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PROSLOV

S velikim zadovoljstvom i u ime cijelog uredništva predstavljamo dvobroj 37/38 časopisa Opuscula Archaeologica koji je utemeljen 1956. godine, te s više ili manje poteškoća izlazi više od pet desetljeća. Usprkos trenutnim financijskim poteškoćama pred nama je časopis koji i ovoga puta, i to sa 19 članaka od 25 autora, na preko četiri stotine stranica, objavljuje znanstvene, pregledne i stručne tekstove visoke kvalitete.

No, ovaj dvobroj časopisa Opuscula archaeologica se razlikuje od prethodnih izdanja jer se sastoji od dva tematska poglavlja. U prvom poglavlju je jedanaest radova koji su, u skladu s tradicijom našeg časopisa, posvećeni različitim arheološkim problemima koji će kako znanstvenicima, tako i drugima, dati mogućnost dobivanja uvida, ne samo u nepoznatu arheološku građu, nego i mogućnost upoznavanja s najnovijim razmišljanjima o određenim problemima kao i njihovim mogućim rješenjima. Drugi dio broja 37/38 časopisa Opuscula archaeologica nas posebno raduje jer se sastoji od osam radova posvećenih 30-godišnjici smrti uglednog hrvatskog profesora prapovijesne arheologije Stojana Dimitrijevića. Radovi su prezentirani na skupu posvećenom Stojanu Dimitrijeviću na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu 13.12.2011.

Napor koji je uredništvo časopisa uložilo u izlazak ovoga broja nije nas obeshrabrio nego potaknuo da i dalje činimo sve potrebno da bi autori i dalje imali priliku objavljivati članke za koje smatraju da doprinose arheološkoj znanosti. Za kvalitetu objavljenih priloga brinuo se cijeli tim recenzentata, čije je mišljenje i omogućilo da svaki prilog ima onu kvalitetu kakvu naš časopis i zaslužuje. Stoga na kraju svim autorima i suradnicima najsrdačnije zahvaljujemo na priložima tiskanim u ovome broju časopisa Opuscula archaeologica.

Glavni i odgovorni urednici

PROLOGUE

We are proud to present a double volume 37/38 of Opuscula archaeologica on behalf of the Editorial board. Since its first volume in 1956, journal Opuscula archaeologica has been publishing scientific articles in the field of archaeology and other historical disciplines. Despite current financial challenges we were able to publish 19 articles by 25 authors on more than 400 pages containing high quality original scientific articles and professional papers.

The structure of this double volume differs from previous ones because it is divided into two sections. The first section consisting of 11 articles that are, in the tradition of this journal, facing specific archaeological issues. We hope that these articles will provide information to readers on new, unpublished material and current debates. The second section contains 8 papers dedicated to the 30th anniversary of death of Professor Stojan Dimitrijević, a distinguished professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Zagreb. These papers were originally presented at the conference organized by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb on December 13th 2011.

Various challenges presented to us during the preparation of this volume were not discouraging, but, on the contrary, gave us the additional motivation to secure the future of this journal as a platform for publication of quality scientific and professional papers by fellow scholars. Extensive team of domestic and international reviewers is the quality assurance of the published articles, and the journal as a whole.

We would like to express our gratitude to all contributors whose articles are published in this double volume.

Editors

Ana MIŠKOVIĆ

U POTRAZI ZA VEZAMA IZMEĐU SOLUNA I ZADRA U KASNOJ ANTICI

EXPLORING THE TIES BETWEEN THESSALONIKI AND ZADAR IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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Ana Mišković

Odjel za povijest umjetnosti

Sveučilište u Zadru

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U radu se potkrepljuje spoznaja o povezanosti dvaju kasnoantičkih središta, Soluna i Zadra. Veze među gradovima uočene su još prije dvadesetak godina u sličnim arhitektonskim formama ranokršćanskih bazilika, posebno u rastvaranju bočnih zidova prozorskim otvorima poliforama. Nedavno je uočena i još jedna sličnost u konstrukciji građevina iz istog vremena, a radi se o ključnom ambijentu kršćanske religije – o krstionici. Naime, zadarska se krstionica u arhitektonskom obliku pokazala kao umanjena verzija solunske krstionice. U tlocrtu su obje šesterokutne izvana, a šesterolisne iznutra i rastvorene su trima vratima. Različite su po dimenzijama – solunska krstionica je monumentalna građevina, dvostruko veća od zadarske. Srodnost krstionici u Solunu u literaturi je pronađena u konstantinopolskim centralnim građevinama – auditoriju palače Antiochos koji u 6. st. postaje crkva Sv. Eufemije i tzv. Hagiasmi S. Iohannes. Na taj način se refleks istočnih sakralnih građevina preko Soluna odrazio i na episkopalni kompleks u Zadru, s čim i specifično oblikovanje ranokršćanskih građevina u Zadru postaje jasnije.

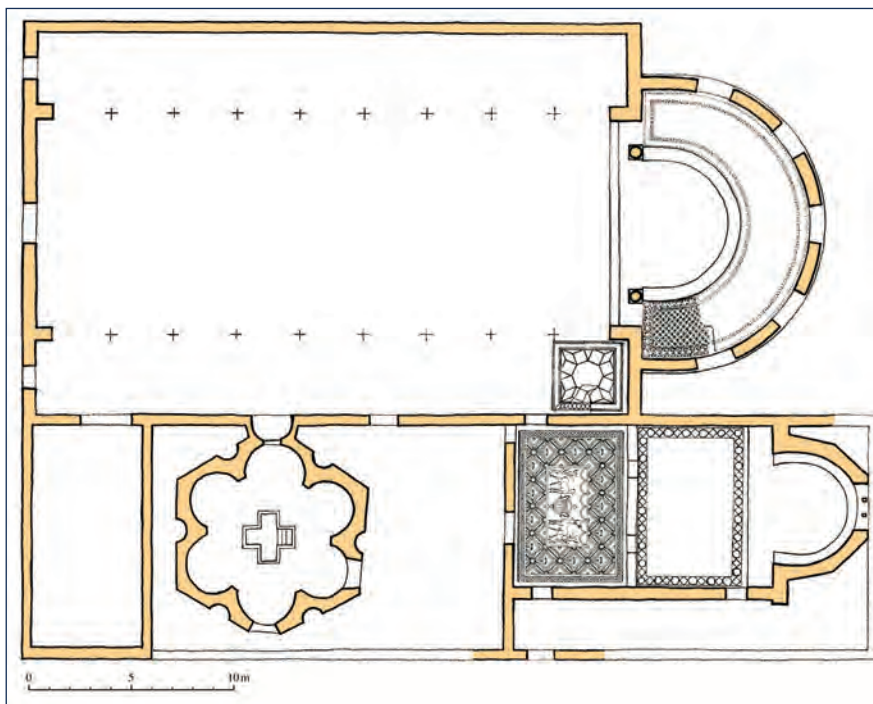
Ključne riječi: krstionica, rano kršćanstvo, biskup, Solun, Zadar, vikarijat, šesterostrana

This paper aims to provide further insight on the connection between two centers from Late Antiquity, Thessaloniki and Zadar. The connection between the two was noted 20 years ago in the use of similar architectural forms of early Christian basilicas, particularly in the opening of the side walls by the use of mullioned windows. Another architectural semblance has been noted recently in the structures of the same period, i.e. in the key aspect of the Christian milieu - the baptistery. The Zadar baptistery has proven to be a smaller version of the Thessaloniki baptistery. They have a hexagonal layout on the outside and hexafoil on the inside, opening up in three doors. Their dimensions vary - the Thessaloniki baptistery is a monumental building, twice the size of the Zadar baptistery. The Thessaloniki baptistery has parallels with the central buildings of Constantinople - the auditorium of the Antiochos palace, which was converted into the church of St. Euphemia in the 6th century, and the so-called Hagiasmi S. Iohannes. Sacral architecture from the East was thus transposed to the episcopal complex in Zadar via Thessaloniki, which explains the unique design of the early Christian buildings there.

Key words: baptistery, early Christianity, bishop, Thessaloniki, Zadar, vicarage, hexagonal

ZADARSKA RANOKRŠĆANSKA KRSTIONICA

Krstionica episkopalnog kompleksa u Zadru podignuta je tijekom kasne antike u prostoru između pomoćnih sakralnih ambijenata koji se naslanjaju na južni zid katedrale, točnije između vjerojatnog katekumeneja na istoku i sakristije na zapadu (sl. 1). Riječ je o centralnoj građevini formiranoj kao šesterokut izvana, a šesterolist iznutra (promjer 10,5 m, visina 10 m).¹ Nad donjim šesterokutom izdiže se gornji, manji šesterokut, zarotiran u odnosu na donji za 30° (sl. 2). Uglovi gornjega šesterokuta poduprti su kontraforima koji počivaju na tjemenoj zoni polukalota konhi. Tambur je nadsvođen šesterokrillnim lepezastim svodom (sl. 3). Plohe tambura rastvarale su monofore, a njih kamene rešetke u obliku ribljih ljuski (Petricioli 1960: 186, sl. 11–13; Vežić 2005: 165; 2007: 130–131). Donja zona krstionice rastvorena je trima prolazima: jednim je okrenuta prema pretpostavljenom katekumeneju, drugim prema episkopiju, a trećim je povezana preko još jedne konhe s bazilikom. Ujedno je to i vestibul, predvorje koje uvodi buduće novokrštenike u katedralu. Posred krstionice je križni zdenac s prilazom vjerojatno na istočnoj strani (sl. 4).



Slika 1. Grafička rekonstrukcija ranokršćanske katedrale s aneksima u Zadru (Vežić 2005b: 37).

Figure 1. Graphic reconstruction of the early Christian cathedral with its annexes in Zadar (Vežić 2005b: 37).

¹ Na cjelovito sačuvanoj ranokršćanskoj krstionici konzervatorske radove prije 2. svjetskog rata vodio je Ćiril Metod Iveković (1937: 1–14). Nakon ratnih razaranja ostatke krstionice istraživao je I. Petricioli (1984: 249).

