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Dva starokršćanska relikvijara iz Splita Two Early Christian reliquaries from Split

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U radu se objavljuje mali kameni relikvijar i *capsella reliquiarum*, koji potječu iz Splita, a datiraju se u starokršćansko doba. *Capsella* ima natpis s imenom sv. Severa, koji dosad nije bio poznat u splitskoj hagonimiji. Pretpostavljamo da se njezin dolazak u Split može vezati uz ime biskupa Ivana Ravenjanina te donaciju Velikog Severa koji je dio Dioklecijanove palače ustupio za biskupsko sjedište. Osim toga, dan je osvrt na pečat egzarha Pavla s početka VIII. st. i na neka pitanja vezana uz crkvu sv. Mateja.

Ključne riječi: relikvijar, *capsella reliquiarum*, starokršćansko doba, sv. Sever, Veliki Sever, Ivan Ravenjanin, oltar sv. Staša, splitska katedrala, samostan sv. Klare, crkva sv. Mateja, natpis nadbiskupa Maksima, pečat egzarha Pavla, splitska nadbiskupija, Split

A small stone reliquary and a *capsella reliquiarum* originally from Split and dated to the Early Christian era are published herein. The *capsella* bears an inscription with the name of St. Severus, who was previously unknown in the hagonymy of Split. It has been assumed that its arrival in Split may be linked to Bishop John of Ravenna and the donation of part of Diocletian's Palace for the diocesan seat by Severus the Great. Additionally, the seal of the exarch Paul from the early seventh century and certain questions tied to the Church of St. Matthew are considered.

Key words: reliquary, *capsella reliquiarum*, Early Christian era, St. Severus, Severus the Great, John of Ravenna, altar of St. Anastasius, Split cathedral, Convent of St. Clare, Church of St. Matthew, inscription of Archbishop Maximus, seal of Exarch Paul, Split archdiocese, Split

Splitski samostan sv. Klare nekoliko je puta mijenjao svoj položaj. Prvotno je bio podignut godine 1311. na današnjem Trgu braće Radića, ali je srušen 1424. jer se na njegovu mjestu počeo graditi mletački kaštel. Odatle su redovnice prešle u jugoistočni dio Dioklecijanove palače, na položaj Sdorij, gdje su uredile drugi samostan. U njemu su ostale do 1883., kad su se preselile na Lučac, gdje se i danas nalaze.¹ Odlazeći u novosagrađeni samostan, klarise su ponijele i raznovrsne umjetnine kojima su tijekom stoljećâ postupno oplemenjivale svoje sjedište i crkvu.² Među inim stvarima bila su i dva mala relikvijara koje smo godine 2006. pronašli u ormarima u kapitularnoj dvorani samostana, a koji do sada nisu objavljeni.³

Prvi je relikvijar izrađen od vapnenca u obliku sarkofaga sa zaobljenim poklopcem (tip *a baule*). Dimenzije su mu: dužina 20,2 cm, širina 13,3 cm, visina donjeg dijela 10,7 cm, visina s poklopcem 18,6 cm. Poklopac je raspuknut, a na bočnim stranama ima urezan po jedan starokršćanski križ dok je na uzdužnim stranama jednostavna profilacija. Donji dio ima istaknuti rub za bolje prijanjanje poklopcu, koji je bio učvršćen žbukom. Na poklopcu je u crvenom vosku pečat splitskog nadbiskupa Nikole Dinaričića (1757.-1764.), a na sanduku pečat njegova nasljednika Ivana Luke Garagnina (1765.-1783.).⁴ Prema kazivanju jedne redovnice, relikvijar je prije otprilike trideset godina izvađen iz oltara kućne kapele samostana i bio je okovan željezom koje je tada puklo. U njemu smo 2006. zatekli moći sv. Dujma i sv. Jurja Mučenika⁵ s pečatima nadbiskupa Ivana Krstitelja Laghija (1720.-1730.),⁶ moći sv. Staša (Anastazija) s dva pečata nadbiskupa Garagnina, ulomak ruha (moći) makarskog biskupa Stjepana Blaškovića (1731.-1776.) s bilješkom iz XIX. st., moći sv. Klementa s bilješkom iz XIX. st. i papirić s tekstem *S. Doimo, puo essere anche di S.*

The Convent of St. Clare in Split changed locations several times. Initially it was erected on present-day Braće Radića square, but it was demolished in 1424 because the construction of a Venetian castle began at this site. The nuns thence went to the south-east section of Diocletian's Palace, at the Sdorij, where they set up another convent. They remained there until 1883, when they moved to Lučac and where the convent is located to this day.¹ When moving to the newly constructed convent, the Clarisses brought with them various artworks which they used over the centuries to enhance their seat and their church.² Among other things, this included two small reliquaries which were found in 2006 in credenzas in the monastery's capitular hall, and which had not yet been published.³

The first reliquary was made of limestone in the shape of a small coffin with a rounded lid (*a baule* type). Its dimensions were: length 20.2 cm, width 13.3 cm, height of lower section 10.7 cm, height with lid 18.6 cm. The lid is cracked; its lateral sides each have an Early Christian cross engraved on them, while the lengthwise sides have simple moulding. The lower section has a prominent rim to better set the lid, which was reinforced with plaster. The lid bears the red wax seal of Split Archbishop Nikola Dinaričić (1757-1764), while the box has the seal of his successor Giovanni Luca de Garagnin (1765-1783).⁴ One of the nuns recounted that the roughly thirty years ago the reliquary was removed from the altar of the convent's house chapel and was lined with iron, which then cracked. In 2006, they contained the relics of St. Dominus and St. George the Martyr⁵ with the seals of Archbishop Giovanni Battista Laghi (1720-1730),⁶ the relics of St. Anastasius with two seals of Archbishop Garagnin, a fragment of the vestment (relic) of Makarska Bishop Stjepan Blašković (1731-1776) with a notation from the nineteenth century, the relics of St. Clement with a notation from the nineteenth century, and a slip of paper containing the text *S. Doimo, puo essere*

1 S. Marija od Presvetog Srca 1979; Petrić 1994; Piplović 1994; Piplović 1997; Marasović J., Marasović K. 2008. Položaj prvotnog samostana pokazuje nalaz nadgrobne ploče nadbiskupa Petra Ugrina iz 1324. godine. Karaman 1935; Split 2007, str. 45-46 (autor kataloge jedinice A. Duplančić). R. Bužančić smatra da je drugi samostan nastao na mjestu kaštela vojvode Hrvoja Vukčića Hrvatinića. R. Bužančić 2008.
2 Za umjetnine vidi: S. Marija od Presvetog Srca 1979, str. 82-86; Kačić 1994, str. 373-413; Samostan sv. Klare 2008, str. 273-423; Duplančić 2006.
3 Samo su spomenuti u Duplančić 2005-2007, str. 53, bilj. 16.
4 Za njihove grbove vidi Krizomali 1940, str. 103.
5 Misli se na sv. Jurja koji je navodno mučen u Saloni i o kojem opširno piše Farlati 1751, str. 647-693; o nalazu njegove relikvije str. 693, 740. Građa koju je Farlati prikupio za svoj tekst čuva se u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, Zbirka Fanfogna-Garagnin. (Kolanović 1980, str. 151.) Sudeći po natpisu, moći sv. Jurja bile su postavljene u stipes oltara crkve sv. Jurja od Raduna. (Duplančić 2005-2007, str. 50-51.) Za pitanje ovog sveca i njegovu vezu sa Solinom Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, str. 24; Katičić 2007; Mužić 2011, str. 188-197. Za odraz štovanja u pjesmama Štefančić 1973, str. 228; Kovačić 2007; Mužić 2011, str. 195-197. Jedan prijevod Jurjeva života (štenje) s latinskog objavio je Radman 1909.
6 Za njegov pečat vidi Krizomali 1940, str. 102.

1 S. Marija od Presvetog Srca 1979; Petrić 1994; Piplović 1994; Piplović 1997; Marasović J., Marasović K. 2008. The location of the original convent is shown by the discovery of the gravestone of Archbishop Petar Ugrin from 1324. Karaman 1935; Split 2007, pp. 45-46 (catalogue unit by A. Duplančić). R. Bužančić believed that the second convent was built at the site of the castle of Duke Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. R. Bužančić 2008.
2 For the artworks see S. Marija od Presvetog Srca 1979, pp. 82-86; Kačić 1994, pp. 373-413; Samostan sv. Klare 2008, pp. 273-423; Duplančić 2006.
3 Only mentioned in Duplančić 2005-2007, p. 53, note 16.
4 For their graves, see Krizomali 1940, p. 103.
5 This is a reference to St. George who was allegedly tortured in Salona and about whom Farlati wrote at length (1751, pp. 647-693); on the discovery of his relics, pp. 693, 740. The materials that Farlati gathered for his text is held in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, Fanfogna-Garagnin Collection (Kolanović 1980, p. 151). Judging by the inscription, the relics of St. George were placed in the support of the altar of the Church of St. George of Radun (Duplančić 2005-2007, pp. 50-51). On the question of this saint and his ties to Solin, Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, p. 24; Katičić 2007; Mužić 2011, pp. 188-197. For a reflection of veneration in songs, Štefančić 1973, p. 228; Kovačić 2007; Mužić 2011, pp. 195-197. A translation from George's life from Latin was published by Radman 1909.
6 For his seal, see Krizomali 1940, p. 102.



Slika 1.
Relikvijar, prednja strana (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 1.
Frontal view of reliquary (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

Arnerio ed Anastasio pisanim u XIX. stoljeću.⁷

Iako je relikvijar bio u kućnoj kapeli, on nije izvorno pripadao klarisama, već se nalazio u donjem dijelu oltara sv. Staša u katedrali, što zaključujemo na temelju arhivskih izvora. Naime, kad je nadbiskup Marko Antun De Dominis godine 1604. obišao oltar sv. Staša, njegov stipes je bio prazan, a moći svetaca nedolično čuvane pa je naredio da se sprema u oltar i zatvore.⁸ U rujnu 1725. nadbiskup Laghi obavio je pregled oltara i u stipesu našao, kaže, mramorni kovčežić s poklopcem na čijim su krajevima bili urezani križevi, a u njemu moći sv. Dujma, sv. Staša, sv. Jurja i još dvojice svetaca bez natpisa. Osim tog kovčežića bio je još jedan drveni obojani s moćima nepoznatih svetaca, koji je zajedno s

anche di S. Arnerio ed Anastasio written in the nineteenth century.⁷

Even though the reliquary was in the house chapel, it did not originally belong to the Clarisses. Rather, it was held in the lower section of the altar of St. Anastasius in the cathedral, which may be concluded on the basis of archival sources. For when Archbishop Marco Antonio de Dominis examined the altar in 1604, its support section was empty, and the relics of saints were improperly safeguarded, so he ordered that they be enclosed in the altar.⁸ In September 1725, Archbishop Laghi conducted an inspection of the altar and upright support and found, he said, a small marble box with a lid that had crosses engraved at its ends, while it contained the relics of St. Dominus, St. Anastasius, St. George and two other saints lacking inscriptions. Besides this receptacle, there was another painted wooden one with the relics of unidentified

7 U navedenim se ormarima u jednoj staklenoj posudi čuva više ulomaka kostiju sv. Staša. Odvojeno se čuva i više dijelova kostiju sv. Arnira (uključivo i ulomak lubanje), a u posebnoj bočici navodno njegova krv.

8 Ivanišević 1989, str. 37, 40, 46; Duplančić 1997, str. 81.

7 Fragments of the bones of St. Anastasius are held in these credenzas in a glass jar. Several pieces of the bones of St. Raynerius (including a skull fragment) are held separately, while what is allegedly his blood is held in a special vial.

8 Ivanišević 1989, pp. 37, 40, 46; Duplančić 1997, p. 81.



Slika 2.

Relikvijar, bočna strana (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 2.

Lateral view of reliquary (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

prethodnim ponovno vraćen u stipes.⁹ Njihov pregled obavio je ponovno nadbiskup Dinaričić 1758., čiji se opis slaže s onim iz Laghijeva vremena.¹⁰

Očito je, dakle, da je relikvijar dospio u stipes oltara sv. Staša nakon 1604. i da je bio pregledan od strane nadbiskupa Laghija i Dinaričića. Prigodom preuređenja donjeg dijela Staševa oltara 1768., kada je izrađen novi barokni stipes,¹¹ relikvijar je izvađen i spremljen u riznicu, o čemu svjedoče inventari bratovštine sv. Staša iz 1769. i 1782. godine.¹² Tu je ostao vjerojatno sve do preseljenja klarisa na Lučac kada im je ustupljen za liturgijske

saints which was returned to the support section with the preceding reliquary.⁹ They were once more inspected by Archbishop Dinaričić in 1758, and his description corresponds to that made in Laghi's time.¹⁰

It is therefore obvious that the reliquary was placed in the upright support of the altar of St. Anastasius after 1604 and that it was inspected by Archbishops Laghi and Dinaričić. During renovation of the lower section of the Anastasius altar in 1768, when a new Baroque support was made,¹¹ the reliquary was removed and stored in the treasury, to which the inventories of the Fraternity of St. Anastasius of 1769 and 1782 testify.¹² It remained there until the

9 Farlati 1751, str. 740; Duplančić 1997, str. 81; zapisnik preuzet iz Farlatija na str. 87-88.

10 Nadbiskupski arhiv - Split (dalje NAS), S, br. 80, l. 12v: *invenit parvam Capsam lapideam, et in ea inclusas reliquias.*

11 Duplančić 1997, str. 80; Prijatelj Pavičić, Čoralić 2002, str. 74-76.

12 NAS, Kaptolski arhiv - Split, br. 221, l. 73r (1769.), 75r (1782.): *No 1 Bauletto di Pietra inferato, e sigilato con sua Descricion, entro Reliquie di S. Doimo, S. Nastasio (sic!), e S. Zorzi [drugom rukom dodano:] nella Tesoria.* Duplančić 1997, str. 81, 91, bilj. 43.

