrounded by images of Emperors, most probably arranged in chronological order of their reigns. So, although a sanctified focus was missing, this was a walk through Roman imperial history, at least from the time of Trajan. Visitors could not miss the symbolic value of the place of entry - it was an imperial building celebrating imperial rule as such. In that sense, this was indeed a *Kaisersaal*. We believe that the intention of the sculptural decoration of this hall was not exclusively didactic, but rather in a certain way, preparatory. It served as a reminder of imperial power, especially imperial judicial power which was to be dispensed in the next chamber, apsed room *D*. A feeling of pettiness of an individual standing, surrounded by imperial images, must have been enhanced by the lateral lighting of the hall through the large arched openings which stood over each entrance to the "basilica" and shed bright morning light on the sculptures in the early part of the day. So, all in all, and without a doubt, this building was indeed a very innovative and carefully planned structure in every way possible, and that is why, we have to repeat, it has no direct parallels.

It is also certainly worth noting that the long line of imperial sculptures end with Gallienus, so *terminus post quem* for the adornment and, consequently, the construction of the "basilica", is 268 A.D. Considering that there is no possibility

that *Claudius Gothicus*, *Aurelian* or *Numerian* had an interest in constructing such a building in this particular town, the only candidate that remains, and the one who certainly had a firm connection with it, is Diocletian. Why then is there no sculpture of him in the "basilica", or in the whole complex? We can only reply to that with a counter question - how come there is only a single depiction of the Emperor in the palace in Spalato, the one on the frieze of the mausoleum?

As to the function of the individual spaces in the "basilica", space *D* represents a curiosity, namely because the apsed space was separated from the rest of the building by a solid wall. Something important was happening behind the 2.9 metre wide entrance *t*, decorated with finely executed door posts, and possibly a gable above it.<sup>68</sup> It was relatively spacious, 133.40 m<sup>2</sup>. Sticotti imagined that in front of the apse there was a *podium*, which he calls a *tribunat* and saw it as a place for a judge. The room received light through window *v*, opposite the entrance, raised to the height of 1.4 m above floor level. Its floor was covered with a mosaic which, at some later time, was covered with thin stone slabs. In his 1<sup>st</sup> report, Rovinski documented that there were scattered remains of painted stucco decoration all around the room in 1890.<sup>69</sup> Sticotti is quite clear about the function of this room. He supposed it was a courtroom, and we believe that he was correct.<sup>70</sup> Some confusion about the function of room *D* was made by J. C. Balty who opted in favour of it being a *curia*.<sup>71</sup> However, such an assumption is certainly out of the question. There is nothing in this chamber, or in the rest of the building, that would suggest that this was a *curia*. There are no benches in the room, while, on the other hand, the apse clearly suggests that the space in front of it had a privileged position. In Malalas' words, this must have been for the *Senatos* of the Doclean (Dioclean) *Kaisarion*. Without any doubt, this privileged position was intended for the provincial prefect, as the supreme provincial judicial power in civil and military issues. However, as the territory of the province of Praevalitana before Diocletian's reform of the provinces was part of the Naronitan *conventus iuridicus*, the courtroom in the *Kaisarion* could have been built only after Praevalitana had become a province. By saying this, we are returning again to the fact that the "basilica" could only have been built at the time of Diocletian. It was certainly a great privilege for a town to become the seat of a *conventus iuridicus*, since this position seriously both improved its status and provided it with economic advantages from the presence of the prefect and his entourage. *De facto* and *de jure*, with the emancipation of southern Dalmatia as Praevalitana, Doclea (Dioclea), obviously became the centre of the *conventus iuridicus*. In practice, that would mean that at least twice a year the provincial prefect visited Doclea (Dioclea) with his entourage and presided over the court. In the case of Doclea (Dioclea), and considering that the setting of the courtroom was actually a *Kaisarion*, the fact should not be excluded that even Diocletian himself visited Doclea (Dioclea), and, as a supreme imperial judicial authority presided over the court, or at least had something like that in mind when he ordered the construction of the complex of the "forum" and "basilica".<sup>72</sup> What happened inside the courtroom and how the provincial judicial proceedings were conducted is very well known.<sup>73</sup> However, it is certain that he gave Doclea (Dioclea) a privileged position by forming the new province of Praevalitana. Finally, his Doclean (Dioclean) brethren could dispense justice on their own, and that was a huge privilege.

We believe that everything said about the form and function of the various parts of the building illustrate clearly enough the logic on which the "basilica" was conceived. Although there are many loose ends, the basic underlying logic of the concept is clear. So, now we can turn our attention to the details which again, as Sticotti wrote, point to the direction of the palace in Spalato.

The interplay of protrusions and recesses may be the first of the elements which are the distinctive feature of the architecture from the time of Tetrarchy. Let us just



7.

Capitals: (a) Sticotti's photo of the capital from the "basilica"; (b) Capital from Diocletian's palace in Spalato (photo: D. Matetić Poljak); (c) Capital from Doclea (Dioclea) (photo: T. M. Koprivica /note 28/)

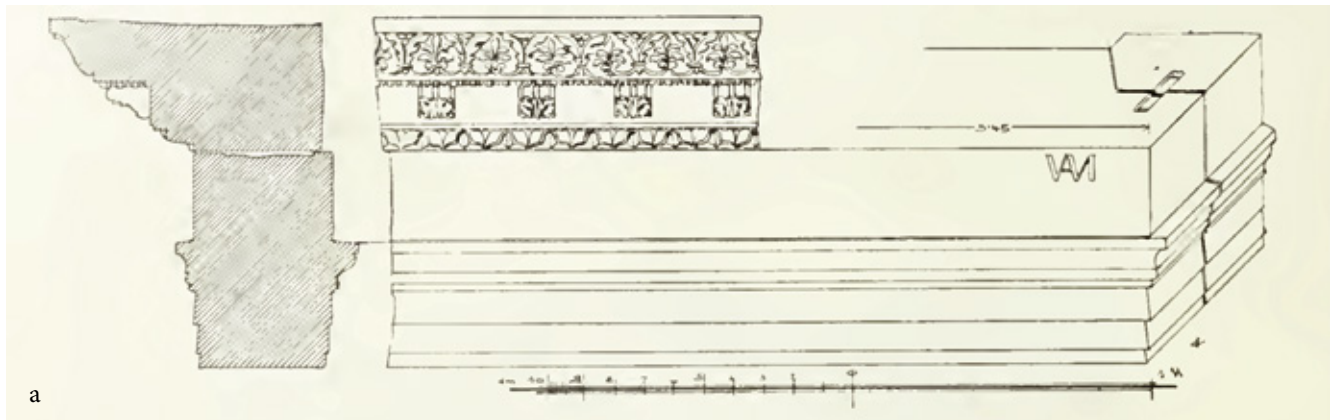
Kapiteli; (a) Sticottijeva fotografija kapitela iz "bazilike"; (b) Kapitel iz Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu; (c) Kapitel iz Duklje