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BAPTISTERY IN ZADAR

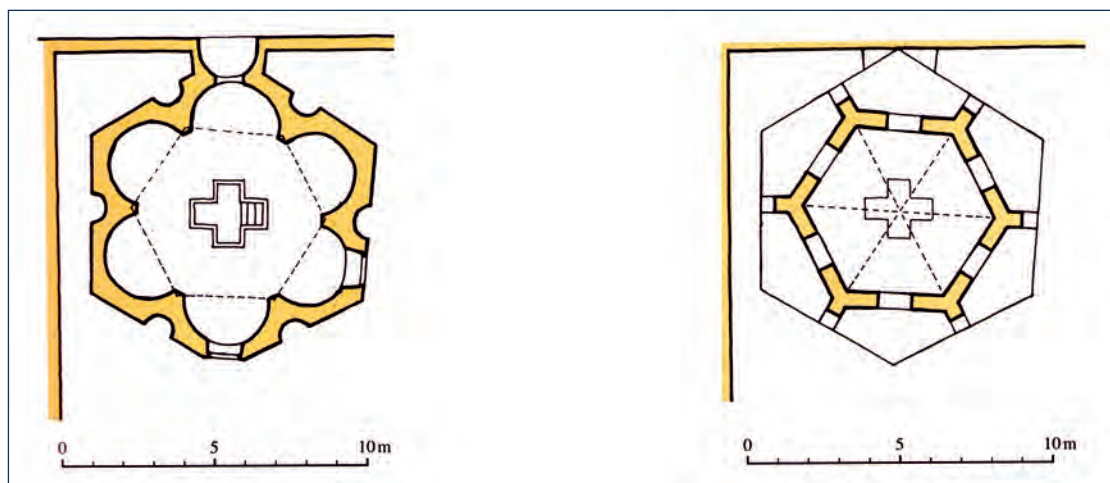
The **baptistery** from the Zadar episcopal complex was built during Late Antiquity. It occupies the space between the auxiliary sacral spaces, adjoining the southern wall of the cathedral, between the presumed eastern baptistry and western sacristy (Fig. 1). The central baptistery is hexagonal on the outside and hexagonal on the inside (diameter 10.5 m, height 10 m).¹ The smaller upper hexagon rises above the larger lower one, and it is rotated by 30° relatively to the lower one (Fig. 2). The corners of the upper hexagon are supported by buttresses which lie in the apex zone of the concha hemispheres. The tambour has a hexagonal fan-shaped vault (Fig. 3). The tambour surfaces open up the monophoras, which in turn are opened up by stone cross-bars shaped like fish squames. (Petricioli 1960: 186, sl. 11–13; Vežić 2005: 165; 2007: 130–131). The lower level of the baptistery opens up onto three passageways: one turned towards the presumed catechumenium, the other toward the episcopium, and the third is connected via another concha with the basilica. This is also the vestibule, an outer hall

leading the neophytes into the cathedral. In the middle of the baptistery lies the cross-shaped basin which was most likely approached from the eastern side (Fig. 4).

In the ideal (and summarized) reconstruction of the ritual of baptism, as it was practiced in Late Antiquity, the neophytes first took off their clothes (the candidates were baptized naked), perhaps in one of the conchas which functioned as a kind of small vestiary. Then they entered the *piscina* (baptismal font) where the bishop would pour water on them and call on the descent of the Holy Spirit who cleanses the candidate according to Christian belief.² After exiting the basin, the candidate was

¹ Ćiril Metod Iveković (1937: 1–14) did conservation work on the wholly preserved early Christian baptistery before World War II. Afterwards, the research on the remains of the baptistery was done by I. Petricioli (1984: 249).

² Even though it is *lavacrum regenerationis, baptisma esse sine Spiritu non potest*, i.e. there is no rebirth without the Holy Spirit (Cyprian, PL4: 802).



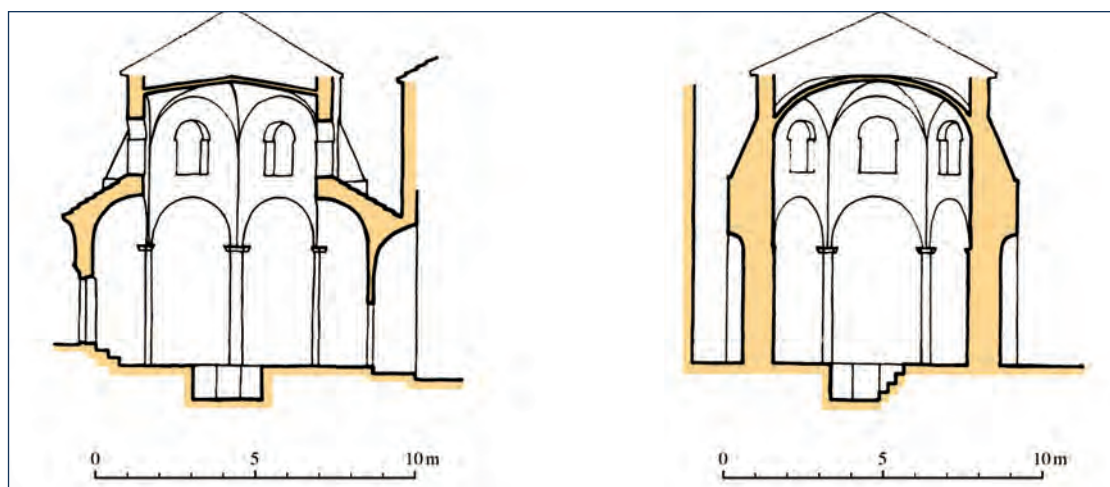
Slika 2. Grafičke rekonstrukcije tlocrta donjeg dijela i tambura krstionice u Zadru (Vežić 2005b: 41).

Figure 2. Graphic reconstruction of the layout of the lower part of the Zadar baptistery and the tambour (Vežić 2005b: 41).



Slika 3. Pogled na rekonstruirani tambur i svod zadarske krstionice (Vežić 2005b: 42).

Figure 3. View of the reconstructed tambour and the vault of the Zadar baptistery (Vežić 2005b: 42).



Slika 4. Grafička rekonstrukcija uzdužnog i poprečnog presjeka zadarske krstionice (Vežić 2005b: 42)

Figure 4. Graphic reconstruction of the longitudinal and cross section of the Zadar baptistery (Vežić 2005b: 42)

U idealnoj (i sažetoj) rekonstrukciji obreda krsta koji se odvijao u kasnoj antici, neofit je prvo morao skinuti svoju odjeću (kandidati su se krštavali goli), možda čak i u jednoj od konhi krstionice koja je time funkcionirala kao reducirani vestibul. Potom ulazi u *piscinu* gdje ga biskup polijeva vodom i zaziva silazak Duha Svetog koji u biti po kršćanskom vjerovanju čisti duh kandidata.² Nakon izlaska iz zdenca, isti prima postkršno pomazanje i oblači bijelu haljinu. Zatim slijedi drugi dio krsne inicijacije – potvrda ili *confirmatio* u ambijentu za pomazanje (*locus chrismalis*³) čemu je mogla biti namijenjena jedna od krstioničkih niša, ili možda čak niša – vestibul koji povezuje krstionicu s bazilikom (Vežić 1991: 13–23; 1992/93: 22).

Kao ilustracija toga tijeka mogao bi poslužiti citat iz spisa velikog crkvenog oca Ambrozija (iako gotovo identične opise kršćanske inicijacije nalazimo i kod ostalih crkvenih pisaca, kako na Istoku tako i na Zapadu): *Slijedi duhovni pečat. O njemu se – čuli ste – danas čitalo. Nakon zdenca, naime, ostaje da se obavi dovršenje. Tada se na svećenikov zaziv ulijeva Duh Sveti.... Što dolazi poslije toga? Imaš pristupiti oltaru. Budući da si se približio, možeš vidjeti što ranije nisi vidio. Ciljam na otajstvo o kojem si čitao u evanđelju ako si čitao (Pj 8,6).*⁴

Krstionica u Zadru je nažalost stradala 1943., no dokumentacija o njoj izvrsno je sačuvana.⁵ Istraživači i oni koji su se njome bavili datirali su je u širok vremenski period. Tako je G. Sabalich smatrao da potječe iz 4. st (Sabalich 1897: 55–57), dok ju je T. G. Jackson datirao čak u neodređeni ranosrednjovjekovni period 9.-11. st. (Jackson 1887: 212, 226, 287–288). C. F. Bianchi za nju kaže da je to *gradnja vrlo stara (d'una rimota antichità)* te je također datira u 4. st. povezujući njeno postojanje uz katedralu i spomene zaderskog biskupa Felixa s kraja istog stoljeća (Bianchi 1877: 118–120). Č. M. Iveković je uspoređuje s ranosrednjovjekovnim građevinama (Iveković 1937: 10–12). Među starijim povjesničarima jedino je G. Bersa bio najbliži točnoj dataciji u

anointed and dressed in a white robe. Next came the second part of the initiation - the confirmation (*confirmatio*) performed in the chrismarium (*locus chrismalis*³). One of the baptistry niches could have been used for this purpose, or even the niche-vestibule which links the baptistry with the basilica (Vežić 1991: 13–23; 1992/93: 22). To illustrate, we can quote the great church father Ambrose (although almost identical descriptions of Christian initiations can be found in other church writings, from East to West): *A spiritual seal follows. It was already mentioned in the text today, as you have heard. After the basin, completion needs to be performed. The priest calls upon the Holy Spirit... What then? Approach the altar. Since you draw close, you can behold what before was not visible. I mean the mystery, which is familiar to you from the gospel, if indeed you have read it (Pj 8,6).*⁴

The Zadar baptistry was unfortunately damaged in 1943, but the documentation pertaining to it has been preserved.⁵ The researchers ascribe a broad time frame to it. G. Sabalich thinks it dates from the 4th century (Sabalich 1897: 55–57), while T. G. Jackson dates it to an unspecified early medieval period (9-11th c.) (Jackson 1887: 212, 226, 287–288). C. F. Bianchi says it is “of the remote past” (*d'una rimota antichità*), and also dates it to the 4th century, linking its existence to a cathedral and the mentions of the Zadar bishop Felix from the late 4th century (Bianchi 1877: 118–120). Č. M. Iveković compares it to early medieval architecture (Iveković 1937: 10–12). Among the older historians, G. Bersa was the closest to the correct date - the 6th century - which was then accepted by I. Petricioli fifty years later (1984: 249). Namely, while dealing with the remains of the baptistry in the 1970s, which were lying around in the courtyard between the cathedral and the bishop's palace, the author noted that this was a structure from Late Antiquity. P. Vežić (1979: 11) wrote the report on the intervention work which followed. This conservator was also responsible for the facsimile reconstruction in 1990. Before recon-

² Iako je riječ o *lavacrum regenerationis, baptisma esse sine Spiritu non potest*, odnosno nema preporođenja bez Duha Svetoga (Ciprijan, PL4: 802).

