

# Starokršćanski kompleks u Docima kod Vitine: rezultati revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja

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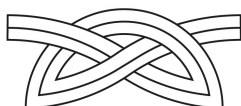
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Hrvatska/*Croatia*  
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# Starokršćanski kompleks u Docima kod Vitine: rezultati revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja

## *The early Christian complex in Doci near Vitina: the results of the revised archaeological research*

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MIRKO RAŠIĆ  
Odjel za arheologiju, Filozofski fakultet u Mostaru  
Matice hrvatske b.b.  
BA-88000 Mostar  
Bosna i Hercegovina  
mirko\_rasic55@hotmail.com

JOSIPA BARAKA PERICA  
Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV/2  
HR-23000 Zadar  
jbaraka@unizd.hr

*Lokalitet s bazilikom u Docima je prvi puta istraživan godine 1956., dok su revizijska istraživanja organizirana godine 2015. u kampanji terenske nastave studenta arheologije Sveučilišta u Mostaru. Rezultati revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja omogućili su potpuno novi pogled na stanje ovoga sakralnog sklopa. Pronalazak ulomaka crkvenog namještaja opovrgnula su nagađanja o mogućnosti postojanja drvenoga namještaja. Potvrđeno je da je Prostorija D imala funkciju krstionice koja se, kao i kod velikoga broja crkava ovoga tipa, nalazila na sjevernoj strani. Pronađene su Grobnica 2 i Grobnica 3. Otkriveno je kako se zid između naosa i vestibula zakrivio radi prisutnosti Grobnice 2. U vestibulu je pronađena klupa uz južni zid. Zabilježeno je korištenje antičkih spolija kao građevnoga materijala u kasnoantičkim grobovima (isto kao na Šipkovoju glavici). Pokazalo se i kako je tlocrt publiciran 1959. godine relativno modificiran. Kao najvažniji rezultat smatra se pronalazak grobnice na svod (Grobnice 2) iznad koje se, u različitim fazama, gradi starokršćanski kompleks.*

*Ključne riječi: Doci, starokršćanska bazilika, Bosna i Hercegovina, kasnoantička Dalmacija, revizijska istraživanja, grobnica na svod*

*The site of the basilica in Doci was excavated for the first time in 1956. The revised research was organised in 2015 in a campaign of field training organized for the students of archaeology from the University of Mostar. The results of the revised archaeological research have provided completely new insights into the condition of this sacral complex. The finding of the fragments of church furniture eliminated speculation about the possibility of the existence of wooden furniture. It was confirmed that Room D had the function of a baptistery, which, as in many churches of this type, was located on the north side. Tomb 2 and Tomb 3 were found too. It was discovered that the wall between the naos and the vestibule was bent for the presence of Tomb 2. In the vestibule a bench beside the south wall was found. Antique spolia as a building material were recorded in the late antique graves (the same as on the Šipkova Glavica site). It was also shown that the ground plan published in 1959 was relatively modified. The most important result is the discovery of the vaulted tomb (Tomb 2). The Early Christian complex was built above it in various phases.*

*Key words: Doci, Early Christian basilica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Late Antique Dalmatia, revised research, vaulted tomb*

### UVOD

Starokršćanska arheološka topografija i arhitektura na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine poznate su ponajviše zahvaljujući djelatnosti Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu, zatim djelatnosti Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja te sporadično i niza regionalnih i zavičajnih muzeja i zavoda za zaštitu spomeničke baštine. Za Ljubuški kraj posebno je značajan najstariji muzej u Bosni i Hercegovini, smješten na Humcu kod

### INTRODUCTION

The early Christian archaeological topography and architecture on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina is mostly known thanks to the work of the National Museum in Sarajevo, the Centre for Balkan Studies, and, sporadically, a number of regional and local museums and institutes for the protection of monumental heritage. For the area of Ljubuški the oldest museum in Bosnia and Herzegovina,

Ljubuškoga (o povijesti istraživanja u BA Paškvalin: 2003a: 13–23).

Istraživanjima koja su provele navedene institucije (prva istraživanja provedena su godine 1893. na lokalitetu Šipkova glavica) dobila se široka slika kasnoantičkih i starokršćanskih lokaliteta, ali je nažalost mnogo toga ostalo nerazjašnjeno te se organiziranje revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja na brojnim lokacijama pokazalo kao imperativ. Jedna od takvih pozicija je lokalitet s bazilikom u Docima nedaleko od Vitine, smješten na sjeveroistočnome rubu Ljubuškoga polja, na čijem sjevernome dijelu se nalazi zaseok Doci s istoimenim nalazištem.

Istraživanja su bila potaknuta revizijom prostorno i vremenski vrlo bliskoga lokaliteta na Šipkovoju glavici iz godine 2014. čiji rezultati su se pokazali različitim od onih koja je objavio Ć. Truhelka (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). Ć. Truhelka na tome položaju istražuje kasnoantičku građevinu za koju tvrdi kako je najstariji oratorij na prostoru BiH te donosi njezin tloris kao i detaljan opis s nalazima (Truhelka 1893: 678; 1931: 102–105). Nova istraživanja, koja su provedena na mjestu kojega opisuje autor (na Šipkovoju glavici), potvrđuju postojanje više kasnoantičkih prostorija, ali spomenuti oratorij nije pronađen (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). Obradom okolnoga zemljišta veći dio kompleksa danas je uništen te je sačuvan samo njegov jugozapadni kut (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 172). Nalazi li se navedeni oratorij na nekome drugom obližnjem položaju ili se nalazio na uništenom dijelu, za sada nije poznato, ali nema sumnje kako se radi o arheološki vrlo bogatome kraju i mikropoziciji.

Naime, zaseok Doci u Gornjoj Vitini smješten je sjeverno uz rub brdskoga masiva koji kontrolira pojas rijeke Trebižat, prirodne komunikacije čitave zapadne Hercegovine i poveznice s rijekom Neretvom i u konačnici Jadranskom obalom. Njegova najisturenija točka bilježi ostatke prapovijesne gradine na mikrolokaciji „Rašića grad“ te omanjega kvadratnog kastruma, odnosno kvadratne kule (Truhelka 1893: 678). U prilog povoljnim mikroklimatskim, hidrografskim, pedološkim i dr. preduvjetima govori i pronalazak nadgrobnoga spomenika Marka Antonija Maksima, veterana XI. Legije CPF (*Claudia pia fidelis*) koji predstavlja do sada najudaljeniju točku rimskoga naronitanskog agera kao i veteranskoga naselja *pagus Scunasticus* (Paškvalin 1960/1961: 325–327). Potvrda u tome smislu je počasna ara *Divo Augusto*, pronađena na mikrolokaciji Zorbinovac u Ljubuškom, a svjedoči o formiranju veteranskoga naselja na području nekadašnje kolonije Narone (ILJUG 113–114). Na širem području je evidentiran, uz baziliku u Docima, još jedan lokalitet sa starokršćanskom crkvom u Klobuku, odnosno točniji naziv bi bio bazilika u Vojničima (Sergejevski 1954: 190–210; 1959: 163–173; Rašić, Vujević 2017: 163, nap. 3) (sl. 1).

Mikropozicija kojoj su sastavni dio lokalitet na Šipkovoju glavici i bazilika smješteni su uz manje polje u udolini koje nosi ime po zaseoku Doci. Šipkova glavica je ubicirana na zapadnome djelu polja. Na udaljenosti od 50 m od ove pozicije revizijska istraživanja iz godine 2014. otkrila su kasnoantičke grobove s priložima (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). Na suprotnoj strani polja (400 m od Šipkove glavice) nalazi se starokršćanska crkva s aneksima, a 150 m sjeverno od crkve

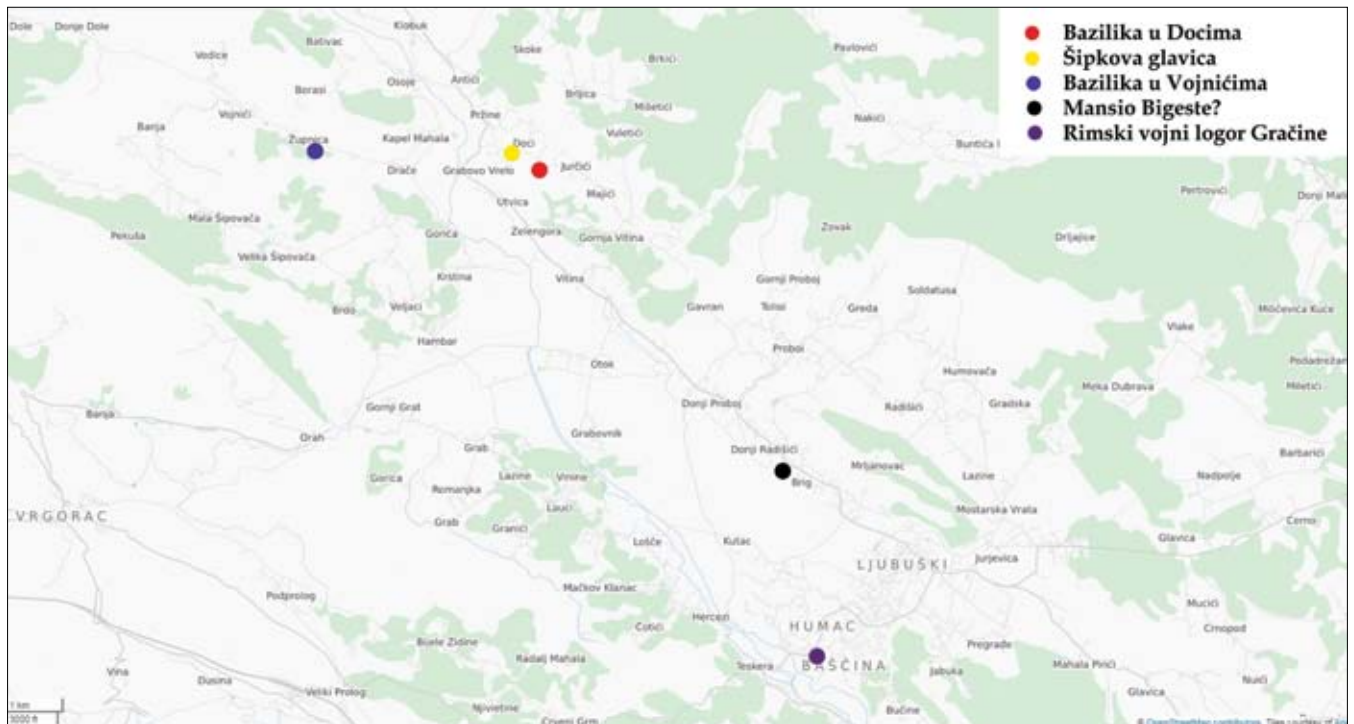
located in Humac near Ljubuški is particularly important (for the history of research in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Paškvalin 2003a: 13–23).

Thanks to the research led by the aforementioned institutions (the first excavation was organized in 1893 on the archaeological site of Šipkova Glavica), it was possible to obtain a wider picture of late antique and early Christian sites. Unfortunately, a lot was still unclear, which is why the organisation of a revised archaeological research in numerous places became an imperative. One of such places was the site of the basilica in Doci, not far from Vitina, on the northeastern edge of Ljubuški plane on whose northern part the village of Doci is situated with the before mentioned archaeological site.

The research started with the revision of spatially and temporally very close site on the Šipkova Glavica in 2014. Its results appeared different from those published by Ć. Truhelka (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). Ć. Truhelka researched a late antique building on that location, which he defined as the most ancient oratory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing a plan and clear description of his findings (Truhelka 1893: 678; 1931: 102–105). New research, done exactly in the same place described by Truhelka (on the Šipkova Glavica), confirmed the existence of other late antique structures, but the aforementioned oratory could not be found (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). Because of the agricultural work on the surrounding land, the main part of the complex has been destroyed, with only its southwestern corner left intact (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 172). It is still unknown whether the mentioned oratory can be found in another area in the vicinity or in a destroyed place, but it is certain that it is a very important area in the archaeological sense.

