

# Crkva Sv. Marije, građena uz castellum u uvali Madona, Brijuni Kasnoantičko i bizantsko razdoblje

*The Church of St. Mary nearby castellum in Madona bay, Brijuni*

*Late Roman and Byzantine period*

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VLASTA BEGOVIĆ DVORŽAK  
Institut za arheologiju  
Ulica grada Vukovara 68  
HR-10000 Zagreb

IVANČICA DVORŽAK SCHRUNK  
University of St. Thomas  
St. Paul, Minnesota SAD  
idschrunk@stthomas.edu

IVANA TUTEK  
Arhitektonski fakultet  
Kačićeva 26  
HR-10000 Zagreb

*Uvala Madona nalazi se sa zapadne strane otoka Veli Brijun. Prostrana, široka i vrlo plitka uvala zaklonjena je sa sjeverne i južne strane poluotocima Rankun i Peneda, sa zapadne strane malim otokom Madona (Pusti) i prema otvorenom moru širokim potezom otoka Vanga. S istočne strane područje je zaštićeno velikom močvarom koja se proteže do zaljeva Saline i obroncima blagih padina, koje se penju prema najvišem vrhu otoka Straži (54,7 m nadmorske visine). U prirodno zaštićenu uvalu Madona vodio je put s istoka između močvare i obronka brda koji je bilo relativno lako braniti, a velike pličine ispred uvale onemogućavale su lagani prilaz neprijateljskog brodovlja. Dobro raspoređene stražarnice na brdima oko uvale i na otocima ispred nje omogućavale su izvanrednu kontrolu kopnenih i pomorskih putova, pa je uvala Madona bila prirodno najzaštićeniji akvatorij Brijuna. Višeslojno i kompleksno naselje, zvano Kastrum, ključni je arheološki lokalitet za poznavanje povijesti naseljavanja i gradnje na otočju. Prema svim do sada istraženim arheološkim ostacima i temeljem toga stečenim spoznajama, može se reći da naselje u uvali Madona spada u spontane formacije s topičkim i kulturno-etničkim kontinuitetom iz antike. S kopna i mora prirodno zaštićen položaj na Brijunskom otočju, uvala Madona postaje u kasnoj antici jedna od ključnih točaka na plovnom putu Jadranom.*

*Ključne riječi: ranokršćanska crkva, castellum, fortifikacije, kasna antika, razdoblje bizantske dominacije, Brijuni*

*Madona Bay lies on the western side of the Veli Brijun island. A spacious, wide and very shallow bay. It is protected on the northern and southern sides by the peninsulas of Rankun and Peneda, on the western side by the small island of Madona (Pusti), and towards the open sea by the broad stretch of the Vanga island. On the eastern side the area is protected by a large natural pond which stretches all the way to Saline Bay and by the slopes of gentle hills climbing towards the highest peak on the island – Straža (54.7 m above sea level). A path from the east led into this naturally protected bay, winding its way between the pond and the slopes of the hill which were relatively easy to defend. On the other side, the shallow waters in front of the bay prevented an easy access to enemy boats. Well positioned guard-houses on the hills around the bay and on the islands in front of it enabled excellent control of land and sea routes, making Madona Bay one of the best protected areas of the Brioni Archipelago. A multi-layered and complex settlement, called Kastrum (castellum), represents the key archaeological site for the documenting of the history of Roman colonization and building activity on the islands. According to all archaeological investigations so far, and the insights obtained through these investigations, we can classify the settlement in Madona Bay under spontaneous formations with topographical, cultural and ethnic continuity since antiquity. A naturally protected site on the Brioni Islands, from both sea and land, the Madona Bay became in Late Antiquity one of the key points on the Adriatic maritime route.*

*Key words: early Christian church, castellum, fortifications, late Roman, Byzantine period, Brijuni*

Prof. Željko Tomičić istražio je i objavio kasnoantičke i bizantske fortifikacije i pomorske baze na istočnoj obali Jadrana te nam pomogao da razriješimo tijek građevinskih aktivnosti na Brijunima u tom razdoblju. Razdoblje 5. i 6. st. u Istri mora se sagledati u svjetlu glavnih geopolitičkih i kulturnih promjena na Mediteranu. To je bilo vrijeme intenzivne militarizacije Jadrana, koje je rezultiralo i restrukturiranjem te izgradnjom fortifikacija na obali i otocima. Najveći utjecaj i autoritet imala je Kršćanska crkva i gradnja mnogobrojnih crkvenih objekata zabilježena je u tom razdoblju u Istri. Zanimljivo je da se gradnja fortifikacija i crkvenih građevina događala istodobno na mnogim jadranskim lokalitetima. Istra je igrala vrlo važnu ulogu u povijesnim promjenama u razdoblju kada je Ravenna postala prijestolnica Rimskog Carstva i kada je središte gravitacije postala sjeverna Italija. Jedini pisani podatak o situaciji u Istri iz tog razdoblja nalazimo u Kasiodorovim zapisima iz ranog 6. st.: „*Za vas u najbližem području od nas (Ravene) koji se nalazite preko Jonskog (Jadranskog) mora, zemlje prekrivene maslinama, glasovite po svom žitu, bogate u vinu, gdje su žetve obilne kao tri kravlja vimena puna mlijeka. Ne bez razloga to se zove Kampanija (Campania) Ravene, skladišta carskoga grada, vrlo ugodno i luksuzno ladanje. Zbog svoga povoljnog položaja ima blagu klimu i ima svoje Baiae, tamo gdje burno more ulazi u mirne uvale, koje su glatke i lijepe kao površina jezera... Ta obala ima lanac posebno lijepih otoka, složenih s ljepotom (ugodom) i korisnošću, koji zaštićuju brodove od opasnosti i obogaćuju vlasnike zemlje bogatim urodom.*“ (XII. 22 Cassiodorus senator, praetorian perfect istarskim provincijalcima godine 537. u jesen). Kasiodor je usporedio Istru s Kampanijom koja je bila bogata poljoprivrednim proizvodima i opskrbljivala grad Rim te ljetovališta kao Baiae u napuljskom zaljevu, gdje je bila aristokratska rivijera Italije. Opis lijepih i korisnih otoka se sigurno odnosi na Brijune.

