

# Ranokršćanski mramorni korintski kapiteli iz Dubrovnika\*

## *Early Christian Marble Corinthian Capitals from Dubrovnik\**

Izvorni znanstveni rad  
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*U svom radu o ranokršćanskim spomenicima iz Dubrovnika iz 1959. god., Cvito Fisković objavljuje tri mramorna korintska kapitela. Od tada svi autori prihvaćaju njegovo datiranje u 5./6. st., obrađujući kapitela u sklopu ranokršćanske arhitekture. Ovdje se kapiteli datiraju u uže vrijeme, počevši od 480. pa do 540. god., na osnovi analogija iz ranog Bizantskog Carstva. Na donjoj vremenskoj granici nalazimo kapitela iz Ravene iz Teodorikova vremena, dok gornju granicu određuje teret potopljenog broda kod Marzamemija. Mramor potječe vjerojatno iz prokoneških radionica i predstavlja luksuzni proizvod tog vremena. Veličinom kapiteli ukazuju na znatniju građevinu kojoj su pripadali. Ostaje dvojba o provenijenciji građevine: Epidaur ili Ragusium?*

*Ključne riječi: rano kršćanstvo, korintski kapiteli, mramor, Ragusium, Dubrovnik*

*In his 1959 paper on the early Christian monuments from Dubrovnik, Cvito Fisković published three marble Corinthian capitals. From then on everyone has accepted his dating to the 5th/6th century, analyzing the capitals in the context of the early Christian architecture. The capitals are dated here to a narrower time frame, starting with the year 480 until 540, based on analogies from early Byzantine Empire. The capitals from Ravenna from the time of Teodoricus represent the lower time limit, while the upper limit is determined by the cargo of a ship sunk off Marzamemi. The marble probably comes from the Proconnesus workshops and represents a luxury product of that time. By virtue of their size the capitals indicate that they belonged to a large building. Doubt remains as to the origin of the building: Epidaurus or Ragusium?*

*Key words: early Christianity, Corinthian capitals, marble, Ragusium, Dubrovnik*

Tri korintska kapitela iz Dubrovnika u znanstvenu literaturu uveo je Cvito Fisković u radu o ranokršćanskim spomenicima u Dubrovniku (Fisković 1959, 53-54). U zaključku se pravilno postavlja teza o postojanju naselja prije 7. st., odnosno pretpostavljene propasti Epidaura (Fisković 1959, 57). Taj rad te kasnija otkrića kapitela, dijelova utvrđenja, a posebno istraživanja ispod današnje katedrale, omogućila su dobivanje cjelovitije slike kasnoantičkog razvoja Dubrovnika (*Ragusium*). Kapitele spominje I. Žile te ih stavlja u ranokršćansko doba (Žile 1988, 184). Njihova veličina navela je na pomišljanje o većoj crkvenoj građevini na području Dubrovnika ili Epidaura (Fisković 1959, 55). Prikaz pronalaska ranokršćanske skulpture u Dubrovniku pokazuje koncentraciju ostataka na području prva tri seksterija, pa bi na tom području trebalo tražiti pretpostavljene građevine (Žile 2004, 468; Peković 1998, 60, sl. 55).

\* Ovaj rad posvećujem dragom mentoru prof. dr. sc. Željku Tomičiću.

Three Corinthian capitals from Dubrovnik were introduced into the scholarly literature by Cvito Fisković in his paper on the early Christian monuments in Dubrovnik (Fisković 1959, 53-54). The thesis is correctly put forward in the conclusion about the existence of a settlement prior to the 7th century, that is, the presumed collapse of Epidaurus (Fisković 1959, 57). That paper and the subsequent discovery of the capitals, portions of fortifications and particularly the excavations beneath the present-day cathedral led to a more comprehensive picture about the development of Dubrovnik (*Ragusium*) during late antiquity. I. Žile mentions the capitals and places them in the early Christian period (Žile 1988, 184). Their size led to consideration of the existence of a large church building in the territory of Dubrovnik or Epidaurus (Fisković 1959, 55). A plot of the finds of early Christian sculpture in Dubrovnik

\* I dedicate this paper to my dear mentor, Prof. Željko Tomičić.



