

Villa rustica – naselje na Zlatnom ratu u Bolu

Villa rustica – a settlement on Bol's Golden Cape

Zrinka Buljević
Arheološki muzej u Splitu / Archaeological Museum in Split
Zrinsko-Frankopanska 25
HR - 21000 Split
zrinka.buljevic@armus.hr

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Sv. Marije Milosna
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Villae rusticae glavni su nositelji antičkog poljodjelstva i načina života izvan urbanih naselja koja su opskrbljivala hranom i drugim dobrima. Na popisu bračkih rustičnih vila registriran je devedeset jedan lokalitet. Na strmoj i krševitoj južnoj strani Brača, prema Pliniju glasovitog po kozama (*capris laudata Brattia*), veća se plodna površina nalazi oko Bola, gdje su poznate dvije vile smještene uz samu obalu, jedna kod dominikanskog samostana sv. Marije Milosne, na mjestu koje je podignuta srednjovjekovna crkva sv. Ivana i Teodora, te druga na Zlatnom ratu. Na Zlatnom su ratu vinogradi bili do sredine 20. st. kada je tamo zasađena borova šumica, u kojoj je osamdesetih godina podignut turistički objekt. Od rimskog je gospodarskog imanja, na nešto povišenom mjestu unutar rimske vile, danas vidljiva konzervirana cisterna (*piscina*). Istočno su, u uvali između Borka i poluotoka Râta, u moru nekoć bili vidljivi zidovi vjerojatno zaštićenog pristaništa izgrađenog radi odvijanja pomorske trgovine proizvodima rimske vile. Zapadno je, u blizini Rata, otkrivena nekropola s grobovima stanovnika vile. Drži se da je na cijeloj površini rta smješteno naselje s ostacima arhitekture. U kasnoantičko se doba reorganizira život u rustičnim vilama, pa je moguće da se tada iz gospodarskog imanja na Zlatnom ratu razvilo naselje. U blizini Zlatnog rata je najvjerojatnije onda izgrađena ranokršćanska crkva sv. Pavla.

The *villae rusticae* were the primary hubs of Roman-era agriculture and the Roman lifestyle outside of the urban communities which they supplied with food and other goods. The list of *villae rusticae* on the island of Brač has 91 registered sites. On the island's steep and rocky southern side which, according to Pliny, was renowned for its goats (*capris laudata Brattia*), a large fertile surface is situated around Bol, where two villas are known to have been adjacent to the coast. One was located at the Dominican Monastery of St. Mary of Mercy, at a site where the small medieval Church of Sts. John and Theodore was built, while the other was on the narrow peninsula known as Zlatni rat ('Golden Cape'). Vineyards covered Zlatni rat until the mid-20th century, when a pine grove was planted on that land. A tourism facility was then built there in the 1980s. Today all that is visible of the Roman agricultural estate is a preserved cistern (*piscina*) at a somewhat elevated position inside the villa. To the east, the walls of what was likely a sheltered dock were once visible in the waters of the cove between Borak and the Rat peninsula. It had been made to facilitate maritime trade for the Roman villa's products. To the west, near Rat, a necropolis containing the graves of the villa's residents was discovered. It is believed that there are architectural remains of a settlement that covered the entire cape. Life in rustic villas was reorganized in Late Antiquity, so it is possible that the farm estate on Zlatni rat grew into a

Ključne riječi: *villa rustica, piscina, Zlatni rat, Bol, Brač.*

community. The Early Christian Church of St. Paul near Zlatni rat was mostly likely built at that time.

Key words: *villa rustica, piscina, Zlatni rat, Bol, Brač.*

Na Braču su tradicije kamenarstva, poljodjelstva, osobito vinogradarstva i maslinarstva, te stočarstva i ribarstva ostale snažno ukorijenjene. U rimsko doba te su djelatnosti bile u zamahu. Seoski život (*rusticatio*), život na zemlji i od zemlje, vjekovni je rimski ideal.^{*} Rimljani su u doba rimskog mira,¹ a u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji osobito po gušenju Velikog ilirskog ustanka 9. g. po. Kr., gradili *villae rusticae* na biranim položajima na obali, u neposrednom zaleđu i na otocima, a u skladu s njihovim gospodarskim i ladanjskim karakterom.² Vile su se na obali gradile u lijepim predjelima i zaštićenim uvalama, na položajima s otvorenim pogledom na okolni teren i prilaze, pa su bile i pristaništa na plovnom jadranskom putu ističući se tako u jadranskom krajoliku, kao i drugdje na Sredozemlju. Iz gospodarskih su se razloga gradile na položajima pogodnim za vinograde, maslinike, solane, stočarstvo, ribarenje, s vivarijima za uzgoj ribe, te s priručnim radionicama za obradu drva, preradu vune i izradu keramike. Rimljani su sa svojim vilama, središtima imanja, donijeli i nove tehnologije u poljodjelstvu, preradi i pohrani dobara, opskrbi vodom, kopnenom i pomorskom transportu te trgovini. Mnoge su vile izrazito ladanjskog karaktera,³ izgrađene u okolišu pogodnom za odmor i nadahnuće te opremljene mozaicima, umjetninama i knjižnicama. *Villae rusticae* su glavni nositelji antičkog poljodjelstva i načina života izvan urbanih naselja⁴ koja su opskrbljivala hranom i drugim dobrima.⁵ Registrirane su brojne dalmatinske ladanjske i gospodarske vile duž naše obale i na otocima, ali je manji dio njih istražen i to tek dijelom.⁶ Na popisu bračkih rustičnih vila zabilježen je devedeset jedan lokalitet.⁷ Veći dio rimskih lokaliteta na Braču može se pripisati rustičnim vilama, od kojih se

