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O Dobrom pastiru kao sepulkralnom motivu u povodu objave fragmenta sarkofaga s otoka Raba

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UDK: 904: 726.829 (497.5 Rab)“02/03”
726.829:7.032 (398 Dalmacija)“652”

Izvorni znanstveni članak
Priljeno: 28. 1. 2016.
Prihvaćeno: 3. 3. 2016.

U radu se objavljuje fragment sarkofaga uzidan u jednoj kući u starom dijelu grada Raba. Na ulomku je sačuvan reljefni prikaz Dobrog pastira, što je prva pojava tog motiva izvan užeg salonitanskog područja. To je povod za razmatranje salonitanskih spomenika koji imaju važno mjesto unutar starokršćanske sepulkralne umjetnosti i koji su, dobrim dijelom, usmjeravali rasprave o njezinu formiranju na prijelazu iz 3. st. u 4. st. u europskoj literaturi. U radu se prvi put objavljuju fotografije iz 19. st. vezane uz problematiku salonitanskih sarkofaga. Zaključuje se da je rapski ulomak lokalni rad nastao prema salonitanskim uzorima.

Ključne riječi: Rab, sarkofazi, motiv Dobrog pastira, Salona, sepulkralna umjetnost

On the Good Shepherd as a sepulchral motif upon the publication of a sarcophagus fragment from the island of Rab

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UDK: 904: 726.829 (497.5 Rab)“02/03”
726.829:7.032 (398 Dalmacija)“652”

Original scientific paper
Received: 28. 1. 2016.
Accepted: 3. 3. 2016.

A fragment of a sarcophagus built into a wall in the old section of the town of Rab is published in this work. A relief image of the Good Shepherd is preserved on the fragment, which is the first appearance of this motif outside of the narrower Salona environs. This prompted a consideration of the Salona monuments which have an important place within Early Christian sepulchral art and which to a considerable extent set the tone for debates in the relevant European literature on its formation at the turn of the 3rd into the 4th century. This work contains the first publication of 19th-century photographs tied to the problem of sarcophaguses from Salona. The general conclusion is that the Rab fragment was a local product based on models from Salona.

Key words: Rab, sarcophaguses, Good Shepherd motif, Salona, sepulchral art

I.

Na otoku Rabu, kao i na drugim kvarnerskim otocima, česta je pojava uzidanih antičkih i srednjovjekovnih kamenih spomenika, najčešće fragmentiranih.¹ Tako se u starom dijelu grada Rabu, gdje se nižu znamenite stare crkve i zvonici, nailazi na veći broj ugrađenih spomenika. Neki su jasno vidljivi, istaknuti na pročeljima kuća, a drugi su smješteni skrovitije, u crkvama i crkvenim kompleksima, unutrašnjim dvorištima i nepristupačnim privatnim prostorima.² Ovaj je rad posvećen jednom od uzidanih rapskih spomenika, malom ulomku postavljenom na vidljivo mjesto na zidu novije kuće u neposrednoj blizini monumentalnoga zvonika katedrale. Ulomak je, čini se, dosad ostao nezapažen u znanstvenoj literaturi, iako ima vrlo veliko značenje i vrijednost u kontekstu proučavanja antičke (starokršćanske) skulpture, ne samo na otoku Rabu nego i na širem području Dalmacije i istočnoga Jadrana.

Fragmentarni spomenik uzidan je u kuću koja se nalazi nasuprot romaničkom zvoniku katedrale, s druge strane Ulice Ivana Rabljanina. Mali ulomak s figuralnim reljefom uzidan je iznad vrata kuće. Zbog visine na kojoj se nalazi, ulomak trenutno nije bilo moguće sustavnije izbliza proučavati, ali, zahvaljujući ljubaznosti stanara kuće, autorica ovoga rada ipak ga je imala priliku kratko razgledati, izmjeriti i fotografirati. Visina ulomka iznosi oko 30 cm, a širina oko 12 cm. Kamen je bijele boje, preliminarno se može

* Izražavam veliku zahvalnost profesoru Nenadu Cambiju zbog njegova zanimanja za mali fragmentarni reljef s otoka Raba. Zapazivši ulomak 2015. g., obratila sam se prof. Cambiju i zamolila ga za mišljenje o mogućnosti starokršćanske interpretacije prikaza. Ubrzo smo zaključili da bi reljef bilo dobro objaviti, te je tako nastao ovaj tekst s našim viđenjima spomenika.

1 O učestalosti pojave usp. podatke za ranije antičko razdoblje koje daje Nedved 1990, *passim*.

2 Nekoliko dobro vidljivih spomenika uzidano je na vrlo uskom prostoru od romaničkog zvonika katedrale do okruženja benediktinskog samostana sv. Andrije. Nasuprot zvoniku katedrale nalazi se mali fragment s Dobrim pastirom, ispred crkve sv. Andrije ugrađen je ranosrednjovjekovni nadvratnik s natpisom, a desetak metara dalje u zidu privatne kuće ugrađen je starokršćanski nadvratnik sa 3 križa. U istoj kući u dvorištu ispod prozora uzidana je ranoromanička konzola s likom lava. Od navedenih spomenika u literaturi je obrađivan i često spominjan ranoromanički nadvratnik s natpisom, a objavljena je i ranoromanička konzola. O tome usp. Domijan 2007, str. 53, 121-125.

I.

The phenomenon of Classical and medieval stone monuments built into walls, most often in fragments, is quite common on the island of Rab, as on other islands of the Gulf of Kvarner.¹ Thus, a considerable number of such built-in monuments can be seen in the old section of the town of Rab, where notable old churches and campaniles abound. Some are clearly visible, prominent on the façades of houses, while other are more concealed, inside churches and church complexes, internal courtyards and inaccessible private spaces.² This work is dedicated to one of these Rab monuments, a small fragment installed at a visible place on the wall of a newer house in the immediate vicinity of the monumental campanile of the cathedral. It would appear that the fragment has remained unnoticed in the scholarly literature, even though it has considerable significance and value in the context of studying Antique (Early Christian) sculpture, not only on the island of Rab, but also in the wider territory of Dalmatia and the Eastern Adriatic seaboard.

The fragmentary monument is built into the wall of a house situated opposite the Romanesque cathedral campanile, on the other side of Ulica Ivana Rabljanina. The small fragment with figural relief was installed above the house's door. Due to the height at which it is situated, it was not possible to more systematically study the monument at the moment, but

* I would like to express considerable gratitude to Professor Nenad Cambi for his interest in this small fragmentary relief from the island of Rab. After having noticed the fragment in 2015, I contacted Prof. Cambi and asked for his opinion on a possible Early Christian interpretation of its image. I quickly concluded that it would be worthwhile to publish the relief, and this text with our views of the monument thus emerged.

1 On the frequency of such phenomena, cf. the data on the earlier Classical era in Nedved 1990, *passim*.

2 Several very visible monuments are built into walls in the very narrow space from the Romanesque cathedral's campanile to the surroundings of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Andrew. The small fragment featuring the Good Shepherd is located opposite the cathedral campanile, an early medieval door lintel with an inscription is installed in front of the Church of St. Andrew, and roughly ten meters further an Early Christian door lintel with three crosses is built into the wall of a private house. A Romanesque console with an image of a lion is installed under a window in the yard of the same house. Out of these monuments, the early Romanesque door lintel with inscription has been analysed and is otherwise often mentioned in the literature, and the early Romanesque console has also been published. On this cf. Domijan 2007, pp. 53, 121-125.



Sl. 1.a Ulomak sarkofaga s motivom Dobrog pastira iz Raba (foto: M. Jarak)

Fig. 1.a Sarcophagus fragment bearing the Good Shepherd motif from Rab (photo: M. Jarak)

odrediti kao bijeli vapnenac. O porijeklu i izvornoj pripadnosti ulomka, u literaturi nema podataka.³

Na fragmentu je sačuvan lik pastira s ovcom (sl. 1). Pastir je prikazan u blagom raskoraku - oslanja se na desnu nogu, dok je lijeva lagano ispružena prema naprijed. Glava lika priklonjena je na jednu stranu,

3 Moguće je, naravno, da je ulomak zapažen i spomenut u literaturi, ali tijekom pripremanja ovog priloga takvi podaci nisu zamijećeni. Što se tiče stanara kuće u kojoj je ulomak ugrađen i osoba koje prebivaju u neposrednoj blizini, nitko od upitanih nije imao spoznaje o porijeklu spomenika i vremenu njegova uzidavanja na sadašnje mjesto. U gornjem dijelu kuće gdje se nalazi i uzidani ulomak (spomenik je uzidan iznad gornjih vrata, a neposredno ispod krovišta, na visini od 3-4 m u odnosu na razinu ulice ispred kuće) posljednjih nekoliko godina stanuje mlada obitelj Ribarić, dok je u prizemnom dijelu nasljednik vlasnika kuće. Kuća je, prema sjećanju nekolicine stanovnika (osobito prema sjećanju sestara benediktinki iz samostana sv. Andrije), odavno sagrađena, vjerojatno prije II. svjetskog rata.

thanks to the kindness of the house's residents, the author of this work was given the opportunity to briefly examine, measure and photograph it. The height of the fragment is approximately 30 cm, and its width is roughly 12 cm. The stone is white, and it may be preliminarily specified as white limestone. There are no data in the relevant literature on its origin and where it was originally located.³

The image of a shepherd with a lamb is preserved on the fragment (Fig. 1). The shepherd is depicted in a slight forward stride: he is resting on his right leg, while his left leg extends forward slightly. The figure's head is inclined to one side, toward the lamb, which was carved rather low, as though held in the shepherd's arm, and not on his shoulder. While lamb's head is well preserved, the head of the human figure is rather battered, so the facial lines cannot be discerned. Even so, the figure's long hair is visible. Of his clothing, a short tunic and cloak can be discerned, while the standard shin protectors for the lower legs are not clearly shown. The feet have not been preserved. One hand, which is visible from the wrist with fingers depicted, is clearly prominent, while the other is difficult to notice on the preserved piece. The depicted hand, which does not correspond to the overall image in which the hands should logically be holding the sheep on his shoulders, seems to suggest some specific meaning for their position. A narrow, oblong object can be perceived below the hand, perhaps a staff, which would explain the hand's position. This would mean that the depicted figure holds a shepherd's staff. However, this detail is partially obscured in its vertical lines, and perhaps it should not be accorded any specific iconographic significance. It is also possible that the impression of an oblong object is deceptive and that in this part the relief did not have any particular work done to it. If, however, the impression of the

3 It is naturally possible that the fragment was noticed and mentioned in the relevant literature, but during the preparation of this paper, no such data were ascertained. As to the residents of the house onto which the fragment was installed and the persons who reside in the immediate vicinity, none of those who were asked had any idea about the origin of the monument and the time when it was put at its current position. Over the past few years, the young Ribarić family has resided in the upper section of the house where the fragment is located (the monument was set above the upper door, and immediately below the roof structure at a height of 3-4 m in relation to street level in front of the house), while the heir to the house's owner lives in the ground floor. The house was, based on the recollections of several residents (particularly according to the Benedictine sisters from the Convent of St. Andrew), built some time ago, probably prior to the Second World War.

prema ovci, koja je isklesana dosta nisko, kao da je u ruci pastira, a ne na njegovim ramenima. Dok je glava ovce dobro sačuvana, glava ljudske figure znatno je otučena, pa se ne razabiru crte lica. Vidljiva je ipak duga kosa lika. Od odjeće razabire se kratka tunika i plašt, dok standardni štitnici za potkoljenice nisu jasno prikazani. Stopala nisu sačuvana. Jedna ruka, koja je vidljiva od zgloba s prikazanim ispruženim prstima, jasno je istaknuta, dok je drugu teško zamijetiti na sačuvanom ulomku. Prikazana ruka, koja ne odgovara cjelini prikaza u kojemu bi ruke logično trebale pridržavati ovcu na ramenima, kao da sugerira neko posebno značenje svog položaja. Ispod ruke mogao bi se razabrati uzak izduženi predmet, možda štap, koji bi objašnjavao položaj ruke. To bi značilo da prikazani lik drži pastirski štap. Međutim, naznačeni detalj mjestimično se gubi u svom vertikalnom tijeku, i možda mu ne treba pripisivati nikakvo posebno ikonografsko značenje. Moguće je, također, da dojam izduženog predmeta zavarava i da u ovom dijelu reljefa nije bilo posebne obrade. Ako je, pak, dojam reljefnog isticanja ispod ruke lika točan, taj bi se detalj mogao tumačiti kao prikaz nabora plašta. Pastiri unutar kasnoantičke skulpture, kojoj, kako će biti dalje pokazano, pripada fragmentarni reljef s Raba, nose duge plašteve koji se mogu spuštati gotovo do stopala. Na rapskome reljefu, s druge strane prikazanog lika, jasno je reljefno istaknut plašt, te se on može pretpostaviti i ispod istaknute ruke lika. Na fragmentarnom spomeniku mogao bi se spomenuti još jedan detalj - s jedne strane lika, u donjem dijelu prikaza, opaža se reljefno istaknuti kružni oblik. S tim opažanjem iscrpljuje se navođenje vidljivih detalja prikaza. Treba napomenuti da se unatoč oštećenjima reljefa i nespretnostima u izvedbi, primjerice, položaja ovce, na fragmentu opažaju i određene kvalitete klesarske obrade. O tome svjedoči lijepo oblikovana glava ovce s naznačenim okom i prikazano krzno životinje. I ljudski lik ima prirodno držanje, a zamjećuje se reljefno isticanje odjeće na gornjem dijelu tijela.

Opisani motiv na fragmentarnom spomeniku odgovara prikazima Dobrog pastira na sarkofazima s kraja 3. i početka 4. st. Takvi su sarkofazi u rimskoj Dalmaciji dosad poznati sa salonitanskog područja, pa je svakako vrlo zanimljiva prisutnost jednoga srodnog spomenika na otoku Rabu.⁴ Utoliko će biti posebno zanimljivo ustanoviti koliko se klesarska izvedba na rapskom fragmentu podudara sa spomenicima sa salonitanskog područja, odnosno koliko se razlikuje



Sl. 1.b Položaj fragmenta sarkofaga s Raba (foto: M. Jarak)

Fig. 1.b Position of the sarcophagus fragment from the town of Rab (photo: M. Jarak)

relief highlighting is accurate, this detail could be interpreted as a depiction of the cloak's folds. Shepherds in the sculpture of Late Antiquity of which, as will be shown below, the fragmentary relief from Rab is an example, wear long cloaks which can descend almost to the feet. On the Rab relief, the cloak is clearly emphasized in relief, and it may be assumed that it was also distinguished below the figure's arm as well. I could mention yet another detail on the fragmentary monument: to one side of the figure, in the lower section of the image, a circular shape emphasised in relief can be seen. This observation finishes the descriptions of visible details on the image. It is noteworthy that despite the damage to the relief and the ungainliness of its rendering, such as the position of the lamb for example, certain higher-quality carver's workmanship can also be seen on the fragment. The finely formed head of the lamb, with indication of its eye and the depiction of its wool, testify to this. The human figure also has a natural bearing, and the relief emphasis on the clothing on the upper part of the body is notable.

4 O salonitanskim sarkofazima s pastirskim temama usp. Cambi 1968-69, str. 64-81; Cambi 1994; Cambi 2002, str. 256-273; Cambi 2003, str. 511- 520; Cambi 2010, *passim*.

od njih. Isto tako, vrlo je važno usporediti sve detalje ikonografskog prikaza. Prije te središnje teme ovoga priloga moguće je dotaknuti se problematike uže provenijencije izdvojenog spomenika i njegova mjesta unutar skupine istovrsnih spomenika s otoka Raba. Riječ je o podacima o ranijim građevinama u neposrednoj blizini mjesta na kojemu je izgrađena privatna kuća s uzidanim ulomkom te o podacima o antičkim sarkofazima na otoku Rabu, budući da se izdvojeni ulomak s pastirskim likom nesumnjivo može odrediti kao dio sarkofaga.

Postojeća kuća s uzidanim ulomkom doima se vrlo neskladnom, osobito s obzirom na sakralne objekte u neposrednoj blizini. Budući da je razmak između kuće i romaničkog zvonika vrlo malen, ona znatno narušava okoliš zvonika. U tom okolišu nalazilo se nekoliko sakralnih zdanja, o kojima ima podataka. Moguće je da je ulomak s Dobrim pastirom prethodno bio ugrađen u jedno od nestalih sakralnih zdanja ili se čuvao, možda i u cjelovitijem obliku, negdje u blizini.

M. Domijan nasuprot romaničkom zvoniku katedrale spominje dvije kapele, sv. Ivana i sv. Roka. Kapele su bile na sjevernoj strani ulice, između katedrale i njezina zvonika.⁵ Kapela sv. Ivana poznata je po fotografiji s početka 20. st., iz vremena prije njezina rušenja. Kapela se po stilskim značajkama datira u 15. st. Za temu ovog rada zanimljiv je podatak da je upravo na pročelju te kapele bila uzidana poznata glava Jupitera. Možda je u istoj građevini bio uzidan i ulomak s Pastirom, koji zbog fragmentarnosti i oštećenja nije bio dovoljno zapažen.

