

## O IKONOGRAFIJI JEDNE STAROKRŠĆANSKE SVJETILJKE IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA U SPLITU

U članku se raspravlja o jednoj kasnoantičkoj svjetiljki iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu koja je autorici privukla pozornost radi biblijskog prikaza koji dominira središnjim diskom. Radi se o svjetiljki kojoj je u dosadašnjim objavama središnja ikonografija interpretirana kao starozavjetni prikaz epizode kod koje se trojica židovskih mladića odbijaju pokloniti babilonskom kralju Nabukodonozoru. Ova vrlo zanimljiva scena na starokršćanskim svjetiljkama najčešće se javlja upravo u prikazu trenutka gdje se mladići nalaze pred Nabukodonozorom i idolom i kao takvoj uočavaju joj se različite varijante. U članku je naglasak na mogućnosti drugačijeg čitanja ikonografije jer se pokazalo veoma vjerojatnim da upravo unutar varijanti ove ikonografije možda ima prostora za nova viđenja i nove interpretacije. Cilj rada nije nabrojavanje svih poznatih predmeta i njihovo katalogiziranje, već se na temelju dostupne literature želi pokazati kako čitanje ikonografije nije uvijek jednostavno, te i da kod scena za koje se misli da su „ikonografski definirane“ ima prostora za „novo“.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *starokršćanska ikonografija, starokršćanske svjetiljke, tri židovska mladića, Azarija, Hananija i Mišael, idol i Nabukodonozor, Abraham i tri anđela*

### UVOD I OPIS SVJETILJKE<sup>1</sup>

Jedna kasnoantička svjetiljka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu privukla mi je pozornost zbog biblijskog prikaza koji dominira središnjim diskom (Sl. 1 i 2).<sup>2</sup> Radi se o svjetiljki kojoj je u dosadašnjim objavama

1 Koristim priliku kako bih zahvalila Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, posebno muzejskoj savjetnici mr. sc. Sanji Ivčević, na ustupljenim fotografijama svjetiljke i na mogućnosti osobnog uvida u građu i osobnog fotografiranja.

2 Prvi put spomenuta kod F. BULIĆ, 1913, 64; zatim J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994, 275; posljednje u V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 243, 304-305.

## ABOUT THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AN EARLY CHRISTIAN LAMP FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN SPLIT

This paper discusses a Late Antique lamp in the Archaeological Museum in Split which came to the author's attention due to the illustration of a Biblical scene which dominates its central disc. In previous publications, the central iconography of this lamp has been interpreted as an Old Testament account of three Jewish youths refusing to bow down to the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar. On Early Christian lamps, this very interesting scene most frequently shows the moment when the youths stand in front of Nebuchadnezzar and the idol, and there are several variations of it. This paper suggests different possible interpretations of the iconography, as it is highly probable that there is room for new views and interpretations within its variations. The objective of this paper is not to list and catalogue all known artefacts, but rather to demonstrate, based on the available literature, that interpreting iconography is not always simple, and that there is room for new interpretations even in scenes which are believed to have been defined in terms of their iconography.

KEYWORDS: *Early Christian iconography, Early Christian lamps, three Jewish youths, Azariah, Hananiah and Mishael, the idol and Nebuchadnezzar, Abraham and three angels*

### INTRODUCTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE LAMP<sup>1</sup>

A Late Antique lamp from the Archaeological Museum in Split drew my attention due to the biblical illustrations on its central disc (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>2</sup> In

1 I would like to take this opportunity to extend my gratitude to Split Archaeological Museum, particularly the museum consultant Sanja Ivčević, MA, for the courtesy of permitting me to use the lamp photos as well as for allowing me to personally inspect and photograph the artefacts.

2 First mentioned in F. BULIĆ, 1913, 64, and subsequently in J. MARDEŠIĆ, 1994, 275. Last mentioned in V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 243, 304-305.

središnja ikonografija interpretirana kao starozavjetni prikaz epizode kod koje se trojica židovskih mladića odbijaju pokloniti babilonskom kralju Nabukodonozoru.<sup>3</sup> Ova vrlo zanimljiva scena, koja je vrlo omiljena u starokršćanskoj ikonografiji, na starokršćanskim svjetiljkama najčešće se javlja upravo u prikazu trenutka kada se mladići nalaze pred Nabukodonozorom i idolom i kao takvoj uočavaju joj se različite varijante. Međutim, pokazalo se veoma vjerojatnim da upravo unutar varijanti ove ikonografije možda ima prostora za nova viđenja i nove interpretacije među kojima se ističe jedna druga starozavjetna scena kojoj je središnji događaj susret patrijarha Abrahama i tri anđela. Kod obje se u osnovi javljaju četiri glavna protagonista vrlo slično raspoređena unutar kompozicije: na desnoj strani tri muška lika, a na krajnjoj lijevoj strani muški sjedeći lik okrenut prema njima, dok je na mjestu razdjelnika stablo ili stup s idolom.

Radi se o svjetiljci inv. br. Fc 942 koja je gotovo u potpunosti sačuvana. Rekonstruirani su joj nos i ručka. Ima kružan, konkavan disk s dvije rupice (za ulijevanje ulja i za zrak). Od ramenoga dijela disk je odijeljen plastičnom vrpcom. Svjetiljka ima i disk i rameni dio reljefno ukrašen: dok se na ramenu izmjenjuju geometrijski motivi (rombovi s kukicama i koncentrične kružnice), na disku su prikazane figure. Svjetiljka je tipa Hayes II A koje datiraju u razdoblje između 420. i 500. godine.<sup>4</sup>

Spomenuti figuralni prizor dominira diskom u prostoru između dviju rupica. Na desnoj strani nalaze se tri muške figure obučene u kratke potpasane tunike. Oko glave svakoga lika naglašen je nimbus koji se nešto slabije vidi samo kod krajnje desne figure. Lijevo od njih nalazi se stup/deblo na vrhu kojeg se nalazi muška bista. Bista je okrenuta nadesno i ima frigijsku kapu na glavi. Na krajnjoj lijevoj strani nalazi se muški lik koji sjedi. Muškarac je obučen u tuniku (i možda palij) te ima desnu ruku lagano podignutu i usmjerenu prema deblu s bustom i prema trima muškarcima. I ovom sjedećem muškarcu liniju glave također prati *nimbus*.

Kao što je već spomenuto u uvodnim napomenama, ovako koncipirana ikonografija trebala bi predstavljati epizodu inspiriranu knjigom Danijelovom (Dn 3, 1–100; točnije Dn 3, 14–18) kod koje su glavni protagonisti trojica mladića Azarja, Hananija i Mišael.

previous publications, the central iconography of this lamp has been interpreted as an Old Testament account of three Jewish youths refusing to bow down to the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>3</sup> On Early Christian lamps, this very interesting scene, popular in Early Christian iconography, most frequently portrays variations of the moment when the youths stand in front of Nebuchadnezzar and an idol. However, the variants of this iconography allow room for new views and new interpretations, among which another Old Testament scene stands out, that of the meeting of the patriarch Abraham and three angels. In both scenes, there are four main protagonists, very similarly arranged within the composition. On the right-hand side, there are three male figures, while on the leftmost side there is a seated male figure turned towards them with a tree or pillar with an idol dividing them.

The lamp (Inv. No. Fc 942) has been almost entirely preserved, although its nose and grip have been reconstructed. It has a round, concave disc with two holes (for pouring oil and for air). A decorative ribbon separates the disc from the shoulder portion. The disc and shoulder portions have relief decorations: on the shoulder, there are alternating geometrical motifs (rhombuses with small hooks and concentric circles), while on the disc there are figurative motifs. The lamp is of the Hayes II A type, dated to the period between 420 and 500 AD.<sup>4</sup>

The mentioned figurative scene dominates the disc in the area between the two holes. On the right-hand side, there are three male figures wearing short girdled tunics. Around the heads of each figure, there is an accentuated nimbus which is somewhat less visible above the rightmost figure. To their left, there is a pillar/trunk with a male bust on top. The bust is facing the right and has a Phrygian cap on its head. On the leftmost side, there is a seated male figure. The man is wearing a tunic (or possibly a *pallium*), with his right arm slightly raised and directed towards the trunk with the bust and the three men. The sitting man's head is also bordered by a nimbus.

As already mentioned in the introductory remarks, such iconography usually represents an account inspired by the Book of Daniel, to be more precise Daniel 3:14–18, whose main protagonists are the three youths Azariah, Hananiah and Mishael.

3 V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 243.

4 Detaljan opis i sve osnovne informacije vidi kod V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 305, br. 132, T. XV; za lucerne tipa Hayes II A vidi kod J. W. HAYES, 1972, 314.

3 V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 243.

4 For a detailed account and basic information, see V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 305, No. 132, T. XV; for lamps of the Hayes II A type, see J. W. HAYES, 1972, 314.