The traditions of stone-cutting, agriculture (viticulture and olive-growing in particular), animal husbandry and fishing have remained strongly rooted on the island of Brač. These activities were in full bloom during the Roman era. The rustic life (*rusticatio*), living on the land and from the land, was the eternal Roman ideal.^{*} In the era of the Pax Romana,¹ the Romans in the province of Dalmatia, particularly after the Great Illyrian Revolt was crushed in 9 AD, began to build *villae rusticae* (countryside villas) at select locations on the coast, in its immediate hinterland and on the islands, complying with their economic and rural character.² On the coast, the villas were built in attractive areas and sheltered coves, at locations with expansive views of the surrounding terrain and approaches, so that they were harbours on the Adriatic navigation route, standing out in the Adriatic landscape as elsewhere in the Mediterranean. For economic reasons, they were built at locations suited for vineyards, olive groves, salt pans, livestock raising and fishing, with *vivaria* for breeding fish and nearby workshops for carpentry, wool processing and pottery production. With their villas at the heart of their estates, the Roman also introduced new technologies to agriculture, goods processing and storage, water supply systems, overland and maritime transportation and trade. Many villas had a notable stately character,³ constructed in environments suited for relaxation and inspiration and furnished with mosaics, artworks and libraries. *Villae rusticae* were the primary hubs of Roman-era agriculture and lifestyles outside of the urban settlements⁴ which they supplied with food and other products.⁵ Many Dalmatian countryside and farming villas have been registered

* Posvećujem ovaj rad Arsenu Duplančiću, muzejskom tajniku, knjižničaru, arhivaru (ma kako službeni nazivi njegovih radnih mjesta glasilili), povjesničaru usredotočenom osobito na dalmatinsku baštinu Splita i Salone te muzejsku povijest i građu. S obzirom na interese, metodu i suradljivost, potakao je ili oplemenio niz radova arheologa kojima bi inače promakli detalji što su nekad manje, a nekad danas važni; tako i meni samoj. Njegov će se odlazak jako osjetiti, no on će ga, čini se, itekako ispuniti novootkrivenim životom s prirodom. Stoga ovaj rad.

- 1 Rimski mir (*pax Romana*) je, nakon pobjede nad Markom Antonijem i Kleopatrom kod Akcija 31. g. pr. Kr., uveo Oktavijan, domalo poznat kao car August (27. g. pr. Kr. – 14. g. po. Kr.), a trajao je do smrti cara Marka Aurelija (161. – 180. g. po. Kr.). Vidi Zaninović 2006, str. 15-16.
- 2 Zaninović 1995, str. 87-89; Begović, Schrunck 2002, str. 113-116, 123-125; Begović, Schrunck 2003; Begović, Schrunck 2004; Zaninović 2006, str. 15-16.
- 3 Imućniji i moćni Rimljani rado vode i slave ladanjski život. Car August je za rimskih kolovoških vrućina s cijelim dvorom selio u ljetovalište Baiae kod Napulja. To su bile *feriae Augustae* koje su se pod nazivom *ferragosto* zadržale do danas, kao opći naziv za talijanske ljetne praznike. Vidi Zaninović 2006, str. 16.
- 4 Zaninović 1967, str. 358.
- 5 Begović, Schrunck 2002, str. 113-114.
- 6 Kilić-Matić 2004, str. 92, autorica navodi 210 registriranih vila; Begović, Schrunck 2002.
- 7 Jelinčić 2005a, str. 177-180.