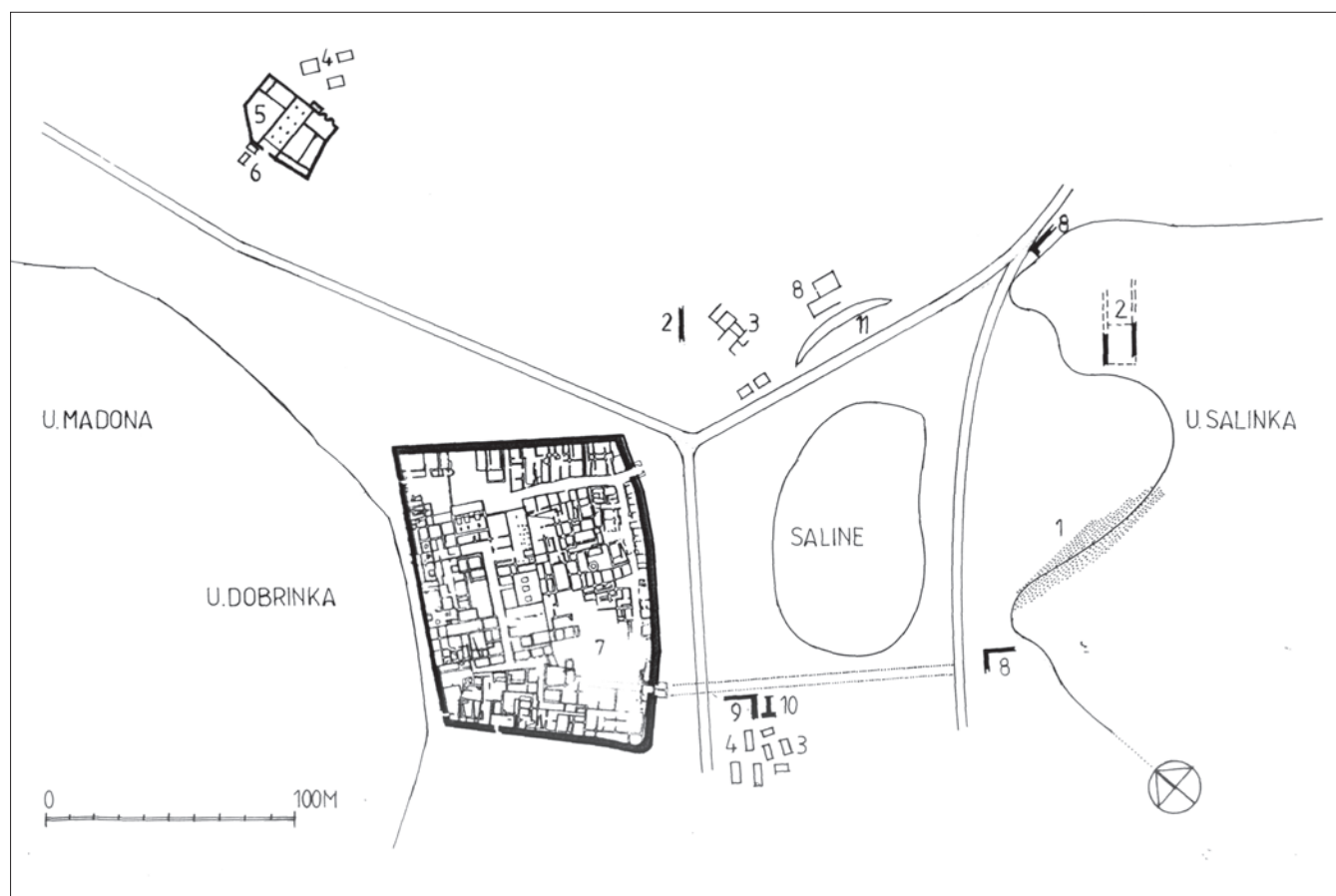
Na Brijunima, novo civilno i crkveno središte nalazi se u uvali Madona, širokoj i dobro zaštićenoj uvali s kasnoantičkim naseljem. Naselje s obrambenim zidinama nastalo je sukcesivnom izgradnjom područja uz veliku rustičku vilu. *Villa rustica* u mirnim razdobljima prosperiteta proširuje se i nadograđuje, potom stagnira i ponovo nadopunjuje izgradnjom *fullonicae* te naseljem oko nje. U vrtložnim vremenima kasne antike naselje se našlo u zoni sidrišta pomorske baze koja se skupa s naseljem ograđuje masivnim fortifikacijama. Mjesto postaje bizantska vojna utvrda i refugij u 6. st. i formira se kasnoantičko naselje – *castellum* (sl. 1).

U urbanoj matrici tog naselja, nastalog spontanom preobražajem antičkih struktura (vojnih i civilnih) u razdoblju od osam stoljeća, prepoznajemo opće razvojne smjernice koje treba tumačiti prije kao posljedicu što izvire iz istog nasljeđa, negoli kao oponašanje nekog uzora. U tom smislu može se govoriti o jedinstvenom kulturnom horizontu, kojemu su ishodišta u preživjelim antičkim strukturama. Kako struktura kasnoantičkoga utvrđenog naselja (bizantski *castellum*) nije doživjela bitne preinake od 6. do 16. st., kada se naselje gasi, očuvana matrica iz 5./6. st. dragocjen je doprinos u razmatranju nastajanja, postajanja, metamorfoza ili potpunog propadanja urbanih struktura iz toga razdoblja.

Prof. Željko Tomičić's research and publication of the Late Antique and Byzantine fortifications and naval bases on the eastern Adriatic coast help us to clarify the building activities on the islands of Brijuni of that period. The 5th and 6th centuries in Istria should be seen in the light of major geopolitical and cultural changes in the Mediterranean. That was a time of intensive militarization of the Adriatic and, consequently, of restructuring and fortification of the coastal and island settlements. Power, practical and spiritual, shifted to Christian authorities, and the surge in church building was a consequence. Interestingly, the two seem to be related and parallel developments in many Adriatic communities. Istria and Brijuni assumed a significant role in these historic changes when Ravenna became "the royal city" and the centre of gravity moved into the northern Italy. The only specific, textual references to the situation in Istria of that time are the letters of Cassiodorus: „*For yours is the nearest region to us across the Ionian (Adriatic) Sea, covered with olives, glorious for its corn, rich in vines, where all crops flow in desirable fertility, as though from three udders generous in their milk. Not undeservedly, it is called the Campania of Ravenna, the store-room of the royal city, an only too pleasant and luxurious retreat. With its northward location, it enjoys a wonderful mild climate. It also has certain Baiaes of its own – where the rough sea enters the hollows of the coast, and is calmed to the smooth and lovely surface of a lake... That coast also has a most beautiful chain of islands; arranged with charm and utility, it both shields ships from danger, and enriches the farmers by lavish harvests.*“ (XII. 22 Cassiodorus senator, praetorian prefect, to the provincials of Istria – anno 537, autumn). Cassiodorus compared Istria to Campania, the food supply of Rome and with the bathing resort of Baiae which was still the Riviera for the aristocracy. The description of the islands fits the Brijuni islands very well.

On Brijuni, the civic and ecclesiastic innovations centred on Madona Bay, a large and well protected bay with a thriving settlement. The settlement in Madona Bay grew around a *villa rustica* and is one of the most important examples of a continuously inhabited site from the early imperial period through the late antique and early medieval period in Istria. This *villa rustica* expanded and developed in times of peace and prosperity, then stagnated and expanded again with the construction of a *fullonica* and the surrounding settlement. In turbulent times of late antiquity the settlement found itself in the anchorage zone of a naval base which was defended, together with the settlement, by massive fortifications. The site became a Byzantine stronghold and refuge in the 6th century and developed the features of a late antique settlement – *castellum* (Fig. 1).

