

## RANOKRŠĆANSKA SKULPTURA IZ BAZILIKE SV. IVANA KRSTITELJA U BIJAĆIMA<sup>1</sup>

## THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE FROM THE BASILICA OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN BIJAĆI<sup>1</sup>

U radu se sustavno obrađuju prvi slojevi kasnoantičkog sakralnog kompleksa posvećenog sv. Ivanu Krstitelju i podignutog na mjestu *villae rusticae* u zaleđu antičkih Sikula, na čijem će mjestu nastati srednjovjekovni lokalitet Stombrate. Razmotrena je historiografija lokaliteta i podatci prvih arheoloških istraživanja te revizije obavljene 60-ih i 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Pronađeni i analizirani elementi, odnosno materijalni tragovi koji su ugledali svjetlo dana u tim kampanjama u ovoj su raspravi sistematizirani i uvršteni u određene tipološke grupe, nekima je ispravljena datacija i funkcija, a uočen je i antički mjerni sustav koji se koristio u klesanju liturgijske opreme.

**Cljučne riječi:** Bijaći, crkva sv. Marte, crkva sv. Ivana Krstitelja, liturgijski namještaj, krstionica

This paper offers a systematic analysis of the first layers of the Late Antique sacral complex dedicated to St. John the Baptist and built on the site of a *villa rustica* in the hinterland of the Roman settlement of *Siculi*, where the medieval site of Stombrate would later emerge. Discussing the historiography of the site and the results of the first archaeological excavations and the revision excavations carried out in the 1960s and 1990s, the paper systematizes and classifies typologically the elements and material traces found and analyzed during these campaigns. Some of them are re-dated and their function is reinterpreted. Also, observations are made about the ancient measuring system used for carving of the liturgical furnishings.

**Key words:** Bijaći, St. Martha's Church, St. John the Baptist's Church, liturgical furnishings, baptistery

<sup>1</sup> Rad, nastao pod poticajem kolege Tončija Burića, posvećujem prerano preminulom kolegi Mati Radoviću.

<sup>1</sup> It was my colleague Tonči Burić who encouraged me to write this work. I am dedicating it to our prematurely deceased colleague Mate Radović.

## UVOD

O najranijem kršćanskom životu svetišta koje je nastalo u sklopu kasnoantičkog lokaliteta Bijaći u zaleđu rimskog naselja *Siculi*, imamo nažalost vrlo malo tragova. Nisu nam poznate sve okolnosti nastanka ni nestanka materijala koji bi se datirao u rane kršćanske slojeve. Kao što je već zorno predočila Pascale Chevalier pišući prva 1999. godine ozbiljnije i sustavnije o ranokršćanskoj skulpturi iz Bijaća, jedan od otežavajućih faktora sagledavanja istodobnog liturgijskog prostora i pripadajućeg namještaja jest manjkava klasifikacija iz doba prvih istraživanja.<sup>2</sup> Njih je pod vodstvom arheologa i konzervatora don Frane Bulića izvodilo u nekoliko etapa od 1902. do 1906. godine Hrvatsko društvo za istraživanje domaće povijesti u Spljetu „Bihać“. Premda su sama iskapanja dobro provedena, pogotovo ako imamo na umu stručnost voditelja na terenu – bili su to amateri (student prava Pavao Perat i trgovac Pavle Ergovac), ono što je uslijedilo nakon toga – kataloška i inventarna obrada građe, etapa je koja, nažalost, nije propisno provedena. Kako je spomenuta autorica navela, prilikom prvih istraživanja ulomci su ostavljeni na samom nalazištu (*in situ*) ili su bivali pohranjeni u lapidarij Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu kojem je ravnatelj bio don F. Bulić. Spomenici su tada zavedeni u *Inventar B* u kojem su predmeti bili označeni crvenom brojkom i slovom 'B'; a često i oznakom 'BIH' (u značenju zbirke *Bihać*). Nekad su ulomci navedeni u taj naknadno prozvani Bulićev inventar tek kao ulomak stupa ili pluteja od vapnenca, bez mjera i opisa. Činjenično spominjanje uz kratku deskripciju Bulić je publicirao početkom 20. st., no ranokršćanski ulomci ostaju u sjeni onih predromaničkih.<sup>3</sup> U vrijeme revizijskih istraživanja 60-ak godina kasnije (točnije od 1967. do 1969.) pronađen je također određen broj ranokršćanskih spomenika te su i oni ostavljeni *in situ*, odnosno manji ulomci prebačeni su u Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (MHAS) u Splitu. To ne čudi s obzirom na to da su voditelji istraživanja arheolozi Dušan Jelovina i Dasen Vrsalović bili zaposlenici muzeja, ali i zbog toga što je većina pronađenih spomenika pripadala ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju crkve u Bijaćima, tada posvećene sv. Marti.

Osim toga, kako spominje P. Chevalier, *važno je napomenuti da terenski inventari Jelovine i Vrsalovića bilježe i katalogiziraju sve spomenike zatečene na nalazištu u vrijeme njihova istraživanja, pa tako i one koji su već bili inventirani u vrijeme F. Bulića.*<sup>4</sup> Spomenici su tada zadobili vlastite brojeve koje donosi i P. Chevalier u kataloškoj obradi. Nakon revizijskih istraživanja neki ulomci koji su se nalazili u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu prebačeni su iz dotadašnjeg inventara 'B' u inventar 'E' ili 'S' jer je

## INTRODUCTION

Unfortunately, very few traces remain of the earliest Christian life of the sanctuary that was built as part of the Late Antiquity site Bijaći in the hinterland of the Roman settlement of Siculi. We are not familiar with all the circumstances of both the origin and the disappearance of the material that could be dated to the Early Christian layers. As graphically demonstrated by Pascale Chevalier – who was the first one to deal with the Early Christian sculpture from Bijaći in 1999 – what makes it difficult to gain an insight into the contemporaneous liturgical structure and the appertaining furnishings is the inadequate classification from the early excavations.<sup>2</sup> Led by the archaeologist and conservator Father Frane Bulić, these excavations were carried out in a few stages between 1902 and 1906 by Bihać – the Split-based Croatian Society for Studying the national History. Although the excavations as such were carried out in a professional manner – particularly owing to Father Bulić's presence in the field – it was a society of amateurs (Pavao Perat was a law student and Pavle Ergovac was a merchant) and the subsequent activities (cataloguing and stock-taking of the finds) were not carried out properly. As P. Chevalier points out, during these first excavations the fragments were left on the spot (*in situ*) or were stored in the collection of stone fragments of the Archaeological Museum Split (Father Bulić was its director). The monuments were entered in *Inventary B*, where items were designated with a red number and the letter *B* (or, often, *BIH*) as a reference to Bihać Collection. Sometimes, items would be simply entered as “fragment of a column” or “fragment of a limestone chancel-screen panel”, with no dimensions or description. Although Bulić did mention and briefly describe them in an article in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Early Christian fragments remained overshadowed by the Pre-Romanesque ones.<sup>3</sup> During the revision excavations carried out some 60 years later (between 1967 and 1969), some more Early Christian monuments were found. They were also left *in situ* (some smaller fragments were transferred to the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split – MHAS – which is no surprise because the excavations were led by archaeologists from this museum, Dušan Jelovina and Dasen Vrsalović, and because most of the monuments found belonged to the Early Christian period of the Bijaći church, dedicated to St. Martha in that period.

As P. Chevalier also points out, “it is important to note that Jelovina and Vrsalović's field inventories recorded and catalogued all the monuments found at the site during the excavations, including the ones already entered in the inventory in the time of F. Bulić.”<sup>4</sup> The monuments were assigned

2 P. Chevalier 1999, 110.

3 F. Bulić 1904, 56–67.

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Bulićev inventar 'B' zapravo izvorno bio namijenjen isključivo epigrafskim spomenicima. No nisu svi spomenici novo inventirani, tako da je vjerojatno još jedan dio spomenika koji se čuva u depou Arheološkog muzeja i dalje ne(pre)poznat. Tako je, na primjer, jedan sarkofag upisan u inventar 'A'.<sup>5</sup>

Međutim, ni lomci koji su pohranjeni u MHAS-u nisu ostali s istim brojevima kojima su zabilježeni revizijskim istraživanjima jer je danas njihova numeracija opet sasvim nova te uključuje niz četveroznamenastih brojeva, bez slova. Ta povijesna sudbina ranokršćanskih ulomaka iz kasnoantičke crkve u Bijaćima otežava sagledavanje sveukupne množine spomenika koji su doista i pronađeni prilikom istraživanja te će možda jednog dana neka sistematičnija potraga dovesti do većeg broja artefakata. U svakom slučaju, broj spomenika koji je već pronađen i obrađen može *predočiti kakvu-takvu sliku ukrasa i opreme starokršćanske crkve s baptisterijem okruženih ukopima u sarkofazima*.<sup>6</sup> Treba istaknuti da se u ovom radu razmatraju već publicirani spomenici, uz poneku novu primjedbu. Kataloška obrada artefakata za ovu raspravu nije potrebna jer će detaljnije informacije čitatelj naći u radu P. Chevalier *Ostaci starokršćanske skulpture iz crkve Sv. Marte u Bijaćima*, kao i u *Katalogu ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture iz crkve Sv. Marte u Bijaćima kod Trogira* Tomislava Šeparovića, s obzirom na to da su neki ranokršćanski ulomci „zalutali“ i u obradu ranosrednjovjekovnih ulomaka. Oba rada nalaze se u izdanju III. serije *Starohrvatske prosvjete* u 26. svesku iz 1999. koji je cijeli posvećen problematici lokaliteta. Tako nas na početku tog sveska u raspravu uvodi pretisak dnevnika istraživanja Bulićevih suradnika koje je pedantno napravio Hrvoje Gjurašin. U sklopu dnevnika doneseni su crteži arheološkog lokaliteta i pronađenog materijala koje je nacrtao Dagobert Frey.<sup>7</sup> U istom izdanju nanovo je publiciran rad D. Jelovine i D. Vrsalovića o revizijskim istraživanjima koji je izvorno objavljen u 1. svesku *Kaštelanskog zbornika* 1987. godine.<sup>8</sup> Prije toga isti su autori objavili arheološku reviziju iz Sv. Marte u Bijaćima u *Arheološkom pregledu* iz 1968. godine, gdje navode prvi kršćanski sklop koji sačinjava bazilika s istaknutom polukružnom apsidom podignutom nad antičkim stambenim sklopom.<sup>9</sup> D. Jelovina donio je pregled konačnih, revizijskih istraživanja i u 11. svesku *Starohrvatske prosvjete* 1981. godine (gdje crkvu opet navodi kao trobrodnu baziliku).<sup>10</sup> No u onom izdanju *Kaštelanskog zbornika* iz 1987. godine D. Jelovina mijenja svoje mišljenje te kaže da se ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi prvobitan oblik crkve, odnosno da je ovdje možda provedena svojevrсна adaptacija prostora

their own numbers. P. Chevalier uses the same ones in her catalogue. After the revision excavations, some fragments in Archaeological Museum Split were moved from Inventory B to Inventory E (or S), because Bulić's Inventory B was originally intended only for epigraphic monuments. But not all the monuments were inventoried; some of them – those still held in the depot of the Archaeological Museum – have not been identified yet. For example, one sarcophagus is included in Inventory A.<sup>5</sup>

However, even the fragments stored at MHAS have different inventory numbers now, not the ones they were designated with during the revision excavations; their current inventory numbers are four-digit ones, with no letters. Such historical treatment of the Early Christian fragments from the Late Antique church in Bijaći makes it difficult to gain a thorough insight into all of the monuments found during the excavations. Perhaps some more systematic research will one day result in a larger number of artefacts. In any case, the number of already traced monuments *gives us an idea – if vague – of the decorations and furnishings of the Early Christian church with its baptistery, surrounded with sarcophagus burials*.<sup>6</sup> We should point out here that this papers deals with the already published monuments, adding a few new observations. Cataloguing the artifacts for the purpose of this paper was not necessary because detailed information can be found in P. Chevalier's work *Remains of the Paleo-Christian Sculpture in the St. Martha's Church of Bijaći* and – since some of the fragments “went astray” and ended up among early medieval monuments – in Tomislav Šeparović's work *Catalogue of the Early Medieval Sculpture from the St. Martha's Church of Bijaći near Trogir*. Both works are part of the 26<sup>th</sup> volume (1999) of the third series of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*. The entire volume is dedicated to this site. The volume opens with a reprint of the field logs of Bulić's associates, meticulously prepared by Hrvoje Gjurašin. These logs include the drawings of the archaeological site and the material found there. The author of the drawings is Dagobert Frey.<sup>7</sup> The same series also includes a new edition of D. Jelovina and D. Vrsalović's work on the revision excavations, originally published in the Vol. 1 of *Kaštelanski zbornik* in 1987.<sup>8</sup> In an earlier work, these authors published archaeological revision excavations at St. Martha's Church in Bijaći (*Arheološki pregled*, 1968), where they mention the first Christian complex consisting of a basilica with a pronounced semicircular apse erected on a Roman residential complex.<sup>9</sup> D. Jelovina also gives an overview of final revision excavations in Vol. 11 of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (1981), describing the church as a three-naved basilica again.<sup>10</sup> However, in the above mentioned 1987

5 P. Chevalier 1999, 109.

6 P. Chevalier 1999, 110.

7 H. Gjurašin 1999, 7–96.

8 D. Jelovina 1999, 97–107.

9 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1968, 173–176.

10 D. Jelovina 1981, 244–245.

5 P. Chevalier 1999, 109.

6 P. Chevalier 1999, 110.

7 H. Gjurašin 1999, 7–96.

8 D. Jelovina 1999, 97–107.

9 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1968, 173–176.

10 D. Jelovina 1981, 244–245.

i djelomične dogradnje (streha na stupovima).<sup>11</sup> P. Chevalier obradila je lokalitet s pronađenim liturgijskim inventarom i u monumentalnoj ediciji *Salona II, Ecclesiae Dalmatiae* (dakle, prije detaljne obrade objavljene u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti*).<sup>12</sup> Pavuša Vežić u spomenutoj je ediciji *Starohrvatske prosvjete* koja je posvećena lokalitetu Bijaći predložio idealnu grafičku rekonstrukciju ranokršćanskog svetišta kao trobrodne crkve s polukružnom apsidom na istočnoj strani.<sup>13</sup> No nedavno je Ante Uglešić, na temelju mišljenja D. Jelovine publiciranog 1987. godine, iznio svoje viđenje o razvoju sklopa s prvim slojem svetišta kao adaptirane *domus ecclesiae* koja u drugoj fazi postaje dvobrodan prostor, što bi bila raritetna pojava u ranokršćanskom graditeljstvu.<sup>14</sup> Što se tiče kapitela, posebno onih koji pripadaju tzv. *tipu Gradina*, njih je obradio Bartul Šiljeg 2008.<sup>15</sup>

U svakom slučaju, razlozi slabe očuvanosti i velike fragmentarnosti ranokršćanskih ostataka leže sasvim sigurno u njihovoj reutilizaciji u narednim epohama i čestim smjenama liturgijskog namještaja kao i samog ambijenta u kojem su se nalazili.

### Historiografija nalazišta u Bijaćima

*Dvorovi u Bijaćima bili su u pitomu i plodnu, lozom i maslinom zasađenu polju...*<sup>16</sup>

Poznato je, dakle, da je prvotno ranokršćansko svetište nastalo u sklopu antičkog gospodarskog posjeda i *villae rusticae* na lokalitetu poznatog kao Bijaći te da je imalo svoj kontinuitet tijekom mlađih razdoblja (sl. 1). Bijaći su u doba antike jedno od naselja smješteno u kopnenom dijelu Kaštelanskog zaljeva i povezano s rimskim naseljem *Siculi* koje se nalazilo na mjestu današnjeg Resnika.<sup>17</sup> U toj priobalnoj zoni zaljeva, gotovo na središnjoj točki udaljenosti između Trogira i Salone, sasvim recentna istraživanja donijela su na vidjelo urbano mjesto koje je nastalo planiranom izgradnjom već oko 2. st. pr. Kr. Smatra se da je jedan od razloga njegova planskog podizanja zemljoradnička uloga koju su *Siculi* već tada imali.<sup>18</sup> Oduvijek je kaštelansko zaleđe bilo plodno područje pod utjecajem blage mediteranske klime i pogodno osobito za uzgoj vinove loze, što je vjerojatno bila i baza za podizanje rimske naseobine koja je mogla uspješno obavljati trgovinu s naseljima

issue of *Kaštelanski zbornik*, D. Jelovina changes his opinion and says that he cannot positively establish the church's original shape and that it could have been adapted and *partly extended* (an eaves on columns).<sup>11</sup> In the monumental edition *Salona II, Ecclesiae Dalmatiae* (predating the detailed analysis published in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*), P. Chevalier analyzes the site with the liturgical furnishings found there.<sup>12</sup> In this edition of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, entirely dedicated to Bijaći site, Pavuša Vežić proposed an ideal graphic reconstruction of the Early Christian sanctuary as a three-naved church with a semicircular apse on its eastern side.<sup>13</sup> However, based on D. Jelovina's opinion published in 1987, Ante Uglešić recently gave his perception of the development of the complex, with the first layer of the sanctuary as an adapted *domus ecclesiae* which became a two-naved structure in its second stage – a rare phenomenon in the Early Christian architecture.<sup>14</sup> As for the capitals, particularly the ones belonging to the so-called *Gradina* type, they were analyzed by Bartul Šiljeg in 2008.<sup>15</sup>

In any case, the early Christian remains are poorly preserved and very fragmented due to their reuse in later periods and frequent changes of the liturgical furnishings and the space in which they were installed.