In fact, the settlement of Doci in Gornja Vitina stands north near the edge of the hilly massif which controls the area around the river Trebižat, a natural communication route for all of western Herzegovina and a link with the river Neretva and eventually with the Adriatic coast. Its most prominent peak contains the remains of a prehistoric fort in the micro-location of „Rašića grad“ and a minor squared castrum, i.e. squared tower (Truhelka 1893: 678). In support of favorable microclimatic, hydrographic, pedological and other preconditions, speaks also the finding of the tombstone monument of Marcus Antonius Maximus, a veteran of the XI Legio CPF (*Claudia Pia Fidelis*), which represents the farthest point of Roman Naronia ager and the veteran settlement *Pagus Scunasticus* (Paškvalin 1960/1961: 325–327). This is confirmed by the honorary altar to *Divo Augusto*, found in Zorbinovac, a micro-location in Ljubuški, and it testifies to the construction of a veteran settlement in the territory of the colony of Naronia (ILJUG 113–114). In the wider area, besides the basilica in Doci, another site with an early Christian church in Klobuk was recorded, that is, a more accurate name would be a basilica in Vojnici (Sergejevski 1954: 190–210; 1959: 163–173; Rašić, Vujević 2017: 163, n. 3) (Fig. 1).

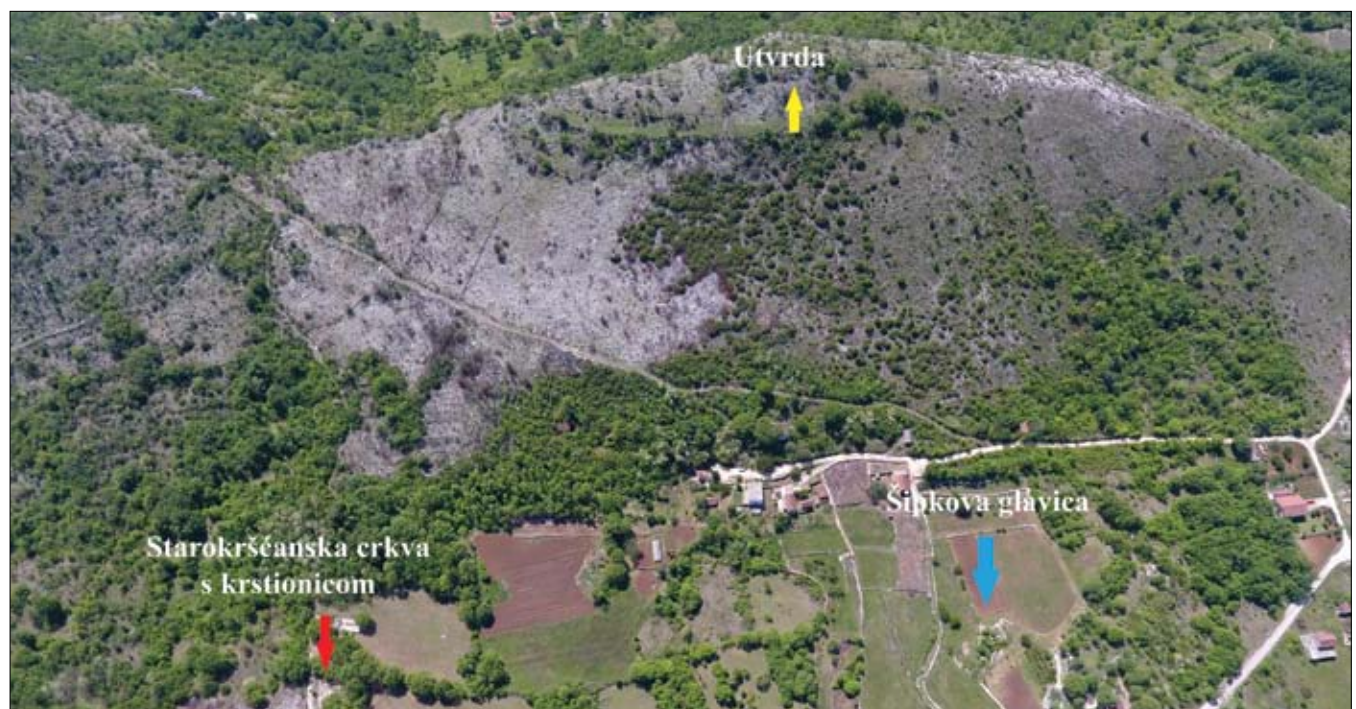
The micro-position containing the Šipkova Glavica site and the basilica is a small territory in a valley named after the village of Doci. The Šipkova Glavica is situated in its western part. At the distance of 50 meters from this position, in the revised research of 2014 late antique tombs with finds were discovered (Rašić, Vujević 2017: 167–187). On the other side of the field (400 meters from the Šipkova Glavica)



Sl. 1 Topografska karta širega područja s naznačenim važnijim arheološkim lokalitetima (karta openstreetmap.org) (izradio: D. Vujević)  
 Fig. 1 Topographical map of the wider territory with marked important archaeological sites (map from openstreetmap.org) (made by: D. Vujević)

kasnoantički grobovi koje su otkrila arheološka istraživanja iz godine 2015. Na uzvisini iznad polja vide se spomenuti ostaci, najvjerojatnije kasnoantičke utvrde tipa kule (kratko spomenuta kod Truhelka 1893: 678), a uzduž cijeloga polja pregledom terena uočeno je više potencijalnih antičkih i kasnoantičkih lokaliteta koji dosad nisu istraživani (o tome govori i Sergejevski 1959: 168), od kojih je jedan dio, kao što smo već spomenuli, uništen obradom zemljišta (sl. 2).

an early Christian church with annex is situated and 150 m from the church late antique tombs were discovered by the archaeological research in 2015. From the top of the hill above the field one can see the aforementioned remains, probably a late antique fort of a tower type (briefly mentioned in Truhelka 1893: 678), and along the entire field several potential antique and late antique sites have been noted by field survey which have not been researched yet (also mentioned by Sergejevski 1959: 168), among which



Sl. 2 Zračni snimak polja „Doc“ (foto: M. Rašić)  
 Fig. 2 Aerial photograph of the field “Doc” (photo: M. Rašić)



Lokalitet s bazilikom u Docima rekognosciran je godine 1953., a istraživan godine 1956. u organizaciji Zemaljskoga muzeja, pod vodstvom D. Sergejevskog (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173; Basler 1972: 82–83). Istraživanja nisu nikada provedena do kraja, a razlog prekida je ostao nejasan. Očito je da se radi o naglome prekidu, a iznimno važna saznanja koja su otkrivena revizijskim istraživanjima, npr. otkriće krsnoga zdenca, središnje grobnice u naosu ili crkvenoga namještaja, direktan su dokaz tome. Problem je vjerojatno činjenica što je glavni istraživač radi ozljede napustio lokalitet te su glavninu radova obavili radnici bez nadzora (sastavljeni od lokalnoga stanovništva).

Revizijska istraživanja organizirana su godine 2015. s ciljem provedbe terenske nastave studenta arheologije Sveučilišta u Mostaru pod vodstvom B. Marijanovića i D. Vujevića te stručne ekipe T. Tomas, N. Čuljak i M. Rašić.<sup>1</sup> Upravo radi razumijevanja važnosti novih rezultata, prije njihove objave, pokazalo se neizbježno sažeti zaključke D. Sergejevskog.

## OPIS KOMPLEKSA PREMA D. SERGEJEVSKOM

Starokršćanski kompleks zauzima manju kamenu uzvisinu koja se u odnosu na okolno zemljište uzdiže svega par metara te leži na zemljištu Mate Granića.<sup>2</sup> Prvi opis pozicije je objava D. Sergejevskog (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173) (sl. 3) koji kasnije u potpunosti preuzimaju drugi autori. Najprije Đ. Basler (Basler 1972: 82–83), zatim ga donosi još i P. Chevalier, dok N. Cambi lokalitet spominje samo ukratko (Cambi 1985: 40; Chevalier 1995: 407–409).

D. Sergejevski je, radi lakšega snalaženja, prostorije kompleksa označio slovima od A do F te zaključuje kako je osnova starokršćanskoga kompleksa gotovo kvadrat dimenzija: 11,60 m (na zapadu) ili 11,37 m (na istoku) x 13,10 m, orijentacije istok – zapad, čija debljina zidova varira od 0,50 do 0,58 m. Evidentirao je tri ulaza u kompleks: na zapadnome zidu, sjevernome zidu, dok je na južnome zidu ulaz pretpostavio na mjestu gdje je zid najviše uništen (bez toga ulaza prostorija F bi bila nedostupna). Pretpostavio je kako se krovna konstrukcija sastojala od krova na dvije vode pokrivenim crijepom. Pronašao je i podnicu u prostorijama A i E, a dijelom i u B koja je rađena od nepravilnih pločica približno veličine 0,20 x 0,20 m. Apsida je iznutra polukružna, izvana četvrtasta.

Prostorija koju je označio slovom **A je prezbiterij** unutar kojega je na podu duž južnoga zida apsida pronašao trag od polukružne subselije (širine – 0,35 m) te je bio popločan. Prostor je bio povišen za oko 25 cm u odnosu na naos. U prezbiteriju je također pronađeno postolje menze razbijeno u približno 10 komada i dislocirano od originalne pozicije (zapadno od apsida), a pošto je originalna pozicija bila utisnuta vratili su ga na mjesto. S obzirom kako nije pronađena originalna menza, pretpostavilo se kako je bila od drveta (Sergejevski 1959: 169). Isto se pretpostavilo i za ogradu svećišta (Sergejevski 1959: 169) jer D. Sergejevski kaže kako se

one part, as we have already stated, destroyed by agricultural work (Fig. 2).

The site with the basilica in Doci was surveyed in 1953, and excavated in 1956 by the National Museum under the direction of D. Sergejevski (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173; Basler 1972: 82–83). The research was never finished, and the reason for its interruption is still unclear. It is evident that it was a sudden interruption, as proven by an exceptionally important discovery made during the revised research, i.e. the discovery of a baptismal font, a central tomb in the naos or in other parts of the church furniture. The cause could be the fact that the main researcher left the area because of an injury, and the majority of the works were done by unsupervised workers (mainly local people).

The revised research was organized in 2015 in a campaign of field training organized for the students of archaeology from the University of Mostar under the direction of B. Marijanović and D. Vujević and the specialised team composed of T. Tomas, N. Čuljak and M. Rašić.<sup>1</sup> For the sake of understanding the importance of new results, before their publication, it seemed inevitable to summarize the conclusions of D. Sergejevski.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE COMPLEX ACCORDING TO D. SERGEJEVSKI

The early Christian complex occupies a small stone elevation rising only a few meters above the surrounding land and standing on the land of Mate Granić.<sup>2</sup> The first description of the position was the publication of D. Sergejevski (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173) (Fig. 3), which was entirely taken up by other authors later on: first by Đ. Basler (Basler 1972: 82–83) and then by P. Chevalier, while N. Cambi mentions the site very briefly (Cambi 1985: 40; Chevalier 1995: 407–409).

In order to facilitate a better management of the finds, D. Sergejevski marked the rooms of the complex with the letters A–F, and concluded that the base of the early Christian complex was nearly a square, measuring 11.60 m (west) or 11.37 (east) x 13.10 m, orientated east–west, with thickness of the walls varying between 0.50 and 0.58 m. He recorded 3 entrances into the complex: one in the western wall, one in the northern wall, and a supposed entrance in the southern wall where the wall is mostly damaged (without that entrance the room F would be inaccessible). He assumed there was a roof sloping on two sides and covered by tiles. He found the floor in rooms A and E, and a part in room B, which was made of irregular tiles measuring roughly 0.20 x 0.20 m, more or less. The apse is semicircular on the inside and quadrangular on the outside.