³ Izraz *locus chrismalis* ili *crismarium* potječe iz 8. st., a odnosi se na jednu od kapela u Lateranskom krstioničkom sklopu koja je funkcionirala kao konsigtorij (Righetti 1959–1964: 160; De Blaauw 1994: 153).

⁴ Mandac 1986: 170–171, 192–193. Riječ je o prijevodu Ambrozijevih zapisa o krsnom obredu (*Ambrozije*, PL 16: 434–436, 455–456). Ali sličnu usporedbu navodi i *Tertulijan* (PL 1: 1206; PL 2: 806–807); odnosno *Ivan Zlatousti* (PG 61: 418).

⁵ Povijest dokumentacije od najstarijih crteža P. Hatzingera iz 1823., A. L. De Romanoa i Haelzela, tj. sve iz prve polovine 19. st. čuvaju se u Historijskom arhivu u Zadru. Crteži krstionice zastupljeni su i kod Eitelbergera, (1884: 141), Cechellia (1932: 25) i Ivekovića (1937: 1–14).

³ The name *locus chrismalis* or *crismarium* comes from the 8th century when it refers to one of the chapels in the Lateran baptistry complex which functioned as a chrismarium (Righetti 1959–1964: 160; De Blaauw 1994: 153).

⁴ Mandac 1986: 170–171, 192–193. This is a translation of Ambrose's writings on the ritual of baptism (*Ambrozije*, PL 16: 434–436, 455–456). A similar comparison can be found in the writings of Tertullian (PL 1: 1206; PL 2: 806–807); and John Chrysostom (PG 61: 418).

⁵ The history of the documentation, starting from the earliest drawings by P. Hatzinger from 1823, A. L. De Romano and Haelzel, all from the first half of the 19th century, can be found in the Historical Archives in Zadar. Drawings of the baptistry can also be found in Eitelberger, (1884: 141), Cechelli (1932: 25) and Iveković (1937: 1–14).

6. st. koju nakon pola stoljeća prihvaća i I. Petricoli (1984: 249). Naime, baveći se njezinim ostacima 1970.-ih godina koji su nakon bombardiranja ležali u dvorištu između katedrale i biskupske palače, autor je uvidio da je riječ o kasnoantičkoj građevini. O zaštitnom zahvatu koji je pritom proveden izvještaj je napisao P. Vežić (1979: 11). Spomenuti konzervator zaslužan je i za njezinu faksimilsku rekonstrukciju 1990. godine. Prije same rekonstrukcije Vežić je detaljno istražio bogatu dokumentaciju ranijih autora i konzervatora što je i publicirao 1991. godine nakon provedenog zahvata (Vežić 1991: 13–23). Tada je uočio da cijelo ranokršćansko nasljeđe nudi tek još dvije heksagonalne krstionice, uz ovu u Zadru. One se nalaze na području Francuske u Port Bailu i Sirije u Deyr Seti (Khatchatrian 1962: 7, sl. 53, 47, 317; Vežić 1991: 13–23, 1992/93: 22). Dimenzijama su krstionice gotovo jednake zadarskoj. No, analogni primjeri međusobno su prilično udaljeni: jedan je na krajnjem Istoku, a drugi na Zapadu tadašnjeg kršćanskog svijeta. Pritom su oba primjera u vanjštini i interijeru jednakog šesterokutnog tlocrta. Tek ona u Port Bailu ima po dvije niše uz ulaz u baptisterij. Upravo zbog nepoznavanja sličnijih primjera zadarska se krstionica s pravom smatrala izuzetkom i uistinu posebnom građevinom koja je bila namijenjena sakramentu kršćanske inicijacije (sl. 5).

SOLUNSKA RANOKRŠĆANSKA KRSTIONICA

Tek je nedavno ustanovljeno da se zadarska krstionica po svom obliku najviše približava onoj u Solunu (Ćurčić 2010: 130). Krstionica Sv. Ivana (*Hagiasma H. Ioannis*) solunskog episkopalnog kompleksa⁶ očuvana je samo u temeljima, no i po njima se prepoznaje osnovni oblik građevine koja je izvana bila šesterokutna, a iznutra šesterolisna (Ćurčić 2009: 110–117). Nutarnje konhe su duboke i blago potkovaste, radijalno postavljene oko centralnog kruga, kao i kod zadarske krstionice (sl. 6). Spojevi vanjskih ploha na krstionici u Solunu nisu oštri bridovi već su blago zaobljeni. Za razliku od zadarske građevine plohe na solunskoj nisu raščlanjene nišama po sredini. U nutrini solunske krstionice uz pilone među konhama su stupovi, kao što je slučaj kod krstionice, na primjer, u episkopalnim kompleksima u Milanu, Ravenni i Comu u Italiji ili kod nas u Saloni.⁷ Krstionica Sv. Ivana u

⁶ Današnja crkva Sv. Sofije, građevina datirana u sredinu 7. st., nastala je na ranokršćanskim temeljima velike peterobrodne bazilike za koju se pretpostavlja da je bila prvotno sjedište salonitanskog nadiskupa posvećeno sv. Marku (G. Gunaris 1999: 277).

⁷ Kod milanske krstionice S. Giovanni koja je oktogonalnog obika izvana, a iznutra razvedena naizmjenice pravokutnim i polukružnim nišama, bridovi među nišama su uvučeni i do



Slika 5. Zadarska krstionica (Vežić 2005: 43).

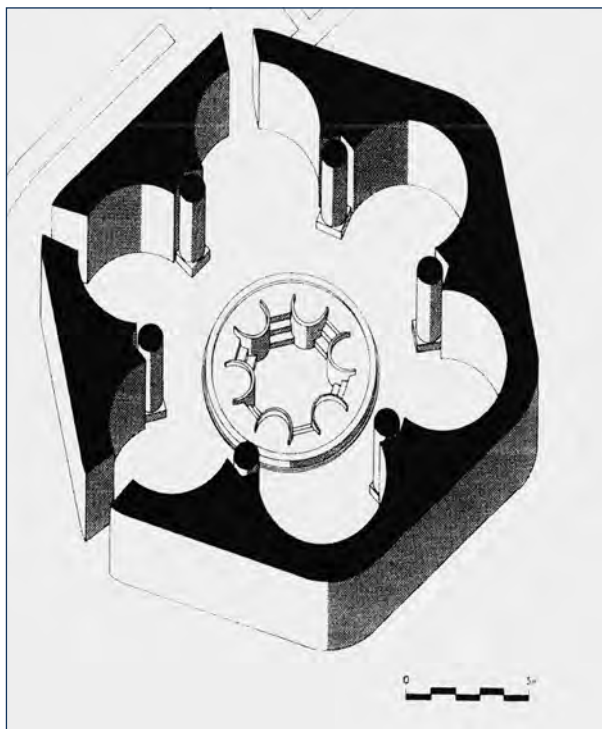
Figure 5. The Zadar baptistery (Vežić 2005: 43).

struction, Vežić did a thorough examination of the writings by early authors and conservators, which he published in 1990 after the work had been done (Vežić 1991: 13–23). He noticed that the entire early Christian legacy had only two more hexagonal baptisteries, apart from the one in Zadar. One is in Port Bail, France, and the other in Deyr Seti, Syria (Khatchatrian 1962: 7, fig. 53, 47, 317; Vežić 1991: 13–23, 1992/93: 22). Their dimensions are almost identical to the baptistery in Zadar. However, these analogous examples are quite remote: one in the far East, one in the then Christian West. Both examples have a hexagonal exterior and interior layout. The one in Port Bail has two niches next to the baptistery entrance. Because of a lack of knowledge of similar examples, the Zadar baptistery was rightly considered to be an exception, a unique structure meant for the ritual of Christian initiation (Fig. 5).

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN BAPTISTERY IN THESSALONIKI

It has been established just recently that the Zadar baptistery resembles mostly the baptistery of Thessaloniki (Ćurčić 2010: 130). Only the foundations

Solunu je, naravno, većih dimenzija kao što su inače baptisteriji većih crkvenih središta. Ujedno su njezine dimenzije sukladne proporcijama peterobrodne katedrale s čije južne strane je podignuta (!) baš kao što je i zadarska krstionica izgrađena uz južni bok katedrale.⁸ Krstionica je bila povezana s katedralom jednim prilaznim trijemom, što je potvrđeno arheološkim istraživanjima. Zanimljivo je i da je solunski uzor također rastvoren trima vratima, kao i zadarski baptisterij. Razlozi tome možda leže u prirodi krsnih procesija i u simultanom ulazu većeg broja vjernika.⁹



Slika 6. Aksonometrijska rekonstrukcija krstionice u Solunu (Ćurčić 2009: 113, sl. 4).

