

Jakov Vučić

## “GEORGIVS PECCATVR PRESBITER ET RECLAVSVS”

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Tijekom nedavnih zaštitnih iskopavanja na Trgu Petra Zoranića u Zadru otkriveni su ostatci otprije poznate crkve, koja se poistovjećuje s crkvom sv. Petra od Vitla spominjanom u srednjovjekovnim ispravama. U jugozapadnom kutu crkve zatečen je sarkofag s uklesanim epitafom svećeniku i reklauzu Jurju. Sarkofag se u potpunosti uklapa u oblikovne i dekorativne standarde istovrsnih spomenika iz druge polovice 8. i prve polovice 9. st. U nesuglasju s time stoje zasad rezultati radiokarbonskih mjerenja ostataka pokojnika pronađenih u sarkofagu. Svećenik Juraj odlučio se u jednoj fazi svojeg života na najstroži oblik monaštva, koji podrazumijeva doživotnu izolaciju od ostatka svijeta, unutar zidova ćelije. Ukop u sarkofagu na kojem se on titulira kao *PRESBITER ET RECLAVSVS* sugerira kako je u toj nakani ustrajao do kraja.

*Ključne riječi:* Zadar, crkva sv. Petra od Vitla, predromanički sarkofag, Juraj, prezbiter, reclausus

During recent rescue excavations conducted on Petra Zoranića square in Zadar, the remains of an earlier-known church were discovered, which has been identified as the Church of St. Peter of the Windlass mentioned in medieval documents. A sarcophagus with an engraved epitaph of Georgius, priest and recluse, was found in the south-west corner of the church. The sarcophagus fully corresponds to the formational and decorative standards of identical monuments from the latter half of the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries. This does not comply with the radiocarbon dating of the remains of the deceased individual found in the sarcophagus. At some point in his life, Georgius opted for the strictest form of solitary life, which implied lifelong isolation from the outside world, inside the walls of a small cell. His interment in a sarcophagus on which he is referred to as *PRESBITER ET RECLAVSVS* suggests that he persisted in this to the end of his life.

*Key words:* Zadar, Church of St. Peter of the Windlass, pre-Romanesque sarcophagus, Georgius, presbyter, recluse



## Uvod i osvrt na ranija istraživanja

Tijekom arheoloških iskopavanja godine 2011. na Trgu Petra Zoranića istraženi su među ostalim i ostatci manje predromaničke crkve.<sup>1</sup> Ovaj je položaj tijekom antike i srednjega vijeka predstavljao glavni ulaz u grad, na koji se nastavljala glavna gradska ulica.<sup>2</sup> Sama crkva poznata je otprije. Njezini ostatci, uz nalaze predromaničkih kamenih ulomaka, pronađeni su u blizini temelja trijumfalnog luka gradskih vrata tijekom istraživanja 1884. i 1908. godine.<sup>3</sup> Istraživanje provedeno 2006. i 2007. godine ponovno je iznjedrilo ostatke crkve, koji su ovaj put zatečeni u znatno lošijem stanju negoli za prvih istraživanja.<sup>4</sup>

P. Vežić je pretpostavio kako je ova crkva istovjetna s crkvom s. *Petra de argata*, koja se spominje u arhivskim dokumentima. Pretpostavku temelji na izrazu *de argata*, što bi u prijevodu značilo *od vitla*, a može označavati specifičan sustav zatvaranja gradskih vrata, kakav on prepoznaje na ostacima srednjovjekovnih kopnenih vrata otkrivenih na Trgu Petra Zoranića.<sup>5</sup> Crkva sv. Petra od Vitla, smještena *ad arcenatum*, spominje se u srednjovjekovnim dokumentima 1290., 1370., 1383. i 1390. godine.<sup>6</sup> Koncem 14. st. upravitelj joj je bio svećenik glagoljaš Volkacije Hranković.<sup>7</sup> Većina kasnijih autora prihvatila je pretpostavku P. Vežića.<sup>8</sup>

Prilikom objave rezultata istraživanja J. Bersa je crkvu datirao u 9. st., a natpis na kojem se spominje donator imena Donat uklesan na ugradbenoj kamenoj gredi pronađenoj 1884., povezao je s istoimenim znamenitim zadarskim biskupom.<sup>9</sup> I. Petricioli je također datira u predromaniku, premda na temelju kamenih ranokršćanskih spomenika pronađenih uz crkvu pretpostavlja da bi mogla biti i starija.<sup>10</sup> Ranokršćansku fazu

## Introduction and review of earlier research

During archaeological excavations on Petra Zoranića square in Zadar in 2011, the remains of a small pre-Romanesque church were examined among other things.<sup>1</sup> In Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, this site constituted the main entrance to the city, from which the city's main thoroughfare continued.<sup>2</sup> The church itself was known from earlier. Its remains, together with the finds of pre-Romanesque stone fragments, were found near the foundations of the triumphal arch of the city gate during research in 1884 and 1908.<sup>3</sup> Research conducted during 2006 and 2007 once more yielded remains of this church, which were this time found in poorer condition than those in the first research campaigns.<sup>4</sup>

P. Vežić assumed that this church is identical to the church mentioned in archival documents as s. *Petra de argata*. The assumption is based on the expression *de argata*, which in loose translation would mean "of the windlass", possibly denoting the specific system for closing the city gate known from the remains of the medieval inland gate discovered on Petra Zoranića square.<sup>5</sup> The Church of St. Peter of the Windlass, situated *ad arcenatum*, is mentioned in medieval documents dated 1290, 1370, 1383 and 1390.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the fourteenth century, its administrator was the Glagolite priest Volkacije Hranković.<sup>7</sup> Most later scholars have accepted P. Vežić's hypothesis.<sup>8</sup>

During publication of the research results, J. Bersa dated the church to the ninth century, and he identified the donor name Donatus in an inscription engraved on an installed stone beam, discovered in 1884, with the notable Zadar bishop of the same name.<sup>9</sup> I. Petricioli also dated it to the pre-Romanesque, although based on Early Christian stone monuments found next to the church foundations, he speculated that it may be even

1 Istraživanja je proveo Arheološki muzej u Zadru, a vodio ih je autor ovih redaka. U ovom radu naglasak je na objavi sarkofaga, kako bi on što prije postao dostupan znanstvenim i stručnim krugovima. Novije spoznaje o samoj crkvi te ostalim pokretnim nalazima u njoj (kao i nakitu vezanom uz tercijarni ukop u sarkofagu) bit će detaljno izložene u radu koji je u pripremi.

2 Petricioli 1966, str. 188; Suić 1976, str. 540-541, 548.

3 Smirich 1894, str. 20-21, kat. 54-55, 68-69; Bersa 1910, str. 194, 206-212.

4 Istraživanjem koje je proveo Arheološki muzej u Zadru ispravljen je ranije krivo ucrtan položaj crkve u odnosu na temelje antičke kule. Vidi: Fadić 2008, str. 415, 417; Fadić, Štefanec 2011, str. 329, sl. 3.

5 Vežić 2001, str. 302-303, bilj. 14. Na značenje izraza *de argata*, dovodeći ga u vezu s čekrkom, vinčem i razbojem u smislu sprava koje su se koristile u brodogradilištu, osvrnuo se svojedobno I. Petricioli. Prema njemu, za ovaj dio grada korišteni su još nazivi *in Organis* i *Rasboy*. Vidi: Petricioli 1965, str. 177.

6 ZN 1, str. 223, br. 266; CD 14, str. 277, br. 201; CD 17, str. 293, br. 206; Runje 1998, str. 53.

7 Runje 2007, str. 154.

8 Delonga 2000a, str. 225; Delonga 2000b, str. 167; Jurković 2000, karta na str. 175; Fadić 2008, str. 417; Marasović 2009, str. 357; Jakšić 2010, str. 314, 316; Fadić, Štefanec 2011, str. 329.

9 Bersa 1910, str. 208, 210-212.

10 Petricioli 1960, str. 179; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 120.

1 Research was conducted by the Archeological Museum in Zadar, led by this writer. In this work, the emphasis is on the publication of the sarcophagus, to ensure that it becomes accessible to the scholarly and professional circles as soon as possible. More information on the church itself, and the remaining movable finds therein (as well as the jewellery tied to the tertiary burial in the sarcophagus) will be covered in detail in a work currently under preparation.

2 Petricioli 1966, p. 188; Suić 1976, pp. 540-541, 548.

3 Smirich 1894, pp. 20-21, cat. 54-55, 68-69; Bersa 1910, pp. 194, 206-212.

4 The research conducted by the Archeological Museum in Zadar corrected the earlier erroneously sketched position of the church in relation to the foundations of the Roman-era tower. See: Fadić 2008, pp. 415, 417; Fadić, Štefanec 2011, p. 329, Fig. 3.

5 Vežić 2001, pp. 302-303, note 14. At one point I. Petricioli dealt with the meaning of the expression *de Argata*, bringing it into connection with the capstan (*čekrk*), winch (*vinč*) and reel (*razboj*) in the sense of a device used in shipyards. According to him, the terms *in Organis* and *Rasboy* were also used in this part of the city. See: Petricioli 1965, p. 177.

6 ZN 1, p. 223, no. 266; CD 14, p. 277, no. 201; CD 17, p. 293, no. 206; Runje 1998, p. 53.

7 Runje 2007, p. 154.

8 Delonga 2000a, p. 225; Delonga 2000b, p. 167; Jurković 2000, map on p. 175; Fadić 2008, p. 417; Marasović 2009, p. 357; Jakšić 2010, p. 314, 316; Fadić, Štefanec 2011, p. 329.