* I dedicate this paper to Arsen Duplančić, the Museum's secretary, librarian and archivist (whatever the formal titles of his jobs are), and a historian particularly focused on the Dalmatian heritage of Split and Salona and museum history and materials. Given his interests, methods and cooperativeness, he has inspired or enriched a series of papers by archaeologists, myself included, who would have otherwise missed certain details, sometimes less important and sometimes vital. His departure will certainly be felt, but going forward he will certainly be fulfilled by a newly-discovered life in nature. Hence this paper.

- 1 The Pax Romana ('Roman peace') was ushered in by Octavian, soon to be known as Emperor Augustus (27 BC – 14 AD) after his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BC, and it endured until the death of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD). See Zaninović 2006, pp. 15-16.
- 2 Zaninović 1995, pp. 87-89; Begović, Schrunck 2002, pp. 113-116, 123-125; Begović, Schrunck 2003; Begović, Schrunck 2004; Zaninović 2006, pp. 15-16.
- 3 Wealthier and more powerful Romans enthusiastically lived and extolled the country life. During the hot days of August, Emperor Augustus moved with his entire court to the summer resort of Baiae near Naples. These were called the *feriae Augustae*, which been retained to this day as *ferragosto*, the general Italian term for summer vacation. See Zaninović 2006, p. 16.
- 4 Zaninović 1967, p. 358.
- 5 Begović, Schrunck 2002, pp. 113-114.

nekoliko izdvaja veličinom i količinom nalaza: Bunje nedaleko od Novog Sela podno Gračišća, Zlatni rat u Bolu, Luke kod Supetra, Lovrečina, Žalo kod Selaca, Rt sv. Nikole kod groblja u Supetru, Sv. Jadre kod Nerežišća, Murvica, Njivica kod Podhuma, Njivice kod Selaca, Stomorica, Mladinje brdo iznad Pučišća, Bunje kod Sv. Stjepana u Pučišćima, Oklade kod Pučišća.⁸ Na strmoj i krševitoj južnoj strani Brača, prema Pliniju glasovitog po kozama (*capris laudata Brattia*),⁹ veća se plodna površina nalazi oko Bola, gdje su poznate dvije vile smještene uz samu obalu, jedna kod dominikanskog samostana sv. Marije Milosne, na mjestu koje je podignuta srednjovjekovna crkva sv. Ivana i Teodora, te druga na Zlatnom ratu.¹⁰ Na Zlatnom su ratu vinogradi bili do sredine 20. st. kada je ondje zasađena borova šumica, u kojoj je osamdesetih godina podignut turistički objekt. Od rimskog je gospodarskog imanja, na nešto povišenom mjestu unutar rimske vile, danas vidljiva cisterna (*piscina*)¹¹ u obliku kvadra površine 6,35 × 3,10 m, zidova visokih 3 m i debelih 0,6 m, građenih od manje pravilnog klesanog kamenja u horizontalnim redovima povezanih žbukom te od lomljenih blokova u podanku. (sl. 1, 2) Na unutrašnje lice zidova i dno piscine bio je nanesen debeli sloj hidraulične žbuke za zadržavanje kišnice; dno blago pada prema jugoistočnom uglu gdje je smješteno udubljenje za skupljanje mulja prilikom čišćenja. (sl. 3, 4) Bila je presvođena bačvastim svodom ispod kojeg su se nalazila dva potporna luka, od kojih je jedan bio sačuvan do oko sredine 20. stoljeća. (sl. 5)¹²

Na istočnom je dijelu današnjeg Bola, na poluotočiću Glavici, unutar oslikane prostorije nešto starije građevine, podignuta bačvasto presvođena cisterna s poprečnim pojaskim lukovima, unatoč tome što su sa zapadne i istočne strane Glavice bili izvori vode koji su omogućili naseljavanje u ranijim razdobljima, na što upućuju rimski grobovi iznad uvala Martinica. Moguće je da je cisterna dograđena zbog snažnog utvrđivanja rimske, justinijanske, vojne posade na tom prostoru u kontaktu s obnovljenom pretpovijesnom gradinom na dominantnom obližnjem brdu Koštilu, kao i sa sličnom utvrdom Galešnik pred ulazom u jelšansku valu, koje su u 6. st. štatile pomorski put.¹³ Unutar bolske kasnoantičke utvrde, ispod