Jednako su zanimljivi podaci o kapeli sv. Roka, koja se nalazila u neposrednoj blizini zvonika. Ta se kapela datira u 17. st., a definitivno je porušena tek 80-ih godina 20. st. M. Domijan piše: "Na njezinu je mjestu danas sagrađena veličinom i oblikom neprijmjerena stambena novogradnja."⁶ Moguće je da je ulomak s prikazom Dobrog pastira prethodno čuvan u kapeli sv. Roka, a zatim je uzidan u postojeću kuću. Ipak, vjerojatnije je da je ulomak na svom današnjem mjestu od vremena gradnje kuće, a to bi bilo znatno ranije od 80-ih godina 20. st. Zanimljivo je, u kontekstu podataka o starim sakralnim zdanjima, da je u bilješkama M. Sabljara nasuprot zvoniku katedrale ucrtana crkva sv. Marina.⁷ Crkvicu San Marino u starom dijelu Raba spominje i W. Schleyer, a V. Brusić

The described motif on the fragmentary monument corresponds to images of the Good Shepherd on sarcophaguses from the end of the 3rd and early 4th centuries. Such sarcophaguses in Roman Dalmatia are thus far known from the Salona environs, so the presence of a similar monument on the island of Rab is certainly quite intriguing.⁴ It will therefore be especially interesting to ascertain just how much the craftsmanship on the Rab fragment corresponds to the monuments from the Salona area, or how much it differs from them. By the same token, it will be vital to compare all details of the iconographic portrayal. Prior to dealing with that central theme of this work, it would be worthwhile to touch upon the problems surrounding the narrower provenance of this isolated monument and its place within the group of similar monuments on the island of Rab. This is a matter of data on earlier structures in the immediate vicinity of the site on which the private house with the built-in fragment was constructed and data on Roman-era sarcophaguses on the island of Rab, since this separate fragment with the shepherd image may be classified as part of a sarcophagus.

The existing house with the built-in fragment has a rather incongruous appearance, particularly with regard to the sacral buildings in the immediately vicinity. Since the intervening space between the house and the Romanesque campanile is rather small, it considerably impinges upon the campanile's surroundings. There are several sacral buildings in this environment for which there are data. It is possible that the fragment with the Good Shepherd had previously been built into one of the now absent sacral buildings or had been preserved, perhaps even in its entirety, somewhere nearby.

M. Domijan mentioned two chapels opposite the Romanesque cathedral campanile, dedicated to St. John and St. Roch. The chapels were on the northern side of the street, between the cathedral and its campanile.⁵ The Chapel of St. John is known from a photograph taken at the beginning of the 20th century, from the time preceding its demolition. The chapel has been dated to the 15th century based on its stylistic features. Interesting from the standpoint of this work's subject matter is that a well-known sculpted head of Jupiter was built into the chapel's façade. Perhaps the fragment with the Good Shepherd was built into the wall of that same structure, which due to its

5 Domijan 2007, str. 169-170.

6 Domijan 2007, str. 170. Prema saopćenju sestara benediktinki samostana sv. Andrije stambena novogradnja je jedna izrazito visoka kuća smještena, na istoj strani ulice, nekoliko desetaka metara dalje od kuće s ugrađenim ulomkom.

7 Sabljara (bez godine), knjiga 4, str. 49.

4 On the Salona sarcophaguses with shepherd motifs, cf. Cambi 1968-69, pp. 64-81; Cambi 1994; Cambi 2002, pp. 256-273; Cambi 2003, pp. 511-520; Cambi 2010, *passim*.

5 Domijan 2007, pp. 169-170.

piše o Sv. Marinu.⁸ U svakom slučaju, upravo nasuprot zvoniku bilo je nekoliko crkvice čiji je inventar nestao ili je uništen, a koje su mogle čuvati i ranije starokršćanske spomenike.

S obzirom da je ulomak s pastirskom temom moguće odrediti kao dio sarkofaga, prije obrade ulomka korisno je iznijeti osnovne informacije o poznavanju antičkih sarkofaga na otoku Rabu, njihovoj sačuvanosti i tipološkim obilježjima. Time će moguća preciznija datacija novozapaženog ulomka dobiti odgovarajući kontekst unutar kronologije postojećih sarkofaga na otoku.

Najistaknutije mjesto među antičkim sarkofazima na otoku Rabu mogla bi imati dva ukrašena kasna primjerka, od kojih se jedan čuva u Barbatu, a drugi u rapskome gradskom lapidariju. Oni su, naime, posebno istaknuti u radovima o sarkofazima sa središnjim istaknutim križem salonitanskih (bračkih) radionica, te su uvršteni i u pregled kasnoantičke skulpture s otoka Raba.⁹ Ta dva sarkofaga sigurno se datiraju u 6. st., u koje vrijeme bi se mogli datirati i neki drugi primjerci sarkofaga s Raba, o kojima u literaturi i nije pisano ili zbog izrazite fragmentarnosti ili zbog nedavnog pronalaska. O jednom manjem, vjerojatno dječjem sarkofagu svjedoči poklopac uzidan u unutrašnje lice zida sjeverne bočne apside rapske katedrale. Poklopac ima oblik zaobljene ploče (polucilindričnog oblika) dužine oko 65, a širine oko 37 cm. Ploča je ukrašena urezanim velikim latinskim križem s proširenim završecima krakova. I oblik križa i oblik same ploče, upućuju na dataciju u kasnije starokršćansko doba, vjerojatno u 6. st.¹⁰

Među kasnoantičke sarkofage treba uvrstiti jedan cjelovito sačuvani primjerak, koji je relativno nedavno postavljen ispred gradskog lapidarija u Rabu. Taj sarkofag nema ukrasnih elemenata na sanduku, a ni na poklopcu. To je već obilježje koje govori o dataciji sarkofaga u kasnu antiku, od 4. st. nadalje, budući da se u to vrijeme datiraju neukrašeni sarkofazi. O užoj dataciji sarkofaga govori oblik poklopca. Riječ je o ravnoj, ili barem približno ravnoj, ploči, koja se može uvrstiti u pokrove sarkofaga tipa jednostavne, plitke

fragmentary nature and damage was not sufficiently notable.

Equally interesting are the data on the Chapel of St. Roch, which was located in the campanile's immediate vicinity. This chapel has been dated to the 17th century, and it was definitively demolished only in the 1980s. Domijan wrote: "A new residential building of inappropriate size and form has been constructed on its site".⁶ It is possible that the fragment with the portrayal of the Good Shepherd was previously held in the Chapel of St. Roch, and then built into the wall of the existing house. Nonetheless, it is more likely that the fragment ended up in its current position at the time when the house was constructed, and that was considerably earlier than the 1980s. Interesting in the context of data on older sacral buildings is that in the notes of M. Sabljarić, the Church of St. Marin is sketched across from the cathedral's campanile.⁷ The small San Marino Church in the old town of Rab was also mentioned by W. Schleyer, and V. Brusić wrote about St. Marin.⁸ In any case, just opposite the campanile there were several small churches from which the inventory either disappeared or was destroyed, and which could have held even earlier Early Christian monuments.

Since the fragment with the shepherd motif can be classified as part of a sarcophagus, prior to analysing the fragment it would be worthwhile to present some basic information on the general knowledge of Roman-era sarcophaguses on the island of Rab, their state of preservation and typological features. This will give the potentially more precise dating of the newly-observed fragment the proper context within the chronology of existing sarcophaguses on the island.

The most distinguished among the Roman-era sarcophaguses on the island of Rab may be the two decorated late examples, of which one is held in Barbat, while the other in the stone monument gallery in the town of Rab. They were particularly highlighted in works about the sarcophaguses with prominent central crosses from the Salona (Brač) workshops, and they were also included in the overview of Late Antique sculpture from the island of Rab.⁹ These

8 Schleyer 1914, str. 117-118; Brusić (bez godine), str. 70.

9 Od radova o salonitanskim sarkofazima sa središnjim križem usp. Fisković 1981, str. 105-132; Fisković 1996, str. 117-140. O kasnoantičkoj skulpturi s otoka Raba i njezinom radioničkom porijeklu usp. Jarak 2010, str. 77-109; Jarak 2013, str. 1553-1566.

10 Polucilindrični zaobljeni poklopci sarkofaga datiraju se u Dalmaciji vjerojatno u 5. i 6. st. Usp. Cambi 2010, str. 68. Križ koji se pruža cijelom dužinom poklopca upućuje vjerojatno na užu dataciju u 6. st.

6 Domijan 2007, p. 170. According to statements from the Benedictine sisters in the Convent of St. Andrew, the new residential building is an exceptionally high house situated on the same side of the street, several dozen meters farther than the house with the installed fragment.

7 Sabljarić (no year), volume 4, p. 49.

8 Schleyer 1914, pp. 117-118; Brusić (no year), p. 70.

9 Among the works on Salona sarcophaguses with central crosses, cf. Fisković 1981, pp. 105-132; Fisković

ploče. Takvi poklopci rjeđe su prisutni i pripadaju kasnijem vremenu proizvodnje sarkofaga.¹¹

Navedeni sarkofag otkriven je u novije doba i treba ga povezati s podacima o nalazima sarkofaga u gradu Rabu.¹² U užem centru grada, u dvorištu uz restoran Astoriju, nalazi se nekoliko fragmentarnih sarkofaga i ulomaka sarkofaga. Jedan fragmentarni primjerak je zasebno postavljen i povezan u cjelinu. Po obliku sanduka i poklopca vrlo je sličan opisanom sarkofagu ispred gradskog lapidarija. Međutim, među ulomcima u dvorištu uz restoran Astorija, nalaze se i primjerci poklopaca u obliku krova na dvije vode s ugaonim akroterijima. Svi ti ulomci nalaze se unutar arheološkog lokaliteta koji se još uvijek istražuje, pa ne mogu biti podrobnije proučeni i prikazani. Oni svakako svjedoče o većem broju tipološki različitih sarkofaga, koji su vjerojatno pripadali kasnoantičkom groblju grada Raba. O jednom drugom kasnoantičkom groblju na otoku zaključuje se na temelju podataka o nalazima brojnih predmeta, posebno na temelju pronađenih sarkofaga. Riječ je o groblju oko kasnoantičke crkve u Barbatu. S tog položaja potječu dva ukrašena sarkofaga, spomenuta u ovome tekstu. O nalazima u Barbatu pisao je V. Brusić u davno napisanoj monografiji.¹³ U jednom nedavno napisanom osvrtu navedeni su podaci o barem još jednom sarkofagu koji je bio otkriven u Barbatu i ostavljen zatrpan na lokalitetu.¹⁴ U istom radu navode se podaci o brojnim nalazima grobova na području od grada Raba preko Banjola do Barbata.¹⁵ Sve to upućuje na postojanje većeg broja sarkofaga, koji će vjerojatno biti proučeni i objavljeni od strane istraživača pojedinih lokaliteta.

U vezi s nalazima u Barbatu u novije se vrijeme na sarkofage i s njima povezane nalaze osvrnuo I. Basić, koji je posebno istaknuo problematiku datiranja salonitanskih (bračkih) sarkofaga s križem na pročelnoj strani. Pišući o zlatnom enkolpiju iz Barbata, Basić je došao do preliminarnih zaključaka o vjerojatno užoj dataciji salonitanskih sarkofaga od sredine 6. st. do kraja kasnoantičke produkcije.¹⁶ Njegovo zaključivanje vezano je uz dataciju samoga zlatnog križića iz Barbata i uz dataciju srodnih bizantskih izrađevina u drugim područjima gdje su zabilježeni slučajevi pronalaska bizantskih zlatnih predmeta u sarkofazima salonitanskog tipa. Što se tiče Barbata na Rabu, ništa ne potvrđuje da je zlatni enkolpij povezan sa

two sarcophaguses certainly date to the 6th century, to which time one may date certain other examples of sarcophaguses from Rab, about which nothing has been written in the relevant literature either because of their notably fragmentary nature or because of their recent discovery. A lid built into the internal face of the wall on the northern lateral apse of the Rab cathedral testifies to a smaller, probably child's sarcophagus. The lid is shaped like a rounded plate (semi-cylindrical) with a length of approximately 65 cm and a width of approximately 37 cm. The plate is adorned with a large engraved Latin cross with expanded ends on the arms. Both the shape of the cross and the shape of the slab itself indicate dating to the late Early Christian era, probably the 6th century.¹⁰

An entirely preserved example placed in front of the town stone monument gallery in Rab should be classified among the Late Antique sarcophaguses. This sarcophagus has no decorative elements on the receptacle or the lid. This feature alone places the dating of this sarcophagus in Late Antiquity, from the 4th century onward, since unadorned sarcophaguses date to this period. The shape of the lid speaks of the narrower dating of the sarcophagus. This is a flat, or at least approximately flat slab, which may be designated as belonging to the simple, shallow slab type of sarcophagus covers. Such lids are rarer and belong in the later period of sarcophagus production.¹¹

This sarcophagus was discovered more recently and it should be linked to the data on the discovery of sarcophaguses in the town of Rab.¹² In the narrower town centre in the yard of the Astorija Restaurant, there are several fragmentary sarcophaguses and sarcophagus fragments. One fragmentary example was separately installed and connected into a whole. In terms of the shape of the receptacle and lid, it is rather similar to the already-described sarcophagus in front of the town's stone monument gallery. However, among the fragments in the yard next to the Astorija Restaurant, there are also examples of lids shaped like saddleback roofs with corner acroteria. All of these fragments are inside an archaeological site that is still being researched, so they cannot be analysed in presented in greater detail. They certainly testify to a

11 Cambi 2010, str. 67-68.

12 Usp. Budak 2006, sl. 6; Skelac, Vodička 2006, str. 307-308.

13 Brusić (bez godine), str. 57, 178-179.

14 Rizner 2012, str. 41.

15 Rizner 2012, str. 39.

16 Basić 2012, str. 427-442.

1996, pp. 117-140. On Late Antique sculpture from the island of Rab and its workshop origin, cf. Jarak 2010, pp. 77-109; Jarak 2013, pp. 1553-1566.

10 Semi-cylindrical rounded sarcophagus lids in Dalmatia probably date to the 5th and 6th cent. Cf. Cambi 2010, p. 68. The cross extending down the entire length of the lid probably indicates a narrower dating to the 6th cent.

11 Cambi 2010, pp. 67-68.

12 Cf. Budak 2006, Fig. 6; Skelac, Vodička 2006, pp. 307-308.

sarkofagom, što ne tvrdi ni I. Basić, iako takva povezanost nije isključena.

Za prihvaćanje eventualne uže datacije salonitanskih sarkofaga s križem na pročelnoj strani bila bi potrebna opsežna i dobro argumentirana rasprava. Ovdje se može navesti da je uobičajeno mišljenje o duljoj produkciji tih sarkofaga vrlo prihvatljivo s obzirom na veliki broj poznatih salonitanskih sarkofaga i različite inačice u ukrašavanju. Znajući za datiranje rada drugih velikih kasnoantičkih radionica sarkofaga - primjerice ravenatske, konstantinopolske ili jugozapadnogalijske - u razdoblju duljem od jednog stoljeća, a da pritom produkcija nije bila veća od salonitanske, teško je vjerovati da je salonitanska radionica sarkofaga s križem na pročelnoj strani djelovala tek od sredine 6. st.¹⁷ Čak i kada pojedinačni nalazi unutar sarkofaga mogu biti usko datirani, oni ne moraju nužno datirati i izradu samih sarkofaga. Između izrade i korištenja, čak i prvoga korištenja, moglo je proći i dulje vrijeme. Osim toga, trebalo bi raspolagati s podacima o broju sarkofaga u kojima su pronađeni databilni nalazi u odnosu na ukupan broj razmatrane produkcije.

Navedeni primjerci sarkofaga koji su danas izloženi na različitim mjestima (u gradu Rabu i jedan u Barbatu), izrađeni su od vapnenca i mogu se datirati u kasnije starokršćansko razdoblje, najvjerojatnije u 6. st. Primjerci koji su dostupni za proučavanje predstavljaju radove dalmatinskih radionica. Uz njih je s otoka Raba dosad poznat i jedan ulomak importiranog antičkog sarkofaga. Taj je ulomak izrađen od penteličkog mramora i datira se u rano 3. st.¹⁸

Ulomak s prikazom Dobrog pastira izrađen je, koliko se može razabrati, s obzirom na položaj na kojem se nalazi, od vapnenca. Reljef nije osobito visok, no ipak se osjećaju kvalitete plastike i volumen figura. Kako osim uske površine s isklesanim likom nisu sačuvane druge plohe spomenika, sam ulomak ne bi mogao uputiti na tip spomenika kojemu je pripadao. Na to, međutim, prilično sigurno upućuje sačuvani motiv pastira s ovcom. Taj se motiv redovito nalazi na sarkofazima i interpretira kao Dobri pastir ili alegorijski prikaz Krista. Prema visini ulomka s otoka Raba koja iznosi oko 30 cm, ulomak je mogao biti dio akroterija ili sanduka sarkofaga. Pastirski motivi javljaju se, naime, upravo na tim dijelovima sarkofaga.¹⁹ Ovdje

high number of typologically different sarcophaguses, which probably came from the Late Antique cemetery in the town of Rab. The existence of another Late Antique graveyard on the island has been inferred on the basis of data on numerous finds, and particularly on the basis of discovered sarcophaguses. This is the cemetery around the Late Antique church in Barbat. Two decorated sarcophaguses mentioned herein came from this site. V. Brusić wrote about the finds in Barbat in a monograph published rather long ago.¹³ One recently written overview contained some data on another sarcophagus discovered in Barbat that was left buried at the site.¹⁴ That same work also cites data on numerous discoveries of graves in the area from the town of Rab through Banjol to Barbat.¹⁵ All of this points to the existence of a higher number of sarcophaguses that will probably be studied and published by researchers working at the individual sites.

With regard to the finds in Barbat, more recently I. Basić considered the sarcophaguses and the finds related thereto, stressing in particular the problems of dating the Salona (Brač) sarcophaguses with crosses on the front side. Writing about the gold encolpion from Barbat, Basić came to a preliminary conclusion on the likely narrower dating of the Salona sarcophaguses from the mid-6th century to the end of production in Late Antiquity.¹⁶ His conclusion is tied to the dating of the actual small gold cross from Barbat and the dating of similar Byzantine products in other areas at which chance discoveries of Byzantine gold items in sarcophaguses of the Salona type have been recorded. As to Barbat on Rab, nothing confirms that the gold encolpion is linked to a sarcophagus, which not even Bašić claimed, even though such a connection should not be entirely discounted.