9 Bersa 1910, 208, pp. 210-212.

crkve pretpostavila je i B. Migotti.<sup>11</sup> V. Delonga je predromaničke ulomke namještaja vezane uz crkvu datirala u prvu četvrtinu 9. st., a vezujući se na pretpostavku J. Berse, ukazala je kako je ta građevina možda bila i zavjetna obiteljska crkva biskupa Donata.<sup>12</sup> Crkvu s biskupom Donatom povezuje i P. Vežić.<sup>13</sup> U početak 9. st. crkvu datiraju T. Marasović i N. Jakšić.<sup>14</sup> Na datiranje crkve osvrnula se i V. Jović, napomenuvši kako je tijekom istraživanja provedenih godine 2006./2007. u crkvi pronađen pod koji bi odgovarao njezinoj ranokršćanskoj fazi.<sup>15</sup> Na temelju činjenica koje je iznjedrilo posljednje istraživanje, a to su izostanak konkretnijih sitnih pokretnih nalaza iz razdoblja kasne antike u crkvi i uz nju te pronalazak ulomaka ranokršćanskih spomenika uzidanih u zidove starije faze crkve, očito je kako crkva nije sagrađena prije konca 6. st., pa se kao najvjerojatnije razdoblje njezine gradnje, vodeći se odrednicama koje pružaju nalazi predromaničkoga crkvenog namještaja i arhitektonske dekoracije, čini druga polovica 8. ili početak 9. st. Crkva je mogla biti porušena tijekom intervencija na gradskim bedemima polovicom 15. st.<sup>16</sup> Na maketi Zadra datiranoj između 1565. i 1570. na njezinom se položaju nalazi poljana.<sup>17</sup>

### Pronalazak sarkofaga

Za posljednjeg istraživanja otkriveno je do tada neistraženo pročelje crkve i zapadna polovica broda, što je omogućilo izradu cjelovita tlocrta (sl. 1). U kutu koji zatvaraju zid pročelja i južni zid broda crkve, zatečen je kameni sarkofag s ravnim poklopcem. Slično pozicioniran sarkofag pronađen je u crkvi sv. Ivana u Stivanjem polju.<sup>18</sup> Na temelju položaja masivnog antičkog kamenog vijenca koji je kao spolij iskorišten u prvoj fazi popločavanja poda crkve, a koji je postavljen u očitom odnosu spram sarkofaga, možemo pretpostaviti kako je sarkofag na ovo mjesto položen prilikom izrade poda i kako je od trenutka postavljanja do danas ostao na istome mjestu. Zanimljivo je primijetiti da je uža stranica sarkofaga prislonjena uz sjeverozapadni zid crkve kvalitetnije obrađena od one izložene pogledu na jugoistočnom kraju, na temelju čega se može pretpostaviti da je u postupku izrade postojala namjera njegova drugačijeg smještaja ili je pak sarkofag i prije toga bio u upotrebi. Sarkofag je ležao na zemljanoj podlozi, ukopan u prvotni pod do 10 cm, pri čemu je lice ukrašeno natpisom i trima

older.<sup>10</sup> An Early Christian phase was also assumed by B. Migotti.<sup>11</sup> V. Delonga dated the pre-Romanesque fragments of furnishing in the church to the first quarter of the ninth century, and expanding on Bersa's hypothesis, showed that the building may have been the votive familial church of Bishop Donatus.<sup>12</sup> Vežić also associated the church with Bishop Donatus.<sup>13</sup> T. Marasović and N. Jakšić dated the church to the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>14</sup> V. Jović also dealt with the dating of the church, noting that during research conducted in 2006/7, a floor was found in the church which could correspond to its Early Christian phase.<sup>15</sup> Based on the facts which came to light in the most recent research, and this is the absence of specific tiny movable finds from Late Antiquity in and around the church, and the discovery of fragments of Early Christian monuments built into the walls of the older phase of the church, it is obvious that the church was not built prior to the end of the sixth century, so the most likely time of its construction - adhering to the indications offered by the finds of pre-Romanesque church furnishings and architectural decoration - is the latter half of the eighth or early ninth century. The church may have been demolished during interventions into the city walls in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>16</sup> A model of Zadar dated between 1565 and 1570 shows a field at its site.<sup>17</sup>

### Discovery of the sarcophagus

During the last research, the until then unexamined church façade and the western half of the nave were discovered, enabling the drafting of a complete ground plan (Fig. 1). In the corner which encloses the façade wall and the southern wall, a stone sarcophagus with a flat lid was found. A similarly placed sarcophagus was found in the Church of St. John in Stivanje polje.<sup>18</sup> Based on the position of the massive Roman-era stone cornice which was used as a spoliu during the first phase of tiling the church floor, and which was installed in an obvious relation to the sarcophagus, it may be assumed that the sarcophagus was placed at this site during installation of the floor, and that it remained at that same location from that moment onward. It is interesting to note that the narrow side of the sarcophagus set against the south-west wall of the church exhibits higher quality rendering than those sides facing the south-east end, which points to the possibility that while it was meant to be positioned differently while being made, or the sarcophagus was in use even earlier. The sarcophagus was laid on an earthen base, dug

11 Migotti 1991, str. 26-27, kat. 30.

12 Delonga 2000a, str. 225; 2000b, str. 167-168.

13 Vežić 2002, str. 30-31.

14 Marasović 2009, str. 357; Jakšić 2010, str. 316.

15 Jović 2010, str. 85.

16 Prilikom obnove bedema 1450-ih godina, radi sigurnosti, porušeni su neki samostani i crkve sv. Antuna i sv. Kuzme i Damjana u blizini kopnenih vrata. Vidi: Petricioli 1965, str. 175; Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, Peričić 1987, str. 131.

17 Vidi: Petricioli 1958, sl. 2a.

18 Usporedi: Petricioli 1958b, str. 73, sl. 23; Petricioli 1987, str. 105, T. 5. a.

10 Petricioli 1960, p. 179; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, p. 120.

11 Migotti 1991, p. 26-27, cat. 30.

12 Delonga 2000a, p. 225; 2000b, pp. 167-168.

13 Vežić 2002, pp. 30-31.

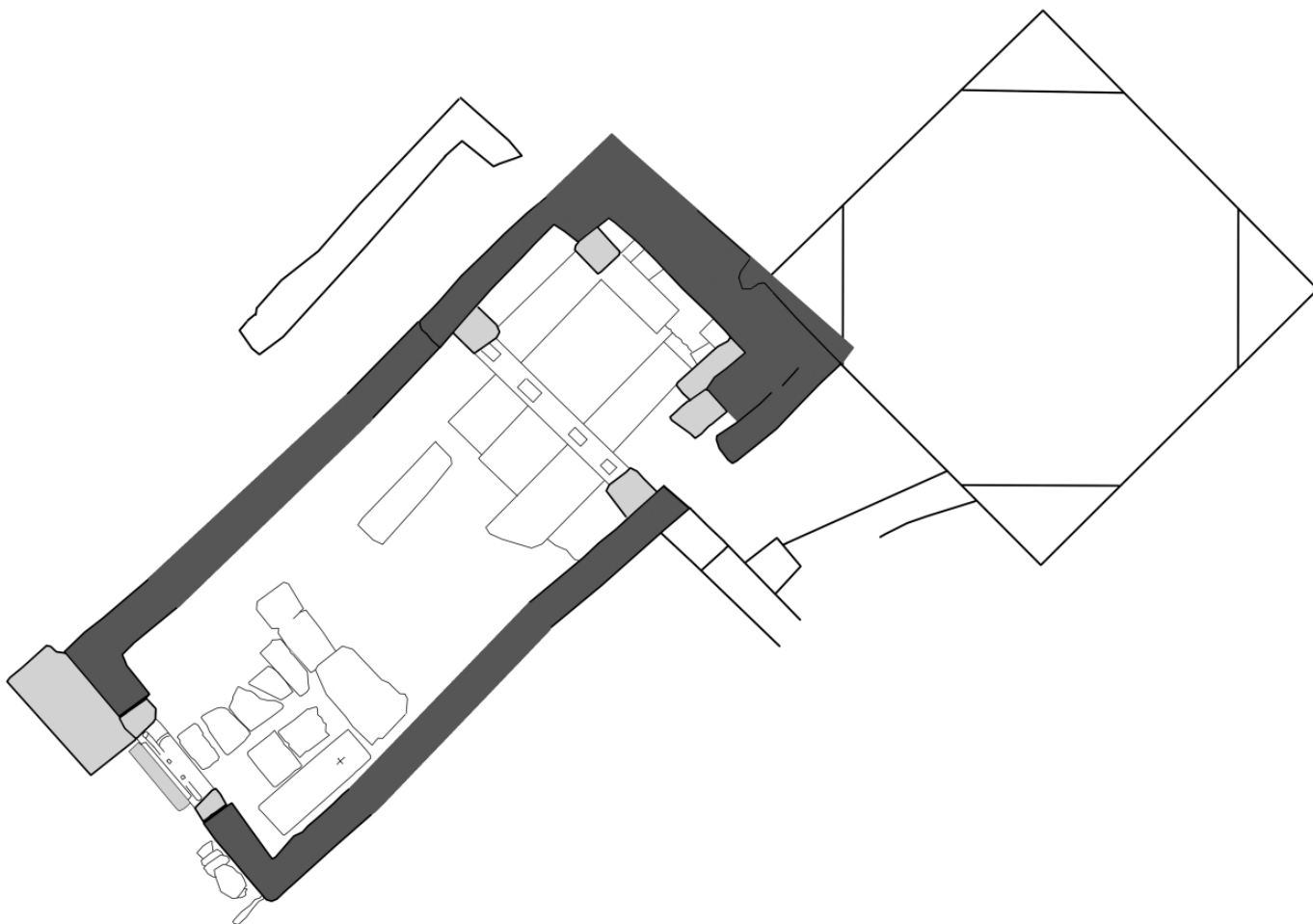
14 Marasović 2009, p. 357; Jakšić 2010, p. 316.