In the urban matrix of this settlement, created by a spontaneous transformation of Roman structures (civilian and military) in an 8-century time span, we recognize the general evolutionary guidelines which should be seen as a consequence arising out of a common heritage, rather than an imitation of a given pattern. In this sense we can speak of a unique cultural horizon which has its roots in the surviving Roman structures. As the Byzantine *castellum* did not undergo major changes between the 6th and the 16th century – the time the settlement was abandoned – the preserved matrix



Sl. 1 Plan kasnoantičkog naselja, solana i crkve Sv. Marije u uvali Madona kao i pozicija nekropola: 1. prapovijesno naselje na rtu Gromače, 2. ostatci solana, 3. kasnoantički zidani grobovi, 4. ostatci sarkofaga in situ, 5. crkva Sv. Marije, 6. grobovi u nartekstu crkve, 7. kasnoantičko naselje, 8. ostatci građevinskih objekata uz solane i kamenolome, 9. kasnoantičke građevine, 10. nalaz are posvećene božici Flori, 11. kamenolom (Gnirs 1911; Mlakar 1976; Vitasović 2005; Tutek 2006)

Fig 1 Plan of the late roman settlement, the saltworks and St. Mary's church - Layout plan of Madona Bay. Position of the cemeteries: 1. prehistoric settlement on the Gromače Cape, 2. remains of the saltworks, 3. late antique built tombs, 4. remains of the sarcophagus in situ, 5. Church of St. Mary, 6. tombs in the narthex of the church, 7. late antique settlement, 8. remains of structures alongside the saltwork and quarries, 9. late antique buildings, 10. site at which the ara dedicated to the Goddess Flora was found, 11. quarry (Gnirs 1911; Mlakar 1976; Vitasović 2005; Tutek 2006)

Matrica ovoga kasnoantičkog naselja pokazuje jaku antičku tradiciju: ortogonalni raster izgradnje u zoni *villae rusticae* te pravilne ulične poteze, na čijem se križanju oblikuje trg kojeg uokviruju reprezentativne zgrade, dok je izgradnja stambenih blokova skromnijih dimenzija i zgusnuta s blagim otklonom od ortogonalnog rastera. Uz naselje izgrađene su crkva Sv. Marije (5./6. st.) i crkva sv. Petra (6. st.). Sličnu gradnju nalazimo na najstarijem dijelu grada Dubrovnika (sa samostanom Sv. Marije i crkvom Sv. Petra), naselju Pharia na otoku Hvaru, a može se usporediti i s kasno antičkom izgradnjom u Dioklecijanovoj palači koja je najvažnija pomorska baza na istočnom Jadranu. Formiranje naselja na Brijunima može se usporediti s razvojem naselja Vela Luka na otoku Korčuli, naselju Bol na otoku Braču, Stara Novalja (*navalia*) na otoku Pagu, Korintija na otoku Krku, Palacol (Palast) na malom otočiću Palacol u blizini Osora na otoku Cresu, Lopar blizu naselja Novi Vinodolski (Tomičić 1994, 103-110).

Fortifikacije kasnoantičkog naselja u uvali Madona na Brijunima formiraju nepravilni pravokutnik sa stranicama 124

from the 5th/6th century remains a valuable contribution to the evaluating of the creation, existence, metamorphosis and decay of urban structures from that period.

The matrix of this late antique settlement shows a strong Roman tradition: an orthogonal grid in the zone of the *villa rustica* and orderly streets whose crossing form a square framed by large buildings. On the other hand, residential blocks are more modest in size and more densely packed, with a slight departure from the orthogonal grid. Alongside the settlement, the churches of St. Mary (5th/6th cent.) and St. Peter (6th cent.) were built. We find a similar grid around the Byzantine *castellum* on the elevated oldest part of Dubrovnik (with St. Mary's monastery and St. Peter's church), and Pharia on the island of Hvar and the Diocletian palace at that time was the most important naval base in the eastern Adriatic sea. We also find similarities with the settlement of Vela Luka on the island of Korčula, Bol on the island of Brač, Old Novalja (*navalia*) on the island of Pag, Korintija on the island of Krk, Palacol (Palast) on the little island of Palacol near Osor on the island of Cres and Lopar near Novi Vinodolski (Tomičić



m, 89,4 m, 110,3 m i 76,5 m. Širina im je 2,6 m (9 rimskih stopa), a na uglovima i pri promjeni pravca bedema povećava se do 2,9 m (10 rimskih stopa) (sl. 2). Na obrambenim zidinama nalaze se petora vrata – dvoja prema istoku, dvoja prema moru i jedna okrenuta prema jugu. Bedemi naselja građeni su evidentno u dvije faze: donja zona pokazuje građevinska obilježja 5. st. Vjerojatno su građeni poslije 452. god., nakon provale Huna i razaranja Akvileje, kada se u Istri dograđuju i izgrađuju fortifikacije mnogih naselja. Zona tako građenih bedema završava na prosječnoj visini oko 2,0 m od temeljne stope. Dogradnja i ojačanje zidova izvedeno je tijekom 6. st. u doba bizantsko-gotskog rata (538.-555. god.) ili poslije, u razdoblju prevlasti Bizanta (Mlakar 1976, 23-27). Zidovi su na južnom dijelu očuvani do 4,8 m visine, ali to nije njihova izvorna visina, koja je morala biti veća, jer prsobran nije nađen niti na jednom mjestu. Možemo pretpostaviti kako su obrambeni zidovi u tom razdoblju građeni prema bizantskim pravilima gradnje i pod kontrolom državnih graditelja, prema i danas poznatom rukopisu *De strategica o tactica*, koji je napisao anonimni časnik u Belizarovoj vojsci (Lawrence 1983, 180). U kasnoantičkom i bizantskom razdoblju građevinske aktivnosti koncentrirane su na dijelu naselja okrenutom prema moru, vjerojatno povezane s trgovačkim aktivnostima i funkcioniranjem luke. Na tom dijelu naselja većina objekata je s pročeljima raščlanjenim lezenama kao i na crkvi Sv. Marija koja je građena nedaleko kasnoantičkog naselja u uvali Madona. Crkva Sv. Marije nalazi se u uvali Madona, 40 m od morske obale, a udaljena je oko 100 m od kasnoantičkog naselja. Orijentirana je u smjeru istok – zapad sa svetištem prema istoku, smještena na blago uzdignutoj zaravni, s glavnim ulazom okrenutim prema moru i otoku Madona (Pusti). Građena je kao glavni sakralni objekt naselja, ali ne u njegovu središtu u kojem u aglomeratu uskih kasnoantičkih ulica nije bilo dovoljno prostora za ispravno orijentiranu kršćansku građevinu. Slijedi logiku nekih crkva otočkih naselja koje su građene izvan već formiranih središta na povoljnijim položajima u blizini naselja (kao, primjerice, crkva u Grohotama na otoku Šolti).

