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## Bilješka o rimskom reljefu s vojnom opremom iz Splita

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U radu se iznose podaci o rimskom reljefu s prikazom vojne opreme, čije podrijetlo i vrijeme nalaza do sada nisu bili poznati. Zahvaljujući arhivskim podacima, doznajemo da je reljef nađen 1924. u Splitu, nedaleko od zapadnog zida Dioklecijanove palače, a Arheološki muzej otkupio ga je 1942. godine. S tim u vezi iznose se pretpostavke o tome gdje se izvorno nalazio. Uz to se iznose podaci o starokršćanskom sarkofagu iz Kaštel Lukšića koji je svojedobno bio ponuđen Muzeju na otkup.

*Ključne riječi: rimski reljef, vojna oprema, trofej, Dioklecijanova palača, Split, starokršćanski sarkofag, Kaštel Lukšić, obitelj Capogrosso*

## A note on the Roman relief from Split depicting military gear

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This work presents data on the Roman relief depicting military gear, whose provenance and discovery date had not been previously ascertained. Thanks to archival data, we have learned that the relief was found in Split in 1924, not far from the western wall of Diocletian's Palace, and that the Archaeological Museum purchased it in 1942. In this regard, some assumptions are made as to its original location. Data are also presented on the Early Christian sarcophagus from Kaštel Lukšić, which was once offered to the Museum for purchase.

*Key words: Roman relief, military gear, trophy, Diocletian's Palace, Split, Early Christian sarcophagus, Kaštel Lukšić, Capogrosso family*



Sl. 1. Rimski reljef s vojnom opremom nađen u Splitu (foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 1. Roman relief with military gear in Split (photo: Ž. Bačić)

U povijesti umjetnosti, kao i na drugim poljima umjetničkog stvaranja, često se susrećemo sa situacijom da postoje *djela bez autora i autori bez djela*. Tako je u i arheologiji, gdje za mnoge spomenike nema podataka o mjestu i vremenu nalaza, a s druge strane razni zapisi i slike svjedoče o spomenicima koji su se zagubili ili nestali. Zato je sretna okolnost kad neki arhivski izvor poveže spomenik s mjestom nalaza ili pak ukloni netočne podatke i prepostavke.<sup>1</sup> Jedan takav slučaj odnosi se na reljefnu ploču s prikazom rimske vojne opreme koja se čuva u Arheološko-muzeju u Splitu.

Riječ je o kamenom bloku dužine 141, visine 82 i debljine 32 cm, koji je godine 2009. inventariziran pod brojem 68240, bez podatka odakle potječe i kada

In art history, as in other fields of artistic creativity, we often come across situations in which there is *a work without a creator, and creators without works*. This is also the case in archaeology, in which many monuments have no accompanying data on the place and time of their discovery; on the other hand, various records and pictures testify to the existence of monuments that have since been lost or disappeared. This is why it is a fortunate circumstance when an archival source links a monument to a find site, or simply rectifies inaccurate data and assumptions.<sup>1</sup> One such case pertains to the relief slab bearing a depiction of Roman military gear which is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

1 Primjera radi skrećemo pozornost na novije rade u kojima se “arhivska arheologija” pokazala uspješnom, a odnose se i na građu iz splitskog Arheološkog muzeja. Duplančić 2007; Duplančić 2009; Duplančić 2013. Ovaj je rad na tragu riječi Babić <1985>, str. 79: *Kako i arheologija ima svoju dugu povijest, moglo bi se govoriti i o arheologiji same arheologije: veliki broj predmeta nagomilanih po depoima muzeja traži reviziju inventara, ispitivanje mesta i okolnosti nalaza. Arheologija se dakle mora koristiti metodama same historije proučavanjem arhiva, prvenstveno onih muzejskih.*

1 For the sake of an example, I turn attention to more recent works in which “archival archaeology” has proven successful, and which also pertain to materials from Split’s Archaeological Museum. Duplančić 2007; Duplančić 2009; Duplančić 2013. This work adheres to Babić’s statement <1985>, p. 79: “Since archaeology has its own long history, one may speak of the archaeology of archaeology itself: the high number of items accumulated in the storage depots of museums seems to call out for a revised inventory, and a re-examination of their discovery sites and circumstances. Archaeology must thus utilize the methods of the history of examining archives, primarily those in museums”.



Sl. 2. Rimski reljef s vojnom opremom nađen u Splitu  
(foto: Ž. Bačić)

Fig. 2. Roman relief with military gear found in Split  
(photo: Ž. Bačić)

je nabavljen.<sup>2</sup> Na njemu su prikazani rimsko oružje i vojna oprema, a u stručnu literaturu ušao je 1984., kad je prvi put objavljen i opisan. Tada je navedeno da je nesumnjivo iz srednje Dalmacije i da je pripadao *monumentalnom frizu oružja* koji je bio ugrađen u neki veći arhitektonski spomenik ili, pak, sklop. Pritom nije isključena mogućnost da je bio dio nekog tropeja podignutog u spomen na Augustovu pobjedu nad Ilirima 35./33 g. pr. Kr., ali pobliže datacija nije iznesena.<sup>3</sup> Ponovno je o reljefu, ali znatno kraće, pisano u novije vrijeme i tada je istaknuto kako *nije moguće ponuditi ni okvirnu kronologiju reljefa*, ali je navedeno da je ipak mogao biti dio gardunskog tropeja ili nekog drugog spomenika sličnog tipa.<sup>4</sup> Osim u tim

This is a stone block with a length of 141 cm, a height of 82 cm and a thickness of 32 cm, which was inventoried in 2009 under number 68240, without data on its original location or date of procurement.<sup>2</sup> Roman weapons and military gear are depicted on it, and it entered the scholarly literature in 1984, when it was first published and described. At the time, it was stated that it undoubtedly came from central Dalmatia and that it was part of a *monumental frieze of weapons* which was built into *some larger architectural monument or, even complex*. The possibility was left open here that it may have been part of a *trophaeum* erected to commemorate Augustus' victory over the Illyrians in 35-33 BC, but no proximate dating was cited.<sup>3</sup> The relief was recently once more considered, albeit much more briefly, and it was stressed that "not even a general chronology for the relief can be offered", although it was stated that it could nonetheless have been part of the *Gardun trophy* or another monument of similar type.<sup>4</sup> Besides these works, the relief was also examined in the context of apparel in Roman-era Dalmatia, so the gear was analyzed in detail and on this basis the monument was dated to the mid-first century.<sup>5</sup>