remember that there is the same interplay in Diocletian's baths in Rome, and in Diocletian's mausoleum in Spalato, with protruding columns and entablatures with console-like additions. The same idea can be seen on the western facade of the "basilica" in Doclea (Dioclea), with protruding "baldachins" in front of the entrances.

Entablatures and capitals are the second link between the two. Corinthian capitals look more than similar.<sup>74</sup> It suffices to compare the capitals photographed by Sticotti with the ones in Diocletian's baths in Rome or the ones in Spalato (Fig. 7).<sup>75</sup> Even more resemblance can be found in comparisons of entablatures from all three buildings, one in Rome, one in Doclea (Dioclea) and one in Spalato (Fig. 8). In all cases, the lower tiers of entablatures are multiplied. In Rome and in Doclea (Dioclea) they are multiplied by four, each upper tier protruding a little bit more. Then on these, a thick architrave beam is laid, carrying a multi-layered cornice richly ornamented with floral motifs in the form of a distinctive continuous frieze with small console-like elements "hanging" from it. As with the capitals, entablatures are, in all cases, the product of the same aesthetic and were probably made by the same stonemasons and carvers.

The relationship between entablature and the arches. As Sticotti has noticed, there is yet another distinctive similarity between the inner arrangement of the Doclean "basilica" and the peristyle in Spalato. One completely new architectural motif is present on both of them. Commenting on the articulation of the western wall of the "basilica", Sticotti wrote: "He (the architect) raised the wall up to the highest possible height and connected the pillars to each other with blind arches, which made the mediating, previously commonly used pieces of entablature, not only superflu-



8. Entablatures: (a) Sticotti's drawing of the entablature from the "basilica" in Doclea (Dioclea); (b) entablature of the peristyle in Spalato (photo: T. Turković)

Gređa: (a) Sticottijev crtež gređa "bazilike" u Duklji; (b) gređe peristila u Splitu

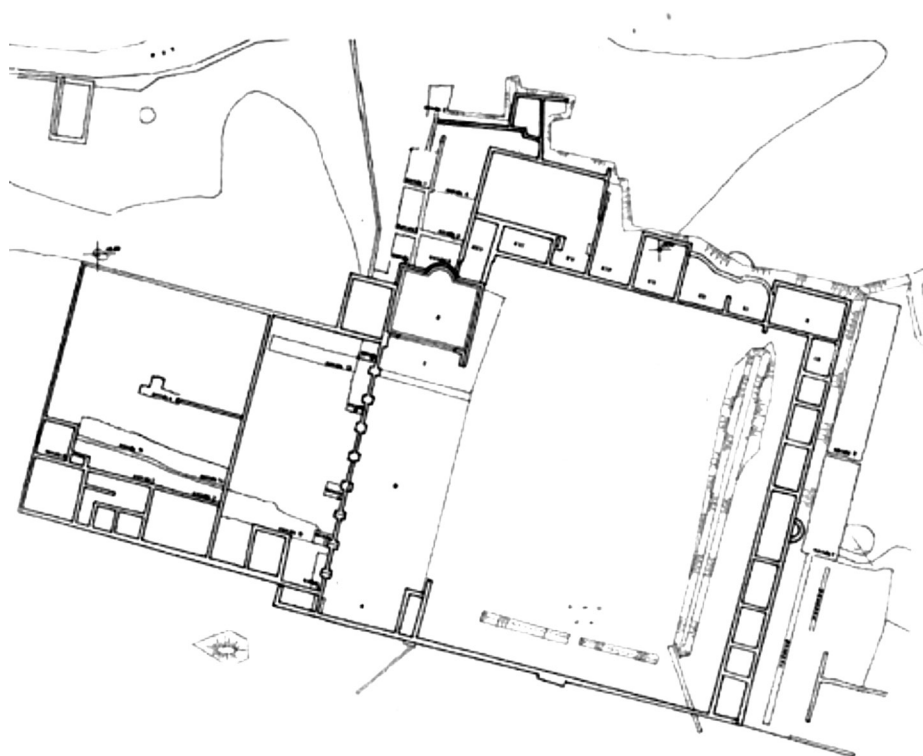


ous, but downright nonsensical. Accordingly, the entablature above the pillars had to be omitted and a completely new architectural motive was created in this way, which was later used brilliantly, and consistently implemented, in Spalato. If one compares the peristyle of the Diocletian palace with this basilica's hall, so many similarities are indeed evident...".<sup>76</sup> It takes a moment to comprehend what Sticotti, otherwise stingy on words, wanted to say. As a matter of fact, he noticed that the introduction of the arches directly branching from the pillars made a classical entablature redundant, yet it was kept as a decoration above the arches. And the kind of entablature that was kept was one with almost "mannerist" qualities, with so many tiers that it is hard to even count them all. Furthermore, the entablature became a mere ornament with no constructional purpose. If we compare the construction of the upper part of the peristyle in Spalato (Fig. 8b) with the arches and entablature in the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica" (Fig. 8a) we can immediately recognise this new arrangement, i.e. the new architectural motif. One of its distinctive features was also a sharply protruding cornice, again present in Doclea (Dioclea), Spalato, and Rome. The other specific feature of this new motif were the *Hängplatten*, as Sticotti called them. These were console-like appendices underneath the protruding cornice, which had no constructional purpose. Sticotti called them *Hängplatten* because they seem to be hanging from the cornice. They are more than a distinctive feature on the peristyle in Spalato,

9.

