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Godine 1983. pokrenuta je francusko-hrvatska suradnja kojoj je cilj u prvom redu bio izdavanje zbirke natpisa ranokršćanske Salone. Da je to izdanje bilo dugo vremena i s velikim nestrpljenjem u znanstvenoj javnosti očekivano, svjedoče najave o izlasku ovog djela iz davne 1988., a potom i 1994. godine (Marin 1988, str. 39; Marin 1994, str. 64), kad je bio poznat tek okvirni broj natpisa. No ova zbirka donosi iscrpnu raspravu i katalog natpisa s podrobnim komentarima, koji zahtijevaju mnogo vremena i sustavnog rada.

Projekt objavljanja zbirke kršćanskih natpisa pokrenuli su Emilio Marin (Arheološki muzej u Splitu) i Noël Duval (Sveučilište Paris IV - Sorbonne i École Française de Rome), a svojim su znanjem u ostvarivanju zamisli pridonijeli i mnogi drugi stručnjaci na području ranokršćanske arheologije i epigrafije, uglavnom iz Francuske (J.-P. Caillet, D. Feissel, N. Gauthier, F. Prévot i brojni suradnici).

Moramo naglasiti da je ovaj tim stručnjaka unutar istog projekta već objavio tri djela koja se bave starokršćanskim Salonom¹, a koja su bila svojevrstan uvod u glavni cilj ove suradnje, zbirku natpisa iz kršćanske Salone. Ovo je, dakle, četvrti svezak tog niza i na neki način karika koja je nedostajala. On obrađuje samu natpisnu građu, bez koje, složit ćemo se, ne bi bilo moguće rekonstruirati ni polovicu današnjeg znanja o tom vrlo zanimljivom, ali i diskutabilnom razdoblju salonitanske povijesti.

Djelo objedinjuje ukupno 1301 natpis, od kojih su njih 825 (742 latinska i 83 grčka) obrađeni kao kataloške jedinice s komentarom. Među njih su ubrojeni cjeloviti, ali i manje cjeloviti natpsi iz kojih se može pročitati neki konkretan podatak, bilo specifičan izraz ili datacija po konzulima, bilo ime osobe spomenute na natpisu. Od svih natpisa 45 je dosad neobjavljenih latinskih, dok su četiri neobjavljena grčka natpisa. Preostali natpsi su fragmenti na kojima nema posebno važnih podataka (451 latinski i 16 grčki) pa nisu uvršteni u prvu skupinu s komentarom, ali pridonose spoznaji o epigrafskoj produkciji salonitanskih radionica. Od ovih fragmenata, neobjavljena su 124. Natpsi vremenski pokrivaju vrijeme od početka IV. do VII. stoljeća, što obuhvaća razdoblje kasne antike i dio ranog srednjeg vijeka. S obzirom da se to razdoblje ne može svrstati pod zajednički nazivnik, autori su to sretno rješili naslovivši djelo *Natpsi kršćanske Salone*.

U prvom od dva sveska, u uvodnom dijelu, tekstovi uvode čitatelja u glavne odrednice za razumijevanje salonitanske epigrafije iz razdoblja kršćanstva. Tako u prvom poglavlju saznajemo nešto više o povijesti prikupljanja i opisivanja natpisa na splitskom području, od Dmene Papalića do danas, kao i o najznačajnijim salonitanskim ranokršćanskim lokalitetima. Među mnogim imenima ljudi koji su pridonijeli da se ovi natpsi tijekom povijesti pronađu, sačuvaju i objave, mora se posebno istaknuti don Franu Buliću, koji je zasigurno najvažnija ličnost salonitanske epigrafije svih razdoblja antike,

In 1983, French-Croatian cooperation was launched with the primary objective of publishing a collection of inscriptions from Early Christian Salona. That this edition had been long and eagerly anticipated by the scholarly public is shown by announcements of its release as far back as 1988, and then again in 1994 (Marin 1988, p. 39; Marin 1994, p. 64), when only the general number of inscriptions was known. However, this work provides an exhaustive discussion and catalogue of the inscriptions with detailed commentary, which requires a great deal of time and systematic effort.

The project to publish a collection of Early Christian inscriptions was initiated by Emilio Marin (Archaeological Museum in Split) and Noël Duval (Paris-Sorbonne University - Paris IV and École Française de Rome), while the expertise of a number of other scholars in the fields of Early Christian archaeology and epigraphy, mainly from France, contributed to the realization of this idea (J.-P. Caillet, D. Feissel, N. Gauthier, F. Prévot and many associates).

It bears mention that within the same project, this team of experts had previously published three works dealing with Early Christian Salona,¹ which served as something of an introduction into the primary goal of this cooperation, the collection of inscriptions from Christian Salona. This is, therefore, the fourth volume in the series and, in a manner of speaking, its missing link. It contains an analysis of the inscription materials, without which - on which I believe there is a general consensus - it would not have been possible to reconstruct even a half of the current knowledge on this exceptionally fascinating but also controversial period in Salona's history.