The provincial character of its crafting and the absence of information on its find site have made it difficult to draw any precise conclusions about this relief,<sup>6</sup> so the archival notations that will be presented herein will at least help shed some light on its history. For in a letter sent on 12 June 1928 by Mihovil Abramić, the director of the Archaeological Museum at the time, to the grand prefect of the Split District, we learn that roughly four years prior the relief was found in the house of Ljubica Capogrosso, "in the ground of the cellar in the home of this woman, i.e., in the yard of the house at the address *Iza Lože 6*". At that time, representatives of the Museum and the Conservation Office examined the artefact and asked the owner if she would donate or sell it to the Museum, which she refused, but declared that if she did decide to sell it she would first offer it to the Museum. Upon hearing that Mrs. Capogrosso intended to cede the relief to the Italian consul or consulate in Split for it to be exhibited in its atrium, Abramić visited its owner

2 Spomenik su za fotografiranje pripremili restauratori Muzeja Borko Vješnica i Duje Ordulj na čemu im zahvaljujem.

3 Cambi 1984, str. 86-88.

4 Cambi 2010, str. 137, 139-140. Isto i u Cambi 2013, str. 15. O jednom do sada nepoznatom ulomku tropeja iz Salone vidi Cambi 2014.

2 The monument was prepared for photographing by the Museum restoration technicians Borko Vješnica and Duje Ordulj, for which I would like to extend my gratitude.

3 Cambi 1984, pp. 86-88.

4 Cambi 2010, pp. 137, 139-140. Ibid. in Cambi 2013, p. 15. On the sole thus far known *trophaeum* fragment from Salona, see Cambi 2014.

5 Schönauer 2001, pp. 245-251, P. VIII.

6 Cambi 1984, p. 87; Cambi 2010, p. 139.

radovima, reljef je bio proučavan i u kontekstu odijevanja u antičkoj Dalmaciji pa je prikazana oprema podrobno analizirana i na temelju toga spomenik je datiran u sredinu I. stoljeća.<sup>5</sup>

Provincijski karakter izrade i nedostatak podatka o mjestu nalaza otežavali su preciznije izjašnjavanje o ovom reljefu<sup>6</sup> pa će arhivske bilješke koje ćemo iznijeti barem donekle pomoći u rasvjetljavanju njegove povijesti. Naime, iz dopisa koji je Mihovil Abramić, ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja, uputio 12. VI. 1928. velikom županu Splitske oblasti doznajemo da je otprilike četiri godine prije reljef nađen u kući Ljubice Capogrosso, i to u zemljii podruma u stanu spomenute gospodje, t.j. u dvorištu kuće "iza Lože 6". Tada su predstavnici Muzeja i Konzervatorskog ureda pregledali spomenik i pitali vlasnicu bi li ga darovala ili prodala Muzeju, što je ona odbila, ali je izjavila da će ga u slučaju prodaje najprije ponuditi Muzeju. Čuvši da gospoda Capogrosso namjerava reljef ustupiti talijanskom konzulu ili konzulatu u Splitu da bude izložen u njegovu atriju, Abramić je 12. VI. 1928. posjetio vlasnicu i upozorio ju da je izvoz starina iz zemlje i pokrajine zabranjen naredbom Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju br. 3771/21 od 28. X. 1921.<sup>7</sup> Osim toga tumačio joj je da se zgrada konzulata ne smatra tlom naše zemlje te da bi odatle reljef lako mogao biti prokrijumčaren i odnesen u Italiju. S obzirom na pogibelj za spomenik Abramić je zamolio velikog župana da poduzme odgovarajuće mjere.<sup>8</sup> Župan je već sutradan odgovorio da je o problemu izvijestio Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova i Ministarstvo prosvjete, a Главном odsjeku Državnog redarstva naredio je da odmah pismeno upozori gospodu Capogrossu.<sup>9</sup>

Reljef je ostao u vlasništvu obitelji sve do II. svjetskog rata, kada su ga nasljednici Ljubice Capogrosso odlučili prodati. Ponuđen je Muzeju i ovaj ga je 9. III. 1942. kupio za 1000 lira, koje su isplaćene dr. Luji Bogliću iz Splita kao pravnom zastupniku obitelji.<sup>10</sup> U

on 12 June 1928 and warned her that export of antiquities from the country and province was prohibited by decree of the Provincial Administration in Dalmatia, no. 3771/21 of 28 October 1921.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, he explained to her that the consulate building was not domestic territory and that from there the relief could easily be smuggled out and taken to Italy. Given the danger to the monument, Abramić asked the grand prefect to undertake the appropriate measures.<sup>8</sup> Already the next day, the prefect responded that he had notified the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Education Ministry, and that he had ordered the Central State Policing Section to immediately send a written warning to Mrs. Capogrosso.<sup>9</sup>

The relief remained family property until the Second World War, when Ljubica Capogrosso's heirs decided to sell it. It was offered to the Museum, and the latter purchased it on 9 March 1942 for 1,000 lire, which were paid to Dr. Lujo Boglić from Split as the family's legal counsel.<sup>10</sup> In August of that year, the relief was moved to the Museum.<sup>11</sup>

The Capogrosso family can be followed in Split from the first half of the fifteenth century, when they moved there from Bergamo.<sup>12</sup> In 1593, the Capogrossos attained Hungarian nobility,<sup>13</sup> while in 1666, the Venetian doge appointed them members of Split's Grand Council, but they were only admitted to the Council in 1671.<sup>14</sup> They acquired the title of count in 1759.<sup>15</sup> The family was wealthy and had many holdings in the territory of Split and Kaštela, and a

5 Schönauer 2001, str. 245-251, T. VIII.

6 Cambi 1984, str. 87; Cambi 2010, str. 139.

7 Ta je naredba objavljena u: Dalmatinski glasnik, Split, 9. XI. 1921, god. IV, br. 66. Tiskana je ponovno u: Izvješće 1921, str. 3-5.

8 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1928., br. 209.

9 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1928., br. 213, dopis br. 4771/28 od 13. lipnja (na dopisu piše maja!).

10 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1942., br. 120, ad 27: *Al dott. L. Boglich – Spalato per 1 bassorilievo antico 1.000.-*. U priloženom obračunu: *Dott Luigi* (prezime ispušteno) *9-III 1 bassorilievo antico (140x80x30 cm) con fregio d'armi romane, proveniente dalla casa Capogrosso a Spalato Lire 1000.-*

7 This decree was published in the provincial official bulletin, *Dalmatinski glasnik*, Split 9 Nov. 1921, Year IV, no. 66. It was reprinted again in *Izvješće* 1921, pp. 3-5.

8 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1928, no. 209.