9 Farlati 1751, p. 740; Duplančić 1997, p. 81; record taken from Farlati on pp. 87-88.

10 Archdiocesan Archives - Split (hereinafter: NAS), S, no. 80, l. 12v: *invenit parvam Capsam lapideam, et in ea inclusas reliquias.*

11 Duplančić 1997, p. 80; Prijatelj Pavičić, Čoralić 2002, pp. 74-76.

12 NAS, Cathedral Chapter Archives - Split, no. 221, l. 73r (1769.), 75r (1782.): *No 1 Bauletto di Pietra inferato, e sigilato con sua Descricion, entro Reliquie di S. Doimo, S. Nastasio (sic!), e S. Zorzi [added in different handwriting:] nella Tesoria.* Duplančić 1997, pp. 81, 91, note 43.

potrebe postavljanja u oltar u novom samostanu.

Ovaj relikvijar svojom veličinom i oblikom malog sarkofaga odgovara relikvijarima¹³ koji su postavljeni u oltarni grob,¹⁴ najčešće u većim kamenim sanducima¹⁵ kakvi su primjerice onaj iz Lovrečine na Braču, Biograda i iz Raba¹⁶ ili pak sastavljeni od ploča, poput onog iz Novalje.¹⁷ Križevi s proširenim krajevima na bočnim stranama poklopca tipični su starokršćanski, ali nisu postavljeni kao kod većine sarkofaga na sredini prednje strane sanduka što se počinje javljati u VI. stoljeću.¹⁸ Za datiranje relikvijara osobito je važan zaobljeni oblik poklopca koji je čest u Raveni¹⁹ i koji je vjerojatno utjecao na produkciju sarkofaga u Dalmaciji,²⁰ a počinje se javljati u V. stoljeću.²¹ Primjeri takvih poklopaca nalaze se u Supetru, Lovrečini, Bolu i Škripu na Braču te u kaštelanskim Bijaćima, a datiraju se u VI. stoljeće.²²

Širenje kršćanstva nije mimoišlo Dioklecijanovu palaču, odnosno područje današnjeg Splita.²³ To između ostalog dokazuje: epitaf Hedonija, prokuratora salonitanske Crkve

movement of the Clarisses to Lučac, when the altar was ceded to them for liturgical purposes and installed in the new convent.

This reliquary, based on its size and shape like a small sarcophagus, corresponds to the reliquaries¹³ which were placed in the altar tomb,¹⁴ most often in large stone boxes,¹⁵ such as, for example, that from Lovrečina on the island of Brač, Biograd and Rab,¹⁶ or composed of plates such as that from Novalja.¹⁷ The crosses with expanded ends on the lateral sides of the lid are typically Early Christian, but not set - as on most sarcophaguses - in the middle of the front of the coffin which began to appear in the seventh century.¹⁸ The rounded shape of the lid is particularly vital for dating the reliquary. It was common in Ravenna,¹⁹ which probably influenced sarcophagus production in Dalmatia,²⁰ and it began to appear in the fifth century.²¹ Examples of such lids can be found in Supetar, Lovrečina, Bol and Škrip on the island of Brač and in Bijaći in the Kaštel area, which date to the sixth century.²²

The spread of Christianity did not bypass Diocletian's Palace, i.e., the territory of today's Split.²³ This is, among other things, proven by: the epitaph of Hedonius, the procurator of the Salona church, dated

- 13 Buschhausen 1971; Minchev 2003; *Rannohristijanski mčenic* 2006; Ćus-Rukonić 2009, str. 308-311; Milošević, Peković 2009, str. 217-218. Olovni relikvijar koji je 1903. nađen u Solinu ne izgleda više onako kako je višekratno objavljen jer ga je svojedobno muzejski preparator restaurirao ispravivši ga. O tome je, uz sliku koja prati Bulićev članak u jednom primjerku *Bullettina* u Muzeju, Mladen Nikolanci zapisao: (odrezano) ... *preparator A. Ercegović je to pred mnogo godina na svoju ruku uradio. IV. 1971. Nikolanci.* Objave slike prije restauriranja: Bulić 1904, T. I; Dyggve 1951, sl. V, 20; Buschhausen 1971, T. C 13.
- 14 On je postojao i u nekadašnjem stipesu oltara kapele sv. Lucije, a koji je bio sastavljen od srednjovjekovnih ulomaka. Duplanić 2007a, str. 190-191.
- 15 Cambi 2002a, str. 302-303; Mišković 2007, str. 182.
- 16 Lovrečina: Bulić 1909, str. 38, T. 5; Belamarić et al. 1994, str. 35 (autor dijela o Lovrečini J. Jeličić Radonić). Zbog Dyggveovog navoda da je relikvijar iz Lovrečine *from the environs of Salona* Buschhausen ga je uvrstio pod Salonu pa je tako prenijet i u noviju literaturu. Dyggve 1951, str. 113, T.V, 17; Buschhausen 1971, str. 291, T. C 15; Cambi 2002a, str. 307. Biograd: Mišković 2007, str. 184-185. Rab: Domijan 2001, str. 157-158.
- 17 Fadić 1993; Ilakovac 1994; Baradka 2009.
- 18 O tom tipu sarkofaga vidi Cambi 2002a, str. 270; Cambi 2002b. Za primjere sa splitskog, odnosno srednjodadranskog područja dovoljno je vidjeti Fisković 1981. i Fisković 1996. te popise koje donosi Cambi 2002b, str. 49, 52-53.
- 19 Valenti Zucchini, Bucci 1968; Kollwitz, Herdejürgen 1979.
- 20 Cambi 2002a, str. 271; Cambi 2002b, str. 53.
- 21 Cambi 1998, str. 175; Cambi 2002a, str. 271; Cambi 2010, str. 26.
- 22 Supetar: Fisković 1981, str. 130-131, T. XXIII. 3, T. XXIV. 3; Belamarić et al. 1994, str. 95 (autor V. Kovačić); Cambi 2002a, str. 270. Lovrečina: Fisković 1981, str. 119; Belamarić et al. 1994, str. 29 (sl. sarkofaga u nartekusu), 34; Cambi 2007, str. 105, 122, sl. 13 - legenda uz ovu sliku pogrešno tiskana uz sl. 14. Bol: Vrsalović 1960, str. 100; Fisković 1981, str. 110. Škrip: Vrsalović 1960, str. 100 i sl. na str. 91; Fisković 1981, str. 111-112. Bijaći: Gjurašin 2004, str. 39, 81, 83; Chevalier 2004, str. 115-116 (br. 9-10).
- 23 Rapanić 2007, str. 164-165.

- 13 Buschhausen 1971; Minchev 2003; *Rannohristijanski mčenic* 2006; Ćus-Rukonić 2009, pp. 308-311; Milošević, Peković 2009, pp. 217-218. The lead reliquary found in Solin in 1903 no longer looks like it once did as published on several occasions, because at one point a museum technician washed it during restoration. On this Mladen Nikolanci noted next to an illustration accompanying Bulić's article in a copy of *Bullettino* in the Museum: (cut off) "... technician A. Ercegović did this many years before at his own discretion. Apr. 1971. Nikolanci." Publications of the illustration prior to restoration: Bulić 1904, P. I; Dyggve 1951, Fig. V, 20; Buschhausen 1971, P. C 13.
- 14 It also existed in the former support in the Chapel of St. Lucy, and which was composed of medieval fragments. Duplanić 2007a, pp. 190-191.
- 15 Cambi 2002a, pp. 302-303; Mišković 2007, p. 182.
- 16 Lovrečina: Bulić 1909, p. 38, P. 5; Belamarić et al. 1994, p. 35 (the author of the work on Lovrečina is J. Jeličić Radonić). Due to Dyggve's statement that the reliquary from Lovrečina was "from the environs of Salona," Buschhausen classified it under Salona and this was also cited in the more recent sources. Dyggve 1951, p. 113, PV, 17; Buschhausen 1971, p. 291, P. C 15; Cambi 2002a, p. 307. Biograd: Mišković 2007, pp. 184-185. Rab: Domijan 2001, pp. 157-158.
- 17 Fadić 1993; Ilakovac 1994; Baradka 2009.
- 18 On this sarcophagus type, see Cambi 2002a, p. 270; Cambi 2002b. For examples from the Split, i.e., central Adriatic, territory, it is sufficient to see Fisković 1981 and Fisković 1996, and the lists provided by Cambi 2002b, pp. 49, 52-53.
- 19 Valenti Zucchini, Bucci 1968; Kollwitz, Herdejürgen 1979.
- 20 Cambi 2002a, p. 271; Cambi 2002b, p. 53.
- 21 Cambi 1998, p. 175; Cambi 2002a, p. 271; Cambi 2010, p. 26.
- 22 Supetar: Fisković 1981, pp. 130-131, P. XXIII. 3, P. XXIV. 3; Belamarić et al. 1994, p. 95 (author V. Kovačić); Cambi 2002a, p. 270. Lovrečina: Fisković 1981, p. 119; Belamarić et al. 1994, p. 29 (similar sarcophagus in the narthex), 34; Cambi 2007, pp. 105, 122, Fig. 13 - the caption to this illustration was erroneously printed next to Fig. 14. Bol: Vrsalović 1960, p. 100; Fisković 1981, p. 110. Škrip: Vrsalović 1960, p. 100 and the illustration on p. 91; Fisković 1981, pp. 111-112. Bijaći: Gjurašin 2004, pp. 39, 81, 83; Chevalier 2004, pp. 115-116 (no. 9-10).
- 23 Rapanić 2007, pp. 164-165.



Slika 3.
Relikvijar bez poklopca (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 3.
Reliquary without lid (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

iz V. st.,²⁴ dio olovnog starokršćanskog sarkofaga²⁵ i lucerna s Kristovim monogramom iz V. st. nađeni u Palači,²⁶ otkriće starokršćanskoga groba iz V.-VI. st. tik uz Palaču,²⁷ ulomak starokršćanske tranzene i sarkofaga iskopani na mjestu crkve sv. Katarine Aleksandrijske (sv. Dominika),²⁸ brojni križevi iz V.-VI. st.

to the fifth century;²⁴ part of a lead Early Christian sarcophagus²⁵ and oil-lamp with Christ's monogram dated to the fifth century, found in the Palace;²⁶ the discovery of an Early Christian grave from the fifth/sixth century immediately adjacent to the Palace;²⁷ a fragment of an Early Christian transenna and sarcophagus excavated at the site of the Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria (St. Dominic);²⁸ numerous

24 Delonga 2002. Autorica s pravom pretpostavlja da je Hedonije imao svoj posjed negdje u blizini Sustipana, na kojem je bio pokopan i odakle su dijelovi njegova sarkofaga preneseni u crkvu sv. Mihovila *in ripa maris*. Zbog skućenog prostora za ispisivanje cijelog imena, a potom funkcije prokuratora, Dukić smatra da je Hedonijevo ime Hedon, a ne Hedonius ili Hedonus. Dukić 2008, str. 208. Najnovije o natpisu Salona IV/II 2010, str. 791-794.

25 Bulić 1908, str. 188.

26 Rismondo T. 2005, str. 155.

27 Bulić 1906; on je poslije izrazio sumnju u tu dataciju i napisao da je grob možda i poganski, s početka IV. stoljeća. Bulić 1922, str. 48.

28 Oreb 1990, str. 196-197.

24 Delonga 2002. The author justifiably assumed that Hedonius had property somewhere in the vicinity of Sustipan on which he was buried and whence parts of his sarcophagus were taken to the Church of St. Michael *in ripa maris*. Due to the restricted space for writing in the entire name, and then the function of procurator, Dukić believed that the name was Hedon, rather than Hedonius or Hedonus. Dukić 2008, p. 208. Most recently on the inscription, Salona IV/II 2010, pp. 791-794.

25 Bulić 1908, p. 188.

26 Rismondo P. 2005, p. 155.

27 Bulić 1906; he later expressed doubt in this dating and wrote that the grave may even have been pagan, from the beginning of the fourth century. Bulić 1922, p. 48.

