

Ivo Babić

Četiri kasnoantička spolija iz  
Trogira

Ivo Babić  
Lucićeva 10  
HR, 21220 Trogir  
ivo.babic@gradst.hr

UDK: 904:7(497.5 Trogir) "652"  
7.032(37)'04 (497.5 Trogir) "652"  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
Primljeno: 24. 9. 2015.  
Prihvaćeno: 3. 3. 2016.

Sudeći po mnogim indicijama pa i po spolijima, antički Tragurij je nastavio život u doba kasne antike. To potvrđuju i četiri spolija od kojih su dva očigledno ranokršćanska a nalaze se u blizini crkve sv. Petra.

*Ključne riječi:* Trogir, kasnoantički spoliji, crkva sv. Petra

Four Late Antique *spolia* from  
Trogir

Ivo Babić  
Lucićeva 10  
CROATIA, 21220 Trogir  
ivo.babic@gradst.hr

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Original scientific paper  
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Based on many indicators, including spolia, life in Tragurium (Tragourion) continued into the period of Late Antiquity. This has been confirmed by four spolia, of which two are obviously Early Christian and situated near the Church of St. Peter.

*Key words:* Trogir, Late Antique spolia, Church of St. Peter

Ne samo arheološki nalazi nego i spoliji ukazuju da se život u Traguriju održao i u kasnoantičko doba. Spoliji poput tesera nadopunjavaju mozaik dugotrajne povijesti grada; one također emitiraju i poruke koje unatoč semantičkim šumovima pokušavamo dekodirati. Gusti raspored arheoloških nalaza i mjesta gdje su ugrađeni kasnoantički spoliji ukazuje da su se ranokršćanske crkve nalazile na većem broju mjesta u gradu, i to ne samo istočno od glavnog karda, koja se tvrdnja provlači u literaturi. Natpis s jednog sarkofaga, datiran prema konzulima Honoriju i Arkadiju godinom 402., spominje organiziranu vjersku zajednicu, *ecclesia catholica*.<sup>1</sup> Status crkvene organizacije nije poznat, no u to doba Tragurij vjerojatno nije imao status biskupije.

### Spolij s obojenim križem i slovima

Kameni ulomak (duža os oko 43 cm, kraća oko 20 cm) sa znamenom križa (sl. 1) ugrađen je u zid kojim je naknadno zatvoren luk, cijeli interkolumnij klaustra nekadašnjega ženskog benediktinskog samostana sv. Petra.<sup>2</sup> Taj zazidani luk nalazi se u prostoriji u prizemlju kuće na mjestu nekadašnjeg istočnog krila samostana. Kameni ulomak sačuvan je bez prvotnih obrisnih linija, tako da mu je teško pretpostaviti izvorni oblik i namjenu (impost?). Križ je uobičajene ranokršćanske morfologije, tanko urezanih hasta s trokutastim završecima sličnim serifima. Sasvim su jasno vidljiva naslikana slova u donjem dijelu križa ispod horizontalne haste: *S* i *P*, očito kratice od *S(anctus) P(etrus)*. U gornjem dijelu sa svake strane križa naziru se crne pruge, tragovi slova, ili možda simbola, ili su to tek mrlje (?). Ne znamo kad je nanesena boja, najvjerojatnije naknadno.<sup>3</sup> U Saloni je poznato umetanje crvene boje u urezana slova i likove iz ranokršćanskog razdoblja.

### Nadvratnik s urezanim ranokršćanskim križem u sredini

Na južnoj strani dvorišta nekadašnjeg klaustra, gdje se nekoć pružalo južno krilo samostana, u ruševnoj prostoriji, mirini (kat. čest. 748), nalazi se kamena greda, nadvratnik, s urezanim križem ranokršćanske morfologije, s hastama te trokutastim završecima sličnim serifima (sl. 2). Dimenzije grede su: dužina 189

Spolia, besides being archaeological finds, also indicate that life in Tragurium persisted even in Late Antiquity. Spolia complete the image of the city's history like the tiles in a mosaic; they also send a message which, despite semantic interference, we can attempt to decode. The dense distribution of archaeological finds and sites at which Late Antique spolia were used show that Early Christian churches could be found at many locations in the city, and not only east of the main cardum, as constantly asserted in the relevant scholarly literature. The inscription from one particular sarcophagus, dated by the consuls Honorius and Arcadius to 402, mentions an organized religious community: *ecclesia catholica*.<sup>1</sup> The status of the church organization is not known. At that time Tragurium probably did not have the status of diocese.

### Spolium with cross and letters painted on

A stone fragment (longer axis ca. 43 cm, shorter axis ca. 20 cm) bearing a cross symbol (Fig. 1) was built into a wall, with which it was subsequently used to close an arch, the entire intercolumniation of the cloister of the former Benedictine Convent of St. Peter.<sup>2</sup> This walled-in arch was found on the ground level of a house at the site of the convent's former eastern wing. The stone fragment was preserved without its initial contour lines, so that it is difficult to speculate as to its original shape and use (impost?). The cross exhibits the customary Early Christian morphology, with thinly carved bars and triangular ends similar to serifs. Letters can clearly be seen painted onto the lower part of the cross below the horizontal bars: *S* and *P*, obviously an abbreviation of *S(anctus) P(etrus)*. Black lines can be discerned in the upper section on each side of the cross: were they traces of letters or perhaps symbols, or simply stains? There is no way of knowing when the paint was applied, although it was most likely done subsequently.<sup>3</sup> The practice of applying red paint into carved letters and images from the Early Christian era was known in Salona.

### Door lintel with Early Christian cross engraved in the middle

On the southern side of the former cloister, where the convent's southern wing once extended, in the

1 Kovačić 1992, str. 301-302.

2 Godine 1796. samostanska je zgrada nastradala u požaru; na njezinu mjestu podignute su stambene zgrade; v. Ostojić 1964, str. 287-291.

3 Na to me je upozorio akademik Nenad Cambi, kojem zahvaljujem na mnogim savjetima.

1 Kovačić 1992, pp. 301-302.

2 In 1796 the convent building was devastated by fire; the currently existing residential buildings were erected at its site. See Ostojić 1964, pp. 287-291.