9 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1928, no. 213, correspondence no. 4771/28 of 13 June (May is written in the letter!).

10 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1942, no. 120, ad 27: *Al dott. L. Boglich – Spalato per 1 bassorilievo antico 1.000.-*. In the attached receipt: *Dott Luigi* (surname omitted) *9-III 1 bassorilievo antico (140x80x30 cm) con fregio d'armi romane, proveniente dalla casa Capogrosso a Spalato Lire 1000.-*

11 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1942, no. 186, ad 6: *A Katunarič Marino per il trasporto di un bassorilievo (fregio d'armi) dalla casa Capogrosso al museo, idem per trasporto di legname 200.-*

12 Kuzmanić M.-N. 2013, pp. 139-140.

13 Granić 1992, p. 171.

14 Novak 1961, pp. 203-205, 210; Duplančić 1998, pp. 64-65.

15 Granić 1992, p. 171.

kolovozu iste godine reljef je prenesen u Muzej.<sup>11</sup>

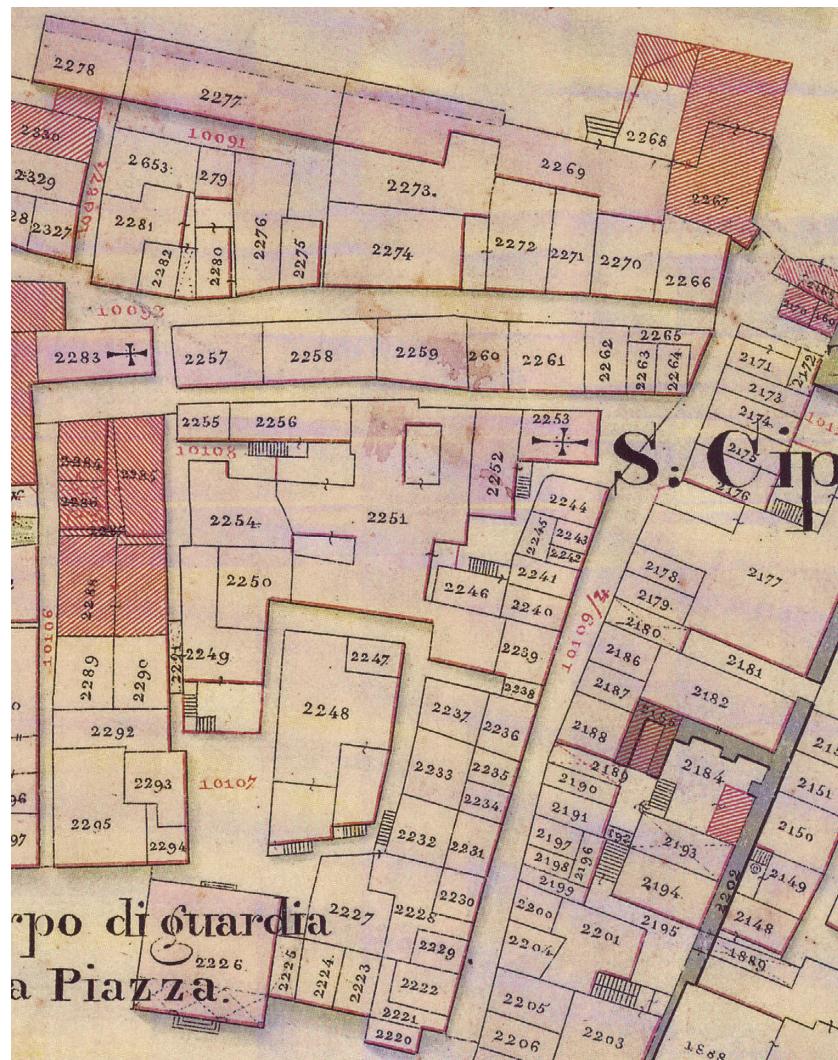
Obitelj Capogrosso može se pratiti u Splitu od prve polovine XV. st., kad se ovamo doselila iz Bergama.<sup>12</sup> Godine 1593. Capogrossovi su dobili ugarsko plemstvo,<sup>13</sup> 1666. mletački ih je dužd imenovao članovima splitskog Velikog vijeća, ali su tek 1671. primljeni u Vijeće.<sup>14</sup> Titulu conte dobili su 1759. godine.<sup>15</sup> Obitelj je bila bogata i imala mnoge posjede na području Splita i Kaštela te feud u Poljicima,<sup>16</sup> a imetak je dodatno povećala ženidbenom vezom s obitelji Kavanjin.<sup>17</sup> Početkom XX. st. izumrli su muški potomeci Capogrossovih, a između dva svjetska rata i ženski članovi obitelji, dok su se dvije kćerke Ljubice Capogrosso preselile u Italiju i tamo umrle.<sup>18</sup>

- 11 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1942., br. 186, ad 6: *A Katunarie Marino per il trasporto di un bassorilievo (fregio d'armi) dalla casa Capogrosso al museo, idem per trasporto di legname 200.-.*
- 12 Kuzmanić M.-N. 2013, str. 139-140.
- 13 Granić 1992, str. 171.
- 14 Novak 1961, str. 203-205, 210; Duplančić 1998, str. 64-65.
- 15 Granić 1992, str. 171.
- 16 Split: Kuzmanić M.-N. 2013, str. 140. Kaštela: Duplančić 1998, str. 99; Omašić 2001, I, str. 157, 329, 385, 420, 425, 445, 447, II, str. 604, 643, 670. Poljica: Granić 1992, str. 171. U Splitu su posjedovali i kaštel na Mejama koji je 1939. kupio i preuređio Ivan Meštrović. Kečkemet 1986-1987; Šeparović Palada 2012, str. 25-26, 35-36.
- 17 Elizabeta, kćerka pjesnika Jerolima Kavanjina, udala se za Nikolu Capogrossa, a po očevoj oporuci njihovi potomci morali su prezimenu Capogrosso dodati i Kavanjin zbog čega se obitelj kasnije nazivala Capogrosso-Kavanjin. Vidi rodoslovno stablo obitelji u: Kuzmanić B. 2009, str. 118-119.
- 18 O sudbini obitelji piše 1934. Ljubo Karaman u odgovoru Petru Kolendiću koji se raspitavao za rukopise koji su bili u vlasništvu Jerolima (Jerka) Capogrossa-Kavanjina. Taj odgovor oslikava i onodobne političke prilike pa zavrjeđuje da ga ovdje navedemo. *Dragi gospodine Kolendiću, Šaljem Vam u privitku portret nadbiskupa Karamana koji sam tekar jutros dobio od fotografa. – Jerko pl. Capogrosso-Cavagnini umro je još za vrijeme rata. Jedinac mu sin Janko umro takodjer malo iza njega. Njegova udova gdje Ljubica iz porodice Perković iz Sinja umrla je pred par godina, a iz braka su ostale samo dvije kćeri koje su se poudale za talijanske oficire i žive u Italiji. Pokojni conte Mome je bio Hrvat, ali sin mu Janko preko rata postao autonomaš i tako je udova iza sloma optirala za Italiju. Danas živi u Splitu samo udova conte Mome gdje Petronila iz porodice Dojmi. Stara je 93 godine tjelesno zdrava ali umom oslabila te ne poznaje ni svoje okoline. Imanjem Capogrossovih kojega je dio u Splitu a dio u Kaštel-Lukšiću i Sutivanu na Braču upravlja Dr. Vjekoslav Boglich, finansijski činovnik u penziji, Talijanac po osjećaju ali naš*