Figure 6. Axonometric reconstruction of the baptistery in Thessaloniki (Ćurčić 2009: 113, fig. 4).

njih su postavljeni stupovi. Krstionica u Milanu datira se u doba Ambrozija, a ona u Comu koja ponavlja tlocrt milanske, u 5. st. (Khatchatrian 1962: 49, sl. 329; 50, sl. 335). Krstionica u salonićanskom episkopalnom kompleksu datirana u prva desetljeća 6. st. također je oktogonalnog oblika izvana, a iznutra rašlanjena pravokutnim i polukružnim nišama. Uz unutarnji perimetar također su podignuti stupovi (Dyggve 1951 = 1989: 30, sl. II, 25, 28; Khatchatrian 1962: 54, sl. 359c.; Cambi 2002: 235–237). Pomicanje stupova prema središtu krstionice događa se vjerojatno od sredine 5. st., što je datirano pregradnjom lateranske krstionice u Rimu. Za vrijeme pape Siksta III (432–440) prvotni stupovi koji su bili uz plašt baptisterija premještaju se uz parapet krsnog zdenca koji je u centru građevine, da bi podržavali tambur odnosno kupolu nad njim. Na taj način oni su stvarali unutarnji ophod i funkcionirali kao svojevrsni ciborij (De Blaauw 1994: 129–136; Temple 2002: 38).

⁸ Tu sličnost ističe i S. Ćurčić (2010: 130).

⁹ Krstionica Sv. Eufemije u Gradu također je bila rastvorena trima vratima (jedna su na pročelnoj strani, dvojica po boku pred apsidom), a slično je konstruirana i krstionica u Saloni (Khatchatrian 1962: 47, sl. 321.; Tavano 1986 = 1999: 320, Dyggve 1951 = 1989: 30, sl. II, 25, 2; Cambi 2002: 235–237).

of the baptistery of St. John (*Hagiaσμα H. Ioannis*) in the Thessaloniki episcopal complex⁶ have been preserved, but they show the basic form of the structure which was hexagonal on the outside, and hexagonal on the inside (Ćurčić 2009: 110–117). The inner conchas are deep and slightly horseshoe-shaped. They are set radially around a central circle, as is the case with the Zadar baptistery (Fig. 6). The outer surfaces of the Thessaloniki baptistery do not have sharp edges, but are rounded instead. As opposed to the Zadar structure, the surfaces here are not divided down the middle by niches. The interior of the Thessaloniki baptistery is covered in pylons among conchas and columns, just like the baptisteries of the episcopal complexes in Milan, Ravenna and Como in Italy, or in Salona in Croatia.⁷ The baptistery of St John in Thessaloniki is bigger of course, as is the case with baptisteries in larger Christian centers. The dimensions are also compliant with the proportions of the cathedral with five aisles, where the baptistery was placed, in the southern corner, much like the Zadar cathedral which holds the baptistery inside its southern corner.⁸ The baptistery was connected to the cathedral through an access portico, which was confirmed by archaeological excavations. It is interesting to note that the Thessaloniki example also opens via three doors, like the Zadar baptistery. The reason for this could lie in the nature of later baptismal processions and the simultaneous entrance of a larger number of worshipers.⁹

⁶ The today's church of St. Sophia, dated to the mid-7th century, was built on the foundations of a large early Christian basilica with five aisles, dedicated to St. Mark, and supposedly the first episcopal see of the Thessaloniki archbishop (G. Gunaris 1999: 277).

⁷ The S. Giovanni baptistery in Milan, which has an octagonal exterior and alternating rectangular and semicircular niches in the interior, has indented edges between the niches and columns placed next to them. The Milan baptistery dates from the time of Ambrose, and the Como baptistery, which has the same layout as the former, dates from the 5th century (Khatchatrian 1962: 49, sl. 329; 50, sl. 335). The Salona complex baptistery dates from the early 6th century. It is also octagonal on the outside, and divided by rectangular and semicircular niches on the inside. The inner perimeter also contains columns (Dyggve 1951 = 1989: 30, sl. II, 25, 28; Khatchatrian 1962: 54, sl. 359c.; Cambi 2002: 235–237). The transfer of columns toward the center of the baptistery happened most likely in the mid-5th century. This can be dated by the remodeling of the Lateran baptistery in Rome. During the time of Pope Sixtus III (432–440) the initial columns, placed alongside the baptistery perimeter, are moved to stand in the bottom section of the baptismal font, in the center of the structure, in order to support the tambour and the dome above it. This created an inner procession area and functioned as a ciborium of sorts (De Blaauw 1994: 129–136; Temple 2002: 38).

⁸ S. Ćurčić (2010: 130) also points out this similarity.

⁹ The baptistery of St. Euphemia was also opened by three doors (one facade door, two lateral doors in front of the apse), and the Salona baptistery has a similar design (Khatchatrian 1962: 47, sl. 321.; Tavano 1986 = 1999: 320, Dyggve 1951 = 1989: 30, sl. II, 25, 2; Cambi 2002: 235–237).

Po svom obliku krstionica u Solunu je vjerojatno proistekla iz konstantinopolskih građevina, kako navodi S. Ćurčić. Izvori su pronađeni u vjerojatnom auditoriju rezidencijalne palače *Antiochos* u Konstantinopolu koji je kasnije, u 6. st. pretvoren u crkvu Sv. Eufemije (Mathews 1971: 62–67; Ćurčić 2009: 110). Dvorana auditorija je u svojoj osnovi poligonalna građevina izvana, dok je iznutra razvedena s pet dubokih polukružnih konhi i šestom pravokutnom koja je ujedno i ulazni vestibul. Nad njima se izdiže šesterokutni tambur (sl. 7). Dvorana je, kao i cijela palača podignuta za vrijeme cara Teodozija II (401-450). Zanimljivo je da i P. Vežić kao analogiju zadarskoj krstionici navodi istu građevinu (Vežić 1991: 21). No, nešto dalje kaže: *Sve te analogije ne ukazuju ni na kakav neposredni uzor originalnom obliku zadarskog šesterolista, ali upozoravaju na važnost specifične forme, koja sigurno nije slučajno izabrana, pa joj korijen i poruku nije ni moguće protumačiti iz drugih oblika.* Ali, također u Konstantinopolu takozvana *Hagiasma* samostana Theotokos od Hodegona (pronađena arheološkim istraživanjima 1923. godine) direktna je replika auditorija / crkve Sv. Eufemije (sl. 8). U središtu *Hagiasme* nalazi se zdenac čija funkcija još uvijek nije dovoljno protumačena.¹⁰ Vrlo je zanimljivo da je još 50-ih godina prošlog stoljeća Paul A. Underwood koji se bavio simbolikom i ikonografijom prikaza Izvora života te raznovrsnim oblicima krstionica i njihovih zdenaca uočio kako upravo zadarska šesterostrana krstionica uvelike slična spomenutu konstantinopolsku građevinu *Hagiasme* Blažene Djevice Marije Hodegitrije! (Underwood 1950: 133–134, sl. 71). Iako je građevina nepravilna u eksterijeru (izgleda da je izvorno možda bila dvanaestorostrana) iznutra je šesterostrana razvedena s pet dubokih potkovastih konhi i šestim pravokutnim ulazom. Izvana je okružena manjim centralnim prostorijama (a dvije su čak heksagonalne, sl. 9). U središtu *Hagiasme* bila je *piscina*, no ne u funkciji krsnog sakramenta već vjerojatno za ritualno pranje. Naime, bizantski carevi razvili su specifičan ritual pročišćenja u ambijentu *Hagiasme* koja je bila arhitektonski pokrov tzv. Svetog izvora. Po dokumentima i povijesnim izvorima u *Hagiasmi* su se odvijala ritualna kupanja bizantskih careva koja su trajala sve do Konstantina VII Porfirogeneta koji štoviše u *De Cerimoniis* i opisuje cijeli proces i procesiju rituala. U svakom slučaju ne radi se o obredu krsta, već o želji careva da se godišnje pročiste u svetoj kupelji u blizini važne relikvije Bogorodičina pojasa koja se čuvala u obližnjoj rotundi samostanskog kompleksa. U knjizi se navodi

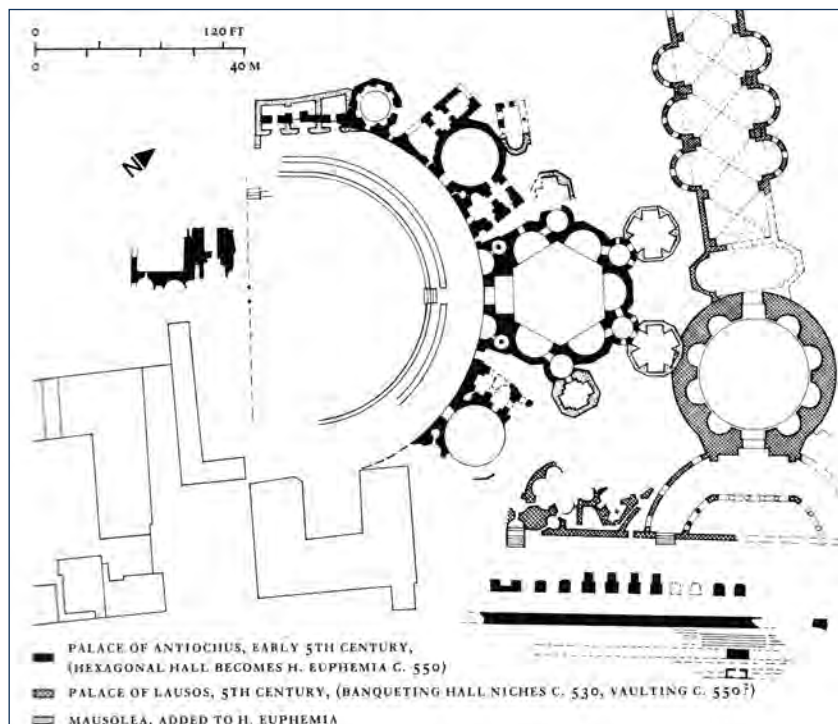
S. Ćurčić claims that the Thessaloniki baptistery most likely resulted from the influence of Constantinople architecture, judging by its shape. The baptistery's origin can be traced to the auditorium of the residential palace *Antiochos* in Constantinople, which was turned into the church of St. Euphemia in the 6th century (Mathews 1971: 62–67; Ćurčić 2009: 110). The auditorium hall has a polygonal exterior while the interior spreads out in five wide semi-circular conchas, and a sixth rectangular one which leads into the vestibule. A hexagonal tambour rises above them (Fig. 7). The hall and the entire palace were built during the reign of Emperor Theodosius II (401-450). It is interesting how P. Vežić lists the same structure as analogous to the Zadar baptistery (Vežić 1991: 21). Further in the text he claims: *All these analogies do not point to a direct model for the original hexafoil shape of the Zadar baptistery, but they do emphasize the importance of the form, which had not been chosen by chance, so the source and meaning of the form cannot be interpreted from any of these shapes.*