### The historiography of Bijaći site

*The church in Bijaći was located in a fertile cultivated field planted with vineyards and olive trees...*<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, it is well-known that the original Early Christian sanctuary was established as part of the Roman estate and *villa rustica* at the site known as Bijaći and that it had its continuity in the later periods (Fig. 1). In antiquity, Bijaći was one of the settlements in the hinterland of Kaštela Bay and connected with the Roman settlement of *Siculi*, located on the site of the present-day Resnik.<sup>17</sup> In this immediate hinterland of the bay, almost exactly half way between Trogir and Salona, very recent excavations yielded an urban settlement deliberately built as early as around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It is believed that one of the reasons for its deliberate founding was the agricultural relevance of *Siculi*.<sup>18</sup> The hinterland of Kaštela Bay had always been a fertile area with mild Mediterranean climate, particularly suitable for wine-growing. This is probably why a Roman settlement was built there to establish successful trade with the already existing settlements deeper in the

11 D. Jelovina 1999, 99–100.

12 P. Chevalier 1995, Tome I, 181, 201, 222–224, Tome II, 31, 32, 86, 87, 130, 153, 155–157, 160, 163.

13 P. Vežić 1999, 319–330.

14 A. Uglešić 2012, 11–19.

15 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100.

16 Lj. Karaman 1930, 16.

17 Plinije za *Siculi* kaže da je u 1. polovini 1. st. nakon Krista to bilo mjesto gdje je car Klaudije naselio svoje veterane, što je potvrđeno epigrafičkom građom. Naselje imena *Siclis* nalazi se i na Tabuli Peutingeriani (srednjovjekovni prebris kasnoantičke karte). F. Bulić 1904, 57, kada citira Plinija – *Naturalis historiae*, 3, 22, 141 (*Siculi, ubi divus Claudius veterano smisit*). M. Suić 2003, 166, 432; I. Babić 1984, 54.

18 Katalog 2011, 22 (*Povijesni okvir*, napisao I. Šuta).

11 D. Jelovina 1999, 99–100.

12 P. Chevalier 1995, Vol. I, 181, 201, 222–224., Vol. II, 31, 32, 86, 87, 130, 153, 155–157, 160, 163.

13 P. Vežić 1999, 319–330.

14 A. Uglešić 2012, 11–19.

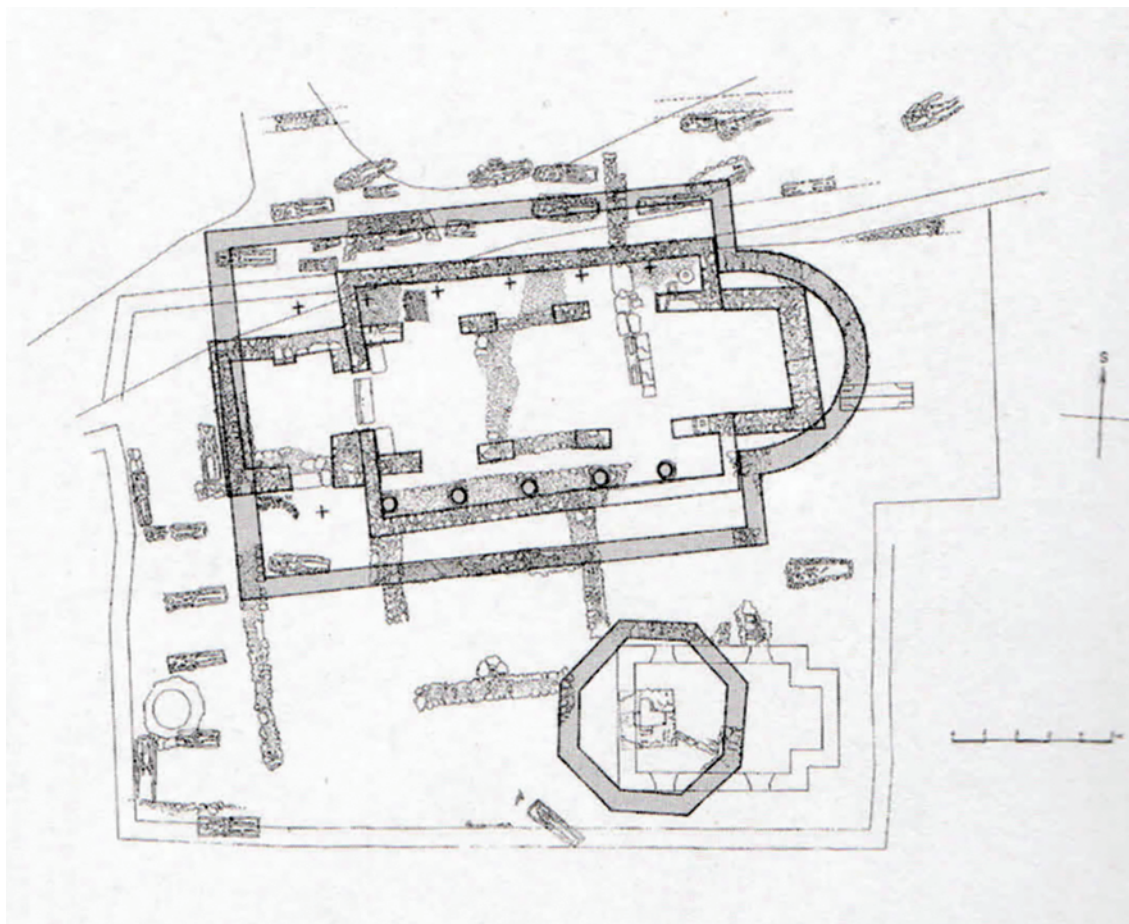
15 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100.

16 Lj. Karaman 1930, 16.

17 According to Pliny, *Siculi* was the place where Emperor Claudius settled his veterans in the first half of the 1st century AD (as is confirmed in epigraphic sources). A settlement called *Siclis* is also found in Tabuli Peutingeriana (a medieval copy of a Late Antique map). F. Bulić 1904, 57, when quoting Pliny – *Naturalis historiae*, 3, 22, 141 (*Siculi, ubi divus Claudius veterano smisit*). M. Suić 2003, 166, 432; I. Babić 1984, 54.

18 Katalog 2011, 22 (*Povijesni okvir* by I. Šuta).





Slika 1. Grafička rekonstrukcija tlocrta ranokršćanske bazilike prema generalnom planu nakon revizijskih istraživanja iz 1967.-1970.

Figure 1. Reconstructed plan of Early Christian basilica based on general layout after rescue excavations in 1967-1970

prema / from: P. Vežić, 1999, 324.

koja su se već nalazila u nutrim kopna odnosno s druge, morske strane s Isejcima kojima je to *bila gotovo najvažnija privredna grana*.<sup>19</sup> Plodno polje, povoljan strateški položaj i dostupnost vode<sup>20</sup> bili su uvjeti za planirano podizanje mjesta po sustavu grčkog urbanizma ortogonalnog rastera i za njegovo intenzivno naseljavanje.<sup>21</sup> Plinijev podatak o naseljavanju rimskih vojnih veterana u Sikulima ne odnosi se, dakle, na novonastalo naselje, nego na već postojeće mjesto koje je bilo usko vezano na sjeveru s *Tragurijem*, a još više s *Issom* u kojoj se prepoznaje uloga osnivača. No, kako u zaleđu Sikula postoji veći broj rustičnih vila, među kojima je i ona u Bijaćima gdje su pronađene nadgrobne stele s natpisima veteranskih pokojnika, očito je da je i njihovo podizanje tijesno povezano s naseljavanjem novog sloja stanovništva u kojima su ovi mogli slobodno razvijati gospodarske djelatnosti.<sup>22</sup> Istraživanja su polučila da se život u Sikulima prekida u drugoj polovini 1. st. pr. Kr.<sup>23</sup> da bi novo naseljavanje nastalo na ruševinama prethodnog,

hinterland and those off the coast, on the island of Issa (particularly because wine-growing was “almost the most important branch of the economy” for the Issaeans).<sup>19</sup> A fertile field, favorable strategic position and availability of fresh water<sup>20</sup> were the preconditions required for deliberate founding of a settlement based on the principle of the orthogonal grid typical of Greek urbanism and for subsequent intensive influx of inhabitants.<sup>21</sup> This means that Pliny’s note about settling of Roman army veterans in Siculi does not refer to the newly-established settlement, but to the already existing place closely connected with *Tragurium* in the north and, even more, with *Issa*, believed to have been its founder. However, as there is a number of *villae rusticae* in Siculi’s hinterland, including the one in Bijaći where grave stelae with inscriptions dedicated to late veterans were found, the building of these *villae* was clearly associated with the settling of a new group of population, in which this new population could undisturbedly develop their economic activities.<sup>22</sup> Research has shown that life in Siculi was discontinued in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>23</sup> The place was later repopulated; new structures were

19 Katalog 2011, 22.

20 Katalog 2011, 25.

21 Katalog 2011, 31.

22 Katalog 2011, 23.

23 Katalog, 2011, 31–38 (*Organizacija i arhitektura naselja iz 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr.*, napisao: I. Šuta).

19 Katalog 2011, 22.

20 Katalog 2011, 25.

21 Katalog 2011, 31.

22 Katalog 2011, 23.

23 Katalog, 2011, 31–38 (*Organizacija i arhitektura naselja iz 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr.* by I. Šuta).

negirajući starija zdanja i podižući nekoliko pristaništa uz obalu.<sup>24</sup>

Iako po arheološkim istraživanjima u kasnoantičkom razdoblju dolazi do zamiranja života u Sikulima, to se sigurno nije dogodilo u naselju uokolo ladanjske vile u Bijaćima s obzirom na ranokršćanski sklop koji se u njima podiže. Štoviše, sakralno zdanje kontinuirano živi tijekom mlađih razdoblja te kao takvo ne dijeli sudbinu nekih drugih naselja u okolici, odnosno u samom centru uže regije – u Sikulima, kada se u 6. st., sudeći po materijalnim tragovima, sigurno prekida njegov život.<sup>25</sup>

Dublje, dakle, na sjeverozapadnom dijelu zaleđa antičkih Sikula, a podno prapovijesne gradine na Velom Bijaću nalazi se rustična vila na mjestu današnjih Bijaća ili srednjovjekovnih *Stombrata*. Njezin smještaj u podnožju gradine opravdan je mirnodopskim razdobljem kao vremenom izgradnje. Podignuta je u blizini rimskog puta što joj je omogućavalo izravnu povezanost s ostalim naseobinama u regiji.<sup>26</sup> Zajedno s ostalim rustičnim vilama nalazila se u premjerenom dijelu salonitanskog agera od kojeg se još uvijek vide tragovi centurijacija, barem u dijelu gradine na Velom Bijaću.<sup>27</sup>

U okviru jednog od stambenog sklopa te *villae rusticae* u Bijaćima u razdoblju kasne antike podiže se građevina za odvijanje kršćanske liturgije. S njezine južne strane u istraživanjima je uočeno više zidova iz kasnoantičke faze i mnoštvo ulomaka keramike – plitica, vrčeva, tanjura, pit-hosa i sl.<sup>28</sup> Pred crkvom je pronađen mlin za masline (slična situacija zabilježena je i na Kapljuču).<sup>29</sup>

Početak 20. st. pronađen je temeljni sloj južnog zida ranokršćanske crkve te četiri baze kolonada *in situ*. Tom vremenu pripada još nekoliko *dočetaka zidova*, dva ostatka mozaičnog tapeta te nekoliko ulomaka liturgijskog namještaja i cemeterijalne opreme, odnosno sarkofaga.<sup>30</sup>

Istraživanjima iz 60-ih godina pronađen je polukružan zid apsida u niskoj stopi očuvanosti, i to u neposrednoj blizini srednjovjekovne pravokutne apsida. Svojom širinom i tehnikom klesanja polukružni zid upućuje na kasnoantičko datiranje. Nepoznati su ostali perimetralni zidovi te ne znamo točne dimenzije crkve.

S južne strane svetišta, udaljena od njega nekoliko metara, izdizala se oktogonalna krstionica s ukopanim krsnim zdencem u središtu. Zdenac je imao tloris kvadrata s upisanim križem i prilazom na zapadnom kraku. Pronađeni su i odvodni kanali načinjeni od keramičkih cijevi (*tubo di*

built on the site of the old ones. Several landing places on the coast were also built.<sup>24</sup>

Although archaeological excavations have established that life in Siculi ceased to exist in Late Antiquity, it certainly did not happen in the settlement encompassing the *villa rustica* in Bijaći, given the Early Christian complex built in it. On the contrary, the sacral building existed continually throughout later periods – unlike some other settlements in the surrounding area, including the central one, Siculi. Based on material traces, life in Siculi was positively discontinued in the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup>

Deeper in the hinterland, northwest of the Roman Siculi, underneath a prehistoric hillfort on Veli Bijać, a Roman countryside villa can be found at present-day Bijaći (on the site of the medieval *Stombrata*). The fact that the villa is located underneath the hillfort indicates that it was built in a time of peace. The nearby Roman road connected it with other settlements in the region.<sup>26</sup> Together with other *villae rusticae*, it was located in a surveyed part of the Salona *ager*. The traces of its centuriations can still be seen, at least in the Veli Bijać part of the hillfort.<sup>27</sup>

As part of a residential complex and a *villa rustica* in Bijaći, a structure for Christian liturgy was built in Late Antiquity. Several Late Antique walls and numerous pottery fragments – platters, jugs, plates, pythoi etc. – were found during the excavations on its southern side.<sup>28</sup> An olive press was found in front of the church (similarly as at Kapljuč).<sup>29</sup>

The foundation layer of the Early Christian church's southern wall and four colonnade bases were found *in situ* in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A few *wall continuations*, two fragments of liturgical furnishings and cemetery equipment (sarcophagi) can be dated to the same period.<sup>30</sup>

The excavations in the 1960s yielded a poorly preserved semicircular wall of an apse in the immediate vicinity of a medieval rectangular apse. The width of the semicircular wall and the dressing technique used for it indicate Late Antique dating. As the other perimeter walls remain unknown, so do the exact dimensions of the church.

A few meters to the south of the sanctuary, there stood an octagonal baptistery with an underground cross-shaped font in the center. The font had a square ground plan with a cross inscribed in it. Access to it was along the western arm of the cross. Drainage channels made of ceramic tubes (*tubo di terracotta*)<sup>31</sup> were also found. The water would flow out

24 Katalog 2011, 39–43 (*Organizacija i arhitektura druge faze naselja* [1. – 5. st. po. Kr.], napisao: I. Šuta).

25 Katalog 2011, 23.

26 Katalog 2011, 29.

27 I. Šuta 2007, 396; Katalog, 2011, 27.

28 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1968, 175; D. Jelovina 1999, 100.

29 E. Dyggve 1996, sl. IV: 26.

30 F. Bulić 1904, 56–67; H. Gjurašin 1999, 87.

24 Katalog 2011, 39–43 (*Organizacija i arhitektura druge faze naselja* [1. – 5. st. po. Kr.] by I. Šuta).

25 Katalog 2011, 23.

26 Katalog 2011, 29.

27 I. Šuta 2007, 396; Katalog, 2011, 27.

28 D. Jelovina, D. Vrsalović 1968, 175; D. Jelovina 1999, 100.

29 E. Dyggve 1996, fig. IV: 26.

30 F. Bulić 1904, 56–67; H. Gjurašin 1999, 87.

31 F. Bulić 1904, 64.

*terracotta*)<sup>31</sup> kojima je nakon obreda krštenja voda istjecala iz piscine. Sistem s vodovodnim kanalima svakako upućuje na obred krštenja uranjanjem (jer je piscina očito bila puna vode, te je bio nužan sustav kojim će voda istjecati iz nje), a to opet govori u prilog kasnoantičkom datiranju i cijelog krstioničkog ambijenta. Zanimljivo je da krstionica ne slijedi poziciju gradnje baptisterija u odnosu na crkvu kao što je ima ona u sjedištu biskupije kojoj su pripadali Bijaći i vjerojatno Sikuli – u Saloni, već je njezin položaj s južne strane istovjetan episkopalnom sklopu u Zadru ili Pridrazi.<sup>32</sup> Njezino postojanje upućuje na krsnu ulogu koju je svetište imalo, odnosno govori u prilog razvijenom kršćanstvu u Bijaćima. Osim toga, cijeli ranokršćanski sklop bio je okružen grobovima, odnosno sarkofazima iz istog razdoblja u čemu je prepoznatljiva i cemeterijalna uloga svetišta.

Crkva je po sačuvanoj predaji vjerojatno bila posvećena sv. Ivanu Krstitelju i pripadala je, kako je već spomenuto, salonitanskoj dijecezi.

## DIJELOVI ARHITEKTURE

### Baze kolonade

Sačuvano je pet baza južne kolonade *in situ*. Na lokalitetu se uz nalazište čuva još šest baza jednake obrade i jednakih dimenzija, dok je sedma u MHAS-u u Splitu.<sup>33</sup> Šest baza u svakoj kolonadi govori o podjeli brodova crkve u šest traveja. Pet baza *in situ* u paralelnoj su liniji s mlađim, južnim perimetralnim zidom srednjovjekovne crkve. Baze su napravljene od vapnenca. Čine ih plinta, na kojoj je poveći torus, te tenija. Širina plinte je oko 60 cm, a promjer torusa oko 40 cm.

### Kapitel tipa Gradina

Od kolonade iz ranokršćanske bazilike očuvano je, dakle, više primjera baza na kojima su počivali stupovi s kapitelima. Nekoliko ulomaka tijela stupova ima promjer 35 – 40 cm.

Od ranokršćanskih kapitela koji su pripadali ranije spomenutim dijelovima arhitekture pronađena su tri primjerka. U znanosti su kapiteli već svrstani u tipološku grupu koja je prozvana po najbolje sačuvanim i najzastupljenijim kapitelima u literaturi – kapitelima iz svetišta u Gradini kraj Salone.<sup>34</sup>

Bulić u svom dnevniku spominje još *ulomke dvaju gornjih uglova kapitela od smolastog vapnenca* (inventirani u Arheološkom muzeju pod 341B i 373B, danas neprepoznati).<sup>35</sup>

Što se tiče tih kapitela tipa Gradina, radi se o primjerima kojima je kalatos obrađen akantusovim listovima

through them from the font after a baptizing ceremony. The drainage system certainly indicates immersion baptism (as the font would clearly fill with water, it had to have a system enabling water runoff), which, in turn, indicates Late Antique dating of the entire baptistery. Interestingly, the baptistery's position in relation to the church is different from the one in Salona, the seat of the diocese to which Bijaći – and probably Siculi – belonged; instead, its position to the south of the church is the same as that in the episcopal complex in Zadar or Pridraga.<sup>32</sup> Its existence reflects the baptismal role of the sanctuary – in other words, it is evidence of highly developed Christianity in Bijaći. In addition, the entire Early Christian complex was enclosed with graves – sarcophagi from the same period, indicating that the sanctuary also had a cemeterial purpose.