## IKONOGRAFIJA AZARJE, HANANIJE, MIŠAELA I NABUKODONAZORA, OPĆE KARAKTERISTIKE

Biblijska pozadina ove ikonografije je događaj kada kralj Nabukodonozor II. postavlja zlatni kip te naređuje svima da mu se klanjaju. Trojica Danijelovih prijatelja to odbijaju, te su bačena u užarenu peć. Međutim, nakon Azarjine molitve anđeo Gospodnji izbavio ih je od ognja te su mladići slavili Boga, kao i sam kralj Nabukodonozor nakon što je uvidio Božje djelovanje i spasenje mladića.<sup>5</sup>

Ova starozavjetna epizoda u ikonografiji najčešće se prikazuje u dva trenutka: trenutku kada mladići odbijaju klanjanje idolu i, puno češće, kada se po kazni nalaze u užarenoj peći, tzv. *vivicomburium* (Sl. 6 i 7). Ponekad, pogotovo na sarkofazima, javlja se i kombinacija obiju scena (Sl. 13).<sup>6</sup>

Spomenuti *vivicomburium*, prikaz trojice mladića u peći, kao što je to već rečeno, bio je omiljen prizor u starokršćanskoj ikonografiji, a javlja se od prve polovine 3. stoljeća. Gotovo da nema katakombe bez Azarje, Hananije i Mišaela, a po-

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The biblical background of this iconography is an event in which King Nebuchadnezzar II raises a golden statue and commands everyone to bow down before it. The three friends of Daniel refuse and are thrown into a fiery furnace. However, upon Azariah's prayer, an angel of God sets them free from the fire, and the youths praise God, as does King Nebuchadnezzar when he realises that God has saved the youths.<sup>5</sup>

Two moments of this Old Testament account are most frequently represented in iconography: the moment when the youths refuse to bow down to the idol and, much more frequently, when they are punished and put in the fiery furnace, the so-called *vivicomburium* (Figs. 6 and 7). Sometimes, in particular on sarcophagi, a combination of both scenes appears (Fig. 13).<sup>6</sup>

The abovementioned *vivicomburium*, a depiction of the three youths in the furnace, as has already been pointed out, was a popular scene in Early Christian

5 Točan biblijski tekst glasi: „Uto dođoše neki Kaldejci i optužiše Judejce. Rekoše kralju Nabukodonozoru: »O kralju, živ bio do vijeka! Ti si, kralju, naredio svakom čovjeku koji začuje zvuke roga, frule, citre, sambuke, psaltira, gajda i svakovrsnih drugih glazbala da se baci na tlo i da se pokloni zlatnome kipu; a tko se ne baci na tlo i ne pokloni, da bude bačen u peć užarenu. A evo, ovdje su Judejci koje si postavio za upravitelje pokrajine babilonske: Šadrak, Mešak i Abed Nego. Ti ljudi ne mare za te, o kralju; oni ne štiju tvojih bogova i nisu se poklonili zlatnome kipu što si ga podigao.« Nabukodonozor, bijesan i gnjevan, pozva Šadraka, Mešaka i Abed Nega. Odmah ih dovedoše pred kralja. A Nabukodonozor im reče: »Je li istina, Šadrače, Mešače i Abed Nego, da vi ne štujete mojih bogova i da se ne klanjate zlatnome kipu što ga podigoh? Jeste li voljni, čim začujete zvuk roga, frule, citre, sambuke, psaltira, gajda i svakovrsnih drugih glazbala, baciti se na tlo i pokloniti se kipu što ga načinih? Ako li mu se ne poklonite, bit ćete smjesta bačeni u peć užarenu; i koji je taj bog koji bi vas izbavio iz ruke moje?« Šadrak, Mešak i Abed Nego odgovoriše kralju Nabukodonozoru: »Ne treba da ti odgovorimo na to. Bog naš, kome služimo, može nas izbaviti iz užarene peći i od ruke tvoje, kralju; on će nas i izbaviti. No ako toga i ne učini, znaj, o kralju: mi nećemo služiti tvojemu bogu niti ćemo se pokloniti kipu što si ga podigao.« Na te riječi kralj Nabukodonozor uskipje bijesom, a lice mu se iznakazi na Šadraka, Mešaka i Abed Nega. On naredi da se peć ugrije sedam puta jače no inače i jakim ljudima iz svoje vojske zapovjedi da svežu Šadraka, Mešaka i Abed Nega i bace u peć punu žarkoga ognja. Svežaše ih, dakle, i u plaštevima, obući i kapama baciše u zažarenu peć. Kako kraljeva zapovijed bijaše žurna a peć preko mjere užarena, plamen ubi ljude koji su bacali Šadraka, Mešaka i Abed Nega. A tri čovjeka – Šadrak, Mešak i Abed Nego – padoše svezani u zažarenu peć.“ (Dn 3, 14-18)

6 Za većinu informacija o ovoj ikonografiji vidi kod: C. CARLETTI, 1975; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 177-178.

5 The exact wording of the biblical text reads: “At this time some astrologers came forward and denounced the Jews. They said to King Nebuchadnezzar: ‘May the king live forever! Your Majesty has issued a decree that everyone who hears the sound of the horn, flute, zither, lyre, harp, pipe and all kinds of music must fall down and worship the image of gold, and that whoever does not fall down and worship will be thrown into a blazing furnace. But there are some Jews whom you have set over the affairs of the province of Babylon – Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego – who pay no attention to you, Your Majesty. They neither serve your gods nor worship the image of gold you have set up.’ Furious with rage, Nebuchadnezzar summoned Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. So these men were brought before the king, and Nebuchadnezzar said to them, ‘Is it true, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, that you do not serve my gods or worship the image of gold I have set up? Now when you hear the sound of the horn, flute, zither, lyre, harp, pipe and all kinds of music, if you are ready to fall down and worship the image I made, very good. But if you do not worship it, you will be thrown immediately into a blazing furnace. Then what god will be able to rescue you from my hand?’ Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego replied to him, ‘King Nebuchadnezzar, we do not need to defend ourselves before you in this matter. If we are thrown into the blazing furnace, the God we serve is able to deliver us from it, and he will deliver us from Your Majesty’s hand. But even if he does not, we want you to know, Your Majesty, that we will not serve your gods or worship the image of gold you have set up.’ Then Nebuchadnezzar was furious with Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, and his attitude toward them changed. He ordered the furnace heated seven times hotter than usual and commanded some of the strongest soldiers in his army to tie up Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego and throw them into the blazing furnace. So these men, wearing their robes, trousers, turbans and other clothes, were bound and thrown into the blazing furnace. The king’s command was so urgent and the furnace so hot that the flames of the fire killed the soldiers who took up Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, and these three men, firmly tied, fell into the blazing furnace.” Daniel 3:14-18.

6 For more information about this iconography, see: C. CARLETTI, 1975; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 177-178.

djednako je česta i na sarkofazima te predmetima sitne umjetnosti, pa tako i na lucernama. Osnovna ikonografska shema su tri muške osobe s frigijskim kapama, zatim peć i plameni jezičci (ili samo plameni jezičci). Mladići su ponekad u društvu četvrtoga lika koji predstavlja anđela, Božjeg izaslanika i spasitelja, dok se peti lik nekad postavlja ispred peći u ulozi sluge koji razjaruje vatru.

Scena odbijanja idolopoklonstva pred Nabukodonozorom je rjeđa (Sl. 8 – 14). Javlja se od kraja 3. do početka 4. stoljeća, i to u vrlo važnom povijesnom kontekstu za Crkvu, kada kulminira divinizacija cara, u trenutku u kojem pojava ove ikonografije ukazuje na velike probleme i polemiku koje je kršćanska zajednica imala radi carskoga kulta.<sup>7</sup> To najbolje pokazuje činjenica da se na mjesto zlatnog idola u starokršćanskoj ikonografiji uvijek stavlja bista vladara. Osnovna ikonografska shema ove scene sastoji se od tri mladića s frigijskim kapama koji najčešće zauzimaju desnu stranu kompozicije te Nabukodonozora koji sjedi na prijestolju (*sella curulis*) s nogama naslonjenim na *suppedaneum* na lijevoj strani kompozicije i s glavom okruženom dijamantom. Između kralja i mladića najčešće se nalazi bista idola na stupu ili pilastru koji često ima istu fizionomiju kao i sam kralj. Kroz 4. stoljeće ovoj se ikonografskoj shemi dodaju još dva lika: jedan je vjerojatno vojnik koji vodi mladiće na izvršenje kazne, a drugi onaj koji ih optužuje.<sup>8</sup> Tema se najčešće javlja na poklopcima sarkofaga, i to pokraj tabule (gotovo je uvijek praćena i scenom trojice mladića u peći s kojima je ponekad ujedinjena u jednu scenu). U freskoslikarstvu zabilježena je u svega nekoliko primjera: u Priscillinoj katakombi, u katakombi sv. Marka i Marcelina<sup>9</sup> te vrlo vjerojatno i u hipogeju Santa Maria in Stelle iz Verone.<sup>10</sup>

iconography, and appears from the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. There are almost no catacombs without Azariah, Hananiah and Mishael, and the image is similarly frequent on sarcophagi as well as fine art artefacts, including *lucernae*. The basic iconographic scheme includes three male individuals with Phrygian caps, a furnace and flames (or only flames). The youths are sometimes accompanied by a fourth figure representing an angel, God's messenger and their saviour, while a fifth figure is sometimes set in front of the furnace in the role of a servant fanning the fire.