28 Oreb 1990, pp. 196-197.

u Dioklecijanovoj palači²⁹ i križ na njezinim zapadnim vratima s kraja VI. ili početka VII. st.,³⁰ a osobito postojanje niza crkava iz V. i VI. st. na splitskom poluotoku³¹ i uređivanje crkava nad vratima Palače u VI. st.³² te moguće pretvaranje Careva mauzoleja u crkvu već u V.-VI. stoljeću.³³

S obzirom na stilska obilježja i razvoj kršćanstva u Splitu, relikvijar iz samostana klarisa možemo datirati u VI. stoljeće. Kršćanskoj zajednici u Palači i oko nje trebale su crkve i sve što je potrebno za normalno odvijanje bogoslužja pa su u skladu s tim bile nabavljane svetačke moći, o čemu svjedoči opisani relikvijar. Gdje se on prvotno nalazio, nije moguće sa sigurnošću odgovoriti. Možda je bio u katedrali, ali je isto tako u nju mogao biti odnekud donesen. Pritom nam se ne čini vjerojatnom pretpostavka da je u Split došao tek s pridošlicama iz Salone sredinom VII. stoljeća. Nije trebalo čekati pad Salone da bi razni starokršćanski predmeti dospjeli u carevu palaču, u kojoj se život nastavio i nakon Dioklecijanove smrti.³⁴ Naime, protiv ustaljenog mišljenja o salonitanskom podrijetlu mnogih natpisa, a time i drugih spomenika nađenih u Splitu, pisao je Bulić već godine 1913., te istaknuo da većina njih potječe iz okolice Palače, a ne iz

crosses in Diocletian's Palace dated to the fifth and sixth centuries²⁹ and the cross on its western gate dated to the end of the sixth or early seventh century,³⁰ and particularly the existence of a series of churches in the Split peninsula from the fifth and sixth centuries³¹ and the establishment of churches at the gates of the Palace in the sixth century³² and the possible transformation of the imperial mausoleum into a church already in the fifth/sixth century.³³

Given the stylistic features and development of Christianity in Split, the reliquary from the Poor Clares convent may be dated to the sixth century. The Christian community in and around the Palace needed a church and all other things necessary for the performance of religious services, so in this regard saintly relics were procured, to which the described reliquary testifies. Where it was first located cannot be stated with any certainty. Perhaps it was in the cathedral, but by the same token it may have been brought there from somewhere else. Here the hypothesis that it came to Split only with the newcomers from Salona in the mid-seventh century does not seem likely. The arrival of various Early Christian objects into the imperial palace, in which life continued after Diocletian's death, did not have to wait for the fall of Salona.³⁴ Namely, already in 1913 Bulić rejected the established views on the Salona origin of many inscriptions, and thereby other monuments as well, found in Split, as he stressed that most of them

- 29 Karaman 1940, str. 422-423; Piplović <2008>. Ovima treba pribrojiti i križ u trokutastom zabatu (vjerojatno bočna strana poklopca sarkofaga) ugrađen s lijeve strane prozora na trećem katu kuće u ulici Kraj Zlatnih vrata 1. Križ na njemu slični onima na sarkofagu u Bolu na Braču. Fisković 1981, str. 110, T. XXII, 5; Cambi 2007, str. 104, 122, sl. 14 - legenda uz ovu sliku pogrešno tiskana uz sl. 12.
- 30 Cambi 1981, str. 12; Cambi 2006, str. 151; Marin 2006, str. 385-389; autor predlaže dataciju u sredinu ili drugu polovinu VII. stoljeća.
- 31 Migotti 2008, str. 377-382; Duplančić 2009, str. 163.
- 32 Jakšić 2003; Marasović T. 2011, str. 248-253 (Sv. Teodor), 303-305 (Sv. Anastazija), 317-323 (Sv. Martin); Marasović K., Marasović T. 2012, str. 108-109 (Sv. Apolinar); Duplančić 2011b, str. 147-148.
- 33 F. Bulić, Lj. Karaman 1927, str. 231. Bulić na temelju Šišića (1925, str. 295, bilj. 61) piše da je mali hram Palače mogao biti pretvoren u crkvu u V. st. i da bi se tada *moralo pretpostaviti, da je Mauzolej carev bio već u V.-VI. v. preobraćen u crkvu. ... Ne protivni se nipošto ovomu mnijenju, da je istom koncem VIII. v. pod Ivanom Ravenjaninom Mauzolej bio konačno pretvoren u stolnu crkvu, kako se gore reklo.* Marin (2006, str. 384) piše: *U 5. st. su morale postojati u Palači kršćanske crkve ili kapele.* Za mauzolej, međutim, kaže da je (str. 388) *u 1. polovini 7. st. nekadašnji mauzolej bio pretvoren u katedralu, a sve uz suglasnost bizantskog cara (str. 387).* Jakšić (2003, str. 187, 193) ističe da je nakon Dioklecijanove smrti Palača bila više od 200 godina u vlasništvu kršćanskih careva *pa bi bilo posve neshvatljivo da u njoj nisu uspostavljena kršćanska svetišta.*
- 34 Dovoljno je vidjeti Dvoržak Schrunck 1989. Spomenut ćemo i nalaz sarkofaga sa zlatnim nakitom iz V. st. koji je otkriven iza krsionice. Buškariol 1989.

- 29 Karaman 1940, pp. 422-423; Piplović <2008>. To these one should also count the cross with tripartite pediment (probably the lateral side of the sarcophagus lid) installed to the left side of the window on the third floor of the house on Kraj Zlatnih vrata street no. 1. The cross on it resembles those on the sarcophagus in Bol on the island of Brač. Fisković 1981, p. 110, P. XXII, 5; Cambi 2007, pp. 104, 122, Fig. 14 - the caption to this illustration was mistakenly printed next to Fig. 12.
- 30 Cambi 1981, p. 12; Cambi 2006, p. 151; Marin 2006, pp. 385-389; the author proposes dating to the mid- or latter half of the seventh century.
- 31 Migotti 2008, pp. 377-382; Duplančić 2009, p. 163.
- 32 Jakšić 2003; Marasović P. 2011, pp. 248-253 (St. Theodore), 303-305 (St. Anastasia), 317-323 (St. Martin); Marasović K., Marasović T. 2012, pp. 108-109 (St. Apollinarus); Duplančić 2011b, pp. 147-148.
- 33 F. Bulić, Lj. Karaman 1927, p. 231. Bulić, based on Šišić (1925, p. 295, note 61) wrote that the small temple of the Palace may have been transformed into a church in the fifth century and that then "one had to assume, that the emperor's Mausoleum had already been transformed into a church in the 5th/6th cent. ... This in no way contradicts my view that at the end of the 8th cent. under John of Ravenna the Mausoleum was finally transformed into the cathedral, as specified above." Marin (2006, p. 384) wrote: "In the 5th cent. Christian churches or chapels had to have existed in the Palace." Of the mausoleum, however, he said that (p. 388) "in the first half of the 7th cent. the former mausoleum it was transformed into the cathedral," all with the consent of the Byzantine emperor (p. 387). Jakšić (2003, p. 187, 193) stressed that after Diocletian's death, the Palace was owned for over 200 years by Christian emperors, "so it was entirely incomprehensible that no Christian shrines would have been established there."
- 34 It is sufficient to see Dvoržak Schrunck 1989. I shall also mention the sarcophagus with golden trim from the fifth century which was discovered behind the baptistery. Buškariol 1989.

Salone.³⁵ Prema tome, naš se relikvijar uklapa u zbivanja u Dioklecijanovoj palači u VI. st. i potvrđuje kontinuitet duhovnoga i svjetovnog života u njoj.

* * *

Drugi relikvijar je *capsella reliquiarum* koja je stavljena u stipes oltara da bi se on posvetio. Izrađena je od olova u obliku kutijice s poklopcem, a dimenzije su joj: dužina 4,4 cm, širina 2,00 cm, visina 1,5-2,00 cm.³⁶ Na poklopcu je natpis *SCS seuerus*, s crticom kao znakom kraćenja iznad prva tri slova,³⁷ a u kutijici smo zatekli komadiće zelene, bijele i tamnocrvene tkanine, koji su možda dijelovi *brandea*.³⁸

O podrijetlu ovog relikvijara nemamo za sada nikakvih podataka, ali se ne čini vjerojatnim da su i njega klarise dobile prigodom preseljenja na Lučac 1883. godine. Doduše, u riznici katedrale bilo je nekoliko malih relikvijara jer se 1894. spominje još jedna olovna *capsella*, odnosno *sepulcrum* s pomičnim poklopcem.³⁹ Međutim, s obzirom na to da je način posvete oltara pomoću *capselle* s vremenom zamijenjen postavljanjem *petra sacra* u menzu oltara⁴⁰ ustupanje ovog relikvijara klarisama u XIX. st. čini se nepotrebnim. Vjerojatnije je da je bio ugrađen u neki oltar koji se nalazio na prostoru prethodnog samostana

originated in the vicinity of the Palace and not Salona.³⁵ Therefore, this reliquary corresponds to events in Diocletian's Palace in the sixth century and confirms the continuity of spiritual and secular life in it.

* * *

The other reliquary is the *capsella reliquiarum* which was placed in the altar support in order for it to be dedicated. It is made of lead and shaped like a box with a lid, and its dimensions are: length 4.4 cm, width 2 cm, height 1.5-2 cm.³⁶ The lid bears the inscription *SCS seuerus*, with a line as an abbreviation mark above the first three letters,³⁷ while in the box small pieces of green, white and Bordeaux fabric was found, perhaps part of a *brandea*.³⁸

There are currently no data on the origin of this reliquary, but it does not seem likely that the Clarisses received it during their move to Lučac in 1883. To be sure, there were several small reliquaries held in the cathedral's treasury, for in 1894 another lead *capsella* was mentioned, actually a *sepulcrum* with a movable lid.³⁹ However, given that the manner of dedicating an altar with the help of a *capsella* was replaced with time by the installation of a *petra sacra* in the altar mensa,⁴⁰ the relinquishment of this reliquary to the Clarisses in the nineteenth century seems unnecessary. It is more likely that it was installed in an altar located in the premises of the preceding convent in Diocletian's Palace. The Church of St.

- 35 Bulić 1913, str. 41-42, bilj. 5: ... *possono benissimo provenire dalle immediate vicinanze del Palazzo. ... Ma che tutte le piccole iscrizioni, frammenti di queste, trovate nel Palazzo di Diocleziano den selciati, nei muri delle case demolite, siano state trasportate da Salona, non è probabile. ... Quindi quasi tutte le iscrizioni che furono trovate da anni a Spalato, dovrebbero provenire dalle sue vicinanze e non da Salona.* Ovdje podsjećamo na rustičnu vilu otkrivenu 1897. između Kmana i Kacunara, gdje su nađeni brojni ulomci skulptura i dijelovi mramornog sarkofaga. (Bulić 1897.) Splitsko podrijetlo antičkih spomenika ističe i Cambi 2012, str. 187, bilj. 20.
- 36 Primjerci takve, ali malo veće *capselle* iz XII. i XV. st. nađeni su u crkvi sv. Kuzme i Damjana u Kaštel Gomilici te u crkvi sv. Nikole u Poveljani na Pagu, a stipes s izdubinom za polaganje *capselle* otprilike slične veličine bio je izrađen za crkvu sv. Jurja od Raduna u Kaštel Starom. Kaštel Gomilica: Belamarić 1991. Poveljana: Jurić 1992, str. 362, 373 - sl. *capselle* i moći; Jurić 1996, str. 247-248. Za stipes Duplančić 2005-2007, str. 49-53; tu su (bilj. 15) navedeni i drugi stipesi ranosrednjovjekovnih oltara na širem splitskom području. Okrugla posudica s poklopcem, umetnuta u kutijicu iz VIII. st., bila je nađena u crkvi Gospe od Začeca na Lopudu. Hrvati i Karolinzi 2000, str. 126-128 (autor kataloge jedinice A. Milošević).
- 37 Za pomoć pri čitanju natpisa zahvaljujem, sada pokojnom, dr. Jakovu Stipišiću.
- 38 O običaju diranja moći mučenika, odnosno oltara pomoću rupčića sve do u XIX. st. u Solinu vidi Duplančić 1986, str. 331.
- 39 De Waal 1894, str. 6: *un piccolo sepulcrum di piombo, col suo coperchio a tiro.* De Waal je bio u Splitu u rujnu 1893. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894a, str. 106: *un sepolcino d'altare di piombo, con coperchio mobile*; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894b, str. 108: *mali grobić od oltara od olova sa pomičnim pokrivom.* Isto u Bulić, Karaman 1927, str. 216.
- 40 Leksikon 1979, str. 458-459 (*petra sacra*), 508 (relikvije).