feudal estate in Poljica,<sup>16</sup> and its properties expanded by marital ties with the Kavanjin family.<sup>17</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Capogrosso's male heirs died, and between the two World Wars so did the female heirs, while Ljubica Capagrosso's two daughters moved to Italy and died there.<sup>18</sup>

The Capogrosso family's free-standing house was located west of today's Bosanska street (formerly Cambj street), and between present-day Iza lože and Nelipića streets. This was not just a single structure,

- 16 Split: Kuzmanić M.-N. 2013, p. 140. Kaštela: Duplančić 1998, p. 99; Omašić 2001, I, pp. 157, 329, 385, 420, 425, 445, 447, II, pp. 604, 643, 670. Poljica: Granić 1992, pp. 171. In Split they also owned the castle at Meje, which in 1939 was purchased and remodelled by sculptor Ivan Meštrović. Kečkemet 1986-1987; Šeparović Palada 2012, pp. 25-26, 35-36.
- 17 Elizabeta, the daughter of the poet Jerolim Kavanjin, married Nikola Capogrosso, and according to her father's will, their descendants had to add Kavanjin to the surname Capogrosso, which is why the family was later called Capogrosso-Kavanjin. See the family's genealogical tree in Kuzmanić B. 2009, pp. 118-119.
- 18 Ljubo Karaman wrote about the family's fate in 1934 in his response to Petar Kolendić, who asked him about the manuscripts that were owned by Jerolim (Jerk) Capogrosso-Kavanjin. This response also illustrates the political circumstances of the time, so it merits full citation here: "Dear Mr. Kolendić, I have attached hereto a portrait of Archbishop Karaman, which I only received from the photographer yesterday. – Jerko Capagrosso-Cavagnini, Esq. died during the war. His only son Janko died soon thereafter. His widow, Mrs. Ljubica, from the Perković family of Sinj, died only a few years ago, and all that is left of that marriage are two daughters who have married Italian officers and now live in Italy. The deceased Count Mome was a Croat, but his son Janko became an autonomist during the war, and thus the widow opted for Italy after the collapse. Today only the widow of Count Mome, Mrs. Petronila from the Dojmi family, lives in Split. She is 93 years old, physically healthy but with diminished mental capacity, for she does even recognize her immediate surroundings. The property of the Capogrossos, a part of which is in Split, another part in Kaštel-Lukšić and another in Sutivan on the island of Brač, is managed by Dr. Vjekoslav Boglich, a retired financial clerk, a pro-Italian by orientation although he is our citizen. I shall ask my brother, whose wife is related to the Capogrossos, to inquire as to whether there are files or manuscripts from the family here or in Italy. If I learn anything specific, I shall contact you. Sincerely yours, Dr. Ljubo Karaman, Split, 17-Oct.-1934". (Conservation Department in Split, archives, 1934, no. 180). For the family's genealogy, see Kuzmanić B. 2009, pp. 116, 118-119; Jerko = Jerolim, Janko = Ivan Petar, Mome = Jerolim.



Sl. 3. Dio plana Splita iz 1831. sa stojnom kućom obitelji Capogrosso (br. 2251)

Fig. 3. A section of the street map of Split from 1831 showing the free-standing house of the Capogrosso family (no. 2251)

Stojna kuća obitelji Capogrosso nalazila se zapadno od današnje Bosanske ulice (nekad Ulica Cambj), a između današnje ulice Iza lože i Nelipića ulice. Nije to bila samo jedna zgrada već cijeli veliki sklop kuća što se lijepo vidi na katastarskom planu grada iz 1831. godine.<sup>19</sup> Njihova stojna kuća označena je brojem

*gradjanin. Zamolit ēu svog brata, čija je žena u rodu sa Capogrossovim da se propita ima li od obitelji ovdje ili u Italiji spisa i rukopisa. Ako doznam što konkretna javit ēu Vam. Srdačno Vas pozdravlja Dr. Ljubo Karman. Split, 17-X-1934.* (Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, arhiv, 1934., br. 180.) Za rodoslovje obitelji vidi Kuzmanić B. 2009, str. 116, 118-119; Jerko = Jerolim, Janko = Ivan Petar, Mome = Jerolim.

19 Državni arhiv u Splitu, Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju, katastarski plan Splita, br. 595, list XIV s uvećanjem. Cijeli plan objavljen je više puta, a ovdje navodimo samo Marasović T. 1982, str. 40; Blago Hrvatske

but rather an entire large complex of houses that can be seen nicely in the cadastral map from 1831.<sup>19</sup> Their free-standing house was designated by number 2251, and in the register of buildings it is described as a three-story structure with four yards. The neighbouring house with four floors, which was rented out (no. 2250) and another rental house with three floors and an external staircase (no. 2256), also belonged to the Capogrossos. They also owned the two floors raised over the arch above the street (no. 2238) and the

19 State Archives in Split, Archive of maps for Istria and Dalmatia, cadastral map of Split, no. 595, sheet XIV with enlargement. The entire map has been published on several occasions, and here I shall cite only Marasović T. 1982, p. 40; Blago Hrvatske 1992, p. 38 and wrappers, p. 5, featuring Diocletian's Palace and the entire western section of the city.