This work brings together a total of 1,301 inscriptions, of which 825 (742 Latin and 83 Greek) were covered as catalogue units with commentary. Enumerated among them are complete but also less complete inscriptions whereby readers can ascertain certain specific information, whether an expression or dating based on a consul's term in office, or the name of a person mentioned therein. Out of these inscriptions, 45 of the Latin inscriptions and four of the Greek inscriptions had not been previously published. The remaining inscriptions are fragments which do not contain important data (451 Latin and 16 Greek) so they were not included in the first group with commentary, but they do contribute to knowledge on the epigraphic production of the Salona workshops. Among these fragments, 124 had not been previously published. The inscriptions cover a chronological period from the beginning of the fourth to the seventh century, which encompasses Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. Given that there is no common designation for this period, the authors fortuitously chose to give their work the title "Inscriptions of Christian Salona."

In the first volume, the introductory texts familiarize readers with the principal guidelines for understanding Salona's epigraphy during the Early Christian period. Thus, in the first chapter we learn a little about the history of gathering and describing inscriptions in the wider environs of Split, from Dmene Papalić to the present, and also about the most important Early Christian sites of Salona. Among the many names of people who contributed to the discovery of these inscriptions over the course of history, Fr. Fran Bulić merits special

¹ Salona I (1994), Salona II (1995), Salona III (2000).

1 Salona I (1994), Salona II (1995), Salona III (2000).

jer je podjednako iskopavao i objavljivao sve vrste antičkih natpisa u Saloni. Iako je prije njegova doba Salona već imala nezanemariv broj natpisa koji su objavljeni godine 1873. u prvom svesku trećeg dijela monumentalnog djela *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, u idućih je nekoliko desetljeća taj broj umnogostručen upravo radom don Frane, koji je vodio istraživanja u Saloni, a čiji je neizostavni dio bio pronalazak i redovita objava natpisa. Posebna zasluga don Frane Bulića je istraživanje ranokršćanskih nekropola i crkava Salone, koje je uvelike promijenilo dotadašnje spoznaje o kršćanstvu u Saloni. Dakako, on nije bio jedini koji je istraživao to razdoblje, ali je bio jedan od najboljih njegovih poznavatelja, što mu je, kao znanstveniku, osiguralo i velik ugled u čitavoj Europi. Iz tih je razloga i mogao još godine 1894. organizirati Prvi međunarodni kongres za starokršćansku arheologiju, koji je održan upravo u Solinu i Splitu (*Acta I CIAC*). O stotoj obljetnici tog događaja Split je zajedno s Porečem godine 1994. ponovno bio domaćin Kongresa, i to trinaestog po redu (*Acta XIII CIAC*), što dovoljno govori o međunarodnoj recepciji ranog kršćanstva u Saloni, ali i na istočnoj jadranskoj obali općenito.

Nakon Prvog kongresa, za samu se lokalitet zainteresirali mnogi stranci, što je rezultiralo arheološkim kampanjama čiji su rezultati objavljivani u redovito citiranim monografskim djelima.² Upravo je u tim istraživanjima ranokršćanskih nekropola na Manastirinama, Marusincu i Kapluču pronađen velik dio kršćanskih natpisa, koji se mogu datirati od IV. do VII. stoljeća, a koji pokrivaju dobar dio ove zbirke. Ostatak ovog poglavlja obrađuje kriterije prema kojima je određeno koji će natpsi biti sastavnice ove zbirke, kao što su datacija konzulima nakon godine 306. ili indikcijama, tip spomenika, posebni jezični izrazi, paleografija, ali i mjesto pronalaska spomenika.

U drugom se poglavlju raspravlja o vrstama spomenika i tipologiji za svaku vrstu posebno. Kako je i očekivano, prevladavaju nadgrobni natpsi, i to na sarkofazima (njih 597), koji su u to doba, od dosad pronađenih, bili najčešći oblik natpisnog pogrebnog obilježja. Od ostalih tipova spomenika s natpisom tu su nadgrobne menze, nadgrobne ploče, stele i mozaici. Slijedi rasprava o formulama na grčkom i latinskom jeziku kakve su bile karakteristične na kršćanskim natpisima, što je vrlo bitna odrednica u dataciji. Poglavlje se dotiče i demografskih pitanja, pa se tako među latinskim natpisima razaznaje 247 muškaraca i 176 žena, dok je na grčkim natpisima 35 muškaraca i 14 žena. Ostali natpsi nisu dovoljno sačuvani da bismo odredili spol pokojnika. Za razliku od poganskih natpisa, kod kojih je vrlo često naveden broj godina koliko je neka osoba živjela, na kršćanskim natpisima to i nije bio slučaj; na velikoj većini natpisa taj je podatak izostavljen. Od ostalih pokazatelja, tu su podaci o tome tko je kome i na kakav način podigao