Sl. 1 Mramorni kapitel iz dubrovačke katedrale (prema Fisković 1959, sl. 1)

Fig. 1 A marble capital from the Dubrovnik cathedral (after Fisković 1959, Fig. 1)

Kapiteli su izrađeni od dva vijenca akantova lišća od po osam listova. Krajevi listova se dodiruju i tvore geometrijske likove i okuluse. Listovi su plošno izrađeni, a tek njihovi vrhovi izlaze iz te plošnosti izvijajući se prema vani. Između gornjeg vijenca listova i abaka izvedene su vitice. Abak je profilacijama podijeljen na dva dijela. Po sredini uvijenih stranica abaka nalazi se izbočenje u obliku stiliziranog cvijeta, što se najbolje vidi na kapitelu nađenu na položaju Gradac, današnjem Dubrovačkom parku. Dimenzije kapitela iz katedrale su: visina 58 cm i širina 62 cm (sl. 1-2). Na dnu je sačuvana rupa promjera 6 cm (Žile 1988, 178-179). Bolje sačuvan kapitel s Gradca ima dimenzije: 59 cm visine i 77 cm širine (sl. 3). To su stvarne dimenzije iako je taj kapitel prepolovljen (Fisković 1959, 54). Na ostacima jednog kapitela iz Katedrale (sl. 2) očuvana su grčka slova ΘΕ (Fisković 1959, 53, sl. 2; Žile 1988, 178-179, sl. 11). Pojava slova grčkog alfabeta na abaku je česta pojava za ovu skupinu kapitela (Kapitän 1980, 83-86). Slova su uklesivana u kamenolomima i tumače se kao oznake klesara, nadglednika ili trgovaca (Asagari, Drew-Bear 2002, 8, 17; Pensabene 2002, 329). Međutim, zbunjuje primjerak na kome su uklesana slova na gornjoj ploči abaka, što je uobičajeno, ali i ispod čaške abaka na tijelu kapitela (Pensabene 2002, 329, Fig. 19-20). Jedina manja razlika među kapitelima je što kapitelu s Gradca središnji listovi gornjeg vijenca ne polaze točno iz sredine. R. Kautzsch takve detalje u razlici pripisuje različitim majstorima koji su na taj način izražavali svoju vještinu ili obrtnički ukus (Kautzsch 1936, 21).



Sl. 2 Mramorni kapitel iz dubrovačke katedrale s grčkim slovima ΘΕ (prema Fisković 1959, sl. 2)

Fig. 2 The marble capital from the Dubrovnik cathedral with the letters ΘΕ (after Fisković 1959, Fig. 2)

shows that the remains are concentrated in the zone of the first three sextaries, which is where one should look for the presumed buildings (Žile 2004, 468; Peković 1998, 60, Fig. 55).

The capitals consist of two acanthus wreaths with eight leaves in each. The ends of the leaves touch and form geometric figures and oculi. The leaves are plane, with only their tips escaping the planeness by curving outwards. Helices are sculpted between the upper wreath of leaves and the abacus. The profilations divide the abacus in two. A protrusion in the shape of a stylized flower runs along the centre of the inward-curving sides of the abacus, a trait visible most clearly on the capital discovered at the site of Gradac, the present-day Dubrovnik Park. The capital from the cathedral is 58 cm long and 62 cm wide (Fig. 1-2). A hole 6 cm in diameter has been preserved on the base (Žile 1988, 178-179). The better preserved capital from Gradac is 59 cm high and 77 cm wide (Fig. 3). Even though this capital is broken in two, these are its true dimensions (Fisković 1959, 54). The Greek letters ΘΕ have been preserved on the remains of a capital from the Cathedral (Fig. 2) (Fisković 1959, 53, Fig. 2; Žile 1988, 178-179, Fig. 11). The presence of letters of the Greek alphabet on the abacus is a frequent phenomenon for this group of capitals (Kapitän 1980, 83-86). The letters were carved in quarries and are interpreted as marks of stone-carvers, supervisors or merchants (Asagari, Drew-Bear 2002, 8, 17; Pensabene 2002, 329). However, there is a puzzling piece with letters carved on the upper slab of the abacus, which is a regular feature, but also below the bell of the abacus, on the body of the