2251, a u upisniku zgradâ opisana je kao trokatnica sa četiri dvorišta. Capogrossovima je još pripadala susjedna kuća za iznajmljivanje na četiri kata (br. 2250) i druga kuća za iznajmljivanje na tri kata s vanjskim stubištem (br. 2256). Njihovo vlasništvo bila su i dva kata podignuta nad svodom iznad ulice (br. 2238) te susjedni dućan za iznajmljivanje (br. 2239).<sup>20</sup> Sklop je tijekom vremena pregrađivan pa je promijenjen i ulaz, koji je dobio dvoja vrata s lunetama; u desnu lunetu postavljen je obiteljski grb isklesan u XIX. stoljeću. Današnji ulaz (sa stubištem) u kuću Capogrosso nalazi se lijevo od tih vrata, na adresi Iza lože 4, a pregradnje i zamršenost sklopa pokazuju tlocrti po etažama cijelog bloka kućâ u kojem se ona nalazi.<sup>21</sup>

Reljef je, dakle, nađen 1924. u središtu Splita, u neposrednoj blizini zapadnog zida Dioklecijanove palače, a Arheološki muzej nabavio ga je 1942. godine. Ovi podaci, međutim, ne daju odgovor na pitanja o njegovu podrijetlu, namjeni i vremenu izrade. Na njih je pokušao odgovoriti Abramić u spomenutom pismu iz 1928., u kojem kaže: *Reljef je dio nekog friza za koji arhitektonski objekt (na pr. Mali hram ili trijem) u Solinu, a nije isključena mogućnost, da je bio gdjekod na sličnom objektu u Dioklecijanovoj Palači u Splitu (na pr. na zgradi za tjelesnu stražu imperatora). Potjeće iz II. ili iz III. stoljeća po Kristu.*<sup>22</sup>

Već je 1913. don Frane Bulić istaknuo, a novija istraživanja jasno potvrdila, da antički spomenici nađeni u Splitu ne potječu nužno iz Salone, nego ih je većina s područja grada.<sup>23</sup> Poznato je, primjerice, da četiri velika bloka s Dolabelinim natpisom kao i natpis posvećen carici Faustini, izvađeni iz zvonika katedrale, nisu izvorno bili u Splitu.<sup>24</sup> Oni su iz praktičnih razloga preneseni sa svojih izvornih položaja, dok su – navodimo poznati primjer – natpsi

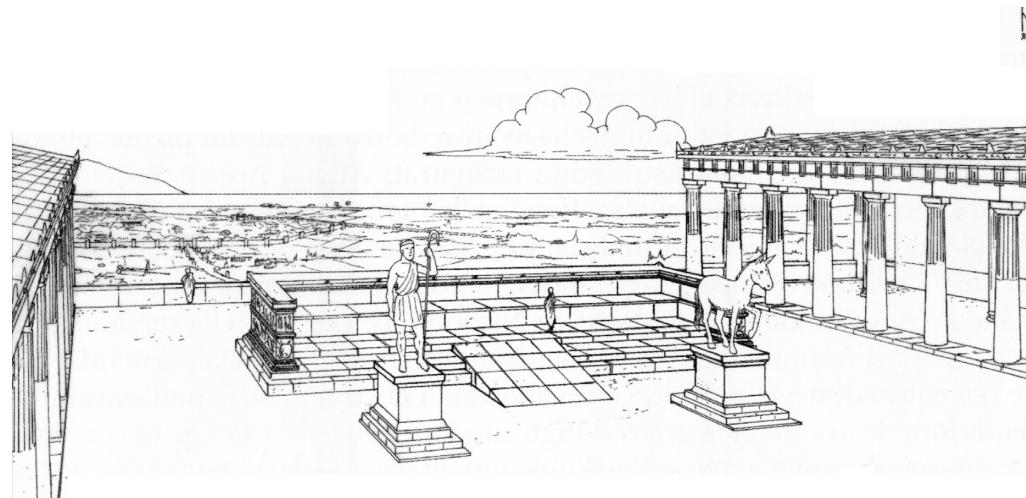
neighbouring house that was also leased (no. 2239).<sup>20</sup> Over time the complex was altered, and the entrance acquired two doors with lunettes, on which the family coat of arms was carved into right one in the nineteenth century. The present-day entrance (with staircase) in the Capogrosso house is to the left of these doors and has the address Iza lože 4, while the remodelling and intricacy of the complex are reflected in the level-by-level floor-plans of the entire block of houses in which it is located.<sup>21</sup>

The relief was, therefore, found in Split's city centre in 1924, in the immediate vicinity of the western wall of Diocletian's Palace, and the Archaeological Museum procured it in 1942. These data, however, do not provide a response to the questions of its origin, purpose or date of production. Abramić attempted to answer these questions in the aforementioned letter from 1928, in which he said: "The relief was part of some frieze for an architectural structure (for example, a small temple or portico) in Solin, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it may have been somewhere on a similar structure in Diocletian's Palace in Split (for example, on the building of the emperor's bodyguard). It originated in the second or third century AD".<sup>22</sup>

Already in 1913, Fr Frane Bulić pointed out – and more recent research has confirmed – that all Roman-era monuments found in Split did not actually originate in Salona, rather most of them were from the city's territory.<sup>23</sup> It is known, for example, that four large blocks bearing Dolabella's inscription and the inscription dedicated to the Empress Faustina, removed from the cathedral's campanile, were not originally from Split.<sup>24</sup> They were brought from their original locations due to practical reasons,

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- 1992, str. 38 i ovitak, str. 5 Dioklecijanova palača i dio zapadnog dijela grada.
- 20 Državni arhiv u Splitu, Arhiv mapa za Istru i Dalmaciju, katastarski plan Splita, upisnik zgradâ. Dućan u prizemlju kuće okrenute prema Bosanskoj ulici imao je tzv. vrata na koljena, a uništilo ga je požar krajem 1928. ili početkom 1929. godine. Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, arhiv, 1929., br. 17, dopis Konzervatorskog ureda od 22. siječnja. Piplović 2008, str. 221.
- 21 Marasović D. et al. 1995, str. 21-29; arhitektonske snimke izrađene između 1970. i 1980. godine.
- 22 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1928., br. 209.
- 23 Bulić 1913, str. 41-42, bilj. 5; Duplančić 2013, str. 212-213. Važna zapažanja o podrijetlu antičkih spolija u splitskim kućama vidi u: Cambi 2007, str. 30-31.
- 24 Babić 2007, str. 161-162; Jeličić-Radonić 2007; Split 2007, str. 8-11, kat. br. 3 i 6 (autorica kataloške jedinice S. Ivčević).