² FS I, koja se bave građevinama otkrivenim u sjeverozapadnom dijelu Salone; FS II, koja se bave starokršćanskim grobljem na Manastirinama; FS III, koja se bave starokršćanskim grobljem na Marusincu; *Recherches I*, koja se bave topografijom Salone i bazilikom petorice mučenika u Kapluču.

emphasis, as he was certainly the most important personality involved in the Salona epigraphy of all periods of Antiquity, and he dedicated equal effort to excavating and publishing all manner of Antique inscriptions in Salona. Even though before his time Salona had already had a modest number of inscriptions published in 1873 in the first volume of the third part of the monumental *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, in the subsequent several decades this number grew many times over precisely due to the efforts of Fr. Frane, who conducted research in Salona which regularly involved the discovery and regular publication of inscriptions. Fr. Frane Bulić is particularly responsible for conducting research into Early Christian necropolises and churches in Salona, which largely changed all previous perceptions of Christianity in Salona. To be sure, he was not the only one who studied this period, but he was its most knowledgeable expert, which, as a scholar, assured him a great reputation throughout Europe. This is why already in 1894 he was able to organize the First International Congress of Early Christian Archaeology which was held in Solin and Split (*Acta I CIAC*). On the one-hundredth anniversary of this event, Split, together with Poreč, was once more the host of the Thirteenth Congress (*Acta XIII CIAC*), which says enough about the international reception of Early Christianity in Salona, and the Eastern Adriatic seaboard in general.

After the First Congress, many foreign scholars became interested in the site, which resulted in archaeological campaigns with results published in well-cited monographic works.² It was precisely during such research that a considerable number of Early Christian inscriptions were found in the Early Christian necropolises in Manastirine, Marusinac and Kapluč, which can be dated from the fourth to seventh centuries, and which cover a major portion of this collection. The remainder of this chapter deals with the criteria governing which inscriptions became components of the collection, such as dating by consuls after 306 AD, or indictions, monument type, particular linguistic expressions, palaeography, and also find-sites.

The second chapter contains a discussion of the types of monuments and the typology of each separately. As expected, grave inscriptions predominate, particularly those on sarcophagi (597 of them), which in that era were the most frequent form of grave feature among those thus far found. The remaining types of monuments with inscriptions are grave mensae, gravestones, stelae and mosaics. This is followed by a discussion of the formulas in the Greek and Latin languages that were typical in Christian inscriptions, which is a very important factor in dating. The chapter also touches on demographic questions, so that among the Latin inscriptions 247 men and 176 women were registered, while in the Greek inscriptions 35 men and 14 women were noted. The remaining inscriptions were not sufficiently preserved to determine the gender of the deceased. In contrast to pagan inscriptions, which very often specify the number of years a person had lived, on Christian inscriptions this was not the case, for

spomenik, podaci o duljini trajanja braka, o okolnostima smrti, o cijenama pogreba, kao i vrlo zanimljiva rasprava o nadgrobnim formulama za zaštitu grobnice. Primjerice, prijetnje su izricane potencijalnim nasilnicima da će, prekršivši zabranu remećenja vječnog mira pokojnika otvaranjem groba radi micanja kostiju ili ukapanja na isto mjesto, morati platiti pozamašan novčani iznos, najčešće salonitanskoj Crkvi.

U trećem se poglavlju raspravlja o kasnoantičkom stanovništvu Salone, njegovom društvenom ustrojstvu, o načinu na koji je grad funkcionirao, kao i o položaju Salone unutar Carstva. Salona je, što zbog svog položaja, što zbog činjenice da je bila glavni grad provincije, svakodnevno bila mjesto kretanja velikog broja ljudi, i to ne samo iz Dalmacije. Po tome se ona može usporediti s nekim od najznačajnijih gradova tog razdoblja, primjerice s Kartagom, koja također obiluje natpisima iz tog doba (Kajanto 1963). Podaci s natpisa idu u prilog dokazima o mobilnosti njegina pučanstva. Saznajemo o Salonitancima koji su boravili izvan Dalmacije i što su tamo radili, ali i o strancima u Saloni, posebice onima iz maloazijskog prostora. To ne čudi s obzirom na izvoře kršćanstva i put njegova širenja. Doseđenici iz grekokofnih provincija tog prostora pridonijeli su povećanju broja natpisa na grčkom jeziku.

Odmah na početku tog poglavlja imamo se prilike upoznati s onomastikom stanovnika Salone i konstatirati da, kao i drugdje u istom razdoblju, prevladava jednoimeni sustav. Tek je manji dio osoba nosio kombinaciju gentilicia i cognomena, dok je većina imala samo cognomen. Osim toga, ovi s dvama imenima javljaju se do sredine V. stoljeća, dok kasnije prevladava samo jedno ime. Od gentilicia su najzastupljeniji *Aurelius* i *Flavius*, koji imaju funkciju društvenog statusa, o čemu se na drugim mjestima podrobno pisalo (Keenan 1973, str. 33-63; Keenan 1974, str. 283-304; Keenan 1983, 250-255). Od cognomina su najbrojnija ona latinskog podrijetla (njih 260 različitih), slijede grčka (106), zatim ona semitskog podrijetla (32), dok je ostalih, među kojima su ilirska, keltska, germanska ili neopredijeljena, vrlo malen broj.