15 Jović 2010, p. 85.

16 During reconstruction of the city walls in the 1450s, for the sake of security a few monasteries and the Churches of St. Anthony and Sts. Cosmas and Damian near the inland gate were demolished. See: Petricioli 1965, p. 175; Raukar, Petricioli, Švelec, Peričić 1987, p. 131.

17 See: Petricioli 1958, Fig. 2a.

18 Cf: Petricioli 1958b, p. 73, Fig. 23; Petricioli 1987, p. 105, P. 5. a.



Slika 1.

Tlocrt crkve s ucrtanim položajem sarkofaga (crtež: R. Maršić, J. Vučić).

Figure 1.

Ground plan of the church was position of sarcophagus marked (sketch: R. Maršić, J. Vučić)

uklesanim križevima ispod njega bilo vidljivo u cijelosti. Zbog izgradnje mlađih zidanih grobnica u brodu crkve, od kojih je jedna bila prislonjena uz lice sarkofaga, došlo je do podizanja razine poda crkve. Zbog toga je, u kasnijem razdoblju korištenja crkve, tekst natpisa bio dijelom zakriven, dok su križevi zakriveni u cijelosti (sl. 2, 3). Sarkofag je u terenskoj dokumentaciji označen kao Gr. 17. Na licu mjesta je dokumentiran i istražen je njegov sadržaj. U sarkofagu su zatečeni ostatci tri muške osobe zrele dobi i jedne mlađe ženske osobe (sl. 9).<sup>19</sup> Ženska osoba pokopana je s nakitom koji čine prsten raskovane glave i dvije brončane karičice ravno rezanih krajeva. Na dnu sarkofaga sačuvao se otisak pokojnika u kojem su pronađeni i

as much as 10 cm into the original floor, wherein its face adorned with an inscription and three engraved crosses below it were entirely visible. The church floor level was raised as a result of construction of younger stone-built tombs in the nave, one of which was set against the face of the sarcophagus. Thus, in the later period of the church's use, the text of the inscription was partially - and the crosses entirely - obscured (Fig. 2, 3). The sarcophagus was designated Gr. 17 in the field documentation. Its contents were documented and examined immediately on site. The remains of three adult males and one younger female were found in the sarcophagus (Fig. 9).<sup>19</sup> The female individual was interred with jewellery consisting of a ring with a hammered crown and two bronze ringlets with edges cut straight.

19 Kosturi su dijelom bili sačuvani u izvornom položaju, na temelju čega se mogla stvoriti slika o redosljedju pokapanja. Prvi je položen muškarac starosti između 40 i 50 godina, čije su kosti prilikom sljedećeg pokopa bile zgurane uz rub; potom je položen muškarac stariji od 50 godina, pa ženska osoba starosti 15 do 16 godina i na koncu muškarac u dobi između 45 i 55 godina. Antropološku analizu kostura načinili su dr. sc. Mario Novak i dr. sc. Mario Šlaus s Odsjeka za arheologiju HAZU u Zagrebu.

19 The skeletons were partially preserved in their original position, on which basis the order of interments can be surmised. The first to be laid was a man between 40 and 50 years of age; in the subsequent interment, his bones were pushed to one side, then a man over the age of 50 was interred, followed by a girl aged 15 to 16 and finally a man between the ages of 45 and 55. The bones underwent anthropological analysis by Mario Novak, Ph.D. and Mario Šlaus, Ph.D., from the Archeology Department of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Science in Zagreb.



Slika 2.  
Zatečeno stanje sarkofaga  
(foto: J. Vučić).

Figure 2.  
Condition of sarcophagus upon  
discovery (photograph: J. Vučić)



Slika 3.  
Lice sarkofaga i zid recentnije  
grobnice prislonjen uz njega  
(foto: J. Vučić).

Figure 3.  
Face of the sarcophagus and wall  
of a more recent tomb leaning  
against it (photograph: J. Vučić)

ostatci tkanine, koja se može vezati uz primarni ili sekundarni ukop.<sup>20</sup> Nakon završetka istraživanja sarkofag je prevezen u radionicu Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru na čišćenje, konzervaciju i restauraciju.

### Opis sarkofaga

Sarkofag čine niska pravokutna izdužena škrinja i ravni poklopac, načinjeni od kamena vapnenca (sl. 4).<sup>21</sup> Dužine je 198 cm, širine 66 cm i visine s poklopcem 51 cm, a bez poklopca 45 cm. Na licu, pri vrhu sarkofaga uklesan je u jednom retku natpis: *+HIC REQVIESCET GEORGIVS PECCATVR PRESBITER ET RECLAVSVS* (Ovdje počiva Juraj grešnik svećenik i reklauz) (sl. 5). Visina slova varira od 5,5 do 8,5 cm i donekle se povećava s lijeve nadesno. S lijeve strane klesar je natpis započeo na određenoj udaljenosti od ruba plohe, dok je na desnom kraju, zbog pomanjkanja prostora, posljednje slovo smjestio uz sam rub plohe. Ispod natpisa uklesana su tri elegantna latinska križa proširenih krajeva, dimenzija, s lijeve nadesno, 14 x 8,5 cm, 16 x 10 cm i 16,5 x 9,5 cm. Tjeme stražnje stranice i bočnih stranica sarkofaga završava prema rubu istaknutom profilacijom pravokutnog presjeka unutar koje je nalijegao poklopac. Pri vrhu užih bočnih stranica, s vanjske strane, uklesan je po jedan okomito

An imprint of the deceased was preserved on the bottom of the sarcophagus, in which the remains of fabric were found that may be linked to the primary or secondary interment.<sup>20</sup> Upon being examined, the sarcophagus was taken to the workshop of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar for cleaning, conservation and restoration.

### Description of the sarcophagus

The sarcophagus consists of a low rectangular oblong chest and a flat limestone lid (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> It has a length is 198 cm, a width of 66 cm and a height with lid of 51 cm, and 45 cm without the lid. On its face, near the top of the sarcophagus, an inscription is engraved in a single line: *+HIC REQVIESCET GEORGIVS PECCATVR PRESBITER ET RECLAVSVS* (Here lies Georgius, sinner, priest and recluse) (Fig. 5). The height varies from 5.5 to 8.5 cm and enlarges somewhat from left to right. The sculptor began the inscription from the left side at a certain distance from the edge of the surface, while at the right end, due to a lack of space, the final letter is at the very edge of the surface. Three elegant Latin crosses with expanded ends are engraved; from left to right, their dimensions are 14 x 8.5 cm, 16 x 10 cm and 16.5 x 9.5 cm. The top surface of the rear and lateral sides of the sarcophagus end toward the edge in prominent articulation with rectangular cross-section within which the lid was laid. Atop the lateral sides from the exterior, vertically oriented grooves

20 Uzorci tkanine poslani su prof. dr. sc. Emiri Pezelj na Zavod za materijale, vlakna i ispitivanje tekstila Tekstilno-tehnološkog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Pregledom je utvrđeno kako se radi o platnenom vezu s jasno vidljivim pređama, a za vlakna se pretpostavlja kako su životinjskog podrijetla (vuna ili dlaka).

21 Analizom uzoraka kamena koju je načinila prof. dr. sc. Vlasta Čosović s Geološkog odsjeka PMF-a, utvrđeno je kako se vapnenac od kojeg su načinjeni poklopac i škrinja ne podudaraju.

20 Fabric samples were sent to Prof. Emira Pezelj, Ph.D., at the Materials, Fibers and Textile Examination Department of the Textile Technology Faculty of the University of Zagreb. Upon examination, it was determined that this is a linen weave with clearly visible threads, while the fibers are assumed to be of animal origin (wool or fur).

21 An analysis of stone samples conducted by Prof. Vlasta Čosović, Ph.D., from the Geology Department of the Faculty of Natural Science and Mathematics ascertained that the limestone used to make the lid and chest do not match.



Slika 4.

Sarkofag u radionici, prije konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata  
(foto: J. Vučić).

Figure 4.

The sarcophagus in the workshop prior to conservation/restoration works  
(photograph: J. Vučić)



Slika 5.

Lice sarkofaga (crtež: J. Vučić).

Figure 5.

Face of the sarcophagus (sketch: J. Vučić)

usmjeren žlijeb koji završava rupom za fiksiranje metalne zatege. Unutar sarkofaga isklesan je na jednome kraju kameni jastuk za polaganje glave pokojnika, a u drugom dijelu uklesana su četiri plitka nepravilna žlijeba koja vode do grubo uklesane ljevkaste rupe namijenjene odvođenju tekućina. Rupa je na vrhu promjera oko 8 cm, a na dnu oko 1 cm. Stranice sarkofaga debljine su oko 10 cm.