However, the so-called *Hagiasma* of the monastery Theotokos of Hodegon in Constantinople (discovered in the 1923 archaeological excavations) is a direct copy of the auditorium of the St. Euphemia church (Fig. 8). At the center of the *Hagiasma* lies a well whose function has not been explained satisfactorily.¹⁰ It is interesting how back in the 1950s, Paul A. Underwood, a researcher of the symbolic and iconographic representations of the source of life and various forms of baptisteries and baptismal fonts, noticed that the hexagonal baptistery in Zadar resembled the aforementioned *Hagiasma* in Constantinople, of the Blessed Virgin Mary Hodegetria! (Underwood 1950: 133–134, fig. 71). Even though the structure had an irregularly designed exterior, it appears it was originally a dodecagon. The interior has five deep horseshoe-shaped conchas and a sixth rectangular entrance. The exterior is surrounded by smaller central rooms (two are hexagonal, Fig. 9). In the center of the *Hagiasma* lies the *piscina*, but not for the purpose of baptism, rather for ritual ablutions. Byzantine emperors developed a specific cleansing ritual in the *Hagiasma*, which served as an architectural cover for the so-called sacred spring. According to documents and historical sources, Byzantine emperors took ritual baths in the *Hagiasma*, up to the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. Constantine VII describes the whole process and the ritual cortege in his work *De Cerimoniis*. This was not a baptism

¹⁰ Interpretiran je kao "izvor čudesne vode", nimfej ili kupalište, dok ga T. F. Mathews povezuje uz obred blagoslova vode povezan s blagdanom Bogojavljanja (Ćurčić 2009: 110–117).

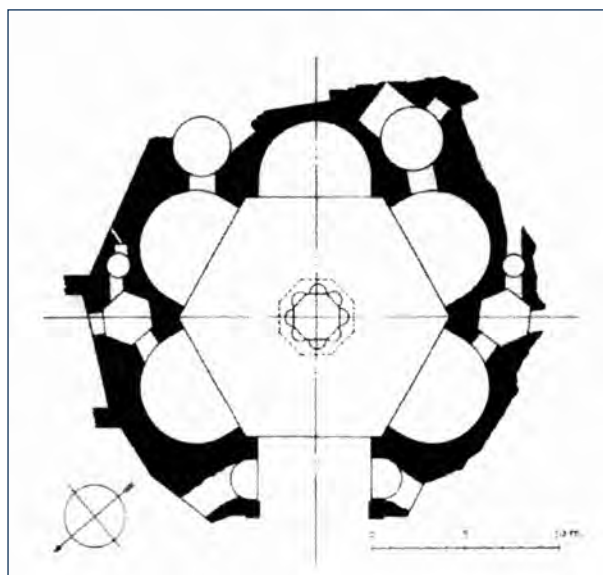
¹⁰ Interpreted as a "miraculous spring", nymphaeum or bath, while T. F. Mathews associates it with the ritual of the blessing of water done on the feast of Epiphany (Ćurčić 2009: 110–117).

da je car triput uranjao u izvor što direktno asocira na trostruko uranjanje u krsni zdenac.¹¹



Slika 7. Tlocrt palača Antiochos i Lausus te auditorija (kasnije crkve Sv. Eufemije) u Konstantinopolu (Krautheimer 1986: 71, sl. 30).

Figure 7. Layout of the palaces Antiochos and Lausus, and of the auditorium (later the church of St. Euphemia) in Constantinople (Krautheimer 1986: 71, fig. 30).

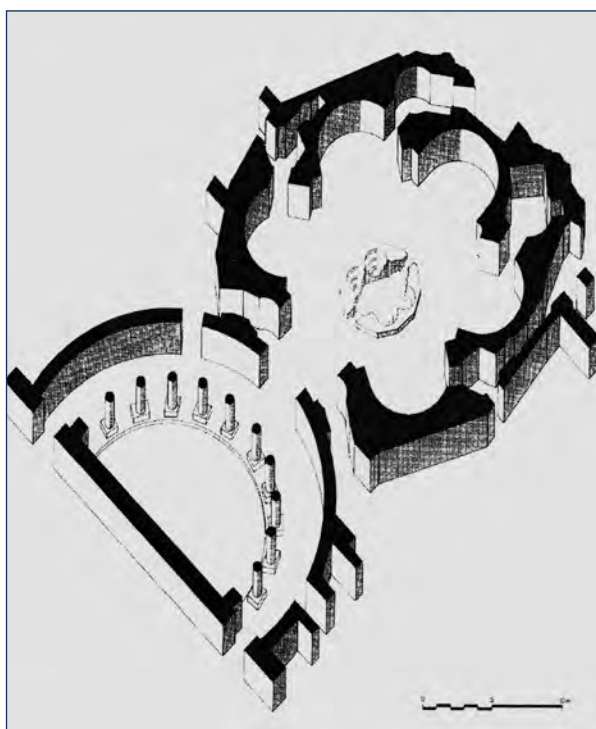


Slika 8. Tlocrt hagiasme S. Iohannis samostana Theotokos u Konstantinopolu (Underwood 1950: 134, sl. 71).

Fig. 8. Layout of the Hagiasma S. Iohannis of the Theotokos monastery in Constantinople (Underwood 1950: 134, fig. 71).

ritual, but an imperial desire to have a yearly cleanse in the sacred bath, near the holy relic of the Virgin's belt which was kept in the nearby rotunda, in a monastery complex. The book states that the emperor immersed himself three times in the spring, which evokes the triple immersion into the baptismal font.¹¹

The Hagiasma can be dated based on several sources: the basilica dedicated to the Virgin outside of the Theodosian Walls was built by the emperor's sister Pulcheria (450-453), and the relic of the Virgin's belt was brought by the emperor Leo I (457-474) who placed it in the rotunda near the sacred spring. Archaeological excavations of the Hagiasma resulted in a coin from the reign of emperor Anastasius (491-518), a definite *terminus ante quem* (Underwood



Slika 9. Aksonometrijska rekonstrukcija Hagiasme S. Iohannis samostana Theotokos u Konstantinopolu (Čurčić 2009: 112, sl. 3).

Figure 9. Axonometric reconstruction of the Hagiasma S. Iohannis of the Theotokos monastery in Constantinople (Čurčić 2009: 112, fig. 3).

¹¹ S obzirom na posvetu cijelog kompleksa Bogorodici, njezinoj vrlo važnoj relikviji, Svetom izvoru (koji je, usput, istjecao iz grudi njezina kipa, dakle iz same Theotokos) uvida se važna poveznica između careva i kulta Bogorodice (Temple 2002: 10–16).

¹¹ Since the entire complex was dedicated to the Virgin, her important relic, the sacred spring (which flowed out of the breasts of her statue, i.e. from the Theotokos herself), an important link between the Virgin's cult and the emperors can be established (Temple 2002: 10–16).

O dataciji *Hagiasme* pomaže nam nekoliko podataka: baziliku posvećenu Bogorodici izvan Teodozijeve zidina u Konstantinopolu podiže careva sestra Pulherija (450-453), a relikviju Bogorodičina pojasa donosi car Lav I (457-474) i smješta je u rotundu pokraj Svetog izvora. U arheološkim istraživanjima na području *Hagiasme* pronađen je novac cara Anastazija (491-518) što bi bio *terminus ante quem* (Underwood 1950: 134-135). Dakle, vjerojatno sredinom odnosno tijekom druge polovice 5. st. podiže se ta zanimljiva građevina. Sve ovo upućuje na datiranje solunske krstionice. Naime, S. Ćurčić smatra da je ona nastala po uzoru na profanu arhitekturu – po modelu auditorija palače *Antiochos* no ipak je njezino postojanje smješta dosta rano, oko 400. (Ćurčić 2010: 105). Kako autor kaže, krstionica je vjerojatno trebala biti podignuta zbog porasta kristijanizacije u samom gradu. Ali ako utjecajima pridružimo i *Hagiasmu* od Bogorodice tada bi se ona mogla (ili trebala) datirati u drugu polovinu 5. st. Iako obje konstantinopolske građevine nisu bile u funkcijama krsnih inicijacija (auditorij je čak bio namijenjen nereligioznim potrebama careva sobara, *praepositus sacri cubiculi Antiochos*), *Hagiasma* je vrlo vjerojatno zbog ritualnog (ali opet ne sakramentalnog) pranja mogla uvelike utjecati na formu solunske krstionice. Kako spomenuti autor P. A. Underwood nije znao za postojanje posljednje on svakako navodi sličnosti među njemu poznatim primjerima: krstionicu u Zadru uspoređuje s konstantinopolskom *Hagiasmom* i krstionicom u Deir Seti u Siriji (Underwood 1950: 138).

No nakon istraživanja soluskog episkopalnog kompleksa godine 1997. grčka arhitektica Evangelia Hadjityphonos publicirala je rad u kojem je usporedila upravo za nas važne dvije građevine: krstionicu u Solunu i u Zadru.¹² Štoviše, istraživanja koja su provedena na mjestu episkopalnog sklopa u Solunu ukazuju na istu nivelaciju ranokršćanske katedrale i šesterostrane krstionice! Radi se zapravo o drugoj fazi solunske katedrale kada se ona izgrađuje kao impozantna peterobrodna bazilika na mjestu prethodne trobrodne s početka 5. st. Po novijim saznanjima druga faza datira se čak u početak 6. st. (Varalis 2007: 105), a po tlocrtnim odnosima i po dimenzijama bazilika doista odgovara dispoziciji monumentalne krstionice koja joj se nalazila s južne strane.