Tradition has it that the church was probably dedicated to St. John the Baptist and that, as we have said earlier, it belonged to the Salona diocese.

## THE ELEMENTS OF THE ARCHITECTURE

### Colonnade bases

Five bases of the southern colonnade have been preserved *in situ*. Six more bases executed in the same way and of the same size are kept close to the site and a seventh one is held in MHAS in Split.<sup>33</sup> The fact that there are six bases in each colonnade indicates that the church's naves were divided into six bays. The five *in situ* bases are parallel with the later, southern perimeter wall of the medieval church. Made of limestone, the bases consist of a plinth, with a massive torus on top of it, and a *taenia*. The plinth is approx. 60cm wide and the torus is approx. 40cm in diameter.

### Gradina-type capital

Of the colonnade of the Early Christian basilica, several specimens remain of the bases that once supported columns with capitals. A few fragments of column shafts are 35-40cm in diameter.

Three of the Early Christian capitals belonging to the above mentioned architectural elements have been found. Scholars have already classified these capitals into the typological group named after the best preserved capitals which are at the same time most frequently analyzed in literature – those from the sanctuary in Gradina near Salone.<sup>34</sup>

In his field log, Bulić also mentions “fragments of two upper corners of a resinous-limestone capital” (inventoried at the Archaeological Museum as 341B and 373B, but have not been traced in the holdings yet).<sup>35</sup>

As for the Gradina-type capitals, their kalathos has acanthus leaves rendered in such way that they seem pressed close

31 F. Bulić 1904, 64.

32 P. Vežić 2005, 86–94.

33 P. Chevalier 1995, 222–224; 1999, 116–119.

34 Lj. Karaman 1930, 194–195; A. Piteša 1992, 132; B. Šiljeg 2009, 82.

35 P. Chevalier 1999, 116.

32 P. Vežić 2005, 86–94.

33 P. Chevalier 1995, 222–224; 1999, 116–119.

34 Lj. Karaman 1930, 194–195; A. Piteša 1992, 132; B. Šiljeg 2009, 82.

35 P. Chevalier 1999, 116.





**Slika 2. Kapitel tipa Gradina, depo Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu**  
Figure 2. Gradina-type capital, depot of Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

čvrsto priljubljenima uz njegove uglove. Po sredini svake strane vršci se listova dodiruju formirajući tako geometrijske likove, manje-više pravilne četverokute odnosno trokute. U njegovim gornjim vrhovima izdubeni su okulusi. U središtu abaka, podno njegova donjeg brida, isklesani su trokuti. Listovi su vrlo plošni, s urezanim žlijebovima kao prikazima njihovih žilica. Pri vrhu se listovi neznatno savijaju u prostor.

Jedan kapitel, koji je ujedno i prvi pronađen, polovično je sačuvan. Raspoznaje se na fotografiji iz vremena istraživanja, a i Bulić ga spominje u svom izvještaju smatrajući ga produktom rimskog vremena.<sup>36</sup> Iako su motivi na kapitelu oštećeni, na strani koja je bolje očuvana dobro se raspoznaje motiv akantusovih listova koji se penju po cijeloj visini kalatosa stvarajući međusobno geometrijske likove. Čuva se u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (sl. 2). Drugi kapitel koji se čuva u MHAS-u očuvan je u svom donjem dijelu (sl. 3). U obradi



**Slika 3. Ulomak kapitela iz Sv. Marte, u MHAS-u**

Figure 3. Gradina-type capital, depot of MHAS in Split, photo: A. Mišković

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

to its corners. In the center of each side, the tips of the leaves touch each other, thus forming geometrical patterns – more or less symmetrical rectangles and triangles. In its upper parts, oculi are recessed. In the center of the abacus, underneath its lower edge, triangles are carved. The leaves are in bas-relief, with incised grooves representing their tiny veins. The tips of the leaves are slightly curved outward, rising from the surface.

One capital – the first one that was found – is only half-preserved. It is shown on an old photo taken during the excavations and Bulić also mentions it in his report, believing it to be a product of Roman times.<sup>36</sup> Although the motifs on the capital are damaged, a motif of acanthus leaves can be seen on the better-preserved side. The leaves climb along the entire height of the kalathos, forming geometrical patterns. The capital is kept in the collection of stone monuments of Archaeological Museum Split (Fig. 2). Another capital kept in the MHAS is preserved in its lower part (Fig. 3). Its workmanship is similar to the first one.<sup>37</sup> A third one is mentioned in the inventory list of the MHAS (Inv. No. B 30), but is kept at the site.<sup>38</sup> By its dimensions and description, it is the same as the other two capitals. It was found during the rescue excavations in 1965-1967.<sup>39</sup> A groove once used for connecting the capital with the shaft of the column can be seen on the capital's lower side. Significantly, the dimensions of all three capitals are the same. The capital found during the excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century has a preserved abacus width of 48cm. The assumed diameter of its base is 35cm and its height 42cm. The preserved width of the second capital is 41cm, and its reconstructed diameter is approx. 45cm.<sup>40</sup> The capital found during the rescue excavations is 40cm high and its upper diameter is 50cm. The

36 H. Gjurašin 1999, 83; F. Bulić 1904, 62; Lj. Karaman 1930, 195.

36 H. Gjurašin 1999, 83; F. Bulić 1904, 62; Lj. Karaman 1930, 195.

37 P. Chevalier 1999, 122, cat. no. 32; B. Šiljeg 2009, 95–96.

38 P. Chevalier 1999, 122 (cat. no. 33); B. Šiljeg 2009, 86.

39 B. Šiljeg 2009, 86.

40 P. Chevalier 1999, 122.

je vrlo sličan prethodno opisanom.<sup>37</sup> Treći se spominje u inventarskoj knjizi (inv. br. B 30) MHAS-a, no čuva se na nalazištu.<sup>38</sup> Dimenzijama i opisom jednak je prethodnima, a pronađen je za vrijeme revizijskih istraživanja 1965. – 1967. godine.<sup>39</sup> S donje je strane kapitela utor kojim se spajao s tijelom stupa. Kod sva tri kapitela značajno je da se u dimenzijama podudaraju. Kapitel koji je pronađen u istraživanjima s početka 20. st. ima sačuvanu širinu abakusa 48 cm, pretpostavljeni promjer dna mu je 35 cm, a visina 42 cm. Drugi kapitel ima sačuvanu širinu 41 cm, a rekonstruirani promjer oko 45 cm.<sup>40</sup> Kapitel pronađen za revizijskih istraživanja visok je 40 cm, a gornji promjer iznosi 50 cm. Veličina triju kapitela svaka-govori u prilog dijelovima kolonade crkve.

Kapiteli tipa Gradina u pristupačnijem kamenu domaćeg, lokalnog podrijetla imitiraju mramorne kapitele ranokršćanske crkve sv. Petra i Mojsija (?) u Solinu, na čijem će mjestu nastati tzv. Šuplja crkva.<sup>41</sup>

Kapitele je R. Kautzsch među prvima datirao u prvu četvrtinu 6. st., eventualno u mlađu dataciju, ali sve unutar 6. st.<sup>42</sup> Nakon njega razni autori uzimaju dataciju kapitela s akantusovim listovima kao argument za dataciju i same crkve u Gradini, te je velik broj znanstvenika smješta u doba nakon bizantske rekonkviste.<sup>43</sup>

Crkva u Gradini centralnog je tlocrta: riječ je o nepravilnom kvadratu sa stranicama 12 x 15 m.<sup>44</sup> Na začelju je istaknuta polukružna apsida, obočena dvjema manjim apsidama ili nišama. U interijeru osam stupova formiraju ophod, dok je vanjsko oplošje prekriveno lezenama. Kako je već P. Vežić ustanovio, ona je, po stilu i arhitektonskim elementima, vrlo slična i prvoj fazi crkve sv. Donata u Zadru koja se također datira u drugu polovinu 8. st. te se priklanjamo dataciji crkve u Gradini u to razdoblje.<sup>45</sup>

Vratimo se sad kapitelima i njihovu datiranju jer je ono važno i za one koji su pronađeni u Bijaćima. Obrada listova na kapitelima išla bi doista u ranokršćanski stil, u doba nakon bizantske rekonkviste. Plošna obrada listova, urezanim obrisima naznačena njihova fizionomija i spajanje, gotovo igra vršaka listova odlike su postjustinijanova stila, preciznije – iz druge polovine 6. st. Datacija odgovara ranokršćanskoj crkvi

size of these three capitals certainly indicates that they belonged to the church colonnade.

The Gradina-type capitals, made from the more accessible local stone, imitate the marble capitals of the Early Christian St. Peter and Moses' Church (?) in Solin, in place of which the so-called "Šuplja crkva" (Hollow Church) would be built.<sup>41</sup>

R. Kautzsch was among the first one to date the capitals to the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD; they may have been made a bit later, but definitely within the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> Various other authors after him used the dating of the capital with the acanthus leaves as an argument for dating the whole church at Gradina; this is why many scholars date it to the period after the Byzantine reconquest.<sup>43</sup>

The church at Gradina is a central-plan church; it is an asymmetrical 12 x 15m square.<sup>44</sup> A semicircular apse projects from the rear wall. The apse is supported by two smaller apses or niches. In the interior, an ambulatory is formed by eight columns; as for the outside wall, it is covered with pilaster strips. As P. Vežić has already established, the style and architectural elements of this church make it very similar to the first phase of Zadar's St. Donatus' Church, which is also dated to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. This is why we tend to accept the dating of the Gradina church to the same period.<sup>45</sup>

Let us return now to the capitals and their dating because it is relevant for the ones found in Bijaći, too. Indeed, the rendering of the leaves on the capitals corresponds with the Early Christian style from the period following the Byzantine reconquest. The bas-relief rendering of the leaves, their contours and connecting tips merely outlined by incised lines and the interplay of their tips are the distinctive features of the Post-Justinian style – specifically, the second half of 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. The dating corresponds with the dating of the Early Christian church in Bijaći. However, it does not correspond with dating of the Gradina church to Middle Byzantine Period. The only logical solution is that the Gradina capitals had originally belonged to some earlier structure and were later reused as spolia. Indeed, Salona had plenty of structures. Spolia were regularly used as architectural elements of the Gradina church; as a result, many Roman remains were found in its walls.<sup>46</sup> Besides, all the eight columns in the central zone of Gradina church belong to the Roman period. Interestingly,

37 P. Chevalier 1999, 122, kat. br. 32; B. Šiljeg 2009, 95–96.

38 P. Chevalier 1999, 122 (kat.br. 33); B. Šiljeg 2009, 86.

39 B. Šiljeg 2009, 86.

40 P. Chevalier 1999, 122.

41 P. Chevalier 1999, 122.

42 R. Kautzsch 1936, 1–22.

43 B. Šiljeg 2009, 83–86, donio je pregled svih autora koji su se bavili datacijom crkve i njezinom problematikom. Autori kao što su M. Prelog, J. Marasović ili A. Piteša smatraju da je crkva iz kasnoantičkog perioda (M. Prelog 1993, 92–94; J. Marasović 1992, 138–143; A. Piteša 1992, 131–137). Ž. Rapanić 1987, 101; 2000, 44, također misli da je crkva izgrađena nakon bizantske rekonkviste (tijekom druge polovine 6. st.), dok su R. Ivančević, R. Bužančić i P. Vežić zagovornici ranosrednjovjekovnog porijekla crkve. R. Ivančević 1996, 80; R. Bužančić 2007, 131–133; P. Vežić 2002, 78, 122. Lj. Karaman 1930, 181–204, datira je dosta kasno, u 11. st.

44 A. Piteša 1992, 131.

45 P. Vežić 2002, 78, 122–123.

41 P. Chevalier 1999, 122.

42 R. Kautzsch 1936, 1–22.

43 B. Šiljeg 2009, 83–86, gives an overview of the authors who have dealt with the problem of dating this church. The authors like M. Prelog, J. Marasović or A. Piteša believe that the church belongs to Late Antiquity (M. Prelog 1993, 92–94; J. Marasović 1992, 138–143; A. Piteša 1992, 131–137). Ž. Rapanić 1987, 101; 2000, 44, also thinks that the church was built after the Byzantine reconquest (in the second half of the 6th century AD), while R. Ivančević, R. Bužančić and P. Vežić propose that the church was built in Early Middle Ages. R. Ivančević 1996, 80; R. Bužančić 2007, 131–133; P. Vežić 2002, 78, 122. Lj. Karaman 1930, 181–204, dates it to a rather early period – in the 11th century.

44 A. Piteša 1992, 131.

45 P. Vežić 2002, 78, 122–123.

46 A. Piteša 1992, 132.



u Bijaćima, međutim ne odgovara dataciji crkve u Gradini u srednjobizantsko doba. Jedino logično rješenje jest da su kapiteli iz Gradine bili kao spoliji iskorišteni iz neke starije građevine, a Salona je doista njima i obilovala. U arhitekturi crkve u Gradini inače su se koristili spoliji, tako da je u građevinskom materijalu u samom zidu pronađeno i rimskih ostataka.<sup>46</sup> Osim toga i svih osam stupova u centralnoj zoni crkve u Gradini iz rimskog su razdoblja. Zanimljivo je da su neke baze stupova rimski spoliji, a neke su nastale u ranom srednjem vijeku, što bi odgovaralo dataciji crkve.

Inače se u literaturi smatra da su kapiteli s kolonada tipa Gradina povezani s većim naseljima – Dubrovnikom, Splitom, Krkom odnosno Sikulima.<sup>47</sup> No, kako je ovdje riječ o svetištu u sklopu *villae rusticae* u naselju Bijaći, a ne o samim Sikulima koji su locirani u Resniku, mjestu uz obalu, kapitel odudara od uvriježenog pravila. Manji kapiteli tipa Gradina locirani su na otoku Braču i na kopnenj strani u Omišu.

### Dijelovi vrata

Od jednog ulaza očuvan je i nadvratnik koji je kao sekundarni građevinski materijal bio u funkciji ugaonog kamena novovjekovne crkvice sagrađene na mjestu krstionice. Na njemu su bila isklesana tri križa, kako kažu prvi istraživači s početka 20. st., „na domaću“ istesana.<sup>48</sup> On je mogao biti dio portala same ranokršćanske crkve, ali isto tako i dio portala krstionice.<sup>49</sup> Da nadvratnik nije ranosrednjovjekovne provenijencije, dokazuje ulomak iste funkcije koji je pronađen tik do glavnog mlađeg ulaza u crkvu, a taj je imao na sebi, u središtu plohe urezan jedan latinski križ raširenih krajeva. Nakon istraživanja ranokršćanskome nadvratniku gubi se trag.

### ELEMENTI PROZORA (stupići i tranzene)

Istraživanjima je pronađeno više dijelova arhitektonskih otvora na osnovi kojih se može zaključiti da je crkva bila rastvorena prozorskim otvorima – poliforama. P. Chevalier kaže da su na crkvi mogle biti dvije bifore ili jedna trifora.<sup>50</sup> Od stupića koji su rastvarali polifore pronađena su tri od kojih se jedan u međuvremenu zagubio te jedan primjer impost kapitela. Što se tiče tranzena, pronađeni fragmenti ukazuju na nekoliko različitih perforacija.

Prvi sačuvani stupić prozora kvaderastog je, pomalo trapezoidnog oblika s obzirom na to da se pri vrhu blago sužava (sl. 4, 5). Visok je 92 cm. Pri dnu i pri vrhu ima jednostavnu profilaciju u vidu glatkih traka koje uokviruju sam križ. Križ latinskog tipa, širokog korpusa i lagano raširenih hasti isklesan je u plitkom reljefu.

some of the column bases are Roman spolia and some were made in Early Middle Ages – this latter period would correspond with the dating of the church.

Otherwise, it is believed in literature that the Gradina-type capitals from the colonnades can be associated with major settlements – Dubrovnik, Split, Krk and Siculi, respectively.<sup>47</sup> However, as the subject of this paper is the sanctuary belonging to the complex of the *villa rustica* in Bijaći and not Siculi proper (located in Resnik, a place on the coast), capitals are an exception to the general rule. Smaller Gradina-type capitals have also been found on Brač and on the mainland just opposite this island, in Omiš.

### Door elements

The door lintel of one of the entrances has been preserved. Reused as construction material, it was used as a cornerstone of a small Modern-Age church built in the place of the baptistery. Three crosses were carved on it – “na domaću” (“in the local way”), according to first researchers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup> It could have been part of the portal of the Early Christian church itself, but also part of the portal of the baptistery.<sup>49</sup> The fragment of the same function (with a Latin cross with widened ends cut in the center of the surface), found right next to the main earlier entrance to the church, can be seen as evidence that the door lintel does not belong to Early Middle Ages. After the excavations, the Early Christian door lintel was lost.

### WINDOW ELEMENTS (mullions and transenne)

Several parts of architectural openings found during the excavations suggest that the church had windows – polyphoras. According to P. Chevalier, the church could have had two biphoras or one triphora.<sup>50</sup> Three of the mullions dividing the polyphoras were found (one was lost in the meantime) and one capital impost. As for the transenne, the remaining fragments indicate they had several different perforations.

The first preserved mullion has a shape of a cuboid – it is, actually, somewhat trapezoidal because it slightly tapers towards its top (Figs. 4, 5). It is 92cm high. At the bottom and at the top it has plain smooth bands framing a cross. The bas-relief cross is of the Latin type, wide-bodied and wide-armed, with slightly spaced-out shafts.

This mullion could be the fragment designated in Bulić’s catalogue as 108 B.<sup>51</sup> However, since two similarly carved mullions have been found, we cannot be certain

46 A. Piteša 1992, 132.

47 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100.