Sl. 3 Mramorni kapitel iz dubrovačkog parka Gradac (prema Fisković 1959, sl. 5)

Fig. 3 The marble capital from the Gradac park in Dubrovnik (after Fisković 1959, Fig. 5)

Kapiteli su prigodom prve objave dobro datirani u 5./6. st. (Fisković 1959, 53-55, sl. 1-5). Kasnije se spominju kao ranokršćanski spomenici iz Dubrovnika, uglavnom bez detaljnije obrade (Fisković 1980, 244-245; Žile 1988, 178-179, 184, sl. 10-11; Žile 1997, 115, 118; Ničetić 2005, 28, sl. 11a). Danas je registrirana velika skupina kapitela tog tipa te je moguće preciznije datirati i ove iz Dubrovnika. R. Kautzsch je te kapitele datirao u vrijeme od 480. do 530. god., dodijelivši ih u svoju šestu skupinu kapitela iz Konstantinopola i Grčke (Kautzsch 1936, 62). Slični su im kapiteli s *lira* motivom iz Ravene iz crkve San Apollinare Nuovo, koji se datiraju u Teodorikovo vrijeme (Penni Iacco 2004, 33-34, Fig. 7) ili se datiraju, početkom, u posljednju trećinu 5. st. pa traju do 530. god. (Kautzsch 1936, 60-61). Nalaz potopljenog tereta kod Marzamemija blizu Sicilije s identičnim kapitelima koji, također, imaju grčka slova kod čaške na abaku, dižu gornju granicu proizvodnje tih kapitela u vrijeme poslije Justinijanove rekonkviste Afrike, odnosno Sicilije. Tad se vjerojatno pojačao promet vrijednim mramornim namještajem i arhitektonskim elementima prema zapadu Carstva (Kapitän 1980, 81, 129-30, Fig. 6). G. Kapitän donosi popis lokaliteta s kapitelima sličnim dubrovačkim (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). Dataciju potopljenog tereta potvrđuje i nalaz kapitela sa stupovima oltarnih pregrada kakve nalazimo u Poreču u Eufrazijevoj bazilici (Šonje 1982, 30, sl. 11; Terry 1988, 33-35). U Konstantinopolu je zabilježen kapitel sličan dubrovačkim, a zanimljiv je zbog toga jer ima ista slova EΘ između gornjeg vijenaca akantova lišća i abaka (Kautzsch 1936, 54, T. 13,170). Postavlja se pitanje je li fotografija okrenuta pa E vidimo naopako i prvo ili je slovo uklesano krivo, što je zabilježeno u prokoneškim kamenolomima (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002, 3). Mišljenja sam da je fotografija okrenuta te dubrovački kapitel dolazi iz istog izvora kao i ovaj iz Konstantinopola. Kapitel iz Konstantinopola datiran je u sredinu 5. st., nešto ranije od predložene datacije (Kautzsch

capital (Pensabene 2002, 329, Fig. 19-20). The only minor difference between the capitals lies in the fact that the leaves of the upper wreath on the Gradac capital do not start precisely from the centre. R. Kautzsch attributes such details to different master craftsmen who expressed in this way their skill or crafting taste (Kautzsch 1936, 21).