- 20 State Archives in Split, Archive of maps for Istria and Dalmatia, cadastral map of Split, register of buildings. The shop at the ground level of the house facing Bosanska street had a door with a so-called knee wall, and it was destroyed by fire at the end of 1928 or early 1929. Conservation Department in Split, archives, 1929, no. 17, letter from the Conservation Department dated 22 January. Piplović 2008, p. 221.
- 21 Marasović D. et al. 1995, pp. 21-29; architectural surveys were conducted between 1970 and 1980.
- 22 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1928, no. 209.
- 23 Bulić 1913, pp. 41-42, note 5; Duplančić 2013, pp. 212-213. For important observations on the origin of Roman-era spolia in Split's houses, see Cambi 2007, pp. 30-31.
- 24 Babić 2007, pp. 161-162; Jeličić-Radonić 2007; Split 2007, pp. 8-11, cat. no. 3 and 6 (catalogue unit by S. Ivčević).



Sl. 4. Rekonstrukcija središnjeg dijela tropeja u Nikopolisu (iz Zachos 2009)

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the central part of the trophyum in Nicopolis (from Zachos 2009)

Papalićeve zbirke doneseni iz sakupljačkih pobuda.<sup>25</sup> Kad je riječ o reljefu iz kuće Capogrosso, nejasno je zašto je onamo dospio jer s obzirom na mjesto nalaza (*u zemlji podruma*) ne uočavamo ni njegovu utilitarnu ni antikvarnu namjenu. Capogrossovi su doduše imali zbirku starina naslijedenu od Jerolima Kavanjina, ali je ona bila u ljетnikovcu u Sutivanu na Braču,<sup>26</sup> a nije poznato da je obitelj imala zbirku s antičkim kamenim spomenicima u Splitu.<sup>27</sup> Zbog svega toga čini nam se da izvorno mjesto reljefa treba tražiti negdje bliže, a ne u Saloni ili još dalje.

Abramićeva pretpostavka<sup>28</sup> da je reljef iz Dioklejanove palače, u kojoj je možda ukrašavao zgradu za vojnike u sjevernom dijelu Palače, u prvi se mah čini prihvatljivom. Međutim, ona je u suprotnosti s njegovom datacijom u II. ili III. st. s obzirom na vrijeme gradnje Palače, koja je podignuta na samom kraju III. stoljeća. Ipak, ta mogućnost ne bi smjela biti posve odbačena, jer se arhitektonski ukrasi Palače još istražuju, a najmanje su poznati oni iz njezina sjevernog dijela.<sup>29</sup>

while, to cite a well-known example, the inscriptions of Papalić's collection were brought due to collector motivations.<sup>25</sup> When speaking of the relief from the Capogrosso house, it is unclear as to the reason why it ended up there, for given its find site ("in the ground of the cellar"), neither a utilitarian nor antiquarian purpose can be ascertained. To be sure, the Capogrossos did have a collection of antiquities inherited from Jerolim Kavanjin, but it was housed at the summer residence in Sutivan on the island of Brač,<sup>26</sup> while it is not known whether the family had a collection with Roman-era monuments in Split.<sup>27</sup> Due to all of these factors, it would seem that original location of the relief should be sought somewhere closer, rather than in Salona or someplace even farther afield.

Abramić's speculation<sup>28</sup> that the relief was from Diocletian's Palace, where it may have adorned the building for troops in the northern wing, seems acceptable at first glance. However, it contradicts his dating to the second or third century, since the Palace was constructed at the very end of the third century. This possibility should nonetheless be left open for

25 Marulić 1876a, str. 84; Marulić 1876b, str. 95; Lučin 2014, str. 213-216.

26 Duplančić 1994, str. 28, 36-37.

27 Bulić je objavio jednu kameju s likom cara Karakale u vlasništvu Šime Capogrossa-Kavanjina, koja je čini se potjecala iz Salone. Bulić 1905.

28 Moguće je da ovo nije samo Abramićovo mišljenje već i mišljenje Ljube Karamana, jer Abramić spominje da su reljef, prigodom otkrića, pregledali predstavnici Muzeja i Konzervatorskog ureda. Je li pod predstavnikom Muzeja mislio i na don Franu Bulića, nije poznato.

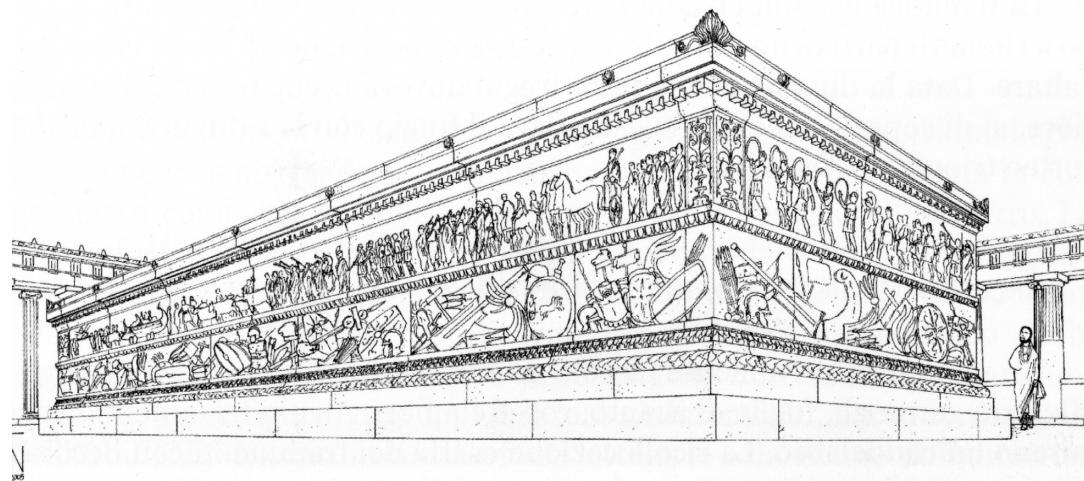
29 McNally 1996, str. 52-53, pripadajući tlocrt sl. 2; Verzár-Bass 2009; Matetić-Poljak 2009. Vidi također Cambi 1989; Cambi 1999.

25 Marulić 1876a, p. 84; Marulić 1876b, p. 95; Lučin 2014, pp. 213-216.

26 Duplančić 1994, pp. 28, 36-37.

27 Bulić published a cameo bearing an image of Emperor Caracalla, owned by Šime Capogrossa-Kavanjin, which was apparently originally from Salona. Bulić 1905.

28 It is possible that this was not only Abramić's opinion, but Karaman's as well, for Abramić mentioned that the relief was, upon discovery, inspected by representatives from the Museum and the Conservation Department. Whether or not he meant Fr. Frane Bulić when he mentioned the Museum's representative remains unknown.