Početak gradnje crkve Sv. Marije može se vezati za intenzivnu plovidbu Jadranom i formiranje pomorskih baza na tome plovnom putu. Prema građevinskim obilježjima, arhitektura crkve veže se za utjecaj Teodorove bazilike iz Konstantinova razdoblja u Akvileji – dvoranske crkve sa stupovima, bez apside (početak 4. st.), Predefrazijane u Poreču (5. st.) i crkve Kristova groba u Jeruzalemu te prvog sloja katedrale u Puli. Logičan je međusobni utjecaj s obzirom na povezanost važnim plovnim putem uz obale Mediterana i Jadrana (Zaninović 1994, 140-141). Mnogobrojne su prilagodbe prostora crkve i promjene njezine unutarnje dekoracije i vrlo je teško odvojiti pojedine faze gradnje. Ipak se može s izvjesnom sigurnošću pretpostaviti najstarija faza.

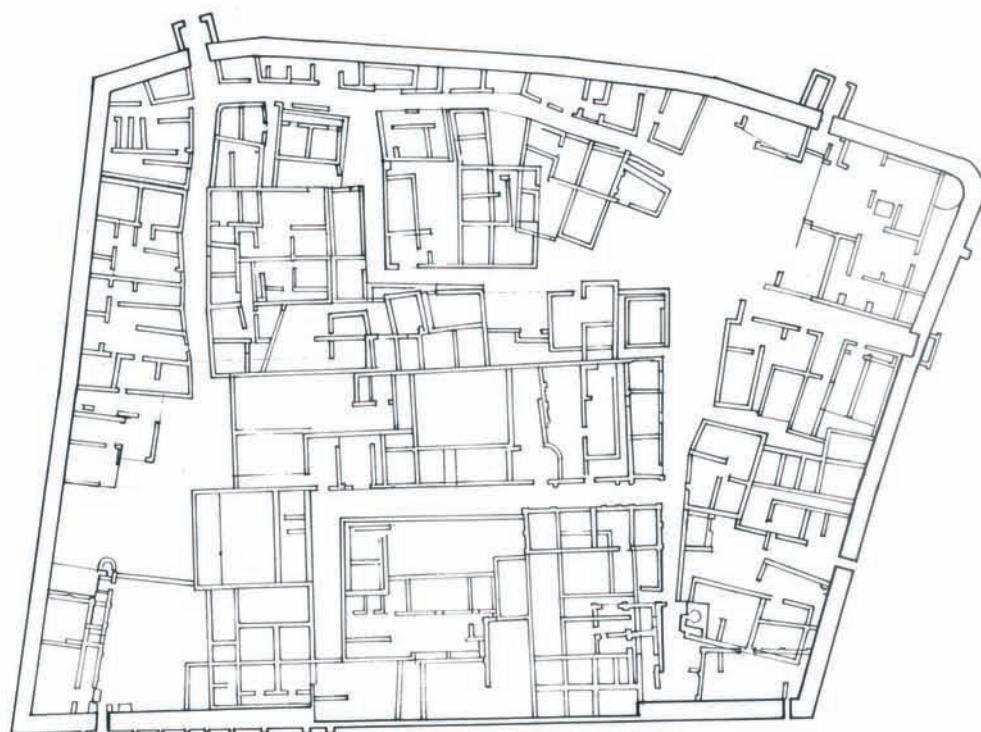
Crkva Sv. Marije građena je kao dvoranska crkva, unutarnjeg prostora razdijeljenog stupovima, bez akcentuirane apside, dimenzija 23,74 x 10,8 m (sl. 3) (odnos 4 : 9, što se smatralo izuzetno elegantnim i duhovnim omjerom u tlocrtu, a u tom odnosu građen je i Partenon na Akropoli u Ateni). Odnos njezina interijera, omjer između prostora

1994, 103-110).

The fortification walls in Madona Bay, Brijuni form an irregular rectangle whose sides are 124, 89.4, 110.3 and 76.5 metres, respectively. Their thickness measures 2.6 m (9 roman feet), increasing to 2.9 m (10 roman feet) at the corners and the points where the walls change direction (Fig. 2). The walls had five entrances – two facing east, two towards the sea and one facing south. The fortifications of the settlement were evidently built in two phases: the lower zone bears the construction characteristics of the 5th century. They were probably built after the year 452, after the incursion of the Huns and the destruction of Aquilea. It is at that time that many settlements in Istria built fortifications or upgraded existing ones. The zone of fortifications built in this manner reaches an average height of about 2.0 m from the foundations. The upgrading and strengthening of the defensive walls was done in the 6th century at the time of the Byzantine-Gothic War (538-555) or later, in the period of Byzantine domination (Mlakar 1976, 23-27). In the southern part, the walls are preserved to a maximum height of 4.8 m, but their original height had to be greater, as the parapets have not been found anywhere on the walls. We can assume that the fortifications of this period were built according to Byzantine construction regulations and under the supervision of state architects, following the well-known manuscript *De strategica o tactica*, written by an anonymous officer in Belizar's army (Lawrence 1983, 180).

In the late antique and Byzantine period building activities were concentrated on the part of the settlement toward the sea maybe connected with commercial and port activities. In this part the most of the buildings have external pilaster-strips like those on St. Mary's church. The church of St. Mary was built nearby the late Roman settlement and saltworks in the Madona and Saline bays. The Church of St. Mary is in Madona Bay, 40 m from the sea and approximately 100 m from the late antique settlement. It is oriented in the east-west direction with the sanctuary towards the east. It lies on a slightly raised plateau and its main entrance looks towards the sea and the island called Madona or Pusti. It was built as the main sacred building of the settlement, but not in its centre. In the agglomeration of narrow late antique streets there was simply not enough space for a correctly-oriented church. It follows the logic of some churches belonging to island settlements which were dislocated from centres already formed to more favourable positions in the vicinity of settlements (e.g. the church in Grohote on the Šolta island).

The beginnings of the construction of the Church of St. Mary are related to intensive navigation across the Adriatic, and the formation of maritime bases. Its architectural features associate it with the Twin Cathedral from Constantine's times in Aquilea – (a hall-church without apses (early 4th cent.), the pre-Euphrasiana in Poreč (5th cent.) and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem – (the Basilica and the Anastasia Rotonda on Mount Golgotha (the basilica was built in the time of Constantine 325/326, and consecrated in 336) and the Church of St. John in Constantinople (around 450), as well as the twin church in Nesactium (5th cent.) and the first stratum of the cathedral in Pula. The interrelatedness is logical with respect to connections via the maritime route along the Adriatic coast (Zaninović 1994, 140-141). The adaptations



Sl. 2 Tlocrt i pogled na kasnoantičko naselje (crtež I. Tutek 2006)

Fig. 2 Ground plan and photo of late roman settlement (drawn by I. Tutek 2006)





ulazom, dok je širina crkve Spirito Santo 19 m, s tri ulaza na pročelju. (Unutrašnjost crkve Sv. Marije s impostima iznad stupova i bez kapitela pokazuju utjecaj germanskog sjevera – a usto i jednostavnost u uređenju unutarnjeg prostora (nije u stilu klasične antike) i izgleda kao interijeri predromaničkih crkva, pa se postavlja pitanje je li možda takva unutrašnjost uređena u doba vladavine Istočnih Gota na području Istre, osobito Teodorika).