¹² Iako nisam bila u mogućnosti pročitati rad u kojem se uspoređuju dvije krstionice (The Space Around the Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. Image, Content and Interventions”, *Mnemeio & perivallon*, 5-1998-99), autorica E. Hadjityphonos poslala mi je svoje skraćeno pismeno izvješće. Ovom prilikom se uvelike zahvaljujem gospođi Hadjityphonos na prosljeđenim informacijama.

1950: 134-135). Therefore, this intriguing structure was built during the second half of the 5th century. All this points to a date for the Thessaloniki baptistery. S. Ćurčić believes the baptistery was a result of the profane architecture - the auditorium of the Antiochos palace serving as a model. However, he dates it fairly early, around AD 400. (Ćurčić 2010: 105). According to the author, the baptistery was most likely built due to an increase in Christianization occurring in the city. But if we ascribe the Virgin's Hagiasma to these influences, the baptistery could also be dated to the second half of the 5th century. Even though neither Constantinople structure was used for baptismal initiations (the auditorium was intended for the secular needs of the emperor's room servant, *praepositus sacri cubiculi Antiochos*), the Hagiasma's use for ritual (but not sacrament) ablutions could have greatly influenced the shape of the Thessaloniki baptistery. Since the author P. A. Underwood was not familiar with the latter, he mentions the resemblance between the examples he knows about: he compares the baptistery in Zadar with the Hagiasma of Constantinople and the baptistery in Deir Seti in Syria (Underwood 1950: 138).

The work of Greek architect Evangelia Hadjityphonos, published after her research of the Thessaloniki episcopal complex in 1997, compares two structures important for this paper: the Thessaloniki baptistery and the Zadar baptistery.¹² Moreover, excavations carried out at the site of the episcopal complex show the same measurement of geodetic height for the early Christian cathedral and the hexagonal baptistery! This is the second phase of the Thessaloniki cathedral when it was built as an imposing five-aisle basilica on the spot of the previous three-aisle basilica from the 5th century. According to the latest research, the second phase dates to the early 6th century (Varalis 2007: 105), and the ground-floor ratios and dimensions of the basilica correspond to the disposition of the monumental baptistery in the southern side.

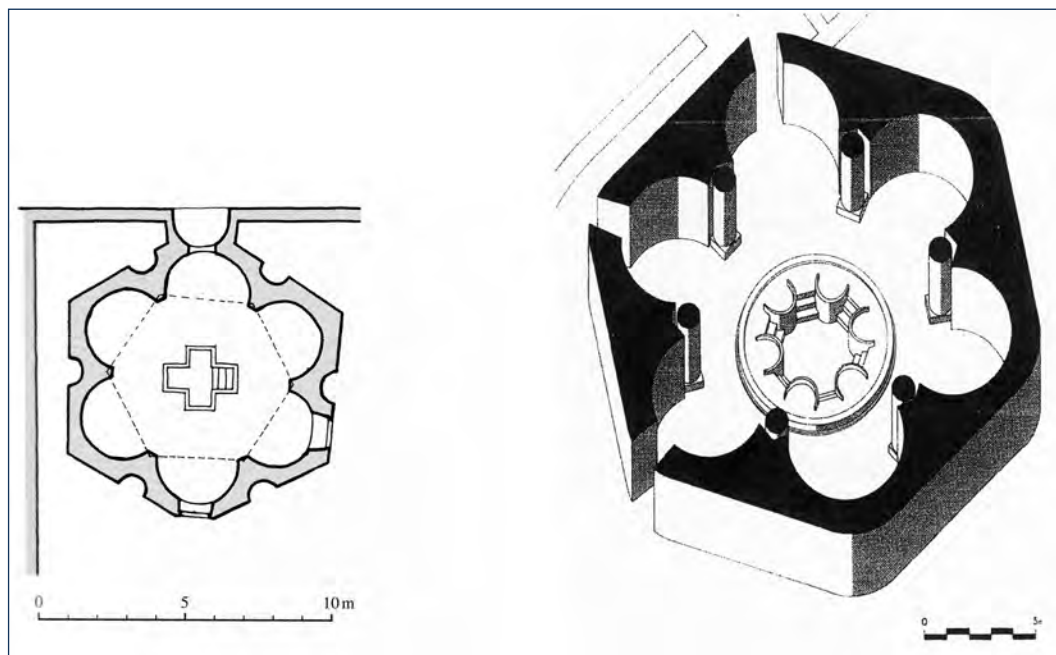
Let us return to the similarities and differences between the baptisteries of Thessaloniki and Zadar. Since only the foundations remain, the elevation design of the Thessaloniki baptistery is not familiar to us, unlike the Zadar baptistery which has precise documentation from the time preceding its devastation, which was the reason for the facsimile re-

¹² Even though I was not able to read the work which compares and analyzes in detail the two baptisteries (“The Space Around the Church of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. Image, Content and Interventions”, *Mnemeio & perivallon*, 5-1998-99) the author, E. Hadjityphonos, has sent me a short written report. I take this opportunity to thank Mrs Hadjityphonos for the forwarded information.

Vratimo se na sličnosti i razlike kod solunske i zadarske krstionice. S obzirom da je očuvana samo u temeljima, krstionici u Solunu nije poznato visinsko oblikovanje, što zadarskoj jest na osnovi precizne dokumentacije iz vremena prije njezine devastacije, zbog čega je i provedena faksimilska rekonstrukcija. U sličnostima među krstionicama iskaču dvije temeljne činjenice: njihova osnovna forma ili oblik (uz manja odstupanja), te funkcija. Ono što ih čini različitim su detalji u oblikovanju (solunska krstionica nema niše na vanjskim ploham, dok zadarska nema stupove u nutrini) i dimenzije, ali identične dimenzije u navođenju analogija već su pronađene s francuskim, odnosno sirijskim primjerom. Treba napomenuti i pedantno zapažanje konzervatora Ivekovića koji je u konstrukciji krovništva uočio sličnost s krovom rotunde Sv. Jurja u Solunu: *Dok su na rimskim i ranijim bizantskim kupolama pokrovi ležali neposredno nad svodovima, to su krovništva – najranije na rotundi sv. Georgija u Solunu pa i na kasnijim ravenatskim zgradama i na ovoj krstionici, a još kasnije i na kapeli Karla Velikoga u Acheni – sasvim samostalna i odijeljena od svodova* (Iveković 1937: 5–6). S obzirom na ove dvije konstruktivne odlike – tlocrtna forma solunske krstionice i svod rotunde Sv. Jurja iz istog grada vidimo da je riječ o djelima arhitekata koji su poznavali konstrukcije razolikih oblika centralnih građevina i njihovih "elegantnih" rješenja.

Na kraju je doista moguće pretpostaviti da je solunska krstionica bila ishodište za izgradnju zadarske krstionice koja je umanjenim oblikom i dodatnom raščlanjenošću nišama u središtu vanjskih ploha

construction. Two points stand out in the similarities between the two baptisteries: their basic shape or form (with minor deviations), and their function. The differences lie in the details of the design (the outer surfaces of the Thessaloniki baptistery no longer remain, while the Zadar baptistery has no columns in its interior) and in their dimensions, but identical dimensions have been found in the listed analogies in France and Syria. The precise observation of the conservator Iveković should also be noted here. He remarked on the similarity of the roof structures with that of the roof structure of the rotunda of St. George in Thessaloniki: *While the Roman and early Byzantine domes had covers lying directly above the vault, these roofs – the earliest one on the rotunda of St. George in Thessaloniki, then the later ones on the Ravenna buildings and on this baptistery, and even later on the chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen – stand alone and are completely separate from the vault.* (Iveković 1937: 5–6). Taking into account these two structural qualities – the layout of the Thessaloniki baptistery and the vault of the rotunda of St. George from the same city – we can see they were the work of architects who had been familiar with the process of designing the various forms of central buildings, and who used "elegant" solutions in their plans. In the end, we can truly presume that the Thessaloniki baptistery served as a model for the Zadar baptistery which, with its additional division into niches in the center of the exterior surfaces, can be viewed structurally as perhaps even more sophisticated than its alleged predecessor (Fig. 10).



Slika 10. Usporedba zadarske i solunske krstionice (po Vežić 2005b: 41 & Ćurčić 2009: 113, sl. 4).

Figure 10. Comparison of the baptisteries in Zadar and Thessaloniki (based on Vežić 2005b: 41 & Ćurčić 2009: 113, fig. 4).

možda u konstruktivnom pogledu čak savršenija od svoga pretpostavljenog uzora (sl. 10).