Acceptance of any possible narrower dating of the Salona sarcophaguses with crosses on their front sides would require extensive and well-argued debate. Here it may be noted that the standard opinion on the extended period of production of these sarcophaguses is very acceptable given the high number of known Salona sarcophaguses and the diversity of decoration variants. Knowing that the dates for the operation of other major sarcophagus workshops in Late Antiquity - e.g. in Ravenna, Constantinople or south-west Gallia - for a period longer than one century and where output was not greater than that of Salona, it is difficult to believe that the Salona workshop making sarcophaguses with crosses on their fronts had operated

17 Osnovne podatke o radu pojedinih radionica daje Koch 2000, *passim*.

18 Cambi 1987, str. 175-176; Cambi 1988, str. 37-38, 72, T. XXI.

19 Kao još jedno mjesto javljanja dekoracije, pa onda i pastirskih motiva, može se navesti središnji zabat na uzdužnoj strani poklopca sarkofaga. U Saloni je sačuvan jedan primjer takvog ukrašenog zabata s motivom

13 Brusić (no year), pp. 57, 178-179.

14 Rizner 2012, p. 41.

15 Rizner 2012, p. 39.

16 Basić 2012, pp. 427-442.

možemo spomenuti lijepi primjer motiva Dobrog pastira na akroteriju sarkofaga Julije Aurelije Hilare s Manastirina.²⁰ U jednom je akroteriju u plitkom reljefu isklesan lik Dobrog pastira s ovcom na leđima, uz kojega se nalaze još 3 ovce. U drugom akroteriju su 2 ovce sa strana središnjeg stabilca. Odjeća Dobrog pastira na sarkofagu Julije Aurelije Hilare sasvim odgovara odjeći lika s rapskog fragmenta. Riječ je o kratkoj tunici i plaštu. Istu odjeću nosi i najpoznatiji salonitanski i dalmatinski Dobri pastir, onaj u središnjoj edikuli na sanduku istoimenoga sarkofaga.²¹ Lik sa slavnog sarkofaga prikazan je u sličnom stavu kao Dobri pastir na rapskom ulomku. Prikazan je u pokretu, oslonjen na desnu nogu, dok je lijeva noga ispružena naprijed. Na oba navedena salonitanska sarkofaga s motivom Dobrog pastira uz Pastira su prikazane i ovce, dijelovi njegova stada. Vjerojatno su ovce bile isklesane i na rapskome spomeniku, ali zbog loše sačuvanosti od njih nije ostao nikakav trag. Na prikaz dodatnih ovaca, odnosno maloga stada, upućivao bi i eventualni pastirski štap, kako bi se možda mogla razumjeti reljefna istaka ispod Pastirove ruke. Iako je već spomenuto da u tom dijelu reljefa treba prije vidjeti prikaz nabora plašta, interpretacija s prikazom pastirskog štapa bolje bi objasnila neobično isticanje ruke i njezin položaj. Kada bi na reljefu zaista bio prikazan i pastirski štap, imali bismo svojevrsnu kombinaciju dva različita ikonografska obrasca na istome spomeniku. Pastir sa štapom i ovcama predstavlja jednu ikonografsku inačicu koja je duboko ukorijenjena u antičke bukoličke prizore. Pastir s ovcom na ramenima, također okružen svojim stadom, ali bez pastirskog štapa, ikonografski je obrazac koji se najčešće tumači kao alegorijski prikaz Krista.²² Navedena dva obrasca na salonitanskim se sarkofazima uvijek prikazuju odvojeno – ili je prikazan Dobri pastir (s ovcom na ramenima) ili pastir sa stadom. Kako je rapski spomenik nesumnjivo rađen po uzoru na salonitanske obrasce, vjerojatno je i ikonografski slijedio ustaljene tipove prikaza. Stoga je teško moguće spajanje

only since the mid-6th century.¹⁷ Even when individual finds inside the sarcophagus can be more narrowly dated, they do not necessarily date the production of the sarcophagus itself. A considerable time may have transpired between production and use, even its first use. Additionally, there should also be data on the number of sarcophaguses in which datable finds were discovered in comparison to the total volume of production under consideration.

These examples of sarcophaguses which are today exhibited at different locations (in the town of Rab and one in Barbat) were made of limestone, and they can be dated to the later phase of the Early Christian era, mostly likely to the 6th century. The examples available for study are the products of Dalmatian workshops. Besides these, there is also a known fragment of an imported Roman-era sarcophagus from the island of Rab. This fragment is made of Pentelic marble and has been dated to the early 3rd century.¹⁸

As nearly as can be discerned given its position, the fragment with the image of the Good Shepherd was made of limestone. The relief is not particularly high, but the quality of its plasticity and the volume of the figures can be perceived. Since, besides the narrow surface with the carved image, none of the monument's other surfaces have been preserved, the fragment itself cannot indicate the type of monument to which it belonged. This is, however, rather certainly indicated by the preserved motif of the shepherd with a lamb. This motif was a regular feature of sarcophaguses and it has been interpreted as the Good Shepherd or an allegorical portrayal of Christ. Based on the height of the fragment from the island of Rab, which is approximately 30 cm, the fragment may have been part of an acroterion or the lower receptacle of a sarcophagus. The shepherd motifs appear precisely on these parts of sarcophaguses.¹⁹ Here we may mention the lovely example of the Good Shepherd motif on the acroterion of the sarcophagus of Julia Aurelia Hilara from Manastirine.²⁰ An image of

Dobrog pastira, o čemu usp. Cambi 2010, T. LXXXV, 1. Riječ je o fragmentarno sačuvanom zabatu na kojem je vidljiva lijepo oblikovana glava mladog Pastira i glava ovce na njegovim ramenima.

20 O tom sarkofagu, njegovim likovnim motivima i natpisu usp. navode u radovima N. Cambija, primjerice Cambi 1968-69, str. 73-74; Cambi 2002, str. 260-261.

21 O sarkofagu usp. Cambi 1994.

22 Naravno da je odvajanje značenjskih razina dviju inačica prikaza samo uvjetno. Tako se u starokršćanskoj umjetnosti pastir okružen stadom pojavljuje i s Kristovim atributima (s aureolom i križem) i očito predstavlja Dobrog pastira. Takav je mozaički prikaz u mauzoleju Gale Placidije, datiran u sredinu 5. st.

17 Basic data on the operation of individual workshops can be found in Koch 2000, *passim*.

18 Cambi 1987, pp. 175-176; Cambi 1988, pp. 37-38, 72, P. XXI.

19 The central pediment on the lengthwise side of the sarcophagus lid can be mentioned as yet another place for the appearance of decorations. An example of such a decorated pediment with the Good Shepherd motif has been preserved in Salona, on which cf. Cambi 2010, P. LXXXV, 1. This is fragmentarily preserved pediment on which a nicely formed head of a young shepherd and the head of the lamb on his shoulders can be seen.

20 On this sarcophagus, its figural motifs and inscription, cf. the statements in the works of N. Cambi, e.g. Cambi

dviju koncepcija na jednom te istom spomeniku, i u fragmentarnom reljefu treba prije svega vidjeti prikaz Dobrog pastira s ovcom na ramenima.²³ Evidentne posebnosti, odnosno odstupanja u detaljima izvedbe motiva na rapskome fragmentu moguće je možda dodatno razmotriti i interpretirati.

Odstupanje od standardne izvedbe pokazuje položaj ovce na rapskom ulomku. Ovca je nisko isklesana, gotovo spuštenu s ramena svoga nositelja, i nije vidljivo kako je Pastir pridržava. Pitanje je što je razlog takvog nespretnog položaja ovce. To se, naravno, može tumačiti i nespretnošću klesara koji nije bio sposoban točno isklesati zadani motiv. Položaj ruku svakako je posebno dvojbena detalj na rapskom ulomku. Tu dolazi do izražaja nespretnost klesara, koji je možda želio unijeti neke promjene u standardni obrazac, ali očito nije bio sposoban za kvalitetnu izvedbu svojih zamisli.

Ako klesar nije imao ideju spajanja dviju ikonografskih inačica u jednom prikazu, objašnjenje za netipičan položaj ovce na rapskom fragmentu možda leži u predočenom bliskom odnosu između Pastira i ovce. Nisko smještena ovca u neposrednoj je vezi sa svojim nositeljem, što je posebno naglašeno blagim nagibom Pastirove glave. Između dvaju likova uspostavljen je blizak, neposredan kontakt, koji ne treba biti shvaćen samo kao fizički nego i duhovni. Nagibom glave prema svojoj ovci Pastir izražava emocionalni odnos, što ne bi moglo doći do izražaja u klasičnoj izvedbi motiva s ovcom visoko na ramenima nositelja. Ukoliko je takva ekspresivnost u osnovi izrade reljefa, klesar se naknadno suočio s pitanjem položaja Pastirovih ruku. Budući da ovca nije isklesana jasno na ramenima, ni ruke Pastira nisu jasno uzdignute kao kod standardnih prikaza motiva. Možda je stoga tek naknadno nespretno isklesana vidljiva ruka, a način nošenja ovce nije jasno predočen.

Važnost salonitanskih prikaza u interpretaciji rapskoga Dobrog pastira proizlazi iz činjenice da su takvi prikazi na našoj obali Jadrana poznati samo u okviru salonitanskih radionica, odnosno svi potječu sa širega područja Salone. Među poznatim kamenim spomenicima nalaze se sarkofazi i specifični oblici skulptura

the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders and three more sheep around him is carved in shallow relief in one acroterion. In the other acroterion, there are two sheep around a central tree. The clothing of the Good Shepherd on the sarcophagus of Julia Aurelia Hilara entirely corresponds to that worn by the figure on the Rab fragment. This is a short tunic and cloak. The same clothing is worn by the best-known Salona and Dalmatian Good Shepherd, the one on the central aedicule on the receptacle of the sarcophagus of the same name.²¹ The figure on the famed sarcophagus is shown in a similar posture as the Good Shepherd on the Rab fragment. He is depicted in motion, leaning on his right leg, while the left leg extends forward. On both of these Salona sarcophaguses with the Good Shepherd motif, sheep from the shepherd's flock are shown next to him. Sheep were probably carved on the Rab monument as well, but due to its limited state of preservation, not even a trace of them remains. The portrayal of additional sheep, or a small flock, may perhaps be indicated by the shepherd's staff, as one may interpret the relief prominence below the shepherd's hand. Although it has already been mentioned that the folds of his cloak should be seen in this section of the relief, the interpretation of a portrayal of a shepherd's staff would better explain the unusual prominence of the hand and its position. If a shepherd's staff is truly shown on the relief, then there would be something of a combination of two different iconographic formulas on the same monument. The shepherd with a staff and sheep represent one iconographic variant which was deeply rooted in the bucolic scenes of Antiquity. The shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders also surrounded by sheep but without a shepherd's staff, is an iconographic formula most often interpreted as an allegorical depiction of Christ.²² These two formulas on the Salona sarcophaguses are always shown separately - either the Good Shepherd (with a lamb on his shoulders) or the shepherd with his flock is shown. Since the Rab monument was undoubtedly crafted on the basis of the Salona models, it probably also iconographically adhered to the established types of portrayals. Thus it is hardly likely that two concepts were merged on the same monument, and a portrayal of the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders should

23 Ovdje treba napomenuti da u ranoj kršćanskoj umjetnosti nisu nepoznati prikazi Dobrog pastira s dodatnim predmetom u ruci. Na jednoj fresci u rimskim katakombama Dobri pastir s ovcom na ramenima drži u ispruženoj ruci neku posudu. Usp. Stützer 1983, str. 35, sl. 17. Stoga ne bi bilo nemoguće da je na rapskom fragmentu sarkofaga Dobri pastir prikazan s dodatnim predmetom, možda pastirskim štapom, ali za takvu interpretaciju bio bi potreban jasniji prikaz od onoga na sačuvanom fragmentu.

1968-69, pp. 73-74; Cambi 2002, pp. 260-261.

21 On the sarcophagus, cf. Cambi 1994.

22 Of course, the separation of the meanings of the two variants of scenes is only provisional. Thus, in Early Christian art, the shepherd surrounded sheep also appeared with the attributes of Christ (with a halo and cross) and obviously represented the Good Shepherd. The mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, dated to the 5th century, is like this.

sa stražnjim potpornjem.²⁴ Iz Salone potječu i drugi pastirski motivi - prikazi pastira okruženih stadom. Očito je da je u Saloni prihvaćena ikonografija Dobrog pastira i drugih pastirskih motiva, koja je inače poznata u drugim antičkim sredinama izvan Hrvatske.²⁵ Navedeni motivi imaju, kao što je dobro poznato, svoje izvorište u ranijoj poganskoj umjetnosti i često se ne može sigurno ustvrditi radi li se o poganskom ili kršćanskom prizoru.²⁶ U ovom kontekstu važno je zaključivanje o iznenadnoj pojavi pastirskih motiva u Saloni i mogućnosti datiranja gotovo svih kamenih spomenika s tim motivima u kasnije 3. ili rano 4. st., odnosno u vrijeme prijelaza poganstva u kršćanstvo.²⁷ Iznenadna pojava motiva upravo u vrijeme afirmacije kršćanstva, kao i kršćanski kontekst nalaza najznačajnijih spomenika, govori u prilog kršćanskom značenju pastoralnih motiva na kamenim spomenicima u Dalmaciji. U skladu s tim i rapski se spomenik s likom Dobrog pastira može datirati u rano razdoblje razvoja kršćanske umjetnosti.

Kao što je spomenuto, motiv na rapskom ulomku govori o karakteru (tipu) spomenika kojemu je ulomak pripadao. Nedvojbeno je riječ o sarkofagu, a sačuvani ulomak mogao je biti dio akroterija ili sanduka. Kako je uzidan u suvremenom objektu, ne može se ništa reći o debljini fragmenta i eventualnim drugim detaljima. O mjestu ulomka kao dijelu sarkofaga mogu govoriti samo njegove dimenzije i analizirani motiv. Iako bi se dimenzije ulomka mogle smjestiti u veličinu akroterija sarkofaga, imajući u vidu necjelovitost kompozicije (donji dio prikaza nesumnjivo je manjkav), vjerojatnije je da sačuvani fragment predstavlja dio sanduka sarkofaga, na kojemu je mogla biti i neka bogatija, detaljima razrađena kompozicija.

U kontekstu dosadašnjeg poznavanja sarkofaga na otoku Rabu, ulomak s Dobrim pastinom ističe se kao ostatak sarkofaga koji bi pripadao ranijem starokršćanskom vremenu, vjerojatno prvoj polovici 4.

be seen in the fragmentary relief.²³ Evident specifics, i.e., deviations in details in the rendering of motifs on the Rab fragment, may be additionally considered and interpreted.

A deviation from the standard rendering is exhibited by the position of the lamb on the Rab fragment. The lamb is carved low, almost removed from the shoulders of its carrier, and how the shepherd holds it is not visible. There is some question as to reason for such an awkward position of the lamb. This may naturally be interpreted as due to a lack of skill on the carver's part, as he may not have been capable of rendering the given motif. The position of the arm is a particularly dubious detail on the Rab fragment. The carver's clumsiness comes to the fore here, as he may have intended to introduce some changes to the standard formula, but obviously was not capable of rendering his ideas in a quality manner.

If the carver did not intend to merge two iconographic variants in a single scene, the explanation for the atypical position of the lamb on the Rab fragment may lie in the already described close relationship between the shepherd and sheep. The low-positioned sheep is in the immediate vicinity of its carrier, which is particularly emphasized by the gentle slant of the shepherd's head. Close, immediate contact has been established between the two figures, which should not only be perceived as physical but also spiritual. The shepherd's head tilted toward his lamb expresses an emotional relationship that would not come to the fore in the classic motif with the sheep high on the carrier's shoulders. If such expressiveness lies at the basis of the production of the relief, the carver was subsequently confronted with the question of the position of the shepherd's hand. Since the lamb was not clearly depicted on his shoulders, the shepherd's hands are not clearly raised as in the standard portrayals of the motif. Perhaps this is why the visible hand was only inelegantly carved subsequently, while the manner in which the lamb is being carried is not clearly illustrated.

The importance of the Salona portrayal in the interpretation of the Good Shepherd of Rab is based on

24 Usp. podatke u radovima N. Cambija citiranim u prethodnim bilješkama.

25 Tema je, kao što je poznato, posebno vezana uz najraniju kršćansku umjetnost, uz katakombno slikarstvo i rane rimske sarkofage.

26 Problematika je iscrpno, s ukazivanjem na različita mišljenja u literaturi, iznesena u citiranim radovima N. Cambija.

27 Cambi 2002, str. 260. U ranijoj antici pojavljuje se u Dalmaciji samo zaseban motiv pastira koji je prikazan bez stada. Takvi pastiri pojavljuju se na arama datiranim u 2. st. Usp. Cambi 2002, str. 158. Što se tiče sarkofaga s pastirskim motivima, samo jedan je datiran u kasnije 4. st., fragmentarni sarkofag s djelomično sačuvanim likom Dobrog pastira. Usp. Cambi 2010, kat. br. 147.