3 This was pointed out to me by Nenad Cambi, who gave me a great deal of useful advice.



Sl. 1. Spolij s obojenim križem i slovima  
Fig. 1. Spolium with cross and letters painted on

cm, širina 24 cm, debljina 21 cm. Uzdužna i poprečna hasta križa (*patibulum*) gotovo su istih dimenzija, kao da se radi o grčkom tipu križa. Po tome se ovaj križ razlikuje od tzv. salonitanskog tipa križa, inačice latinskog križa, oštro urezanog, veoma izduženog oblika, s dugom okomitom hastom i kratkom vodoravnom, koji se datira u IV./V. stoljeće.<sup>4</sup> Križ na nadvratniku analogan je križevima na nadvratniku iz lokaliteta Biskupija na Šipanu i na jednom nadvratniku iskorištenom kao spolij u crkvi Zigurata u Dubrovniku.<sup>5</sup>

Spomenuta dva spolija povezana su s obližnjom samostanskom crkvom sv. Petra. Položaj postojeće crkve sv. Petra vjerojatno slijedi tradiciju kulnog mjesta koja seže u ranokršćansko doba. Na to upućuje i titular, posveta sv. Petru apostolu, te arheološki nalazi pronađeni na mjestu nekadašnjeg samostana.<sup>6</sup> Kontinuitet kulnog mjesta i titulara uobičajen je fenomen kod mnogih crkava u urbanim i ruralnim sredinama.<sup>7</sup> U prizemlju iste zgrade na mjestu nekadašnjeg samostana nađen je sarkofag koji spominje dekuriona iz grada Drobete (Dacija);<sup>8</sup> tu je pronađen i poklopac sarkofaga iz ranobizantskog doba, koji spominje cara Konstantina (Konstantin V. ili VI., 741. ili

dilapidated structure of a wall (cadastral plot 748), there is a stone beam, a lintel with an Early Christian cross on it; its carved bars have triangular ends resembling serifs (Fig. 2). The beam's dimensions are: length 189 cm, width 24 cm, thickness 21 cm. The lengthwise and perpendicular cross beams (*patibulum*) have almost the same dimensions, as though it is a Greek cross. In this regard, the cross differs from the so-called Salona cross, a variant of the Latin cross, with a sharply carved, very oblong shape with long horizontal and short horizontal bars, and dated to the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> The cross on the lintel has analogies with the cross on a lintel from the Biskupija site on the island of Šipan and the cross on a lintel that was used as a spolia in the Ziggurat Church in Dubrovnik.<sup>5</sup>

The aforementioned two spolia are linked to the nearby convent Church of St. Peter. The position of the existing Church of St. Peter adheres to the tradition of the cult site which goes back to the Early Christian era. This is additionally indicated by the titular: the dedication to St. Peter the Apostle, and the archaeological finds discovered at the former convent's site.<sup>6</sup> The continuity of a cult place and its titular is a standard phenomenon at many churches in both urban and rural locales.<sup>7</sup> A sarcophagus mentioning a decurion from the city of Drobeta (Dacia)<sup>8</sup> was found in the ground floor of the same building, at the site of the former convent; a sarcophagus lid dating to the early Byzantine era mentioning Emperor Constantine (Constantine V or VI, 741 or 797 AD)<sup>9</sup> was also found here. In the immediate vicinity, to the southeast across the street, a fragment with part of an Early Christian cross<sup>10</sup> was built into a house (next to the former garden of the Stanošević/Statileo family). Archaeological finds and spolia are often indications of the existence of an Early Christian shrine, such as,

4 Duval *et al.* 1995, str. 15 i dalje, T. IX-XI. Jedan takav križ, polomljen u dva komada, ugrađen je na pročelju ranosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Martina/sv. Barbare u Trogiru; v. Babić 1985, str. 41.  
5 Fisković 1999-2000, str. 238, sl. 1; str. 245, sl. 9.  
6 Sv. Petru apostolu bile su posvećene mnoge ranokršćanske crkve u Dalmaciji, uključujući zadarsku katedralu; v. Chevalier 1995, str. 41.  
7 Migotti 1992, str. 225-249.  
8 Lubin 1861, str. 333; Cambi 2010, str. 42, 132, kat. br. 175. Sarkofag su nedavno konzervatori sasvim proizvoljno premjestili u dvorište samostana sv. Nikole, čime su stvorili zbrku za buduće istraživače.

4 Duval *et al.* 1995, pp. 15 ff., P. IX-XI. A cross like this one, broken into two pieces, was built into the façade of the early medieval Church of St. Martin/Barbara in Trogir, see Babić 1985, p. 41.  
5 Fisković 1999-2000, p. 238, fig. 1; p. 245, fig. 9.  
6 Many Early Christian in Dalmatia were dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle, including the Zadar cathedral, see Chevalier 1995, p.41.  
7 Migotti 1992, pp. 225-249.  
8 Lubin 1861, p. 333; Cambi 2010, pp. 42, 132, cat. 175. The sarcophagus was recently moved quite arbitrarily by conservation specialists to the courtyard of the St. Nicolas Monastery, thereby creating confusion for future researchers.  
9 Karaman 1929, pp. 181-187; Ivanišević 1980, p. 969; Piteša, 2012, pp. 117-120, cat. no. 61.  
10 Babić 1985, pp. 35-36.





Sl. 2. Nadvratnik s urezanim ranokršćanskim križem u sredini  
Fig. 2. Door lintel with Early Christian cross engraved in the middle

797. godine).<sup>9</sup> Jugoistočno u susjedstvu, preko ulice, na kući (uz nekadašnji vrt obitelji Stanošević/Statileo) uzidan je jedan ulomak s dijelom ranokršćanskog križa.<sup>10</sup> Arheološki nalazi i spoliji često upućuju na postojanje ranokršćanskog svetišta, kako je to primjerice slučaj sa samostanskom crkvom sv. Frane u Splitu.<sup>11</sup>

### Spolij s prikazom raznorodnih životinja

Na kući (kat. čest. 704 = 4012) koja se nalazi na sjeverozapadnoj strani grada ugrađen je spolij (sl. 3), kameni ulomak (48 x 17 cm) na kojem su prikazane životinje, poredane u nizu od dna prema vrhu, na kojem je sitni znamen križa: na dnu je riba (?) vodoravno položena; ponad nje je ptica, sa strane su dvije noge životinje čiji lik nije sačuvan; nasuprot je riba okomito položena; iznad, tj. ispod znamen križa, još je jedna manja ptica. Figure su sasvim plošne; na nekima su naznačeni detalji poput perja i ljustica, no posve sumarno, s ponekom utisnutom prugom ili pak s udubljenjima koja podsjećaju na punktiranja kakva se izvode na metalnim ploham. Kompozicija je plutajuća, s likovima različitih dimenzija, različito, gotovo proizvoljno usmjerenima, tako da ni sam križ nije referentan za razmještaj figura. Kako se radi o krnjem reljefu, ne može se ustvrditi kakva je bila cjelina prizora. Radi li se o ostatku ukrašenog pluteja oltarne ograde, ili pluteja s parapeta ambona, ili, pak, što je vjerojatnije, o okviru prozorske rešetke?