The scene of rejecting idolatry before Nebuchadnezzar is less frequent (Figs. 8-14). It appears from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. This was a historically important period for the Church, as it corresponded with the peak of the practice of deifying the emperor. The occurrence of such iconography at this time suggests the great problems which the Christian community had to deal with as a result of the imperial cult.<sup>7</sup> This is best demonstrated by the fact that in Early Christian iconography the ruler's bust always replaced the golden idol. The basic iconographic scheme of this scene includes three youths with Phrygian caps who most frequently occupy the right-hand side of the composition, while Nebuchadnezzar sits on his throne (*sella curulis*), his feet resting on a *suppedaneum* on the left-hand side of the composition, his head encircled by a diadem. Between the king and the youths, most frequently there is an idol's bust on a pillar or pilaster. The bust frequently has the same physiognomy as the king. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, two more figures were added to this iconographical scheme: one is probably a soldier taking the youths to the place where their sentence will be executed, while the other is an accuser.<sup>8</sup> The theme most frequently appears on sarcophagi covers next to the tabula (almost always accompanied by the scene of the three youths in the furnace, with which it is sometimes unified in one scene). It has also been recorded on several frescoes: in the Catacomb of Priscilla, the Catacomb of Marcus and Marcellinus,<sup>9</sup> and most probably also in the hypogeum of Santa Maria in Stelle in Verona.<sup>10</sup>

7 O tome vidi više kod C. CARLETTI, 1975, 64-66; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 177-178.

8 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 72; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 178.

9 Kod C. CARLETTI, 1975, 119-158 nalazi se katalog s popisom svih njemu poznatih primjera kako ikonografije mladića u peći (*vivicomburium*) tako i primjera ikonografije mladića pred Nabukodonozorom.

10 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 73.

7 For more, see C. CARLETTI, 1975, 64-66; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 177-178.

8 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 72; B. MAZZEI, 2000, 178.

9 In a catalogue, C. CARLETTI, 1975, 119-158 lists all examples known to him of the iconography of the youths in the furnace (*vivicomburium*) as well as those of them before Nebuchadnezzar.

10 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 73.

## IKONOGRAFIJA AZARJE, HANANIJE, MIŠAELA I NABUKODONAZORA NA SJEVERNOAFRIČKIM STAROKRŠĆANSKIM SVJETILJKAMA

Prikazuje tri židovska mladića na lucernama E. Franchi podijelila je na tri osnovna: 1. mladići u užarenoj peći: *vivicomburium*, 2. mladići u užarenoj peći (*vivicomburium*) spašeni od anđela, 3. mladići pred Nabukodonozorom.<sup>11</sup>

Zanimljivo je da je na svjetiljkama najčešća upravo ova posljednja „mladići pred Nabukodonozorom“, i to u svojoj osnovnoj ikonografskoj shemi: mladići obučeni u kratku tuniku s frigijskim kapama na desnoj strani (praćeni četvrtim likom, vjerojatno vojnikom) te Nabukodonozor s frigijskom kapom u sjedećem stavu na desno, dok je između njih kolona s idolom na vrhu (Sl. 3).

Franchi navodi kako su pronađene brojne lucerne s prikazom trojice mladića pred Nabukodonozorom te primjećuje kako se ta scena razlikuje u tome što trojica mladića ponekad nose frigijsku kapu, a ponekad ne.<sup>12</sup>

Sličnu je stvar primijetila i B. Mazzei. Razlikuje scenu kod koje mladići nose frigijske kape, dok kod onih bez kapa primjećuje da zapravo imaju nimbuse oko glave te nadalje navodi kako na lucernama idol može biti zamijenjen palmom. Za ovu posljednju promjenu autorica smatra da se radi o namjernoj zamjeni negativnog atributa pozitivnim, odnosno palmom kao simbolom pobjede što bi zapravo označavalo pobjedu u vjeri i radi vjere.<sup>13</sup>

Objekti autorice očito se nadovezuju na kompleksnu studiju C. Carletti koja je prikaz trojice mladića pred Nabukodonozorom na starokršćanskim svjetiljkama podijelio u tri osnovne grupe. U grupu A svrstao je ikonografiju na kojoj se javljaju Nabukodonozor, idol, vojnik i tri mladića (Sl. 3); u grupu B Nabukodonozora s nimbom, idolom i tri mladića (Sl. 4) te u grupu C (Sl. 5) Nabukodonozora s nimbom, stablo palme i tri mladića.<sup>14</sup> Autor, iako donosi spomenute grupe s očitim razlikama u ikonografiji, iznenađujuće govori o tome kako ikonografija na lucernama nema

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF AZARIAH, HANANIAH, MISHAEL AND NEBUCHADNEZZAR ON NORTH AFRICAN EARLY CHRISTIAN LAMPS

E. Franchi classified depictions of the three Jewish youths on *lucernae* into three basic types: 1. the youths in the blazing furnace: the *vivicomburium*; 2. the youths in the blazing furnace (*vivicomburium*) saved by an angel; 3. the youths before Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly, the most frequent scene on lamps is the last one, that of the youths before Nebuchadnezzar, the basic iconographical scheme of which is the youths on the right-hand side wearing short tunics and Phrygian caps (accompanied by a fourth figure, probably a soldier), and Nebuchadnezzar with a Phrygian cap, seated facing the right side, and between them a column with the idol on top of it (Fig. 3).

Franchi mentions that numerous *lucernae* have been found with a representation of the three youths before Nebuchadnezzar but with the variation that the three youths sometimes wear Phrygian caps and sometimes do not.<sup>12</sup>

A similar situation has been observed by B. Mazzei. She differentiates between the scenes in which the youths wear Phrygian caps and those in which they do not, observing that they actually have nimbuses around their heads. She also mentions that on *lucernae* the idol is sometimes replaced by a palm. The author believes this latter variation is an intentional replacement of negative attributes with positive ones, i.e. the palm is a symbol of victory, which actually denotes victory in faith and for the sake of faith.<sup>13</sup>

Both authors build upon the complex study by C. Carletti, who classifies the depiction of the three youths before Nebuchadnezzar on Early Christian lamps into three basic groups. He classifies the iconography comprising Nebuchadnezzar, the idol, the soldier and the three youths (Fig. 3) as group A; that including Nebuchadnezzar with a nimbus, the idol and the three youths as group B (Fig. 4); and (Fig. 5) Nebuchadnezzar with a nimbus, a palm tree, and the three youths as group C.<sup>14</sup> Although the author clearly differentiates between the groups in terms of their iconography, he surprisingly says that the iconogra-

11 E. FRANCHI, 1993, 120-122.

12 Kao primjere s frigijskom kapom navodi figure 28 i 29 iz vlastitog članka te bez frigijske kape primjer 30; vidi kod E. FRANCHI, 1993, Tav. LXXXVIII.

13 B. MAZZEI, 2000, 178.

14 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 88.

11 E. FRANCHI, 1993, 120-122.

12 As examples with Phrygian caps, Franchi mentions figures 28 and 29 from her own article, and example 30 as one without Phrygian caps; see E. FRANCHI, 1993, tav. LXXXVIII.

13 B. MAZZEI, 2000, 178.

14 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 88.

nikakvih varijanti te da se uvijek javlja ista.<sup>15</sup> Međutim, ipak nastoji objasniti pojavu nimbusa i pojavu palme kod grupa B i C. Tako smatra da je nimbus kao simbol vlasti kod prikazivanja vladara od polovice 4. stoljeća česta pojava,<sup>16</sup> a pojavu nimbusa kod mladića objašnjava širenjem njihova kulta pogotovo prostorima sjeverne Afrike,<sup>17</sup> dok palmu na mjestu predviđenom za idola smatra zamjenjivanjem te čak navodi mogućnost da se radi o jednoj drugoj sceni, odnosno trenutku nakon što se Nabukodonozor obratio vidjevši da su mladići ostali netaknuti u užarenoj peći, pa se scena više ne bi nadovezivala na Dn 3, 14–18, nego na tekst Dn 3, 95.<sup>18</sup>

Dakle, ikonografija trojice židovskih mladića pred Nabukodonozorom na starokršćanskim svjetilkama ne može nikako biti interpretirana kao jednostavna i uniformirana. Razlike su očite, a njezino tumačenje još je uvijek nedorečeno te kao takvo ostavlja mogućnosti za nova promišljanja.

Starokršćanska svjetiljka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (inv. br. Fc 942) po svemu gore navedenom pripadala bi u Carlettijevu grupu B, koja je dosta slična grupi C s tom razlikom da C na mjestu idola ima palmu, a upravo pojava palme kod grupe C i još nekih zanimljivih elemenata (o kojima će biti riječ dalje u tekstu) upućuje da bi se kod ove skupine moglo raditi o jednoj drugoj, ikonografski slično koncipiranoj sceni: susretu Abrahama i tri tajanstvena bića, anđela.

phy on *lucernae* has no varieties whatsoever, and that it is always the same.<sup>15</sup> However, he does attempt to explain the occurrence of the nimbus and the palm tree in groups B and C. Thus, he believes that the nimbus in representations of rulers from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century is a frequent occurrence as a symbol of power,<sup>16</sup> while he explains the occurrence of the nimbus around the youths with the spread of their cult, in particular in North Africa.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, he considers the use of the palm instead of the idol as a substitution, even suggesting that this might be another scene, i.e. the moment following Nebuchadnezzar's conversion after he has seen that the youths have remained intact in the blazing furnace. In his opinion, the scene is not associated with Daniel 3:14-18 but rather with Daniel 3:95.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the iconography of the three Jewish youths before Nebuchadnezzar on Early Christian lamps can by no means be interpreted in a simple and uniform manner. The differences are obvious, and interpretations are still incomplete, leaving possibilities for new theories.

