

KLESARSKI MJERNI SISTEM I MRAMORNE PLOČE S PRIKAZOM KALVARIJE U ZADRU U DOBA KASNE ANTIKE

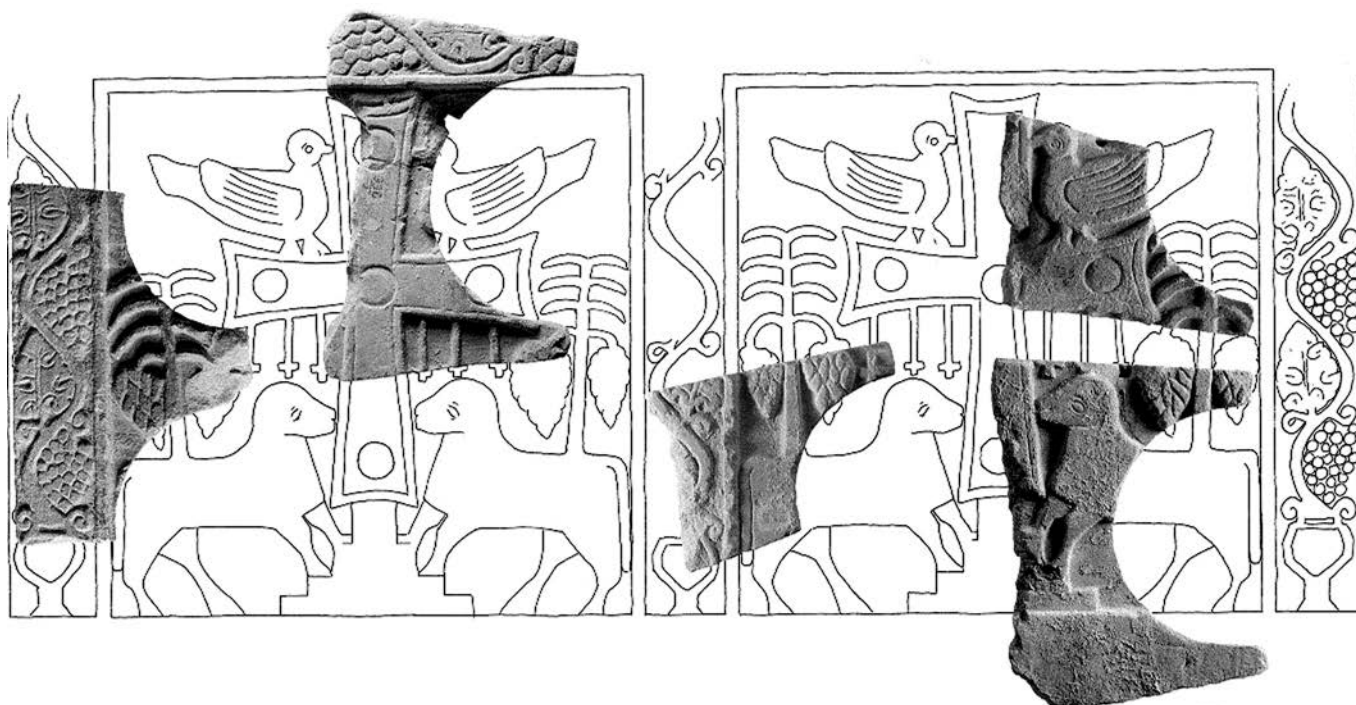
LATE ANTIQUE STONEMASONRY MEASURING SYSTEM AND MARBLE PLAQUES DEPICTING A CALVARY SCENE FROM ZADAR

U radu se obrađuju ulomci više ploča koje su bile sastavni dijelovi liturgijskog namještaja nekog kršćanskog svetišta u Zadru tijekom kasne antike. Budući da su pronađeni u sklopu romaničke rozete zadarske katedrale, pripisuje im se porijeklo iz iste bazilike. Na prednjim stranama ploče su bile ukrašene ikonografskom scenom Kalvarije: u središtu dominira križ tipa *crux gemmata* uzvišen na stepeničastom postamentu. Pod krakovima su jaganjci, a povrh njih ptice. Središnji prizor je uokviren bordurom vinove loze koja izrasta iz kantarosa. Ulomci su u znanstvenim radovima izazvali oprečne datacije te se mišljenja znanstvenika kreću od kraja 6. i početka 7. st. pa sve do sredine 8. st. Nove argumentacije i saznanja idu u prilog ipak ranijim datacijama.

Ključne riječi: rano kršćanstvo, Kalvarija, *crux gemmata*, jaganjci, vinova loza

This paper deals with fragments of a number of plaques that were integral parts of liturgical inventory in a Christian sanctuary in Zadar during the Late Antique period. Given that they were found in the Romanesque rosette of the Zadar Cathedral, their origin is attributed to the same basilica. The front sides of the plaques are decorated with iconographic scene of Calvary: in the centre is a *crux gemmata* type of cross, raised on a step-like postament. Under the crossbars, there are lambs, and birds above them. The central scene is framed by a border of grapevines that grow from a kantharoi. The fragments have led to conflicting dating results in scientific papers, which in the opinion of scientists, ranges from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century all the way to the mid-8th century. New arguments and finds however support a still earlier dating.

Keywords: early Christianity, Calvary, *crux gemmata*, lambs, grapevines



Slika 1. Rekonstrukcija pluteja od ulomaka pronađenih u romaničkoj rozeti zadarske katedrale

Figure 1. Reconstruction of plutei from fragments found in the Romanesque rosette of the Zadar Cathedral

preuzeto iz / after: Jakšić, 2008b, 84

Uvod

U svome poticajnom radu "Fragmenti skulpture od VI. do VIII. stoljeća iz Zadra" u prvom svesku časopisa *Diadora* iz 1960., u objavi spomenika koji su nastali na razmeđu ranokršćanskog i ranosrednjovjekovnog stila, Ivo Petricoli obradio je reprezentativne primjere koji su kao spolije iskorišteni u konstrukciji rozete romaničke katedrale u Zadru.¹ Po tome se pretpostavlja da su izvorno bili sastavni dijelovi liturgijske opreme u kasnoantičkoj fazi zadarske katedrale, iako to ne možemo s potpunom sigurnošću ustvrditi. Riječ je o pločama koje su na prednjim plohama imale scenu križa s pticama i jaganjcima iz kojih izrastaju palme (Sl. 1). Pregradnjom katedrale u 12. st. ulomci su kao građevinski materijal ugrađeni u rozetu na pročelju romaničke bazilike. Prilikom rekonstrukcije rozete krajem 19. st. ranokršćanski fragmenti su izvađeni te je jedan dio privremeno bio pohranjen u spremištima pored sakristije katedrale, a drugi u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Nakon što ih je Petricoli prepoznao kao dijelove istovjetne kompozicije ulomci su trajno smješteni u depou Arheološkog muzeja gdje se i danas nalaze pod inventarskim brojevima 338/1, 338/2, 338/2b, 338/3, 338/4.

Introduction

In his seminal paper titled "Zadar Sculpture Fragments Dating from the 6th-8th Century A.D.", appearing in the first published volume of the journal *Diadora* from the year 1960 that presented monuments originating in the period from the early Christian to the early medieval style, Ivo Petricoli deals with typical artefacts, which as spolia, were used in the construction of the rosette of the Romanesque cathedral in Zadar.¹ This led to the presumption that they were originally integral parts of liturgical equipment from Late Antique phase of the Zadar Cathedral, although we cannot ascertain this with absolute certainty. It relates to plaques that on the front surfaces depict a cross with birds and lambs from which palms are growing (Fig. 1). The reconstruction of the cathedral in the 12th century utilised fragments as building materials that were embedded into the façade rosette of the Romanesque basilica. During renovation of the rosette at the end of the 19th century, early Christian fragments were removed and some were temporarily placed in storage next to the cathedral sacristy, and the rest in the Zadar Museum of Archaeology. After Petricoli had recognised that they were parts of an identical composition, the fragments were permanently placed in the depot of the Museum of Archaeology where they are now listed under inventory numbers 338/1, 338/2, 338/2b, 338/3 and 338/4.

In that first publication of lapidary works, I. Petricoli presented a description of them, a conceptual graphic reconstruction of the lapidary works, and recognised that

1 I. Petricoli, 1960, 179-184.

1 I. Petricoli, 1960, 179-184.

U tom prvom publiciranju lapida, I. Petricioli donosi njihovu deskripciju, idejnu grafičku rekonstrukciju te uviđa da je riječ o dva prizora koji su mogli biti dijelovi jednog monolitnog pluteja s dva polja ili, što je manje vjerojatno po njemu, da se radi o dvije zasebne ploče. Zanimljivo je da Petricioli tada nije preciznije datirao ulomke. Tek ih u trećem publiciranju datira u 5.-6. st.,² da bi ih trideset i pet godina nakon prve objave i nakon nekoliko novijih nalaza skulpture s odlikama stila od kasnoantičkog do predromaničkog razdoblja iz Zadra, datirao u kraj 6. ili početak 7. st.³ U recentno vrijeme kronološki okviri pomakli su se u još mlađe doba što je autoricu članka ponukalo na mali osvrt o njima.

PREGLAD DOSADAŠNJIH ISTRAŽIVANJA



Slika 2a. Sarkofag nepoznatog zadarskog uglednika

Figure 2a. Sarcophagus of an unknown distinguished person from Zadar

preuzeto iz / after: N. Jakšić, 2008b, 85, 010

Nakon Petriciolijevog prvog publiciranja u *Diadori*, ulomci su više puta bili teme rasprava o ranokršćanskim umjetninama sa zadarskog područja. Sam autor ih je naveo još u članku *I più antichi edifici cristiani in Zadar (Zara)* u časopisu *Arheološki vestnik* gdje donosi svoju konačnu grafičku rekonstrukciju pluteja nakon naknadnog pronalaska jednog fragmenta iste kompozicije.⁴ Petricioli opisuje ulomke i u ediciji *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, (= *Prošlost Zadra II*) i tu se konačno izjašnjava o dataciji samog spomenika za kojeg smatra da je nastao u 5. ili na početku 6. st.⁵ No, 1995. godine u radu *Sculpture in Zadar between the late Roman and pre-Romanesque periods* Petricioli se, kao što se može naslutiti iz naslova, nanovo bavi zadarskom skulpturom specifičnog stilskog karaktera koju je teško kronološki precizno determinirati.⁶ Uz nekoliko znakovitih primjera, kad je riječ o skulpturi od kasnoantičkog do predromaničkog razdoblja, Petricioli se ipak fokusira na tri ulomka sarkofaga

2 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 120-121.

3 I. Petricioli, 1995, 74-83.

4 Ulomak donjeg dijela kompozicije s janjetom pronađen je 1961. godine u prolazu između katedrale i Sv. Donata. I. Petricioli, 1972, 332-342, 333.

5 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 120-121.

6 I. Petricioli, 1995, 74-83.

there were two scenes, which could have been part of one monolithic pluteus featuring two sections, or, what he considered less likely, that they were two separate plaques. Interestingly enough, at that time, he did not precisely date the fragments. Only in his third publication did he date them to the 5th-6th century;² however, he dated them to the late 6th or early 7th century thirty-five years after the first publication and after a number of new sculpture finds featuring characteristics from a period extending from late antiquity to the pre-Romanesque period in Zadar.³ In recent times, the chronological frameworks have shifted to an even earlier era that has prompted this author to provide a brief overview of them.

OVERVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH



Slika 2b. Bočna strana sarkofaga nepoznatog zadarskog uglednika

Figure 2b. Sides of a sarcophagus of an unknown distinguished person from Zadar

preuzeto iz / after: N. Jakšić, 2008b, 85, 010a

After Petricioli's first publication in *Diadora*, on a number of occasions the fragments were the topic of discussions on early Christian art originating from the Zadar region. The author himself has further cited them in the article *I più antichi edifici cristiani in Zadar (Zara)*, published in the journal *Arheološki vestnik* where he presents his final graphic reconstruction of the plutei after subsequently discovering another fragment of the same composition.⁴ Petricioli describes the fragments in the edition of *Zadar in the Middle Ages*, (= *Past Zadar II*) and there he finally notes

2 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 120-121.

3 I. Petricioli, 1995, 74-83.

4 A fragment of the lower part of the composition featuring a lamb was found in 1961 in the passage between the cathedral and St. Donatus. I. Petricioli, 1972, 332-342, 333.



Slika 3. Ulomak pluteja pronađenog u crkvi Sv. Trojstva (Sv. Donata) u Zadru

Figure 3. Fragment of a pluteus found in the Church of the Holy Trinity (St. Donatus) in Zadar

preuzeto iz / after: Petricioli, 1995, 76

s križevima pod lukovima i jedan cjelovito sačuvani primjer sarkofaga koji se sigurnije mogu datirati u drugu polovicu ili sam kraj 8. st (Sl. 2a, 2b). U komparaciji s njima pretpostavlja da se sporni dijelovi pluteja pronađeni kao spolije u romaničkoj rozeti mogu datirati dosta ranije, odnosno u sam kraj 6. st. Uostalom, dataciju potvrđuje i usporedbom s plutejom iz crkve Sv. Trojstva u Zadru na kojem je u plitkom reljefu isklesan arhitektonski motiv arkade na stupovima pod kojim je zavjesa (Sl. 3). Štoviše, autor zaključuje da su nastali čak u istoj radionici!

Međutim, prije Petriciolijevog rada iz 1995., godine 1987. Željko Rapanić prvi pomiče dataciju pluteja u mlađe doba – i to kako je razvidno prema analogijama koje citira, oko početka 7. st.⁷ Rapanić smatra da su ploče nastale u *prijelaznom* razdoblju, a jedan od argumenata za takvu dataciju po njemu je oblik križa (*jednostavni obrub*,

the dating of the monuments which he considers to have originated in the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century.⁵ However, in 1995, in his work titled *Sculptures from Zadar between the late Roman and pre-Romanesque Periods* and as can be hinted from the title, Petricioli again begins to deal with Zadar sculptures which feature a specific stylistic character and are difficult to accurately determine in chronological terms.⁶ Relying on a few significant sculpture artefacts from Late Antiquity to the pre-Romanesque period, Petricioli nonetheless focuses on three fragments of sarcophagi featuring crosses under the arches and one completely preserved example of a sarcophagus, all of which can be dated with certainty to the second half or end of the 8th century (Fig. 2a, 2b). In comparison with these artefacts, the assumption is that the disputed parts of the pluteus discovered as spolia in the Romanesque rosette can be dated much earlier, to the end of the 6th century. Moreover, the dating is confirmed by comparing it with a pluteus from the Church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar, on which a bas-relief depicting an architectural motif of arcades on pillars has been carved and under which there is a curtain (Fig. 3). Moreover, the author concludes that they even originated from the same workshop!

However, before Petricioli's work in 1995, Željko Rapanić was the first in 1987 to shift the dating of the pluteus to an earlier period - and as is evident from the analogies he cites, this period was approximately the beginning of the 7th century.⁷ Rapanić believes that the plaques originated in a transitional period, and one of his arguments for this dating is the shape of the cross (simple border, narrow elongated crossbars, the *crux gemmata* featuring a shallow border along the edges). In addition, he says, "poorer stonemasonry work does not necessarily imply a later period", and therefore compares the Zadar artefact with the two plaques located at the front of the cathedral in Monza dating to the beginning of the 7th century (Fig. 4).⁸ They show a similar scene of the cross with lambs facing each other that are also framed by a border of wreaths and bunch of grapes indicating the persistence of early Christian tradition in the so-called Lombard era.⁹ Contrary to that, when comparing the products of workshops from the Zadar and Salona areas, Branka Migotti emphasises the particularity of the lader workshop that *nurtured the idea of figural scenes only secondarily* and which can be

5 N. Klaić – I. Petricioli, 1976, 120-121.

6 I. Petricioli, 1995, 74-83.

7 Ž. Rapanić, 1987, 124. Nikola Jakšić believes that the Rapanić's context clearly shows that the author dates the plutei to a wider period of time after the 6th and leading up to the 9th century. N. Jakšić, 2008a, 396.

8 It is a plate onto which a scene of the cross - type *crux gemmata* is engraved in the centre and has lambs are approaching on each side. It is completely framed with vine leaves and a cluster of fruits. Although the sculpting technique nor the treatment of the characters is the same, the iconographic motif is very similar to the Zadar plaques. M. David, 1999, 57-65, 58, 61, fig. 10, 14.

9 Ž. Rapanić, 1987, 125.

7 Ž. Rapanić, 1987, 124. Nikola Jakšić smatra da je iz Rapanićeva konteksta vidljivo kako autor datira pluteje u širi vremenski period nakon 6. pa do 9. st. N. Jakšić, 2008a, 396.



Slika 4. Plutej iz Monze

Figure 4. Pluteus from Monza

preuzeto iz / after: M. David, 1999, 61, Sl. 10

uski izduženi krakovi križa tipa *crux gemmata* s plitkom bordurom uz rubove). Dalje kaže: *lošiji klesarski rad ne mora značiti i kasnije vrijeme* te zadarski primjer uspoređuje s dvije ploče koje se nalaze na pročelju katedrale u Monzi datirane na početak 7. st. (Sl. 4).⁸ Na njima je prikazana slična scena križa sa sučeljenim jaganjcima koji su također uokvireni bordurom *vitica i grozdova što pokazuje persistiranje starokršćanskih tradicija u tzv. Langobardsko doba*.⁹ Za razliku od njega, uspoređujući produkte radionica sa zadarskog i salonitanskog područja, Branka Migotti ističe specifikum jaderske radionice koja je *u drugom planu njegovala i zamisao figuralnog prizora što zaključuje između ostalog i na osnovi ovih ulomaka*.¹⁰ Upravo zbog prisutnosti golubice uz križ koja je, po mišljenju autorice, kronološki ograničena *uglavnom na 5. st.* Migotti smatra da je i plutej produkt radionice iz tog razdoblja. No, važno je istaknuti i njezino isticanje klesarskog oblikovanja palmi s listovima povijenim prema dolje što je svojstveno *konstantinopolskom i ravenatskom ranokršćanskom umjetničkom miljeu*.¹¹ Radomiru Juriću je ikonografski prikaz na plutejima pogodan za analogiju simbolike ranokršćanskih metalnih fibula u obliku križeva s golubicama pronađenim na zadarskom i kvarnerskom području.¹² Mirja Jarak obrađuje ikonografiju i stil na plutejima povezujući ih sa sličnom ikonografijom na pluteju koji je kao spolija uzidan na crkvi Sv. Eufemije u Kamporu na Rabu (Sl. 5).¹³ Jarak, na tragu Petriciolijeve datacije, također smatra da

8 Radi se o ploči na kojoj je ugraviranjem prikazana scena križa tipa *crux gemmata* u središtu kojem se sa svake strane primiču jaganjci. Sve je uokvireno lozicom s lišćem i plodom grozda. Iako tehnika klesanja nije ista kao ni obrada likova, ikonografski motiv je vrlo sličan onome na zadarskim pločama. M. David, 1999, 57-65, 58, 61, sl. 10, 14.

9 Ž. Rapanić, 1987, 125.

10 B. Migotti, 1991, 293.

11 B. Migotti, 1991, 293.

12 R. Jurić, 1993, 109.

13 M. Jarak, 2005, 275-286, 280-284.



Slika 5. Ulomak pluteja s *crux gemmata* uzidan kao spolija u crkvi Sv. Eufemije u Kampora

Figure 5. Fragment of a pluteus with a *crux gemmata* built into a wall as a spolia in the Church of St. Euphemia in Kampor

preuzeto iz / after: M. Jarak, 2005, 276, Sl. 2

concluded, among other things, on the basis of these fragments.¹⁰ Due to the presence of a dove alongside the cross, chronologically limited by the author to the 5th century, Migotti believes that the pluteus is a product of a workshop from that period. However, importantly, emphasis should be also placed on the stonemasonry design of the palm tree featuring leaves bent downwards, a characteristic of the *Constantinople and Ravenna early Christian art milieu*.¹¹ Radomir Jurić finds the iconographic representation on the plutei suitable for an analogy of early Christian symbolism of the metal fibulae in the form of crosses featuring pigeons discovered in the Zadar and Kvarner area.¹² Mirja Jarak deals with the iconography and style on plutei, linking them to similar iconography on a pluteus, which as spolia, was built into the church of St. Euphemia in Kampor on the island of Rab (Fig. 5).¹³ Jarak, in line with Petricoli's dating, also believes that the pluteus originated at the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century.¹⁴ Ultimately, the pluteus from Kampor is associated with the Zadar fragments and is rightly attributed as being a product of an early Christian stonemasonry workshop in Zadar.¹⁵ Ante Milošević accepts the direction indicated by Rapanić, but provides additional arguments, such as a comparison of the borders with Zadar plutei featuring a relief from Aquileia that originated in the 8th century (it refers to a cathedra backrest where on its upper cornice a grapevine emerges from the kantharos in the centre on each side with alternating carved leaves and bunches of grapes (Fig. 6).¹⁶ Consequently, Milošević is of the opinion

10 B. Migotti, 1991, 293.

11 B. Migotti, 1991, 293.

12 R. Jurić, 1993, 109.

13 M. Jarak, 2005, 275-286, 280-284.

14 M. Jarak, 2005, 280.

15 M. Jarak, 2005, 282.

16 A. Milošević, 1999, 237-263, 244.



Slika 6. Naslon katedre iz Aquileje

Figure 6. The backrest of the cathedra from Aquileia

foto / photo: J. Baraka

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je plutej nastao u kraj 6. početak 7. st.¹⁴ Uostalom, plutej iz Kampora povezuje sa zadarskim ulomcima i pripisuje ga, s pravom, također produktu zadarske ranokršćanske klesarske radionice.¹⁵ Ante Milošević prihvaća smjer na koji je ukazao Rapanić uz nove argumente, a riječ je o usporedbi bordure sa zadarskih pluteja s jednim reljefom iz Akvileje koji je nastao u 8. st. (radi se o naslonu katedre na čijem se gornjem vijencu iz kantarosa u središtu sa svake strane izvija lozica s naizmjenice klesanim listovima i grozdovima, (Sl. 6).¹⁶ Milošević zbog toga smatra da su i zadarski ulomci iz katedrale nastali u 8. st. i to u akvilejskim radionicama!

Tezu odnosno dataciju koju je postavio Petricioli dijeli i Pavuša Vežić u nekoliko svojih radova: bilo da je riječ o nekim ikonografskim motivima (lozica po borduri koja teče uokolo središnjeg motiva), bilo da je riječ o značajnijim produktima zadarske klesarske radionice.¹⁷ Vežić, pak, smatra da su dijelovi pluteja nastali tijekom druge trećine 6. st. u *klasičnom razdoblju justinijanske epohe*.¹⁸ Što se tiče same ikonologije, donosi nova promišljanja o sceni kao o *Križu na Svetom Brdu – Sionu*. Pri tom znak Križa povezuje s Kristom dok bi stepeničasto profilirano podnožje bilo Sion odnosno simboličan naziv za cijeli Sveti grad - Jeruzalem. Autor razmatra i o

that the fragments from the Zadar Cathedral originated in the 8th century, from the Aquileia workshops!