VEZE IZMEĐU SOLUNA I ZADRA

U ovom prilogu o vezama između gradova Soluna i Zadra treba istaknuti, odnosno potvrditi i važnu činjenicu koju je još prije kojih dvadesetak godina uočio povjesničar umjetnosti i konzervator Pavuša Vežić. Naime, obnašajući konzervatorske radove na dvjema bazilikama u Zadru, na Sv. Stjepanu, a nešto prije toga kao suradnik voditelja radova I. Petricioli-ja na Sv. Tomi te otkrivši karakteristično rastvaranje njihovih bočnih zidova nizovima bifora, pronašao je čvrste analogije zadarskim građevinama sa solunskim kulturnim krugom (Petricioli 1972: 334–341; Petricioli & Vežić 1975: 101–110; Vežić 1986: 166; 1987: 297; 1989; 1990: 248–250). Solunska važna ranokršćanska svetišta kao što su bazilika Sv. Dimitrija i Bogorodičina crkva (bazilika *Acheiropoietos*) doista su rastvorene nizovima polifora čime je omogućeno veće prodiranje sunčeva svjetla u brodove crkve. To u biti odgovara tipičnoj slici ranokršćanske misli u kojoj je Sunce simbol Krista: On je *Lux mundi*¹³ No, za razliku od ostalih građevina poznatih kasnoantičkih središta na Zapadu kao što su Rim, Ravenna, Akvileja, gdje su bazilike na bočnim zidovima rastvorene velikim monoforama, polifore na bokovima građevine (među njima bifore, trifore i ostali višebrojni otvori) su ipak karakteristične za Istok, odnosno za grčke bazilike (Vežić 2005: 134). Kod zadarskih bazilika primjenjena je "skromnija" interpretacija u vidu nizova bifora: od toga je na Sv. Stjepanu niz od sedam bifora na bočnim zidovima, a na Sv. Tomi niz od pet bifora. Argumenti ovakvim utjecajima bili su traženi u crkvenim administracijskim razlozima jer se smatralo da je Zadar u razdoblju ranog kršćanstva pripadao crkvenom regionalnom podjelom vikarijatu kojem je središte bilo u Solunu.¹⁴ No, solunski vikar bio je nadležan za područje Istočnog Ilirika, ali ne i za Zapadnog kojem je pripadala Crkva u Zadru (Gračanin 2013: 158). Stoga ako tražimo uzore po administrativnom

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESSALONIKI AND ZADAR

This chapter on the relationship between the cities of Thessaloniki and Zadar should begin by emphasizing, i.e. confirming the important issue raised by the conservator and art historian Pavuša Vežić over 20 years ago. While doing repair and preservation works on the two basilicas in Zadar, St. Stephen and St. Thomas, the latter being his responsibility as an associate of I. Petricioli, head of art conservation, he found solid analogies with the Zadar structures in the Thessaloniki cultural sphere by examining the characteristic opening of the side walls via a series of mullioned windows (Petricioli 1972: 334–341; Petricioli & Vežić 1975: 101–110; Vežić 1986: 166; 1987: 297; 1989; 1990: 248–250). Important early Christian sanctuaries in Thessaloniki, such as the basilica of St. Demetrios and the church of the Virgin Mary (basilica *Acheiropoietos*), are really divided by a series of mullioned windows which enables sunlight to pass into the church aisles. This corresponds to the typical early Christian thought where Christ is symbolized by the Sun: He is the *Lux mundi*.¹³ However, unlike the other famous buildings in the western centers of Late Antiquity, such as Rome, Ravenna or Aquileia, which had huge lancet windows on the side walls of its basilicas, the side-wall mullioned windows (including windows with two, three or more mullions) are more characteristic of the East, i.e. of Greek basilicas (Vežić 2005: 134).

The Zadar basilicas have more "humble" versions of this in the form of a series of biphoras: St. Stephen has a row of seven biphoras on its side walls, St. Thomas has a line of five biphoras. Reasons for such influence could be found in the church administration because during the period of early Christianity, Zadar belonged to the ecclesiastical regional division of the vicariate, which had its center in Thessaloniki.¹⁴ The Thessaloniki vicar was responsible for the area of Eastern Illyricum, but not Western Illyricum where Zadar was formally placed (Gračanin 2013: 158). If we look then to the administrative units of the church hierarchy as inspirations, we cannot claim that the

¹³ Biblija (1Iv, 1:5). ...*per fenestram vero tua aedificia lumine cognitionis illustrasse...* (slobodni prijevod: ...po prozoru, zbilja, tvoja građevina svjetlo spoznaje rasvjetljuje...). *Origen*, PG13: 570.

¹⁴ Naime, Inocent I godine 415. određuje (ili pak potvrđuje na tragu svojih prethodnika papa Damaza i Siricija) upravo Solun za sjedište vikarijata s brigom za sve biskupije u iliričkoj prefekturi (Jedin 1995: 246). Ta činjenica se odnosi na Istočni Ilirik čija granica sa Zapadnim dijelom Ilirika ide preko provincije Moesije. Time papa osigurava rimsko vrhovništvo na graničnom području svoje ovlasti, nasuprot prijestolnici Istočnog dijela Carstva - Konstantinopolu.

¹³ The Bible (1 John 1: 5). ...*Per fenestram vero tua aedificia lumine cognitionis illustrasse...* (loose translation: ... Indeed, the light of knowledge is illuminated through the windows in your structure...). *Origen*, PG13: 570.

¹⁴ Innocent I proclaims (or confirms the line of thinking of his predecessors, Damasus and Siricius) Thessaloniki as the center of the vicariate in 415, with responsibility for all the dioceses in prefecture of Illyricum (Jedin 1995: 246). This applies to Eastern Illyricum whose borders with Western Illyricum ran across the province Moesia. This enables the pope to ensure Roman supremacy in the borderline areas of his sovereignty, directly opposite the capital of the Eastern part of the Empire - Constantinople.

ustroju crkvenih jedinica, ne bismo mogli reći da je izvorište formalnim i konstruktivnim analogijama kod zadarskih i solunskih građevina ležalo u pripadnosti jednom crkvenom vikarijatu.

S druge strane čvrste poveznice i dalje stoje bez obzira na udaljenost među gradovima koja je poprilično velika: Solun se nalazi na obali Egejskog mora, a Zadar na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Ipak, oba grada bila su povezana prometnim i trgovačkim putovima – preko *Via Egnatia* te dalje plovidbenim rutama preko Jadrana. Stoga, “zapisi” u arhitekturi ranokršćanskih zdanja koji su prepoznati u rastvaranju bočnih zidova poliforama te u formama krstionica svjedoče o utjecajima koje je jedan grad kao što je to bio Solun mogao odigrati na neke manje gradove bez obzira koliko oni udaljeni bili. Ipak, činjenica da se Zadar dosada pokazao kao “najplodnije” tlo za takve utjecaje možda ukazuje i na neke dublje razloge, trenutno nepoznate, koji su povezivali ova dva grada. Oni se čak mogu iščitavati i u svetačkim kultovima: u Zadru je (opet jedinom gradu na području Dalmacije) vjerojatno već u ranokršćanskom razdoblju bila podignuta crkva Sv. Dimitrija, a poznato je da je sama bazilika posvećena tom svecu u Solunu već u doba kasne antike, odnosno nakon pada Sirmija od sredine 5. st. postala važno hodočasničko mjesto.¹⁵ U ranosrednjovjekovnom će se, pak razdoblju upravo iz Soluna prenijeti relikvije triju sestara svetica – Irene, Hijone i Agape koje će se pohraniti u kripti, štoviše u samoj konfesiji oltara stolne crkve u Zadru (Vežić 2005a: 282)!

Na kraju razmatranja o kasnoantičkim vezama između Soluna i Zadra valjalo bi naglasiti dataciju samih krstionica. Baveći se zadarskom krstionicom P. Vežić je pretpostavio: *Stoga ovaj baptisterij valja pripisati vremenu koje prethodi justinijanovoj epohi i svrstati ga uz opće prilike 4. i 5. st. na Jadranu* (Vežić 1991: 21). S druge strane, iako je, kako je već spomenuto u tekstu S. Ćurčić datirao solunsku krstionicu u sam početak 5. st., njena bi se datacija ipak trebala pomaknuti u mlađe razdoblje. Naime, datacija drugog sloja katedrale u Solunu kao možda najveće crkve na području Ilirika (94 x 53 m; Ćurčić 2010: 105; Nasrallah *et al.* 2010: 227-228) po novim saznanjima i arheološkim tragovima pada u razdo-

formal and constructive analogies between the structures in Zadar and Thessaloniki come from their affiliation to one church vicariate.

On the other, solid connections between the two cities were still present, regardless of the long distance: Thessaloniki lies on the Aegean coast, Zadar on the eastern Adriatic coast. However, both cities were still linked by transport and trade routes - via the *Via Egnatia*, then further by sea routes across the Adriatic. Therefore, the “records” kept in the form of early Christian architecture, designed to have mulioned windows which open up the side walls and the design of the baptisteries, demonstrate the influence a city like Thessaloniki had on the smaller towns, regardless of their location. Still, the fact that Zadar proved to be the most receptive vessel of this influence may suggest other important, so far unexplored, reasons for this connection. Some of it can be seen in the cults of saints: Zadar was the only town in Dalmatia to have a church dedicated to St. Demetrius in the early Christian era, and it is known that a basilica dedicated to the same saint existed in Thessaloniki during Late Antiquity. It became an important pilgrimage site in the mid-5th century, after the fall of Sirmium.¹⁵ Three relics would be moved from Thessaloniki to Zadar in early medieval times - those of the three sisters Irene, Chionia and Agape - which were placed in the martyr grave underneath the altar of the cathedral (Vežić 2005a: 282)!

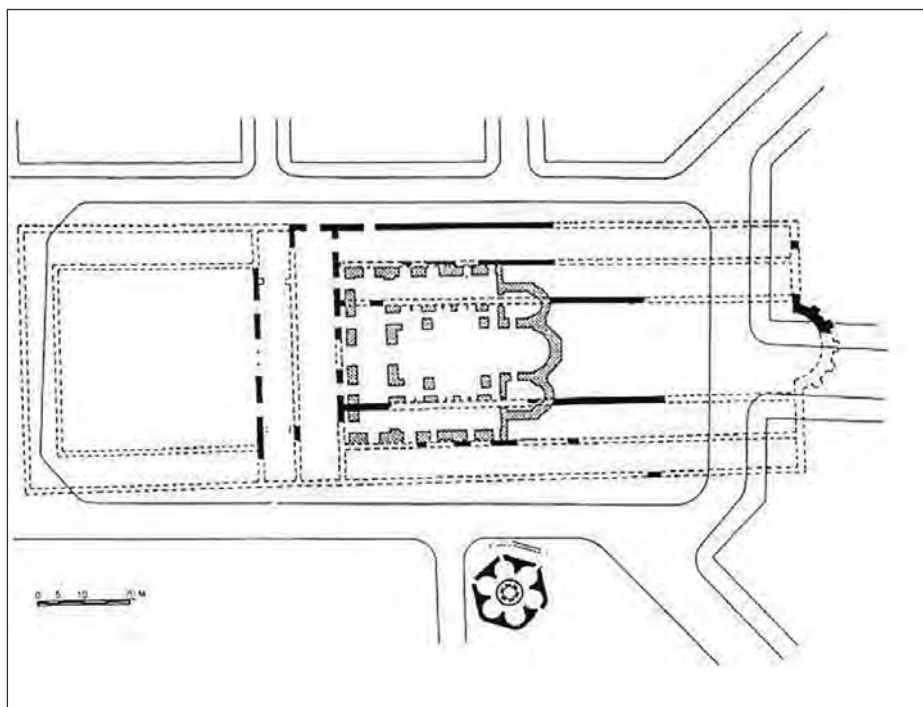
At the end of this deliberation on Late Antiquity ties between Thessaloniki and Zadar, the dates of the baptisteries need to be pointed out. During his work on the Zadar baptistery, P. Vežić hypothesized: *This baptistery should be dated to the time preceding the Justinian era, in the general timeline of the Adriatic 4th and 5th centuries* (Vežić 1991: 21). On the other hand, as previously mentioned, even though S. Ćurčić dated the Thessaloniki baptistery to the early 5th century, it should be dated to a later period. Namely, according to the latest archaeological research, the dating of the second layer of the Thessaloniki cathedral (possibly the greatest church in the Illyricum area: 94 x 53 m; Ćurčić 2010: 105; Nasrallah *et al.* 2010: 227-228) is placed during the so-called Greek Schism, which lasted from 482 to 518. During this time, the Thessaloniki archbishop shifted his support to the Patriarch of Constantino-