Given the above, the Early Christian lamp from the Archaeological Museum in Split (Inv. No. Fc 942) can be classified as belonging to Carletti's group B, which is rather similar to group C, the difference being that in C in place of the idol there is a palm. It is precisely the occurrence of the palm in group C, along with other interesting elements (to be examined later in the text), that suggests that this group might also represent a different scene, but one similarly set out in terms of iconography: the encounter of Abraham and the three angels.

15 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 90.

16 Vidi kod C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

17 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

18 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93-95; Doslovni biblijski tekst glasi: „Nabukodonozor viknu: Blagoslovljen bio Bog Šadrakov, Mešakov i Abed Negov, koji je poslao svog anđela i izbavio svoje sluge, one koji se uzdahu u njega te se ne pokoriše kraljevoj naredbi, već radije predadoše svoje tijelo ognju negoli da štuju ili se klanjaju drugome osim svome Bogu! Naređujem dakle: O narodi, plemena i jezici, svatko između vas tko bi pogrdio Boga Šadrakova, Mešakova i Abed Negova neka bude raskomadan, a njegova kuća pretvorena u smetlište, jer nema boga koji bi mogao izbaviti kao ovaj.“ (Dn 3, 95)

15 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 90.

16 See C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

17 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

18 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93-95. The biblical text reads: “Nebuchadnezzar exclaimed: Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who sent his angel to deliver the servants who trusted in him; they disobeyed the royal command and yielded their bodies rather than serve or worship any god except their own God. Therefore I decree for nations and peoples of every language that whoever blasphemes the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego shall be cut to pieces and his house made into a refuse heap. For there is no other God who can rescue like this.” (Daniel 3:95).

## IKONOGRAFIJA ABRAHAMA I TRI TAJANSTVENA BIĆA, OPĆE KARAKTERISTIKE

Susret Abrahama i trojice tajanstvenih posjetitelja opisan je u osamnaestom poglavlju knjige Postanka (Post 18, 1-3). Radnja se odvija kod hrasta Mamre, a biblijski tekst doslovno glasi: „Jahve mu se ukaza kod hrasta Mamre dok je on sjedio na ulazu u šator za dnevne žege. Podigavši oči, opazi tri čovjeka gdje stoje nedaleko od njega...“. U ovom vrlo važnom trenutku tajanstveni posjetitelji dali su Abrahamu obećanje o rođenju njegova sina Izaka.

Ikonografija Abrahamove vizije kod hrasta Mamre manifestira se u svim kontekstima: na freskama katakombi (najstariji primjer ove ikonografije u katakombama potječe iz privatne katakombe Dino Compagni a datira u polovicu 4. stoljeća), sarkofazima, bazilikama (Sv. Marija Velika u Rimu i Sv. Vital u Raveni)<sup>19</sup>, a kao što ćemo vidjeti dalje u tekstu vrlo vjerojatno i na lucernama (Sl. 15 – 19).

M. Perraymond uočava kako su svi postojeći prikazi različiti, ali s dovoljno elemenata koji ipak kompoziciju čine prepoznatljivom.<sup>20</sup> Osnovu ikonografije čine tri lika koji se uvijek nalaze na desnoj strani kompozicije (anđeli) te četvrti lik koji se nalazi na lijevoj strani (Abraham). Od ostalih elemenata ove kompozicije vrlo važan je hrast Mamre. On je najbolje naglašen između anđeoskih likova i Abrahama na mozaiku u crkvi sv. Vitala, ali ga vidimo i na freski iz hipogeja Dino Compagni iza Abrahama koji sjedi te na mozaiku u Sv. Mariji Velikoj na donjem dijelu prizora, pokraj kuće iz koje izlazi Sara i priprema hranu za goste. Sljedeća važna sastavnica ove ikonografije je nimbus oko anđeoskih glava viđen na mozaicima u Sv. Mariji Velikoj i u Sv. Vitalu. M. Perraymond kaže kako je nimbusom trima bićima naglašen njihov božanski karakter.<sup>21</sup>

Inačica tri zagonetna posjetitelja u društvu s Abrahamom prikazana je i na sarkofazima s prostora nekadašnjih Galija. Međutim, u ovom slučaju radi se o ikonografiji kod koje su vjerojatno ujedinjene dvije scene: Abraham koji žrtvuje Izaka i tri tajanstvena bića (Sl. 19).<sup>22</sup>

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ABRAHAM AND THE THREE MYSTICAL BEINGS: GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

An account of the encounter of Abraham and his three mystical visitors is given in Chapter 18 of Genesis (18:1-3). The action takes place near the oak trees of Mamre, and the biblical text reads: “The Lord appeared to Abraham near the great trees of Mamre while he was sitting at the entrance to his tent in the heat of the day. Abraham looked up and saw three men standing nearby.” At this very important moment, the mystical visitors announce to Abraham the birth of his son Isaac.

The iconography of Abraham’s vision near the oak trees of Mamre appears in many contexts: on frescoes in catacombs (the oldest example of this iconography originates from from Dino Compagni catacombs and it can be dated to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century), sarcophagi, basilicas (Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and San Vitale in Ravenna),<sup>19</sup> and as we shall demonstrate in this paper, highly probably also on *lucernae* (Figs. 15-19).

M. Perraymond has established that although existing representations vary, there are elements that comprise a typical composition.<sup>20</sup> The iconography is based on three figures which are always on the right-hand side of the composition (angels) and a fourth figure on the left-hand side (Abraham). Of the other elements of this composition, the oak tree of Mamre is very important. It is best illustrated between the figures of the angels and Abraham in a mosaic at the Church of San Vitale, but is also visible in a fresco from the hypogeum of Dino Compagni behind the seated figure of Abraham, and also in a mosaic in Santa Maria Maggiore in the lower part of the scene, near the house from which Sarah is bringing food for the guests. The other important components of this iconography are the nimbuses around the angels’ heads, as seen in the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore and San Vitale. M. Perraymond states that the nimbuses of the three beings underline their divine nature.<sup>21</sup>

A variant of the three mystical visitors accompanied by Abraham is also represented on sarcophagi from the

19 Perraymond spominje da bi se slična ikonografija mogla nalaziti i unutar bazilike sv. Ambroza u Milanu i u možda jednoj hipotetskoj bazilici u Španjolskoj (za ikonografiju Abrahamove vizije vidi M. PERRAYMOND, 2000, 303).

20 M. PERRAYMOND, 1989, 553.

21 M. PERRAYMOND, 1989, 551; M. PERRAYMOND, 2000, 303.

22 J. WILPERT, 1903, Tavola CLXXXII; J. P. CAILLET, H. N. LOOSE, 1990, fig. 104; M. PERRAYMOND, 2000, 303.

19 Perraymond mentions the possibility that a similar iconography might also be found in the Basilica of Saint Ambrose in Milan, and possibly in a hypothetical basilica in Spain (for the iconography of Abraham’s vision see M. PERRAYMOND, 2000, 303).

20 M. PERRAYMOND, 1989, 553.

21 M. PERRAYMOND, 1989, 551; M. PERRAYMOND, 2000, 303.

Moguće je da je scena krasila crkvu sv. Ambroza u Milanu jer je sačuvana didaskalija koja na to upućuje, dok u jednoj bazilici u Zaragozi opis pjesnika Prudencija također daje naslutiti postojanje ove ikonografije,<sup>23</sup> a koliko je ovaj biblijski događaj bio važan za kršćansku zajednicu, najbolje ilustrira činjenica da car Konstantin Veliki podiže baziliku na mjestu za koje je lokalna zajednica vjerovala kako se radi o Mamreu u Hebronu.<sup>24</sup>

#### O IKONOGRAFIJI SVJETILJKE INV. BR. FC. 942: PROBLEMATIKA

Da je na lucerni iz Splita prikazana ikonografija trojice mladića i Nabukodonozora pretpostavljalo se radi brojnih analogija.<sup>25</sup> Međutim, ključnim za rad se pokazalo, kao što je to već više puta navedeno, da te analogije ne možemo nikako promatrati kao identične te da među njima postoje ozbiljne razlike.

Od tri osnovne ikonografije evidentirane na lucernama najviše se razlikuje ona kojoj nedostaje idol – ona s palmom – pa nije iznenađujuće da je upravo za nju već pretpostavljeno drugačije čitanje.

#### Grupa C

E. Franchi, kada govori o varijanti s palmom,<sup>26</sup> čija je ikonografija u njoj poznatoj literaturi interpretirana kao tri židovska mladića pred Nabukodonozorom, pretpostavlja da oni zapravo vrlo vjerojatno predstavljaju jednu drugu starozavjetnu scenu: Abrahamovo gostoprimstvo i tri anđela. Autorica je, iako dosta suzdržano, primijetila kako je osnovna postavka obiju scena slična: tri uspravne figure na desnoj strani, stablo/palma (na poziciji kolone s idolom na vrhu) i jedna figura na lijevoj strani.<sup>27</sup>

area of what was Gaul. However, in this case the iconography probably unifies two scenes: the three mystical beings and Abraham sacrificing Isaac (Fig. 19).<sup>22</sup>

Possibly, the scene adorned the Church of Saint Ambrose in Milan, as suggested by a preserved insert, while the account of the poet Prudentius also suggests the existence of this iconography in a basilica in Zaragoza.<sup>23</sup> The significance of this biblical event for the Christian community is maybe best illustrated by the fact that the Emperor Constantine the Great erected a basilica on the spot that the local community believed to be Mamre in Hebron.<sup>24</sup>

#### ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF LAMP, INV. NO. FC 942: AN ISSUE

It has been assumed that the iconography of the *lucerna* from Split represents the three youths and Nebuchadnezzar due to the numerous analogies that exist.<sup>25</sup> However, it is central to this paper that, as already mentioned on several occasions, these analogies are by no means identical, and that there are several differences between them.

