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Reutilizacija antičkih sarkofaga i dvojica splitskih kanonika iz XV. i XVI. stoljeća

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U radu se objavljuju dva antička sarkofaga koje su reutilizirali splitski kanonici Ilija Babalić i Marinellus Ricius krajem XV. i početkom XVI. stoljeća. Babalićev se nalazio u arkosoliju na Peristilu, a Riciusov vjerojatno u prostoru oko katedrale. Kao svjedočanstvo o uporabi sarkofagâ i njihovom broju u prostoru oko katedrale objavljuje se i analizira dio vizitacije kanonika Ivana Manole iz 1704. godine. Dan je osvrt na sarkofag nadbiskupa Martina (X. st.) i na reutilizaciju još nekih antičkih sarkofaga. Također su izneseni novi podaci o sarkofagu don Frane Bulića.

Ključne riječi: antički sarkofazi, arkosoliji, reutilizacija, kanonici, Ilija Babalić, Marinellus Ricius, nadbiskup Martin, katedrala sv. Dujma, pokapanje, sarkofag Frane Bulića, Pavao Bilinić, Split, Salona

The reutilization of Roman-era Sarcophagi and two Canons of Split from the 15th and 16th Centuries

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Two Roman-era sarcophagi reused by the Split Canons Ilija Babalić and Marinellus Ricius at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries are published in this work. Babalić's sarcophagus was situated in the arcosolium at the Peristyle, while the sarcophagus of Ricius was probably inside the cathedral. A section of the visitation of Canon Ivan Manola from 1704 was analyzed as testimony to the use of the sarcophagi and their number in the area around the cathedral. The sarcophagus of Archbishop Martin (10th cent.) and the reutilization of some other sarcophagi are considered. Some new data on the sarcophagus of Fr. Frane Bulić are also presented.

Key words: Roman-era sarcophagi, arcosolia, reutilization, canons, Ilija Babalić, Marinellus Ricius, Archbishop Martin, Cathedral of St. Domnio, interment, sarcophagus of Frane Bulić, Pavao Bilinić, Split, Salona

Pokapanje u sarkofazima oduvijek je bilo skupo i zato dostupno samo bogatima i uglednima, a na području Splita ono se može pratiti od antike do XX. stoljeća.¹ Upravo zbog skupoće izrade, antički su sarkofazi često ponovno upotrebljavani² i nije čudo da ta pojava nije mimoišla ni Split. Brojni sarkofazi nalazili su se nadohvat ruke, kako u obližnjem Solinu tako u okolici grada, pa su odličnici posezali za njima i uz manje ili veće preinake koristili ih za svoje počivalište. Ta je praksa trajala do polovine XVI. st., kada prestaje. Vjerojatno su na to utjecali pad Solina u turske ruke, jer je prijenos sarkofaga u Split postao otežan, kao i pomanjkanje mjesta za njihovo postavljanje u stiješnjenim gradskim prostorima jer nisu postojala javna izvangradska groblja, već su se pokapanja obavljala u crkvama i oko njih.³

Pa ipak, uporaba sarkofaga nije potpuno prestala. Dio njih korišten je i za druge ukope pa je tako sarkofag nadbiskupa Ivana (X. st.) upotrijebljen kao zidana grobnica u podu crkve samostana sv. Klare.⁴ Isto je bilo i s jednim antičkim sarkofagom s natpisom,⁵ a Lovrin i Krescencijev sarkofag poslužili su za ukop kasnijih nadbiskupa.⁶ Neki antički sarkofazi bili su rabljeni kao kamenice za ulje,⁷ poput sarkofagâ Marije Helpis i Kasije Pomponile, koji su godine 1892. nađeni ukopani u pod kuće Smodlaka, odnosno Stock, u Bosanskoj ulici (tada *contrada Cambj*), a čuvaju se u Arheološkome muzeju (katalog A, br. 2338, 2339).⁸ Istu je namjenu imao sarkofag s natpisom *Arca*

Interment in sarcophagi was always expensive and only thus only available to the wealthy and distinguished. In the territory of Split, it can be followed from Antiquity to the twentieth century.¹ Precisely because they were so expensive to make, Roman-era sarcophagi were often reutilized,² and it comes as no surprise that this phenomenon did not bypass Split. Numerous sarcophagi were available, both in nearby Solin and in the city's surroundings, so dignitaries took possession of them and then used them, with major or minor modifications, for their own interment. This practice endured until the mid-sixteenth century, when it ceased. This was probably influenced by the fall of Solin into Ottoman hands, because the removal of sarcophagi to Split become more difficult, and there was a shortage of space for their installation in the city's cramped quarters, because there were no cemeteries outside of the city, rather burials were conducted in and around churches.³

Even so, the use of sarcophagi did not cease entirely. Some of them were used for other burials, so the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ivan (10th cent.) was used as a walled tomb in the church floor in the Convent of St. Clara.⁴ The same applied to a Roman-era sarcophagus with an inscription,⁵ while the sarcophagus of Lovre and Crescentius was used to inter later bishops.⁶ Some Roman-era sarcophagi were used as oil troughs,⁷ such as the sarcophagus of Maria Helpis and Cassia Pomponilla, which, in 1892, was found

1 Od zadnjih sarkofaga treba istaknuti onaj don Frane Bulića (izradio Pavao Bilinić), Ante Trumbića (izradio Ivan Meštrović) i sarkofag Lovre Katića (antički sarkofag). Cambi 1984, str. 89, 90 (Bulić), 88-90 (Katić); F[isković] C. 1939, str. 204 (Trumbić); Cambi 2003, str. 203-208 (Trumbić). O Bulićevu sarkofagu opširnije na kraju ovog rada.

2 Cambi 1984.

3 U doba francuske uprave pokušalo se osnovati groblje na Poljudu, ali bez uspjeha. (Duplančić 1992). Stalno groblje otvoreno je na Sustipanu 1826. godine. Kečkemet 1994, str. 45.

4 Gabričević 1967; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, str. 191, sl. 57 (u trenutku nalaza), 58, str. 209.

5 Marasović J., Marasović T. 1965, str. 35, sl. na str. 39; Gabričević 1967, str. 87; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, str. 191, sl. 57, 59.

6 Bulić 1882, str. 59, 60, 113; s obzirom na stanje očuvanosti tijela i ruha (str. 7-11, 14, 17) nije isključeno da je i u sarkofagu Ivana "Ravenjanina" bio naknadno pokopan neki drugi biskup. Duplančić 2007b, str. 230.

7 Prodaju sarkofaga kao kamenica za ulje opisao je Bulić 1914a, str. 111, bilj. 1; Duplančić 1986b, str. 321, 339.

8 Bulić 1892, str. 35, 36; Bulić 1897a, str. 54; Split 2007, str. 16, 17 – Maria Helpis (autor kataloške jedinice S. Ivčević); Cambi 2005, str. 121 – Cassia Pomponilla;

1 Among the last sarcophagi, those of Fr. Frane Bulić (made by Pavao Bilinić), Ante Trumbić (made by Ivan Meštrović) and Lovre Katić (Roman-era sarcophagus) are noteworthy. Cambi 1984, pp. 89, 90 (Bulić), 88-90 (Katić); F[isković] C. 1939, p. 204 (Trumbić); Cambi 2003, pp. 203-208 (Trumbić). More will be said about Bulić's sarcophagus at the end of this work.

2 Cambi 1984.

3 During the period of French administration, there was an attempt to establish a cemetery at Poljud, but without success (Duplančić 1992). A permanent cemetery was opened at Sustipan in 1826. Kečkemet 1994, p. 45.

4 Gabričević 1967; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, p. 191, Fig. 57 (at the moment of its discovery), 58, p. 209.

5 Marasović J., Marasović T. 1965, p. 35, Fig. On p. 39; Gabričević 1967, p. 87; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, p. 191, Fig. 57, 59.

6 Bulić 1882, pp. 59, 60, 113; given the state of preservation of the body and vestments (pp. 7-11, 14, 17), the possibility that another bishop was later interred in the sarcophagus of John "of Ravenna" cannot be discounted. Duplančić 2007b, p. 230.

7 The sale of sarcophagi as oil troughs was described by Bulić 1914a, p. 111, note 1; Duplančić 1986b, pp. 321, 339.

Valentine otkopan 1906. u podu kuće Jožević (A, br. 3528),⁹ zatim sarkofag Aurelija Glikona i Valencije, nađen u kući Zavoreo 1932. (A, br. 5938)¹⁰ i sarkofag s okomitim rebrima nađen godine 1952. u jednoj kući u Krešimirovoj ulici, koji je potom premješten u peripter katedrale.¹¹ Ulje se koristilo ne samo za prehranu nego i za rasvjetu, pa su kamenice za njegovo čuvanje bile potrebne i crkvama, koje su ga puno trošile za lampade, o čemu svjedoče i inventari bratovština iz godine 1811. u kojima su popisane.¹² Drugi su sarkofazi, osobito u XIX. st., poslužili kao korita za vodu, poput onih koji su se nalazili u dvorištu nekadašnjeg lazareta (poslije zatvora)¹³ i četiri sarkofaga kod bunara na

buried in the floor of the Smodlaka and Stock house in Bosanska street (then called *contrada Cambj*); it is now held in the Archaeological Museum (catalogue A, no. 2338, 2339).⁸ The same purpose was served by the sarcophagus bearing the inscription *Arca Valentine*, excavated in 1906 in the floor of the Jožević house (A, no. 3528),⁹ the sarcophagus of Aurelius Glycon and Valentia, found in the Zavoreo house in 1932 (A, no. 5938)¹⁰ and the sarcophagus with vertical ribs found in a house in Krešimirova street in 1952, which was then moved to the cathedral's peripter.¹¹ This oil was not only used for food, but also for lighting, so the stone troughs to hold it were also needed by churches, which used such oil for lamps, to which the inventory of a fraternity from 1811, in which they are listed, testifies.¹² Other sarcophagi, particularly those in the nineteenth century, were used as water troughs, such as those located in the courtyard of the former lazaretto (later a jail)¹³ and four sarcophagi at the well in

Cambi 2010, str. 109, br. 60, T. XXXVI. 1 – Maria Helpis, str. 108, br. 57, T. XXXIV. 1 – Cassia Pomponilla.

- 9 Bulić 1908a, str. 51, 52; Split 2007, str. 26, 27 (autor kataloške jedinice S. Ivčević).
- 10 Sarkofag je bio kraj katedrale i ondje ga je 1436. opisao Ciriak Ankonitanac (Ciriaco Pizzecolli), potom Jacob Spon i George Wheler 1675., a s istim smještajem naveo ga je 1753. i Francesco Antonio Zaccaria. Spon, Wheler 1678, str. 80; Cyriacus Anconitanus 1747, str. XXIII, br. 155; Zaccaria 1753, str. XXVI, br. XLVIII. Na temelju tih objava uvršten je u CIL III pod br. 2217. Nepoznate godine prenesen je u nedaleku kuću, gdje je otkriven u XX. stoljeću. (Duplančić 2007a, str. 184, 185.) On je još jedan primjer "izgubljenog pa nađenog". Usp. Demicheli 2009.
- 11 Duplančić 2007a, str. 185; Cambi 2005, str. 140, 141, sl. 210; Cambi 2010, str. 130, br. 164, T. XCV. 2.
- 12 Duplančić 2011b, str. 98.
- 13 Pederin 1985, str. 139 – carev putopis iz 1818.: *sarkofazi u Lazaretu koji uz česme služe za čuvanje vode*; Duplančić 2013, str. 219. Poklopac sarkofaga s natpisom iz lazareta (CIL III, br. 2326) ušao je u fond Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (dalje AMS) 1902. i inventariziran u katalogu natpisa A pod br. 3113, gdje je Bulić kao mjesto nalaza pogrešno upisao Salonu, a kao godinu nalaza 1820., očito zaveden informacijom da ga je tada objavio Anton Steinbüchel. Kao dio starog fonda ponovno je inventariziran oko 1990. pod br. 5944 i s njim je objavljen 2010. u korpusu salonitanskih natpisa. Petar Aleksandar Bogetić prepisao ga je već sredinom XVIII. st., ali bez podatka o mjestu nalaza, a po njemu ga je objavio Lanza. Sudeći po natpisima koje je Lanza preuzeo od Bogetića, očito je da Bogetić nije prepisivao natpise koji su se nalazili u Salonu, već samo one iz Splita. (Steinbüchel 1820, str. 23, br. 68; ispod teksta natpisa jasno je navedeno da je poklopac u lazaretu. Lanza 1848, str. 153, br. CLXXXVII.) Poklopac je bio u dijelu lazareta koji je bio između 1820. i 1826. preuređen za zatvore. (Duplančić 1988b, str. 72; Duplančić 1993-1994, str. 178, 179, bilj. 62.) Sukladno navedenom treba ispraviti tekst o njemu u *Salona* IV/1 2010, str. 566-567. Poklopac je bio smješten na uglu muzejske zgrade kraj istočnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače i tu je oštećen u noći u lipnju 1903., zbog čega je Bulić prosvjedovao kod Općinskog upraviteljstva. Prethodno je, u veljači iste godine, netko u dva navrata

8 Bulić 1892, pp. 35-36; Bulić 1897a, p. 54; Split 2007, pp. 16, 17 – Maria Helpis (catalogue entry by S. Ivčević); Cambi 2005, p. 121 – Cassia Pomponilla; Cambi 2010, pp. 109, no. 60, P. XXXVI. 1 – Maria Helpis, pp. 108, no. 57, P. XXXIV. 1 – Cassia Pomponilla.

9 Bulić 1908a, pp. 51, 52; Split 2007, pp. 26, 27 (catalogue entry by S. Ivčević).

10 The sarcophagus was next to the cathedral, where it was listed in 1436 by Cyriacus of Ancona (Ciriaco de'Pizziccolli), and then by Jacob Spon and George Wheler in 1675, and it was cited at the same location in 1753 by Francesco Antonio Zaccaria. Spon, Wheler 1678, p. 80; Cyriacus Anconitanus 1747, p. XXIII, no. 155; Zaccaria 1753, p. XXVI, no. XLVIII. Based on these publications, it was included in CIL III under no. 2217. At some undetermined date, it was moved to a nearby house, where it was discovered in the twentieth century (Duplančić 2007a, pp. 184, 185). It is another case of "lost and then found". Cf. Demicheli 2009.

11 Duplančić 2007a, p. 185; Cambi 2005, pp. 140, 141, Fig. 210; Cambi 2010, p. 130, no. 164, P. XCV. 2.

12 Duplančić 2011b, p. 98.

13 Pederin 1985, p. 139 – emperor's travelogue from 1818: *sarcophagi in the Lazaretto which in addition to the fountain serve to hold water*; Duplančić 2013, p. 219. The sarcophagus lid with inscription from the lazaretto (CIL III, no. 2326) came into the possession of the Archaeological Museum in Split (hereinafter: AMS) 1902 and inventoried in inscription catalogue A under no. 3113, where Bulić entered Salona as its find site, and 1820 as the date of its discovery, obviously misled by the information that it had been published at the time by Anton Steinbüchel. As part of the old collection, it was once more inventoried in 1990 under no. 5944 and published with that number in 2010 in the collected Salona inscriptions. Petar Aleksandar Bogetić had already transcribed it in the mid-eighteenth century, but without data on the find site, and Lanza published it based on this. Judging by the inscriptions

Dobrome.¹⁴ Šest sarkofaga bilo je pak upotrijebljeno kao kade u sumpornom kupalištu koje je 1821. otvorio Nikola Selebam.¹⁵

Šteta je da za navedene sarkofage (osim za one koji su bili na Dobrome) ne znamo gdje su se izvorno nalazili: jesu li nađeni na području Dioklecijanove palače, odnosno u splitskom ageru, ili su preneseni iz Salone. U starijoj literaturi gotovo svi antički spomenici

ošteti nos erota na spomeniku Pomponije Vere koji je također bio ispred Muzeja. AMS, arhiv, 1903, br. 23 od 25. veljače, br. 71, od 2. srpnja.

- 14 Te je sarkofage 1848. otkrio F. Carrara u Solinu, odakle su prebačeni u Split, ali ne u Arheološki muzej, nego su upotrijebljeni kao korita! Njihovu novu namjenu zabilježio je godine 1854. Mijat Sabljar u svojim putnim bilješkama: *Kod velike otvorene čaternje u Splitu služe 4 stara groba mjesto koritah.* (Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine – Zagreb, Sabljarova bilježnica br.17, str. 6.) Uz to je stavio broj stanice i brojeve natpisa iz Neigebauerove knjige, ali se njegovo čitanje dijelom razlikuje. (Carrara 1850, str. 13, 14, br. 5-8; Neigebauer 1851, str. 159, br. 5-8. Natpisi s tih sarkofaga objavljeni su 1873. u CIL III, br. 2117, 2214, 2417, 2498, uz napomenu *ad cisternam Pozzabon.* Nakon izgradnje vodovoda 1880. bunar na Dobrome izgubio je funkciju i zamijenjen je javnom česmom, a sarkofazi su prešli u Muzej, gdje su inventarizirani u katalogu A, br. 778, 779, 781, 1603, ali je samo za ovaj zadnji Bulić zabilježio da je nabavljen 1890. kao dar splitske Općine.) Istaknut ćemo da je Sabljar bio u Splitu i 1850., kada je razgledao Muzej te se potpisao u knjizi posjetilaca: *13. März 1850. Mich. Sabljar pens. Major.* Tom prigodom darovao je Muzeju knjigu I. J. Pavlovića-Lučića, *Marmora Traguriensia*, Rhacusae 1811., u kojoj je na sedmoj stranici svojim prepoznatljivim rukopisom ispisao čitanje nekih natpisa. Na knjizi, koja se danas čuva među duplikatima, netko je (možda Mihovil Glavinić) napisao *Poklonio Mijo Sabljar 1850.*, ali je kasnije ta bilješka iskrižana. U kronologiju Sabljarovih putovanja po Dalmaciji treba, dakle, unijeti godinu 1850., a izbaciti 1849. koju navodi T. Mommsen. (Mirnik 1981, str. 210-211; po Mommsenu navodi i 1849. godinu. Mirnik 1991, str. 16; ne spominje 1849. godinu.) Godine 1850. i Neigebauer je razgledao Muzej te se potpisao na istoj stranici: *Neigebauer Consigliario intimo di Breslavia*, uz što je Carrara dopisao nadnevak *17/8 50.*
- 15 Selebam u izvještaju o svom kupalištu piše *urna di pietra ben levigata* i *urna di pietra* (Selebam 1822, str. 14, 15), a kad govori o splitskim znamenitostima, izrijekom navodi sarkofage: *Un Sarcofago, con bassorilievo nella Chiesa di San Francesco ... Altri Sarcofagi* (str. 6). Prepričavajući Selebama, N. Ivanović sugerira da su to bili sarkofazi. (Ivanović 1981, str. 101: *dobro izglačana kamenica (tal. un urna di pietra – sarkofag) u kojoj se može sjediti ili ispružiti.*) Da su zaista korišteni sarkofazi, svjedoči opis Kamila Tončića iz 1901. koji kaže *opskrbljene kupaonicama od starih solinskih sarkofaga.* Ivanović 1982, str. 71.

Dobri.¹⁴ Six sarcophagi were even used as tubs in the sulphur spa opened in 1821 by Nikola Selebam.¹⁵

Lanza assumed from Bogetić, it is obvious that Bogetić did not transcribe inscriptions found in Salona, but rather only those in Split (Steinbüchel 1820, p. 23, no. 68; below the text, it clearly states that the lid was in the lazaretto. Lanza 1848, p. 153, no. CLXXXVII). The lid was in that part of the lazaretto that was repurposed into a jail between 1820 and 1826. (Duplančić 1988b, p. 72; Duplančić 1993-1994, pp. 178, 179, note 62). In this vein, the text about it in *Salona* IV/I 2010, pp. 566, 567 should be corrected. The lid was situated at the corner of the museum building next to the eastern gate of Diocletian's Palace and it was damaged there one night in June 1903, leading Bulić to lodge a protest with the Municipal Administration. Previously, in February of that year, somebody had on two occasions damaged the nose of the Eroses on the monument of Pomponia Vera, which was also in front of the Museum. AMS, archives, 1903, no. 23 of 25 February, no. 71, of 2 July.