- 35 Bulić 1913, pp. 41-42, note 5: "... *possono benissimo provenire dalle immediate vicinanze del Palazzo. ... Ma che tutte le piccole iscrizioni, frammenti di queste, trovate nel Palazzo di Diocleziano den selciati, nei muri delle case demolite, siano state trasportate da Salona, non è probabile. ... Quindi quasi tutte le iscrizioni che furono trovate da anni a Spalato, dovrebbero provenire dalle sue vicinanze e non da Salona.*" Here I recall the villa rustica discovered between Kman and Kacunar in 1897, where numerous sculpture fragments and pieces of a marble sarcophagus were found (Bulić 1897). The origin of these Roman-era pieces in Split was also stressed by Cambi 2012, p. 187, note 20.
- 36 Examples of this type of *capsella*, albeit slightly larger, from the twelfth and sixteenth centuries can be found in the Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Kaštel Gomilica and St. Nicholas in Poveljana on the island of Pag, while a support with a depression for placed the *capsella* of roughly similar size was made for the Church of St. George of Radun in Kaštel Stari. Kaštel Gomilica: Belamarić 1991. Poveljana: Jurić 1992, pp. 362, 373 - Fig. *capsella* and relics; Jurić 1996, pp. 247-248. For the support, Duplančić 2005-2007, pp. 49-53; here (note 15) other supports of early medieval altars in the wider Split area are also mentioned. A round receptacle with lid, inserted into the small box from the eighth century, was found in the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception on the island of Lopud. *Hrvati i Karolinzi* 2000, pp. 126-128 (author of catalogue unit: A. Milošević).
- 37 I would like to thank the now deceased Jakov Stipišić for his assistance in the reading of this inscription.
- 38 On the custom of touching the relics of martyrs or the altar using a small kerchief in Solin until the nineteenth century, see Duplančić 1986, p. 331.
- 39 De Waal 1894, p. 6: *"un piccolo sepulcrum di piombo, col suo coperchio a tiro."* De Waal was in Split in September 1893. Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894a, p. 106: *"un sepolcino d'altare di piombo, con coperchio mobile"*; Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894b, p. 108: *"a small tomb at the altar made of lead with a movable lid"*. Also in Bulić, Karaman 1927, p. 216.
- 40 Leksikon 1979, pp. 458-459 (*petra sacra*), 508 (relics).

u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Tu je bila crkva sv. Andrije *de fenestris*⁴¹ i sv. Anastazije (Stošije),⁴² a istočnije sklop srednjovjekovne nadbiskupske palače s crkvom sv. Marije i kapelama sv. Nikole i sv. Ivana Evanđelista⁴³ te možda još neka nama do sada nepoznata crkva, odnosno kapela.

Na *capselli* osobitu pozornost privlači ime sv. Severa, koji nije poznat u splitskoj hagionimiji.⁴⁴ On je bio dvanaesti biskup Ravene, a umro je 344. i pokopan je u predjelu Classe. Ondje je u drugoj polovini VI. st. podignuta velika bazilika njemu u čast (posvećena godine 582.) i u nju je postavljen svečev grob.⁴⁵ U znak osobitog štovanja sv. Sever prikazan je na mozaiku u apsidi bazilike sv. Apolinara *in Classe* koja je posvećena 549. godine.

Kratkoća natpisa *S(an)c(tu)s Severus* ne omogućuje detaljniju paleografsku analizu, a i materijal na kojem je pisan (olovo) utjecao je na duktus. Ipak smatramo da ga se može datirati u drugu polovinu VI. st., s čime se slaže i pojačano svečev štovanje u samoj Raveni, ili u prvu polovinu VII. st., čemu bi u prilog govorile neke povijesne okolnosti.

Kult sv. Severa mogao je doći u Split iz Ravene sredinom VI. st. zajedno sa sv. Apolinarom,⁴⁶ u vrijeme učvršćivanja bizantske vlasti pod Justinijanom I. (527.-565.), što se očitivalo u titularu crkve nad istočnim vratima Dioklecijanove palače.⁴⁷ *Capsella* je mogla dospjeti u Split i potkraj VI. stoljeća. Naime, višegodišnji spor između pape Grgura i salonitanskog biskupa Maksima završio je tako da je Maksim morao doći u Ravenu i javno se pokajati za pripisane mu grijehove.⁴⁸ To se zbilo u kolovozu 599. pa je tada Maksim mogao dobiti moći sv. Severa i ponijeti ih sa sobom.

Andrew *de fenestris*⁴¹ and St. Anastasia⁴² were here, while farther east there was the complex of the medieval archdiocesan palace with the Church of St. Mary and the Chapels of St. Nicholas and St. John the Baptist⁴³ and perhaps some other thus far unknown church or chapel.

On the *capsella*, the name of St. Severus, otherwise unknown in the hagionymy of Split, draws particular attention.⁴⁴ He was the twelfth bishop of Ravenna, and he died in 344 and was buried in the Classe section. In the latter half of the sixth century, a large basilica was erected here in his honour (dedicated in 582) and the saint's tomb was placed inside it.⁴⁵ As a sign of particular veneration, St. Severus was depicted in the apse of the Basilica of St. Apollinaris *in Classe* which was dedicated in 549.

The brevity of the inscription *S(an)c(tu)s Severus* does not allow for a detailed palaeographic analysis, and the material on which it was written (lead) influenced the ductus. Nonetheless, I believe that it may be dated to the latter half of the sixth century, which also corresponds to the increased veneration of the saint in Ravenna itself, but also in the first half of the seventh century, would may be backed by certain historical circumstances.

The cult of St. Severus may have come to Split from Ravenna in the mid-sixth century together with St. Apollinaris⁴⁶ at the time when Byzantine authority was being reinforced under Justinian I (527-565), which was reflected in the titular of the church above the eastern gate of Diocletian's Palace.⁴⁷ The *capsella* may have arrived in Split even at the end of the sixth century, since the long-lasting dispute between Pope Gregory and Salona Bishop Maximus ended such that Maximus had to go to Ravenna and seek repentance for the sins ascribed to him.⁴⁸ This happened in August 599, so Maximus could have received

41 Duplančić 1995; Bužančić 2003, str. 198-202; Marasović T. 2011, str. 298-302.

42 Marasović T. 2011, str. 303-305; Duplančić 2011b, str. 147-148.

43 Rismondo V. 1965, str. 15, 17, 20, 24, 37; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, str. 189-191, 199; Marasović T. 2011, str. 306-311.

44 Usporedi npr. Marasović-Alujević 2003, str. 17-34, 61-79.

45 Bazilika je srušena u XV. st. i na njezinu je mjestu podignuta puno manja crkva, koja je srušena oko 1820. godine.

46 Belamarić 1998, str. 57-59; Jakšić 2003, str. 188-189; Duplančić 2011b, str. 161, bilj. 68.

47 Duplančić 2011b, str. 147-148, s dotadašnjom literaturom. Crkva je već 1603. bila potpuno porušena (Petrić 1989, str. 276) pa zato ne vjerujemo da je nacrtana na grafici s prikazom Foscolovih osvajanja iz 1651. godine. (Marasović K., Marasović T. 2012, str. 108-109.) Na grafici je pretpostavljeni zvonik visok kao i obližnja osmerostrana kula Dioklecijanove palače, a prikazan je kao samostojeći objekt, što je u suprotnosti s arhivskim izvorima i pisanjem da je crkva bila nad vratima Palače. Ako je zvonik bio nad svodom crkve, kao što je to slučaj s crkvama nad ostalim vratima Palače, onda se ne čini vjerojatnim da je ostao nakon što je crkva bila porušena. (Sliku Splita na toj grafici vidi u Duplančić 1994, sl. 2; Duplančić 2007c, str. 16.) Vjerojatnije je da je to neka kula kakvih je bilo u gradu. (Novak 1957, str. 491, 498, Ančić 1997, str. 43-50.) Godine 1623. jedna od osmerostranih kula uz istočna vrata Palače naziva se kulom sv. Apolinara, a vidi se na planu grada iz godine 1630. Duplančić 2007c, str. 9, 13, 55, bilj. 14.

48 Ivanišević 1994, str. 245-246; Škegro 2007, str. 36-37.

41 Duplančić 1995; Bužančić 2003, pp. 198-202; Marasović P. 2011, pp. 298-302.

42 Marasović T. 2011, pp. 303-305; Duplančić 2011b, pp. 147-148.

43 Rismondo V. 1965, pp. 15, 17, 20, 24, 37; Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, pp. 189-191, 199; Marasović T. 2011, pp. 306-311.

44 Cf., e.g. Marasović-Alujević 2003, pp. 17-34, 61-79.

45 The basilica was demolished in the fifteenth century and a much smaller church was built at its site, in turn demolished around 1820.

46 Belamarić 1998, pp. 57-59; Jakšić 2003, pp. 188-189; Duplančić 2011b, pp. 161, note 68.

47 Duplančić 2011b, pp. 147-148 with the relevant sources up to that point. The church had already been entirely demolished in 1603 (Petrić 1989, p. 276.) so I do not believe that it was sketched into the graphic showing Foscolo's conquests from 1651 (Marasović K., Marasović T. 2012, pp. 108-109). On the graphic, the assumed campanile is as tall as the nearby octagonal tower of Diocletian's Palace, and it is depicted as a self-standing structure, which contradicts the archival sources and accounts that the church was above the Palace gate. If the campanile was above the church's vault, as is the case with the churches above the Palace's other gates, then it does not seem likely that it remained after the church was demolished. (To see the image of Split on this graphic, see Duplančić 1994, Fig. 2; Duplančić 2007c, p. 16.) It is more likely that this was one of similar such towers in the city (Novak 1957, pp. 491, 498, Ančić 1997, pp. 43-50). In 1623, one of the octagonal towers along the Palace's eastern gate was called the Tower of St. Apollinaris, and it can be seen in the city map from 1630, Duplančić 2007c, p. 9, 13, 55, note 14.

48 Ivanišević 1994, pp. 245-246; Škegro 2007, pp. 36-37.



Slika 4.

Capsella reliquiarum (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 4.

Capsella reliquiarum (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

Ipak, nama najprihvatljivija pretpostavka o prijenosu *capselle* iz Ravene u Split može se vezati uz ime Ivana Ravenjanina, prvog biskupa srednjovjekovnog Splita. Nakon pada Salone, piše Toma Arhiđakon, njezini su se stanovnici razbježali na obližnje otoke, odakle su na poticaj Velikog Severa prešli u Dioklecijanovu palaču. U međuvremenu je papa poslao svog izaslanika Ivana Ravenjanina da širi evanđelje, a on je potaknuo Salonitance da u novom sjedištu obnove nekadašnju nadbiskupiju. Oni su to prihvatili i izabrali spomenutog Ivana koji je od pape dobio palij te se vratio u Split i započeo svoju pastirsku službu. Tada je Veliki Sever darovao splitskoj Crkvi jugoistočnu ugaonu kulu Dioklecijanove palače i svoju palaču, u kojima je prebivao, da budu sjedište biskupa.⁴⁹

the relics of St. Severus at the time and taken them with him.

Nonetheless, the most acceptable hypothesis on the transfer of the *capsella* from Ravenna to Split can be linked to John of Ravenna, the first bishop of medieval Split. After the fall of Salona, as Thomas the Archdeacon wrote, its inhabitants fled to the nearby islands, whence they then moved to Diocletian's Palace at the behest of Severus the Great (Severus Magnus). In the meantime, the pope sent his emissary John of Ravenna to spread the Gospels, and he encouraged the Salona natives to renew their former archdiocese in their new abode. They agreed to this and selected as its head John, who received his pallium from the pope and returned to Split to begin his pastoral service. At that time, Severus the Great donated to the Split church the corner, south-east tower of Diocletian's Palace and his own palace to serve as the seat of its bishops.⁴⁹

49 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, str. 44-49. U vezi sa Severovom palačom Ivić 2004, str. 139. Neki autori, poput Šišića (1925, str. 281), Tomini podatak o smještaju Severove palače iznad mora dovede u vezu sa Salonom.

49 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, pp. 44-49. On the palace of Severus, Ivić 2004, p. 139. Some scholars, such as Šišić (1925, p. 281), linked Thomas' description of the site of Severus' palace above the sea to Salona.



Slika 5.
Poklopac capselle (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Toma nije vremenski odredio kad su se zbili navedeni događaji pa se u znanosti razvila velika polemika o njima, osobito zbog pitanja obnove salonitanske nadbiskupije. U prilog jedne ili druge teze korišteni su i povijesni izvori i arheološki spomenici, a rezultat rasprave može se sažeti u: a) prihvaćanje Tomina pisanja i datiranje djelovanja Ivana Ravenjanina i Velikog Severa oko 650. godine, odnosno u treću četvrtinu VII. st., b) poistovjećivanje Ivana Ravenjanina s biskupom Ivanom koji je sudjelovao na Koncilu u Niceji 787. i kojemu je pripisan sarkofag iz krstionice, a nekoć u crkvi sv. Mateja.⁵⁰

50 Od obimne literature navodimo samo nekoliko djela koja sadrže i pregled starijih radova: Katičić 1987; Katičić 1993, str. 25-35; Matijević Sokol 2002, str. 75-108; Basić 2005c - u sažetom obliku u Basić 2005b; Rapanić 2007, str. 181-184. Farlatijevo pisanje o Ivanu Ravenjaninu (Farlati 1765, str. 20-24 - cap. II, § I-III, 29-30 - cap. III, § II) ponovno je objavljeno s hrvatskim prijevodom u: Farlati 2005; Farlati 2011. Najnovija literatura pokušava uz njegovo ime vezati jednu skupinu splitskih spomenika. Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 74-178.

