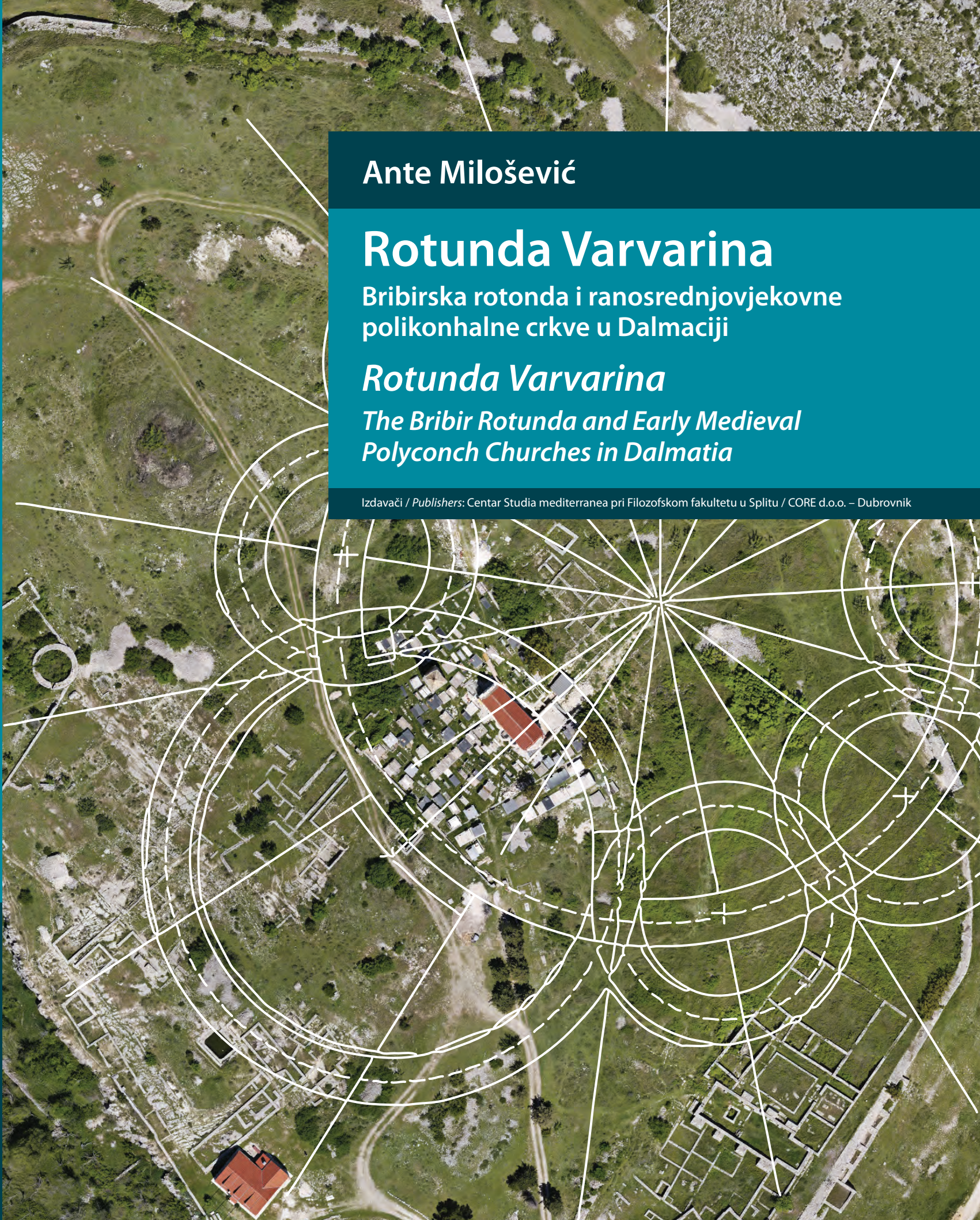


Ante Milošević

Rotunda Varvarina

Bribirska rotonda i ranosrednjovjekovne polikonhalne crkve u Dalmaciji

Rotunda Varvarina

The Bribir Rotunda and Early Medieval Polyconch Churches in Dalmatia

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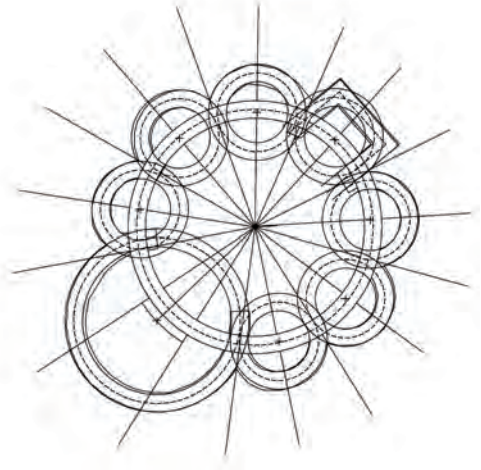
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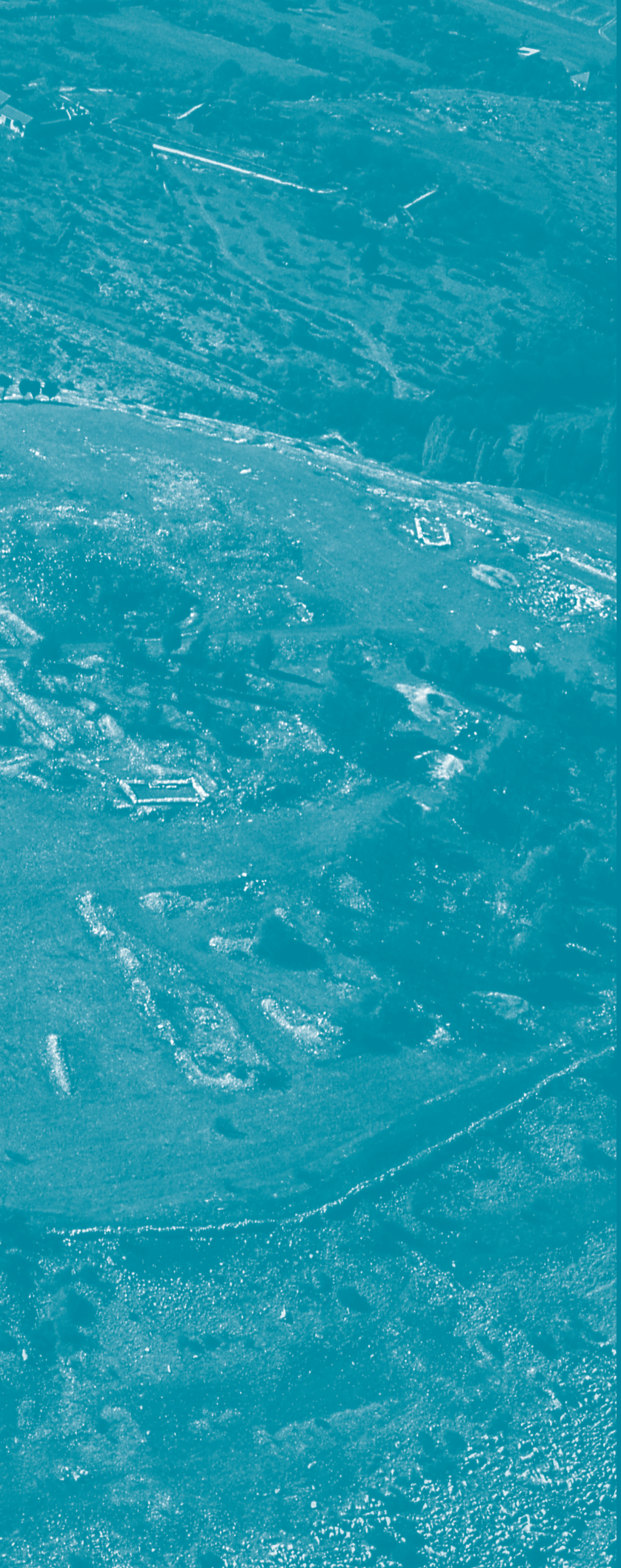
The Bribir Rotunda and Early Medieval Polyconch Churches in Dalmatia

Priredili / *Editors*:
Ivan Basić, Danijel Džino

CORE d. o. o. – Dubrovnik
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Splitu

Split - Dubrovnik 2026.





I.

Predgovor priređivača

Editors' preface



Ante Milošević nas je zauvijek napustio 24. srpnja 2025., ostavljajući tako golemu prazninu u hrvatskoj arheologiji. Pred smrt je uspio završiti rukopis ove knjige, kao jedan od rezultata višegodišnjih arheoloških istraživanja na Bribirskoj glavici čiji je bio voditelj.

S obzirom da je rukopis već bio završen, naš posao sveo se na tehničke intervencije (ujednačavanje citiranja i bibliografskih bilješki, kros-referenciranje u tekstu, referenciranje ilustracija, sređivanje popisa i opisa nekih ilustracija, itd.), ispravke tipografskih pogrešaka i manje jezične intervencije kao što je kroatiziranje latinskih imena u hrvatskom tekstu. Jedinu veću intervenciju predstavlja umetanje sekcija unutar poglavlja 3. i 4. radi bolje preglednosti teksta.

Na svekolikoj potpori pri izdavanju ove knjige zahvaljujemo autorovim kolegama, suradnicima i prijateljima Željku Pekoviću, Vedranu Barbariću, Branku Kiriginu, te nadasve autorovim kćerkama Nini Holek i Iri Milošević.

Ivan Basić i Danijel Džino

Ante Milošević left us forever on 24 July 2025, leaving behind him an immense void in Croatian archaeology. Before his passing, he managed to complete the manuscript of this book, as one of the results of many years of archaeological research at Bribirska glavica, conducted under his leadership.

Since the manuscript had already been completed, our work was reduced to technical interventions (standardisation of quotations and bibliographic notes, cross-referencing within the text, referencing of illustrations, editing lists and descriptions of some illustrations, etc.), correction of typographical errors, and minor linguistic amendments, e.g. Croatising of Latin names. The only major variation was the insertion of sections in Chapters 3 and 4 for the sake of greater clarity.

We extend our thanks to the author's colleagues, collaborators, and friends, Željko Peković, Vedran Barbarić, Branko Kirigin, and, above all, to the author's daughters, Nina Holek and Ira Milošević, for their overall support in the publication of this book.

Ivan Basić and Danijel Džino





II.

O istraživanjima dalmatinskih šesterolista

On the research of Dalmatian six-lobed structures



sl. 1. Krstionica u kompleksu katedrale u Zadru: 1. (lijevo gore) Poprečni presjek; 2. (lijevo dolje) Tlocrt; 3. (desno) Današnje stanje (P. Vežić).
Fig. 1. Baptistery in the cathedral complex in Zadar: 1. (top left) Cross-section; 2. (bottom left) Ground plan; 3. (right) Present condition (P. Vežić).

The study of early medieval central-plan buildings (private/patrimonial churches, oratories, mausolea, or memoriae) with a central circular base, around which six or eight conches are arranged radially, has been featured in Croatian professional and scholarly literature for almost a century and a half. In addition to their treatment as an indisputably regional phenomenon, this group of buildings is also a unique and significant occurrence within the overall European architecture of the period. Syntheses have particularly discussed their titular saints and purposes, as well as their possible dating, typologies and morphologies, and the phenomenon of regionalism in the pre-Romanesque architecture of Dalmatia.

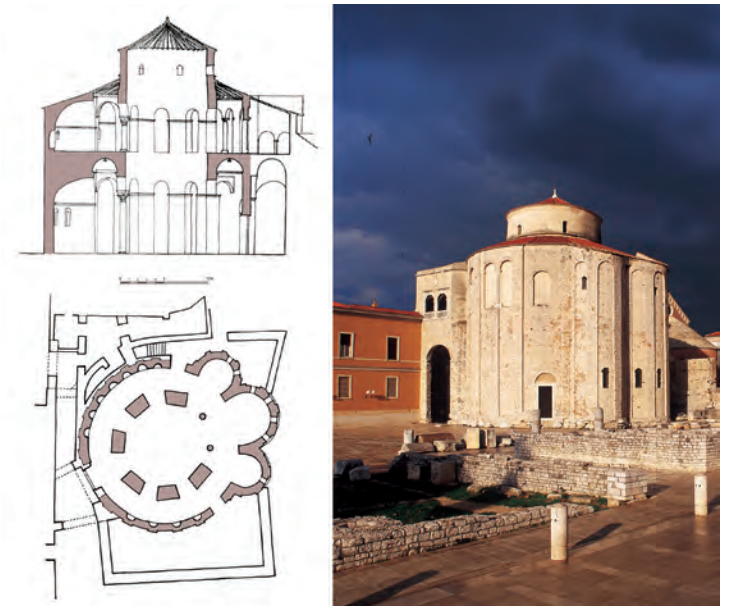
These studies began in the eighth decade of the 19th century, when the remains of the church of St. Mary (Stomorica, *S. Maria de Pusterla*) in Zadar were first excavated and investigated (see also pp. 36-41 in Chapter 3). Its distinctive ground plan – a central circular form around which five semicircular externally visible apses without lesenes are arranged, and with a square-plan entrance space and a bell tower on the façade – led C. F. Bianchi to the opinion that the origin of such a form should be sought in the nearby hexagonal baptistery within the Zadar episcopal complex (Fig. 1)[1]. A few years later, T. G. Jackson also wrote about the same church, supporting Bianchi's view on the typological origin of early medieval six-lobed structures, while also drawing attention to the ruins of the church of the Holy Trinity in Split and to the remains of the rotunda of St. Mary in Trogir. In his text, he also put forward a convincing hypothesis that the central circular base of these buildings had been covered by a dome concealed within a drum (dome pedestal), and that such a structure within a hexagonal drum also covered the central section of the Zadar baptistery[2]. By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, several more discussions of the church of the Holy Trinity in Split appeared in scholarly works. They mostly supported earlier views on possible architectural templates for such a form, adding as potential models the rotunda of St. Donatus

[1] C. F. BIANCHI, 1883, pp. 33–42.
[2] T. G. JACKSON, 1887, pp. 212–213, 266–267, Fig. 4.

Proučavanje ranosrednjovjekovnih centralnih građevina (privatnih / patrimonijalnih crkava, oratorija, mauzoleja ili memorija) središnje kružne osnove oko koje je nanizano i radijalno raspoređeno šest ili osam konha, u hrvatskoj stručnoj i znanstvenoj literaturi, prisutno je već gotovo stoljeće i pol. Osim što su tretirane kao neosporno regionalni fenomen ta skupina građevina je jedinstvena i značajna pojava i u ukupnoj europskoj arhitekturi toga doba. U sintezama su posebno raspravljani njihovi titulari i funkcija, njihovo moguće datiranje, tipologija i morfologija te fenomen regionalizma u predromaničkom graditeljstvu Dalmacije.

Ta proučavanja započela su u osmom desetljeću 19. stoljeća kada su prvi put otkopani i istraženi ostatci crkve sv. Marije (Stomorica, *S. Maria de Pusterla*) u Zadru (v. isto str. 36-41 u poglavlju 3). Njen osebujan tlocrt središnjeg kružnog oblika oko kojega je nanizano pet polukružnih, izvana vidljivih i nelezeniranih apsida te s ulaznim prostorom četvrtaste osnove i sa zvonikom na pročelju, usmjerili su C. F. Bianchija na mišljenje da ishodište takvoga oblika prepozna u obližnjoj šesterostranoj krstionici u sklopu zadarskog episkopalnog kompleksa (sl. 1)[1]. Nekoliko godina kasnije o istoj crkvi pisao je i T. G. Jackson, koji je podržavao Bianchijevo mišljenje o tipološkom ishodištu ranosrednjovje-

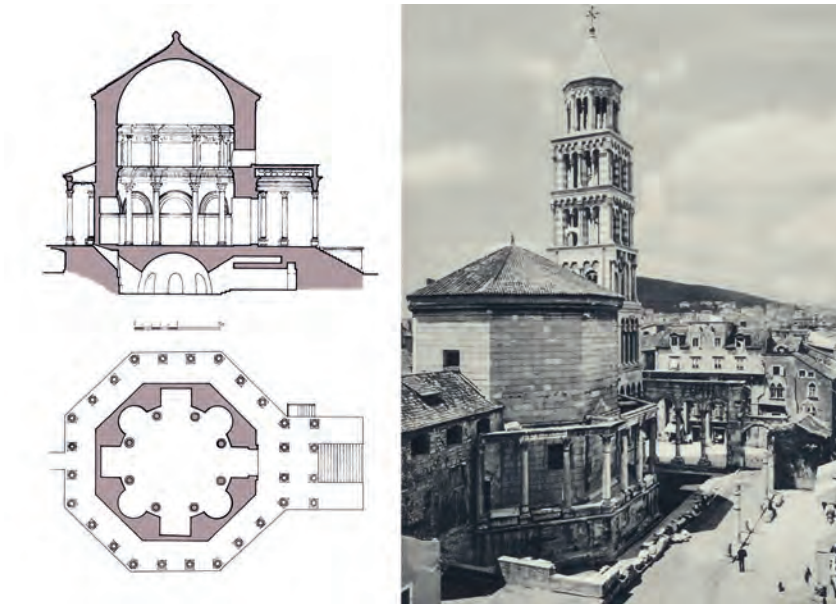
[1] C. F. BIANCHI, 1883, str. 33-42.



sl. 2. Rotunda sv. Donata u Zadru: 1. (lijevo gore) Poprečni presjek; 2. (lijevo dolje) Tlocrt; 3. (desno) Današnje stanje (presjek i tlocrt: P. Vežić, foto: Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 2. Rotunda of St. Donatus in Zadar: 1. (top left) Cross-section; 2. (bottom left) Ground plan; 3. (right) Present condition (section and ground plan: P. Vežić, photo: Z. Alajbeg).

kovnih šesterolista, upozorivši još i na ruševine crkve sv. Trojice u Splitu i na ostatke rotunde sv. Marije u Trogiru. U svome tekstu iznio je i uvjerljivu pretpostavku o tome da je središnju kružnu osnovu u tim građevinama natkrivala kupola skrivena u tamburu te da je takva konstrukcija, unutar heksagonalnog tambura, pokrivala i središnji dio zadarskog baptisterija[2]. Do kraja 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća u literaturi se pojavilo još nekoliko osvrta na crkvu sv. Trojice u Splitu. Uglavnom podržavaju starija mišljenja o mogućim arhitektonskim predlošcima za takav oblik, s time da im kao moguće uzore još dodaju rotundu sv. Donata u Zadru (sl. 2) i Dioklecijanov mauzolej u Splitu (sl. 3)[3]. Iz toga vremena je zanimljivo i mišljenje L. Jelića koji pretpostavlja da tlocrt crkve sv. Trojice u Splitu, podražava tlocrt polikonhnog hrama tzv. *Minervae Medicae* u Rimu[4].

Dvadesetak godina poslije, na grupu tada poznatih šesterolisnih crkava centralnog tipa u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji, osvrnuli su se E. Dyggve i Lj. Karaman koji su istaknuli njihovu posebnost u ukupnom europskom sakralnom graditeljstvu toga doba. E. Dyggve je pojavu šesterolisnih građevina, kao i niza drugih tipova predromaničkih crkava



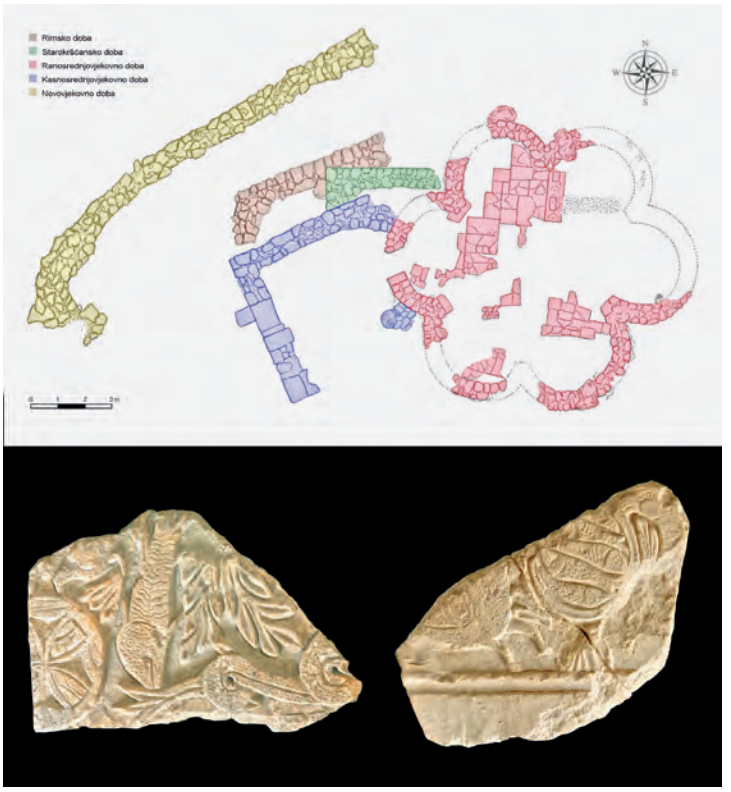
sl. 3. Dioklecijanov mauzolej (danas katedrala Sv. Dujma) u Splitu: 1. (lijevo gore) Južna strana; 2. (lijevo dolje) Tlocrt; 3. (desno) Stanje u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća (presjek i tlocrt: J. Marasović, foto: arhivska fotografija).
Fig. 3. Diocletian's Mausoleum (today the Cathedral of St. Domnius) in Split: 1. (top left) South side; 2. (bottom left) Ground plan; 3. (right) Condition in the first half of the 20th century (section and ground plan: J. Marasović, photo: archive photograph).

in Zadar (Fig. 2) and Diocletian's Mausoleum in Split (Fig. 3)[3]. From this period, the opinion put forward by L. Jelić is also interesting, since he assumed that the ground plan of the church of the Holy Trinity in Split echoed the plan of the polyconch temple known as *Minerva Medica* in Rome[4].

Some twenty years later, the group of then-known six-lobed central-type churches in the early medieval architecture of Dalmatia was discussed by E. Dyggve and Lj. Karaman, who emphasised their distinctiveness within the overall European church architecture of the period. E. Dyggve saw the emergence of six-lobed structures, as well as a number of other types of pre-Romanesque churches in Dalmatia, in earlier templates, and attempted to compare them with ancient architectural forms as their models[5]. Lj. Karaman interpreted them as *free-form churchlets*. Therefore, he did not believe that some of them had been fabricated as deliberately designed structures, but rather that they materialised as *momentary and accidental decisions made by primitive craftsmen, who somehow took pleasure in covering their small*

[2] T. G. JACKSON, 1887, str. 212-213, 266-267, sl. 4.
[3] F. RADIĆ, 1891, str. 20-22, 45-47, sl. 1. – G. ALAČEVIĆ, 1891, str. 55-56. – L. JELIĆ - F. BULIĆ - S. RUTAR, 1894, str. 186-215. – M. VASIĆ, 1922, str. 21, 87, sl. 22, 23.
[4] L. JELIĆ, 1912, str. 83.

[3] F. RADIĆ, 1891, pp. 20–22, 45–47, Fig. 1. – G. ALAČEVIĆ, 1891, pp. 55–56. – L. JELIĆ – F. BULIĆ – S. RUTAR, 1894, pp. 186–215. – M. VASIĆ, 1922, pp. 21, 87, Figs. 22, 23.
[4] L. JELIĆ, 1912, p. 83.
[5] E. DYGGVE, 1933, pp. 1–14. – E. DYGGVE, 1951, pp. 132–133, Figs. VI/14–15.



sl. 4. Crkva sv. Mihovila u Brnazama kod Sinja: 1. (gore) Tlocrt iskopina (A. Milošević); 2. (dolje) Ulomci pluteja (foto: Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 4. Church of St. Michael in Brnaze near Sinj: 1. (top) Ground plan of the excavations (A. Milošević); 2. (bottom) Fragments of plutei (photo: Z. Alajbeg).

buildings with various vaulting forms[6]. In the same work, he critically addressed the views of certain contemporary scholars, especially J. Strzygowski[7], who argued that such forms revealed influences of Byzantium from Asia Minor, Syria, and Armenia, or that they preserved traces of the architecture of the ancient Croats, brought from their homeland at a time when they lived amid their old, pre-Christian beliefs and religious practices[8].

Quantitative and qualitative studies of Dalmatian early medieval six-lobed buildings were further enriched by the research of S. Gunjača in the 1950s and 1960s. The first of these, viz. the church of St. Michael in Brnaze near Sinj, was investigated in 1947[9]. Its partially preserved foundations with apses without lesenes were excavated, as well as remains of stone paving with a small section of the altar screen base (Fig. 4.1), and fragments of interior sculpture that enabled its dating to the 9th century. It was also established that the church was built on a site with continuity from prehistoric times, with rather modest remains of Roman and late antique buildings. Later analyses revealed that, based on sculptural fragments from its interior, it could be dated to the end of the 8th or the first decades of the 9th century[10]. Notwithstanding, two fragments of plutei found at the site are probably earlier (Fig. 4.2) and indicate the possibility of an earlier dating[11]. It can also be assumed that, due to their dimensions, these presumably earlier fragments do

u Dalmaciji nalazio u starijim predlošcima nastojeći ih uspoređivati s antičkim graditeljskim oblicima kao njihovim modelima[5]. Lj. Karaman ih je tumačio kao *crkvice slobodnih oblika*. Nije mislio, dakle, da su neke od njih bile izrađene kao osmišljeni objekti, nego su nastale kao *časovite i slučajne odluke primitivnih majstora, koji su nekako uživali u tome, što bi svoje malene građevine pokrili raznovrsnim svodovnim oblicima*[6]. Na istom mjestu kritički se osvrnuo na mišljenja nekih tadašnjih stručnjaka, a posebno J. Strzygowskog[7], koji je tumačio da upravo takvi oblici očituju utjecaje Bizanta iz Male Azije, Sirije i Armenije, ili pak, da su u njima sačuvani tragovi graditeljstva drevnih Hrvata koje su ovi donijeli iz pradomovine, u vrijeme dok su tamo živjeli u okruženju svojih starih, pretkršćanskih vjerovanja i religijskih običaja[8].

6 Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, pp. 11–12. For a more detailed and general discussion of Karaman's reflections on regional characteristics and possible sources for the typological and morphological classification of pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia and early medieval Croatia, see: N. MARAKOVIĆ – T. TURKOVIĆ, 2024, pp. 413–440.

7 J. STRZYGOWSKI, 1911. – J. STRZYGOWSKI, 1927. For a general overview of the study of Dalmatian art history in the oeuvre of J. Strzygowski, see: S. PIPLOVIĆ, 2001, pp. 121–130. See also the following conference proceedings: *Von Biala nach Wien*, 2015.

8 Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, pp. 23–51. While discussing these topics in detail, he justifiably emphasises his conviction (which in some respects remains applicable even today) …*that many a thesis and theory, solely to the benefit of scholarship, would not have existed, had art historians drawn their conclusions from direct knowledge and study of monuments at first hand, rather than cogitating over them primarily based on reproductions and drawings on paper*.

9 S. GUNJAČA, 1952a, pp. 223–225. – S. GUNJAČA, 1955, pp. 85–134.

10 N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], pp. 265–286. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a, Cat. No. IV/112, pp. 245–246.

11 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017b, pp. 129–134.

5 E. DYGGVE, 1933, str. 1-14. – E. DYGGVE, 1951, str. 132-133, sl. VI/14-15.

6 Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, str. 11-12. Opširnije i općenito o Karamanovim promišljanjima o regionalnim osobinama i o mogućim izvorištima za tipološku i morfološku klasifikaciju predromaničkog graditeljstva u Dalmaciji i ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj vidi u: N. MARAKOVIĆ - T. TURKOVIĆ, 2024, str. 413- 440.

7 J. STRZYGOWSKI, 1911. – J. STRZYGOWSKI, 1927. Pregledno i općenito o proučavanju dalmatinske povijesti umjetnosti u opusu J. Strzygowskog u: S. PIPLOVIĆ, 2001, str. 121-130. Također, i u zborniku: *Von Biala nach Wien*, 2015.

8 Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, str. 23-51. Opširno raspravljajući ta pitanja opravdano ističe svoje uvjerenje (ponekad je i danas primjenjivo) ...*da bi mnoga teza i teorija,*

Kvantitativnom i kvalitativnom proučavanju dalmatinskih ranosrednjovjekovnih šesterolisnih građevina doprinijela su istraživanja S. Gunjače u 50-im i 60-im godinama 20. stoljeća. Prva od njih, crkva sv. Mihovila u Brnazama kod Sinja, istraživana je 1947. godine[9]. Otkopani su joj djelomično sačuvani temelji nelezeniranih apsida, ostatci kamenog popločenja s manjim dijelom baze oltarne ograde (sl. 4.1) i ulomci skulptura iz interijera koji su omogućili njeno datiranje u 9. stoljeće. Također je utvrđeno da je crkva podignuta na lokalitetu s kontinuitetom od prapovijesnog doba, s vrlo skromnim ostatcima građevina iz rimskoga i kasnoantičkoga doba. Kasnije analize pokazale su da ju je prema ulomcima skulptura iz njenog interijera moguće datirati na kraj 8. ili prva desetljeća 9. stoljeća[10], no, dva ulomka pluteja pronađena na lokalitetu, vjerojatno su iz starijeg vremena (sl. 4.2), i ukazuju na mogućnost njenog ranijeg datiranja[11]. Također se može pretpostaviti da, zbog dimenzija, ti pretpostavljamo stariji ulomci ne pripadaju ranije spomenutoj kasnoantičkoj građevini za koju je utvrđeno da je ostatak manje memorije. Gunjača je šesterolist u Brnazama iskopao kao tadašnju četvrtu ranosrednjovjekovnu građevinu takvoga oblika, pa je u zaključku svoga teksta izrekao nekoliko općih konstatacija o tom tipu crkava (pitanje titulara i problem lučnih nadvoja na visokoj oltarnoj ogradi)[12] koje danas, kada je poznat dvostruki broj takvih građevina, više ne stoje.

Istraživanjima crkve na Mastirinama u Kašiću, 1955. i 1956. godine, otkriveni su ostatci još jedne ranosrednjovjekovne građevine centralnog oblika sa šest radijalno postavljenih polukružnih apsida s lezenama na vanjskim zidovima (sl. 5.2)[13]. Arheološkim iskopavanjima na lokalitetu utvrđeno je postojanje nekoliko građevinskih i kulturnih faza. Manji objekt iz rimske epohe bio je dio poganskog sakralnog objekta koji je pri-

a samo na korist nauke izostala, da historičari umjetnosti izvode svoje sudove iz neposrednog poznavanja i proučavanja spomenika u naravi, a manje o njima umuju po reprodukcijama i nacrtima na papiru.

9 S. GUNJAČA, 1952a, str. 223-225. – S. GUNJAČA, 1955, str. 85-134.

10 N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], str. 265-286. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a, kat. jed. IV/112, str. 245-246.

11 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017b, str. 129-134.

12 S. GUNJAČA, 1955, str. 131-132.

13 S. GUNJAČA, 1960, str. 270-271. – V. DELONGA, 1988, str. 39-89.

not belong to the previously mentioned late antique building identified as the remnant of a small memoria. Gunjača excavated the six-lobed structure in Brnaze as the fourth early medieval structure of this type known at the time, and in the conclusion he offered several general observations about this church type (the question of the titular saint and the matter of arched lintels on the high altar screen)[12], which are no longer valid today, when twice as many such buildings are known.

Excavations of the church at Mastirine in Kašić in 1955 and 1956 revealed the remains of another early medieval central-plan building with six radially arranged semicircular apses with lesenes on its exterior walls (Fig. 5.2)[13]. Archaeological excavations at the site established the existence of several building and cultural phases. The small structure from the Roman period was part of a pagan sacral building belonging to a small nearby Roman rural settlement. A section of this pre-Christian cult complex was adapted to a new religious purpose in the 5th century, so that the modestly equipped interior of a small oratory acquired elements establishing its Christian character. The six-lobed building represents the earliest medieval structure at the site. It was soon supplemented by a small narthex, presumably with a bell tower. Subsequently, new rooms butted up against it, which have made scholars interpret it as a monastery, with the building used as its oratory (Fig. 5.1). A number of fragments of stone liturgical installations were found in the ruins of the complex. They had been used to furnish its interior and enabled its dating to the 9th century.

The six-lobed St. Michael in Pridraga was investigated by S. Gunjača intermittently over a long period, viz. from 1940 to 1957. It is located in a field, about 300 m east of the well-preserved early Christian single-nave church of St. Martin with a triconch sanctuary, at the present-day local cemetery (Fig. 6). Similarly to Kašić, the rotunda was built on the site of an earlier Roman-period structure, as confirmed by finds of fragments of ancient sculptures. The investigations

12 S. GUNJAČA, 1955, pp. 131–132.

13 S. GUNJAČA, 1960, pp. 270–271. – V. DELONGA, 1988, pp. 39–89.

sl. 5.
Mastirine u Kašiću:
1. (gore) Tlocrt iskopina cijeloga kompleksa;
2. (dolje) Tlocrt šesterolista
(V. Delonga).

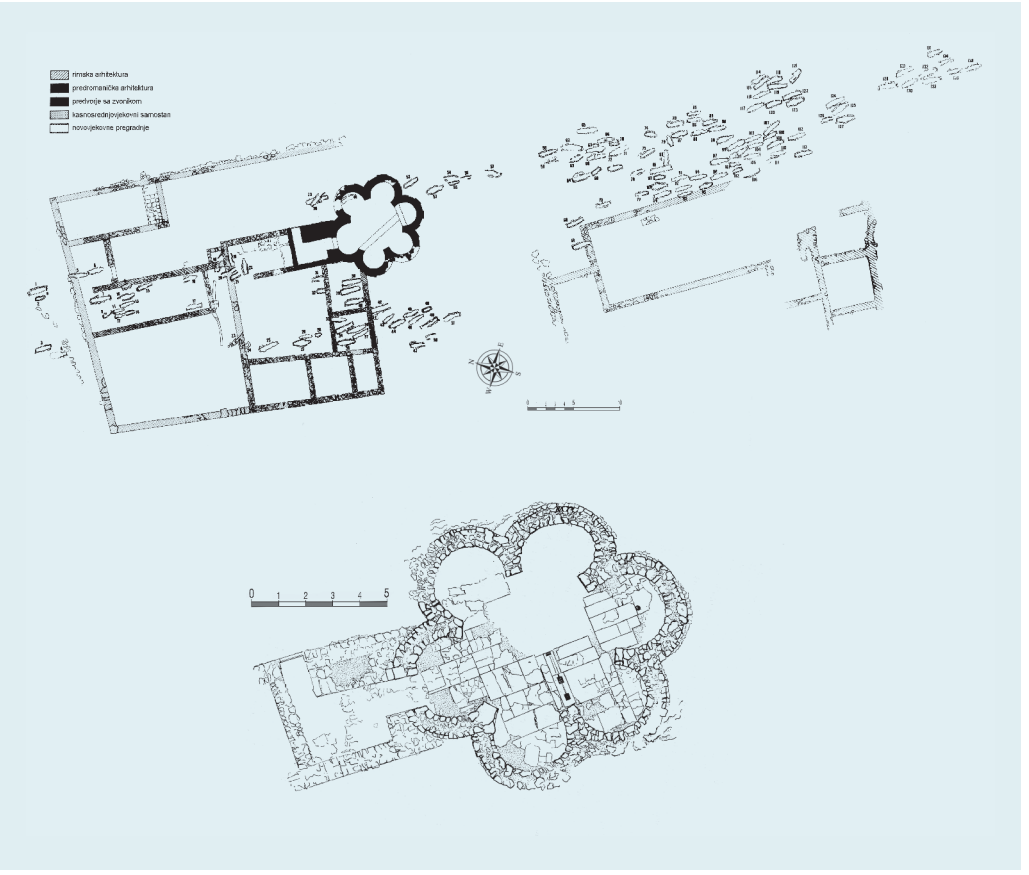


Fig. 5.
Mastirine in Kašić:
1. (top) Ground plan of the excavations of the entire complex;
2. (bottom) Ground plan of the six-lobed structure
(V. Delonga).

involved only the rotunda and a section of the Roman building walls, whose remains can also be found in the arable land north and west of the area researched by that time (Fig. 7.1)[14]. It is assumed that a monastery was formed in the Middle Ages from parts of this structure with additional alterations.

Doubts have repeatedly been expressed regarding the assumption that the sites in Pridraga and Kašić were monasteries, primarily because, contrary to the practice of the time, neither of these locations is mentioned in medieval historical sources[15]. It is worthy to note a pretty convincing opinion of M. Ančić, according to whom the buildings with six-lobed structures in Kašić and Pridraga were contemporary social and economic centres of old royal domains[16]. It has been suggested that they were residential and functional buildings utilising

padao manjem obližnjem rimskom ruralnom naselju. Dio toga predkršćanskoga kultnog sklopa, u 5. stoljeću, priveden je novoj vjerskoj funkciji, pa skromno opremljena unutrašnjost manjeg oratorija dobiva elemente kojima je utvrđen njegov kršćanski karakter. Šesterolisna građevina predstavlja najstarije srednjovjekovno zdanje na lokalitetu. Uskoro joj je dodan mali narteks s pretpostavljenim zvonikom, a nakon što su se na takvo zdanje prislonile nove prostorije, tumači se da je riječ o samostanu, građevina je dobila funkciju njegovoga oratorija (sl. 5.1). U ruševinama kompleksa pronađeno je više ulomaka kamene liturgijske opreme kojom je bio proviđen njen interijer i koji su omogućili njeno datiranje u 9. stoljeće.

Šesterolist sv. Mihovila u Pridragi, S. Gunjača je istraživao, s prekidima, duže vrijeme, od 1940. do 1957. godine. Nalazi se u polju, oko 300 m istočno od dobro sačuvane ranokršćanske jednobrodne crkve sv. Martina s trikonhalnim svetištem, na današnjem mjesnom groblju (sl. 6). Slično kao i u Kašiću, rotunda je sagrađena na prostoru starijega objekta iz rimskoga doba,

14 S. GUNJAČA, 1963, pp. 32–39.
15 V. DELONGA, 1988, p. 85.
16 M. ANČIĆ, 2007, pp. 203–219. The time when these royal estates ceased to function is unknown. It is assumed that this occurred during the period of

sl. 6. Oratorij sv. Mihovila i crkva sv. Martina u Pridragi, pogled s istoka (foto: Z. Alajbeg).



Fig. 6. Oratory of St. Michael and the church of St. Martin in Pridraga, view from the east (photo: Z. Alajbeg).

što je potvrđeno i nalazima ulomaka antičkih skulptura. Istraživanjima je obuhvaćena samo rotunda i dio zidova rimske građevine čiji se ostatci nalaze i na oranicama sjeverno i zapadno od do tada istraženog prostora (sl. 7.1)[14]. Pretpostavlja se da je tijekom srednjeg vijeka od dijelova te građevine i s dodatnim pregradnjama formiran samostan.

Više puta je izrečena sumnja u pretpostavku da je u Pridragi, kao i u Kašiću, riječ o samostanima, prvenstveno stoga što se, mimo prakse onoga vremena, ni jedan od tih položaja ne spominje u srednjovjekovnim povijesnim izvorima[15]. Vrijedno pozornosti je prilično uvjerljivo mišljenje M. Ančića prema kojemu su zgrade sa šesterolistima u Kašiću i Pridragi tadašnja društvena i gospodarska središta starih vladarskih posjeda[16]. Iznosi se mišljenje da je u tim slučajevima

the remains of late antique *villae rusticae*, and that, in the 9th century, after these estates had been transformed into *curiae*, small rotundas were erected alongside them. In the further historical process, estates (*curtes*) were formed on these locations, as a discernible form of property relations in the spatial organisation in other parts of the Croat Principality as well[17].

The six-lobed building as part of the architectural complex in Pridraga had originally been erected as a free-standing structure near the north-eastern corner of the complex, and was later connected to it by an added anteroom (Fig. 7.2). The six-lobed structure itself is irregular in form, both in its central part, which has the shape of an irregular circle, and in its radial conches with lesenes on the exterior wall surfaces. The conches are not equal in shape, size, or span of the triumphal arch toward the

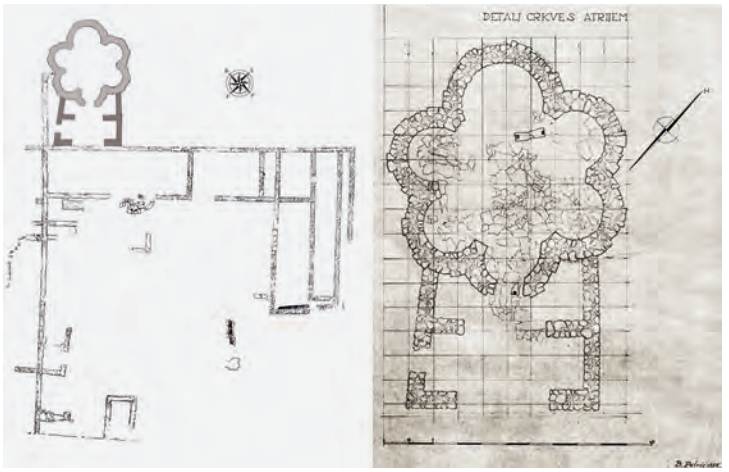
[14] S. GUNJAČA, 1963, str. 32-39.

[15] V. DELONGA, 1988, str. 85.

[16] M. ANČIĆ, 2007, str. 203-219. Nije poznato vrijeme kada su ti vladarski posjedi prestali funkcionirati. Pretpostavlja se da je to bilo u vrijeme slabljenja za vladavine ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Ladislava IV. (1272. – 1290.). Za posjed u Kašiću se znade da je pretvoren u ladanjsku rezidenciju Karla Dračkog, koji je za vrijeme njegovog rođaka i saveznika kralja Ludovika I. Anžuvinca (1342. – 1382.) imenovan hrvatskim hercegom (1369. do 1376.). Kao mjesto izdavanja Karlovog pisma iz 1374. godine navedena je mala kurija u selu Kašiću (M. ANČIĆ, 2007, str. 206, bilj. 11).

decline coinciding with the reign of Hungarian-Croatian King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290). It is known that the estate in Kašić was converted into a country residence of Charles of Durazzo, who was appointed Duke of Croatia (1369–1376) during the reign of his cousin and ally King Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382). The given place of issue of Charles's charter of 1374 was a small manor house in the village of Kašić (M. ANČIĆ, 2007, p. 206, note 11).

[17] M. ANČIĆ, 1999 [2004], pp. 189–236.



sl. 7. Oratorij sv. Mihovila u Pridragi: 1. (lijevo) Tlocrt iskopina cijeloga kompleksa (S. Gunjača); 2. (desno) Tlocrt šesterolista (planoteka Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu).
Fig. 7. Oratory of St. Michael in Pridraga: 1. (left) Ground plan of the excavations of the entire complex (S. Gunjača); 2. (right) Ground plan of the six-lobed structure (plan: archive of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split).

central circle (Fig. 8). The one with the entrance is the least regular, while the conch opposite it, besides being somewhat less irregular, is also the largest. This is an exception among Dalmatian early medieval six-lobed buildings, since all other examples have conches of generally uniform extent. Several elements of the altar screen base were found in the floor in front of the larger eastern conch. Based on stylistic features of the sculptures from its interior, it is assumed that it was built in the second or third quarter of the 9th century, with minor alterations in its last quarter as well. Several fragments of early Christian sculptures probably belong to the furnishings of the nearby church of St. Martin[18].

The location of the fourth polyconch building researched by S. Gunjača is at the present-day local cemetery and beneath the church of Sts. Joachim and Anne (*Aćim and Ana*) at Bribirska glavica in the Šibenik–Skradin hinterland. He excavated it partially on two occasions: firstly in 1959 in the present-day cemetery church, when the remains of the walls of one conch were identified, and a second time in 1969, when three more conches were excavated to the north-east of the structure, along with a partially preserved late antique mausoleum with two sarcophagi (Fig. 9)[19]. Based on these finds, the rotunda at Bribir was subsequently discussed in the literature as a six-lobed building, and some scholars even proposed its

[18] I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, pp. 21–24.
[19] S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, p. 235. – D. VRSALOVIĆ, 1963, p. 270.

riječ o stambenim i gospodarskim objektima za koje su iskorišteni ostatci kasnoantičkih *villa rustica* te da su uz njih, u 9. stoljeću, nakon što su ta imanja preoblikovana u *curiae*, podignute manje rotunde. U daljnjem povijesnom procesu na tim su imanjima oblikovani vladarski posjedi (*curtis*), koji su prepoznatljiv oblik vlasničkih odnosa u organizaciji prostora i u drugim dijelovima Hrvatske Kneževine[17].

Šesterolisna građevina kao dio arhitektonskog sklopa u Pridragi, izvorno je podignuta kao slobodnostojeća građevina blizu sjeveroistočnog ugla kompleksa, da bi potom s njim bila spojena dograđenim pretprostorom (sl. 7.2). Sam šesterolist je nepravilnog oblika, kako njegov središnji dio koji ima formu nepravilnog kruga, tako i njegove radijalne konhe s lezenama na plohama vanjskih zidova. Konhe nisu jednakoga oblika, veličine i raspona trijumfalnog luka prema središnjem krugu (sl. 8). Ona s ulazom je najmanje pravilna, a konha nasuprot njoj, osim što je u manjoj mjeri nepravilna, je i najveća. To je među dalmatinskim šesterolistima ranoga srednjeg vijeka iznimka, budući da svi ostali primjeri imaju konhe uglavnom ujednačenoga opsega. U podu ispred veće istočne konhe pronađeno je i nekoliko elemenata baze oltarne ograde. Na osnovu stilskih obilježja skulptura iz njenog interijera pretpostavlja se da je građena u drugoj ili trećoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća, s manjim intervencijama i u njegovoj posljednjoj četvrtini. Nekoliko pronađenih ulomaka ranokršćanskih skulptura vjerojatno pripada opremi obližnje crkve sv. Martina[18].

Četvrtu polikonhnu građevinu S. Gunjača je istraživao na današnjem mjesnom groblju i ispod crkve sv. Joakima i Ane (*Aćima i Ane*) na Bribirskoj glavici u šibensko-skradinskom zaleđu. Iskopao ju je djelomično, u dva navrata; prvi put 1959. godine u današnjoj grobljanskoj crkvi kada su utvrđeni ostatci zidova jedne konhe i drugi put 1969. godine kada su uz tu građevinu, sa sjeveroistočne strane, iskopane još tri konhe i do njih djelomično sačuvan kasnoantički mauzolej s dva sarkofaga (sl. 9)[19]. Na

[17] M. ANČIĆ, 1999 [2004], str. 189-236.
[18] I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, str. 21-24.
[19] S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, str. 235. – D. VRSALOVIĆ, 1963, str. 270.



sl. 8. Ortofotografija oratorija sv. Mihovila u Pridragi (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 8. Orthophotograph of the oratory of St. Michael in Pridraga (Z. Alajbeg).

temelju tih nalaza rotunda na Bribiru u literaturi je kasnije raspravljana kao šesterolisna građevina, a bilo je i prijedloga za njen osmerolisni tlocrtni oblik[20]. O toj rotundi u nastavku će biti više riječi u poglavljima 4 i 5.

Rezultati Gunjačinih otkrića šesterolisnih građevina u dalmatinskom zaleđu potaknuli su i dodatna takva istraživanja na otprije poznatim sličnim građevinama u gradovima na obali. Pokrenuta su nova proučavanja šesterolista u Zadru, Trogiru i Splitu, čime su se najviše bavili I. Petricioli i T. Marasović. Djelomično sačuvana crkva sv. Marije od Poljane u Trogiru, iz starije povijesne literature poznata kao *Sancta Maria de Platea*, u prvoj fazi je s prekidima istraživana od 1957. do 1959. godine. Rezultati istraživanja objavljeni su 1963. godine (sl. 10)[21]. Među dalmatinskim šesterolistima, jedina je građevina koja se nalazi unutar gradskih zidina. Iz tlocrta je vidljivo da je riječ o građevini s radijalno raspoređenim konhama[22], nejednake veličine i oblika. Vrata su joj na zapadnoj strani. Na spoju okomitih čeonih zidova konha, kroz cijelu unutrašnjost umetnut je vijenac jednostavne profilacije koji je najbolje sačuvan u zapadnoj kon-

[20] S. SEKULIĆ GVOZDANOVIĆ, 1995, str. 37-39. – V. BAKULIĆ, 1996, str. 37-39. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. 471-473. Često se pogrešno navodi u literaturi da je sv. Marija titular bribirske rotunde.

[21] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1963, str. 83-100.

[22] U prvoj objavi na vanjskim plohama zidova apsida nema lezena. Utvrđene su naknadnim istraživanjima V. Kovačić.

eight-lobed ground plan[20]. This rotunda will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

The results of Gunjača's discoveries of six-lobed buildings in the Dalmatian hinterland prompted further investigations of similar previously known buildings in coastal towns. New research of six-lobed buildings in Zadar, Trogir, and Split was initiated, primarily carried out by I. Petricioli and T. Marasović. The partially preserved church of Our Lady of the Square in Trogir, known in older historical literature as *Sancta Maria de Platea*, was researched intermittently in its first phase between 1957 and 1959. The results of the excavations were published in 1963 (Fig. 10)[21]. Among Dalmatian six-lobed buildings, it is the only one located within town walls. The ground plan shows a structure with radially arranged conches[22] of unequal sizes and shapes. Its entrance is on the western side. At the junction of the vertical frontal walls of the conches, a simply moulded cornice runs through the entire interior, best preserved in the western conch with the entrance. In the centre of the interior circular space, a sarcophagus is set into the floor, defining its sepulchral character[23]. This undoubtedly privileged central burial also defines it as a private church (*ecclesia privata*), a status it retained in the later centuries of the Middle Ages, when it was under the patronage of the Trogir commune and when guardianship over this prestigious, benefice-endowed church was claimed by various members of the Trogir patriciate[24].

During the research, however, no reliable elements for its dating were found. Therefore, in accordance with the results and general knowledge of pre-Romanesque architecture in Croa-

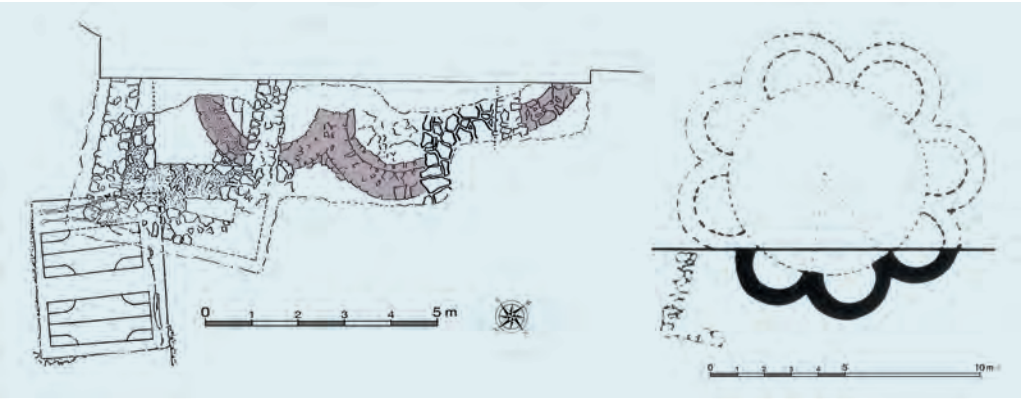
[20] S. SEKULIĆ GVOZDANOVIĆ, 1995, pp. 37–39. – V. BAKULIĆ, 1996, pp. 37–39. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, pp. 471–473. It has often been incorrectly stated in the literature that St. Mary is the titular saint of the Bribir rotunda.

[21] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1963, pp. 83–100.

[22] In the first publication, no lesenes were recorded on the external surfaces of the apse walls. They were established by later research conducted by V. Kovačić.