along the Croatian coast and on its islands, but only a smaller portion has been excavated and only partially at that.⁶ The list of *villae rusticae* on the island of Brač has ninety-one registered sites.⁷ A majority of the Roman sites on Brač may be attributed to such villas, of which several stand out in terms of their size and the quantity of finds: Bunje near Novo Selo at the foot of Gračišće, Zlatni rat in Bol, Luke at Supetar, Lovrečina, Žalo at Selca, Rt svete Nikole (the Cape of St. Nicholas) at the cemetery in Supetar, Sveti Jadre (St. Andrew's Church) at Nerežišće, Murvica, Njivica below Podhum, Njivice near Selca, Stomorica, Mladinje Hill above Pučišća, Bunje at the Church of St. Stephen in Pučišća, and Oklade at Pučišća.⁸ On the island's steep and rocky southern side which, according to Pliny, was renowned for its goats (*capris laudata Brattia*),⁹ a large fertile surface is situated around Bol, where two villas are known to have been adjacent to the coast. One was located at the Dominican Monastery of St. Mary of Mercy, at a site where the small medieval Church of Sts. John and Theodore was built, while the other was on the narrow peninsula known as Zlatni rat ('Golden Cape').¹⁰ Vineyards covered Zlatni rat until the mid-20th century, when a pine grove was planted there. A tourism facility was built there in the 1980s. Today all that is visible of the Roman farm estate is a preserved cistern (*piscina*) at a somewhat elevated position inside the villa.¹¹ It has a rectangular shape with a surface of 6.35 × 3.1 m, walls that are 3 m high and 0.6 m thick, made of small regularly dressed stones laid in horizontal rows and bound with plaster and broken blocks in the subsoil foundations. (Fig. 1, 2) A thick layer of hydraulic plaster was applied to the inside walls and bottom of the *piscina* to retain rainwater; the bottom descends slightly toward the south-east corner, where there is a trough for gathering sediment when it was being cleaned. (Fig. 3, 4) It was overarched with a barrel vault below which there were two support arches, of which one had been preserved until roughly the mid-20th century. (Fig. 5)¹²

A barrel-vaulted cistern with perpendicular traverse arches was erected in the eastern section of today's Bol, on the small

8 Jelinčić 2005b, str. 123.

9 Plin. *HN* 3. 152.

10 Vrsalović 1960, str. 74-102; Vrsalović 1968, str. 46-48; Zaninović 1995, str. 93; Cambi 2007, str. 98; Šimunović 2007, str. 608-609, 614.

11 Obnovljena je 2022. god., vidi <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3217>; <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3144>, a obnova je proslavljena događanjem Rimska gozba koje je 15. srpnja 2022. god. osmislila gospođa Jadranka Nejašmić, vidi <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3301>.

12 Vrsalović 1957, str. 95, sl. na str. 90; Vrsalović 1960, str. 75, sl. na str. 73; Vrsalović 1968, str. 47; Kovačić 1986/1987, str. 23, bilj. 2; Đurašin 1992, str. 82; Stančić et al. 2004, BO 12.01; Jelinčić 2005b, str. 124-126, bilj. 20, 22.

13 Istočno od poluotoka Glavice je izvor pitke vode na Martinici, a onaj sa sjeverozapadne strane je 1891. god. zasut za jednog velikog po-

6 Kilić-Matić 2004, p. 92, she cited 210 registered villas; Begović, Schrunk 2002.

7 Jelinčić 2005a, pp. 177-180.

8 Jelinčić 2005b, p. 123.

9 Plin. *HN* 3. 152.

10 Vrsalović 1960, pp. 74-102; Vrsalović 1968, pp. 46-48; Zaninović 1995, p. 93; Cambi 2007, p. 98; Šimunović 2007, pp. 608-609, 614.

11 It was restored in 2022, see <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3217>; <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3144>, and its restoration was celebrated with a Roman feast, which was conceived by Mrs. Jadranka Nejašmić on 15 July 2022, see <http://hrvatska-citaonica-bol.hr/?p=3301>.

12 Vrsalović 1957, p. 95, image on p. 90; Vrsalović 1960, p. 75, image on p. 73; Vrsalović 1968, p. 47; Kovačić 1986/1987, p. 23, note 2; Đurašin 1992, p. 82; Stančić et al. 2004, BO 12.01; Jelinčić 2005b, pp. 124-126, note 20, 22.



Slika 1.
Konzervirana piscina izvana

Fig. 1.
Preserved piscina exterior



Slika 2.
Konzervirana piscina izvana

Fig. 2.
Preserved piscina exterior



Slika 3.
Konzervirana piscina iznutra

Fig. 3.
Preserved piscina interior



Slika 4.
Konzervirana piscina iznutra

Fig. 4.
Preserved piscina interior

srednjovjekovne crkvice sv. Ivana i Teodora, proteže se ranokršćanski sakralni sklop poput onih na Osinju, Kornatu i Velikom Brijunu.¹⁴