Figure 5.
Lid of capsella (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

Thomas did not specify a time when these events occurred, so that considerable polemics arose over them among scholars, particularly due to the question of restoration of the Salona archdiocese. Both historical sources and archaeological artefacts have been used to back one or the other theory, and the result of these debates may be summarized as: a) acceptance of the writings of Thomas and dating the activities of John of Ravenna and Severus the Great to around the year 650, i.e., the third quarter of the seventh century; b) identification of John of Ravenna with Bishop John who participated in the Council of Nicaea in 787 and to whom the sarcophagus in the baptistery, formerly held in the Church of St. Matthew, is attributed.⁵⁰

50 Of the extensive literature on this, here I shall cite only those works which also contain overviews of the older sources: Katičić 1987; Katičić 1993, pp. 25-35; Matijević Sokol 2002, pp. 75-108; Basić 2005c - summarized in Basić 2005b; Rapanić 2007, pp. 181-184. Farlati's writing on John of Ravenna (Farlati 1765, pp. 20-24 - chap. II, § I-III, 29-30 - chap. III, § II) was republished with a Croatian translation in Farlati 2005; Farlati 2011. The most recent literature attempts to link his name to a set of Split monuments. Basić, Jurković 2011, pp. 74-178.



Slika 6.
Natpis na capselli (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Figure 6.
Inscription on capsella (photograph by Z. Alajbeg)

No vratimo se Arhiđakonovoj kronici u kojoj je on, u priču o bijegu Salonitanaca na otoke, umetnuo podatak o misiji opata Martina kojeg je papa Ivan IV. (640.-642.) poslao u Dalmaciju da od Slavena otkupi zarobljenike i u Rim donese relikvije dalmatinskih i istarskih mučenika.⁵¹ Budući da je ovo jedina vremenski određiva vijest iz doba nakon pada Salone, ona je poslužila za datiranje kako tog događaja tako i razdoblja Ravenjaninova djelovanja. Tome je pridonijela i arheologija, koja je pokazala da je do propasti Salone došlo nakon 630.-631., vjerojatno oko 639. godine.⁵² S druge strane, jedna bilješka koju je prepisao Ivan Lučić, a objavio Farlati, spominje unuka Velikog Severa u vrijeme bizantskog cara Teodozija III. (715.-717.), što govori u prilog datiranju Severova djelovanja u VII. stoljeću.⁵³

U literaturi se ne niječe da je Veliki Sever bio stvarna osoba, već se prihvaća njegova uloga u doseljenju Salonitanaca u Carevu palaču i ustupanje njezinog jugoistočnog dijela za sjedište biskupa sukladno Tominoj

However, returning to the Archdeacon's chronicle, in which he added to the story of the flight of Salona inhabitants to the islands an account of a mission by Abbot Martin, who was sent by Pope John IV (640-642) to Dalmatia to ransom captives from the Slavs and to bring to Rome the relics of the Dalmatian and Istrian martyrs.⁵¹ Since this is the only chronologically ascertainable data from the period after Salona's fall, it was used to date both that even and the period of John of Ravenna's activities. Archaeology also made a contribution here, as it showed that the collapse of Salona occurred after 630-631, probably at around 639.⁵² On the other hand, a notation transcribed by Ivan Lučić, and published by Farlati, mentioned the grandson of Severus the Great during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Theodosius III (715-717), which supports the dating of Severus and his activities to the seventh century.⁵³

None of the relevant sources deny that Severus the Great was indeed an actual person, rather his role in the movement of Salona's natives to the emperor's palace and the cession of its south-east section for the diocesan seat is generally accepted in compliance

51 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, str. 39.

52 Marović 1991, str. 66-69; Marović 2006, str. 259-261. Pad Salone između 626. i 639. navodi se već u Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894b, str. 38, 40, 64, 178.

53 Katičić 1987, str. 31, 38; Basić 2005c, str. 16-17, 21. Basić navodi mogućnost da je riječ ne o unuku, već o nećaku Velikog Severa. Rapanić 2007, str. 176. Kritički o bilješki: Ivić 2004, str. 137; Babić 2012, str. 297-299; on ističe da je njezin tekst *nekritički prihvaćen* u literaturi.

51 Toma Arhiđakon 2003, p. 39.

52 Marović 1991, pp. 66-69; Marović 2006, pp. 259-261. The fall of Salona between 626 and 639 was already alleged in Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894b, pp. 38, 40, 64, 178.

53 Katičić 1987, pp. 31, 38; Basić 2005c, pp. 16-17, 21. Basić noted the possibility that this may not have been the grandson but rather the nephew of Severus the Great. Rapanić 2007, p. 176. For critical treatment of this notation: Ivić 2004, p. 137; Babić 2012, pp. 297-299; he stated that it was *uncritically accepted* in the literature.

priči.⁵⁴ Takva donacija bila je važna i velika⁵⁵ pa se biskup mogao odužiti Severu nabavom moći njegova imenjaka iz Ravene, tim više što je i sâm bio iz toga grada. Mala *capsella* potom je ugrađena u oltar neke od ranosrednjovjekovnih crkava vjerojatno baš u jugoistočnom, biskupskom dijelu Palače,⁵⁶ gdje se poslije razvio i samostan klarisa. Tako se povećao broj ravenskih svetaca u Splitu⁵⁷ i osnažila njegova veza sa sjedištem Egzarhata.

Prihvaćamo li Severovu donaciju, onda trebamo odbaciti pretpostavke o preseljenju sjedišta salonitanske biskupije u Split već krajem VI. st., čemu bi u prilog navodno govorio nadvrtnik s imenom nadbiskupa Maksima.⁵⁸ Njegov nalaz ne mora značiti da je u Splitu tada bilo i sjedište nadbiskupa, već da je neka zgrada (oratorij) bila izgrađena ili uređena u njegovo doba. Odgovarajuća palača (episkopij), koja bi u slučaju ranijeg preseljenja trebala postojati, sigurno nije nestala niti je uspomena na nju bila izbrisana da bi Veliki Sever obnovljenoj biskupiji morao ustupiti svoju palaču.

U literaturi se o Maksimovu natpisu navode različiti podaci o mjestu nalaza. On je otkriven godine 1818. kraj Zlatnih vrata Dioklecijanove palače, a prvi ga je objavio F.

with Thomas' story.⁵⁴ Such a donation was major and significant,⁵⁵ so the bishop may have returned the favour to Severus by procuring the relics of his eponymous saint from Ravenna, all the more so since the bishop was himself from that city. The small *capsella* was then built into the altar of one of the medieval churches precisely in the south-east, diocesan part of the Palace,⁵⁶ where it later grew into a Clarissan convent. Thus the number of Ravenna saints in Split grew⁵⁷ and reinforced their link to the seat of the exarchy.

If the donation of Severus is accepted as fact, then the hypothesis on the movement of the seat of the Salona diocese to Split already at the end of the sixth century - with alleged supporting evidence in the form of a door lintel bearing the name of Bishop Maximus - must be rejected.⁵⁸ Its discovery need not mean that an archdiocesan seat was in Split at the time, only that a building (oratorium) was built or set up in his time. A suitable palace (episcopium), which would have necessarily existed in case of an earlier migration, certainly did not disappear nor was memory of it erased such that Severus the Great had to cede a new palace to the restored diocese.

In the relevant literature on the inscription of Maximus, differing data on its find site are mentioned. It was discovered in 1818 next to the Golden Gate of Diocletian's Palace, and it was first

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- 54 Katičić 1987, str. 35-38; Rapanić 2007, str. 176-180; Budak 2012, str. 172, 177. Neke filološke analize u vezi s terminom episkopij u Palači donosi Basić 2010, str. 67-69.
- 55 Opis nadbiskupskog posjeda vidi u: Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, str. 187-193.
- 56 Vidi bilj. 41-43. Moglo je to biti i negdje drugdje u Palači, jer su postojale i crkve o kojima još uvijek ne znamo dovoljno, poput one, istina kasnije, oko današnje crkve sv. Filipa. Duplančić 2007a, str. 184-185; Marasović T. 2011, str. 312.
- 57 Za sv. Apolinara vidi bilj. 46. Jakšić smatra da je izvorni titular crkve sv. Anastazije, iznad južnih vrata Palače, bio Anastasis, tj. da je bila posvećena Uskrsnuću, i to vezuje uz njegov kult u Raveni. (Jakšić 2003, str. 190-191, 193.) Ravenskog je podrijetla i kult sv. Vitala, koji je posvjedočen na natpisu iz XI. st. iz crkve sv. Julijane, a vjerojatno je iz Ravene došao i kult sv. Eufemije, kojoj je kasnije bio posvećen benediktinski samostan uz sjeverni zid Palače. Sv. Vital: Piteša 2012, str. 71-72. Sv. Eufemija: Migotti 1988, str. 156; Belamarić 1998, str. 58-59. O crkvi sv. Eufemije Marasović J., Marasović T. 2009. U literaturi se svojedobno pojavio pogrešan podatak da ravenski kroničar Agnellus (IX. st.) piše kako su u vrijeme biskupa Maksimiana (546.-556.) iz Ravene, kojoj je zaprijetila avarsko-slavenska opasnost, mnoge moći lokalnih i drugih svetaca bile prenesene u Dalmaciju. (Migotti 1988, str. 147.) Dabinović, međutim, na temelju istog Agnellusa točno navodi upravo suprotno, tj. da su svetačke moći iz Panonije i Dalmacije bile prenesene u Raveni i pritom ističe imena tih svetaca. Dabinović 1930, str. 195-197; dotični odlomak Agnellusove kronike vidi u: Testi Rasponi 1924, str. 191. Agnellusovo djelo *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* ili *Vitae pontificum Ravennatum* obuhvaća razdoblje od sv. Apolinara do oko 845. godine.
- 58 Cambi 2012, str. 187-188.

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- 54 Katičić 1987, pp. 35-38; Rapanić 2007, pp. 176-180; Budak 2012, pp. 172, 177. Some philological analyses related to the term episcopium in the Palace were made by Basić 2010, pp. 67-69.
- 55 For a description of the archdiocesan estate, see Marasović J., Buble, Marasović K., Perojević 2000, pp. 187-193.
- 56 See notes 41-43. It may also have been elsewhere in the Palace, for there were churches about which not much is known even now, such as that - a later one to be sure - around today's Church of St. Philip. Duplančić 2007a, pp. 184-185; Marasović T. 2011, p. 312.
- 57 For St. Apollinaris, see note 46. Jakšić believed that the original titular of the Church of St. Anastasia, above the Palace's south gate, was Anastasis, i.e., that it was dedicated to the Resurrection and this was tied to his cult in Ravenna (Jakšić 2003, pp. 190-191, 193). The cult of St. Vitalis, to which the inscription from the Church of St. Juliana testifies, also had its origins in Ravenna, and the cult of St. Euphemia, to whom the Benedictine convent along the north side of the Palace was later dedicated, probably also came from that city. St. Vitalis: Piteša 2012, pp. 71-72. St. Euphemia: Migotti 1988, p. 156; Belamarić 1998, pp. 58-59. On the Church of St. Euphemia, Marasović J., Marasović T. 2009. At one point erroneous information appeared in the relevant literature to the effect that the Ravenna chronicler Agnellus (9th cent.) wrote that during the time of Bishop Maximianus (546-556), many relics of local and other saints were transferred from Ravenna, threatened by the Avars and Slavs, to Dalmatia (Migotti 1988, p. 147). Dabinović, however, citing that same Agnellus, specified precisely the opposite, i.e., that the saintly relics were moved from Pannonia and Dalmatia to Ravenna and then he cited the names of these saints. Dabinović 1930, pp. 195-197; for the relevant excerpt in the chronicle of Agnellus, see Testi Rasponi 1924, p. 191. Agnellus' work *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* or *Vitae pontificum Ravennatum* encompasses the period from St. Apollinaris to about the year 845.
- 58 Cambi 2012, pp. 187-188.