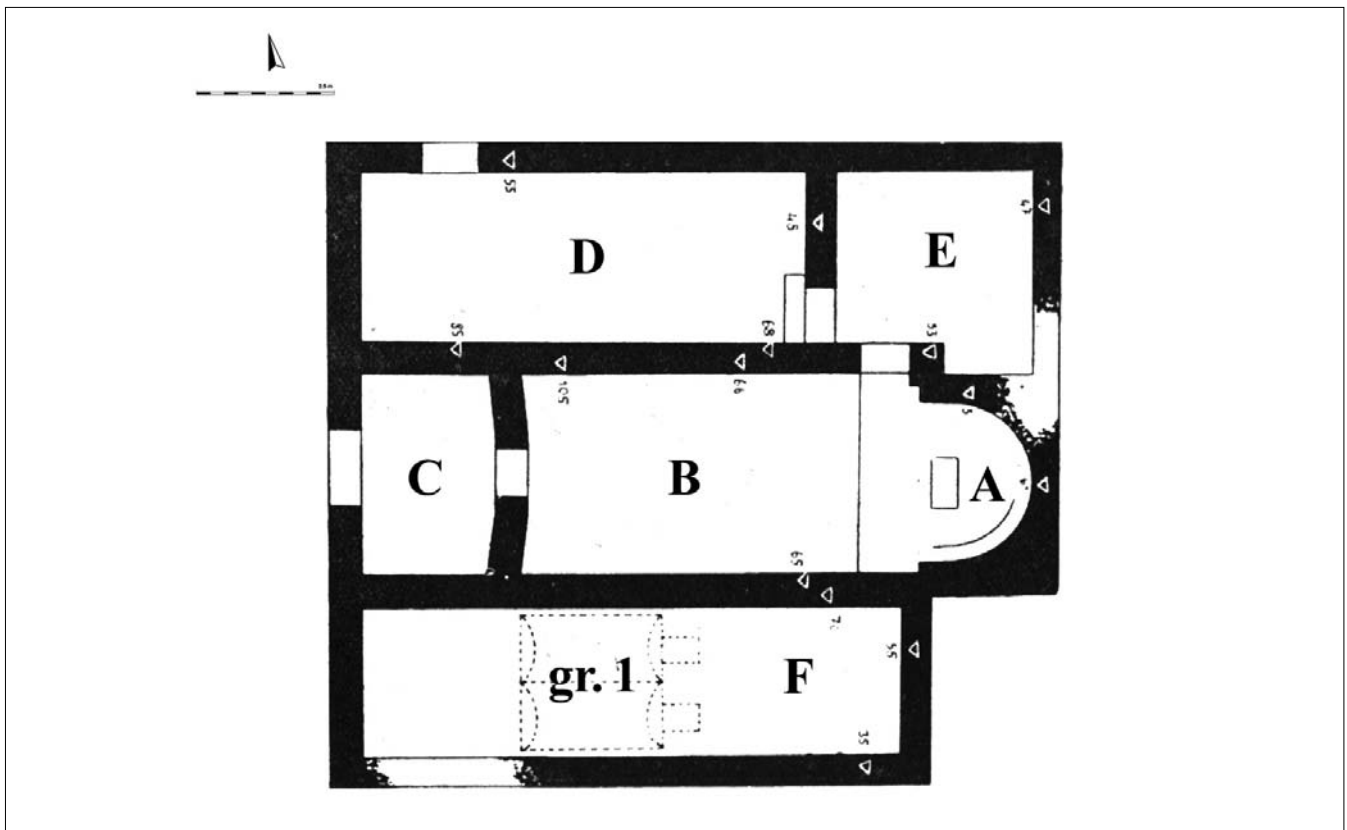
The room which he marked with the letter **A is the presbytery**. Inside it, on the floor along the southern wall of the apse, he found the trace of a semicircular subsellium (0.35 m in width), which was tiled. The room was elevated by around 25 cm in relation to the naos. In the presbytery the base of a mensa was found broken into up to 10 pieces and dislocated from its original position (west of the apse), and considering that its original position was embossed, it was returned to its place. As the original table was never

1 Željeli bismo iskoristiti priliku kako bismo zahvalili prof. dr. sc. B. Marijanoviću na ustupanju rezultata revizijskih istraživanja za objavu.

2 Zahvaljujemo vlasniku gospodinu Mati Graniću koji je odobrio izvođenje radova na svome zemljištu.

1 We would like to take an opportunity to thank Prof. B. Marijanović for ceding the results of the revision research to be published.

2 We thank the landlord Mr Mate Granić, who permitted the execution of the works on his land.



Sl. 3 Tlocrt crkve prema D. Sergejevskom (1959: 171, sl. 4)

Fig. 3 Plan of the church according to D. Sergejevski (1959: 171, Fig. 4)

nije pronašlo nikakvih tragova *septuma*, čak niti baza.

Prema opisu Sergejevskog **Prostorija B** (naos crkve: 5,37 x 3,52 m) je bila ispunjena grobovima, odnosno zemljom i kostima. U zapadnome dijelu Prostorije registrirao je i ostatke zidanih grobova (Sergejevski 1959: 170), ali, kako sam kaže, nije mogao odrediti koliko je tu bilo grobnica. Smatra da bi mogla biti jedna na kat za koju je mislio da je naknadno ugrađena u crkvu (to je vjerojatno ista ona koju spominje u Prostoriji C). No, tvrdi kako je sve zatečeno u potpunome kaosu i prekopano. Pronašao je novčić *Dalma et Albania*.

Za **Prostoriju C** kaže kako je nepravilnoga oblika (to je vestibul ili kako ga Sergejevski naziva tzv. narteks:<sup>3</sup> dužina 2,38 m, širina na istok 3,55 m, na zapad 3,7 m). Prema njegovome opisu naos je bio odvojen od vestibula zidom slabije izrade koji je tijekom vremena bio pomaknut sa svojega mjesta te se nagnuo. Sergejevski navodi mogućnost da je zid kasnije dograđen tako da je naos bio prvobitno većih dimenzija, a vestibul nije ni postojao. N. Cambi je kratko

found, it was assumed that it was made of wood (Sergejevski 1959: 169) The same was thought for the chancel screen (Sergejevski 1959: 169) because Sergejevski says that no traces of the *septum* were found, not even the base.

According to the description of Sergejevski, **Room B** (naps of the church: 5.37 x 3.52 m) was filled with graves, more precisely with earth and bones. In the western part of the room there were the remains of the walled graves (Sergejevski 1959: 170), but he says he was not able to determine how many graves there were. He believed that there could be one with the upper construction, which he claimed was added at a later stage (this is possibly the same one which he mentions in Room C). However, he states that everything was found in a complete chaos and dug over. He found a coin, *Dalma et Albania*.

For **Room C** he says that it is of irregular shape (it is a vestibule, or as Sergejevski calls it, a narteks:<sup>3</sup> 2.38 m in length and 3.55 m in width to the east, 3.7 m to the west). Accord-

3 Termin „narteks“ se često krivo koristi kako bi objasnio jednostavne vestibule, odnosno prostore manjih dimenzija koji su prethodili ulazu u crkvu. „Narteks“ se u tekstovima istočne liturgije opisuje kao jako široko arhitektonsko tijelo koje ide cijelom dužinom fasade te ima više ulaza izvana prema crkvi. Najčešće se javlja na istočnome Mediteranu, posebno u Konstantinopolu, *Illiricum*-u, Africi, a imaju ga i neke crkve u Raveni. Služio je za okupljanje klera prije mise i početak procesije kojom započinje liturgija Riječi. Ako je misi prisustvovao Car, onda bi se tu susreli i pozdravili biskup i car. Ponekad imaju apside i sjedala (o tome više kod Chavaria Arnau 2016: 83–84). U ovome slučaju, kao i kod drugih starokršćanskih lokaliteta koji imaju takva tjela pred ulazom u crkvu (pogotovo na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine), u biti, problem je više terminološke prirode negoli značenja.

3 The term "narthex" is often misused to explain simple vestibules, or rooms of smaller dimensions that precede the entrance to the church. The "narthex" is described in the texts of the Eastern Liturgy as a very broad architectural body that goes along the entire length of the façade and has several exterior entrances to the church. It most commonly occurs in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Constantinople, Illyricum, Africa, and in some of the churches in Ravenna. It was intended for the gathering of the clergy before the Mass and for the beginning of the procession with which the Liturgy of the Word began. If the Mass was attended by the Emperor, the Bishop and the Emperor would meet and greet there. Sometimes narthexes have apses and seats (see more about this in Chavaria Arnau 2016: 83–84). In this case, and in other Early Christian sites which have the same structure at the entrance to the church (especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina), it is a matter of terminology rather than meaning.

naveo kako je zakrivljeni ulazni zid iz vestibula u naos arhitektonska specifičnost građevine (Cambi 1985: 40). D. Sergejevski kaže kako je cijela Prostorija bila zasuta ostacima razorene velike grobnice.<sup>4</sup>

**Prostorija koju je označio slovom D** nalazi se sjeverno, a zauzimala je prostor širine 3,05 m i dužine 8 m s ulazom koji se nalazi na sjeverozapadu. Nije pronašao podnicu. Kaže kako je bila cijela prekopana (puna zemlje i kostiju). D. Sergejevski je pretpostavio funkciju baptisterija, ali piscinu nije pronašao.

**Prostorija E** je povezivala prezbiterij i Prostoriju D. S obje je komunicirala vratima, s time da je, radi razlike u visini, prema prostoriji D imala i jednu stepenicu. Bila je na istoj razini kao i prezbiterij.

**Prostorija F** zauzimala je južni dio kompleksa te nije bila povezana s crkvom. Pretpostavilo se da je ulaz vjerojatno imala na uništenome dijelu jugozapadnoga zida (ulaz je pronađen tijekom revizijskih istraživanja). Definirao ju je 2,60 m u širinu i 9,65 m u dužinu te joj nije pronašao podnicu. U samome središtu se nalazila dobro očuvana dvojna grobnica na svod za koju D. Sergejevski kaže da je bila ugrađena naknadno jer se vanjski zidovi tih grobnica ne spajaju sa zidom zgrade (Sergejevski 1959: 171). Prostor grobnica dugačak je 2,40 m, širok je 0,63 m, dok je strop visok 1,10 m. Na ulazu nije pronašao kamenu ploču, već nabacano kamenje. Kosti je, kako opisuje, zatekao rasute.

D. Sergejevski pripisuje ovaj starokršćanski kompleks u Docima tzv. „bosanske tipu“ ili građevinama jednostavne jednobrodne forme s apsidom na istoku i pomoćnim prostorijama na bočnim stranama (Sergejevski 1960: 563). Zaključio je kako je cijela crkva sagrađena u jednome zahvatu (iako kod opisa zida koji dijeli naos i vestibul spominje mogućnost ranije faze crkve bez vestibula) i drži da je, kao i ostale bazilike u Bosni i Hercegovini, sagrađena u drugoj polovici 5. stoljeća (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173). N. Cambi ju, kao i ostale crkve srodna tlocrta koje on naziva „naronitanski tip“, datira u 6. stoljeća (Cambi 1985: 43). P. Chevalier navodi okvirnu dataciju u 5.–6. stoljeće prihvaćajući termin „kompleksni tip“ bazilika (Chevalier 1995: 409).

## REVIZIJSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA BAZILIKE U DOCIMA

Revizijska arheološka istraživanja bila su usmjerena u dva pravca: a) reviziju unutrašnjosti crkve; b) sustavna iskopavanja okolnoga do sada neistraženog područja kako bi se dobila potpunija slika cjelokupnoga nalazišta (sl. 4–5).

Iskopavanje je započelo skidanjem humusnoga sloja u svim prostorijama gdje je pronađena veća količina tegula, od čega manji postotak s dijelom ukrasa u obliku nepravilne kružnice. Analogni primjerci pronađeni su i na obližnjem lokalitetu Šipkovo glavici (tzv. „oratorij“). Prostor crkve zatečen je ispunjen razbacanim kostima i uništenim grobovima koji nisu datirani. U prilog određenim recentnim aktiv-

4 Iako opis ne odgovara grobnici pronađenoj prilikom revizijskih istraživanja, velika je vjerojatnost da D. Sergejevski na temelju opisa kojega su mu dali radnici (jer nije bio prisutan na terenu) ovdje opisuje upravo nju, ali potpuno krivo, jer ona zapravo nije bila istraživana, već su radnici kopanjem vjerojatno došli do njenog najgornjeg sloja (Sergejevski 1959: 171; Basler 1972: 83).

ding to his description, the naos was separated from the vestibule by a weak wall which had moved from its place and leaned over time. Sergejevski mentions the possibility that the wall was built later so that the naos was originally of larger dimensions, and the vestibule did not exist. N. Cambi briefly noted that the curved entrance wall from the vestibule into the naos was the architectural specificity of the building (Cambi 1985: 40). D. Sergejevski says that the entire room was covered with the remains of a devastated large tomb.<sup>4</sup>

**The room marked by the letter D** is in the north, occupying space 3.05 m wide and 8 m wide, with an entrance in the northwest. He did not find the flooring. He says it was dug over (full of earth and bones). D. Sergejevski assumed it was the baptistery, but the baptismal font was not found.

**Room E** is connected to the presbytery and to Room D. With both, it communicates by a door, with D having a one-step difference due to the difference in height. It is on the same level as the presbytery.