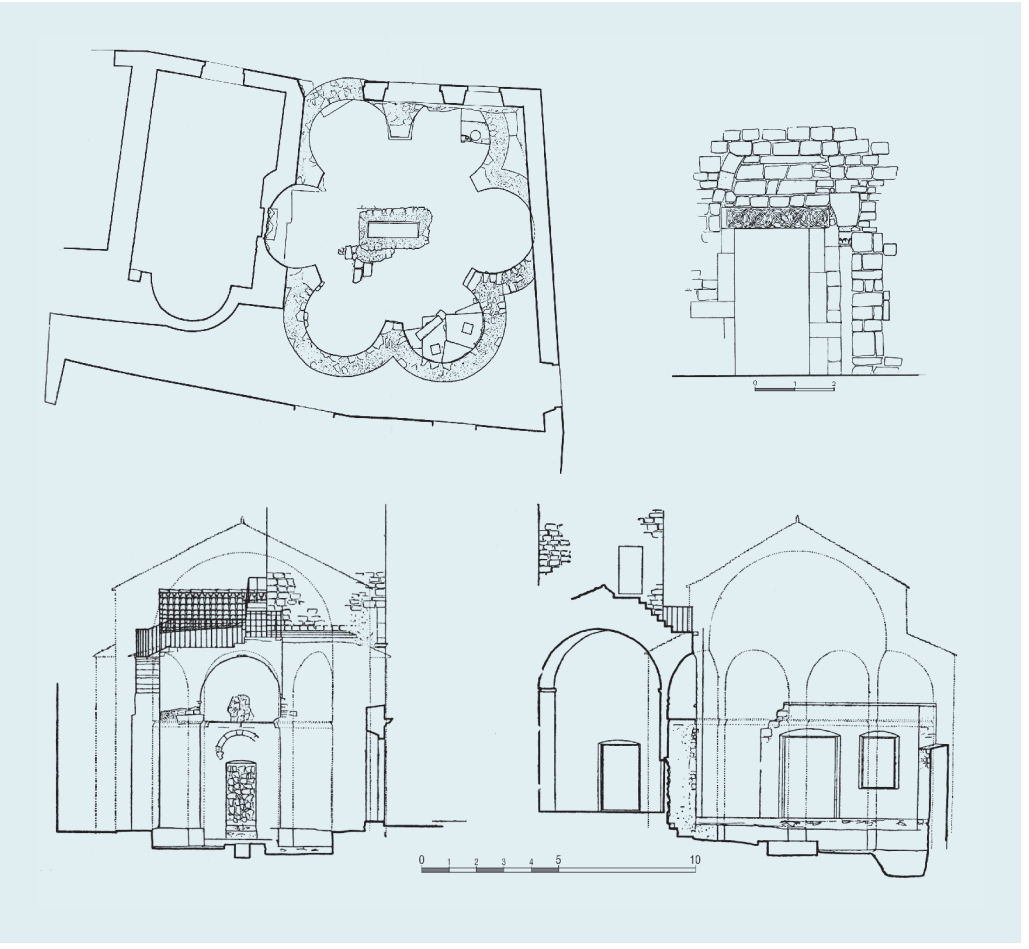
[23] Information concerning the discovered sarcophagus is incomplete, since no clear stratigraphic data were provided at the time of publication, making it impossible to determine when it was placed there, whether it had been at that position within an earlier structure prior to the completion of the six-lobed structure, had been set during its construction, or perhaps added there subsequently.

[24] I. BASIĆ, 2020, pp. 102–105.



sl. 9.
Rotunda na Bribiru:
1. (lijevo) Tlocrt iskopina iz 1969. godine (S. Gunjača);
2. (desno) Prijedlog rekonstrukcije osmerolista (S. Gvozdanović).

Fig. 9.
Rotunda at Bribir:
1. (left) Ground plan of the 1969 excavations (S. Gunjača);
2. (right) Proposed reconstruction of the eight-lobed structure (S. Gvozdanović).



sl. 10.
Ostatci mauzoleja (crkve sv. Marije) u Trogiru:
1. (lijevo gore) Tlocrt;
2. (desno gore) Vrata u zapadnoj konhi;
3. (lijevo dolje) Poprečni presjek sjever - jug;
4. (desno dolje) Poprečni presjek istok - zapad (T. Marasović).

Fig. 10.
Remains of the mausoleum (church of St. Mary) in Trogir:
1. (top left) Ground plan;
2. (top right) Entrance in the western conch; 3. (bottom left) North–south cross-section;
4. (bottom right) East–west cross-section (T. Marasović).

tia at the time, the period of its construction was dated within a broad chronological framework from the 8th to the 11th centuries. In his later works, T. Marasović revisited the Trogir rotunda several times. When a watercolour painting by Charles-Louis Clérisseau from 1757, kept in the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, depicting this church (Fig. 11), was included in the discussions, he twice advocated a later dating, i.e. the 11th century, due to the appearance

hi s vratima. Po sredini unutrašnjeg kružnog prostora ukopan je sarkofag što određuje njen sepulkralni karakter[23]. Taj nesumnjivo privilegirani centralni ukop određuje ju i kao privatnu crkvu (*ecclesia privata*), a takav status zadržala

[23] Obavijesti o pronađenom sarkofagu su manjkavi jer prilikom objave nisu doneseni jasni stratigrafski podatci iz kojih se ne može prosuditi vrijeme kada je on tu postavljen; da li se nalazio na tome mjestu u nekakvoj starijoj građevini prije izgradnje šesterolista, li je tu postavljen prilikom njegove gradnje, ili je pak, poslije ondje dodan.

je i u mlađim stoljećima srednjega vijeka kada se nalazila pod patronatom trogirske komune i kada su starateljstvo nad tom uglednom, beneficijima obdarenom crkvom, svojatali različiti pripadnici trogirskoga patricijata[24].

Tijekom istraživanja nisu, međutim, pronađeni pouzdani elementi za njeno datiranje pa je, u skladu s tadašnjim rezultatima i općim spoznajama o predromaničkoj arhitekturi u Hrvatskoj, vrijeme njene gradnje smješteno u široki vremenski okvir, od 8. do 11. stoljeća. U kasnijim radovima T. Marasović se još nekoliko puta osvrnuo na trogirsku rotundu. Nakon što je u rasprave uključen akvarel Charlesa-Louisa Clérisseaua, iz 1757. godine, koji se čuva u Muzeju Ermitaž u Sankt-Petersburgu, na kojemu se vidi ova crkva (sl. 11), u dva navrata se, zbog izgleda njenog eksterijera, založio za njeno kasnije datiranje, u 11. stoljeće[25]. Mišljenje je promijenio nakon što je objavljen podatak iz 16. stoljeća koji govori o njenom popravku[26]. Marasović je o tome napisao: ...*Nedavno proučen povijesni podatak određuje vrijeme gradnje te crkve (odnosno njezina popravka iz temelja pošto je stara crkva bila porušena) u vrijeme bizantskog cara Teodozija III. i trogirskog biskupa Petra, tj. 715-717. Taj povijesni izvor, koji predstavlja zabilješku povjesničara I. Luciusa o jednom starom zapisu njegova prastrica iz 1511., osim što daje podatke i o graditeljima* (muratori de salina Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota et Theodorus...), *iznimno je važan ne samo za datiranje trogirske crkvice sv. Marije* de Platea *nego posredno pomaže i u proučavanju pojave šesterokonhnog tipa u Dalmaciji, pomičući njegovu pojavu na početak 8. stoljeća*...[27] (v. isto str. 96 u poglavlju 5).

Nove vrijedne spoznaje o crkvi sv. Marije donijela su istraživanja iz 1988. godine u renesansnoj crkvi sv. Sebastijana koja se nalazi nepo-



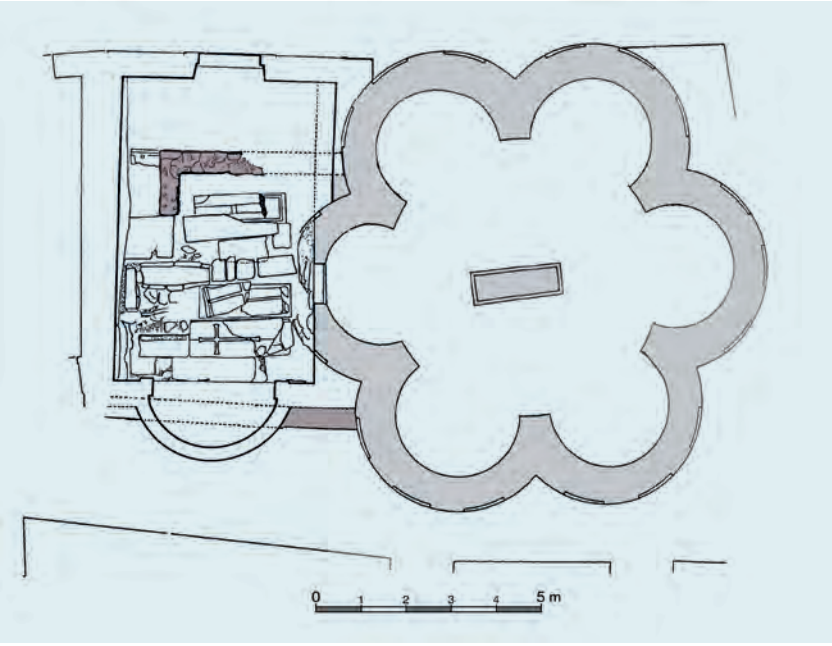
sl. 11.
Ch.-L. Clérisseau, crtež jugoistočnog ugla trga u Trogiru sa crkvama sv. Marije i sv. Sebastijana iz 1757. godine (Muzej Ermitaž u Sankt-Petersburgu).
Fig. 11.
Ch.-L. Clérisseau, drawing of the south-eastern corner of the square in Trogir with the churches of St. Mary and St. Sebastian from 1757 (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).

of its exterior[25]. He revised his opinion after the publication of a 16th-century record referring to its repair[26]. Marasović wrote the following on this matter: ...*A recently studied historical record determines the time of construction of that church (that is, its rebuilding from the foundations since the old church had been demolished) to be the era of the Byzantine emperor Theodosius III and the bishop of Trogir Peter, i.e. the period from 715 to 717. This historical source, which represents a note made by the historian I. Lucius concerning an old record of his great-uncle from 1511, not only provides information about the builders* (muratori de salina Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota et Theodorus...), *but is also exceptionally important for dating the Trogir churchlet of St. Mary* de Platea *and indirectly assists in studying the emergence of the hexaconch type in Dalmatia, shifting its genesis to the beginning of the 8th century*[27]... (see also p. 98 in Chapter 5).

New valuable insights into the church of St. Mary were provided by research in 1988 in the Renaissance church of St. Sebastian, located

[24] I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 102-105.
[25] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1966, str. 99. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1978, str. 36-37.
[26] Opširnije o tome u: M. IVANIŠEVIĆ, 1980, str. 968-969. – R. KATIČIĆ, 1987, str. 17. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, str. 43-62. Vjerodostojnost prijepisa ove bilješke Ivana Lučića, koja postoji u dvije verzije (jednu je objavio D. Farlati u četvrtome svesku *Illyricum sacrum*, dok je druga u rukopisu *Codex Lucianus* u Znanstvenoj knjižnici u Zadru, v. originalni tekst iz oba izvora s Rapanićevim i Katičićevim prijevodima u I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 72) nije kod svih autora bezuvjetno prihvaćena, no nije niti u potpunosti odbačena, pogotovu u onom dijelu koji se odnosi na neke faktografske podatke. Opširno o tome u: I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 69-126.
[27] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1989, str. 30. Za datiranje u 8. stoljeće založio se i: T. MARASOVIĆ, 2008, str. 230. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2011, str. 128-135.

[25] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1966, p. 99. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1978, pp. 36–37.
[26] For more on this topic, see: M. IVANIŠEVIĆ, 1980, pp. 968–969. – R. KATIČIĆ, 1987, p. 17. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, pp. 43–62. The credibility of the transcription of the note made by Ivan Lučić, which exists in two versions (one published by D. Farlati in the fourth volume of *Illyricum sacrum*, while the other is preserved in the *Codex Lucianus* manuscript in the Research Library in Zadar; see the original text from both sources with translations by Rapanić and Katičić in I. BASIĆ, 2020, p. 72), has not been unconditionally accepted by all authors, yet it has not been entirely rejected either, especially with regard to sections concerning certain factual data. For a detailed discussion on this topic, see: I. BASIĆ, 2020, pp. 69–126.
[27] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1989, p. 30. Also in favour of the 8th century: T. MARASOVIĆ, 2008, p. 230. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2011, pp. 128–135.



sl. 12. Tlocrt iskopina mauzoleja (crkve sv. Marije) u Trogiru (V. Kovačić).
Fig. 12. Ground plan of the excavations of the mausoleum (church of St. Mary) in Trogir (V. Kovačić).

directly adjacent to the Trogir rotunda[28]. This building intervention on the Trogir town square extended the life of old St. Mary in some ways, since it became part of a new sacral complex. Namely, its western conch, with later walled-up entrance, was incorporated and physically connected to the eastern wall of the Renaissance church, after which it could only be accessed through the church of St. Sebastian, which occupied the former burial area in front of the rotunda. It can be assumed that due to this architectural integration it became the external crypt of the new church, not an isolated case on the eastern Adriatic coast[29].

Excavations of the Trogir rotunda in 1988 also established that the exterior surfaces of its walls were entirely articulated with lesenes, and that in front of its entrance a porch or anteroom with sarcophagi and masonry tombs had been added (Fig. 12). Together with previous knowledge of the sarcophagi buried in the centre of the rotunda, these finds further confirmed the mausoleum-memorial purpose of the building. With the information that the sarcophagi in the antechamber were founded on late antique pilasters and lintels, and that both the six-lobed building and the antechamber of sepulchral purpose stood directly above ancient architecture, still no definitive opinion was expressed as to the date of this addition. The excavations in 1989 and 2002, conducted in the adjacent courtyard and the ground floor of the parish house, provided no new insights in this respect either[30].

An earlier dating of St. Mary is corroborated by the fact that, despite the aforementioned record of its renovation at the beginning of the 8th century, no remains of any other earlier building were found at its location. One should also be reminded that the walls of the conches rest on a high and accentuated foundation footing (which is not a common occurrence in the early Middle Ages), as well as that the church lies directly on Hellenistic layers and

sredno uz trogirsku rotundu[28]. Taj građevinski zahvat na trogirskom gradskom trgu na neki način je produžio život staroj Sv. Mariji jer je tako postala dio novoga sakralnog kompleksa. Naime, njena zapadna konha, s naknadno zazidanim vratima, uklopljena je i fizički je spojena s istočnim zidom renesansne crkve, nakon čega je jedinu komunikaciju s njom bilo moguće ostvariti kroz crkvu sv. Sebastijana koja je zaposjela nekadašnji grobni prostor ispred rotunde. Može se pretpostaviti da je takvim građevinskim sjedinjavanjem ona tada postala vanjskom kriptom novoj crkvi, što na prostoru istočnojadranske obale ne bi bio osamljen slučaj[29].

Istraživanjima trogirske rotunde 1988. godine također je utvrđeno da su vanjske plohe njenih zidova u cijelosti lezenirane te da je pred njenim ulazom bio dograđen trijem ili pretprostor sa sarkofazima i zidanim grobnicama (sl. 12). Uz prethodne spoznaje o ukopu sarkofaga u sredini rotunde ovim je nalazima dodatno potvrđena mauzolejsko-memorijalna funkcija građevine. Uz podatak da su sarkofazi u pretprostoru temeljeni na kasnoantičkim pilastrima i

[28] V. KOVAČIĆ, 1995, p. 291. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, pp. 47–48. – V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, pp. 97–108. For the new church of St. Sebastian on the square in Trogir, see: C. FISKOVIĆ, 1959b, pp. 368–375. – R. BUŽANČIĆ, 2012, pp. 117–128.
[29] M. JURKOVIĆ, 1997, pp. 77–90.
[30] V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, p. 98, note 5.

[28] V. KOVAČIĆ, 1995, str. 291. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, str. 47-48. – V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, str. 97-108. O novoj crkvi sv. Sebastijana na trogirskom trgu vidi: C. FISKOVIĆ, 1959b, str. 368-375. – R. BUŽANČIĆ, 2012, str. 117-128.
[29] M. JURKOVIĆ, 1997, str. 77-90.

nadvratnicima, te da su šesterolist i predvorje sepulkralne namjene neposredno iznad antičke arhitekture, ipak nije decidirano iznijeto mišljenje o vremenu kada je ta dogradnja nastala. Nove spoznaje u tom smislu nisu donijela niti istraživanja 1989. i 2002. godine koja su provedena u susjednom dvorištu i u prizemlju župnoga dvora[30].

Na ranije datiranje sv. Marije ukazuje činjenica da, usprkos navedenom podatku o njenoj obnovi početkom 8. stoljeća, na njenom mjestu nisu pronađeni ostatci neke druge starije građevine. Također treba podsjetiti da zidovi konha leže na visokoj i naglašenoj temeljnoj stopi (što u ranom srednjem vijeku nije česta pojava), kao i na to da crkva leži neposredno na helenističkim slojevima i rimskoj arhitekturi te da su u sloju ispod njene podnice pronađeni brojni nalazi antičke keramike. S obzirom na te podatke može se istaknuti i pretpostavka da je šesterolist u Trogiru izvorno kasnoantička, privatna grobna građevina koja je početkom 8. stoljeća, zbog trošnosti, srušena i potom u istom obliku i u istim gabaritima popravljena. U manjoj mjeri zbog nepravilnosti u gradnji, upravo takav građevinski zahvat vidimo u formulaciji *reparavit a fundamento* kakva je navedena u spomenutoj Lučićevoj bilješci iz 16. stoljeća[31]. U konačnici je, vjerojatno u ranoromaničko doba, dobila izgled kakav je naslikao Ch.-L. Clérisseau (sl. 11). Upitno je međutim, koliko taj crtež doista odražava stvarni izgled tadašnje trogirske rotunde. Čini se da su slijepe arkade na vanjskom plaštu zidova konha i na neobično visokom tamburu prenaglašene, upitni su vijenci ispod krovova na konhama i na tamburu, a drugačiji je izgled i konstrukcija vrata. Stvarnom stanju ne odgovara niti njihov položaj jer su se ona tada nalazila u unutrašnjosti crkve sv. Sebastijana.

Crkva sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) u splitskom Poljudu[32] jedini je šesterolist u Dalmaciji koji se danas vidi kao cjelovita građevina pod krovom, doduše nakon istraživanja ruševnih ostataka koja su s većim prekidima vršena od 1891., te

Roman architecture, and that numerous finds of ancient pottery were unearthed in the layer beneath its flooring. Consequently, it can be proposed that the six-lobed building in Trogir was originally a late antique private funerary structure which was demolished and then rebuilt in the same form and dimensions at the beginning of the 8th century due to dilapidation. To a lesser extent, due to irregularities in construction, this very building campaign is reflected in the formulation *reparavit a fundamento* as observed in the aforementioned 16th-century note by Lucius[31]. Ultimately, it probably acquired the appearance depicted by Ch.-L. Clérisseau in the early Romanesque period (Fig. 11). However, it is questionable to what extent this drawing truly reflects the actual appearance of the Trogir rotunda at the time. The blind arcades on the exterior of the conch walls and on the unusually high drum appear exaggerated, the cornices beneath the roofs of the conches and the drum are doubtful, and the appearance and form of the entrance are different. Its position does not correspond to the actual condition either, since at the time it was located within the interior of the church of St. Sebastian.

The church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) in the Poljud[32] area of Split is the only six-lobed building in Dalmatia that can today be regarded as a complete roofed structure, albeit after investigations of the ruined remains carried out, with major interruptions, from 1891, and in 1949–1950, as well as during the 1972 conservation/restoration (Fig. 13). Since it has long been known, it has been discussed in scholarly works a number of times[33]. Investigations revealed that it was built on the ruins of a large Roman building which has not been excavated because it lies beneath a road and in adjacent gardens. Such circumstances at the site indicate the need for additional more extensive excavations, as it can be assumed that its siting is

30 V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, str. 98, bilj. 5.

31 O tom i u: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, str. 55. – I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 75.

32 U povijesnim dokumentima prvi put se spominje u popisu zemalja ženskog benediktinskog samostana u Splitu (oko godine 1070. – 1080., ...*terra sanctae trinitatis*...). Usp. *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 1, 1874, dok. br. 208, str. 169.

31 For more on this, see also: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, p. 55. – I. BASIĆ, 2020, p. 75.

32 It was first mentioned in historical documents in a list of lands belonging to the Benedictine nunnery in Split (*c.* 1070–1080, …*terra sanctae trinitatis*…). Cf. *Codex diplomaticus*, Vol. 1, 1874, doc. no. 208, p. 169.

33 See note 3 above. See also: U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, 1919, pp. 80–81. – Ć. IVEKOVIĆ, 1937, pp. 12–13. For an overview of this topic, see also: J. MARASOVIĆ – T. MARASOVIĆ – M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, p. 9.



sl. 13. Crkva sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) u Splitu (A. Milošević).
Fig. 13. Church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) in Split (A. Milošević).

neither accidental nor insignificant. Namely, it points to a situation found in several other Dalmatian six-lobed buildings and archaeologically confirmed in Pridraga and Kašić.

The conches are of unequal size in this six-lobed building as well (Fig. 14). The two northern ones are smaller than the others. In addition, not all exterior walls have lesenes, since the surfaces of two western conches, each with one entrance, are not articulated. On the exterior of the central drum, embedded stone slabs are partially preserved in two rows. They are the remains of drip mouldings, a frequent feature in early medieval Dalmatian architecture[34]. When the results of the investigations from the late 1940s and early 1950s were published, these slabs were erroneously interpreted as the remains of roofing[35]. Inside the church, at the junction of the vertical walls between the conches, a simply moulded cornice runs continuously throughout the interior (Fig. 15). During the most recent excavations, as well as in the years before them, several fragments of stone liturgical furniture were found in the Holy Trinity, indicating that the church had ex-

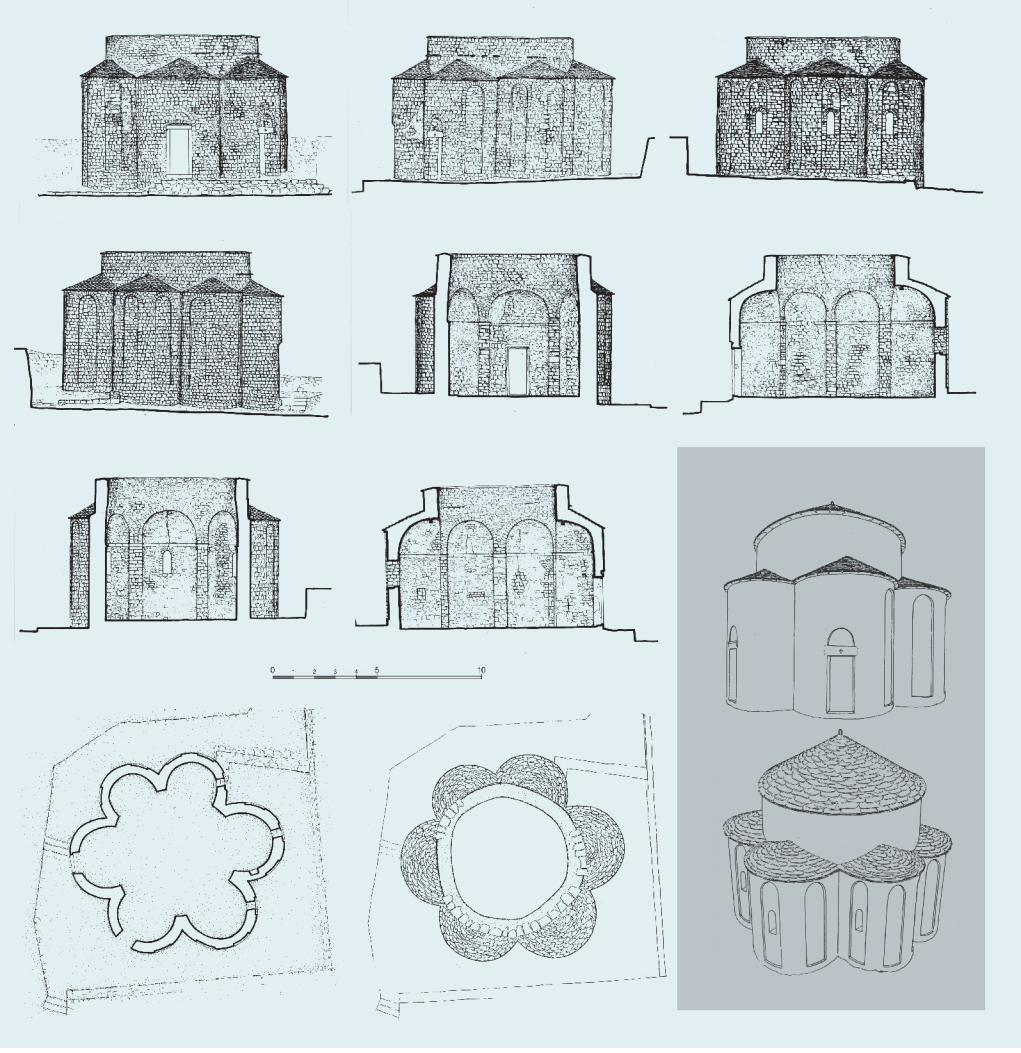
[34] A. MILOŠEVIĆ – Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2009, pp. 105–108, Figs. 98–104.
[35] J. MARASOVIĆ – T. MARASOVIĆ – M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, p. 4, Fig. on p. 7.

1949. – 1950. godine i konzervatorske obnove iz 1972. godine (sl. 13). Shodno tome da je odavno bila poznata, u više navrata je bila i predmet rasprave u stručnoj literaturi[33]. Istraživanja su pokazala da je sagrađena na ruševinama veće rimske građevine koja nije iskopavana jer se nalazi ispod ceste i u okolnim vrtovima. Takve okolnosti na lokalitetu ukazuju na potrebu dodatnih opsežnijih iskopavanja jer se može pretpostaviti da ovakav njen smještaj nije slučajan i nevažan. Upućuje, naime, na situaciju u kakvoj se nalazi još nekoliko dalmatinskih šesterolista i kakva je arheološkim istraživanjima potvrđena u Pridragi i Kašiću.

I kod ovog šesterolista konhe su nejednake veličine (sl. 14). Dvije sjeverne su manje od ostalih. Također im ni svi vanjski zidovi nisu lezenirani jer dvije zapadne konhe, na kojima su po jedna vrata, imaju neraščlanjene plohe. Na vanjskoj strani središnjega tambura djelomično su, u dva reda, sačuvane usađene kamene ploče koje su ostatak okapnica što je u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji česta pojava[34]. Prilikom objave rezultata istraživanja iz kraja 1940-ih i početka 50-ih godina te ploče pogrešno su protumačene kao ostatci visina nekadašnjih krovova[35]. U unutrašnjosti crkve, na spoju okomitih zidova između konha, umetnut je vijenac jednostavne profilacije koji teče kontinuirano cijelom unutrašnjošću (sl. 15). Tijekom posljednjih iskopavanja, ali i u godinama prije njih, u Sv. Trojici pronađeno je nekoliko ulomaka njenog kamenog liturgijskog namještaja koji ukazuju da crkva egzistira već krajem 8. ili početkom 9. stoljeća[36].

Revizijska istraživanja crkve sv. Marije u Zadru, nakon što je ona bila otkrivena pa zatrpana u zadnjim desetljećima 19. stoljeća, s većim prekidima su obavljana 1956. i 1967. godine[37]. Tada je ponovno otkrivena građevina kojoj su položaj i tlocrt bili otprije poznati[38]. Riječ je o

[33] Vidi bilj. 3 gore. Također, i: U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, 1919, str. 80-81. – Ć. IVEKOVIĆ, 1937, str. 12-13. O tome pregledno i u: J. MARASOVIĆ - T. MARASOVIĆ - M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, str. 9.
[34] A. MILOŠEVIĆ - Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2009, str. 105-108, sl. 98-104.
[35] J. MARASOVIĆ - T. MARASOVIĆ - M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, str. 4, sl. na str. 7.
[36] N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], str. 284-285. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2011, str. 406-408. – A. PITEŠA, 2012, str. 77-93.
[37] I. PETRICIOLI, 1968, str. 247-269.
[38] C. F. BIANCHI, 1883, str. 33-42. – Izvještaj zadarskog konzervatora G. Smiricha u: *Mittheilungen*, 1884, str. xcvii-xcviii, sl. 5.



sl. 14. Crkva sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) u Splitu: 1. Pogled sa zapada; 2. Pogled s juga; 3. Pogled s istoka; 4. Pogled sa sjevera; 5. Presjek s pogledom prema zapadu; 6. Presjek s pogledom prema jugu; 7. Presjek s pogledom prema istoku; 8. Presjek s pogledom prema sjeveru; 9. Tlocrt na nivou prizemlja; 10. Tlocrt na nivou tambura; 11. Prijedlog rekonstrukcije izvornoga izgleda (J., T. i M. Marasović).

Fig. 14. Church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) in Split: 1. View from the west; 2. View from the south; 3. View from the east; 4. View from the north; 5. Section with a view to the west; 6. Section with a view to the south; 7. Section with a view to the east; 8. Section with a view to the north; 9. Ground plan at ground-floor level; 10. Ground plan at the drum level; 11. Proposed reconstruction of the original appearance (J., T. and M. Marasović).

centralnoj građevini sa središnjim kružnim prostorom nad kojim se dizao tambur natkriven kupolom i stožastim krovom nad njom. Uokolo toga prostora radijalno je nanizano pet relativno pravilnih polukružnih konha. Vanjske zidne plohe im nisu raščlanjene (sl. 16.1-2). Na zapadnoj strani, umjesto šeste oble konhe je četvrtasti ulazni prostor ispred kojega je konstruktivno povezan temelj zvonika četvrtaste osnove (sl. 17)[39]. Pronađeni sarkofazi uz nju potvrđuju joj funeralni karakter. Posljednji istraživač Stomorice, I. Petricioli, je mišljenja da bi ovaj šesterolist trebalo datirati u 11. stoljeće, između ostaloga i zbog postojanja zvonika na pročelju. Ostavio je međutim i mogućnost da bi nova istraživanja takvo datiranje mogla promijeniti.

[39] I. PETRICIOLI, 1968, str. 264-267.

isted already at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century[36].

Archaeological revisions of the church of St. Mary (Santa Maria de Pusterla - Stomorica) in Zadar, after it had been unearthed and then reburied in the final decades of the 19th century, were carried out with major interruptions in 1956 and 1967[37]. The building, whose location and ground plan had been previously known, was then re-excavated[38]. It is a central-plan building with a central circular space above which a drum stood covered by a dome and a conical roof above it. Around this space, five

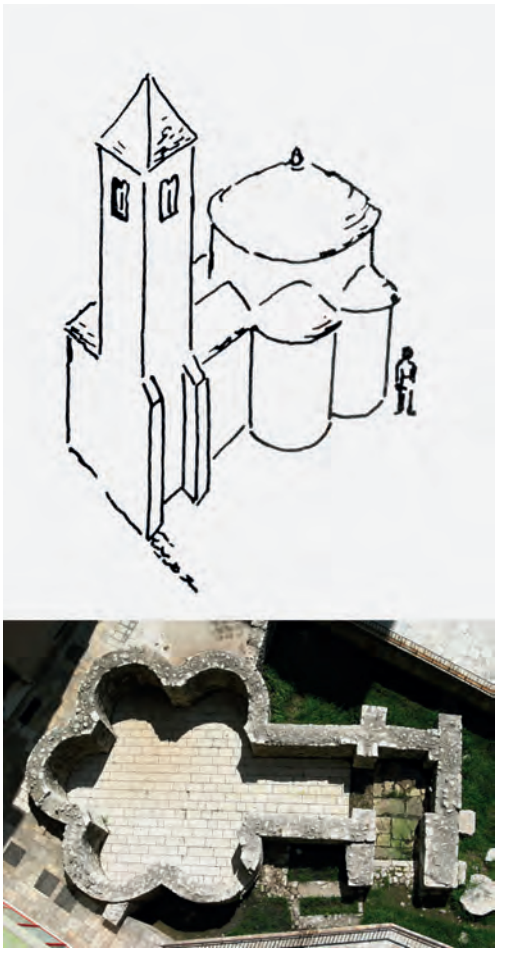
[36] N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], pp. 284–285. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2011, pp. 406–408. – A. PITEŠA, 2012, pp. 77–93.

[37] I. PETRICIOLI, 1968, pp. 247–269.

[38] C. F. BIANCHI, 1883, pp. 33–42. – Report made by the Zadar conservator G. Smirich in: *Mittheilungen*, 1884, pp. xcvii–xcviii, Fig. 5.



sl. 15.
Unutrašnjost crkve sv. Trojice (sv. Mihovila) u Splitu (P. Vežić).
Fig. 15.
Interior of the church of the Holy Trinity (St. Michael) in Split (P. Vežić).



sl. 16.
Crkva sv. Marije (Stomorica) u Zadru:
1. (gore) Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled (I. Petricioli);
2. (dolje) Ortofotografija (A. Milošević).
Fig. 16.
Church of St. Mary (Stomorica) in Zadar:
1. (top) Presumed original appearance (I. Petricioli);
2. (bottom) Orthophotograph (A. Milošević).

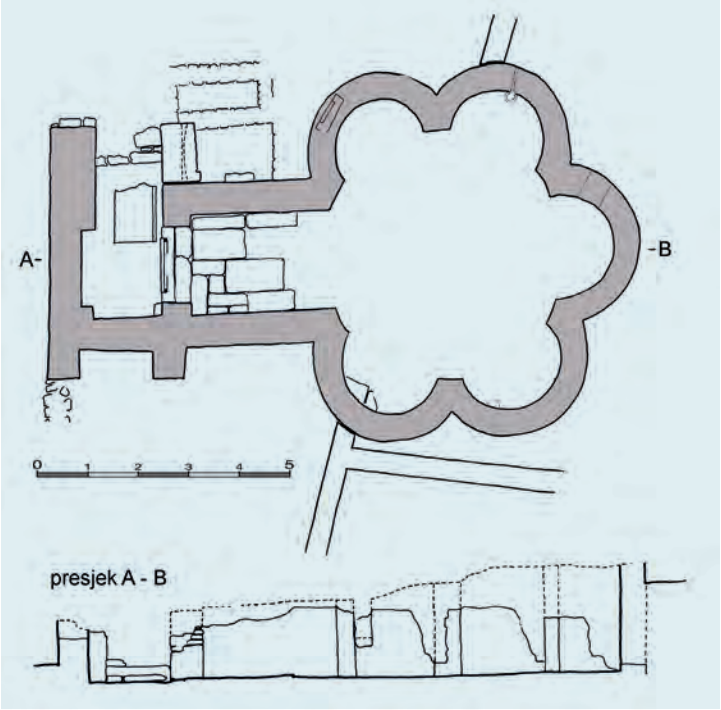
relatively regular semicircular conches are arranged radially. Their exterior wall surfaces are not articulated (Figs. 16.1–2). On the western side, there is a square entrance space instead of a sixth rounded conch, with the square-plan foundation of a bell tower structurally connected in front of it (Fig. 17)[39]. The sarcophagi discovered adjacent to it confirm its funerary character. I. Petricioli, the most recent researcher of Stomorica, believed that this six-lobed building should be dated to the 11th century, among other reasons due to the presence of a bell tower on the façade. He nevertheless left open the possibility that new research could alter this dating. Since bell towers were also present in older early medieval churches in Dalmatia, as established more recently[40], this opens the possibility of an earlier dating for Stomorica in Zadar[41].

Budući da su zvonike imale i starije ranosrednjovjekovne crkve u Dalmaciji kako je utvrđeno u novije vrijeme[40], to otvara i mogućnost za ranije datiranje zadarske Stomorice[41].

Katalogu dalmatinskih šesterolista treba pribrojiti još tri građevine. Jedna je u zadarskom predgrađu Kolovare, a dvije u zadarskom zaleđu. Za dvije od njih nemamo nikakvih ostataka na terenu. Za crkvu sv. Krševana na Kolovarama znademo samo prema povijesnim i kartografskim izvorima (sl. 18.1). Pretpostavlja se da je srušena u 15. stoljeću kada su na mjestu gdje se nalazila sagrađeni lazareti sv. Marka. Iz raspoloživih kartografskih prikaza moguće je zaključiti da je imala šesterolisni oblik s tamburom nad središnjim kružnim prostorom. Na zapadnoj strani, slično kao i u rotundi sv. Marije u Zadru,

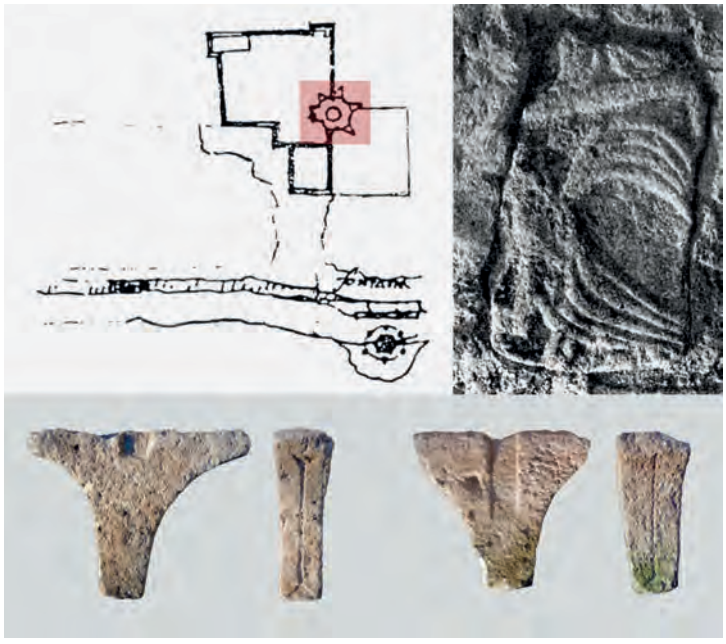
39 I. PETRICIOLI, 1968, pp. 264–267.
40 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, pp. 50–52.
41 An earlier dating of the church to the broader time span from the 9th to

40 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, str. 50-52.
41 Bez jasnih obrazloženja ranije datiranje crkve u širi vremenski raspon od 9. do 11. stoljeća, ponudili su: T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. 332 sa starijom literaturom. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 43.



sl. 17. Tlocrt i presjek crkve sv. Marije (Stomorica) u Zadru (I. Petricioli).
Fig. 17. Ground plan and section of the church of St. Mary (Stomorica) in Zadar (I. Petricioli).

umjesto oble apside bio je četvrtasti ulazni prostor (sl. 19). Prema ulomcima skulptura za koje se pretpostavlja da potječu iz njenog interijera (sl. 18.2), predložena je datacije crkve u 9. – 10. stoljeće[42]. No, ima i prijedloga za njeno ranije datiranje, za što se uporište nalazi u legendi koja je zapisana u prijepisu iz 1498. godine, a govori o pronalasku moćiju sv. Krševana (jednog od gradskih zaštitnika) u blizini Zadra te o njihovom navodnom prijenosu u grad u 7. stoljeću. Na toj osnovi iznosi se i pretpostavka da bi šesterolist na Kolovarama mogao biti najraniji svečev oratorij još od kasne antike, izgrađen na rubu antičke nekropole, što je bila česta praksa koja je potvrđena i u nekoliko sličnih situacija na grobljima izvan zidina grada Rima[43]. Zbog takvih pokazatelja rotunda na Kolovarama bila bi i jedna od ranijih takvih građevina u Dalmaciji[44]. Rano datiranje mogla bi podržati dva impost-kapitela s uklesanim latinskim križevima na njihovim užim stranama koji imaju ranokršćanske osobine. Pronađeni su uzidani u jednu kuću nedaleko šesterolista (sl. 18.3).

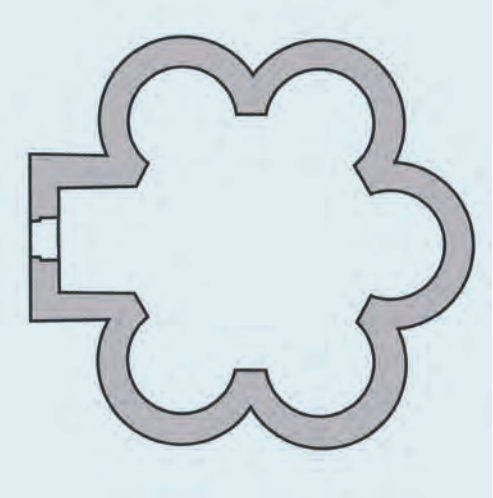


Three further structures should be added to the roster of Dalmatian six-lobed buildings. One is located in the Zadar suburb of Kolovare, and the remaining two are in the hinterland of the same city. No remains whatsoever of two of them have been preserved in situ. The church of St. Chrysogonus at Kolovare is known only from historical and cartographic sources (Fig. 18.1). It is assumed to have been demolished in the 15th century, when the lazarettos of St. Mark were built at its location. Judging by the available cartographic depictions, it can be concluded that it had a six-lobed form with a drum above the central circular space. On the western side, similarly to the rotunda of St. Mary in Zadar, there was a square entrance space instead of a rounded apse (Fig. 19). Based on the sculptural fragments presumed to originate from its interior (Fig. 18.2), it has been proposed to date the church to the 9th–10th century[42]. However, an earlier dating has also been proposed, supported by a legend recorded in a transcript from 1498, which mentions the discovery of relics of St. Chrysogonus (one of the city's patrons) near Zadar and their alleged transfer to the city in the 7th century.

sl. 18. Podatci o šesterolistu sv. Krševana na Kolovarama u Zadru: 1. (lijevo gore) Detalj povijesne karte s crkvom sv. Krševana iz Državnog arhiva u Torinu, oko 1580. godine; 2. (desno gore) Ulomak pluteja (I. Petricioli); 3. (dolje) Dva impost kapitela (P. Vežić).
Fig. 18. Data on the six-lobed structure of St. Chrysogonus (St. Krševan) at Kolovare in Zadar: 1. (top left) Detail of a historical map showing the church of St. Chrysogonus from the State Archives in Turin, c. 1580; 2. (top right) Fragment of a pluteus (I. Petricioli); 3. (bottom) Two impost capitals (P. Vežić).

42 I. PETRICIOLI, 1958, str. 101-124. – I. PETRICIOLI, 1995, str. 237-248. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 44. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. 365-367.
43 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 61-81.
44 M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, str. 235-236.

the 11th century, albeit without clear justification, was proposed by: T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, p. 332, with earlier literature. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, p. 43.
42 I. PETRICIOLI, 1958, pp. 101–124. – I. PETRICIOLI, 1995, pp. 237–248. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, p. 44. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, pp. 365–367.

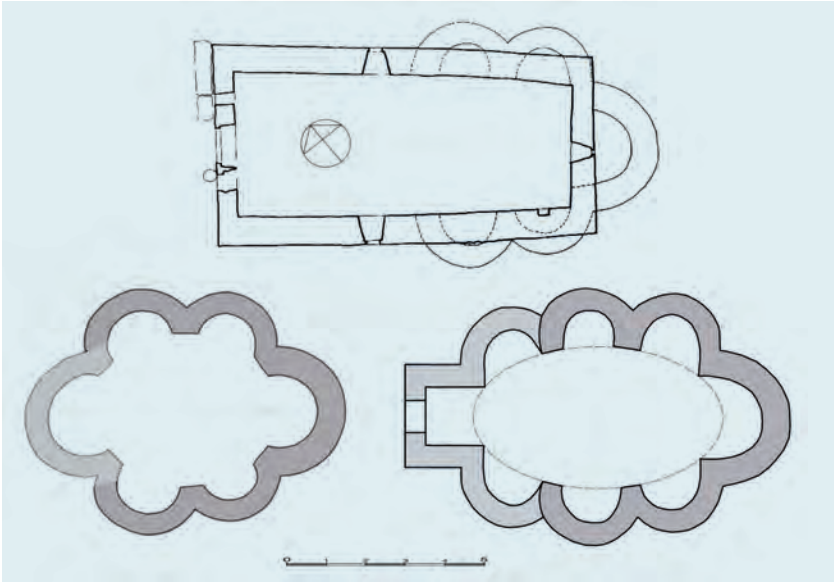


sl. 19. Rekonstrukcija tlocrta crkve sv. Krševana na Kolovarama u Zadru (T. Marasović).
Fig. 19. Reconstruction of the ground plan of the church of St. Chrysogonus at Kolovare in Zadar (T. Marasović).

On this basis, it has also been presumed that the six-lobed building at Kolovare could have been the earliest saint's oratory, from as early as Late Antiquity, built on the edge of an ancient necropolis, a frequent practice confirmed in several similar situations at extramural cemeteries of the city of Rome[43]. Such indicators suggest that the rotunda at Kolovare could also be one of such early buildings in Dalmatia[44]. The early dating could be supported by two impost capitals with carved Latin crosses on their narrower sides, which display early Christian characteristics. They were discovered embedded in a house not far from the six-lobed structure (Fig. 18.3).

Nothing has survived of the probable six-lobed building in the village of Kakma in Ravni kotari, in the hinterland of Biograd. Its remains were destroyed during the construction of a modern road in 1974, without prior investigation. At nearby Međine, a fragment of a pluteus was unearthed, while fragments of an altar screen presumed to originate from a multiconch church were discovered in the vicinity, embedded into the church of St. John at Gradina in Tinj[45].

The building in Škabrnja, formerly the church of St. George, and today the church of St. Mary in Ambar, differs somewhat in form from other Dalmatian six-lobed buildings and is also the



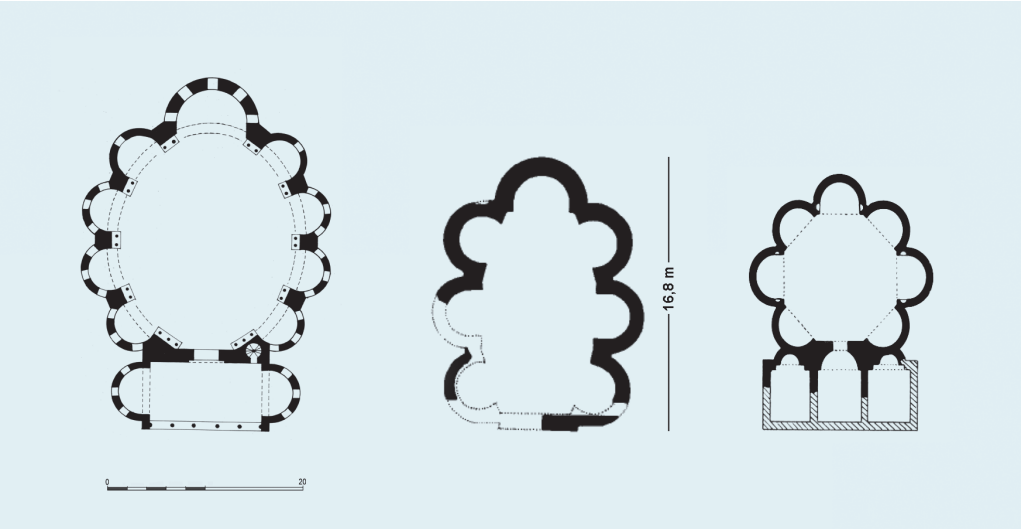
sl. 20. Tlocrt ostataka polikonhne građevine u Škabrnji i dva prijedloga za mogući izvorni izgled njenog tlocrta (A. Milošević).
Fig. 20. Ground plan of the remains of the polyconch building in Škabrnja and two proposed reconstructions of the possible original appearance of its plan (A. Milošević).

Od vjerojatnog šesterolista u selu Kakma u Ravnim Kotarima, u zaleđu Biograda, do danas ništa nije ostalo. Njegovi su ostatci, bez prethodnih istraživanja, uništeni u vrijeme izgradnje suvremene ceste, 1974. godine. Na obližnjim Međinama pronađen je ulomak pluteja, a u crkvu sv. Ivana na nedalekoj tinjskoj Gradini ugrađeni su fragmenti oltarne ograde za koje se pretpostavlja da potječu iz višekonhne crkve[45].

Građevina u Škabrnji, nekad crkva sv. Jurja, a danas crkva sv. Marije u Ambaru, oblikom je ponešto drugačija od ostalih dalmatinskih šesterolista i usto je najmanja[46]. Kratkotrajna i nezavršena istraživanja, obavljena 1985. godine, pokazala su da je riječ o centralnoj građevini kojoj sredina nema uobičajeni kružni, nego elipsoidni oblik i to bez obzira na broj i oblik konha koje su radijalno okruživale njen središnji prostor (sl. 20.1-3). Vanjske plohe zidova konha nisu raščlanjene. Takav tlocrtni oblik u Dalmaciji ranog srednjeg vijeka je jedinstven primjer, naravno, ukoliko je naša pretpostavka vjerodostojna. Osim činjenice da se uokolo višekonhalne građevine u Škabrnji nalazi antička arhitektura[47], tijekom spomenutih istraživanja

[43] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 61–81.
[44] M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, pp. 235–236.
[45] P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, pp. 46–47. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, p. 417.

[45] P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 46-47. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. 417.
[46] J. MLIVONČIĆ, 1975, str. 6. – D. JELOVINA, 1986, str. 243. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 1987, str. 120-122. – *Sjaj zadarskih riznica*, 1990, str. 306. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, str. 332-333. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. 248-249. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 46.
[47] Pred crkvom i danas stoji ulomak antičkog stupa, a u sjeverozapadni ugao dogradnje iz kasnoga srednjeg vijeka uzidan je veći fragment rimske stele.



sl. 21. Kasnoantičke polikonhne građevine 4. i 5. stoljeća: 1. Sv. Gereon u Kölnu (Von Gerkan); 2. Cella septichora u Pečuhu (Fülep); 3. Rotunda u Palestrini kod Rima (Daras).

Fig. 21. Late antique polyconch buildings from the 4th and 5th centuries: 1. St. Gereon in Cologne (von Gerkan); 2. Cella septichora in Pécs (Fülep); 3. Rotunda in Palestrina near Rome (Daras).

nisu utvrđeni elementi za njeno datiranje, a kako na lokalitetu nisu pronađeni nikakvi fragmenti skulptura ranog srednjeg vijeka (što je u Dalmaciji iznimka), vrijeme nastanka građevine u Škabrnji za sada treba ostaviti otvorenim.

Do prihvatljivog odgovora na ovo pitanje treba podsjetiti i na činjenicu da analogije za građevine ovakvog oblika nalazimo prvenstveno u kasnoantičkoj arhitekturi. U tlocrtnom smislu zanimljive su usporedbe s dvjema kasnoantičkim građevinama sepulkralnog karaktera s elipsoidnim središnjim prostorom: s monumentalnim mauzolejem iz oko 380. godine u Kölnu (danas crkva sv. Gereona, sl. 21.1)[48] i s takozvanom *cella septichora* u Sopijanama (Pečuh) u Mađarskoj iz oko 430. godine (sl. 21.2)[49]. Jedna slična takva rimska građevina, o kojoj danas ne znamo puno, a koja se nalazila u Palestrini, u istočnom predgrađu Rima, zabilježena je u literaturi 17. stoljeća (sl. 21.3). I ona ima izduženi oktogonalni središnji prostor[50]. Zanimljivo arhitektonsko rješenje na višekonhalnoj građevini u Škabrnji svakako je eliptična kupola na istom takvom tamburu. I takve izvedbe poznate su u kasnoantičkoj arhitekturi, a pored spomenutog Sv. Gereona ima ga npr. pretprostor *cellae*

smallest[46]. The short and unfinished research conducted in 1985 revealed that it is a centrally planed building whose centre does not have the usual circular but rather an ellipsoidal form, regardless of the number and shape of conches that radially surrounded its central space (Figs. 20.1–3). The exterior wall surfaces of the conches are not articulated. Such a ground-plan form is a unique example in early medieval Dalmatia, provided, naturally, that our assumption is valid. Apart from the fact that ancient architecture surrounds the multiconch architecture in Škabrnja[47], the earlier mentioned research established no elements for its dating, and since no fragments of early medieval sculpture were discovered at the site (which is exceptional in Dalmatia), the time of construction of the building in Škabrnja should be left open.

Until an acceptable answer to this question is given, one should be reminded that analogies for buildings of this form can be found primarily in late antique architecture. In terms of ground plans, comparisons with two late antique sepulchral buildings with an ellipsoidal central space are particularly interesting, viz. the monumental mausoleum from *c.* 380

[48] A. VON GERKAN, 1951, str. 215-218. – O. SCHWAB, 2002, str. 7-205. – A. WORM, 2019, str. 181-185.

[49] F. FÜLEP, 1984, str. 57-59. Za iskapanja iz 2005. – 2006. godine vidi u: C. POZSÁRKÓ - I. Z. TÓTH - Z. VISY, 2007, str. 84-90.

[50] Ch. DARAS, 1958, str. 42. Za višeapsidnu građevinu u Palestrini donijet je tlocrt Giovannija Battiste Montana (1534. – 1621.), milanskoga drvorezbara i graditelja, koji je izradio veliki broj nacrta sličnih antičkih zgrada u Rimu, koji se ponekad čine kompozitnima i maštovitima.