48 H. Gjurašin 1999, 61.

49 O simboličkim križeva na vratima vidi u A. Mišković 2007, 407–414.

50 P. Chevalier 1999, 123.

47 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100.

48 H. Gjurašin 1999, 61.

49 For the symbolical meaning of crosses on doors, see A. Mišković 2007, 407–414.

50 P. Chevalier 1999, 123.

51 F. Bulić 1904, 63; Katalog 1994, no. III, b 6, 24 and T. XII; P. Chevalier 1999, 124–125.



Slika 4. Stupić pergole i prozorski supić, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 4. Pergola colonette and mullion, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

Taj stupić možda je upravo onaj ulomak koji Bulić u svom katalogu numerira pod 108 B.<sup>51</sup> No, s obzirom na to da su pronađena dva slično obrađena stupića, ne možemo biti potpuno uvjereni koji je od ta dva zaveden pod tom numeracijom. Svakako je jedan pronađen kao spolij u pragu južnih bočnih vrata, do samog ulaza u svetište. Sudeći po zapisima P. Ergovca, križ u reljefu na tom stupiću pravilno je isklesan.<sup>52</sup> Drugi, očito sličan tome, pronađen je u sklopu novovjekovne crkvice sv. Marte.<sup>53</sup> Za njega istraživač Pavao Perat kaže da se radi o *ulomku praga sa starokršćanskim križem* te donosi njegovu skicu (iako bi nas crteži i opis mogli navesti na funkciju pilastra pergole, termin koji je Pavao upotrijebio – *prag* – govori zapravo o tome kako ulomak vjerojatno nije imao nekih utora po sebi što bi kao pilastar trebao imati).

Stupić koji je u 9. st. preupotrijebljen kao konzola nije, naravno, očuvan u svojim izvornim dimenzijama (sl. 6). Ulomak



Slika 5. Prozorski stupić, bočna strana, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 5. Mullion, lateral side, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

which of the two is designated under this number. One of them was certainly found as a spolium in the threshold of the southern lateral door, right next to the entrance to the sanctuary. According to P. Ergovac's notes, the relief cross on the mullion is symmetrically carved.<sup>52</sup> The other mullion, clearly similar to the first one, was found in the Modern-Age St. Martha's Church.<sup>53</sup> Pavao Perat claims it is a "fragment of a threshold with an Early Christian cross". He also sketched it (although the sketch and description might suggest that the fragment could have been a part of a pergola-shaped chancel screen, the term that Perat used – *threshold* – actually indicates that the fragment probably contained no grooves that a pilaster should contain).

Naturally, the mullion reused as a cantilever in the 9<sup>th</sup> century has not been preserved in its original dimensions (Fig. 6). A Latin cross with shafts very spaced out is carved

51 F. Bulić 1904, 63; Katalog 1994, br. III, b 6, 24 i T. XII; P. Chevalier 1999, 124–125.

52 H. Gjurašin 1999, 26–27.

53 H. Gjurašin 1999, 72, sl. 214.

52 H. Gjurašin 1999, 26–27.

53 H. Gjurašin 1999, 72, fig. 214.





**Slika 6. Prozorski stupić prepotrijebljen kao konzola, Arheološki muzej u Splitu**

Figure 6. Mullion reused as cantilever, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

na jednoj strani ima urezan latinski križ široko raširenih hasti.<sup>54</sup> S obzirom na izraženu rustičnu obradu, možda bi se stupić mogao pripisati i prijelaznom razdoblju crkve sv. Ivana Krstitelja, kada se ona oprema novim liturgijskim namještajem – plutejima s četveroprutim križevima.

Impost kapitel koji se čuva u depou kamenih spomenika u MHAS-u ima izduženi oblik podijeljen u dva lučna segmenta. Njihov obris dekoriran je urezanim žlijebom u ikonografskom prikazu ribljih ljuski.

Što se tiče tranzena, očekivano je da su, s obzirom na tehniku klesanja kojom su napravljene, sve očuvane u lomovima. Tako od sačuvanih prozorskih rešetki imamo one koje su bile perforirane klasičnim ranokršćanskim motivom ribljih ljuski. Jedan takav ulomak zastupljen je u katalogu koji donosi P. Chevalier: radi se o središnjem dijelu prozorske rešetke koji je imao ljuske u vidu dvopruto urezanih polukružnih linija (sl. 7).<sup>55</sup> Debljina rešetke iznosi 11 cm. Po motivu, ali i debljini, istoj rešetki odgovara rubni dio tranzene sa skvamama koji donosi T. Šeparović u katalogu ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture (debljina ulomka 12 cm, sl. 8).<sup>56</sup> Ulomak središnjeg dijela tranzene nešto je lošije očuvan, dok nam rubni dio s obzirom na dobru sačuvanost ukazuje na vrlo finu obradu kamena vapnenca.

P. Chevalier donosi rešetku koja također ima pravilnu i preciznu obradu, a rešetku čine glatke trake. Debljina rešetki je cca 4,5, a okvira 5 cm.<sup>57</sup> Druga rešetka također ima obradu

on one side of the fragment.<sup>54</sup> Given its rustic workmanship, the mullion could perhaps be associated with the transitional period of the Church of St. John the Baptist, when it was equipped with new liturgical furnishings – chancel-screen panels with four-braided-ribbon crosses.

The impost capital kept in the stone monument depot at the MHAS has an elongated shape divided in two arch segments. Their outline is decorated with an incised groove in an iconographic depiction of fish scales.

All the transenne are preserved in fragments. It was to be expected, given the carving technique used for their making. The preserved window latticeworks contain perforated “fish scale” – a classic Early Christian motif. One such fragment is included in P. Chevalier’s catalogue: the central part of a window latticework with fish scales in the form of incised semicircular lines rendered as double-braided ribbon (Fig. 7).<sup>55</sup> The latticework is 11cm thick. The peripheral fragment of the transenna with squamae, published by T. Šeparović in his catalogue of early medieval sculpture (12cm thick, Fig. 8), is analogous to this latticework by its motif and by its thickness.<sup>56</sup> While the fragment of the central part of the transenna is poorly preserved, the peripheral part is preserved well-enough to indicate that the limestone it is made from was very finely dressed.

P. Chevalier published a latticework which is also symmetrical and of detailed rendering. The latticework consists of smooth ribbons. The latticework bars are approx. 4.5cm thick and its frame is 5cm thick.<sup>57</sup> The other latticework is also decorated with smooth ribbons; they are somewhat longer than the one on the first latticework and its bars are also somewhat thicker than on the first latticework – 7.6cm.<sup>58</sup> This means that the bars of the two transenne of different thickness contain perforated bands or ribbons.

The following example is a fragment of a transenna with a cross (Fig. 9).<sup>59</sup> The fragment is broken on three sides and has a molded frame along the edge on the fourth side. In the center of a T-shaped strand, a Latin cross with very spaced-out shafts is carved. The fragment is 7.2 to 9cm thick.

In his catalogue, T. Šeparović published one more fragment which more likely belongs to the Late Antique period than Early Middle Ages. It is the catalogue item No. 22 – a peripheral fragment of a transenna (7cm thick).<sup>60</sup> The motif of a plain strand that arches and becomes double-braided can be seen along the edge of the frame. Perhaps it is a latticework consisting of double-braided elongated arcades; D. Fray also noticed this back in the

54 M. P. Fleche Mourgues, P. Chevalier, A. Piteša 1993, 258 (br. VII. 3); P. Chevalier 1999, 124, sl. 12.

55 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, br. 42, 136, sl. 14.

56 T. Šeparović 1999, 181, sl. 94.

57 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, br. 41.

54 M. P. Fleche Mourgues, P. Chevalier, A. Piteša 1993, 258 (no. VII. 3); P. Chevalier 1999, 124, fig. 12.

55 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, no. 42, 136, fig. 14.

56 T. Šeparović 1999, 181, fig. 94.

57 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, no. 41.

58 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, no. 43.

59 H. Gjurašin 1999, 20, T. IX: 1; P. Chevalier 1999, 125–126, no. 44, fig. 15.

60 T. Šeparović 1999, 149.



Sl. 14.

### Slika 7. Ulomak tranzene

Figure 7. Fragment of transenna

prema / from: P. Chevalier, 1999, 136.



u vidu glatkih traka koje su nešto uže od prethodne, dok je sama debljina te rešetke nešto veća – 7,6 cm.<sup>58</sup> To znači da su dvije tranzene različitih debljina imale rešetke perforirane trakama ili prutovima.

Sljedeći primjer ulomak je tranzene s križem (sl. 9).<sup>59</sup> Fragment je na tri strane u lomovima, a četvrtu čini rubni, profilirani okvir. Posred pruta u obliku slova T uklesan je motiv latinskog križa široko razmaknutih hasti. Debljina ulomka iznosi od 7,2 do 9 cm.

58 P. Chevalier 1999, 125, br. 43.

59 H. Gjurašin 1999, 20, T. IX: 1; P. Chevalier 1999, 125–126, br. 44, sl. 15.



### Slika 8. Ulomak tranzene

Figure 8. Fragment of transenna

prema / from: T. Šeparović, 1999, 181.

### Slika 9. Ulomak tranzene

Figure 9. Fragment of transenna

prema / from: P. Chevalier, 1999, 137.

early 20<sup>th</sup> century and he published a sketch of such window latticework.<sup>61</sup>

Frey also published three sketches of the peripheral transenna parts that – based on their rendering – could also be parts of three separate windows. Sketches of them were reprinted in Gjurašin's overview of the first archaeological excavations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>62</sup> they are designated as No. 13, 14 and 15. For example, the transenna No. 13 contained arch motifs formed by plain strands. This transenna was 8.5cm thick.

The second transenna (No. 14) probably contained a similar motif, but was much thicker – 14.5cm. The arches (or some other motif – only the beginning of the perforation has been preserved) were 14cm wide. The third latticework (No. 15) was as thick as the second one (14.5cm); it also might have contained a similar arch motif, but its diameters are rather bigger than those of the other two. They were as much as 19cm! For this reason, although the analyzed fragments have been associated with window latticeworks, one should nevertheless be careful and keep in mind the identically shaped chancel-screen panels, particularly because the Early Christian plutei from the chancel screen in the Church of St. John the Baptist have not

61 H. Gjurašin 1999, when publishing Frey's transenna sketches held in the MHAS archives, 18.

62 H. Gjurašin 1999, 20.



T. Šeparović u katalogu donosi još jedan ulomak za koji je vjerojatnije da pripada kasnoantičkom razdoblju nego ranosrednjovjekovnomu. Riječ je o ulomku koji je katalogiziran pod br. 22, a radi se o je rubnom dijelu tranzene (debljine 7 cm).<sup>60</sup> Uz rub okvira proteže se motiv u vidu jednostavne trake koja pri lučnom savijanju postaje dvopruta. Možda se ovdje radi o rešetki koju čine dvoprute izdužene arkadice, što je već uočio i D. Frey pa je skicu takve prozorske rešetke donio još početkom 20. st.<sup>61</sup>

Frey također donosi tri skice rubnih dijelova tranzena koji su po obradi mogli biti dijelovi triju zasebnih prozorskih otvora. Njihove skice pretiskane su u Gjurašinovu pregledu prvih arheoloških istraživanja s početka 20. st.,<sup>62</sup> a crtač ih donosi pod brojevima 13, 14 i 15. Tako je otvor rešetke pod br. 13 imao motive lukova koje su stvarali jednostavni prutovi. Debljina te tranzene iznosila je 8,5 cm.

Druga tranzena (br. 14) vjerojatno je imala motiv sličan prethodno opisanom, no njezina debljina dosta je veća i iznosi 14,5 cm. Sami lukovi (ili možda neki drugi motiv, riječ je tek o početcima perforacije) bio je širok 14 cm. Treća je (br. 15) pak bila iste debljine kao druga rešetka, 14,5 cm, te je i ona možda imala sličan motiv lukova, no njezini dijameri dosta su širi u odnosu na prethodne. Njihov raspon iznosio je čak 19 cm! Stoga, iako su obrađeni ulomci pripisani prozorskim rešetkama, pri toj konstataciji treba biti oprezan i imati na umu identično oblikovane pluteje, pogotovo što ranokršćanske ploče ograde svetišta iz Sv. Ivana Krstitelja nisu do sada evidentirane u nalazima. Stoga je lako moguće da su prva dva ulomka, odnosno posljednji navedeni, u biti dijelovi prve ograde svetišta. U nedostatku jačih argumenata, ostavljamo ih u dijelu opisa prozorskih rešetki, uz konstataciju o dvojbenoj izvornoj namjeni.

U konačnici od sačuvanog i priloženog materijala možemo zaključiti da za prozore sigurno imamo dva razdjelna stupića, eventualno tri ako onaj stupić s urezanim križem datiramo ranije (iako bi po tehnicima klesanja više odgovarao 7. ili 8. st.). Što se tiče tranzena, imamo jednu rešetku od 12 cm s motivom ribljih ljuski i dvije rešetke od čak 14,5 cm s motivom lukova. Ostale su imale perforaciju u vidu glatkih traka, križa, dvoprutih arkadica i jednostavnih lukova. No za njih je primjetno da su sve bile jako tanke, od 5 do 9 cm!<sup>63</sup> U svakom slučaju, primjetan je impresivan broj različitih motiva prozorskih rešetki na jednom sakralnom zdanju.

## LITURGIJSKE INSTALACIJE

Od dijelova liturgijskog namještaja postoje evidencije o dijelovima oltara, ciborija nad njim, visoke ograde svetišta i

been found yet. It is therefore very possible that the first two fragments – the last two mentioned above – actually belong to the first chancel screen. In the absence of stronger arguments, we are leaving them in the sections of this paper describing window latticeworks, but we note that their original purpose is uncertain.

Finally, we can conclude that the preserved material presented here certainly includes two mullions for windows – or, perhaps, three, if we date the one with a cross carved in it to an earlier period (although it is more likely that the carving technique applied belongs to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> centuries). As for the transennas, there is one 12cm thick window latticework with a fish-scales motif and two latticeworks as much as 14.5cm thick, with arch motifs. The other ones have perforations in the forms of smooth ribbons, crosses, double-braided-ribbon arcades and plain arches. They are all very thin, between 5 and 9cm!<sup>63</sup> In any case, it is a rather impressive number of various motifs on the window latticeworks of a single sacral structure.

## LITURGICAL INSTALLATIONS

As regards parts of liturgical furnishings, there is evidence of fragments of an altar, ciborium above it, high chancel screen and lectern – the parts that can positively be dated to the period after the Byzantine reconquest.

### The altar

Of the elements that could have belonged to the altar, three bases and one fragment of a colonette have been preserved – all made from gray marble.

Bulić's catalogue also includes three fragments of a marble altar table (105B a–b and 168B), a quarter of a colonette base (364B) and 5 or 6 fragments of the smooth shaft of a small marble column (138B, 158B, 170B, 172B and maybe 427B) with a diameter of 11–13cm.<sup>64</sup>

Not the entire height of the altar colonettes has been preserved; instead, their broken fragments remain. Of one of them, only the base has been preserved, with a plinth with two molded tori on it. On the lower side of the colonette, a groove for fixing it to the altar base can be seen. The other white-marble base fragment contains a (rather damaged) plinth and a molding ("part of an Attican-type scotia") consisting of three *taeniae*. Of the fourth fragment, only the shaft of a colonette broken at the bottom and on the top has been preserved. All these fragments are held at the MHAS.<sup>65</sup> Based on the fragments and Bulić's notes, we can tell that the original Early Christian altar was designed in a classic way: a table with four colonettes supporting the top flat molded slab.

60 T. Šeparović 1999, 149.

61 H. Gjurašin 1999, kada donosi Freyve skice tranzena koje se čuvaju u arhivu MHAS-a, 18.

62 H. Gjurašin 1999, 20.

63 I one ranosrednjovjekovne tranzene bit će jako tanke, čak 6 cm. T. Šeparović 1999, 144–150, kat. br. 9–16, 18–21, 23–25.

63 The medieval transenne are also very thin, as much as 6cm. T. Šeparović 1999, 144–150, cat. no. 9–16, 18–21, 23–25.

64 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

65 P. Chevalier 1999, 126–127.



ambona, onih dijelova instalacija koji se sigurno mogu datirati u doba nakon bizantske rekonkviste.

### Oltar

Od elemenata koji bi mogli pripadati oltaru sačuvane su tri baze i jedan ulomak stupića, sve napravljeno od sivog mramora.

U Bulićevu katalogu spominju se još i tri ulomka mramorne menze (105B a–b i 168B), četvrtina baze stupića (364B) i 5 ili 6 komada glatkog tijela mramornog stupića (138B, 158B, 170B, 172B i možda 427B) promjera 11 – 13 cm.<sup>64</sup>

Stupići oltara nisu sačuvani u cijeloj visini, odnosno očuvani su u lomovima. Od jednog primjera očuvana je samo baza koja pri dnu ima plintu s profilacijom od dva torusa. S donje strane baze stupića utor je za učvršćivanje s bazom oltara. Drugi ulomak baze od bijelog mramora ima plintu i profilaciju (dosta oštećenu) koju čine tri tenije. Treći ulomak baze stupića također ima sačuvan jedan dio plinte i profilacije (*dio skotije atičkog tipa*). Od četvrtog ulomka imamo samo tijelo stupića koji je odlomljen pri dnu i pri vrhu. Svi se ulomci čuvaju u MHAS-u.<sup>65</sup> Po ulomcima i zapisu u Bulićevu dnevniku može se razabrati da je prvotni ranokršćanski oltar bio konstruiran na klasičan način, kao stol sa četiri stupića koji podržavaju menzu, ravnu profiliranu ploču.

P. Chevalier spominje i neke dijelove oltara od vapnenca<sup>66</sup>, no s obzirom na učestale promjene liturgijskog namještaja, može se pretpostaviti da vapnenački oltar ipak pripada mlađem razdoblju kada je do mramornog materijala bilo teže doći.