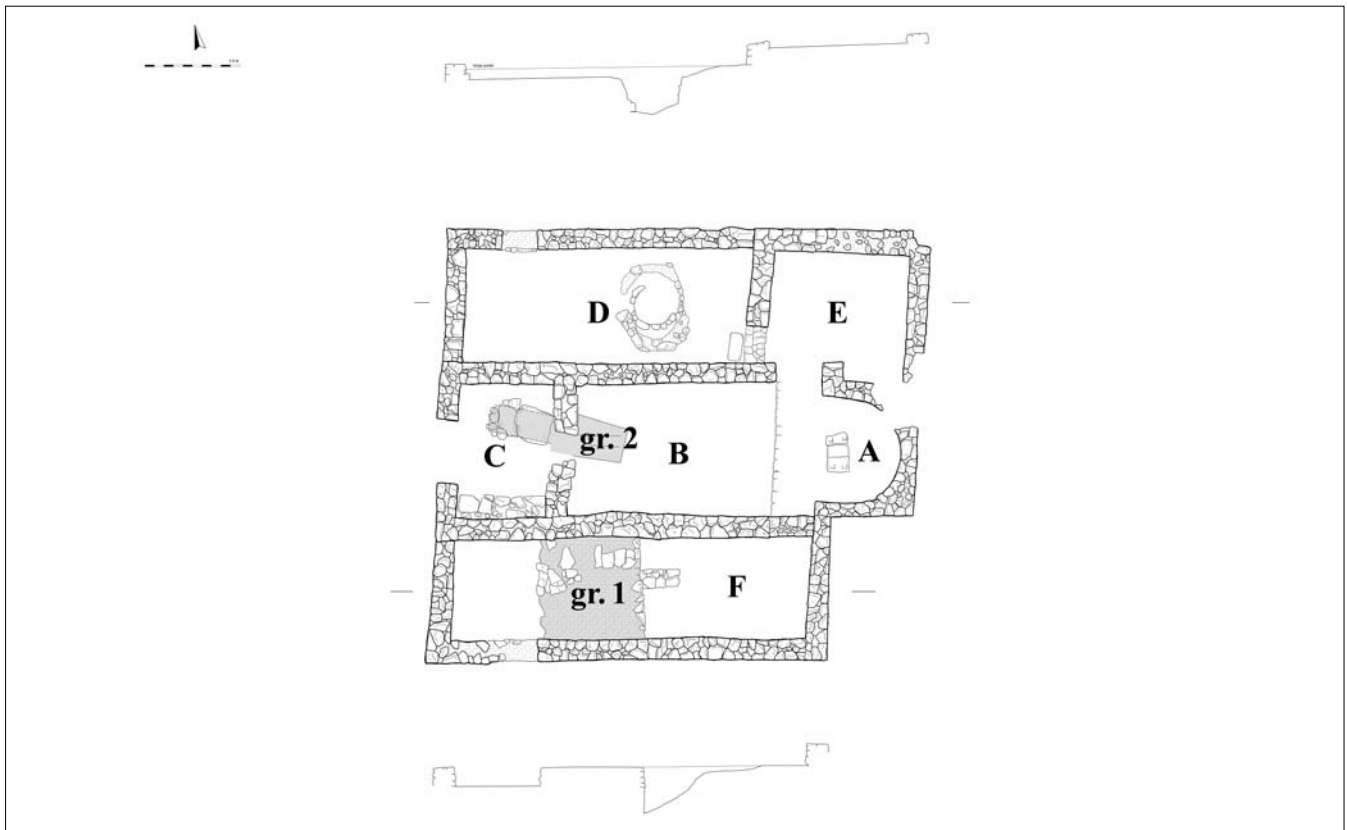
**Room F** occupied the southern part of the complex and was not connected with the church. It was assumed that the entrance was probably in the destroyed part of the southwest wall (the entrance was found during the revised research). He identified it as narrow: 2.60 m wide and 9.65 m long and he did not find flooring. At the very centre there was a well-preserved twin vaulted grave, which D. Sergejevski says was built later because the outer walls of the tomb do not connect with the wall of the building (Sergejevski 1959: 171). The tomb is 2.40 m long, 0.63 m wide and 1.10 m high. At the entrance he did not find a stone slab, but randomly thrown stones. He says he found the bones scattered.

D. Sergejevski attributed this early Christian complex in Doci to the “Bosnian type”: structures of a simple one-naved shape with the apse in the east and the auxiliary spaces on the lateral sides (Sergejevski 1960: 563). He concludes that the entire church was built in one go (but his description of the wall dividing the naos and the vestibule mentions the possibility of an early stage of the church without the vestibule), and holds that, like other basilicas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was built in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Sergejevski 1959: 169–173). N. Cambi dates the church to the 6<sup>th</sup> century just like other churches a similar ground plan, which he calls the “Naronite type” (Cambi 1985: 43). P. Chevalier conveys a frame date, 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century, accepting the term “complex type” for the basilica (Chevalier 1995: 409).

## REVISED RESEARCH OF THE BASILICA IN DOCI

The revised archaeological research was focused on two directions: a) the revision of the inner part of the church; b) systematic excavations of the surrounding unexplored areas in order to obtain a more complete picture of the entire site (Figs. 4–5).

4 Although the description does not correspond to the tomb found during the revised research, it is highly probable that D. Sergejevski, on the basis of the description given to him by the workers (because he was not physically present on location), describes it in a precise but completely wrong way, because it was not actually explored, but the workers probably came to its lowest upper layer while digging (Sergejevski 1959: 171; Basler 1972: 83).



Sl. 4 Tlocrt i presjek crkve nakon revizijskih istraživanja (izradio: D. Vujević)

Fig. 4 Plan and section of the church after the revised archaeological excavation (made by: D. Vujević)

nostima na nalazištu, vjerojatno poljoprivrednim, tijekom 17. i 18. stoljeća, govore pronalasci kovanica *Dalma et Alban* pronađeni u površinskome sloju Prostorije B (naos). Isti novac pronađen je prilikom istraživanja D. Sergejevskog (Sergejevski 1959: 171).

Revizijom su potvrđeni dosadašnji arhitektonski perimetri objekta, poput dimenzija prostorija, debljine zidova te načina gradnje i opisi pojedinačnih prostorija kojima smo zadržali starije slovne oznake, ali su, kao što je navedeno, pronađene iznimno važne novosti nepoznate ranijim istraživačima.

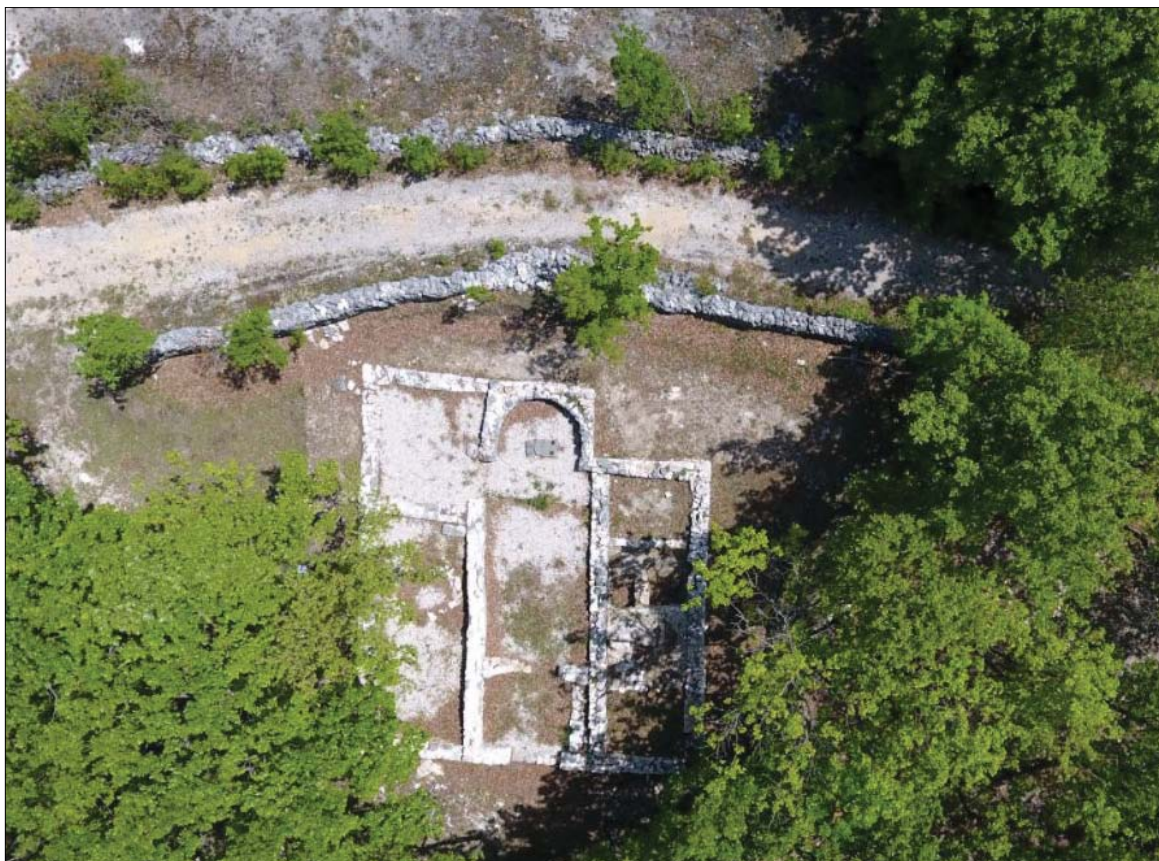
**Unutar Prostorije A**, odnosno prezbiterija, potvrđene su dimenzije Prostorije i osnovni opis D. Sergejevskog (sl. 6). Kao što je već prije uočeno, prezbiterij je za 25 cm uzdignut od naosa. To uzdignuće je izrađeno, odnosno ojačano, sedrenim kamenom. Za njega P. Chevalier postavlja pitanje je li to možda ostatak jednostavne ograde svetišta (Chevalier 1995: 409) za koju se, s obzirom na pronalazak kamene plastike za vrijeme revizije, može pretpostaviti da je bila jednostavna „od zida, do zida“ kakva je česta u crkvama ovoga tipa (Basler 1972).

**Prostorija B** (naos) je, osim što je evidentirano „kaotično“ stanje kojega spominje D. Sergejevski, u potpunosti istražena revizijskim istraživanjima, što je rezultiralo iznimno važnim spoznajama. Skidanjem humusnoga i subhumusnog sloja otkriveno je nekoliko ulomaka kamenoga crkvenog namještaja te je dokumentirana rastresita crna zemlja prepuna amorfnoga kamenja i tegula. Prostorija kao da je

The excavations began by removing the humus layer in all the rooms where a larger amount of tegula (tiles) was found, of which a small percentage had a part of decoration in the shape of an irregular circle. Analogous examples were found in the nearby Šipkova Glavica site (the so-called “oratory”). The space of the church was covered with scattered bones and destroyed tombs that were not dated. Certain recent activities on the site, probably agricultural, from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, are significantly supported by the findings of the *Dalma et Alban* coins, as they were retrieved in the surface layer of Room B (naos). The same coin was found in the research of D. Sergejevski (Sergejevski 1959: 171).

The revision confirmed previous architectural perimeters of the building, such as the room dimensions, the thickness of the walls, construction methods and descriptions of individual rooms for which we kept older letter markings, but, as noted, extremely important pieces of information were found which were unknown to previous researchers.

**Inside Room A** or Presbytery, the dimensions of the room and the basic description of D. Sergejevski were confirmed (Fig. 6). As already noted, the presbytery is 25 cm higher than the naos. The elevation was made, or reinforced, with travertine limestone. For that stone elevation, P. Chevalier raises the question whether it may be the remainder of a simple chance screen (Chevalier 1995: 409), which, given the finding of the plastic stone decoration during the revision, can be assumed to be simply “from wall to wall”, as was common in churches of this type (Basler 1972).



Sl. 5 Zračni snimak crkve nakon revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja (foto: M. Rašić)

Fig. 5 Aerial photograph of the church after the revised archaeological excavation (photo: M. Rašić)



Sl. 6 Prostorija A: baza oltara (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 6 Room A: base of the altar mensa (photo: D. Vujević)

„utonula“ što je posljedica prisutnosti grobnice, jedinog objekta unutar Prostorije (**Grobnica 2**). Zaključeno je kako je grobnica osnova crkve, tj. nastala je prije gradnje same crkve. Ulaz u Grobnicu 2 nalazi se direktno ispod zida koji dijeli vestibul od naosa, dok se u samome vestibulu nalazi pristupni hodnik (sl. 7; 9). Ulazni kanal je obzidan s obje strane u tehnici *opus mixtum* (redovi kamenih blokova ispresijecani redovima tegula). Sam ulaz u grobnicu je napravljen od pravilnih klesanih blokova izrađenih od muljike, a zatvoren je velikom kamenom pločom koja po sredini ima plitko urezani latinski križ s lepezastim završetcima hasta (sl. 10; 21).