Prema načinu oblikovanja, kompoziciji i tematici, ovaj krnji reljef ima izravnih analogija s ostatkom okvira prozorske rešetke (tranzene) iz salonitanskog baptisterija (čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u

for example, the case of the monastic Church of St. Francis in Split.<sup>11</sup>

### Spolium bearing depictions of various animals

A house (cadastral plot 704=4012) located in the north-western section of the city, has built into it a spolium (Fig. 3), a stone fragment (48 x 17 cm), which contains images of the following animals, arranged consecutively from bottom to top (where there is a small cross symbol): a horizontally positioned fish (?); above it a bird, to its side two legs of an otherwise unpreserved figure of an animal; a vertically positioned fish on the opposite side; above it, i.e., below the cross symbol, is another small fish. The figures are entirely flattened; details such as fins and scales are indicated on some of them, but in an entirely slipshod fashion, with an occasionally impressed line or depression, recalling the punching applied to metal surfaces. The composition is loose, as the images have varying dimensions and they are oriented differently, almost arbitrarily, so that even the cross is not a reference point for their arrangement. Since this is a truncated relief, it is impossible ascertain the appearance of the entire scene depicted thereon. It may be the remains of a decorative pluteus from an altar screen, or a pluteus from an ambo parapet, or even, more likely, the frame for a window grate.

In terms of formation, composition and themes this truncated relief has direct analogies with the remains of a window grate frame (transenna) from the Salona baptistery (held in the Archaeological Museum in Split).<sup>12</sup> That the Salona fragment is from a transenna is apparent from the fact that on one side (the left) there are visible remains, the beginnings of

9 Karaman 1929, str. 181-187; Ivanišević 1980, str. 969; Piteša 2012, str. 117-120, kat. br. 61.

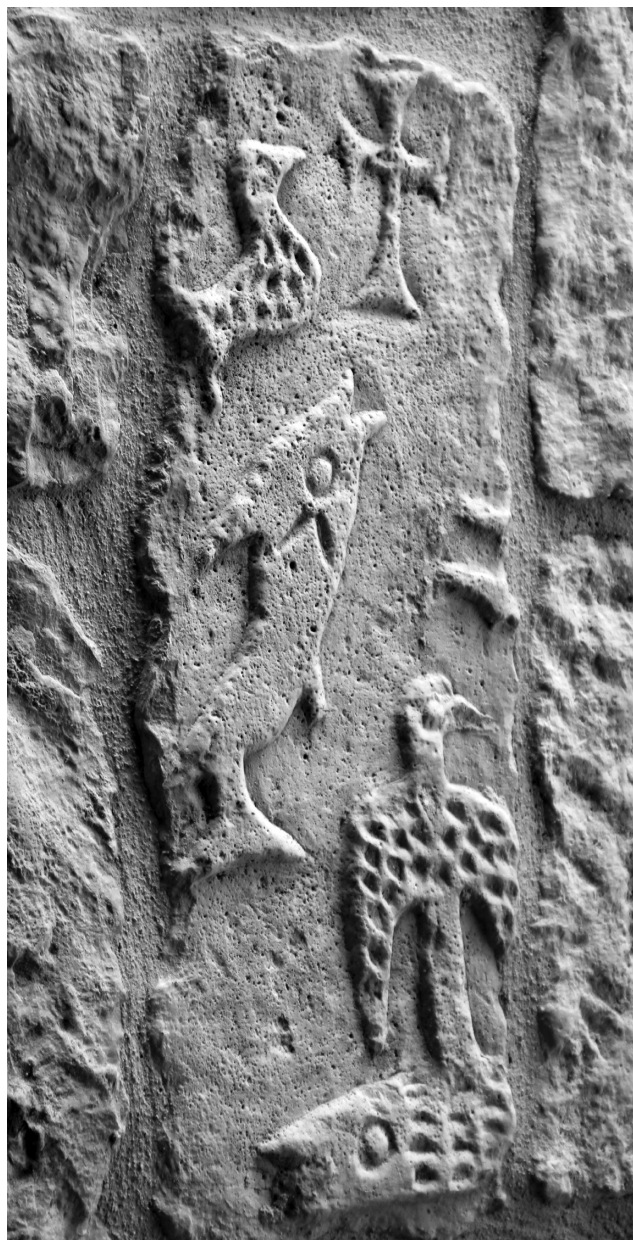
10 Babić 1985, str. 35-36.

11 Cambi 2005, str. 156.

11 Cambi 2005, p. 156.

12 Cambi 2012, p. 186.





Sl. 3. Spolij s prikazom raznorodnih životinja  
Fig. 3. Spolium bearing depictions of various animals

Splitu).<sup>12</sup> Da se radi o tranzeni na salonitanskom fragmentu, očito je po tome što su na jednoj strani (lijevoj) vidljivi ostatci, početci, prozorske rešetke. Na salonitanskom fragmentu prikazane su riba, tri ptice, nanizane jedna iznad druge, a na vrhu je nepotpuno sačuvana figura četveronožne životinje.

Riba i ptice česti su ranokršćanski simboli (Krist - riba, duše i Duh Sveti - golubica), no smatramo da se na trogirskom i salonitanskom ulomku, s obzirom na veći broj životinjskih figura (ptice su diferencirane oblikom i dimenzijama), radi o uprizorenju nekog teksta s biblijskom tematikom. Naime, na ranokršćanskim

the window grating. The Salona fragment bears, in ascending order, images of a fish, three birds and an incompletely preserved figure of a four-legged animal at the top.

Even though fish and birds were common Early Christian symbols – Christ/fish, souls and the Holy Spirit/dove – given the higher number of animal figures on the Trogir and Salona fragment (the birds differ in size and dimensions), I believe that this is a depiction of a text with a biblical theme. This is because on Early Christian and early Byzantine relief portrayals, birds and fish are symmetrically, hierarchically arranged around a cross (on a 7<sup>th</sup>-century relief from St. Mark's in Venice, lambs are arrayed around the throne of God, the Hetoimasia),<sup>13</sup> while on the Salona and Trogir relief portrayals, the animals are virtually scattered. On Early Christian/early Byzantine sarcophaguses, mostly the earlier ones from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the relief art is asymmetric, and dynamically composed only when depicting an event such as the Crossing of the Red Sea by the Jews, Jonah with the whale and the restless waves, or the Adoration of the Magi; the sarcophagus from Ischia even shows the diminutive Zacchaeus peering from the branches of a tree to see Jesus upon his entrance into Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