The thesis or dating that Petricioli established is also shared by Pavuša Vežić in several of his works: whether it involves iconographic motifs (grapevine along a border that runs around the central motif) or whether it deals with important products from the Zadar stonemasonry workshop.¹⁷ Vežić, however, believes that parts of the pluteus approximately originated in from the period 533-566, in the *classical period of the Justinian era*.¹⁸ As for the actual iconology, it provides new insight into the scene as well as *The Cross on the Holy Mount of Zion*. Accordingly, the cross depiction relates to Christ himself with the step-like base either Zion or a symbolic name for the entire Holy City of Jerusalem. The author also discusses the original function of the plaque. Specifically, the plaque could have originally been monolithic, featuring two fields similar to a square or two shorter plutei presenting the same scene, which in that case would suggest not only that the pluteus was part of the sanctuary rail, but also part of the ambon parapet (which could also be suggested by the thickness of the 6-8 cm fragments).¹⁹

Nikola Jakšić in the wake of earlier dating established by A. Milošević, provides a more detailed analysis of the plutei comparing them with several rare, but significant examples of early medieval sculptures originating from the regions of northern Italy.²⁰ Jakšić considers that the relatively flat style of sculpting is closer to the pre-Romanesque method, whereas the iconographic motif that is characteristic of the late-Roman epoch has features of the *Liutprand Renaissance*, which readily used motifs from previous eras in its works. In regard to the technical nature of the actual plutei, with grapevines bordering its adjacent sides and the upper horizontal side, Jakšić explains this technical system using a unique synthesis of the pluteus and pilaster, which took place in the Early Middle Ages. Contrary to that, in early Christianity, each element was separated and connected by various methods: a system of ribs and grooves, or metal clamps and pins. Thus, in Late Antiquity, besides the joins of the pilasters and plutei, a separate horizontal beam often rested on the sanctuary railing plaque.²¹ The plutei last appeared in Tomislav

14 M. Jarak, 2005, 280.

15 M. Jarak, 2005, 282.

16 A. Milošević, 1999, 237-263, 244.

17 P. Vežić, 2005, 172; 2007a, 119-157, 132, 149-150, sl. 30; 2007b, 415-428, 418-419.

18 P. Vežić, 2007a, 132.

17 P. Vežić, 2005, 172; 2007a, 119-157, 132, 149-150, fig. 30; 2007b, 415-428, 418-419.

18 P. Vežić, 2007a, 132.

19 P. Vežić, 2007a, 149.

20 N. Jakšić, 2008, 395-406; 2008b, 5-38, 13-15, 84-85 (N. Jakšić, Cat. no. 009); 2010, 17-26, 20.

21 N. Jakšić, 2008b, 13-15.

izvornoj funkciji same ploče. Naime, moguće da je ploča izvorno bila monolitna s dva polja nalik kvadratu ili dva kraća pluteja s istom scenom što bi u tom slučaju upućivalo ne samo na plutej kao dio ograde svetišta, već i na dijelove parapeta ambona (na što bi mogla sugerirati i debljina ulomaka od 6 - 8 cm).¹⁹

Nikola Jakšić na tragu mlađih datacija koje je postavio A. Milošević detaljnije analizira pluteje uspoređujući ih s nekoliko rijetkih, ali značajnih primjera ranosrednjovjekovne plastike sa sjevernotalijanskog područja.²⁰ Jakšić smatra da je vrlo plošan stil klesanja bliži predromaničkom načinu, dok ikonografski motiv koji je karakterističan za kasnoantičku epohu opravdava obilježjem *liutprandske renesanse* koja je u svojim djelima rado koristila motive prijašnjih razdoblja. Primjetno je da su pluteji bili obrubljeni po bokovima i s gornje uzdužne strane bordurom ukrašenom vinovom lozom i lišćem. Takav tehnički sistem Jakšić objašnjava svojevrsnim sintetiziranjem pluteja i pilastara što se događa u ranom srednjem vijeku jer je naprotiv u ranom kršćanstvu svaki pojedini element bio zaseban i povezivao se različitim metodama: sistemom rebra i utora, metalnim klanfama i trnovima. Dakle, u doba kasne antike uz spojeve pilastara i pluteja često je povrhu ploča ograda svetišta nalijegala jedna zasebna horizontalna greda.²¹ Pluteji su se posljednji put pojavili u publikaciji Tomislava Marasovića o predromaničkom razdoblju u Dalmaciji gdje sam kaže: „*Autori koji su obrađivali plutej nisu suglasni po pitanju njegova datiranja, ali u posljednje vrijeme prevladava mišljenje da je izrađen u VIII. stoljeću*“.²²

Analizirajući iznesena mišljenja raznih autora očito je, dakle, da postoje dvije oprečne datacije: one koju je postavio sam Petricioli i one koju je postavio A. Milošević odnosno Nikola Jakšić. Potonji ih, dakle, obrađuje kao plastiku nastalu u polovini 8. st. Ukoliko se prihvati ta teza, ulomci se ne bi trebali smatrati ranokršćanskim već upravo predromaničkim, no je li to zaista tako?

Deskripcija ulomaka i problematika njihova datiranja
Ulomci pluteja napravljeni su od sivkastog mramora,²³ od finijeg i tvrdog materijala kojim su obično rađene oltarne instalacije dok su ploče ograde svetišta ili ambona češće rađene od jeftinijeg kamena (lokalnog vapnenca). Priroda materijala može nam sugerirati dvije činjenice: ili je kao spolija preuzet od antičkih ruševina kojima je Zadar obilovao u 6. st. ili je kao import stigao iz nekih

Marasović's publication of the pre-Romanesque period in Dalmatia, where he says: "Authors that have treated the plutei do not agree on the question of its dating, but in recent times the prevailing opinion has been that it was produced in the 8th century".²²

In analysing the opinions expressed by various authors, it therefore becomes obvious that there are two conflicting results of archaeological dating: the one that I. Petricioli determined and the dating established by A. Milošević and N. Jakšić. Therefore, the later treat them as stonework originating from the mid-8th century. If this thesis is correct, the fragments should not be regarded as being early Christian but rather pre-Romanesque. However, is this really so?

Description of the fragments and issues regarding their archaeological dating

Fragments of the pluteus were made of a greyish marble,²³ a finer and harder material usually used for making altars, whereas the railing plaques of the sanctuary or the ambon were often made of cheaper stone (local limestone). The properties of the material may suggest two facts: either it was taken from the ancient ruins as spolia of which Zadar had a plentiful supply in the 6th century, or it arrived as an import from other regions.²⁴ If it is indeed imported marble, the presentation on it was certainly carved in the local Zadar workshop based on the ungainly treatment of the carved motifs. The contours of all fragments follow the breakages. The measurements of fragments 1 to 5 are as follows: (1) height 48 cm, width 32 cm, thickness 8-6 cm; (2) height 24 cm, width 33 cm, thickness 7,5-7-5 cm; (3) height 46.5 cm, width 31 cm, width 7 cm; (4) height 46 cm, width 34-33 cm, thickness 6-6.5 cm; (5) height 24 cm, width 32 cm, thickness 6-7 cm. Their thickness of about 6 cm (pluteus field) or 8 cm (for the edge) is notable. Based on a graphic reconstruction, the plutei were 185 cm long and about 96 cm high.

As has been previously established in the literature, plutei were originally parts of at least two fields of an almost identical composition. Their current shape is the result of being reshaped into parts of the Romanesque rosette (a secondary function in the role of imposts between the uprights and the openings of the rosette). The first fragment belongs to the left lateral edge of the plaque on which, along the edge lath, part of the field

19 P. Vežić, 2007a, 149.

20 N. Jakšić, 2008, 395-406; 2008b, 5-38, 13-15, 84-85 (N. Jakšić, kat. br. 009); 2010, 17-26, 20.

21 N. Jakšić, 2008b, 13-15.

22 T. Marasović, 2008, 285.

23 Nije provedena petrografska analiza kamena te nije ustvrđeno o kojem se točno sivkastom mramoru radi.

22 T. Marasović, 2008, 285.

23 No petrographic analysis of the stone has been conducted and what greyish marble was used has not been determined.

24 In Zadar and the wider area, only one example of a pluteus made of grey marble from the late Roman period has been found. This plaque from the Basilica of St. Thomas in Zadar was probably imported from the workshop on the coast of the Black Sea. I. Petricioli, 1977, 145-156, 148; P. Vežić, 2005, 169; 2007, 135, 152-153; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 82-83 (P. Vežić, Cat. no. 008.); A. Mišković, 2009, 129-138, 131.

drugih krajeva.²⁴ Ukoliko se ipak radi o uvezenom mramoru, prikaz na njemu je svakako isklesan u lokalnoj zadrskoj radionici s obzirom na nespretniju obradu kle-sanih motiva. Obris svih ulomaka je u lomovima. Mjere ulomaka su sljedeće: 1. visina 48 cm, širina 32 cm, debljina 8 - 6 cm; 2. visina 24 cm, širina 33 cm, debljina 7,5 cm; 3. visina 46,5 cm, širina 31 cm, debljina 7 cm; 4. visina 46 cm, širina 34 - 33 cm, debljina 6 - 6,5 cm; 5. visina 24 cm, širina 32 cm, debljina 6 - 7 cm. Zamjetna je njihova debljina od oko 6 cm (polje pluteja) odnosno 8 cm (rub). Po grafičkoj rekonstrukciji pluteji su bili dugački 185 cm, a visoki oko 96 cm.

Kao što je dosada ustanovljeno u literaturi, pluteji su izvorno bili dijelovi barem dva polja gotovo istovjetne kompozicije. Današnji im je oblik posljedica preoblikovanja za dijelove romaničke rozete (sekundarna funkcija u ulozi imposta između stupića i otvora rozete). Prvi ulomak pripada lijevom bočnom rubu ploče na kojem je uz rubnu letvu vidljiv i dio polja sa stabljikom datule. Po cijeloj visini letve uspinje se lozica vinove loze koja izrasta iz kantarosa na dnu. Vidljiv je tek dio njegova vrata s dvije ručice izvedene u obliku omanjih volutica. Vinova lozica, koju čini glatko profilirani prut, penje se u valovima u čijim praznim površinama naizmjenice ostavlja po jedan grozd ili list koji vise na uvijenoj peteljci. Jednostavan profil dijeli letvu od polja u kojem se uzdizala razgranata stabljika palme s većim plodom datule. Na drugom ulomku koji pripada također lijevom bočnom rubu ploče vidi se stražnji dio tijela jaganjca te stablo palme s grozdovima datula. Lozica koja se uspinje iz kantarosa ima obrnuti smjer povijanja od one na prvom ulomku. Na trećem ulomku dio je centralnog motiva polja pluteja: veći dio križa – *crux gemmata*, koji ima lagano proširene krajeve i profilirani obris. Očuvana je samo desna vodoravna hasta na kojoj se nalazila golubica. Od nje je vidljiv dio glave s kljunom. O hastu su ovješena tri izdanka na kojima su visjeli križići i ostali (nesačuvani) motivi. Povrh križa je profilom odvojena rubna letva po kojoj i dalje teče lozica s grozdom, odnosno listom. Na tom dijelu lozica i list su okrenuti jedno prema drugom, a do lista je vidljiv početak još jednog listića, umjesto grozda. Možda taj detalj, različit od poretka na obama rubnim letvama ukazuje na još jednu ploču, treću?²⁵ Četvrti ulomak je desni donji dio

from the date palm is visible. The grapevine climbs along the entire length of the edge and grows from the kantharoi at the bottom. Only a part of its neck and the two handles in the shape of smaller pebbles are visible. The grapevines, comprising a smooth band, climb in waves in which the empty surfaces alternately provide a bunch of grapes or leaf that hang on a coiled stalk. A simple profile separates the edge from the field in which a branching palm rises providing larger date fruits. The second fragment belonging also to the left adjacent edge of the plaque depicts the rear end of a lamb and a palm tree with a bunch of dates. The grapevine that climbs from the kantharoi has an opposite twisting direction from that of the first fragment. The third fragment shows part of the central motif of the plutei field: a larger section of the cross – the *crux gemmata*, slightly widened ends and has profiled contours. Only the right horizontal arm (hasta) depicting a dove has been preserved. The visible part is the head and beak. Three offshoots are suspended from the arm (hasta), on which small crosses and other (unpreserved) motifs used to hang. On top of the cross, a peripheral edge is separated by a profile, and the grapevine continues along the edge. On that section, a grapevine and leaf face each other, and beside the leaf, the beginning of another small leaf instead of grapes is visible. Perhaps this detail, different from the sequence on both edges of the straight section, suggests the existence of another plaque, a third one?²⁵ The fourth fragment is the lower right section of the field, which reveals that the cross rose out of the step-like base. To its right is a lamb with its front legs leaning on the steps of the base. Part of a small cross is found above its head that hung from one of the offshoots on the (arm) hasta. Part of two clusters of palms and the trunk are on the right upper side of the lamb. The fifth fragment shows almost an entirely preserved dove resting on the right crossbar. It has a rounded body, the contour of the wing is pronounced and covered with long feathers. The head has an eye with a brow above and a beak that touches the cross. There are palm branches on the bottom, right side. Therefore, the graphically reconstructed fragments provide a picture of two fields, of an approximately square shape with the same iconographic content: the elevation of the Holy Cross (the so-called Calvary motif) under which there are the two lambs and on which there are two doves (prob-