The whole "forum" complex with its "western part" (Administration for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Cetinje, 1999)

Cjelokupni forumski sklop sa svojim "zapadnim dijelom" (Uprava za zaštitu kulturnih dobara, Cetinje, 1999.)



as well as on the "basilica" in Doclea (Dioclea), no mistake. Sticotti was a hundred percent correct when he concluded that the same architects, stonemasons, carvers, etc. worked on the palace in Spalato and the "basilica" in Doclea (Dioclea). And again, everything points to the conclusion that it was the imperial workshop which worked on both edifices. Their *modus operandi* was, as we implied, a "mannerist" one. They were turning constructional elements into new and inventive decorative architectural motifs. We are sure that the same motifs could be found in Palmyra and in other of Diocletian's constructions. Their innovativeness was accompanied by the same kind of inventiveness as in the planning of Diocletian's constructions. They turned the military plan into a palatial one in Spalato, they created a unique basilical plan in Doclea (Dioclea), transformed the Egyptian temple into the palace, etc. They were creating unique architecture unseen up until their days.

A lot more could be said of this workshop, or school, as Sticotti called it, but we believe that we have illustrated its specific *modus operandi* clearly enough by these few examples. What is left is to point out that the forum with its *Kaisarion* had, as expected, an extension to the west of the basilica.<sup>77</sup> Though this part of the complex is not of our primary interest, it is worthy of some attention. The chronology of investigation was best summarised by Tatjana M. Koprivica, and today we are left with three plans made in 1962, 1998 and 1999 (Fig. 9).<sup>78</sup> Especially illustrative of the structures west of *Kaisarion* is the plan made in 1998, as it shows that the "western complex" consisted of three parts - sacral, residential and an appendix to the courtroom. The sacral part was the closest to the *Kaisarion* and had lighting from the *Kaisersaal* (hall B). It was obviously connected to the "imperial hall" by doors *q* and *r*. The sheer existence of these two entrances confirm that the sacral part was part of the original design of the complex. We are calling this part 'sacral', respecting Srežević's conclusion that this part with a large courtyard and the remains of a small edifice on its southern side should be interpreted as a temple with its *temenos*.<sup>79</sup> If indeed this was the case, it remains an enigma to which deity, or cult, the temple was dedicated. In

any case, it must have been a private cult, as it seems hardly plausible that this part of the complex was intended for the general public. The second part, further to the west, seems to have been a kind of residential quarter similar to a large urban *domus*. Its length was the same as the length of the sacral part, but it was almost double in width. Unfortunately, researchers concentrated their efforts primarily on the southern side of this part of the complex. They have revealed general outlines of the five rooms on this side, although some dilemmas remain, concerning the stratigraphy of some parts of these rooms, namely the exedra protruding southward into the *via triumphalis*. It could have either been built prior to the arrangement of the *via triumphalis* or at some later date, during late antiquity, when the usurpation of public spaces became common phenomenon all around the Empire.<sup>80</sup> It is possible that the building was arranged around a central courtyard, as it seems that its northern wing was also structured.<sup>81</sup> We can only assume that these were the quarters for the visiting prefect and his entourage. Finally, the third part of the "western complex" consists of just one room connected by a door to chamber *D*, i.e. the courtroom. It might have had several possible functions, as a record office or any other legislative function. And although it is apparent that the "western complex" was designed with the rest of the complex, at first sight it seems less "tidy" and less monumental. A possible reason for that was that this was not a public and representative space, but rather a space reserved only for the local staff and visiting parties.

## CONCLUSION

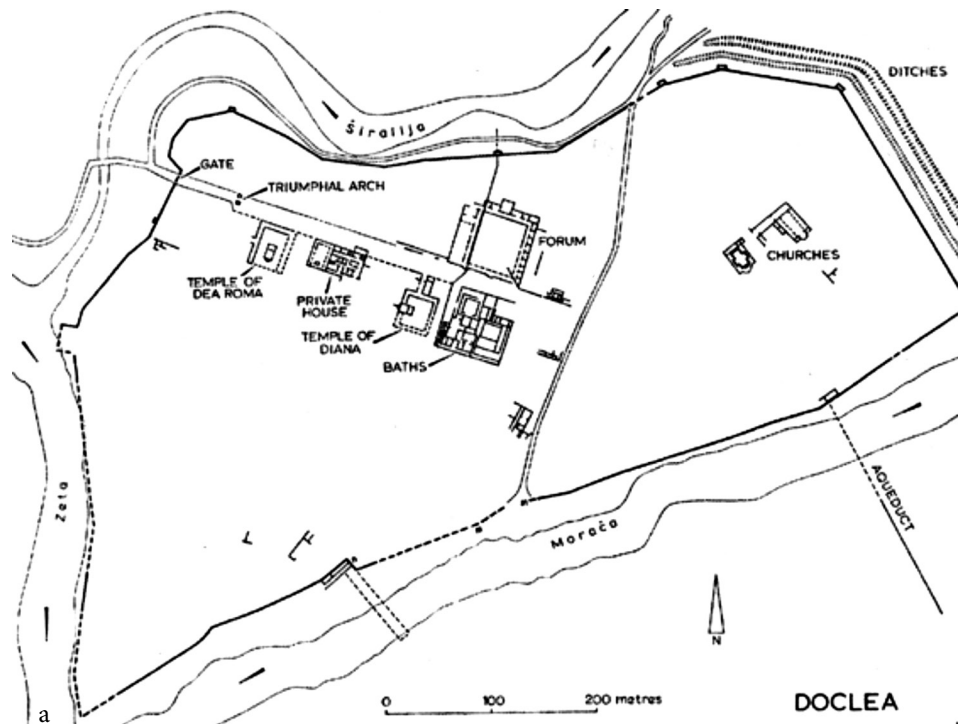
There is actually not just one conclusion with which we could end this paper. However, the most important one is that, in the light of the arguments presented in the paper, it becomes clear why Durkheim was cited at the beginning of the paper. It should be, thus, more appreciation of collective or common memory, giving it a higher status than the memory of an individual mind. Now, understanding the value of collective memory, especially in closely knit societies, is of prime importance and a perfect starting point for the examination of the historical background of various historical phenomena. In this case, it is evident that the collective memory of Diocletian and his "imperial court" survived until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Montenegro, in the surroundings of the city of Podgorica. As Fritjof Capra reminds us, today we live in the age when the sciences are atomised and fragmented into small bits and branches, we are overwhelmed with individualism and we have lost the perspective of collective consciousness. Bombarded with information, true or false, we have lost the elementary understanding of what collective consciousness meant for people for centuries. In that regard, we are prone to discard folk tales as unverifiable products of a popular myth-telling culture which, in our opinion, was at the level of some silly folk culture, far inferior to our contemporary verifiable "truth" orientated culture. The example of the "*Carevi dvori* ", which all the locals knew about and whose court they had once been part of, is a perfect example of our lack of appreciation of the value of collective memory and its endurance.