[46] J. MLIVONČIĆ, 1975, p. 6. – D. JELOVINA, 1986, p. 243. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 1987, pp. 120–122. – *Sjaj zadarskih riznica*, 1990, p. 306. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, pp. 332–333. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, pp. 248–249. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, p. 46.

[47] A fragment of an ancient column still stands today in front of the church, while a large fragment of a Roman stele was incorporated into the north-western corner of the late medieval extension.



sl. 22. Građevine s elipsoidnim kupolama: 1. (lijevo gore) Cella trichora u kompleksu Eufrazijane u Poreču, današnje stanje, pogled s juga (A. Milošević); 2. (desno gore) Cella trichora, presjek s pogledom prema jugu i tlocrt, 6. stoljeće (I. Matejčić); 3. (lijevo dolje) Sv. Juraj u Rovanjskoj, današnje stanje, pogled s juga (I. Josipović); 4. (desno dolje) Sv. Juraj, presjek s pogledom prema sjeveru i tlocrt, 9. – 11. stoljeće (I. Petricioli).

Fig. 22. Buildings with ellipsoidal domes: 1. (top left) Cella trichora in the Euphrasian complex in Poreč, present condition, view from the south (A. Milošević); 2. (top right) Cella trichora, section with a view to the south and ground plan, 6th century (I. Matejčić); 3. (bottom left) St. George in Rovanjska, present condition, view from the south (I. Josipović); 4. (bottom right) St. George, section with a view to the north and ground plan, 9th–11th centuries (I. Petricioli).

in Cologne (today the church of St. Gereon, Fig. 21.1)[48] and the so-called *cella septichora* in Sopianae (Pécs), Hungary, dating to *c.* 430 (Fig. 21.2)[49]. A similar Roman building, about which little is known today, located in Palestrina in the eastern suburb of Rome, was recorded in 17th-century literature (Fig. 21.3). It also has an elongated octagonal central space[50]. An inter-

trichorae u kompleksu Eufrazijane u Poreču iz 6. stoljeća (sl. 22.1-2)[51]. No, treba reći da su elipsoidne kupole prisutne i u predromaničkom graditeljstvu Dalmacije, npr. u ranosrednjovjekovnim adaptacijama ranokršćanskih crkava sv. Martina u Lepurima, u Žažviću kod Bribira i u Mandaljeni kod Stona[52] te u izvornoj izvedbi u crkvici sv. Jurja u Rovanjskoj (sl. 22.3-4)[53].

48 A. VON GERKAN, 1951, pp. 215–218. – O. SCHWAB, 2002, pp. 7–205. – A. WORM, 2019, pp. 181–185.

49 F. FÜLEP, 1984, pp. 57–59. For the 2005–2006 excavations, see: C. POZSÁRKÓ – I. Z. TÓTH – Z. VISY, 2007, pp. 84–90.

50 Ch. DARAS, 1958, p. 42. For the multi-apsed structure in Palestrina, a ground plan was provided by Giovanni Battista Montano (1534–1621), a Milanese

51 I. MATEJČIĆ, 2007, str. 86-87. Iako je u 19. stoljeću *cella trichora* radikalnije rekonstruirana, njen elipsoidni pretprostor nije bitnije promijenjen.

52 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, str. 56-59.

53 I. PETRICIOLI, 1963, str. 177-180.





sl. 23.
Ostatci polikonhne građevine u Škabrnji s vanjske strane današnje crkve sv. Marije u Ambaru:
1. (gore) Pogled sa sjeveroistoka;
2. (dolje) Pogled s jugoistoka
(A. Milošević).
Fig. 23.
Remains of the polyconch building in Škabrnja on the exterior of the present-day church of St. Mary in Ambar:
1. (top) View from the north-east;
2. (bottom) View from the south-east
(A. Milošević).

Građevina u Škabrnji (sl. 23.1-2), u srednjovjekovnim dokumentima zabilježena kao crkva sv. Jurja, zanimljiva je i u povijesnom kontekstu koji nam može sugerirati njenu izvornu namjenu. Do polovine 12. stoljeća bila je privatna zadužbina nekog hrvatskog roda, potom je, 1166. godine, došla u posjed samostana sv. Krševana u Zadru, da bi tijekom 13. stoljeća postala župna crkva srednjovjekovnog sela Kamenjane[54].

esting architectural concept in the multiconch building in Škabrnja is certainly the elliptical dome on an equivalent drum. Such concepts are also known in late antique architecture. For instance, in addition to St. Gereon, it was used in the anteroom of the *cella trichora* of the Euphrasian complex in Poreč from the 6th century (Figs. 22.1–2)[51]. However, it should be noted that ellipsoidal domes can also be found in pre-Romanesque architecture in Dalmatia, for example, in early medieval adaptations of early Christian churches of St. Martin in Lepuri, in Žažvić near Bribir, and in Mandaljena near Ston[52], as well as in their original configuration in the small church of St. George in Rovanjska (Figs. 22.3–4)[53].

The building in Škabrnja (Figs. 23.1–2), recorded in medieval documents as the church of St. George, is also interesting in a historical context that can suggest its original purpose. Until the mid-12th century, it was a private endowment of a Croatian noble lineage. In 1166, it came into the possession of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, and during the 13th century, it became the parish church of the medieval village of Kamenjane[54].

The group of Dalmatian churches with a central circular plan and radially arranged conches also includes the church of St. Peter in the village of Ošlje in the hinterland of Ston. Based on the few fragments of its stone liturgical furniture, it is assumed to have been built in the 10th or 11th century[55]. Today, it is a dilapidated eight-lobed building (Fig. 24), located at the site of the early medieval settlement of *Iosli*, mentioned in the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* compiled by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the mid-10th

[54] N. JAKŠIĆ, 1987, str. 120-121. Bez jasne povezanosti, rotunda u Škabrnji spominje se i u vezi s grobnim nalazom ranokarolinškog mača. Za rotundu se navodi da je šesterolisna građevina iz 9. – 10. stoljeća (L. BEKIĆ - A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2020, str. 244).

wood-carver and builder who made quite a number of drawings of similar ancient buildings in Rome, which at times appear composite and imaginative.

[51] I. MATEJČIĆ, 2007, pp. 86–87. Although the *cella trichora* underwent a pretty radical reconstruction in the 19th century, its ellipsoidal anteroom was not significantly reworked.

[52] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, pp. 56–59.

[53] I. PETRICIOLI, 1963, pp. 177–180.

[54] N. JAKŠIĆ, 1987, pp. 120–121. The rotunda in Škabrnja has also been mentioned in relation to a grave find of an early Carolingian sword, albeit without any clear connection. The rotunda is described as a six-lobed structure from the 9th–10th centuries (L. BEKIĆ – A. UGLEŠIĆ, 2020, p. 244).

[55] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1957, pp. 85–90. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2002, pp. 220–230. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2013, pp. 61–64 and earlier literature therein.



sl. 24. Ortofotografija osmerolisne crkve u Ošlju (Ž. Peković).
Fig. 24. Orthophotograph of the eight-lobed church in Ošlje (Ž. Peković).

century[56]. Recent research has identified its remains on the nearby hill of Gradac, where initial and spatially limited excavations have so far unearthed only late antique remains[57]. The rotunda itself was built in quite a regular fashion. Its radial conches are deep. Each has one window, and at their junction on the interior side there are lesenes from whose upper zone there emerged ribs that supported a circular dome. A similar architectural and structural concept can be found in early Romanesque churches of St. Nicholas near Nin or St. Chrysogonus on the island of Krk (Fig. 25.1)[58]. The exterior surfaces of projecting conches are articulated with lesenes creating five shallow niches (Fig. 26.2). It is assumed that in its first building phase the church had an axial bell tower of circular plan on its façade, which would represent a unique occurrence in early medieval Dalmatian architecture (Fig. 26.1). The presently visible rectan-

U skupinu dalmatinskih crkava centralne kružne osnove s radijalno raspoređenim konhama pripada i crkva sv. Petra u selu Ošlje u zaleđu Stona. Prema malobrojnim ulomcima njenog kamenog liturgijskog namještaja pretpostavlja se da je sagrađena u 10. ili 11. stoljeću[55]. Riječ je o danas ruševnoj osmerolisnoj građevini (sl. 24), na položaju ranosrednjovjekovnog naselja *Iosli*, spomenutog u djelu *De Administrando Imperio* koje je sastavio Konstantin Porfirogenet polovinom 10. stoljeća[56]. Nedavnim istraživanjima ostatci su mu utvrđeni na obližnjem brdu Gradac, gdje su početna i prostorno ograničena iskopavanja za sada ukazala samo na kasnoantičke ostatke[57]. Sama rotunda je građena vrlo pravilno. Radijalne konhe su joj duboke. U svakoj je po jedan prozor, a na njihovom spoju s unutrašnje strane su lezene iz čije gornje zone su izlazila rebra koja su podržavala kružnu kupolu. Slično arhitektonsko i konstruktivno

[56] Gy. MORAVCSIK – R. J. H. JENKINS (eds.), 1967, pp. 162–163.
[57] J. BARAKA PERICA – N. GRBIĆ, 2019, pp. 145–174.
[58] I. PETRICIOLI, 1990a, pp. 80–81. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, pp. 32–34 (St. Chrysogonus near Glavotok on Krk), pp. 213–215 (St. Nicholas in Prahulje near Nin) and earlier literature therein.

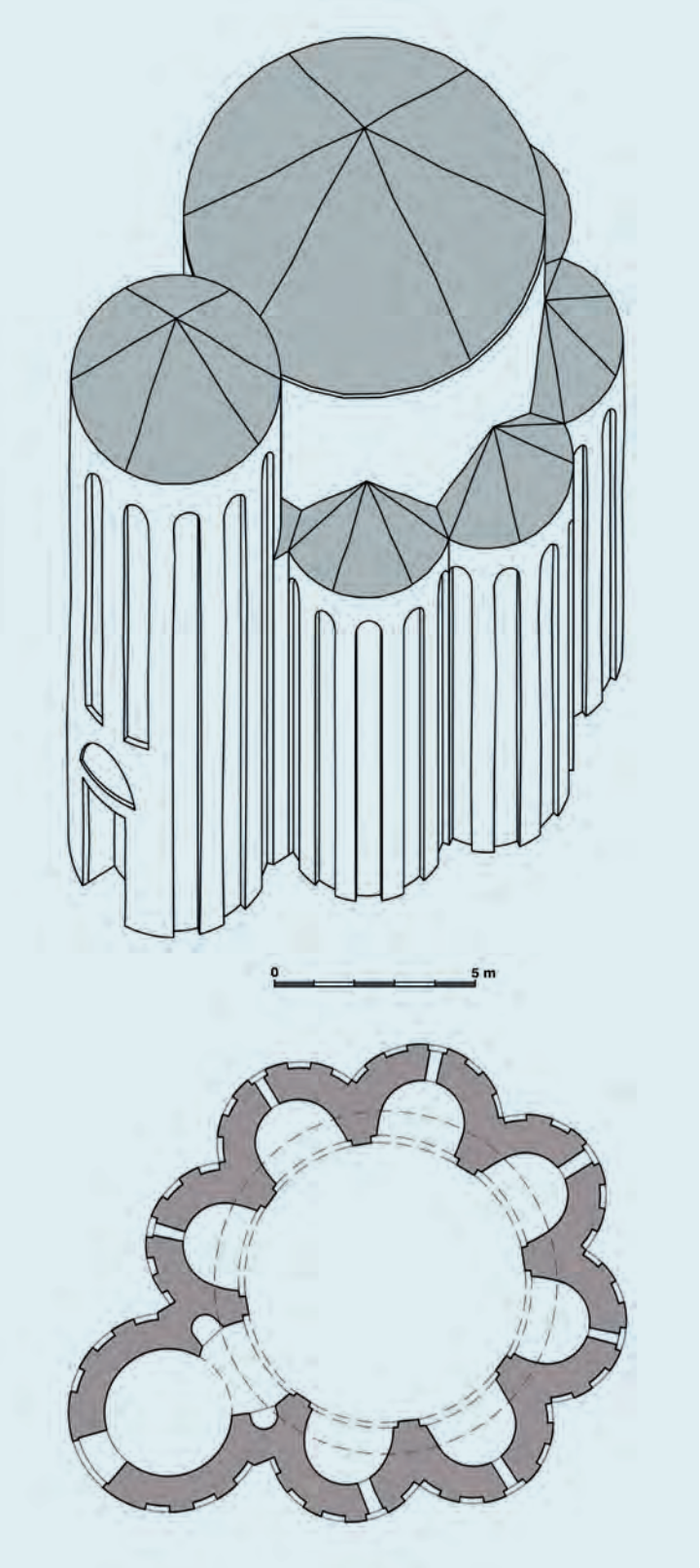
[55] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1957, str. 85-90. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2002, str. 220-230. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2013, str. 61-64 i tamo navedena starija literatura.
[56] Gy. MORAVCSIK - R. J. H. JENKINS (ur.), 1967, str. 162-163.
[57] J. BARAKA PERICA - N. GRBIĆ, 2019, str. 145-174.



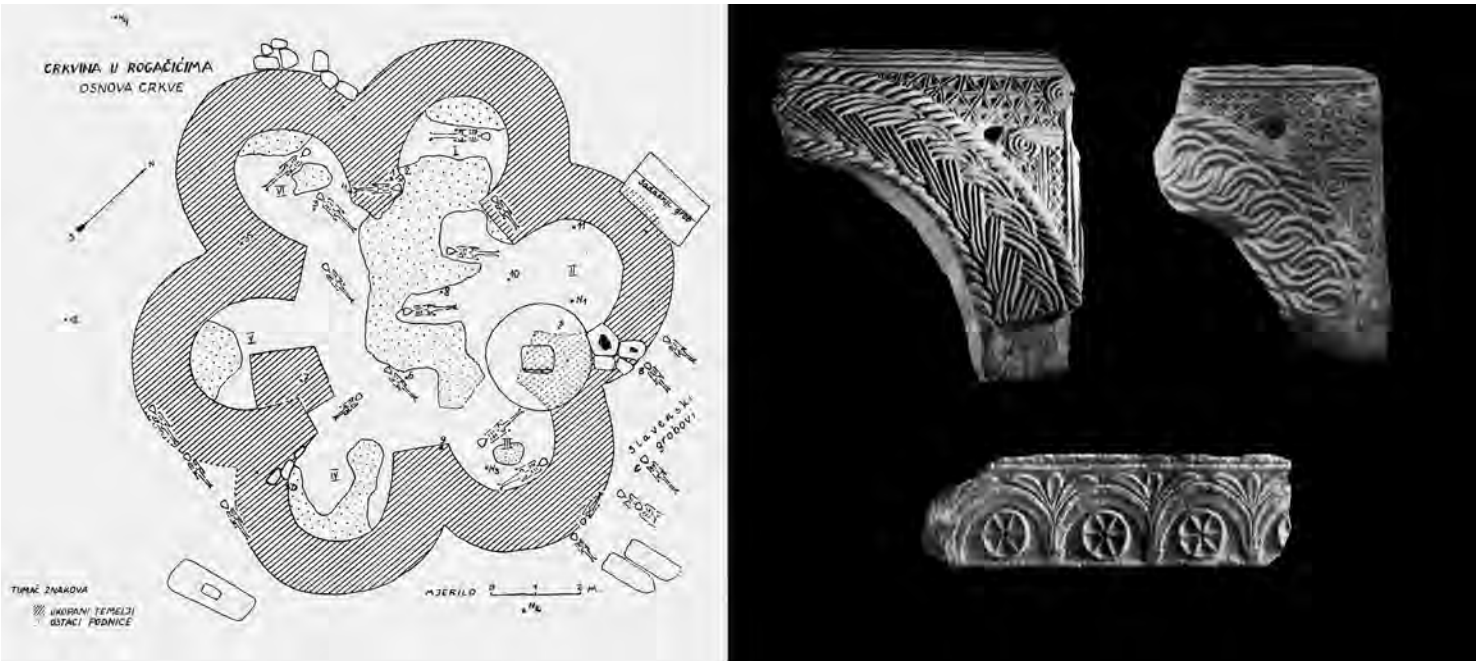
sl. 25. Trolisna crkva sv. Krševana na Krku: 1. (gore) Konstrukcija križno-rebrastog svoda; 2. (dolje lijevo) Pogled s istoka (A. Milošević); 3. (dolje desno) Vanjski izgled u pogledu sa zapada, presjek s pogledom prema sjeveru, tlocrt na nivou prizemlja i tlocrt na nivou tambura (I. Petricioli).
Fig. 25. Three-lobed church of St. Chrysogonus on Krk: 1. (top) Construction of the cross-ribbed vault; 2. (bottom left) View from the east (A. Milošević); 3. (bottom right) Exterior view from the west, section with a view to the north, ground plan at ground-floor level and ground plan at drum level (I. Petricioli).

rješenje postoji u ranoromaničkim crkvama sv. Nikole nedaleko Nina ili sv. Krševanu na otoku Krku (sl. 25.1)[58]. Vanjske plohe izbočenih konha raščlanjene su lezenama koje stvaraju po pet plitkih niša (sl. 26.2). U prvoj fazi izgradnje,

[58] I. PETRICIOLI, 1990a, str. 80-81. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2009, str. str. 32-34 (sv. Krševan kod Glavotoka na Krku), str. 213-215 (sv. Nikola u Prahuljama kod Nina) i tamo navedena starija literatura.



sl. 26. Osmerolisna crkva u Ošlju: 1. (gore) Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled 2. (dolje) Tlocrt s okruglim zvonikom (A. Milošević).
Fig. 26. Eight-lobed church in Ošlje: 1. (top) Presumed original appearance; 2. (bottom) Ground plan with round bell tower (A. Milošević).



sl. 27. Ostatci šesterolista u Rogačićima kod Sarajeva: 1. (lijevo) Tlocrt temelja; 2. (desno) Ulomci liturgijskog namještaja (I. Čremošnik).
Fig. 27. Remains of the six-lobed structure in Rogačići near Sarajevo: 1. (left) Ground plan of the foundations; 2. (right) Fragments of liturgical furnishings (I. Čremošnik).

gular room with a probable square-plan tower is a later addition, built after the demolition of the pre-Romanesque bell tower, when the entrance space of the church was enlarged. It can be assumed that this occurred in the Romanesque period, as indicated by the funnel-shaped and stepped-profile portal on its western wall (Fig. 24)[59].

The six-lobed church in Rogačići near Sarajevo is the only early medieval polyconch building in the deep interior of the western Balkans. It was excavated in 1950 and 1951, when it was established that the stones from its walls had been entirely removed and that only the imprint of the foundations in mortar remained of the six-lobed structure (Fig. 27.1)[60]. Based on the results of archaeological investigations and on earlier accidentally discovered fragments of liturgical furniture from its interior (Fig. 27.2)[61], the excavator dated the church to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, noting that remains of ancient architecture were found at the site, as well as several earlier

pretpostavlja se da je crkva na pročelju imala aksijalni zvonik kružne osnove, što bi u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji bila jedinstvena pojava (sl. 26.1). Danas vidljiva pravokutna prostorija s vjerojatnim tornjem četvrtastog tlocrta je mlađa dogradnja nastala nakon rušenja predromaničkoga zvonika kada je ulazni prostor crkve povećan. Može se pretpostaviti da se to dogodilo u doba romanike, na što upućuje ljevkasto oblikovani i stepenasto profilirani portal na njezinu zapadnom zidu (sl. 24)[59].

Šesterolisna crkva u Rogačićima kod Sarajeva jedina je ranosrednjovjekovna polikonhalna građevina u dubljoj unutrašnjosti zapadnog Balkana. Istraživana je 1950. i 1951. godine kada je utvrđeno da je kamenje iz njenih zidova u cijelosti izvađeno te da je od šesterolista ostao samo otisak temelja u malteru (sl. 27.1)[60]. Prema rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja i prema ranije slučajno pronađenim ulomcima liturgijskog namještaja iz njenog interijera (sl. 27.2)[61], autorica iskopavanja crkvu datira u kraj

[59] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, pp. 45–50.
[60] I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1953, pp. 303–315.
[61] M. JURKOVIĆ, 1987, p. 110, believes that the reliefs from Rogačići exhibit Byzantine influence and should therefore be dated to the 11th century, while M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, pp. 132–133, 148–149, 153, 159, dates them to the 10th or 11th century. D. Džino supports Byzantine influences and proposes an even earlier date, *c.* 900, in: D. DŽINO, 2021, p. 184. – D. DŽINO, 2023, pp. 145–147.

[59] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2011, str. 45-50.
[60] I. ČREMOŠNIK, 1953, str. 303-315.
[61] M. JURKOVIĆ, 1987, str. 110, je mišljenja da skulpture iz Rogačića očituju bizantski utjecaj te da bi ih trebalo datirati u 11. stoljeće, dok ih M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, str. 132-133, 148-149, 153, 159 datira u 10. ili 11. stoljeće. D. Džino podržava bizantske utjecaje i nudi još raniju dataciju, oko 900. g., u: D. DŽINO, 2021, str. 184. – D. DŽINO, 2023, str. 145-147.

12. ili početak 13. stoljeća, navodeći da su na lokalitetu pronađeni ostatci antičke arhitekture, nekoliko starijih ranosrednjovjekovnih grobova i još jedna srednjovjekovna stambena građevina suvremena rotundi.

U starijoj literaturi zabilježena je još jedna crkva centralnoga tipa, za koju još uvijek nije jasno je li imala osmerokutni ili osmerolisni oblik. Nalazila se na pravoslavnom groblju u Biskupiji kod Knina. Zapisano je da je do 1764. godine bila vrlo dobro sačuvana, kada je porušena da bi se na njenom mjestu sagradila nova pravoslavna crkva sv. Trojice[62]. Položaj do danas nije istraživan, a prema slučajnim nalazima ulomaka arhitrava s natpisima, pretpostavlja se da je ova crkva bila sagrađena u zadnjoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća[63].

early medieval graves, and another medieval residential building contemporary with the rotunda.

Earlier literature also records yet another central-type church, for which it is still unclear whether it had an octagonal or eight-lobed form. It stood at the Orthodox cemetery in Biskupija near Knin. It is recorded that it was very well preserved until 1764, when it was demolished to build a new Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity at its location[62]. The site has not yet been investigated, and based on chance finds of architrave fragments with inscriptions, it is assumed that this church was built in the last quarter of the 9th century[63].

62 S. GUNJAČA, 1952b, str. 292-295. – S. GUNJAČA, 1975, str. 152-154.

63 V. DELONGA, 1996, str. 79-80. Ulomak s natpisom [...]ANIME[...] možda je sadržavao ime kneza Branimira.

62 S. GUNJAČA, 1952b, pp. 292–295. – S. GUNJAČA, 1975, pp. 152–154.

63 V. DELONGA, 1996, pp. 79–80. A fragment bearing the inscription […] ANIME[…] may have comprised the name of Duke Branimir.



III.

O osobinama dalmatinskih šesterolista prema rezultatima dosadašnjih istraživanja

On the features of Dalmatian six-lobed buildings based on the results of research to date



Fig. 28. Find sites of polyconch buildings in Dalmatia (A. Milošević).

sl. 28. Nalazišta s polikonhnim građevinama u Dalmaciji (A. Milošević).

Centrally planned buildings with six or eight externally visible conches radially arranged around a central circular space, as the most numerous typological group with regional features and a unique phenomenon in the sacral architecture of the early Middle Ages, have often been discussed in works dealing with the architecture of that period in Dalmatia. Starting from their specific typology, as well as their morphology and interior stone furnishings, discussions have mostly focused on the question of the origin of their form, their dating, titular saints, and their original purpose[64]. Today, one is familiar with information on eleven such buildings to a greater or lesser extent. They are concentrated in the greater Zadar and Split areas, with discernible common similarities as well as specific properties (Fig. 28). In addition to their basic ties, another attribute they share is their size, which is approximately the same in all cases. The exterior wall surfaces of radial conches are smooth in some instances, while in others they are articulated with shallow blind arcades (Split, Trogir, Kašić, Pridraga). Previous researchers have proposed different dates for

Građevine centralnog tipa sa šest ili osam izvana vidljivih konhi radijalno raspoređenih oko središnjeg kružnog prostora, kao najbrojnija tipološka grupa regionalnih osobina i kao jedinstvena pojava u sakralnom graditeljstvu ranoga srednjeg vijeka, često su bile predmet rasprave u radovima koji su obrađivali arhitekturu toga doba u Dalmaciji. Polazeći od njihove specifične tipologije ali i morfologije te kamene opreme u unutrašnjosti, najčešće se raspravljalo o problemu izvorišta njihovoga oblika, o datiranju, o titularima te o njihovoj izvornoj funkciji[64]. Do danas su u većoj ili manjoj mjeri poznati podatci o jedanaest takvih građevina, grupiranih na širem zadarskom i splitskom području među kojima se mogu istaknuti zajedničke sličnosti, ali i specifičnosti (sl. 28). Pored osnovne srodnosti zajednička im je osobina i veličina koja je u svim slučajevima približno jednaka. Vanjske zidne plohe radijalnih konha u nekim primjerima su glatke, a ima i slučajeva u kojima su raščlanjene plitkim slijepim arkadama (Split, Trogir, Kašić, Pridraga). Dosadašnji istraživači su za pojedine primjere ili grupe predložili različite datacije. Većinom se misli da su kao

[64] Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, pp. 11–12. – E. DYGGVE, 1933, pp. 1–14. – C. FISKOVIĆ, 1951, pp. 181–196. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1978, pp. 31–39. – S. GUNJAČA, 1955, pp. 131–132. – I. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, pp. 33–54. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1984, pp. 144–150. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1994, pp. 155–160. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1987, pp. 173–174. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, pp. 323–375. – I. PETRICIOLI, 1990a, pp. 20–26. – M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, pp. 225–240. – M. JURKOVIĆ, 1996, pp. 244–255. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2008, pp. 230–236. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, pp. 41–74. – M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, pp. 125–168.

[64] Lj. KARAMAN, 1930, str. 11-12. – E. DYGGVE, 1933, str. 1-14. – C. FISKOVIĆ, 1951, str. 181-196. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1978, str. 31-39. – S. GUNJAČA, 1955, str. 131-132. – I. FISKOVIĆ, 1984, str. 33-54. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1984, str. 144-150. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 1994, str. 155-160. – Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1987, str. 173-174. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, str. 323-375. – I. PETRICIOLI, 1990a, str. 20-26. – M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, str. 225-240. – M. JURKOVIĆ, 1996, str. 244-255. – T. MARASOVIĆ, 2008, str. 230-236. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 41-74. – M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, str. 125-168.

oblik nastale krajem 8. ili početkom 9. stoljeća te da vrijeme njihove intenzivne upotrebe (ili opremanja) u najvećem broju slučajeva treba okvirno smjestiti u 9. stoljeće[65]. Ima, međutim i prijedloga za ranije datiranje nekih primjera (Trogir, Zadar - Kolovare), ali i kasnije od 9. stoljeća (Ošlje, Rogačići). Za većinu tih građevina još uvijek nije poznata njihova izvorna funkcija. Razložno je pretpostavljeno da su pojedine od njih izvorno imale funeralnu funkciju kao mauzoleji, memorijalne i privatne kapele, a sasvim iznimno možda i kao oratoriji[66] (v. isto str. 96-99 u poglavlju 5). Većina ih je tijekom ranog srednjeg vijeka, bez obzira na različitu izvornu funkciju, uglavnom sakralizirana, pretvorene su u crkve i kao titulare dobile različite svetce. U Brnazama, Pridragi i vjerojatno u Splitu to je bio Sv. Mihovil, u Zadru i u Trogiru Sv. Marija, na Kolovarama u Zadru Sv. Krševan, u Kašiću Sv. Toma (?), u Škabrnji Sv. Juraj, u Ošlju Sv. Petar, u Rogačićima se pretpostavlja da je bio Sv. Blaž (samo na osnovu imena današnjeg mjesta Blažuj), te na Bribiru i u Kakmi Sv. Ivan. Rasprave o arhitektonskim uzorima polikonhnih centralnih građevina u Dalmaciji, još od kraja 19. stoljeća, nastoje dokazati da je u svim slučajevima riječ o regionalnom fenomenu na čiji su nastanak i razvitak utjecale starije građevine centralnog tipa; Dioklecijanov mauzolej u Splitu (sl. 3) ili pak, crkva sv. Donata (sl. 2) i ranokršćanska poligonalna krstionica (sl. 1) u kompleksu zadarske katedrale. Stručne rasprave dopuštaju i mogući utjecaj Dioklecijanovog mauzoleja, a slično se pretpostavlja i drugdje u Europi, gdje se višekonhni unutrašnji prostor kasnoantičkih, carskih mauzoleja uzima kao predložak vrlo čestom takvom obliku za ranokršćanske krstionice[67].

Jedan je bitan arhitektonski element na zadarskoj krstionici koji ne prati mogući splitski uzor, a to su dekorativne niše polukružnog tlocrta na vanjskim zidovima koje stoje nasuprot spoju konha s unutrašnje strane (sl. 1.2). Na taj na-

certain examples or groups. It is generally believed that they emerged as a form at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century, and that the period of their intensive use (or furnishing) should approximately be placed in the 9th century in most cases[65]. Notwithstanding, earlier dates have also been proposed for some examples (Trogir, Zadar – Kolovare), as well as dates later than the 9th century (Ošlje, Rogačići). The original purpose of most of these buildings is still unknown. It has reasonably been assumed that some of them originally had a funerary purpose as mausolea, memorial and private chapels, and in some quite exceptional cases perhaps also as oratories[66] (see also pp. 96-99 in Chapter 5). Regardless of their diverse original purposes, most of them were sacralised in the early Middle Ages, converted into churches, and dedicated to various saints as titulars. In Brnaze, Pridraga, and probably in Split, this was St. Michael; in Zadar and Trogir, St. Mary; at Kolovare in Zadar, St. Chrysogonus; in Kašić, St. Thomas (?); in Škabrnja, St. George; in Ošlje, St. Peter; in Rogačići, it is assumed to have been St. Blaise (solely based on the present-day place name Blažuj); and at Bribir and in Kakma, St. John. Since the end of the 19th century, discussions on architectural models of polyconch central buildings in Dalmatia have sought to demonstrate that in all cases these represent a regional phenomenon whose emergence and development were influenced by earlier central-type buildings, i.e. Diocletian's Mausoleum in Split (Fig. 3), or the church of St. Donatus (Fig. 2) and the early Christian polygonal baptistery (Fig. 1) within the complex of the Zadar cathedral. Scholarly discussions also allow for the possible influence of Diocletian's Mausoleum, and similar assumptions have been made for the rest of Europe, where the multiconch interior space of late antique imperial mausolea had been used as a model for such quite frequent forms in early Christian baptisteries[67].

[65] Takvo datiranje bilo je i jedan od razloga nekim istraživačima da nastanak ovih osebujnih građevina smjeste u relativno kratki vremenski raspon, unutar jedne radionice i jedne generacije graditelja, za što usp. Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1987, str. 173-174. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, str. 364.

[66] M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, str. 161-166.

[67] O. BRANDT, 2017, str. 9-16, sl. 18.

[65] This dating was also one of the reasons why some scholars affixed the emergence of these distinctive buildings to a relatively short time span, within a single workshop and a single generation of builders; cf. Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1987, pp. 173–174. – P. VEŽIĆ, 1991a, p. 364.

[66] M. ILLÁŠ, 2017, pp. 161–166.

[67] O. BRANDT, 2017, pp. 9–16, Fig. 18.

There is one significant architectural element of the Zadar baptistery which is not in line with the possible model from Split, viz. the decorative semicircular niches on the exterior walls, positioned opposite the junctions of the conches on the interior (Fig. 1.2). In this way, although it is an interesting concept for a closed hexagonal form, such niches create the illusion of a pseudo-hexagon, which led earlier researchers to assume that the Zadar baptistery should be recognised as the primary model for such buildings in the early Middle Ages. A concept with similar niches opposite the junctions of interior conches can also be found on other contemporary or earlier Christian buildings in the Roman world, e.g. on the octagonal baptistery adjacent to the church of St. Mary in Ephesus, dating to *c.* 400[68], and on the nymphaeum or baptistery from the late 4th century near the church of St. Sophia in Thessaloniki[69]. Another interesting example is the early Christian hexagonal baptistery at Loupian near Nîmes in southern France, whose interior walls are straight, while semicircular niches are made only on the exterior walls[70]. A somewhat similar concept to that of Zadar can be seen in ancient Gerasa on the church of St. John the Baptist – a rotunda inscribed within a square with horseshoe-shaped conches at its corners (dating to 531); the eastern wall of the square opens into an apse that is semicircular on the inside and three-sided on the outside[71].

Decorative deeper semicircular niches on exterior wall surfaces originate in pre-Christian architecture (e.g. the Mausoleum of Gallienus in Rome[72]) and were widely used in architecture until the end of the Middle Ages, both in the West and even more so in the East. In Dalčin, premda je riječ o zanimljivom rješenju na zatvorenom heksagonalnom volumenu, takve niše u tlocrtu stvaraju privid pseudoheksagona, a to je starije istraživače navelo na pomisao da upravo u zadarskoj krstionici prepoznaju prvi uzor za takve građevine u ranome srednjem vijeku. Rješenje sa sličnim nišama nasuprot spoju unutrašnjih konha nalazi se i na drugim istovremenim ili starijim kršćanskim građevinama u tadašnjem rimskom svijetu, npr. na oktogonalnom baptisteriju uz crkvu sv. Marije u Efezu, oko 400. godine[68], te na nimfeju ili baptisteriju iz kraja 4. stoljeća, nedaleko crkve sv. Sofije u Solunu[69]. Zanimljiv je i primjer ranokršćanskog heksagonalnog baptisterija u mjestu Loupian u južnoj Francuskoj, nedaleko Nîmesa kojemu su unutrašnji zidovi ravni, a polukružne niše izvedene su samo na vanjskim zidovima[70]; rješenje donekle slično zadarskom vidljivo je u antičkoj Gerasi na crkvi sv. Ivana Krstitelja –rotundi upisanoj u kvadrat s potkovastim konhama u njegovim kutovima (531. godina); istočni zid kvadrata rastvara se u iznutra polukružnu, izvana trostranu apsidu[71].

Dekorativne dublje polukružne niše na vanjskim zidnim plohama, svoje porijeklo imaju u pretkršćanskom graditeljstvu (npr. na Galijenovom mauzoleju u Rimu[72]) i u širokoj su upotrebi u arhitekturi sve do kraja srednjeg vijeka, kako na Zapadu tako i još više na Istoku. Na prostoru Dalmacije, pored crkve sv. Ciprijana u Gatima kod Omiša iz 5. – 6. stoljeća[73], takve niše ima još samo zadarska krstionica, a ukoliko je ona arhitektonsko ishodište dalmatinskim šesterolistima ranoga srednjeg vijeka, logično je očekivati da se, kao moguće nasljeđe, takve niše pojave i na vanjskim zidnim plohama na građevinama iz toga doba, što ipak nije slučaj (koriste

68 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, Fig. 117, p. 86. – R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, p. 107. – S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, p. 19, Fig. 20. – N. KARYDIS, 2019, pp. 190–191, Figs. 11–12.

69 S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, p. 16, Fig. 19. E. Marki assumes that this hexagonal structure belonged to an earlier basilica beneath St Sophia or that it was part of a Roman thermal complex (E. MARKH, 1997, pp. 54–61).

70 Ch. PELLECUER, 1995, pp. 47–50.

71 A. MICHEL, 2001, pp. 245–251, Nos. 88–88c. The northern, southern, and western external walls are articulated by shallow niches with semicircular bases flanking the openings located at the centre of each wall surface.

72 H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 47–48, Pls. VII/b, c. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, pp. 42–47, Fig. 19.

68 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, sl. 117, str. 86. – R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 107. – S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, str. 19, sl. 20. – N. KARYDIS, 2019, str. 190-191, sl. 11-12.

69 S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, str. 16, sl. 19. E. Marki pretpostavlja da ta šesterokutna građevina pripada starijoj bazilici koja je ispod Sv. Sofije ili je pak, dio rimskog termalnog kompleksa (E. MARKH, 1997, str. 54-61).

70 CH. PELLECUER, 1995, str. 47-50.

71 A. MICHEL, 2001, str. 245-251, br. 88-88c. Sjeverni, južni i zapadni vanjski zidovi raščlanjeni su plitkim nišama polukružne osnove što flankiraju otvore smještene po sredini svake zidne plohe.

72 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 47-48, Pl. VII/b, c. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, str. 42-47, sl. 19.

73 J. JELIČIĆ RADONIĆ, 1994, str. 41-45. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, str. 32-33.

se samo u interijerima, npr. Sv. Donat u Zadru, Gradina u Solinu, Sv. Barbara u Trogiru, Sv. Petar u Omišu, Sv. Mihajlo kod Stona...)[74]. Nasuprot toj činjenici, element dekorativno-konstruktivnih plitkih slijepih arkada na vanjskim zidnim plohama, koje svoje ishodište također imaju u ranokršćanskom dobu, u graditeljstvu ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji, naišao je na široku primjenu[75].

No, kad je u pitanju utjecaj zadarske krstionice na ranosrednjovjekovne šesteroliste, više puta je upozoreno da je riječ o dvama rješenjima koja imaju samo načelne sličnosti, ali je među njima i nekoliko bitnih razlika, posebno u konstruktivnim izvedbama[76]. Središnji unutrašnji prostor zadarske krstionice je šesterokutan s polukružnim nišama u svakom zidu, no iz njezina vanjskog korpusa ne strše apside. Šesterolisne crkve izvana i iznutra imaju vidljive apside nanizane oko kruga. To je potpuno drugačiji građevinski oblik, različit u vizualnom i konstruktivnom smislu. U projektnom postupku jedini geometrijski oblik takvih građevina je kružnica koja se u različitim i zadanim proporcionalnim veličinama slaže i kombinira po horizontali i po vertikali. Nasuprot takvom konceptu prostor zadarske krstionice je zatvoren u poliedar s heksagonalnom sredinom u čijim su stranicama izdubene polukružne niše koje u konstruktivnom smislu rasterećuju zidove, a u dekorativnom doprinose dinamici unutrašnjeg prostora. Nad središnjim poligonalnim prostorom izvorno joj je vjerojatno stajala segmentirana kupola. S vanjske strane tambura poduprta je kontraforima, kako je to u konstruktivnom smislu izvedeno na nekoliko kasnoantičkih građevina centralne osnove u Rimu, o čemu će kasnije još biti riječi. Shodno takvom rješenju nad kupolom zadarske krstionice stajao je krov u obliku poligonalne piramide, a šesterolisne građevine pak, u središnjem dijelu imaju valjak na kojem počiva krov u obliku stošca ispod kojeg je skrivena kupola kružne osnove. Oko njihovog središnjeg valjka radijalno su nanizane *oslobođene* konhe koje

matia, in addition to the church of St. Cyprian at Gata near Omiš from the 5th–6th century[73], such niches appear only on the Zadar baptistery. Had it indeed been the architectural origin for Dalmatian six-lobed structures of the early Middle Ages, it would be logical to expect that such niches would have appeared, as a possible legacy, on the exterior wall surfaces of buildings from that period, which is, however, not the case (since they were used only in interiors, e.g. St. Donatus in Zadar, Gradina in Solin, St. Barbara in Trogir, St. Peter in Omiš, St. Michael near Ston...)[74]. In contrast to this, the element of decorative-structural shallow blind arcades on exterior wall surfaces, which also has its origin in the early Christian period, found wide application in early medieval architecture in Dalmatia[75].

However, when it comes to the influence of the Zadar baptistery on early medieval six-lobed buildings, it has repeatedly been pointed out that they are two concepts that share only general similarities, while there are also several essential differences between them, especially in their structural solutions[76]. The central interior space of the Zadar baptistery is hexagonal, with semicircular niches in each wall, but apses do not project from its exterior. Six-lobed churches have visible apses arranged around a circle, both externally and internally. This is a completely different architectural form, distinct in both visual and structural terms. The only geometric form of such buildings' design is the circle, arranged and combined horizontally and vertically in various planned proportional dimensions. By contrast, the space of the Zadar baptistery is enclosed within a polyhedron with a hexagonal centre, with semicircular niches inscribed into its sides, supporting the walls structurally and contributing to the dynamism of the interior space decoratively. Originally there probably stood a segmented dome above its central polygonal space. On the exterior of the drum, it is supported by but-

74 R. IVANČEVIĆ, 1996, str. 75-86.
75 Z. GUNJAČA, 1996, str. 65-74. – R. IVANČEVIĆ, 1996, str. 78-81.
76 M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, str. 229-230. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a, kat. jed. IV/112, str. 245-246. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 257-260.

73 J. JELIČIĆ RADONIĆ, 1994, pp. 41–45. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, pp. 32–33.
74 R. IVANČEVIĆ, 1996, pp. 75–86.
75 Z. GUNJAČA, 1996, pp. 65–74. – R. IVANČEVIĆ, 1996, pp. 78–81.
76 M. JURKOVIĆ, 1995, pp. 229–230. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000a, Cat. No. IV/112, pp. 245–246. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, pp. 257–260.

tresses, as structurally devised in several late antique centrally planned buildings in Rome, which are discussed further below. In line with this concept, there stood a roof in the form of a polygonal pyramid above the dome of the Zadar baptistery, whereas six-lobed buildings have, in their central part, a drum supporting a conical roof beneath which a dome of circular plan is concealed. *Free-standing* conches are radially arranged around their central drum, which became visible on the exterior as well. Given that these two examples exhibit fundamentally different morphological and structural elements, it is justified to question the abilities of the early medieval Dalmatian builders, who, while attempting to interpret a model such as the Zadar baptistery, could purportedly have conceived structurally and architecturally more demanding and original buildings than the baptistery of the Zadar cathedral[77]. In all of this, the opinion that the builders of that era were in fact merely continuing the traditions of late antique architects, taking inspiration from similar achievements that still stood in various parts of the former Empire at that time, often within Christian architecture as well, appears to be entirely acceptable[78]. Under such circumstances, and due to the given conditions of the milieu, a greater concentration of such buildings could have been formed in a given area. However, this concentration merely gives an impression of an isolated regional phenomenon, whereas in fact we are dealing with forms that developed through mutual influences and historical tradition, interwoven with cultural influences that are also visible in other segments of the monumental heritage of that time. These facts, as well as the regional distribution of six-lobed buildings in early medieval Dalmatia, indicate that communication routes – historical and real – between the Roman past and contemporary reality were not entirely neglected or forgotten.

su postale vidljive i s vanjske strane. S obzirom na to da se u ovim dvama primjerima radi o bitno drugačijoj morfologiji i konstruktivnim detaljima, opravdano se dovodi u pitanje sposobnost ranosrednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih graditelja koji bi, pokušavajući interpretirati uzor poput zadarske krstionice, navodno mogli osmisliti konstrukcijski i graditeljski zahtjevnije i originalnije građevine nego li je to krstionica zadarske katedrale[77]. U svemu tome čini se potpuno prihvatljivim mišljenje prema kojemu graditelji toga doba uistinu samo nastavljaju tradicije kasnoantičkih arhitekata, ugledajući se u slična ostvarenja kakva su u to vrijeme još uvijek stajala u raznim dijelovima nekadašnjeg Carstva, često i u kršćanskoj arhitekturi[78]. U takvim okolnostima i zbog datosti sredine mogla je nastati i njihova veća koncentracija na određenom prostoru, koja tek ostavlja utisak da je riječ o izoliranom regionalnom fenomenu, a ne o oblicima koji su nastali na međusobnim utjecajima i povijesnoj tradiciji, isprepleteni kulturnim utjecajima koji su na različite načine vidljivi i u drugim segmentima tadašnje spomeničke baštine. Ti činjenični podatci, kao i regionalna zastupljenost šesterolista u ranom srednjem vijeku Dalmacije, pokazuju da komunikacijski pravci, povijesni i stvarni, između rimske prošlosti i tadašnje suvremenosti nisu bili potpuno zanemareni i zaboravljeni.

U raspravama o mogućem izvorištu dalmatinskih šesterolista izdvaja se i prijedlog kojim se nastoji protumačiti da su te građevine u ranom srednjem vijeku novi prostorni oblik nastao u arhitektonskoj kompoziciji udvajanja trikonhalnih prezbiterija ranokršćanskih crkava[79], na način kako je to već bilo predloženo i za centralni prostor monumentalne crkve sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu (usp. sl. 55.3)[80]. Takva pretpostavka, kao i većina drugih prije nje, počiva uglavnom na morfološkim odlikama i na tipologiji.

77 I. BABIĆ, 2019, pp. 257–258.

78 L. JELIĆ, 1912, p. 83. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 85–87, Pls. XIV–XV. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, p. 259. A similar opinion, though without elaboration, has recently been conveyed in: N. MARAKOVIĆ – T. TURKOVIĆ, 2024, pp. 422, 433.

77 I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 257-258.

78 L. JELIĆ, 1912, str. 83. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 85-87, Pl. XIV-XV. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 259. Slično je mišljenje, ali bez šireg obrazloženja, nedavno iznijeto i u: N. MARAKOVIĆ - T. TURKOVIĆ, 2024, str. 422, 433.

79 P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, str. 47. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, str. 42-43, 52.

80 S. TAVANO, 1984, str. 551. – R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 205-218. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 89-90. – Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, str. 86-87, 90, 200-210, sl. 99, 175.

U literaturi je, međutim, iznijeto prihvatljivo mišljenje da tako pojednostavljene rasprave, svedene na formalne kriterije tipološke i morfološke naravi u proučavanju porijekla nekog arhitektonskog oblika u našem ranom srednjem vijeku, nisu dovoljne. Također nisu jedina mogućnost za takva istraživanja, jer ni društvene okolnosti u kompleksnom vremenu u kojemu su takve građevine nastajale, nisu bile jednostavne[81]. Pored toga, one u gradovima na obali nisu bile istovjetne onima u ruralnom zaleđu, na prostoru prve hrvatske državne zajednice u nastajanju. Sugerira se nadalje, da je usporedno s tim formalnim kategorijama neophodno istraživati političke, gospodarske i općenito društvene prilike te duhovni, napose vjerski kontekst koji je u sinkroniji sa ostalim čimbenicima bio važan razlog na početku svakog takvog zahvata, od odabira lokacije, preko izbora investitora i projektanta pa do odabira konačnoga oblika novogradnje koja bi najbolje udovoljila potrebama i zamišljenom cilju.

In discussions concerning the possible origin of Dalmatian six-lobed structures there has also been a proposal that seeks to interpret these buildings in the early Middle Ages as a new spatial form arising from the architectural arrangement of doubling the triconch presbyteries of early Christian churches[79] in a manner already proposed for the central space of the monumental church of St. Sophia in Constantinople (cf. Fig. 55.3)[80]. Such an assumption, like most others preceding it, is based mainly on morphological properties and typology.

However, a sustainable opinion has been offered in scholarly literature, claiming that such simplified discussions, reduced to formal typological and morphological criteria, are not sufficient for the study of the origin of architectural forms in our early Middle Ages. They are also not the only possible option for such research, since social circumstances in the complex epoch during which such buildings were built were themselves far from simple[81]. Moreover, circumstances in coastal cities were not identical to those in the rural hinterland, i.e. the territory of the emerging first Croatian state entity. It is further suggested that, alongside these formal categories, it is essential to investigate political, economic, and general social conditions, as well as the spiritual – especially religious – context which, in synchrony with other factors, constituted an important impetus at the outset of each and every undertaking, from the choice of location, through the selection of patrons and designers, to the final preferred forms of new buildings that would best meet the intended needs and objectives.

[79] P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, p. 47. – P. VEŽIĆ, 2012, pp. 42–43, 52.

[80] S. TAVANO, 1984, p. 551. – R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, pp. 205–218. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 89–90. – Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, pp. 86–87, 90, 200–210, Figs. 99, 175.

[81] Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1996, str. 57.

[81] Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1996, p. 57.





IV.

O Bribiru i Bribirskoj rotundi

On Bribir and the Bribir rotunda



Fig. 29. Location of Bribirska glavica in the Ravni kotari region (A. Milošević).

Bribir

Bribirska glavica is one of the most important archaeological sites in Croatia (Fig. 29). It is located not far from the River Krka, in the Šibenik–Skradin hinterland, an area where the fertile Ravni kotari meet the karstic Bukovica. Thanks to its position near the main historical route connecting Zadar and Knin, by analogy to Knin – which Venetian sources often referred to as the *key of Dalmatia* – Bribir, together with nearby Ostrovica, acquired the designation of the *key of Zadar*. Due to its natural morphology and strategic position (305 m above sea level), a powerful fortress stood there from its outset, enclosed on three sides by strong ramparts. During the most prosperous periods of its history, the settlement within these walls covered an area of approximately 72,000 m^2. Its importance thus derives from favourable strategic position, since Bribirska glavica offered control over a vast territory extending from the Velebit mountains to Svilaja in the hinterland, as well as the lowland area from Zadar to Šibenik and

Bribir

Bribirska glavica jedan je od najvažnijih arheoloških lokaliteta u Hrvatskoj (sl. 29). Smještena je nedaleko od rijeke Krke, u šibensko-skradinskom zaleđu, u predjelu gdje se plodni Ravni kotari susreću s krševitom Bukovicom, a kako se nalazila i uz glavnu povijesnu prometnicu koja je povezivala Zadar i Knin, analogno Kninu, kojega mletački izvori često nazivaju i *ključem Dalmacije*, Bribir je, s nedalekom Ostrovicom, zavrijedio naziv *ključ Zadra*. Zbog prirodne morfologije i strateškog položaja (305 m nadmorske visine) od početka je na njemu stajala moćna utvrda koja je s triju strana obzidana snažnim bedemima. U najprosperitetnijim razdobljima naselje unutar tih bedema zapremalo je površinu od oko 72.000 m^2. Njegov značaj proizlazi, dakle, iz dobroga strateškoga položaja jer je s Bribirske glavice bilo moguće nadzirati veliki teritorij od planina Velebita do Svilaje u zaleđu, zatim nizinski kraj od Zadra do Šibenika te šibenski akvatorij s pučinskim dijelom Jadrana, sve do otoka Visa (sl. 30). Dobar prometni i

sl. 29. Položaj Bribirske glavice u Ravnim kotarima (A. Milošević).



sl. 30. Položaj Bribira u Dalmaciji (A. Milošević).
Fig. 30. Location of Bribir in Dalmatia (A. Milošević).

strateški položaj doprinio je i tome da je naselje na uzvišenju u pojedinim povijesnim razdobljima imalo i značajne urbane karakteristike, posebno u mlađem željeznom dobu za vrijeme Liburna, zatim u vrijeme rimske dominacije te u kasnom srednjem vijeku, osobito za vladavine bana Pavla I. Šubića (1274. – 1312.). Tako je poznato da se na Glavici nalazila liburnska i rimska *Varvaria* te srednjovjekovni *Breberium*. Taj je naziv, prema zakonima jezičnih pretvorbi, u hrvatskom jeziku postalo *Bribir*. Dobar položaj omogućio je, dakle, Bribiru da u povoljnijim povijesnim prilikama postigne zavidan gospodarski i kulturni prosperitet, kao i to da u tim trenutcima preraste u važno središte vrlo širokoga područja[82].

U fokusu arheologije Bribir se nalazi još od kraja 19. stoljeća. Prve nakane za njegovo istraživanje sežu u 1895. godinu, kada u prvom broju *Starohrvatske prosvjete* Lujo Marun (sl. 31.1) izvještava da je ...*Društvo načelo pregovore za*

[82] S. GUNJAČA, 1968b, str. 207-210. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2015. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA, 2020.



sl. 31. Lujo Marun i Stjepan Gunjača na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. (gore) Iskopavanja L. Maruna sjeverno od groblja 1913. godine; 2. (dolje) S. Gunjača ispred groblja na Glavici oko 1960. godine (fotoarhiv Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika).
Fig. 31. Lujo Marun and Stjepan Gunjača at Bribirska glavica: 1. (top) Excavations by L. Marun north of the cemetery in 1913; 2. (bottom) S. Gunjača in front of the cemetery at Glavica c. 1960 (photo archive of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments).

the Šibenik water area with the open Adriatic, reaching as far as the island of Vis (Fig. 30). Its propitious position in strategic and transport terms also helped the settlement on the high ground in certain historical periods to acquire significant urban characteristics, particularly in the late Iron Age during the Liburnian period, during Roman domination, and in the late Middle Ages, especially during the rule of Ban Paul I Šubić (1274–1312). It is known that Liburnian and Roman *Varvaria* and medieval *Breberium* were located at Glavica. According to linguistic rules, this appellation became *Bribir* in the Croatian language. A favourable position therefore



Fig. 32. Excavated and conserved excavations at Bribirska glavica: 1. Gothic church by the cemetery; 2. Remains of ancient buildings with the monastery and church of St. Mary at Dol; 3. Eastern ramparts of Varvaria; 4. Romanesque church of the Holy Saviour and cemetery at Vratnice; 5. Ottoman fortification with a round tower (A. Milošević).

enabled Bribir to gain notable economic and cultural prosperity in advantageous historical circumstances and to evolve into an important centre of a very wide area at such times[82].