Slijedi rasprava o položaju Salone u kasnoj antici, odnosa careva prema ovom gradu, o burnom petom stoljeću, te vrlo zanimljiva rasprava o društvenom statusu Salonitanaca o kojem saznajemo iz natpisa. Vidi se tako da je kasnoantička Salona bila iznimno živopisana grad čiji su se stanovnici, kao i u prijašnjem razdoblju, bavili mnogim zanimanjima. Djelovala su razna udruženja što su okupljala ljudi istih zanimanja (*collegia*); bili su organizirani kao cehi i na taj su se načini međusobno štitili i pomagali. Kao poseban slučaj izdvaja se kolegij *ad Tritones*, čiji su se članovi nazivali *ministri*. Od ostalih zanimanja nalazimo klesare, trgovce, pekare, šivače, majstore staklare, bojače tkanina kao i mnoga druga uslužna zanimanja, koja se i inače nalaze u svakom većem gradu.³ Poglavlje govori i o prisutnosti vojničkih natpisa u Saloni, s osvrtom na općeniti ustroj kasnoantičke vojske na području Ilirika.

³ Popis i objašnjenja svih zanimanja opširno u: Waltzing 1895-1900.

this information is absent in most inscriptions. Among the remaining indicators, there are data on who raised a monument to the deceased and how, data on the duration of marriages, on the circumstances surrounding death, the cost of the funerals, and a very interesting discussion on gravestone formulas for protection of graves and tombs. For example, admonitions are posted to potential desecrators that they will have to pay a considerable monetary sum, most often to the Salona church, should they violate the prohibition on disturbing the eternal rest of the deceased by opening graves to remove the bones or conduct interments in the same place.

The population of Salona in Late Antiquity, its social structure, the city's functioning and the position of Salona within the Empire are discussed in the third chapter. Salona was, either due to its location or due to the fact that it was the provincial capital, an everyday place of transit for a large number of people, and not only natives of Dalmatia. In this regard, it may be compared to many of the most important cities of this period, such as, for example, Carthage, which also abounds in inscriptions from this period (Kajanto 1963). The data from the inscriptions serve to back evidence of the mobility of its populace. We learn about Salona natives who lived abroad and what they did there, and also about foreigners in Salona, particularly those from Asia Minor. This is not surprising given the source of Christianity and its spread. Settlers from the Graecophone provinces of this territory contributed to the increase in the number of inscriptions in Greek.

This chapter begins with a look at the onomastics of Salona's residents, and it becomes apparent that, as elsewhere in the same period, the single-name system predominated. Only a smaller portion of persons bore the combination of the gentilicium and cognomen, while most had only a cognomen. Besides this, those with two names appeared up to the mid-fifth century, while later the single name become dominant. Among the gentilicia, the most common were *Aurelius* and *Flavius*, which served to indicate social status, and which has been the subject of detailed analysis elsewhere (Keenan 1973, pp. 33-63; Keenan 1974, pp. 283-304; Keenan 1983, pp. 250-255). Among the cognomina, the most numerous are those of Latin origin (260 different ones), followed by Greek (106), and then those of Semitic origin (32), while the remainder, among which there are Illyrian, Celtic, Germanic and indeterminate examples, are very few in number.

This is followed by a discussion of Salona's position in Late Antiquity, the relationship of the emperors to the city, the tumultuous fifth century, and the very interesting discussion of the social status of Salona natives that can be discerned from the inscriptions. It can therefore be seen that Late Antique Salona was a very picturesque city whose residents, as in the preceding period, were involved in many occupations. Various associations (*collegia*) of persons who had the same occupation were active; they were organized as guilds and they mutually protected and assisted each other in this manner. A particular case is the *collegium* called *ad Tritones*, whose members were called *ministri*. Among the other trades, there were masons, merchants, bakers, tailors, master glass-makers, fabric dyers and many other service occupations, the type found in any larger city.³ This

³ An extensive list and explanation of all trades can be found in Waltzing 1895-1900.

Isto poglavlje donosi i raspravu o crkvenoj organizaciji, pa su tako nabrojane titule s natpisa koje nam govore o hijerarhiji crkvenih dostojačstvenika: biskupi, svećenici, đakoni, podđakoni i ostale dužnosti, koje nisu morali obnašati samo pripadnici klera nego i svjetovnjaci.