After a thorough analysis and after fact checking, with the appreciation of the common memory, it turned out that locals actually told and retold the exact truth about the place where once the Doclean (Dioclean) "forum" with its *Kaisarion* stood. Of course, some apparently fictitious elements stemming from popular imagination were added to that truth, and although these elements sound completely fictitious at first, even they preserve the memory of "Tsar Duklyanin" and the dual perception of his imperial deeds. On the one hand, memory of him as a saviour, reformer and great warrior was never lost, on the other hand, the memory of him as a great and demon-like persecutor of Christians was obviously also preserved in Montenegro. Memory

10.

Plan of Doclea (Dioclea): (a) plan after Munro et al. (note 16); (b) Satellite image of Doclea (Dioclea) with an indicated grid of identified public communications (after F. Colosi et al. 2019)

Tlocrt Duklje: (a) tlocrt prema Munrou et al. (bilj. 16); (b) satelitski snimak Duklje s naznačenom mrežom prepoznatih javnih komunikacija



of him as the builder of the "imperial court" in Doclea (Dioclea) was thus never lost either. However, from the modern perspective it took a lot of effort to confirm that common knowledge was indeed true. The first hints that Montenegrin stories might be true came from the analysis of Diocletian's birth name and his imperial name, background and birthplace. However, the careful analysis of the "forum" complex, its plan, structure, concept and execution, confirmed that folk memory was actually true. We are aware that some of the results of this fact checking mission could

disappoint the Croatian scientific public which is still inclined to accept Bulić's idea that Diokles was a suburban Salonitan by birth, but all the facts point otherwise. However, the fact that he was a Docleat or Diocle(a)t by birth should not disappoint anybody except those who insist on comparisons between Diocletian's and Galerius' actions and the construction of *Romuliana Felix* as a parallel to Diocletian's palace in Spalato. After all, in those days he was no less Dalmatian than any of the Illyrian tribesmen living in Dalmatia.

We believe that the paper demonstrated clearly enough that the Doclean (Dioclean) "imperial court" was without doubt the project executed by the same imperial workshop (school) which materialised a series of grand and highly innovative projects for Diocletian. As much as he was an administrative, political and organisational reformer, his "imperial workshop" was equally a reformative force in architecture, and especially in iconography of architecture. His touch is imprinted in every detail of the Doclean (Dioclean) complex.

Finally, the construction of the "forum" complex in Doclea (Dioclea) says much about the character of the Emperor himself. It tells us a lot of how he envisaged himself, and tells us a lot about the set of values that he cherished. He was obviously a proud Docleat, uncorrupted by his imperial station, who did not sever his ties with his birthland even when he became an Emperor. Just the contrary, he stayed loyal to his homeland and his tribe. He gave his home mates as much as he could - a province of their own, judicial independence, ability to govern on their own. He also gave them a new Doclea (Dioclea), a small imperial metropolis with a *Kaisarion* and an imperial forum. The scope of his interventions into the rearrangement or, it is better to say re-erection of the town, obviously encompassed much more than the erection of the forum complex, but it would take us a book to present that scope.<sup>82</sup> So, this time we have presented the forum complex, but many other of Diocletian's interventions in Doclea (Dioclea) remain to be interpreted, starting with the general urbanistic rearrangement of the town (Fig 10), the building of the aqueduct (quite like in Spalato),<sup>83</sup> building of the sewage system, erection of the new temples and temple precincts, baths (Fig. 1), etc. Constantine Porphyrogenitus was indeed correct when he wrote: "*In addition, the same Basileus Diocletian built the fortress of Dioclea, now in the possession of the Diocletians*". Although Doclea (Dioclea) had its earlier history, in a certain way Diocletian indeed "founded" something new, and built it anew. It is interesting how he sincerely, and without vanity, honoured Doclean history by putting the inscriptions over the entrances of the newly built *Kaisarion*, once erected by *Marcus Flavius Fronto*. It tells a lot about the man who did not succumb to vanity, even when he became the Emperor. A lot of his predecessors would not do such a thing. Furthermore, can we imagine such resistance to vanity in a man of lowly background whose father's name we do not even know, in a self-made man who earned his station by distinction in the bloodiest of trades? And still he stood humble in his home town before the history of a small provincial town and before the imperial history of the Empire.