Bribir has been a focus of archaeological interest since the end of the 19th century. The first intentions to investigate it date back to 1895, when Lujo Marun reported in the first issue of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (Fig. 31.1) that *...the Society has initiated negotiations to carry out excavations on the ruins at Bribir near Skradin, where, among other things, the graves of the illustrious Šubićs could be found...* This, of course, refers to the *Croatian Antiquarian Society*, founded in Knin in 1887. In 1893, it evolved into the *First Museum of Croatian Antiquities*. The basic tasks of both the Society and the Museum are evident from their very names, and it was only logical that the ruins at Bribir were within the sphere of interest of these institutions from the very beginning. Previously collected extensive historical information on the site, the evident quality of its archaeological layers, occasional finds of valuable monuments, and the national enthusiasm in archaeology at the end of the

[82] S. GUNJAČA, 1968b, pp. 207–210. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2015. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA, 2020.

sl. 32. Istražene i konzervirane iskopine na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. Gotička crkva kod groblja; 2. Ostatci antičkih građevina sa samostanom i crkvom sv. Marije na Dolu; 3. Istočni bedemi Varvarije; 4. Romanička crkva sv. Spasa i groblje na Vratnicama; 5. Osmanska utvrda s okruglom kulom (A. Milošević).

provesti izkopine na ruševinama u Bribiru kod Skradina, gdje bi izmed drugog mogli biti našasti grobovi slavnih Šubića... Riječ je, dakako, o *Hrvatskom starinarskom društvu* koje je bilo osnovano u Kninu, 1887. godine, i iz kojega je potom, 1893., izrastao *Prvi muzej hrvatskih starina*. Osnovne zadaće i Društva i Muzeja vidljive su već iz njihovog naziva, pa je logično da su u sferu interesa tih institucija, već na samom početku, ušle i ruševine na Bribiru. Prethodno skupljeni brojni povijesni podatci o tome lokalitetu, uočljiva kvaliteta njegovih arheoloških slojeva i povremeni nalazi vrijednih spomenika te nacionalni zanos kojemu je u arheologiji, krajem 19. stoljeća, glavni pokretač bio Lujo Marun, tada su Bribirsku glavicu okarakterizirali kao *hrvatsku Troju* na kojoj bi se svaki arheološki trud trebao višestruko isplatiti[83].

Marunova istraživanja prekinuo je Prvi svjetski rat, a zbog nepovoljnih društvenih, političkih, vjerskih i međunacionalnih odnosa u novonastaloj državi, iskopavanja nije bilo moguće nastaviti ni u međuratnom razdoblju. U godinama poslije Drugoga svjetskog rata, a osobito

[83] H. GJURAŠIN, 2010.

nakon 1960. godine, u širokom obuhvatu obnovio ih je Stjepan Gunjača (sl. 31.2), tadašnji ravnatelj *Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*, koji je u međuvremenu iz Knina, preko Sinja, bio preseljen u Split. Gunjača je u tim radovima ustrajavao i nakon odlaska u mirovinu, sve do 1980. godine. Danas možemo reći da je njegov angažman na Bribiru bio vrlo uspješan jer je sistematski istražio i konzervirao veći dio Dola sa samostanom i crkvom sv. Marije uz istočni rub Glavice, otkopao je i prezentirao znatan dio bedema, a manjim zaštitnim iskopavanjima na raznim mjestima po Glavici dobivene su brojne nove topografske spoznaje o lokalitetu (sl. 32.1-5). Tako je istražen i konzerviran glavni ulaz u liburnsku i rimsku Varvariju te srednjovjekovni Breberium. Uz ta gradska vrata istraženo je i najstarije srednjovjekovno groblje na Bribiru i nedaleko njega manja romanička crkva sv. Spasa. Također je među zidovima iz različitih građevinskih faza na Dolu prepoznao i stratigrafski izdvojio starije rimske zgrade i nimfej, srednjovjekovne kuće te kasnosrednjovjekovnu kulu, a uz južni rub platoa još jednu manju utvrdu iz vremena osmansko-mletačkih ratova[84].

Bribirska rotunda: rezultati novih istraživanja

S. Gunjača je djelomično istraživao i arhitektonske ostatke na današnjem mjesnom groblju i ispod pravoslavne crkve sv. Joakima i Ane, prvi put, 1959. godine, u samoj crkvi, kada su uočeni ostatci zidova rotunde s više konha i drugi put, 1969. godine, kada su uz tu građevinu, sa sjeverne strane, iskopani ostatci još triju njenih konha i djelomično kasnoantička memorija s dva sarkofaga (sl. 33). Dokumentacija s tih istraživanja je nedostatna jer su se iskopavanja na tom mjestu vodila u otežanim uvjetima, s obzirom na to da se kopalo u aktivnom groblju i u crkvi koja je u funkciji (sl. 9). Ipak, i ono malo podataka što je zabilježeno ukazivalo je na to da je ovdje riječ o vrlo važnim povijesnim objektima koji su se kontinuirano razvijali i dograđivali od prvih stoljeća rimske vlasti pa do današnjih dana.

[84] S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, str. 235-242.

19th century, largely driven by Lujo Marun, characterised Bribirska glavica as the *Croatian Troy*, where every archaeological effort was expected to yield bountiful rewards[83].

Marun's research was interrupted by World War I, and due to unfavourable social, political, religious, and interethnic relations in the newly formed state, excavations could not be continued in the interwar period either. In the years following World War II, and especially after 1960, research was renewed on a broad scale by Stjepan Gunjača (Fig. 31.2), the then director of the *Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments*, which had been relocated from Knin, via Sinj, to Split in the interim. Gunjača continued his efforts persistently even after his retirement, i.e. until 1980. It can be said today that his work at Bribir was very successful, since he systematically investigated and conserved the bulk of Dol with the monastery and church of St. Mary by the eastern edge of Glavica, and excavated and presented a sizeable portion of the ramparts. In addition, small-scale rescue excavations at various points at Glavica yielded a number of new topographical facts about the site (Figs. 32.1–5). *Inter alia*, the main entrance to Liburnian and Roman Varvaria and medieval Breberium was excavated and conserved. In addition, the earliest medieval cemetery at Bribir and the nearby Romanesque church of St. Saviour were explored. Furthermore, among walls from various building phases at Dol, he recognised and stratigraphically distinguished earlier Roman structures and a nymphaeum, medieval houses, and a late medieval tower, as well as another small fortress from the period of the Ottoman-Venetian wars by the southern edge of the plateau[84].

The Bribir rotunda: the results of new research

S. Gunjača also partially investigated the architectural remains at the modern-day local cemetery and beneath the Orthodox church of Sts. Joachim and Anne: first in 1959, within the church itself, when the remains of the rotunda

[83] H. GJURAŠIN, 2010.
[84] S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, pp. 235–242.



sl. 33. Sakralno-cemeterijalni kompleks na mjesnom groblju na Bribirskoj glavici (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 33. Sacral-funerary complex at the local cemetery of Bribirska glavica (Z. Alajbeg).

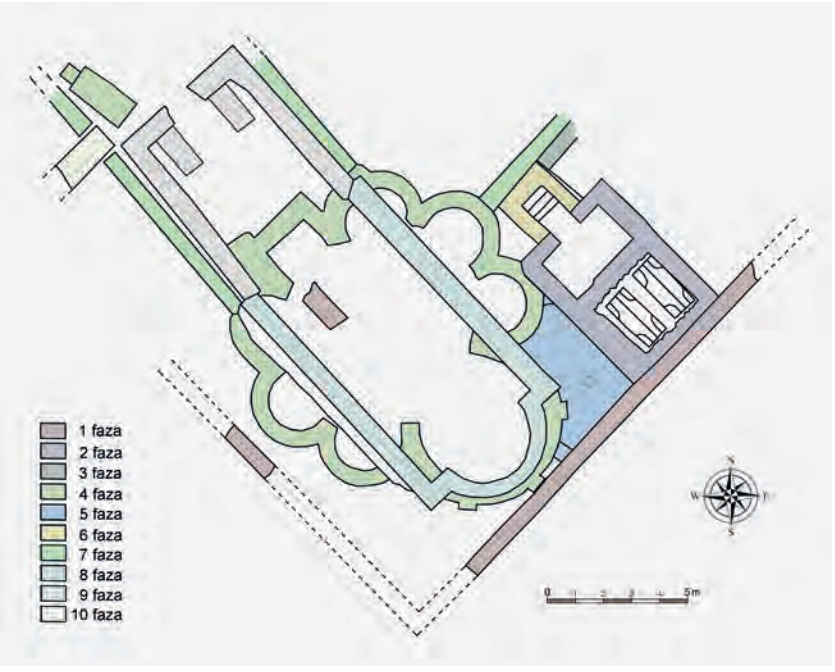
walls with multiple conches were identified, and again in 1969, when the remains of three more of its conches were excavated next to the northern side of the structure, as well as parts of the late Antique vaulted tomb (memoria) with two sarcophagi (Fig. 33). Documents from these investigations are wanting, since excavations were conducted under difficult conditions, given that both the cemetery and church where they took place were in use (Fig. 9). Nevertheless, even the limited records indicated that this was a site with historical structures of great import, which developed and grew continuously from the earliest centuries of Roman rule to this day.

Re-excavations were carried out from 2014 to 2019 at the location of the rotunda remains as part of the international archaeological project *Varvaria/Breberium/Bribir*. Project participants were the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments from Split, the Šibenik City Museum, Macquarie University (Department of

Od 2014. do 2019. godine obavljena su revizijska istraživanja položaja na kojemu su ostatci rotunde, a odvijala su se u sklopu međunarodnoga arheološkoga projekta *Varvaria* / *Breberium* / *Bribir*. Sudionici u projektu su Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika iz Splita i Muzej grada Šibenika te Sveučilište Macquarie (Odjel za antičku povijest i Odjel za međunarodne studije / Katedra hrvatskih studija, od 2020. Odjel za povijest i arheologiju) iz Sydneyja i Teološki fakultet iz Osla. Suradnici na projektu su Centar za antropologiju HAZU i Institut za arheologiju, oba iz Zagreba te više stručnjaka različitih usmjerenja iz drugih europskih država (Italija, Francuska, Velika Britanija). Glavni zadatak projekta je istraživanje problematike koja stoji između mikro i makro regionalnih studija koje mogu pojasniti dramatične promjene koje su se odvijale u urbanim i poluurbanim društvima kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji i jadranskoj regiji općenito. Terenskim pak istraživanjima proučava se dinamika naseljavanja Bribira prije, tijekom i nakon doseobe Slavena i Hrvata, odnosi između obalnih gradova i epihorskih naselja u zaleđu jadranske obale, kojima pripada i Bribir, razvoj naselja na Bribirskoj glavici od prapovijesti, preko rimskih obrazaca do srednjovjekovnog urbanizma, zatim vjerske institucije u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjem vijeku te širenje kršćanstva u Iliriku s pokrštavanjem novodoseljenih naroda u ranom srednjem vijeku. Prekid istraživanja u okviru spomenutog projekta uvjetovala je COVID-pandemija, 2020. godine, nakon čega su prekinuta.

S revizijskim iskopavanjima krenulo se sa sjeverozapadne strane crkve sv. Joakima i Ane, a od 2014. pa do 2016. godine, istražen je sav dostupni uži okoliš crkve i cijela njena unutrašnjost[85]. Postignuti rezultati su iznad očekivanih jer je na relativno malom prostoru i u kulturnim naslagama koje su mjestimično dosezale i 4 m dubine, iskopana vrlo slojevita arhitektura koja se razvijala i dograđivala tijekom dva milenija, a bez da je mijenjala svoju izvornu cemeterijalno-sakralnu funkciju. Koliko smo uspjeli spo-

[85] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 7-44. – V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015b, str. 335-355. – V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 9-47. – V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2017, str. 776-796. – V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2018, str. 10-56.



sl. 34. Građevinske faze sakralno-cemeterijalnog kompleksa na mjesnom groblju na Bribirskoj glavici (V. Ghica, A. Milošević).
Fig. 34. Building phases of the sacral-funerary complex at the local cemetery of Bribirska glavica (V. Ghica, A. Milošević).

znati, sve to se odvijalo kroz desetak građevinskih faza (sl. 34). U najdonjim slojevima su vrlo fragmentarni ostatci neke monumentalne rimske arhitekture, vjerojatno hrama ili svetišta posvećenog Velikoj Majci (*Magna Mater*) kojega je više moguće spoznati prema nalazima velikih mramornih arhitektonskih elemenata koji su mu pripadali i po fragmentu jednog natpisa (sl. 35), nego li prema ostatcima njegovih zidova[86]. Potom je kompleksu u 4. ili 5. stoljeću, dodan presvođeni mauzolej s predvorjem (*vestibul*) ispred grobne komore[87] u kojoj su dva sarkofaga bez ukrasa i natpisa. Jednake su veličine i u potpunosti su sačuvani. Veliki dvoslivni krov njihovih poklopaca ima naglašene strmine sa po četiri masivna akroterija na uglovima (sl. 36). Uobičajenog su tipa kakav je u rimskoj Dalmaciji u upotrebi od 4. do kraja 6. stoljeća[88]. Potom je, tijekom postupka jačanja kršćanstva i nakon što je potpuno srušena monumentalna zgrada iz rimskoga perioda, na istome mjestu, krajem



sl. 35. Antički ostatci na položaju bribirske rotunde: 1. (gore lijevo) Ulomak natpisa s vjerojatnim spomenom Magnae Matris; 2. (gore desno) Portret mladića; 3. (sredina) Tabula ansata s otučenim natpisom na monumentalnom kamenom bloku; 4. (dolje) Antički ulomci u temelju velike istočne apside rotunde (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 35. Ancient remains at the site of the Bribir rotunda: 1. (top left) Fragment of an inscription bearing a probable mention of Magna Mater; 2. (top right) Portrait of a young man; 3. (centre) Tabula ansata with an erased inscription on a monumental stone block; 4. (bottom) Ancient fragments in the foundation of the large eastern apse of the rotunda (Z. Alajbeg).

Ancient History and Department of International Studies/Croatian Studies, and since 2020 Department of History and Archaeology) from Sydney, and the Faculty of Theology from Oslo. Project collaborators were the Anthropological Centre of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Institute of Archaeology, both from Zagreb, as well as a number of scholars of various fields from other European countries (Italy, France, Great Britain). The main task of

[86] Na fragmentu natpisa ispisanog pravilnom kapitalom čita se ... [M]ATRIBU[s] ... (sl. 35.1). Mjerenje luminiscencije uzorka tla uz fragment zida koji je pripadao najstarijoj građevini na lokalitetu datira ga u 1. stoljeće prije Kr. (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 33).

[87] Mauzolej sa sarkofazima je kasnije bio popravljan ili je njegova unutrašnjost bila podijeljena u dva dijela. Žbuka iz zida koji razdvaja grobnu komoru i vestibul metodom ^{14}C i sekvencijalnom disolucijom datirana je u vrijeme između 537. i 646. godine (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2018, str. 39).

[88] N. CAMBI, 2004, str. 80. – N. CAMBI, 2013, str. 31-33.





sl. 36. Mauzolej sa sarkofazima sa sjeverne strane rotunde: 1. (gore) Mauzolej odozgo; 2. (dolje) Mauzolej iznutra (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 36. Mausoleum with sarcophagi on the north side of the rotunda: 1. (top) Mausoleum from above; 2. (bottom) Mausoleum interior (Z. Alajbeg).

the project was to investigate matters between micro- and macro-regional studies that could clarify the dramatic changes in urban and semi-urban societies of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages in Dalmatia and the Adriatic region in general. Field research examined the dynamics of settlement at Bribir before, during, and after the arrival of the Slavs and Croats; relationships between coastal towns and epichoric hinterland settlements of the Adriatic coast, including Bribir; the development of settlement at Bribirska glavica from prehistory, through Roman models, to medieval urbanism; religious institutions in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages; and the spread of Christianity in Illyricum with the Christianisation of newly arrived peoples in the early Middle Ages. Research under the project was interrupted by the COVID pandemic in 2020, after which it has been abandoned.

Re-excavations began on the northwestern side of the church of Sts. Joachim and Anne. The entire accessible immediate surroundings of the church and its whole interior were excavated from 2014 to 2016[85]. The results exceeded expectations, since a highly stratified architectural complex that developed and expanded over two millennia without changing its original funerary-sacral purpose was excavated within a relatively small area and in cultural layers reaching depths of up to 4 m in some places. As far as can be determined, all this unfolded through approximately ten building phases (Fig. 34). In the lowest layers there are very fragmentary remains of monumental Roman architecture, probably a temple or sanctuary dedicated to the Great Mother (*Magna Mater*), which can be better understood based on the finds of large marble architectural elements belonging to it and a fragment of an inscription (Fig. 35) than through the remains of its walls[86]. Subsequently, a vaulted tomb with an

5. ili početkom 6. stoljeća, sagrađena relativno velika rotunda s osam konha različitog oblika i veličine[89]. Tijekom gradnje zidarski je spojena s mauzolejem u kojemu su sarkofazi jer je evidentno taj i dalje bio u funkciji (sl. 34, 41, 61.1). Važan je pri tome i podatak da je tehnika zidanja (*opus incertum*) i debljina zidova na objema građevinama jednaka. Njihova debljina ujedno je i tanja od debljine zidova na gotovo svim do sada pronađenim rotundama ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji[90]. Tako su rotunda i grobnica sa sarkofazima uklopljene u jedinstven kultni i sakralni kompleks. Promijenjene okolnosti na lokalitetu, približno u to isto vrijeme, uvjeto-

[85] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, pp. 7–44. – V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015b, pp. 335–355. – V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 9–47. – V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2017, pp. 776–796. – V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2018, pp. 10–56.

[86] The fragment of the inscription written in elegant capitals reads … [M] ATRIBU[s] … (Fig. 35.1). Luminescence measurements of a soil sample taken near a wall fragment of the earliest structure on the site date it to the 1st century BC (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 33).

[89] Datiranje uzorka tla uzetog ispod velike apside dalo je datum između 438. i 502. godine (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 33-34). Komadići vapna izdvojeni iz velike istočne i male polukružne apside uz kvadratnu sa sjeverne strane, kroz sekvencijalnu disoluciju datirani su između 536. i 607. godine, što ukazuje na djelomičnu obnovu ili ponovno žbukanje unutrašnjih zidova rotunde (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2019, str. 40).

[90] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 15.

sl. 37. Grobnica a pozzo tipa ispred današnje crkve sv. Joakima i Ane: 1. (gore lijevo) Grobnica odozgo; 2. (gore desno) Grobnica iznutra; 3.-4. (dolje lijevo i dolje desno) Uzdužne stranice grobnice (A. Milošević i V. Ghica).

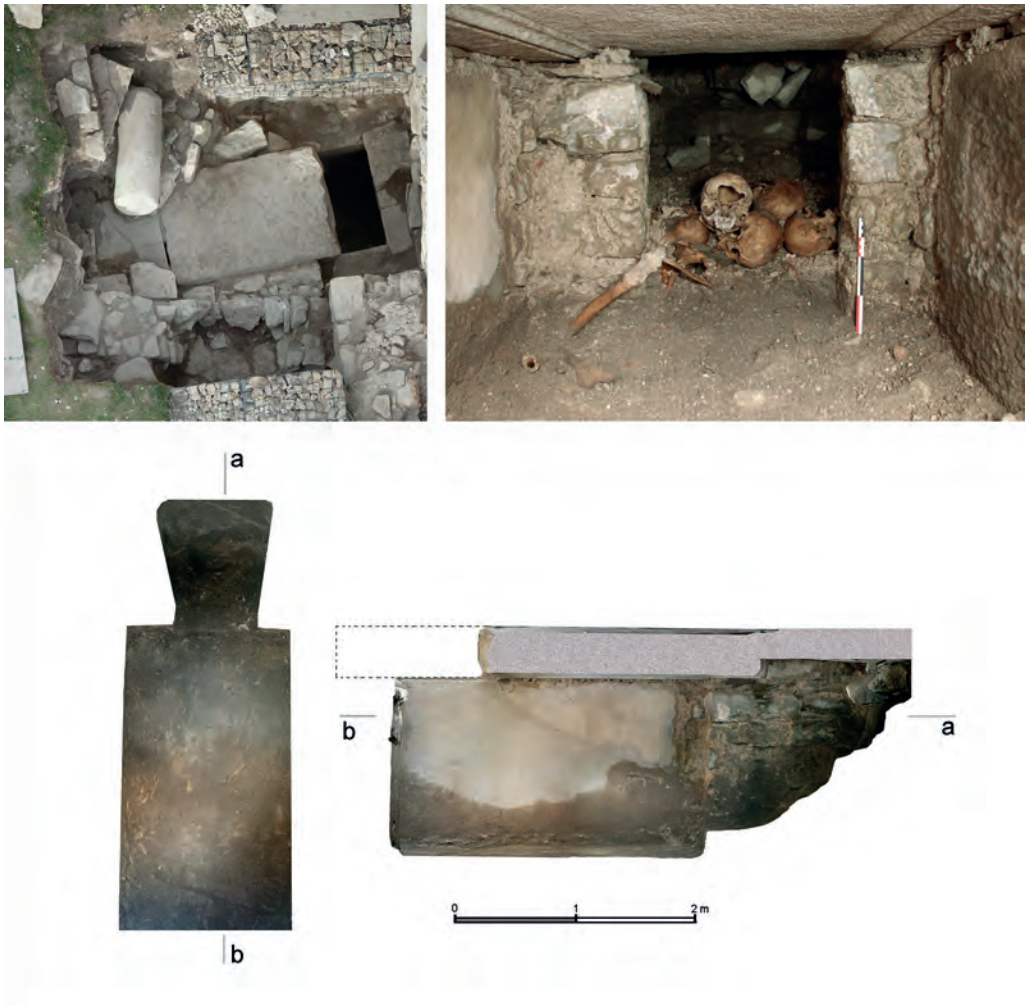


Fig. 37. A pozzo-type tomb in front of the present-day church of Sts. Joachim and Anne: 1. (top left) Tomb from above; 2. (top right) Tomb interior; 3–4. (bottom left and bottom right) Longitudinal sides of the tomb (A. Milošević and V. Ghica).

vale su i dogradnju *dromosa* sa stubištem, koji je postao novi ulaz u mauzolej sa sarkofazima. Nedugo nakon izgradnje rotundi su, vjerojatno kao novom mauzoleju ili memoriji u kompleksu Varvarije, sa sjeverozapadne i jugozapadne strane, prema zapadu dograđena dva usporedna zida, pretpostavljamo kao ograda ili trijem nad ukopištem koje je već ranije bilo formirano ispred rotunde[91]. Osobiti nalazi iz toga horizonta su jedna grobnica *a pozzo* tipa pokrivena monolitnom i odozdo profiliranom pločom po dužim stranama (sl. 37.1-4) te jedan oštećeni grob s više pokojnika uz sjeverozapadni ogradni zid (Gr. 17). Dio mu nije bilo moguće istražiti jer je ostao pokriven sjeverozapadnim zidom produžetka longitudinalne crkve iz 18. stoljeća

antechamber (*vestibulum*) was added in front of the burial chamber[87] in the 4th or 5th century. It contained two undecorated and uninscribed sarcophagi. They were equal in size and completely preserved. The large gabled roofs of their lids were steeply angled, each with four massive acroteria at the corners (Fig. 36). They were of a common type used in Roman Dalmatia from the 4th to the end of the 6th century[88]. Then, Christianity was consolidating and after the monumental Roman-period structure had been demolished, the relatively large rotunda with eight conches of differing shapes and sizes was built on the same site at the end of

[91] Analize uzorka žbuke ^{14}C metodom nakon sekvencijalne disolucije za sjeverni dograđeni zid dalo je vremenski raspon od 399. do 537. godine, a za južni između 399. i 540. godine (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2018, str. 40).

[87] The mausoleum with sarcophagi was later overhauled or its interior was divided into two sections. Mortar from the wall separating the burial chamber and the vestibule was dated using the ^{14}C method and sequential dissolution to a period between 537 and 646 (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2018, p. 39).

[88] N. CAMBI, 2004, p. 80. – N. CAMBI, 2013, pp. 31–33.



Fig. 38. Finds from Grave 17 by the northern enclosure wall of the cemetery zone west of the rotunda (not to scale): 1. Bronze triangular bowls (escutcheons); 2. Bone container; 3. Gold earring with granulated joint; 4. Pair of early Carolingian spurs of the Croatian type, found between the graves. (Z. Alajbeg).

the 5th or beginning of the 6th century[89]. It was bonded during construction with the vaulted tomb containing the sarcophagi, which evidently remained in use (Figs. 34, 41, 61.1). It is also important to note that the wall construction technique (*opus incertum*) and thicknesses were the same on both structures. The walls are thinner than those of almost all early medieval rotundas discovered to date in Dalmatia[90]. Thus, the rotunda and the burial chamber with sarcophagi were integrated into a singular cultic and sacral complex. A shift in circumstances at the site around the same time also warranted the addition of a *dromos* with a staircase, which became the new entrance to the tomb with sarcophagi. Shortly after the construction of the rotunda, probably as a new mausoleum or memoria within the Varvaria complex, two parallel walls were added on the north-west and south-west toward the west, presumably as an enclosure or portico above the burial area

[89] A soil sample taken beneath the large apse yielded a date between 438 and 502 (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 33–34). Fragments of lime extracted from the large eastern apse and the small semicircular apse adjoining the square one on the northern side were dated by sequential dissolution to a period between 536 and 607, indicating partial reconstruction or replastering of the interior walls of the rotunda (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2019, p. 40).

[90] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, p. 15.

koji je usporedan sa sjeverozapadnim, starijim dodanim ogradnim zidom groblja uz rotundu. U njemu su kao prilozi bili predmeti koji su karakteristični za sjevernoeuropske prostore, za srednje Podunavlje, ali i za bizantsku kulturnu sferu[92]. Analiza jedne od kostiju iz te grobnice upućuje na sredinu 6. stoljeća[93], što nije nužno i prihvatljivo datiranje za sve predmete pronađene u tom grobu. Zlatna naušnica s granuliranim koljencem pripada grupi srednjobizantskoga zlatnog nakita 8. i ranoga 9. stoljeća (sl. 38.3)[94], koštani recipijent ukrašen mrežom šrafiranih trokuta oblikom je sličan onima pronađenim i u grobovima ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji iz 8. i 9. stoljeća, a karakterističan je za avarska i slavenska groblja na području srednjeg Podunavlja od 7. do 9. stoljeća (sl. 38.2)[95], dok su dvije brončane zdjele trokutastog oblika, *escutcheoni* (*hanging bowls*, *dreieckige Bronzeschalen*), za sada jedini takvi nalazi iz Dalmaciji. Ove posude korištene su u svjetovnoj praksi ali i kršćanskoj liturgiji od sredine 7. do 10. stoljeća, poglavito u Irskoj i sjevernoj Europi, nešto manje u Engleskoj, a samo jedan nalaz poznat je iz središnje Europe (Mikulčice) (sl. 38.1)[96]. Sasvim je izvjesno da je u prostoru predbroda današnje crkve nekada bilo i više grobova ranoga srednjeg vijeka ali su većinom uništeni ukopom velikih grobnica u 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Izravne potvrde takvoj pretpostavci su nalaz oštećenog para ranokarolinških *ostruga hrvatskoga tipa* iz kraja 8. ili početka 9. stoljeća (sl. 38.4) u sekundarnom položaju u rastresitom materijalu između tih grobnica[97] i raniji nalaz masivnog brončanog pozlaćenog jezičca *tipa Hohenberg* iz druge polovine 8. stoljeća na kojemu je ukrasni motiv nasuprotnih S-vitica i pseudogranulirani okvir[98].

Građevinske intervencije u ranom srednjem vijeku uvjetovale i dogradnju ispred staroga ulaza u mauzolej sa sarkofazima jer se u me-

sl. 38. Nalazi iz groba 17 uz sjeverni ogradni zid cemeterijalne zone zapadno od rotunde, predmeti nisu u mjerilu: 1. Brončane zdjele trokutastog oblika (escutcheoni); 2. Koštani recipijent; 3. Zlatna naušnica s granuliranim koljencem; 4. Par ranokarolinških ostruga hrvatskoga tipa (pronađena između grobova) (Z. Alajbeg)

[92] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 25-27.

[93] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 33-34. – V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2018, str. 40.

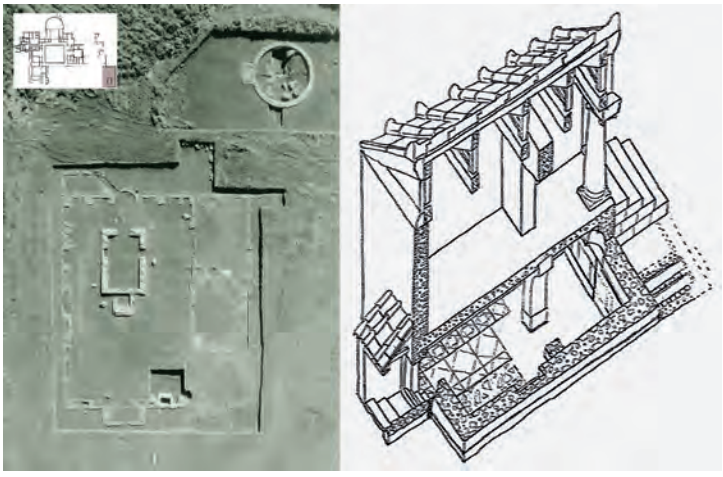
[94] M. PETRINEC, 2009, str. 124-128.

[95] M. SCHULZE DÖRRLAMM, 2001, str. 529-557.

[96] H. STEUER - H. NUGTEREN - K. DUWEL, 2016, osobito str. 69-83.

[97] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 42, sl. 26. O ranokarolinškim ostrugama hrvatskoga tipa vidi u: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, str. 120-122.

[98] M. PETRINEC, 2007, str. 79-81. Otkriven je 1906. godine na bribirskom groblju prilikom izgradnje nove grobnice.



sl. 39.
Hram s grobnicom u sastavu tzv. Villae ad duas lauros na Via Labicana istočno od Rima, početak 3. stoljeća (R. Volpe).
Fig. 39.
Temple with a tomb within the so-called Villa ad duas lauros on the via Labicana east of Rome, early 3rd century (R. Volpe).

đuvremenu podigla i hodna površina uokolo rotunde. U takvim okolnostima vjerojatno je da je memorija sa sarkofazima postala kripta te da je, ako ga i ranije nije imala, dobila nadgrađe na način kako je to bilo ostvareno u hramovima s grobnicama u rimskom graditeljstvu[99]. Za bribirski slučaj vrlo je zanimljiv primjer hrama s grobnicom u okviru privatne vile koja se istražuje već duže vrijeme. Nalazi se na *Via Labicana*, oko 4 milje istočno od Rima (tzv. *Villa ad duas lauros*, sl. 39.1-2), danas u kompleksu sportskog aerodroma Centocelle. Izgrađivala se duže vrijeme, od republikanskog do kasnoantičkog doba (5. – 6. stoljeća), a pretpostavlja se da je hram s grobnicom u njenom sastavu izgrađen početkom 3. stoljeća[100]. Za nas je posebno zanimljiv njegov smještaj u kompleksu vile (sl. 39.1). Slično kao i na Bribiru nalazi se u posebno ograđenom prostoru u sjeveroistočnom uglu vile (sl. 39.2)[101], a prijedlog njegove rekonstrukcije sasvim je prihvatljiva mogućnost i za rekonstrukciju grobnog hrama na Bribiru (sl. 39.2). Hram istoga koncepta u Clitunnu nedaleko Spoleta u Italiji, bez obzira na kontroverze oko njegovog datiranja, upućuje na mogući zaključak da takve izvedbe funkcioniraju i u ranom srednjem vijeku[102]. Ovo tim više jer je bribirska memorija s grobnicom korištena za pokapanje i tijekom ranoga srednjega vijeka,

that had already been formed earlier in front of the rotunda[91]. The most noteworthy finds from this horizon are a tomb of the *a pozzo* type, covered with a monolithic slab with its underside moulded on its longer sides (Figs. 37.1–4), and a damaged grave with multiple burials along the northwestern enclosure wall (Gr. 17). Part of Gr. 17 could not be investigated since it remained covered by the north-western wall of the extension of the 18th-century longitudinal church, parallel to the earlier added enclosure wall of the cemetery adjacent to the rotunda. Grave goods included items characteristic of northern European regions, the central Danube, as well as the Byzantine cultural sphere[92]. Analysis of one bone from this grave indicates a date around the mid-6th century[93], which need not be accepted as the dating for all objects found in the grave. A gold earring with a granulated joint belongs to the group of Middle Byzantine gold jewellery from the 8th and early 9th centuries (Fig. 38.3)[94]; a bone container decorated with mesh-like hatched triangles is similar in form to those unearthed in early medieval graves in Dalmatia from the 8th and 9th centuries and is characteristic of Avar and Slavic cemeteries in the central Danube from the 7th to the 9th centuries (Fig. 38.2)[95]; while two triangular bronze bowls – *escutcheons* (*hanging bowls*, *dreieckige Bronzeschalen*) – are the only such finds from Dalmatia for the time being. These vessels were used for secular purposes as well as in Christian liturgy from the mid-7th to the 10th century, primarily in Ireland and northern Europe, somewhat less in England, whereas there is only one known find from Central Europe (Mikulčice) (Fig. 38.1)[96]. It is quite certain that there used to be more early medieval graves in the narthex of the present church, but most were destroyed by large tombs made in the 19th and early 20th centu-

99 P. GROS, 2001, str. 444-454.
100 R. VOLPE, 2003, str. 214-217.
101 M. IPPOLITI, 2013, str. 219-222.
102 J. J. EMERICK, 1998. – Ch. B. McCLENDON, 2005, str. 50-54. – J. J. EMERICK, 2014, str. 41-71. – G. BINAZZI, 2014, str. 1-47.

91 Analyses of mortar samples using the ^{14}C method after sequential dissolution yielded a time span from 399 to 537 for the northern annexed wall, and from 399 to 540 for the southern wall (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2018, p. 40).
92 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 25–27.
93 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 33–34. – V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2018, p. 40.
94 M. PETRINEC, 2009, pp. 124–128.
95 M. SCHULZE DÖRRLAMM, 2001, pp. 529–557.
96 H. STEUER – H. NUGTEREN – K. DUWEL, 2016, especially pp. 69–83.



sl. 40. Ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi u vestibulu mauzoleja sa sarkofazima na Bribirskoj glavici (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 40. Early medieval graves in the vestibule of the mausoleum with sarcophagi at Bribirska glavica (Z. Alajbeg).

ries. This assumption is directly confirmed by the find of a damaged pair of early Carolingian *spurs of Croatian type* from the late 8th or early 9th centuries (Fig. 38.4) in a secondary position within loose material among the graves[97], and by the earlier find of a massive bronze gilded strap-end of the *Hohenberg type* from the second half of the 8th century, decorated with a motif of opposite S-shaped tendrils and a pseudo-granulated frame[98].

Architectural interventions in the early Middle Ages also required an extension in front of the old entrance to the mausoleum with sarcophagi, since the floor surface around the rotunda had been raised in the meantime. Under such circumstances, the vaulted tomb with sarcophagi likely became a crypt and acquired a superstructure, if it had not already had one, in the manner used in Roman temples with tombs[99]. A particularly interesting example in relation to the case of Bribir is a temple with a tomb within a private villa which has been researched for quite some time. It is located on the *via Labicana*, about four miles east of Rome

dok je i rotunda bila u funkciji. U pretprostoru, u vestibulu ispred komore sa sarkofazima, na objema stranama od ulaza, bila su dva groba iz 9. stoljeća (sl. 40)[103], a sarkofazi su korišteni za pokapanje sve do srednjeg vijeka. Kao dio istraživanja 2014. godine, dva sarkofaga u memoriji ponovo su bila otvorena. Pokazalo se da je sjeverni sarkofag bio potpuno prazan i posve očišćen, dok je u južnom sarkofagu bilo više ljudskih kostiju koje su pripadale trima osobama. Njihovo radiokarbonsko datiranje pokazalo je da je riječ o ukopima iz 12. stoljeća[104]. Uzimajući u obzir činjenicu da je korištenje memorije, barem neko vrijeme u početku, bilo usklađeno s funkcijom višekonhne rotunde, kosturni ostatci iz južnog sarkofaga mogli bi se izjednačiti i s razdobljem u kojem je rotunda još uvijek bila u funkciji[105]. Za buduća istraživanja na ovu temu važan je i jedan podatak zabilježen u dnevniku istraživanja iz 1969. godine u kojemu stoji da je do uzglavne strane južnog sarkofaga pronađena mala zlatna naušnica "tipa Golubić", ma što to značilo[106].

97 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 42, Fig. 26. For early Carolingian spurs of the Croatian type, see: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, pp. 120–122.

98 M. PETRINEC, 2007, pp. 79–81. It was discovered in 1906 at the Bribir cemetery during the construction of a new tomb.

99 P. GROS, 2001, pp. 444–454.

103 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 42. Analizom jednog od kostura iz groba 49 pronađenog u grobnici s južne strane dobiveno je vrijeme između 885. i 995. godine.

104 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 28

105 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 20-21. V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 27. Među kostima iz južnog sarkofaga bilo je i onih koje su na sebi imale leprozne tragove.

106 Podatak iz dnevnika istraživanja za 1969. godinu, koji se danas nalazi u Mu-





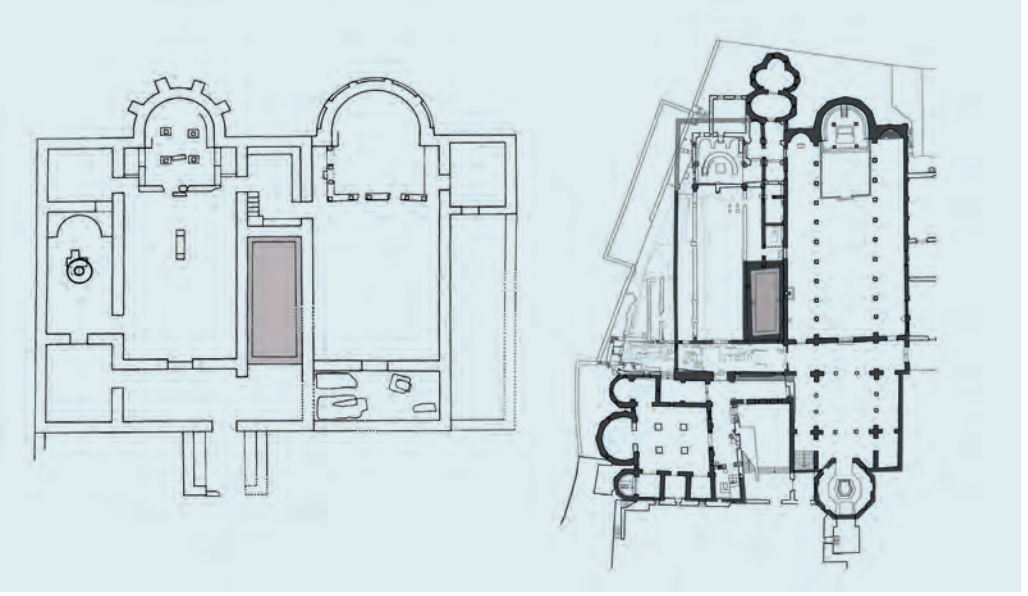
sl. 41.
Cisterna između rotunde i mauzoleja sa sarkofazima:
1. (gore lijevo) Pogled odozgo (Z. Alajbeg);
2. (gore desno) Tlocrt situacije;
3. (dolje) Vodootporna unutrašnja žbuka (A. Milošević).
Fig. 41.
Cistern between the rotunda and the mausoleum with sarcophagi:
1. (top left) View from above (Z. Alajbeg);
2. (top right) Ground plan;
3. (bottom) Waterproof interior plaster (A. Milošević).

U neko doba, između kasne antike i ranoga srednjega vijeka, a svakako prije kraja 7. stoljeća, ograđeni prostor između memorije sa sarkofazima, velikog ogradnog zida gradske vile, dijela velike apside rotunde i njene sjeveroistočne konhe, pretvoren je u cisternu trokutastog oblika s četvrtastom udubinom približno po sredini dna (sl. 41.1-2). Cijeli prostor, zidovi i dno, ožbukani su joj vodootpornom žbukom u nekoliko slojeva (sl. 41.3), a kritična mjesta

(the so-called *Villa ad Duas Lauros*, Figs. 39.1–2), today within the Centocelle sports airfield complex. It was built over a long period, from the Republican to the late antique era (the 5th–6th centuries), and it is assumed that the temple with a tomb within it was erected at the beginning of the 3rd century[100]. Of particular interest to us is its siting within the villa complex (Fig. 39.1). Similarly to Bribir, it is located in a specially enclosed area in the north-eastern corner of the villa (Fig. 39.2)[101]. Its proposed reconstruction is a quite acceptable option for reconstructing the funerary temple at Bribir as well (Fig. 39.2). A temple of the same concept at Clitunno near Spoleto in Italy, regardless of controversies concerning its dating, suggests the possible conclusion that such concepts were in use even in the early Middle Ages[102]. This is all the more so in that the Bribir vaulted tomb continued to be used for burials during the early Middle Ages as well, while the rotunda was also in service. On both sides of the entrance in the anteroom, the vestibule in front of the chamber with sarcophagi, there were two graves from the 9th century (Fig. 40)[103], and the sarcophagi were used for burials all the way until the Middle Ages. The two sarcophagi in the memoria were reopened during the 2014 research. It was found that the northern sarcophagus was empty and thoroughly cleaned, while the southern one contained multiple human bones belonging to three individuals. Radiocarbon dating showed that the burials were from the 12th century[104]. Taking into account the fact that the use of the memoria, at least for a while initially, was in line with the purpose of the multiconch rotunda, the skeletal remains from the southern sarcophagus could also be associated with the period when the rotunda was still in use[105]. For future research on this topic, it is important to note a piece of infor-

zeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, zabilježen je pod datumom 9. listopada, v. isto D. DŽINO, 2021, str. 125, 143 bilj. 105. U dnevniku, na žalost i nasuprot uobičajenoj praksi, nema njenog crteža, a ako trebamo suditi po njenom zabilježenom tipološkom određenju, onda je riječ o naušnicama s različito izvedenim filigranskim oblicima na donjem dijelu karičice. Uobičajeno se tumači da je riječ o nakitu kojemu je izvorište u bizantskom zlatarstvu 7. i 8. stoljeća. U fundusu Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu danas se nalazi nekoliko takvih naušnica s nepoznatih nalazišta i nije isključeno da je jedna od njih upravo iz mauzoleja sa sarkofazima na Bribiru. O naušnicama tzv. golubićkog tipa vidi u: M. PETRINEC, 2019, str. 3-122, naušnice s nepoznatih nalazišta u Muzeju HAS na str. 53, sl. 28.

[100] R. VOLPE, 2003, pp. 214–217.
[101] M. IPPOLITI, 2013, pp. 219–222.
[102] J. J. EMERICK, 1998. – Ch. B. McCLENDON, 2005, pp. 50–54. – J. J. EMERICK, 2014, pp. 41–71. – G. BINAZZI, 2014, pp. 1–47.
[103] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 42. Analysis of one of the skeletons from Grave 49, discovered in the tomb on the southern side, yielded a date between 885 and 995.
[104] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 28.
[105] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, pp. 20–21. V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 27. Some of the bones from the southern sarcophagus had traces of leprosy.



sl. 42. Umetnute cisterne ranokršćanskih crkava, tlocrti nisu u mjerilu: 1. (lijevo) Srima (Z. Gunjača/A. Milošević); 2. (desno) Kompleks Eufrazijane u Poreču (I. Matejčić/ A. Milošević).
Fig. 42. Inserted cisterns of early Christian churches (ground plans are not to scale): 1. (left) Srima (Z. Gunjača/A. Milošević); 2. (right) Euphrasian complex in Poreč (I. Matejčić/ A. Milošević).

mation recorded in the excavation diary from 1969, stating that a small gold earring of the "Golubić type" had been found near the head end of the southern sarcophagus, whatever that may mean[106].

At some point between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and certainly before the end of the 7th century, the enclosed space between the memoria with sarcophagi, the large enclosure wall of the urban villa, a section of the large apse of the rotunda, and its north-eastern conch, was converted into a triangular cistern with a square recess roughly at the centre of its bottom (Figs. 41.1–2). The entire space, i.e. the walls and bottom, was covered with several layers of waterproof plaster (Fig. 41.3), and critical points (the corner between the rotunda and the mausoleum with sarcophagi and the small north-eastern conch, and the corner between the Roman enclosure wall and (ugao između rotunde i mauzoleja sa sarkofazima i male sjeveroistočne konhe te ugao između ogradnog rimskoga zida i sjeveroistočne polovice velike apside) dodatno su ispunjeni i plombirani manjim dodanim zidanim konstrukcijama. Taj zahvat je bio nužan jer je razina dna cisterne bila iznad temeljnih stopa zidova rotunde i još je viša od dna grobne komore sa sarkofazima. Slična zidana ojačanja izvedena su i u naknadno uređenoj cisterni između dvojnih ranokršćanskih crkava u Srimi (Prižba) kod Šibenika (sl. 42.1)[107] te u kompleksu Eufrazijane u Poreču (sl. 42.2)[108]. Prema pokretnim arheološkim nalazima iz nasipa u cisterni, postoji mogućnost da se ona urušila ili je zatrpana u drugoj polovini 7. stoljeća. Na takvu pretpostavku upućuje nalaz fragmenta jelenjeg roga i jedna gotovo cijela amfora koji su pronađeni na dnu cisterne. Metodom ^{14}C jelenji rog je datiran u razdoblje između 545. i 600. godine, a sjevernoafrička amfora (tip *Spatheion 3C/Keay 26*) od druge polovine 6. do kraja 7. stoljeća[109]. Istina, ti su predmeti u cisternu mogli dospjeti i u vrijeme dok je ona bila u funkciji; jelenji parožak kao kuka na kojoj je visjela posuda za uzimanje vode i amfora iste funkcije. Ono pak, što je sigurno jest podatak da je cisterna bila pokrivena nekakvom svodovnom konstrukcijom i kro-

[106] The entry from the excavation diary for 1969, now kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, is recorded under the date 9 October; see also D. DŽINO, 2021, pp. 125, 143, note 105. Unfortunately and contrary to the common practice, there is no drawing of it in the diary, and if one is to judge by its recorded typological classification, the earrings had different filigree shapes on the lower part of the circlets. It is commonly interpreted as a piece of jewellery originating in Byzantine goldsmithing of the 7th and 8th centuries. Several such earrings from unknown find sites are today kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, and it cannot be excluded that one of them originates precisely from the mausoleum with sarcophagi at Bribir. For earrings of the so-called Golubić type, see: M. PETRINEC, 2019, pp. 3–122; earrings from unknown find sites in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments on p. 53, Fig. 28.

[107] Z. GUNJAČA, 1985, str. 16. – Z. GUNJAČA, 1991, str. 269-290.
[108] I. MATEJČIĆ, 2007, str. 62-63, sl. 111.5. – I. MATEJČIĆ - P. CHEVALIER, 1998, str. 361-362.
[109] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 23-24, sl. 17, 18.



sl. 43. Nalazi ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture i natpisa u istraživanjima na Bribirskoj glavici 2014. - 2016. godine, nije u mjerilu: 1. Greda s natpisom ...(F)IERI ROCAVI(T)...; 2.-3. Fragmenti s ostacima pletera; 4. Fragment; 5. Mali kapitel s bazom ovalnoga četvrtastog presjeka; 6.-7. Sitni fragmenti; 8. Fragment natpisa i pleterne dekoracije (Z. Alajbeg).

Fig. 43. Early medieval sculpture and inscription finds from excavations at Bribirska glavica, 2014–2016 (not to scale): 1. Beam with inscription ...(F)IERI ROCAVI(T)...; 2–3. Fragments with remains of interlace; 4. Fragment; 5. Small capital with a base of oval square section; 6–7. Small fragments; 8. Fragment of an inscription and interlace decoration (Z. Alajbeg).

vom od tegula jer joj je cijela unutrašnjost bila ispunjena nasipom od građevinskog kamena i ulomcima krovnog crijepa, što na drugim dijelovima lokaliteta nije zabilježeno.

Nekadašnja memorijalna rotunda je u prvim desetljećima 9. stoljeća pretvorena u crkvu kada je opremljena liturgijskim namještajem (sl. 43)[110]. Jedna cjelovita greda s natpisom ... [f] IERI ROC(=G)AVI[t]... i karakteristično koso isklesanim užim stranama na kojima su elementi (žlijeb i rebro) za spajanje s drugim dijelovima trabeacije oltarne ograde, vjerojatno iz prvih desetljeća 9. stoljeća (sl. 43.1), doprinijela je spoznaji o novoj inačici zabata u hrvatskoj predromanici[111]. Intervencije u interijeru bribirske rotunde periodično su se događale i u mlađim desetljećima. Prvi put u vrijeme vladavine kneza Branimira, što je posvjedočeno fragmentom natpisa koji ga spominje (sl. 44), a potom još nekoliko puta, sve do rane romanike o čemu sudimo po fragmentima dekorativne arhitektonske plastike i liturgijskog namještaja[112]. Prema stratigrafskim odnosima i pokretnim arheološkim nalazima moguće je pretpostaviti da je takva rotunda bila u funkciji sve do druge polovine 14. stoljeća kada su joj zidovi u znatnoj mjeri bili porušeni, a u njenome srednjem dijelu i nad velikom istočnom apsidom sagrađena

the north-eastern half of the large apse) were additionally filled and sealed with small added stonework. This effort was necessary because the level of the cistern bottom lay above the foundation footings of the rotunda walls and was even higher than the bottom of the burial chamber with sarcophagi. Similar masonry reinforcements were also subsequently made in the cistern between the twin early Christian churches at Srima (Prižba) near Šibenik (Fig. 42.1)[107], and in the Euphrasian complex at Poreč (Fig. 42.2)[108]. Based on portable archaeological finds from the fill in the cistern, there is a possibility that it collapsed or was filled in during the second half of the 7th century. This assumption is suggested by the fragment of a red deer antler and a nearly complete small amphora unearthed at the bottom of the cistern. The ^{14}C method dated the deer antler to the period between 545 and 600, and the North African amphora (of the *Spatheion 3C/Keay 26* type) to the time from the second half of the 6th to the end of the 7th century[109]. To be sure, these objects could also have ended up in the cistern while it was still in use – the deer antler as a hook from which water-drawing vessels were hung, and the amphora for the same purpose. What is certain, however, is that the cistern was covered by some kind of vaulted construction with tegula roofing, since its entire interior was filled with building stone rubble and fragments

[110] Pored pronađenih ulomaka koji su pripadali ranosrednjovjekovnoj oltarnoj ogradi u rotundi, njeno postojanje potvrđuje i nalaz temeljnih kamenih blokova s utorima u koje su bili ulagani pilastri. Usp. V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 16-22, 37-39. Ranije pronađeni ulomci ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture s Bribira publicirani su u: T. BURIĆ, 1986, str. 107-124. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2009, str. 11-41.

[111] O kosoj gredi zabata oltarne ograde u: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2018, str. 453-458.

[112] S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, str. 235, T. 2. – T. BURIĆ, 1986, str. 110-111, T. IV.

[107] Z. GUNJAČA, 1985, p. 16. – Z. GUNJAČA, 1991, pp. 269–290.

[108] I. MATEJČIĆ, 2007, pp. 62–63, Fig. 111.5. – I. MATEJČIĆ – P. CHEVALIER, 1998, pp. 361–362.

[109] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 23–24, Figs. 17, 18.