S obzirom na politiku Carstva prema Saloni prije uspostave kršćanstva, nezaobilazna je tema kult mučenika, koji je nakon izvora i epigrafički potvrđen pronalaskom natpisa o komemoraciji osoba koje su stradale u progonima: Domnion-Duje (Domnio), Antiohijan (Antiochianus), Asterije (Asterius), Gajan (Gaianus), Paulinjan (Paulinianus), Telije (Telius), Septimije (Septimi), Anastazije (Anastasius). U Saloni su se štovali i apostoli i sveci koji nisu bili mučeni u Saloni.

Iznimno značajan dio poglavlja je rasprava o načinu datiranja natpisa samim kronološkim odrednicama, koje su mogle biti izrečene navođenjem trenutačnih konzula ili navođenjem indikcija, što je mnogo nejasnije od ovog prvog.

Ovo poglavlje možda najbolje daje odgovor na pitanje vezano uz pojam "kršćanska Salona", odnosno zašto ovo djelo ne obrađuje isključivo kršćanske natpise. Upravo se preko ovdje obrađenih natpisa može dobiti dosad najpotpunija slika o profilu stanovništva Salone u kasnoj antici. Salona je, uz to što je u njoj još uvijek na snazi bio poganski panteon, od početka IV. stoljeća bila i kršćanski grad. U toj šarolikoj urbanoj cjelini nalazimo mnoge etničke skupine s različitim uvjerenjima i vjerovanjima i nije uvijek lako potpuno odvojiti jedne od drugih. Natpisna građa to i potvrđuje podatkom da su od 742 latinska natpisa njih 351 (47%) zasigurno kršćanski, dok je kod grčkih situacija gotovo istovjetna: od 83 natpisa, 40 njih su sigurno kršćanski. Dio natpisa nedvojbeno je poganski jer spominju posvete rimskim bogovima, primjerice Veneri ili Herkulu. Za većinu ostalih natpisa postoji velika mogućnost da su ih podigli kršćani, no za to nema dovoljno čvrstih elemenata poput karakterističnih izraza po kojima se prepoznaju ranokršćanski natpisi. Kako se kronološki odmičemo od IV. stoljeća, i epigrafička slika Salone postaje sve više kršćanska, no tradicija je klasične antike i dalje duboko ukorijenjena u svijesti Salonianaca, tako da se još u VI. st. javljaju poganski elementi na kršćanskim natpisima (npr. kat. br. 229). To dakako ne mora značiti da ti ljudi nisu znali što su, nego se najvjerojatnije radilo o tome da su im epitafi bili inspirirani klasicima rimske i grčke poezije, kako je to bio čest slučaj u razdoblju humanizma i renesanse.

Četvrto poglavlje zaokružuje spoznajnu sliku o natpisima i istražuje buduće smjerove poučavanja salonitanske epigrafije. Ukratko je dan i osvrt na vulgarni latinitet koji je, pogotovo u ovom razdoblju, čest na natpisima u svim dijelovima Carstva. Način na koji se razvijaju te "pučke" inačice latinskog jezika, izravno je povezan s utjecajem na jezike koji će se tek formirati. Pisac poglavlja u prvom dodatku tabelarnim prikazom prezentira popis sarkofaga sa salonitanskog područja koji su bili izrađeni prije IV. stoljeća. Na taj se način upoznajemo i sa značajkama nekršćanskih sarkofaga koji, za razliku od onih iz kršćanskog razdoblja, nisu bili prevladavajući oblik

chapter also speaks of the presence of military inscriptions in Salona, with reference to the general structure of the Late Antique military in the territory of Illyricum.

This same chapter also contains a discussion of church organization, so there is a tally of the titles from inscriptions which sheds light on the hierarchy of church dignitaries: bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons and other functions which were not necessarily performed solely by members of the clergy, but also by laypersons.

Given the Empire's policy toward Salona prior to the establishment of Christianity, an inevitable topic is the cult of martyrs which, besides being mentioned in written sources, has also been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription commemorating the persons who died in persecutions: Domnio, Antiochianus, Asterius, Gaianus, Paulinianus, Telius, Septimius, and Anastasius. Apostles and saints who were not martyred in Salona were also revered there.

An exceptionally important part of the chapter is the discussion of the manner of dating the inscriptions by chronological determinants alone, which may have been indicated by mention of the current consul or based on indictions, which are much less clear than the former.