Considering all that Diocletian did for his Doclea (Dioclea), it is not unusual that his image stayed in the popular imagination, or collective memory, as Durkheim would call it, for sixteen centuries. With this we end our exposition on Diocletian and Doclea (Dioclea) in the hope that future researchers would take the wider context of collective memory into consideration.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> EMILE DURKHEIM, *The Elementary Forms*, Free Press, London and New York, 1965, 492.
- <sup>2</sup> EMILE DURKHEIM, *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Free Press, London and New York, 1964, 103.
- <sup>3</sup> PIERO STICOTTI, *Die Römische Stadt Doclea in Montenegro*, Schriften der Balkankomision, Wien, 1913, 105.
- <sup>4</sup> FRANE BULIĆ, Car Dijoklecijan: njegovo ime, njegova domovina i mjesto, gdje se rodio, kada, gdje i kako je umro, *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*. Sv. 14, Split, (1919), 102–130.
- <sup>5</sup> See LJILJANA MARKS, Od Dioklecijana do Splita - predaje i legende, *Ethnologica Dalmatica*, 6, (1997), 165–184; but also ARSEN DUPLANČIĆ, Nekoliko doživljaja don Frane Bulića iz njegove neobjavljene knjige o Saloni, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 79, Split, (1986), 315–348.
- <sup>6</sup> See, for example, how fabricated memory is exploited in the tourism industry. This is best illustrated by the almost tragicomical tourist manifestations in Split advertised by the daily press. Thus, we read headlines such as: "Dioklecijan i Priska: Medovina i vino teći će na stolitre!" (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, July 29<sup>th</sup> 2017); "Split je dobio novu carsku feštu: Dioklecijan i Priska, gladijatori i legionari na gradskim ulicama, guštali i domaći i furešti" (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, July 18<sup>th</sup> 2017); "Dioklecijan, Priska i carska straža opet pozdravljaju goste na Peristilu" (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, June 15<sup>th</sup> 2016); "Dani Dioklecijana: Kurbaša je car, misica Barbara je Priska" (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, July 15<sup>th</sup> 2015), and so on.
- <sup>7</sup> EGOR PETROVIĆ KOVALEVSKY, *Collected works. Vol. IV: Montenegro and Slavic lands*, St. Petersburg, 1872, 86.
- <sup>8</sup> BOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ, Sclavinia Duklja: From Ancient Traditions to Byzantine Influences, *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2, Saint Petersburg, (2016), 112–135.
- <sup>9</sup> "Diocleia gets its name from the city in this country that emperor Diocletian founded, but now it is a deserted city, though still called Diocleia", in CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, (ed. Gy. Moravcsik), Dumbarton Oaks Texts I, 1967, cap. 35.10.
- <sup>10</sup> VERA ST. ERLICH, *Jugoslavenska porodica u transformaciji. Studija u tri stotine sela*, Liber, Zagreb, 1971, 445–447.
- <sup>11</sup> BOJAN NOVAKOVIĆ (note 8), 116.
- <sup>12</sup> LUCIUS CAECILIUS FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS, *O smrtima progenitelja*, Nenad Cambi and Bratislav Lučin (transl.), Književni krug, Split, 2005.
- <sup>13</sup> «Diocletianus Dalmata, Anulini senatoris libertinus, matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea, quorum vocabulis, donec imperium sumeret, Diocles appellatus, ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit, Graium nomen in Romanum morem convertit, imperavit annis viginti quinque», SEXTUS AURELIUS VICTOR, *Liber de Caesaribus*, (ed. Fr. Pichlmayr), Lipsiae, 1966, cap. 38. Although Aurelius Victor was correct, because Diocletian was, in fact, Dalmatian by birth since his home region was a part of the Roman province of Dalmatia at the time of his birth. It is quite a different thing, how we perceive the appellation Dalmatian today, consequently assuming that Diocletian was Dalmatian from our modern point of view. This is probably one of the reasons for the misconception that he must have been born somewhere around Salona.
- <sup>14</sup> NENAD CAMBI, Dioklecijan u Splitu, *Radovi - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, 42, Zagreb, (2010), 171.
- <sup>15</sup> NENAD CAMBI, Tetrarchic Practice in Name Giving, in: *Diocletian und die Tetrarchie*, (eds. W. Brandes, A. Demandt, H. Krasser, H. Leppin, P. von Mollendorff), Walter de Gruyter, New York, Berlin, 2004, 38. See also NENAD CAMBI, Dioklecijanova i Konstantinova „politika“ odabira imena, *Rad HAZU* 485, Social Sciences 40, Zagreb, (2002), 31–55.
- <sup>16</sup> Archaic *Docleates* in the plural, is *Docleat* in the singular, with Doclea as the centre, Romanisation of the name of the tribe resulted probably due to a change of the tribal name into *Diocletes* in the plural, or *Dioclet* in the singular. And furthermore, it should be born in mind that central and southern Dalmatia had a strong inclination towards the Greek speaking east and towards the eastern Hellenistic culture altogether, as Ejnar Dyggve had already pointed out in *Forschungen in Salona* 3, 1939, although without attracting much attention. There is indeed a fair amount of epigraphic, architectural and cultural evidence in the whole area from Salona to Dyrrachium to support Dyggve's conclusion. In that sense, it is conceivable that the romanised name *Diocle(a)t* would also have a Greek counterpart sounding something like *Διοκλητητης* in the singular. Although Munro would not agree with this interpretation, pointing out that there is not a single inscription where Dioclea is mentioned. As Munro pointed out, the name appeared for the first time in *De Administrando Imperio*, but, that is not entirely true. Let us just pay attention to his mother's name and the hometown of Dioclea which Aurelius Victor had already mentioned at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is obvious that by that time the name of the town was Dioclea, not Doclea. Accordingly, the name of the tribe should also have changed. Evidence that this was the case is the name of Diocles' mother, which certainly reflected that change. For Munro's opinion see JOHN ARTHUR RUSKIN MUNRO et al., *The Roman Town of Doclea in Montenegro*, Westminster, 1896, 15–16.
- <sup>17</sup> «Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια, τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον, ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ᾠκοδόμησεν, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν Διοκλητιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἐναπειλήφασιν» CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS (note 9), cap. 29.
- <sup>18</sup> Cambi is correct in his conclusion that Diocletian, for some reason, favoured *cognomina* ending with the suffix *-ianus*, but he should have been careful in defining that the suffix in question is *-ianus*, not *-(i)anus*. Also, it is possible that such names were not just a matter of Diocletian's taste, but an aftereffect of the military background of diarchs and tetrarchs. These were all Illyrian self-made men with no pedigree nor prestigious family name. Thus they fashioned their names in quite a particular way. See NENAD CAMBI (note 15, 2004), 41.
- <sup>19</sup> Best described by Nenad Cambi in NENAD CAMBI (note 14), 169–194.
- <sup>20</sup> BENET SALWAY, What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 84, (1994), 137–141; JAMES G. KEENAN, The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 13, (1974),