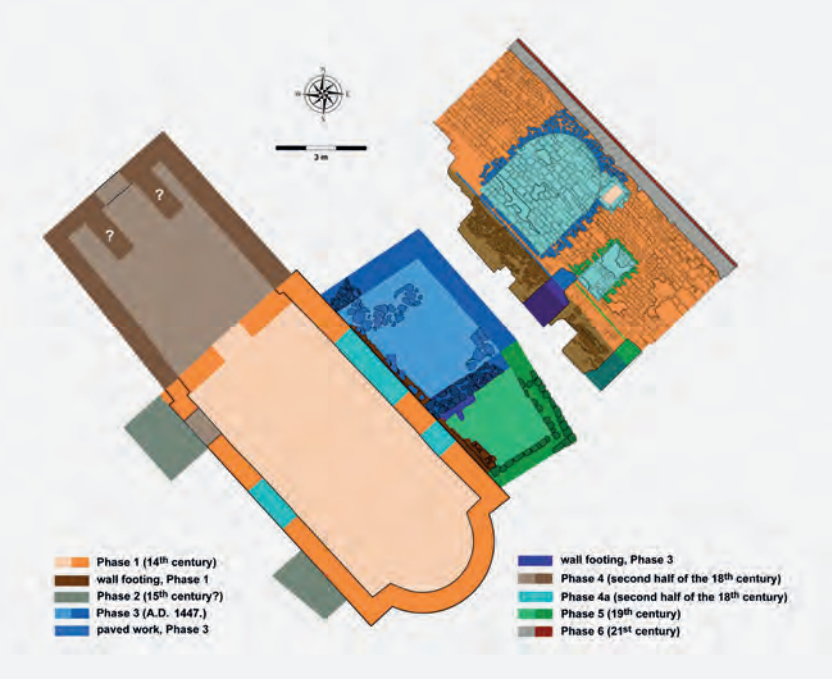


Fig. 44. Fragments of a late antique sarcophagus with an added inscription from the period of Duke Branimir (A. Milošević).

sl. 44. Fragmenti kasnoantičkog sarkofaga s dodanim natpisom iz vremena kneza Branimira (A. Milošević).

of roof tiles, which has not been recorded in other parts of the site.

The former memorial rotunda was converted into a church in the first decades of the 9th century, when it was equipped with liturgical furniture (Fig. 43)[110]. A complete beam with the inscription ...[f]IERI ROC(=G)AVI[t]... and with narrow sides characteristically cut at an angle and elements (groove and tongue) for joining with other parts of the altar screen trabeation, probably from the first decades of the 9th century (Fig. 43.1), contributed to the recognition of a new variant of gable design in Croatian pre-Romanesque art[111]. Undertakings in the interior of the Bribir rotunda also took place periodically in later decades. The first dates to the reign of Duke Branimir, as attested by a fragment of an inscription mentioning him (Fig. 44), and several others followed, all the way to the early Romanesque period, as indicated by fragments of decorative architectural sculpture



sl. 45. Kronologija i stratigrafija zidova u sondi uz današnju crkvu sv. Joakima i Ane (ex Sv. Ivan iz 14. stoljeća) sa sjeverozapadne strane (V. Ghica)

Fig. 45. Chronology and stratigraphy of walls in a trench next to the present-day church of Sts. Joachim and Anne (former St. John from the 14th century) on the north-western side (V. Ghica).

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je nova jednobrodna jednoapsidna crkva, kao dio tadašnje opatije sv. Ivana i kao cemeterijalna građevina za grobove plemenitih Šubića[113]. Analiza skeletnih ostataka iz dvaju sarkofaga u susjednoj kasnoantičkoj memoriji pokazuje da je i taj prostor, možda i za članove istog roda, korišten kao ukopište i u kasnom srednjem vi-

[110] In addition to the discovered fragments that belonged to the early medieval chancel screen in the rotunda, its existence is also confirmed by the uncovering of foundation stone blocks with grooves into which pilasters had been inserted. Cf. V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 16–22, 37–39. The fragments of early medieval sculpture from Bribir discovered at an earlier date were published in: T. BURIĆ, 1986, pp. 107–124. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2009, pp. 11–41.

[111] For the sloping beam of the altar screen gable, see: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2018, pp. 453–458.

[113] M. ZEKAN, 2012, str. 165-175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2020, str. 461-484.



sl. 46.
Rukopisna karta Bribira s crkvom sv. Ane na Glavici, 18. stoljeće (planoteka Konzervatorskog ureda u Splitu).
Fig. 46.
Hand-drawn map of Bribir with the church of St. Anne at Glavica, 18th century (plan archive of the Conservation Office in Split).

jeku[114]. Tijekom istraživanja u 2014. godini precizno je utvrđena i stratigrafija zidova kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Ivana i sviju dogradnja koje su potom uslijedile (sl. 45)[115]. Također je utvrđeno da veliki zazidani lučni otvor, koji je bio vidljiv na sjeverozapadnom zidu te crkve s unutrašnje i vanjske strane, nije ni u kakvom odnosu s rotundom, nego da je riječ o ostatku bočne kapele, tj. sakristije koju je u kompleksu opatijske crkve sv. Ivana, 1447. godine, po nalogu bribirskih knezova dogradio zadarski majstor Vidul Ivanov sa sinovima[116]. Stratigrafski odnosi na tom dijelu lokaliteta ukazuju i na zaključak da u to vrijeme mauzolej sa sarkofazima više nije bio u funkciji jer ga je ta dograđena prostorija preslojila.

U takvome stanju cijeli je kompleks dočekao turska osvajanja tijekom kojih se naselje na Bribirskoj glavici pomalo gasilo[117], a Šubići koji su ga do tada držali, u međuvremenu su se dijelom preselili u sjevernu Hrvatsku, najprije u Zrin u Pounju, prema kojemu su dobili i novi pridjevak Zrinski[118].

Tijekom turske vladavine, a osobito nakon izgona Osmanlija, krajem 17. i početkom 18. stoljeća, uokolo Bribirske glavice se doseljava novo pravoslavno stanovništvo. Doseljenje je

114 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 27.
115 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 21-29.
116 C. FISKOVIĆ, 1959a, str. 72. – M. ZEKAN, 2012, str. 166.
117 M. URSINUS, 2022, str. 85-99.
118 K. BABIĆ - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2020, str. 49-77.

and liturgical furniture[112]. Based on stratigraphic relationships and portable archaeological finds, it can be assumed that the rotunda remained in use as such until the second half of the 14th century, when its walls were largely torn down and a new single-nave, single-apse church was built in its central area and above the large eastern apse as part of the then Abbey of St. John and as a funerary building for the graves of the noble Šubić kindred[113]. Analysis of skeletal remains from the two sarcophagi in the adjacent late antique memoria indicates that this space was also used for burials in the late Middle Ages, possibly for members of the same kindred[114]. During the 2014 research, the stratigraphy of the walls of the late medieval church of St. John and all subsequent additions was precisely established (Fig. 45)[115]. It was also determined that the large walled-up arched opening, visible on the north-western wall of the church from both the interior and exterior, was not related to the rotunda at all, but represented the remains of a side chapel, i.e. a sacristy, added to the abbey church complex of St. John in 1447 by order of the Bribir dukes, built by the Zadar master Vidul Ivanov with his sons[116]. Stratigraphic relationships in this part of the site also indicate that the mausoleum with sarcophagi was no longer in use at the time, since it was overlain by the mentioned added structure.

The entire complex as such met the Ottoman conquests, during which the settlement at Bribirska glavica gradually waned[117], while the Šubićs, who had held it until then, partly relocated to northern Croatia, first to Zrin in the Una basin, from which they acquired the additional family name Zrinski[118].

During Ottoman rule, and especially after the expulsion of the Ottomans at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, a new Orthodox population settled around Bribirska glavica. This immigration was en-

112 S. GUNJAČA, 1968a, p. 235, Pl. 2. – T. BURIĆ, 1986, pp. 110–111, Pl. IV.
113 M. ZEKAN, 2012, pp. 165–175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2020, pp. 461–484.
114 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 27.
115 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, pp. 21–29.
116 C. FISKOVIĆ, 1959a, p. 72. – M. ZEKAN, 2012, p. 166.
117 M. URSINUS, 2022, pp. 85–99.
118 K. BABIĆ – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2020, pp. 49–77.







couraged by the Venetian Republic and also by Orthodox priests who had fled from the Dragović monastery on the Cetina River during Ottoman rule and found new refuge in the very former abbey church at Bribir (Fig. 46)[119]. In the 18th century, they adapted it to their religious purposes through alterations, extend-

poticala Mletačka Republika, a također, i pravoslavni svećenici koji su tijekom turske vlasti izbjegli iz manastira Dragović u Cetini našavši novo utočište upravo u nekadašnjoj opatijskoj crkvi na Bribiru (sl. 46)[119]. U 18. stoljeću su je pregradnjama prilagodili svojim vjerskim potrebama, a crkveni brod su produžili prema

[119] V. KAPITANOVIĆ, 2008, pp. 45–46. – V. KAPITANOVIĆ, 2011, pp. 57–98. The geographical sketch of Bribirska glavica and its surroundings, probably from the 18th century and presented herein, is kept in the Conservation Office of the Ministry of Culture in Split. I would like to thank my colleague Vanja Kovačić for the information regarding this map.

[119] V. KAPITANOVIĆ, 2008, str. 45-46. – V. KAPITANOVIĆ, 2011, str. 57-98. Zemljopisna skica Bribirske glavice s okolicom, vjerojatno iz 18. stoljeća, koju ovdje donosimo, nalazi se u Konzervatorskom uredu Ministarstva kulture u Splitu. Zahvaljujem kolegici Vanji Kovačić za podatak o toj karti.

zapadu, potpuno uklonivši fasadu starije crkve. Zidovi toga produženja su slabije strukture i plići su utemeljeni od ostalih zidova kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve. U to vrijeme napravljeni su i temelji za aksijalni pročelni zvonik koji nikada nije izveden. U tim temeljima, kao spolije, bilo je ugrađeno nekoliko antičkih i ranosrednjovjekovnih spomenika (sl. 47.1-3).

ing the church nave westward and completely removing the façade of the earlier church. The walls of this extension were weaker and their foundations shallower compared to the other walls of the late medieval church. At that time, foundations were also laid for an axial façade bell tower that was never built. Several ancient and early medieval monuments were incorporated as spolia within these foundations (Figs. 47.1–3).

sl. 47. Temelji nerealiziranog pročelnog aksijalnog zvonika iz 18. stoljeća na zapadnoj strani produžetka današnje crkve: 1. (gore) Situacija tijekom istraživanja; 2. (dolje lijevo) Južni temelj s antičkim spolijima; 3. (dolje desno) Sjeverni temelj s prepolovljenim kamenim blokom na kojemu je tabula ansata s radiranim natpisom (A. Milošević)

Fig. 47. Foundations of an unbuilt axial façade bell tower from the 18th century on the western side of the extension of the present-day church: 1. (top) Situation during the excavations; 2. (bottom left) Southern foundation with ancient spolia; 3. (bottom right) Northern foundation with a halved stone block bearing a tabula ansata with an erased inscription (A. Milošević).



V.

O staroj bribirskoj rotundi u novoj epohi

On the old Bribir rotunda in a new epoch



Undoubtedly the most significant result of the research conducted between 2014 and 2016 concerns the confirmation that the Bribir rotunda is not an early medieval structure but a late antique building, and that it forms part of a complex architectural ensemble that developed over the course of almost two millennia[120]. Equally important is the realisation that the entire cemeterial–sacral complex in which the rotunda was located was, at the time of its construction, part of a large urban villa, whose foundation remains were excavated on several occasions during the 20th century, north of the village cemetery. In addition to the finds of fragments of early Christian sculpture that belonged to it, this can be reliably asserted based on several other facts:

1. The long wall against which the large apse abuts and which encloses the rotunda is located to the north-east of it and extends far to the north-east as part of the perimeter wall of the mentioned villa. The axis of the rotunda shows the same deviation from true north as the walls of the same villa (Fig. 48)[121].

2. The construction of memoriae within agricultural-residential estates was not unknown in late antique Dalmatia, as demonstrated by the example of the villa at Muline on the island of Ugljan[122].

3. Luminescence dating of a soil sample taken near to the angular apse of the rotunda yields a date no later than the beginning of the 6th century[123].

4. A number of portable archaeological finds that date to the early Christian period have been unearthed during the excavations of the rotunda conducted to date (Fig. 49). Notable finds include a three-dimensional sculpture of a dove from the chamber with sarcophagi (Fig. 50), a very rare discovery of this kind in Dalmatia, and a fragment of a glass bottle with a relief Christogram on its base (Fig. 51)[124].

Od svih rezultata postignutih u istraživanjima 2014. – 2016. godine, nesumnjivo je najznačajniji onaj kojim se može potvrditi da u slučaju bribirske rotunde nije riječ o ranosrednjovjekovnoj, nego o kasnoantičkoj građevini, te da je ona dio složenoga arhitektonskoga sklopa koji se razvijao tijekom gotovo dva milenija[120]. Također je i važna spoznaja da je cijeli cemeterijalno-sakralni kompleks u kojemu se nalazila i rotunda u vrijeme izgradnje bio dio velike urbane vile, čiji su temeljni ostatci iskopavani u više navrata tijekom 20. stoljeća, sjeverno od seoskoga groblja. Osim po nalazima fragmenata ranokršćanske skulpture koji su joj pripadali, to se pouzdano može tvrditi iz još nekoliko činjenica:

1. Dugački zid na kojega je naslonjena velika apsida i koji ograđuje rotundu, nalazi se sjeveroistočno od nje i proteže se daleko prema sjeveroistoku kao dio perimetralnog zida spomenute vile. Os rotunde pokazuje jednak otklon od sjevera kao i zidovi iste te vile (sl. 48)[121].

2. Gradnja memorija u sklopu gospodarsko-ladanjskih zdanja nije bila nepoznata u kasnoantičkoj Dalmaciji, kako to pokazuje primjer u vili u Mulinama na otoku Ugljanu[122].

3. Mjerenje luminiscencije uzorka tla uz uglatu apsidu rotunde daje datum koji nije mlađi od početka 6. stoljeća[123].

4. Tijekom dosadašnjih istraživanja rotunde pronađeno je više pokretnih arheoloških nalaza koji potječu iz ranokršćanskog doba (sl. 49). Osobiti nalazi su trodimenzionalna skulptura golubice u komori sa sarkofazima (sl. 50), kao vrlo rijedak takav nalaz u Dalmaciji te fragment staklene boce s reljefnim kristogramom na dnu (sl. 51)[124].

5. Svi segmenti rotunde projektirani su u rimskim stopama (1 stopa = 29,60 cm) s time da su nepravilnosti u tlocrtu rezultat pogrešnoga

120 We have already provided a brief report on the results, in favour of the rotunda, in: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017a, pp. 186–205. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA, 2020, pp. 37–39.
121 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 30.
122 M. SUIĆ, 1996, pp. 659–688.
123 V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 33.
124 M. SUIĆ, 1995, pp. 294–300. The sculpture of the dove was stolen from

120 O postignutim rezultatima, favorizirajući rotundu, već smo kratko izvijestili u: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017a, str. 186-205. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA, 2020, str. 37-39.
121 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 30.
122 M. SUIĆ, 1996, str. 659-688.
123 V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 33.
124 M. SUIĆ, 1995, str. 294-300. Skulptura golubice je, tijekom Domovinskog rata, 1991. – 1995. godine, otuđena iz muzejske zbirke na Bribirskoj glavici. Izvorno je vjerojatno stajala kao akroterij na sljemenu dvoslivnoga krova iznad mauzoleja sa sarkofazima.

sl. 48. Urbanistički položaj rotunde uz kasnoantičku urbanu vilu na Bribirskoj glavici (V. Ghica).

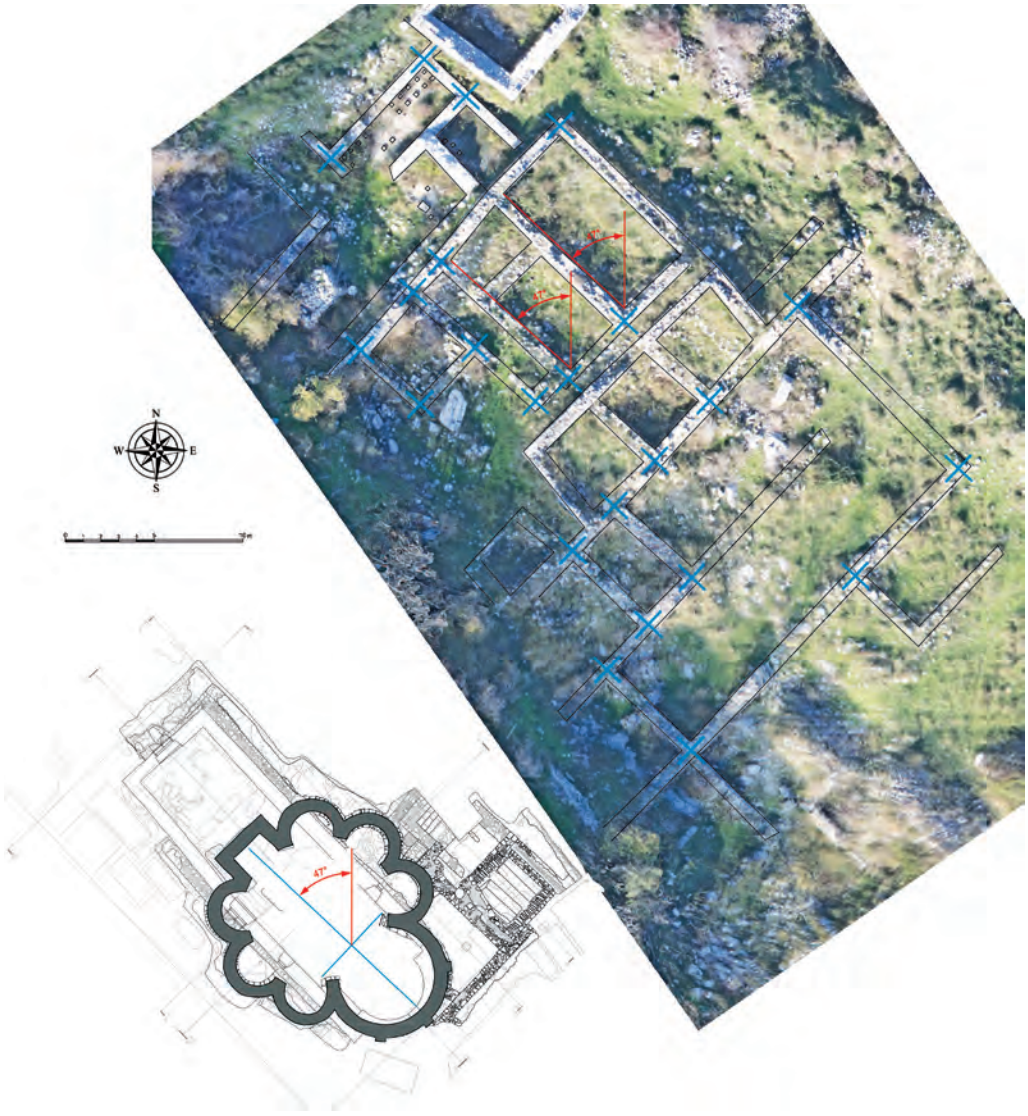


Fig. 48. Plan location of the rotunda next to the late antique urban villa at Bribirska glavica (V. Ghica).

prijenosa nacrta u vrijeme njene izgradnje, o čemu će još biti riječi (sl. 52.1). Debljina zidova iznad temeljne stope iznosi približno dvije stope, a određena je na način da je po osi svih njenih segmenata dodan zid u širini od jedne stope (sl. 52.2).

(Antički i) kasnoantički uzori za Bribirsku rotundu

Prema rezultatima dosadašnjih istraživanja može se zaključiti da je bribirska rotunda građevina iz kraja 5. ili početka 6. stoljeća, nastala u kršćanskom ozračju. S kasnoantičkom Varvarijom, u teritorijalnom smislu morala je pripadati skardonitanskoj biskupiji, kojoj opseg nije pouzdano utvrđen (osim u donjem toku rijeke

5. All segments of the rotunda were designed using Roman feet (1 foot = 29.60 cm), whereas the irregularities in the ground plan were due to errors in executing the plans at the time of construction, which will be discussed further below (Fig. 52.1). The thickness of the walls above the foundation footing is approximately two Roman feet, determined by adding a wall one foot wide along the axis of all its segments (Fig. 52.2).

(Ancient and) late antique models for the Bribir rotunda

Based on the results of research to date, it can be concluded that the Bribir rotunda is a building from the late 5th or early 6th century, made



Fig. 49. Early Christian sculpture finds from the 2014–2016 excavations (not to scale): 1. Impost capital with a cross; 2. Fragment; 3. Part of a lintel with a carved Christogram; 4. Smaller fragments; 5. Transenna (partial reconstruction) (Z. Alajbeg).

sl. 49. Nalazi ranokršćanskih skulptura u istraživanjima 2014. - 2016. godine, nisu u mjerilu: 1. Impost kapitel s križem; 2. Fragment; 3. Dio nadvratnika s uklesanim kristogramom; 4. Sitniji fragmenti; 5. Tranzena (djelomična rekonstrukcija) (Z. Alajbeg).

in a Christian milieu. In territorial terms, together with late antique Varvaria, it must have belonged to the bishopric of Scardona, the extent of which has not been reliably established (except in the lower course of the Krka River, where it has a known boundary with the archbishopric of Salona), and which, according to the available historical sources, ceased to exist around the year 530[125]. This information is very important, since now it is possible to compare and associate the Bribir rotunda with similar architectural concepts and buildings made elsewhere in the Roman Empire, to a lesser extent in its eastern part. Consequently, their general contextualisation is essential, viz. form and purpose, spatial placement, as well as investors and social circumstances in which they were created.

It has already been pointed out in scholarly works that, for instance, the well-known building in Rome, most often referred to as *Minerva Medica* (originally the *Licinian Nymphaeum*, presumed to have been located in a garden adjacent to the Emperor's palace), has nine semicircular conches radially arranged around its central circular form (Fig. 53.2), while the space of the tenth is occupied by a large entrance[126]. Its first rendition featured two opposing conch-



sl. 50. Trodimenzionalna skulptura golubice, vjerojatno u funkciji akroterija na krovu mauzoleja sa sarkofazima: 1. (gore) Podatci iz dnevnika istraživanja iz 1969. godine; 2. (sredina) Arhivska fotografija; 3. (dolje) Crtež K. Rončevića iz 1974. godine.

Fig. 50. Three-dimensional sculpture of a dove, probably used as the acroterion on the roof of the mausoleum with sarcophagi: 1. (top) Data from the excavation diary from 1969; 2. (middle) Archival photograph; 3. (bottom) Drawing made by K. Rončević in 1974.

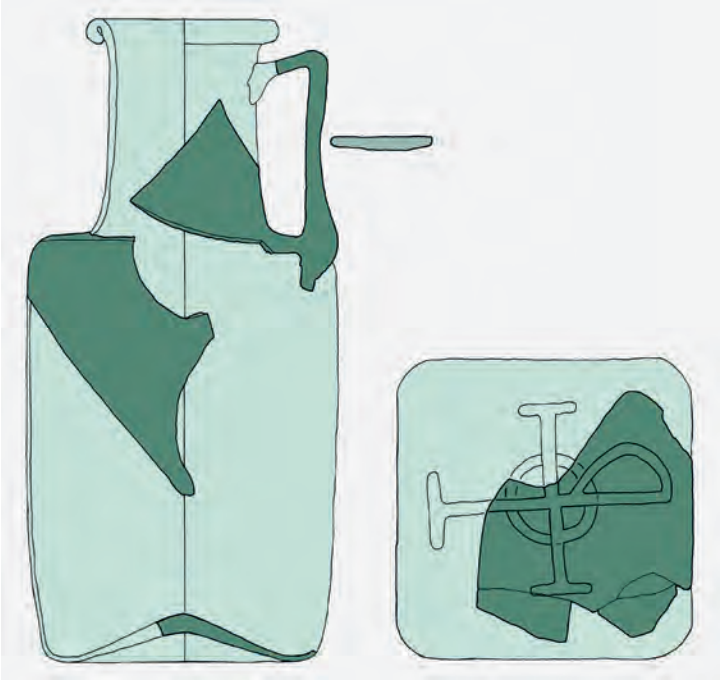
Krke gdje ima poznatu granicu sa salonitanskom nadbiskupijom) i koja je, prema dostupnim povijesnim izvorima, prestala egzistirati oko 530. godine[125]. Ti su podatci vrlo važni jer je sada bribirsku rotundu moguće uspoređivati i

the museum collection at Bribirska glavica during the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995). It was probably originally used as an acroterion on the ridge of the gabled roof above the mausoleum with sarcophagi.

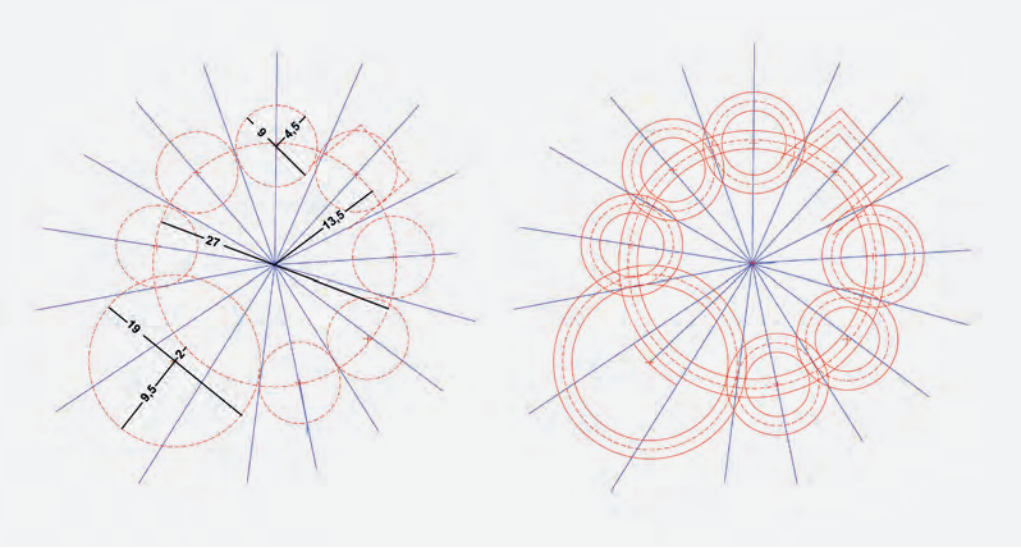
125 I. BASIĆ, 2009, pp. 43–89. – I. BASIĆ, 2010, pp. 167–184.

126 G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, pp. 182–187.

125 I. BASIĆ, 2009, str. 43-89. – I. BASIĆ, 2010, str. 167-184.



sl. 51.
Staklena boca s reljefnim kristogramom na dnu (M. Suić)
Fig. 51.
Glass bottle with a relief Christogram on its base (M. Suić).



sl. 52.
Mjerni sustav bribirske rotunde (A. Milošević).
Fig. 52.
Measuring system of the Bribir rotunda (A. Milošević).

es each to the left and right of the entrance, made with columns arranged in a semicircle, a concept that would later repeatedly be applied in Byzantine architecture (e.g. San Vitale in Ravenna and the churches of St. Sophia and Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, Figs. 56.1–3). The semicircular conch opposite the entrance is slightly wider than the others and probably constituted the more important part of the building. The central circular space, with a diameter of about 24 metres, was covered by a dome supported by buttresses on the exterior. The imprints on the tegulae incorporated into the upper level of the walls allow for its precise dating between the years 310 and 320[127].

In its section with the cold room (*frigidarium*), one of the structures within the so-called Villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily (Fig. 53.3) also has a

dovoditi u vezu sa sličnim arhitektonskim rješenjima i izvedbama kakva su ostvarena i drugdje u Rimskome Carstvu, u manjoj mjeri u njegovom istočnom dijelu. Pri tome je od bitnoga značaja njihova opća kontekstualizacija: oblik i namjena, impostacija u prostoru te investitori i društvene okolnosti u kojima su nastajale.

U literaturi je već upozoreno da je, primjerice, u Rimu, na poznatoj građevini, koja se najčešće naziva *Minerva Medica* (izvorno *Nymphaeum*, pretpostavlja se u vrtu uz palaču cara Licinija) oko središnjeg kružnog volumena radijalno

central space with eight radially arranged free-standing conches aligned along the main axis of the building. Instead of a conch, there is a basin in the form of a triconch on the southern side, while on the northern side there is another elongated basin ending in a semicircular apse. At the interior junctions of the conches, there are granite columns that supported an

[127] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 83–84, Pl. XIII. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, pp. 433–436 (*Minerva Medica*). – F. GUIDOBALDI, 1998, pp. 485–518. – E. GALLOCCHIO, 2018, pp. 31–37 (with building phases). – I. BABIĆ, 2019, pp. 257–259.

octagonal domed vault. It was built in *c.* 300, like the rest of the palace[128].

The large, formerly two-storeyed rotunda in the sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamon, located in the southeastern corner of the complex, is completely different in character (Fig. 53.1)[129]. It is one of the largest ancient central buildings, with an original external diameter of approximately 60 metres. Today, only its ground floor has largely survived, in the centre of which there is a circular space with a diameter of 26.50 metres. Because of the relatively thin walls of its superstructure, it is assumed that it did not have a dome but rather a wooden conical roof. On the sides of the central space, there are three opposing horseshoe-shaped conches, between which there is a double staircase on one side, leading to the upper floor, matching the width of the other apses, and a slightly curved wall with an entrance on the other side. The building therefore does not have a classic six-lobed plan. Instead, its horseshoe-shaped apses are symmetrically grouped on both sides of the main axis of the rotunda. It cannot be precisely dated, but based on the horizontal stratigraphy of other parts of the sanctuary, it is very likely that the rotunda was built after the round Temple of Asclepius in the same sanctuary. That temple, however, can be securely dated to *c.* 140 based on the inscription, while the two-storeyed rotunda is assumed to have been built between the years 140 and 161. It collapsed in an earthquake in the second half of the 3rd century, and a church was built on its site in the 6th century.

Among early buildings in the eastern part of the Empire, attention should be drawn to one of the centrally planned polyconch buildings within the Antioch Palace (probably a triclinium) near the Hippodrome in Constantinople, built in the first decades of the 5th century (Fig.

[128] H. P. L'ORANGE, 1965, pp. 65–194. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 82, Pl. XIIc. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, pp. 460–462 (*Piazza Armerina*). – I. BABIĆ, 2019, pp. 257–259. Several Roman circular central-plan buildings with free-standing apses are also presented in: G. B. MONTANO, 1624, Pls. 4, 25, 26, 41, 50.

[129] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 81–82. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, pp. 283–285, Figs. 182–183 (*Pergamon*). – W. RADT, 1988, p. 267. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, pp. 257–259.

nanizano devet polukružnih konha (sl. 53.2), a prostor desete zamijenila su velika ulazna vrata[126]. U prvoj građevinskoj izvedbi, po dvije nasuprotne konhe, lijevo i desno od ulaza, izvedene su stupovima složenim u polukrug, što će kasnije više puta biti primijenjeno u bizantskom graditeljstvu (npr. San Vitale u Ravenni te crkve sv. Sofije i sv. Sergija i Bakha u Konstantinopolu, sl. 56.1-3). Polukružna konha nasuprot ulazu je nešto šira od ostalih i vjerojatno je činila važniji dio građevine. Središnji kružni prostor, promjera oko 24 m, bio je natkriven kupolom koju su s vanjske strane podržavali kontrafori. Pečati na tegulama ugrađenim u gornji nivo zidova omogućuju njenu preciznu dataciju između 310. i 320. godine[127].

Jedna od građevina u sklopu takozvane vile *Piazza Armerina* na Siciliji (sl. 53.3), u dijelu gdje se nalaze termalne prostorije (*frigidarium*), također ima centralni prostor s osam radijalno nanizanih slobodnih konha postavljenih duž glavne osi građevine. Umjesto konhe s južne strane je bazen u obliku trikonhosa, a sa sjeverne je drugi bazen izduženog oblika koji završava polukružnom apsidom. Na unutrašnjim spojevima konha su granitni stupovi koji su podržavali osmerokutni kupolasti svod. Kao i ostali dijelovi palače, nastala je oko 300. godine[128].

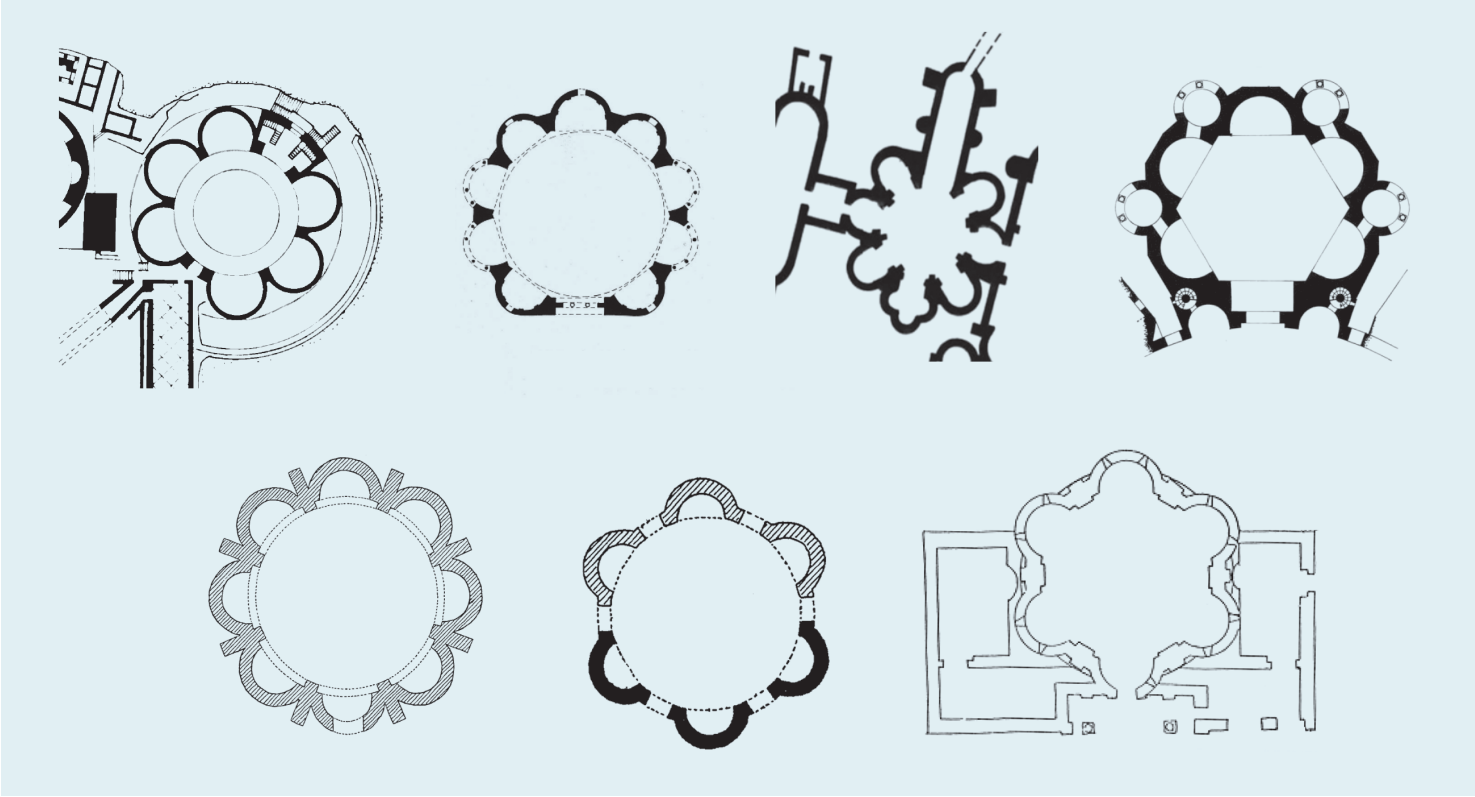
Sasvim drugačijeg karaktera je velika nekoć dvokatna rotunda u Asklepijevom svetištu u Pergamonu koja se nalazi u jugoistočnom uglu kompleksa (sl. 53.1)[129]. Jedna je od najvećih antičkih centralnih građevina s izvornim vanjskim promjerom od približno 60 m. Do danas je većim dijelom sačuvan samo njen prizemni dio u sredini kojega je kružni prostor promjera 26,50 m. Zbog relativno tankih zidova nadgrađa pretpostavlja se da nije imao kupolu nego drveni stožasti krov. Sa strana središnjega prostora su

[126] G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, str. 182-187.

[127] H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 83-84, pl. XIII. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, str. 433-436 (*Minerva Medica*). – F. GUIDOBALDI, 1998, str. 485-518. – E. GALLOCCHIO, 2018, str. 31-37 (s građevinskim fazama). – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 257-259.

[128] H. P. L'ORANGE, 1965, str. 65-194. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 82, pl. XIIc. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, str. 460-462 (*Piazza Armerina*). – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 257-259. Nekoliko rimskih kružnih centralnih građevina sa slobodnim apsidama donosi i: G. B. MONTANO, 1624, pl. 4, 25, 26, 41, 50.

[129] H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 81-82. – J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, str. 283-285, sl. 182-183 (*Pergamon*). – W. RADT, 1988, str. 267. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 257-259.



sl. 53. Kasnoantičke građevine s rotundama slobodnih apsida: 1. Asklepijevo svetište u Pergamonu; 2. Tzv. Minerva Medica u Rimu, prva građevinska faza; 3. Tzv. Villa Piazza Armerina na Siciliji; 4. Antiohijeva palača u Istanbulu; 5. Osmerolisna rotunda na putu za Marino nedaleko Rima; 6. Rotunda u cemeterijalnom kompleksu uz katakombe na Via Appia; 7. Tzv. grobnica Kalvencijevih južno od Rima. Tlocrti nisu u mjerilu.

po tri nasuprotne potkovaste konhe između kojih je, s jedne strane, dvostruko stubište za gornji kat u širini ostalih apsida, a s druge malo zakrivljeni zid s ulazom. Građevina, dakle, nema klasičan šesterolisni tlocrt nego su joj potkovaste apside simetrično grupirane s obje strane glavne osi rotunde. Precizno datiranje joj se ne može utvrditi, no, u horizontalnoj stratigrafiji ostalih dijelova svetišta vrlo je vjerojatno da je rotunda izgrađena nakon okruglog Asklepijevog hrama u istom svetištu. Taj se, pak, hram prema natpisu sa sigurnošću može datirati oko 140. godine, a za dvokatnu rotundu se pretpostavlja da je sagrađena između 140. i 161. godine. Srušila se u zemljotresu u drugoj polovini 3. stoljeća, a na njenom mjestu je u 6. stoljeću sagrađena crkva.

Od ranih zdanja u istočnom dijelu Carstva upućujemo na jednu od zgrada centralnog, polikonhnog oblika u sklopu Antiohijeve palače (vjerojatno triklinij) kod hipodroma u Konstantinopolu, koja je sagrađena u prvim desetljećima 5. stoljeća (sl. 53.4)[130]. Pretpostavlja se da joj

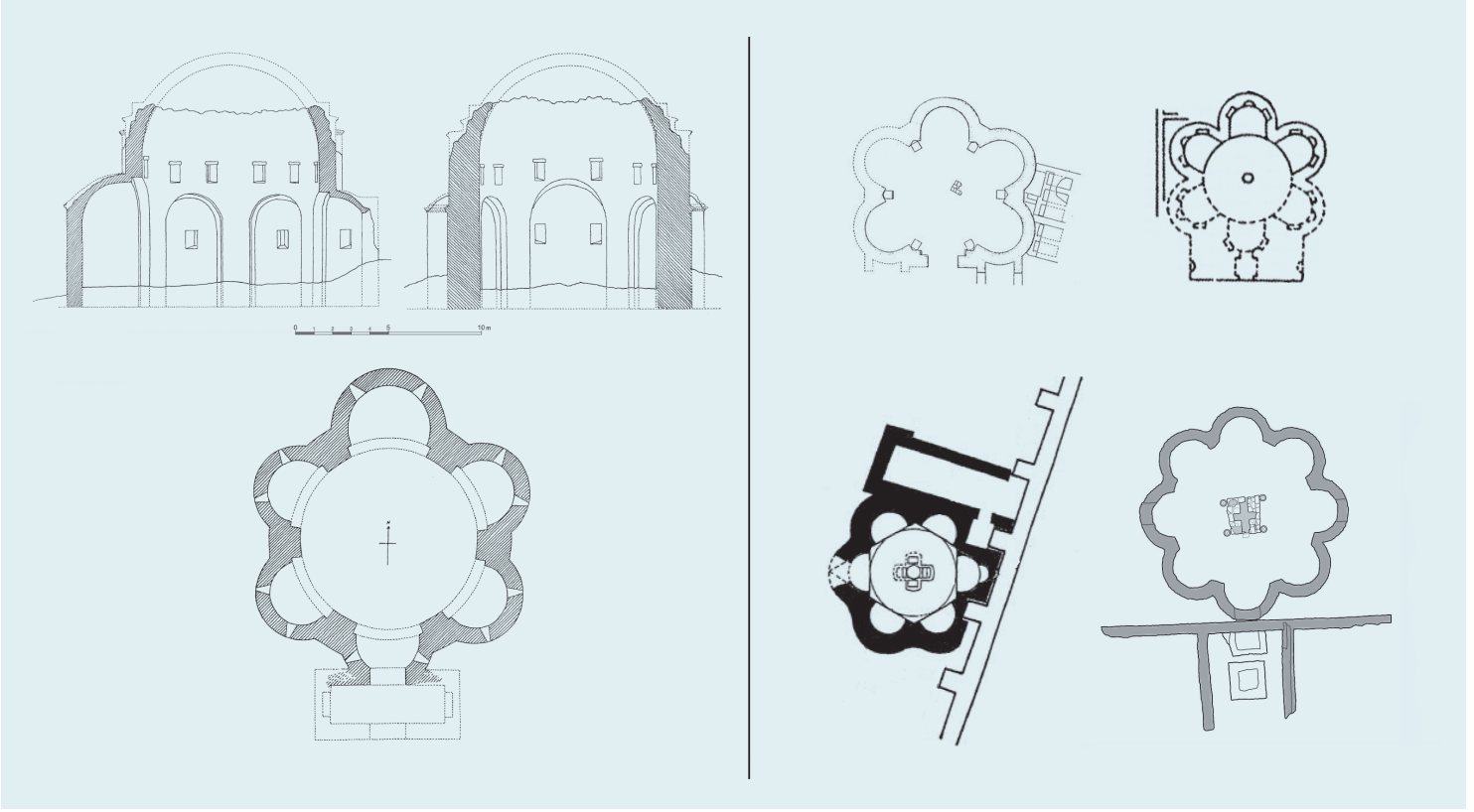
[130] H. BELTING, 1966, str. 14-43. – R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 71. – S. ĆURČIĆ, 2010, str. 201-202. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 259.

53.4)[130]. It is assumed that the inspiration for its central plan was the monumental architecture of Roman palaces from the late 3rd and the first half of the 4th century, and that it subsequently inspired other centrally planned churches in Constantinople (Sts. Sergius and Bacchus from 527 and St. Sophia from 532–537), erected during the reign of Justinian I (527–565). The hexaconch building within the Antioch Palace was later, i.e. in the 6th century, converted into the church of St. Euphemia. However, its conches are polygonal on the exterior, unlike the semicircular ones on some other late antique buildings. For instance, the five-lobed rotunda in Thessaloniki is in such a vein (the so-called *Ampelokopíon* pentagon Fig. 54.2)[131]. It was located within a late antique and early Christian extramural cemetery on the western side of the city. Given that several graves were found within it, its cemeterial character is indisputable. The same purpose is attributed to the hexaconch excavated in Chalkidiki, dated to as early as the 3rd or 4th centuries, whereas the

Fig. 53. Late antique buildings with rotundas with free-standing apses: 1. Sanctuary of Asclepius at Pergamon; 2. So-called Minerva Medica in Rome, first building phase; 3. So-called Villa Piazza Armerina, Sicily; 4. Palace of Antiochus in Istanbul; 5. Eight-lobed rotunda on the road to Marino near Rome; 6. Rotunda in the funerary complex by the catacombs on the via Appia; 7. So-called Tomb of the Calventii, south of Rome. The plans are not to scale.

[130] H. BELTING, 1966, pp. 14–43. – R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, p. 71. – S. ĆURČIĆ, 2010, pp. 201–202. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, p. 259.

[131] E. MAPKH, 2000, pp. 41–44.



sl. 54. Kasnoantičke rotunde sa slobodnim apsidama: 1. Rotunda kod Pretekstatovih katakomba u Rimu; 2. Tzv. pentagon Ampelokopíon u Solunu; 3. Rotunda u sklopu Dionizijevog svetišta u Ateni; 4. Krstionica u Slivenu u istočnoj Bugarskoj; 5. Osmeroapsidna krstionica uz veliku baziliku u Ulpijani na Kosovu. Tlocrti 2-5 nisu u mjerilu.

original purpose of the building with a similar plan within the complex of the theatre of Dionysus in Athens (Fig. 54.3)[132] has not been positively established.

The plan of a late antique eight-lobed rotunda located on the road to Marino, not far from Rome, is also quite interesting (Fig. 53.5). The rotund has not survived, but its plan was recorded by the Italian sculptor and architect Giuliano da Sangallo (*c.* 1445–1516). It had external buttresses between the apses, and, based on this distinctive feature, it can be concluded that a dome rose above its central drum. As we have already noted, a similar architectural concept was used in the so-called temple of *Minerva Medica* in Rome, and in our case also in the previously mentioned baptistery in Zadar. Its buttresses rise above the junction of two internal apses and externally support the drum with the dome (Fig. 1.2). The total width of the Roman rotunda on the road to Marino exceeds 15 metres. Since it has no windows but only a single entrance, it is assumed to have been

[132] Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, p. 88, Fig. 46.

je inspiracija za centralnu osnovu bila u monumentalnoj arhitekturi rimskih palača iz kraja 3. i prve polovine 4. stoljeća te da je potom bila i inspiracija drugim crkvama centralne osnove u Konstantinopolu (Sv. Sergije i Bakho iz 527. godine i Sv. Sofija iz 532. – 537.) podignutim u vrijeme vladavine Justinijana I. (527. – 565.). Šesterokonhna građevina u sklopu Antiohijeve palače, naknadno je, u 6. stoljeću, preinačena u crkvu sv. Eufemije. No njene konhe izvana su poligonalne za razliku od onih polukružnih kakve imaju neke druge kasnoantičke građevine. Takva je primjerice peterokonhna rotunda u Solunu (tzv. pentagon *Ampelokopíon,* sl. 54.2)[131] koja se nalazila u sklopu kasnoantičkoga i ranokršćanskoga groblja izvan zidina sa zapadne strane grada, a kako je u njoj pronađeno i nekoliko grobova, neupitan je njen cemeterijalni karakter. Iste je namjene i heksakonhos iskopan u Halkidici, datiran vrlo rano, u 3. ili 4. stoljeće, dok građevini sličnoga tlocrta u kompleksu Dionizijevog kazališta u Ateni (sl. 54.3)[132] nije utvrđena prvotna namjena.

[131] E. MAPKH, 2000, str. 41-44.
[132] Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, str. 88, sl. 46.

Fig. 54. Late antique rotundas with free-standing apses: 1. Rotunda near the catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome; 2. So-called pentagonal Ampelokipoi in Thessaloniki; 3. Rotunda within the Sanctuary of Dionysus in Athens; 4. Baptistery in Sliven in eastern Bulgaria; 5. Eight-apsed baptistery next to the Great Basilica in Ulpiana, Kosovo. Plans 2–5 are not to scale.

Tlocrtno je zanimljiva i kasnoantička osmerolisna rotunda koja se nalazila nedaleko Rima, na putu za Marino (sl. 53.5). Do danas nije sačuvana, a njen tlocrt zabilježio je talijanski kipar i arhitekt Giuliano da Sangallo (oko 1445. – 1516.). Njena specifičnost su vanjski kontrafori između apsida po čemu se zaključuje da joj se nad srednjim tamburom dizala kupola. Sličnu konstrukcijsku izvedbu imala je, vidjeli smo, i tzv. *Minerva Medica* u Rimu, a u našem slučaju i prije spomenuta krstionica u Zadru. Njeni kontrafori izdižu se iznad spoja dviju unutrašnjih apsida i s vanjske strane podupiru tambur s kupolom (sl. 1.2). Ukupna širina te rimske rotunde smještene na putu za Marino je preko 15 m, a zbog činjenice da nema prozore nego samo jedna vrata, pretpostavlja se da je riječ o grobnoj građevini iz 4. stoljeća[133]. Vrlo slična memorija nalazila se i na Via Appia oko 3 km od monumentalnih gradskih vrata sv. Sebastijana u Rimu (sl. 53.6). Podatci o njoj poznati su iz literature, iz 1925. godine, i nisu pouzdani jer je zabilježena samo polovica njenog tlocrta, širine oko 8,50 m. Pretpostavlja se da je riječ o građevini koja je pripadala nekoj vili iz 1. ili 2. stoljeća, pa je jedan od najstarijih spomenika ove vrste[134]. Vrlo rani primjer rotunde sa šest slobodnih apsida mogla bi biti i tzv. grobnica Kalvencijevih južno od Rima, na spoju Via Appia Antica i Via Appia Pignatelli (sl. 53.7)[135]. Podatci o njoj poznati su iz vatikanske arhivske dokumentacije, iz tlocrta i vanjskoga izgleda koje je načinio renesansni papinski arhitekt Pirro Ligorio (oko 1512. – 1583.). Pretpostavka da je riječ o građevini iz polovine 1. stoljeća, dovodi se u pitanje jer njena arhitektura sa zahtjevnim konstrukcijskim i statičkim rješenjima upućuje na znatno mlađe vrijeme. Iznad unutrašnje jezgre kružnoga oblika, promjera oko 9,50 m, izdiže se isti takav tambur s kupolom koja je ojačana rebrima vidljivim i s njene vanjske strane. Uz rub kupole rebra su se oslanjala na plitke kontrafore koji strše iz plašta tambura[136], a prema vrhu kupole se sužavaju. Iznosi se i mišljenje da je takva jedinstvena izvedba

133 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 82-83, Pl. XIId.
134 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 81-82, Pl. XIIa.
135 G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, str. 189-190, sl. 28.
136 Slično rješenje s kontraforima na vanjskoj strani tambura izvedeno je i na tamburu prije spomenute *Minervae Medicae*, što možda upućuje da bi i grobnicu Kalvencijevih trebalo datirati u 4. stoljeće.

a funerary building from the 4th century[133]. A very similar memoria was also located on the via Appia, about 3 km from the monumental Gate of St. Sebastian in Rome (Fig. 53.6). Information about this memoria is known from the scholarly literature from 1925, but it is not reliable, since it recorded only half of its plan, about 8.50 metres wide. It is assumed to have been a building belonging to a villa from the 1st or 2nd century and is therefore one of the earliest monuments of this type[134]. A very early example of a rotunda with six free-standing apses could also be the so-called Tomb of the Calventii south of Rome, at the junction of the via Appia Antica and via Appia Pignatelli (Fig. 53.7)[135]. Information about it is known from the Vatican Archives, viz. the plans and exterior views made by the Renaissance papal architect Pirro Ligorio (*c.* 1512–1583). The assumption that this building dates to the mid-1st century has been challenged, since its architecture with challenging structural and physical properties points to a significantly later period. Above its circular inner space, with a diameter of about 9.50 metres, rises a round drum with a dome reinforced by ribs visible on its exterior as well. At the edge of the dome, the ribs rested on shallow buttresses projecting from the surface of the drum[136], narrowing toward the apex of the dome. It has also been suggested that this unique concept is the source of ribbed domes in Arab, medieval, and Renaissance architectural designs. Six semicircular apses are radially arranged around the central circular space. One of them – opposite the entrance – is slightly larger.