23 Here it is worth noting that in Early Christian art, depictions of the Good Shepherd with an additional object in his hand are not unknown. On one fresco in the catacombs, the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders holds some sort of vessel in his outstretched hand. Cf. Stützer 1983, p. 35, Fig. 17. It is therefore not impossible that the Rab sarcophagus fragment shows the Good Shepherd with an additional object, perhaps a shepherd's staff, but such an interpretation would require a clearer image than that on the preserved fragment.

st. Iako se salonitanski sarkofazi s istovrnom temom datiraju i ranije, na prijelaz 3. u 4. st. i u prva desetljeća 4. st., rapski je sarkofag, upravo zbog jasne povezanosti sa salonitanskim primjercima, vjerojatno nastao nešto kasnije, po uzoru na salonitanska djela. Nespretnosti u oblikovanju nekih detalja na rapskom spomeniku govore o manje profesionalnoj radionici, vjerojatno lokalnoj rapskoj, koja je koristila salonitanske obrasce, ali ih i mijenjala i prilagođavala ukusu i shvaćanjima svoje sredine.²⁸

II.

Bavljenje motivom Dobrog pastira otpočelo je još na samom početku mojega znanstvenog rada i evo me prati do danas. Ali kad sam već pomislio da je to poglavlje moga profesionalnog zanimanja završeno i da se na nj više nikad neću vraćati, kolegica Mirja Jarak zapazila je fragment antičkog reljefa uzidan u jednu novu kuću u Rabu, koji jasno, ali dosta nevješto, prikazuje lik Pastira s ovcom na ramenima. Njezina ponuda da ga objavim bila je zaista velikodušna, jer joj objava pripada kao autorsko pravo i nagrada za vrsno opažanje. Zbog toga sam je nagovorio da napiše vlastiti osvrt na fragment, a na ponudu da ja dopišem svoj komentar odgovorio sam da mogu pokušati napisati nekoliko rečenica o samome motivu, koji je postao veoma važan u ikonografskom repertoaru kasnoantičke umjetnosti (freske, mozaici, kiparstvo, sepulkralna umjetnost kao i umjetnost u malom formatu), a u rimskoj Dalmaciji osobito na sarkofazima (ali ne samo na njima). K tomu iz Dalmacije potječe jedan od najvažnijih spomenika s tim motivom, a taj je znameniti sarkofag Dobrog pastira izrađen od prokoneškog mramora, otkriven godine 1859. ili 1860. na Manastirinama u Saloni,²⁹ o kojem je od tada pa do danas napisana gotovo čitava biblioteka znanstvenih i popularnih radova.³⁰ Stoga moram zahvaliti kolegici Jarak na ponudi, čime mi je dala prigodu da se još

the fact that such portrayals on the Croatian Adriatic coast are known only within the framework of the Salona workshops, meaning that they all originated in the wider environs of Salona. The known stone monuments include sarcophaguses and specific forms of sculpture with rear supports.²⁴ Other shepherd motifs - portrayals of a shepherd surrounded by his flock - also come from Salona. It is apparent that the iconography of the Good Shepherd and other shepherd motifs, which was otherwise known in other Roman-era centres outside of Croatia, had been accepted in Salona.²⁵ As is well known, these motifs had their source in earlier pagan art and often one cannot state with any certainty whether it is a pagan or Christian scene.²⁶ In this context, the determination of the sudden appearance of shepherd motifs in Salona and the possibility of dating virtually all stone monuments bearing these motifs to the late 3rd or early 4th century, i.e., the period of the transition from paganism to Christianity, is rather important.²⁷ The sudden appearance of this motif precisely at the time of affirmation of Christianity, as well as the Christian context in which the most important monuments were found, speaks to the Christian significance of pastoral motifs on stone monuments in Dalmatia. In this vein, the Rab monument with the Good Shepherd motif may be dated to the early developmental period of Christian art.

As mentioned, the motif on the Rab fragment speaks of the character (type) of monument to which the fragment belonged. It was undoubtedly a sarcophagus, and the preserved fragment may be part of an acroterion or the receptacle. Since it is built into the wall of a contemporary structure, nothing can be said about the thickness of the fragment and other possible details. With reference to the position of the fragment as part of a sarcophagus, I can only speak of its dimensions and analyse the motif. Even though the dimensions of the fragment do correspond to the size of

28 Potvrdu navedene interpretacije mogli bi dati podaci o porijeklu kamena od kojeg je izrađen rapski spomenik. Petrografske analize, međutim, zasada nisu moguće zbog nedostupnosti spomenika.

29 U literaturi se navode obje godine pa nije pouzdano koja je prava. Usp. Cambi 1994, str. 9, bilj. 1. Možda će nova istraživanja u arhivu Arheološkog muzeja ponuditi rješenje te dvojbe.

30 Usp. literaturu u Cambi 1994, str. 106-107; nadopunu vidi u Cambi 2000, str. 240-244, sl. 105 a-c; Bonačić Mandinić 2000, str. 264-266; Koch 2000, str. 150, sl. 80. Poslije Cambi 2002, str. 257-259, sl. 410-411; Dresken-Weiland 1998, str. 105-106, br. 297, tab. 97; Cambi 2004, sl. 27-30; Cambi 2005, str. 192-199, sl. 295-297; Cambi 2010, str. 128, kat. br. 156, T. XC.

24 Cf. data in the works of N. Cambi cited in the preceding notes.

25 The theme is, as is well known, particularly tied to the earliest Christian art, to catacomb painting and early Roman sarcophaguses.

26 This theme, with citations of differing views in the relevant literature, has been exhaustively covered in the cited works by N. Cambi.

27 Cambi 2002, p. 260. In earlier Antiquity, only the individual shepherd motif, depicted without a herd, appeared in Dalmatia. Such shepherds appeared on altars dated to the 2nd cent. Cf. Cambi 2002, p. 158. As to sarcophaguses with shepherd motifs, only one has been dated to the late 4th century, a fragmentary sarcophagus with a partially preserved image of the Good Shepherd. Cf. Cambi 2010, cat. no. 147.



Sl. 2. Prednja strana sanduka sarkofaga s prikazom Dobrog pastira; snimljeno u trenutku kad je sarkofag 1871. na topovskim kolicima stigao u Split. Fotografija u vlasništvu Ivica Čurkovića iz Zadra, autor nepoznat.

Fig. 2. Front of the sarcophagus receptacle with a scene of the Good Shepherd; taken at the moment when the sarcophagus arrived in Split on a cannon cart in 1871. The photograph is the property of Ivica Čurković of Zadar, the identity of the photographer is unknown.

jedanput udubim u razmišljanja o pastirskoj ikonografiji i tumačenju, o čemu još nije izrečena posljednja riječ, ako se ona uopće može i izreći.

Još jedan poticaj za ove retke dala mi je i činjenica što sam dobio na uporabu dosad neobjavljene, ali iznimno dragocjene fotografije prijenosa znamenitog sarkofaga Dobrog pastira s Manastirina u Split, dobrotom mladog kolege Nikole Cesarika i vlasnika fotografija Ivica Čurkovića, obojice iz Zadra (sl. 2, 3).³¹ Vlasnik fotografija, kako mi je prenio kolega Cesarik, kaže: "Fotografije pripadaju tzv. ranom nestandardiziranom vizit formatu i odgovaraju razdoblju sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća (na jednoj od njih je olovkom napisano Spalato 1889., no fotografije su nastale ranije). Svaka od fotografija je kupljena posebno, jedna preko francuske a druga preko zagrebačke aukcijske kuće. Na poleđini nema potpisa i vinjete autora što je tipično za to razdoblje prvih fotografa."

31 Navodim Cesarikovo pismo upućeno e-poštom od 9. prosinca godine 2015.: "Kao što sam obećao, šaljem Vam fotografije sarkofaga Dobrog pastira, koje navodno prikazuju njegovo premještanje iz Salone u Arheološki muzej. Vlasnik fotografija je Ivica Čurković iz Zadra, te bih Vas molio samo da spomenete taj podatak ukoliko budete objavljivali fotografije." Izražavam moju duboku zahvalnost kolegi Nikoli Cesariku kao i vlasniku Ivici Čurkoviću jer bez njihovih podataka i nadasve spomenutih fotografija ne bi bilo ni ovih redaka.

a sarcophagus acroterion, keeping in mind the incompleteness of the composition (the lower section of the image is certainly lacking), it is more likely that the preserved fragment is a part of the sarcophagus receptacle, on which they may have been a richer composition with more elaborate details.

In the context of current knowledge of sarcophagi on the island of Rab, the fragment with the Good Shepherd stands out as the remnant of a sarcophagus which would have belonged to the earlier phase of the Early Christian era, probably the first half of the 4th century. Even though the Salona sarcophagi with identical motifs have been dated even earlier, to the turn of the 3rd into the 4th century and the first decades of the 4th century, the Rab sarcophagus, precisely because of its clear tie to the Salona examples, probably emerged somewhat later based on their model. The coarseness in the formation of certain details on the Rab monument indicate a less professional workshop, probably a local one on Rab, which used the Salona models, but also changed and adapted them to the tastes and understanding of their milieu.²⁸

II.

I began dealing with the Good Shepherd motif at the beginning of my scholarly career and it has remained with me to this day. But just when I thought that this chapter of my professional interest had been closed and that I would never return to it, my colleague Mirja Jarak observed a fragment of a Roman-era relief built into the wall of new house in Rab, which clearly, albeit rather unartfully, portrays the figure of the Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders. Her offer that I publish it was truly generous, because she is entitled to its publication both as a right and reward for her exemplary observation. This is why I convinced her to write her own review of the fragment, and to her offer that I write my own commentary I responded that I can attempt to write several sentences on the motif itself, which had become rather important in the iconographic repertoire of art in Late Antiquity (frescos, mosaics, sculpture, sepulchral art and small-format art), and also in Roman Dalmatia, especially on sarcophagi (but not only on them). To this point, one of the most important monuments bearing this motif comes from Dalmatia, and that is the renowned sarcophagus of the Good Shepherd made of Proconnesse marble, discovered in Manastirine in Salona in

28 A confirmation of this interpretation may be provided by data on the origin of the stone from which the Rab monument was made. However, for now petrographic analysis is impossible due to its inaccessibility.



Sl. 3. Desna bočna strana sanduka sarkofaga s prikazom Dobrog pastira; snimljeno u trenutku kad je sarkofag 1871. na topovskim kolicima stigao u Split. Fotografija u vlasništvu Ivica Čurkovića iz Zadra, autor nepoznat.

Fig. 3. The right lateral side of the sarcophagus chest with a scene of the Good Shepherd; taken at the moment when the sarcophagus arrived in Split on a cannon cart in 1871. The photograph is the property of Ivica Čurković of Zadar, the identity of the photographer is unknown.

Ove riječi nedvojbeno svjedoče da je vlasnik fotografija vrsni poznavatelj te umjetnosti, o čemu će, držim, posvjedočiti i rezultati koji slijede u ovom radu.

Fotografije su bile dosad nepoznate i ovjekovječuju trenutak kad se sarkofag još nalazio na niskim željeznim kolicima. Fotografije su sjajna dokumentacija trenutka kad je sarkofag odvučen više od 6 km od mjesta nalaza na Manastirinama do Arheološkog muzeja koji je u to doba bio smješten pokraj istočnih, tzv. Srebrnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu. Vlasnik fotografija izvrsno je zapazio da godina zapisana na poledini jedne fotografije (1889.) nije točna, jer stilski i formalno snimke odgovaraju vremenu sedamdesetih godina XIX. st.

1859 or 1860,²⁹ about which almost an entire library of scholarly and popular works have been written from that time to the present.³⁰ So I must thank Jarak for the offer, whereby she presented me with an opportunity to once more delve into a contemplation of the shepherd iconography and its interpretation, about which the final word has not yet been uttered, if it even can be.

Yet another impetus for these lines was given to me by the fact that I recently received for use some previously unpublished but exceptionally valuable photographs of the transfer of the renowned Good Shepherd Sarcophagus from Manastirine to Split, thanks to the generosity of my young colleague Nikola Cesarik and the owner of the photographs, Ivica Čurković, both from Zadar (Fig. 2, 3).³¹ Čurković, as recounted to me by Cesarik, said: “The photographs belong to the so-called early non-standardized card-stock format and correspond to the 1870s (‘Spalato 1889’ is written on one of them in pencil, but the photographs were taken earlier). Each of the photographs was purchased separately, one via France and another through an auction house in Zagreb. There are no signatures or descriptions by the photographers on the back sides, which was typical of that period of the first photographs”.

These words clearly testify to the fact that the owner of these photographs has considerable expertise on this art form, to which I believe the results that follow herein will testify in their turn.

The photographs had thus far been unknown and they immortalize the moment when the sarcophagus

29 Both years are cited in the relevant literature, so the correct one is uncertain. Cf. Cambi 1994, p. 9, note 1. Perhaps new research in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split will provide a solution to this dilemma.

30 Cf. the references in Cambi 1994, pp. 106-107; for a supplement see Cambi 2000, pp. 240-244, Fig. 105 a-c; Bonačić Mandinić 2000, pp. 264-266; Koch 2000, p. 150, Fig. 80. After Cambi 2002, pp. 257-259, Fig. 410-411; Dresken-Weiland 1998, pp. 105-106, no. 297, pl. 97; Cambi 2004, Fig. 27-30; Cambi 2005, pp. 192-199, Fig. 295-297; Cambi 2010, p. 128, cat. no. 156, P. XC.

31 I cite Cesarik’s e-mail sent on 9 December 2015: “As promised, I am sending the photographs of the Good Shepherd sarcophagus, which allegedly shows its transfer from Salona to the Archaeological Museum. The owner of the photographs is Ivica Čurković from Zadar, and I would ask that you mention this fact if you publish the photographs.” I would like to express my deep gratitude to my colleague Nikola Cesarik and to the owner, Ivica Čurković, for without their information and, above all, the photographs, this text would not exist either.

Sada treba te podatke usporediti s onima koje donosi A. Conze, koji je prvi ozbiljno i znanstveno pisao o tome sarkofagu.³² Naime, A. Conze, koji je bio istaknuti profesor klasične arheologije na Sveučilištu u Beču (bio je i profesor Don Frane Bulića), posjetio je Salonu godine 1871. u okviru austrijskog projekta "Römische Bildwerke einheimischer Fundorte Österreich", koji je on osobno vodio od 1871. do 1877. Kad je posjetio Manastirine godine 1871., zatekao je otvorenu jamu u kojoj su još bila dva sarkofaga, dok je treći, antički sarkofag s prikazom lova, već bio razbijen i u fragmentima prebačen u Rijeku gdje je bio uzidan u vrtu *Villa Giuseppina*, u vlasništvu grofa Ciotte,³³ ali je i njega uključio u svoj veoma značajan rad iz godine 1872.³⁴ Conze je po povratku iz Dalmacije o svome putovanju izvijestio Ministarstvo prosvjete i bogoštovlja u Beču i zatražio sredstva za nabavu i prijenos sarkofaga u Split, najprije za sarkofag Hipolita i Fedre, koji je bio prvi očišćen i vidljiv, ali poslije čišćenja i za treći, kad se bude vidjelo o kakvom se karakteru i kakvoj vrijednosti sarkofaga radi. Međutim, očito je da je to već bilo poznato i prije godine 1872., jer je tada A. Conze i objavio sva tri sarkofaga, uz izvrsne crteže, ali ne i fotografije. Taj treći sarkofag bio je sarkofag Dobrog pastira. Da je u to doba već bio u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, upućuje logična pretpostavka da bi na terenu teško bilo moguće dobro i precizno nacrtati sve strane sarkofaga.³⁵ Iskopavanje i čišćenje sarkofaga vodio je M. Glavinić nakon što je sklopljen dogovor sa dr. Rosigniollijem, odvjetnikom iz Splita, kojem je vlasnik terena Luka Gašpić prodao zemljište. Ovaj je tako postao i vlasnikom obaju sarkofaga. Novi vlasnik pokazao je razumijevanje za spomenike i preproudao ih Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu. Težak i mukotrpan posao vađenja i prijevoza teških spomenika obavio je natporučnik Joseph Reiter, zapovjednik Kliške tvrđave.³⁶ Nedvojbeno je da

was still set on low iron wheels. The photographs serve as outstanding documentation of the events when the sarcophagus was pulled over 6 km from its original find-site at Manastirine to the Archaeological Museum, which at that time was situated near the eastern, so-called Silver Gate of Diocletian's Palace in Split. The owner of the photographs quite rightly observed that the year written on the back of one of the photographs (1889) is not correct, because stylistically and formally the photographs correspond to the 1870s.

Now these data must be compared to those put forth by A. Conze, who was the first to seriously and scientifically about this sarcophagus.³² For Conze, who was a distinguished professor of Classical archaeology at the University in Vienna (he was in fact the professor of Fr. Frane Bulić), had visited Salona in 1871 within the framework of the Austrian project "Römische Bildwerke einheimischer Fundorte Österreich", which he personally administered from 1871 to 1877. When he visited Manastirine in 1871, he came upon an open pit in which there were two more sarcophaguses, while the third, a Roman-era sarcophagus bearing a portrayal of the hunt, had already been broken apart and, in fragments, transferred to Rijeka where it was built into the wall in the garden of the Villa Giuseppina, owned by Count Ciotta,³³ but he also incorporated it into his very significant work published in 1872.³⁴ Upon returning from Dalmatia, Conze notified the Ministry of Education and Religion in Vienna of his travels and requested funding to procure and transfer the sarcophaguses to Split, first for the sarcophagus of Hippolytus and Phaedra, which was the first to be cleaned and become visible, and for the third one, once the character and value of this sarcophagus could be seen after it was also cleaned. However, it is obvious that this was already known prior to 1872, because at the time Conze published all three sarcophaguses with outstanding sketches, but without photographs. This third sarcophagus was that of the Good Shepherd. That it had already been accommodated in the Archaeological Museum in Split

32 Conze 1872, str. 65, 295, te Conze 1872a (pretisak u *Antički sarkofag s prikazom lova*, Budapest-Salona, Split, 1992.)