Sjeveroistočno od Novog Sela sustavno se istražuje vila u Bunjama, gdje je sačuvana cisterna koja je usporediva s bolskom na Zlatnom ratu.¹⁵ Istraživanja provedena na Zlatnom ratu ukazala su na smještaj antičkog objekta koji se proteže 5 m istočno od piscine. Nedostatak veće količine nalaza objašnjava se radom na vinogradu prije Drugog svjetskog rata te povodnjima iz 1792. i 1891. god. U lokalnoj memoriji zabilježeno je da je piscina služila kao sklonište za težake i stoku, a zidovi gospodarskog kompleksa vlasniku su imanja poslužili za izradu podzida u vinogradu, na što ukazuje kamenje s tragovima žbuke. Nakon rata vinograd je raskrčen i zasađeni su borovi.¹⁶

peninsula of Glavica, inside the painted room of a somewhat older building, even though there were sources of water on the western and eastern side of Glavica which made permanent human habitation possible in earlier periods, as indicated by the Roman-era graves above Martinca Cove. It is possible that the cistern was built due to the robust fortification of the Roman, i.e., Justinianian, military contingent in the area in contact with the restored prehistoric hillfort on the dominant nearby hill of Koštilo, and with the similar fortification at Galešnik just before the entrance to the Jelsa inlet, which safeguarded the maritime route in the 6th century.¹³ An Early Christian sacral complex like those on Osinj, Kornat and Veliki Brijun extends inside the Late Antique fortress in Bol, below the medieval Church of Sts. John and Theodore.¹⁴

North-east of Novo Selo, the villa in Bunje, where a cistern comparable to the one on Zlatni rat in Bol has been preserved, is being systematically excavated.¹⁵ The excavations conducted

vodnja: Krasić 1976, str. 66; Kovačić 1986-1987, str. 23-31; Kovačić 1994a, str. 84-87; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 7.00, BO 7.01, BO 7.02; Jelinčić 2005b, str. 126, bilj. 35; Cambi 2007, str. 97-98, 104.

14 Kovačić 1986-1987, str. 31.

15 Vrsalović 1957, str. 95, sl. na str. 90; Vrsalović 1960, str. 75, sl. na str. 73; Vrsalović 1968, str. 47; Đurašin 1992, str. 82; Kovačić 1994b, str. 91; Jelinčić 2005b, str. 124-126, bilj. 20, 22.

16 Đurašin 1992, str. 81, bilj. 2. Investitor je bilo Hotelsko poduzeće Zlatni rat. Istražena je površina od 150 m² na dubini 0,2 – 1,6 m. Istraživalo se područje 2 m sjeverno, zapadno i južno, te 8 m istočno od piscine. Jedna je sonda postavljena 10 m istočno od piscine, dimenzija 2,5 × 9 m, a druga 5 m zapadno od piscine, dimenzija 3 × 3,5 m, no nisu dale pozitivnih rezultata. Ostatke vile vjerojatno su ošte-

13 A source of potable water at Martinica is east of Glavica Peninsula, while one to the north-west was consumed by the great flood in 1891: Krasić 1976, p. 66; Kovačić 1986-1987, pp. 23-31; Kovačić 1994a, pp. 84-87; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 7.00, BO 7.01, BO 7.02; Jelinčić 2005b, p. 126, note 35; Cambi 2007, pp. 97-98, 104.

14 Kovačić 1986-1987, p. 31.

15 Vrsalović 1957, p. 95, image on p. 90; Vrsalović 1960, p. 75, image on p. 73; Vrsalović 1968, p. 47; Đurašin 1992, p. 82; Kovačić 1994b, p. 91; Jelinčić 2005b, pp. 124-126, note 20, 22.



Slika 5.
Piscina sredinom 20. st. (Vrsalović 1960, 75, sl. na str. 73)

Fig. 5.
Piscina in the mid-20th century (Vrsalović 1960, 75, Fig. on p. 73)

Ulomci kasnoantičkog stakla koje sam 2013. god. vidjela u jednoj zbirci u Bolu upućuju na barem jednu fazu života objekta, kao i na činjenicu da na Rātu ima materijala za arheološka istraživanja.¹⁷ Istočno su, u uvali između Borka i poluotoka Râta, u moru nekoć bili vidljivi zidovi vjerojatno zaštićenog pristaništa izgrađenog radi odvijanja pomorske trgovine proizvodima rimske vile.¹⁸ Zapadno je, u blizini Rata, otkrivena jedna nekropola.¹⁹ Naime, kada se 1952. – 1953. god. gradila cesta

on Zlatni rat indicated the presence of a Roman-era structure extending 5 m east of the *piscina*. The absence of a high quantity of finds has been explained by works in a vineyard prior to the Second World War and flooding in 1792 and 1891. Local residents recall that the *piscina* was used as a shelter for farm labourers and livestock, and materials from the walls of the farm complex were used by the property's owner to make underpinning walls in his vineyard, which is indicated by stones with traces of plaster. After the war, the vineyard was cleared and pine trees were planted.¹⁶ Pieces of Late Antique glass which I saw in a collection in Bol in 2013 pointed to at least one phase of that structure's life, and to the fact there are ma-

tila i dva velika povodnja iz 1792. i 1891. god.