Kasnije obnove unutarnjeg prostora crkve predstavljali bi križni pilastri na poziciji šestog stupa i dva bočna stupa, visine 4,2 m, s kapitelima koji su neznatno odmaknuti od križnih pilastra i nose trijumfalni luk. Kapiteli su oblikovani istovjetno na sve četiri strane, a u središnjem dijelu nalazi se križ upotpunjen Kristovim monogramom unutar kružnog medaljona (*crux coronata*). Figure u uglovima kapitela jako su oštećene, kao i sami kapiteli. Gnirs pretpostavlja da se radi o dijagonalno izbačenim lavljim glavama (Gnirs 1911, 82). Tu zastupljeni oblik monograma križa važan je za datiranje kapitela i određivanje vremena gradnje, prema Gnirsu od 350. do 550. god. (Gnirs 1911, 84). Ukrasi na impostima trijumfalnog luka su dvostruka cik-cak vrpca, u koju je umetnut grčki križ (*crux immissa*).

Nalaz kamene tranzene u prostoru bazilike Sv. Marije pokazuje način zatvaranja prozora u 4. i 5. st. (Marta 1989, 124). Prostor između zapadnog zida (pročelje crkve) i trijumfalnog luka na poziciji šestoga stupa izveden je u zlatnom rezu. Oltarski prostor bez apside (*sanctuarium*) koncipiran je kao na crkvi Sv. Marije u Balama i dvojnoj crkvi u Nezakciju, a povišen je za oko 50 cm (dvije stube) i rastvoren velikim trijumfalnim lukom, visine oko 6 m. Trijumfalni luk jednako je koncipiran kao na crkvi San Giovanni in Laterano u Rimu, katedrali u Puli (5. st.) i crkvi San Giovanni Evangelista u Ravenni (građena između 424. i 434. god.).

Sedmi stup, koji se nalazi u prostoru svetišta, visine 4,2 m s kapitelom, veže se za utjecaj kapitela u crkvi Hagios Demetrios u Thessalonici (kasno 5. st.), ali u skromnijoj (provincijalnoj) izvedbi. Ukrasi kapitela su ptičje glave u uglovima i dvopruta sidra, a u sredini kapitela grčki križ unutar dvotračnog kružnog medaljona (*crux coronata*). Ukrasi na kapitelima pokazuju utjecaj stila bizantskih kapitela (Marušić 1967, 33-35). Pokrovnna ploča kapitela odijeljena je užom zonom od osnovnog dijela i razdijeljena u dva dijela – svedenog šireg i užeg četvrtastog imposta. Slični su načinu izvedbe kapitela "a due zone" crkve Sant Apollinare in Classe (530.-549. god.), a po dekoraciji nešto jednostavnijim kapitelima crkve Sv. Martina u Sutlovreću Pazenatičkom (sredina 6. st.). Izvedba kapitela veže se na lokalnu tradiciju i nešto kasniju izvedbu, koja se prilagođava ukrasima trijumfalnog luka. Ambon, prostor podignute tribine, nalazi se ispred prezbiterija. Karakterističan je za starokršćanske crkve i srednjovjekovne bazilike, a ime mu dolazi iz antičkog razdoblja i znači podignuti dio. Oko njega je oltarna pregrada koja je bila dekorirana dvostrukim kružnicama kao na katedrali u Puli. Slična oltarna pregrada na ambonu nalazi se u crkvi Spirito Santo u Ravenni, izvedena u istarskom kamenu početkom 6. st., dekorirana na pločama dvostrukim krugovima, a na stupovima viticama vinove loze i grožđa te vegetabilnim ornamentalnim motivima. Oltarna pregrada s motivima vinove loze i vitica bršljana (slična

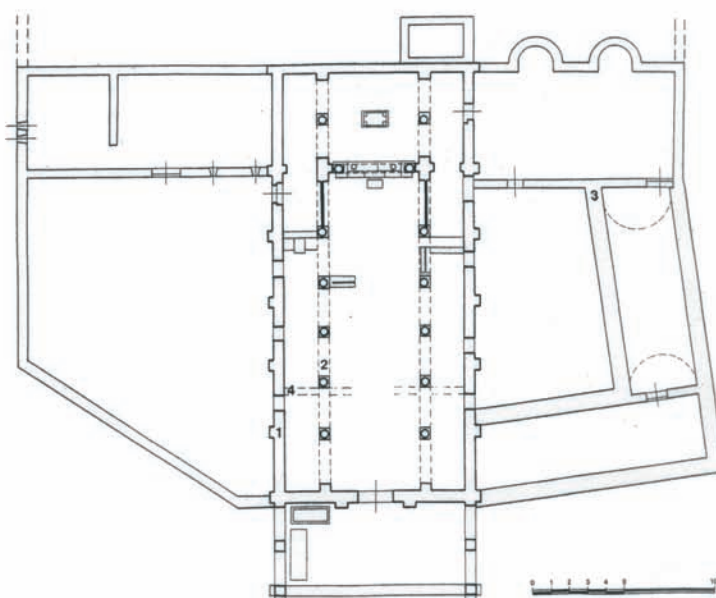
the circular medallion (*crux coronata*). The figures in the corners of the capital (the same on all four sides) are severely damaged, as are the capitals themselves. A. Gnirs supposed that these were diagonally projecting lion's heads (Gnirs 1911, 82). The monogram of the cross is important for the dating of the capitals and determining the period of construction, which, according to A. Gnirs, took place from 350 until 550 (Gnirs 1911, 84). The ornaments on the imposts of the triumphal arch are a double zig-zag strip with an inserted Greek cross (*crux immissa*).

The finding of a stone transenna in the Basilica of St. Mary shows the method of closing the windows in the 5th century (Marta 1989, 124). The space between the western wall (frontispiece of the church) and the triumphal arch at the position of the sixth column is executed in the golden section. The triumphal arch is conceived in the same way as in the Church of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, the cathedral in Pula (5th cent.) and the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, built between 424 and 434 (Krautheimer 1986, 184-185).

The seventh column in the sanctuary is 4.2 m high, with a capital linked to the influence of capitals in the Hagios Demetrios church in Thessaloniki (late 5th cent.), but in a more modest, provincial rendering. The decoration of the capitals is birds' heads in the corners and two-pronged anchors, while the centre is occupied by a two-track round medallion (*crux coronata*). The covering plate of the capital is separated by a narrow zone from the main part and divided into two parts – a broader, vaulted one and a narrower rectangular impost. The capitals show the influence of Byzantine style (Marušić 1967, 33-35). They are similar to the execution of capitals "a due zone" in the Church of San Apollinare in Classe (530-549), while their decoration resembles somewhat simpler capitals of the Church of St. Martin in Sutlovreć Pazenatički (middle of 6th cent.). The execution of the capitals is linked to the local tradition and a somewhat later rendition adapted to the ornamentation of the triumphal arch. The ambon, the raised pulpit, is in front of the presbytery. It is characteristic of early Christian churches and Mediaeval basilicas, while its name, originating from the antique period means "the raised part". It is surrounded by the altar partition which was decorated with double circles, in a manner similar to the cathedral in Pula. A similar altar partition on the ambon is found in the Church of Spirito Santo in Ravenna, executed in Istrian stone in the early 6th century. Its plates are decorated with double circles, while on the columns it features the vine tendrils and grapes and vegetable ornamental motifs. An altar partition with grape motif and ivy (similar to the finding of the door lintel from the southern entrance in the Church of St. Mary) is found in the Church of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Pastophories found in the extension of side naves were vaulted towards the sanctuary with broad arches, and separated from the side naves by a wall and two stairs. A. Gnirs interprets the finding (from the explorations in 1906 and 1907) of small double columns, linked together at the edges and rounded, with a common plinth, as a central support of double windows, the same as those found on early buildings in Ravenna (e.g. San Giovanni Evangelista). The small columns are decorated with a cross and, according to A. Gnirs, belong to the window of the presbytery (Gnirs 1911, 92).