Attempts at iconographic interpretations are often subjective projections, particularly when it is a matter of a poorly preserved scene, so an empathic attitude toward living creatures may prompt us to the thought that perhaps this spolium from Trogir bears a depiction of the “animals of all kinds” with which God populated the Earth (cf. *Ecclus.* 16, 29-30), and which arouse compassion, for “...the Lord's compassion is for every living thing” (*Ecclus.* 18, 12-14). However, such strewn and ungainly, inexpertly rendered animal figures on this fragment from Trogir and on the one from Solin do not inspire awe, nor even compassion. It brings to mind Peter's vision, when he saw “[a] certain vessel descend, as it had been a great sheet, let down from heaven by four corners; and it came even to me: Upon the which when I had fastened mine eyes, I considered, and saw four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And I heard a voice saying unto me, ‘Arise, Peter; slay and eat.’” (*Acts* 11, 5-7). As explained in the continuation of this chapter, in the context of converting the first pagans, the unclean animals, in the spirit of Jewish exclusivity, allude to the repulsive Gentiles who nonetheless must be brought to the true faith. Such a theme would have been entirely appropriate for a transenna on the window of a Salona baptistery,

12 Cambi 2012, str. 186.

13 Polacco 1991, p. 79.

14 Dresken-Weiland 1998, vol. I, fig. 145.

i ranobizantskim reljefima ptice i ribe su simetrično, hijerarhijski raspoređene oko križa (na reljefu iz Sv. Marka u Veneciji, iz VII. st., ovčice su svrstane oko prijestolja Božjeg, hetimasija),<sup>13</sup> dok su na salonitanskom i trogirskom reljefu životinje gotovo nabacane. Na ranokršćanskim/ ranobizantskim sarkofazima, ponajviše na onima starijim, iz IV. st., reljefi su asimetrični, dinamično komponirani kad prikazuju neki biblijski događaj, poput prijelaza Židova preko Crvenog mora, Jonu s morskom nemani i uzbibanim valovima, poklonstvo kraljeva; na sarkofagu iz Ischije prikazan je čak i Zakej, kako se, onako sitan, uzverao na smokvu kako bi vidio Isusa na ulasku u Jerihon.<sup>14</sup>

Pokušaji ikonografskih tumačenja često su subjektivne projekcije, pogotovo kad se radi o slabo sačuvanom prizoru, pa nas tako empatijski odnos prema živim bićima nuka na pomisao da su možda na spoliju iz Trogira prikazane "svakovrsne životinje", stvorenja kojima je Bog napučio zemlju (usp. Sir. 16,19-20), a koja izazivaju sućut jer "sućut je Gospodnja na sve živo" (Sir. 18,12-14). Međutim onako nabacane i nezgrapne, nevjeste izvedene figure životinja na fragmentu iz Trogira i na onom iz Solina ne pobuđuju osobito udivljenje, pa ni sućut. Pomišljamo stoga na Petrovo viđenje kad je ugledao: "neku posudu - sličnu velikom platnu zavezanu sa četiri roglja - gdje silazi i spušta se na zemlju. U njoj bijahu sve vrste četveroonožnih životinja, gmazova zemaljskih i ptica nebeskih. I neki mi glas reče: 'Ustani, Petre, kolji i jedi'" (Dj. 11,7). Kako se tumači u nastavku istog poglavlja, u kontekstu krštenja prvih pogana, prljave životinje, u duhu židovske ekskluzivnosti, aludiraju na odbojne nežidove koje ipak treba privesti pravoj vjeri. Takva tema bila bi sasvim prikladna na tranzeni na prozoru salonitanskog baptisterija, svetišta u kojem se ljudi čišćenjem od prvobitnoga grijeha privode zajednici vjernika. U istom kontekstu bio bi razumljiv i znamen križa nad figurama životinja na trogirskome spoliju. No nije poznato podrijetlo trogirskog fragmenta. Po-tječe li možda ovaj ulomak iz baptisterija, koji se, kako se pretpostavlja, nalazio na trgu u blizini katedrale, no to je relativno daleko od kuće u koju je ugrađen?<sup>15</sup>

13 Polacco 1991, str. 79.

14 Dresken-Weiland 1998, vol. I, sl. 145.

15 Još nije sa sigurnošću utvrđen položaj ranokršćanske krstionice u Trogiru. Prije postojeće krstionice iz XV. st. baptisterij se navodno nalazio na trgu, u blizini crkve sv. Marije od Trga (tako Andreis 1977-1978, I, str. 332. Poznato je, međutim, da je kao krstionica služila neko vrijeme i crkva sv. Marije od Trga; usp. Babić 2012, str. 297. Na trgu južno od katedrale otkrivena je manja pravokutna zgrada s apsidadom za koju se pretpostavlja da bi mogla biti krstionica; v. Marasović 2011, str. 119.

a shrine in which people are brought into the community of the faithful by cleansing them from original sin. The cross symbol above the animal figures on the Trogir spolium would thus be understandable in this same context. However, the origin of the Trogir fragment is not known. Could this fragment have originally been from the baptistery which, it is assumed, was situated on the square near the cathedral – even though this is relatively far from the house into which it was built?<sup>15</sup>

Based on the unskilled rendering and the flatness and superficiality of the figures, the Trogir and Salona relief portrayals may be dated to the crisis period at the close of Late Antiquity at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The Salona baptistery had, it is believed, several phases. The stucco work with sculpturally rendered fish and seashells, appropriate to the symbolism of the baptistery's water, belong to the earlier phase. A pluteus from Novigrad (Istria) is similar to these fragments from Tragurium and Salona, with its entirely flattened and sketchy portrayal of various animals, albeit with a more orderly arrangement, and dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> The Early Christian relief images found in rural, remote areas behind the coastal belt are very rustic. For example, the figures of several very inelegantly rendered animals are depicted on two fragments of a pluteus from Brnaze, near Sinj; they have been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> An urn lid fragment from Karaula, near Duvno, bears a depiction of a fish (dolphin) on which scales and a tailfin are indicated by depressions and cuts similar to those on the aforementioned fragments from Tragurium and Salona, and which has been dated rather early – to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; the coarseness of the figure in this case reflects the limited expressive capability of the clergy from outlying areas.<sup>18</sup> Uncertainty remains in the interpretation of similar portrayals: is it a matter of an unskilled sculptor from the time of universal crisis in Late Antiquity, or "artistic fancy," an artistic expression of a worldview that was distanced from

15 The location of the Early Christian baptistery in Trogir has not yet been established with any certainty. Before the existing baptistery from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the baptistery was allegedly on the main square near the Church of St. Mary of the Square, as per Andreis 1977-1978, I., p. 332. However, it is known that for a time the Church of St. Mary of the Square served as a baptistery, cf. Babić 2012, p. 297. A small rectangular building with an apse was discovered south of the cathedral, and it is assumed that this may have been a baptistery, see Marasović 2011, p. 119.