Lanza 1848. godine.⁵⁹ Odatle je natpis prenesen u četvrto dvorište zatvorâ (dio nekadašnjeg lazareta) gdje je služio za odvod kišnice. Bulić je 1892. od suda u Splitu zatražio da ga se, zajedno s još jednim natpisom, daruje Muzeju koji će u zamjenu postaviti druga dva slična komada o svom trošku.⁶⁰ Prizivni sud u Zadru odobrio je 26. rujna tu molbu⁶¹ pa je manji natpis, tj. ovaj s Maksimovim imenom, odmah prenesen u Muzej gdje je inventariziran u katalog natpisa A pod br. 1861,⁶² a kao mjesto nalaza upisana je Salona, dok godina nije navedena.⁶³ Prigodom objave Bulić je napisao da nesumnjivo potječe iz Salone, a i poslije navodi njegovo solinsko podrijetlo.⁶⁴

Na kraju ovog poglavlja osvrnut ćemo se na još jedno mišljenje. Je li u vrijeme pada Salone bio živ i njezin biskup i je li sa Salonitancima doselio u Dioklecijanovu palaču, ne znamo jer je pitanje navodno posljednjeg salonitanskog biskupa Teodora još uvijek otvoreno.⁶⁵ Ako je biskup zaista prešao u Palaču, onda je salonitanska biskupija ostvarila kontinuitet u Splitu⁶⁶ pa se čini

published by F. Lanza in 1848.⁵⁹ The inscription was thence moved to the fourth courtyard of the prison (a part of the former lazaretto) where it was used for a rainwater drain. In 1892, Bulić petitioned the court in Split to donate it together with another inscription to the Museum, which would in return install two similar pieces at its own expense.⁶⁰ The appeals court in Zadar approved this request on 26 September,⁶¹ so the smaller inscription, i.e., that containing the name of Maximus, was immediately transferred to the Museum, where it was recorded in inscription catalogue A under number 1861,⁶² while Salona was indicated as its find site with no year specified.⁶³ Upon its publication, Bulić wrote that it undoubtedly came from Salona, and even later he asserted its origin in Solin.⁶⁴

At the end of this section I shall cite one more opinion. Whether the bishop was alive at the time of Salone's fall and whether he moved to Diocletian's Palace with the other city residents is not known, because the question of the last alleged bishop of Salona, Theodore, remains open.⁶⁵ If the bishop truly moved to the Palace, then the Salona diocese retained its continuity in Split,⁶⁶ so the

59 Lanza 1848, str. 27: *Questa breve iscrizione trovasi in Spalato sopra l'architrave di una nicchia situata in fondo alla porta aurea dell'antico palazzo di Diocleziano, scavatasi nel giorno 16 di marzo dell'anno 1818.* (u bilješci:) *Questa notizia io ritraggo dalle schede di mio padre.* Isto i u proširenom izdanju Lanza 1850, str. 27.

60 Arheološki muzej u Splitu (dalje AMS), arhiv, 1892, br. 25 od 22. kolovoza: *U IV dvoru mjestnih "Tamnica" nalaze se dva starinska nadpisa, jedan pokraj gustierne na prevrnutomu zaklopcu sarkofaga, a služi sada kao kamenica za pranje, a drugi manji uzidan je na istočnom zidu dvora kao kamenica kroz koju se slijeva voda dovedena kroz ciev sa krova.*

61 AMS, arhiv, 1892, br. 32.

62 *Dono della Presidenza del Tribun. Circol. in Spalato. Per mettere altra pietra f(iorini) 8.*

63 AMS, arhiv, 1902, br. 49 od 4. travnja: *Tada je bila dignuta mala kamenica ... i na njezino mjesto na troškove podpisanoga metnuta druga.* Onaj drugi, veći natpis koji je u CIL III objavljen pod br. 2326, ostao je u zatvoru pa je Bulić urgirao njegov prijenos u Muzej što je sud odobrio 1. svibnja. AMS, arhiv, 1902, br. 59.

64 Bulić 1892, str. 129: *Proviene senza dubbio da Salona*; Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, str. 67: *jedan natpis iz Solina.* U CIL III pod br. 13131. Nije to prvi put da je Bulić splitske spomenike, bez obzira na njihovo moguće solinsko podrijetlo o kojem se može raspravljati, inventarizirao kao da su nađeni u Saloni. Usporedi ulomak sarkofaga s prikazom dionizijske berbe iz samostana sv. Marije de Taurello i nadvratnik s natpisom nađeni na Marjanu. Duplančić 2007a, str. 212-213; Duplančić 2009, str. 158. O natpisu Egger 1926, str. 90, br. 152; Salona IV/I 2010, str. 191-193; Cambi 2012, str. 187.

65 Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, str. 68-69. O njemu u drukčijem svjetlu Jakšić 1985, str. 54-61.

66 Rapanić 2007, str. 178: *Moguće je, naravno, ovom konstatacijom o jednom biskupu ranoga vremena (7. stoljeća), početi raspravu o izravnu nastavku djelovanja salonitanske crkve u Splitu pa, iako bi to bilo maštovito nagađanje, ipak je spomen biskupske palače nekakav argument u tome. ... Vjerujem, međutim, da je ipak riječ o jednom stvarnom salonitanskom biskupu s početka 7. stoljeća koji je napustio Salonu i smjestio se u tek nešto bolji stan u Palači koji mu je s pravom pripadao.*

59 Lanza 1848, p. 27: *Questa breve iscrizione trovasi in Spalato sopra l'architrave di una nicchia situata in fondo alla porta aurea dell'antico palazzo di Diocleziano, scavatasi nel giorno 16 di marzo dell'anno 1818.* (in the note:) *Questa notizia io ritraggo dalle schede di mio padre.* The same also appears in the expanded edition of Lanza 1850, p. 27.

60 Archaeological Museum in Split (hereinafter AMS), archives, 1892, no. 25 of 22 August: *In the fourth courtyard of the local 'Prison' there are two old inscriptions, one next to the water collector on an overturned sarcophagus lid, now used as a washing basin, and the other smaller one built into the eastern wall of the building as a stone conduit through which water from a pipe on the roof flows.*

61 AMS, archives, 1892, no. 32.

62 *Dono della Presidenza del Tribun. Circol. in Spalato. Per mettere altra pietra f(iorini) 8.*

63 AMS, archives, 1902, no. 49 of 4 April: *At the time the small stone basin was raised ... and at its place another was installed at the expense of the undersigned.* That second, larger inscription, published in CIL III under no. 2326, remained in the prison, so Bulić urged that it be transferred to the Museum, which the court rejected on 1 May. AMS, archives, 1902, no. 59.

64 Bulić 1892, p. 129: *Proviene senza dubbio da Salona*; Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, p. 67: *an inscription from Solin* in CIL III under no. 13131. This is not the first time that Bulić inventoried Split monuments, regardless of their possible origins in Solin, which may be discussed, as though they were found in Salona. Cf. the sarcophagus fragment bearing an image of the Dionysian harvest from the St. Maria de Taurello Convent and the door lintel with inscription found on Marjan Hill. Duplančić 2007a, pp. 212-213; Duplančić 2009, p. 158. On the inscription, Egger 1926, p. 90, no. 152; Salona IV/I 2010, pp. 191-193; Cambi 2012, p. 187.

65 Bulić, Bervaldi 1912-1913, pp. 68-69. On it in a different light, Jakšić 1985, pp. 54-61.

66 Rapanić 2007, p. 178: *Naturally, it is possible to take this statement on a bishop of an earlier time (seventh century) to initiate a debate on the direct continuation of the functioning of the Salona church in Split, so even though this would be imaginative conjecture, the mention of the diocesan palace is nonetheless some sort of argument in this ... I believe, however, that this referred to an actual Salona bishop from the seventh century who left Salona and took accommodation in a somewhat better dwelling in the Palace to which he was rightfully entitled.*

nelogičnim da je prošlo više od sto godina do njezine obnove od strane biskupa Ivana (nicejskog), kojeg se poistovjećuje s Ivanom Ravenjaninom,⁶⁷ odnosno da je biskupska stolica bila upražnjena tako dugo.⁶⁸

* * *

U raspravu o vremenu osnivanja splitske nadbiskupije, a time indirektno i pitanje Ivana Ravenjanina, svojedobno je kao jedan od dokaza istaknut pečat ravninskog egzarha Pavla (723.-726.) kojim se htjelo pokazati da je nadbiskupija osnovana krajem VII. ili na početku VIII. stoljeća.⁶⁹ Tada je napisano da je pečat nađen u Solinu⁷⁰ očito na temelju muzejskog kataloga metalnih predmeta H gdje je 1897. inventariziran pod br. 3446 sa Salonom kao mjestom nalaza, ali bez godine kada je to bilo. Njegov crtež i analizu objavio je Bulić 1901., ali nije naveo gdje je nađen.⁷¹ U inventaru je Bulić za taj pečat i pečat cara Justinijana I. (H, br. 3447), zabilježio da su stara stečevina (*V/ecchio/ A/cquisto/*) i da su kupljeni zajedno s novcem (*Comprate fra le monete*). U nastavku, na sljedećoj stanici kataloga, Bulić je popisao: pečat s natpisom Nestorio / Gaudent (H, br. 3448), pečat (?) s likom Minerve koja drži malu Viktoriju (H, br. 3449), amulet s likom Abraxasa (H, br. 3450), pločicu sa sovom i grčkim natpisom (H, br. 3451) i medalju koja na jednoj strani ima lik mladog Tiberija (H, br. 3452). Za tih pet predmeta zabilježio je da su nađeni u Saloni između 1883. i 1897. te da su kupljeni zajedno s novcem između kojeg su nađeni prigodom njegova sređivanja 1897. godine (*Fra gli anni 1883-1897 / Salona / Comprati insieme colle monete e trovati fra queste nel ordinare queste l'a. 1897*).

Okolnost da su nabrojani pečati i predmeti bili kupljeni u dužem vremenskom razdoblju i da su bili izmiješani zajedno s novcem dovodi u pitanje podatak da svi potječu iz Salone, tim više što je Bulić prigodom njihove objave za amulet s Abraxasom napisao da je nađen u Starigradu kraj Obrovca između 1883. i 1900. godine.⁷² Nesigurnost u solinsko podrijetlo vidi se i u činjenici da, za razliku od ostalih predmeta opisanih u članku,

passage of over one hundred years until its renewal by Bishop John (of Nicaea), equated with John of Ravenna,⁶⁷ seems illogical - i.e., that the bishop's seat would have remained vacant for so long.⁶⁸

* * *

In the discussion on the time of establishment of the Split archdiocese, and thus also indirectly on the question of John of Ravenna, at one point the seal of Ravenna Exarch Paul (723-726) was proffered as evidence in an attempt to demonstrate that the archdiocese was established at the end of the seventh or early eighth century.⁶⁹ At the time, it was noted that the seal was found in Solin,⁷⁰ obviously on the basis of the museum's metal artefact catalogue H, where it was inventoried in 1897 under no. 3446 with Salona as the find site, but without specifying the year in which this happened. A sketch and analysis thereof was published by Bulić in 1901, but he did not state where it was found.⁷¹ In the inventory, Bulić noted about this seal and the seal of Emperor Justinian I (H, no. 3447) that they were old acquisitions (*V/ecchio/ A/cquisto/*) and that they were purchased together with money (*Comprate fra le monete*). Further, on the next page of the catalogue, Bulić wrote: "seal bearing inscription Nestorio / Gaudent (H, no. 3448), seal (?) featuring image of Minerva holding small Victoria (H, no. 3449), amulet bearing image of Abraxas (H, no. 3450), platelet with owl and Greek inscription (H, no. 3451) and medallion bearing image of young Tiberius on one side (H, no. 3452)". Of these five objects, he noted that they were found in Salona between 1883 and 1897 and that they were purchased together with coins, among which they were found during their sorting in 1897 ("*Fra gli anni 1883-1897 / Salona / Comprati insieme colle monete e trovati fra queste nel ordinare queste l'a. 1897*").

The circumstance that these seals and objects were purchased over a longer period and that they were intermingled with coins brings into question the information that they all came from Salona, all the more so since Bulić wrote in their publication that the amulet bearing an image of Abraxas was found in Starigrad, near Obrovac, between 1883 and 1900.⁷² The uncertainty in the Salona origin can also be seen in the fact that, as opposed to the remaining objects described in the article, Bulić did not

67 Rapanić 2007, str. 184; Basić 2011.

68 Katić [1956], str. 122-123. Osvrćući se na mišljenja da se obnova dogodila tek u 7. ili u 8. stoljeću, Rapanić kaže: *To je, vjerujemo, neodrživa pretpostavka pa, ne ulazeći potanko u osporavanje, a izlažući našu interpretaciju tih događaja, postaviti ćemo samo jedno pitanje. Bi li itko pretpostavio da se u nekom sjevernom talijanskome gradu Crkva organizirala tek u tako kasno vrijeme?* Rapanić 2007, str. 164.

69 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961; Nikolajević 1968, str. 23, bilj. 34; Basić 2005c, str. 19-20.

70 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, str. 61.

71 Bulić 1901, str. 139-140. Kao analogiju Bulić je naveo Ficoroni 1750, str. 38, T. XII, 3.

72 Bulić 1901, str. 140, br. 6.

67 Rapanić 2007, p. 184; Basić 2011.

68 Katić [1956], pp. 122-123. Referring to the view that renewal occurred "only in the seventh or eighth century", Rapanić said: "This is, I believe, an untenable assumption so without delving into a detailed refutation, but presenting my interpretation of these events, I shall pose only one question. Would anyone assume that in some northern Italian city the Church was organized only at such a late date?" Rapanić 2007, p. 164.

69 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961; Nikolajević 1968, p. 23, note 34; Basić 2005c, pp. 19-20.

70 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, p. 61.