Of the three basic iconographies identified on *lucernae*, the one missing the idol, i.e. the one with the palm, stands out most. It is therefore not surprising that there are different interpretations of it.

#### Group C

E. Franchi, talking about the variant with the palm,<sup>26</sup> whose iconography she is familiar with from the literature as the three Jewish youths before Nebuchadnezzar, believes that it probably represents another Old Testament scene: Abraham's hospitality and the three angels. The author, although rather restrained, notices that the main setting of both scenes is similar: three upright figures on the right-hand side, a tree/palm (in place of the column with an idol on top), and a figure on the left-hand side.<sup>27</sup>

23 Vidi kod M. PERRYMOND, 1989, 552.

24 *Eus., Vita Const.*, 3, 51-53 (PG 20, 1112-1115), vidi kod M. PERRYMOND, 1989, 550, bilješka 3.

25 V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 305; E. FRANCHI, 1992: na tablama XC1, fig. 42, LXXXVIII, fig. 30, a vrlo slične navodi na tabli LXXXVIII, fig. 29 te donosi literaturu u bilješci 85.

26 Vidi kod Franchi bilješku 105: J. W. HAYES, 1980, 138-139, n. 556; njima bi valjalo pridodati još nekoliko primjera koji su objavljeni na različitim neprofesionalnim stranicama na internetu te primjere objavljene kod C. Carlettija u katalogu: C. CARLETTI, 1975, 149-157 te C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 141, broj 222.

27 E. FRANCHI, 1993, 123, bilješka 105.

22 J. WILPERT, 1903, tav. CLXXXII; J. P. CAILLET, H. N. LOOSE, 1990, Fig. 104; M. PERRYMOND, 2000, 303.

23 See M. PERRYMOND, 1989, 552.

24 *Eus., Vita Const.*, 3, 51-53 (PG 20, 1112-1115), see M. PERRYMOND, 1989, 550, note 3.

25 V. BUBIĆ, 2011, 305; E. FRANCHI, 1992: in tables XC1, Fig. 42 and LXXXVIII, Fig. 30. Similar ones are also mentioned in table LXXXVIII, Fig. 29. The bibliography is mentioned in note 85.

26 See Franchi, note 105: J. W. HAYES, 1980, 138-139, note 556; several more examples should be added to these, published on various non-professional web pages, as well as examples published in C. Carletti's catalogue: C. CARLETTI, 1975, 149-157, and C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 141, number 222.

27 E. FRANCHI, 1993, 123, note 105.

Kad pogledamo sve poznate primjere ove scene (vidi slike 15 – 19), ovakav zaključak E. Franchi uopće ne iznenađuje. Zapravo više iznenađuje njezin „sramežljiv“ pristup i nedostatak detaljnijih objašnjenja jer ne radi se o izoliranom mišljenju. Naime, u katalogu u kojem su objavljene starokršćanske svjetiljke iz fonda Nacionalne biblioteke u Parizu objavljena je i lucerna koja bi po svim obilježjima sigurno spadala u grupu C. Autorice kataloga su kod njezina opisa jasno napisale da ne znaju radi li se o tri židovska mladića pred Nabukodonozorom ili Abrahamu i tri posjetitelja.<sup>28</sup> U tekstu odmah nakon kratkog opisa nešto više raspravljaju o ovoj problematici te se pozivaju na rad F. Bejaouija koji smatra da ova varijanta s palmom sigurno predstavlja Abrahama te kaže da je cijeli ikonografski odnos likova najsličniji prikazu na fresci iz *via Latine*.<sup>29</sup>

Dakle, nije nepoznanica da se za grupu s palmom u literaturi pojavljuju mogućnosti drugačije interpretacije, što je i očekivano jer zbog prisutnosti palme i nedostatka idola izlazi iz kanona ikonografije trojice mladića pred Nabukodonozorom te upravo ta karakteristika najviše upućuje da bi se moglo raditi o Abrahamu i tri bića. Međutim, osim nje ima i nekih drugih osobitosti koje idu tome u prilog.

U prvom redu, kako je već ranije i uočeno,<sup>30</sup> nelogičnim se čini nedostatak frigijskih kapa kod mladića. Tri židovska mladića u peći (*vivicomburium*) spadaju u red najčešćih starokršćanskih scena i pojavljuju se na katakombama, sarkofazima, bazilikama i raznim predmetima iz kategorije *artes minores*. Gotovo su uvijek prikazani s frigijskim kapama. U tom kontekstu još nelogičnijom mi se čini da sva tri mladića (kad su bez kape) imaju oko glave nimbuse, isto kao i krajnji lijevi lik koji sjedi (interpretiran kao Nabukodonozor). Ako bi se za židovske mladiće i dala objasniti prisutnost nimbusa širenjem kulta i popularnošću Azarje, Hananije i Mišaela kroz 5. i 6. stoljeće<sup>31</sup> (iako je to u starokršćanskoj ikonografiji gotovo nepostojeće), kako objasniti prisutnost nimbusa kod Nabukodonozora? Carletti je, kao što je to već ukratko navedeno u ovome tekstu, prisutnost nimbusa oko glave vla-

When we take a look at all the known examples of this scene (see figs 15-19), such a conclusion by E. Franchi is generally not surprising. In fact, her somewhat tentative approach and the absence of detailed explanations, is more surprising, as this is not an isolated opinion. A *lucerna* was published in a catalogue with Early Christian lamps from the holdings of the Paris National Library. In terms of all its characteristics, it certainly belongs to group C. In their description, the authors of the catalogue clearly state that they did not know whether the scene represented the three Jewish youths before Nebuchadnezzar or Abraham and the three visitors.<sup>28</sup> In their paper, immediately after a short description, they discuss the issue rather extensively, quoting the work of F. Bejaoui, who believed that the variant with the palm certainly represented Abraham, stating that the entire iconographical relationship between the figures was closest to the representation in a fresco from the *Via Latina*.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, it is not unknown in the literature for there to be different interpretations of the group with the palm, which is not surprising, as the presence of the palm and the absence of the idol stands out in the canon of the iconography of the three youths before Nebuchadnezzar, and it is precisely this feature which strongly suggests that it could be Abraham and the three beings. However, there are also certain other particularities supporting this thesis.

In the first place, as already noticed,<sup>30</sup> the absence of Phrygian caps on the youths seems illogical. The scene of the three Jewish youths in a furnace (*vivicomburium*) is one of the most common Early Christian scenes and appears in catacombs, sarcophagi, basilicas and different objects belonging to the category of *artes minores*. The youths are almost always represented with Phrygian caps. In this context, it seems even less logical that all three youths (when not wearing caps) would have nimbuses around their heads, and so would the leftmost seated figure (interpreted as Nebuchadnezzar). If the presence of nimbuses above the Jewish youths were to be explained by the cult and popularity of Azariah, Hananiah and Mishael throughout the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup> (although in Early Christian iconography it is almost non-existent), how can the presence of a nim-

28 C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 141, broj 222.

29 Vidi kod C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142, bilješka 140; citiraju rad F. Bejaoui, *Recherches sur la céramique africaine à décor chrétien*, thèse dactylographiée, Univ. Paris IV – Sorbonne, 1982.

30 Vidi kod C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142.

31 Detaljnije o tome vidi kod C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91-93.

28 See C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 141, No.222.

29 See C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142, note 140, quoting the work by F. Bejaoui, *Recherches sur la céramique africaine à décor chrétien*, thèse dactylographiée, Univ. Paris IV – Sorbonne, 1982.

30 See C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142.

31 For more, see C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91-93.

dara objasnio činjenicom da je nimbus kao simbol vlasti česta pojava na prikazima vladara od druge polovice 4. stoljeća. Kao primjere navodi prikaz Konstansa II., Teodozija, Valentinijana II. i Arkadija, Honorija, Justinijana i Heroda.<sup>32</sup> Dakle, svi su osim Heroda kršćanski vladari.

Isto tako važno je naglasiti kako je ikonografija malih predmeta vrlo često refleksija ikonografskih programa monumentalnijih spomenika: bazilika, katakombi, sarkofaga,<sup>33</sup> a tri židovska mladića s nimbusom i Nabukodonozor s nimbusom nisu nigdje zabilježeni. To bi zapravo opet bila iznimka koja se javlja isključivo na afričkim svjetiljkama.

Pojava nimbusa više bi išla u prilog tome da se radi o Abrahamu i tri tajanstvena posjetitelja, kako je već ranije primijećeno,<sup>34</sup> jer na dva najdominantnija primjera, onom iz Sv. Marije Velike i onom iz Sv. Vitala, tri anđeoske figure imaju naglašene nimbuse.

U prilog Abrahamu išao bi i biblijski tekst jer ako se doslovno „preslikao“ u ikonografiju, nikako nije za odbaciti i podatak da se Abrahamu Jahve ukazao kod hrasta Mamre dok je sjedio na ulazu u šator gdje je podigavši oči ugledao tri lika, dakle baš kako je prikazano na ikonografiji svjetiljki.