- 14 These sarcophagi were discovered in Solin in 1848 by F. Carrara, whence they were moved to Split, albeit not to the Archaeological Museum, but rather to be used as troughs! Their new use was recorded in 1854 by Mijat Sabljar in his travel notes: "At the large open cistern in Split, 4 old tombs serve instead of troughs" (Cultural Heritage Conservation Administration – Zagreb, Sabljar's notebook no. 17, p. 6). He added to this the pages and numbers of the inscriptions from Neigebauer's book, but his reading differs somewhat (Carrara 1850, pp. 13, 14, no. 5-8; Neigebauer 1851, p. 159, no. 5-8. The inscriptions from these sarcophagi published in 1873 in CIL III, no. 2117, 2214, 2417, 2498, with the note *ad cisternam Pozzabon.* After the construction of the public waterworks in 1880, the well at Dobro lost its function and was replaced with a new fountain, while the sarcophagi were moved to the Museum, where they were inventoried in catalogue A, no. 778, 779, 781, 1603, but only in the case of the last one did Bulić record that it was procured in 1890 as a gift from the Split Municipality. It should be noted that Sabljar was in Split in 1850, when he toured the Museum and wrote in the visitors' book: *13. März 1850. Mich. Sabljar pens. Major.* On this occasion, he gave the Museum a book by I. J. Pavlović-Lučić, *Marmora Traguriensia*, Rhacusae 1811, in which he wrote his reading of certain inscriptions on the seventh page in his recognizable hand. On the book, which is today held among the duplicate copies, someone (perhaps Mihovil Glavinić) wrote "Donated by Mijo Sabljar, 1850," although this note was later crossed out. The year 1850 should thus be entered in the chronology of Sabljar's travels in Dalmatia, while 1849, as cited by T. Mommsen, should be removed (Mirnik 1981, pp. 210, 211; according to Mommsen he cited 1849 as well. Mirnik 1991, p. 16; does not mention 1849). In 1850, Neigebauer also toured the Museum and signed in on the same page: *Neigebauer Consigliario intimo di Breslavia*, to which Carrara added the date *17/8 50.*
- 15 Selebam, in a report on his spa, wrote "*urna di pietra ben levigata*" and "*urna di pietra*" (Selebam 1822, pp. 14, 15), and when he spoke about Split's notable sites,

vezivali su se uz Salonu,¹⁶ ali su iskopavanja pokazala postojanje sarkofaga i na području današnjega grada Splita.¹⁷

Na temelju sačuvanih sarkofaga i pisanih izvora znamo da su nadbiskupi najprije pokapani u sarkofazima, a od XIII. st. uglavnom u podovima crkava uz postavljanje nadgrobnih ploča.¹⁸ Čini se da su tu praksu slijedili i svjetovnjaci¹⁹ jer iz kasnijih stoljeća sa sigurnošću znamo samo za sarkofag Franice de Judicibus, majke nadbiskupa Dujma, iz 1429. godine,²⁰ Luciete Diedo, kćeri providura Ivana, iz 1532., godine²¹ i Jelene Bondumier, kćeri kneza i kapetana Marina, iz 1607. godine.²² Krajem XV. i u prvoj polovini XVI. st. kao da je opet zaživjelo pokapanje u sarkofazima,²³ o čemu svjedoče i sarkofazi splitskih kanonika Ilije Babalića, Marinella Riciusa i Jakova Selimbrića. Sva tri su reutilizirani antički sarkofazi, od kojih je Selimbrićev iz godine 1533. dobro znan jer se nalazi ispred Krstionice i nekoliko je puta objavljen.²⁴ Babalićev je dijelom poznat, a Riciusov nije bio objavljen pa ćemo im se zato ovdje posvetiti. Iako bi se s obzirom na izostanak bilo kakvog ukrasa na

It is unfortunate that, with the exception of those that were at Dobri, we have no knowledge as to where the aforementioned sarcophagi were originally located: were they found inside Diocletian's Palace, i.e., in the Split ager, or brought in from Salona? In the older literature almost all Roman-era monuments were associated with Salona,¹⁶ but excavations have also shown the existence of sarcophagi in the territory of today's city of Split.¹⁷

Based on the preserved sarcophagi and written sources, we know that the archbishops were previously interred in sarcophagi, and since the thirteenth century in the floors of churches, with the placement of gravestones.¹⁸ It would appear that this practice was also followed by laypersons,¹⁹ because from subsequent centuries we know for certain of the sarcophagi of Franica de Judicibus, the mother of Archbishop Domnio, from 1429,²⁰ Lucietta Diedo, the daughter of the *provveditore*, or governor, Giovanni,

16 Duplančić 2013, str. 212, 213, 220, 221. O pripisivanju solinskog podrijetla spomenicima nađenim u Splitu vidi također Duplančić 2007a, str. 212, 213; Duplančić 2009, str. 149, bilj. 28, str. 158.

17 Primjerice između Kmana i Kacunara (Bulić 1897b) i na lokalitetu *Ad basilicas pictas* (Oreb, Rismondo, Topić [i dr.] 1999, str. 51-54).

18 Duplančić 2007b, str. 230.

19 Od starijih sarkofaga imenima su nam potvrđeni samo onaj priora Petra iz XI. st. te Katarine i Margarete, kćeri kralja Bele IV., iz 1242. godine. Za Petrov sarkofag: Bulić, Karaman 1927, sl. 84; Rapanić 1971, str. 294-297. Za sarkofag princeza: Karaman 1938b, str. 64-74; Ivanišević 2002, str. 479-542.

20 Sarkofag je u peripteru katedrale. Farlati 1751, str. 326, 351; donosi natpis, bio je s desne strane ulaza u katedralu. Farlati 1765, str. 367, s natpisom i crtežom grba. Natpis je objavio i Eitelberger 1861, str. 250; hrvatski prijevod po drugom izdanju iz 1884. Eitelberger 2009, str. 178. Točniji prijepis natpisa donosi Fisković C. 1950b, str. 134. Vidi sliku u Prijatelj, Gattin 1991, str. 77. Franičin sarkofag isklesan je od dijela rimskog arhitrava. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 109; Milošević 2009, str. 362.

21 Bio je u crkvi sv. Dominika. Zaninović 1940, str. 203-206; Split Marulićeva doba 2001, str. 174.

22 Bio je s unutrašnje strane iznad ulaznih vrata crkve na Pojišanu. Duplančić 2010, str. 135-138.

23 Vidi opažanja Fisković I. 1990, poglavlje Nadgrobnia plastika humanističkog doba na našem primorju, str. 39-40.

24 Ostojić 1975, str. 243, sl. 66 između str. 264 i 265; Cambi 1984, str. 87, sl. 19, 88; Pederin 1985, str. 145, bilj. 84: radi se o *preklesanom antičkom sarkofagu, što se vidi na stražnjoj strani sanduka*.

he explicitly mentioned the sarcophagi: "*Un Sarcofago, con basso-rilievo nella Chiesa di San Francesco ... Altri Sarcofagi*" (p. 6). Paraphrasing Selebam, N. Ivanović suggested that these were sarcophagi (Ivanović 1981, p. 101: "well polished stone basins (Ital. '*urna di pietra – sarkofag*') in which one can sit and extend one's body"). A description by Kamilo Tončić from 1901 also testifies that sarcophagi were used: "supplied by bath basins made of old Solin sarcophagi" Ivanović 1982, p. 71.

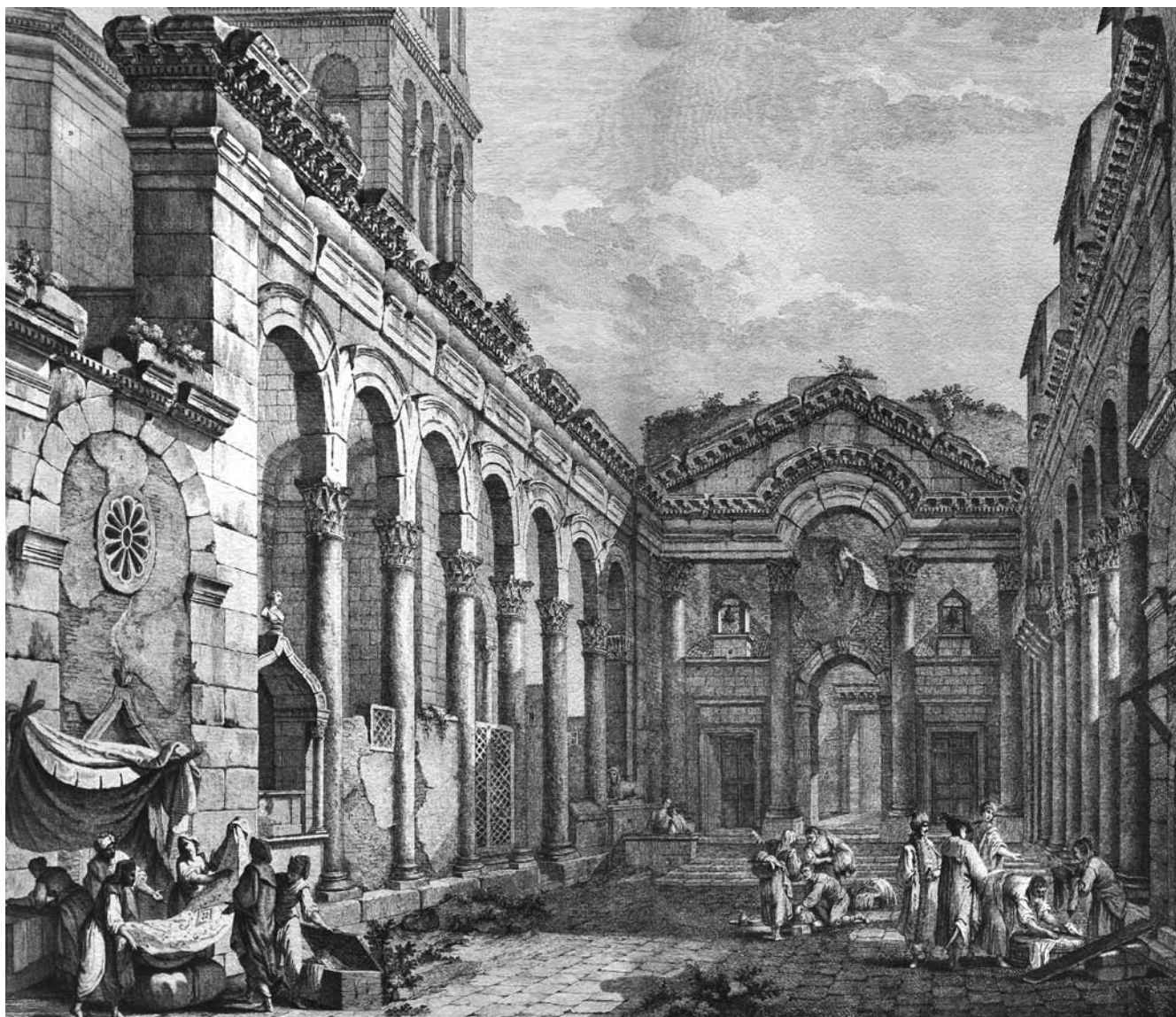
16 Duplančić 2013, pp. 212, 213, 220, 221. On the attribution of Solin provenance to monuments found in Split, see also Duplančić 2007a, pp. 212, 213; Duplančić 2009, p. 149, notes 28, p. 158.

17 For example, between Kman and Kacunar (Bulić 1897b) and at the *Ad basilicas pictas* site (Oreb, Rismondo, Topić [et al.] 1999, pp. 51-54).

18 Duplančić 2007b, p. 230.

19 Of the older sarcophagi, the only confirmed names on them are those of Prior Petar from the eleventh century, and Catharina and Margaret, the daughters of King Bela IV, from 1242. On Petar's sarcophagus: Bulić, Karaman 1927, Fig. 84; Rapanić 1971, pp. 294-297. On the sarcophagus of the princesses: Karaman 1938b, pp. 64-74; Ivanišević 2002, pp. 479-542.

20 The sarcophagus is in the cathedral's peripter. Farlati 1751, pp. 326, 351, cited the inscription; it was on the right side of the cathedral's entrance. Farlati 1765, p. 367, with the inscription and a sketch of the tomb. The inscription was also published by Eitelberger 1861, p. 250; Croatian translation according to the second edition from 1884, Eitelberger 2009, p. 178. A more accurate transcript of the inscription was provided in Fisković C. 1950b, p. 134. See the image in Prijatelj, Gattin 1991, p. 77. Franič's sarcophagus was carved from part of the Roman-era architrave. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 109; Milošević 2009, p. 362.



Sl. 1. Peristil Dioklecijanove palače u knjizi R. Adama iz 1764. g. (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 1. The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in the book by R. Adam from 1764 (photo: Ž. Bačić)

Riciusovu sarkofagu moglo pomisliti da nije antički, smatramo da je reutiliziran jer do sada nije uočen neki arhivski podatak koji bi govorio o izradi sarkofaga u XV. i XVI. st. nego samo o narudžbi kamenica za ulje.²⁵

Kanonik Ilija Babalić spominje se između 1462. i 1478. godine,²⁶ pa je vjerojatno umro krajem XV. stoljeća. Bio je pokopan u sarkofagu između dvaju

from 1532²¹ and Jelena Bondumier, the daughter of the prefect and captain, Marin, from 1607.²² At the end of the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth centuries, the practice of interment in sarcophagi was apparently revived,²³ to which the sarcophagi of three Split canons, Ilija Babalić, Marinellus Ricius and Jakov Selimbrić, testify. All three are reutilized Roman-era sarcophagi, of which Selimbrić's sarcophagus, from 1533, is well known, because it is in front of

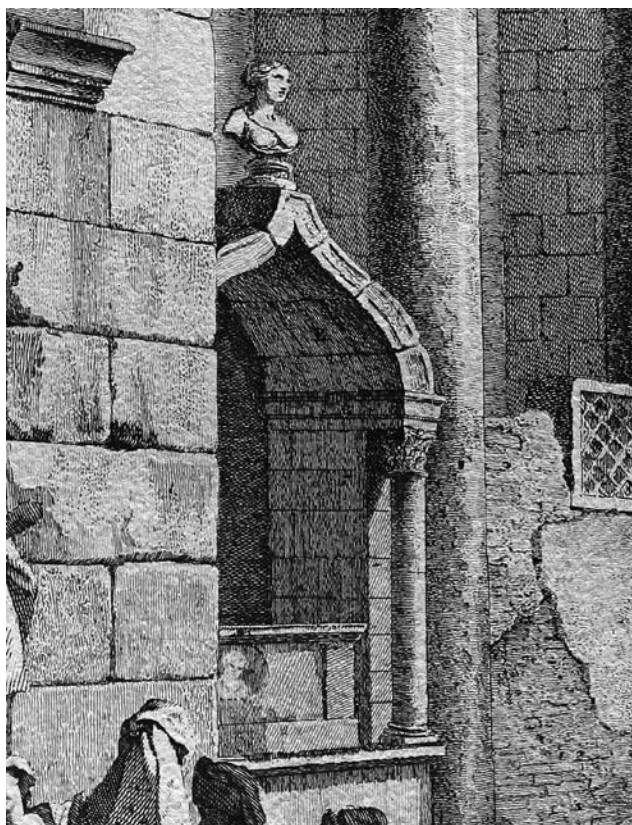
25 Raukar 1979, str. 113 (1462.); Pederin 1992, str. 398 (1453., 1462.).

26 Ostojić 1975, str. 238. To se prezime javlja i kao Bavalić, kako ga donosi Ostojić. (Kuzmanić 2013, str. 130, 131.) U popisu stanovništva Splita iz 1507. javlja se oblik Babalić. (Božić-Bužančić 1973, str. 164: *Marco Babalich*.) Ovdje smo se odlučili za oblik Babalić jer je tako kanonik Ilija za života dao da se ukleše na njegovu sarkofagu.

21 It was in the Church of St. Dominic. Zaninović 1940, pp. 203-206; *Split Marulićeva doba* 2001, p. 174.

22 It was on the inside above the entry door of the church in Pojišan. Duplančić 2010, pp. 135-138.

23 See the observations by Fisković I. 1990, in the chapter on "Grave sculpture of the Humanist era in our littoral", pp. 39, 40.



Sl. 2. Grobnica kanonika Ilije Babalića na grafici iz Adamove knjige (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 2. The tomb of Canon Ilija Babalić in an illustration from Adam's book (photo: Ž. Bačić)

stupova Peristila kraj crkve sv. Roka, kako to navodi vizitacija kanonika Ivana Manole iz 1704. godine²⁷ (sl. 1). Sarkofag je bio na zidanom postolju, smješten u arkosiliju s dva stupa s korintskim (?) kapitelima i šiljatim svodom na čijem se vrhu nalazilo neko poprsje. Taj je izgled dokumentiran godine 1757. na crtežu Charles-Louisa Clérisseaua,²⁸ objavljenom kao bakrorez u knjizi Roberta Adama 1764. godine.²⁹ Ponovno je nacrtan 1782. na akvarelu Louisa François Cassasa³⁰ koji je objavljen kao bakrorez

the Baptistery and has been published several times.²⁴ Babalić's sarcophagus is partially known, while that of Ricius has not yet been published, so more attention will be accorded to it herein. Even though one may think that the sarcophagus of Ricius may not even date to the Roman era due to the absence of any ornamentation, I believe that it was reutilized, because thus far no archival data has been noticed which would indicate the production of sarcophagi in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, rather only the commissioning of stone troughs for oil.²⁵

Canon Ilija Babalić is mentioned between 1462 and 1478,²⁶ so it is likely that he died at the end of the fifteenth century. He was interred in a sarcophagus between two pillars of the Peristyle next to the Church of St. Roch, as noted in the visitation of Canon Ivan Manola from 1704²⁷ (Fig. 1). The sarcophagus was on a stone-built pedestal, situated in the arcosolium with two pillars having Corinthian (?) capitals and an angular vault, atop which there was a bust. This appearance was documented in 1757 in a sketch by Charles-Louis Clérisseau,²⁸ published as a copperplate in the book by Robert Adam in 1764²⁹ (Fig. 2). It was redrawn in 1782 in a water-colour by Louis François Cassas,³⁰ which was published as a copperplate in the book by Joseph Lavallée and Cassas in 1802.³¹

27 Nadbiskupski arhiv – Split (dalje NAS), S, br. 55, l. 26v. Na temelju Manoline vizitacije sarkofag je već spomenut u Duplančić 1997, str. 91, bilj. 37; tu je pogrešno naveden list iz vizitacije jer treba biti 26-26v. Crkva sv. Roka iz 1516. bila je kasnije povezana s obližnjom crkvom sv. Fabijana i Sebastijana. Madiraca 2011, str. 129.

28 McCormick 1990, str. 81; Brown 1992, str. 36; Kečkemet 1978, str. 136; Kečkemet 2003, str. 176.

29 Adam 1764, T. XX; u legendi te table na str. 25, *E. Gothic Sepulchre*. Novak 1961, str. 429; Kečkemet 1978, str. 129; Kečkemet 2003, str. 176, T. XX.

30 Kečkemet 1978, str. 91; Kečkemet 2003, str. 113.

24 Ostojić 1975, p. 243, Fig. 66 between pp. 264 and 265; Cambi 1984, pp. 87, Fig. 19, 88; Pederin 1985, p. 145, note 84: this is a "re-carved Roman-era sarcophagus, which can be seen on the rear side of the chest".

25 Raukar 1979, p. 113 (1462); Pederin 1992, p. 398 (1453, 1462).

26 Ostojić 1975, p. 238. This surname also appeared as Bavalić, as cited by Ostojić (Kuzmanić 2013, pp. 130, 131). The form Babalić also appeared in the census in Split conducted from 1507 (Božić-Bužančić 1973, p. 164: *Marco Babalich*). Here I opted for the form Babalić, because this is how Canon Ilija had his name carved on his sarcophagus while he was still alive.