17 U posjedu Ivana Nižetića Ingleza.

18 Vrsalović 1960, str. 72-76; Vrsalović 1968, str. 46-48; Kukec 1979, str. 16; Đurašin 1992, str. 82, bilj. 7; Šanjek 1976, str. 160; Kovačić 1986-1987, str. 23, bilj. 2. Takvo se pristanište vidi za oseke i u Lovrečini. Stoga je riječ o uzmorskoj priobalnoj vili: Begović, Schrunck 2003, str. 102.

19 Druga, istočna, bolska nekropola nalazi se iznad Martinice: Kovačić 1986-1987, str. 23, bilj. 3; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 6.01; Gjurašin 2007, str. 73-74, bilj. 41-42. Svjetiljkama se iz te nekropole „zameo trag“: Vrsalović 1960, str. 93, bilj. 88-89; Kukec 1979, str. 16. Treća je nekropola navodno iskopana prilikom gradnje hotela *Željezničar* u središtu Bola pedesetih godina 20. st.: Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 48.00.

16 Đurašin 1992, p. 81, note 2. The investor was the Zlatni rat hotel company. A surface of 150 m² was excavated to a depth of 0.2-1.6 m. The area 2 m north, west and south, and 8 m east of the *piscina* was excavated. A test trench was dug 10 m east of the *piscina*, with dimensions of 2.5 × 9 m, and another at 5 m west of the *piscina*, with dimensions of 3 × 3.5 m, but they did not yield positive results. The remains of the villa were probably damaged by the major floods in 1792 and 1891.

od Bola prema Murvici, na položaju Zlatni ili Veli rat pronađeno je nekoliko grobova napravljenih u suhozidu, prekrivenih s više kamenih ploča. Glava pokojnika nalazila se na istoku. U dvama je grobovima, oko 50 m sjeverozapadno od piscine, nađeni pehar i lucerna koja je u posjedu M. Marinkovića. Od nalaza su objavljeni rimska keramička zdjela i svjetiljka iz 2. st. po. Kr.²⁰ Bulić navodi kako svjetiljke obitelji Vusio potječu iz grobova s ovog nalazišta.²¹ Još je jedna rimska svjetiljka vjerojatno pronađena u grobovima na Ratu (Paklina).²² Velik dio zbirke grčkog, rimskog i srednjovjekovnog novca u samostanskom muzeju²³ potječe s položaja Zlatni rat / Veli rat – Paklina, gdje su bili rimski grobovi²⁴ koji su vjerojatno pripadali stanovnicima vile.²⁵ Pretpostavlja se, odnosno tvrdi, da je na cijeloj površini rta smješteno naselje s ostatcima arhitekture.²⁶ U kasnoantičko se doba reorganizira život u rustičnim vilama, pa je moguće da se tada, kao u Bunjama, iz gospodarskog imanja na Zlatnom ratu razvilo naselje.²⁷ U blizini Zlatnog rata je najvjerojatnije onda izgrađena ranokršćanska crkva sv. Pavla.²⁸

Brač se od 3. st. nadalje naglo razvija, a jedan od pokretača tog razvoja su tamošnji kamenolomi u kojima su se, između ostalog, izrađivali sarkofazi, otada dominantni tip groba u Dalmaciji, kao i elementi za gradnju Dioklecijanove palače te sl.²⁹ Spomenimo ovdje pojedine bolske spomenike koji dokumentiraju navedeno razdoblje. Dva skupocjena antička sarkofaga uvezena su u Bol u 3. st., što ukazuje na prosperitet dijela bolskog stanovništva.³⁰ Nešto su kasniji, iz ranog 4. st., ulom-

terials for archaeological excavation on Rat.¹⁷ To the east, the walls of what was likely a sheltered dock were once visible in the waters of the cove between Borak and the Rat peninsula. It had been made to facilitate maritime trade for the Roman villa's products.¹⁸ To the west, near Rat, a necropolis was discovered.¹⁹ Namely, when the road from Bol toward Murvica was constructed in 1952-1953, a few graves made in stacked stone technique, covered with several stone tiles, were found at the Zlatni or Veli rat location. The head of one of the deceased was found in the east. In two graves approximately 50 m north-west of the *piscina*, a chalice and oil-lamp were found that are now owned by M. Marinković. Of these finds, a Roman ceramic bowl and oil-lamp from the 2nd century AD have been published.²⁰ Bulić stated that oil-lamps belonging to the Vusio family originally came from the graves at this site.²¹ Yet another Roman oil-lamp was probably found in the graves on Rat (Paklina).²² A considerable share of the Greek, Roman and medieval coins in the monastery's museum²³ originally came from the Zlatni rat/Veli rat-Paklina site, where there were Roman graves²⁴ that probably belonged to the villa's residents.²⁵ It is presumed, or rather claimed, that a community with architectural remains covered the entire cape.²⁶ Life in rustic villas was reorganized in Late Antiquity, so it is possible that at the time, as in Bunje, the farm estate on Zlatni rat grew into a settlement.²⁷ The Early Christian Church of St. Paul near Zlatni rat was mostly likely built at that time.²⁸