24 U Zadru i na širem zadarskom području pronađen je tek jedan primjerak pluteja iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja koji je napravljen od sivog mramora. Riječ je o ploči iz bazilike Sv. Tome u Zadru koja je vjerojatno stigla importom iz radionica na obalama Crnog mora. I. Petricioli, 1977, 145-156, 148; P. Vežić, 2005, 169; 2007, 135, 152-153; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 82-83 (P. Vežić, kat. br. 008); A. Mišković, 2009, 129-138, 131.

25 Zanimljivo je da položaj grozda i lista odgovara zapravo onima na ulomku s prikazom drugog rubnog pilastra te bi rekonstrukcija koju je složio Jakšić mogla biti ispravnija ako zamijenimo njihovu poziciju. Osim toga, naznaka lista do sljedećeg lista remeti kompoziciju loze s oba rubna pilastra te je lako moguće da je ulomak s gornjim vodoravnim vijencem i lozicom na njemu dio treće ploče. U svakom slučaju, bilo da je riječ o dvije ili tri ploče (a možda ih je bilo i još) to ne remeti ikonografiju i predodžbu pluteja.

25 Interestingly, the position of the cluster and the leaf corresponds in fact to those on the fragment depicting the second side pilaster, and the reconstruction carried out by Jakšić would have been more correct if we switch their positions. Moreover, the depiction of the leaf next to the subsequent leaf disrupts the composition of the vine on both sides of the pilaster, and it might well be that the fragment featuring the upper horizontal cornice and vine on it is part of the third panel. In any case, whether it involves two or three plaques (perhaps there were even more) it does not disturb the iconography and perception of the pluteus.

Slika 7. Ulomci ploča s prikazom Kalvarije iz episkopalnog kompleksa u Zadru

Figure 7. Fragments of a plaque depicting Calvary from the bishop's complex in Zadar

preuzeto iz / after: N. Jakšić, 2008b, 80-81, Sl. 006

polja koji odaje da se križ izdizao iz stepeničasto profiliranog postolja. S njegove desne strane je jaganjac koji se prednjim nogama oslanja o podnožje postolja. Iznad njegove glave je dio križića koji je visio s jednog od izdanka haste. S desne gornje strane jaganjca je dio dvaju grozdova palme i njene stabljike. Peti ulomak pokazuje gotovo u cijelosti sačuvanu golubicu položenu na desnu hastu križa. Tijelo joj je oblo, obris krila naglašen i ispunjen dugim perjem. Na glavici ima oko s obrvom te kljun kojim dodiruje križ. S donje, desne, strane nalaze se palmine grane. Grafički rekonstruirani fragmenti daju, dakle, sliku dvaju polja, približno kvadratnih oblika i istog ikonografskog sadržaja: uzdignuća Svetog križa (takozvani motiv Kalvarije) pod kojim su dva jaganjca i na kojem su dvije golubice (vjerojatno kao simboli prvih, židovskih obrednih prinosa).²⁶ Jaganjci okrenuti prema križu simboliziraju rudimentirani prikaz Krista prema kojem se kreću apostoli (dva jaganjca su prema tome vjerojatno Petar i Pavao).²⁷

Obrada svakako govori o kasnom razdoblju ranokršćanske umjetnosti. Tvrdo oblikovani likovi ptica i ovaca dani su vrlo stilizirano, dok su predimenzionirane palme s plodovima više naturalistički obrađene za razliku od realističnih prizora iz kasnoantičkog razdoblja. Plošna obrada i oštro urezani listovi loze upućuju na pozno doba ranokršćanske umjetnosti, a u prilog tome ide i gomilanje likova na ploči.

Međutim, iako Jakšić smatra da sama ikonografija nije presudna za dataciju djela, što može biti točno, autorica ovog članka smatra da ipak treba uputiti na neke primjere vrlo slične ikonografske scene iz klasičnog justinijanovog razdoblja. Tako su pronađene još dvije ploče s istim motivom Kalvarije i to u samom episkopalnom kompleksu u Zadru koje su izvorno pripadale instalaciji ambona. Ploče su pronađene integrirane kao spolije u pločniku zadarske krsionice (Sl. 7). Uske stranice ambona podijeljene su jednim horizontalnim profilom u dva likovna polja. U donjim poljima nalazile su se dvoprute skvame dok je u gornjima bio isklesan motiv Kalvarije – križ na stepeničasto profiliranom podnožju. Sa svake strane tako oblikovanog brda Kalvarije izvija se po jedna palmeta, dok se nad vodoravnim hastama križa nalaze višelatične rozete.²⁸ Motiv Kalvarije nešto



ably as symbols of the first, Jewish ritual offerings).²⁶ The lambs facing the cross symbolise a rudimentary representation of Christ towards whom the apostles are facing (the two lambs therefore are most likely Peter and Paul).²⁷

The treatment of the stonework definitely testifies to a late period of early Christian art. The hard-sculpted figures of birds and sheep are very stylised, while the oversized palms with the fruits are more naturalistically treated as opposed to realistic scenes from the Late Antique period. The surface treatment and sharp paired leaves suggest a period of decline in early Christian art, and this is supported by the accumulation of characters on the plaque.

However, although Jakšić believes that iconography itself is not decisive for dating a work, which may be true, it is the author's opinion that some examples of very similar iconographic scenes from the classic Justinian period should be taken into account. In view of that, two plaques with the same Calvary motif were found in the bishop's complex in Zadar, which originally belonged to an ambon assembly. The plaques were found integrated as spolia in the pavement of the baptistery in Zadar (Fig. 7). The narrow sides of the ambon are sectioned using a single horizontal profile in the two artistic fields. In the lower fields, there were double band squamae on the top fields, a Calvary motif has been carved – a cross on a step-like base. A palmetto twists outwards from each side of the thus formed Calvary hill, and a multiple-petal rosette is located above the horizontal crossbar.²⁸ The Calvary motif is somewhat different from those that are the subject of this paper. The cross itself is surrounded exclusively with plant motifs, in contrast to those animal motifs on marble plutei from the cathedral, thus implying

26 Tako su na primjer prilikom Kristova obrezivanja u Hramu, Josip i Marija primijeli dvije golubice za žrtvu Bogu. Lk, 2, 21-24, *Jeruzalemska biblija*, 1996, 1463.

27 T. F. Mathews, 1999, 150-161; M. Jarak, 2005, 281, kada navodi talijanske autore koji su se bavili ravenatskom plastikom.

28 P. Vežić, 2005, 171; 2007, 133, 150-151, sl. 32; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 10-11, 80-81 (P. Vežić, kat. br. 006).

26 Thus, for example, during circumcision of Christ in the Temple, Joseph and Mary offered up two doves as a sacrifice to God. Luke, 2, 21-24, *The Jerusalem Bible*, 1996, 1463.

27 T. F. Mathews, 1999, 150-161; M. Jarak, 2005, 281, when citing Italian authors that dealt with Ravenna stone works.

28 P. Vežić, 2005, 171; 2007, 133, 150-151, fig. 32; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 10-11, 80-81 (P. Vežić, Cat. no. 006).



drugačiji od onih koje su tema ovog rada. Sam križ okružen je isključivo vegetabilnim motivima, za razliku od onih animalnih na mramornim plutejima iz zadarske katedrale te time ukazuje više na motiviku Rajske vegetacije. Osim toga obrada je karakteristična za stil razvijenog 6. st. Zanimljivo je da je i na lokalitetu Glavčine u blizini Podvršja u zadarskom zaleđu pronađeno dvadesetak pluteja ograde svetišta iz više ranokršćanskih faza od kojih su za raspravu važni pluteji koji imaju upravo motive Kalvarije. Ukupno osam primjera pluteja ima za središnji motiv uzdignuti križ na povišenom postamentu (brdu) iz kojeg se izvijaju palmete, dakle kao varijante onih koji dekoriraju stranice ambona iz zadarske katedrale (Sl. 8).²⁹ Na već spomenutom ulomku pluteja na Rabu koji je uzidan u zidu klaustura u samostanu Sv. Eufemije u Kamporu, također je isklesan motiv *crux gemmata* koji stoji na vrhu stepenasto profiliranog obrisa.³⁰ Treba istaknuti da je još jedan ulomak slično obrađenog lista vinove lozice i grozda pronađen na rapskom području!³¹ Pojas na kojem su izvedeni spomenuti motivi

29 Dosada je publiciran tek jedan rekonstruirani primjer s motivom Kalvarije koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Budući da je u tijeku izrada monografije o samom lokalitetu u kojoj autorica osobno sudjeluje, obradom pronađenih liturgijskih instalacija i arhitektonske plastike ista je imala prilike detaljnije analizirati i dijelove ograde svetišta s ikonografijom Kalvarije.

30 M. Domijan, 2001, 23. U neposrednoj blizini nalazi se utvrda na rtu Kaštelina kraj Kampora kao dio bizantskog sistema obrane. Možda je plutej dio opreme svetišta koje je bilo povezano s utvrdom, što bi odgovaralo dataciji ulomka?