16 Jurković et al. 2006, p. 41.

17 Milošević 1981, pp. 120, 62, cat. no. 119.

18 Dodig 2013, p. 485, P. V, 13.





Sl. 4. Spolij s prikazom ptice  
Fig. 4. Spolium with images of birds

Po nezgrapnosti izvedbe, po plošnosti i sumarnosti figura trogirski i salonitanski reljef datirali bismo u krizno doba na izmaku kasne antike, u početak VII. stoljeća. Salonitanski baptisterij, smatra se, ima nekoliko faza. Ranijoj fazi svakako bi pripadale štukature s plastično izvedenim likovima riba i školjaka, prikladnima simbolizmu vode u baptisteriju. Ovim fragmentima iz Tragurija i Salone srodan je plutej iz Novigrada (Istra), sa sasvim plošnim i sumarnim prikazom nekoliko različitih životinja, no pravilnije raspoređenima, a datira se u VII. stoljeće.<sup>16</sup> Veoma su rustični i ranokršćanski reljefi u ruralnim, zabitnim predjelima iza obalne fasade; primjerice, likovi nekoliko životinja - veoma nezgrapno izvedeni - prikazani su na dva ulomka pluteja iz Brnaza kod Sinja, a datiraju iz VI. stoljeća.<sup>17</sup> Na jednom ulomku poklopca urne iz Karaule kod Duvna prikazana je riba (dupin) na kojoj su ljuske i repna peraja naznačeni udubljenjima i rezovima slično kao na spomenutim fragmentima iz Tragurija i Salone; datira se veoma rano, u II. st., a nezgrapnost figure u ovom slučaju odraz je skromne izražajne mogućnosti klera iz zabitne sredine.<sup>18</sup> U interpretaciji sličnih prikaza ostaje dvojba: radi li se o nespretnosti nevještog klesara iz vremena sveopće krize kasne antike ili se pak radi o "umjetničkoj volji", o likovnom izrazu svjetonazora koji se distancira od ovozemaljskog i tjelesnog? Nevješto isklesanih figura može se naći u kasnoantičko doba, u VI. i VII. st., čak i u samom Rimu, na primjer na spoliju na crkvi *San Martino ai Monti* s krizmonom uz koji su golubice.<sup>19</sup>

### Spolij s prikazom ptice

Na sjeveroistočnom rubu grada, na liniji nekadašnjih srednjovjekovnih zidina, na istočnom pročelju

the bounds of the physical and this world. Unskilfully carved figures could be found in Late Antiquity, in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, even in Rome itself, such as on a spolium in the *San Martino ai Monti* Church bearing a chrismon with doves around it.<sup>19</sup>

### Spolium with images of birds

A spolium (dimensions 41 x 20cm) bearing an image of a bird (Fig. 4) is built onto the eastern facade of a house (cadastral plot 597=3782) in the city's north-eastern periphery along the route of the former medieval defensive walls at a height of roughly 80 cm above the ground. The facade of the house on which the spolium was installed is the remainder of the defensive walls, for in the northern and partially in the north-eastern side of the city, the facades of houses are actually the remains of the walls into which windows and doors were carved out in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the walls were thinned from the inside, but the original thickness was preserved at places in some houses. The houses next to the city walls in the north-eastern part of the city belonged to the Quraco/Quarcovich family of nobles, also called the Bakulini.<sup>20</sup> The house designated with no. 599 in the 1831 cadastre is specified in the accompanying land register as the ruin of a fortification, probably a tower (*castel sdruciatto*).

The figure of a bird and several ornamental sequences are preserved on the fragment. The bird is on the right side, but which its head turned to the left. A vertical band, a *bordure*, with a twisted ribbon inside, is preserved on the right edge. A interlace extends along the lower edge, consisting of a broad band with semi-spheres that have "eyes" in the middle of the crossing points. The strands of the interlace are sculpturally rendered, with sharp edges and shallowly depressed fields with arched cross-sections. Two parallel diagonal bands extend to the left of the bird, inside which a coiled ribbon flows. Another interlace flows between these two identical bands with ribbons, identical to the one at the bottom of the fragment.

The ornamental sequences are very skilfully carved, particularly the interlace motif. The coiled band was, to be sure, typical of late Roman art, when columns and semi-columns with spiral grooves were common.

The bird is sculpturally formed but with sketchy indications of feathers. It is not possible to identify the

16 Jurković *et al.* 2006, str. 41.

17 Milošević 1981, str. 120, 62, kat. br. 119.

18 Dodig 2013, str. 485, T. V, 13.

19 Russo 1984, sl. 1, str. 9.

19 Russo 1984, Fig. 1, p. 9.

20 Since the island of Hvar is mentioned in medieval documents from Trogir as *Quara*, it is likely that the surname of this noble family had its origin in the nickname for people from Hvar (*Hvaranin/Hvarani*).

kuće (kat. čest. 597 = 3782), na visini od oko 80 cm nad tlom ugrađen je spolij (dimenzije 41 x 20 cm) s prikazom ptice (sl. 4). Pročelje kuće na koju je ugrađen spolij preostatak je bedema. Naime, na sjevernoj i mjestimično na sjeveroistočnoj strani grada pročelja kuća zapravo su preostaci srednjovjekovnih zidina na kojima su u XIX. stoljeću probijeni prozori i vrata; bedemi su s unutrašnje strane istanjeni, no mjestimice je u ponekim kućama ostala sačuvana izvorna debljina. Kuće uz zidine na sjeveroistočnom dijelu grada pripadale su plemićkom rodu *Quarco/Quarcovich*, zvanih Bakulini.<sup>20</sup> Kuća označena brojem 599 na katastru iz godine 1831. u pratećoj zemljišnoj knjizi bilježi se kao ruševina utvrde, valjda kule (*castel sdruciuotto*).

Na ulomku je sačuvan lik ptice i nekoliko ornamentalnih dijelova. Ptica je na desnoj stani, no s glavom usmjerenom nalijevo. Na desnom rubu sačuvana je okomita vrpca, bordura, unutar koje teče tordirana vrpca. Uz donji rub pruža se pletenica, široke vrpce s polukuglicama, "očima", sred prepleta. Vrpce prepleta plastično su izvedene, oštih rubova i plitko udubljenog polja lučnog presjeka. Lijevo od ptice pružaju se usporedno dvije kose vrpce unutar kojih teče tordirana vrpca. Između tih dviju istovjetnih vrpca teče ponovno preplet isti kao i onaj u podnožju ulomka.

Ornamentalni dijelovi veoma su vješto isklesani, pogotovo zahtjevan motiv pletenice. Tordirana vrpca, dakako, svojstvena je kasnijoj rimskoj umjetnosti, kada su česti stupovi i polustupovi sa spiralnim užljebljenjima.