This chapter perhaps provides a response to the question tied to the term "Christian Salona", i.e., why does this work not deal exclusively with Christian inscriptions? It is precisely by means of the inscriptions presented here that one may obtain the most complete picture of the profile of Salona's population in Late Antiquity. Since the onset of the fourth century, Salona was, besides the fact that the pagan pantheon was still in force, also a Christian city. In this vibrant urban milieu, there were many ethnic groups with differing convictions and beliefs, and it was no simple task to distinguish one from the other. The inscription materials confirm this by the fact that out of the 742 Latin inscriptions, 351 (47%) are certainly Christian, while the Greek situation is almost identical: out of 83 inscriptions, 40 of them are certainly Christian. Some of the inscriptions are doubtlessly pagan, for they mention dedications to Roman gods, such as Venus or Hercules. There is a great possibility that most of the remaining inscriptions were raised by Christians, but there is not enough solid elements, such as characteristic phrases, whereby they can be recognized as Early Christian inscriptions. As one chronologically moves away from the fourth century and the epigraphic picture of Salona becomes increasingly Christian, the tradition of Classical Antiquity still remained deeply embedded in the conscious of Salona's natives, so that even in the sixth century pagan elements would appear in Christian inscriptions (e.g. cat. no. 229). This certainly need not mean that these people did not know what they were, rather it is more likely that these epitaphs were inspired by the classics of Roman and Greek poetry, which was often the case in the period of humanism and the Renaissance.

The fourth chapter completes the cognitive picture of inscriptions and examines future directions in the study of Salona epigraphy. It also provides a brief consideration of Vulgar Latin which, particularly during this period, was frequent in inscriptions in all parts of the Empire. The manner in which these "common" variants of Latin developed was directly tied to its influence on languages that were yet to be formed. In the first appendix, the chapter's author provides a table presenting the list of sarcophagi from the Salona area which were made prior to the fourth century. In this manner we also learn

obilježavanja grobnog mjesta. U drugom dodatku daje popis od dvadesetak natpisa koji su u dosadašnjim objavama bili pogrešno interpretirani kao kasnoantički i kojima u ovoj zbirci, prema potkrijepljnom mišljenju njezinih sastavljača, nije mjesto. Poglavlje, kao i čitava uvodna rasprava, završava usporednim paleografskim kronološkim prikazom značajka svih latinskih slova i njihove učestalosti na salonitanskim kasnoantičkim natpisima. To je ujedno i vrlo koristan prilog pomoću kojeg će ubuduće epigrafičarima bez sumnje biti olakšano datiranje spomenika na području Salone od IV. do VI. stoljeća.

Katalog natpisa obuhvaća veći dio prvog i čitav drugi svezak ovog djela. On je ustrojen vrlo pregledno i sustavno, dosta slično novom izdanju CIL-a, i to na način da svaka kataloška jedinica obuhvaća jedan natpis koji je reproduciran tekstom, fotografijom, odnosno crtežom ili faksimilom iz neke prijašnje objave ako natpis nije sačuvan. Nadalje, svaki je tekst natpisa preveden na francuski, a svaki spomenik ima navod inventarnog broja, mjesto pronalaska, mjesto čuvanja, fizički opis, dimenzije samog spomenika i slova natpisa, popis svih njegovih prethodnih objava, kao i iscrpan komentar svakog retka natpisa, u kojem se nalazi mnoštvo korisnih informacija koje se tiču povjesnih prilika, jezika, analognih primjera i sl. Za svaku se katalošku jedinicu zna tko ju je sastavio, a naveden je i autor svake fotografije (ako je poznat). Fragmenti iz kojih gotovo ništa ne saznajemo reproducirani su slikom i potkrijepljeni samo osnovnim podacima.

Sastavljen je i popis konkordancija s najznačajnijim djelima u kojima su sabrani kasnoantički natpisi salonitanskog područja. Na kraju, drugi svezak pruža indeks s bitnim epigrafičkim odrednicama, što je i obično prilog svakog ovakvog djela i koji uvelike olakšava potragu za određenim natpisom (imena osoba s natpisima, geografski pojmovi, konzuli, vokabular najznačajnijih latinskih i grčkih riječi, popis natpisa prema mjestu pronalaska, metrički natpisi).

Ovom monumentalnom i prvom sintetskom epigrafskom djelu o kasnoantičkim natpisima Dalmacije, može se uputiti samo nekoliko manjih primjedaba, koje neće ni na kakav način zasjeniti njegov iznimno budući prinos epigrafinji. Tako bismo se mogli upitati pripadaju li ovoj zbirci natpisi iz mesta koja se razvijaju usporedno sa Salonom, i u njima su postavljeni (npr. na Šolti, na Braču, u Poljicima). Jasna je činjenica da je Salona kao dalmatinska metropola u čitavom razdoblju antike bila gravitacijska točka za sva naselja u okolini i da gotovo ništa u svakodnevnom životu antike nije potvrđeno u nekom obližnjem mjestu, a da nije već postojalo u Saloni. Dakle, bez obzira na stupanj razvijenosti mnogih antičkih naselja na prostoru koji se u literaturi naziva *ager Salonianus* (obuhvaća područje od otprilike Bijača na zapadu do Podgrađa u Poljicima i od Klisa na sjeveru do Jesenica na jugu, a pod salonitansku su upravu pripadali otoci Brač i Šolta), sva su ona u mnogočemu ovisila o Saloni, pa smatramo u većem dijelu opravdanim razlog zbog kojeg su se svi našli unutar ove zbirke. Nadalje, teško bi bilo utvrditi koji su natpisi uopće doista gradski, salonitanski

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about the characteristics of non-Christian sarcophagi which, as opposed to those of the Christian period, were not the predominant form of marking a grave site. In the second appendix, there is a list of approximately twenty inscriptions that were erroneously interpreted in earlier publications as Late Antique, and which do not belong in this collection, based on the well-argued opinions of its compilers. This chapter, like the entire introductory discussion, ends with a comparative palaeographic and chronological overview of the characteristics of all Latin letters and their frequency in Salona's Late Antique inscriptions. This is simultaneously a very useful tool that future epigraphers will certainly find helpful in dating monuments from the fourth to seventh centuries in the Salona area.