27 Archdiocesan Archives – Split (hereinafter: NAS), S, no. 55, f. 26v. Based on Manola's visitation, the sarcophagus was already mentioned in Duplančić 1997, p. 91, note 37; here the page from the visitation is incorrectly cited, because it should have been 26-26v. The Church of St. Roch from 1516 was later linked to the nearby Church of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian. Madiraca 2011, p. 129.

28 McCormick 1990, p. 81; Brown 1992, p. 36; Kečkemet 1978, p. 136; Kečkemet 2003, p. 176.

29 Adam 1764, P. XX; in the legend and plate on p. 25, *E. Gothic Sepulchre*. Novak 1961, p. 429; Kečkemet 1978, p. 129; Kečkemet 2003, p. 176, P. XX.

30 Kečkemet 1978, p. 91; Kečkemet 2003, p. 113.

31 Lavallée, Cassas 1802, P. 41 between pp. 132 and 133; Novak 1965, p. 409; Kečkemet 1978, p. 129; Kečkemet 2003, p. 113.



Sl. 3. Sarkofag kanonika Babalića (foto: Ž. Bačić)
 Fig. 3. Sarcophagus of Canon Babalić (photo: Ž. Bačić)

u knjizi Josepha Lavalléa i Cassasa 1802. godine.³¹ Clérisseau na sredini sarkofaga crta medaljon s ljudskim likom, kojeg u stvarnosti nema. Cassas je točniji, jer se na njegovu akvarelu vidi natpisno polje i desni erot, ali je zato pogrešno nacrtan bogati biljni ukras oko njih.

Babalićev sarkofag ukrašen je samo s prednje strane, na kojoj je natpisno polje u sredini, a sa strana se nalazi po jedan erot s izvrnutom bakljom. Na lijevoj bočnoj strani vide se tragovi polja u kojem je na obje strane bio prikazan po jedan erot, a između njih su otučena poprsja muškarca i žene. Unutar sanduka isklesano je uzglavlje za pokojnika. Na temelju stilskih odlika sarkofag je datiran u sredinu II. stoljeća³² (sl. 3-5). Izvorni natpis je otučen i umjesto njega uklesan novi koji govori da ga je Ilija Babalić, svećenik i kanonik crkve sv. Dujma, za života dao izraditi sebi i svojim nasljednicima:

HELIAS · BABALICH · DIVI · DOMNI ·
 PRAES · ET · CAN · VIVENS · SIBI · ET ·
 SVIS · FECIT

(*Helias Babalich divi Domni praesbiter et canonicvs vivens sibi et suis fecit*)

Dokad je Babalićev sarkofag ostao na Peristilu nije poznato, ali je uklonjen najkasnije 1805., kada je na njegovu mjestu sagrađena kavana *Al tempio*

Clérisseau drew a medallion with a human figure in the middle of the sarcophagus that was not actually there. Cassas was more accurate, because an inscription field and the right-hand Erotes can be seen on his water-colour, but he also incorrectly portrayed abundant plant ornaments around them.

Babalić's sarcophagus was only decorated on the front side, on which the inscription field is in the middle, with one Erotes holding an inverted torch on each side. On the left lateral side there are visible traces of a field on which an Erotes was portrayed to each side of it, and between them a battered bust of a man and woman. A headrest for the deceased was carved inside the coffin. Based on its stylistic features, the sarcophagus was dated to the mid-second century³² (Fig. 3-5). The original inscription was battered off, and in its stead a new one was engraved, which indicates that Ilija Babalić, a priest and canon in the Church of St. Domnio, had it made during his lifetime for himself and his heirs:

HELIAS · BABALICH · DIVI · DOMNI ·
 PRAES · ET · CAN · VIVENS · SIBI · ET ·
 SVIS · FECIT

(*Helias Babalich divi Domni praesbiter et canonicvs vivens sibi et suis fecit*)

How long Babalić's sarcophagus remained on the Peristyle is not known, but it was removed not later than 1805, when the *Al tempio* ('At the Temple') was

31 Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 41 između str. 132 i 133; Novak 1965, str. 409; Kečkemet 1978, str. 129; Kečkemet 2003, str. 113.

32 Cambi 2002, I, str. 129, II, str. 66, sl. 56; Cambi 2005, str. 90, 93; Cambi 2010, str. 109, br. 61, T. XXXVI. 2, 3.

32 Cambi 2002, I, p. 129, II, p. 66, Fig. 56; Cambi 2005, pp. 90, 93; Cambi 2010, p. 109, no. 61, P. XXXVI. 2, 3.



Sl. 4. Lijeva bočna strana Babalićeva sarkofaga (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 4. The left lateral side of Babalić's sarcophagus (photo: Ž. Bačić)



Sl. 5. Desna bočna strana Babalićeva sarkofaga (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 5. The right lateral side of Babalić's sarcophagus (photo: Ž. Bačić)

(K hramu).³³ Tada ili kasnije prebačen je uz istočni zid Dioklecijanove palače, nasuprot crkvi sv. Dominika, gdje ga je zatrerala gomila kamenja³⁴ što je nastala 1890. zbog radova na obnovi zvonika katedrale, a vidljiva je na jednoj fotografiji snimljenoj oko 1900. godine³⁵ (sl. 6). Nepoznate nam godine izvađen je

opened at its location.³³ Then or later it was moved to the next eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace, opposite the Church of St. Dominic, where it was buried under a mound of rubble³⁴ formed in 1890 as a result of restoration works on the cathedral's bell tower, and visible in a photograph taken at around 1900³⁵ (Fig. 6). At

33 Muljačić 1958, str. 68, 77 – ad 1873. Zgrada je pripadala Splitskom kaptolu, a kavanu je vodila obitelj Solitro. Godine 1819. *caffetiere* Julije Solitro plaćao je Kaptolu godišnju najamninu od 40 fiorina. NAS, S, 1819, br. 198, dopis Okružnog poglavarstva br. 11801 od 29. lipnja i odgovor Ordinarijata br. 198 od 2. srpnja. Krizomali 1942, str. 72.

34 Jedna hrpa kamenja uzduž zida stare zgrade Arheološkog muzeja vidi se na crtežu Jan Baptiste van Moera iz 1858. godine. S[chneider] 1933, sl. ad str. 64; Kečkemet 1984, str. 108.

35 AMS, stara fototeka, br. 304a. Dijelom se vidi i na nacrtu istočnog zida Palače u: Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, str. 28. Odbor za obnovu zvonika katedrale obratio se Muzeju dopisom br. 60 od 16. VI. 1890. u kojem kaže da bi mu, zbog skućenog prostora oko katedrale, za odlaganje materijala veoma *odgovaralo zemljište ispred starih zidina gradskih a naspram crkve sv. Dominika, koje c.k. Arheološkom Muzeju pripada* pa moli

33 Muljačić 1958, pp. 68, 77 – ad 1873. The building belonged to Split's Cathedral Chapter, and the café was held by the Solitro family. In 1819, the *caffetiere* Julije Solitro paid the Cathedral Chapter an annual rent of 40 florins. NAS, S, 1819, no. 198, letter from the District Government, no. 11801 of 29 June and response from the Ordinary, no. 198 of 2 July. Krizomali 1942, p. 72.

34 One pile of stones along the wall of the old Archaeological Museum's building can be seen in the drawing by Jan Baptiste van Moer from 1858. S[chneider] 1933, Fig. ad p. 64; Kečkemet 1984, p. 108.

35 AMS, old photograph archives, no. 304a. It can also be partially seen in the sketch of the eastern wall of the Palace, in: Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, p. 28. The committee on the restoration of the cathedral's campanile contacted the Museum in letter no. 60 of 16 June 1890, in which it said that due to the confined space around the cathedral, for the placement of materials it would "find suitable the land in front of the old city walls opposite



Sl. 6. Kamenje starog zvonika uz istočni zid Dioklecijanove palače oko 1900. g.

Fig. 6. Stones from the old campanile along the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace at about 1900

iz gomile i ustupljen Arheološkome muzeju u čiji je katalog reljefa D inventariziran 1912. godine.³⁶ Kao

an unknown date, it was removed from the mound and ceded to the Archaeological Museum, and inventoried in the Museum's relief catalogue D in 1912.³⁶ As part

da mu ga besplatno ustupi za vrijeme trajanja radova, a odbor će mjesto ograditi. (AMS, arhiv, 1890, br. 22.) Ovaj dopis je, dakle, *terminus ante quem non* za nastanak gomile i datiranje fotografija koje je prikazuju. Don F. Bulić u pismu upravi gradnje novoga Muzeja od 30. VII. 1912. navodi: *Odnosno na dopis dneva 23 t. m. Br. 22 časti se potpisani obavjestiti da materijal, proizlazeći iz staroga Zvonika, namijenjen za gradnju novoga Arheološkoga Muzeja leži djelomice uzduž puta Poljuda na desnu pred gradilištem novoga Muzeja, a samo nekoliko komada straga, pa izpred crkve Dominikanaca kod istočnih vrata Dioklecijanove Palače i u dvoru pokraj sakristije stolne crkve.* AMS, arhiv, 1912, br. 180. Isto u arhivu uprave za gradnju Muzeja, 1912, br. 23.

36 Katalog D, br. 443: *Sarcofago antico con ai lati due genî del sonno eternale. ...* (slijedi tekst natpisa). Za godinu nalaza Bulić je stavio upitnik, a za način nabave upisao je: *Trovato fra i rottami di ammassi di pietra avanti la Chiesa di S. Domenico.* Na otisku natpisa na papiru (tzv. *abklatsch*), koji se čuva u AMS-u, na listu s lijevim dijelom natpisa dopisano je rukom Luke Jelića (?): *Sarkofag kod Sv. Domenika Spljet*, a na listu s desnim dijelom natpisa Bulićevom rukom: *Sarcofago presso S. Domenico.*

the Church of St. Dominic, which belongs to the Archaeological Museum" and asked for it to be made available free of charge for the duration of works, while the committee would fence the area off (AMS, archives, 1890, no. 22). This letter is therefore the *terminus ante quem non* for the appearance of the mound and the dating of the photographs which show it. Fr. F. Bulić, in a letter to the management of construction works for the new Museum dated 30 July 1912, said: "With reference to the letter of the 23rd of this month, no. 22, the undersigned is honoured to report that the material from the old Campanile intended for construction of the new Archaeological Museum lies partially along the way to Poljud to the right in front of the new Museum's construction site, only a few pieces in the back, and in front of the Dominican church at the eastern gate to Diocletian's Palace and in the courtyard next to the sacristy of the cathedral. AMS, archives, 1912, no. 180. The same document is in the archives of the management in charge Museum construction works, 1912, no. 23.

36 Catalogue D, no. 443: *Sarcofago antico con ai lati due genî del sonno eternale. ...* (inscription text follows). Bulić put a question mark for the year of its discovery, while of the manner of its procurement, he wrote:

dio fonda Muzeja bio je smješten nasuprot zgradi njegovog I. odjela koja se nalazila uz istočni zid Dioklecijanove palače.³⁷ Nakon izgradnje nove zgrade Muzeja 1914. prebačen je u nju i danas se nalazi u stražnjem vrtu.

Arkosolij sličan Babalićevom imao je sarkofag s arkadama³⁸ u sjevernom dijelu periptera katedrale,³⁹ a prikazan je na grafici u Adamovoj knjizi iz 1764.,⁴⁰ Cassasovim akvarelima iz 1782., objavljenima 1802.,⁴¹ na Andrićevim nacrtima iz 1852.,⁴² u Eitelbergerovoj studiji iz 1861.⁴³ i na Hauserovu nacrtu iz 1876. godine⁴⁴ (sl. 7). Njegovi prikazi razlikuju se kako u obliku luka tako i u obliku kapitelâ stupova. Kod Adama je luk šiljat, gotički, a kapiteli višestruko profilirani kao baza stupa. Cassas pak na jednome mjestu crta obli luk i profilirane kapitele (T. 54), a na drugome

of the Museum's collection, it was situated opposite the building of its first department, which was located along the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace.³⁷ After the construction of a new Museum building in 1914, it was transferred to it and is today in the back garden.

An arcossolium similar to Babalić's had a sarcophagus with arcades³⁸ in the northern part of the cathedral's peripter,³⁹ and it was shown in an illustration in Adam's book from 1764,⁴⁰ Cassas' water colours

37 Za taj smještaj doznajemo iz nedatiranih crteža kamenih spomenika Muzeja (*Einfache Skizzen von Steindenkmälern ...*) koji se čuvaju u muzejskoj dokumentaciji: *Tabla III. ... Na putu vis-à-vis I odjela (4i po redu) ELIAS BABALICH*. Na sarkofagu je upisan i njegov broj, 443 D, koji je Bulić ponovno dopisao iznad njega. Spomenuti crteži nastali su oko 1914. jer je najmlađi spomenik stela nabavljena te godine (T. IX. br. A 4654). Vjerojatno su trebali poslužiti za izradu novog postava pa su zato uz svaki spomenik upisane njegove dimenzije. Dio spomenika uz Muzej vidi se na jednoj razglednici oko 1905., na fotografiji snimljenoj 1908. i u knjigama o Dioklecijanovoj palači. Razglednica: Kečkemet, Jelavić [1995], str. 125; Kečkemet 2008, str. 128. Fotografija: Bulić 1925, str. 102; Anzulović 1981, T. XXXI. 1. Gotovo ista slika snimljena istog dana nalazi se u AMS, arhiv, 1908, br. 35, sl. a, dok se njezin stakleni negativ čuva u staroj muzejskoj fototeци, br. 385 a. Niemann 1910, T. II ad str. 10; Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, str. 27, 28.

38 Cambi 2010, str. 129, 130, br. 163, T. XCV. 1. Tu je sarkofag datiran u početak IV. st.; sadašnji poklopac nije izvorno njegov. Arkosolij je srušen prigodom obnove zvonika. (Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 108.) Motiv niza arkada javlja se na podnožju zvonika i u predvorju trogirске katedrale. Eitelberger 1861, str. 70. Hrvatski prijevod po drugom izdanju iz 1884. Eitelberger 2009, str. 131; Iveković [1910], T. 8. 10, 12, 13, 14; Bužančić 2010, str. 12, 13, 15.

39 Na vezu ovih dvaju arkosolija upozorio je već Fisković C. 1971, str. 12, bilj. 23. On ujedno skreće pažnju na ostatke nekog arkosolija na zidu trogirске katedrale zapadno od njenih južnih vrata.

40 Adam 1764, T. XXVIII. u legendi te table na str. 27: *E. Gothic Sepulchre*. Brown 1992, str. 29; Kečkemet 2003, str. 178, T. XXVIII.

41 Kečkemet 1978, str. 94, 96; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 47, 54, između str. 134 i 135.

42 Kečkemet 1993, T. V, IX, slika u bojama na ovitku.

43 Eitelberger 1861, str. 115. Hrvatski prijevod po drugom izdanju iz 1884. Eitelberger 2009, str. 178.

44 Kečkemet 1993, sl. 64.

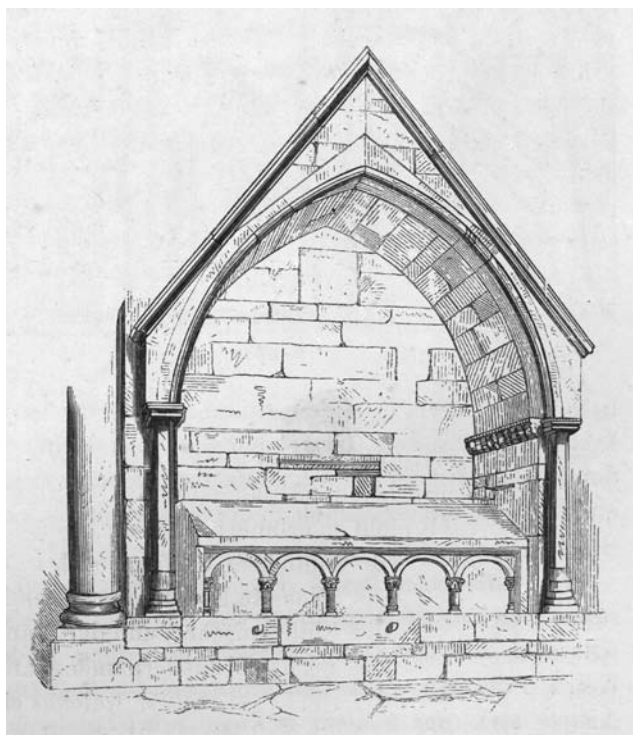
Trovato fra i rottami di ammassi di pietra avanti la Chiesa di S. Domenico. On an imprint of the inscription on paper (so-called *abklatsch*), held in the AMS, on the sheet with the left section of the inscription, there is an additional remark written in Luka Jelić's (?) hand: "Sarcophagus at St. Dominic's in Spljet", while on the sheet with the right section of the inscription, there is a note written in Bulić's hand: *Sarcophago presso S. Domenico*.

37 This location is confirmed by undated sketches of the Museum's stone monuments (*Einfache Skizzen von Steindenkmälern ...*) that are held in the Museum's documentation: "Plate III ... On the way *vis-à-vis* the first department (4th in line) *ELIAS BABALICH*." The number, 443 D, is also written on the sarcophagus, which Bulić once more wrote above it. These sketches were made at around 1914, because the youngest monument, a stela, was procured that year (P. IX, no. A 4654). They probably had to serve for the development of a new display, which is why the dimensions are indicated for each monument. A part of the monuments from the Museum can be seen on a postcard from about 1905, on a photograph taken in 1908, and in books on Diocletian's Palace. Postcard: Kečkemet, Jelavić [1995], p. 125; Kečkemet 2008, p. 128. Photograph: Bulić 1925, p. 102; Anzulović 1981, P. XXXI. 1. Virtually the same photograph, taken that same day, can be found in the AMS, archives, 1908, no. 35, Fig. a, while its glass negative is held in the old museum photograph archives, no. 385 a. Niemann 1910, P. II ad p. 10; Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, pp. 27, 28.

38 Cambi 2010, pp. 129, 130, no. 163, P. XCV. 1. This sarcophagus has been dated to the onset of the fourth century; the current lid did not belong to it originally. The arcossolium was demolished during renovation of the campanile (Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 108). The motif of a series of arcades appears at the base of the campanile and in the foyer of the cathedral in Trogir. Eitelberger 1861, p. 70. Croatian translation according to the second edition from 1884. Eitelberger 2009, p. 131; Iveković [1910], P. 8. 10, 12, 13, 14; Bužančić 2010, pp. 12, 13, 15.

39 The link between these two arcossolia was already pointed out by Fisković C. 1971, p. 12, note 23. He also accorded attention to the remains of an arcossolium in the wall of the Trogir cathedral west of its southern door.

40 Adam 1764, P. XXVIII. in the legend to this plate on p. 27: "E. Gothic Sepulchre." Brown 1992, p. 29; Kečkemet 2003, p. 178, P. XXVIII.



Sl. 7. Prikaz grobnice iz periptera katedrale u Eitelbergerovoj studiji iz 1861. g.

Fig. 7. Portrayal of the tomb from the cathedral peripter in Eitelberger's study from 1861

šiljati luk i korintske (?) kapitele (T. 47). Andrićevi nacrti prikazuju šiljati luk i jednostavne kapitele slično kao kod Eitelbergera. Treba još spomenuti istaknuti vijenac u razini kapitela koji se vidi kod Adama, Cassasa (T. 47) i još bolje kod Eitelbergera, gdje ima romanički motiv naizmjeničnih četvorina (šahovsko polje).⁴⁵ S obzirom na vjerodostojnost čini nam se da su najpouzdaniji Andrićevi, Eitelbergerovi i Hausero- vi crteži pa zato smatramo da se arkosolij iz periptera može datirati u prvu polovinu XIV. stoljeća.