### Ciborij

U Bulićevu katalogu navedeno je više komada stupova izrađenih od bijelog mramora, promjera oko 21 – 23 cm, koji svojim dimenzijama upućuju na postojanje ciborija, i to oltarnog s obzirom na prirodu materijala (mramor se gotovo redovito koristio za oltarne instalacije i njegove pokrove). Po crtežu koji donosi D. Frey u Gjurašinovu pretpisku dnevnika istraživanja vidi se nekoliko ulomaka mramornih baza s donjim dijelovima stupova. Baze počivaju na plintama jednostavnog, pravokutnog oblika nad kojima su dva jednostavna široka pojasa ili trake iz kojih se penje glatko tijelo stupa.<sup>67</sup> Jedna cjelovito sačuvana baza široka je 23 cm, a stup 22 cm, dok su dvije baze uzdužno presječene te njihove debljine iznose 12,5 cm odnosno 10 cm. Dva ulomka mramornih stupova i vrh jednog stupa s dimenzijama od 23 cm pronađeni su u brodu ranokršćanske

P. Chevalier mentions some limestone fragments of the altar<sup>66</sup>; however, given the frequent changing of the liturgical furnishings, we can assume that the limestone altar can be associated a later period, when marble was not so easily available anymore.

### The ciborium

Bulić's catalogue includes several white-marble columns, each with a diameter of approx. 21-23cm. Their size and material indicate that there was an altar ciborium (marble was almost regularly used for altar installations and canopies above them). D. Frey's drawing in Gjurašin's reprint of Bulić's field log shows several fragments of marble bases with lower parts of columns. The bases rest on the plain square plinths above which two simple wide strips or bands can be seen, from which the smooth shaft of the column rises.<sup>67</sup> One completely preserved base is 23cm wide and the column is 22cm wide. Two bases are cut along their longer sides and their thicknesses are 12.5cm and 10cm, respectively. Two fragments of marble columns and the top of a column – all 23cm in diameter – were found in the Early Christian church's nave.<sup>68</sup> One fragment of a marble capital substantiates the assumption that these fragments of marble bases and shafts could belong to an Early Christian altar ciborium. It was found during the excavations at the southern side of the church.<sup>69</sup> It was also drawn by D. Frey and is included in Šeparović's catalogue as an early medieval object (No. 95, held at MHAS).<sup>70</sup> The capital is mostly damaged, but its execution suggests it belongs to a period earlier than it has been believed (Fig. 10). Its kalathos contains deeply cut leaves on all four sides. The leaves have molded contours, too. Curling at their tips, the leaves support a volute curling high from the center of the kalathos. At first glance, the three strands on the capital, located in between the volutes – the so-called triglyphs – may seem early medieval. However, their shape does not necessarily have to be associated with the early medieval triple-braided ribbon because this motif was also used in Antiquity – actually, its presence in Middle Ages was due to borrowing from the earlier epochs. In this respect, one should pay attention to a capital from St. Mary's Church in Bale, Istria, containing small triglyphs in its center.<sup>71</sup> The capital indeed is early medieval, but the analogy should not come as a surprise because its author – the stonemason known in literature as The Master of Capitals of Bale – often used motifs from Antiquity and early Christian period

64 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

65 P. Chevalier 1999, 126–127.

66 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

67 H. Gjurašin 1999, 25, T. XIV: 3–5.

66 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

67 H. Gjurašin 1999, 25, T. XIV: 3–5.

68 H. Gjurašin 1999, 31.

69 The two joining capital fragments were found in two occasions. H. Gjurašin 1999, 39, 45.

70 H. Gjurašin 1999, 11, T. I: 9; T. Šeparović 1999, 181.

71 I am indebted to Prof. Vežić, who drew my attention to the analogy with the capital from St. Mary's Church in Bale.

crkve.<sup>68</sup> U prilog tome da bi ti mramorni ulomci baza i tijela stupova bili dijelovi ranokršćanskog oltarnog ciborija ide i jedan ulomak mramornog kapitela. Pronađen je za vrijeme istraživanja s južne strane crkve.<sup>69</sup> Njega je također nacrtao D. Frey, a naveden je i u Šeparovićevu katalogu kao rano-srednjovjekovni primjerak (br. 95, čuva se u MHAS-u).<sup>70</sup> Kapitel je većim dijelom oštećen, ali obradom ukazuje na ranije razdoblje nego što je do sada smatrano (sl. 10). Naime, kalatos kapitela na sve četiri strane bio je razveden duboko usječenim listovima koji imaju i profilirani obris. Listovi se pri vrhu povijaju te pritom podržavaju glavicu volute koja se visoko izvija iz središta kalatosa. Ono što bi na prvi pogled djelovalo ranosrednjovjekovno na kapitelu jesu tri pruta u središtu između voluta, tzv. triglifi. No njihova pojava nije nužno vezana za ranosrednjovjekovnu troprutost jer je to motiv koji je korišten i u antičkom razdoblju, a njegova pojava u srednjovjekovnim vremenima jest upravo posuđenica iz ranijih epoha. U tom pogledu treba upozoriti i na jedan kapitel iz crkve Sv. Marije u Balama u Istri koji na sebi ima omanje triglife u središtu kapitela.<sup>71</sup> Kapitel jest ranosrednjovjekovni, no analogija nas ne bi trebala čuditi jer je klesar tog kapitela – u literaturi prepoznat kao *Majstor kapitela iz Bala* – često koristio i interpretirao upravo antičke i ranokršćanske motive.<sup>72</sup> Troprutost sama po sebi nije dovoljan razlog za pripisivanje nekog spomenika razdoblju ranog srednjeg vijeka: poznati su košarasti kapiteli iz Justinijanova doba koji su obrađeni motivom ukrižanih traka, a koje su upravo tropruto raščlanjene.<sup>73</sup> U tom smislu triglif u središtu kapitela može sugerirati i 6. st. kao doba nastanka! Što se tiče same tehničke izvedbe kapitela iz Bijaća, fina i precizna obrada listova, i to duboko usječenih u tvrđem materijalu – mramoru – govori o vrsnoći izrade, odnosno o umješnosti klesara. Tako obrađene listove, k tome s profiliranim obrisima, ne poznajemo u ranom srednjem vijeku, dok su u to doba sasvim rijetki (ili čak nepoznati) primjeri mramornih kapitela. Dakle, sam materijal i dimenzije spomenika (sačuvana visina 13 – 15 cm, izvorna visina 20-ak cm), debljina od 21,5 cm koja je vjerojatno nalijegala na ranije spomenute mramorne stupove, doista upućuju na kapitel oltarnog ciborija.

P. Chevalier navodi, pozivajući se na Bulićev izvještaj u Bull. Dalm, 27/1904, str. 62, da je *na terenu pronađeno još 11 ulomaka glatkih tijela stupova, 1 ulomak s križem u reljefu, 2 komada profiliranog vrha stupova*.<sup>74</sup> No tamo ipak tako ne stoji, već: *tra le rovine si rinvennero pure altre due basi eguali*



Slika 10. Ulomak mramornog kapitela (ciborija?)  
Figure 10. Fragment of marble capital (ciborium?)

prema / from: T. Šeparović 1999, 181.

and interpreted them.<sup>72</sup> The triple-braided pattern as such is not strong enough an argument to associate a monument with Early Middle Ages: well-known are, for instance, the basket-shaped capitals from Justinian's period which are decorated with intercrossing triple-braided ribbons.<sup>73</sup> In this respect, a triglyph in the center of a capital can indicate even the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD as the period when the capital was made! As far as the workmanship of the Bijaći capital is concerned, the leaves cut deep into a hard material (marble) and sophisticatedly and accurately rendered imply excellent skills of the stonemason. Such finely rendered leaves with molded contours were not known in the Early Middle Ages, and marble capitals were very rare (if any). Therefore, the very material and size of the monument (preserved height 13-15cm, original height approx. 20cm, thickness 21.5cm) that probably rested on the above mentioned marble columns, really indicate that it was an altar ciborium capital.

In reference to Bulić's report in Bull. Dalm, 27/1904, p. 62, P. Chevalier notes that "11 other fragments of smooth column shafts, 1 fragment with a relief cross and 2 pieces of molded column tops were found at the site".<sup>74</sup> However, this is not what the report says. It says: "tra le rovine si rinvennero pure altre due basi eguali alle prime" ("identical to the four bases of the southern colonnade" – author's remark), molti pezzi di colonne appartenenti a loro, ed infine un rispettivo capitello il quale, giudicando dalla pessima e superficiale esecuzione, dovrebbe appartenere al II. sec. incirca" ("a reference to the Gradina capital" – author's remark).<sup>75</sup>

68 H. Gjurašin 1999, 31.

69 Dva ulomka kapitela spojiva u lomu pronađena su u dva navrata. H. Gjurašin 1999, 39, 45.

70 H. Gjurašin 1999, 11, T. I: 9; T. Šeparović 1999, 181.

71 Zahvaljujem prof. Vežiću što me je uputio na usporedbu s kapitelom iz Sv. Marije u Balama.

72 M. Jurković 2002, 349–353, sl. 6.

73 J. P. Sordini 1989, Pl. I, Istanbul, Sainte Sophie.

74 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

72 M. Jurković 2002, 349–353, fig. 6.

73 J. P. Sordini 1989, Pl. I, Istanbul, Sainte Sophie.

74 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

75 F. Bulić 1904, 62.

*alle prime* (jednake četirima bazama južne kolonade, op. a.), *molti pezzi di colonne appartenenti a loro, ed infine un rispettivo capitello il quale, giudicando dalla pessima e superficiale esecuzione, dovrebbe appartenere al II. sec. incirca.* (odnosi se na kapitel s Gradine, op.a.).<sup>75</sup>

Nadalje, P. Chevalier spominje da su na lokalitetu pronađene i tri baze jednakih dimenzija, ali su napravljene od drugog materijala (vapnenca).<sup>76</sup> Time bi se, po autorici, moglo pretpostaviti i postojanje drugog ciborija – iznad krsnog zdenca? U prilog takvoj mogućnosti idu i neki grafički dokumenti. Naime, po crtežima D. Freya, kao i u Šeparovićevu katalogu, imamo veći broj ulomaka baza s donjim dijelovima stupova.<sup>77</sup> Obrada stupova jednostavna je sama po sebi i nema nekih specifičnih obilježja koja bi bila presudna za dataciju, međutim s obzirom na dimenzije koje su vrlo slične prethodno obrađenim mramornim bazama koje bi bile dijelovi ciborija, nije zanemarivo, kao što pretpostavlja P. Chevalier, da su te baze sa stupovima dijelovi drugog, možda krstioničkog ciborija. Nedavno je Bartul Šiljeg pripisao nekoliko ulomaka kapitela tipa Gradina ranokršćanskom svetištu u Bijačima, iako u radu ne donosi izvor ili činjenice kojima potvrđuje njihovo podrijetlo.<sup>78</sup> Kapiteli koji se čuvaju u depou kamenih spomenika u MHAS-u u Splitu doista tipološki pripadaju tipu kapitela Gradina. Oni bi dimenzijama odgovarali instalaciji ciborija (prije negoli pergoli), no s obzirom na nedovoljnu autentičnost i nedostatak bilo kakvih činjenica koje bi upućivale da je njihovo podrijetlo s Bijaća, trebalo bi možda zanemariti njihovo atribuiranje tom lokalitetu.

### Pergola – visoka ograda svetišta

Sačuvani elementi pilastara upućuju da je crkva sv. Ivana Krstitelja imala visoku ogradu svetišta, napravljenu od vapnenca. Oni su skupa s plutejima zatvarali ogradu svetišta koja se, uzimajući u obzir generalnu analogiju ranokršćanskih svetišta, najvjerojatnije protezala pred prvim travejom polukružne apside lomeći se pod pravim kutom, o čemu svjedoči ugaoni pilastar. U starijim katalogima navedena su još tri ulomka pilastra, ulomci sedam stupića te dva ostatka ploča ograde svetišta (227B i 377B) kojima se danas gubi trag.<sup>79</sup>

P. Chevalier also mentions that three bases of equal size but of different material (limestone) were found at the site.<sup>76</sup> In the author's opinion, this may indicate that there was another ciborium – above the baptismal font? There are some illustrations that substantiate this opinion. The drawings by D. Frey and Šeparović's catalogue include a number of fragments with lower parts of columns.<sup>77</sup> The execution of the columns is simple; there are no distinguishing features crucial for their dating. However, given that the dimensions are very similar to those of the above analyzed marble bases that could have belonged to a ciborium, P. Chevalier finds it plausible that these bases with columns belonged to some other ciborium, perhaps the one associated with the baptismal font. Bartul Šiljeg recently associated several fragments of Gradina-type capitals to the Early Christian sanctuary in Bijaći, although he did not specify any sources or facts substantiating their origin.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, the capitals kept in the stone monument depot of the MHAS do belong to Gradina-type capitals. Their size would correspond to that of a ciborium (rather than a pergola); however, the lack of authenticity and any facts associating them with Bijaći suggests that we should, perhaps, ignore the theory that they come from this specific site.

### The pergola – a high chancel-screen

The preserved pilaster elements indicate that the Church of St. John the Baptist had a high chancel screen made of limestone. Together with the plutei, the pilasters made up the chancel screen that, given the general analogy of Early Christian chancels, most likely stretched in front the first bay of a semicircular apse and turned at a right angle (as evidenced by the corner pilaster). Earlier catalogues mention three more pilaster fragments, fragments of seven colonettes and two remains of chancel screen panels (227B and 377B) which are now lost.<sup>79</sup>

Of the chancel screen pilasters, the best preserved is the fragment found as a construction element in the church's southern perimeter wall.<sup>80</sup> It is of a cuboidal shape and has a Latin cross with spaced-out shafts carved on its front side. The pilaster is 92cm long the original height exceeded

75 F. Bulić 1904, 62.

76 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

77 Crtež D. Frey u: H. Gjurašin 1999, 25, T. XIV: 6, 10. Vjerojatno je riječ o istim primjerima u Šeparovićevu katalogu, iako ima sitnih odstupanja u mjerilima. T. Šeparović 1999, 178–181, kat. br. 83, 84, 88–90.

78 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100. Od dva pronađena kapitela jedan je vertikalno presječen u dva dijela koja se spajaju u lomu. Drugi kapitel lošije je očuvan, no identičnih je odlika. Kako je riječ o dimenzijama promjera oko 20 cm, kapiteli su počivali na stupovima neke instalacije, vjerojatno ciborija. Naime, kapiteli su zasebno klesani, a na njihovim donjim stranama sačuvani su ostatci utora u središtu, kojima su se spajali sa stupovima. Na gornjoj plohi udubljen je oveći kvadratični utvor u funkciji spoja s gredom koja ih je podržavala. Po cijelom opsegu donje plohe drugog ulomka kapitela urezane su linije arhitektonskog nacrt. Na jednoj od njihovih strana kod obaju kapitela sačuvan je i utvor u koji je ulazila šipka na koju se vješala zavjesa.

79 P. Chevalier 1999, 127.

76 P. Chevalier 1999, 126.

77 Drawn by D. Frey in: H. Gjurašin 1999, 25, T. XIV: 6, 10. These are probably the same examples as the ones in Šeparović's catalogue, despite minor differences in size. T. Šeparović 1999, 178–181, cat. no. 83, 84, 88–90.

78 B. Šiljeg 2009, 81–100. Of the two capitals found, one is vertically cut into two joining fragments. The other capital is in poorer condition, but has identical features. As their diameters reach approx. 20cm, the capitals must have rested on the columns of some piece of furnishing, probably a ciborium (they were carved separately and traces of the grooves used for fixing them to the columns can still be seen in their central areas). A square groove can be seen on the upper surface of the capitals. Its purpose was to fix them to the beam that supported them. Lines of an architectural drawing are carved along the entire perimeter of the lower surface of the second capital fragment. Also, on one side of each capital, there is a groove for receiving the rod on which the curtain cornice was suspended.

79 P. Chevalier 1999, 127.

80 As noted by P. Ercegovac in the field log – in the foundation of the wall designated as QT. H. Gjurašin 1999, 26.





Slika 11. Ulomak pilastra, pogled na gornju plohu i bočni utor, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 11. Fragment of pilaster, view of upper surface and lateral groove, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

Od pilastara ograde svetišta najbolje je sačuvan ulomak koji je pronađen kao kamena greda u sklopu južnog perimetralnog zida crkve.<sup>80</sup> Kvaderastog je oblika te na prednjoj strani ima udubljen, urezan latinski križ raširenih hasti. Pilastar je dugačak 92 cm (izvorna visina bila je viša od 100 cm), a presjek mu je 23 x 23 cm (sl. 4). Preupotrebom je pilastru razbijen vrh (nedostaje stražnji desni ugao) i donji dio gdje je sekundarno obrađen.<sup>81</sup> U središtu gornjeg dijela četvrtasto je udubljenje (10 x 10 cm), vjerojatno nastalo u funkciji spoja sa stupićem povrh. Po tome se raspoznaje ograda oblika pergole koja na zapad stiže Justinijanovom rekonkvistom.<sup>82</sup> S desne strane, 8 cm od vrha, malo je udubljenje od 2,5 cm. Na stražnjoj strani cijelom dužinom urezan je utor kojim se pilastar spajao s plutejom (sl. 11). S obzirom na taj dugački utor te malo kvadratično udubljenje kojim se pilastar na boku također povezivao s plutejom, možemo tvrditi da se radi o ugaonom pilastru ograde svetišta. Chevalier donosi da je pilastar u katalogu 'B' označen sa 107 B (nanovo numeriran E 810) te citira Bulića, odnosno njegov rad *Siculi ed i suoi dintorni*. Međutim, Bulić u svom izvješću donosi drugi kataloški broj – 108 B te spominje drugi pilastar od vapnenca s križem raširenih

80 Kako je u dnevniku istraživanja označio P. Ergovac – u temeljima zida QT. H. Gjurašin 1999, 26.

81 P. Chevalier 1999, 128–129, br. 51, sl. 16.

82 A. Mišković 2012, 204.



Slika 12. Gornji dio stupića pergole, MHAS, Split

Figure 12. Upper part of pergola column, MHAS, Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

100cm) and its diameter is 23 x 23cm (Fig. 4). Its top was broken when it was reused (the rear right corner is missing) and its lower part when it was dressed for the secondary use.<sup>81</sup> A square 10x10cm recess can be seen in the center of its upper part – it probably served for fixing the pilaster to a colonette above it. This is a distinctive feature of a pergola-shaped screen that came to the West with Justinian's reconquest.<sup>82</sup> On the right-hand side, 8cm from the top, there is a minor recess, 2.5cm in diameter. The groove used for fixing the pilaster with a chancel-screen panel is carved along the entire rear side (Fig. 11). Based on this long groove and the square recess used for fixing a lateral pilaster with a panel, we can say this is the corner pilaster of the chancel screen. Chevalier notes that the pilaster in Catalogue B is designated as 107 B (later with a new number: E 810) and quotes Bulić and his work *Siculi ed i suoi dintorni*. However, in his report, Bulić mentions another catalogue number – 108 B. He also mentions another limestone pilaster, with a relief cross with spaced-out shafts (dating it to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD).<sup>83</sup> This is probably the earlier mentioned window mullion. In addition to that, Chevalier claims that the pergola pilaster was reused as a spoliom – that it was built in the threshold of the door next to the chancel screen. But this is not true.