Grobnica 2 je standardna kasnoantička grobnica na svod orijentacije sjeverozapad – jugoistok. Pronađena je u vrlo lošem stanju: njen svod se poprilično urušio. Dužina same grobnice iznosi najmanje 200 cm, a uzevši u obzir da je stražnji dio urušen, mogla bi biti i 50 cm duža. Građena je od amorfnoga kamenja, uz korištenje sedrenih blokova za gradnju svoda. Zidovi i svod su bili žbukani. Grobnica ima jednu klupu koja se nalazi uz sjevernu stranu, dok se uz južnu stranu nalazi kanal. Kostii su pronađene razbacane po cijeloj površini. Pronalazak nekih tanjih kostiju, ali i dvije mandibule ukazuje da bi u grobnici moglo biti pokopano više osoba, najmanje tri (od kojih jedno dijete). S obzirom na razlike u razinama dijelova grobnice i razbacanost kostiju, možemo reći kako je gotovo cijela unutrašnjost grobnice jednostavno utonula, vjerojatno zbog šupljina u matičnoj stijeni ispod grobnice. Urušavanje grobnice kao posljedicu je imalo i urušavanje zida između vestibula i naosa.

**Room B** (naos), apart from the “chaotic” condition noted by D. Sergejevski, was fully explored by the revised research, which has resulted in extremely important knowledge. By removing the humus and sub-humus layers, several fragments of stone church furniture were discovered, and black earth filled with amorphous stones and tegulae was documented. The room looks “sunken” because of the presence of the tomb, the only object within the room (**Tomb 2**). It was concluded that the tomb was the foundation of the church, i.e. it was built before the church was built. The entrance to Tomb 2 is located directly beneath the wall that divides the vestibule from the naos, while the vestibule itself has an access corridor (Figs. 7; 9). The entry channel is walled on both sides, in the *opus mixtum* technique (rows of stone blocks overlaid by tegula rows). The entrance to the tomb is made of regular chiselled blocks of mulch, and is enclosed by a large stone slab, which has a shallow, engraved Latin cross in the middle with fan endings of the arms (Figs. 10; 21).

Tomb 2 is a standard late antique tomb with a barrel vault (northeast–southwest orientation) and was found in very poor condition, its vault quite collapsed. The length of the tomb itself is at least 2 m. Taking the collapsed back part into account, it could be 50 cm longer. It is made of amorphous stones, with the use of travertine blocks for the construction of the vault. The walls and the vault were plastered. The tomb has one bench beside the north side, while at the south side there is a canal. Bones were found scattered all over the surface. The finding of some tiny bones but also two mandibles suggests that several people were buried in the tomb – at least three (of whom one child). Considering



Sl. 7 Prostorije B i C: zid između naosa i vestibula (foto: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 7 Rooms B and C: wall between vestibule and naos (photo: D. Vujević)



Sl. 8 Prostorija C: ploče koje zatvaraju ulaz u Grobnicu 2. Jama nepoznate namjene pokraj ploča (foto: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 8 Room C: stone slabs covering the entrance to Tomb 2. A pit of unknown purpose next to them (photo: D. Vujević)

**Prostoriji C (vestibulu)** su potvrđeni opis i dimenzije D. Sergejevskog. Kao novost uz južni zid je otkrivena kamena zidana klupa (sl. 11). Klupa leži na žbukanoj podnici (dimenzija 2,40 x 0,66–0,60 m i visine 0,30–0,20 m) koja je najviše

the differences in the levels of the tomb and the scattering of the bones, we can say that almost the entire interior of the tomb simply sunk in, probably because of the cavity in the rock under the tomb. The collapse of the tomb resulted in

sačuvana u južnoj polovici Prostorije. Na sjevernoj polovici podnica nije sačuvana nego se tu, uz istočni zid, primjećuju vrhovi velikih kamenih ploča koje su zapravo pokrov ulaza u Grobnicu 2 (sl. 8). Ulaz u grobnicu s pristupnim hodnikom nalazio se unutar ove Prostorije, ispod zida koji ju je dijelio od naosa. Uz ploče ulaza u Grobnicu 2 pronađena je jama duboka 50 cm (sl. 8). Pokazalo se da, osim zemlje i par kamenja ili ulomaka tegula, u jami nema ništa. Ostaje time nejasna njena namjena.



Sl. 9 Prostorija C: ulaz u Grobnicu 2 (foto: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 9 Room C: entrance to Tomb 2 (photo: D. Vujević)

Isto tako, evidentno je da je ulazni dio u vestibul građen drugačije od ostalih zidova. Osim kamena pri dnu konstrukcije ulaza, primjećuje se i korištenje tegula, što nije zabilježeno kod ostalih zidova. Na većem dijelu vestibula ispod podnice nalazi se matična stijena, no na samome ulazu ispod ostataka podnice nalazi se tamni sloj s ulomcima tegula. Sloj nije debeo (svega 10-ak cm), ali sasvim je jasno kako je stariji od samoga ulaza.

Za **Prostoriju D** revizijska istraživanja potvrdila su da je imala funkciju krstionice. To je sjeverna prostorija nešto drugačijih dimenzija negoli je to prije bilo poznato: dužine 7,50 m i 3 m širine. Potvrđeno je kako ima dva ulaza, ali je uočena novost: naime, zapadni zid i sjeverni zid ove prostorije nisu organski vezani uz crkvu i prostoriju E što potvrđuje drugi trenutak gradnje (o tome nije bilo riječi u ranijim objavama). Jedan ulaz je na sjevernome zidu, a drugi na istočnome koji služi kao komunikacija s Prostorijom E (pastoforijom). Na većem dijelu nalazila se crvenica pomiješana s manjom koncentracijom raspadnute žbuke. Riječ je o sloju koji se nalazio

the collapse of the wall between the vestibule and the naos.

**Room C (the vestibule)** had the description and dimensions of D. Sergejevski confirmed. A new element – a stone walled bench – was discovered along the south wall (Fig. 11). The bench lies on the plastered floor (measuring 2.40 x 0.66–0.60 m with the height of 30 to 20 cm), and it is mostly preserved in the southern half of the room. In the north half the flooring has not been preserved, but by the eastern wall the peaks of the large stone slabs can be noted which are



Sl. 10 Prostorija C: ploča koja zatvara ulaz u Grobnicu 2 (foto: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 10 Room C: stone slab closing the entrance to Tomb 2 (photo: D. Vujević)

actually the cover of the entrance to Tomb 2 (Fig. 8). The entrance to the tomb with the access corridor was inside this room, beneath the wall that divided it from the naos. Near these large stone slabs, a 50 cm deep pit was found (Fig. 8). Aside from earth and a few stones or fragments of tegulae there was nothing else in the pit. Its purpose remains unclear.

It is also evident that the entrance hall in the vestibule was constructed differently from the other walls. At the bottom of the structure of the entrance, tegulae were used in addition to stone, which was not noted at the other walls. In most of the vestibule there is a rock under the floor, but at the very entrance there is a dark layer under with the remains of the tegulae under the floor. The layer is not thick (only 10 cm) but it is quite clear that it is older than the entrance itself.

For **Room D** the revised research confirmed that it had the function of a baptistery. This northern space has somewhat different dimensions than it was previously known: a length of 7.50 m and a width of 3 m. It was confirmed that



Sl. 11 Prostorija C: kamena klupa uz južni zid vestibula (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 11 Room C: stone bench by the southern wall of vestibule (photo: D. Vujević)

ispod originalnoga poda Prostorije. Po sredini je pronađen poligonalni objekt – **krsni zdenac** – nepoznat ranijim istraživačima (sl. 12). Vanjsko mu je lice loše sačuvano, ali prema prisutnome kamenju moglo je biti šesterostraničnoga tlocrta. Promjer vanjskoga lica iznosio je najmanje 2,20 m. Njegov unutarnji gornji promjer iznosi 1,80 x 1,50 m. U zapuni su pronađeni komadi hidraulične žbuke. Fino slagano kamenje tvori kružni oblik promjera 1 m. Sačuvana su dva reda kamenja ispod kojih ide matična stijena.

it had two entrances, but something new was noted: the west and the north walls of this room are not organically bound to the church and Room E, which confirms a second phase of construction (this was not mentioned earlier). One entrance in the north wall and the other in the east wall served as communication with the Room E (pastoforia). Most of the room contained red earth mixed with a low concentration of decomposed plaster. It is a layer beneath the original floor of the room. In the middle, a polygonal object unknown to earlier researchers – a baptismal font –



Sl. 12 Prostorija D: krsni zdenac (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 12 Room D: baptismal font (photo: D. Vujević)



**Prostorija E** je pastoforija na sjeveroistočnome kutu dužine 3,60 m i širine 3 m, s podnicom od žbuke i sitnoga kamena postavljenim u razini poda prezbiterija. Zidovi su joj sačuvani u samim temeljima, na mjestima tek u razini poda. Osim ulaza koji vodi u krstionicu, još se jedan ulaz nalazi na južnome zidu koji ju je povezivao s prezbiterijem. Revidirano je stanje isto kao kod opisa D. Sergejevskog.

**Za prostoriju F** nova mjerenja su potvrdili dimenzije 9,45 m dužine i 2,70 m širine (sl. 13–18). Potvrđeno je kako nema vidljivu komunikaciju s ostatkom crkve. Jedina komunikacija u Prostoriju je ulaz na južnome zidu (na njegovome zapadnom dijelu) gdje ga je D. Sergejevski i pretpostavljao, ali je tek revizijom potvrđen (sl. 18). Točnije, otkriven je prekid južnoga zida na mjestu otvora vrata te njegov prag. Na istočnome dijelu, na dubini od 40 cm od vrha zida, nailazimo na matičnu stijenu (muljika) koja pada prema sredini. Istočni i južni zid prostorije su organski vezani sa zidom apside crkve, što nije slučaj sa zapadnim zidom koji je prislonjen na južni zid crkve.



Sl. 13 Prostorija F: Grobnica 1 (foto: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 13 Room F: Tomb 1 (photo: D. Vujević)

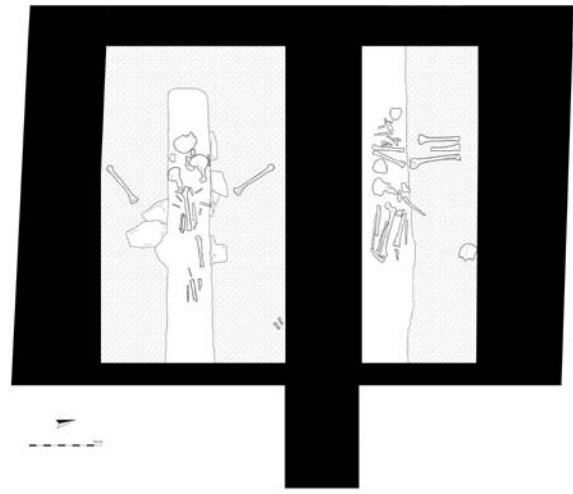
Njenim središnjim dijelom dominira kasnoantička dvojna grobnica na svod (Grobnica 1; sl. 13–14) koju je D. Sergejevski dijelom istražio. Grobnica je zidana od manjega kvadratnog kamena, dok je vrh popločan s većim pločastim kamenjem povezanim žbukom. Vrh se nalazi u razini s nekadašnjim podom Prostorije. Gornji dio grobnice naslanja se na zidove Prostorije, što potvrđuje pretpostavku Sergejevskog da je grobnica dodana naknadno. Istočno lice grobnice (visine 1,25 m) fino je urađeno sлагanjem malih, pravilnih kamenih blokova, dok su za vratnice ulaza iskorištene antičke spolije.

Grobnica je ukopana u mekanu matičnu stijenu (muljika), s kratkim zakošenim prostorom ispred ulaza. Na istočno lice grobnice se, po sredini, naslanja zid koji fizički odvaja dva dijela grobnice, odnosno dva ulaza u grobnicu, tj. dva groba (1a i 1b; sl. 15–16). Južni ulaz je bio zatrpan crvenicom u kojoj je pronađena velika kamena ploča koja je nekoć služila za zatvaranje ulaza. Sjeverni ulaz je bio zatvoren krup-

was found (Fig. 12). Its outside face has been poorly preserved, but judging by the present stone it could have been of hexagonal plan. The outer face diameter was at least 2.20 m. Its inner upper diameter was 1.80 x 1.50 m. Fragments of hydraulic plaster were found in the fill. Stones in good condition form a circular shape of 1 m in diameter. Two rows of stones were preserved, with rock underneath them.