- 283–304; JAMES G. KEENAN, An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 53, (1983), 245–250; KLAAS ANTHONY WORP, Remarks on the Dates of Some Documents from Early Byzantine Egypt, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 61 (1985), 97–100.
- 21 KLAAS ANTHONY WORP (note 20), 97–100.
- 22 On the course of events in Egypt and the chronology of the revolt see ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, Lucius Domitius Domitianus Augustus, *Classical Philology*, 45/1, (1950), 13–21; JACQUELINE LALLEMAND, Lucius Domitius Domitianus, *Aegyptus*, Anno 33, 1, (1953), 97–104.
- 23 SIGRIFIED J. DE LAET, *Portorium. Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire*, Arno Press, Brugge, 1949. Though, Ivan Stevović has his own theory about the reasons for the formation of Praevalitana as a part of tripartite "Gate of Adriatic", which however does not sound convincible, as the Adriatic was safe and maritime routes were functioning perfectly from Augustus' time without a special province like Praevalitana. See IVAN STEVOVIĆ, *Praevalis. The Making of the Cultural Space of the Late Antique Province*, The Archaeological Society of Montenegro, Special Editions, Book 1, Podgorica, 2014.
- 24 JOHN J. WILKES, *Dalmatia*, Routledge London, 1969, 261.
- 25 See for example, Fig. 4 and the course of the streets indicated north of the "forum" in MARILENA COZZOLINO and VINCENZO GENTILE, Ground penetrating radar survey, in: *The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017) Archeologia e Calcolatori Supplemento 11*, (ed. L. Alberti), Firenze, 2019, 77–84.
- 26 LEONIE PETT, Doclea, Geophysical Survey Report, October 2007, *Nova Antička Duklja* No. 1, Podgorica, 2010, 7–44.
- 27 Especially elaborated by F. Colosi, P. Merola and P. Moscati, who meticulously surveyed the town, and concluded: "As with the cities of the Italic peninsula, so also the other centres of the Empire were founded on the basis of a rationalisation of urban spaces that corresponds to common needs and, above all, to the Roman pattern. The essence of a typical Roman city plan, after a period of functional and aesthetic experimentation, became a strong, exportable and instantly recognisable concept" in FRANCESCA COLOSI, PASQUALE MEROLA and PAOLA MOSCATI, The Urban Planning of Doclea: Remote Sensing and Topographical Survey, in: *The Archeolab Project in the Doclea Valley, Montenegro (Campaign 2017), Archeologia e Calcolatori Supplemento 11*, (ed. Lucia Alberti), Firenze 2019, 69.
- 28 TATJANA M. KOPRIVICA, *Arhitektura kasnoantičke Duklje. Mogućnost rekonstrukcije* [The Architecture of Late Antique Doclea. Possibilities of Reconstruction], doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, 2015, 78 (illustrations). The same multi-layered stratigraphy beneath the central Doclean baths is noted by the prospections published by ANTONIO D'EREDITA, Il rilievo fotogrammetrico di Doclea, *Archeologia e Calcolatori* XXXI-1, Firenze 2020, 213–230.
- 29 PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 116.
- 30 PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 124.
- 31 For example, in the way that the cornices are formed (on p. 133). But his allusions and tendency to recognise the connection with Spalato do not end with the "basilica", but extend themselves to many things including the 14 km long aqueduct. See, for example, PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 133 or 42.
- 32 PAVEL APOLONOVIČ ROVINSKI, Raskopka drevnej Dioklei, proizvedennaja po ukazanju i na scetego visocestva cernogorskago knjazja Nikolaja (Ot 22-go janvarja do 11-go fevralja 1890. g), in: *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvšenija*, S. Peterburg, 1890, 1–17. PAVEL APOLONOVIČ ROVINSKI, Predloženie raskopki drevnej Dioklei (Ot 22. 02 do 12. 05 1891: rabocih dnei bylo 35), in: *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvšenija*, S. Peterburg, 1891, 15–33. PAVEL APOLONOVIČ ROVINSKI, *Cernogorija v jejo prošlom i nastojašem*, Geografija.-Istorija.-Etnografija.-Arheologija, tom II, cast 4, S. Peterburg, 1909.
- 33 In that respect, Dragoslav Srežović has missed the point completely, conceding that this was a temple. See DRAGOSLAV SREJOVIĆ, Rezultati arheoloških istraživanja na području Dogleje, in: *Materijali IV, 1967., VII Kongres arheologa Jugoslavije*, Herceg Novi, 1966, 69–74.
- 34 PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 112.
- 35 It was elevated about 1.50 m above the level of the porticus of the "forum" and had a monumental 2.40 metre wide door with the threshold found *in situ*. It was obviously the most important part of the northern wing of the "forum". See PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 110–111.
- 36 *Cipollino*, *africano* or *pavonazzetto* were available on the free market, but the quarried stone was primarily used for imperial purposes. The reason for that is simple – imperial demand for these luxurious polychrome stones was so great that these could be sold on the open market only when there was a surplus of it. In a sense, the use of *cipollino* on the Doclean (Dioclean) forum is highly indicative. For this topic of exploitation and use of such materials see BEN RUSSELL, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade*, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- 37 One cannot but think of rich Corinthian capitals of Diocletian's time. See Fig.7. Author's note.
- 38 Rovinski noted that the exterior of the structure was painted in red and yellow squares imitating marble plating. See PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 112.
- 39 Could this be the place where *ara Caesaris* once stood? The altar of the *sacerdotes Caesaris*, one of whom was (Ga)ius Quirina, otherwise also known as the *viator consulum et praetorum* and *decurio*, a pretty high position in the social hierarchy? Since he was also a *sacerdos* of imperial cult, he must also have been an imperial *viator* in Doclea. His inscription was found in front of the apse of the large church and documented by Munro as well as Sticotti (CIL 13636). As Munro suggested, citing Hirschfeld, there are many indications that Doclea (Dioclea) was the seat of the imperial cult for southern Dalmatia. This is corroborated not only by the presence of *ara Caesaris*, but also by a significant number of inscriptions dedicated to emperors. If this was indeed the case, then the most likely place for formal worship of emperors would be the central building of the northern wing of the "forum", which was even enhanced with imperial decoration. We believe that this is more than likely. See JOHN ARTHUR RUSKIN MUNRO et al. (note 16), 15. To appreciate the high social status of (Ga)ius Quirina as *viator* and *viatores* in general see NICHOLAS PURCELL, The Apparitores: A Study in Social Mobility, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 51, (1983), 152–154.