20 Svjetiljka je sada u samostanskom muzeju; Kukec 1979; Đurašin 1992, str. 82, bilj. 6, autor spominje uništavanje jednog groba 60-ih god. 20. st. te djelomično uništavanje još jednog groba 80-ih god. 20. st.; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 12.02; Gjurašin 2007, str. 74, bilj. 43.

21 Bulić 1900, str. 30, bilj. 1.

22 Gjurašin 2007, str. 74, bilj. 44.

23 Mirnik 1979.

24 Šanjek 1976, str. 156; Mirnik 1979, str. 10, 14; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 4.01; BO 12.02.

25 Oznaka dobra Z-4633: <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kId=313049646>.

26 Šanjek 1976, str. 156; Đurašin 1992, str. 82; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 12.00.

27 Jelincić 2005b, str. 129.

28 Cambi 2007, bilj. 6. Bračke su ranokršćanske crkve uglavnom iz 6. st. te se javljaju u velikom broju; one na sjevernoj strani otoka su velikih dimenzija, za veliki broj vjernika, među njima moguće imućnijih Salonitanaca koji su se u nesigurnim vremenima provale Gota, u bijegu od čestih pljačkaških pohoda barbara, a osobito nakon Justinijanove smrti, doseljavali na Brač: Vrsalović 1968, str. 51; Cambi 2007, str. 94, 104.

29 Cambi 2004, str. 258, bilj. 112.

30 Ulomak jednog sarkofaga, koji najvjerojatnije prikazuje Meleagrovu glavu i dio je prikaza lova na kalidonskog vepra, potječe s Rudine, a čuva se u muzeju u Škripu, dok je ulomak drugog sarkofaga ugrađen iznad vrata s unutrašnje strane jugoistočnog zida župne crkve u Bolu: Cambi 2004, str. 253-254, 256-257, bilj. 79, 88, 258-259, sl. 18; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 49.00.

17 Owned by Ivan Nižetić Inglez.

18 Vrsalović 1960, pp. 72-76; Vrsalović 1968, pp. 46-48; Kukec 1979, p. 16; Đurašin 1992, p. 82, note 7; Šanjek 1976, p. 160; Kovačić 1986-1987, p. 23, note 2. Such a berth is visible at low tide in Lovrečina as well. This was therefore a seaside coastal villa: Begović, Schrunck 2003, p. 102.

19 The second, eastern Bol necropolis is situated above Martinica: Kovačić 1986-1987, p. 23, note 3; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 6.01; Gjurašin 2007, pp. 73-74, notes 41-42. The oil-lamps from that necropolis "have disappeared without a trace": Vrsalović 1960, p. 93, notes 88-89; Kukec 1979, p. 16. The third necropolis was allegedly dug out during construction of the Hotel Željezničar in the centre of Bol in the 1950s: Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 48.00.

20 The oil-lamp is now in the monastery's museum; Kukec 1979; Đurašin 1992, p. 82, note 6, the author mentioned the destruction of a grave in the 1960s and the partial destruction of another grave in the 1980s; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 12.02; Gjurašin 2007, p. 74, note 43.

21 Bulić 1900, p. 30, note 1.

22 Gjurašin 2007, p. 74, note 44.

23 Mirnik 1979.

24 Šanjek 1976, p. 156; Mirnik 1979, pp. 10, 14; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 4.01; BO 12.02.

25 Property designation Z-4633: <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=6212&kId=313049646>.

26 Šanjek 1976, p. 156; Đurašin 1992, p. 82; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 12.00.