Na ploham sarkofaga uočljiv je različit tretman završne obrade iz kojeg se može iščitati postupak njegove izrade. Na

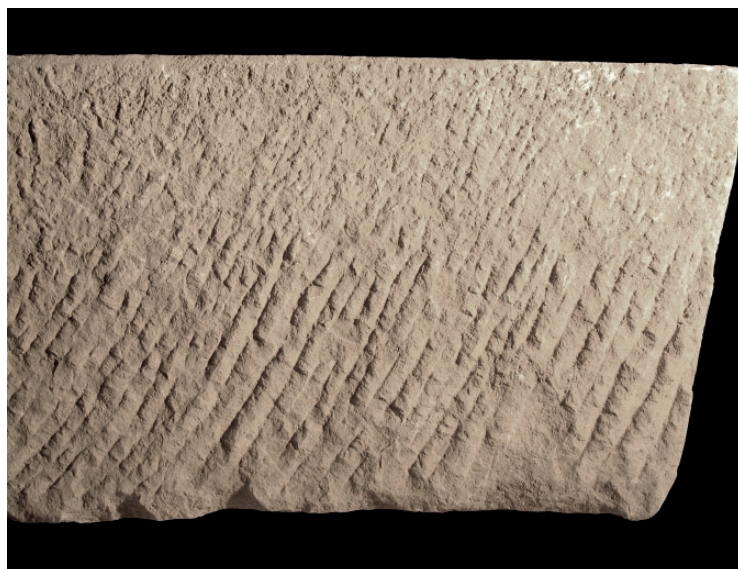
are engraved which end in holes for affixing metal fasteners. Inside the sarcophagus, a stone pillow is carved on one side for laying the head of the deceased, while in another part four shallow irregular grooves are engraved which lead to coarsely carved funnel-shaped holes intended for draining liquids. The hole at the top has a diameter of 8 cm, and approximately 1 cm at the bottom. The sides of the sarcophagus are approximately 10 cm thick.

Different treatment of the final dressing is apparent on the surfaces of the sarcophagus, which make it possible to decipher the



*Slika 6.*  
Završna obrada površina u  
unutrašnjosti sarkofaga  
(foto: J. Vučić).

*Figure 6.*  
Finishing work on the surface of  
the inside of the sarcophagus  
(photograph: J. Vučić)



*Slika 7.*  
Obrada stražnje strane  
sarkofaga s ostacima tzv.  
rigada (foto: J. Vučić).

*Figure 7.*  
Dressing on the rear side of the  
sarcophagus with the remains  
of so-called stripes (photograph:  
J. Vučić)

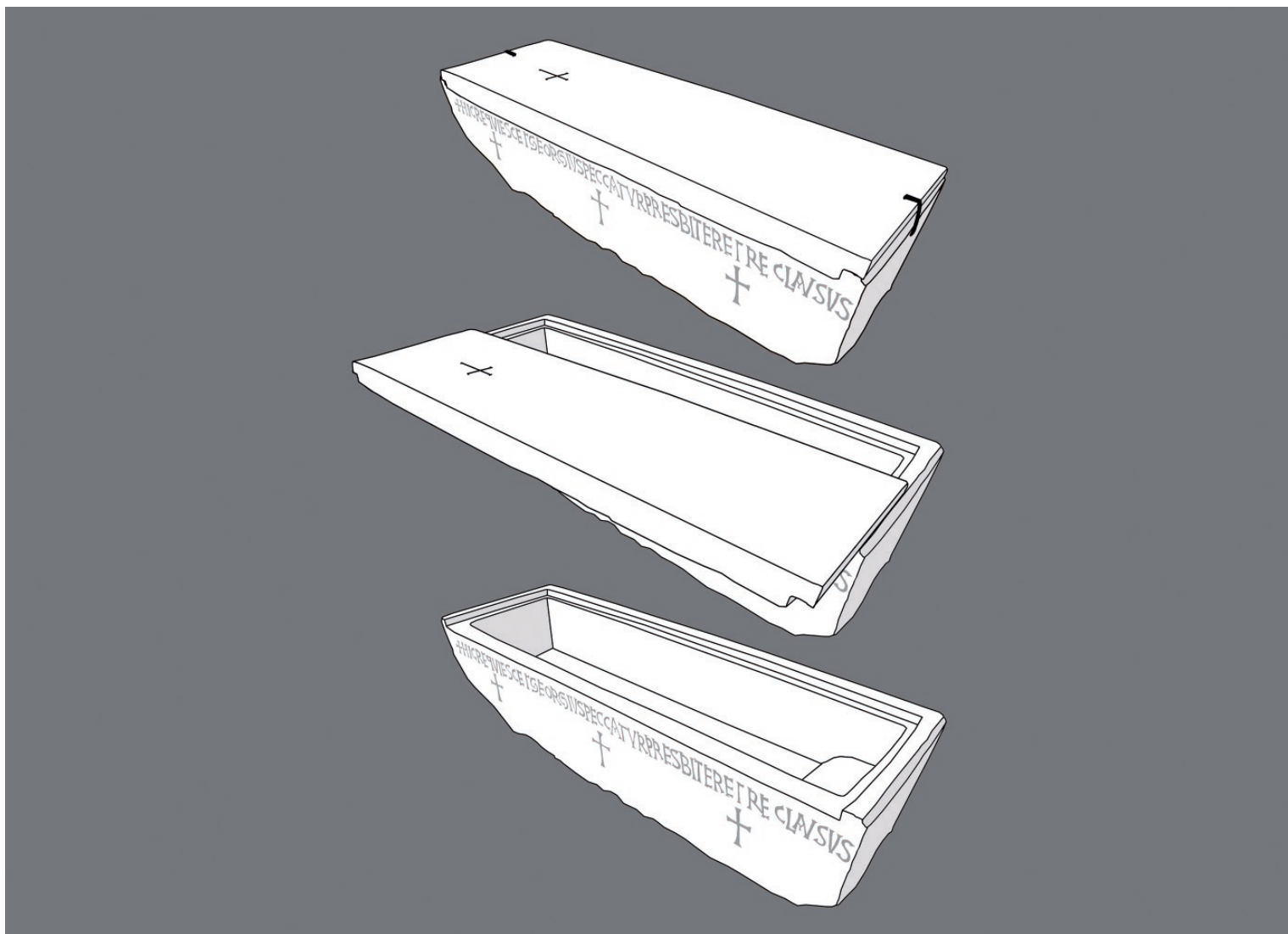
vanjskoj površini lijeve i stražnje stranice sarkofaga u donjem dijelu uočavaju se duboke usporedne zakrivljene brazde (rigade, strije), kakve obično nastaju u kamenolomu tijekom postupka kopanja uskih kanala korištenih za izoliranje i vađenje blokova kamena (pašarini) (sl. 7). Na gornjem dijelu navedenih stranica strije su upotrebom šiljatog dlijeta dijelom zaravnane. Lice i desna strana imaju znatno kvalitetniju završnu obradu, izvedenu nazubljenim dlijetom. Slova i križevi na licu uklesani su finijim dlijetom. Tjeme stranica sarkofaga obrađeno je nazubljenim dlijetom, kao i unutrašnje površine stranica, dok je dno u sarkofagu obrađeno grublje, upotrebom šiljatog dlijeta (sl. 6). Dno unutar sarkofaga produbljivano je dodatno i nakon završne obrade unutrašnjih stranica, što se jasno manifestira završetkom tragova nazubljenog dlijeta u ravnoj liniji nešto iznad samog dna. S donje strane sarkofaga uz rubove uočavaju se tragovi obrade šiljatim dlijetom, dok je sredina neobrađena. Veći broj udubljenja uz rubove na dnu sarkofaga možda ima veze s upotrebom drvenih klinova za odvajanje bloka u kamenolomu, čije je bubrenje moglo uzrokovati pucanje kamena.

Poklopac sarkofaga ima oblik ravne pravokutne ploče debljine do 9,5 cm. Na donjoj je plohi uz stražnju stranu i dvije bočne kraće strane uklesan pravokutni žlijeb koji je služio nalijeganju poklopca na škrinju sarkofaga. Zahvaljujući ovim žlijebovima, poklopac se sa sarkofaga mogao dizati povlačenjem preko prednje stranice, što je znatno olakšavalo njegovo otvaranje i zatvaranje, a prema tome i višekratno korištenje (sl. 8). Na tjemenu poklopca uklesana su dva latinska križa proširenih krajeva, manji dimenzija 17 x 14 cm i veći, koji je naknadno otučen, dimenzija 32,5 x 23 cm. Uz rubove na bočnim krajevima tjemena poklopca uklesan je po jedan žlijeb koji završava pravokutnim utorom u kojem su pronađeni ostatci željeznih

procedure by which it was made. Deep parallel curved furrows (called stripes or streaks) are notable on the external surface of the left and rear side of the sarcophagus in the lower section, which normally emerge in the quarry during the digging of narrow gutters used to isolate and extract stone blocks (Fig. 7). On the upper section of these sides, the streaks were partially straightened with the use of a pointed chisel. The finishing work on the face and right side is of a much higher quality, rendered by use of a toothed chisel. The letters and crosses on the face were carved with a finer chisel. The tops of the sarcophagus sides were worked with a toothed chisel, as were the internal surfaces of the sides, while the bottom of the sarcophagus was more coarsely worked, by use of a pointed chisel (Fig. 6). The inside bottom of the sarcophagus was additionally deepened even after finishing work of the inside walls, which is clearly indicated by the end of the toothed chisel traces in a straight line slightly above the very bottom. Traces of work with a pointed chisel can be observed from the lower side of the sarcophagus along the edges, while the middle is unworked. A high number of depressions along the edges at the bottom of the sarcophagus may be tied to the use of wooden pegs to separate the blocks in the quarry, and their expansion could have led to cracks in the stone.