At the frontispiece two pilaster-strips flank the main en-

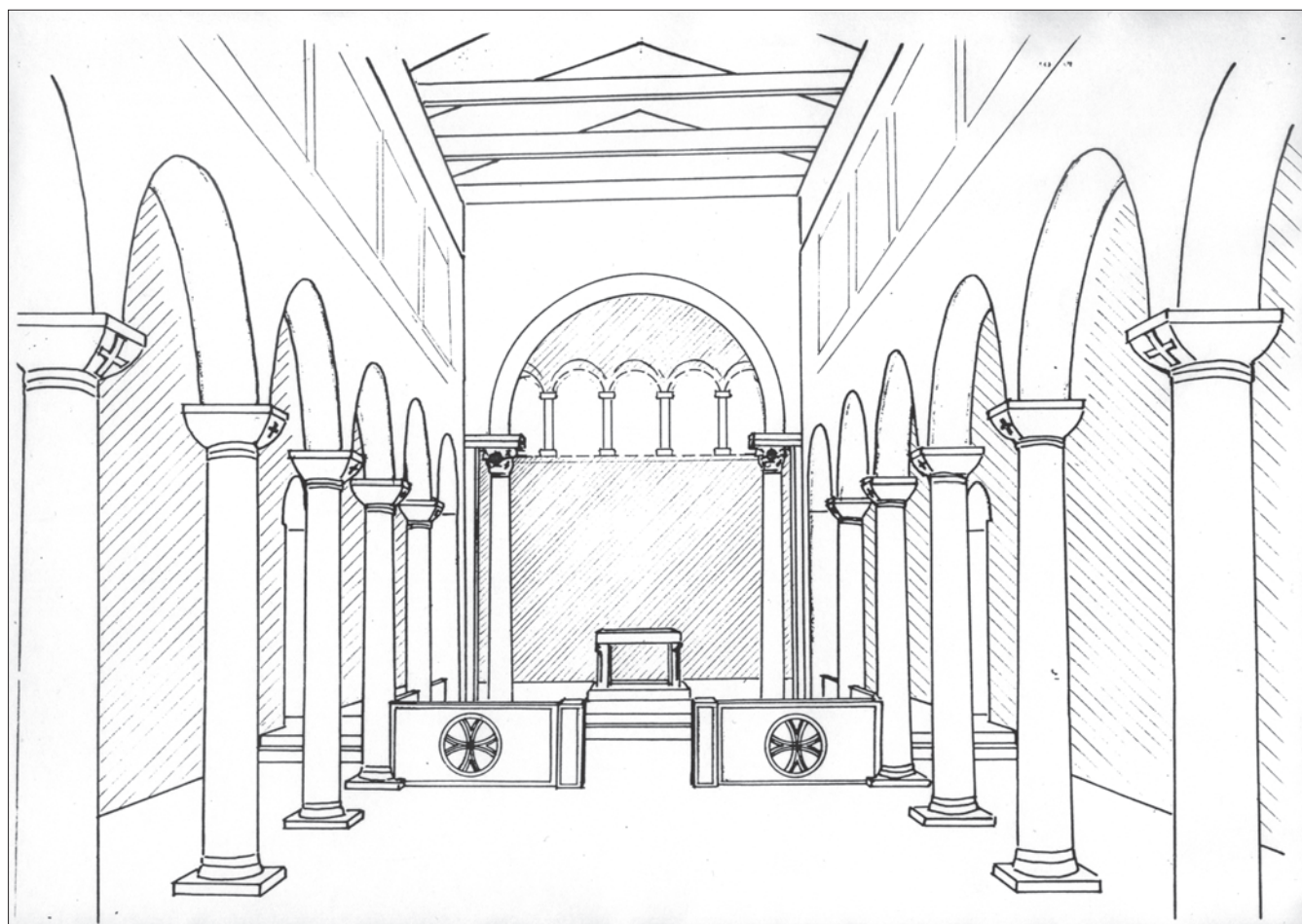




Sl. 3 Tlocrt i pogled na crkvu Sv. Marije (V. Begović 1997)

Fig. 3 Ground plan and photo of St. Mary's church (V. Begović 1997)





Sl. 4 Idealna rekonstrukcija unutarnjeg prostora crkve Sv. Marije (V. Begović 1997)  
 Fig. 4 The ideal reconstruction of St. Mary's church (V. Begović 1997)

nalazu nadvratnika s južnog ulaza u crkvu Sv. Marije) nalazi se u crkvi San Apollinare Nuovo u Raveni (6. st.). Pastoforije koje se nalaze u produženju bočnih brodova bile su prema svetištu rastvorene prostranim lukovima, dok su prema bočnim brodovima odijeljene zidom i uzdignute s dvije stube. Nalaz dvostrukih stupića spojenih na uglovima, zaobljenih sa zajedničkom plintom, koji su nađeni tijekom arheoloških istraživanja 1906. i 1907. god., A. Gnirs je objasnio time da su činili središnji potporanj dvostrukih prozora kakvi se nalaze na ranim ravenskim građevinama (npr., San Giovanni Evangelista u Ravenni). Stupići su ukrašeni križem i prema A. Gnirsu pripadaju prozorima prezbiterija (Gnirs 1911, 92).

Vanjština crkve raščlanjena je nizom lezana, slično dvojnima crkvama u Nezakciju. Na pročelju dvije lezene flankiraju glavni ulaz, a dvije se nalaze u uglovima u produžetku bočnih zidova. Sjeverni i južni zid crkve raščlanjeni su sa sedam lezana, dimenzija 60 x 22 cm (2 rimske stope). Istočni zid crkve ukopan je djelomično u teren koji se tu uzdiže prema Petrovcu i ima prigradenu manju cisternu, veličine 4 x 2,7 m. Zidovi su širine 60 cm (2 rimske stope), građeni od klesana kamena u mortu tehnikom zidanja karakterističnom za kasnu antiku. Upotrijebljen je građevni materijal različitih dimenzija, ali ugrađen tako da se pažljivo uslojavaju i izmjenjuju redovi kamenja manjih dimenzija s redovima onog većih dimenzija. Uglavnom

trance, and there are two more at the angles in the extensions of the lateral walls. The northern and southern walls of the church are articulated with 7 pilaster-strips measuring 60 by 22 cm (2 Roman feet). The eastern wall of the church is partly dug into the terrain, which at this point rises towards Petrovac Hill. Here we find an affixed small cistern measuring 4 by 2.7 m. The walls are 60 cm (2 Roman feet) thick, made of dressed stone in mortar, and constructed in a manner characteristic of late antiquity. Building material of various dimensions was used, but is placed in such a way that there is a careful interchange of rows of larger and smaller stones. The building style approximates the technique of the *opus isodomum*. All of the above speaks of the power of the late antique tradition and its manners of construction. The church is preserved almost to the roof itself, so that its structure can easily be visualized.