Poput Babalića i Marinellus Ricius izabrao je jedan sarkofag kao mjesto svog posljednjeg počivališta. On se kao kanonik spominje između 1493. i 1526. godine,⁴⁶ pa je vjerojatno umro nedugo nakon toga jer je sarkofag dao izraditi 1520. godine. Sarkofag je bez ikakva ukrasa i na prednjoj strani ima samo natpis (sl. 8). Unutar sanduka isklesano je malo uzglavlje za pokojnika. Gdje je sarkofag bio postavljen, nije za sada poznato, ali pretpostavljamo da se nalazio u prostoru oko katedrale. U određenom trenutku, ali

from 1782, published in 1802,⁴¹ on Andrić's sketches from 1852,⁴² in Eitelberger's study from 1861⁴³ and in Hauser's sketch from 1876⁴⁴ (Fig. 7). His images differ both in the form of the arches and in the form of the column capitals. In Adam's illustration the arch is pointed, Gothic, while the capitals are multiply articulated like the base of the column. Cassas, however, at one place drew a rounded arch and articulated capitals (P. 54), and an angular arch and Corinthian (?) capitals at another (P. 47). Andrić's sketches show a pointed arch and simple capitals, similar to those of Eitelberger. Also worth mentioning is the cornice at the level of the capital which appears in Adam, Cassas (P. 47) and even better in Eitelberger, where it has a Romanesque motif of alternating squares (a chessboard).⁴⁵ Given their credibility, it would appear that the most reliable are those of Andrić, Eitelberger and Hauser, so I believe that the arkosolium from the peripter may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Like Babalić, Marinellus Ricius chose a sarcophagus for his final resting place. As a canon, he was mentioned in documents between 1493 and 1526,⁴⁶ so it is likely that he died not long after this, because he had the sarcophagus made in 1520. The sarcophagus, with no decoration on the front side, bears only an inscription (Fig. 8). Inside, a small headrest was carved for the deceased. Where the sarcophagus was actually installed is not known for the time being, but we may assume that it was somewhere around the cathedral. At a certain point, but not later than the beginning of restoration works on the cathedral's campanile in 1882, the sarcophagus was moved to another location. Then in 1885 it was moved to Pazar to serve as a water trough, which is why that was carved onto its rear side (Fig. 9). It was installed so that the post bearing the water pipe was fastened to the side with the inscription, which leaned down its middle, so one could read:

45 Taj motiv vijenca nalazimo na zvoniku katedrale sv. Dujma, na kući u jugozapadnom dijelu Peristila kao i u susjednom Trogiru, a datira se u XIII. stoljeće. Fisković C. 1952, str. 142, 147, sl. 8, str. 169, br. 38; Kečkemet 1963, str. 211, sl. 1; Piplović 1994, str. 180, 182; Marasović K., Marčić 2006, str. 78, 90.

46 Ostojić 1975, str. 240.

41 Kečkemet 1978, pp. 94, 96; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, P. 47 and 54, between pp. 134 and 135.

42 Kečkemet 1993, P. V, IX, colour picture on the wrappers.

43 Eitelberger 1861, p. 115. Croatian translation according to the second edition from 1884. Eitelberger 2009, p. 178.

44 Kečkemet 1993, Fig. 64.

45 This cornice motif can be found on the campanile of the St. Domnio Cathedral, on a house in the south-west section of the Peristyle and in neighbouring Trogir, and it has been dated to the thirteenth century. Fisković C. 1952, pp. 142, 147, Fig. 8, p. 169, no. 38; Kečkemet 1963, p. 211, Fig. 1; Piplović 1994, pp. 180, 182; Marasović K., Marčić 2006, pp. 78, 90.

46 Ostojić 1975, p. 240.



Sl. 8. Sarkofag kanonika Riciusa (foto: Ž. Bačić)
Fig. 8. Sarcophagus of Canon Ricius (photo: Ž. Bačić)

najkasnije prigodom početka obnove zvonika katedrale 1882., sarkofag je premješten na drugo mjesto. Potom je 1885. prenesen na Pazar, kako bi služio kao kamenica za vodu, zbog čega je na njegovoj stražnjoj strani uklesana ta godina (sl. 9). Bio je postavljen tako da je stup s vodovodnom cijevi bio pričvršćen na strani s natpisom, koji je zaklanjao po sredini, pa se moglo pročitati:

MARIN ... METROPOL
SPALAT ... ACER · ET ·
CANO ... SIBI · FECIT
... XX

To znamo zahvaljujući otisku na papiru⁴⁷ i crtežu koji je netko izradio oko godine 1900. te ga dao don Frani Buliću, a čuva se u njegovu arhivu⁴⁸ (sl. 10). Ne znamo kada, ali sarkofag je prešao u vlasništvo Joze Barića iz Solina od kojeg ga je 1936. otkupio splitski Arheološki muzej i sada se nalazi u njegovu stražnjem vrtu.⁴⁹

Sarkofag je u trenutku nabave bio raspuknut na dva dijela, nedostajao mu je lijevi dio natpisa, a u sredini prednje stane bila je rupa pa je tako zabilježen u

MARIN ... METROPOL
SPALAT ... ACER · ET ·
CANO ... SIBI · FECIT
... XX

We know this thanks to a paper imprint⁴⁷ and sketch that someone made around the year 1900 and gave to Fr. Frane Bulić. It is now held in his archives⁴⁸ (Fig. 10). We do not know when, but the sarcophagus became the property of Jozo Barić from Solin, from whom the Archaeological Museum in Split purchased it in 1936, and now it is located in the latter's rear garden.⁴⁹

At the time of its purchase, the sarcophagus was broken into two pieces, the left part of its inscription was missing and there was a hole in the middle of the front side, and it was recorded as such in the Museum's documents.⁵⁰ Based on the aforementioned imprint, sketch and preserved portion of the inscription which reads·

47 Čuva se u AMS-u, zbirka otisaka. U vrhu lista s lijevim dijelom natpisa Bulić je dopisao: *Moderni – Nepoznato mjesto*.

48 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, poz. Arheologija. Ispod crteža je legenda: *Natpis na kamenici vodovoda na spljetskom pazara* (sic!).

49 Za njega i za prijevoz u Muzej plaćeno je 82.75 dinara. AMS, arhiv, 1936, br. 319 od 14. listopada, ad 33 i na priloženom popisu; protokoli, 1936, br. 317 od 13. listopada (upisano kao nabava dvaju ulomaka antičkog sarkofaga). Knjiga izdataka M. Abramića, ad 15. X. 1936. Sarkofag je inventariziran 2013. pod br. 70609.

47 It is held in the AMS, in the imprint collection. At the top of the page with the left-hand section of the inscription, Bulić wrote in: "Modern – Unknown site".

48 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, pos. Archaeology. Below the sketch is the legend: "Inscription on stone water pipe at the open-air market in Spljet" (sic!).

49 82.75 dinars were paid for it and its transport to the Museum. AMS, archives, 1936, no. 319 of 14 October, item 33 and on the attached list; protocols, 1936, no. 317 of 13 October (recorded as the procurement of two pieces of the Roman-era sarcophagus). M. Abramić's expense register, ad 15 Oct. 1936. The sarcophagus was inventoried in 2013 under no. 70609.

50 AMS, archives, 1936, no. 319 of 14 October, on the attached list with transcript of the preserved portion of the inscription: "2 pieces of Roman-era sarcophagus with inscription from 16th cent".



Sl. 9. Godina na stražnjoj strani Riciusova sarkofaga (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 9. Year on the rear side of the sarcophagus of Ricius (photo: Ž. Bačić)

muzejskim spisima.⁵⁰ Na temelju spomenutog otiska, crteža i sačuvanog dijelu natpisa koji glasi:

· RICIVS · ME · EC...
· SACER · ET ·
· VIVENS · SIBI · FECIT ·
O · S · M · D · XX ·

možemo približno rekonstruirati nekadašnji tekst, koji govori da je Marinellus Ricius, svećenik i kanonik splitske metropolitanske crkve, za života dao sebi izraditi (ovaj sarkofag) godine spasenja 1520.:

MARINELLVS · RICIVS · METROPOL ·
SPALATEN · ECCL · SACER · ET ·
CANONICVS · VIVENS · SIBI · FECIT ·
ANNO · S · M · D · XX ·

(*Marinellvs Ricivs metropolitanae Spalatensis ecclesiae sacerdos et canonicvs vivens sibi fecit anno salvtis MDXX.*)

Babalićev i Riciusov sarkofag upotpunjuju naše znanje o njima, o reutilizaciji antičkih sarkofaga, načinu pokapanja u Splitu krajem XV. i početkom XVI. st. te o groblju oko katedrale. O uporabi sarkofagâ i o njihovom broju oko katedrale važno svjedočanstvo pruža vizitacija kanonika Ivana Manole, koju je on po ovlasti nadbiskupa Stjepana Cosmija obavio krajem 1704. godine. Manola 3. prosinca obilazi kor katedrale, a zatim opisuje peripter i nabroja ukupno četrnaest sarkofaga.⁵¹

50 AMS, arhiv, 1936, br. 319 od 14. listopada, na priloženom popisu s prijepisom sačuvanog dijela natpisa: *2 ulomka antiknog sarkofaga s natpisom iz XVI. v.*

51 NAS, S, br. 55, l. 26. Za ovaj prijevod, kao i onaj u bilj. 56 i 91, zahvaljujem Branku Joziću iz splitskog *Marulianuma*.

· RICIVS · ME · EC...
· SACER · ET ·
· VIVENS · SIBI · FECIT ·
O · S · M · D · XX ·

the former text can be approximately reconstructed; it says that Marinellus Ricius, a priest and canon of the metropolitan church in Split, commissioned for himself the production of (this sarcophagus) in the year of our salvation, 1520:

MARINELLVS · RICIVS · METROPOL ·
SPALATEN · ECCL · SACER · ET ·
CANONICVS · VIVENS · SIBI · FECIT ·
ANNO · S · M · D · XX ·

(*Marinellvs Ricivs metropolitanae Spalatensis ecclesiae sacerdos et canonicvs vivens sibi fecit anno salvtis MDXX.*)

The sarcophagus of Babalić and Ricius supplements our knowledge of them, the reutilization of Roman-era sarcophagi, interment methods in Split at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and the cemetery around the cathedral. The visitation of Ivan Manola, which was conducted in this area on the authority of Archbishop Stephan Cosmi at the end of 1794, provides important evidence on the use of sarcophagi and their number around the cathedral. On 3 December, Manola toured the cathedral's choir section, and then described the peripter and counted a total of fourteen sarcophagi:⁵¹

Around the temple/sanctuary from the outside

Outside, placed around are twelve marble columns with the corresponding architraves, on which, as apparent, rather heavy plates once rested; some of them still exist, connected to the temple wall and leaning on them; it is believed they were placed like a portico.

Three sarcophagi on the wall next to the presbytery, of which one has been recognized as belonging to the Geremia family; opposite to it is a marble altar slab.⁵² At the entrance to the temple to each side of the main door there are two archbishops' sarcophagi with inscriptions, and opposite to them two doors through which one climbs into the campanile.⁵³ The vault

51 NAS, S, no. 55, f. 26. For this translation, like those in notes 56 and 91, I would like to thank Branko Jozić from the *Marulianum* in Split.

52 In 1714, Ivan Vicko Dumaneo asked Archbishop Stephen Cupilli if he could take the old marble mensa from the peripter and use it for an altar in the chapel of the Church of St. Maria *de Taurello*, so it is certainly the this one from Manola's visitation. Duplančić 1993, p. 476.

53 It can be seen on Andrić's and Hauser's sketches. Kečkemet 1993, Fig. 63, 64, P. III, IX. For Andrić's enlarged floor-plan, see: Fisković C. 1950a, P. 6 in appendix.



Sl. 10. Crtež sarkofaga kanonika Marinellusa Riciusa iz doba kad se nalazio na Pazaru
Fig. 10. Sketch of the sarcophagus of Canon Marinellus Ricius when it was at Pazaru

Oko hrama s vanjske strane

Izvana uokolo dvadeset mramornih stupova s pripadajućim arhitravima, na koje su se, kako je očito, nekoć oslanjale dosta teške ploče; neke od njih još uvijek postoje, povezane sa zidom hrama i u nj uprte; drži se da su bile postavljene poput trijema.

Tri sarkofaga na zidu do prezbiterija, od kojih se za jedan razaznaje da je pripadao obitelji Geremia; nasuprot njemu nalazi se mramorna menza.⁵² Na ulazu u hram s ove i one strane kraj glavnih vrata dva nadbiskupska sarkofaga s natpisima, a nasuprot njima dvojica vrata kroz koja se uspinje u zvonik.⁵³ Svod ispod zvonika, na koji se oslanja čitava ta golema građevina, a s ove i one strane klupe.⁵⁴

Ponad glavnih vrata kip sv. Dujma.⁵⁵ Desni ulazni dovratnik izjeden i trošan, kao i nadvratnik.⁵⁶ Po

below the campanile, which leans entirely on this enormous building, with benches on either side.⁵⁴

Above the main door a statue of St. Domnio.⁵⁵ The right entrance door-post is chipped and worn, like the lintel.⁵⁶ Tombs around the entire circle on the outside.⁵⁷ Two sarcophagi in the well opening on the

52 Ivan Vicko Dumaneo zamolio je 1714. nadbiskupa Stjepana Cupillija da smije iz periptera uzeti jednu staru mramornu menzu i upotrijebiti je za oltar u kapeli crkve sv. Marije *de Taurello* pa je sigurno riječ o ovoj iz Manoline vizitacije. Duplančić 1993, str. 476.

53 Ona se vide na Andrićevim i Hauserovim nacrtima. Kečkemet 1993, sl. 63, 64, T. III, IX. Uvećani Andrićev tlocrt u: Fisković C. 1950a, T. 6 u prilogu.

54 Jedna kamena klupa uz sjeverni ulaz u zvonik prikazana je u: Adam 1764, T. XXVIII; Brown 1992, str. 29; Kečkemet 2003, T. XXVIII.

55 Vidi daljnji tekst.

56 Manola je naredio (l. 34r) *da se desni dovratnik glavnog ulaza, budući da je djelomično propao, popravi, a isto tako i nadvratnik rečenih vrata*. To nije bilo učinjeno sve do godine 1757. jer je u Adamovoj knjizi portal još uvijek oštećen pa je popravljen nakon te godine. (Adam 1764, T. XXVIII; Brown 1992, str. 29; Kečkemet 2003, T. XXVIII; Fisković C. 1950a, str. 41, 87.) Prigodom gradnje kapele sv. Dujma 1767.

54 A stone bench next to the northern entrance in the campanile was shown in: Adam 1764, P. XXVIII; Brown 1992, p. 29; Kečkemet 2003, P. XXVIII.

55 See the text below.

56 Manola ordered (l. 34r) “that the right door-post of the main entrance, since it has partially deteriorated, be repaired, and also the lintel of this door”. This was not done until 1757, because in Adam’s book the portal is still damaged, so it was repaired after that year (Adam 1764, P. XXVIII; Brown 1992, p. 29; Kečkemet 2003, P. XXVIII; Fisković C. 1950a, p. 41, 87). During construction of the Chapel of St. Domnio in 1767, the cathedral was also remodelled, so that it would have a nicer appearance for the day of transfer of the saint’s relics to the new altar. At the time the door was repaired with gypsum, while in the interior it “all Roman-era parts of the temple were covered with gypsum, particularly the decorations, which were ravaged by time or the barbarism of our fathers”. (On the door: University Library in Split, M-2, Collezione di manoscritti diversi II, f. 205v: *lavorandosi di stucco le porte di questa Metropolitana corrose del tempo*. Jelić 1894, p. 48; the manuscript was then owned by the *Gabinetto di lettura* in Split. For the interior: AMS, Julije Bajamonti Archives, pos. V/8, p. 36. Bajamonti 1975, p. 126). This is why it is assumed that the repairs to the stone were made after that year.

57 In the original (f. 26v): *Per totum gyrum ad extra sepulturae*. There were graves in the floor of the peripter around the cathedral, while sarcophagi were along its periphery, in the way that can be seen on old portrayals and as they are today, but with a different arrangement. Of the plaques for these graves, only that of Canon

cijelom krugu s vanjske strane grobovi.⁵⁷ Dva sarkofaga u otvoru zida na strani atrija Sv. Lucije.⁵⁸ Nadalje, dva sarkofaga kraj stubišta bratovštine Presvetog Sakramenta,⁵⁹ jedan veći, a drugi manji. Osim toga, jedan veoma stari sarkofag kraj dna stubišta po kojem se penje u hram, a iza toga sarkofaga na povišem mjestu vidi se kameni lik nalik sfingi. U blizini crkve sv. Roka između dvaju stupova sarkofag pokojnog kanonika Babalića. Lijevo od hramskih stuba groblje.⁶⁰ U njemu tri sarkofaga, dva pokrivena, a treći otkriven.

Osim Babalićeva sarkofaga Manola poimence navodi samo još jedan, koji je pripadao obitelji Geremia. Taj je na svojem mjestu stajao još godine 1876., a nalazio se u istočnom dijelu periptera. Zbog radova oko katedrale razgovaralo se s Jerolimom Geremijom, posljednjim potomkom obitelji koja je bila nasljednik izumrle obitelji Cutheis, o rušenju njihova groba, koji je uključivao i sarkofag s poklopcem. Geremia je pristao pod uvjetom da se kosti pokojnika prenesu na groblje Sustipan i sahrane u sarkofag koji

uređivana je i katedrala, kako bi bila što ljepša za dan prijenosa svećevih ostataka na novi oltar. Tada su vrata popravljena gipsom, a u unutrašnjosti su *premazani gipsom svi antički dijelovi hrama, posebno ukrasi, koje je oštetilo vrijeme ili barbarstvo naših otaca.* (Za vrata: Sveučilišna knjižnica u Splitu, M-2, Collezione di manoscritti diversi II, l. 205v: *lavorandosi di stucco le porte di questa Metropolitana corrose del tempo.* Jelić 1894, str. 48; rukopis je tada bio u vlasništvu splitskog *Gabinetto di lettura.* Za unutrašnjost: AMS, arhiv Julija Bajamontija, poz. V/8, str. 36. Bajamonti 1975, str. 126.) Zato pretpostavljamo da je popravak u kamenu izveden nakon te godine.

- 57 U izvorniku (l. 26v): *Per totum gyrum ad extra sepulturae.* U podu periptera oko katedrale bili su grobovi, a uz rub su stajali sarkofazi onako kako ih vidimo na starim prikazima i kao što su danas, ali s drukčijim rasporedom. Od ploča tih grobova sačuvana je samo ona kanonika Ivana Fabijanovog iz druge polovine XV. stoljeća. (Duplančić 2007b, str. 231, 232, 248.) Bajamonti spominje neku ploču iz 1520. na kojoj je Split bio uklesan kao *Aspalato*. (AMS, arhiv Julija Bajamontija, poz. V/8, str. 20. Bajamonti 1975, str. 114.) Jednu nadgrobnu ploču s grbom (vjerojatno) u krugu prikazao je George Niemann na tlocrtu katedrale iz 1904. godine. Niemann 1910, T. IX ad str. 62. Nacrtana je i u Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, str. 71, T. IX.
- 58 Kripta mauzoleja bila je pretvorena u kapelu posvećenu sv. Luciji. Duplančić 2007a, str. 189, 190.
- 59 Bratovština je imala svoje prostorije iznad sakristije i zato je na njezinu zapadnom zidu bio postavljen reljef *Imago Pietatis* iz 1509. godine. O sakristiji i slike vidi u Nikšić 2003-2004, str. 282-285.
- 60 Veliko i malo groblje oko katedrale spominje nadbiskup Marko Antun de Dominis u svojoj vizitaciji iz 1604. godine. NAS, S, br. 15, l. 5v, 6r (groblje uz Sv. Luciju), 35r; Fisković C. 1967, str. 131.

*side of the atrium of St. Lucy.*⁵⁸ Furthermore, two sarcophagi next to the stairwell of the Fraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament,⁵⁹ one larger, one smaller. Additionally, one very old sarcophagus next to the bottom of the stairwell to which one climbs to the temple, and behind this sarcophagus a stone figure resembling a sphinx can be seen. Near the Church of St. Roch, between two columns, the sarcophagus of the deceased Canon Babalić. Left of the temple columns the cemetery.⁶⁰ In it, three sarcophagi, two covered, and the third uncovered.