31 M. Domijan, 2001, 49; M. Jarak, 2005, 283.

Slika 8. Plutej iz Glavčina kraj Podvršja

Figure 8. Pluteus from Glavčine near Podvršje

foto / photo: A. Mišković

more of the Paradise plant motifs. Besides that, the work is characteristic of the style developed in the 6th century. Interestingly enough, twenty plutei from sanctuary railings originating from a number of early Christian phases were found at the site Glavčine close to Podvršje in the Zadar hinterland, and of these the plutei that depict the Calvary motif are important for this discussion. Eight examples of the plutei have the central motif of a raised cross on an elevated postament (hill) from which the palmettes twist outwards, therefore variants of those that decorate the sides of an ambon from the Zadar cathedral (Fig. 8).²⁹ The already mentioned fragment of a pluteus on the island of Rab that has been built into the wall of the cloister in the monastery of St. Euphemia also has a carved *crux gemmata* motif in the centre supported by a step-like base.³⁰ A point should be made that another fragment of a similarly produced grapevine leaf and bunch of grapes was found in the Rab area!³¹ The belt on which the mentioned motifs have been created is separated from the central field by a twisted rope and shallow carved band. However, since it is a small fragment, the figure is not recognisable in the midst of the pluteus of which only a single-band triangular motif is noticeable (perhaps the tip of a bird's wing?). The fragment dates to the Late Antique period. It is worth mentioning that all this speaks in favour of a strong concentration of iconographic Calvary motifs in the wider area of Zadar, motives that by their nature are linked to the Eastern rite of Constantinople.³² The type of cross rising from the base depicting the symbolism of the hill of Calvary is more common in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire because the actual symbol of the cross is closely connected with the Christ's suffering and undergone agony which is more frequent with eastern theologians in contrast to those from the west. As evidence of this, the author will provide

29 Up until now, only one reconstructed example with the Calvary motif has been published, which is kept in the Archaeological museum Zadar. As a monograph of the actual location is currently in preparation and in which the author of this work is personally participating by researching the finds of the liturgical installations and architectural sculptures, the author has had the opportunity to analyse in detail parts of the sanctuary rail along with the iconography of Calvary.

30 M. Domijan, 2001, 23. Immediately nearby is the fort on Cape Kaštelina, near Kampor, as part of the Byzantine defence system. Perhaps the pluteus was part of the equipment of the sanctuary that was connected with the fort, and which would correspond to the dating of the fragment?

31 M. Domijan, 2001, 49; M. Jarak, 2005, 283.

32 The author has written about the meanings of the several types of crosses among which are the Calvary and the *crux gemmate* (A. Mišković, 2013, 859-876). The main sources of the origin of these crosses were found in the patristic quotations of John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Venantius Fortunatus, and in the donations of the Eastern Emperors - Constantine the Great, Theodosius II, Tiberius II Constantine and Justin II, who nurtured and emphasised with predilection the salvific-sacrificial essence of the cross. Thus, Emperor Theodosius II (408-450) was the first to erect a monumental gold cross, decorated with jewels at the site of Christ's death in Jerusalem.

odijeljen je od središnjeg polja tordiranim užetom i plitko klesanom trakom. No, budući da se radi o malom ulomku, nije prepoznatljivo kakav je lik bio posred pluteja od kojeg se nazire tek jednoprti trokutasti motiv (možda vrh krila ptice?). Ulomak je datiran u kasnoantičko razdoblje. Važno je spomenuti da sve to govori u prilog jakoj koncentraciji ikonografskog motiva Kalvarije na širem zadarskom području, motiva koji je po svojoj naravi vezan uz istočni konstantinopolski obred.³² Tip križa koji se izdiže iz postolja u simbolici brda Kalvarije učestaliji je na istočnom području Rimskog Carstva jer je i sam simbol križa povezan usko uz Kristovu muku i proživljenu patnju zastupljeniji kod istočnih teologa za razliku od zapadnih. Kao potvrda tomu navest će se tek par misli istočnih crkvenih pisaca. Veliki crkveni otac Ivan Zlatousti s kraja 4. stoljeća o samom obredu euharistije piše: "Crkveno žrtvovanje u euharistiji nije ništa drugo doli ponovno oživljena Kalvarija."³³ Njegovi zapisi s vremenom će postati temeljna okosnica i ostalim teolozima te će se euharistijska žrtva u bizantskom obredu smatrati trenutkom Kristove smrti i ponovnog uskrsnuća.³⁴ Teolog Teodor Mopsuestijski (suvremenik, štoviše i prijatelj Ivana Zlatoustog) opisuje trenutak obredne žrtve kao čina ponovne Kristove muke: "Kada oni (đakoni, op. a.) donose darove na oltar ih polažu za savršeni događaj muke. Tako mi vjerujemo da je i Krist već položen na oltar kao u grob i da je već podnio muku. Zato neki đakoni stavljaju plahte na oltar, pokazujući na taj način sličnost s pogrebnim povojima; tada nakon što su ih položili (prilike, op. a), stoje sa strane i stvaraju vjetar nad Njegovim svetim tijelom i paze da ništa ne padne na nj ukazujući na taj način na veličanstvenost pokopanog tijela..."³⁵ Teološka podloga nastavit će se kod drugih istočnih pisaca (Pseudodionizija, Germana, itd.) te će na taj način utjecati i na likovnu obradu liturgijske opreme koja se nalazi u prostorima u kojima se odvija *ponovno oživljena Kalvarija*. Osim toga, znak križa pronašao je svoje mjesto i na novcu istog bizantskog carstva. Pod carem Tiberijem II. Konstantinom (578.– 582.; u doba kada je papa Grgur Veliki bio apokrisar u Bizantu!) križ uzdignut na četiri stube kao simbol Golgote ili Kalvarije postaje samostalan znak na bizantskom novcu.³⁶ Logično je očekivati da je zbog toga i (sveprisutan) motiv

simply a few thoughts from eastern ecclesiastical writers. The great church father John Chrysostom of the late fourth century wrote about the Eucharistic ritual: "an ecclesiastical sacrifice in the Eucharist is nothing less than repeating the experience of Calvary."³³ In time, his writings eventually became an essential foundation for other theologians and the Eucharistic sacrifice in the Byzantine rite will be deemed the moment of Christ's death and resurrection.³⁴ The theologian Theodore of Mopsuestia (a contemporary, and indeed a friend of John Chrysostom) describes the moment of the ritual sacrifice as the act of Christ's passion repeated: "When they (deacons, author's note) bring gifts, they place them on the altar for the perfect event of the Passion. Thus, we believe that Christ has already been laid on the altar as in the grave, and that he has already undergone the agony. That is why some deacons place sheets on the altar, demonstrating a similarity with grave cloths; then, after they have placed them (gifts, author's note), they stand aside and create a breeze above his holy body taking care that nothing should fall on it, thus emphasizing the majesty of the buried body..."³⁵ The theological foundation will continue with other eastern writers (Pseudo-Dionysius, Germana, etc.) and influence the visual adaptations of liturgical equipment located in areas in which *Calvary is again re-lived*. In addition, the depiction of the cross has found its place on the coin of the said Byzantine Empire. Under Emperor Tiberius II Constantine (582-578; in the period when Pope Gregory the Great was an apocrisiarius in Byzantium!), raised on four steps as a symbol of Golgotha, or Calvary, the cross became an independent sign on Byzantine money.³⁶ It was logical to expect that and because of this, the (omnipresent) Calvary motif became increasingly common on Byzantine territory, i.e. in the area under his administration.

However, as already mentioned, having reconstructed the Zadar fragments into a single broad pluteus with two fields, N. Jakšić dated it to the middle or even the second half of the 8th century, at the time of the so-called *Liutprand Renaissance*.³⁷ He was encouraged to do the archaeological dating on account of A. Milošević's opinion, who in treating the grapevine leaves that climb along the border of the Zadar pluteus, noticed a similarity with an example of a leaf on the cathedra from Aquileia. In fact, Milošević even linked them to the same workshop! As for the other examples, Jakšić enumerates a few of them from the northern Italian cities; however, it is the opinion of this author that the works on them, as is the case with the backrest on

32 O značenjima više tipova križa među kojima su i kalvarija *te crux gemmata* autorica je pisala u zasebnom radu (A. Mišković, 2013, 859-876). Glavni izvori nastanka spomenutih križeva pronađeni su u patrološkim citatima Ivana Zlatoustoga, Teodora Mopsuestijskog, Venancija Fortunata, odnosno u donacijama istočnih careva – Konstantina Velikoga, Teodozija II, Tiberija II Konstantina i Justina II, koji posebnom naklonošću njeguju te naglašavaju spasenjsko-žrtveni karakter križa. Tako je car Teodozije II (408-450) prvi dao podići monumentalni zlatni križ optočen draguljima na samom mjestu Kristove smrti u Jeruzalemu.

33 Ivan Zlatousti, *Homilia in Epistolam ad Haebreos*, 10, XVII, PG, 1886, 127-134. Usp. H. Chadwick, 2001, 483.

34 Usp. G. Dix, 1949, 289.

35 R. Tonneau – R. Devreesse, 1949, 1, 503; N. Bux, u: <http://www.enec.it/pdnet/02/Cristianesimo%20Bux%20Sindone.htm>. (7. 2. 2013).

36 S. Casartelli Novelli, 1994, 539; P. Kos, 1998, 54, 356-357.

33 John Chrysostom, *Homilia in Epistolam ad Haebreos*, 10, XVII, PG, 1886, 127-134. Cf. H. Chadwick, 2001, 483.

34 Cf. G. Dix, 1949, 289.

35 R. Tonneau – R. Devreesse, 1949, 1, 503; N. Bux, in: <http://www.enec.it/pdnet/02/Cristianesimo%20Bux%20Sindone.htm>. (7/2/2013).

36 S. Casartelli Novelli, 1994, 539; P. Kos, 1998, 54, 356-357.

37 N. Jakšić, 2008a, 395-400; 2010, 20-21; 2008b, 13-15, 84-85.



Slika 9. Dijelovi pluteja iz Vicenze

Figure 9. Parts of a pluteus from Vicenza

preuzeto iz / after: N. Jakšić, 2008a, 397, Sl. 2

Kalvarije učestaliji na bizantskom teritoriju, odnosno na području pod njegovom upravom.

Međutim, kako je već spomenuto, N. Jakšić je rekonstruiravši zadarske ulomke u jedinstveni široki plutej s dva polja, postavio dataciju u sredinu pa čak i u drugu polovicu 8. st. u vrijeme tzv. *liutprandske renesanse*.³⁷ Na dataciju ga je ponukalo mišljenje A. Miloševića koji u obradi lista vinove loze koja se penje po borduri zadarskih pluteja primjećuje sličnost s primjerom lista na katedri iz Akvileje, štoviše, Milošević ih je čak povezo s istim radioničkim ishodištem! Što se tiče ostalih primjera, Jakšić ih nabroja nekoliko iz sjevernotalijanskih gradova, no autorica smatra da obrada na njima, kao i na naslonu katedre iz Akvileje, također nije u svemu identična. Doduše, N. Jakšić kada govori o vremenu *liutprandske renesanse* ističe važnu odliku tog razdoblja, a to je preuzimanje likovnih predložaka ranijeg razdoblja što je osobito vidljivo na pluteju iz Vicenze (Sl. 9).³⁸ Po tome bi konceptu možda spolije pronađene u romaničkoj rozeti zadarske katedrale i mogle pripadati svojevrsnoj ranosrednjovjekovnoj renesansi. No, kako kaže sam autor – *nisu presudni ikonografski aspekti, ... već stilski aspekti problema*,³⁹ ali to je u biti ono što uvelike odudara od predloženih analogija. Naime, razlika između italskih primjera iz langobardskog doba i zadarskih ulomaka pronađenih u rozeti romaničke katedrale jest u načinu obrade dekoracije i ornamentike. Ornament koji prekriva kamenu plohu na produktima iz 8. st. postaje dominantan te je on na neki

the cathedra from Aquileia, are not identical in all respects. Indeed, when N. Jakšić talks of the *Liutprand Renaissance* period, he emphasises the important trait of that period, which is the adoption of visual templates from an earlier period, and particularly noticeable on the pluteus from Vicenza (Fig. 9).³⁸ Based on this concept, the spolia found in the Romanesque rosette of the Zadar cathedral may well belong to a kind of early medieval Renaissance. However, according to the author himself – *the iconographic aspects are not crucial, ... instead the style aspects of the problem*,³⁹ but this is essentially what greatly deviates from the proposed analogies. Therefore, the difference between the Italic examples from the Lombard period and the Zadar fragments lies in the concept of decoration and ornamentation that prevails in the examples of the Lombard period. Ornamentation that covers the stone surface on products from the 8th century becomes dominant, and in some way is the main motif of the pluteus. The surface of the works, which were brought in for comparison with the ones from Zadar, are rich in detail that depicts the decorative treatment of characters – and which is the feature of the works originating from the period of the *Liutprand Renaissance*. On the other hand, the Zadar fragments clearly depict a scene of an iconographic motif relating to the elevation of the Holy Cross and Calvary. Furthermore, there is no accumulation of ornamental motifs, which is, therefore, typical for the early pre-Romanesque era (as can be seen on the sarcophagus from the Zadar bishop's complex and where the sarcophagus dates back correctly in that epoch). In this respect, it is this author's opinion that there is an obvious difference in the technical execution of the figures and motifs on the Italic examples and on these Zadar artefacts. Corpuses on the Italic monuments from the Lombard period are filled with notches, geometric intersections and more detailed sectioning that can be clearly seen on the cross, featured on the pluteus from Vicenza, the peacocks on cathedra backrest from Aquileia, and on the peacock and plant ornaments on the plaque from Brescia (Fig. 10). The plaques from Milan (Fig. 11) and Monza showing an iconographic scene of Calvary, that is, the *crux gemmatae* with lambs facing each other, indicate a completely different technique of sculpting using incisions and engravings, due to which an impression of exceptional evenness is gained. Furthermore, the cross on the pluteus from Milan is completely covered with little gems that have been formed using incised circles like medallions. In addition, the cross on the Zadar fragments has gems inserted in a classical manner – only on the ends of the crossbars, while the circles are like discs, sculptured and