81 P. Chevalier 1999, 128–129, no. 51, fig. 16.

82 A. Mišković 2012, 204.

83 F. Bulić 1904, 63; P. Chevalier 1999, 128–129, fig. 16.

hasti u reljefu (datira ga u 5. ili 6. st.).<sup>83</sup> Tu se, naime, vjerojatno radi o već spomenutom stupiću prozorskog otvora. Osim toga, Chevalier navodi da se pilastar pergole nalazio uzidan kao spolij u prag vrata do ograde svetišta, što nije točno. Po podacima iz dnevnika i zapisima P. Ergovca, u pragu južnih bočnih vrata do ograde svetišta (zid označen slovom H) nalazio se stupić kojem je križ bio isklesan u plitkom reljefu (možda upravo stupić 108 B), a pilastar pergole bio je u temeljima zida QT.<sup>84</sup>

Od ranokršćanske pergole očuvan je također i dio stupića koji je monolitno povezan s kvaderastim pilastrom. Ranokršćanskim ga smatra P. Chevalier,<sup>85</sup> dok ga T. Šeparović donosi u popisu ranosrednjovjekovne građe.<sup>86</sup> Stupić je očuvan u središnjoj zoni, nedostaje mu donji i gornji dio. Na kvadratno tijelo pilastra nadovezuje se tijelo stupa nepravilno kružnog, odnosno pomalo ovalnog oblika. Plitko urezani žlijebovi označavaju zonu stupića koji započinje plintom i stiliziranom jonskom bazom koju čine torus, trohilus i dvije ravne trake. Visina profilacije je 10 – 11 cm. Straga je utor na spoju tijela i baze stupića. Dimenzije očuvanog stupića su 45 x 22 x 23 cm.

Ulomak koji donosi P. Chevalier vjerojatno je još D. Frey nacrtao nakon istraživanja.<sup>87</sup> Iako se ne slažu potpuno u dimenzijama (promjer koji navodi D. Frey iznosi 19 cm, a Chevalier 16 cm, no visina je ista), s obzirom na deskripciju može se pretpostaviti da je riječ o istom fragmentu. Riječ je o donjem dijelu stupića, razbijenom sa svih strana. Bazu čine torus i tenija iz kojih izrasta kružno tijelo stupa. Prilično dobro obrađena stepeničasta obrada govori u prilog ranokršćanskom stilu.

Što se tiče kapitela pergole, za njih P. Chevalier kaže da su bili vrlo jednostavni, oblikovani od četiri glatka lista, no ne donosi njihovu katalošku ili grafičku obradu (može se pretpostaviti da se poziva na podatke iz dnevnika).<sup>88</sup> Međutim, po stupiću pergole koji se čuva u depou kamenih spomenika u MHAS-u, a koji je po fotodokumentaciji podrijetlom iz Bijača, možemo biti sigurniji u njihov izgled. Radi se o ulomku gornjeg dijela stupića pergole koji je obrađen zubačom. Kružno tijelo stupa pri vrhu ima dva pojasa nad kojima je kalatos. On je ukrašen jednostavnim listovima na uglovima među kojima je po jedan cvijet ljljana (sl. 12). Listovi na uglovima pri vrhu su odijeljeni od kalatosa i blago se savijaju prema naprijed podržavajući kvadratnu ploču abakusa. Ulomak stupića visok je 46 cm, od toga je kapitel s pojasa visok 21 cm. Promjer stupa iznosi 15 cm.<sup>89</sup>

According to the field log and notes of P. Ercegovac, the element built in the threshold of the south lateral door next to the chancel screen (the wall designated as H) was a mullion with a bas-relief cross (maybe the mullion 108 B); the pergola pilaster was in the foundation of the wall designated as QT.<sup>84</sup>

Of the Early Christian pergola, a fragment of a colonette that formed a monolith with a cuboid pilaster. P. Chevalier considers it Early Christian<sup>85</sup> and T. Šeparović includes it in a list of early medieval architectural elements.<sup>86</sup> The central section of the colonette has been preserved and its lower and upper parts are missing. The unevenly circular – somewhat oval – column shaft is an extension of the pilaster's square shaft. Shallow grooves mark the colonette zone that begins with a plinth and stylized Ionic base made up of a torus, trochilus and two straight ribbons. The molding is 10-11cm high. On the rear side, at the connection of the colonette shaft and base, a groove can be seen. The dimensions of the preserved colonette are 45 x 22 x 23cm.

The fragment published by P. Chevalier was probably drawn by D. Frey after the excavations.<sup>87</sup> Although some of its dimensions differ (the diameter specified by D. Frey is 19cm and the one by Chevalier is 16cm, but the heights are the same), the description indicates that it is one and the same fragment – the lower part of a colonette, broken on all sides. The base consists of a torus and a taenia from which the column's round shaft rises. The rather fine cascading rendering indicates the Early Christian style.

As for the pergola capitals, P. Chevalier described them as very simple, shaped as four smooth leaves. However, she never catalogued them or sketched them (it can be assumed that he referred to the log notes).<sup>88</sup> Still, the pergola colonette kept in the MHAS stone monument depot, for which there is photo evidence that it came from Bijači, we can rather safely reconstruct its appearance. It is a fragment of the upper part of a pergola colonette, executed by a rock hammer. The colonette's round shaft have two strips just underneath the top. Above them rests the kalathos, decorated with simple leaves at the corners and with a lily between each pair of leaves (Fig. 12). The tips of the leaves in the corners are separated from the kalathos; they are slightly curved forward, supporting the square slab of the abacus. The colonette fragment is 46cm high, with the capitals with strips accounting for 21cm. The colonette diameter is 15cm.<sup>89</sup>

83 F. Bulić 1904, 63; P. Chevalier 1999, 128–129, sl. 16.

84 H. Gjurašin 1999, 26–27.

85 P. Chevalier 1999, 128, br. 50.

86 Crtež D. Freya u: H. Gjurašin, 1999, 25, T. XIV: 2; T. Šeparović 1999, 180, kat. br. 87.

87 P. Chevalier 1999, 128, br. 49. Crtež D. Freya u: H. Gjurašin, 1999, 25, T. XIV: 11.

88 P. Chevalier 1999, 127.

89 Ulomak se vidi na fotografiji s istraživanja iz 1902. na kojoj je i inženjer A. Bezić.

84 H. Gjurašin 1999, 26–27.

85 P. Chevalier 1999, 128, no. 50.

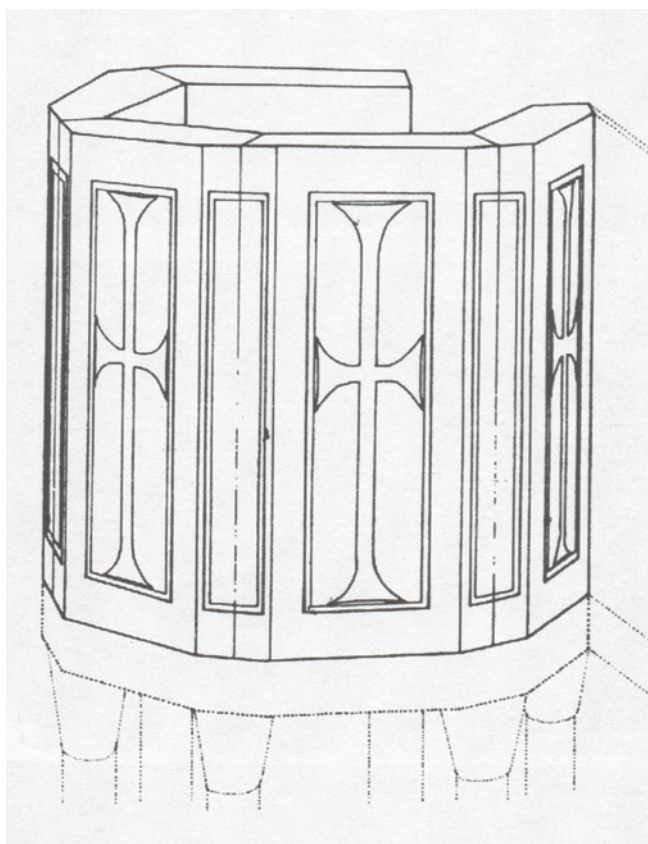
86 Drawn by D. Frey in: H. Gjurašin, 1999, 25, T. XIV: 2; T. Šeparović 1999, 180, cat. no. 87.

87 P. Chevalier 1999, 128, no. 49. D. Frey's drawing in: H. Gjurašin, 1999, 25, T. XIV: 11.

88 P. Chevalier 1999, 127.

89 Together with engineer A. Bezić, the fragment can be seen on a photograph taken during the 1902 excavations.





**Slika 13. Rekonstrukcija šesterostraničnog ambona**

Figure 13. Reconstructed hexagonal lectern

prema / from: P. Chevalier 1999, 131.

Primjetne su različite dimenzije stupića pergole. Dva stupića široka su 23 cm, dok su dva opet oko 15 – 16 (19?) cm. Po utorima na vrhu bočnih ploha dvaju pilastara prepoznajemo način spajanja metalnim trnovima s plutejima koji, nažalost, nisu sačuvani.

Kako je već prethodno spomenuto, pluteji ograde svetišta iz kasne antike nisu do sada pronađeni ili pak prepoznati. Možda su upravo toj ulozi bili namijenjeni ulomci perforiranih rešetki, odnosno oni veće debljine od 11, 12 ili cca 14 cm.

### Ambon

Od svih instalacija zapravo su najbolje očuvane ploče ograde ambona. U rekonstrukciji je prepoznat šesterostranični oblik ambona s prilaznim stepenicama na jednoj strani (sl. 13). Parapet čini pet ploča od kojih su očuvane dvije, visoke jedan metar i široke gotovo upola manje – 52 cm. Uske stranice ambona imale su zakošene rubove klesane pod kutom od 60° i vjerojatno su u sklopu parapeta bile na njegovim rubnim stranama, sa svake strane stepenica. Po procjeni, unutrašnji promjer platforme mogao je iznositi oko 90 cm.<sup>90</sup>

The pergola colonette dimensions are varied. Two colonettes are 23cm wide and the other two are 15-16 (19?) cm wide. By the grooves on the top of the lateral surfaces we can tell that they were connected with chancel screen panels by means of metal prongs (not preserved, unfortunately).

As mentioned earlier, no Late Antiquity chancel screen panels have been found or identified yet. Perhaps this was the intended role of the fragments of perforated lattice-works – the thicker ones (11, 12 or approx. 14cm).

### The lectern

Of all the furnishings, the panels of the lectern screen are preserved the best. The hexagonal lectern with access stairs was reconstructed on one side (Fig. 13). The parapet consisted of five panels, two of which have been preserved. Each of them is one meter high and 52cm wide. The lectern's narrow sides had slanting edges carved at an angle of 60 degrees. They were probably on the peripheral sides of the parapet, on both sides of the stairs. It is estimated that the platform's inner diameter could have been approx. 90cm.<sup>90</sup>

The lectern – and the stairs – were probably accessed from the east, because the screen had to be turned to the congregation. The height up to the platform could have been 70-80cm. Such a lectern shape was widespread in Central Dalmatia (Kapljuč<sup>91</sup>, Manastirine<sup>92</sup>, Marusinac<sup>93</sup>, Klapavica, Lovrečina on Brač, Kašić Banjevački, Mokro polje, Srima)<sup>94</sup>, but polygonal pulpit designs can also be found in the Zadar area. Narrow sides of a polygonal screen (probably hexagonal) are found in the Stomorica Collection in Novalja (the island of Pag) and in Zadar (although the panels' edges do not reveal the shape of this whole piece of furnishing).

According to P. Chevalier, analogies for the reuse of the Bijaći church screen panels can be found at Marusinac (in the vestibule of the southern church) and at Manastirine (in the apse). The Bijaći church lectern panels have very plain decorations (Figs. 14, 15). Within the elongated rectangular field framed with the edge of a simple molded band, a bas-relief Latin cross with spaced-out shafts is carved. The rustic workmanship of the cross's prominent body stands out compared to the rest of the panel's surface.

On the first panel on the upper right surface there is a recess for a metal clamp, indicating how stone elements were fixed together to form a screen. According to P. Chevalier, it is a "unique solution that allows replacement of

90 P. Chevalier 1999, 129.

91 E. Dyggve 1996, 68, drawing fig. IV: 32; Katalog 1994, no. VIII, 5–10, 189–191 and T. LXVI (cat. unit P. Chevalier).

92 P. Chevalier 2000, 352–354.

93 E. Dyggve 1996, 75; Katalog 1994, no. VIII, 2–4, 187–188 and T. LXVI (cat. unit P. Chevalier).

94 P. Chevalier 1995, 153–157.

90 P. Chevalier 1999, 129.



Slika 14. Krajnja lijeva strana parapeta ambona, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 14. Far left side of lectern parapet, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

Prilaz ambonu, tj. stepeništu bio je vjerojatno s istočne strane jer je ograda morala biti okrenuta vjernicima. Visina do platforme mogla je biti između 70 – 80 cm. Takav oblik ambona raširen je na cijelom području srednje Dalmacije (Kapljuč<sup>91</sup>, Manastirine<sup>92</sup>, Marusinac<sup>93</sup>, Klapavica, Lovrečina na Braču, Kašić Banjevački, Mokro polje, Srima)<sup>94</sup>. No poligonalne konstrukcije propovjedaonice nalazimo i na zadarskom području. Uske stranice poligonalne ograde (vjerojatno šesterostrane) nalaze se u zbirci Stomorica u Novalji na Pagu, i samom Zadru (iako rubovi ploča ne otkrivaju sam oblik cijele instalacije).

Ponovna upotreba ploča ograde iz crkve u Bijaćima ima paralele, kao što kaže P. Chevalier, na Marusincu (u predvorju južne crkve) i na Manastirinama (u apsidi). Ploče ambona iz crkve u Bijaćima vrlo su jednostavno ukrašene

91 E. Dyggve 1996, 68, crtež sl. IV: 32; Katalog 1994, br. VIII, 5–10, 189–191 i T. LXVI (kat. jed. P. Chevalier).

92 P. Chevalier 2000, 352–354.

93 E. Dyggve 1996, 75; Katalog 1994, br. VIII, 2–4, 187–188 i T. LXVI (kat. jed. P. Chevalier).

94 P. Chevalier 1995, 153–157.



Slika 15. Krajnja desna strana parapeta ambona, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 15. Far right side of lectern parapet, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

the right-hand panel of the access stairs. The lack of decorations on the right-hand side perhaps marks the edge of the access to the lectern.<sup>95</sup> The rear side is coarsely executed.<sup>96</sup>

The front side of the second panel is also decorated with a Latin cross, while the rear side is coarsely executed. Three fragments are interconnected into a panel that stood to the left of the access stairs.<sup>97</sup> On its upper side, traces of a clamp groove can be seen. The field of this panel is somewhat wider than on the first one (25.5 x 85cm; the one to the right is 25 x 81cm). The field on it is framed with a shallow-carved molded band. It is somewhat larger than the first one, but the decoration is similar.

95 P. Chevalier 1999, 130.

96 On this panel: E. Dyggve 1996, 75; P. Chevalier 1995, 222–224 and reconstruction fig. 1, 155, text 153–154.

97 P. Chevalier, 1995, 222–224 and reconstruction 222–224; P. Chevalier 1999, 130–131.



(sl. 14, 15). Unutar pravokutnog izduženog polja koje je uokvireno rubom jednostavne profilirane trake, isklesan je u plitkom reljefu latinski križ raširenih hasti. Korpus križa istaknut je i grublje obrađen (rustičnije) u odnosu na ostalu površinu ploče.

Prva ploča na gornjoj plohi s desne strane ima udubljenje za metalnu klanfu što ukazuje na način povezivanja lapida u jedinstvenu ogradu i, kao što kaže P. Chevalier, *jedinstveno rješenje koje dopušta mogućnost zamjene desne ploče pristupnog stepeništa na platformu. Nedostatak ukrasa na desnoj strani možda označava rub prilaza ambonu.*<sup>95</sup> Stražnja strana grubo je obrađena.<sup>96</sup>

Druga ploča ima također prednju stranu ukrašenu motivom latinskog križa, dok je stražnja strana grubo obrađena. Tri ulomka spojena su u jedinstvenu ploču koja se nalazila s lijeve strane pristupnog stepeništa.<sup>97</sup> S gornje strane nalaze se tragovi utora za metalnu kanfu. Polje te ploče nešto je šire od prethodne (25,5 x 85 cm, desna je 25 x 81 cm) te je ovdje polje urubljeno plitko profiliranom trakom nešto veće od prethodnog, no ukras je identičan.