71 Bulić 1901, pp. 139-140. As an analogy, Bulić cited Ficoroni 1750, p. 38, P. XII, 3.

72 Bulić 1901, p. 140, no. 6.

Bulić za njih nije naveo ni godinu ni mjesto nalaza.⁷³ S obzirom na sve rečeno smatramo da je Bulić po inerciji kao mjesto nalaza u katalogu upisao Salonu. Osim toga, teško je zamisliti da je u prvim desetljećima VIII. st. u napuštenoj i dijelom srušenoj Saloni⁷⁴ *postojala nekakva kancelarija kojoj se egzarh službeno obraćao.*⁷⁵ Zato podrijetlo Pavlova pečata ostaje otvoreno iako se onda kao najizglednije mjesto njegova nalaza čini Split. U svakom slučaju, on ništa ne dokazuje o postojanju nadbiskupije jer se bez obzira na to što se vlast egzarha *u velikoj meri odnosila i na crkvene poslove*⁷⁶ ničim ne može dokazati da se isprava na kojoj je bio pričvršćen ticala nadbiskupa ili nadbiskupije, a ne svjetovnih pitanja.⁷⁷

* * *

Govor o Ivanu Ravenjaninu ne može zaobići pitanje njegova navodnog sarkofaga i crkve sv. Mateja u kojoj se nalazio. I mi ćemo se ovdje na njih osvrnuti potaknuti nekim novijim člancima. To je najprije pisanje da kroničar Cutheis crkvu sv. Mateja *stavlja uz bok gradnji crkve svetog Mihovila in ripa maris*, zato što spominje da je Ravenjanin pokopan u crkvi sv. Mateja, pa ju se zato vezuje uz njegovu graditeljsku djelatnost.⁷⁸ Cutheis, međutim, navodi samo da je Ivan sagradio crkvu sv.

even specify the site nor year of their discovery.⁷³ Given all of the aforementioned points, I believe that Bulić simply wrote Salona as the find site in the catalogue out of sheer inertia. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that in abandoned Salona in the first decades of the eighth century⁷⁴ “there existed some kind of office with which the exarch officially communicated”⁷⁵ This is why the origin of Paul’s seal remains open to interpretation, even though the most likely site of its discovery appears to be Split. In any case, it proves nothing on the existence of the archdiocese, for regardless of the fact that the exarch’s authority “largely pertained to church affairs as well”⁷⁶ it cannot serve as evidence that the document to which it was affixed dealt with an archbishop or archdiocese rather than some secular matter.⁷⁷

* * *

Any discussion concerning John of Ravenna cannot bypass the question of his alleged sarcophagus and the Church of St. Matthew in which it was located. Prompted by some more recent articles, I shall also deal with these questions here. First and foremost, there is the assertion that the chronicler Cutheis “located [the Church of St. Matthew] next to construction of the Church of St. Michael *in ripa maris*”, because he mentioned that John of Ravenna was buried in St. Matthew’s, so he thus linked this to his construction activity.⁷⁸ Cutheis, however,

73 Justinijanov pečat kupljen je 1884., ali nije zapisano od koga i gdje je nađen. (AMS, arhiv, 1884, br. 58 i spisi bez br. - obračun IX. Ponovno je opisan u CIL III, suppl. 2, br. 15132/1. Nikakvih drugih bilježaka o nabrojanim predmetima nismo našli u muzejskom arhivu.) Iste je godine Bulić darovao Muzeju pet pečatnjaka, od kojih jedan Dubrovačke Republike. (AMS, arhiv, 1884, br. 72.) Radi boljeg uvida u sfragistički fond Muzeja navodimo da je 1876. kupljen srebrni pečatnjak neke dalmatinske obitelji, a 1877. dva pečata ili pečatnjaka, što nije jasno jer se u onodobnim spisima nije pravila razlika između pečata i pečatnjaka, već se rabi isti termin (*suggello, sigillo*). AMS, arhiv 1877, br. 1, obračun dotacije za 1876, ad 26. ožujka: *Suggello in argento d'antica famiglia dalmata*. Isto, obračun dotacije za 1877, ad 30. ožujka: *Due suggelli antichi e dieci diplomati papali del V.º Riboli* (u produžetku vitičasta zagrada i): *Bigoni*. Godine 1901. kupljen je rimski olovni pečat nađen u Solinu sa svetačkom glavom i natpisom, 1906. nađen je sjeverno od gradske bazilike olovni pečat s anđelom i monogramom, a 1919. kupljen je rimski olovni pečat nađen u Solinu s natpisom *Ursinianus notarius*. Bulić 1901, str. 141, br. 23; Bulić 1908b, str. 165, br. 20; Bulić 1921, str. 58; Buljević et al. 1994, str. 286-287 (autor kataloške jedinice E. Višić-Ljubić).

74 O propasti i napuštenosti Salone Rapanić 2007, str. 138-139, 144.

75 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, str. 62; Nikolajević 1968, str. 23, bilj. 34.

76 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, str. 63; Basić 2005c, str. 19-20.

77 O pečatu u kontekstu političkih zbivanja na ovom prostoru Nikolajević 1968, str. 23, bilj. 34; Klaić <1971>, str. 215-216; Goldstein 1992, str. 136; Goldstein 2012, str. 227.

78 Basić 2005a, str. 104, 119-121; Basić 2005c, str. 25; Marasović 2011, str. 270-271. Najnovije o crkvi sv. Mihovila vidi Duplančić 2011a.

73 Justinian’s seal was purchased in 1884, but from whom and where it was found were not recorded (AMS, archives, 1884, no. 58 and files without numbers - calculation IX. Once more it was described in CIL III, suppl. 2, no. 15132/1. None of the other notations on the listed objects could be found in the museum archives). In that same year, Bulić donated five seal stamps to the Museum, of which one was that of the Dubrovnik Republic (AMS, archives, 1884, no. 72). In the interest of a better insight into the Museum’s sigillography collection, I note here that in 1876 a silver seal stamp of a Dalmatian family was purchased, while in 1877 two seals or seal stamps were purchased, which is unclear, because in the files of the time no distinction was drawn between seals and seal stamps, rather the same term was used (*suggello, sigillo*). AMS, archives 1877, no. 1, calculation of a grant for 1876, dated 26 March: “*Suggello in argento d’antica famiglia dalmata*.” Ibid., calculation of grant for 1877, dated 30 March: “*Due suggelli antichi e dieci diplomati papali del V.º Riboli*” (continuing in braces and): “*Bigoni*.” In 1901, a Roman lead seal with a saint’s head and inscription found in Solin was purchased, in 1906 a lead seal with an angel and monogram was found north of the city basilica; while in 1919 a Roman lead seal found in Solin bearing the inscription *Ursinianus notarius* was purchased. Bulić 1901, p. 141, no. 23; Bulić 1908b, p. 165, no. 20; Bulić 1921, p. 58; Buljević et al. 1994, pp. 286-287 (author of catalogue unit E. Višić-Ljubić).

74 On the fall and abandonment of Salone, Rapanić 2007, pp. 138-139, 144.

75 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, p. 62; Nikolajević 1968, p. 23, note 34.

76 Nikolajević-Stojković 1961, p. 63; Basić 2005c, pp. 19-20.

77 On the seal in the context of political events in this area, Nikolajević 1968, p. 23, note 34; Klaić <1971>, pp. 215-216; Goldstein 1992, p. 136; Goldstein 2012, p. 227.

78 Basić 2005a, pp. 104, 119-121; Basić 2005c, p. 25; Marasović 2011, pp. 270-271. Most recently on the Church of St. Michael, see Duplančić 2011a.

Mihovila⁷⁹ i da je pokopan u crkvi sv. Mateja,⁸⁰ što ne znači da je sagradio i crkvu sv. Mateja. Budući da je sarkofag koji potječe iz te crkve u starijoj literaturi bio pripisivan Ravenjaninu, a u novijoj je pripisan Ivanu (nicejskom) iz VIII. st., onda Cutheisov podatak ne može biti mjerodavan jer je nesumnjivo i on mislio da sarkofag mlađeg Ivana pripada starijemu, poput mnogih povjesničara, povjesničara umjetnosti i arheologa. Zato nam mjesto Ravenjaninova ukopa ostaje nepoznato, a crkvu sv. Mateja ne treba vezivati uz njegovo vrijeme. Ako sarkofag koji je bio u njoj služi kao *terminus ante quem non*, onda je vjerojatnije da je podignuta u drugoj polovini VIII. st., možda upravo od nadbiskupa Ivana (nicejskog).⁸¹

Nedavni rad o crkvi sv. Mateja odbacuje dataciju crkve u VII. st. i njezinu izgradnju pomiče u dugu polovinu VIII. te je određuje kao grobnu crkvu nadbiskupa Ivana.⁸² Pritom se tog nadbiskupa, koji je sudjelovao na Koncilu u Niceji, oslovljava kao Ravenjanina, polazeći od pretpostavke *da ga ipak treba poistovjetiti s Ivanom Ravenjaninom kakav je ocrtan u Tominoj kronici*, tj. kao obnovitelja crkvene hijerarhije u Splitu.⁸³ S tim u vezi istaknuto je da *ne tvrdimo ništa pozitivno o eventualnoj povijesnosti nekog pobliže nepoznatog biskupa vezanog uz djelovanje Velikog Severa, prema izvorima iz 7. st. koje je rekonstruirao Katičić*.⁸⁴ Ako se ovim ipak ne isključuje mogućnost postojanja splitskog biskupa u vrijeme Velikog Severa, tj. u VII. st., onda ne vidimo smisao u odbacivanju Tomine priče i prebacivanju Ivanova djelovanja u sljedeće stoljeće.

O smještaju Ivanova sarkofaga u crkvi sv. Mateja izneseno je mišljenje da je bio uzidan u sjeverni zid crkve, između dvaju stupova periptera katedrale.⁸⁵ Kao argument za to citiran je podatak iz Farlatijeve knjige o vratima *koja vode ka kapeli Bratovštine Sv. Josipa* i navedene su mijene starog oltara sv. Dujma,⁸⁶ koji je u veljači 1767. ustupljen bratovštini.⁸⁷ Previđeno je, međutim, neslaganje godinâ između Farlatijeva teksta koji je objavljen 1765. i prelaska Dujmove kapele u posjed bratovštine

mentioned only that John built St. Michael's Church⁷⁹ and that he was buried in the Church of St. Matthew,⁸⁰ which does not mean that he also commissioned the construction of St. Matthew's. Since the sarcophagus which originated in that church was attributed to John of Ravenna in the older sources, while in the more recent literature it was ascribed to John (of Nicaea) from the eighth century, then what Cutheis wrote cannot be taken as authoritative, for he undoubtedly thought that the sarcophagus of the younger John belonged to the older one like many other historians, art historians and archaeologists. This is why the location of John of Ravenna's interment remains unknown, and the Church of St. Matthew should not be linked to his name. If the sarcophagus that was in it served as the *terminus ante quem non*, then it is more likely that it was erected in the latter half of the eighth century, perhaps precisely by Archbishop John (of Nicaea).⁸¹

A recent work on the Church of St. Matthew rejects its dating to the seventh century and moves its construction to the latter half of the eighth century, specifying it as the burial church of Archbishop John.⁸² Herein this archbishop, who participated in the Council of Nicaea, is referred to as being from Ravenna, setting forth from the hypothesis "that he must nevertheless be identified with John of Ravenna as indicated in the chronicle of Thomas," i.e., as the renewer of the church hierarchy in Split.⁸³ In this regard, it was stressed that "we are not asserting anything positive about the potential historicity of some approximate unidentified bishop associated with the activity of Severus the Great, according to the seventh-century sources reconstructed by Katičić."⁸⁴ If this does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a bishop in Split during the time of Severus the Great, i.e., in the seventh century, then I do not see any point in rejecting Thomas' story and moving John's activities to the following centuries.

As to the location of John's sarcophagus in the Church of St. Matthew, this work's author puts forth the view that it was built into the church's northern wall between the two columns of the cathedral's peripter.⁸⁵ He cites as evidence to back this the data from Farlati's book on the gate "which leads to the chapel of the St. Joseph Fraternity" and also the changes to the old altar of St. Dominus⁸⁶

79 Oko 1720. smatralo se da je grb nadbiskupa Lovre Zane, uzidan u crkvu, pripadao Ivanu Ravenjaninu. Duplančić 2011a, str. 127-128.

80 Lučić 1666, str. 385; Farlati 1751, str. 324; Farlati 1765, str. 19; citat iz Farlatija 1765. donosi Basić 2005c, str. 9, bilj. 5. Basić s pravom ističe da je netočno crkvu sv. Mateja nazivati mauzolejom splitskih nadbiskupa jer su u njoj bili sarkofazi smo dvojice nadbiskupa, iako korišteni nekoliko puta. Basić 2005c, str. 25 - bilj 78; Basić 2005a, str. 121-125, popis ukopa splitskih nadbiskupa. Za ukope nadbiskupa vidi također Duplančić 2007b, str. 230.

81 Tako zaključuje i Basić 2011. O plutejima koji su možda bili u crkvi sv. Mateja vidi: Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 177, bilj. 97.