Sl. 5. Rekonstrukcija oltara tropeja u Nikopolisu (iz Zachos 2009)

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the altar on the trophy in Nicopolis (from Zachos 2009)

Pri razmatranju podrijetla reljefa treba uzeti u obzir i rezultate arheoloških istraživanja koji sve više svjedoče o naselju na mjestu na kojem je podignuta Palača. Ti raznovrsni nalazi,<sup>30</sup> počevši od grobova<sup>31</sup> i sitnog materijala pa do natpisa, a osobito dijelovi arhitekture, govore da je na prostoru prije Palače postojalo naselje,<sup>32</sup> kojemu su pripadale i manje

the time being, because research into the Palace's architectural ornaments is ongoing, and those from its northern wing are the least known.<sup>29</sup>

When considering the origin of the relief, the results of archaeological research should be taken into account, as they increasingly testify to human habitation at the site on which the Palace was raised. These diverse finds,<sup>30</sup> beginning with graves<sup>31</sup> and including

30 Jedan dio njih predočen je u katalogu: Split 2007, str. 8-21.

31 Rismundo 2002. Ovdje donosimo podatak iz bilježaka o nalazima grobova koje je zapisao konzervator Ljubo Karaman. Godine 1934. u produžetku današnje ulice Prilaz V. Nazora (prije Brankov prilaz), tj. na početku Ulice I. Rendića, a sjeverno od njezina križanja s Ulicom A. G. Matoša (prije Kraljice Marije), ispred kuće Takač *u dubini od 1 ½ otkriven je grob iz rimske dobe sa krovom na sedlo napravljenim od opeka (tomba a capanna). U grobu je bilo nešto kostiju.* (Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, arhiv, 1934., br. 62, od 16. ožujka.) Iste je godine nađen jedan grob i tragovi zida s vanjske strane Srebrnih vrata, a ispod najjužnije arkade zapadnog krila Prokurativa otkrivena je na dubini od oko 2 m zazidana grobnica s kostima, ali bez ikakvih predmeta. Godine 1935. popločavala se granitnim kockama Zagrebačka ulica (danas Ulica kralja Tomislava) na Pisturi i tada je *na jedno pet metara od starog gradskog zida u maloj dubini došlo na vidjelo nekoliko kamenim pločama zazidanih grobova. Nadglednik radnje nabrojio ih je 24. Nikakav predmet nije nadjen u njima.* Za ova tri nalaza Karaman ne kaže iz kojeg su vremena. Konzervatorski odjel u Splitu, arhiv, 1934., br. 20, od 17. siječnja (Karaman je u nadnevku zabunom napisao 1933.), br. 32, od 15. ožujka; 1935., br. 24, od 5. ožujka.

32 Basić 2012, str. 16-18, 22-23, 25, 34-35; Delonga i suradnici 2014, *passim*, ali osobito str. 139-146.

29 McNally 1996, pp. 52-53, accompanying floor plan, Fig. 2; Verzár-Bass 2009; Matetić-Poljak 2009. See also Cambi 1989; Cambi 1999.

30 Some of them were presented in the catalogue: Split 2007, pp. 8-21.

31 Rismundo 2002. Data from the notes on the grave finds recorded by conservation specialist Ljubo Karaman are presented here. In 1934, in the extension of today's Prilaz V. Nazora (previously Brankov prilaz) i.e., at the beginning of Ulica I. Rendića, and north of its intersection with Ulica A. G. Matoša (previously Kraljice Marije), in front of the Takač house, "at a depth of 1 ½ m, a Roman-era tomb was discovered with a saddled roof made of brick (*tomba a capanna*). There were some bones in the tomb" (Conservation Department in Split, archives, 1934, no. 62 of 16 March). In that same year, a tomb and traces of a wall were found on the external side of the Silver Gate, while below the southernmost arcade of the western wing of the *Prokurative* building a walled tomb with bones, but lacking any type of goods, was found at a depth of roughly 2 m. In 1935, Zagrebačka ulica (today Ulica kralja Tomislava) at the *Pistura* was repaved with granite cobbles, and at the time, "at about five meters from the old city wall at a shallow depth several stone slabs of walled tombs became visible. The foreman counted 24 of them. No goods were found therein". Karaman did not specify any dating for these three finds. Conservation Department in Split, archives, 1934, no. 20 of 17 January

aglomeracije na Šperunu i Lučcu.<sup>33</sup> To je naselje imalo i monumentalne građevine<sup>34</sup> pa nije isključeno da je na nekoj od njih stajao ovaj reljef. U tom kontekstu u obzir dolazi i tropej podignut u spomen na neku pobjedu rimske vojske. Kao uzor mogao je poslužiti tropej u spomen Augustove pobjede kod Akcija 31. god. pr. Kr. sagrađen u Nikopolisu. U njegovom središnjem dijelu bio je veliki oltar (6x22 m) bogato ukrašen raznim reljefima. Donji friz prikazivao je oružje, vojnu opremu i brodove, a gornji trijumfalnu povorku.<sup>35</sup> Njegovi reljefi oružja podsjećaju na splitski spomenik pa je moguće da je i on bio dio tropeja za kojega se za sada ne može reći što je obilježavao.

Ovdje ćemo spomenuti još dva kamena spomenika vezana uz obitelj Capogrosso-Kavanjin. Obitelj je u XIX. st. kupila kaštel Rušinac, zapadno od kaštela Vitturi, na području današnjeg Kaštel Lukšića,<sup>36</sup> u kojem su bila četiri sarkofaga od kojih dva starokršćanska. Jedan je imao natpis koji spominje protektora Flavija Magnijana, a drugi križ unutar kruga kojemu je sa svake strane po jedna ovca. Druga dva sarkofaga bili su bez ikakva natpisa i ukrasa.<sup>37</sup> Mramorni sarkofag s križem<sup>38</sup> ponudili su nasljednici Ljubice Capogrosso

tiny articles and inscriptions, and especially architectural components, indicate that a settlement existed at this site prior to the Palace,<sup>32</sup> to which the smaller agglomerations at Šperun and Lučac also belonged.<sup>33</sup> This settlement also had monumental structures,<sup>34</sup> so the possibility that this relief was on one of them should not be discounted. In this context, a trophy erected to commemorate some victory of the Roman army also comes into play. The trophy marking Augustus' victory at Actium in 31 BC, built in Nicopolis, may serve as a model. There was in its middle a large altar (6 x 22 m), richly adorned various images in relief. The lower frieze depicted weapons, military gear and ships, while the upper one featured a triumphal procession.<sup>35</sup> Its relief portrayals of weapons recall the Split monument, so it is possible that it was also part of a trophy, but one for which there is – for now – no information as to what it may have commemorated.