The sarcophagus lid is shaped like a straight rectangular plate with a thickness of 9.5 cm. On the lower surface, a rectangular groove was carved along the rear and two shorter lateral sides, which was used to set the lid onto the sarcophagus. Thanks to these grooves, the sarcophagus lid could be lifted by pulling it over the front side, which greatly eased its opening and closing, thus enabling its use on multiple occasions (Fig. 8). Two Latin crosses with expanded ends were carved atop the lid, a smaller one with dimensions of 17 x 14 cm and a larger one which was subsequently chipped to dimensions of 32.5 x 23 cm. A groove was carved along each of the edges on the lateral ends of the top side of the lid, which end in rectangular slots in which the remains of lead-coated iron fasteners were found. These





Slika 8.

Prikaz otvaranja sarkofaga izvlačenjem poklopca preko prednje strane (crtež: J. Vučić).

Figure 8.

Depiction of the opening of the sarcophagus by drawing the lid over the frontal side (sketch: J. Vučić)

zatega zaliveni olovom, a služili su fiksiranju poklopca za škrinju. Završna obrada ploha poklopca izvedena je gotovo u cijelosti nazubljenim dljetom, osim križeva, koji su izrađeni pomoću finijeg dljeta i uklanjanja većeg križa, za što je korišteno šiljato dljetom. Tjeme poklopca dobrim je dijelom uglačano, vjerojatno tijekom duže upotrebe, od sjedenja ili gaženja.

Tragovi kopanja pašarina i puknuća, koja su mogla nastati zbog bubrenja drvenog klina, uočljivi na površini sarkofaga svjedoče o tehnici vađenja kamenog bloka kakva se na našim prostorima uobičajila od vremena antike, a prepoznata je na većem broju starih kamenoloma u Dalmaciji.<sup>22</sup> Pojedine

served to affix the lid to the chest. The finishing work on the lid was rendered almost entirely with the use of a toothed chisel, with the exception of the crosses which were made with the help of a finer chisel, and the removal of the larger cross which entailed the use of a pointed chisel. The top of the lid is mostly smooth, probably a result of long use, from people sitting or treading upon it.

The traces of digging the gutter and the fissures which may have been caused by the expansion of the wooden pegs noticeable on the surface of the sarcophagus testify to the technique used to extract stone blocks that was customary in this region since Antiquity, and recognized at a considerable number of older quarries in Dalmatia.<sup>22</sup>

22 O starim tehnikama vađenja kamena i o kamenolomima vidi: Gjivoje 1970; Zaninović 1980, str. 32-34; Šarić 1980. Rigade preostale od kopanja pašarina uočavaju se i na dnu stražnje strane sarkofaga iz crkve sv. Donata, na istom sarkofagu, na dnu bočnih stranica uočavaju se tragovi lomova možda izazvanih korištenjem klinova za odlamanje kamenog bloka. Usporedi: Belošević 1968, T. 12.

22 On old stone extraction techniques and quarries, see: Gjivoje 1970; Zaninović 1980, pp. 32-34; Šarić 1980. Furrows remaining from the digging of gutters have also been observed on the bottom of the rear side of the sarcophagus in the Church of St. Donatus, and on this same sarcophagus, traces of breakage are visible on the bottom of the lateral sides, perhaps caused by the use of wedges to break it off of a stone block. Cf. Belošević 1968, P. 12.

nedosljednosti, poput izloženosti uže neobrađene stranice pogledu, ostatak starijeg žlijeba uz vanjski rub tjemena desne uže stranice sarkofaga koji nije namijenjen zatvaranju zatečenim poklopcem, uklanjanje velikog uklesanog križa s tjemena poklopcu te nesimetrično pozicioniranje natpisa na licu sarkofaga, ukazuju na mogućnost naknadne prerade, odnosno preupotrebe sarkofaga ili odstupanje od prvotne ideje već tijekom izrade.

### Oblikovne značajke sarkofaga

Malim dimenzijama, tankim stjenkama i niskim profilom ili, jednom riječju, izostankom monumentalnosti, ovaj sarkofag kao da počiva na zasadama koje su znatno ranije postulirale domaće radionice ranokršćanskih sarkofaga.<sup>23</sup> I klišeizirani epitaf svećeniku Jurju, karakterističan za ranosrednjovjekovno razdoblje, također uzore nalazi na ranokršćanskim sarkofazima.<sup>24</sup>

Izostankom ukrasa, čiju funkciju preuzimaju natpis i skromno oblikovani križevi, ovaj je sarkofag blizak nizu spomenika datiranih u kraj 8. i prvu polovicu 9. st., poput škrinje za relikvije sv. Anastazije u katedrali u Zadru, sarkofaga majstora Ivana i Gariberta iz Vallsura kraj Galižane i sarkofaga građanina Andreacija i njegove žene Marije iz Kotora, s kojim dijeli i istovjetnu koncepciju smještanja natpisa iznad tri simetrično postavljena križa.<sup>25</sup> Sadržajem i smještajem epitafa sarkofagu svećenika Jurja blizak je i sarkofag nadbiskupa Ivana iz Splita datiran u konac 8. st.<sup>26</sup> Razliku među njima predstavlja ukras ispod natpisa koji na zadarskom sarkofagu čine tri nenametljivo uklesana križa, dok se na splitskom pojavljuju kvadratna polja s motivom ljiljana, odvlačeći svojom pojavom pozornost s natpisa. Mali, bogato ukrašeni sarkofag iz zadarske katedrale datiran u drugu polovicu 8. st.,<sup>27</sup> makar u dekorativnom pogledu suprotne tendencije, pokazuje također određene sličnosti sa sarkofagom svećenika Jurja. One su ograničene na dio sadržaja prednje plohe, koja je, prihvati li se pretpostavka N. Jakšića o ranijem postojanju natpisa na danas praznoj vrpici,<sup>28</sup> na sebi nosila u gornjoj zoni natpis i pod njim tri križa. S natpisom svećenika i reklausa Jurja moguće

Individual inconsistencies, such as exposure of the narrower sides, the remainder of an older groove along the external edge of the top right-hand side of the sarcophagus not intended for closing with the current lid, the removal of the large engraved cross from the top of the lid and the non-symmetric positioning of the inscription on the sarcophagus face indicate the possibility of subsequent reworking, i.e., the re-use of the sarcophagus or alteration of the initial idea during its production.

### Formational characteristics of the sarcophagus

Based on its small dimensions, thin walls and low profile, or in a word, the absence of monumentalism, this sarcophagus rests on the tenets postulated considerably earlier by the domestic workshops that made Early Christian sarcophaguses.<sup>23</sup> Even the clichéd epitaph to Georgius, typical of the early medieval period, also had its antecedents on the Early Christian sarcophaguses.<sup>24</sup>

The absence of ornamentation, with this function performed by the inscription and the modestly rendered crosses, makes this sarcophagus similar to a series of monuments dated from the end of the eighth to the early ninth centuries, such as the reliquary of St. Anastasia in the cathedral in Zadar, the sarcophagus of Master John and Garibert of Vallsur near Galižana and the sarcophagus of the citizen Andreatius and his wife Maria from Kotor with which it shares an identical conception in placement of the inscription above three symmetrically set crosses.<sup>25</sup> Based on the content and position of the epitaph, the sarcophagus of Georgius and the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ivan from Split have been dated to the end of the eighth century.<sup>26</sup> The difference between them is the ornament below the inscription, which on the Zadar sarcophagus consists of three unimposing crosses, while on the Split sarcophagus there are square fields containing lilies, drawing attention away from the inscription. The small richly decorated sarcophagus from the Zadar cathedral dated to the latter half of the eighth century,<sup>27</sup> although exhibiting opposite tendencies in the decorative sense, also bears certain similarities to the sarcophagus of Georgius. These are limited to the content of the frontal surface, which, if one accepts the hypothesis of N. Jakšić on the earlier existence of an inscription on the now empty band,<sup>28</sup> had in its upper

23 Fisković 1981, str. 126; Fisković 1996, str. 123-124.

24 Delonga 2000a, str. 223-224, 230.

25 Uspoređi: Petricioli 1962, str. 252-253, T. I, T. 2; Delonga 2000c; Jakšić 2000a.

26 Tijekom duljeg razdoblje aktualna je bila pretpostavka kako je natpis na sarkofagu dodan tek nakon sredine 10. st., koju je svojedobno razradio Ž. Rapanić (Rapanić 1982, str. 239-243). U novije vrijeme sarkofag i natpis na njemu datirani su u konac 8. stoljeća i povezani uz istoimenoga splitskog nadbiskupa, koji je sudjelovao na koncilu 787. godine (Rapanić 2000, str. 138-140; Basić, Jurković 2011, str. 172-173, 175). Ovaj se sarkofag nekoć dovodio u vezu s nadbiskupom Ivanom Ravenjaninom, koji je navodno u 7. st. uredio i obnovio crkveni život u Splitu. U novije vrijeme ukazano je kako ne postoje valjani argumenti za odbacivanje historiciteta Ivana Ravenjanina. O tome opširnije: Basić 2005.

27 Petricioli 1960, str. 188-192, sl. 19.

28 Jakšić 2000b, str. 152-153.

23 Fisković 1981, p. 126; Fisković 1996, pp. 123-124.

24 Delonga 2000a, pp. 223-224, 230.

25 Cf.: Petricioli 1962, pp. 252-253, P. I, T. 2; Delonga 2000c; Jakšić 2000a.

26 For a considerable time, the accepted hypothesis was that the inscription was added to the sarcophagus only after the mid-tenth century, which was at one point elaborated by Ž. Rapanić (Rapanić 1982, pp. 239-243). In more recent years, the sarcophagus and the inscription on it have been dated to the end of the eighth century and linked to the Split archbishop of the same name who participated in the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 (Rapanić 2000, pp. 138-140; Basić, Jurković 2011, pp. 172-173, 175). This sarcophagus was once linked to Archbishop John of Ravenna, who allegedly organized and renewed clerical life in Split in the seventh century. More recently, it has been demonstrated that there are no valid arguments to reject the historicity of John of Ravenna. For more on this: Basić 2005.