37 N. Jakšić, 2008a, 395-400; 2010, 20-21; 2008b, 13-15, 84-85.

38 *Liutprandska renesansa* pojam je koji se odnosi na dvorsku produkciju u doba langobardskog kralja Liutpranda i njegovih nasljednika kada se u klesarstvu koriste ranokršćanske teme. N. Jakšić, 2008b, 84-85.

39 N. Jakšić, 2010, 397-398.

38 *Liutprand Renaissance* is a term that refers to royal production at the time of Liutprand, King of the Lombards, and his successors when early Christian themes were used in stonemasonry. N. Jakšić, 2008b, 84-85.

39 N. Jakšić, 2010, 397-398.

način glavni motiv pluteja. Plohe radova koji su doneseni za usporedbu sa zadarskim obiluju detaljnima dekorativne obrade likova – što i jest obilježje radova nastalih za vrijeme *liutprandske* renesanse. S druge strane, kod zadarskih se ulomaka radi o čistom prizoru ikonografskog motiva uzvišenja sv. Križa odnosno Kalvarije te nema gomilanja ornamentalnih motiva koje je, dakle, tipično za razdoblje rane predromanike (a što je vidljivo na sarkofagu iz zadarskog episkopalnog kompleksa koji se ispravno datira u tu epohu). U tom pogledu autorica smatra da je očita razlika u tehničkoj izvedbi likova i motiva na italjskim primjerima i na ovim zadarskima. Korpusi na italjskim spomenicima iz doba Langobarda ispunjeni su urezima, geometrijskim križanjima i detaljnijom raščlambom što se jasno uočava na križu s pluteja iz Vicenze, na paunovima s naslona katedre iz Akvileje te na paunu i vegetabilnoj ornamentici na ploči iz Brescie (Sl. 10). Na pločama iz Milana (Sl. 11) i Monze na kojima je prikazana ikonografska scena Kalvarije, i to *crux gemmata* sa sučeljenim jaganjcima vidljiva je sasvim drugačija tehnika klesanja urezivanja i graviranja zbog čega se stječe dojam izrazite plošnosti. Nadalje, križ na pluteju iz Milana je potpuno prekriven malim draguljima koji su obrađeni na način urezanih kružnica poput puncu, dok na zadarskim ulomcima križ ima razmještaj gema na klasičan način – samo na krajevima hasti dok su njegovi krugovi poput diskova plastični i sferični pri čemu se izražava voluminoznost motiva. Jaganjci na italjskim pločama prekriveni su runom i streme prema središtu križa – što doprinosi njihovoj životnosti (bez obzira na plošnost motiva), a kod zadarskih ulomaka jaganjci su izrazito ukočeni i čvrsto stoje na stepenastom podnožju samog križa.⁴⁰ Dakle, na zadarskim motivima bez obzira na veći broj likova koji bi ukazivao na prepunjenost kamene plohe, nisu detaljnije obrađeni ni jaganjci ni križ: njihovi korpusi su glatki, dok je pticama tek urezima naglašeno krilo – što je u biti njihova anatomija, a ne dodatni dekorativni dodatak. Uz to, su svi motivi dani u plitkom reljefu, a rubna letva je dodatno naglašena i istaknuta u prostoru što ni kod jednog primjera s italjskog područja nije slučaj, štoviše rubni profili dani su u istoj plohi kao i ostali dio lapida! Uz te odlike, na primjeru iz zadarske sredine, a nastalom u polovini 8. st. - na sarkofagu iz dvorišta katedrale u Zadra možemo primijetiti očitu pretrpanost motiva i minucioznu razradbu zbog čega kamena raka osjetno odskače u klesarskom pogledu od ploča s Kalvarijom. Na sarkofagu je tako primjetno osobito ornamentiranje stupića koji nose troprute arkature te popunjavanje polja vegetabilnim i geometrijskim motivima uokolo križeva pod lukovima, što ide u prilog duhu langobardske umjetnosti.



Slika 10. Stranica ambona s prikazom pauna iz Brescie

Figure 10. The side of an ambon depicting a peacock from Brescia
preuzeto iz / after: N. Jakšić, 2008a, 397, Sl. 4

spherical thus expressing the voluminosity of the motif. Lambs on the Italic plaques are covered with fleece and flow towards the centre of the cross - which contributes to their vitality (regardless of the motif flatness), whereas the Zadar fragments have lambs that are exceptionally stiff and stand firmly on the step-like base of the cross.⁴⁰ Therefore, regardless of the larger number of figures on the Zadar motives, indicating an overflow of content on the stone surface, neither the lambs nor the cross have been fabricated in more detail: their corpuses are smooth, while the birds' wings are pronounced only with notches – which in essence is their anatomy, and not a decorative addition. Moreover, all the motifs are in a bas-relief, whereas the marginal section is further emphasised and pronounced in spatial terms, which is not the case in any of the examples from the Italic region. Furthermore, the edges are on the same surface as the rest of the lapidary works! Based on these features, using the example from Zadar, and originating in the mid-8th century, we notice on the sarcophagus from the Zadar cathedral courtyard an obvious overcrowding of motifs and meticulous elaboration due to which the stone of the ark stands out significantly in terms of carving as opposed from the plaque with the Calvary scene. The ornamentation on the sarcophagus depicts small pillars supporting the triple-band arcatures and the filling of the fields with plant and geometric motifs around the cross under the arches, providing evidence of the spirit of Lombard art.

As for the function once performed by the plaques depicting Calvary found in the Zadar cathedral, P. Vežić had already put forward new assumptions that they were parts of the ambon parapet. However, if the thickness of the fragments is taken into account, it could imply the function of the outer layer of the stipes beneath the altar. The

40 Ovim putem autorica se zahvaljuje mentoru prof. Pavašu Vežiću koji joj je ukazao na stil klesanja motiva koji su prikazani na pločama iz Monze i Milana.

40 I would like to thank my mentor, Prof. Pavaša Vežić, who pointed out to me the style of carving the motifs depicted on the plaques from Monza and Milan.



Slika 11. Ulomak pluteja iz Milana

Figure 11. Fragment of a pluteus from Milan

preuzeto iz / after: M. David, 1999, 61, Sl. 14

Što se tiče funkcije koju su nekoć imale ploče s Kalvarijom pronađene u zadarskoj katedrali, već je P. Vežić iznio nove pretpostavke o njima kao o dijelovima parapeta ambona. Međutim, ako se uzme u obzir debljina ulomaka, ona bi mogla upućivati i na funkciju oplata stipesa oltara. Rubni dijelovi ploča iznose 8 cm, dok samo polje u najtanjem dijelu iznosi tek 6 cm. Oplate stipesa sličnih ikonografskih odlika nalazimo u Raveni u crkvi San Vitale, a nije odviše spomenuti da je i ploča iz Monze s prizorom jaganjaca (dakle, mlađa od zadarskih) također bila u funkciji oltarne instalacije (*paliotto d'altare*).⁴¹

Uzimajući u obzir rubnu borduru po kojoj se proteže vinova lozica s plodovima, ovdje će se spomenuti i primjer iz kasnoantičkog vremena, a koji nam može poslužiti kao dokaz da su se rubni profili obrađivali na spomenut način i prije vladavine Liutpranda. Na istom području, u samoj Raveni u crkvi San Vitale nalazi se sarkofag biskupa Eklezija

peripheral parts of the plaque measure 8 cm, while only the fields in the thinnest section amount to a mere 6 cm. The outer layers of the stipes that feature similar iconographic characteristics have been found in the Church of San Vitale, in Ravenna. A special mention should also be given to the plaque from Monza, with the scene depicting lambs (i.e. younger than the Zadar plaques), and which functioned as an altar installation (*paliotto d'altare*).⁴¹

Taking into account the border along which grapevines and fruit extend, this author will also refer to an example from Late Antiquity, and which may serve as evidence that the edge forms were fabricated in the said manner before the reign of Liutprand. In the same region of Ravenna, in the Church of San Vitale, lies the sarcophagus of bishop Ecclesius, which has an iconographic scene on its longer side - important for a further discussion: the cross *crux gemmata* with deer by its sides and oversized peacocks relative to the former figures, behind which palms rise (Fig. 12). What is additionally important is that the whole scene is framed with a border pattern depicting a double band of intertwined circles and rosettes, and birds in the centre. The relief is very shallow, yet elegant with attention to detail on the motifs. It dates to the period from the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century.⁴²

Ancient system of measures on late Antique plutei in Zadar

Certainly, another argument concerning the measures of original plutei from the Zadar cathedral should be mentioned. Their height is quite important. Specifically, based on the graphic reconstruction, plutei were evidently around 96 cm high. In relation to that height, we again find that the site at Glavčine with its numerous plutei, particularly those depicting the Calvary scene, are important. Due to their excellent preservation, the plutei were reconstructed, thereby providing the original dimension of 96 cm. It is a measure that corresponds to the Antique measure of 12 handbreadths. Namely, one palm width equates to approximately 8 cm.⁴³ The smallest unit in Rome was the thumb, which was 18.5 mm, while 4 thumbs comprised one palm width (Latin, *palma*, Greek, *palaiste*), i.e. 7.4 cm. However, besides the palm width (*palma*), there were the *palma porrecta* (Greek, *orthodoron*), equivalent to 20.35 cm and the *palmus major* (Greek, *spithame*) equivalent to 22.2 cm.⁴⁴

41 M. David, 1999, 57-65, 58, 61, fig. 10; C. Rizzardi, 1999, 67-85, 73-74, fig. 20.

42 R. Farioli, 1983, 214, fig. 8.

43 Certainly, besides the pluteus with the Calvary scene, in Podvršje there are several groups of plutei with different iconographic motifs and artistic works, but they were 80 cm and 88 cm high, and are somewhat older than these. However, these plutei also conform to the unit of measure of one palm width - approx. 8 cm. A measure of one palm width can be found in M. Vitruvius Pollio, 1997, 35.