A partial renovation of the interior space of the church was made in the 6th century at the time of the Byzantine re-occupation of Istria when Brioni became an important naval and military base. Very early, still in the antique tradition, alongside the Church of St. Mary a hospice (*hospitium*) was built. It also served as a fortification around the church which, after the building of the defensive wall around the settlement, remained outside. The hospice was built in accordance with early Christian architectural prescriptions *De constitutione ecclesiae Testamentum D. N. I. Christi* (Gnirs 1911, 90). On

se teži približavanju tehnici *opus isodomum*. Sve govori o očuvanosti i snazi klasične antičke tradicije i maniri kasne antike. Crkva je očuvana gotovo do krovništva pa se struktura može relativno lako predočiti.

Djelomična obnova unutarnjeg prostora crkve obavljena je u 6. st. u doba bizantske reokupacije Istre, kad su Brijuni važna pomorska i vojna baza. Vrlo rano, još u duhu antičke tradicije, crkvi je prizidan hospicij (*hospitium*). On je koncipiran kao fortifikacija oko crkve koja je izgradnjom obrambenih zidina oko kasnoantičkog naselja ostala izvan fortifikacija. Hospicij je građen prema starokršćanskim propisima gradnje *De constitutione ecclesiae Testamentum d. N. I. Christi* (Gnirs 1911, 90). Na sjevernom dijelu građevina je imala visoko prizemlje i kat i bila je podijeljena na dvije prostorije, veličine 13 x 5 m. Može se označiti i kao *domus presbyterorum*. Ispred je bilo izgrađeno dvorište prema kojem su bili orijentirani prozori malih dimenzija. Dvorište je vjerojatno služilo za prijem putnika.

Arhitektura crkve Sv. Marije može se povezati s nekim gradnjama u nedalekom kasnoantičkom naselju. To se posebno odnosi na građevinu u sjeverozapadnom uglu naselja. Građevina ima slični raspored ležena na pročeljima kao crkva Sv. Marije i dimenzija je 17,4 x 9,6 m. Sjeverni bedem naselja nalazi se uz vanjske zidove građevine. Prostorije unutar građevine imaju pravilan ortogonalni raspored i pokazuju poštivanje antičke tradicije gradnje. Uz građevinu se nalazi sjeverozapadni ulaz naselja prema moru. Na dnu vrata s unutarnje strane nalazi se ulomak kamenog praga u sekundarnoj upotrebi i dvije kamene ploče dimenzija 50 x 55 cm, od kojih jedna s otvorom u obliku nepravilnog kruga. Na dnu vrata očuvan je dio opločenja i sifon s pokrovnom pločom u koji se slijevala voda koja je kanalom ispod bedema bila odvođena prema moru. Velika cisterna, 7,2 x 3,7 m, presvođena bačvastim svodom, koja je naknadno građena uz istočno pročelje građevine, svjedoči o važnosti objekta. Š. Mlakar je cisternu datirao u rani srednji vijek (Mlakar 1976, 29). Ostaje otvoreno pitanje lokacije episkopalnog kompleksa u naselju o kojem je na temelju povijesnih izvora kao sjedišta cesenskog biskupa (*Episcopus Cessensis*), pisao M. Suić (Suić 1987, 202-209). Mnogobrojni su nalazi arhitektonskih ulomaka sa starokršćanskom dekoracijom nađeni u naselju (Marušić 1990, 416). Međutim njihov raspored i mjesto nalaza više govore o njihovoj sekundarnoj upotrebi unutar naselja nego o mogućoj lokaciji građevine.

Kao carski posjed u ranoj antici, Brijuni su imali posebnu upravu. U kasnoj antici to rezultira dvojnomo crkvenom jurisdikcijom koja vodi do suprotstavljanja između pulskog i brijunskog biskupa (Suić 1987, 208; Marušić 1990, 415). Bilo bi vrlo važno da se rasvijetli razdoblje u kojem Brijuni postaju (djelomično ili kao cjelina) biskupski posjed, što je dokumentirano Eufrazijevom darovnicom iz 543. god., kada je biskup Eufrazije darovao trećinu brijunskih solana svom kleru (Zaninović 1991, 259).

Brojnost stanovništva i njihov socijalni status moguće je očitati iz nalaza s kasnoantičkih nekropola iz 4. i 5. st., smještenih na prilaznim komunikacijama jugoistočno i sjeveroistočno od naselja u uvali Madona. Antička

its northern side, the building has a high ground floor and an upper floor, and is divided into two spaces, measuring 13 by 5 m; it can also be described as *domus presbyterorum*. Looking onto the courtyard it had narrow windows and a single door. The courtyard in front of it is fenced off with a strong wall, its entrance being on the southern side, alongside the narthex. This was probably the area where the travellers waited before being accepted into the hospice.

The architectural style of St. Mary shows connections with some late antique buildings in the settlement nearby. In the northwestern corner of the settlement there is a building with external pilaster-strips on the eastern and southern frontispieces. The building measures 17.4 by 9.6 m. The northern defensive wall incorporated the northern wall of the building, while the western defensive wall cut through the walls of the building stretching towards the sea. All of this implies that the building had been erected before the fortifications. The pilaster-strips have a formation nearly identical to those on the northern and southern frontispieces of the Church of St. Mary nearby, which might be indicative of the same period of construction. The rooms have an orthogonal layout and bear the stamp of the antique building tradition. Alongside the building is an opening towards the sea – the northwestern gate in the fortification wall. At the bottom of the gate on the inner side, there is a fragment of a stone threshold in secondary use, and two stone plaques measuring 50 by 55 cm, one of which has an opening in the form of an irregular circle. Also preserved at the bottom of the gate there is a part of the stone cover and a siphon which collected the water and carried it through a channel below the fortification wall into the sea. A large cistern measuring 7.2 by 3.7 m, with a vaulted roof, built subsequently alongside the eastern front of the building testifies to its importance. Š. Mlakar dated the cistern to the early Middle Ages (Mlakar 1976, 29). The question of the location of the Episcopal complex (seat of the bishop of Cissa Pullaria – *Episcopus Cessensis*) which M. Suić had written about on the basis of historical sources (Suić 1987, 202-209), remains open. None of the findings of late antique Christian capitals, lintels, door beams and architectural decoration from our explorations, carried out at numerous sites, helped provide an answer to this question. The findings were also analysed by B. Marušić who produced a blueprint marking the positions of individual finds (Marušić 1990, 416). He also concluded that the position of the findings does not point to a church residence within the settlement, and that the elements found were probably in a secondary function.