Besides Babalić's sarcophagus, Manola specifically mentioned another one that belonged to the Geremia family. This one remained its original location until 1876, located in the eastern section of the peripter. Due to works around the cathedral, talks were held with Jerolim Geremia, the last descendent of the family (which was in turn the successor to the extinct Cutheis family), on the demolition of their tomb, which included the sarcophagus with lid. Geremia agreed, provided that the bones of the deceased were moved to the cemetery in Sustipan and interred in a sarcophagus made available by the administration of the Our Lady of Pojištan shrine.⁶¹ Since the letter

Ivan Fabijanov from the latter half of the fifteenth century has been preserved (Duplančić 2007b, pp. 231, 232, 248). Bajamonti mentioned a plaque from 1520 on which Split was engraved as *Aspalato* (AMS, Julije Bajamonti archives, pos. V/8, p. 20. Bajamonti 1975, p. 114). One grave plaque with coat of arms (probably) in a circle was shown by George Niemann in a floor plan of the cathedral from 1904. Niemann 1910, P. IX ad p. 62. It was also drawn in Hébrard, Zeiller 1912, p. 71, P. IX.

- 58 The mausoleum's crypt was transformed into a chapel dedicated to St. Lucy. Duplančić 2007a, pp. 189, 190.
- 59 The Fraternity had its facilities behind the sacristy, and this is why a relief of *Imago Pietatis* from 1509 is on its western wall. On the sacristy and images, see Nikšić 2003-2004, pp. 282-285.
- 60 Marco Antonio de Dominis mentioned the large and small cemeteries around the cathedral in his visitation in 1604. NAS, S, no. 15, f. 5v, 6r (cemetery next to St. Lucy's), 35r; Fisković C. 1967, p. 131.
- 61 Conservation Department in Split (hereinafter: KOS), archives, 1877, no. 24 (received on 16 May) – letter from the custodial office, no. 30 of 9 September. 1876: *l'unico discendente della già estinta famiglia a-Cutheis, il nobile Sig. r. Girolamo de Geremia, egli cede a favore della public' amministrazione tutto il materiale proveniente dalla demolizione della sepoltura, compresa anche l'urna col suo coperchio in cui sono riposte le ossa di talun della famiglia a-Cutheis, sita nell' intercolonio orientale del peristilio, circondante l'antico Tempio, ora nostro Duomo ... trasportare nel Cimitero di Santo Steffano, ed ivi depositate in un' arca, graziosamente comessa dagli Amministratori del*

je stavila na raspolaganje uprava svetišta Gospe od Pojišana.⁶¹ Budući da se u dopisu govori o ustupanju materijala koji će se dobiti rušenjem groba možda je i taj sarkofag imao neki arkosolij iako nije označen na Andrićevu tlocrtu iz 1852. i Hauserovu iz 1876. godine.⁶²

Manola je spomenuo i dva nadbiskupska sarkofaga s natpisima kraj glavnog ulaza u katedralu, ali ne navodi imena pokojnika. Njegov podatak potvrđuje prikaz portala katedrale iz 1757. na kojem je dokumentiran po jedan sarkofag s obje njegove strane⁶³ (sl. 11), ali ih nema na crtežu iz 1782. godine,⁶⁴ što bi značilo da su u međuvremenu uklonjeni. To nisu bili sarkofazi nadbiskupa Ivana "Ravenjanina" i Lovre,

also indicates the availability of materials that will be acquired by demolition of the tomb, perhaps this sarcophagus also had an arcosolium, although this was not specified in Andrić's floor plan from 1852 nor in Hauser's from 1876.⁶²

Manola also mentioned two archbishops' sarcophagi with inscriptions next to the cathedral's main entrance, but he did not specify the names of the deceased. His information has been confirmed by an image of the cathedral's portal from 1757 on which one sarcophagus on each of its sides was documented⁶³ (Fig. 11), but they are absent on the sketch from 1782,⁶⁴ which would mean that they had been removed in the meantime. These were not the sarcophagi of Archbishop John of Ravenna and Lovre, because these were in the Church of St. Matthew,⁶⁵ so it is unknown as to whose they were. According to available sources, one may have belonged to Archbishop Crescentius († 1112) and situated on the northern side of the cathedral's main entrance, and subsequently Archbishop Rogerius († 1266) was in-

61 Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu (dalje KOS), arhiv, 1877, br. 24 (primljen 16. svibnja) – dopis crkvinarstva br. 30 do 9. IX. 1876: *l'unico discendente della già estinta famiglia a-Cutheis, il nobil Sig.r Girolamo de Geremia, egli cede a favore della pubblic' amministrazione tutto il materiale proveniente dalla demolizione della sepoltura, compresa anche l'urna col suo coperchio in cui sono riposte le ossa di talun della famiglia a-Cutheis, sita nell' intercolonio orientale del peristilio, circondante l'antico Tempio, ora nostro Duomo ... trasportare nel Cimitero di Santo Steffano, ed ivi depositate in un' arca, graziosamente comessa dagli Amministratori del Santuario della Beata Vergine di Poisan.* Obitelj Geremia je od 1852. imala svoj grob na Sustipanu. Kečkemet 1994, str. 56, 60, 63, 129, 155.

62 Kečkemet 1993, sl. 63, T. III. Uvećani Andrićev tlocrt u: Fisković C. 1950a, T. 6 u prilogu. U dopisu se navodi *sepoltura* i pripadajuća *urna col suo coperchio*, što bi značilo grobnu cjelinu, a ne običan grob u zemlji, tim više što kanonik Manola izrijeком spominje sarkofag obitelji Geremia (l. 26r): *Tres arcae supra Murum quod iminet Presbyterio, quarum una diagnoscitur esse familiae illorum de Geremia.* Isto tako riječ *urna* ne treba shvatiti u današnjem smislu jer se ona rabila i za sarkofage. I za stipes oltara sv. Staša, koji je imao *fenestellu*, u dokumentima iz 1769. i 1782. koristi se naziv *urna*. (Duplančić 1997, str. 91, bilj. 36.) Treba također istaknuti da se *urna* javlja i u značenju groba u podu, kako je to zabilježeno na nadgrobnoj ploči Ivana Matijaševića iz 1596. (*mortalis urna*) koja je bila u pločniku crkve sv. Klare. Bulić 1898, str. 174.

63 Adam 1764, T. XXVIII; u legendi te table na str. 27: *FF. Ancient Sarcophagi.* Brown 1992, str. 29; Kečkemet 2003, str. 178, T. XXVIII. Ovdje zanemarujemo činjenicu da se slikar Clérisseau našalio tako da je na južnom sarkofagu napisao ... *IACET CORPUS CLERISSI PICTOR.* (Brown 1992, str. 29; Kečkemet 2003, str. 178.) Slično je napravio i bakrorezac Francesco Bartolozzi koji se potpisao u natpisnom polju fontane kraj crkve sv. Frane. Adam 1764, T. IV; Brown 1992, str. 28, 29; Kečkemet 2003, str. 137, 168, T. IV.

64 Kečkemet 1978, str. 96; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 47. između str. 134 i 135.

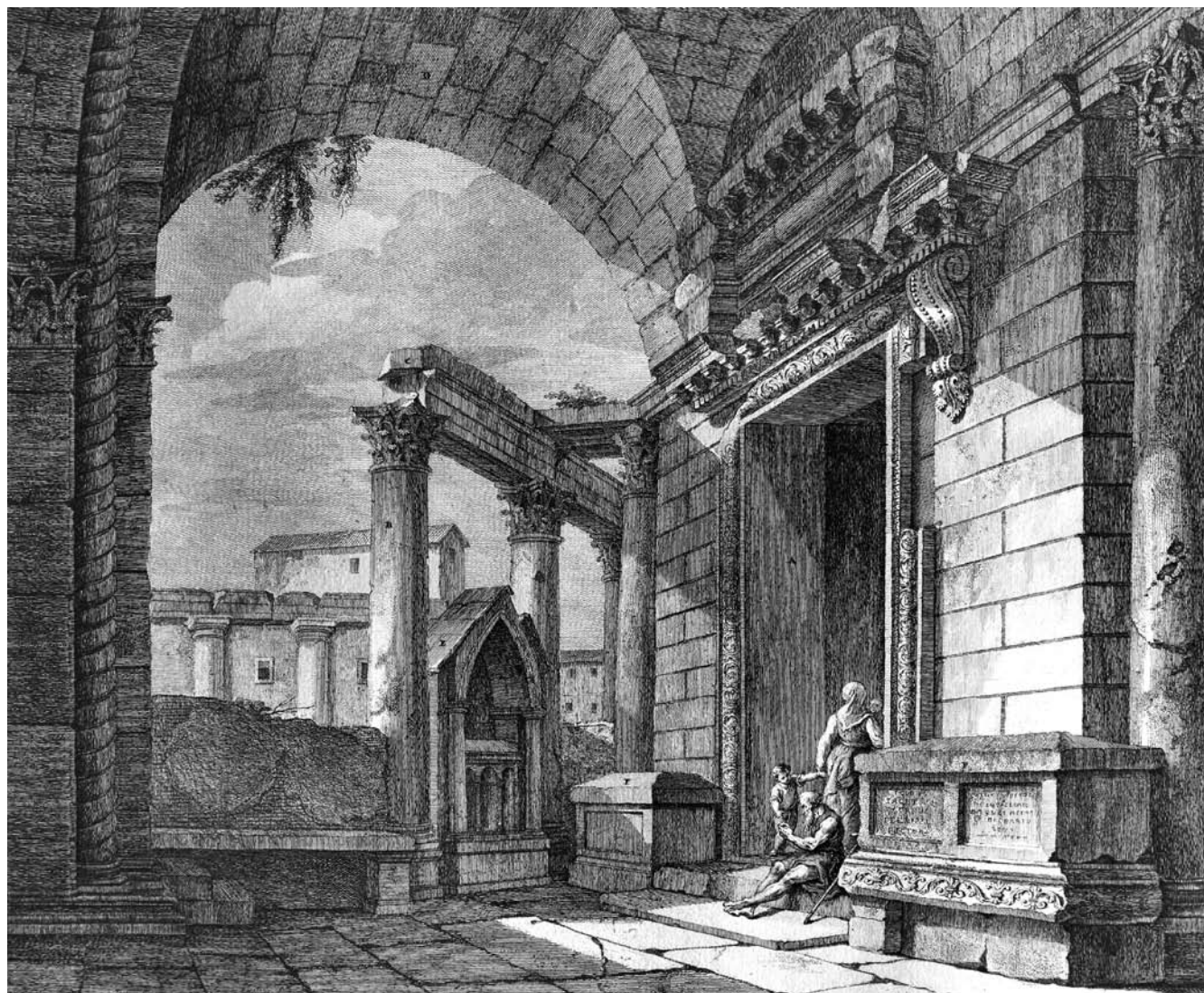
Santuario della Beata Vergine di Poisan. Since 1852, the Geremia family had its tomb at Sustipan. Kečkemet 1994, pp. 56, 60, 63, 129, 155.

62 Kečkemet 1993, Fig. 63, P. III. Andrić's enlarged floor plan in: Fisković C. 1950a, P. 6 in appendix. The letter mentions the *sepoltura* and the accompanying *urna col suo coperchio*, which would mean an entire tomb, and not just a grave in the ground, all the more so since Canon Manola explicitly mentioned the sarcophagus of the Geremia family (f. 26r): *Tres arcae supra Murum quod iminet Presbyterio, quarum una diagnoscitur esse familiae illorum de Geremia.* By the same token, the word *urna* should not be understood in the modern sense, because it was used for sarcophagi as well. Even the support for the altar of St. Anastasius, which had a *fenestella*, was also called an *urna* in the documents from 1769 and 1782 (Duplančić 1997, p. 91, note 36). Also noteworthy is that the word *urna* also appeared in the sense of a grave dug into the ground, as recorded on the gravestone of Ivan Matijašević in 1596 (*mortalis urna*) which was in the flooring of the Church of St. Clara. Bulić 1898, p. 174.

63 Adam 1764, P. XXVIII; in the legend to the plate on p. 27: *FF. Ancient Sarcophagi.* Brown 1992, p. 29; Kečkemet 2003, p. 178, P. XXVIII. Here the fact that the painter Clérisseau joked that he wrote on the southern sarcophagus ... *IACET CORPUS CLERISSI PICTOR* has been overlooked (Brown 1992, p. 29; Kečkemet 2003, p. 178). Something similar was done by copperplate engraver Francesco Bartolozzi, who signed his name to the inscription field of the fountain next to the Church of St. Francis. Adam 1764, P. IV; Brown 1992, pp. 28, 29; Kečkemet 2003, p. 137, 168, P. IV.

64 Kečkemet 1978, p. 96; Lavallée, Cassas 1802, P. 47. between pp. 134 and 135.

65 NAS, S, no. 55, f. 32r: *Duae Arcae antiquae ubi quiescunt ossa duorum Archiepiscoporum.*



Sl. 11. Portal katedrale sv. Dujma u knjizi R. Adama iz 1764. g. (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 11. Portal of the Cathedral of St. Domnio in the book by R. Adam from 1764 (photo: Ž. Bačić)

jer su se nalazili u crkvi sv. Mateja,⁶⁵ pa je nepoznato čiji su bili. Prema dostupnim izvorima jedan je mogao pripadati nadbiskupu Krescenciju († 1112.) i nalazio se sa sjeverne strane glavnih vrata katedrale, a u njemu je kasnije bio sahranjen nadbiskup Rogerije († 1266.).⁶⁶ Zbog pisanja Tome Arhidakona moglo bi se pomišljati da je drugi sarkofag bio nadbiskupa Bernarda iz Perugie († 1217.), ali se to ne čini vjerovatnim, zbog Farlatijevih riječi da se o njegovu grobu ništa ne zna.⁶⁷ U ovim razmatranjima ne smijemo

terred in it.⁶⁶ Based on the writings of Thomas the Archdeacon, one may think that the other sarcophagus belonged to Archbishop Bernardo from Perugia († 1217), but this does not seem likely given Farlati's statement that nothing is known about his tomb.⁶⁷ In these considerations, the possibility that Manola was thinking of the sarcophagus of Archbishop Martin (970-1000)⁶⁸ and the sarcophagus of Franica de Judicibus, the mother of Archbishop Domnio, whose

65 NAS, S, br. 55, l. 32r: *Duae Arcae antiquae ubi quiescunt ossa duorum Archiepiscoporum.*

66 Farlati 1751, str. 349: *sepultus est in arca marmorea, ante fores Cathedralis ecclesiae S. Domnii, ex parte boreali ...* (slijedi tekst natpisa). Duplančić 2007b, str. 230, 238, bilj. 5.

67 Farlati 1765, str. 243: *De illius sepulcro, et inscriptione sepulcrali, nihil habeo quod subjiciam.* Duplančić 2007b, str. 230, 239, bilj. 8.

66 Farlati 1751, p. 349: *sepultus est in arca marmorea, ante fores Cathedralis ecclesiae S. Domnii, ex parte boreali ...* (followed by the text of the inscription). Duplančić 2007b, pp. 230, 238, note 5.

67 Farlati 1765, p. 243: *De illius sepulcro, et inscriptione sepulcrali, nihil habeo quod subjiciam.* Duplančić 2007b, pp. 230, 239, note 8.

68 Bulić, Karaman 1927, Fig. 85; Rapanić 1971, pp. 299-304.

izuzeti mogućnost da je Manola mislio na sarkofag nadbiskupa Martina (970.-1000.)⁶⁸ i sarkofag Franice de Judicibus, majke nadbiskupa Dujma, čije se ime navodi u natpisu.⁶⁹ Međutim, ni to se ne čini izglednim jer je Martinov sarkofag bio na sjevernoj strani periptera, a na Franičinom jasno piše da je ona sahranjena u njemu.

Martinov sarkofag otkriven je 1908. prigodom uređenja periptera istočno od tada postojeće barokne kapele sv. Dujma, odmah uz nju.⁷⁰ Bio je u malom zidu između dvaju stupova periptera, s natpisom okrenutim prema katedrali, ali ga je zid zaklanjao gotovo do pola.⁷¹ Do u XVIII. st. natpis je bio potpuno čitljiv pa ga je netko prepisao kao građu za Farlatijev *Illyricum sacrum* koja se kao svezak VIII. *Salonitana et Spalatensia* čuvala u knjižnici trogirске obitelji Fanfogna-Garagnin.⁷² Njegov položaj vidi se na tlocrtu katedrale V. Andrića iz 1852. i A. Hausera iz 1876. godine.⁷³

Ličnost nadbiskupa Martina i vrijeme njegova života nisu upitni pa o tome ovdje ne treba raspravljati. Želimo međutim upozoriti na neke podatke iz kataloga splitskih nadbiskupa koji se možda mogu povezati s nadbiskupom Martinom spomenutim na sarkofagu. Toma Arhiđakon spominje jednog nadbiskupa Martina koji je bio Splitsčanin i koji je dao izraditi veliki zlatni kalež za katedralu, a datira ga u vrijeme cara Teodozija i kralja Držislava.⁷⁴ Kroničar Cutheis u svom popisu nadbiskupâ, a prije Dabrala (1030.-1050.), također navodi Martina koji je bio Splitsčanin i dao izraditi veliki zlatni kalež te dodaje da mu je otac bio knez (*comes*) u rodnom gradu.⁷⁵ S druge strane *Chronicum pontificale Salonitanum et Spalatense* uz ime Martina II., kojeg smješta u vrijeme kralja Karla i kneza Branimira,⁷⁶ bilježi da mu je otac bio splitski

name is mentioned in the inscription.⁶⁹ should not be overlooked. However, this does not seem probable, since Martin's sarcophagus was on the north side of the peripter, while it is clearly written on Franica's that she is interred in it.

Martin's sarcophagus was discovered in 1908 during works on the peripter east of the then still-extant Chapel of St. Domnio, right next to it.⁷⁰ It was in a small wall between two peripter columns, with an inscription turned toward the cathedral, although the wall obscured almost half of it.⁷¹ Until the eighteenth century, the inscription was entirely legible, so someone transcribed it as material for Farlati's *Illyricum sacrum*, which was held as volume VIII of *Salonitana et Spalatensia* in the library of the Fanfogna-Garagnin family in Trogir.⁷² Its position can be seen on the floor-plan of the cathedral by V. Andrić from 1852 and A. Hauser from 1876.⁷³

The existence and lifetime of Archbishop Martin are not subject to question, so they need not be discussed herein. I would, however, like to point out certain data from the catalogues of the Split archbishops which may be tied to the Archbishop Martin mentioned on the sarcophagus. Thomas the Archdeacon mentioned an archbishop named Martin who was a Split native and who commissioned the production of a large gold chalice for the cathedral, and dated him to the time of Emperor Theodosius and King Držislav.⁷⁴ In his list of archbishops, the chronicler Cutheis also mentioned, prior to Dabral (1030-1050), a certain Martin, who was a Split native and who had a large golden chalice made, and added that his father was the count (*comes*) in the city of his birth.⁷⁵ On the other hand, the *Chronicum pontificale Salonitanum et Spalatense* accompanies the name Martin II, whom it placed in the time of King Charles and Prince Branimir,⁷⁶ with the notation that his father was the Split count and

68 Bulić, Karaman 1927, sl. 85; Rapanić 1971, str. 299-304.

69 Vidi bilj. 20.

70 Bulić 1908b, str. 147-156.

71 Bulić 1908b, str. 148.

72 Izvještaj "Bihaća" 1901, str. 216. Bulić 1908b, str. 148. Danas se taj svezak čuva u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu. Kolanović 1980, str. 151.

73 Kečkemet 1993, sl. 63, T. III. Uvećani Andrićev tlocrt u Fisković C. 1950a, T. 6 u prilogu. Začudo, nema ga na Niemannovu tlocrtu iz 1904. godine. Niemann 1910, T. IX ad str. 62.