A similar form of mausoleum architecture can also be found in early Christianity. A good example is the hexaconch discussed several times in the literature and also recorded in historical drawings. The structure in question is a rotunda that was erected in a cemetery near the Catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome (Fig. 54.1)[137]. The core of the building is circular, with

133 H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 82–83, Pl. XIId.
134 H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 81–82, Pl. XIIa.
135 G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, pp. 189–190, Fig. 28.
136 A similar solution with buttresses on the exterior of the drum was also used on the mentioned *Minerva Medica*, which may suggest that the tomb of the Calventii should also be dated to the 4th century.
137 H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 62–67, Pls. III–VI.



sl. 55. Osmeroapsidna krstionica uz veliku baziliku u Ulpijani na Kosovu: 1-2. (gore) Pogled iz zraka i rekonstrukcija (H. Çetinkaya); 3. (Dolje) Današnje stanje (A. Milošević).
Fig. 55. Eight-apsed baptistery next to the Great Basilica in Ulpiana, Kosovo: 1–2. (top) Aerial view and reconstruction (H. Çetinkaya); 3. (bottom) Present condition (A. Milošević).

an internal diameter of 9.50 metres, and six apses radially arranged around it. Five of them are equal in size and semicircular in shape with widened ends, while the eastern one is somewhat larger and horseshoe-shaped. It is assumed that it housed a sanctuary. Opposite the rotunda is a small apse with an entrance and a rectangular vestibule in front of the opening. A cylindrical drum with a dome rises above the central circular space. It has been dated to the mid-4th century, based mainly on its architectural features and embedded spolia. It is assumed following the proposal of Giovanni Battista de Rossi that the building was not a private mausoleum but a martyrium dedicated to the martyrdom of three contemporaries of St. Cecilia, i.e. Valerian (Cecilia's husband), Tiburtius (Valerian's brother), and Maximus. It has also been suggested that such a monumental martyrium in the form of a six-lobed structure with free-standing apses was a unique phenomenon in Rome at the time.

Two more regular polyconchs are known from the early Christian period. The hexaconch baptistery in Sliven, eastern Bulgaria (Fig. 54.4)[138], is not entirely visible from the exterior because it is cramped into a corner between the basilica to which it belongs and the town walls. Its drum rests on a hexagonal base, so the baptistery was probably polygonal on the exterior. In typological and morphological terms, the closest analogy to the Bribir rotunda is the recently excavated eight-apsed baptistery built next to the large basilica at Ulpiana (Gračanica) in Kosovo (Fig. 54.5)[139]. It is a somewhat large free-standing building with a central circular form from which eight regular and equally sized semicircular apses radiate (Fig. 55). The Bribir rotunda thus differs from the baptistery at Gračanica only in size and the form of the eastern and western apses.

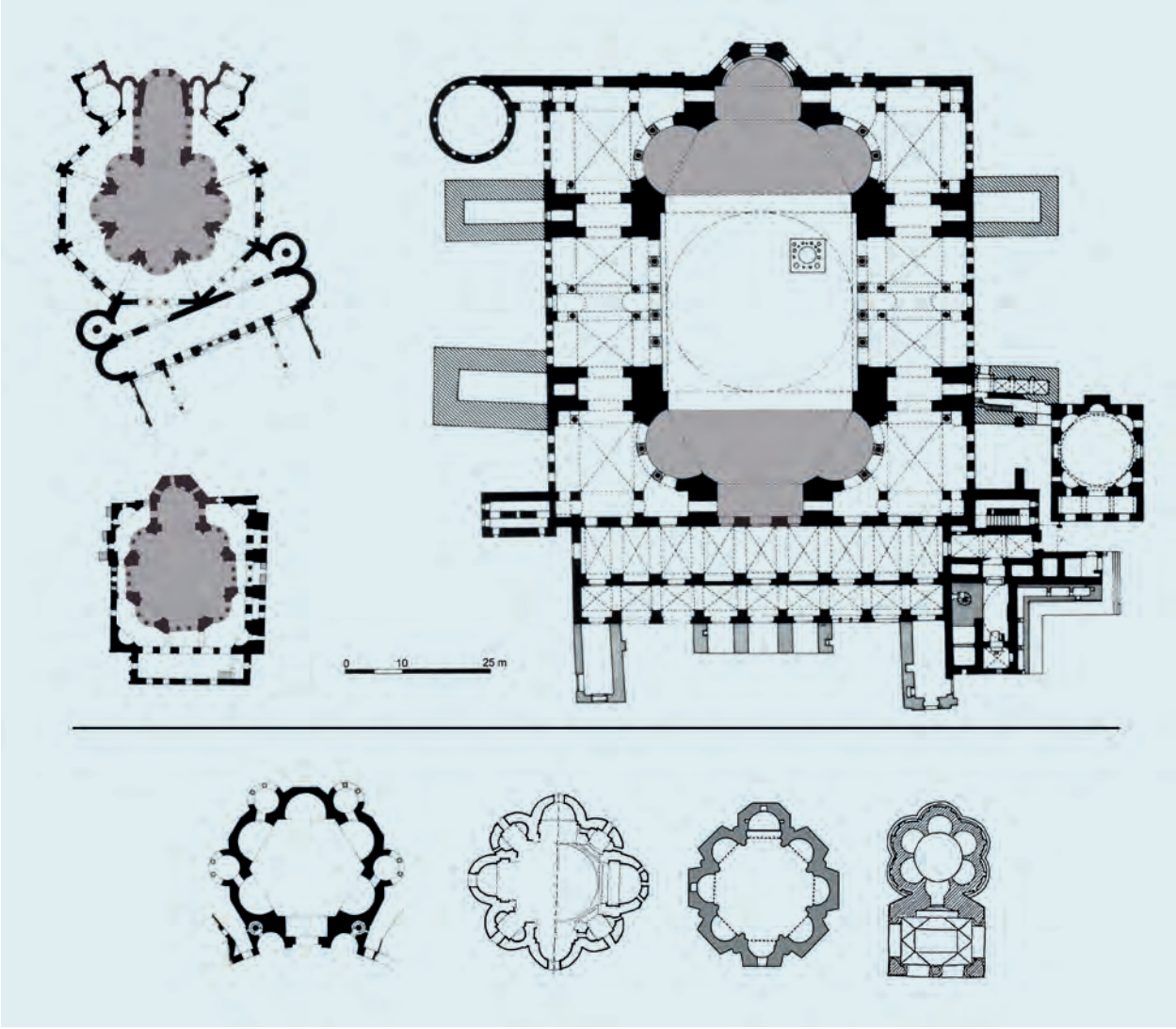
A very similar architectural concept can be found in the inner corpus of the early Byzantine church of San Vitale in Ravenna (Fig. 56.1)[140] and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in

zametak rebrastih kupola u arapskom, srednjovjekovnom i renesansnom graditeljstvu. Oko središnjega kružnog prostora radijalno je složeno šest polukružnih apsida od kojih je jedna, ona nasuprot ulaza, nešto veća.

Takav sličan oblik mauzolejske arhitekture nalazimo i u ranom kršćanstvu. Dobar primjer je heksakonhos koji je u literaturi više puta raspravljan, a podatci o njemu zabilježeni su i u povijesnim crtežima. Riječ je o rotundi koja je bila podignuta na groblju kod Pretekstatovih katakomba u Rimu (sl. 54.1)[137]. Jezgra građevine je kružna, unutarnjeg promjera 9,50 m, oko koje je radijalno raspoređeno šest apsida. Pet ih je jednake veličine i polukružnog su oblika s proširenim krajevima, dok je istočna nešto veća i potkovičastog je oblika. Pretpostavlja se da se u njoj nalazilo svetište. Nasuprot njoj je manja apsida s vratima ispred kojih je pravokutni vestibul. Nad središnjim kružnim prostorom je valjkasti tambur s kupolom. Uglavnom na temelju konstrukcijskih karakteristika i ugrađenih spolija datirana je u sredinu 4. stoljeća. Pretpostavlja se da građevina nije privatni mauzolej nego martirij u kojemu je, prema prijedlogu

[137] H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 62-67, Pl. III-VI.

[138] I. ŠTEREVA, 1994, pp. 7–13.
[139] H. ÇETINKAYA, 2015, pp. 99–116. – H. ÇETINKAYA, 2016, pp. 39–40.
[140] R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, pp. 232–237. – G. BOVINI, 1995. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2018.



sl. 56.
Višeapsidni unutrašnji korpusi ranobizantskih crkava:
1. San Vitale u Ravenni;
2. Sv. Sergije i Bakho u Konstantinopolu;
3. Sv. Sofija u Konstantinopolu i rotunde sa slobodnim apsidama:
4. Antiohijeva palača u Konstantinopolu;
5. Katedrala u Ninotsmindi u Gruziji;
6. Crkva u Zoravaru u Armeniji;
7. Samostanska kapela u povijesnom mjestu Ani u Turskoj. Tlocrti u donjem redu nisu u mjerilu.
Fig. 56.
Multi-apsed interiors of Early Byzantine churches:
1. San Vitale in Ravenna;
2. Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople;
3. St. Sophia in Constantinople, and rotundas with free-standing apses:
4. Palace of Antiochus in Constantinople;
5. Cathedral in Ninotsminda, Georgia;
6. Church in Zoravar, Armenia;
7. Monastic chapel on the historic site of Ani, Turkey. The plans in the lower row are not to scale.

Giovanni Battista de Rossija, štovano mučeništvo trojice suvremenika sv. Cecilije – Valerijana (Cecilijinog supruga), Tiburcija (Valerijanovog brata) i Maksima. Iznosi se i mišljenje da je monumentalni martirij u obliku šesterolista sa slobodnim apsidama u to vrijeme, u Rimu bio jedinstvena pojava.

Iz ranokršćanskog doba datiraju još dva pravilna polikonhosa. Šesterokonhni baptisterij u Slivenu u istočnoj Bugarskoj (sl. 54.4)[138] izvana nije cijeli vidljiv jer je stiješten u uglu između bazilike kojoj pripada i gradskih zidina. Tambur mu leži na heksagonalnoj osnovi pa je izvana vjerojatno bio poligonalan. U tipološkom i morfološkom smislu bribirskoj rotundi najbliža

Constantinople (Fig. 56.2)[141], which have eight-lobed plans and an alternating arrangement of masonry piers and columns semi-circularly grouped around a central octagon. Seven such "conches" in both churches are equal in dimensions, while their eastern ones, as in the Bribir example, are wider and deeper. A similar concept of a central polyconch church, whose basic structure is a six-lobed building, can also be found in the famous St. Sophia in Constantinople. However, its internal six-lobed space, made of three semicircular apses each, articulated by masonry piers and double-arched columns, is separated by a central square space with a large dome above it (Fig. 56.3). It is assumed

[138] I. ŠTEREVA, 1994, str. 7-13.

[141] C. MANGO, 1972, pp. 189–193. – R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, pp. 223–229, ground plan on p. 221. – B. CROKE, 2006, pp. 25–63.

that the inspiration for the composition of its internal core was the hexaconch of the Antioch Palace (Fig. 56.4)[142].

Buildings similar in morphology and concept, under the influence of early Byzantine architecture, such as the six-lobed rotunda with polygonal apses within the Antioch Palace near the Hippodrome (Fig. 56.4) from the first half of the 5th century, and the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus from the 6th century in Constantinople (Fig. 56.2), elevated the landscapes, fortresses and cities of the Transcaucasian region through numerous examples in the 6th and 7th centuries. The octoconch cathedral with semicircular apses at Ninotsminda, Georgia, from the 6th century[143], now in ruins, and the church at Zoravar, Armenia, from the 7th century, with apses polygonal on the exterior (Figs. 56.5–6), are among the earlier examples of this type and were a significant influence. They were contributing to the establishment of an original architectural school in ecclesiastical architecture in these regions during the Middle Ages, when the number of churches of this type increased substantially. As an example, we present here the plan of the monastic chapel from the 12th century in the historic site of Ani, today in north-eastern Turkey near the border with Armenia (Fig. 56.7)[144]. In this context, it is interesting to note that there were absolutely no forms of central buildings with free-standing apses around a circular or polygonal central space in the Byzantine territories proper in later centuries, viz. during the middle and late periods[145]. By contrast, their early presence and further development during the Middle Ages in surrounding neighbouring states, which in various ways remained dependent on what was then the most powerful empire in the East, continued to cultivate this very form, perhaps as an expression of historical and cultural links with their former common past. They thus preserved the memory of that period, creating a new type of building in the

142 S. TAVANO, 1984, pp. 549–552, Figs. 2, 3. – R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, pp. 205–218. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 89–90. – Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, pp. 86–87, 90, 200–210, Figs. 99, 175. For the architectural design of St. Sophia, see: H. SVENSHON, 2011, pp. 59–96.

143 E. TOMPOS, 1994, pp. 141–156.

144 H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 90–93, Pls. XVI–XVII.

145 R. KRAUTHEIMER – S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, pp. 331–440.

analogija je nedavno otkopani osmeroapsidni baptisterij sagrađen uz veliku baziliku u Ulpijani (Gračanica) na Kosovu (sl. 54.5)[139]. To je slobodnostojeća građevina većih dimenzija sa središnjim korpusom kružnoga oblika iz kojega izlazi osam pravilnih i veličinom jednakih radijalno raspoređenih polukružnih apsida (sl. 55). Bribirska rotunda se od baptisterija u Gračanici dakle, razlikuje samo veličinom i oblikom istočne i zapadne apside.

Vrlo sličan arhitektonski koncept imaju i unutrašnji korpusi ranobizantskih crkava San Vitale u Ravenni (sl. 56.1)[140] i sv. Sergija i Bakha u Konstantinopolu (sl. 56.2)[141] koji su osmerolisnog tlocrta, a izvedeni su naizmjeničnim nizanjem zidanih pilona i polukružno složenih stupova oko središnjega oktogona. Sedam tako oblikovanih "konha" u objema crkvama ima jednake dimenzije, dok im je istočna, kao i u bribirskom primjeru, šira i dublja. Sličan koncept centralne polikonhne crkve, koja je u svojoj osnovnoj strukturi šesterolisna građevina, ima i glasovita Sv. Sofija u Konstantinopolu, s time da joj unutrašnji šesterolisni prostor, kojemu su po tri polukružne apside izvedene zidanim pilonima i dvostrukim lučno postavljenim stupovima, razdvojene središnjim kvadratnim prostorom nad kojim je velika kupola (sl. 56.3). Pretpostavlja se da je inspiracija za kompoziciju takvoga njenoga unutrašnjeg korpusa bio heksakonhos Antiohijeve palače (sl. 56.4)[142].

Građevine slične morfologije i koncepta, pod utjecajem ranobizantske arhitekture, kao što je šesterolisna rotunda s poligonalnim apsidama u sklopu Antiohijeve palače kod hipodroma (sl. 56.4) iz prve polovine 5. stoljeća te crkva sv. Sergija i Bakha iz 6. stoljeća u Konstantinopolu, (sl. 56.2), većim brojem izvedbi u 6. i 7. stoljeću obogatile su pejsaže, tvrđave i gradove zakavkaske oblasti. Danas ruševna osmerokonhna katedrala s polukružnim apsidama u

139 H. ÇETINKAYA, 2015, str. 99-116. – H. ÇETINKAYA, 2016, str. 39-40.

140 R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 232-237. – G. BOVINI, 1995. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2018.

141 C. MANGO, 1972, str. 189-193. – R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 223-229, tlocrt na str. 221. – B. CROKE, 2006, str. 25-63.

142 S. TAVANO, 1984, str. 549-552, sl. 2, 3. – R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 205-218. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 89-90. – Σ. ΑΚΡΙΒΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, 2007, str. 86-87, 90, 200-210, sl. 99, 175. O arhitektonskom projektu sv. Sofije u: H. SVENSHON, 2011, str. 59-96.

Ninotsmindi u Gruziji iz 6. stoljeća[143] i crkva u Zoravaru u Armeniji iz 7. stoljeća s poligonalnim apsidama izvana (sl. 56.5-6) jedni su od starijih primjera toga tipa, a izvršili su i znatan utjecaj doprinoseći uspostavi originalne arhitektonske škole u crkvenom graditeljstvu tih prostora u srednjem vijeku kada se broj crkava takvoga tipa znatno umnožava. Kao primjer za to ovdje donosimo tlocrt samostanske kapele iz 12. stoljeća u povijesnom mjestu Ani, danas u sjeveroistočnoj Turskoj, nedaleko granice s Armenijom (sl. 56.7)[144]. S tim u vezi zanimljiv je podatak da na matičnom bizantskom području u mlađim stoljećima, tijekom njegovoga srednjega i kasnoga razdoblja, oblici centralnih građevina sa slobodnim apsidama oko kružnoga ili poligonalnoga središnjeg prostora, potpuno nedostaju[145]. Nasupot tome, njihova rana prisutnost i daljnji razvoj tijekom srednjeg vijeka u okolnim susjednim državama, a koje su na razne načine ostale ovisne o tada najmoćnijem carstvu na Istoku, i dalje u kontinuitetu njeguju upravo takav oblik, možda kao iskaz povijesne i kulturne veze s nekadašnjom zajedničkom prošlošću. One dakle, tako čuvaju sjećanje na to razdoblje, stvarajući tijekom srednjeg vijeka novi tip građevine, u sličnom povijesnom procesu u kakvom su nastajale i dalmatinske višekonhne građevine. Naravno da ti međusobno udaljeni slični slučajevi nisu ni na koji način bili povezani.

Iako su po projektu i konstrukcijskoj izvedbi drugačije od šesterolisnih i osmerolisnih kasnoantičkih, ranokršćanskih i ranobizantskih građevina sa slobodnim apsidama vidljivim s vanjske strane, bliske takvom obliku su i one koje proizlaze iz dijagonalnog križanja dvaju kvadratnih ili dvaju centralnih prostora križnoga tlocrta. Kod tih primjera se uokolo oktogonalnog središnjeg dijela naizmjenično nižu polukružne i četvrtaste niše kako je to bilo izvedeno na martiriju iz Nysse u Kapadokiji iz 4. stoljeća (sl. 57.2)[146]. Sličnoga arhitektonskoga

Middle Ages through a historical process similar to that in which the Dalmatian multiconch buildings emerged. Naturally, these distant yet mutually similar cases were in no way directly connected.

Although they differ in design and architecture from late antique, early Christian, and early Byzantine six- and eight-lobed buildings with free-standing apses visible on the exterior, those that stem from the diagonal intersection of two square or two central spaces of cruciform plan are also closely related to this form. In such examples, semicircular and rectangular niches alternate around the octagonal central part, as in the example of the martyrium at Nyssa, Cappadocia, from the 4th century (Fig. 57.2)[146]. A similar architectural concept features in several eight-lobed baptisteries in the vicinity of Milan, as well as in one in France. In these examples, alternating semicircular and rectangular apses are also visible on the exterior, arranged in a cross-like pattern and radiating around a central octagon with a dome above. Their similarity to the aforementioned martyrium at Nyssa is evident. Notwithstanding, given their typological uniformity, it is assumed that their form was influenced by late antique imperial mausolea (e.g. Split, Rome, Thessaloniki...)[147], and certainly also by the octagonal mausolea of Maximian (?) from 310[148], and so-called Sant'Aquilino near the church of St. Lawrence from 380–387[149], and also the baptistery of the church of St. Thecla from the late 4th and early 5th centuries, all in Milan (Figs. 58.1–2)[150], as well as those in northern

143 E. TOMPOS, 1994, str. 141-156.

144 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 90-93, Pl. XVI-XVII.

145 R. KRAUTHEIMER - S. ĆURČIĆ, 1986, str. 331-440.

146 A. GRABAR, 1943-1946, Nyssa u vol. 1/1946, str. 152-157, sl. 82. Raspravljajući o arhitekturi i ikonografiji martirija, Grabar nastoji dokazati da su martiriji centralnog tlocrta građevine koje su nastajale nad istaknutim svetim mjestima prethodno štovanim u kršćanstvu, da bi potom postale svetišta.

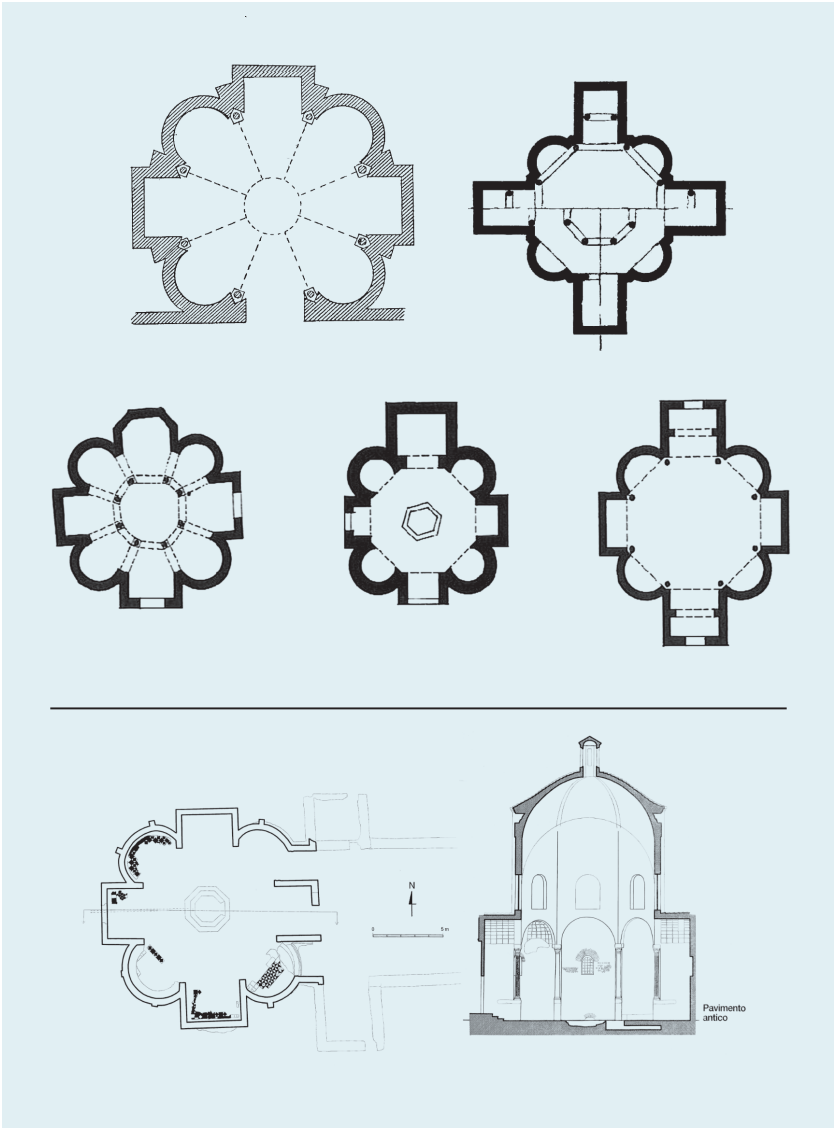
146 A. GRABAR, 1943–1946, Nyssa in Vol. 1/1946, pp. 152–157, Fig. 82. While discussing the architecture and iconography of the martyrium, Grabar attempts to demonstrate that martyria with a central plan are buildings made on prominent sacred places previously revered in Christianity, which subsequently became sanctuaries.

147 G. MACKIE, 2003, pp. 53–60. For Diocletian's Mausoleum in Split, cf. J. MARASOVIĆ – K. MARASOVIĆ – S. PEROJEVIĆ, 2006, pp. 497–506, and for the imperial mausoleum in Milan, see: O. BRANDT, 2017, pp. 7–30. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, pp. 158–167, Figs. 116–117, 120. For the mausoleum in Thessaloniki, see: S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, p. 19, Fig. 19. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, p. 76, Fig. 52.

148 M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, pp. 71–73, Figs. 48–50.

149 M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, pp. 158–167, Figs. 116–117, 120.

150 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, octagonal baptisteries in Milan (Figs. 327–330, p. 108). – Ch. B. McCLENDON, 2005, pp. 10–15.



sl. 57. Rimskodobne i ranokršćanske rotunde sa slobodnim apsidama: 1. Vestibul Hadrijanove vile u Tivoliju; 2. Martirij u Nyssi u Kapadokiji u Turskoj; 3. Krstionica u Neversu u Francuskoj; 4. Krstionica u Lomellu; 5. Krstionica u Comu; 6. Krstionica u Novari (O. Brandt). Tlocrti nisu u mjerilu

Fig. 57. Rotundas from the Roman and early Christian periods with free-standing apses: 1. Vestibule of Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli; 2. Martyrium at Nyssa in Cappadocia, Turkey; 3. Baptistery in Nevers, France; 4. Baptistery in Lomello; 5. Baptistery in Como; 6. Baptistery in Novara (O. Brandt). The plans are not to scale.

Italy and southern France[151]. What these buildings have in common within a closed polygon is an internal spatial structure and structural concept around a central polygonal or circular base where semicircular and rectangular niches are alternately and radially arranged in a similar fashion, covered by vaults and semidomes. Such a disenthralling of architecture, in which the internal organisation of space is projected onto the external appearance as well, is particularly characteristic of examples from Piedmont, where most such buildings can be found. The territorially separated baptistery at Nevers in France is the least well preserved. It belonged to the first cathedral from the 6th century and was subsequently rebuilt several times. It is the only one among these examples whose eastern apse has a pentagonal form (Fig. 57.3)[152]. Three more typologically similar baptisteries are located in the vicinity of Milan. The baptistery at Lomello, also from the 6th century, has a larger rectangular eastern apse (Fig. 57.4), while the example from Como from the 5th century has two larger opposing rectangular apses on the western and eastern sides. It is connected to the atrium through the entrance in the eastern angular apse (Fig. 57.5). The baptistery at Novara is also from the 5th century. Two vaulted passages on the sides of the eastern angular apse connected the baptistery with the atrium (Fig. 57.6)[153]. In a certain sense, this regional phenomenon in Milan and its vicinity can testify to a process in which a particular architectural type from the centre influenced architecture in the surrounding areas. However, it should be pointed out here that such concepts are also known from earlier Roman imperial architecture, a good example being the vestibule in the Roman villa of Emperor Hadrian (117–138), who, in addition to many other faculties, also had an undeniable inclination towards architecture and building

koncepta je i nekoliko osmerolisnih krstionica u okolici Milana te jedna u Francuskoj. U tim primjerima također su izvana vidljive naizmjenične polukružne i četvrtaste apside, križno raspoređene i zrakasto složene oko središnjeg oktogona nad kojim je kupola. Njihova sličnost u izvedbi s prije spomenutim martirijem iz Nysse je očita, no, s obzirom na njihovu tipološku ujednačenost pretpostavlja se da im je na formu utjecala kasnoantička carska mauzolejska arhitektura (npr. Split, Rim, Solun...)[147], a svakako i oktogonalni mauzoleji Maksimijana (?) iz

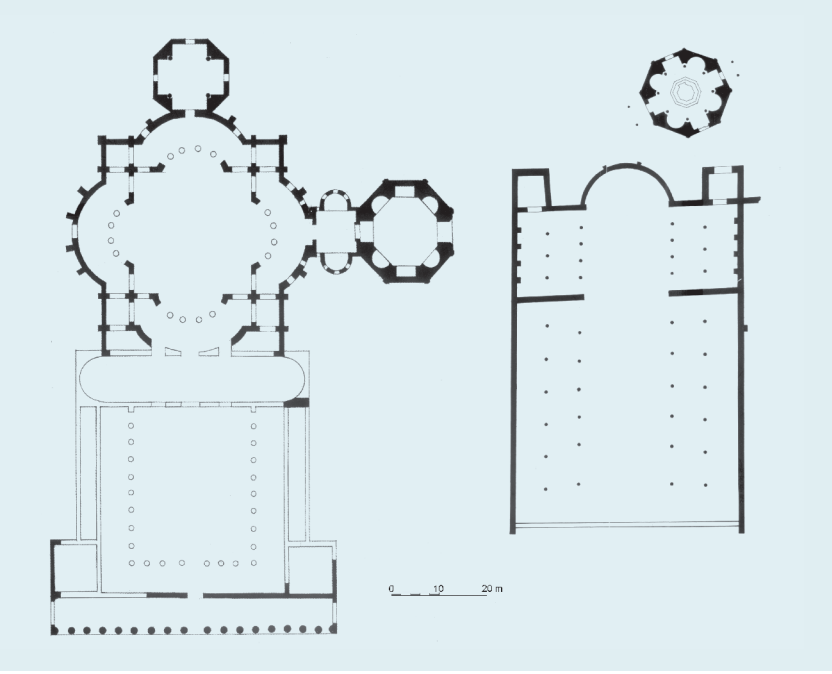
[151] A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, Ventimiglia (Fig. 331, p. 139), Albenga (Fig. 332, p. 63), Fréjus (Fig. 345, pp. 88–89).

[152] C. BONNET *et al.*, 1995. In the same spirit, albeit with six projecting quadrangular "conches," one can also mention the hexagonal baptistery in Limoges, whose eastern "conch" acquired a semicircular apse in the 6th century: J. DENIS, 2009.

[153] A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, Nevers (Fig. 336, p. 113), Lomello (Fig. 334, p. 102), Como (Fig. 335, p. 77), Novara (Fig. 333, p. 114). – O. BRANDT, 2012, pp. 398–440, Figs. 179–180 (Novara).

[147] G. MACKIE, 2003, str. 53-60. Za Dioklecijanov mauzolej u Splitu usp. J. MARASOVIĆ - K. MARASOVIĆ - S. PEROJEVIĆ, 2006, str. 497-506, a za carski mauzolej u Milanu u: O. BRANDT, 2017, str. 7-30. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, str. 158-167, sl. 116-117, 120. O mauzoleju u Solunu u: S. ĆURČIĆ, 2000, str. 19, sl. 19. – M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, str. 76, sl. 52.

310.[148] i tzv. Sant'Aquilino uz crkvu sv. Lovre iz 380. – 387. godine[149] te krstionica crkve sv. Tekle iz kraja 4. i početka 5. stoljeća, sve u Milanu (sl. 58.1-2)[150] ali i one u sjevernoj Italiji i južnoj Francuskoj[151]. Tim građevinama je, u zatvorenom poligonu, zajednička unutrašnja prostorna struktura i konstruktivna koncepcija kojoj su, oko središnje poligonalne ili kružne osnove, na sličan način, naizmjenično zrakasto složene polukružne i četvrtaste niše natkrite svodovima i polukupolama. Takvo oslobađanje arhitekture koja unutrašnju organizaciju prostora projicira i na vanjski izgled, posebno se odnosi na primjere iz Pijemonta, gdje je većina takvih primjera. Teritorijalno izdvojena krstionica u Neversu u Francuskoj je najslabije sačuvana. Pripadala je prvoj katedrali iz 6. stoljeća i kasnije je više puta obnavljana, a jedina je među ovim primjerima kojoj istočna apsida ima peterokutni oblik (sl. 57.3)[152]. Još tri tipološki slične krstionice se nalaze u okolici Milana. Krstionica u Lomellu, također iz 6. stoljeća, ima veću četvrtastu istočnu apsidu (sl. 57.4), a primjer iz Coma, iz 5. stoljeća, ima dvije veće nasuprotne četvrtaste apside na zapadnoj i istočnoj strani. Kroz vrata u istočnoj uglatoj apsidi spojena je s atrijem (sl. 57.5). Krstionica u Novari je također iz 5. stoljeća. Sa strana istočne uglate apside su dva presvođena prolaza koja su krstionicu spajala s atrijem (sl. 57.6)[153]. Na određeni način, ta regionalna pojava u Milanu i njegovoj okolici, može svjedočiti proces u kojemu određeni arhitektonski tip iz središnjice utječe na graditeljstvo u okolici. Ovdje međutim, ipak treba upozoriti na činjenicu da ovakva rješenja poznaje i starija rimska carska arhitektura, za što je dobar primjer vestibul u rimskoj vili cara Hadrijana (117. – 138.) koji je, pored niza drugih sposobnosti, imao i nedvojbenu sklonost za arhitekturu i graditeljstvo (sl.



sl. 58. Oktogonalne građevine s nišama u unutrašnjosti u Milanu: 1. (lijevo) Mauzolej (kapela sv. Akvilina) uz crkvu Sv. Lovre; 2. (desno) Krstionica crkve Sv. Tekle (Ch. B. McClendon).
Fig. 58. Octagonal buildings with interior niches in Milan: 1. (left) Mausoleum (Chapel of St. Aquilinus) next to the church of St. Lawrence; 2. (right) Baptistery of the church of St. Thecla (Ch. B. McClendon).

(Fig. 57.1)[154]. This is also a building with a central octagonal space around which semicircular and rectangular conches alternate radially, visible on the exterior as well, in the same manner as in the Piedmont baptisteries. At the junction of two conches in the interior, similar to the martyrium at Nyssa and the baptisteries at Como and Novara, and probably originally also at Lomello, columns are set against the walls, additionally supporting its segmented dome. The dome of the vestibule in Hadrian's villa also had a circular opening at its apex. Opposite the junction of the conches in the interior, buttresses are added on the exterior of the vestibule, further supporting the entire structure.

Interpretation of the finds

The results of the archaeological revisions, the portable finds, and the late antique, early Christian, and early Byzantine analogies presented here further define the Bribir rotunda as a structure dating to the late 5th or early 6th centuries. During the investigations conducted

148 M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, str. 71-73, sl. 48-50.
149 M. J. JOHNSON, 2009, str. 158-167, sl. 116-117, 120.
150 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, oktogonalne krstionice u Milanu (sl. 327-330, str. 108). – Ch. B. McCLENDON, 2005, str. 10-15.
151 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, Ventimiglia (sl. 331, str. 139), Albenga (sl. 332, str. 63), Fréjus (sl. 345, str. 88-89).
152 C. BONNET et al., 1995. Također se može spomenuti, u istom duhu, ali sa šest četverokutnih izbočenih "konhi", šesterokutna krstionica u Limogesu, čija je istočna "konha" u 6. stoljeću dobila polukružnu apsidu: J. DENIS, 2009.
153 A. KHATCHATRIAN, 1962, Nevers (sl. 336, str. 113), Lomello (sl. 334, str. 102), Como (sl. 335, str. 77), Novara (sl. 333, str. 114). – O. BRANDT, 2012, str. 398-440, sl. 179-180 (Novara).

154 G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, pp. 129–132, Figs. 147–149. It is assumed that Hadrian himself designed the vestibule, and that the architect Decrianus, mentioned in connection with him, implemented the emperor's blueprint. In addition to this example in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, built between 118 and 134, there are several small rotundas with free-standing apses (see plan in: J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, pp. 204–206, plan on p. 205).

from 2014 to 2017, all of the parts that reliably allow for the reconstruction of the ground plan were excavated, although the building had been considerably damaged. We have already stated that a single-nave longitudinal church was built over its remains in the 14th century. The church builders partially spanned and razed three northern and three southern semicircular apses of the rotunda. The semicircular apse of the late medieval church largely rested upon the large eastern semicircular apse of the rotunda, while its western façade almost entirely dismantled the western angular apse and its junctions with the adjacent semicircular apses on the northern and southern sides. This part of the rotunda was further damaged in the 18th century, when the late medieval single-nave church was extended, resulting in the complete removal of its western façade. Additional damage to the rotunda was also caused by occasional early modern graves, since its remains are located within an active local cemetery that is still in use today (Fig. 59).

All walls of the rotunda are the same in structure. They were built of dressed square stone blocks laid in regular courses of varying heights (*opus incertum*), with well-plastered joints (Fig. 60). It is very likely that the interior walls of the rotunda were decoratively painted, since fragments of fine plaster with traces of colour were found throughout all investigations of its interior. Remains of muted red and ochre hues are visible on most fragments[155]. All walls of the rotunda have an expanded foundation footing, in which larger stone blocks were laid directly on the bedrock. The walls built of dressed square stone blocks are not decisive for dating the rotunda, since very similar structures can also be found in other such buildings. However, direct comparison is difficult, since what we have today in the majority of rotundas investigated to date in Dalmatia is the result of conservation and reconstruction after completed excavations. Nevertheless, the wall structure of the Bribir rotunda is comparable to some extent to the walls of the rotunda in Pridraga, built of square stone blocks reused from Roman buildings at the same site[156], whereas the small

[155] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, p. 16.

[156] S. GUNJAČA, 1963, pp. 35–38, Fig. 6.

57.1)[154]. To je također građevina sa središnjim oktogonalnim prostorom oko kojega se na isti način, kao i u krstionicama u Pijemontu, naizmjenično zrakasto nižu polukružne i četvrtaste konhe, vidljive i s vanjske strane. Uz spoj dviju konhi u unutrašnjosti, slično kao u martiriju u Nyssi te u krstionicama u Comu i Novari, a vjerojatno izvorno i u Lomellu, prislonjeni su stupovi na koje je dodatno oslonjena segmentirana kupola. Ona na vestibulu iz Hadrijanove vile imala je i okrugli otvor na vrhu. Nasuprot spoju konha u unutrašnjosti, s vanjske strane vestibula su i kontrafori koji dodatno podržavaju cijelu konstrukciju.

sl. 59. Bribirska glavica, stanje iz 2013. godine.
Fig. 59. Bribirska glavica in 2013.

Interpretacija nalaza

Rezultati revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja, pokretni nalazi i ovdje donijete kasnoantičke, ranokršćanske i ranobizantske usporedbe, rotundu na Bribiru dodatno određuju kao građevinu iz kraja 5. ili početka 6. stoljeća. Tijekom istraživanja od 2014. do 2017. godine otkopani su svi njeni dijelovi koji pouzdano omogućavaju rekonstrukciju njenog tlocrta, iako je znatnije oštećena. Već smo rekli da je preko njenih ostataka u 14. stoljeću sagrađena jednobrodna longitudinalna crkva koja je dijelom premostila i razgradila tri sjeverne i tri južne polukružne apside. Polukružna apsida kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve uglavnom je sjela na veliku istočnu polukružnu apsidu rotunde, a njena zapadna fasada gotovo u potpunosti je razgradila zapadnu uglatu apsidu i njene spojeve sa susjednim polukružnim apsidama sa sjeverne i južne strane. U tom dijelu rotunda je dodatno oštećena u 18. stoljeću kada je dogradnjom produžena kasnosrednjovjekovna jednobrodna crkva, tako da joj je potpuno uklonjena zapadna fasada. Dodatnim oštećenjima rotunde doprinijeli su i povremeni ukopi novovjekovnih grobova jer se njeni ostatci nalaze na aktivnom mjesnom groblju koje je i danas u funkciji (sl. 59).

Zidovi rotunde su svi jednake strukture. Građeni su priklesanim kvadratnim kamenim bloko-

[154] G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, str. 129-132, sl. 147-149. Pretpostavlja se da je projektant vestibula sam Hadrijan te da je arhitekt Dekrijan, koji se spominje s njim u vezi, izvođač careve zamisli. Osim toga primjera u sklopu Hadrijanove vile u Tivoliju koja je sagrađena između 118. i 134. godine još je nekoliko manjih rotunda sa slobodnim apsidama (vidi plan u: J. B. WARD PERKINS, 1981, str. 204-206, plan na str. 205).





sl. 60. Struktura zida bribirske rotunde na spoju velike istočne apside i prve male s južne strane (A. Milošević)
Fig. 60. Wall structure of the Bribir rotunda at the junction of the large eastern apse and the first small one on the southern side (A. Milošević).

quantity of loose binding mortar in its core is not characteristic of late antique buildings. A similar wall structure, but with a significantly larger quantity of strong binding mortar, can be found at St. Mary's in Trogir[157]. Like the Bribir rotunda, the Trogir six-lobed building has a pronounced and expanded masonry foundation footing, which is lacking in most other rotundas in Dalmatia, according to the information available. The masonry style, the greater quantity of mortar, and the prominent foundation footing could indicate its earlier date.

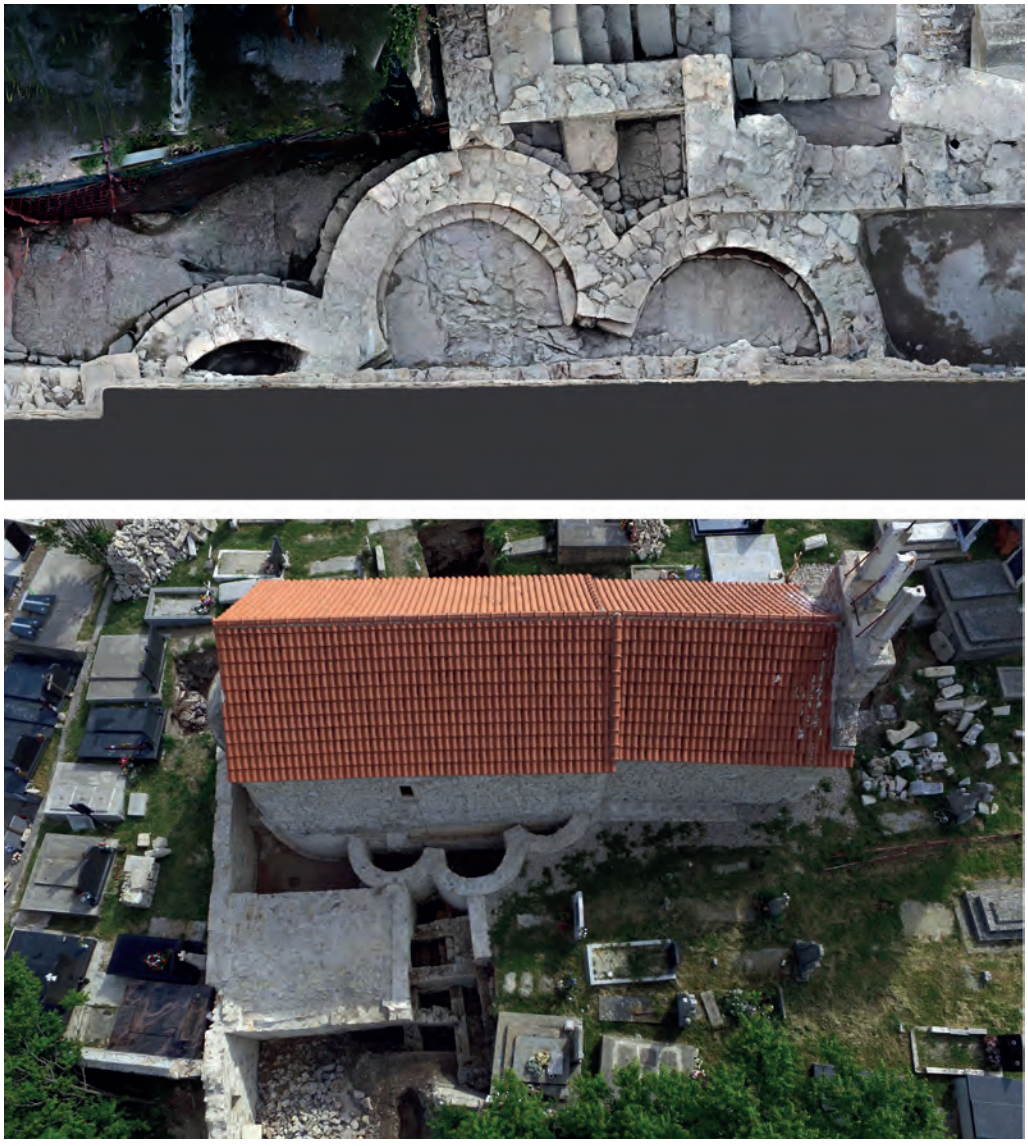
The remains of three conches, in the form of open circles, are visible from the Bribir rotunda, on the northern side of the present-day church (Fig. 61.1). Their walls are laid on a wide foundation footing that rests directly on the bedrock. The central conch is fully preserved, the eastern one almost entirely, whereas slightly more than one-third of the western one is still visible. The remainder is covered by the wall of the late medieval church. By way of the eastern apse, the rotunda is deliberately structurally bonded to the antechamber of the mausoleum with

vima složenim u pravilne redove različite visine (*opus incertum*), s dobro ožbukanim sljubnicama (fugama, sl. 60). Vrlo je vjerojatno da su unutrašnji zidovi rotunde bili dekorativno obojeni, jer su tijekom svih istraživanja njene unutrašnjosti pronalaženi fragmenti finije žbuke s tragovima boje. Na većini fragmenata vidljivi su ostatci sa zagasito crvenim i oker nijansama[155]. Svi zidovi rotunde imaju proširenu temeljnu stopu u kojoj su veći kameni blokovi položeni izravno na živac. Zid od priklesanih kamenih kvadratnih blokova nije presudan za datiranje rotunde jer je riječ o strukturi koja je vrlo slična i na drugim takvim građevinama. Teško ih je, međutim, izravno uspoređivati jer ono s čime danas raspolažemo u najvećem broju primjera do sada istraženih rotunda u Dalmaciji rezultat je konzervacije i rekonstrukcije nakon završenih iskopavanja. Ipak, struktura zida bribirske rotunde donekle je usporediva sa zidovima rotunde u Pridragi, koja je građena od kamenih kvadratnih blokova preuzetih s rimskih zgrada na istom mjestu[156], dok mala količina rahlog vezivnog maltera u njegovoj nutrini nije svojstvena kasnoantičkim gradnjama. Sličnu zidnu strukturu, ali sa znatno većom količinom tvrdoga vezivnog maltera, ima Sv. Marija u Trogiru[157]. Kao i bribirska rotunda, trogirski šesterolist ima naglašenu i proširenu zidanu temeljnu stopu koju, prema nama dostupnim podatcima, nema većina drugih rotunda u Dalmaciji. Način zidanja, veća količina maltera i istaknuta temeljna stopa mogli bi ukazivati na njeno ranije datiranje.

Od rotunde na Bribiru, sa sjeverne strane današnje crkve vidljivi su ostatci triju konha koje imaju oblik odsječenoga kruga (sl. 61.1). Zidovi su im položeni na širu temeljnu stopu koja leži izravno na živcu. Srednja od njih sačuvana je u punom opsegu, istočna je gotovo cijela, a od zapadne je vidljivo nešto više od trećine. Ostatak im je pokriven zidom kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve. Istočnom apsidom je s namjerom zidarski spojena s pretprostorom mauzoleja sa sarkofazima. S njegovim južnim zidom, sa zidom velike istočne apside i s ogradnim zidom

[155] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 16.
[156] S. GUNJAČA, 1963, str. 35-38, sl. 6.
[157] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1963, str. 90, sl. 3-8. – V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, str. 98-101.

[157] T. MARASOVIĆ, 1963, p. 90, Figs. 3–8. – V. KOVAČIĆ, 2019, pp. 98–101.



sl. 61. Dio biribirske rotunde sa sjeverne strane današnje crkve: 1. (gore) Rezultat arheoloških istraživanja; 2. (dolje) Konzervirane i prezentirane iskopine (M. Žapčić i Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 61. Part of the Bribir rotunda on the northern side of the present-day church: 1. (top) Results of archaeological research; 2. (bottom) Conserved and presented excavations (M. Žapčić and Z. Alajbeg).

cijeloga kompleksa zatvara trokutasti prostor u koji je bila umetnuta cisterna (sl. 41). U postupku konzervacije i prezentacije zidovi tih triju apsida su dograđeni do visine današnje hodne površine na groblju (sl. 61.2). U istom postupku je rekonstruiran i svod nad mauzolejem sa sarkofazima i ogradni zid s istočne strane cijeloga kompleksa.

Slična je situacija i s južne strane današnje crkve (sl. 62.1), s time da su ostatci rotunde u tome iskopu slabije sačuvani jer su ih dodatno kasnije oštetili i ukopi kasnosrednjovjekovnih i novovjekovnih grobova. U punom opsegu iskopani su ostatci srednje apside, ona s istočne strane je polovično sačuvana, a zapadna je vidljiva tek u jednoj trećini. Zidovi apsida su s

sarcophagi. Together with its southern wall, the wall of the large eastern apse, and the enclosing wall of the entire complex, it encloses a triangular space into which a cistern was interpolated (Fig. 41). The walls of these three apses were rebuilt in the course of conservation and presentation up to the height of the current walking surface of the cemetery (Fig. 61.2). The vault above the mausoleum with sarcophagi and the enclosing wall on the eastern side of the entire complex were also reconstructed in the same process.

A similar situation can be seen on the southern side of the present-day church (Fig. 62.1), with the difference that the remains of the rotunda in this excavation are less well preserved, since



Fig. 62. Part of the Bribir rotunda on the southern side of the present-day church: 1. (top) Results of archaeological research; 2. (bottom) Conserved and presented excavations (M. Žapčić and Z. Alajbeg).

sl. 62. Dio biribirske rotunde s južne strane današnje crkve: 1. (gore) Rezultat arheoloških istraživanja; 2. (dolje) Konzervirane i prezentirane iskopine (M. Žapčić i Z. Alajbeg).

they were further damaged subsequently by late medieval and early modern graves. The remains of the central apse have been fully excavated, the eastern one is only half-preserved, while only about one-third of the western one is visible. The walls of the apses rest on expanded foundation footings laid directly on the bedrock. A segment of the southern enclosing wall of the complex has also been excavated at a distance of less than one metre from the crown of the central apse. As in the case of the northern side, all remains were reconstructed in the course of conservation and presentation up to the height of the current walking surface of the cemetery (Fig. 62.2).

The large eastern apse of the Bribir rotunda is an interesting architectural detail in relation

proširenom temeljnom stopom položenom na živac. Na udaljenosti manjoj od jednog metra od tjemena srednje apside iskopan je i segment južnog ogradnog zida kompleksa. Kao i sa sjeverne strane, u postupku konzervacije i prezentacije svi ostatci su rekonstruirani do visine današnje hodne površine na groblju (sl. 62.2).

Velika istočna apsida bribirske rotunde je zanimljiv arhitektonski detalj u odnosu na do sada poznate primjere rotunda za koje se pretpostavlja da pripadaju ranom srednjem vijeku. Te naime, imaju sve apside približno iste veličine. Iznimka je tek rotunda sv. Mihovila u Pridragi kojoj je istočna apsida nešto veća[158]. Veličina i oblik istočne apside svakako naglašava njenu

[158] S. GUNJAČA, 1963, str. 35-37.



Fig. 63. Part of the Bribir rotunda on the eastern side of the present-day church: 1. (top) Results of archaeological research; 2. (bottom left) Southern half of the large eastern apse; 3. (bottom right) Northern half of the large eastern apse (Z. Alajbeg).

sl. 63. Dio biribirske rotunde s istočne strane današnje crkve: 1. (gore) Rezultat arheoloških istraživanja; 2. (dolje lijevo) Južna polovica velike istočne apside; 3. (dolje desno) Sjeverna polovica velike istočne apside (Z. Alajbeg).

važnost i funkciju u organizaciji unutrašnjeg prostora bribirske rotunde. Više primjera iz ranokršćanskog vremena potvrđuje da su tadašnji, često privatni mauzoleji ujedno i martiriji u kojima je povremeno prakticirana i liturgija. Na takvu praksu ukazuje izvedba monumentalnog mauzoleja u Kölnu[159] (sl. 21.1) koji ima veću istočnu apsidu, a također i šesterolisna rotunda s većom istočnom apsidom kod Pretekstatovih katakomba u Rimu koja je naknadno podignuta nad grobovima kršćanskih mučenika (sl. 54.1)[160].

to the examples of rotundas known to date that are assumed to date to the early Middle Ages. Namely, all their apses are approximately equal in size. The only exception is the rotunda of St. Michael in Pridraga, whose eastern apse is somewhat larger[158]. The size and form of the eastern apse certainly emphasise its significance and purpose in the organisation of the interior space of the Bribir rotunda. A number of examples from the early Christian period confirm that contemporary, often private, mausolea also functioned as martyria in which liturgy was occasionally carried out. Such practice is indicated by the monumen-

159 A. VON GERKAN, 1951, str. 215-218.

160 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 67-73, pl. VI-VIII. O odnosu ranokršćanskih mauzoleja i martirija više u: A. GRABAR, 1943-1946, 1/1946, str. 87-102. – G. MACKIE, 2003, str. 9-90.

158 S. GUNJAČA, 1963, pp. 35–37.

sl. 64. Apsidalni dio ranokršćanskih crkava: 1. (gore) Sv. Martin u Pridragi; 2. (dolje) Srima kod Šibenika (Z. Alajbeg).

Fig. 64. Apsidal sections in early Christian churches: 1. (top) St. Martin in Pridraga; 2. (bottom) Srima near Šibenik (Z. Alajbeg).

tal mausoleum in Cologne[159] (Fig. 21.1), which has a larger eastern apse, as well as by the six-lobed rotunda with a larger eastern apse near the catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome, which was subsequently erected above the graves of Christian martyrs (Fig. 54.1)[160].

Almost the entire outer perimeter of the large eastern apse of the Bribir rotunda has been excavated (Fig. 63.1), while its junctions with the smaller lateral apses have remained under the walls of the present-day church. At its crown, there is a lesene structurally bonded to the apse wall. It also directly abuts the earlier enclosing wall of the complex. The northern half of the eastern apse, together with the eastern enclosing wall, the southern wall of the mausoleum with sarcophagi, and the smaller eastern apse on the northern side, enclosed a space into which the cistern was interpolated (Figs. 41, 63.3). For this purpose, its wall was reinforced between the crown and the first adjacent lesenes on the northern side, and a corner was built where the crown lesene joined the enclosing wall. A small probe within the cistern established that the eastern apse has a larger foundation footing than the others, probably due to its size. In a certain sense, this is also evident in the probe in which its southern half was excavated, where its foundation footing was reinforced with large stone blocks and a fragment of an antique column (Fig. 63.2).