27 Jelincić 2005b, p. 129.

28 Cambi 2007, note 6. The Early Christian churches on Brač generally dated to the 6th century and they appeared in a high number; they

ci poganskog sarkofaga iz Dračevica³¹ i kriptokršćanska bolska stela ili titulus, oba spomenika načinjena od bračkog vapnenca i s prikazima pokojnika – ribara. Ta stela, inače nadgrobni spomenik koji je obilježavao paljevinski ukop, pripada pokojniku Svetoniju Joniju, šezdesetogodišnjaku rodom najvjerojatnije iz Dirahija.³² Još se u 19. st. spominje ranokršćanski sarkofag, također od bračkog vapnenca, korišten na Studencu kao pojilo, a iz istog je doba (5. – 6. st. po. Kr.) još jedan zaobljeni poklopac sarkofaga.³³ Baza kasnoantičkog stupa u župnoj crkvi Gospe od Karmela, u središtu mjesta, upućuje na mogućnost da je ta nova crkva podignuta nad ranokršćanskom,³⁴ što je treći mogući ranokršćanski lokalitet uz dva već spomenuta uz vile na zapadu i istoku Bola. Napomenimo i ovdje da su u Bolu ubicirane tri nekropole, na zapadu u blizini Rata, na istoku iznad Martinice te u središtu mjesta na lokaciji hotela *Željezničar*.³⁵

From the 3rd century onward, Brač developed at a rapid pace, and one of the drivers of this development was the local quarries where, among other things, sarcophaguses, then the dominant type of tomb in Dalmatia, were made, as well as elements for the construction of Diocletian's Palace, etc.²⁹ Individual monuments in Bol which testify to this period would be worthwhile mentioning here. Two costly sarcophaguses were imported into Bol in the 3rd century, which demonstrates the prosperity of a part of Bol's populace.³⁰ Somewhat later, in the early 4th century, fragments of a pagan sarcophagus from Dračevica³¹ and a crypto-Christian Bol stele or titulus were found. Both are made of Brač limestone and bear portrayals of the deceased, fishers. That stele, otherwise a gravestone that marked a cremation burial, belonged to the deceased Suetonius Ionius, a sixty year-old who most likely originally hailed from Dyrrhachium.³² As early as the 19th century, there was mention of an Early Christian sarcophagus, also made of Brač limestone and used at Studenac as a watering trough, and a rounded sarcophagus lid dates to the same period (5th-6th c. AC).³³ The base of a Late Antique column in the parish Church of Our Lady of Carmel, in the heart of the settlement, points to the possibility that the new church was raised atop an Early Christian church,³⁴ which is the third potential Early Christian site besides the two already mentioned: the villas in west and east Bol. Also noteworthy here is that three necropolises have been located in Bol, in the west near Rat, in the east above Martinica and in the centre of the town at the site of the Hotel *Željezničar*.³⁵

had large dimensions on the northern side of the island for the high number of believers, among whom there may have been wealthier Salonitans who migrated to Brač in the uncertain times after the Gothic incursions, fleeing from frequent barbarian raids, and particularly after Justinian's death: Vrsalović 1968, p. 51; Cambi 2007, pp. 94, 104.

29 Cambi 2004, p. 258, note 112.

30 The fragment of a sarcophagus which probably bears an image of Meleager's head and was part of a scene of the Calydonian boar hunt, originated in Rudina, and is held in the museum in Škrip, while a fragment of another sarcophagus has been installed above the door on the inside south-eastern wall of the parish church in Bol: Cambi 2004, pp. 253-254, 256-257, notes 79, 88, 258-259, Fig. 18; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 49.00.

31 Maršić 2000, pp. 81-82; Cambi 2004, pp. 260-262, Fig. 20.

32 Held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. Maršić 2000, pp. 67-68, 73-78, 78-81; Cambi 2004, pp. 256-257, note 100, Fig. 17; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 5.00; Cambi 2005, pp. 191-192, Fig. 293; Cambi 2007, p. 106, Fig. 18.

33 Fisković 1981, p. 110. Pl. XXII. 5; Kovačić 1994b, p. 96; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 3.00, 8.00; Duplančić 2013, p. 210; Branko Pirčić told me on 27 May 2018 that the sarcophagus had been brought from Podbarje.

34 Fisković 1981, p. 111; Kovačić 1994b, pp. 96-97; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 10.00.

35 See notes 18 and 19.

31 Maršić 2000, str. 81-82; Cambi 2004, str. 260-262, sl. 20.

32 Čuva se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Maršić 2000, str. 67-68, 73-78, 78-81; Cambi 2004, str. 256-257, bilj. 100, sl. 17; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 5.00; Cambi 2005, str. 191-192, sl. 293; Cambi 2007, str. 106, sl. 18.

33 Fisković 1981, str. 110. T. XXII. 5; Kovačić 1994b, str. 96; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 3.00, 8.00; Duplančić 2013, str. 210; Branko Pirčić mi je 27. 5. 2018. rekao da je sarkofag prenesen iz Podbarja.

34 Fisković 1981, str. 111; Kovačić 1994b, str. 96-97; Stančić *et al.* 2004, BO 10.00.

35 Vidi bilj. 18 i 19.

Kratice / Abbreviations

BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata
HAD	Hrvatsko arheološko društvo
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

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