74 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, str. 55; Matijević Sokol 2002, str. 117-120.

75 Cutheis 1666, str. 386: 72. *Martinus. Iste fecit calicem magnum aureum, iste fuit Spal. et pater ejus fuit Comes istus Civ.*; Farlati 1751, str. 324.

76 Toma Arhiđakon u njihovo doba datira nadbiskupa Marina. Toma Arhiđakon 2003, str. 53; Matijević Sokol 2002, str. 116.

69 See note 20.

70 Bulić 1908b, pp. 147-156.

71 Bulić 1908b, p. 148.

72 "Bihać" report, 1901, p. 216. Bulić 1908b, p. 148. Today this volume is held in the Croatian National Archives in Zagreb. Kolanović 1980, p. 151.

73 Kečkemet 1993, Fig. 63, P. III. Andrić's enlarged floor-plan in Fisković C. 1950a, P. 6 in appendix. Oddly, it does not appear in Niemann's floor plan from 1904. Niemann 1910, P. IX ad p. 62.

74 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, p. 55; Matijević Sokol 2002, pp. 117-120.

75 Cutheis 1666, p. 386: 72. *Martinus. Iste fecit calicem magnum aureum, iste fuit Spal. et pater ejus fuit Comes istus Civ.*; Farlati 1751, p. 324.

76 Thomas the Archdeacon dated Archbishop Marin to their period. Toma Arhiđakon 2003, p. 53; Matijević Sokol 2002, p. 116.

knez i da je pokopan u sarkofagu uz stepenice koje vode u nadbiskupov vrt.⁷⁷ Za Martina III. kaže pak da je bio Splitsanin i da je živio 970. godine.⁷⁸

Iz svega navedenog možemo zaključiti da su Toma Arhidakon i Cutheis suglasni glede Martinova podrijetla, vremena i izrade kaleža. Što se tiče Cutheisova podatka da mu je otac bio knez u Splitu, čini se da je njegov izvor pogrešno čitanje natpisa na Martinovom sarkofagu. Naime, u trećem retku natpisa stoji riječ *comes*, koju je i don Frane Bulić shvatio u značenju knez,⁷⁹ a zapravo se radi o iskvarenom obliku pridjeva *comis* kako je uočio već Petar Skok i prihvatio Željko Rapanić koji je podrobno analizirao cijeli natpis.⁸⁰ Osim toga, titula kneza javlja se u Splitu tek nakon prelaska pod vlast Arpadovaca i prvi se put spominje oko 1160. godine.⁸¹ Zato zaključujemo da je Cutheis imao pred očima Martinov sarkofag kad je napisao da mu je otac bio knez. Isto možemo reći i za sastavljača *Chronicum pontificale*, koji je naveo točan položaj sarkofaga,⁸² ali ga je netočno vezao uz starijeg Martina (II.) umjesto uz mlađeg (III.).

Jedan od sarkofaga uz stubište bratovštine Presvetog Sakramenta (Tijela Kristovog), vjerojatno manji, s natpisom neke Romule, zabilježio je Petar Aleksandar Bogetić sredinom XVIII. st., uz napomenu da se nalazi uz katedralu (sl. 12). Objavio ga je već godine 1753. Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, ali bez podatka o tome gdje se nalazi.⁸³ Po Bogetićevu rukopisu, koji je posjedovao, ponovno ga je tiskao Franjo Lanza.⁸⁴ Theodor Mommsen uvrstio ga je godine 1873.

that he was interred in a sarcophagus next to the stairs which led to the archbishop's garden.⁷⁷ Of Martin III, it says that he was a Split native and that he lived in 970.⁷⁸

From all of this, it may be concluded that Thomas the Archdeacon and Cutheis were in agreement on Martin's origins, lifetime and the making of the chalice. As to the information from Cutheis that his father was the count of Split, it would appear that his source is an erroneously read inscription on Martin's sarcophagus. For the word *comes* does appear in the third line of the inscription, to which Fr. Frane Bulić also accorded the meaning count,⁷⁹ although it is actually a contorted form of the adjective *comis*, as already observed by Petar Skok and accepted by Željko Rapanić, who thoroughly analyzed the entire inscription.⁸⁰ Additionally, the title of count only appeared in Split after it came under the rule of the Hungarian Arpad dynasty, and it was first mentioned at around 1160.⁸¹ This is why it may be concluded that Cutheis had actually seen Martin's sarcophagus when he wrote that his father was a count. The same may also be said of the compiler of the *Chronicum pontificale*, who cited the correct position of the sarcophagus,⁸² but inaccurately linked it to the elder Martin (II) rather than the younger (III).

One of the sarcophagi next to the stairwell of the Fraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament (Corpus Christi), probably smaller, with an inscription of a certain Romulla, was recorded by Petar Aleksandar Bogetić in the mid-eighteenth century, with the note that it was located next to the Cathedral (Fig. 12). It

77 Farlati 1751, str. 348: *II Martinus f II. Arch. Spalat. Iste floruit tempore Caroli Regis, et Branimiri Ducis Slavoniae. Hujus pater fuit Comes civitatis Spalatensis. Vide Chronicam ubi supra. Tumulus est in arca lapidea prope scalam, quae ducit in hortos D. Archiepiscopi extra ecclesiam S. Domnii.* Sa sjeverne strane katedrale podignuta je 1667. nadbiskupska palača, a između njih je bio vrt. Radi ljepšeg ugođaja na zidu kora naslikana je iluzionistička freska. Duplančić 2011a, str. 95, 96; Matulić 2003, str. 113-118.

78 Farlati 1751, str. 348: *13 Martinus III. Archiep. Spalat. Floruit tempore Theodori Imperatoris, et Dircislavi Regis Dalmatiae et Croatiae. Iste fuit patria Spalatinus; fuit anno 970.*

79 Bulić 1908b, str. 152, 153.

80 Skok 1915, str. 45, 46, bilj. 2; Rapanić 1971, str. 302, 303.

81 Novak 1957, str. 298-299; Duplančić 1995, str. 362, 363. O službi priora i njegovoj zamjeni za kneza vidi Margetić 1997, str. 40-45.

82 U tom smislu već smo povezali Martinov sarkofag s podatkom o smještaju iz *Kronike*. Duplančić 2007b, str. 230, 238, bilj. 3.

83 Zaccaria 1753, str. XXXIII, br. CXV.

84 Lanza 1848, str. 141, 142, br. CLI; o Bogetićevom rukopisu na str. 4, a o njegovoj daljnjoj sudbini CIL III, str. 277.

77 Farlati 1751, p. 348: *II Martinus f II. Arch. Spalat. Iste floruit tempore Caroli Regis, et Branimiri Ducis Slavoniae. Hujus pater fuit Comes civitatis Spalatensis. Vide Chronicam ubi supra. Tumulus est in arca lapidea prope scalam, quae ducit in hortos D. Archiepiscopi extra ecclesiam S. Domnii.* The archbishop's palace was erected on the northern side of the cathedral in 1667, with the garden between them. An illusionist fresco was painted on the wall of the choir section to make a more pleasant ambient. Duplančić 2011a, pp. 95, 96; Matulić 2003, pp. 113-118.

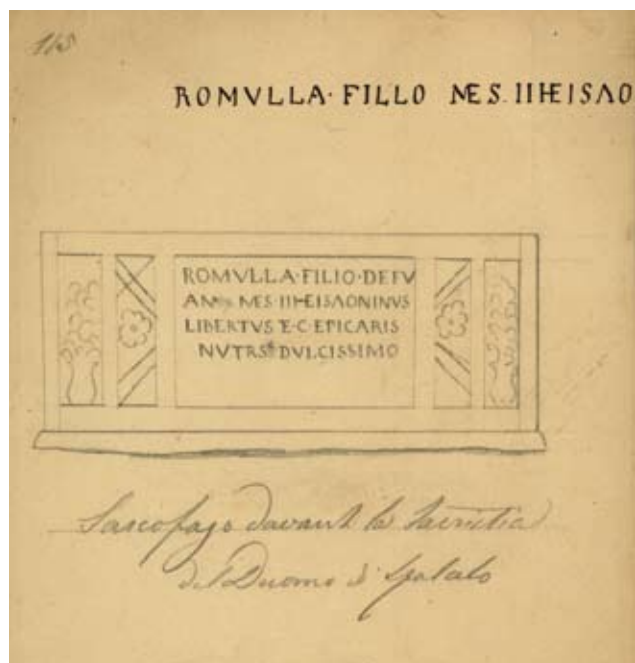
78 Farlati 1751, p. 348: *13 Martinus III. Archiep. Spalat. Floruit tempore Theodori Imperatoris, et Dircislavi Regis Dalmatiae et Croatiae. Iste fuit patria Spalatinus; fuit anno 970.*

79 Bulić 1908b, pp. 152, 153.

80 Skok 1915, pp. 45, 46, note 2; Rapanić 1971, pp. 302, 303.

81 Novak 1957, pp. 298-299; Duplančić 1995, pp. 362, 363. On the service of the prior and his replacement with the count, see Margetić 1997, pp. 40-45.

82 In this sense, Martin's sarcophagus has already been linked to the data on its location from the *Chronicles*. Duplančić 2007b, pp. 230, 238, note 3.



Sl. 12. Crtež Romulina sarkofaga, oko 1880. g.
Fig. 12. Sketch of the sarcophagus of Romulla, ca. 1880

u svoj korpus natpisa s istom napomenom i pozivom na prethodne objave, što bi značilo da ga nije vidio tijekom boravka u Splitu 1862. godine.⁸⁵ Oba sarkofaga ucertana su na tlocrtu katedrale Vicka Andrića iz 1852. i Aloisa Hausera iz 1876. godine.⁸⁶ Radovi na obnovi zvonika potaknuli su don Franu Bulića da se 1889. obrati crkvinarstvu katedrale s molbom da sarkofag ustupi Arheološkome muzeju u *komu će on svakako bolje stati i u boljem društvu nego do tada*.⁸⁷ Bulić piše, kako je to bilo uobičajeno gotovo za sve natpise i sarkofage, da je nađen u Solinu i da je bio u nadbiskupskoj palači, o čemu mi nemamo podatak i kosi se s Bogetićevim pisanjem. Sarkofag je bio bez poklopca, što potvrđuje crtež s legendom *Sarcofago*

85 CIL III/1, br. 2507. U dopunama korpusa (CIL III/2, additamenta, str. 1032) naveden je točniji položaj sarkofaga: *in coemeterio S. Domni sub gradibus Oratori Corporis Christi*. Bratovština Presvetog Sakramenta imala je svoje prostorije iznad sakristije. O tome da Mommsen nije bio u Dalmaciji 1867., vidi: Duplančić 2008, str. 24, bilj. 87.

86 Kečkemet 1993, sl. 64, T. III. Uvećani Andrićev tlocrt u Fisković C. 1950a, T. 6 u prilogu.

87 AMS, arhiv, 1889., br. 13, dopis od 8. srpnja: *Pokraj malih južnih ulaznih vrata te Stolne Crkve, i baš medju stupovim izvanjskog osmokutnog peristila bivšeg Dioklecijanova Mauzoleja, nalazi se mali sarkofag bez pokrivala, s nadpisom ROMVLAE itd, koji je odavno bio u Solinu našast, jednom bio u nadbiskupskoj Palači, a od neopredijeljena vremena u sadašnjem položaju.*

was already published in 1753 by Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, but without data on its location.⁸³ Franjo Lanza once more published it based on Bogetić's manuscript, which he possessed.⁸⁴ In 1873, Theodor Mommsen included it in his body of inscriptions with the name notation and reference to previous publications, which would mean that he did not see it during his stay in Split in 1862.⁸⁵ Both sarcophagi are drawn into the cathedral floor-plan by Andrić from 1852 and by Alois Hauser from 1876.⁸⁶ Works on the restoration of the campanile prompted Fr. Frane Bulić to contact the cathedral's custodians in 1889 and request that the sarcophagus be ceded to the Archaeological Museum in "which it will certainly fare better and be in better company" than previously.⁸⁷ Bulić wrote, as was customary for virtually all inscriptions and sarcophagi, that it was found in Solin and that it was in the archbishop's palace, on which there are no corroborating data and which contradicts Bogetić's writings. The sarcophagus had no lid, which is confirmed by the sketch with legend *Sarcofago davanti la Sacristia del Duomo di Spalato* made around 1880, and held in the Archaeological Museum among the old sketches of finds. The custodial office approved Bulić's request, so in 1890 the sarcophagus was inventoried in catalogue A under no. 1602. Today it is in the rear garden of the Museum and, as discernable from the aforementioned data, the accompanying lid with inscription does not actually belong to it; it has been dated to the third century.⁸⁸

Manola also counted an old sarcophagus next to the cathedral's stairs, behind which there was a sphinx at an elevated position. In 1757 the sarcophagus was

83 Zaccaria 1753, p. XXXIII, no. CXV.

84 Lanza 1848, pp. 141, 142, no. CLI; on Bogetić's manuscript on p. 4, and on its further fate, CIL III, p. 277.

85 CIL III/1, no. 2507. In the supplements to the collection (CIL III/2, additament, p. 1032), a more accurate location for the sarcophagus is specified: *in coemeterio S. Domni sub gradibus Oratori Corporis Christi*. The Fraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament had its facilities above the sacristy. On the fact that Mommsen was not in Dalmatia in 1867, see: Duplančić 2008, p. 24, note 87.

86 Kečkemet 1993, Fig. 64, P. III. Andrić's enlarged floor-plan in Fisković C. 1950a, P. 6 in appendix.

87 AMS, archives, 1889, no. 13, letter of 8 July: "Next to the small south door of this Cathedral, and precisely among the outside octagonal Peristyle of the former Diocletian's Mausoleum, there is a small sarcophagus without a lid, bearing the inscription ROMVLAE, etc., which was long since found in Solin and was once in the archbishop's palace, and since an uncertain date it has been at its current location.

88 Cambi 2010, p. 121, no. 119, P. LXIX. 1.

davanti la Sacristia del Duomo di Spalato nastao oko 1880., a čuva se u Arheološkome muzeju među starim crtežima nalazâ. Crkvinarstvo je odobrilo Bulićevu molbu pa je sarkofag 1890. inventariziran u katalogu A pod br. 1602. Danas se nalazi u stražnjem vrtu Muzeja i, kao što se vidi iz navedenih podataka, ne pripada mu poklopac s natpisom koji je na njemu, a datiran je u III. stoljeće.⁸⁸

Manola je nabrojio još i stari sarkofag kraj stubišta katedrale, iza kojeg je na povišem mjestu bila sfinga. Sarkofag se godine 1757. još uvijek ondje nalazio pa ga je C.-L. Clériseau nacrtao na dva crteža⁸⁹ (sl. 13). Međutim, nema ga na Cassasovim prikazima Peristila iz 1782.,⁹⁰ što znači da je u međuvremenu uklonjen.

U vizitaciji pažnju zaslužuje i podatak o starom kipu sv. Dujma koji se nalazio iznad glavnih ulaznih vrata katedrale. Vjerojatno je bio veoma trošan i nedoličan pa je Manola naredio da ga se, kad bude prikladno, zamijeni novim, mramornim.⁹¹ Kip je vjerojatno uklonjen između 1765. i 1775.-1776., kada je na njegovo mjesto postavljen lav sv. Marka.⁹²

Broj sarkofaga koji su pripadali groblju oko katedrale povećan je 1937. za dva koji su otkriveni prigodom rušenja stare sakristije. Tada su pri kopanju poda nađena *dva sarkofaga, jedan velik, a drugi malen, dječji sa ostacima kostura*.⁹³ Pišući o radovima na sakristiji, Ljubo Karaman kaže pak da je nađeno *dijelova starih rimskih sarkofaga, od kojih jedan s natpisom*.⁹⁴ Drugi podaci o njima nisu nam nažalost poznati.

Sudbina Babalićevog i još više Riciusovog sarkofaga skreću pažnju na problem premještanja

still located there, so C.-L. Clériseau drew it in two sketches⁸⁹ (Fig. 13). However, it does not appear in Cassas' portrayals of the Peristyle from 1782,⁹⁰ which means that it was removed in the meantime.

In this visitation, the information on the old statue of St. Domnio, which was above the cathedral's main entrance, also merits attention. It was probably very worn and inappropriate, so Manola ordered that – when circumstances allowed – it be replaced with a new one made of marble.⁹¹ The statue was probably removed between 1765 and 1775-1776, when St. Mark's lion was installed in its place.⁹²

In 1937, the number of sarcophagi which belonged to the cemetery around the cathedral increased by two that were discovered during demolition of the old sacristy. At the time, during excavation of the floor, "two sarcophagi, one large, and another small, for a child's, with the remains of a skeleton" were found.⁹³ Writing about the works in the sacristy, Ljubo Karaman said, on the other hand, that "parts of old Roman sarcophagi, one with an inscription," were found.⁹⁴ The other data on them are not, unfortunately, known.

The fate of Babalić's, and even more so Ricius' sarcophagus, turn attention to the problem of the movement of the sarcophagi and the determination of their original locations. When considering the peripter of the Split cathedral, it is worthwhile recalling that the three sarcophagi on the northern side up to the choir section entrance were brought to the Archaeological Museum in 1924 and that the lid on

88 Cambi 2010, str. 121, br. 119, T. LXIX. 1.

89 McCormick 1990, str. 81, 82 (protiron i sfinga); Brown 1992, str. 36; Kečkemet 1978, str. 136. Objavljeno kao bakrorez u Adam 1764, T. XX; Novak 1961, str. 429; Kečkemet 1978, str. 129; Kečkemet 2003, str. 112 (protiron i sfinga), 176; Belamarić 2012, str. 29 (protiron i sfinga) – u bojama. Cassas ga ne crta 1782. godine.

90 Lavallée, Cassas 1802, T. 41 između str. 132 i 133, T. 39 između str. 134 i 135; Novak 1965, str. 409; Kečkemet 1978, str. 91, 93, 129, 131; Kečkemet 2003, str. 113, 282.

91 NAS, S, br. 55, l. 34r: *Također je upozorio da se u prikladno vrijeme, koliko bude moguće, iznad glavnog ulaza postavi mramorni kip sv. Dujma, a stari da se ukloni.*

92 Duplančić 1988a, str. 33.

93 Oko uređenja 1937, str. 3. Tijekom radova na gradnji kuće Nakić na zapadnoj strani Narodnog trga, gdje se nekoć nalazila crkva sv. Martina, otkriven je 1900. sarkofag bez natpisa i s polovicom poklopca na kojem su bili akroteriji. Čini se da je ostao u posjedu V. Nakića jer Bulić ne kaže da ga je darovao Muzeju. Bulić 1900c, str. 142.

94 Karaman 1938a, str. 197.

89 McCormick 1990, pp. 81, 82 (prothyrum and sphinx); Brown 1992, p. 36; Kečkemet 1978, p. 136. Published in copperplate in Adam 1764, P. XX; Novak 1961, p. 429; Kečkemet 1978, p. 129; Kečkemet 2003, p. 112 (prothyrum and sphinx), 176; Belamarić 2012, p. 29 (prothyrum and sphinx) – in colour. Not drawn by Cassas in 1782.

90 Lavallée, Cassas 1802, P. 41 between pp. 132 and 133, P. 39 between pp. 134 and 135; Novak 1965, p. 409; Kečkemet 1978, pp. 91, 93, 129, 131; Kečkemet 2003, pp. 113, 282.

91 NAS, S, no. 55, f. 34r: "He also warned that at a suitable time, whenever possible, a statue of St. Domnio be placed above the main entrance while the old one is removed."

92 Duplančić 1988a, p. 33.

93 On the renovation in 1937, p. 3. During works on construction of the Nakić house on the western side of Narodni square, where St. Martin's Church was formerly located, a sarcophagus was discovered in 1900 bearing an inscription and with half of its lid on which there were acroteria. It would appear that it remained the property of V. Nakić, because Bulić did not say that he had donated it to the Museum. Bulić 1900c, p. 142.

94 Karaman 1938a, p. 197.



Sl. 13. Sarkofag uz sfinxu na crtežu C.-L. Clérisseaua iz 1757. g.