Na temelju poznatih primjera vidno je i to da je susret Abrahama i tri tajanstvena gosta scena koja se razvila nešto kasnije u kršćanskoj ikonografiji, od polovice 4. stoljeća pa dalje. Lucerna iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu spada u grupu Hayes II A koje datiraju u razdoblje između 420. i 500. godine.

#### Grupa B

U poznatoj literaturi, kada se govori o ikonografiji s palmom, ne raspravlja se o primjerima na kojima se nalazi gotovo identična scena, ali s tom razlikom da se umjesto čuperaste krošnje palme na vrhu debla nalazi bista muške figure. Ova ikonografska inačica s idolom umjesto krošnjom palme definira se kao scena tri židovska mladića pred Nabukodonozorom bez ikakve rasprave. Međutim, grupa B i C previše su slične da bi se to zane-marilo (pogotovo zato jer naša svjetiljka spada u skupinu B).

bus above Nebuchadnezzar be explained? As already briefly mentioned in this paper, Carletti explains the presence of the nimbus around the ruler's head by the fact that the nimbus as a symbol of power frequently occurred in representations of rulers from the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards. As examples, he mentions depictions of Constantius II, Theodosius, Valentinian II, Arcadius, Honorius, Justinian and Herod.<sup>32</sup> All of these rulers, apart from Herod, were Christian.

It is as important to point out that the iconography of small artefacts is very frequently a reflection of the iconography of large monuments: basilicas, catacombs, sarcophagi.<sup>33</sup> However, the three Jewish youths with nimbuses and Nebuchadnezzar with a nimbus have not been recorded on such monuments. Thus, it would be an exception for them to appear exclusively on African lamps.

The occurrence of nimbuses would rather speak in favour of Abraham and the three mystical visitors, as noticed earlier,<sup>34</sup> as in the two strongest examples, those of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Vitale, the three angel figures have accentuated nimbuses.

The biblical text is also in favour of the Abraham interpretation, as if it was to be literally reflected in iconography, then it would not be omitted that the Lord appeared to Abraham near the oak tree of Mamre while he was sitting at the entrance to his tent, and that he looked up and saw three figures, which is exactly what is represented in the iconography on the lamps.

Based on known examples, it is also clear that the encounter of Abraham and the three mystical visitors is a scene that developed somewhat later in Christian iconography, i.e. from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The *lucerna* from the Archaeological Museum in Split belongs to the Hayes II A group, and dates to the period between AD 420 and 500.

#### Group B

No known literature on the iconography with the palm mentions examples of artefacts with an almost identical scene but with the bust of a male figure in place of the crown of the palm tree. Such an iconographical variant with an idol instead of a palm tree crown is, as a rule, defined as the scene of the three Jewish youths before Nebuchadnezzar. However, groups B and C are too similar for this to be ignored (particularly as our lamp belongs to group B).

32 Za točne navode predmeta na kojima se navodi ikonografija nabrojanih vladara vidi kod C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

33 O tome vidi kod F. BISCONTI, 2000, 1633-1658.

34 Vidi kod C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142.

32 For a precise list of objects with the iconography of the mentioned rulers, see C. CARLETTI, 1975, 91.

33 For more, see F. BISCONTI, 2000, 1633-1658.

34 See C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, 142.

U prvom redu važan je podatak da kod obje skupine svi protagonisti imaju nimbuse i uvijek im nedostaje četvrti lik prisutan isključivo kod grupe A (interpretiran kao vojnik). Bista idola dosta je drugačija od one kod grupe A: nije joj izrazito naglašena frigijska kapa i nema lice koje sličići licu kralja (što je kod većine poznatih primjera ove ikonografije u drugim kontekstima zapravo pravilo, vrlo dobro aplicirano na grupu A na svjetiljkama).

Tim tragom važno je primijetiti i stup na kojem se nalazi bista idola kod grupe B. Na salonitanskoj svjetiljci stup s bistom zapravo više podsjeća na deblo palme i početak krošnje. Kao da je netko krenuo napraviti stablo/palmu te umjesto krošnje dodao bistu idola. Kod većine poznatih primjera grupe koju je Carletti nazvao grupom A stup ima bazu, kaneliran je i nema sumnje da se radi o stupu.

Dakle, očito je da interpretacija nije ni jednostavna ni jednosmjerna. Zapravo je jako teško zauzeti siguran stav jer je mogućnosti više. Tako se može pretpostaviti da se možda željelo prikazati trenutak koji se nadovezuje na „odbijanje“, odnosno da se radi o trenutku nakon što se Nabukodonozor obratio vidjevši da su mladići ostali netaknuti u užarenoj peći, a čiji tekst možemo naći kod Dn 3, 95. Ovu je vjerojatnost već spomenuo C. Carletti, ali ne za grupu B, već za grupu C prilikom objašnjenja prisutnosti palme na mjestu idola.<sup>35</sup> U tom bi se slučaju prisutnost nimbusa kod svih protagonista učinila puno prihvatljivijom, iako nije zabilježena u starokršćanskoj ikonografiji.

Druga mogućnost je da se i u ovom slučaju, kao i kod grupe C, radi o sceni Abrahama i tri tajanstvena posjetitelja.

#### *Zašto idol kod B?*

Međutim, ako prihvatimo mogućnost da su grupe B i C ukrašene prizorom Abrahama i tri anđela, imamo jednu veliku dilemu: što bi radio idol u ovoj sceni kod grupe B?

Ovo je svakako najzanimljiviji dio pokušaja objašnjenja ove ikonografije. Najlogičnije objašnjenje je indirektno dala upravo E. Franchi u svom članku o matricama za izradu svjetiljki iz Arheološkog muzeja u Milanu. Naime, autorica se u tom radu dosta pozabavila tehnikom izrade

In the first place, it is important that in both groups all the protagonists have nimbuses, while the fourth figure, present only in group A (and interpreted as a soldier), is always missing. The idol bust is rather different from that in group A: it neither has an extraordinarily accentuated Phrygian cap and nor is its face similar to the king's face (which is a rule in most known examples of this iconography in other contexts, and clearly applied to lamps of group A).

In this context, it is also important to carefully examine the pillar with the idol bust in group B. On the Salonitan lamp, the pillar with the bust is actually more reminiscent of a palm tree trunk and the beginning of a tree crown, as if someone had started making a tree/palm, but then instead of a tree crown had added an idol's bust. In most known examples of the group which Carletti classified as group A, the pillar has a base, it is cannelured, and there is no doubt whatsoever that it is a pillar.

Thus, obviously the interpretation is neither simple nor uniform. In fact, it is very hard to adopt a firm position, because there are several possibilities. It can be assumed that perhaps the artist wanted to illustrate the moment following the “denial”, i.e. the moment following Nebuchadnezzar's conversion after he had seen that the youths remained intact in the blazing furnace, an account of which can be found in Daniel 3:95. This probability has already been mentioned by C. Carletti, however not with regard to group B but to group C in his explanation of the presence of a palm tree in place of the idol.<sup>35</sup> In that case, the presence of nimbuses around all the protagonists might seem much more acceptable, although not recorded in Early Christian iconography.

Another possibility is that in this case, as in group C, it is a scene of Abraham and the three mystical visitors.

#### *Why an Idol in B?*

However, if we accept the possibility that groups B and C are decorated with the scene of Abraham and the three angels, we are confronted with a great dilemma: What would an idol be doing in this scene in group B?

This is certainly the most interesting part of the attempt to explain this iconography. The most logical explanation has been indirectly given by E. Franchi herself in her paper on moulds for the production of lamps from the Archaeological Museum in Milan. Namely, in her paper the author extensively deals with the production technique of Late Antique lamps.

35 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93-95.

35 C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93-95.

kasnoantičkih svjetiljki. Za njihovu izradu najvažnije su matrice, a za izradu matrica potrebni su prototipovi koji su se radili ručno, a mogli su biti od bilo kojega solidnog materijala (drva, kamena, metala ili već pečene gline), tako da su se izrađivale dvije matrice: za gornji dio i za donji dio svjetiljke. Ključan trenutak je trenutak izrade prototipova: za različite prototipove koriste se isti žigovi koji svrstani u različite nizove daju bezbroj novih kombinacija za matrice. Dakle, prilikom izrade prototipa za matricu se međusobno kombiniraju dekoracije manjih žigova.<sup>36</sup>

Franchi primjećuje kombinacije kod geometrijskih motiva na ramenima svjetiljki, ništa ne govori o kombinacijama na središnjem disku, iako izričito kaže kako bi bilo potrebno istraživanja usmjeriti prema potrazi kombinacija žigova na disku s onima na ramenu svjetiljki.<sup>37</sup>