**Room E** is in the northeast corner, 3.60 m long and 3 m wide, with a plaster and small stone floor, set at the floor level of the presbytery. The walls were preserved on the very foundation level sporadically only at the floor level. In addition to the entrance to the baptistry, another entrance in the southern wall linked it to the Presbytery. The revised condition corresponds to D. Sergejevski's description.

**For Room F**, new measurements have confirmed the length of 9.45 m and the width of 2.70 m (Figs. 13–18). It has been confirmed that there is no visible communication with the rest of the church. The only communication in the room is the entrance in the southern wall (in its western part), which was assumed by D. Sergejevski, but confirmed only



Sl. 14 Prostorija F: tlocrt Grobnice 1 (izradio: D. Vujević)  
Fig. 14 Room F: plan of Tomb 1 (made by: D. Vujević)

by the revision (Fig. 18). More precisely, it was discovered that the south wall stops at the opening of the door and its threshold. At the eastern part, at the depth of 40 cm from the top of the wall, we encounter a solid rock (mudstone) that falls towards the middle. The east and south walls of the room are organically bound to the apse of the church wall; is not the case with the west wall which is attached to the south wall of the church.

Its central part is dominated by the late antique double vaulted grave (Tomb 1; Figs. 13–14), partly investigated by D. Sergejevski. The tomb is built using smaller square stones, and the top is paved by larger stone slabs connected by plaster. The top is levelled with the former floor of the room. The upper part of the tomb leans on the walls of the room, which confirms Sergejevski's assumption that the tomb was added later. The east face of the tomb (125 cm high) is finely crafted by the arrangement of small, regular stone blocks, while antique spolia were used for the gateway entrance.

The tomb was dug into the soft original rock (mudsto-



Sl. 15 Prostorija F: unutrašnjost Grobnice 1A (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 15 Room F: interior of Tomb 1A (photo: D. Vujević)



Sl. 16 Prostorija F: unutrašnjost Grobnice 1B (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 16 Room F: interior of Tomb 1B (photo: D. Vujević)

nim kamenjem i jednom većom kamenom pločom. Sami ulazi su pravokutnoga oblika, izrađeni od velikih kamenih blokova uz korištenje antičkih spolija (sl. 17). Grobnica sadrži dva groba, oba s bačvastim svodom, kamenim klupama za pokojnike i ožbukanom unutrašnjosti. Na samim klupama pronađeno je malo kostiju, dok se većina njih nalazi razbacana u kanalima uz klupe.



Sl. 17 Prostorija F: spolija iskorištena u ulazu Grobnice 1B (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 17 Room F: spolia reused in the entrance of Tomb 1B (photo: D. Vujević)

### Grob 150 m od bazilike – grob 3

Osim revizije stanja na prostoru bazilike, istraživanja su bila usmjerena i na obližnji lokalitet na kojem je pronađena grobnica označena brojem 3, nepoznata prijašnjim istraživačima (sl. 19).

ne), with a short inclined space in front of the entrance. The wall leans on the eastern central part of the tomb physically separating the two parts of the tomb, namely the two entrances to the tomb, i.e. the two graves (1a and 1b; Figs. 15–16). The southern entrance was covered by a red soil in which a large stone slab was found that once closed the entrance. The north entrance was closed by large stones and a larger stone slab. Entrances are of rectangular shape made



Sl. 18 Prostorija F: pogled na južni zid i ulaz u JZ kutu (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 18 Room F: view of the southern wall and the entrance at the SW corner (photo: D. Vujević)

of large stone blocks and using ancient *spolia* (Fig. 17). The tomb contains two graves, both with a barrel vault, stone benches for the deceased and a plastered interior. A few bones have been found on the benches themselves, most of them scattered in canals beside the benches.

Grobnica je smještena na zemljištu (vlasnik Ivan Boras)<sup>5</sup> koje se nalazi 150 m zračne linije u pravcu sjevera (u odnosu na baziliku). Iskopavalo se na mjestu gdje su mještani prijavili da su primijetili ljudske kosti. Kosti su pronađene na omanjem platou površine 30-tak m<sup>2</sup> na kojem je bio vidljiv tek vrh suhozida. Suhozid se pružao u smjeru sjeveroistok – jugozapad u dužini od 4 m. Na prvu se činilo da je kamenje povezano žbukom, no uskoro se primjetilo da je žbuka bila zalijepljena vodoravno na pojedine ploče. Dakle, riječ je o recentnoj suhozidnoj konstrukciji u koju su ugrađene spoli-je tj. kamen iz nekoga starijeg antičkog ili kasnoantičkog objekta. Svojim dnom suhozid se manjim dijelom naslanjao na matičnu stijenu, no na južnome dijelu ispod njega se primjećivao vrh drugoga zida, s arhitekturom koja je povezana žbukom. Pronalazak ljudskih kostiju istočno od suhozida te tragovi „nove“ arhitekture bili su povod za nastavak iskopanja te su se ispod suhozida pojavili ostatci kasnoantičke grobnice na svod.

### The tomb 150 m from the basilica – Tomb 3

In addition to the revision of the condition inside the basilica, research was also directed to a nearby site, where Tomb 3, unknown to previous investigators, has been identified (Fig. 19).

The tomb is located on a nearby land (owned by Ivan Boras)<sup>5</sup> which is situated 150 m north of the basilica. The excavation was carried out in the spot where the locals reported noticing human bones. The bones were found on a small plateau of about 30 m<sup>2</sup>, on which only the top of the drywall was visible. The drywall, 4 m long, stretched in the northeast–southwest direction. At first it seemed that the stones were connected by plaster, but it soon became apparent that the plaster was applied horizontally to individual plates. So, it is a recent drywall construction with spolia built into it, i.e. stones from an older antique or late antique building. At its bottom, the drywall leaned on the solid rock, but in the southern part beneath it there the tip of the second wall was noted, with plastered architecture. The



Sl. 19 Grobnica 3 (foto: D. Vujević)

Fig. 19 Tomb 3 (photo: D. Vujević)

Grob 3 tipološki je najbliži grobu 1 koji se nalazi unutar Prostorije F. Naime, riječ je o dvojnoj kasnoantičkoj grobnici na svod. Grobnica ima orijentaciju sjeverozapad – jugoistok te dva ulaza orijentirana na istok, odnosno jugoistok.

finding of human bones east of the drywall and the traces of “new” architecture were the reason for continuing with the excavation, and the remains of the late antique vaulted tomb appeared beneath the drywall.

<sup>5</sup> Koristimo priliku za zahvalu Ivanu Borasu jer je nesebično ustupio zemljište za arheološka istraživanja.

<sup>5</sup> We would like to take an opportunity to thank Ivan Boras, who kindly provided his land for archeological research.

S obzirom na zakošenost bočnih zidova, jasno je kako je konstrukcija imala bačvasti svod. Uz bočne stranice južne grobnice 3A postavljene su dvije ožbukane klupe od kojih je ona sjeverna nešto šira, dok se na središnjem dijelu nalazi kanal dubine 30 cm. Za razliku od južne, sjeverna grobnica 3B nema klupe za pokojnika, nego dno groba čini matična stijena mjestimično popunjena žbukom. Prema ostacima žbuke na zidovima zaključuje se kako je cijela grobnica bila ožbukana iznutra. Osim ulomaka ljudskih kostiju, unutar Groba 3B pronađena su i tri keramička ulomka kasnoantičke provenijencije.

### Ostali nalazi

Od ostalih nalaza pronađeni su ulomci crkvenoga namještaja. Najkvalitetniji je ulomak impost kapitela izrađen od muljike (sl. 20). Ukrašen je urezanim križem u središtu, dok je u gornjim poljima, između hasti, po jedan reljefni prikaz ptice (golubice), dok na donjem polju reljefni paun zauzima cijelu površinu. Spadao bi u skupinu koju na području naronitanske dijeceze J. Vučić naziva „Di1“ i datira ih u 6. stoljeće (Vučić 2012: 314).<sup>6</sup>

Pronađeno je vrlo malo ulomaka keramike i prozirnoga stakla za koje se samo može pretpostaviti kasnoantička provenijencija (keramika je gruba crvenkaste ili crvenkasto-smeđe boje, dok je na dva ulomka vidljiv ukras u vidu koncentrično nanizanih plitkih žlijebova).

## REVIZIJSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA – ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Lokalitet Docu – Bazilika spada u red starokršćanskih lokaliteta kod kojih se prostorije nalaze uzduž lateralnih zidova jedinog broda crkve, odnosno s njegove sjeverne i južne strane (Cambi 1985: 42). Za ovu tipologiju sakralnih građevina u literaturi postoje razni nazivi: „bosanski“ (Sergejevski 1960: 563), „naronitanski“, „bosanskohercegovački“ ili „kompleksni“ tip crkava, a prema arhitektonskome rješenju ili prostoru najgušćega rasprostiranja (o tome detaljno Vučić 2012: 294). Građevina se najvjerojatnije nalazila na prostoru koji je bio pod jurisdikcijom kasnoantičke naronitanske biskupije (Cambi 1985: 40).

Rezultati revizijskih arheoloških istraživanja omogućili su potpuno novi pogled na stanje ovoga sakralnog sklopa. Pronalazak ulomaka crkvenoga namještaja opovrgava nagađanja o mogućnosti postojanja drvenoga namještaja (Sergejevski 1959: 169–170) te su potvrdila brzinu iskopavanja jer su prvi nalazi plastike pronađeni već nakon skidanja oko 30 cm gornjega sloja. Baza ograde svetišta nije pronađena. Potvrđeno je da je Prostorija D imala funkciju krstionice koja se, kao i kod velikoga broja crkava ovoga tipa, nalazila na sjevernoj strani (Basler 1972). Pronađene su Grobnica 2 i Grobnica 3. Otkriveno je kako se zid između naosa i vestibula zakrivio radi prisutnosti Grobnice 2, tako da je mozebitna specifičnost arhitekture (Vučić 2012: 137; Cambi

Tomb 3 is typologically the most similar to Tomb 1 found within Room F. Specifically, it is a double vaulted late antique grave. The tomb has a northwest–southeast orientation, and two entrances facing east or south–east. With regard to the sloping side walls, it is clear that the structure had a barrel vault. Alongside the side walls of the southern tomb 3A, there are two plastered benches, the north one slightly wider, and a 30 cm deep channel in the central part. Unlike the southern tomb, the northern one, 3B, has no benches for the deceased, but the bottom of the tomb is made of a solid rock partially filled with plaster. On the basis of the remains of plaster on the walls it can be concluded that the entire tomb was plastered from the inside. Apart from the fragments of human bones, three ceramic fragments of late antique origin were also found inside Tomb 3b.

### Other findings

Fragments of church furniture were found. Quality wise the best fragment is the impost of a capital which is made of mudstone (Fig. 20). It is decorated with a carved cross in the centre, a relief of birds (doves) in the upper fields between the arms, and a relief of a peacock occupying the entire surface of the lower field. It would belong to a group called “Di1” by J. Vučić in the area of the Naronitan diocese and dates back to the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Vučić 2012: 314).<sup>6</sup>

There are very few fragments of ceramic and transparent glass, which can only be assumed to be of late-antique origin (ceramic is rough, reddish or reddish-brown in colour, with two fragments bearing decoration in the form of concentric shallow grooves).

## REVISED ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH – CONCLUSION

The site Docu – Basilica belongs to a group of early Christian sites where the rooms are located along the lateral walls of the church single aisle, i.e. by its northern and southern side (Cambi 1985: 42). For this type of sacral buildings there are various names in literature: the “Bosnian” (Sergejevski 1960: 563), “Naronian”, “Bosnian-Herzegovinian”, or “Complex” church type, depending on the architectonic concept or the area of the most widespread distribution (more details in Vučić 2012: 294). The building was most probably located in the area under the jurisdiction of the late antiquity diocese of Naronia (Cambi 1985: 40).