Fig. 13. Sarcophagus next to the sphinx on the sketch by C.-L. Clérisseau from 1757

sarkofagâ i utvrđivanja njihovog izvornog smještaja. Kad je u pitanju peripter splitske katedrale, treba podsjetiti da su tri sarkofaga na sjevernoj strani do ulaza u kor donesena 1924. iz Arheološkog muzeja i da poklopac na jednom od njih nije izvoran jer je nađen u Vranjicu.⁹⁵ Sarkofag otkriven 1952. u Krešimirovoj ulici postavljen je na južnu stranu periptera,⁹⁶ dok se sarkofag s križem, koji je 1906. bio otkopan u Lovrečini, nalazi na sjevernoj strani periptera, drugi do ulaza u kor.⁹⁷ Na kraju ćemo, primjera radi, spomenuti još nekoliko "šetanja" sarkofaga. Bulić je 1900. nabavio tri sarkofaga koji su bili u konobi nadbiskupske palače u Kaštel Sućurcu tako što ih je zamijenio trima anepigrafskim sarkofazima iz Solina,⁹⁸ a sarkofag koji je nađen kraj trogirskih mlinica 1896. darovao je 1915. crkvi sv. Blaža u Zagrebu.⁹⁹

95 Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 209; Duplančić 2007a, str. 185, bilj. 65.

96 Duplančić 2007a, str. 185, bilj. 65.

97 Fisković I. 1981, str. 117, T. XXIII. 1.

98 Bulić 1900b, str. 38-39; veliki anepigrafski sarkofag s poklopcem nađen blizu lokaliteta Šesnaest sarkofaga. [Nota] 1900, str. 84. Ta tri sarkofaga inventarizirana su u katalogu A pod br. 2820, 2821 i 2822, a uz njih je Bulić stavio napomenu: *Tre sarcofagi da molti secoli nella cantina della mensa del vescovo di Spalato a Sućurac.*

99 Bulić 1914b, str. 99, 102, bilj. 1. KOS, Bulićev arhiv, br. 4, b) Grobnica u Manastirinama (dalje samo Bulićev arhiv), brzojav Svetozara Rittiga od 15. V.

one is not original, because it was found in Vranjic.⁹⁵ The sarcophagus discovered in 1952 in Krešimirova street was placed on the southern side of the peripter,⁹⁶ while the sarcophagus with a cross, which was excavated in Lovrečina in 1906, is on the northern side of the peripter, second from the entrance to the choir.⁹⁷ In the end, for the sake of example, I shall mention a few more "strolls" taken by sarcophagi. In 1900, Bulić procured three sarcophagi that were in the wine cellar of the archbishop's palace in Kaštel Sućurac by exchanging them for three anepigraphic sarcophagi from Solin,⁹⁸ while the sarcophagus found next to the Trogir mill in 1896 was donated to the Church of St. Blaise in Zagreb in 1915.⁹⁹

The sarcophagus of Fr. Frane Bulić mentioned at the beginning is a striking example of reutilization of Roman-era sarcophagi, so I shall provide some new data on it here. Bulić first wanted to use the sarcophagus without decoration, inscription or a lid found next to the Trogir mills in 1896.¹⁰⁰ When a large marble sarcophagus, also without any manner of decoration or inscription (Fig. 14, 15), was found in Zvirache near Seget in 1911, Bulić purchased it for himself and had the Split mason Pavao Bilinić rework it.¹⁰¹ On 23

95 Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 209; Duplančić 2007a, p. 185, note 65.

96 Duplančić 2007a, p. 185, note 65.

97 Fisković I. 1981, p. 117, P. XXIII. 1.

98 Bulić 1900b, pp. 38-39; the large anepigraphic sarcophagus with lid was found near the site with sixteen sarcophagi. [Nota] 1900, p. 84. The three sarcophagi were inventoried in catalogue A under no. 2820, 2821 and 2822, and Bulić accompanied them with the note: *Tre sarcofagi da molti secoli nella cantina della mensa del vescovo di Spalato a Sućurac.*

99 Bulić 1914b, pp. 99, 102, note 1. Conservation Department in Split (hereinafter: KOS), Bulićev arhiv (Bulić's archives), no. 4, b) Tomb in Manastirine (hereinafter simply Bulićev arhiv), telegram from Svetozar Rittig of 15 May 1915 in which he informs Bulić of his pleasant arrival and his appointment to this post.

100 Ritrovamenti 1896, p. 160. On a copy of *Bullettino* in the Theology Department in Split, he wrote next to this article: *In Marzo 1897 venne questo sarcofago acquistato per conto suo dal Dir. Bulić e trasportato a Salona, a Manastirine, presso la casetta degli scavi del cemetero cristiano. Deve a suo tempo servire per tomba (li nelle vicinanze) del direttore Mus. Fr. Bulić.*

101 Bulić 1914b, pp. 99, 102, note 1; here the initial of Bilinić's name was incorrectly printed as G. The correspondence concerning the discovery of the sarcophagus is held in the AMS, archives, 1911, no. 126. A part of the letters which belong to number 198 is in KOS, Bulićev arhiv. Here we are publishing pictures of the sarcophagus *in situ* of which the first (Fig. 15) is in the old photo archives of the AMS, glass negative no. 454 c, and the other (Fig. 14) in KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

Na početku spomenut sarkofag don Frane Bulića osobit je primjer reutilizacije antičkih sarkofaga pa ćemo iznijeti nekoliko novih podataka o njemu. Bulić je najprije za sarkofag htio upotrijebiti jedan bez ukrasa, natpisa i poklopca koji je nađen kraj trogirskih mlinica 1896. godine.¹⁰⁰ Kada je u studenom 1911. u Zviracu kraj Segeta otkriven veliki mramorni sarkofag, također bez ikakva ukrasa i natpisa (sl. 14, 15), Bulić ga je otkupio za sebe i dao splitskom klesaru Pavlu Biliniću da ga preradi.¹⁰¹ Bilinić je 23. VIII. 1914. poslao Buliću ponudu na 2.800 kruna, koju je on prihvatio. Sarkofag je dovršen u drugoj polovini 1915. i postavljen u Solinu, a ukupni troškovi nabave, prijenosa i klesara iznosili su 6.027,88 kruna.¹⁰² Nacrt za preradu sarkofaga izradio je Bilinić, koji je ujedno izradio crtež za njegovo postavljanje na Manastirina.¹⁰³ Prema njegovoj procjeni, sarkofag je nakon preradbe, a uključivši trošak postavljanja u Solinu, vrijedio 18.000 kruna.¹⁰⁴

Don Frane je 4. IX. 1899. pisao Austrijskom arheološkom institutu u Beču da prosljedi Ministarstvu za bogoštovlje i nastavu njegovu molbu da bude pokopan u sarkofagu na Manastirina.¹⁰⁵ Institut je molbu podržao i poslao Središnjem povjerenstvu za stare spomenike, koje ju je sa svoje strane također podržalo i o tome obavijestilo Dalmatinsko

August 1914, Bilinić sent Bulić a bid for works in an amount of 2,800 crowns, which he accepted. The sarcophagus was completed in the latter half of 1915 and placed in Solin, and the total costs for its purchase, conveyance and additional masonry were 6,027.88 crowns.¹⁰² The design for reworking of the sarcophagus was made by Bilinić, who also drew the sketch for its installation at Manastirine.¹⁰³ According to his estimate, the sarcophagus after its reworking and including its installation in Solin, was worth 18,000 crowns.¹⁰⁴

Fr. Frane wrote to the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Vienna on 4 September 1899 to forward his request to be interred in a sarcophagus in Manastirine to the Ministry of Religion and Education.¹⁰⁵ The Institute approved the request and forwarded it to the Central Antiquities Commission, which for its part also approved the request and notified the Dalmatian Regency thereof.¹⁰⁶ The Internal Affairs Ministry granted the request by its decision of 15 January 1902, and the District Government notified Bulić thereof on 4 December.¹⁰⁷ In the meantime, on 9 February Dr. Jakov Malvić, the district physician, specified the site for the sarcophagus along the western periphery of the cemetery researched up to that point in front of the narthex of the basilica at Manastirine (cadastral lot 42/1).¹⁰⁸ Since the neighbouring lot 42/4 was

1915. kojim javlja Buliću da je sretno stigao i da je postavljen na svoje mjesto.

100 Ritrovamenti 1896, str. 160. Na primjerku *Bullettina* u splitskoj Teologiji on je uz ovaj članak dopisao: *In Marzo 1897 venne questo sarcogafo acquistato per conto suo dal Dir. Bulić e trasportato a Salona, a Manastirine, presso la casetta degli scavi del cemetero cristiano. Deve a suo tempo servire per tomba (li nelle vicinanze) del direttore Mus. Fr. Bulić.*

101 Bulić 1914b, str. 99, 102, bilj. 1; tu je pogrešno otisnut inicijal Bilinićeva imena kao G. Prepiska u vezi s otkrićem sarkofaga čuva se u AMS-u, arhiv, 1911, br. 198; 1913, br. 126. Dio pisama koji pripadaju broju 198 nalazi se u KOS, Bulićev arhiv. Ovdje objavljujemo slike sarkofaga *in situ* od kojih je prva (sl. 15) u staroj fototeći AMS-a, br. staklenog negativa 454 c, a druga (sl. 14) u KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

102 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulićev obračun troškova, isplate radnicima, isplate Biliniću. Vidi također Bulićevu bilješku u: BASD XIX/1896., ad str. 160, u splitskoj Teologiji.

103 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, crtež na pausu na kojem su Bulićeve bilješke: *Škica za namještaj sarkofaga po Biliniću i Bilinić 1915.*

104 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulićeva bilješka na kraju obračuna i Bilinićeva procjena od 14. III. 1916., u kojem se navodi i *disegno eseguito dal sottoscritto.*

105 AMS, arhiv, 1899, br. 108. Prijepis dopisa u KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

102 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulić's settlement of costs, payment of workers, payment to Bilinić. See also Bulić's note in: BASD XIX/1896., ad p. 160, in Split's Theology Department.

103 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, sketch on tracing paper on which Bulić's notation can be seen: "Sketch for furnishing of the sarcophagus according to Bilinić" and "Bilinić 1915".

104 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulić's notes at the end of the settlement of accounts and Bilinić's estimate of 14 March 1916, in which it also says *disegno eseguito dal sottoscritto.*

105 AMS, archives, 1899, no. 108. Transcript of correspondence in KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

106 AMS, archives, 1900, no. 1, letter from Institute no. 775 of 28 Dec. 1899.

107 AMS, archives, 1902, no. 155, letter from Government no. 104/res. Transcript of letter in KOS, Bulićev arhiv. The history of the procurement of the sarcophagus and the securing of a permit was summarized by Bulić in his letter to the directorate of the Archaeological Museum of 30 May 1934 (AMS, archives, 1934, no. 301. AMS, Bihac Society archives, 1934, no. 61). For Bulić's notes pertaining to obtaining a permit for the interment, see: Duplančić 1986b, pp. 344, 345.

108 AMS, archives, 1902, no. 155, Bulić's letter to the parish rectory in Vranjic-Solin of 10 December with attached ground-plan of Manastirine on which the planned position of the sarcophagus is drawn in.

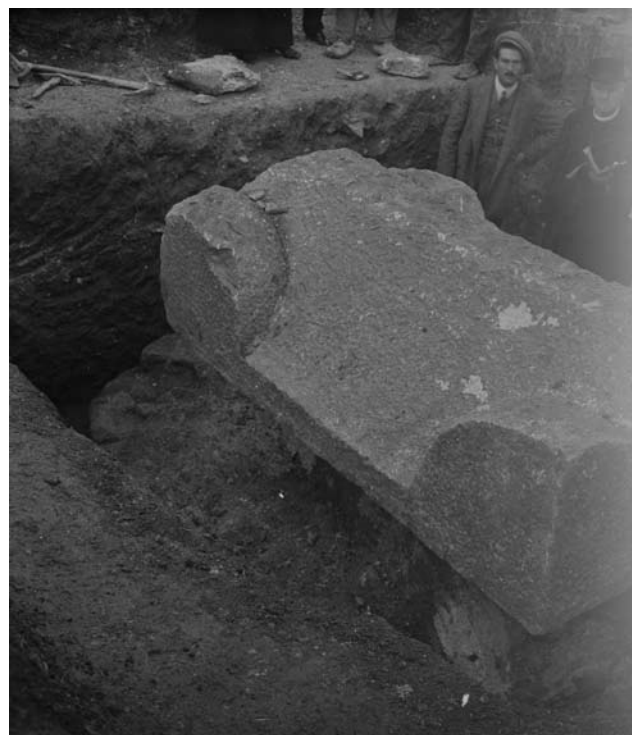


Sl. 14. Sarkofag iz Zvirača (Bulićev) u trenutku nalaza 1911. g.

Fig. 14. Sarcophagus from Zvirače (Bulić's) at the time of its discovery in 1911

namjesništvo.¹⁰⁶ Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova je odlukom od 15. I. 1902. odobrilo molbu, o čemu je splitsko Kotarsko poglavarstvo 4. prosinca obavijestilo Bulića.¹⁰⁷ U međuvremenu je 9. veljače dr. Jakov Malvić, kotarski liječnik, odredio mjesto za sarkofag uz zapadni rub do tada istraženoga groblja ispred narteksa bazilike na Manastirinama (katastarska čestica 42/1).¹⁰⁸ Kako je tijekom 1905. i 1906. istražena susjedna čestica 42/4, položaj sarkofaga pomaknut je još zapadnije, tj. na današnje mjesto,¹⁰⁹ a početkom 1909. taj se prostor uređivao.¹¹⁰

Zanimljivo je da je Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova u svom rješenju tražilo da iznad sarkofaga bude



Sl. 15. Sarkofag iz Zvirača (Bulićev) u trenutku nalaza 1911. g.

Fig. 15. Sarcophagus from Zvirače (Bulić's) at the time of its discovery in 1911

researched during 1905 and 1906, the position of the sarcophagus was moved even farther westward, i.e., at its current position,¹⁰⁹ and in early 1909 improvement works were conducted in this area.¹¹⁰

It is interesting that in its resolution, the Internal Affairs Ministry sought the erection of a chapel above the sarcophagus.¹¹¹ Bulić was not fond of the idea, because he believed that a new chapel would not fit into the landscape, so he had greenery planted behind the sarcophagus.¹¹² Bilinić's design also did not foresee a

106 AMS, arhiv, 1900, br. 1, dopis Instituta br. 775 od 28. XII. 1899.

107 AMS, arhiv, 1902, br. 155, dopis Poglavarstva br. 104/res. Prijepis dopisa u KOS, Bulićev arhiv. Povijest nabave sarkofaga i dobivanja dozvole Bulić sažeto iznosi u dopisu ravnateljstvu Arheološkog muzeja od 30. V. 1934. (AMS, arhiv, 1934, br. 301. AMS, arhiv društva Bihać, 1934, br. 61.) Bulićeve crteže u vezi s dobivanjem dozvole za ukop vidi u: Duplančić 1986b, str. 344, 345.

108 AMS, arhiv, 1902, br. 155, Bulićevo pismo župnom uredu Vranjic-Solin od 10. prosinca s priloženim tlocrtom Manastirina na kojem je ucrtan predviđeni položaj sarkofaga.

109 Bulićeva bilješka na tlocrtu Manastirina objavljenom 1907. u KOS, Bulićev arhiv. To je tabla koja je objavljena u BASD XXX, Spalato 1907, T. I; uvećani plan objavljen kao T. I u prvom dodatku za isto godište.

110 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1909, str. 2, ad 28. I.: *Uredilo se grobište Manastirina, te se uređuje granica medju atrijem bazilike i kapelom Sv. Duje, gdje ima doći grobnica Don Franina.*

109 Bulić's note on the ground plan of Manastirine published in 1907 in KOS, Bulićev arhiv. This is a plate that was published in BASD XXX, Spalato 1907, P. I; enlarged map published as P. I in the first appendix for the same year.

110 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notes, 1909, p. 2, ad 28. I.: "The Manastirine cemetery was landscaped, and the boundary between the atrium of the basilica and the Chapel of St. Domnio, where Fr. Frane's tomb has to be, was also landscaped."

111 AMS, archives, 1902, no. 155, letter from the Split District Government, no. 104/res. Bulić also mentioned construction of the chapel in a letter to the Vranjic-Solin parish rectory of 10 Dec. 1902 under the same number. See also the museum protocol under this number.

112 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulić's note on the transcript of museum file 155 from 1902: "A chapel – thus,



Sl. 16. Bilinićev nacrt za postavljanje Bulićeva sarkofaga (foto: Ž. Bačić)
 Fig. 16. Bilinić's design for the installation of Bulić's sarcophagus (photo: Ž. Bačić)

podignuta kapela.¹¹¹ Buliću to nije bilo drago jer je smatrao da se nova kapela ne bi uklopila u krajolik pa je iza sarkofaga dao posaditi zelenilo.¹¹² Bilinićev nacrt također nije predviđao kapelu, ali je zato bilo zamišljeno postavljanje četiriju stupova s arhitravom iza sarkofaga (sl. 16).

Bulić je do zadnjeg dana brinuo o svom sarkofagu. U lipnju 1930. Pavao Bilinić je ulio olovo u slova na natpisu, u svibnju 1932. netko je izmrčio sarkofag pa ga je Bulić otišao pregledati,¹¹³ a pred smrt je naručio

chapel, but he did plan to install four columns with an architrave behind the sarcophagus (Fig. 16).

Bulić saw to his sarcophagus to the very last day. In June 1930, Pavao Bilinić poured the lead into the letters of the inscription. In May 1932, somebody vandalized the sarcophagus with graffiti or ink, so Bulić went to inspect it.¹¹³ Prior to his death he ordered the production of an iron fence and compiled the text for the inscription field.¹¹⁴ The fence was made by

111 AMS, arhiv, 1902, br. 155, dopis splitskog Kotarskog poglavarstva br. 104/res. Gradnju kapelice Bulić spominje i u pismu župnom uredu Vranjic-Solin od 10. XII. 1902. pod istim brojem. Vidi također muzejski protokol pod tim brojem.

112 KOS, Bulićev arhiv, Bulićeva bilješka na prijepisu muzejskog spisa 155 iz 1902.: *Kapela – dakle nešto novoga – nad mojim sarkofagom bila bi neukusna u ovom pejzažu. Stoga Don Frane ne sagradio kapelu nego zašumio iza sarkofaga.*

113 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1930, str. 196, ad 1. VII.: *Bio zatim do Tuskula, gdje Bilinić ulio olovo u slova moga nadpisa na sarkofagu. Potrošio din.*

something new – above my sarcophagus would be tasteless in this ambient. So Fr. Frane did not build a chapel but rather planted trees behind the sarcophagus.”

113 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1930, p. 196, ad 1. VII.: “Was then at the Tusculum, where Bilinić poured lead into the letters of my inscription on the sarcophagus. Spent din. [amount left out]. Yr. 1932, p. 252, ad 9. V: “was in Solin by bus with Vinka Bulić. To the Tusculum, where I inspected my vandalized sarcophagus (Finger on orans damaged during transfer)”. Bilinić's invoice of 30 June 1930 in an amount of 1,428.50 dinars is in KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

114 A picture of the sarcophagus without a fence was published in: Bulić 1925, p. 135. Date 6 July 1927. Bulić

izrada željezne ograde i sastavio tekst za natpisno polje.¹¹⁴ Ogradu su izradili kovači Lovre Aržić i Andrija Alujević, a natpis je trebao uklesati Bilinić.¹¹⁵ Bulić je uz gornji i donji rub sarkofaga već prije dao uklesati tekst¹¹⁶ † HIC · IACET · FRANCISCVS · BVLIĆ · PECCATOR · ET · INDIGVS · PRESBYTER / NAT · IV · NON · OCT · A · MDCCCXLVI · / H · M · H · N · S dok je središnje polje ostavio prazno za duži natpis čiji je početak zamislio još pri nabavi prvog sarkofaga. Kao uzor poslužio mu je natpis svećenika Ivana nađen 1890. na Marusincu¹¹⁷ tako da je tekst trebao glasiti:

*Expleto annorum circulo quinto
Hoc sibi sepulcrum Franciscus condere iussit
Martyrum Salonitanorum servans reverenda limina
sanctorum
Omnipotensque Deus qui me formavit et aufert
Clemens excipiat servetque ad gaudia membrum*¹¹⁸

(iznos izostavljen). God. 1932, str. 252, ad 9. V.: *bio autobusom u Solinu i Vinkom Bulić. Do Tuskula, gdje pregledao moj sarkofag izmrčen (Prst na orans bio pri prenosu oštećen)*. Bilinićev račun od 30. VI. 1930. u iznosu od 1.428,50 din nalazi se u KOS, Bulićev arhiv.