27 I. Petricioli 1960, pp. 188-192, Fig. 19.

28 N. Jakšić 2000b, pp. 152-153.

je usporediti i jednoredne natpise ravenatskih nadbiskupa Teodora, Feliksa i Sergia, naknadno uklesane na poklopce sarkofaga preupotrijebljenih koncem 7. st. te 723. i 769. godine.<sup>29</sup>

Natpis na sarkofagu svećenika Jurja čini 15 grafema. Većina je slova klesana u kapitali, dok se *T* javlja u uncijali i kapitali, a *G* i *Q* u uncijali. U jednom slučaju slova *A* i *V* izvedena su u ligaturi. Kao specifični mogu se istaknuti grafemi *B*, *E*, *P* i *R*, s produženim okomitim hastama, tipičnima i za natpise na škrinji sv. Stošije, sarkofagu Andreacija i Marije iz Kotora i sarkofagu Ivana i Gariberta iz Vallsura kraj Galižane. Grafem *G* predočen na sarkofagu svećenika Jurja s dva odvojena poteza, uočava se i na natpisima na škrinji sv. Stošije, sarkofagu nadbiskupa Ivana iz Splita i sarkofagu Andreacija i Marije iz Kotora. Među osobitosti natpisa svećenika Jurja spada i grafem *A*, s prelomljenom vodoravnom hastom, poput onih na škrinji sv. Stošije i sarkofagu nadbiskupa Ivana iz Splita, zatim grafem *V*, s produženom donjom hastom, oblikovan slično onima na relikvijaru sv. Stošije, te slova *C* i *O*, koja su znatno kraća od ostalih.

Na izraz *peccatur* umjesto *peccator*, donesen u specifičnoj formi vulgarnog latiniteta na škrinji sv. Stošije, već je ranije ukazao I. Petricioli.<sup>30</sup> Istovjetna pojava na gredama s imenom biskupa Donata iz zadarske katedrale,<sup>31</sup> prikazuje ovaj izraz uobičajenom pojavom za spomenike Donatova vremena u Zadru.

Temeljem navedenih usporedbi evidentno je kako se sarkofag svećenika Jurja uklapa u oblikovne i dekorativne standarde istovrsnih spomenika iz vremena konca 8. i prve polovice 9. st. na istočnoj obali Jadrana.

Uz već spomenute u Zadru se nalaze i drugi vremenski podudarni sarkofazi, poput sarkofaga ukrašenog nizom arkada, pronađenog u crkvi sv. Donata, sarkofaga od kojeg je sačuvana tek prednja stranica, pronađenog na groblju u Zadru, te većeg broja ulomaka.<sup>32</sup> Podalje od obale vremenski bliski sarkofazi rađeni su uglavnom od antičkih spolija s minornim apliciranjem suvremenog ukrasa, poput dva iz Galovca kod Zadra i jednog iz Biskupije kod Knina.<sup>33</sup> I u Zadru kod ulaza crkve Stomorice te u crkvi sv. Lovre pronađeni su sarkofazi načinjeni od antičkih polustupova ukrašeni tek križem na poklopcu.<sup>34</sup>

portion an inscription with three crosses below it. The inscription of Georgius, preist and recluse, can also be compared to the single-line inscriptions of the Ravenna archbishops Theodore, Felix and Sergius, subsequently carved onto the lids of sarcophaguses used at the end of the seventh century and in 723 and 769.<sup>29</sup>

The inscription on the sarcophagus dedicated to Georgius consists of 15 graphemes. Most of the letters were carved in capitals, while the letter *T* appears in uncials and capitals, and *G* and *Q* in uncials. In one case, the letters *A* and *V* are rendered in ligature. The graphemes *B*, *E*, *P* and *R* with extended vertical bars may be distinguished as a specific group, typical of the inscriptions on the chest of St. Anastasia, the sarcophagus of Andreatius and Maria from Kotor and the sarcophagus of John and Garibert from Vallsur near Galižana. The grapheme *G* rendered on the sarcophagus of Georgius in two strokes can also be observed on the inscriptions on the reliquary of St. Anastasia, the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ivan from Split and the sarcophagus of Andreatius and Maria from Kotor. The specific features of the inscription of Georgius include the letter *A* with broken horizontal bar, like those on the reliquary of St. Anastasia and the sarcophagus of Archbishop Ivan from Split, and the grapheme *V* with extended lower bar formed similarly to those on the reliquary of St. Anastasia, and the letters *C* and *O* indicated considerably shorter than the rest.

Petricioli had already earlier highlighted the expression *peccatur* instead of *peccator*, made in a specific form of Vulgar Latin on the reliquary of St. Anastasia.<sup>30</sup> Its appearance on the beams bearing the name of Bishop Donatus from the Zadar cathedral<sup>31</sup> demonstrates that this expression was a standard phenomenon on monuments during the era of Donatus in Zadar.

Based on the aforementioned comparisons, it is evident that the sarcophagus of Georgius complies with the formational and decorative standards of identical monuments on the eastern Adriatic dated to the late eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries.

Besides the above-mentioned examples in Zadar, there are also other chronologically corresponding sarcophaguses such as the sarcophagus adorned with a row of arcades, found in the Church of St. Donatus, the front side of a sarcophagus found in the cemetery in Zadar, and a considerable number of fragments.<sup>32</sup> Farther from the coast, the sarcophaguses of roughly the same time were generally made from Antique spolia with minimum application of contemporary ornamentation, such as two from Galovac near Zadar and one from Biskupija near Knin.<sup>33</sup> In Zadar as well, at the entrance to the Stomorica church and in the Church of St. Lawrence, sarcophaguses were found which were made of Antique semi-columns adorned only with a cross on the lid.<sup>34</sup>

29 Bucci 1968, 41-44, 56-57, kat. 20, 24, 58.

30 Petricioli 1962, str. 253.

31 Vežić 1990, str. 56, 59, 62; Vežić 2000.

32 Belošević 1968, str. 275-280, T. 7-13.

33 Belošević 1996; Jakšić 2000c.

34 Smirich 1894, str. 19, kat. 38; Petricioli 1968, str. 254, T. 12; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 136.

29 Bucci 1968, pp. 41-44, 56-57, cat. 20, 24, 58.

30 Petricioli 1962, p. 253.

31 Vežić 1990, pp. 56, 59, 62; Vežić 2000.

32 Belošević 1968, pp. 275-280, P. 7-13.

33 Belošević 1996; Jakšić 2000c.

34 Smirich 1894, p. 19, cat. 38; Petricioli 1968, p. 254, T. 12; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, p. 136.



Slika 9.

Ukopi zatečeni u sarkofagu (foto: J. Vučić).

- 4. ukop
- 3. ukop
- 2. ukop

### Datiranje sarkofaga

U sarkofagu su, kako je već spomenuto, pronađene kosti četvero pokojnika, čiji su uzorci poslani na radiokarbonsku analizu.<sup>35</sup> Dobiveni rezultati u skladu su s relativnim datiranjem ukopanih pokojnika temeljenim na međudnosu njihovih ostataka (sl. 9); uz to, mjerenje starosti kostura mlađe ženske osobe polučilo je i u apsolutno kronološkim okvirima očekivani rezultat, budući da se brončane karike ravno rezanih krajeva koje su pripadale ovoj pokojnici, mogu datirati od sredine 10. do konca 11. st.<sup>36</sup> Ipak, rezultate dobivene ovim mjerenjem teško je uskladiti s rezultatima apsolutnog datiranja natpisa na sarkofagu dobivenim komparativnom metodom. Kako je tijekom posljednjeg ukopa spoj sarkofaga i poklopca zabrtvljen žbukom, pri čemu je velikim dijelom zakriven i natpis na sarkofagu, najmlađi se ukop ne može dovoditi u vezu s natpisom. U prilog

Figure 9.

Interments found in the sarcophagus (photograph: J. Vučić)

- fourth interment
- third interment
- second interment

### Dating of the sarcophagus

As noted above, the bones of four deceased individuals were found in the sarcophagus, samples of which underwent radiocarbon analysis.<sup>35</sup> The results obtained comply with the relative dating of the buried individuals based on the interrelation between their remains (Fig. 9), and the measurement of the bones of the younger female individual additionally yielded the expected result in an absolute chronological framework since the bronze ringlets with cut ends belonging to her may be dated from the mid-tenth century to the end of the eleventh century.<sup>36</sup> Even so, the results obtained by these measurements are difficult to align with the results of absolute dating of the inscription on the sarcophagus reached using the comparative method. Since the space between the sarcophagus and lid was sealed with mortar during the final interment, which largely concealed the inscription on it, the last interment cannot be linked to the inscription. This is also

35 Ispitivanja je proveo dr. Alexander Dreves na Leibniz Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung Christian-Albrechts-Universität u Kielu, a rezultati se donose na temelju njegova službenog izvješća. Za najmlađi, četvrti po redu ukop, zbog loše očuvanosti kostiju i izostanka kolagena u njima, nije bilo moguće obaviti ispitivanje. Treći po redu ukop, mlađe ženske osobe, datiran je između 888. i 990. godine, drugi ukop datiran je između 577. i 646. godine, dok su kosti najstarijeg pokojnika datirane između 541. i 601. godine.