Ptica je plastično oblikovana, no sa sumarnim naznakama perja. To je ptica veoma dugog vrata, no nije moguće utvrditi vrstu kojoj pripada. Pojednosti, posebno pandže agresivnog oblika, isključuju mogućnost da se radi o umilnoj i krotkoj golubici kakve se prikazuju u poganskoj i osobito ranokršćanskoj umjetnosti. Vjerojatno se ne radi ni o paunu, inače tako čestom motivu u kršćanskoj umjetnosti,<sup>21</sup> premda bi na njega upućivao dug vrat; nije međutim prikazana kresta (ili možda nije sačuvana), slična čelenki, a ni na repu nema uobičajenih krugova, tzv. očiju. Ptice se pojavljuju i na reljefima na prednjim stranama ranokršćanskih sarkofaga, često na zabatima edikula u kojima su figure.<sup>22</sup> Prikazane su i na čuvenom saloni-tanskom sarkofagu s prikazom Dobrog pastira; ptice se nalaze nad akroterijima edikule, na zabatu sirijskog tipa, gdje u kljunovima pridržavaju vrpce girlande, i

type of bird, except that it has a long neck. Its shapes, particularly the talons with an aggressive appearance, preclude the possibility that this is an amiable and placid dove as shown in pagan and particularly in Early Christian art. It is probably not a peacock either, although they were otherwise a frequent motif in Christian art,<sup>21</sup> and even though the long neck would tend to indicate this possibility. However, there is no crest (or perhaps it had not been preserved), or similar head plumage, and its tail does not have the customary circles, the so-called eyes. Birds also appeared on the front sides of Early Christian sarcophaguses, and often on the pediments of aediculae on which they are figures.<sup>22</sup> Birds are thus depicted on the renowned Salona sarcophagus with an image of the Good Shepherd; there are birds above the aedicule acroteria, on the Syrian-type pediment, where they hold the ribbons of a garland in their beaks in the aedicule on the front and on the aedicule on the right lateral side of the sarcophagus.<sup>23</sup> On Early Christian sarcophaguses, birds are depicted, also inside the acroteria on the "roofs" above the boxes.<sup>24</sup> Birds were sometimes depicted next to each other with their beaks touching/holding garlands.

The plasticity of the figures and the quality of rendering of the decorations on the Trogir fragment indicate a still living classical tradition, even though there is an abundance of too densely distributed ornaments. The strands of the interlace are very precisely and sculpturally rendered. The decorative motif on the aforementioned Salona sarcophagus featuring the Good Shepherd flows along the lower edge, at the very base of the coffin, while on the Trogir spolium – as noted – it was rendered twice, in a diagonal band and on the horizontal base.

The bird is depicted with a bent neck and head turned opposite to the body's orientation, so the feel of space is more notable than in the case of the peacock on the sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd, which may indicate an earlier dating for this Trogir spolium. On another, somewhat younger, pagan sarcophagus from Salona, one featuring a portrayal of Eros at the grape harvest (dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century), tiny yet flattened figures of birds with melodious contours were carved, set between the grape vines, and among them there is a peacock plucking grapes.<sup>25</sup> Later portrayals of birds

20 Kako se u srednjovjekovnim trogirskim ispravama Hvar spominje kao *Quara*, vjerojatno je prezime ovog plemićkog roda nastalo od nadimka Hvaranin/Hvarani.

21 Tomičić 2008, str. 393-415.

22 Deichmann 1967, T. 10,1; T. 16,4; T. 17,51.

21 Tomičić 2008, pp. 393-415.

22 Deichmann 1967, P. 10,1; P. 16,4; P. 17,51.

23 Cambi 1994; Cambi 2010, P. XC; P. XCI.

24 Cambi 2010, P. XXXI; P. LXXIII.

25 Cambi 2002, II, p. 81, Fig. 101. The scene of birds plucking grapes, the so-called Inhabited Scroll/Inhabited Vine motif, was very common in the art of Late



to na edikuli na prednjoj strani i na edikuli na desnoj bočnoj strani sarkofaga.<sup>23</sup> Na ranokršćanskim sarkofazima ptice se prikazuju i unutar akroterija na “krovovima” ponad sanduka.<sup>24</sup> Ptice se ponekad prikazuju jedna nasuprot drugoj kako kljunovima dodiruju/priđavaju vijenac.

Plastičnost figure i kvalitetna izvedba dekoracija na trogirskom ulomku ukazuju na još žive klasične tradicije premda ima odveć gusto raspoređenih ukrasa. Veoma su precizno i plastično izvedene vrpce prepleta. Dekorativni motiv prepleta na salonitanskom sarkofagu Dobrog pastira teče donjim rubom, uz samu bazu kovčega, a na trogirskom spoliju, kako je već spomenuto, izveden je dva puta, u kosom pojasu i na vodoravnom podnožju. Ptica je prikazana s izvijenim vratom, glave usmjerene u drugom pravcu u odnosu na tijelo, tako da je osjećaj prostora izraženiji više negoli kod paunova na sarkofagu Dobrog pastira, što je možda naznaka za ranije datiranje ovoga trogirskog spolija. Na jednom drugom, nešto mlađem salonitanskom poganskom sarkofagu, onom s prikazom erota u berbi (datira se u III. stoljeće) veoma su vješto isklesani sitni, no plošni likovi ptica, razigranih obrisa, smještenih u granju loze, među kojima je paun koji zoblje grožđe.<sup>25</sup> Kasniji prikazi ptica u kasnoantičkom kršćanskom kiparstvu sve su plošniji. Na ranobizantskim reljefima (npr. na oltaru, na ploči lunete iznad *fenestelle confessionis* iz crkve u Gatima), prikazi ptica sasvim su sumarni, svedeni na obris, izvedeni u tehnicima *champlevé*.<sup>26</sup> Na tzv. Augustininom sarkofagu iz Salone likovi golubica uz krizmon zapravo su urezani crteži, s crvenom bojom u užlijebljenijima.<sup>27</sup> Ta tendencija nestanka treće dimenzije s gubitkom taktilnih i haptičkih vrijednosti nastavlja se i u ranosrednjovjekovnoj skulpturi, gdje se ptice doimaju spljoštenima poput okamina.

Široke dijagonalne pruge pod kojima je ptica vjerojatno su dio nekog okvira središnjeg polja, medalliona. Na jednom luku u unutrašnjosti Eufrazijeve bazilike u Poreču u štukaturama su prikazani okviri u obliku rombova; pod jednim od njih, u uglu, je lik

in Late Antique, Christian sculpture are increasingly planar. On early Byzantine relief portrayals (e.g. on the altar, on the lunette slab above the *fenestella confessionis* from the church in Gata), the bird figures are entirely vague, limited to contours rendered in the *champlevé* technique.<sup>26</sup> On the so-called Augustina sarcophagus from Salona, the figures of doves next to the chrismon are actually engraved drawings, with red paint in the grooves.<sup>27</sup> This tendency of a disappearing third dimension with the loss of tactile and haptic value continued in early medieval sculpture, where the birds seem flattened like accretions.