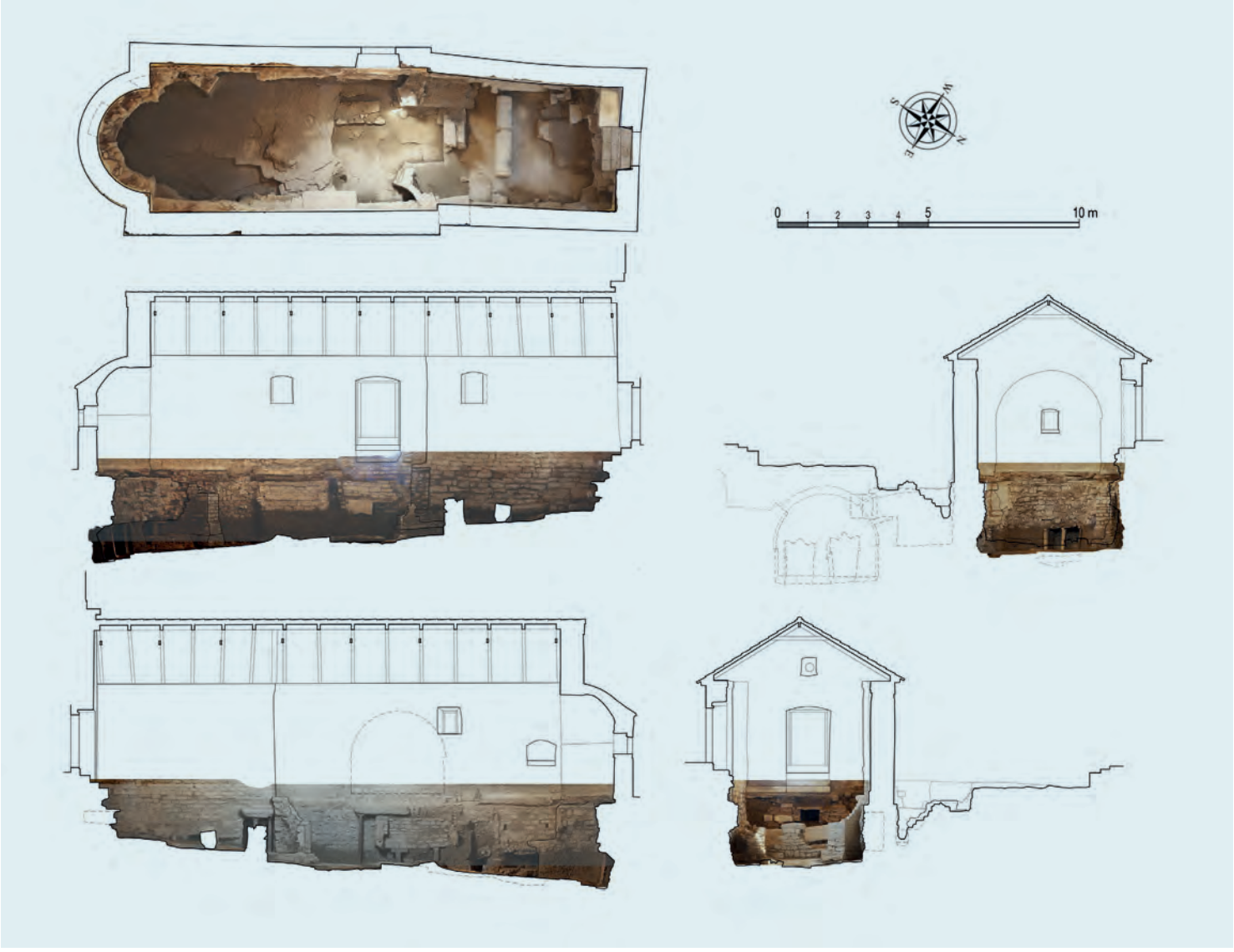
The outer wall surface of the large eastern apse is articulated with five shallow lesenes, which were very probably connected by arches in their upper zones. Three of them are still visible today, while two, at the junction with the lateral conches, remain beneath the walls of the late medieval church (Figs. 63.2–3). Ultimately, they formed a system of four decorative-structural blind arcades, a very common architectural element, especially in the apsidal sections of early Christian churches, where they were used to reinforce the wall structure that supported the apse calotte in the interior. This is shown, among several other examples, by the churches of St. Martin in Pridraga and the



Velika istočna apsida bribirske rotunde iskopana je u gotovo cijelom vanjskom opsegu (sl. 63.1), dok su joj spojevi s manjim bočnim apsidama ostali pod zidovima današnje crkve. Na njenom tjemenu je lezena konstruktivno povezana sa zidom apside i izravno je naslonjena na stariji ogradni zid kompleksa. Sjeverna polovica istočne apside, s istočnim ogradnim zidom, s južnim zidom mauzoleja sa sarkofazima i s manjom istočnom apsidom sa sjeverne strane, zatvarala je prostor u koji je umetnuta cisterna (sl. 41, 63.3). S tom svrhom je ojačan njen zid između tjemene i prve susjedne lezene sa sjeverne strane, a dozidan je i ugao u kojemu se tjemena lezena spaja s ogradnim zidom. Manjom sondom u cisterni utvrđeno je da istočna apsida, vjerojatno zbog svoje veličine, ima veću temeljnu stopu od ostalih. To se na određeni način vidi i u sondi u kojoj je iskopana njena južna polovica, gdje joj je temeljna stopa ojačana većim kamenim blokovima i ulomkom antičkoga stupa (sl. 63.2).

[159] A. VON GERKAN, 1951, pp. 215–218.

[160] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 67–73, Pls. VI–VIII. For the connection between early Christian mausolea and martyria, see: A. GRABAR, 1943–1946, 1/1946, pp. 87–102. – G. MACKIE, 2003, pp. 9–90.



sl. 65. Istražena unutrašnjost današnje crkve na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. Fototlocrt; 2. Uzdužni presjek s pogledom prema jugu; 3. Poprečni presjek s pogledom prema istoku; 4. Uzdužni presjek s pogledom prema sjeveru; 5. Poprečni presjek s pogledom prema zapadu (M. Žapčić).

Vanjski zidni plašt velike istočne apside raščlanjen je s pet plitkih lezena koje su u gornjoj zoni vrlo vjerojatno bile spojene lukovima. Tri od njih su i danas vidljive, dok su dvije, na spoju s bočnim konhama ostale pod zidovima kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve (sl. 63.2-3). U konačnici tvorile su sustav od četiri dekorativno-konstruktivne slijepe arkade što je vrlo čest graditeljski element, pogotovu u apsidalnim dijelovima ranokršćanskih crkava gdje su trebale pojačati zidnu konstrukciju koja je nosila kalotu apside u unutrašnjosti, kako to, pored nekoliko drugih primjera, pokazuju crkve sv. Martina u Pridragi i dvojne crkve u Srimi (Prižbi) kod Šibenika (sl. 42.1, 64.1-2)[161]. Primjer iz Srime

[161] Z. GUNJAČA, 1996, str. 65-74.

twin churches at Srima (Prižba) near Šibenik (Figs. 42.1, 64.1–2)[161]. The example from Srima is particularly interesting for us because only its apses are reinforced in this way (with four buttresses on the apse of the northern church, and five blind arcades on the southern one), while the remaining walls of both churches are smooth. The case at the Bribir rotunda is similar. The square entrance apse and the smaller semicircular lateral apses have smooth exterior wall surfaces, whereas the blind arcades were made only on the large eastern apse. This architectural detail is logical, since the semi-dome of that apse is twice as large as the others.

Fig. 65. Excavated interior of the present-day church at Bribirska glavica: 1. Photoplan; 2. Longitudinal section looking south; 3. Transverse section looking east; 4. Longitudinal section looking north; 5. Transverse section looking west (M. Žapčić).

[161] Z. GUNJAČA, 1996, pp. 65–74.



sl. 66. Novovjekovne grobnice u produženom dijelu današnje crkve na Bribirskoj glavici (A. Milošević).
Fig. 66. Early Modern tombs in the extended part of the present-day church at Bribirska glavica (A. Milošević).

During 2015, the entire interior of the former monastic church of St. John, i.e. the present-day Orthodox church of Sts. Joachim and Anne, was also investigated. The bulk of the former rotunda remained beneath it (Figs. 65.1–5). For structural reasons, it was not possible to excavate all of its presumed remains, particularly those in the presbytery of the present-day church. A number of discovered large graves further complicated the excavations. Several date to the late Middle Ages, while the majority are from the early modern period (Fig. 66). The remains of the rotunda were excavated at three locations beneath the foundations of the presbytery of the late medieval church of St. John. Beneath the northern side wall, there is the junction of the large eastern apse with the first adjacent small conch on the northern side (Fig. 67.1). For the reasons mentioned, it was possible to excavate only the corner of this junction with the foundation footing made of large stone blocks and just three courses of the rotunda wall above it. The foundation footing rests directly on the bedrock, and the stonework above consists of small, roughly squared

za nas je osobito zanimljiv jer su tako ojačane samo njegove apside (na apsidi sjeverne crkve su četiri kontrafora, a na južnoj je pet slijepih arkada), dok su ostali zidovi na objema crkvama glatki. Na bribirskoj rotundi je sličan slučaj. Ulazna četvrtasta apsida i manje polukružne bočne apside imaju glatko oplošje vanjskih zidova dok su slijepe arkade izvedene samo na velikoj istočnoj apsidi. Taj je konstrukcijski detalj logičan jer je polukupola te apside dva puta veća od ostalih.

Tijekom 2015. godine istražena je i cijela unutrašnjost nekadašnje samostanske crkve sv. Ivana, odnosno današnje pravoslavne crkve sv. Joakima i Ane, pod kojom je ostao najveći dio prostora nekadašnje rotunde (sl. 65.1-5). Iz statičkih razloga nije bilo moguće otkopati sve njene pretpostavljene ostatke, posebno one koji se nalaze u prezbiteriju današnje crkve. Iskopavanja su dodatno bila otežana zbog pronalaska većeg broja velikih grobnica. Nekoliko ih je pripadalo kasnom srednjem vijeku, a većina je novovjekovnih (sl. 66). Pod temeljima prezbiterija kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve sv.



sl. 67. Ostatci rotunde u prezbiterijalnom dijelu kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Ivana na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. Spoj velike istočne apside s prvom susjednom malom konhom sa sjeverne strane; 2. Unutrašnji zid velike apside rotunde; 3. Spoj velike istočne apside i prve manje konhe s južne strane (A. Alajbeg).

Fig. 67. Remains of the rotunda in the presbyterial section of the late-medieval church of St. John at Bribirska glavica: 1. Junction of the large eastern apse with the first adjacent small conch on the northern side; 2. Interior wall of the large apse of the rotunda; 3. Junction of the large eastern apse with the first smaller conch on the southern side (A. Alajbeg).

Ivana, ostatci rotunde otkopani su na tri mjesta. Pod sjevernim bočnim zidom je spoj velike istočne apside s prvom susjednom malom konhom sa sjeverne strane (sl. 67.1). Iz spomenutih razloga na tome mjestu je bilo moguće otkopati tek ugao toga spoja s temeljnom stopom od većih kamenih blokova i svega tri reda zida rotunde iznad njega. Temeljna stopa je položena izravno na živac, a zidani dio je od manjih pačetvorinastih kamenih blokova povezanih većom količinom maltera. Ispod temelja tjemena apside današnje crkve otkopan je manji dio unutrašnjeg zida velike apside rotunde. Na tom je mjestu otkopana temeljna stopa od četiri reda manjeg pačetvorinastog kamenja i tri reda zida apside (sl. 67.2). Spoj velike istočne apside i prve manje konhe s južne strane najbolje je vidljiv segment rotunde u unutrašnjosti crkve. Ostao je bolje sačuvan jer su ga temelji kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve samo djelomično preslojili. Najbolje je sačuvano čelo toga spoja (sl. 60, 67.3, 74), a prema njegovoj zidnoj strukturi može se pretpostaviti i razina poda nekadašnje rotunde. Temeljna stopa je položena izravno na živac. Prvi red kamenja u njenoj strukturi su

stone blocks bonded with a large quantity of mortar. A small section of the inner wall of the large apse of the rotunda was excavated beneath the foundations of the crown of the apse of the present-day church. A foundation footing of four courses of small, roughly squared stones and three courses of the apse wall were uncovered on this spot (Fig. 67.2). The junction of the large eastern apse and the first small conch on the southern side is the best visible segment of the rotunda within the interior of the church. It has remained better preserved because the foundations of the late medieval church overlaid it only in parts. The front face of this junction has been best preserved (Figs. 60, 67.3, 74). Based on its wall structure, the floor level of the former rotunda can also be assumed. The foundation footing rests directly on the bedrock. The first course of stone in its structure consists of large, poorly dressed stone blocks. The next four courses resemble the wall structure of the apse and taper upward. Above, there are about ten vertically aligned courses of stone. We assume that the level of the rotunda floor is also approximately at the junc-



sl. 68. Ostatci rotunde u zapadnom dijelu naosa kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve sv. Ivana na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. Spoj sa južnom konhom; 2. Zidovi četvrtaste apside; 3. Spoj sa sjevernom konhom (A. Alajbeg).

Fig. 68. Remains of the rotunda in the western part of the naos of the late medieval church of St. John at Bribirska glavica: 1. Junction with the southern conch; 2. Walls of the square apse; 3. Junction with the northern conch (A. Alajbeg).

tion of the sloping and the flat vertical walling. The foundation footing on the inner side of the large apse is particularly interesting. It is wider than the others and does not follow the curvature of the apse (Fig. 60). It was probably reinforced because it supported a massive masonry structure on which the large semi-dome in the apse rested.

The western part of the rotunda in the interior of the church has been considerably more poorly preserved (Fig. 68). It was largely dismantled in the 14th century, when the western wall of the church of St. John was erected precisely on that spot. This almost entirely eliminated the walls of the square apse of the rotunda, leaving only its foundation footing and a section of the wall with the entrance (Fig. 68.2). The walls of the two adjacent semicircular conches on the northern and southern sides were also considerably damaged. The only remnants of the connection with the southern one are the foundation footing and but a few courses of stone on the front side of that junction (Fig. 68.1). The junction of the square and the northern semicircular conch was less damaged (Fig. 68.3). Its





veći slabo obrađeni kameni blokovi, četiri naredna reda sliče zidnoj strukturi apside i prema gore se zidanjem sužavaju, a iznad toga je po okomici ravno složeno desetak redova kamenja. Pretpostavljamo da je približno na spoju zakošenog i ravnog okomitog zidanja i razina poda rotunde. Zanimljiva je temeljna stopa s unutrašnje strane velike apside koja je šira od ostalih i ne prati zaobljenost apside (sl. 60). Vjerojatno je pojačana zato što je na njoj stajala

sl. 69.1-2. Sačuvani dio spoja zapadne uglate i sjeverne konhe (A. Milošević).

Figs. 69.1–2. Preserved part of the junction of the western angular with the northern conch (A. Milošević).

masivnija zidana konstrukcija koja je podržavala veliku polukupolu u apsidi.

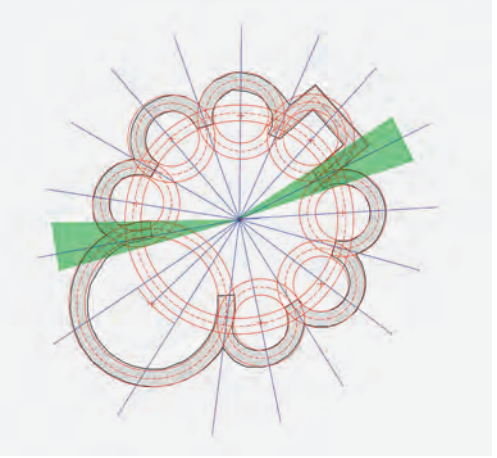
Zapadni dio rotunde u unutrašnjosti crkve je znatno slabije sačuvan (sl. 68). U velikoj mjeri je razgrađen u vrijeme kada je u 14. stoljeću upravo na tom mjestu bio podignut zapadni zid crkve sv. Ivana. Tom su prigodom gotovo u cijelosti poništeni zidovi četvrtaste apside rotunde od koje je ostala samo temeljna stopa i dio zida na kojemu su bila vrata (sl. 68.2). Znatno su oštećeni i zidovi dviju susjednih polukružnih konha sa sjeverne i južne strane. Od kontakta s južnom ostala je temeljna stopa i tek nekoliko redova kamenja na čeonoj strani toga spoja (sl. 68.1). Spoj četvrtaste i sjeverne polukružne konhe je manje nastradao (sl. 68.3). Sačuvana mu je temeljna stopa sa šest zidanih redova na čeonoj strani i nešto više lica zida oble apside s unutrašnje strane rotunde. Vanjsko lice joj je gotovo cijelo razgrađeno sve do masivnih i dubokih temelja crkve kasnoga srednjeg vijeka. Na ovome spoju još je jedan zanimljiv detalj. Tijekom gradnje rotunde zidanje njene zapadne apside, u prvih pet redova kamenja, započeto je u polukružnoj formi što se dade zaključiti iz položaja kamenih blokova na tome mjestu (sl. 69.1-2). U nekom trenutku tijekom izgradnje projekt je promijenjen. Dio polukružnog zida je razgrađen do nivoa temeljne stope koja je bila prilagođena polukružnoj konhi nakon čega je na njoj sagrađen novi ravni zid (sl. 69.2). Mali dio polukružnog lagano zakošenog zida koji je ostao sačuvan, na prijelazu u ravni zid, izravnan je žbukom koja je istoga sastava kao i malter u zidu. Ta promjena tijekom izgradnje odrazila se i na nepravilnost građevine u odnosu na ono što je bilo projektirano pa je jugozapadna polovica rotunde približno jednako izmaknuta u odnosu na ostatak građevine (sl. 70). To je vidljivo na spoju sjevernoga zida uglatoga ulaznog prostora sa susjednom polukružnom konhom i na spoju velike istočne apside sa susjednom konhom s južne strane.

Nakon završetka istraživanja dijelovi rotunde su rekonstruirani do pretpostavljene visine poda kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve, a nakon što joj je cijela unutrašnjost ponovno zatrpana tucanikom, postavljen je novi pod od kamenih ploča u kojemu su vidljivi projicirani rekonstruirani ostatci rotunde (sl. 71).

foundation footing with six masonry courses on the front and a bit more of the inner face of the rounded apse wall on the interior of the rotunda have been preserved. The outer face has been almost entirely eliminated down to the massive and deep foundations of the late medieval church. There is yet another interesting detail concerning this junction. During the construction of the rotunda, the first five courses of stonework of its western apse were started in a semicircular form, as can be concluded from the position of the stone blocks on this spot (Figs. 69.1–2). However, the plan was altered at some point during construction. A section of the semicircular wall was dismantled down to the level of the foundation footing, which had been adapted to the semicircular conch, after which a new flat wall was built on it (Fig. 69.2). A small part of the semicircular, slightly sloping wall, which has remained preserved, was levelled at the transition to the straight wall with plaster of the same composition as the mortar in the wall. This modification during construction was also reflected in the irregularity of the building in relation to what had been originally planned, so that the southwestern half of the rotunda is approximately equally offset in relation to the rest of the building (Fig. 70). This is visible at the junction of the northern wall of the angular entrance space with the adjacent semicircular conch, and at the junction of the large eastern apse with the adjacent conch on the southern side.

After completion of the investigations, parts of the rotunda were reconstructed up to the presumed floor level of the late medieval church. Once the entire interior had been refilled with crushed stone, a new stone slab floor was laid, showing the projected reconstructed remains of the rotunda (Fig. 71).

The archaeological excavations of the Bribir rotunda (Figs. 72.1–2) have thus shown that it is undoubtedly a late antique Christian structure. However, the same efforts have not reliably determined its original purpose. There are several possible interpretations, and considering the previously presented analogies, according to most of which the buildings were memorial in nature, it can be assumed with a high degree



sl. 70. Greška u tlocrtu rotunde nastala u vrijeme njene izgradnje u odnosu na izvorni projekt (A. Milošević).
Fig. 70. Error in the ground plan of the rotunda made during its construction in relation to the original design (A. Milošević).

of probability that this was also valid for the Bribir example. Several indirect archaeological indicators point precisely to such a possibility, and two are essential:

1. The rotunda directly abutted the antechamber of the vaulted tomb in front of the burial chamber with sarcophagi by means of one of the small northern conches (Figs. 73.1–3). Since the rotunda was a Christian structure,

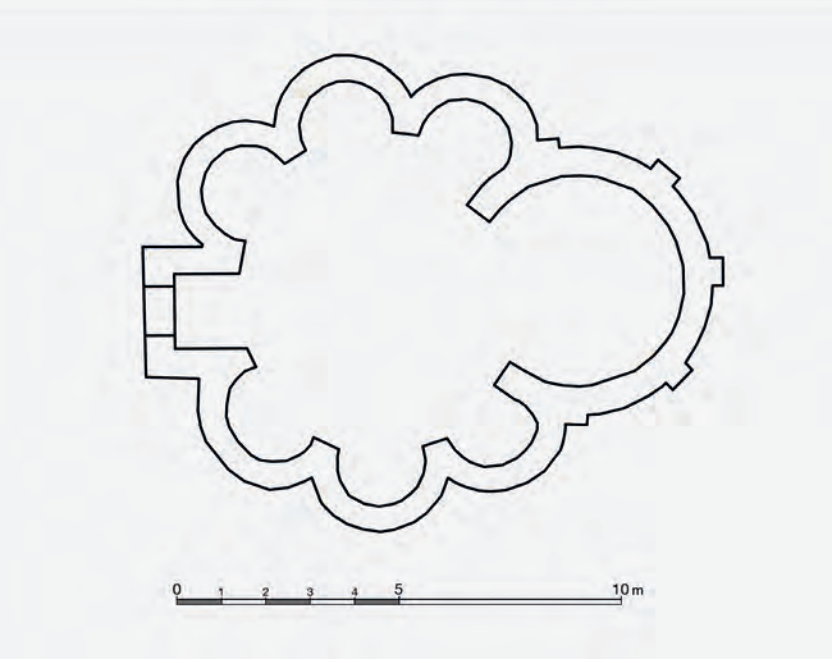
Arheološka istraživanja bribirske rotunde (sl. 72.1-2) pokazala su, dakle, da je ona nesumnjivo kasnoantička kršćanska građevina, no, kroz ista nastojanja nije se uspjelo pouzdano utvrditi njenu izvornu funkciju. Mogućih rješenja je nekoliko te s obzirom na prije iznijete analogije, prema kojima je u najvećem broju slučajeva riječ o memorijalnim građevinama, to se s velikom vjerojatnošću može pretpostaviti i za bribirski primjer. Više neizravnih arheoloških pokazatelja ukazuje upravo na takvu mogućnost, a dva su bitna:

1. Jednom od manjih sjevernih konha rotunda se izravno naslonila na pretprostor mauzoleja ispred grobne komore sa sarkofazima (sl. 73.1-3), a kako je rotunda kršćanska građevina, tim je kontaktom ostvareno simboličko pokrštenje pokojnika u sarkofazima koji su vjerojatno iz pretkršćanskoga vremena. Takva je praksa dokumentirana i u drugim dijelovima kasnoantičke Dalmacije[162], a poznata je i u ranom srednjem vijeku[163]. Pretpostavljamo da je u



sl. 71. Unutrašnjost današnje crkve na Bribirskoj glavici nakon istraživanja (A. Milošević).
Fig. 71. Interior of the present-day church at Bribirska glavica after excavations (A. Milošević).





sl. 72.
Rezultati istraživanja rotunde na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. (gore) Fotoplan (M. Žabčić/V. Ghica); 2. (dolje) Tlocrt.
Fig. 72.
Results of research on the rotunda at Bribirska glavica: 1. (top) Photographic plan (M. Žabčić/ V. Ghica); 2. (bottom) Ground plan.

bribirskom slučaju riječ o rodbinski povezanim pokojnicima koje je zidarsko spajanje rotunde i mauzoleja sa sarkofazima simbolički sjedinilo u ozračju kršćanske vjere. Takvoj svrsi prilagođena je i organizacija unutrašnjeg prostora rotunde koji je osim pogrebne imao i memorijalnu / martirijsku funkciju koja se očituje u velikoj istočnoj apsidi. Ta je vjerojatno imala i oltar predviđen za povremenu liturgiju kojom se memorirala uspomena na pokojnike, možda ugledne kršćane ili lokalne mučenike, koji su

this connection meant a symbolic Christianisation of the deceased in the sarcophagi, which probably date to the pre-Christian period. Such practice has also been documented in other parts of late antique Dalmatia[162], and was known in the early Middle Ages as well[163]. We assume that the deceased in the Bribir case were related, symbolically united within the context of Christian faith by the masonry connection of the rotunda and the mausoleum with sarcophagi. The organisation of the interior space of the rotunda was also adapted to this purpose, since it had not only a funerary purpose, but also a memorial/martyrial role, manifested in the large eastern apse. This apse probably also contained an altar intended for occasional liturgy commemorating the memory of the dead, perhaps distinguished Christians or local martyrs, who had been buried in funerary structures within the Bribir sacral complex. Therefore, this may have been a case of a frequent ritual practice of early Christians, as has been supposed with a number of precise arguments for the aforementioned six-lobed rotunda near the catacombs of Praetextatus in Rome, where the cult of the martyrs Maximus, Tiburtius (Valerian's brother), and Valerian himself (St. Cecilia's husband)[164], was worshipped.

2. In addition to the already mentioned Grave 17, several other finds from the 6th–8th centuries were unearthed around the rotunda. They almost certainly originate from destroyed graves of that period. It is therefore likely that the rotunda formed a cemeterial ensemble together with the grave in its interior, perhaps also as a martyrium at the time.

A basis for the assumption that the Bribir rotunda was a mausoleum and memorial building can also be seen in the "island" of mortar laid directly on the bedrock, located at the centre of the building (Fig. 74). We offer an opinion as a working hypothesis that this is the remnant of the masonry base of a sarcophagus[165] or part of

[162] P. CHEVALIER, 1995, str. 34, 95. Nekoliko primjera navodi i D. DŽINO, 2021, str. 62-63.
[163] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, str. 123-124.

[162] P. CHEVALIER, 1995, pp. 34, 95. Several examples are also presented by D. DŽINO, 2021, pp. 62–63.
[163] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2000, pp. 123–124.
[164] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 65–66, 73, 80–81.
[165] It is possible to assume that a sarcophagus once stood at this location, probably bearing a late antique inscription. The text, partially preserved but still unpublished, in all likelihood contains a curse and a threat of hell (Ivan



Fig. 73. Wall joint of the rotunda and the vaulted tomb with sarcophagi: 1. (top left) Results of archaeological research; 2. (bottom) Ground plan; 3. (right) Oblique view from the west.

sl. 73. Zidarski spoj rotunde i mauzoleja sa sarkofazima: 1. (gore lijevo) Rezultat arheoloških istraživanja; 2. (dolje) Tlocrt; 3. (desno) Pogled iskosa sa zapadne strane.

a masonry tomb located entirely beneath the floor of the rotunda (similarly to the rotunda of St. Mary in Trogir, probably from Late Antiquity). Such a concept was not unknown in late antique memorial or mausoleum architecture, and it could also explain the fact that our excavations were unable to reliably determine the position of the entrance and the floor level of the rotunda[166]. Namely, the entrance and the level of the original floor may have been located in a higher zone which has not been preserved. The probable locus of the entrance in the west-

ranije bili sahranjeni u funeralnim objektima u bribirskom sakralnom kompleksu. Ovdje bi dakle, moglo biti riječi o čestoj obrednoj praksi ranih kršćana kakva je s više egzaktnih argumenata pretpostavljena u prije spomenutoj šesterolisnoj rotundi kod Pretekstatovih katakomba u Rimu, u kojoj je štovan kult mučenika Maksima, Tiburcija (Valerijanovog brata) i samog Valerijana koji je bio suprug sv. Cecilije[164].

2. Osim već spomenutog groba 17, uokolo rotunde pronađeno je još nakoliko nalaza iz 6. – 8. stoljeća koji gotovo sigurno potječu iz uništenih grobova toga vremena, pa je vjerojatno da je rotunda s grobom u njenoj unutrašnjosti činila cemeterijalnu cjelinu, tada možda i u funkciji martirija.

Osnova za pretpostavku da je bribirska rotunda bila mauzolej i memorijalna građevina vidimo i u 'otoku' sa žbukom koji se, položen izravno na živac i koji se nalazio u sredini građevine (sl. 74). Kao radnu hipotezu iznosimo mišljenje da

Basić, personal communication) (Fig. 44). It is probable that a new door frame for the rotunda was made from that sarcophagus in the last quarter of the 9th century.

166 The foundations of the Late Medieval church are very well levelled. They were laid at a height of 15–50 cm (depending on the downward slope of the terrain from north-west to north-east) above the presumed floor level of the rotunda (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DŽINO, 2015a, p. 21). Small remains of 2–4 cm thick mortar are visible, adhered to the interior side of the wall, which is the junction between the large apse and the first adjacent conch on the south-eastern side, slightly above the end of the strip foundation. It is assumed that they are the remnants of plaster that bonded the stone slabs of the rotunda floor (V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, p. 20).

164 H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 65-66, 73, 80-81.

sl. 74. Pretpostavljena razina poda bribirske rotunde (Z. Alajbeg).



Fig. 74. Presumed floor level of the Bribir rotunda (Z. Alajbeg).

je to ostatak zidanoga postolja sarkofaga[165] ili dio zidane grobnice koja se cijela nalazila ispod poda rotunde (slično kao i u, vjerojatno kasnoantičkoj, rotundi sv. Marije u Trogiru). Takvo rješenje ne bi bilo nepoznato u kasnoantičkoj memorijalnoj ili mauzolejskoj arhitekturi, a moglo bi objasniti i činjenicu da mi u našim iskopavanjima nismo pouzdano utvrdili položaj vratiju i nivo poda u rotundi[166]. Vrata i razina izvornoga

ern wall of the angular apse is indicated by a fragment of a jamb that remained lying on top of the preserved section of that wall (Fig. 75.1). A threshold unearthed during the excavations of the rotunda (Fig. 75.2)[167] may also have been its part. It belonged to a single-leaf door, indicating that the original entrance to the rotunda was not that wide. It can be assumed that this threshold and the fragment of the jamb belonged to the frame of an earlier doorway, before the insertion of a new frame made from a Late Antique sarcophagus with a secondary inscription mentioning Duke Branimir (Fig. 44), which was also not particularly wide. In support of our hypothesis regarding a grave-reli-

[165] Moguća je pretpostavka da se na tom mjestu nalazio sarkofag, vjerojatno s kasnoantičkim natpisom. Još neobjavljeni tekst, koji je djelomično sačuvan, po svemu sudeći sadrži kletvu i prijetnju paklom (prema usmenoj obavijesti Ivana Basića autoru) (sl. 44). Vjerojatno je od toga sarkofaga, u zadnjoj četvrtini 9. stoljeća, izrađen novi okvir za vrata rotunde.

[166] Temelji kasnosrednjovjekovne crkve vrlo su dobro nivelirani. Postavljeni su na visini od 15 – 50 cm (ovisno o padu terena od sjeverozapada ka sjeveroistoku) iznad pretpostavljene razine poda rotunde (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - D. DŽINO, 2015a, str. 21). Na unutrašnjoj strani zida koji čini spoj velike apside i

[167] V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – N. URODA – D. DŽINO, 2016, pp. 36–38, Fig. 27.





sl. 75. Pretpostavljeni položaj vrata na rotundi: 1. (gore) Ulomak dovratnika na zapadnom zidu uglate apside; 2. (dolje) Prag vrata (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 75. Presumed position of the entrance in the rotunda: 1. (top) Fragment of a door jamb on the western wall of the angular apse; 2. (bottom) Entrance threshold (Z. Alajbeg).

poda mogli su se, naime, nalaziti u višoj zoni koja nije sačuvana, a da su se vrata vjerojatno nalazila na zapadnom zidu uglate apside pokazuje ulomak dovratnika koji je preostao položen na vrhu sačuvanog dijela toga zida (sl. 75.1). Njihov dio mogao bi biti i prag koji je pronađen tijekom iskopavanja rotunde (sl. 75.2)[167]. Pripadao je jednostrukim vratima što ukazuje na pretpostavku da izvorni ulaz u rotundu nije bio osobito širok. Može se pretpostaviti da taj prag i ulomak dovratnika pripadaju okviru starijih vrata, prije nego li je na njihovo mjesto umetnut novi okvir napravljen od kasnoantičkog sarkofaga sa sekundarnim natpisom u kojemu je spomenut knez Branimir (sl. 44), a koji također nije bio osobito širok. Kao potkrjepu našoj pretpostavci o grobu-relikvijaru u sredini rotunde podsjećamo i na rekonstruirani perforirani manji ranokršćanski plutej ili tranzenu s ažuriranim mrežastim ornamentom koja je, kao *fenestella confessionis* (sl. 49), možda bila dio nadzemne ograde oko toga groba što je i u ranokršćansko i u ranosrednjovjekovno doba bila česta praksa[168]. Od opreme iz interijera rotunde još je vrijedno spomenuti i nalaz dvaju blokova od vapnenca s jednostavnom profilacijom s triju strana (sl. 76). Izvorno su bili u funkciji imposta na spoju okomitog zida i početka polukalota između dviju apsida, na način kako je to, primjerice, sačuvano u izvornoj dokumentaciji i kako je prikazano na rekonstrukciji u zadarskoj krstionici (sl. 1)[169] ili pak, u izvornom stanju u crkvi sv. Martina u Pridragi[170]. U slučaju bribirske rotunde nije se, dakle, radilo o segmentu takvoga vijenca koji se kontinuirano protezao na toj visini kroz cijelu unutrašnjost kako je to sačuvano u crkvama sv. Trojice u Splitu (sl. 14) i sv. Marije u Trogiru (sl. 10).

Zadnji arheološki zahvat koji je, u okviru međunarodnog arheološkog projekta *Varvaria - Breberium - Bribir* obavljen na nalazištu jest pokušaj

quary at the centre of the rotunda, we would also like to recall the reconstructed perforated small early Christian pluteus or transenna with an openwork ornament which, as a *fenestella confessionis* (Fig. 49), may have been part of an above-ground enclosure around this grave, a practice common in both the early Christian and early medieval periods[168]. As to the furnishings from the interior of the rotunda, the find of two limestone blocks with simple moulding on three sides is also worth mentioning (Fig. 76). Originally, they were used as imposts at the junction of the vertical wall and the beginning of the semi-calottes between two apses, in the manner preserved, for instance, in the original documentation and shown in the reconstruction of the baptistery in Zadar (Fig. 1)[169] or, in original condition, in the church of

[168] For early-Christian examples, see: P. TESTINI, 1958, pp. 126–127. – E. DYGGVE, 1951, pp. 108–110, Figs. V/36, 38 (Salona); for early-medieval ones, see: E. VIO, 1992, pp. 23–70 (St. Mark, Venice). – I. MATEJČIĆ, 2000, pp. 42–46 (St. Pelagius, Novigrad, Istria). – Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2010, pp. 161–166 (St. Peter, Dubrovnik).

[169] P. VEŽIĆ, 1991b, p. 15, Fig. 18.

njoj prve susjedne konhe s jugoistočne strane, malo iznad završetka temeljne stope, vidljivi su mali ostatci maltera nalijepljenog na zid, debljine 2 – 4 cm. Pretpostavka je da je to ostatak žbuke kojom su bile povezane kamene ploče u podu rotunde (V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 20).

[167] V. GHICA - A. MILOŠEVIĆ - N. URODA - D. DŽINO, 2016, str. 36-38, sl. 27.

[168] Za ranokršćanske primjere u: P. TESTINI, 1958, str. 126-127. – E. DYGGVE, 1951, str. 108-110, sl. V/36, 38 (Salona), a za ranosrednjovjekovne u: E. VIO, 1992, str. 23-70 (Sv. Marko, Venecija). – I. MATEJČIĆ, 2000, str. 42-46 (Sv. Pelagije, Novigrad istarski). – Ž. PEKOVIĆ, 2010, str. 161-166 (Sv. Petar, Dubrovnik).

[169] P. VEŽIĆ, 1991b, str. 15, sl. 18.

[170] P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, str. 36, sl. 16.

sl. 76. Profilirani impost-kapiteli iz rotunde na Bribirskoj glavici: 1. (gore) Fotografija (A. Milošević; 2. Crtež (S. Matković).



Fig. 76. Sculpted impost capitals from the rotunda at Bribirska glavica: 1. (top) Photograph (A. Milošević); 2. Drawing (S. Matković).

utvrđivanja stvarnoga odnosa između rotunde i ostataka gradske vile s njene sjeverne strane. Istraživanja su tek započela i do daljnjega su prekinuta 2020. godine zbog restrikcija koje je uvjetovala COVID-pandemija. Već na početku iskopa u dijelu arhitekture koji je i prije bio djelomično istražen, utvrđeni su ostatci rimskih građevina koji su nastajali kroz nekoliko faza. Osobit nalaz u tome iskopu je jedna prostorija s obojenim zidovima koju su preslojili mlađi zidovi, također iz rimskog perioda (sl. 77).

Prije je već bilo rečeno da je rotunda na Bribiru u ranom srednjem vijeku, najvjerojatnije već u prvim desetljećima 9. stoljeća, pretvorena u crkvu. Uz to je bila i izrazito monumentalna što se dade naslutiti iz promjera njenoga tambura koji je nosio kupolu, a koji je veći od svih središnjih tambura u ovdje prikazanim šesterolisnim

St. Martin in Pridraga[170]. Therefore, in the case of the Bribir rotunda, this was not a segment of a cornice that continuously ran at that height throughout the entire interior, as preserved in the churches of the Holy Trinity in Split (Fig. 14) and St. Mary in Trogir (Fig. 10).

The most recent archaeological undertaking at the site within the framework of the international archaeological project *Varvaria – Brebe-rium – Bribir* was an attempt to determine the actual relationship between the rotunda and the remains of the urban villa to its north. The investigations had only been initiated and then suspended in 2020 due to restrictions imposed by the COVID pandemic. The remains of Roman buildings that had developed through several

[170] P. VEŽIĆ, 2011, p. 36, Fig. 16.





sl. 77.
Iskopine dijela urbane vile i starije prostorije s rimskim freskama sjeverno od rotunde na Bribiru:
1. Pogled odozgo; 2. Zid s freskom (Z. Alajbeg).
Fig. 77.
Excavated sections of an urban villa and an earlier room with Roman frescoes north of the rotunda at Bribir:
1. View from above; 2. Wall with fresco (Z. Alajbeg).

phases were identified already at the beginning of the excavations, in the section of architecture which had previously been partially investigated. A particularly notable find from this excavation is a room with painted walls, overlaid by later walls, also from the Roman period (Fig. 77).

It has already been noted that the Bribir rotunda was converted into a church in the early Middle Ages, most likely as early as the first decades of the 9th century. In addition, it was quite monumental, which can be inferred from the diameter of its drum that supported the dome, which was larger than all central drums in the six-lobed churches from the early Middle Ages presented here (Fig. 78). This imposing structure at the rise of Bribirska glavica, in the centre of Dalmatia, could therefore have been a model for a number of polyconch churches, oratories, or memoriae from the early Middle

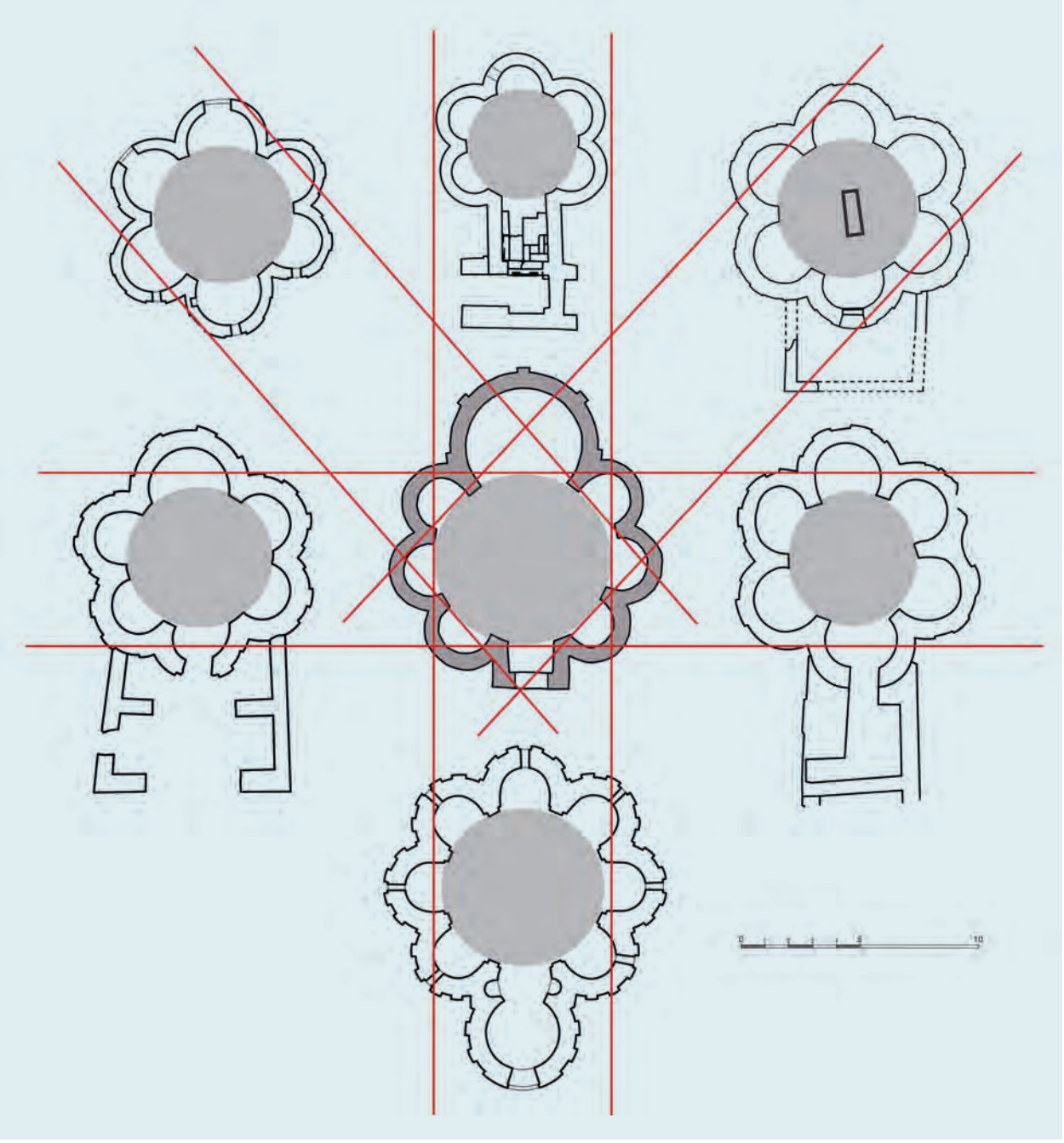
crkvama ranoga srednjeg vijeka (sl. 78). Ta impozantna građevina na uzvisini Bribirske glavice, u središtu Dalmacije, mogla je dakle, biti uzorom većem broju polikonhnih crkvica, oratorija ili memorija ranog srednjeg vijeka koje su regionalna tipološka osobitost ranosrednjovjekovne sakralne arhitekture u Dalmaciji. To je skup od desetak veoma sličnih građevina. Gotovo su iste i po dimenzijama i po proporcijskim odnosima (sl. 79.1-11). Datiranje im je različito i nije uvijek egzaktno dokazivo, a takva im je bila i funkcija. Neke od njih su možda oratoriji uz samostane, neke su memorije ili mauzoleji nastali kao zadužbine u okviru privatnih posjeda prilagođene povremenoj liturgijskoj praksi. Ni za jednu od njih se ne može pouzdano reći da je bila kongregacijska crkva namijenjena stalnom i svakodnevnom euharistijskom bogoslužju. Malo je podataka i o njihovim naručiteljima i graditeljima. Ako je vjerodostojan podatak iz 16. stoljeća, onda su privatni mauzolej, tj. crkvu sv. Marije u Trogiru, a nakon što se stara i dotrajala građevina urušila, početkom 8. stoljeća, popravili i ponovno iz temelja sagradili (*reparavit a fundamento*) salonitanski graditelji Izidor, Demetrije, Melota i Teodor[171]. Na trabeaciji oltarne ograde iz crkve (oratorija) sv. Trojice u Splitu uklesan je natpis na kojemu je posveta Sv. Mihovilu, a kao donator naslućuje se neki đakon kojemu ime završava na ...VS[172]. Vjerojatno je i šesterolist u Brnazama s posvetom Sv. Mihovilu privatna zavjetna građevina nekog lokalnog moćnika koji na natpisnim gredama oltarne ograde za sebe navodi da je *nedostojni grešnik* (*indignus peccator*)[173]. Nadalje, na jednom fragmentu arhitrava oltarne ograde, iz Sv. Mihovila u Pridragi, uklesano je ime *Fusco*[174] za kojega se pretpostavlja da je donator rotunde, a vidjeli smo, hrvatski knez Branimir naveden je

[171] Iako se vrijednost povijesne bilješke koja sadržava imena tih graditelja u nekim segmentima smatra dvojbenom, prozopografija njihovih imena uglavnom doprinosi autentičnosti zapisa, o čemu u: R. KATIČIĆ, 1987, str. 17, 33, i kritički osvrt o tome u: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, str. 49-53. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 298. – I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 113, bilj. 76. Ne bez osnove, ovdje se čini zanimljivim spomenuti i jednu duhovitu primjedbu o dvama imenima iz toga popisa jer postavljena zajedno zaista upadljivo sliče na ime jednoga od graditelja sv. Sofije u Konstantinopolu, Izidora iz Mileta (I. BABIĆ, 2019, str. 298), pri čemu takvo znanje iz minulih vremena ne bi bilo neobično za intelektualnu sredinu renesansnog Trogira (I. BASIĆ, 2020, str. 114, bilj. 79 i tamo navedena literatura).

[172] Opširnije o tome sa starijom literaturom u: N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], str. 277-278.

[173] V. DELONGA, 1996, str. 82-83, T. 25/51.

[174] V. DELONGA, 1996, str. 249, 307, T. 81/226. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, str. 61, kat. jed. 56.

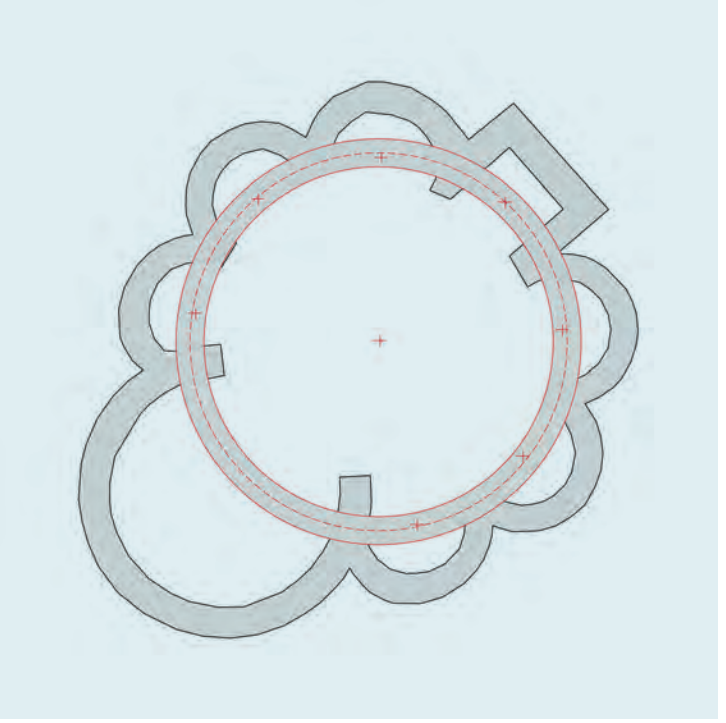


sl. 78. Usporedba veličina središnjeg kružnog prostora u dalmatinskim rotundama: 1. Sv. Trojica u Splitu; 2. Sv. Marija (Stomorica) u Zadru; 3. Sv. Marija u Trogiru; 4. Sv. Mihovil u Pridragi; 5. Sv. Ivan na Bribirskoj glavici; 6. Mastirine u Kašiću; 7. Sv. Petar u Ošlju.
Fig. 78. Comparison of the sizes of central circular spaces in Dalmatian rotundas: 1. Holy Trinity in Split; 2. St. Mary (Stomorica) in Zadar; 3. St. Mary in Trogir; 4. St. Michael in Pridraga; 5. St. John at Bribirska glavica; 6. Mastirine in Kašić; 7. St. Peter in Ošlje.

na natpisu u vrijeme preuređenja stare rotunde na Bribiru[175]. Naručitelji ili donatori tih građevina pripadnici su različitih tadašnjih društvenih elita koje uključuju i vladare. Jedan ili dvojica od njih spomenuti su i na dvama ulomcima natpisa na arhitravima iz crkve sv. Martina u Pri-

Ages, which represent a regional typological characteristic of early medieval sacral architecture in Dalmatia. This group comprises about ten very similar buildings. They are almost identical in both dimensions and proportional relations (Figs. 79.1–11). Their dates vary and are not always precisely demonstrable, and the same is valid for their purposes. Some of them may have been oratories attached to monasteries, some were memoriae or mausolea established as endowments within private

[175] U Dalmaciji je nekoliko važnih kasnoantičkih arhitektonskih spomenika koji su u ranom srednjem vijeku bili u funkciji, bilo da su u manjoj mjeri pregrađeni ili im je samo preuređen interijer dodavanjem novog kamenog liturgijskog namještaja. O tim primjerima u: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1996, str. 57-64. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, str. 29-32.



sl. 79. Pretpostavljeni izvorni izgled rotunde na Bribirskoj glavici (A. Milošević).
Fig. 79. Presumed original appearance of the rotunda at Bribirska glavica (A. Milošević).

estates and adapted for occasional liturgical practice. None of them can be positively regarded to have been a congregational church intended for permanent and daily eucharistic worship. There is also little information about their patrons and builders. If a record from the 16th century is credible, the private mausoleum, i.e. the church of St. Mary in Trogir, was repaired and rebuilt from the foundations at the beginning of the 8th century (*reparavit a fundamento*) after the old and dilapidated structure had collapsed. The builders were from Salona: Isidorus, Demetrius, Melota, and Theodorus[171]. The trabeation of the altar screen from the church (oratory) of the Holy Trinity in Split has an inscription with a dedication to St. Michael, and the potential donor is presumably a deacon whose name ends in –VS[172]. It is likely that the six-lobed building in Brnaze, dedicated to St. Michael, was also a private votive structure of a local notable who referred to himself on the inscribed beams of the altar screen as an *unworthy sinner* (*indignus peccator*)[173]. Also, a fragment of the architrave of the altar screen from St. Michael in Pridraga has the inscribed name *Fusco*[174], assumedly the donor of the rotunda. In addition, we have seen that the Croatian Duke Branimir is mentioned in the inscription from the period of the remodelling of the old rotunda at Bribir[175]. The patrons or donors of such buildings belonged to various social elites of the time, including rulers. One or two of them are also mentioned on two inscrip-

dragi. Na jednom ulomku je uklesano DVX, a na drugom ...OYAS... u čemu se može prepoznati ime kneza Mislava (*Moyasclavus*, oko 839.)[176]. Može se pretpostaviti da bi ti ulomci mogli potjecati i iz obližnje rotunde sv. Mihovila, napose zbog toga što su među dijelovima njenog liturgijskog namještaja prepoznata i ostvarenja iz opusa *Klesarske radionice iz vremena kneza Trpimira*, iz drugog i trećeg kvartala 9. stoljeća, a kojoj pripadaju i spomenuti epigrafički ulomci iz Sv. Martina[177]. Takva pretpostavka bila bi i u skladu s mišljenjem prema kojemu se šesterolist u Pridragi nalazio u kompleksu jednog od tadašnjih društvenih i gospodarskih središta u sistemu hrvatskih vladarskih posjeda[178]. S tim u vezi ovdje još jednom treba podsjetiti na činjenicu da je i kasnoantička memorijalna rotunda na Bribiru smještena u jugoistočnom uglu veće urbane vile koja je vjerojatno duže vrijeme pripadala nekoj uglednoj varvarinskoj porodici i neosporno je njen arhitektonski dio. Prije smo također pokazali da su još najmanje dvije šesterolisne rotunde u Dalmaciji slično impostirane u odnosu na starije *villae rusticae*, u Pridragi i u Kašiću, a velika je vjerojatnost da su se u ta-

[171] Although the value of the historical note offering the names of these builders is considered questionable in some respects, the prosopography of their names largely contributes to the authenticity of the record; for more details, see: R. KATIČIĆ, 1987, pp. 17, 33, and for a critical assessment, see: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1998, pp. 49–53. – I. BABIĆ, 2019, p. 298. – I. BASIĆ, 2020, p. 113, note 76. Not without justification, it seems interesting to mention a witty observation regarding two names from the list, which, when placed together, do strikingly resemble the name of one of the builders of St. Sophia in Constantinople, i.e. Isidore of Miletus (I. BABIĆ, 2019, p. 298). Such knowledge of the distant past would not have been unusual in the intellectual milieu of Renaissance Trogir (I. BASIĆ, 2020, p. 114, note 79, and the literature therein).