36 Sokol 2006, 257-258. Za razliku od većine ranijih autora, koji drže kako je ova skupina naušnica karakteristična za jako široko vremensko razdoblje, u novije je vrijeme V. Sokol na temelju opsežne analize ponudio uže kronološke okvire njihove upotrebe. Datacija koju predlaže, prihvatljiva je posebno za skupinu velikih brončanih karika sličnih ovima iz sarkofaga, dok su manji primjerci, rađeni često i od srebra, česti i tijekom kasnijeg vremena.

35 The testing was conducted by Dr. Alexander Dreves at the Leibniz Labor für Altersbestimmung und Isotopenforschung Christian-Albrechts-Universität in Kiel, and the results are cited on the basis of his official report. Testing for the youngest, fourth interment could not be done because of the poor state of preservation of the bones and absence of collagen in them. The third burial, the young female individual, was dated between 888 and 990, the second was dated between 577 and 646, while the bones of the oldest deceased were dated between 541 and 601.

36 Sokol 2006, 257-258. As opposed to most earlier scholars, who maintained that this group of earrings is typical of a broad chronological period, more recently V. Sokol offered a narrower chronological framework for their use based on an extensive analysis. The dating he proposed is acceptable in particular for the group of large bronze ringlets similar to these from the sarcophagus, while smaller examples, often made of silver, were frequent during later periods.

tome govori i njegova očito kasna datacija, ne prije sredine 10 st., temeljena na jasnom stratigrafskom odnosu prema mlađoj pokojnici pokopanoj s nakitom. Prema tome, natpis na sarkofagu može se dovoditi u vezu s dvama najstarijim ukopima. Oni su, pak, kako se za sada čini, najmanje 150 godina raniji od pretpostavljenog vremena nastanka natpisa. Jedan od mogućih uzroka takvog neslaganja mogla bi biti pogreška u uzimanju uzoraka ili pak u samom mjerenju. Ipak, uvažavajući za sada dobivene rezultate, na čijoj provjeri svakako treba inzistirati u skorijoj budućnosti, potrebno je razmotriti i druge moguće uzroke nesuglasja. Znatno ranija datacija primarnog ukopa može se lako opravdati pretpostavkom kako je tu riječ o prvom vlasniku sarkofaga, iz vremena kasne antike, čiji su ostatci prilikom naknadnog korištenja i djelomične preinake sarkofaga zgurani u stranu.<sup>37</sup> Takvu pretpostavku donekle podupiru i naznake naknadne prerade sarkofaga spomenute prilikom njegova opisa. U tom slučaju natpis bi se odnosio na sekundarni ukop, koji radiokarbonsko mjerenje datira između 577. i 646. godine. No i on je znatno stariji od pretpostavljenog vremena nastanka natpisa. Znatno ranija datacija u odnosu na natpis u ovom bi se slučaju mogla pravdati mogućnošću naknadnog klesanja natpisa prilikom odavanja počasti ili oživljavanja sjećanja zajednice ili obitelji na davno preminulog uglednog člana pokopanog u anepigrafskom sarkofagu. Pretpostavimo li kako su datumi dobiveni radiokarbonskim mjerenjima točni u cijelosti ili približno, ne smije se odbaciti ni mogućnost datiranja samog natpisa znatno ranije negoli to ukazuju njegove oblikovne značajke, to jest u prvu polovicu 7. st., što se za sada čini manje vjerojatnim.

### Svećenik i reklauz Juraj

Juraj, odnosno *Georgius* u epitafu se titulira kao *presbiter* i *reclusus*. Pojam *reclusus* označava osobu koja je živjela specifičan oblik monaškog, odnosno asketskog života, u zatvoreništvu, osamljenosti i izolaciji od svijeta. Za razliku od eremita, koji izdvojenost od svijeta ostvaruju bijegom u nepristupačne i nenaseljene prostore, reklauzi svoju samoću žive u naseljenim mjestima, u malenim izoliranim prostorijama, ćelijama ili celama obično smještenim u okviru kakvog samostana ili uz crkve.<sup>38</sup> Za ovaj oblik monaštva korišteni su tijekom povijesti razni izrazi, a u merovinškoj epohi afirmirali su se izrazi *inclusus* i *reclusus*.<sup>39</sup> Inače, ovakav oblik monaškog života u kršćanskoj zajednici pojavio se na Istoku tijekom 3. ili 4. stoljeća nakon Krista. Način njihova života slikovito opisuje priča o dva palestinska monaha, Barsanufiju i Ivanu Proroku, koji su živjeli kao reklauzi uz samostan u Thawati. Ostali monasi komunicirali su s njima jedino

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“GEORGIVS PECCATVR PRESBITER ET RECLAUSVS”

backed by its obviously late dating, not before the tenth century, based on the clear stratigraphic relationship with the youngest deceased buried with jewellery. Therefore, the inscription on the sarcophagus may be linked to the two oldest interments. These took place, it would now appear, a minimum of 150 years earlier than the assumed time when the inscription was made. One of the possible causes for this incongruity may be an error in the sample extraction or even in the measurement itself. Nonetheless, taking into account the results thus far obtained - a verification of which must be insisted upon in the near future - it is necessary to consider other possible causes for the incongruities. The considerably earlier dating of the primary burial may be easily explained by the assumption that this was the first owners of the sarcophagus from Late Antiquity, whose remains were pushed to one side during subsequent use and partial refurbishment of the sarcophagus.<sup>37</sup> Such an assumption is supported somewhat by indications of the subsequent reworking of the sarcophagus mentioned above in its description. In this case, the inscription would refer to a secondary interment which the radiocarbon dating placed between 577 and 646. However, even this is considerably older than the assumed time when the inscription appeared. The considerably earlier dating in relation to the inscription could in this case be explained by the possibility of carving of the inscription after the fact when the deceased was commemorated or the community or family revived the memory of a long-deceased respected member buried in an anepigraphic inscription. Insofar as it is assumed that the dates obtained by radiocarbon dating are entirely or approximately accurate, the possibility of dating the inscription itself to a time much earlier than indicated by its stylistic features - i.e., the first half of the seventh century - should not be rejected, although this seems less likely at this point.

### Georgius the Priest and Recluse

Georgius (George, Croatian *Juraj*), is referred to as *presbiter* and *reclusus* on the epitaph. The term *reclusus* denoted a person who lived a specific monastic or ascetic lifestyle in seclusion, solitude and isolation from the world. As opposed to hermits, whose separation from the world was achieved by fleeing into inaccessible and uninhabited areas, recluses lived in solitude in inhabited places, in small isolated rooms or cells normally situated in a monastery or next to a church.<sup>38</sup> This form of monasticism was called different names throughout history, and in the Merovingian era the expressions *inclusus* and *reclusus* were affirmed.<sup>39</sup> Otherwise, this form of monastic life appeared in Christian communities in the east during the third or fourth century. Their lifestyle is picturesquely described by a story about two Palestinian monks, Barsanuphius and Venerable John, who lived as recluses in a monastery in Palestine. Other monks communicated with them only by letters, which were taken to them

37 Činjenica da je kostur primarno ukopanog pokojnika zgurani u stranu, čak i ne uzimajući u obzir radiokarbonske datume, govori u prilog njegovu nevezivanju uz natpis na sarkofagu.

38 Gougaud 1928, str. 55.

39 Gougaud 1928, str. 57.

37 The fact that the skeleton of the first interred deceased was pushed to the side, even without taking into consideration the radiocarbon dates, speaks in favor of its non-connection with the inscription on the sarcophagus.

38 Gougaud 1928, p. 55.

39 Gougaud 1928, p. 57.

posredstvom pisama koja im je prenosio opat. Nakon dužeg vremena monasi su počeli sumnjati u njihovo postojanje, misleći kako ih je opat zapravo izmislio. Da bi očuvao mir u samostanu, starac Barsanufije je tada jedini put izašao iz ćelije, bez i jedne riječi oprao je noge svim monasima i opet se povukao u ćeliju.<sup>40</sup> U 6. st., prema pisanju Grgura iz Toursa, vidljivo je kako je ovaj oblik monaštva učestao i na prostoru Galije.<sup>41</sup> Na crkvenim koncilima u Toledo 646., Trullu 692. i Frankfurtu 794. godine posebni kanoni bili su posvećeni reklauzima.<sup>42</sup> Trulski je sabor u kanonu 41. propisao pravila uvođenja osoba u osamljenički način života.<sup>43</sup> Za početak, od kandidata se zahtijevala trogodišnja kušnja u samostanu, potom razgovor s lokalnim biskupom, nakon čega je trebala proteći još jedna godina prije konačnog uvođenja u zatvoreništvo. Također, navodi se kako bez iznimno opravdana razloga i dopuštenja lokalnog biskupa monah ne smije napuštati ćeliju. Koncem 9. ili početkom 10. st. monah Grimlaicus, koji je, kako se pretpostavlja živio pokraj Metza, napisao je *Regula solitariorum*, prvu zbirku pravila kojom se regulira život reklauzi.<sup>44</sup> U poglavlju 18. on definira i pravila primanja u reklauzuru svećenika koji nisu živjeli u monaškoj zajednici. Pri tome nalaže da oni nakon što su prošli kušnju moraju živjeti dvije godine u zajednici s braćom, a tek potom, ako su i dalje ustrajni u svojoj nakani, smiju pristupiti samotnjačkom načinu života.<sup>45</sup> Na temelju navedenog moguće je stvoriti djelomičan uvid u život zadarskog reklauzi Jurja. Pretpostaviti je kako se, nakon dijela života provedenog kao svećenik, Juraj odlučio na život u zatvoreništvu unutar zidova monaške ćelije. Nakon te odluke vjerojatno je prošao razdoblje kušnje, tijekom koje ga je možda ispitivao i lokalni biskup. Prolaskom kušnje koje su se pred njega stavljale, stupio je u izolaciju svoje ćelije, koja se mogla nalaziti u sklopu kojega gradskog samostana ili pak uz neku od gradskih crkava. Epitaf na sarkofagu daje za pravo pretpostavci kako je u tom zavjetu ustrajao do kraja.