The catalogue of inscriptions occupies most of the first and the entire second volume of this publication. It is organized systematically, in an easy-to-consult manner, very similar to the new edition of CIL, such that each catalogue entry includes one inscription which is reproduced with text, a photograph or sketch, or a facsimile from any earlier publication insofar as the inscription has not been preserved. Furthermore, each inscription is translated into French, while each monument is accompanied by a designation of an inventory number, find-site, storage site, physical description, dimensions of the actual monument and its letters, a list of its preceding publications, and exhaustive commentary on each line of the inscription, in which there is a great deal of useful information on historical circumstances, analogous examples, etc. The author of each catalogue entry is credited, as is each photograph (if the photographer's identity is known). The fragments which provide almost no information are reproduced by illustration and accompanied by only basic data.

There is also a list of concordances with the most important works in which the Late Antique inscriptions of the Salona area are collected. At the end, the second volume contains an index with essential epigraphic determinants, which is in fact customary for works of this type and which greatly eases the search for a specific inscription (names of persons from inscriptions, geographic terms, consuls, glossary of the most important Latin and Greek words, list of inscriptions based on find-site, metric inscriptions).

I have only a few minor criticisms of this monumental and, indeed, first synthetic epigraphic work on the Late Antique inscriptions of Dalmatia, which will in no way whatsoever diminish its exceptional contribution to epigraphy. Therefore, we may be justified in asking whether this collection should have also included inscriptions from places which developed parallel to Salona, and were raised in them (e.g. on the islands of Šolta and Brač, in Poljice). The clear fact is that Salona, as the Dalmatian metropolis, was the point of gravitation for all surrounding settlements throughout Antiquity, and that almost nothing in the everyday life of Antiquity has been confirmed in some nearby place that did not already exist in Salona. Thus, regardless of the degree of development of many Roman-era settlements in the territory referred to in the relevant literature as the *ager Salonianus* (encompassing the area from roughly Bijači in the west to Podgrađe, in Poljice, and Klis in the north to Jesenica in the south, and the islands of Brač and Šolta, were under Salona's administrative jurisdiction), all of them depended on Salona in many ways, so the reason for their presence in this collection may be deemed largely justified.

(spomenimo se primjerice samo Marulićeva svjedočenja o spomenicima dopremljenima iz Solina u Split u njegovo vrijeme). Možda bi pri svemu ovom naslov koji spominje *salonitanski ager*, a ne samo Salonu, jasnije odredio parametre uzete u obzir pri uvrštanju natpisa u zbirku i riješio nedoumice. Ipak, ono što olakšava pretraživanje po mjestu pronalaska spomenika jest popis lokaliteta i kataloških brojeva svih natpisa, tako da je na tom mjestu jasno vidljivo koliko je učešće natpisa u katalogu koji nisu pronađeni u samoj Saloni.

Što se tiče prikupljanja građe, u katalogu se nalaze svi natpisi koji su objavljeni u literaturi do godine 2004., a donosi se i dobar broj neobjavljenih natpisa i fragmenata koji su prvu objavu doživjeli upravo u ovome djelu. Međutim, u ovoj objavi nažalost nije svoje mjesto našao sav neobjavljeni kasnoantički epigrafički materijal sa salonitanskog područja. U Muzeju se hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, naime, čuva nekoliko ulomaka natpisa (latinskih i grčkih) koji potječu s relativno nedavnih (zadnjih dvadesetak godina) istraživanja tog muzeja u tzv. Šupljoj crkvi u Solinu. Bili su kao spoliji iskorišteni u gradnji te srednjovjekovne benediktinske crkve i okolnoga groblja. U istom su muzeju pohranjeni i natpisi koji su na tom lokalitetu bili pronađeni tridesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća, u vrijeme dok je u Solinu istraživao poznati danski arhitekt Ejnar Dyggve. Drugi lokalitet koji je dao nekoliko kasnoantičkih natpisa je prizemna razina Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu, poznatija pod nazivom "podrumi". Epigrafički je materijal odavno pronađen prilikom pražnjenja "podruma" Dioklecijanove palače, ali jeugo vremena bio na neki način nedostupan jer je bio nerazvrstan u skupini s mnogim pronađenim arhitektonskim ulomcima.