44 In regard to these standardised units, it should be noted that in regions of Greece the measurement system varied up to several centimetres and depended on the individual regions. Therefore, the measurement of a foot



Slika 12. Stranica sarkofaga biskupa Eklezija iz San Vitala u Raveni

Figure 12. Side of a sarcophagus of Bishop Ecclesia from San Vitale in Ravenna

preuzeto iz / after: R. Farioli, 1983, 214, Sl. 8

koji na dužoj stranici ima također za raspravu važnu ikonografsku scenu: križ *crux gemmata* koji s obje strane ima jelene i predimenzionirane paunove, obočen u odnosu na potonje, iza kojih su palme (Sl. 12). Ono što je dodatno važno jest da je cijeli prikaz uokviren bordurom od dvopruto prepletenih kružnica s rozetama i pticama u središtu. Reljef je vrlo plitak, ali elegantan s pozornošću prema detaljima motiva. Datiran u kraj 5.- poč. 6. st.⁴²

Antički sustav mjera na kasnoantičkim plutejima u zadru

Svakako je važno spomenuti i još jedan argument koji se tiče mjera izvornih pluteja iz zadarske katedrale. Njihova visina je dosta važna. Naime, po grafičkoj rekonstrukciji pluteji su očito bili visoki oko 96 cm. U analogiji s tom visinom nanovo nam je važan lokalitet Glavčine sa svojim brojnim plutejima poglavito onima s prizorom Kalvarije. S obzirom na njihovu izvrsnu sačuvanost, pluteji su rekonstruirani čime je dobivena izvorna dimenzija od 96 cm. Riječ je o mjeri koja odgovara antičkom načinu mjerenja od 12 dlanova. Naime, 1 dlan iznosio bi otprilike oko 8 cm.⁴³ Najmanja mjerna jedinica u Rimu bila je palac koji je iznosio 18,5 mm, dok su 4 palca sačinjavala 1 dlan (lat. *palma*,

The standardised Roman measuring system is known from the stonemasonry drawings carved on the forum in Lep-tis Magna and other drawings in North Africa (palm width 7.4 cm).⁴⁵ In the mature period of the Byzantium, the palm width was equivalent to today's measure of 7.87 cm, which is very close to today's 8 cm.⁴⁶ If we consider the examples from Zadar, and assume that the ancient Roman measurement system was applied to them, then the length of one pluteus equivalent to 96 cm can be divided into roughly 12 palm widths, or more precisely, into the four *palmas major* (88.8 cm) and ordinary palm widths *palma* (7.4), totalling 96.2 cm. In fact, even the length of the pluteus from the Zadar cathedral under reconstruction, which is 185 cm, corresponds to the Roman measure of 25 palm widths (*palma*). On the other hand, the plutei from the late Antique Zadar workshops, those that operated during the second half of the 5th century, had a height of 88 cm (11 palm widths, or 4 *palmas porrecta*) and were slightly lower than the plutei from the Justinian period. Their height would correspond to the lower sanctuary rails. Here, the author is referring

ranged from 294-296 mm, which is characteristic of the Attican or Cycladic foot, the range of 325-328 mm is characteristic of the Dorian foot, and up to 348-350 mm as the unit of measurement of a Samian or Ionian foot. However, in addition to these, a plaque with the so-called metrological or measurement schemes was found on the island of Salamis, in Greece, where it was also used as an essential construction tool. The plaque shows an extended hand, palm (with an outstretched thumb), and two feet - one anthropomorphic and the other as a mandatory rule. The measurements presented on the plaque from Salamis differ by a few millimetres from other measurement systems that were used on the territory of Greece. Specifically, the foot measures 322 mm. The relief in the form of a pediment displaying the units of measurement that is kept in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is well known. It has a carved figure of a human shown up to the chest with arms outstretched and palms spread out as well as a carved foot above the left hand. It is obvious that the respective parts of the body were used as the starting point and parameters in construction and stonemasonry of Ancient Greece. M. W. Jones, 2000, 73-93, 75, 81.

42 R. Farioli, 1983, 214, sl. 8.

43 Dakako, osim pluteja s Kalvarijom u Podvršju ima još nekoliko grupa pluteja s drugačijim ikonografskim motivima i likovnom obradom, no oni su bili visoki 80 cm i 88 cm te su i nešto stariji od ovih. Ipak, i ti pluteji odgovaraju mjernoj jedinici od 1 dlana – *circa* 8 cm. Mjera od 1 dlana može se uvidjeti u: M. Vitruvius Pollio, 1997, 35.

45 M. W. Jones, 2000, 81.

46 Ancient Rome and Byzantine Units. www.anistor.gr/history/diophant.html. (4/2/2015).

grč. *palaiste*), dakle 7,4 cm. No, u okviru dlana (*palma*), bile su *palma porrecta* (grč. *orthodoron*) koja je iznosila 20,35 cm i *palmas major* (grč. *spithame*) koji je iznosio 22,2 cm.⁴⁴ Standardizirani rimski mjerni sustav poznat je preko klesarskog crteža isklesanog na forumu u Leptis Magni i ostalih na tlu Sjeverne Afrike (dlan 7,4 cm).⁴⁵ U doba zrele faze Bizanta dlan je odgovarao današnjih 7,87 cm, dakle vrlo blizu današnjih 8 cm.⁴⁶ Ako razmotrimo zadarske primjere i ako pođemo od pretpostavke da se na njima koristio antički rimski sistem mjerenja, onda duljinu jednog pluteja od 96 cm možemo podijeliti u otprilike 12 dlanova, ili preciznije u četiri *palmas major* (88,8 cm) i jedan obični dlan *palma* (7,4) iz čega proizlazi 96,2 cm. Pa čak i duljina pluteja iz zadarske katedrale u rekonstrukciji koja iznosi 185 cm, odgovara rimskoj mjeri od 25 dlana (*palma*). S druge strane, pluteji iz kasnoantičke zadarske radionice, one koja je djelovala tijekom druge polovine 5. st., imaju visinu od 88 cm (11 dlanova, *palma*, ili 4 *palmas porrecta*) te su bili nešto niži od pluteja iz justinijanova doba. Njihova visina odgovarala bi i nižim ogradama svetišta. Tu mislim na dva pluteja kojima je visina u cijelosti sačuvana – na plutej s oktogonalnim ćelijama iz bazilike Sv. Tome u Zadru⁴⁷ i na plutej s romboidnom rešetkom iz zadarske katedrale, a u tu grupu spadaju i pluteji s motivom krizmona iz istog razdoblja pronađeni u Podvršju.⁴⁸ Općenito je na pluteje u kasnoantičkom razdoblju često s gornje strane dolazila još i jedna greda, vijenac, no ostaci vijenca (ili tragovi njihova povezivanja) nisu pronađeni ni na onima iz 5. kao ni iz 6. st. Veća visina pluteja u 6. st. mogla bi govoriti u prilog primjene visokih ograda pluteja (pergola) što na područje Dalmacije dolazi tek nakon bizantske rekonkviste.⁴⁹

44 U okviru ovih standardiziranih jedinica treba napomenuti da je na području Grčke mjerni sistem varirao do nekoliko centimetara što je ovisilo o pojedinačnim regijama. Tako se mjera stope kretala od 294 - 296 mm što je obilježje atičke ili kikaladske stope, preko 325 - 328 mm kao obilježje dorse stope, do čak 348 - 350 mm kao jedinice samske ili jonske stope. No, uz njih je još na otoku Salamis, u Grčkoj, pronađena ploča s tzv. metrologijskim ili mjernim shemama koje su se također koristile kao neophodno građevinsko sredstvo. Na ploči je prikazana ispružena ruka, dlan (s ispruženim palcem) te dvije stope – jedna antropomorfna, a druga kao obvezatno pravilo. Mjere uprizorene na ploči iz Salamisa za nekoliko milimetara odstupaju od drugih mjernih sistema koji su se koristili na tlu Grčke, konkretno mjera stope iznosi 322 mm. Već je otprije poznat reljef u formi zabata s prikazanim mjernim jedinicama koji se čuva u Ashmolean Museum u Oxfordu. Na njemu je isklesana ljudska figura do prsiju s ispruženim rukama i raširenim dlanom te isklesanom stopom povrh lijeve ruke. Očito je da su se spomenuti dijelovi tijela koristili kao polazne točke i parametri u graditeljstvu i klesarstvu antičke Grčke. M. W. Jones, 2000, 73-93, 75, 81.

45 M. W. Jones, 2000, 81.

46 Ancient Rome and Byzantine Units. www.anistor.gr/history/diophant.html. (4. 2. 2015).

47 I. Petricioli – P. Vežić, 1975, 101-110, 105; M. Domijan – I. Petricioli – P. Vežić, 1990, 298; P. Vežić, 1990, 247-250; B. Migotti, 1991, 292-293; P. Vežić, 2005, 62, 167-168; 2007, 124-125, 143-144; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 12, 79-80 (N. Jakšić, kat. br. 005).

48 P. Vežić, 1993, 29-54, 38-40; 2005, 19, 23; 2007, 122, sl. 4; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 8.

49 Na području Rima prva visoka ograda svetišta i to u Sv. Ivana Lateranskog podignuta je tek u doba pape Hormisde (prva trećina 6. st.), dok je njezina pojava u rimskim svetištima učestalija za vrijeme Grgura Velikog (zadnja trećina 6. st.). S. de Blaauw, 1994, 483, 555. Za očekivati je stoga da se na području pod rimskim vikarijatom, kao što je to bio Zapadni Ilirik u sklopu kojeg je provincija Dalmacija, preuzimaju i obrasci iz same matice.

to the two plutei with their heights completely preserved - the pluteus with octagonal cells from the Basilica of St. Thomas in Zadar⁴⁷ and the pluteus with a rhomboid grille from the Zadar cathedral, and this group also includes the plutei featuring the motif of Chrismon from the same period, found in Podvršje.⁴⁸ In general, often on the upper side of the plutei of the late Roman period, there is one more beam, cornice; however, the remains of the cornice (or traces of its joining) have not been found even on those from the 5th nor the 6th century. The height of the plutei in the 6th century might speak in favour of the use of high rails for plutei (pergola) which in the region of Dalmatia came about only following the Byzantine re-conquest.⁴⁹

As for the plutei from the pre-Romanesque phase of the cathedral or some churches within the city that was supplied by one of the Zadar masonry workshops in the Early Middle Ages, they were even higher, as much as 100 cm, which corresponds to the pre-Romanesque high sanctuary rails. Nonetheless, these plutei have the upper edge portion fabricated as a fused wreath and therefore are approximately (generally) as high as those from the early Christian period featuring the wreaths. This author shall also mention the famous example of a pluteus from the Zadar cathedral, which is kept in the Zadar Museum of Archaeology and has the crosses in separated fields. The pluteus is 108 cm high (originally it was even higher!), and is 220 cm long.⁵⁰ The other pluteus, which had a kantharos with vines and floral and animal motifs in the centre, at the bottom of the field, and that twisted outwards from each side, was about 100 cm.⁵¹

There were, however, lower plutei. The monolithic pluteus from the Zadar cathedral and featuring a double arcature and crosses in each field was 86 cm high (the original height was about 90 cm). This indicates a certain shift away from the use of ancient measures in the carving of liturgical furniture (palm widths approx. 8 cm), which was obviously lost in the Early Middle Ages.⁵² Nonetheless, that does not necessarily mean that the measuring system, essential in construction and stonemasonry, had been completely lost. On the contrary! This fact may indicate that in

47 I. Petricioli – P. Vežić, 1975, 101-110, 105; M. Domijan – I. Petricioli – P. Vežić, 1990, 298; P. Vežić, 1990, 247-250; B. Migotti, 1991, 292-293; P. Vežić, 2005, 62, 167-168; 2007, 124-125, 143-144; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 12, 79-80 (N. Jakšić, Cat. no. 005).

48 P. Vežić, 1993, 29-54, 38-40; 2005, 19, 23; 2007, 122, fig. 4; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 8.