Two more stone monuments associated with the Capogrosso-Kavanjin family are also noteworthy. In the nineteenth century, the family purchased the Rušinac Castle, west of the Vitturi Castle, in the territory of today's Kaštel Lukšić,<sup>36</sup> in which there were four sarcophagi, of which two are Early Christian. One bore an inscription which mentioned the protector Flavius Magnianus, while the other features a cross in a circle with a sheep on each side. The other two sarcophagi had no inscriptions nor

33 Cambi 1990, str. 64-65; Cambi 2007, str. 31-33; tu se spominje natpis Elija Viktora i svetište posvećeno nimfama pa za točno mjesto gdje su bili vidi: Duplančić 2010, str. 131; u međuvremenu je natpis nađen u stražnjem vrtu Muzeja. Za naseljenost na području Manuša i Pojišana vidi Buškariol 1984, str. 79, 83; Duplančić 2010, str. 131-132.

34 Marasović J. 1997, str. 32, 36, 40-41; Perojević, Marasović K., Marasović J. 2009, str. 51-66. Možda su i blokovi s profiliranim vijencima otkriveni tijekom iskopavanja u prizemlju hotela *Central* 2009.-2010. stariji od Palače. O njihovom nalazu Buble 2014, str. 227, 243.

35 Zachos 2003; Zachos 2009 – rekonstrukcije oltara na str. 280, 283.

36 Ćudina 1895, str. 66; Omašić 2001, I, str. 157.

37 Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, str. 58 – navodi samo sarkofag s križem i ovcama; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, str. 280. Magnjanov natpis objavljen je prvi put 1878. (Iscrizioni 1878, str. 145; u CIL III, supl., br. 8742), a njegova fotografija u: Salona IV/2 2010, str. 727-728, br. 404. Njegov je sarkofag danas zagubljen. Pejša 1983, str. 104-105.

38 Bulić 1912; Cambi <1977>, str. 85-86, T. XIV. 2 – u sredini je samo križ, a ne monogram XP kako tu piše; Dresken-Weiland 1998, str. 111, T. 103. 2. Prigodom objave Bulić navodi raniju literaturu o tom sarkofagu i onom Magnjanovom, zatim iznosi problematiku utvrđivanja njihova izvornog položaja i donosi podatak da su početkom XIX. st. (oko 1820.) bili nađeni kraj crkve sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici.

(Karaman mistakenly wrote the year as 1933), no. 32 of 15 March; 1935, no. 24 of 5 March.

32 Basić 2012, pp. 16-18, 22-23, 25, 34-35; Delonga et al., 2014, *passim*, but particularly pp. 139-146.

33 Cambi 1990, pp. 64-65; Cambi 2007, pp. 31-33; here the inscription of Aelius Victor and a shrine dedicated to the nymphs are mentioned, so for their precise location see Duplančić 2010, p. 131; in the meantime an inscription was found in the Museum's rear garden. For habitation in the area of Manuš and Pojišan, see Buškariol 1984, pp. 79, 83; Duplančić 2010, pp. 131-132.

34 Marasović J. 1997, pp. 32, 36, 40-41; Perojević, Marasović K., Marasović J. 2009, pp. 51-66. Perhaps the blocks with moulded cornices, discovered during excavations in the ground floor of the Hotel Central in 2009-2010, are older than the Palace. On their discovery, see Buble 2014, pp. 227, 243.

35 Zachos 2003; Zachos 2009 – reconstruction of the altar on pp. 280, 283.

36 Ćudina 1895, p. 66; Omašić 2001, I, p. 157.

1931. na prodaju Arheološkome muzeju.<sup>39</sup> Muzej je izrazio spremnost za njegovu nabavu i najavio da će ga Abramić doći pregledati.<sup>40</sup> Što je dalje bilo s pregovorima, nije nam poznato, ali su vjerojatno zapeli oko cijene, pa je sarkofag ostao u Rušincu. Ing. Milivoj Grgin, noviji vlasnik Rušinca, darovao ga je 1975. župnoj crkvi u Lukšiću, gdje je upotrijebljen za novi glavni oltar.<sup>41</sup>

adornments.<sup>37</sup> The marble sarcophagus with cross<sup>38</sup> was offered by the heirs of Ljubica Capogrosso for sale to the Archaeological Museum in 1931.<sup>39</sup> The Museum expressed its willingness to procure them, and sent notification that Abramić would come to inspect them.<sup>40</sup> What happened with the negotiations surrounding the sarcophagus is not known, but the price was probably contested, so they remained in Rušinac. The engineer Milivoj Grgin, a more recent owner of Rušinac, donated it to the parish church in Lukšić in 1975, where it was used as the new main altar.<sup>41</sup>

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- 39 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1931., br. 161, dopis dr. Luje Boglića od 31. ožujka; Boglić se potpisao kao upravitelj ostavštine Ljubice de Capogrosso Cavagnini. Boglić je posredovao i pri prodaji rukopisa spjeva Jerolima Kavanjina. Duplančić 1994, str. 31.
- 40 Arheološki muzej u Splitu, arhiv, 1931., br. 161, dopis od 3. travnja.
- 41 Iz ljetopisa 1975, str. 35-36; Bego 1983, str. 26-27, 38; Pejša 1983, str. 104-105.

- 37 Hirschfeld, Schneider 1885, p. 58 – he only mentioned the sarcophagus with cross and sheep; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, p. 280. Magnianus' inscription was published the first time in 1878 (Iscrizioni 1878, p. 145; in CIL III, suppl., no. 8742), and a photograph thereof in *Salona IV/2* 2010, pp. 727-728, no. 404. His sarcophagus has since been lost. Pejša 1983, pp. 104-105.
- 38 Bulić 1912; Cambi <1977>, pp. 85-86, pl. XIV. 2 – in the middle there is only a cross, and not the monogram XP as it states here; Dresken-Weiland 1998, p. 111, P. 103. 2. During publication, Bulić mentioned the earlier references to this sarcophagus and that of Magnianus, and notes the problem of ascertaining their original position, and mentions that they were discovered in the early nineteenth century (at around 1820) next to the Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica.
- 39 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1931, no. 161, letter from Dr. Lujo Boglić dated 31 March; Boglić signed himself “as the administrator of the estate of Ljubica de Capogrosso Cavagnini”. Boglić also mediated the sale of the manuscripts of verse by Jerolim Kavanjin. Duplančić 1994, p. 31.
- 40 Archaeological Museum in Split, archives, 1931, no. 161, letter dated 3 April.
- 41 Iz ljetopisa 1975, pp. 35-36; Bego 1983, pp. 26-27, 38; Pejša 1983, pp. 104-105.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

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

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