In the first publication the capitals were correctly dated to the 5th/6th century (Fisković 1959, 53-55, Fig. 1-5). They are later mentioned as early Christian monuments from Dubrovnik, generally without a detailed analysis (Fisković 1980, 244-245; Žile 1988, 178-179, 184, Fig. 10-11; Žile 1997, 115, 118; Ničetić 2005, 28, Fig. 11.a). A large group of capitals of this type has been documented and it is now possible to attach a more precise date to the ones from Dubrovnik as well. R. Kautzsch dated these capitals to the period between 480 and 530, classifying them into his sixth group of capitals from Constantinople and Greece (Kautzsch 1936, 62). The capitals with the *lyre* motif from Ravenna, from the San Apollinare Nuovo church, dated to Teodoricus' time, are similar to them (Penni Iacco 2004, 33-34, Fig. 7) or they are dated with the beginning in the last third of the 5th century and lasting until 530 (Kautzsch 1936, 60-61). The find of the cargo sunk off Marzamemi on Sicily with identical capitals that likewise have Greek letters at the bell on the abacus, raise the upper limit for the production of those capitals to the time following Justinian's reconquest of Africa and Sicily. At that time the trade in valuable marble furniture and architectural elements to the west of the Empire probably grew in intensity (Kapitän 1980, 81, 129-130, Fig. 6). G. Kapitän brings the list of sites with the capitals similar to the ones from Dubrovnik (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). The date of the sunk cargo is corroborated by the find of a capital with columns of altar partitions of the kind found in the Euphrasian basilica in Poreč (Šonje 1982, 30, Fig. 11; Terry 1988, 33-35). A capital similar to those from Dubrovnik was documented in Constantinople. It is interesting because it has identical letters EΘ between the upper wreath of acanthus leaves and the abacus (Kautzsch 1936, 54, Pl. 13,170). The question arises as to whether the photograph is turned upside down so the letter E appears inverse and first, or the letter is incorrectly carved, which has been documented in the quarries of Proconnesus (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002, 3). In my opinion the photograph is turned upside down and the Dubrovnik capital comes from the same source as the one from Constantinople. The capital from Constantinople is dated to the mid-5th century, somewhat earlier than the proposed date (Kautzsch 1936, 54-55), but it was later included in the group with the capitals from Marsamemi (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). Only 10 percent of the objects found in the Proconnesus quarries have letter inscriptions and it remains open how many inscriptions were carved and how many rendered in paint (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002, 10). No capitals of the Dubrovnik type are found between Dubrovnik and the north of Italy. It is therefore possible to assume that at some point at the beginning of the reconquest the production of capitals of

1936, 54-55), ali je kasnije uvršten u skupinu s kapitelima iz Marzamemija (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). Samo 10 posto pronađenih predmeta u prokoneškim kamenolomima ima natpise slova i pitanje je koliko je natpisa bilo urezano, a koliko izrađeno bojom (Asgari, Drew-Bear 2002, 10). Između Dubrovnika i sjevera Italije ne nalazimo kapitele dubrovačkog tipa. Stoga je moguće pretpostaviti kako se negdje u vrijeme početka rekonkviste ujedno i prestalo s proizvodnjom ovog tipa kapitela. Najveća koncentracija kapitela je u Grčkoj i Konstantinopolu (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). U Epiru su tek tri primjerka: dva slična dubrovačkim iz Nikopola i jedan iz Arte, tipa *s lirom*, sekundarno upotrijebljen, a datirani su u prvu polovicu 6. st. (Bowden 2003, 116, Fig. 6.8., 6.9.). Mramor je u 5. i 6. st. luksuzna roba jer zahtjevi tržišta znatno premašuju proizvodnju te uz početnu visoku cijenu treba dodatno platiti prijevoz, što sve poskupljuje nabavu. Tako se proizvodi prokoneškog kamenoloma rijetko nalaze u udaljenim područjima u odnosu na središnji dio Carstva (Sodini 2002, 129; Bowden 2003, 135-136). Skupini sigurno datiranih kapitela ovog tipa pripada jedan iz Efeza iz atrija Justinijanove bazilike Sv. Ivana, datiran u početak 6. st. (Hörmann 1951, 133-134, Abb. 24, T. XXXIV,4).