33 Grof Ciotta je kasnije vilu sa spomenicima prodao nadvojvodi Josephu, koji je pak sarkofag darovao budimpeštanskoj Nacionalnoj galeriji, gdje se i danas nalaze najvažniji fragmenti.

34 Vlasnik je navodno sarkofag razbio jer se naljutio što ga nije uspio prodati. Međutim, po svoj prilici ga je razbio zato da ga lakše izvuče iz rupe i proda u komadima. To drži i Conze 1872, str. 2-3.

35 Naime, A. Conze je objavio izvrsne crteže, što bi značilo da on nije naručio fotografije. Poslije je G. Koch 2000. ponovio iste crteže, bez fotografija.

36 O prijenosu i nabavi u arhivi Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu postoji obilna dokumentacija iz godina 1871.-1872. Ovdje samo navodim da će A. Duplančić iz

32 Conze 1872, pp. 65, 295, and Conze 1872a (reprint in *Antički sarkofag s prikazom lova*, Budapest-Salona, Split, 1992)

33 Count Ciotta later sold the villa with its monuments to Archduke Joseph, who then donated the sarcophagus to the National Gallery in Budapest, where the most important fragments are held to this day.

34 The owner allegedly shattered the sarcophagus in anger over his inability to sell it. However, it is more likely that he broke it to pieces to more easily pull it out of the hole and then sell the pieces. This opinion was shared by Conze 1872, pp. 2-3.

je posao vađenja i prijenosa dobro obavljen, jer se na sarkofazima ne vide tragovi novijih oštećenja. Od tada su oba sarkofaga u posjedu Arheološkog muzeja i sa stare su lokacije, u blizini istočnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače, premješteni na novu lokaciju u današnjoj Zrinsko-Frankopanskoj ulici 25.³⁷ Na slikama u posjedu Ivica Čurkovića vidi se sarkofag Dobrog pastira na kolicima s jakim ali malim kolima te željeznom cijevi koja ojačava njihovu konstrukciju. To su čvrsta željezna kolica kojima su se prevozili topovi, što je u skladu s podatkom da su posao vađenja i prevoženja sarkofaga izveli vojnici 12. topničkog bataljuna. Nedvojbeno je da su sarkofazi prenošeni jedan po jedan, jer je na kolima mogao stajati samo jedan od njih. Osim toga nema dvojbe da je sanduk sarkofaga prevezen bez pokrova (nema ga na slici). Iz muzejske dokumentacije proizlazi da je pokrov bio kasnije prenesen. Kolica je vukla konjska zaprega (dva konja). Fotografije su načinjene u Splitu neposredno uz tadašnju lokaciju Arheološkog muzeja, prije nego što je sarkofag bio spušten na tlo. To bi se dalo zaključiti na temelju vidljive zidane arhitekture, po svoj prilici zida koji je zatvarao široki istočni portal Dioklecijanove palače u kasnom srednjem vijeku. Bilo bi dragocjeno kad bi postojale i druge dokumentarne fotografije. Posebno bi bile važne one, ako su uopće načinjene, s lica mjesta (*in situ*) i u trenutku vađenja iz jame. Tako je, eto, nastao taj jedinstveni dokument, na temelju kojega se smije reći da su sarkofazi Hipolita i Fedre i Dobrog pastira otpremljeni u Split u prosincu godine 1871. Ivica Čurković izvrsno je procijenio da godina 1889. na poledini slike ne odgovara vremenu njezina nastanka, nego da je snimljena znatno ranije (svakako prije Conzeove publikacije). Nije poznato ime autora ovih veoma kvalitetnih snimaka, ali svakako je riječ o vrsnom majstoru iz samih početaka fotografije. Vjerojatno ih je snimio neki od fotografa koji su tada djelovali u Splitu, i to posebno angažiran i plaćen za tu prigodu.³⁸ Od Conzea, dakle, počinje i znanstveno

is supported by the logical assumption that it would have been difficult to properly and precisely sketch all sides of the sarcophagus.³⁵ The excavation and cleaning of the sarcophaguses was led by M. Glavinić, after which an agreement was concluded with Dr. Rosigniolli, an attorney from Split, to whom the land was sold by its owner, Luka Gašpić. He thus became the owner of both sarcophaguses. The new owner demonstrated an appreciation of these monuments and resold them to the Archaeological Museum in Split. The difficult and painstaking job of extracting and transporting these heavy monuments was performed by First Lt. Joseph Reiter, the commanding officer at the Klis Fortress.³⁶ The tasks of extraction and transfer were performed well, because no signs of more recent damage can be seen on the sarcophaguses. Since then, both sarcophaguses have been in the possession of the Archaeological Museum, and they were moved from their old location, near the eastern gate of Diocletian's Palace, to their new location in today's Zrinsko-Frankopanska street 25.³⁷ On the photographs owned by Ivica Čurković, the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus can be seen on a cart with strong but small wheels and iron pipes which reinforced its construction. This was a sturdy cart used to transport cannons, which comports with the data that the removal and transfer of the sarcophaguses was carried out by soldiers of the 12th Artillery Battalion. There can be no doubt that the sarcophaguses were transported one by one, because only one of them could be set on the cart at a time. Additionally, there is no doubt that the sarcophagus receptacles were transported without their lids (they are not pictured). According to the museum documentation, the lids were brought later. The cart was drawn by a team of (two) horses. The photographs were taken in Split right next to the Archaeological Museum

Arheološkog muzeja proučiti i obraditi postojeću dokumentaciju, a pisac ovih redaka dodati proučavanje tih triju svjetski poznatih sarkofaga u zasebnoj monografiji Arheološkog muzeja.

- 37 Nije mi poznato u kojoj je fazi gradnje golemi sarkofag Dobrog pastira bio smješten u tzv. sjeveroistočnu kulu lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, jer ta mramorna gromada nije mogla biti unesena ni kroz jedna od dvaju vrata koja vode u taj prostor.
- 38 Mogući autor bio bi Franz Thiard de Laforest, koji je sedamdesetih godina djelovao u Splitu i objavio knjižicu *Spalato und seine Althertümer*, Split 1878, ali u njoj se ne spominju sarkofazi. O F. Thiaru de Laforestu usp. Grčević 2002, str. 167-182. Drugi mogući autori bili bi Paolo Zink, koji je u Splitu od 1859. djelovao u

35 Namely, Conze published wonderful sketches, which would mean that he did not commission photographs. Later G. Koch 2000, repeated the same sketches, without photographs.

36 There is abundant documentation on the transfer and procurement from 1871-1872 in the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split. Here I shall only state that A. Duplančić from the Archaeological Museum will study and analyse the existing documentation, while this writer will add the study of these three world-renowned sarcophaguses in a separate monograph of the Archaeological Museum.

37 I am unaware of the construction phase in which the enormous Good Shepherd Sarcophagus was accommodated in the so-called north-eastern tower of the stone monument collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split, because this marble megalith could not be taken through either of the two doors that lead into that space.



Sl. 4. Sarkofag Dobrog pastira. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 4. The Good Shepherd Sarcophagus. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

istraživanje ovog sarkofaga i on se u literaturi opsežnije i ozbiljnije razmatra barem sedamdesetak puta, a na koliko je još mjesta spomenut u znanstvene ili slične svrhe, ne može se ni približno pretpostaviti.

Ostali su čitavo jedno desetljeće u iskopu na otvorenome; za to vrijeme jama se urušavala i zatrpavala nalaze i arhitekturu pa je prije spomenutog vađenja bilo potrebno ponovno iskopavanje. Spomenuti sarkofazi su, a među njima i onaj Dobrog pastira, pronađeni godine 1859./60.; prema Eggerovu mišljenju bili su izvorno u memoriji VIII, a u sekundarnoj upotrebi prebačeni su u hodnik označen slovom K, sjeverno od bazilike na Manastirinama.³⁹ Je li doista došlo do tog prebacivanja, teško je kazati, ali se treba pouzdati u Eggerovo terensko iskustvo, koji je prazne baze od kamenih greda u memoriji po dimenzijama pripisao spomenutim sarkofazima.

Međutim, taj sarkofag (sl. 4) nije i jedini iz Dalmacije (uglavnom iz Salone) na kojem se javlja ikonografski motiv Dobrog pastira. Taj je motiv bio razmjerno čest u Saloni i javlja se u tri varijante. Prva je gologlavi pastir odjeven u potpasanu tuniku s plaštem i sandalama. Zapravo na svim dalmatinskim spomenicima pastir ispod koljena do gležanja ima goljenu

sljedećih desetak godina, zatim Edoardo Galliczy (oko 1860. do oko 1880.), Josip Popović, koji se 1870. godine udružio sa P. Zinkom. Popović je umro 2. siječnja 1874. Marko Manenica, koji je u Splitu ostavio veliki opus u drugoj polovici XIX. st., ne dolazi u obzir jer je tek godine 1874. iz Zadra došao u Split. O tom razdoblju razvoja fotografije u Splitu usp. Kečkemet 2004, str. 30-45.

39 Egger 1926, 12-14.

of the time, before the sarcophagus was lowered to the ground. This may be concluded on the basis of the visible built architecture, probably the wall which closed the wide eastern portal of Diocletian's Palace in the late Middle Ages. It would have been valuable if other documentary photographs had existed. Particularly valuable in this regard - if they were even taken - would be photographs at the original site (*in situ*) and at the moment of their extraction from the pit. This is how this unique document emerged, on which basis one may state that the sarcophaguses of Hippolytus and Phaedra and the Good Shepherd were transferred to Split in December 1871. Črković perceptively noted that the year 1889 written on the back of one of the photographs does not actually correspond to the time at which it was taken, as this was considerably earlier (certainly prior to Conze's publication). The name of the individual who took these very high quality photographs is not known, but he was certainly an exemplary master of the nascent art of photography. They were probably taken by one of the photographers who worked in Split at the time, and who was specifically engaged and paid for this occasion.³⁸ Thus, after Conze, the scholarly research into this sarcophagus began, and has been extensively and more seriously considered in the literature at least seventy times, while the number of times it has been additionally mentioned in scholarly or similar purposes cannot even be approximately estimated.

They had remained at the excavation site, outdoors, for over an entire decade; during that time the pit caved in and buried the finds and architectural elements, so prior to the aforementioned extraction, it was necessary to re-excavate them. These sarcophaguses, including that of the Good Shepherd, were found in 1959/60; in Egger's opinion they were originally in chapel VIII, and was in secondary use in the corridor designated by the letter K, north of the

38 The photographer could have been Franz Thiard de Laforest, who worked in Split in the 1870s and published the book *Spalato und seine Althertümer*, Split 1878, but sarcophaguses are not mentioned in it. On F. Thiard de Laforest cf. Grčević 2002, pp. 167-182. Other possible photographers were Paolo Zink, who worked in Split for roughly a decade from 1859 onward, Edoardo Galliczy (ca. 1860 to ca. 1880), Josip Popović, who began working with Zink in 1870. Popović died on 2 January 1874. Marko Manenica, who left behind an immense body of work in Split in the latter half of the 19th century, cannot be considered, because he only came to Split from Zadar in 1874. On this period in the development of photography in Split, cf. Kečkemet 2004, pp. 30-45.

zaštitu od jakog platna (*fasciae tibiales*), koja štiti od trnja i drače. Goljenična zaštita (neka vrsta gamaša) je u jednom komadu, a vrpčama je učvršćena uz nogu da ne spadne.⁴⁰ Ovakav oblik postoji još uvijek u lokalnoj pastirskoj i težačkoj radnoj opremi i vrlo je učinkovit. Pastir na ramenima nosi ovcu. Druga varijanta je gotovo istovjetni odjeveni pastir koji se oslanja na dugačak pastirski štap, a oko njega su ovce (sl. 5). Treća je pastir koji se oslanja na dugačak štap, oko kojega se također skupljaju ovce, a odjeća je slična samo što ima hlače i na glavi zašiljenu orijentalnu kapu (sl. 6). Najčešća je prva varijanta (pastir s ovcom na ramenima) u odjeći, položaju i atributima kao što je i pastir na fragmentu iz Raba. To je statuarna poza, poznata još iz grčkoga geometrijskog razdoblja, a možda i otprije.⁴¹ Nosač teleta (nađen na atenskoj Akropoli) iz doba grčke arhajske umjetnosti razlikuje se od nosača ovce samo po tome što nosi drugu vrstu životinje.⁴² Motiv kontinuirano sve do kasnoantičkog doba, kad postaje osobito popularan.⁴³ Ne mogu se, doduše, svi prikazi svesti na istu razinu značenja i poruke, ali, generalno, pastir s ovcima možda je najznačajniji i najčešći motiv pastoralnih tema, posebno u kasnoj antici.

Na sarkofazima pastoralne teme zauzimaju sljedeća mjesta: 1. na sanduku bočno od tabule (četiri fragmenta, kojima treba pridodati i fragment iz Raba); 2. na sanduku u edikuli sa sirskim lukom koji podržavaju stupovi (na dva primjerka, jedan čitav - sarkofag Dobrog pastira i jedan fragment); 3. na pokrovu u akroterijima (jedan primjerak); 4. na pokrovu u središnjem zabatu (1. fragment).

Postavljanje na raznim dijelovima sarkofaga, kao i u različitom okviru očito nije slučajnost, što treba pokušati objasniti. Položaj pastira s ovcom na leđima sa strana tabule preuzeo je mjesto koje su na sanducima sarkofaga zauzimali eroti (s izvrsnom bakljom,⁴⁴ eroti koji drže tabulu⁴⁵ i neki drugi tipovi erota⁴⁶). Pastiri su bili zamjena za poganski motiv, osobito za motiv tugujućeg erota s izvrsnom bakljom (sl. 7) ili za one dekorativnoga karaktera kao što su eroti koji drže tabulu.⁴⁷ Formalna je koncepcija jednaka. Umjesto



Sl. 5. Fragment sarkofaga s prikazom pastira s dugim štapom. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 5. Fragment of a sarcophagus with a scene of a shepherd with a long staff. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

basilica at Manastirine.³⁹ Whether this movement actually did occur is difficult to say, but one should have confidence in Egger's field experience, who attributed the empty bases of stone beams in the chapel, based on their dimensions, to the aforementioned sarcophagi.

However, this sarcophagus (Fig. 4) was not the only one from Dalmatia (mainly from Salona) on which the iconographic motif of the Good Shepherd appears. This motif was relatively common in Salona and it appears in three variants. The first is the shepherd without headgear but wearing a belted tunic with a cloak and sandals. Actually, on all Dalmatian monuments, the shepherd is depicted wearing shin protection made of durable canvas (*fasciae tibiales*) from just below the knees to the ankles, which guarded against thorns and coarse weeds. The shin protectors (akin to gaiters) are in a single piece, and they are fastened by straps so that they do not fall off of the legs.⁴⁰ This article of

40 Usp. Gross 1967, str. 517-518.

41 Usp. Bol 2002, str. 82, 299, sl. 15 a-d iz Berlina.

42 Usp. Bol 2002, str. 158, 310, sl. 238 a-b.

43 O razvoju pastoralnih motiva usp. Himmelmann 1980.

44 Cambi 2010, str. 48-49, T. III, 2, XXVII, 1, XXXV, 2, XXXVII, 1, XXXVIII, 1 i 2, XXXIX, 1 i 2, XL, 1, XLI, 2, XLII, 2, XLVI, 1, XLIV, 2, LXXXVIII, 2, XC, 1, CI, 1, CII, 1, CIII, 1, CIV, 1.

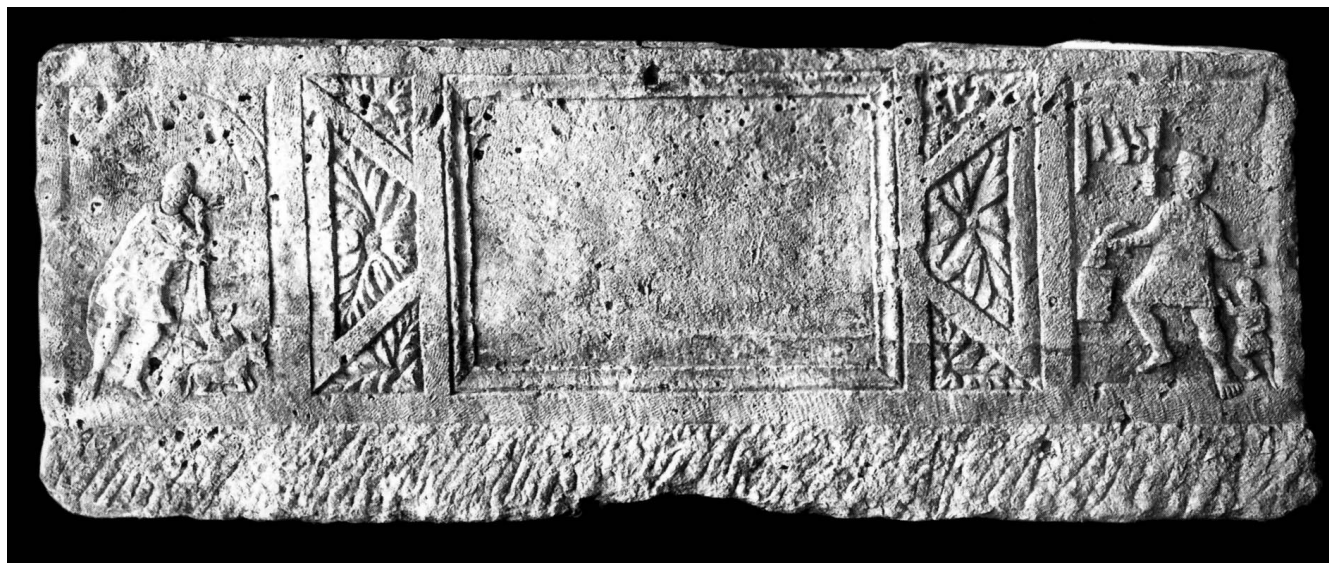
45 Cambi 2010, str. 48, T. XXX, 1 i 2, XLIV, 1, XLV, 2, XLVI, 2, LXXXVII, 1, CVII, 1.