49 In the area of Rome, the first high railing in a sanctuary was in St John Lateran, built in the period of Pope Hormisde (first third period of the 6th century), while its appearance in Roman shrines became more frequent during the time of Gregory the Great (in the last third period of the 6th century). S. de Blaauw, 1994, 483, 555. The expectation is therefore that in the territory under the Roman vicariate, as was Western Illyria within which was the province of Dalmatia, the patterns were adopted from the actual source.

50 R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, 1884, 89, fig. 28; *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, 2000, 153; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 97-100 (N. Jakšić, Cat. no. 018).

51 N. Jakšić, 2008b, 104-105 (N. Jakšić, Cat. no. 023).

52 J. Belošević, 1968, 271-280, 271-275, T. I-V; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 101 (N. Jakšić, Cat. unit 019).

Što se tiče pluteja iz predromaničke faze katedrale ili pluteja iz istog vremena koji su pripadali drugim crkvama u Zadru, a nekih crkava unutar grada koje je snabdijevala neka zadarska klesarska radionica u doba ranog srednjeg vijeka, oni su bili još viši, čak oko 100 cm što odgovara predromaničkim visokim ogradama svetišta. Uostalom, ti pluteji imaju gornji rubni dio obrađen kao srašteni vijenac te tako postaju visoki otprilike (generalno gledajući) kao i oni ranokršćanski s vijencima. Ovdje će se spomenuti poznati primjer pluteja iz zadarske katedrale koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru s križevima u odvojenim poljima. Plutej je visok 108 cm (izvorno je bio još viši!), a dugačak je 220 cm.⁵⁰ Drugi plutej koji u središtu pri dnu polja ima kantaros iz kojeg se sa svake strane izvijaju lozice s biljnim i životinjskim motivima bio je visok oko 100 cm.⁵¹

Ipak, bilo je i nižih pluteja. Monolitni plutej iz zadarske katedrale s udvojenim arkaturama i križevima u svakom polju bio je visok 86 cm (izvorna visina bila je oko 90 cm), no time ukazuje na određeni odmak od korištenja antičkih mjera u klesanju liturgijskog namještaja (dlan cca 8 cm), što se očito gubi u ranom srednjem vijeku.⁵² No, to ne mora značiti da se mjerni sistem neophodan u graditeljstvu i klesarstvu potpuno izgubio. Naprotiv! Ta činjenica može ukazivati da se u doba predromanike klasičan mjerni sistem koji se koristio u antici promijenio ili prilagodio, minimalno doduše, odnosno da su se kao parametri koristile drugačije tada aktualne klesarske jedinice.

Budući da su pluteji iz Podvršja s motivom Kalvarije visoki 96 cm (vjerojatno bez vijenca) i mramorne ploče s križem i jaganjcima iz zadarske katedrale 96 cm, oni ukazuju na još uvijek živu antičku mjeru u klesarskoj obradi opreme sakralnog prostora. No, bez obzira na jednaku visinu pa čak i vrlo sličnu ikonografiju, ipak ne pripadaju istom razdoblju što se jasno očituje i njihovoj obradi: pluteji iz Podvršja pripadaju polovini 6. st., dok bi zadarski ipak bili nešto mlađi, autorica pretpostavlja iz 7. st.⁵³

the pre-Romanesque period, the classical measurement system used in ancient times, was changed or adapted, albeit minimally, and that the parameters used were different from the then current stonemasonry units.

As the plutei from Podvršje featuring the motif of Calvary were 96 cm high (probably without the wreath) and the marble plaques featuring the cross and lambs from the Zadar cathedral were 96 cm, they point to the still current ancient measurement system in stonemasonry creations of inventory for sacral environments. However, regardless of the same height and even the very similar iconography, they do not belong to the same period, which is clearly reflected in their fabrication: the plutei from Podvršje belong to the 6th century, while the Zadar plutei were somewhat younger, probably the 7th century.⁵³

CONCLUSION

Fragments of the plaques as spolia found integrated in the circular opening of the Romanesque rosette depicting the Calvary scene and surrounded in the centre by animal and plant motifs are attributed to early Christian works, which were then at the end of Antiquity truly rare examples and therefore exceptions in our historical artistic heritage. However, the carved motifs and iconography of the cross of Calvary, or *crux gemmatae* plaques provide confirmation as to the extent of Byzantine iconography in the Zadar area. Examples of such visual scenic productions are mostly concentrated in the Constantinople area, in the northern Italic or Ravenna regions and the wider Dalmatian territory. Previous studies into the reason for such a concentration of interesting iconographic scene depictions are found in Byzantine liturgy, strongly emphasising Christ's sacrificial and salvific role, which he undertook once and for all on the hill of Golgotha/Calvary, and where this role is constantly taking place in the sacred moments of the Eucharistic sacrament. The Eastern rite comes across this foundation through its important theologians such as John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who in their works analyse and acknowledge the repetitive action of Christ's passion and resurrection precisely at the moment of the consecration of the Eucharistic offering. In the Ravenna area, the poet Venantius Fortunatus

50 R. Eitelberger von Edelberg, 1884, 89, sl. 28; *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, 2000, 153; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 97-100 (N. Jakšić, kat. br. 018).

51 N. Jakšić, 2008b, 104-105 (N. Jakšić, kat. br. 023).

52 J. Belošević, 1968, 271-280, 271-275, T. I-V; N. Jakšić, 2008b, 101 (N. Jakšić, kat. jed. 019).

53 U tom pogledu važno je ukazati i na jedan primjer pluteja iz Bilica koji na gornjoj širokoj letvi ima natpis *Miserere Christe* odijeljen križevima te time govori o samim začecima spajanja vijenca i pluteja. Njegova visina je 93 cm, dakle nešto manja od zadarskih pluteja iz 6. st. Plutej u svom polju ima niz prepletenih dvoprutih kružnica čime dodatno nagovještava razdoblje predromanike te je stoga i datiran u sam početak 7. st. F. Jelić, 1912, 69-80, 73-76; B. Migotti, 1991, 299; Z. Gunjača, 1996, 92; Ž. Rapanić, 2000, 49, sl. 19; A. Uglešić, 2006, 37, sl. 28; P. Vežić, 2007, 134. Pa i na području Ravene, konkretno u bazilici S. Apollinare Nuovo imamo pluteje već u 6. st. kojima je središnje polje uokvireno vinovom lozicom s grozdovima i lišćem te astragalnim nizom. C. Rizzardi, 1999, 67-85, 71, sl. 14.

53 Accordingly, importance should also be given to an example of a pluteus from Bilice, which on the upper wide edge has the inscription *Miserere Christe* separated with crosses, thus testifying to the earliest beginnings of combining the cornice, and pluteus. It is 93 cm high, hence slightly smaller than the Zadar plutei from the 6th century. The pluteus has a number of interwoven double-banded circles in its field, providing further evidence of the pre-Romanesque period. It is therefore dated to the beginning of the 7th century. F. Jelić, 1912, 69-80, 73-76; B. Migotti, 1991, 299; Z. Gunjača, 1996, 92; Ž. Rapanić, 2000, 49, Fig. 19; A. Uglešić, 2006, 37, fig. 28; P. Vežić, 2007, 134. Even in the area of Ravenna, in particular the Basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo, there are plutei from the period as early as the 6th century, where the central field is bordered with a grapevine featuring bunches of grapes and leaves, and a row of astragals. C. Rizzardi, 1999, 67-85, 71, fig. 14.

ZAKLJUČAK

Ulomci ploča koji su kao spolije pronađene integrirane u kružni otvor romaničke rozete s kompozicijom Kalvarije u središtu okružene animalnim i vegetabilnim motivima idu u krug ranokršćanskih radova koji su tada na izmaku antike doista rijetki primjeri stoga i izuzeci u našoj povijesno umjetničkoj baštini. No, isklesanim motivima i ikonografijom križa Kalvarije, odnosno *crux gemmatae* ploče su zapravo potvrdile raširenost bizantske ikonografije na zadarskom području. Primjeri takvoga likovna uprizorenja većinom su koncentrirani na carigradskom području, u sjevernoitalskoj odnosno ravenatskoj regiji i na širem dalmatinskom području. Dosadašnja istraživanja razloge takvoj koncentraciji zanimljivog ikonografskog prikaza uviđaju u bizantskoj liturgiji koja snažnije naglašava Kristovu žrtveno-spasenjsku ulogu što ju je jednom zasvagda podnio na brdu Golgote/Kalvarije, a ona se kontinuirano odvija u svetim trenucima euharistijskih sakramenata. Takvu podlogu Istočni obred nalazi kod važnih teologa kao što su Ivan Zlatousti i Teodor Mopsuestijski, a koji u svojim djelima analiziraju i spoznaju o repetitivnom djelovanju Kristove pasije i uskrsnuća upravo u trenucima posvete euharistijskog prinosa. Na ravenatskom području pjesnik Venancije Fortunatski sredinom 6. st. kreira himan *Pange Lingua Gloriosi Proelium Certaminis Vexilla Regis prodeunt* koji se još uvijek izvodi u večernjicama Velikog tjedna, vrhunca liturgijske godine i spomendana same pasije!⁵⁴ Upravo je taj napjev nastao u čast velikog komada relikvije Isusova križa koji je franačkoj kraljici Radegundi poslao bizantski car Justin II. (565. – 578.). Ujedno su Venancijevi himni zaslužni za širenje pobožnosti prema svetom križu od sredine 6. stoljeća pa dalje, što je moglo imati odraza i na istovrsnu ikonografiju Kalvarije učestalu, dakle, na području bizantske dominacije.

U slučaju zadarskih lapida utvrđena je i visina od 12 dlanova koja se kao mjerna jedinica koristila u antici pa, očito, i u kasnoj antici, a koju su uz zadarske pluteje s Kalvarijom imali i ranokršćanski pluteji s istim motivima u Glavčinama. Oni su ujedno dokaz kontinuiteta klesarskih radionica što je Zadar kao nekadašnja rimska kolonija zasigurno preuzeo iz doba klasične antike. S druge strane zbog umjerenog prikaza na kojem još uvijek nije toliko dominantna "pršteća" ornamentika i tzv. *horror vacui* što će biti bitno obilježje ranosrednjovjekovnih ploča ograda svetišta, autorica članka smatra da bi ulomci iz zadarske katedrale doista mogli biti produkt kasnog razdoblja - 7. st., ali još uvijek ranokršćanskog stila, kao što je to prvi pretpostavio Ivo Petricioli.

in the mid-6th century wrote two hymns *Pange Lingua Gloriosi Proelium Certaminis* and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt*, which are still performed in the evening liturgical celebrations of Holy Week, the summit of the liturgical year and the memorial of the passion!⁵⁴ This chant was composed in honour of the large relic fragment of the cross of Jesus, and given to Radegunda, Queen of the Franks, by the Byzantine Emperor Justin II (565 to 578). Furthermore, Venantius's hymns are credited with spreading devotion to the holy cross from the mid-6th century onwards, which could also have had an effect on the same kind of Calvary iconography, frequent in the region of Byzantine domination.

In the case of the Zadar lapidary works, a height of 12 palm widths was determined, used as a unit of measurement in Late Antiquity and, not only in the Zadar plutei depicting Calvary but also the early Christian plutei with the same motifs in Glavčine. They are also proof of the continuity of sculpture workshops, which Zadar, as a former Roman colony, had certainly adopted from the classical Antiquity era. On the other hand, due to the moderate depiction on which the "scattered" ornamentation and the so called *horror vacui* was still not that dominant, and which was to become an essential feature of plaques for sanctuary rails in the Early Middle Ages, it is this author's opinion that the fragments from the Zadar cathedral might in fact be a product of a later period, say the 7 century, but still featuring an Early Christian style, as Ivo Petricioli had first presumed.

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