### CEMETERIJALNA OPREMA – SARKOFAZI

Revizijskim istraživanjima od 1965. do 1967. uočena su dva sloja ukopa. Prvi je sloj bio na dubini od cca 1,20 m i pripadali su, sudeći po nalazima, ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju, od 9. do 12. st. U taj sloj spada 13 grobova, dok u drugi ide njih 15, a oni su ležali na većoj dubini koja premašuje 2 m. Kako u njima nije bilo nalaza, pripisani su kasnoantičkom razdoblju.<sup>98</sup>

Uočene su tri ikonografske sheme na sarkofazima, kako ih donosi i P. Chevalier:<sup>99</sup>

1. urezani križ latinskog tipa s raširenim hastama unutar jednostavnog kruga, kraj donje haste dodiruje podnožje (tip I. prema *Repertorium II*)

2. križ u plitkom reljefu raširenih hasti s urezanim žlijebom, upisan u dvoprutu kružnicu, vijenac (tip II. prema *Repertorium II*)

3. latinski križ raširenih hasti koji u sjecištu ima krug (tip III. prema *Repertorium III*). Raka ovih sarkofaga ima istaknutu plintu na prednjoj i dvjema bočnim stranicama.

Zabilježen je i jedan natpis, odnosno dva sukcesivna epitafa – nekršćanski i mlađi, kršćanskog karaktera što svjedoči o ponovnoj upotrebi sarkofaga. Za one kršćanske može se pretpostaviti datacija u 5. ili 6. st.

Uz crkvu je pronađen veći broj kamenih raka, na samom terenu i danas stoji još nekoliko primjerka.<sup>100</sup>

### CEMETERIAL EQUIPMENT – SARCOPHAGI

Two layers of burials were identified during the 1965-1967 rescue excavation campaign. The first layer was found at a depth of approx. 1.20m. Based on the finds in it, it belonged to the Early Middle Ages (9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries). This layer contains 13 graves. The second layer contained 15 graves, found a bit deeper, at a depth exceeding 2 meters. As no grave goods had been found in them, they were associated with Late Antiquity.<sup>98</sup>

The sarcophagi contain three iconographic schemes. Here they are, as presented by P. Chevalier:<sup>99</sup>

1. A Latin cross with spaced-out shafts, carved within a simple circle; the end of the lower shaft touches the base (Type 1, according to *Repertorium II*)

2. A bas-relief cross with spaced-out shafts and a carved groove, inscribed in a double-braided-ribbon circle, cornice (Type 2, according to *Repertorium II*)



Slika 16. Fotografija ploče sarkofaga, MHAS, Split  
Figure 16. Sarcophagus slab, MHAS, Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

95 P. Chevalier 1999, 130.

96 O toj ploči – E. Dyggve 1996, 75; P. Chevalier 1995, 222–224 i rekonstrukcija sl. 1, 155, tekst 153–154.

97 P. Chevalier, 1995, 222–224 i rekonstrukcija 222–224; P. Chevalier 1999, 130–131.

98 D. Jelovina 1999, 101.

99 P. Chevalier 1999, 111.

100 P. Chevalier 1999, 110–116.

98 D. Jelovina 1999, 101.

99 P. Chevalier 1999, 111.

Jedan sarkofag je klasičnog oblika rake s plintom na svim stranama.<sup>101</sup> Prekriven je dvostrešnim poklopcem s akroterijima na uglovima. U središtu kraće prednje plohe latinski je križ raširenih hasti u reljefu s trostrukim urezima na hastama i podnožju. Na sjecištu hasti sferični je krug – plitica, sa središnjim ispupčenjem. Na uzdužnoj bočnoj strani imamo još nekoliko urezanih križeva latinskog tipa, i to na akroterijima na uglovima i posred ruba poklopca. Taj sarkofag, koji je pronađen na mjestu polukružnog zida ranokršćanske apside, bio je ponovno iskorišten u ranom srednjem vijeku.

Na lokalitetu se nalazi i jedna kamena raka bez poklopca (sekundarno ugrađena u stilobat srednjovjekovne crkve).<sup>102</sup> Nema ukrasnih elemenata, odnosno kršćanskih simbola. Potom je pronađen jedan sarkofag u ulomcima kojem nedostaju stražnja i bočna lijeva strana (sekundarno iskorišten kao baza tijeska za masline).<sup>103</sup> Od sljedećeg sarkofaga sačuvano je tek njegovo dno rake u ulomcima<sup>104</sup> te od dva primjera sarkofaga po dva dijela njihova bačvastog pokrova.<sup>105</sup>

U tu grupu spada i jedan primjer poklopca koji je danas zabilježen samo na fotografiji jer mu se poslije gubi trag (sl. 16). Na fotografiji koja se čuva u arhivskim spisima u MHAS-u registrirana je ploča koja je zbog primjetne obline bila vrlo vjerojatno u funkciji bačvastog pokrova

3. A Latin cross with spaced-out shafts, with a circle in the center (Type 3, according to *Repertorium III*). The box of these sarcophagi has a prominent plinth on the front side and on the two lateral surfaces.

An inscription was found – two successive epitaphs, actually: a non-Christian one and a later, Christian one – evidence that the sarcophagus was reused. The Christian ones could be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.

A number of stone graves were found by the church. A few of them can still be seen at the site today.<sup>100</sup>

One sarcophagus has a classical shape of a grave with plinths on all sides.<sup>101</sup> It is covered with a double-sloping lid with acroteria in the corners. A relief Latin cross with spaced-out shafts and triple incisions on the shafts and on the base can be seen in the center of the shorter front surface. It has a spherical circle – plate-shaped and bulging – at the intersection of the shafts. There are a few more Latin crosses carved on the longitudinal lateral surface – specifically, on the acroteria in the corners and at the central part of the lid's edge. This sarcophagus, found where the semi-circular wall of an Early Christian apse had once stood, was reused in Early Middle Ages.

A stone grave without a cover slab is also found at the site (subsequently built in the stylobate of the medieval church).<sup>102</sup> There are no Christian symbols or other



Slika 17. Sarkofag s epitafom *Rutiliji Zoni* i njenoj sestri *Rutiliji Augusti*, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 17. Sarcophagus with epitaph to *Rutilia Zona* and her sister *Rutilia Augusta*, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

101 I. Fisković 1996, 126; P. Chevalier 1999, 112–113, br. 2.

102 F. Bulić 1904, 61; P. Chevalier 1999, 114–115, br. 6.

103 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, br. 7.

104 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, br. 8.

105 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, br. 9, 116, br. 10.

100 P. Chevalier 1999, 110–116.

101 I. Fisković 1996, 126; P. Chevalier 1999, 112–113, no. 2.

102 F. Bulić 1904, 61; P. Chevalier 1999, 114–115, no. 6.





**Slika 18. Pogled na bočnu stranu s natpisom *Arca Iuliano Pandurio* i križem, Arheološki muzej u Splitu**

Figure 18. View of lateral side with inscription *Arca Iuliano Pandurio* and cross, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković



**Slika 19. Ulomak sarkofaga s križem u krugu, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, depo**

Figure 19. Fragment of sarcophagus with cross in circle, Archaeological Museum Split, depo

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

kamene rake. Fotografija je nastala prilikom istraživanja s početka 20. st., a prikazuje ploču s križem u krugu koja je bila ugrađena u zid kao spolij. Na ploči je, dakle, u plitkom reljefu isklesan latinski križ izrazito raširenih hasti koje su dane vrlo stilizirano. Posred njih je urezani žlijeb koji se na krajevima račvasto širi. Križ je upisan u dvoprutu kružnicu, a samo donjom hastom dodiruje njezin opseg.

Po dnevniku istraživanja saznajemo za još jedan *lijepo tesani* poklopac ravnog oblika koji je unutar profiliranog obruba imao latinski križ.<sup>106</sup>

Ostali se primjeri čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. U lapidariju muzeja tako stoji jedan cjelovito sačuvani sarkofag koji je zanimljiv po svom epitafu (sl. 17, 18). Radi se o preupotrijebljenom sarkofagu jer je na njegovoj prednjoj uzdužnoj strani uklesana *tabula ansata* u kojoj je natpis. Natpis spominje *Rutiliju Zonu* i njezinu sestru *Rutiliju Augustu*. Datira se u šire razdoblje, 2. – 4. st.<sup>107</sup> Prilikom njegove reupotrebe sarkofag je zadobio novi, drukčije oblikovani poklopac te ne odgovara u potpunosti starijim metalnim spojnicama na raki koju prekriva. Isklesan je od druge vrste kamena. Poklopac je na dvije vode, na uglovima je imao akroterije koji su naknadno otklesani. Na jednoj njegovoj bočnoj strani ugraviran je latinski križ raširenih hasti kojem nedostaje vrh. Podno njega još je jedan manji križ iza kojeg slijedi natpis *Arca Iuliano Pandurio*. Ta forma latinskog križića iza kojeg je termin *arca* (lat. *kovčeg*, *škrinja za sarkofag*) i naziv pokojnika u dativu, po P. Chevalier, spadaju u tipičan oblik epitafa na salonitanskom području 5. – 6. st.<sup>108</sup> To bi

decorative elements. A fragmented sarcophagus was later also found. Its rear and lateral left sides are missing (it was reused as the base for an olive-press).<sup>103</sup> As for the remaining sarcophagi, only the fragmented bottom of one of them has been preserved<sup>104</sup> and so have two fragments of the barrel-shaped covers of two other sarcophagi.<sup>105</sup>

This group includes a cover which is now lost, only a photograph remains (Fig. 16). The photo kept in the MHAS archive shows a slab that, because of its visible bulge, probably served as a barrel-shaped cover of a stone grave. The photo was taken during the excavations early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It shows a slab with a cross in a circle, later built in a wall as a spolium. Apparently, a bas-relief Latin cross with very spaced-out and very stylized shafts was carved in the slab. In the center of the shafts, a groove branching off at its ends is carved. The cross is inscribed in a double-braided-ribbon circle. Only the lower shaft of the cross touches the circle.

According to the field log, there was another “finely dressed” flat cover that had a Latin cross within its molded edge.<sup>106</sup>

Other specimens are kept in Archaeological Museum Split. The Museum’s stone collection contains a complete sarcophagus with an interesting epitaph (Figs 17, 18). It was reused. Evidence for it can be found in the *tabula ansata* with an inscription carved on its front longitudinal side. The inscription mentions *Rutilia Zona* and her sister *Rutilia Augusta*. It is roughly dated to the period spanning

106 H. Gjurašin 1999, 66, 73, sl. 199.

107 F. Bulić 1904, 60–63; P. Chevalier 1999, 111–112, br. 1.

108 P. Chevalier 1999, 112.

103 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, no. 7.

104 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, no. 8.

105 P. Chevalier 1999, 115, no. 9, 116, no. 10.

106 H. Gjurašin 1999, 66, 73, fig. 199.



govorilo u prilog kristijanizaciji rimske vile u Bijaćima prije Justinijanova vremena kada je crkva opremljena pronađenim i u radu obrađenim liturgijskim namještajem.

Od ostalih sarkofaga sačuvane su tri ploče koje na svojim frontalnim stranama imaju motive latinskih križeva (čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu).<sup>109</sup> Vjerojatno se zbog motiva u literaturi svojodobno javila i zabluda da je riječ o pločama ograde svetišta (pogotovo što do sada još nisu pronađeni ranokršćanski pluteji), no u prilog tome da je riječ o fragmentima nekadašnjih sarkofaga govori činjenica da su njihove stražnje strane ostale rustične.

Kod prvog primjera ploča sarkofaga ima prednju stranu obrađenu motivom križa u krugu (sl. 19). Stražnja strana je, dakle, rustična. Sačuvana dužina ploče je 104 cm, visina 49 cm i širina 13 cm.<sup>110</sup> Križ je latinskog oblika, isklesan u vrlo plitkom reljefu te djeluje plosnato. Gornjom hastom priljubljen je uz krug u koji je upisan, a vjerojatno je tako bio obrađen i s donje (nesačuvane) strane. Haste su izrazito široke i razmaknute, a korpus križa prati urezana linija koja ne prolazi sjecištem križa, čime se formira istaknuti kvadrat.

Drugu ploču čine dva ulomka spojiva u lomu (sl. 20). Dugačka je 78 cm, visoka 36 cm, a debela 10 cm.<sup>111</sup> Prednja strana ploče obrađena je motivom križa u plitkom reljefu koji nije u cijelosti sačuvan. Haste križa na krajevima su blago razmaknute, a korpus križa i ovdje je razveden urezanim žlijebom koji ne prelazi sjecište križa.



**Slika 20. Ulomak sarkofaga s latinskim križem, Arheološki muzej u Splitu**

Figure 20. Fragment of sarcophagus with Latin cross, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>107</sup> For its secondary use, the sarcophagus was equipped with a new, differently shaped cover, which did not perfectly fit the old metal clamps on the box that it covered. It is carved from a different sort of stone. The cover is of the double-sloping type; it had acroteria in its corners but these were chiseled off subsequently. A Latin cross with spaced-out shafts is engraved on one of its lateral surfaces. The top of the cross is missing. Underneath it there is another, smaller cross, followed by the inscription *Arca Iuliano Pandurio*. According to P. Chevalier, this form – a small Latin cross followed by the term *arca* (Lat. *chest, sarcophagus box*) and the dead person's name in dative – is an epitaph typical of the Salona area of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>108</sup> This would suggest that the Roman villa in Bijaći was Christianized before Justinian's reign, when the church was equipped with the liturgical furnishings found at the site and analyzed in this paper.

Of the other sarcophagi, three slabs with Latin cross motifs on their front sides have been preserved (they are kept in Archaeological Museum Split).<sup>109</sup> Probably because of the motifs, there was a misconception in literature for a while that these slabs were actually chancel-screen panels (particularly because such panels from the Late Antique period have not been found yet). However, the fact that their rear surfaces were left rough indicates that they are fragments of former sarcophagi.

In the first example, the sarcophagus slab has a motif of a cross in a circle on its front side (Fig. 19). The rear side was left rough, as we said above. The preserved length of the slab is 104cm, the height is 49cm and the width is 13cm.<sup>110</sup> The cross is of the Latin type. Carved in very shallow bas-relief, it seems flat. Its upper shaft is pressed closely to the circle in which it is inscribed. Its lower part (now lost) was probably carved the same way. The shafts are very wide and spaced out. An incised line follows the body of the cross, but it goes around its intersection – thus forming a prominent square.

The second place consists of two joining fragments (Fig. 20). It is 78cm long, 36cm high and 10cm thick.<sup>111</sup> A bas-relief cross motif – not fully preserved – can be seen on the front side of the slab. The shafts of the cross are slightly spaced out at their ends. Like in the above mentioned example, a groove is cut along the body of the cross, but it goes around the intersection.

The third sarcophagus slab consists of four joining fragments (Fig. 21). The motif of a cross in a triple circle can

107 F. Bulić 1904, 60–63; P. Chevalier 1999, 111–112, no. 1.

108 P. Chevalier 1999, 112.

109 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64.

110 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64; I. Fisković 1981, 113; Katalog 1994, no. X. C. 34, T. LXXV, 260 (the authors of the catalogue unit – C. Metzger and P. Chevalier – believed that these were the chancel-screen panels); I. Fisković 1996, 135; P. Chevalier 1999, 114, 133, fig. 5.

111 P. Chevalier 1999, 114, no. 4, 133, fig. 4.

109 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64.

110 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64; I. Fisković 1981, 113; Katalog 1994, br. X. C. 34, T. LXXV, 260 (autori kataloške jedinice C. Metzger i P. Chevalier pretpostavljaju da je riječ o plutejima ograde svetišta); I. Fisković 1996, 135; P. Chevalier 1999, 114, 133, sl. 5.

111 P. Chevalier 1999, 114, br. 4, 133, sl. 4.



Treću ploču sarkofaga čine četiri ulomka spojiva u lomu (sl. 21). Na prednjoj strani ima motiv križa u trostrukome krugu, a stražnja strana je rustična.<sup>112</sup> Sačuvane mjere su: dužina ploče je 44 cm, visina 50 cm, debljina 10 cm. Motiv križa identično je obrađen kao i na prethodnim primjerima. Haste su izrazito raširene, a posred križa urezani je žlijeb koji ne prelazi sjecište te se na njemu formira kvadrat. Gornjom i donjom hastom križ prati oblinu kružnice. Nju čine tri trake od kojih je središnja najšira i time govori u prilog bizantskim utjecajima, odnosno Justinijanovu vremenu kada su sarkofazi nastali.

Posljednje opisani motiv jednak je onome sa sarkofaga koji je u ranom srednjem vijeku iskorišten za ukop priora Petra u samom Splitu.<sup>113</sup>

Motivi križa u plitkom su reljefu, zaglačanih obrisa, za razliku od ostale površine stranice sarkofaga.

Ploča s motivom križa u dvoprutom krugu koji posred hasti ima urezan žlijeb i prazno polje u njihovu sjecištu, nalazi se ugrađena kao spolij u crkvi sv. Ivana u Mravincima, odnosno na Sustipanu u Splitu.<sup>114</sup> Taj tip križa *crux coronata* uočen je na dva sarkofaga iz Bijaća, odnosno na čak tri (ako njima pribrojimo i ploču s fotografije). No kod onih iz Bijaća radi se o dva primjera križa koji se nalaze u jednoprutim krugovima, odnosno o jednom tipu koji je unutar troprute kružnice. Troprutu kružnicu ima i sarkofag iz Splita, u kojem je prior Petar našao posljednje počivalište. Konačno, jedan primjer križa iz Bijaća pripada tipu križa *crux capitata* – križu bez ikakvog okvira.

Kako je već ustanovio I. Fisković prilikom proučavanja velikog broja ranokršćanskih sarkofaga na području Dalmacije, oni se, kao i primjeri iz Bijaća, *odlikuju skromnim dimenzijama i*

### Slika 21. Ulomak sarkofaga s latinskim križem u troprutom krugu, Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Figure 21. Fragment of sarcophagus with Latin cross in triple-braided-ribbon cross, Archaeological Museum Split

foto / photo by: A. Mišković

be seen on the front side; the rear side was left rough.<sup>112</sup> The preserved dimensions are as follows: length – 44cm; height – 50cm; thickness – 10cm. The cross motif is executed in the same way as in the above mentioned examples. The shafts are very wide. A groove is cut along the body of the cross but it goes around the intersection, thus forming a square on it. The upper and lower shafts of the cross follow the circle's curvature. The circle is made of three ribbons, the middle one being the widest. This suggests a Byzantine influence during Justinian's reign, when the sarcophagi were made.