As a potential Imperial estate in the early antique period, Brioni would have had a separate administration. In the late antique period this might have resulted in a double ecclesiastical jurisdiction involving the bishops of Pula and Brioni (Suić 1987, 208; Marušić 1990, 415). In any case it is important to shed more light on the period in which Brijuni became an Episcopal estate (wholly or partially), a fact clearly documented by the deed of gift of Eufrazius from the year 543 by which he donated a third of the Brioni saltworks to his clergy (Zaninović 1991a, 259).

The size of the population and the social status of an individual can be read from the findings of late antique necropoles from the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, located on

nekropola na poziciji jugoistočno od naselja nalazi se između uvala Saline i jugoistočnog ulaza u naselje. Čine je u živu stijenu usječeni i djelomično obzidani kasnoantički kosturni grobovi (neki od njih bili su netaknuti i bogati grobnim priložima) i sarkofazi (Mlakar 1976, 7-10). Nalazi iskopani u grobovima pripadaju nošnji pokojnika (Marušić 1986, 84-91). Sjeverno od ove lokacije i sjeveroistočno od naselja nalazi se druga antička nekropola s razvijenim oblicima grobne arhitekture. Grobne površine ograđene su niskim zidom i sadrže sarkofage i kasnoantičke obzidane grobove, djelomično ukopane u živu stijenu (Gnirs 1908, 93; Vitasović 2005, 94). U nartekstu crkve Sv. Marije nađeni su zidani grobovi i sarkofazi.

R. Matijašić je uočio mnogo ulomaka kasnoantičke afričke crvene keramike, koji su nađeni u kasnoantičkom naselju u uvali Madona (Matijašić 1998, 371). Afrička keramika dolazila je na jadranske lokalitete brodovima koji su prevozili žito, vino i ulje iz sjeverne Afrike, posebno iz Kartage, najviše upravo za potrebe vojske i administracije. Ulomak crvene keramike ukrašene pečatastim palminim listovima (afrička *sigillata chiara*) iz 4. st., nađen je u podmorju vile u uvali Verige tijekom hidroarheoloških istraživanja 1987. god. (Begović, Schrunck 2006, 196). Takva fina keramika bila je u upotrebi na stolovima bogatih Rimljana, a nalazimo je i u drugim velikim vilama i urbanim centrima na Jadranu. U hidroarheološkim sondama nađen je i novac Konstantina II. (337.-361.) (Jurišić, Orlić 1987). T. Bezczyk je uočio kako ima mnogo ulomaka kasnoantičkih afričkih amfora u nalazima iz podmorja Veriga (Bezczyk 1998, 57). To bi ukazivalo na intenzivnu upotrebu ova dva lokaliteta na Brijunima u razdoblju 4. st., kao i prisutnost više klase bogatih Rimljana, možda visoko pozicionirane administracije. To je vrijeme kada je Jadransko more ostalo jedini sigurni trgovački put između istočnih i zapadnih dijelova Rimskog Carstva. Otočje Brijuni bilo je strateški važno kao pomorska baza u Istri, a kasnije kao trajektni prijelaz prema prijestolnici Raveni.

Drugi važan nalaz (hidroarheoloških istraživanja 1987. god.) je fragment fokejske fine crvene keramike – posuda ukrašena pečatastim grčkim križem u sredini dna. To je proizvod radionica u Fokeji (Phocaea) u Maloj Aziji iz 5./6. st. Takvi nalazi na istočnom Jadranu do sada su poznati samo sa strateških točaka koje su bile važne u upravnom i vojno-pomorskom prometu kasnog Carstva – Mogorjelo (Čremošnik 1952, 241-271), Polače na Mljetu (Brusić 1988) i Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu (Schrunck 1989). Fina keramika 5. i 6. st. iz sjeverne Afrike i Fokeje rijetka je na području Jadrana. Netko važan morao je boraviti u vili u uvali Verige i upotrebljavati je za posluživanje hrane. Takva keramika bila je vrlo cijenjena i po vrijednosti odmah nakon posuda od finog metala. Po svemu, Brijuni su bili vrlo značajno područje još u 5. i 6. st.

Sudeći prema arhitektonskim ostatcima i arheološkim i hidroarheološkim nalazima keramike, Brijuni su u razdoblju od 4. do 6. st. bili značajna pomorska baza s dvije sigurne luke, jedna u uvali Madona i druga u uvali Verige.

access communications southeast and northeast of the settlement in Madona Bay. The antique necropolis at the location southeast of the settlement is between Saline Bay and the southeastern entrance into the settlement. It consists of late antique skeleton graves (some of which were untouched and yielded rich burial finds) cut into solid rock and partly enclosed in masonry, as well as sarcophagi (Mlakar 1976, 7-10). The finds from the graves belong to the dress of the deceased (Marušić 1986, 84-91). North of this locality and northeast of the settlement there is another late antique necropolis with developed forms of funeral architecture. Its burial grounds are enclosed by low walls, and it contains sarcophagi and late antique built graves partly cut into solid rock (Gnirs 1908, 93; Vitasović 2005, 94). In the narthex of the Church of St. Mary built graves and sarcophagi were found too.

R. Matijašić noticed that "large amounts" of African Red Slip Ware were found in Kastrum in the bay of Madona (Matijašić 1998, 371). The African tableware came to Adriatic sites on ships that transported grain, wine and olive oil from North Africa, Carthage in particular. A fragment of a fourth-century African Red Slip Ware (*sigillata chiara*) bowl with stamped decoration of palm leaves was found in underwater archaeological investigations in 1987 in the bay of Verige (Begović, Schrunck 2006, 196). Such fine late Roman tableware has been found in other large villas and urban centres in the Adriatic. A coin of Constantius II (337-361) was found in the underwater probe in the harbor (Jurišić, Orlić 1987). T. Bezczyk had noticed a good number of late Roman African amphorae among the finds from the underwater investigations (Bezczyk 1998, 57). This would indicate intensive use of the sites in the fourth century, as well as the presence of upper class inhabitants, perhaps a high administrative official. This is the time when the Adriatic Sea remained the only safe sea route between the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire. The archipelago of Brioni was strategically important as a naval base in that section of Istria, later being a point on the route to the royal city of Ravenna.

Another underwater find (underwater investigations 1987) was a fragment of a Phocaeen Red Slip Ware bowl with stamped Greek cross of the 5th-6th century. This fine tableware from Phocaea in Asia Minor has been found only at strategic sites in the eastern Adriatic, important in the military and shipping traffic of the fifth and sixth centuries – Mogorjelo (Čremošnik 1952, 241-271), Polače on the island of Mljet (Brusić 1988) and Diocletian's palace in Split (Schrunck 1989). Finds of African and Phocaeen fine table ware of the 5th and 6th centuries have been rather rare in the Adriatic region. Someone important must have lived in the Verige villa and used that pottery for serving and consuming food. Such fine red slipped ware was valued only less than fine metal ware. All things considered, Brioni was a very significant point in the 5th and 6th centuries.

According to the finds from the underwater probes the majority of pottery dates to the period from the 4th to 6th century. At that time Brioni was an important naval base with two protected harbours – one in the bay of Madona and the other in the bay of Verige.



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