The results of the revised archaeological research have provided completely new insights into the condition of this sacral complex. The finding of the fragments of church furniture eliminated speculation about the possibility of the existence of wooden furniture (Sergejevski 1959: 169–170) and confirmed the excavation speed since the first plastic stone decorations were found after the removal of about 30 cm of the upper layer. The base of the chancel screen was not found. It was confirmed that Room D had the function of a baptistery, which, as with many churches of this type, was located on the north side (Basler 1972). Tomb 2 and

6 „Di1“ su imposti ukrašeni prikazima izrađenim u plošnom plitkom reljefu unutar reljefno istaknuta obruba, a od motiva se javljaju: jelen, kalež, ptica, prepletene biljne vitice, jaganjac, jaganjac sa sedam rogova, cvijet, vinova loza s grozdovima, stilizirani listovi akanta, reljefno istaknut križ ili reljefno istaknut glatki križ. Letvice su im obično zaglađene, ali se javljaju i one ukrašene uklesanim trokutićima ili cik-cak linijom.

6 “Di1” are imposts ornamented with reliefs embossed in flat shallow relief inside the embossed outline of the border, and the motifs are: the stag, the chalice, the birds, the wattle vegetal twisting stems, the lamb, the seven horned lamb, the flower, the vines with grapes, stylized acanthus leaf, the embossed cross, or the embossed smooth cross. The arms are usually smooth, but they can also be decorated with engraved triangles or a zig-zag line.

1985: 40) zapravo slučajnost uzrokovana radi nestabilnosti i propadanja grobnice. U vestibulu je pronađena klupa uz južni zid. Zabilježeno je korištenje antičkih spolija kao građevnoga materijala u kasnoantičkim grobovima (isto kao na Šipkovojoj glavici).

Isto tako, pokazalo se i kako je tlocrt publiciran 1959. godine relativno modificiran što je čest slučaj radi težnje prema simetričnosti i pravilnosti zidova. Jedna od većih pogrešaka je neuočavanje različitih faza gradnje. D. Sergejevski kaže da je crkva sagrađena u jednome zahvatu, iako na jednome mjestu dosta suzdržano pretpostavlja mogućnost dva momenta gradnje (odnosno pretpostavlja trenutak kada vestibul nije postojao; Sergejevski 1959: 171).

Revizijska istraživanja potvrdila su slijedeće: starokršćanski kompleks se gradi iznad Grobnice 2 tako da je svakako postojao trenutak kada je ona samostalno stajala na ovome položaju. Nakon toga se gradi crkva na način da je Grobnica 2 završila ispod naosa sakralne građevine. No, uočeno je kako postoji integralna povezanost apside i zidova prezbiterijsa sa zidovima Prostorije F, ali ne i sa zidovima samoga naosa (koji se tek naslanja na zid prezbiterijsa). Isto tako, zapadni i sjeverni zid Prostorije D (krstionice) nisu organski vezani uz crkvu i Prostoriju E što potvrđuje drugi trenutak gradnje. Znači da je građevina u jednome trenutku bila bez južnoga zida naosa, bez vestibula i bez krstionice. Kao što je navedeno prilikom opisa pojedinačnih prostorija, evidentirano je da je ulazni dio u vestibul građen drugačije od ostalih zidova i da se na samome ulazu u vestibul, ispod ostataka podnice, nalazi tamni sloj s ulomcima tegula debljine 10–ak cm koji je stariji od samoga ulaza.

Možemo pretpostaviti kako je u nekome trenutku došlo do preuređenja crkve. Nije isključeno da je do toga došlo zbog gradnje Grobnice 1 (u prostoriji F) i zbog potrebe za krstionicom. Dvije građevne faze crkvenoga kompleksa ne znače nužno i veliki kronološki raspon. Za sada možemo reći kako se, sudeći po nalazima kamenoga namještaja, barem jedna građevna faza može datirati u 6. ili polovicu 6. stoljeća.

Ostao je nejasan stupanj uništenosti lokaliteta kroz povijest, isto kao i pitanje kontinuiteta i potencijalne kasnije uporabe položaja. Najveće nedoumice su se pokazale prilikom istraživanja naosa crkve gdje je D. Sergejevski spominjao razasute kosti i zidane grobnice koje nisu pronađene revizijom. No, revizijom je pronađena Grobnica 2 u lošem stanju očuvanosti unutar koje je pronađen veći broj rasutih kostiju koje su dijelom mogle upasti i iz gornjih slojeva. Kao što je već kratko navedeno, može se pretpostaviti da je najmanje troje pokojnika bilo ukopano u nju, no postoji i mogućnost da ih je bilo i više (za sada nije rađena <sup>14</sup>C analiza).

Na kraju bismo mogli, barem ukratko, obratiti pozornost na fenomen gradnje crkve iznad postojeće grobnice na svod jer se radi o vrlo rijetkoj pojavi zabilježenoj na nekoliko lokaliteta.<sup>7</sup>

Grobnica na svod starokršćanskoga kompleksa u Docima zauzima dio naosa crkve i upravo ona čini osnovu budućega sakralnog objekta. No, ovo nije izoliran slučaj. Na pro-

Tomb 3 were found. It was discovered that the wall between the naos and the vestibule was bent for the presence of Tomb 2, so the specificity of the architecture (Vučić 2012: 137; Cambi 1985: 40) is actually a coincidence caused by the instability and the collapse of the tomb. In the vestibule a bench beside the south wall was found. The use of antique *spolia* as a building material was recorded in the late antique graves (same as on the Šipkova Glavica).

Likewise, it was shown that the ground plan published in 1959 was relatively modified, which is the common case of the aspiration to the symmetry and regularity of the walls. One of the major mistakes is the non-recognition of various stages of construction. D. Sergejevski says that the church was built in one go, although elsewhere he reservedly assumes the possibility of two phases of construction (i.e. he presupposes a phase when the vestibule did not exist; Sergejevski 1959: 171).

The revised research confirmed the following: the early Christian complex was built above Tomb 2 so there was certainly a phase when it stood alone in this position. After that, the church was built in such a way that Tomb 2 ended under the naos of a sacral building. However, it has been noted that there is an integral connection between the apse and the walls of the presbytery with the walls of Room F, but not with the wall of the naos itself (which only leans on the wall of the presbytery). Likewise, the west and the north wall of Room D (baptistry) are not organically bound to the church and Room E, which confirms the second phase of construction. It means that the building was at a certain time without a south wall of the naos, without a vestibule and without the baptismal font. As noted in the descriptions of individual rooms, it is evident that the entrance hall in the vestibule was constructed differently from the other walls and that the entrance to the vestibule, below the remains of the flooring, has a dark layer containing fragments of tegulae 10 cm thick that is older than the entrance itself.

We can assume that at some point the church was redesigned. It is not excluded that this was due to the construction of Tomb 1 (in Room F) and the need for the baptismal font. The two building phases of the church complex do not necessarily mean a large chronological range. For now we can say that, judging by the findings of the stone furniture, at least one construction phase can be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> or the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The degree of destruction of the site throughout history has remained unclear, just like the question of continuity and potential latter use of the site. The greatest doubts were encountered during the excavation of the naos of the church, where D. Sergejevski mentioned the scattered bones and walled tombs that were not found in the revision. However, thanks to the revision, Tomb 2 was found to be in poor condition, with a large number of scattered bones inside it, which could have partly penetrated from the upper layers. As already briefly mentioned, it can be assumed that at least 3 deceased were buried in it, but there is the possibility that there were more (until now no radiocarbon analysis was performed).

At the end, we could at least briefly pay attention to the phenomenon of building the church above the existing vaulted grave as it is a very rare occurrence recorded on several sites.<sup>7</sup> Tomb 2 of the Early Christian complex in Doci occupi-

7 Radi se o vrlo zanimljivoj i važnoj temi koja će detaljnije biti obrađena u knjizi „Kasnoantički kompleks na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina kod Stoca“.

7 It is a very interesting and important topic which will be analyzed in the book “The Late Antique Complex in the Area of Rivine – Crkvina near Stolac”.

storu današnje BiH pronalazimo više lokaliteta kod kojih se unutar naosa ili prezbiterija crkve nalazi grobnica na svod,<sup>8</sup> a osnova su i drugim funeralnim građevinama iz istoga razdoblja od kojih se na prostoru BiH najviše ističe mauzolej u Turbama. Na lokalitetu Varošluk-Turbe kod Travnika, koji je prvi put istražen godine 1893., naknadno je, godine 1919. sasvim slučajno, pronađena grobnica na svod ispod crkve sa zlatnom ogrlicom (Mandić 1919: 85)

Na prostoru Hrvatske, nedaleko Drniša, na lokalitetu Trbounje-Crkvina grobnica na svod nalazi se u prezbiteriju (Zaninović 2008: 539).

Analogije situaciji u Docima pronalazimo u crkvi u Dabrinama gdje se grobnica na svod nalazi u prezbiteriju i nastala je prije crkve (Radimsky 1892: 372–387; Truhelka 1931: 126–129; Basler 1972: 278–282). Druga analogija je situacija kod bazilike na lokalitetu Rivine – Crkvina (Čuljak, Tomas 2014: 330–348). Tipična kasnoantička grobnica na svod nastala je i u ovom slučaju prije crkve. Nalazi se na istočnoj dijelu kompleksa ispod i unutar prezbiterija crkve. Treća slična situacija bila bi ona s lokaliteta Brižak – Posuški Gradac gdje se grobnica na svod u funkciji kriptele nalazi dijelom u prezbiteriju i naosu crkve (Oreč 1982: 60) i za koju se ne može točno odrediti jeli nastala prije crkve, istovremeno s crkvom ili kasnije?

Nešto slično bi se možda moglo očekivati u Klobuku<sup>9</sup> (Sergejevski 1954: 189–210; Basler 1972: 85–88). U Turbama kod Travnika nalazi se mauzolej kod kojega se tijekom iskopavanja ispostavilo da zidovi grobnice i gornjega dijela ne čine jednu cjelinu, nego da je prije bila sagrađena podzemna grobnica na svod, a tek nakon toga je dodana gornja prostorija (Sergejevski 1951: 135–145; Basler 1972: 147). Najpoznatija starokršćanska građevina koja je nastala iznad grobnice na svod je mauzolej sv. Anastazija na Marusincu.

Na otočiću Mrkan pokraj Cavtata (Epidaur) nalazi se kasnoantička grobnica na svod ispod predromaničke crkve. Nakon što je crkva napravljena, grobnica je ostala u funkciji kriptele. Autor kao arhitektonske uzore spominje mauzoleje u Saloni i Turbama (Fisković 1980: 246–249; 1988: 203). Na otoku Lopudu slučajno je pronađena grobnica na svod koja se nalazila ispod kasnije uništene crkve posvećene Gospi od Napuća. Grobnica je pronađena ispod praga crkve, a najpoznatija je radi pronalaska relikvijara. A. Milošević smatra da se radi o *sepulcrum altaris* neke starije, starokršćanske crkve (Milošević 2005: 249–250).

Mogućnost da su se bosanskohercegovačke bazilike gradile nad starijim grobnicama na svod primjetila je i I. Nikolajević (Nikolajević 1969: 217–223), no u okviru, kako je ona mislila, srednjovjekovne crkvene arhitekture. Kao primjere uzela je u ovome tekstu već spomenuti lokalitet u Dabrinama, ali i lokalitet Varvara gdje grobnica koja uvje-

es a part of the church's naos and it was precisely the basis of the future sacral facility. But this is not an isolated case. In the current area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can find more sites which inside the naos or the presbytery of the church contain vaulted tombs<sup>8</sup> and can be a base to other funeral buildings from the same period, with the mausoleum in Turbe standing out in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

An analogy to the situation in Docci can be found in the church in Dabrovine, where the vaulted tomb is in the presbytery and was erected before the church (Radimsky 1892: 372–387; Truhelka 1931: 126–129; Basler 1972: 278–282). Another analogy is the basilica at the Rivine – Crkvina site (Čuljak, Tomas 2014: 330–348). In this case, a typical late antique vaulted tomb was also erected before the church. It is located in the eastern part of the complex, below and within the presbytery of the church. A third similar case is the one of the Brižak – Posuški Gradac site, where the vaulted grave with the function of the crypt lies partly in the presbytery and the naos of the church (Oreč 1982: 60), and we cannot accurately say whether it was built before the church, at the same time, or later?

On the Varošluk – Turba in Travnik site, which was investigated for the first time in 1893, a vaulted tomb was afterwards found in 1919 under the church containing a golden necklace (Mandić 1919: 85). In the Croatian territory, not far from Drniš, on the Trbounje – Crkvina site the vaulted tomb is located in the presbytery (Zaninović 2008: 539).