The wide, diagonal lines above the bird were probably part of the frame of the central field, the medallion. Rhombus-shaped frames are depicted in the stucco work in an arch in the interior of the Euphrasius Basilica; there is a figure of a peacock below one of them, in the corner.<sup>28</sup> On one sarcophagus from Salona, two Erotes hold a polygonal frame around a circular field with an inscription mentioning Valerius Dinens and his wife Attia, dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> On a ceiling relief from a pagan tomb in Asseria, the central medallion with a relief portrayal of a Gorgon is surrounded by fields with florally bordered radial lines.<sup>30</sup> Judging by its positioning, the bird on the Trogir spolium with turned head and bent neck appears to be looking toward a former central scene. The destroyed central field of the Trogir fragment was very likely bordered by a very broad, multi-part frame, next to which there were figures of animals, of which only a single bird (an eagle?) remains. Birds in a corner next to a circle, a medallion, are depicted, for example, on an altar-screen pluteus subsequently built into the ambo parapet from the Euphrasius Basilica.<sup>31</sup> Polygonal fields as medallion frames are also common on mosaics (the mosaic type with a central scheme). For example, on the famed mosaic from Salona with a bust image of Triton inside a wide octagonal frame, next to which birds are

23 Cambi 1994; Cambi 2010, T. XC; T. XCI.

24 Cambi 2010, T. XXXI; T. LXXIII.

25 Cambi 2002, II, str. 81, sl. 101. Prikaz ptica koje zoblju grožđe, tzv. *Inhabited Scroll/ Inhabited Vine Motif*, veoma je čest u kasnoantičkoj umjetnosti, na primjer na dovratcima tzv. Malog hrama u Dioklecijanovoj palači. U ranosrednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti, pa tako i u Dalmaciji, ptice koje zoblju prikazuju se na tegurijama; u doba romanike ptice, sada već reljefne, plastično izvedene, prikazane su na drvenim vratnicama splitske katedrale i na kapitelima portala trogirске katedrale.

26 Jeličić-Radonić 1991, str. 12.

27 Cambi 2000, str. 253b.

Antiquity, for example on the lintels of the so-called Small Temple in Diocletian's Palace. In early medieval art, including that of Dalmatia, birds eating grapes are shown on teguria; in the Romanesque era, birds – now already in relief and rendered sculpturally – were depicted on the wooden door-frames of the Split cathedral and on the capitals of the portal on the Trogir cathedral.

26 Jeličić-Radonić 1991, p. 12.

27 Cambi 2000, p. 253b.

28 Matejčić 2014, pp. 31, 46.

29 Cambi 2010, pp. 63, 69, 126, 127, cat. no. 150, P. LXXVII.

30 Cambi 2004, pp. 23-39.

31 Matejčić 2012, p. 335.

pauna.<sup>28</sup> Na jednom sarkofagu iz Salone dva erota drže poligonalni okvir oko kružnog polja s natpisom koji spominje Valerija Dinenta i njegovu suprugu Atiju; datiran je u početak III. st.<sup>29</sup> Na stropnom reljefu, s poganske grobnice iz Aserije, oko središnjeg medaljona s reljefom, prikazom glave Gorgone, raspoređena su polja s cvijetom obrubljena prugama zrakasto raspoređenima.<sup>30</sup> Sudeći prema impostaciji, ptica na trogirskom spoliju s okrenutom glavom, izvijena vrata, kao da gleda prema nekadašnjem središnjem prizoru. Uništeno središnje polje ovoga trogirskog ulomka bilo je vjerojatno obrubljeno veoma širokim, višedijelnim okvirom uz koji su se sa strane nalazile figure životinja, od kojih je preostala tek jedna ptica (orao?). Ptice u kutovima uz krug, medaljon, prikazane su na primjer na jednom pluteju oltarne ograde, naknadno ugrađene u parapet ambona iz Eufrazijeve bazilike.<sup>31</sup> Poligonalna polja, okviri medaljona, česta su i na mozaicima (tip mozaika sa centralnom shemom). Na primjer na glasovitom mozaiku iz Salone s poprsjem Tritona unutar širokog osmerokutnog okvira, uz koji su s vanjske strane prikazane ptice; poligonalni okvir oblikovan je od dva kvadrata koji se sijeku (jedan je rotiran) tako da zajedno čine osmerokraku zvijezdu.<sup>32</sup> Osmerokutni okviri oko kružnog polja s natpisom nalaze se i na ranokršćanskim mozaicima, na primjer na podu kulturnih prostorija oko Eufrazijeve bazilike u Poreču (IV./V. st.).<sup>33</sup> Na višedijelnim širokim okvirima oko medaljona česte su i obojene pletenice, primjerice na mozaiku s lokaliteta Panik kod Bileće, iz jedne prostorije rimske vile, na kojem je prikazan Orfej u poligonalnom polju; mozaik je datiran u zadnju trećinu III. st.<sup>34</sup> Oko medaljona s likom pjesnikinje Sappho na mozaiku iz Salone radikalno se šire krakovi s pletenicama (datira se u II. st.).<sup>35</sup> Motivi pletenice ponavljaju se i na bordurama ranokršćanskih mozaika u Saloni, na primjer na podu bazilike na lokalitetu Kapljuč.<sup>36</sup>

Pletenice se apliciraju, dakako, i na arhitektonskoj plastici. Kao dekorativni motiv javljaju se i u Dioklecijanovoj palači, no bez kuglice u prepletu;<sup>37</sup> motivom pletenice ukrašen je dovratnik portala, ulaza u Vestibul; na poligonalnom hramu, navodno Dioklecijanovom

depicted on the external sides, the polygonal frame is formed from two squares that intersect (one is rotated) so that they form an eight-pointed star together.<sup>32</sup> Eight-pointed frames around a circular field with an inscription can also be found on Early Christian mosaics, for example on the floor of the cult area around the Euphrasius Basilica in Poreč (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>33</sup> Painted interlaces are also frequent on the multi-part, wide frames around medallions, for example on the mosaic from the Panik site near Bileće, from a room in a Roman villa, on which Orpheus is shown in a polygonal field; the mosaic has been dated to the final third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> Arms with interlaces extend radially around a medallion bearing the image of the poet Sappho on a mosaic from Salona (dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century).<sup>35</sup> The interlace motifs were also repeated on the bordures of Early Christian mosaics in Salona, on the floor of the basilica at the Kapljuč site for example.<sup>36</sup>

The interlace motifs were applied, to be sure, on architectural sculpture as well. They even appear as a decorative motif in Diocletian's Palace, but without small spheres in the crossing points:<sup>37</sup> the interlace motif adorns the door jamb of the portal, the entrance to the Vestibule, the polygonal temple – allegedly Diocletian's mausoleum; an interlace flows on the lintel of the portal; in the interior one is carved onto the cornice above the lower row of columns.<sup>38</sup> The interlace motif was applied to two stone fragments from Doclea; on one of them the interlace flows around the central field.<sup>39</sup>

The original shape and purpose of the entire piece to which the fragment belonged cannot be discerned. It may not even be Christian art, a decorated slab, an altar-screen pluteus nor an ambo parapet. Is it, perhaps, a fragment of architectural sculpture from some Late Antique pagan structure?