U kontekstu pronalaska sarkofaga potrebno je ponovno se osvrnuti na ulomak kamenog natpisa +ANANIAS AZARI, prepoznat kao odlomak starozavjetnog teksta *Canticum trium puerorum* (Dn 3, 88), pronađen kod crkve sv. Petra od Vitla 1884. godine, do sada objavljen nekoliko puta.<sup>46</sup> U novije vrijeme V. Delonga je ukazala na logično izvorište ovog natpisa vezano uz liturgijsku praksu tog vremena.<sup>47</sup> Ipak, pronalazak sarkofaga u kom je pokopan reklauz Juraj, pruža i dodatnu mogućnost interpretacije ishodišta teksta uklesanog na kamenom spomeniku. Naime, u sistematskoj zbirci izreka pustinjskih

by the abbot. After a time the monks began to doubt their existence, thinking that the abbot had actually made them up. In order to preserve peace in the monastery, the elderly Barsanuphius left his cell the only time, and without uttering a word he washed the feet of all of the monks and then once more withdrew to his cell.<sup>40</sup> In the sixth century, according to the writings of Gregory of Tours this type of monasticism was also common in the territory of Gaul.<sup>41</sup> At the church councils held in Toledo in 646, Trullo in 692 and Frankfurt in 794, special canons were dedicated to recluses.<sup>42</sup> Canon 41 of the Council in Trullo stipulated the rules for the induction of a person to the solitary lifestyle.<sup>43</sup> Initially, candidates were required to undergo a three-year probation in a monastery, and then an interview with a bishop, after which a year was supposed to pass before their final introduction to seclusion. It was also specified that a monk could not leave the cell without an exceptionally justified reason and permission from the local bishop. At the end of the ninth and early tenth centuries, the monk Grimlaicus who, it is assumed, lived near Metz, wrote the *Regula solitariorum*, the first rules to regulate the lives of solitaires.<sup>44</sup> In chapter 18 he also defined the rules for the admittance of priests who did not live in a monastic community into the solitary life. In this, he stipulated that after passing through their probation they had to live in commune with the brothers for two years, and only then, if they continued to insist in their intent, could they enter the solitary life.<sup>45</sup> Based on this, it is possible to create some insight into the life of the Zadar recluse Georgius. It may be assumed that after a part of his life spent as a priest, Georgius decided to live in seclusion inside the walls of a monastic cell. After this decision, he probably underwent a probationary period during which he was probably also questioned by the local bishop. After passing through the probation set before him, he embarked upon the solitary life in the isolation of his cell, which may have been in the city's monastery or even next to one of the city's churches. The epitaph on the sarcophagus indicates that he probably fulfilled his vows to the end of his life.

In the context of the discovery of the sarcophagus, it is necessary to once more refer to the fragment of a stone inscription reading +ANANIAS AZARI, recognized as an excerpt of the Old Testament text *Canticum trium puerorum* (Dan. 3, 88) found at the Church of St. Peter of the Windlass in 1884, and thus far published on a number of occasions.<sup>46</sup> More recently, V. Delonga demonstrated the logical source of this inscription tied to the liturgical practices of the time.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, the discovery of the sarcophagus in which the George the Recluse was buried offers the additional possibility of interpreting the source of the text engraved on the stone monument. The systematic

40 Dorotej 2006, str. 142.

41 Gougaud 1928, str. 59.

42 Mansi 1764, str. 769-770; Mansi 1765, str. 963; Mansi 1767, str. 908; Gougaud 1928, str. 65.

43 Mansi 1765, str. 963.

44 Gougaud 1928, str. 62-63; Thornton 2011, str. 1-3.

45 Thornton 2011, str. 60-61.

46 Smirich 1894, str. 21, kat 69; Petricioli 1962, str. 258, kat. 8, T. V. a; Delonga 2000b, str. 167-168, T. III. 56.

47 Delonga 2000a, str. 225.

40 Dorotej 2006, p. 142.

41 Gougaud 1928, p. 59.

42 Mansi 1764, pp. 769-770; Mansi 1765, p. 963; Mansi 1767, p. 908; Gougaud 1928, p. 65.

43 Mansi 1765, p. 963.

44 Gougaud 1928, pp. 62-63; Thornton 2011, pp. 1-3.

45 Thornton 2011, pp. 60-61.

46 Smirich 1894, p. 21, cat. 69; Petricioli 1962, p. 258, cat. 8, P. V. a; Delonga 2000b, pp. 167-168, P. III. 56.

47 Delonga 2000a, p. 225.

otaca, u kojoj je sabran niz anegdota i moralnih pouka iz života i djelovanja ranokršćanske kolonije egipatskih pustinjaka, koja je već u 6. st. prevedena na latinski jezik, u poglavlju posvećenom ustrajnosti, uspoređuje se monaška ćelija s Babilonskom peći u kojoj su tri mladića pronašla Sina Božjeg.<sup>48</sup> Moguće je zapitati se nije li možda natpis nastao u kontekstu ukopa reklausa unutar crkve ili čak njegova obitavanja u ćeliji koja je mogla biti prigradna uz crkvu. Odlomak u kojem se ćelija pustinjaka uspoređuje sa Babilonskom peći, pronašao je svoje mjesto i u znatno kasnijem prijevodu *Izreka svetih otaca* na starohrvatski jezik koji se datira u 15. stoljeće.<sup>49</sup> Prijevod se dovodi u vezu sa skriptorijem zadarskog Sv. Krševana i franjevcima trećoredcima.<sup>50</sup>

Pohrana Jurjevih zemnih ostataka u kamenom sarkofagu, unutar crkve oko čije se gradnje ili preuređenja vjerojatno angažirao i znameniti zadarski biskup Donat, govori o tome koliko se Juraj svojim požrtvovnim životom dojmio sugrađana. Ovim je pronalaskom otprilike poznatima biskupu Donatu i duksu Pavlu priključen još jedan osobit Zadrani iz druge polovice 8. i početka 9. stoljeća, naravno, ukoliko se u budućnosti mjerodavnom pokaže datacija dobivena komparativnom metodom.<sup>51</sup>

collection known as the Sayings of the Desert Fathers, which contains a series of anecdotes and moral lessons from the lives and works of the Early Christian colonies of Egyptian hermits (translated into Latin already in the sixth century), has in its chapter on perseverance a comparison of the monk's cell "to the furnace in Babylon in which the three children found the Son of God".<sup>48</sup> One may ask whether it is possible that the inscription appeared in the context of the interment of the recluse inside a church or even his residence in the cell which may have been built as an addition to the church. The fragment in which the monk's cell is compared to the furnace in Babylon also found its place in a considerably later translation of the Sayings of the Holy Fathers into Early Croatian, which has been dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>49</sup> The translation has been linked to the scriptorium of Zadar's St. Chrysogonus and the Third Order Franciscans.<sup>50</sup>

The interment of the earthly remains of Georgius in a stone sarcophagus inside a church whose construction or renovation probably involved the noted Zadar Bishop Donatus, indicates how much Georgius impressed his fellow citizens with his ascetic life. This discovery adds another notable Zadar native from the late eighth and early ninth centuries to the names of Bishop Donatus and Duke Paul, naturally if the dating obtained by the comparative method is deemed authoritative in the future.<sup>51</sup>

48 *Cella monachi est caminus ille Babylonius, ubi tres pueri Filium Dei invenerunt.* Migne 1849, str. 902.

49 Malić 1997, str. 5-8, 175, [435]. Tekst na starohrvatskom glasi: *Are cela jest koludru peć ona z Babilonije kadi tri otroki sina božja najdoše.*

50 Malić 1997, str. 8-11, 15.

51 Uz Donata i Pavla za ovo vrijeme u Zadru vezuju se u različitim okolnostima i ime prefekta Dalmacije Ivana, mletačkih velikodostojnika Beata i Ivana te gradeškog biskupa Fortunata. Vidi: Ferluga 1957, str. 48-50, 61-62; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, str. 68-70, 72.

48 *Cella monachi est caminus ille Babylonius, ubi tres pueri Filium Dei invenerunt.* Migne 1849, p. 902.

49 Malić 1997, pp. 5-8, 175, [435]. In Early Croatian, the text reads: *"Are cela jest koludru peć ona z Babilonije kadi tri otroki sina božja najdoše"*.

50 Malić 1997, pp. 8-11, 15.

51 Besides Donatus and Paul, also tied to the period in Zadar are the name of the Dalmatian prefect John, the Venetian dignitaries Beato and John, and the Gradisca Bishop Fortunato. See: Ferluga 1957, pp. 48-50, 61-62; Klaić, Petricioli 1976, pp. 68-70, 72.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

ARR - Arheološki radovi i rasprave

HA - Histria Antiqua

HAG - Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak

HiK 1 - Hrvati i Karolinzi. Rasprave i vrela, A. Milošević (ed.), Split 2000.

HiK 2 - Hrvati i Karolinzi. Katalog, A. Milošević (ed.), Split 2000.

JfA - Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde

SHP III. ser. - Starohrvatska prosvjeta III. serija

PPUD - Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji

RFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

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