46 Cambi 2010, str. 49-51.

47 Cambi 2010, str. 51

39 Egger 1926, pp. 12-14.

40 Cf. Gross 1967, pp. 517-518.



Sl. 6. Sanduk sarkofaga s pastirom oslonjenim na dugačak štap i ovcama okupljenim oko njega. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: fundus fotografija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu)

Fig. 6. Sarcophagus receptacle with a shepherd leaning on a long staff and sheep gathered around him. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: photography archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split)

nagog erota, s radioničkom tradicijom duljom od dva stoljeća, koji se od simboličke malo-pomalo pretvorio u tradicionalnu figuru i jedva da je još nosio neku sepulkralnu poruku, upotrijebljen je drugi u formalnom pogledu sličan motiv. Očito je da je zamjena erota pastirom bio svjesni čin koji je nastao iz međusobnog odnosa radionice i komitenata, potencijalno kršćana. Značenjska koncepcija pastira i drugih pastoralnih scena drukčija je od poganske. Pastoralne scene mijenjaju tragični koncept smrti i uvode pokojnike u idiličnu pastoralnu sferu. U tu svrhu poslužile su sve tri varijante pastira.

Za tumačenja karaktera prikaza pastira s ovcom na leđima posebno su važni likovi koji se javljaju po sredini sanduka ispod edikule s trokutnim zabatom oslonjenim na stupove s kapitelima. Stupovi su tordirani, što još više naglašava raskoš i važnost edikule (sl. 4). Zabat ima sirski luk uokviren lezbičkom kimom i astragalom. Kosine zabata također su obrubljene astragalom te nareckanim akantovim listovima među kojima je strjelica koja ovdje ne bi pripadala jer je to element jonske kime. Na vrhu zabatnog trokuta kao i sa strana su akroteriji (na bočnima sjede paunovi koji nose girlandu). Pastir je u raskoraku i kreće se na niskoj, ali širokoj bazi, a sa strana su stabilca s ovcama koje okreću glavu prema pastiru. Tezi o zamjeni motiva erota motivom pastira ide u prilog još jedan moment. Naime na lijevoj bočnoj strani gotovo je istovjetna edikula kao i ona na sredini prednje strane, a ispod nje je erot s izvrnutom bakljom (sl. 8). Kapiteli nisu tako bogato ukrašeni i izrezbareni kao oni na edikuli prednje strane. Istraživači su u više navrata

apparel still exists in the work gear of local shepherds and farm labourers and is very effective. The shepherd carries a lamb on his shoulders. The second variant features an almost identically dressed shepherd who leans on a long staff, while sheep are all around him (Fig. 5). The third is a shepherd who leans on a long staff, around whom sheep are gathering, while his attire is similar, except that he wears trousers and has a pointed Near Eastern cap on his head (Fig. 6). The most frequent is the first variant (a shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders) with the clothing, position and attributes as on the fragment from Rab. This is a statuary pose, known since the Greek geometric period, and perhaps even before.⁴¹ The carrier of a calf (found at the Acropolis in Athens) from the era of Greek Archaic art differs from the carrier of the lamb only by the animal.⁴² The motif continued until Late Antiquity, when it became particularly popular.⁴³ Certainly, all scenes cannot be accorded the same level of meaning, but in general the shepherd with sheep may be the most important and common pastoral theme, especially in Late Antiquity.

On sarcophaguses, pastoral themes can be seen in the following places: 1. on the receptacle to the side of the tabula (four fragments to which the one from Rab should be added); 2. on the receptacle in the aedicule

41 Cf. Bol 2002, pp. 82, 299, Fig. 156 a-d from Berlin.

42 Cf. Bol 2002, pp. 158, 310, Fig. 238 a-b.

43 On the development of pastoral motifs, cf. Himmelmann 1980.



Sl. 7. Prednja strana sanduka sarkofaga s erotom i izvrnutom bakljom. Vrt Garagnin-Fanfogna u Trogiru (foto: N. Cambi)

Fig. 7. Front of a sarcophagus with Eroses and an inverted torch. Garagnin-Fanfogna Garden in Trogir (photo: N. Cambi)

ukazivali na nelogičnost da se na bočnoj strani nalazi erot s ugašenom bakljom koji je izrazito poganski motiv i kontradiktoran mogućem kršćanskom karakteru glavnog prikaza. To je bio i jedan od razloga zbog kojih je i Klauser odbacivao moguće kršćanstvo podrijetlo ovoga sarkofaga, a općenito i pastoralnog motiva. Međutim, upravo se ovdje vidi prije spominjana inverzija dvaju motiva. Naime, važniji motivi nakon što su izgubili svoju simboličku poruku po ustaljenoj su praksi s istaknutog mjesta završavali na sporednom. Radionice često demodirane motive prebacuju na manje važna mjesta prije nego što ih ne odbace. Na bočnu stranu premješten je erot s izvrnutom bakljom i na sarkofagu iz Kopenhagena, podrijetlom iz Rima, koji je mogući import iz Salone, dok je edikula na prednjoj strani ostala prazna (sl. 9).⁴⁸ To je neka vrsta radioničkog ekonomiziranja starim motivima, koja je pojava osobito dobro zapažena na antičkim sarkofazima.⁴⁹ Svrha edikule kakva je tipična za kasnu antiku, jest naglašavanje lika ili kompozicije koja se nalazi pod njezinim lukom.⁵⁰ U istu svrhu služio je i zabat Peristila Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu pod kojim se pojavljivao sam car za ceremonija. Zabat Peristila po svoj je prilici bio i uzor za edikule salonitanske skupine arhitektonskih sarkofaga.⁵¹

with a Syrian arch held by columns (on two examples, one whole - the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus - and one fragment); 3. on the lid in the acroteria (one example); 4. On the lid in the central pediment (one fragment).

Its placement on various parts of a sarcophagus, and also in a different frame, is not coincidental, so that there should be some attempt to explain it. The position of the shepherd with the lamb on his back to one side of the tabula took the place which had been occupied on sarcophagus receptacles by Eroses (with inverted torches,⁴⁴ holding the tabula⁴⁵ and some other types⁴⁶). The shepherds replaced this pagan motif, particularly the motif of the grieving Eroses with inverted torches (Fig. 7) or those with a decorative character, such as the Eroses holding the tabula.⁴⁷ Formally, the concept is the same. Instead of a naked Eroses, with a workshop tradition longer than two centuries, which, little by little, transformed from a symbolic to a traditional figure that scarcely conveyed any funerary message, another formally similar motif was used. It is obvious that the replacement of the Eroses with a shepherd was a conscious act which emerged from the mutual relationship between the workshop and the client, possibly a Christian. The signifying concept of

48 Cambi 2010, prilog 1, str. 136, T. CXII-CXIV.

49 Koch, Sichtermann 1982, str. 457.

50 Usp. razne oblike edikula na diptisima Delbrueck 2009, tab. I, 37, 56 ili misorijima tab. 62.

51 Cambi 1994, str. 19-20, sl. 11; Cambi 2004, str. 80, sl. 28.

44 Cambi 2010, pp. 48-49, P. III, 2, XXVII, 1, XXXV, 2, XXXVII, 1, XXXVIII, 1 and 2, XXXIX, 1 and 2, XL, 1, XLI, 2, XLII, 2, XLVI, 1, XLIV, 2, LXXXVIII, 2, XC, 1, CI, 1, CII, 1, CIII, 1, CIV, 1.

45 Cambi 2010, p. 48, P. XXX, 1 and 2, XLIV, 1, XLV, 2, XLVI, 2, LXXXVII, 1, CVII, 1.

46 Cambi 2010, pp. 49-51.

47 Cambi 2010, p. 51



Sl. 8. Lijeva bočna strana sanduka sarkofaga Dobrog pastira s motivom erota s izvnutom bakljom. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)
Fig. 8. Left lateral side of the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus featuring a motif of an Eros with an inverted torch. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

Drugi primjerak sa sličnom, ali puno jednostavnijom edikulom je fragment od lokalnog vapnenca (sl. 10).⁵² Fragment je neznatan i skromne izrade, ali je vidljivo da je figura pastira s ovcom na leđima ispod luka, a kosina vanjske strane okvira je ravna, što upućuje da je posrijedi edikula sa sirske lukom. Stup je imao kanelure. Na kapitelu sjedi i konstrukcija zabata i bočna arkada, pod kojom je stajalo stilizirano palmi-
no stablo. Za razliku od pastira na sarkofagu Dobrog pastira koji je prikazan u "klasičnoj" pastirskoj pozi i odjeći, na malom fragmentu je pastir u orijentalnoj odjeći, što se prepoznaje po dvostruko potpasanoj tunici i zavijenim hlačama. To je, dakle, drugi tip pastira. Ovaj fragment unatoč edikule nije slijedio oblikovnu shemu golemoga salonitanskog primjerka, a to nije ni mogao jer su izražajne mogućnosti klesara bile veoma skromne. Bez obzira na skromnu kvalitetu fragmenta, šteta je što se nije cjelovitije očuvao. Ovakve edikule, dakle, imaju svrhu da hijerarhiziraju likove ili prizore i da im pruže dolični okvir. To znači da je liku pastira dana posebna ne samo kompozicijska nego i simbolička važnost. Međutim, edikule na prednjoj strani, kao što smo vidjeli, mogu ostati prazne, kad se nije zahtijevala popuna.

Treće mjesto na kojem se nalazio motiv pastira bio je akroterij pokrova. Takav raspored nudi izvanredno dobro očuvani sarkofag Julije Aurelije Hilare, žene od

the shepherd and other pastoral scenes differs from the pagan ones. Pastoral scenes alter the tragic concept of death and introduce the deceased to an idyllic pastoral sphere. All three shepherd variants served this purpose.

The images that appear in the middle of the receptacle below the aedicule with a triangular pediment resting on columns with capitals are particularly vital to interpret the character of the image of the shepherd carrying a lamb on his back. The columns are spiralled, which emphasises the opulence and importance of the aedicule even more (Fig. 4). The pediment has a Syrian arch framed by a Lesbian cyma and astragal. The slopes of the pediment are also bordered by an astragal and serrated acanthus leaves, among which there is an arrowhead which would otherwise not belong here because it is an element of an Ionian cyma. Acroteria are situated atop the pediment triangle and to the sides (peacocks holding garlands sit to the sides). The shepherd is in stride and moving on a low yet broad base, while to one side there are trees with sheep turning their heads toward the shepherd. One other aspect backs the hypothesis on the replacement of Eros motifs with the shepherd motif. On the left lateral side, there is an aedicule that is virtually identical to the one on front, while below it there is an Eros holding an inverted torch (Fig. 8). The capitals are not as richly decorated and carved as those on the aedicule from the front. On many occasions, researchers have pointed out the illogical character of the Eros with an extinguished torch on the lateral side, which is an exceptionally pagan motif, and the contradictory, possibly Christian character of the main scene. This was one of the reasons why even Klauser rejected the possible Christian origin of this sarcophagus, and the pastoral motif in general. However, it is precisely here that the previously mentioned inversion of the two motifs can be seen. The more important motifs, after losing their symbolic message, were moved from their prominent place to a secondary one in line with established practice. Workshops often moved outmoded motifs to less important places before they discarded them entirely. The Eros with inverted torch is also on the lateral side of the sarcophagus from Copenhagen, originally from Rome, which may have been a possible import from Salona, while the aedicule on the front side remained empty (Fig. 9).⁴⁸ This was a sort of workshop economizing with old motifs, a phenomenon particularly well observed on Attic sarcophaguses.⁴⁹ The purpose of the aedicule that was typical in Late Antiquity was to highlight the figure or composition which is

52 Cambi 2004, str. 80, sl. 31; Cambi 2010, br. 147, T. LXXXV, 2

48 Cambi 2010, exhibit 1, p. 136, P. CXII-CXIV.

49 Koch, Sichtermann 1982, p. 457.



Sl. 9. Lijeva bočna strana sanduka iz Rima (Via Salaria). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Kopenhagen (foto: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

Fig. 9. Left lateral side of a chest from Rome (Via Salaria). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen (photo: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek)

29 godina kojoj je, kao i sebi, mjesto za posljednji počinak namijenio muž Aurelije Hekat (sl. 11).⁵³ Sanduk je tipičan lokalni salonitanski sarkofag od vapnenca s natpisom u tabuli s ansama po sredini. Površine ansa kao i trokutasta polja gore i dolje popunjeni su lisnatim ukrasima (akant). Sa strana tabule uokvirena su pravokutna polja bez ikakva ukrasa (nisu ni uglačana jer se još vide tragovi zubatog dlijeta). Naprotiv, u prednjim akroterijima pokrova prikazan je pastir prve sheme s ovcom na leđima (lijevi). Do njega su tri ovce koje gledaju prema njemu. U nasuprotnom desnom akroteriju je stablo prema kojem su okrenute dvije ovce; iako su ove dvije scene odvojene, one ipak tvore jednu jedinstvenu ikonografsku cjelinu. Dakle, bilo je mjesta na sanduku da se bočno od tabule prikažu oba motiva, jedan s lijeve, drugi s desne strane, ali to se nije dogodilo. Akroteriji se, ako površine nisu prazne, što je vrlo često, popunjavaju portretima. Budući da portret tijekom IV. st. postupno gubi na važnosti, njihovo je mjesto ovdje zauzela pastoralna scena. Nije, međutim, moguće objasniti zašto su bili popunjeni akroteriji, a ne sanduk. Ispuniti akroterije nije bilo ništa jednostavnije negoli ispuniti sanduk. Čak je, reklo bi se, manja površina akroterija zahtjevnija

53 Cambi 2004, str. 78, sl. 14; Cambi 2010, str. 125-126, br. 144, T. LXXXIV,1.



Sl. 10. Fragment sarkofaga s prikazom Dobrog pastira ispod edikule. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto N. Cambi)

Fig. 10. Fragment of a sarcophagus with an image of the Good Shepherd beneath an aedicule. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: N. Cambi)

situated beneath its arch.⁵⁰ The same purpose is served by the pediment in the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split, under which the emperor himself appears for a ceremony. The Peristyle pediment also likely served as a model for the aediculae on the Salona group of architectural sarcophaguses.⁵¹

The other example with a similar, albeit much simpler aedicule, is a fragment made of local limestone (Fig. 10).⁵² The fragment is nondescript with modest craftsmanship, but it is visible that the figure of the shepherd with a lamb on his back is below the arch, while the slope on the outer side of the frame is straight, which indicates that this was an aedicule with a Syrian arch. The column had flutes. The pediment structure and lateral arcade both rest on the capital, under which there is a stylized palm tree. As opposed to the shepherd on the Good Shepherd sarcophagus, depicted in the "classic" shepherd's pose and attire, on this small fragment the shepherd wears Oriental garb, which can be recognized by the double-belted tunic and the billowing trousers. This is, therefore, the second shepherd type. This fragment, despite the aedicule, does not adhere to the formational scheme of the immense Salona example, and it could not have,

50 Cf. various forms of aediculae on diptychs, Delbrueck 2009, pl. I, 37, 56 or missoria, pl. 62.

51 Cambi 1994, pp. 19-20, Fig. 11; Cambi 2004, p. 80, Fig. 28.

52 Cambi 2004, p. 80, Fig. 31; Cambi 2010, no. 147, P. LXXXV, 2



Sl. 11. Sarkofag Julije Aurelije Hilare s prikazom Dobrog pastira u lijevoj akroteriju. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 11. Sarcophagus of Julia Aurelia Hilara bearing a scene of the Good Shepherd in the left acroterion. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

za skulpturalnu obradu negoli sanduk, upravo zbog malog prostora. Ipak, nedvojbeno je da je za to morao postojati kakav važan razlog; kakav, ostaje tajna.

Naposljetku, četvrto mjesto na kojem se našao prikaz Dobrog pastira s ovcom na ramenu bilo je zabat pokrova. Nažalost, očuvan je samo jedan mali fragment na kojem se vide glave pastira i ovce (sl. 12).⁵⁴ Prikaz je mogao stajati na bočnoj strani, ali znatno je vjerojatnije da je posrijedi bio istaknuti trokutno oblikovani zabatni prostor kakav često imaju pokrovi salonitanskih sarkofaga na jednoj ili čak obje duže strane, ali ukrašena je uvijek samo prednja. Upravo jedan takav je pokrov sarkofaga na kojemu je u zabatu prikazan motiv Krista u obliku jaganjca na vrhu brijega iz čijeg podnožja istječu četiri rajske rijeke. Iznad jaganjčeve glave je kristogram (sl. 13).⁵⁵ Oko prikaza raspoređen je natpis koji jasno determinira motiv (*AΩ/ Eccī Agnus/ Dei qui tollit/ pe]catum saeculi*). U akroterijima su pak po tri ovce s natpisima imena apostola. Transfiguracija ljudskih likova ovcama ili paunovima uobičajena je ravenatska praksa, inače gotovo nepoznata u Dalmaciji.⁵⁶ Salonitanski fragment zabata pokrova s Pastirom premalen je da bi se o cjelini moglo bilo što zaključivati.