The last of the motifs described here is identical to the one from the sarcophagus that was reused for the burial of Prior Peter in Split in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>113</sup>

The cross motifs are carved in bas-relief and their contours are polished, unlike the rest of the surface.

A slab with a cross within a double-braided-ribbon circle and with a groove carved along the center of its shafts and with an empty field on their intersection is found in-built as a spoliun in the wall of St. John's Church in Mravince or Sustipan Peninsula in Split.<sup>114</sup> This type of cross – *crux coronata* – is also found on two sarcophagi from Bijaći (or three, if we count the slab known only from the photograph). But in the Bijaći examples, two crosses are inscribed in single-braided-ribbon circles and one is inscribed in a triple-braided-ribbon circle. The sarcophagus from Split, in which Prior Peter found his final resting place, also has a triple-braided-ribbon circle. And finally, one of the examples from Bijaći belongs to the *crux capitata* type – a cross without any sort of frame.

As I. Fisković already established upon examining a large number of Early Christian sarcophagi in Dalmatia, they – like the Bijaći specimens – “have rather modest dimensions and are well-proportioned”.<sup>115</sup> Only the cross motif is emphasized here. It has only a few subtypes (*crux capitata*, *crux coronata*). The sarcophagi analyzed in this

112 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64; I. Fisković 1981, 113; Ž. Rapanić 1982, 251; Katalog 1994, br. X. c. 8, 251–252, T. LXXXV, (autori kataloške jedinice C. Metzger i P. Chevalier pretpostavljaju da je riječ o plutejima ograde svetišta te u kataloškoj jedinici stoji pogrešno mjesto podrijetla – iz bazilike kod *Porta Caesarea*); I. Fisković 1996, 126, bilj. 31; P. Chevalier 1999, 113, br. 3, 133, sl. 3.

113 Ž. Rapanić 1987, 80, 102, 113.

114 I. Fisković 1996, 122, 126.

112 F. Bulić 1904, 63–64; I. Fisković 1981, 113; Ž. Rapanić 1982, 251; Katalog 1994, no. X. c. 8, 251–252, T. LXXXV, (the authors of the catalogue unit, C. Metzger and P. Chevalier, believed that these were the chancel-screen panels – hence the wrong information on the place of origin entered for this catalogue unit: the basilica near *Porta Caesarea*); I. Fisković 1996, 126, n. 31; P. Chevalier 1999, 113, no. 3, 133, fig. 3.

113 Ž. Rapanić 1987, 80, 102, 113.

114 I. Fisković 1996, 122, 126.

115 I. Fisković 1996, 118.

prilичno ujednačenim, skladnim proporcijama.<sup>115</sup> Naglasak je jedino na motivu križa, za koji imamo tek par varijanti (*crux capitata*, *crux coronata*). Sarkofazi koji su predmet ove rasprave povezani su s glavnim gradom provincije rimske Dalmacije, Salonom, koji je upravljao proizvodnjom i prodajom te vrste opreme duž cijele istočne obale Jadrana (Zadar, Osor, Novalja, Rab, Ston), pa čak i u nekim centrima na zapadnoj obali (Ravenna, Grado, Trani).<sup>116</sup> Stoga su i sarkofazi nazvani solinskim, odnosno salonitanskim tipom sarkofaga (iako je sam materijal podrijetlom iz bračkih kamenoloma).<sup>117</sup> Kako su kamene rake očito bile skupi proizvodi i time namijenjene imućnijim članovima neke zajednice, tako možemo prepoznati kršćansku zajednicu u Bijaćima kao jednu dobrostojeću vjerničku skupinu.

## ZAPAŽANJA O MJERNOM SUSTAVU

Što se tiče mjera sačuvanih instalacija, uočavamo da su one bile standardne. Tako je visina pilastra bila 100 cm kao i visina ploča ambona od 100 cm. Širina ploča ambona je oko 52 cm (stranice su, dakle, dvostruko veće nego šire). Stupić prozora bio je visok 92 cm. Ako ih preračunamo u suvremeni im sistem mjerenja, dakle kasnoantički, kad su mjerne jedinice bile palac i dlanovi za duljinu, onda bi visina od 100 cm odgovarala mjeri od točno četiri i pol *palmus major* (grč. *spithame*) koji je iznosio 22,2 cm.<sup>118</sup> Širina ploča ambona mogla bi se premjeriti dvama *palmus major* i jednim dlanom (lat. *palma*, grč. *palaiste*) koji je iznosio 7,4 cm:  $44,4 + 7,4 = 51,8$ .

Ulomci mramornih stupova vjerojatno oltarnog ciborija imali su promjer od 23 cm, u čemu primjećujemo antički *palmus major*. Ulomak stupića ograde svetišta u presjeku je kvadrat – 23 x 23 cm, odnosno nanovo je korišten jedan *palmus major*. Širina pilastra na koji se nadovezuje kružni stupić je 22 – 23 cm, dakle opet jedan *palmus major*. Zanimljivo je da je križ isklesan u reljefu na prednjoj strani stupića visok 75 cm – dakle gotovo 10 dlanova (74 cm), a širok 14,5 cm – nešto manje od dva dlana (14,8 cm). Križevi na prednjim stranama ambona, visoki 73 cm i 73,5 cm, nanovo ukazuju na primjenu mjerne jedinice dlana – što u njihovu slučaju iznosi za jedan današnji centimetar manje od 10 dlanova. Zanimljiva je i debljina većeg broja ulomaka prozorskih rešetki, koja iznosi 7 cm, dakle gotovo jedan dlan. Iako su primjetna manja odstupanja, ne može se zanemariti pravilnost u primjeni antičkog sustava mjerenja koji je bio na snazi u doba kasne antike. Identične visine pilastara s pločama ambona odnosno isti promjeri stupova ciborija kao i pilastara ograde svetišta te istovjetne visine kao i obrada latinskih križeva na prednjim plohamo liturgijskog inventara (ambona) odnosno

paper are associated with Salona, the capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia which managed the production and trade in this sort of equipment in the Eastern Adriatic (Zadar, Osor, Novalja, Rab, Ston), even some centers in the Western Adriatic (Ravenna, Grado, Trani).<sup>116</sup> This is why this type of sarcophagi is called the Salona type (although the material they were made of was from the quarries on the island of Brač).<sup>117</sup> As the stone graves clearly expensive products and were thus meant for the wealthy members of a community, we can tell that the Christian community in Bijaći was a prosperous religious group.

## NOTES ON THE MEASURING SYSTEM

The elements of church furnishings analyzed here had standard dimensions. A pilaster was 100cm high and so were the lectern panels. The width of the lectern panels was approx. 52cm (so the height of their sides was twice as big as their width). A window colonette was 92cm high. If we translate this into the units of length used in Late Antiquity (thumb and palm), then the equivalent of 100cm would be exactly four and a half "greater palms" (Lat. *palmus major*, Gr. *spithame*). One *palmus maior* was 22.2cm.<sup>118</sup> The width of the lectern panels would then be two "greater palms" and one "palm" (Lat. *palma*, Gr. *palaiste*). As one "palm" was 7.4cm, the total width would be:  $44.4 + 7.4 = 51.8$ .

The fragments of the marble columns that probably belonged to an altar ciborium had a diameter of 23cm. We can tell that the unit used was the Roman *palmus major*. The dimensions of the square cross-section of a chancel screen fragment are 23 x 23cm – yet another example of using the *palmus major* unit. The width of the pilaster of which the round-sectioned colonette is an extension is 22-23cm – one *palmus major* once again. Interestingly, the relief cross carved on the front side of the colonette is 75cm high – almost 10 palms (74cm) – and it is 14.5cm wide – a bit less than 2 palms (14.8cm). The crosses on the front sides of the lectern – 73 and 73.5cm high, respectively – also indicate the use of palm as a measuring unit, which is a single centimeter less than 10 palms. The thickness of the fragments of most of the window latticework bars is also interesting: it is 7cm – almost one palm. Despite minor departures, we cannot ignore the consistency in the use of the Roman measuring system that was in effect in Late Antiquity. Identical heights of pilasters and lectern panels; identical diameters of ciborium columns and chancel-screen pilasters; identical heights and execution of Latin crosses on front surfaces of liturgical furnishings (lectern) and architectural decorations (window colonettes, transeps) – all this convincingly indicates what were the then

115 I. Fisković 1996, 118.

116 Ž. Rapanić 1982, 238.

117 Ž. Rapanić 1982, 238; I. Fisković 1996, 119.

118 Mjeru od 1 dlana može se uvidjeti u M. Vitruvius Pollio 1997, 35.

116 Ž. Rapanić 1982, 238.

117 Ž. Rapanić 1982, 238; I. Fisković 1996, 119.

118 For more on the use of "palm" unit, see M. Vitruvius Pollio 1997, 35.



arhitektonske plastike (prozorski stupić, tranzene) sasvim uvjerljivo ukazuju na standardnu proizvodnju sakralne opreme. Tako su se lapide očito rezale i klesale na istim mjernim točkama, dok je njihova obrada bila poprilično uniformirana i jednostavna – koristio se uvijek prisutan ikonografski motiv latinskog križa klesanog u plitkom reljefu, lagano raširenih hasti i namjerno grublje obrađenog korpusa što doprinosi plasticitetu plohe. Još jednom treba naglasiti i njihovu jednaku visinu kako na pločama parapeta ambona tako i na prozorskim stupićima.

## ZAKLJUČAK

U plodnom i prostranom zaleđu današnjih Kaštela, a onodobnih Sikula, na padinama prapovijesnih nastambi, gradinama, tijekom antike niknulo je više rustičnih vila koje su nastanili rimski veterani. Vile uklopljene u centurijaciju salonitanskog agera i podignute u blizini putova koji su im omogućavali direktnu komunikaciju, osim ugodnosti življenja u pitomu krajoliku svoju svrhu pronašle su u hortikulturi, uzgoju vinove loze i masline. Tako je i vila u Bijaćima, podno gradine Veli Bijać, uz ladanjsku i stambenu namjenu vojnih veterana (potvrđeno pronađenim stelama i njihovim natpisima) funkcionirala kao zasebno gospodarsko imanje.

Tijekom kasne antike određeni dio gospodarskih zgrada i stambenih prostora ruši se da bi se na njihovu mjestu podigla ranokršćanska bogomolja. Ona je bila namijenjena religioznim potrebama članova obitelji vlasnika imanja, ali i njihovih pomoćnika koji su time formirali određenu vjersku zajednicu. Stoga je crkva bila namijenjena osim euharistiji i prostoru za molitvu i nekim drugim kršćanskim obredima kao što su krštenje i ukop. Uz nju se tako s južne strane izgrađuje oktogonalna krstionica, a uokolo cijelog sklopa postavljaju se kamene rake, sarkofazi. Crkva je time integrirala kompleksnu funkciju kongregacijskog, krstioničkog i cemeterijalnog obreda. U tom pogledu spada u krug kompleksnih crkvenih zdanja koja su podignuta u sklopu rustičnih vila kao što su primjeri u Pridragi<sup>119</sup>, Lepurima<sup>120</sup>, Begovači<sup>121</sup> itd. Ipak, za razliku od njih crkva je bila monumentalnija – trobrodna (poput, recimo, svetišta u Mulinama na otoku Ugljanu<sup>122</sup>), od koje je nekoliko metara udaljena krstionica kao samostalno građevinsko zdanje.

Oprema svetišta sastojala se od neophodnog liturgijskog inventara. Oltar je bio konstruiran u formi stola, odnosno sastojao se od ravne ploče – menze – koja počiva na stupićima. Povrh njega izdizao se ciborij. Prezbiterij je zatvarala visoka ograda svetišta ili pergola. Ona se sastojala od kvaderastih pilastara i pluteja u donjim zonama. Nad

dominant standards in the production of sacral equipment. Thus, the panels were obviously cut and carved on identical marks. As for the execution, it was rather uniform and simple – the ubiquitous iconographic motif of the day was a bas-relief Latin cross with slightly spaced-out shafts and with the intentionally rough execution of the body that contributes to the richly decorated surface. We should point out once again that the lectern parapet panels are of the same height as the window colonettes.

## CONCLUSION

In the fertile and spacious hinterland of Roman Siculi (present-day Kaštela), on the slopes of hillforts – these prehistoric settlements – a number of *villae rusticae* were built for Roman war veterans. Included in the centuriation of the Salona *ager* and located in the vicinity of the roads that connected them with other settlements in the region, the villas enabled their residents to enjoy a pleasant life in a gentle countryside and indulge in gardening, winegrowing and olive growing. In addition to providing housing and relaxation to war veterans (evidence for it can be found in the inscriptions on their stelae), the villa in Bijaći also functioned as an autonomous farm.

In Late Antiquity, some of the farm buildings and residential structures were torn down in order to erect on their place an Early Christian place of worship. It was intended for the religious needs of the farm owner's family and their servants. As together they constituted a religious community, the church was also intended for some other Christian rituals aside from communions and worshipping – rituals like baptisms and burials. An octagonal baptistery was built just south of the church and sarcophagi – stone graves – were made around the entire complex. The church thus integrated the congregational, baptizing and cemeterial functions. In this respect, it can be classified among the complex sacral structures built in the context of *villae rusticae*. Such examples are found in Pridraga<sup>119</sup>, Lepuri<sup>120</sup>, Begovača<sup>121</sup> etc. However, this church was more monumental – it had three naves (like, for example, the sanctuary in Mulinama on the island of Ugljan<sup>122</sup>) and, just a few meters away, a baptistery as a detached structure.

The church furnishings included the essential liturgical inventory. The altar was designed as a table; it consisted of a flat slab (*mensa*) resting on small columns. Above it was the ciborium. The presbytery was separated by a high chancel screen (*pergola*). The chancel screen consisted of cuboid

119 S. Gunjača 1963, 21–28; P. Vežić 1986, 171–172; 1996, 93–97; 2005, 140–143.

120 S. Nimac 1997, 45–75; N. Jakšić 2000, 189–200; P. Vežić 2005, 98–101.

121 P. Vežić 1996, 92–93; 2005, 101–102; N. Jakšić 1989, 421–423; 2008, 104–107.

122 M. Suić 1957, 230–249; 1981, 338–340; P. Vežić 2005, 82–85.

119 S. Gunjača 1963, 21–28; P. Vežić 1986, 171–172; 1996, 93–97; 2005, 140–143.

120 S. Nimac 1997, 45–75; N. Jakšić 2000, 189–200; P. Vežić 2005, 98–101.

121 P. Vežić 1996, 92–93; 2005, 101–102; N. Jakšić 1989, 421–423; 2008, 104–107.

122 M. Suić 1957, 230–249; 1981, 338–340; P. Vežić 2005, 82–85.

pilastrima su se izdizali kružni i ovalni stupići kojima je kapitel bio ukrašen jednostavnim listovima na uglovima i s ljljanom u središtu kalatosa.

Liturgijski namještaj pokazuje sve odlike dobro poznate salonitanske produkcije. Riječ je o instalacijama koje su ukrašene jednostavnim znakom križa koji je bio jedini ikonografski motiv na svim ploham lapida. Tek su neki dijelovi arhitekture, kao što su impost kapitel i tranzene, bili ukrašeni skvamama.

Po stilu i obradi motiva u plitkom reljefu, odnosno s obzirom na liturgijske instalacije oltara i ciborija koje su bile fiksne i napravljene od mramora, odnosno s obzirom na visoku ogradu svetišta i na prisutnost ambona, možemo sasvim sigurno reći da je crkva opremljena potrebnim inventarom u drugoj polovini 6. st. No datacija samih sarkofaga na prijelazu 5. u 6. st. ukazuje svakako i na predjustinijanovu kristijanizaciju prostora.

Tako formirani kršćanski sklop nije bio napušten na izmaku kasne antike kao što se to dogodilo većim naseljima među kojima se nalazio – Sikulima ili Resniku – odnosno prijestolnici biskupije, Saloni. Štoviše, sklop će vrlo brzo zadržati novi liturgijski namještaj, a tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka više će puta doživjeti stilske promjene.<sup>123</sup> U konačnici, svetište u kojem su svoje religiozne potrebe i kršćanske obrede obnašali predci rimskih vojnih veterana nastavit će tijekom predromanike hrvatski vladari iz dinastije Trpimirovića.<sup>124</sup>

pilasters and panels in its lower zones. Rising above the pilasters were the round-sectioned and oval-sectioned colonettes whose capitals were decorated with plain leaves in the corners and with lilies in the center of the kalathos.

The liturgical furnishings exhibit all the characteristics of the acclaimed Salona production. These elements are decorated with a simple symbol of the cross – the only iconographic motif on the surfaces of stone panels. Only some architectural elements, such as impost capitals and transenne, were decorated with squamae.

Based on the style and execution of bas-relief motifs, the fact that the liturgical elements of the altar and ciborium were fixed and made of marble, and the presence of a high chancel screen and a lectern, we can safely conclude that the church was equipped with the necessary furnishings at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, the fact that the sarcophagi were dated to the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries indicates that this region had been Christianized even before Justinian's reign.

This Christian complex was not abandoned at the end of Late Antiquity, unlike many larger settlements in its neighborhood – like Siculi, Resnik and the seat of the diocese – Salona. Indeed, the complex would soon be equipped with new liturgical furnishings and in the Early Middle Ages it would undergo changes in style.<sup>123</sup> And finally, in Pre-Romanesque period, Croatian rulers from the Trpimirović dynasty will continue using this sanctuary in which their predecessors – Roman war veterans – also performed their Christian rituals and religious needs.<sup>124</sup>

123 L.J. Karaman 1930, 166–170; T. Burić 1992, 177–197; N. Jakšić 1999, 265–286; A. Milošević 1999, 237–264.

124 M. Ančić 1999, 189–236.

123 L.J. Karaman 1930, 166–170; T. Burić 1992, 177–197; N. Jakšić 1999, 265–286; A. Milošević 1999, 237–264.

124 M. Ančić 1999, 189–236.

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