Mramorni kapiteli iz Dubrovnika vjerojatno potječu iz prokoneških kamenoloma, koji u to vrijeme najviše proizvode stupove, baze i kapitele. Oko dvije trećine prikupljenih arhitektonskih elemenata pripada ovoj skupini (Asgari 1995, 266). Među kapitelima se posebno ističu kapiteli (*lira*, *V tip*, *Lederblätter*) kojima pripadaju dubrovački (Asgari 1995, 281). Za dubrovačke primjerke možemo postaviti dvije mogućnosti porijekla: prvo kapiteli su doneseni iz Epidaura (teško da su pripadali kojem manjem naselju ili vili u blizini) ili su dopremljeni izravno u Ragusium za izgradnju crkve značajnih dimenzija i zahtjevne opremljenosti. Visina dubrovačkih je 59 cm, a efeških koji su pripadali atriju 66 (Hörmann 1951, 133, Abb. 24), što govori o veličini crkve. U slučaju da su pripadali Epidauru, možemo govoriti o sudbini kasnoantičkog grada koji doživljava preobrazbu po uzoru na priobalne gradove Epira (Bowden 2003, 161-162, 228-230) ili crnomorske gradove tog vremena (Liebeschuetz 2001, 289), kad gradovi na obali usprkos slabljenju bizantske vlasti doživljavaju prosperitet jer bizantska prevlast na moru omogućuje ekonomski život i vojnu sigurnost.

Epidaurski biskup se spominje još 597. god. Ako su pak kapiteli iz Dubrovnika, treba očekivati crkvu znatnih dimenzija koju tek valja otkriti. Međutim, imamo još dva kapitela iz sredine 6. st. (Beritić 1962, 5-6; Žile 1996, 283, 286, T. III, sl. 2), koji također svojom sačuvanom visinom ukazuju na crkvu znatnih dimenzija. Na sadašnjem stupnju istraživosti možemo postaviti pitanje kako se dosad nije otkrila ni jedna od tih crkava usprkos opsežnim istraživanjima unutar Grada. Naime, otkriven je niz manjih objekata tog vremena: Sigurata, Sv. Kuzma i Damjan te Sv. Stjepan (Fi-

this type ceased. The greatest concentration of capitals is in Greece and Constantinople (Kapitän 1980, 81-82). In Epirus there are merely three pieces: 2 similar to the Dubrovnik ones from Nicopolis and one from Arta, of the type with the *lyre*, secondarily used and dated to the first half of the 6th century (Bowden 2003, 116, Fig. 6.8., 6.9.). In the 5th and 6th century marble is a luxury good as the demands of the market considerably surpass the production, and in addition to the high initial price one had to pay extra for transport, which all raised the procurement costs. Thus the products of the Proconnesus quarry are rarely found in remote areas with regard to the central part of the Empire (Sodini 2002, 129; Bowden 2003, 135-136). A capital from Ephesus, from the atrium of Justinian's basilica of St. John, dated to the beginning of the 6th century belongs to the group of securely dated capitals of this type (Hörmann 1951, 133-134, Fig. 24, Pl. XXXIV,4).

The marble capitals from Dubrovnik probably come from the Proconnesus quarries, which at that time produce the highest columns, bases and capitals. Around two third of the collected architectural elements belong to this group (Asgari 1995, 266). Particularly prominent among the capitals are the *lira*, *V-type* and *Lederblätter* capitals, which include the Dubrovnik ones (Asgari 1995, 281). There are two possibilities for the origin of the Dubrovnik pieces: the capitals were either brought from Epidaurus (it is not very likely that they had belonged to a minor settlement or a villa nearby) or delivered directly to Ragusium for the purpose of building a large-sized and demandingly furnished church. The height of the Dubrovnik capitals is 59 cm, and that of the ones from the atrium in Ephesus is 66 cm (Hörmann 1951, 133, Fig. 24), which speaks of the size of the church. In case they belonged to Epidaurus, we could speak of the fate of the late ancient city undergoing transformation on the model of the coastal cities in Epirus (Bowden 2003, 161-162, 228-230) or the Pontic cities of the time (Liebeschuetz 2001, 289), when the coastal cities, in spite of the waning of the Byzantine power, experience prosperity owing to the Byzantine supremacy on the sea, which ensures the economic life and military security.