Kakvo je značenje pastoralnih scena, posebno tzv. Dobrog pastira na salonitanskim sarkofazima? Dobri pastir pojavljuje se na freskama u katakombama, na sarkofazima, stelama ili nadgrobnim pločama,



Sl. 12. Fragment pokrova sarkofaga s prikazom Dobrog pastira. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 12. Fragment of a sarcophagus lid with a scene of the Good Shepherd. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

because the expressive possibilities available to the carver were quite modest. Regardless of the modest quality of the fragment, it is a pity that it was not preserved in a more complete state. Such aediculae therefore serve the purpose of creating a hierarchy of figures or scenes and provide them with a suitable frame. This means that the figure of the shepherd was accorded a special, not only compositional, but also symbolic importance. However, aediculae on the front sides, as we have seen, could also remain empty, when no content was required.

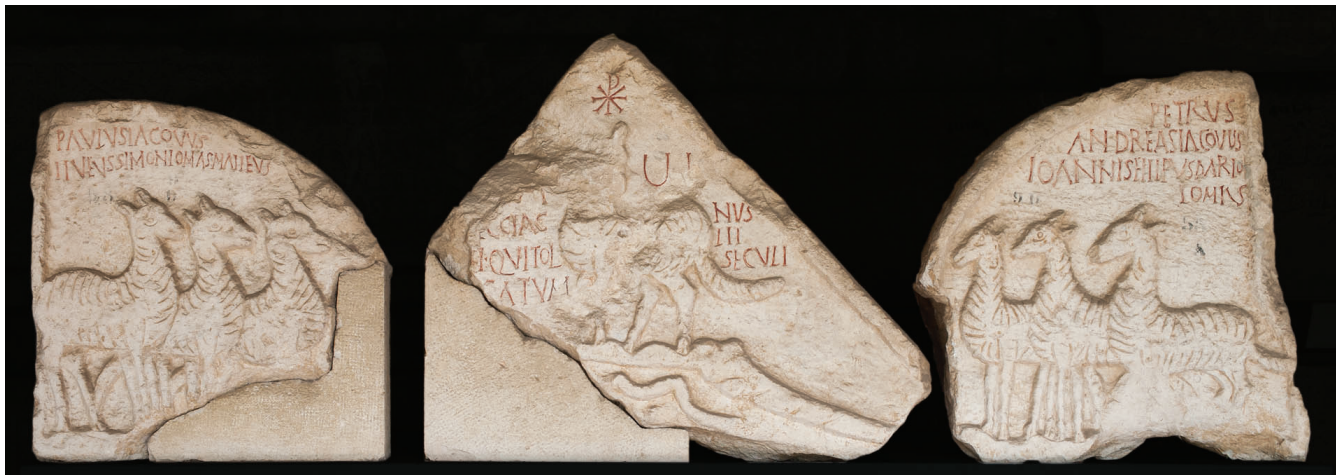
The third place where the shepherd motif was situated is the lid acroterion. Such an arrangement is provided by the extraordinarily well-preserved sarcophagus of Julia Aurelia Hilara, a 29 year-old woman, whose husband Aurelius Hecatus commissioned a final resting place for her and himself (Fig. 11).⁵³ The receptacle is a typical local Salona limestone sarcophagus with an inscription in the tabula with ansae in the middle. The surface of the ansae and the triangular fields above and below are filled with leafy ornaments (acanthus leaves). To the sides of the tabulae there are framed rectangular fields without any decoration (they were not even polished, as traces of work by a toothed chisel can still be seen). By contrast, in

54 Cambi 2010, br. 146, T. LXXXV, 1.

55 Cambi 2004, str. 78, sl. 19.

56 Na primjer Kollwitz, Herdejürgen 1979, tab. 75, 3, 81, 3, 92, 9, 1.

53 Cambi 2004, p. 78, Fig. 14; Cambi 2010, pp. 125-126, no. 144, P. LXXXIV, 1.



Sl. 13. Fragmenti pokrova sarkofaga s prikazom Krista kao jaganjca na gori ispod koje istječu četiri rajске rijeke; u akroterijima prikazi apostola kao jaganjaca. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 13. Fragments of a sarcophagus lid with an image of Christ as a lamb on a hill below which the four rivers of paradise flow; images of the Apostles as lambs in the acroteria. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

slobodnim skulpturama i osobito ukrasima stolova ili drugih dijelova crkvenog kao i privatnog namještaja. Ne treba ni napominjati da je taj lik bio osobito omiljen u kasnoj antici. Dugo se taj motiv interpretirao u svjetlu novozavjetnih tekstova (Luka XV, 4-7,⁵⁷ Matej XVIII, 12-14,⁵⁸ Tomino apokrifno evanđelje 64⁵⁹ ili Ivan X, 11-16⁶⁰). Ova je parabola tipičan primjer

the frontal acroteria of the lid, there is a shepherd of the first variant with a lamb on his back (left). Next to him are three sheep looking up at him. In the opposite right acroterion there is a tree to which two sheep are turned; even though the two scenes are separate, they nonetheless form a single, unified iconographic whole. Thus, there was room on the receptacle to portray both motifs to each side of the tabula, one to the left and one to the right, but this was not done. Acroteria, if the surfaces were not empty, which was quite often, were filled with portraits. Since the importance of portraits declined during the 4th century, they place was taken by pastoral scenes. However, it is impossible to explain why the acroteria were filled, rather than the receptacle. Decorating the acroteria was not simpler than doing the same to the receptacle. It may even be said that the smaller surface of the acroteria was more demanding for sculptural work than the receptacle, precisely because of the limited space. Nonetheless, there doubtlessly had to be some important reason for this; what this was remains unknown, however.

Finally, the fourth place on which the scene of the Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders could be found was the lid pediment. Unfortunately, only one small fragment has been preserved on which the heads of the shepherd and lamb can be seen (Fig. 12).⁵⁴ The scene could have been on the lateral side, but it is much more likely that a triangular pediment space was distinguished, which was frequent on the lids of Salona sarcophaguses on one or even both longer sides, but

57 "Tko to od vas, ako ima sto ovaca pa izgubi jednu od njih, ne ostavi onih devedeset i devet u pustinji te pođe za izgubljenom dok je ne nađe? A kad je nađe, stavi na ramena sav radostan pa došavši kući, sazove prijatelje i susjede i rekne im: Radujte se sa mnom! Nadoh ovcu svoju izgublenu. Kažem vam, tako će na nebu biti veća radost zbog jednog obraćenog grešnika nego li zbog devedeset i devet pravednika kojima ne treba obraćenja."

58 "Što vam se čini? Ako neki čovjek imadne sto ovaca i jedna od njih zaluta, neće li on ostaviti onih devedeset i devet u gorama i poći u potragu za zalutalom? Posreći li mu se te je nađe, zaista, kažem vam, raduje se zbog nje više nego zbog devedeset i devet koje nisu zalutale. Tako ni Otac vaš, koji je na nebesima, neće da propadne ni jedan od ovih malenih."

59 "Kraljevstvo je kao pastir koji ima stotinu ovaca. Jedna je odlutala, a bila je najveća. On ostavi devedeset devet da bi tražio jednu dok je ne nađe. Nakon što je našao, reče ovcu: Ja te volim više nego svih onih devedeset devet." (prijevod s engleskog N. C. prema izd. Vermes 2004.)

60 "Ja sam pastir dobri. / Pastir dobri život svoj polaže za ovce. / Najamnik-koji nije pastir / i nije vlasnik ovaca- kad vidi vuka gdje dolazi, / ostavlja ovce i bježi, / a vuk ih grabi i razgoni: / najamnik je i nije mu do ovaca. / Ja sam pastir dobri / i poznajem svoje / i mene poznaju moje / kao što mene poznaje Otac / i ja poznajem Oca /

54 Cambi 2010, no. 146, P. LXXXV, 1.



Sl. 14. Desna bočna strana sanduka sarkofaga Dobrog pastira s motivom molitve na grobu. Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: V. Vidan)

Fig. 14. Right lateral side of the chest of the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus bearing a motif of prayer at a grave. Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: V. Vidan)

Kristove upotrebe postojećih lokalnih priča kojima on daje novo značenje.⁶¹ Međutim, od trenutka kad je Th. Klauser unio sumnju pa čak i decidiranu tvrdnju da najveći broj ovih prikaza nema nikakve veze s kršćanstvom,⁶² polako se u znanost uvode interpretacije koje variraju od filozofije dviju vršina (pastir–humanitas, orant *pietas*) do generalno pastoralnih alegorija koje imaju spasenjsko značenje. Međutim, nema potpunog znatnijeg suglasja među istraživačima. Već prema naklonosti jednoga ili drugog interpreta počinje se pastira također shvaćati bilo kao poganski bilo kao kršćanski lik.⁶³ Na prvi pogled se čini kao da Kristove parable (Matej i Luka) i izravno aludiraju na Kristovu identifikaciju s Dobrim pastirom i da ne ostavljaju dvojbu u kršćansku interpretaciju. Naime, kod Luke i Mateja parabolu pripovijeda Isus, iako ne govori da je taj pastir on sam, ali se to podrazumijeva. Naprotiv, Ivan izričito navodi da Isus kaže: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. Ipak, pojava nekih ikonografskih značajki pobuđuje dvojbu smijemo li taj prikaz lako i bez analize pripisati kršćanskoj ideologiji. Kako tumačiti pastira

i život polažem za ovce. / Imam i drugih ovaca, / koje nisu iz ovog ovčinjaka. / I njih treba da dovedem / i glas će moj čuti / i bit će jedno stado, / jedan pastir.”

61 Usp. Vermes 2004, str. 131.

62 Klauser 1958, str. 20 i dalje.

63 Pregled nekih od mišljenja usp. u: Cambi 1994, str. 39, bilj. 106.

only the front is always decorated. There is in fact a sarcophagus lid like this, on which the pediment features a Christ motif in the shape of a lamb atop a hill from which the four rivers of paradise flow at its base. Above of the lamb's head is a Christogram (Fig. 13).⁵⁵ Around the lamb there is an inscription which clearly determines the motif (*AΩ/ Ecce Agnus/ Dei qui tollit/ pe]catum saeculi*). The acroteria contain three lambs each with inscriptions of the names of the Apostles. The transfiguration of human figures with sheep or peacocks was typical Ravenna practice, otherwise virtually unknown in Dalmatia.⁵⁶ The Salona fragment of a lid pediment with the Shepherd is too small to draw any conclusions about the entire piece.

What is the meaning of pastoral scenes, especially of the so-called Good Shepherd, on the Salona sarcophaguses? The Good Shepherd appears on frescos in the catacombs, on sarcophaguses, stelae or grave-stones, free sculptures and particularly in decorations of tables or other parts of ecclesiastical as well as private furnishings. It scarcely merits mention that this figure was a favourite in Late Antiquity. This motif was long interpreted in the light of New Testament texts from the Gospels of Luke 15: 4-7⁵⁷ and Matthew 18: 12-14,⁵⁸ the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas 64,⁵⁹ or the Gospel of John 10: 11-16⁶⁰). This parable is a

55 Cambi 2004, p. 78, Fig. 19.

56 Based on the example of Kollwitz, Herdejürgen 1979, pl. 75, 3, 81, 3, 92, 9, 1.

57 “What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulders, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost. I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance”.

58 “How think ye? if a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray. Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish”.

59 “The Sovereignty is like a shepherd who has 100 sheep. One of them went astray, which was the largest. He left the 99, he sought for that one until he found it. Having wearied himself, he says to that sheep: ‘I desire thee more than 99’.”

60 “I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf

s ovcom na ramenima koji se pojavljuje na prednjoj strani nekih sarkofaga u dva ili čak tri istovjetna lika, što pobuđuje sumnju u kršćansku pozadinu priče.⁶⁴ Očito je da Dobri pastir u smislu novozavjetnih parabola ne može biti podvostručen ili čak potrostručen. S druge strane, ako se na istom spomeniku javljaju i neki poganski prikazi, tada po Klauseru ne može biti riječi o kršćanskom spomeniku. U prvom slučaju valja se složiti sa širom pastoralnom interpretacijom, ne nužno i kršćanskom. Na takvim sarkofazima glavni je motiv pastoralni (*Palazzo Niccolini* u Rimu) ili dionizijska berba (Vatikan). Ni jedan sarkofag nema neki drugi kršćanski simbol, dok na sarkofagu iz Luce (*S. Maria Forisportam*) su dva pastira, ali lijevi je onaj koji nosi ovcu, a desno je tužni pastir oslonjen na pastirski štap. Međutim, na potonjem sarkofagu miješaju se pastoralne i starozavjetne scene (u medaljonu je motiv Danijela u lavljjoj jami, a ispod medaljona motiv Jone koji leži pod tikvinom nadstrešnicom).⁶⁵ Drugi pastir na tom sarkofagu pokazuje istovjetno tužno raspoloženje kao i erot koji se oslanja na spuštenu baklju. Starozavjetni motivi ovdje pouzdano upućuju na to da je riječ o kršćanskom nadgrobnom spomeniku. Sličnih primjera moglo bi se navesti još mnogo. Ova tri sarkofaga predložuju zapravo postupnost promjene poganske simbolike u skrivenu kršćansku simboliku, i po svoj prilici potječu iz doba kad je bilo opasno javno pokazivati kršćanske teme. Očito je da kršćanstvo iz poganske likovne kulture lako preuzima teme neutralnoga karaktera koje nikoga ne provociraju, a kršćanskog vjernika ipak zadovoljavaju svojom spasenjskom porukom. Možda bismo smjeli za takve prizore upotrijebiti termin kriptokršćanski, jer se vjerska pripadnost nastoji skriti, ali ne i zanijekati.

Dobri pastir je u novozavjetnim citatima dobro oertan kako po simbolici tako i po obliku i pokretu. To je osobito plastično oslikao Luka: Pastir nalazi izgublenu ovcu, podiže je i stavlja na ramena te se s njom vraća stadu. Nema dvojbe da se ovca i u realnom životu odnosila i donosila na ramenima, premda u pretkršćanskim prikazima postoje likovi pastira koji nose ovcu na drugačiji način.⁶⁶ Najlakše je životinju tešku 20-25 kg podignuti, staviti je na rame i ponijeti. Nema dvojbe da je i prije Luke takva radnja bila poznata i u literaturi i u likovnosti, ali je Luka sliku "kanonizirao", a u pretkonstantinsko doba ona je postala dobro iskoristivi motiv u sepulkralnoj sferi,

typical example of Christ's use of existing local stories to which he gave a new meaning.⁶¹ However, from the moment when Th. Klauser introduced doubt and even made the decisive assertion that most of these scenes have nothing to do with Christianity,⁶² interpretations were slowly introduced into scholarship which varied from the philosophy of two virtues (shepherd - *humanitas*, orans - *pietas*) to general pastoral allegories which have a salvational meaning. However, there is no extensive, significant accord among researchers. Based on the affinity of one or another interpreter, the shepherd also began to be seen as either a pagan or Christian figure.⁶³ At first glance it would appear that Christ's parables (Matthew and Luke) also directly allude to Christ's identification with the Good Shepherd and that they leave no doubt as to a Christian interpretation. Namely, in Luke and Matthew, the parable is told by Jesus, and although he does not say that he is in fact this shepherd, it is implied. By contrast, John explicitly wrote that Jesus said: *Ego sum pastor bonus*. Even so, the appearance of certain iconographic features raises doubt as to whether we may ascribe a Christian ideology to this scene so easily and without analysis. How should we interpret a shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders, which appears on the front of certain sarcophaguses in two or even three identical figures, which arouses doubt in the Christian background of the story?⁶⁴ It is obvious that the Good Shepherd in the sense of the New Testament parable cannot be doubled or even tripled. On the other hand, if certain pagan scenes also appear on the same monument, then according to Klauser this cannot be a Christian monument. In the first case, it would be worthwhile to agree with a broader pastoral - but not necessarily also Christian - interpretation. On such sarcophaguses, the main motif is pastoral (*Palazzo Niccolini* in Rome) or the Dionysian harvest (Vatican). Not one sarcophagus

coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father: and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, *and* one shepherd".

61 Cf. Vermes 2004, p. 131.

62 Klauser 1958, p. 20 ff.

63 For an overview of some of these views, cf. Cambi 1994, p. 39, note 106.

64 Cf. for example, the sarcophagus from the Palazzo Niccolini in Rome, Koch 2000, Fig. 2, with two identical shepherds or the sarcophagus from the Vatican with three identical figures, Koch 2000, Fig. 10.

64 Usp. na primjer sarkofag iz *Palazzo Niccolini* u Rimu, Koch 2000, sl. 2, s dva istovjetna pastira ili sarkofag iz Vatikana s tri istovjetna lika, Koch 2000, sl. 10.

65 Koch 2000, sl. 17.

66 Himmelmann 1980, tab. 28 (uz bok), 34 (u obje ruke po jedna).

prikladan za iskazivanje nade i spasa. Ako su Luka i Matej Dobrim pastirom samo neizravno ukazivali na Krista, Ivan se pak nije ustručavao izreći na koga se parabola uistinu odnosi. Na dalmatinskim se sarkofazima po svojoj prilici u tim prizorima još uvijek teško smije prepoznati Isusov lik, osobito ako ga usporedimo s prikazima njegovih čudesa ili sličnih kristoloških scena, i to bez obzira jesu li to prikazi mladoga ili starijeg Isusa (s bradom ili bez nje). Ovakva je scena u svakom slučaju, ako je i shvatimo samo kao opće pastoralnu, ipak i pogodna za kršćansku nadu u Kristu. Klauserova objecka⁶⁷ što izgubljena ovca gotovo uvijek ima rogove i da kao takva (ovan) ne može biti aluzija na Krista, je beznačajna, jer su i muške životinje dio ovčinjaka.