- <sup>40</sup> Indeed, "Temple of Standards" comes to mind with its central elevated position, "commanding" the space around, surrounded by two tiers of *scholae*. See MICHAEL GAWLIKOWSKI, *Les "principia" de Dioclétien. "Temple des Enseignes". Projet et réalisation, Palmyre 8*: PWN – Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, Warsaw, 1984. and MICHAEL GAWLIKOWSKI, *Les principes de Diocletie a Palmyre. Project et réalisation*, in: *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 26-28 janvier 1984 (Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche Orient et la Grèce Antiques 8)*, Strasbourg 1985, 283–290.
- <sup>41</sup> For that matter see BEATE BOLLMANN, *Römische Vereinshäuser: Untersuchungen zu den Scholae der Römischen Berufs-, Kult- und Augusten-Kollegien in Italien*, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 1998.
- <sup>42</sup> See, for example, GLANVILLE DOWNEY, Antioch under Diocletian (A.D. 284-305), Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337), and Constantius (A.D. 337-361), in: *History of Antioch*, chapter 12, Princeton University Press, 1961, 317–327; IOLI KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *The Imperial Chamber at Luxor, Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 29 (1975), 225–251.
- <sup>43</sup> We do not share Rovinski's idea that this was the tomb of Marcus Flavius Balbinus, since the contribution of this 15 year old boy could not have contributed to the town to be honoured in such a way. His grandfather, and especially his father Marcus Flavius Fronto were distinguished Docleans, but a prematurely deceased boy was of no importance for the townspeople, except to his immediate family.
- <sup>44</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 106.
- <sup>45</sup> An interesting place for an elaborate inscription that was built into the pavement upside down. In our opinion, evidence that these inscriptions were in fact rebuilt into newly erected basilica, not so much because of the importance of the boy, but because of the importance of his father who, holding many important functions, certainly played an important part in gaining the status of *municipium* for Doclea sometime between 77 and 81 A.D. Indeed, after Diocles, Doclea was most indebted to Marcus Flavius Fronto, so it is no wonder that he was the pride of the town, along with all of his family.
- <sup>46</sup> MUNRO et al. (note 16), 38–41.
- <sup>47</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 133–135.
- <sup>48</sup> IVAN STEVOVIĆ (note 23), 64. Tatjana M. Koprivica reached the same conclusion in her doctoral dissertation. TATJANA M. KOPRIVICA (note 28), 89. Noted also by ANTONIO D'EREDITA (note 28), 225–226.
- <sup>49</sup> Comparisons with the Veleian basilica and its relation with the forum had already been made by Sticotti. But, the comparison was repeated by J. B. Ward-Perkins, R. Schultze and J. C. Balty. See PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 137; JOHN BRYAN WARD-PERKINS, *Studies in Roman and Early Christian Architecture*, London, 1994, 65; RUDOLF SCHULTZE, *Basilika: Untersuchungen our antiken und frühmittelalterlichen baukunst*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928, 48–50; JEAN CHARLES BALTY, *Curia ordinis: recherches d'architecture et d'urbanisme antiques sur les curies provinciales du monde romain*, Brussels, 1991, 381.
- <sup>50</sup> See MARCO CAVALIERI, *Il modello forum-basilica e la sua "evoluzione" tra la Cisalpina e la Narbonensis, Archeologia dell'Emilia Romagna*, Vol. III, Soprintendenza e Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia Romagna, Firenze, 1999, 85–101.
- <sup>51</sup> Sticotti already stated that: "some characteristic features of the building are perfectly combined, and so are reminiscent of the Basilica Ulpia, the world-famous work of Apollodorus, which it probably resembles. It may have served as a model for some of the buildings in the Roman world, especially the peculiar connection of the basilica with the forum through its long side, but also the attachment of the apsis and the protrusion at the main entrances..." Unfortunately, again, Ulpia is essentially different in its core conception and looks more like a monumentalised Julio-Claudian plan with some alterations. Thus, it is not likely that Ulpia shared any common features with the Doclean (Dioclean) "basilica". See PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 136.
- <sup>52</sup> JOHN BRYAN WARD-PERKINS (note 49), 59.
- <sup>53</sup> CHRISTOPHER V. AUGHAN WALTHER, *A Metrological Study of the Early Roman basilicas*, Edwin Mellern Press, Lewiston-Queenston-Lempeter, 2002, 142–145. As the title says, he applied metrological studies to make comparisons. Unfortunately, such studies do not prove anything, as is witnessed by Doclean (Dioclean). Size or proportions of various *basilicae* cannot be the basis for comparisons.
- <sup>54</sup> DRAGOSLAV SREJOVIĆ (note 33), 69–76.
- <sup>55</sup> IVAN STEVOVIĆ (note 23), 61–64.
- <sup>56</sup> GLANVILLE DOWNEY, *The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words Stoa and Basilike in Classical Literature, American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 41, No. 2, (1937), 197–198.
- <sup>57</sup> Malalas writes: "During these days he would sleep in the open courtyard of the basilica known as the Kaisarion, which had been built by Caesar Julius the dictator. The statue of Caesar which was outside the Conch of the basilica stood there. The Kaisarion was opposite the temple of Ares at what is known as the Macellum, because that is the only place where pig-meat is butchered, near the temple of Ares." in the 12th book of his *Chronographia*. He mentioned a Kaisarion also in the 9th book. See ELISABETH JEFFREYS, MICHAEL JEFFREYS, ROGER SCOTT, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, Melbourne, 1986, 153, 191.
- <sup>58</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 112–113.
- <sup>59</sup> VALENTIN MÜLLER, *The Roman Basilica, American Journal of Archaeology*, 41/ 2, (1937), 250–261. In our opinion this remains the best paper on the topic of typology and provenance of *basilicae* types.
- <sup>60</sup> GABRIEL LEROUX, *Les origines de l'édifice hypostyle en Grèce, en Orient et chez les Romains*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule CVIII, 1913.
- <sup>61</sup> Although there are clear examples of such longitudinal *basilicae* whose main axis was interrupted by transversal axis, as for example the Basilica in Pompeii.
- <sup>62</sup> As the main centres where this development happened, Müller emphasised Telesterion in Eleusis and Delos. VALENTIN MÜLLER (note 59), 254.
- <sup>63</sup> See about all the types in VALENTIN MÜLLER (note 59), 258 and Fig. 1.
- <sup>64</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 124.
- <sup>65</sup> Sticotti reached his conclusion because of the similar size of six inscriptions which have dimensions of roughly 4 feet high, and 2 feet wide.