A upravo u tome bi mogao biti ključ za čitanje ikonografije kako ove salonitanske svjetiljke tako i svih drugih s identičnom tematikom. Postoji mogućnost da je prilikom kombiniranja pojedinačnih žigova za izradu matrice jedne nove teme – Abrahama s tri anđela – netko radi velike sličnosti ove dvije scene jednostavno pogriješio i na mjesto krošnje stabla Mamre umjesto palme utisnuo bistu muškarca s frigijskom kapom (pojedinačnim žigom). Čak je i C. Carletti kad je nastojao objasniti pojavu palme na mjestu predviđenom za idola (razliku između njegovih grupa B i C) rekao da se možda radi o hiru lončara.<sup>38</sup> Jednom tako napravljen kalup omogućio bi višestruku izradu svjetiljki s identičnom ikonografijom, a i vrlo bi lako mogao poslužiti kao uzor za izradu novog modela. Franchi u svom članku donosi fotografiju svjetiljke gotovo identične našoj salonitanskoj. Zapravo se razlikuju jedino u rasporedu rupica na disku, što i nije toliko važno jer raspored rupica ništa ne govori; one su se radile zadnje, nakon što se proizvod vadi iz kalupa.<sup>39</sup> O korištenju različitih pojedinačnih žigova indirektno svjedoči i

The moulds were the most important factor in their production. To produce moulds, prototypes were necessary, which were made by hand. These could be of any solid material (wood, stone, metal or fired clay). Two moulds were produced: one for the upper part of the lamp and the other for the lower part. The key moment is the production of the prototypes. For different prototypes, the same stamps were used in different combinations, which resulted in countless new mould combinations. Thus, during the production of the mould prototypes, the decorations of small stamps were combined.<sup>36</sup>

Franchi notices the combinations of geometrical motifs on the lamp shoulders, but makes no mention of the combinations on the central disc, although she expressly states that it is necessary to direct research at comparing the stamp combinations on the disc with those on the shoulder of the lamps.<sup>37</sup>

This might offer the key for reading the iconography not only of this Salonitan lamp, but also all others with an identical theme. It is possible that when combining individual stamps in the mould production for a new theme (that of Abraham with three angels) someone, due to the great similarity between the two scenes, simply made a mistake and in place of the crown of the tree of Mamre stamped the bust of a man with a Phrygian cap (with a single stamp). Even C. Carletti, when trying to explain the occurrence of a palm in place of the idol (which constitutes the difference between his groups B and C) says that this was possibly a caprice of the potter.<sup>38</sup> Once made, such a mould would enable the multiple production of lamps with an identical iconography, and could easily have served as a source for the production of new models. In her paper, Franchi publishes a photo of a lamp that is almost identical to our lamp from Salona. In fact, it differs only in the arrangement of the hole on the disc, which is not so important because the arrangement of holes bears no important information; they were produced last, after having taken the product out of the mould.<sup>39</sup> The palm in group C also indirectly confirms the use of different individual stamps. Artisans used the stamps they had, imprinting a palm tree in place of an oak tree, i.e. using what they had at their disposal, and what was most similar to the needs of the iconography. In-

36 Autorica je to jako dobro prikazala u svom članku na tabli XCIV ili tabli LXXXV; o proizvodnji sjevernoafričkih lampi vidi i kod J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 9-13.

37 Sve navedeno kod E. FRANCHI, 1992, 116.

38 Kaže: „si potrebbe pensare al capriccio di un figulino“, C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93.

39 O tijeku proizvodnje E. FRANCHI, 1992, 107-110; J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 9-13.

36 The author illustrates this very well in her paper in tables XCIV and LXXXV; on the production of North African lamps, see also J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 9-13.

37 For everything mentioned here, see E. FRANCHI, 1992, 116.

38 “Si potrebbe pensare al capriccio di un figulino”, C. CARLETTI, 1975, 93.

39 On the production process, see E. FRANCHI, 1992, 107-110; J. VUČIĆ, 2009, 9-13.

palma kod grupe C. Vrlo je vjerojatno da majstor koristi pečate koje ima te na mjestu predviđenom za hrast utiskuje palmu, odnosno ono što ima na raspolaganju, a najbližije je potrebama ove ikonografije. Pojedinačne palme jedne su od najčešćih tema kasnoantičkih afričkih lucerni (dovoljno je prelistati kataloge svjetiljki kako bismo se u to uvjerali).

Da su se takve kombinacije zaista događale, najbolje ilustrira ikonografija svjetiljke dekorirane prikazom Krista pokraj kojeg stoje dva anđela i ikonografija svjetiljke s prikazom Danijela među lavovima kojem s gornje lijeve strane stoji anđeo u letu (Sl. 20 i 21). Naime, kad se uspoređi anđeo prikazan na svjetiljci s Kristom s anđelom prikazanim na svjetiljci s Danijelom među lavovima, možemo primijetiti da su identični (Sl. 20 i 21), dok im je ikonografija u temelju potpuno različita. Ono što se samo po sebi nameće kao zaključak jest da su vjerojatno prilikom izrade prototipa koristili isti žig za anđela, a rezultat je formiranja dvije različite matrice s dva različita kršćanska prizora. A slično se možda dogodilo i s našom ikonografijom.

Dakle, moglo bi se raditi o slučajnosti, a pogreške ovoga tipa samo bi mogle potvrditi pragmatičnost, ali i neupućenost onih koji izrađuju. Majstori su mogli biti izvrsni tehničari, ali nisu nužno morali poznavati sadržaje i poruke tema čije ikonografije utiskuju na diskove svjetiljki. Proizvodnja ovih svjetiljki bila je masovna i trebalo je iskoristiti sve što stoji na raspolaganju (to može lako potvrditi svatko tko je imao iskustva u proizvodnji). Poznajući sve procese izrade, možemo vrlo lako pomisliti kako je nekoga u prvoj fazi izrade prototipa scena s Abrahamom, palmom i tri anđela mogla posjetiti na puno češću scenu Nabukodonozora i tri židovska mladića, te je na mjesto čuperaste krošnje palme dodao ono što je mislio da nedostaje: idola.

## UMJESTO ZAKLJUČKA

Keramičke afričke svjetiljke su male i „pokretne“ pa samim time ne iznenađuje želja za plasiranjem snažnih kršćanskih scena upravo na njima, dostupnima svima. One su distribuirane u sve prostore nekadašnjeg carstva i bile su sveprisutne. Međutim, za većinu, kao i za ovu našu splitsku, kontekst nalaza ostaje nepoznanicom što je više-manje posljedica povijesnog trenutka njihova pronalaska.

Individual palms are among the most frequent themes of Late Antique African *lucernae* (it is enough to browse through the catalogues of lamps to prove this).

That such combinations really happened is best illustrated by the iconography of a lamp decorated with a representation of Christ with two angels standing next to him, and the iconography of a lamp with a representation of Daniel among the lions with a flying angel in the upper-left part (Figs. 20 and 21). Namely, if we compare the angel represented on the lamp with Christ with the angel represented on the lamp with Daniel among the lions, we can notice that they are identical (Figs. 20 and 21), although their iconography is completely different. The conclusion that suggests itself is that probably during the production of the prototype, the same stamp was used for the angels, and as a result two different moulds were formed with two different Christian scenes. Something similar may have happened with our iconography.

Thus, it may have been a coincidence. Mistakes of this sort might only confirm the pragmatism of the makers, but also a lack of knowledge. The craftsmen may have been excellent in terms of their technique, but they were not necessarily familiar with the content and messages of the themes whose iconography they imprinted on the discs of the lamps. There was mass production of these lamps, and everything that was available needed to be used (which can easily be confirmed by anyone with experience in production). Bearing in mind all the steps in the production process, we might easily think that for a craftsman in the first phase of the production of a prototype for the scene with Abraham, a palm and the three angels may have recalled the much more frequent scene of Nebuchadnezzar and the three Jewish youths. Thus, in place of the tufty palm tree crown, he may have added what he thought was missing: an idol.

## INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

African ceramic lamps are small and portable. Therefore, the desire to place powerful and widely available Christian scenes on them is not surprising. They were distributed to all parts of the former Empire and were omnipresent. However, with most lamps, including that from Split Museum, the find context remains unknown, which is a consequence of the historical moment of their unearthing.

However, regardless of this obvious deficit, even such finds lacking context can be a source of countless conclusions as part of a context of ideas. If individual vessels are analysed only as a passive reflection of the

No, bez obzira na ovaj očigledan nedostatak, i takve „beskontekstualne“, kao dio „konteksta ideja“ svoga vremena, mogu biti izvor mnogobrojnih zaključaka. Ako pojedinačne posude ispitujemo samo kao pasivan odraz socijalno-kulturnog sistema, zanemarujemo ulogu pojedinca koji je svaku posudu napravio, dao joj oblik i ukrasio je,<sup>40</sup> a ovdje bi upravo uloga tog „anonimusa“ mogla biti ključna.

Možemo još raspravljati o tome je li moguće da je idol namjerno postavljen na mjesto palme, odnosno jesu li možda majstori u radionici željeli dvije tematski potpuno različite, ali ikonografski jako slične scene, ujediniti u jednu. Budući da su to mali predmeti, bi li majstorima možda radi praktičnosti odgovaralo spajanje više scena u jednu?

No, bez obzira na to je li netko imao takvu namjeru ili nije, činjenica je da danas, tisuću i pol godina nakon što je svjetiljka izrađena, imamo ikonografiju koja se može čitati različito. Stoga bi zaključak, držeći se i dalje Carlettijeve podjele, mogao voditi u sljedećem pravcu: Carlettijeva grupa A bila bi scena Nabukodonozora, tri mladića, još jednog lika i idola, Carlettijeva grupa C vjerojatno je scena Abrahama i tri anđeoske figure, dok bi grupa B, u koju spada i svjetiljka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, bila kombinacije ove dvije!