The place at which the spolium was installed is also significant: the superficies of the former medieval city walls. The construction of these walls required enormous quantities of stone, so it is understandable that the remains of older structures were always used, even including sepulchral monuments, which had been a standard practice since Antiquity, and Late An-

28 Matejčić 2014, str. 31, 46.

29 Cambi 2010, str. 63, 69, 126, 127, kat. br. 150, T. LXX-VII.

30 Cambi 2004, str. 23-39.

31 Matejčić 2012, str. 335.

32 Marin 2002, vol. II, str. 25-26.

33 Matejčić 2014, str. 93, 124.

34 Busuladžić 2008, str. 54, 107, T. XLVII.

35 Marin 2002, vol. II, str. 33.

36 Egger, Dyggve 1939, T. 57, 79.

37 Na ovo me je upozorila kolegica prof. Daniela Matetić, na čemu joj zahvaljujem.

32 Marin 2002, vol. II, pp. 25-26.

33 Matejčić 2014, pp. 93, 124.

34 Busuladžić 2008, pp. 54, 107, pl. XLVII.

35 Marin 2002, vol. II, p. 33.

36 Egger, Dyggve 1939, pl. 57, 79.

37 This was pointed out to me by my colleague, Prof. Daniela Matetić, for which I thank her.

38 McNally 1996, fig. III. C.4; fig. 34, II.B; Niemann 2005, p. 24.

39 Korać 2009, pl. XIV, 2/373.

mauzoleju, pletenica teče na nadvratniku portala; u unutrašnjosti isklesana je na vijencu iznad donjeg reda stupova.<sup>38</sup> Motiv pletenice apliciran je na dva kamena ulomka iz Duklje; na jednom od njih pletenica teče oko središnjeg polja.<sup>39</sup>

Ne može se pretpostaviti izvorni oblik i namjena cjeline kojoj je pripadao ulomak. Možda se uopće ne radi o kršćanskoj umjetnosti, o ukrašenoj ploči, o pluteju oltarne ograde, ni o parapetu ambona. Radi li se, možda, o ulomku arhitektonske plastike nekog kasnoantičkog poganskog zdanja?

Znakovito je i mjesto na koje je spolij ugrađen: na oplošju nekadašnjih srednjovjekovnih zidina. Za gradnju zidina bile su potrebne goleme količine kamene građe pa je razumljivo da se odvajkada koriste ostatci starih zdanja, uključujući čak i nadgrobne spomenike, što je bila uobičajena praksa od antičkog, posebno kasnoantičkog doba; to je bio slučaj i sa zidinama Jadera, Aserije i osobito Salone.<sup>40</sup> Još u XVII. stoljeću za gradnju bastiona u Trogiru i Splitu doprema se kamena građa iz ruševina Salone, i to dozvolom generalnog providura.<sup>41</sup> Na gradskoj zidini tik do trogirskih južnih gradskih vrata (*Porta marina*) ugrađen je ulomak rimskoga nadgrobnog spomenika s natpisom u monumentalnoj kapitali *INFRPX*, uobičajenom formulom, kraticom kojom se precizira dimenzija grobne parcele. Do samih vrata ugrađen je i komad (tambur) stupa. Na gradskim zidinama također je bio ugrađen (ne znamo točno gdje) još jedan rimski natpis, koji nažalost nije sačuvan, premda je objavljen (CIL III 2694). Moguće je da ti antički ulomci nisu bili ugrađeni tek kao kamena građa, pogotovo ne onaj do samih gradskih vrata na kojem je uklesan napis iz godine 1593. koji veliča “stari grad, nekoć rimski, osobito plemenit zbog starine i zbog glasovitih ljudi koje je rodio”.<sup>42</sup> U istom smislu može se objasniti zašto je jedan rimski natpis ugrađen i uz gradska vrata u Rabu. U Zadru su godine 1573. u tzv. *Porta marina* (Vrata sv. Krševana) ugrađeni ostatci antičkog slavloluka.<sup>43</sup> Tankočutni zidar koji je u srednjem vijeku radio na gradnji trogirskih zidina ugradio je spolij s pticom osjećajući njezinu estetsku dimenziju i povišnu semantiku.

tiquity in particular. This was also the case with the walls of Iader, Asseria and especially Salona.<sup>40</sup> Even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, stone from the ruins of Salona were brought for the construction of the bastions in Trogir and Split with the permission of the provincial governor general.<sup>41</sup> On the city walls right next to Trogir’s southern city gate (*Porta marina*), a fragment of a Roman sepulchral monument was installed; it bears an inscription written in monumental capitals, *INFRPX*, a customary formula, actually an abbreviation which specifies the dimensions of the grave plot. A piece (tambour) of a column was also installed right next to the gate. Yet another Roman inscription was built into the city walls (although where is no longer known), but unfortunately it was not preserved, even though it was published (CIL III 2694). It is possible that these Roman-era fragments were not simply used as stone material, particularly those right next to the city gate on which an inscription was carved in 1593 that extols “the old city, once Roman, especially noble for its antiquities and the renowned people born in it.”<sup>42</sup> The Roman inscription built next to the town gate in Rab may be explained in the same sense. The remains of a Roman-era triumphal arch were built into the so-called *Porta Marina* (Gate of St. Chrysogonus) in Zadar in 1573.<sup>43</sup> An insightful mason who was working on the construction of the Trogir city walls built in this spolium, sensing its aesthetic dimension and historical semantics.

38 McNally 1996, fig. III. C. 4; fig. 34. II. B; Niemann 2005, str. 24.

39 Korać 2009, T. XIV, 2/373.

40 Piplović 2005, str. 1-25.

41 Žmegač 2009, str. 186; Duplančić 2007, str. 58.

42 Delalle 1936, str. 53.

43 Babić 2008, str. 429.

40 Piplović 2005, pp. 1-25.

41 Žmegač 2009, p. 186; Duplančić 2007, p. 58.

42 Delalle 1936, p. 53.

43 Babić 2008, p. 429.



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