- <sup>66</sup> All other inscriptions are smaller, but that does not mean that they could not have been installed on some of the bases.
- <sup>67</sup> FIKRET K. YEGUL, A Study in Architectural Iconography: Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult, *The Art Bulletin*, 64/1, (1982), 7–31. However, Yegül's attention is primarily directed to "imperial halls" dedicated to imperial cult worship in the baths in Asia Minor, he also makes an effort to connect Kaisersaal with Kaisarion.
- <sup>68</sup> Again, ornamentation of this entrance has a link with the imperial palace in Spalato, which was left unnoticed by Sticotti and others. As Sticotti documented, the entrance was framed by "richly ornamented profiled posts". Next to them, two "carefully crafted voluted consoles" were fixed to the wall, obviously "supporting" something above them. Sticotti thought that above them was something like a gable, but it seems more likely to us that they "supported" a highly profiled and ornamented beam with consoles and a cornice. This was namely because the same motif with volutes (similar, but not exactly the same shape) framed the entrance to the "Small temple" in Diocletian's palace in Spalato, where "supporting volutes" also had no constructional function, being purely decorative. Their decorativeness was further stressed by an addition of the floral motif, although positioned differently in these two cases. The connection is obvious, because one of the consoles Sticotti saw and photographed in the royal villa in Kruševac, had been transferred from Doclea (Dioclea). See PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 127 and Fig. 68.
- <sup>69</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 127 and Fig. 68.
- <sup>70</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 127–128.
- <sup>71</sup> JEAN CHARLES BALTY (note 49), 382.
- <sup>72</sup> Of course, this is mere speculation, as we do not possess any information that Diocletian actually visited Doclea (Dioclea).
- <sup>73</sup> ERWIN J. URCH, Procedure in the Courts of the Roman Provincial Governors, *The Classical Journal*, 25/2 (1929), 93–101.
- <sup>74</sup> They all seem to be of Syrian origin. See Fig. 7d and MOSCHE FISCHER, ASHER OVADIAH, ISRAEL ROLL, The Roman Temple at Kadesh, Upper Galilee: A Preliminary Study, *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984), 146–172.
- <sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, the remains of the capitals from Doclea (Dioclea) are badly preserved and scattered. However, there still remains enough material to be compared with capitals from Diocletian's palace in Spalato. They have such distinctive features that the connection is more than obvious. Fig. 7 represents just one of the comparisons. More comparisons could be made, especially because Daniela Matetić-Poljak has so thoroughly and meticulously analysed the typology of the capitals from Diocletian's palace. However, it would take a separate paper to analyse and present all comparisons. See DANIELA MATETIĆ-POLJAK, Les chapiteaux du Palais de Dioclétien, in: *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace. On the 1700th Anniversary of Existence* (eds. N. Cambi, J. Belamarić, T. Marasović), Književni krug, Split, 2009, 197–234.
- <sup>76</sup> PIERO STICOTTI (note 3), 120–122.
- <sup>77</sup> This was evident from the beginning due to the presence of the western entrances, *q*, *r* and the rest of them.
- <sup>78</sup> TATJANA M. KOPRIVICA (note 28), 82–85.
- <sup>79</sup> DRAGOSLAV SREJOVIĆ (note 33), 95.
- <sup>80</sup> See JOHN HUGO W. G. LIEBESCHUTZ, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford University Press, 2003, 29–103.
- <sup>81</sup> Where just a single wall was identified.
- <sup>82</sup> The case of Doclea (Dioclea) seems to be similar to the case of Diocletian's rearrangement of *Urbs Orientalis* in Salona, with the erection of the new forum, new temple, etc. See JASNA JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Diocletian and Salona *Urbs Orientalis*/Dioklecijan i salonitanska urbs orientalis, in: *Diocletian, Tetrarchy and Diocletian's Palace. On the 1700th Anniversary of Existence*, (eds. Nenad Cambi, Joško Belamarić, Tomislav Marasović), Književni krug, Split, 2009, 307–333; JASNA JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Hram Dioklecijanovog doba kod Porta Andetria u Saloni, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 42/1, (2011), 5–28.
- <sup>83</sup> In the case of the aqueduct, Sticotti did pay attention to the construction of the aqueduct, but what is even more interesting for this paper is an article from the daily newspaper "Politika" printed on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1930 (issue 7856) in which the investigations and excavations of three aqueducts, each with their own direction, conducted by the assistant professor of the gymnasium in Podgorica, Ivan Novicki, were presented. It is especially interesting that the main duct leading to Duklja is called "Dukljanov vodovod" [Aqueduct of Dukljanin], again suggesting that "Dukljanin" is in fact "King Dukljanin", i.e. Emperor Diocletian. The details and the scale of construction of the water ducts around Doclea (Dioclea) certainly lead us to the same conclusion.