114 Slika sarkofaga bez ograde objavljena je u: Bulić 1925, str. 135. Dana 6. VII. 1927. Bulić je bio u Solinu, gdje ga je ispred sarkofaga fotografirao Stanisław Noworyta što je zabilježio na fotografiji koja se čuva u KOS, Bulićev arhiv. Na primjerku fotografije u njegovoj ostavštini u AMS-u Bulić je naznačio godinu 1929. pa je tako objavljena u katalogu izložbe *Don Frane Bulić* 1984, str. 142. Točna je godine 1927. jer je upravo pod navedenim datumom Bulić zapisao da je Noworyta fotografirao sarkofag. AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1927, str. 150.

115 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1934, str. 316, 317, ad 21. V.: *Kovač će poći ovo dana, da napravi nacrt željezne ograde oko moga sarkofaga na komu posjetitelji Manastirina svašta pišu i pogaziše i izguliše aloje, koje ja da posaditi! Varvari! Vale Tusculum!* Ibid., pp. 318, 319, ad 29. V.: *pogodio sa Lovrom Aržićem i Andrijom Alujevićem za željeznu ogradu oko moga sarkofaga u Solinu u atriju bazilike u Manastirinama za 6000 din. po uzorku predanu mi od njih. Preporučio željezari D. Savo da im se dade dobre robe (okolo 400 kg željeza) i uz povoljnu cijenu. Hoće se 50 dana za dogotovljenje ove radnje. Sve položeno na mjesto.*

116 Objavljen u: Poparić 1934a, str. 505.

117 AMS, katalog natpisa A, br. 1573; CIL III, br. 9527.

118 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1934, str. 320, 321, ad 28. VI.: *Mjere zrcalu (za natpis sarkofaga) 1.02 m, visina 64 cm. Dalečina od sarkofaga do ograde 1.28 m. Natpis bi imao glasiti (slijedi navedeni tekst)*. Bulić 1900a, str. 337 – tu već donosi prva dva retka natpisa. Isto je zabilježio u BASD XIX/1896., ad str. 160, u splitskoj Teologiji.

the blacksmiths Lovre Aržić and Andrija Alujević, while the inscription was supposed to be engraved by Bilinić.¹¹⁵ Bulić had already arranged for the engraving of a text along the upper and lower edge of the sarcophagus before:¹¹⁶ † HIC · IACET · FRANCISCVS · BVLIĆ · PECCATOR · ET · INDIGVS · PRESBYTER / NAT · IV · NON · OCT · A · MDCCCXLVI · / H · M · H · N · S, while he left the central field empty for a longer inscription whose beginning he conceived already when purchasing the first sarcophagus. An inscription of the priest Ivan, found in Marusinac in 1890¹¹⁷ served as his model, so the text was supposed to read:

*Expleto annorum circulo quinto
Hoc sibi sepulcrum Franciscus condere iussit
Martyrum Salonitanorum servans reverenda limina
sanctorum
Omnipotensque Deus qui me formavit et aufert
Clemens excipiat servetque ad gaudia membrum*¹¹⁸

Immediately before travelling to Zagreb for a gallstone operation, Bulić issued his final instructions to Bilinić and Aržić, while he entrusted their execu-

was in Solin, where he was photographed by Stanisław Noworyta, which was noted on the photographic held in KOS, Bulićev arhiv. On a copy of the photograph in his papers in the AMS, Bulić denoted the year 1929 and it was thus published as such in the catalogue for the exhibition *Don Frane Bulić* in 1984, p. 142. The correct year was 1927, because it was precisely on that date that Bulić wrote that Noworyta photographed a sarcophagus. AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1927, p. 150.

115 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1934, pp. 316, 317, ad 21. V.: “On this day the blacksmith will come to make a design for the iron fence around my sarcophagus on which visitors to Manastirine write all manner of things and trample and peel the bark off of the aloe trees, which I had planted! Barbarians! *Vale Tusculum!* Ibid., pp. 318, 319, ad 29. V.: “made deal with Lovre Aržić and Andrija Alujević for an iron fence around my sarcophagus in Solin in the atrium of the basilica in Manastirine for 6,000 din. per sample they gave me. Recommended iron-monger D. Savo to give them goods (about 400 kg of iron) and at reasonable price. They want 50 days to finish. Everything put into place.”

116 Published in: Poparić 1934a, p. 505.

117 AMS, inscription catalogue A, no. 1573; CIL III, no. 9527.

118 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1934, pp. 320, 321, ad 28. VI.: “Dimensions of mirror (for sarcophagus inscription) 1.02 m, height 65 cm. Distance from sarcophagus to fence 1.28 m. Inscription should read” (above text follows). Bulić 1900a, p. 337 – here the first two lines of the inscription are already provided. The same was recorded in BASD XIX/1896., ad p. 160, in Split’s Theology Department.

Neposredno uoči putovanja u Zagreb na operaciju kamenca Bulić je dao posljednje upute Biliniću i Aržiću, a brigu o izvršenju povjerio don Lovri Katiću, dok je muzejskog kustosa Antuna Grgina zadužio da tekst sroči u stihove.¹¹⁹ Ograda je bila odmah gotova i postavljena, a natpis naknadno kao i nadnevak o Bulićevoj smrti: OBIIT · IV · KAL · AUG · A · MC · MXXXIV ·.¹²⁰

Bulić je bio zamislio da se iza sarkofaga postavi stup s njegovim brončanim poprsjem koje je 1929. izradio Ivan Meštrović, što je napisao u oporuci.¹²¹ To, se međutim, nije ostvarilo nego je godine 1946. poprsje postavljeno na novi postament u atrij Muzeja i bilo otkriveno o stotoj obljetnici Bulićeva rođenja.¹²² Poslije je preneseno u vrt Muzeja, gdje se i danas nalazi.

Na kraju ovog dijela posvećenog Bulićevu sarkofagu, kojim na skroman način komemoriramo 80. obljetnicu don Franine smrti, iznijet ćemo anegdodu o tome kako je upravo pred sarkofagom 10. XII. 1929. Bulić dobio francusko odličje oficira Legije časti.¹²³ Taj je događaj zapisao u svoju terensku bilježnicu, a zatim je o njemu opširnije, gotovo ispričavajući se, pisao 28. prosinca dr. Antu Trumbiću, jer mu je smetalo što mu je kao pacifistu u *najvećem antimilitaristu svijeta*¹²⁴ orden prikvačio upravo vojni časnik!

tion to Fr. Lovre Katić, and charged museum curator Antun Grgin with setting the text to verse.¹¹⁹ The fence was immediately finished and installed, while the inscription as well as the date were added subsequently, after Bulić's death: OBIIT · IV · KAL · AUG · A · MCMXXXIV ·.¹²⁰

Bulić had planned to install a column behind the sarcophagus with a bronze bust of himself, which was made by Ivan Meštrović in 1929, as he wrote in his will.¹²¹ This, however, was not done; rather in 1946 the bust was installed on a new pedestal in the Museum's atrium and uncovered on the one-hundredth anniversary of Bulić's birth.¹²² Later it was taken to the Museum's garden, where it still stands to this day.

At the end of this section dedicated to Bulić's sarcophagus, which in a modest way commemorates the eightieth anniversary of Fr. Frane's death, I shall recount an anecdote about how Bulić received the French Legion of Honour precisely in front of the sarcophagus on 10 December 1929.¹²³ He recorded this event in his field notebook, and then wrote about it at greater length, almost apologetically, to Ante Trumbić on 28 December, because it bothered him as a pacifist and "the greatest antimilitarist in the world"¹²⁴ that the medal was pinned by none other than a military officer!

119 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1934, str. 321: *Uredio sve dne 23-24/VII sa Bilinićem i Aržićem i povjerio sve ovo Dr Lovri Katiću. A Dr Grgin da prevedu u stihovima gornji natpis.*

120 Slika sarkofaga s ogradom u: *Hrvatska revija* 10, Zagreb 1934, T. ad str. 536. Slika natpisa u Cambi 1984, str. 89; Jurić 1976, str. 41.

121 Prijepis oporuke čuva se u: KOS, Bulićev arhiv, br. 4. Veći dio objavio Poparić 1934b; odredba o poprsju na str. 554. Sliku poprsja vidi u: Duplančić 1984, str. 181. O portretu Duplančić 1986a, str. 50.

122 Duplančić 1986a, str. 50. Tu pogrešno piše da je već 1946. poprsje postavljeno u vrt. Iz naknadno nađenog izvještaja o radu Muzeja vidi se da je uz skromnu svečanost poprsje bilo otkriveno u atriju. (AMS, arhiv, 1946, br. 316 od 5. listopada.) Prethodno je od Ministarstva prosvjete zatraženo odobrenje za njegovo postavljanje. Isto, br. 300 od 18 rujna.

123 O predaji odličja Buliću izvijestile su novine. Prvi i drugi dan 1929, str. 3, 4.

124 Tako on kaže sam za sebe opisujući razne zgode iz vremena svojega rada u Solinu. (Duplančić 1986b, str. 319, 334.) Htijući i iza smrti osuditi ratno stanje po svijetu, Bulić je u oporuci odredio da njegovu pogrebu ne smije prisustvovati nitko tko nosi bilo koje oružje, a ako bi htio prisustvovati, neka ga odloži. Poparić 1934b, str. 554.

119 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1934, p. 321: "Arranged everything on 23-24/Jul. with Bilinić and Aržić and entrusted all this to Dr. Lovre Katić. And Dr. Grgin to transcribe the above inscription into verse."

120 Photograph of sarcophagus with fence in: *Hrvatska revija* 10, Zagreb 1934, P. ad p. 536. Photograph of the inscription in Cambi 1984, p. 89; Jurić 1976, p. 41.

121 A transcript of the will is held in: KOS, Bulićev arhiv, no. 4. The greater portion was published by Poparić 1934b; provision on the bust on p. 554. Image of the bust in: Duplančić 1984, p. 181. On the portrait, Duplančić 1986a, p. 50.

122 Duplančić 1986a, p. 50. Here it incorrectly states that the bust had already been installed in the garden in 1946. From the subsequently found report on the Museum's work, it can be seen that the bust was unveiled in the atrium in a modest ceremony (AMS, archives, 1946, no. 316 of 5 October). Approval for its installation was sought in advance from the Ministry of Education. Ibid., no. 300 of 18 September.

123 Newspapers informed Bulić on the conferral of the medal. First and second day of 1929, pp. 3, 4.

124 This is what he said of himself when describing various events from his work in Solin (Duplančić 1986b, pp. 319, 334). Wishing to condemn the state of war in the world even after his death, in his will Bulić stipulated that nobody bearing any weapons could attend his funeral, and if any such person wanted to attend, he would have to lay them down. Poparić 1934b, p. 554.

Terenska bilježnica:¹²⁵

Autom na 8 ½ u Solin sa Admiralom Dubois i oficirima njegova brodovlja,¹²⁶ generalnim konzulom u Zagrebu Boissier-om,¹²⁷ Warnier-om,¹²⁸ lektor-om francuzkoga jezika na Sveuč. u Zagrebu, Dr. Karaman-om,¹²⁹ Prof. Baračem¹³⁰ na ruševine solinske (kasnije do Klisa). Pred mojim se sarkofagom fotografirali, a zatim na moje iznenađenje, Boissier držao govor meni, te mi zatim Admiral Boissier (sic!) prikopča na prsi orden de la Legion d'honneur (oficier). God. 1923 bio sam imenovan Chevalier de la legion d'honneur.¹³¹ Namjeravalo se dati mi ovo odlikovanje u Cercle franco-iugoslave,¹³² ali ja to nipošto nehtio. "Nadmudrili me Francuzi" rekao Biskup Bonefačić.¹³³

Pismo Trumbiću:¹³⁴

Dok Vi bili još u Parizu, god. 1922 Francuzka mene odlikovala sa chevalier de la Legion d'honneur, a sada me počastila sa officier-stvom. Pa, kada netko htio da mi se to odlikovanje podijeli, u prisutnosti

Field notebook:¹²⁵

By automobile at 8:30 in Solin with Admiral Dubois and the officers of his navy,¹²⁶ the consul general in Zagreb Boissier,¹²⁷ Warnier,¹²⁸ the French language instructor at the University of Zagreb, Dr. Karaman,¹²⁹ Prof. Barač¹³⁰ at the ruins of Solin (later up to Klis). Photographs taken in front of my sarcophagus, and then to my surprise, Boissier held a speech in my honour, and then Admiral Boissier (sic!) pinned to my chest a medal de la Legion d'honneur (officer). In 1923 I was appointed Chevalier de la legion d'honneur.¹³¹ This medal was supposed to be presented to me in the Cercle franco-iugoslave,¹³² but I did not want this at all. 'The French outwitted me', said Bishop Bonefačić.¹³³

Letter to Trumbić:¹³⁴

While you were still in Paris, in 1922, France named me chevalier de la Legion d'honneur, and now they have made me an officer. So, when someone

125 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, terenske bilježnice, 1929., str. 185-187, ad 10. prosinca.

126 U Split je, nakon Šibenika, doplovila eskadra francuskog brodovlja na čijem je čelu bio kontraadmiral Louis-Athanase Dubois (1874.-1954.). O svečanom dočeku i događajima tih dana opširno su izvještavale novine *Novo doba*.

127 André Jean Jacques Boissier (1885.-1970.) došao je na mjesto generalnog konzula u Zagrebu 1924. godine. Zahvaljujem Francuskom veleposlanstvu u Hrvatskoj koje mi je tražene podatke poslalo dopisom br. 219 od 25. III. 2014.

128 Prof. Raymond Warnier (1899.-1987.) došao je u Zagreb 1921., a bio je utemeljitelj i dugogodišnji direktor tamošnjega Francuskog instituta.

129 Ljubo Karaman (1886.-1971.), splitski povjesničar umjetnosti i konzervator, blizak Bulićev suradnik. Jednu sliku Karamana i Bulića u Saloni donosi Ivančević 1971-1972, str. 12.

130 Josip Barač (1871.-1939.), profesor na splitskoj Klasičnoj gimnaziji, odličan znalac francuskog, također surađivao s Bulićem. Vidi Kovačić 1912.

131 Bulić pogrešno piše da je orden viteza dobio 1923., umjesto 1922. godine. Don Frane Bulić 1984, str. 128; na str. 141 slika diplome za orden oficira Legije.

132 Francusko-jugoslavensko društvo otvoreno je 19. IV. 1922. u prostorijama Narodne ženske zadruga, a za prvog predsjednika izabran je don Frane Bulić. (Francuski Cercle 1922, str. 3; Škarica 1923, str. 69; Radica 1931, str. 32.) Naslijedio ga je dr. Ivo Stalio.

133 Dr. Kvirin Klement Bonefačić splitski biskup od 1923. do 1954. godine.

134 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, korespondencija, Bulićeva pisma drugima.

125 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, field notebook, 1929, pp. 185-187, ad 10 Dec.

126 After Šibenik, a squadron of French naval ships sailed into Split, commanded by Rear Admiral Louis-Athanase Dubois (1874-1954). The newspaper *Novo doba* reported extensively on the welcome ceremony and the events of these days.

127 André Jean Jacques Boissier (1885-1970) was posted as the consul general in Zagreb in 1924. I would like to thank the French Embassy in Croatia which sent the sought-after data in letter no. 219 of 25 March. 2014.

128 Prof. Raymond Warnier (1899-1987) came to Zagreb in 1921, and he was the founder and long-time director of the French Institute there.

129 Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971), an art historian and conservation specialist from Split, a close associate of Bulić. A photograph of Karaman and Bulić in Salona was provided by Ivančević 1971-1972, p. 12.

130 Josip Barač (1871-1939), a professor at the Classics Gymnasium in Split, very knowledgeable in French, who also worked closely with Bulić. See Kovačić 1912.

131 Bulić incorrectly wrote that he received the knighthood medal in 1923, instead of 1922. *Don Frane Bulić* 1984, p. 128; on p. 141, a photograph of the certificate for the Legion officer's medal.

132 The French-Yugoslav Society was opened on 19 April 1922 in the premises of the National Women's Cooperative, and Fr. Frane Bulić was elected its first president (*Francuski Cercle* 1922, p. 3; Škarica 1923, p. 69; Radica 1931, p. 32). He was followed by Dr. Ivo Stalio.

133 Dr. Kvirin Klement Bonefačić, bishop of Split from 1923 to 1954.

134 AMS, Bulićev arhiv, correspondence, Bulić's letters to others.

brodovlja francuzkoga ovdje, ali u Cercle franco-jougoslave, ja se rebelirao (Splićani kažu “po običaju”). Ali me Boissier i Warnier nadmudrili: pri posjeti iskopina u grobištu mučenika u Manastirina-ma, pred sarkofagom to bilo. I on gledao taj prizor. Ali ako mi je Contreamiral Dubois prikopčao odlikovanje na prsi, on zapovjednik ratnih brodova i topova dakle militarista, meni antimilitaristi, te u tomu netko vidio, da sam i ja odstupio od svojih pacifističkih načela, odgovorio ja, da je to bilo na polju moga rada, pred sarkofagom smrti, pred kojom padaju svi topovi. Na admiralskom brodu ja nebih bio primio, bio bih se i za ovo rebelirao, ali u Solinu, u grobištu mučenika, pred mojim sarkofagom, to išlo. Pa napokon isto bilo u Solinu prije nekoliko godina, kada mi pok. Pichler dao neko odlikovanje.¹³⁵

wanted to present this medal to me, in the presence of the French navy here, but in the Cercle franco-jougoslave, I rebelled (Split natives would say ‘by custom’). But Boissier and Warnier outwitted me: during a visit to excavations at the cemetery of martyrs in Manastirine, in front of the sarcophagus. And he watched this scene. But if Contre-admiral Dubois attached the medal to my chest, he, the commander of warships and artillery, thus a militarist, to myself, an antimilitarist, and someone saw that I had deviated from my pacifistic principles, I responded that this was in the field of my work, in front of the sarcophagus of my eventual death, before which all artillery falls silent. I would not have received it on the admiral’s ship, I would have rebelled at the thought, but in Solin, in the cemetery of martyrs, before my sarcophagus, this proceeded. And after all, the same thing happened in Solin several years ago, when the late Pichler gave me some medal.¹³⁵

135 Alexander Pichler (1863.-1906.) bio je upravitelj splitskoga Kotarskog poglavarstva od 1897. do 1906. godine. Bio je zaslužan za očuvanje spomenika pa mu je Bulić napisao nekrolog, a o njegovim zaslugama za napredak grada pisao je Vicko Milić. Bulić 1906, str. 316; Jurišić 1984, str. 41, 42, tu je ponovno tiskan Milićev tekst koji je bio objavljen u zadarskom *Narodnom listu* 17. IX. 1906.

135 Alexander Pichler (1863-1906) was the administrator of the Split District Government from 1897 to 1906. He did much to preserve monuments, so Bulić wrote his obituary, while Vicko Milić wrote about his contributions to the city’s progress. Bulić 1906, p. 316; Jurišić 1984, pp. 41, 42, here there was a reprint of Milić’s text published in the Zadar-based *Narodni list* on 17 Sept. 1906.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

BASD – *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*
CIL – *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CCP – *Croatica christiana periodica*
PPUD – *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*
SHP – *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*
VAHD – *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*
VAPD – *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*

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