Something similar could be expected in Klobuk<sup>9</sup> (Sergejevski 1954: 189–210; Basler 1971: 85–88). In Turbe near Travnik there is a mausoleum where during the excavation it turned out that the walls of the tomb and the upper part do not make up one whole, but that before the underground vaulted tomb was built, and only after that the upper room was added (Sergejevski 1951: 135–145; Basler 1972: 147). The most famous early Christian building that was built above the vaulted tomb is the mausoleum of St. Anastasia in Marusinc.

On the small island of Mrkan near Cavtat (Epidaur) there is a late antique vaulted tomb beneath the pre-Romanesque church. After the church was built, a tomb remained with the function of a crypt. The author mentions mausoleums in Salona and Turbe as architectural models (Fisković 1980: 246–249; 1988: 203). A vaulted tomb accidentally found on the island of Lopud was located below a church dedicated to the Lady of Napuč, which was later destroyed. The tomb was found below the church threshold, and is best known for the discovery of reliquary. A. Milošević believes that it is a *sepulcrum altaris* of an older, early Christian church (Milošević 2005: 249–250).

Possibility that the old Bosnian-Herzegovinian basilicas were built above old vaulted tombs was recognized by I. Nikolajević (Nikolajević 1969: 217–223), however in the fra-

8 Grobnice na svod su česti nalaz na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine (Miličević-Capek 2011: 223–224; Paškvalin 2003: 80–94; Basler 1972: 146). Najčešće se nalaze u ili uz starokršćansku crkvu, a za neke, zbog nedovoljne istraženosti, ne možemo govoriti o točnome kontekstu unutar kojega su bile smještene.

9 Ovdje je u apsidi u sredini jedan četverokutni slobodan prostor kojega je D. Sergejevski nazvao prostor »f« te je pretpostavio kako je to vjerojatno bio grob ispod oltara ili mjesto za relikvije. Radi uništenosti nije moguće ništa zaključivati.

8 Tombs with a barrel vault are frequently found on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Miličević-Capek 2011: 223–224; Paškvalin 2003: 80–94; Basler 1972: 146). They are most often found in or next to an early Christian church, and for some of them, due to insufficient exploration, we cannot reconstruct exactly the context within which they were placed.

9 In the middle of the apse, there is a free quadrangular space that D. Sergejevsky called space "f" assuming that it was probably a grave beneath the altar or a place for relics. It is not possible to conclude anything because of the destruction.

tuje gradnju nije u prezbiteriju.

Gradnja crkve na osnovama starijega groba može podsjetiti na gradnje bazilika iznad grobova mučenika (Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2002: 51, nap. 180). Stoga nije čudno što Ć. Truhelka dovodi crkvu u Dabravina u vezu s crkvama *supra corpus martyris* (Truhelka 1931: 126–129). Međutim, mučenika na pozicijama koje smo nabrojili nema. Pojavu bi ispravnije trebalo povezati s fenomenom privilegiranih ukopa, a naglasak bi trebao biti na pitanju tko je, ako nije svetac ili mučenik, unutar kasnoantičke zajednice zaslužio zauzeti središnje mjesto u crkvi i to na način da se crkva gradi iznad njegova/njezina groba? N. Cambi kratko, prilikom objave bazilike u Zmijavcima, pretpostavlja kako bi se moglo raditi o investitorima ili kleru, ostavljajući mogućnost i da se radi o istim osobama (Cambi et al. 1999: 47).

U kasnoj antici, na selu, teško je izdvojiti privatno od zajedničkog: pojedinac je taj koji omogućava gradnju i održavanje crkava. Za rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju o tome izravno svjedoče zaključci salonitanskih sabora gdje 12. kanon doslovno kaže: „Nije dopušteno ni posvećivanje nikakvih oltara, osim ako im utemeljitelji čvrstim pravom ne osiguraju pristojna primanja, da se ne bi izrodila ikakva jadikovanja na službovanje svećenika ili siromaha, kako oni ne bi bili nepotrebno izloženi takvoj oskudici“ (Prozorov 2011: 326).<sup>10</sup> V. Prozorov donosi i neke druge slične odredbe prema kojima je npr. Ivan Zlatousti napisao kako bi svaki zemljoposjednik na svojem imanju trebao podignuti crkvu i podariti joj dobra, poput miraza za nevjestu. Spominje i Justinijanov zakon objavljen godine 538. prema kojemu bi za novu bogomolju trebalo točno odrediti izvore dohotka klera, pri čemu je crkva donaciju trebala primiti čak prije posvećenja (Prozorov 2011: 326, nap. 98–99; Baraka Perica 2013: 126–127). Taj pojedinac onda vjerojatno zadužuje crkvu i zajednicu te kao takav može isposlovati privilegirani ukop, pa čak i da se izgradi crkva iznad njegovoga groba ili groba člana ili članova njihove obitelji. Da su te osobe imale poseban status unutar uže lokalne zajednice nema nikakve sumnje. Paralele bismo možda mogli tražiti i na području Sirije gdje ima dosta pisanih vrela koji potvrđuju kako su prosperitetna i bogata sela prolazila kroz krizu vodstva te se kao važna osoba nametnuo „pokrovitelj“ (Brown 1971: 80–101; 1983: 117–120).<sup>11</sup>

Na prostoru zaleđa rimske provincije Dalmacije crkvena arhitektura sugerira i upozorava na veliki broj ruralnih naselja koja su ekonomski jako dobro stajala (taj je prostor i u ranoj antici bio više ruralan nego urban). Sama brojnost crkava, njihova arhitektonska rješenja, ali i kvaliteta, način izrade i ikonografija crkvene kamene plastike direktan su dokaz tome (Basler 1972).

Arheološka topografija u Docima mogla bi dijelom razotkriti kako je jedno takvo kasnoantičko ruralno naselje

<sup>10</sup> *Nulla etiam altaria nobis liceat dedicare, nisi a fundatoribus firmo iure dignis fuerint donata redditibus, ut nulla deinceps de stipendiis clericorum vel pauperum querella nascatur, nec huius egestatis necessitate subiaceant.*

<sup>11</sup> Oni se brinu za odnose unutar zajednice, pomirbu ljudi, rješavaju sudske sporove, brinu se o posudbi novca, ukidanju dugova, o granicama imanja ili distribuciji vode itd. Na selu je kriza vlasti. Zemljoposjednici koji imaju veze u gradovima ili na dvoru više ne žele boraviti na selu (Brown 1983: 127–129).

me, as she suggested, of medieval church architecture. Her examples include the site of Dabravine, already mentioned in this text, and Varvara, where the tomb affecting the construction is not located in the presbytery.

The construction of a church above an older grave could remind us of the construction of a basilica over the grave of a martyr (Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2002: 51, n. 180). It is therefore not surprising that Ć. Truhelka links the church in Dabravine with the churches *supra corpus martyris* (Truhelka 1931: 126–129). However, there were no martyrs at the sites we listed. The phenomenon should be more correctly linked to the phenomenon of privileged burials, and the emphasis should be on whom within the Late Antique community, if not a saint or martyr, deserved to occupy a central place in a church so that the church was built above his or her grave? On the occasion of publishing about the basilica in Zmijavci, N. Cambi briefly supposed, in the publication of basilica of Zmijavci, that they were investors or the clergy, leaving out the possibility of being both (Cambi et al. 1999: 47).

In the late antiquity, it was difficult to isolate what was private from what was public in a village: the individual was the one who enabled the construction and maintenance of churches. For the Roman province of Dalmatia, the direct testimony is given by conclusions of the Salonitan councils where the 12<sup>th</sup> canon literally says: “It is not permitted to sanctify any altars, unless the founder by a firm right provide them with adequate remuneration, so as not to cause any adversity to the priest or the poor, so that they would not be unnecessarily exposed to poverty” (Prozorov 2011: 326).<sup>10</sup> V. Prozorov points out some other similar provisions: for example, John Chrysostom wrote that every landowner should raise a church on his estate and give it property, similar to a dowry for a bride. He also mentions Justinian’s Law published in 538, according to which the sources of the clergy’s income should be precisely determined for a new church, and the church should receive the donation even before the consecration (Prozorov 2011: 326, n. 98–99; Baraka Perica 2013: 126–127). This individual then probably obligates the church and the community and can as such obtain a privileged burial, and even have a church built above his grave or the grave of a member or members of their family. There is no doubt about whether these people had a special status within the local community. Parallels could be found in Syria, where there are plenty of written sources confirming that the prosperous and rich villages undergoing a crisis of leadership imposed a “patron” as an important figure (Brown 1971: 80–101; 1983: 117–120).<sup>11</sup>

In the hinterland of the Roman province of Dalmatia, the church architecture indicates a large number of rural settlements that were economically well-off (this area was more rural than urban in the early antiquity also). The very number of churches, their architectural plans, as well as the quality, the way of building, and the iconography of church stone reliefs, are direct evidence of this (Basler 1972).

<sup>10</sup> *Nulla etiam altaria nobis liceat dedicare, nisi a fundatoribus firmo iure dignis fuerint donata redditibus, ut nulla deinceps de stipendiis clericorum vel pauperum querella nascatur, nec huius egestatis necessitate subiaceant.*

<sup>11</sup> They take care of the relations within the community, reconciliation, legal disputes, lending money, termination of debts, property borders or water distribution etc. In the village there is a crisis of power. Landowners who have connections in towns or in court do not want to live in the country anymore (Brown 1983: 127–129).

izgledalo (a ono očito ima kontinuitet iz ranijih perioda na što ukazuju brojni nalazi: starija antička arhitektura, antičke spolije u grobovima, natpis Marka Antonija Maksima). Arheološko-topografski kontekst upućuje da se sve događa uz manje polje u udolini na udaljenosti od četriristotinjak metara zračne linije. S jedne strane rubnoga dijela polja Šipkova glavica (vila, kasnoantičke prostorije, možda manja crkva, grobovi), a s druge strane položaj sa starokršćanskom crkvom s krstionicom koja je kao takva najvjerojatnije bila središnja građevina naselja (u kojoj i pokraj koje se nalazi manje groblje). Na uzvisini iznad polja nalaze se ostaci najvjerojatnije kasnoantičke utvrde tipa kule, smještene na pa-



Sl. 20 Ulomak impost kapitela izrađen od muljike (foto: M. Rašić)  
Fig. 20 Fragment of an impost capital made of marl (photo: M. Rašić)

dini prema polju, koja vrlo moguće predstavlja stražu koja je imala ulogu kontrole i zaštite ovoga disperznog naselja položenoga uz polje i njegove ekonomske zone.<sup>12</sup>

Nova arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su značaj i potrebu za revizijama starokršćanskih lokaliteta koji su u prošlosti bili istraženi u kratkome vremenskom roku. Upravo su revizije te koje mogu riješiti brojne nedoumice i pokazale su se korisnijima od istraživanja potpuno novih, dosad nepoznatih položaja.

Prijevod / Translation  
Emanuele Falcone  
Lektura / Proofreading  
Marko Maras

12 A. Dunn za Makedoniju kaže kako utvrde ne moraju uvijek biti izgrađene za zaštitu putova, već nastaju za zaštitu agrikulturnih zona (Dunn 2004: 535–586; Baraka Perica 2013: 143).

The archaeological topography in Doci could partly reveal how one such late antiquity rural settlement looked like (and it obviously has continuity from earlier periods, as indicated by numerous findings: older antique architecture, antique spolia in the graves, inscription with the name of Marcus Antonius Maximus). The archaeological/topographical context indicates that everything is contained within a small field spanning four hundred meters. On one side of the field is Šipkova Glavica (a villa, late antique rooms, perhaps a smaller church, graves), and on the other side is a site with an early Christian church with a baptistery which, as such, was probably the central structure of the



Sl. 21 Grobnica 2: kamena ploča ukrašena urezanim križem proširenih krajeva (foto: M. Rašić)

Fig. 21 Tomb 2: stone slab decorated with a shallow, engraved Latin cross with expanded ends of the abdomen (photo: M. Rašić)

settlement (in which and besides which there is a smaller cemetery). On the hill above the field, the remains of what was most likely a late antique tower-like fort is found situated on the slope towards the field which quite probably served as a sentry that had the role of controlling and protecting this dispersed settlement along the field and its economic zones.<sup>12</sup>

New archaeological research has confirmed the importance and need for the revisions of early Christian sites that were briefly explored in the past. It is precisely the revision that can solve numerous concerns and has proved to be more useful than exploring completely new, previously unknown places.

12 A. Dunn, speaking about Macedonia, says that fortifications do not always have to be built for the protection of roads, but they can be created for the protection of agricultural areas: Dunn 2004: 535–586; Baraka Perica 2013: 143.



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