82 Basić 2011, str. 72, 80, 86 (*crkva i grob-sarkofag nastaju u drugoj polovini 8. stoljeća u međusobnoj zavisnosti*).

83 Basić 2011, str. 86-87.

84 Basić 2011, str. 91, bilj. 81.

85 Basić 2011, str. 81-83.

86 Basić 2011, str. 80. Farlatijev *Sacellum et Sodalitium* (1765, str. 42) znači kapelu i kuću bratovštine.

87 Prijatelj Pavičić, Čoralić 2002, str. 71.

79 At around 1720 it was believed that the coat of arms of Archbishop Lovro Zane, built into the church, belonged to John of Ravenna. Duplančić 2011a, pp. 127-128.

80 Lučić 1666, p. 385; Farlati 1751, p. 324; Farlati 1765, p. 19; the citations from Farlati 1765 are made by Basić 2005c, p. 9, note 5. Basić rightfully stressed that it is inaccurate to call the Church of St. Matthew the mausoleum of Split's archbishops, for it only contained the sarcophaguses of two archbishops, even though it was used several times. Basić 2005c, p. 25 - note 78; Basić 2005a, pp. 121-125 - list of Split archbishops. For burials of archbishops, see also Duplančić 2007b, p. 230.

81 This conclusion was also reached by Basić 2011. On the pluteii which may have been in the Church of St. Matthew, see Basić, Jurković 2011, p. 177, note 97.

82 Basić 2011, pp. 72, 80, 86 ("the church and tomb/sarcophagus emerged in the latter half of the eighth century in mutual dependence").

83 Basić 2011, pp. 86-87.

84 Basić 2011, p. 91, note 81.

85 Basić 2011, pp. 81-83.

86 Basić 2011, p. 80. Farlati's *Sacellum et Sodalitium* (1765, p. 42) means the chapel and fraternity house.

sv. Josipa 1767. godine. Farlatijev podatak ne odnosi se na tu kapelu, već na kapelu i sjedište bratovštine sv. Josipa koje se nalazilo tik uz crkvu sv. Mateja. Nakon što su braća Marchi u kolovozu 1704. darovala bratovštini jednu ruševnu kuću s južne strane Sv. Mateja, bratovština ju je uredila za svoj *domus*, odnosno *oratorium* iz kojeg se ulazilo u crkvu sv. Mateja.⁸⁸ Ta kuća još uvijek postoji i u njoj se nalazi katedralni župni ured, a vrata koja su povezivala obje zgrade vide se i na nacrtima iz XIX. stoljeća.⁸⁹

Spomenuti nacrti pokazuju da je dio južnog zida crkve sv. Mateja, bliže oltaru, bio uvučen upravo onoliko koliko je dovoljno za pretpostavljeni smještaj Ivanova sarkofaga na sjevernom zidu pa je logičnije da je ta niša bila mjesto gdje se nalazio sarkofag. Što se tiče pretpostavke da je nad sarkofagom bio arkosolij, ona je prihvatljiva, ali ne smatramo da tragovi na nekadašnjem južnom zidu crkve⁹⁰ pripadaju još jednom arkosoliju unutar crkve, već držimo da se odnose na Ivanov sarkofag. Analogiji arkosolija iz periptera katedrale zabilježenog kod R. Adama 1764. (tab. XXVIII)⁹¹ treba dodati i arkosolij koji se nalazio na Peristilu, također prikazan u Adamovoj knjizi (tab. XX),⁹² a zatim i Lavallée-Cassasovoj iz 1802. godine.⁹³ Peristilski arkosolij je iz druge polovine XV. st., jer se pod njim nalazio sarkofag kanonika Ilije Bavalića koji se spominje od 1462. do 1478. godine.⁹⁴

U vezi s pretpostavkom da je crkva sv. Mateja imala kriptu (ako ju je uopće imala) ne čini nam se uvjerljivim da ju je Ravenjanin sagradio po uzoru na mauzolej sv. Staša na Marusincu.⁹⁵ U Splitu su katedrala i krstionica bile veoma očit uzor za crkve s kriptama pa ga nije trebalo tražiti u napuštenoj Saloni. Postojanje podruma Dioklecijanove palače omogućilo je pak da je i crkva sv. Andrije *de fenestris* imala kriptu, i to najkasnije

which was ceded to the fraternity in February 1767.⁸⁷ However, this overlooks the incongruence in years between Farlati's text, published in 1765, and the transfer of the chapel of Dominus to the St. Joseph Fraternity in 1767. Farlati's information does not pertain to this chapel, but rather the chapel and the seat of the St. Joseph Fraternity which was located right next to the Church of St. Matthew. After the Marchi brothers donated a dilapidated house on the south side of St. Matthew's to the fraternity in August 1704, the fraternity renovated it as their *domus*, or *oratorium* whence the Church of St. Matthew was entered.⁸⁸ This house still stands and it now houses the cathedral's parish office, and the gate which connected both buildings can also be seen in sketches from the nineteenth century.⁸⁹

These sketches show that part of the southern wall of St. Matthew's Church, closer to the altar, was drawn inward precisely enough to accommodate the assumed location of John's sarcophagus on the northern wall, so it is more logical that this niche was the site of the sarcophagus. As to the assumption that there was an arcosolium above the sarcophagus, this is acceptable, but I do not believe that the traces on the church's former southern wall⁹⁰ belonged to another arcosolium inside the church, rather it refers to John's sarcophagus. The analogy of the arcosolium from the cathedral's peripter noted by Robert Adam in 1764 (pl. XXVIII)⁹¹ should also include the arcosolium that was in the Peristyle, which was also depicted in Adam's book (pl. XX),⁹² and then by Lavallée-Cassin in 1802.⁹³ The Peristyle's arcosolium dates to the latter half of the fifteenth century, because the sarcophagus of Canon Ilija Bavalić, mentioned from 1462 to 1478, was situated under it.⁹⁴

With regard to the hypothesis that the Church of St. Matthew had a crypt (if it had one at all), I do not find it convincing that John of Ravenna had it built based on the model of the mausoleum of

88 Čičin-Šain 1952, str. 11-13. NAS, S, br. 61, vizitacija nadbiskupa S. Cupillija iz 1714., l. 59v: *Visitavit sacellum, seu oratorium S.ti Mathiae ... Postea visitavit domum Confraternitatis S.ti Joseph.* NAS, S, br. 83, vizitacija nadbiskupa I. L. Garagnina iz 1766., l. 9v: *Hinc pocessit ad Oratorium S. Joseph à parte dextra Ecclesiae Majoris constructum ...* (l. 10r): *In atrio dicti Oratorij extat Capella cum Altare S. Mathaei Apostoli.*

89 Basić 2011, str. 73, 76. Povijesti crkve sv. Mateja treba dodati podatak da je tijekom Kandijskog rata služila kao skladište baruta za koje je 1652. naređeno da se prebaci u skladište u luci. (Duplančić 1998, str. 40, bilj. 141.) Na katastarskom planu iz 1831. upisana je pod br. 1715 kao crkva sv. Josipa. Dokumentaciji o vanjskom izgledu crkve treba dodati sliku Peristila J. B. van Moera iz 1873., koja održava stanje iz 1858., kada je slikar boravio u Splitu. Duplančić, Tomić 2004, str. 17-18, 118-119.

90 Basić 2011, str. 82-83; vidi sl. u Marasović T. 2011, str. 272. Za arkosolij nad grobom u krstionici u Albenghi vidi Frondoni 1994, str. 262-263.

91 Basić 2011, str. 83, 85.

92 Novak 1961, str. 429.

93 Rakić 2010, str. 79, 81.

94 Duplančić 1997, str. 91, bilj. 37; Rakić 2010, str. 67 - tu je u pripadajućoj bilješki trebao biti naveden rad iz bilj. 30, ali je podatak o stranici i bilješki točan.

95 Basić 2005a, str. 119-121.

87 Prijatelj Pavičić, Čoralčić 2002, p. 71.

88 Čičin-Šain 1952, pp. 11-13. NAS, S, no. 61, visitation by Archbishop S. Cupilli in 1714, l. 59v: *Visitavit sacellum, seu oratorium S.ti Mathiae ... Postea visitavit domum Confraternitatis S.ti Joseph.* NAS, S, no. 83, visitation by Archbishop G. L. Garagnin in 1766, l. 9v: *Hinc pocessit ad Oratorium S. Joseph à parte dextra Ecclesiae Majoris constructum ...* (l. 10r): *In atrio dicti Oratorij extat Capella cum Altare S. Mathaei Apostoli.*

89 Basić 2011, no. 73, 76. To the history of St. Matthew's Church one should add the fact that during the Cretan War it served as a gunpowder magazine; in 1652 an order was issued to move the gunpowder a warehouse in the harbour (Duplančić 1998, p. 40, note 141). It was recorded as the Church of St. Joseph under no. 1715 in a cadastral map in 1831. Documentation on the church's external appearance should also include the picture of the Peristyle by J. B. van Moer from 1873, which reflects its appearance in 1858 when the painter was in Split. Duplančić, Tomić 2004, pp. 17-18, 118-119.

90 Basić 2011, pp. 82-83; see the illustration in Marasović T. 2011, p. 272. For the arcosolium above the tomb in the baptistery in Albengha see Frondoni 1994, pp. 262-263.

91 Basić 2011, pp. 83, 85.

92 Novak 1961, p. 429.

93 Rakić 2010, pp. 79, 81.

94 Duplančić 1997, p. 91, note 37; Rakić 2010, p. 67 - here in the accompanying note the work from note 30 should have been cited, but the data on the page and note are accurate.

krajem VIII. st., kako to pokazuje jedan natpis.⁹⁶ Još jedan primjer postojanja crkve iznad crkve nalazimo u slučaju crkve sv. Julijane, sagrađene krajem XI. st. iznad crkve Svih svetih uz zapadni zid Dioklecijanove palače.⁹⁷

St. Anastasius in Marusinac.⁹⁵ In Split, the cathedral and baptistery were a very obvious model for the church with crypts, so it did not have to be sought in abandoned Salona. The existence of a cellar in Diocletian's Palace made it possible for the Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris* have a crypt by the end of the eighth century at the latest, as indicated by an inscription.⁹⁶ One more example of the existence of a church above a church is the example of the Church of St. Juliana, built at the end of the eleventh century above the Church of All Saints along the western wall of Diocletian's Palace.⁹⁷

96 Duplančić 2007a, str. 186-187; za datiranje natpisa Piteša 2012, str. 69.
97 Karaman 1931, str. 6; Petrić 1989, str. 279; Marasović T. 2011, str. 336-338. Jedan natpis iz IX. st. koji spominje blagdan Svih svetih, ne treba vezivati uz tu crkvu jer je nađen na prostoru nekadašnjeg samostana sv. Klare, odnosno crkve sv. Andrije *de fenestris*. (Duplančić 2007a, str. 187-188; Piteša 2012, str. 67-68.) Najnovije o crkvi sv. Julijane vidi Vežić 2012; tu pogrešno piše da grb s godinom 1628. i inicijalima P S pripada splitskom nadbiskupu Sforzi Ponzoniju (str. 378-379) i da se tu nekoć nalazila njegova kuća. Ponzonijev grb sastoji se od štita podijeljenog na četiri polja, a urezan je na mjedenum ukrasima na njegovoj nadgrobnoj ploči u katedrali. (Krizomali 1940, str. 102; Nikšić 2003-2004, str. 288.) Mogućnost da je i na rtu Marjana postojala crkva iznad crkve odbacili su rezultati arheoloških istraživanja objavljeni 1996. godine. Buškariol 1988, str. 22; Basić 2005a, str. 120; Marasović J., Marasović T., Marasović M. 1996, str. 34-35.

95 Basić 2005a, pp. 119-121.

96 Duplančić 2007a, pp. 186-187; to date the inscription, Piteša 2012, p. 69.

97 Karaman 1931, p. 6; Petrić 1989, p. 279; Marasović T. 2011, pp. 336-338. An inscription from the ninth century which mentions the Feast of All Saints should not be linked to this church, because it was found in the area of the former St. Clare Convent, i.e., the Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris* (Duplančić 2007a, pp. 187-188; Piteša 2012, pp. 67-68). For the latest on the Church of St. Juliana see Vežić 2012; here it mistakenly states that the coat of arms with the year 1628 and initials P S belong to the Split Archbishop Sforza Ponzoni (pp. 378-379) and that his house was once situated here. Ponzoni's coat of arms consists of a shield divided into four fields, and it was engraved on brass ornaments on his grave marker in the cathedral (Krizomali 1940, p. 102; Nikšić 2003-2004, p. 288). The possibility that there was a church above the church on Cape Marjan was refuted by the results of archaeological research published in 1996. Buškariol 1988, p. 22; Basić 2005a, p. 120; Marasović J., Marasović T., Marasović M. 1996, pp. 34-35.

Kratice / Abbreviations

BASD - Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata

CIL - Corpus inscriptionum latinarum

PPUD - Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji

SHP - Starohrvatska prosvjeta

VAMZ - Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

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