Daju li spomenici iz Dalmacije kakvih mogućnosti za tumačenje pastoralnih scena i osobito lika Dobrog pastira? Valja naglasiti da pastoralnih scena ni na sarkofazima, a ni na drugim poganskim spomenicima nema, osim, ako ne bismo kao takvu smjeli protumačiti scenu lova i deranja ovna na nadgrobnom reljefu iz Salone koji potječe s kraja II. ili, još bolje, iz ranog III. st.⁶⁸ Međutim, taj reljef bez obzira na temu nema veze s neutralnim pastoralnim scenama kakve se javljaju na lokalnim sarkofazima iz nešto kasnijeg doba. On je, naime, generičkog lovno-pastoralnog karaktera. Dva momenta su, međutim, veoma važna kad je riječ o ikonografiji Dobrog pastira na sarkofazima u Dalmaciji. Prvi je što se oni javljaju u jednom trenutku razvoja zamjenjujući erote, a drugi je što su pastirske figure na dva sarkofaga smještene u edikulama po sredini prednje strane sanduka. Posebno je raskošan primjer kakav se pojavljuje na znamenitom sarkofagu Dobrog pastira. To upućuje na zaključak da je pastir važniji od svih ostalih motiva, jer mu je dodijeljeno najistaknutije mjesto u kompoziciji na čitavom sarkofagu, a prizora ima mnogo. Osim toga, treba voditi računa da je i znameniti sarkofag bio smješten u kršćanskoj memoriji, na nekropoli koja postaje središte kulta

has some other Christian symbol, while the sarcophagus from Lucca (*S. Maria Forisportam*) features two shepherds, but the one on the left is holding the lamb, while the one on the right is the melancholy shepherd leaning on his staff. However, on the latter sarcophagus, pastoral and Old Testament scenes intermingle (the medallion contains the motif of Daniel in the lion's den, while below the medallion is the motif of Jonah lying under the gourd vine).⁶⁵ The second shepherd on this sarcophagus exhibits an identical dejected mood as does the Erotes leaning on a lowered torch. The Old Testament motif here reliably indicates that this was a Christian grave monument. Many more similar examples could be cited. These three sarcophaguses actually testify to the gradual change of pagan symbolism into concealed Christian symbolism, but they likely emerged in a period when it was perilous to openly show Christian themes. It is obvious that Christianity easily assumed from pagan art themes of a neutral character that provoked no one, while satisfying Christian believers with their salvational message. Perhaps it would be permissible to use the term crypto-Christian for such scenes, because there was an attempt to conceal the religious affiliation, but not deny it.

In New Testament parables, the Good Shepherd is very well described in terms of symbolism and in terms of appearance and behaviour. This was particularly illustrated with great plasticity in the Gospel of Luke: the shepherd finds the lost lamb, raises it to his shoulders and returns with it to the flock. There is no doubt that the lambs were carried on the shoulders in real life, although in pre-Christian portrayals there are shepherd figures who carried the lamb in other ways.⁶⁶ In case of an animal that weighs 20-25 kg, it is easiest to lift it onto one's shoulders and then carry it off. There is no doubt that even before the Gospel of Luke such procedures were known in both literature and the fine arts, but the image was "canonized" in Luke, and in the pre-Constantinian era it became an eminently usable motif in the funerary sphere, suitable for expressing hope and salvation. If the Good Shepherd only indirectly pointed to Christ in Luke and Matthew, in the Gospel of John there is no hesitation in stating to whom the parable actually refers. On the Dalmatian sarcophaguses, recognizing the figure of Jesus in these scenes is still somewhat problematic, particularly if they are compared to depictions of his miracles or similar Christological scenes, regardless of whether these are scenes of the young or older Jesus

67 Klauser 1958, str. 37-38 spominje da su zavinuti rogovi znak da je riječ o ovnu, a ne ovci. To ponavlja i u nastavku iste studije iz 1962, str. 115, u kojoj je posvetio posebnu pažnju Sarkofagu Dobrog pastira iz Salone. Smatra da kršćani ovna ne bi stavljali u kršćansku parabolu upućujući na odvajanje jaganjaca od jaraca na Kristovu dolasku na kraju svijeta. Međutim, ima i vrsta rogatih ovaca i nerogatih ovnova pa se o spolu životinje teško smije decidirano govoriti. S druge strane Luka ni Matej, a također ni Ivan ne govore o spolu nego izgubljenoj ovci i nije bitno kojega je ona spola. Valja također naglasiti da prikazi nisu jarci i koze nego ovce i ovnovi. Ovaj potonji nije nikad imao negativnu konotaciju.

68 Cambi 2002, str. 172, sl. 268.

65 Koch 2000, Fig. 17.

66 Himmelmann 1980, pl. 28 (on side), 34 (one in each arm).



Sl. 15. Sarkofag sa stupovima. Manastirine (foto: N. Cambi)

Fig. 15. Sarcophagus on columns. Manastirine (photo: N. Cambi)

lokalnih martira, a i kulta preminulih salonitanskih vjernika. Zar bi obična pastoralna simbolika bila arhitektonski tako istaknuta? S druge strane, treba upozoriti da ovaj znameniti sarkofag donosi i dvije važne ikonografske novine, koje nisu bez značenja. Prva su mali likovi uz statuarne figure vlasnika (bračnog para) koji su se skupili na obljetnicu smrti na groblju. Za tu scenu ne bismo pouzdano smjeli kazati da je kršćanskog postanja, jer za to nema bitne ili karakteristične odlike, ali u tom smislu je znatno bitniji prikaz na desnoj bočnoj strani, na kojoj se pojavljuju mauzolej te jedna žena i djevojčica s lijeve strane, dok su na desnoj dva muškarca i dječak s uzdignutim rukama, u stavu molitve (sl. 3, 14). Takav stav poznaju kršćani, ali ne i pogani, što svakako govori u prilog kršćanskoj molitvi za pokojnike.⁶⁹

Erot sa spuštenom bakljom ispod slične edikule nije znak da je to poganski sarkofag, jer je on kao sporedni motiv stavljen na bočnu, gotovo nevidljivu stranu. Edikule se javljaju i na drugim sarkofazima sličnog arhitektonskog raščlanjenja, poput pouzdano kršćanskog sarkofaga na Manastirinama, kod kojega je edikula na desnoj bočnoj strani ostala neispunjena (sl. 15).⁷⁰ Prema tome, erota sa spuštenom bakljom, kako je već naznačeno, treba protumačiti radioničkom praksom da se zastarjeli motivi ne odbacuju, nego prebacuju na sporedne strane, kako ove na raskošnim primjercima ne bi ostale prazne. Očito je da simboliku tugujućih erota u ranom IV. st. više nitko ne percipira u religijskom smislu.

69 O tome usp. Toynbee 1975, str. 18.

70 Cambi 1994, str. 100-101, sl. 26, 34.

(with or without a beard). In any case, such a scene – if we only view it as generally pastoral – is also suited to the Christian hope in Christ. Klauser's objections⁶⁷ that the lost lamb almost always has horns and that as such (a ram) it cannot be an allusion to Christ, is meaningless, because male animals were also part of the flock.

Do the monuments from Dalmatia leave open any possibility for interpretation of pastoral scenes and, especially, the figure of the Good Shepherd? It is noteworthy that there are no pastoral scenes on sarcophaguses or on any other pagan monuments, unless we allow ourselves to interpret as such scenes of the hunt and the skinning of a ram on a gravestone relief from Salona dated to the end of the 2nd century, or, even better, from the early 3rd century.⁶⁸ However, this relief, regardless of the theme, has no connection to the neutral pastoral scenes that appear on the local sarcophaguses from a somewhat later period. For it has a generic hunt/pastoral character. Two considerations are, however, quite important when speaking of the iconography of the Good Shepherd on sarcophaguses in Dalmatia. The first is that they appear at one point in development replacing the Erotes, while the second is that the shepherd figures on two sarcophaguses are situated in the aediculae in the middle of the front side of the receptacles. The example that appears on the renowned Good Shepherd Sarcophagus is particularly lavish. This points to the conclusion that the shepherd was more important than all of the other motifs, for it was accorded the most prominent place in the composition of the entire sarcophagus, and there are many scenes. Additionally, one should bear in mind that the renowned sarcophagus was situated in the Christian chapel, at a necropolis which became the focus of the cult of local martyrs, and the cult of deceased Salona believers. Would ordinary pastoral symbolism have

67 Klauser 1958, pp. 37-38 noted that the curved horns are a sign that it was a ram and not a ewe. He repeated this further in the same study from 1962, p. 115, in which he dedicated considerable attention to the Good Shepherd Sarcophagus from Salona. He believed that Christians would not have placed a ram in a Christian parable, pointing to the separation of lambs from goats upon Christ's arrival at Armageddon. However, there are breeds of horned sheep and non-horned rams, so it is inadvisable to speak so conclusively about the animal's sex. On the other hand, the animal's sex is not mentioned in either Luke nor Matthew, nor even in John, rather these Gospels only stress a lost lamb, while its sex is unimportant. Also worth mentioning is that goats were not depicted, rather only sheep and rams. The latter never had a negative connotation.

68 Cambi 2002, p. 172, Fig. 268.



Sl. 16. Pozlaćena brončana obola relikvijara iz Novalje. Arheološki muzej u Zadru (foto: fundus Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru)

Fig. 16. Gilded bronze reliquary from Novalja. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (photo: photography archives of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar)

Još jedan spomenik koji ima veliku važnost u tumačenju značenja Dobrog pastira je relikvijar od pozlaćenoga brončanog lima pronađen u Novalji na otoku Pagu, točnije u lokulu tamošnje bazilike (sl. 16). Relikvijar je raščlanjen trakama koje sadržavaju 5 starozavjetnih i 5 novozavjetnih motiva. Među motivima novozavjetnog sadržaja su: 1. Čudo u Kani Galilejskoj, 2. Oživljavanje Lazara, 3. Pastir (s ovcom na leđima), 4. Orantica, 5. Ozdravljenje slijepca. Ovdje upada u oči da su Dobar pastir i Orantica uključeni u novozavjetni niz. Upada u oči također da su samo te dvije scene markirane legendama. U ostalima u kojima se pojavljuju Kristova čuda, Krist je prikazan na uobičajen način (kao antički filozof) i s nimbusom oko glave. Dobar pastir nosi legendu *PASTOR*, a Orantica *MARIA*. Ova dva potonja lika nemaju nimbus. Dvije legende pouzdano određuju na koga se likovi odnose. Očito je da oni nemaju značenje dviju vrlina (*humanitas* i *pietas*), niti su opće pastoralne teme. Oni su uključeni u novozavjetni niz i moraju se odnositi na sadržaj novozavjetne poruke. Jasno je da je orantica Marija Isusova majka. Pastir je ovdje nedvosmisleno donesen kao ilustracija Lukine parabole. Relikvijar je približno iz doba oko sredine IV. st.

been so architecturally highlighted? On the other hand, it bears mentioning that this renowned sarcophagus also brought two major iconographic novelties, which are not without significance. The first is the small figures next to the statuary figure of the owner (a married couple) who gathered in the cemetery at the anniversary of the death. We should not venture to say that this scene has a Christian genesis, as it does not have the essential or typical features for this, but in this regard the scene on the right lateral side is much more important; on it, there is a mausoleum with a woman and girl to the left, while to the right there are two men and boy with arms raised, in a posture of prayer (Fig. 3, 14). Such a posture was known by Christians, but not pagans, which certainly indicates Christian prayer for the deceased.⁶⁹

The Erotes with lowered torch below a similar aedicule is not a sign that this was a pagan sarcophagus, for it was placed as an ancillary motif on the lateral, almost invisible side. Aediculae also appeared on other sarcophaguses with similar architectural break-

69 On this, cf. Toynbee 1975, p. 18.

Upozorio sam da ovaj relikvijar N. Himmelmann donosi u svojoj knjizi, ali mu ne pridaje posebno značenje, jer mu se, rekao bih, ne uklapa u tezu o pastoralnoj simbolici općenitog karaktera.⁷¹ I ovaj relikvijar jednako kao i sarkofazi ima dakako sepulkralni karakter, jer je čuvao relikvije nekog nepoznatog martira. Vjerojatno se svi prikazi pastira ne mogu svesti na jednu i jednoznačnu poruku, ali barem u Dalmaciji taj prikaz je kršćanskog ili, bolje rečeno, kriptokršćanskog karaktera.

Istu legendu samo na grčkom (*IYMHN*) nosi pastir na poznatom, razmjerno primitivnom reljefu sarkofaga iz Ecije u Španjolskoj, koji je također smješten u sredinu prednje strane flankiran starozavjetnim prikazima Abrahama i Izaka, odnosno Danijela u lavljjoj jami.⁷²

Važno je upozoriti da je fragment iz Raba novo važno svjedočanstvo još većeg broja prikaza pastira s ovcom na ramenima na sarkofazima u Dalmaciji, ali možda je još važnije što se taj motiv proširio i izvan salonitanskog kruga. Što se tiče vremena pojave i nestanka motiva raznih varijanti pastira, moglo bi se reći sljedeće: 1. Pojavljuju se iznenadno u pretkonstantinovsko (po svoj prilici tetrarhijsko) doba i zadobivaju razmjerno veliku popularnost do približno sredine IV. st. Nakon toga nestaju, a ostaju samo ostatci pastoralnih tema, poput pojedinačnih antitetički postavljenih ovaca uz križ ili monogram. U Dalmaciji zapravo poslije nastupa, osobito u sepulkralnom kontekstu, neka vrsta antiikoničnosti, tako da se nikad nisu razvile kontinuirane scene starozavjetnoga ili novozavjetnoga karaktera. 2. Motiv Dobrog pastira daje se posebno značenje arhitektonskim okvirom (edikula), čime se posebno ističe karakter eshatološke poruke. Kod sarkofaga dolazi do pojave postupne ogoljenosti osnovne forme, pa i do izbjegavanja izravnavanja površine. Jedino natpis ostaje i nalazi mjesto na prednjoj strani, čak i bez tabule. Time je nestalo jedno značajno poglavlje u razvitku dalmatinske sepulkralne umjetnosti na početku kasne antike.

down, such as the certainly Christian sarcophagus at Manastirine, on which the aedicule on the right lateral side remained unfilled (Fig. 15).⁷⁰ Thus, the Erotes with a lowered torch, as already denoted, should be interpreted as a workshop practice of refraining from discarding outdated motifs, but simply moving them to less important sides, so that the latter would not remain empty on such luxurious examples. It is apparent that nobody in the early 4th century perceived the symbolism of the grieving Erotes in the religious sense.

Another monument which has great importance to the interpretation of the significance of the Good Shepherd is the reliquary made of gilded sheet bronze, found in Novalja on the island of Pag, in the loculus of the local basilica (Fig. 16). The reliquary is articulated by bands that contain five Old Testament and five New Testament motifs. Among the New Testament motifs are: 1. the Miracle in Canaan, 2. The Resurrection of Lazarus, 3. The Shepherd (with a lamb on his back), 4. the Orans, 5. the Healing of the Blind. Here it is quite notable that the Good Shepherd and Orans are included in the New Testament series. Also notable is that only these two scenes are designated by legends. In the others, in which Christ's miracles appear, Christ is depicted in the customary manner (as a philosopher of Antiquity) and with a halo around his head. The Good Shepherd bears the legend *PASTOR*, and the Orans *MARIA*. These two latter figures have no halos. The two legends specify to whom the figures pertain. It is apparent that they do not have the meaning of the two virtues (*humanitas* and *pietas*), nor are they general pastoral themes. They are included in the New Testament series and they must refer to the content of New Testament messages. The Orans is clearly Mary the mother of Jesus. The shepherd here is undoubtedly an illustration of Luke's parable. The reliquary is roughly from the period of mid-4th century.

I have pointed out that this reliquary was included by N. Himmelmann in his book, but he did not accord it any particular significance, because, I would say, it does not comply with the hypothesis on pastoral symbolism of a general character.⁷¹ This reliquary, like the sarcophaguses, certainly has a sepulchral character, for it held the relics of an unidentified martyr. All depictions of the shepherd probably cannot be reduced to a single and unambiguous message, but at least in Dalmatia this image has a Christian, or perhaps better stated, crypto-Christian character.

The same legend, only in Greek (*IYMHN*), is borne by the shepherd on the well-known, rather primitive

71 Himmelmann 1980, str. 160-161, tab. 75.

72 Koch 2000, str. 130, sl. 75, 1, sl. 187.

70 Cambi 1994, pp. 100-101, Fig. 26, 34.

71 Himmelmann 1980, pp. 160-161, pl. 75.

relief on the sarcophagus from Écija in Spain, which was also situated in the middle of the front, flanked by Old Testament scenes of Abraham and Isaac and Daniel in the lion's den.⁷²

It is important to note that the fragment from Rab is new and important testimony to an even higher number of scenes of shepherds with lambs on their shoulders on the sarcophaguses in Dalmatia, but perhaps it is more important that this motif had also spread outside of the Salona environs. As to the times when motifs of different variations of the shepherd appeared and disappeared, the following may be said: 1. They appeared suddenly in the pre-Constantinian period (probably during the Tetrarchy) and acquired rather great popularity until roughly the mid-4th century. After this they disappeared, and only the remains of pastoral themes persisted, such an individual antithetically set sheep next to a cross or monogram. In Dalmatia, a certain anti-iconical aspect actually emerged, especially in the sepulchral context, so that continuous scenes of an Old Testament or New Testament character never developed. 2. The architectural frame (aedicule) gave the Good Shepherd motif a special meaning, thereby underscoring the eschatological message in particular. A certain gradual bareness of the basic form appeared on sarcophaguses, and this even included the avoidance of flattening surfaces. Only the inscription remained and found its place on the front, even without a tabula. Thus did a significant chapter in the development of Dalmatian sepulchral art at the beginning of Late Antiquity disappear.

72 Koch 2000, p. 130, Fig. 75, 1, Fig. 187.

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