Starokršćanska ikonografija spada u red tradicionalnih tema kojima se bavi starokršćanska arheologija. Cilj nije bio nabranjanje svih poznatih predmeta i njihovo katalogiziranje, već se na temelju dostupne literature željelo pokazati kako čitanje ikonografije nije uvijek jednostavno te i da kod scena za koje se mislilo da su „ikonografski definirane“ ima prostora za „novo“.

## POSVETA

Rad posvećujem dragom profesoru Zdenku Brusiću koji mi nije predavao, ali je uvelike utjecao na moj znanstveni put. Puno toga o čemu ću u buduću pisati proizlazi iz naših razgovora, njegovih sugestija i upoznavanja s konkretnim lokalitetima za koje ne bih znala da nije bilo njega. Profesor Z. Brusić možda se najmanje bavio starokršćanskom ikonografijom, no u duhu naših druženja želim mu posvetiti nešto što me trenutno zainteresiralo i o čemu bi on sigurno vrlo rado raspravljao.

social-cultural system, we neglect the role of the individual who produced the individual vessels, giving them shape and decorating them.<sup>40</sup> In this case, it is precisely the role of this anonymous person that might be crucial.

We can further discuss whether it is possible that the idol was intentionally used instead of a palm, i.e. whether the craftsmen in the workshop wanted to unify two scenes which were completely different in terms of their theme but very similar in terms of their iconography. Since these are small artefacts, possibly it was more convenient for the craftsmen for practical reasons to combine the scenes.

However, regardless of whether someone had such intentions or not, the fact is that at present, a thousand and a half years after the production of the lamp, we have an iconography that can be interpreted differently. Therefore, if we stick to Carletti's classification, the conclusion might lead in the following direction: Carletti's group A would be the scene of Nebuchadnezzar, the three youths, another figure and the idol; Carletti's group C is probably the scene of Abraham and the three angel figures; group B, to which the lamp from the Archaeological Museum in Split also belongs, would be a combination of the first two!

Early Christian iconography belongs to a series of topics which are the subject of Early Christian archaeology. The aim of this paper was not to list and catalogue all the known artefacts but rather to demonstrate, based on the available literature, that interpreting iconography is not always a simple matter, and that even scenes which were believed to be defined in terms of their iconography contain room for new interpretations.

## DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to Professor Zdenko Brusić, who was not my professor but who exerted a major influence on my academic path. A large part of what I will write about in the future is a result of our conversations, his suggestions and him introducing me to sites which I would not have known about if it were not for him. Professor Brusić may have dealt less with Early Christian iconography, but in the spirit of our socialising, I would like to dedicate to him something that currently intrigues me and which he would certainly have very actively discussed.

Translation: Nina Matetić Pelikan (Etnotrend d. o. o.)

Proof-reading: Stephen Hindlaugh

40 I. HODDER, S. HUTSON, 2002, 7-8.

40 J. HODDER, S. HUTSON, 2002, 7-8.

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- <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gibba77/6256285889>
- [http://www.diocesi.catania.it/userfiles2/scolastico/file/Religione%20e%20Arte\\_02-3.pdf](http://www.diocesi.catania.it/userfiles2/scolastico/file/Religione%20e%20Arte_02-3.pdf)



Sl. 1. / FIG. 1.

Sjevernoafrička svjetiljka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu inv. br. 942 (fotografija iz arhiva Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu).

*North African lamp from the Archaeological Museum in Split, Inv. No. 942 (photo from the archives of the Archaeological Museum in Split).*



Sl. 2. / FIG. 2.

Sjevernoafrička svjetiljka iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu inv. br. 942 (foto: J. Baraka Perica), detalj.

*North African lamp from the Archaeological Museum in Split, Inv. No. 942 (photo by J. Baraka Perica), detail.*



Sl. 3. / FIG. 3.  
Shematski prikaz sjevernoafričke lampe iz tzv. grupe A (izradio Z. Bakić na temelju poznatih primjera).  
*Schematic representation of a North African lamp from so-called group A (made by Z. Bakić based on known examples).*



Sl. 4. / FIG. 4.  
Shematski prikaz sjevernoafričke lampe iz tzv. grupe B (izradio Z. Bakić na temelju poznatih primjera).  
*Schematic representation of a North African lamp from so-called group B (made by Z. Bakić based on known examples).*



Sl. 5. / FIG. 5.  
Shematski prikaz sjevernoafričke lampe iz tzv. grupe C (izradio Z. Bakić na temelju poznatih primjera).  
*Schematic representation of a North African lamp from so-called group C (made by Z. Bakić based on known examples).*



Sl. 6. / FIG. 6.

Scena *vivicomburium* u katakombi Priscile (F. BISCONTI, 2000, fig. 17).

*The vivicomburium scene in the Catacomb of Priscilla (F. BISCONTI, 2000, Fig. 17).*



Sl. 7. / FIG. 7.

*Vivicomburium* na starokršćanskoj lampi, mladići u pratnji anđela (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, tav. 17, 118).

*The vivicomburium on an Early Christian lamp, the youths accompanied by an angel (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, tav. 17, 118).*



Sl. 8. / FIG. 8.

Freska u katakombi Marka i Marcelina (C. CARLETTI, 1975, fig. 34, 74).

*A fresco in the Catacomb of Marcus and Marcellinus (C. CARLETTI, 1975, Figs. 34, 74).*



Sl. 9. / FIG. 9.

Verona, hipogej S. Maria in Stelle (C. CARLETTI, 1975, fig. 36, 75).

*Verona, hypogeum of Santa Maria in Stelle (C. CARLETTI, 1975, Figs. 36, 75).*



Sl. 10. / FIG. 10.

Sarkofag iz Arlesa (C. CARLETTI, 1975, fig. 42, 84).

*Sarcophagus from Arles (C. CARLETTI, 1975, Figs. 42, 84).*



SL. 11. / FIG. 11.

Sarkofag Adelfije, Museo Archeologico, Siracusa (detalj, <http://www.diocesi.catania.it/userfiles2/>; 18. 11. 2015.).

*Sarcophagus of Adelfia, Museo Archeologico, Siracusa (detail, <http://www.diocesi.catania.it/userfiles2/>; 18/11/2015).*



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SL. 12. / FIG. 12.

Crtež lucerne s prikazom grupe A (M. BARBERA, R. PETRIAGGI, 1994, Tav. 30, crtež 502).

*Drawing of a lucerna with a representation of group A (M. BARBERA, R. PETRIAGGI, 1994, tav. 30, drawing 502).*



SL. 13. / FIG. 13.

Sarkofag Bovile Ernica (<http://nuke.multimedididattica.it/Portals/>; 18. 11. 2015).

*Sarcophagus from Bovile Ernica (<http://nuke.multimedididattica.it/Portals/>; 18/11/2015).*



SL. 14. / FIG. 14.

Katakomba San Sebastiano (G. BOVINI, H. BRANDEMBURG, W. DEICHMANN, 1967, taf. 64, 338).

*Catacomb of San Sebastiano (G. BOVINI, H. BRANDEMBURG, W. DEICHMANN, 1967, Taf. 64, 338).*



Sl. 15. / FIG. 15.

Abraham i tri tajanstvena posjetitelja u hipogeju Dino Compagni (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, Tavola 3, 103).  
*Abraham and the three mystical visitors in the Dino Compagni hypogeum (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, tav. 3, 103).*



Sl. 16. / FIG. 16.

Abraham i tri tajanstvena posjetitelja u crkvi Santa Maria Maggiore (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, Tavola 19, 120).  
*Abraham and the three mystical visitors in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore (C. PROVERBIO, 2007, tav. 19, 120).*



Sl. 17. / FIG. 17.

Abraham i tri tajanstvena posjetitelja u crkvi San Vitale u Ravenni (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/gibba77/6256285889>; foto: G. Tortora; 18. 11. 2015.).  
*Abraham and the three mystical visitors in the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/gibba77/6256285889>; photo by G. Tortora; 18/11/2015).*



Sl. 18. / FIG. 18.

Lucerna iz grupe C (C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, Tav. XXXIII, br. 222).  
*Group C lucerna (C. TROST, M. C. HELLMANN, 1996, tav. XXXIII, No.222).*



Sl. 19. / FIG. 19.

Sarkofag iz Toulousea (J. P. CAILLET, H. N. LOOSE, 1990, fig. 104).

*Sarcophagus from Toulouse (J. P. CAILLET, H. N. LOOSE, 1990, Fig. 104).*



Sl. 20. / FIG. 20.

Svjetiljka s prikazom Krista kako gazi zmiju. Krist se nalazi između dva anđela (A. ENNABLI, 1976, br. 59).

*A lamp with a representation of Christ trampling a snake. Christ is located between two angels (A. ENNABLI, 1976, No. 59).*



Sl. 21. / FIG. 21.

Svjetiljka s prikazom Danijela među lavovima. Desno se nalazi Habakuk, a lijevo anđeo (A. ENNABLI, 1976, br. 32).

*A lamp with a representation of Daniel between the lions. Habakuk is to the right, an angel to the left (A. ENNABLI, 1976, No.32).*



Sl. 22. / FIG. 22.

Svjetiljka skoro identična salonitanskoj (objavljena kod A. ENNABLI, 1976, br. 30).

*A lamp almost identical to that from Salona (published in A. ENNABLI, 1976, No.30).*