The bishop of Epidaurus is mentioned as early as 597. On the other hand, if the capitals are from Dubrovnik, one can expect a church of considerable size that is yet to be discovered. However, we have another two capitals from the mid-6th century (Beritić 1962, 5-6; Žile 1996, 283, 286, Pl. III, Fig. 2), whose preserved height likewise indicates a church of considerable size. At the present level of research we can ask the question as to how it happened that not one of those churches was discovered yet in spite of the extensive investigations within the City. A series of minor structures from that time was discovered – Sigurata, Sts. Cosmas and Damian, and St. Stephen (Fisković 1997, 270). Such a large number of churches within and outside of the city is not an uncommon feature for the period, but mostly occurs in important centres (Bowden 2003, 228-30). It is not known

sković 1997, 270). Ovako veliki broj crkava u i oko grada nije neuobičajen za to razdoblje, ali se uglavnom javlja u značajnim središtima (Bowden 2003, 228-230). Pitanje je kad je Ragusium dobio na značaju da može imati više od pet crkava, od toga dvije znatnih dimenzija. U svjetlu tumačenja da Ragusium nastaje prije propasti Epidaura (Rapanić 1988, 46-47) i živi i razvija se paralelno s njim, možemo se upitati zašto to ne podupire do sada jedini objavljeni arheološki sitni nalaz, tj. novac. Istraživanje na Bunićevoj poljani dalo je veći broj primjeraka novca od ilirskog vremena pa do novog vijeka. Jedna od lakuma u nalazima novca je ona od Teodozija I. do Justinijana I., što svakako treba uzeti u obzir (Mirnik 1997, 250). Stoga i tezu o osnutku Raguisa 449. god. treba preispitati (Goldstein 1992, 37). Nedostatak ili neobjavljenost drugog sitnog arheološkog materijala, prvenstveno keramike, jedan je od zadataka koji će u budućnosti moći pružiti niz odgovora koji će pomoći u tumačenju monumentalnih dijelova i arhitekture Dubrovnika, a sve to pak kasnoantičkoj, ali i općoj povijesti Dubrovnika. Točnije datiranje mramornih kapitela iz Dubrovnika od 480. do 540. god. te njihov smještaj u širi kontekst zbivanja kraja 5. i početka 6. st. manji je prilog ovom zadatku.

when Ragusium gained so much in importance as to allow for more than 5 churches, two of these of considerable dimensions. In the light of the interpretation which sees Ragusium spring to life prior to the collapse of Epidaurus (Rapanić, 1988, 46-47) and living and developing parallel with it, we can ask ourselves why is this not corroborated by the only small archaeological finds published so far, i.e. coins. The excavations at the Bunićeva Poljana site yielded a large number of coins from the Illyrian period up until the Modern Age. One of the lacunae in the coin finds is the one from Theodosius I to Justinian I, which certainly has to be taken into consideration (Mirnik 1997, 250). Therefore, the thesis about the founding of Ragusium in 449 ought to be reexamined as well (Goldstein 1992, 37). The absence, or lack of publishing of other small archaeological material, primarily ceramics, is one of the tasks that will in the future offer a series of answers that would render the interpretation of the monumental parts and architecture of Dubrovnik easier, and all this would help in the interpretation of the late ancient but also the general history of Dubrovnik. The more accurate dating of the marble capitals from 480 to 540 as well as their positioning in the wider context of the events at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century is a small contribution to this task.

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