¹⁵ Na području foruma u Zadru pronađen je stakleni slikani medaljon s likom i grčkim natpisom sv. Dimitrija, iz ranokršćanskog razdoblja – ranobizantskih odlika (Petricioli 1972: 147; Ilakovac 1995: 61–68). Crkva posvećena tom svecu porušena je u 19. st. te se njen položaj pretpostavlja u insuli sjeverno od crkve Sv. Krševana (Bianchi 1877: 435; Vežić 2005b: 58–59). O bazilici Sv. Dimitrija u Solunu kao važnom hodočasničkom mjestu vidi Yasin (2009: 171–175).

¹⁶ Varalis je pripisao velik broj peterobrodnih bazilika na području Ahaje odnosno južnog dijela Istočnog Ilirka upravo razdoblju grčke shizme koja je privremeno razdvojila dva značajna

¹⁵ In the Zadar forum area, a painted glass medallion was found containing the image of St. Demetrius and a Greek inscription, from the early Christian era, with Byzantine characteristics (Petricioli 1972: 147; Ilakovac 1995: 61–68). The church dedicated to this priest was demolished in the 19th century, and its location is presumed to be in the insula north of the church of St. Chrysogonus (Bianchi 1877: 435; Vežić 2005b: 58–59). For more on the basilica of St. Demetrius and its role as an important pilgrimage site in Thessaloniki, see Yasin (2009: 171–175).

blje nakon takozvane grčke shizme koja je trajala od 482 - 518 godine, a za vrijeme koje se solunski nadbiskup priklonio konstantinopolskom patrijarhu (Caraher 2003: 13; Varalis 2007: 111).¹⁶ Po istraživanjima je uočena i ista nivelacija s drugom fazom



Slika 11. Grafička rekonstrukcija tlocrta bazilike ispod Sv. Sofije u Solunu (Ćurčić 2010: 105, sl. 99).

Figure 11. Graphical reconstruction plan of basilica under H. Sophia in Thessaloniki (Ćurčić 2010: 105, fig. 99).

katedrale s kojom je krstionica bila povezana prilikom popločanim mozaikom. Štoviše, krstionica je od peterobrodnog zdanja udaljena čak 15 m (sl. 11)! Valja naglasiti da je episkopalni sklop svakako morao doživjeti neku ponovnu izgradnju jer je prethodna trobrodna građevina već u drugoj četvrtini 5. st. doživjela veći požar te je očito u drugoj polovini istog stoljeća svetište bilo u rekonstrukciji. U tom pogledu, ukoliko je krstionica podignuta za vrijeme shizme, utjecaj konstantinopolskih građevina i ne bi trebao čuditi! U svakom slučaju u prilog datiranju solunske krstionice trebaju ulaziti i pouzdane datacije zanimljivih centralnih prostora iz Konstan-

crkvena sjedišta Rim i Konstantinopol. Shizma se posebno odrazila na crkveni život Ilirika kada je tek jedan dio klera na tamošnjem području ostao privržen papi i time u vidu arhitektonskih zdanja – peterobrodnih bazilika po uzoru na glavne rimske crkve - pokazao svoje pravovjerje. Solunski nadbiskup bio je na razmeđu Zapadnog i Istočnog crkvenog poglavara, dok se neko vrijeme čak priklonio ovom posljednjem. U tome leže razlozi i podizanju čak tri peterobrodna svetišta u samom gradu Solunu, dakle tek nakon prestanka shizme 518. godine.

¹⁷ Iako Ćurčić navodi građevine kao konstruktivne uzore ne povodi se za njihovim datacijama.

ple (Caraher 2003: 13; Varalis 2007: 111).¹⁶ Research has also pointed to the level difference with the second phase of the cathedral when the baptistery was linked to it with a pathway paved with a mosaic. Moreover, the baptistery was removed from the five-aisled building by 15m (fig. 11)! The episcopal complex must have had a reconstruction phase, because the previous three-aisled building had been destroyed by a fire in the second quarter of the 5th century, so the sanctuary was probably rebuilt in the second half of the 5th century. If the baptistery was therefore built during the Schism, the influence of Constantinople architecture should not come as a surprise! In any case, the certain dates of other Constantinople buildings, which have not been taken into consideration by previous authors so

far, also come in favor of the dating of the baptistery in Thessaloniki.¹⁷ Thus, the auditorium of the Antiochios palace was built during the reign of emperor Theodosius II (first half of the 5th century) while the Hagiasma was built in the early second half of the 5th century. The importance of this building as a place of ritual cleansing could have influenced the form of the baptistery of the Thessaloniki episcopal complex. Therefore, if we date the Thessaloniki baptistery of John the Baptist, the Hagiasma, to the late 5th - early 6th century, i.e. during the Greek Schism, then the Zadar baptistery should not be much older or younger. The recently uncovered baptistery of similar hexagonal form with a cross-shaped basin in Sliven, Bulgaria, is in favor of the presumed dat-

¹⁶ Varalis ascribed a large number of five-aisled basilicas in Achaia, i.e. southern part of Eastern Illyricum, to the period of the Greek Schism, which temporarily separated the two important church centers - Rome and Constantinople. The Schism was especially reflected in the church life of the Illyricum when only a part of its clergy remained faithful to the pope, and so architectural design - five-aisled basilicas modeled after main Roman churches - were proof of their faith. The Thessaloniki archbishop remained on the crossroads between the East and West church leaders, and for a while he even favored the East. These are the reasons for erecting three five-aisled sanctuaries in the same city, after the end of the Schism in 518.

¹⁷ Even though Ćurčić claims the buildings were structural models, he does not pay attention to their dates.

tinopola, koje dosada autori, izgleda nisu uzimali u obzir.¹⁷ Tako auditorij u palači *Antiochos* nastaje za vrijeme cara Teodozija II (prva polovina 5. st.), dok je *Hagiasma* podignuta nakon sredine odnosno tijekom druge trećine 5. st. Važnost te građevine kao ambijenta za ritualno pročišćenje mogla je utjecati na formu krstionice solunskog episkopalnog kompleksa. Stoga, ako solunsku krstionicu *Hagiasmu* Sv. Ivana Krstitelja smjestimo u vremenski period s kraja 5. ili početka 6. st. odnosno za vrijeme grčke shizme, onda ni zadarska krstionica ne bi smjela biti starija, no ni puno mlađa. U prilog postavljenoj dataciji ide i nedavno pronađen baptisterij također heksakonalnog oblika s križnim zdencem iz Slivena na području današnje Bugarske koji po istraživačima odgovara prvim desetljećima 6. st. (Čurčić 2010: 130).

Na kraju, da još jednom naglasim, krstionica episkopalnog kompleksa u Zadru svojom formom i funkcijom odgovara istovjetnom zdanju u Solunu u kojoj joj je prepoznato ishodište. Tlocrtom su vrlo slične, premda ne i identične, dok u svodnoj konstrukciji krstionica u Zadru odgovara rotundi Sv. Jurja u Solunu. Tako se glavni grad i sjedište crkvenog vikarijata Istočnog dijela Ilirika pokazao izvorištem u arhitektonskim utjecajima u drugom dijelu vikarijata, u Zapadnom Iliriku. Krstionica u Solunu vjerojatno je nastala prije razdoblja Justinijana te se i zadarska treba datirati u isto vrijeme, odnosno vjerojatno u prva desetljeća 6. st.

ing, since the researchers place it in the early 6th century (Čurčić 2010: 130).

Thus, to emphasize once more, the baptistery of the Zadar episcopal complex coincides in form and function with the identical structure in Thessaloniki, recognized as its predecessor and model. Their layouts are very similar, if not identical to a point, while the vault structure of the Zadar baptistery corresponds to rotunda of St. George in Thessaloniki. So the capital and seat of vicariate of Eastern Illyricum proved to be the origin of architectural influence on another vicariate, Western Illyricum. The Thessaloniki baptistery was probably built before the time of Justinian, and the Zadar baptistery should be dated to the same period, i.e. during the first two decades of the 6th century.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus -Patrologia graeca*, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1855.
PL *Patrologiae cursus completus- Patrologia latina*, J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1855.

IZVORI / SOURCES

- Ambrozije *De sacramentis*, III, 2.; VI, 2; PL 16, 434–436, 455–456.
Ciprijan *Liber de laude martyri*, PL4, 802.
Ivan Zlatousti *In II Cor homilia*, 4, 7, PG61, 418.
Origen *Selecta in Jeremiam*, cap. XXII, PG13, 570.
Tertulijan *De baptismo*, 6; PL 1, 1206.
Tertulijan *De resurrectione carnis*, 8; PL 2, 806–807.

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