[172] For more details, with earlier literature, see: N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], pp. 277–278.

[173] V. DELONGA, 1996, pp. 82–83, Pl. 25/51.

[174] V. DELONGA, 1996, pp. 249, 307, Pl. 81/226. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, p. 61, Cat. No. 56.

[175] There are several important late antique architectural monuments that remained in use in the early Middle Ages in Dalmatia, either slightly rearranged or merely with added new stone liturgical furnishings. For such examples, see: Ž. RAPANIĆ, 1996, pp. 57–64. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, pp. 29–32.

[176] N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, str. 311, sl. 23. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018b, str. 137-151.

[177] I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, str. 85-86, kat. jed. 99.

[178] M. ANČIĆ, 2007, str. 203-210.



sl. 80.
Srednjovjekovne rotunde:
1. (gore) Sv. Nikola kod Montierija (Italija);
2. (dolje) Saint-Michel d'Entraygues (Francuska).
Fig. 80.
Medieval rotundas:
1. (top) St. Nicholas near Montieri, Italy;
2. (bottom) Saint-Michel d'Entraygues, France.

kvim ambijentima nalazile i rotunda sv. Trojice u Splitu i ona u Škabrnji. Za Sv. Mariju u Trogiru nemamo podataka o njenom širem urbanističkom kontekstu ali s obzirom na izvorni karakter građevine trebalo bi očekivati sličnu situaciju. Pitanje odnosa rotunda i građevina uz koje se nalaze važno je za razumijevanje njihove funkcije i mjesta u predromaničkom graditeljstvu Hrvatske, no, bez dodatnih istraživanja i novih otkrića na njega je danas teško prihvatljivo odgovoriti.

Nalazi ranosrednjovjekovnih kružnih centralnih polikonhnih građevina sa slobodnim apsidama sasvim su iznimni izvan prostora istočnojadranske obale. Ipak, jedna vrlo slična otkopana je prije dvadesetak godina u Italiji, u Toskani, na brdu Montieri, oko 2 km zapadno od istoimenoga mjesta jugoistočno od Siene. Istraživanje lokaliteta koje je započelo 2008. godine još nije dovršeno, a nisu cjelovito objavljeni ni dosadašnji rezultati[179]. Rotunda se

[179] G. BIANCHI et al., 2014, str. 100-113. – G. BIANCHI, 2015, str. 22-23.

tion fragments on architraves from the church of St. Martin in Pridraga. The letters DVX are carved on one fragment, and ...OYAS... on the other, which makes it possible to recognise the name of Duke Mislav (*Moyasclavus*, fl. 839)[176]. It can be assumed that these fragments could also originate from the nearby rotunda of St. Michael, especially because some elements of its liturgical furniture have been identified as works from the oeuvre of the *Stone-carving workshop from the time of Duke Trpimir*, viz. the second and third quarters of the 9th century. This workshop also made the aforementioned epigraphic fragments from St. Martin[177]. Such an assumption would also be consistent with the opinion that the six-lobed building in Pridraga was located within the complex of one of the contemporary social and economic centres within the system of Croatian rulers' estates[178]. In this regard, it should once again be recalled that the late antique memorial rotunda at Bribir is situated in the south-eastern corner of a large urban villa which had probably belonged to a prominent Varvarian family for quite some time and is undeniably its architectural part. We have also shown that at least two other six-lobed rotundas in Dalmatia, viz. in Pridraga and Kašić, are similarly positioned in relation to earlier *villae rusticae*. There is a strong probability that the rotunda of the Holy Trinity in Split and the one in Škabrnja were also located in such environments. As to St. Mary in Trogir, we lack information on its broader urban context, but given the original character of the building, a similar situation can be presumed. The question of the relationship between the rotundas and the buildings next to which they are located is important for understanding their purpose and position in the pre-Romanesque architecture of Croatia. Notwithstanding, it is currently difficult to provide an acceptable answer without further research and new discoveries.

Finds of early medieval circular central polyconch buildings with free-standing apses are extremely rare outside the area of the eastern

[176] N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, p. 311, Fig. 23. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018b, pp. 137–151.
[177] I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, pp. 85–86, Cat. No. 99.
[178] M. ANČIĆ, 2007, pp. 203–210.

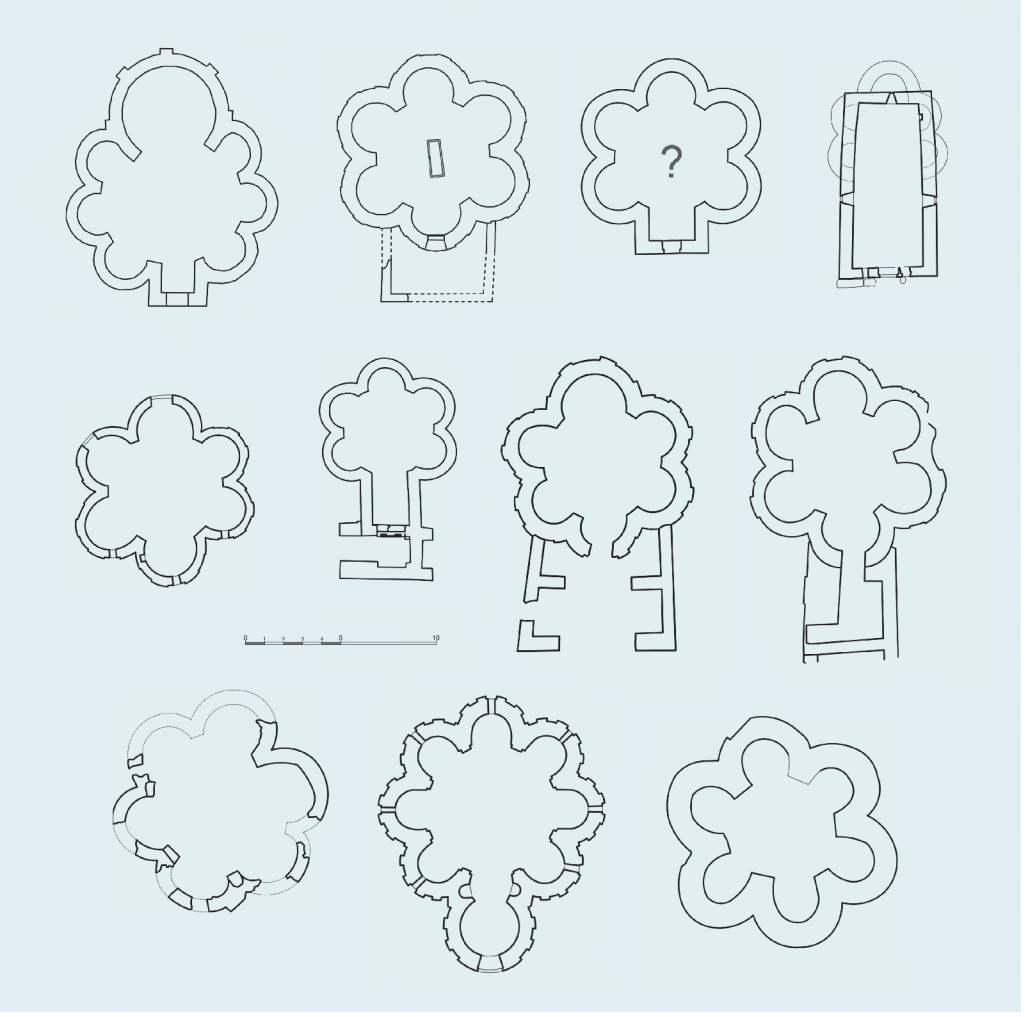


Fig. 81. Late antique, possibly late antique, and early medieval rotundas in Dalmatia and the western Balkans: 1. St. John (?) at Bribirska glavica; 2. St. Mary in Trogir; 3. St. Chrysogonus at Kolovare in Zadar; 4. St. George (St. Mary in Ambar) in Škabrnja; 5. St. Michael (Holy Trinity) in Split; 6. St. Mary (Stomorica) in Zadar; 7. St. Michael in Pridraga; 8. Mastirine in Kašić; 9. St. Michael in Brnaze; 10. St. Peter in Ošlje; 11. St. Blaise (?) in Rogačići near Sarajevo.

sl. 81. Kasnoantičke, moguće kasnoantičke i ranosrednjovjekovne rotunde u Dalmaciji i na zapadnom Balkanu: 1. Sv. Ivan (?) na Bribirskoj glavici; 2. Sv. Marija u Trogiru; 3. Sv. Krševan na Kolovarama u Zadru; 4. Sv. Juraj (Sv. Marija u Ambaru) u Škabrnji; 5. Sv. Mihovil (Sv. Trojica) u Splitu; 6. Sv. Marija (Stomorica) u Zadru; 7. Sv. Mihovil u Pridragi; 8. Mastirine u Kašiću; 9. Sv. Mihovil u Brnazama; 10. Sv. Petar u Ošlju; 11. Sv. Blaž (?) u Rogačićima kod Sarajeva.

Adriatic coast. Nevertheless, a very similar example was unearthed about twenty years ago on the hill of Montieri in Tuscany, Italy, about two kilometres west of the town of the same name, south-east of Siena. Research at the site, commenced in 2008, has not yet been completed, nor have the results been comprehensively published[179]. The rotunda is located next to the foundational remains of a small building with a number of rooms, which historical sources identify as the monastery of St. Nicholas. Hence, the rotunda was probably its oratory (Fig. 80.1). The time of its building has not been reliably established. Historical documents mentioned the monastery from the mid-12th century, while archaeological results assume that the rotunda had been built in the first half of the 11th century, noting that the

nalazi uz temeljne ostatke manje zgrade s više prostorija koju povijesni izvori determiniraju kao samostan sv. Nikole pa je rotunda vjerojatno njegov oratorij (sl. 80.1). Nije pouzdano utvrđeno vrijeme njene izgradnje. U povijesnim dokumentima samostan se spominje od polovine 12. stoljeća, dok arheološki rezultati pretpostavljaju da je rotunda sagrađena u prvoj polovini 11. stoljeća uz napomenu da na lokalitetu ima slojeva iz prapovijesnog doba, a pronađeni su i tragovi naselja iz 9. – 10. stoljeća. Rotundu se tumači kao jedinstvenu građevinu u Italiji, zahtjevne konstrukcije i izvedbe. Zbog oblika njenog tlocrta tipološko izvorište joj se pretpostavlja u sličnim izvedbama iz vremena prvih kršćana u Rimu, a upozorava se i na takve građevine u hrvatskom ranom srednjem vijeku, no, ne dovodi ju se u vezu s njima.

Višeapsidne rotunde u crkvenom graditeljstvu srednjeg vijeka grade se i u drugim krajevima

[179] G. BIANCHI *et al.*, 2014, pp. 100–113. – G. BIANCHI, 2015, pp. 22–23.

nekadašnjih rimskih provincija u kontinentalnoj Europi, za što je dobar primjer crkva Saint-Michel d'Entraygues u istoimenom gradu u departmanu Charente na zapadu Francuske, iz prve polovine 12. stoljeća (sl. 80.2-3). Pretpostavlja se da je i njen osmerolisni tlocrt projektiran prema predlošcima takvih građevina iz pretkršćanskog i kršćanskog Rima, a kao mogući uzori navode se *Minerva Medica* i septahora u blizini Palestrine u istočnom predgrađu talijanske metropole, kojoj su položaj i namjena nepoznati[180].

Danas je dakle, bjelodano da na Bribirskoj glavici imamo ranokršćansku memorijalnu rotundu, koja je u morfološkom smislu usporediva s drugim sličnim kasnoantičkim građevinama. Neke od njih su starije od bribirske rotunde i ne pripadaju ranokršćanskom graditeljstvu, nekima nije moguće niti utvrditi prvotnu funkciju, no ima i onih za koje je pouzdano da pripadaju korpusu kršćanske arhitekture, bilo da je riječ o crkvama, baptisterijima ili memorijalnim građevinama.

Već je prije rečeno da je u ranom srednjem vijeku privatna, patrimonijalna rotunda na Bribiru pretvorena u kršćansku crkvu jer je u to vrijeme dobila novu opremu; kameni liturgijski namještaj u unutrašnjosti u prvim desetljećima 9. stoljeća i potom, u zadnjoj četvrtini istoga stoljeća kada je novi okvir vrata uređen od kasnoantičkog sarkofaga tako da mu je otklesano dno i po užim rubovima uklesan duži natpis koji je sačuvan u fragmentima i koji spominje kneza Branimira (sl. 44)[181]. Ona je dakle stajala i u ranom srednjem vijeku. Stoga je monumentalna bribirska rotunda nesumnjivo i jedan od arhitektonskih predložaka netom navedenim ranosrednjovjekovnim polikonhnim crkvama (sl. 81), što je bitan novi rezultat u proučavanju ranosrednjovjekovne arhitekture u Hrvatskoj. Njen izvanredan značaj na dominantnom položaju u središtu Dalmacije u to vrijeme svjedoče i pokretni arheološki nalazi koji uključuju i spomenuti natpis s imenom hrvatskog kneza.

[180] Ch. DARAS, 1958, str. 42.

[181] Na isti način i u vrijeme istoga vladara preuređen je ulaz u crkvu sv. Martina u nedalekim Donjim Lepurima (usp. N. JAKŠIĆ, 2008, str. 103-112. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2012, str. 213-221. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, str. 106-108).

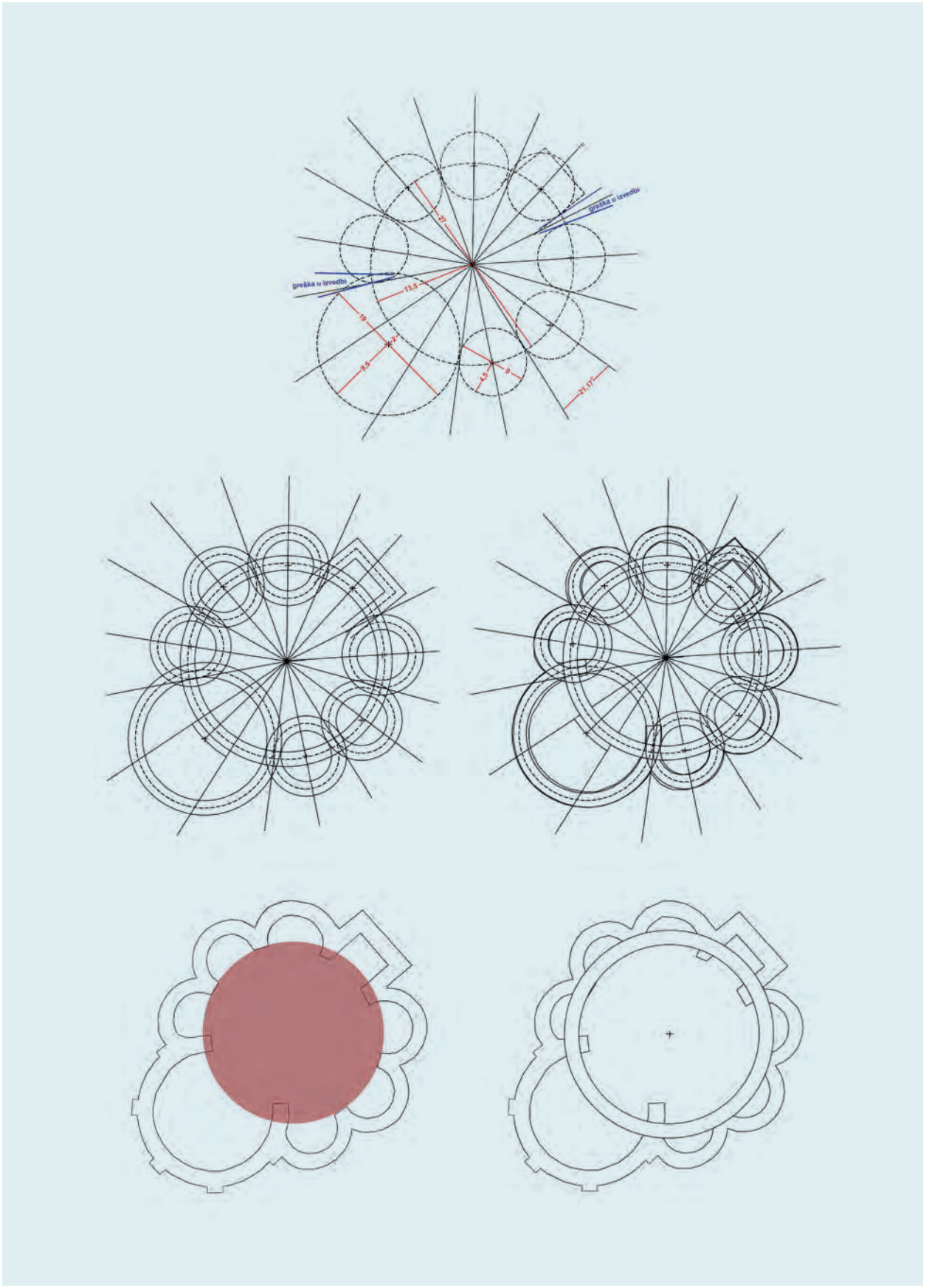
site contains layers from prehistoric times and that traces of a settlement from the 9th–10th centuries have also been found. The rotunda is interpreted as a unique building in Italy, with formidable architectural and structural features. Due to the form of its ground plan, its typological origin is assumed to lie in similar examples from the period of the first Christians in Rome, and attention is also drawn to such buildings in the Croatian early Middle Ages, though it is not directly connected with them.

Multi-apsed rotundas in medieval ecclesiastical architecture were also built in other regions of the former Roman provinces in continental Europe, a good example being the church of Saint-Michel d'Entraygues in the town of the same name in the Charente département, western France, from the first half of the 12th century (Figs. 80.2–3). It is assumed that its eight-lobed ground plan was also designed according to templates of such buildings from pre-Christian and Christian Rome, with possible models cited being the *Minerva Medica* and the septichora near Palestrina in the eastern suburbs of the Italian metropolis, whose position and purpose are unknown[180].

Therefore, it is evident today that we have an early Christian memorial rotunda at Bribirska glavica, comparable to other similar late antique buildings in morphological terms. Some of them are earlier than the Bribir rotunda and do not belong to early Christian architecture. For some, it is not possible to determine their original purpose, but some are certainly part of the corpus of Christian architecture, whether as churches, baptisteries, or memorial buildings.

We have already stated that the private, patrimonial rotunda at Bribir was converted into a Christian church in the early Middle Ages, since it received new furnishings at that time: stone liturgical furniture in the interior in the first decades of the 9th century, and subsequently, in the last quarter of the same century, when a new door frame was fashioned from a late antique sarcophagus by cutting off its base and carving a long inscription along its narrower edges, preserved in fragments and mentioning

[180] Ch. DARAS, 1958, p. 42.



sl. 82
Izračun proporcionalne veličine središnjeg kružnog prostora bribirske rotunde (Ž. Peković).
Fig. 82
Proportional calculation of the central circular space in the Bribir rotunda (Ž. Peković).

Istina, u proučavanjima geneze polikonhnih crkava centralnog oblika i do sada je bilo sličnih prijedloga, no samo na teorijskom nivou. Koliko je nama poznato, to je prvi učinio H. Windfeld Hansen prije pedesetak godina kada je pokušao povezati dalmatinske višekonhne crkve s antičkim mauzolejima i ranokršćanskim martirijima[182]. Taj njegov doprinos u izučavanju dalmatinskih višekonhnih crkava, u znanstvenim diskusijama u Hrvatskoj, ostao je uglavnom zanemaren[183], no, sada ga, pogotovu poslije otkrića bribirske rotunde, treba koristiti s potpunim uvažavanjem. U dijelu rasprave u kojem se osvrće na dalmatinske šesteroliste ranoga srednjeg vijeka Windfeld Hansen rekapitulira spoznaje do kojih su u tome trenutku bili došli hrvatski stručnjaci. Mišljenja je da dalmatinske rotunde nisu nastale prema predlošcima na koje je ukazivala hrvatska literatura (krstionica i rotunda sv. Donata u Zadru), nego da je riječ o srednjovjekovnim imitacijama ranokršćanskih heksakonhnih martirija sa slobodnim apsidama. Svjestan podatka da takve kasnoantičke građevine tada u Dalmaciji ipak nisu bile pronađene, upućuje na primjere iz Italije, posebno na šesterolisni martirij na Via Appia u Rimu[184].

Duke Branimir (Fig. 44)[181]. Therefore, it continued to stand in the early Middle Ages. Hence, the monumental Bribir rotunda is undoubtedly also one of the architectural templates for the aforementioned early medieval polyconch churches (Fig. 81), which is a significant new result in the study of early medieval architecture in Croatia. Its exceptional significance at a dominant position in the centre of Dalmatia at the time is further attested by portable archaeological finds, including the mentioned inscription bearing the name of the Croatian duke.

Admittedly, similar proposals have been made before in studies of the genesis of central-form polyconch churches, but only at a theoretical level. As far as we know, the first one was offered by H. Windfeld-Hansen about fifty years ago, when he attempted to link Dalmatian multiconch churches with mausolea from classical Antiquity and early Christian martyria[182]. This contribution he made to the study of Dalmatian multiconch churches has remained largely neglected in scholarly discussions in Croatia[183], but now, especially after the discovery of the Bribir rotunda, it should be utilised with full consideration. In the part of his discussion addressing Dalmatian early medieval six-lobed structures, Windfeld-Hansen summed up the information that Croatian scholars had gathered by that time. He believed that Dalmatian rotundas had not been made based on the models indicated in Croatian literature (the baptistery and rotunda of St. Donatus in Zadar), but rather represented medieval imitations of early Christian hexaconch martyria with free-standing apses. Aware of the fact that such late antique buildings had not yet been discovered in Dalmatia at the time, he pointed to examples from Italy, particularly the six-lobed martyrium on the via Appia in Rome[184].

[181] The entrance to the church of St. Martin in nearby Donji Lepuri was also remodelled in the same manner and during the reign of the same ruler (cf. N. JAKŠIĆ, 2008, pp. 103–112. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2012, pp. 213–221. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2018a, pp. 106–108).

[182] H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 85-87, Pl. XIV-XV.

[182] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 85–87, Pls. XIV–XV.

[183] Koliko nam je poznato ta rasprava tek je uzgredno citirana u: J. MARASOVIĆ - T. MARASOVIĆ - M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, str. 9.

[183] As far as we are aware, this discussion has been cited only in passing in: J. MARASOVIĆ – T. MARASOVIĆ – M. MARASOVIĆ, 1971, p. 9.

[184] H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 87. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 2003, str. 711-725.

[184] H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, p. 87. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 2003, pp. 711–725.



VI.

Zaključak

Conclusion

Today we have information that multiconch buildings with free-standing apses also existed in the early Christian period in Dalmatia. The rotunda at Bribir is certainly such a structure, and two or three others very likely originate from the same period (St. Chrysogonus at Kolovare in Zadar, St. Mary in Trogir, and perhaps the rotunda in Škabrnja as well). It is also interesting to note that three of these rotundas were mausolea or martyria, whose form, morphology, and purpose were in line with similar late antique and early Christian buildings in both the East and the West, and were part of the common sacral architectural heritage of that period. Naturally, this also points to the cultural connections and unity among Christians of that time. Their reappearance in Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages, during the 8th and 9th centuries, in newly-formed social and political circumstances, consciously sought to emulate these earlier models that were still in use at the time. On that score, the regional grouping of six-lobed rotundas was also not a coincidence. In Dalmatia, they were an architectural phenomenon in three regions, i.e. Zadar, Trogir–Split, and Ravni kotari. Their appearance was probably facilitated by the gradual normalisation of social and political relations between the coastal urban centres and the emerging Croatian Principality. The decoration in the form of interlace, characteristic of that period, also spread into the territory of the newly formed state in the Dalmatian hinterland at approximately the same time and in the same manner. Its application on stone liturgical furniture further marked the interiors of these new Christian buildings, as has been discussed by several scholars to date[185]. Naturally, these well-dated stone-carved reliefs in Dalmatian rotundas, classified according to workshop oeuvres of the 9th century, do not necessarily

Danas, dakle, u Dalmaciji imamo spoznaje o tome da su višekonhne građevine slobodnih apsida egzistirale i u ranokršćansko doba. Rotunda na Bribiru je pouzdano takav objekt, a još dvije ili tri su vrlo vjerojatno iz toga vremena (Sv. Krševan na Kolovarama u Zadru i Sv. Marija u Trogiru, možda i rotunda u Škabrnji). Dodatno je zanimljivo da su tri od tih rotunda mauzoleji ili martiriji koji su svojim oblikom, morfologijom i funkcijom usklađeni sa sličnim kasnoantičkim i ranokršćanskim građevinama na Istoku i na Zapadu i dio su zajedničke sakralne arhitektonske baštine toga doba. To, dakako, ukazuje i na tadašnje kulturne veze i jedinstvo među kršćanima toga vremena. Njihova ponovna pojava u Dalmaciji u ranom srednjem vijeku, tijekom 8. i u 9. stoljeću, u novonastalim društvenim i političkim okolnostima, svjesno nastoji oponašati te starije uzore koji su u to vrijeme još bili u funkciji. S tim u vezi nije slučajno ni regionalno grupiranje šesterolisnih rotunda. U Dalmaciji su arhitektonski fenomen u trima područjima, na zadarskom, trogirsko-splitskom i ravnokotarskom. Njihovom nastanku vjerojatno je pogodovala i povremena postupna normalizacija društvenih i političkih odnosa između gradskih središta na obali i Hrvatske Kneževine u nastajanju. Približno istovremeno i na isti način na područje novonastale države u dalmatinskom zaleđu širila se i za to vrijeme karakteristična pleterna dekoracija koja je izvedbama na kamenom liturgijskom namještaju dodatno označavala interijere tih novih kršćanskih građevina, o čemu je do sada pisalo više autora[185]. Naravno, te dobro datirane klesarske reljefne izvedbe u dalmatinskim rotundama, razvrstane po radioničkim opusima 9. stoljeća, u svim slučajevima, nužno ne označavaju i vrijeme kada su one izgrađene, što je potvrđeno u nekoliko slučajeva, a osobito dobro u bribirskom primjeru.

185 *Inter alia*, see: I. PETRICIOLI, 1990b, pp. 16–17. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2013. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, in several chapters. By pointing out the common characteristics of the architecture of six-lobed structures in the area of Split (viz. Split, Trogir, Brnaze) and based on comparative analyses of the stylistic features of the reliefs on their stone liturgical furniture, Jakšić demonstrated that, at a certain moment – i.e. the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century – all of them were furnished with stone products from the same workshop (N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], pp. 282–285). He also assumes that the reliefs from the Split rotunda are the earliest among them, which need not apply to its architecture, since the Trogir and Brnaze rotundas are probably earlier than their counterpart in Split.

185 Između ostalih: I. PETRICIOLI, 1990b, str. 16-17. – I. JOSIPOVIĆ, 2013. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, u nekoliko poglavlja. Ukazujući na zajedničke karakteristike arhitekture šesterolisnih građevina na splitskom području (Split, Trogir, Brnaze) i na temelju komparativnih analiza stilskih odlika reljefa na njihovom kamenom liturgijskom namještaju, Jakšić je pokazao da su sve u jednom trenutku, krajem 8. ili početkom 9. stoljeća, bile opremljene klesarskim proizvodima iz iste radionice (N. JAKŠIĆ, 1999 [2004], str. 282-285). Također pretpostavlja da su reljefi iz splitske rotunde najstariji među njima, što ne mora biti primijenjivo i na njenu arhitekturu, budući da su trogirska i brnaška rotunda vjerojatno starije od splitske.

Pretpostavlja se da su Split s Trogirom i Zadar bili glavni protagonisti tih utjecaja, koji su sa svojim klesarskim i graditeljskim radionicama stečeno znanje i zanatsko umijeće, više ili manje kontinuirano baštinjeno iz ranokršćanskog perioda, prenosili i širili regijom. Imali su i mogućnost ugledanja na starije građevine koje su u to vrijeme u tim sredinama još egzistirale.

Stoga možemo reći da je na oblikovanje ranosrednjovjekovnih šesterolista u široj okolici Zadra mogla utjecati kasnoantička rotunda sv. Krševana na Kolovarama u Zadru, koja je srušena u 15. stoljeću kada su na njenom mjestu sagrađeni lazareti sv. Marka. Te se aktivnosti povezuju i sa širenjem utjecaja zadarskih benediktinaca na taj prostor[186]. Na ravnokotarske primjere vrlo je vjerojatno utjecala bribirska rotunda koja je srušena u 14. stoljeću kada je na njenom mjestu sagrađena longitudinalna jednoapsidna opatijska crkva sv. Ivana, a na primjere na splitskom području trogirski kasnoantički šesterolisni mauzolej koji je, kasnije i kao memorijalna crkva, stajao do polovine 19. stoljeća, a kao prezentirana ruševina stoji i danas. U ovoj prostornoj disperziji zanimljiv je strateški smještaj šesterolisne crkve-memorije sv. Mihovila u Brnazama koja je u 8. stoljeću podignuta upravo na trasi kasnoantičkoga limesa u Sinjskom polju, koji je svoju svrhu ispunjavao i u ranom srednjem vijeku[187]. Ponovno intenzivnije korištenje tih arhitektonskih oblika na neki način uspostavlja i "povijesnu komunikaciju" koja nastoji oživljavati i afirmirati kulturni kontinuitet između rimske i ranokršćanske prošlosti s ranosrednjovjekovnom suvremenošću u Hrvatskoj Kneževini. Na tu praksu smo, u našim radovima, i do sada više puta ukazivali s različitih polazišta[188]. Također, u određenoj mjeri takvo svjesno ponovno preuzimanje i reinterpretacija nekih starih sakralnih arhitektonskih oblika kakve su i rotunde sa slobodnim apsidama, u novoj epohi svjedoči i postupnu normalizaciju društvenih odnosa i kristijanizaciju novog stanovništva u dalmatinskom zaleđu. Nesumnjivo je da se taj

[186] N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000b, str. 192-213. – V. DELONGA, 2000, str. 216-249. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, str. 347-376, poglavlje: *Benediktinska klesarska radionica*.

[187] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995a, str. 169-175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017b, str. 99-111.

[188] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995a, str. 169-175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995b, str. 97-104, 224-231. A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1996, str. 37-42. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2008. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2010, str. 271-303. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2013.

always indicate the time when the buildings were constructed, as has been confirmed in several cases, and particularly clearly in the Bribir example.

It is assumed that Split, together with Trogir and Zadar, were the main protagonists of these influences, and that through their stone-carving and building workshops they disseminated and spread throughout the region their acquired knowledge and craftsmanship, more or less continuously inherited from the early Christian period. They also had the opportunity to look up to earlier buildings that still existed in these centres at the time.

Consequently, we can say that the designs of early medieval six-lobed structures in the greater Zadar area could have been influenced by the late antique rotunda of St. Chrysogonus at Kolovare in Zadar, demolished in the 15th century when the lazarettos of St. Mark were built on its site. These activities are also associated with the spread of influence of the Zadar Benedictines into this area[186]. The Ravni kotari examples had very likely been influenced by the Bribir rotunda, demolished in the 14th century when the longitudinal single-apsed abbey church of St. John was built on its site, while the examples in the Split area had been influenced by the late antique six-lobed mausoleum in Trogir, which later stood as a memorial church until the mid-19th century and today remains as a ruin on display. Within this spatial dispersion, the strategic location of the six-lobed church-memoria of St. Michael in Brnaze is particularly interesting, since it was erected in the 8th century precisely on the route of the late antique limes in the field of Sinj. The limes continued to serve its purpose in the early Middle Ages as well[187]. The renewed and intensified use of these architectural forms in a way also established a "historical communication" that sought to revive and affirm cultural continuity between the Roman and early Christian past and the early medieval present in the Croatian Principality. We have pointed to this practice a number of times in our previous works from

[186] N. JAKŠIĆ, 2000b, pp. 192–213. – V. DELONGA, 2000, pp. 216–249. – N. JAKŠIĆ, 2015, pp. 347–376, chapter: *Benediktinska klesarska radionica*.

[187] A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995a, pp. 169–175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2017b, pp. 99–111.

different perspectives[188]. By the same token and to a certain extent, such conscious readoption and reinterpretation of some earlier sacral architectural forms in a new epoch (such as rotundas with free-standing apses), also testify to the gradual normalisation of social relations and the Christianisation of the new population in the Dalmatian hinterland. It is undeniable that this process took place under the influence of the coastal towns, where Christianity had been continuously present since the early Christian period.

It is now obvious that the results of the research on the Bribir rotunda alter most, if not all, previous assumptions regarding the origin of central multi-conch buildings from the early Middle Ages in Dalmatia. They are indeed a regional hallmark, but their genesis and later development certainly do not hang on the earlier views that traced their templates to the baptistery and church of St. Donatus in the Zadar cathedral complex, and even less so to the imperial mausoleum in Split. The fact that they emerged under the influence of very similar late antique buildings, both those in the region and those from the greater area of the former Roman Empire, opens entirely new avenues for future research. Admittedly, only a small number of such monuments have survived to the present day and can be comparatively analysed. The literature points out that the number of such small buildings, which stood along roads, near monasteries and towns in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, was probably far greater. About a dozen similar examples that no longer exist, especially in Rome and its vicinity, were recorded by Renaissance architects and builders. There are several examples offered by unknown authors in various archives, as well as in the works of Giuliano da Sangallo (†1516), Pirro Ligorio (†1583), and Giovanni Battista Montano (†1621)[189]. This view is further supported by the work of the Ravennate priest Andreas Agnel-

proces odvijao pod utjecajem iz gradova na obali u kojima je kršćanstvo u kontinuitetu prisutno od ranokršćanskog doba.

Izvjesno je kako danas možemo reći da rezultati istraživanja bribirske rotunde mijenjaju većinu ako ne i sve ranije pretpostavke o izvorištu centralnih višekonhnih građevina ranog srednjeg vijeka u Dalmaciji. One jesu regionalna osobina, ali njihova geneza i kasniji razvoj svakako ne počivaju na dosadašnjim mišljenjima prema kojima su im stari predlošci u krstionici i crkvi sv. Donata u kompleksu zadarske katedrale i još manje u splitskom carskom mauzoleju. U činjenici da su one nastale pod utjecajem vrlo sličnih takvih kasnoantičkih građevina, kako onih u regiji tako i onih sa šireg područja nekadašnjeg Rimskog Carstva, nude sasvim nove pravce u budućim istraživanjima. Danas je, doduše, ostao sačuvan mali broj tih spomenika koje je moguće komparativno analizirati. U literaturi se navodi da je broj takvih manjih građevina, koje su stajale uz ceste i samostane i u okolici gradova, u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjem vijeku vrlo vjerojatno bio daleko veći. Desetak sličnih danas nepostojećih primjera, posebno u Rimu i u njegovoj okolici, zabilježili su renesansni arhitekti i graditelji (više je primjera nepoznatih autora u nekoliko arhiva te u djelima Giuliana da Sangalla †1516., Pirra Ligorija †1583. i Giovannija Battiste Montana †1621.)[189], a kao potvrdu takvom mišljenju navodi se i djelo ravenatskog svećenika Andreasa Agnella (oko 794. – oko 846.) koji je zabilježio nekoliko takvih objekata u okolici Ravenne, pišući o njenim tadašnjim građevinama, natpisima i vjerskim običajima[190]. A. Grabar iznosi pretpostavku da u tako velikom broju antičkih svetišta posvećenih mučenicima, apostolima i likovima iz Starog zavjeta u Ravenni i njenoj okolici ne treba uvijek vidjeti crkve općeg bogoslužja, nego vrlo često manje objekte, martirije i oratorije rezervirane za povremene i prigodne obrede, ponekad i u sklopu ranokršćanskih nekropola. Također upozorava na činjenicu da

188 A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995a, pp. 169–175. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1995b, pp. 97–104, 224–231. A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 1996, pp. 37–42. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2008. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2010, pp. 271–303. – A. MILOŠEVIĆ, 2013.

189 G. B. MONTANO, 1624, Pls. 4, 25, 26, 41, 50. – G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, in several places. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1965, pp. 35–63. – H. WINDFELD-HANSEN, 1969, pp. 61–93.

189 G. B. MONTANO, 1624, pl. 4, 25, 26, 41, 50. – G. T. RIVOIRA, 1925, na više mjesta. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1965, str. 35-63. – H. WINDFELD HANSEN, 1969, str. 61-93.

190 O. HOLDER-EGGER (ur.), 1878, na više mjesta, posebno na str. 288-289, 297, 306-307, 313, 319, 323, 326-327, 333-334, 342.

ima naznaka o postojanju takvih objekata i prema podatcima iz drugih starih tekstova te da se velik broj takvih malih spomenika nalazio oko gradova, uz ceste, u blizini ili unutar najstarijih samostana i u drugim dijelovima tadašnje Europe. Pretpostavlja se da ih je bilo i u Dalmaciji[191]. Ne treba li na ovaj način tumačiti smještaj i funkciju nekih naših rotunda, npr. u Trogiru i na Bribiru, i posebno na Kolovarama pokraj Zadra?

U konačnici, naše je mišljenje da u slučajevima dalmatinskih rotunda nije, kako se često tumači, riječ o regionalnoj pojavi u kojoj ranosrednjovjekovne crkvice slobodnih oblika sa svodovima i kupolama, u originalnim kreacijama izvode lokalni priučeni zidari, nego upravo suprotno. Dalmatinske polikonhne građevine, najčešće patrimonijalnog karaktera različite namjene, jesu rezultat osmišljenih projekata i angažiranih graditelja koji su svoja znanja i vještine baštinili iz kasnoantičke, ranokršćanske ostavštine. Neke od njih i potječu iz toga vremena. Na taj način one su i dio ukupnog graditeljskog nasljeđa iz toga vremena. Utoliko bi, čini nam se, to bio i novi kvalitet u proučavanju predromaničke arhitekture u Hrvatskoj i vrijedna njena regionalna specifičnost koja je svakako važna i za ukupno europsko sakralno graditeljstvo ranoga srednjeg vijeka, dodatno ga obogaćujući.

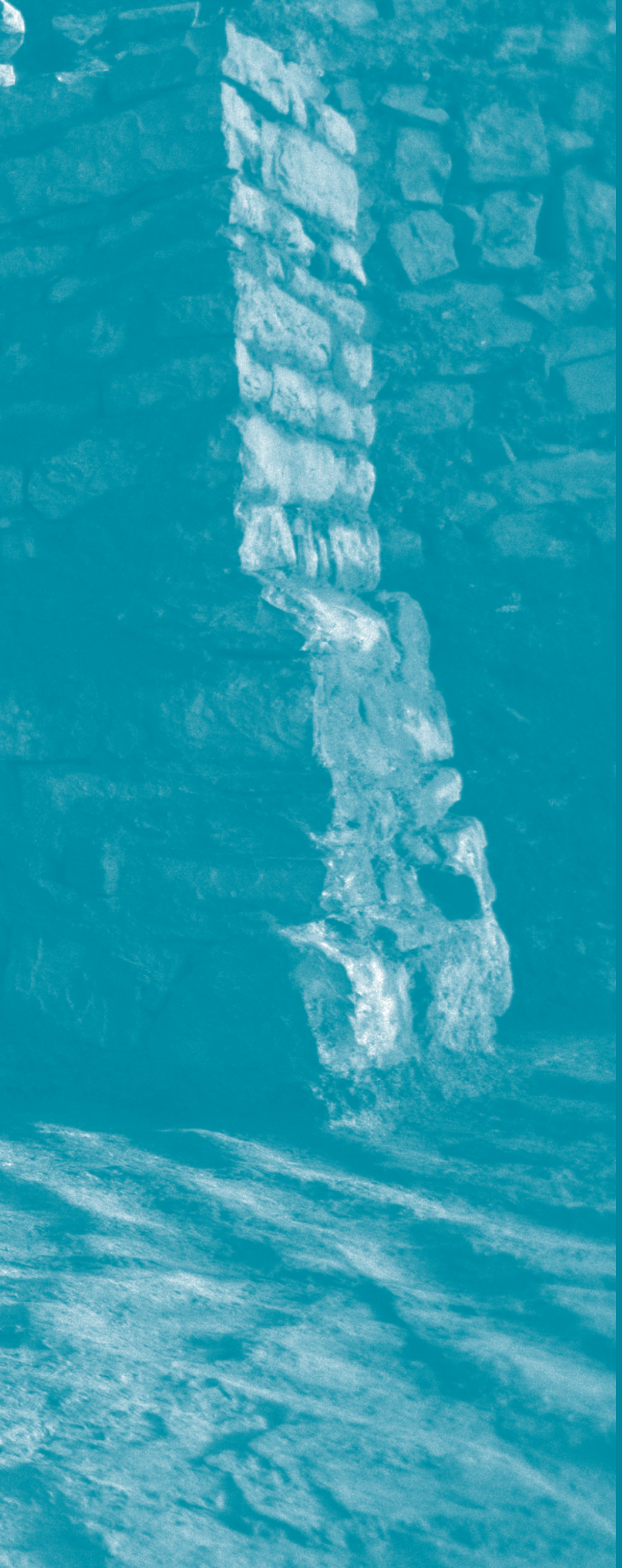
[191] A. GRABAR, 1943-1946, vol. 1/1946, str. 404.

lus (*c.* 794–*c.* 846), who recorded several such structures in the vicinity of Ravenna in his writings about Ravenna's buildings, inscriptions, and religious customs[190]. A. Grabar proposed that among such a large number of ancient sanctuaries dedicated to martyrs, apostles, and figures from the Old Testament in Ravenna and its vicinity, one should not always see churches for general worship, but very often small structures – martyria and oratories – allocated for occasional and specific rites, sometimes also within early Christian necropoleis. He also pointed out certain indications of the existence of such buildings in information from other ancient texts, and that a number of such small monuments had been located around towns, along roads, near or within the earliest monasteries, and in other parts of Europe at the time. It is assumed that they also existed in Dalmatia[191]. Should one not interpret in this way the location and purpose of some of our rotundas, for instance, in Trogir and at Bribir, and especially at Kolovare near Zadar?

Ultimately, it is our view that the cases of Dalmatian rotundas are not, as is often interpreted, a regional phenomenon in which early medieval free-form vaulted and domed churches were originally made by locally trained masons, but are precisely the opposite. Dalmatian polyconch buildings, most often of patrimonial character and varied purposes, were the result of deliberate designs and hired builders who had inherited their knowledge and skills from the late antique and early Christian traditions. Some of them even originate from that period. In this way, they are part of the overall architectural heritage of that time. To that extent, it seems to us that this represents a new quality in the study of pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia and its valuable regional specificity that is certainly also important for the overall European sacral architecture of the early Middle Ages as an added value.

[190] O. HOLDER-EGGER (Ed.), 1878, in several places, especially on pp. 288–289, 297, 306–307, 313, 319, 323, 326–327, 333–334, 342.

[191] A. GRABAR, 1943–1946, Vol. 1/1946, p. 404.



VII.

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Arheolog i povjesničar umjetnosti **Ante Milošević** (5. ožujka 1953. - 24. srpnja 2025.) rođen je u Sinju. Osnovnu i srednju školu završio je u rodnom gradu, a dvopredmetni studij arheologije i povijesti umjetnosti diplomirao 1976. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru (danas Sveučilište u Zadru), gdje je i doktorirao 2005. godine (*Arheološki izvori za srednjovjekovnu povijest Cetine*).

Milošević je svoj profesionalni put započeo kao ravnatelj Muzeja Cetinske krajine u Sinju 1977., odmah nakon diplomiranja. Usporedno je obnašao i dužnost kustosa arheološke zbirke Muzeja. Njegov mandat u ovoj instituciji trajao je do 1994. godine, kada prelazi na dužnost ravnatelja Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu (od 1994. do 2005. te iznova od 2013. do umirovljenja 2018.). Godine 1994. unaprijeđen je u zvanje muzejskog savjetnika. Usporedno s tim, stekao je i zvanje znanstvenog savjetnika. Od 2007. do 2013. Milošević je radio i kao gostujući izvanredni profesor na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Splitu. Godine 1988. imao je dvomjesečnu stipendiju na Poljskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti, pridonoseći međunarodnoj akademskoj razmjeni i suradnji. Također je bio pozvani gost predavač na institucijama kao što su Sveučilište u Ljubljani i Slovenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti 1992., kao i na sveučilištima u Heidelbergu i Berlinu 1994. godine.

Od 1977. do 2008. bio je član Hrvatskog arheološkog društva (član izvršnog odbora od 1989. do 1993.). Od 1996. član Njemačkog arheološkog instituta, prestižne institucije utemeljene 1829., kao jedan od malobrojnih članova iz Hrvatske, a od 2007. član Europske arheološke asocijacije. Godine 2009. izabran je za člana uglednog Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja Akademije nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu, postavši ujedno i članom uredništva Godišnjaka, znanstvene publikacije toga Centra. Milošević je također jedan od osnivača i vodećih članova Centra za interdisciplinarne studije *Studia Mediterranea*, osnovanog 2008.

Archaeologist and art historian **Ante Milošević** (5th March 1953 – 24 July 2025) was born in Sinj. He completed his primary and secondary education in his hometown. In Zadar, he graduated in archaeology and art history (double major) at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar (present-day University of Zadar) in 1976. He obtained his PhD there as well, in 2005 (*Archaeological evidence for the medieval history of the Cetina valley*).

Milošević commenced his professional journey as the director of the Museum of Cetinska Krajina in Sinj immediately after his graduation in 1977. Simultaneously, he served as the curator of the museum's archaeological collection. His tenure at this institution lasted until 1994 when Milošević transitioned to the role of director at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (MHAS) in Split, a position he held on two separate occasions (from 1994 to 2005 and again from 2013 until his retirement in 2018). In 1994, Milošević was promoted to the rank of Museum Advisor, later on also assuming the position of Scientific Advisor. From 2007 to 2013, Milošević also worked as a Visiting Associate Professor at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split. In 1988, he had a two-month fellowship at the Polish Academy of Sciences and Arts, contributing to academic exchanges and collaborations. Milošević was also a guest lecturer at institutions such as the University of Ljubljana and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1992, as well as at the Universities of Heidelberg and Berlin in 1994.

From 1977 to 2008, Ante Milošević held a membership with the Croatian Archaeological Society (member of the executive board from 1989 to 1993). In 1996, he became a member of the German Archaeological Institute (one of very few Croatians out of 2200 members in this prestigious institution established in 1829), and in 2007 a member of the European Archaeological Association. He was granted membership at the esteemed Centre for Balkan Studies at the Academy of Sciences and

godine u sklopu Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu. Centar je izdavač serije knjiga *Studia Mediterranea* u kojoj je Milošević od 2008. do 2024. godine, kao autor ili suautor, objavio osam monografija. Ovo je deveta.

Autor desetak knjiga, više od stotinu znanstvenih i stručnih članaka, dugogodišnji urednik časopisa *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* i velikog broja drugih izdanja. Sudionik brojnih znanstvenih i stručnih konferencija i voditelj više projekata, organizator i suorganizator domaćih i međunarodnih izložaba.

Miloševićev medievistički, arheološki i muzeološki opus pripada među najznačajnije znanstvene doprinose njegove generacije. Može se podijeliti na: materijalnu kulturu Cetinske krajine (dijakronijski proučavanu), zatim izučavanje stećaka kao arheološke činjenice i kulturološkog fenomena, pa arheološku ostavštinu kasnoantičkih starosjedilaca u kulturi ranoga srednjovjekovlja, proučavanje hrvatskih ranosrednjovjekovnih migracija tumačenih prvenstveno pomoću karolinške materijalne kulture, na koncu istraživanje ostataka slavenskog poganstva u materijalnoj kulturi ranosrednjovjekovnog kršćanstva na istočnom Jadranu i u njegovu zaleđu.

Kulminacija Miloševićeva muzeološkog rada jest izložbeni projekt MHAS-a *Hrvati i Karolinzi* (2000.-2001.), u kojoj je sudjelovalo preko 100 muzeja i institucija iz Hrvatske i inozemstva. Projekt je bio dio europskog muzeološkog projekta *Charlemagne – The Making of Europe* u kojem su, uz MHAS, sudjelovale 4 institucije iz Njemačke, Italije, Španjolske i Velike Britanije.

Pokretač je nove serije publikacija *Korpus ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture* u izdanju *MHAS*-a, koja ima za cilj katalogizaciju ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture hrvatskih povijesnih zemalja (od 2017. objavljeno 6 svezaka).

Kao priznanje za doprinose u javnom životu i znanosti, Milošević je dobitnik Strossmayerove nagrade HAZU (2001.), Godišnje nagrade grada Sinja (2011.), Nagrade »Slobodne Dalmacije« (2016.), Nagrade grada Skradina (2016.).

Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo in 2009, becoming at the same time a member of the editorial board in *Godišnjak*, annual scholarly publication of the Centre. Milošević is also one of the founders and leading members of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies *Studia Mediterranea*, established in 2008 as a part of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Split. The centre is a publisher of the book series *Studia Mediterranea* where Milošević published or co-published eight monographs between 2008 and 2024. The present volume is the ninth.

He authored dozen books and more than a hundred scientific articles. He was the editor-in-chief of the journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* for many years, in addition to editing many other publications. Milošević participated in numerous scholarly conferences and led several scientific projects, curated or coorganized a number of national and international exhibitions.

Milošević's contributions to medieval studies, archaeology, and museology rank among the most significant scholarly achievements of his generation. His work may be broadly divided into several interconnected fields: the diachronic study of the material culture of the Cetina region; the investigation of *stećci* as both archaeological evidence and a cultural phenomenon; the archaeological legacy of the Late Antique indigenous population within the culture of the Early Middle Ages; the study of early medieval Croatian migrations, interpreted primarily through Carolingian material culture; and, finally, research into the remnants of Slavic paganism preserved in the material culture of early medieval Christianity along the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland.

The culmination of Milošević's museological work was the exhibition project *Croats and Carolingians* (2000–2001), organised by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, which involved more than one hundred museums and institutions from Croatia and

Godine 2024., povodom 70. godišnjice života, posvećen mu je jubilarni zbornik radova: *Fortunatus ligo: Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Ante Miloševića* (ur. I. Basić, I. Josipović, M. Jurković), u suizdanju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Splitu, Sveučilišta u Zadru i Međunarodnog istraživačkog centra za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

abroad. The project formed part of the European museum initiative *Charlemagne – The Making of Europe*, in which, alongside MHAS, four institutions from Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom participated.

He initiated the new series *Corpus of Early Medieval Sculpture*, published by the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, whose aim is to provide a comprehensive catalogue of the early medieval sculptural heritage of the Croatian historical lands (since 2017, six volumes have been published in the series).

In recognition of his contributions to public life and scholarship, Milošević has received several distinguished awards, including the Strossmayer Award (2001), the Annual Award of the City of Sinj (2011), the »Slobodna Dalmacija« Award (2016), and the City of Skradin Award (2016).

In 2024, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, a festschrift was dedicated to him: *Fortunatus ligo: Festschrift on the occasion of Ante Milošević›s 70th birthday* (eds. I. Basić, I. Josipović, M. Jurković), jointly published by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Split, the University of Zadar, and the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages of the University of Zagreb.

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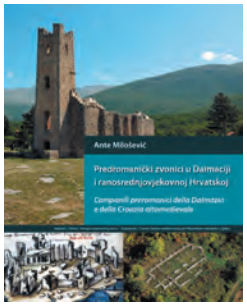
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