Zatim, kako je od zaključivanja rukopisa knjige (2004. g.) prošlo relativno dosta vremena, podatak od 825 natpisa i 476 fragmenata više nije točan jer su u međuvremenu pronađeni i objavljeni novi natpisi. Iako autori katalog i raspravu nisu odlučili širiti zbog nekoliko novih natpisa, nadopunili su bibliografiju onom novijeg datuma, za pojedine natpise koji su bili predmetom rasprava u citiranim djelima. To ovo djelo možda čini nepotpunim već u trenutku objave, ali takva je situacija neizbjegna jer se na području Salone stalno istražuje i pronalasci su novih natpisa neizostavni. Zasigurno neće proteći mnogo vremena, a da se ne objavi još koji natpis ili odnekud ne "pojavi" neki za koji se mislilo da je izgubljen.

Tako već možemo spomenuti natpise koji su otkriveni prije kojih pet godina, prilikom nadogradnje nove rive u Vranjicu (Radić Rossi 2007, str. 452), a među kojima također ima nekoliko kasnoantičkih, i latinskih i grčkih, kao i pronalazak ulomka kršćanskog sarkofaga na Klisu.

Osim ovih iz "podruma", koji su objavljeni (Demicheli 2009, str. 55-79), znanstvena obrada svih navedenih natpisa je u pripremi, a ovo će djelo biti uvelike od koristi za njihovu što bolju interpretaciju.

Na kraju kažimo da je ovo djelo dokaz kako se na dobre i kvalitetne sintetske objave isplati čekati. Najveća vrijednost ovih dvaju svezaka jest ta što su vrlo upotrebljivi u smislu

daljnje proučavanja salonitanskih natpisa, njihove međusobne usporedbe, i stabilan su temelj za nadogradnju žuđenog znanja o Saloni. Nadam se da nas zemlja salonitanskog prostora još dugo neće prestati ugodno iznenađivati novim natpisima koje krije u dugom i sve samo ne jednoličnom nizu stoljeća!

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In the end, it should be said that this work shows that good, high-quality synthetic publications are well worth the wait. The greatest value of these two volumes is that they are very usable in the sense of further study of the Salona inscriptions and their comparison, and they form a sound foundation to enhance the much-desired knowledge on Salona. I hope that the soil of the Salona territory will never cease surprising us with the inscriptions it has been concealing for this long and anything-but uniform march of centuries!

Furthermore, it would be difficult to ascertain which inscriptions were truly from the city, i.e., Salona, e.g. only Marulić's testimony on monuments brought from Solin to Split in his time need be mentioned. Perhaps, with all of this in mind, a title which mentions the Salona *ager*, and not just Salona, would more clearly specify the parameters taken into account when compiling the inscriptions in the collection and resolve any ambiguity. Nonetheless, something that eases the search by find-site is the list of sites and catalogue numbers of all inscriptions, so that at this place the share of inscriptions in the catalogue which were not found in Salona itself is clear.

As to the gathering of materials, the catalogue contains all inscriptions published in the literature up to 2004, and it also contains a goodly number of unpublished inscriptions and fragments first published here. However, all of the unpublished Late Antique epigraphic material from the Salona territory did not find its place in this work. For instance, the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments holds several inscription fragments (Latin and Greek) which were yielded by relatively recent (roughly within the last twenty years) research conducted by this Museum in the so-called Hollow Church in Solin. They were used as spolia in the construction of the medieval Benedictine church and the surrounding cemetery. This same Museum also holds inscriptions found at this same site in the 1930s, at the time when the well-known Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve was conducting research in Solin. The other site which has provided several Late Antique inscriptions is the ground level of Diocletian's Palace in Split, better known as the "basements". These epigraphic materials were found long ago when the "basements" of Diocletian's Palace were emptied, but was in a way long inaccessible, for they were unclassified in a group with the many architectural fragments discovered.

Additionally, since a relatively considerable amount of time has transpired since the completion of the manuscript (2004), the data on 825 inscriptions and 476 fragments are no longer accurate, for in the meantime new inscriptions have been discovered and published. Even though the authors of the catalogue and discussion opted not to expand their work for a few more inscriptions, they supplemented the bibliography to encompass works of a more recent date for individual inscriptions which were the subject of discussion in these works. These factors perhaps make this work incomplete at the moment of its publication, but this is an inescapable situation, because research is continually being conducted in Salona and discoveries of new inscriptions are inevitable. Certainly not much time will pass before some inscription is published, or some inscription previously thought lost "reappears".

Thus, I may point out the inscriptions discovered roughly five years ago during additional construction at the new riva in Vranjic (Radić Rossi 2007, p. 452), among which there were several Late Antique, both Latin and Greek, as well as the discovery of a fragment of a Christian sarcophagus at Klis.

Besides those from the "basements" which have been published (Demicheli 2009, pp. 55-79), the scholarly analysis of all of the aforementioned inscriptions is being prepared, and this work will be of great use for their better interpretation.

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